



PIHANS • XXXVI

## ANCIENT SIPPAR

A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF AN OLD-BABYLONIAN CITY  
(1894-1595 B.C.)

*By*  
Rivkah HARRIS

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

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XXXVI

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*To the Memory of my brother  
Moshe Brickman*



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## PREFACE

This study focuses on tablets coming from one city — Sippar — and dating from the Old Babylonian period, a relatively short period of three hundred years (1894-1595 B.C.). This city and this particular period were selected for study because its texts proved to be the best suited material as yet recovered for the type of investigation envisioned, the testing of a new approach to the study of documents which bear directly on the life of the ancient Mesopotamians and on the functioning of their most important institutions.

Scholarly attention has to this time concentrated primarily on historical and linguistic problems of the Old Babylonian, and earlier, periods and on separate investigations of either certain types of legal transactions (marriage, adoption, partnership, rent, etc.) or certain segments of the population (slaves, workmen, forced labor, the personnel of the temple, etc.). There has been little effort made to direct inquiries towards social groups larger and more complex in structure than teams of workers, classes of quasi-feudal tenants, restricted sections of the bureaucratic hierarchy or specific professions. It was, therefore, appropriate to shift the range of investigation beyond the confines of such institutions as the temple and palace towards more diversified social and economic configurations.

An investigation of this nature requires a certain average density of documentation: dated documents which cover a sufficient period of time, and show sufficient depth of coverage contexts. Such famous sites as Ur, Uruk, and Nippur, though rich in tablets of all kinds, insofar, of course, as their yield has been published at all or is accessible to scholars, fail to meet these requirements for one reason or another. Tablets from other and smaller mounds such as Dilbat, Kish, Adab, Isin, and the tells beyond the Tigris are either insufficient in quantity, in the period of time covered, in the number of persons mentioned, or in variety of content.

Only two sites were thus considered to fulfill the formulated requirements, Larsa in the South and Sippar in the North, both hardly touched by modern archeologists. Larsa texts, however, are written mostly in Sumerian and the history of that city-state was much more turbulent than that of Sippar because it was once the seat of a dynasty. Sippar thus appeared to be the only appropriate city for our investigation: the average density of documentation is sufficient as is

the depth of coverage, despite the fact that there is a sharp increase in the number of texts during the reign of Hammu-rapi in comparison with the number from the reigns of the other kings of the First Dynasty.

The Sippar texts do not originate in the palace or city administration, or in the temple bureaucracy, but they do shed light on the contacts which all of these organizations had with the private citizens of Sippar. We thus encounter an area of Mesopotamian life so far not greatly illuminated by contemporary and earlier documents. It should be noted, however, that the great majority of our tablets do not seem to come from private houses in the strictest sense of the word, but were apparently found in the ruins of an institution closely connected with the famous "White Temple" (É. BABBAR) of the city god, Šamaš, the institution called the walled "Close" (Sum. GÁ.GI<sub>4</sub>.A, Akk. *gagûm*), which harbored the houses of daughters of wealthy families of Sippar and even daughters of the kings of Babylon. Although these women (called in Sum. LUKUR, in Akk. *naditum*, "one who is left fallow"), passed their lives inside the close, they supported themselves with their private fortunes, and therefore participated intensively in the business activities of the city outside. They usually invested their capital (i.e. land and houses) in order to obtain a maximal income, and their private archives thus provide much information on the business practices of the citizens of Sippar and their relationship to city and royal authorities.

Excavations on the site of ancient Sippar began quite early (1894) and attempts to deal with the extensive group of mounds were repeatedly (lastly 1941) but not very effectively made<sup>1</sup>. Most of the tablets from the city were acquired from antique dealers in Baghdad at the end of the last century. Many tablets have been published by the British Museum, the Staatliche Museen (Vorderasiatische Abteilung), Berlin, the Musée du Louvre and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. To these texts which amount to more than 1220 should be added about 200 which come from smaller collections in museums and private hands, and about seventy tablets published by V. Scheil as the result of his excavations at the site.

The Sippar Project was fortunate enough to be allowed to utilize in the present study many more tablets for which sincere thanks are due to a number of

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<sup>1</sup> Information on excavations carried out in and around Sippar is found in Hormuzd Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, (New York, 1897), pp. 397-408; V. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar* (Paris, 1898); E.A.W. Budge, *The Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (London, 1925), p. 139; W. Andrae and J. Jordan, "Abu Habbah - Sippar", *Iraq* 1 (1934) pp. 59-59; Taha Baqir and Mohammed Ali Mustafa, "Iraq Government Soundings at Dêr", *Sumer* 1 (1945), pp. 37-54.

scholars : through Professor J.J. Finkelstein I have obtained the copies of texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection (21 texts); 286 additional texts were made available to me by Dr. R.D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum. Professor A. Leo Oppenheim transliterated these in the museum in the spring of 1964.

Since I had already drawn my main conclusions from the systematically filed material from the texts originally available, this additional group of texts was used to test the reliability of the information. The new material increased the available random evidence by about 25 percent and offered a welcome opportunity to test to what extent specific areas of the investigation could profit from the incorporation of additional random evidence of the same provenience. Though a number of quite interesting insights into minor problems were gained in this way, the main outlines established were not affected. This is especially important since there are still an undetermined number of unpublished Sippar texts in various museums and institutions which remain inaccessible for a variety of reasons. Although there may be as many as five hundred such texts, their content is not likely to affect to any significant degree the results presented in this book. Needless to say, these texts would be bound to elucidate certain gaps, or even to invalidate certain suggestions or conclusions which are based on insufficient evidence or on the absence of evidence.

The limitations of this study will be obvious to the reader. There remain many lacunae and the lack of interrelatedness within the data gleaned from the material will be self-evident. Furthermore, the private letters known to come from Sippar have not been sufficiently utilized. I have almost completely neglected the huge mass of documentation from other cities of the same period which might have furthered insight into the many remaining problems. For these omissions I can only plead that the pressure of time and the enormous complexities of the material already at hand served as deterrents to the utilizations of these other sources. It can only be hoped that this work will make up somewhat in depth what it lacks in breadth and will be followed by the necessary corrective studies.

It remains to express my gratitude to those who made this study possible. I am grateful to the National Science Foundation who supported the Sippar Project with a grant (G-21569) during the period from 1962-64. I can only hope that their generous assistance to an Assyriological undertaking will contribute to the stimulation of other studies along similar lines which will ultimately augment our understanding of ancient urbanism.

I am indebted to Professor Robert McC. Adams of the University of Chicago. It was he who initiated the Sippar Project and was ever ready to advise and suggest areas to be considered.

My debt to Professor A. Leo Oppenheim of the Oriental Institute is immeasurable. With characteristic generosity he not only read several drafts of the manuscript and made innumerable constructive criticisms, but was always available to answer and discuss problems. Indeed without his abiding interest and help this work would never have been completed. Needless to say I alone am accountable for the accuracy of the data and the validity of the interpretations given in this book.

Thanks are due to Miss Judith Franke for secretarial and editing assistance in the earlier stages of the Sippar project. Her patience and skill were of great help. I am deeply grateful to the Netherlands Historical and Archaeological Institute in Istanbul for making this publication possible.

Finally I acknowledge the help of my family. My children, Abigail and Moses, early in this project helped me with the tedious burden of filing. Above all, I am grateful to my husband for his encouragement and understanding which have always sustained me in my studies and work.

Chicago, June, 1971.

Rivkah HARRIS

## ABBREVIATIONS

AfO	= Archiv für Orientforschung.
AHw	= von Soden, Wolfram. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Harrassowitz : Wiesbaden, 1959-.
AJSL	= American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
ARM	= Archives royales de Mari.
Ar Or	= Archiv Orientální, journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague.
AS	= Assyriological Studies (University of Chicago).
BA	= Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.
BAFO	= Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft.
BE	= Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A : Cuneiform Texts.
BM	= Siglum for the tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
Böhl Leiden Coll.	= Böhl, F. M. T. Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling van Spijkerschrift-Inscriptions.
CAD	= The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
Çig Kraus Nippur	= M. Çig, H. Kizilyay (Bozkurt), F. R. Kraus. <i>Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur</i> .
Columbia	= Siglum of the tablets in the libraries of Columbia University.
CT	= Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
Edzard <i>Zwischenzeit</i>	= Edzard, D. O. <i>Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens</i> . Weisbaden 1957.
Eilers <i>Gesellschaftsformen</i>	= Eilers, Wilhelm. <i>Gesellschaftsformen in altbabylonischen Recht</i> . Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien Heft 65. Leipzig, 1931.
Falkenstein <i>Gerichtsurkunden</i>	= Falkenstein, Adam. <i>Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden</i> . Munich 1956 and 1957.
Fish <i>Letters</i>	= Fish, Thomas. <i>Letters of the first Babylonian dynasty</i> . Manchester, 1936.
Frank <i>Strassburger Keilschrifttexte</i>	= Frank, Carl. <i>Strassburger Keilschrifttexte in sumerischer und babylonischer Sprache</i> . Berlin and Leipzig, 1928.
Gordon <i>Smith</i>	= Gordon, C. H. <i>Smith College Tablets, 110 cuneiform texts selected from the College collection</i> . Northampton (Massachusetts), 1952.
HG	= Ungnad, A., Kohler, J. <i>Hammurabi's Gesetz</i> . Leipzig.
HSM	= Siglum of tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum.
HSS	= Harvard Semitic Series.
IEJ	= Israel Exploration Journal (Israel Exploration Society).
Jacobson <i>Copenhagen</i>	= Jacobsen, T. <i>Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen, Chiefly of Economical Contents</i> . Leiden, 1939.

- JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
 JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies.  
 JESHO = Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient.  
 JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies.  
 KAR = Ebeling, E. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. Leipzig.  
 KAV = Schroeder, O. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*. Leipzig.  
 Koschaker *Griech. Rechtsurk.* = Koschaker, Paul. *Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus, mit Beiträgen zum Eigentums- und Pfandbegriff nach griechischem und orientalischen Rechten*. Leipzig, 1931.  
 Kraus AbB = Kraus, F. R. *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung*. Leiden.  
 Kraus *Edikt* = Kraus, F. R. *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon*. Leiden, 1958.  
 Kupper *Les Nomades* = Kupper, Jean-Robert. *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*. Paris, 1957.  
 Landsberger *Kult. Kalender* = Landsberger, B. *Der kultische-Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*. Leipzig, 1915.  
 Langdon *Babylonian Menologies* = Langdon, S. H. *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*. London, 1935.  
 Lautner *Personenmiete* = Lautner, J. G. *Altbabylonische Personenmiete und Erntearbeiterverträge*. Leiden, 1936.  
 Lautner *Streitbeendigung* = Lautner, J. G. *Die richterliche Entscheidung und die Streitbeendigung im altbabylonischen Prozessrechte*. Leipzig, 1922.  
 LE = Goetze, Albrecht. *The Laws of Eshnunna*. New Haven, 1956.  
 Leemans *Foreign Trade* = Leemans, W. F. *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period as revealed by texts from Southern Mesopotamia*. Leiden, 1960.  
 LIH = King, L. *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon*. London, 1898-1900.  
 MCS = Manchester Cuneiform Studies.  
 Meissner BAP = Meissner, B. *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*. Leipzig, 1893.  
 Mendelsohn *Slavery* = Mendelsohn, Isaac. *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*. New York, 1949.  
 MSL = Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon.  
 PBS = Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.  
 Pinches *Peek* = Pinches, T. G. *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart.* London, 1888.  
 PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.  
 RA = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.  
 RIDA = Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité.  
 Riftin = Riftin, A. P. *Starovavilonskie juridičeskie i administrativnie dokumenti v sobranijach SSSR*. Moscow and Leningrad, 1937.  
 RLA = Reallexikon der Assyriologie.

RSO	= Rivista degli studi orientali.
RT	= Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.
Scheil Sippar	= Scheil, V. <i>Une saison de fouilles à Sippar</i> . Le Caire, 1902.
SDIOA	= Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis Antiqui pertinentia.
SLT	= Chiera, Edward. <i>Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur</i> . Chicago, 1929.
Speleers <i>Recueil</i>	= Speleers, L. <i>Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie Antérieure des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles</i> . Bruxelles, 1925.
<i>Studies Oppenheim</i>	= <i>Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim</i> . Chicago, 1964.
Szlechter <i>Tablettes</i>	= Szlechter, E. <i>Tablettes juridiques de la 1<sup>re</sup> dynastie de Babylone, conservées au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève</i> . Paris, 1958.
Fallquist <i>Götterepitheta</i>	= Tallquist, K.L. <i>Akkadische Götterepitheta</i> . Helsingforsiae, 1938.
TCL	= Textes cunéiformes du Louvre.
TLB	= Tabulae Cuneiformes a F.M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae.
Ungnad <i>Materialien</i>	= Ungnad, A. <i>Materialien zur altakkadischen Sprache</i> . Leipzig, 1916.
VAB	= Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
VAS	= Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler.
VAT	= Siglum of the tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
Walther <i>Gerichtswesen</i>	= Walther, A. <i>Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen</i> . Leipzig, 1917.
Waterman Bus. Doc.	= Waterman, Leroy. <i>Business Documents of the Hammurapi Period from the British Museum</i> . London, 1916.
YBC	= Siglum of the tablets in the Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library.
YOS	= Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts.
ZA	= Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZDMG	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.



## I. THE CITY OF SIPPAR

### 1. THE HISTORY OF SIPPAR IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

#### *Introduction*

The collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur at the close of the third millennium B.C. was a major turning point in the history of ancient Mesopotamia. But even before the capital city of Ur was captured by the Elamites, the Sumerian empire had been slowly disintegrating. Desert Amorites had been steadily penetrating Babylonia from the west in powerful migrations, seizing city after city. Mesopotamia became progressively more fragmented into large and small kingdoms ruled by people with West-Semitic names.

The very early part of the Old Babylonian period, commonly referred to as the Isin-Larsa period after the two major kingdoms of this era, and more recently termed "die zweite zwischenzeit" by D.O. Edzard, was marked by unrest, a long drawn-out series of wars, alliances, and political manoeuvring between the West-Semitic rulers who had managed to subdue the Akkadian inhabitants. Eventually, it was Hammu-rapi (1792-1750 B.C.), the able and vigorous Amorite ruler of the hitherto politically insignificant city of Babylon, who again reunited the provincial cities into a realm effectively controlled from the capital.

What events took place in Sippar, formerly a province of the Ur III empire, immediately following the breakdown of Sumerian power is not known. There is some evidence that it may have come under the domination of the kings of Isin, as did such cities as Nippur, Elam, Ur, and Der. But the data is too fragmentary to be conclusive. The history of Sippar in the pre-Old Babylonian era yet awaits careful study.

It is with the very first of the rulers of the First Dynasty of Babylon, with Sumu-abum (1894-1881 B.C.) that the documented history of Old Babylonian Sippar may be said to begin. But his control over Sippar was at best short-lived and ephemeral, for there follows a span of time, coinciding with the first twenty-eight years of his successor Sumu-la-ila of Babylon, when Sippar is ruled by local rulers.

Little is known about these early kinglets. Only a few year names on a small number of tablets, and in some cases only a name invoked in the oath, remain

to tell us of their fleeting hegemony over Sippar. None succeeded in establishing a dynasty. For none were date lists kept, as they were for the kings of Babylon, to establish for posterity the correct sequence of the year names<sup>1</sup>. They ruled uncertainly in the growing encroachment of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

### *Local Rulers of Sippar*<sup>2</sup>

#### *Illumma-ila*

Illumma-ila was the earliest of the local rulers of Sippar. Although no date formulae mention his rule, his name appears with the name of Šamaš in the oath formulae of six sale contracts<sup>3</sup>. A witness to one of these contracts, Sin-rabi, son of Ḫubba, reappears as neighbor to a field sold during the rule of Immerum<sup>4</sup>. Since other data suggest the sequence Immerum, Buntaḫtun-ila, Sumu-la-ila, we have placed Illumma-ila immediately before Immerum.

The personal names contained in these contracts are mostly Akkadian but in contrast to later documents, there are a large number of West-Semitic names such as Izbānum, Sumu-entel, Jatarum, Jarši-el, Jakbarum, Jaskur-el, Ašdum-abi, and Namālatum. Other names are foreign: Paḫar-šen, Birbirum, and Mamānum the son of Panānum.

Whether or not the absence of the cloistered *nadītu* women, who subsequently play a leading role in the sale transactions of Sippar, from the Illumma-ila texts is of significance is impossible to say in view of the paucity of texts.

#### *Immerum*

Considerably more information is available about the next known ruler, Immerum. He does not refer to himself as king (LUGAL), but his accomplishments

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<sup>1</sup> In Babylonia every year derived its name from an event that had occurred in the previous year. This system of dating necessitated the keeping of date lists for the establishment of the correct sequence of these names. For our purposes, we have utilized and followed the system of dating of Ungnad RLA 2 175ff. Despite the ancient date lists there are still problems regarding the sequence of certain year dates especially of Abi-ešuḫ, Ammi-šaduqa, and Samsu-ditana. Although progress has been made in more accurately arranging the dates of these kings we have, because of the still existing uncertainties, continued to follow the sequence as given by Ungnad. It should also be noted that hitherto unattested dates of the kings of Babylon are found in Sippar. These must be variants of known dates, although it is not always possible to designate these years.

<sup>2</sup> See also the section on Sippar by Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* 129f.

<sup>3</sup> BE 6/1 1, 2; CT 8 26b, 38b, 41d; Friedrich BA 5 513 No. 48 (= Scheil Sippar 56).

<sup>4</sup> In BE 6/1 2:13 and 5:3.

are known from his date formulae. He dug the Asuḫi Canal (known from no later source), built the wall of the cloister, built a temple to the goddess Inanna, and presented Šamaš, the city god of Sippar, with a *lilissu* drum<sup>5</sup>. A fifth date mentions the death of a nearby ruler, Izi-sumu-abum<sup>6</sup>.

For the present, there are no means at hand for arranging these dates chronologically. Nevertheless, they do permit us to draw certain conclusions about the reign of Immerum. Immerum, though he did not use the title of king (LUGAL), assumed the traditional responsibilities of the Mesopotamian king: to build (or rebuild) temples to house the deities, and to dig canals in order to maintain the vital irrigation system. Both these tasks undertaken by Immerum presuppose for their completion a period of relative stability and a sizeable labor force.

We learn, too, that the cloister, later one of the "great organizations" of Sippar, may have come into prominence at the time of Immerum. From his reign on, the *naditu* women of Šamaš begin to actively engage in a variety of business transactions. With Immerum, too, the Ebabbar temple, the "White House", a temple with already an old history, may have come to the fore as a major economic institution headed by a *sanga* official<sup>7</sup>. Immerum, like many kings of Babylon after him, showed his devotion to Šamaš with a gift to the god. During his reign, Sippar was administered by a *rabiānu*, the mayor of the city, and a body of elders consisting of the leading citizens of the city<sup>8</sup>. This administrative structure undergoes a change much later in the time of Hammu-rapi.

It has been assumed that Immerum and his successor, Buntaḫtun-ila, were subjected, though only sporadically, to Sumu-la-ila of Babylon. This assumption is based on the mention of these two local rulers along with the king of Babylon in the oaths of some Sippar contracts<sup>9</sup>. But it can be shown that the circumstances which led to the inclusion of the latter were due, not to subservience on the part of the local rulers, but rather to the place of origin of one of the parties involved in the transactions<sup>10</sup>. The independence of Immerum is seen from the use in his

<sup>5</sup> See the date formulae in Meissner BAP 10; VAS 8 102; PBS 8/2 195; CT 4 30a, respectively.

<sup>6</sup> CT 4 47b. This can only be tentatively assigned to Immerum. On the BA.UGx dates see Edzard, *op. cit.*, 139 note 737.

<sup>7</sup> See VAS 8 4:31 for Annum-pī-Šamaš SANGA dUTU.

<sup>8</sup> VAS 8 1/2.

<sup>9</sup> See CT 4 50a and Waterman Bus. Doc. 31.

<sup>10</sup> It may be significant that both texts in note 9 concern the same parties. See YOS 5 124 and BE 6/1 26, for other examples of oaths taken by two rulers. BE 6/1 26 (Ha 10) is of special interest to us. As pointed by Schorr VAB 5 404 note 12 this litigation text comes from Babylon to judge

contracts of provincial Akkadian month names instead of the official Sumerian months used by the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon<sup>11</sup>. The oath is taken not only by the life of the god Šamaš, the city god, and the reigning king, but also by “the life of the city of Sippar”.

A decline in the number of persons with West-Semitic names may be noted in the fifteen Immerum texts as compared to the Ilumma-ila documents. This change may reflect the ever-growing acculturation of the conquering West-Semites to their Akkadian environment.

Despite a reign of some length and stability, Immerum did not succeed in establishing a dynasty. He was followed by Buntaḫtun-ila, presumably a usurper to the throne.

### *Buntaḫtun-ila*

Buntaḫtun-ila, a ruler with a West-Semitic name, assumed the pretentious title of king (LUGAL) in the one date formula of his which remains (NÍG Buntaḫtun-ila LUGAL.E)<sup>12</sup>. His reign must have been short since only two texts date to this period and one concerns a litigation between a man who in an Immerum text appears as a buyer of an orchard, and the daughter of the seller<sup>13</sup>. In this lawsuit both Buntaḫtun-ila and Sumu-la-ila are mentioned in the oath.

We do not know conclusively whether or not Buntaḫtun-ila was the last of the local rulers<sup>14</sup>. Rulers of other cities have at one time or another been considered

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from the oath which invokes Marduk, Hammu-rapi and Shamshi-Adad. We agree too that Shamshi-Adad is mentioned in the oath because the plaintiff Sāsija is probably a citizen of Assyria or Eshnunna. The presence of the judges of Sippar may be explained by the fact that the defendant Bēltani, wife of Warad-Kubi, is from Sippar. We would, therefore, suggest that the deceased husband, Warad-Kubi, and Sāsija had a partnership based on trade in between Babylon, Sippar and Eshnunna. None of the witnesses here appear in Sippar texts.

<sup>11</sup> See the month of Tīrum in CT 4 47b:29; Nabrū in CT 4 50a:31; Kinūnu in PBS 8/2 195:9.

<sup>12</sup> BE 6/1 6. A second date formula of Buntaḫtun-ila may now be added. His name is mentioned in the oath of CT 48 42 r. 6 along with the god Šamaš. Here his name is written Bunutaḫtu[n-ila] so that presumably the date included here is his: The year he brought the *lilissu* drum into the temple of Ninkarrak (MU *li-li-sa-am a-na É* <sup>d</sup>NIN.KAR.RA.AK *ù-še(!)-ri-bu*).

<sup>13</sup> CT 4 50a and Waterman Bus. 31, respectively.

<sup>14</sup> It is possible that Ammi-sura is the name of another local short-lived ruler of Sippar. He, along with Šamaš, are to punish the party that changes the terms of the transaction in CT 48 90 r.1. The phrase *lemun Šamaš u RN* is characteristic of early Sippar contracts, e.g., CT 6 36a; CT 8 28c; Waterman Bus. Doc. 14. See now the mention of Ḥammi-sura in a letter from Tel-ed-Dēr in the recently published book by D. Edzard, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell-ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Baghdad (1970)*, 15 note 15. This publication appeared too late for me to discuss the significance of these texts for the Sippar corpus.

as having had temporary control over Sippar : Lipit-Ištar of Isin<sup>15</sup>, Daduša and Narām-Sin of Eshnunna<sup>16</sup>, and one otherwise unknown ruler, Manabalte'el<sup>17</sup>. As yet there is no convincing data that any of these did rule in Sippar.

*Sippar Under the First Dynasty of Babylon*  
*Sumu-abum*

There is evidence, however, that even the first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Sumu-abum, exerted some control, though temporarily, in Sippar since a Sippar text mentions a date formula of his. The oath in this text is not by Marduk but by Šamaš and Sumu-abum<sup>18</sup>. The name of Sumu-abum may also occur in another oath formula from Sippar (MU <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD [ū *Su-mu*]-a-bi-im (?))<sup>19</sup>.

*Sumu-la-ila*

The decisive turning point in Sippar's history came in the twenty-ninth year of Sumu-la-ila of Babylon in 1838 B.C. This year named : "Year Sumu-la-ila (re)built the wall of Sippar" marks the beginning of Sippar's domination by the kings of Babylon, which they maintain until the very end of the dynasty. Whether or not a war was necessary to accomplish the conquest of Sippar is not known. Perhaps the rebuilding of the wall indicates that part of it had been destroyed or damaged during a war. The daughter of Sumu-la-ila was the first of several princesses of Babylon to enter the cloister of Sippar as a *naditu* dedicating herself to the god Šamaš and his consort Aja<sup>20</sup>. From this time on Sippar remained under the firm hands of these kings whose dates and royal inscriptions exhibit an abiding interest in, and concern for, her and her deity, Šamaš. Under their rule the citizens of Sippar thrive and become wealthy, contributing their taxes and men to the maintenance of the realm.

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<sup>15</sup> The date formula : MU *ša Lipit-Ištar Amurru itruduš* which appears in CT 4 22c : 11f. has been assigned to Sippar from the period of the independent rulers (Kupper *Les Nomades* 168) primarily because it is published by the British Museum in a collection of tablets which, with few exceptions, are from Sippar. But this is not sufficient evidence. The persons named in this text do not appear elsewhere in Sippar texts and the data that Isin controlled Sippar at some time are also not substantial (see Edzard *op. cit.*, 128).

<sup>16</sup> On this see *ibid.*, 164 note 878.

<sup>17</sup> On Manabalte'el see Kupper, *op. cit.*, 202.

<sup>18</sup> VAS 8 1/2. On this date formula see E. Reiner JCS 15 124.

<sup>19</sup> TLB 1 221.

<sup>20</sup> On Ajalatum, daughter of Sumu-la-ila, see *Studies Oppenheim*, 123.

It is perhaps noteworthy that in some texts of Sumu-la-ila the oath follows the pattern of that of the petty rulers and is by Šamaš and Sumu-la-ila<sup>21</sup>, but in others it is by Šamaš, Marduk, and Sumu-la-ila, the deity of Sippar preceding that of Babylon. The first group may, therefore, be earlier. In one unusual text the oath is taken by Šamaš, Marduk, Sumu-la-ila and Zabium<sup>22</sup>. It has been suggested that Zabium may, therefore, have ruled in Sippar as the appointed heir of his father<sup>23</sup>.

### *Zabium*

Twenty-nine texts date from the time of Zabium, and although many do not contain date formulae, the king's first, second, and tenth to fourteenth years are attested<sup>24</sup>.

The formula for the eighth year of Zabium commemorates the building (or rebuilding) of the Šamaš temple of Sippar, the Ebabbar. Noteworthy, though we do not understand its implication, is the occurrence of Sippar in the oaths from the time of Zabium on.

### *Apil-Sin*

Forty-six of the fifty-nine texts from the reign of Apil-Sin are undated, but his first, second, fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth, eleventh, and eighteenth years<sup>25</sup> are attested in those which are dated. From the year names which refer to Sippar we learn that Apil-Sin built a throne for Šamaš and his consort Šenirda (another name for Aja)<sup>26</sup> in his third year and in his eighteenth year presented to Šamaš some unidentified object<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> In CT 6 30a, 36a; TCL 1 56.

<sup>22</sup> BE 6/1 9.

<sup>23</sup> So Edzard, *op. cit.*, 151.

<sup>24</sup> First year: VAS 8 8; Second year: CT 6 40c; Tenth year: CT 6 6a; Eleventh year: Waterman Bus. Doc. 22; Twelfth year: CT 2 50; Thirteenth year: CT 2 3; Fourteenth year: CT 8 42a. See the new year date of Zabium: MU ERÍN UD.UNU[G<sup>KI</sup>] GIŠ.TUKUL BA.SÌG in CT 45 3.

<sup>25</sup> First year: CT 4 10; Szlechter Tablettes 76 MAH 16287; CT 6 48a; Second year: CT 6 44b; Fourth year: TCL 1 60; CT 4 47a; Sixth year: TCL 1 61; Eighth year: BM 82279; CT 6 33b; Eleventh year: CT 6 46; CT 47 2/2a; Eighteenth year: CT 4 16a. Note the date formula on CT 8 29b: MU BÂD *Bar-ú-zu*<sup>KI</sup> is perhaps a variant of his first year: MU BÂD *Bar-zi*<sup>KI</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> See Tallquist *Göttterepitheta* 245.

<sup>27</sup> The date formula reads: MU.ÛS.SA *iš(!)-ka-ra-am ana* <sup>d</sup>Šamaš Apil-Sin? in CT 4 16a. This *iškaru* is perhaps related to the *iškaru ša* Šamaš appearing adjacent to an orchard in CT 2 50:4 (Za 12). See now the new date formula of Apil-Sin in CT 45 11 edge: [MU *iš-ka-ar* <sup>d</sup>UTU *ša a-aḥ I-di-ig-la-at Apil-30 BA.DÛ (?)*] which substantiates this reading.

*Sin-muballiṭ*

The reign of King Sin-muballiṭ, during which Babylon began to subject the independent city-states of the region, is represented at Sippar by 102 texts, over half of which (fifty-four) are undated, although years two, five, seven to seventeen, and nineteen are represented. The second and eighth of the year names of Sin-muballiṭ mention the building of canals in the vicinity of Sippar—the Sin-muballiṭ canal<sup>28</sup>, in the region of Migrati<sup>29</sup>; and the Aja-ḫegal canal, in the “plain” (*ina bamâtim*)<sup>30</sup>. Sin-muballiṭ’s third year name mentions an emblem which he fashioned for Šamaš and his consort Šenirda.

His daughter, too, entered the cloister in Sippar as a *naditu* of Šamaš<sup>31</sup>.

*Hammu-rapi*

The growth and prosperity of Sippar reached a new high under the rule of the great Hammu-rapi with a concomitant increase in the number and variety of the textual material. All forty-three years of his reign are attested in Sippar. The growing power of the king brings in its wake a greater centralization in the administration of city and temple institutions and increasing pressure by Babylon for greater uniformity and acculturation. From the hundreds of documents dating from Hammu-rapi and his successors some of the changes and innovations implemented by the later kings of Babylon in their ultimately unsuccessful attempts to maintain and consolidate their kingdom formed by their illustrious ancestor Hammu-rapi are discernible<sup>32</sup>. These texts provide us with the means of describing the anatomy of an ancient Babylonian city.

Hammu-rapi, the “organizer of Sippar”, as he describes himself, was especially concerned with the reinforcement of the wall circumvallation of Sippar. His twenty-third year is named, “Year the foundation of the wall of Sippar (was built); his twenty-fifth year, “Year the Great Wall of Sippar was built”; his forty-third year, “Year in which the earthen wall of Sippar was filled up”. It may be surmised that this preoccupation with the walls, and hence the defence of Sippar, bespeaks the deterioration in the political situation which marked the last years of Hammu-rapi’s reign. From his thirtieth year until his death Hammu-rapi was engaged in recurrent battles with various coalitions threatening the destruction of his kingdom, with Subartu, Gutium, Eshnunna, Malgium and with

<sup>28</sup> VAS 8 24/25.

<sup>29</sup> This is learned from CT 47 30:1.

<sup>30</sup> Ballerini RSO 2 539:1f.

<sup>31</sup> On Iltani, daughter of King Sin-muballiṭ see JCS 16/1 6.

<sup>32</sup> See my article on the various aspects of this centralization in JAOS 88/4 pp. 727-732.

Eshnunna, Subartu, and Gutium. It is not surprising, therefore, that the officials of the military establishment first make their appearance in our texts in the thirty-ninth year of Hammu-rapi. Hammu-rapi, like the local ruler Immerum, early in his reign, in his fourth year, reinforced the enclosure of the cloister which later became the home of his sister.

#### *Samsu-iluna*

Despite a gradually disintegrating kingdom, control of Sippar under Samsu-iluna continued unabated without any visible sign of tension between the central government in Babylon and the local administration in Sippar. The density of textual coverage continues. His thirty-eight years are attested with the exception of the thirty-first, thirty-second, and thirty-fifth to thirty-seventh years. The year formula for his sixteenth year mentions the maintenance of the walls of Sippar; and his eighteenth, the restoration of the Ebabbar temple of Šamaš in Sippar.

#### *Abi-ešuḫ*

With Abi-ešuḫ and his successors a change takes place if one may judge from the decline in legal texts, though there is a temporary upsurge in the period of Ammi-šaduqa. Of special interest is the correspondence in this later period between the rulers of Babylon and the officials of the city administration in Sippar. It sheds light on the relationship between the capital and its provincial city and provides some insight into the internal structure and operation of a kingdom. There is now a significant increase in the number of administrative documents, mainly concerned with military matters, reflecting the many problems besetting the kings of Babylon, which finally lead to the downfall of their dynasty.

The last kings of Babylon, like their predecessors, show continued interest in the temple of Šamaš, Ebabbar, and in the cloister.

Abi-ešuḫ brings an image of himself into the temple of Šamaš (year x).

#### *Ammi-ditana*

The textual material again increases slightly in the reign of Ammi-ditana, and although most of the texts are private contracts, this may be due to the accidental nature of the finds. The relationship between the king and the Sippar officials appears to continue much the same as in the time of Abi-ešuḫ. Sippar-Amnānum and Sippar-Jaḥrurum become important centers with separate administrative bodies. All the date formulae of Ammi-ditana are attested except those from his seventh, tenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and twentieth years. The year names

indicate that he made a sun disc for Šamaš in his thirteenth year, and rebuilt the wall of the cloister, the residence of his sister or aunt, Iltani, in his eighteenth year<sup>33</sup>.

#### *Ammi-šaduqa*

The reign of Ammi-šaduqa may have witnessed a brief halt in the dissolution of the realm, if one may judge from a temporary increase in legal documents. His administrative documents indicate an apparent change in procedure, for the king now communicates with the *rabi sikkatim* and the *bārû* of Sippar-Jahrurum rather than with the Overseer of the Merchants, the judges and the *kāru* of Sippar proper and of the other two Sippars as previously. With the exception of the years 17+d and 17+e, all of Ammi-šaduqa's date formulae are represented. In his sixth, seventh, and ninth and seventeenth years he dedicated sacred objects and images to Šamaš.

#### *Samsu-ditana*

The texts dating from Samsu-ditana, last ruler of the First Dynasty of Babylon, are few in number. In what is probably one of the last, if not the last, letters of this king to the city administrators of Sippar, a note of urgency and impending disaster is struck for the enemy stands without prepared to attack Sippar<sup>34</sup>.

The fate of Sippar in the last days of the kings of Babylon is not known. Though she may have suffered greatly, the "eternal city (*āl šâti*)" renewed her vigor and renown centuries later, in the Neo-Babylonian period. Its ancient temple of Šamaš, Ebabbar, became once again a rich and thriving institution as it had been in the Hammu-rapi era.

<sup>33</sup> On this Iltani see JCS 16/1 6ff.

<sup>34</sup> TCL 1 8.

*Rulers of Sippar and Babylon*

SIPPAR	BABYLON	YEARS OF REIGN
Illumma-ila	Sumu-abum	(14) 1894-1881
Immerum	Sumu-la-ila	(36) 1880-1845
Buntahtun-ila	Zabium	(14) 1844-1831
	Apil-Sin	(18) 1830-1813
	Sin-muballiṭ	(20) 1812-1793
	Hammu-rapi	(43) 1792-1750
	Samsu-iluna	(38) 1749-1712
	Abi-eṣuḥ	(28) 1711-1684
	Ammi-ditana	(37) 1683-1647
	Ammi-ṣaduqa	(21) 1646-1626
	Samsu-ditana	(31) 1625-1595

## 2. SIPPAR AS A CITY AGGLOMERATION

Sippar differed greatly from the typical Old Babylonian city in that a number of towns and settlements clustered about it forming a city agglomeration of which Sippar remained the central and principal city.

During the period of the earliest kings of Babylon, tribes of desert nomads encamped outside the walls of Sippar in order to trade with the urbanized inhabitants. Apparently by the reign of King Sin-muballiṭ these encampments had evolved into permanent settlements. In time, some assumed the features of villages; others even of towns or cities. All incorporated Sippar, the "mother" city, into their names.

*Sippar-Jahrurum*

Kupper has shown that Sippar-Jahrurum and Sippar-Amnānum, the most important of the "sister" towns, were named after two groups of nomadic tribes known from the Mari texts, the Jahruru and the Amnānu, who had at one time encamped near Sippar<sup>1</sup>.

Only indirectly can their emergence as towns be assigned to the reign of King Sin-muballiṭ, and with assurance only in the case of Sippar-Jahrurum. Two streets,

<sup>1</sup> Kupper, *op. cit.*, 76f. See now also Edzard *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tel-ed-Dēr* 19ff. for a discussion of the various Sippars.

the Bunene Street<sup>2</sup> and the Street of Isinians<sup>3</sup>, mentioned in Sin-muballiṭ contracts are later explicitly localized in the city of Sippar-Jaḥrurum. However, the existence of streets in the time of Sin-muballiṭ indicates that during his reign this erstwhile encampment had become a permanent center of population. The Street of the Isinians, so named in all likelihood after the traders from this city in central Lower Mesopotamia who settled here establishing a “factory” to carry on trade with their native city, points up the felicitous location of Sippar as a port of trade. It was not until the reign of Abi-ešuḫ, however, that Sippar-Jaḥrurum developed into a full-fledged city with its own administrative body paralleling that of Sippar. Eventually irrigation districts were brought under its jurisdiction and supervision<sup>4</sup>.

### *Sippar-Amnānum*

There has been some disagreement as to when the encampment of the Amnānu tribe emerged as a town. In our opinion, this transformation took place at approximately the same time as it did in Sippar-Jaḥrurum, during the reign of Sin-muballiṭ. This assumption is based on the interrelationship existing between the two places, such as the later parallel administrative structures. Furthermore, Samsu-iluna, grandson of Sin-muballiṭ, in one of his letters to the city officials of Sippar writes of the need for strengthening the wall of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>5</sup>. The fact that Sippar-Amnānum had a circumvallation implies that it was a city and the necessity for reinforcement presupposes that it had been built some time before.

Mention should be made of another name for part, if not all, of Sippar-Amnānum. Sippar-Annunitum occurs only once in a letter<sup>6</sup>. There is evidence which strongly suggest that the temple of the goddess Annunitum, Eulmaš, was located in Sippar-Amnānum. This appellation, one retained into Neo-Baby-

<sup>2</sup> See CT 2 26:4 (Sm 19) and BE 6/1 95:5 Ams 13).

<sup>3</sup> BM 92657:6(Sm) and BE 6/1 105:10 (Ams 17+b). BM 92657 indicates that the Street of the Isinians was also near Bunene Street since the buyer of the house described as situated on the Street of the Isinians, Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Gamil-ili, in the 19th year of Sin-muballiṭ, sells the house which is now described as being on Bunene Street (CT 2 26:4 [Sm 19]) Abi-marāš, son of Ḥajabni-el, is witness in both texts, but a second man mentioned as neighbor in the earlier text must by the time of the second have died, as his son is now the neighbor. The two texts, however, do indicate that Sippar-Jaḥrurum was a settled area in the time of Sin-muballiṭ.

<sup>4</sup> One text speaks of a field located in the region of Ašukum, on the other side of Kār-Šamaš, within the territory of Sippar-Jaḥrurum (CT 6 6:2); See also TCL 1 8:6.

<sup>5</sup> LIH 104.

<sup>6</sup> PBS 7 100:14.

lonian times, may, therefore, have been applied to that area of the city which contained the Annunītum temple complex or perhaps to the entire city of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>7</sup>.

*The Relationship of Sippar to Sippar-Jahrurum and Sippar-Amnānum*

Our material does not indicate to what extent Sippar-Jahrurum and Sippar-Amnānum were autonomous cities. Although they had administrative bodies which at times appear to act independently, the kings at Babylon might write to the officials of Sippar on matters concerning the other two cities. In one account which indicates a semi-dependence, the Overseer of the Merchants of Sippar and the judges of Sippar-Jahrurum are responsible for expenditures of barley from the granary of Sippar-Jahrurum<sup>8</sup>.

In a matter which concerns all three Sippars, Abu-ešuḫ writes to the officials of Sippar that he is sending messengers to them from Babylon and that they are meanwhile to take beer from the brewers of Sippar-Amnānum, bring it to Sippar-Jahrurum, and give the brewers barley from that stored in Sippar, perhaps to manufacture more beer<sup>9</sup>.

*Sippar-ṣērim — “Sippar of the Steppe”*

Sippar-ṣērim or “Sippar of the Steppe” is first mentioned in the time of Zabium as the location of a house which is sold<sup>10</sup>. The name appears in similar contexts in later texts<sup>11</sup>, and is perhaps mentioned in an account of the collection by the tax collector of some kind of tax<sup>12</sup>. Sippar-ṣērim is known to have had both streets and a main or wide street<sup>13</sup>. Samsu-iluna in a letter, speaks of having the image of the goddess Annunītum brought to Sippar-ṣērim, perhaps for a festival<sup>14</sup>. The name occurs in an Old Babylonian itinerary after Babylon and

<sup>7</sup> See LIH 91, a letter of Abi-ešuḫ, which shows that the *sanga* of the Annunītum temple lived in Sippar-Amnānum.

<sup>8</sup> CT 8 27b.

<sup>9</sup> LIH 85.

<sup>10</sup> BE 6/1 13:2(Za).

<sup>11</sup> CT 45 8 (AS), CT 8 16a (Sm), CT 47 30/30a (Ha 10), CT 8 9a (Si 1), TCL 1 135/136 (Si 14).

<sup>12</sup> Friedrich BA 5 500 No. 26 (Si 83). The copy is difficult to read. Line 4 seems to contain the tax imposed on Sippar-EDIN.NA, perhaps to be read IGI.SÁ(?) URU Sippar-ṣērim. Line 2 of the reverse appears to be the title of Šamaš-bāni who delivers the payment to the tax collector. We can only read UGULA x.x URU Sippar-EDIN.NA.

<sup>13</sup> TCL 1 135/136:2-5.

<sup>14</sup> LIH 81.

before Sippar-dūri<sup>15</sup>. The fact that no officials of Sippar-šērim are mentioned suggests that the area remained under the jurisdiction of Sippar. It is not mentioned after the time of Samsu-iluna.

*Sippar-rabûm* — “Great Sippar”

Sippar-rabûm or “Great Sippar” is referred to from the time of Apil-Sin<sup>16</sup> to the twenty-seventh year of Samsu-iluna as the location of houses and house plots<sup>17</sup>. In one text, a house in Sippar-rabûm is exchanged for one of the same size in Sippar-šērim<sup>18</sup>.

A wide street<sup>19</sup> and a Lamaštum Street<sup>20</sup> are known from Sippar-rabûm.

An interesting litigation concerns the loss of a donkey which had been hired in the city of Šimurrum. The owner of the donkey receives six shekels of “silver of the city of Zaban” and 10 shekels of “silver of Sippar-rabûm”, which may indicate that these amounts are equivalent<sup>21</sup>.

Of particular relevance to the problem of whether Sippar-rabûm is to be identified with Sippar proper is a tag which reads “container (for tablets concerning) the houses of Sippar-rabûm” (GI.PISAN É.ĤI.A ša UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup> GAL)<sup>22</sup>. The existence of this tag argues against the two being identical since such tags exist for other specific areas: “container of the tablets of Ĥalĥalla and Merigat (GI.PISAN *tuppât Ĥalĥalla u Merigat*)”<sup>23</sup>, and “thirteen sealed documents belonging to the administration building of the cloister and that of the *kīdum* (region outside) belonging to Sippar-Jaĥrurum (and) to Birsum”, (13 *kanīkat* É GĀ.GI.A ù É *kīdīm* ŠĀ UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup>-*Jaĥrurum* ŠĀ *Birsim*)<sup>24</sup>.

*Sippar-dūrum* (BĀD) — “Sippar-Fortress”

Sippar-dūrum or “Sippar-Fortress” is known only from an Old Babylonian itinerary where it follows Sippar-šērim and precedes Dūr-Apil-Sin<sup>25</sup>. Since Sippar

<sup>15</sup> Goetze JCS 7 52 i 11; v 6, and SLT 212 v 16ff.

<sup>16</sup> CT 45 8:5 There is perhaps an earlier reference in a Zabium sale contract: CT 2 3:1. But the copy is not too clear.

<sup>17</sup> CT 8 20a (Sm), CT 8 50b (Ha), CT 4 18a (Si), CT 8 9a (Si 1), Szlechter Tablettes 10 MAH 15913 (Si 7), CT 45 35 (Si 15), Çig Kraus Nippur 165 (Si 22), BE 6/1 62 (Si 26), and CT 2 27 (Si 27).

<sup>18</sup> CT 8 9a:5.

<sup>19</sup> CT 8 50b:4.

<sup>20</sup> CT 2 27:6.

<sup>21</sup> CT 4 47a:21 (AS 4).

<sup>22</sup> BM 81693.

<sup>23</sup> BM 81128.

<sup>24</sup> BE 6/1 109. See also my remarks in JESHO 6/2 129.

<sup>25</sup> Goetze JCS 7 (1955) 52 i 2, iv, 6.

itself is not mentioned in the itinerary, Sippar-dūrum perhaps refers to a military camp nearby where the overland caravans stopped.

*Sippar-U<sub>4</sub>.UL.LÍ.A — “Sippar-of-Old”*

Sippar-U<sub>4</sub>.UL.LÍ.A or “Sippar of Old” is known only from geographical lists where it is mentioned between Sippar-ṣērim and Eshnunna<sup>26</sup>. It may be an old or literary name for Sippar proper which is no longer in use in the Old Babylonian legal and administrative texts.

*Conclusions*

Sippar’s basic feature as the nucleus of a city agglomeration was retained long after the Old Babylonian period into Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times. Sippar-Šamaš and Sippar-Amnānum are mentioned in a geographical list from Aššur<sup>27</sup>; Esarhaddon speaks of bringing several gods to Sippar-<sup>d</sup>Aruru<sup>28</sup>, and a Neo-Babylonian inscription describes the goddess Aruru as the mistress of the gods of Sippar-<sup>d</sup>Aruru<sup>KI</sup><sup>29</sup>. Sippar of Annunītum (written URU *Si-par<sub>5</sub> ša<sup>d</sup>A-nu-ni-te*) occurs in a battle report of Tiglath-Pileser I, after Sippar of Šamaš, (URU *Z[i-i]m-bir ša Šamaš*)<sup>30</sup>; and Nabonidus mentions the building of a sanctuary to the goddess Annunītum in Sippar-Amnānum<sup>31</sup>, which supports the theory that the Annunītum temple was located in this area.

We may conclude that aside from the main site at Sippar, a number of nearby localities were generally considered a part of “Greater” Sippar. Of these, Sippar-Jahrurum, Sippar-Amnānum, Sippar-ṣērim, Sippar-rabūm and Sippar-dūrum, may have been cities or settlements in their own right; Sippar-Annunītum, another name for Sippar-Amnānum and Sippar-U<sub>4</sub>.UL.LÍ.A, possibly a literary name for the city of Sippar.

<sup>26</sup> Nippur list: *Sumer* 3 64. This name of Sippar is probably to be linked with the poetic epithet used of Sippar, *āl šāti* “the eternal city” (see CAD 16 118 for references), and Hallo JCS 23/3 65.

<sup>27</sup> KAV 183 20f.

<sup>28</sup> BA 3/2 238:44 and p. 297. See now Borger BAFO 9 p. 84:44.

<sup>29</sup> PSBA 33 (1911) pl. xi 18f.

<sup>30</sup> Weidner AfO 18/2 351:45.

<sup>31</sup> VAB 4 276 iv 29f.

## 3. THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF SIPPAR

*The Wall of Sippar*

Only a rough sketch can be presented of the physical features of the city of Sippar from our material. The first feature to be noted, one characteristic of most ancient Babylonian cities, are the walls which surrounded Sippar, Sippar-Amnānum, and Sippar-Jahrurum. The wall, as A.L. Oppenheim has observed, was “more than a demarcation line between the city and the open fields, more than a prepared line of defence”. The wall was the “dominant feature of urban architecture”<sup>1</sup>. As mentioned above, it was Sumu-la-ila, second ruler of the Amorite Dynasty, who first refers to the rebuilding of the wall of Sippar in his twenty-ninth year. Thereafter, his successors, notably Hammu-rapi, concern themselves with its repair and reinforcement. From the royal inscriptions of Hammu-rapi and his son, Samsu-iluna, we learn that the wall of Sippar was named. The former called it, “By-the-command-of-Šamaš-may-Hammu-rapi-have-no-adversary”<sup>2</sup>; the latter, “Šamaš-has-bestowed-on-Samsu-iluna-Lordship-Strength-and-Life”<sup>3</sup>. Hammu-rapi described his building of the wall of Sippar as raising “the summit of the foundations of the wall of Sippar with earth like a great mountain”<sup>4</sup>.

In times of war or attack the rampart would be mounted by soldiers who would keep watch for the approach of the enemy<sup>5</sup>. In an inscription, probably to be dated to the latter part of his reign, Hammu-rapi speaks of surrounding the wall of Sippar with a swamp (*appāru*)<sup>6</sup>. This may have served as a kind of moat to enhance the inaccessibility of the city to the enemy.

Plots of land and houses were situated along the wall; one such plot is ownerless and sold by the city and its elders<sup>7</sup>.

*The City Gates*

The gates of the city of Sippar served not only as avenues of communication but as centers of administration and commerce. The office of gatekeeper is well

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 128.

<sup>2</sup> Gelb JNES 7/4 269 A 7-9.

<sup>3</sup> CT 37 4:103f.

<sup>4</sup> Gelb, *op. cit.*, A 43f.

<sup>5</sup> VAS 16 186.

<sup>6</sup> LIH 58:15 (Sum); 57 i 18 (Akk.).

<sup>7</sup> VAS 13 20/20a (Ha 30).

attested in Sippar and there is some evidence that the foreigner entering the city was required to pay a tax to the gatekeeper: “two silas (of barley) for the gatekeeper”, (2 SĪLA *ša abullim*)<sup>8</sup>.

The name of one of the city gates, “The Gate (KÁ) of the god Nungal”, seems to refer to an area, perhaps located near the temple to this god<sup>9</sup>. A 1/3 SAR plot of land is located near (*ša*) the Nungal Gate<sup>10</sup>; a *kislah* plot of 2 SAR at the Nungal gate (*ina* KÁ dNUN.GAL)<sup>11</sup>, and a *kislah* plot of 1 SAR is in the orchard of the Nungal gate district (*libbu* GIŠ.SAR KÁ dNUN.GAL)<sup>12</sup>. Another gate was called “The Gate of Šamaš, the judge” (KÁ *Šamaš dajānu*)<sup>13</sup>.

A lease contract stipulates that rent is to be paid by a lessee at the “Stairway Gate”. (*ina* KÁ *sí-mi-la(!)-tim*)<sup>14</sup>, perhaps so named because it had stairs leading to the top of the rampart.

Sippar-Jaḥrurum had a “Šamaš Gate (KÁ.GAL dŠamaš)” since Samsu-ditana writes, apparently to the officials of Sippar-Jaḥrurum, “Open the Šamaš Gate; let the judges sit there and they should not be careless in watching the gate until all the barley is brought into the city”<sup>15</sup>, for the enemy is approaching the city. A record of a division of property in the time of Sin-muballiṭ speaks of a house of 2 SAR which is near the Šamaš Gate (*ina* KÁ.GAL dŠamaš), possibly of Sippar-Jaḥrurum<sup>16</sup>,

Sippar-Jaḥrurum also has an Aja Gate since an account of barley brought from Sippar to Sippar-Jaḥrurum is stored in the granary adjacent to the Aja Gate (*ša ita* KÁ.GAL dA(!)-a)<sup>17</sup>.

The gates of the various temples of Sippar are discussed under Temples.

<sup>8</sup> See Goetze JCS 11 37 No. 28:6.

<sup>9</sup> VAS 9 142/143:8 (Ha 24) and BM 80357:11.

<sup>10</sup> VAS 8 105:1 (Ha 4) = Meissner BAP 40.

<sup>11</sup> CT 8 13c:1 (Ha 14).

<sup>12</sup> CT 4 40a:1 (Ha 29).

<sup>13</sup> CT 4 46a:4.

<sup>14</sup> PBS 8/2 206:10.

<sup>15</sup> TCL 1 8.

<sup>16</sup> VAS 8 52/53:8 (Sm). We suggest that this gate is in Sippar-Jaḥrurum, because it would appear that the named gates in Sippar were referred to as *bābu* (KÁ). However, the main city gate of Sippar may have been simply referred to as the “great gate of Sippar” (KÁ.GAL) (CT 29 34:24).

<sup>17</sup> CT 45 55:9 (Amd).

*City Streets*

Sippar proper, according to its excavator, V. Scheil, was divided into two main sections: the Šamaš temple complex and the residential area. The two were separated by a road<sup>18</sup>.

The features of the temple complexes and of the cloister will be discussed in a later chapter. We will now focus on the residential section of Sippar.

*Types of Streets*

From the descriptions of the boundaries of the real estate sold and leased we learn about the streets of Sippar and occasionally of other towns and cities where Sipparians owned property. Streets of different kinds and varying breadths wound their way through the “rabbit warrens” of Sippar. The finest of these were the “broad” streets (SIL.DAGAL). The homes of the wealthiest must have faced these. The ordinary street was called simply SIL or *sūqu*. More common by far must have been the alleys (*sūqāqū* and SIL.SIG.GA)<sup>19</sup> and the crooked streets (*pāšum*)<sup>20</sup>. A corner street (SIL.ZAG.È)<sup>21</sup> is also mentioned.

The hub of the city was the City Square or Place (*ribītu*). Here must have been the shops where luxury goods brought into Sippar by caravan and boat were sold. Here, too, were the taverns, a kind of social club for the men of the community and usually managed in our period by women.

The City Place (*ribītu*) of Sippar is mentioned as a boundary<sup>22</sup>, and also in a litigation text. In the latter the punishment which might be imposed on the plaintiff is that of having his nose pierced, being put in a stock, and having to walk about the Place of Sippar mocked and scoffed at by passers-by<sup>23</sup>.

The Place of the city of Ḫudadu, called Nin.engur.ra, is mentioned as the exit to a house<sup>24</sup>, and although unnamed, is perhaps the boundary of other property in the same town<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Scheil Sippar p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 27:3 (Sm 19) and BM 82353:3.

<sup>20</sup> Houses are located at the entrance of such streets in BE 6/1 76:1 and TCL 1 108:2.

<sup>21</sup> BE 6/1 65:3 (Si) and TLB 1 224:5 (Si).

<sup>22</sup> CT 45 19:4 (Sm). The evidence that in Sippar *ribītu*=SIL.DAGAL.LA is inconclusive. We have, therefore, kept the two apart in our discussion.

<sup>23</sup> VAS 8 19:11 (AS).

<sup>24</sup> TCL 1 196:3.

<sup>25</sup> CT 8 18a:4 (Ha 14). There is an error in the copy (l. 1) which has : 1/3 MA.NA SAR.

Mention is also made of the City Place of Sippar-šēri<sup>26</sup>.

### *Street Names*

A name or description of the street is often included in property locations. Unless another city is specified, we have assumed that the named street is located in Sippar.

An account which mentions taxes owed by Sin-rēmenni describes him as a resident of Akītum Street (*waššābi ša SIL Akītum*), which, from its name, may have been the processional road linking the temple of Šamaš with the sanctuary outside the walls (*bīt akītum ša šēri*)<sup>27</sup>. Mentioned also is the “street of the living quarters of the palace slavegirl” (DA É.SIL *gānin* GEMÉ É.GAL)<sup>28</sup>.

Some streets of the city were named after gods, perhaps because of the location there of a chapel to the god<sup>29</sup>. Sippar thus has a <sup>d</sup>Imin Street<sup>30</sup>, and an Ištar Street<sup>31</sup>, while a Lamaštum Street was located in Sippar-rabūm<sup>32</sup>.

Other streets were apparently named after a resident (or tenant), who may have been responsible for the maintenance of the street, or simply the principal resident of that street. Thus a house is described as being adjacent to the house of Šu-Ninsun, and also to Šu-Ninsun Street<sup>33</sup>. Other streets named after persons are the Warad-Šamaš Street<sup>34</sup>, and Adad-x-[...] <sup>35</sup>.

An Ajammu street located near Bunene street is known for Sippar-Jaḥrurum<sup>36</sup>. And two streets are known for Sippar-šēri<sup>37</sup>: one named after a person, Sin-

<sup>26</sup> BE 6/1 13:7 (Za).

<sup>27</sup> BE 6/1 82:18 (Amd 5).

<sup>28</sup> CT 2 14:6 (Ha 40).

<sup>29</sup> Irrigation districts (A.GĀR) are also named after gods and persons.

<sup>30</sup> CT 47 63/63a:19 (Si 14).

<sup>31</sup> CT 4 45b:8 (Sm).

<sup>32</sup> CT 2 27:6 (Si 27). This name is to be restored in CT 4 18a:5 (Si).

<sup>33</sup> CT 8 4b:25 (Sm). We do not know whether Šu-Ninsun was a man of importance. He was the son of Sin-iqīšam who appears as witness in CT 8 20b:26 (Sm), and who owns a house next to one sold which is also bordered by a house of Šu-Ninsun. Since Šu-Ninsun is a rare name in our texts, he is perhaps to be identified with the father of Ibbi-Šamaš (CT 8 4a:26 [Sm]), the *nadītu* Ramatum (BE 6/1 17:44 [AS]), and of Išū-abušu (Waterman Bus. Doc. 26:13). The last text, a sale contract, is undated, but the absence of a sale price indicates a pre-Hammu-rapi date.

<sup>34</sup> CT 45 64:6 (destr.).

<sup>35</sup> BE 6/1 22:2 (Ha 35).

<sup>36</sup> VAS 13 34:3 (Ha); CT 47 41:6 (Ha 31). Written *A-ia-am-mu* in the latter text.

<sup>37</sup> That this city is to be restored as Sippar-EDI[N.NA] and not as Sippar-Am-[na-nu] in BE 6/1 13 has already been suggested by Kupper *op. cit.*, 52 note 3.

ellati or Sin-ellassu<sup>38</sup>; and another whose name is difficult to read<sup>39</sup>. Finally, a Bašum Street is located in the city of Ḫalḫalla, and is evidently the street with the gate used to go to Bašum<sup>40</sup>.

### SIL.DAGAL — Wide Streets

The broad or wide streets of Sippar are mentioned as the location of houses or lots, or as the place to which an exit (*mūšû*) leads<sup>41</sup>. One of these wide streets is known as the Great Gate Street (SIL DAGAL KĀ.GU.LA)<sup>42</sup>, and another as the Araḫtum River Street<sup>43</sup>. The Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a Street, may have been named after the location of a chapel to this god<sup>44</sup>. A house bounded by this chapel may perhaps be located on this same street<sup>45</sup>.

A number of “wide streets” are known from Sippar-Jaḫrurum. One of these, Bunene Street, is attested in our texts for a period of 160 years, and that of the Isinians even longer<sup>46</sup>. Another “wide street” of Sippar-Jaḫrurum called Ninḫegal, is close to Bunene Street since a house is bounded by both. The house is also described as being “near the harbor”, (*ina kārim*)<sup>47</sup>. A Street of the Isinians in Sippar-Jaḫrurum is named after natives of Isin who settled in Sippar perhaps for trading purposes<sup>48</sup>. Since one of the house sales which mentions this street gives as a boundary a house which belongs to a man from Šadlaš, this may have been an area generally settled by foreigners<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> BE 6/1 13:3 (Za).

<sup>39</sup> TCL 1 135/136:4 (Si 14). The inner tablet seems to have SIL.SIG ša (?) [*Ḫu*]-*pa-dum*; the case: SIL-*qá*-[*qu*] [*ša Ḫu-pa-dum*?]. For the personal name Ḫupadum see Waterman Bus. Doc. 14 r. 14 (Immerum).

<sup>40</sup> CT 6 20a:14 (Si 29).

<sup>41</sup> See e.g., VAS 9 165/166:4 (Ha), and Waterman Bus. Doc. 26:6.

<sup>42</sup> BE 6/1 76:6 (Ae k).

<sup>43</sup> CT 8 34b:4 (Sm 11).

<sup>44</sup> CT 8 13b:4 (Ha 23).

<sup>45</sup> CT 45 34:10 (Si 15).

<sup>46</sup> CT 2 26:4 (Sm 19); Meissner BAP 50:12 (Ha ?); CT 47 41:5 (Ha 31); CT 4 17c:3 (Si 9); BE 6/1 95:5 (Amš 13). The last text specifies that Bunene Street is in Sippar-Jaḫrurum.

<sup>47</sup> CT 4 17c:4 (Si 9).

<sup>48</sup> BM 92657:6 (Sm), Friedrich BA 5 503 No. 33:5f (Amd 27); BE 6/1 105:10 (Amš 17+b), BM 64391:2 (Sd 19).

<sup>49</sup> BM 92657:4f (Sm).

Wide streets are also known from Sippar-Amnānum, Iplaḫi<sup>50</sup>, Namṣum<sup>51</sup>, Mukarraḫe<sup>52</sup>, Merigat<sup>53</sup>, and Sippar-ṣēri<sup>54</sup>.

#### *Fields and Orchards Within the City*

There are several references to small fields located within the city confines (*ina bāb ālim*), presumably of Sippar<sup>55</sup>. All dated references are from the time of Sin-muballit, which may indicate that in a later period these holdings were supplanted by dwellings. The fields are all small: 2 GĀN, 3 GĀN, 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> GĀN, and 1 GĀN 25 SAR<sup>56</sup>.

One text even mentions an orchard and a tower (*dīmtu*) located within the city (4 GĀN GIŠ.SAR ù AN.ZA.QAR)<sup>57</sup>.

Some fields located in the pasture area of Sippar-Jaḫrurum (*ina [Ú].SAL ālim*), are leased out. These fields must be located within the city since they are adjacent to the Wide Street of the Isinians<sup>58</sup>.

#### *Shops and Taverns*

The shops (*É maḫīru* or *É maḫirtu*) and taverns (*É sibu*) of Sippar are usually described as being located in the city square (*ribītu*) or on a wide street. In one text a man gives his *nadītu* daughter “a large house, half a tavern and (half) a shop”, (*É.G[U.LA] muttat É sībim 1 [É] maḫirim*) which had been inherited

<sup>50</sup> For Sippar-Amnānum see CT 8 3a:7 (Ams 11); for Iplaḫi, CT 2 15:3 (Si 3).

<sup>51</sup> CT 47 44/44a:5 (Ha 34) and CT 8 35a:4. Only URU Nam-[x]-[x] is clear in the latter text. The irrigation district A. GĀR Namṣum<sup>KI</sup> appears in CT 8 5a (Ha 41); VAS 13 25 (Ha 41). See the Sumerian equivalent A.GĀR GAKKUL in CT 47 51/51a (Si 1).

<sup>52</sup> CT 8 24a:5 (Si 10).

<sup>53</sup> CT 48 5:5.

<sup>54</sup> TCL 1 135/136:5 (Si 14).

<sup>55</sup> Note the irrigation district which is named A.GĀR KÁ URU<sup>KI</sup> in CT 45 94:16.

<sup>56</sup> 2 GĀN in CT 8 25a:20 (Sm 7), BM 92653:1 (Sm); 3 GĀN in Scheil Sippar 10:6 (Sm); 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> GĀN in Scheil Sippar 100:1; and 1 GĀN 25 SAR in TCL 1 190:2. Note that in CT 47 58/58a:8 (Si 7), a field of 12 GĀN is described as being “within the city gate”, (*ina KÁ URU<sup>KI</sup>*). This reference has not been included here because it must have been some distance from Sippar for the Tigris River will “take away and pile up land” (*ikkal u inaddīma*). This clause has apparently been added so that no claim will ensue if changes do take place because of corrosion. It is significant not only for showing the extent of what may be called *ina bāb ālim* but also indicates that “riparian laws” did exist in the Old Babylonian period of which nothing is known.

<sup>57</sup> Scheil Sippar 100:6f. We think this text dates from the early years of Hammu-rapi or even earlier. One of the fields which parents give their daughters has a ditch (*ḫirītum*) as a boundary. The same landmark is noted in two other texts which date from the early part of Hammu-rapi’s reign: CT 47 24/24a:2 (Ha 3), Meissner BAP 48:6 (Ha 9).

<sup>58</sup> BM 64391:1 (Sd 19).

by her mother<sup>59</sup>. This suggests that women were shopowners and tavernkeepers, although *nadītu* women who own such property undoubtedly lease it out. The *nadītu* Rībatum, daughter of Ipqatum, for example, who owns several houses, leases out a shop on a yearly basis. The rent is only 1 1/6 shekel and the lessee pays half of this amount when he enters the shop<sup>60</sup>.

Shops (É.KI.LAM.MEŠ) are adjacent to the *kislah* plot (É.KI.UD) sold by a *nadītu* and her relative to another *nadītu*<sup>61</sup>.

There are two references to shops in the Square of Sippar-šēri. In one text a *nadītu* buys from three brothers a house which is adjacent to the brothers' shops and in front of their tavern<sup>62</sup>. Finally, a man gives his *nadītu* daughter "a large house in good repair, as much as there is, a tavern and shops which are in the Square of Sippar-šēri", (É.DÛ.A GU.LA *mala mašû É sībim û É maḥīrātīm ša ina ribītīm ša Sippar-šēri*)<sup>63</sup>.

#### *Roads and Fortified Areas*

The only reference to a road leading to the city of Sippar occurs in a document in which a man gives his daughter an orchard and tower located on this road, (*ša* [var. *inā*] KASKAL *Sippar*)<sup>64</sup>.

In the latter part of the Old Babylonian period a number of troops were stationed around the city, and one account which speaks of beer rations given to troops mentions fortified areas opposite Sippar (AN.ZA.KĀR.ḪI.A *ša meḥret Sippar*)<sup>65</sup>.

Possibly, though only in the very early period, a fortress may have stood within, or immediately without, the walls of Sippar. But whether within or without the city, it must have been one of the landmarks of the city. From its heights the erring wife of a citizen would be hurled to her death, a practice nowhere else attested in Mesopotamia<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Scheil Sippar 100:9f.

<sup>60</sup> BE 6/1 51 (Si 3).

<sup>61</sup> TCL 1 77:2 (Ha 1).

<sup>62</sup> BE 6/1 13:4 (Za). This is our earliest reference to shops and taverns.

<sup>63</sup> Scheil Sippar 10:18ff (Sm). That the place is Sippar-šēri is not certain.

<sup>64</sup> Scheil Sippar 10:13 (Sm). Note the strange reference in a list of names preceded by a number in VAS 9 178:15f: FN KASKAL UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> BE 6/2 136:3 (Sd c).

<sup>66</sup> See the marriage contracts VAS 8 4 (Immerum), CT 6 26a (Za), and CT 2 44 (und) for this punishment should the wife reject her husband. There is no evidence that this was ever carried out.

*Houses of Sippar*

Apart from a few public buildings, and, at least in the early part of the Old Babylonian period, some small fields and perhaps orchards, the city of Sippar was composed primarily of houses.

The better houses were situated on a street or even in the city square while others had simply an exit leading to a street or alley. Houses might be described as either newly built<sup>67</sup> or old<sup>68</sup>, and might have an upper story (*rugbu*) which could be rented out separately from the house. The larger houses might have wings (*edakku*) and a yard (*kisallu*)<sup>69</sup>, in addition to the main house. A house might also have a chapel (*papāhu*)<sup>70</sup> or a store room (É.GÁ.NUN.NA)<sup>71</sup>.

The term “house” (*bītu/É*) is always used when a house is leased, but the term “in good repair” (*epšū/É.DÛ.A*) occurs in all but two instances when a house is sold<sup>72</sup>, as well as in gifts, inheritances, divisions of property and litigations.

The houses of Sippar were probably for the most part attached row houses, sharing a party wall, a situation which made for frequent disputes between neighbors as to who was responsible for its reinforcement<sup>73</sup>.

*Size of Houses and Houses in Good Repair*

The following list indicates the number of both houses and houses in good repair of various sizes mentioned in our texts :

<i>Houses (bītu/É)</i>	
<i>Number of SAR</i> (A unit of 18 sq. ft.)	<i>Number of References</i>
-1	7
1	3
1+	4
2	5

<sup>67</sup> CT 8 16a:14 and VAS 9 5/6:1.

<sup>68</sup> BE 6/1 57:4 and CT 4 1b:9.

<sup>69</sup> PBS 8/2 205:3.

<sup>70</sup> Eg., CT 8 4a:3 and Meissner BAP 35:2. In the second text the chapel is described as being “at the foundation of the house, facing the harbor (*išid É IGI kārīm*)”.

<sup>71</sup> BE 6/1 28:8. See CT 4 14b (Sm 17) where a man asks for the use of the wall of a storage building.

<sup>72</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 40; BE 6/1 76.

<sup>73</sup> See e.g., BE 6/1 44; Waterman Bus. Doc. 80; TCL 1 185 and CT 4 22b.

3	2
3+	1
4	1
4+	1
	Total 24

*Houses in Good Repair*

<i>Number of SAR</i> (A unit of 18 sq.ft.)	<i>Number of References</i>
-1	28
1	21
1+	11
2	9
2+	7
3	3
3+	2
4	1
5	1
5+	2
7	1
12+	1
18	1
	Total 89

*Sale of Houses in Good Repair (É.DÛ.A)*

Surprisingly, many more house sale contracts than lease contracts are represented by our texts — fifty-three sale contracts to twenty-eight lease-contracts. *Naditu*-women are the principal owners of houses and appear as buyers in 39 of the 64 contracts. Although the houses are usually quite small, of less than 1 SAR (see chart) some are unusually large: one house, for example, is 12 SAR<sup>74</sup> and one cloister house 18 SAR<sup>75</sup>. In cases in which a house is unusually small, it may be that only part of a house is being sold. One contract states explicitly that 1/3 of a house 1 1/3 SAR in size is sold<sup>76</sup>. At times other property is sold with the house: a storeroom (GĀ.NUN.NA) of 1 SAR, a *burubalûm* lot of 12 SAR, and a *kislah* plot of 10 SAR<sup>77</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> CT 8 4b.

<sup>75</sup> BM 82468.

<sup>76</sup> BE 6/1 88 (Amd 12).

<sup>77</sup> BE 6/1 57 (Si 9); CT 8 23a (Za); Speleers Recueil 241, respectively.

Occasionally a small part of the house plot (*ezibtu*) is left to the seller. This has been interpreted as involving the sale of real estate held in a special kind of feudal tenure, which prohibits the sale of the entire property because of certain obligations attached to it<sup>78</sup>. Several examples of sales of this type are represented in our material. An area of twelve shekels is left as remainder (*É ezibtum*) when a *burubalû* plot of 1 2/3 SAR is sold; a *kigal* plot is sold which is next to the remainder, (*DA ezibtum*); the rear of a built-upon house plot is left with the seller; and a house in good repair of 2 SAR 4 shekels is purchased and an area of 4 SAR is left to the seller<sup>79</sup>.

The owners of houses adjacent to the house are specified in most contracts. In the early period only two adjacent houses are described, but the number increases to four in the time of Hammu-rapi, as is also the case with fields.

One text gives the history of a particular piece of property. In the twenty-ninth year of Ammi-ditana a *kigal* plot (*É.KI.GÁL*) located in Sippar-Jahrurum was sold for 6 5/6 shekels plus a small additional payment or *SI.BI*, a phrase which occurs in our contracts only from the time of Ammi-ditana onwards. Twenty-five years later, when a house is built on the plot, it is sold for 17 shekels of silver<sup>80</sup>.

In the earliest contracts dating from the time of Ilumma-ila, Immerum, and Sumu-la-ila, doors, locks, and sometimes even walls, are mentioned. Undated contracts<sup>81</sup> which contain these enumerations should thus be dated to this early period.

The sale contracts at times give the location of the house, apparently when it is located in a nearby city such as *Ḫalḫalla*, *Kār-Šamaš*, and *Iškun-Ištar*. Houses located in *Iškun-Ištar* are said to be within the fortified area of the city (*ŠÀ URU dunnim*).

The prices of houses vary more than do those of fields, but a comparison of prices over a period of time is difficult since prices are not given in contracts until the time of Hammu-rapi. Some cloister houses are very expensive, as much as 120 shekels per SAR<sup>82</sup>, although others sell for considerably less<sup>83</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> For this see CAD 4 430f.

<sup>79</sup> CT 6 7b (AS); CT 47 34/34a (Ha 14); CT 4 17c (Si 9); and Scheil Sippar 87 (Si 24), respectively.

<sup>80</sup> BE 6/1 105 (Amš 17+b).

<sup>81</sup> Such as PBS 8/2 205 and Çig Kraus Nippur 171.

<sup>82</sup> CT 47 21 and BE 6/1 37.

<sup>83</sup> In TCL 1 108; 16 shekels per SAR.

The price of city houses may be as high as 60 shekels per SAR<sup>84</sup>, and some also sell for 14<sup>85</sup> or 12 shekels per SAR<sup>86</sup>, although the price is more often 5 to 3 shekels<sup>87</sup>. Three houses in Iškun-Ištar sell for the same price in the same year, 5 shekels per SAR<sup>88</sup>.

Houses are often sold by the heirs<sup>89</sup>. At times they are owned in partnership as seen from an instance in which three *nadītu*'s sell what is apparently a cloister house, and another in which two *nadītu*'s sell a house<sup>90</sup>. *Nadītu*'s who purchase houses were ones who also purchase fields and slaves — Iltani, daughter of Apil-ilišu; Lamassi, daughter of Nakkārum; and Mannaši, daughter of Nidnuša. In two instances a *nadītu* buys a house from her brothers<sup>91</sup>.

One seller of property, Šamaš-bēl-ili, son of Šilli-Šamaš, is known from several texts. He sells two houses in good repair<sup>92</sup>, and two *kigal* plots<sup>93</sup>, one of the latter to the *nadītu* Mannaši, daughter of Nidnuša<sup>94</sup>. The following year he brings a claim against her saying that she has taken more property than she bought. The judges, however, find that she has 12 shekels of land less than she should have<sup>95</sup>. It should be noted that in each instance in which he sells, Šamaš-bēl-ili receives above average prices.

It was not uncommon for litigations to arise over the sale of houses; claims were usually brought by the seller or his heirs<sup>96</sup>. The neighbors of the sold property were thus often witnesses to the sale transactions<sup>97</sup>.

There are only two examples of houses being exchanged<sup>98</sup>: in one of these<sup>99</sup>, part of a house in Sippar-ṣēri is exchanged for part of one in Sippar-rabūm.

<sup>84</sup> Scheil Sippar 87; CT 45 88 (litigation text).

<sup>85</sup> CT 8 48b.

<sup>86</sup> CT 33 37; CT 6 36b.

<sup>87</sup> CT 4 17b; CT 8 15a; CT 4 7b; CT 2 27; CT 6 20a.

<sup>88</sup> CT 4 17b; CT 8 15a; CT 4 7b.

<sup>89</sup> See e.g. CT 4 11b, CT 4 45b, VAS 8 58, 78, CT 2 27, YOS 12 537.

<sup>90</sup> CT 4 46a, and CT 6 43, respectively.

<sup>91</sup> CT 8 4b, 39b.

<sup>92</sup> CT 8 48b (Ha 1), CT 6 36b (Ha 4).

<sup>93</sup> CT 6 45 (Ha 9), CT 47 34/34a (Ha 14).

<sup>94</sup> CT 47 34/34a (Ha 14).

<sup>95</sup> CT 2 45.

<sup>96</sup> CT 8 45b; CT 6 49a.

<sup>97</sup> E.g., CT 6 43 and VAS 8 58.

<sup>98</sup> BE 6/1 65 (Si) and CT 8 9a (Si 1).

<sup>99</sup> CT 8 9a (Si 1).

*List of Sales of Houses in Good Repair (É.DÛ.A)*

KING YEAR	SIZE (sar & gin)	LOCATION	PRICE	PARTIES	TEXT
Il	2 1/3 sar	Taškun-arnu	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 8 41d
Im	2/3s5 gin	(walls mentioned)	—	PN from 2 brs.	Meissner BAP 35
Sa	10 gin	—	—	nad from 2 brs.	TLB 1 221
Sl	[...]	(doors & locks)	—	PN from 3 brs. their si & mother	BE 6/1 8
Sl	1 2/3 s	—	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub> and FN	CT 8 44b
Sl/Za	5 s	(doors & locks)	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub> , PN <sub>3</sub> (brs) and PN <sub>4</sub> and PN <sub>5</sub> (brs)	BE 6/1 9
Za	2 1/2	—	—	FN from PN	TCL 1 59
Za	18 2/3 gin	—	—	FN, nad from FN <sub>2</sub>	CT 6 19a
	15 še	—	—	(nad	
Za	2s (and 1/2 sar <i>burubalûm</i> )	—	—	PN from 2 brs.	CT 8 23a
ZA	2s 10g	Sippar-šēri	—	FN, nad from 3 brs.	BE 6/1 13
AS	1/2 s	—	—	FN nad from FN <sub>2</sub> (nad) & FN <sub>3</sub> (nad)	CT 6 43
AS 4	2/3s 6g	—	—	FN nad from PN	TCL 1 60
AS	1s 10g	—	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 4 33b
Sm 13	1 1/2s	—	55 shekels	FN nad from FN <sub>2</sub> , nad & her br.	CT 4 49b
Sm 15	14g	—	4 shekels	FN, nad from PN	CT 4 20a
Sm 19	2 1/2s 8g	—	—	FN nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	CT 2 26
Sm	1s	—	—	PN and PN <sub>2</sub> from PN <sub>3</sub> & PN <sub>4</sub>	CT 4 45b
Sm	1s <sub>1</sub>	Ḫalḫalla	—	FN, nad from her br.	CT 8 39b
Sm	1s 10g	—	—	FN, nad from PN & PN <sub>2</sub>	VAS 8 58
Sm	12s 6g	—	—	FN, nad from her br.	CT 8 4b
Sm	1 1/2s	—	—	FN, nad from 2(?) brs	VAS 8 78
Sm	—	—	—	FN nad from PN	Waterman Bus. Doc.40
Sm	1/2s	<i>ina kīdīm</i>	—	FN (nad?) from FN <sub>2</sub> nad.	CT 47 15/15a
Ha 1	1/2s	—	7 sh	FN nad from PN	CT 8 48b
Ha 2	1s 2g	<i>ina ga [gīm](?)</i>	140 sh	FN nad from PN	CT 47 21
Ha 3	1s	—	4+[x] sh	FN nad from PN	CT 47 23/23a
Ha 3	1/2s	—	6+[x] sh	FN nad from PN	CT 33 37
Ha 4	1/2s	—	6 sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 6 36b
Ha 7	<i>mala mašû</i>	Ḫalḫalla	24 sh	FN nad from PN	CT 47 29/29a
Ha 15	5 1/2s (+ 15 sar <i>ki. gál</i> )	—	42 sh	FN nad from PN	CT 4 48a
Ha 18	2/3s	—	7 sh	FN nad & her m from PN	VAS 9 10/11
Ha 21	—	—	—	—	—
(redemption)	1/2s	<i>ina gagīm</i>	60 sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	BE 6/1 37
Ha 23	1s 10g	—	25 sh	FN nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	CT 8 13b
Si?	1/2s	Sippar-rabû	5 sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 4 18a
Si 2	2/3s 2g	<i>ina gagīm</i>	16 sh	FN nad of Marduk, from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	TCL 1 108
Si 5	2/3s	—	[x] sh	and her father	CT 4 11b
Si 6	2/3s 2 1/2g	—	10 1/2 sh 22 1/2 grains	FN nad from FN <sub>2</sub> FN <sub>3</sub> & FN <sub>4</sub> (all nad)	CT 4 46a
Si 9	2s (& 1s gá.nun.na)	—	30 sh	FN nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	BE 6/1 57

KING YEAR	SIZE	LOCATION	PRICE	PARTIES	TEXT
Si 9	[x] s	<i>ina kārīm</i> (S-J)	12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> sh	FN nad from PN	CT 4 17c
Si 14	2 2/3s	Sippar-ṣēri	[x]	PN from FN nad	TCL 1 135/136
Si 22	1s (ŠĀ <i>dunnim</i> )	Iškun-Ištar	5 sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 4 17b
Si 22	1s (ŠĀ URU <i>dunnim</i> )	Iškun-Ištar	5 sh	PN (=PN of CT 4 17b) from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 8 15a
Si 22	1s (ŠĀ URU <i>dunnim</i> )	Iškun-Ištar	5 (?) sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub> (same person buys neighboring houses)	CT 4 17b
Si 23	<i>mala maṣū</i>	<i>ina gagīm</i>	4 sh	FN nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	CT 8 32a
Si 24	2s 4g	—	129 sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Scheil Sippar 87
Si 27	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> s	Sippar-rabū	2 sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub> & FN wi PN <sub>3</sub>	CT 2 27
	3s (é)	—	10 2/3 sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	
Si 29	3s	Ḫalḫalla	10 sh	FN nad from PN	CT 6 20a
Si 30	[x]	Kār-Šamaš(?)	10 sh	PN from 2 brs	YOS 12 537
Si 30	[x] + <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> s	<i>ina gagīm</i>	52 sh	FN nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	CT 8 9b
Ae h	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> s	—	[x] sh	PN nad from 3 brs	CT 47 69/69a
Ae k	1s	—	10 shekels ( <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> sh si.bi)	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	BE 6/1 76
Amd 12	1/3s (ŠĀ 1 1/3 sar)	Sippar-Amnānum	3 1/3 sh (1/6 sh si.bi)	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	BE 6/1 88
Amd 29	5/6 sar	—	—	nad from nad	BM 82353
Ams 5	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> s 3 2/3 g	Sippar-Amnānum	[...]	[...]	BE 6/2 123
Ams 17+b	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> s	Sippar-Jaḫrurum	6 5/6 sh (si.bi)	FN nad from PN	BE 6/1 105
und.	4 (with <i>papāḫu</i> , wing doors, loçks)	—	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	PBS 8/2 205
und.	[x]s 2/3 g (doors)	—	—	[...]	Çig Kraus Nippur 171
und.	52/3s (& 10s é.ki.ud)	—	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Speleers 241
und.	2/3s	—	—	nad from PN	BM 80368
destr.	2s	—	—	nad from PN	CT 45 82
und.	[x]	—	35 shekels	nad from PN	BM 80508
und.	18s	<i>ina gagīm</i>	[x]	nad from nad	BM 82468+9
und.	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> s 8g	—	[x]	nad from PN	BM 92657+A
destr.	[x]	—	—	nad from PN & wife	CT 45 98

### The Lease of Houses

Contracts concerning the leasing of houses date from the seventeenth year of Hammu-rapi through the time of Samsu-ditana. There are no earlier contracts; the great majority are from the reigns of Hammu-rapi and Samsu-iluna. The term "house" (*bītu/É*), is always used in rental contracts.

The size of a house is only once mentioned<sup>100</sup>; and since the location is only given for three houses in Iškun-Ištar and in one other instance in which the place

<sup>100</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 9.

is uncertain, it is assumed that the houses leased are all in Sippar<sup>101</sup>. The rentals are usually for a period of a year<sup>102</sup>. The rent varies from five shekels to a fraction of a shekel, depending on the size, location, and condition of the house.

*Nadītu*'s are the owners in 19 of the 28 lease contracts and of special interest are the rents received by the *nadītu* Ribatum, the daughter of Ipqatum<sup>103</sup>, who appears as lessor in six contracts. Since she twice rents out two houses in the same year, she must own at least two different houses<sup>104</sup>. She usually receives three shekels as rent but once receives five shekels, and once 1½ shekels. The smaller amount may indicate that one of the houses has deteriorated in the ten-year period involved. Although these rents seem very high, they are not necessarily so if compared with the sale price of the more expensive houses.

The little information available on the lessees indicates that they were not poor. One lessee, Šamaš-muballit, son of Ululu, is creditor in some loan contracts<sup>105</sup>, and his sister Aja-tallik, a *nadītu* of Šamaš also appears as a creditor<sup>106</sup>. The lessees who pay annual rentals of five shekels, too, cannot have been poor<sup>107</sup>. When two men rent a house together we may perhaps assume that brothers are renting a house for their families<sup>108</sup>.

The lessee usually pays the owner a portion of the rent at the onset of the rental period (*rēšti kišri*), although the proportion paid varies. Once the lessee pays ½ shekel of three shekels rent, and another one shekel of the two shekels of rent<sup>109</sup>. In one instance he pays in barley<sup>110</sup>. In only one contract is the entire rent paid at the time the contract is drawn up<sup>111</sup>. In some instances, the lessee agrees to give the *piqittu* oblation to the *nadītu* lessor (see list).

Several leases contain additional clauses, such as, "as for the necessary expenses for installations made in the house, PN (lessee) is not to bring claim to the king

<sup>101</sup> We assume, therefore, that where one *nadītu* rents a house from a sister *nadītu* (e.g., BE 6/1 31), that it is a cloister house.

<sup>102</sup> See Goetze JCS 11 p. 25 No. 12, for 3 months and BE 6/1 78, for 6 months.

<sup>103</sup> On Ribatum see JCS 16 11.

<sup>104</sup> BE 6/1 35 and 34; BE 6/1 36, PBS 8/2 220 and 234. We assume that her father is renting out the house for her in BE 6/1 36, since the *piqittu* clause is added.

<sup>105</sup> VAS 9 5/6; Columbia 229; PBS 8/2 197.

<sup>106</sup> VAS 9 207; Columbia 304.

<sup>107</sup> BE 6/1 30; CT 8 23b.

<sup>108</sup> CT 47 36; Waterman Bus. Doc. 9.

<sup>109</sup> CT 47 36 and BE 6/1 31, respectively.

<sup>110</sup> Goetze JCS 11, p. 25 No. 12.

<sup>111</sup> BE 6/1 78 (Ae).

against the house owner; if however the house owner tells the tenant to vacate (before the term), he (the lessor) will pay for the expenses (*ana mānaḥti bītim ša PN ana bēl bītim šarram ul išassi šumma bēl bītim ana waššābim taši iq[ta]bi mānaḥtam inaddin*)<sup>112</sup>. A similar clause states that, “as for the improvements made by the tenant, should the house owner say to the tenant ‘vacate, (before the tenancy is complete)’, he (the tenant) may remove his improvements. Should the tenant vacate (before the expiration) of his own volition he may not remove his improvements”, (*ana mānaḥtišu ša waššābim išakkanu ūm bēl bītim ana waššābi taši iqtabu mānaḥtam ūm waššābum ina l[ibbišu] ittaṣū mānaḥtum ul inakkar*)<sup>113</sup>.

The clause, “if he (the lessee) does not repair and reinforce (the house) (*la ippuṣ udannanma*), he will pay the rent”, apparently reflects the rental of a dilapidated house on which the tenant must either make improvements or pay a small rental of 5/6 shekel of silver<sup>114</sup>. Another text states that “he (the lessee) will calk the roof and strengthen the wall; he will bear the cost of this work”<sup>115</sup>.

#### List of Leases of Houses

KING	YEAR	RENT	PARTIES	TEXT
Ha	17	1 shekel	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	VAS 9 5/6
Ha	18	3 shekels (+ 4 festivals)	PN, PN <sub>2</sub> from nad.	CT 47 36
Ha	29 (?)	3 sh. (+ 3f)	PN from nad.	TCL 1 178
Ha	37	2/3 sh.	PN from nad.	VAS 9 63
Ha	37	1/3 sh. 10 se	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Meissner BAP 64
Ha	38	5 sh.	PN from nad.	BE 6/1 30
Ha	41	3 sh. (+ 3f)	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	BE 6/1 36
Ha	41	3 sh. (+ 3f)	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	BE 6/1 34
Ha	41	3 sh. (+ 3f)	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	BE 6/1 35
Ha	42	1 sh.	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	VAS 9 72/73
Ha	42	150 silas barley for 3 mns.	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Goetze JCS 11 p. 25 No. 12
Ha	43	2 sh.	nad. from nad.	BE 6/1 31
Si	1	1/3 sh. 15 še	PN from nad.	PBS 8/2 186
Si	2	1 1/4 sh. (+ 3f)	PN from nad.	TCL 1 106
Si	3	2/3 sh.	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Scheil Sippar 13
Si	7	1 1/2 sh.	PN from nad.	PBS 8/2 220

<sup>112</sup> BE 6/1 36:24ff.

<sup>113</sup> BE 6/1 35:18ff.

<sup>114</sup> CT 45 56:8f.

<sup>115</sup> CT 8 23b. An unusual clause appears in TCL 1 121:15f. (Si 7) which is difficult to understand: UD-mi-šu i-ba-ša-x ša qá-ti ki-iš-ri-šu Ì.LÁ.E. “should he shorten (?) his stay (lit. day) he pays only a pro ratio part of his rent”.

KING	YEAR	RENT	PARTIES	TEXT
Si	7	3 (?) $\frac{1}{2}$ sh.	PN from nad.	TCL 1 121
Si	7	3 sh. (+ 3f)	PN from nad.	PBS 8/2 234
Ae	e	3 sh.	PN from nad.	BM 80812
Ae	s	3 (6 mons.)	[...]	BE 6/1 78
Ae	x	3 (6 mons.)	PN from PN <sub>2</sub> , PA.PA	YBC 4262
Amd	2	1 sh. (Iškun-Ištar)	PN from nad.	Meissner BAP 68
Amd	28	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ sh.	PN from nad.	Waterman Bus. Doc. 8
Amd	4	2 sh. (Iškun-Ištar)	PN from nad. and her br.	Meissner BAP 69
Ams	5	2/3sh.(Iškun-Ištar)	PN from nad.	CT 45 56
Ams	11	$\frac{1}{2}$ sh.	PN from nad.	BM 78389
Sd	g	5 sh.	PN, scribe, from PN <sub>2</sub> judge and PN <sub>3</sub> his nephew	CT 8 23b
und.		1 $\frac{1}{2}$ sh. (+ 3f)	PN from nad.	BM 78389

*Lease of Second Stories (É rugbum and É ÛR.RA)*

The second stories of houses are leased out in 18 contracts which follow the pattern of the house lease contracts and do not differ in formula<sup>116</sup>. No description is ever given of the rented second story and the lease is always for a period of a year. The lessor in six of the contracts is Lipit-Ištar, son of Šērūm-ili. The rent which he receives fluctuates: he first receives 5/6 shekel, then  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel 15 grains, then 1/3 shekel 20 grains, and finally an increase to  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel. An inheritance text enumerates the property which Lipit-Ištar receives with three brothers and a sister: a two SAR house called a *šikittum*, three slaves, one of whom had run away, and a slavegirl<sup>117</sup>. It is perhaps the second story of this house which he rents out.

The *naditu* Rībatum, especially prominent as a lessor of houses, with her father Iqqatum, leases out a second story, which rents first for 5/6 shekel, and then four years later for  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel 15 grains; as compared with their house rental which was usually three but might be as much as five shekels.

The four contracts in which the Sumerian term É ÛR.RA is used for "second story" date from the time of Ammi-ditana and Ammi-šaduqa. Tarībatum, the

<sup>116</sup> Except for Friedrich BA 5 498 No. 23 in which the phrase *ana x-ki-tim* (case: *ki-i-tim*) *ul isanniq* "he (the tenant) will not touch the..." occurs.

<sup>117</sup> TCL 1 98/99 (Ha 35). This is the only reference to a *šikittum* house in our material. But note that *šikittu* is equated with *ga'ānu pijamu* and *sisrinnu* in *Malku* I 266ff. A.D. Kilmer in JAOS 83 446 translates *šikittu* as "premises (of a house)".

daughter of Warad-Sin, who also leases out a wing of her house, leases out a second story to a Sutean<sup>118</sup>. If the lessor in one of these *É ÛR.RA* texts, Ibni-Sin<sup>119</sup>, is identical with the Ibni-Sin of another such text<sup>120</sup>, there is again a significant change in the rental, from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  shekel to  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekel.

*Lease of É rugbum (É.ÛR.RA) "attic" (second story)*

DATE	RENT (annual)	PARTIES	TEXT
Ha 39	$\frac{5}{6}$ shekel ( $\frac{1}{2}$ sh given)	PN from Ipqatum	BE 6/2 74
Ha 43	$\frac{5}{6}$ shekel ( $\frac{1}{2}$ sh given)	PN from (Lipit-Ištar)	TCL 1 137
Ha 43	$\frac{1}{2}$ sh 15 grains	PN from nad.	BE 6/1 33
Si	$\frac{1}{3}$ sh 20 gr.	PN from Lipit-Ištar	TCL 1 127
Si 4	$\frac{1}{2}$ sh	PN from Lipit-Ištar	TCL 1 111
Si 6	$\frac{1}{3}$ sh 20 gr.	FN from Lipit-Ištar	TCL 1 117
Si 7	$\frac{1}{2}$ sh 15 gr.	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Friedrich 20
Si 7	$\frac{1}{3}$ sh ( $\frac{1}{6}$ sh given)	FN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Friedrich 30
Si 7	$\frac{5}{6}$ sh ( $\frac{1}{3}$ sh 6 gr. given)	FN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Friedrich 40
Si 8	$\frac{1}{2}$ sh ( $\frac{1}{3}$ sh given)	PN from Lipit-Ištar	TCL 1 126
Si 8	$\frac{1}{3}$ sh ( $\frac{1}{6}$ sh given)	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Friedrich 23
Si 8	x Pl 3 BAN barley	PN from FN	Friedrich 24
Si 8	$\frac{2}{3}$ sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	PBS 8/2 192
Amd 2	$\frac{2}{3}$ sh ( $\frac{1}{3}$ sh given)	nad. from PN	Szlechter 67 MAH 16214
Amd 5	$\frac{1}{3}$ sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 8 8a
Ams 16	$\frac{1}{3}$ sh	Sutean from nad.	CT 4 3/a
und.	1 sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	VAS 9 209
und.	$\frac{1}{4}$ sh ( $12\frac{1}{2}$ gr. given)	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	VAS 9 210
und.	$\frac{1}{3}$ sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 4 30 c
?	$\frac{1}{3}$ sh 20 gr.	nad. from Lipit-Ištar	Meissner BAP 65
destr.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Waterman 71

*Lease of the wing of a house (edakku)*

In six contracts which date from the time of Samsu-iluna and Ammi-šaduqa, the wing of a house is leased. In two of these the *naditu* Rībatum, daughter of Ipqatum, is again the lessor. In the first year of Samsu-iluna she receives  $\frac{5}{6}$  shekel rental for the wing of a house and in the following year only  $\frac{2}{3}$  shekel. The *naditu* Tarībatum, daughter of Warad-Sin, rents out wings in two texts which date from the same year<sup>121</sup>. The first rental is to a *qadištu*-woman (NU.GIG) at  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekel and the second to a man known from his seal to be a scribe, for  $\frac{1}{6}$  shekel. The difference in price and coincidence in time would suggest that two

<sup>118</sup> CT 4 31a.

<sup>119</sup> CT 8 8a.

<sup>120</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 71.

<sup>121</sup> PBS 8/2 218 (Ams 16) and 224 (Ams 16).

different wings are involved; but the witnesses, however, are the same in both transactions, and in both the clause is added that “he (the lessee) will calk the roof (and) strengthen the damp course of the wall” (*ūram isêr asurrâm udannan*).

In one instance the wing of a house is inherited<sup>122</sup>.

*Leases of É edakkum “wing of house”*

DATE	TEXT	RENT	PARTIES
Si 1	BE 6/1 47	5/6 gín per yr. (1/3 gín 15 še received)	PN from Ribatum
Si 2	BE 6/1 49	2/3 gín per yr. (1/3 gín received)	PN from Ribatum
Si 7	PBS 8/2 201	1/2 gín per yr.	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>
Amš 13	Çig Kraus Nippur 168 <sup>123</sup>	2/3 gín per yr.	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>
Amš 16	PBS 8/2 224	1/4 gín per yr.	PN from FN, nad.
Amš 16	PBS 8/2 218	1/3 gín per yr.	FN, nu.gig from FN, nad.

*Sale of a storehouse (ašlukkatum/É.UŠ.GÍD.DA)*<sup>124</sup>

One contract records the sale of a three SAR storehouse (É.UŠ.GÍD.DA) for ten shekels. It is described as “adjacent to the entrance property of the estate of PN (DA É.SAG.GAR.RA šubat PN)”, the deceased father of the seller<sup>125</sup>. A man inherits a storehouse (*ašlukkatum*) in another text<sup>126</sup>.

*Plots of Land*

*Sale of É.KI.GÁL Plots*

*Kigal* plots are sold in 28 contracts and are occasionally referred to in divisions of property<sup>127</sup>, litigations<sup>128</sup>, and inheritance texts<sup>129</sup>. The plots vary in size from less than a SAR to 10 SAR and, like houses in good repair, part of such a plot might be sold or inherited<sup>130</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> CT 8 4a (Sm).

<sup>123</sup> In Çig Kraus Nippur 168 the house rented is described as É.DA.É *ru-ug(?)*-*bi(?)*, “the wing of a second story(?)”.

<sup>124</sup> On *ašlukkatum* see AHW 282 and CAD 1/2 450.

<sup>125</sup> BE 6/1 63 (Si).

<sup>126</sup> CT 8 16a.

<sup>127</sup> CT 8 16a (Sm); VAS 8 108/109 (Ha); TCL 1 80 (Ha 7); BE 6/1 28.

<sup>128</sup> CT 8 3a (Amš 11), RA 9 21 ff, (Si 18).

<sup>129</sup> YOS 12 400 (Si 20).

<sup>130</sup> CT 8 3a, YOS 12 400.

We assume that houses were built on these empty house plots which are described as being located in various towns and on streets or wide streets. The *kigal* plot range in price from 1 1/5 shekel per SAR<sup>131</sup> to 7 or 8 shekels<sup>132</sup>, with typical prices being 2 1/2 shekels, a little more than two shekels, and more than three shekels<sup>133</sup>.

The *naditu*-women again appear most prominently as buyers and rarely as sellers. Lamassi, the daughter of Šerum-ili twice purchases plots adjacent to her father's house, apparently engaged, like many *naditu*'s, in enlarging the parental estate.

*List of the Sales of É.KI.GAL "kigallu plot"*

DATE	SIZE	LOCATION	PRICE	PARTIES	TEXT
SI	1/3 SAR	—	—	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 45 2
AS	3 SAR	—	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub> and his wife	CT 4 49a
Sm 17	1 1/2 SAR	—	—	PN from br. & si.	Meissner BAP 32
Sm	1 SAR	—	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 2 36
Sm	1s 10 gin	—	—	nad. from 2 brs. and si.	CT 4 50b
Sm	1/2s 5 g	—	—	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 4 44b
Sm	1s	—	—	nad. from nad.	CT 8 20b
Sm	1s	—	—	nad. from nad.	TCL 1 75
Sm	1 5/6 s	—	—	nad. from si. (?) her sons and d (?)	CT 47 17/17a
Sm	[x]	—	—	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	BM 80364
Ha	[x] s	—	—	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 45 30
Ha?	5s	URU Nam- [...]	10 shekels	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 8 35a
Ha 4	1s 12g	—	[x]	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	Çig Kraus Nippur 162
Ha 7	1 (?)s	—	3 2/3 sh	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub> and his si. nad. of Marduk	Szlechter Tablettes 45 MAH 15935
Ha 9	[x] s	—	2 sh	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 6 45
Ha 13 (?)	1s	—	8 sh	nad. from nad.	CT 8 35c
Ha 14	2/3s 5g	—	4 1/2sh	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 47 34/34a
Ha 14	[x]+4s	—	20sh	nad. from nad.	CT 47 22/22a
Ha 27 (?)	[x]s 2g	[Sippar]-rabû	5 1/3sh	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 8 50b
Ha 35	4s	—	10sh	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub>	BE 6/1 22
Si 2	10g	—	15sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Meissner BAP 33
Si 3	2/3s 5g	Iplaḫi	2sh per SAR	nad. from nad.	CT 2 15
Si 10	2 1/2s	Mukarraḫe	2 1/2sh	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 8 24a
Si 15	2s	Sippar-rabû	6 1/2 sh	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub> , PN <sub>3</sub> and FN	CT 45 35
Si 20 (?)	1s 10g	Sippar-Amnānum	7 1/2 sh	nad. from nad.	BM 92553
Si ?	[...]	—	[x]	nad. from nad.	TLB 1 224
Ae	3s	—	—	nad. from PN <sub>2</sub> and his br.	CT 47 4
und.	1s	—	—	—	BM 80366

<sup>131</sup> Meissner BAP 33.

<sup>132</sup> CT 8 35c, BM 92553.

<sup>133</sup> BE 6/1 22; CT 2 15; and CT 45 35, respectively.

*Size of É.KI.GÁL (in sale contracts and other texts)*

Number of SAR	Number of Texts
-1	9
1	6
1+	7
2+	2
3	3
3+	1
4	1
5	1
6	2
10	1

*Sale of kishlah plots (É.KI.UD)*<sup>134</sup>

It is difficult to determine how the *kishlah* plots, sold in 24 contracts, differ from the É.KI.GÁL plots. Indeed in one contract a plot described as 2 SAR É.KI.UD on the inner tablet is described as 2 SAR É.KI.GÁL on the case<sup>135</sup>. *Kishlah* plots are located, as are the É.KI.GÁL plots, within the city and often on wide streets<sup>136</sup>. One is located in an orchard near the Nungal Gate<sup>137</sup>; and one plot the object of a dispute, is in Merigat<sup>138</sup>.

The size of the *kishlah* plots is also comparable to that of the É.KI.GÁL plots: they range from less than a SAR to more than 6 SAR; in 21 references, 16 plots are from 1 to 4 SAR. Occasionally the exact dimensions of the *kishlah* plot are given: a 4 SAR É.KI.UD is 1 GAR on each of its four sides<sup>139</sup>; a  $1\frac{1}{2}$  SAR 5 shekels É.KI.UD is 2 GAR by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  KÛŠ<sup>140</sup>; and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  SAR 5 shekels plot is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  GAR 2 KÛŠ, perhaps on each side<sup>141</sup>.

The sale price of the *kishlah* plots varies considerably. Some sell for as little as one to five shekels per SAR, while others are twelve or fifteen shekels.

<sup>134</sup> The É.KI.UD "*kishlah*-plot" is to be distinguished from the KI.UD *maškanu* "threshing floor" which is also sold in some texts. The latter are located in the irrigation regions and are much larger than the É.KI.UD.

<sup>135</sup> VAS 9 42/43 (Ha 31).

<sup>136</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 27; VAS 9 165/166; CT 47 41; BE 6/2 83; Waterman Bus. Doc. 26.

<sup>137</sup> CT 4 40a (Ha 29).

<sup>138</sup> CT 48 5.

<sup>139</sup> CT 2 17 (AS).

<sup>140</sup> TCL 1 76 (Sm).

<sup>141</sup> CT 8 12a (Ha 3).

One plot located next to shops (É.KI.LAM.MEŠ) is 2+ shekels<sup>142</sup>, and a *naditu* buys a plot from the palace for 30 shekels per SAR<sup>143</sup>.

The *naditu*-women are the buyers of *kislah* plots in 18 of the 24 contracts. In one instance a 3 SAR plot adjacent to the city wall and described as "house (owned by) the city" (É *ālim*), is sold to a man by the city and elders (presumably of Sippar) for little more than a shekel per SAR<sup>144</sup>. The elders of another city sell a plot for only 1½ shekels per SAR<sup>145</sup>. These examples form a striking contrast to the above mentioned purchase by a *naditu* of a 2 SAR plot from the palace for 60 shekels.

*List of Sale of É.KI.UD*

DATE	SIZE	LOCATION	PRICE	PARTIES	TEXT
Za	6 sar	—	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub> , FN and PN <sub>3</sub>	CT 45 5
AS [x]	6 2/3g	—	—	FN, nad from PN	CT 47 6
AS	4 sar (each side 1 GAR)	—	—	FN, nad from 2 brs.	CT 2 17
Sm 19	1 sar	?	1½ gín		
Sm 19	1 sar	?	1½ gín	FN, nad. from PN and <i>sibūt</i> GN(?)	Waterman 27
Sm	½ 5g	—	—	FN, nad. from PN	TCL 1 76
Sm	[x] sar	—	—	FN, nad. from PN	CT 47 20
Sm	2½ sar	—	—	nad. from 2 brs. and FN wife	CT 45 19
Sm	[x] s	—	—	nad. from PN	VAS 8 54
Ha[x]	3(?) sar	—	—	FN, nad from PN	BE 6/1 43 (may be é.ki.gál)
Ha	1 sar	—	4 gín	FN, nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	VAS 9 165/166
Ha 1	2 sar	next to shops	2/3 mana	FN, nad from PN and FN <sub>2</sub>	TCL 1 77
Ha 3	1½s 5g	—	5 gín	FN, nad from PN <sub>2</sub> nad	CT 8 12a
Ha 4	1/3 sar	—	5 gín	FN, nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad her si	CT 8 18b
Ha 21(?)	1 sar	—	12 gín	FN, nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	Scheil Sippar 67
Ha 29	1 sar	—	3½ gín	FN, nad from FN <sub>2</sub> nad	CT 4 40a
		( <i>libbu kirī</i> )			
HA 30	3 sar	—	5 gín	PN from the city & elders	VAS 13 20/20a
Ha 31	6 sar	—	1½ mana	[FN, nad?] from FN <sub>2</sub> , nad	CT 47 41
Ha 31	2s (case: é.ki.gal)	—	1 mana	FN, nad, from palace	VAS 9 42/43
Ha 34	2/3s 7½g	—	2½g 22½ še	FN, nad from PN	CT 4 25a
Ha 40	4 sar	—	—	FN, nad from FN <sub>2</sub> , nad	CT 2 14

<sup>142</sup> TCL 1 77 (Ha 1).

<sup>143</sup> VAS 9 42/43 (Ha 31).

<sup>144</sup> VAS 13 20/20a (Ha 30).

<sup>145</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 27 (Sm 19). The plot is here located in a city which is difficult to read (*Im/lh-ba-x-i-KI(?)*). A man, who is perhaps the mayor of the city, and the elders sell the ownerless plot.

DATE	SIZE	LOCATION	PRICE	PARTIES	TEXT
Si 13	2 sar	—	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> gin	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	BE 6/2 83
Si 30	2s 5g	—	11 2/3 gin	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	CT 33 35
und.	4(?)	—	—	PN from PN <sub>2</sub>	Waterman 26
destr.	[x]	libbu [...]	—	nad from PN 64	CT 45 64

*The Sale of Unimproved (burubalû) Property*<sup>146</sup>

The sale of property designated as *burubalû* is limited to the early part of the Old Babylonian period, from Immerum to Apil-Sin, a time in which prices were not in sale contracts. The size of such property varies considerably, the following sizes being represented:  $\frac{1}{2}$  SAR<sup>147</sup>, 1 SAR<sup>148</sup>,  $1 \frac{2}{3}$  SAR<sup>149</sup>, 12 SAR<sup>150</sup>, and a property of an unknown size<sup>151</sup>. *Naditu* women do not appear in any of these contracts.

In a text, perhaps a litigation record, in which the *rabiānu* is first witness, a division of property has been made between two brothers who each receive a house in good repair of 1 SAR and a *burubalû* of 1 SAR<sup>152</sup>.

*Other Plots of Land (nidītu, nidūtu, É.KI.ŠUB.BA)*

A *nadītu* rents out “as much as there is (*mala mašû*)” of an abandoned plot (É.KI.KAL) to a man for a year, and although the total amount of rent is not clear, the first payment is  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel<sup>153</sup>. The abandoned plot (*nidītum*) of the *muškēnu* (MAŠ.EN.KAK.HI.A) is named as one of the boundaries of a *kigal* plot in Sippar-Amnānum which is sold<sup>154</sup>; and a house in good repair is adjacent to the abandoned plot (*nidītum*) upon which a man has built a house. This house is located in Sippar-Jaḥrurum since the Street of Isinians is mentioned<sup>155</sup>.

A *kišubbû* (É.KI.ŠUB.BA(?)) plot of  $\frac{2}{3}$  SAR 8  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekels is the share of the inheritance of a *kulmašītu*-woman<sup>156</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> See CAD 2 343f for a definition of *burubalû* and other references.

<sup>147</sup> CT 8 23a (Za).

<sup>148</sup> VAS 8 6/7 (Immerum).

<sup>149</sup> CT 6 7b (AS).

<sup>150</sup> VAS 8 1/2 (Sa 14). The lot is described as KI.BAD on the inner tablet and KI.BUR.BAL on the case.

<sup>151</sup> CT 8 31c (AS).

<sup>152</sup> CT 45 23 (Ha 24).

<sup>153</sup> PBS 8/2 222 (destr.).

<sup>154</sup> CT 8 3a (Amš 11).

<sup>155</sup> Friedrich BA 5 503 No. 33 (Amd 27).

<sup>156</sup> Goetze JCS 11 p. 16 No. 1 (AS).

Outside the city walls lay the open country. Here were the numerous fields and few orchards owned by the citizens of Sippar. At present, no clear distinctions can be made between the many designations given to this vast stretch of land. Fields are generally described as located in a given irrigation district which presumably was under the jurisdiction of the nearest town or city. Frequently, the canal or canals, vital to the continued existence of a settlement, was included in a sale or lease contract. From the number of districts mentioned one may conclude that Sipparians owned fields some distance away from their homes (see the Appendix for List of Flurnamen).

## II. THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

### 1. THE PALACE

There was not, insofar as can be determined, a palace in Sippar. Some of the early local rulers may have maintained a royal residence of some kind which was not uncovered during the excavations. We may suppose that when the kings of Babylon visited Sippar<sup>1</sup>, one of their most important provincial cities, they were the guests of the leading citizens whose homes would befit their lord and king. Perhaps the three princesses of Babylon known to have been *naditu*'s of the *gagûm* in Sippar required palatial residences in or near Sippar to accommodate the administrative apparatus of their vast households. Though presumably they themselves, like other *naditu*'s, had to reside in the cloister compound.

The king of Babylon is represented instead by the city administration of Sippar which performs a variety of functions on behalf of the palace such as the collecting of taxes, the recruiting and supervising of corvée workers, the maintaining and constructing of certain canals and other public works, the supervising of royal granaries, the lending and selling of palace wool and barley. The king in Babylon maintains contact with the city through correspondance with the local administrative officials as well as through the presence of royal officials or their personal representatives.

Sippar, more than any other Old Babylonian provincial city, reveals how a bureaucratic structure under monarchical control functioned to increase the political and economic capacities of the kingdom. Cooperation between the central administration and the provincial officials at Sippar enabled the rulers to maintain their hold on Sippar until the very end of the First Dynasty<sup>2</sup>.

From the time of Samsu-iluna on, the chief local administrative body is composed of the *kārum* and the College of judges headed by the Overseer of the Merchants (UGULA DAM.GĀR.MEŠ) who was one of the highest city officials, although at times his office may rank below that of the Chairman of the Assembly (GAL UKKIN.NA). Before the reign of King Samsu-iluna, the elders, headed by the mayor (*rabiānu*), may have been the principal municipal body.

<sup>1</sup> For visits of the kings of Babylon to Sippar see CT 44 52 = Kraus AbB 1 128 and PBS 7 102.

<sup>2</sup> The details of the various aspects of centralization that took place with Hammu-rapi and his successors are discussed in JAOS 88 727ff.

Apart from the city administration three other institutions must be reckoned with in order to understand the nature and extent of Babylon's power in Sippar, namely the military establishment, the judicial system, and the temple organizations. To various degrees our material affords insight into their inter-relationships with the palace. Before discussing these institutions in detail we will briefly sum up the relationships.

The king in Babylon had direct and close control of the military establishment in Sippar. Although soldiers are mentioned in Sippar texts from as early as the period of King Apil-Sin, it is not until the reign of his great-grandson Hammurapi that a hierarchical military organization is established. The highest military official the UGULA MAR.TU or "general" seems to have been sent from Babylon by the king for none of the generals are known to be natives of Sippar. The soldiers who are either conscripted from the local population or hired by conscripts, as well as the royal troops garrisoned in or near Sippar, are provisioned from the royal granaries in the city. The existence of an official who serves as the "royal military scribe" also indicates the ties between the palace and the military structure. Apparently all military personnel are provided by the king in return for their services with fields, gardens, or houses called *sibtu*-holdings.

The close relationship between the king and judges is manifested in several ways. The extant seal inscriptions of a number of judges contain the phrase "servant of RN" instead of the usual "servant of DN". This suggests that the title of judge was conferred or confirmed by the king.

Furthermore, the designation "king's judges" occurs not only in describing, as would be expected, judges from Babylon but also those known to be from Sippar. Moreover, although Sippar litigations are usually handled by the local judges, the king might be appealed to if there is any dissatisfaction with the verdict rendered. Finally, an official called the "King's Runner" is attested who apparently summons the litigants and witnesses and perhaps brings them to court.

Although the relationship between the palace and temple organizations cannot be clearly defined for any part of the Old Babylonian period, a change is noted in about the middle of King Hammurapi's reign<sup>3</sup>. This shift, best described as a process of secularization or as a transfer of authority from the hands of the temple administrators to the control of the king, is revealed by the seal inscriptions of temple and cloister officials who in the pre-Hammurapi period

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<sup>3</sup> That the change is to be dated to this period see *ibid.*, 729 note 18.

describe themselves in their seals as “servant of DN” or “servant of the temple Ebabbar”, but from Hammu-rapi onwards as “servant of RN”<sup>4</sup>. The transfer in control is highlighted by a passage in a royal inscription of Hammu-rapi which is perhaps not simply a meaningless boast when he claims that he released the people of Sippar “from the forced labor for Šamaš”<sup>5</sup>. From the period of Abi-ešuḫ on it will be shown that the city administration plays an increasingly important role in the activities of the temple. It is Abi-ešuḫ who settles a dispute between two Sippar temples, perhaps over boundaries<sup>6</sup>. There is some evidence, too, that temple officials might also be given *šibtu*-holdings by the king<sup>7</sup>.

In summing up it may be said that with Hammu-rapi the kings of Babylon attempt in various ways to tighten their control over Sippar via the various organizations of the city in order to consolidate and strengthen their position of power.

### *Royal Taxes*

The collection of taxes from their subjects was, of course, the primary interest and concern of the kings. There are various kinds of taxes mentioned in the Sippar texts and different individuals collect these taxes. So many different persons and officials are involved with the collections that it seems that whenever and wherever possible the kings attempted to collect their taxes and that none ever succeeded in setting up an orderly and efficient system. At the present time little more can be done than simply enumerate the various kinds of taxes and mention who paid and collected them.

The *nēmettu* tax “impost” is an annual tax paid in kind in either animals or barley. It is collected from officials and merchants (though perhaps only from those Sippar merchants who operate outside of Sippar).

There are two accounts which perhaps record the collection of *nēmettu* taxes, although this is by no means certain. Both record the collection of amounts of barley. In one<sup>8</sup>, amounts are collected from two shepherds, and two generals,

<sup>4</sup> For details on these seals inscriptions see JCS 15 117ff. At the time of the publication of this article there was no evidence that a change had also taken place in the seals of cloister officials. But now see the seal inscription of a “Steward of the *naditu*’s” in CT 47 65a Seal No. 5 which has the phrase “servant of Samsu-iluna”. For more recently published seal inscriptions see *Orientalia* 38 142 No. 47:S. 5 and 144 No. 69:5f.

<sup>5</sup> PBS 7 133:60f.

<sup>6</sup> LIH 91.

<sup>7</sup> YBC 4980:32f (Amd 15) which refers to the *šibtu* of Ipqatum *ērib bīti*.

<sup>8</sup> BE 6/1 99 (Amš 12).

as well as an outstanding sum still owed by one Sin-iddinam, son of Marduk-nāšir<sup>9</sup>. This barley totalling more than 20 GUR is brought to the granary of Sippar-Amnānum where it is received by the city administrators.

In the second account<sup>10</sup>, dating from Samsu-ditana, amounts of barley are received from other officials, from captains, a royal scribe (?), an apprentice physician, from the judges and from the tavernkeeper.

The taxes collected in both accounts were perhaps a kind of licence fee and are perhaps the *nēmettu* taxes.

The *nēmettu* tax is also mentioned in a text from Babylon<sup>11</sup>. Here it must be paid by the tavernkeepers and cookshop operators living in or near Sippar. But in contrast to all our other references the *nēmettu* is here paid in silver and not in kind.

King Samsu-iluna in a letter<sup>12</sup> to the city administrators tells them that the *muzzaz bābim* had informed him that a certain family had not given him unspecified barley arrears that he was supposed to collect. Since this official is mentioned as the tax collector of *nēmettu* taxes in BE 6/1 80 the tax here referred to may also be the *nēmettu* tax.

*nēmettu tax*

TAXPAYER	AMOUNT	DATE	TAX DELIVERER	TAX COLLECTOR	TEXT
Overseer of Sailors of Sippar- Amnānum	60 GUR barley	Ae	—	PN	LIH 87
PN, merchant of Sippar	2 lambs	Ae	—	PN <sup>13</sup> , the <i>kārum</i> of Sippar and the judges of Sippar	LIH 90

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps a member of the military organization, for in CT 8 7a:31 (Åmd 32) he witnesses the lease of a fief and follows the general.

<sup>10</sup> Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 52 (Sd e).

<sup>11</sup> See Goetze AS 16 211ff. The text dates from the 36th year of Ammi-ditana. That it comes from Babylon may be seen from the fact that the oath taken is by Marduk and Ammi-ditana alone; Šamaš is not included. But as pointed out by Goetze (note 3) the fact that Utul-Ištar, the scribe, is to collect the taxes is evidence that the persons concerned must come from the vicinity of Sippar though not necessarily from Sippar itself.

<sup>12</sup> LIH 79.

<sup>13</sup> Sin-iddinam holds a very high position in the city administration but his exact title is not known. For more on him see below under City Administration.

TAXPAYER	AMOUNT	DATE	TAX DELIVERER	TAX COLLECTOR	TEXT
PN (Overseer of Merchants in Sippar)	lambs	Ae	—	PN, tax collector of lambs	LIH 82
PN, <i>kārum</i> of Sippar, judges of Sippar-Amnānum	30 lambs	Ae	—	tax collector of lambs	LIH 93
PN <i>šakkanakku</i> of Sippar-Amnānum	12 lambs (for examination by the diviner)	Ae [x]	tax payer	PN, <i>muzzaz bābim</i>	BE 6/1 80
Overseer of the Merchants in Sippar-Jaḥrurum	goats' wool	Amd	—	tax collector of goats' wool	LIH 55
Sippar-Amnānum	barley	Amš	—	<i>rabi sikkatim</i> and the diviner of Sippar-Jaḥrurum	VAS 16 27

The *kasap ilkim* perhaps best translated as “scutage” was money payment paid annually in lieu of performing the *ilku* duty. With one exception it is paid by individuals about whom nothing is known. In the one case it is paid by the *sussikku* of Sippar. With one exception, too, the amounts are very small. Ēṭirum, son of Warad-Sin, appears prominently as the tax deliverer of the “scutage”. There is some evidence that he was part of the military establishment<sup>14</sup>. The *ilku* payment is in most cases handed over to two summoners (*dēkū*)<sup>15</sup>. A cancelled litigation text<sup>16</sup> concerns the 5 mana of silver, the *ilku* of the judges and the city of Sippar-Jaḥrurum. A litigation between the king's official and the Overseer of the Merchants of Sippar which is settled apparently arose over this *ilku*. But it is not certain whether this large sum of 300 shekels is to be identified with “scutage”, though we have included in our chart the large sum of 120 shekels which is explicitly referred to as *kasap ilkim*.

There are several accounts which almost certainly record the collections of taxes, but we can only guess at the kind of taxes these are. In one<sup>17</sup> several men referred to as “overseer” (PA) collect over a two year period sums of silver which total 450 shekels. The phrase stating that this silver has been left in the hands of the summoners<sup>18</sup> suggests that perhaps this account deals with *kasap*

<sup>14</sup> See CT 45 51:16 (Amd 31) where he appears without any designation along with military officials as a responsible official witnessing the granting of an É.BARA.UŠ to a carpenter. Perhaps Ēṭirum's father, too, was a member of the military to judge from BE 6/1 78 (Ae s) where the house of Warad-Sin which had been sold was returned by the king to Ēṭirum and his siblings. Presumably this house was a fief which could not be sold, but might be leased out.

<sup>15</sup> This must have been the office held by the two individuals in BE 6/1 73 and CT 4 15a.

<sup>16</sup> CT 45 46 (Amd. 6).

<sup>17</sup> CT 45 40 (Ae k).

<sup>18</sup> 1.22-23: *ša ina qā-ti dī-ki(!)-i in-ne-ez-bu*.

*ilkim* "scutage". A somewhat similar account<sup>19</sup> itemizes various sums, mostly from six to seven shekels collected from individuals by officials, some of whom are judges and one an Overseer of the Merchants. The total collected from what remains preserved is 150 shekels of silver. Paying these sums are a shepherd, a builder, a barber, and a ferryman (A.U<sub>5</sub>). "Scutage", too, might be paid in installments<sup>20</sup>.

*kasap ilkim* "scutage"

TAXPAYER	AMOUNT	DATE	TAX DELIVERER	TAX COLLECTOR	TEXT
<i>sussikku</i> of Sippar and its environs	2/3 shekels	Ae k	Ēṭirum s. Warad-Sin	Marduk-nāšir, Marduk-muballiṭ, Summoners	BE 6/1 12
Ēṭirum s. Annum-pīša <sup>21</sup>	3 shekels	Ae k	Ēṭirum s. Anum-pīša	Abum-waqqar s. Sin-nādin-šumi, Sin-iddinam s. Sin-erībam	BE 6/1 73
—	1½ shekels	Ae 28	Ēṭirum s. Warad-Sin	Lipit-Ištar judge	BE 6/1 71
—	1 2/3 shekels	Amd 3	Ēṭirum s. Warad-Sin	Sin-iddinam s. Sin-erībam	CT 4 15a
Ea-bēl-ili & PN	120 shekels (?)	Amd 4	[PN] and Bēlšunu	Sin-ibni s. Sin-rēmenni	BM 80814
Warad-Esagila s. Warad-ilišu	½ shekel	Amš 15	Kubburum	Šallurum (ZAG.ḪA in CT 4 26c:2) GĪR Bēlšunu	Szlechter Tablettes 145 MAH 16426

The *igisū* tax is an annual<sup>22</sup> tax paid in silver. It was collected not only from merchants and priests but from other officials as well: the *šakkanakku* of Sippar-Amnānum, the *kārum* of Sippar, the Overseer of the merchants, and the judges. It was a tax which, if one may judge from CT 45 43, might be paid in installments. Different people deliver the tax which is collected, too, by various individuals.

Though perhaps to judge from our examples persons from the military establishment most often were responsible for the collection. Part of the *igisū* tax was used to provision royal officials stationed in Sippar such as the *sukkallu* and the royal military scribe<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> CT 45 114 (Ae).

<sup>20</sup> BE 6/1 72.

<sup>21</sup> He is the first witness to the lease of a field by the princess Iltani from another *naditu* in CT 8 17b:15 (Ae k), the year he pays scutage.

<sup>22</sup> Though the *igisū* of the *šāpir* of Sippar may have been monthly in CT 45 38.

<sup>23</sup> As in CT 45 41 and TCL 1 148.

*igisû* tax

TAXPAYER	AMOUNT	DATE	TAX DELIVERER	TAX COLLECTOR	TEXT
<i>šāpir</i> Sippar	9 shekels				
	9 shekels 20 grains	Si	—	—	CT 45 38
É [...]	13 mana	Ae s	—	—	CT 45 41 <sup>24</sup>
Overseer of the Merchants of Sippar-Amnānum <sup>25</sup>	2 1/3 mana	Ae s	—	—	CT 45 41
sons of Rēs-Šamaš <sup>26</sup>	37 1/2 shekels	Ae s	—	—	CT 45 41
Puzur-Sin <sup>27</sup>	25 shekels	Ae s	—	—	CT 45 41
sons of Sin-eribam	25 + [x]shekels	Ae s	—	—	CT 45 41
Sin-imguranni	[x] + 3 shekels	Ae s	—	—	CT 45 41
sons of Šamaš-nāšir	[...]	Ae s	—	—	CT 45 41
<i>šakkanakku</i> of Sippar-Amnānum	9 shekels	Ae v	Overseer of Merchants and judges of Sippar.	2 men UKU.UŠ SAG(?) NĪG.ŠU PN	TCL 1 148
<i>šakkanakku</i> of Sippar-Amnānum	120 shekels	Ae z	<i>šakkanakku</i> of Sippar-Amnānum	PN, tax collector	BE 6/1 69
merchants of Sippar	silver	Ae	judges of Sippar	<i>šāpir mātīm</i>	LIH 86
Kār-Sippar	66 shekels	Amd 2	Ēṭirum <sup>28</sup> Sin-nādin-šumi ss. Warad-Sin	Sin-iddinam s. Ilšu-bāni and Sin-nādin-šumi s. Sin-iddinam	CT 45 43
<i>nargallu</i>	2 shekels	Amš 10	PN, UGULA <i>tigiāti</i>	2 summoners	CT 8 21c
<i>sanga.meš</i>	1/2 shekel	Amš 10	PN, UGULA <i>tigiāti</i>	2 summoners	CT 8 21c

That a field tax or agricultural tax might be levied is attested to infrequently. In one lease text a man is said to have to pay the tax and its arrears<sup>29</sup>. That the *biltu* which occurs here is probably a field tax emerges from a memorandum concerning the receipt of the field tax (GUN A.ŠĀ) which was apparently collected annually<sup>30</sup>. The existence of an agricultural tax is also inferred from

<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately we have here only a fragment of a large tablet which may have contained the *igisû* taxes imposed on various important citizens of Sippar.

<sup>25</sup> The *igisû* tax in the case of Sippar-Amnānum is apparently a customs tax imposed on imported goods—gold, mountain honey, lard, leeks, and sundry other items (*ša* KÙ.GI LĀL.KUR Ī.GIŠ.ŠAH *garšum* SAR *u daqqātim*).

<sup>26</sup> Rēs-Šamaš had three sons, Bunene-nāšir, Šilli-Šamaš, both mentioned in LIH 1 92, and Ili-iddinam (BE 6/1 119 r i 2). The last is known to have been a judge (*ibid*), though not the other two brothers. Bunene-nāšir appears in an official capacity receiving goats in BM 81512:8.

<sup>27</sup> A rare name, perhaps to be identified with Puzur-Sin, son of Šiqḷānu who sets aside hides for the *sussikku* in CT 8 1c:5 (Ae d).

<sup>28</sup> He plays a major role in the collection of the *kasap ilkim* too. Note that his brother's name appears in its hypocoristic form in BE 6/1 78:4 (Ae s).

<sup>29</sup> VAS 9 7:20-22: PN GUN *u ribbatam* É.GAL *itanappal*.

<sup>30</sup> Meissner BAP 83:1 (Si 5).

an account of expenditures dealing with a field which mentions 2 GUR of barley (for) the tax collector (ZAG.ĤA)<sup>31</sup>.

There are single references to other types of taxes in our material. In a letter<sup>32</sup> written by the city administrators to the king (unnamed) they speak of the *miksu* tax which is to be collected by the tax collector of Babylon. There is also one occurrence of a tax called *muštābiltu ālim*<sup>33</sup>. As so often happened only a small part of the tax is delivered 20 shekels of 375 shekels. It is delivered by the Overseer of the Merchants and received by the barber (ŠU.I).

Presumably the references to the debts owed by individuals to the palace, debts which are inherited, are unpaid taxes<sup>34</sup>.

Although various individuals and officials collect the taxes mentioned above, two terms do appear in our material for the "tax collector" as such: *mākisu*, also appearing as ZAG.ĤA/GIR, and *mušaddinu*. They are sometimes named and sometimes not. From the occurrences it is difficult to detect a difference between the two, though we will suggest one.

In very early Hammu-rapi accounts the *mākisu* is responsible for the Šamaš temple expenditures, and commodities are said to come under him (NĪG.ŠU PN)<sup>35</sup>. Taxes paid in barley are collected from private persons by unnamed *mākisu*'s in undated accounts<sup>36</sup>; a cow, presumably a tax, is given in the process of settling the division of an estate<sup>37</sup>. Quite different is the function of Ipqu-Annunitum, the ZAG.ĤA, in an Ammi-ditana account where the city administration gives him silver to purchase five oxen<sup>38</sup>. In the latest references to the *mākisu*, in both cases Šallūrum, he receives half a shekel of silver but for reasons unknown to us<sup>39</sup>. The *mākisu* was perhaps a native of Sippar if one may judge

<sup>31</sup> TCL 1 230:23.

<sup>32</sup> PBS 7 89.

<sup>33</sup> BM 80939 (Amš 13).

<sup>34</sup> As in CT 8 18b (Ha 4); BE 6/1 38 (Ha 4); CT 2 27 (Si 27), and BE 6/1 (Si 24).

<sup>35</sup> Warad-Enlil ZAG.ĤA is responsible for the expenditure of "honey for the platter of Šamaš" in TCL 1 78:5 (Ha 2); Šamaš-nišu, ZAG.GIR, for "one oven for heating oil" of the temple storage jars in VAS 8 90/91:6 (Ha 3). Unnamed *mākisu*'s are referred to in temple accounts, BM 78743:8 where soap and lye are given to the female fullers and in VAS 8 103/104:6, where wax is taken from the *mākisu*. Both date from Ha 4.

<sup>36</sup> TCL 1 230:23 and Goetze JCS 11 37 28:7.

<sup>37</sup> Unnamed in CT 6 31b:5.

<sup>38</sup> TCL 1 152:5, 9 (Amd 15).

<sup>39</sup> CT 4 26c:2; without designation as ZAG.ĤA but in a similar account in PBS 8/2 198:2, both from Amš 16 and eleven months apart.

from the occurrence of a *nadītu* who is not named in a cloister *piqittu* account, but simply referred to as “the daughter of the *mākisu*”<sup>40</sup>.

The *mušaddīnu* is more clearly connected with the collection of specific taxes. Mār-Arahtum<sup>41</sup> collects the *igisū* tax as does Tarībatum<sup>42</sup>. Marduk-mušallim, son of Adad-ilum, receives some kind of tax imposed on Sippar-šēri<sup>34</sup>. Nidnat-Sin, referred to as the *mušaddīn puḫādi*, collects the *nēmettu* of the city administration and perhaps it is he, too, though unnamed but with the same designation, who collects the same tax in another reference<sup>44</sup>. In one instance the gate official (*muzzaz bābim*) of the *mušaddīnu* receives the *nēmettu* of the *šakkanakku* of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>45</sup>. In two accounts the tax collector, referred to as the *mušaddīn ekalli*, calls in (*šasū*) payment of palace loans<sup>46</sup>. We can only suggest that perhaps the *mušaddīnu* in contrast to the *mākisu* was sent from Babylon to collect taxes owed the palace.

It is possible that the *zazakku* (DUB.SAR ZAG.GA) discussed below under types of scribes may have also been involved in some way with tax assessment in connection with real estate.

#### *The Royal Granaries*

The royal granaries (*natbāku*) of Sippar, and more often of Sippar-Amnānum and Sippar-Jaḥrurum, are mentioned. Various city administrators supervise the stored royal barley which comes in as taxes and goes out of the granary as loans or as provisions for workers, troops, and animals which are supported by the palace.

The granary of Sippar itself is mentioned only once: 105 silas of barley under the control of the scribe Ibbi-Sin, the Overseer of the Merchants, the judges and the *kārum* of Sippar, are taken from this granary and given to a man as a loan by one of the judges<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> VAS 9 174:12.

<sup>41</sup> CT 45 38:5 (Si [x]).

<sup>42</sup> Only Tarība[tum] is preserved in BE 6/1 69:12 (Ae z).

<sup>43</sup> Friedrich BA 5 500 No. 26:14 (Si 18).

<sup>44</sup> LIH 82, 93, respectively.

<sup>45</sup> BE 6/1 80:12 (Ae [x]).

<sup>46</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 19:8 and CT 6 37c:8, both from Amd 29. In a similar palace loan, CT 8 11c:9f (Amš 17+c) this tax collector is only indirectly referred to.

<sup>47</sup> BM 81255 (Sd 3).

The granary of Sippar-Amnānum is mentioned in accounts dating from the reigns of kings Ammi-ditana and Ammi-šaduqa. Barley comes in as taxes and is received by a variety of officials who supervise this granary. One delivery of more than 15 GUR of barley is received by Ipqu-Annunītum, son of Sin-iddinam, whose title is not given. He is followed by the Overseer of the Merchants, the members of the *kārum* of Sippar, and the judges of Sippar<sup>48</sup>. In another delivery, made six years later, more than 20 GUR is received from taxes but this time by the Chairman of the Assembly, by Ibni-Sin, son of Sin-iddinam, whose title is not given, by three judges and the *kārum* of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>49</sup>. This change in the recipients may reflect a change that occurred in the administration, perhaps with the formation in Sippar-Amnānum of its own *kārum*.

Barley from the granary in Sippar-Amnānum is expended to provide provisions. Forty-eight GUR is given as provisions for the charioteers (ERÍN GIŠ.GIGIR. HI.A) and the foot soldiers (ERÍN GÌR) stationed in Sippar-Amnānum<sup>50</sup>.

The granary also served as a bank for the local inhabitants giving out loans of barley. An amount of 180 GUR of barley described as belonging to the palace (*ša É.GAL*) was stored in the granary of Sippar-Amnānum. It had been received by the Overseer of Merchants, <sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib, and 100 silas of it are lent to two men, to be returned at harvest time<sup>51</sup>. The following day, a similar loan, this time of 3 GUR, is given to a shepherd by <sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib<sup>52</sup>.

The granary of Sippar-Jahrurum is mentioned in texts dating from the reigns of Abi-ešuh to Samsu-ditana.

Barley may have been brought to Sippar-Jahrurum from Babylon, since in one text incoming barley is described as being part of the rent (*ŠĀ ŠE GUN*) of PN who is the "commander of the palace guard" (*GAL.UNKIN.NA ERÍN KÁ É.GAL*) and presumably stationed in Sippar<sup>53</sup>. The title suggests that he is an official from Babylon. In another text, which is broken, barley, perhaps representing taxes, is again being brought to the granary of Sippar-Jahrurum, possibly from Babylon<sup>54</sup>. It is later apparently sent to Sippar.

<sup>48</sup> BE 6/1 104 (Ams 6).

<sup>49</sup> BE 6/1 99 (Ams 12).

<sup>50</sup> CT 45 48:30ff. (Ams 14).

<sup>51</sup> CT 8 21b (Ams 5). The reasons perhaps for <sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib receiving this barley is stated in 11. 7-8 which cannot be read in the copy: *a-na x-x-x-x*.

<sup>52</sup> CT 8 10c. This loan contains the same unreadable phrase.

<sup>53</sup> CT 45 55 (Amd). Perhaps the land holding of this military official was near Sippar-Jahrurum and, therefore, the rent or tax he pays is brought to its granary.

<sup>54</sup> BM 80570 (Ae k).

This granary is also used to provision troops. Beer (*piḫu*) and barley are given by three judges of Sippar-Jaḫrurum as provisions for the army stationed at Kār-Šamaš on the embankment of the Sippirītu Canal<sup>55</sup>. More than 17 GUR of barley is given to the fortress troops as fodder for their animals by the same three judges and by the Overseer of the Merchants as well as the college of *šatammu* officials, both mentioned in the document before the judges<sup>56</sup>. In addition, barley is sent by the Overseer of the Merchants of Sippar and judges of Sippar-Jaḫrurum to supply "fishermen" (*bā'iru*-soldiers) working in Sippar-Jaḫrurum<sup>57</sup>.

This granary also served as a bank for Sipparians. Two loans of 90 and 150 silas of barley, respectively, are made from this granary. In both cases the granary is said to be under the control of the scribe Ibbi-Sin (who is also mentioned in connection with the granary of Sippar), the Chairman of the Assembly, the Overseer of the Merchants, and the judges and *kārum* of Sippar. In both instances, it seems that permission is needed for the loan and in one case it is given by a judge<sup>58</sup>.

Somehow connected with the supervision of the incoming and outgoing barley of the royal granaries is the college of *šatammu* officials. As will be noted later under the Šamaš temple granary, it is not always possible to distinguish between those *šatammu* officials who administer the temple granary and those in charge of the palace granaries. Two accounts<sup>59</sup> which mention large amounts of barley received by several men and the ŠĀ.TAM officials have been assumed to be temple accounts; but in one account, discussed above, in which barley is distributed as provisions for military officials, they appear to be part of the royal administration.

#### *Palace Loans*<sup>60</sup>

Another contact between the palace and city economy is found in a group of loan contacts. They apparently illustrate a palace policy designed to convert the large wool holdings of the palace into silver by making "loans" at a low rate

<sup>55</sup> CT 45 54 (destr.).

<sup>56</sup> BM 80290 (Amd 21).

<sup>57</sup> CT 8 27b (Ae e).

<sup>58</sup> BM 81473 (Sd 3), BM 81262 (Sd 3).

<sup>59</sup> CT 4 25c and JCS 11 31 No. 21.

<sup>60</sup> Palace loans are a problem dealt with by P. Koschaker in his article "Zur staatlichen Wirtschaftsverwaltung in altbabylonischer Zeit insbesondere nach Urkunden aus Larsa", ZA 47 135ff. Kraus *Edikt* 98ff. has also dealt with these loans.

to certain officials who in turn retail the wool. Since very few texts from Sippar refer to private ownership of sheep which were too expensive for individuals to keep for household needs, Sippar must have provided a good market for wool. Barley and silver received are also lent out. These “loans” seem to represent but one facet of the still quite mysterious business transactions involving the palace and certain high placed officials. Very little is known about the recipients of these loans<sup>61</sup>.

Records of palace wool loans first date to King Ammi-ditana and all are under the supervision of the scribe Utul-Ištar who sometime after the second year of Ammi-šaduqa becomes an *abi šābi* military administrator but continues to act as supervisor of such loans. The men who administer the loans for Utul-Ištar change, however, during this period. This office is first performed by the Overseer of the Merchants, Ilšu-ibni, then by his son, the judge Utu.šu.mu.un.dib, who continues in the office even when he assumes the title Overseer of the Merchants.

The loans normally consist of one talent of wool, the equivalent of ten shekels of silver, and the terms for repayment vary. It seems as though the equivalency of the wool loan is to be repaid in silver when the palace requests it<sup>62</sup>, after two months<sup>63</sup>, or when certain palace officials such as the tax collector (*mušaddin ekallim*)<sup>64</sup> or the *tēr ekallim*<sup>65</sup> call for it by a public proclamation. One loan specifies that the recipient will compensate the palace according to the tariff of the palace, that is, according to the official rate of exchange<sup>66</sup>.

In one instance both the original loan contract and the record of payment are extant. Two men and their nephews receive from Išmē-Sin one talent of wool equivalent to ten shekels of silver which is to be returned when called for by the *tēru* official<sup>67</sup>. The delivery record, which has a cancellation mark, shows that the men return 5 shekels of silver after two years minus two days later<sup>68</sup>. The same witnesses occur on both texts. It is interesting to note that only half of the amount borrowed is returned.

<sup>61</sup> Two of the recipients occur in other transactions mentioning <sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib, the judge, who acts as the administrator in several of the palace loans. One, Bēlšunu, son of Sin-eribam, recipient of a loan in CT 8 30b, witnesses the receipt of sesame from the judge in CT 8 8e:13; another Sin-nādin-šumi, son of Bēlānum, recipient in CT 6 37c, witnesses the leasing out of a field by the judge in Waterman Bus. Doc. 59 r. 5.

<sup>62</sup> BM 80422; CT 8 36a; BM 80836.

<sup>63</sup> CT 6 35c.

<sup>64</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 19; CT 6 37c.

<sup>65</sup> CT 8 11c., 21a and 30b.

<sup>66</sup> CT 6 37c:10f: *ki-ma ka-ar-gu-[ul]-li É.GAL KÛ.BABBAR É.GAL i-ip-pa-al*.

<sup>67</sup> CT 8 21a (Amš 13).

<sup>68</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 30 (Amš 15).

In another receipt which records the repayment of a palace wool loan a man returns 45 shekels of silver from the silver of the palace wool which he received from Utu.šū.mu.un.dib<sup>69</sup>.

Loans in which the wool is converted into silver are attested somewhat later than the earliest wool loans, and, like the wool loans, are under the supervision of Utul-Ištar, first as scribe and later as *abi šābi*. Utu.šū.mu.un.dib, the judge, and the untitled Išmē-Sin also administer silver loans as do another judge, Iddin-Ea, and Sin-išmēanni, a merchant.

The amount of the silver loan is usually given in relationship to the equivalent amount of wool; the silver is normally to be returned at a given time — within 10 days<sup>70</sup>, or one month<sup>71</sup>. In one loan the silver is given in order to purchase barley<sup>72</sup>.

There is one case where the palace loan coming from the sale of palace wool is given in barley<sup>73</sup>. Here 8 GUR is the equivalent of 14 shekels of silver.

#### *Land Holdings of the Palace*

That the palace held considerable land in the vicinity of Sippar is seen first of all from the fact that all military personnel had *šibtu*-holdings given them by the king. These holdings, discussed at greater length under the military organization, obligated the holder to perform the *ilku* service, consisting of work on the holding or the payment of scutage to the king in lieu of this service. But there is other information concerning the royal real estate in our material.

One account from the reign of King Abi-ešuh deals with the harvest yield from royal fields, for the responsible (GĪR) officials<sup>74</sup> are two stewards (*abarakku*), officials usually connected with the royal household. Four large fields in four different regions are involved: a field of 54 GÁN in Kār-Šamaš, a field of more than 54 GÁN in Namšu, one at least 18 GÁN in Nagûm and one of 270 GÁN, the location of which is not preserved<sup>75</sup>. All are situated in areas in which the fields of private individuals are also located<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> CT 33 31 (Amd 31).

<sup>70</sup> BE 6/1 85 (Amd 32).

<sup>71</sup> BE 6/1 87 and PBS 8/2 241.

<sup>72</sup> BE 6/1 85 (Amd 32).

<sup>73</sup> BE 6/2 120 (Ams 4).

<sup>74</sup> The reading *šakan* for GĪR has been proposed by Krušina-Cerný, Ar Or 55 (1957) 554f. with references. See also ARM 9 327.

<sup>75</sup> JCS 2 111 No. 23 (Ae t).

<sup>76</sup> Note too that in an inheritance text, BM 82440 (Ha), one of the fields inherited is described as "adjacent to the field of the palace (*ita A.ŠĀ É.GAL.*)".

Quite remarkable is the contact of the king or the palace with Sipparians in the sale of his fields and city lots. In two instances<sup>77</sup> very large fields are sold by the king, probably Samsu-iluna, to *naditu* women. Both transactions are witnessed by royal officials as well as important city administrators such as the Overseer of the Merchants, Chairman of the Assembly, and judges. In another transaction "the palace" sells an abandoned plot of 2 SAR to a *naditu* for 1 mana of silver which is unusually high for such property<sup>78</sup>. Instead of the usual phrase found in sale contracts that the transaction took place "in the presence of " (IGI) such and such persons, the phrase here is that the "responsible official" (GIR) was PN. This sale is witnessed by temple and cloister officials as well as by officials whose positions are unknown<sup>79</sup>.

It is interesting to note that in all three contracts the usual oath renouncing future claims on the property is omitted.

Since most of the business transactions from Sippar come from the cloister compound it is reasonable to assume that the king may very well have had similar real estate dealings with other individuals too. From these sales we learn that the palace or king like other wealthy individuals sold, and perhaps bought, land purely for business or political reasons. We see, however, only one side of these business activities since the documentary evidence of the acquisition of land by the king would be kept in the royal archives of Babylon which are not accessible to us<sup>80</sup>. Since there is no indication that at the time of these documents (the reign of Samsu-iluna) the king was attempting to obtain through sales the silver which was in private circulation, it would seem that the investment policies of the palace and of private capitalists were similar.

Attention needs also to be called in this connection to one text in which the *naditu* princess Iltani, the sister of Hammu-rapi, gives the concession for her

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<sup>77</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 which dates from Si 8 and CT 45 121 which is undated and perhaps later in time for Nabium-mālik father of Marduk-mušallim GÁ.DUB.BA (CT 45 121:16) is to be identified with Nabium-mālik, of Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 5. The size of the field, 90 GÁN, is preserved only in the latter text but since the sale price is the same in both texts, both fields probably were of the same size.

<sup>78</sup> VAS 9 42/43 (Ha 31). The plot is referred to as É.KI.UD on the inner tablet and as É.KI.GÁL on the case.

<sup>79</sup> Note that the seal inscription of Sin-māgir uses the phrase "servant of Hammu-rapi". A person not mentioned in the contract rolled his seal on the case. He is a *sanga* of the goddess Šarpanitum.

<sup>80</sup> In connection with this note the lease of a field by the mother of the king in the Dilbat text, VAS 7 88:8 The formulary is standard and the first witness is a *šabrū*.

apple orchard to a “family” who in turn gives it to a man who is to pay a tax and its arrears, evidently an amount owed from a previous concession of the palace<sup>81</sup>.

### *Royal Workshops*

More as an indication of the many-sided aspects of the relationships between the palace and the city of Sippar mention should be made of the possibility of royal workshops functioning in Sippar. As we shall have to note many times it is very difficult to connect certain officials and the specific institutions or organizations they serve. As will be shown in the chapter on Agriculture, some of the shepherds mentioned in our material, especially those who served in a supervisory capacity, must have managed the royal flocks kept in Sippar. As already noted one source for royal lambs and goats came from taxes, especially from the *nēmettu* taxes. Many of the letters from and to the kings of Babylon concern sheep shearing, royal wool, and royal flocks. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that there was a royal workshop near or in Sippar which is involved with the textile industry. One lengthy account with at least four columns concerns the delivery of hundreds of garments of various kinds. The king, who must be Samsuiluna, for the account dates from his reign, is mentioned here but unfortunately in a broken context<sup>82</sup>. A letter speaks of the Overseer of the weavers who manages the female weavers in Sippar which again points up the existence of a royal weaving workshop in Sippar<sup>83</sup>.

### *Public Works*

Public works in Sippar appear to be the joint responsibility of the palace and the city administration. The workers employed in such projects, both *rēdû* soldiers and corvée workers, are often found under the supervision of military authorities.

Two groups of lists from the time of King Hammu-rapi — the 35th and 42nd year respectively — contain the names of numbers of bricklayers and other hired workers apparently employed in a large-scale building project. Much later King Abi-ešuh writes to the Overseer of the Merchants, the *kārum*, and the judges of Sippar concerning the need for the Sippar officials and the Sippar garrison to strengthen the quay of the Irnina Canal which is threatened by a flood. This letter indicates that the upkeep of this canal is the responsibility of both the palace and the city.

<sup>81</sup> VAS 9 7/8 (Ha 18). The phrase “DUMU.MEŠ *Rāqidum*” which we take to be a “family” perhaps refers to a clan or a tribe.

<sup>82</sup> CT 45 46 iv 5.

<sup>83</sup> PBS 7 32. See also TCL 1 160:15 which mentions the delivery of garments by three royal weavers (3 UŠ.BAR [LUGAL]).

Public work projects are discussed at greater length below in connection with the military establishment.

### *Royal Officials*

The Sippar texts contain only few references to royal officials since there is no palace. Only such officials as are needed in representing the palace in the sale of royal real estate, in the calling in of palace loans, in performing missions for the palace, supervising royal fields and perhaps in the collecting of taxes, are mentioned.

Most important of the royal officials was the *šandabakku* (GÁ.DUB.BA) official<sup>84</sup>. There are apparently two kinds of *šandabakku*'s, one who is a native Sipparian, the second who comes from Babylon and is referred to as "the *šandabakku* of the palace" (GÁ.DUB.BA ŠĀ É.GAL). The names of three GÁ.DUB.BA's are known: Nabium-mālik, Marduk-mušallim, son of Nabium-mālik, and Nabi-Šamaš; the last is the GÁ.DUB.BA of the palace<sup>85</sup>. All three appear as witnesses to the sale of royal fields located in the vicinity of Sippar to *naditu*'s. It is reasonable to assume that Marduk-mušallim is the son of Nabium-mālik, the *šandabakku*, and, therefore, evidence that this office might be inherited. We know that Marduk-mušallim is a native of Sippar since he sells an orchard, which is adjacent to another he owns, to a *naditu*<sup>86</sup>.

The connection of this official with the collection of taxes is not directly evidenced in our material. But it is known that part of the *igisû* taxes collected in Sippar is expended in provisions for the *šandabakku* of the palace<sup>87</sup>. It is noteworthy that 10 shekels is provided for him as against 20 shekels for the *sukkallu*.

There are two *sukkallu* officials who are representatives of the palace in Sippar. It is difficult to decide, however, their status in the hierarchy in relation to the *šandabakku*. For on one hand the latter precedes the *sukkallu* in the sequence of witnesses, but the *sukkallu* receives twice as much as the *šandabakku* as

<sup>84</sup> According to B. Landsberger, JCS 9 125 note 22, the GÁ.DUB.BA held one of the highest positions in the administrative hierarchy.

<sup>85</sup> Nabium-mālik appears in Waterman Bus. Doc. 28:r. 5 (Si 8). Marduk-mušallim and Nabi-Šamaš in CT 45 121:16 and 21, respectively.

<sup>86</sup> VAS 9 218:7f.

<sup>87</sup> CT 45 41:4 (Ae s). Perhaps the 20 shekels is given to two *sukkallu*'s though the plural is not used; these two officials would then receive the same amounts.

provisions. Like the *šandabakku*, the *sukkallu*'s, too, witness the sale of royal fields: Ḫadanšu-likšud and Adad-šarrum in one transaction; Awēl-Sin and Marduk-mušallim in another<sup>88</sup>.

The name of a fifth *sukkallu* is also known. Ibni-Marduk in an Abi-ešuḫ account receives  $4\frac{1}{2}$  shekels from the *igisū* of the *šakkanakku* of Sippar-Amnānum for provisions<sup>89</sup>. An unnamed *sukkallu* receives 20 shekels in another account dating to this king<sup>90</sup>.

There is considerably more evidence that the *sukkallu* is a native Sipparian with a royal commission than is the case with the *šandabakku*. The *sukkallu*, Ḫadanšu-likšud, has a daughter, Amat-Šamaš, who is a *nadītu*. In one sale contract she purchases a house plot<sup>91</sup>. She is referred to simply as “the daughter of the *sukkallu*” in cloister *piqittu* accounts<sup>92</sup>. Ḫadanšu-likšud also had two sons, Ilšu-ibni and Nabium-mālik who sell the very large field of 72 GÁN to a *nadītu*<sup>93</sup>, receive silver to purchase barley<sup>94</sup>, and lease a field<sup>95</sup>.

The function of the *rakbū*, another royal official, is seen most clearly in a letter written by Abi-ešuḫ to the city administration of Sippar. The king writes that he is sending a *rakbū* to return a runaway slave of a *nadītu* of Marduk of Babylon who has been found in Sippar-Amnānum<sup>96</sup>. Acting in a similar capacity as a kind of messenger is Ibni-Adad who is described as the *rakbū* of Ibni-Marduk, the *šāpiru* of Sippar. Ibni-Adad is the one who fetches and brings a person to the *šāpiru*<sup>97</sup>.

In our earliest reference to the *rakbū* where he appears to act in his official capacity, Tarībum is the responsible official whose presence was apparently necessary at the sale of a house because part of the money received had to go to

<sup>88</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 10f.; CT 45 121:18f.

<sup>89</sup> TCL 1 148:5 (Ae v).

<sup>90</sup> CT 45 41:3 (Ae s).

<sup>91</sup> TLB 1 224 (Si 26).

<sup>92</sup> VAS 9 172:44, 174:22.

<sup>93</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 29:7 ff. (Amd 1); here the name of the elder son is given as Ilšu-ibni.

<sup>94</sup> TCL 1 150:5ff. (Amd 4). Here the elder son's name is given as Ilšu-bāni.

<sup>95</sup> YBC 1693:8 (Amd?). The older son Ilšu-bāni, alone, leases the field with a partner. But his younger brother, Nabium-mālik, is the first witness to the transaction.

<sup>96</sup> LIH 89. The earliest reference to a *rakbū* appears in a sale contract dating from Immerum, CT 4 50a:29. But nothing can be stated about his function in this period with any certainty. But see below note 106.

<sup>97</sup> CT 43 49:17f.

the palace in order to satisfy a debt owed to the palace<sup>98</sup>. Perhaps Tarībum's duty was to bring the silver to Babylon.

Several *rakbū*'s are mentioned in administrative accounts but their function in these is not always clear. Ea-šarrum receives along with another person, whose name is no longer preserved, a large amount of barley, 91 GUR, perhaps the harvest from royal fields<sup>99</sup>. Elmēšum is the recipient of beer, perhaps a drink allotment, and the subject of a memorandum<sup>100</sup>, Ilišu-ibnī, is mentioned first in a list of persons whose names are preceded by an amount of barley. He receives (?) the largest amount, more than 15 GUR<sup>101</sup>. Adad-nišu, the RÁ.GAB, is mentioned with two other officials whose positions are not given in a difficult context which concerns barley probably brought from Babylon and stored in the granary of Sippar-Jahrurum<sup>102</sup>. Perhaps the three were delivering the barley which is received by the city administrators.

Nabium-bānišu, the *rakbū*, the first witness to the receipt of the *igisū* tax of the *šakkanakku* of Sippar-Amnānum by the city administration, is probably acting in an official capacity<sup>103</sup>.

In certain contexts it would appear that the *rakbū* does act as a private individual. This would seem to be the case where Šamaš-ellassu, son of Sin-nādin-šumī, witnesses the lease of a house<sup>104</sup>, or when Māruni, son of Etel-pī-Adad, hires a minor to work for him<sup>105</sup>. The last two cases would suggest that the *rakbū* might be a native Sipparian. However, the relatively large number of *rakbū*'s mentioned in our material and the fact that none is mentioned more than once would indicate that theirs was a short-termed office and possibly that they were for the most part natives of Babylon sent as messengers for short terms or simply appointed to accomplish one given mission<sup>106</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> CT 2 27:31 (Si 27). We have restored Tarībum's office as RÁ.G [AB].

<sup>99</sup> Goetze JCS 2 110 No. 21:5 (Ae).

<sup>100</sup> Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 22 (Ams 4).

<sup>101</sup> CT 45 49:1 (Amd 14).

<sup>102</sup> CT 45 55:13 (Amd).

<sup>103</sup> TCL 1 148:19 (Ae v).

<sup>104</sup> CT 8 23b:16 (Sd g).

<sup>105</sup> BE 6/1 107:4f. (Ams). Though perhaps here it is the father who is the *rakbū* for the phrase is PN son of PN<sub>2</sub> RÁ.GAB.

<sup>106</sup> Perhaps the *rakbū* is the earliest of the royal officials who represents the king of Babylon in other towns. If so, Lū-dāri RÁ.GAB appears in the Immerum sale contract, CT 4 50a:29, because one of the parties, apparently the seller, is not a native Sipparian but lives in another city under the control of the king of Babylon and, therefore, Sumu-la-ila is mentioned in the oath formula. So too <sup>d</sup>UTU.SUK.A-niši in the case of Waterman Bus. Doc. 31, CT 45 1, also a *rakbū* (signs follow the word *rakbū*: 30 (?) É <sup>d</sup>[x]) may have represented the king in the lawsuit concerning the orchard sold in the Immerum text.

There are also palace officials who have the title *mār ekalli* (DUMU É.GAL). Two persons, named Qarānum and Aḥūšina, having this designation appear in early Sippar texts; the first as neighbor to a field being sold<sup>107</sup>; the second as witness to the sale of a field<sup>108</sup>. These men, to judge from their title, must have been attached, in some way unknown to us, to the palace<sup>109</sup>.

There are three references to a royal official, never named, in palace loans contracts. It is the function of the *tēr ekalli* to call in by public proclamation the payments due on palace loans<sup>110</sup>. Two officials discussed above under taxes, the *mušaddinu* and the *mākisu*, should also be included among the representatives of the king in Sippar<sup>111</sup>.

The occurrence of two other palace officials should be noted, though strictly speaking they seem to function on a different level from those already discussed. The *abarakku* (AGRIG) and the *šabrû* (ŠABRA) are in almost all references members of the household of the long-lived princess Iltani, a *naditu* of Šamaš in the Sippar cloister who was a daughter of either Samsu-iluna or Abi-ešuh<sup>112</sup>.

Since there is only one *šabrû* and two *abarakku*'s at any given time the former appears to be the superior. Both appear to be stewards employed in a managerial or supervisory capacity. The *šabrû* receives the silver which is given to the *abarakku*'s to pay the harvesters who are hired to work in the fields of the princess<sup>113</sup>. In the second reference to the *šabrû* he is witness to a loan of sesame which belongs to the palace<sup>114</sup>.

The two *abarakku*'s are responsible for such expenditures of the royal household as the payment of harvest workers<sup>115</sup>, the distribution of barley for the feeding

<sup>107</sup> CT 2 37:4 (Za).

<sup>108</sup> CT 6 46:21 (AS 11). Note the references to a DUMU.É (*mār bīti*) in the chapter on Occupations. But whether these are simply scribal slips for DUMU É.GAL is impossible to say.

<sup>109</sup> This title also appears in a text from Khafajah. See my study in JCS 9 (1955) 97 for this reference and others.

<sup>110</sup> See CT 8 21a:9 (Amš 13), 30b:9 (Amš 14) and emmend in CT 8 11c:9 (Amš 17+c).

<sup>111</sup> For evidence that the *mākisu* is a royal official see the recently published seal inscription of a *mākisu* in CT 48 102.

<sup>112</sup> For more information on her see JCS 16 (1962) 6ff. See also *Studies Oppenheim* 132f. for information on other officials of the household of the princess.

<sup>113</sup> JCS 2 112 No. 29:7.

<sup>114</sup> BM 81334:13 (Amd 31).

<sup>115</sup> Goetze JCS 2 112 No. 29:7ff.

and fattening of pigs<sup>116</sup>, and of beer for the sheep shearers<sup>117</sup>. The *abarakku*'s also appear to have some responsibility for the harvest from fields located in the vicinity of Sippar<sup>118</sup>. Perhaps because these officials are part of the household of the princess their duties are extended to supervising the properties of the king of Babylon as well.

## 2. THE CITY ADMINISTRATION

Sippar as an urban community is administered on two levels which have to be dealt with separately since the evidence for each level is uneven. Furthermore, the modes of cooperation and coexistence between the two cannot yet be established. On the lower level of the neighborhood or ward (*babtum*), the inhabitants may have regulated affairs from sanitation to security; while on the higher level the city relates itself to the king as the representative of an outside and superior authority, and performs a number of functions in the city for the palace such as collecting taxes, maintaining canals, repairing city walls, enforcing the obligations of citizens of Sippar to serve in the military or as corvée workers on public projects. The city administration supervises the royal granary and arranges palace loans of silver and barley.

There are many complex problems pertaining to the administration of Sippar which cannot as yet be solved. For example, officials bearing a disturbing variety of titles appear as the chief administrators. We can only suggest that the varying titles must be explained in terms of administrative or historical changes. At times an administrative designation is used to express different entities. This is the case with terms such as *ālum* and *šibūtum*. Nor is it always clear what the specific executive powers and responsibilities of the various municipal officials consist of and what the interrelationships between them were.

### *The City Ward (babtu)*<sup>1</sup>

Sippar is divided into a number of wards or *babtu*'s. Although we find very few references, all of which date from the reign of Ammi-saduqa, to the functions of the ward, this small administrative unit must have been concerned with local policing and sanitation. In certain instances the *babtu* acts as a judicial body.

<sup>116</sup> Goetze JCS 2 109 No. 18:9ff.

<sup>117</sup> Goetze JCS 2 111 No. 24:2. See also *ibid.*, 108 No. 13 (Ae k) for their responsibilities in expending barley for a purpose no longer preserved and in *ibid.* 112 No. 30 (Amd 1) for expending 1 shekels of silver to purchase something which is also not preserved.

<sup>118</sup> Goetze JCS 2 111 No. 23:r. 2 (Ae t).

<sup>1</sup> On the city ward see Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 241-5, 276f., and Walther *Gerichtswesen* 64ff.

Litigants in a case concerning the property of a *nadītu* of Šamaš make statements at a ward meeting<sup>2</sup>. In another instance the divine symbols are brought to the assembly of the *babtu* to settle a dispute<sup>3</sup>. Finally, a man leases out his field at the order of the policeman (UKU.UŠ) of the ward<sup>4</sup>.

Since the mayor or *rabiānu*, as we shall see below, is the administrative head of the city and the superior to the man with the title *ḥazannu*, it is possible that the *ḥazannu* in our period<sup>5</sup> serves as head of a smaller administrative unit such as the *babtu*. We find the *ḥazannu* for the most part as a witness (and never as the first witness) to a number of transactions. One *ḥazannu*, Sin-rēmenni, held office in the period of Hammu-rapi and Samsu-iluna and is witness to the sale of a house plot, the invalidation of a tablet of sale, and the renunciation of an adoption<sup>6</sup>. Since he is attested for a period of at least eighteen years the tenure of this office may have been lifelong. Much earlier Sin-ublām, the *ḥazannu*, is involved in a dispute over two houses, one of which he sold and another which he exchanged<sup>7</sup>. We must also note that the location of a field is described as being “at the gate of the tower of the *ḥazannu* official”<sup>8</sup>. It should be pointed out that although the references to the *ḥazannu* are found over a long period of time, from Apil-Sin to Abi-ešuḥ, all the occurrences to the term *babtu* date only from King Ammi-šaduqa.

<sup>2</sup> CT 2 1:24, 30 = CT 2 6:32 and 40 (Amš). This and the next text are the only references in our sources to ward meetings.

<sup>3</sup> BE 6/1 103 (Amš 1). Read DAG.GI.A (*babtu*) in line 33 and not GÁ.GI.A “cloister”. Note that in the previous litigation, too, one of the litigants suggests that the emblems be brought to the ward.

<sup>4</sup> CT 8 10b (Amš 10). We have no way for accounting for an order of this official being necessary, though the reason may lie in the fact that the lessee was a Sutean and perhaps a soldier. This would account for the presence of captains (PA.PA) as witnesses. The lessor of the field, Ipqatum, son of Šamaš-liwwir, five years later leases a field (CT 4 23b). Perhaps the office of an UGULA *babtim* is to be restored in TCL 1 104:12 (Ha) UGULA *ba-<ab>-tim*. It is difficult to decide whether Gimil-Marduk who holds the office of Overseer of the Ward (UGULA DAG(!).GI<sub>4</sub>.A) in CT 48 64:5 (Ha 38) is a Sipparian. This may be a Sippar text for at least one of the witnesses here, Ḥappatum, son of Adad-iddinam, also appears in CT 8 43b:17 (Ha 41). However, Nabium-mālik, son of Adad-nāšir, who in CT 48 64 hires out his slave to Gimil-Marduk to do fuller’s work (*ana šipir ašlakūtišu*) and who thereby partially fulfills his corvée (GI.ĪL) of Babylon, is not a Sipparian. In CT 8 22c (Ha 38) which is a text from Babylon (the oath is taken by Marduk and Hammu-rapi), Nabium-mālik purchases a slavegirl and her infant from his brother. It is, therefore, not certain if Gimil-Marduk’s office is held in Sippar.

<sup>5</sup> The *ḥazannu* is a much more important magistrate in the later period. For this see CAD 6 163ff. But in Sippar he is not, as suggested *ibid.*, 164, replaced by the *rabiānu*.

<sup>6</sup> In BE 6/1 22 (Ha 35); CT 8 32c (Si 10); BE 6/1 59 (Si 16).

<sup>7</sup> CT 4 7a (AS 11).

<sup>8</sup> BE 6/1 77:2 (Ae r): ša[IGI(?)] KÁ AN.ZA.QAR ša ḥa-za-nu-um.

*The City (ālum) and the elders (šībūtu)*

The citizens of Sippar form a corporation which is referred to as the “city” or *ālum* (URU.KI). Sometimes the “city” functions along with the “elders” suggesting that the latter is a term perhaps restricted to the heads of the most influential and wealthiest families of Sippar. References to both terms are few and limited to the reigns of kings Hammu-rapi and Samsu-iluna. The city of Sippar and the elders function as an acting legal entity selling real estate within the city wall, which for one reason or another was considered without legal owner<sup>9</sup>. In one such instance, the witness are headed by the *rabiānu* or mayor of the city.

Similar cases are attested where fields, apparently without owners, are leased to citizens of Sippar by several men and the elders of Kār-Šamaš<sup>10</sup>.

The city and its elders have the authority to give the *šibtu* holdings of a soldier who has died without heirs to someone else<sup>11</sup>. This authority is taken from them by the time of Abi-ešuḥ and given to the *kārum* which by this time has become the administrative body representing the king<sup>12</sup>.

In the time of Samsu-iluna the city administers the barley given to workers engaged in digging a canal<sup>13</sup>. This function too, is later, in the reign of Abi-ešuḥ, performed by the *kārum*<sup>14</sup>. There is also evidence that the “city” may have established rental rates for fields<sup>15</sup>.

The occurrences of *šībūtu* “elders” are few, apart from those already mentioned. In one case, the judges and elders of the city sit in judgment in a litigation between brothers over a division of real estate to which is attached *ilku* service<sup>16</sup>. The elders as the most respected citizens of the community would also make up the welcoming party to greet important visitors to Sippar<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> VAS 13 20/20a (Ha 30).

<sup>10</sup> YBC 6474 (Ae u), YBC 6785 (Amd 7). The elders of Kār-Šamaš apparently continue to function actively here long after the elders of Sippar are replaced by the *kārum*.

<sup>11</sup> CT 6 27b.

<sup>12</sup> See BM 78254 iii 6ff (Ae) where the *kārum* of Sippar-Amnānum sells a field whose owner has died without leaving an heir (*kinūnšu billū*) to an UGULA.MAR.TU.

<sup>13</sup> TCL 1 125 (Si 8).

<sup>14</sup> CT 8 27b (Ae e).

<sup>15</sup> See VAS 9 62:9 (Ha 38) where a field is leased out *ana kīma* URU.KI.

<sup>16</sup> Meissner BAP 80:3 (Ha 24).

<sup>17</sup> This is seen from the letter CT 33 20 where the addressee is told that when he comes to Sippar, he (the writer of the letter) and the elders of the city will honor him.

Our data would suggest that although the city and the elders, the body politic of Sippar, may not have disappeared in the latter part of the Old Babylonian period, their authority and importance gradually diminishes and is taken over by the *kārum*, just as the prominence of its mayor, the *rabiānu* of Sippar, also gradually recedes.

*The Mayor of Sippar (rabiānu)*

A *rabiānu* or mayor of Sippar is known from the time of Apil-Sin through the period of Ammi-šaduqa. The office seems to be held for only one year, but might be held several times. The occurrence of different men in the office in the 12th, 14th, 15th, and 17th years of Ammi-šaduqa strongly suggests that the office was an annual one. There is one year in which two mayors are attested (Hammu-rapi 30)<sup>18</sup>. A text which concerns a litigation over lost adoption documents speaks of two different mayors presiding in what was possibly a short period of time<sup>19</sup>.

In all the early references to the mayor, he appears in a very limited context: as presiding officer of the court or as witness to certain transactions. He is found as presiding officer of the court which usually consists of the Overseer of the Merchants, the *kārum* and the colleges of judges, in the period from Sinmuballit through the fourteenth year of Samsu-iluna<sup>20</sup>, after which time the Overseer of the Merchants begins to take precedence.

We do not know why the mayor should appear as a witness to certain transactions, but in such texts he is usually the first witness. He witnesses sale transactions<sup>21</sup>, the division of property<sup>22</sup>, the exchange<sup>23</sup> and lease of fields<sup>24</sup>, and the lease of the divine symbols<sup>25</sup>. In the sequence of witnesses he precedes the *šakkanakku* who in turn precedes the *hazannu*<sup>26</sup>, whom we suggested above was in charge of the neighborhood ward.

<sup>18</sup> VAS 9 40; VAS 13 20/20a.

<sup>19</sup> CT 47 63 (Si 14).

<sup>20</sup> BM 80281 (Sm); CT 47 12/12a (Sm 9); VAS 8 102 (Ha 4); CT 47 31/31a (Ha 11); Meissner BAP 80 (Ha 24); CT 6 24b (Ha 40); CT 47 63/63a (Si 14).

<sup>21</sup> E.g., CT 45 9 (AS); BM 16986 (Sm).

<sup>22</sup> CT 8 1a (Sm), Pinches Peek 14 (Si 30).

<sup>23</sup> TCL 1 73 (Sm).

<sup>24</sup> TCL 1 155 (Amd 34).

<sup>25</sup> Szlechter Tablettes 122 MAH 16147 (Ams 14).

<sup>26</sup> CT 8 1a (Sm).

The seal inscriptions of the mayors of Sippar follow the pattern of those of ordinary citizens, “PN son of PN<sub>2</sub>, servant of DN”, as do the inscriptions of mayors of other cities<sup>27</sup>. In one instance, the scribe has identified the seal impression of the mayor by the words “KIŠIB *ra-bi- <a> -nu*”<sup>28</sup>.

In the only instances in which the mayor appears in a role other than that of president of the court or witness, his function cannot be specifically designated as either a public or a private one. A mayor leases a field from two military officials — a captain and a military scribe<sup>29</sup>. Perhaps it is the same man who 47 years later lends 1 GUR of barley to a *sanga* official of the Gula temple<sup>30</sup>.

The only information which we have concerning the family of a mayor is that one has a daughter who is a *nadītu* of Šamaš<sup>31</sup>.

*The rabiānu's of Sippar*

DATE	NAME	TEXT
AS	Imgur-Sin <sup>32</sup>	CT 45 9:19
Sm	Amri-ilišu	CT 47 16:18
Sm	Abdi-raḥ	CT 8 1a:10, 4a
Sm	Marduk-nāšir	TCL 1 73:3c
Sm	Sumu-Akšak	CT 45 18:9
Sm 9	Awēl- <sup>d</sup> Ištar	CT 47 12:8
Ha 4	Sin-iddinam	VAS 8 102:4
Ha 8(?) <sup>32a</sup>	Apil-ilišu	VAS 9 202:10 (= Meissner BAP 77)
Ha 11	Sin-iddinam	CT 47 31:15

<sup>27</sup> TCL 1 155; VAS 9 62.

<sup>28</sup> VAS 13 20/20a (Ha 30).

<sup>29</sup> CT 8 8d (Amd 2).

<sup>30</sup> In Szechter Tablettes 28 MAH 16387 (Ams 12). Although this is an unusually long time lapse between the two references to Šunūma-ilu, the fact that this name is so rare in Sippar would make the identification a possibility. Perhaps Šunūma-ilu, son of Ea-nāšir, who appears as the first of two witnesses to the lease of a military field in CT 33 36 (Amd 29) is identical with the mayor. The only other occurrence of this name, in CT 6 32a, dates from the second year of Samsu-iluna.

<sup>31</sup> See Waterman Bus. Doc. 54 r. 1 for Iltani, the daughter of Tappūm. He follows his daughter as witness. See also fn. 33.

<sup>32</sup> We assume that the text had: *ra-bi-an* URU[UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup>].

<sup>32a</sup> It is probably to be dated to Hammu-rapi for two other persons here appear in texts dating to this king e.g. Mašqu; the son of Sinatum, is also lessee in VAS 9 62:6 (Ha 38). We consider the date a variant of Ha 8 because it too begins with MA.DA.

DATE	NAME	TEXT
Ha 24	Nannatum	Meissner BAP 80:10 CT 45 23 r. 2
Ha 29	Išar-Lim <sup>33</sup>	CT 6 47b:17f.
Ha 30	Abdi-arah <sup>34</sup>	VAS 9 40:14
Ha 30	Ibni-Amurru	VAS 13 20/20a r. 4
Ha 32	Abum-waqar	CT 4 22b:13
Ha 35	Tappûm	Waterman Bus. Doc. 54 r. 3
Ha 38	Warad-Marduk	VAS 9 62:11 <sup>35</sup>
Si	Zimri-erah	CT 47 63/63a r. 3
Si 14	Sin-išmēanni	CT 47 63/63a:29f.
Si 30	Ṭaridum	Pinches Peek 14:24
[Ha or Si] <sup>36</sup>	Ipiq-Annunītum	CT 47 75:22
Ae 5	Awēlija	CT 48 43r.4
Amd 2	Šunūma-ilu	CT 8 8d:5
Amd?	Marduk-mušallim	CT 47 72:16
Amd 34	Mannum-balum-ilišu	TCL 1 155:21
Amš 12	Šunūma-ilu	Szlechter Tablettes 28 MAH 16387:12
Amš 14	Qurdi-Ištar	Szlechter Tablettes 122 MAH 16147:15
Amš 15	Awēl-Nabium	Szlechter Tablettes 145 MAH 16426:12
Amš 17	Ibni-Adad	BM 80462:22

<sup>33</sup> It is perhaps the daughter and grandchildren of Išar-Lim who are mentioned in BE 6/1 119 (Amd). If so he had a daughter Amat-bēltim who was a *nadītu* of Šamaš, and a son Marduk-muballiṭ who had a son and daughter; the daughter was also a *nadītu*. This rare mention of a grandfather may be accounted for by the important position which he once held. In BE 6/1 119 the field which Išar-Lim's daughter had bought in Si 16 is sold by her niece and nephew in Amd 3. Perhaps the Mār-Šamaš, son of Išar-Lim, a scribe from his seal inscription in VAS 9 43 (Ha 31), is another son of the mayor.

<sup>34</sup> Although Abdi-arah is not given his title here, the fact that he and the *kārum* of Sippar examine the case is clear evidence of his position.

<sup>35</sup> In this lease contract the field is leased out "(the rent) customary in the city (*ana kīma URU.KI*)".

<sup>36</sup> This unknown date formula may belong to Hammu-rapi or Samsu-iluna for the lessor here Munawwirtum, daughter of Nabi-Šamaš, appears in other texts of this period (VAS 13 18/18a [Ha 23] and CT 47 59 [Si 3]). Perhaps it is a variant of Ha 30b: MU Ū.SA URUDU ALAM(?).

<sup>37</sup> CT 47 68/68a (Sm); CT 8 6b (Si 3). The location of the field is not given in this last text, but from CT 47 58 we learn that the plaintiff of CT 8 6b owned property in the region of Qablum which bordered on Eble (CT 47 78/78a).

*Mayors of Other Towns*

From the Sippar material we also learn something about the administration of towns which were not far from Sippar and who are involved in some of the transactions of Sipparians. The data suggests that unlike the administrative bodies of Sippar the administration of other towns remains unchanged in the late period, a body of elders headed by a *rabiānu*.

*The mayor of Ḫalḫalla*

The office of *rabiānu* or mayor of Ḫalḫalla, a town somewhere near Sippar, is attested from the time of Samsu-iluna to the time of Abi-ešuh. Although we have little information concerning this official, his position seems also to be held for only one year.

The mayor of Ḫalḫalla functions in the same capacity as that of Sippar: he presides over litigations and witnesses transactions. In all our references he is concerned with property, evidently owned by Sipparians which is located in a region called Eble and which was under the jurisdiction of Ḫalḫalla. He presides over disputes concerning property<sup>38</sup>, and is the first witness to the lease of three large fields totalling 175 GĀN located in two regions which must be restored as “belonging to the district of Ḫalḫalla” (ŠĀ eršet Ḫa[l-ḫal]-la(!))<sup>39</sup>.

There is one instance where the city of Ḫalḫalla acts as a legal body gathering testimony in a lawsuit<sup>40</sup>.

*The Mayors of Ḫalḫalla*

DATE	NAME	TEXT
Si	Šamaš-ilum	CT 47 68a:19
Si 3	Šamaš-ilum	CT 8 6b:12
Si 4	Rabbu-ḫadum	CT 47 56/56a:26
Si 7	Rubbu-ḫadu	CT 47 58:27
Si 16	Pirḫum	BE 6/2 85:21
Si 16	Pirḫum	CT 47 64:23; 64a r.3.
Ae p	[...]	CT 47 70 r.3

<sup>38</sup> CT 47 58 (Si 7); CT 47 56/56a (Si 14); BE 6/2 85 (Si 16); CT 47 64/64a (Si 16). Neither of the towns mentioned in BE 6/2 85 (which is not entirely readable) are known to be in the vicinity of Ḫalḫalla from the text itself and they are mentioned only here. But the presence of the mayor of Ḫalḫalla can best be explained by their having been under the jurisdiction of this city.

<sup>39</sup> CT 47 70:6 (Ae p).

<sup>40</sup> CT 47 68:9f (Si). On the occurrence of Bašum Street located in Ḫalḫalla see above under Street names.

*The Mayor of Kār-Šamaš*

Two mayors are known from Kār-Šamaš, a town located on the embankment of the Sippiritu Canal, which is known in the Old Babylonian period principally as a military station. The mayor of Kār-Šamaš, Ilšu-ibnīšu, appears as the first witness in an exchange of houses located in that town<sup>41</sup>. In a second text which dates from the following year and concerns the same family, a mayor named Marduk-nāšir occurs as the first witness, again an indication that the office was not held for more than a year<sup>42</sup>.

Two lease contracts<sup>43</sup> from a later period concern the leasing of fields from several people and the elders of Kār-Šamaš to Sipparians. These are apparently fields under their jurisdiction who have no legal owners. The identity of the persons who precede the elders is not known<sup>44</sup>.

*The Assembly (puḫrum)*<sup>45</sup>

Our references to the assembly or *puḫrum* all date from the time of Ammi-šaduqa and reveal its judicial function. A dispute between the judge Utu.šu.mu.un.dib and the *iššakku* steward of the cloister, Adad-mušallim, is presented to the assembly<sup>46</sup>. One would assume that the witnesses to this litigation are members of the assembly, although we have no way of knowing that they are. Two of the witnesses to this lawsuit, however, are involved in transactions which concern Utu.šu.mu.un.dib: Sin-māgir, son of Sin-iddinam, receives a palace loan from him<sup>47</sup>, and witnesses his giving sesame to a man for processing<sup>48</sup>, as well as other transactions concerning him<sup>49</sup>. Ilšu-ibnī, son of Namram-šarūr, witnesses the lease of a field from Utu.šu.mu.un.dib in the latter's role of Overseer of the Merchants<sup>50</sup>. The assembly is mentioned in a broken passage which concerns the settling of a dispute between lessee and lessor over a field. The divine weapon of Šamaš is

<sup>41</sup> YOS 12 536:33 (Si 29).

<sup>42</sup> YOS 12 537:20 (Si 30).

<sup>43</sup> YBC 6474 (Ae u); YBC 6785 (Amd 7).

<sup>44</sup> Though perhaps two of these in the later lease are sons of two men who act in the earlier lease.

<sup>45</sup> On the Assembly in Mesopotamia see Oppenheim. *Orientalia* N.S. 5, 224-28 and Th. Jacobsen, *JNES* 2 159 ff., G. Evans, *JAOS* 78 1 ff., as well as Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 78f., 242f., 491 ff.

<sup>46</sup> CT 45 60 (Ams 17+c).

<sup>47</sup> CT 33 31:7 (Amd 31).

<sup>48</sup> CT 8 8e:12 (Amd 35).

<sup>49</sup> TCL 1 221:21 (und).

<sup>50</sup> TCL 1 221:22 (und).

brought to the house of the lessee in order to settle the matter, and the transaction is witnessed by two captains (PA.PA) and one other man<sup>51</sup>. Two of the litigants here, Ikūn-pī-Sin, son of Ibni-Sin, and Sin-išmēanni, son of Akšaja, appear in connection with Utul-Ištar, an important personage in Sippar<sup>52</sup>.

On the basis of our fragmentary evidence it seems that the assembly was infrequently convened and perhaps only to render a verdict in a lawsuit involving the leading citizens of Sippar. The relationship, if indeed there was one, between the *puḫrum* and the elders is not revealed. Paradoxically, the Chairman of the Assembly, the GAL UKKIN.NA, who must have presided over it, appears to have played a prominent administrative role.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the Chairman of the Assembly mention should be made of a judicial body which is referred to as *awēlū* "free men". We do not know if they are to be identified with the assembly (*puḫrum*) or the city (*ālum*). In one case they inspect (*amāru*) a wall which is the object of a dispute<sup>53</sup>. This body also sits in judgement in disputes over an adoption<sup>54</sup>, and a marriage<sup>55</sup>.

*The Chairman of the Assembly (GAL UKKIN.NA)*

In our first reference to the GAL UKKIN.NA, dating from the eighth year of Samsu-iluna, he witnesses the sale of a field by the king to a *nadītu* woman. The first witnesses to this transaction are the royal officials who may have come from Babylon — the *šāpir* MAŠKIM, the *šandabakku*, and two *sukkallu* officials. Following these is a group of local officials headed by the Chairman of the Assembly, and consisting of two Overseers of the Barbers, a judge, and the Overseer of the Merchants, in that order<sup>56</sup>. This sequence suggests, as does a later account<sup>57</sup>, that the office of Chairman of the Assembly ranks higher than that of judge or Overseer of the Merchants in this period.

Abi-ešuh writes to the officials of Sippar concerning the harvest of the fields of the Chairman of the Assembly for which sixteen men of the *sussikku* official of Sippar-Amnānum and four slaves of the children of a judge are to be used<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> CT 8 19a (Amš 5). For further discussion of this text see my article in AS 16 218.

<sup>52</sup> Ikun-pī-Sin leases out a field to Utul-Ištar in CT 45 66, and in CT 8 10a (Amš 15). Sin-išmēanni is the first witness to the lease in CT 45 66:20.

<sup>53</sup> BE 6/1 60:4 (Si 17). The decision is rendered by the *šāpiru* of Sippar.

<sup>54</sup> BE 6/1 58:9 (Si 11). Restore here: [*a-we-lu*]-ú.

<sup>55</sup> CT 45 86:29 (und).

<sup>56</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 (Si 8).

<sup>57</sup> BE 6/1 99 (Ams 12).

<sup>58</sup> LIH 84.

This incident shows that this official either holds large palace fields on which the corvée workers are required to work or that his own fields are worked by them as a privilege of his official position.

The judicial function of the Chairman is revealed in a fragmentary text which mentions two such chairmen, one of whom we assume is from another city, since we have no indication that two men might hold the office at the same time<sup>59</sup>. In another document, the Chairman and the barber (ŠU.I) receive a document from two *abi šābi* officials which concerns five lost oxen found in the possession of two persons<sup>60</sup>.

The administrative aspects of the office of Chairman of the Assembly may reflect those of the Assembly itself. The Chairman is connected with the supervision of the royal granaries. He is the first mentioned in a committee consisting of a man without a title, four judges and the *kārum* of Sippar-Amnānum which receives from several people payments of barley totalling more than 20 GUR<sup>61</sup>. In another instance he lends barley to a man in conjunction with the Overseer of the Merchants, the college of judges and the *kārum*, probably of Sippar-Jaḥrum<sup>62</sup>.

The Chairman is at times connected with the Šamaš temple since he heads the officials responsible for the lambs brought for the extispicy of the diviner<sup>63</sup>. In another instance in which he receives cattle from a man there is no explicit indication that they are for the temple<sup>64</sup>.

We do not know for how long a period this office is held. However, in the one example where we do have the names of Chairmen for two consecutive years (Ams 12 and 13) two different men hold this office. Therefore this office, like that of Overseer of Merchants, and Mayor, might be held for a period of only a year.

<sup>59</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 50 (Amd 6).

<sup>60</sup> TCL 1 164 (Ams 9). The Chairman of the Assembly and the barber mentioned here belong to the assembly in Sippar. Ibbi-Sin, the GAL UKKIN.NA also appears in BE 6/1 99 and the barber Ipqu-Nabium in CT 8 19a, 11b, 19b. The text is, therefore, not from Babylon as suggested by Schorr VAB 5 444 but from Sippar. The witnesses, too, are from Sippar. See e.g., the first witness, Awēl-Ištar, son of Ibni-Šamaš, whose field is mentioned in CT 8 11b:4 (Ams 5) where Ipqu-Nabium, the barber, is lessee.

<sup>61</sup> BE 6/1 99 (Ams 12).

<sup>62</sup> BM 81473 (Sd 3).

<sup>63</sup> Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 6 (Ae).

<sup>64</sup> BE 6/1 79 (Ae).

The information available on the private transactions of Chairmen indicates that they are wealthy individuals and citizens of Sippar. Ili-dāmiq has two sons, one of whom, Ilšu-ibnišu, is a captain in the army<sup>65</sup>. Ili-dāmiq also has a daughter named Lamassani, a *naditu* of Šamaš, who buys a great number of fields<sup>66</sup>. One text refers to the cylinder seal of Ili-dāmiq which had been given to the elder son, Ilšu-ibni. After the death of Ilšu-ibni, the seal cylinder is apparently sold for one shekel<sup>67</sup>. Another Chairman of the assembly, Sin-iqīšam and his *naditu* daughter, also named Lamassani, are often mentioned in connection with transactions of their steward, the *iššakku* farmer, Bēlijatum, discussed below under Agriculture.

*The Chairman of the Assembly*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Si	8	Rīm-Adad	Waterman Bus. Doc.28r.12
Ae	k	Gimil-Marduk	BM 80570:11
Ae	yr.after“o”	Marduk-muballit	Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 6:14
Ae	[x]	Ili-dāmiq s. Zimri-Šamaš	BE 6/1 79:4
Ae		Ili-dāmiq s. Zimri-Šamaš	BE 6/1 119:4, 12
Ae		Sin-mušallim	LIH 84:8f
Amd	6	Sin-tajjār	Waterman Bus. Doc. 50:4
		Awēl-Nabium	Wat. Bus. Doc. 50:3
Amd	13	Sin-iddinam	BM 80327:12
Amd	21	Marduk-mušallim	BM 80290:6
Ams	9	Ibni-Sin	TCL 1 164:9
Ams	12	Ibni-Sin	BE 6/1 99:13
Ams	13	Sin-iqīšam	TCL 1 167:15
Ams	17	Ina-palēšu	BM 80462:3
Sd	—	Awāt-Šamaš	BM 81473:5
Sd	3	Warad <sup>d</sup> [...]	BM 81262:5

*The Port Authority (kārum)*

The harbor section (*kārum*) of Sippar must have been the center of commercial activity and trade. However, it is specifically mentioned in this capacity only once, in a letter found during excavations at Tell-ed-Dēr, which mentions a

<sup>65</sup> BE 6/2 123:9(Ams 5).

<sup>66</sup> BE 6/1 119 (Amd).

<sup>67</sup> BM 78356 (Ams 35). This appears to be a lawsuit concerning the ownership of the seal cylinder but the text is poorly preserved at this point.

*kārum* of Sippar at Mari<sup>68</sup>. Obviously the *kārum* was not uncovered during the excavations at Sippar. What little is known of Sippar foreign trade is discussed below under Merchants and Trade.

The harbor area of Sippar is mentioned sporadically in a variety of lease contracts dating from the first year of Hammu-rapi's reign through the fourteenth year of Ammi-šaduqa as the place for the payment of the rent<sup>69</sup>. One loan contract states that "should they (the debtors, a husband and wife), be seen in the harbor", they pay the silver to anyone who presents the tablet<sup>70</sup>. The boat carrying a group of soldiers to Babylon leaves the harbor of Sippar for the palace<sup>71</sup>, and a man hires a boat in the harbor<sup>72</sup>.

This section of Sippar was presumably in existence before the reign of Hammu-rapi but its importance and that of the merchants of Sippar come into prominence only in this period, with what one must assume was the growth of Sippar as a center of far-reaching mercantile activities. In the Hammu-rapi references to the term *kārum* as a body of people, the *kārum* appears to serve primarily as a judicial body in conjunction with the judges of Sippar<sup>73</sup>. The presiding officer in these cases is the *rabiānu* of Sippar. In the two instances in which the Overseer of the Merchants, who perhaps with the beginning of the prominence of the *karum* is its chairman, ranks below the mayor who precedes him as witness<sup>74</sup>.

Unfortunately from none of the cases in which the *kārum* acts do we receive any precise information of its composition. But perhaps in the lawsuit dating from Ha 24 the witnesses do give us some accurate details. Here, apart from the mayor, and the Overseer of the Merchants, three other men are named<sup>75</sup>. From the fact that the Overseer of the Merchants acts as the head or chief representative of the *kārum* one would expect that the Port Authority was made up of the merchants. But the three men named in the text just mentioned are known

<sup>68</sup> For this see W.F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade* (= SDIOA 6), p. 106f.

<sup>69</sup> In the lease of the divine symbols (CT 8 8c:11 Ha 1); in the hire of slaves (BE 6/2 80:12 [Si 8]); YOS 12 442:15 [Si 24]; in the lease of fields (TCL 1 154:18 [Amd 24]; CT 8 10a:17 [Ams 15]); in a loan of barley (BM 80671:7 [Si 8]); in a palace loan (BE 6/1 85:14 [Amd 32]).

<sup>70</sup> VAS 9 83/84:7: *i-na KAR in-na-ma-ru*.

<sup>71</sup> Speleers Recueil 228 : 11 (Ha 41).

<sup>72</sup> VAS 16 125:23.

<sup>73</sup> CT 47 24/24a (Ha 3); 31/31a (Ha 11); CT 6 47b (Ha 24); VAS 9 30 (Ha 30); CT 47 25/25a (Si 14).

<sup>74</sup> As in CT 47 31/31a and CT 6 47b.

<sup>75</sup> CT 6 47b: 25-28. Awat-Šamaš, the Overseer, and the three men Itti-Enlil-qinni, Būr-Sin, and Ilšu-bāni make up the *kārum* body. Itti-Enlil-qinni is earlier an Overseer of the Merchants (see list of Overseers); Būr-Sin is judge in CT 47 24/24a and 31/31a and Ilšu-bāni is so in TCL 1 104:28 (Ha).

from other occurrences to be judges. So, too, in the lawsuit dating from Ha 11 the six persons named after the mayor and the Overseer of the Merchants are known from other contexts to be judges<sup>76</sup>. Apparently certain members of the *kārum* who were men of affluence and prominence in the community would serve as judges. It must be reiterated that because the *kārum* section of Sippar was not uncovered our information is scanty and very limited.

Apart from legal texts, the judicial role of the *kārum* is seen from royal letters written by King Abi-ešuḫ and his son Ammi-ditana. The king inquires of the *kārum* why certain litigations have not been settled<sup>76</sup> or calls its attention to illegal fishing carried on in two regions under the jurisdiction of Sippar<sup>77</sup>.

By the time of Samsu-iluna, in addition to its judicial role, the *kārum* becomes the principal administrative body, apparently supplanting the "city" and the "elders". In the reign of his successor, Abi-ešuḫ, the *kārum*'s judicial function appears to have become subsidiary, its administrative functions predominate. By this time, too, the Overseer of the Merchants is not only the head of the *kārum* but also of the college of judges.

One of the chief administrative functions which the *kārum* performs for the king is the collection of taxes. As noted in the previous chapter the *kārum* collects the taxes imposed on the various Sippars as well as such special taxes as the *igisû* tax of the *šakkanakku* official of Sippar-Amnānum, the *nēmettu* of a merchant of Sippar living in Kār-Šamaš, and the arrear taxes owed by various individuals. The role of the *kārum* in supervising the royal granaries has already been discussed above.

The Port Authority functions as an intermediary for the palace in other matters as well. It receives carcasses and hides for the palace from the *sussikku* official of the country<sup>78</sup>, and gives the brewers of Sippar-Amnānum barley for beer which it then sends to Sippar-Jaḥrurum<sup>79</sup>.

The *kārum* takes over a function earlier performed by the "city". By the time of Abi-ešuḫ it is the *kārum* which sells property left without a legal owner<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> LIH 91 and 92.

<sup>77</sup> LIH 80.

<sup>78</sup> CT 8 1c (Ae d).

<sup>79</sup> LIH 85.

<sup>80</sup> BE 6/1 119 r. 1. 15 and BM 78254 iii 6ff. Both are *Sammeltexte*. They concern the *kārum* of Sippar-Amnānum but undoubtedly also reflect the function of the *kārum* of Sippar.

The *kārum* is asked by the king to reinforce the walls of canals<sup>81</sup>, and to prepare for the defence of the city when war is imminent<sup>82</sup>.

Besides the *kārum* which exists in Sippar proper, there are separate *kārum*'s in Sippar-Jaḥrurum and Sippar-Amnānum. The earliest reference to the *kārum* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum dates from Abi-ešuḥ in which the Overseer of the Barbers hands over to this Port Authority 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> shekels which must have been taxes<sup>83</sup>. A little later the gate official of the *kārum* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum hands out temple wool which is lent out on credit<sup>84</sup>. Three judges and the *kārum* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum receive sesame which is to be processed for oil and used for the festival of Šamaš of Sippar<sup>85</sup>. Taxes are delivered by a judge and another man who belongs to the *kārum* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum<sup>86</sup>. The harbor section of Sippar-Jaḥrurum is also the place where a business loan is repaid, and where boats are loaded for a trip to Babylon<sup>87</sup>. In a Samsu-iluna text it is the location of a house<sup>88</sup>. As we shall see below, Sippar-Jaḥrurum, like Sippar proper, had not only a Port Authority, but also its judges and Overseer of the Merchants.

The other sister city of Sippar, Sippar-Amnānum also had a *kārum* body. It sells an ownerless field and it, along with the Chairman of the Assembly and three judges, receives barley destined for the granary of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>89</sup>. The harbor section of Sippar-Amnānum is mentioned as a place where field rentals are to be paid<sup>90</sup>. Its harbor must have been of some commercial importance for the Overseer of the Sailors of Sippar-Amnānum has to pay a *nēmettu* tax of a cargo boat loaded with 60 GUR of barley<sup>91</sup>. The wine made in Sippar-Amnānum must have been sent by boat from its harbor to Sippar-Jaḥrurum<sup>92</sup>. Sippar-Amnānum also had its judges, and probably its Overseer of Merchants, though to date we have no reference to the latter.

As we suggested elsewhere, the growth of administrative structures in the sister

<sup>81</sup> LIH 88.

<sup>82</sup> LIH 104.

<sup>83</sup> BM 80299:6 (Ae k).

<sup>84</sup> CT 6 24a:7 (Amd 1).

<sup>85</sup> CT 8 36c:19 (Amd 8).

<sup>86</sup> CT 8 2b:22 (Amd 34).

<sup>87</sup> BE 6/1 115:8 (Sd d) and BE 6/1 110:9 (Sd g), respectively.

<sup>88</sup> See É.DÛ.A *i-na kar-im* in CT 4 17c:1 (Si 9). The *kārum* here is of Sippar-Jaḥrurum for the wide street of Bunene is one of the boundaries (1.3).

<sup>89</sup> BM 78254 iii 5 (Ae) and BE 6/1 99:18 (Amš 12).

<sup>90</sup> As in BE 6/1 74:12 (Ae 28); BE 6/2 110:14 (Amd 29); and CT 8 7a:23 (Amd 32).

<sup>91</sup> LIH 87.

<sup>92</sup> LIH 85.

cities of Sippar in the reign of Abi-ešuh, paralleling the chief administrative body of Sippar, was an innovation introduced by this king and maintained by his successors to further the centralization of the realm and perhaps counter-balance the considerable power of the administrative body of Sippar<sup>93</sup>.

*The Overseer of the Merchants (UGULA DAM.GĀR MEŠ)*

The Overseer of the Merchants, one of the highest ranking officials of the city, first appears as a witness and as a property owner in the time of Apil-Sin<sup>94</sup>. His judicial role is attested from the time of Sin-muballit, when his name follows the names of the judges in the litigations of this period, and precedes them during the following reign of Hammu-rapi<sup>95</sup>. It is during the time of Hammu-rapi that the Overseer of the Merchants appears to head or represent the *kārum* when it joins with the court of judges in deciding litigations presided over by the *rabiānu* official. After Hammu-rapi, in the reigns of Samsu-iluna and Abi-ešuh, the Overseer becomes head of the most important administrative body of the city, composed of both the *kārum* and the court of judges. The role of this body then shifts more and more from legal to administrative duties, under the leadership of the Overseer of the Merchants.

The office of Overseer of the Merchants would appear from our information to have been held for only a year at a time, and although several men hold the office many times, they never hold it for two consecutive years<sup>96</sup>. One exception to this rule may be Ilšu-ibnī who is attested as Overseer for a period of 22 years in the reign of Ammi-ditana, a period during which only one other Overseer is known. This, however, appears to be an exceptional occurrence, representing perhaps an unusual acquisition of power by the Overseer Ilšu-ibnī.

A.L. Oppenheim has suggested<sup>97</sup> that the annual tenure of this office, as well

<sup>93</sup> For this see JAOS 88 731 and especially note 44. I suggested here that a further administrative change apparently took place in the last years of Ammi-šaduqa.

<sup>94</sup> CT 4 71:5 (AS 11); CT 47 5:4 (AS). See also the recently published CT 48 13:11 ff., which probably dates to AS 4, for an Overseer acting in a context which is poorly preserved.

<sup>95</sup> VAS 8 71:32 (Sm); CT 47 31/31a:36 (Ha 11); CT 6 47b:25 (Ha 24); CT 8 24b:17 (Si 2).

<sup>96</sup> The seal inscriptions of Ilšu-ibni and Adad-iddinam are preserved; for the former see CT 45 46, for the later BE 6/1 105. It is important to note that in these inscriptions their title of Overseer of the Merchants has been included despite the fact that this office is an annual one. But these two men held the office several times and this perhaps accounts for its inclusion. Both seals contain the phrase "servant of RN" showing that the Overseer is a civil servant.

<sup>97</sup> In JESHO X/1 (1967) 6. Professor Oppenheim in his article "A New Look at the Structure of Mesopotamian Society" has utilized data from the Sippar material to draw some significant conclusions concerning urbanism in Mesopotamia. He goes on to say that the annual tenured offices indicates the existence in the city of Sippar of a civic tradition of a degree of equality at least with a restricted group of citizens and, along with this, a concept of municipal autonomy.

as of the *rabiānu* and GAL.UKKIN.NA discussed above and of the *šāpiru* discussed below, is “a direct reflection of a civic institution which regulates the term of office of the head of the city government in the following way: from a small group of individuals of wealth and status one person is selected by lot to serve for an annual tenure with the proviso that the retiring official cannot participate in the selection of his successor”.

To judge from their private transactions, the Overseers of the Merchants are all wealthy citizens. But there is no evidence that the Overseer of the Merchants was ever himself a merchant, unless the Overseer Awāt-Šamaš is to be identified with a man of the same name and known from his seal inscription to have been a merchant<sup>98</sup>.

However, there are several connections between the Overseer of the Merchants and the judge. The judge <sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib is the son of an Overseer, Ilšu-ibnī, and himself becomes an Overseer of the Merchants<sup>99</sup>. Itti-Enlil-qinni, the Overseer in the 11th year of Hammu-rapi serves as a judge in his 40th year<sup>100</sup> and has two sons, Šamaš-ellassu and Akšak-iddinam who are judges<sup>101</sup>.

Ipiq-ilišu, son of Šarrum-Šamaš, who serves as Overseer at least six times between the 2nd and 29th year of Samsu-iluna, acts as a judge in the 33rd year of Hammu-rapi, though he is not explicitly described as such<sup>102</sup>. It would thus

<sup>98</sup> As Overseer in CT 6 47b (Ha 24), and Awāt-Šamaš, the merchant, in the seal of VAS 8 85 (Ha 2) is the father of Sin-iqīšam. The seal in the latter text is used by the son of Sin-iqīšam, Akšak-iddinam (1.25). But given the time lapse these two men are probably not identical.

<sup>99</sup> On the dating of this change of office see Kraus *Edikt* 106f., and 108f.

<sup>100</sup> Overseer in CT 47 31/31a:36 and judge in CT 6 47b:26.

<sup>101</sup> Šamaš-ellassu and Akšak-iddinam, sons of Itti-Enlil-qinni, who are mentioned frequently in our texts must be his sons, as his name is a rare one. The sons appear only as witnesses to various transactions, sometimes together (VAS 9 116 [HA 35], CT 47 56/56a [Si 4]), but also separately (Akšak-iddinam in CT 4 17b [Si 22], CT 47 63/63a [Si 14], CT 8 15a [Si 22], CT 4 7b [Si 22], BE 6/1 [Si 24]; Šamaš-ellassu in CT 47 67/67a). When they appear as witnesses Akšak-iddinam precedes the presumably younger brother, Šamas-ellassu. These two brothers are undoubtedly to be identified with the judges who judicate the dispute recorded in TCL 1 104 (Ha [x]). There is no evidence that either ever became Overseer of the Merchants. But the one indirect link we do find between the Overseer and the merchant recently came to light with the publication of CT 47 56a S4. Here we find the seal inscription of Šamaš-ellassu, son of Itti-Enlil-qinni, who is here described as a merchant, DAM.GĀR.

<sup>102</sup> In CT 47 39:16 (Ha 24) and CT 8 5b r. 6 (Ha 33). Walther *Gerichtswesen* 14f. has correctly identified Ipiq-ilišu with the son of Šarrum-Šamaš. We will note in the chapter on the judges that often many of them function as judges even though not explicitly described as judges. The mention of men who are known from other passages to have formed the collegia of judges would support this suggestion.

seem that the Overseer of the Merchants belongs to the group of wealthy citizens from whom the judges are chosen. But, as was the case with the *kārum*, the limited nature of our material does not reveal their connection with the gremio of merchants.

We have mentioned that several of the Overseers have sons who are judges, one of whom, <sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib, also becomes an Overseer. The father of this judge, Ilšu-ibnī, also has two daughters who are wealthy *naditu*-women, Aja-tallik and Aja-rēšat<sup>103</sup>.

The evidence that the sister cities of Sippar, Sippar-Jaḥrurum and Sippar-Amnānum each also had an Overseer of the Merchants is scanty. An Overseer of Sippar-Jaḥrurum is the recipient of a letter from Ammi-ditana<sup>104</sup>. But to date no such official from Sippar-Amnānum has been attested. We assume, however, that since Sippar-Amnānum had a *kārum* and a College of Judges (see below under Judiciary) that this body was headed by an Overseer of Merchants as it was in Sippar-Jaḥrurum and Sippar proper. In this connection the use of the plural UGULA.DAM.GĀR.MEŠ in CT 45 41:2 (Ae s) in speaking of the *igisū* taxes they have to pay is noteworthy. But whether this refers to three Overseers is impossible to say.

As head of the *kārum* and of the College of Judges, the Overseer of the Merchants is the chief administrator of the city. In this capacity he is responsible for the collection of taxes for the king as has been noted above. The Overseer is included with judges and others in a list of persons required to fulfill corvée duties<sup>105</sup>. An unknown number of Overseers have to pay a substantial annual *igisū* tax to the palace of 140 shekels of silver, as mentioned above.

He and the College of judges are responsible for the supervision of the royal granaries by the time of Abi-ešuḥ, and <sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib., the Overseer, distributes barley from the granary in Sippar-Amnānum in the time of Ammi-ša-duqa<sup>106</sup>. However, a change in the leading role of the Overseer of the Merchants is noted in the reign of the last ruler of the First Dynasty. In three accounts from the reign of Samsu-ditana, the chief responsibility for this task seems to be taken over by a scribe<sup>107</sup>; and in two of these, the GAL.UKKIN.NA even

<sup>103</sup> For Aja-rēšat see JCS 16 1.

<sup>104</sup> LIH 55.

<sup>105</sup> PBS 8/2 227:4 (Si 8).

<sup>106</sup> CT 8 10c, 21b (Ams 5).

<sup>107</sup> BM 81255, 81262, 81473.

precedes the Overseer in the list of supervisory officials<sup>108</sup>. The reason for this change is not known, but as we shall note below in discussing the *bārû* and the *rabi sikkatim* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum other changes in the administrative structure may be detected at the very end of the reign of Ammi-ṣaduqa.

The Overseer of the Merchants is sometimes the official through whom persons “borrow” palace wool in order to sell it; transactions which are under the supervision of a scribe. Both Iṣu-ibnī, and his son <sup>4</sup>Utu.ṣu.mu.un.dib act in this capacity<sup>109</sup>.

The administrative function of the Overseer also extends to the Šamaš temple. He is in charge of distributing the barley of the Šamaš temple<sup>110</sup>, and together with the College of judges of Sippar is responsible for giving the silver collected from several persons among whom is the Overseer himself (line 1), to *iššakku* farmers of the Šamaš temple fields in order to buy four bulls trained to work in teams before plows<sup>111</sup>. The Overseer, with a judge and the temple's *šà.tam* officials among others, receives silver for the temple<sup>112</sup>, and the Overseer is involved in a loan from the temple in which Šamaš and Aja are the creditors. Thirty-two shekels are given to four people at the order of the Overseer to buy *šuginû* sheep<sup>113</sup>.

The Overseer of the Merchants is involved in a number of transactions in which his function cannot be defined. He receives 50 suckling lambs valued at 2 1/2 minas of silver<sup>114</sup>; a judge hires a slave reed worker from the Overseer's household for a month<sup>115</sup>. In our latest reference he is given 40 shekels of silver to purchase bitumen (*ittûm*). The poorly preserved text goes on to state that this is “for the journey (?) of the Kassite encampments”<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> BM 81262 and 81473.

<sup>109</sup> BM 80422 (Amd 5), BM 80836 (Amd 23), CT 8 36a (Amd 26), BM 80644.

<sup>110</sup> CT 8 8b (Amd 15).

<sup>111</sup> CT 8 30c (Amd 5).

<sup>112</sup> TLB 1 280 (Ams 13).

<sup>113</sup> CT 45 47 (Amd 9).

<sup>114</sup> PBS 8/2 263 (Ha 38). This account dates so much earlier than do the other accounts which connect the Overseer with the temple. In this period his administrative role is not evident.

<sup>115</sup> BM 81306 (Ae k). Usually in a hire contract a slave is hired from the owner of the slave. But in this hire contract the slave is hired from the household of the Overseer of the Merchants which may indicate that this hire differs from the usual one.

<sup>116</sup> BM 78378:3 (Sd 11): *a-na KASKAL É.ḪIA Ka-aš-ši-i*.

*Overseers of Merchants in Sippar*

DATE	NAME	TEXT
AS 4	Amurru-bāni	CT 48 13:11 f
AS 11	Aḡam-nirši	CT 4 7a:5
AS	<sup>d</sup> UTU.ZI.MU	CT 47 5:5
Sm	Uṣur-pī-Ištar	CT 8 16a:15
Sm	Sin-iqīšam	VAS 8 71:32
Sm	Sin-iqīšam	CT 8 1a:13
Sm	Sin-iqīšam	Scheil Sippar 10:45
Ha 11	Itti-Enlil-qinni	CT 47 31:36
Ha 30	Ibni-Adad	CT 45 26:25
Ha 33	Adad-iddinam	CT 8 5b r. 5
Ha 38	Ilšu-bāni s. Narām-ilišu	PBS 8/2 263:6, 9
Ha [destr.]	Ilšu-bāni	PBS 8/2 261:16
Ha 24	Awāt-Šamaš	CT 6 47b:25
Ha ?	Ilšu-ibbišu	CT 45 28:19
Si 2	Ipiq-ilišu (s. Šarrum-Šamaš)	CT 8 24b:17
Si 6	Šamaš-liwwir	Waterman Bus. Doc. 44 r. 12
Si 8	Ipiq-ilišu	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 15
Si 8	Ipiq-ilišu	PBS 8/2 227:4
Si 10	Abu-kīma-ili	Riftin 48:27
Si 14	Ipiq-ilišu	CT 47 63:13
Si 24	Ipiq-ilišu	BE 6/1 61:27
Si 29	Ipiq-ilišu	CT 6 20a:8
Si 34 (?)	Sin-iddinam	BM 80859:6
Ae	Sin-iddinam	LIH 82:1, 85:2, 90:8 and passim <sup>116a</sup>
Ae e	Sin-iddinam	CT 8 27b:22
Ae k	Šamaš-bāni	BM 81306:5
[x]	Šamaš-bāni	BM 80570:5
Ae v	Marduk-nāšir	TCL 1 148:10
Ae u	Šamaš-nāšir	BE 6/2 91:20
Ae	Marduk-nāšir	LIH 84:1, 91:1 and passim <sup>116a</sup>

<sup>116a</sup> Sin-iddinam, as well as Marduk-nāšir, to whom Abi-ešuḡ and Samsu-iluna, address letters must be Overseers for they are followed by the *kārum* and College of judges.

Amd 1	Šamaš-bāni <sup>117</sup>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 29 r. 2
Amd 5	Ilšu-ibnī s. Irra- [...]	BM 80422:4
Amd 5	Ilšu-ibnī	CT 8 30c:1
Amd 6	Ilšu-ibnī	CT 45 46:5
Amd 9	Ilšu-ibnī	CT 45 47:7
Amd 15	Ilšu-ibnī	CT 8 8b:7
Amd 21	Ilšu-ibnī	BM 80290:16
Amd 23	Ilšu-ibnī	BM 80836:3
Amd 23	Sin-ibnīšu	BM 80915:6
Amd 23	Sin-ibnīšu	BM 80997:5
Amd 26	Ilšu-ibnī	CT 8 36a:3
Amd x	Ilšu-ibnī	CT 45 55:16
Amd 29	<sup>d</sup> Utu.šu.mu.un.dib s. Ilšu-ibnī	Waterman Bus. Doc. 19:3
Amd 32	Awēl-Sin	CT 8 40d:16
Amd [x]	Sin-iddinam (his sons)	CT 45 55:24
und.	Sin-iddinam (his sons)	CT 45 109:15
Ams 5	<sup>d</sup> Utu.šu.mu.un.dib	CT 8 21b:9
Ams 5	<sup>d</sup> Utu.šu.mu.un.dib	CT 8 10c:5
und.	<sup>d</sup> Utu.šu.mu.un.dib	TCL 1 221:12
und.	<sup>d</sup> Utu.šu.mu.un.dib	Waterman Bus. Doc. 59:4
Ams 6	Ibni-Adad	BE 6/1 104:15
Ams 11	Ilšu-ibnīšu	BM 80744:8
Ams 13	Adad-iddinam	TLB 1 280:16
Ams 13	Sin-ibnī	BM 80939:13
Ams 13	Ibni-Adad (his sons)	Meissner BAP 42:11
Ams 14	Adad-iddinam	BM 80911:17
Ams 16	Adad-iddinam	BE 6/1 105:31
Ams 17+ b	Adad-iddinam	PBS 7 103:12
Sd 11	Ibni-Adad	BM 78378:5
und.	LÚ- <sup>d</sup> ASAR.LÚ.ḪI	CT 45 121:25

<sup>117</sup> The suggestion made by Leemans *Old Babylonian Merchant* p. 101f., that Marduk-nāšir and Šamaš-bāni, Overseers of the Merchants, are to be identified with the brothers mentioned in CT 6 6 one of whom had sold a field to the daughter of Ilšu-ibni, the Overseer of the Merchants, cannot be substantiated. But if true it would be the only example where brothers hold this office. That they are not the same is perhaps to be seen from CT 45 55 (Amd) where among responsible officials are the sons of Sin-iddinam UGULA DAM.GĀR.MEŠ (1.24) and Marduk-nāšir son of Sin-iddinam (1.28). The latter is to be identified with the person by that name in CT 6 6:4, 10 (Ams 11).

*Other City Administrators*

Apart from the officials discussed above, each of whom appears to be connected with one or more administrative bodies, there are several officials whose relative position in the administration is even less apparent. Some of these officials are associated with one or another of the Sippars: the *šāpiru* of Sippar, the *rabi sikkatim* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum, the *sussikku*'s of Sippar and of Sippar-Amnānum, the *šakkanakku* of Sippar-Amnānum, and the bailiff (NIMGIR) of Sippar.

There is in addition a group of minor officials who assist the chief administrators in the performance of their duties. Included in this group are the barbers, the tax collector, and the various gatekeepers.

*The Governor (šāpiru) of Sippar*

The *šāpiru* may have succeeded the *rabiānu* or mayor as presiding officer of the court since the *rabiānu* last appears in this role in the 14th year of Samsu-iluna and our first reference to the *šāpiru* dates from the 17th year of the same king when the *šāpiru* Šarrum-kīma-ili presides over the citizens (*awēlū*)<sup>118</sup>. In the next year the *šāpiru* Sin-išmēšu presides over a court composed of the judges<sup>119</sup>; in the 25th year of Samsu-iluna, the *šāpiru* Sin-nādin-šumī performs this function<sup>120</sup>, and in the 27th year of Samsu-iluna, Adanšu-likšud<sup>121</sup>. The fact that two different men serve in successive years might indicate that the holder of this office changed annually.

There are several references to the *šāpiru* in undated letters. The RÁ.GAB of the *šāpiru* Ibni-Marduk brings (*tuhḫū*) someone to him, probably to settle a dispute<sup>122</sup>, and an unnamed *šāpiru* gives the order to break a tablet, serving thus in a judicial capacity<sup>123</sup>.

The *šāpir mātīm* or “*šāpiru* of the land or the inland region” is mentioned several times. Sin-ašarid brings a claim to the marriage gift which he had given

<sup>118</sup> BE 6/1 60:10f. (Si 17).

<sup>119</sup> RA 9 22 (Si 18).

<sup>120</sup> CT 2 43:4f. (Si 25).

<sup>121</sup> CT 45 37:8 (Si 27). We must note that the signs that follow *šāpir* do not appear to be UD.[KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup>]. Perhaps this man is to be equated with Hadanšu-likšud the *sukkallu* in Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 11 (Si 8).

<sup>122</sup> CT 43 49:18.

<sup>123</sup> CT 29 41. For more on this letter see Finkelstein AS 16 237 note 12.

the parents of a girl whom he has not married<sup>124</sup>. Another *šāpir mātīm*, Ištar-iš-mēšu, is named in a letter of King Abi-ešuh to the judges of Sippar as the official responsible for collecting the *igisû* tax from the merchants of Sippar and sending it to the king<sup>125</sup>.

The “*šāpiru* of the river (*šāpir nārim*)” is sent a letter by a steward of the *nadītu*'s, Rapaš-šilli-Ea, in either the time of Hammu-rapi or Samsu-iluna. The steward asks for the return of a *nadītu*'s slave whom the *šāpir nārim* is unlawfully holding for service as a *rēdû* soldier<sup>126</sup>. From his title, one would assume that the *šāpir nārim* is connected with the supervision of irrigation and canals. He has perhaps recruited the run-away slave for public works.

#### *The rabi sikkatim of Sippar-Jahrurum*

The office of *rabi sikkatim*<sup>127</sup> of Sippar-Jahrurum is attested only in the periods of the kings Ammi-šaduqa and Samsu-ditana. A number of the references to this official seem to indicate that he was a resident of Sippar-Jahrurum and responsible for the administration of this town during this time. The *rabi sikkatim* Awēl-Adad witnesses the sale of a house located in Sippar-Jahrurum, a transaction in which he is preceded as witness by the Overseer of the Merchants and followed by two judges, and other witnesses<sup>128</sup>. Adad-iddinam is the *rabi sikkatim* who witnesses the giving of slaves by an UGULA.MAR.TU to his wife in the time of the king Samsu-ditana. In this text the *rabi sikkatim* is the first witness and is followed by three judges and the diviner (*bārû*)<sup>129</sup>. The *rabi sikkatim* Ipqu-Annunītum and a brewer who is perhaps his son receive a quantity of what may be beer<sup>129a</sup>.

The appearance of the diviner as witness with the *rabi sikkatim* is significant since the two officials are addressed together in a number of royal letters. King Ammi-šaduqa writes five letters to Ibbi-Enlil whose rank is unknown, and

<sup>124</sup> Riftin 48:2.

<sup>125</sup> LIH 86.

<sup>126</sup> CT 44 53.

<sup>127</sup> See Walther *Gerichtswesen* 121 for the references to the *rabi sikkatim* of the Tell Sifr texts who appears often as the *rabiānu*.

<sup>128</sup> BE 6/1 105:32 (Ams 17 + b). The seal inscription of Awēl-Adad mentions his title as well as the fact that he is the servant of Ammi-šaduqa, as do the seal inscriptions of the Overseer of the Merchants.

<sup>129</sup> BE 6/1 116:25 (Sd h).

<sup>129a</sup> CT 48 110:3f. (Amd 17 + b). That Alû, the LÚ.GEŠTIN.NA, may be his son see Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 16:7 (Ams 14).

to the *rabi sikkatim* and the *barû* who live in Sippar-Jahrurum. In one letter the king asks these officials to send him the barley comprising the *nēmettu* tax of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>130</sup>, and in another, in which Sippar-Jahrurum is mentioned, informs the officials of the approach of the enemy<sup>131</sup>. A third letter deals with a run-away slave who seems to have fled to Sippar-Jahrurum<sup>132</sup>. It is perhaps of significance that an earlier letter<sup>133</sup>, one of King Abi-ešuh, which deals with a *naditu* of Marduk's runaway slave who is found in Sippar-Amnānum, is addressed to the officials of Sippar. This may be evidence that an administrative change took place at the end of Ammi-šaduqa's reign. In another letter of Ammi-šaduqa in which the name of the *rabi sikkatim* appears to be Sin-iqišam, the king speaks of a *kalamāhu* and the head of the bakers. A final letter from this king tells of workers who are to arrive at Sippar-Jahrurum<sup>135</sup>. The contents of the one letter of King Samsu-ditana addressed to the *rabi sikkatim* and the *bārû* are not preserved<sup>136</sup>.

This series of letters shows the close connection of the *rabi sikkatim* with Sippar-Jahrurum, and perhaps with Sippar-Amnānum as well, and would suggest that the *kārum* of Sippar-Jahrurum, at least, has been replaced as chief representative of the king in this town.

*The sussikku (SU.SI.IG) official of Sippar and of Sippar-Amnānum*<sup>137</sup>

The *sussikku* is apparently a tanner or leather worker with official status who operates as an agent between the palace and the shepherds<sup>138</sup>.

This official is connected with four different regions — “the country” (*mātum*)<sup>139</sup> “Sippar”<sup>140</sup>, “Sippar and its surroundings”, (Sippar *u nawēšu*)<sup>141</sup> and most frequently, “Sippar-Amnānum”<sup>142</sup>, or “Sippar-Amnānum and its

<sup>130</sup> VAS 16 27.

<sup>131</sup> VAS 16 59.

<sup>132</sup> VAS 16 60.

<sup>133</sup> LIH 89.

<sup>134</sup> VAS 16 61.

<sup>135</sup> VAS 16 97.

<sup>136</sup> VAS 16 26.

<sup>137</sup> The Akkadian form of the Sumerian SU.SI.IG, *sussikku*, is used only in BM 81556 (Si 22).

<sup>138</sup> The role of the SU.SI.IG official has been discussed by Kraus *Edikt* 114ff.

<sup>139</sup> (SU.SI.IG) *mātim* “the country” (Kraus *Edikt* Sec. 10, CT 8 1c:6 [Ae d], emmendation of Kraus).

<sup>140</sup> (SU.SI.IG) *Sippar* (CT 8 33c:14 [Ae d]).

<sup>141</sup> (SU.SI.IG) *Sippar u nawēšu* (BE 6/1 72:2f [Ae k]).

<sup>142</sup> (SU.SI.IG) *Sippar-Amnānum* (CT 4 15b:7f [Ae b], BM 81397:3 [Ae 1]).

surroundings”<sup>143</sup>. There is no geographical designation, however, in the earliest references to this official dating from the time of Hammu-rapi and Samsu-iluna.

In the earliest occurrences of the *sussikku* he receives only carcasses — eight, three and two, respectively<sup>144</sup>. In two accounts from the time of king Abi-ešuḫ, however, large numbers of both hides and carcasses are mentioned, 37 and 131, which were certainly put to commercial use, although this is not specified<sup>145</sup>. The palace is not mentioned in these texts as it is in the Edict of Ammi-šaduqa. But the fact that the *kārum* and judges of Sippar receive the hides and carcasses<sup>146</sup> indicates that official business is being transacted. The deliveries in the reign of Abi-ešuḫ may represent a tax on the shepherds which was collected by the *sussikku*. The *sussikku* official perhaps had to pay an *ilku* tax in lieu of service if one may judge from an Abi-ešuḫ account<sup>147</sup>. Here Ēṭirum, son of Warad-Sin, who often appears collecting the *kasap ilkim* delivers 2/3 shekel of silver which is part of the silver (payment) of the *sussikku* of Sippar and its surroundings. In a perhaps similar situation Nidnatum, the *sussikku* of Sippar-Amnānum, delivers to two men, who are probably summoners, 1/2 mina of silver collected as taxes by a judge<sup>148</sup>.

Of special interest is the letter of King Abi-ešuḫ to the Sippar officials asking that 16 men of the “*sussikku* official of Sippar-Amnānum and its surroundings”, as well as four slaves of the sons of a judge, be sent to harvest the fields of the Chairman of the Assembly<sup>149</sup>. This would indicate that the *sussikku* is in charge of a number of men.

*The šakkanakku (of Sippar-Amnānum)*

The *šakkanakku* is first mentioned in the time of Sin-muballiṭ. Šamaš-tappišu, son of Nanna-iddinam, is witness to a division of property where he is preceded by the *rabiānu* and an untitled person<sup>150</sup>. Three different *šakkanakku*'s appear as witnesses in three contracts from the time of Samsu-iluna<sup>150a</sup>; in one of which he precedes the *ḫazannu*<sup>151</sup>. In the reign of Abi-ešuḫ the *šakkanakku* seems

<sup>143</sup> *Sippar-Amnānum u nawēšu* (LIH 84:5 [Ae]).

<sup>144</sup> BM 81596:3f. (Ha 26); BM 81556:3f. (Si 17); BM 82164:5 (Si 19), respectively.

<sup>145</sup> CT 8 33c and 1c.

<sup>146</sup> CT 8 1c.

<sup>147</sup> BE 6/1 72.

<sup>148</sup> CT 4 15b (Ae b).

<sup>149</sup> LIH 84.

<sup>150</sup> CT 8 1a:12. In what is probably the case of this document, CT 8 4a:15, his title is not added.

<sup>150a</sup> BE 6/1 57:24 (Si 9); BE 6/1 59 (Si 16); CT 6 20a:27 (Si 29).

<sup>151</sup> BE 6/1 59 (Si 16).

to have administrative duties and Sippar-Amnānum is added to his title. (It is interesting to note that a similar addition is found in this period to the title of the *sussikku* official). Perhaps at this time he supervises the internal municipal affairs of Sippar-Amnānum whereas its *kārum* and College of judges act on behalf of the palace.

The *šakkanakku*, Ipqu-Aja, is mentioned after the *sanga* of the Annunītum temple in the enumeration of those responsible for checking the property of the Ea and Damkina chapel after a theft. This chapel must have been located in Sippar-Amnānum since the Annunītum temple is located there<sup>152</sup>.

The *šakkanakku* official is obligated to pay various taxes to the palace. He gives the tax collector two mina of silver as partial payment for the barley collected as his *igisû* tax<sup>153</sup>. Again, provisions for the *sukkallu* official equal to three and one-half shekels of silver from the *igisû* tax of the *šakkanakku* is given by the officials of Sippar to soldiers (UKU.UŠ SAG), apparently to take to the king<sup>154</sup>. The *šakkanakku* also pays a *nēmettu* tax consisting of twelve lambs which he delivers to the temple for the extispicy of the diviners<sup>155</sup>.

The office of *šakkanakku* may have been a lifetime one since Sin-rēmenni held office for at least seven years and Ipqu-Aja probably for many more years.

The *šakkanakku*'s

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Sm		Šamaš-tappišu s. Nanna-iddinam	CT 8 1a:12
Si	9	Sin-rēmenni	BE 6/1 57:24
Si	16	Sin-rēmenni	BE 6/1 59 case 3.
Si	29	Ipqu-Aja s. Ea-māgir	CT 6 20a:27
Si	[x]	Ipqu-Aja s. Ea-māgir	PBS 8/2 194 r.iv 11
Ae	v	—	TCL 1 148:6
Ae	z	Ipqu-Aja	BE 6/1 69:3f
Ae	[x]	Ipqu-Aja	BE 6/1 80:5f.

<sup>152</sup> PBS 8/2 194 (Si destr.). This is suggested by a letter of King Abi-ešuh to the Sippar officials, LIH 91, in which he speaks of "the *sanga* official of Annunītum of Sippar-Amnānum".

<sup>153</sup> BE 6/1 69:3f (Ae z).

<sup>154</sup> TCL 1 148:6 (Ae v).

<sup>155</sup> BE 6/1 80:5f. (Ae).

*The bailiff of Sippar (NIMGIR Sippar)*

There is only one occurrence of the title “bailiff of Sippar”, as opposed to the bailiff of the court whom we shall discuss below. The bailiff, Abum-waqar, hires a man to carry the divine symbol of Šamaš about the countryside in order to collect the barley tithe from the devotees of the god and bring it to Sippar. Since the first witness to this hire contract is the *rabiānu*, the bailiff in this case is apparently acting on behalf of the city and not the temple<sup>156</sup>.

*The Overseer of the Barbers (UGULA ŠU.I)*

The Overseer of the Barbers appears only once in his administrative capacity in a text in which he hands over (*šumhuru*) 13 1/3 shekels of silver to the *kārum*, a transaction for which he perhaps has authority from the king. The money is to be used by the *iššakku* steward of the Šamaš temple to hire harvest workers to work in the temple fields<sup>157</sup>.

Five of seven known Overseers of the Barbers are mentioned in two sale contracts in which the king sells fields to *naditu*'s. They appear as witnesses along with other high officials<sup>158</sup>. Since the title itself suggests that there would be only one such official in any given place three of the Overseers must come from towns outside of Sippar.

In two other texts, the Overseer of the Barbers acts as a private individual: leasing a field, and having the wall of his house repaired<sup>159</sup>.

Although we have no way of judging the relative position of the Overseer of the Barbers in the hierarchy of administrators the fact that one Dāmiq-Marduk had the title, GÁ.DUB.BA ŠÀ UGULA.ŠU.I would suggest that it was a high ranking office<sup>160</sup>.

*Overseers of the Barbers*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Si	18	Sagila-iddinam	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 7
Si	18	Ea-rīšušu	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 8

<sup>156</sup> Szlechter Tablettes 122 MAH 16147:9f. (Ams 10).

<sup>157</sup> BM 80299 (Ae k).

<sup>158</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 (Si 28); CT 45 121 (und.).

<sup>159</sup> CT 6 24b (Ae k) and BM 81396 (Ams 13), respectively.

<sup>160</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 9. Note above the royal office of GÁ.DUB.BA ŠÀ É.GAL.

Si	18	Nanna-idinnam	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 13
Ae	k	Marduk-mušallim	CT 6 24b:4
Ae	k	Marduk-mušallim	BM 80299:6
Ams	13	Etel-pī <sup>d</sup> LĀL	BM 81396:5
und		Nūr-ilīšu	CT 45 121:14
und		Balāssu-līrīk	CT 45 121:15

*The Barber-gallābu (ŠU.I)*

Although the barber seems to have served in some official capacity, our texts do not contribute greatly to the clarification of his function. The earliest reference to the barber is in the time of Apil-Sin, but only in the texts from the time of Abi-ešuḫ and later is some indication of his function given. He somehow is involved with the collection of taxes. In one instance the barber is the official responsible (GĪR) for the collection of hides and sheep carcasses received by the *sussikku* official of Sippar<sup>161</sup>. In another, he is responsible for a tax collected from the *sussikku* of Sippar by two summoners<sup>162</sup>. Twenty shekels of silver brought by the Overseer of the Merchants is given to the barber as *tadnintū* and *nudunnū*<sup>163</sup>. It must be in his official capacity that a barber gives a sheep to a man at the order of the shepherd<sup>164</sup>. To judge from one account the barber may have had to pay some kind of tax in silver<sup>165</sup>. Barbers witness various transactions<sup>166</sup>. They also own and lease fields<sup>167</sup>. Several texts indicate that the barber served as the assistant or executive officer of the “Chairman of the assembly”, (GAL.UKKIN.NA)<sup>168</sup>. Ipqu-Nabium, the only barber mentioned more than once, appears in a fragmentary litigation in which the “assembly” (*puḫrum*) is mentioned just before his name<sup>169</sup>. In a litigation text of four years later this barber along with the Chairman of the assembly receives tablets probably containing the details of the litigation from the *abi šābi*

<sup>161</sup> CT 8 33c (Ae d); BE 6/1 72 (Ae k).

<sup>162</sup> In BE 6/1 72 (Ae k). Read 1.12: *di-ki-i GĪR(!) PN ŠU.I*.

<sup>163</sup> BM 80939 (Ams 13). The distinction between these two words is not clear. The term *nudunnū* is ordinarily used in the meaning of “dowry” which is not its use here.

<sup>164</sup> TCL 1 169 (Ams 16).

<sup>165</sup> CT 45 114 (und).

<sup>166</sup> CT 4 12b (Ha 16); BE 6/1 90 (Amd 21); (note here that GĪR precedes his name; unlike the other witnesses who are preceded by IGI); Waterman Bus. Doc. 21 (und); CT 4 22a (und).

<sup>167</sup> See Waterman Bus. Doc. 55:3 (AS), where the neighboring field to one sold is described as A.ŠĀ *ga-la-bi-im*. CT 8 11b (Ams 5); CT 8 19b (Ams 11).

<sup>168</sup> For more on this aspect of the barber’s function see CAD 5 14ff.

<sup>169</sup> CT 8 19a (Ams 5).

officials. The two men are asked to inquire into the theft of five oxen which have been found in the possession of two men<sup>170</sup>. Ipqu-Nabium is mentioned in texts covering a period of six years. Finally, two barbers are named after two Chairmen of the assembly before whom a declaration is made<sup>171</sup>.

Although the existence of an Overseer of Barbers (UGULA ŠU.I) would presuppose a group of barbers, our material mentions no more than two barbers at any given time.

*List of Barbers*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ha	16	Ili-hadû s. Ilšu-bāni	CT 4 12b:9
Ae	d	Riš-Marduk	CT 8 33c:20
Ae	k	Nakkārum	BE 6/1 72:12
Amd	6	Ibni-Marduk s. Ištar-ismēšu	Waterman Bus. Doc. 50:5
Amd	6	Ibni-Marduk s. x -[...]ka(?)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 50:6
Amd	21	Adad-mušallim	BE 6/1 90:17
Ams	5	Ipqu-Nabium	CT 8 11b:10
Ams	5	Ipqu-Nabium	CT 8 19a:12
Ams	9	Ipqu-Nabium	TCL 1 164:10
Ams	11	Ipqu-Nabium	CT 8 19b:6
Ams	13	Ina-Esagila-zēr	BM 80939:8, 15
Ams	16	Marduk-lamassašu	TCL 1 169:3
—	—	Marduk-lamassašu	VAS 16 190:1 CT 29 37:5
und	—	Sin-aḥam-iddinam	CT 45 114:13
und	—	Imgurum	Waterman Bus.
(early)	—		Doc. 21 r. 14
und	—	Imgurum	CT 4 22a:24

*Doorkeepers*

Various terms are used in the Sippar texts for the gatekeeper. Two are composed with the word *abullu* “city gate”; two with *bābu* “gate”. However, whether there are basic differences between these titles depending on which of the terms is used is difficult to say.

<sup>170</sup> TCL 1 164 (Ams 9).

<sup>171</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 50 (Amd 6).

*The Gatekeeper—ša abullim (LÚ.KÁ.GAL)*<sup>172</sup>

The office of city gatekeeper is one which could be inherited and its income might even be given as a dowry to a daughter, as is seen from one instance in which a husband gives his wife a house and the income (*isqu*) of the city gate, an income which she brought to him on their marriage<sup>173</sup>.

All of the references to this official date from the time of Ammi-šaduqa. Bēlānum the LÚ.KÁ.GAL appears in an account of workers, who are perhaps performing corvée service. The list mentions a fisherman who is the son of Narām-ilišu, a gatekeeper<sup>174</sup>. This same Narām-ilišu is mentioned in an administrative account of barley, perhaps taxes, given by him and other officials and brought to the granary of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>175</sup>. Tamlatum, son of Bēlšunu, the gatekeeper, witnesses the lease of a field<sup>176</sup>. Perhaps the father Bēlšunu, is to be identified with Bēlšunu the gatekeeper, who is assigned to work for the Šamaš temple<sup>177</sup>. Finally, in an account which we have suggested<sup>178</sup> may be a list of a *nadītu*'s expenditures, 2 silas (of barley) are paid as impost to the gatekeeper (*ša abullim*). In the same text the tax collector (*mākisu*) is paid ten silas.

One of the main duties of this official must be the collecting of the gate toll which was perhaps a city tax and should be kept apart from the royal taxes discussed above.

*The gateman (muzzaz abullim)*

A man who had been adopted by his stepfather rejects the adoption and promises that he will not bring a claim to the field, house or office of watch-gateman (*muzzaz KÁ.GAL.MEŠ*) which belong to his stepfather<sup>179</sup>.

*The Doorkeeper (ša KÁ.MEŠ)*

Bīt-ḥāzīr, an "(official) of the doors", witnesses the leasing out of a field by a *nadītu*<sup>180</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> On the reading of LÚ.KÁ.GAL as *ša abullim* see CAD 1 88.

<sup>173</sup> CT 6 38a:10 (Ae q).

<sup>174</sup> BE 6/1 93:5 and 9 (Amš 2).

<sup>175</sup> BE 6/1 104:4 (Amš 6).

<sup>176</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 16 r. 6 (Amš 14).

<sup>177</sup> BM 80322:9 (und).

<sup>178</sup> See JESHO 6 154f., for a discussion of Goetze JCS 11 37 No. 28.

<sup>179</sup> BE 6/1 59:14f. (Si 16).

<sup>180</sup> PBS 8/2 253:22f. (Ha 32).

*The Doorkeeper (muzzaz bābim)*<sup>181</sup>

It is difficult to define the difference, if indeed there was any, between the *muzzaz abullim* and the *muzzaz bābim*. The latter appears more frequently and is an office that is held in Sippar-Jaḥrurum. In an Abi-ešuh account in which the Overseer of the Barbers hands over a tax of 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> shekels of silver to the *kārum* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum, Nabium-nāšir, the doorkeeper, receives it<sup>182</sup>. He is here acting in an official capacity. The same *muzzaz bābim* in an account dating from the first year of Ammi-ditana<sup>183</sup> hands over 7 talents of wool which come from the temple flocks to the *kārum* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum who in turn give it as a loan in which Šamaš and Aja are considered to be the creditors. In the third reference<sup>184</sup>, dating twenty-one years later than our second, Sin-imaguranni the *muzzaz bābim* along with a *zazakku* receive barley taken from the granary of Sippar-Jaḥrurum which they give as provisions for the soldiers.

The tax collectors have been discussed above under Royal Taxes. We there suggested that perhaps the *mākisu* was a city official and the *mušaddinu* a royal representative.

## 3. THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION

The Old Babylonian military organization is an institution centered in the person of the king, concerned with military matters in times of war, and with public works such as the repair of fortifications and the maintenance of canals in peace time. The army as an institution is marginal to the main concerns of the persons and families appearing in our texts and, therefore, the picture of the military organization which they present is blurred and distorted. The Sippar texts do not tell us of the organization of the army, its weapons and other equipment, its training, and the tactics it employed in war. However, some information on the military personnel can be gained, particularly on their activities in times of peace. Information is also available on the recruitment of soldiers and corvée workers, the latter being often under the jurisdiction of the military.

The military establishment provides its hierarchy of officials with economic support in the form of landholdings. Military officials live throughout the

<sup>181</sup> On this office also see Goetze JCS 5 98 ff.

<sup>182</sup> BM 80299:18f. (Ae k).

<sup>183</sup> CT 6 24a:5f. (Ae k).

<sup>184</sup> BM 80290:9 (Amd 21).

country in garrisoned cities and probably in special military installations such as fortresses and fortified outposts in the border regions. The textual material indicates that the hierarchic structure of the military organization begins to develop and grow during the reign of Hammu-rapi and attains its zenith in the time of Ammi-ditana and Ammi-šaduqa. The beginning of this complex military structure thus coincides with the growth of a centralized bureaucracy in Sippar<sup>1</sup>.

Some of the officials of the military organization bear strictly military titles such as UGULA MAR.TU (“general”), *wakil haṭṭim* (PA.PA) (“captain”), and NU.BĀNDA (“sergeant”); while others have administrative titles such as *dēkū* (the summoner), *abi šābi*, and DUMU.É.DUB.BA (the military scribe). The *rēdū* (UKU.UŠ), the *bā’iru*, and the ERÍN, on a lower level, were the soldiers, the mainstay of the army.

The function and internal structure of the Old Babylonian military organization may be compared with the medieval church. Both were structured along hierarchic lines divorced from the political articulation of the country, both providing their hierarchy with an economic basis. Members of both organizations possessed a special legal status which required authorization by the respective superiors in order to act in outside legal matters. Members of the Old Babylonian military needed the consent of their superior officers in order to engage in certain legal transactions, particularly in regard to their landholdings (*šibtu*). And it is from these transactions that we for the most part learn about the military hierarchy and related matters.

### *The Garrisons of Sippar*

Aside from the royal bodyguard in Babylon it would seem that garrisons of troops are kept in cities such as Sippar for policing and emergencies. The letters of Ammi-šaduqa and Samsu-ditana<sup>2</sup> which speak of the imminent approach of the enemy to the region of Sippar-Jaḥrurum suggest that an army is stationed in Sippar to meet the invaders; though their preparations for defense—such as bringing cattle and barley into the city from outlying regions—were to fail. The occurrence of terms describing contingents as the garrison troops (ERÍN

<sup>1</sup> For details on the various aspects of this centralization see my article in JAOS 88/4 727ff. This seems also to be the situation in Dilbat, too, to judge from a cursory perusal of the texts published in HG. Administrative accounts increase in number only with Samsu-iluna and reach a peak in the reign of Ammi-šaduqa as they do in Sippar.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., CT 43 2 (Amš 15) and TCL 1 8 (Sd).

*birtī*)<sup>3</sup>, the elite troop (ERÍN *biḫrum*)<sup>4</sup>, and the expeditionary force (ERÍN *wašitum*)<sup>5</sup>, all suggest that there is a standing army with various units in our period.

Accounts indicate that forces are maintained in Sippar-Amnānum<sup>6</sup> and Sippar-Jaḫrurum<sup>7</sup> from the period of Ammi-ditana on. We know that charioteers (ERÍN GIŠ.GIGIR.HI.A), and foot soldiers (ERÍN GĪR), stationed in these cities are supplied from their royal storehouse<sup>8</sup>. Apart from the stations or installations of troops in the various Sippars there appear to be military posts in Kār-Šamaš, located at the embankment of the Sippirītu Canal<sup>9</sup>, at Puš, Kār-abul-Aja<sup>10</sup>, and Ḫiritum, which was close to Kār-Šamaš and on the water route between Sippar and Mankisum<sup>11</sup>.

### *Mercenaries*

The army in Sippar is composed of soldiers and officers recruited from the population, and foreign mercenaries. The numerical relationship between the two contingents is not known. Many of the outposts and fortified areas in this period may have relied heavily on mercenaries. The title for “general”, UGULA MAR.TU, literally “overseer of the Amurru”, itself suggests that this officer was originally the commander of a troop of Bedouin.

The mercenary forces seem to be composed primarily of Kassites<sup>12</sup>, though

<sup>3</sup> BM 80290:11 (Amd 21).

<sup>4</sup> CT 45 52:27 (Si 2). On these troops see CAD 2 211, *bēru* B, and AHW 2 122.

<sup>5</sup> CT 43 2:15 (Amš 15).

<sup>6</sup> CT 45 48:31 (Amd 14).

<sup>7</sup> BM 80290 (Amd 21), where barley is distributed for the garrison troops from the granary of Sippar-Jaḫrurum.

<sup>8</sup> BM 81228 ; CT 45 48.

<sup>9</sup> CT 45 54 ; BE 6/2 136 (Sd c ?). On Kār-Šamaš see also Hallo, JCS 18 68.

<sup>10</sup> BE 6/2 136 (Sd c ?).

<sup>11</sup> BM 80327 (Amd 13). See Hallo JCS 18 68 for this location.

<sup>12</sup> CT 45 54 ; BE 6/2 136 ; CT 48 77 ; PBS 7 94. As B. Landsberger has pointed out in JCS 8 66 where he discusses BE 6/2 136, the Babylonians were at peace with the Kassites in the latter part of the Old Babylonian period. We find two Kassites (referred to as LÚ ERÍN *Kaššu*), Warad-Ulmaššitum and Warad-Ibari, among a group of twenty workers (CT 6 23b:14f. [Amš 17 + e]) ; Šabrum, the Kassite, son of Išdi-Hušum, is given silver to buy barley at the order of one Ḫuzālum (YBC 1547 [Sd i]). These two references, one to Kassites among workers perhaps working under the military, the other to one's receipt of silver at someone's order, suggests that the Kassites in Sippar were primarily part of this establishment and not in any sense residents of Sippar.

Suteans (ERÍN *Suti*)<sup>13</sup>, and Elamites (ERÍN NIM.MA<sup>K1</sup>)<sup>14</sup>, are also mentioned. Fortified areas (AN.ZA.KÀR.ĪI.A) just opposite Sippar (*mehret Sippar*) are occupied by Kassites<sup>15</sup>.

#### *The Royal Service-ḥarrān šarrim*

In addition to the hired mercenaries, others are hired for “the royal service” (*ḥarrān šarrim*), a term which may include both military service and corvée work. Although these men are paid for their service, it is not entirely clear whether they are paid by the military or are hired substitutes paid by conscripts. Perhaps both situations existed. In one text, at least, a man who hires himself out for royal service for a month at one shekel seems to be a hired substitute<sup>16</sup>. Despite the fact that the Code of Ḥammu-rapi (Section 33) imposes the death penalty upon a sergeant or captain who accepts a hired substitute for royal service such hiring continues. There are instances in which men are hired for this service apparently to fulfill needs not met by the draft and the mercenary troops. In one instance fifty men are hired for royal service and receive a little more than a shekel of silver for what is probably a month’s service<sup>17</sup>. As late as the time of Ammi-ditana men are hired to do public work<sup>18</sup>.

#### *Conscripts*

It would seem that some, if not all, of the citizens of Sippar are subject to some form of conscription for service in the army or the public work force. Though it is apparent that a complicated system of duties and obligations to the city exists, it is difficult to determine the exact nature of these obligations, the persons who are affected, and the relationship which exists between the various types of obligations.

<sup>13</sup> CT 48 78r.3 (Amš 17 + b). References to Suteans are rare in Sippar. In a cloister account, CT 8 21d:10 (Amš 5) one serves to guard the sesame field of the cloister. In CT 8 10b (Amš 10), a field is leased out to the Sutean Jadiu, son of Takti, with permission of the police of the ward (UKU.UŠ *babtim*). A payment of silver is given to an unnamed Sutean in BE 6/2 138:11.

<sup>14</sup> CT 48 78:6 (Amš 17 + b). They are named Warad-Ulmaššitum, Warad-Šunir and Šerum-bāni. References to Elamites, too, are rare in Sippar. Among a large group of women, perhaps working as weavers in the cloister establishment, one Aššumija SAL.NIM.MA is mentioned (CT 6 4 iii 4). The Elamite, Warad-Marduk, is given beer along with other workers in CT 45 106:4. Note also the strange phrase *qiptum* NIM.<sup>K1</sup>MA in an Ammi-ditana account (CT 6 39a :2, 6, 20, and 26), as well as ZÍZ AN.NA NIM.<sup>K1</sup>MA (*ibid.* 11). Elamites are used as guards in LIH 104:9.

<sup>15</sup> BE 6/2 136:3f.

<sup>16</sup> Friedrich BA 5 496 No. 19 (Si).

<sup>17</sup> VAS 8 37 (Sm 12). The early date of this document should be noted.

<sup>18</sup> TCL 1 158 (Amd 4).

*ilku*

The *ilku* duty represents one obligation, though apparently not military, that is owed by the holder of real estate belonging to either the king or the temple. This obligation is evidently paid in work by the tenant on the land or replaced by deliveries of produce. Although this in no way appears to be a military obligation, for some reason a sum of money (*kasap ilkim*)<sup>19</sup>, perhaps in lieu of this duty is often collected by the *dēkû* or military summoner who summons persons to discharge work obligations<sup>20</sup>.

*dikûtu*

Another obligation imposed upon the citizens of Sippar is the corvée or *dikûtu* service performed on behalf of the king and the city and supervised by military officials. This obligation is attested from lists of workers with various occupations who are summoned to work on public projects (see below).

The performance of both the *ilku* and the *dikûtu* service is a familial obligation incumbent on the family unit as can be seen from a case where an adopted slave “is responsible for an equal share in the *ilku* work and the *dikûtu* work”<sup>21</sup>. The obligation to perform these services is also passed on to the heirs<sup>22</sup>. There is one case, however, where an adopted son is obligated to perform “the watch and corvée duty” for his adoptive father only during his lifetime. After his death the adopted son is no longer responsible for this<sup>23</sup>. Foreigners living in Sippar as traders might be exempted from the *dikûtu* service of their native cities<sup>24</sup>.

*rēdû*

It is difficult to determine how the performer of *dikûtu* work differs from the *rēdû* soldier who is also conscripted and often works on public projects, unless perhaps for the latter this is a more permanent position. There is evidence that the *rēdû* like the higher military officials receives land, a *šibtu*-holding, from the

<sup>19</sup> BE 6/1 73 (Ae c + 1), 72 (Ae k), 71 (Ae 28), CT 4 15a (Amd 3), BM 81276 (Amd 3), Szlechter Tablette 145 MAH 16426 (Ams 15). The *kasap ilkim* is also discussed above under Royal Taxes.

<sup>20</sup> BE 6/1 73, 72; CT 4 15a. The two collectors are not always given the title *dēkû*.

<sup>21</sup> TCL 1 194:8-10: *ki-ma iš-te-en a-na il-ki ù di-ku-ti i-za-az*.

<sup>22</sup> VAS 8 45; CT 8 3a.

<sup>23</sup> CT 45 16 r.6-7: PN *a-na ha-ṭi-im ù du-ku-ti-im ù-ul a-wa-sú*.

<sup>24</sup> CT 48 83. On this text and the people mentioned in it see my review in JESHO 13 317f. Note that it is sealed by the *rabiānu* of Amnān-Šadlaš who has the authority to give the release to the citizens of Šadlaš.

king in return for his service. From a letter<sup>25</sup> we know that a *rēdû* must be a citizen of some city and a free man. Furthermore, not only must the *rēdû* be a free man but we are informed in a legal text that the *ilku* service takes precedence over the *rēdû* obligation<sup>26</sup>. The persistence of military officials in attempting to secure every possible recruit would seem to indicate a shortage of *rēdû* soldiers, which is also borne out by the practice described above of hiring workers.

Though it is difficult, then, to define the exact differences between the *dikātu* service and the *ilku* service, the *rēdû* and the ERÍN (another term used for a soldier or worker), we do find that some form of conscription existed in Sippar. It is not known, however, if the officials of the military establishment are responsible for recruitment on an annual quota basis or only in emergencies.

Our most important evidence for the draft in Sippar is an undated register<sup>27</sup> which contains the names of hundreds of men. Perhaps the fact that the names of Marduk and Nabium do not appear in any of the names may indicate that the text may date to before the time of Hammu-rapi, since the worship of these gods was introduced in Sippar during his reign. The text contains six columns of 40 lines each on the obverse and five on the reverse. Each entry contains the name of a man, the name of his father, the name of the man's first substitute (DAḤ) and the name of the man's second substitute (SI)<sup>28</sup>. Each nine entries is summed up as follows: "(the overseer) of the nine is PN, the substitute of the (overseer) of the nine is PN<sub>2</sub>" (NAM 9 PN NAM DAḤ 9 PN<sub>2</sub>), showing that the basic unit of conscripts is a decury, or company of ten men in the charge of the overseer. After every group of 46 there is another summary, "46 PI (men), (their) foreman (NU.BĀNDA) is PN<sup>29</sup>, 46 PI (men) their substitute foreman (NU.BĀNDA) is PN<sub>2</sub>". These men with their foreman and his substitute would constitute a group of about fifty.

<sup>25</sup> See CT 44 53 where the Steward of the *naditu*'s writes to the municipal authority, the *šāpir nārīm*, on behalf of a *naditu* whose slave has run away to another city. The slave claims that he is the son of a citizen of this city and has been conscripted as a *rēdû* soldier (*a-<na>re-du-tim ta-ša-tà-ar-šu*). He is neither "a citizen of Šagga nor a free man (*mār awēlim*)", writes the Steward.

<sup>26</sup> For this see CT 6 29 (Amd 1), a document drawn up in Babylon (see oath) but which concerns Sipparians.

<sup>27</sup> CT 6 15-18. This would appear to be a Sippar text. See below footnote 32. Note also the name, Mār-Sippar (CT 6 16 r. iii).

<sup>28</sup> SI with the meaning of "second substitute" seems to be the only logical understanding of the term. Perhaps SI is to be interpreted as an abbreviation of SIA=*atru*. See also Grant Smith College 271 for the similar use of DAḤ and SI. However there is no evidence that this is a Sippar text.

<sup>29</sup> 46 PN NU.BĀNDA PN 46 PI DAḤ NU.BĀNDA PN<sub>2</sub> in CT 6 15 iii 809, and CT 6 16 r. 7-8. We do not know what kind of men the PI were. It is probably another abbreviation.

The overseer and foreman have only one substitute each. Though there are variations in the pattern, they occur in no regular order<sup>30</sup>.

Sometimes the conscript is said to serve under a named *rēdû* soldier; once he is to serve under a named *rēdû* soldier as the shepherd of the *rēdû*. The conscript is sometimes designated as ERÍN or "worker". This list certainly appears to be a record of conscripts who are to work under military officers (NU.BĀNDA). The use of the term *rēdû* for men other than the conscripts seems to indicate that these conscripts are not *rēdû* soldiers but corvée workers performing *dikûtu* service. As mentioned above the *dikûtu* is imposed on the family unit and it is noteworthy that in this register one of the substitutes of a man is often his father, brother, or son<sup>31</sup>.

A significant fact about the names in this register is that only one of the names appears elsewhere in the Sippar texts<sup>32</sup>. This could best be accounted for by assuming that these men represent the poorer classes of Sippar who do not participate in private legal transactions. The occupations of some of the men who are skilled workers are given; a sailor, a gardener, a KA.DI, and a TÚG.DU.<sub>8</sub>.A<sup>33</sup>. It is noteworthy that these occupations are also found among workers who appear in other lists<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> The variations are as follows:

"PN son of PN<sub>2</sub> (to serve) as HA (perhaps an abbreviation for ŠU.HA) (under) the *rēdû*-soldier PN<sub>3</sub>, his brother; (his) substitute (DAH) is PN<sub>4</sub>, his (second) substitute (SI) is PN<sub>5</sub>". (PN DUMU PN<sub>2</sub> *kīma* HA UKU.UŠ PN<sub>3</sub> ŠES.NI DAH PN<sub>4</sub> SI PN<sub>5</sub>), CT 6 15 ii 13-16.

"The worker (ERÍN) PN son of PN<sub>2</sub> (to serve) as IA (unknown—perhaps an abbreviation) under PN<sub>3</sub>, the TÚG.DU.<sub>8</sub>.A, his substitute is PN<sub>4</sub>, his (second) substitute (SI) is PN<sub>5</sub>" (ERÍN PN DUMU PN<sub>2</sub> *kīma* IA PN<sub>3</sub> TÚG.DU.<sub>8</sub>.A DAH NU PN<sub>4</sub> SI PN<sub>5</sub>) CT 6 16 4, i 17-19, CT 6 18 r. iv 11-14.

"The worker (ERÍN) PN son of PN<sub>2</sub> (to serve) as TUR.RA (Akkadian form uncertain) (under) PN<sub>3</sub>, son of PN<sub>4</sub>, his substitute is PN<sub>3</sub>, his (second) substitute is PN<sub>5</sub> and PN<sub>6</sub>". CT 6 16 r. iii 7-9.

"PN son of PN<sub>2</sub> his substitute is PN<sub>3</sub> (to serve) under PN<sub>4</sub> the *rēdû* (UKU) as the KA.BAR (text: KA) shepherd of the *rēdû*". CT 6 18 iv 19-21.

<sup>31</sup> For the father as substitute see CT 6 15 iii 23, 31; CT 6 17 iv 2, 7 and passim; for the brother, CT 6 15 ii 11, 29, iii 26, CT 6 17 iv 9, and passim; and for the son, CT 6 17 iv 24, 34, v 14, 16.

<sup>32</sup> Only Tarībatum, son of Inbuša (CT 6 15 iii 28), appears elsewhere as the lessee of a field belonging to a *nadītu* (CT 8 42c:4f.). Unfortunately, the date on the lease contract cannot be placed. Persons named Warad-Sin, the son of Sin-iddinam (CT 6 16 r. i 9), also appear elsewhere in Sippar texts (e.g. CT 6 40a:22, BE 6/2 124:14; BE 6/1 78:1). The name of both, father and son, however, are too common to assume that the man in the ledger is identical with the man or men in the cited references.

<sup>33</sup> A sailor in CT 6 17 vi 7; a gardener in CT 6 15 ii 15; a KA.DI in CT 6 17 iv 6; and TÚG.DU.<sub>8</sub>.A in CT 6 15 iii 19 and 16 r. 1 18.

<sup>34</sup> A TÚG.DU.<sub>8</sub>.A in Friedrich BA 5 491 No. 12:8 and a gardener in CT 8 14c:5.

### *Substitutes*

There is evidence then of a well-organized system of conscription in the careful provision of substitutes.

The term “substitute” (*taḥḥū*) appears in a text in which a shepherd (KA.BAR) who is to serve as a substitute soldier is returned to his owners or employers who are prominent Sippar residents. The man is returned “at the order of the King”, (*ina qabē* LUGAL), and another man (*pūḥṣu*) takes his place, an instance in which two substitutes are employed<sup>35</sup>. Another example of substitution occurs when a man is placed in charge of the provisions of the campaigns (*ana ZÍD KASKAL.MEŠ*) in place of (*kīma*) another person<sup>36</sup>.

### *Officials of the Military Establishment*

On the basis of their titles, the officials of the military establishment may be divided into two groups: military officers and administrative officials. Among the military officers are the UGULA MAR.TU, the *wakil ḥaṭṭim* (PA.PA), and NU.BĀNDA; while the “summoner” *dēkū*, the *abi šābi*, and the royal-military scribe (DUMU.É.DUB.BA) are administrative officials. Although the hierarchy of the military officers can be determined from various passages<sup>37</sup>, the administrative officers cannot be placed in any ranking order. Certain references to the *abi šābi*, however, would suggest that he was the highest of these officials, and as such may have ranked even above the UGULA MAR.TU<sup>38</sup>.

For the present we shall adopt the English equivalents for the military titles

<sup>35</sup> CT 8 32b (Si 21). The man’s name is Anatum, the son of Kanišitum. The fact that his mother’s name is given indicates that he is a slave and hence the people who obtain his release are his owners. The name Kanišitum is known as a slave name from CT 2 23:23. The slave’s owners are son and father, Ikūn-pī-Sin and Sin-tajjār. The former, especially, is prominent as a buyer of slaves as is his daughter, Bēlessunu, a *nadītu* of Šamaš. (See under Slavery). Their slave may then have been serving in their place and because of their prominence in the community of Sippar they may have been able to have him released.

<sup>36</sup> TCL 1 201. On ZÍD KASKAL see CAD 7 195 under *isimmanu*.

<sup>37</sup> This is seen in a broken text, Speleers Recueil 228 (Ha 41), which mentions five PA.PA’s and the NU.BĀNDA’s who are under an UGULA MAR.TU. It is even clearer in a letter of Hammurapi. CT 43 1, which mentions the following: UGULA MAR.TU.MEŠ, PA.PA.MEŠ, NU.BĀNDA.MEŠ and UKU.UŠ.MEŠ. See also VAS 16 165 which also includes the DUMU.É.DUB.BA.A alongside the first three officers. To date the only analysis of the functions of military officers in the Old Babylonian period has been that of B. Landsberger in JCS 9 121-131. His presentation is made on the basis of the archive of Ubarrum, a soldier of the town Šupur-Šubula. He discusses the relationship between Ubarrum and his substitute (*taḥḥū*). Information on the military establishment in Sippar is forthcoming only indirectly from a small group of texts.

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. CT 45 61 (Amš 17 + b).

proposed by B. Landsberger : UGULA MAR.TU “general”, *wakil haṭṭim* (PA.PA)<sup>39</sup> “captain”, and NU.BĀNDA “sergeant”.

*The “General” UGULA MAR.TU*

The earliest reference to the “general” (UGULA MAR.TU) is from the 39th year of Hammu-rapi<sup>40</sup>. There might be as many as five of these officers serving at a given time<sup>41</sup>. The office was held for a shorter period than that of “captain” (PA.PA) which seems to have been the stable element in the military organization. In his discussion of the archive of the soldier Ubarrum of Šupur-Šubula, Landsberger states that “the generals changed each year”<sup>42</sup>. Our materials suggest a slightly longer period of tenure : Ibbi-Ilabrat seems to have held the office for three years<sup>43</sup>, and Mār-ešrētim for two years<sup>44</sup>, and if Sinatum, general in the 35th year of Ammi-ditana, can be identified with Sinatum son of Sin-išmēanni general in this king’s 29th year<sup>45</sup>, a period of six years would be indicated. Most “generals”, however, are mentioned only once.

The title UGULA MAR.TU literally “overseer of the Amurru” seems to indicate that this officer originally commanded a mercenary force of Bedouins. With the exception of Šuḫutki, son of Kuzarri<sup>46</sup>, and Samsānum, all the generals have typical Akkadian names.

Unlike the PA.PA and the *abi šābi*, no UGULA MAR.TU is known to have a daughter who is a *naditu*, which may indicate that this official, like the *sanga* of the Šamaš temple, is not a native of Sippar but sent from Babylon by the king.

Although there is no doubt that the UGULA MAR.TU is the highest ranking military officer, one text suggests that the administrator *abi šābi* has authority over him. The account lists the number of cattle which presumably serve as provisions for soldiers in wartime. A number of cattle are assigned to five

<sup>39</sup> On the reading *wakil haṭṭim* for PA.PA see CAD 1 280 and Goetze *apud* Finkelstein JCS 15 100 r. 3.

<sup>40</sup> CT 47 46:27 where one of the witnesses is Ibnatum the *rēdū* of the general Samsānum.

<sup>41</sup> CT 45 61 (Amṣ 17 + b).

<sup>42</sup> In JCS 9 126.

<sup>43</sup> CT 45 51.

<sup>44</sup> CT 8 3a and BE 6/1 99.

<sup>45</sup> BM 78356 ; CT 33 36, respectively.

<sup>46</sup> The father of Šuḫutki is perhaps to be identified with the Kuzarri who is mentioned in an account having to do with the military establishment (CT 45 48:10 [Amd 14]). His rank, however, is not known.

“generals” and the total number (1685 head) is followed by the phrase “the force (*litum*) of PN, the *abi šābi*”, which would seem to indicate that the five generals were under his direction<sup>47</sup>.

Besides the provisioning of soldiers referred to in the account above, the “general” appears in connection with the *šibtu*-holdings, usually fields, of military personnel which might be leased out to private persons only with his permission<sup>48</sup>. He also frequently represents the military authorities in the legal transactions which concern members of the military establishment<sup>49</sup>. The general may have assigned to him a *rēdū* who attends him<sup>50</sup>.

The “general” seems to have been a wealthy man and his affluence may stem from his position since in addition to *šibtu*-holdings he perhaps received a share of the booty. In two instances he purchases fields without legal owners since both purchases are made from a group of officials and the *kārum* of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>51</sup>. He also hires an ox driver for his cattle, and gives his wife slaves who are perhaps war captives<sup>52</sup>.

One account which lists amounts of barley brought to officials of Sippar-Amnānum by two generals, two shepherds and others, suggests that the UGULA MAR.TU may have had to pay a fee or tax for his office<sup>53</sup>.

*List of UGULA MAR.TU*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ha	39	Samsānum	CT 47 46:28
Ha	41	Sin-rēmenni	Speleers Recueil 228:8
Si	27	Lipit-Ištar s. Rabūt-Sin	CT 45 37:12
Ae	—	Ili-dāmiq	BE 6/1 119 r:16 <sup>54</sup> BM 78254 ii 14 <sup>55</sup>

<sup>47</sup> CT 45 61. We have no way of knowing the number of soldiers who would make up a *litum*.

<sup>48</sup> CT 8 7a (Amd 32), and CT 33 36.

<sup>49</sup> E.g., PBS 8/2 252 (Amš 5); CT 6 29 (Amd 1). Perhaps it may be assumed that in all transactions in which the general appears as witness they concern individuals involved with the military even when this is not obvious as in CT 48 50 and 116.

<sup>50</sup> See CT 47 46:27f.

<sup>51</sup> BM 78254 (Amd 3); BE 6/1 119.

<sup>52</sup> Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14, and BE 6/1 116, respectively.

<sup>53</sup> BE 6/1 99:3 (Amš 12).

<sup>54</sup> Ili-dāmiq, the UGULA MAR.TU, is not the son of Zimri-Šamaš, as supplied by HG 414 in the break after his name. Ili-dāmiq, the son of Zimri-Šamaš, is the GAL UKKIN.NA (BE 6/1 79:4f.).

<sup>55</sup> This and BE 6/1 119 are “Sammeltexte” which include several purchases; in BE 6/1 119 most of these are by the *naditu* Lamassani, daughter of Ili-dāmiq, the Chairman of the assembly (GAL UKKIN.NA).

Amd	1	Awēl-Adad	CT 6 29:30
Amd	29	Sinatum s. <sup>56</sup> Sin-išmēanni	CT 33 36:5
Amd	32	Išū-abūšu Ibbi-Ilabrat	CT 8 7a:30 CT 8 7a:9, 10
Amd	34	Išū-abūšu	CT 45 51:5
Amd	35	Sinatum <sup>57</sup>	BM 78356:8
Amd		Sin-erībam	CT 48 50:31
Amš	5	Šuḥutki s. Kuzarri	PBS 8/2 252:29
Amš	5	Sin-tajjār	CT 45 56:13
Amš	5	Elmēšum	CT 48 116 r. 13
Amš	11	Mār-ešra	CT 8 3a:39
Amš	12	Mār-ešra Ibni-Marduk	BE 6/1 99:4 BE 6/1 99:3
Amš	13	Sin-erībam Elmēšum	Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14:4 Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14r.3
Amš	16	Mār-Simanu	Meissner BAP 107:34
Amš	17b	Šunu-gāmilu Gimil-ili Ibni-Amurru Ibni-Adad Sin-iddinam	CT 45 61:7 CT 44 61:4 CT 10 CT 15 CT 15 61:18
Sd	c	Warad-AB.AB (ÈŠ.ÈŠ)	BE 6/1 112:23
Sd	h	Tarībatum	BE 6/1 116:6

*The "Captain" PA.PA*<sup>58</sup>

The earliest reference to the "captain" dates from the 41st year of Hammurapi<sup>59</sup>. The office of captain appears to be the stable element of the military establishment and to be held for many years, if not for life. Sinatum, for

<sup>56</sup> Although he is mentioned without title, it is here assumed that Sinatum, son of Sin-išmēanni is an UGULA MAR.TU for he appears in the clause *ina qabē* PN, followed by the names of the PA.PA, and DUMU.É.DUB.BA, parallel to the clause as it appears in CT 8 7a:10ff., though in the latter *ana qabē* is used.

<sup>57</sup> Only UGULA is preserved, but because this is a litigation which concerns a PA.PA officer and Sinatum is the first witness it is assumed that he is a military official. We would tentatively identify him with the son of Sin-išmēanni. This would then mean that the office of "general" might be held for six years and not just for two or three years. See also the case of Sin-erībam (list of generals) for an even longer tenure.

<sup>58</sup> See CAD 1 280 for this office.

<sup>59</sup> Speleers Recueil 228.

example, is captain for 22 years, Warad-Marduk for 11, Ibni-Adad for 12 and Ilšu-ibni for five years. Since there are presumably many more captains than generals, it must be due to the nature of our material that no more than five are known at one time, a number equal to that of the highest number of generals known from one year. One text mentions five captains and one general<sup>60</sup>, but we do not know if this was the usual ratio.

The captain, like the “general”, seems to have been in charge of *šibtu*-fields<sup>61</sup>, particularly those of the *rēdū* soldiers<sup>62</sup>. Also, like the general, he might represent the military authorities in legal transactions which involved members of the military establishment<sup>63</sup>.

In addition, the captain is in charge of equipping the soldiers (*šamādu*) and assigning them to their posts<sup>64</sup>. He is entrusted with equipment brought from Babylon (*unūtīm* LUGAL) presumably for distribution<sup>65</sup>. He might accompany mercenaries to their stations. In one instance two captains escort three Elamites and an unspecified number of Suteans<sup>66</sup> who are assigned to guard the bank of the Tigris. The captain also seems to be in charge of the distribution of rations and wages to workers hired for public construction, and may have managed the distribution of the working materials<sup>67</sup>.

Unlike the “general”, the captain is certainly a citizen of Sippar since the family of one is known. The captain, Ilšu-ibnī, is the son of Ili-dāmiq who held the important administrative position of Chairman of the assembly. Ilšu-ibnī’s sister Lamassani is a wealthy *nadītu* of Šamaš who owns many fields, and his brother Sin-mušallim holds a *šibtu*-field and, therefore, may also hold some military office<sup>68</sup>.

Other captains also appear to be well-to-do. One owns three houses<sup>69</sup>; and another must own a considerable amount of real estate as he gives his brothers

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> CT 8 7a (Amd 32); CT 4 14a (Amš 3); CT 33 36 (Amd 29).

<sup>62</sup> CT 4 19a. This letter, despite its philological problems, seems to be concerned with a PA.PA who has mismanaged the fields.

<sup>63</sup> CT 8 10b (Amš 10); CT 8 19b (Amš 11).

<sup>64</sup> VAS 16 190.

<sup>65</sup> BM 80744.

<sup>66</sup> CT 48 78 (Amš 17 + b).

<sup>67</sup> CT 8 27b (Ae c); TCL 1 172 (Amš 17 + b).

<sup>68</sup> BE 6/1 119.

<sup>69</sup> YBC 4262 (Ae).

“what he has got on the strength of his own (share) and (voluntarily) gave as a share to PN and PN<sub>2</sub> (his brothers) at the division of the patrimony”<sup>70</sup>.

The captain like the “general” may have had to pay a special tax for his office<sup>71</sup>.

*List of Captains*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ha	41	Ili-išmēanni x-x-kī-Sin Qīšti-Amurru Ilšu-ibbi Sanqu	Speleers Recueil 228:2 ff.
Si	5	[...]latur	TCL 1 112:1
Ae	e	Awēl-Nabium	CT 8 27b:16
Ae	h	Ibalu < uṭ >	CT 8 17c:11
Ae	k	Ibni-Sin s. Ipiq-iršitim	BE 6/1 76:24
Ae	o	Iluni-šarrum s. Bazlaḫmat	CT 8 33a:21
Ae	x	Sin-iddinam s. Tubqum-nāšir	YBC 4262:1,3
Ae	—	Ilšu-ibni	BE 6/1 119 iii 11
Amd	2	Sinatum	CT 8 8d:3
Amd	24	Sinatum	TCL 1 154:3,4
Amd	29	Ilšu-ibni s. Ili-dāmiq	CT 33 36:6
Amd	31	Sin-aḫam-iddinam	BM 81334:14
Amd	31	Šamaš-rabi	CT 33 32:17
Amd	32	Ilšu-ibni	CT 8 7a:11
Amd <sup>72</sup>	—	Ilšu-ibni	CT 4 19a:4
Amd	34	Sinatum	CT 45 51:8f.
Amd	34	Ilšu-ibni <sup>73</sup>	
Amd	34	Mannum-bālum-ilišu <sup>74</sup> s. Warad-Ilabrat	TCL 1 155:22

<sup>70</sup> Meissner BAP 107.

<sup>71</sup> Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 25:7 (Sd 3).

<sup>72</sup> We date the letter to Ammi-ditana at the time when Ilšu-ibni, the captain, figures most prominently in the texts.

<sup>73</sup> Ilšu-ibni, the captain, has died by Amd 35 (BM 78356:11) and so is not to be identified with the later Ilšu-ibnišu.

<sup>74</sup> Mannum-bālum-ilišu appears as second witness to the leasing out of a field by a PA.PA and DUMU.É.DUB.BA in CT 33 36:21 (Amd 29) but his title is not added here. See also CT 8 8d:18 for Mannum-bālu-ilišu, second witness to the lease of *šibtu* holding who is probably to be identified with the PA.PA, too.

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Amd	37	Ibni-Adad s. Awel <sup>d</sup> [x]	HSM 3694:12
Amš	3	Ibni-Adad s.	CT 4 14a:4
Amš	5	Ibni-Adad s.	CT 8 19a:32
Amš	5	Warad-Marduk (s. Warad-Ulmaššitum)	CT 8 19a:33
Amš	5	Ilišu-ibnišu	BE 6/2 123:9,12
Amš	8	Iddin-Amurru s. Iddin-ilišu	Meissner BAP 22:11
Amš	10	Warad-Marduk	CT 8 10b:16 (= CT 8 14a) <sup>75</sup>
Amš	11	Ibni-Adad	CT 8 19b:22
Amš	11	Sin-abūšu	BM 80744:16
Amš	15	Gimillum	CT 8 14c:2
Amš	16	Warad-Marduk s. Warad-Ulmaššitum	Meissner BAP 107:2,9,15
Amš	17 + a	Ilišu-ibni, Gimil-Marduk s. Sin-mušallim	CT 48 76 r. 5,8 <sup>76</sup>
Amš	17 + b	Ubarrum	BE 6/1 105:35
Amš	17 + b	Šumum-libši	CT 48 78:3
Amš	17 + b	Warad <sup>d</sup> Amurru	CT 48 78:5
Amš	17 + b	Ibni-Šamaš	TCL 1 172:4
Amš	17 + b	Zablum, Awēl-Adad	CT 48 77 r. 2,3

*The “Sergeant” laputtûm (NU.BĀNDA)*

The rank of NU.BĀNDA (“sergeant”) is below that of PA.PA (“captain”). In one text the “captains” and the unnamed “sergeants” (NU.BĀNDA.MEŠ) are under one “general” (UGULA MAR.TU)<sup>77</sup>. The term NU.BĀNDA or *laputtûm* occurs not only in military contexts, but in instances in which it means “overseer”<sup>78</sup>. Although the number of “sergeants” would be much larger than the number of “captains”, far fewer appear in our texts, probably because the lower status of these men would not involve them in as many private transactions as the more important officers. Only two NU.BĀNDA’s are known by name:

<sup>75</sup> He appears in the duplicate, CT 8 14a, as Warad-Šamaš. This must be a scribal error.

<sup>76</sup> Note that the seal inscription of Gimil-Marduk has the clause “servant of DN”.

<sup>77</sup> Speleers Recueil 228:7 (Ha 41).

<sup>78</sup> See VAS 9 217:3 for PN NU.BĀNDA PN<sub>2</sub>.

Sin-iddinam, the son of Taribum, Mār-iršitim, the son of Nūr-Adad<sup>79</sup>. The two witness transactions which do not appear to concern military personnel<sup>80</sup>.

The term NU.BĀNDA, abbreviated as NU, appears in the long draft register discussed above, though it there perhaps refers to an overseer of corvée workers and not to a military official<sup>81</sup>. From this text we see that the NU. BĀNDA, like the regular conscript, might have two substitutes<sup>82</sup>.

*The “Private” rēdû (UKU.UŠ)*

The *rēdû* (UKU.UŠ) or “private” constitutes the main body of the army. The earliest references to these soldiers date from the time of Apil-Sin<sup>83</sup>, thus antedating by many years the first references to the UGULA.MAR.TU, PA.PA. and NU.BĀNDA.

The UKU.UŠ (abbreviated as UKU) is mentioned in the list of conscripts discussed above in which a certain conscript is said to be “under” a named *rēdû*, or to be a shepherd of the *rēdû*<sup>84</sup>. From two texts also discussed above dealing with the conscription of former slaves as *rēdû*'s we have seen that the *rēdû* must be a free man, but that the *ilku* duty takes precedence over *rēdû* obligations. These texts also appear to indicate that *rēdû* soldiers are in short supply.

The private appears to serve both in combat duty and public work projects, and to be, in addition, associated with the courts for which he performs a function similar to that of the present day police<sup>85</sup>. Each ward of a city (*babtum*) also appears to have an UKU.UŠ. In one reference<sup>86</sup> to such a man his consent is needed for a *šibtu*-field to be leased to a private person, an office often performed by higher military authorities.

<sup>79</sup> See TCL 1 85:15 (Ha 18) where Akkadian *la-pu-tu-um* appears; VAS 13 20a (Ha 30). Note that in the later text, the NU.BĀNDA is preceded by a PA.PA which would suggest that the military is concerned in some way with the transaction.

<sup>80</sup> It must be noted that both references to the named NU.BĀNDA's occur in the period of Hammu-rapi before a military hierarchy is attested in our texts.

<sup>81</sup> CT 6 15-18.

<sup>82</sup> CT 6 15 iii 8-12.

<sup>83</sup> CT 4 49a:2.

<sup>84</sup> CT 6 16 17-22, v 23-24; CT 6 18 r. iv 4-7.

<sup>85</sup> See Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* I 114, where the *rēdû* is compared with the French gendarme.

<sup>86</sup> CT 8 10b (Amš 10). Note that five years later the lessor here is the lessee of a field in CT 4 23b (Amš 15).

In return for his services to the king, the *rēdû* was given a *šibtu*-holding, usually land, which was under the supervision and management of higher military officers, particularly the PA.PA or “captain”. These officers might not always fulfil their obligations. In one letter the captain Ilšu-ibnī is accused of ruining (*hulluqu*) the fields of the *rēdû*'s<sup>87</sup>. In two instances the property of a *rēdû* (a *kigal* plot and a field, respectively) is mentioned as the boundary of other property<sup>88</sup>. We assume that these were *šibtu*-holdings. Privates appear to be assigned contiguous property since phrases such as “the field of the *rēdû*'s” (A.ŠĀ.UKU.UŠ.MEŠ), (A.ŠĀ.MEŠ *ša* UKU.UŠ.MEŠ), and the “irrigation well of the *rēdû*'s”, (*namkar* UKU.UŠ.MEŠ)<sup>89</sup> are mentioned.

A broken text<sup>90</sup> mentions the cargo boat of the *rēdû*'s (MĀ.NI.DUB UKU.UŠ.MEŠ) which travels from the harbor (*kārum*) of Sippar to the palace in Babylon. But we do not know if this boat carried supplies (barley) for the men stationed there or the *rēdû*-soldiers themselves.

Only three *rēdû*'s are known by name: Akšaja, Aḥum-waqar, and Ibatum<sup>91</sup>. We have suggested elsewhere<sup>92</sup> that Akšaja is perhaps the forbear of what is probably the best known family in Sippar.

There are two references<sup>93</sup> to men referred to as UKU.UŠ.SAG. One, Nakkārum, son of Etawirašum, along with another man receives amounts of silver from the Overseer of the Merchants, the *kārum* and judges of Sippar. But it is not known why they do. Mār-iršitim, the UKU.UŠ.SAG, is witness to an inheritance text. He is the second last witness followed by the scribe. From neither text do we learn what function the UKU.UŠ.SAG has. It is noteworthy, though, that the “servant clause” of Mār-iršitim's seal inscription is that of the usual private seal.

#### *The “Fisherman” bā'iru (ŠU.ḪA)*

The ŠU.ḪA or “fisherman” seems to have served in both a private capacity and as part of the military organization and it is often not possible to determine

<sup>87</sup> CT 4 19a.

<sup>88</sup> CT 4 49a:2 (AS); VAS 8 84:5 (Ha 2).

<sup>89</sup> CT 6 20a: 3,4 (Si 29); CT 4 19a:11; CT 2 8:6 (Amš 16), respectively.

<sup>90</sup> Speleers Recueil 228:10 (Ha 41).

<sup>91</sup> CT 4 49a:2 (AS); VAS 8 84:5 (Ha 2); CT 47 46:27 (Ha 39), respectively. Ibatum is the aid-de-camp of Samsānum, the general.

<sup>92</sup> In *Orientalia* 38 134. See also *ibid.*, note 1.

<sup>93</sup> TCL 1 148:17 (Ae) and CT 47 58:35 (Si 7). For the seal of Mār-iršitim see CT 47 58 S. 7.

his function from the context of a given reference. In an account which connects the fishermen with the military, rations (ŠUKU) are issued by the “captain” (PA.PA) and supervised by a scribe to “fishermen” who have come to Sippar-Jahrurum for the purpose of weaving reed mats<sup>94</sup>.

One “fisherman”, Iddin-Zababa, acting apparently as a private individual, leases a field from a *naditu*<sup>95</sup>. All other references to “fishermen” occur in lists of workers or accounts of rations issued to workers<sup>96</sup>. In one of these lists a special kind of inland fisherman (ŠU.ĤA UD.DA) is mentioned<sup>97</sup>.

The father of one fisherman was a gateman (LÚ.KÁ.GAL), a rare instance of social mobility, though in this case it would seem downwards<sup>98</sup>.

#### *Administrative Officials of the Military Establishment*

The *abi šābi* official is the highest member of the military administration known to us and there is reason as noted above to suppose that he ranked above the “general” or UGULA MAR.TU. Two men hold the position for a relatively long period of time: Marduk-lamassašu for 14 years, and Utul-Ištar for five years. The latter had previously served as a scribe<sup>99</sup>. Unlike the “general”, the *abi šābi* is clearly a resident of Sippar; two of them are known to have daughters who are *naditu*'s: Marduk-lamassašu and Šamaš-tappišu<sup>100</sup>, (though the latter is not mentioned in his own right in the extant textual material).

In addition to the account dealing with cattle mentioned above (under the

<sup>94</sup> CT 8 27b:10 (Ae e): *a-na GI ú-ru-ul-li-im ma-ḥa-ši-im*.

<sup>95</sup> CT 8 40d:6 (Amd 32).

<sup>96</sup> Friedrich BA 5 495 No. 17:12 (Si 3), 45:7 (Si 6), BE 6/1 93:8 (Amš 2), CT 45 89:11, 6 (und.). See CT 48 77:6 where rations are issued to “fishermen” in what is clearly a military context. See also the memorandum BE 6/1 113:3, this last reference was misread in CAD 2 32 2 b. The line should be read, 4 (BÁN) ŠU.ĤA.MEŠ.

<sup>97</sup> BE 6/1 117:20 (Sd m). On the ŠU.ĤA UD.DA see CAD 2 32, and AHw 2 96.

<sup>98</sup> BE 6/1 93:7f. (Amš 2).

<sup>99</sup> See Kraus *Edikt* 108-111, where he shows that the two offices were not concomitant but that he was first a scribe, then an *abi šābi*.

<sup>100</sup> CT 33 27:5 (Amd 4); CT 45 12:18 (AS). Note that the latter is the only one known from this very early period. Perhaps he is, therefore, not a native of Sippar and only sent his daughter there. We have, therefore, not included him in the list of *abi šābi*'s. Damiqum, the daughter of Šamaš-tappišu, is mentioned in other texts (BE 6/1 17:39, CT 8 29a:22f., CT 6 43:22), and in none of these is her father's title included. Renger in ZA 58 151 note 280 has also added Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Marduk-mušallim, as a *naditu* whose father is an *abi šābi*, an assumption based on the occurrence of Marduk-mušallim, son of Utul-Ištar *abi šābi* in Meissner BAP 74:18f. But this is the office held by his father and there is no evidence that he ever held the office.

“general”), another account refers to supplies given to men who are part of the *abi šābi’s litum* contingent (ŠĀ *litum* PN *abi šābi*)<sup>101</sup>. He may also have been responsible for the feeding of charioteers and Kassite mercenaries stationed outside Sippar<sup>102</sup>.

The function of the *abi šābi’s* in recruitment is seen in the case in which two of these officials bring back a former slave from Babylon and attempt to conscript him as a *rēdū* soldier<sup>103</sup>.

In another text, the chief singer (*nargallu*) is assigned to an *abi šābi*<sup>104</sup> to serve in some military capacity. He, like the captain, is involved in the distribution of rations for hired workers engaged in public works<sup>105</sup>.

The *abi šābi* official Utul-Ištar in what appears to be a unique situation is in charge of lending out staples, particularly wool, belonging to the palace to the citizens of Sippar, a function which he also performed as a scribe before assuming the office of *abi šābi*<sup>106</sup>. However, whether he is serving in this capacity as a palace or military administrator cannot be ascertained. This same man commissions a man to buy husky slaves for him from Gutium, a transaction which is probably an official one since the clause “with the authority of PN” is included<sup>107</sup>. These slaves were perhaps to be used for public works.

The *abi šābi* also serves as arbiter in disputes arising over military affairs<sup>108</sup>.

In spite of his high rank, the *abi šābi* like all other military personnel needs authorization to lease a field from a private individual and sometimes, though not always, to lease out his own fields. In one instance in which he leases a field<sup>109</sup> the authorization is given by Sin-nāšir, son of Ipiq-Annunītum, whose rank is not known but who evidently held an important position as he appears elsewhere<sup>110</sup> as a witness following the judges. In a second instance permission

<sup>101</sup> CT 45 48:9 (Amd 14).

<sup>102</sup> CT 45 54; See also CT 48 77:5 which mention Ili-iqīšam without his title of *abi šābi*.

<sup>103</sup> CT 6 29:8 (Amd 1).

<sup>104</sup> CT 8 21c:5f. (Ams 10).

<sup>105</sup> TCL 1 158:8 (Amd 4).

<sup>106</sup> E.g., CT 8 21a (Ams 13); CT 8 30b (Ams 14); CT 8 10a (Ams 15).

<sup>107</sup> Meissner BAP 4 (Ams 10).

<sup>108</sup> See the letters CT 4 39d:5; CT 4 19a:13, PBS 7 108:28, and TCL 1 164:13 (Ams 9).

<sup>109</sup> CT 8 3b (Ams 3).

<sup>110</sup> BE 6/1 95:40 (Ams 13); CT 8 11b:18 (Ams 5). There is a scribe with this name (Meissner BAP 69:17 [Amd 34]), but there is no reason for assuming they are the same.

is given by Sa'ilatum, son of Galdānu, whose rank is also not known, though the West Semitic names of both father and son are unusual<sup>111</sup>.

An *abi šābi* receives authorization to lease out a field which is referred to as *šūšūtu* or "rent holding" which connotes a *šibtu* field. This is a rare occurrence of this term in a Sippar text<sup>112</sup>. In two cases this official leases out fields without explicit authorization but the royal military scribe (DUMU.É.DUB.BA) appears as the final witness in one case<sup>113</sup>.

The son of Utul-Ištar, Marduk-mušallim, also needs authorization to lease a field, though it is not known what military office he held<sup>114</sup>. In another text, the servant of this Marduk-mušallim has lent 60 GUR of barley to a person as a loan without interest (*qiptu*) with the authorization of a man whose rank is not given<sup>115</sup>.

*List abi šābi's*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Amd	1	Sin-mušallim	CT 6 29:8
		Marduk-lamassašu	
Amd	4	Marduk-lamassašu	TCL 1 158:8
Amd	—	Marduk-lamassašu	HSM 46:9
destr.	—	Marduk-lamassašu	CT 45 54:13, r. 11
Amd.	14	Marduk-lamassašu	CT 45 48:4
Amd.	14	Gimil-Marduk	CT 45 48:9,11
Ams	3	Marduk-muballiṭ	CT 8 3b:14

<sup>111</sup> CT 8 10a (Ams 15).

<sup>112</sup> CT 8 19b:3 (Ams 11). See also BE 6/2 124:3 (Ams 6) where a field belonging to a judge is thus described. But note that it appears in a Dilbat lease contract VAS 7 35:5 to describe the field of an overseer of the diviners (UGULA *bārū*). For other Dilbat references see VAS 7 101:5; 145:6.

<sup>113</sup> TLB 1 226 (poorly preserved); CT 4 17a:19 (Ams 9) where the royal military scribe is final witness.

<sup>114</sup> Meissner BAP 74:18f. (Ams 13). He is also mentioned in a letter of a *naditu* CT 6 39b:17; that he is not an *abi šābi* see above, note 98. Perhaps he is to be identified with the *dēkū* with this name (see list of *dēkū*'s).

<sup>115</sup> BE 6/1 103:2 (Ams 1). Perhaps Iluni, son of Sizzatum, who gives authorization here is to be identified with Iluni the royal military scribe of TCL 1 151:5.

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
destr.		Marduk-muballiṭ	Waterman Bus. Doc. 33:6
Amṣ	—	Marduk-muballiṭ	PBS 7 108:28
Amṣ	9	Ili-iqīšam	CT 4 17a:6
Amṣ	10	Ili-iqīšam	CT 8 21c:6
Amṣ	10	Utul-Ištar	Meissner BAP 4:5
Amṣ	11	Ili-iqīšam	CT 8 19b:3
Amṣ	—	Ili-iqīšam	CT 48 77:5
Amṣ	13	Utul-Ištar	CT 8 21a:3 ; Szlechter Tablettes 38 MAH 16376:3
Amṣ	14	Utul-Ištar	CT 8 30b:3
Amṣ	15	Utul-Ištar	Waterman Bus. Doc. 30:4, CT 8 10a:8
Amṣ	—	Utul-Ištar	TLB 1 226:8
Amṣ	17b	ŠEŠ.KI.MA.AN.SUM	CT 45 61:10

*The “summoner”, (dēkû)*

The earliest reference to the *dēkû* is from the period of Abi-ešuh. Two men might hold the office at the same time. And to judge from the case of Sin-iddinam, son of Sin-erībam, it might be held for life (see list).

The *dēkû* is responsible for the collection of the *igisû* tax<sup>116</sup>, and scutage payments in lieu of *ilku* service (see above under Royal Taxes). He is also in charge of summoning persons for corvée work<sup>117</sup>.

Men described as overseers (UGULA) are assigned to collect various amounts of silver of which  $7 \frac{1}{3}$  minas of silver are left in the hands of the summoner<sup>118</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> BE 6/1 72 (Ae k) where the tax is not explicitly referred to here as the IGI.SÁ tax; CT 8 21c (Amṣ 10). See also CT 45 43 where two men who receive the *igisû* tax are probably also summoners, though not referred to as such in the account.

<sup>117</sup> BE 6/1 73 (Ae c + 1); CT 4 14a (Amd 3); the two men in both these texts are not described as *dēkû* but we so consider them on the basis of the Dilbat text, VAS 7 121, where *dēkû* do collect the *kasap ilkim* money in lieu of corvée.

<sup>118</sup> CT 45 40:22: *ša i-na qá-ti di-ki(!)-i in-ne-ez-bu*.

*List of dēkū's*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ae	k	Marduk-nāšir Marduk-muballiṭ	BE 6/1 72:10f.
Ae	k	Abum-waqar s. Sin-nādin-šumī	BE 6/1 73:8ff.
Amd	2	Sin-iddinam s. Sin-erībam Sin-iddinam s. Ilšu-bāni Sin-nādin-šumī s. Sin-iddinam	CT 45 43:17ff.
Amd	3	Sin-iddinam s. Sin-erībam Sin-ibni s. Sin-rēmenni	CT 4 15a:12f.
Ams	10	Marduk-muballiṭ Sin-nāšir	CT 8 21c:12f.
Ams	—	Ibni-Šērum	BM 81073:7
destr.	—	Marduk-mušallim <sup>119</sup>	CT 45 54:28

*The Royal Military Scribe (DUMU.É.DUB.BA)<sup>120</sup>*

As noted by B. Landsberger<sup>121</sup>, the title DUMU.É.DUB.BA alternates with DUB.SAR in the designation of scribes; both forms appear in our texts<sup>122</sup>. Though the title DUMU.É.DUB.BA is used usually in military contexts and DUB.SAR in non-military ones, this is not always the case<sup>123</sup>. The earliest reference to the DUMU.É.DUB.BA is from the 35th year of Hammu-rapi. That there might be as many as three of these scribes at one time is seen from a transaction in which a group of three appear as the final witnesses<sup>124</sup>. Several military scribes are mentioned more than once, giving some indication of the

<sup>119</sup> I amend here: *dī-ku*(!).

<sup>120</sup> Written as DUMU.É.DUB.BA.A (e.g., CT 45 62, Waterman Bus. Doc. 7, TCL 1 151, and passim) as well as DUMU.É.DUB.BA (VAS 9 83, BE 6/1 57, BE 6/1 86 and passim).

<sup>121</sup> JCS 9 125 note 122.

<sup>122</sup> See for example the case of Ipiq-Aja who is described as DUB.SAR in Goetze JCS 11 23 No. 9 (Si 9) and as DUMU.É.DUB.BA in BE 6/1 57 (Si 9); both references date from the same year. Qīšti-Ea who is DUB.SAR in BE 6/1 101 (Amš 15) appears two years earlier as DUMU.É.DUB.BA.A in BE 6/1 95 (Amš 13).

<sup>123</sup> Note the example of Qīšti-Ea who in CT 8 3a is the final witness and scribe (DUB.SAR) to a division of property where *ilku* service is attached to the estate and where an UGULA MAR.TU appears also as witness; and in BE 6/1 95 where a diviner (*bārū*) gives slaves and property to his wife he is referred to as DUMU.É.DUB.BA.A.

<sup>124</sup> BE 6/1 75 (Si 9). Though note that four royal military scribes are attested in the year Amš 13.

length of service: Ibbi-Ilabrat is a royal military scribe for 35 years, Šumu-līši for six years, and Šallūrum serves for two consecutive years.

The DUMU.É.DUB.BA presumably records and, like other military officials, witnesses transactions which involve military personnel with persons outside the institution<sup>125</sup>, though in some instances he appears in transactions which we have no reason to suppose are military<sup>126</sup>.

The scribe, like the UGULA MAR.TU and PA.PA, might be required to give his consent to the release of *sibtu*-holdings for private lease<sup>127</sup>, and since he once leases out a field with a PA.PA he may own the field in partnership with this official<sup>128</sup>.

The scribe, along with the PA.PA, might supervise a contingent of workers and receive rations with them<sup>129</sup>. He would also record changes in the role of men recruited to serve as *rēdū*'s and receive replacements<sup>130</sup>.

There are two references to scribes expressly called "army scribes" (DUB.SAR ERÍN) though both may refer to military scribes from Babylon. In one instance the army scribe, Iddin-Marduk, is given replacements for stolen oxen as a result of a litigation presided over by *abi šābi* officials in Babylon, though the persons involved are from Sippar<sup>131</sup>. In another text, the army scribe is responsible (GİR) for barley brought to the granary of Sippar-Jahrurum which belongs to the commander of the palace gate guard (GAL UKKIN.NA ERÍN KÁ É.GAL)<sup>132</sup>. The scribe perhaps accompanied the unit bringing the barley.

<sup>125</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 7; CT 2 32; CT 8 19b; Meissner BAP 74, JCS 11 25. No. 14; CT 8 10a; TCL 1 164; Meissner BAP 107; BE 6/1 116.

<sup>126</sup> E.g., VAS 9 83, BE 6/1 57, Waterman Bus. Doc. 20, PBS 8/2 218, CT 4 31a. But note that a military scribe is last witness in transactions in which the *naditu* Tarībatum, daughter of Warad-Sin is lessor: CT 4 31a, PBS 8/2 218, and CT 2 8. Perhaps her father belongs to the military organization. In CT 2 8:6 the field she leases out is "next to the irrigation canal of the soldiers".

<sup>127</sup> CT 8 7a, 8d; CT 33 36.

<sup>128</sup> CT 8 8d.

<sup>129</sup> CT 8 14c.

<sup>130</sup> CT 8 32b.

<sup>131</sup> TCL 1 164. This text was assigned to Babylon by Schorr, VAB 5 444. But the witnesses are Sipparians. Awēl-Ištar, son of Ibni-Šamaš, also appears in CT 8 11b (Amš 5) and BE 6/1 95 (Amš 13). Ibni-Irra, son of Marduk-mušallim, also appears in BE 6/1 101 (Amš 15), and Šumu-līši, the royal military scribe appears in CT 8 19b (Amš 11) and CT 4 17a (Amš 9) and elsewhere. Perhaps, therefore, the trial was actually held in Sippar.

<sup>132</sup> CT 45 55.

*List of DUMU.É.DUB.BA's*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ha	35	Adad-šarrum	CT 45 27:34
Ha	42	Aḥu-waqar s. Nūr-ilišu	VAS 9 83:13 <sup>133</sup>
Si	9	Iddin-Ea Imgur-Sin Ipiq-Aja	BE 6/1 57:32f.
Si	18	Ipiq-Aja	Waterman Bus. Doc. 20 r. 10
Si	21	Ipiq-ilišu, Taribatum	CT 8 32b:13f.
Ae	t	Bēlānum	BE 6/1 68:27
Amd	2	Ibbi-Ilabrat	CT 8 8d:4
Amd	29	Ibbi-Ilabrat	CT 33 36:7
Amd	30	Iluni	TCL 1 151:5
Amd	32	Ibbi-Ilabrat	CT 8 7a:12
Amd	34	Ibbi-Ilabrat	CT 45 51:10
Amd	35	Ibbi-Ilabrat	Waterman Bus. Doc. 7 r. 6
Amd	37	Awēl-Sin	BE 6/1 86:15
Aṣṣ	5	Qīšti-Ea	PBS 8/2 252:39
Aṣṣ	7	Šumum-līši	BE 6/2 126:9
Aṣṣ	9	Šumum-līši s. Bēlšunu	TCL 1 164:29 <sup>133</sup> CT 4 17a:19
Aṣṣ	11	Šumum-līši	CT 8 19b:25
Aṣṣ	11	Šallūrum	CT 6 6:29
Aṣṣ	12	Šumum-līši	Szlechter Tablettes 28 MAH 16387:10
Aṣṣ	13	Šumum-līši	Meissner BAP 74:33
Aṣṣ	13	Etelpū	TCL 1 167:20
Aṣṣ	13	Sin-nādin-šumī	Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14 r. 4f.
Aṣṣ	13	Qīšti-Ea	BE 6/1 95:42
Aṣṣ	15	Sin-erībam	CT 4 23b:16 CT 8 10a:25
Aṣṣ	15	Gimil-Marduk	CT 8 14c:3

<sup>133</sup> Note his seal inscription has the "servant of DN" clause.

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ams̄	16	Sin-erībam	PBS 8/2 218:13 CT 4 31a:13 CT 2 8:31
Ams̄	16	Ibbi-Sin	BM 80267:23
Ams̄	16	Qīšti-Ea	Meissner BAP 107:38
Ams̄	17 + a	Sin-eribam	CT 2 32:29
Ams̄	17 + a	Adad-mušallim	TCL 1 170:20
Ams̄	17 + b	Warad-Ibari s. Warad-Mamu	BE 6/1 105:11
Sd	c	Ibni-Marduk	BE 6/1 112:26
Sd	e	Marduk-nāšir	Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 25:8
Sd	g	Šallūrum	CT 8 23b:19
Sd	h	Šallūrum	BE 6/1 116:30
Sd	i	Sin-aḥam-iddinam	YBC 1547:12
Sd	19	Šamaš-ellassu Sin-išmēanni	BM 64391:17ff.

### *The bārū*

There is some evidence that the diviner (*bārū*) had connections with the military establishment, especially in his connection with Sippar-Jahrurum. He is discussed below under the Temple Administration.

### *šibtu-holdings*

The Code of Hammurapi (Sections 27, 28, 30, and 31) indicates that all military personnel are provided with fields, gardens and houses by the king in return for their services. Our references to the *šibtu*-holdings of Sippar begin in the time of Samsu-iluna. We have considered as military *šibtu*-holdings all those holdings in which the clause “upon the order of PN”, (*ana qabē PN*) appears in legal transactions dealing with real estate.

The size of the *šibtu* fields vary greatly, from 1 GÁN to 18 GÁN. The rank of the individual holding the field is seldom given, though we would expect that the size of the holding is correlative with the rank of the holder. In an instance in which three men lease out their fields with the consent of the UGULA MAR.TU, the PA.PA and the DUMU.É.DUB.BA, the fields are approximately 15 GÁN each and together consist of 21 GÁN of “furrowed”

field (AB.ŠEN) and 21 GÁN of “fallow” field (KI.KAL)<sup>134</sup>. Fields of 1 GÁN and 9 GÁN are also leased out, but the size of fields is not always given<sup>135</sup>.

One account<sup>136</sup> lists fields in eight different regions chosen by twelve members of the elite corps (ERÍN *biḫrum*) with the authorization of a man who must be a military official. Six of the twelve fields are of 6 GÁN, but one is only 1½ GÁN and another 18 GÁN. It may be that the basic acreage provided here is 6 GÁN and its multiples 9, 18, 21 and fractions 1½ (= 3/2 and 1) and that allowances are made for property of more or less value.

The only time the rank of the holder is given is a instance in which a PA.PA has a *šibtu*-holding of 10 GÁN<sup>137</sup>. This is not a very large holding and is perhaps only part of his land, since one text in which a PA.PA voluntarily gives his share of the paternal estate to his brothers indicates that this officer might be quite wealthy<sup>138</sup>.

It would seem that fields of the same contingent need not be located in the same region. The fields given to the elite corps are situated in Ḫāširum, Rabûm, Diritum, Nagûm, Gizānum, Buša, Nine-GÁN, and Paḫuşum<sup>139</sup>. Paḫuşum<sup>140</sup> and Gizānum<sup>141</sup> are mentioned elsewhere as the location of *šibtu* fields, and a region (A.GĀR) called Šunakbum is also mentioned<sup>142</sup>. There are also holdings in a region called Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a<sup>KI</sup><sup>143</sup> which encompasses a smaller region called Burā, for at times the holding is said to be in Burā within (ŠĀ) Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a.<sup>KI</sup><sup>144</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> CT 8 7a (Amd 32).

<sup>135</sup> See CT 4 14a; CT 8 10b = 14b; and CT 8 8d; TCL 1 154; CT 33 36; CT 8 19b.

<sup>136</sup> CT 45 52 (Si 2 or 11).

<sup>137</sup> BE 6/1 119 iii 10. The brother of the PA.PA whose rank is not known has a *šibtu*-holding in the same region which is 7 GÁN (*ibid.* 13).

<sup>138</sup> Meissner BAP 107 (Amš 16).

<sup>139</sup> CT 45 52 (Si 2 or 11). Perhaps CT 45 94, a large tablet of which only a fragment is preserved, lists fields given to soldiers.

<sup>140</sup> CT 8 7a:1 (Amd 32). Read *Pa-ḫu-sum* and not *Pa-ḫu-tu* as in HG 628. The former region is known from many other Sippar texts: VAS 8 52, CT 45 20, and Meissner BAP 48.

<sup>141</sup> CT 4 14a:2 (Amš 3).

<sup>142</sup> CT 8 10b:2 (Amš 10).

<sup>143</sup> CT 8 8d:2 (Amd 2); TCL 1 154:2 (Amd 24).

<sup>144</sup> CT 33 36:2f. (Amd 29). In HG 1711 this region is interpreted as a field belonging to the god Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a and hence temple property. It is rather I think the name of a region (note the use of the determinative KI). Note also the region named Sin (A.GĀR dEN.ZU) in CT 8 16a:29.

In an inheritance text a field to be divided between brothers is located in Gizānu and has as a boundary “the subsistence fields”, (A.ŠĀ.ŠUKU.ĤI.A) of Gizānum, perhaps indicating that a portion of this region is set aside by the king as *šibtu* land<sup>145</sup>.

The *šibtu* fields of the *rēdû*'s were located in the region of Taptiātum, near the city of Ḥalḥalla, not far from Sippar; some of their houses were in Ḥalḥalla<sup>146</sup>. The *rēdû*'s must also have had fields in Gula (= Rabûm) since their irrigation canal (*namkar* UKU.UŠ.MEŠ) is the boundary of a field there<sup>147</sup>. The *rēdû* might be at the mercy of their “captains” who were in charge of the overall management of their holdings<sup>148</sup>. Should a *rēdû* die without leaving an heir the city administration would have the authority to give his holding to another soldier<sup>149</sup>.

In one division of property text a *šibtu* field is mentioned as having been exchanged for another in the same region, presumably the exchange had taken place with the authorization of superiors<sup>150</sup>. The exchange record is not preserved.

Finally one document indicates that the UGULA MAR.TU was also in charge of houses or estates which could be assigned to craftsmen, since a house under him (NÍG.ŠU PN) is given to a smith (SIMUG). This is our only evidence in Sippar that artisans or craftsmen might be considered as part of the military establishment<sup>151</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> BE 6/1 50:5 (Si 2).

<sup>146</sup> CT 6 20a:3 and 12 (Si 29).

<sup>147</sup> CT 2 8:b (Amš 16).

<sup>148</sup> For this see the letter CT 4 19a.

<sup>149</sup> See CT 6 27b, where a soldier writes complaining that the elders of the city have taken from him half of the holding which they had given him and which he has held for thirty years. Formerly it had been the holding of a soldier who died without heirs.

<sup>150</sup> BE 6/1 50:6 (Si 2).

<sup>151</sup> CT 45 51 (Amd 34). Attention should be called to Ātanaḥ-ili, son of Šilli-Šamaš, who in CT 48 76 r. 6 (Amš 17 + b) is described as a NAGAR, “carpenter”. He is here witness to a deposit with a judge of the purchase money for a plot of land. He follows a “captain”, as witness and is in turn followed by a second captain. That he held a position of some importance in the military establishment is seen from CT 2 32:7 (Amš 17 + a) where at his order a field is leased to an Abdu-Ištara who has a title found often in Mari texts: *suqāqu*. He is also first witness to this lease (l. 26). Furthermore, PBS 8 252 is a record of the dowry he gives his daughter who is a *šugētu*. This is witnessed by a general, again pointing to the connection of Ātanaḥ-ili with the military establishment. His importance is due not, it would seem, to his being a carpenter but more likely to his family connections. His brother Gimil-Marduk is a judge (CT 8 3b:29 [Amš 3]; CT 8 11b:20 [Amš 5]). Note that both are witnesses in CT 2 32:26f. where Ātanaḥ-ili authorizes the lease of land.

*Restrictions on Military Personnel*

The characteristic phrase of texts dealing with military personnel, "with the authorization of PN", (*ana qabê PN*), indicates that there are certain restrictions on these persons. Although this phrase occasionally occurs in temple or cloister transactions<sup>152</sup>, it is particularly characteristic of the military.

We have noted above that the *šibtu*-holdings of military personnel might be leased out to private individuals with the consent of higher military authorities. That officers such as the "captain" (PA.PA) and the royal military scribe (DUMU.É.DUB.BA) needed such permission is indirect<sup>153</sup>. The *abi šābi* official, however, evidently needed permission to lease a field from an apparently private individual<sup>154</sup> and in one instance to lease out a field of his own which is described as a *šūšutu* or "rent holding"<sup>155</sup>. The *abi šābi* is also given authorization to purchase two slaves from Gutium<sup>156</sup>. The rank of the person giving authorization to the *abi šābi* is never mentioned.

<sup>152</sup> In CT 8 30c:14, silver is issued to the UGULA DAM.GĀR to purchase 4 teams of oxen for the Šamaš temple fields with the consent of a man whose position is that of GĀ.DUB.BA.RI(?). In BM 64391:5 dating from Sd 19, the *naditu* princess Iltani leases out a field to a scribe at the order of the Steward of the personnel of the cloister. Why this clause should appear in this one lease text which concerns a *naditu* and not in other leases is difficult to say. But note the two persons responsible for the lease (GĪR) are royal military scribes.

The *ana qabê* clause also appears in BE 6/1 110:5 (Sd g) where the scribe Ibbi-Sin, the scribe, hires two boats "on the order of PN". Though we find no evidence that this is for military purposes it would appear that the scribe is acting on city business. For this role of this particular scribe see under *The Scribes*.

However, the *ana qibit* clause of CT 33 47a:5 (Ha 13) represents a different situation altogether.

<sup>153</sup> TCL 1 154 (Amd 24); CT 8 8d (Amd 2). But it should be noted that in the first text the first witness is Ilšu-ibnišū, son of Ili-dāmiq, who is a captain though his title is not given here and the second and final witness is Ibbi-Ilabrat who must be the well attested military scribe. The *ana qabê* clause was therefore not essential. So, too, in the second text though we cannot identify Warad-Gipar with the military, the second witness Mannum-bālu-ilišu is to be identified with the captain by this name. See above note 73. Another text with the *ana qabê* clause TCL 1 171 should also be considered as one involving military personnel though the evidence is indirect. Ili-hābil who gives the authorization to the lease gives a man six shekels of silver described as being part of the ten shekels which are his *kišittu* in TCL 1 161, who in turn gives the money to a judge. The *kišittu* may be some kind of military tax. One of the witnesses in TCL 1 171:21, Ḥuzālum, son of Ina-palēšu, himself gives authorization for a loan to a person quite definitely connected with the military in YBC 1547:4 (Sd i).

<sup>154</sup> CT 8 3b (Amš 3); Meissner BAP 74 (Amš 13); CT 8 10a (Amš 15). But note that in CT 45 66 (destr.) where we find the same lessor as in the last lease and where Utul-Ištar *abi šābi* in CT 8 10a is still a scribe the latter is not under the military and there is neither the *ana qabê* clause nor are the witnesses military personnel.

<sup>155</sup> CT 8 19b (Amš 11).

<sup>156</sup> Meissner BAP 4 (Amš 10).

There is a case<sup>157</sup>, too, where 12 men belonging to the elite corps take possession (*šabātu*) of fields of their choosing upon the order of a man who must be their superior.

Authorization was also required for rations to be issued to hire men and oxen employed on public works such as canals<sup>158</sup>.

### *Military Officials as Witnesses*

The fact that high-ranking military officers witness various types of legal transactions involving military personnel, even those transactions unconnected with military matters, indicates the special status of the members of the military organization.

The UGULA MAR.TU, who usually appears as first witness, thus witnesses the lease of a *šibtu* field, a litigation in which two *abi šābi*'s unsuccessfully claim a former slave for *rēdū* service, and the giving of a dowry by a military official to this daughter<sup>159</sup>.

The PA.PA appears as a witness to leases of *šibtu* fields, and to a litigation<sup>160</sup>.

The DUMU.É.DUB.BA witnesses the lease of *šibtu* fields, a transaction involving a gift which an UGULA MAR.TU gives his wife, and the hiring of a boy by another UGULA MAR.TU<sup>161</sup>.

Military officials witness many transactions of individuals whom we cannot connect with the military<sup>162</sup>. The royal military scribe, for instance, witnesses

<sup>157</sup> CT 45 52:29 (Si 2?). This text would suggest that they might select the field they wished (*ana amertišunu*).

<sup>158</sup> TCL 1 158 (Amd?). Despite the fact that there are a goodly number of references to the *ina/ana qabê* clause we are not certain that it is the military officials who are receiving the authorization to act. It is possible that it is the other party who requires authorization to deal with the military. This text, for example, concerns the distribution of rations received from an *abi šābi*. But the person receiving it has a West-Semitic name, Jawi-Dagan, as do the two persons authorizing the distribution. Perhaps then it is the recipient who has some connection with those giving the order.

<sup>159</sup> In CT 8 7a:30, CT 6 29:30, PBS 8/2 252:29.

<sup>160</sup> E.g., CT 4 14a; CT 8 7; CT 33 36; and CT 8 19a. In the last text, the designation of Sinatum cannot be read (lines 6 and 30). But note the mention of the "palace gate guard" (ERÍN KÁ.É.GAL) in line 16.

<sup>161</sup> CT 8 10b, 19b; BE 6/1 116; and Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14.

<sup>162</sup> E.g. VAS 9 83; BE 6/1 51; Waterman Bus. Doc. 20; and BE 6/1 112.

three leases in the sixth year of Ammi-šaduqa involving Tarībatum who is the daughter of Warad-Sin, and a *nadītu* of Šamaš<sup>163</sup>. One of the fields leased by her is bounded by the irrigation canal of the *rēdū*'s (*namkar* UKU.UŠ.MEŠ), and although we have no evidence to connect this woman's family with the military, the presence of the military scribe might be accounted for by the contiguity of her property with that of the *rēdū*'s<sup>164</sup>.

### *The Military and Public Works*

We have noted above that military officials are at times in charge of workers on public construction. A letter of Abi-ešuḫ is particularly informative about the upkeep of the canal system, a responsibility of both the palace and the city. He writes to the administrators of Sippar—the UGULA.DAM.GĀR, the *kārum* and the college of judges :

Concerning the matter about which you wrote me, you said, "The palace annually works on 120 UŠ-measures (one UŠ = 720 cubits) of the quay of the Irnina Canal (and) we (the city) work on 44 UŠ". Now the flood has come, and the (water in the) Irnina Canal stands as high as the fortification wall of the quay. Orders have been given to all office holders who live in Sippar together with the garrison force stationed in Sippar and they with the garrison force have been put to work to strengthen the quay of the Irnina Canal<sup>165</sup>.

We see that the palace is responsible for three-fourths and the city for one-fourth of the upkeep of this particular canal, and that citizens of Sippar as well as the army garrisoned in the city are to work in this emergency. Work on the quay of this same canal is mentioned in a broken account in which the king's soldiers (ERÍN LUGAL) as well as "judges", an *iššakku* steward and the daughter of a scribe perform shares of the work<sup>166</sup>. In one instance the city administration assigns barley to be distributed to the workers digging a canal and in another barley

<sup>163</sup> CT 2 8, PBS 8/2 218, CT 4 31a.

<sup>164</sup> CT 2 8. We would also suggest that the lessee in CT 4 31a, a Sutean, was perhaps employed in the public works force and hence a witness from the military establishment. The first witness is also some official but this title cannot be read from the copy.

<sup>165</sup> LIH 88:5ff.: *aš-šum ša ta-aš-pu-ra-nim um-ma at-tu-nu-ma i-na KAR* <sup>1D</sup>*Ir-ni-na 2 ŠU.ŠI UŠ ša-at-ti-ša-am É.GAL i-ip-pi-eš 44 UŠ ni-nu ni-ip-pi-eš i-na-an-na mi-lum il-li-kam-ma ID Ir-ni-na a-na BĀD KAR iz-za-az [a-na L]Ú.MEŠ šu-ut pi-ḥa-a-tim ša i-na UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup> wa-aš-bu [it]-ta-aš-pa-ar [it-ti] ERÍN bi-ir-tim ša i-na UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup> wa-aš-bu [a-na] ša-ka-nim i-ša-ak-ka-nu-ma [it-ti ERÍN bi-ir]-tim KAR ID Ir-ni-na [ú]-da-an-na-nu-m[a].*

<sup>166</sup> BE 6/2 89 (Si). See also BE 6/1 7:8-10 (SI) where it is stated that Ḥanbatum *ki-ma na-di-tim di(!)-ku(!)-tám i-la-ak* "will perform the corvée obligation (?) as *nadītu*. I am grateful to Prof. E. Leichty for collating this text. The copy is difficult to read in 1.10. The suggested reading is uncertain.

rations are given to five hired men and oxen digging a city canal<sup>167</sup>. Mention of the *abi šābi* and the use of the clause “with the authorization of PN” would indicate that the latter text concerns the military organization.

We have mentioned that the long register of conscripts described above may represent a record of men obligated to perform such corvée work when summoned (*dikūtu*). Among the Sippar texts are a number of accounts, some of which consist simply of a list of names while others have sums of silver (for the purchase of beer) and amounts of barley preceding the names. Several of these accounts clearly belong to the temple archives<sup>168</sup>, others to the cloister<sup>169</sup>, and some to private citizens<sup>170</sup>. A number, however, appear to be records of the military organization. A characteristic of these lists<sup>171</sup> is that persons of many occupations are mentioned which would seem to indicate that these are lists of citizens conscripted for corvée work to which almost all inhabitants of the city were liable. Women are also included and may have been able to substitute for their husbands.

We have also noted above that in addition to the conscription of workers, workers might be hired for public projects. Two fairly large and uniform groups of lists have been published by M. Weitemeyer<sup>172</sup>, the first dating from the 35th year of Hammu-rapi and the second from his 42nd year. There is no reference in these texts to military personnel though they may well have supervised the men involved. In the lists from the 35th year, hired workers alone are mentioned, while those from the 42nd year include both hired workers and bricklayers.

<sup>167</sup> TCL 1 125 (Si 8), and TCL 1 158 (Amd 4).

<sup>168</sup> CT 4 25c; BM 80299.

<sup>169</sup> E.g., TCL 1 204, 205, 222 PBS 8/2 211, 235. We also include in the cloister archives the long lists of names of women such as CT 6 4. For the present we would suggest that these are the names of women who worked as weavers in the cloister establishment.

<sup>170</sup> TCL 1 167, 174, 230. These accounts all concern the fields belonging to various private persons, among them a Chairman of the assembly (GAL UKKIN.NA) and his daughter, which are under the supervision of Bēlijatum. The vast acreage of these fields is indirectly revealed by the fact that 117 workers of various kinds work on them (TCL 1 174).

<sup>171</sup> We would tentatively include among such texts the following accounts: BE 6/1 29 (Ha 31); BE 6/1 40 (Ha 42); BE 6/1 41 (Ha 42); VAS 9 79 (Ha 42); TCL 1 109 (Si 4); BE 6/1 56 (Si 5); Friedrich BA 5 510 No. 45 (Si 6?); PBS 8/2 227 (Si 8); Friedrich BA 5 491 No. 12 (Si 9); BE 6/1 93 (Amš 2); CT 8 14b (Amš 14); CT 8 14c (Amš 15); PBS 8/2 198 (Amš 16); CT 6 23b (Amš 17 + c); CT 8 40c (und); TCL 1 198 (und); CT 45 97 (und); CT 45 106 (und); CT 45 115 (und).

<sup>172</sup> *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers in the Sippar Region at the Time of Hammu-rapi* (Copenhagen, 1962).

It is interesting to note that a number of texts dating from earlier in the 42nd year of Hammu-rapi mention the transportation of bricks. About 70 men in all are involved in these lists and it would seem that some large building project was in progress<sup>173</sup>, for which the bricks are first brought and then workers and bricklayers are hired. The hiring of these workers might indicate that enough workers could not be raised by the corvée for very large projects. The date formula for the 43rd year of Hammu-rapi, the rebuilding of the wall of Sippar<sup>174</sup>, may reflect some of this building activity, though the wall would be built of earth not bricks.

#### 4. THE JUDICIARY

Since much has been written about the judge and the judicial system in the Old Babylonian period<sup>1</sup>, we shall here concentrate on the information gained from the Sippar tablets. Generally speaking it would appear that in the early part of the Old Babylonian period, until the reign of Sin-muballit, men described as judges (DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ) sat as a college in the Šamaš temple, where after examining the relevant tablets or listening to the testimony of witnesses, they would render a decision in favour of one party or the other. They might order the litigants to take an oath and this was usually the means by which a quick settlement could be brought about. The judges acted as a kind of “professional jury” and with their common sense would settle each case. It was their function to bring the attitude of the community to bear on the litigants. The Old Babylonian judge was, therefore, not necessarily a learned man — he might even be illiterate — but was one who knew what the community considered just and whose attitudes were respected by it and by the litigants. Thus qualifications for the office of judge would be a position of respect in the community, and wealth, to remove the suspicion of personal interest.

Although the sessions of the court were held in the Šamaš temple from the very early period until at least the reign of Samsu-iluna<sup>2</sup>, this fact must not be interpreted as meaning that these men were priestly judges, later replaced by lay judges<sup>3</sup>. It would seem rather that the temple was the most convenient

<sup>173</sup> Our interpretation of the many lists is only tentative. It certainly does not take into account the dockets which may be related to the lists which were also published by Weitemeyer. Some of the dockets, for example, are sealed by women who had no part in the military establishment.

<sup>174</sup> MU SAḪAR ZIMBIR<sup>K1</sup> *iššapku* (RLA 2 182).

<sup>1</sup> See Walther *Gerichtswesen* 5ff.; Lautner *Streitbeendigung* 68ff.; Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* I 76ff., 242f., and 490f., as well as CAD 3 28ff., and AHW 2 151.

<sup>2</sup> CT 8 28b (Si), BM 61823 + A (Sm), CT 47 67/67a (Si), CT 45 88 (und).

<sup>3</sup> As suggested by Driver and Miles, *ibid.*, 491.

place in which to hold court sessions because of the location there of the symbols of the gods which were often used in the taking of oaths to determine the truth of statements and to settle claims. From the time of Samsu-iluna on, the temple is not mentioned as the scene of the court and may therefore have ceased to serve this function.

The judges who appear in our texts from the time of Sumu-la-ila through the time of Sin-muballiṭ appear only once which suggests that they might have been appointed *ad hoc*, to serve as judges in a specific case only. From the time of Hammu-rapi, however, we have evidence that a man might hold the position of judge for life. Būr-Sin, son of Sililum, is attested as a judge in the third, eleventh and fortieth years of Hammu-rapi. There are also examples of brothers serving as judges: Sin-iddinam and Ibbi-Ilabrat, the sons of Sin-erībam (Ha 11), and Narām-ilišu and Sin-nāšir, the sons of Ali-ḫaṭ-Šamaš (Ha). Sons might serve after their father, as in the case of the judges Itti-Enlil-qinni (Ha 40) and his sons Šamaš-ellassu (Si) and Akšak-iddinam (Ha).

We have shown elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that during the reign of Hammu-rapi a secularization of the administration and a growth of bureaucracy began to take place. From this period on there is an expansion in the role of the judges, who in addition to their judicial functions, begin to serve as an administrative body with the *kārum*, the port authority, and represent the city and its interests vis-a-vis the king.

#### *The Family of the Judge*

The judges of Sippar are from wealthy and prominent families. The best known judge, Utu.šu.mu.un.dib, was the son of Ilšu-ibnī, an important Overseer of the Merchants (see above), who assumed his father's office, presumably at his death. The sisters of this judge, Aja-tallik and Aja-rēšat, are *naditu*'s of Šamaš, and one of them, Aja-rēšat, is rich enough to purchase a field for 6 minas of silver<sup>5</sup>.

Ātanaḫ-ili, the brother of another judge, Gimil-Marduk, son of Šilli-Šamaš, was a carpenter (SIMUG) who serves in the military organization<sup>6</sup>.

Another *naditu*, Aja-tallik, daughter of the judge Šamaš-šar-ili, purchases a field<sup>7</sup>. Very interesting is the fact that Šamaš-ellassu who has the title of judge as

<sup>4</sup> In JCS 15/4 117-120.

<sup>5</sup> On Aja-rēšat, daughter of Ilšu-ibni see JCS 16/1 1. See Waterman Bus. Doc. 29 (Amd 1) where she pays the final installment of the purchase price for a field of 72 GĀN.

<sup>6</sup> On Ātanaḫ-ili see note 147 in the chapter on the Military Organization.

<sup>7</sup> RSO 2 539ff.

does his father, Itti-Enlil-qinni, is designated as a merchant (DAM.GĀR) in his seal inscription<sup>8</sup>.

### *Seal Inscriptions of Judges*

The seals of judges are at times found on the tablets recording the litigations over which they presided, and the inscriptions of these seals reveal an interesting pattern. In three instances the inscriptions read, "PN, son of PN<sub>2</sub>, the servant of RN"<sup>9</sup>, while only one tablet has a seal impression with the phrase "servant of DN", (ĪR DN)<sup>10</sup>, which is usually found in private seal inscriptions. The phrase "servant of RN" is characteristic also of the inscriptions of judges from other cities<sup>11</sup>. The use of this phrase suggests that the title of judge was bestowed or confirmed by the king. The earliest of these inscriptions, in which the judge is called the "servant of Zabium", shows that the connection between the king and the judge began early<sup>12</sup>. In a number of instances the title "judge" (DI.KU<sub>5</sub>) does not appear in the seal inscriptions of known judges unlike the titles "Overseer of Merchants", *rabi sikkatim*, or "general" (UGULA MAR.TU)<sup>13</sup> which seem always to be given. This may mean that the judgeship was a function rather than an office, and the title primarily an honorific one.

### *The "King's Judges"*

Although the judges' seal inscriptions with the phrase "servant of RN" would indicate that all judges were in a sense king's judges, the actual designation "king's judges" occurs, though infrequently, in our texts. In an early text, from the time of Zabium, it is the king's judge (DI.KU<sub>5</sub> *šarrim*) who renders the judgement<sup>14</sup>. In another lawsuit involving the defendants of this case and where they are now the plaintiffs the verdict is rendered only by "judges"<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> For the seal see CT 47 56a S. 4 (Si).

<sup>9</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 22 (Za), for the seal inscription of Imgur-Sin see Waterman Bus. Doc. p. 136 (photograph); BE 6/1 88 (Amd 12), 105 (Amš 17 + b).

<sup>10</sup> The seal inscription of Ilšu-bāni, son of Ipqu-Adad, CT 47 51a (Si 1) who is not described as judge in this lease text but appears as judge in CT 29 42:6, 20. Very interesting are the two different seal inscriptions of Šeš.ki.ma.an.sum (Nannatum), son of Narām-Sin known to have served in the College of Judges from VAS 13 25 r. 6 (Ha 41). In TCL 1 99 (Ha 35) the phrase ĪR <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU u DINGIR DINGIR.MAR.TU appears in his seal. But in Friedrich BA 5 495 (Si 3) No. 17 he described himself as the "servant of Samsu-iluna". Presumably after his confirmation as a judge he had a new seal made.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., TCL 1 157 (Dilbat). Here only in two of the eight judges is the title DI.KU<sub>5</sub> added to the seal inscription, but all have the phrase ĪR RN.

<sup>12</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 22 (see photograph on p. 136).

<sup>13</sup> See e.g., BE 6/1 105 and Szlechter Tablettes 56 MAH 16194.

<sup>14</sup> BE 6/1 10:8 (Za 11).

<sup>15</sup> Pinches Peek 13:5 (Za 11).

The king's judges (DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ LUGAL) preside in a dispute which concerns the disposition of an office; the judges in this instance are known to be Sippar judges<sup>16</sup>.

A dispute between *nadītu*'s is settled by the king's judges who are from Sippar except for one who is from Babylon as is indicated by information given concerning the witnesses<sup>17</sup>.

### *Collegia of Judges*

From the time of Sumu-la-ila through the reign of Zabium the collegia was composed of four judges; after this time the size of the group increases, with groups of five and ten being found in the texts of Hammu-rapi.

As mentioned above, none of the early judges appear more than once in our texts suggesting that they serve only for one specific occasion. If this is the case there is a marked difference in the organization of the judges beginning with the time of Hammu-rapi when the same group of men serve in litigations as well as in other capacities.

Beginning with the period of Abi-ešuh, though possibly already in the time of Hammu-rapi, the judges in collegia witness various transactions, though in these instances they are not called judges. Perhaps their appearance as a group serves as sufficient identification. The following, known as judges from a legal document<sup>18</sup>, appear as witnesses to a transaction in which one *nadītu* buys a field from another: Iddin-Irra, son of Tappi-girrišu (hypocoristic for Tappi-girri-Šamaš), Ilšu-bāni, son of Ipqu-Adad, and Nannatum, son of Narām-Sin<sup>19</sup>. The adoption<sup>20</sup> of a *nadītu* by another *nadītu* is witnessed by a group of men known as judges from another text: Šamaš-ellassu, Iddin-Irra, and Ilšu-bāni<sup>21</sup>. In both of the above transactions the judges' names are listed between the temple officials and cloister officials, perhaps an indication of their relative importance in the administrative hierarchy during the reign of King Hammu-rapi. There is no way, however, of determining why in this period they witness in collegia only certain transactions.

<sup>16</sup> TCL 1 104:7 (Ha).

<sup>17</sup> CT 8 24b (Si 2). See 11. 18f.

<sup>18</sup> CT 29 42, 43, 41.

<sup>19</sup> VAS 13 25 4ff. (Ha 41).

<sup>20</sup> TCL 1 104 (Ha).

<sup>21</sup> CT 8 5a (Ha 41).

An interesting case discussed by Driver and Miles<sup>22</sup> gives some information on the judicial processes of Sippar. The information is contained in a text which tells of a dispute over the property of a murdered man<sup>23</sup>. The two defendants have been brought before a court of six judges who order them to take an oath. The decision of this court, however, is not accepted (*dīnam anniām ul ilqū*) by the two plaintiffs who are sons of the deceased. The case is given a second hearing in a court consisting of three of the previous judges and two new judges one of whom may be the presiding judge as he is mentioned first. It seems that the judgement is the same, as the plaintiffs again will not accept it. A third hearing is held before the king who orders both plaintiffs and defendants to take an oath and one of the plaintiffs now declares that he knows who the murderer was. Driver and Miles have suggested that the last hearing may reflect the discovery of new evidence which necessitated the oaths. Unfortunately, we have no further information on this case, which dates from the end of the reign of Samsu-iluna<sup>24</sup> since some of the judges mentioned are known from this period, though are not elsewhere designated as judges. In any case, this text suggests a somewhat permanent court though subject to changes, such as the removal of two judges after the first hearing, perhaps for misconduct.

*Judges appearing in Collegia in Litigations*

DATE	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
SI	—	Išme-Adad s. Elali-waqar Išū-bāni s. x-di-ili Iddin-Ilabrat s. Ilumma Šamaš-iddinam s. Sin-iddinam	CT 8 28a
SI	—	Awēlum s. Būr-Sin Sin-idi s. Ibbi-Sin Ili-nāšir s. Nūr-Ea Ibbi-Ilabrat s. Puzur-Šamaš	CT 8 28b
Za	13	Ibbi-Sin s. Nabi-ilišu Išmē-Adad Šamšija Nūr-ilišu	CT 2 50

<sup>22</sup> *The Babylonian Laws* I 76f. note 8.

<sup>23</sup> CT 29 42.

<sup>24</sup> This text dates after Si 30 for there is a text, TCL 1 145:14ff. (Si 30), where the murdered man is still alive.

DATE	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Sm	—	Sin-iqīšam Šamaš-liwwir Ilšu-ibbišu Sinjatum <sup>d</sup> UTU.Ì.SAG	CT 2 31
Ha	[x]	Šamaš-ellassu Ilšu-bāni Akšak-iddinam Iddin-Irra Ilšu-bāni	TCL 1 104
Ha	3	Nūr-Sumuqan Nūr-Šamaš Qīš-Nunu Šilli-Šamaš Būr-Sin Adad-iddinam Sin-mā[gir?] Narām-ilišu Būr-Sin Awāt-Marduk Warad-Sin	CT 47 24/24a
Ha	11	Sin-iddinam s. Sin-erībam Ibbi-Ilabrat s. Sin-erībam Nūr-Sumuqan s. Ilšu-nāšir Nabi-Šamaš s. Zakaja Qīš-Nunu s. Sin-šemē Sin-erībam s. Ikun-pīša Būr-Sin s. Sililum Narām-ilišu s. Ali-ḫat- Šamaš	CT 47 31/31a
Ha	24	Itti-Enlil-qinni Būr-Sin Ilšu-bāni	CT 6 47b
Ha	—	Sin-erībam s. Ikun-pīša Būr-Sin s. Sililum Narām-ilišu s. Ali-ḫat- Šamaš Sin-nāšir s. Ali-ḫat- Šamaš	CT 8 43a

DATE	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Si	2	Sinatum Ilšu-bāni s. Ipqu-Adad Nūr-ališu s. Erībam	CT 8 24b
Si	2	[...] Appan-ili Sinatum Sin-ingur	CT 6 32a
Si	[x]	Nūratum s. Ipqu- Annunītum Šamaš-ellassu s. Itti-Enlil-qinni Appan-ili Sin-ingur Rīš-Šamaš Abum-waqar Marduk-lamassašu Imgur-Ninurta Ipqu-ilišu	CT 47 67/67a
Si		Iddin-Irra s. Tappi-girri- Šamaš Nannatum s. Narām-Sin Ilšu-bāni s. Ipqu-Adad Imgur-Sin s. Šilli-Adad Appan-ili (judge of Babylon) Annatum s. Awēl-ili Hajabni-el Iddin-Irra Ilšu-bāni Nannatum Appan-ili (judge of Babylon)	CT 29, 42, 43 41
Ams	14	<sup>d</sup> ŠEŠ.KI.MA.AN.SUM Sin-išmēanni Ipqu-ilišu	Meissner BAP 42
und. <sup>25</sup>		Awēl-Ištar Sin-iddinam Iršitija	VAS 8 71

<sup>25</sup> VAS 8 71 dates from the early part of the Old Babylonian period for it contains the phrase "decision of the judges (in) the Šamaš temple (*din É<sup>d</sup>Šamaš*)".

DATE	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
und. <sup>26</sup>		[...] [Sin-nā]din-šumī s. Ilšu-bāni	CT 45 119
und. <sup>27</sup>		[...] s. Ibbi-Šamaš Ili-bāni [...] Ilšu-ellassu Sin-iqīšam	CT 2 47

### *Judges as Witnesses*

Judges appear singly and in collegia as witnesses to transactions such as sales, leases, and gifts. It seems reasonable to assume that especially when they appear as a group there is some relationship between the transaction or parties and the office of the judges, and this can sometimes be shown to be actually the case. In one sale contract witnessed by judges, the buyer, Nakkārtum, is the daughter of Palē-Šamaš presumably the judge of that name<sup>28</sup>; and another buyer, Aja-rēšat, daughter of Ilšu-ibnī, is probably the sister of the judge Utu.šu.mu.un.dib<sup>29</sup>. In two other transactions witnessed by judges one of the parties in each case is a military official, a captain (PA.PA) and a general (UGULA MAR.TU)<sup>30</sup>.

When judges appear individually as witnesses and in groups of two, it may be evidence of the high position of one of the parties. A judge witnesses a contract in which the daughter of an *abi šābi* official is involved, and when a field is leased by an *abi šābi* official; and finally a judge witnesses a sale of land by Ipqu-Annunītum, son of Sin-iddinam<sup>31</sup>, a man who takes precedence as a witness and responsible official over both the Overseer of the Merchants and the judges, and would thus seem to be the highest administrator in the city, though his position is never indicated<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> CT 45 119 dates perhaps from Ammi-šaduqa for one of the judges Sin-nādin-šumī, son of Ilšu-bāni, may be identical with a man of the same name and father but without title who appears in Friedrich BA 5 504 No. 34:5 (Amš 10).

<sup>27</sup> CT 2 47 probably dates from Sin-muballit for it concerns a dispute over the bequest which the *naditu* Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Supāpum, who lived in this period, give to her adopted daughter (Waterman Bus. Doc. 24 [Sm]).

<sup>28</sup> See CT 47 71 (Ae k) for this contract and BM 80322:1 (Ae) for Palē-Šamaš, the judge.

<sup>29</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 29 (Amd 1).

<sup>30</sup> Meissner BAP 107 (Amš 16); BE 6/1 116 (Sd h), respectively.

<sup>31</sup> CT 33 27 (Amd 4); CT 8 3b (Amš 3); CT 45 62 (Amš), respectively.

<sup>32</sup> E.g., CT 8 11b:18 (Amš 5); BE 6/1 104:14 (Amš 6).

*Judges appearing in collegia in contexts other than litigations*

DATE	YEAR	NAME	CONTEXT	TEXT
Ae	k	Sin-nādin-šumi s. Awē[l-Šamaš] Iišu-ibni s. [...] Iišu-bāni s. [...]	Sale (witnesses)	BE 6/1 76
Ae	?	Ipqu-Annunītum s. Šamaš-bāni Warad-Sin s. Ibbi-Šamaš Sin-nādin-šumi s. Awēl-Šamaš Šamaš-bāni s. Awēl-Šamaš	Sale (witnesses)	CT 47 71
Ae	[x]	Ibni-Marduk s. Lipit-Ištar Ili-iddinam s. Rj[iš]-Šamaš Sin-iddinam s. Ibbi-Sin Erīb-Sin s. Ipqu-Amurru Šamaš-nāšir s. Palē-Šamaš	Sale (Sellers)	BM 78254
Ae	—	Palē-Šamaš s. Marduk-rā'imni Ibbi-Sin s. Marduk-rā'imni Ibni-Marduk Ili-iddinam Šamaš-nāšir Ipqu-Annunītum Ipqu-Annunītum Sin-nādin-šumī (= s. Awēl-Šamaš) Etel-pī-Šamaš Warad-Sin (= s. Iddin-Šamaš) Pirḫi-ilišu Ibni-Šamaš	Temple account	BM 80322
Amd	1	Sin-iddinam s. Ibbi-Sin Warad-Sin s. Ibbi-Šamaš Iišu-ibni s. L.Ú. <sup>4</sup> IŠKUR.RA	Receipt of Payment (witnesses)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 29
Amd	6	Warad-Sin s. Iddin-Šamaš Sippar-liwwir s. Tari[batim] [...] s. Iddin-Šamaš Ibni-Adad s. Sin-iddinam Iišu-bāni s. Awēl-Šamaš	Payment of tax (witnesses)	CT 45 46
Amd	8	Warad-ilišu Ibni-Adad Iišu-bāni	Temple account	CT 8 36c
Amd	21	Warad-ilišu Ibni-Adad Iišu-ibni Warad-ilišu Ibni-Adad Iišu-ibni	Administrative account  Administrative account	BM 80290  CT 45 54
Amd	[x]	Iišu-bāni s. Nūr-Šamaš	Administrative account	CT 45 55
Ams	11	ŠEŠ.KI.MA.AN.SUM s. Ipqu- Annunītum Sin-išmēanni s. Ibbi-Šamaš Ipiq-ilišu s. Gi[mil]-Marduk	Division of property (witnesses)	CT 8 3a

KING	YEAR	NAME	CONTEXT	TEXT
Amš	11	Sin-iddinam s. Adad-iddinam Iddin-Ištar s. Ipqu-Annunitum Awēl-Šamaš s. Iddin-Ilabrat Nabium-lamassašu s. Ibni-Adad Marduk-mušallim s. Ipqu- Annunitum	Lost document (witnesses)	CT 6 6
Amš	12	Sin-išmēanni Ipqu-Annunitum	Administrative account	BE 6/1 99
Amš	13	ŠEŠ.KI.MA.AN.SUM s. Ipqu-Annunitum Sin-išmēanni s. Ibni-Šamaš Ipqu-Annunitum s. Ibni-Šamaš Sin-iddinam s. Adad-iddinam	Gift	BE 6/1 95
Amš	13	ŠEŠ.KI.MA.AN.SUM Sin-išmēanni Ipqu-Annunitum Ipiq-ilišu	Sale (witnesses)	Meissner BAP 107

*Judges appearing in groups of two in various transactions*

KING	YEAR	NAME	CONTEXT	TEXT
Si	25	Ipqu-Annunitum Awēl-Ištar	Adoption (witness)	CT 47 65/65a
Ae	t	Ipqu-Annunitum s. Awēl-[...] Ili-iddinam s. Rī[š-Šamaš]	Administrative account	BE 6/1 68
Amš	16	ŠEŠ.KI.MA.AN.SUM Sin-iddinam	Leases (witness)	BM 80264
Amš	17 + b	Iddin-Ištar Awēl-Šamaš	Sale (witnesses)	BE 6/1 105
(Amš)		Iddin-Ištar Nabium-lamassašu	Account	BM 81073

*Single judges appearing in various transactions*

KING	YEAR	NAME	CONTEXT	TEXT
Si	8	Nūratum s. Ipqu-Annunitum	Sale (witness)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 & 14
Si	29	Sin-bēl-aplim s. Sin-māgir	Sale (witness)	CT 6 20a
Si	?	Sin-bēl-aplim s. Sin-māgir	Administrative Account	BE 6/2 89:5
Ae	m	Sin-išmēanni s. Sin-imguranni	Sale (witness)	CT 8 27a:19
Ae	28	Lipit-Ištar	Administrative Account	BE 6/1 71:7
Ae		Lipit-Ištar s. Mār-Šamaš	Sale (witness)	BE 6/1 119 ii 20

KING	YEAR	NAME	CONTEXT	TEXT
Amd	1	Išū-ibni	Temple account	BM 80637:9
Amd	4	Ipqu-Annunitum s. Šamaš-bāni	Commission	CT 33 27:13
Amd	5	Warad-ilišu	Temple account	BE 6/1 91:14
Amd	9	Sin-iddinam s. Ibbi-Sin	Temple loan (debtor)	CT 45 47:12
Amd	12	Sin-šemē s. Ili-iddinam	Sale (witness)	BE 6/1 88:23
Amš	3	<sup>d</sup> ŠEŠ.KI.MA.AN.SUM s. Ipqu-Aja b. Amat- <sup>d</sup> ŠĒ.NIR.DA	Sale	BE 6/1 94:6
Amš	3	Gimil-Marduk s. Šilli-Šamaš	Lease (witness)	CT 8 3b:29
Amš	5	Rišija s. Širiga	Marriage (Witness)	PBS 8/2 252:37
Amš	5	Gimil-Marduk s. Šilli-Šamaš	Lease (witness)	CT 9 11b:20
Amš	6	Gimil-Marduk s. Šilli-Šamaš	Administrative Account	BE 6/1 104:8
Amš	7	Pirḫi-Amurru	Account	TCL 1 161:8
Amš	8	Pirḫi-Amurru	Taxes (?)	TCL 1 163:2
Amš	13	Marduk-lamassašu	Temple account	TLB 1 280:14
Amš	16(?)	Awēl-Sin	Lease (lessee)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 75
Amš	16	Ipqu-Annunitum s. Ibni-Šamaš	Lease (lessee)	BE 80264:10
Amš	16	Gimil-Marduk s. Šilli-Šamaš	Sale (witness)	CT 45 62:26
(Amš?)		Gimil-Marduk s. Šilli-Šamaš	Sale (witness)	CT 45 121:26
Sd	3	Awēl-Sin	Administrative Account	BM 81255:6
Sd	3	Awēl-Sin	Administrative Account	BM 80886:3
Sd	3	Awēl-Sin	Administrative Account	BM 81473:7
Sd	3	Awēl-Sin s. Sin-bēl-aplim	Lease (lessor)	CT 8 23b:2,4

<sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib, judge, son of Išū-ibnī, the Overseer of the Merchants.

DATE	TEXT	ROLE
Amd 24	BM 81591:4, 6	middleman in palace loan
Amd 25	CT 48 72:2, 1	palace account (broken context)
Amd 27	CT 8 36b:18	witness to lease of field
Amd 29	Waterman Bus. Doc. 19:3	middleman in palace loan
Amd 29	CT 6 37c:3	middleman in palace loan
Amd 30	TCL 1 151:18	witness to sale of field
Amd 31	CT 33 31:4, 6	middleman in palace loan
Amd 34	CT 8 2b:20	PN and another man make delivery in palace account
Amd 35	CT 8 8e:3	gives sesame for oil processing

DATE	TEXT	ROLE
Amš 2	CT 6 35c:4	middleman in palace loan
Amš 2	CT 8 11c:5	middleman in palace loan
Amš 2	CT 45 60:13, 18, 30	litigant in case against <i>iššakku</i> of cloister.

### *Out-of-Town Judges in Sippar Litigations*

At times judges from other cities join the judges of Sippar in a decision, presumably when the jurisdiction is divided. It is perhaps noteworthy that with one exception this occurs in the reign of Samsu-iluna and earlier<sup>33</sup>. The disherison of the heir of a *nadītu* is presided over by a judge of Babylon, a judge of Sippar, and a judge of the *nadītu*-women, possibly indicating that the heir is from Babylon<sup>34</sup>. In a claim brought by the heirs of a man who has sold a house to a *nadītu* the verdict is rendered by judges of Babylon and Sippar<sup>35</sup>. When a *nadītu* brings a claim to the house of another *nadītu* the dispute is presented to the "king's judges" and witnessed by the "Overseer of the Merchants", the judge of Babylon, and other judges known to be from Sippar, in that order<sup>36</sup>. A judge of Babylon also joins Sippar judges in a case concerning a dispute over the property of a murdered man<sup>37</sup>. Judges of both cities render a verdict in the Šamaš temple concerning the property of a *nadītu*, though in this case the Sippar judges take precedence<sup>38</sup>; and in the first year of Ammi-šaduqa judges of the two cities are involved in a case in which a man who has been lent 60 GUR of barley claims that the barley was forceably taken from him. Perhaps the fact that the barley was given to him after the king had proclaimed a *mišarum* (i.e., a remission of non-commercial debts) may account for the presence of the judges of the capital city<sup>39</sup>.

At times Sippar litigations are completely under the jurisdiction of a court made up of judges of another city. The judges of Babylon and Barsippa decide whether a man is a citizen of Sippar or a slave, a case in which they question the elders of Iplaḫi, a town near Sippar where many fields of *nadītu* are located<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Only BE 6/1 103 dates as late as the first year of Ammi-šaduqa.

<sup>34</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 23 (Za 1).

<sup>35</sup> VAS 8 105 (Ha 4). See VAS 9 165/166 (Ha) where the defendant of this previous text sells a plot in the same area to a *nadītu*.

<sup>36</sup> CT 8 24b (Si 2).

<sup>37</sup> See CT 29 41:6, 21 for Appan-ili, the judge of Babylon, but note that he also appears as judge in CT 6 32a:20 (Si 2) where it is not stated that he is from Babylon.

<sup>38</sup> CT 47 67/67a (Si).

<sup>39</sup> BE 6/1 103 (Amš 1).

<sup>40</sup> VAS 13 32:5 (Ha 5:2). That this is a Sippar text is clear from the oath formula. Moreover, one of the witnesses here, Gimillum, son of Išū-ellassu, also appears as a witness in another Sippar litigation: CT 4 9a:34 (Ha).

Disputes concerning the property of Sippar residents which is located in regions belonging to other towns are apparently settled by those towns. Thus the eldersmen (*šibūtu*) of Ḫalḫalla, headed by the *rabiānu* of that city settle the claim of a *naditu* from whom part of a field had been illegally taken over by her neighbor<sup>41</sup>, and another case concerns a dispute over the field given to a *naditu* by her father. This field is located in Eble, a region under the jurisdiction of Ḫalḫalla where many *naditu*'s owned fields, and so the city of Ḫalḫalla settles the matter<sup>42</sup>.

Finally the elders of the city of Ḫudadu preside in a dispute between brothers over the division of the paternal estate; a second hearing concerning the same litigants is held in Sippar where the Sippar *rabiānu* official presides<sup>43</sup>.

#### *Presiding official of the Court*

Most litigation texts simply state that the case is presented to the judges, but at times a person is mentioned as the presiding official of the court. This position seems to have been occupied by men of various offices. In the time of Sin-muballiḫ and Hammu-rapi, the *rabiānu* official is often found performing this function<sup>44</sup>, and in the time of Samsu-iluna, the *šāpiru* official often appears as the presiding official<sup>45</sup>. In the reigns of Ammi-ditana and Ammi-šaduqa the "Chairman of the Assembly" (GAL UKKIN.NA) might function as presiding officer<sup>46</sup>. In one instance a case is accepted by the GAL<sup>d</sup>MAR.TU who is also the first witness and thus probably the presiding judge. The title is otherwise unknown in Sippar<sup>47</sup>.

#### *Other Judicial Bodies of Sippar*

Apart from the courts of regular judges, several other judicial bodies function in Sippar. These include the assembly (*puḫrum*) which consists of the citizens of Sippar, the smaller administrative unit of the city quarter (*babtu*), and the *kārum*, or port authority of the city. For a complete discussion of these aspects of the city administration see above.

<sup>41</sup> CT 8 6b (Si 3).

<sup>42</sup> CT 47 68/68a (und.).

<sup>43</sup> CT 2 9 (Ha) and Meissner BAP 80 (Ha 24). Both hearings are held in Sippar. Though elders of the city are mentioned in the latter text they are not specified as coming from Ḫudadu.

<sup>44</sup> CT 47 12/12a (Sm 9); BM 80281 (Sm); VAS 8 102 (Ha 4); CT 47 31/31a (Ha 11); Meissner BAP 80 (Ha 24).

<sup>45</sup> BE 6/1 60 (Si 17); RA 9 22 (Si 18); CT 2 43 (Si 24); CT 45 37 (Si 27).

<sup>46</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. (Amd 6); TCL 1 164 (Ams 9).

<sup>47</sup> VAS 9 142/143 (Ha 24). On the GAL MAR.TU see Kupper *Les Nomades* 190ff.

*Officials Connected with the Court**“Judge’s Commissioner” — The rābiš dajāni (MAŠKIM DI.KU<sub>5</sub>)*

The title of MAŠKIM, well-known from the Ur III texts<sup>48</sup>, appears seldom in the Old Babylonian period, and is not found in the Sippar texts after the reign of Samsu-iluna<sup>49</sup>. The function of this official is not disclosed by our texts in which he occurs as a witness, usually in litigations, but also in cases concerning a loan, and a division of property<sup>50</sup>. His full title is not always used and he is often referred to simply as MAŠKIM or, in Akkadian, as *rābišum*. We know of only one such official at any given time, and to judge from the case of Sijatum the office might be held for a period of many years.

*List of rābiš dajāni*

DATE	NAME	TITLE	TEXT
Sl	Sin-abušu s. Kinnam-ili	<i>rābišum</i>	CT 8 28b:9
Sl	Sin-abušu s. Kinnam-ili	<i>rābišum</i>	BE 6/1 8:31
Za 11	Babalum	MAŠKIM DI.KU <sub>5</sub>	<i>Pinches Peek 13:25</i>
Za b	Babalum	MAŠKIM DI.KU <sub>5</sub>	BE 6/1 10:35
AS ?	Sinnija	MAŠKIM	CT 6 22a:17
AS 4	Šamaš-nāšir	MAŠKIM	CT 4 47a:42
Sm 9	Sijatum	<i>rābiš</i> DI.KU <sub>5</sub>	CT 47 12a r. 12
Sm	Sijatum	MAŠKIM DI.KU <sub>5</sub>	CT 6 42b:27; Waterman 35 r. 15
Ha 10	Sijatum	<i>rābiši</i> DI.KU <sub>5</sub>	TCL 1 82:23f.
Si 11	[...]šum	MAŠKIM DI.KU <sub>5</sub>	Goetze JCS 11 34
		MEŠ	No. 20:l.e.
—	Nabi-ilišu	MAŠKIM DI. <KU <sub>5</sub> >	Ibid. 29 No. 18 r. 6

*“The Judge’s Scribe” — DUB.SAR.DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ*

On occasion the scribe who records a litigation is given the title “Scribe of the Judges”, (DUB.SAR DI.KU<sub>5</sub>). Though whether this refers to a specific office or is simply a title given to any scribe serving in this capacity is not clear. The earliest reference to a scribe of the judges occurs in a text in which Inanna.ama.mu

<sup>48</sup> For references cf., Falkenstein *Gerichtsurkunden* 139f.

<sup>49</sup> We have not included the references to this official found in CT 6 8:8 and CT 8 50 c:1f., both undated. The provenience of the first text does not appear to be Sippar; it mentions Babylon, a man from Išim-Šulgi and another from Īrītum. In the second text the oath is taken by the king (*nīš šarrim*) which is not characteristic of Sippar.

<sup>50</sup> See TCL 1 82/83:23 (Ha 10) and CT 6 42b:27 (Sm), respectively.

is the last witness and therefore apparently the scribe. She is said to be the daughter of A.AB.BA-ṭābum, the scribe of the judges of the Šamaš temple. (DUB.SAR DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ É<sup>d</sup>UTU)<sup>51</sup>. In a transaction no longer preserved, the last witness is LÚ.<sup>d</sup>NIN.ŠUBUR.KA, referred to as a scribe of the judges<sup>52</sup>. If this man is to be identified with the man of the same name known simply as a scribe (DUB.SAR) it would mean that he practiced his profession for 53 years (see list of scribes).

Two other men, Imgur-Sin and Awēl-Adad, called Scribes of the judges (though one is called simply DUB.SAR DI.KU<sub>5</sub>), appear together as witnesses to the sale of a field in which a third man acts as scribe<sup>53</sup>. Again, Imgur-Sin might be identified with a man of the same name known simply as a scribe<sup>54</sup>. Awēl-Adad is known from several texts besides the above. He is designated as a scribe of the judges in other documents in which he appears as a witness<sup>55</sup>, and is also called simply a scribe, and a scribe of the *nadītu*'s<sup>56</sup>. Thus, though we find that a man might be a scribe of the judges and also another type of scribe, we do not know if he might hold these offices consecutively or concurrently.

“The King’s Runner” (UKU.UŠ LUGAL)

Although the king’s runner appears as early as the time of Apil-Sin, when he is a witness to an inheritance text<sup>57</sup>, we learn of his official duties for the king from three documents, all litigations concerning *nadītu*-women, dating from the time of Hammu-rapi. In all three cases it is stated that “the king has accepted the case” (*šarrum imḥurma*), and the king’s runner came (UKU.UŠ LUGAL *illikamma*), presumably to summon the litigants to court. In two instances a claim is brought against a *nadītu* by one of the parties from whom she has purchased property. In these cases the judges and the *kārum* of Sippar preside in the Šamaš temple and render judgement. The runner acts perhaps as the king’s representative<sup>58</sup>. In the third case, in which a *nadītu* has sold real estate and has not

<sup>51</sup> CT 8 28b : (Si).

<sup>52</sup> Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 20 1.e (Si 11). We have restored (LÚ.<sup>d</sup>NIN.Š]UBUR.KA, though perhaps some other reading is possible.

<sup>53</sup> VAS 13 25:8, 10 (Ha 41).

<sup>54</sup> E.g. in CT 2 27:39 (Si 27).

<sup>55</sup> CT 47 44/44a:24 (Ha 34) : TLB 1 224:22 (Si 27).

<sup>56</sup> See CT 8 24b:26 (Si 2) and CT 8 32a:22 (Si 23), respectively.

<sup>57</sup> CT 8 49b:33 (AS). Perhaps Tutu-nāšir the king’s runner is to be identified with the man with the same name but without title who appears in CT 4 16a:23 (AS 18).

<sup>58</sup> CT 47 24:16f. (Ha 3) and 31a:16 (Ha 11). Note that the first text states that *ri-dī šar-ri-im it-ti-ša il-li-ka-am-ma*.

been paid by the buyer, the king himself questions the witnesses, and the runner may have served to bring the witnesses to Babylon<sup>59</sup>.

“Barber” — *The gallābu* (ŠU.I)

The varied activities of the barber in Sippar are discussed above where we have noted his connections with the city administration. In one case in which the assembly (*puḫrum*) appears to have convened because of a still unsettled litigation, the *gallābu* acts as an assistant or officer under the Chairman of the Assembly<sup>60</sup>. The same barber and Chairman are asked to investigate the theft of five oxen with which two men have been caught, though it is not clear whether these officials are to preside over the case<sup>61</sup>.

#### *Other Court Officials*

There are other officials besides the above who seem to have had some connection with the court<sup>62</sup>.

#### *UGULA DI.KU<sub>5</sub>*

Two men called UGULA DI.KU<sub>5</sub> appear in our texts. The first, Awēl-Adad, who witnesses a sale, may perhaps be identified with the scribe of the judges of the same name<sup>63</sup>. The second man, Ilšu-bāni, witnesses the adoption of a *nadītu*<sup>64</sup>, and since his name precedes those of several men who are known judges — Akšak-iddinam and Šamaš-ellassu<sup>65</sup>, sons of Itti-Enlil-qinni, and Ilšu-bāni, son of Ipqu-Adad — he may have served as presiding judge. We need add that it is also possible that the UGULA DI.KU<sub>5</sub> is an error for MAŠKIM (PA + KAS<sub>4</sub>) DI.KU<sub>5</sub>, an office discussed above.

#### *GAL DI.KU<sub>5</sub>*

One Pum-rabi with the title GAL DI.KU<sub>5</sub>(!), the Akkadian reading of which is uncertain, exchanges fields with a man in the time of Apil-Sin<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Çig Kraus Nippur 163:6 (Ha 21).

<sup>60</sup> CT 8 19a:4 (Amṣ 5).

<sup>61</sup> TCL 1 164:10 (Amṣ 9).

<sup>62</sup> We have not included here an unusual case (CT 43 101) where a letter is sent to the *kārum* of Sippar and the Overseer of the Sailors (UGULA LÚ.GIŠ.MÁ) by the citizens and “respected” of Dūr-Marduk asking that they investigate the circumstances of a theft of a garment. Here, in what appears to be an exceptional instance, the Overseer of the Sailors acts in a judicial capacity along with the *kārum* perhaps because men under his jurisdiction are involved in the theft.

<sup>63</sup> CT 33 38:21 (Ha 34).

<sup>64</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 65 r. 10 (Ha): The copy (r. 11-12) has to be corrected here to ÚĤKI(?)-*i-din-nam*...«IGI»DUMU.MEŠ KI-<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL-*qi-in-ni*.

<sup>65</sup> E.g., TCL 1 104 and CT 8 24b.

<sup>66</sup> CT 8 31b:9.

“bailiff” *nāgiru* (NIMGIR)

The *nāgiru* is considered by Walther and by Driver and Miles<sup>67</sup> to be a court official. Although we know of a bailiff of Sippar (NIMGIR) in the reign of Ammi-šaduqa, his functions appear to have been administrative. Both of the men with this title who appear in a legal context in our material seem to be from other cities. In a text from Babylon the *nāgiru* of that city hears the declaration of a man who is probably a Sippar resident and who has had business relations with a diviner (*bārū*) of Sippar. The oath formula indicates that the declaration was not made in Sippar since the oath is taken by the king and not by Šamaš, Marduk, and the king, which would be typical of a Sippar oath<sup>68</sup>.

The other bailiff (LÚ *nāgir*) seems to come from Ḫudadu as this man and another without title are the first two witnesses in a case involving contested property which has been heard by the elders of the town of Ḫudadu, under whose jurisdiction the property must be. The names of these first two witnesses are separated by a line from the names of the other witnesses, at least one of whom is known to be a Sipparian, É.ki.bi.gi, son of <sup>d</sup>Níg.gi.na.an.dùl<sup>69</sup>. The oath formula is typical of Sippar<sup>70</sup>.

*Appeals to the King*

Although cases are usually decided by the judges, in some instances the king is called upon to render judgment. We have seen that in the case involving the property of a murdered man the king's decision is applied for after two trials by judges have not settled the dispute<sup>71</sup>.

In another instance, Abi-ešuḫ writes to the officials of Sippar, Sin-iddinam, and the *kārum* of Sippar and its judges, that he has been informed by two brothers that their eldest brother has wronged them and that although they attempted to present their case to the *kārum*, they have not received justice. The king asks that the witnesses involved be sent to him<sup>72</sup>. All of the brothers are known from Sippar contracts, and it is particularly interesting to note that the eldest brother, Ili-iddinam, son of Rīš-Šamaš, is himself a judge<sup>73</sup>, which perhaps accounts for the reluctance of the *kārum* to handle the case.

<sup>67</sup> *Gerichtswesen* 158, Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 493.

<sup>68</sup> CT 8 40a (Ha 28). The UKU.UŠ of the judge of Babylon is one of the witnesses here (l. 6f.).

<sup>69</sup> He appears in e.g., CT 8 12a (Ha 3) and CT 8 12b (Ha).

<sup>70</sup> CT 2 9:21 (Ha 2).

<sup>71</sup> CT 29 41 ff.

<sup>72</sup> LIH 92.

<sup>73</sup> In BE 6/1 119:ii 16 (und).

An unusual clause is added in the case of a lease contract. It states that the lessee of the house is not to bring a claim to the king against the owner of the house for the necessary expenses incurred in the house<sup>74</sup>.

We have noted above several cases which are referred to the king concerning the property of *naditu*-women which also involved the king's runner.

### *Sentences*

In the very early part of the Old Babylonian period, when Sippar is ruled by local rulers, the legal texts specify the curses to be inflicted on the party who breaks an agreement. This feature is absent from the typical Babylonian legal practice and reflects a tradition peripheral to the Babylonian tradition<sup>75</sup>. In these early contracts the party who breaks the agreement is said to be the enemy (*lemnum*) of Šamaš and the ruler<sup>76</sup>.

Later, though significantly in the pre-Hammu-rapi period, physical punishments meant to be defamatory are imposed. In one contract<sup>77</sup> it is stated that should one of the parties bring a claim "their (sic) noses will be pierced, his hands 'stretched out' (in a stock?) and he will (thus) walk across the city square of Sippar". Another case states that should the plaintiff bring a claim again "half of his hair will be shaven off, his nose will be cut off, his hands 'stretched out'" and he will (thus) walk about the city<sup>78</sup>. A poorly preserved lawsuit mentions that the plaintiff was punished by having his nose pierced and half of his hair shaven off<sup>79</sup>. Early too, and extending into the first part of Hammu-rapi's reign, an unlawful claim may be punished by having half of the hair shaved off<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> BE 6/1 36 (case): 26f: *a-na be-el Ê LUGAL ú-ul i-ša-si*. In BE 6/1 35 dating from the same year, same day and perhaps the same month, and possibly a duplicate of No. 36, this clause is not added.

<sup>75</sup> Professor Oppenheim in *Middle Eastern Cities*, 18, considers this a practice which belongs to people he calls the "Western Barbarians". He also includes in this category the use of Akkadian month names, the physical punishments mentioned in some contracts, and the use of certain words.

<sup>76</sup> See Waterman Bus. Doc. 14 (Immerum); CT 8 38b (Ilumma-ila); CT 8 28c (SI); and CT 6 36a (SI). BM 82437 dates from both Immerum and Sumu-la-ila. Note, too, the recently published contract, CT 48 90, which mentions this phrase and, therefore, serves as evidence that the ruler mentioned here, Ammi-sura, may be one of the early local rulers of Sippar.

<sup>77</sup> VAS 8 19:9ff. (AS): *a-pa-šu-nu i-pa-la-ša i-da-šu i-ta-ra-ša-ma ri-bi-it Sippar<sup>K1</sup> i-ba-a*.

<sup>78</sup> BM 80281:14ff. (Sm): *mu-ut-ta-sú ú-ga-li-bu ap-pa-šu i-na-ki-sú-šu i-dī-šu it-ru-šu URU<sup>K1</sup> ú-sa-ḫi-ru-šu-ma*.

<sup>79</sup> CT 48 4:7ff. (destr.).

<sup>80</sup> Pinches Peek 13 (Za 11); CT 8 45 b (Sm); VAS 8 102 (Ha 4).

Gradually, and probably as a result of the acculturation exerted by the capital, fines are levied for illegal claims. A plaintiff who brings an unlawful claim to property which he has sold must pay a fine of two shekels. In other cases, the judges will impose fines of 30 shekels and 180 shekels, respectively, should the plaintiff bring another claim<sup>82</sup>.

Frequently, litigations simply state that a penalty is imposed<sup>83</sup>.

#### SIPPAR LITIGATION TEXTS

##### *Contesting of Transactions*

KING	YEAR	TRANSACTION	TEXT
Buntahtun-ila		sale	BE 6/1 6
Buntahtun-ila/SI		sale	Waterman Bus. Doc. 31
SI		sale	CT 6 42a
SI		lease (?)	CT 2 34 <sup>84</sup>
Za	11	sale	Pinches Peek 13
Za	b	sale	BE 6/1 10
Za	—	sale	CT 45 3
Za	—	partnership	BE 6/1 15
AS	—	sale	TLB 1 220
AS	—	exchange	CT 4 7a
AS	—	lease	Waterman Bus. Doc. 36
Sm	—	sale	CT 8 45b
Sm	14	exchange	TCL 1 74
Ha	1	sale	CT 6 49a
Ha	3	sale	CT 47 24/24a
Ha	4	sale	VAS 8 105 = Meissner BAP 40
Ha	11	sale	CT 47 31/31a
Ha	—	sale	VAS 9 167/168
Ha	15	sale	CT 2 45
Si	3	lease	TCL 1 112
Si	18	sale	RA 9 2i ff.
Si	10	?	TCL 1 132
Si	27	sale	CT 45 37
Amd	3	partnership lease	PBS 8/2 200

<sup>81</sup> CT 6 49a (Ha 1).

<sup>82</sup> VAS 8 20 (und.) and CT 47 68/68a (und). The second text dates from Si, for this see Seal 2.

<sup>83</sup> CT 6 42a (SI); VAS 8 102 (Ha 4); CT 2 45 (Ha 15); CT 8 24b (Si); CT 8 24b (Si 2); CT 2 47 (und).

<sup>84</sup> For a discussion of this text see Finkelstein AS 16 237.

KING	YEAR	TRANSACTION	TEXT
Ams	1	trust (loan (?))	BE 6/1 103
Ams	4	sale	Meissner BAP 42
Ams	17+c	exchange	CT 45 60
und.		sale	CT 45 93
?	—	loan	CT 4 6a

*Contesting of Division of Property*

KING	YEAR	TEXT
Sl	—	CT 8 28b
Za	—	CT 4 26b
Za	11	CT 6 47a
Za	12	Waterman Bus. Doc. 22/23
Za	14	CT 8 42a
AS	—	VAS 8 17/18
Ha	[x]	TCL 1 104
Ha	4	VAS 8 102
Ha	19	CT 6 22a
Ha	24	VAS 9 142/143 Meissner BAP 80
Ha	—	CT 4 9a
Ha	?	CT 2 9
Si	1	CT 8 9a
Si	3	CT 4 13a
Si	5	CT 6 7a
Si	25	CT 2 43

## SIPPAR LITIGATION TEXTS

*Claims arising from disposition of property*

KING	YEAR	TEXT
Za	—	VAS 8 9/10 (disherison)
AS	—	VAS 8 17/18 = Meissner BAP 111
Sm	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 34/35
Sm	—	BM 80281
Sm	—	CT 2 31 (disherison)
Sm	—	CT 2 47
Sm	—	BM 80784
Ha	18	CT 48 8
Ha	40	CT 6 47b

## ANCIENT SIPPAR

KING	YEAR	TEXT
Si	25	CT 2 43
Si	—	CT 48 5
Ams	—	CT 2 1 = CT 2 6
	und	CT 47 68/68a
und.		Waterman Bus. Doc. 13 (disherison)
und.		CT 48 81

*Claims to property for unknown reasons*

Sl	—	CT 2 34
Sl	—	CT 8 28a
Za	—	CT 2 39
Za	—	CT 2 50
Za	—	CT 4 26b
Za	1	CT 48 14
Za	—	CT 2 39
Sm	13	TCL 1 70
Si	2	CT 6 3a
Si	2	CT 8 24b
Si	2	CT 8 24b
Si	3	CT 8 6b
und.		Waterman Bus. Doc. 64
und.	—	CT 48 10
und.	—	CT 45 88

*Litigations Arising from Business Dealings*

KING	YEAR	TEXT
Za	—	BE 6/1 15
Sm	14	CT 2 46
Ha	—	CT 8 43a
Ha	28	CT 8 40a
und.	—	VAS 8 71
und.	—	CT 2 22

*Litigation over non-payment of purchase price*

KING	YEAR	TEXT
Za	—	CT 8 17a

KING	YEAR	TEXT
AS	8	CT 6 33b
Ha	3	VAS 8 101
Ha	21	Çig Kraus Nippur 163
Ha	30	VAS 9 40

*Litigation over Lost Property*

KING	YEAR	OBJECT	TEXT
Za	—	boat	VAS 8 11
AS	4	pack donkeys	CT 4 47a
Amd	?	donkey	CT 45 53
Ams̄	9	oxen	TCL 1 164

*Litigation concerning marriage*

Si	10	Riftin 48
und.		JCS 11 29 No. 18
und.		CT 45 86

*Litigation concerning Adoption*

AS	—	VAS 8 19
Ha	—	CT 8 12b
Si	11	BE 6/1 58
Si	16	BE 6/1 59
und.		Çig Kraus Nippur 174

*Lost Documents*

KING	YEAR	TEXT
Ha	13	CT 48 15
Si	14	CT 47 63/63a
Ams̄	5	CT 8 19a
Ams̄	11	CT 6 6
und.	—	CT 45 102

*Miscellaneous Litigations*

Sm	17	CT 45 15 (man's family not responsible for his debt)
Ha	5(?)	VAS 13 32 (the status of a man)

Si	10	CT 8 32c (invalidation of tablet)
Si	17	BE 6/1 60 (ownership of a wall)
Amd	1	CT 6 29 (status of a man)
und.	—	VAS 8 65 (declaration)
und.	—	CT 8 34c (between brothers concerning <i>nēberum</i> -boat)

*Content Uncertain*

KING	YEAR	TEXT
Immerum	—	BM 82437
Sl	—	BE 6/1 7
AS	—	VAS 8 19
Ha	—	VAS 9 169
Ha	?	CT 45 28
Ha	—	VAS 9 167/168
Si	2	TLB 1 231
Amd	6	Waterman Bus. Doc. 50
und.		VAS 8 20
und.		VAS 8 65
und.		CT 8 50c
und.		Çig Kraus Nippur 172

*Judges as Administrators*

During the Old Babylonian period, the office of the judge of Sippar changes from a strictly judicial one to one which includes administrative duties. While the change may have begun during the reign of Hammu-rapi our first evidence for it is in the time of Samsu-iluna, and the administrative role of judges in collegia or individually is particularly well documented in the period of Abi-ešuḫ and his successors. It would seem that as the control of Babylon over the other cities of Babylonia expands, the king employs prominent citizens in Sippar as his representatives and through them collects taxes, maintains public canals and irrigation systems, and regulates the royal granaries. These chief administrators in Sippar were the *kārum*, the college of the judges, and the Overseer of the Merchants; and we have seen that already in the time of Hammu-rapi the Overseer of the Merchants heads a group of judges in a litigation<sup>85</sup>. The role of the *kārum* and the Overseer of the Merchants is discussed above under the City Administration.

<sup>85</sup> CT 47 31:36 (Ha 11).

*Judges and the Šamaš Temple*

In several accounts two judges or a single judge, perhaps acting on behalf of the committee of judges, receive goods for the Šamaš temple, though in what capacity we do not know.

The judge Warad-ilišu collects 6 shekels of silver, equivalent (ŠÁM) to one talent of wool, which is owed the temple by Adad-lamassašu<sup>86</sup>. In the same year the Overseer of the Merchants and the judges of Sippar are the officials responsible for 47 shekels of silver which are allotted to buy four teams of oxen to work in the fields of Šamaš<sup>87</sup>. Three judges, headed by Warad-ilišu, receive 10 GUR of sesame brought to Sippar-Jaḥrurum from the city of Luḥaja for the festival of Šamaš and give it to the oil processor, in a transaction called “the accountings of the three judges and the *kārum* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum”<sup>88</sup>.

*The Judge and the City Granaries*

In a number of texts, colleges of judges are associated with the various city granaries, and though we cannot determine with any certainty whether the judges of Sippar are distinct from those of Sippar-Jaḥrurum and Sippar-Amnānum, the explicit references which occur to such colleges in each of these areas<sup>89</sup> seem to indicate that each area has its own college of judges just as it has its own *kārum*. Our texts, however, do not provide us with enough information to break down the material into that which represents each Sippar since the distinctions between them are often blurred. Although only three judges are mentioned in most accounts, one temple account (to be discussed below) indicates that Sippar-Amnānum, at least, might have a group of as many as six judges<sup>90</sup>.

The judges of Sippar-Jaḥrurum are responsible for expenditures of grain from the granary of that city and distribute at the king's written order (*ana pi tuppī šarrim*) more than 17 GUR of barley as provisions for the fortress soldiers and feed for oxen<sup>91</sup>. The names of three judges of Sippar-Jaḥrurum are preserved

<sup>86</sup> BE 6/1 91:14 (Amd 5). This is perhaps the same Adad-lamassašu who is mentioned in a different text, CT 45 46:8 (Amd 6), which concerns the collection of the *ilku* tax of the judges and the city of Sippar-Jaḥrurum.

<sup>87</sup> CT 8 30c (Amd 5).

<sup>88</sup> CT 8 36c:18 (Amd 8): 3 NÍG.ŠID DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ. The city of Luḥaja was built by Abi-ešuḥ as is seen from his year “v”. It was situated on the Araḥtum Canal. Therefore, read in CT 8 36c:5:ÍD A-<sup>r</sup>ra(!)<sup>1</sup>-aḥ-tum.

<sup>89</sup> For the judges of Sippar-Jaḥrurum see BM 80570 (Ac); for those of Sippar-Amnānum see BM 80322 (und.).

<sup>90</sup> BM 80322 (und.).

<sup>91</sup> BM 80290 (Amd 21).

in a text in which they are in charge of giving out provisions for an army contingent (*litum*) which consists of charioteers and mercenaries stationed in Kār-Šamaš, on the embankment of the Sippirītu Canal<sup>92</sup>.

The barley of this granary is also used as provisions for a work force which is under military supervision<sup>93</sup>. In another instance<sup>94</sup> barley is brought to Sippar-Jahrurum presumably from Babylon and received by the Overseer of the Merchants, four judges and their brothers (*ahhīšu*)<sup>95</sup>, the sons of another judge, the sons of another Overseer of the Merchants, four unidentified men, the sons of two other unidentified men, and the *kārum* of Sippar. The barley is stored in the granary (*ina na-at-ba(!)-ki(!)-im*), and seems to be intended to serve as army provisions as the responsible official (GĪR) is the army scribe. The large group or committee which receives this shipment is interesting in that it is composed not only of the *kārum* and the judges, but of various other persons who were evidently also wealthy and influential citizens<sup>96</sup>.

Judges together with other officials often give receipts on the delivery of barley: more than 15 GUR of barley is delivered, of which over 8 GUR is said to be covered by the sealed document (ŠĀ *kanik*) of Gimil-Marduk the judge. The barley has been collected from a man described as a LÚ.IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>A, an apprentice builder, a gatekeeper, a *pašīšu* priest and the LÚ.É.UŠ.MEŠ, and must have constituted some sort of tax. It is received by the very important and always untitled official, Ipqu-Annunitum, son of Sin-iddinam, the Overseer of the Merchants, the members of the *kārum* of Sippar and the college of the judges of Sippar<sup>97</sup>.

The amount of 20 GUR of barley, collected from shepherds and two generals among others, is received for the granary of Sippar-Amnānum by the Chairman

<sup>92</sup> CT 45 54 r. 18ff. (destr.).

<sup>93</sup> CT 8 27b (Ae e).

<sup>94</sup> CT 45 55 (Amd).

<sup>95</sup> The term *ahhū* must refer to their natural brothers for Išū-bāni of CT 45 55:23 is the son of Awēl-Šamaš in CT 45 46:25 (Amd 6).

<sup>96</sup> For example Taribum, son of Ibnatum, one of the men mentioned here without title, also appears in Meissner BAP 19 (Amd 3) where he lends a man 38 shekels of silver as aid (*ana usātīm*), and in Lautner *Personenmiete* 152f. (Amd 5) he hires harvest workers. The field of Marduk-nāšir, son of Sin-iddinam, another man occurring here, is mentioned as neighbor to the one sold by his brother to a *nadītu*, the daughter of the Overseer of the Merchants, in CT 6 6 (Amš 11).

In connection with CT 45 55, another text should be noted. In BM 78254, among other sales, a field is sold by the judges, several men and the *kārum* of Sippar-Amnānum to a general. Here, too, the administrative group, as is the case in Sippar-Jahrurum, is composed of the *kārum*, the college of judges, and a group of men who must have been important citizens of this town.

<sup>97</sup> BE 6/1 104 (Amš 6).

of the Assembly, a man whose position is not specified<sup>98</sup>, three judges, and the *kārum* of Sippar-Amnānum<sup>99</sup>.

The judge Awēl-Sin is mentioned in three accounts from the third year of Samsu-ditana. In one account he lends a man one shekel of silver, and in two others loans of barley are made from the granaries of Sippar and Sippar-Jaḥrurum, in each case at his order (*ana qabê*). The barley is said to be under the control (NÍG.ŠU) of a scribe, the Overseer of the Merchants, the college of judges, and the *kārum* of Sippar<sup>100</sup>.

From these accounts of the Sippar granaries, it would seem that although the person specifically in charge of transactions might vary, supervision by the judges and the *kārum* remains constant.

#### *Collection of Taxes*

1 1/2 shekels of silver, part of the money paid in lieu of *ilku* (ŠĀ *kasap ilkim*), is collected from a man by the judge Lipit-Ištar<sup>101</sup>, a function performed in other instances by summoners. In another case<sup>102</sup>, a man pays 16 shekels, referred to as his *kišittu*, to the judge Pirḫi-Amurru. This may also be a tax of some sort.

#### *Canal Maintenance and Public Works*

A letter, discussed above in which Abi-ešuh writes to the city officials including the judges, states that office holders are responsible for the upkeep of the canal dikes<sup>103</sup>, and it is likely that the judges are involved in such duties. The seal inscription of a man known to have been a judge is found on a list of workers<sup>104</sup>. This would indicate that he was in some way responsible for their work.

<sup>98</sup> This man, Ibni-Sin, son of Sin-iddinam, appears at the head of the judges, in a litigation text, CT 8 3a (Amš 11), one year earlier than our account. But there is no evidence that he was the Overseer of the Merchants and therefore head of the college of judges and *kārum*. The name of the Overseer of the Merchants of the eleventh year of Ammi-šaduqa is known, it is Išū-ibnišu (BM 80744). What is possible, however, is that if we grant that each Sippar has its own administrative body of Overseer, of judges, and a *kārum*, then Ibni-Sin, son of Sin-iddinam, may be the Overseer of the merchants in Sippar-Amnānum, for the *kārum* of this city is mentioned in BE 6/1 99.

<sup>99</sup> BE 6/1 99 (Amš 12).

<sup>100</sup> BM 80886; BM 81255; and BM 81473, respectively.

<sup>101</sup> BE 6/1 71 (Ae 28).

<sup>102</sup> TCL 1 161 (Amš 7) Despite other references to this term (see AHW 6 491) its precise meaning is still not clear. See TCL 1 163 (Amš 8) which involves the same people in a similar situation. We suspect that the persons in both documents are connected with the military. For this see fn. 149 of Military Organization.

<sup>103</sup> LIH 88.

<sup>104</sup> Friedrich BA 5 495 No. 17 (Si 3). On Nannatum, son of Narām-Sin see fn. 10.

*Individual Judges as Prominent Administrators*

Two judges often occur as prominent administrators, Utu.šu.mu.un.dib, son of the Overseer of the Merchants, Ilšu-bāni, and Iddin-Ea, son of Ibni-Šamaš. Both act frequently as agents for the palace in the making of loans and in this capacity have been discussed above. Iddin-Ea, however, also hires a fuller to do the *ašlākūtu* work of the entire city, which apparently involves treating the cloth brought to him by the city weavers<sup>105</sup>. This contract may throw light on another in which the judge, Pirḫi-ilišu, hires a reed worker from the Overseer of the Merchants to do reed work (*ana šipir atkuppūtim*), perhaps also for the city<sup>106</sup>.

The judge, Pirḫi-ilišu, hires a reed worker from the Overseer of the Merchants to do reed work (*ana šipir atkuppūtim*), perhaps also for the city<sup>106</sup>. Iddin-Ea appears also as a hirer of harvest workers, though perhaps as a private individual<sup>107</sup>, since he owns fields, one of which he leases out<sup>108</sup>.

Neither Iddin-Ea nor Utu.šu.mu.un.dib are mentioned in connection with the college of judges which suggests that some men with the title 'judge' serve simply as administrators, or as liaisons between the palace and the citizens.

*Obligations of Judges*

The judges and the city of Sippar-Jahrurum are responsible either for the payment of, or the collection and payment of, *ilku* obligations to the palace as discussed above under Royal Taxes. Judges also have work obligations. An account<sup>109</sup> which lists 32 men representing "households" (É.ĦI.A) are assigned to do work in the Šamaš temple. This would seem to indicate that the man named is to fulfill the obligation of his family. Twelve of the men are judges, while among the others are goldsmiths, shepherds and a gatekeeper. The first group of fifteen men including six judges are from Sippar-Amnānum but no city name is added to the second group of men.

## 5. THE TEMPLE AND THE CLOISTER

Central to the well-being of Sippar was its White House, the Ebabbar temple, dedicated to Šamaš, the main deity of Sippar. The great wealth and complex organization of the Ebabbar temple is evidenced by the many texts which deal either directly or indirectly with its personnel and other individuals related to the cult. Although shrines or chapels of other deities are maintained in Sippar these are subsidiary to and far less significant than the Šamaš temple complex. Only the Eulmaš

<sup>105</sup> BE 6/2 126 (Ams 7).

<sup>106</sup> BM 81306 (Ae k).

<sup>107</sup> BE 6/1 115 (Ams 27); HSM 3694 (Amd 37); BE 6/2 119 (Ams 2).

<sup>108</sup> BE 6/2 124 (Ams 6).

<sup>109</sup> BM 80322 (und.).

temple of the goddess Annunitum located in Sippar-Amnānum approached in its elaborate administrative and cultic structure the size and complexity of the Šamaš temple<sup>1</sup>. A number of other sanctuaries have *sanga* administrators but only in the temples of Šamaš and Annunitum is there personnel which may be termed priests.

The nature of our material is such that it provides astonishingly little information about the sanctuary itself and its religious role in the community. The temple was rich in income and landholdings but its place in the religious life of the individual citizen, with the exception of the *naditu*-women, is impossible to determine. There are also no significant data on the physical arrangements of the temple compound, its buildings and courtyards; and except for a few references to sacrifices, no insight into cultic activities.

What is known is that the Šamaš temple must have played an important part in the economy of the city. The Šamaš temple owns extensive fields which are presumably gifts of the king or purchased as investments by the temple. These fields are worked by slaves/serfs and corvée workers recruited from persons obliged to perform such services<sup>2</sup>. One litigation text concerns a garden which is described as being adjacent to the *iškaru* field of Šamaš<sup>3</sup>. This was apparently property of the Šamaš temple on which *iškaru* work was to be performed. There is perhaps a connection between this type of field and the lists of temple workers and functionaries (usually cultic) found in the Sippar material; the *iškaru* work being mandatory on temple personnel.

The yield of the temple fields is used to operate the temple and support its personnel. Surplus would be stored in the temple granary or perhaps used in part to finance business ventures or lent out in small amounts to the needy.

Although the interrelationship between the temple, the palace, and the city administration cannot be clearly seen, the extension and progressive intensification of royal authority during the Old Babylonian period can be traced. Changes are found in the inscriptions of the personal seals of a number of temple as well as city officials. About the middle of the reign of Hammu-rapi the pious self-presentation of the owner as "servant of the god Šamaš" (or of the temple Ebabbar) is replaced by the description, "servant of RN". At this time, too, the control of temple offices appears to shift from the temple administration to the king represented in Sippar by certain city administrators.

<sup>1</sup> Note it is these two temples which Ammi-šaduqa renews in his date 17 + d (RLA 2 191).

<sup>2</sup> In only one instance, Meissner BAP 76 (Amd 33), does a man, Warad-Ulmaššitum, son of Taribum, known from CT 45 102:26 to have been a doorkeeper of the Annunitum temple, lease out a temple field which is to be worked by himself and the lessee.

<sup>3</sup> CT 2 50:4 (Za 12). In this connection note the recently published Apil-Sin year date: MU *iš-ka-ar* <sup>d</sup>UTU *ša a-aḥ I-di-ig-la-at A-pil-30* BA.DÛ(?) in CT 45 11.

## THE PANTHEON — THE GODS OF SIPPAR

Considered in the official Pantheon of Sippar are those deities whose worship is attested in the city by evidence of a temple, chapel or shrine. Regarding some deities, such as Šamaš and Annunītum, a great deal of information is available, while in many other cases there is only indirect evidence, such as a street or gate name, to indicate the existence of a place of worship.

Some hint of the relative prominence of the various deities is also given by the frequency with which their names are incorporated in the personal names of Sipparians.

The material indicates some changes in the pantheon such as the introduction of Marduk and Nabium in the time of Hammu-rapi and Annunītum's apparent rise in prominence in the time of Samsu-iluna. The gods will be treated first.

*Šamaš*

The pre-eminence of Šamaš at Sippar is revealed in many ways. He and his temple are mentioned more often than any other god or temple and more is known of this temple's organization than of any other. It is in the Šamaš temple, the Ebabbar<sup>4</sup> ("The White Temple"), that lawsuits are won or lost on the basis of whether or not the oath administered in its sanctuary is taken or refused<sup>5</sup>. The invocation of the name of Šamaš in the oath-taking formula takes precedence over that of Marduk of Babylon<sup>6</sup>. The symbols of Šamaš — his saw (*šaššaru*)<sup>7</sup>, his *šurinnu* emblems<sup>8</sup>, and his weapon<sup>9</sup> — are used when necessary for the oath, although the symbols of other gods are occasionally employed as well<sup>10</sup>.

The Šamaš temple grants loans with little or no interest to citizens, perhaps to

<sup>4</sup> Another name for the Ebabbar, or rather the designation of a part of the Šamaš temple in Sippar, is É.DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.KALAM.MA ("The House of the Judge of the Country"), mentioned in a letter of Abi-ešuḫ to the officials of Sippar (LIH 91:25) and as the place where the oath is administered in CT 2 1:29 (= CT 2 6).

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Waterman Bus. Doc. 31; CT 6 42a; CT 8 28a; and passim. The epithet of "the judge" is one usually used of Šamaš: CT 33 39:10 and CT 4 46a:4.

<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the oath formula: MU<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>d</sup>Aja<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD u RN (u UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup>) is characteristic of the legal texts from Sippar. Any oath that varies basically from this pattern indicates that the tablet is not from Sippar.

<sup>7</sup> CT 2 45, 47.

<sup>8</sup> For the two emblems of Šamaš see BE 6/1 103, and CT 2 1. See also TCL 1 70, Pinches Peek 13, Çig-Kraus Nippur 174, Waterman Bus. Doc. 36 and passim. The *šurinnu* of Šamaš probably consisted of a sun disc on a standard.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., CT 6 22a. See below for the leasing out of the divine "weapon", most likely a ceremonial mace.

<sup>10</sup> The snake (*bašmum*) symbol of Išḫara is brought to the cloister along with the saw and *šurinnu* emblem of Šamaš in CT 2 47. The *šurinnu* emblem of Enlil is used for the oath in CT 8 3a.

help reduce the difficulties of the needy. The temple also seems responsible for the introduction of standard weights and interest restrictions — the “weighing stone (NA<sub>4</sub>) of Šamaš, and the “interest rate (MÁŠ) of Šamaš” — which benefit the debtors<sup>11</sup>.

The wealth of this temple, the richest in Sippar, is indicated by references to the fields of Šamaš which are worked by gangs under *iššakku* stewards. Its importance is emphasized by the fact that Samsu-iluna undertakes its restoration — the date formula of his 18th year speaks of making “the top of his temple-tower, the *gigunû*, as high as the sky (for Šamaš in Sippar)”<sup>12</sup>; and Ammi-šaduqa installs his statue in the Ebabbar<sup>13</sup>.

The *naditu*-women of Sippar, recruited from the daughters of the citizens, are devotees of Šamaš as the *naditu*-women of Babylon are devotees of Marduk. They are considered to be daughters-in-law of Šamaš, live in a compound or “Cloister” connected with the temple, and are obligated to bring oblations (*piqittu*) for his festivals.

Finally, the name of Šamaš is represented more than any other in the personal names of the inhabitants of the city, occurring in one-fifth of the theophoric names.

We will now turn to the lesser deities who make up the Sippar pantheon.

### *Sin*

The temple of the moon god, Sin, its *sanga* official and *kalû* singer are mentioned. Sin is occasionally given offerings<sup>14</sup>; his temple, like the Šamaš temple, is instrumental in relieving the plight of the needy by granting loans<sup>15</sup>; and transactions might be concluded in the presence of his image<sup>16</sup>. His *šurinnu* emblem too might be used for the oath<sup>17</sup>.

Although Sin is apparently not one of the more prominent deities of the city, his name appears in a surprisingly large number of personal names, and is surpassed in this regard only by the name of Šamaš. This is probably to be accounted for by his position as a leading Mesopotamian astral god rather than by his role in the pantheon of Sippar.

<sup>11</sup> See my article in JCS 14 126ff., for a discussion of Old Babylonian Temple loans.

<sup>12</sup> RLA 2 183.

<sup>13</sup> See the year 17 + b of Ammi-šaduqa (RLA 2 191).

<sup>14</sup> VAS 8 17 and VAS 9 18.

<sup>15</sup> VAS 9 30 and 187.

<sup>16</sup> CT 33 39; VAS 9 108; BM 80952 and *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> VAS 9 130/131:6 (= Meissner BAP 105).

*Adad*

Adad, the weather god, has a temple, a *sanga* official, and is once presented with offerings<sup>18</sup>. Certain kinds of transactions are concluded in the presence of his image<sup>19</sup>. This image may have been housed in the Šamaš temple, Ebabbar, since Adad's *sanga* official is also a *sanga* of Šamaš (see below). A close relationship with Šamaš is further indicated by one instance in which the two are given a sheep<sup>20</sup>, and another in which their names are used together in an oath<sup>21</sup>. That the divine weapons of only these two gods are farmed out may also imply some connection between them<sup>22</sup>. We do not know, however, if these connections are the basis of the relationship between the two gods as "lords of divination" which is well-attested in later texts.

*Marduk*

The position of the god Marduk in the pantheon of Sippar is more complex than that of the gods thus far discussed. Marduk had been introduced into the pantheon of Sippar with the very first kings of Babylon who had conquered Sippar, for from the very beginning of their domination Marduk's name, along with that of Šamaš, is invoked in the oath. There are a few examples of Marduk names before the reign of Hammu-rapi<sup>23</sup>, but Marduk never achieves any great popularity in the nomenclature of the Sipparians. He appears in only about three and a half percent of the theophoric names. It is only with Hammu-rapi and his successors that Marduk names become fairly common. And it is of note that from the period of Hammu-rapi, too, such names as Marduk-lamassašu, Marduk-mušallim, and Marduk-muballit, are names borne frequently by officials<sup>24</sup>.

From this time as well Marduk has a temple, a *sanga* official, and his image functions as witness to legal transactions<sup>25</sup>.

A division of property document includes the division of some office in the Marduk temple<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> BE 6/2 79.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., CT 33 39; BM 82333; and BM 80952.

<sup>20</sup> BE 6/2 79 (Si 7). See also the royal inscription of Samsu-iluna, CT 36 I iii 86ff. which mentions that he brought Šamaš, Adad, and Aja into their pure dwelling place.

<sup>21</sup> CT 8 12b:6 (Ha).

<sup>22</sup> For the lease of the "weapon" of Adad see TCL 1 140.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Marduk-nāšir in CT 4 7a:1 (Za), Marduk-muballit, in CT 6 33b:1 (AS), Marduk-ilum in CT 4 10:26 (AS), 16a:16 (AS).

<sup>24</sup> For references see JAOS 88 728 note 10.

<sup>25</sup> Earliest in CT 33 39:17 (Ha 41); See also BM 80952:12 (Si 3); Scheil Sippar 91 (Si 7) and later texts.

<sup>26</sup> CT 4 9a:19 (Ha): NĪG ḏŠullat u ḏMarduk *mīthariš izuzzu*. I hesitate to include among the Sippar texts CT 45 103 which mentions offerings of oil to Marduk, Nusku, and Dilbat.

One undated temple account would suggest that the Marduk temple had a fairly complex organization both in terms of its personnel and rituals<sup>27</sup>. However, there are to date no other data to back up this possibility. There are also two temple accounts which concern rations or wages given to women, many of whom are the wives of temple officials, who serve the wife of Marduk, *Šarpanitum*/*Tašmētum*<sup>28</sup>.

But curiously there is no evidence that Marduk's consort played any role whatsoever in the pantheon of Sippar. Her name, in either form, is for example, found only once in the personal names<sup>29</sup>.

### *Nabium*

The god Nabium's name is found in personal names as well as in seal inscriptions, particularly of scribes, beginning with *Hammu-rapi*<sup>30</sup>. Nabium's temple in Sippar is mentioned as the place of payment for the hire of the weapon of *Šamaš*<sup>31</sup>.

### *Nergal*

We learn that a temple was dedicated to the god Nergal from a letter written to the administrators of Sippar by King *Abi-ešuḫ*. He tells them to select the *sanga* of the Nergal temple and one from the *Šamaš* temple to settle what may be a boundary dispute between the *Annunitum* and *Šamaš* temples<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> CT 45 85. This is contrary to the view I expressed in JAOS 88 728 note 11. The reference there to the Marduk temple in VAS 8 71:1f. is also doubtful.

<sup>28</sup> CT 4 8b (Amd 13) and CT 45 84. These are both important documents but are very difficult to understand. That among these women were the wives of officials of other temples see CT 4 8f.:8, 25. *Iltani*, the wife of *Warad-Marduk*, of CT 45 84:13 and referred to in CT 4 8b:16 is also mentioned in a difficult and unusual text: CT 48 45:5 (Sd g).

<sup>29</sup> See *Šarpanitum-ummi* in CT 2 45:21 (Ha 15). But note that the seal inscription of a woman whose name is not preserved but who is not the creditor, *Niši-inišu*, a *naditu* of *Šamaš*, describes her as the "servant of Marduk and *Šarpanitum* (GEMÉ<sup>d</sup>[AMAR.UD] u<sup>d</sup>*Šarpanitum*)" in VAS 8 93/94 (Ha 31). Note, too, the seal inscription found in the sale contract, VAS 9 42/43 (Ha 31) in which the palace sells a plot to a *naditu* of *Šamaš*: [...] the *sanga* of *Šarpanitum*, son of *Ikūn-pi-d[x]*, servant of *Hammu-rapi*. This person is not mentioned in the contract. Perhaps he was sent as a representative of the palace to Sippar to undertake the transaction.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g., *Nabium-mālik* in CT 8 22c:6, 21 (Ha 35); *Nabium-nāšir* in VAS 9 42/43:12 (Ha 31). We, of course, may have to date the Nabium names to *Sin-muballiṭ* for we do not know the ages of these people. For Nabium in seal inscriptions see e.g., VAS 8 115 (Ha 13); VAS 8 118 (= Meissner BAP 13) (Ha 14); VAS 9 39 (Ha 30); VAS 9 44 (Ha 31); TCL 1 90 (Ha 33).

There is an earlier occurrence of a Nabium name in a *Sin-muballiṭ* text, *Etel-pi-Nabium*, who is a *sanga* of *Šamaš* in CT 8 39a:20. But as will be our contention later this may be evidence that the earlier *sanga*'s came from Babylon.

<sup>31</sup> CT 4 23c:16 (Sd e).

<sup>32</sup> LIH 91. See also CT 45 79:9 for another occurrence of his temple.

It may have been Samsu-iluna who first built the Nergal temple in Sippar according to an unpublished text in Istanbul<sup>33</sup>. Nergal is once mentioned in a seal inscription<sup>34</sup>.

### *Amurru*

Beginning with king Hammu-rapi, the god Amurru is frequently mentioned in seal inscriptions<sup>35</sup>. A weapon of some kind was made for his image<sup>36</sup>. He perhaps shared a temple with Sin as they are mentioned together in a record of offerings<sup>37</sup>. As for the occurrence of the god Amurru in personal names, he, like Nabium, appears in about two percent of the theophoric names. A region named Amurru appears frequently in the Sippar texts<sup>38</sup>.

### *Ea (Enki)*

Ea and his wife Damkina may have had a sanctuary which was part of the Annunītum complex, since officials of that complex make a check of the contents of a chapel of Ea and Damkina<sup>39</sup>. The sanctuary of Ea apparently has an overseer for the wife of one is among those who serves the goddess Tašmētum<sup>40</sup>. In one instance the image of Ea (written Enki) is witness to a legal transaction<sup>41</sup>.

### *Bunene*

The god Bunene and the goddess Mamu belong to the “court” of Šamaš. Bunene is the sun god’s chariot driver. The two deities probably share a temple as they are mentioned together as recipients of offerings<sup>42</sup>, and as divine witnesses<sup>43</sup>; Bunene always precedes Mamu and is sometimes mentioned without her<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Scheil Sippar p. 66.

<sup>34</sup> TCL 1 132 (Si 10).

<sup>35</sup> See e.g., VAS 9 38 (Ha 29); VAS 13 20a (Ha 30); TCL 1 99 (Ha 35); and VAS 9 62 (Ha 38).

<sup>36</sup> VAS 9 212.

<sup>37</sup> BE 6/2 79 (Si 7).

<sup>38</sup> See list of Flurnamen in the Appendix. But it should be noted that the divine determinative is used only in the earliest occurrence of this region, in Scheil Sippar 10:12 (Sm). J. Renger lists an AN.AN.MAR.TU among the gods of Sippar in *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* (1967) 152. But this is to be read as a personal name Ili-<sup>d</sup>Amurru. For the name I-li-<sup>d</sup>MAR.TU see CT 8 25a:24 (Sm 7).

<sup>39</sup> PBS 8/2 194 (Si 1).

<sup>40</sup> CT 4 8b:25f. (Amd 13).

<sup>41</sup> CT 4 34a:9. For Enki’s mention in seal inscriptions see VAS 8 18 (AS); VAS 8 53 (Sm). TCL 183 (Ha 10); and CT 45 34 (Si 15). For Ea in seal inscriptions see BE 6/1 88 (Amd 12), and Friedrich BA 5 525 No. 70.

<sup>42</sup> VAS 9 14 (Ha 21) and 15 (Ha 22).

<sup>43</sup> CT 47 59 and BM 74421.

<sup>44</sup> BM 81592 (Si 4); BM 81595 (Si 30); and BM 67351 (Ha 32).

Bunene's temple is on the square (SIL.DAGAL.LA) of Sippar-Jahrurum<sup>45</sup>. Bunene is also mentioned in seal inscriptions<sup>46</sup>.

### *Enlil*

The existence of a temple or chapel of Enlil is known from a reference to its gate<sup>47</sup>, and the use of the god's *šurinnu* emblem for the taking of an oath<sup>48</sup>. His name is also well-represented in the personal names of the inhabitants of the city. His name occurs only once in a seal inscription<sup>49</sup>.

### *Uraš*

A temple or chapel of the god Uraš is also indicated by a reference to its gate<sup>50</sup>; and the name of this god is invoked once in an oath with those of Šamaš, Aja, and Marduk<sup>51</sup>.

### *Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a*

A street name<sup>52</sup> indicates the existence of a chapel to Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a, to whom a libation is once made<sup>53</sup>. His name is found as a Flurname. There is one reference to an official of his sanctuary<sup>54</sup>.

### *Ikūnum*

A *sanga* official of the otherwise unknown god Ikūnum occurs. He appears once as witness to a transaction<sup>56</sup>. There is also only one theophoric name with his name: Watār-Ikūnum<sup>57</sup>.

### *Nanna*

Temple property of the god Nanna is indicated by a reference to "the ground (*qaqqar*) of Nanna" adjacent to a house<sup>58</sup>. This god is also witness to a loan<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> CT 4 17c; Meissner BAP 50; BE 6/1 95; and CT 47 41.

<sup>46</sup> VAS 8 114 (Ha 12); TCL 1 117 (Si 6); and VAS 9 217.

<sup>47</sup> CT 8 24a:6 (Si 10).

<sup>48</sup> CT 8 3a:23ff. (Amš 11).

<sup>49</sup> VAS 9 38 (Ha 29).

<sup>50</sup> VAS 8 56/57:11 (Sm). See also VAS 9 176:1 where the reference is perhaps to the gatekeeper of the Uraš sanctuary (*ša KÁ dURAS*).

<sup>51</sup> CT 8 12b:22 (Ha). But perhaps his name is invoked because one of the parties is from Dilbat.

<sup>52</sup> CT 45 64:5 and CT 8 13b:4 (Ha 23).

<sup>53</sup> VAS 13 16:4 (Ha 21).

<sup>54</sup> CT 45 64:27f.

<sup>55</sup> CT 45 34:10 (Si 15) and BE 6/1 22:4 (Ha), respectively.

<sup>56</sup> CT 6 21c:16. So at least according to the copy.

<sup>57</sup> In CT 47 8:3 and 78:7.

<sup>58</sup> YOS 12 75:5 (Si 3).

<sup>59</sup> TCL 1 188:12.

*Gibil*

A chapel to the god Gibil is suggested by the use of his image to witness a transaction<sup>60</sup>.

*Aja*

The goddess Aja is referred to not as the wife but as “the bride” (of Šamaš)<sup>61</sup>. The contexts in which her name occurs are rather limited. Her name might be invoked in an oath alone or with that of Šamaš<sup>62</sup>. But when she acts as “creditor” lending staples to the poor it is always in conjunction with Šamaš<sup>63</sup>. Since a temple of her own is never mentioned, the image of the goddess was undoubtedly housed in a chapel of the temple of Ebabbar. She is of special importance to the *nadītu*-women of Sippar in whose personal names her name occurs most often.

The *nadītu*-women might present her with a special gift, occasionally take an oath by her name as well as by the name of Šamaš, offer special prayers to her and use her name in the salutatory phrases of their personal letters<sup>64</sup>. The goddess Aja appears in the Flurname Šutša-Aja<sup>65</sup>. A *sanga* of Aja begins to appear side by side with a *sanga* of Šamaš from the period of Abi-ešuḥ on (see below).

*Annunītum*

The battle goddess Annunītum whose name means “She from Annun” is worshipped all over Mesopotamia. Though mentioned less often in Sippar than Aja, who is usually referred to in connection with Šamaš, she has a temple of her own in a separate city quarter called Sippar-Annunītum<sup>66</sup>. She is possibly a form of Ištar, and like Ištar might be referred to as “the queen of Sippar”<sup>67</sup>. She is several times involved in an oath together with Šamaš and Marduk<sup>68</sup>. Her name occurs in relatively few personal names but increases in frequency in the period of Samsu-iluna and his successors when her position in the official pantheon seems to grow in importance. The organization of her temple is discussed at length below.

<sup>60</sup> CT 4 34a:10.

<sup>61</sup> See CT 29 11a, 11b; CT 6 27a; and VAS 8 55.

<sup>62</sup> In CT 8 28a:7f. (SI) a *nadītu* swears only by Aja, her Mistress. Usually, however, the name of Aja appears alongside that of her husband's in oath formulae.

<sup>63</sup> E.g., VAS 8/128:3 (Ha 15); CT 45 47:11 (Amd 9).

<sup>64</sup> See Harris, *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, 116 ff.

<sup>65</sup> The reference, CT 6 38b:2f., found in Renger, *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* 152 to the Flurname, Šikkat-Aja is not a Sippar text as is seen from its oath formula, though Sipparians act here as witnesses, e.g., Alikum, son of Arwūm, who also appears in Waterman Bus. Doc. 31:2 and CT 6 42a:2. For Šutša-Aja see YBC 4980:22 (Amd 15) and BE 6/1 83:4.

<sup>66</sup> In PBS 7 100:15 a merchant is described as living in *Sippar ša Annunītum*.

<sup>67</sup> BM 78443:3f. (Amš 10).

<sup>68</sup> As early as the reign of Zabium in CT 48 25:16. See also CT 45 7:8 (AS), CT 8 29b:12 (AS) and CT 8 50a:15 (Ha 2).

On the possible connection between the *kulmašitu* and this goddess see the chapter on Special Classes of Women.

### *Ištar (Inanna)*

The goddess Ištar or Inanna (her Sumerian name) is prominent in Sippar, where her worship is attested from the beginning of the Old Babylonian period — from the reign of Immerum, who builds a temple in her honor<sup>69</sup>, to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon. She might be referred to as “Ištar of Sippar”, or as “Queen of Sippar”<sup>70</sup>.

*Sanga* officials of the Ištar temple are discussed below. In an unusual litigation between two women, one of whom, the plaintiff, is a *nadītu* of Šamaš, the witnesses swear by Šamaš and Adad, but the judges are not satisfied and ask the defendant to take an oath in the presence of the image of Ištar at the “gate of Ištar”<sup>71</sup>. The street of Ištar is also mentioned in other texts<sup>72</sup>. Ištar, like Aja, might be given a gift by a *nadītu*-woman<sup>73</sup>.

We will now treat briefly the minor goddesses of the Sippar pantheon.

### *Damkina*

On Damkina see above under the god Ea (Enki).

### *Išhara*

A temple and *sanga* official of the goddess Išhara are mentioned<sup>74</sup>. In one instance her symbol, the snake (*bašmum*), is used for an oath taken in the cloister in addition to the symbols of Šamaš<sup>75</sup>. The name of Išhara in the seal inscription of Illuratum daughter of Abi-maraš<sup>76</sup>, of whom nothing is known, but whose seal is rolled on many tags, should be noted. There is no evidence, other than this, of women dedicated to this goddess.

<sup>69</sup> RLA 2 193. There is only one explicit reference to her temple Eanna in CT 43 106:26 which is incorrectly read as É<sup>4</sup>UTU in Kraus AbB I 106.

<sup>70</sup> In BM 81521:9. See also <sup>4</sup>INANNA *šarrat* Sippar “queen of Sippar” in CT 43 72:12.

<sup>71</sup> CT 8 12b:15 (Ha). See also VAS 8 9/10:15 (Za) where she may also appear as a witness.

<sup>72</sup> CT 4 45b:8 (Sm); TLB 1 223:4 (Ha); CT 45 24:3 (Ha 26), CT 4 48a:5 (Ha 15).

<sup>73</sup> A *nadītu*-woman presents her with a slave girl in TCL 1 66/67. It appears that this gift is withdrawn from Ištar and presented to Šamaš and Aja (TCL 1 68/69). That the gift was first given to Istar is suggested by the fact that the latter text was found in an envelope and, therefore, is likely to be the final text.

<sup>74</sup> CT 4 48a (Ha 15). For a prebend in the temple of Išhara see CT 45 24:3 (Ha 26).

<sup>75</sup> CT 2 47:20 (Sm).

<sup>76</sup> See e.g., TCL 1 217; VAS 9 99 (Ha 42); CT 45 68 and *passim*.

*Mamu*

See above under the god Bunene.

*Ninkarrak*

The goddess Ninkarrak, or Ninisinna<sup>77</sup>, has a temple<sup>78</sup> and perhaps temple property since one text describes a field as being next to the field of Nin.kar.ra.ak<sup>79</sup>.

Ninkarrak is also another name for the goddess Gula<sup>80</sup>.

*Ninsianna*

This goddess must have had a sanctuary in Sippar for her *pašišu* priest is known<sup>81</sup>. Her gate is mentioned in a broken context<sup>82</sup>, and she occurs in three seal inscriptions<sup>83</sup>.

*Lamaštum*

A street name indicates the existence of a chapel or shrine to the goddess Lamaštum. The street is located in Sippar-rabû<sup>84</sup>.

*Nin.ḫé.gal*

A temple of Nin.ḫé.gal is also indicated by a street name<sup>85</sup>. The temple is located near the Bunene street and must therefore have been in Sippar-Jahrurum.

*Allatum*

There is one reference to a temple of Allatum<sup>86</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> CT 47 65:7 (Si 25); the inner tablet has Nin.kar.ra.ak; CT 47 65a:7, the case, has <sup>d</sup>Nin.i.si.in.na. For this equation see also Kraus JCS 3 64ff.

<sup>78</sup> YOS 12 75:6 (Si 3). The recently published Buntahtun-ila text CT 48 42 with the date formula: the year he brought the *lilissu* drum into the temple of Ninkarrak, is evidence that her temple was in existence already into early OB period.

<sup>79</sup> CT 47 65/65a:7.

<sup>80</sup> See Puzur-Ninkarrak, the son of Sin-erībam, witness in Meissner BAP 80:13 who is called Puzur-Gula in CT 45 23 r. 6. Both texts date from the same year and concern the same persons.

<sup>81</sup> CT 43 64:5.

<sup>82</sup> CT 45 51:3 (Amd 34).

<sup>83</sup> VAS 9 151 (Ha 39); CT 45 37 (Si 27); TCL 1 164 (Amş 9).

<sup>84</sup> CT 2 27:6 (Si 27).

<sup>85</sup> CT 4 17c:4 (Si 9).

<sup>86</sup> CT 2 39:3 (Sa) where it is mentioned as the boundary of a house.

*Gula*

A *sanga* official is known who administers the chapel dedicated to the goddess Gula, another name for Ninkarrak.

*Ningal*

An image of Ningal is used to witness a transaction, along with that of her husband Nanna<sup>87</sup>.

*Theophoric Names*

Much of the information available on the “pantheon” of Sippar comes from the personal names of the inhabitants of the city. Seventy percent of all theophoric names contain the names of gods worshipped in Sippar as we know them from other sources which would indicate the degree to which the “pantheon” influenced the choice of names.

Šamaš’ position as chief god of Sippar is reflected by the appearance of his name in the largest number of the theophoric names, 20 percent. The prominence of Aja and Ištar is likewise reflected in the frequent occurrence of their names, while the appearance of Marduk and Nabium in the names of Sippar corresponds with their introduction into the “pantheon”. Most of the gods who are of some importance in personal names belong to the “pantheon”, though many are mentioned in only a few names<sup>88</sup>, while some personal names contain the names of gods not known to be worshipped in Sippar, most notably among them being Irra and Ilabrat. The data does not suggest that the popularity of a god in the personal names necessarily corresponds with his prominence in Sippar as evidenced by the very frequent occurrence of the name of Sin.

There is evidence that our material represents a good cross-section of the personal names of Sippar since in a new group of 400 texts only 58 new theophoric names were found to be added to the 1024 previously collected from 1300 texts. Thus, for example, only nine new names were added to the 211 names containing Šamaš, and only one to the Enlil names.

<sup>87</sup> TCL 1 188:13.

<sup>88</sup> E.g., Annunitum appears only in names such as Awāt-, Ipiq-, Tarbi-, and Warad-; Gula only in Gula-balāṭi and with Igmil-, Mār-, Puzur-, Rīš-, Šilli-, and UR-; Išhara in Ipiq-, Nūr-, Awēl, Ša-, Ummi-, and Warad-; Ninkarrak only in Puzur-; and Šilli-; Nergal in Nergal-ellati, and with Ibbi-, Nūr, UR-, and Warad-.

## TEMPLE PERSONNEL

*Introduction*

The factors which determine the appointment or selection of temple officials are not apparent in our material. Heredity does play some role as can be seen especially in the office of the *sanga* administrator and not only of the Šamaš temple. A man might hold offices in, and share the income from, several temples. Whether or not temple prebends, like secular offices such as the City Gate office or the head of the ward, might be inherited by several persons and given as a gift or dowry is not known from our material but is found in other cities<sup>1</sup>.

Officials receive an income (*isqu*) from their offices and are entitled to a portion of the animals sacrificed to the deity and perhaps to a share of the meals prepared and served to the image<sup>2</sup>. One Sippar text gives some insight into the technique which may have been used to assign income from temple prebends. Here the farming out of the divine weapon to be carried about in a given region is assigned to one priest by means of casting lots into water<sup>3</sup>.

*Personnel of the Šamaš Temple**Administrative Personnel*

Our material deals mostly with the administrative aspects of the temple and the personnel involved in this administration<sup>4</sup>. We thus have very little information on the cultic functionaries. Even the respective position of administrative personnel in the over-all hierarchy is not clear, for though we know that the *sanga* official is head of the temple administration, the few available texts give varying sequences for the other officials<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For this and other considerations see Denise Cocquerillat in her article on Old Babylonian temple prebends (RIDA 2/3 pp. 39ff.). She mentions only in passing one unpublished Sippar text (p. 84). So little information is given about this text that it has not been included here. In CT 45 24 (Ha 26), an inheritance text, two brothers divide the income (*isqu*) and their shares of the food provisions (ŠUKU) for the gods in the Ebabbar temple and the temple of Išhara. What office they inherit is not mentioned. Possibly each may receive income and food from one temple.

<sup>2</sup> See CT 4 13a (Si 3), a lawsuit between brothers over an inherited prebend where each brother is to receive a share of a sheep and flour from the *naptānu* offering due each month.

<sup>3</sup> Scheil Sippar 287:5 (Ha 13): HA.LA PN *i-na is-qí-im i-na me-e* KI *tap-pi-e-šu il-qí*.

<sup>4</sup> For a definitive and far-ranging discussion of temple personnel in the Old Babylonian period see the study by J. Renger in ZA 59 9ff.

<sup>5</sup> A letter of Abi-ešuḫ to the officials of Sippar (LIH 83) which speaks of a dispute between the Šamaš temple officials and the administrative officials of Sippar as to who had the prior legal right to open the house of a woman, presumably dead, names the temple officials in the

Since we are best informed about both the administrative and cultic structure of the Šamaš temple we will first present the data concerning it in order to arrive at a fuller picture of the operating of a temple in the Old Babylonian period.

### *The Sanga's of Šamaš*

Not surprisingly, we have more information, though this too is meager, on the office of the *sanga*, head of the entire temple personnel. For the most part, he appears as first witness to legal transactions, especially those of the *nadītu*'s of Šamaš, thus showing the dependence of the cloister institution on the Šamaš temple.

One can even sketch the history of this office in Sippar. In the very earliest period there is apparently only one *sanga*. A change takes place probably towards the end of the reign of Zabium when two *sangas* of Šamaš begin to appear together as witnesses, one the senior *sanga*, the second the junior *sanga*. At times the junior *sanga* succeeds to the office of the senior *sanga*. A study of the list of *sangas* suggests that internal politics played a role in determining who is to ascend to the office of senior *sanga*.

In the period of Abi-ešuḫ a further change occurs. For unknown reasons the position of junior *sanga* of Šamaš is transformed into the office of *sanga* of the goddess Aja. One is tempted to speculate about the reasons for this change. A possible answer is perhaps that this was another aspect of the various attempts by the capital to centralize its authority in Sippar<sup>6</sup>. The *sangaship*, the most influential office of the powerful Šamaš temple, would be a prime target. It is also worthy of note, that in the period of Abi-ešuḫ *sanga*'s appear less frequently as witnesses to the transactions of the *nadītu* women<sup>7</sup>.

The tenure of the *sanga* office varies considerably, from the brief terms of Išar-Šamaš in the reign of Zabium, and of Sin-bāni in the period of Hammu-rapi, to the very long term of Annum-pī-Aja, who held office for a period of some 59 years (Sm 13-Si 8).

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following order: *sanga*'s judges of Sippar, overseers (*UGULA*) of the temple, *ša.tam* officials, the *ērib bīti*'s, the *gudapsū* priests, and the informers. But in an Abi-ešuḫ legal text (BE 6/1 76) the *gudapsū* priest precedes the *ērib bīti*, and in a list of witnesses to an unpreserved transaction (BE 6/1 108) from the period of Ammi-šaduqa the following sequence is given: *gudapsū* priests, *ērib bīti*, the overseer [of the temple], and the *ša. tam* official.

<sup>6</sup> See JAOS 88 727ff. especially p. 729 for the methods used by the kings of Babylon to achieve centralization.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., CT 47 46 (Ae) and BE 6/1 105 (Amš 17b). See also BE 6/1 68 (Ae t), a receipt of temple income, where the city administrators take precedence over the *sanga* of Šamaš.

That this office might be hereditary is seen from several instances. For example Warad-Sin of the reigns of Apil-Sin and Sin-muballiṭ was the son of the *sanga* Lipit-Ištar who served in the reigns of Zabium and Apil-Sin. Sin-erībam, junior *sanga*, was the son of Šamaš-tappīšu, short-lived senior *sanga* in the period of Samsu-iluna. For other examples see the chart below. We even have one family which serves as *sanga* for three generations: Lipit-Ištar, Warad-Sin, Annum-pī-Aja.

It was possible for a *sanga* official of the Šamaš temple to hold the same office in another sanctuary. Thus Elali, a *sanga* of Šamaš is perhaps to be identified with the *sanga* of Adad of the same name and period<sup>8</sup>; and Annum-pī-Aja, *sanga* of Šamaš with the *sanga* of Annunitum of the same name<sup>9</sup>.

It is interesting to note that none of the *sanga* officials of Šamaš have special pious names as do the *naditu*'s. It is especially noteworthy that their names except for the earliest *sanga*'s show no particular devotion to Šamaš, the deity they serve, but that the name of Sin occurs most frequently. Certain names, however, are popular among them. Three *sanga* officials are called Annum-pī-Aja. Two *sanga* officials have the name of Warad-Sin and two have names with the same elements: Šamuḫ-Sin and Sin-šamuḫ; both pairs are in office at the same time. The name Etel-pī-Nabium occurs first as the name for a *sanga* official of Šamaš and later for a *sanga* of Aja (see chart).

The following chart lists the names of both *sanga* officials and assumes that the first mentioned is the senior, the second, the junior official. Only references where the term *sanga* is used are included here except when the length of tenure requires the earliest and latest references<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> A *sanga* of Adad in VAS 13 32:9. But note above under Adad that there is a strong likelihood that both gods are housed in the same temple.

<sup>9</sup> For this man as *sanga* of Annunitum see PBS 8/2 194 r. iv 10 (Si 1).

<sup>10</sup> Renger ZA 59 109ff. lists most references even when the title is not added but inevitably he has not included all the references.

*List of sanga's*

KING	YEAR	SENIOR SANGA	JUNIOR SANGA	TEXT
Immerum	—	Annum-pī-Šamaš I	—	VAS 8 4/5:31 ; CT 4 50a:26
Sumu-la-ila	—	Šamaš- [...]	—	CT 45 2 Case:1
Sumu-la-ila	29	Nūr-Šamaš	—	CT 8 44b:16
Sumu-la-ila	—	Lipit-Ištar (s. Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš) <sup>11</sup>	—	CT 2 34:9
Zabium	—	Lipit-Ištar (s. Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš)	—	VAS 8 12/13:29 ; CT 6 19a:15
Zabium	2	Lipit-Ištar (s. Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš)	—	CT 6 40c:11
Zabium	13	Lipit-Ištar (s. Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš)	Išar-Šamaš	CT 2 3:20f.
Apil-Sin	—	Lipit-Ištar (s. Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš)	Šumuḫ-Sin]	BM 82424 r. 4
Apil-Sin	—	Lipit-Ištar (s. Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš)	Šumuḫ-Sin	CT 45 10:15 ; CT 47 7a:22f.
Apil-Sin	13	Lipit-Ištar (s. Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš)	Šumuḫ-Sin	CT 6 46:16f.
Apil-Sin	—	Šamuḫ-Sin	Warad-Sin	TCL 1 63:25f. ; TLB 1 230:7f.
Apil-Sin	—	Warad-Sin I (s. Lipit-Ištar) <sup>12</sup>	Šamuḫ-Sin	BE 6/1 17:31f. ; CT 45 10:15f. ; Meissner BAP 36:15f.
und.		Warad-Sin (s. Lipit-Ištar) <sup>12</sup>	Šamuḫ-Sin	TCL 1 203:11f.
Sin-muballiḫ	—	Warad-Sin (s. Lipit-Ištar)	Šamuḫ-Sin	CT 8 39b:21f.
Sin-muballiḫ	7	Warad-Sin (s. Lipit-Ištar)	Šalim-paliḫšu (= Šalim-paliḫ-Marduk) <sup>13</sup> s. Sin-gāmil	CT 8 25a:38f.
Sin-muballiḫ	13	Warad-Sin (s. Lipit-Ištar)	Šalim-paliḫšu (= Šalim-paliḫ-Marduk) s. Sin-gāmil	CT 4 49b:18
Sin-muballiḫ	—	Warad-Sin (s. Lipit-Ištar)	Šalim-paliḫšu (= Šalim-paliḫ-Marduk) s. Sin-gāmil	RSO 2 539ff.:22f. ; VAS 8 50 r. 3f. ; BM 92657:22
Sin-muballiḫ	—	Šalim-paliḫšu	Annum-pī-Aja (s. Warad-Sin) <sup>14</sup>	Scheil Sippar 10:15f.
Sm	13 <sup>16</sup>	Annum-pī-Aja	Etel-pī-Nabium (s. Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš) <sup>15</sup>	CT 8 39a:19f.

<sup>11</sup> We assume that the first witness in TCL 1 64 (AS), Lipit-Ištar, son of Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš, is identical with the *sanga* Lipit-Ištar and therefore this Lipit-Ištar and the *sanga* Etel-pī-Nabium son of Šalim-paliḫ-Šamaš are brothers. This identification if true would indicate that not only is the office of *sanga* handed down from father to son but also from older to younger brother.

<sup>12</sup> His father's name is known from his seal inscription on VAS 8 21 and I assume that his father Lipit-Ištar is identical with the *sanga* of Šamaš of the same name.

<sup>13</sup> For his full name see CT 47 11:23 and his seal inscription on TCL 1 69 where his father's name also appears and where he, unlike other *sanga's*, is referred to as the "servant of Marduk". Though perhaps we should read IR<sup>d</sup> «AMAR» UTU.

<sup>14</sup> For his father's name see CT 47 47 (Ha 25) and VAS 9 43 (Ha 31) where he still uses his father's seal (Warad-Sin, son of Lipit-Ištar). His father's name is also found in CT 47 30/30a:31 where his office is not added. It is, however, strange that he should be using his father's seal after having been in office by this time for many years.

<sup>15</sup> For his father's name see CT 47 30/30a:32. We would suggest that since Etel-pī-Nabium and the *sanga* Lipit-Ištar have fathers with identical names and the only two such names in Sippar that

KING	YEAR	SENIOR SANGA	JUNIOR SANGA	TEXT
Ha	1	Annum-pī-Aja	Etel-pī-Nabium (s. Šalim-paliḥ-Šamaš)	TCL 1 77:16f.
Ha	10	Annum-pī-Aja s. Warad-Sin I	Etel-pī-Nabium (s. Šalim-paliḥ-Šamaš)	CT 47 30:31
Ha	10	Annum-pī-Aja	Etel-pī-Nabium (s. Šalim-paliḥ-Šamaš)	CT 8 48a:21f.
Ha	—	Annum-pī-Aja	Etel-pī-Nabium (s. Šalim-paliḥ-Šamaš)	CT 8 35b:20f.
Ha	12/14/16 <sup>17</sup>	Annum-pī-Aja	Sin-iddinam	CT 47 26:21f.
Ha	—	Annum-pī-Aja	Sin-iddinam	VAS 9 169:7f.
Ha	[x]	Annum-pī-Aja	Sin-bāni	CT 8 37a:14f.
Ha	— <sup>18</sup>	Annum-pī-Aja	Sin-iddinam	BM 82468 r. 9f.
Ha	27	Šamšatum	—	CT 48 22:r. 6
Ha	30	Annum-pī-Aja	Sin-bāni	BM 92650 r. 5f.
Ha	31	Annum-pī-Aja	Sin-iddinam	CT 47 41:16f.
Ha	32	Annum-pī-Aja	Sin-bāni	CT 47 42:23f.
Ha	33	Annum-pī-Aja	Sin-bāni	CT 45 26:16f.
Ha	33	Annum-pī-Aja	—	CT 47 42:19
Ha	—	Annum-pī-Aja	—	VAS 13 34r.7
Ha	38	Annum-pī-Aja	Išmē-Sin (s. Ikūn-pī- <sup>d</sup> [x]) <sup>19</sup>	CT 2 41:40f.
Ha	41	Annum-pī-Aja	Išmē-Sin	CT 8 5a:21f. ; VAS 13 25r.1f., Waterman Bus. Doc. 65 r.8f.
Ha	43	Annum-pī-Aja	Išmē-Sin	CT 47 47 47:32f.
Si	2 <sup>†</sup>	Annum-pī-Aja	—	TCL 1 108:18
Si	4	Annum-pī-Aja	—	CT 47 56:19f.
Si	6	Annum-pī-Aja	—	CT 4 46a:21
Si	[x]	Annum-pī-Aja	Išmē-Sin	Speleers Recueil 241:22f.
Si	8	Annum-pī-Aja	Išmē-Sin	CT 6 33a:27f.

they are brothers. Accordingly, we may have a case where a great uncle Etel-pī-Nabium, and a grand nephew, Annum-pī-Aja, serve as *sanga*'s at the same time, though note that the older man is the junior *sanga*.

<sup>16</sup> The date formula, MU GIBIL ÍD.DA LUGAL, is assumed to be a variant of the 13th year of Sin-muballiṭ: MU ÍD Tu-tu-ḪÉ.GAL MU.UN.BA.AL and not of the second year (MU ÍD Sin-muballiṭ MU.UN.BA.AL) as it might also be, because of the sequence of the *sanga* officials. This change of *sanga*'s took place after Sm 13. Accordingly, the 13th year of Sin-muballiṭ is the only possible date. In the fifth month of this year (CT 4 49b) Warad-Sin and Šalim-pāliḥšu are *sanga*'s; before the next month perhaps Warad-Sin dies and Šalim-pāliḥšu takes his place but is shortly replaced by Annum-pī-Aja.

<sup>17</sup> Only MU GU.ZA <sup>d</sup>[...] is preserved, and so this date might be the 12th, 14th or 16th year of Hammu-rapi.

<sup>18</sup> The text is not dated, but because the pair Annum-pī-Aja and Sin-iddinam appear only in the period of Hammu-rapi we have dated it accordingly.

<sup>19</sup> For his father's name see his seal inscription on CT 47 47.

KING	YEAR	SANGA OF ŠAMAS	SANGA OF AJA	TEXT
Si	8	Lipit-Ištar II (s. Ubarrum) <sup>20</sup>	Išmē-Sin	CT 47 60:20f.
Si	[x]	Šamaš-tappišu	Išmē-Sin	CT 47 66:24f.
Si	25	Warad-Sin II (s. Ikun-pi- <sup>d</sup> [x]) <sup>21</sup>	Sin-šamuḥ	YOS 12 469:30f.
Si	25	Warad-Sin II	Sin-erībam (s. Šamaš-tappišu) <sup>22</sup>	CT 47 65/65a:37
Si	26	Warad-Sin II	—	TLB 1 224:8f.
Si	30	Warad-Sin II	—	CT 8 9b:19
Ae	h	Annum-pī-Aja III (s. Warad-Sin II) <sup>23</sup>	—	CT 47 69r.4
Ae	k	Annum-pī-Aja II	Marduk-mušallim s. Sin-erībam	BE 6/1 76:23
Ae	t	Sin-nādin-šumi <sup>24</sup>	—	BE 6/1 68:21
Amd	30	Sin-iqīšam <sup>25</sup>	Etel-pī-Nabium s. Marduk-mušallim (seal)	TCL 1 151:14
Ams	6	[...] -ili	—	YBC 606:23
Ams	6	Nūr-Kabta	Marduk-nāšir s. [Etel-pī]-Nabium	CT 6 6 r. 18f.

Three other *sanga*'s of Šamaš appear in texts which have not been included in the above chart. They do not appear as witnesses, rather the first two are landowners and the third is a creditor.

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ha	20	Elali	PBS 8/2 248:7
Amd.	15	Šallūrum	YBC 4980:35 ; CT 8 8b:4 <sup>26</sup>
Amd.	22	Ipqu-Šala	BM 67358:8f.

A study of the above chart reveals more details about the office of *sanga*. Clearly it is an office that was inherited by the son. And in this connection it should

<sup>20</sup> We assume that he is a *sanga* of Šamaš because his seal inscription describes him thus though the name of the deity he serves is not preserved. He is, however, the first witness, as the *sanga*'s of Šamaš usually are.

<sup>21</sup> For his father's name see his seal inscription on CT 47 65a. We would suggest that Warad-Sin and Išmē-Sin, both sons of an Ikun-pi-<sup>d</sup>[x], are perhaps brothers.

<sup>22</sup> For his father's name see his seal inscription on CT 47 65a. We suggest that the Šamaš-tappišu who very briefly served as senior *sanga* is his father.

<sup>23</sup> See his seal inscription on CT 47 69a for his father's name.

<sup>24</sup> Significantly, he is not the first witness here, an indication of the diminution in the status of his office.

<sup>25</sup> Sin-iqīšam is not described as a *sanga* of Šamaš but since he is followed by a man who is known from his seal inscription to be *sanga* of Šamaš we assume he too is a *sanga* of Šamaš.

<sup>26</sup> Here described as *ša* É <sup>d</sup>UTU which must be a variant of the title SANGA É <sup>d</sup>UTU.

be noted that the last known junior *sanga* of Šamaš is the father of the first known *sanga* of Aja which suggests a smooth transition from the one office to the other. Power struggles are perhaps reflected in the repeated shifts in the junior *sangaship* held by Sin-bāni and Sin-iddinam in the sixteenth to the thirty-second years of Hammu-rapi.

Apart from his role as witness to the legal transactions of the *naditu*'s the *sanga* official appears in several other contexts. Sin-nādin-šumī, *sanga* in the reign of Abi-ešuḥ, witnesses the receipt of the temple's *ilku* income from its *iššakku* farmers, a transaction witnessed also by a *sanga* of Sin and the city administrators who here precede the *sanga* of Šamaš. Nūr-Kabta commissions three people, perhaps merchants, to purchase SUD.A gold presumably for the manufacture of a temple object, and Etel-pī-Nabium, *sanga* of Aja, is mentioned in connection with food rations for the Šamaš temple<sup>27</sup>. The *sanga* on rare occasion appears in our texts as a landowner (see above). In the one example where a *sanga* exchanges his field for another he does so with a dirge Singer (*kalamāḫu*) of the Šamaš temple<sup>28</sup>.

In only one instance does a *sanga* of Šamaš, Ipqu-Šala, appear as a creditor, lending more than 1 GUR of barley to a man which is to be repaid at harvest time. Unlike the usual loan contract, this loan describes the debtor as "having eaten the barley from the house of Ipqu-Šala"<sup>29</sup>.

The *sanga* of Šamaš seems to have had little contact with the residents of Sippar. With the few exceptions cited above, he is never involved in business transactions with the residents. In addition, though many of the *naditu*-women are the daughters of officials, not one is known to be the daughter of a *sanga* of Šamaš<sup>30</sup>. This evidence would suggest that the *sanga* was a royal official appointed by the king of Babylon and sent to Sippar to supervise the temple transactions and collect the taxes. This would account for the fact that the name of the chief god of Sippar, Šamaš, occurs so rarely in their names, and might explain the occurrence of the god Nabium in the name of a *sanga* before the worship of Nabium is officially introduced in Sippar.

<sup>27</sup> BE 6/1 68 (Ae), BE 6/1 97 (Amš 17 + a) and BM 80911 (Amš 16), respectively.

<sup>28</sup> YBC 4980.

<sup>29</sup> BM 67358 4: *i-na É Ipqu-<sup>d</sup>Šala SANGA<sup>d</sup>UTU i-ku-lu*.

<sup>30</sup> This is contrary to J. Renger's view in ZA 58 151, note 285. In my opinion the fact that the father's name is the same as the name of a *sanga* is not adequate proof. First, these names are not rare and more importantly in not one instance is the fact that the *naditu*'s father is such an important official added as is, for example, the case that the father of Niši-īnišu is the daughter of the overseer of the *naditu*'s in CT 47 36: l.e. 24.

*The Lieutenant of Šamaš (EGIR<sup>d</sup>UTU)*

The title EGIR<sup>31</sup>, or *warkûm* in Akkadian, may be translated as “lieutenant” and indicates an official second in rank to another not named.

It is probably an abbreviation of a form which would have included the title of the higher official. All the Sippar references date from either Hammu-rapi or Samsu-iluna.

In one instance a *warkûm* is the first witness in the sale transaction of a *nadîtu*-woman<sup>32</sup>. Though no connection with the Šamaš temple is mentioned, the absence of a *sanga* official as witness suggests that the *warkûm* acts in his stead.

In a contract<sup>33</sup> from the time of Hammu-rapi Rîš-Šamaš, son of Sala, EGIR<sup>d</sup>UTU, sells a date orchard, next to another which he owns, to a *nadîtu*-woman. If this man is the brother of the *nadîtu*-woman Rîbatum, the daughter of Sala<sup>34</sup>, it would appear that he, unlike the *sanga*, is a native of Sippar. In another contract<sup>35</sup> from the same period Abi-marāš, an EGIR, along with his son sells a slavegirl and an ox to a *nadîtu*. Finally, the daughter of the EGIR Izkur-<sup>d</sup>NI. KA.RA is mentioned in a cloister record of *nadîtu* lawsuits<sup>36</sup>. This would also be evidence that the EGIR of Šamaš was a resident of Sippar.

*Overseer of the Temple of Šamaš (PA É<sup>d</sup>UTU)<sup>37</sup>*

The title “Overseer of the Temple” itself suggests that this official is part of the managerial personnel. Our references indicate that the Šamaš temple has two overseers<sup>38</sup> who supervise the incoming and outgoing staples. They are associated with the *šà.tam* officials (see below) but are higher in rank as they are mentioned first.

An overseer, though whether of the temple of Šamaš is not specified, is respon-

<sup>31</sup> The title LÚ.EGIR.RA also appears e.g., in BIN 7 65:19. An EGIR ŠAKAN<sub>x</sub> appears in Larsa texts: Riftin 2:35; YOS 5 119:17, 123:19 and 126:21.

<sup>32</sup> CT 2 15:20 (Si 3), here written *wa-ar-ku-um*.

<sup>33</sup> CT 2 42:2 (EGIR<sup>d</sup>UTU).

<sup>34</sup> CT 6 32a:7 (Si 2).

<sup>35</sup> CT 8 35b:3 (Ha). We propose the reading EGIR (!) for the difficult sign appearing after the name of Abi-marāš though it is by no means certain.

<sup>36</sup> CT 8 26a:17. On assigning this contract to either Hammu-rapi or Samsu-iluna see JESHO 6/2 150.

<sup>37</sup> There is no evidence for reading the PA as UGULA. See CAD 1 280 sub *aklu* for a discussion of this problem.

<sup>38</sup> BM 78627:2 (Ae 28), and BE 6/1 108 r. 10 (Amš).

sible for lambs brought to the temple for an extispicy to be made by the diviner<sup>39</sup>.

In the division of property by a *nadītu*-woman and her adopted son<sup>40</sup>, an overseer appears as the first witness, preceding a *sanga* of Annunitum. If our assumption that this is the overseer of the Šamaš temple is correct it suggests that he ranks higher than the *sanga* of another deity.

*The šà.tam*<sup>41</sup> *Official of the Šamaš Temple*

The office of *šà.tam* is found in both the temple and palace administration and it is not always easy to distinguish between the two. Accordingly it has been assumed that where the *šà.tam* is mentioned with other people who are clearly part of the temple personnel he too belongs to the temple.

The *šà.tam* official of the temple of Šamaš is concerned with the supervision of incoming and outgoing staples of the temple, or the management of the temple granary. There is evidence that whereas in the earlier period he works with the overseer and scribes of the temple, in later periods he is associated with officials of the city administration.

In the earliest reference, from the 13th year of Sin-muballit, the *šà.tam* is responsible for the expenditure of a large amount of barley, the wages of 850 workmen working under the supervision of *iššakku* farmers in the fields of Šamaš in Ḫurrānum<sup>42</sup>. In the time of Hammu-rapi several *šà.tam* officials are the associates (*tappēšu*) of the scribe Šilli-Ninkarrak and share with him the responsibility for incoming staples<sup>43</sup>. In another case, six persons together with *šà.tam* officials receive 73 GUR of barley, probably from temple fields<sup>44</sup>. In an account from the time of Samsu-iluna a group or collegium of *šà.tam*'s are again associated with scribes when they receive 232 GUR of barley from the harvest of temple fields in the city of Kururu with six men, two of whom are known to be scribes from

<sup>39</sup> Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 6:15.

<sup>40</sup> VAS 8 53:30 (Sm).

<sup>41</sup> The references to the *šà.tam* in vocabularies do little to inform us about the exact nature of the functions of this official. In LÚ IV iii 258 the term *šà.tam* is equated with *raqqū* "perfume maker". But in our period there is no connection between the *šà.tam* and this craft. Another list (*Nabnītu* J 79) equates the term with *qīpu*, a more general designation for an official meaning "trusted man".

<sup>42</sup> CT 4 25c:18.

<sup>43</sup> TCL 1 78:7 (Ha 2); VAS 8 90/91:8 (Ha 3); 103/104:8 (Ha 4).

<sup>44</sup> TCL 1 103:13 (Ha 24).

their seal inscriptions<sup>45</sup>. This association could be interpreted as one in which the scribes record and the *šà.tam*'s supervise the distribution and storage of grain.

In the reign of Abi-ešuḫ two overseers of the temple and the *šà.tam* officials are responsible for sesame given to the oil presser for the work force of the Šamaš temple<sup>46</sup>.

In an account from the time of Ammi-ditana<sup>47</sup>, 15 GUR of barley from the field of the *sanga* Šallūrum (here described as “belonging to the [personnel of] the Šamaš temple”), is given to the Overseer of the Merchants, head of the city administration, and then to three *šà.tam* officials (all with similar names: Ipiq-Annunitum, Ipiq-Aja, and Ipiquša), perhaps to be stored in the temple granary for the *sanga*'s use. An official (reading uncertain) other than the *šà.tam*'s is responsible for this transaction which suggests, in conjunction with other data, that a change has taken place in the temple administration.

This new association of the *šà.tam* with city officials is seen in two texts from the reign of Ammi-šaduqa. In the first instance the *šà.tam* officials, preceded by a judge, an Overseer of the Merchants, and a barber, receive staples (no longer preserved), for the temple<sup>48</sup>. In another account the *šà.tam* officials dispatch barley to buy (?) food rations for the temple. They are preceded in the record by a barber and a merchant<sup>49</sup>.

In a litigation text the foodstuff given to a man who is a *šà.tam* official is enumerated: 3 silas of bread, 6 silas of beer, 2 *pursētu* bowls of *diktu*<sup>50</sup> (DUG BUR.ZI U + GA) and 1 BUR.DÉ.A vessel, though for what period of time is not known<sup>51</sup>.

There is also evidence that the *šà.tam* official bought and owned property<sup>52</sup>. An apprentice *šà.tam* or son of a *šà.tam* official appears in a list of workers<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Goetze JCS 11 31 No. 21 r.8. Restore ŠĀ.TAM.MEŠ also in l. 11.

<sup>46</sup> BM 78627 r.4 (Ae 28).

<sup>47</sup> CT 8 8b. The crucial phrase in the text cannot be read (l. 8).

<sup>48</sup> TLB 1 280 (Amš 13).

<sup>49</sup> BM 80911 (Amš 16).

<sup>50</sup> For *diktu*, a “dairy product” see CAD 3 138f.

<sup>51</sup> CT 2 43:7ff. (Si 25). The text states that the food is ŠU.TI.A Ḫuzālum *ša šatammūtišu ša É* <sup>d</sup>UTU. In another reference to this same Ḫuzālum, son of Nabi-Šamaš, he is a witness appearing after a *kalamāḫu* of Šamaš (TCL 1 145:26 [Si 30]).

<sup>52</sup> CT 6 6:14 (Amš 11), where Ina-Esagila-zēr purchases a house and TCL 1 151:3 (Amd 30) where Gamillum the *šà.tam* (written *ša* (sic). *tam é*) is neighbor to a field being sold.

<sup>53</sup> CT 45 106:6. It is difficult to decide how DUMU ŠĀ.TAM is to be interpreted.

*The Temple Scribe*

In a small “school” uncovered by Scheil<sup>54</sup> tablets of all kinds — Sumerian hymns, syllabaries, and mathematical tablets — unbaked and poorly preserved, but mostly dating to the reign of Hammu-rapi, were found. Perhaps the importance of the temple school in this period accounts for the greater role which the scribe seems to play in the temple administration at this time.

Though the Šamaš temple must have had many scribes, only Šilli-Ninkarrak is identified as scribe in his seal inscription. This man acted as GÌR official in the temple administration during the reign of Hammu-rapi. His name or seal is found on records of incoming objects or materials for use in the temple: an oven for firing storage jars used for fine oil, soap (NAGA<sub>3</sub>) to wash the linen garments of the images, salt and soap for the female fullers (SAL.TÚG.E.NE), and wax for making a key mold<sup>55</sup>. Šilli-Ninkarrak is perhaps to be identified with the man of this name who appears directly after the *sanga* of Šamaš as a witness to several contracts of *nadītu*-women<sup>56</sup>. In one case he even precedes the *sanga*<sup>57</sup>.

Another account from the time of Hammu-rapi records the receipt of wool for the image (of Šamaš)<sup>58</sup> by a man identified in his seal inscription as the “servant of Nabium”, a phrase usually found in the seal inscriptions of scribes<sup>59</sup>.

The association of the scribe with the *šà.tam* officials has been noted above where they receive large amounts of barley for the temple.

*The Sweeper of Ebabbar (KISAL.LUḪ É.BABBAR)*

We know only of two men who held the temple office of Sweeper. The earliest of these was Damu-gal.zu who probably held this position in time of Sumu-la-ila or earlier. His title appears only in his seal inscription found on a text fragment: <sup>d</sup>Damu-gal.zu, Sweeper of Ebabbar, servant of Šamaš and Aja<sup>60</sup>. He appears frequently as witness to *nadītu* legal transactions without his title and may have held this office for life<sup>61</sup>. His son Adad-rēmenni held some unknown cloister

<sup>54</sup> Scheil *Sippar* p. 33.

<sup>55</sup> VAS 8 90/91; VAS 8 110; BM 78743 and VAS 8 103/140, respectively.

<sup>56</sup> VAS 13 34 r.8; CT 6 22b:12; CT 8 48a:23.

<sup>57</sup> CT 47 30/30a:30 (Ha 10).

<sup>58</sup> VAS 9 44 (Ha 31).

<sup>59</sup> See BE 6/2 135, BM 64391.

<sup>60</sup> TCL 1 186.

<sup>61</sup> E.g., VAS 8 4:23 (Immerum); CT 6 30a:34 (SI); CT 6 26a r.6 (Za).

office, and his grandson Kalūmum, was a doorkeeper of the cloister<sup>62</sup>. This is one of the few examples we have of three generations serving in an official capacity.

The second Sweeper is Warad-Šamaš whose title is also found only in his seal inscription<sup>63</sup>. He is probably to be identified with the Warad-Šamaš who is witness in two Zabium contracts<sup>64</sup> where he follows the cloister officials. This sequence would indicate that this office is less important than that of a cloister official.

The office of Sweeper is not a menial one for the actual sweeping is done by slaves as is shown by a *naditu's* gift to Aja of a slavegirl for this purpose<sup>65</sup>. Rather it is a position which involves the supervision and care of the temple grounds.

*The Doorkeeper (the muzzaz bābim)*

The office of *muzzaz bābim* is one found not only in the temple but also in an affluent household. The references to this kind of temple doorkeeper are few and concern the same person, Nabium-nāšir. In one he receives the sum of 13 1/3 shekels of silver which is to be expended by the *iššakku* farmers of the Šamaš temple to hire harvest workers for work in the temple fields<sup>66</sup>. In a second text he hands over temple wool to the *kārum* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum which it in turn lends to someone<sup>67</sup>.

*The Barber of the god Šamaš (ŠU.I ša dUTU)*

There are several instances in which a barber appears to be part of the temple personnel as well as part of the judicial structure of Sippar. Only one partly preserved text, however, refers specifically to "the Barber of the god Šamaš" (ŠU.I ša dUTU); he receives an amount of barley which is perhaps some kind of tax<sup>68</sup>. The barber Nabium-nāšir, along with another person without a title,

<sup>62</sup> For references see JESHO 6/2 137.

<sup>63</sup> CT 48 59 (AS).

<sup>64</sup> CT 6 19a:19 and VAS 8 12:32.

<sup>65</sup> VAS 8 55 (Sm).

<sup>66</sup> BM 80299:18 (Ae k).

<sup>67</sup> CT 6 24a:5f. (Amd 1).

<sup>68</sup> TCL 1 230:24. This account does not belong to the archives of the temple organization. The fact that it mentions Bēlijatum a number of times, known elsewhere to have been at least a part-time *iššakku* farmer of the fields of the *naditu* Lamassani (TCL 1 167 [Amš 13]), suggests that this is a private account.

the Overseer of the Merchants, and the *šà.tam* officials of the Šamaš temple are responsible for expenditures made by the temple granary<sup>69</sup>. Another barber Adad-šar-ili is mentioned in a fragmentary account which deals with the expenditure of barley from the revenue (GUN) of Ištār of Sippar, though whether this man has any connection with the administration of the Ištār temple is uncertain<sup>70</sup>.

### *The steward-farmer (iššakku) of the Šamaš Temple*

The *iššakku* or the steward-farmer managed the temple lands. In Sippar only the temples of Šamaš and Annunītum and the wealthiest citizens such as the *nadītu*-women<sup>71</sup> possess fields so large that they employ *iššakku* farmers. However, one *iššakku* farmer might work for several persons at the same time as is shown by one example in which a *pašišu* priest and the son of a temple singer are among those employing the same *iššakku*<sup>72</sup>.

The steward-farmer supervises the work of hired harvest workers, collects *ilku* duty from tenant farmers for the temple, receiving for his services a portion of the yield<sup>73</sup>. In one instance this *ilku* payment amounts to 150 GUR of barley<sup>74</sup>. An account from the time of Sin-muballiṭ speaks of 850 men under the supervision of the *iššakku*<sup>75</sup>. In the time of Ammi-ditana, however, four bull teams for the *iššakku* farmers to work in the temple fields are purchased by the Overseer of Merchants<sup>76</sup>, perhaps reflecting the growing control of the city administration over temple affairs.

### *Workers of the Temple*

#### *Hired Workers*

The temple fields are worked by men (LÚ ERÍN.ḪUN.GÁ.MEŠ) hired for the harvest. Most of these workers, if not all, are hired by *iššakku* farmers<sup>77</sup>. In a reference from the time of Sin-muballiṭ, wages are distributed to 850 clod-breakers (*hēpū*) working in the temple fields under an *iššakku*<sup>78</sup>. The workers are

<sup>69</sup> BM 80911:16 (Amš 16).

<sup>70</sup> BM 81521:x + 2.

<sup>71</sup> See Harris, *Studies Oppenheim* 132f.

<sup>72</sup> TCL 1 230 where Bēlijatum is mentioned several times in ll. 31, 34, 37, 40, 43, and 44.

<sup>73</sup> BM 80299:11 (Ae k). Here described as EN<sub>5</sub>.SI A.ŠĀ dUTU.

<sup>74</sup> BE 6/1 68:7 (Ae t). Bēlānum is here described as EN<sub>5</sub>.SI LIBIR.RA "iššakku of old status".

<sup>75</sup> CT 4 25c:16.

<sup>76</sup> CT 8 30c:12.

<sup>77</sup> BM 80299:12 (Ae k).

<sup>78</sup> CT 4 25c:2, 13 (Sm 13). I suggest the reading ERÍN *hi-pi-i* in both lines. Note that these clodbreakers are hired workers because the term Á "wages" is used.

perhaps hired from *nadītu*-women who hire out their slaves and from fathers who hire out their minor sons. In an account from the period of Abi-ešuh, sesame is given to the oil presser to be processed and distributed to “the worker(s) of the Šamaš temple (ERÍN É<sup>d</sup>UTU)”<sup>79</sup>.

### *Slaves*

Although a number of slaves are undoubtedly given to the temple by the king and devotees, only two instances are mentioned in our material. In one a *nadītu*-woman gives a slavegirl to Šamaš and Aja to serve as a sweeper (*ana kisalluḫḫi-tim*)<sup>80</sup>, and in another a *nadītu*-woman gives a slavegirl to Aja alone<sup>81</sup>. An undated list refers to one Ana-Nabium-taklāku ša É<sup>d</sup>UTU, whom we believe is a slave belonging to the Šamaš temple rather than a temple functionary because other slaves are mentioned in the same list<sup>82</sup>.

### *Corvée Workers*

One list of names suggests another source of temple labor besides the slaves and the hired harvest workers. Thirty-two men or representatives of “households” (É.ḪI.A), are assigned to work for Šamaš<sup>83</sup>. Among them are eleven judges, a gatekeeper, four shepherds, and three smiths. Whether this service is voluntary or mandatory and for what length of time it is performed is not known. A passage in a Hammu-rapi clay nail suggests that the citizens of Sippar were subject to forced labor for the Šamaš temple<sup>84</sup>.

### *Cultic Functionaries*

In addition to the administrative personnel of the temple, there are others who principally serve a cultic function, though less is known of these persons than of the administrators and no significant hierarchy can be discerned. The title of the cultic functionary is rarely followed by the name of the god or temple which he served; in such cases we have assumed a relationship with the Šamaš temple, since only the temples of Šamaš and the goddess Annunitum seem to have had a complex organization and what we would term priests.

<sup>79</sup> BM 78627:4.

<sup>80</sup> TCL 1 68/69 (Sm).

<sup>81</sup> VAS 8 55 (Sm).

<sup>82</sup> CT 45 97:17. See 11. 4 and 10 for other slaves.

<sup>83</sup> BM 80322:32-55; 32 É.ḪI.A ša a-na KIN<sup>d</sup>UTU li-qi-ù in-ne is-ḫu.

<sup>84</sup> See Gelb JNES 7 269 A i 13ff., which states that Hammu-rapi released the Sipparians from forced labor for Šamaš: ERÍN-šu in GIŠ.İL ana<sup>d</sup>UTU lu as-sú-uḫ.

*Gudapsû Priests*

The term *pašišu*, i.e. “annointed”, used to describe certain priests, indicates that they become priests through a ceremony or ordination in which they are annointed and thereby change their religious status.

The *gudapsû* are the highest ranking *pašišu* priests. The term *gudapsû* is equated in a vocabulary with “hairy” and suggests that the hair of this priest is worn in a distinctive manner or that perhaps he did not cut his hair<sup>85</sup>. As many as six *gudapsû* priests are attested at one time<sup>86</sup>.

The leasing of the sacred weapon of Šamaš for the “journey of the weapon of Šamaš” in the harvest season, a source of additional income for the temple, seems to have been virtually limited to the *gudapsû* priests or their children who may have followed their fathers’ calling. In one such contract only one *gudapsû* leases the weapon ; in a later contract four priests are the lessees<sup>87</sup>.

In addition, the *gudapsû* priests are found as witness to transactions<sup>88</sup>, a role in which they precede the *ērib bīti*<sup>89</sup>.

One legal text, CT 47 69, reveals more information about the *gudapsû*. First, we find in this Abi-ešuḫ document that the sequence of witnesses is as follows : the *sanga* of Šamaš, two judges, the overseer of the *nadītu* and only then the *gudapsû*, Tarībum, son of Ipqu-Annunītum. We have here then the relative importance of this priest in the overall hierarchy of temple and cloister officials. Of significance, too, is the seal that Tarībum uses here. It is that of his father who is described in it as a *pašišu* of Šamaš<sup>90</sup>. We have therefore an instance in which a *gudapsû* is the son of a *pašišu* priest and is evidence that there might be upward mobility in temple offices<sup>91</sup>.

A *gudapsû* priest might own property for in one case a *gudapsû* is neighbor to a field which is rented out<sup>92</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> See Lú Excerpt I 198 ff.

<sup>86</sup> BE 6/1 76 (Ae k).

<sup>87</sup> CT 4 29a (Amṣ 17c) ; and CT 4 23c (Sd 3), respectively.

<sup>88</sup> VAS 9 41:5f. (Ha 30) ; CT 4 11a:29f. (Si 28) ; CT 33 32:19 (Amd 31) ; BE 6/1 108 r.7f. (Amṣ 8) ; BE 6/1 112:24 (Sd c).

<sup>89</sup> BE 6/1 76:25ff. and 108.

<sup>90</sup> His father appears without his title in CT 47 56a r.28 (Si 4).

<sup>91</sup> This example contradicts the statement made in CAD 5 119 that “a GUDU<sub>4</sub>ZU+AB is never mentioned as the son of a GUDU<sub>4</sub>”.

<sup>92</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 15:2 (Amṣ 12).

*List of gudapsû priests*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ha	30	Kasap- <sup>d</sup> Laz	VAS 9 41:5
Ha	30	Ipqatum	VAS 9 41:6
Si	28	Nūr-Gibil I	CT 4 11a:29
Si	28	Warad-bīt-abišu	CT 4 11a:30
Ae	h	Tarībum s. Ipqu-Annunītum	CT 47 69:26
Ae	k	Tarībum s. Ipqu-Annunītum	BE 6/1 76:28
		Sin-išmēanni s. Sin-imitti	BE 6/1 76:29
		Ibni-Adad s. Imgur-Šamaš	BE 6/1 76:30
		Bēlšunu s. Adad-šarrum	BE 6/1 76:31
		Ilam-nišu s. Ipqu-Annunītum	BE 6/1 76:32
		Marduk-nāšir s. Šumum- libši	BE 6/1 76:33
Amd	6	Nidnat-Sin	Waterman Bus. Doc. 50:16
Amd	31	Kubburum	CT 33:19
Ams	8	Nūr-Gibil II	BE 6/1 108r.7
Ams		Sin-nādin-šumi	BE 6/1 108r.8
Ams	12	Rīm-Adad	Waterman Bus. Doc. 15:2
Ams	17 + c	Warad-Sin s. Šamaš- tappišu	CT 4 29a:6
Sd	2	Aḫūni	BE 6/1 112:24
Sd	5	Aḫūni	CT 4 23c:8
Sd	5	Marduk-muballit	CT 4 23c:5
Sd	5	Iddin-Marduk	CT 4 23c:6
Sd	5	Etēlpû	CT 4 23c:7
Sd	13	Sin-mušallim	JNES 21 75:3 (= VAT 1176)

*Pašišu (GUDU<sub>4</sub>) Priests*

The *pašišu* priest appears in a greater variety of contexts than does the *gudapsû*. Furthermore, in several references he is linked directly with the Šamaš temple<sup>93</sup>. In a number of accounts, the *pašišu* appears as part of a labor force which suggests that he has to fulfill either a mandatory or voluntary obligation to work in temple fields<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> See the two seal inscriptions of *pašišu*'s where they are described as "the servants of the temple Ebabbar" in CT 47 69a. See also the reference to Abi-enši GUDU<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>UTU in Friedrich BA 5 516 No. 52:26.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, and CT 6 23b:9 (Ams 17 + e), and CT 45 77:24.

One fragmentary account dealing with amounts of barley delivered to the granary of Sippar-Amnānum by various people such as a doorkeeper and a judge, also includes a *pašišu* priest. This barley is perhaps a tax payment to the city administration<sup>95</sup>.

Several texts indicate that the *pašišu* was a man of means. In one, he along with several other individuals employ an *iššakku* farmer to supervise his field<sup>96</sup>. One *pašišu*, Šamaš-nāšir, son of Ubarrum, gives his *nadītu*-daughter the considerable gift of four fields totalling 14 GÁN and a house of two SAR. His sister is probably also a *nadītu*<sup>97</sup>. The brother of a *pašišu* appears as a private individual leasing a field with five partners<sup>98</sup>.

Of special interest are the two seals of *pašišu* priests. These seals are apparently inherited by their sons for they are used by them. One of them, Tarībum, son of Ipqu-Annunītum, has risen above his father in the temple hierarchy, as already noted, to become a *gudapšu* priest<sup>99</sup>.

The wife of another *pašišu* serves in the chapel dedicated to Tašmētum, wife of the god Marduk<sup>100</sup>.

*List of pašišu priests*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ae	t	Šamaš-nāšir s. Ubarrum	CT 2 24:24
Ae	—	Ipiq-Annunītum s. Aḥam-arši	CT 47 69a seal
Ae	—	Nūr-Bilgi s. Gimil-[...]	CT 47 69a seal
Amd	13	Warad-Mamu	CT 4 8b:24
Aṣ	6	Bēlšunu s. Tarībum	BE 6/1 104:5
Aṣ	13	Ibissu	TCL 1 168:30 (without title : TCL 1 230:33)
Aṣ	17 + c	Šamaš-bāni	CT 6 23b:9
Sd	19	Ibni-Marduk s. Warad-Kubi	BE 6/1 112:25
—	—	Gurrudum	CT 45 77:24
—	—	Abi-enši	Friedrich BA 5 516 no. 52:26

<sup>95</sup> BE 6/1 104:5 (Aṣ 6).

<sup>96</sup> TCL 1 168:3 (Aṣ 13) and TCL 1 230:33 where the same man appears without his title.

<sup>97</sup> CT 2 24 (Ae 5). His sister is mentioned in l. 17.

<sup>98</sup> BE 6/1 112:25 (Sd 19).

<sup>99</sup> See above note 91. Perhaps the father of the *pašišu* Bēlšunu, Tarībum (BE 6/1 104:5), is to be identified with the *gudapsū* Tarībum.

<sup>100</sup> CT 4 8b:24 (Amd 13). He is mentioned in the same context but without his title in CT 45 84:21.

*The ērib bīti*

The title *ērib bīti*, meaning one who is admitted to all or certain parts of the temple, may indicate privileges accorded to one with special qualifications or social status. This functionary appears most often in our texts as a witness. As many as three men might hold the office at one time as is shown by the appearance of three *ērib bīti*'s following several judges and six *gudapsū* priests as witnesses to a sale contract<sup>101</sup>. In the period of Ammi-ditana in a lease contract of a *nadītu*-woman, an *ērib bīti* is the first witness and is followed by the watchmen of the cloister gate<sup>102</sup>.

In another instance an *ērib bīti* witnesses a temple transaction of a *sanga* of Šamaš<sup>103</sup>. The latest reference to this official is as witness to a transaction no longer preserved, where he again follows the *gudapsū* priests in the sequence of witnesses, and is in turn followed by the overseer (PAÉ) of the temple, and a *šà.tam* official<sup>104</sup>.

Elsewhere<sup>105</sup> reference is made to the *šibtu* field of Ipqatum, the *ērib bīti*, in an account of field holdings. The use of the term *šibtu* which refers to feudal tenure suggests that this priest like military officials such as the *rēdū* and UGULA MAR.TU was given lands as a prebend by the king. We should add that it is undoubtedly due to the accidental nature of our material that there is no evidence of such tenure by the other temple functionaries.

The wife of the *ērib bīti*, like that of the *pašišu*, might serve in the chapel of Marduk's consort. Indeed in one such occurrence Ruttum, the wife of the *ērib bīti*, ministers to the image of the goddess<sup>106</sup>. The daughter of the *ērib bīti* Šamaš-nāšir is a *šugētu* and is given the rest of her dowry by her father in an extant contract<sup>107</sup>.

A glance at the list of *ērib bīti* priests shows that fathers and sons may serve together in the same office concurrently. This is suggested by the fact that the fathers of the first three men in our list are identical with the names of three

<sup>101</sup> BE 6/1 76:34ff. (Ae k).

<sup>102</sup> BE 6/1 90:13 (Amd 21).

<sup>103</sup> BE 6/1 97:21 (Amš 17 + a).

<sup>104</sup> BE 6/1 108 r.9 (Amš 8).

<sup>105</sup> YBC 4980:32f. (Amd 15).

<sup>106</sup> CT 45 84:3. The same woman without her husband's name being added is mentioned in CT 4 8b:3 (Amd 13).

<sup>107</sup> CT 48 84:5f. (Amd 8).

following *ērib bīti*'s. Though it must be noted that in all three cases the sons occur earlier.

*List of ērib bīti priests*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ae	k	Ibbi-Šamaš s. Ipqatum	BE 6/1 76:35
Ae	k	Mār-ūm-ešrā s. Bunene-[...]	BE 6/1 76:36
Ae	k	Sin-māgir s. Šamaš-nāšir <sup>108</sup>	BE 6/1 76:34
Amd	8	Šamaš-nāšir	CT 48 84:5f.
Amd	15	Ipqatum	YBC 4980:32f.
Amd	21	Sin-rēmenni	BE 6/1 90:13
Ams	17 + a	Sin-išmēanni	BE 6/1 97:21
Ams	8	Bunene-IGI.GUB	BE 6/1 108r.9
—	—	Nūr-Šamaš	CT 45 84:3

*The Temple Musicians*

Singing is important in the temple for ritual and ceremonial events, and is accompanied by musical instruments.

There are several categories of temple musicians mentioned in our material. Among the temple singers are the dirge singer (*kalū*), including the chief dirge singer (*kalamāḫu*), and the temple singer proper (*nāru*), including a chief singer (*nārgallu*). There is in addition an overseer of the women who play *tegītu* musical instruments (UGULA *tegiāti*).

*The Chief Dirge Singer (kalamāḫu)*

A Chief Dirge Singer is twice explicitly connected with the Šamaš temple, as a witness to a division of property and as purchaser of property<sup>109</sup>.

But in the earliest reference to the *kalamāḫu* (written in Akkadian) from the time of Immerum, a connection with the temple of Šamaš is implied in that he witnesses an oath taken in the presence of the *šurinnu* symbol of Šamaš<sup>110</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> It is probably his seal inscription which is found in CT 47 69a:S10. If so it should be noted that his title is not included and that the fact that he is described as "servant of the temple Ebabbar" means that he served prior to the middle years of Hammu-rapi's reign.

<sup>109</sup> TCL 1 145:24 (Si 30) and CT 48 76:5 (Ams 17).

<sup>110</sup> BM 82437:32.

In his property dealings, the *kalamāhu* is often associated with other temple personnel. In one case he exchanges his field with one owned by a *sanga* of Šamaš<sup>111</sup>. In other instances the son of a *kalamāhu* (DUMU UŠ.KU.MAḪ) joins with a *pašišu* priest to employ an *iššakku* steward to manage his field, which to judge from his share of the harvest, was three times the size of the field of the *pašišu*<sup>112</sup>.

Of special interest is an undated account<sup>113</sup> where eleven women prostitutes (KAR.KID.MEŠ), receiving unspecified items (possibly sheep) indicated by a figure preceding each name and totalling 21, are said to be under (NÍG.ŠU) the *kalamāhu*. Whether or not they served as singers is difficult to say.

A fragmentary administrative text records payments of varying amounts of malt, among which are three payments of 10 silas each to an unnamed *kalamāhu*<sup>114</sup>.

There are two instances of the wife of an unnamed *kalamāhu* borrowing barley and silver from the same *nadītu*. It is perhaps too much to infer from this that these men might at times be indigent, for there is also an example where the *kalamāhu* is the creditor<sup>115</sup>.

The sketchiness of our knowledge is illustrated by a letter in which a *kalamāhu* hires (?) a man to collect taxes but fails to pay him the wages of a tax collector<sup>116</sup>.

*List of kalamāhu singers*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Immerum	—	Lakûm	BM 82437:32
Si	30	Nidin-Ištar	TCL 1 145:24
Amd	15	Dinger.ša <sub>6</sub> .ga	YBC 4980:16
Amš	17	Ur <sup>d</sup> Utu	CT 48 76:4, r.2
Amš	—	Ur <sup>d</sup> Am-an-na-ka	VAS 16 61:7
—	—	Bala.a.ni.hé.en.bar <sub>6</sub>	CT 4 12a:24

<sup>111</sup> YBC 4980:16 (Amd 15).

<sup>112</sup> TCL 1 168:7 (Amš 13) and TCL 1 230:39.

<sup>113</sup> CT 4 15c:13.

<sup>114</sup> Goetze JCS 11 38 No. 30:6, r. 4, 8. The chief dirge singer also occurs in other lists of rations/wages: CT 45 85 i 3, 5; 89 i 2; 77 i 6.

<sup>115</sup> Goetze JCS 11 20 No. 6:4f. (Ha 35); VAS 9 152:4 (Ha 39). See VAS 9 39:10 for a *kalamāhu* as creditor.

<sup>116</sup> CT 4 12a:27. The chief dirge singer has the unusual name of Bala.a.ni.hé.en.bar<sub>6</sub>. (Note that three other *kalamāhu*'s also have Sumerian names). It is not at all certain that he belongs to a Sippar temple.

*The Dirge Singer (kalû/UŠ.KU)*

The *kalû* or dirge singer is presumably beneath the *kalamāḫu*. One of our references to this kind of singer is to a *kalû* of the Sin Temple (see below). In the other references we have assumed a connection with the Šamaš temple only because this temple is most likely to have had a diversified group of singers.

The dirge singer, like most of the other temple personnel, occurs in the Sippar material for the most part as witness to legal transactions<sup>117</sup>.

Of significance is the case of <sup>d</sup>Inanna.ma.an.sum, son of Sin-rēmenni, who rents a sheepfold. In this rental contract he is described as a *kalû* (UŠ.KU) but four years later when he is witness to the lease of a house he is described as a *sanga*. This would be a rare case of mobility within the temple hierarchy<sup>118</sup>. The sons of a *kalû* are mentioned in a list<sup>119</sup>.

*List of kalû singers*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Sm	17	<sup>d</sup> Utu.ma.an.sum	CT 45 15:20
Si	8	Awēl-Ninurta	Szlechter Tablettes 27 MAH 16190:20
Amd	24(?)	Annum-pī-Ištar	BM 81591:15
Ams	5	Iluni	BM 80371:5
Ams	12	<sup>d</sup> Inanna.ma.an.sum s. Sin-rēmenni	CT 48 54:6f.

*The Chief singer (nārgallu)*

The possibility that members of the temple hierarchy were liable to military service has been pointed out above under the *pāšišu* priest. Further evidence of this is found in a text which records the payment by Marduk-muballit, the chief singer (*nārgallu*) of an IGI.SÁ (license fee?) of two shekels of silver who is assigned (*ešhu*) to a military official, the *abi šābi*<sup>120</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> CT 45 15:20 (Sm 17); Szlechter Tablettes 27 MAH 16190:20 (Si 8); BM 81591:15 (Amd 24?).

<sup>118</sup> CT 48 54:6f., and PBS 8/2 224:11, respectively. It is of course possible that either the ancient scribe or the modern copyist has made an error. I have not included <sup>d</sup>Inanna.ma.an.sum under the *sanga*'s of Šamaš and Aja for no deity is added after his title. Perhaps he is to be identified with the father of Ḫuzālum. Ḫuzālum's position is not given but he is mentioned in a text dealing with a cultic office in CT 48 45:9 and r. 1 (Sd g).

<sup>119</sup> BM 80371:5 (Ams 5).

<sup>120</sup> CT 8 21c (Ams 10). See also Fish Letters 1:24 which speaks of the *ilku* service and *igisû* tax which the *sanga* and *kalu* are obliged to pay. But there is no evidence that this is a Sippar letter. The reference to an *ugula.nar* in Renger ZA 59 179 is incorrect. These signs in VAS 8 108/109:7 are to be read É.PA.PAḪ.

*The Temple Singer (nāru)*

Like the *kalamāḥu*, the temple singer or *nāru* is first mentioned in the time of Immerum when he appears as witness to a *nadītu* purchase. He follows a *sanga* (most likely of Šamaš) in a list of witnesses and is, in turn, followed by a doorkeeper of the cloister<sup>121</sup>.

The *nāru* appears most often in lists. The singer, Usātum, and the servant (*suhārum*) of the singer, Sin-māgir, are among eighteen workers in a list which also includes a *sanga* of the goddess Išhara<sup>122</sup>.

In a list from the time of Ammi-šaduqa a singer appears among 16 workers and is followed by a *pašišu* priest<sup>123</sup>. Another singer appears in an undated list of 22 names<sup>124</sup>. As an explanation for the appearance of temple personnel in these lists we can only suggest that they are receiving remunerations or more likely are obligated to work in temple fields.

There is one reference to a female singer in an account which concerns the household of the *nadītu* Princess Iltani. But she appears to be part of the royal household<sup>125</sup>.

*List of nāru singers*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Immerum/SI	RLA 2 p. 193	Imgur-Sin	CT 4 50a:27
Si	9	Usātum	Friedrich BA 5 491 no. 12:19
Si	9	Sin-māgir	<i>ibid.</i> 20
Ams	5	Bēlānu	CT 6 23b:8
—	—	Warad-Sin	CT 8 41b:13

*The Overseer of the tegītu Musical Instruments (UGULA tegiāti)*

There is only one reference to the overseer of the women who play the *tegītu* musical instruments. It is this man, Šumum-libši, who takes the license fee (IGI.ŠÁ) from the chief singer to the summoners (*dēkū*)<sup>126</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> CT 4 50a:27.

<sup>122</sup> Friedrich BA 5 491 No. 12:19f. (Si 9).

<sup>123</sup> CT 6 23b:8 (Ams 5).

<sup>124</sup> CT 8 41b:13.

<sup>125</sup> Goetze JCS 2 109 No. 18:4 (Ae h).

<sup>126</sup> CT 8 21c:9f. (Ams 10). There is also one occurrence of women who play stringed instruments, NAR.SA.ME, in the sanctuary of Tašmētum in CT 4 8b 33 (Amd 13). They receive rations of beer and bread.

*The Diviner (bārû)*

The diviner may not, strictly speaking, be a member of the temple personnel but may be called upon when his services are required. We have assumed that the diviner is associated with the Šamaš temple since Šamaš is the god of divination.

Four accounts refer explicitly to extispicies performed by the diviner (*nēpešti bārîm*) who is never named. On the occasion of the “sprinkling” ceremony enacted for the *nadîtu* Princess Iltani, eight SUD.A lambs are brought to the temple for the extispicy<sup>127</sup>. The *šakkanakku* official of Sippar-Amnānum brings a tax of twelve lambs to the temple for this purpose<sup>128</sup>; and in another instance four lambs are brought by shepherds, though whether these were royal or temple shepherds is not known<sup>129</sup>. Six birds brought to the temple by a scribe are likewise received by a group of diviners, suggesting that in this instance divination is arrived at by augury, a rarely attested practice in Mesopotamia<sup>130</sup>. In one account a *kaparru* shepherd brings two objects, apparently sheep, to the diviner, presumably for his use<sup>131</sup>.

The diviner and another man are designated as overseers of a group of 20 workers among whom are a temple singer and a *pašišu* priest<sup>132</sup>.

The diviner appears frequently as witness to a variety of legal transactions: to a lease of a field<sup>133</sup>, and a sheepfold<sup>134</sup>.

He witnesses transactions which involve members of the military and therefore connect him with the military (a connection we suggested above), to the gift a “general” gives to his wife and to the receipt of the *ilku* payment<sup>135</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 6:6 (Ae).

<sup>128</sup> BE 6/1 80:3 (Ae).

<sup>129</sup> Goetze, JCS 2 103 No. 2:2 (Amd 3).

<sup>130</sup> BE 6/1 118:2 (Sd b).

<sup>131</sup> BM 81567:4 (Amd 14).

<sup>132</sup> Friedrich BA 5 510 No. 45:20 (Si 6).

<sup>133</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 48 r. 5 (Amd 32).

<sup>134</sup> Sin-gāmil appears as witness twice to the lease of the same sheepfold in CT 8 8a:12 (Amd 5) and Waterman Bus. Doc. 71 r. 4 (destr). His name is to be restored in the latter text. There is also an instance where a diviner along with a slaughterer (*tābiḫum*) witness the payment of a debt in CT 48 39 l. 1 (Ha 19). J.J. Finkelstein suggests (*ibid.* p. 6) that because these two are the witnesses the oath may have been taken on a sacrificial animal. It is, however, more likely that there is some connection between these two and the person taking the oath.

<sup>135</sup> BE 6/1 116:29 (Sd 17) and BM 80814:12 (Amd 4).

The diviner is also connected with the distribution of barley to military personnel<sup>136</sup>. The many occurrences of the unnamed *bārû* of Sippar-Jaḥrurum who with the *rabi sikkatim* official receives letters<sup>137</sup> from the kings Ammi-šaduqa and Samsu-ditana should also be noted. These two, as already mentioned above, are apparently representatives of the central administration of this city.

The *bārû* appears to have been a man of considerable wealth and position. One gives his concubine two slavegirls, a house and some household objects, and also makes a gift to a *nadītu*-woman of Šamaš who is not his daughter but must be a relative<sup>138</sup>. This same man twice witnesses marriages of *nadītu*-women of Marduk who are also NU.BAR women. One of them marries the son of a *sanga* of Ištar<sup>139</sup>.

Diviners own and lease<sup>140</sup> fields, and at least one is involved in a litigation outside of Sippar, in a case in which a man declares before various officials, including the bailiff (*nāgirum*) of Babylon, that he will pay the *bārû*'s expenses. Among the witnesses to this declaration is the "doorman" (*muzzaz bābim*) of the diviner<sup>141</sup>. There is one example of a diviner hiring a minor from his father as an oxdriver<sup>142</sup>. The unnamed sons of the diviner Adad-iddinam sell a plot of land and the daughter (unnamed) of a diviner whose name is not mentioned appears in an account<sup>143</sup>.

The importance of the *bārû* in the community may account for their children's names not being given.

<sup>136</sup> CT 45 54 r. 14 where he is connected with the granary of Sippar-Jaḥrurum; two diviners, along with the chairman of the assembly, are mentioned in a broken context in BM 80327:13f. (Amd 13).

<sup>137</sup> VAS 16 26, 27, 59, 60, 61, and 97.

<sup>138</sup> BE 6/1 95:9, 18, 29 (Amš 13).

<sup>139</sup> BE 6/1 84:46 (Amd 31) and CT 8 2a r. 8 (Amd 34).

<sup>140</sup> For BE 6/1 62:6 (Si 26); CT 45 50:8 (Amd 24) and 57:11 (Amš 5(?)). In the last text Erībama-Ištar is also a neighbor to the field he leases and his profession is given in l. 3. Note the seal inscription of Ibni-Marduk, son of Ibni-Sin in CT 45 50 where he is described as "servant of Ammi-ditana".

<sup>141</sup> CT 8 40a:5 (Ha 28).

<sup>142</sup> BM 81424:3 (Amd).

<sup>143</sup> BE 6/1 105:7 (Amš 17 + b) and Friedrich BA 5 521 No. 62:9. Note that in the first text the plot is located in Sippar-Jaḥrurum which is another link of the *bārû* with this city. I am aware that the picture I present of the *bārû* is confusing. For on one hand he is linked with the Šamaš temple in Sippar and the other hand with Sippar-Jaḥrurum. But our material is too limited to be more precise. There is also the possibility that the diviner might travel from one city to another.

*List of diviners*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ha	19 <sup>144</sup>	Šamaš-nāšir	CT 48 39 l.e.1
Ha	28	Eriḅ-Sin	CT 8 40a:5
Si	6(?)	Mannatum	Friedrich BA 5 510 no. 45:20
Si	26	Awēl-Nanna	BE 6/1 62:6
Amd	—	Kubburum	BM 81424:3
Amd	4	Sin-gāmil	BM 80814:11
Amd	5	Sin-gāmil	CT 8 8a:12
Amd	[x]	[Sin]-gāmil	Waterman Bus. Doc. 71 r.4
Amd	—	Gimil-Marduk	CT 45 54 r.14
Amd	13	Sin-rēmenni	BM 80327:13
Amd	13	Ibni-Marduk (s. Ibni-Sin)	<i>ibid.</i> 14
Amd	24	Ibni-Marduk (s. Ibni-Sin)	CT 45 50:8
Amd	31	Ibni-Šamaš (s. Abum-waqar)	BE 6/1 84:46
Amd	32	Ibni-Marduk	Waterman Bus. Doc. 48 no. 5
Amd	34	Ibni-Šamaš	CT 8 2a r. 8
Ams	5(?)	Eriḅam-Istar	CT 45 57:2, 11
Ams	13	Ibni-Šamaš s. Abum-waqar	BE 6/1 95:9, 18, 29
Ams	—	Adad-iddinam	BE 6/1 105:7
Sd	17	Muḥaddûm	BE 6/1 116:29
—	—	Ištar-ilišu	CT 45 121:20

Our knowledge of the personnel of the Šamaš temple is far from complete. This is clearly illustrated by two seal inscriptions<sup>145</sup> which describe their owners as “servant of the temple Ebabbar”. But since the title of neither man is added nor do they, insofar as we know, appear elsewhere we cannot fit them into the temple structure, except to state that they came into office before the middle of Hammu-rapi’s reign.

*The temple of Annunitum*

The extant material suggests that only the Eulmaš Temple, temple of Annunitum, may have approximated the Šamaš temple in importance and wealth. Information

<sup>144</sup> We suggest that the date formula be read MU BÂD IGI. <ḪUR>. SAG.GA.

<sup>145</sup> See the seal inscription of Sin-iddinam LÚ.X.LUGAL.LA DUMU LÚ-<sup>d</sup>ASARI in PBS 7 97 who is the writer of this letter and of Šamaš-eribam, son of Šumum-libši in CT 47 40a S.1. The latter is the first witness but there is no reason for assuming he is a *sanga* for in BM 92650:15 (Ha 30) he follows the two *sanga*’s and the cloister officials.

on the temple of Annunītum, however, is far more limited perhaps due to the fact that her temple, unlike that of Šamaš, was not uncovered in the excavations, for her temple was located in Sippar-Amnānum and not in Sippar. Her epithet, “the queen of Sippar”, reflects the goddess’ importance in the city of Sippar though this title was also applied to Ištar.

The Annunītum temple apparently has a fairly complex organization and a variety of administrative and cultic personnel. It owns fields and orchards<sup>146</sup> extensive enough to require their management by *iššakku* farmers.

The temple is mentioned specifically only once, in the time of Ammi-ditana, as the scene of a settlement by parents<sup>147</sup> of a marriage gift or dowry consisting of jewelry, garments and household objects upon their daughter who is both a *nadītu* of Marduk and a *kulmašītu*.

Transactions of this type are usually conducted in the presence of the image of Šamaš, though in one other instance there is a tenuous connection between a *kulmašītu* woman and the goddess Annunītum as for example when in an inheritance text concerning such a woman the oath is taken by Šamaš, Marduk, Annunītum, and the city of Sippar<sup>148</sup>.

#### *Administrative Personnel*

A number of administrative personnel of the Annunītum Temple are mentioned in our material. They include the *sanga*, the LÚ.EGIR.RA, the PA É (Overseer), the doorkeeper (Ī.DU<sub>8</sub>), and the *iššakku* stewards<sup>149</sup>.

#### *The sanga of Annunītum*

There is an interesting record of an inspection by the *sanga* of Annunītum, Annum-pī-Aja, accompanied by other officials of the Annunītum temple, of the chapel of Ea and Damkina where vandalism has been discovered<sup>150</sup>. Since it is known from other sources that a *sanga* might serve several deities, this text would suggest that the chapel of Ea and Damkina is under the supervision of the Annunītum temple administration. Two *sanga*’s of Šamaš are also named Annum-

<sup>146</sup> An “orchard of Annunītum” is mentioned as the boundary of a field in Scheil Sippar 10:2 (Sm).

<sup>147</sup> CT 8 2a:18 (Amd 34).

<sup>148</sup> CT 8 50a:15 (Ha). But see also CT 8 29b:12 (AS 1) where Annunītum is included in the oath but where no reason can be suggested.

<sup>149</sup> We cannot read the title of Ilšu-ibni who has some function in the Annunītum temple and who appears in a list of names preceded by a sum of silver in CT 45 114:11.

<sup>150</sup> PBS 8/2 194 r. iii 10 (Si 1).

pī-Aja, but without further evidence it may be too much to assume that this *sanga* of Annunītum may be identified with one of them.

The *sanga* of Annunītum, like that of Šamaš, witnesses various transactions, but is not the first witness in these texts<sup>151</sup>.

In a fragmentary litigation<sup>152</sup>, from the time of Hammu-rapi, concerning a *nadītu*-woman, a *sanga* of Annunītum named Etawirašum appears in the list of witnesses after two *sanga*'s of Šamaš and a man known from his seal inscription as "the servant of Hammu-rapi", and is followed by two stewards of *nadītu*-women<sup>153</sup>. This would imply that the *sanga* of Annunītum, ranks beneath the *sanga*'s of Šamaš but above the cloister officials.

The *sanga*'s of Annunītum, like those of Šamaš, own property. An inheritance text mentions a house plot which is next to one owned by a *sanga* of Annunītum<sup>154</sup> and it is noteworthy that a house plot located in Sippar-Amnānum is mentioned after this. There is also a litigation which concerns determining whether a house bought by a *sanga* of Annunītum from a *nadītu*-woman was previously legally sold to a judge<sup>155</sup>.

We are given a hint of the inner struggles between the personnel of the Annunītum temple in a poorly preserved letter<sup>156</sup> of Abi-ešuh to the officials of Sippar. The king writes that he has been informed by the *kalamāhu* of Annunītum that Nūr-Kabta the *sanga* of Annunītum, a resident of Sippar-Amnānum, continues to claim the field of the *iššakku* farmers of Annunītum. A break follows. King Abi-ešuh asks that a Šamaš temple *sanga* official and the *sanga* of the Nergal temple come to Babylon to investigate the matter.

There is one instance where the *sanga* of Annunītum receives a sum of silver though we are not told the reason for this<sup>157</sup>.

<sup>151</sup> VAS 8 52/53:31 (Sm); CT 45 79:40; BE 6/1 119 ii 2 1 (Ae 1); CT 45 28:13 (Ha); CT 48 r. 4. 10.

<sup>152</sup> CT 45 28:13. It should be noted that the reading of *sanga* is not entirely certain. He is perhaps to be identified with Etawiraši first witness in CT 4 13a (Si) which concerns a settlement between brothers who share a temple prebend over the shares of sheep and flour from the *naptānu*-offering. If our assumption is correct it may be a prebend in the temple of Annunītum.

<sup>153</sup> This man, named Nabium-nāšir, is known from a seal inscription on another Hammu-rapi sale contract, VAS 9 43, to have been the son of Sin-tajjār and was obviously an official of the court of Hammu-rapi.

<sup>154</sup> CT 45 102:17.

<sup>155</sup> PBS 7 117.

<sup>156</sup> LIH 91.

<sup>157</sup> Gordon Smith 48:11 f.

*List of sanga's of Annunītum*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Sm	—	Rīš-Šamaš	VAS 8 52/53:31
Sm	—	Rīš-Šamaš	CT 45 79:40
Ha	x	Etawirašum	CT 45 28:13
Si	x	Annum-pī-Aja	PBS 8/2 194 r. iii 10
Ae	1	Nūr-ilišu	BE 6/1 119 ii 21
Ae	—	Nūr-Kabta	LIH 91:8
Amš	4	Marduk-mušallim	Gordon Smith 48:11
—	—	A-[wa](?)-at(?)-i-li <sup>158</sup>	CT 48 4 r. 10
—	—	Nabi-Ilabrat	PBS 7 117:17

*The lieutenant (LÚ.EGIR.RA)*

In the above mentioned text concerning vandalism in the chapel of Ea and Damkina, the fourth of the inspecting officials is Ana-Šamaš-liši the LÚ.EGIR.RA or “lieutenant”<sup>159</sup>. This man is named after the *sanga*, the *šakkanakku* Ipiq-Aja (known from elsewhere to be the *šakkanakku* of Sippar-Amnānum)<sup>160</sup>, and a man whose title is not given. He also appears as witness to the rescinding of an adoption<sup>161</sup>.

The LÚ.EGIR.RA is perhaps the counterpart of the EGIR or *warkūm* of the Šamaš temple and thus the second-ranking official of the Annunītum temple.

*The doorkeeper (Ī.DU<sub>8</sub>)*

There is one reference<sup>162</sup> to Warad-Ulmaššītum (note the theophoric element), the son of Taribum, the doorkeeper of the Annunītum temple. He and his brother purchase a large *kigallu* plot of more than 8 SAR in the city of Sippar-Amnānum. The same man (his title is not added) owns a field in the midst of the fields of the god Šamaš which he leases out to another man and himself<sup>163</sup>.

*The iššakku farmers*

The *iššakku* farmers of Annunītum are mentioned once in the letter of Abi-ešuḥ

<sup>158</sup> He is preceded by another *sanga* but of which god is no longer preserved.

<sup>159</sup> PBS 8/2 194 r. iii 13.

<sup>160</sup> BE 6/1 80:5f. (Ae).

<sup>161</sup> BE 6/1 59 r. 9 (Si 16).

<sup>162</sup> CT 45 102:26f.

<sup>163</sup> Meissner BAP 76:3, 5 (Amd 33).

to the officials of Sippar which has been discussed above under the *sanga* of Annunītum. The letter is too poorly preserved to even guess why there was this conflict between the chief administrator of the Annunītum temple and these farmers over the latter's field.

### *Cultic Functionaries*

The cultic functionaries of the Annunītum Temple known from our texts are the *ērib bīti* and the *kalamāḥu*.

#### *The ērib bīti*

The only reference to an *ērib bīti* of the Annunītum temple is in the text recording the inspection of the chapel of Ea and Damkina where he appears as the last in the list of the responsible officials<sup>164</sup>. His name is not given.

#### *The kalamāḥu of Annunītum*

In the letter of King Abi-ešuh to the officials of Sippar it is the *kalamāḥu* of Annunītum, Sin-mušallim, who reports the claim of the *sanga* to a field of the *iššakku* farmers, and it is he who is to send the two *sanga*'s who are to go to Babylon to settle the matter. Whether the *kalamāḥu* here acts on his own or is carrying out his duty is of course not known. Sin-mušallim is also witness to a *nadītu*'s purchase of a field from a judge<sup>165</sup>. A *kalamāḥu* whose name is not preserved appears in a similar context<sup>166</sup>. The *kalamāḥu* of Annunītum is mentioned in an unusual context, in a letter, where the writer says that he had been told that a female household servant who has served as such for twenty years has left her master with all he had given her and has married the servant of this *kalamāḥu*<sup>167</sup>.

The chief dirge singer, Bēlānum is mentioned in a letter as being involved in a lawsuit<sup>168</sup>. Another *kalamāḥu* of Annunītum appears in an unusual and difficult legal text<sup>169</sup> which is an agreement concerning a cultic office (*paršu*) which relates to the status of harlotry (*ḥarimūtu*) and the manufacture of a votive bronze battle axe. One of the men involved here who probably has some connection with a temple guarantees to be responsible to Marduk-muballit the *kalamāḥu* of

<sup>164</sup> PBS 8/2 194 r. iii 18f. (Si).

<sup>165</sup> BE 6/1 119 ii 22. He is preceded by a judge and the *sanga* of Annunītum.

<sup>166</sup> CT 45 62:27 (Amš).

<sup>167</sup> PBS 7 101:18; *ana biṭ šuḥāri ša kalamāḥu Annunītum iterub*.

<sup>168</sup> PBS 7 107:16.

<sup>169</sup> CT 48 45:13f. (Sd g).

Annunītum for any claim that may appear (*ana dabāb ibaššū*). How and why this temple official is involved here is not known.

It should be noted that the woman and her husband who are mentioned here also appear elsewhere; she as serving in the chapel of Tašmētum/Šarpanītum<sup>170</sup>. There is then a tenuous link between the *kalamāḫu* and the harlot which should be remembered in connection with the explicit relationship mentioned above between such women and the *kalamāḫu* of Šamaš.

*List of kalamāḫu's of Annunītum*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
Ae	—	Sin-mušallim	LIH 91:5, 27
Ae	—	Sin-mušallim	BE 6/1 119 ii 22
Ams	—	[...]- UD	CT 45 62:27
Sd	g	Marduk-mušallim	CT 48 45:13f.
—	—	Bēlānum	PBS 7 107:16

*The Temple of Sin*

Though the Sin temple does not seem to have had the prominence in Sippar of the Šamaš and Annunītum temples, its existence is attested by a number of references. In one account sheep for Sin and Amurru are mentioned<sup>171</sup>. In another, more than 11 GUR of barley are brought as food rations (ŠUKU) to the Sin temple<sup>172</sup>. The Princess Iltani, a *nadītu*-woman, offers a *mirsu* cake made of dates to Sin in the *gizinakkum*, the place where such offerings to him were made<sup>173</sup>. Three officials of the Sin temple are known: the *sanga*, the temple overseer, and the *kalū* singer.

*The sanga of Sin*

None of the references to the *sanga* of Sin seem to relate to his role as administrator of the temple. The *sanga* Nūr-ilišu appears twice as a witness: once in a division of property between a *nadītu*-woman and the adopted son of another *nadītu*; and in another instance as witness to the *ilku* income paid to the Šamaš temple by its *iššakku* stewards. In the latter transaction Nūr-ilišu's name appears

<sup>170</sup> See CT 4 8b:16 (Amd 13) where her name is not given and in CT 45 84:13.

<sup>171</sup> BE 6/2 79:11 (Si 7).

<sup>172</sup> VAS 9 18:4 (Ha 22). It is brought by Erīb-Sin, son of Puzur-Akšak, who is discussed in JESHO 13 317f.

<sup>173</sup> VAS 9 17:5 (Ha 22).

after the names of a number of judges, a *sanga* of Šamaš, and several people who are given no title<sup>174</sup>. He is perhaps to be identified with the *sanga* of Annunitum of the same name (see above). If the identification is valid then we have another example of a man serving in two different temples.

In the time of Samsu-ditana, Marduk-mušallim, a *sanga* of Sin, receives (?) 60 silas of bran from (?) an Overseer of the temple<sup>175</sup>.

#### *The kalû Singer*

An account stating that 11 GUR of barley has been delivered to the Sin temple is sealed by a *kalû* singer, who is assumed to be the official of the Sin temple receiving the delivery. Neither the singer's nor his father's full name is preserved in the inscription which reads: Abum-[...] DUMU<sup>d</sup>[...] UŠ.KU UD.NI [...]<sup>176</sup>.

#### *The Overseer of the Temple (PA.É)*

It is assumed that the overseer, Baši-ili, who is mentioned with Marduk-mušallim *sanga* of Sin is an official of the same temple<sup>177</sup>.

#### *Sanga's of Other Gods*

Apart from the temples of Šamaš and Aja, Annunitum and Sin, there are a number of smaller temples, chapels or shrines in Sippar for the worship of other deities. Each of these sanctuaries appears to have been under the supervision of a *sanga* and there are often references to these officials.

#### *The sanga of Gula*

Two *sanga*'s of Gula appear as witnesses: one, Awēl-Damu, witnesses the purchase of a house plot by a *naditu*-woman<sup>178</sup>; the other, Šubiša, together with a *sanga* of Ištar, witnesses a loan of palace wool<sup>179</sup>.

Iddin-Šamaš, the *sanga* of Gula, leases a small field of 3 GÁN and some time later his son takes a loan from the *rabiānu* official. This son may have held a position in the Šamaš temple as he is hired by the bailiff of Sippar to carry

<sup>174</sup> In BE 6/1 62:36 (Si 26) and BE 6/1 68:26 (Ae t).

<sup>175</sup> BM 81535:4, the account is too terse to decide just what is being done. A *sanga* of Sin is a witness in CT 48 21 (case) r. 2 but it is not a Sippar text as can be seen from the oath formula.

<sup>176</sup> VAS 9 18. seal. The meaning of the signs following UŠ.KU. is uncertain.

<sup>177</sup> BM 81535:6.

<sup>178</sup> BE 6/1 22:22 (Ha 25).

<sup>179</sup> BE 6/1 87:14 (Amd 36).

the divine weapon of Šamaš through the countryside to collect tithes from the devotees of Šamaš and Aja<sup>180</sup>.

#### *The sanga of Adad*

A sanga of Adad named Elali witnesses a litigation which attempts to determine whether an individual is free or a slave<sup>181</sup>. That this man might be identical with a *sanga* of Šamaš of the same name has been discussed above as an indication of the close relationship existing between the two gods.

#### *The sanga of Ikūnum*

Despite the paucity of references to *sanga*'s of this otherwise unknown deity who is worshipped in Sippar we find that three generations of the same family hold this office: Appa-tābum in the period of Apil-Sin, his son Warad-Amurru in the reign of Sin-muballit, and Sin-šadūni, son of Warad-Amurru, in the reign of Hammu-rapi and his successor<sup>182</sup>.

#### *The sanga of Iṣhara*

A sanga of the temple of Iṣhara, Nūr-Iṣhara (note the theophoric element), is designated as Overseer of nine men in a list of eighteen workers, a context in which other temple personnel have been found. His TÚG.DU<sub>8</sub>.A. is included among the men in the list<sup>183</sup>.

#### *The sanga of Iṣtar*

The only reference to a *sanga* of Iṣtar in the context of the temple administration is a text in which Annum-pi-Sin is responsible for expenditures taken from 47 GUR 180 silas of barley, the yield (*biltu*) of Iṣtar of Sippar<sup>184</sup>. The term *biltu* suggests that this temple owns fields.

<sup>180</sup> CT 4 40c:5 (Ae 5), and Szlechter Tablettes 28 MAH 16387:3f. (Amš 12). The title is probably that of the father whom we know is a *sanga* of Gula from the first text and not that of his son, Warad-Egalmaḥ as assumed by Renger ZA 59 111. Warad-Egalmaḥ is perhaps to be identified with the man of this name who leases the divine weapon from the bailiff of Sipar two years later in Szlechter Tablettes 122 MAH 16147:11 (Amš 14).

<sup>181</sup> VAS 13 32:9 (Ha 5).

<sup>182</sup> For a discussion of these *sanga*'s and references see *Orientalia* 38 139.

<sup>183</sup> Friedrich BA 5 491 No. 12:1 (Si 9).

<sup>184</sup> BM 81521. Note the mention of flour offerings to Ebabbar, Eulmaš, and Eanna in CT 43 106:25ff. The last named temple would suggest that Iṣtar may have had a more complex temple organization than is suggested by our accidental extant material.

In the period of Immerum, a *sanga* of Ištar witnesses the marriage of an adopted slavegirl, but appears far down in the list of witnesses which is headed by a *sanga* of Šamaš<sup>185</sup>. Centuries later, in the period of Ammi-ditana, the *sanga* of Ištar, Utul-Ištar, has a son, KÛ-<sup>d</sup>INANNA, who marries a woman who is a *naditu* of Marduk and a NU.BAR<sup>186</sup>. The names of both father and son indicate a special relationship to Ištar. Utul-Ištar also appears as witness to a palace wool loan along with the *sanga* of Gula who precedes him<sup>187</sup>.

#### *The sanga of Marduk*

Ipiq-iršitim, the *sanga* of Marduk, is the last witness named in a division of prebends in the Ebabbar temple and the temple of Išhara<sup>188</sup>. The text dates from the twenty-sixth year of Hammu-rapi which is just about the time when changes can be discerned reflecting the growing centralization of royal authority<sup>189</sup>. The *sanga* of Marduk is a recipient of silver and foodstuffs in accounts of the Šarpanitum/Tašmētum<sup>190</sup> sanctuaries. In the latter, he is not named; in the former his name, Ina-Eulmaš-zēr, is given<sup>191</sup>. In the first account the brother, wife, and daughter-in-law of the *sanga* are also recipients<sup>192</sup>. The unnamed *sanga* of Marduk is also the first recipient in a third temple account<sup>193</sup>.

#### *The sanga of Nergal*

The only reference to a *sanga* of Nergal is in the letter of Abi-ešuḥ to the Sippar officials which we have mentioned many times concerning a dispute arising between the *sanga* of Annunītum and the *iššakku* farmers of Annunītum. A *sanga* of Šamaš and a *sanga* of Nergal are to be sent to Babylon to settle the matter<sup>194</sup>.

#### *The sanga of Ḫaniš and Šullat*

The *sanga* of Ḫaniš<sup>195</sup> and Šullat, two rarely-mentioned gods, appears in a

<sup>185</sup> VAS 8 4/5:41 (Immerum).

<sup>186</sup> BE 6/1 84:38, 42 (Amd 31).

<sup>187</sup> BE 6/1 87:15 (Amd 31).

<sup>188</sup> CT 45 24:29.

<sup>189</sup> See JAOS 88 729.

<sup>190</sup> There seems to be no apparent reason for the use of the two different names for the wife of Marduk.

<sup>191</sup> CT 45 84:5 and CT 4 8b:6.

<sup>192</sup> In ll. 6, 7, 8, and 16.

<sup>193</sup> CT 45 85:2. This text requires considerably more study for it includes other temple personnel, presumably of the Marduk temple. This account, along with CT 4 8b and CT 45 84, Tašmētum/Šarpanitum temple accounts, are crucial texts but far from being understandable at this time.

<sup>194</sup> LIH 91:26. Although the word *sanga* is no longer preserved here it best fits the context.

<sup>195</sup> For the reading of <sup>d</sup>LUGAL as <sup>d</sup>Ḫaniš see Gelb, *Ar Or* 18 189ff.

context entirely different from that of the other *sanga*'s. In the time of Sumu-la-ila a man builds a small private chapel (1 SAR) for his god<sup>196</sup> Ḫaniš and Šullat, and installs a *sanga*. This is our only reference to a private chapel<sup>197</sup>.

#### *The sanga of Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a*

Irra-mušallim who witnesses the purchase of a house located on the Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a Street is described as *ša* <sup>d</sup>Lugal-gú-du<sub>8</sub>.a<sup>198</sup>. We assume that he is a *sanga* for a similar form is found with Šallūrum, also a *sanga*<sup>199</sup>.

#### *Sanga's of Unnamed Gods*

There are several instances in which *sanga*'s are mentioned without reference to any specific deity and in a context which does not allow even a tentative identification. One witnesses a litigation arising from the division of a paternal estate<sup>200</sup>. Ibni-Marduk, son of Sin-rēšušu, a *sanga*, heads a list of witnesses before whom a declaration is made<sup>201</sup>. Another *sanga*, mentioned just before a *sanga* of Annunītum, is witness to a litigation<sup>202</sup>. Another *sanga* who cannot be connected with any particular deity is Inanna.ma.an.sum, son of Sin-rēmenni, who witnesses the lease of a house<sup>203</sup>. Ur-Šubula, son of Irra-nā'id. is witness to a litigation dating from Zabium<sup>204</sup>.

#### *The pašišu of Nin.si<sub>4</sub>.an.na*

Apart from the *pašišu* priests of Šamaš and Annunītum there is a reference to

<sup>196</sup> CT 6 36a:11. For the use of the singular see Gelb *ibid*. But note, contrary to Gelb, p. 190, Haniš does seem to have been identified with Marduk in the Old Babylonian period as is seen from CT 4 9a:19 (Ha) where we find NÍG <sup>d</sup>Šullat u <sup>d</sup>Marduk.

<sup>197</sup> But note that in CT 4 9a siblings who have quarreled about the division of the patrimony settle the matter "in the temple of the god of their city and in that of their own god". The temple of the god of their city is presumably Ebabbar. We can only guess that "their own gods" refers to Šullat and Marduk of l. 19. For the existence of private chapels as part of an estate see above under the Physical Features of Sippar : Houses of Sippar.

<sup>198</sup> CT 45 64:27f. Although the king's name is no longer preserved in the oath and there is no date the text may belong to period of Sin-muballiṭ because a witness in this text Bēšunu son of Mannum-kīma-ilija (l. 23) also appears in TCL 1 75:22 dating to this king.

<sup>199</sup> Šallūrum is referred to as *ša* É <sup>d</sup>UTU in CT 8 8b:4 and as SANGA É <sup>d</sup>UTU in YBC 4980:35 (Amd 15).

<sup>200</sup> [x]-al-bi-ia in CT 4 9a:40 (Ha).

<sup>201</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 50:1f. (Amd 6).

<sup>202</sup> CT 48 4 r. 9. We are uncertain about the reading of his name : *x-la-ku-ni*.

<sup>203</sup> PBS 8/2 224:11f. (Ams 16). Though as already noted above the same man appears as a *kalū* singer earlier in CT 48 54:6f. (Ams 12). See fn. 118.

<sup>204</sup> CT 2 39:21.

Attâ the *pašišu* of the goddess Nin.si<sub>4</sub>.an.na. He is mentioned in a letter as having received 2 1/2 silas of oil<sup>205</sup>.

*The dream-interpreter (šā'iltu-ENSI)*

There is one reference to the dream-interpreter. Ili-rē'û (ENSI) appears once as witness to an exchange of fields<sup>206</sup>. There is also a single occurrence of an unnamed *šā'iltu*. One woman writing to another says that "on account of you I go to the diviner (*bārû*) and to the *šā'iltu*<sup>207</sup>. Here then women make use of the latter's mantic abilities. There is no way of knowing to which temple, if any, these dream interpreters were attached.

THE CLOISTER

The cloister of the *nadītu*'s of Šamaš must have been within the temple complex. Considerably more information is available about its layout than that of the Ebabbar temple. We have elsewhere<sup>208</sup> given details and references to the cloister complex. We shall here give a brief resumé.

The cloister compound is, like the Šamaš temple, encircled by a wall which is periodically repaired by the kings of Babylon. Its gate, supervised by gate officials, was the hub of the business and legal transactions conducted by the affluent, capable women of the cloister. Here deliveries of foodstuffs and silver are made by the lessees of *nadītu* real estate and by debtors, repaying principal and interest to their wealthy creditors.

Within the cloister walls are the private houses of the *nadītu*'s and cloister officials, numbering perhaps some two hundred. The major buildings of the cloister are the cloister granary, the administrative building of the cloister, and though we have no explicit reference to it, the structure or structures housing the labor force working in the cloister workshop. The cloister compound has its narrow streets and a main street. A small arable plot of land also lay within the confines of the wall.

<sup>205</sup> CT 43 64:5f.

<sup>206</sup> TCL 1 73:36 (Sm). He is perhaps to be identified with the man with this same name who is neighbor to a field which is exchanged in CT 8 31b:4 (AS). These are the only two occurrences of this name in Sippar texts.

<sup>207</sup> VAS 16 22:8.

<sup>208</sup> See my article, "The Organization and Administration of the Cloister in Ancient Babylonia", JESHO 6 (1963), 121-157.

*The Personnel of the Cloister of the Šamaš Temple*<sup>209</sup>

A number of people are responsible for the administration and functioning of the cloister of the Šamaš Temple. Since our knowledge of such officials comes almost exclusively from their role as witnesses to transactions of the *nadītu* women who resided in the cloister, we seldom know more about them than their titles, and can only speculate about their specific duties. The cloister contained two types of persons aside from the cloistered women — an administrative staff to supervise the activities of the individual *nadītu* women and the cloister complex as a whole, and a staff of workers and servants.

*The Overseer (UGULA) of the nadītu of Šamaš*

The office of Overseer of the *nadītu*'s is attested throughout most of the Old Babylonian period — from the reign of Sumu-la-ila to that of Abi-ešuḫ<sup>210</sup>. It is significant that in the very early part of the period a *nadītu* might hold the office (her name is preceded by an asterisk on the list below) as is seen from two examples. This phenomenon, like the occurrence of female scribes, is evidence of the remarkable position of the *nadītu* in Sippar. The importance of the office is indicated by the fact that the Overseer immediately follows the *sanga* of Šamaš in the sequence of witnesses to *nadītu* transactions. It was the Overseers who are directly in charge of the *nadītu* women. The following list indicates that there might be as many as three persons holding the office of Overseer at one time and the office is apparently held for life as many Overseers are attested for long periods. The Overseer, like the *nadītu*, is obliged to bring a *piqittu* oblation to the Šamaš temple. It is interesting to note that the seal inscription of the Overseer Ninšubur-mansum designates him as “the Overseer of the *nadītu*, the servant of the temple of Ebabbar”, indicating the close ties which this cloister office has with the temple in the early part of the Old Babylonian period.

The Overseer of the *nadītu* may own property and engage in other private transactions. The seal inscriptions of the Overseers have been especially helpful in pinpointing the approximate time during Hammu-rapi's reign when the secularization of temple and cloister offices took place<sup>211</sup>.

There are two instances in which *nadītu*'s are expressly said to be the daughters

<sup>209</sup> For details on the cloister personnel see *ibid.*, 130-148.

<sup>210</sup> The fact that Overseers are not attested after the reign of Abi-ešuḫ perhaps correlates with the seemingly rapid decline of *nadītu* involvement in the legal transactions of Sippar.

<sup>211</sup> For a discussion of the approximate date see *Orientalia* 38 142 No. 47: S 5.

of an Overseer of the *naditu*. But there are also *naditu*'s whose fathers may have held this office even though their titles are not added<sup>212</sup>.

*The Overseer (UGULA) of the naditu of Šamaš*

NAME	KING	YEAR	TEXT
*Erišti-Aja	Sumu-la-ila	—	KB 4 10:32
Ilabrat-bāni s. Būr-Nunu	Za	—	CT 2 3:22
	Za	—	CT 2 50:34
	Za	—	CT 4 26b:24
	AS	—	CT 6 33b:26 ; CT 48 29 r.5
	AS	—	CT 8 29b:17 ; CT 45 10:24
*Aja-tallik	AS	—	CT 8 29a:21
	AS	—	CT 6 43:21 ; CT 48 17 4.8
	Sm	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 24 r.1
	Sm	—	CT 45 16:23
	Sm	—	CT 48 17 r.8
Ninšubur.mansum	AS	—	CT 48 29 r.5
	AS	—	BM 82468 r.10 ; BM 82483:21
	AS	—	BE 6/1 17:34
	AS	—	TLB 1 230:9
	Sm	—	CT 4 43b:10
	Sm	—	CT 8 39a:21
	Sm	—	CT 8 39b:25
	Sm	—	TCL 1 68/69:18
	Sm	—	TCL 1 203:19
	Sm	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 69 r.5, 24:12
	Sm	—	RSO 2 539:23

<sup>212</sup> The daughter of Ša-Amurru, the Overseer, is mentioned in VAS 9 172:24. Two *naditu*'s, sisters, Iltani and Niši-īnišu, daughters of Ša-Amurru, appear in VAS 8 77:3ff. In CT 47 36 l.e. (Ha 18?); we suggest the restoration Niši-īnišu DUMU.SAL(!) UGULA LUKUR dUTU. Niši-īnišu, the daughter of Nannatum, purchases property in BE 6/1 61:16 (Si 24). She also has a sister who is a *naditu*. Renger in ZA 58 152 note 287 mentions other examples of *naditu*'s being the daughters of Overseers. But his assumption *ibid.* 151 note 285 that these identifications are based on chronological considerations is a questionable one. He assumes, for example, that Amat-Mamu, the daughter of Nannatum is also the sister of Niši-īnišu. But there are at least a dozen other men named Nannatum who live in this same period and there is no evidence that her father is Nannatum, the Overseer of the *naditu*'s. Bēltani, daughter of Abba and Duššuptum, daughter of Marduk-lamassašu, however, are certainly the daughters of Overseers for each is the only person attested with this name in the given period in which the *naditu* lived. The main criterion, then, for identification must be prosopography.

*The Overseer (UGULA) of the naditu of Šamaš*

NAME	KING	YEAR	TEXT
Ninšubur.mansum	Sm	—	VAS 8 50 r.5 <sup>213</sup>
	Sm	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 35 r.9
	Sm	7	CT 8 25a:40
	Sm	9	TCL 1 66/67:14
	Sm	9	CT 47 12/12a:32
	Sm	13	CT 4 49b:20
	Sm	—	BM 92657 case r.4; CT 4 43b r.10; TCL 1 203:19
*Aja-rēšat	Sm	—	CT 8 39b:32
Sin-bāni s. Šamaš-ilum	Sm	—	CT 8 39a:22
	Ha	—	VAS 9 169:9
	Ha	—	CT 8 37a:16
	Ha	—	VAS 13 34 r.10
	Ha	—	CT 8 35b:22
	Ha	—	CT 6 22b:13
	Ha	—	VAS 9 179:50
	Ha	?	CT 45 28:14
	Ha	—	CT 45 30:20
	Ha	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 77 r.6
	Ha	1	TCL 1 77:18
	Ha	2	CT 47 21:23
	Ha	3	CT 47 26:23
	Ha	11	CT 8 48a:24
	Ha	14	CT 47 22a seal
	Ha	18	CT 48 8 r.16
	Ha	28	CT 8 12c:28
	Ha	30	CT 45 26:18
	Ha	30	BM 92650 r.11
	Ha	31	CT 47 41:19
Ha	32	Waterman Bus. Doc. 66 r.4	
Ha	34	CT 47 44/44a:23	
Abba	Ha	—	VAS 9 169:10
	Ha	—	VAS 9 179:48
A[b]a	Ha	3	CT 47 26:24
Būr-Nunu	Ha	—	CT 8 37a:17
	Ha	30	BM 92630 r.12

<sup>213</sup> Restore here <sup>d</sup>Nin.subur.ma.[an.sum].

*Overseer of the nadītu's of Šamaš*

NAME	KING	YEAR	TEXT
Nannatum	Ha	31	CT 47 41:20
	Ha	?	CT 45 28:15
	Ha	—	CT 8 37a:18
	Ha	30	CT 45 26:19
	Ha	31	CT 47 41:21
Rapaš-šilli-Ea s. ŠUL- dNin.šubur	Ha	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 81 r.4
	Ha	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 65 left end
	Ha	31	VAS 9 42:43:16
	Ha	36	CT 8 5a:29
	Ha	38	CT 2 41:41
	Si	1	CT 6 48b 18
	Si	2	CT 8 46:38
	Si	2	CT 8 24b:24
	Si	8	CT 6 33a:30
	Si	25	CT 2 43:37
	Si	25	Waterman Bus. Doc. 80 r.2
	Si	25	YOS 12 469:33 ; CT 47 41:21
	Si	[x]	CT 47 66
	—	—	CT 44 53:3, Seal ; Fish
	—	—	Letters p. 52 909:3
Marduk-lamassašu	Ha	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 65 r.18
	Ha	25	CT 47 47a seal 5
	Ha	31	VAS 9 42/43:16
	Ha	36	CT 8 5a:28
	Ha	38	CT 2 41:42
	Si	1	CT 6 48b:18
	Si	2	CT 8 46:37
	Si	4	CT 47 56/56a
	Si	8	CT 6 33a:29
	Si	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 80 r.1
	Si	x	CT 47 66:27
	Marduk-nīšu	Si	18
Si		25	CT 2 43:36
Si		25	CT 47 65/65a
Ibni-Marduk	Si	30	CT 8 9b:21
	Si	—	BE 6/1 115:13

*Overseer of the naditu's of Šamaš*

NAME	KING	YEAR	TEXT
Šamaš-liwwir s. Šamšatum	Si	2	CT 47 53:14
Munawwirum	Ae	h	CT 47 69/69a:7
Ibni-Marduk	Sd	g	BE 6/; 115:13
Ibni-Šamaš	—	—	BM 17153:1
Ilšu-ibbišu	—	—	BM 17153:2
Ša- <sup>d</sup> [Amurru](?)	—	—	VAS 9 172:24

*The Overseer of the Personnel of the Cloister (PA É ša GÁ.GI<sub>4</sub>.A)*

There are two references to this official. One, Sin-bēl-aplim, who appears as witness to the leasing out of a large field by a *naditu*, curiously enough takes precedence in the list of witnesses over Šamaš-nāšir, the Overseer of the personnel of the Šamaš temple (PA É ša <sup>d</sup>UTU)<sup>214</sup>.

It is at the order of Ibni-<sup>d</sup>A.MAL, the Overseer of the personnel of the cloister, that a field located within the city (adjacent to the “street of the Isinians”) which belongs to the Princess Iltani, is leased to a scribe. This is the only reference to the leasing of a princess’ field. The phrase “at the order of PN” usually used in military contexts may occur here because it is this official who managed her fields. The two witnesses to the transaction are military scribes<sup>215</sup>.

*The Doorkeeper of the Gate of the Cloister (Ì.DU<sub>8</sub> bāb gagîm)*

The doorkeeper of the gate of the cloister usually follows the Overseer of the *naditu* in the sequence of witnesses to *naditu* transactions. These officials occur in texts from the time of Immerum to that of Ammi-ditana and there may be as many as four men holding the office at one time, perhaps indicating the existence of four Cloister gates.

<sup>214</sup> TCL 1 151 (Amd 30). My article in JESHO 6 134 incorrectly states that the steward of the personnel of the temple precedes.

<sup>215</sup> BM 64391:5f. (Sd 19).

*List of the Doorkeepers of the gate of the cloister (Ī.DU<sub>8</sub> bāb gagīm)*

Ili-mušallim	Immerum	—	CT 4 50a:28
	Sumu-la-el	—	CT 4 50a:28
	Buntaḥtun-ila	—	CT 45 1 seal
	Sumu-la-el		(= case of Waterman Bus. Doc. 31)
Idadum s. DU-x-Sin gs. Pala-Sin <sup>216</sup>	Sumu-la-el	—	CT 2 34:23
	Sumu-la-el	—	CT 6 26a:8
	Sumu-la-el	—	CT 2 44:21
	Sumu-la-el	—	CT 2 33:21
	Za	—	KB 4 12:33
	Za	—	CT 2 3:23
	AS	—	CT 8 29b:21
	AS	—	CT 47 7/7a:26 ; CT 45 10:18 (and seal) ; TLB 1 220:22
	Sm	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 34 r.14 ; CT 8 39b:26
	Sm	—	CT 47 11/11a:33
	—	BM 67320 r.6 ; PBS 8/2 258 r.6	
Bulālum	Za	—	KB 4 12:32
	Za	—	CT 6 19a:18 ; CT 6 47a:27
	Sm	—	CT 8 25a:41 ; Waterman, Bus. Doc. 24:13, 70 left edge 19
Šamaš-tajjār s.Ana-qāti-Šamaš-anatṭal	AS	—	CT 6 43:20 ; CT 8 29a:20, 29b:20
	Sm	—	CT 4 49b:21
	Sm	—	CT 8 39a:23 ; 39b:24 ; CT 8 25a:41
	Sm	—	Waterman, Bus. Doc. 34 r.10, 69 r.6, 70 left, edge 20
	Sm	[x]	VAS 8 50 4.9
		—	BM 67320 r.3
Kalūmum s. Adad-rēmenni	Sm	—	CT 8 20a:43 ; 25a:42 ; 49b:22
	Sm	—	Waterman, Bus. Doc. 4 r.7 ; 24 r.15 ; 34 r.11 ; 69 r.18

<sup>216</sup> There are two different extant seal inscriptions of Idadum. In one, CT 45 10 (AS) his father's name is read DU-x-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU and his grandfather's name is added: Pala-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU. In CT 48 59 83 his father's name is given as Pala-Sin.

*The Doorkeepers of the gate of the cloister*

Līburram s. Ḥunnubum	Sm	—	CT 4 49b:23 ; CT 8 25a:43 ; CT 8 20a:41 ; CT 8 29a:24
	Sm	—	Waterman, Bus. Doc. 24 r.16 ; 34 r.12 ; 69 r.7
	Sm	[x]	VAS 8 50 r.9
	Ha	—	CT 4 45c:21 ; CT 8 35b:27 ; CT 8 48a:25 ; CT 33 45b: 10 ; TCL 1 77:19 ; VAS 8 123/124:1
Šamaš-tappê s. Šamaš-liṭul	Ha	—	CT 6 22b:14
	Sm	—	CT 4 49b:23 ; CT 8 25a:44
	Sm	—	Waterman, Bus. Doc. 4 r.8 24:17 ; 34 r.14 ; 69 r.9
Zabium-abi	Sm	—	CT 8 39a:26
	Ha	—	VAS 8 21c:left edge
Zabium-ili	Sm	—	CT 8 20a:42
	Ha	—	CT 4 45c:22 ; CT 8 48:26 ; CT 33 45b:11
Etel-anna-mansum	Ha	—	CT 6 22b:15
	Sm	—	CT 8 20a:45
	Sm	2(?)	CT 8 39a:25
	Ha	—	CT 6 3c:1 ; CT 8 35b:28 ; CT 8 48a:27 ; TCL 1 77:39 ; VAS 8 123/124:1
Erīb-Sin	Ha	—	CT 6 22b:16 ; CT 33 45b:12
	Ha	27	CT 4 44c:18
Nannatum	Ha	34	CT 33 38:19
Elali	Ha	30	BM 92650 4.14
	Ha	33	CT 47 43:26
Uṣur-mē-Šamaš	Ha	30	BM 92650:14
	Ha	33	CT 47 43:26
Sin-aḥam-iddinam	Ha	33	CT 47 43:27
Aḥu-kīnum	Ha	31	CT 47 41:23
Warassa	Ha	31	CT 47 41:23
Ibbi-Ilabrat	Si	—	Waterman, Bus. Doc. 72 r.4
	Si	25	CT 47 65a r.48 f.
Ibni-Amurru	Si	—	CT 8 9b r.26
Šamaš-ḥāzir	Si	[x]	CT 47 66:28
Adad-iddinam	Si	[x]	CT 47 66:29

*Doorkeepers of the gate of the cloister*

Ipqu-Nabium	Amd	21	BE 6/1 90:14
Marduk-muballit	Amd	21	BE 6/1 90:15
Ibašši-ilum	Amd	21	BE 6/1 90:16

*(Official) of the Gate of the Cloister (ša bāb gagim)*

The title “Official of the gate of the Cloister” appears infrequently and may simply be a variant of the title “Doorkeeper of the Gate of the Cloister”, since two men called “officials”, Līburram and Šamaš-tappê<sup>217</sup> at other times appear as “doorkeepers”.

Ili-u-Šamaš, an official of the gate of the cloister, appears in several texts concerning *nadītu*'s; and Gimillum, who with others receives amounts of silver, is described as “the son of the (official) of the gate of the cloister”<sup>218</sup>.

Four men who witness *nadītu* sale contracts are each described as “the official of the cloister gate”, Warad-ilišu, Warassa, Etel-anna-mansum, and Šeš.ki.ma.an.sum (= Nannatum)<sup>219</sup>. The last two are usually designated as watchmen of the cloister gate.

*The Female Scribe (SAL.DUB.SAR)*

A number of female scribes are attested, and seem particularly to serve the needs of the cloister. Many of these women are *nadītu*'s themselves, and some the daughters of scribes. The female scribe, like the scribe, usually witnesses the contracts which she records. One of these women had a career of at least forty years.

<sup>217</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 35 r. 12, 14.

<sup>218</sup> CT 6 33a:32 (Si 8) and CT 4 26c:10 (Amš 16).

<sup>219</sup> BM 82442 and 3:27 (Si 13); the last three in CT 47 26:25-27 (Ha 3). Nannatum is the hypocoristic form of Šeš.ki.ma.an.sum. See TCL 1 98/99:22 where Nannatum, son of Narām-Sin, is referred to as Šeš.ki.ma.an.sum, son of Narām-Sin, in his seal inscription.

*The Female Scribe (SAL.DUB.SAR)*

Inanna-ama.mu <sup>d</sup> .A.AB. BA-tābum	Immerum	—	Waterman, Bus. Doc. 31 left edge 22
	Buntahtun- ila	—	Waterman, Bus. Doc. 14 left edge 17
	Sumu-la-ila	—	CT 2 34:33; CT 6 42a:34; CT 8 28a:28; 28b:31; 44a: 37; CT 33 42:24; 43:17; BE 6/1 7:22
Šat-Aja	Immerum	—	CT 8 47b:29
	Sumu-la-ila	—	CT 2 33:32
Nin-azu	Zabium	—	CT 6 35a:17
Amat-Šamaš	Apil-Sin	—	CT 6 46:29
	Apil-Sin	?	CT 45 11:43
Nin.ba.an.tuk	Apil-Sin	—	TLB 1 220:31
Mana	Sin-muballiṭ	—	VAS 8 55:30
Ajatum	Sin-muballiṭ	12	CT 8 45a:36
Amat-Mamu	Ha	28	Friedrich BA 5 488 No. 8:18
	Si	—	Waterman, Bus. Doc. 72 r.13
	Ae	—	CT 6 24b:18
Mannašu	Si	1(?)	BM 80397:19
Muḥadditum	Si	3(?)	CT 47 55/55a:21 f.
Iltani	Si	7	CT 47 59:18
Aja-kuzub-mātim	Si	—	CT 8 46:55

*The Scribe of the nadītu's (DUB.SAR ša LUKUR.MEŠ)*

Aside from the female scribes, the *nadītu's* are served by another scribe designated as "scribe of the *nadītu's*". One such scribe, Awēl-Adad, is mentioned several times in the time of Samsu-iluna. There may have been two other men with this title in the same period (For more on these scribes see under Occupations).

*The Judge of the Cloister (DI.KU<sub>5</sub> gagim)*

Before the time of Hammu-rapi the disputes of *nadītu* women were settled in the temple of Šamaš by the judges convened there. With the secularization of the temple under Hammu-rapi, judges of Sippar, Babylon or Ḫalḫalla, might decide their cases as might a judge of the cloister. It would seem that a judge might

be appointed for this specific purpose since Awēl-Adad, son of Gula-balāṭi “was appointed to the cloister to act as judge (in the affairs) of the *nadītu*’s of Šamaš”<sup>220</sup>.

*The Overseer of the ugbabtu of Šamaš (UGULA NIN(!)DINGIR(!) NÍG<sup>d</sup>UTU)*

One cloister official, Būr-Nunu, is described by the title Overseer of the *ugbabtu* of Šamaš, which may be interchangeable with the office of Overseer of the *nadītu* of Šamaš. The existence of the office, in any case, would seem to indicate that *ugbabtu* women also resided in the cloister. For a more detailed discussion of the office see under Special Classes of Women.

*(The Official) of the nadītu women of Šamaš (ša LUKUR<sup>d</sup>UTU.MEŠ)*

One man with this title, Lū-šalim-bēli, appears in at least two, and perhaps more, *nadītu* texts. He is referred to in a *nadītu* adoption text, and perhaps witnesses other transactions<sup>221</sup>.

*The iššakku farmer of the Administration Building of the Cloister (EN<sub>5</sub>.SI ša É.GÁ.GI<sub>4</sub>.A)*

Adad-mušallim, called the *iššakku* farmer of the Administration Building of the Cloister, is involved in a litigation with the judge<sup>d</sup>Utu.šu.mu.un.dib over a field of 12 GÁN which both claim to have worked. The rival claims are brought before the assembly (*puḫrum*)<sup>222</sup>. Although this suit seems to concern Adad-mušallim as a private individual, it would seem from his title that the cloister, like the temple and certain wealthy individuals, employs steward farmers to manage its fields.

*Official in Charge of the workers of the Cloister (GAL ERÍN ša GÁ.GI<sub>4</sub>.A)*

The one reference to the man in charge of the cloister workers (GAL ERÍN ša GÁ.GI<sub>4</sub>.A) dates from the 6th year of Samsuiluna and is the only reference to “workers of the cloister”. In this text the official is given 200 silas of barley, presumably to be distributed to the workers. It is received by the “man” (*awēlum*) and is under the supervision of Ḫazub-Tešup, who, to judge from his name, is

<sup>220</sup> VAS 16 62:9. Awēl-Adad, son of Gula-balāṭi also appears as witness to a *nadītu* adoption in CT 47 47:35 (Ha 25).

<sup>221</sup> CT 2 43:29 (Si 25) and YOS 12 469:34 (Si 25). The latter text has only [Lu-ša-lim]-be-li. He is perhaps the same man who appears in CT 4 40a:20 (Ha 29) and CT 6 44c:12 (Ha 30) and is certainly to be identified with the Lū-šalim-bēli of CT 47 65:40 (Si 25).

<sup>222</sup> CT 45 60:2, 16, 27 (Ams 17 + c).

a Hurrian. The tablet is sealed by an official referred to as the “servant of Samsu-iluna”<sup>223</sup>.

*The Menial Staff of the Cloister*

Aside from the *naditu* and other cloistered women and the cloister administrative officials, a number of other types of individuals are associated with the activities of the Cloister complex. Among these are female weavers (SAL.UŠ.BAR), servant girls, female cooks, an overseer of the sailors, a Sutean guard for the sesame field, and several other men whose occupations are not given. These persons are maintained by the cloister in order to perform services for the cloister personnel themselves or to participate in whatever commercial activities the cloister engaged in as a whole<sup>224</sup>.

FESTIVALS

Almost all references to festivals in Sippar are to those of the god Šamaš. Since our knowledge of these festivals is gained almost entirely from the indirect evidence provided by the records of offerings, we have no specific information on the rites associated with them.

*Festivals of Šamaš*

Most references to festivals of Šamaš are found in cloister records and are receipts for the *piqittu* (“assignment”) which each *naditu*-woman and cloister official is required to bring to the Šamaš temple for festivals<sup>225</sup>. These offerings usually consist of meat and flour (sometimes the cut of meat is specified), and sometimes also of bread and beer. One of the cloister records lists some fifty persons — *naditu*-women and cloister officials — each of whom brings as a *piqittu* offering from ten to twenty silas of beer (or flour) and from five to ten silas of flour (or beer); fifty cuts of meat are mentioned. Since meat and flour are staples which have to be consumed shortly after delivery because of spoilage, perhaps a communal meal is held in which temple and cloister personnel partake, the beer being the beverage. The *naditu*-woman might delegate her obligation to a person

<sup>223</sup> BM 81639:1.

<sup>224</sup> See CT 47 80, a recently published cloister administrative text, which concerns amounts of barley given to people working for the cloister. Most interesting is the mention (11. 26 ff.) of “thirty-three female weavers (acting as) porters who carried ... six times from the quay of the Euphrates to the gate of the Cloister”. On the reading of these lines see Biggs JNES 28 (1969) 134 f.

<sup>225</sup> For a discussion of the *piqittu* see JESHO 6/2 149 f., and *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 128 f. Another *piqittu* text can now be added to those discussed in these two articles: CT 45 92.

<sup>226</sup> VAS 9 174.

to whom she has leased a house or field. Thus in almost all the lease contracts of the *nadītu*-women, the lessee, in addition to rent, is responsible for supplying to the *nadītu* the *piqittu* for usually three, but even as many as six festivals of Šamaš. In one contract a lessee is “to hand over to her (the *nadītu*) a basket (of food) and a piglet at the festival of *Elūnu* for the first day of the festival, and the *nabrū* ceremony”<sup>227</sup>. In another contract the lessee is to hand over “a basket at the *Elūnu* festival, the *nabrū* festival and the *Ajaru* festival”<sup>228</sup>. Occasionally the lessee is required to bring the *piqittu* to the temple himself and records of these deliveries are kept by the cloister administration<sup>229</sup>. Another lease contract states: “in the temple of Šamaš (for six festivals) 20 silas of barley flour (and) one (piece of) meat he (the lessee) will hand over for her”<sup>230</sup>. If the *nadītu*-woman has no property and is supported by her relatives or adopted children, her *piqittu* is provided by them along with other necessities such as clothing and ointment<sup>231</sup>.

The festivals named in these lease contracts are in the second (*Ajaru*), fifth (*Abu*), and sixth (*Elūnu*) months. The meaning of the term *nabrū* is unknown, though suggestions have been made connecting the term with both a divination ceremony and a “showing of lights”<sup>232</sup>.

A text itemizing the expenses of a girl going to the cloister mentions meat given for the “festival of the twentieth day”<sup>233</sup>, perhaps a reference to a festival held on the 20th day of every month, a day sacred to Šamaš as is shown by hemerologies and other texts<sup>234</sup>. The 20th day festival may possibly be identified with the delivery of the *sattukku* offering since an account mentioning the *hulāšu* flour received by the fatterer of pigs for the *sattukku* (“regular”) offering for Šamaš is dated to the 20th day of the month<sup>235</sup>.

A festival of Šamaš which seems to be of particular importance to the *nadītu*-women, *sebūt šattim* (“the month of the beer-brewing season”), is held in the

<sup>227</sup> CT 33 42:12-17.

<sup>228</sup> Çig Kraus Nippur 161. See also CT 33 43:20f. for EZEN *E-lu-nam ù na-ab- <ri-i>*.

<sup>229</sup> VAS 9 171, 172, 174 and CT 45 92.

<sup>230</sup> Riftin 39:10-12.

<sup>231</sup> CT 2 31:4 (Sm); CT 8 20a : r. 14 (Sm).

<sup>232</sup> Ungnad, *Materialien* 69, suggests that the term *nabrū* is to be related to *barū*, “to divine”; but Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies* 30 interprets *nabrū* as “manifestation” implying “a showing of lights”. It also occurs as the name of a month in TCL 1 182:15 and CT 4 50a:31 (Immerum). The *nabrū* festival is also mentioned in a letter of a *nadītu* (CT 43 30:25). Note the single occurrence of the name Nabritum borne by a *nadītu* in CT 2 33:31 (Sl).

<sup>233</sup> CT 4 18b:4.

<sup>234</sup> Landsberger *Kult. Kalender* 137f.

<sup>235</sup> Goetze JCS 2 180 No. 15.

first three days of the 10th month (*Tebeṭu*). Offerings of meat, and sometimes flour, beer and oil are given on all three days. The offering given by *naditu*-women on the 2nd day seems to be in honor of deceased *naditu*'s as the day is known as "the memorial day of the *naditu*" (*ūm šimtim ša nadiatim*). This text indicates that a girl is initiated into the cloister during this festival<sup>236</sup>.

There are a number of references to festivals of Šamaš besides those in the cloister records. An account from the time of Ammi-ditana mentions the "festival of Šamaš of Sippar" for which 10 GUR of sesame for the needs of the festival are brought to Sippar-Jaḥrurum from the city of Luḥaja by way of the Araḥtum canal to be given to the oil presser for processing. The account, dated to the 28th day of the 3rd month, suggests a festival in the fourth month<sup>237</sup>. Perhaps this is the festival referred to by a man who writes in a letter that he is coming to Sippar for the "festival of Šamaš of Sippar"<sup>238</sup>.

In an account in which small sums of silver are given to various persons 1/3 shekel is given for the *zirqu* offering for Šamaš *killali* ("both Šamaš [statues]"), and 2/3 shekels for the *zirqu* offering and for cypress oil for the festival of Šamaš in the month of *Abu*<sup>239</sup>. The *zirqu* offering may consist of meat<sup>240</sup>.

The festival of the month of *Abu* is the date specified in two contracts on which loans are to be returned to *naditu*-women<sup>241</sup>.

Sheep are brought to the Šamaš temple for other festivals: one each in the first, fourth and eighth month, and two for a ritual or festival called *nakkamtum*<sup>242</sup>. A number of difficult texts mention ŠU.GI.NA oxen to be used as offerings for Šamaš<sup>243</sup>; two accounts refer to animals of the same type as food rations (ŠUKU) of the Šamaš temple<sup>244</sup>. Another text mentions animals brought to the temple by a herdsman (*nāqidu*), apparently for various rituals; however, it is not certain that these took place in the Šamaš temple. The text reads, "one goat

<sup>236</sup> PBS 8/2 183.

<sup>237</sup> CT 8 36c (Amd 8).

<sup>238</sup> PBS 7 73.

<sup>239</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 53.

<sup>240</sup> See CAD 21 135, *zirqu* C.

<sup>241</sup> VAS 8 28/29:8 (Sm 8); 47/48:9 (Sm 16).

<sup>242</sup> TCL 1 228:2, 5, 7. In HG 1295 this is read as *nakkamtum* "Schatzhaus(?)", a translation also found in AHW 722. But the context would suggest that this is some kind of festival.

<sup>243</sup> BM 81594 (Amd 9); BM 81472 (Amd); BM 81341; and CT 48 101 (Amd 32).

<sup>244</sup> BM 81336 (Amd 15) and CT 48 37 (Amd).

which was slaughtered, before the chair of PN (?), one ewe for the offerings of the dead”<sup>245</sup>.

Finally, two texts mention honey for the “platter” (LIŠ.GAL) of the Šamaš temple<sup>246</sup>. Perhaps the SAG.LIŠ.GAL. ceremony mentioned in an account, for which lambs and sheep are brought, also took place in the Šamaš temple<sup>247</sup>.

There are thus references to the following festivals or rituals of Šamaš :

the *nabrû* ceremony  
 the festival of Šamaš of Sippar”  
 the *sebût šattim* (first three days of the tenth month)  
 the festival of the 20th day  
 the *sattukku*  
 the *nakkamtum*  
 festivals of the first, second, fourth, fifth,  
 sixth, and eighth months.  
 the SAG.LIŠ.GAL ceremony.

We cannot, of course, say that these festivals are mutually exclusive and some, indeed, are likely to be identical.

#### *The New Year's Festival*

There are several references to the *akītu* or New Year's Festival. One text lists food, utensils, and objects of silver needed (*hiših̄tu*) for the *kispu*, an offering for the spirits of the dead in the region outside the city (EDIN.NA), perhaps indicating a chapel of the open country (*bīt akīt šēri*), as is attested in other cities for this festival<sup>248</sup>. A poorly preserved text refers to the *kispu* offering received in the *akītu* chapel (Ē.GAL *akītīm*)<sup>249</sup>. An Akītum Street is mentioned which may have been a street linking the Šamaš temple with the *akītu* sanctuary outside the walls of Sippar<sup>250</sup>.

<sup>245</sup> JCS 11 36 No. 27:1-6 (Amd 18) I ÛZ ša a-na pa-ni GIŠ.GU.ZA I SAL Zi-zi-i in-na-ak(!)-sú I GANÁM a-na KI.SĒ.GA. Note that the account is dated to the twenty first day of the month Abu.

<sup>246</sup> TCL 1 78:2 (Ha 2); VAS 8 83:2 (Ha 2).

<sup>247</sup> See JCS 2 103 No. 4:4:1 ff. (Amd 3) where “two plucked sheep and five lambs with no sufficient wool, came in for the voluntary offering (*sagikarûm*) and for the SAG.LIŠ.GAL.ĪI.A ceremony”.

<sup>248</sup> CT 45 99.

<sup>249</sup> BM 81143.

<sup>250</sup> BE 6/1 82:18 (Amd 5).

*Offerings to Other Gods*

There are several references to food offerings given to gods other than Šamaš. The Princess Iltani<sup>251</sup>, daughter of Sin-muballit, sister of Hammu-rapi, and also a *nadītu*-woman of Šamaš, several times gives offerings of dates made into *mirsu* cakes to various gods. In the 21st year of Hammu-rapi she makes such an offering, for which her gardeners are responsible, twice to the gods Bunene and Mamu of the household of Šamaš<sup>252</sup>, and once in the same year to the god Lugal.gú. du<sub>8</sub>.a<sup>253</sup>. In the following year she again offers *mirsu* cakes to Bunene and Mamu as well as to the god Sin at his offering place, the *gizinakku*<sup>254</sup>. In this year, too, an offering of this kind is made by the princess in which the name of the deity is not certain<sup>255</sup>. It is perhaps as princess and *nadītu* that Iltani made these offerings.

A man known to be a citizen of Šadlaš brings a large amount (more than 11 gur) of barley as provisions (ŠUKU) for the Sin temple which is received by a temple official<sup>256</sup>. An account from the time of Samsu-iluna mentions sheep offered to Sin and Amurru and to Šamaš and Adad<sup>257</sup>.

It is perhaps on a festival day of Sin that a *nadītu* is to offer a *kispu* offering for it is given on the day of the disappearance of the moon (*bibbulum*)<sup>258</sup>.

Sipparians celebrated a festival of Adad in the first month of year, in *nisannu*, a festival which gives its name to this month<sup>259</sup>.

There are also several references to *kispu* offerings, the offerings to the dead, apart from those already mentioned that should be added. It is of note that this offering is in all cases connected with the fifth month Abu, at times only by the dating of text. Already noted above was the *kispu* offering of an ewe. This text dated from the twenty-first day of Abu. Tortoises make up the *kispu* offering mentioned in a royal letter and a calf is used in another instance<sup>260</sup>.

<sup>251</sup> For a discussion of this *nadītu* see JCS 15/1 6.

<sup>252</sup> VAS 13 16.

<sup>253</sup> VAS 9 14.

<sup>254</sup> VAS 8 17.

<sup>255</sup> VAS 9 16:2:a-[na(?) ] x-ri ALAM(?) dUTU(?).

<sup>256</sup> VAS 9 18 (Ha 22) Erīb-Sin, son of Puzur-Akšak, appears elsewhere in partnership with one Irra-gāmil (CT 2 22:46). He is known to have been a native of Šadlaš from CT 48 83.

<sup>257</sup> BE 6/2 79.

<sup>258</sup> CT 43 106:17f.

<sup>259</sup> That the month EZEN dAdad is the month of *nisannu* see CT 47 36:21 in relation to l. 18. For other references to this month see e.g., Goetze JCS 11 16 No. 2:7; BE 6/2 75:9 and VAS 8 137:1. edge.

<sup>260</sup> Goetze JCS 11 36 No. 27:6 (Amd 18); VAS 16 51:5 and CT 48 100.

## TEMPLE INCOME

*Income from Temple Fields*

The extensive fields owned by the temple, and discussed above, undoubtedly provide its greatest source of income. Amounts such as the 232 GUR and 73 GUR of barley received by the scribes and *ša.tam* officials or 150 GUR of barley received as *ilku* income from the *iššakku* steward indicate the extent of its holdings as does the mention of the employment of 850 field workers.

*Sale and Lease of Temple Property*

There is one curious legal text which suggests that temple property might be sold and perhaps the money derived from the sale invested. A man has sold some temple object without the god's permission. He promises to return the money received and the votive offerings he has vowed to Šamaš<sup>261</sup>.

That temple land might be leased out is perhaps seen from one lease contract in which the Warad-Ulmaššitum, an official of the Annunītum temple, leases to himself and another man a field of 4 GÁN said to be part of the field of Šamaš (ŠÀ A.ŠÀ<sup>d</sup>UTU)<sup>262</sup>.

*Oaths*

Oaths in litigations are taken in the presence of a divine image or symbol, and fees may have been paid for the privilege.

*Leasing of the Divine Symbols*

A practice attested for the temple of Šamaš and Adad is the leasing of the divine symbol, a right which may be a monopoly of the *gudapsû* priests as noted above. The divine symbols were leased out and carried about the countryside for various reasons: to ensure the just collection of taxes and tithes, the fair distribution and storage of the harvest yield, and to bring about the settlement of disputes. All this was accomplished by statements made in the presence of the symbol<sup>263</sup>.

<sup>261</sup> CT 4 27b. It was perhaps some temple vessel — DUG.AN.UD.GAL *ša* <sup>d</sup>UTU. There are problems in fully understanding this text. It is complicated by the use of the first person. But that an object was sold seems to be clear from 2f.: *ša* PN *a-na* KU.BABBAR *i-di-nu-šu-ma*. The man who sells the object, LÚ.<sup>d</sup>Nin.si.an.na, is probably to be identified with the man of the same name who in CT 45 118, perhaps as a merchant, is responsible for delivering tin, but he does not live up to his obligation as he did not in CT 4 27f.

<sup>262</sup> Meissner BAP 76:2.

<sup>263</sup> See my article in AS 16 217ff. Another reference can now be added, not available at the publication of this article. See the cloister administrative account, CT 47 80:13, where 1 BÂN of barley

*Tithes and Gifts*

The Šamaš temple had other sources of income. To what extent tithes were obligatory is impossible to say from our material. There is one early loan contract<sup>264</sup> where a man borrows twenty-four shekels of silver to ransom another man, possibly his father, who may be a prisoner of war. This loan is described as the tithe (*ešrētum*) and has to be repaid at harvest time. This may anticipate Section 32 of the Code of Hammu-rapi which imposes upon the temple the obligation of redeeming prisoners of war. In a much later text, the votive offering (*ikribu*) of barley pledged to Šamaš is described as a tithe (IGI.10.GÁL.LA.ÀM)<sup>265</sup>.

Apart from the gifts of the kings of Babylon to the Šamaš temple and those of the *nadītu*-women, discussed above, private individuals might make offerings of barley or silver which are called *aširtu*. One poorly preserved account of expenditures (?) includes the item: 5/6 of a shekel of silver which was deducted for the *aširtu* gift<sup>266</sup>. A text involving the lease of the divine weapon is intriguing<sup>267</sup>. The weapon is hired in order to assure the just collection of barley, the *aširtu* gift from people described as the devotees of Šamaš and Aja who live in the hinterland (ŠÀ *mātim*). We have no way of knowing who would be the “devotees” of these gods. Nor is it known if this gift was voluntary or obligatory.

*Vows (šalmu baḷtu and ikribu loans)*

Those who were in economic or physical distress often promise an offering or ornament to a god, particularly to Šamaš, upon alleviation of their difficulty. These vows are formulated as loans in which the “debtor” owes a specified object or amount to the “creditor” — the god.

One class of vows formulated as loans are the *ikribu* texts in which a specified votive offering is promised to the deity. Thus a man pledges to Šamaš the tithe of 1 GUR 100 silas of barley (400 quarts)<sup>268</sup>.

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is expended apparently for the lease (?) of the image (not the symbol) of Marduk who came out with the tax collector (*ša it-ti ZAG.ĤA ú-ši-a-am*). But perhaps since this is a cloister text we should emmend <sup>d</sup> «AMAR» UTU.

<sup>264</sup> CT 6 40c:2 (Za 2).

<sup>265</sup> BE 6/1 66:3 (Ae h).

<sup>266</sup> TCL 1 101:8 (Ha 35).

<sup>267</sup> Szlechter Tablettes 122 MAH 16147:6 (Amš 14). We have interpreted the phrase *mārē ili u mārē ištar* which literally means “sons of god and sons of a goddess” as devotees of Šamaš and Aja, the god and goddess of Sippar. For another reference to *mārē ištarātīm* see CT 43 74:8, 13. But this also does not add to our understanding of who these people were.

<sup>268</sup> BE 6/1 66 (Ae h).

In another instance of a vow a man gives Šamaš 2 GUR 2 PI of barley and 2 5/6 shekels 15 grains of silver “for his health”<sup>269</sup>.

The legal text<sup>270</sup> already discussed under the sale and lease of temple property suggests a person might pledge many votive offerings. Here the man promises to repay not only 7 1/2 shekels and 15 grains of silver he received from the sale of a temple object but also his “other pledged votive offerings (*ikribu*), the records of which are deposited in (several places in) the hinterland”.

The following is a list of the *šalmu balṭu* texts from Sippar<sup>271</sup> :

KING	YEAR	VOW	TEXT
Amd	11 (?)	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> shekel of silver	CT 48 96
Amd	27	1 5/6 shekel silver	BM 81532
Amd	29	2/3 shekel 15 grains gold	PBS 8/2 215
Amd	35	1 GUR barley	Meissner BAP 21
Ams	5	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> shekel silver	BM 80871
Ams	6	2/3 shekel silver [x] GUR barley	Scheil Sippar 76
Ams	14	15 grains silver	BM 81646
Ams	17	1 1/3 shekels silver	Meissner BAP 9
und.		26 shekels silver	BM 80795

#### *Business Activities of the Temple*

A group of texts record loans of barley or silver made to individuals particularly by the Šamaš Temple, though in two instances by the Sin Temple, in which the god of the temple appears as creditor<sup>272</sup>. The loans are mostly for small amounts, though occasionally for quite large ones; in some instances no interest is charged and in others the interest rate seems to have been less than that charged by private persons<sup>273</sup>. In some of the small loans a clause indicates that the interest might be paid in the form of a food offering (*MÁŠ mākalum*)<sup>274</sup>. Though no specific terms as to when the loan is to be repaid are given, one loan contains

<sup>269</sup> Friedrich BA 5 501 No. 29:4 (Ae 1).

<sup>270</sup> CT 4 27b:12.

<sup>271</sup> For a discussion of the *šalmu balṭu* texts in the Old Babylonian Period see JCS 14/4 p. 133ff.

<sup>272</sup> For a complete discussion see my article “Old Babylonian Temple Loans”, JCS 14/4, 126-137.

For loans from the Sin temple see VAS 9 187 (Ha?) and VAS 9 30 (Ha 27).

<sup>273</sup> On interest rates see W.F. Leemans, RIDA 5 21.

<sup>274</sup> VAS 9 29/30 (Ha 27); Goetze JCS 11 18 No. 3 (Si 1).

the phrase “when Šamaš will have given PN the debtor (enough) money he will give it to him (Šamaš)”<sup>275</sup>.

The temple keeps records of outstanding loans<sup>276</sup>. At times a human agent appears as creditor side by side with the god, though whether this person is a temple official or a sort of merchant associated with the temple is difficult to determine. The small loans would seem to be made to needy persons, but many of the larger ones, particularly those with an added human creditor, may be for business purposes. Two of these are specifically called partnership loans<sup>277</sup>.

The interest on the temple loans, as well as the profit from business enterprises in which the temple may have served as a silent partner, would have provided an important source of income for the temple.

The following is a list of loans from the Šamaš temple :

KING	YEAR	KIND	AMOUNT	TEXT
AS	8	silver	38 1/6 shekels	CT 48 117
Ha	27	silver	1/6 shekel	VAS 9 29
Ha	41	silver	2/3 shekel, 6 grains	VAS 9 134
Si	1	silver	30 shekels	Goetze JCS 11 18 No. 3
Si	2	silver	1 1/6 shekels	TCL 1 107
Si	3	silver	2 shekels	BM 80952
Si	5	silver	1 1/2 shekels, 15 grains	TCL 1 113
Ae	h	silver	5 1/2 shekels	BE 6/1 67
Ams	11	barley	4 GUR	BM 81328
[x]		barley	10 GUR	TCL 1 183
und.		silver	10 shekels	TCL 1 188
und.		silver	36 shekels	CT 33 49a
und.		silver	2 shekels	CT 48 104

*Joint loans (with god and human creditor)*

Ha	15	silver	[x]	VAS 8 128
Ha	39	barley	13 GUR	VAS 9 148/149

<sup>275</sup> For a discussion of the phrase MĀŠ *mākalum* which also appears in Tell Harmal see Simmons JCS 13 84.

<sup>276</sup> VAS 9 225.

<sup>277</sup> VAS 9 182/183 (und.) and CT 48 99 (Si 3 or 4). Note that a sun disk design appears on the second text. For other references to such designs see JESHO 13 318 No. 99.

Ha	42	silver	5 shekels	VAS 9 83/84
Si	?	silver	1/3 shekel, 15 grains	BM 80817
Si	2 or 3	silver	18 1/2 shekels	CT 48 99
und.		silver	3 1/4 shekels	VAS 9 182/183 <sup>278</sup>
und.		barley	8 GUR	VAS 9 201

In addition, the Šamaš temple, like the palace, was involved in transactions in which temple wool was lent on credit to individuals.

The four extant contracts<sup>279</sup> concerning temple wool are limited in time: two date from the first year of Ammi-ditana, and two from his fifth year. These contracts, in contrast to the palace loans, do not clearly reveal the position of the administrators who supervise the loans. Only once is it stated that the doorkeeper (*muzzaz bābim*) acts on behalf of the temple<sup>280</sup>. The other three contracts are apparently receipts of the silver resulting from the sale of the temple wool. It would seem that only officials of the city administration might conduct these sales<sup>281</sup>. The equivalency of silver to temple wool is six shekels to one talent of wool in contrast to ten shekels to one talent of palace wool.

<sup>278</sup> Only the human creditor Ur-Kalkal is mentioned here but he appears with Šamaš in VAS 9 148/149. We have not added CT 48 105 which J. Finkelstein describes as a with-drawal of silver (as partnership venture?) from Šamaš temple (*ibid.* p. 8). This text was apparently left incomplete so perhaps r.2 should be completed as *a-na* <sup>d</sup>UTU-[*ša-tum*] as in l. 6 or *a-na* <sup>d</sup>UTU-[*mi-tam-u-ba-li-it*] as in l. 2.

<sup>279</sup> CT 6 24a (Amd 1); BM 80637 (Amd 1); BE 6/1 91 (Amd 5); and CT 8 30c (Amd 5).

<sup>280</sup> CT 6 24a: 6.

<sup>281</sup> Thus in CT 6 24a it is to the *kārum* of Sippar-Jahrurum that the temple official hands over wool; in CT 8 30c the Overseer of the Merchants heads the list of persons giving the temple silver from the sale of wool (x KÜ.BABBAR ŠĀ KU.BABBAR ŠĀM SÍG É <sup>d</sup>UTU).

### III. THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

#### 1. AGRICULTURE

##### *Introduction*

Since most of our material appears to derive from the cloister archives and to consist primarily of the transactions of the *naditu*-women, we have much information on the private ownership of land contained in the many contracts for the sale and lease of property. Although the holders of the great estates of Sippar must have been the palace, the temple, and possibly the cloister as institution, we have little information on the large-scale cultivation in which these estates must have been engaged. The details which are available are discussed with the other information concerning these institutions.

##### *Land Encumbered with Special Restrictions and Obligations*

A number of individuals in Sippar work land which was subject to certain legal restrictions or obligations. This land was often held from a higher authority such as the palace or temple. We shall discuss here four such types of land characterized by specific designations which are still quite difficult to define.

The *šibtu* holding consisted of land and perhaps houses given by the king apparently to all military personnel, from the highest officer to the lowliest *rēdū* soldier. These fields might be leased by the military to private individuals only with the permission of the proper military authorities. These holdings are discussed in greater detail above under the military organization.

The term *ilku* refers to the obligation incumbent on the holder of property from a higher authority, probably the temple or the king<sup>1</sup>. The duty involved seems to have been the responsibility of the family and to have consisted of work on palace land or payment in lieu of such work and on temple land. Few texts stipulating the *ilku* duty are known from Sippar<sup>2</sup>. The city administration often appears to be concerned with the collection of payments in lieu of *ilku* duty.

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<sup>1</sup> On *ilku* see CAD 7 73ff. For more on *ilku* see above under military organization.

<sup>2</sup> See VAS 8 33/34:17 (Sm); Meissner BAP 80:5 (Ha 24); CT 6 29:18 (Amd 1); TCL 1 194:9.

The exact restrictions imposed on the *huptu* fields are not known. It has been suggested that these holdings were associated with providing a maintenance for women<sup>3</sup>. The two references in Sippar texts would support this theory since small fields of two and three GÁN, respectively, are given as gifts to daughters. Both fields are located at the city gate (KÁ *Merigat*<sup>KI</sup> and *ina bāb ālim*)<sup>4</sup>.

There is one reference to the *tēru* duty attached to the ownership of a field which occurs in a lease contract. This stipulates that the owner of the property and not the lessee has to perform *tēru* duty and harbor crossing duty<sup>5</sup>.

An unusual sale contract involves a field which had been a grant from King Hammu-rapi. The children of the grantee sell the field here with the permission of King Samsu-iluna (*ina qabê šarrim*) and the buyer, a *naditu*, pays the purchase price to the palace and not to the sellers in order to satisfy some debt to the palace, (*ana apāl É.GAL*)<sup>6</sup>.

#### *Fields*

From the many lease and sale contracts as well as from the numerous records of inheritance, gifts, division of property, and litigations from Sippar we gain information about the fields of the Sipparians.

The first item in sale contracts, the description of the fields, usually includes the size of the field and its location with respect to the city and neighboring properties. Most of the fields sold range from less than 1 GÁN to 9 GÁN though a few are as small as 6 and 20 SAR and some twenty are 10 GÁN and larger (the GÁN is approximately 9/10 acre). The largest field sold is one of 90 GÁN sold by the king. The sizes of fields most commonly sold are 2 GÁN, 3 GÁN, 4 GÁN, and 6 GÁN. In only two texts, a sale contract and a litigation, are the exact dimensions of a field given in terms of length. These fields are described as SAG 1 GAR *ana* 20 GAR UŠ (= 20 SAR A.ŠĀ) and 9 GÁN (= 80 GAR UŠ 21 NINDA 8 KŪŠ SAG)<sup>7</sup>.

In several cases only part of a field is sold<sup>8</sup>. Occasionally the exact size of the

<sup>3</sup> In CAD 6 242.

<sup>4</sup> CT 8 25a:19 (Sm 7) and CT 2 24:3 (Ae t).

<sup>5</sup> CT 45 120:22f.: *ti-ir (!) ù e-bi-ir KAR be-el A.ŠĀ i-la-ak*. Note, however, that in TCL 1 181 the same person leases a field of the same size in the same region but from one of two lessors of CT 45 120. In the latter contract nothing is said of special duties.

<sup>6</sup> BE 6/1 61 (Si 24). Unfortunately the crucial word is poorly preserved. The copy has: *[x-x]-ut É.GAL ša PN abušunu ina MU... KI É.GAL ilqūma*.

<sup>7</sup> VAS 9 19/20 (Ha 22) and CT 4 37c (Si).

<sup>8</sup> CT 45 10 (AS); TCL 1 86; BM 92676 (Si 10).

field is not given or the phrase "as much as there is" is used<sup>9</sup>. Only one contract states the condition of the land (A.ŠĀ KI.KAL) which is sold<sup>10</sup>. The region (*ugāru*) in which the field is located is almost always named<sup>11</sup>.

In almost all sale contracts the adjacent fields are enumerated. In the earlier part of the Old Babylonian period only two neighbors are usually listed, but from the time of Hammu-rapi on it becomes more usual to name all four neighbors as well as special landmarks. In addition, the canal which irrigated the particular region in which the field was located is frequently named. Though an enumeration of these clauses is beyond the scope of this work, such a study would prove useful in establishing the character of the areas in which fields were located.

The following list includes the size of fields mentioned in lease and sale contracts and elsewhere :

<i>No. of GĀN</i>	<i>No. of fields attested</i>
—1	4
1	12
1+	3
2	25
2+	4
3	44
3+	2
4	25
4+	15
5	7
5+	2
6	46
7	12
8	7
9	25 <sup>12</sup>
10	6
10+	1
11 <sup>1/2</sup>	1

<sup>9</sup> In CT 45 7 (AS); BM 82442/3 (Si 13); BM 80483.

<sup>10</sup> TCL 1 151 (Amd 30).

<sup>11</sup> But omitted for example in CT 8 23c (Za); TCL 1 86 (Ha 19); PBS 8/2 260 (Ha 21).

<sup>12</sup> Fields of 9 GĀN are frequently mentioned in the bequests of one *naditu* to another. E.g. CT 47 7/7a (AS); CT 8 25a (Sm 7); Waterman Bus. Doc. 65 (Ha); CT 47 63/63a and passim. Note too the Flurenname 9 GĀN which occurs often: CT 4 40c:2; CT 8 40d:1; CT 45 52:21; Waterman Bus. Doc. 2:2, 7:2 and passim.

<i>No. of GÁN</i>	<i>No. of fields attested</i>
12	22
14	4
15	5
16	2
18	29
19	1
20	1
21	4
24	3
25	2
26	1
30	1
35	2
36	2
40	1
42	2
45	1
53	1
54	1
60	1
68	1
72	1

### *Field Crops*

Barley was the staple crop of Sippar and almost all of the texts dealing with crops concern barley. The prominence of barley is also reflected in loan contracts in which sesame is borrowed only once in the approximately 200 contracts<sup>13</sup>. In one unusual contract in which a field is leased out in order to plant a kind of leek (GA.RAŠ.SAG.SAR)<sup>14</sup>, the owner is to receive as his share of the yield 4 GUR of barley per GÁN<sup>15</sup>.

References to sesame in our texts are rare and one reference, in which 10 GUR of sesame is brought to Sippar-Jahrurum from the city Luḥaja to be processed for the Šamaš festival, may indirectly reveal the scarcity of sesame fields in Sippar<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> CT 8 8e (Amd 35). Though this text is formulated as a loan it is probably a case where oil processors are given the sesame for processing. Within a month they are to deliver the oil.

<sup>14</sup> On GA.RAŠ.SAG.SAR, Akkadian *giršānu*, see CAD 5 96.

<sup>15</sup> VAS 9 26/27 (Ha 27).

<sup>16</sup> CT 8 36c (Amd 8). In this connection the unusual *piqittu* clause of BM 81220 (Ha 30) should

In two other texts money is given to purchase sesame<sup>17</sup>, and a litigation dating from the reign of Zabium mentions a sesame field of 2 GÁN<sup>18</sup>. There are two references to sesame fields from the time of Ammi-šaduqa. In the first, a field of 15 GÁN is farmed out by a judge “in order to raise sesame” (A.ŠÀ ana ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *epēšim(?)*), and in the second, a sesame field of 3 GÁN located in the inundated area (Ú.SAL) of the Sippirītu Canal is leased out to two men<sup>19</sup>.

### *Sale of Fields*

#### *Distribution of Sale Contracts*

The ninety-seven contracts involving the sale of fields are distributed in time as follows :

Period of Ilumma-ila	4
Period of Immerum	5
Period of Sumu-la-ila	2
Period of Zabium	10
Period of Apil-Sin	12
Period of Sin-muballit	8
Period of Hammu-rapi	20
Period of Samsu-iluna	17
Period of Abi-ešuḫ	1
Period of Ammi-ditana	2
Period of Ammi-šaduqa	1

We can assume that most of the 15 undated contracts belong to the pre-Hammurapi period since the purchase price is omitted, a practice typical of the early period.

The time distribution pattern of sale contracts differs markedly from the distribution of lease contracts (see below). However, this may be due simply to the accidental nature of our finds.

#### *Formulary of Sale Contracts*

A typical Sippar sale contract contains the following sequence of clauses :

- (1) A description of the field-size, location, and neighbors.
- (2) Names of buyer and seller — “From A, B has brought it”.

be noted. In this lease of a field it is stipulated that should the *naditu*, the lessor, request sesame she will be handed 5 silas of oil (ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *iršima* 5 SILÀ Ì.GIŠ *ipaqqissi*).

<sup>17</sup> Scheil Sippar 60 (Amš 17 + b) and Friedrich BA 5 505 No. 35 (Amš).

<sup>18</sup> CT 4 26b.

<sup>19</sup> BE 6/2 124 and YBC 12982.

- (3) A statement that the entire price has been paid.
- (4) A statement concerning the transfer of the pestle (*bukannum*) and the payment to the seller.
- (5) An agreement that neither party will dispute the contract and that the seller will assume full liability for any claims brought by a third person.
- (6) Oath, witnesses and date.

In the period before Sin-muballiṭ, Akkadian clauses are used along with the Sumerian. In the time of Sin-muballiṭ, however, Sumerian begins to predominate and is used almost exclusively throughout the remainder of the Old Babylonian period.

The formulary of sale contracts and the distinction between the formula of the northern cities (including Sippar) and the southern ones has been described by M. San Nicolò in his *Die Schlussklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge*.

We will discuss a number of the sections of the Sale Contracts in detail.

#### *The buyers and sellers of fields*

The second clause of the sale contracts deals with the buyers and sellers of the fields.

The *nadītu*'s of Šamaš figure most prominently as the purchasers of fields: they buy fields in sixty-six of the ninety-seven extant contracts. The extent to which an individual *nadītu* might invest in real estate is seen from the case of Ḫuzālatum, the daughter of Akšaja, who purchases about ten different fields ranging in size from 3 GÁN to 15 GÁN, plus a variety of other real estate such as houses, land plots, towers, and threshing floors<sup>20</sup>. Other *nadītu*'s such as Amat-Šamaš, the daughter of Etel-pī-Sin<sup>21</sup>, and Lamassi, the daughter of Nakkārum<sup>22</sup>, also accumulate fields. *Nadītu*'s invested so heavily in land in the region of Eble that it was known as "Eble of the *nadītu*'s"<sup>23</sup>.

There may, of course, have been other large scale investors among the citizens of Sippar who are not represented in our material. One individual who purchases more than one field is Tappûm, son of Jarbi-el. He buys two small fields in the same

<sup>20</sup> On Ḫuzālatum, daughter of Akšaja, and her family see *Orientalia* 38 134ff.

<sup>21</sup> In TCL 1 64 and CT 4 16a.

<sup>22</sup> CT 2 7 and TCL 1 86.

<sup>23</sup> CT 47 62/62a:1 (Si 9). *Nadītu*'s purchase or own fields in this region in CT 8 31a (AS): CT 47 7/7a (AS); CT 6 46 (AS); CT 4 25b (Ha 9) and CT 47 64/64a (Si 16).

region during the reign of Sin-muballiṭ<sup>24</sup>. In some of the more unusual purchases a father buys a field for his *nadītu* daughter, and a married woman buys a field from her husband<sup>25</sup>.

The very large fields are purchased by *nadītu*'s except in two instances where fields of 40 GÁN<sup>26</sup> and 68 GÁN<sup>27</sup> are bought by men. The name of the first buyer is only partly preserved; the second is Zimru-Ḥammu, son of Sumu-Akšak, perhaps to be identified with Sumu-Akšak a *rabiānu* of Sippar in the time of Sin-muballiṭ<sup>28</sup>.

In contrast to her prominence as a buyer, the *nadītu* sells fields in only one-fifth of the extant sale contracts. In almost all cases in which she sells to someone who is not a *nadītu* she undertakes the sale jointly with members of her family which may indicate a restriction on her right to sell her fields.

In the frequent instances in which fields are sold by several members of a family, the fields are evidently part of the paternal estate<sup>29</sup>. It seems to have been possible for a member of the family of the seller to redeem this property at a later date since a field sold by a *nadītu* to a group of men is later redeemed by her brother (A.ŠĀ É *abišu iptur*)<sup>30</sup>.

In two sales of very large fields to *nadītu*'s the seller is the king (*šarrum*) himself<sup>31</sup>. In one of these contracts a field of 90 GÁN is sold for 10 minas of silver and in the other the purchase price of 10 minas of silver would indicate a field of the same size. The importance of the seller is indicated by the size of the fields as well as the high rank of the witnesses: the Overseer of the Barbers, the GĀ.DUB.BA, *sukkallu* officials, the Overseer of the merchants, and the Chairman of the assembly. In addition, the clause stating that neither party will dispute the contract and the oath formula have been omitted in these two contracts. The formula does not differ otherwise from other sale contracts.

<sup>24</sup> CT 8 16b and Meissner BAP 37.

<sup>25</sup> TCL 1 56 (Si) and CT 8 38b (Immerum), respectively.

<sup>26</sup> TCL 1 151 (Amd 30). Note the presence of high officials as witnesses.

<sup>27</sup> Goetze JCS 11 No. 10. Though undated this sale contract probably dates from Hammu-rapi for two of the sellers, Šamaš-iddinam and Puzur-Sin, sons of Eribam, are witnesses in BE 6/1 28 dating from Ha 29.

<sup>28</sup> In BM 80281:9.

<sup>29</sup> E.g., in BE 6/1 5 (Immerum); TLB 1 218 (AS); CT 4 16a (AS 18); and passim.

<sup>30</sup> CT 2 13 (Si 16).

<sup>31</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 (Ha 13 or Si 8) and CT 45 121 (und). The first contract adds some obscure reference to an exchange which is difficult to understand (ll.8-10).

It is possible that the fathers of both *naditu*'s were high officials<sup>32</sup>. These contracts indicate that the king might utilize and sell land as a private individual.

#### *Purchase Price*

The purchase price of the field is given in only two cases in the sale contracts of the early part of the Old Babylonian period through the reign of Sin-muballit<sup>33</sup>. All of the other contracts from this early period simply state that the purchase price has been paid.

Later on, however, the exact price is almost always indicated<sup>34</sup>. That the entire price need not be paid at the time of purchase is seen from a claim brought for the remainder of the money owed (*ana šapilti kaspum ša eqlim*), or from a case in which the sum remaining is described as a loan which the buyer has made from the seller<sup>35</sup>.

The price of land varied considerably. Though most fields cost from 2 to 6 shekels per GÁN and a number of fields from 7 to 10 shekels, a few have much higher prices. One field in the early period sells for more than 16 shekels per GÁN; a *naditu* buys a field for 13 shekels per GÁN, and a 6 GÁN field in Eble, a region in which *naditu*'s owned so much property, sells for 40 shekels per GÁN<sup>36</sup>.

The large fields of the king, however, sold for the standard price of a little more than 6 shekels per GÁN.

Since our data does not enable us to compare prices in the same region over a period of time we cannot observe fluctuation in prices from the early to the late Old Babylonian period similar to the fluctuation we will observe below in the prices of rented fields and slaves in which the rental price of fields decreased and the price of slaves increased after the time of Hammu-rapi<sup>37</sup>.

#### *The Oath*

The clause in the sale contracts which contains the oath renouncing claims states

<sup>32</sup> On Sin-tajjār, father of Bēlessunu, see *Orientalia* 38 134ff., and perhaps Lú.<sup>d</sup>Iškur.ra father of Erišti-Aja is to be identified with the son of Ili-usati, probably an important military official as is seen from Meissner BAP 4 (Amš 10).

<sup>33</sup> BE 6/1 3 (Immerum) and CT 8 16b (Sm).

<sup>34</sup> The only exceptions are CT 47 32/32a (Ha 11) and BM 92676 (Si 10).

<sup>35</sup> CT 8 17a (Za) and CT 6 48b (Si 1).

<sup>36</sup> BE 6/1 3 (Immerum); CT 47 39/39a (Ha 25) and CT 4 25b (Ha 9), respectively.

<sup>37</sup> The prices of fields in Tutub vary as they do in Sippar, from 1 1/2 shekels to 7 shekels per GÁN. See my note in JCS 9 42.

that the buyer and seller have sworn by the life of Šamaš, Marduk and the ruling king that neither party will ever sue the other for the field. On one occasion a more specific statement is added to the effect that should the sons of PN (the seller) bring such a claim, their claim is to be dismissed (DUMU.MEŠ PN *irgumuma rugmmušu <nu> nashu*)<sup>38</sup>. A contract in which a man purchases a field from his two brothers contains the unusual clauses: “they are not to say we have not taken the silver, he (sic) took (it) in the presence of his (sic) witness; in the future PN and PN<sub>2</sub> (the sellers) are not to bring claim to the field<sup>39</sup>.”

The oath renouncing claims does not, however, seem to have prevented such claims from being made since the seller, and more frequently his heirs, did bring such claims to sold fields<sup>40</sup>.

*List of Field Sale Contracts*

DATE	SIZE (in GÁN)	PRICE	TEXT
Illumma-ila	12	—	CT 8 26b
Illumma-ila	6	—	CT 8 38b
Illumma-ila	5	—	BE 6/1 1
Illumma-ila	5	—	Friedrich BA 5 513 No. 48
Immerum	12	—	CT 8 47a
Immerum	4	—	CT 8 47b
Immerum	12 (3 fields)	3 1/3 mana	BE 6/1 3
Immerum	6	—	BE 6/1 4
Immerum	10	—	BE 6/1 5
Sl	6	—	TLB 1 217
Sl	3	—	TCL 1 56
Za 13	9	—	CT 2 3
Za	1	—	CT 2 16
Za	—	—	CT 4 35a
Za	4 1/2	—	CT 2 37
Za	2	—	CT 4 45a
Za	4	—	CT 8 23c
Za	6 (?)	—	BE 6/1 11
Za	2	—	CT 45 4

<sup>38</sup> In TLB 1 217 (Sl).

<sup>39</sup> CT 2 37 (Ae).

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Waterman Bus. Doc. 31 (Buntahtun-ila/Sl); CT 47 24/24a (Ha 3); Meissner BAP 42 (Amš 4); CT 45 93.

DATE	SIZE (in GÁN)	PRICE	TEXT
Za	3	—	BE 6/1 12
Za	3	—	BE 6/1 14
AS	—	—	CT 45 7
AS	4	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 55
AS	4	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 45
AS	3	—	CT 47 3
AS	2	—	TLB 1 218
AS	8	—	CT 8 31a
AS	4 or 5 SAR <sup>41</sup>	—	TCL 1 64
AS	9	—	CT 45 10
AS	3	—	Meissner BAP 36
AS 11	6	—	CT 6 46
AS 18	21	—	CT 4 16a
Sm 5 (?)	6	—	CT 47 9
Sm	1 GÁN 30 SAR	[x] shekel	CT 8 16b
Sm	[x]	—	CT 47 14
Sm	18	—	CT 47 11/11a
Sm	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	CT 47 8/8a
Sm	2	—	Meissner BAP 37
Sm	1	—	CT 47 18
Sm	—	—	CT 47 13/13a
Ha	36	[x] mana 4 shekels	CT 47 49
Ha	[x]	70 shekels	CT 47 33
Ha	6	16 shekels	CT 47 48
Ha	3	[x]	Waterman Bus. Doc. 61
Ha 3	4	33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> shekels	CT 47 26
Ha 9	2	15 shekels	CT 2 7
Ha	6	240 shekels	CT 4 25b
Ha 11	15	—	CT 47 32/32a
Ha 13 or Si 8	90	600 shekels	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28
Ha 14	1 GAN 80 SAR	[x]	VAS 8 121/2
Ha 19	1	2 1/3 shekels	TCL 1 86
Ha 21	2	8 shekels	PBS 8/2 260
Ha 21	18	80 shekels	CT 47 38

<sup>41</sup> This field which is so small was located next to an orchard owned by the purchaser, a *naditu*. Perhaps, therefore, it was purchased as an area to be used for processing the dates of her orchard, just as small plots of field were leased for the very same reason.

DATE	SIZE (in GÁN)	PRICE	TEXT
Ha 22	20 SAR	2 shekels	VAS 9 19/20
Ha 25	9	120 shekels	CT 47 39/39a
Ha 30	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	20 shekels	CT 45 26
Ha 30	8	30 shekels	BM 92650
Ha 33	9	60 shekels	CT 47 43
Ha 41	18	60 shekels	VAS 13 25
Ha 41	6	[x]	VAS 9 138
Si [x]	[x]	62/3 shekels	CT 4 19b
Si 4	4	31 shekels	CT 47 56/56a
Si 5	15	20 grains	Riftin 22a
Si 6	6	30 shekels	Waterman Bus. Doc. 44
Si 8	2	10 shekels	CT 47 60/60a
Si 9	5 GÁN 30 SAR	15 shekels	JCS 11 23 No. 9
Si 9	18	60 shekels	CT 2 5
Si 9	12	45 shekels	CT 47 62/62a
Si 9	10	[x]	CT 45 33
Si 10	5	10 shekels	TCL 1 130/131
Si 10	3	—	BM 92676
Si 13	—	13 1/3 shekels	BM 82442/3
Si 14	2 GÁN 20 SAR	7 1/3 shekels	CT 8 15b
Si 16	7	40 shekels	CT 2 13
Si 24	18 GÁN 10 SAR	[x]	BE 6/1 61
Si 24(?)	6	[x] mana 3 shekels	BE 6/1 46
Si 24(?)	4	22 shekels	BE 6/1 46
Si 29	6	20 shekels	CT 6 20a
Ae ?	7 1/6 GÁN	40 2/3 shekels	CT 47 71
Ammi-...]	6	20 shekels	BM 78788
Amd 30	40 GÁN (K.I.KAL)	30 shekels	TCL 1 151
Ams 4	7	[x]	Çig Kraus Nippur 166
und.	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	Scheil RT 17 p. 30
und.	6 SAR	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 43
und.	[x]	[x]	PBS 8/2 258
und.	2	10 shekels	CT 47 77 (incomplete)
und.	7 1/6 GÁN	75 shekels	Ballerini RSO 2 539ff.
und.	[x]	—	CT 45 117
und.	[x]	600 shekels	CT 45 121
und.	3	—	BM 64294

DATE	SIZE (in GÁN)	PRICE	TEXT
und.	—	—	BM 80483
und.	2	—	BM 92653/a
und.	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> GÁN	—	CT 33 48a
und.	18	—	CT 8 25b (imcomplete)
und.	3	—	CT 6 40b
?	1/6 GÁN 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> SAR	—	BM 92651/a

### *The Renting of Fields*

#### *Distribution of Lease Contracts*

One hundred and sixty-nine contracts record the renting of fields and are distributed in time as follow :

Period of Apil-Sin	2
Period of Sin-muballiṭ	4
Period of Hammu-rapi	39
Period of Samsu-iluna	15
Period of Abi-ešuḫ	7
Period of Ammi-ditana	25
Period of Ammi-ṣaduqa	32
Period of Samsu-ditana	3

The fact that field lease contracts are numerous not only in the period of Hammu-rapi and Samsu-iluna but also at the time of Ammi-ditana and Ammi-ṣaduqa, when there are fewer texts from Sippar on the whole, perhaps reflects an increase in such transactions in the latter part of the Old Babylonian period.

#### *Formulary of Lease Contracts*

The Sippar lease contracts almost all contain the following elements which will be discussed individually :

- 1) A description of the ground to be leased (size, location and neighbors).
- 2) The names of owner and lessee — “From A, B has rented”.
- 3) The terms of the lease.
- 4) Various additional clauses.
- 5) Witnesses and date.

#### *Description of Field*

The description of the field being leased usually includes the size, the condition, and the location of the land.

The size of the field is usually given. The fields leased are typically of 3 GÁN, 4 or 4<sup>1/2</sup> GÁN, 6 GÁN, 9, 12, and 18 GÁN (see chart), though fields vary greatly and range from 1 GÁN to 72 GÁN.

When the size of a field is not given the contract will contain a phrase such as “as much as there is”, (A.ŠĀ *mala mašû*)<sup>42</sup>, or “as much as his hand can handle”, (A.ŠĀ *mala qassu ikaššadu*)<sup>43</sup>.

Occasionally only part of a field was rented, usually consisting of a small area such as 40 SAR, 20 SAR, 1/6 GÁN, or 1 GÁN<sup>44</sup>. At times the part leased out is described in relation to the entire field: a field of 4 GÁN is leased and the remainder to the north is not to be cultivated<sup>45</sup>.

Until the period of Ammi-ditana there is no description of the state of fields<sup>46</sup>, but toward the end of Ammi-ditana's rule (his 29th year) and especially from the time of Ammi-šaduqa on, lease contracts usually describe the condition of the fields as either cultivated (AB.ŠĒN) or fallow (KI.KAL)<sup>47</sup>. In the late Old Babylonian period it is quite common for leased fields to be partly fallow at the time of rental<sup>48</sup>. In one instance fallow (KI.KAL) is contrasted with the term KA.GAR<sup>49</sup>.

The descriptions of most fields include the irrigation district (A.GĀR) in which the field is located (for these see Appendix). Sometimes one contract records the leasing of several fields located in different regions<sup>50</sup>, though the fields were

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Szlechter Tablettes 76 MAH 16287 (AS I); CT 4 44c (Ha 27); CT 8 8d (Amd 2); CT 8 19c (Amš 5); and passim.

<sup>43</sup> See VAS 9 26/27 (Ha 27); YBC 6474 (Ae u); BE 6/2 110 (Amd 27).

<sup>44</sup> CT 48 113 (Ha 28); CT 8 40b (Ha 38); BM 81490 (und.); and BM 81595 (Si 30), respectively.

<sup>45</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 5:1f. (Ha 15): *ana iltānim izbassu ezbat*. On the legal import of this clause see CAD 4 431 and especially Oppenheim in *Middle Eastern Cities* 15. The term *ezibtu* with this special significance is usually used of houses in the Sippar material. Note too that in CT 8 11b (Amš 5), 6 GÁN of an 18 GÁN field is leased out.

<sup>46</sup> The one exception seems to be Friedrich BA 5 508 No. 42 for which HG 617 suggests the date Ha 17. But the reading of the date formula is uncertain. Furthermore, the use of *ša šulpišu* in l. 10 is perhaps a variant of the phrase *ana/ina pi šulpišu* which occurs only in late Sippar OB lease contracts, from the reign of Abi-ešuḫ on.

<sup>47</sup> E.g., CT 33 36 (Amd 29); Meissner BAP 76 (Amd 33); BE 6/1 94 (Amš 3); Waterman Bus. Doc. 16 (Amš 13) and passim.

<sup>48</sup> See CT 8 72a (Amd 32); YBC 4329 (Amš 9); CT 2 8 (Amš 16).

<sup>49</sup> CT 33 43 (und.).

<sup>50</sup> E.g., PBS 8/2 262 (Ha 21), 253 (Ha 21), 253 (Ha 32); Waterman Bus. Doc. 3 (Amd 5); BE 6/1 83 (Amd 31) and passim.

presumably close. Thus three fields totalling 175 GÁN are located in three different irrigation regions but are all in the same district (ŠĀ *eršet* GN)<sup>51</sup>. Other fields are said to be at the embankment of the Sippirītum Canal, in the inundated area of this canal (Ú.SAL ÍD *Sippirītum*)<sup>52</sup>, or located in the bend of the river (*ina birīt nārim*)<sup>53</sup>. No leased field is located in any of the Sippars, but a field in the town of Kār-Šamaš is rented<sup>54</sup>, and several very large fields are located in the town of Taškun-Ištar<sup>55</sup>. In the lease of a one field in which the lessor is a partner, the land involved is said to be “part of the field of Šamaš (ŠĀ A.ŠĀ *Šamaš*)”, which would indicate that the lessor has some connection with the temple<sup>56</sup>.

The owners of adjacent fields are often named in order to designate the location of a specific field. When the location of a field is not given, the name of the owner presumably served as an adequate description<sup>57</sup>.

#### *Owners of Fields*

Since *nadītu*'s were the principal purchasers of fields, it is not surprising that they are the most frequent lessors of fields also. Certain *nadītu*'s appear in many lease contracts. For example, Ғuššutum, the daughter of Sin-putram<sup>58</sup>, leases out fields located in Taškun-Ištar, on the embankment of the Sippirītum Canal, and in Paḡuḡum<sup>59</sup>. However *nadītu*'s appear less prominently as lessors in the lease contracts from the period of Abi-eḡuḡ onwards. Judges, shepherds, and an Overseer of the Merchants are those who now appear as lessors of fields<sup>60</sup>. In one case the lessor was probably a temple official<sup>61</sup>.

In one unusual lease contract five men and the elders of Kār-Šamaš rent out

<sup>51</sup> CT 47 70 (Ae p).

<sup>52</sup> Friedrich BA 5 487 No. 7 (Ha 43) and CT 4 23b (Amḡ 15).

<sup>53</sup> E.g., BE 6/1 39 (Ha 4); PBS 8/2 228 (Si); Waterman Bus. Doc. 75 (Amḡ). On *ina birīt nārim* see Finkelstein JNES 21 73ff.

<sup>54</sup> BM 82226.

<sup>55</sup> E.g., Waterman Bus. Doc. 6 (Sm), 52 (Ha 17); BE 6/2 72 (Ha 17). Taškun-Ištar was we assume a town and not an irrigation district for a road leading to it is mentioned in Scheil Sippar 10:3 (Sm).

<sup>56</sup> Meissner BAP 76 (Amd 33).

<sup>57</sup> As in VAS 8 113/114 (Ha 12); PBS 8/2 208 (Si 3); BE 6/1 53 (Si 4) and *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> On this *nadītu* see JCS 16 5.

<sup>59</sup> See Waterman Bus. Doc. 4 and 6; CT 47 10/10a; Waterman Bus. Doc. 12 and CT 33 48b.

<sup>60</sup> BE 6/2 124 (Amḡ 6); CT 4 17a (Amḡ 9); and Waterman Bus. Doc. 59 (destr.), respectively.

<sup>61</sup> Meissner BAP 76 (Amd 33). Warad-Ulmaššītum, son of Tarībum, is probably the person who in CT 45 102:26f. is described as the doorkeeper of the Annunītum temple.

a field. No witnesses are named. This is perhaps a field left ownerless which then came under their jurisdiction<sup>62</sup>.

In a somewhat similar situation a princess, probably Iltani, leased a field from four people and the elders of Kār-Šamaš. The field is described as belonging to a man who “belongs to the reed carriers of the royal workers”, (ŠĀ GI.ILA ERÉN [L]UGAL(?))<sup>63</sup>. This man is not among the named lessors and we would suggest, therefore, that a *šibtu* field is involved which is leased out on behalf of the absent tenant by the officials of Kār-Šamaš under whose jurisdiction the *šibtu*-holding fell.

The *šibtu* holdings of military personnel or others connected with the military are leased with special authorization from military officials and the lease contracts for these fields contain the clause that they are rented “at the order of PN” (see above under Military Organization).

#### *Lessees of Fields*

The term used for renting a field remains fairly constant throughout our texts: he (the tenant) has rented a field in *errēšūtu* tenancy (A.ŠĀ *ana errēšūtim ušešī*)<sup>64</sup>. The words *ana* GUN, “for rent”, are also often added. The occupation of the lessee is not specified before the time of Ammi-ditana, but the occupations mentioned from this period onward indicate that those renting fields are often affluent individuals, who did so as investments. Fields are rented by such well-to-do people as a *sanga* of the Gula temple, scribes, a diviner, a judge, a general, a *rabiānu* official, the *abi šābi* officials, barbers, and the Overseer of the barbers (UGULA ŠU.I) a shepherd, and a gardener<sup>65</sup>. Among the perhaps less affluent lessees are a housebuilder, a fisherman, and Suteans<sup>66</sup>. One lessee is referred to as the retainer (*šuhārum*) of another man<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> YBC 6474.

<sup>63</sup> YBC 6785 (Amd 7).

<sup>64</sup> See e.g., PBS 8/2 229 (Ha 42); CT 33 36 (Amd 29); CT 4 14c (Amš 3).

<sup>65</sup> For a *sanga* see CT 4 40c (Ae); for scribes, BE 6/1 90 (Amd 21), CT 8 7a (Amd 32), TCL 1 155 (Amd 34), BM 64391 (Sd 19); for a diviner, BM 80223 = CT 45 50 (Amd 24); for a judge, BM 80264 (Amš 16); for a general, Waterman Bus. Doc. 16 (Amš 14); for a *rabiānu*, CT 8 8d (Amd 2); for *abi šābi*'s, CT 8 3b (Amš 3), CT 4 17a (Amš 9), CT 8 10a (Amš 15), TLB 1 226 (destr.); for barbers, CT 8 11b (Amš 5), CT 8 19b (Amš 11); for an Overseer of barbers, CT 6 24b (Ae k), for a shepherd see TCL 1 171 (Amš 17 + a); for a gardener, CT 47 74 (Amš 16).

<sup>66</sup> For a housebuilder, CT 33 36 (Amd 29); for a fisherman, CT 8 40d (Amd 32); and for a Sutean, CT 45 59, CT 8 14a (both Amš 10).

<sup>67</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 15 (Amš 12).

Though the *naditu* is found more often as lessor than as lessee she did at times lease fields<sup>68</sup>, presumably to be worked for her since in one instance she hires also an ox and a slave<sup>69</sup>. The Princess Iltani certainly had fields worked for her, though she rents out fields as well as leases them<sup>70</sup>.

Some persons lease a field from the same *naditu* several times. Mišarum-nāšir, son of Mār-Šamaš, for example, leases part of a field from a *naditu* from whom he had leased a smaller portion four years before<sup>71</sup>. Inim.<sup>d</sup>Šeš.ki.ì.gim leases two fields totalling 34 GÁN from two *naditu*'s in the same year<sup>72</sup>. Ibbi-Šamaš, son of Šamaš-nāšir, leases a field from a *naditu* and some years later from her sister<sup>73</sup>. Mašqu, son of Sinatum, also twice rents fields from *naditu*'s<sup>74</sup>.

Other lessees appear in several texts. Ilšu-bāni, son of Ibbi-Ilabrat, known as a merchant (DAM.GĀR) from his seal inscription<sup>75</sup>, sells and leases a field<sup>76</sup> in the same year. Many years later his brother Sin-rēmenni leases a field<sup>77</sup>.

The lessee Ipqatum, son of Paḥallum, who also sells a field<sup>78</sup>, is known from another text as head of a work gang<sup>79</sup>.

Another lessee, Nūr-Šamaš, son of Ibni-Šamaš, elsewhere hires a man to care for the sheep of the princess Iltani, daughter of King Sin-muballit, and is therefore a member of the royal household<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., PBS 8/2 240 (und.); CT 8 17b (Ae k); Waterman Bus. Doc. 2 (Amd. 36).

<sup>69</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 5 (Ha 14).

<sup>70</sup> She leases fields in Waterman Bus. Doc. 2; CT 8 17b; and YBC 6785 and rents out a field in BM 65491. Most unusual is the fact that when she leases out this field it is stated that she did so "with the permission of PN, the Overseer of the cloister personnel (*ina qabê PN UGULA É ša É GÁ.GI.A*)".

<sup>71</sup> In CT 48 113 (Ha 38) and BM 82137 (Ha 42).

<sup>72</sup> In PBS 8/2 206 and BE 6/1 39, both dating from Ha 4.

<sup>73</sup> BM 67351 (Ha 32) and BM 74221 (Ha 43).

<sup>74</sup> In VAS 9 202 (= Meissner BAP 77) (Ha 31(?)); and VAS 9 62 (Ha 38).

<sup>75</sup> PBS 7 47.

<sup>76</sup> CT 47 38 (Ha 21) and BE 6/2 72 (Ha 21), respectively.

<sup>77</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 1 (Si 6).

<sup>78</sup> He is a lessee in BE 6/1 53 (Si 4) and a seller in TCL 1 221 (und).

<sup>79</sup> BE 6/1 29:15f. (Ha 31). He appears also in BE 6/1 40:6 (Ha 42) and PBS 8/2 227:23 (Si 8), administrative texts, where his status is not indicated.

<sup>80</sup> That he was a *iššakku* steward is known from CT 6 39a:5. He is lessor in VAS 9 26/27 (Ha 27) and acts on behalf of the princess in VAS 9 59/60 (Ha 38). In BM 78811 (Ha 9 or 33) he adopts a child born of caesarian section from his own sister.

The lessee Ili-usāti, son of Mannum-kīma-Adad, an *iššakku* steward<sup>81</sup>, elsewhere purchases several slaves, perhaps as field hands<sup>82</sup>. His son, Lú.<sup>d</sup>Iškur.ra, who was probably a member of the military<sup>83</sup>, also rents fields<sup>84</sup>.

A man might be both a lessor and a lessee; presumably such a case involves partnership<sup>85</sup>.

Sometimes a small area of a field was rented by men who must have been gardeners since they rent it for ripening their dates (*ana šiknim*). Small areas of 20 SAR, 40 SAR, 1/6 GÁN (*ana šikin nukarribbi*), and 1 GÁN are rented for this purpose<sup>86</sup>.

### *The Terms of the Lease*

In return for the use of the land the lessee paid a share of the crop to the owner. The rent was usually based on the size of the field and the considerable variations in the rate are due presumably to the condition of the field. The ratio paid to the owner was usually 6 GUR of barley per 18 GÁN (or 1 BUR) which is 1/3 GUR per GÁN<sup>87</sup>, though the ratio is often slightly higher — 8 GUR per 18 GÁN (or 1 BUR)<sup>88</sup>, or even about 1 GUR per GÁN<sup>89</sup>. It appears that the owner was favored at the beginning of the reign of Hammu-rapi, and perhaps slightly before and after. After this the owner's share became more standardized: one-third of the yield<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> In YBC 1693 (Amd) and YBC 12983 (Amd 3).

<sup>82</sup> In CT 45 44 (Amd 2).

<sup>83</sup> This appears to be the case from Meissner BAP 4 where he gives an *abi šābi* permission to purchase slaves.

<sup>84</sup> In YBC 12982 (Amš 9) and in Meissner BAP 76 (Amd 33) where his father's name is abbreviated to Usātum.

<sup>85</sup> E.g., CT 2 32 and Meissner BAP 76.

<sup>86</sup> CT 8 40b (Ha 38); CT 48 113 (Ha 38); BM 81490 (und.); and BM 81595 (Si 30), respectively. Note, however, that in CT 47 74 where a gardener leases a field of 4 GÁN the formula is for the standard *errēšūtu* tenancy.

<sup>87</sup> E.g., Szlechter Tablettes 76 MAH 16287 (AS 1); VAS 9 157 (Ha 40); CT 8 17b (Ae k); CT 33 33 (Amd 4); BE 6/1 89 (Amd 19); BE 6/2 110 (Amd 29); TCL 1 155 (Amd 34); and *passim*.

<sup>88</sup> YBC 6808 (Amd 5); Waterman Bus. Doc. 7 (Amd 35); CT 8 11b (Amš 6); CT 8 14a (= CT 8 10b) (Amš 10); Waterman Bus. Doc. 60 (Amš 11); and *passim*.

<sup>89</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 6 (Sm), 5 (Ha 15); PBS 8/2 206 (Ha 4); Waterman Bus. Doc. 12 (Ha 13); Friedrich BA 5 486 No. 2 (Ha 14); Friedrich BA 5 508 No. 42 (Ha 17(?)); CT 6 48c (Ha 25); VAS 9 23/24 (Ha 27); YOS 12 44 (Si 2).

<sup>90</sup> See note 87 for references. I suggested in JAOS 88 728 that it was the later kings of Babylon who attempt to establish standards which are reflected in these lease contracts.

In the latter part of the Old Babylonian period it is sometimes stipulated that rent is to be paid in accordance with that of adjacent fields (*kīma imittišu u šumēlišu*)<sup>91</sup>, obviously an attempt to combat individual carelessness or excuses and to create an objective standard of efficiency in the face of changing irrigation conditions.

Also in the later period, partnership agreements were often formed between the lessee and lessor, in which each party shared in the expenditures (*mānaḥtu*) and usually shared equally in the yield, though in some cases the owner might receive the larger share<sup>92</sup>.

One contract stipulates that the lessee is to pay “according to the rate established by the city (*ana kīma ālim*)”<sup>93</sup>.

The rental rate is naturally lower for fallow (KI.KAL) or unprepared fields, with the owner usually receiving 60 silas (= 1/5 GUR) per GÁN<sup>94</sup>, though the rate might be higher<sup>95</sup>.

From the time of Ammi-ditana on, the owner of the field might receive part of the rent in silver at the time of the contractual agreement. This payment might range from 1/2 shekel to 2 shekels<sup>96</sup> and in one undated lease this first installment on the rent is described as the *rēšti bilti*<sup>97</sup>.

Though a field is typically leased out for one year, a fallow field is often leased for three, with the tenant holding the field rent free for the first two years; in the third year he has to pay rent<sup>98</sup>. When fallow and cultivated land are rented together,

<sup>91</sup> CT 8 8d (Amd 2); BE 6/1 83 (Amd 31); Meissner BAP 76 (Amd 33); YBC 12982 (Amš 9); Waterman Bus. Doc. 75 (Amš 16).

<sup>92</sup> YBC 1693 (Amd) where two men lease a field from two *nadītu*'s; YBC 6808 (Amd 5); Friedrich BA 5 505 No. 36 (Amš [x]), 506 No. 39 (Amš ?); Meissner BAP 75 (Amš 9).

<sup>93</sup> VAS 9 62 (Ha 38).

<sup>94</sup> YBC 6474 (Ae u); CT 8 7a (Amd 32); CT 4 14a (Amš 3); Meissner BAP 75 (Amš 9); CT 2 8 (Amš 16); and *passim*.

<sup>95</sup> As in CT 8 3b where the rate is 70 silas.

<sup>96</sup> 2/3 shekel (CT 2 8 (Amš 16), 1/2 shekel (BM 16958 (Amš 12)), 1 shekel 100 silas of barley (CT 45 57 (Amš 5 (?))), 1 shekel (BE 6/1 90 (Amd 21)), Meissner BAP 74 (Amš 13, CT 8 7a (Amš 32), CT 8 14a = 10b (Amš 10)), 2 shekels (YBC 6785 (Amd 7) and CT 4 17a (Amš 9)).

<sup>97</sup> Friedrich BA 5 514 No. 50. The simplicity of the formula would suggest an early date for this contract, despite the fact that it is only the later leases which include the partial payment of rent.

<sup>98</sup> *ina šaluštim šattim ana GÚ.UN irrub*. For this see TCL 1 154 (Amd 24); CT 8 36b (Amd 27); CT 33 36 (Amd 29); Meissner BAP 75 (Amš 9) and *passim*.

a clause is added which states that the tenant will have usufruct of the cultivated land until he has broken the ground of the fallow land (*adi KI.KAL ipettû AB.ŠÈN ikkal*)<sup>99</sup>.

*Fluctuation in Rents*

For several irrigation areas (*ugāru*) we have lease contracts from different periods which enable us to detect fluctuations in the rent. From the data we can see that there is a marked decline in the rent received by the owner after the period of Hammu-rapi and that with the decline there is a stabilization of the rent, with the ratio of 1 GUR per 3 GÁN or 1/3 GUR per GÁN becoming the norm. We are here assuming that we have adequate examples and that the land in a given area is of the same quality.

*The region of Amurru*

Ha 21	PBS 8/2 262	1 GUR per 2 GÁN
Ha 32	PBS 8/2 253	1 GUR per 1 GÁN
Ams 13	Meissner BAP 74	1 GUR per 3 GÁN

*The region of Paḥuṣum*

Ha 13	Waterman Bus. Doc. 12	15 GUR per 18 GÁN
Ha 32	CT 33 48b	16 GUR per 18 GÁN
Amd 32	CT 8 7a	1 GUR per 3 GÁN

*The region of Ṭabûm*

Ha 40	BM 60881 + 2	2 GUR per 33 (or 7) GÁN
Ha 42	PBS 8/2 229	130 silas per GÁN

*The region of Ṭabûm*

Si 7	CT 47 59	1 GUR per 3 GÁN
Ae k	CT 8 17b	1 GUR per 3 GÁN
Amd 21	BE 6/1 90	1 GUR per 3 GÁN
Ams 9	CT 4 17a	1 GUR per 3 GÁN

*The region of "9 GÁN"*

Ae (?)	CT 4 40c	1/2 GUR per GÁN
Amd 32	CT 8 40d	170 silas per GÁN
Amd 35	Waterman Bus. Doc. 7	8 GUR per 18 GÁN or 1 GUR per 3 GÁN

<sup>99</sup> As in CT 8 7a (Amd 32); CT 8 3b (Ams 3) and CT 2 8 (Ams 16).

*Additional Clauses*

The specific agricultural work to be done by the tenant is rarely mentioned. One text states that the tenant will harrow, break up (the clods) and use the seed-plow (*išakkak išebber u irriš*)<sup>100</sup>. Another that the partners in tenancy will reap and thresh the barley and winnow the grain (A.Š.À *iššedu idiššu u izarrûma*)<sup>101</sup>.

Occasionally the consequences for the tenant should he fail to do the required work are expressly stated. "If he does not do the plowing, he (the owner) will nevertheless take his half of the barley" (*šipram ul ipušma mišlānišu še'am ileqqi*)<sup>102</sup>. Or should the tenant neglect the field the owner will nevertheless take his share of the yield of the field (A.Š.À *inaddîma A.Š.À-ma imakkus*)<sup>103</sup>.

A number of special clauses occur in lease contracts which involve the *nadîtu*'s. We have discussed above the *piqittu* offering which each *nadîtu* of Šamaš and cloister official was obliged to bring to the temple for the Šamaš festivals. The *nadîtu* who leased out her real estate, fields and houses, might transfer part if not all of this obligation to the lessee. In most cases the lessee had to pay for only three festivals, occasionally for four, five or six. Whether the number fixed upon was simply arbitrary or in some way connected with the field and rent is impossible to determine. For the references to these clauses see the list of contracts.

Limited in time and to the contracts of only a few *nadîtu*'s is the stipulation that the lessee, in addition to the *piqittu* offering, was to give the lessor a small sum of silver, usually  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel, in place of the customary "sheep for the field", (x shekel of silver UDU A.Š.À)<sup>104</sup>. This practice may relate to an old tradition of which only this symbolic payment remained<sup>105</sup>. The sole occurrence of a clause

<sup>100</sup> VAS 9 202 (= Meissner BAP 77).

<sup>101</sup> BE 6/1 112 (Sd c).

<sup>102</sup> VAS 8 62/63.

<sup>103</sup> CT 48 113 (Ha 38).

<sup>104</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 6 (Sm); *kî GUD-ap A.Š.À* (Waterman Bus. Doc. 4 (Sm 13)); *gadum UDU A.Š.À* (BE 6/2 72 (Ha 21)); UDU A.Š.À (Waterman Bus. Doc. 52 (Ha 17)); UDU [A].Š.À-*im* (CT 33 48b (Ha 32)); and UDU.NITÀ A.Š.À-*im* (Riftin 39). This clause appears only in the leases of Huššutum, daughter of Sin-putram, Mannatum, daughter of Jassi-el, and Japhatum, daughter of Izi-gatar. I noted in *Studies Oppenheim* 131 that another phrase *ina pî aptim* was also of limited currency, appearing especially in the leases of Mannatum, daughter of Jassi-el.

<sup>105</sup> It is perhaps to be connected with a practice which is found as late as the time of Darius. For references see CAD 7 130.

stating that the lessee is also to forfeit 1 shekel of silver, *izub 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR itelli*, may be a variation of this “sheep” clause<sup>106</sup>.

The unusual clause “he (the lessee) will give 1 shekel of silver as the *nēbaḥu* of the field”, occurs in only one lease contract<sup>107</sup>. The term *nēbaḥu* has elsewhere been interpreted as a compensatory sum<sup>108</sup>.

Another stipulation found in *nadītu* rentals seems also to have been of limited currency, and either precedes or immediately follows the *piqittu* clause. A small amount of barley, from 90 to 50 silas, described as “gleanings”, *liqtātum*, is to be paid to the lessor<sup>109</sup>.

#### List of Field Lease Contracts

DATE	SIZE	TERMS (share of owner)	TEXT
AS 1	—	one-third (four festivals)	Szlechter Tablettes 76 MAH 16287
AS 1	3 GÁN, 1½ GÁN	4 GUR	CT 6 48a
Sm [x]	14 GÁN	14 GUR (six festivals)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 6
Sm 8	9	9	CT 47 10/10a
Sm 13	14	14	Waterman Bus. Doc. 4
Sm 16	9	6 GUR barley, 10 silas oil	CT 33 45a
Ha 4	18	22	PBS 8/2 206
Ha 4	10	15 (three festivals)	BE 6/1 39
Ha 9 (or 33)	9 (or 15)	one-third (three festivals)	BM 81584
Ha 11	—	one-third (three festivals)	CT 8 41a
Ha 12	—	one-third (three festivals)	VAS 8 113/114
Ha 13	18	15 (five festivals)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 12
Ha 13	6	[x]	Meissner BAP 73
Ha 14	4 GÁN 78 SAR	[x] and PI barley	PBS 8/2 239
Ha 14	4½	4 GUR 150 silas (four festivals)	Friedrich 2
Ha 15	4	4	Waterman Bus. Doc. 5
Ha 17	26	20 GUR 150 silas	Waterman Bus. Doc. 52
Ha 17	4 (?)	1 GUR per GÁN (three festivals)	Friedrich 42
Ha 21	35	37½ 2 GUR 150 silas (five festivals)	BE 6/2 72
Ha 21	18	2 GUR per GÁN (five festivals)	PBS 8/2 262
Ha 25	3	3 (three festivals)	CT 6 48a
Ha 27	4	4 (four festivals)	VAS 9 23/24
Ha 27	—	4	VAS 9 26/27
Ha 27	—	6 (six festivals)	CT 4 44c

<sup>106</sup> PBS 8/2 262 (Ha 21). Note that Mannatum, daughter of Jassi-el, is the lessor here, too.

<sup>107</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 12 (Ha 13).

<sup>108</sup> For other references to this term see Simmons, JCS 13 92.

<sup>109</sup> BE 6/1 42 (Ha 42); YOS 12 44 (Si 2); CT 8 41c (Si 21). On *liqtu* see AHw 6 555.

DATE	SIZE	TERMS	TEXT
Ha 30	—	4 (four festivals)	BM 81220
Ha 31 (?)	6	one-third	VAS 9 202 = Meissner 77
Ha 32	18	16	CT 33 48b
Ha 32	35	1 GUR per GÁN (three festivals)	PBS 8/2 253
Ha 32	6 + [x]	[x]	BM 67351
Ha 37	2	18 (?) GUR	Friedrich 14
Ha 38	20 SAR	4 GUR	CT 8 40b
Ha 38	40 SAR	4 GUR	CT 48 113
Ha 38	3	<i>ana kima ālim</i>	VAS 9 62
Ha 40	3 (case:7)	3 (three festivals)	BM 60881
Ha 40	6	3 (three festivals)	VAS 9 158/9
Ha 40	10	[x] (four festivals)	BM 64384/a
Ha 40	12	4 GUR 150 silas (three festivals)	VAS 9 157
Ha 41	12	34 GUR 120 silas	BM 82278
Ha 42	4	150 silas per GÁN	PBS 8/2 229
Ha 42	9	one-third (three festivals)	BE 6/1 42
Ha 42	50 SAR	4 GUR per GÁN	BM 82137
Ha 43	9	4 GUR 150 silas (three festivals)	CT 6 44a
Ha 43 (?)	1	partnership (four festivals)	BM 74421/a
Ha 43 (?)	3	[x]	Friedrich 7
Si 1	7	[x] (three festivals)	CT 47 51/51a
Si 1	9	5 (three festivals)	BM 81687
Si 2	9	9 (five festivals)	YOS 12 44
Si 3	9	[x] (four festivals)	PBS 8/2 208
Si 3 or 4	7	one-third	BE 6/1 53
Si 4	1/6 GÁN	4 GUR per GÁN	BM 81490
Si 6	24	one-third	Waterman 1
Si 6	9	6 GUR 150 silas (five festivals)	BM 81256
Si 7	—	200 silas	Scheil Sippar 91
Si 7	25	one-third (four festivals)	CT 47 59
Si 9	4	one-third (four festivals)	TCL 1 128
Si 9 or 10	18	8 GUR (four festivals)	PBS 8/2 228
Si 21	12	[x] (three festivals)	CT 8 41c
Si 30	1	40 silas (?) per GÁN	BM 81595
Ae ?	3	100 silas per GÁN	CT 4 40c
Ae k	6	6 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 8 17b
Ae p	9	100 silas per GÁN	CT 6 24b
Ae p	174 GÁN (3 fields)	[x]	CT 47 70
Ae r	3	120 silas (?)	BE 6/1 77
Ae u	[x] AB.ŠÈN	two-thirds	YBC 6474
	[x] KI.KAL	60 silas per GÁN	
Ae 28	9	4 GUR	BE 6/1 74
Amd ?	6 (TAB.BA)	equal division	YBC 1693
Amd 2	—	like right and left	CT 8 8d

DATE	SIZE	TERMS	TEXT
Amd 3	18	like right and left (three festivals)	CT 33' 30
Amd 3	[x]	6 GUR 100 silas (three festivals)	YBC 12983
Amd 4	9	100 silas per GÁN	CT 33 33
Amd 5	18	7 GUR per 18 GÁN	Waterman Bus. Doc. 3
	8		
Amd 7	[x]	— (2 shekels)	YBC 6785
Amd 19	2	one-third	BE 6/1 89
Amd 21	24	one-third	BE 6/1 90
Amd 24	— (TAB.BA)	60 silas per GÁN	TCL 1 154
Amd 24	16	6 (?) GUR per GÁN	CT 45 50
Amd 27	—	[x]	CT 8 36b
Amd 29	—	one-third	BE 6/2 110
Amd 29	— (KI.KAL)	60 silas per [x] GÁN	CT 33 36
Amd 31	(3 fields)	like right and left	BE 6/1 83
Amd 32	12 ( <i>ana</i> TAB.BA)	60 silas per 18 GÁN (2 yrs.)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 48
		8 GUR per 18 GÁN (3rd yr.)	
Amd 32	42 GÁN	one-third	CT 8 7a
	(21 AB.ŠĒN)	60 silas per GÁN	
	(21 KI.KAL)		
Amd 32	7	200 silas per GÁN	CT 8 40d
Amd 33	4 (partnership)	like the right and left	Meissner 76
Amd 34	12	one-third	TCL 1 155
Amd 35	1	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	Waterman 7
Amd 36	7	13 GUR per 18 GÁN (three festivals)	Waterman 2
Amd [x]	[x] ( <i>ana</i> TAB.BA)	equal division	Friedrich 36
Amš ?	2 (TAB.BA)	equal division	Friedrich 39
Amš 1	3 (AB.ŠĒN)	2 GUR 120 silas	YBC 4271
	(TAB.BA)		
Amš 3	12 (10 : AB.ŠĒN)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN [...]	BE 6/1 94
	(2 : KI.KAL)		
	(TAB.BA)		
Amš 3	1 (KI.KAL)	60 silas per GÁN	CT 4 14a
Amš 3	12 (AB.ŠĒN)	5 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 8 3b
	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> (KI.KAL)	60 silas per GÁN	
Amš 5	—	<i>ana pī šulpišu</i>	CT 8 19c
Amš 5	6	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 8 11b
Amš 5	2 (AB.ŠĒN)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 45 57
	4 (AB.ŠĒN)		
Amš 6	15 (AB.ŠĒN)	30 silas sesame per GÁN	BE 6/2 124
Amš 9	— (KI.KAL)	equal division	Meissner BAP 75
	(partnership)		
Amš 9	6 (AB.ŠĒN)	one-third	YBC 4329
	— (KI.KAL)	—	
Amš 9	3 (sesame)	like right and left	YBC 12982

DATE	SIZE	TERMS	TEXT
Amš 9	9 (AB.ŠĒN)	one-third	CT 4 17a
Amš 10	9 (AB.ŠĒN)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 8 14a = 10b
Amš 10	6 ( <i>ana</i> TAB.BA)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 45 59
Amš 10	4 (AB.ŠĒN)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	Friedrich 34
	18 (KI.KAL)	60 silas per GÁN	
Amš 11	3	8 GUR per GÁN	Waterman 60
Amš 11	— ( <i>ana</i> TAB.BA)	one-third	CT 8 19b
Amš 12	3½	[x]	BM 16958
Amš 12	3 ( <i>ana</i> TAB.BA)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	BM 80809
Amš 12	9 ( <i>tappû</i> )	8 GUR per (three festivals)	Waterman 15
Amš 13	10 (AB.ŠĒN)	one-third	Meissner 74
	6		
Amš 14	6 ( <i>ana</i> TAB.BA)	one-third	Waterman 16
Amš 15	—	one-third	CT 4 23b
Amš 15	21	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 8 10a
Amš 16	2 (KI.KAL(?))	140 silas per GÁN	CT 47 74
Amš 16	5 (AB.ŠĒN)	[x]	Çig Kraus Nippur 169
Amš 16	[x] (AB.ŠĒN)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	BM 80264
Amš 16 (?)	3 (partnership)	equal division	Waterman 75
Amš 16	4 (AB.ŠĒN)	one-third	CT 2 8
	2 (KI.KAL)	60 silas per GÁN	
Amš 17	4 + [x] (AB.ŠĒN)	[x]	BM 80462
Amš 17 + a	3 (AB.ŠĒN)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 2 32
Amš 17 + a	2 (AB.ŠĒN)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	TCL 1 171
Sd c	— ( <i>ana</i> TAB.BA)	owner : 1 share partners : 1 share	BE 6/1 112
Sd ?	3	like right and left	Waterman 76
Sd 19	—	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	BM 64391
destr.	2 (AB.ŠĒN)	one-third	Waterman 59
	2 (KI.KAL)	100 silas per GÁN (three festivals)	
und.	7	8 GUR 150 silas (two festivals)	CT 33 42
und.	3 (KA.GAR)	3 GUR	CT 33 43
	1 (KI.KAL)		
und.	[x]	one-third	Friedrich 53
und.	12½	20 GUR 150 silas	CT 33 45b
?	3 (AB.ŠĒN)	[x]	TCL 1 181
?	4	[x] (three festivals)	CT 8 42c
und.	[x]	12 GUR (four festivals)	Waterman 11
und.	2½	1 GUR 90 silas	BM 82226
und.	9	one-third	TCL 1 187
und.	[x]	9 GUR	TCL 1 203
und.	—	one-half	VAS 8 62/63
und.	12	12 GUR (six festivals)	Riftin 39
und.	9	—	CT 4 39b

DATE	SIZE	TERMS	TEXT
?	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1 GUR per GÁN (three festivals)	Friedrich 28
und.	—	one-third	Friedrich 49
und.	—	200 silas	Friedrich 50
und.	12	8 GUR (four festivals)	Friedrich 51
und.	6	6 GUR [x]	Friedrich 59
und.	12	1 GUR per GÁN	CT 6 41c
und.	8	4 GUR (three festivals)	Waterman 57
und.	15	15 GUR	CT 6 35a
destr.	8	35 GUR (three festivals)	Waterman 58
und.	53	57 GUR 150 silas	Waterman 77
und.	3	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 45 120
und.	4	one-third	VAS 9 179
und.	[x]	one-half	Çig Kraus Nippur 175
und.	18	[x]	PBS 8/2 231
und.	9	7 GUR (four festivals)	PBS 8/2 240
und.	[x]	[x]	BM 74419
und.	4 GÁN 2 SAR	one-third	BM 67287
und.	3	3 GUR ([x] f)	BM 67307
und.	19	[x] (three festivals)	BM 67821
und.	3	2 GUR	BM 74420 A
destr.	12	[x] (five festivals)	Çig Kraus Nippur 173
destr.	—	[x] (three festivals)	PBS 8/2 209
destr.	[x] ( <i>ana</i> TAB.BA)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 47 76
destr.	14 (AB.ŠÈN)	8 GUR per 18 GÁN	CT 45 66
destr.	3 (AB.ŠÈN)	[x]	TLB 1 226
	2 (KI.KAL)	[x]	
?	25	[x] (six festivals)	CT 47 75

### Litigations

There are several instances of litigations arising from the leasing of fields. In one, a lessee and lessor come to an agreement on investments made in a field of 10 GÁN in the presence of witnesses. The owner of the field is to give the lessee barley equal to 1 shekel of silver at harvest time<sup>110</sup>. In what is possibly another such litigation, a settlement is made in which the children of Kikinum, probably the lessees, receive two thirds (*šittišunu*) and the lessor Mannum one third (*šahuš-tam*). In this instance the symbol of Šamaš is used to settle the dispute<sup>111</sup>. A text

<sup>110</sup> TCL 1 112 (Si 5). The field was perhaps located in Aštabala which is mentioned in line 14. In a note, VAS 9 208:3 (und.), this same place is mentioned as the location of fields and one of the persons mentioned in it, Marduk-mušallim, is one of the litigants in TCL 1 112:23. Note that the road to Aštabala is the boundary of a field in CT 2 37:6 (Za).

<sup>111</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 36 (AS). See AS 16 217ff. for the use of the divine weapon of Šamaš (*kakku*) to settle the division of harvest yield between owner and tenant.

in which a man declares that he will pay “expenses” to Erīb-Sin the diviner (*mānahtaka apalka*), presumably to settle a claim, may be another instance of a litigation between lessee and lessor<sup>112</sup>.

*Partnership Between Owner and Lessee*

Several types of partnership tenancy of fields are attested in the Sippar texts. In one type, the owner and the lessee form a partnership; in another, two or more large landowners hold and work a field as partners<sup>113</sup>.

Partnerships between owner and lessee are characterized by a statement in the lease contract that a field has been rented in partnership (*ana TAB.BA*), or that the parties are partners (*tappū*).

The yield is usually divided equally between the partners (*baši'am mithariš izzuzu*). But when a scribe, presumably the field owner, becomes partners with five men, he receives half of the yield of the field or one share (*zittu*) while his five partners divide the second share between them<sup>114</sup>.

The earliest partnership contract, which probably dates from the time of King Sin-muballiṭ, follows a slightly different pattern. Two men who lease a field in partnership with the owner share equally the cost of plowing with their *harbu* plow, divide half of the yield on the basis of a “collect and take-away contract”, and the owner receives the other half (*miḥiṣ harbišunu ša PN ana zi[tti] PN<sub>2</sub> izūzu muttat eqlim ša PN ana zi[tti] itti PN<sub>2</sub> izūzu PN<sub>3</sub> u PN ana esip ta[bal] izū[zu]*<sup>115</sup>.

The fields involved in these partnership leases are generally quite small (see list of contracts), and unlike the large fields of about 16 GÁN which are leased by wealthy individuals<sup>116</sup>, seem to have been leased by the less well-to-do Sipparian farmers.

<sup>112</sup> CT 8 40a (Ha).

<sup>113</sup> Contracts which involve fields rented in partnership have been discussed by Eilers *Gesellschaftsformen* 38ff.

<sup>114</sup> BE 6/1 112 (Amš 17 + a).

<sup>115</sup> VAS 8 74/75. Though the contract is not dated, note that one of the witnesses, Šamaš-qarrad also appears in VAS 8 41/42:13 which dates from Sin-muballiṭ 26. This type of contract, one frequently found in texts from Elam (see CAD 4 330 for references), has been discussed by Koschaker *Griech. Rechtsurk.* 90ff.

<sup>116</sup> As in PBS 8/2 206; Waterman Bus. Doc. 12; and BE 6/2 72.

*List of Partnership Contracts*

(Sm)	VAS 8 74/75	Two men partners in field
Ha 43 (?)	BM 74421/a	1 GÁN leased out to one man by <i>naditu</i>
Amd (?)	YBC 1693	6 GÁN leased out to two men by two <i>naditu's</i>
Amd 5	YBC 6808	9 GÁN [...]
Amd 24	TCL 1 154	[x] GÁN (fallow) to two people by PA.PA
Amd 33	Meissner BAP 76	4 GÁN leased to man and to himself
Amd [x]	Friedrich 36	[x] GÁN leased to two men
Amš ?	Friedrich 39	2 GÁN leased to two men
Amš 1	YBC 4271	3 GÁN leased to two men by <i>naditu</i>
Amš 3	BE 6/1 94	12 GÁN (10 AB.ŠÈN, 2 KI.KAL) leased to two men by <i>naditu</i>
Amš 9	Meissner BAP 75	Fallow field leased to three men
Amš 9	YBC 12982	3 GÁN leased to two men by <i>naditu</i>
Amš 10	CT 45 59	6 GÁN leased to two men
Amš 12	Waterman 15	9 GÁN leased to two men by <i>naditu</i>
Amš 14	Waterman 16	6 GÁN leased to general and another man
Amš 16 (?)	Waterman 75	3 GÁN leased to two men by judge
Sd c	BE 6/1 112	Field leased to five men by scribe, himself a partner

*Large Landowners*

Several texts show that wealthy citizens of Sippar might pool their resources in order to invest in large acreage. Among these individuals were temple officials, municipal administrative officials, *naditu* women, and a wealthy shepherd. An *iššakku* steward was employed by the partners in order to manage the large estate. Only one such *iššakku*, Bēlijatum, is known, but he is mentioned in many such contexts. He is explicitly referred to as the *iššakku* of the *naditu* Lamassani and as the responsible official (*bēl pīḫatim*) of her brother, Sin-iqīšam, Chairman of the Assembly. One of the accounts of an estate managed by Bēlijatum enumerates the types and numbers of the agricultural workers needed for the work on these fields :

- 8 men for cutting dry furrows
- 3 winnowers
- 2 men to bank up the irrigation ditches
- 2 men to pick up the clods before seed-plowing
- 10 men to guard against birds
- 36 gardeners (i.e.) six men on 6 days for preparing the soil

16 gardeners (i.e.) 4 men on 4 days for loosening the soil  
 40 gardeners (i.e.) 5 men on 8 days for the third ploughing  
 (summed up as) 92 man-days of gardening work

At the conclusion of this list amounts of barley for three people and for the ox drivers are given, and a statement that all work and expenditures are the responsibility (GÌR) of Bēlijatum<sup>117</sup>.

Bēlijatum is also in charge of the field of the *naditu* Elmēšum. One text lists the materials and labor invested by Bēlijatum and Elmēšum in a field of 5½ GÁN<sup>118</sup>. The list includes 16 harvesters, 12 substitute (*taḥḫū*) men<sup>119</sup>, 1 GUR 60 silas of seed grain which is the equivalent of 1½ shekels of silver, three teams of plow oxen, and the hire for six cattle.

Elsewhere Bēlijatum is responsible (*piḫat*) for 90 GUR of barley which is harvested from a field in Kār-Šamaš and brought to the granary<sup>120</sup> where it is received by Lamassani, a man whose status is unknown, and a woman<sup>121</sup>. Bēlijatum also hires the services of a man to care for the oxen of Sin-iqīšam, the Chairman of the Assembly<sup>122</sup>.

An account, which states that barley is taken from the partnership field and brought to the threshing floor of the town of Pasmāt (SAG.GAR.BI *ša* A.ŠĀ *tappūtum ana* KI.UD *ša* Pasmāt<sup>KI</sup>), enumerates the shares of four partners, among whom are a shepherd, a *pašišu* priest, and the son of a *kalamāḫu*. Bēlijatum receives a smaller share than the four partners and Lamassani, who is not named as a partner, receives an even smaller share<sup>123</sup>.

Another text records shares given to Bēlijatum from the fields of five people which he is managing, and which may have been adjacent to one another.

Though only a portion of the obverse of the text is preserved, it gives some

<sup>117</sup> TCL 1 174:1-10 (Amš 12 or 15); 8 ERÍN *ablutum ḫarušu* 3 ERÍN *zārū* 2 ERÍN *ēsip* E.ĪI.A 2 ERÍN LÚ LAG.RI.RI.GA 10 ERÍN *maššar erbu* MUŠEN 36 ERÍN LÚ A.BAL *ša* 6 UD-mi 4 ERÍN.MEŠ *maḫaḫu* 16 ERÍN LÚ.A.BAL *ša* 4 UD-mi 4 ERÍN.MEŠ *pāšarum* 40 ERÍN A.BAL *ša* 7 UD-mi 4 ERÍN.MEŠ *šullušu* 25 ERÍN.MEŠ LÚ.A.BAL.

<sup>118</sup> TCL 1 229.

<sup>119</sup> Copy has *ta-aḫ-[nu]* for which we suggest the reading *ta-aḫ-[ḫu]* (!).

<sup>120</sup> *a-na* É.Ī.DUB. This is probably the city granary. Note that the first responsible (GÌR) person is a DUMU.É.DUB.BA.

<sup>121</sup> TCL 1 167 (Amš 13).

<sup>122</sup> TCL 1 166 (Amš 23).

<sup>123</sup> TCL 1 168 (Amš 13).

indication of the yield of a field as well as the expenditures involved in farming. Barley is paid for the hire of a man for the plow ox. There is also 2 GUR of barley for the tax collector, perhaps a royal tax, and an amount of barley, perhaps a temple tax, for the Barber of Šamaš. Then follows a sum of the expenditures which are given according to the measures of Šamaš, Marduk, and PAD. The reverse reads :

- [x] +  $\frac{1}{2}$  GÁN field of Elmēšum, the *naditu* of Šamaš; of it 7 GUR 1 PI barley is the share of Bēlijatum, apart from 2 GUR 2 PI 1 BÁN 3 1/3 SILĀ which is the rent of the field ;
- 3 GÁN field of Ibissu, of it 3 GUR barley is the share of Bēlijatum, apart from 1 GUR 1 PI 4 BÁN barley which is the rent of the field ;
- 4 GÁN field of Ardum, of it 4 GUR 1 PI barley is the share of Bēlijatum, apart from 4 PI barley which is the rent of the field ;
- 4 GÁN field of Sin-šēmi, son of the *kalamāhu*, of it 8 GUR 3 PI 4 BÁN is the share of Bēlijatum, apart from 4 PI barley the rent of the field ;
- 12 GÁN field of Sāniq-pī-Sin, of it 10 GUR 2 BÁN is the share of Bēlijatum, together with 2 GUR of the share of Bēlijatum, and 1 GUR 1 PI barley seed apart from 5 GUR 1 PI 4 BÁN barley rent of the field <sup>124</sup>.

In view of the fact that so much information is available on the extensive transactions of the *iššakku* steward Bēlijatum, it is particularly interesting that there is a personal reference to him in a letter of one of his employers, Sin-iqīšam, who writes, “(I reported) that Bēlijatum, my representative, is not trustworthy (since) every year at harvest time concealed barley and stolen amounts intended for payment for my oxen are discovered in his possession” <sup>125</sup>.

#### *Mortgage of Fields*

A field might be left as a mortgage by a debtor as we see in one case in which a man is indebted for barley equal to thirty-three shekels of silver. If he does not pay the debt the creditor will take his field and plant it himself (A.ŠĀ PN *ikkimšuma irruš*) <sup>126</sup>.

#### *Exchange of Fields*

There are few contracts for the exchange of fields compared with the number in which fields are sold or leased, and all date from the time of Apil-Sin to that of

<sup>124</sup> TCL 1 230 (und.).

<sup>125</sup> TCL 1 54:4-8 : *kima Bēlijatum bēl piḫatija la ebbu šattišamma ina ebūrim šē'um kašittum u iniāt alpija šarqātum ina qātišu ... ikkaššadu.*

<sup>126</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 37 (Immerum).

Hammu-rapi. Presumably fields were exchanged in order to concentrate land holdings in one area, particularly in one in which one of the parties already owned fields<sup>127</sup>. Exchanges normally involved fields of the same size, though several fields might be exchanged<sup>128</sup>, and they might be located in different regions. This would suggest that land was approximately the same price, though it is also possible that adjustments were made. In the one instance in which an orchard is exchanged for two fields, one of 1 GÁN 5 SAR and another hoed lot (*merrum*)<sup>129</sup> of 3 SAR, the two fields are worth 12 shekels and to equalize the exchange 23 shekels were paid to the orchard owner<sup>130</sup>.

Exchanges were not always settled so agreeably. Three brothers who had exchanged fields with a *naditu*<sup>131</sup> bring a claim against her and another *naditu* who apparently now owns the field with her in partnership. The brothers claim that the *naditu*'s have taken more land than they should have and successfully demand 5 shekels of silver as additional compensation (*niplāt eqlim*)<sup>132</sup>.

*List of Field Exchanges*

DATE	SIZE	TEXT
AS	3 GÁN for 3 GÁN (same region)	CT 8 31b
Sm	1 GÁN 30 SAR for 1 GÁN 30 SAR (same region)	TCL 1 73
Ha [x]	1 GÁN 34 SAR orchard for 1 GÁN 65 SAR field 3 SAR hoed field and 23 shekels of silver	CT 8 22a
Ha 2	18 GÁN for 12 GÁN and 6 GÁN (three regions)	VAS 8 84
Ha 9 or 33 destr.	3 GÁN for 3 GÁN (two regions) 12 GÁN for 12 GÁN (three regions)	CT 45 20 CT 45 80
und.	1 GÁN 25 SAR for another field	TCL 1 90

<sup>127</sup> As is the case in TCL 1 74 (Sm 14).

<sup>128</sup> CT 45 80 (destr.).

<sup>129</sup> On the term *merrum* see Landsberger MSL 1 164.

<sup>130</sup> CT 8 22a (Ha).

<sup>131</sup> TCL 1 73.

<sup>132</sup> TCL 1 74 (Sm 14).

*The Steward Farmer*<sup>133</sup> (*iššakku ENSÍ*)

The steward farmer in Sippar managed the fields of the Šamaš and Annunitum temples (discussed above), as well as those of wealthy *naditu*'s and other large landowners. One such *iššakku*, Bēlijatum, was already mentioned.

An account which deals with various kinds of flour taken to Babylon lists several people. One of these men, Ili-usāti, is designated as an *iššakku*, and another, Iddin-Irra, is known as an *iššakku* from another source (see below), indicating, perhaps, that all those mentioned here are *iššakku* farmers, possibly of the royal fields, which would account for the transportation of the flour to Babylon<sup>134</sup>.

In Ili-usāti we have a rare example of social mobility in Sippar. His son, Lú.<sup>d</sup>Iškur.ra, is a member of the military establishment<sup>135</sup>. Ili-usāti appears in two contracts as a lessee of fields. His title is not added and he probably acts in his capacity as a private individual<sup>136</sup>.

The *iššakku* Mār-iršitim appears in an account with several other men including judges. This text, though poorly preserved, appears to be a record of his contribution and that of other office holders to the strengthening of the quay of the Irnina Canal<sup>137</sup>.

The *iššakku* Iddin-Irra is listed among a group of men, each of whom receives an amount of barley, for reasons unknown to us<sup>138</sup>. In a delivery account, the *iššakku* Šunūma-ilu receives 2 GUR of barley from the tavern keeper (*sabū*)<sup>139</sup>. Again there is no way of knowing the circumstances for this delivery.

*The Tenant Farmer (babbilu)*

The *babbilu*, or tenant farmer<sup>140</sup> is mentioned in what is probably a palace account which records two collections of barley. In the first instance the enormous amount of 959 GUR 2 PI 4 BÂN of barley is collected from two people and "the tenant farmers (LÚ *babbilu*), their partners"; in the second instance, 237 GUR

<sup>133</sup> For more on the *iššakku* see CAD 7 262 ff. and *Studies Oppenheim* 132 f.

<sup>134</sup> CT 6 29a (Amd 26).

<sup>135</sup> See Meissner BAP 4:6 (Ams 10) where Lú.<sup>d</sup>Iškur.ra appears in a role typical of higher military officials, namely granting permission for another military officer to make a purchase.

<sup>136</sup> YBC 1693 (Amd ?) and YBC 12983 (Amd 3).

<sup>137</sup> BE 6/2 89 (Si ?).

<sup>138</sup> CT 45 49 (Amd 14).

<sup>139</sup> YBC 4932 (Ams 11).

<sup>140</sup> For this meaning of *babbilu* see CAD 2 8.

4 PI of barley is collected from one man and “the tenant farmers, his partners”<sup>141</sup>. The men first mentioned may be in charge of the palace fields and responsible for the barley grown on them by the *babbilu*. Both parties may have received a share of the harvest.

### *Gardens and Orchards*

#### *Introduction*

The date palm which is the principal fruit tree grown in the orchards of Sippar does not seem to be cultivated on a large scale since our material mentions only 12 orchard sales compared with 97 field sales, and five orchard leases as against 121 field lease contracts. It is here assumed that the term garden or orchard (GIŠ.SAR) refers to a date orchard<sup>142</sup>. References to such orchards also occur in litigations<sup>143</sup>, inheritance texts<sup>144</sup>, gift records<sup>145</sup>, and in one exchange text<sup>146</sup>. One poorly preserved text speaks of a pruned date orchard (AL.KUD.DA)<sup>147</sup>. Dates are mentioned in a number of administrative accounts<sup>148</sup>.

There is one reference to a fig grove<sup>149</sup>, and although lexical texts refer to “Sippar apples”<sup>150</sup>, the only mention of apples in our texts is an instance in which the earlier Princess Iltani grants the concession to her apple orchard to a “family” which in turn gives it to another person to harvest<sup>151</sup>.

Strings of garlic (*birihhu* SUM.SAR) are mentioned in an account<sup>152</sup>, and a kind of leek (GA.RAŠ.SAG.SAR) occurs in a lease contract<sup>153</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> Goetze JCS 2 110 No. 21 (Ae).

<sup>142</sup> Note, for example, that the orchard bought by a *naditu* and her mother in CT 4 50a is referred to simply as orchard (GIŠ.SAR). This same orchard is claimed by the heirs of the sellers in Waterman Bus. Doc. 31 and CT 6 42a and is referred to as GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR.

<sup>143</sup> CT 4 26b (Za); CT 6 22a (Ha); CT 8 9a (Si 1).

<sup>144</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 70 (Sm); Szlechter Tablettes 10 MAH 15913 (Si 7); CT 47 65/65a (Si 25).

<sup>145</sup> Scheil Sippar 10 (Sm); CT 47 30/30a (Ha 10); Scheil Sippar 100; CT 8 34a (und.).

<sup>146</sup> CT 8 22a (Ha).

<sup>147</sup> VAS 9 218.

<sup>148</sup> E.g., TCL 1 72 (Sm 19); Szlechter Tablettes 154 MAH 16366 (Si 25).

<sup>149</sup> CT 8 49b:4 (AS). The text has 3 *ra-ša-tum ša* GIŠ.MA.

<sup>150</sup> HAR.RA = *hubullu* III 48.

<sup>151</sup> VAS 9 7/8 (Ha 18).

<sup>152</sup> BE 6/1 102 (Amš 18).

<sup>153</sup> VAS 9 26/27 (Ha 27).

*Size of Orchards*

GÁN	SAR	NO. OF ORCHARDS
3		1
2	40	1
2		2
1	34	1
1	16	1
1	1	1
1		3
$\frac{1}{2}$	3	1
$\frac{1}{2}$		4
$\frac{1}{3}$		1
	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	1
	25	1
	15	1
	12	1
	5	1
—	2	1
—	1 $7\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN (= $\frac{1}{2}$ GAR SAG.BI and 2 GAR 3 KÛ[Š] [UŠ BI])	1

*Orchard Sale Contracts*

The formula of the orchard sale contract is like that of the field sale contracts. Orchards, like fields, are sometimes described as being in a certain irrigation area (*ugāru*), or on the embankment (GÚ) of the Sippirūm Canal. No orchard is situated in any of the Sippars, but one is located in the town of Ḫudadum<sup>154</sup>. Usually the adjacent orchards are mentioned in describing the location.

The purchase price of the orchards is often omitted or destroyed; the few prices which are given indicate a great price fluctuation. An orchard of 1 SAR  $7\frac{1}{2}$  GÍN sells for 6  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekels, whereas one of 15 SAR sells at 2 shekels and one of 5 SAR for 1  $\frac{1}{1}$  shekels. In one exchange document, an orchard of 1 GÁN 34 SAR is valued at 34 shekels, or a little more than 3 shekels per SAR<sup>155</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> In CT 8 18a (Ha 14). Note that we have emmended the copy which reads 1/3 MA.NA SAR to 1/3 GÁN(!) GIŠ(!).SAR.

<sup>155</sup> CT 8 22a (Ha).

A *naditu* is the purchaser of orchards in nine instances, and the *naditu*'s Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Etel-pi-Sin, and Šerikti-Aja, daughter of Šilli-Šamaš, own orchards as well as fields<sup>156</sup>.

*List of Orchard Sale Contracts*

DATE	SIZE	PRICE	TEXT
Immerum/SI	1 GÁN	—	CT 4 50a
SI	2	—	CT 4 48b
AS	1/2	—	—TCL 1 63
Sm	15 SAR	—	CT 47 16
Ha	12 SAR	—	CT 2 42
Ha	15 SAR	2 shekels	CT 8 37c
Ha 9	1 SAR 7 1/2 GÍN	6 1/3 shekels	BM 80461
Ha 14	1 GÁN	[x]	PBS 8/2 247
Ha 14	1/3 GÁN	[x] + 1 shekels	CT 8 18a
Ha 35	2 GÁN 40 SAR	[x]	VAS 9 116
Ha 40	5 SAR	1 1/2 shekels	VAS 13 31
und.	2 SAR	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 49
und.	[x] GÁN	[x]	VAS 9 218

*Orchard Lease Contracts*<sup>157</sup>

In contrast to the field lease contracts, the few extant orchard leases show no consistent formulary. Only one follows a formulary similar to that of the field contract: "An orchard... PN has rented from PN<sub>2</sub> for the purpose of *šākinūtu* (a term including all activities connected with the harvesting and processing of dates). This contract then states that the tenant will hoe the soil, take care of the midribs of the fronds, bear general responsibility for the orchard, and pay compensation for any expenses incurred (*GIŠ.SAR irappiq āram zinatim inašsar ana piḥat GIŠ.SAR izzaz mānaḥti GIŠ.SAR immaruma ippalšu*)<sup>158</sup>. The obligation to care for the midribs is also mentioned in a text which is only partly

<sup>156</sup> Amat-Šamaš purchases an orchard in TCL 1 63 (AS) and fields in CT 4 16a (AS 18) and TCL 1 64 (AS); Šerikti-Aja purchases an orchard in PBS 8/2 247 (Ha 14), a field in PBS 8/2 260 (Ha 21) and a plot in BE 6/1 43 (Ha).

<sup>157</sup> From the lease contracts one learns of the various aspects of the cultivation of date palms. For details of this cultivation see Landsberger AfO Beiheft 17, Graz, 1967.

<sup>158</sup> BE 6/1 23 (inner tablet) (Ha 35).

preserved<sup>159</sup>, and in another text which first mentions the obligation of the tenant to hoe the orchard<sup>160</sup>.

In one text the rent of the orchard is stated explicitly as 10 GUR of average dates (ZÚ.LUM *gurnu*) and 5 GUR 200 silas of fine dates<sup>161</sup>. The rent is only 180 silas of dates for a smaller orchard<sup>162</sup>, and for another the rent includes not only 4 GUR 120 silas of dates (apparently average dates), and 2 GUR 60 silas of fine dates (summed up as dried dates: ZÚ.LUM.UD.DU), but also 10 talents of brooms of palm leaves (*urrû*), 10 talents of male flowers of the date palm (*sisimatu*) and 120 date cones (GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR.ŠÀ)<sup>163</sup>.

When the plot between the trees can be cultivated, this area is treated like a field and a special clause is added: "he will have the usufruct of the field like that on any other field"<sup>164</sup>.

*Naditu*'s are the lessors in all of the five orchard leases; and three of them: Munawwirtum, daughter of Nabi-Šamaš, Ruttum, daughter of Izi-gatar, and Narāmtum, daughter of Šamaš-ellassu, are also known to have leased out fields.

One text records the delivery of 220 silas of dates by a man to a *naditu*, probably as rent for the lease of an orchard<sup>165</sup>. This same *naditu*, Mersija, also leased out fields.

The two princesses named Iltani likewise own orchards. Iltani, the daughter of King Sin-muballit, owns at least one very large orchard, for her gardeners deliver dates which are made into cakes as offerings to various gods<sup>166</sup>.

#### *List of Orchard Leases*

DATE	TEXT
Ha 23	VAS 13 18/18a
Ha 35	BE 6/1 23
Ha 37	CT 47 45/45a
und.	PBS 8/2 246 ; TCL 1 226

<sup>159</sup> CT 47 45:11f. (Ha 37).

<sup>160</sup> PBS 8/2 246.

<sup>161</sup> CT 47 45/45a.

<sup>162</sup> TCL 1 226.

<sup>163</sup> VAS 13 18/18a.

<sup>164</sup> PBS 8/2 246 ; BE 6/1 23 (case). See also Landsberger MSL 1 196f.

<sup>165</sup> PBS 8/2 233.

<sup>166</sup> VAS 9 14, 16, and VAS 13 16.

*Garden Workers**The Chief Gardener — šandanakku (santan = GAL.NI)*

The *šandanakku* (GAL.NI) appears to be a gardener who supervised the *nukaribbu* (NU.GIŠ.SAR) gardener since a lexical text equates LÚ.GAL.NU.GIŠ.SAR with *šandanakku*<sup>167</sup>. Aḫūšunu, the [GAL].NI, receives more than 47 GUR of dates from a man, perhaps a *nukaribbu*. Aḫūšunu's seal inscription is preserved but does not mention his occupation<sup>168</sup>.

*The gardener — nukaribbu (NU.GIŠ.SAR)*

The gardeners of Sippar seem to have worked on large estates and may have been men of some wealth and importance. The princess Iltani, daughter of King Sin-muballiṭ, had several gardeners who cared for her orchards and who were responsible for providing the dates which were then made into cakes as offerings to various deities<sup>169</sup>. The wealthy Awēl-Amurru also employed a gardener whose name was Ibballiṭ<sup>170</sup>.

A passage which may indicate an organized group of wealthy gardeners occurs in a letter in which the writer says that "the gardeners of Sippar (NU.GIŠ.SAR. MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup>) have spoken to me about their servants who ran away and have been caught. I am now sending these men to you, release their servants to them<sup>171</sup>.

There are other indications that the gardener might be a man of means: a gardener leases a field from two *naditu*'s for a year<sup>172</sup>; the gardener Ibbatum keeps the beds and door of a *qadištu* woman in lieu of unpaid house rent<sup>173</sup>; and another gardener borrows money to purchase bitumen (*ana ŠĀM ittūm*) and must repay the loan at harvest time<sup>174</sup>.

The gardener Sin-iddinam is mentioned in a short note which states that he is not to complain about provisions (*ana girrim la udabbab*)<sup>175</sup>. One gardener

<sup>167</sup> *Igituh* 240.

<sup>168</sup> Szlechter Tablettes 154 MAH 16366.

<sup>169</sup> VAS 9 14 (Ha 21); VAS 13, 15, 16 (Ha 21); VAS 9 16 (Ha 22).

<sup>170</sup> VAS 9 217:2 (und.).

<sup>171</sup> VAS 16 32:7ff. Note that the gardeners are here given the honorific title *awēlū*.

<sup>172</sup> CT 47 74 (Ams 16).

<sup>173</sup> CT 4 40b (Amd 12).

<sup>174</sup> BM 81551 (Amd).

<sup>175</sup> CT 48 69 (und.).

witnesses a lease contract<sup>176</sup>. Another (*nu-ka-<ri>-bu*) appears in a list of people who receive (ŠU.TI.A) sesame oil<sup>177</sup>.

The gardener is also subject to corvée duty, for two gardeners appear in a register of conscripts<sup>178</sup>, and two are among workers supervised by a captain (PA.PA)<sup>179</sup>.

#### *Sale of Threshing Floors (maškanum/KI.UD)*

Six contracts attest the sale of threshing floors. In the earliest, two small areas of four and three SAR situated in Kuštarātum, an area known from texts of other cities, are sold<sup>180</sup>. These are bought by a man from a man and woman. Three other contracts mention threshing floors located in the region of Bura where many fields of Sipparians were located. In one of these contracts<sup>181</sup> a threshing floor of nine SAR is sold along with a tower by one *nadītu* to another, Ḫuzālatum, daughter of Akšaja, who appears prominently as a property owner. The other two threshing floors in Bura are purchased by other *nadītu*'s and are of nine and six SAR<sup>182</sup>. The purchase price of the six SAR field is only one shekel. Ḫuzālatum also purchases a threshing floor of 15 SAR in an unspecified location for four shekels<sup>183</sup>.

#### *Agricultural Workers*

##### *Introduction*

The agricultural labor force of Sippar consisted of free-born hired workers and hired slaves. Though only thirty-four of our contracts deal with the hiring of free workers while forty-one are slave hire contracts, it must be remembered that a great many of our records concern the *nadītu*-women who frequently owned slaves which they hired out. The slave labor force is discussed below. We shall here deal with the free laborers who hired themselves out<sup>184</sup> or who as minors were hired out by their parents.

##### *Time of Hire*

Most of the harvest contracts are dated to immediately before the harvest, to

<sup>176</sup> VAS 9 202 (= Meissner BAP 77) (Ha 31).

<sup>177</sup> CT 8 38a:9 (und.).

<sup>178</sup> CT 6 15 ii 15 and 16 r. ii 11.

<sup>179</sup> CT 8 14c (Amš 15).

<sup>180</sup> In CT 8 44a (Sl). On Kuštarātum see Kupper *Nomades* 14f.

<sup>181</sup> CT 47 25/25a (Ha 3).

<sup>182</sup> CT 47 27/27a (Ha 4) and CT 6 49c (Si 12), respectively.

<sup>183</sup> CT 47 28/28a (Ha ?).

<sup>184</sup> The hiring of free persons has been dealt with at length by Lautner *Personenmiete*.

the last month of the year, but contracts also date to the ninth, eighth and eleventh month<sup>185</sup>. Though the harvest may last for only ten days, as indicated by one text in which minors are hired for this period<sup>186</sup>, the harvester is almost always hired for a month.

### *Wages*

The free person usually received considerably higher wages than the slave, and while the free man's wages were normally paid in silver, the slave's almost always paid in barley. Although the standard wage for a free man seems to have been  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel, he might be paid as much as 2 shekels<sup>187</sup> or as little as  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekel<sup>188</sup>. The slave usually received 1 GUR of barley for the month, as did the free man<sup>189</sup>. Another free man receives 2 GUR for the same period<sup>190</sup>. Two slave girls, however, receive 2 shekels of silver for one month<sup>191</sup>, and a slave  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekel<sup>192</sup>.

### *Organization of the Work Force*

A group of docketts from Sippar which have been discussed at length by M. Weitemeyer<sup>193</sup> are characterized by the formula: x harvest workers, personal name, date, and sometimes the name of a field. Weitemeyer suggests that the named man is the overseer of a group of harvest workers. The docketts may be receipts for work done on a certain day which might be exchanged for wages, and are evidence of a well-organized administration. We do not know, however, whether such groups were only employed by large organizations such as the temple and city, or by the individual landowner as well.

### *Persons Commissioned to Hire Workers*

The hire contracts are of two types: one in which an individual is hired either directly or from a person in charge of him, and another in which an agent is commissioned to hire workers.

Typical of this second group are contracts for the hiring of reapers (LÚ.ŠE.

<sup>185</sup> VAS 9, 3; CT 33 46a; CT 6 44c, respectively.

<sup>186</sup> Meissner BAP 57.

<sup>187</sup> CT 33 46a.

<sup>188</sup> HSM 3694.

<sup>189</sup> Meissner BAP 22.

<sup>190</sup> TCL 1 162.

<sup>191</sup> BM 80621.

<sup>192</sup> VAS 8 59.

<sup>193</sup> *Some Aspects of the Hiring* 61 ff.

KIN.KUD) in groups of three, nine, and ten<sup>194</sup>. The sum of  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel given to a foreman seems to be a retainer and not the wages for the men hired to do the work<sup>195</sup>.

Those who commission men to hire workers may be assumed to own fields of considerable size. The Princess Iltani, a very important landowner, commissions men to hire workers in four different contracts<sup>196</sup>. In two of these contracts two different men are commissioned on the same day<sup>197</sup>. In one of her contracts the ŠABRA official of her household is charged with this task and is given 60 shekels of silver with which he would be able to hire 120 workers at the standard rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel<sup>198</sup>. Aside from this man, we know nothing about the status of men who were commissioned to hire workers.

Another man who hired workers, Ur-Kalla, was apparently a wealthy citizen, since he owns fields<sup>199</sup> and leases a small field of 6 GÁN from a *naditu*<sup>200</sup>. He is probably to be identified with the creditor acting jointly with Šamaš in temple loans and was perhaps some kind of temple official<sup>201</sup>.

The long-lived *naditu* Lamassi, daughter of Puzur-Akšak, who commissions a man to hire 10 workers, appears also in a text as a hirer of slaves, probably to work in her fields<sup>202</sup>.

Another hirer of workers, Tarībum, son of Ibnatum<sup>203</sup>, was evidently a wealthy citizen as he lends 38 shekels to a man, though it is not known whether this is a loan or a sum with which to purchase goods<sup>204</sup>.

The judge Iddin-Ea, who played an active role in the city administration, hires

<sup>194</sup> CT 6 44c; Goetze JCS 11 29 No. 17; VAS 8 111; VAS 9 3; TCL 1 118. Note, however, PBS 13 56 (Amd 5) where forty men are hired as reapers.

<sup>195</sup> VAS 8 111; VAS 9 3.

<sup>196</sup> Goetze JCS 2 112 No. 29 (destr.); CT 33 46a (Ae); Meissner BAP 22 (Amš 8); TCL 1 162 (Amš 8).

<sup>197</sup> Meissner BAP 22 (Amš 8); TCL 1 162 (Amš 8).

<sup>198</sup> Goetze JCS 2 112 No. 29.

<sup>199</sup> VAS 8 111 (Ha 8); Goetze JCS 11 29 No. 17 (Ha 40).

<sup>200</sup> VAS 9 158/159 (Ha 40).

<sup>201</sup> We assume here that Ur-Kalla is a variant of Ur-Kalkal who appears in VAS 9 148/149 (Ha 39), 158/159 (Ha 40) and 201.

<sup>202</sup> BM 80823. See also JCS 16 9.

<sup>203</sup> Lautner *Personenmiete* Frontpiece VAT 805.

<sup>204</sup> Meissner BAP 19 (Amd 3). That Tarībum was a man of importance is also seen in CT 45 55:27 where he appears with the judges of the city.

men in four contracts<sup>205</sup>. Finally, the scribe Ibbi-Sin who also appears in this role<sup>206</sup>, was evidently a large field owner since he takes as partners five other men<sup>207</sup>.

*Permanent Occupations of Temporary Harvest Workers*

We know little of the occupations practiced by the harvest workers between the harvest seasons. All but one of the 16 harvest workers hired by a shepherd receive 1 shekel of silver; included in this group is a baker<sup>208</sup>. Others of this same group are found in another group of 16 harvest workers which does not state the amount paid. This list includes a ferry man, a singer, a *pašišu* priest, and a Kassite<sup>209</sup>. Amounts of silver precede the names in a list of 22 people, two of whom appear in the above mentioned list of workers hired by the shepherd, though in this case it is not stated that they are harvest workers<sup>210</sup>.

*List of Harvest Worker Contracts (LÚ.ŠE.KIN.KUD)*

DATE	NUMBER OF WORKERS	PERIOD	PAYMENT	TEXT
Ha 8	9	—	1/2 shekel	VAS 8 111
Ha 17	10	—	1/2 shekel	VAS 9 3
Ha 30	3	12th month	2 shekels each	CT 6 44c
Ha 40	3 1/2 <sup>211</sup>	12th month	1/6 shekel	JCS 11 29 No. 17
Si	10	12th month	1/2 shekel	TCL 1 118
Ae [x]	—	12th month	2 shekels	CT 33 46a
Amd 5	2	harvest time	240 silas barley	Lautner <i>Personenmiete</i> Frontpiece VAT 805
Amd 27	—	harvest time	1/6 shekel	BE 6/2 115
Amd 37	—	—	1/3 shekel	HSM 3694
Amd 37	—	harvest time	1 shekel	BE 6/2 116
Amš 2	—	harvest time	1/2 shekel	BE 6/2 119
Amš 8	—	harvest time	1 GUR barley	Meissner BAP 22
Amš 8	—	—	2 GUR barley	TCL 1 162
Amš 16	—	harvest time	1/2 shekel	BM 81202
Amš 17	—	harvest time	1/2 shekel	BM 80956
Amš 17	—	harvest time	1/2 shekel	BM 81108
Amš 25	—	harvest time	1/2 shekel	BM 81252
Sd g	—	harvest time	[x] shekel	BE 6/1 111
[x]	—	—	60 shekels	JCS 2 112 No. 29

<sup>205</sup> BE 6/2 115; HSM 3694; BE 6/2 116; BE 6/2 119.

<sup>206</sup> BE 6/1 111.

<sup>207</sup> BE 6/1 112.

<sup>208</sup> CT 8 11a:9. The reading of two other occupations (ll. 5, 16) is uncertain.

<sup>209</sup> CT 6 23b. This may, however, be a record of obligatory work being done for the king in his fields.

<sup>210</sup> TCL 1 198.

<sup>211</sup> This text has the curious phrase, "3 harvesters and a half" (*mišišu*). Goetze notes (JCS 11 28) that such fractions are common in Ur III texts.

*Other Hire Contracts*

A number of hire contracts do not state expressly that the workers are being hired for the harvest, but similarities with other contracts in terms of wages and period of service seem to indicate that these contracts also represent the hiring of agricultural workers. Some of these contracts concern adults, but many more deal with minors who were hired out by a relative, usually the father. None of these hired persons appear elsewhere in Sippar texts, an indication that they were of the poorer classes.

The wages of the adults are comparable to those of the regular hired workers,  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel for a month's work<sup>212</sup>. But one man receives only  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekel of silver, though in this case the difference may have been made up by oil for ointment and beer for drink<sup>213</sup>.

The minor received less than the slave on an annual basis: 2 shekels of silver<sup>214</sup>, and  $\frac{2}{3}$  shekels plus 15 grains<sup>215</sup>, as compared with a slave's wages of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  shekels<sup>216</sup>, or 5 shekels<sup>217</sup>. A minor receives 180 silas of barley for a month as against the 1 GUR of barley usually paid a slave<sup>218</sup>. In one text, however, in which three boys, two of whom are brothers, are hired for a ten day harvest period, they each receive 1 GUR of barley<sup>219</sup>.

One father hires out his son as an ox driver (ERÍN ŠĀ.GUD) for a month for which he receives  $\frac{1}{3}$  shekel of silver and 60 silas of barley for his food ration (ŠUKU)<sup>220</sup>.

Very little is known from other contexts about those who hired these workers. Luštammār<sup>221</sup>, the son of Aḫulap-Šamaš, appears as creditor for loans of 1 GUR of barley and 100 silas of flour, respectively<sup>222</sup>. Šumu-libši, son of Pirḫi-ilišu<sup>223</sup>,

<sup>212</sup> Meissner BAP 61 (Ha 13 or Si 9) and Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 13 (Si 1).

<sup>213</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 17 (Amd).

<sup>214</sup> TCL 1 119/120 (Si 6); VAS 8 46 (Sm 16).

<sup>215</sup> Meissner BAP 59 (Si 3).

<sup>216</sup> Friedrich BA 5 488 No. 8 (Ha 28).

<sup>217</sup> Friedrich BA 5 490 No. 11 (Ha 42); CT 8 15c (Si 19 or 21).

<sup>218</sup> BE 6/2 78 (Si 7).

<sup>219</sup> Meissner BAP 57 (Ha 3).

<sup>220</sup> Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14 (Ams 13). A son is hired out for the same purpose in BM 81424 (Amd) but his wages are not preserved.

<sup>221</sup> Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 13 (Si 1).

<sup>222</sup> Goetze JCS 11 20 No. 8 (und.); VAS 9 53/54 (Ha 34).

<sup>223</sup> Hirer in Waterman Bus. Doc. 17.

was a man of importance perhaps connected with the administration who frequently witnesses palace transactions<sup>224</sup> and enters into a partnership with the Princess Iltani<sup>225</sup>. The others are a diviner and a judge<sup>226</sup>.

#### *Other Agricultural Workers*

##### *The Overseer of the Farm Laborers — UGULA ENGAR.MEŠ*

There is only one reference to a person called The Overseer of the Farm Laborers (UGULA ENGAR.MEŠ). Marduk-našir, son of Ubarrum, is witness to the purchase of a wall<sup>227</sup>.

##### *The farm laborer — ikkaru (ENGAR)*

Four *ikkaru*'s are mentioned in an account which also mentions ox drivers. One of these farm laborers is a house slave (İR.É); and the other three are presumably free men<sup>228</sup>.

##### *altaru (agricultural worker)*

The *altaru* is concerned with field work and was probably a hired worker<sup>229</sup>. That the term *altaru* can refer to the workman as well as to the work can be seen from a tag with the name Ili-kibri *al-ta-rum*<sup>230</sup>. In another text a man does assigned work (*altaram epēšu*) for four days<sup>231</sup>.

#### *Animals*

##### *Varieties of Animals*

Though references to animals, even to bovines, are rare in the Sippar texts, the animals which seem to be most commonly kept by private persons are cows and oxen needed primarily for plowing and threshing. Goats and pigs are for the most part mentioned only in texts which concern the royal administration<sup>232</sup>. Sheep and goats are under the care of a variety of shepherds (*rē'û*, *nāqidu*, *utullu* and *kaparru*). Birds are mentioned in a text where they are destined for the

<sup>224</sup> E.g., CT 8 11c; Waterman Bus. Doc. 30.

<sup>225</sup> TLB 1 227.

<sup>226</sup> BM 81424 and Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14, respectively.

<sup>227</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 80 r. 3f. (und.).

<sup>228</sup> CT 8 30a (Amd 1).

<sup>229</sup> On *altaru* as "assigned work" see CAD 1 373f.

<sup>230</sup> VAS 9 28 (Ha 27).

<sup>231</sup> Jacobsen Copenhagen 66 (Si 6).

<sup>232</sup> E.g., Goetze JCS 11 No. 27; Goetze JCS 2 108 No. 16; BE 6/1 21.

extispicy of the diviner (*nēpišti bārī*)<sup>233</sup>, and in palace accounts<sup>234</sup>. Ducks are mentioned in one cloister account<sup>235</sup>.

The donkey is rarely mentioned. In one text in which a hired donkey has been lost, the donkey was hired in the city of Šimurru. The compensation paid to the donkey's owner is 10 shekels of silver which is apparently the purchase price of the donkey<sup>236</sup>. In two accounts dealing with the hire of donkeys the rate is 112 (?) silas of barley for 8 days for 1 donkey, and 2 GUR 45 silas of barley for an unknown number of donkeys hired for an unspecified period<sup>237</sup>. Donkeys may have been used by the military establishment for transportation. This would perhaps account for a group of 140 donkeys being brought to Sippar<sup>238</sup>.

The existence of charioteers (ERÍN GIŠ.GIGIR.ĪI.A) among the military force shows that horses, too, were probably quite numerous<sup>239</sup>.

#### *The Sale of Animals*

*Nadītu*'s are the purchasers in only three of the seven preserved animal sales, which is not surprising since most *nadītu*'s who owned fields leased them out. However, one of those who buys animals, Īuššutum, the daughter of Sin-putram, appears often as a lessor of fields. The other two *nadītu*'s are sisters; and one of them is reported as hiring out three of her slaves as harvest workers<sup>240</sup>.

Nothing is known of the other purchasers of cattle except that one is an *abi šābi* military official who elsewhere leases a field of 12 GÁN, and a fallow field of 4½ GÁN<sup>241</sup>.

Ili-usāti, son of Mannum-kīma-Adad, an *iššakku* farmer discussed above, as a lessee of fields<sup>242</sup>, sells an ox<sup>243</sup>. This contract is dated many years later than one of his lease contracts, indicating, perhaps, that he has given up farming.

<sup>233</sup> BE 6/1 118.

<sup>234</sup> CT 33 47b.

<sup>235</sup> CT 8 21d:7.

<sup>236</sup> CT 4 47a (AS).

<sup>237</sup> VAS 9 88 (Ha 35); VAS 9 125 (Ha 35).

<sup>238</sup> CT 45 83.

<sup>239</sup> BM 81228.

<sup>240</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 7.

<sup>241</sup> CT 8 3b.

<sup>242</sup> YBC 12983 (Amd 3), YBC 1693 (Amd ?).

<sup>243</sup> BM 80408 (Amd 27).

One curious sale should be noted: a palace account records the sale for the palace of a two year old cow by merchants to shepherds for the unusually high price of 120 shekels<sup>244</sup>.

*List of the Sales of Animals*

DATE	ANIMAL	PRICE	TEXT
Ha	ox (and slg)	20 shekels for both	CT 8 35b
Ae n	3 yr old ox	30 shekels	CT 8 1b
Ae r	cow and calf	24 (?) shekels	BM 80389
Ae 28	ox	6 shekels	Meissner BAP 2
Amd 24	2 yr old cow	120 shekels	CT 8 2b
Amd 27	ox (?) ( <i>tamšari</i> )	10 shekels (15 grains SI.BI)	BM 80408
destr.	ox (amar.ga)	4 shekels (14 grains SI.BI)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 33
destr.	ox (ÛR.RA)	14 shekels	Waterman Bus. Doc. 62

*Inherited Animals*

The relative scarcity of cattle owned by private persons can be seen from the fact that the animals are inherited or bequeathed in only five of fifty texts dealing with division of property. The following animals are bequeathed: a cow<sup>245</sup>, an ox<sup>246</sup>, an ox named Sin-gāmil, a four year old ox, two choice cows (ÁB *gumāḥu*), and two *purrusu* cows<sup>247</sup>, an ox and a one year old cow<sup>248</sup>, and an ox together with a seed plough (GIŠ.APIN), and a *harbu* plough<sup>249</sup>.

*Animals as gifts*

Cattle are mentioned in seven of forty gift documents. The following are given as gifts: 6 sheep<sup>250</sup>; one cow and 6 sheep<sup>251</sup>; 5 sheep which are given to a daughter with the provision that their number will always be replenished (*ul imutta ul iḥalliqa*)<sup>252</sup>; 5 sheep and one cow named Makkūr-Sin to a daughter

<sup>244</sup> CT 8 2b (Amd 24). For a discussion of the complexities of this text see Kraus *Edikt* 102ff.

<sup>245</sup> TCL 1 196 (und.).

<sup>246</sup> VAS 9 144/145 (Ha 24).

<sup>247</sup> CT 8 28c (SI).

<sup>248</sup> Pinches Peek 14 (Si 30).

<sup>249</sup> CT 6 28a (und.).

<sup>250</sup> CT 6 21c (und.).

<sup>251</sup> CT 2 41 (Ha 38).

<sup>252</sup> CT 45 29 (Ha). Note the use of the term *šôn barzel* "Eisern Vieh" in the Talmud (*Yabamoth* VII 1a) where a husband holding his wife's estate must, in case of her death or divorce, restore her property in full. He is responsible for loss and deterioration. See Oppenheim IEJ 5 (1955) 89ff., for a discussion of similar concepts in Mesopotamia.

too<sup>253</sup>; and one cow named Aja-dūri<sup>254</sup>. Some *nadītu*'s received a great number of animals from their fathers. One was given 6 draft oxen, 10 cows, and 60 sheep<sup>255</sup>; another *nadītu* received 30 sheep and 4 oxen<sup>256</sup>; and still another, 50 sheep, 3 oxen (*šādīd ūrim*) and a cow with her calf<sup>257</sup>. Animals were, however, never bequeathed by *nadītu*'s to their adopted children who were usually other *nadītu*'s.

#### *Hire of Animals*

In one contract a *nadītu* leases out a field of 12 GÁN, 2 slaves and 2 oxen for a rental consisting of 34 GUR 120 silas of barley<sup>258</sup>. In another account an unknown number of cows and oxen (*idi* ÁB.GUD.ĪI.A) are hired for 90 silas of barley<sup>259</sup>.

#### *Shepherds and Other Animal Attendants*

##### *The Shepherd — rē'ū (SIPA)*

Since only the temple, the palace, and the wealthy citizens had the facilities to move their flocks to summer pastures and owned flocks large enough to require shepherds, it is not surprising that all but three of the 31 shepherds named in our texts are from the latter half of the Old Babylonian period (from the time of Hammu-rapi through Samsu-ditana), a period in which the temple and palace records become numerous.

In a temple account which lists 32 people assigned to work in the temple, these people are referred to as É.ĪI.A or "households", a term usually used to refer to estates or encampments. Among the group are four shepherds as well as judges and gold/silver smiths. It would seem that these shepherds as representatives of "households" were obligated to care for the temple flocks<sup>260</sup>. A shepherd was also part owner of a large field along with temple officials<sup>261</sup>.

We discussed above in the chapter on the City Administration the relationship between the supervisory shepherd (NA.GAD) and the *sussikku* official acting for

<sup>253</sup> CT 4 1b (Ha). Cf., Oppenheim IEJ 5 90 for the *ul imutta* clause of this text.

<sup>254</sup> CT 47 78/78a (und.).

<sup>255</sup> Scheil Sippar 10 (Sm).

<sup>256</sup> Scheil Sippar 100.

<sup>257</sup> CT 47 30/30a (Ha 10).

<sup>258</sup> BM 82278 (Ha 41).

<sup>259</sup> TCL 1 229.

<sup>260</sup> BM 80322.

<sup>261</sup> TCL 1 168:2 (Amš 5).

the palace administration. There are other instances in which shepherds appear to be associated with the palace. A very large amount of barley (108 GUR and 106 silas) for the shepherds is mentioned in an account in which barley is also given to the brick carriers, perhaps as wages from the palace<sup>262</sup>.

In another account the palace sells a cow to shepherds via the merchants<sup>263</sup>.

The shepherd was occasionally associated with private herds, although apart from the *nadītu* Princess Iltani, only three other persons are known to have been sheep owners. A *nadītu* who was the daughter of an *abi šābi* official provides her shepherd with  $7\frac{1}{2}$  shekels to purchase medical herbs (*šammū*)<sup>264</sup>, and two brothers owned a small flock of 13 sheep and goats<sup>265</sup>.

In many instances the shepherd appears to be acting as a private individual, and seems to be a man of some wealth and prominence.

He is found among the witnesses before whom the *ḥazannu* official makes a declaration<sup>266</sup>, and witnesses a private transaction along with other officials such as the UGULA.É, the NU.BĀNDA, and the PA.PA<sup>267</sup>. He purchases<sup>268</sup>, and leases out<sup>269</sup> fields. In one instance a shepherd owns a field large enough to require 16 harvest workers<sup>270</sup>. One is able to lend out on interest the profits from his field<sup>271</sup>, and another receives barley from the palace through the Overseer of the Merchants, probably for business purposes<sup>272</sup>.

One text, an account of the *kārum* of Sippar-Amnānum, suggests that the shepherd like the “general (UGULA.MAR.TU)” might have to pay a tax to the palace, in this case to its representatives in Sippar-Amnānum<sup>273</sup>.

*The Supervisory Herdsman — (NA.GAD)*

The term *nāqīdu* seems to have been applied to a shepherd (SIPA) who was in

<sup>262</sup> VAS 9 36 (Ha 28).

<sup>263</sup> CT 8 2b (Amd 24).

<sup>264</sup> CT 33 27 (Amd 4).

<sup>265</sup> BM 78644 (Ams 3).

<sup>266</sup> CT 4 7a:13 (Za 11).

<sup>267</sup> BM 80404:18 (Ams 7).

<sup>268</sup> TCL 1 221 (und.).

<sup>269</sup> CT 4 17a (Ams 9).

<sup>270</sup> CT 8 11a (Ams 14).

<sup>271</sup> Meissner BAP 25 (Amd 32).

<sup>272</sup> CT 8 10c (Ams 5).

<sup>273</sup> BE 6/1 99:1, 2 (Ams 12).

charge of a group of shepherds<sup>274</sup>. Pūḫum, for instance, who is called a shepherd in one text<sup>275</sup>, is designated as a NA.GAD in another in which he is settling his account (*ana nikkassišu iššakkan*)<sup>276</sup>; Ikun-pī-Sin who receives hides and sheep carcasses with the *sussikku* official is described as, "the *nāqidu* (is) Ikun-pī-Sin, the shepherd"<sup>277</sup>. The *nāqidu*, like the shepherd, is mentioned several times in connection with the *sussikku* official who appears to be acting on behalf of the palace administration<sup>278</sup>.

All references to the *nāqidu*, as to the *rē'û* shepherd, date from the time of Hammurapi and his successors with but one exception. In a text dating from the 17th year of Sin-muballit, the *nāqidu* gives an accounting of the small cattle in his charge: 75 sheep, 23 lambs, and 6 kids (*lalaḫu*)<sup>279</sup>.

The Princess Iltani was the largest cattle owner of whom we know in Sippar. She had a herd of at least 1085 small cattle under the charge of five *nāqidu*'s<sup>280</sup>. When thirty-eight head of cattle and more than seven talents of wool belonging to the princess were taken (*sudduru*) from her *nāqidu*, the palace must be compensated. Though the seal of a man known to be her *nāqidu* appears on the tablet, it does not mention his occupation which is found only in the text<sup>281</sup>.

The *nāqidu* accounts for lost and dead sheep (RI.RI.GA), and those expended (ZI.GA) for various purposes<sup>282</sup>. He sends sheep for *šagikarû*-offerings<sup>283</sup>, and supervises the shearing of sheep, giving beer rations to the workers<sup>284</sup>. He also releases sheep for the extispicy of the diviner<sup>285</sup>, and for other religious ceremonies<sup>286</sup>, and sometimes gives goats and ewes to be slaughtered for rituals<sup>287</sup>.

A *nāqidu*'s son might follow his father's occupation as is seen in the case of Iddatum, son of Pūḫum<sup>288</sup>.

<sup>274</sup> This has already been suggested by Kraus *Edikt* 121.

<sup>275</sup> BE 6/1 99 (Ams 12).

<sup>276</sup> Goetze JCS 2 103 No. 1 (Ae 28).

<sup>277</sup> CT 8 33c (Ae d).

<sup>278</sup> CT 8 33c; BM 81397; BM 81512.

<sup>279</sup> CT 6 24c.

<sup>280</sup> TCL 1 177 (?).

<sup>281</sup> TLB 1 228 (Ae m).

<sup>282</sup> Goetze JCS 2 105 No. 9 (Ae u).

<sup>283</sup> Goetze JCS 2 103 No. 3 (Amd 2), 104 No. 5 (Amd 3).

<sup>284</sup> Goetze JCS 2 111 No. 24.

<sup>285</sup> Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 6, 103 No. 2; VAS 9 107.

<sup>286</sup> Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 6.

<sup>287</sup> Goetze JCS 11 36 No. 27.

<sup>288</sup> Pūḫum is *nāqidum* in Goetze JCS 2 103 No. 1:3 (Ae 28); his son Iddatum in No. 3:3 (Amd 2).

*The Chief Shepherd — utullu (Ú.TÚL.)*

The *utullu* shepherd seems to have been the superior to the *nāqīdu* or supervisory shepherd. He appears as the superior of three *nāqīdu* shepherds who bring sheep to the temple for the ritual of the diviner<sup>289</sup>. In another text, two *utullu* shepherds along with an Overseer of the Merchants and an UKU.UŠ É (?) witness a settlement between two parties, one of whom is a *ḥazannu*<sup>290</sup>.

*The Junior Shepherd — kaparru (KA.BAR)*

In one text animals are given to the diviner, presumably for the extispicy, by a KA.BAR shepherd, here serving in the same capacity as does the *nāqīdu* shepherd<sup>291</sup>. In our other references to this occupation he appears as a conscript: a KA.BAR who is a substitute soldier (*tahhū*), and probably the son of a slave as his mother's name is given and not his father's, is released to his employers or masters and another person is given to the military scribes in his place<sup>292</sup>. In a lengthy military register a *kaparru* (abbreviated KA.[UKU.UŠ]) is assigned to a *rēdū* soldier<sup>293</sup>.

*The ox driver — kullizu (ŠĀ.GUD)*

All references to the "ox driver" are from the latter part of the Old Babylonian period, and first appear in the time of Abi-ešuh. In a temple account which deals with the collection of the *ilku* income of the Šamaš temple two ox drivers (LÚ ŠĀ.GUD) are given oxen with which to work by an *iššakku* farmer of the "old status" (EN<sub>5</sub>.SI LIBIR.RA)<sup>294</sup>. Ox drivers (ERÍN ŠĀ.GUD) are mentioned after "farm laborers" in one account<sup>295</sup>. A lease contract records the hire of a minor from his father by a "general" (UGULA MAR.TU) to serve as an ox driver (*ana* ERÍN ŠĀ.GUD) for a month for which he is to receive 1/3 shekel of silver and 60 silas of barley as his food allotment (ŠUKU-*sū*)<sup>296</sup>. Another text records the hire of a minor from his father by a diviner (*bārū*) for ox driving (*ana* GUD.ŠĀ.GUD-*tim*). His monthly wage, however, is no longer preserved<sup>297</sup>.

Women might also work as ox drivers. In the account cited above which mentions

<sup>289</sup> In VAS 9 107 (Ha 45).

<sup>290</sup> CT 4 7a:2f. (AS 11).

<sup>291</sup> BM 81567 (Amd 14).

<sup>292</sup> CT 8 32b (Si 21).

<sup>293</sup> CT 6 18 r. iv 21.

<sup>294</sup> BE 6/1 68 (Ae t).

<sup>295</sup> CT 8 30a (Amd).

<sup>296</sup> Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14 (Amš 13).

<sup>297</sup> BM 81424 (Amd).

ox drivers and laborers, one of the ox drivers is a house-born slave-girl (GEMÉ Ê)<sup>298</sup>; and a female ox driver named Sabitum receives garments along with various overseers<sup>299</sup>.

*The Animal Fattener — kuruštû (LÚ.KU<sub>7</sub>)*

There are three references to men who are fatteners of royal cattle and pigs. In one text Marduk-dajjān receives barley as feed for pigs<sup>300</sup>; in two others he is given a special kind of flour (ZÍD *hulāsu*) for this purpose<sup>301</sup>. In a fourth text this same man and one Mammasu, also a LÚ.KU<sub>7</sub>, appear to be in charge of birds (E.ZI.MUŠEN and *giršippu* MUŠEN). They have to compensate the palace for the birds which they had overlooked in their checking<sup>302</sup>. Another *kuruštû*, Sin-iddinam, gives green malt (MUN<sub>x</sub>.SAR), which is to be returned to him in a month, to the office of the brewer corporation (?)<sup>303</sup>.

*LÚ.IŠ.MUŠEN.ĦI.A TUR.RA — (Bird Attendant)*

The title LÚ.IŠ.MUŠEN.ĦI.A TUR.RA would suggest a person having something to do with birds, though in the only text in which such a person is mentioned he is responsible (ĠIR) for sheep and lambs brought for fattening by the shepherd. The account is from the archive of the Princess Iltani whose vast household would contain persons with a wide variety of occupations<sup>304</sup>.

## 2. MERCHANTS AND TRADE

*The kārūm*

The texts dealing with the administration of Sippar and discussed above do not disclose the importance of the *kārūm* or “harbor” as a center of commercial inter-city activity. Though the importance of Sippar as a trading center is seen from its mention in various itineraries<sup>1</sup>, almost none of our material deals with the *kārūm* specifically, evidently because the material is from the cloister archives and is, therefore, concerned with private real estate transactions rather than with

<sup>298</sup> CT 8 30a.

<sup>299</sup> TCL 1 160:23 (Amš 4).

<sup>300</sup> YBC 8944 (Ae 28).

<sup>301</sup> Goetze JCS 2 108 No. 15 (Ae 28) and No. 16 (Ae k).

<sup>302</sup> CT 33 47b (Amd 4).

<sup>303</sup> CT 6 23c (Sd f).

<sup>304</sup> Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 5:8 (Amd 3).

<sup>1</sup> Sippar-šēri and Sippar-dūri are mentioned in the OB itinerary published by A. Goetze in JCS 7 52:11 and 12. See also the itinerary published by W. Hallo, JCS 18 57, pp. 64 ff.

trade. In his book, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, W.F. Leemans has discussed the contracts and particularly the letters which contain information on the trade between Sippar and places such as Ešnunna, Arrapha, Mari, Assyria, and Northwest Mesopotamia.

An unpublished letter<sup>2</sup> hints at the extent of the trade of Sippar. The letter is written by a “*kārum* of Sippar” which is located in Mari and Mišlan, a city a day’s journey from Mari, to a man in Tell ed-Dēr and speaks of the interference of the Mari government with a trade expedition of the *kārum*. This information would indicate that the *kārum* of Sippar maintained branches or representatives to look after the interests of their merchants in various ports.

*The Overseer of the Merchants (UGULA DAM.GĀR.MEŠ)*

The *kārum* was headed by a man with the title “Overseer of the Merchants” (UGULA DAM.GĀR.MEŠ) who presided over a collegium of judges. Since there is no evidence that this man was himself a merchant, and no instance in which a person known as a merchant assumed this office, we have considered him to be an official of the city administration (see above).

*The Merchant-tamkāru (DAM.GĀR)*

*Evaluation of Material*

The merchant or *tamkāru*<sup>3</sup> (DAM.GĀR), around whom commercial activity must center, is mentioned relatively infrequently in our material. This may be explained partly by the fact that we do not seem to have a representative collection of *kārum* records, and partly by the fact that it is likely that many merchants are not named as such in our accounts. Ilšu-bāni, for instance, the son of Ibbi-Ilabrat, is known as a merchant from his seal inscription<sup>4</sup>, though in texts in which he appears as a witness<sup>5</sup>, or as a seller<sup>6</sup> and lessee<sup>7</sup> of real estate he is not so designated. The occupation of another merchant, Sin-išmēanni, son of Awēlija, is also mentioned in one instance<sup>8</sup> and not in another<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, 106f.

<sup>3</sup> The word *tamkāru* is used in Sippar also with the meaning “creditor”. For this use see CT 45 15:1 (Sm 17) and Waterman Bus. Doc. 74:6 (Ha 33).

<sup>4</sup> CT 47 39a S. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 28, r. 16; CT 47 39:24; CT 47 43:22; Riffin 22a:18.

<sup>6</sup> CT 47 38:6.

<sup>7</sup> BE 6/2 72:3.

<sup>8</sup> BE 6/1 85:5 (Amd 32).

<sup>9</sup> BE 6/1 88:24 (Amd 12).

*Function*

Our references to merchants provide little evidence of their business transactions. Merchants appear as witnesses to private transactions such as loans<sup>10</sup>, hire contracts<sup>11</sup>, and leases<sup>12</sup>, or are identified as merchants in their seal inscriptions<sup>13</sup>. Only one merchant, Awēl-Ištar, son of Awēlija, is known to deal with slaves<sup>14</sup>.

*Relationship with Palace*

It is difficult to define the relationship which the merchant had with the palace, although it must have been an important one. In one palace account the merchants as a collegium (DAM.GĀR.MEŠ) sell a cow for the palace to shepherds for a very high price<sup>15</sup>. This reference suggests an association of merchants in Sippar, although it is not known what, if any, existed between such an association and the "Overseer of the Merchants". Merchants (DAM.GĀR.MEŠ) are also mentioned in a fragmentary account which speaks of the tablet of the king (*kunuk šarrim*), and ends with large sums of silver followed by various names<sup>16</sup>. The merchant Sin-išmēanni lends a man 14 shekels of silver which belong to the palace and which is under the control of the scribe Utul-Ištar<sup>17</sup>, a role usually assumed by a judge<sup>18</sup>. A year later his brother, Ibni-Šamaš<sup>19</sup> acts in the same capacity for the palace though he is not described as a merchant<sup>20</sup>. We never have more than one named merchant mentioned in connection with the palace at any given time, and none of these merchants is mentioned twice.

*Relationship with temple and cloister*

Although there is probably a relationship between the merchants and the temple and cloister, there are no links connecting them in our material<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> YBC 1547.

<sup>11</sup> Goetze JCS 11 29 No. 16.

<sup>12</sup> PBS 8/2 222.

<sup>13</sup> VAS 8 53, 85; BE 6/1 70; CT 45 1 (= case of Waterman Bus. Doc. 31); CT 47 27a S. 3; CT 47 56a S. 4 and 67a S. 1.

<sup>14</sup> PBS 7 100.

<sup>15</sup> CT 8 2b.

<sup>16</sup> CT 45 109.

<sup>17</sup> BE 6/1 85 (Amd 32).

<sup>18</sup> E.g., Waterman Bus. Doc. 19; BE 6/2 120.

<sup>19</sup> He and his brother, Sin-išmēanni are witnesses in BE 6/1 88:24f. (Amd 2). The seal inscription of Ibni-Šamaš found on this text does not mention an occupation.

<sup>20</sup> PBS 8/2 214.

<sup>21</sup> For connections between merchants and temples of other cities see JCS 14 128f.

*igisû tax*

In the latter part of the Old Babylonian period, if not earlier, merchants were obliged to pay to the king an *igisû*<sup>22</sup> tax consisting of silver. According to a letter of Abi-ešuh, the governor of the country (*šāpir mātīm*) collected this tax which had to be delivered to the king by the judges of Sippar<sup>23</sup>.

*nēmettu tax*

A merchant of Sippar who lives in Kār-Šamaš, which is on the bank of the Sippirītum canal not far from Sippar<sup>24</sup>, has to send to Sippar a *nēmettu* tax of two lambs<sup>25</sup>. Since this is our only reference to this tax being levied on merchants we do not know if it was imposed on all Sippar merchants or only on those living and trading elsewhere.

*Families*

Almost nothing is known about the families of merchants and there is no evidence of a father and son both being merchants. The brother of the merchant Ilišu-bāni, son of Ibbi-Ilabrat, leases a large field from a *nadītu*<sup>26</sup>. More is known about Šamaš-ellassu, son of Itti-Enlil-qinni and brother of Akšak-iddinam, who is known as a merchant only from his seal inscription<sup>27</sup>. He appears once as a lessee of a field, and several times as a witness<sup>28</sup>. His father is known to have served as the Overseer of the Merchants<sup>29</sup>. However, neither he nor his brother are so attested. But he and his brother who are mentioned together both may have been judges at sometime<sup>30</sup>.

*The Merchant As Worker*

A merchant appears in a list of workers, probably indicating that the merchant like others was subject to the corvée<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> On the *igisû* tax see CAD 7 41 ff.

<sup>23</sup> LIH 86.

<sup>24</sup> For this location of Kār-Šamaš see e.g. CT 45 54 r. 15. At times its *rabiānu* might appear as witness to sale transactions which concerned property purchased by a citizen of Sippar and located in the vicinity of Kār-Šamaš (YOS 12 537).

<sup>25</sup> LIH 90.

<sup>26</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 1 (Si 6).

<sup>27</sup> CT 47 56a S. 4 and 67a S. 4.

<sup>28</sup> He is lessee in CT 6 44a:4 (Ha 43) and witness in CT 47 56:20 (Si 4), 67:21 (Si); VAS 9 116:14 (Ha 35).

<sup>29</sup> In CT 47 31:31a (Ha 11).

<sup>30</sup> Šamaš-ellassu was the younger brother for he follows his brother in the sequence of witnesses (CT 47 56/56a:20; VAS 9 116:14). We assume that the two brothers are to be identified with the judges of the same name in TCL 1 104:29 where again Akšak-iddinam precedes.

<sup>31</sup> Friedrich BA 5 510 No. 45:14 (Si 6?).

*List of the Merchants of Sippar*

DATE	NAME	TEXT
Buntaḥuntun- ila/SI	Iddin-Sin f. INIM. <sup>d</sup> ŠEŠ.KI.Ì.DIB	CT 45 1 (Seal Inscript.)
Sm 9	Awāt-Šamaš f. Sin-iqīšam	CT 47 12 S:5
Sm	Abum-waqar s. [...]x-ra-nim	VAS 8 77:17
Sm	Zallum s. Ipiq-Ištar	VAS 8 53 (seal inscrip.)
Ha 2	Awāt-Šamaš f. Sin-iqīšam <sup>32</sup>	VAS 8 85 (seal inscrip.)
Ha 4	Abu-waqar s. Ḥininum	CT 47 27a (seal inscrip.)
Ha 16	Sin-pīlah s. Puzur-Sakkut	BE 6/2 70 (seal inscrip.)
Ha 25	Ilšu-bāni s. Ibbi-Ilabrat	CT 47 39 24 ; CT 47 39a S. 9
Ha	Ilšu-bāni s. Ibbi-Ilabrat	PBS 7 47:3 (seal inscrip.)
Si 3	Eribam-ili s. Sin-iddinam	YOS 12 75:2,8
Si 4	Šamaš-ellassu s. Itti-Enlil-qinni	CT 47 56a, 67a (seal inscrip.)
Si 6 (?)	Šamaš-rabi	Friedrich BA 5 510 No. 45:14
Ae	Iddin-Ištar	LIH 90:10
Ae	Mannašu	BM 78254 iii 9
Amd 9	Ilšu-ibnišu	BM 81594:3
Amd 13	Iddin-Marduk	CT 4 8b:22
Amd 32	Sin-išmēanni s. Awēlija	BE 6/1 85:5
Sd i	Kurû	YBC 1547:11
und.	Elaja	Goetze JCS 11 29 No. 16 12 4
destr.	Akšak-iddinam f. Narām-ili	PBS 8/2 222:7
und.	Iddin-ilišu	CT 45 84:22
und.	Šumum-libši	CT 45 84:27
und.	[...] -ni	CT 45 84:30
und.	Sin-gāmil	BM 81341:6
und.	Šamaš-bāni	CT 45 114:29
und.	Bunnatum	CT 45 97:12
—	Awēl-Ištar s. Awēlija	PBS 7 100:14
—	Tamlatum s. Qīš-Nunu	CT 4 32:1

*Partnership Contracts*

Our principal source of information on trade in Sippar is the partnership contract (*tappūtum*), a transaction which usually concerned a loan by one person to one or more individuals for the purpose of trade and in which the creditor is a

<sup>32</sup> In seal inscriptions where the pattern is PN, son of PN<sub>2</sub> DAM.GĀR, we have assumed that it is the father who is the DAM.GĀR. In the seals of BE 6/1 70 and CT 47 56a S. 4 the occupation of *tamkārum* follows immediately after the name of the seal's owner.

partner<sup>33</sup>. At the conclusion of the business venture, which often involved overland trade (*ḥarrānu* or *girru*), the partners made an accounting in the Šamaš temple, paid their liabilities, and divided the profit. No merchant (*tamkāru*) ever appears as a party to these contracts, unless he is simply not identified as such. It would seem that such partnerships were formed between other professional traders and wealthy individuals, or between several wealthy individuals.

A partially preserved text speaks of the dissolution of one such partnership in the Šamaš temple witnessed by a group of four merchants from Kiš, and another group of witnesses who were apparently natives of Sippar, suggesting that this partnership involved parties from both cities<sup>34</sup>.

In another text dating from the time of Zabium two men conclude in the Šamaš temple a partnership which had been formed in Isin. Their creditor is paid and the profits (*nēmēlu*) divided. The first six witnesses to this accounting are from a town whose name cannot be easily read<sup>35</sup>, but which was perhaps near Sippar and the home of one of the partners. The last four witnesses are from Sippar as must be the other partner. The mention of Isin is interesting in that a street of Sippar-Jaḥrurum is called the Street of the Isin people, apparently because Isin merchants had settled there<sup>36</sup>.

In another partnership which is dissolved in the temple, the two partners share equally the outstanding debts (*babtum*), the silver, and the male and female slaves which resulted from investments in overland trade and intra-city business (*ša ḥarrānim u libbi ālim*)<sup>37</sup>. These men, therefore, seem to be involved in the purchase of foreign slaves to be sold in Sippar where, as we will see, there seems to have been a considerable market for foreign slaves in the latter part of the Old Babylonian period.

<sup>33</sup> The Babylonian partnership is discussed in *Gesellschaftsformen*, by W. Eilers. See especially p. 7 and 28 ff.

<sup>34</sup> BE 6/1 15 (Za). Eilers, *ibid.*, 27 expresses doubts as to whether this is a *tappūtu* text. But we think that the clause *ištu ūnim annim awēlum ana kisīšuma ukašša* "from this day forth each man will make a profit from his own purse", indicates that it is. Both *kīsu* and *kuššu* appear in a litigation concerning a business venture, VAS 8 71:18 and 9, respectively.

<sup>35</sup> Contrary to Schorr VAB 5 p. 236 who reads lines 29 and 30 of VAS 8 8 as personal names. These lines should be read: IGI *ši-<bu> an-nu-tim* DUMU.ME *Ku-um-at*<sup>K1</sup> or *Ma-at-la*<sup>K1</sup>; neither geographical name is known from elsewhere. Note that the oath is taken by the "life of Šamaš and Sippar"; the king's name is omitted though we cannot know if this was intentional or not.

<sup>36</sup> Mentioned in BE 6/1 105:10 (Amš 17 + b) and Friedrich BA 5 503 No. 33:6 (Amd 27). For the relationship of Sipparians with Isin see also BIN 7 223 where a Sipparian has had to leave a pledge with his creditor in that city.

<sup>37</sup> CT 2 23 (Ha).

One partnership contract gives no specifics about the terms<sup>38</sup>. In another, a single man makes a settlement in the temple of a large account consisting of 15 minas of silver, 148 GUR of barley in storage (*našpakum*), forty GUR of barley deliveries outstanding (*babtum*), apart from slaves, male and female, and whatever else there is”<sup>39</sup>.

One text records the debt which has to be paid by a man when his expedition has returned (*ina erēb girrišu*). In this case the trader was probably a partner who borrowed capital to make a trip and hoped to repay his debt with his share of the profits<sup>40</sup>.

A somewhat different type of partnership is that in which a *sanga* official of the Šamaš temple, Nūr-Kabta, son of Ilšu-ibni, “lends” three men, 5 shekels of silver and 50 silas of sesame oil worth (ŠÁM) 5 shekels of silver in order to purchase a special kind of gold (KÛ.GI SUD.A). This transaction is formulated as a partnership agreement (*ana TAB.BA*) with the *sanga* as creditor (*ummeānu*), and the three men as partners who must repay the debt and then will share in the profits<sup>41</sup>. The transaction may be on behalf of the temple, and the gold needed for the manufacture of some temple objects.

Other contracts formulated as loans but which actually record obligations to deliver goods after a trading expedition are characterized by the clause *ina šālam/erēb harrāni/girri* “at the conclusion of/arrival from a business trip”, or variations of this clause<sup>42</sup>. Such a contract is one in which a man “borrows” 1½ talents of paint (*šimtu*) and pays “according to the price of Ešnunna (*kīma KAR Ešnunna*)”. Since he pays the Ešnunna price it would seem that the paint was in this case purchased in Ešnunna or from an Ešnunna merchant in Sippar<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> VAS 9 205 (?).

<sup>39</sup> CT 33 39 (Ha 41).

<sup>40</sup> CT 4 30d (Amš 17 + b).

<sup>41</sup> BE 6/1 97 (Amd 17 + a).

<sup>42</sup> This clause is discussed at length by Eilers, *op. cit.* 17ff. The following loans of silver include this clause: TCL 1 79 (Ha 2); TCL 1 113 (Si 5 — a Šamaš loan); CT 4 30d (Amš 17 + b); Goetze JCS 11 18 No. 4 (Sd 7); BE 6/1 115 (Sd d). Mention should also be made of texts which are formulated as loans where amounts of silver are given for the purchase of various things. Silver is advanced for the purchase of barley in BE 6/1 45 (Si 1); TCL 1 150 (Amd 4); BE 6/1 98 (Amš 17 + a); CT 4 30d (Amš 17 + b); BE 6/1 115 (Sd d); for wool in Waterman Bus. Doc. 79 (Ae ?); YBC 4898 (Amd); Goetze JCS 11 18 No. 4 (Sd 7); for bricks in VAS 8 86 (Ha 2); TCL 1 82/83 (Ha 10); Meissner BAP 26 (Si 1); for oil in Szlechter Tablettes 38 MAH 16376; for sesame in Scheil Sippar 60 (Amš 17 + b); Friedrich BA 5 505 No. 35 (Amš [x]); BE 6/1 115 (Sd d); VAS 9 189.

<sup>43</sup> VAS 8 81/82 (Ha 1). Leemans, *Foreign Trade* 129, however, infers from this clause the contrary, that the paint is exported from Sippar to Ešnunna.

*Litigations Arising from Partnership Contracts*

Litigations sometimes arose as a result of partnership contracts, usually on the death of one or more of the partners. In one such case the sons of one deceased partner claim that their father had not received his proper share of the profits. But the defendants, sons of the other deceased partner, (each) swears that “my father did not have, and I do not have the balance of the silver, the capital (literally, kept in the money bag) (*šapilti kaspim būlat kīsim itti PN abija la ibšū ittija la ibaššū*)<sup>44</sup>. In another case, the sons, daughters and two wives of Irra-gāmil bring a claim after his death against his former partner, Erīb-Sin son of Puzur-Akšak<sup>45</sup>. The father had given Erīb-Sin a loan of 30 shekels as his share of the partnership (*ana TAB.BA*), and his share of the profits is 20 shekels. Erīb-Sin pays the heirs fifty-seven shekels — the additional seven shekels perhaps represent interest. But the family is not content with the settlement and brings Erīb-Sin to court again where he this time clears himself with an oath<sup>46</sup>.

*Individual Trading Ventures*

In other trading ventures, individuals act alone. A contract formulated as a deposit reflects the sale of tin (*AN.NA*) by a merchant of Ešnunna to a *naditu*, sister of the above-mentioned Erīb-Sin, whose messenger (*mār šipriša*) will deliver it to her within 15 days<sup>47</sup>, further evidence of trade with Ešnunna<sup>48</sup>. The princess Iltani gives a man 2 2/3 shekels of silver to purchase 2 vessels (*DUG*) containing a mineral dye (*alluḥarum*), probably to be used in the tanning process. The man is to deliver the dye when the caravan returns (*ina erēb girrim*)<sup>49</sup>. Barley and sesame are purchased on a trading expedition for a well-known scribe<sup>50</sup>. In another instance, 2/3 minas of refined silver (*kaspum šarpum*) are advanced in order to purchase bitumen (*ittū*) in an expedition to the Kassite

<sup>44</sup> VAS 8 71:22-25.

<sup>45</sup> CT 2 22. Erīb-Sin, the son of Puzur-Akšak, in VAS 9 18 (Ha 22) delivers more than 11 GUR of barley to the Sin temple as provisions (*ŠUKU*) for the temple. His sister Lamassi, was a woman of considerable wealth (see JCS 16 9). Note that in CT 8 37b she buys tin from a merchant of Ešnunna. The text CT 48 83 records that Erīb-Sin and the household (*É*) of Irra-gāmil are released from the corvée service of Šadlaš, a release authorized by the *rabiānu* of Amnān Šadlaš. The two men must, therefore, originate from this city and, although residents of Sippar, are still subject to its corvée. On Erīb-Sin see my comments in JESHO 13 317f.

<sup>46</sup> CT 2 46 (Sm 14).

<sup>47</sup> CT 8 37b (Ha 1).

<sup>48</sup> There is also reference to Ešnunna in CT 6 29:3 (Amd 1) as the city where a man sells his slave.

<sup>49</sup> CT 48 112 (Ae r). On the meaning of *alluḥaru/alluḥaru* see CAD 1 359f. See also CT 6 21a:17 where 2½ shekels are given also for the purchase of *alluḥarum*.

<sup>50</sup> BE 6/1 115 (Sd d).

encampments (KASKAL É.ḪI.A *Kašši*)<sup>51</sup>. A trader receives more than 16 GUR of barley as payment for bringing wool and copper from a trip<sup>52</sup>; and another delivery of tin is made in which the debtors appear from their names, Hišaja and Paḥaḥa, to be foreigners<sup>53</sup>. They may have resided in Larsa for two of the witnesses are from there. This would be evidence, then, of trade between the two cities.

Wealthy *naditu*'s might also support trading ventures<sup>54</sup>. In one text the princess Iltani gives a man 1 mina of silver, apparently as a commission<sup>55</sup>.

There is evidence that some Sipparians were involved with slave trade. In several texts, persons are commissioned to purchase foreign slaves. The scribe Utul-Ištar, a palace administrator, commissions a man to buy two slaves from the country between the rivers (*birīt nārim*)<sup>56</sup>, and later, in his position as *abi šābi* official, he gives a man sesame oil equivalent to 20 2/3 shekels of silver to purchase healthy slaves in Gutium, north of Babylonia<sup>57</sup>.

Finally, a man is given 1 mina of silver to purchase a healthy slavegirl to be delivered at the end of his journey<sup>58</sup>. Slave trade is discussed at greater length below in the chapter on Slavery.

#### *Temple and Palace Trade*

There are a few references to partnership loans made by the Šamaš temple. Though the sums of silver involved — 1/2 shekel 15 grains, 1 1/2 shekels 15 grains, 3 1/4 shekels<sup>59</sup> — seem too small for business ventures, one of these small loans (2/3 shekels 6 grains) states that the silver belonging to Šamaš is at the disposal of PN, whatever (business) he sets afoot and (whatever) it will yield belongs exclusively to Šamaš (*ša iḥassasuma ili'am ša dUTU-ma*)<sup>60</sup>. A very large temple loan of 36 shekels may very well have been for the purpose of supporting a business

<sup>51</sup> BM 78378 (Sd 11).

<sup>52</sup> BM 80820.

<sup>53</sup> CT 45 118 (und.). This text is discussed at length by Leemans JESHO 11 202 ff.

<sup>54</sup> TCL 1 79 (Ha 2); CT 47 72; Goetze JCS 11 18 No. 4 (Sd 7).

<sup>55</sup> TLB 1 227 (Sd).

<sup>56</sup> CT 48 66 (Amd 22).

<sup>57</sup> Meissner BAP 4 (Ams 10).

<sup>58</sup> CT 48 47 (Ae i). Note that this document is cross-cancelled. We have not explored here the information on trade to be gained from letters. For these see the study of Leemans, JESHO 11 171 ff.

<sup>59</sup> BM 80817 (Si); TCL 1 113 (Si 5); VAS 9 182/183, respectively.

<sup>60</sup> VAS 9 134 (Ha 41).

venture in which the temple is a partner<sup>61</sup>. We have discussed temple loans in detail under the temple income.

We have treated above the role of the palace in the subsidization of trading expeditions and in making loans for the purpose of trade.

### *River Trade*

The various Sippars were not only important stations for caravans engaged in overland trade, but since they were located on the Sippiritum Canal, a main branch of the Euphrates, must also have been centers for the river trade on the Euphrates. Sippar, Sippar-Jahrurum, and Sippar-Amnānum, each had a harbor (*kārum*). The extensive river trade which existed is seen from the contracts concerning the hire of boats, sometimes with their owners, to transport various goods and staples<sup>62</sup>. A boat and boatman are assigned, in one letter, to carry bricks and palm beams down-stream to Babylon<sup>63</sup>; and a boat with a capacity of 40 GUR belonging to the Princess Elmēšum, is hired from her own harbor keeper (*maššar kāriša*), apparently in Babylon, for a month by a native of Sippar, Ibbatum, son of Addatum, who may be transporting goods from Sippar to Babylon since the boat must be returned to that city<sup>64</sup>.

### *The Sailor — malāḫu (MÁ.LAH<sub>4</sub>)*

The earliest reference in the Sippar texts to boats dates from the time of Zabium. Luštammar, son of GAZ-Ištar, sues the man who had hired his boat which has been lost through enemy action (*ina nakri ihliqu*). A settlement is agreed upon<sup>65</sup>. Luštammar is known to have had two brothers, Warad-ilišu and Sinatum, and a sister, Iltani, who was a *nadītu* of Šamaš. He is the neighbor to the house which his brother Warad-ilišu inherited after settling the division of property in the temple<sup>66</sup>. Though it is not known what share of the paternal estate Luštammar inherited, he was one of the witnesses to the settlement reached between his two brothers<sup>67</sup>. The case of this tablet mentions that another sailor, Sin-abušu, is also a neighbor of the house inherited by Warad-ilišu<sup>68</sup>, suggesting that there

<sup>61</sup> CT 33 49a.

<sup>62</sup> Friedrich BA 5 508 No. 43 (Ha 41); 509 No. 44 (Ha 43); 493 No. 15 (Si 1); BE 6/1 110 (Sd g).

<sup>63</sup> CT 4 32.

<sup>64</sup> CT 45 58 (Amš 9). In Szlechter Tablettes 38 MAH 16376 (Amš 14) he borrows 1 shekel of silver, the equivalent of 3 silas of first rate oil, from Utul-Ištar, the *abi šābi* official. Perhaps this too was a loan for business purposes.

<sup>65</sup> VAS 8 11 (Za).

<sup>66</sup> VAS 9 130/131 (Ha 35).

<sup>67</sup> VAS 9 130:27.

<sup>68</sup> VAS 9 131:2.

may have been a tendency for people of the same occupation to live in the same area. The occupations of Luštammar's brothers are not known. The sister Iltani, appears to have been a woman of means for she appears in several loan contracts as creditor<sup>69</sup>. It is probably the same Luštammar (described as MĀ.GĪD.DA) who appears among workers who are drafted for public works<sup>70</sup>. In a lawsuit brought by one brother against another, claim is made to a boat<sup>271</sup> among other things. Both brothers may then have been sailors.

That sailors were subject to the draft, like other citizens of Sippar, is seen from the conscript register which mentions Ipiq-Aja, a sailor, and possibly also a boatman (LÚ.MĀ.X.GĪD.DA(?)<sup>72</sup>.

Sailors were a sizeable and organized group to judge from an account which lists the names of the captains of 25 boats in groups of seven, six and five, each group under an UGULA. The boats are going to the anchorage (?) of Šamaš (*ša ana ma-ka-al-li (?)* <sup>a</sup>UTU *ir-ka-ba*). A *pašišu* priest of Šamaš is with them<sup>73</sup>.

An undated account records amounts of silver received by ten men who are members of a crew (*ša ELLAT*) in order to buy beer. Two of the men receive two sums each<sup>74</sup>.

There are many instances in which boats are hired. The well-known scribe Ibbi-Sin hires two boats, presumably with their owners, the sailors Warad-Marduk and Awēl-Adad, to transport goods to Babylon. The boats are docked in the harbor of Sippar-Jahrurum and seem to be under the supervision of a *rēdû* soldier (LÚ.UKU.UŠ) for they are hired on his order (*ana qabē*)<sup>75</sup>.

The cloister hired sailors to transport its staples since a cloister account records barley paid to Nabium-mālik, the Overseer of the sailors (ŠĀ.MĀ.LAH<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ)<sup>76</sup>. Another cloister account of expenditures includes barley paid for the hire of a boat and sailors (ERĪN MĀ.LAH<sub>4</sub>) and for their drink<sup>77</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> PBS 8/2 193 (Ha 9); VAS 9 48/49 (Ha 32); 51/52 (Ha 33).

<sup>70</sup> Friedrich BA 5 496 No. 12:9 (Si 9).

<sup>71</sup> CT 2 29:1, 12 (Ha ?).

<sup>72</sup> CT 6 17 v i 7, CT 6 18 r iv 27, respectively.

<sup>73</sup> Friedrich BA 5 515f. No. 52/52a (und.).

<sup>74</sup> CT 8 42d:12f. (und.).

<sup>75</sup> BE 6/1 110 (Sd g).

<sup>76</sup> CT 8 21d:12f. (Amš 5).

<sup>77</sup> CT 47 80:21 ff. (und.).

Private persons might also hire sailors. Two terse accounts mention sailors. In one, a *nadītu* pays 12 silas of barley for a sailor (LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ₄)<sup>78</sup>; and in a second, belonging to the wealthy Awēl-Amurru, a sailor is mentioned, along with his fuller, overseer, baker and gardener<sup>79</sup>.

It is presumed that the owners of hired boats are sailors. A boat and its owner are hired for 2 months to remove grain (*ana še'im nasākim*) at a wage of 3 GUR of barley<sup>80</sup>; and a boat of 6 GUR is hired for two months at 1 GUR 3 PI of barley<sup>81</sup>. Another boat (GIŠ.MÁ.Ú) and a hireling are hired from a man for two months and three days at one shekel of silver<sup>82</sup>.

Of interest is the hire of a boat of 40 GUR capacity by a Sipparian from an employee of a princess living in Babylon. The hirer is to pay 4 GUR of barley for the month. The boat is to be returned unimpaired (*šalimtum*) and the Sipparian is responsible in the event of its seizure<sup>83</sup>.

#### *The Towman — āgīlu (A.U₅)*

Several texts refer to persons designated as *āgīlu*'s. One named Warad-Marduk is mentioned in a list of conscripted harvest workers. The same man, his occupation omitted, appears in another list of workers who receive beer rations<sup>84</sup>. A fragmentary and undated account of wages given to workers mentions the towman, Sin-nādin-šumī<sup>85</sup>. The wife of the towman, Tarību, serves as a NAR.SA in the temple of Tašmētum<sup>86</sup>.

#### *Equivalencies*

In texts dating from the latter part of the Old Babylonian period, from the time of Ammi-šaduqa and Samsu-ditana, we find a system of equivalences which according to A.L. Oppenheim were "developed to manage in an efficient way the array of different foodstuffs, materials, for manufacturing, payments in kind to the personnel, etc."<sup>87</sup>. A list of these follows :

<sup>78</sup> Goetze JCS 11 37 No. 28 (und.).

<sup>79</sup> VAS 9 217:6 (und.).

<sup>80</sup> Friedrich BA 5 508 No. 43 (Ha 41).

<sup>81</sup> Friedrich BA 5 509 No. 44 (Ha 43).

<sup>82</sup> Friedrich BA 5 493 No. 15 (Si 1).

<sup>83</sup> CT 45 58 (Amš 9). On the hirer see above under *River Trade*.

<sup>84</sup> In CT 6 23b:7 (Amš 17+e) which is a list of conscripted workers because it also mentions the *nāru* (1.8) and the *pašīšu* (l. 9) and CT 8 14c:10 (Amš 15).

<sup>85</sup> CT 45 114:16.

<sup>86</sup> CT 4 8b:3 (Amd 13).

<sup>87</sup> In K. Polanyi, *Trade and Market in Early Empires* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), 32.

1 mina of wool is the equivalent of 10 shekels of silver (CT 8 36a [Amd 26], 10c [Amş 13], 30b [Amş 14], CT 6 35c [Amş 3], CT 8 11c [Amş 17 + c]).

5 shekels of silver is the equivalent of 1 mina of wool (Waterman Bus. Doc. 30 [Amş 15]).

1 shekel of silver is the equivalent of 3 PI barley (CT 4 30d [Amş 17 + b]).

67 shekels of silver is the equivalent of 8 GUR of barley (BE 6/1 115 [Sd d]).

50 silas of sesame is the equivalent of 5 shekels of silver (BE 6/1 97 [Amş 17 + a]).

1 shekel of silver is the equivalent of 3 silas of first rate oil (Ì.SAG). (Szechter Tablettes 38 MAH 16376 [Amş 14]).

3 GUR 20 silas barley is the equivalent of 22 minas of wool (BM 80671 [?]).

## IV. THE POPULATION STRUCTURE

### 1. OCCUPATIONS

A number of the occupations of Sipparians are associated with one or another of the city's institutions or areas of activity such as the military, city administration, temple or agriculture, and are discussed in connection with them. But many occupations, are attested which are not specifically associated with any of these areas and they are here discussed individually and alphabetically. These occupations include primarily craftsmen and service personnel. Because of the nature of our material, we have far more information on those occupations or professions associated with public institutions than on some other common occupations and crafts. Thus we have the names of eighteen goldsmiths, but only one potter. We also have names for some occupations which cannot at present be identified.

Many of the references to occupations belong to the latter part of the Old Babylonian period which correlates with the later increase of administrative accounts, the major source of our information on occupations generally.

#### *aluzinnu*

There is one reference to an unnamed *aluzinnu* in a cloister administrative account which lists the hire given to various persons working for the cloister. This one occurrence is of no help in solving the problem of the function of this profession<sup>1</sup>.

#### *ararru\** (LÚ.ĤAR.ĤAR) Miller

The two references to millers concern the barley which they are to process. Four GUR of barley are given to be processed by the miller for the preparation of provisions (ŠUKU) and for voluntary offerings (ŠĀ.GI.KÁRA), probably in behalf of the household of the princess Iltani<sup>2</sup>. In a military account 2 GUR of barley is given to the millers (LÚ.MEŠ ĤAR.ĤAR) who are to supply from

<sup>1</sup> CT 47 80:38. On this profession and the problems involved see CAD 1 392.

\* An asterisk follows the Akkadian designation when it is not used in our material.

<sup>2</sup> Goetze JCS 2 107 No. 11:4 (Ae i): *a-na* ÉŠ.GĀR LÚ.ĤAR.ĤAR.

it provisions (ŠUKU) for the workers (ERÍN(?)) and fodder (ŠĀ.GAL)<sup>3</sup> for the cattle.

These references to millers do not concern the milling done daily in private homes by women or slavegirls of the household, but rather refer to semi-industrial activity engaged in for the vast royal household or for the military establishment<sup>4</sup>.

*asû\** (A.ZU) *Physician*

The only reference to a physician (A.ZU) is to Bēšunu, the son of Sin-šemē, who purchases a slavegirl and her infant<sup>5</sup>. In an account of barley taxes given to the palace, the apprentice physician (DUMU A.ZU), Ibni-Marduk, gives two GUR of barley as taxes (?) along with other officials — captains (PA.PA.MEŠ), the military scribe, and a brewer<sup>6</sup>.

*aškāpu* *Leather Worker*

Warad-Šamaš, the *aškāpu*, witnesses a man's receipt of silver<sup>7</sup>. Another leather worker Tarībatum is mentioned in a large administrative text listing men who receive amounts of barley or beer<sup>8</sup>.

*ašlāku* (LÚ.TÚG) *Fuller*

A fuller in Sippar might be a free-born man or woman or a slave employed by a private household or public institution. Fullers seem to have been organized into some sort of associations.

An organization of fullers seems indicated by the fact that Ibni-Marduk, the Overseer of the fullers (UGULA LÚ.TÚG), witnesses the lease of a field and is followed in the list of witnesses by Awēlija, a fuller (LÚ.TÚG)<sup>9</sup>.

Various garments are delivered by the master fuller (UM.MI.A LÚ.TÚG.MEŠ), who seems to be connected with the palace as the king is mentioned in a passage only partially preserved<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> BM 81155:13 (Amd 12). The mill (*bit ararri*) is mentioned in Sippar letters as a kind of prison (CT 6 8:11 and CT 44 61:10). There is one man with the name Ararru in Sippar: Waterman Bus. Doc. 35:17 and CT 24 40a:18.

<sup>4</sup> Note that in both references the term ÊŠ.GĀR "assigned work" is used of the millers' work.

<sup>5</sup> CT 8 27a:7 (Ae m).

<sup>6</sup> Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 25:9 (Sd e).

<sup>7</sup> Meissner BAP 86:6f. In our two references *aškāpu* is written syllabically.

<sup>8</sup> CT 45 89 r. 10f.

<sup>9</sup> CT 33 30:16f. (Amd 3).

<sup>10</sup> CT 45 36 iii 17 (Si).

That a fuller might be hired to work for the city is perhaps seen from an instance in which the judge Iddin-Ea hires Abi-lū-dāri for this purpose (*šipir ašlākūtīm epēši*)<sup>11</sup>.

A fuller might also be employed by a private household as does Awēl-Amurru who employs the fuller Abum-ili, as well as an Overseer (NU.BĀNDA), a gardener, and a baker<sup>12</sup>.

There are instances which indicate that a slave might be a fuller<sup>13</sup>; the cloister and temple employ female fullers. A temple account lists the expenditure of salt (MUN) and lye (NAGA<sub>3</sub>) given to the female fullers (SAL.TÚG.E.NE) for use in their work<sup>14</sup>. In a cloister account there are two occurrences of Šamutum, a female fuller (SAL.TÚG), who is the daughter of a slavegirl<sup>15</sup>.

The *ašlāku* is mentioned in various other accounts<sup>16</sup> as receiving amounts of barley.

*atkuppu\** (AD.KID) *Reed Worker*

There are several references to the reed worker. One is hired to work for a month in the household of the judge, Pirḫi-ilišu. But it is uncertain whether the judge hiring him here functions as a city official, as is perhaps the judge who hires a fuller (see under *ašlāku*), or as a private individual<sup>17</sup>. A slave who has been taught this craft is hired out by his *nadītu* owner at the standard slave hire of 1 GUR of barley per month. The lessee is a fisherman<sup>18</sup>. One reed worker is mentioned in a poorly preserved context which seems to connect him with the Šamaš temple<sup>19</sup>.

The reed workers, like the fullers, seem also to have been organized for an

<sup>11</sup> BE 6/2 126:4 (Amš 7). That the fuller is probably not hired here to work for a private household is indicated by the people who act as witnesses: a *sukkallu* and a military scribe.

<sup>12</sup> VAS 9 217:1 Apart from this text, Awēl-Amurru is mentioned only in TCL 1 130/131:3 (Si 10) where his field is adjacent to one sold.

<sup>13</sup> CT 8 49a:29 (AS); CT 2 23:8.

<sup>14</sup> BM 78743 4:3 (Ha 4). The text which is not entirely clear reads: 1 1/2 MUN 1 1/2 NAGA<sub>3</sub> ana SAL.TÚG.E.NE GIŠ.NÁ ù DINGIR.KAL ina šibirtim šarrim ZI.GA(!).

<sup>15</sup> PBS 8/2 235:6, 12. In the first occurrence she is described as DUMU.<SAL>GEMÉ-dŠEŠ.KI. This text is discussed in JESHO 6 146f.

<sup>16</sup> TCL 1 105:5 (Si 1); CT 8 38a:10; BM 80371:11 (Amš 5).

<sup>17</sup> BM 81306:3 (Ae k): *a-na ši-pi-ir at-ku-up-pu-tim*.

<sup>18</sup> YBC 4962:1 (Amš 10). The occupation of the lessee is to be restored as <ŠU>.ĤA.

<sup>19</sup> TLB 1 280:5 (Amš 13). Only here is LÚ added to the occupation AD.KID.

Overseer of the reed workers (UGULA AD.KID(!).MEŠ) receives 180 bundles of reeds<sup>20</sup> which he gives to the workers under his supervision. They are probably engaged in public works as are so many people mentioned in the administrative accounts of this year. Material of some kind (the signs are not all preserved) is given to an unspecified number of reed workers in another account<sup>21</sup>.

The Overseer of the reed workers receives garments along with the Overseers of builders and weavers, a milk carrier, and a female ox driver<sup>22</sup>.

The reed worker may have the means to purchase a house as does Samija, the reed worker. His daughter might enter the cloister as a *nadītu* as do the daughters of scribes and military officials<sup>23</sup>.

*azugallu\** (A.ZU.GAL) Chief Physician

A seal inscription found in several texts reads: “Būr-Nunu DUMU Māšum A.ZU.GAL”, “Būr-Nunu, son of Mašum, the *azugallu* (chief physician)”<sup>24</sup>. Three of the texts are tags bearing the name of a hired worker<sup>25</sup>. Though Būr-Nunu’s name does not appear on the tags, the use of his seal may indicate that the workers are hired from or by him<sup>26</sup>. The fourth text on which his seal is inscribed is a Šamaš temple loan to which he may have been a witness<sup>27</sup>.

The unnamed daughter of the *azugallu* (DUMU.SAL A.ZU.GAL) is neighbor to a field in an inheritance text<sup>28</sup>. The fact that her name is not mentioned would seem to indicate that her father was well-known.

<sup>20</sup> Friedrich BA 5 501 No. 27:3 (Ha 42).

<sup>21</sup> TCL 1 91:2 (Ha 9 or 33).

<sup>22</sup> TCL 1 160:21 (Amš 4). We assume that the term ŠÀ AD.KID is the Overseer of the reed workers and not just a variant for AD.KID. We have assumed this to be the meaning for ŠÀ when used with other occupations too.

<sup>23</sup> See CT 4 49b:3 (Sm 13) and VAS 9 176:2, respectively.

<sup>24</sup> It is not certain whether it is the son or the father who is the *azugallu*. By and large the pattern of the seal inscriptions is such that the occupation of a man will follow immediately after his name and not after the name of his father, e.g., CT 45 34, 46, 50; VAS 8 83, and TCL 1 151. But there are also examples where the occupation follows the father’s name in seal inscriptions and it is clearly the occupation of the son which is meant and not of the father, e.g., CT 47 22a S. 2 and CT 48 59 S. 6.

<sup>25</sup> TCL 1 218; VAS 9 104 (Ha); 105 (Ha).

<sup>26</sup> The question of the relationship between the seal inscriptions on tags and lists of hired workers has not been dealt with by M. Weitemeyer, *op. cit.*, where many more are published (pp. 112ff.).

<sup>27</sup> VAS 9 149 (Ha 39). The name of the last witness is no longer preserved.

<sup>28</sup> CT 8 18c:2 (Ha 14).

*A.ZU.GUD.ĪI.A Veterinarian*

A veterinarian, A.ZU.GUD.ĪI.A, Apil-ilišu, is one of the witnesses to the handing over of an ox in a situation where its owner is uncertain. He is perhaps present because he had treated the ox at some time<sup>29</sup>.

*GA.ĪL Milk Carrier*

Ana-Šamaš-taklāku, a milk carrier (GA.ĪL), is among a group of people who receive garments<sup>30</sup>.

*gardumu ?*

The only reference to this unknown occupation occurs in a list of workers in which Bazizu, *gardumnu*, is mentioned<sup>31</sup>. He is perhaps to be identified with the Bazizu who appears in other accounts without his occupation being added<sup>32</sup>.

*ḥa'ātu\* (LÚ.IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A) Inspector*

Two men are attested with the occupation LÚ.IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>(.A). One is Bazazum, known only from his seal inscription though it is his son, Annum-pīša, who uses the seal to witness an exchange<sup>33</sup>. Warad-Mē, an apprentice (DUMU) LÚ.IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A, is the first mentioned in an account of barley brought to the granary of Sippar-Amnānum, perhaps as a tax. He brings more than 2 GUR of barley, a greater quantity than do the others in the list<sup>34</sup>.

But the nature of the work done by the LÚ.IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A cannot be established. Its tentative translation as “inspector” is based on the meaning of the logograms “the man with open eyes”.

*ḥāšibu Reed Cutter*

An unnamed reed cutter distributes 3930 bundles of reeds to various hired workers who are perhaps to weave them into mats<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> TCL 1 132:7 (Si 10).

<sup>30</sup> TCL 1 160:18 (Amš 4).

<sup>31</sup> BE 6/1 93:7 (Amš 2).

<sup>32</sup> CT 8 40c:19; CT 4 26c:3 (Amš 16); PBS 8/2 198:3 (Amš 16). His brother Tarībum follows him in the last two accounts.

<sup>33</sup> CT 45 20 (H 9). Here written A.IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>. This is the case of Meissner BAP 48. His son is witness in r. 4 and also appears as witness in BE 6/1 43:21 (Ha).

<sup>34</sup> BE 6/1 104:1 (Amš 6). There is a reference to Warad-Marduk IGI.X in Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 25:7. But the second sign is not DU<sub>8</sub>.

<sup>35</sup> Friedrich BA 5 489 No. 9 r. 2 (Ha 30).

*išparu/išpartu\** (UŠ.BAR/SAL.UŠ.BAR) Weaver

Both men and women work as weavers, and large groups of them are employed by the palace and the cloister. One text speaks of the royal weavers (UŠ.BAR [LUGAL])<sup>36</sup>; and in two cloister accounts barley rations are given to the female weavers employed by the cloister<sup>37</sup>.

Two accounts record the amounts of wool given to female weavers<sup>38</sup>. Abijatam, described as the “Overseer of the weavers” (UGULA UŠ.BAR), and who appears to be a native of Isin as he owns fields there, is appointed to supervise a group of female weavers in Sippar<sup>39</sup>.

Male and female weavers deliver garments which are then given to various overseers and other persons including an ox driver apparently as clothing allotments from the administration. Also included as recipients are six female weavers and their overseer<sup>40</sup>.

*itinnu\** ((LÚ).ŠIDIM) House Builder

ŠĀ.LÚ.ŠIDIM Overseer of the Builders  
DUMU ŠIDIM Apprentice Builder

The *itinnu* was a craftsman who directed building operations which were carried out by hired workers. There was an overseer of builders (ŠĀ.LÚ.ŠIDIM) as is seen from a text in which he receives garments along with overseers of the female weavers and the reed workers<sup>41</sup>. The apprentice builder (DUMU ŠIDIM) is also mentioned in several texts<sup>42</sup>.

Most of our references to the *itinnu*'s seem to indicate that they worked for the palace. There are many references to these builders in lists dating from the 35th and 42nd years of Hammu-rapi which have been discussed at length by

<sup>36</sup> TCL 1 160:15 (Amš 4).

<sup>37</sup> CT 8 21d:3 (Amš 5) and CT 47 80:26ff. In the latter text 33 SAL.UŠ.<BAR>.MEŠ act as porters who carry goods from the quay of the Euphrates to the gate of the cloister.

<sup>38</sup> BE 6/1 114 (Sd b); JCS 2 107 No. 10 r. ii 6 (Ae).

<sup>39</sup> PBS 7 32:10.

<sup>40</sup> TCL 1 160 (Amš 4). Although the names of the female weavers are not given here, the names of the male weavers who deliver the garments are: Sin-nādin-šumī (l. 4), Sin-šar-mātim (l. 8) and Warad-Ulmaššitum (l. 12). I would suggest reading line 22 as: <sup>m</sup>Wa-ra-as-sa ri-iš ŠĀ SAL.UŠ.BAR “Warassa, head of the female weavers”.

<sup>41</sup> TCL 1 160:17 (Amš 4).

<sup>42</sup> TCL 1 95:5 (Ha 35); TCL 1 94:4 (Ha 35). In BE 6/1 104:2 (Amš 6) a DUMU.ŠIDIM pays a barley tax.

M. Weitemeyer<sup>43</sup>. At times the builder and his apprentice builder are mentioned together<sup>44</sup>, and in some lists the *itinnu* follows the names of several hired men whom he evidently directed<sup>45</sup>. A text in which a builder and 15 workers receive garments seems to indicate that they are a team of corvée workers who served for a long period<sup>46</sup>.

In other lists which state wages given to builders and other persons, the occupations of the other individuals and the period of time worked are not given so that a comparison of wages cannot be made<sup>47</sup>. The only specific mention of the tasks of these builders occurs on a tag which also suggests that they work for the palace. It speaks of the builder “who did the apportioned (building) work on the shearing house”<sup>48</sup>.

Of interest is a contract<sup>49</sup> which records the agreement about the construction of a common wall (*igār biritim*) where the last three witnesses are builders. It is they who probably undertake the work.

The builders seem to have been men of some wealth as one leases a military field for a period of three years<sup>50</sup>, and others witness transactions<sup>51</sup>.

The son of a builder sells a field along with another man<sup>52</sup>. The unnamed daughter of a builder is mentioned in what may be a cloister account<sup>53</sup>.

#### *KA.DI?*

A person designated as a KA.DI(?) appears in a register of conscripts<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, 50f.

<sup>44</sup> TCL 1 95:4 (Ha 35); TCL 1 94:3 (Ha 35).

<sup>45</sup> VAS 9 85:13, 86:16, 103:10 (all from Ha 45).

<sup>46</sup> TCL 1 109:6 (Si 4).

<sup>47</sup> CT 45 114:8 and 116:27; CT 45 89:34.

<sup>48</sup> CT 45 71:2-4 (Si 2). *ša al-tar É KA.SI.GA i-pu-šu(!)*.

<sup>49</sup> CT 48 118:12-14 (Sm 17a). On the date formula see JESHO 13 318.

<sup>50</sup> CT 33 36:8 (Amd 29).

<sup>51</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 37:16 (Immerum); VAS 8 105:19 (= Meissner BAP 49) (Ha 4); YOS 12 75:23 (Si 3); and VAS 8 65:2.

<sup>52</sup> BE 6/1 5:6f. (Immerum). The phrase here is PN son of PN ŠIDIM.

<sup>53</sup> VAS 9 177:15.

<sup>54</sup> CT 6 17 iv 6. The term KA.DI appears in Proto-LU 421a after *nimgir.gal* and before *nimgir.uru* but can hardly be identical with our term whose reading is in any case uncertain.

*kakkabu* ?

There is only one man who has this otherwise unknown occupation. Iddin-Marduk, a *kakkabu*, is mentioned among 16 harvest workers who receive wages. Two years later he appears in two accounts as a recipient of wages (?)<sup>55</sup>.

*kāmidu*\* (TÚG.DU<sub>g</sub>.A) Weaver<sup>56</sup>

The *kāmidu* (TÚG.DU<sub>g</sub>.A) of the *sanga* official of the Išhara temple, as well as the *sanga* himself, are included in a list of 18 workers who seem to have been conscripted to perform the *dikātu* service. That the *kāmidu* is subject to this service is seen from a long register pertaining to the *dikātu* in which two *kāmidu*'s are mentioned<sup>57</sup>.

*kizû*\* (IŠ) Groom

There are two references to the groom (IŠ). In one, Šamaš-Šulgi, appears with fourteen other persons who receive garments. Utul-Ištar, the groom, is witness to the sale of a field in an undated sale contract<sup>58</sup>.

*kutimmu*\* (KÛ.DÍM) Goldsmith<sup>59</sup>

Curiously enough, the goldsmith is the craftsman most frequently mentioned in our material. A.L. Oppenheim<sup>60</sup> has suggested that the goldsmiths were located in the shops of the main streets of Sippar. He is of the view that the nomads and farmers from the countryside would come to their shops, bartering slaves and especially children, in return for the gold objects made by the goldsmiths.

The goldsmith usually appears as witness to legal transactions<sup>61</sup>. One is men-

<sup>55</sup> CT 8 11a:5 (Amš 14). Professor A. Shaffer kindly collated the reading in CT 4 26c:7 (Amš 16) and contrary to the copy Iddin-Marduk's profession here too is to be read *kakkabu*. The third reference to him in PBS 8/2 198:7 should also be emmended in the copy.

<sup>56</sup> On *kāmidu* see Held JAOS 79 175f.

<sup>57</sup> Friedrich BA 5 491 No. 12:3 (Si 9); and CT 6 15 iii 19 and 16 r. i 18.

<sup>58</sup> TCL 1 109:5 (Si 4) and CT 45 121:23, respectively. In the second reference read TÚG <QA>. DU<sub>g</sub>.A.

<sup>59</sup> It is here assumed that KÛ.DÍM refers to the "goldsmith" since Sin-māgir, a witness to a sale in CT 45 44:22 (Amd 2), is described as a KÛ.BABBAR.DÍM "silversmith".

<sup>60</sup> *Middle Eastern Cities*, 12.

<sup>61</sup> CT 6 7b:26; CT 2 7:25; CT 8 22a:12; BE 6/1 22:23; CT 47 62/62a: 26; BM 80812:13; BE 6/1 88:29; YBC 4898:13; BE 6/1 115:14; BM 78378 r. 6; HSM 46:25, 26; BE 6/119 i 27, ii 26.

tioned in an account of workers<sup>62</sup>. In one unusual text<sup>63</sup>, five goldsmiths along with shepherds and judges are assigned to work for the Šamaš temple. Presumably they are engaged in the making of utensils and sacred objects.

We may assume that the goldsmith was a well-to-do man. But we have only one reference to one owning a house next to one which is sold<sup>64</sup>. The sister of a goldsmith is a *nadītu* of Šamaš<sup>65</sup>.

*List of Goldsmiths*

KING	YEAR	NAME	TEXT
AS	—	Šarrum-Adad	CT 6 7b:26
Ha	35	Adad-šarrum	BE 6/1 22:23
Ha	9	Inim. <sup>d</sup> Nanna s. Sililum	CT 2 7:25
Ha	[x]	Inim. <sup>d</sup> Nanna s. Sililum	CT 8 22a:17
Si	9	Nidnatum s. Šilli-Adad	CT 47 62:26 ; 62a:30
Si	24	Sin-iddinam	Scheil Sippar 87:5
Ae	e	Ibnatum s. Rīš-Šamaš	BM 80812:13
Amd	2	Sin-māgir	CT 45 44:22
Amd	12	[...]-tum	BE 6/1 88:29
Amd	[x]	Luštammar-Adad	YBC 4898:13
Sd	d	Etel-pī-Marduk	BE 6/1 115:14
Sd	11	[...]	BM 78378 r. 6
Sd	11	Šallūrum s. Ipiq-Šala	CT 48 40:14 ; JNES 21 75, VAT 819:20
und.		Ibbatum s. Ili-iqīšam	HSM 46:26
und.		Ilišu-nāšir s. Ibbi-Dagan	HSM 46:25
und.		Sin-imguranni	BE 6/1 119 i 27, ii 26
und.		Luštammar-Šamaš	CT 45 116:12
und.		Ipiq-Annunītum	BM 80322:32
und.		Ilišu-bāni	BM 80322:31
und.		Atta	BM 80322:30
und.		Ibni-Amurru	BM 80322:11
und.		Sin-išmēanni	BM 80322:10

<sup>62</sup> CT 45 116:12.

<sup>63</sup> BM 80322:10, 11, 30-32.

<sup>64</sup> Scheil Sippar 87:5.

<sup>65</sup> The brother of Erišti-Aja, Inim.<sup>d</sup>Nanna is a goldsmith (CT 8 22a:17). Brother and sister are mentioned in VAS 9 45:2, 6. In TCL 1 87:6 Inim.<sup>d</sup>Nanna.i.gim (his full name) rents a house where he also has to pay the expenses for the house to the lessor.

*LÚ.AD.GI?*

There are two references to an occupation whose meaning is unknown. One work docket mentions Adajatum, the LÚ.AD.GI. A short account states that 3 PI barley is given to 3 LÚ.AD.GI<sup>67</sup>. These two texts belong to the lists and dockets which concern public works.

*LÚ.KA.[BA?].[X(?)]?*

In an account<sup>68</sup> of the household of the princess Itani, 1 shekel of silver is given to the LÚ.KA.[BA?].[X(?)] for the purchase of some object. The expenditure is supervised by the *abaraku's* of the household.

*LÚ.ÛR.(?)RA?*

A LÚ.ÛR.RA receives MUG and Ú.KUR.RA.SAR vegetables for filling into DUG.AL.ÚS.SA vessels<sup>69</sup>, and another man with this title receives barley for grinding (*ana NÍG.ĤAR.RA*)<sup>70</sup>.

*LÚ.X.BAL?*

Two ewes are given as the SI of LÚ<sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup>BAL<sup>r</sup>. Goetze has suggested that some religious ceremony took place in this instance. But the text is too brief to allow this conclusion<sup>71</sup>.

*mār bitī\* (DUMU É)?*

The two men with the title DUMU.É, Ipiq-Ištar and Ilšu-nāšir, are both witnesses to litigations<sup>72</sup>. The title would seem to indicate an administrative position, but in what "household" we cannot determine.

The title of one Etel-pī-Marduk, is perhaps to be read DUMU.É(!); he is one of two men receiving various kinds of flour from several men<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> TCL 1 124:1.

<sup>67</sup> VAS 9 91:2 (Ha 42).

<sup>68</sup> Goetze JCS 2 112 No. 30:3 (Amd 1).

<sup>69</sup> TCL 1 173:6 (Amš 17 + c).

<sup>70</sup> Goetze JCS 2 106 No. 12:6 (Ae e). Note that Goetze *ibid.*, p. 87 suggests that the occupation is to be read as LÚ.SU.RA and is a variant of LÚ.SUR.RA.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 105 No. 7:2 (Ae k).

<sup>72</sup> CT 8 45b:30 (Sm) and Riftin 48:26 (Si 10). It is perhaps possible that in both cases the copy should be emended to DUMU É.<GAL>, a royal official discussed under Palace Administration.

<sup>73</sup> CT 6 39a:21 (Amd 26).

*naggāru (LÚ.NAGAR) Carpenter*

In two instances, carpenters are mentioned in matters which concern their trade. In one case a carpenter is given bricks<sup>74</sup>, and in another a carpenter is working on a boat (MÁ.U<sub>5</sub>) and thus would more accurately be described as a shipwright<sup>75</sup>.

Carpenters are mentioned in wage accounts of workers<sup>76</sup>, and others witness various types of transactions<sup>77</sup>.

*nappāhu (LÚ.SIMUG) Smith*

In all our references to the smith he appears only as a witness. Two smiths, Būr-Adad and Qīštum, are the final witnesses to the adoption of a child born of Cesarean section<sup>78</sup>. The unnamed sons of Būr-Adad, the smith, witness a hire contract<sup>79</sup>, and the daughter of Qīštum, the smith, is mentioned in a list of women<sup>80</sup>. Another smith, Sukkallija, appears as final witness to a sale<sup>81</sup>.

*nāširum Warden*

Adīdum who appears as a witness in a text from the time of Immerum is designated as a *nāširum*<sup>82</sup>.

*LÚ našparum (NA.AŠ.BAR) Messenger*

Awēl-iršitim, the messenger of the Princess (LÚ *našparum* ša DUMU.SAL LUGAL), is the second witness to the payment of rent<sup>83</sup>. Another messenger, Rišatum (NA.AŠ.BAR) is the first witness to an agreement to deliver a sheep as offering in the Šamaš temple and is followed by the doorkeeper of the Šamaš temple<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> VAS 9 89:5 (Ha 42) LÚ.NAGAR.

<sup>75</sup> Jacobsen Copenhagen 67:1 (Ha 16).

<sup>76</sup> CT 45 116:27 (an unreadable sign follows the occupation); CT 45 77:24, r. 6.

<sup>77</sup> CT 6 33b (AS 8) (LÚ.NAGAR); BM 78398 r. 5 (Ha 16); Goetze JCS 11 20 No. 6:4 (*naggāru*) (Ha 35).

<sup>78</sup> Szlechter Tablettes 3 MAH 15951:21 (Ha 23): (*nappāhu*).

<sup>79</sup> BE 6/1 48:10 (Si 1): (LÚ.SIMUG).

<sup>80</sup> VAS 9 178:3 (SIMUG).

<sup>81</sup> Scheil RT 17 30:25 (SIMUG).

<sup>82</sup> VAS 8 4:38. Though the military in Mari had a person with this title (see J. Sason, *The Military Establishments at Mari*, 15) there is no reason for assuming that the man in our reference is attached to the military organization which appears much later in Sippar.

<sup>83</sup> Čig Kraus Nippur 170:3f. (Ae).

<sup>84</sup> CT 48 101 r. 4 (Ams 22).

*nuḥatimmu\** (MU) Baker (Cook)

Bakers are employed by private individuals, and by the cloister. They might perhaps be required to work in a public bakery since in one instance a man does assigned work in the bakery<sup>85</sup>. They, like the tavern keepers, were registered and licensed and were obliged to pay a *nēmettu* tax to the palace<sup>86</sup>.

A cloister account names four women who serve as bakers for the cloister personnel<sup>87</sup>. A wealthy man, Awēl-Amurru, has his own baker, as well as a fuller and an overseer (NU.BĀNDA)<sup>88</sup>.

In one text the brewer (LÚ.ŠIM) delivers juniper (seeds?) (ŠIM.LI) to the station (*mazzazti*) of the baker<sup>89</sup>.

Bakers also witness transactions, and appear in lists of names, of workers, of harvest workers, and as recipients of wages (?)<sup>90</sup>.

*paḥāru* (DUG.BUR) Potter

The limited nature of our material is strikingly revealed by the fact that only one potter is mentioned in the texts: Sin-uballissu DUG.BUR delivers 780 of one kind of vessel and 600 of another<sup>91</sup>.

The daughter of a potter (DUMU.SAL *pa-ḥa-ri*) is a *nadītu* of Šamaš for she brings a *piqittu* oblation to the temple with other *nadītu*'s<sup>92</sup>.

An undated administrative text mentions an apprentice potter (DUMU *paḥāri*)<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> TCL 1 116:1-4 (Si 6): <sup>m</sup>PN *ša si-ip-ra-am i-na É MU.MEŠ i-pu-šu*.

<sup>86</sup> Goetze AS 16 211 ff.

<sup>87</sup> PBS 8/2 235:15.

<sup>88</sup> VAS 9 217:5.

<sup>89</sup> Goetze JCS 112 No. 28:3 (Ae p).

<sup>90</sup> As witnesses to transactions see Meissner BAP 103:16 (Sm 13); VAS 8 60:28 (Ha 4); in a list of names see BM 80371:7 (Amš 5) where the reference is to the sons of PN MU; in a list of workers: BE 6/1 117:17 (Sd m); in a list of harvest workers: CT 8 11a:9 (Amš 14) and as a recipient of wages (?) in PBS 8/2 198:13 (Amš 16). Note that their occurrences in accounts are all late.

<sup>91</sup> TCL 1 165:6 (Amš 11). The names of the vessels delivered are difficult to read. It is perhaps noteworthy that there is no other occurrence of the name Sin-uballissu in Sippar.

<sup>92</sup> VAS 9 174:40; 172:15.

<sup>93</sup> TCL 1 200:2. He receives material which we cannot read with any certainty: 5 KÛ *ša 4/za-ma-mar ta-bu-ti*.

*parkullu Seal-cutter*

One of the witnesses to an adoption is Sin-erībam the seal cutter (*pár-ku-lu*)<sup>94</sup>. This is the only reference in our texts to this occupation.

*sābû/sābītu\** (LÚ.KAŠ.DIN/LÚ.GEŠTIN.NA) *Tavernkeeper*

There exists the possibility, to judge from only the one reference, that the tavernkeeper not only sells beer but perhaps also makes it. The tavernkeeper (LÚ.GEŠTIN.NA) Qīšti-Ea, the son of Qīš-Ea, hires a slave to grind (*samādu*) barley for him for one year<sup>95</sup>. The same Qīšti-Ea also delivers 2 GUR of barley to an *iššakku* steward<sup>96</sup>.

In other accounts, Annum-pī-Šamaš, the LÚ.GEŠTIN.NA, is responsible for five incoming bundles of onions (*birihḫu*/SUM.SAR) and three *sābû*'s (KAŠ.DIN) appear in a list of eighteen workers<sup>97</sup>.

A household of the complexity of that of Iltani, the *nadītu* and princess may have had its own *sābû* for we find Marduk-muballīṭ the LÚ.GEŠTIN.NA receiving barley as fodder for her cattle<sup>98</sup>.

The *sābû*, like the captain and apprentice physician, may have had to pay a kind of license fee since an account which records payments by various people indicates that Tarībum the LÚ.GEŠTIN.NA pays 5 GUR of barley which is considerably more than that paid by the others<sup>99</sup>. The tavernkeepers, like the bakers above, may have had to pay a *nēmettu* tax to judge from a legal text from Babylon<sup>100</sup>.

The only reference to a female tavernkeeper is from the 14th year of Ammišaduga : a man borrows 2 measuring vessels (DUG *namaddu*) from the household of Bēletum the SAL KAŠ.DIN.NA<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Szlechter Tablettes 3 MAH 15951:20 (Ha 23).

<sup>95</sup> CT 33 32:3 (Amd 31).

<sup>96</sup> YBC 4932 (Ams 11).

<sup>97</sup> BE 6/1 102:5 (Ams 8) and Friedrich BA 5 591 No. 12:16-18 (Si 9).

<sup>98</sup> Goetze JCS 2 109 No. 20:8.

<sup>99</sup> Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 25:10 (Sd e).

<sup>100</sup> The text published by A. Goetze in AS 16 (1965) pp. 211-15, "Tavernkeepers and the like in Ancient Babylonia", does not appear to belong to our archives. Though it may concern Sipparians the fact that the officials mentioned here do not occur in our texts as well as the fact that the oath is one typical of Babylon suggests that this document was drawn up in Babylon.

<sup>101</sup> BM 81483:6 (Ams 14).

*sirašû (LÚ.ŠIM) Brewer*

Two texts record deliveries of the brewer (LÚ.ŠIM) Ili-šulmanni. In the first, he delivers first-rate beer (KAŠ.SAG LUGAL); in the second, 5 shekels of juniper (seeds?) (ŠIM.LI) to the baker<sup>102</sup>. The brewer Sin-nādin-šumi of the household of the princess Iltani, receives barley to feed and fatten pigs<sup>103</sup>. A very late account records the receipt of bread of various qualities from the brewer, which is distributed to various people<sup>104</sup>.

The brewers may be organized into guilds for in one instance the fattener of animals (*kuruštû*) gives 150 silas of green malt to the overseer of the office of the brewer corporation (?)<sup>105</sup>.

A female brewer is mentioned in an account dealing with beer rations given to those working on public works under the supervision of a captain<sup>106</sup>.

*sāhitu (LÚ.Ī.SUR) Oil Presser*

In two references the oil presser is connected with the Šamaš temple. In one, Šamaš-nāšir, the Ī.SUR, is given 15 silas of sesame to be processed for the use of the workers (ERĪN) of the Šamaš temple<sup>107</sup>. Another oil presser, Bēli-libluṭ, receives 10 GUR of sesame which has come from the city of Luḥaja and is to be held in reserve (*ana rēšim kullim*) for the festival of Šamaš in Sippar-Jaḥrurum<sup>108</sup>. In an account of expenditures, 10 silas of sesame are received by Warad-ilišu, the oil processer (*ša-ḫi-tim*)<sup>109</sup>, and an oil presser Ili-erībam, and the son of the oil presser, Ibbi-Šamaš, appear in a list of workers and names, respectively<sup>110</sup>.

Presumably the three brothers who receive 9 GUR of sesame for processing (ŠE.GIŠ.NI *i-ša-ḫa-tu-ma*) are oil pressers though not expressly said to be so<sup>111</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> Goetze JCS 2 111 No. 26:10 (Ae 28) and 112 No. 28:7 (Ae p).

<sup>103</sup> Goetze JCS 2 109 No. 19:15.

<sup>104</sup> BE 6/1 117:7 (Sd m).

<sup>105</sup> CT 6 23c:4 (Sd f): *a-na UGULA ma-a-z-za-a-z si-ra-šu-tim*.

<sup>106</sup> CT 8 14c:16 (Amš 15): 15 ŠE SAL *A-ḫa-as(!)-sú-nu* SAL ŠIM-tu[m]. I am grateful to Professor Aaron Shaffer who collated this passage for me in the British Museum.

<sup>107</sup> BM 78627:5 (Ae 28).

<sup>108</sup> CT 8 36c:17 (Amd 8).

<sup>109</sup> CT 8 38a:4.

<sup>110</sup> BE 6/1 93:4 (Amš 2); BM 80371:3 (Amš 5).

<sup>111</sup> CT 8 8e:10 (Amd 35). They are the sons of Warad-ilišu who is probably to be identified with the oil presser of CT 8 38a:4. We have here then an instance of sons following the occupation of the father.

*ṭābiḫum Slaughterer*

There is only one reference to the slaughterer. In a deposition before witnesses that a debt is repaid, one of the witnesses is Marduk-nāšir, the *ṭābiḫum*, along with a diviner. Perhaps the oath was, therefore, taken on a sacrificial animal<sup>112</sup>.

*ṭupšarrum\* (DUB.SAR) Scribe**Role of Scribe*

The occupation best attested in Sippar is that of the scribe who produced the tablets on which all of our material is contained. The names of about 185 scribes are known, usually from tablets containing legal transactions which the scribe has recorded and on which his name often appears as last witness followed by the signs DUB.SAR. Although the practice of the scribe serving as the last witness occurs early in Mesopotamian legal practice, it is one which is not rigidly maintained in our texts until after the time of Samsu-iluna. Since there are instances in which the man appearing as the last witness is known from other sources to be a scribe although his occupation is not given on the tablet<sup>113</sup>, we can infer that many more scribes occur in our material than we can identify. Though the scribe's chief task is to keep records and record transactions, there is evidence that he sometimes served as an important administrative official for the temple and the city administration.

*Relationship to the Palace*

The scribe who records private legal transactions is acting as a private individual. We have shown elsewhere<sup>114</sup> that beginning with the latter part of the reign of Hammu-rapi the characteristic pattern of the seal inscriptions of officials changes from "PN, occupation, son of PN<sub>2</sub>, servant of DN", to "PN, occupation, son of PN<sub>2</sub>, servant of RN". Of the extant inscriptions of scribes, only one describes the scribe as the "servant of Samsu-iluna"<sup>115</sup>, and he is clearly a civil servant, while the others which date from this late period retain the characteristic "servant of DN"<sup>116</sup>, indicating that the scribes are rarely part of the "great organizations"

<sup>112</sup> CT 48 39 l.e 2 (Ha 19?).

<sup>113</sup> See for example Eribam, final witness in CT 8 16a (Sm 10); Enlil-abum, final witness in TCL 1 190; Ibbi-Ilabrat in TCL 1 113 (Si 5); Ibni-Enlil in CT 4 12b (Ha 16). These and many more are probably to be identified with scribes of the same name.

<sup>114</sup> In JCS 15 117ff.

<sup>115</sup> Goetze JCS 11 31 No. 21. See the seal inscription here of Šallūrum and perhaps of another scribe. But this text clearly deals with royal lands and Šallūrum and perhaps another man are part of the administration.

<sup>116</sup> CT 45 34 (Si 15); BE 6/2 135 (und.); JCS 11 25 No. 14 (Ams 13); Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 5 (Amd 3); PBS 8/2 224 (Ams 16); (here there is only PN DUB.SAR), and BM 64391 (Sd 19).

of either the temple or palace personnel. In connection with these seal inscriptions it is noteworthy that in several the god Nabium appears in the servant clause<sup>117</sup>.

### *Types of Scribes*

Apart from the ordinary scribe (DUB.SAR) who records private legal transactions and writes letters for the illiterate, scribes serve in a variety of more specialized capacities. We discussed in the appropriate chapters, the temple scribe, the scribes of the *naditu*'s the female scribes of the cloister, the scribes of the judges (DUB.SAR DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ), the army scribe (DUB.SAR.ERÍN), and the military scribe (DUMU.É.DUB.BA). There is some indication that a man may be associated with several of these positions though whether concurrently or consecutively is not known. Awēl-Adad appears simply as a scribe of the *naditu*'s, and several times is designated a "scribe of the judges" in cases in which he appears as a witness but does not record the transaction<sup>118</sup>. There are several other instances in which a man is described as both a scribe of the judges and simply as scribe<sup>119</sup>.

The function of the *zazakku* is not entirely clear. The Sumerian equivalent, DUB.SAR.ZAG.GA, would place him among the scribes, and in the four extant references he appears to be connected with the city administration. In one account a *zazakku* gives money to the tax collector at the order of the Overseer of the Merchants and the judges; in another he apparently accompanies to Sippar-Jahrurum workers who are provisioned by the granary of that city. In a third account he receives, along with the gate watchman, barley for the provisioning of soldiers<sup>120</sup>.

A *zazakku* appears as final witness to a loan, and is perhaps here serving as

<sup>117</sup> As in BE 6/1 135; BM 64391 (Sd 19). The god Nabium also occurs in other seal inscriptions: VAS 8 115 (Ha 13), VAS 9 39 (Ha 30). Whether or not these persons, too, are scribes is not known. But see Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14, for Zababa, CT 45 34 for Enki in scribes' seals.

<sup>118</sup> As scribe see references in list of scribes; as "scribe of the *naditu*'s see e.g., RA 9 21:34 (Si 18); CT 8 32a:22; CT 2 43:38 (Si 25); as "scribe of the judges", see CT 47 44/44a:24 (Ha 34); VAS 13 25 r. 10 (Ha 41); TLB 1 224:22 (Si 27). In the last text restore DUB.SAR [DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ]. The son of Awēl-Adad, Ili-bāni appears as witness in CT 47 69:28 (Ae h) where he is described as DUMU DUB.SAR LUKUR <sup>d</sup>UTU.MEŠ. We know his father's name from his seal inscription (S. 8).

<sup>119</sup> See Goetze JCS 11 34 No. 20 l.e for Lú.<sup>d</sup>Ninšubur.ka DUB.SAR DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ; VAS 13 25 r. 8 (Ha 4) for Imgur-Sin DUB.SAR DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ and A.ab.ba-ṭābum DUB.SAR DI.KU<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ. É <sup>d</sup>UTU in CT 8 28b:32 (Si). These three are known also simply as scribes (see list for references).

<sup>120</sup> See TCL 1 152:4 (Amd 15) for Marduk-muballiṭ, DUB.SAR ZAG.GA; CT 8 27b:7 (Ae e) for Nabium-[...] DUB.SAR ZAG.GA and BM 80290:8 (Amd 21) for Ibni-Amurru, respectively.

scribe for his position in the sequence of witnesses is typical of the ordinary scribe<sup>121</sup>.

#### *The Scribe as Witness*

A scribe often appears as a witness to a transaction which he does not record, apparently as a private individual or an interested party. In one case the recording scribe Damu-GAL.ZU appears as the third last witness and another scribe Dakirum is a witness in the same text<sup>122</sup>; and in a second text two scribes appear as the two last witnesses, one apparently simply as a witness<sup>123</sup>. In some cases the scribe's seal is rolled on the tablet though he is not mentioned in the text<sup>124</sup>.

#### *The Scribe as Administrator*

In addition to the scribes who served the public and various institutions as recorders, a number of scribes are found in administrative capacities. The temple scribe receives incoming staples for the temple; the granary of Sippar and Sippar-Jaḥrurum is under the control of the scribe Ibbi-Sin along with the Overseer of the Merchants and the *kārum* of Sippar. Another scribe, Marduk-nāšir, controls barley given to fishermen by a captain in the military organization. The scribe, Utul-Ištar, administers wool, silver, barley and sesame for the palace in Sippar, and later becomes an *abi šābi* military official. The *zazakku* (DUB.SAR.ZAG.(GA)) scribe may have held a high administrative position which was involved with the collection of taxes and the supervision of workers.

#### *Private Transactions*

Scribes often appear as parties to private transactions, though only in the latter part of the Old Babylonian period, beginning in the time of Samsu-iluna which perhaps reflects a growth in the status of this profession in contrast to its lowlier position in the earlier part of the Old Babylonian period.

He is involved with various real estate transactions. Awēl-Sin leases for three years three *šibtu*-holdings totalling 42 GÁN; and two years later leases a field of 12 GÁN from a *naditu* for a year<sup>125</sup>. Nadān-Ištar, known to be a scribe

<sup>121</sup> Adi-mati-ili in BE 6/1 45:16f. (Si).

<sup>122</sup> CT 4 47b:18 and 33 (Immerum).

<sup>123</sup> VAS 8 53:49, 50 (Sm).

<sup>124</sup> BM 64391 (Sd 19); Goetze JCS 2 104 No. 5 (Amd 3) and JCS 11 25 No. 14 (Ams 13). Note these are all late references.

<sup>125</sup> CT 8 7a (Amd 32) and TCL 1 155 (Amd 34).

from his seal, leases a house from a *naditu*. Another scribe, Sin-iqīšam, leases a house from a judge<sup>126</sup>. The same Sin-iqīšam makes a loan of five shekels of silver to a Kassite to buy barley at the order (*ana qabê*) of a man of some unknown occupation<sup>127</sup>. It is probably this same scribe who is referred to with the honorific title *awêlum* in a letter<sup>128</sup>.

We know of a number of transactions in which the scribe Ibbi-Sin is involved. He owns a large field which he leases to five partners in return for half of the yield; the five lessees divide the other half. Ibbi-Sin also leases a field from the Princess Iltani, a transaction which is witnessed by two military scribes and has the seal of another scribe, Ibni-Zababa, on the case tablet. A litigation between Ibbi-Sin and the *naditu* daughter of the scribe Sin-iqīšam may also concern a field. And in one instance Ibbi-Sin hires harvest workers. This scribe appears to have lived in Sippar-Jahrurum as he commissions a man to buy 8 GUR of barley for 26  $\frac{2}{3}$  shekels of silver and 4 shekels worth of sesame to be delivered to him in Sippar-Jahrurum. In another instance he hires two boats to transport his staples from Sippar-Jahrurum to Babylon. He also commissions a man to buy a Subarian slave for him. Finally, Ibbi-Sin delivers 6 birds for the diviner's ritual presumably as a private offering. It is not surprising in view of all the evidence we have of this scribe's affluence that we find him in a position of responsibility in the administration of the royal granary of Sippar-Jahrurum<sup>129</sup>.

#### *The Family of the Scribe*

The scribes of Sippar are not scholars and they do not come from learned families, proud of their ancestry. Indeed the scribe's father is rarely mentioned, and little is therefore known of his background. The seal inscription of the scribe Mār-Ištar mentions his father Išar-Lim, perhaps to be identified with Išar-Lim the *rabiānu* official of Sippar<sup>130</sup>.

There is no clear evidence that the son of a scribe served in the same occupation. If we may assume that the last witness to a transaction is a scribe, then Sin-iddinam

<sup>126</sup> PBS 8/2 224 (Ams 16) and CT 8 23b (Sd g).

<sup>127</sup> YBC 1547 (Si).

<sup>128</sup> PBS 7 112:5.

<sup>129</sup> BE 6/1 112 (ASd c); BM 64391 (Sd 19); Goetze JCS 11 31 No. 19 (Sd g); BE 6/1 111 (Sd g); BE 6/1 115; BE 6/1 110 (Sd g); JNES 21 (1962) 75 VAT 1176 (Sd 13); BE 6/1 118 (Sd b). His role as an administrator of the granary is found in the unpublished texts: BM 81255, 81262, and 81473, all dating from Sd 3.

<sup>130</sup> For his seal inscription see VAS 9 43 (Ha 31). Išar-Lim appears in CT 6 47b:17 (Ha 24). This possibility is reinforced by the fact that the persons appearing with Mār-Ištar are also officials (see their seal inscriptions).

and Ibni-Enlil, both last witnesses, are perhaps scribes<sup>131</sup>. They are the sons of Enlil-abi, possibly to be identified with the scribe of that name, since the name occurs rarely in Sippar.

A.AB.BA-ṭābum, one of the earliest attested scribes, is the father of a female scribe of the cloister with the Sumerian name Inanna.ama.mu and has another daughter who is also a *nadītu* of Šamaš<sup>132</sup>. The scribe Sin-iqīšam has a daughter who is a *nadītu* of Šamaš named Amat-Šamaš<sup>133</sup>; and another *nadītu* named Amat-Šamaš is the daughter of Enlil-abi, probably the scribe mentioned above who may also have had two sons who were scribes<sup>134</sup>.

#### *Distribution of Scribes According to Kings*

Though we seldom have the name of more than one scribe in any given year, there are some cases in which a number are known. We know the names of seven scribes from the 14th year of Hammu-rapi, five from his third year, and from the first year of Samsu-iluna; and four from the fourth and sixth years of Samsu-iluna. We also know of three scribes each in the years Sin-muballiṭ 3, Hammu-rapi 20, and 41, Samsu-iluna 2, 8, 10, 14 and 30, and Ammi-ditana 34. The names of 90 scribes are found in texts dating from Hammu-rapi and Samsu-iluna. This correlates well with the fact that more than half of our texts date from the reigns of these two kings.

#### *Names of Scribes*

The scribes almost always have Akkadian names, though a few have Sumerian: A.BA.<sup>d</sup>MAR.TU.GIM, Damu-GAL.ZU. <sup>d</sup>IM.ZI.MU, LÚ. <sup>d</sup>NIN.ŠUBUR.KA, <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI.ŠĀ.LĀ.SUD, ŠEŠ.Ì.PĀD, <sup>d</sup>UTU.EN.ZI.MU, <sup>d</sup>UTU.KAM and <sup>d</sup>UTU.Ì.SAG. One of these, <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI.ŠĀ.LĀ.SUD, first occurs in the reign of Sumula-ila and then recurs many years later as the name of a scribe in the thirty-third year of Samsu-iluna. The name A.AB.BA-ṭābum is partly Akkadian and partly Sumerian; and one scribe, Jaširtum, has a West Semitic name. What is perhaps of significance is that relatively many scribes do bear Sumerian names. They were perhaps chosen deliberately to demonstrate their learning<sup>135</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> CT 8 18b (Ha 4), and VAS 8 79 (und.). Though undated, this text is from either the period of Sin-muballiṭ or Hammu-rapi, the period in which Amat-Šamaš, the daughter of Warad-Enlil, the creditor in this text, was active (for this see JCS 16 3).

<sup>132</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 14:18f. (Immerum). On Inanna.ama.mu see JCS 16 8 and JESHO 6 138f.

<sup>133</sup> Goetze JCS 11 31 No. 19:6 (Sd 9); Waterman Bus. Doc. 76:6 (Sd ?).

<sup>134</sup> CT 8 29b:23 (AS); BE 6/1 17:36 (AS); JCS 11 23 No. 9:3 (Si 9).

<sup>135</sup> Note that in marked contrast many of the scribes of Abū Šālābikh in the Fara period have Semitic names as noted by Biggs, *Orientalia* 36 60.

*Length of Service*

Although most scribes appear only once in our texts, there are enough examples to show that the scribe usually served throughout his lifetime. The number of years served in general would indicate considerable longevity, though in those cases in which an unusually large number of years is involved, we may be dealing with two men of the same name.

The following is a list of scribes who served for many years :

*Number of Years Served by Scribes*

Ili-itê	8 years
Awêl-Sin	10
Utul-Ištar	17
Nanna-iddinam	19
Ipqu-Annunītum	23
Enlil-abi/abu	23 *
Šamaš-bāni	25
Sin-iddinam	27
Išmē-Ea	29
Aḥam-nirši	30
LÚ. <sup>d</sup> NIN.ŠUBUR.KA	33 *
Sin-imguranni	33 *
Iddin-Sin	35
Sin-iddinam	35
Ipqu-Ea	37
Šumum-libši	38 *
Sin-mušallim	43
Ipiq-Aja	44
Ibni-Šamaš	45
Warad-Kubi	53
Ibni-Enlil	56
Marduk-nāšir	61

*Scribes Arranged Chronologically* (if not final witness preceded by \*) (if other than witness preceded by \*\*)

KING	YEAR	NAME
Illumma-ila	—	Sin-šemē s. Būr-Nunu
before Sumu- abum	? ?	* Dakirum s. Zabzabum

KING	YEAR	NAME
Immerum	RLA 193	* <sup>d</sup> Nāru-rabi
Immerum	—	Sin-ublam
Immerum	—	Ubar-Ninurta
Immerum	RLA 193	* <sup>d</sup> UTU.KAM
Sa	14	A.AB.BA-ṭābum
Bu/Sl	1 (of Bu)	A.AB.BA-ṭābum
und.	—	A.AB.BA-ṭābum
Sl	—	Agigu
Sl	—	Ubar-Ninurta
Sl	?	<sup>d</sup> ŠEŠ.KI.ŠÀ.LÁ.SUD
Za	—	Ilšu-ibbišu
Za	?	* Ibni-Adad
Za	—	Imgur-Sin s. Ilšu-abušu
Za	—	Buza
Za	—	* Ubar-Ninurta
Za	—	* Abatum
Za	—	Iddinja
Za	—	Iddinja
Za	—	Iddin-Sin
Za	13	Iddin-Sin
AS	—	* Iddinja
AS	—	Riš-Šamaš
AS	—	* Ibni-Bilgi s. Šamaš-...]
AS	—	Rabi-šillašu
AS	—	* Jaširtum s. Sin-rēmenni
AS	2	* Ilšu-ellassu
AS	4	* Ibni-Enlil
AS	4	Iddin-Sin
AS	8	* Nanna-iddinam
AS	—	* Enlil-abi
AS	—	<sup>d</sup> UTU,EN.ZI.MU
AS	—	<sup>d</sup> UTU.EN.ZI.MU
Sm	—	Nanna-iddinam
Sm	—	Šubiša
Sm	—	<sup>d</sup> UTU.Ì.SAG
Sm	—	Riš-Šamaš
Sm	—	* Nūr-ilišu
Sm	—	Marduk-muballit
Sm	—	* Eribam

KING	YEAR	NAME
Sm	—	* Igmil-Sin
Sm	—	* Ili-iddinam
Sm	—	LÚ. <sup>d</sup> NIN.SUBUR.KA
Sm	?	Apil-ilišu
und.		* Apil-ilišu
Sm	7	Apil-ilišu
Sm	—	Apil-ilišu
Sm	5(?)	* Ipquša
Sm	9	Sin-māgir
Sm	11	Šamaš-bāni
Sm	12	<sup>d</sup> UTU.EN.ZI.MU
Sm	—	<sup>d</sup> UTU.EN.ZI.MU
Sm	13	<sup>d</sup> UTU.EN.ZI.MU
Sm	13	* Enlil-abum
Sm	—	* Enlil-abum
und.	—	* Enlil-abum
Sm	13	* Išmē-Ea
Sm	16	Ili-itê
Sm	17	Adad-ra-[bi]
und.		Adad-ra-[bi]
Sm	17	Tarīb-ili s. Ina-qati-Šamaš
Sm	19	Sin-tarību
Sm	19	Sin-idinnam
Ha	—	Nanna-iddinam
Ha	1	Iddin-Sin
Ha	—	Iddin-Sin
Ha	2	Rīs-Šamaš
Ha	2	Ibni-Šamaš
Ha	3	<sup>d</sup> UTU.Ì.SAG
Ha	3	Ibni-Enlil
Ha	3	Sin-rēmenni
Ha	3	* Tarība-ili
Ha	3	Enlil-abi
Ha	4	Šamaš-tappišu
Ha	4	Wer-ellati
Ha	4	Šamaš-andulli
Ha	4	Ili-itê
Ha	6	LÚ. <sup>d</sup> NIN.ŠUBUR.KA
Ha	7	Ipqu-Ea

KING	YEAR	NAME
Ha	9 (?)	Ibni-Sin
Ha	11	Šamaš-tappīšu
Ha	13	Ili-ušranni
Ha	14	Tubqum-nāšir
Ha	14	Ipqu-Ea
Ha	14	Luštammār
Ha	14	Aḥuni
Ha	14	Ilišu-muballiṭ
Ha	14	Warad-Kubi
Ha	14	Aḥam-nirši
Ha	15	Išmē-Ea
Ha	16	Šamaš-bāni
Ha	16	Ebatum
Ha	16	Iluni
Ha	16	ŠEŠ.Ì.PÀD
Ha	17	Ipiq-Ea
Ha	18	Ipiq-Ea
Ha	19	Awēl-ilum
Ha	20	Ibni-Sin
Ha	20	Ibbi-Ilabrat
Ha	20	Ipqu-Adad
Ha	21	Ibni-Sin
Ha	22	Išmē-Ea
Ha	—	Išmē-Ea
Ha	25	Ubar-Šamaš
Ha	26	Sin-iddinam
Ha	27	Sin-šemē
Ha	—	Sin-šemē
Ha	29	Ibbi-Ilabrat
Ha	30	Awēl-Adad
Ha	30	Ipqu-Ea
Ha	31	Ibni-[Sin (?)]
Ha	—	Ibni-Sin
Ha	31	* Mār-Ištar (seal inscription) s. Išar-Lim
Ha	32	Munanum
Ha	33	[LÚ]. <sup>d</sup> NIN.ŠUBUR.KA
Ha	35	Ipqu-Ea
Ha	37	Ipqu-Ea

KING	YEAR	NAME
Ha	39	Ušur-wedam
Ha	40	Ili-imguranni
Ha	40	Imgur-Sin
Ha	41	Ibni-Adad
Ha	41	Warad-Amurru
Ha	41	* Ibni-Adad
Ha	43	* Ibni-Adad
Ha	43	Sin-ludlul
Ha	?	Ilšu-bāni
Si	1	Ipiq-Aja
Si	1	Ipiq-Ea
Si	1	Mār-Amurru
Si	1	Aḥam-nirši
Si	1	Šumum-libši
Si	2	Ipiq-Antum
Si	2	Ili-māg[ir]
Si	2	Awēl-Adad
Si	3	Ludlul-Sin
Si	3	Iddin (?) -Amurru
Si	4	Ibni-Šamaš
Si	4	* Šallūrum
Si	5	Ipqu-Ea
Si	5	Ipqu-Annunītum
Si	6	Ipiq-Aja
Si	7	Ušur-wēdam
Si	7	Sin-abušu
Si	8	Ušur-wēdam
Si	8	Marduk-nāšir
Si	8	Ili-tukulti
Si	8	Ušur-walassu
Si	9	Ipiq-Aja
Si	10	Ipiq-Aja
Si	10	Sin-ašarid
Si	10	* Apil-Adad
Si	11	Ilšu-bāni
Si	14	Šamaš-inaja
Si	14	Mār-Adad
Si	14	Ipiq-Aja
Si	15	Ipiq-Aja

KING	YEAR	NAME
Si	15	Mār-Adad
Si	16	Uṣu[r-wēdu]m
Si	16	Ipqu-Antum
Si	22	Šamaš-libluṭ
Si	22	Imgur-Sin
Si	23	Imgur-Sin
Si	23	Uṣur-wēdam
Si	24	Warad-Kubi
Si	24	Bēlānum
Si	25 (?)	Ipqu-Antum
Si	26	Bēlānum
Si	26 (?)	[Mār (?)]-Adad
Si	27	Imgur-Sin
Si	28	Bēlānum
Si	29	Sin-nādin-šumī
destr.	—	Sin-nādin-šumī
Si	29	Šamaš-dāri
Si	30	Šamaš-nāšir
und.		Šamaš-nāšir s. Šamaš-aklu
Si	30	Anum-pī-Ilabrat
Si	30	Sin-mušallim
Si	33	<sup>d</sup> ŠEŠ.KI.ŠÀ.LÁ.SUD
Ae	c	Adad-rabi
Ae	c + 1	<sup>d</sup> IM.ZI.MU
Ae	e	* Marduk-nāšir
Ae	h	Šumum-libši
Ae	k	<sup>d</sup> IM.ZI.MU
Ae	m	Sin-imguranni
Ae	o	Ipiq-Annunitum
Ae	—	Ipiq-Annunitum
Ae	s	<sup>d</sup> IM.ZI.MU
und.		<sup>d</sup> IM.ZI.MU
Ae	n	Ibni-Adad
Ae	t	Tarībum
Ae	?	Sin-erībam
Ae	?	[Sin-nadin (?)]...-šumī
Amd	1	Ibni-Adad
Amd	2	Sin-iddinam
Amd	2	Ilšu-ibni

KING	YEAR	NAME
und.		Išū-ibni
Amd	3	Beli-li[bur.(?)] s. Ibni- <sup>d</sup> [...] (seal inscription)
Amd	3	Marduk-nāšir
Amd	4	Ibni-Adad
Amd	4	Gimil-Gula
Amd	5	Nanna-iddinam
Amd	5	Sin-iddinam
Amd	7	Ibni-Ea
Amd	12	[...na]-sir
Amd	14	Awēl-Mīšar
Amd	19	Sin-mušallim
Amd	21	Marduk-muballit
Amd	22	Nanna-iddinam
Amd	24	Nanna-iddinam
Amd	26	Sin-mušallim
Amd	26	Warad-ilišu
Amd	27	Taribatūm
Amd	28	Rīš-Nabium
Amd	29	Awēl-Sin
Amd	30	Warad-ilišu
Amd	31	Warad-ilišu
Amd	31	Sin-nāšir
Amd	32	** Awēl-Sin
Amd	33	Sin-imguranni
Amd	34	Sin-nāšir s. Ipqu-Annunītum
Amd	34	Sin-iddinam
Amd	34	** Awēl-Sin
Amd	35	Awēl-Sin
Amd	37	Sin-iddinam
Amd	37	Šumum-liši
Amd	?	Ibni-Adad
Ams	1	Rīšatum
Ams	3	Sin-nādin-šumi
Ams	3	Šumum-liši
Ams	4	Šumum-liši
Ams	6	Ninurta-muballit
Ams	6	Šumum-liši
Ams	7	Šumum-liši

KING	YEAR	NAME
destr.		Šumum-liši
Amṣ	8	Sin-ibni
Amṣ	10	Warad-Ibari
Amṣ	11	Qīšti-Ea
Amṣ	13	Mannu-[...] s. Puzur-[...] (seal inscription)
Amṣ	14	Sin-erībam
Amṣ	15	Qīšti-Ea
Amṣ	16	** Nadān-Ištar (seal)
Amṣ	17	Mar[duk-muš] allim
Amṣ	17-b	Warad-Ibari
Amṣ	17-c	Awēl-Sin
Sd	b	** Ibbi-Sin
Sd	c	** Ibbi-Sin
Sd	d	** Ibbi-Sin
Sd	g	** Ibbi-Sin
Sd	g	Sin-iqīšam
Sd	9	** Ibbi-Sin
Sd	3	** Ibbi-Sin
und.		Sin-iqīšam
Sd	i	** Sin-iqīšam
Sd	19	** Ibni-Zababa s. Dulluqum (seal inscription)
Sd	19	** Ibbi-Sin
und.	—	A.BA. <sup>d</sup> MAR.TU.GIM
und.	—	Talimum

*Alphabetically Arranged List of Scribes*

NAME	TEXT
Abatum	CT 2 39:30 (Za)
A.AB.BA-ṭābum	VAS 8 1:27 (Sa 14); Waterman Bus. Doc. 31:26 (Buntahtun-ila 1/Sl); Scheil RT 17 p. 30:24 (und.)
A.BA. <sup>d</sup> MAR.TU.GIM	PBS 8/2 205:34
[Adad-id]dinam	BM 64294:26 (Ha)
Adad-ra[bi]	CT 4 14b:17 (Sm 17)
[Adad(?)]-rabi	BM 82359 60:26 (und.)
Adad-rabi	CT 48 47 r. 4 (Ae c)
Adi-mati-ili	BE 6/1 45:16 (Si 1)

NAME	TEXT
Agigu	CT 4 9b:29 (Si)
Aḥam-nirši	CT 8 13a:25 (Ha 14); CT 8 9a:38 (Si 1)
Aḥūni	Mendelsohn Slavery 24f., Columbia 298 r. 3 (Ha 14)
Amu?ja-waqar	Waterman Bus. Doc. 39 r. 18 (und.)
Anum-pī-Ilabrat	YOS 12 537:25 (Si 30); TCL 1 145:30 (Si 30)
Apil-Adad	Riftin 48:24 (Si 10)
Apil-ilišu	CT 8 39a:32 (Sm 2 (?)); VAS 8 27:25 (Sm 7); VAS 8 78 r. 12 (Sm); TCL 1 80:28 (Ha 7); Ballerini RSO 2 539ff:36
Awēl-Adad	Waterman Bus. Doc. 78 r. 11 (Ha 30); CT 8 24b:26 (Si 2)
Awēl-ili	CT 6 22a:26 (Ha 19)
Awēl-Mīšar	CT 33 34:17 (Amd 14)
Awēl-Sin	Waterman 19 Bus. Doc. r. 7 (Amd 29); CT 6 37c:15 (Amd 29); CT 8 7a:13 (Amd 32); TCL 1 155:12 (Amd 34); CT 8 8e:14 (Amd 35); CT 8 11c:17 (Amš 17c); Waterman Bus. Doc. 59 r. 6 (destr.); TCL 1 221:26 (und.)
Bēlānum	BE 6/1 61 Case 30 (Si 24); BE 6/1 62:41 (Si 26); CT 48 60 r. 10 (Si 28)
Bēli-lī[būr] s. Ibni- <sup>a</sup> [x]	JCS 2 104 No. 5 seal inscription (Amd 3)
Dakirum s. Zabzabum	CT 4 47b:18 (before Sa)
Damu-GAL.ZU	CT 4 47b:33 (before Sa)
Ebatum	BM 82105:11 (Ha 16)
Enlil-abi/abum	CT 45 10:22a (AS); CT 4 49b:31 (Sm 13); CT 8 45b:34 (Sm); CT 4 44b:21 (Sm); TCL 1 73:43 (Sm); VAS 8 89:17 (Ha 3); PBS 8/2 258 r. 18 (und.)
Erībam	CT 2 36:26 (Sm)
Gimil-Gula	CT 33 33:20 (Amd 4)
Ḥalijaum	TCL 1 179:12 (destr.)
Ibbi-Ilabrat	PBS 8/2 248:27 (Ha 20); BE 6/1 28:35 (Ha 29)
Ibbi-Sin	BE 6/1 118:3, 6 (Sd b); BE 6/1 112:5 (Sd c); BE 6/1 115:4 (Sd d); BE 6/1 111:3 (Sd g); BE 6/1 110:7 (Sd g); BM 81255:4 (Sd 3); BM 81262:4 (Sd 3); BM 81473:4 (Sd 3); JCS 11 31 No. 19 r. 1 (Sd 9); BM 64391:7 (Sd 19); VAS 9 146:18(?)
Ibni-Adad	CT 8 23c:25 (Za)
Ibni-Adad	CT 8 5a (Ha 41); VAS 9 138:15 (Ha 41); CT 6 44a:17 (Ha 43)

NAME	TEXT
Ibni-Adad	CT 47 71:27 (Ae n); Waterman Bus. Doc. 29 Nr. 11 (Amd 1); TCL 1 150:12 (Amd 4); CT 48 50:35 (Amd ?)
Ibni-Bilgi s. Šamaš-...]	TCL 1 63:40 (AS)
Ibni-Ea	CT 48 9:12 (Amd 7)
Ibni-Enlil	TCL 1 60:24 (AS 4); VAS 8 97/98:13 (Ha 3); BM 80461 r. 13 (Ha 9); CT 420c:15 (Ha 20); BE 6/1 37:24 (Ha 21); CT 45 25 (Ha 31 (?)); VAS 9 165/166:24 (Ha)
Ibni-Marduk	TLB 1 219:8 (destr.); TCL 1 147:26 (Ae h)
Ibni-Šamaš	TCL 1 79:14 (Ha 2); BE 6/1 53 case 13 (Si 4)
Ibni-Zababa	BM 64391 seal inscription (Sd 19)
Iddin(?)-Amurru	TLB 1 229:37 (Si 3)
Iddinja (Iddija)	BE 6/1 14:32 (Za); BE 6/1 12:22 (Za); CT 47 3a:22
Iddin-Sin	BE 6/1 13:40 (Za); CT 48 14 l.e 15 (Za 13); CT 4 47a:43 (AS 4); CT 8 48b:33 (Ha 1); CT 47 48:26 (Ha)
Igmil-Sin	VAS 8 58:33 (Sm)
Ili-iddinam	CT 47 13a:25 (Sm); CT 47 68:34 (Sm); Waterman Bus. Doc. 43:14
Ili-imguranni	VAS 9 154:24 (Ha 40)
Ili-itê	VAS 8 48:17 (Sm 16); VAS 8 106/107:19 (Ha 4)
Ili-mag[ir ?]	Meissner BAP 6:10 (Si 2)
Ili-tukulti	Friedrich BA 5 497 No. 20:15 (Si 7), 498 No. 23:21 (Si 8)
Ili-ušranni	Meissner BAP 61:15 (Ha 13 or Si 9)
Ilišu-bāni	CT 2 9:30 (Ha ?); BE 6/1 58:27 (Si 11)
Ilišu-ellassu	CT 6 44b:18 (AS 2)
Ilišu-ibbišu	CT 45 5:24 (Za)
Ilišu-ibnī	CT 8 8d:19 (Amd 2)
Ilišu-ibnišu	CT 33 49a:16 (und.)
Ilišu-muballit	VAS 8 119/120:11 (Ha 14); PBS 8/2 190:12 (Ha 14)
Iluni	BM 78398 r. 6 (Ha 16)
Imgur-Sin s. Ilišu-abušu	CT 8 17a:22 (Za)
Imgur-Sin	CT 48 62:28 (Ha 40); CT 4 7b:27 (Si 22); CT 8 6a:33 (Si 23); CT 2 27:39 (Si 27)
<sup>d</sup> IM.ZI.MU	CT 8 17b:18 (Ae k); BE 6/1 73:13 (Ae c 1); BE 6/1 78:20 (Ae s); HSM 46:27 (und.)
Ipiq- <sup>d</sup> [Aja ?]	BE 6/2 135 seal inscription (und.)

NAME	TEXT
Ipiq-Aja (s. Išmē-Ea)	CT 47 22:29 (Ha 14); BE 6/1 22:26 (Ha 35); CT 47 52:20 (Si 1); Riftin 22a:26 (Si 5); Waterman Bus. Doc. 44 r. 13 (Si 6); CT 45 33 r. 6 (Si 9); Goetze JCS 11 23 No. 9 r. 11 (Si 9); CT 2 5:31 (Si 9); CT 47 62:27 (Si 9); BM 92676 r. 10 (Si 10); CT 8 32c:19 (Si 10); CT 47 63:88 (Si 14); CT 45 34:44 (Si 15)
Ipqu-Adad	Szlechter Tablettes 18 MAH 16485:14 (Ha 20)
Ipqu-Annunītum	CT 4 11b:27 (Si 5); CT 8 33a:25 (Ae o); BE 6/1 119 ii 28 (und.); Ipqu-Antum Meissner BAP 33:22 (Si 2); CT 2 13:27 (Si 16); Friedrich BA 5 502 No. 32:13 (Si 25(?))
Ipqu-Ea	CT 47 29:32 (Ha 7); CT 47 34:34 (Ha 14); BM 92650:16 (Ha 30); TCL 1 98/99:30 (Ha 35); VAS 9 8:27 (Ha 18); VAS 9 4:16 (Ha 17); VAS 9 130/131:30 (Ha 35); CT 48 82:21 (Ha 37); CT 47 51:19 (Si 1)
Ipquša	CT 47 9:32 (Si 5(?))
Iqīšam	CT 48 109:11 (Si 1)
Išmē-Ea (f. Ipqu-Aja(?))	TCL 1 70:24 (Sm 13); CT 4 48a:34 (Ha 15); VAS 9 19/20:26 (Ha 22); CT 47 49:34 (Ha)
Jaširtum s. Sin-rēmenni	Waterman Bus. Doc. 45 r. 10 (AS)
Ludlul-Sin	CT 2 15:25 (Si 3)
LÚ. <sup>d</sup> NIN.ŠUBUR.KA	Waterman Bus. Doc. 40 r. 10 (Sm); CT 48 3:44 (Ha 6); CT 8 5b r. 15 (Ha 33)
Luštammār	PBS 8/2 247 r. 15 (Ha 14)
Mannu[...] s. Puzur- <sup>d</sup> [...]	Goetze JCS 11 25 No. 14 seal inscription (Ams 13)
Mār-Adad	CT 8 15b:24 (Si 14); CT 45 35:26 (Si 15)
Mār-Amurru	Friedrich BA 5 493 No. 15:17 (Si 1)
Marduk-muballiṭ	CT 47 18:24 (Sm)
Marduk-muballiṭ	BE 6/1 90:6 (Amd 21)
Marduk-mušallim	BM 82211:13 (Ams 17)
Marduk-nāšir (perhaps 2 persons)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28 r. 18 (Si 8); CT 8 27b:6 (Ae e); CT 33 30:18 (Amd 3)
Mār-Ištar s. Išar-Lim	VAS 9 42/43:13 and seal inscription (Ha 31)
Munānum	CT 4 22b:16 (Ha 32)
Nadān-Istar	PBS 8/2 224:4 (Ams 16)
Namram-šarūr	VAS 8 69/70:23 (= Meissner BAP 99) (und.)
Nanna-iddinam	CT 48 117 r. 11 (AS 8); CT 4 45b:31 (Sm); VAS 8 53:50 (Sm); CT 47 50:29 (Ha)

NAME	TEXT
Nanna-iddinam	BM 80422:17 (Amd 5); CT 48 66 r. 5 (Amd 22); BM 80223:20 (Amd 24); CT 45 50:20 (Amd 24)
Nāru-rabi	VAS 8 15/16:23 (= Meissner BAP 5) (Immerum)
Ninurta-muballiṭ	YBC 606:30 (Amṣ 6)
Nūr-ilišu	CT 8 20b:34 (Sm)
Qīšti-Ea	CT 8 3a:42 (Amṣ 11); BE 6/1 101:41 (Amṣ 15)
Rabi-šillašu	CT 8 31a:32 (AS); CT 6 7b:35 (AS)
Rīm-Sin	Waterman Bus. Doc. 71 r. 3 (destr.)
Rīš-Gula	PBS 8/2 222:18 (destr.)
Rīšatum	YBC 4271:14 (Amṣ 1)
Rīš-Nabium	Waterman Bus. Doc. 8 r. 9 (Amd 28)
Rīš-Šamaš	BM 92651:13 (AS); CT 4 49a:32 (AS); VAS 8 52:46 (Sm); VAS 8 53:49 (Sm); BE 6/1 19:24 (Sm); CT 8 1a:28 (Sm); CT 8 50a:20 (Ha 2)
Sin-abušu	BM 92657:37 (Sm)
Sin-abušu	BE 6/2 78:13 (Si 7)
Sin-ašarid	TCL 1 130/131:28 (Si 10)
Sin-erībam	CT 4 40c:15 (Ae ?); Szlechter Tablettes 122 MAH 16147:16 (Amṣ 14)
Sin-ibni	TCL 1 163:11 (Amṣ 8)
Sin-iddinam	CT 2 26:32 (Sm 19); TCL 1 87/88:22 (Ha 26); VAS 8 108/109:35 (Ha)
Sin-iddinam	Waterman Bus. Doc. 47 r. 8 (Amd 2); YBC 6808:20 (Amd 5); TCL 1 155:23 (Amd 34); HSM 3694:13 (Amd 37)
Sin-imguranni	CT 8 27a:25 (Ae m); PBS 8/2 214:15 (Amd 33)
Sin-iqīšam	CT 8 23b:7 (Sd g); YBC 1547:3 (Sd i); Goetze JCS 11 31 No. 19:7 (Sd 9); Waterman Bus. Doc. 76:7 (Sd ?); TCL 1 196:20 (und.); PBS 7 112:5
Sin-ludlul	VAS 9 70/71:17f. (Ha 43)
Sin-māgir	VAS 8 30:14 (Sm 9)
Sin-mušallim	CT 33 35:23 (Si 30); BE 6/1 89:12 (Amd 19); CT 8 36d:15 (Amd 26)
Sin-nādin-šumī	CT 6 20a:32 (Si 29); TLB 1 225: r. 1 (Ae ?); BM 78644:17 (Amṣ 3); Friedrich BA 5 512 Na 47:5 (destr.)
Sin-napšeram	CT 48 104 r. 7 (und.)
Sin-nāšir (s. Ipqu-Annunitum)	BE 6/1 84:51 (Amd 31); Meissner BAP 69:17 (Amd 34); CT 8 2a r. 19 (Amd 34); CT 8 11b:21 (Amṣ 5); CT 47 25:28

NAME	TEXT
Sin-rēmenni	CT 47 25:28 (Ha 3)
Sin-šemē s. Bur-Nunu	CT 8 26b:30 (Ilumma-ila); CT 8 38b:22 (Ilumma-ila)
Sin-šemē	CT 48 22:27 (Ha 27)
Sin-taribu	Waterman Bus. Doc. 27 r. 19 (Sm 19)
Sin-ublam	BE 6/1 5:32f. (Immerum)
Šallūrum s. Narām-ilišu	Goetze JCS 11 31 No. 21 r. 3 and seal inscription (Si 4)
Šamaš-andulli	VAS 8 105:25 (= Meissner BAP 40) (Ha 4)
Šamaš-bāni	CT 8 34b:28 (Sm 11); BM 82141:11 (Ha 16)
Šamaš-īnaja	TCL 1 135/136:26 (Si 14)
Šamaš-dari	BE 6/1 63:26 (Si 29)
Šamaš-hazir	BM 92653 : case (Sm)
Šamaš-libluṭ	CT 8 15a:25 (Si 22)
Šamaš-mušallim	Waterman Bus. Doc. 26 r. 20 (und.)
Šamaš-nāšir	Pinches Peek No. 14:27 (Si 30)
Šamaš-nāšir (s. Šamaš-aklu)	CT 8 34a:22-24 (und.) (early)
Šamaš-tappišu	Çig Kraus Nippur 162 r. 9 (Ha 4); Waterman Bus. Doc. 38 r. 9 (Ha 11)
Šamaš-u-Adad	Friedrich BA 5 520 No. 61 r. 19 (und.)
ŠEŠ.Ī.PĀD	BE 6/2 70:32 (Ha 16)
ŠEŠ.KI.ŠĀ.LĀ.SUD	CT 8 44b:29 (Sl)
ŠEŠ.KI.ŠĀ.LĀ.SUD	TCL 1 146:18 (Si 33)
Šubiša	CT 47 19:31 (Sm)
Šumum-libši s. Nūr-Kabta	BE 6/1 47:17 (Si 1); CT 47 69:30 (Ae h)
Šumum-liši	BE 6/2 116:13 (Amd 37); CT 4 14a:21 (Amš 3); Meissner BAP 3:21 (Amš 3); CT 8 3b:33 (Amš 3); BE 6/2 120:13 (Amš 4); BE 6/2 124:15 (Amš 6); PBS 8/2 241:13 (Amš 7); Waterman Bus. Doc. 33:20 (destr.)
Talimum	Waterman Bus. Doc. 25 r. 15 (und.)
Tarīb(a)-ili (s. Ina-qāti-Šamaš)	CT 45 15:24 (Sm 17); CT 8 12a:24 (Ha 3)
Tarībatum	CT 4 31b:13 (Amd 27)
Tarībum	CT 2 24:37 (Ae t); PBS 7 91
Tubqum-nāšir	CT 8 18c:24f. (Ha 14)
Ubar-Ninurta	BE 6/1 4:26 (Immerum); CT 4 48b:34 (Sl); CT 2 37:39 (Za)
Ubar-Šamaš	CT 4 38c:15 (Ha 25)
Ušur-waladšu	CT 6 33a:35 (Si 8)

NAME	TEXT
Ušur-wēdam	VAS 9 151:16 (Ha 39); CT 47 58:36 (Si 7); CT 48 28:25 (Si 8); CT 47 64:33 (Si 16); CT 8 32a:25 (Si 23)
<sup>d</sup> UTU.KAM Utul-Ištar	CT 4 50a:30 (Immerum) CT 48 66:4 (Amd 22); BM 81591:3 (Amd 24?); CT 8 36a:5 (Amd 26); Waterman Bus. Doc. 19:2 (Amd 29); CT 6 37c:2 (Amd 29); BM 81334:3 (Amd 31); CT 33 31:3 (Amd 31); BE 6/1 85:4 (Amd 32); PBS 8/2 214:3 (Amd 33); BE 6/1 86:4 (Amd 37); CT 6 35c:5 (Amš 2); BE 6/2 120:4 (Amš 4); PBS 8/2 241:3 (Amš 7); CT 8 11c:4 (Amš 17c); Goetze AS 16 211 Smith College 204:3 (Amd 36)
<sup>d</sup> UTU.EN.ZI.MU	VAS 8 17/18:25 (AS); CT 2 17:33 (AS); VAS 8 36:16 (Sm 12); Meissner BAP 14:14 (Sm 13); TCL 1 75:28 (Sm); TCL 1 76:24 (Sm)
<sup>d</sup> UTU.Ì.SAG Warad-Amurru Warad-Ibari	VAS 8 56/57:31 (= Meissner BAP 102) (Sm); VAS 8 92:21 (= Meissner 88) (Ha 3) VAS 13 25 r. 14 (Ha 41) BM 78443:16 (Amš 10); BE 6/1 105:41 (Amš 17 + b)
Warad-ilišu	CT 8 36a:14 (Amd 26); TCL 1 151:19 (Amd 30); CT 33 31:18 (Amd 31)
Warad-Kubi Wer-ellati Zarriqum [Sin?-na]-šir	VAS 8 125:23 (Ha 14); Scheil Sippar 87:32 (Si 24) BE 6/1 39:18f. (Ha 4); PBS 8/2 206:18 (Ha 4) CT 33 48a:19 (und.) BE 6/1 88:30 (Amd 12)

## 2. CLASSES OF WOMEN

### *Introduction*

The organization of women into special groups living either in a “cloister” or in the “world” and having some special relationship to certain deity is a unique feature of the Old Babylonian period. The classes of women are designated in various ways, though their status and function are often not clear. There seem to be basically two types of organizations — cloistered and uncloistered women in Sippar. In the first group are the *naditu* women of Šamaš who live in the cloister compound of the large Šamaš temple. The cloister was a wall-surrounded

close in which the women lived with only limited direct contact with the outside world. The *naditu* could conduct independent business transactions but could not marry. Other classes of women who lived in the compound were the *sekru* and the *ugbaltu* women. The classes of uncloistered women consisted of the *naditu*-women of Marduk and the *kulmašitu*, both of whom might marry but not bear children; and the *qadištu*, with a special relationship to the god Adad, who might marry and have children. Finally, the *harimtu*, or prostitute, as a group also had some form of organization.

Since our information on these women comes entirely from letters and legal or economic texts and not from religious or literary material, we know almost nothing of the religious function which they might have served. Contrary to the opinion of many<sup>1</sup>, there is no evidence that any of these women except for the *entu* were "priestesses" since we know of no rites or rituals which they and they alone were qualified to perform. In our discussion we shall refer to them simply as classes of women or women with a special status.

The Code of Hammu-rapi, but no other Old Babylonian codification, contains many paragraphs protecting the legal status of these classes of women<sup>2</sup>, which indicates their importance in the Old Babylonian community. Except for the *naditu* of Marduk, the Code of Hammu-rapi does not mention the god to whom a *naditu* might be attached. Perhaps, therefore, the lack of clarity and apparent contradictions regarding the *naditu* in the Code are caused by our ignorance of the various types of *naditu*'s whose distinctive features would have been known by their contemporaries. For example, in Sections 144-146, the Code speaks of a *naditu* whom a man marries without specifying that she is a *naditu* of Marduk who was, insofar as our data indicate, the only *naditu* who was permitted to marry. Whether there were other *naditu*'s who were also permitted to marry is not known.

#### *The Cloister*

The cloister institution, the *gagû*, is known from the pre-Old Babylonian period,

<sup>1</sup> I have enlarged on the reasons for my disagreement with this view in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, 108f. The notion that these women were priestesses is an old one and B. Landsberger who has contributed most to understanding their significance in various articles (ZDMG 69 506ff., ZA 30 67ff., and AfO 10 145ff.) has always maintained this opinion which has been followed by others such as Driver and Miles.

<sup>2</sup> Koschaker, especially in *Rechtsvergleichende Studien*, has dealt with these laws. Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, are in basic agreement with Koschaker's views particularly in the questions concerning marriage and the women of these various classes.

but it assumed its peculiar and distinctive form only in the First Dynasty of Babylon, a period in which it flourished as in no other time. The word *gagû* is equated in vocabularies with *É nakmîtu* and *É kilûtu*, "a place of hiding" or "detention", respectively. More is known of the cloister at Sippar than of any of the others existing at the time, but it is probably typical of those known from Kish in North Babylonia and Nippur in the South; at Ishchali, east of the Tigris, and at Susa in Elam.

The cloister compound must have been part of the Šamaš temple complex though little regarding its layout is learned from the excavations of V. Scheil, and we must depend upon written evidence for our reconstruction<sup>3</sup>.

A wall surrounded the complex, within which were the private houses of the *nadîtu*-women, the houses of the cloister officials, and probably the living quarters for the other cloistered women, the *sekru* and *ugbaltu* women, as well as quarters for the female weavers which the cloister employed. The main structure must have been the administration building of the cloister (*bît gagî*) which may have housed the archives from which our information derives. Connected to this building was the cloister granary. Aside from a small sesame field (*mēreš gagî*) there seems to have been no cultivation within the compound.

Our best evidence for estimating the number of *nadîtu*-women who resided in the cloister at a given time is provided by those texts which list a portion of the *nadîtu*-population<sup>4</sup>. From these texts we would estimate that perhaps about 200 *nadîtu*-women lived in the cloister at any one time.

#### *Relationship of the Cloister with the Temple*

The cloister, though enjoying some degree of autonomy, was probably under the supervision of the temple of Šamaš. It is possible that the administrative heads of the Šamaš temple, the *sanga* officials, headed the cloister administration as well. But though they appear very often as the first witnesses to *nadîtu* transactions there is no evidence as to the nature and extent of their authority.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., "The *nadîtu* Laws of the Code of Hammu-rapi in Praxis", *Orientalia* XXX (1961), pp. 163-169; "On the Process of Secularization under Hammu-rapi", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* XV (1961), pp. 117-120; "Biographical Notes on the *nadîtu* Women of Sippar", *JCS* XVI (1962), pp. 1-12; "The Organization and Administration of the Cloister in Ancient Babylonia", *JESHO* VI (1963), pp. 121-157; "The *nadîtu* Women", *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (1964), pp. 106-135; "Notes on the Babylonian Cloister and Hearth", *Orientalia* 38 133-145. See now also the study of J. Renger *ZA* 58 (1967), especially pp. 149ff., which is much more extensive in coverage.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *CT* 2 30 and *VAS* 9 172.

*The Cloister Personnel*

The administrative officials of the cloister may be divided into two groups: one concerned with the operations of the cloister as an independent unit — a redistribution center comparable to the temple organization, though smaller; another separate group of officials looked after the affairs of the *nadītu*-women.

The steward of the personnel of the cloister (UGULA É *ša gagī*) would seem from his title to have supervised the activities of all those working in the cloister workshop. There seems to be an *iššakku* steward in charge of cloister lands and an officer in charge of cloister workers (GAL ERÍN *ša gagī*). Female weavers, slaves, seem to have constituted the largest group of workers within the cloister, though there were also servant girls and cooks. Some men, including foreigners (Suteans), were employed by the cloister<sup>5</sup>, and the fact that sailors are mentioned indicates that boats were used to transport cloister products. There were also doorkeepers of the four cloister gates.

The Stewards of the *nadītu*'s (UGULA LUKUR.<sup>d</sup>UTU.MEŠ) held lifetime office like the *sanga* and were the chief administrators of the affairs of the women. They represented the *nadītu*'s in matters which involved officials outside the cloister and may have been responsible for keeping records of the group as a whole. The scribe of the *nadītu*'s would have recorded *nadītu* transactions — though a *nadītu* herself might be a scribe — and at times a special judge might have been appointed to oversee legal cases involving the women. The personnel who managed *nadītu* matters recorded the *piqittu* and other food offerings which the *nadītu* women brought to the temple, and kept records of their law-suits, landholdings, and adoptions. The *nadītu*'s obligations to the cloister are not known but it is possible that she was required to pay some sort of tax in return for the services she received.

*The Nadītu-Woman of Šamaš**Introduction*

The cloister and the *nadītu*-woman assume particular importance during the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, but disappeared with the fall of the Dynasty. The *nadītu*-woman is attested before the Old Babylonian period as *lukur* though the *lukur* seems to have been part of the royal household, a position radically different from that held by the *nadītu* of the Old Babylonian Period<sup>6</sup>. The term

<sup>5</sup> CT 8 21d:12f., and CT 47 80:23f.

<sup>6</sup> On the pre-Old Babylonian *lukur* see Renger ZA 58 175f.

“*naditu*” is one which is ordinarily applied to land left fallow or uncultivated, and the *naditu* was a woman who was not permitted sexual relations; she must remain “fallow”.

The *naditu* entered the cloister at the age when she would otherwise marry and remained there throughout her lifetime. The cloister of this time differs from its medieval counterpart in that aside from certain obligations to the temple and cloister its inhabitants lived and acted primarily as private individuals and through her various business transactions the *naditu* played a significant role in the economic life of the community. Though confined to the cloister, the women were permitted some degree of movement and communication with the outside world. Their letters show that they might have visitors and occasionally were permitted to leave the cloister for visits. There is also a great deal of extant correspondence between the *naditu*'s and their relatives, friends, and business agents.

#### *The Social Position of the naditu-women*

For the most part, the *naditu*-women were from the upper strata of society. Among them were princesses and daughters of the highly regarded class of officials — daughters of military officials and cloister, temple, and city administrators — as well as daughters of wealthy scribes and artisans. The reputation of the Sippar cloister was such that girls from other cities became *naditu*'s at Sippar. Besides the princesses, who were daughters of the kings of Babylon, others came from the capital city and some came from Dilbat, though the cloister of Kish was nearer. The prestige of the position of the *naditu* is seen from the fact that successive generations of women in some families entered the Sippar cloister. There are many examples of a great aunt, an aunt and her niece being *naditu* women and even cases of cousins; the relationship between them is always patrilineal. In many families two sisters became *naditu*'s; while in others, the elder sister might enter the cloister and the younger become a member of an uncloistered class of women.

Many of the *naditu*-women brought, on entering the cloister, munificent dowries of slaves and real estate, and hundreds of documents attest their ability to vastly increase these holdings during their lifetime.

The prominent place of the *naditu*-women, as well as of other groups of women of special status, is seen from the many paragraphs devoted to them in the Code of Hammu-rapi where laws regarding their dowries and the obligations of their brothers to support them are clearly defined. They were given the right to have property managed by whichever of their brothers they chose and in case of their

neglect to have their property managed by an unrelated person. Equally striking is the regulation of the Code that the *naditu* was to receive a full share of the paternal estate equal to that of a son if she had not been given her dowry. Considering that Babylonian society was based on agriculture, this restriction on the rights of male heirs is startling. There is strong evidence that the *naditu* laws of the Code of Hammu-rapi were not merely idealistic formulations but correspond to actual practices current in a much earlier period. The Code may simply have reinforced these earlier usages, more fully protecting the legal position of the secluded *naditu*-woman.

*Economic Justification for the Institution of the naditu*

A number of legal and economic factors may have led to the creation of the institution of the *naditu*-women, so peculiar to the Old Babylonian period. For the first time in Mesopotamian history there is a concentration of wealth in the hands of a wider range of private individuals, in addition to the continuing affluence of the temple and palace. We know that many of the *naditu*-women were members of the most important families of the community. It would, of course, be in the interests of these families to prevent the diffusion of their wealth which occurred when a girl married and took her dowry to another family. The cloister, however, provided a respectable alternative to marriage — a girl was given her dowry upon entering the cloister, would use it and even increase it during her lifetime, and at her death the dowry would return intact to her family. The distinctive institution of the *naditu* would seem, therefore, to have been produced by the new social and economic conditions which arose in the Old Babylonian period.

*The Religious Position of the naditu-women*

While the confinement of the *naditu* in the cloister served the economic function of keeping a girl unmarried until her death when her share of the family property would revert to the family, there was bound to have been a religious reason for that confinement which is much more difficult to establish. There is no evidence that the *naditu*-woman was a priestess of Šamaš — that she was qualified to perform any rite or ritual. The *naditu* did enjoy a very special relationship to the god Šamaš and his bride Aja which was conceived of in terms of family life in that the *naditu* was considered to be the “daughter-in-law” of the god<sup>7</sup>. Within this framework (which perhaps stems from a Sumerian pattern) the *naditu* had a clearly defined position in her own society and in the hierarchy of the

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<sup>7</sup> This relationship emerges from two “key” texts, both administrative accounts of the cloister, PBS 8/2 183 and CT 4 18b.

temple. Just as a girl might leave her family and enter the household of her future father-in-law for her security and to prevent personal involvements before the consumation of her marriage, so the *nadītu* entered the household of her divine father-in-law ; but there is no later marriage.

The special relationship between the *nadītu* and Šamaš and Aja is revealed in various ways. A girl was initiated into the *nadītuship* on a religious festival of Šamaš, the *sebūt šattim*, at which time the “rope of Šamaš” was placed on her arm, symbolizing her new relationship to the god. On the second day of the festival, “ the memorial day”, the living *nadītu*'s performed the funerary rites which progeny owed to their deceased parents. In the cloister cemetery, the living *nadītu*'s remembered the dead *nadītu*'s.

On becoming a *nadītu* a girl might assume a new name chosen to express her special devotion to Šamaš or Aja. This practice can be detected in the predominance among them of certain names such as Amat-Šamaš, “Servant of Šamaš”, which was the most popular *nadītu* name. Other names borne only by *nadītu* women are Erišti-Šamaš or Erišti-Aja, “Requested by Šamaš or Aja”.

In addition to the *nadītu*-woman's participation in the *sebūt šattim* festival there is an obscure reference to a “sprinkling” ceremony of the Princess Iltani for which lambs were given to the diviner for the extispicy.

The letters of the *nadītu*-women show their personal relationship to their gods by their characteristic salutation, “may my Lord (Šamaš) and my Lady (Aja) keep you well”. The many pious phrases found in their letters testify to the close attachment which the *nadītu*'s felt toward their “father-in-law” and even more toward their “mother-in-law”.

A *nadītu* might show her devotion by presenting gifts to the temple, among which was the *piqittu* oblation of flour, beer, and meat which each was obliged to bring to the Šamaš temple for the several annual festivals of Šamaš. These comestibles may have been consumed by the *nadītu*'s and temple officials in a religious communal meal in the temple, perhaps even in the presence of the divine images.

Some information contained in the marriage contracts of the *nadītu*-women of Marduk seems to indicate that a duty of these women was to be present regularly, perhaps daily or for long periods, in the sanctuary, possibly performing those services in the house of the parents-in-law which were customarily expected of a young bride.

From her special relationship to the gods and the temple it would seem that the confinement of the *naditu* in the sanctuary of her divine parents-in-law was essentially related to her role in the cult.

The different situation of the *naditu* of Marduk who was allowed to live in her own home outside of the cloister may express the wish of Hammu-rapi to revive or revitalize a disappearing institution by granting these women special privileges.

Perhaps the basic religious function of the *naditu* may be understood in the following way. Just as the temple of Šamaš, magnificently and lavishly maintained by the Sipparians, assured the city of his continuing concern and care, so too did the chaste group of women dedicated all their lives to Šamaš further guarantee his abiding interest in its welfare and well-being.

#### *Means of Support*

Protected from the hazards of childbirth by her celibacy and from disease by her seclusion from a society plagued by periodic epidemics, the *naditu* often enjoyed a relatively long life span. One of her chief concerns was, therefore, to insure her support in old age when her brothers and sisters whose life expectancy was shorter may well have died. It was generally the responsibility of the brothers of a *naditu* to provide her with the basic necessities of life such as barley or flour, oil, and clothing allowances whenever she was unable to support herself. The cloister administration seems to have been principally concerned with protecting the rights of the *naditu* and not with her support, so that if the *naditu* had no brothers or if they failed in their obligations, she might secure her support by adopting a son or daughter. In many instances a *naditu* adopted a younger *naditu*, sometimes her niece, but often unrelated. Or she might adopt a loyal slave. In return for fulfilling the obligations of support, at the death of the adoptive mother, the *naditu* would receive a bequest of property; the slave would be granted freedom. In only one case does the cloister administration intervene to arrange for the adoption of a younger *naditu* to look after an older one who had failed to make provision for her old age<sup>8</sup>.

#### *The Household of the naditu*

The private household of a *naditu* varied with her means. The very wealthy maintained a large staff of managers and menials, but most had only a few slaves.

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<sup>8</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 42.

*The Role of the nadītu in the Economy*

The importance of the *nadītu*-woman in the economic role of the city has long been recognized<sup>9</sup>. Despite the fact that our texts consist primarily of those excavated in the cloister compound, the hundreds of contracts in which these women are involved is nevertheless an impressive index of their business activities. The extent of their success and wealth seems indicated by the following statistical analysis of the Sippar contracts :

In 66 of the 97 sales of fields, *nadītu*'s are the purchasers. In the 64 contracts recording the sale of houses in good repair (É.DÛ.A), *nadītu*'s appear as the buyers in 39 ; in only 13 do they sell. They buy empty plots of land (É.KI.GAL) in 23 of 28 sale contracts, and in the sale of empty lots (É.KI.UD) 18 of 24 contracts are *nadītu*'s. There is less evidence of their purchase of orchards — in only 9 of 13 contracts — though they are the lessors in all five known examples of orchards leases. *Nadītu*'s buy animals in only three of seven sales, indicating a minor role in animal husbandry accounted for perhaps by the fact that they usually leased out their fields to tenant farmers.

*The nadītu as landowner*

The *nadītu*-woman frequently owned a significant amount of land. Her fields were usually from less than one GÁN to nine GÁN in size but there are instances of fields of 30, 35 40, 42, 68, 90 and 91 GÁN. These women clearly tended to concentrate their field purchases in certain regions : Ašukum, Amurru, Nagûm, Paḥuṣum, Tābum, the Region of Nine Gan, and Eble, which was so heavily *nadītu* property that it is referred to in one text as “Eble of the *nadītu* of Šamas”<sup>10</sup>.

The concern for keeping the paternal estate intact is reflected in the frequency with which a *nadītu* purchases real estate adjacent to the house or field of her father or brother<sup>11</sup>. She also often purchased fields next to others which she already owned thus increasing her holdings in a given area<sup>12</sup>.

The *nadītu* may have been restricted in the selling of property since she sells real estate only to a sister *nadītu* in all the cases of which we know; except in two instances where the full name of the buyer is not preserved so that even in these cases the buyer may have been a relative.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g., Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* I 364ff.; Leemans, *The Old Babylonian Merchant* 118.

<sup>10</sup> CT 47 62/62a:2 (Si 9).

<sup>11</sup> See e.g., CT 2 26; CT 4 20a; CT 47 23/23a; TCL 1 64; CT 47 9.

<sup>12</sup> BE 6/1 61; CT 2 5; CT 47 60/60a; 62/62a; and *passim*.

The prominence of the *nadītu*'s as landowners can be seen by examining the transactions involving individual *nadītu*'s. In dozens of examples one *nadītu* buys several fields. In one case which does not seem to be unrepresentative, 12 contracts record purchases by Ḫuzālatum, the daughter of Akšaja, of houses, threshing floors, towers (AN.ZA.QAR), and fields totalling at least 33 GÁN.

Since a *nadītu* often owned more than one field she usually leased out her fields for a year or more to a tenant farmer and received in return a stipulated percentage of the barley. In 118 of 167 preserved leases the *nadītu*-woman is the lessor.

A change in the fortunes of the *nadītu* may be revealed by the fact that in the period from King Apil-Sin to King Samsu-iluna the *nadītu* appears as lessor in 53 of 59 leases, but in the period from Abi-ešuḫ to Samsu-ditana in only 29 of 66. The diminution of their economic importance may correlate with the greater centralization and control exerted by the later kings of Babylon<sup>13</sup>.

#### *The nadītu as a house-owner*

The *nadītu* usually owned her own house within the cloister compound or rented one from a *nadītu* who owned several. The houses were usually small — 1 SAR or less, though perhaps more than one *nadītu* lived in a larger house. Some owned houses situated outside the cloister which were then leased out to Sipparians. A *nadītu* is the lessor in 19 of 28 house rentals. In six of these rentals the lessor is Rībatum, the daughter of Ipqatum, who annually leased out two houses<sup>14</sup>. At least one of her houses deteriorates after a period of time and the rental decreases. She also leases out a wing of her house (*edakkum*) and a second story room (*É rugbum*). In the purchases of houses, *nadītu*'s appear as buyers in 39 of the 53 extant sale contracts.

#### *The nadītu as creditor*

Another significant aspect of the participation of the *nadītu* in the economy of the city is her role as creditor of silver and staples. Although the Šamaš temple is also an active creditor, there is actually more evidence of the *nadītu*-women serving in this capacity. These women appear as creditors in 41 of 76 contracts in which barley is borrowed and in 37 of 83 loans of silver. Again, the extent of their transaction can be best illustrated by the examples of a few of the women who were particularly active in this business. In the 16th year of Hammu-rapi,

<sup>13</sup> In this later period economic power seems to have shifted to persons who are judges and scribes.

<sup>14</sup> That two houses are involved is seen from the fact that she twice rents out a house in the same year for a period of a year.

Niši-īnišu, the daughter of Šarrum-Adad, gives eight different loans of barley which total 3 GUR 100 silas; Amat-Šamaš, the daughter of Warad-Enlil, lends over a period of years amounts of silver totalling more than 148 shekels; and another Amat-Šamaš, the daughter of Arbi-Ea (or Erib-Ea), in a period of seven years lends barley totalling more than 5 GUR. However, strikingly no evidence is found that any of these *naditu*'s owns fields<sup>15</sup>.

#### *Contribution to the Labor Force*

The *naditu* made a notable contribution to the labor force by hiring out her slaves on a monthly or yearly basis, usually as harvest workers. Every *naditu* seems to have been given at least one slave by her family upon entering the cloister, and many were given several. In one case a *naditu*, in addition to other property, is given twenty slaves, more than she would need as menials. *Naditu*'s appear, therefore, not surprisingly, as lessors of slaves in 35 of 43 hire contracts. They are buyers in 20 of 37 sales of slaves and sellers of slaves in five instances.

#### *Miscellaneous Business Activities*

There are examples of *naditu*'s being engaged in somewhat unusual business enterprises. Thus one buys tin from a merchant of Eshnunna which is to be delivered to her at a specified time<sup>16</sup>. Two *naditu*'s, who are partners in the ownership of a field, order fired bricks from four brothers in a transaction styled as a loan<sup>17</sup>. Partnerships between *naditu*'s were common since they could thus increase their financial power<sup>18</sup>.

#### *The entu — High Priestess*<sup>19</sup>

The only reference in the Sippar texts to an *entu* or High Priestess is in the seal inscription of a woman which appears on a lease contract although the woman is not mentioned in the contract and is known from nowhere else. The

<sup>15</sup> An examination of the time when these *naditu*'s serve so importantly as creditors yields a curious result for there is no overlap in the time. Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Warad-Enlil, functions in the years Sm 5, 8, 16; Niši-īnišu, daughter of Šarrum-Adad in Ha 16 and 17; Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Arbi-Ea in Ha 35, 39, and 41. Other *naditu*'s who act as creditors to a somewhat lesser extent are Iltani, daughter of GAZ-Ištar, in Ha 9, 32, 33 and Aja-rēšat, daughter of Šamšatum, in Ha 14, 15. The fact that there is not a single extant text which indicates that any of these *naditu*'s owns fields may be simply accidental. However, another possibility that should be considered is that they may act in some official capacity for some institution, perhaps the cloister, of which we know nothing.

<sup>16</sup> CT 8 37b.

<sup>17</sup> They are partners in TCL 1 74; order bricks in TCL 1 82/83.

<sup>18</sup> For partnerships in houses see CT 4 46a; CT 6 43; CT 8 47b; in fields see CT 8 22a; TCL 1 74.

<sup>19</sup> On *entu* see Renger ZA 58 114ff.

inscription reads: *Ḫunābatum*, daughter of *Šuban-ili*, servant of the god *Sin*, *entu*-priestess of the temple (?) (of *Sin* ?) (EN É(?) <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU(?))<sup>20</sup>.

*The ugbabtu*<sup>21</sup> — (NIN.DINGIR.RA)

The Code of Hammurabi (*Section 110*) speaks of the *NIN.DINGIR* “who does not reside in a cloister” (*ša ina gagîm la wašbat*) implying that there was a *NIN.DINGIR* who did live in the cloister, which would agree with the evidence from Sippar.

Two *ugbabtu*'s of *Šamaš* are mentioned in the Sippar texts<sup>22</sup>. The first, *Jahḫilatum*, the daughter of *Abi-Ḫar*<sup>23</sup>, is involved in a litigation which probably dates from the time of King *Apil-Sin*<sup>24</sup>. Her brothers have refused to give her her rightful share of the paternal estate which was established (*kunnû*) in the presence of the divine symbol of *Šamaš* (GIŠ.TUKUL *Šamaš*). Her inheritance — two orchards and a field — is insignificant in comparison with that usually received by *nadîtu*'s of *Šamaš*.

Another *ugbabtu*, *Sippirîtim*, the daughter of *Kikinum*, lived in the time of King *Sin-muballit*. She had four brothers, and a sister, *Damiqtum*, and a niece, *Munawwirtum*, who are both *nadîtu*'s of *Šamaš*. A dispute has arisen over the property of *Damiqtum* who has made the niece her heir<sup>25</sup>. A settlement is

<sup>20</sup> VAS 9 64 (= Meissner BAP 70) (Ha 37). We have no way of accounting for this one reference, for the institution of the *entu*-priestess appears primarily in Southern Babylonian. The name of the *entu*'s father, *Šuban-ili*, though rare does appear in VAS 8 60:4, 17 (Ha 4).

<sup>21</sup> The logogram NIN.DINGIR is read *ugbabtu* rather than *entu* in these instances for it is always followed by the deity *Šamaš*. For this reading of NIN.DINGIR under these circumstances see CAD 4 173. For the reading of NIN.DINGIR as *ugbabtu* see Nougayrol JNES 9 51f. On other references to *ugbabtu* see Renger ZA 58 pp. 144ff.

<sup>22</sup> There is no evidence that PBS 8/2 204 which mentions a daughter of the *ugbabtu* of the god *Lugal.gú.du<sub>8</sub>.a* comes from Sippar as suggested in CAD 4 172, *entu* 3'.

<sup>23</sup> This follows from the references to her brother *Iqîpum* as the son of *Abi-Ḫar* in VAS 8 19:19 and CT 8 34a:13. The latter text records the gift which *Sin-rēmenni*, another brother of *Jahḫilatum*, gives to his daughter *Waqtartum*, perhaps a *nadîtu* of *Šamaš*.

<sup>24</sup> CT 6 22a. The data formula: MU.ÚS.SA É IGI.ḪUR.SAG.GA, is unknown. We have assigned it to *Apil-Sin* because other persons mentioned in this text appear in texts dating from this king (e.g. her brother, *Iqîpum* is witness in VAS 8 19 dating from *Apil-Sin* and *Sinnija* (as *Sijatum*) is witness also in CT 47 12/12a dating from *Sm* 9). Schorr in VAB 5 590 has erroneously assigned it to the year following the 19th year of *Hammu-rapi*, a date formula to which it is similar, but the evidence of the witnesses would overrule this later date. The same woman and her brothers are also involved in a litigation in the recently published CT 48 27, which dates from *Zabium*.

<sup>25</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 34 and 35. That *Munawwirtum* is their niece and the daughter of a fourth brother, *Šamaš-tappišu*, is learned from CT 8 34c where *Šamaš-tappišu*, son of *Kikinum* litigates with his brother *Eribam-Sin*.

reached in the Šamaš temple and all the property is given to the niece except for the cloister house which is given to Sippirītim, the *ugbaltu*, presumably indicating that she lived in the cloister. In most, if not all cases, where sisters are members of different classes the oldest is the *naditu* of Šamaš<sup>26</sup> and this might well be the case here.

It is interesting to note that both *ugbaltu*'s mentioned in our texts have a number of brothers: Jaḥḥilatam has three brothers and Sippirītim four, showing that economic factors — a desire to prevent diffusion of the family estate — may well have prompted these families to dedicate their daughters to the god<sup>27</sup>.

A man named Būr-Nunu, known from his seal inscription<sup>28</sup> to be the son of Imlik-Sin, appears as a witness to three *naditu* transactions where he is described as “the steward of the *ugbaltu* women of Šamaš”<sup>29</sup>. As suggested elsewhere<sup>30</sup>, Būr-Nunu may be the father of Ilabrat-iddinam, often referred to as “steward of the *naditu* of Šamaš” (UGULA LUKUR <sup>d</sup>UTU) in the time of Apil-Sin and Sin-muballiṭ<sup>31</sup>. This same Ilabrat-iddinam appears in a list of witnesses following two well-known *sanga*'s of Šamaš and is referred to as “steward of the *ugbaltu* of Šamaš” (UGULA NIN.DINGIR <sup>d</sup>UTU) on the tablet case<sup>32</sup>. If this is not a scribal error it might indicate that there was an office of “steward of the *ugbaltu*” in the early part of the Old Babylonian period which later becomes interchangeable with that of “steward of the *naditu*'s”.

The fact that an *ugbaltu* inherits a cloister house, as well as the several references linking a “steward of the *ugbaltu*” with officials of the cloister, would indicate that there were cloistered *ugbaltu*'s in Sippar.

### *The sekru*

The one reference to a *sekru* woman in the Sippar texts is in an account from the archives of the cloister administration. A *sekru* and some female weavers

<sup>26</sup> This is discussed in *Studies Oppenheim*, 124ff.

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of the economic factors see *ibid.*, 104.

<sup>28</sup> CT 45 2 (SI). Accordingly, his seal inscription is VAS 8 13 is to be read: *Bur-Nu-[nu]* [UGULA] NIN.DINGIR [NÍG <sup>d</sup>UTU] [DU]MU *Im-[li]k-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU*.

<sup>29</sup> CT 8 44a (SI). On the basis of the copies I had misread Būr-Nunu's title as PA+KU LUKUR NÍG <sup>d</sup>UTU in JESHO 6 140. Instead, the reading should be UGULA NIN(!).DINGIR(!) NÍG <sup>d</sup>UTU in all places.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>31</sup> See JESHO 6 132 for references.

<sup>32</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 35. The *sanga*'s are Warad-Sin and Šalim-paliḥšu.

receive rations (ŠE.BA) from the administration<sup>33</sup>. The fact that this class of women is here linked with menials<sup>34</sup> is in striking contrast to sections 179 and 180 of the Code of Hammu-rapi where she is clearly considered a woman of special status along with the *ugbabbu* and the *naditu*. The Code implies that she is a cloistered woman and specifies that she is to receive a portion of the paternal estate equal to that of an individual heir if her father has not given her a dowry, a stipulation which applies also to the cloistered *naditu* woman. We can only assume that either our text is misleading or that there is a great difference in the status of the *sekru* in Babylon and in Sippar.

### *The naditu of Marduk*

#### *Introduction*

The *naditu* woman of Marduk is found not only in Babylon<sup>35</sup> where Marduk was the chief deity, but also in Sippar. This class of women seems to date in Sippar from the time of Hammu-rapi when the worship of Marduk is introduced into the city. The only reference to a *naditu* of Marduk before this time concerns a *naditu* of Marduk who perhaps came from Babylon<sup>36</sup>. The basic difference between the *naditu* of Marduk and that of Šamaš was that the *naditu* of Marduk might marry and was therefore not cloistered. This distinction between the two classes may be due to the difference in the relationship between the god and goddess to whom they were dedicated — Šarpanītum was the wife of Marduk, but Aja was the bride or fiancée (*kallātu*) of Šamaš. It seems, however, that neither class was permitted to bear children and we can assume that any children of theirs who are mentioned were adopted. Furthermore, the *naditu*-woman of Marduk might be in addition a *kulmašitu*. (See below).

### *Comparison with the naditu of Šamaš*

#### *Rank*

From the fact that when sisters are *naditu*'s of Marduk and Šamaš, the eldest

<sup>33</sup> In CT 8 21d:6 (Ams 5): SAL *si-ik-rum*. For a discussion of this text see JESHO 6 143ff.

<sup>34</sup> In CT 47 80:28 there is a reference to 33 SAL UŠ.MES which I had suggested in *Orientalia* 38 145 should also be understood as *sekru* women. However, in his review of this volume R. Biggs in JNES 28 134, at Landsberger's suggestion, amends this to 33 SAL UŠ.<BAR>.MEŠ which is probably a better reading.

<sup>35</sup> See the Sippar text CT 47 83 which records the dowry given to a *naditu* of Marduk of Babylon who is marrying a Sipparian.

<sup>36</sup> The share of the patrimony received by Halijatun, the daughter of Izi-ašar is recorded in CT 8 49b (AS?). Note that an Izi-ašar is also mentioned in an early text, CT 8 50c:8, which does not appear to come from Sippar (see the phrase *niš šarrim* in l. 12). Note that the first text has no oath formula.

seems to be the *nadītu* of Šamaš it follows that this class held the higher rank or more prestigious position at least in Sippar. In a text which records the claim three sisters and a brother bring to an office which their uncle had bequeathed to another brother, two sisters, Ruttum and Šamuḥtum are mentioned before Bēletum, a *nadītu* of Marduk. Šamuḥtum is known to have been a *nadītu* of Šamaš and other *nadītu*'s of Šamaš bear the name Ruttum. If the daughters are named in order of age it would appear then that the older daughters became *nadītu*'s of Šamaš<sup>37</sup>.

#### *Names*

Unlike the *nadītu*'s of Šamaš, many of whom have pious names associated with Šamaš and Aja<sup>38</sup>, the names of the *nadītu*'s of Marduk show no special characteristics. The only exceptions are the names Liwwir-Esagila and Tarām-Sagila which refer to the Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon.

#### *Letters*

In the one extant letter of a *nadītu* of Marduk, Duššuptum, a phrase parallel to that characteristic of the *nadītu* of Šamaš occurs: "May my lord Marduk and my lady Šarpanītum, keep you well forever for my sake"<sup>39</sup>.

#### "ring money"

A phrase which is a distinguishing mark in contracts of the *nadītu* women of Šamaš, that she purchases something "with her ring money" (*ina* ḪAR.KÛ. BABBAR-ša or *ina* šewēriša), occurs in a text where a *nadītu* of Marduk, Arnabum, daughter of Ikun-pī-Sin, purchases a field<sup>40</sup>. The phrase "*ina unqātiša*" (parallel to *ina šewēriša*) is used when a *nadītu* of Marduk buys a slave<sup>41</sup>. The *unqu* "ring" would not differ basically from the *šewēru* "bracelet"; both refer to jewelry given to a *nadītu* by her father at her initiation. Apparently the *nadītu* was dedicated to the deity richly dressed as behooves a bride and her finery became her personal property. These two sale contracts, with another<sup>42</sup>, which, however, does not contain the characteristic phrase, suggest that the *nadītu* of Marduk, like that of Šamaš, was a woman of independent means.

<sup>37</sup> TCL 1 104 (Ha).

<sup>38</sup> On *nadītu* names see *Studies Oppenheim* 116ff.

<sup>39</sup> CT 43 98. See also *Studies Oppenheim* 117f. It is possible that this letter was sent to Sippar by a *nadītu* of Marduk in Babylon.

<sup>40</sup> Riftin 22a (Si 5).

<sup>41</sup> TCL 1 147 (Ae h).

<sup>42</sup> CT 4 11b.

*restriction in sale of land*

In the only instance of a sale of land by a *nadītu* of Marduk, she with her brothers sells a plot of land to a *nadītu* of Šamaš<sup>43</sup>. On the basis of this one text we cannot, however, conclude that she was restricted as the *nadītu* of Šamaš seems to have been in selling her property or that unlike the *nadītu* of Šamaš she could not sell land by herself.

*several classes of women in family*

A family frequently had daughters belonging to several classes of women. Arnabum, the daughter of Ikun-pī-Sin, and a *nadītu* of Marduk was a member of one such family. She buys a field from Rīm-Sin, the son of Itti-Enlil-qinni<sup>44</sup>, a member of the family with whom her sister Bēlessunu, a *nadītu* of Šamaš, also conducts transactions. Bēlessunu, the father Ikun-pī-Sin, and the grandfather, Sin-tajjār, are all wealthy people engaged in accumulating real estate and slaves. An aunt and a cousin of these women are *nadītu*'s of Šamaš and another aunt, a *kul-mašītu*<sup>45</sup>.

*Marital Status**Introduction*

Sections 144-146 of the Code of Hammu-rapi deal with married *nadītu*'s who can only be *nadītu*'s of Marduk. In Section 144 where a *nadītu* gives her husband a slavegirl to bear him children he cannot marry a *šugētu* woman. But if she has not chosen to provide children for him, presumably by giving him a slavegirl or by adopting some, then he may marry a *šugētu* woman, though she will not rank with the *nadītu* wife (*ul uštamaḥḥar*). Our information on the *nadītu* of Marduk is in agreement with these provisions. The Sippar texts indicate that a *nadītu* of Marduk did not necessarily marry. But if she did marry she was not permitted to have children but might provide her husband with children in one of several ways: by adopting a child, by providing a younger sister who would bear children (a *šugētu*), by providing a free woman as a second wife, or by giving him a slavegirl.

*Unmarried nadītu's of Marduk*

The only *nadītu* of Marduk known in Sippar before the time of Hammu-rapi

<sup>43</sup> Szlechter Tablettes 45 MAH 15935.

<sup>44</sup> Riftin 22a (Si 15).

<sup>45</sup> On this family see *Orientalia* 38 134ff.

is Ḫalijatam, daughter of Izi-ašar. Her brother, Nākimum, son of Izi-šar (for Izi-ašar), is witness to the sale of a field near hers; one of the other witnesses is one Tutu-nāšir, the king's soldier (UKU.UŠ *šarrim*) who probably came from Babylon<sup>46</sup>. The connection with Babylon may indicate that the family of Ḫalijatam came from that city and would explain her presence in Sippar at a time when no other *nadītu*'s of Marduk are known<sup>47</sup>.

Ḫalijatam appoints her brother Nākimum as her heir on the condition that he raise her daughter, Iltani, and give her in marriage. He will receive, presumably at Ḫalijatam's death, her paternal inheritance, consisting of a field of 7 GĀN, a fig orchard (*ra-ša-tum ša GIŠ.MA*), and a house of 1 SAR, but he has no claim to the property which she will personally acquire in the meantime, and she may disinherit him if he makes her unhappy (*libbi Halijatam uštamrišu*). From this text it can be seen that, like the *nadītu* of Šamaš, Ḫalijatam had resources with which to engage in private business enterprises, and that like the *nadītu* of Šamaš, might give her heritage to whom she pleases if her brother does not carry out her wishes. This last provision is in accord with the Code of Hammu-rapi (Section 182) which gives this right to the *nadītu* of Marduk. There is no reference to a husband in this text and we must assume that the daughter, Iltani, was adopted<sup>48</sup>.

#### *Marriage and adoption*

There are, however, instances in which the *nadītu* of Marduk is married. A *nadītu* of Marduk of Babylon receives a dowry (*nudunnū*) from her father on entering the household of her father-in-law whose name, Sippar-liwwir, would indicate that he was a native of Sippar<sup>49</sup>. In another instance a *nadītu* of Marduk and her husband adopt a child from his mother, brother, and sister<sup>50</sup>.

#### *nadītu of Marduk as kulmašītu*

In the two extant marriage contracts of *nadītu*-women of Marduk from the 31st and 34th years of Ammi-ditana, the women are designated also as *kulmašītu*'s the only instances where *kulmašītu*'s are known to be married<sup>51</sup>. The title of *nadītu*

<sup>46</sup> CT 4 16a:27.

<sup>47</sup> It is known, for example, that women from various cities entered the cloister in Sippar. This would be true of princesses of Babylon who became *nadītu*'s and can be shown to be the case with other women (see *Studies Oppenheim* 131f. for examples). See also above note 45.

<sup>48</sup> CT 8 49b. The name Ḫalijatam is also one borne by *nadītu*'s of Šamaš: TCL 1 66:30 (Sm 9); CT 2 31:1 (Sm); BE 6/1 37:2 (Ha 21); VAS 9 10:8 (Ha 18).

<sup>49</sup> CT 47 83.

<sup>50</sup> VAS 8 127 = Meissner BAP 94.

<sup>51</sup> BE 6/1 84 and CT 8 2a.

is given first, indicating perhaps the higher rank of this class. In both contracts the woman is given both a substantial dowry and is accompanied by her sister who in one case is referred to as a *šugētu*<sup>52</sup>. We assume that the *šugētu*, the younger sister, is to have marital relations with the husband and bear children which are then to be considered the *nadītu*'s. The dowries of the two women indicate that they come from wealthy families. One girl who marries the son of a *sanga* official of the Ištar temple receives two slavegirls, jewelry, garments, an ox, two cows, thirty sheep, wool, millstones, furniture, utensils and also 30 shekels as her bridal gift (*terḫatu*)<sup>53</sup>. This girl's father in another text receives rent from a field (GUN A.ŠĀ), but whether as lessor or tax collector is not known<sup>54</sup>.

*marriage contracts*

One of the most complicated marital situations of which we know is that illustrated by three different marriage contracts which involve the same couple, Warad-Šamaš, son of Ili-ennam<sup>55</sup>, and Tarām-Sagila, the daughter of Šamaš-nāšir and Rišatum. The woman is not designated as a *nadītu* of Marduk, but many factors in the contracts would suggest this. Furthermore, another known *nadītu* of Marduk bears the same name<sup>56</sup>.

In the earliest contract, dating from Apil-Sin, Warad-Šamaš marries Tarām-Sagila. The contract states that if Warad-Šamaš rejects his wife he is to pay 30 shekels of silver. The fact that only the husband's obligation in case of divorce, is stated would suggest the woman's high status<sup>57</sup>.

The second contract is from the time of Sin-muballiṭ and must thus, therefore, be at least eleven years later than the first<sup>58</sup>. In this contract Warad-Šamaš marries Tarām-Sagila and Iltani, daughter of Sin-abušu. That Iltani is the inferior wife is indicated by the fact that she must perform certain tasks for Tarām-Sagila, such as washing her feet and carrying her chair to the temple of her god (Marduk). In this contract the consequences of any unwarranted divorce for both husband and wife are stated. It is assumed that the same couple is involved because

<sup>52</sup> CT 8 2a.

<sup>53</sup> BE 6/1 84.

<sup>54</sup> In TCL 1 149 (Amd) father of Liwwir-Esagila, Awēl-Sin, son of Imgur-Sin.

<sup>55</sup> Only *ī-[li-en-nam]* is preserved in the first contract. The same man also appears as witness in CT 45 15:16 (Sm 17).

<sup>56</sup> See CT 4 11b.

<sup>57</sup> TCL 1 61. For a more comprehensive discussion of these texts see my article in JNES 33/4 363ff.

<sup>58</sup> CT 2 44. See now also CT 48 67 for a similar marriage contract which may also involve a *nadītu* of Marduk.

of the identical names, as well as by the fact that one of the witnesses, Dullukum, son of Šissu-naw(i)rat, appears in both contracts.

But the marital situation was still not stabilized for a third marriage contract begins with the words “Iltani, sister of Tarām-Sagila, from Šamšatum, their father Warad-Šamaš, son of Ili-ennam, has taken in marriage”<sup>59</sup>. If we can assume that Šamšatum is a hypocoristic form of the Šamaš-nāšir of the first text<sup>60</sup>, we are dealing with the same family and we see from this text that Iltani has now been adopted by Tarām-Sagila’s father. Iltani has already borne children as can be seen from the phrase “that as many children as she (Iltani) had borne and will bear are their children (hers and Tarām-Sagila’s)”. It is again stated that she must carry Tarām-Sagila’s chair to the temple of Marduk, and in addition, if she denies that Tarām-Sagila is her sister she may be sold. Though the text does not describe Iltani as a *šugētu* woman, as the sister of the *nadītu* she could now be classified as such. This additional legal step of the adoption of Iltani may have been taken in order to strengthen Tarām-Sagila’s claim to the children.

#### *Giving of slavegirl to husband*

The situation mentioned in the Code of Hammu-rapi in which a *nadītu* gives her husband a slavegirl is evidenced in our material by a text in which Aḫātum adopts a slavegirl belonging to her sister, Sanakratum, a *nadītu* of Šamaš<sup>61</sup>, and gives her to her husband. Aḫātum is not called a *nadītu* of Marduk, but her marital status as well as the fact that the clause about carrying the chair to the temple is also found here seems to indicate that she did belong to this class of women<sup>62</sup>.

A parallel situation is perhaps found in an instance in which a girl is adopted from her parents by one Aḫāssunu<sup>63</sup>. She is to serve as slave girl to Aḫāssunu, and as wife to Aḫāssunu’s husband (*ana PN DAM*). The “chair” clause is not added.

<sup>59</sup> Meissner BAP 89.

<sup>60</sup> We have no evidence in our material that Šamšatum = Šamaš-nāšir. But we can show that Sinatum = Sin-nāšir which is a close parallel. See Sin-nāšir, son of GAZ-Ištar (Waterman Bus. Doc. 78 r. 7 [Ha 30]) who is the same person as Sinatum, son of GAZ-Ištar, in VAS 9 30 142/143:1 (Ha 24) and VAS 9 30:3 (Ha 27). For other hypocoristic names in Sippar see JESHO 6 150 note 2.

<sup>61</sup> Sanakratum, daughter of Musallimu, is also mentioned in CT 8 47b:27 (Immerum).

<sup>62</sup> CT 48 57. We would suggest that the god in l. 10 which reads as <sup>d</sup>IM in the copy be emended to <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD(!). We must assume here, too, in view of the early date, that Aḫātum came from Babylon. Whether or not the situation underlying the adoption of the children of a second wife as found in CT 8 37d (Ha 41) concerns a *nadītu* of Marduk and a slavegirl is uncertain.

<sup>63</sup> CT 48 48 (Ha 16).

If the girl aggravates her, Aḥassunu may sell her<sup>64</sup>. The girl's father receives the full bridal gift.

*The šugētu*

As can be seen from the previous discussion, the *šugētu* was a woman whose position was dependent upon that of the *nadītu* of Marduk. The *šugētu* was usually the sister, presumably the younger sister of the *nadītu*, who married the husband of the *nadītu* of Marduk in order to bear children for the family. Thus the *šugētu* was a kind of substitute for the *nadītu* and a concubine to the husband. From the three marriage contracts of Tarām-Sagila, discussed above, we have seen that the *šugētu* might be a free woman adopted by the father of the *nadītu*, and thus the *nadītu*'s adopted sister. In the case of two marriage contracts of *nadītu*'s of Marduk the sister is married at the same time as is the *nadītu*, but in the case of Tarām-Sagila the second wife is taken some time later.

In the Code of Hammu-rapi the *šugētu* is also connected with the *nadītu* of Marduk and we may assume that whenever a *šugētu* and a *nadītu* are referred to together, it is a *nadītu* of Marduk who is meant<sup>65</sup>.

The *šugētu* woman appears in lists of women of special classes<sup>66</sup>, but our material would indicate that, strictly speaking, she was not a member of a special class.

There are several references to *šugētu* women in our texts which do not mention *nadītu*'s. Ibni-Šamaš, a diviner, who witnesses both extant marriage contracts of *nadītu* women of Marduk<sup>67</sup>, has a *šugētu* wife named Ḫuggultum to whom he gives a gift of two slavegirls, millstones, and furniture, all of which are to belong to her sons after her death<sup>68</sup>. In view of our conclusions above, we assume that Ibni-Šamaš had another wife, a *nadītu* of Marduk, which would perhaps explain his role as witness to the marriage contracts of two of these women.

The *šugētu* Damiqtum is given a dowry by her parents consisting of a slavegirl, millstones, furniture and utensils when she enters the household of her husband, though the slavegirl is to belong to her outright only on the death of her mother. The phrase used to express the death of the mother, “*warki FN iluša iqterūši*”,

<sup>64</sup> Read ll. 9ff. : GÌR.ḪI.A [*i-mi*]-*sí* [*sa*]-*la-mi-ša i-<sa>-li-im UD-um li-ib-<bi> FN ú-ša-am-ra-šu*. See CT 2 44 for parallel clauses.

<sup>65</sup> In Sections 137, 144 and 145.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Landsberger ZA 30 68f. and AfO 10 145ff.

<sup>67</sup> CT 8 2a r. 8 and BE 6/1 84:46.

<sup>68</sup> BE 6/1 95 (Ams 13).

usually refers euphemistically to the death of a *naditu*<sup>69</sup>. Though Damiqtum's mother is certainly not a *naditu* of Šamaš, perhaps she is a member of some special class. Again we must assume that the husband of the *šugētu* is already married to a *naditu* of Marduk<sup>70</sup>.

In one fragmentary text the rest of the dowry (ÍB.KID *nudunnê*) of a *šugētu* given to her father-in-law is recorded<sup>71</sup>.

All of the references to the *šugētu* in the Sippar texts are from the reigns of Ammiditana and Ammi-šaduqa, which may indicate that the institution was short-lived. But that it existed at an earlier date in Babylon is evidenced by the references in Hammurabi's Code.

#### *Religious Position*

Except for the phrase in her letters which indicates her special relationship to Marduk and Šarpanitum, the only information on the religious role of the *naditu* of Marduk is the "chair" clause which appears in two of the three marriage contracts, discussed above. The stipulation that the second and inferior wife carry the chair of the *naditu* to the temple of Marduk would seem to indicate that her presence was required in the temple at regular intervals. She served, perhaps, as a "lady-in-waiting" to the god, performing tasks which the *naditu*'s might perform on a regular basis in the temple of Šamaš.

We do not know why the chair is brought to the temple. We have suggested earlier that the food which comprises the *piqittu* oblation of the *naditu*'s of Šamaš may have been consumed by them in the temple. The bringing of the chair may indicate a similar feast in which the *naditu* of Marduk participated.

<sup>69</sup> See *Studies Oppenheim* 120.

<sup>70</sup> BE 6/1 101 (Amš 15). Perhaps the evidence of the witnesses is relevant here. Qišti-Ea here called a scribe (l. 41) is also witness in the gift deed of the diviner Ibni-Šamaš (BE 6/1 95:42) where he is described as a DUMU.É.DUB.BA. There may well have been a relationship between the families of *naditu*'s of Marduk.

<sup>71</sup> CT 48 84 (Amd 8).

The following is a list of the *nadītu*'s of Marduk in the Sippar texts :

KING	YEAR	NAME	RELATIVES	TEXTS
AS	?	Ḫalijatūm	d. Izi-ašar si. Nākimum m. Iltani	CT 8 49b
AS	6	Tarām-Sagila	d. Šamaš-nāšir	TCL 1 61 (CT 2 44 ; Meissner BAP 89)
Ha	7	Kurrītum	d. Abi-madar si. Šamaš-muballit	Szlechter Tablettes 45 MAH 15935
Ha	14	Ḫuššutum	wi. Bunini-abi	VAS 8 127
Ha	[x]	Bēletum	d. Abijatūm si. Sin-iddinam si. Ipiq- <sup>d</sup> KÁ si. Ruttum si. Šamuḫtum n. Ipiq- <sup>d</sup> Ningal	TCL 1 104
Si	5	Arnabum	d. Ikun-pī-Sin	Riftin 22a
Si	5	Tarām-Sagila	d. Ḫarrirum	CT 4 11b
Ae	h	Amat-Aššur	d. Adad-iddinam	TCL 1 147
—	—	Duššuptum	—	CT 43 98
—	—	Bēletum	d. Riš- <sup>d</sup> Nabium	CT 47 83

*nadītu of Marduk and NU.BAR*

Amd	31	Liwwir-Esagila	d. Awēl-Sin gd. Imgur-Sin wi. Warad-Šamaš s. Utul-Ištar si. Šallūrtum	BE 6/1 84
Amd	34	Lamassatum	d. Sin-erībam gd. Awēl-Sin d. Šubultum si. Qišat-Sin si. Igmil-Sin si. Šippar-lišer si. Surratum wi. Ilšu-bāni s. Sin-iddinam	CT 8 2a

*The kulmašitu* (NU.BAR)

There are 17 references in the Sippar texts to the class of women called *kulmašitu*'s; more than to any other class except the *naditu*'s of Šamaš to which there are hundreds of references. The term *kulmašitu* remains obscure but the Sumerian equivalent NU.BAR may indicate a woman set apart or taboo<sup>72</sup>.

The *kulmašitu* was an uncloistered woman able to conduct independent business transactions. She seems rarely to have married, and in two instances in which she does she is also a *naditu* of Marduk. There is no evidence that she had children. Unlike the *naditu* and *ugbaltu* of Šamaš, the *naditu* of Marduk, and the *qadištu* of Adad, the name of a god is never mentioned after the title *kulmašitu*. There is some evidence, however, which would connect the *kulmašitu* with Annunītum, an important goddess of Sippar. In a text which records the inheritance of the *kulmašitu* Lamassi, the goddess Annunītum is invoked in the oath alongside the gods Šamaš and Marduk<sup>73</sup>. And in one of the marriage contracts of a *kulmašitu* who is also a *naditu* of Marduk the girl is assigned (*wuddū*) her dowry by a ceremony enacted in the temple of Annunītum<sup>74</sup>.

Section 181 of the Code of Hammu-rapi stipulates that if her father has not given her her dowry, she is to take one third of the share of an individual heir; her inheritance is hers for her lifetime and afterwards belongs to her brothers.

Several texts show that a *kulmašitu* can engage in independent business transactions. A *kulmašitu* is neighbor to a house which a *naditu* sells to another *naditu*<sup>75</sup>. Another *kulmašitu* exchanges part of her field for one belonging to a temple official<sup>76</sup>. A *kulmašitu* and a man, probably a relative, sell a field adjacent to another which she owns to the *kulmašitu*'s sister<sup>77</sup>.

There are many instances in which a *kulmašitu* is involved with her family in joint transactions. She and her mother sell a house to a man<sup>78</sup>; she and her

<sup>72</sup> See Edzard ZA 55 106 note 75. Edzard *ibid.*, 104-107 discusses the *qadištu* and *kulmašitu* and there cites references to these women from other places and periods. See now also Renger ZA 58 180ff. on the *qadištu* and *kulmašitu*.

<sup>73</sup> CT 8 50a.

<sup>74</sup> CT 8 2a. Note also the name Tarbi-Annunītum and Tarām-Ulmaš (Eulmaš was the temple of Annunītum). The divine element, Nunu, of Taddin-Nunu is a hypocoristic form of Annunītum (on this see Edzard, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr* 22 note 57).

<sup>75</sup> CT 4 48a.

<sup>76</sup> YBC 4980.

<sup>77</sup> CT 2 3.

<sup>78</sup> BE 6/1 8.

brother sell slaves<sup>79</sup>; she, her brother and sister renounce claim to property which a second brother leaves to his wife<sup>80</sup>; she, her father, mother, and sister renounce claim to the house which their father sold to a *nadītu* and reclaimed in vain<sup>81</sup>; she, her four brothers, and sister sell a field to a *nadītu*<sup>82</sup>; she and her mother lose their claim to a field which they had previously sold to a *nadītu*<sup>83</sup>. In one text a *kulmašītu* witnesses the purchase of a field by her father and two brothers<sup>84</sup>. These many instances would seem to indicate that the *kulmašītu* was still part of the family and had not married.

That a *kulmašītu* might marry is seen, however, from the two marriage contracts of *kulmašītu* women who were also *nadītu*'s of Marduk, discussed above, though we can suggest no explanation for the combination of the two. Further evidence that a *kulmašītu* might marry is seen from a text which states that when the *kulmašītu* Lamassi marries she may keep the bed and chair which she has received as an inheritance, but her house and slavegirl belong to her brother<sup>85</sup>. Again there is no evidence that she might have children.

At least five of the 17 *kulmašītu*'s of whom we know have elder sisters who were *nadītu*'s of Šamaš<sup>86</sup>. A family which best illustrates the manner in which women belong to different groups is that mentioned above in connection with Arnabum, a *nadītu* of Marduk. Sin-tajjār had two daughters; the elder, Erišti-Šamaš, is a *nadītu* of Šamaš, and the younger, Bēltani, a *kulmašītu*. Sin-tajjār also had two sons; one, Ikun-pī-Sin has two daughters, Bēlēssunu, a *nadītu* of Šamaš, and Arnabum, a *nadītu* of Marduk. He also has a son, Maḥaddūm, who was adopted by his aunt, the *kulmašītu* Bēltani<sup>87</sup>. Sin-tajjār's other son, Sin-ilum, also has a daughter who was a *nadītu* of Šamaš<sup>88</sup>. This girl is made

<sup>79</sup> BE 6/1 6.

<sup>80</sup> VAS 8 17/18 = Meissner BAP 111.

<sup>81</sup> CT 2 45.

<sup>82</sup> Ballerini RSO 2 539-541.

<sup>83</sup> CT 47 24/24a.

<sup>84</sup> CT 4 48b. But note CT 47 23 where a NU.BAR sells a house to a *nadītu* of Šamaš.

<sup>85</sup> CT 8 50a. [x-x] [u-nu]-ti-ša i-ša-ab-at-ma...bi-is-sà ù ÌR.SAG-ša ša aḥ-ḥi-ša-ma. This reading seems best in light of the copy and makes sense though it differs from the reading of HG 50 and Schorr VAB 5 253. It does, however, assume a scribal error in ÌR.SAG for SAG.GEMÉ.

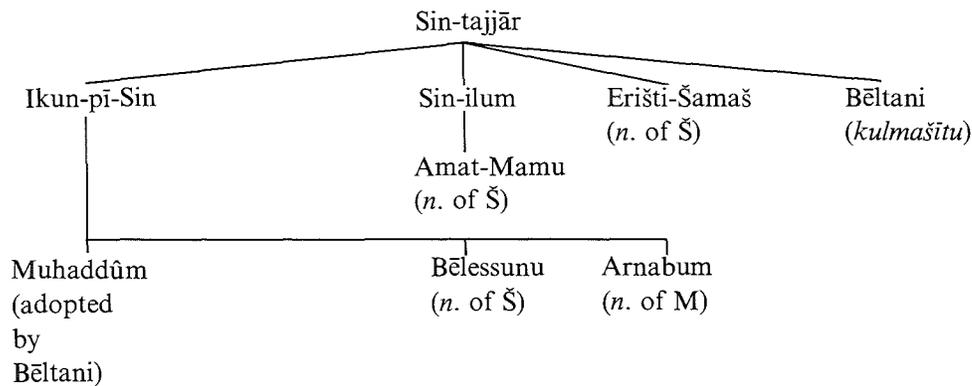
<sup>86</sup> See *Studies Oppenheim* 126.

<sup>87</sup> CT 45 53.

<sup>88</sup> Sin-ilum in CT 45 34:43 witnesses the adoption of his nephew by his sister, the *kulmašītu*. Note the name of Sin in the names of the father and two sons.

the heir of another *nadītu* of Šamaš despite the fact that the latter *nadītu* has two nieces who belong to the same class<sup>89</sup>.

The relationship between the members of the family can be seen in the following chart :



Some *kulmašītu*'s are from wealthy families ; Bēltani (above) leaves her adopted son an inheritance of fields totalling 25 GĀN, three slavegirls, and a house of 3 SAR<sup>90</sup>. But others such as Lamassi (discussed above) received only a small inheritance of a house, a slavegirl, and some furniture.

The brother of a *kulmašītu* inherits a small *kišubbū* plot which had been his sister's share, presumably of the paternal estate<sup>91</sup>.

The father of the *kulmašītu*, Taddin-Nunu<sup>92</sup> Šamaš-bēl-ili, son of Šilli-Šamaš, owns a great deal of real estate, though perhaps the fact that in all of our records of these holdings he is selling houses and land indicates that he is having economic difficulties<sup>93</sup>.

The names of the *kulmašītu*'s are not particularly pious names but are those

<sup>89</sup> CT 47 63/63a r. 13. This text, along with others concerning this same family, is discussed at length in *Orientalia* 38 133 ff. Here I added an earlier generation to the family tree and one can, therefore, follow the *nadītu* tradition of this family for three generations.

<sup>90</sup> CT 45 34.

<sup>91</sup> Goetze JCS 11 p. 16 No. 1.

<sup>92</sup> CT 2 45. It is very likely that Tarbi-Annunitum, daughter of Šilli-Šamaš, is the aunt of the *kulmašītu* Taddin-Nunu whose father Šamaš-bēl-ili is the son of Šilli-Šamaš. Note that the latter is a witness to the sale by his sister in CT 47 23:27.

<sup>93</sup> CT 8 48b (Ha 1), CT 6 45 (Ha 9), CT 6 34b (Ha 4), CT 47 34/34a (Ha 14). These sales may also give evidence of his affluence for they fetch above average prices.

which occur often among the women of special status : Narubtum, Munawwirtum, Hiššatum, Lamassi, Erištum, and Ruttum.

There is no evidence that the *kulmašitu* might live in the cloister along with the *naditu* of Šamaš. However, the two references to an “overseer of the *kulmašitu* women” suggests that they may have had some kind of communal life<sup>94</sup>.

*List of kulmašitu women in the Sippar texts*

Buntaḥ- tun-ila	—	Narubtum	d. Šu- <sup>d</sup> Damu (?) si. Arkal-ana [...]	BE 6/1 6
Sl	—	Munawwirtum	d. Nūr-Šamaš Musallimatam si. Sin-erībam Sin-iqīšam Sin-iddinam (?) <sup>95</sup>	BE 6/1 8
Sl	—	Hiššatum	d. Puzur-Kubi si. Ipiq-Ištar	CT 4 48b
Za	?	Lamassi	d. Sililum (?)	VAS 8 9/10
Za	14	Ullumi-eršet	d. Dada-waqar si. Nutuptum ( <i>naditu</i> of Šamaš)	CT 2 3
AS	—	<i>Erištum</i>	d. Awēlija si. Aja-rēšat ( <i>naditu</i> of Šamaš) si. Išum-nāšir si. Dan-ilišu	VAS 8 17/18 (= Meissner 111)
AS	—	unnamed		Goetze JCS 11 16 No. 1
Sm	—	Tarām- Ulmaš	d. Sin-nāšir si. Sin-ublam si. Bēltani ( <i>naditu</i> of Šamaš) si. Warad-Sin si. Sin-rēmenni si. Sin-muballiṭ	Ballerini RSO 2 539-41

<sup>94</sup> Šamaš-nāšir in CT 45 8 r. 8 (AS); and Šamaš-liwwir in CT 45 34:41 (Si 15). See now for the latter also CT 48 53 r. 5 where he is witness to the marriage of a slave of Ikun-pī-Sin, the brother of Bēltani, the *kulmašitu*. His seal inscription is found here and it should be noted that he is described as a “servant of Hammu-rapi”. Perhaps, therefore, emend the occupation of Šamaš-liwwir in CT 47 53 r. 14 to UGULA SAL.NU(!).BAR.MEŠ(!). Here he witnesses the purchase of a slave by the daughter of Ikun-pī-Sin.

<sup>95</sup> Sin-iqīšam and Sin-iddinam are perhaps not her brothers but relatives for only Sin-erībam is said to be the son of Nūr-Šamaš.

Ha	2	Lamassi	d. Akšak-māgir	CT 8 50a
Ha	3	Ruttum	d. Narām-Sin Hamsatum	CT 47 24/24a
Ha	3	Tarbi-An- nunītum	si. Apil-ilišu d. Šilli-Šamaš	CT 47 23/23a
Ha	13	Taddin- Nunu	d. Šamaš-bēl-ili and Šarpanitum-um- ummi si. Bēlitija ( <i>nadītu</i> <i>of Šamaš</i> )	CT 2 45
Ha	15	unnamed	d. Iddin-Sin	CT 4 48b
Ha	17	[...] seal	d. Sin-iqīšam	VAS 9 5/6 (= Meissner BAP 71)
Si	15	Bēltani	d. Sin-tajjār aunt of Muḥḥadūm	CT 45 34
Amd	15	Ruttum	d. Arsānum si. Awēl-Nanna aunt of Lamassani ( <i>nadītu</i> of Šamaš)	YBC 4980
Amd	31	Liwwir- Esagila (also <i>nadītu</i> of Marduk)	d. Awēl-Sin	BE 6/1 84
Amd	34	Lamassatum (also <i>nadītu</i> of Marduk)	d. Sin-erībam	CT 8 2a

*The qadištu* (NU.GIG)

Like the term NU.BAR, both the Akkadian *qadištu* and its Sumerian equivalent NU.GIG indicate a woman set apart or taboo<sup>96</sup>. Although the view that the *qadištu* was a prostitute is still prevalent, there is no evidence that the *qadištu* was so in Sippar in the Old Babylonian period, though she may have been one in other times and places.

The *qadištu* seems to have had a special relationship with the god Adad. When the *qadištu* Sāmidum adopts a child from its natural mother she is referred to

<sup>96</sup> See Landsberger MSL 4 ii 78-80.

as the NU.GIG <sup>d</sup>IM, “the *qadištu* of the god Adad”<sup>97</sup>. References to the *qadištu* from other cities confirm this relationship: the seal inscription of the *qadištu* Iša-ḫegalli of Kish states that she is the “servant of Adad and of Šala”<sup>98</sup>; and in a text of unknown provenience a father dedicates his daughter as a *qadištu* to “Adad, his god” (*ana* <sup>d</sup>IM *ilišu ana* NU.GIG *iššiš*)<sup>99</sup>. In this instance the use of the possessive pronoun “his” might indicate that the daughter was dedicated because of her father’s special devotion to this god. In addition, the name, Iša-ḫegalli, of the *qadištu* of Kish, a name borne also by a *qadištu* of Sippar<sup>100</sup>, may reflect a connection with Adad since *ḫegallu*, “abundance”, is the gift of Adad to man<sup>101</sup>.

The Sippar texts are too few and varied to clearly define the nature of the *qadištu*. But it appears that this class of woman was not cloistered<sup>102</sup>, might marry and bear children, but might also remain unmarried and establish her own household. In addition, there are some indications that the *qadištu* may have served as a wetnurse or midwife.

The *qadištu* appears beside the *kulmašitu* in the Code of Hammu-rapi (Section 182); both are to receive a one-third share of the patrimony should the father not have given them a dowry before his death<sup>103</sup>.

That a *qadištu* might marry and apparently have children is seen from an instance in which the daughter of a *qadištu* is married off by both her parents<sup>104</sup>. But a *qadištu* apparently need not marry and might live independently since one *qasištu* rents a house from a *naditu* of Šamaš<sup>105</sup>; and another rents a house from a gardener who keeps some beds and a door belonging to her in lieu of

<sup>97</sup> TCL 1 146.

<sup>98</sup> TCL 1 157.

<sup>99</sup> Gordon Smith 260.

<sup>100</sup> PBS 8/2 218.

<sup>101</sup> For references see CAD 6 168 (c). See also the Assyrian text KAR 154 discussed by von Soden in AfO 18 121 for the connection between the Adad cult and the *qadištu* women in the Middle-Assyrian period.

<sup>102</sup> The Old Babylonian letter PBS 7 125, probably from Sippar, which mentions the cloister and *qadištu* women is too broken to permit the conclusion that they lived in the cloister especially since the legal texts exclude the possibility.

<sup>103</sup> The *naditu* is also mentioned with them, but since the *naditu* of Šamaš receives other treatment and the patrimony of the *naditu* of Marduk is discussed next, it is not clear which *naditu* is referred to in this clause.

<sup>104</sup> VAS 8 92 = Meissner BAP 88.

<sup>105</sup> PBS 8/2 218.

rent which she owes. This *qadištu*, Sabītum, owns furniture (*numātum*) which includes chairs, reed mats, utensils, and six millstones<sup>106</sup>.

The reduced circumstances of the *qadištu* Sabītum perhaps reflects the fact that these women were not from wealthy families, as were many of the other classes of women. The *qadištu* Erištum receives only a small house of 1 SAR as her share of an inheritance which is to belong to her sister, a *nadītu* of Šamaš, at her death<sup>107</sup>. Another *qadištu* requests that she receive a slavegirl from her parents rather than a field or house<sup>108</sup>. Though a somewhat larger gift is given to a *qadištu* by her father — a field of 4 GÁN, a house of 1 SAR, some furniture, and millstones — it is hardly comparable to those usually given to the other classes of women<sup>109</sup>.

Texts from other sites indicate that the *qadištu* might serve as a midwife<sup>110</sup>, or a wetnurse<sup>111</sup>. A Sippar text, however, records that a *qadištu* adopts a child from its natural mother and gives the mother the nursing fee for three years<sup>112</sup>.

The *qadištu* Elmēštum appears in an unusual context in which she receives the very large amount of 91 GUR of barley along with military scribes (DUMU.MEŠ É.DUB.BA), an association for which we can suggest no explanation<sup>113</sup>.

The following is a list of the *qadištu*-women who appear in Sippar texts :

KING	YEAR	NAME	RELATIVES	TEXT
Sm	—	Erištum	d. Rībam-ili si. Amat-Šamaš ( <i>nadītu</i> of Šamaš)	CT 6 42b
Ha	3	Erištum	wi. Šamaš-nāšir m. [...] -mitum-ummi	VAS 8 92 (= Meissner 88)
Si	16	Qīštum	d. Rīš-Šamaš	BE 6/2 85

<sup>106</sup> CT 4 40b.

<sup>107</sup> CT 6 42b.

<sup>108</sup> VAS 8 69/70.

<sup>109</sup> In BE 6/2 85. Contrast with the gifts to *nadītu*'s in BE 6/2 70, CT 4 1b and CT 8 5b, which are by no means among the largest ones given to *nadītu*'s.

<sup>110</sup> On the *qadištu* serving as a midwife see von Soden AfO 18 121.

<sup>111</sup> This is certainly the role of the *qadištu* in a Dilbat text : VAS 7 10/11.

<sup>112</sup> TCL 1 146.

<sup>113</sup> Goetze JCS 2 110 No. 21.

KING	YEAR	NAME	RELATIVES	TEXT
Si	33	Sāmidum	d. Askur-Adad <sup>114</sup>	TCL 1 146
Ae	[x]	Elmēštum	—	Goetze JCS 2 110 No. 21
Amd	12	Sabītum	—	CT 4 40b
Ams	16	Ilša-ḫegalli	d. Kibilu	PBS 8/2 218
und.		Mārat- iršitum	d. Aḫi-aj-amši and Lamassi	VAS 8 69/70

*References to women whose class is uncertain*

Three texts seem to concern women of a special class, though the particular class cannot be determined. In the first text, Šīma-ilat, a NU.[BAR/GIG] has been given an orchard (and perhaps more, for there is a lacuna at this point) by her father and has appointed one of her two brothers as her heir. On her death, however, her parents give the inheritance to both brothers. This document of inheritance has apparently been lost and a new one drawn up<sup>115</sup>. The situation is one found in connection with both the *qadištu* and *kulmašitu* and the reading is, therefore, uncertain.

Another text, poorly preserved, seems to imply that when a certain woman marries the field which was her share of the inheritance given to her by her father at her request (*i-na er-ši-ti-ša*) will not be hers when she marries<sup>116</sup>. The term *eršetu* would suggest that a woman of a special class is involved<sup>117</sup>. The wording of the text is somewhat similar to that of one which speaks of the inheritance of a *kulmašitu* in which she is to keep the mobilia, but her brothers are to have her house and slave<sup>118</sup>.

An adoption text concerns the adoption of one of five children as the eldest son born by the second wife of a man<sup>119</sup>. It is not known whether both women were married at the same time. The name of the first wife, Bēlessunu, is followed by a sign which cannot be read with certainty. But this may be another example

<sup>114</sup> The reading Ās-kur-Adad as suggested in HG 188 is better than Schorr's Āš-šat-Adad (VAB 5 127), a name which does not occur in the Old Babylonian period. The first two witnesses to this text also have West-Semitic names and were perhaps the relatives of the *qadištu*.

<sup>115</sup> CT 45 25 (Ha 31 [?]).

<sup>116</sup> CT 45 65.

<sup>117</sup> As is the case in VAS 8 70 and CT 8 2a.

<sup>118</sup> CT 8 50a.

<sup>119</sup> CT 8 37d (Ha 41).

of marriage with a woman of a special class. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that two women with *nadītu* names are witnesses to the adoption.

#### *The ḥarimtu*

A reference in the Sippar texts to the *ḥarimtu* or prostitute seems to indicate that this class of women lived in a group. A list of eleven *ḥarimtu*'s (KAR.KID. MEŠ) records them as under the responsibility (NÍG.ŠU) of the *kalamāḥu* or chief dirge singer (presumably of the Šamaš temple). The women receive an unspecified item (possibly sheep) indicated by a number preceding each name and totalling 21<sup>120</sup>.

Some of the *ḥarimtu*'s have names which are also found among the *nadītu*'s of Šamaš, such as Ruttum, Rībatum, and Narāmtani; while others have names which appear only in this list — Itāwir, Billija, and Abi-Bā'u. The names of the mothers of three of the women are given — Erištum, Ajatum, and Masiktum — names which are found among *nadītu*'s as well as among slavegirls<sup>121</sup>. The fact that the mother's name is given may indicate that they are either the daughters of slavegirls or of other *ḥarimtu*'s<sup>122</sup>. One *ḥarimtu* is referred to as the "daughter of the fisherman" and another as a "native of Babylon" (DUMU.SAL KÁ. DINGIR.RA<sup>KI</sup>).

The only other reference to the *ḥarimtu* is one in which Bēlšunu, the son of a prostitute (DUMU *ḥarimti*) witnesses the marriage of a slavegirl to an unnamed man<sup>123</sup>.

### 3. SLAVERY

#### *Introduction*

As has been pointed out elsewhere, the slave population of Mesopotamia was always small and insignificant in relation to the free population perhaps because of the "absence of any interest in industrial production on the home level"<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> VAS 9 192/193 = Meissner BAP 92.

<sup>121</sup> Though Ajatum does not appear as a slave name it may be a hypocoristic form of a name with Aja, a theophoric element common among slavegirls.

<sup>122</sup> This is assumed to be the case also with Anatum, the son of Kanišitum who appears in CT 8 32b.

<sup>123</sup> VAS 9 192/193 20f. For a similar occurrence in an Ur text see UET 5 475:7. Mention should be made of the difficult text, CT 48 45, which refers to *ḥarimūtum* in a context I cannot understand.

<sup>1</sup> A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* 76. For studies on slavery see I. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1948) and B.J. Siegel, *Slavery During the Third Dynasty of Ur* (*American Anthropologist*, New Series 49/1, Part 2, 1947). Much work still remains to be done on the question of Mesopotamian slavery at various times and in different places.

Of the more than 18,000 names which occur in the extant Sippar documents, only a little more than 300 are the names of slaves<sup>2</sup>. Two-thirds of the slaves are females. It is quite likely that this proportion of female to male slaves reflects the real situation, namely the need for, and the predominant interest in, slavegirls as members of small households.

It is clear that the population of Sippar was made up of slaves and free persons; the latter referred to as the *mārū awēlim*. This basic dichotomy is revealed in the letter of a cloister official, the Steward of the *nadītu*'s, to the *šāpir nārīm* official<sup>3</sup> who had conscripted the runaway slave of a *nadītu*'s. He writes; "he (the slave) is not a citizen of the city of Šagga, nor a free man (he is), the slave of a *nadītu* of Šamaš<sup>4</sup>. This same contrast is found in a partly preserved adoption contract where a *nadītu* adopts her slavegirl: "her mother (*the nadītu*) has freed FN; she considers her (now) among the free"<sup>5</sup>. Another adoption contract states that should the adopted slave reject his adoptive father "they will punish him with the punishment (meted out to) the free"<sup>6</sup>. In other words, the adoptive son, erstwhile slave, will be sold as a slave.

The basic structure of society in Sippar was, therefore, made up of the free born and the slave.

The slave was distinguished from the freeborn by a characteristic hairdo or lock of hair (*abbuttu*). When the slave was manumitted this lock was shaved off<sup>7</sup>. Conversely, a free person who, for example, rejected his adoptive parents would have his hair shorn except for this lock so that he would be immediately recognizable as a slave<sup>8</sup>. There is no evidence in Sippar of a slave wearing a *maškannu* or *kannu*, other insignia of slavery, as was the case with a slave of Eshnunna<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> This figure does not take into consideration the many slaves unknown by name who were part of the labor force of the temple and cloister workshops.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why an official concerned with the supervision of canals would be at the same time be involved with the conscription of soldiers, unless the soldiers work on the repair of canals under his supervision.

<sup>4</sup> CT 44 53:9ff. : *ú-ul DUMU URU ŠĀ.GA<sup>K1</sup> ú-ul DUMU a-we-lim ÌR LUKUR dUTU*. This phrase further implies that the free man and the citizen of a town were not necessarily one and the same. There is too little data in our material to examine the concepts of citizenship in this period.

<sup>5</sup> BM 82504:4ff. (und) : FN *um-ma-ša ú-ul-li-il-ši KI DUMU.MEŠ a-we-li im-nu-ši*.

<sup>6</sup> CT 4 42a:26f. (SI) : *a-ra-an ma-ru a-we-li i-mi-du-šu*.

<sup>7</sup> On *abbuttu* see CAD 1 48ff. In CT 6 29:12f., a text drawn up in Babylon, a slave had had his *abbuttu* lock shaven off when he is adopted by his former owner, a Sipparian.

<sup>8</sup> This is the condition laid down in the adoption text Meissner BAP 95:20ff. where the adopted son should he reject his adoptive parents will be shaven, marked with a clasp around his *abbuttu* lock, and sold.

<sup>9</sup> As is seen from the Code of Eshnunna, Goetze LE Section 12 A iv 8 and B iv 12.

There is no evidence to support the view of a further division of Sippar society into a third class between the free and the slave, that of the *muškēnu* or person of restricted freedom. The vexing term *muškēnu*, found often in the Code of Hammu-rapi but rarely in texts reflecting social and economic conditions, is still the subject of much writing<sup>10</sup>. Though the term does appear in Sippar texts, the references are few and unrevealing.

Mention is made of the barley of the *muškēnu* women being stored in a man's house in a litigation text<sup>11</sup>. One of the boundaries of a house plot is referred to as the "abandoned plot of the *muškēnu* men and women"<sup>12</sup>. The word *muškēnu* appears elsewhere<sup>13</sup> as a topographical designation. In short, there is no data at present to suggest anything but the basic twofold structure of Sippar's population of the free and the slave.

#### *Slave Owners*

In Sippar, slaves were owned by the temple, the cloister, and private persons. Since the Sippar texts for the main part belong to the archives of private individuals our information is largely about their slaves.

That the temple did have slaves is seen quite directly from two texts which record gifts of slaves by *nadītu*'s of Šamaš to Šamaš and his consort in one instance and to Aja alone in the other<sup>14</sup>. In the latter instance, the slavegirl has been presented to serve as a sweeper in the temple<sup>15</sup>. The Šamaš temple and perhaps the other temples of Sippar may have been gifted with prisoners of war by the king as well as receiving presentation gifts of slaves from other pious worshippers.

<sup>10</sup> See most recently Kraus *Edikt* 144-151, where Kraus suggests the meaning of "bürger" for *muškēnu*. He is of the opinion that the term *muškēnu* is used in contrast to the *awēlu* who belonged to an exclusive class of nobles. J.J. Finkelstein in his review of Kraus' book (JCS 15 96-99) disagrees with Kraus and proposes that the *muškēnu* were "a variety of people whose economic resources depended in whole or in part on some relationship to the crown". See also von Soden, ZA 56 133ff. who compares the *muškēnu* with the Mawali of early Islam.

<sup>11</sup> BE 6/1 103:20: *še-am ša mu-uš-ki-ne-tim*. In this difficult text, the retainer of the son of the well known and high military official, Utul-Ištar, the *abi šābi*, and another man forceably take this barley in lieu of barley belonging to their master.

<sup>12</sup> CT 8 3a:8: SAG.BI.2.KAM.MA *ni-di-tum ša* MAŠ.EN.DŪ.ĦI.A. This reading is not entirely certain; The use of ĦI.A instead of the expected MEŠ suggests the proposed translation.

<sup>13</sup> In CT 2 23:1 a field is located in the (region) *Ša-muškēnum*. A *Muškēnu* Canal is mentioned as the boundary of another field in BM 92650:5. Mention should finally be made of another passage which is difficult to understand. In CT 8 1c:1ff.: 131 hides and carcasses ... *ša* PN *a-na sū-si-ik-tim iš-ša-ak-nu-ma i-na mu-uš-ki-nu-<tim> in-na-ās-ĥu*. For the emendation see von Soden AHW 684.

<sup>14</sup> TCL 1 68/69 and VAS 8 55.

<sup>15</sup> *ana kisalluĥĥūtim*. This same practice is also known from Nuzi e.g., HSS 14 106. See now also

The accounts which shed light on the organization and administration of the cloister have been treated elsewhere<sup>16</sup>. One of these mentions “servant girls of the cloister” as well as cooks with typical slave names: Ša-lā-bēltim, Ištar-naḥrari and Takil-bānūša<sup>17</sup>. In the most informative account concerning cloister menials, barley is given as rations to female weavers and several other people of unknown occupation<sup>18</sup>. The amount of barley distributed, 40 GUR, would suggest that a fairly large group of weavers were members of the cloister workshop who because they were given “rations (ŠE.BA)” were not free persons.

Another cloister account lists fourteen women who are assigned work. Many of these, too, have typical slave names such as: Annunītum-ummi, Abi-tukulti and Abi-lamassi<sup>19</sup>. There are other lists of women, among them accounts of working days<sup>20</sup>. One cloister account contains the names of over a hundred men and women<sup>21</sup>.

It would, therefore, appear that the cloister maintained a considerable labor force, probably largely consisting of slaves who were engaged in the cloister industries, particularly in weaving.

We are informed about the slaves of the wealthy citizens of Sippar by hundreds of legal texts, documents of property division and inheritance, deeds of gift, adoptions, litigations, sale and hire contracts. Since slaves are mentioned in only half of the documents recording property divisions, inheritance and gifts, it is clear that slaves were not numerous nor owned by all Sipparians.

Usually one or two slaves are inherited<sup>22</sup>; much less frequently a person might inherit several<sup>23</sup>. The *naditu* of Šamaš in particular was usually given a slave or

CT 48 46 where a *naditu* gives her slavegirl to Aja, to serve as a sweeper:

<sup>16</sup> See JESHO 6 121-157.

<sup>17</sup> PBS 8/2 235. As to slave names we here follow Stamm *Namengebung* 307 ff.

<sup>18</sup> CT 8 21d.

<sup>19</sup> BM 81238. The nature of the work is not specified: *e-pi-ša-at* KIN.

<sup>20</sup> TCL 1 205 and 222; CT 45 32.

<sup>21</sup> CT 6 4 (Si). That this text is a cloister text is an assumption that cannot be proven. The crucial summing up of the text is not preserved. Nor can it be assumed that all those mentioned are slaves. Mention should be made of BE 6/1 114 (Sd) which records the amount of wool given to a woman, possibly a cloister weaver. The possibility does exist that these accounts may belong to the archives of royal workshops which may also have existed in Sippar.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., CT 8 4a, 16a; VAS 8 52; VAS 9 144/145; and passim.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., TCL 1 89; Szlechter Tablettes 10 MAH 15913; CT 45 6 and CT 8 16a.

two by her father when she entered the cloister<sup>24</sup>, or she might inherit slaves at the death of her father<sup>25</sup>, or from an older *nadītu* who had adopted her<sup>26</sup>.

In four cases a person receives relatively large numbers of slaves; and in three of these, an equal number of slaves and slavegirls are received, which suggests that slave breeding was practiced though on a small scale. This practice might also account for the frequency with which couples consisting of a slave and a slavegirl are mentioned<sup>27</sup>.

A person receives a gift (*nidittu*) consisting of a small fortune — fields totalling 108 GÁN, six cows, four oxen, 60 sheep, and 13 slaves and 13 slavegirls<sup>28</sup>.

In another instance a father gives his *nadītu* daughter ten slaves and ten slavegirls whose names are given, as well as fields, a house, household objects, and ten minas of silver<sup>29</sup>. A fragmentary text which may have recorded an inheritance or a gift lists property including cattle, three oxen, 20 cows, 200 sheep, 40 goats, and the names of ten slaves and apparently the names of ten slavegirls of which only six are preserved<sup>30</sup>. And finally in a litigation which has arisen over the paternal estate of a *nadītu* of Šamaš, she is awarded, apart from 4 minas of silver, ten slaves, that is 7 slavegirls and three slaves<sup>31</sup>. We have no other information on any of these individuals who owned large numbers of slaves.

Litigations might arise over slaves which were bequeathed. Thus the brother and sister of a man lose a claim to the slavegirl which the man's father has left him<sup>32</sup>. A man is fined for claiming a slavegirl and her infant from his sister, who is probably a *nadītu*, though whether the slave in this case was inherited is not indicated<sup>33</sup>. On the death of a woman, her husband, who had divorced her

<sup>24</sup> CT 8 20a; CT 47 30/30a, 78/78a; CT 2 41, and passim.

<sup>25</sup> CT 8 28b, 28c; CT 6 7a; and passim.

<sup>26</sup> CT 6 33a; CT 47 63/63a, 65/65a; and passim. The slaves of the *nadītu*'s have also been treated in my article in *Studies Oppenheim* 132f.

<sup>27</sup> VAS 8 42; VAS 9 144/45; VAS 13 34; CT 45 112; CT 48 59 and passim.

<sup>28</sup> CT 2 23. It is difficult to say whether this gift was given to a man or woman for part of the name is no longer preserved. This is the only occurrence of the term *nidittu* in Old Babylonian Sippar texts.

<sup>29</sup> Scheil Sippar 10. That she is a *nadītu* is seen from the fact that the first two witnesses are *sanga*'s of Šamaš.

<sup>30</sup> CT 45 27.

<sup>31</sup> CT 6 7a.

<sup>32</sup> CT 8 43a.

<sup>33</sup> VAS 8 102.

20 years before, is fined for claiming a slavegirl whom the woman had bequeathed to her adopted daughter<sup>34</sup>. In several cases, the brothers of a *nadītu* claim her property which includes slaves<sup>35</sup>.

Certain families concentrated their wealth in purchasing slaves as an investment (discussed at greater length below) and many *nadītu*'s received a regular income from hiring out their slaves on an annual or monthly basis as harvest workers (see below).

Slaves were usually adult men and women, but occasionally a young child is mentioned<sup>36</sup>. At times humane treatment is demonstrated by the fact that a slavegirl when either sold or inherited kept her infant with her<sup>37</sup>.

Though it may be assumed that slaves were largely employed in the various menial tasks of private households they sometimes had specific occupations. One of the thirteen persons given to a person is designated as a fuller (*ašlāku*), as is the slave given to a *nadītu* by her father<sup>38</sup>. In these instances, the owner of the slave would probably hire out the special services of the slave as is done by the owner of a slave who is a reed-worker (*atkuppu*)<sup>39</sup>. One account<sup>40</sup> mentions a house-born slave (İR É) who was a farm laborer, and a house-born slavegirl (GEMÉ.É) who was trained most exceptionally as an ox-driver (SAL.ŠĀ.GUD). Both work alongside free born laborers.

The private slaveowner might, as was a common practice among the *nadītu*-women, marry off his slavegirl and thus receive a bridal gift (*tirḥatu*) from her husband<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> CT 6 47b.

<sup>35</sup> CT 8 28b; CT 6 7a.

<sup>36</sup> Two young boys and a slavegirl are bequeathed to a wife in BE 6/1 116:1ff.; a baby 2/3 cubit in length (1 LÚ.TUR *ši-ni-pu*), here the size is included for identification purposes, is sold in VAS 9 146:1. On *šinipūm* see Rundgren JCS 9 29. In CT 45:45:1 a young girl (1 SAL.TUR.RA) is sold.

<sup>37</sup> See CT 8 22c, 27a; CT 47 54; TCL 1 147; CT 48 62 (where an entire family is sold); Meissner BAP 107; CT 45 79 and CT 48 53. In the last text the slavegirl is married to a slave and is accompanied by her child. Restore at the end of the first line: *ga-du* D[UMU.GABA(?)-ša(?)].

<sup>38</sup> CT 2 23:8; CT 8 49a:30.

<sup>39</sup> YBC 4962:1.

<sup>40</sup> CT 8 30a:3, 6.

<sup>41</sup> In the one such case in what is probably a very early Sippar text, VAS 9 192/193 (= Meissner BAP92), the owner receives the paltry sum of 1 shekel of silver. But this may have been a contentious slavegirl whom the owner was delighted to get off his hands if one may judge from the exceptional clause that is included: *du-bu-ub-ta-ša ḥi-ṭi-ša* "if trouble arises on account of her, it is her responsibility" (ll. 10-11).

*Sources of Slaves*

Though the Sippar texts do not tell us how persons were enslaved we do learn that slaves were obtained from several different sources.

Some of the Sippar slaves must have come from the native population<sup>42</sup>, but in contrast to Larsa and Khafajah the practice of self-sale by defaulting debtors and the sale of minors is not attested in the extant material<sup>43</sup>. In one text which was previously interpreted<sup>44</sup> as an instance of a father selling his daughter to a couple as concubine to the husband and slave to the wife, the name of the daughter, Šamaš-nūri, is one often found among slavegirls and suggests that the girl was an adopted slave<sup>45</sup>. In the extant adoption contracts a master might sell his adopted slave only in the case of a breach of contract on the part of the slave<sup>46</sup>. Whether Šamaš-nūri was sold as a punishment or whether her adoptive parent retained the right to sell her in any case is not known, but either possibility would reflect the limited freedom of the adopted slave.

Some slaves were “house-born” slaves. The term “house-born” (*ilid/wilid bīti*) is used infrequently in the Sippar texts. In one litigation a distinction is made between a house-born slave of a *naditu* (*wilid bīti iša*) and one which she has bought with her own money<sup>47</sup>. In a litigation over a man’s status the elders of Iplaḫi, the city to which the slave involved has fled, states that “he is not a Sipparian but a house-born slave”<sup>48</sup>. Certainly a portion of the slaves of Sippar were born in the house of their masters, and it was most likely the house-born slave whose loyalty could be depended upon who would be adopted by the aging *naditu* or couple to tend them in old age.

The term “house slave”, *warad bīti* or *amat bīti* also occurs with apparently the

<sup>42</sup> Note the name Mār-Sippar borne by a slave in CT 45 6:7 (AS?) and Sippiritum by a slavegirl in Waterman Bus. Doc. 81:7 (Ha).

<sup>43</sup> For examples of self-sale in Larsa see Riftin 25; YOS V 145, VIII 17, 31 and 40; For self-sale in Khafajah see my study, JCS 9 99f. In the Sippar loan contract, CT 6 40c, where a man borrows 24 shekels of silver from the god Šamaš “in order to redeem PN”, it is more likely a case of redeeming a prisoner of war than of freeing an enslaved debtor.

<sup>44</sup> CT 8 22b; so interpreted by Schorr VAB 5 121.

<sup>45</sup> The name Šamaš-nūri is a slave name in CT 8 28b:9, CT 2 23:24 and Friedrich BA 5 500 No. 26:2.

<sup>46</sup> E.g., CT 4 42a; VAS 8 127 (= Meissner BAP 94).

<sup>47</sup> CT 8 28b:9f. : *ša i-na ra-ma-ni-ša FN i-ša-mu-ši*.

<sup>48</sup> VAS 13 32:8ff. : *ki-ma PN la DUMU UD.KIB.NUN<sup>K1</sup> [wi<sup>3</sup> li<sup>3</sup> id<sup>3</sup>] bi-tim-ma šu-ú iq-bu-ma*.

same connotation as “house-born”. But since it seems to be limited to accounts<sup>49</sup> concerning hired workers it was perhaps used as a special designation to distinguish the slave from the free-born workers. Perhaps the house-born slave was given preferred treatment and a greater measure of freedom than granted other slaves.

Though many foreign slaves must have been imported by Sipparians, especially in the latter half of the Old Babylonian period, little is known about the actual traffic of these slaves.

That some slaves were brought from other Mesopotamian cities can be seen from the names of some of the Sippar slaves — Tišpakum (from Ešnunna), Kanišitum (from Kaniš), Larsitum (from Larsa) and Inanna-Kiš-ummi (probably from Kiš). The element *hazip* contained in *Ḫazip-šušu* is one which is found in the personal names of Nuzi<sup>50</sup>.

But it is important to note that the importation of foreign slaves was perhaps a phenomenon that began only in the period of Abi-ešuh. There is evidence that slaves were brought into Sippar from outside Babylonia. The Sipparians, like other Babylonians, preferred Subarians slaves above other kinds<sup>51</sup>. Thus we find in one sale contract that the slavegirl Aba-šuša from the city of Ašuh and the slavegirl Paḥaja from the city of Lubda, both situated in the country of Subartu, are purchased<sup>52</sup>. A Subarian slavegirl named Mamma from the city of Gadara

<sup>49</sup> Šamaš-usranni appears frequently in lists of hired workers, all dating from Ha 35. He is in almost each case mentioned last. In certain instances his status as a house slave is not included (e.g. VAS 9 118:13, 123:10, 126:6), but frequently it is (e.g., TCL 1 97:16, Meissner BAP 52:12; VAS 9 114:12 and passim). In BE 6/1 93:16 an unnamed house-slave is mentioned last. A house-slavegirl is mentioned in CT 45 97:4. Both a house-slave and slavegirl occur in CT 8 30a:3, 6. In this last text the distinction between slave and free is clearly made: PN ENGAR İR.É 2 ERÍN... ŠĀ.GUD DUMU. MEŠ LÚ.

<sup>50</sup> These names are found in the following texts respectively: CT 8 16a:20 (Sm); CT 2 23:23 (und); BM 81238:4 (und); CT 47 30/32a: 16 (Ha 10); and CT 45 27:9.

<sup>51</sup> For this general preference of the Babylonians see the articles by Finkelstein JCS 9 1 ff. and JNES 21 73 ff. All references to the origin of a slave or slavegirl with one possible exception, are found only in contracts dating from Abi-ešuh on. One contract, VAS 9 146, does present a problem. The reading of the date formula is problematic. It has been suggested (HG 970) that the date is perhaps one of Hammu-rapi's. But the name of the king in the date formula is incomplete though the first two signs seem to be *Ha-am*. Against so early a date is, first, the mention of the slave child's place of origin as well as the purchase price which is far higher than the one ordinarily fetched in the pre-Abi-ešuh period. It is difficult to decide how significant the addition of the slave's origin is. Was it simply another aspect of the greater care taken by scribes in drawing up documents which may be noted in the later period? Or is the inclusion of the clause an aspect of the political changes taking place in the reign of Abi-ešuh which have been previously discussed? But see now CT 48 62 (Ha 40) where a family of husband, wife and two infants are sold for 90 shekels.

<sup>52</sup> In YBC 606:1, 4 (Amš 6). On the names of these slavegirls and these cities see Finkelstein JCS 9 1 ff.

is sold to a *naditu* of Marduk<sup>53</sup>. Another slavegirl with the hybrid name, Ummi-Ḫepat, from the city of Šatni also said to be in Subartu, is sold<sup>54</sup>. The purchase of a Subarian slavegirl is commissioned by a scribe of Sippar<sup>55</sup>, and a Subarian slavegirl named Azzu is inherited by the wife of a diviner<sup>56</sup>.

As has been pointed out elsewhere, the name “Subarian” had a distinctly geographical denotation with the sense of “northerner” or “uplander”<sup>57</sup>. The term Subartu covered a large area which, according to Finkelstein, roughly extended “from the borders of Elam in the East to the Amanus in Northwest Syria”<sup>58</sup>. Perhaps, therefore, the origin of other slaves designated as deriving from various foreign cities is also to be sought in this general area.

In two instances children sold as slaves came from the city of Ḫaḫḫu<sup>59</sup>. In one contract a slavegirl with the Hurrian name Hašija comes from the city of Tadanne “in the region between the rivers”<sup>60</sup>.

In another contract a slavegirl, with an Akkadian name, sold along with her infant, is simply said to derive from the region between (the rivers)<sup>61</sup>. Another slavegirl with an apparently Akkadian name derives from the city of Talḫu<sup>62</sup>. In one case four slaves are sold who come from a city whose name is no longer preserved<sup>63</sup>. A slave with the obviously Hurrian name Išpi-Tešup is involved in some transaction which is no longer preserved<sup>64</sup>.

The country of Gutium, too, which perhaps was included in Subartu<sup>65</sup>, was another source of slaves for Sipparians. An important military official, the *abi*

<sup>53</sup> TCL 1 147 (Ae h). For the reading of the city as Gadara see Finkelstein JCS 9 p. 4.

<sup>54</sup> CT 33 41:1 f. (Amd 4). The reading of the city is uncertain; for another possibility see Finkelstein *ibid.*, 5.

<sup>55</sup> VAT 1176:8 (Sd) cited by Finkelstein JNES 21 75.

<sup>56</sup> BE 6/1 95:25 (Ams 13). See now also CT 48 60 (Si 28) for the sale of a Subarian slave named Ammuwe.

<sup>57</sup> Finkelstein JNES 21 77.

<sup>58</sup> Finkelstein JCS 9 4.

<sup>59</sup> VAS 9 146. The city (l. 2) is to be read URU KI (erasure) *Ḫa-aḫ-ḫu*(!) and in CT 45 45:2 the female child is described as a SAL *Ḫa-aḫ-ḫ[u-um]*. For a discussion of the possible location of Ḫaḫḫum see Gelb AJSL 55 75f.

<sup>60</sup> VAT 819:1 ff. (Sd) cited by Finkelstein JNES 21 75. On Tadanne see *ibid.*, 47f.

<sup>61</sup> CT 8 27a:3 (Ae m). On the reading see Finkelstein JNES 21 74 note 10.

<sup>62</sup> TCL 1 156:1 ff. (Amd 37). The name of the slavegirl is Ilumma-...]. For the reading Talḫu rather than Šalḫu see Finkelstein *ibid.*, 78 note 22.

<sup>63</sup> CT 45 44 1 ff. (Amd 2). The text is too poorly preserved to be certain that only males were sold.

<sup>64</sup> VAS 9 219:2.

<sup>65</sup> For this possibility see Finkelstein JCS 9 5 note 50.

*šābi* Utul-Ištar, with the consent of his superior, commissioned a man, who was perhaps a merchant, to purchase husky (*namrūtīm*) slaves in the country of Gutium<sup>66</sup>. These slaves were perhaps to be bought for the military establishment rather than for private individuals.

A small number of slaves may have been prisoners of war. In this connection the name of a slave, Asīrum “prisoner” should be noted<sup>67</sup>. The three slaves which a general gave to his wife may have been his share of booty seized in war<sup>68</sup>.

Of the more than two hundred extant sale contracts, slaves are purchased in only thirty-six. Although real estate, particularly fields, was a more significant source of investment for the Sipparian of the Old Babylonian period, we do know of one family, father and daughter, which concentrated its wealth in slaves. This family purchased slaves in one-fourth of the extant contracts: the father, Ikun-pī-Sin, son of Sin-tajjār, purchases five slaves in three contracts; his daughter Bēlessunu, a *nadītu* of Šamaš, purchases five slaves, three slavegirls, one with her baby, as well as fields, and a house plot, and must have been a woman of great wealth<sup>69</sup>. However, apart from Bēlessunu, the *nadītu*'s as a whole more often invested in fields than in slaves.

Slaves, in contrast to real estate, were a speculative investment. From the list of sale contracts below it is clear that the price of slaves fluctuated considerably, depending in part, of course, on age, sex, and health. But the prices fetched are generally higher in the latter half of the Old Babylonian period, beginning with Abi-ešuh. The greater demand for foreign slaves in this period may have contributed to these higher prices<sup>70</sup>. Slaves on the whole brought a higher price than slavegirls because of their greater labor value. This would also suggest that slavegirls were primarily purchased as workers and not as concubines.

<sup>66</sup> Meissner BAP 4 (Amš 10).

<sup>67</sup> CT 2 23:12. For the most recent discussion of *asīru* and for a bibliography on the literature see Leemans RA 55 57ff. Note, too, that Asīrum is also the name of a free man in CT 6 40a:17 (Si 1).

<sup>68</sup> BE 6/1 116 (Sd h).

<sup>69</sup> Ikun-pī-Sin purchases slaves in Waterman Bus. Doc. 46 (Si 33), 63 (Si) and in BM 80604 (Si 7). His daughter, in CT 47 52 (Si 1), 53 (Si 2), 54 (Si), 61 (Si 8). Waterman Bus. Doc. 20 (Si 18), 73 (Si) and BM 82357 (destr.). Father and daughter, along with other members of their family, on whom information is available for four generations, have been discussed in my article in *Orientalia* 83 134ff. For other possible references to this same Bēlessunu see Leemans JESHO 11 182f. For further evidence of this family investing in slaves see now CT 48 58 and my review of this publication in JESHO 13 317. See also *ibid.*, the note on CT 48 28.

<sup>70</sup> See above note 51.

Litigations sometimes ensued after the sale of a slave, initiated either by the sellers<sup>71</sup> or by their heirs<sup>72</sup>. In this second case claim is brought 15 years after the transaction had taken place.

*Slave Sale Contracts* (x represents one) (price given in shekels)

KING	YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	BUYER	SELLER	PRICE	TEXT
Si	—		x	<i>nadītu</i>	[x]	—	CT 8 28b
Sm	16	x		<i>nad.</i>	<i>nad.</i>	—	CT 8 45a
Ha	—		x (and ox)	<i>nad.</i>	<i>abi šābi</i> and son	20	CT 8 35b
Ha	[x]		x	man	man <sup>73</sup>	5 1/3	VAS 9 164
Ha	10		x	<i>nad.</i>	man	10	CT 2 25
Ha	12		x	couple	man	5	CT 8 22b
Ha	18		x	<i>nad.</i>	<i>nad.</i>	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	CT 8 43c
Ha	34		x	<i>nad.</i>	<i>nad.</i>	17	CT 33 38
Ha	35		x (and son)	man	couple	16 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	CT 8 22c
Ha	37	2		man	5 men (his brs)	35	CT 48 65
Ha	40		x	<i>nad.</i>	man	6	VAS 9 154
Ha	40	x	x (and 2 children)	<i>nad.</i>	man	90	CT 48 62
Si	[x]		? <sup>74</sup>	<i>nad.</i>	man	15	Waterman Bus. Doc. 73
Si	[x]		2 (and baby)	<i>nad.</i>	man	40	CT 47 54
Si	1		x	<i>nad.</i>	<i>nad.</i>	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	CT 6 3b
Si	1	x		<i>nad.</i>	man	42	CT 47 52/52a
Si	1 (?)	x		<i>nad.</i>	<i>nad.</i>	7	BM 80397
Si	1	x	x	man	2 nads.	20	Waterman Bus. Doc. 63
Si	2	x		<i>nad.</i>	man	18	CT 47 53
Si	7		x (and son)	man	<i>nad.</i>	[x]	BM 80604
Si	8	x		<i>nad.</i>	man	15	CT 47 61/61a
Si	18		x	<i>nad.</i>	man	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 20
Si	18		x	—	—	13	Friedrich 26
Si	28	x		man	man	[x]	CT 48 60
Si	33	x		man	man	17	Waterman Bus. Doc. 46

<sup>71</sup> BE 6/1 6 (Buntahtun-ila).

<sup>72</sup> CT 45 37 (Si 27).

<sup>73</sup> Here a man sells to his brother half of the ownership of a slavegirl whom the two had inherited.

<sup>74</sup> The name is not preserved.

KING	YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	BUYER	SELLER	PRICE	TEXT
Ae	h		x (and infant)	nad. of Marduk	man	[x] mana and 12 shekels	TCL 1 147
Ae	m		x (and infant)	man	man	80	CT 8 27a
(Ae)	—	x		—	man	80	CT 6 29 <sup>75</sup>
Amd	2	4(?) <sup>76</sup>		man	man	107	CT 45 44
Amd	3		x	nad.	man	25	CT 45 45
Amd	4		x	man	man	64	CT 33 41
Amd	13		x	man	man	21	VAS 16 207
Amd	37	x		man	2 men	12	TCL 1 156
Ams	3		x	man	man	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Meissner BAP 3
Ams	6		2	man	man	30 and 28	YBC 606
Ams	17+a		x	man	mother and son	13 <sup>77</sup>	TCL 1 170
Sd	11		x	nad. <sup>78</sup>	2 men	[x]	VAT 819 <sup>79</sup>
Sd	13	x		man	man	20	VAT 1176
[x]		x		nad.	nad.	8	BM 82357+8
? <sup>80</sup>		x		man	man	[x] mana and 10 shekels	VAS 9 146
und.		x		nad.	nad.	—	BM 92654 a
und.		x		<i>abi šābi</i>	2 men	50	HSM 46
und.			x	?	man	[x]	CT 48 61 <sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> This is a text from Babylon (oath is taken by Marduk and King Ammi-ditana) which concerns the military status of a slave once owned by a Sipparian and then sold in Eshnunna. Five years later he flees to Babylon.

<sup>76</sup> Since all the names are not preserved some may have been females, too.

<sup>77</sup> The buyer pays only five shekels of the purchase price. The rest is entrusted to him (*ana maššar-tim ... ipqidušum*). A breach of trust was perhaps more severely punished than failure to pay the purchase price and, therefore, the debt is formulated in this way rather than as a loan.

<sup>78</sup> Indirectly it can be shown that this sale contract is from Sippar. And since almost invariably any woman who purchases real estate or slave in Sippar was a *naditu* we assume that the woman here is a *naditu*. The occurrence of *ina ŠAM TÚG.ĤIA-ša*, in place of the usual *naditu* phrase, *ina ŠAM ĤAR KÛ.BABBAR-ša*, is most unusual.

<sup>79</sup> Transliteration in Finkelstein JNES 21 75; VAT 1176 is definitely a Sippar text. Ibbi-Sin the scribe (1.4) also appears in BE 6/1 115:4 and Etelpū, the silversmith, witness here to the transaction (l. 15), appears in BE 6/1 115:14 as witness too; his name written in full: Etel-pī-Marduk (the hypocoristic form of his name Etelpū occurs in the seal in BE 6/1 115). Since both VAT 819 and 1176 have the same final witness both are, therefore, from Sippar.

<sup>80</sup> On this problematic date see above note 51.

<sup>81</sup> Although the first part of the contract is certainly a sale, the latter part, poorly preserved, deals with what is perhaps the adoption of the slavegirl.

Although slaves played a small role in the economy of Sippar, they did provide a significant source of agricultural workers during the harvest season. In our material the slaves are almost always hired out by *nadītu*'s and almost never hired by them<sup>82</sup>. The number of slaves and slavegirls hired out is about equal<sup>83</sup>.

Only one person is known to hire out slaves in several instances. The *nadītu* Ruttum, the daughter of Izi-gatar, hires out a slave, a slavegirl and two fields totalling 18 GÁN, 2 slaves and 2 oxen, apparently for a year; for the last she receives more than 34 GUR as their hire<sup>84</sup>. The slavegirl was usually hired for a year. The basic wage for the female slave was 1 GUR (= 300 silas) of barley for a month or 10 silas of barley a day. The slave who worked on a yearly basis received considerably more and was frequently paid in silver. The free-born hireling was usually, but not always, paid more than the slave (see above). The great fluctuations in the wages of the slave — 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> shekels, 10 shekels, 100 silas of barley, and 3 GUR 1 shekel — may perhaps be accounted for by the nature of the work which he did.

Occasionally the specific nature of the work of the slave is mentioned: a slavegirl is hired for household tasks<sup>85</sup>, a slave to grind barley for a tavern keeper<sup>86</sup>, another as a reed worker (*atkuppu*) in the building of a house<sup>87</sup>.

Some men, designated as slaves, appear in lists of hired workers. These workers may have been employed on public projects such as the maintenance of canals and the rebuilding of quays. Such groups of workers may have been obtained by conscription and by the hiring of freeborn men and slaves. There is also the possibility that many of the men in these lists though not described as such, were slaves<sup>88</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> But see VAS 8 99/100 (Ha 3) and BM 82222 where *nadītu*'s hire slavegirls from their sister *nadītu*'s.

<sup>83</sup> This, of course, may simply be due to the accidental nature of our material. Lautner in *Personen- miete* 80 has found that generally more slaves than slavegirls were hired out.

<sup>84</sup> CT 6 41b (Ha 42); CT 47 55 (Si 4); BM 82278 (Ha 41), respectively. For more on the multi-faceted business activities of this *nadītu* see *Orientalia* 38 138.

<sup>85</sup> PBS 8/2 188:6 (Si 4) *a-na GEMÉ i-gu-ur-ši*. See now CT 48 28:2 where a slavegirl who is sold is describes as a *ka-ši-ir-tum*.

<sup>86</sup> CT 33 32:5 (Amd 31).

<sup>87</sup> YBC 4962:4 (Amš 10) *a-na ši-pi-ir-at Ê-ti*.

<sup>88</sup> The case of Šamaš-ušranni has been discussed above; see also VAS 9 92:4ff., an account listing the expenditures for hired men, where four men, Bēl-abi, Ana-Šamaš-taklāku, Ḥābil-wēdu and Irra-gāmil are described as "slaves of PN" or as "belonging to PN". All four appear frequently in the dockets published by Weitemeyer, *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers* (for references see pp. 79 ff.), without any mention of their slave status.

Though there is no evidence that Sipparians sold themselves or their families in order to satisfy debts<sup>89</sup>, slaves were given as security until debts were repaid. Slaves being left as pledges are often mentioned in Sippar letters<sup>90</sup>. A slavegirl is left as security when a man borrows capital — a *gusānu* bag (with money) — and returns to him when he repays the loan<sup>91</sup>. A man gives his slavegirl as a pledge to a *nadītu* and the girl apparently works to earn money to repay her owner's creditor (*tamkāru*)<sup>92</sup>.

In one case the owner sues the man who has hired his slavegirl. The defendant promises before witnesses that he will return within five days the slavegirl and her wages which he has withheld for four years<sup>93</sup>.

### Slave Hire Contracts

KING	YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	OWNER	HIRER	PERIOD	WAGES	TEXT
Sm	8	2		<i>nadītu</i> <sup>94</sup>	her father	1 yr.	8 shekels	CT 8 42b
Ha	3		x	nad.	nad.	1 mn. 3 days	1 GUR (barley)	VAS 8 99/100
Ha	3		x	nad.	man	1 mn.	1 GUR	BM 78753 4
Ha	8	x		man	man	1 mn.	1/3 shekels	VAS 8 59
Ha	18		x	nad.	nad.	1 mn. 12 dys.	1 GUR	BM 81142
Ha	26	x		nad.	m	—	2 PI	BM 81151
Ha	27	x		nad.	man	1 yr.	2 GUR	CT 6 41a
Ha	28	x		nad.	man	1 yr.	4½ shekels	Friedrich 8
Ha	28	x		nad.	nad.	1 mn.	2 1/3 shekels	CT 48 115
Ha	34		x	nad.	1 mn. <sup>95</sup>	1 GUR	VAS 9 57	
Ha	34		x	nad.	—	1 mn. <sup>95</sup>	1 GUR	VAS 9 57
x				nad. <sup>96</sup>	man	—	1 GUR 1 PI	BE 6/2 73
Ha	41	2 (also 2 oxen, 2 fields of 18 gan)		nad.	man	(1 yr.)	34 GUR 2 PI	BM 82278

<sup>89</sup> But see above note 42.

<sup>90</sup> E.g., CT 29 9a ; PBS 7 79, 106 and passim.

<sup>91</sup> CT 33 49b (Ha 17).

<sup>92</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 74:4f. (Ha 33) : *a-na ki-ma i-di-[ša] i-di-in-[ši]*.

<sup>93</sup> CT 48 26 (Ha 34).

<sup>94</sup> In this same contract she also lends her father 4 minas of silver, a large sum, which he must have invested in some business enterprise. That the father, Sin-rim-Urim, was also a man of substance is seen from Waterman Bus. Doc. 38 (Ha 11) where he lends a couple 40 shekels of silver.

<sup>95</sup> The copy has ITI.30.KAM which must be an error for UD.30.KAM.

<sup>96</sup> This same *nadītu*, Rībatum daughter of Ipqatum, also owned a field and a house which she leased out. For this see JCS 16 11.

KING	YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	OWNER	HIRER	PERIOD	WAGES	TEXT
Ha	42	x		nad.	man <sup>97</sup>	2 mns.	—	Gordon Smith 46
Ha	42	x		nad.	man	1 yr.	20 silas sesame oil	CT 6 41b
Ha	42	x		nad.	man	2 yrs.	10 shekels <sup>98</sup>	Friedrich 11
Ha	42		3	2 nads.	man	1 mn. 3 dys.	3 GUR	VAS 9 109/11
Ha	43	x		nad.	man	1 yr.	2(?) shekels	VAS 9 70/71
Ha	?	x		nad.	man	1 yr.	3 shekels	CT 48 73
Si	1		x	nad.	woman	1 yr.	2 GUR	BM 81174
Si	1	x		nad.	man	1 yr.	3½ shekels <sup>99</sup>	CT 6 40a
Si	1	x		man	man	1 mn.	—	BE 6/1 48
Si	4		x	nad.	man	—	1 GUR	PBS 8/2 188
Si	4	x		nad.	man	1 yr.	3 shekels <sup>100</sup>	CT 47 55/55a
Si	6	x		nad.	man	1 mn. 3 dys.	1 GUR 1 PI	CT 47 57/57a
Si	7	x		man	man	1 yr.	3 GUR	Scheil
							1 shekel	Sippar 286
Si	8	x		man	man	1 mn.	1 GUR 1 PI	BE 6/2 80
Si	9		x	nad.	woman	1 mn. 10 dys.	1 GUR flour	BM 81137
Si	19 or 21	x		nad.	man	1 yr.	5 shekels	CT 8 15c
Si	19 or 21		x	nad.	man	1 mn.	1 GUR	TCL 1 176
Si	24		3	nad.	man	1 mn.	3 GUR 1 PI 3 BAN	YOS 12 442
Ae	w		x	nad.	man	40 dys.	1 GUR	CT 48 94
Amd	1		x(?)	nad.	3 men	1 mn.	2 1/6 shekels	CT 48 95
Amd			2	nad.	nad.	1 mn.	2 GUR	BM 80823
Amd	2	3		nad.	man	11 mn.	3 shekels	Waterman 47
							for one, 30 GUR	
							for two	
Amd	2		2	nad.	man	1 mn.	2 shekels	BM 80621
Amd	4		x	nad.	man	1 mn. 3 dys.	1 GUR	CT 33 46b
Amd	31	x		man	tavern- keeper	1 yr.	9 shekels <sup>101</sup> (for grinding)	CT 33 32

<sup>97</sup> The hirer still owes the *naditu* 3 PI 1 BÂN of barley for the hire of the same slave at an earlier period. Perhaps a farmer may have had a longstanding agreement to hire a slave regularly.

<sup>98</sup> This hire contract has the "flight" clause: "if PN runs away PN<sub>2</sub> (the hirer) will pay 20 shekels of silver", presumably the market value of the slave.

<sup>99</sup> The slave is responsible for clothing himself.

<sup>100</sup> The slave is also clothed by the hirer, as he is in CT 6 41a (Ha 27), and 41b (Ha 42).

<sup>101</sup> An exceptional and difficult clause appears here (11. 13ff.): *i-na 4½ GĪN KÛ.BABBAR ša PN ma-ri-a-ki-tum ù a-ḫi-a-tum iḫ-ḫa-ra-aš i-na 4½ GĪN KÛ.BABBAR ša PN<sub>2</sub> ú-ul iḫ-ḫa-ar-ra-aš* "the *marakitum* and the *aḫiātum* dues will be deducted from PN's (the slave's) 4½ shekels of silver (annual wage share of the hired out slave) they will not be deducted from the 4½ shekels kept by PN<sub>2</sub> (the owner)". Apparently the slave owner received only half of the nine shekels which is considered the hire; the rest is used for the expenses incurred in the upkeep of the slave.

KING	YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	OWNER	HIRER	PERIOD	WAGES	TEXT
Amš	5(?)		x	man	man	1 mn.	1 GUR <sup>102</sup>	CT 48 116
Ams	10	x		nad.	man	1 mn.	1 GUR	YBC 4962
	und.		x	nad.	mann	1 mn.	1 GUR	BM 81165
und.		x		man	man	1 yr.	1 shekel	Goetze JCS 11 29 No. 16
und.		x		man	man	1 yr.	x and 15 grains silver	VAS 9 220
und.		x		nad.	nad.	1 yr.	2 GUR 2 PI	BM 82222
und.		x		nad.	man	[x]	[x]	VAS 9 227
und.			x	nad.	nad.	[x]	[x]	BM 81500
und.			x	nad.	man	1 mn.	3 PI	CT 48 111

### *The Adoption of Slaves*

There are many examples of slaves being adopted by presumably childless couples and by *naditu*'s. The adoptee, however, has only conditional freedom, dependent upon his fulfilling certain obligations to his adoptive parents.

The special relationship of affection and trust existing between master and slave, and especially between the *naditu* and her slave, was such that often the aging master or mistress manumitted and adopted the slave or slavegirl as his or her child. One adoption text mentions this relationship explicitly: "because she (the slave-girl) treated PN her mother well she (the mother) adopted her as a daughter"<sup>103</sup>.

The adopted slave<sup>104</sup> or, more often in the case of the *naditu*, the adopted slavegirl<sup>105</sup> was obliged to support the adoptive parent during his old age. At the death of the adoptive parent the son or daughter was given complete freedom and no relative of the deceased could claim him. In contrast to the free-born adoptee, however, the slave never inherited property from the adoptive parent.

The manumission of a slave is usually expressed in the Sippar texts by the verb *ullulu*, "to free". In some of the *naditu* adoption contracts mention is made of turning the face of the slave toward the east during the manumission ceremony<sup>106</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> The text adds that should the slavegirl leave, her owner "will forfeit her wages: *i-na Á-ša i-te-el-li (r. 3)*".

<sup>103</sup> BE 6/1 96:3ff. (Amš 17 + a) *ša FN um-ma-ša ú-da-am-mi-qu-ši-ma a-na ma-ru-ti-ša iš-ku-nu-ši*.

<sup>104</sup> See CT 6 26a (Za); CT 8 29b (AS 1); CT 8 48a (Ha 11).

<sup>105</sup> In CT 8 29a (AS) two slavegirls are adopted; in BE 6/1 96 (Amš 17 + a) a slavegirl who has her infant with her; a slavegirl in BM 82504 (und); a slave and slavegirl in VAS 8 55 (Sm); a slave in CT 8 48a (Ha 11).

<sup>106</sup> See the phrase *ana šit šamši pānišu/ša iškun* in CT 8 48a and BE 6/1 96.

The slaves belonging to *nadītu*'s enjoyed special treatment. Often the adopted slavegirl of a *nadītu* would be married off and the adoptive mother would receive the bridal gift (*tirḥatu*) from the groom<sup>107</sup>. The slavegirl might even marry the brother of the *nadītu*<sup>108</sup>. In one case a *nadītu*'s slavegirl, though not adopted, marries the *nadītu*'s adopted son who was apparently not a former slave, for "whatever property she (the *nadītu*) has or will acquire belongs to her son". Both are obliged to support the *nadītu*<sup>109</sup>.

Recently an unusual marriage contract between a slave and a slavegirl has been published. The owner of the slave is the ubiquitous Ikun-pī-Sin, son of Sin-tajjār; the slavegirl is owned by a woman who is probably a *nadītu* and has adopted her. The adoptive mother receives 15 shekels of silver as the *tirḥatu*. But Ikun-pī-Sin will own the offspring and possessions of the couple<sup>110</sup>.

The bridal gift received by the *nadītu* whose adopted daughter marries is comparable to the gift received by the parents of natural daughters, usually five shekels of silver<sup>111</sup>. In one case, however, the adoptive "parents" of a slavegirl, a *nadītu* and her brother, receive the unusually rich gift of 40 shekels of silver and a slave<sup>112</sup>.

That the adopted slavegirl who was married off might be considered equal to a free-born wife and might be the only (or main) wife of a man, and not a concubine, can be seen from the fact that the penalty imposed on the husband should he divorce her was comparable to what he would pay to a free-born wife, one mina of silver<sup>113</sup>. There is one instance, however, in which he pays only 10 shekels<sup>114</sup>. The penalty of death was imposed on the adopted slavegirl

<sup>107</sup> In VAS 8 4/5; CT 4 39a; CT 6 26a; CT 33 34; Meissner BAP 90.

<sup>108</sup> In CT 2 33 and TCL 1 90.

<sup>109</sup> CT 6 37a. There is a certain ambivalence about the status of the girl. On one hand, the clause that should she say to the *nadītu* "you are not my mistress", implies that she was not adopted. But on the other hand, the consequence of such a denial is "she will shave her (in such a way as to characterize her as a slave) and sell her" suggests that the girl had been adopted.

<sup>110</sup> CT 48 53. That the woman who marries the slave is a former slave herself is seen from the signs which follow her name: *ga-du* DU[MU.GABA(?)-ša(?)].

<sup>111</sup> As in CT 4 39a and CT 33 34.

<sup>112</sup> VAS 8 4/5. This is one of the earliest Sippar texts, dating from the reign of Immerum when Sippar had not yet come under the hegemony of Babylon.

<sup>113</sup> See Böhl Leiden Coll. 2 No. 772 which concerns a free-born wife and CT 6 26a (Za) and VAS 8 4/5 (Immerum) which concern former slavegirls. However, the early dates of the last two texts should be noted.

<sup>114</sup> Meissner BAP 90 (Si). Perhaps the much later date of this marriage contract is significant and reflects a change for the worse in the treatment of manumitted slaves.

should she refuse her husband conjugal rights<sup>115</sup>, as it was on the free-born wife (see below)<sup>116</sup>.

Persons other than *nadītu*'s also adopted slaves. In two instances small boys born by Cesarean section (*šilip rēmim*) are adopted<sup>117</sup>. According to one contract, the child born in this manner, the son of the deceased slavegirl of a *nadītu*, was adopted by the *nadītu*'s brother who pays his sister barley, oil, and wool allotments for three years<sup>118</sup>. In the second instance, a man adopts a two-year old boy from the boy's brother and his wife and pays a shekel of silver and a nursing fee for three years. That the deceased mother of this boy was a slavegirl is indicated by her name, Atkalšim<sup>119</sup>.

A slave who had been previously adopted by a *nadītu* is later on adopted by a couple on the condition that if he denies his adoptive parents he will be sold and if they disown him he is free to leave them without further responsibility<sup>120</sup>. In one example, an aging couple adopt their slave although they have natural children, a son and a *nadītu* daughter. In this case, too, the slave was to return to servitude if he disowned his adoptive parents — a punishment here referred to as “the punishment of the free-born”<sup>121</sup>.

#### *Runaway Slaves*

But as might be expected not all slaves were well treated and happy with their lot. There are several instances of runaway slaves in the Sippar material. Quoted above was part of a letter of the Steward of the *nadītu*'s to the *šāpir nārīm* official concerning the person conscripted as a soldier (*rēdū*) but who was the slave of a *nadītu* who had fled to the city of Šagga. This slave apparently found shelter with one Rīš-Šamaš, for the cloister official says “he was not born to Rīš-Šamaš”<sup>122</sup>. In a litigation the elders of the city of Iplaḫi are questioned about

<sup>115</sup> See CT 6 26a and Meissner BAP 90.

<sup>116</sup> According to the Code of Hammu-rapi, Section 142, a free-born woman might be divorced if she has never had marital relations (*našrat*) with her husband.

<sup>117</sup> On this meaning of *šilip rēmim* “pulled out of the womb”, see Oppenheim, *Journal of the History of Medicine* 15 292f. The Cesarean section performed after the death of the mother was done in order to save the invested capital through the child.

<sup>118</sup> BM 78811 (Ha 9 or 33).

<sup>119</sup> Szlechter Tablettes 3 MAH 15951 (Ha 23). This is the name of a slavegirl in CT 6 47b:1. It is perhaps a hypocoristic form of another slave name, Atkal-ana-bēlti (CT 6 37a:2).

<sup>120</sup> BE 6/1 17:23 (AS). This text adds the unusual clause *ù du-la-am ú-ma-lu-[š]u* “and they (the adoptive parents) fill him with woe”, in addition to rejecting him.

<sup>121</sup> CT 4 42a (SI).

<sup>122</sup> CT 44 53. Apparently Rīš-Šamaš claims to be the father of the slave and as a free-born man he was eligible for the draft.

the status of a man, as to whether he was a citizen of Sippar or a slave<sup>123</sup>. They declare that the latter is the case. Another litigation concerns a slave who had been sold by his master in Ešnunna and then fled to Babylon five years later. Two *abi šābi* officials claim that this man is now free and therefore liable for *rēdū* service. But the slave who has apparently been adopted by his first master shows that his obligation to perform the *illku* service of the paternal estates has prior claim<sup>124</sup>.

A *nadītu* of Marduk probably living in Babylon has a slave who has run away and is found in Sippar-Amnānum<sup>125</sup>. He is the subject of the letter sent by King Abi-ešuḫ, to the officials of Sippar. A runaway slave is included in a group of workers<sup>126</sup>, and a slave inherited by a man has run away<sup>127</sup>.

#### *Slave Names*

We can only comment briefly on the names of the slaves who appear in the Sippar texts, a topic which warrants at least a monograph.

The slave names are for the most part Akkadian. In contrast to the free-born population of Sippar, neither Sumerian nor West-Semitic names occur with the exception of the West-Semitic name Jamrussi-el<sup>128</sup>.

A fairly large number of names express wishes on behalf of the master or mistress and contain the elements *abu*, “father”, *bēlu*, “master”, and *bēltu*, “mistress”. The close relationship which existed between the slave and the owner is reflected in names such as Bēltum-kīma-abi, “the mistress is like a father”, and Tāb-bēlti-bīti-eli-ummi, “Better is the mistress of the house than a mother”<sup>129</sup>. It is difficult to say whether or not these names were given at birth or assumed later, though in the case of house-born slaves, such names would have been given at birth<sup>130</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> VAS 13 32 (Ha 5).

<sup>124</sup> CT 6 29 (Amd 1). That Warad-Bunene, the slave, was adopted by his master is seen from the fact that one of the three men referred to as his brothers, Lipit-Adad (l. 20) is in CT 8 30c:2 (Amd 5) said to be the son of Pirḫi-ilišu, the name of the slave’s owner. Warad-Bunene may have been sold again into slavery after breaking the conditions of the adoption. His adoption is apparently still valid in the eyes of his adoptive brothers.

<sup>125</sup> LIH 89.

<sup>126</sup> CT 45 106:7 : PN *ḫa-la-qi*.

<sup>127</sup> TCL 1 98/99:6 (Ha 35) : PN *ḫal-qum*.

<sup>128</sup> CT 6 7a:20 (Si 5).

<sup>129</sup> CT 2 23:32 and CT 45 37:2, respectively.

<sup>130</sup> One suspects that slavegirls with the theophoric element Aja were named by *nadītu* women. On slave names in general see Stamm *Namengebung*.

## 4. THE FAMILY

*Introduction*

Our knowledge of the families of Sippar comes principally from the large number of legal and economic texts which speak of adoption, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and property division.

The family in Old Babylonian Sippar consisted of the husband, his wife, and their children. The head of a family usually had only one wife, but there were instances<sup>1</sup>, particularly when the wife was a *nadītu* of Marduk, in which a man may have had a second wife of lesser rank, either the sister of the first wife (a *šugētu*) or a slavegirl. A widowed woman might remarry, but usually did not and was supported by her sons. (The various restrictions on marriage which apply to women of special status have been discussed above).

The many instances in which three or more children are known would indicate large families, at least for the more wealthy families which are presumably represented in our material.

We can trace any one family of Sippar for only three generations<sup>2</sup>. In certain cases the genealogy is arrived at indirectly, and on rare occasions the name of the grandfather is included in legal texts, for reasons which can only be guessed<sup>3</sup>.

Families, particularly those which were wealthy, tended to live close together, and brothers often lived in adjacent houses<sup>4</sup>. The residence of the head of the family was apparently designated by the term *šubtu*<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See for example CT 2 46 (Sm 14) where the two wives of Irra-gāmil are mentioned. This may be a case of polygamy where the first wife did not belong to a special class.

<sup>2</sup> There is one exception and that is the family of Akšaja. He and his descendants are discussed in *Orientalia* 38 134ff.

<sup>3</sup> For an example of the genealogy of a family being arrived at indirectly see JCS 16 2 for a discussion of the family of Warad-Sin.

See CT 47 18 (Sm) for Ḫuzālātum, daughter of Ilšu-abušū, the son of <sup>d</sup>Utu.zi.mu. Perhaps the grandfather is to be identified with <sup>d</sup>Utu.zi.mu the Overseer of the Merchants who sells a field in CT 47 5 (AS). In BE 6/1 119 iii 1ff., the sellers of a field are Šāt-Aja, *nadītu* of Šamaš, and Marduk-nāšir, children of Marduk-muballīt, grandchildren (DUMU.MEŠ) of Išar-Lim. Perhaps the grandfather is to be identified with Išar-Lim a mayor (*rabiānu*) of Sippar. If so, in both instances the grandfather may have been a man of importance in Sippar and therefore his name was included. Note also the case of Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Bēlšunu, son of Sin-rēmenni in CT 47 9:8 (Sm). We know nothing about Sin-rēmenni.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., CT 8 4a, 16a; VAS 8 52/53 and passim. In this connection note the frequency with which *nadītu*'s purchased houses close to the paternal home. See e.g. CT 4 20a; CT 2 26; and CT 47 23/23a.

<sup>5</sup> CT 8 4a:1 (Sm). Although the size of the residence is not given, the *šubtu* also included a chapel (*papāḫū*) and some other building no longer preserved. In BE 6/1 28:9 (Ha 29) the *šubtu* consists of a house of 7 SAR and a storage building of 2 SAR. Both are divisions of the paternal estate.

That children, though only of slaves, might be born of Cesarean section has been mentioned above as has the practice of parents hiring out minors as field hands.

Many Sipparians are attested in texts for a surprisingly long period of time, perhaps indicating a rather long life expectancy, at least for the more wealthy persons.

Some texts state that the child or brother is to revere (*palāhu*) his parent or sister<sup>6</sup>; and the verb “to love”, *rāmu*, is used of the relationship between children and parents, brothers and sisters<sup>7</sup>. The term *kubbutu*, “to respect” describes the relationship between daughter and adoptive mother<sup>8</sup>.

The kinship terms used in the Sippar texts are father (*abu*), mother (*ummu*), son (*māru*), daughter (*mārtu*), brother (*aḥu*), and sister (*aḥātu*), and are applied to natural and adopted relatives. The importance of the paternal aunt, sister of the father (*aḥāt abi*), to the institution of the *nadītu*'s has been discussed elsewhere<sup>9</sup>. A division of property text discussed below mentions the paternal uncle, brother of the father (*aḥu abi*). The term *kallātu*, “daughter-in-law”, is found in a special type of marriage contract<sup>10</sup>; and the term *emu*<sup>11</sup> may mean either father-in-law or son-in-law in the Sippar texts. In one text, for example, a woman, her daughter, and her son-in-law bring a claim to redeem a house, and in another, a man adopts his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter (*emišu mūti mārtišu*)<sup>12</sup>. In the marriage contract of a *nadītu* of Marduk, however, her father-in-law is referred to as *emu*<sup>13</sup>. The term *emetu*, for which we have suggested the translation “daughter-in-law”<sup>14</sup>, appears in a list of persons who bring *piqittu* offerings to the Šamaš temple<sup>15</sup>. The designation “elder brother” (*aḥum rabūm*), occurs primarily in adoption text formulae<sup>16</sup>. In one instance<sup>17</sup> the term “brothers” (*aḥḥū*) is used to mean “relatives”; the relatives (*aḥḥū*) of the *nadītu* Aja-rēšat,

<sup>6</sup> CT 8 34b:18 (Sm 11), CT 2 35:8, 9.

<sup>7</sup> CT 47 30/30a:29; CT 45 6:19.

<sup>8</sup> CT 2 35:8.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Studies Oppenheim* 124f.

<sup>10</sup> For the most recent discussion of this institution see Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* I 250ff. and 318f. See also *kallātu* in AHW 426. The Sumerian *é.gi.a* occurs once in FN *é.gi.a* PN in a list of names: CT 45 78 r. 14.

<sup>11</sup> On *emu* see CAD 4 154ff.

<sup>12</sup> CT 45 3:12 (Za) and Friedrich BA 5 503 No. 33:14 (= Scheil Sippar 68) (Amd 27).

<sup>13</sup> BE 6/1 84:42 (Amd 31).

<sup>14</sup> In JESHO 6 150.

<sup>15</sup> VAS 9 172:22.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., VAS 8 127:12. See also LIH 92:11.

<sup>17</sup> CT 6 6:19 (Amš 11).

daughter of Išū-ibni, sell a field which they inherited from her. Included in this group are her natural brother, Sin-imguranni, his son (her nephew) Sin-mušallim, and two brothers who are perhaps sons of another brother.

*Marriage*<sup>18</sup>

There are few extant marriage contracts. Some of these concern the marriage of slavegirls of *naditu*-women or the marriage of special classes already discussed above.

The contracts which deal with women who do not have special status contain a variety of information. A man and his wife, a *qadištu*, marry off their daughter and receive ten shekels as a bridal gift (*tirhatu*)<sup>19</sup>. Another marriage contract enumerates the utensils, clothing and furniture given to a girl at her marriage and which her children are to inherit. This includes a clause stating that should the husband say to his wife, "you are not my wife", he must pay her one mina of silver as divorce money. If she rejects him, on the other hand, she is to be killed by being thrown into the water<sup>20</sup>.

Not surprisingly, parents were the ones to choose (*hâru*) their son's spouse as is seen from the example where a couple choose a girl as bride for their son. The girl's parents are apparently dead for the transaction is undertaken with the permission of her brother (*ana qabê* PN) who with the sister of the girl receives four shekels of silver as the bridal gift. This contract contains a clause that if the husband rejects his wife (*hirtu*) he is to pay thirty shekels of silver and if she rejects him she is to be thrown into the water<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> The many problems and questions concerning the nature and form of the Babylonian marriage have been dealt with in a series of monographs and articles. See especially the study of von Praag, *Droit Matrimonial Assyro-Babylonian* and the section on marriage in Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 245ff. which refers to many of these articles. See also the article by S. Greengus in JAOS 89 (1969) 505-532.

<sup>19</sup> Meissner BAP 88 (Ha 3).

<sup>20</sup> Böhl Leiden 2 p. 20 No. 772 (= TLB 1 229). The contents of these two contracts are the same except for the date and some differences in the witnesses. The first dates from 20(?)9/3 of Samsu-iluna; the latter from 11/10/3 of Samsu-iluna. The number of marriage contracts involving free persons is now substantially increased with the publication of CT 48 by J.J. Finkelstein. No. 49 does not appear to be from Sippar not only because of the Sumerian formulation which is otherwise not attested in Sippar but also because none of the persons, including witnesses, appear elsewhere in Sippar. However, Nos. 50, 52 (on this text see JESHO 13 317), 55 (which probably concerns a *naditu* of Marduk) are from Sippar.

<sup>21</sup> CT 8 7b. (Amd 11). See CT 6 37b where a father gives his son a field instead of obtaining a wife for him.

An unusual litigation concerns a man with the title of governor of the country (*šāpir mātīm*). He initiates a lawsuit in order to recover the marriage gift (*zubullū*) which he had taken to the house of his prospective father-in-law. The marriage did not take place and the *šāpir mātīm* and his brothers sue the wife of the man, who is now presumably dead, for the return of the gift. After the claim is investigated the gift is ordered returned<sup>22</sup>.

### *Divorce*

Several instances of divorce reveal the rather favorable position of women in the Old Babylonian period. In the only extant divorce text a man has divorced his wife, her hem is cut off and she receives her divorce money. Her former husband is not to sue her if another man marries her<sup>23</sup>. It should be noted that this actual divorce is at variance with the dire consequences which would befall the wife should she divorce her husband in the marriage contracts just discussed<sup>24</sup>.

There are several references to divorces in texts which deal principally with other matters. Thus the background of the rejection by a son of his adoptive stepfather is that plaintiff's widowed mother remarried and her son was adopted by her second husband. The mother then succumbed to a disease (*kišitti ilim ikšussima*) and the husband was given permission to divorce the wife (*ezēbša iqbū*). It is apparently at this point that the son rejects his adoption<sup>25</sup>. The circumstances of this case seem to contradict the provisions of Section 148 of the Code of Hammurapi which permitted a man to marry a second wife if the first contracted a disease, but obliged him to support the first wife. The wife, however, may have wanted the divorce; this possibility is open to her in Section 149<sup>26</sup>.

In another lawsuit, a man who had twenty years earlier divorced his wife in the city of Bušu, brings a claim to the slavegirl which his former wife had bequeathed to her daughter. However, since he had, at the time of the divorce, made out a tablet renouncing all claims to his wife's property, his claim is rejected and a penalty is imposed<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Riftin 48 (Si 10). On *zubullū* see CAD 21 152.

<sup>23</sup> Meissner BAP 91:1 ff. (Sm 19); PN FN *i-zi-ib si-<si>-ik-<ta>-ša ba-at-qa-at ú-zu-bi-ša ma-aḥ-ra-at* FN *a-ḥi-zi-a-nu-um i-ḥa-a-za-ma* PN *ú-ul i-ra-<ga>-am*.

<sup>24</sup> See also the harsh clauses of the marriage contracts of adopted slavegirls, e.g. CT 6 26a; CT 2 44.

<sup>25</sup> BE 6/1 59 (Si 16).

<sup>26</sup> Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 311, however, interpret this divorce as an example of the judges' disregard of the provisions of the laws, adding, "This case supports the view that the laws laid down rules of a general character". See my article in *Orientalia* 30 163 ff. for evidence that such a statement regarding the laws is too sweeping.

<sup>27</sup> CT 6 47b (Ha 40).

An interesting case, apparently a litigation, involves a dispute between a man and a woman. The man declares that the woman is not his wife but the woman claims that she is<sup>28</sup>.

#### *Adoption*<sup>29</sup>

A number of texts deal with adoption, which was evidently practiced for a variety of reasons, such as acquiring a son to perpetuate the family and to perform religious rites for the adoptive parents after death; providing for the adoptive parents in old age; providing an heir; or legitimizing a natural son born to a concubine.

We have previously discussed the adoptions practiced by *nadītu* women of Šamaš in order to assure themselves of care in their old age, and the adoption of slaves has been discussed in the previous chapter.

In our discussion of the *nadītu*'s of Marduk, who might marry but not have children, we mentioned that such a *nadītu* and her husband might adopt children. In one such instance a boy is adopted by the couple from his parents<sup>30</sup>; and in another from his mother, brother, and sister, the father presumably being dead<sup>31</sup>. Both contracts state that "even if PN and FN acquired ten sons, he (the adopted son) is the eldest son". If the son rejects his adoptive parents he may be sold as a slave and if they reject him "they forfeit house and property". These clauses are standard in adoption texts. It is interesting to note that the adoption was conditional and the freeborn man like the slave could be sold if he denies his adoption, though the former, unlike the latter, did inherit property from his adoptive parents.

In another instance in which the clause of "ten sons" and the punishment in event of rejection by either party is included, a man adopts a boy from his mother, apparently because the father is dead. No mention is made of the children of the adoptive father<sup>32</sup>.

In a case in which a man has a wife presumably of special status and a concubine who is probably a slavegirl, the latter has borne him five sons. The father adopts

<sup>28</sup> CT 45 86.

<sup>29</sup> On the nature and form of the Babylonian adoption see the study of M. David, *Die Adoption im altbabylonischen Recht*. See also the section in Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 383 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Meissner BAP 95 (Ha).

<sup>31</sup> VAS 8 127 (= Meissner BAP 94) (Ha 14).

<sup>32</sup> VAS 8 73.

the oldest of these sons as his son (*ana mārūtišu ilqī*), indicating that the concubine's children were not considered legitimate. The boy's mother and his other brothers are not to bring a claim against the father<sup>33</sup>.

We have discussed above the adoption of a child from his natural mother by a *qadištu* woman<sup>34</sup>, and the case of a man adopting his son-in-law because he has no heirs is treated below. In the latter case the adopted son is to keep his adoptive father fed and support him for as long as he lives<sup>35</sup>.

In the instance in which a couple adopt a *nadītu* in order to support them they surprisingly give her their adopted slavegirl to provide her with an annual allowance of barley, oil, and one shekel of silver, probably as a clothing allowance. The slavegirl is to be free at the death of the *nadītu*<sup>36</sup>.

When a man adopts a slavegirl although he has sons and daughters, one of his daughters is to see that the adopted slavegirl will marry (*ana mūtīm inaddinšī*)<sup>37</sup>.

Finally there is an adoption of a slave though the adoptive father does have a son. The adopted slave must share with the natural son the responsibility for repaying the father's debt as well as fulfilling his watch and corvée duty. At the death of his adoptive father he is released from these obligations<sup>38</sup>.

Several litigations refer to adoptions. Thus a boy, given out for adoption by his mother and a man named Mār-Baja who is presumably a relative, to the brother of Mār-Baja, is claimed by Mār-Baja after the mother's death. The tablet of adoption (*[tuppa]m ša itti PN [...] ilqū*), is examined by the judges and the claim rejected<sup>39</sup>.

Already mentioned is the case of the man whose adoption by his stepfather is rescinded after the latter divorces his mother. The former stepson forfeits his

<sup>33</sup> CT 8 37d (Ha 41). Read *a-aḫ-ḫu-šu* (!) instead of *a-aḫ-ḫu-ša* in line 12. It would be the adopted son's brothers who might want to bring the claim and not the mother's brothers.

<sup>34</sup> TCL 1 146 (Si 33).

<sup>35</sup> Friedrich BA 5 503 No. 33:15f. (Amd 27) (= Scheil Sippar 68) *a-na šu-ku-li-šu ù a-di ba-al-tu i-ta-<na>-aš-ši-šu*.

<sup>36</sup> CT 8 12c (Ha 28). See now CT 48 52 (Ha 4) for the marriage contract of this man and his wife who was an adopted daughter of a *nadītu* and probably a former slave.

<sup>37</sup> CT 2 40b.

<sup>38</sup> CT 45 16: r. 2-4 (Sm): [*a-di*] PN *ba-al-tu* PN<sub>2</sub> (the adopted slave) *ḫa-ṭa-šu [ù] di-ku-sù i-la-ak*.

<sup>39</sup> BE 6/1 58 (Si 11).

rights to the field, house, and the office of gatekeeper which his stepfather had apparently assigned to him on his adoption<sup>40</sup>.

In another suit, a *naditu* claims that she had been adopted and made heir of a couple. Her witnesses, however, swear that they know of no such transaction and the wife swears that a tablet of adoption had not been drawn up, and the *naditu* had not been made their heir<sup>41</sup>.

Several cases reflect the resentment of natural children toward adopted ones. In one lawsuit, a man's natural son claims that his father had not adopted a certain man as a son, but the adopted son says "PN, my father, had adopted me as a child and reared me". The testimony of his witnesses is heard, an oath taken, and the claim of the plaintiff is dismissed<sup>42</sup>.

From the decision of a lawsuit a somewhat complicated relationship is disclosed. The defendant, Sin-iqīšam, apparently the natural son of Nuḥija<sup>43</sup> is adopted by a couple, Akšaja and Ana-ili-mada. In this suit the plaintiffs are the son and grandsons of Nuḥija, hence the natural brother and nephews of Sin-iqīšam. Although the cause of the dispute is not recorded, the plaintiffs lose the case and added at the end of the text is the clause, "as long as Ana-ili-mada lives he will support her; house and household utensils belong to Sin-iqīšam", which would indicate that the adoptive father is now dead and that Sin-iqīšam is to support the adoptive mother and receive her estate at her death. Sin-iqīšam, however, is not to bring claim to a share of the inheritance given to his natural relatives<sup>44</sup>.

#### *Wet-Nursing*<sup>45</sup>

Five contracts record the hiring of a wet-nurse. In four of these the child is given to a couple for suckling (*ana šunuqim/tēniqim nadānu*); the name of the wife who is actually hired precedes that of her husband in all but one case. In three instances a *naditu* hires the wet-nurse, presumably for her adoptive child<sup>46</sup>; in two a couple hire the nurse<sup>47</sup>. The fee paid to both husband and wife varies. In our five examples

<sup>40</sup> BE 6/1 59 (Si 16).

<sup>41</sup> CT 8 12b:19ff. (Ha): *um-ma ši-ma a-na-ku ù PN tuḫ-ḫa-am la ni-iš-tú-ru ù DUMU.UŠ-ni la ni-di-nu.*

<sup>42</sup> Çig Kraus Nippur 174:7f.: PN *a-bi me-iš-ḫi-ri-iš a-na ma-ru-tim il-qí-a-an-ni-ma ú-ra-ab-bi-a-an-ni.*

<sup>43</sup> So described in Meissner BAP 36:27f. (AS) where he is a witness.

<sup>44</sup> VAS 8 19:33ff.: (AS): *a-di FN ba-al-tà-at i-ta(!)-na(!)-ši É ù e-na-tum ša PN.*

<sup>45</sup> On other wet-nursing contracts see Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 405f.

<sup>46</sup> BM 78398 (Ha 16); CT 47 46 (Ha 39); and CT 4 13b (und).

<sup>47</sup> TCL 1 197, and CT 48 70 (Ha 9) which has only *ana tēniqim nadānu* and where the couple hires another couple.

it consists of a barley and wool allowance for three years, the usual duration of nursing, and four shekels of silver; a barley and wool allowance; an unspecified barley, oil, and wool allowance; a fee of 2 1/3 shekels; and a fee of two shekels<sup>48</sup>.

### *Inheritance*<sup>49</sup>

#### *Introduction*

From fifty contracts which record the division of the paternal estate between the heirs of the deceased as well as from litigations and passages in other texts, much information is gained concerning heirs, types of property divided, and the rights of widows and daughters<sup>50</sup>. The gifts and inheritances given to women of special status as well as their rights to the disposition of their property is more fully discussed above<sup>51</sup>.

#### *Types of Property Inherited*

Property is said to be divided “from chaff to gold” (*ištu pī adi hurāšim*) or from the least to the most valuable item<sup>52</sup>. The chart below indicates that inherited items included fields, orchards, house plots, houses, slaves, and less often, household furniture, utensils, barley<sup>53</sup>, and implements such as plows and wagons. A temple prebend might be left to an heir<sup>54</sup>; and several texts indicate that cylinder seals (NA<sub>4</sub> KIŠIB *šumi*) were often inherited. In one instance the Chairman of the Assembly, Ili-dāmiq has bequeathed his seal to his son, the captain Ilšu-ibnī, at whose death the seal is apparently sold for one shekel<sup>55</sup>. Other texts indicate that sons and even *nadītu*-women used the seals bequeathed by their fathers<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> CT 47 56, CT 48 70, CT 4 13b, TCL 1 197 and BM 78398, respectively.

<sup>49</sup> For a detailed treatment of inheritance contracts see the monograph by Klima, *Untersuchungen zum altbabylonischen Erbrecht* and the section in Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 324ff.

<sup>50</sup> The death of an individual is generally expressed by the phrase *ana šimtišu/ša illak* (e.g. CT 6 47b; BE 6/1 58; Friedrich BA 5 503 No. 33). In the case of a *nadītu* the phrase “after the god’s called her” is usually used (see *Studies Oppenheim* 120), a phrase at time applied to other persons, including men (VAS 9 144/145; CT 8 4a; CT 45 16). The verb “to die (*mātu*)” also occurs in BM 78254 iii 9, and VAS 8 71.

<sup>51</sup> See also Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 374ff. and my article in *Orientalia* 30 163 ff.

<sup>52</sup> As in Goetze JCS 11 16 No. 1:5 (AS); CT 8 1a:5 (Sm); CT 6 42b:8f. (Sm) and *passim*. In CT 6 28a:16f., the property inherited is summed up as “field, house, slavegirl and anything else (A.ŠĀ É GEMÉ SAG.ÏR *u mimma šumšu*). See VAS 8 72 for *am-ta-am wa-ar-da-am A.ŠĀ É ù mi-im-ma šum-[šu]*.

<sup>53</sup> Only in BE 6/1 62:23 (Si. 26): *še-am ù ba-ši-ta-am*.

<sup>54</sup> See CT 45 24 and the litigation text TCL 1 104.

<sup>55</sup> BM 78356 (Amd 36).

<sup>56</sup> In CT 47 69a Narām-ilišu, son of Nūr-Bilgi uses the seal of his father; in CT 45 20 Annum-pīša uses the seal of his father; and in CT 47 56a Niši-īnišu, daughter of Rīš-Samaš, uses her father’s seal.

The texts in the following chart each list the inheritance of one heir, although all those sharing in the inheritance are enumerated. Thus the amount of property listed should be multiplied by the number of heirs in order to gain an approximation of the total estate involved.

*List of Division of Property Texts*

KING	YEAR	HEIRS	FIELD	PLOT	HOUSE	SLAVES	ANIMALS	FURN.	IMPLE.	UTEN.	TEXT
Im- me- rum	—	FN with si & br.	2		1	1		? <sup>57</sup>			Waterman Bus. Doc. 14
Sl	29	FN with 3 br.	1								CT 6 49b
Sl	—	FN with brs.	1			1	6				CT 8 28c
Za	—	4 brs. (?)	...								Waterman Bus. Doc. 68
AS	—	PN with 2 brs.		1							JCS 11 16 No. 1
Sm	—	FN with 2 brs. (?) and si.	...								CT 8 1a
Sm	—	PN with 2 brs.	2	3	1	1			x		CT 8 4a
Sm	—	FN with si.			1						CT 6 42b
Sm	—	PN with br.	3	2	2	6					CT 8 16a
Sm	—	PN with 6 brs.	4		3	2					VAS 8 52/53
Sm	7	FN with 2 brs.			1						VAS 8 27 = Meissner 101
Sm	—	PN and PN <sub>2</sub> with 2 brs. <sup>58</sup>			1						VAS 8 56/57 = Meissner 102
Sm	13	PN with 2 brs.		1	1						CT 2 4
Sm	13	PN with 2 brs.			1						Meissner BAP 103
Sm	13	PN with 2 brs.			1						Meissner BAP 104
Ha	—	PN with 2 brs. <sup>58</sup>		1							VAS 8 108/109
Ha	—	FN with [...]			1	2		x		x	VAS 13 34
Ha	?	PN with br.			1						CT 4 46b
Ha	2	FN with brs.			1	1		x			CT 8 50a
Ha	7	PN with br.		1							TCL 1 80
Ha	9	4 brs.					not indicated				VAS 8 112 = Meissner 106
Ha	14	FN with brs.		1		1					CT 8 13c
Ha	14	PN with br.	1								CT 8 18c

<sup>57</sup> The copy has 4 GĪN ŠĪG *ri-mi-um* which must be an error.

<sup>58</sup> VAS 8 56/57 (Sm) (= Meissner 102) and VAS 8 108/109 (Ha) concern the same family. In the first text, Ibni-Šamaš and Nūrum-liši share property jointly with two other brothers, Warad-Ilabrat and Ibni-Adad, on the division of the patrimony. In the second text, which cannot be dated to any given year of Hammu-rapi, the share which Ibni-Šamaš shares with the same two brothers is enumerated. Nūrum-liši is this time not included although it is known from other texts that he is still alive at this second division since he is mentioned with the sons of Ibni-Šamaš in a text (VAS 9 7/8 [Ha 18]). Why a second record was drawn up excluding Nūrum-liši is not known.

KING	YEAR	HEIRS	FIELD	PLOT	HOUSE	SLAVES	ANIMALS	FURN.	IMPLE.	UTEN.	PREBEND	TEXT
Ha	18	PN with 3 brs. and 2(?) sis. <sup>59</sup>	1		2					1		VAS 9 9
Ha	20	PN with br.	2 <sup>60</sup>									PBS 8/2 248
Ha	24	2 brs.		1 (ea.)	1 (ea.)							CT 45 23
Ha	24	PN with 2 brs.				2	1	x	x	x		VAS 9 144/145
Ha	26	2 brs.									x	CT 45 24
Ha	29	PN with 3 brs.	4 <sup>61</sup>	1	1	4			x	x		BE 6/1 28
Ha	30	PN with br.(?)			1	7				x		TCL 1 89
Ha	30	PN with br. <sup>62</sup>			1							Waterman Bus. Doc. 78
Ha	35	PN with br.			1							VAS 9 130/131
Ha	35	PN with 2 brs. & 2 nephews			1	4						TCL 1 98/99
Si	[x]	2 brs. with PN			1							CT 6 31b
Si	2	PN with brs.	1							x		BE 6/1 50
Si	3	PN with PN <sub>2</sub>			1							YOS 12 75
Si	8	[...]	[...]									BM 82452
Si	26	FN with PN	2	1	2	4				x		BE 6/1 62
Si	28	PN <sup>63</sup>									x	CT 4 11a
Si	30	PN with 6 brs.		1	1		2				x	Pinches Peek 14
Si	30	PN with f. and br. <sup>64</sup>	3		1							TCL 1 145
Amš	11	PN with 2 uncles		1								CT 8 3a
Amš	16	3 brs.				1 (each)			x			Meissner 107
und.		2 brs.	1		1	1	2				x	CT 6 28a
und.		FN with si	1		1							CT 6 22b
und.		3 brs.					not indicated					VAS 8 66/67
und.		2 brs.	1									Waterman 41
und.		PN with 2 brs.			1		2					TCL 1 196
und.		FN with 2 nephews and FN <sub>2</sub>				4(?)					x	VAS 9 204/216
und.		[...]			[...]							VAS 8 72

<sup>59</sup> Certain clauses seem to concern the sisters, but these are too poorly preserved to be reconstructed.

<sup>60</sup> A clause is added that brother is not to bring claim against brother "for the? of the field whatever there is" (*ana mēdilti A.ŠĀ ša ibaššū*).

<sup>61</sup> An orchard, too, is also inherited.

<sup>62</sup> The brothers also have a sister who is mentioned in the claim clause though not in the clause naming the person who divided the estate. She may be a *nadītu* who had already received her share on becoming a *nadītu*.

<sup>63</sup> This text is formulated differently from the others stating "the *nepiātum*-tools which PN son of PN<sub>2</sub> had taken as their inheritance (*ša PN DUMU PN<sub>2</sub> applussunu ilqū*)".

<sup>64</sup> This is the only case in which an estate is divided between a father and his sons. Just whose estate is divided, however, is not known.

*Inherited Debts and Duties*

The deceased might have debts which were passed on to his heirs. Thus a man's three sons have to pay their father's debt (PN...*ippalūma*) before they divide his property (*bašītum*)<sup>65</sup>; in another text two oxen are given to the tax collector<sup>66</sup>.

That debts were often a responsibility shared by all members of the immediate family is seen from loan contracts in which the debtors are brothers, mothers and children, or husbands and wives<sup>67</sup>. On the other hand, the head of the family might assume sole responsibility for his debts and have a record drawn up to the effect that he alone is indebted to the creditor (DAM.GĀR) who has, therefore, no claim to PN (perhaps his brother), FN, his wife, and their children<sup>68</sup>.

Heirs were also responsible for performing whatever *ilku* duty or corvée work (*dikātu*) was attached to the parental estate<sup>69</sup>.

*The Heirs*

A man's heirs were generally his sons, but if a son predeceased his father, the son's children might receive their father's share and divide the estate with the surviving sons, their uncles. Thus one text records the share received by Lipit-Ištar, son of Šērum-ili, on the division of an estate with his two brothers and the two sons of a third brother, Ilšu-ibbišu. There is an example, too, of three nephews selling a house, part of the inheritance of their uncle, after his death. Another contract records the share which Ina-Eulmaš-zēr, son of Ili-bāni, received when he divides an estate with his two uncles<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> VAS 8 66/67.

<sup>66</sup> CT 6 31b:5 (Si) 2 GUD.HIA *a-na ma-ki-sú* (!) (sic).

<sup>67</sup> For instances in which brothers are debtors see VAS 8 117/118 (Ha 14); VAS 9 34/35 (Ha 28); TCL 1 82/83 (Ha 10) and Friedrich BA 5 518 No. 58; for cases of mothers and children see PBS 8/2 14 (Ha 14); TCL 1 85 (Ha 18); and VAS 9 67/68 (Ha 38); for husbands and wives see VAS 8 39/40, 43/44 (Sm 13); VAS 8 89 (Ha 3); VAS 9 51/52 (Ha 33) and *passim*.

<sup>68</sup> As in CT 45 17 (Sm 17).

<sup>69</sup> See CT 8 3a; the litigation texts: CT 2 9 and CT 6 29, and VAS 8 45. This last text states that Ibni-Šamaš and Nūrum-līši are equally responsible for performing work upon being summoned (*dikūtam PN u PN<sub>2</sub> miḥariš illaku*). This obligation is recorded in a separate tablet; the paternal estate which they share jointly is recorded in VAS 8 56/57 (Sm). Of interest, too, is CT 45 16 where a slave is adopted though the adoptive father does have a natural son. The adopted son shares with the natural son the responsibility for repaying the father's debt (11.9ff.) and has to perform the watch and corvée duties (11.r.3f.).

<sup>70</sup> TCL 1 98/99 (Ha 35), CT 47 69/69a (Ae h) and CT 8 3a (Amš 11), respectively.

The relationship between heirs who are not brothers is not always known, although it must be assumed that such persons are related<sup>71</sup>. In one text in which a man inherits utensils from three persons whose relationship to him is not known, his brothers compensate him (*īpulū*) for three of the inherited tools which then become theirs (*kišdatišunu ilqū*)<sup>72</sup>. Elsewhere, a brother and three sisters bring a claim against another brother for an estate which he had inherited from their paternal uncle<sup>73</sup>.

A man without sons might adopt his son-in-law as his heir<sup>74</sup>. Several texts speak of the disposal of the estate of a man who dies without heirs, a man “whose hearth was extinguished” (*ša kinūnšu belū*)<sup>75</sup>. The estate of one such man is given to his brothers and nephew, while the field of a man who died without sons or brothers is sold by the port authority (*kārum*) of Sippar-Amnānum and a tax paid to the palace. In another instance the *šibtu* holding of a soldier who dies without heirs is given to someone else by the city elders<sup>76</sup>.

#### *Method of Division*

The manner in which inherited property was divided in Northern Mesopotamian cities such as Sippar differed fundamentally from that of the Southern cities such as Nippur and Ur. Whereas the practice in the South was to give preferential rights to the eldest son<sup>77</sup>, estates in the North were divided equally. The Sippar texts often state that the estate is shared equally (*mithariš izuzzu*)<sup>78</sup>, or that the heirs received full shares (*zizzu gamru*)<sup>79</sup>. The practice is also clearly indicated by a letter which concerns a dispute between two women who were apparently sisters and probably *nadītu*'s. The elder, Narāmtani, seems to have claimed a larger portion of an inherited field. The writer of the letter assures Amat-kallātim, who must be the younger sister, that she need not fear. She will be compensated

<sup>71</sup> E.g., CT 6 31b, YOS 12 75, BE 6/1 62, VAS 9 204/216, and CT 2 40a. In the last text, unlike the others, it is stated that PN gave his inheritance to PN<sub>2</sub> (*aplutam iddin*). Just what this consisted of is not included in the document.

<sup>72</sup> CT 4 11a. These are *nepiātum*-tools used by the baker.

<sup>73</sup> TCL 1 104.

<sup>74</sup> Friedrich BA 5 503 No. 33 (= Scheil Sippar 68) (Amd 27).

<sup>75</sup> On this idiom see AHW 121 under *belū* and CAD 2 35.

<sup>76</sup> See BE 6/2 123, BM 78254, and CT 6 27b, respectively.

<sup>77</sup> For references to the additional share (*elātu*) given to the eldest son in southern cities see CAD 4 78. Note, however, the one reference to this term from Sippar (CT 8 49a) where a *nadītu* is given an additional share but this is an exceptional case.

<sup>78</sup> E.g., Waterman Bus. Doc. 68; BE 6/1 28; VAS 9 131, and passim.

<sup>79</sup> E.g., Goetze JCS 11 16 No. 1; CT 8 1a, 16a; and passim.

for the property of which she has been wrongfully deprived for “the institution of inheritance of the younger and older (which distinguishes between sisters) does not exist in Sippar”<sup>80</sup>.

The method of recording property divisions also differs in the North and the South<sup>81</sup>. In the South the shares of all heirs were recorded in a single document while in the North the share of each heir was noted on a separate tablet. The latter method is generally practiced at Sippar, although there are exceptions. One tablet, for instance, records the shares given to three brothers, and another, those given to two<sup>82</sup>. The inheritance tablets for the most part, however, record the share of only one heir and although they enumerate the other heirs, they do not describe each inheritance. In one case, the three tablets of three heirs are extant and record the equal shares given to each brother in the thirteenth year of Sin-muballit<sup>83</sup>.

The eldest brother, however, might be given the right to administer the equal distribution of the shares. Thus, one brother, presumably the eldest, assigns the share of another (*zitti PN ša PN<sub>2</sub> izūzušum*)<sup>84</sup>. In cases in which the eldest brother assumed the responsibility of assigning shares he might take an oath in order to clear himself (*ubbubu*) of any accusation of preferential treatment<sup>85</sup>. Brothers might share the responsibility of giving their *nadītu* sister her rightful share<sup>86</sup>. However, on more than one occasion a *nadītu* had to resort to the court in order to force them to fulfill this responsibility<sup>87</sup>.

It was, of course, not always possible to divide an estate equally between the heirs, and the litigations discussed below reflect the dissatisfaction which might arise from the division. Adjustments were sometimes made to compensate the heirs. Thus a brother who divides an estate with his six brothers is given 30 shekels as “compensation for his house (*nīplāt bītišu*)”<sup>88</sup>. In another text, an heir receives 10 shekels of silver as compensation for a slave (*nīplāt SAG.Ī[R(?)*]) from another

<sup>80</sup> CT 43 92:16f.: *ap-lu-tum še-še-er-tum ù ra-bi-tum i-na* UD.KIB.NUN<sup>K1</sup> *ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši*. This understanding of the passage is different from the one proposed by CAD 1 Part II 178.

<sup>81</sup> This has already been discussed in Driver and Miles, *op. cit.*, 334.

<sup>82</sup> Meissner BAP 107 and CT 45 33, respectively.

<sup>83</sup> CT 2 4; Meissner BAP 103 and 104.

<sup>84</sup> TCL 1 89 (Ha 35) and CT 6 28a. For more on the first text see below note 101.

<sup>85</sup> PBS 8/2 246; CT 8 3a; and Meissner BAP 107.

<sup>86</sup> CT 6 49b.

<sup>87</sup> CT 6 7a:1. See also 8 26a, a list of the lawsuits in which *nadītu*'s are involved, sometimes with their relatives (11.15f., 30ff.).

<sup>88</sup> VAS 8 53:9. On *nīplātu* see Landsberger MSL 1 227.

heir<sup>89</sup>. Elsewhere, a wooden object is given in place of a portion of a house as compensation<sup>90</sup>.

In order to deal with the problem of unequal distribution or to prevent the division of property into very small shares, inherited property might be held in common (*biri*). One text which records a large inheritance given to one brother, also states that two fields (of 11 and 6 GÁN), a tower (*dimtu*), and a threshing floor (KI.UD) are to be held in common<sup>91</sup>. Two brothers share a 12 GÁN field, and a canal (*atappum*) is shared by two brothers who received other property individually<sup>92</sup>. As we shall see below the inheritance of mothers and sisters (particularly those who were *nadītu*'s) was at their death also frequently shared by brothers.

The size of the property, however, did not necessarily seem to have been the determining factor in whether an estate was to be shared jointly or divided, since one brother who shares some property with six brothers (including a 3½ GÁN field) received for himself a very small field of 490 SAR, which would seem to be his share of a larger field<sup>93</sup>.

The frequency with which property was jointly inherited is indicated by the many examples in which property is jointly sold by brother, sisters; sisters (usually *nadītu*'s) and brothers; mothers, sons and daughters; *nadītu*'s and their fathers; and fathers and sons<sup>94</sup>.

The father might designate what the shares were to be. In one instance a father gives one son a house, an ox, and a cow<sup>95</sup>. In a parallel situation it is stated that the father gives such an inheritance in his lifetime (*ina balūtīšu*)<sup>96</sup>.

In an exceptional case a *nadītu* who was adopted by an older *nadītu* and her

<sup>89</sup> BE 6/1 62:18.

<sup>90</sup> VAS 9 144/145:5ff. : 1 GIŠ KA x.x *ki-ma* 5 GÍN[x] *ša É a-pa-li*.

<sup>91</sup> CT 8 16a.

<sup>92</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 41 and BE 6/1 50, respectively.

<sup>93</sup> VAS 8 52/53:3.

<sup>94</sup> For property sold jointly by brothers see CT 8 47a (Immerum), CT 2 37 (Za), CT 4 16a (AS 18) and passim; for sale by sisters see CT 8 25b; by sisters and brothers cf., CT 8 15b (Si 14), BE 6/1 61 (Si 24), Meissner BAP 32 and passim; by mothers, sons and daughters see BE 6/1 8 (Si); CT 45 117 (und.); CT 47 17/17a (Sm); by *nadītu*'s and their fathers in CT 4 11b (Si 5) and CT 47 62/62a (Si 9); by father and son in CT 8 31c (AS).

<sup>95</sup> TCL 1 196.

<sup>96</sup> CT 45 62.

adoptive mother is given by her parents an additional share apart from her share (*elētiša ezub zittiša*) consisting of five slaves, apparently because of her good fortune in becoming the heiress of her adoptive mother<sup>97</sup>.

#### *Contingency Clauses*

In some inheritances, contingency clauses were added in order to protect the heirs. Thus the clause “one brother is not to say to the other brother, ‘I have forgotten this’” (*annīam amši*), might be included; the tablet which was drawn up was to be the final one<sup>98</sup>.

A clause might also be added concerning property which might be discovered after the writing of the document. “Any property which shows up (later) they (the heirs) will divide equally”<sup>99</sup>, or “any property of the estate which may appear later belongs to them jointly”<sup>100</sup>.

One unusual clause states that, “To any of their brothers who may come (later on with a claim), they are responsible” (*ana aḥḥišunu ša illakuni izzazu*)<sup>101</sup>. We know that the division of the patrimony in this case involved four brothers and a sister, who was a *naditu*, and so problems might arise which account for the addition of this clause.

#### *Sale and Redemption of the Paternal Estate*

We have cited above examples of property being sold jointly by members of a family. Presumably the instances in which the sellers do not include a father are examples of the paternal estate being sold by the heirs, and indeed, in some sale contracts the property is described as an inheritance. Such property might be sold to one’s sibling<sup>102</sup>. In one instance in which property is held jointly by two brothers, one brother sells his share to someone outside of the family on the

<sup>97</sup> CT 8 49a (AS).

<sup>98</sup> CT 8 1a (Sm); VAS 8 52/53; VAS 8 52/53 (Sm); and CT 45 24 (Ha 26).

<sup>99</sup> BE 6/1 28:22f.: *i-na ba-ši-tim ša i-li-a-am mi-it-ḥa-ri-iš i-zu-uz-zu*.

<sup>100</sup> CT 8 3a:17f.: *mar(!)-ši-ti É.A.BA ša i-li-a-am ša bi-ri-šu-nu-ma*.

<sup>101</sup> TCL 1 89:16f. (Ha 30). We know from TCL 1 98/99 (Ha 35) that Lipit-Ištar whose share of the patrimony is recorded in TCL 1 89 and his brother, Sin-māgir who sets aside his share, were sons of Šērum-ili. The latter text also records the share which Lipit-Ištar receives five years after the first document was drawn up. Here a third brother Ibbi-Sin is mentioned; a fourth brother Ilšu-ibbišu is now dead and his two sons inherit his share. We can only speculate as to why the later inheritance text had to be written. Some of the slaves he inherited are the same as those mentioned in the earlier document.

<sup>102</sup> CT 8 18b (Ha 4) and BE 6/1 88 (Amd 12).

death of the other, and although such a sale might provoke a lawsuit in the seller's family, the transaction seems to have been considered valid<sup>103</sup>. A man exchanges fields, one of which was his share of the inheritance with his brother<sup>104</sup>.

The paternal estate (*bīt abim*) might also be redeemed by a member of the family at a later date. A man redeems a field which his sister, who was probably a *nadītu* of Šamaš, had earlier sold<sup>105</sup>. A house redeemed by sisters is claimed by persons who would seem to be the heirs of the seller<sup>106</sup>. In one other instance a house is redeemed<sup>107</sup>.

#### *Lawsuits arising from the division of Property*

A number of litigations concerning the division of property exist besides those dealing with *nadītu*'s. From the only instance in which the division record is also extant, we learn that the litigation, a dispute between Pala-Šamaš and his brother Apil-ilišu "after the division" (*ištu zizzu*) took place in the same year as the division, and indeed the witnesses to the two transactions are identical. The decision given in this case by the judges and elders was that the inheritance, consisting of a house, a *burubalū* plot, and *ilku* obligations, were to be shared<sup>108</sup>. Many years later Pala-Šamaš brings another claim, not just to the inheritance, but to all of the property of his brother: "house, slaves, boat, silver and moveable property (*bušē*). Pala-Šamaš, however, loses this case<sup>109</sup>.

One text records the settlement reached in a dispute between three brothers over the division (*ana 𒀭A.LA igderūma*)<sup>110</sup>. In another, a man and his three sisters claim the house and six-months income from an office which their brother inherited

<sup>103</sup> TLB 1 220 (AS) records the settlement reached between the daughter of the man who sold his inherited property, a *nadītu*, and the buyer of that property. In CT 47 69 (Ae h) three nephews sell a house, which was part of their uncle's inheritance, after his death.

<sup>104</sup> VAS 8 84/85 (Ha 2).

<sup>105</sup> CT 2 13 (Si 16). This text is not without difficulties. The field in question had originally been purchased by his sister, a *nadītu*. Apparently at her death it was inherited by the male member of her family and was then considered part of the *bīt abim*. It is sold then to a family and then redeemed by a brother of this *nadītu*. The problems involved are also discussed by Schorr VAB 5 150<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>106</sup> CT 45 3 (Za). Here too we do not have enough background information.

<sup>107</sup> CT 45 62 (Amš). This text is poorly preserved.

<sup>108</sup> CT 45 23 is the division record and Meissner BAP 80 the litigation record; both date from Ha 24. It should be noted, however, that the crucial phrase that a division had taken place is no longer preserved on the document we assume to be the record of the division.

<sup>109</sup> CT 2 9; the date formula is difficult to read. Only one of the witnesses here, Iddin-Šamaš, son of Nidnuša, appears in the above texts.

<sup>110</sup> CT 4 9a (Ha).

from their paternal uncle. They lose their case and the heir receives, in addition, part of a house and two additional months of income described as “belonging to the estate of PN, his father”<sup>111</sup>.

Another litigation concerns a dispute between two brothers over their shares (*aššum zittišunu*) which is settled by an oath<sup>112</sup>. Eleven years later when the brothers inherit the property of their deceased *nadītu* sister, the moveable property of the parental estate is divided<sup>113</sup>.

A man brings a claim against his sibling concerning the inequitable division of an estate. The tablets of their shares (*tuppāt zittišunu*) are examined and an adjustment made; the judges take away the excess property and give it to the plaintiff<sup>114</sup>.

A man who claims that he had been made responsible for supplying a larger portion of an offering than his brothers has his portion reduced by half by the judges<sup>115</sup>.

In an early lawsuit which seems to concern inherited property a field described as *ḪA.LA Asaliya*, the share of A”, has apparently been illegally taken by a neighbor to the property who must return it (*šusū*) to the man’s daughter, a *nadītu* of Šamaš (to judge from the witnesses), apparently the heir to the field<sup>116</sup>.

#### *The Property Rights of Married Women and Widows*

We have discussed above the privileges regarding property which were enjoyed by the *nadītu*’s of Šamaš and Marduk. However, women who did not belong to special classes might also possess extensive property rights. For instance a married woman might own property to which her husband had no claim and which she might dispose of as wished; she might purchase a field from her husband, or sell a field<sup>117</sup>. A woman might also receive a gift of property from her husband (see below).

<sup>111</sup> TCL 1 104 (Ha).

<sup>112</sup> VAS 9 142/143 (Ha 24).

<sup>113</sup> VAS 9 130/131:4ff. (Ha 35): *mī-im-ma bi-ši É.A.BA ù bi-ši FN...i-zu-zu-ú*.

<sup>114</sup> CT 8 9a:16 ff. (Si 1): *wa-tar-ta-šu e-li-nu ṭup-pi(!) ḪA.LA-šu KI PN iš-mu-ṭu-ma a-na PN<sub>2</sub> a-ḫi-šu id-di-nu*.

<sup>115</sup> CT 4 13a (Si 3).

<sup>116</sup> CT 2 34 (Si). This is an unusual meaning for *šusū* which ordinarily means “to rent”. See Finkelstein AS 16 237 who interprets *šusū* as “to revert” (to the erstwhile possessor of the field).

<sup>117</sup> CT 6 47b (Ha 24), BE 6/1 50 (Si 2), CT 8 38b (Ilumma-ila), respectively.

The inheritance texts indicate that the widow might be given a share of her husband's estate. Thus a man sells property which he had received as his share at the division of the paternal estate with his two brothers and his mother<sup>118</sup>. Two brothers, but not a third, share at their mother's death the house, field, and slavegirl which constituted her share (ḪA.LA)<sup>119</sup>. Brothers are to share in common the inheritance (*aplūt* FN) of their mother as well as that of their *nadītu* sister after their deaths<sup>120</sup>. One text states that the field which the mother had purchased from her husband, as well as an object (1 *šibirrum*) the share (ḪA.LA) of the mother, is given as the share of one of several brothers, presumably at the mother's death<sup>121</sup>. A deceased man's two daughters, two sons, two wives and brother bring a claim against his former partner; and in another litigation a mother and two sons are the plaintiffs<sup>122</sup>.

The instance cited above in which members of a family, including the mother, sell the paternal estate indicates that a widow might hold this property jointly with the children.

Sons were expressly obligated to support their widowed mother during her lifetime (FN *ummašu adi balṭat ittanašši*)<sup>123</sup>; two brothers share a field with the proviso that they are to provide their mother with a monthly barley allowance, and that whoever fails to do so "will have no right to the field"<sup>124</sup>.

#### *The Property Rights of Daughters*

Women of special status often received a substantial share of the paternal estate. The *nadītu* of Šamaš and the *nadītu* of Marduk in accordance with Sections 180 and 182 of the Code of Hammu-rapi received a full share and a third share respectively, which reverted to their brothers on their death<sup>125</sup>. Many records which speak of the shares received by daughters clearly concern a daughter who was a *nadītu* even though she is not explicitly described as such<sup>126</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> BE 6/1 88 (Amd 12).

<sup>119</sup> CT 8 4a (Sm).

<sup>120</sup> VAS 9 144/145 (Ha 24).

<sup>121</sup> BE 6/1 50 (Si 2). Her share was, therefore, given to the son who pleased her most.

<sup>122</sup> CT 2 46 (Sm 14), and VAS 8 20, respectively.

<sup>123</sup> CT 2 24 (Ae t).

<sup>124</sup> Waterman Bus. Doc. 41:11 f. : *ša še-am la i-na-di-nu i-na A.ŠÀ ú-ul šu-ḫu-uz*.

<sup>125</sup> See e.g., VAS 9 144/145 and VAS 9 130/131. There is other information available on the *nadītu* involved in the latter text, Iltani, daughter of GAZ-Ištar. This is discussed in JCS 16 5. Her last attested text dates from Hammu-rapi thirty-three, two years before her property is divided.

<sup>126</sup> In CT 6 49b:5 (Sl 29), the name of the woman, Ḫudultum, is that of the name of a *nadītu* in CT 6 43:25. In CT 8 1a:2 (Sm), the name Ramatum, is the name of several *nadītu*'s, e.g., PBS 8/2

Daughters who did not belong to a special class apparently inherited only a small portion of the estate. Indeed one text shows that a man adopted his son-in-law because he had no heir ([DUMU].UŠ *la išūma*), indicating that his daughter was not considered his heir<sup>127</sup>. Some texts, however, speak of inheritances received by daughters who are apparently not women of special status. For instance Šāt-Marduk received a *kigallu* plot of 2 SAR and a slavegirl<sup>128</sup>. Another woman whose husband is her heir (*mussa apilša*) received a small *kigallu* plot from the patrimony (ŠÀ É *abiša*)<sup>129</sup>, and a man inherits at the division with his brothers, among other things, a field described as “their sisters’ share” (HA.LA *aḥḥātišumu*)<sup>130</sup>.

### *Gifts*

Several texts record gifts presented by the head of the family to his wife. A husband gifts (*iqiṣ*) his wife with a slavegirl and her children<sup>131</sup>. In another instance the wife is given property (*ša PN ana FN DAM.A.NI iddinu*) consisting of a house in good repair, two slaves, clothing, furniture, and millstones, which she may bequeath to whichever of her husband’s children reveres and pleases her<sup>132</sup>. The wording suggests that she was a second wife and the children not hers.

A woman who is given a millstone to which a man’s children have no claim, may be the man’s wife, although she is not described as such<sup>133</sup>.

A diviner gives (*nadānu*) his second wife, who is a *šugētu*, two slavegirls, furniture and millstones, and “her sons are her heirs”<sup>134</sup>.

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203:11, BE 6; 1 22:8, YOS 12 44:3, CT 6 45:10. In VAS 8 27:5, the supposition that Šallūrtum, daughter of Warad-Sin, who here receives her share is a *naditu* is based on the fact that her two nieces were. One of these, Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Mād-dummuq-ilim, brother of Šallūrtum is discussed in JCS 16 2. In the division text, CT 6 22b, the names Rībatum and Nīši-īnišu alone suggest that the women were *naditu*’s.

<sup>127</sup> Friedrich BA 5 503 No. 33 (Amd 27).

<sup>128</sup> CT 8 13c (Ha 14).

<sup>129</sup> YOS 12 400 (Si 20).

<sup>130</sup> Pinches Peek 14 (Si 30).

<sup>131</sup> VAS 8 15/16 (Immerum).

<sup>132</sup> CT 8 34b:17ff. (Sm 11): *i-na DUMU.MEŠ PN a-na ša i-pa-al-la-ḥu-ši u li-ib-ba-ša ú-ḫa-ab-bu i-na-ad-di-in*.

<sup>133</sup> CT 8 43b (Ha 41).

<sup>134</sup> BE 6/1 95 (Amš 13). The first part of the document mentions the house which the *naditu* Amat-Mamu, daughter of Sin-šamuḥ, received as her inheritance from this diviner. She must have been related to him in some way.

A general gives three slaves to his wife for her lifelong use which she may bequeath to whomever she wishes, presumably her children<sup>135</sup>.

In one unusual case a house of 1 SAR and the income from an office which a woman brought to her marriage is given to her by her husband, with the stipulation that she may leave it to whomever she prefers of her children<sup>136</sup>.

Elsewhere a father gives his son a field instead of marrying him off<sup>137</sup>.

One lawsuit regarding such gifts is extant: the brother and two sisters of a man unsuccessfully claim the property which he had bequeathed (*ezēbu*) to his wife<sup>138</sup>.

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<sup>135</sup> BE 6/1 116 (Sd h). This text adds the unusual clause (l. 22) that the husband swears that he will not change these terms of his: [*a-na*] *ri-ik-sa-ti-šu an-ni-a-at-ti*] *la e-ne-e-[im]*. For a discussion of the problem of the exact use of *riksātum* here see Greengus JAOS 89 509.

<sup>136</sup> CT 6 38a:17f. (Ae q): *a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ša a-na ša i-ra-am-mu i-na-ad-dī-in*.

<sup>137</sup> CT 6 37b:5: *ki-ma DAM a-ḥa-zi-im*.

<sup>138</sup> VAS 8 17/18 (AS).

## APPENDIX

*List of Flurnamen* (an \* precedes those which are designated as *ugāru* (A.GĀR)).

### Adunum

*i-na ša mu-uš-ki-nu-um i-na ša*

*A-du-nu-um*

CT 2 23:2

\*Akbarum

CT 47 53:10 (Si 14)

\*Akkadu(?)

*ša A.GĀR Ak-ka-di(?)*

VAS 9 163:4 (Ha)

\*Amurru(m) (see below Tawirtum *ša* Amurru(m))

*i-na A.GĀR<sup>d</sup>MAR.TU*

Scheil Sippar 10:12 (Sm); PBS 8/2 262:1 (Ha 21);  
PBS 8/2 253:2 (Ha 32); BE 6/1 42:1 (Ha 42);  
Meissner BAP 74:2 (Amš 13); BE 6/1 119 r. ii 11.  
Meissner BAP 42:1 (Amš 14)

A.GĀR *A-mu-ur-ri-i<sup>KI</sup>*

\*Abšanum

*i-na A.GĀR Ab-ša-nim*

CT 45 6:1 (AS ?)

\*Aramatum (= Ḥaramatum)

YBC 1693:2 (Amd); Waterman Bus. Doc. 59:2  
(destr.)

### Ararrum

*i-na A-ra-ri-im*

BE 6/1 1:2 (Ilumma-ila)

\*Arkum (GĪD.DA/GĪD)

(see under Šiddum Arkum)

*i-na A.GĀR GĪD.DA*

BM 92651:2 (AS); BM 81220:1 (Ha 30); CT 47  
48:1 (Ha); CT 47 71: (Ae?); CT 47 71:1 (Ae r)

A.GĀR GĪD

BM 82434:1 (Ha 18); BM 67307:1(?)

*i-na GĪD.DA*

BM 64386:1 (und).

\*Ašarum (= Ḥašarum?)

*i-na A.GĀR A-ša-ri-im*

CT 4 45a:1 (Za)

Ašlātum

*i-na Aš-la-tum*

CT 8 49a:6 (AS)

*i-na Aš-la-tim*

BM 81687:1 (Si 1)

\*Ašuk(k)um

*i-na A-šu-ki-im*

CT 6 48a:1 (AS 1)<sup>1</sup>

A.GĀR *A-šu-kum*

YBC 4975 r. 17 (Si); CT 45 50:1 (Amd 24); BE 6/1  
83:1 (Amd 31); YBC 4271:2 (Amš 1); CT 45 57:2  
(Amš 5); CT 6 6 r. 4 (Amš 11)

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that here as in other cases (e.g., Bura, Nagūm), the term *ugāru* appears in the later occurrences.

*Atānum	
<i>i-na</i> A.GĀR <i>A-ta-nu-um</i>	BM 82442:1 (Si 13)
*Bāb-Adad (KĀ- <sup>d</sup> IM)	CT 48 20:6 (Ha)
*Bāb-ālim (KĀ URU <sup>KI</sup> ) <sup>2</sup>	CT 45 94 i 8, 16.
Bamātum	
<i>i-na</i> <i>Ba-ma-tim</i>	CT 8 28c:2 (Sl); Waterman Bus. Doc. 70:1, 4
(*) Bazu (see below ša Bazi)	
A.GĀR <i>Ba-zi</i>	BE 6/1 119 ii 11; CT 4 34c:1, BM 78254 iv 1
*BE(?)gima(?)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 3:8 (Amd 5)
*Biniašum	TCL 1 128:1 (Si 9)
Bīnu (GIŠ.ŠINIG) <sup>d</sup> Enlil (see below Ša Bīne)	
ŠĀ GIŠ.ŠINIG <sup>d</sup> EN.LÍL	TCL 1 145:6 (Si 30)
Bīnu ša Naḥwirum	CT 4 34a:3
*Bir ...	Waterman Bus. Doc. 76:2 (Sd x)
Bīt-kunukkim(?)	
(É.KIŠIB(?).BA(?))	CT 8 25b:1
Bizizana	CT 4 26b:9 (Za); CT 2 50:3 (Za 13)
Bubû ša Erištim	
<i>i-na</i> <i>Bu-bi-e-im</i> ša <i>E-ri-iš-tim</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 14:4f. (Immerum)
(*) Burā/Burātu	
<i>i-na</i> <i>Bu-ra-a</i> <sup>KI</sup>	CT 47 47:1 (Ha 25); CT 45 20:10 (Ha 33)
A.GĀR <i>Bu-ra-a</i> <sup>KI</sup>	BE 6/2 110:2 (Amd 29); CT 33 36:2 (Amd 29); CT 47 77:1; BE 6/1 119 iii 21, 25, 28
<i>i-na</i> <i>Bu-ra-a-ti</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 61:2 (Ha)
<i>i-na</i> <i>Bu-ra-tu</i> (?)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 41:1
Bura-imdidi	
<i>i-na</i> <i>Bu-ra-a-im-dī-di</i>	VAS 8 52/53:7 (Sm)
<i>i-na</i> <i>Bu-ra</i> ša <i>im-dī</i> (?) <i>-di</i>	BE 6/2 89:1 (Si ?)
Bure (see below ša Bure)	
*Buša	CT 47 3:1 (AS); CT 8 29c:2 (AS); CT 47 25/25a:2 (Ha 3); CT 47 58:1 (Ha 4); VAS 9 23/24:1 (Ha 27); BE 6/1 28:6 (Ha 29); CT 45 52:12 (Si 2); CT 6 49c:1 (Si 12); Waterman Bus. Doc. 16:2 (Amd 14); BE 6/1 119 r. ii 12
*Bušu	VAS 9 38:2 (Ha 29)
*Diritum	CT 45 52:7, 18 (Si 2); CT 2 24:12 (Ae t)

<sup>2</sup> We distinguish this Flurname from the phrase *ina bāb ālim* "inside the gate of the city" which is found as the location of very small fields which in the early period were located within the city of Sippar, e.g., Scheil Sippar 10:6 (Sm); CT 8 25a:20 (Sm 7).

*Ebertu (BAL.RI) <sup>3</sup>	CT 47 39:1 (Ha 25)
(*) Eble	
<i>i-na Eb-li-e</i>	CT 8 47a:1 (Immerum); CT 8 31a:1 (AS); CT 47 7/7a:1 (AS); CT 6 46:1 (AS 11); CT 4 25b:1 (Ha 9); CT 47 64:6, 64a:5 (Si 16)
<i>i-na A.GÀR Eb-li-e</i>	CT 47 66:6 (Si); CT 47 62a:2 (Si 9); CT 45 94:7, 13
<i>ša Eb-li-e</i>	CT 47 68/68a:1
<i>i-na ši-ni E-ep-li-[e]</i>	CT 33 48a:1
(*) Gamanānum/Gaminānum	
<i>i-na Ga-mi-na-nu-um</i>	CT 2 41:6 (Ha 38)
<i>i-na A.GÀR Ga-mi-na-nu-um</i>	BM 92676:2 (Si 10); CT 45 94:22
<i>A.GÀR Ga-am(?) -na(?) -nu</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 3:1 (Amd 5)
<i>i-na Ga-ma-na-nim</i>	CT 47 78/78a:1
*Giš.ma.na	CT 8 19b:2 (Amš 11)
*Gizāna/Gizānum	
<i>A.GÀR Gi-za-na</i>	PBS 8/2 249:8 (Ha 20)
<i>i-na Gi-za-nu</i>	BM 82278:1 (Ha 41)
<i>A.GÀR Gi-za-nu</i>	CT 45 52:12 (Si 2); CT 4 14a:2 (Amš 3)
<i>i-na A.GÀR Gi-za-nu</i>	BE 6/1 50:1 (Si 2)
<i>i-na u-ga-ar Gi-za-ni-im</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 25:3 (und.)
(*) Ḫagānum/Ḫigānum <sup>4</sup>	
<i>i-na Ḫi-ga-nim</i>	CT 2 16:1 (Za)
<i>i-na A.GÀR Ḫa-ga-nim</i>	VAS 8 84:6 (Ha 2)
*Ḫalḫalla	CT 47 62:1 (Si 9); CT 45 34:9 (Si 15); BE 6/1 119 r. ii edge
(*) Ḫaramatum/Ḫaramtum (= Aramatum)	
<i>ša Ḫa-ra-ma-tum</i>	TCL 1 74:1 (Sm 14)
<i>ša A.GÀR Ḫa-ra-ma-tim</i>	TCL 1 73:2 (Sm)
<i>i-na Ḫa-ra-ma-tim</i>	Scheil RT 17 30:2
<i>i-na Ḫa-ra-am-ti-im</i>	Friedrich BA 5 519 No. 59:1
*Ḫašarum/Ḫaširum (= Ašarum)	
<i>ša A.GÀR Ḫa-ši-ri-im</i>	CT 4 26b:2 (Za); CT 45 52:1, 3 (Si 2)
<i>A.GÀR Ḫa-ša-ri-im</i>	BE 6/1 94:3 (Amš 3)

<sup>3</sup> We separate this Flurname from the phrase *ina ebertim* "on the other bank" which occurs frequently in Sippar texts: Waterman 37:5 (Immerum); BE 6/1 3:10 (Immerum); CT 2 37:1 (Za); and passim. The phrase *ina ebertim* is followed in many of these instances with the name of the Flurname.

<sup>4</sup> See BE 6/1 5:4 (Immerum) for the strange occurrence of *Ḫa-ga-a-nim ša Ê.GAL*.

Hunnuntum	
<i>i-na Hu-nu-un-tum</i>	Scheil Sippar 10:7 (Sm)
Huratum	
<i>i-na Hu-ra(?) -tum(?)</i>	CT 4 39b:1
*Irkilu(?)	
<i>i-na A.GÀR Ir(?) -ki-lu(?)</i>	CT 45 105:1
*Iššiätum/Iššitum	
<i>i-na A.GÀR Iš-ši-tim</i>	CT 2 5:1 (Si 9); Goetze JCS 11 23 No. 9:1 (Si 9)
A.GÀR <i>Iš-ši-a-tum</i>	Meissner BAP 75:2 (Amš 9)
(*) Iškarum (ÉŠ.GÀR)	
A.GÀR ÉŠ.GÀR	CT 45 94 i 17
<i>i-na Iš-ka-ri-im</i>	CT 6 21c:1
*Iškun-Ištar <sup>KI 5</sup> (see under Geographical names)	
	CT 48 16:2(?)
*Kabirum	
<i>i-na A.GÀR Ka-bi-ri</i>	CT 8 25a:8 (Sm 7)
<i>i-na A.GÀR Ka-bi-rum</i>	YOS 12 44:2 (Si 2)
Kārum	
<i>i-na Ka-ri-e-im</i>	CT 6 49b:2 (Si)
*Kigallu (KI.GÁL)	
<i>i-na A.GÀR KI(?) .GÁL</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 57:1
Kija [...]	
<i>i-na Ki(?) -ia- [...]</i>	TCL 1 195:1
* <sup>d</sup> KUD-bāni <sup>KI</sup>	Pinches Peek No. 14:1 (Si 30)
*Kuḫu-x-ili	
<i>i-na A.GÀR Ku-hu-x-DINGIR</i>	Meissner BAP 36:1 (AS)
(*) Lašalla	
A.GÀR <i>La-ša-la</i>	CT 4 10:38 (AS 11); TCL 1 155:1 (Amd 34)
A.GÀR <i>La-šal-la</i>	CT 33 33:1 (Amd 4)
<i>i-na La-ša-la</i>	CT 8 16a:30 (Sm); see also BE 6/1 5:5 (Immerum)
* <sup>d</sup> Lugal.gú.du <sub>8</sub> .a <sup>KI</sup>	CT 8 8d:2 (Amd 2); TCL 1 154:2 (Amd 24)
*Lú.sag.[x].[x]	CT 47 70:2 (Ae p)
*Maḫana	CT 8 47b:2 (Immerum); CT 8 5a:6 (Ha 41); CT 33 42:2; CT 33 43:4; PBS 8/2 226:3 (destr.)

<sup>5</sup> This is the only occurrence in our texts of a field being located in the irrigation area of Iškun-Ištar, a city which occurs frequently as the location of houses (see geographical names).

*Marmarānum	
A.GÀR <i>Ma-ar-ma-ra-nim</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 69:1
*Maši-ili	CT 8 26b:2 (Illumma-ila)
(*) Merigat (see under Geographical Names)	
A.GÀR <i>Me-ri-ga-at</i>	BE 6/2 124:2 (Amš 6)
<i>i-na Me-ri-ga-at</i>	VAS 8 52/53:16 (Sm)
Migrigatu	
<i>i-na Mi-ig-ri-ga-ti</i>	CT 47 30/30a:1 (Ha 10)
(*) Mukarānum	
<i>i-na Mu-ka-ra-nim</i>	VAS 8 52/53:3 (Sm)
A.GÀR <i>Mu-ka-ra-nu</i>	CT 2 24:1 (A t)
Mukarraḥu	
<i>i-na Mu-ka-ar-ra-ḥi-e</i>	CT 8 24a:2 (Si 10)
*Muše	
A.GÀR <i>Mu-ši(!)-e</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 15:1 (Amš 12)
(*) Nagûm	
<i>i-na Na-gi-im</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 37:6 (Immerum) <sup>6</sup> ; CT 45 8:1 (AS); CT 8 4a:7, 9 (Sm); CT 8 16b:1 (Sm)
<i>ša Na-gu-um</i>	BE 6/1 7:2 (SI)
A.GÀR <i>Na-gu-um</i>	CT 45 52:9 (Si 2); BE 6/1 61:1 (Si 24); BE 6/1 62:1 (Si 26); PBS 8/2 226:13 (destr.)
A.GÀR <i>Na-gu-ú</i>	CT 8 3b:6 (Amš 3); CT 2 32:3 (Amš 17+a)
*Nagûm Akšak-iddinam	BE 6/1 28:3 (Ha 29)
*Nagûm ša Šamaš-nāšir	BE 6/1 28:4 (Ha 29)
*Naḥištum	
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR <i>Na-ḥi-iš-tim</i>	VAS 8 60:1 (Ha 4)
A.GÀR <i>Na-ḥi-iš-tum</i>	CT 4 37c:4 (Si); CT 47 82:9, r. 6
Namza [...]	
<i>i-na Nam-za-[...]</i>	CT 47 26:1 (Ha 3)
*Namzum <sup>(KI)</sup> (GAKKUL)	CT 8 5a:1, 4 (Ha 41); VAS 13 25:1 (Ha 41)
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR GAKKUL	CT 47 51 51a:2 (Si 1)
*Nappašu	TCL 1 171:2 (Amš 17+a)
*URU <sup>NI</sup> Ni-x-x-di <sup>KI</sup>	BE 6/2 85:1 (Si 16)
*Nu-x-x-x-x	CT 2 7:1 (Ha 9)
(*) Paḥušum	
<i>i-na qí-ir-bi-it Pa-ḥu-šum</i>	VAS 8 52/53:1 (Sm)
<i>i-na Pa-ḥu-sum</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 12:1 (Ha 13); CT 33 48b:1 (Ha 32)

<sup>6</sup> The term *nagûm* is used perhaps here in the more general sense of district for it is here followed by the Flurname, Tawirtum Rabîtum *ša Ilili*.

<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Pa-</i> (copy:URU)- <i>hu-šum</i>	VAS 9 9:1 (Ha 18)
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR <i>Pa-ú-si</i> <sup>KI</sup>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 1:2 (Si 6)
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR < <i>Pa</i> > - <i>hu-šum</i>	Szlechter Tablettes 10 MAH 15913:5 (Si 7)
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR <i>Pa-hu-ši</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 11:1 (und.); CT 47 63/63a:13 (Si 14)
A.GÀR <i>Pa-hu-šum</i>	CT 45 52:18 (Si 2); CT 8 7a:1 (Amd 32); BE 6/1 119 r. ii 7 (und.)
*Putra-ili	CT 48 20:15 (Ha)
*Puzur- <sup>d</sup> A.MAL	CT 47 63/63a:3, 7 (Si 14)
*Qablutum	
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR <i>Qá-ab-li-t[im]</i>	BM 82440:6
*Qablum	
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR <i>Qá-ab-li-im</i>	CT 8 31b:2 (AS); CT 47 58:5 (Si 7); CT 47 78:6 (und.)
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR <i>Qá-ab-lu-um</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 51 r. 2 (Ha 4); CT 2 41:19 (Ha 38)
*Rabûm (GAL/GU.LA) <sup>7</sup>	
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR GU.LA	Friedrich BA 5 513 No. 48:2 (Ilumma-ila), No. 28:2 (Ha 18).
A.GÀR GU.LA	TCL 1 56:1 (SI)
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR GAL	Friedrich BA 5 486 No. 2:2 (Ha 14); 517 No. 77:2 (und); CT 6 48c:1 (Ha 25); CT 45 52:5 (Si 2); BE 6/1 89:1 (Amd 19)
<i>a-na</i> A.GÀR <i>Ra-bi-[i]-im</i>	LIH 90:6 (Si)
A.GÀR <sup>URU</sup> <sup>d</sup> <i>Gu-la</i>	CT 2 8:3 (Amš 16)
*Rišam	CT 47 63:16 (Si 14)
*Sabbum	YBC 12982:2 (Amš 9)
*Silani <sup>KI</sup> (see under Geographical Names)	CT 8 36b:2 (Amd 27); Friedrich BA 5 504 No. 34:2, 6 (Amš 10); 506 No. 39:2 (Amš ?); Çig Kraus Nippur 169:2 (Amš 16); CT 45 120:1 (und)
*Sililum	
<i>i-na</i> A.GÀR <i>Si-li-li-im</i>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 43:1 (und)
Sin-māgir	
<i>i-na</i> <i>Zi-ma-gir</i>	CT 4 47b:1 (Immerum ?)

<sup>7</sup> That A.GÀR GAL = A.GÀR GU.LA is clear from Friedrich BA 5 486 No. 2 (the first reading) and 517 No. 57 (the second reading) for both concern fields of the same size leased out by the same *naditu*. We suggest that the latest occurrence A.GÀR<sup>URU</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Gu-la* is a reinterpretation of A.GÀR GU.LA, though it also may be a totally different region.

* <sup>d</sup> Sumuqan	BE 6/1 28:1 (Ha 29)
* <sup>d</sup> Sin	CT 8 16a:29 (Sm)
Ša Annum-pī-Sin	CT 45 94 ii 20
Šabagānum	
<i>i-na Ša-ba-ga-nim</i>	CT 6 48a:4 (AS 1) ; BM 80367:1 (Ha 14)
<i>ša Ša-ba-[ga-nim?]</i>	VAS 8 84:1 (Ha 2)
Ša Bazi (see above Bazu)	
<i>i-na ša Ba-zi</i>	BE 6/1 5:2 (Immerum)
Ša Bīne (see above Bīnu <sup>d</sup> Enlil)	
<i>i-na ša bi-ni-e</i>	CT 47 32:1 (Ha 11)
GIŠ.ŠINIG	CT 47 49:3 (Ha)
Ša Bure (see above Bure)	
<i>i-na Ša Bu-ri-e</i>	CT 2 23:3
Ša Enim	CT 6 22a:7 (AS 18)
Šalutānum	
Sa Mera-DINGIR	BE 6/1 4:1 (Immerum)
(*) Šamkānum	
<i>i-na Ša-am-ka-nim</i>	Riftin 39:2 (und) ; BM 82278:2 (Ha 41)
<i>a-na ... A.GĀR Ša-am-ka-nim</i>	LIH 90:7 (Si)
Ša Muškēnum	
<i>i-na Ša Mu-uš-ki-nu-um i-na</i>	
<i>ša A-du-nu-um</i>	CT 2 23:1
Šiddum Arkum (UŠ.GĪD.DA) (see under Arkum)	
<i>i-na Ši-di-im Ar-ki-im</i>	Meissner BAP 48:9 (Ha 9 or 33) ; VAS 13 25:2 (Ha 41) Waterman Bus. Doc. 41:2 (und)
<i>i-na A.GĀR UŠ.GĪD.DA</i>	CT 47 47:2 (Ha 25) ; Waterman Bus. Doc. 44:1
*Šulpum	
<i>ša A.GĀR Šu-ul-pi-im</i>	BM 81396:3 (Amš 13)
*Šulpum Šaplum	
<i>i-na A.GĀR Šu-ul-pi-im</i>	
<i>Ša-ap-li-im</i>	BM 64294:1 (Ha)
*Šumum -[libši?]	CT 45 59:1 (Amš 10)
*Šemi	CT 8 19c:2 (Amš 5) ; PBS 7 103:4
*Šunakbum	CT 8 10b:2 (Amš 10)
Šupalu	
<i>i-na Šu-pa-lu</i>	PBS 8/2 262:2 (Ha 21)
*Šuplānum	Riftin 22a:2 (Si 5) ; CT 47 60:1 (Si 8)
*Šuššaia	Meissner BAP 73:2 (Ha 13)
*Šu-ši -[...]	Çig Kraus Nippur 166:12 (Amš 4)
*Šutša-Aja	YBC 4980:22 (Amd 25) ; BE 6/1 83:4 (Amd 31)
*Ta (?) [...] si	BE 6/1 77:1

Tabiḫatum (see under Tawirtum)

- \*Taptiātum CT 6 20:1 (Si 29)
- (\*) Tawirātum  
*i-na Ta-wi-ra-tim* CT 47 19:3 (Sm) ; CT 47 66:8 (Si)  
*i-na Ta-wi-ra-tum* Waterman Bus. Doc. 55:1 (AS)  
 A.GÀR *Ta-wi-ra-tum* YBC 6785:1 (Amd 7)
- (\*) Tawirtum CT 45 94 ii 19 ; CT 4 34a:1 ; CT 45 94 ii 19
- Tawirtum ša Adalal<sup>8</sup>  
*i-na Ta-wi-ir-tim ša A-da-lāl* CT 8 49a:9 (AS)
- Tawirtum ša Amurru  
*i-na Ta-wi-ir-tim sa A-mu-ru-um* CT 2 34:2 (SI)
- Tawirtum ša Annašariš  
*i-na ta-wi-ir-tim ša An-na-ša-ri-iš* CT 45 113:1f.
- Tawirtum ša Dammaqtim  
*i-na Ta-wi- <ir > -tim ša*  
*Da-am-ma-aq-tim* CT 8 38b:1 (Immerum)
- Tawirtum ša Ibbi-Sin CT 45 113:17f.
- Tawirtum ša Jabzudum CT 48 29:1f. (AS)
- Tawirtum rabitum ša Ilili Waterman Bus. Doc. 37:7 (Immerum)
- Tawirtum ša DUMU.MEŠ  
 ŠU(?).GIEŠ CT 2 32:2 (Amš 17+a)
- Tawirtum ša Nahja CT 2 23:5
- Tawirtum ša Tabiḫatum BE 6/1 3:3, 11 (Immerum)
- Tawirtum ša Tenunam (see below Tenunam)  
*i-na Tawirtim ša Te-nu- <nam >* CT 2 37:2
- Tawirtum ša UR-Gula  
*i-na Ta-wi-ir-tim ša UR-*  
*Gu-la (?)* BE 6/1 14:2 (Za)
- \*Tenunam CT 2 37:8 (Za) ; CT 47 38:4 (Ha 21) ; CT 8 10a:2  
 (Amš 15) ; CT 45 66:1 (Amš)
- \*Tuḫamum<sup>KI</sup> CT 8 16a:28 (Sm) ; CT 45 65:4 (Si 25) ; BE 6/1  
 112:2 (Sd c) ; BM 80848:2 (und)
- Tubqum CT 4 1b:1 (Ha ?)
- i-na Tu-ub-qí*
- Tubqum ša bubêm  
*i-na Tu-ub-qí-im ša bu-bi-e-im* Waterman Bus. Doc. 14:2 (Immerum)

<sup>8</sup> Note that the Flurname Tawirtum when followed by a name is, with one exception, found in very early documents.

*Tābum	
<i>i-na</i> A.GĀR <i>Tà-bu-um</i>	VAS 8 84:4 (Ha 2); PBS 8/2 229:1 (Ha 42); CT 45 52:19 (Si 7); BE 6/1 70:1, 7, 28 (Ae d), 33, 36, CT 8 17b:1 (Ae k); CT 6 24b:1 (Ae k); BE 6/1 90:1 (Amd 21); CT 4 17a:2 (Amš 9); CT 4 23b:2 (Amš 15); CT 47 75:1 (destr.); CT 6 37b:1 (und.)
<i>i-na</i> A.GĀR <i>Tà-bi-im</i>	CT 47 59:2 (Si 7)
*U- [...]	CT 45 26:1 (Ha 30)
(*) Zarriqum	
<i>i-na</i> A.GĀR <i>Za-ri-qu</i>	PBS 8/2 247:1 (Ha 14)
A.GĀR <i>ša Za-ri-qu</i>	BE 6/1 28:2 (Ha 29)
Zaškum	
<i>i-na</i> <i>Za-aš-ki-im</i>	CT 4 26b:4 (Za); Waterman Bus. Doc. 25:5 (und.)
Zimagir (see above Sin-māgir)	
*Zuḥa	CT 33 30:1 (Amd 3); CT 8 11b:2 (Amš 5)
Zuliḥu	
[ <i>i-n</i> ]a <i>Zu-li-ḥi</i>	PBS 8/2 206:1 (Ha 4)
(*) <sup>9</sup> GAN <sup>9</sup>	
<i>i-na</i> 9 GĀN	Çig Kraus Nippur 161:5; TCL 1 70:1 (Sm 13); PBS 8/2 258:1 (und.)
A.GĀR 9 GĀN.(E)	CT 4 10:1, 14 (AS 1); CT 45 52:21 (Si 2); CT 4 40c:2 (Ae ?); YBC 12983:2 (Amd 3); TCL 1 151:2 (Amd 30); XT 8 40d:1 (Amd 32); Waterman Bus. Doc. 7:2 (Amd 35); Waterman Bus. Doc. 2:2 (Amd 36); Çig Kraus Nippur 166:1 (Amš 4); CT 47 76:1 (destr.); CT 45 60:6 (Amš 17+c).

*List of Canals and Rivers* (all are preceded by ÍD)

Adamaraš	VAS 13 31:4 (Ha 40)
Ajabubu	TCL 1 130/131:6 (Si 10)
Aja-ḥegalli	RSO 2 539:2 (Sm); CT 48 3:2 (Ha 6); BM 78254:ii 4 (und.)
Akšak <sup>K1</sup>	CT 47 49:3 (Ha)
Araḥtum	CT 8 36c:5 (Amd 8); VAS 9 218:6
Bi-ni(?)-a	CT 6 49c:4 (Si 12)
Bizizana (see Flurnamen)	Szlechter Tablettes 46 MAH 16353:2
Bušaja	VAS 8 60:6 (Ha 4)
Bušatum	Meissner BAP 42:23 (Amš 14)

<sup>9</sup> I do not know the reading of this Flurname and so have put it at the end.

Eššu (GIBIL)	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28:7 (Ha 13)
Ḫagiānu (see the Flurname Hagānu)	BE 6/1 119:37, ii 6
Ḫarḫarritum	CT 2 16:4 (Za) ; CT 2 7:5 (Ha 9) ; BE 6/1 119 ii 38
Ḫaru/i-mālik	YBC 4975:15, r. 5 (Si) ; BE 6/1 46:5 (Si 24?)
Idiglat (IDIGNA)	VAS 9 19:5 (Ha 22) ; CT 47 58:9 (Si 9) ; YOS 12 469:4 (Si 25) ; Waterman Bus. Doc. 15:3 (Amš 12) ; CT 48 78:8 (Amš 17+b)
Illānum	BM 82424:4 (AS)
I-in-sú-ki-im-na-ku(?) -ti	CT 8 3b:9 (Amš 3)
Irnina	CT 45 29:5 (Ha) ; BE 6/2 89:20 (Si ?) ; LIH 88:6, 10 (Ae) CT 33 30:2 (Amd 3) ; CT 8 11b:3 (Amš 5) ; CT 2 32:4 (Amš 17+a) ; CT 45 111:14 r. 10, 17, 22, 113:18, 39, 47, 52 ; CT 47 80:16
Iškaru (ÈŠ.GAR)	CT 45 20:7 (= Meissner BAP 48) (Ha 9 or 33)
Kimsum	CT 47 11:4 (Sm)
Lijānum	CT 4 47b:2 (Immerum ?)
Muškēnum	BM 92650:5 (Ha 30)
Nabium	BE 6/1 50:4 (Si 2)
Nabium-ḫegalli	CT 8 3b:8 (Amš 3)
Narām-Sin	BM 78254 i 12
Nūratum	CT 47 63:12 (Si 14)
Pariktum	CT 8 17b:1 (Ae k)
Sin	PBS 8/2 247:2 (Ha 14) ; BM 78254 iii 4 ; CT 47 77:5
Sin-muballiṭ	CT 47 30:5 (Ha 10)
Sippirītum (UD.KIB.NUN <sup>KI</sup> ) <sup>ÍD</sup> UD.KIB.NUN <sup>KI</sup>	CT 4 10:41 (AS 1), CT 47 10:1 (Sm 8) ; TCL 1 74:4 (Sm 14) ; CT 47 30:9 (Ha 10) ; CT 8 18c:4 (Ha 14) ; Scheil Sippar 67:4 (Ha 21 ?) ; BE 6/1 23:2 (Ha 35) ; Friedrich BA 5 487 No. 7:1 (Ha 43) ; CT 47 56:5 (Si 4) Riftin 22a:6 (Si 5) ; CT 47 60:6 (Si 8) ; BE 6/1 46:1, 4 (Si 24) ; Pinches Peek 14:15 (Si 30) ; Goetze JCS 2 111 No. 23:6 (Ae t) ; BE 6/1 83:5 (Amd 31) ; CT 47 80:27 and passim.
<sup>ÍD</sup> UD.KIB.NUN.NA	YBC 4975:1, 2, r. 2, 4 (Si)
<sup>ÍD</sup> UD.KIB.NUN-tum	BE 6/1 46:1 (Si 24)
<sup>ÍD</sup> UD.KIB.NUN <sup>KI</sup> - ri-tum	Scheil Sippar 10:4, 14 (Sm) BE 6/1 70:8 (Ae d)

<sup>ID</sup> Si (!)-ip-pi-ri-tum*	CT 4 23b:2 (Amš 15)
Širû (MAḪ) ?	CT 47 65:11, 65a:10 (Si 25)
Šarrum	BM 82424:3 (AS) ; CT 47 64:4 (Si 16)
Tupšarru	CT 4 17b:6 (Si 22) ; CT 4 7b:5 (Si 22) ; CT 8 15a:6 (Si 22)
Urnija	CT 8 18c:4 (Ha 14) ; VAS 9 116:3 (Ha 35)
Zabium	Meissner BAP 36:34 (AS) ; CT 4 16a:4 (AS 18) ; CT 8 49b:3 (AS ?) ; CT 2 5:6 (Si 9) ; CT 47 63 r. 14 (Si 14) ; BE 6/1 83:2 (Amd 31)
Zilaku	CT 45 121:3, 5
7 SILÀ.TA**	CT 47 38:5 (Ha 21) ; CT 47 39:9 (Ha)

*List of Geographical Names\*\*\**

<i>Am-na-an Ša-ad-la-aš</i>	
(see <i>Ša-at-la-aš</i> )	CT 48 83 seal
URU <sup>KI</sup> <i>A-mu-ta</i>	TCL 1 158:3 (Amd 4 ?)
<i>A-ru-[ma]-lik (?)</i>	TCL 1 140:2 (Si 22)
<i>A-šar-<sup>d</sup>Ma-ma<sup>KI</sup></i>	TCL 1 164:2 (Amš 9)
<i>Āš-nun-na<sup>KI</sup></i> (see <i>Ēš-nun-na<sup>KI</sup></i> )	
<i>Aš-ta-ba-[la] (?)</i>	CT 6 29:5 (Amd 1)
<i>Aš-ta-ba-la<sup>KI</sup></i>	CT 2 37:6 (Za)
URU [ <i>Aš ?</i> ]- <i>ta-ba-[la ?]</i>	TCL 1 112:14 (Si 5)
URU <i>A-šu-uh<sup>KI</sup></i>	VAS 9 208:3
<i>Bar-zi-pa<sup>KI</sup></i>	YBC 606:2 (Amš 6)
<i>Bābilim</i> (KÁ.DINGIR.RA) <sup>KI</sup>	VAS 13 32:5 (Ha 5)
	Waterman Bus. Doc. 22:9 (Za 11), 23:8 (Za 11) ; VAS 8 26 (Sm 7) ; VAS 8 105:8 (= Meissner BAP 40) (Ha 4) ; VAS 13 32:5 (Ha 5 ?) ; CT 8 40a:2, 9 (Ha 28) ; CT 8 24b:19 (Si 2) ; CT 8 6b:8 (Si 3) ; CT 47 67:6 (Si) ; BM 80437:3 (Ae b) ; CT 6 29:7 (Amd 1) ; CT 45 46:6 (Amd 6) ; CT 6 39a:24 (Amd 26) ; BE 6/1 103:23, 25 (Amš 1) ; BM 78577:8 (Amš 9) ; TCL 1 164:11 (Amš 9) ; BM 80744:4 (Amd 2) ; 69:3 (Amd 3, 4) ; CT 45 56:2 (Amš 5)

\* It is on the basis of this reference that we propose that the <sup>ID</sup>UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup> in the Sippar texts be read Sippirítum. This was the name of one of the main branches of the Euphrates on which Sippar was situated. It is of course possible that some of the references to <sup>ID</sup>UD.KIB.NUN<sup>KI</sup> refer to the Euphrates itself. But much more study is needed to separate them, if indeed it can be done.

\*\* The reading is unknown.

\*\*\* The references to the various Sippars are not included here.

- (ŠĀ) *Bi-ir-si-im*  
 URU *Bu-ku-la-nu-um*  
*Bu-su*<sup>KI</sup>  
 Dimat (AN.ZA.QAR)-  
<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL<sup>KI</sup>  
 URU *Du-un-ne-za-aḥ-di*<sup>KI</sup>  
*Du-un-ni-za-i-di*<sup>KI</sup>  
 Dūr (BĀD)-*Ba-ši-DINGIR*  
*Dur* (BĀD)-<sup>d</sup>UTU  
 Elam (NIM<sup>KI</sup>)  
*Ēš-nun-na*<sup>(KI)</sup> (see *Áš-nun-na*)  
 URU *Ga-da-ra*<sup>KI</sup>  
 (SAG.ĪR.MEŠ) *Gu-ti-i*<sup>KI</sup>  
 (URU<sup>KI</sup>) *Ha-aḥ-ḥu-(um)*  
*Ha-la-ab*<sup>KI</sup>  
*Ḥa-al-ḥa-la*  
*Ḥal-ḥal-la*<sup>KI</sup>
- URU *Ḥal-ḥal-la*<sup>KI</sup>  
*Ḥi-ri-tum*<sup>KI</sup>  
*Ḥu-ba*<sup>KI</sup>  
 (KASKAL) URU *Ḥu-da-di*  
*i-na Ḥu-da-du-um*  
 (šibūt) *Ḥu-da-di*  
 (šibūt) URU<sup>KI</sup> *Im/Iḥ-ba-x-i*<sup>KI</sup>  
 (šibūt) *Ip-la-ḥi-i*<sup>KI</sup>  
 (ina) *Ip-la-ḥi-i*<sup>KI</sup>  
 (niš) *Ip-la-ḥi*<sup>KI</sup>  
 URU<sup>KI</sup> *I-ši-da-ri-i*<sup>KI</sup>  
 (case : *kabarum* ” )  
 (LÚ) *I-šim-d*<sup>d</sup>*Šul-gi*  
 (ina) *I-ši-in*  
*Iš-ku-un-EŠ<sub>4</sub>.DAR*<sup>(KI)</sup>
- (Amš 11) ; CT 4 26c:14 (Amš 16) ; PBS 8/2 198:12  
 (Amš 16) ; CT 45 60:34 (Amš 17+c) ; CT 2 1:2,  
 20, 23, 50 (= CT 2 6) (Amš) ; BE 6/1 110:11 (Sd g) ;  
 CT 47 83:17 ; CT 6 8:25 ; CT 4 15c:11  
 BE 6/1 109:4 (Sd e)  
 CT 47 30:6 (Ha 10)  
 CT 6 47b:8 (Ha 24)  
 VAS 9 141:3 (Ha 24) ; BM 80509:1, r. 4 (Amd 6) ;  
 BM 80496:1  
 CT 4 23c:3 (Sd e)  
 VAS 16 64:19  
 CT 2 23:4  
 CT 45 60:35 (Amš 17+c)  
 CT 6 39a:6 (Amd 26) ; CT 48 78:6  
 VAS 8 81/82:7 (Ha 1) ; BM 81641:10  
 TCL 1 147:3 (Ae h)  
 Meissner BAP 4:3 (Amš 10)  
 VAS 9 146:2 (Ha 1) ; CT 45 45:2 (Amd 3)  
 CT 45 109:8  
 CT 8 39b:2 (Sm)  
 Waterman Bus. Doc. 40:1 (Sm) ; CT 47 29:2  
 (Ha 7) ; CT 8 6b:12 (Si 3) ; CT 6 33a:6 (Si 8) ;  
 CT 47 64a.r.3 (Si) ; CT 6 20a:2, 10 (Si 29) ; CT 47 70  
 n. 3 (Ae p) ; CT 47 78:24<sup>2</sup> ; CT 6 21c:7 ; BM  
 81128:2 ; CT 47 68a:19  
 CT 47 56:2 (Si 4) ; CT 47 68a:9  
 BM 80327:9 (Amd 13) ; CT 6 8:7  
 CT 45 20:11 (Ha 9 or 33)  
 Meissner BAP 48:11 (Ha 9)  
 CT 8 18a:1 (Ha 14) ; TCL 1 196:1  
 CT 2 9:4 (Ha ?)  
 Waterman Bus. Doc. 27:8 (Sm 19)  
 VAS 13 32:7 (Ha 5 ?)  
 CT 2 15:1 (Si 3)  
 CT 47 4:18 (Ae)  
 TCL 1 130:6 (Si 10)  
 CT 6 8:3  
 VAS 8 8:3 (= Meissner BAP 79) (Za 1)  
 CT 6 49c:5 (Si 12) ; CT 4 7b:2 (Si 22) ; CT 4 17b:3  
 (Si 22) ; CT 8 15a:3 (Si 22) ; Meissner BAP 68:1

KAR-<sup>d</sup>UTU

	YOS 12 5 36:14, 33 (Si 29), 537:1, 20 (Si 30); CT 45 36:iv 6 (Si); BE 6/1 68:14 (Ae t); YBC 6474:10 (Ae u); YBC 6785:8 (Amd 7); BM 80327:10 (Amd 13); CT 6 6:5 (Ams 11); BE 6/2 136:2 (Ams 3 or Sd 2 or 19); CT 45 54:3, 15 (destr.); LIH 90:11; TCL 1 230:17; PBS 7 72:11; TCL 1 54:21
<i>Ku/Ma-um/al-at/la</i> <sup>KI</sup>	VAS 8 8:30 (Za 1)
(LÚ) KIŠ <sup>KI</sup>	BE 6/1 15:21 (Za)
<sup>d</sup> KUD- <i>ba-ni</i> <sup>KI</sup>	Pinches Peek 14:8 (Si 30)
(ša) <i>Ku-un-ša-ba-nim</i> <sup>KI</sup>	VAS 9 22:10
URU <i>Ku-ru-ru</i> <sup>KI</sup>	Goetze VCS 11 31 No. 21:9 (Si 4)
(ina) <i>Ku-uš-ta-ra-tim</i>	CT 8 44a:10 (SI)
Larsa (URÍ) <sup>KI</sup>	CT 45 89:27; CT 45 118:21
<i>Lu-ub-da</i> <sup>KI</sup>	YBC 606:5 (Ams 6)
<i>Lu-ḫa-ia</i> <sup>KI(!)</sup>	CT 8 36c:4 (Amd 8)
(ina) <i>Ma-la-ni-im</i>	CT 8 49a:14 (AS)
<i>Ma/Ku-al/um-at/la</i> <sup>KI</sup>	VAS 8 8:30 (Za i)
(ša) <i>Maš-kan-ni</i> <sup>KI</sup>	TCL 1 223:2
<i>Me-ri-qa-at</i> <sup>(KI)</sup>	VAS 8 53:11 (Sm); CT 48 5:2, 31 (Si); CT 2 24:2 (Ae t); BM 81128:3
<i>Pa-as-ma-at</i> <sup>KI</sup>	TCL 1 168:17 (Ams 13)
<i>Pu-uš</i> <sup>KI</sup>	BE 6/2 136:6 (Sd c)
<i>Ra-pi-kum</i> <sup>KI</sup>	Friedrich BA 5 521 No. 62:20 (= Scheil Sippar 270)
(ina) <i>Si-[la]-ni</i> <sup>KI</sup>	VAS 9 9:8 (Ha 18)
<i>Sin-iqīšam</i> <sup>KI</sup>	Scheil Sippar 2 87:2 (Ha 13 ?)
SU.BIR <sub>4</sub> <sup>KI</sup>	TCL 1 147:2 (Ae h); CT 33 41:2 (Amd 4); YBC 606:7 (Ams 6); BE 6/1 95:25 (Ams 13)
URU ŠÀ.GA <sup>KI</sup>	Waterman Bus. Doc. 28:3 (Ha 13 or Si 8); CT 2 43:15 (Si 25); LIH 56:6, 13, 21 (Amd); CT 43 122:6; CT 44 53:9
<i>Ša Ma-ri-a-nu-um</i>	TCL 1 140:3 (Si 33)
URU (ša) <i>Ša-am-ḫi-ia</i> <sup>KI</sup>	VAS 9 145:28 (Ha 24); CT 4 18c:3 (Ams 8); CT 4 29a:4 (Ams 17+e)
(ištu) <i>Ša-ar-ma-an(?) -nim</i>	BE 6/1 106:3 (Ams 10)
<i>Ša-ad-la-as</i> <sup>KI</sup> (see Amnān Šadlaš)	CT 48 83:5; BM 92657:5 (Sm)
URU <i>Ši-mu-ru-um</i> <sup>KI</sup>	CT 4 47a:2 (AS 4)
URU <i>Ta-ad-ni?</i>	CT 33 41:2 (Amd 4)
URU <sup>KI</sup> [ <i>Ta?</i> ]- <i>al-ḫu-ú</i>	TCL 1 156:2 (Amd 37)

<i>Ta-aš-ku-un-ar-nu</i>	CT 8 41d:8 (Ilumma-ila)
<i>Ta-as-ku-un-EŠ<sub>4</sub>.DAR</i>	Scheil Sippar 10:3 (Sm)
<i>Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú</i> <sup>KI</sup>	YBC 12189:3 (Amd ?)
URU <i>Uš-[x]-[x]</i>	BE 6/2 85:4 (Si 16)
<i>Za-ba-an</i> <sup>KI</sup>	CT 4 47a:19 (AS 4)
<sup>ID</sup> <i>Zi-la-ku</i> <sup>KI</sup> (see under Canals)	Scheil Sippar 287:3 (Ha 13 ?)

### List of Texts

A. *Published Texts* (listed alphabetically according to abbreviations, inclusive of single texts)\*.

Ballerini RSO 2 pp. 539-41	1 text
<i>BE 6/1</i> 1-17, 19-25, 27-119	117 texts
<i>BE 6/2</i> 70-138 (The following have only date formulae: 71, 76, 82, 84, 86-87, 90, 92-109, 111-114, 117-118, 121-122, 125, 128-130, 132-134)	28 texts
Böhl Leiden Coll. 2 p. 20 No. 772 (= TLB 1 229)	1 text
Çig Kraus Nippur Nos. 161-175	15 texts
<i>CT 2 1</i> (= 6) 3-9, 13-18, 22-28, 30-37, 39-47, 50	40 texts
<i>CT 4</i> 1b, 6a, 7 8b-9a, 10-12b, 13-14b, 15-18, 19b, 20a, 20c, 21b-23, 25, 26b-c, 27b, 29a-b, 30a, 30c-31b, 31d, 33b, 34a, 34c, 35a, 36b-c, 37b-39b, 40-41a, 42, 43b, 44b-50b	84 texts
<i>CT 6</i> 3b, 4, 6-7, 15-19a, 20-21a, 21c-22, 23b-26, 28a, 30-32a, 33, 34b-38a, 39a, 40-49	65 texts
<i>CT 8</i> 1a-50d (not 40a, 50c)	136 texts
<i>CT 33</i> 26b-49	30 texts
<i>CT 45</i> 1-12, 15-21, 23-30, 32-83, 88-100, 102, 104-121	110 texts
<i>CT 47</i> 1-83	83 texts
<i>CT 48</i> 1, 3-17, 19, 22, 24-43, 45-48, 50-62, 64-85, 89-119	92 texts
Finkelstein JNES 21 p. 75	2 texts
Fish MCS 7 p. 1 and p. 4	2 texts
Frank Strassburger Keilschrifttexte 28	1 text
Friedrich BA 5 1-70 (a republication of Scheil Sippar texts; see concordance to Friedrich p. 484)	70 texts
Goetze JCS 2 103-112 Nos. 1-30	30 texts
Goetze JCS 11 16-38 Nos. 1-33	33 texts
Gordon Smith 46, 48	2 texts
Jacobsen Copenhagen Nos. 55-67	13 texts
Lautner Personenmiete pp. 152f.	1 text
Meissner BAP Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (= VAS 9 30), 9, 10, 11, 12 (= VAS 9 21), 13 (= VAS 8 117 and 118), 14, 15 (= VAS 9 185	

\* Two criteria were used for determining which texts were from Sippar: the oath formula and, in the absence of this, the prosopography.

and 186), 16 (= VAS 8 87), 17 (= VAS 8 39 and 40), 18 (= VAS 8 189), 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 (= VAS 9 12 and 13), 24 (= VAS 9 4), 25, 26, 31 (= CT 8 13b), 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38 (= VAS 8 6 and 7), 40 (= VAS 8 105), 42, 48 (= CT 45 20), 49 (= VAS 8 84 and 85), 50, 51 (= VAS 9 81), 52, 53 (= VAS 9 139 and 140), 54 (= VAS 9 160 and 161), 57, 58 (= VAS 8 59), 59, 60 (= VAS 8 46), 61, 62 (= VAS 9 72 and 73), 64, 65, 68, 69, 70 (= VAS 9 63 and 64), 71 (= VAS 9 5 and 6), 72 (= VAS 9 179), 73, 74, 75, 77 (= VAS 9 202), 79 (= VAS 8 8), 80, 81 (= VAS 8 31 and 32), 82 (= VAS 9 55 and 56), 83, 84, 85 (= VAS 9 170), 86, 87 (= VAS 9 66), 88 (= VAS 8 92), 89, 90, 91, 92 (= VAS 9 192 and 193), 94 (= VAS 8 127), 95, 96, 99 (= VAS 8 69 and 70), 101 (= VAS 8 27), 102 (= VAS 8 56 and 57), 103, 104, 105 (= VAS 9 130 and 131), 106 (= VAS 8 112), 107, 110 (= VAS 9 142 and 143), 111 (= VAS 8 17 and 18)	86 texts
Mendelsohn <i>Slavery</i> p. 78f., Columbia 296 ; p. 24f., Columbia 298	2 texts
<i>PBS 8/2</i> 183, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 214, 215, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241, 246, 247, 248, 252, 253, 258, 260, 261, 262, 263	50 texts
<i>PBS</i> 13 56	1 text
Pinches Peek Nos. 13 and 14	2 texts
Riftin Nos. 13, 22a, 39, 48	4 texts
Scheil Sippar 10, 13, 60, 62 (= RA 15 135), 63, 67, 73, 76, 87, 91, 100, 103, 242, 286	14 texts
Scheil RT 17 pp. 30, 31	2 texts
Speleers Recueil 228, 230, 241	3 texts
Szlechter Tablettes p. 10 MAH 15913, 45 MAH 15935, 3 MAH 15931, 122 MAH 16147, 67 MAH 16214, 76 MAH 16287, 46 MAH 16353, 154 MAH 16366, 38 MAH 16376, 28 MAH 16387, 145 MAH 16426, 18 MAH 16485, 25 MAH 16489	13 texts
<i>TCL 1</i> 56, 59-64, 70-80, 84-86, 89-97, 100-118, 121-128, 132, 137, 140, 145-156, 158, 160-230	
The following are case and tablet: 66 and 67; 68 and 69; 82 and 83; 87 and 88; 98 and 99; 119 and 120; 130 and 131; 135 and 136	162 texts
Thureau-Dangin RA 9 21ff.	1 text
<i>TLB 1</i> 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229 (= Böhl Leiden 2 p. 20 No. 772), 230, 231, 280	15 texts
VAS 8 (twenty-eight of these texts, including 10 sets of case and tablet were first published by Meissner in BAP under 18 numbers). Of those copies published for the first time, the following consist of 1 case and tablet: Nos. 1 and 2; 4 and 5; 9 and 10; 12 and 13; 22 and 23; 24 and 25; 28 and 29; 31 and 32; 33 and 34; 37 and 38; 41 and 42; 43 and 44; 47 and 48; 49 and 78; 50 and 51; 52 and 53; 62 and 63; 66 and 67; 74 and 75; 81 and 82; 84 and 85; 90 and 91; 93 and 94; 95 and 96; 97 and 98; 99 and 100; 103 and 104; 106 and 107; 108 and 109; 113 and 114; 119 and 120; 121 and 122; 123 and 124; 125 and 126; 129 and 130; 132	

and 133 ; 134 and 135 ; 136 and 137 ; The following are single copies published for the first time : 11, 19, 20, 21, 26, 30, 35, 36, 45, 54, 55, 58, 60, 61, 64, 65, 68, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 79, 80, 83, 86, 89, 101, 102, 110, 111, 115, 116, 128, 131

73 texts

VAS 9 (thirty-one of these texts, including 11 sets of case and tablet were first published by Meissner in BAP, under 20 numbers. Of those published for the first time, the following consist of case and tablet : Nos. 7 and 8 ; 10 and 11 ; 19 and 20 ; 23 and 24 ; 26 and 27 ; 34 and 35 ; 42 and 43 ; 46 and 47 ; 48 and 49 ; 51 and 52 ; 53 and 54 ; 59 and 60 ; 67 and 68 ; 70 and 71 ; 83 and 84 ; 109 and 110 ; 130 and 131 ; 136 and 137 ; 144 and 145 ; 148 and 149 ; 150 and 151 ; 155 and 156 ; 158 and 159 ; 165 and 166 ; 167 and 168 ; 182 and 183 ; 196 and 197 ; 204 and 216 ; 214 and 215 ; VAS 9 The following are single copies published for the first time : 1-3 ; 9, 14-17, 18, 22, 25, 28-29, 31-33, 36-41, 44-45, 50, 57-58, 61-62, 65, 69, 74-81, 85-108, 111-129, 132-135, 138, 141, 146-147, 152-154, 157, 162-164, 169-181, 184, 187-188, 190-191a, 194-195, 198-201, 203, 205-213, 217-230

172 texts

VAS 13 6, 10, 15, 16, 18 and 18a, 20 and 20a, 25, 31, 32, 34

10 texts

Waterman Bus. Doc. Nos. 1-31, 33-48, 50-82 (Nos. 22 and 23, 34 and 35 are case and tablet)

78 texts

YOS 12 44, 75, 400, 442, 469, 536, 537

7 texts

## B. Unpublished Texts

### 1. From the British Museum

#### BM No. :

15090	80327	80859	81475	82271
60881/2	80357	80871	81479	82278
64287	80364	80874	81483	82312
64294	80366	80886	81490	82333/34
64383	80367	80905	81500	82349
64383/A	80368	80911	81512	82353
64386	80371	80939	81521	82357/58
64388	80375	80952	81525	82359/60
64391	80389	80956	81532	82372
67281	80394	80959	81535	82396
67287	80397	80997	81551	82437
67387	80404	81058	81552	82442/43
67351	80408	81073	81556	82440
67358	80422	81103	81567	82452
67821	80437	81108	81568	82458
72754	80438	81122	81583	82468/69
72763	80461	81128	81584	82483
74419	80462	81137	81591	82504
74420/A	80482	81138	81592	82564
74421/A	80483	81142	81594	92553

78254	80496	81143	81595	92650
78348	80497	81151	81596	92651
78356	80508	81153	81597	92653
78366	80509	81155	81600	92654
78372	80529	81165	81604	92657
78348	80533	81174	81610	92676
78364	80570	81181	81617	
78366	80604	81202	81624	
78378	80621	81207	81639	
78389	80636	81215	81641	
78398	80637	81219	81646	
78443	80644	81220	81670	
78577	80647	81223	81675	
78596	80651	81228	81687	
78627	80669	81238	81692	
78644	80671	81240	81693	
78743/4	80744	81252	81759	
78753/4	80749	81255	81786	
78768	80778	81256	81835	
78788	80779	81262	82070	
78794/3	80782	81276	82105	
78795/6	80784	81302	82122	
78799	80788	81306	82132	
78812/11	80795	81328	82137	
78813/14	80809	81332	82140	
80223	80812	81334	82141	
80243	80814	81341	82154	
80264	80817	81351	82164	
80281	80818	81396	82211	
80290	80820	81397	82216	
80299	80823	81424	82222	
80313	80836	81472	82226	
80322	80848	81473	82231	

2. From the Yale Babylonian Collection :  
 YBC 606, 1547, 1693, 4262, 4271, 4329, 4898, 4932, 4962, 4975,  
 4980, 5477, 6474, 6785, 6808, 8944, 12189, 12982, 12983 19 texts
3. From the Harvard Semitic Museum :  
 HSM 46, 3694 2 texts

Total Number of Texts :

A. Published texts	1661
B. Unpublished texts	
1. British Museum	286
2. Yale Collection	19
3. Harvard Museum	2
	<hr/>
	1968 texts



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By Lawrence A. Smith

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	6	228 <sup>104</sup>	54	61 <sup>31</sup>
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