

THE CITY OF LARSA IN THE NEO-BABYLONIAN  
AND ACHAEMENID PERIODS  
A Study of Urban and  
Intercity Relations  
in Antiquity

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by  
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For Diane  
Jessica and Benjamin

## DIGEST

This dissertation presents a descriptive analysis of the southern Mesopotamian city of Larsa during the Neo- and early Late-Babylonian Periods (sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.E.).

Following an introductory chapter in which the scope of the project is outlined, Chapter Two provides a general historical sketch of Larsa from its first attestation in the archaeological record to the beginning of the Neo-Babylonian Period. Chapter Three examines more than 110 published texts (historical texts, letters, legal and administrative texts) which date to the Neo- and Late-Babylonian and Seleucid Periods and which were drafted at Larsa or which can be tied to Larsa through prosopography or content. By this an attempt is made to identify and describe the role of Larsa as a viable urban center in southern Babylonia during the sixth century B.C.E. Particular attention is given to the intercity relations of Larsa and Uruk, the dominant urban center of the region. Chapter Four provides a study of 24 unpublished legal and administrative texts from the Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI. A number of these texts, dated at Larsa, belong to the private archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu son of Labāši, and an attempt is made to incorporate this new data into what is otherwise known of the archive. Conclusions are offered in Chapter Five.

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Although I mention her last, my biggest thanks is, as always,  
reserved for Diane, dam.gu<sub>10</sub> ki.aga šag.ge.tum<sub>2</sub>.a. I would not have been  
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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
<u>ABL</u>	R. F. Harper, <u>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</u>
ADFU	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk- Warka
ADOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ADPF	Association por la diffusion de la pensée francais
<u>AfK</u>	<u>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</u>
<u>AfO</u>	<u>Archiv für Orientforschung</u>
<u>AHw</u>	W. von Soden, ed., <u>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</u>
<u>AJSL</u>	<u>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</u>
<u>ANET</u>	J. B. Prichard, <u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</u>
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
<u>AnSt</u>	<u>Anatolian Studies</u>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<u>AoF</u>	<u>Altorientalische Forschungen</u>
AOS	American Oriental Series
<u>ARAB</u>	D. D. Luckenbill, <u>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</u>
ArG	Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagen- forschung
<u>ArOr</u>	<u>Archiv Orientální</u>
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse
ASSF	Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae

AUCT	Andrews University Cuneiform Texts
BagM	<u>Baghdader Mitteilungen</u>
BAW	Bayersiche Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies
BKRVO	Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung und Religionsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients
BiOr	<u>Bibliotheca Orientalis</u>
BM	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
BSA	<u>Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture</u>
CA	<u>Current Anthropology</u>
CAD	A. L. Oppenheim and others, eds., <u>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University Of Chicago.</u>
CAH	I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd and N. G. I Hammond, eds., <u>The Cambridge Ancient History, Third Edition</u>
Camb	J. N. Strassmaier, <u>Inscripfen von Cambyfes</u>
CRAIBL	Comptes Rendus des Seances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
Cyr	J. N. Strassmaier, <u>Inscripfen von Cyrus</u>
Dar	J. N. Strassmaier, <u>Inscripfen von Darius</u>
DCEP	J.-M. Durand, <u>Documents Cunéiformes de la IVe Section de l'Ecole Pratique</u>
DN	Divine Name
FAS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
GAG	Wolfram von Soden, <u>Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik</u>

GCCI	R. P. Dougherty, Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions
GN	Geographical Name
HEO	Hautes études orientales
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSM-T	Tablets in the Collection of the Harvard Semitic Museum
HUCA	<u>Hebrew Union College Annual</u>
IOS	<u>Israel Oriental Studies</u>
IrAnt	<u>Iranica Antiqua</u>
JAC	<u>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</u>
JANES	<u>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</u>
JAOS	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
JAOS Supp.	Journal of the American Oriental Society Supplements
JCS	<u>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</u>
JEOL	<u>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</u>
JESHO	<u>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</u>
JNES	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</u>
JS	<u>Journal for Semitics</u>
JSS	<u>Journal of Semitic Studies</u>
Le.E.	Left Edge
Lo.E.	Lower Edge
LrS	Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien
MANE	Monographs on the Ancient Near East
MDOG	<u>Mitteilungen Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft</u>
MIO	<u>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</u>
MSKH	Materials for the Study of Kassite History
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon



<u>MVAG</u>	<u>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen/Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft</u>
<u>NABU</u>	<u>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</u>
Nbk	J. N. Strassmaier, <u>Inscriften von Nabuchodonosor</u>
Nbn	J. N. Strassmaier, <u>Inscriften von Nabonidus</u>
<u>NBN</u>	K. L. Tallqvist, <u>Neubabylonisches Namenbuch zu den Geschäftsurkunden aus der Zeit des Samassumukin bis Xerxes</u>
<u>OA</u>	<u>Oriens Antiquus</u>
Obv.	Obverse
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
<u>OLP</u>	<u>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</u>
OPBF	Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund
<u>Or</u>	<u>Orientalia</u>
<u>OrNs</u>	<u>Orientalia Nova Series</u>
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section
<u>PKB</u>	J. A. Brinkman, <u>A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia</u>
PN	Personal Name
<u>PSBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</u>
R	H. C. Rawlinson, <u>Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia</u>
<u>RA</u>	<u>Revue d'assyriologie</u>
<u>RES</u>	<u>Revue des études Sémitiques</u>
Rev.	Reverse
RGC	Recherche sur les grandes civilisations
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
<u>RLA</u>	<u>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</u>

ROMCT	Royal Ontario Museum, Cuneiform Texts
RSO	<u>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</u>
SAAB	<u>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</u>
SBAW	Sitzungsbericht der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SGKAO	Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients
SSS	Semitic Study Series
TAVO	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients
TBER	Textes babyloniens d'epoque recente
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TEBR	F. Joannès, <u>Textes Économiques de la Babylonie Récente</u>
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UE	Ur Excavations
U.E.	Upper Edge
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts
UVB	Vorläufiger Bericht über die von Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und den Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
WO	<u>Die Welt des Orients</u>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
YOSR	Yale Oriental Series Researches

[X]	fully destroyed, but space for one sign
[. . .]	fully destroyed and uncertain how many signs
[ ]	partially destroyed
< >	omitted by scribe
« »	pleonastically written by scribe
(!)	textual emendation
(?)	uncertain reading

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

A. Scope of Study. A glance at the sweep of Mesopotamian history reveals what Lampl has called "the tragic role of the city in a continuous cycle of life and death."<sup>1</sup> The rise and fall of ancient empires, each centered on an urban core, is widely documented in cuneiform literature. This cycle was broken for cuneiform civilizations during the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. as Aramaic and then Hellenistic influences permanently eclipsed the venerable traditions of ancient Mesopotamia. With the fall of native Babylonian rule in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.E., the old and culturally rich centers of life and learning slowly began to funnel their energies toward the increasingly esoteric work of mathematicians and astrologers. The city of Babylon remained the primary repository of Mesopotamian culture until the advent of Hellenism; Uruk, the city that saw the invention of writing 3000 years earlier, hung on a little longer. One by one, the lights of the ancient cities were extinguished.

The Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid Periods, perched at the brink of this decline, are well documented in the cuneiform record. Thousands of published documents from the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.E., and many thousands more unpublished, provide windows through which we can gaze at life in antiquity. The largest windows illumine the temple economies at Uruk and Sippar; the largest private archive, that of the fifth century B.C.E. Murašû family from Nippur,

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<sup>1</sup>P. Lampl, Cities and Planning in the Ancient Near East (New York: George Braziller, 1968), 9.

offers much additional information about agrarian relations in an urban setting. In spite of the wealth of material available, however, much remains uncertain, especially regarding less well attested cities and private economy in general.

Larsa, a city with a storied past, was an important urban center in southern Babylonia during this time. This was due in no small part to the activity of the Ebabbar, the ancient temple of Šamaš in Larsa. The mention of Larsa in Neo-Babylonian historical texts emphasizes the religious significance of the Ebabbar--if only propagandistic--for Babylonian monarchs; the majority of the published economic texts which were dated at Larsa, as well as most of the approximately one hundred which are otherwise tied to Larsa, report Ebabbar activities. Nevertheless, it is clear that Larsa was not just a temple town. A number of other economic texts, particularly those which belong to the private archive of Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši and his son, Arad-Šamaš, shed light on the viability of the private economy of Larsa during the sixth century B.C.E.

The role of Larsa--its temple, its officials and its populace--within the urban economy of southern Babylonia is an issue which requires further study. Of particular interest is the relationship of Larsa to Uruk, the dominant city of southern Babylonia.<sup>2</sup> A preliminary study of Neo-Babylonian Larsa has recently been published by Beaulieu.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>The call for a study of the intercity relations between Larsa and Uruk was issued by David B. Weisberg, "Kinship and Social Organization in Chaldean Uruk," *JAOS* 104 (1984): 739.

<sup>3</sup>Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa: A Preliminary Study," *OrNs* 60 (1991): 58-81.

Beaulieu's work on Larsa, which incorporates several unpublished texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection, emphasizes three areas of investigation: 1) the private archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and Arad-Šamaš, 2) letters sent from officials of the Ebabbar to officials at Uruk, and 3) the prosopography of high officials (the *šangū* and *qīpu*) at Larsa. Beaulieu concludes that Larsa was in some ways administratively dependent on Uruk in the Neo-Babylonian Period. Beaulieu's study provides a springboard for further inquiry into these and other issues, and will be referenced throughout our work.

B. Objectives and Methodology. The purpose of this dissertation is twofold: 1) to provide a descriptive analysis of published texts dated at or pertaining to Larsa from the Neo-Babylonian Period, and 2) to make available the results of our study of twenty-four unpublished texts dating to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar from the Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI.

The goal of this work is not to write a political and/or socio-economic history of Larsa during the Neo-Babylonian Period. Rather, it is to gather and present materials by which such histories might be written. Accordingly, the methodology advanced herein will be that of Gelb, who has advocated an "archival approach," i.e., that historical discussions be grounded in a philological analysis of texts "of one period and one site, and within them, if possible, of one archive."<sup>4</sup>

The twenty-four texts from the Horn Archaeological Museum offer a significant contribution to our knowledge of Neo-Babylonian Larsa. Of

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<sup>4</sup>I. J. Gelb, "Approaches to the Study of Ancient Society," *JAOs* 87 (1967): 3.

these texts, fourteen were drafted at Larsa, two were drafted at Borsippa, one each were drafted at Babylon, Dilbat and Dūr-ša-lāsime, and five either do not have a city name as part of the dating formula or the city name has been broken away. Eleven of these texts belong to the private archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu, bringing the total number of known texts in that archive to forty-two.

Published texts which are dated at Larsa or which can be connected to Larsa through prosopography or content provide the proper historical and socio-economic context into which the texts from the Horn Archaeological Museum should be placed. The organization of our study is based on this premise. Chapter Two will present an overview of the history of Larsa from the earliest periods to the end of the seventh century B.C.E. based on textual and archaeological evidence. Chapter Three will treat the political and economic history of Larsa in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E., focusing on the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid Periods. Special attention will be placed on issues related to the role of Larsa within a broader urban economy and in particular its relations with Uruk which lay a scant eighteen miles away to the west-northwest. Chapter Four will present editions of the twenty-four texts from the Horn Archaeological Museum. The accompanying discussion will focus on the Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive. Chapter Five will offer suggestions for understanding the relationship between Larsa and Uruk. A series of Appendices, Catalogues and Indices will present technical data on all relevant texts; included are twenty-two plates containing autographed copies of the Horn Archaeological Museum texts.

It is hoped that this study will provide a contribution to the understanding of the intercity dynamic of southern Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian Period and thereby, if in only in a small way, the understanding of human social interaction.



CHAPTER TWO  
LARSA FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS  
TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.E.

Who, my friend, was ever so high  
(that he could)  
rise up to heaven  
and lastingly dwell with Šamaš?  
Mere man, his days are numbered,  
whatever he may do, he is but  
wind.  
--Gilgamesh<sup>1</sup>

A. Introduction. The ancient city of Larsa was settled at least as early as the mid-fourth millennium and did not pass into oblivion until the end of the first millennium B.C.E. Our knowledge of Larsa, like that of its contemporaries in the southern alluvium of Mesopotamia, is gained through a few windows, opened briefly, which allow but a glimpse into the past. The "Larsa-Old Babylonian Period,"<sup>2</sup> from the late twentieth to the eighteenth centuries B.C.E., is the period which is best attested in written sources at Larsa. This period saw Larsa rise to an uneasy prominence as a political power in southern Mesopotamia under a succession of three effective dynasties, culminating in the reign of Rim-Sin (1822-1763).<sup>3</sup> For the most part the centuries

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<sup>1</sup>The Gilgamesh Epic, III:140-43; these lines translated by Thorkild Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 202-3.

<sup>2</sup>See Section C below for the use of this term.

<sup>3</sup>I have adopted the Middle Chronology in accordance with the majority opinion of Mesopotamian scholarship; see Sidney Smith, Alalakh and Chronology (London: Luzac and Co., 1940) and J. A. Brinkman,

which preceeded this rise, as well as those which followed, are obscure. Nevertheless, enough is known to provide a context--an old and venerable context--into which the Neo-Babylonian city of Larsa can be placed.

B. From the Earliest Periods to the End of the Ur III Period.

The earliest settlement at Larsa (Tell es-Sinkarah) known at present<sup>4</sup> can be dated to the Ubaid 4 Period;<sup>5</sup> its extent and character, however, are still unknown. Similarly, virtually nothing is known from archaeology about Tell es-Sinkarah in the following Uruk Period. On the other hand, Tell al-Oueili, a small site lying a scant 3.5 km southeast of Tell es-Sinkarah and which is being excavated as part of the Larsa project, is well represented by both the Ubaid and Uruk Periods. In the literate periods Tell al-Oueili was abandoned "to the advantage of the future Larsa," according to the interpretation of its excavators.<sup>6</sup>

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"Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period," Appendix in A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization, rev. ed. by Erica Reiner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 335-48. Unless otherwise indicated, all dates herein are B.C.E.

<sup>4</sup>For this period we of course are almost completely dependent on the spade of the archaeologist. Archaeological work at Tell es-Sinkarah by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Irak, currently under the direction of J.-L. Huot, has been interrupted after the thirteenth season (September-December, 1989; see "Excavations in Iraq, 1989-90--Larsa" Iraq 53 (1991): 177) by political tensions in and around the Persian Gulf, and significant work on the lowest levels of the tell is yet to be carried out.

<sup>5</sup>Numerous Ubaid 4 sherds have been collected from the surface of the tell; see J.-L. Huot and L. Bachelot, "Larsa: Preliminary Report on the Ninth Campaign, 1981," Sumer 38 (1982): 89.

<sup>6</sup>J.-L. Huot, "Premier Campagne à Tell el'Oueili," Syria 55 (1978): 209; and J.-L. Huot and others, "Larsa: Preliminary Report of the Seventh Campaign at Larsa and the First Campaign at Tell el'Oueili (1976)," Sumer 36 (1980): 110. The Ubaid 4 settlement at Tell al-Oueili consisted of scattered units of buildings each comprising a dwelling house and several annexes, most commonly granaries; see J. D. Forest, "The Obeid 4 Architecture at Tell el-'Oueili," Sumer 39 (1983):

The earliest epigraphic evidence for settlement at Larsa comes from twelve archaic seal-impressions published by Legrain in UE 3 dating to the Uruk Period.<sup>7</sup> These seal-impressions show a rising sun (Utu) over a panelled construction (an altar?) and should be read UD.UNUG or UD.AB.<sup>8</sup> They occur together with the seals of other southern cities on jars, suggesting a degree of economic cooperation. Jacobsen has used these "collective seals" as partial evidence for reconstructing a loose

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20-23. The oldest level at Tell al-Oueili predates Ubaid 1 and has been given the designation Ubaid 0 by its excavators; see "Excavations in Iraq, 1989-90--Tell al-Oueili" Iraq 53 (1991): 179. Carbonized plant remains reveal the presence of two kinds of barley, wheat, flax (probably for oil) and date palms at Ubaid Tell al-Oueili. This, together with remains of date palms from Ubaid Eridu, is the earliest evidence of the date palm and might suggest that its domestication took place first in southern Mesopotamia; see "Excavations in Iraq, 1985-86--Tell al-Oueili" Iraq 49 (1987): 243.

<sup>7</sup>L. Legrain, Archaic Seal Impressions, UE 3 (London: British Museum and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1936), plates 21-24, 38; nos. 398, 407, 410 (= UET 2 333), 412 (= UET 2 332), 413-15, 417, 418, 421, 425, and 429 (add nos. 398 and 415 to RGTC 1 and eliminate one reference to no. 418 therein). A thirteenth seal is published in Eric Burrows, Archaic Texts UET 2 (London: British Museum and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1935), 328. See also H. T. Wright, The Administration of Rural Production in an Early Mesopotamian Town (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Anthropological Papers no. 38, 1969), 31-2; and Piotr Michalowski, "Early Sumerian City Names," paper given at the Midwest AOS Meeting, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL, February 18, 1991.

<sup>8</sup>On the readings "Ararma" (Sumerian) and "Larsa" (Akkadian) for the logogram UD.UNUG.KI see R. Borger, Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste AOAT 33 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1978), 381; D. Arnaud, "Larsa," RIA 6, 496, and bibliography cited therein. Benno Landsberger, "The Beginnings of Civilization in Mesopotamia," in Three Essays on the Sumerians, trans. Maria deJ. Ellis, Monographs on the ANE 1/2 (Los Angeles: Undena, 1974), 9, has concluded that the oldest inhabitants of Larsa(m), along with those of other ancient southern city-states, must have been pre-Sumerian because their respective city names are not Sumerian.

political confederation termed the "Kengir League."<sup>9</sup> Without the need to discuss the particulars of such a league, we can only say that, lacking evidence to the contrary, such data suggests that the earliest periods of settlement and urban development at Larsa probably followed a pattern that was parallel at least in broad outline to those of other cities in the area.

Artifactual evidence from Djemdet Nasr and Early Dynastic Larsa includes several cylinder seals with geometric motifs<sup>10</sup> and a stela. The latter, which was uncovered in unauthorized excavations at Larsa following the first season of excavations in 1933, shows five people approaching a sanctuary, apparently the ancient Ebabbar, to offer a libation.<sup>11</sup>

Epigraphic evidence from, or concerning, Larsa in the Early Dynastic Period is scarce.<sup>12</sup> Three texts, however, are of note. The first is the Stele of Vultures which commemorated the victories of Eannatum of Lagaš over Umma and other cities in the mid-25th century

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<sup>9</sup>Thorkild Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *ZA* 52 (1957) 109; note also the recent discussion by J. N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (London: Routledge, 1992), 32-5.

<sup>10</sup>J.-L. Huot, "Sept sceaux-cylindres de Larsa," in *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs: Etudes sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991), 373-76.

<sup>11</sup>André Parrot, "Kudurru archaïque provenant de Senkereh," *AfO* 12 (1937-39), 319-24.

<sup>12</sup>See Dietz Otto Edzard, Gertrud Farber and Edmond Sollberger, "Larsa(m)" in *Die Orts und Gewässernamen der prä-sargonischen und sargonischen Zeit*, RGTC 1 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1977): 109-10. Economic texts include UET 2 65, 112 and M. V. Nikolskij, *Dokumenty khoziaistvennoi otchetnosti drevnei khaldei iz sobraniia N. P. Likhacheva* (Moskva: Tipografiia G. Lissnera: D. Sobko, 1915), 5 84.

B.C.E.<sup>13</sup> In this glorious text Eannatum, "full of wisdom" (gal-na-ga-mu-zu)<sup>14</sup> patronizes Utu in the Ebabbar at Larsa.<sup>15</sup> Second, the nephew of Eannatum, Entemena I, continued the struggles of Lagaš into the next generation; on a carefully worked stone found in Bad-tibira he proclaimed liberty ([ama]-gi<sub>4</sub>-bi e-gar) to the inhabitants of Uruk, Larsa and Bad-tibira.<sup>16</sup> One can assume that both Eannatum and Entemena I included Larsa, lying to the southeast of Lagaš and some distance from Umma to the north, in their sphere of influence. Third, in the mid-24th century Lugal-zagesi of Umma forced an end to the squabbles between his city and Lagaš when he destroyed virtually all of the holy places of the latter, moved his seat of authority to Uruk and with great flair proclaimed himself to be "King of Uruk and King of Lands" (lugal unug-ki-ga lugal kalam-ma).<sup>17</sup> In his royal inscription Lugal-zagesi placed himself in favor with the city gods of every major state under his

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<sup>13</sup>For the text see E. Sollberger, Corpus des inscriptions 'royales' présargoniques de Lagaš (Geneva: E. Droz, 1956); for a transliteration and translation see F. Thureau-Dangin, Les Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), 24-37; for discussion see André Parrot, Tello: Vingt Campagnes de Fouilles (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1948), 95-101.

<sup>14</sup>Stele of Vultures, Rev. I:32.

<sup>15</sup>Stele of Vultures, Rev. I:36-40.

<sup>16</sup>Maurice Lambert, "L'expansion de Lagash au temps d'Entemena," Rivista degli Studi Orientali 47 (1972): 1-22; see text, V:5 and VI:2 for the mention of Larsa in addition to the discussion therein.

<sup>17</sup>Lugal-zagesi Inscription, I:4-5; for the text see H. V. Hilprecht, Old Babylonian Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur, BE 1/2 (Philadelphia: Trustees of the American Philosophical Society, 1896), 87; for transliteration see F. Thureau-Dangin, Sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften, VAB 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1907), 152-56; for an English translation see Samuel Noah Kramer, The Sumerians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 323-24.

control: he became the "governor (gir<sub>3</sub>-nitah) of Utu"<sup>18</sup> with the result that "Larsa, the beloved city of Utu, uttered cries of joy" (ud-unug-ki uru-ki-ag<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>Utu-ge a-ne hul-la mu-da-e).<sup>19</sup>

Little can be said with certainty to date regarding the physical remains of Tell es-Sinkarah in the Early Dynastic Period. Of note is a beautiful traditional ED III statuette of a man praying, standing with hands clasped on his chest.<sup>20</sup>

The Sargonic Period, including the years which saw a Gutian presence in southern Mesopotamia, are largely unknown as well. On the basis of dedicatory inscriptions by Gudea (c. 2144-2124) to Nanše (brick) and Ningirsu (cone) which have been found at Larsa,<sup>21</sup> one can assume that Larsa was for a time under that sovereign's control. Of particular interest is the only known inscription of an object offered to a deity by Nin-nigine-si, the wife of Ur-Ningirsu (c. 2124-2119), son and successor of Gudea.<sup>22</sup> This votive object, a reclining man-faced bull with a hole bored into its back, was found in secondary use as part of a later restoration of the temple complex sometime after the reign of the Kassite king Burnaburiaš II (1359-1333).

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<sup>18</sup>Lugal-zagesi Inscription, I:23-24.

<sup>19</sup>Lugal-zagesi Inscription, II:33-37.

<sup>20</sup>J.-L. Huot and others, "Preliminary Report on the 10th Season at Larsa," Sumer 44 (1985-88): 46.

<sup>21</sup>D. Arnaud, "Catalogue des textes trouvés au cours des fouilles et des explorations régulières de la Mission Française a Tell Senkereh-Larsa en 1969 et 1970," Syria 48 (1971): 293.

<sup>22</sup>J.-L. Huot, "The Man-faced Bull L.76.17 of Larsa: I. Archaeological Study," Sumer 34 (1978): 104-10; and Daniel Arnaud, "The Man-faced Bull L.76.17 of Larsa: II. The Inscription," Sumer 34 (1978): 111-13. The Sumerian inscription is wholly formulaic.

Ur-Nammu (2112-2095), a self-proclaimed Renaissance man, left his mark on Larsa just as he and his Ur III successors did throughout southern Mesopotamia. Wisely realizing that his power lay in large measure with the local cults, Ur-Nammu responded by restoring and patronizing the chief deities of several cities. Ur-Nammu's building inscriptions have been found at Nippur, Adab, Lagaš, Ur, Eridu, Uruk and Larsa. Evidence for Ur-Nammu's activities at Larsa can be found in inscribed bricks from the Ebabbar temple complex at Larsa.<sup>23</sup> To date, Ur-Nammu is the earliest ruler whose building activities at the Ebabbar are known from written sources.

The Ebabbar came to dominate the mound of Tell es-Sinkarah,<sup>24</sup> occupying the summit of the city as well as an adjacent lower area to the northeast with a ziggurat and numerous courtyards (see Fig. 1). Because the alignment of the summit does not correspond to that of the lower area, Huot has suggested that originally, in the third millennium,

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<sup>23</sup>Arnaud, *Syria* 48 (1971): 292; and "Larsa: Catalogue des textes et des objets inscrits trouvés au cours de la sixième campagne," *Syria* 53 (1976): 48.

<sup>24</sup>The mound has been described by William Loftus, who visited the area in 1854; see his *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1857), 244-25: "The ruins of Sinkara . . . consist of a low circular platform, about four and a-half miles in circumference, rising gradually from the level of the plain to a central mound, the highest point of which is seventy feet, and is distinctly visible from Warka and the Euphrates. Adjoining this principal pile on the north-west, is a low extensive ruin, apparently consisting of a series of brick walls and pavements. At four hundred paces, on the north-east of the great ruin, is a high mound of large, half-baked red bricks, at the base of which is traceable, by the colour of the soil, the outline of an ancient square enclosure, and small chambers between thick walls. The south-east edge of the whole platform is occupied by an undulating ruin of considerable extent, composed of mud bricks, and known to the Arabs by the name of "Jemel," or the camel, from the peculiar hump which rises from its centre."

the two were separate sanctuaries.<sup>25</sup>

In spite of the vast number of economic tablets from Ur III sites in southern Mesopotamia, day-to-day economic activity at Ur III Larsa is



Figure 1<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Huot and Bachelot, *Sumer* 38 (1982): 89-94; see also Y. Calvet, "Le temple babylonien de Larsa, problèmes d'orientation," in *Temples et Sanctuaries*, ed. G. Roux, (Lyon: GIS-Maison de l'Orient, 1984), 9-22; and J.-L. Huot, "La ziggurat de Larsa," *Iranica Antiqua* 16 (1981): 63-69. On the location of the ziggurat in the lower temple complex rather than on the highest portion of the mound see note 109 below.

<sup>26</sup>J. Margueron, "Larsa B: Archäologisch," *RLA* 6 501.



very scantily attested. Only four documents which mention Larsa by name have been published; these include a list of personnel,<sup>27</sup> two transactions of livestock<sup>28</sup> and a record of tax payments.<sup>29</sup>

Overall, the known textual and archaeological data from Larsa suggests that life in that city in the fourth and third millenniums B.C.E. was similar to that of other, better known cities of the Mesopotamian alluvium. It is simply not possible at present to speak of cultural elements in the early periods which may have been uniquely Larsan. It is also difficult to assess Larsa's position among the other southern cities at that time. Larsa's importance in the third millennium can be inferred from contemporary political records; home to one of the major Sumerian deities, Utu, Larsa was a target for any who would try to consolidate power in the alluvium. On the other hand, a somewhat different picture may derive from later literary sources. If, following the general lead of Jacobsen,<sup>30</sup> it is possible to understand Sumerian mythology as encapsulating an element of early historical

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<sup>27</sup> Mary Ina Hussey, Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum, Part II, From the Time of the Dynasty of Ur, HSS 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), 9.

<sup>28</sup> T. Fish, Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932), 107; and Clarence Elwood Keiser, Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem with introduction and indices by Shin Theke Kang, BIN 3 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 607.

<sup>29</sup> Clarence Elwood Keiser, Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty, YOS 4 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), 56.

<sup>30</sup> Jacobsen, ZA 52 (1957): 99. Jacobsen has argued that the earliest political forms in southern Mesopotamia could be inferred from the stories of the political organization of the gods. One wonders to what extent the stories of individual gods might be seen as stories about the cities in which the gods found their abode.

reality, one is tempted to conclude on at least one account that Larsa was not among the prominent cities in the early periods. To begin, the "Eridu Genesis"<sup>31</sup> describes the first cities (following the order of the Sumerian King List) in connection with the deities to which they were given: Eridu, Bad-Tibira, Larak, Sippar and Shuruppak. The text reads in part, "the fourth, Sippar, she [Nintur] gave to the gallant, Utu."<sup>32</sup> Larsa, of course, is not mentioned because, except for one Old Babylonian exemplar, No. WB82, Larsa does not appear as a seat of sovereignty in the Sumerian King List.<sup>33</sup> The WB62 text adds a dynasty of two kings to the SKL which supposedly ruled at Larsa for a total of 93,600 years immediately following the first city, Eridu. Jacobsen comments:<sup>34</sup>

the insertion of this dynasty must be considered due to local patriotism in a copyist who wanted to see his own city, Larsa, represented among the antediluvian cities.

Jacobsen's opinion, widely accepted, is no doubt correct. The anonymous Old Babylonian scribe has inadvertently tipped his hand: if the memory of Larsa's early prominence *had* been alive in the second millennium, there would have been no need to invent it. Furthermore, inasmuch as it was unusual for a single deity, in this case Utu, to have been the primary deity of two major Babylonian cities, the apparent early

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<sup>31</sup>Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Eridu Genesis," JBL 100 (1981): 513-29, and bibliography therein.

<sup>32</sup>Jacobsen, Eridu Genesis, 518.

<sup>33</sup>Thorkild Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

<sup>34</sup>Jacobsen, Sumerian Kinglist, 71-71, n. 18.

prominence of Sippar in some literary texts may reflect a correspondingly lesser role for Larsa. Larsa, like Isin and Babylon, apparently rose from relative obscurity to claim a position of prominence in the second millennium.<sup>35</sup>

C. From the Early Second Millennium to the End of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The fall of the Ur III dynasty, marked by the exile to Elam<sup>36</sup> and probable death there of Ibbi-Sin (2028-2004), coincided with a rise in local autonomy in southern Mesopotamia<sup>37</sup> that was highlighted by the success of Išbi-Irra (2017-1985) in Isin. Išbi-Irra, a "man of Mari" appointed governor of Isin by Ibbi-Sin in a desperate if calculated plea for help against the encroaching Amorites, proceeded upon the exile of the latter to chase the Elamites out of Ur and present himself as the legitimate successor to the Third Dynasty of Ur. For the next four generations (through Lipit-Ištar, 1934-1924), his successors ruled at Isin under the title "King of Ur" (lugal uri<sub>3</sub>-ki-ma)<sup>38</sup> with the support of the Nippur priesthood and, apparently, a core of cities in

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<sup>35</sup>See D. O. Edzard, "The Old Babylonian Period," in The Near East: The Early Civilizations, ed. Jean Bottéro, Elena Cassin and Jean Vercoutter, trans. R. F. Tannenbaum (New York: Delacorte Press, 1976), 161-62; 193.

<sup>36</sup>The end of the Ur III Period can be seen through a moving composition entitled "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur;" see S. N. Kramer, Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur, AS 12 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).

<sup>37</sup>C. Wilcke, "Drei Phasen des Niederganges des Reiches von Ur III," ZA 60 (1970): 54-69, notes that the end of Ur III dynastic control was characterized by governors in outlying areas gradually asserting independence followed by new dynasts setting up virtually independent regimes in the old cities of the alluvium.

<sup>38</sup>See William W. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philological and Historical Analysis, AOS Series, Vol. 43 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1957), 150.

the alluvium. The sources do not indicate any significant deviation from the way of life established by the Ur III kings; the political, economic, religious and social institutions and policies of the previous dynasts continued largely unchanged.<sup>39</sup> About this time, however, Sumerian ceased to be used as a spoken language and this signaled, or was signaled by, a shift so significant that the shape of cuneiform civilization was permanently altered thereby. We are speaking, of course, of the rise to prominence in southern Mesopotamia of speakers of Semitic languages, Akkadian but no less significantly, Amorite. This ascendancy brought with it changes in cultural form so significant that it demands that the previous period be called "Ur III-Isin," while the latter be termed "Larsa-Old Babylonian."

The rise of the Amorites to political prominence<sup>40</sup>--and their attendant favorable role in written sources--is perhaps best viewed from Larsa.<sup>41</sup> The ethno-linguistic evidence can be seen in royal names:

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<sup>39</sup>See W. W. Hallo and W. K. Simpson, The Ancient Near East: A History (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 88-89 for a summary of the evidence.

<sup>40</sup>References to battles against the Amorites occur as early as the reign of Šar-kali-šarri (2217-2193) and increase in frequency by the end of the Ur III Period. In addition, individual PNs with the appellative MAR.TU occur sporadically in Fara and Sargonic texts but quite frequently during the UR III Period. Gelb has argued that by this and other evidence one can trace the slow but relentless early rise to prominence of Amorite populations in southern Mesopotamia; see I. J. Gelb, "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples," JCS 15 (1961): 29-30, 33.

<sup>41</sup>At about this same time the Amorites also increased their influence in Babylon and Eshnunna; Gelb, "Early History," 30-31.

the first seven rulers of Larsa according to the Larsa King List<sup>42</sup> bore Amorite names, while all who held the throne thereafter had Akkadian names.<sup>43</sup> Politically, by the reign of Gungunum (1932-1906), fifth ruler of Larsa and contemporary of Lipit-Ištar and Ur-Ninurta (1923-1896) in Isin, local rule at Larsa was well-established and, as a result, is well-attested. It is with Gungunum that contemporary inscriptions and year dates first refer to the ruler of Larsa as "king;" similarly, three traditional titles of kingship, "king of Ur" (lugal uri<sub>3</sub>-ki-ma), "mighty one" (nita kala.ga) and "king of Sumer and Akkad" (lugal ke-en-gi ki-uri), are not attested for rulers at Larsa earlier than Gungunum.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, while evidence for the four earlier rulers, Naplanum (2025-2005), Emišum (2004-1977), Samium (1976-1942) and Zabaya (1941-1933) is slight, it is becoming increasingly evident that at least Zabaya and probably the other three as well were not merely "ancestors" of kings as suggested by Hallo<sup>45</sup> but kings in their own right inasmuch as they are attested in various roles

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<sup>42</sup>A. T. Clay, Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection, YOS 1 32 and pp. 30-44 therein for discussion; see A. K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles TCS 5 (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1975), 267 for bibliography. For the chronology of Larsa during the Larsa/Old Babylonian Period see F. Thureau-Dangin, "La chronologie de la Dynastie de Larsa," RA 15 (1918): 1-60; E. M. Grice, Chronology of the Larsa Dynasty, YOSR 4 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919); A. Ungnad, "Datenlisten," RLA 2 (1938): 149-192; F. R. Kraus, "Nippur und Isin nach altbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden," JCS 3 (1951): 4-45; L. Matouš, "Zur Chronologie der Geschichte von Larsa bis zum Einfall der Elamiter," ArOr 20 (1952): 288-313; and D.O. Edzard, Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens (Weisbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1957).

<sup>43</sup>Gelb, JCS 15 (1961): 30-31.

<sup>44</sup>Hallo, Royal Titles, 150-54.

<sup>45</sup>Hallo, History, 98.

characteristic of Mesopotamian kings.<sup>46</sup> It is not impossible, therefore, that Larsa existed as an independent state in the years which immediately followed the fall of Ur III hegemony over southern Mesopotamia even though Isin apparently controlled Uruk, Ur and Eridu.<sup>47</sup>

The accomplishments of Gungunum include the repair of the wall of Larsa,<sup>48</sup> the construction and expansion of canals,<sup>49</sup> a military campaign to secure the waters of the Išartum Canal and the town of Dunnum,<sup>50</sup> campaigns eastward toward Anšan and Elam<sup>51</sup> and the establishment of trade relations with Tilmun.<sup>52</sup> Such trade became possible when, early in his reign, Gungunum took Ur from Lipit-Ištar;<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>David B. Weisberg, "Zabaya, an Early King of the Larsa Dynasty," *JCS* 41 (1989): 194-98. The evidence for Naplanum and Samium is summarized by Edzard, "The Old Babylonian Period," 163-64.

<sup>47</sup>Edzard, "The Old Babylonian Period," 163.

<sup>48</sup>Year date formula 21, *RLA* 2 156; see also D. Arnaud, "Quelques nouvelles briques inscrites de Larsa," *RA* 66 (1972): 33-34 no. 1.

<sup>49</sup>Five date formulae (15, 17, 19, 22, 27) mention work on canals; see *RLA* 2 156.

<sup>50</sup>M. B. Rowton, "Watercourses and Water Rights in the Official Correspondence from Larsa and Isin," *JCS* 21 (1967): 273.

<sup>51</sup>*RLA* 2 155-56. The campaign against Anšan is reported in year date 5; those against Bašimi and Malgu, cities close to or on the border of Elam, in year dates 3 and 19 respectively.

<sup>52</sup>W. W. Hallo, "A Mercantile Agreement from the Reign of Gungunum of Larsa," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, AS 16, ed. Hans G. Güterbock and Thorkild Jacobsen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 199-203; and A. Leo Oppenheim, "The Seafaring Merchants at Ur," *JAOS* 74 (1954): 6-17.

<sup>53</sup>This action was not recorded in the year date formulae but can be inferred by three inscriptions from Ur in which Enannatum, daughter of Išme-Dagan of Isin and appointed high priestess of Ur, invokes blessing upon the life of "Gungunum, mighty one, king of Ur;" see F. Thureau-

the royal title "king of Ur" thereupon became the possession of the kings of Larsa.<sup>54</sup>

Two things are to be noted of Gungunum's successor, Abisare (1905-1895). First, according to his date formulae Abisare defeated Ur-Ninurta of Isin in his eighth year.<sup>55</sup> This, the first direct confrontation between Larsa and Isin in the years following the fall of Ur III of which we are sure,<sup>56</sup> set the stage for a prolonged struggle between the two cities which came to focus on the control of the religious center of Nippur.

Second, Abisare and his successor Sumuel (1894-1866) were involved the expansion of irrigation in and around Larsa.<sup>57</sup> Four of Abisare's nine year names (covering eleven years) and two of Sumuel's twelve

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Dagnin, Sumerische und akkadische Königinschriften, VAB 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1907) 33:206-7; C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain, Royal Inscriptions UET 1 (London: British Museum and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1928), 297; and E. Sollberger, Royal Inscriptions II UET 8 (London: British Museum and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1965), 64. It remains unsure whether this takeover was hostile or one of mutual convenience; see Hallo, BiOr 16 (1959): 238.

<sup>54</sup>W. W. Hallo, "The Last Years of the Kings of Isin," JNES 18 (1959): 54-61; cf. Hallo, Royal Titles, 17, 150-51.

<sup>55</sup>Year date formula 9; RLA 2 157.

<sup>56</sup>Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 104. Rowton, JCS 21 (1967): 273, has suggested that Larsa's confrontations with Isin may have begun with the building of Dunnum (Gungunum year date 22) and the seizing of the Išartum Canal.

<sup>57</sup>See S. D. Walters, Water for Larsa YNER 4 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), and Rowton, JCS 21 (1967), for the pertinent texts and discussion. Many of the relevant texts are from the archive of Lu<sub>2</sub>-igi-sa<sub>6</sub>.

(covering 29 years) mention canals,<sup>58</sup> suggesting to Walters that Abisare initiated Larsa's policy of canal expansion.<sup>59</sup> Intensive irrigation, of course, leads to salinization of the soil and Walters has shown that this irrigation in the Larsa area corresponds with what is known of the spread of salinization in the alluvium in the second millennium.<sup>60</sup> Most of the archival evidence from which the day-to-day functioning of the canal administration at Larsa can be reconstructed comes from the reign of Sumuel and has been discussed in detail by Walters and Rowton.<sup>61</sup>

Sumuel's foreign policy appears to have been directed at securing major sources of water for Larsa in the north and east while bypassing a direct confrontation with Isin and Nippur.<sup>62</sup> Toward the end of his

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<sup>58</sup>Abisare 2, 4, 6, 7; Sumuel 5, 19; See RLA 2, 151, 156-58. Two important works treat the year names of Sumuel: S. D. Walters, "The Year Names of Sumu-el," RA 67 (1973): 21-40 (a partial index of texts dated to Sumuel appears on pp. 39-40); and J.-M. Durand, "Notes sur l'histoire de Larsa (I): Une nouvelle liste de noms d'années de Larsa," RA 71 (1977): 17-32.

<sup>59</sup>Walters, Water for Larsa, 160; but cf. the actions of Gungunum directed at the acquisition of canals.

<sup>60</sup>Walters, "Water for Larsa," 160-61; see also Thorkild Jacobsen, Salinity and Irrigation Agriculture in Antiquity (Malibu, CA: Undena, 1982): 39; and Robert McC. Adams, Heartland of Cities, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 4-5, 18-19.

<sup>61</sup>Walters, Water for Larsa, 142-59; and Rowton, JCS 21 (1967): 273-74.

<sup>62</sup>See date formulae for years 4 and 11, BIN 7 153:9-10 and discussion in Walters, Water for Larsa, 161-65 and Edwin C. Kingsbury, "La dixième année de Sumu-el," RA 71 (1977): 14-15. Kingsbury notes a renewed effort by Sumuel beginning in his tenth year to expand his control over all area water sources.



reign, however, an unknown enemy<sup>63</sup> cut off a much of Larsa's water supply by damming up or diverting a major canal into that city. According to the Stele of Nur-Adad which details the result of this action from the perspective of a renewed Larsa,<sup>64</sup> the fortunes of the city were brought low until Utu chose (mu-un-pa<sub>3</sub>)<sup>65</sup> Nur-Adad (1865-1850), "one of the multitude" (ša<sub>2</sub>-uku<sub>3</sub>-šar<sub>2</sub>-ra-na),<sup>66</sup> to expel the enemy and reestablish Larsa's hydraulic supremacy in southern Mesopotamia.

Nur-Adad graced his reign with the energy which accompanies a newly established dynasty. His vigor is reflected by his palace<sup>67</sup> which is located on a small rise to the northwest of the temple complex (see Figure 1). In plan the palace bears a close resemblance to palaces excavated at Mari (Zimri-Lim), Assur, Eshnunna, Uruk and Ur dating to

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<sup>63</sup>Robert McC. Adams, The Uruk Countryside (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 49, suggests that the enemy was Elam and that the water was cut off at Tell al-Nasirīya, 10 km southwest of Girsu. C. J. Gadd, "Babylonia c. 2120-1800 B.C.," Chapter XXII in The Cambridge Ancient History 3rd ed, vol I/2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 633, suggests that the enemy was Babylon, probably because Sumuel's year dates attest campaigns in the north.

<sup>64</sup>J. van Dijk, "Une Insurrection Generale au pays de Larša avant l'avenement de Nūradad," JCS 19 (1965): 1-25, and discussion in Adams, Uruk Countryside, 48-49. The stele was erected by Sin-iddinam in honor of his father, Nur-Adad.

<sup>65</sup>Line 101.

<sup>66</sup>Line 104.

<sup>67</sup>Jean Margueron, Recherches sur les Palais Mésopotamiens de l'age de Bronze Institut Français d'archéologie du proche Orient (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1982), 381-89 for discussion and bibliography, with fig. 257-66; see also Ernst Heinrich, Die Paläste im Alten Mesopotamien (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 61-63.

the same period.<sup>68</sup> Because no objects were found in the palace, the excavators have suggested that it was never completed or, in any case, never inhabited. Of particular interest, however, are identical inscriptions found at the threshold of each palace gate which project Nur-Adad as restorer of Larsa:<sup>69</sup>

	Nu-ur <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> im	Nur-Adad,
	nita kala-ga	mighty one,
	u <sub>2</sub> -a-uri <sub>2</sub> -ki-ma	provider of Ur,
	lugal-ud-unug-ki-ma	king of Larsa,
5	sag-en <sub>3</sub> -tar	guardian
	eš <sub>3</sub> -e <sub>2</sub> -babbar-ra	of the sanctuary of Ebabbar,
	šul <sup>d</sup> Utu	the one whom Utu in his pure
	[ša <sub>3</sub> ]-ku <sub>3</sub> -ga-ni-a	heart has irrevocably
	zi-de <sub>3</sub> -[eš]	elected,
10	bi <sub>2</sub> -in-pa <sub>3</sub> -[da]	
	kur-gu <sub>2</sub> -gar-gar- <sup>d</sup> Utu-ke <sub>4</sub>	the conqueror of Utu,
	mu-du <sub>10</sub> -sa <sub>4</sub> -a	given a good name
	<sup>d</sup> Iškur-ra-ke <sub>4</sub>	by <sup>d</sup> Iškur,
	lu <sub>2</sub> giš-gu-za	the one who established the
		foundation of the throne of
15	ud-unug-ki-ma	Larsa,
	suhuš-bi mu-un-gi-ne <sub>2</sub>	
	un sag <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga-bi	who returned the dispersed
	ki-be <sub>2</sub> bi-in-gi <sub>4</sub> -a	people to their place.

<sup>68</sup>Margueron, *Palais*, 209-380 (Mari), 390-99 (Assur), 400-18 (Uruk); and Heinrich, *Paläste*, 37-43 (Assur), 49-55 (Eshnunna), 63-66 (Uruk), 68-81 (Mari).

<sup>69</sup>Arnaud, *RA* 66 (1972): 34 2.

Nur-Adad's successor, Sin-iddinam (1849-1843), appears to have expanded and strengthened the gains of his predecessor. On the foreign front Sin-iddinam spoke often of "digging the Tigris river" (id<sub>2</sub>-Idigna ba-ba-al);<sup>70</sup> such action implies his control to the east. Indeed, year date 5, according to Goetze,<sup>71</sup> speaks of Sin-iddinam's annexation of 'Ibrat, a city east of the lower Tigris. Under Sin-iddinam, Larsa's influence also reached as far as the Diyala and points north as evidenced by geographical names in grain lists from Larsa published by Goetze<sup>72</sup> and year dates 4 ("year the army of Babylon was defeated" mu ugnim tin-tir-ki giš-tukul ba-sig<sub>3</sub>)<sup>73</sup> and 6 ("year the country of Ašnun (Eshnunna) was destroyed" mu ma-ta<sub>2</sub> Aš-nun-ki ba-hul).<sup>74</sup> Closer to home, Sin-iddinam apparently also controlled Uruk, Ur, Eridu, Nippur and Isin.<sup>75</sup> Several building inscriptions attest to restoration of the

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<sup>70</sup>Year date no. 2 and texts mentioned by Albrecht Goetze, "Sin-iddinam of Larsa: New Tablets from his Reign," *JCS* 4 (1950): 85.

<sup>71</sup>Goetze, "Sin-iddinam," 97-99

<sup>72</sup>Goetze, "Sin-iddinam," 94-96.

<sup>73</sup>Goetze, "Sin-iddinam," 87-88, 101.

<sup>74</sup>Goetze, "Sin-iddinam," 88, 101.

<sup>75</sup>Goetze, "Sin-iddinam," for citation of texts. The kings of Larsa had by now appropriated the royal titles and epithets which expressed Isin's claims to Ur and Uruk and possibly also had taken over Isin's use of royal hymnography; see W. W. Hallo, "Royal Hymns and Mesopotamian Unity," *JCS* 17 (1963): 118; and "Royal Correspondence from Larsa III: The Princess and the Plea," in *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs: Études sur la Civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, eds. D. Charpin and F. Joannès (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisation, 1991), 380.

Ebabbar and its ziggurat;<sup>76</sup> Sin-iddinam also claimed to have "made exceedingly resplendent" (pa-gal mu-na-an-e<sub>3</sub>) the ancient rites and ceremonies (me-giš-hur. . . ud-ul-li<sub>2</sub>-a-aš) of the Ebabbar.<sup>77</sup>

In spite of this grandeur, troubled days for the dynasty begun by Nur-Adad lay close at hand. The last year of Sin-iddinam was named "year the great wall of Maškan-šabra was built" (mu bad<sub>2</sub>-gal-maš-kan<sub>2</sub>-šabra-ki ba-du<sub>3</sub>), probably foreshadowing the conquest of Larsa by Kudur-Mabuk six years later.<sup>78</sup> The short reigns of Sin-eribam (1842-1841),<sup>79</sup> Sin-iqišam (1840-1836)<sup>80</sup> and Šilli-Adad (1835)<sup>81</sup> may signal dynastic instability. Dated documents from Nippur show that city to have been controlled by Larsa in the years 1838, 1835, 1832 and 1828 but by Isin in 1836, 1833 and 1830.<sup>82</sup> In 1835 rulership in Larsa apparently passed briefly to Amorites from Kazallu, a city northwest of Nippur.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>D. Arnaud, RA 66 (1972): 36 4; "Catalogue des documents inscrits trouvés au cours de la huitième campagne (1978), avec une annexe de textes divers concernant le royaume de Larsa," Syria 58 (1991): 43-44; Birot, "Découvertes épigraphiques à Larsa," Syria 45 (1968): 245-46 4.

<sup>77</sup>Arnaud, RA 66 (1972): 35 3:12-15.

<sup>78</sup>Goetze, JCS 4 (1950): 101; cf. Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 168-70.

<sup>79</sup>Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 149.

<sup>80</sup>Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 149-50; Marten Stol, Studies in Old Babylonian History (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1976), 23-27; and Sollberger, UET 8 16.

<sup>81</sup>Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 150-51.

<sup>82</sup>R. Marcel Sigrist, "Nippur entre Isin et Larsa de Sin-iddinam à Rim-Sin," OrNs 46 (1977): 363-74; Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 176 and "The Old Babylonian Period," 199.

<sup>83</sup>Kudur-Mabuk claimed to have driven the army of Kazallu and Mutiabab out of Larsa; see Fr. Thureau-Dangin, "Une Inscription de Kudur-Mabuk," RA 9 (1912): 122 I:12-19; and Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit.

The victor in all of this was the family of Kudur-Mabuk which hailed from Emutbal,<sup>84</sup> a largely non-urban region on the plains east of the Tigris and south of Eshnunna.<sup>85</sup> Kudur-Mabuk placed his sons Warad-Sin (1834-1823) and Rim-Sin (1822-1763)<sup>86</sup> on the throne of Larsa and had his daughter consecrated as *entu* priestess to Sin at Ur under the name Enanedu.<sup>87</sup> Such action suggests more than a simple "settling down" of Amorites or assimilation of Amorites to Akkadian culture. Inasmuch as persons who lived on the periphery of the urban heartland were capable of effective and proper administrative actions within the urban centers, it appears as though a neat distinction between urbanites and non-urbanites is difficult to maintain.<sup>88</sup> The actions of Kudur-Mabuk may also provide a framework in which the earlier

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169-70.

<sup>84</sup>Although both Kudur-Mabuk and his father, Simti-šilhak, bore Elamite names they were probably Amorites who had entered into the service of Elam in a manner comparable to the Haneans in Mari. For Kudur-Mabuk's titulary "sheikh of Emutbal" (ad-da-e-mu-ut-ba-la) and "sheikh of Amurru" (ad-da-kur-MAR.TU) see Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 35 n. 144, and M. B. Rowton, "The Abu Amurrim," Iraq 31 (1969): 68-74. See also Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 168 and "The Old Babylonian Period," 185-86.

<sup>85</sup>For the location of Emutbal see Stol, Studies in Old Babylonian History, 63-72; and RGTC 3 124.

<sup>86</sup>See most recently M. van de Mieroop, "The Reign of Rim-Sin," RA 87 (1993): 47-69.

<sup>87</sup>The inscription commissioned by Rim-Sin to commemorate the installation of Enanedu was found by Nabonidus as he prepared to consecrate his own daughter, En-nigaldi-Nanna, to the same office; see F. M. Th. Böhl, "Die Tochter des Königs Nabonid," in Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paolo Koschaker dedicatae (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939), 166-67, 176; see also J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit," 1. Teil ZA 58 (1967): 118-21.

<sup>88</sup>See the unpublished dissertation of Sherry Walton Kingston on Mari.

"ancestor" kings of Larsa can be viewed.

The seventy-two years of rule under Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin were relatively quiet and prosperous. The year dates<sup>89</sup> reflect the usual temple patronization, repair and maintenance of canals<sup>90</sup> and consolidation of political power seen with other Larsa-Old Babylonian monarchs. Rim-Sin defeated Uruk, which had declared its independence from Isin under Sin-kašid fifty years before, in his thirteenth and twentieth years.<sup>91</sup> In his year date 30 Rim-Sin declared that the ruling dynasty of Isin had finally been conquered; his remaining 31 years were all dated in sequence from that event.<sup>92</sup> One result, according to Wilcke, was that the Sumerian King List could now serve to legitimize Rim-Sin's dynasty as proper heir to Mesopotamian kingship.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>In addition to RLA 2 160-64 see Stol, Studies in Old Babylonian History Istanbul: 1-31, and van de Mierop, "The Reign of Rim-Sin," 52.

<sup>90</sup>Several of the canals were "dug to the sea" (za<sub>3</sub>-a-ab-še, mu-un-ba-al-la<sub>2</sub>) which might indicate an attempt to open new agricultural land in the face of increased salinization in and around Larsa, an attempt to provide additional outlets for the water of the Tigris and Euphrates and hence reduce flooding, or an attempt to facilitate trade through southern ports; see Edzard, "The Old Babylonian Period," 199-200, and Zweite Zwischenzeit, 114-15. Hammurapi year date 33 declares that canals to Larsa and several other southern cities were rebuilt shortly after the defeat of Rim-Sin (RLA 2 180). Even though this no doubt reflects self-aggrandizement on the part of Hammurapi, it appears that by the end of the sixty-year reign of Rim-Sin the domestic stability of Larsa may have been on the wane. If so, this is consistent with a pattern seen in other ancient Near Eastern monarchs who reigned for an exceedingly long period of time.

<sup>91</sup>RLA 2 162. Edzard, "The Old Babylonian Period," 192, observes that Uruk was able to maintain its independence for fifty years because, apparently, Larsa's line of expansion faced east.

<sup>92</sup>RLA 2 163-64.

<sup>93</sup>C. Wilcke, "Genealogical and Geographical Thought in the Sumerian King List," in Dumu-e<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a: Studies in Honor of Ake W. Sjöberg, ed. H. Behrens, D. Loding and M. Roth (Philadelphia: Samuel Noah Kramer

Another, according to Leemans and van de Mieroop, was that Rim-Sin was now well enough established as ruler in the Mesopotamian alluvium to undertake a variety of social and administrative reforms.<sup>94</sup>

By the eighteenth century political power in southern Mesopotamia had coalesced around three major players,<sup>95</sup> Larsa, Babylon and Eshnunna, as evidenced in the oft-quoted statement by Itur-Asdu, emissary of Zimri-Lim:<sup>96</sup>

There is no king who is mighty by himself.  
Ten or 15 kings follow Hammurabi, the man of  
Babylon, a like number Rim-Sin of Larsa, a  
like number Ibalpiel of Eshnunna, a like  
number Amutpiel of Qatana, and 20 follow  
Yarimlim of Yamhad."

The Mari correspondence, which surprisingly does not reveal direct contacts between Mari and Larsa, shows that until the end of the second decade of his reign Rim-Sin was, at least officially, on good terms with Hammurabi. Both pledged their aid in mutual defense<sup>97</sup> while waiting, apparently, for opportunity to defeat the other.

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Fund, University Museum, 1989), 558-59.

<sup>94</sup>W. F. Leemans, The Old-Babylonian Merchant: His Business and Social Position (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), 115-17; F. R. Kraus, Königliche verfügungen in altbabylonische Zeit (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), 31-50; van de Mieroop, "The Reign of Rim-Sin," 61-67.

<sup>95</sup>Cf. the coalition of Gen 14:1 and Claus Westerman, Genesis 12-36, transl. John J. Scullion, S. J. (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 193-94. Clay, YOS 1 43-44, has identified Arioch king of Ellasar (𒀠𒂗𒍪 𒀠𒂗𒍪) with Rim-Sin.

<sup>96</sup>Georges Dossin, "Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari," Syria 19 (1938): 117-18; ANET 268. Edzard, "The Old Babylonian Period," 178, has aptly termed this and the following decades as an age of "traditional particularism."

<sup>97</sup>Dossin, Syria 19 (1938): 118.

Hammurapi (1792-1750) captured Larsa in his 31st year<sup>98</sup> and two years later redug (and renamed to his favor) a major canal in southern Mesopotamia which supplied water to Larsa and other cities of the alluvium.<sup>99</sup> Babylonian suzerainty over southern Mesopotamia was proclaimed in the Code of Hammurapi, a clay fragment of which has been found at Larsa.<sup>100</sup> In the epilogue to the Code, Hammurapi presented himself as a ruler whose authority issued directly from the will of the deity of Larsa:

*i-na q<sub>i</sub>-bi<sub>i</sub>-it <sup>d</sup>UTU da-a-a-nim ra-bi-im ša*  
*AN u<sub>j</sub> KI mi-ša-ri i-na KALAM li-iš-te-pi<sub>i</sub>*  
 By the order of Šamaš the great judge of  
 heaven and earth may my justice prevail in  
 the land.<sup>101</sup>

and

*Ha-am-mu-ra-bi LUGAL mi-ša-ri-im*  
*ša <sup>d</sup>UTU ki-na-tim iš-ru-ku-šum a-na-ku*

I, Hammurapi, am the king of justice,  
 to whom Šamaš entrusted truth.<sup>102</sup>

Hammurapi's claim to divinely sanctioned authority over Larsa is also

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<sup>98</sup>RLA 2 180.

<sup>99</sup>RLA 2 180.

<sup>100</sup>Arnaud, *Syria* 58 (1981): 44-45. The fragment, the *terminus ad quem* of which is the twelfth year of Samsuiluna, contains Cols. Rev. XI:44-62 and Rev. XII:45-62.

<sup>101</sup>Code of Hammurabi Rev. 24:84-88.

<sup>102</sup>Code of Hammurabi Rev. 25:95-98.



clearly evident in his building inscriptions, one of which reads in part:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>ud <sup>d</sup>Utu<br/>         ki-en-gi-ki-uri<br/>         25 nam-en-bi ak-de<sub>3</sub><br/>         mu-na-an-sum-ma-ta<br/>         eš<sub>3</sub>-kiri<sub>4</sub>-bi<br/>         šu-ni-še<sub>3</sub><br/>         30 bi<sub>2</sub>-in-si-a<br/> <sup>d</sup>Utu<br/>         en iskim ti-la-ni-ir<br/>         ud-unug-ki-ma<br/>         35 uru nam-en-na-ka-na<br/>         e<sub>2</sub>-babbar<br/>         e<sub>2</sub>-ki-ag<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-ni<br/>         mu-na-nin-du<sub>3</sub>(!)</p> | <p>When Šamaš enabled him to<br/>         exercise the rulership of Sumer<br/>         and Akkad<br/> <br/>         (and) placed their "halter" into<br/>         his hand,<br/> <br/>         (Then) for Šamaš,<br/>         the lord (and) trust (of)<br/>         his life,<br/>         he (Hammurapi) built in Larsa,<br/>         the city of his rulership,<br/>         Ebabbar, his beloved temple.<sup>103</sup></p> |
|---|--|

While these claims were consistent with the prevailing theology (Šamaš was, after all, the god of justice), their *Realpolitik* would not have been lost on the citizens of Larsa.

Hammurapi was careful to maintain a strong central authority in Babylon while at the same time make use of the organizational structures

<sup>103</sup>L. W. King, The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, vol. I (London: Luzac and Co., 1898), 62 22-39; vol III (1900), 180-82. An akkadian version of this inscription has been published by F. M. Th. Böhl, Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling van Spijkerschrift-inscripties, II (Amsterdam: Uitgave van de N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1934), 10-12. An inscription commemorating Hammurapi's building of the wall of Sippar conveys the same sentiment; see I. J. Gelb, "A New Clay Nail of Hammurabi," JNES 7 (1948): 268 1-9.

which he found intact in Larsa.<sup>104</sup> The extensive archives of two officials who held office in Larsa during the reign of Hammurapi, Šamaš-hāzir<sup>105</sup> and Sin-iddinam,<sup>106</sup> reveal a king who was immersed in the many minor administrative details of his realm.<sup>107</sup> The letters addressed to Sin-iddinam cover a wide variety of topics, suggesting that he had wide-ranging responsibilities and may have been a provincial governor residing in Larsa,<sup>108</sup> yet with no authority to act on his own. Šamaš-hazir was responsible for assigning state land to persons in the service of the state as compensation for work performed (*ilku*-land). He also assigned land which was retained by the state (*biltu*-land) to rent-paying farmers.

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<sup>104</sup>This is the assessment of the majority, echoed by Maria deJ. Ellis, Agriculture and the State in Ancient Mesopotamia, OPBF 1 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1976), 12, 44-45.

<sup>105</sup>F. Thureau-Dangin, Letters de Hammurapi à Šamaš-hāzir, TCL 7 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1924), "La correspondance de Hammurapi avec Šamaš-hāzir," RA 21 (1924): 1-58; and G. R. Driver, Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty, OECT III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924); for transliteration and translation see F. R. Kraus, Brief aus dem archive des Šamaš-hazir (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968); see also Ellis, Agriculture and the State, 11 n. 4. For discussion see C. J. Gadd, "Hammurabi and the End of his Dynasty," ch. V in The Cambridge Ancient History, 3rd. ed., vol II/1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 184-87, and Ellis, Agriculture and the State, *passim*.

<sup>106</sup>King, The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, I 1-46; and A. Ungnad, Babylonische Brief aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche, 1914), 2-58; for discussion see Gadd, CAH II/1, 184-87.

<sup>107</sup>Whether this is a reflection of genuine care for his subjects as Hammurapi's inscriptions might have us believe, or evidence that his authority within Larsa was tenuous, is unsure; see Edzard, "The Old Babylonian Period," 214. Gadd, CAH II/1 187, concludes that Hammurapi was unable to rule effectively because he had to be too absorbed with day-to-day administrative details in the conquered cities.

<sup>108</sup>Leemans, The Old-Babylonian Merchant, 78; Gadd, CAH II/1 186.

Archaeological excavations show that the temple complex at Larsa underwent a major building phase during the Larsa-Old Babylonian Period. Apparently during this time the temple area took the shape which is best attested archaeologically only during the Kassite Period. The upper Ebabbar was joined to the lower temple area and the main walls of the courtyard complex were constructed; the latter reached some 300 meters from the Ebabbar to the ziggurat.<sup>109</sup> Although confirming inscriptional evidence is still lacking, the excavators of Larsa have suggested that the best candidate for such extensive work is Hammurapi. This construction is consistent with Hammurapi's claims to have been "the one who elevated the temple of Ebabbar" (*mu-ši-ir E<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR*)<sup>110</sup> and "the one who restored the Ebabbar to Šamaš" (*mu-ud-di-iš E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR a-na dUTU*).<sup>111</sup>

Hammurapi's successor, Samsuiluna (1749-1712), was unable to hold the gains of his father for more than a few years. Among his adversaries he mentions one "Rim-Sin, instigator of the revolt of Emutbal, who had been raised to the kingship of Larsa" (*Ri-im-dEN.ZU*

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<sup>109</sup>Huot and Bachelot, *Sumer* 38 (1982): 89; and Calvet, "Le temple babylonien," 18-21. The location of the ziggurat in the lower temple complex rather than at the high point of the city is highly unusual; only at Uruk is a ziggurat otherwise attached to a lower temple; see E. Gehlken, *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Fanna-Archiv, Teil I: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1990), 6 n. 12. Testimony to the wealth of the Ebabbar and the competence of its craftsmen can be found in an excavated jar containing a trove of objects of worked precious metals and stones and cuneiform inscriptions; see D. Arnaud, Y. Calvet and J.-L. Huot, "Ilšu-ibnišu, orfèvre de l'ebabbar de Larsa: La jarre L.76.77 et son contenu," *RA* 56 (1979): 1-64.

<sup>110</sup>Code of Hammurapi II:29-30.

<sup>111</sup>Code of Hammurapi II:34-35.

mu-uš-ba-al-ki-it KI.EN.GI.SAG.6 ša a-na šar-ru-ut UD.UNUG.KI in-na-  
 ši-u<sub>3</sub>).<sup>112</sup> This Rim-Sin II, possibly a son of Warad-Sin and hence  
 nephew of Rim-Sin I,<sup>113</sup> held power in Larsa and Ur beginning in the  
 ninth year of Samsuiluna as evidenced by documents from those cities  
 dated to him.<sup>114</sup> Within five years, however, Samsuiluna had raided  
 Larsa, retaken the south and defeated Rim-Sin II at Kiš.<sup>115</sup>

The political fate of Old-Babylonian Larsa from this point on is  
 largely unknown; no texts are known from Larsa after Samsuiluna's tenth  
 year. Leemans<sup>116</sup> has suggested that Larsa may have been destroyed by  
 the kings of the Sealand<sup>117</sup> as revenge for having been under Larsa's  
 control, but this is not supported archaeologically. Rather, the  
 archaeological evidence to date shows Larsa to have entered a period of  
 gradual abandonment following the raid of Samsuiluna.<sup>118</sup> The edict<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>F. Stephens, Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria YOS 9 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), 35 103-108; for transliteration see R. Borger, Babylonische-Assyrische Lesestücke, vol. 2 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1963), 48-49. One is reminded of the efforts to regain the Neo-Babylonian throne in 522/21 by Nebuchadnezzar III (and IV ?); see David B. Weisberg, Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar, YOS 17 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), xix-xxvi.

<sup>113</sup>Edzard, Zweite Zwischenzeit, 167, 176.

<sup>114</sup>Gadd, CAH II/1 221 n. 4, 8; Leemans, The Old Babylonian Merchant, 64.

<sup>115</sup>Stephens, YOS 9 35:109-12 and year dates in RLA 2 183.

<sup>116</sup>Leemans, The Old Babylonian Merchant, 78.

<sup>117</sup>For the dynasty of the Sealand established by Ilumael (Ilumailum?) see Gadd, CAH II/1 222 and notes therein.

<sup>118</sup>Huot, Sumer 36 (1980): 105.

issued in the first year<sup>120</sup> of the reign of Ammišaduqa (1646-1626) mentions a "trading station of Larsa" (KAR UD.UNUG.KI)<sup>121</sup> and "citizens of Emutbal" (DUMU e-mu-ut-ba-lum-KI)<sup>122</sup> among the cities and peoples under the authority of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The historical value of such citations must be weighed, however, against the propagandistic needs of a newly crowned king in a waning realm.

Cuneiform documentation provides a wealth of material for studying day-to-day life in Larsa for the years between the reigns of Rim-Sin and Samsuiluna.<sup>123</sup> In addition to the studies cited above, the following

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<sup>119</sup>F. R. Kraus, Ein Edikt des Königs Ammišaduqa von Babylon (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958); J. J. Finkelstein, "Ammišaduqa's Edict and the Babylonian 'Law Codes,'" JCS 15 (1961): 91-104.

<sup>120</sup>Finkelstein, JCS 15 (1961): 92-93.

<sup>121</sup>Kraus, Edikt, III:24.

<sup>122</sup>Kraus, Edikt, V:25,27.

<sup>123</sup>In addition to works already mentioned significant collections of texts include J. B. Alexander, Early Babylonian Letters and Economic Texts, BIN 7 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943); D. E. Faust, Contracts from Larsa dated in the Reign of Rim-Sin, YOS 8 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); Samuel I. Feigin, Legal and Administrative Texts of the Reign of Samsu-iluna, YOS 12 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); E. M. Grice, Records from Ur and Larsa Dated in the Larsa Dynasty, YOS 5 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919); Charles-F. Jean, Contrats de Larsa, TCL 11 and TCL 12 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926); W. F. Leemans, Legal and Economic Records from the Kingdom of Larsa, Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954); H. F. Lutz, Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa, YOS 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), and Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa, OECT III/2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924); S. D. Simmons, Early Old Babylonian Documents, YOS 14 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); see also RGTC 3 150-52 and the lists of texts discovered in recent excavations at Tell es-Sinkarah published in Arnaud, Syria 48 (1971): 289-93; Syria 53 (1976): 47-81 (= Sumer 34 (1978): 165-76); Syria 55 (1978): 225-32 (= Sumer 36 (1980): 129-32); Syria 58 (1981): 41-99; and "Catalogue des documents inscrits trouvés au cours de la huitième campagne (1978), avec une annexe de textes divers concernant le royaume de Larsa," in Larsa et 'Oueili: Rapport Préliminaire (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1983),

are of note. Private finance, which was on the rise during the Larsa-Old Babylonian Period, can be viewed through the archive of Balmunamhe son of Sin-nūr-mātim (Warad-Sin year 6 through Rim-Sin year 31).<sup>124</sup>

This archive records slave and real estate transactions, transactions of agricultural commodities (dates, sheep, cattle) and various loans and rentals. Matouš has also studied sales of real estate and slaves.<sup>125</sup>

Cocquerillat's work on Old Babylonian date-palm culture is based largely on texts from Larsa.<sup>126</sup> Leemans has discussed texts which record

transactions of commodities entering the *edubba*.<sup>127</sup> The interaction between state and private economy has been studied by Kraus (transactions of sheep and cattle),<sup>128</sup> Stol (the collection of dates, garlic, fish and barley by the state from private individuals),<sup>129</sup>

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229-90. A recent synthesis of social and economic life in Mesopotamia prior to the end of the Old Babylonian Period is J. N. Postgate, Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History (London: Routledge, 1992).

<sup>124</sup>Marc Van De Mieroop, "The Archive of Balmunamhe," AfO 34 (1987): 1-29.

<sup>125</sup>L. Matouš, "Les contrats de vente d'immeubles provenant de Larsa," ArOr 18/4 (1950): 11-67.

<sup>126</sup>D. Cocquerillat, "Aperçus sur la phéniciculture en Babylonie à l'époque de la 1<sup>ère</sup> dynastie de Babylone," JESHO 10 (1967): 161-233.

<sup>127</sup>W. F. Leemans, "é-DUB-ba dans les textes économiques de Larsa," RA 48 (1954): 57-66.

<sup>128</sup>F. R. Kraus, Staatliche Viehhaltung im altbabylonischen Lande Larsa (Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1966).

<sup>129</sup>M. Stol, "State and Private Business in the Land of Larsa," JCS 34 (1982): 127-230.

Koschaker<sup>130</sup> and Ellis (methods by which the state organized and administered land under its control).<sup>131</sup>

The occurrence of foreign trade during the reign of Rim-Sin is well documented. In the years prior to the takeover of Larsa by Hammurapi, Larsa controlled a lively trade with states to the north (Eshnunna<sup>132</sup> and Assyria,<sup>133</sup> including tin via Sippar<sup>134</sup>), with Susa<sup>135</sup> and, via Ur, with points in the Persian Gulf.<sup>136</sup>

Regarding the temple, a text of 630 lines probably dating to the second year of Rim-Sin provides important details for the operation of the Ebabbar in Larsa.<sup>137</sup> It is furthermore possible to trace the

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<sup>130</sup>Paul Koschaker, "Zur staatlichen Wirtschaftsverwaltung in altbabylonischer Zeit, insbesondere nach Urkunden aus Larsa," ZA 47 (1942): 135-80.

<sup>131</sup>Ellis, Agriculture and the State.

<sup>132</sup>W. F. Leemans, Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period, *Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia*, vol. 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 57-84. For the merchant at Larsa see Leemans, The Old Babylonian Merchant, 49-95, 113-25.

<sup>133</sup>W. F. Leemans, "Old Babylonian Letters and Economic History: A Review Article with a Digression on Foreign Trade," JESHO 11 (1968): 192-215.

<sup>134</sup>Leemans, "Old Babylonian Letters."

<sup>135</sup>Leemans, Foreign Trade, 57-83. See also the comments of Guillermo Algaze, The Uruk World System: The Dynamics of Expansion of Early Mesopotamian Civilization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 116, regarding natural zones of trade exploited by individual Mesopotamian cities. Throughout its history, according to Algaze, Larsa tended to look toward the east.

<sup>136</sup>Leemans, Foreign Trade, 18-56; JESHO 11 (1968): 215-26.

<sup>137</sup>Edwin C. Kingsbury, "A Seven Day Ritual in the Old Babylonian Cult at Larsa," HUCA 34 (1963): 1-34.

prosopography of Ebabbar officials and the regular occurrence of festivals from Rim-Sin to Samsuiluna.<sup>138</sup>

D. From the End of the First Dynasty of Babylon to the End of the Second Millennium. The Kassites became the primary political and cultural heirs of the First Dynasty of Babylon subsequent to the sack of Babylon by the Hittite king Muršili I in 1595.<sup>139</sup> Scant documentation attests a slow Kassite penetration into Babylonia during the previous 150 years.<sup>140</sup> By the time the Kassites had seized the throne of Babylon they had adopted the native babylonian script, language and culture.<sup>141</sup> Kassite domination continued in southern Mesopotamia for over four hundred years, a period which has been characterized as one of "lingering stagnation,"<sup>142</sup> although the assessment of Oppenheim that the Kassites favored "an extremely conservative attitude"<sup>143</sup> toward

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<sup>138</sup>Arnaud, Sumer 34 (1978): 175.

<sup>139</sup>L. W. King, Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings, II (London: Luzac, 1907), 22.

<sup>140</sup>Inscriptional evidence comes from non-Kassite sources. The "army of the Kassites" (ugnim ka-aš-šu-u) is attested in Samsuiluna year date 9 (RLA 2 183) and in an early Abi-ešuh year date 3(?) (RLA 2 185). The Kassite PN Kaštiliaš appears among the post-Hammurapi rulers of Hana; the same name is third in King List A; see Gadd, CAH II/1 225 n. 3. For chronology see J. A. Brinkman, A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty, MSKH 1 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1976), 6-34, and A. Goetze, "The Kassites and Near Eastern Chronology," JCS 18 (1964): 97-101.

<sup>141</sup>The Kassite language is attested in personal names, divine names, technical terms and lexical fragments; for discussion see Margaret S. Drower, "Syria c. 1550-1400 B. C.," in The Cambridge Ancient History, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 437-41; and A. T. Clay, Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Kassite Period, YOSR 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1912).

<sup>142</sup>Gelb, CAH II/1 224; Hallo, History, 108.

<sup>143</sup>Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 62.



existing cultural forms is more equitable.

A thorough understanding of the political and social-economic history of Kassite rule in Mesopotamia suffers from a lack of published textual and archaeological material.<sup>144</sup> The Kassite kings left few royal inscriptions, most of which are formulaic and of limited historic value.<sup>145</sup> However, the several royal inscriptions from Larsa which attest to repairs on the Ebabbar provide much of the documentation of that city during the Kassite Period. The earliest<sup>146</sup> of these are the inscriptions of Burnaburiaš II (1359-1333), several of which have been found *in situ* and all of which attest to extensive temple restorations.<sup>147</sup> Burnaburiaš II described the Ebabbar as "the ancient temple (which had been) ruined for a long time" (*e<sub>2</sub>-sumun-ba ni<sub>3</sub>-ud-ul-la-ta ba-šub-ba*).<sup>148</sup> In addition, at least five door sockets of Burnaburiaš II contain an indentical twenty-three line dedicatory

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<sup>144</sup>For an analysis of the sources see K. Jaritz, "Quellen zur Geschichte der Kaššû-Dynastie," *MIO* 6 (1958): 187-265; and Brinkman, *Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources*.

<sup>145</sup>F. El Wailly, "Synopsis of Royal Sources of the Kassite Period," *Sumer* 10 (1954): 43-54.

<sup>146</sup>It is possible that Kurigalzu I, who preceeded Burnaburiaš II by two positions in the king lists, also worked on the Ebabbar because of his grand claim to have restored the long-neglected duties and functions of the Sumerian gods, but no bricks with his name have been found at Larsa to date. See S. J. Levy, T. Baqir and S. N. Kramer, "Fragments of a Diorite Statue of Kurigalzu in the Iraqi Museum," *Sumer* 4 (1948): 1-29.

<sup>147</sup>Arnaud, *RA* 66:36-37 5; 37 6; 189; *Sumer* 32 101-3; *Sumer* 34 165; *Sumer* 38 95; *Syria* 48 290; *Syria* 53 49; and *Larsa et 'Oueili travaux de 1978-81* 353-54.

<sup>148</sup>Arnaud, *RA* 66 (1972): 36-37 5 12-13.

inscription which reads in part:<sup>149</sup>

e <sub>2</sub> -babbar e <sub>2</sub> -ki-ag <sub>2</sub> -ga <sub>2</sub> -ni	The Ebabbar, his beloved house
mu-na-ni-gibil	he renewed;
20 diri-nig <sub>2</sub> -ud-bi-ta-ka	more than in the past
mi-ni-diri	he enlarged (it);
me-giš-hur-kal-kal-la-bi	its grand rites and ceremonies
ki-bi-eš <sub>2</sub> bi-in-gi <sub>4</sub>	he restored.

These claims appear to be more than just pious posturing on the part of Burnaburiaš II inasmuch as the overall archaeological picture of Larsa reveals that by the mid-fourteenth century the Ebabbar--and probably the entire city--had been subject to centuries of neglect.<sup>150</sup> These inscriptions also shed light on the claim of Nabonidus to have found such foundation bricks in the Ebabbar eight hundred years later.<sup>151</sup> Evidence for the activity of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307-1282)<sup>152</sup> and Kadašman-Enlil II (1263-1255)<sup>153</sup> at Larsa has also been found in Ebabbar foundation bricks.

Other data which pertains directly to Larsa during the Kassite

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<sup>149</sup>Arnaud, Sumer 32 101-3; Sumer 38 95.

<sup>150</sup>Huot, Sumer 36 105; Syria 55 198; Iraq 39 (1977): 305-6. For a summary description of the Ebabbar during the Kassite Period with bibliography see E. Heinrich, Die Tempel und Heiligtümer in alten Mesopotamien: Typologie, Morphologie und Geschichte (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982), 222-23 with plates 296 and 298.

<sup>151</sup>S. Langdon, Die neubabylonischen Königinschriften, VAB 4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912), Inscriptions 3 I:40-49, II:20-25 and 4 I:48-58, II:1-6.

<sup>152</sup>Syria 48 293; Syria 58 42.

<sup>153</sup>RA 66 38; Syria 45 246-47 5; Syria 48 291.

Period is similarly sparse. Three economic documents mention Larsa. These include a receipt of flour for a business venture (*harranu*) from Larsa in the third year of Kudur-Enlil (1254-1246),<sup>154</sup> an undated receipt listing wool and sesame oil from Larsa along with wool from Nippur and other items,<sup>155</sup> and a loan of barley dated to the fourth year of Kaštiliašu (1232-1225).<sup>156</sup> This barley was borrowed by Kiribti-<sup>d</sup>Marduk, an individual from the city of Kar-Ninurta<sup>157</sup> "of the province of Larsa" (*ša NAM URU.UD.UNUG.KI*)<sup>158</sup> and is received from (*i-na šU*)<sup>159</sup> four individuals, one from the city of Akkad and three from the otherwise unknown town Qapat-<sup>d</sup>Nisaba.

Also interesting are two *kudurru* found in an annex to a small Ebabbar chapel.<sup>160</sup> The first, containing the name Nazi-maruttaš,

<sup>154</sup>L. Legrain, Historical Fragments, PBS 13 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1922), 71.

<sup>155</sup>Legrain, PBS 13 72. Most published Kassite economic texts come from an official archive from Nippur; see A. T. Clay, Documents from the Temple Archives at Nippur Dated to the Reigns of Kassite Rulers, BE 14, 15 (Philadelphia: University Press, 1906). Compare the comments of Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 159, that our understanding of the economic structure of Kassite Babylonia should be shaped more by smaller, non-palatial finds.

<sup>156</sup>O. R. Gurney, The Middle Babylonian Legal and Economic Texts from Ur (Baghdad: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1983), text 48, with comments on prosopography on p. 3.

<sup>157</sup>It is unsure whether this city is to be identified with a city by the same name in the vicinity of Nippur; see Nashef, RGTC 5 159 and Zadok, RGTC 8 197.

<sup>158</sup>Line 6.

<sup>159</sup>Line 8.

<sup>160</sup>Arnaud, Syria 48 291; J.-C. Margueron, "Deux *kudurru* de Larsa: I. Étude Iconographique," RA 66 (1972): 147-61; D. Arnaud, "Deux *kudurru* de Larsa: II. Étude Epigraphique," RA 66 (1972): 163-69. Over eighty *kudurru* are extant in Mesopotamia, dating approximately from Kadašman-

reaffirms a land-exemption which had been declared by Burnaburiaš for Puzru, chief musician of the Ebabbar (LU<sub>2</sub> *nar-gal-li ša E<sub>2</sub>BABBAR.RA*).<sup>161</sup> The second records a land exemption (*za-ku-ti*) declared by Kudurri-Enlil. Both plots of land were located on the border of Sealand. The presence of known artistic and literary elements in these *kudurru* together with the appearance of new forms has suggested to Arnaud that local traditions may have been operative at Larsa.<sup>162</sup>

It is difficult to assess the limited Kassite evidence from Larsa. All of the datable inscriptions fall between the mid-fourteenth and mid-thirteenth centuries B.C.E. Babylonia apparently was divided into several provinces of which Larsa was one.<sup>163</sup> The restoration work at Larsa begun by Burnaburiaš II coincides, at least at its outset, with an age of internationalism attested in the Amarna correspondence in which Burnaburiaš and his predecessor Kadašman-Enlil I (c. 1374-1360) played a role.<sup>164</sup> The extent to which Larsa exploited the economic

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Enlil I (c. 1374-1360) to Šamaš-šum-ukin (668-648), but a systematic and up-to-date study is still lacking. See Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 286-87; and F. X. Steinmetzer, Die babylonischen Kudurru als Urkundenform (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1922).

<sup>161</sup> Lines 1-2.

<sup>162</sup> Arnaud, RA 66 (1972): 163; cf. Margueron, RA 66 (1972): 158.

<sup>163</sup> A Babylonian provincial system is attested for the Second Dynasty of Isin, but Larsa is not among the 14 known provinces of that time; see J. A. Brinkman, A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B. C. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968), 297, and "Provincial Administration in Babylonia under the Second Dynasty of Isin," JESHO 6 (1963): 231-42.

<sup>164</sup> The texts are EA 1, 2, 3, 5 (Kadašman-Enlil I) and EA 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14 (Burnaburiaš II). The most recent translation, with notes, is that of W. L. Moran, The Amarna Letters (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

opportunities of an expanding world is unknown; the extant economic documents do not reveal interests beyond the traditional boundaries of Babylonia, although Larsan interests within Babylonia seem to have been wide ranging.<sup>165</sup> After a century the role of Larsa in Babylonia is once again unattested and before the end of another hundred years Kassite control had succumbed to Assyrian and Elamite advances.

Control of Babylonia passed to a dynasty begun by Marduk-kabit-ahhešu (1157-1140) of Isin.<sup>166</sup> The eighth king of this dynasty, Adad-apla-iddina (1068-1047), is known in Larsa from bricks declaring his restoration work on the Ebabbar.<sup>167</sup> Adad-apla-iddina can also be credited with paving a large Ebabbar courtyard.<sup>168</sup> In addition, his name and the name of his predecessor, Marduk-šapik-zeri (1081-1069), each appear on single badly broken clay fragments found on an Ebabbar courtyard.<sup>169</sup> Unfortunately, the content of each tablet is unknown. The work of Adad-apla-iddina on the Ebabbar apparently was the last<sup>170</sup> at Larsa by a Babylonian monarch until the restorations of Nebuchadnezzar II half a millennium later. After an extensive fire in

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<sup>165</sup>The social-economic structures of Kassite Babylonia are largely unexplored; Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 159, has cautiously described the economic administration as something reminiscent of feudalism.

<sup>166</sup>See Brinkman, *PKB* 90-148.

<sup>167</sup>Huot, *Sumer* 34 162; Arnaud, *Syria* 58 82; Birot, *Syria* 45 247.

<sup>168</sup>Huot, *Sumer* 34 162-63.

<sup>169</sup>Arnaud, *Syria* 53 79.

<sup>170</sup>This is consistent with the known fortunes of Babylonia. The history of the Isin Dynasty after Adad-apla-iddina is uncertain, and political power in Mesopotamia had by then shifted north to Assyria.

the Ebabbar complex at the end of the eleventh century B.C.E., much of Larsa was apparently abandoned;<sup>171</sup> even the Neo-Babylonian kings failed to restore the vast lower temple complex.<sup>172</sup>

E. From the Beginning of the First Millennium to the Beginning of the Neo-Babylonian Period. Sometime during the Kassite Period or shortly thereafter the Euphrates River south of Babylon took a dramatic shift westward, carrying a core of settlement with it.<sup>173</sup> This shift of water resources away from the ancient cities of the northern alluvium, combined with the devastating effects of salinization, hastened a decline in the urban fabric of southern Mesopotamia which had begun as early as the end of the third millennium B.C.E.<sup>174</sup> By the early centuries of the first millennium the countryside of Babylonia was largely in tribal hands while the cities were reduced to a meager existence. Oppenheim has described the inevitable fate of urban Mesopotamia:<sup>175</sup>

Only a few of the Babylonian cities had more than one or two short periods--and many none at all--of . . . intense flowering. From this

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<sup>171</sup>Huot, Sumer 34 163.

<sup>172</sup>Huot, Sumer 34 163.

<sup>173</sup>Adams, Heartland of Cities, 18, 155-58; J. A. Brinkman, "Babylonia under the Assyrian Empire, 745-627 B.C.," in Power and Propaganda, ed. M. T. Larsen, Mesopotamia 7 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 225.

<sup>174</sup>Adams, Heartland of Cities, 152 with Fig. 25 and Tables 12, 13; J. A. Brinkman, "Settlement, Surveys and Documentary Evidence: Regional Variation and Secular Trend in Mesopotamian Demography," JNES 43 (1984): 169-80; and Brinkman, Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B.C., OPBF 7 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 4-10.

<sup>175</sup>Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 117.

affluence they relapsed into a drab and wretched existence, the people living among the ruins, the sanctuaries dilapidated, and the city walls crumbling. Debt-ridden, in the hands of rapacious administrators, the inhabitants were an easy prey for invading enemies and the raids of those who lived in the open country . . .

The overall decline in urbanism was not as pronounced in the far south as it was in the area of Nippur and the Lower Diyala,<sup>176</sup> no doubt owing to the eastward swing of the Euphrates back toward Uruk, Larsa and Ur. Nevertheless, Larsa lay outside of the documented political and economic activity of southern Mesopotamia during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C.E. When Larsa reappears in the sources at the end of the eighth century it, along with Eridu, Kissik and five other cities, is under the authority of the most powerful of the Chaldean tribes, Bīt-Jakīni.<sup>177</sup> The Bīt-Yakīni homeland lay to the south and east of Larsa,<sup>178</sup> the direction toward which Larsa traditionally had faced for trade.<sup>179</sup> It must be observed that at the same time Uruk enjoyed close relations with the tribe of Bīt-Amukāni.<sup>180</sup>

The reemergence of Larsa onto the greater Mesopotamian stage must be traced through Assyrian inscriptions.<sup>181</sup> The energetic foreign

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<sup>176</sup>Brinkman, Prelude, 5; JNES 43 (1984): 174.

<sup>177</sup>D. D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib, OIP 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 53:48-49.

<sup>178</sup>On the location of Bit-Yakin see Brinkman, Prelude, 15 n. 58.

<sup>179</sup>See note 135 above.

<sup>180</sup>See Manfred Dietrich, Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700-648), AOAT 7 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon and Bercker Kevelaer, 1970), *passim*.

<sup>181</sup>For the sources see Simo Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms, AOAT 6 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon and Bercker Kevelaer, 1970), 225.

policy of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727) to secure Assyria's southern flank met with initial success throughout Babylonia. Even the troublesome Merodach-baladan of Bīt-Jakīni brought tribute to the Assysrian king.<sup>182</sup> Tiglath-pileser III followed up his gains by assuming the crown of Babylonia,<sup>183</sup> thereby establishing a precedent for Assyrian rule in the south that allowed Babylon nominal independence. After the short reign of Shalmeneser V (726-722) the throne of Assyria was inherited by Sargon II (721-705), a calculating king who became adept at rewarding pro-Assyrian forces in Babylonia while holding in check nationalistic opposition. With the accession of Sargon II Merodach-baladan made himself king in Babylon<sup>184</sup> and for a decade appears to have ruled effectively, owing in no small measure to Elamite support.<sup>185</sup> Sargon, of course, eventually struck back and after a series of campaigns pushed to Dur-Yakin where he defeated Merodach-baladan in 709.<sup>186</sup> Among the administrative acts declared by Sargon after he had secured the country were reforms undertaken to

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<sup>182</sup>Nimrud Tablet no. 1 II Rev. 67:27-28 (PKB n. 1525, 1539). See Brinkman, PKB 239 and n. 1541 for the suggestion that the action of Merodach-baladan may have been a simple diplomatic exchange of presents with Tiglath-pileser III.

<sup>183</sup>Brinkman, PKB, 240-243 for discussion and sources.

<sup>184</sup>See Brinkman, Prelude, 46 n. 215 for sources of the reign of Merodach-baladan.

<sup>185</sup>Brinkman, Prelude, 49, for the administrative and economic success of Merodach-baladan.

<sup>186</sup>R. J. van der Spek, "The Struggle of King Sargon II of Assyria against the Chaldean Merodach-Baladan (710-707 B. C.)," JEOL 25 (1977-78): 56-66.



remedy a land which, he claimed, had been given over to neglect.<sup>187</sup>

These included the release of urban hostages, the restoration of statues of the deities to their respective temples and the extension of tax-exemption status to major southern cities, namely Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Kissik and Nemed-Laguda.<sup>188</sup>

Two years after the accession of Sennacherib (704-681) Merodach-baladan harnessed a broad southern coalition with which to drive the Assyrians from Babylonia.<sup>189</sup> In his first campaign Sennacherib struck south, retaking Babylonia with an iron hand.<sup>190</sup> For the next fourteen years, until the eventual destruction of the city of Babylon in 689, the Chaldeans were locked in a confusing struggle with Sennacherib and his urban Babylonian supporters. In the midst of this struggle (693), the Assyrians "marched as far as Uruk" (*a-di UNUG.KI iš-tam-di-hu*),<sup>191</sup> apparently the dominant city of the south, and took as spoil the principle gods of Uruk, Eridu and Larsa.<sup>192</sup> These were restored in a

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<sup>187</sup>C. J. Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II From Nimrud," Iraq 16 (1954): 192:45-76.

<sup>188</sup>A. G. Lie, Inscriptions of Sargon II King of Assyria, Pt. I, Annals, 64; VAS 1 71:Rev. 15 = D. D. Luckenbill, ARAB II 182; D. G. Lyon, Keilschrifttexte Sargon's Königs von Assyrien (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1883), 2 6-7; H. Winckler, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889), 96:8-10; 124:136-37; 146:6-9; 158:6-9; F. H. Weißbach, "Zu den Inschriften der Säle im Palaste Sargon's II von Assyrien," ZDMG 72 (1918): 176:4-5; Gadd, Iraq 16 (1954): 186:75-79.

<sup>189</sup>Brinkman, Prelude, 57.

<sup>190</sup>Luckenbill, Annals, 48-55.

<sup>191</sup>Luckenbill, Annals, 87:31.

<sup>192</sup>Luckenbill, Annals, 87:31-33; 90:11-13.

conciliatory move<sup>193</sup> by Esarhaddon (680-669).<sup>194</sup>

Esarhaddon's policies softened the effects of Chaldean nationalism, allowing a slow but consistent economic rebirth in Babylonia which was disrupted only by the fratricidal war<sup>195</sup> between Assurbanipal (668-627)<sup>196</sup> and Šamaš-šum-ukīn (667-648). When Nabopolassar (625-605) seized the Babylonian throne and thereby inaugurated the Chaldean Dynasty he inherited a land on the rise.

Uruk apparently had maintained a pro-Assyrian position throughout the seventh century as evidenced in the official correspondence between the governors of Uruk and the Assyrian kings.<sup>197</sup> This may have served to enhance Uruk's administrative and economic standing in the south. Owing to the virtual absence of sources concerning Larsa, however, it is much more difficult to characterize the stance and fortunes of that city in the decades prior to the Chaldean takeover. A single letter from an official in Uruk to the Assyrian king reports that while he is rightfully turning over spoil brought into Uruk to the Assyrians,

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<sup>193</sup>On the motives behind the switch in Assyrian foreign policy with the accession of Esarhaddon see Brinkman, Prelude, 71.

<sup>194</sup>R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien, AfO Beiheft 9 (Graz: E. Weidner, 1956), 84:43-44.

<sup>195</sup>Brinkman, Prelude, 73, 84, 107.

<sup>196</sup>A list of cities and districts subject to Assyria during the reign of Assurbanipal includes Larsa and other southern cities; see Emil Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1920), 53 4.

<sup>197</sup>B. T. Arnold, "Babylonian Letters from the Kuyunjik Collection: Seventh Century Uruk in Light of New Epistolary Evidence," (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College--Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, 1985), 19, 74-75, 120, 229. Arnold has analyzed letters concerning Uruk which were published in M. Dietrich, Neo-Babylonian Letters from the Kuyunjik Collection, CT 54 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1979).

persons from Bīt-Amukāni, Larsa and the Canal of Marduk-[X.X] kept spoil which was in their possession for them-selves.<sup>198</sup> From this we may conclude that some cities and regions peripheral to Uruk, including Larsa, did not share Uruk's pro-Assyrian sympathies. It is unclear to what extent cities which placed themselves outside of Assyrian favor may have prospered during the decades which led up to the takeover of Nabopolassar. A recent survey of dated economic texts (721-626 B.C.E.) undertaken by Brinkman and Kennedy does not reveal a single text dated at Larsa.<sup>199</sup> One is scarcely more successful with texts which mention persons from Larsa during this period. Two published texts are known. The first is a fragmentary legal text without preserved date<sup>200</sup> which Brinkman and Kennedy tentatively have assigned to the mid-eighth century on prosopographic grounds.<sup>201</sup> The preserved portion of the text lists names and titles of persons who apparently were witness to a legal

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<sup>198</sup>CT 54 61; see discussion by Dietrich, AOAT 7, 88, who dates the letter to the governorship of Nabû-ušabši (c. 660); and Arnold, "Babylonian Letters," 124-26; For the rule of Nabû-ušabši see M. San Nicolò, Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten der Zivil-und Tempelverwaltung (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1941), 12; and Arnold, "Babylonian Letters," 46-63.

<sup>199</sup>J. A. Brinkman and D. A. Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society: A Survey of Dated Babylonian Economic Texts, 721-626 B.C.," JCS 35 (1983): 1-90. The majority of these texts are dated at Babylon, Borsippa, Dilbat, Nippur, Sippar, Ur and Uruk, with other city names occurring infrequently.

<sup>200</sup>Jean-Marie Durand, Textes Babyloniens d'époque Récente (Paris: Éditions A.D.P.F., 1981), Pl. 5 (AO 2140); for transliteration, translation and discussion see Francis Joannès, Textes économiques de la babylonie Récente (Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations (1982), 364-65.

<sup>201</sup>Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 12-13.

decision, including [PN] LU<sub>2</sub> SAG UD. 'UNUG'. [KI].<sup>202</sup> The second is a sale of a house and orchard dated at Babylon in the fourteenth year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn in which Nabû-mukīn-zēr, Šangû of Larsa<sup>203</sup> appears as the first-named and only titled witness.<sup>204</sup> It is not possible at present to reconstruct the economy or administration of Larsa in the first millennium prior to the Chaldean Period.

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<sup>202</sup>Durand, TBER 5:12'.

<sup>203</sup>For the office of Šangû in Larsa see Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa: A Preliminary Study," *OrNs* 60 (1991): 74-76, and Chapter 3, D3, below.

<sup>204</sup>G. Contenau, *Contrats néobabyloniens I, de Téglath-phalasar III à Nabonide*, TCL 12 (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1927), 12:38; cf. E. W. Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935), 14-17.

CHAPTER THREE  
LARSA FROM THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.E.  
TO THE PARTHIAN PERIOD

A. Introduction. The political and social-economic history of Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian Period is, on the whole, well represented in cuneiform sources and, as a result, has been the focus of a number of important and readily accessible studies. Our work will view the history of Larsa through texts which can be described as Larsan or related to Larsa and which are of three genres: royal inscriptions (see Appendix 1), letters (see Appendix 2) and legal and administrative texts from official or private archives (see Appendices 3 and 4). These texts can be distributed over the following five categories:

1. Texts which were dated at Larsa (legal and administrative texts);
2. Texts which were found at Larsa (royal inscriptions, legal and administrative texts);
3. Texts which mention Larsa (royal inscriptions, letters, legal and administrative texts);
4. Texts which mention persons from Larsa (letters, legal and administrative texts, a few royal inscriptions); and
5. Texts which mention places within Larsa or its immediate vicinity (royal inscriptions, letters, legal and administrative texts).

These categories are not mutually exclusive. For the political history of Larsa we are largely dependent on royal inscriptions. On the other

hand, the reconstruction of social-economic history must begin with texts from Category 1 and then proceed to those from the other named categories. The difficulty of identifying texts as Larsan which might fall under Categories 4 and 5 must be recognized, due in part to the presence of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar. Two criteria, therefore, will be used to identify texts as such which do not specifically mention Larsa. The first is prosopography, especially the prosopography of Ebabbar officials. The second is provenience. It may be assumed that texts which mention either an Ebabbar temple or persons, places or deities connected thereto and which were found within the confines of the Eanna in Uruk probably can be assigned to Larsa rather than Sippar based on the vicinity of the former to Uruk. Due to the expansive nature of Categories 5 and especially 4, however, it is recognized that an exhaustive list of all texts which might fall thereunder is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

B. The Political History of Larsa from the Sixth Century B.C.E. to the Parthian Period. The political goals of Nabopolassar (23 Nov 626-15 Aug 605),<sup>1</sup> founder of the Chaldean Dynasty, included the expulsion of the Assyrians from Babylonia and the consolidation of Chaldean rule within the Babylonian homeland. Nabopolassar was successful on the first account only after a prolonged struggle with the

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<sup>1</sup>Dates for the reigns of the Chaldean and Achaemenid kings used herein are those as collated by Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75 (Providence: Brown University Press, 1956), 10-24.

Assyrians centering on pro-Assyrian strongholds in Uruk and Nippur.<sup>2</sup>

By 615 the Babylonians under Nabopolassar were able to launch an attack on Assur itself which, although unsuccessful,<sup>3</sup> foreshadowed the fall of Assur to Cyaxares and his powerful Median-Scythian coalition the following year. In 614 Nabopolassar concluded a peace treaty with Cyaxares<sup>4</sup> whereupon the Medes pushed the Assyrians westward through Nineveh to Harran.

Nabopolassar's steps to consolidate Chaldean suzerainty at home laid the groundwork for the vision of a Greater Babylonia which was to consume the efforts of his son and successor, Nebuchadnezzar (7 Sept 605-early Oct 562). The royal inscriptions of Nabopolassar mention work in two cities, Babylon and Sippar. In Babylon Nabopolassar performed general repairs on walls<sup>5</sup> and undertook extensive work on the Etemenanki ziggurat<sup>6</sup> and Ninurta temple (Egidriduntilla).<sup>7</sup> In Sippar

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<sup>2</sup>The major source for political history is D. J. Wiseman, Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1956), with text and commentary; there is a gap for the years 594 through 557. These chronicles have been republished with updated bibliography as Chronicles 2-6 in A. K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles TCS 5 (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1975). To these Grayson adds Chronicle 7 (Nabonidus) and Chronicles 8-13a (Achaemenid through Seleucid Periods).

<sup>3</sup>Wiseman, Chronicles, 56-57 (B.M.21901 16-19).

<sup>4</sup>Wiseman, Chronicles, 56-59 (B.M. 21901 24-30).

<sup>5</sup>See the inscriptions (mostly bricks) in Berger, AOAT 4/1, 129-35, 141.

<sup>6</sup>J. N. Straßmaier, "Inschriften von Nabopolassar und Smerdis," ZA 4 (1889): 129-136 = VAB IV 60-65, no. 1; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1 142-43.

<sup>7</sup>F. H. Weißbach, Babylonische Miscellen WVDOG 4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1903): Pl. 8 = VAB IV 66-69, no. 4; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 136-37.

he built the Aya temple (Eedina),<sup>8</sup> patronized the Ebabbar<sup>9</sup> and improved that city's access to the Euphrates.<sup>10</sup> Apparently Nabopolassar was also active at Larsa. A badly worn cylinder bearing the name [Nabo]polassar was found on the surface of the tell,<sup>11</sup> but the nature of his work there remains unclear. It is to be noted that Nabopolassar's efforts to rebuild Babylonia outside of the capital city were centered on the two cities of Šamaš. While the formulaic language of the three inscriptions detailing royal activity in Sippar pays due homage to Šamaš,<sup>12</sup> there is nothing therein which might suggest that Nabopolassar's activity in either Sippar or Larsa derived from a singular religious motivation.

As crown prince Nebuchadnezzar had led armies on behalf of his father, including those of the Babylonian force which, at Carchemish in 605, had seen the final defeat of the Assyrians and had checked the Egyptian advance north.<sup>13</sup> The Medes were content for the time being to stay out of Mesopotamia and in this vacuum, for the ten years of his

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<sup>8</sup>H. Winckler, "Einige neuveröffentlichte Texte Hammurabis, Nabopolassars und Nebukadnezars," *ZA* 2 (1887): 145-47; 172-73 = VAB IV 64-67, no. 3; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 140.

<sup>9</sup>M. Jastrow, "Nabopolassar and the Temple to the Sun-god at Sippar," *AJSL* 15 (1899): 73 = VAB IV 70-71, no. 5.

<sup>10</sup>H. Winckler, "Ein text Nabopolassars," *ZA* 2 (1887): 69-75 = VAB IV 64-65, no. 2; (cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 138-39).

<sup>11</sup>Arnaud, *Syria* 53 (1976) 48:14; 80 (L.74.7).

<sup>12</sup>VAB IV 64 no. 2 ii:8; 66 no. 3 i:10-11, ii:7; 70 no. 5:1.

<sup>13</sup>Wiseman, *Chronicles*, 66-69 (B.M. 21946 1-7). For a summary of the Chaldean Period after Nabopolassar see now D. J. Wiseman, "Babylonia 605-539 B.C.," Chapter XXVII in *The Cambridge Ancient History* 2nd ed., vol III/2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 229-51.



reign attested in the Babylonian Chronicle, Nebuchadnezzar was able to successfully continue Nabonidus' policy of military conquest and political consolidation.<sup>14</sup>

Nebuchadnezzar's early military success coupled with a long reign of forty-three years allowed him to expend considerable energy rebuilding Babylonia. The focus of his work was, of course, the city of Babylon which, if the accounts of the Greek historians can be believed, came to rival anything that the ancient world had to offer.<sup>15</sup> Nebuchadnezzar's own inscriptions, which glory in his accomplishments at home, harkened back to the grandeur of Hammurapi.<sup>16</sup> Under Nebuchadnezzar Babylon was to become the economic, administrative and religious center of his realm, yet care was also taken to restore and patronize major temples throughout Babylonia including those in Borsippa, Sippar, Akkadu, Ur, Uruk, Cutha, Dilbat, Marad, Kiš, Baš and Larsa<sup>17</sup> (see Map). It should be noted that the restoration of temples

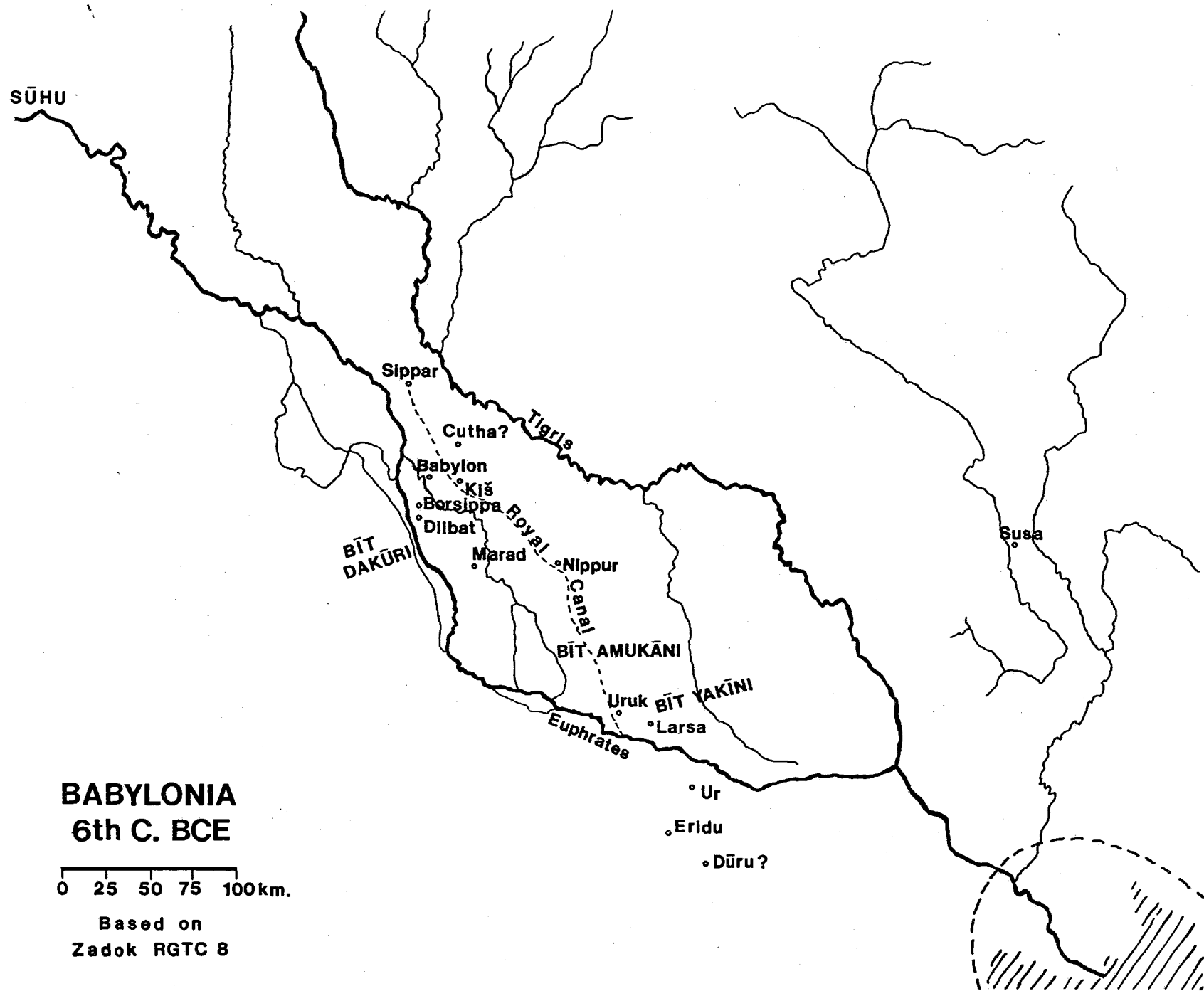
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<sup>14</sup>See also the biblical account of Nebuchadnezzar's two assaults on Jerusalem in 2 Kings 24-25

<sup>15</sup>O. E. Ravn, Herodotus' Description of Babylon, transl. M. Tovborg-Jensen (Copenhagen: NYT Nordisk Forlag-Busk), 1942. See also the descriptions in CAH III/2 236-39 and D. J. Wiseman, Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon, Schweich Lectures, 1983, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). On Nebuchadnezzar from the point of view of non-Babylonians during antiquity see Ronald H. Sack, Images of Nebuchadnezzar: The Emergence of a Legend (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1991).

<sup>16</sup>The royal inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar which mention Larsa are listed in Appendix 1; for an example of an inscription written in archaic script and in the style of Hammurapi see 1 R 52 no. 2 = VAB IV 204-5, no. 45.

<sup>17</sup>Larsa is listed along with the other cities in C. J. Ball, "An Unpublished Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II," PSBA 10 (1888) Pl. VI ii:64 (following pg. 368) = VAB IV 108-9 no. 13 ii:64; T. Jacobsen, Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939), 79 ii:44 = VAB IV 74-75 no. 1 ii:34; and F. H. Weißbach, Die



in southern cities as attested in the royal inscriptions of Chaldean kings took place only at Uruk, Larsa, Ur and, according to a single inscription of Nabonidus, Dūru.<sup>18</sup>

Persons from Larsa appear in two royal inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar; in both cases the persons involved apparently were mentioned in connection with activities in Babylon. The first text describes the restoration of the Etemenanki.<sup>19</sup> In this lengthy text Nebuchadnezzar boasted that he brought persons to Babylon from all areas of his realm, including Larsa, to work on the ziggurat. The second text is the so-called "Court List of Nebuchadnezzar."<sup>20</sup> This list includes the names of a number of individuals who held the office of *šangū* in their respective cities in southern Babylonia; among them appears Marduk-ēreš, governor of Larsa.<sup>21</sup> In the view of Oppenheim<sup>22</sup> these

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Inschriften Nebukadnezars II im Wādī Brisa und am Nahr el-Kelb WDOG 5 (Osnabrück, Otto Zeller Verlag, 1978 reprint), 36 viii:12 = VAB IV 170-73 no. 19 viii:12.

<sup>18</sup>For Dūru see H. W. F. Saggs, "A Cylinder from Tell al Lahm," *Sumer* 13 (1957): Pl. 2 i:39 (after page 194); cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1 363. This inscription describes the restoration of the Eamaškugga temple.

<sup>19</sup>See the fragment published by L. Legrain, Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon PBS 15 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1926), 76 39 and VAB IV 144-49, no. 17, the text to which it joins. This fragment mentions workers from Larsa and other southern cities: Ur, Uruk, Kullabi, Nemed-Laguda, and the land of Ugar-[] . The location of the sites, except for Ur, Uruk and Larsa, is unknown.

<sup>20</sup>E. Unger, Babylon: Die Heilige Stadt (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1931), 35-36; 282-94, no. 26. For discussion see also Wiseman, Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon, 73-75 in addition to the works listed by Berger, AOAT 4/1, 313.

<sup>21</sup>Unger, Babylon, 286 26 v:10. Nine cities or towns in southern Babylonia are mentioned by name; other GNs are partially broken or entirely missing. Of the GNs which are preserved, only the location of Larsa is certain. The other named cities are Dūr-Yakīn, Limitu, Māt-Akallu, Nemed-Laguda, Kullabi, Udannu, Kissik and Bakuššu (Unger,

officials along with others mentioned were members of the court of Nebuchadnezzar. Wiseman<sup>23</sup> counters that the text describes a procession in honor of the construction of Nebuchadnezzar's new palace in Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar's building activity in Larsa centered on the Ebabbar mound as verified by recent archaeological excavations. His standard inscription recording the rebuilding of the Ebabbar is extant, with variants, in a number of copies, some of which have been found *in situ*.<sup>24</sup> Nebuchadnezzar described the Ebbabar as he had found it:<sup>25</sup>

ša<sub>2</sub> iš-tu UD-um ru-qu-u<sub>2</sub>-ti

i-mu-u<sub>2</sub> ti-la-ni-iš

15 qi<sub>2</sub>-ir-bu-uš-šu ba-aš-ša iš-ša-ap-ku

la u<sub>2</sub>-ud-da-a u<sub>2</sub>-su-ra-a-ti

since days long ago [it] had become like a mound,  
(15) sand was heaped high inside; its plan was not known.

But during his reign, Nebuchadnezzar claimed, Marduk showed favor (*ir-ta-šu sa-li-mu*) toward the Larsa temple:<sup>26</sup>

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Babylon 286 26 v:4-12).

<sup>22</sup>In J. B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3d ed., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 307-8.

<sup>23</sup>Wiseman, Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon, 75.

<sup>24</sup>1 R 51 no. 2 = VAB IV 96-97, no. 10; see Appendix 1 for additional copies of this text. Numerous copies of a much shorter inscription have also been found on bricks from Larsa; see 1 R 52 no. 5 = VAB IV 204-5, no. 45 and Appendix 1.

<sup>25</sup>Arnaud, Larsa et 'Oueili 1978-81 354-55 4:13-16.

<sup>26</sup>Arnaud, Larsa et 'Oueili 1978-81 354-55 4:20-22.

20 IM.MEŠ LIMMU<sub>2</sub>.BA u<sub>2</sub>-ša-at-ba-am-ma  
 e-pe-er qi<sub>2</sub>-ri-bi-šu is-su-uh-ma  
 in-nam-ra u<sub>2</sub>-gu-ra-a-ti

(20) He caused the four winds to blow, the loose earth within it he removed (so that its) plan was revealed.

Nebuchadnezzar then proceeded, in formulaic acts, to inspect, purify and rebuild the Ebabbar.

Excavations have uncovered a Neo-Babylonian temple atop the Ebabbar mound with walls preserved to a height of two meters.<sup>27</sup> The sanctuary consisted of a long central room leading to a main cella which contained a large T-shaped platform with side steps, possibly an altar or, more likely in the view of the excavators, the pedestal for the deity. Eight (or possibly ten) side chambers flanked the central room. The entire complex was enclosed by an oval wall which was itself surrounded by a rectangular wall. This wall was found directly over the second millennium Kassite walls without any trace of violent destruction and followed their course exactly, thus confirming the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar.

Apparently the entire area between the summit and ziggurat, including the lower temple complex, continued to be abandoned throughout the Neo-Babylonian Period. In the view of the excavators of Larsa, except for the Ebabbar the city of Larsa was not revived during the

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<sup>27</sup>The temple is described in J.-L. Huot and others, "Preliminary Report on the Tenth Season at Larsa," *Sumer* 44 (1985-88): 27-35 and *Larsa (10ème campagne, 1983) et 'Oueili (4ème campagne, 1983). Rapport préliminaire* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987).

sixth century B.C.E.:<sup>28</sup>

En fait, [Larsa] ne doit d'exister qu'à son sanctuaire et ne survit probablement qu'à travers lui. C'est en effet à Uruk que se trouvent concentrés, dès l'époque néo-babylonienne, pouvoirs économique et administratif.

As will be seen, new textual evidence from Larsa presented in Chapter Four herein will modify this conclusion.

In contrast to the stability and competence of Nebuchadnezzar, the six years following his death saw three kings rise to the Babylonian throne. Amēl-Marduk (early Oct 562-mid Aug 560), Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor,<sup>29</sup> left few inscriptions,<sup>30</sup> none of which mentions Larsa. He evidently conducted no military operations and undertook only limited repair work in Babylon.<sup>31</sup>

Amēl-Marduk was succeeded, perhaps violently,<sup>32</sup> by Neriglissar (mid Aug 560-late Apr/early May 556), a wealthy and influential

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<sup>28</sup> O. Lecomte, "Fouilles du sommet de l'E.babbar," in Larsa: Travaux de 1985, eds. J.-L. Huot and others (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1989), 135-36.

<sup>29</sup> On a possible coregency with Nebuchadnezzar see R. H. Sack, Amel-Marduk 562-560 B.C.: A Study based on Cuneiform, Old Testament, Greek, Latin and Rabbinical Sources AOAT 4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1972), 3; c.f. David B. Weisberg, Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar YOS 17 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), xix.

<sup>30</sup> R. Koldewey, The Excavations at Babylon, trans. Agnes S. Johns (London: Macmillan, 1914), 78-79.

<sup>31</sup> The assessment of Amēl-Marduk's reign by writers in antiquity is of a decidedly mixed nature; see Sack, Amel-Marduk, 1-32. One might contrast the favorable biblical accounts (1 Kgs 25:27-30; Jer 52:31-43) with that of Berossus (text preserved in Josephus, Contra Apion, I 12-21), who reports that "Evilmerodachus . . . governed public affairs in an illegal and improper manner."

<sup>32</sup> According to Berossus; see note 29.

Babylonian who had married Kaššaya, daughter of Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>33</sup> Neriglissar undertook some building activity in and around Babylon<sup>34</sup> but, like his predecessor, no work is attested by him in other cities, including Larsa. In his third year Neriglissar conducted a successful military campaign to Cilicia but died shortly after returning home.

Following, or, more accurately, during,<sup>35</sup> the short and allegedly<sup>36</sup> reign of Labaši-Marduk (early May-late June 556) the Babylonian throne was seized by Nabonidus (late June 556-mid Oct 539), one of the most intriguing rulers of all time.<sup>37</sup> Nabonidus is best known for his promulgation of the worship of the god Sin at the expense of the Marduk-priesthood in Babylon. That Nabonidus was active at Harran, Ur and Teima, three points circumscribing Mesopotamia and northern Arabia, might also signal an attempt at political and/or

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<sup>33</sup>For the economic activity of Neriglissar before he became king see Sack, Amēl-Marduk, 36-39; on his political career see Wiseman in CAH III/2 241 with notes.

<sup>34</sup>VAB IV 208-19, nos. 1-3.

<sup>35</sup>Documents dating to Nabonidus occur as early as late May, 556; on the confusion in the chronology see Parker and Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology, 13, the discussion in Sack, Amel-Marduk, 2-3, and Paul-Alain Beaulieu, The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556-539 B.C. YNER 10 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 86-88.

<sup>36</sup>The following piece of propaganda written against Labaši-Marduk to legitimize the reign of Nabonidus is recognized as containing an element of truth: "a minor (who) had not (yet) learned how to behave sat down on the royal throne against the intentions of the gods" (VAB IV 276-77 no. 8 iv:38-42; ANET 309).

<sup>37</sup>On the reign of Nabonidus see most recently Beaulieu, Nabonidus, with bibliography. The most important early treatment is R. P. Dougherty, Nabonidus and Belshazzar: A Study of the Closing Events of the Neo-Babylonian Empire YOR 15 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929).

economic unity in the face of an imminent and catastrophic threat from Persia.

A key to understanding the reign of Nabonidus lies in the historical arrangement of Nabonidus' inscriptions and the relationship of them to his prolonged sojourn in Teima; in this matter we follow the conclusions of Beaulieu.<sup>38</sup> Of the twenty-seven inscriptions attributable with certainty to Nabonidus, five mention Larsa.

The first, which is also the earliest-known inscription of Nabonidus, is a basalt stela containing eleven columns of text which details, in apologetic language, Nabonidus' rise to the throne and early acts of devotion to major cult centers in Babylonia.<sup>39</sup> Based on internal evidence Beaulieu dates this inscription to the middle of the first year of Nabonidus.<sup>40</sup> The text mentions that, following the New Year's Festival and before Marduk commissioned him to restore the Ehulhul temple in Harran, Nabonidus had made a southern journey to visit the temples in Uruk, Larsa and Ur, three southern cities which figure prominently in Chaldean royal inscriptions:<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Beaulieu, Nabonidus, 1-65; see also Hayim Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Nabonid: Historical Arrangement," in Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger, ed. H. G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen, AS 16 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 351-64, on whom Beaulieu is dependent.

<sup>39</sup>L. Messerschmidt, Die Inschrift der Stele Nabuna'id's Königs von Babylon MVAG 1 (Berlin: Wolf Peiser Verlag, 1896) 73-83 = VAB IV 270-89, no. 8 = Beaulieu no. 1; for discussion see Beaulieu, Nabonidus, 22-24.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Tadmor, "Inscriptions," 355 n. 26; 356, who dates the inscription to the second year of Nabonidus.

<sup>41</sup>Messerschmidt, MVAG 1 81 ix:48-55 = VAB IV 284-85, no. 8 ix:48-55; Oppenheim, ANET 311.



ina ma-ha-zi GAL.MEŠ  
 a-ba-lu DINGIR u <sup>d</sup>iš<sub>8</sub>-tar<sub>2</sub>  
 50 a-na UNUG.KI UD.UNUG.KI  
 u ŠEŠ.AB.[KI] al-lik-ma  
 KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR KU<sub>3</sub>.GI NA<sub>4</sub> ni-siq-ti  
 a-na ma-har <sup>d</sup>30  
<sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>iš<sub>8</sub>-tar  
 55 u<sub>2</sub>-še-ri-ib

In the great sacred cities I prostrated myself before  
 god(s) and goddess(es). I went (50) to Uruk, Larsa  
 and Ur and brought silver, gold (and) precious stones  
 to Sin, Šamaš and Ištar.

On the basis of three administrative documents which are dated to  
 Nabonidus and discussed at length by Beaulieu,<sup>42</sup> it is possible to  
 conclude that Nabonidus was in Larsa at the end of *Nisanu* and at the end  
 of *Aiaru*, the first two months of his first regnal year. These texts  
 speak of administrative changes in the operation of the southern temples  
 and their landed holdings.

Nabonidus was in Teima from his third to his thirteenth year while  
 Belshazzar, the king's son, tended to administrative duties in Babylon.  
 Although during this period Nabonidus failed to appear in Babylon for  
 the New Year's festival, his devotion to Sin did not preclude all  
 activity on behalf of other deities. In a second text which mentions  
 Larsa--a text with language echoing that of Nebuchadnezzar cited above--  
 Nabonidus claimed that, during his tenth year, he had raised the temple

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<sup>42</sup>Beaulieu, *Nabonidus*, 22, 117-20. The texts are YOS 6 10 (dated  
 at Larsa), YOS 6 11 (dated at Larsa, with duplicates TBER 64 and  
 Schwenzner *AfK* 2 107-19) and YOS 6 71 (dated at Uruk, with duplicate YOS  
 6 72).

of Šamaš to new heights.<sup>43</sup> Three fragments of this text have been found in Larsa.<sup>44</sup> A third text, dating probably to Nabonidus year 16,<sup>45</sup> looks back at this event from the perspective of a king whose public devotion now clearly sided with Sin.<sup>46</sup> The fourth text, the third which attests to work in Larsa by Nabonidus, is a short titulary inscription found on several bricks in a room adjacent to the ziggurat.<sup>47</sup> It is unclear, however, to what construction the inscriptions on these bricks refers.<sup>48</sup> It is possible that the primary referent is the ziggurat itself,<sup>49</sup> a structure which has yet to be

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<sup>43</sup>K. Bezold, "Two Inscriptions of Nabonidus," PSBA 11 (1889): 92-101, Pls. 3-5 = VAB IV 234-43, no. 3 = Beaulieu no. 9; for discussion see Beaulieu, Nabonidus, 27-28.

<sup>44</sup>Arnaud, Syria 48 293 = Syria 53 80; Charpin, Larsa 1985 186; 197.

<sup>45</sup>Partial texts are L. W. King, CT 34 26-37 and 1 R 69; for a complete reconstruction see S. Langdon, "New Inscriptions of Nabuna'id," AJSL 32 (1915-16): 102-17 and VAB IV 242-51, no. 4. This inscription is Beaulieu no. 16; for discussion see Beaulieu, Nabonidus, 34-35. The portion of this text treating Larsa, CT 34 27:41-30:27 = AJSL 32 (1915-16): 105-6 i:37-ii:27, was redacted from an inscription then extant at Larsa (CT 34 30:27).

<sup>46</sup>On the exaltation of Sin in the inscriptions of Nabonidus see now Beaulieu, Nabonidus, 43-65. Beaulieu argues that Nabonidus had been a devotee of Sin from the beginning of his reign but only upon his return from Teima was he sufficiently confident in his devotion to try to effect the priority of Sin in his kingdom.

<sup>47</sup>L. Bachelot and C. Castel, "Recherches sur la ziggourat de Larsa," in Larsa 1985, 57; also Arnaud, Syria 48 (1971) 292; for the text see 1 R 68 no. 4 and VAB IV 294-95 = Beaulieu no. 12; for discussion see Beaulieu, Nabonidus, 31-32.

<sup>48</sup>J.-L. Huot and others, "Preliminary Report on the Tenth Season at Larsa," Sumer 44 (1958-88): 34.

<sup>49</sup>In the opinion of the excavators; see Huot and others, "Preliminary Report on the Tenth Season." In favor of their view one might mention wording in the inscriptions which is suggestive of the ziggurat (Bezold, PSBA 11 ii:3-4; iii:18-19; Langdon, "New Inscriptions," AJSL 32 (1915-16): i:66-68.

adequately excavated. On the other hand, it is well within the realm of possibility that Nabonidus simply took credit for much of the work of Nebuchadnezzar.

The fifth inscription of Nabonidus which mentions Larsa was found on each of two basalt stelae in Harran.<sup>50</sup> In this inscription, written in his fourteenth or fifteenth year,<sup>51</sup> Nabonidus reflected on the events of his reign leading up to and including the rebuilding of the Ehulhul temple. Nabonidus declared that the inhabitants of Babylon, Borsippa, Nippur, Ur, Uruk and Larsa, officials and general populace (LU<sub>2</sub> SANGA.MEŠ UM.MEŠ) alike, had offended Sin<sup>52</sup> and, by implication, opposed his efforts on behalf of that deity. A badly worn stela bearing this inscription was found in secondary (Hellenistic) use as a door socket in excavations at Larsa;<sup>53</sup> according to Arnaud<sup>54</sup> its presence in Larsa illustrates the claim of Nabonidus to have preserved the honor of Sin for posterity:<sup>55</sup>

*e-piš-tu<sub>2</sub> d<sup>30</sup> EN DINGIR.MEŠ u<sub>3</sub> d<sup>3</sup> iš-tar*

80 *ša<sub>2</sub> AN-e u KI-tim ša<sub>2</sub> ina UGU NA<sub>4</sub> a-su-mi-ni-e-tu<sub>2</sub>*

*ša<sub>2</sub> ga-la-a aš-tu-ru-ma a-na ša<sub>2</sub>-me-e ša<sub>2</sub> UN.MEŠ ar<sub>2</sub>-ki-tu<sub>4</sub>*

<sup>50</sup>C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," AnSt 8 (1958): 35-92 = Beaulieu no. 13; for discussion see Beaulieu, Nabonidus, 32.

<sup>51</sup>Beaulieu, Nabonidus, 32, 210-14.

<sup>52</sup>Gadd, "Harran Inscriptions," i:14-22.

<sup>53</sup>D. Arnaud, "The Texts of the 10th Archaeological Campaign at Tell Senkereh/Larsa (Autumn 1983)," Sumer 44 (1985-88): 48-50 2.

<sup>54</sup>Arnaud, "Texts of the 10th Archaeological Campaign," 49.

<sup>55</sup>CT 34 37 iii:79-81; Langdon, "New Inscriptions," iii:79-81.

(These<sup>56</sup> are) the deeds of Sin, lord of the gods and goddess(es) (80) who (dwell) in heaven and on earth, (and) of which, upon cylindrical<sup>57</sup> inscriptions, I have written so that peoples in times to come might hear.

The erection and subsequent defacement of this stela reflect the political and religious tightrope on which Nabonidus found himself. In this regard we might note that Beaulieu has spoken of the "aramization" of Larsa, evidence for which he has gathered from the West Semitic personal names found in the Larsan onomasticon.<sup>58</sup>

No doubt many Babylonians shared [Nabonidus'] syncretistic leanings (regarding Sin), especially at Larsa, where an important influx of West Semites in the first millennium seems to have altered the purely Babylonian character of the city.

Larsa fails to appear in royal inscriptions after the sixteenth year of Nabonidus. From the middle of the sixth century to the end of its existence in the Parthian Period the political history of Larsa must be written by inference, and that only in the most general way.

The army of Cyrus entered Babylon on 12 Oct 539, reportedly

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<sup>56</sup>I.e., the deeds described in the preceeding text to which this is a colophon.

<sup>57</sup>From archaeological evidence Arnaud suggests that *galā* describes the manner in which the stela was shaped, thereby accepting an etymology from *gll*. This is rejected as unlikely CAD G 11, which offers "(a stone treated in a specific way)" and translates "I wrote upon a stela with reliefs made of *galālu*-stone."

<sup>58</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 81. Note also the ostrakon (fragment) containing a list of Babylonian names written in Aramaic script found at Larsa and published by A. Dupont-Sommer, "Un ostrakon Araméen inédit de Larsa," *RA* 40 (1945-46): 143-47. The city name Larsa does not appear in Aramaic inscriptions or literature.

without a fight,<sup>59</sup> and the Babylonian throne passed to the Persians. Cyrus (mid Oct 539-mid Aug 530) considered himself to have entered into the legitimate line of Babylonian rulers, taking the title "King of Babylon, King of Lands" (LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR). There was reportedly no interruption of temple rites during this period of transition<sup>60</sup> and economic documentation continued essentially unchanged, suggesting that, for the time being, life in Babylonia remained largely as it had under the Chaldean kings.<sup>61</sup>

This stability continued through the reign of Cambyses (mid Aug 530-Apr? 522) but was challenged in his eighth year as Bardia/Gaumata, the king's brother, seized power in the Persian capital, thereby becoming recognized as king in Babylonia.<sup>62</sup> This usurper was killed by Darius I (late Dec 522-Nov 486) who himself faced revolts in 522 and 521 by native Babylonians under the names Nebuchadnezzar III/IV.<sup>63</sup> In response to these and other rebellions Darius instituted a series of administrative and financial reforms aimed at creating a Persian ruling

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<sup>59</sup>According to Cyrus' own account in the Cyrus Cylinder (F. H. Weißbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* VAB III (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche, 1911), 4-5: 17-19) and the Nabonidus Chronicle (Grayson, TCS 5 Chronicle 7 iii:15-16). See most recently A. Khurt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 83-94.

<sup>60</sup>TCS 5 Chronicle 7 iii:17-18.

<sup>61</sup>For an assessment of this transition see M. A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, transl. W. J. Vogelsang (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 54-55.

<sup>62</sup>On the revolt of Bardia/Gaumata see Dandamaev, *Political History*, 83-102.

<sup>63</sup>The chronology of the period is confused due to the competing rulers by which texts were dated and the nature of the official sources, in particular the Behistun Inscription. For a summary of the evidence see Weisberg, YOS 17, xix-xxvi.

structure which would insure stability throughout his realm.<sup>64</sup> The Babylonians revolted again under Xerxes (Dec 486-Aug 465) who responded with further administrative reforms, possibly sacking Babylon and its temples as well.<sup>65</sup> Xerxes dropped the appellative "King of Babylon" from his royal title,<sup>66</sup> signaling that on the world scene political influence no longer was centered in Babylon.

It is difficult to assess the fortunes of Babylonia, and Larsa in particular, during the middle and late years of Achaemenid rule due a lack of cuneiform documentation. There is a great decline in both the number and distribution of cuneiform documents from Babylonia dated to the years between the early reign of Darius I and the Hellenistic Period.<sup>67</sup> The volume of texts dated at Larsa is wholly consistent with

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<sup>64</sup>Among other things Darius redefined the boundaries of the provinces of the former Babylonian empire and limited the power of the satrap to civil matters; the Persians retained authority in military affairs and in the most important civil matters. Some changes in the terminology of economic documents can be noted; see M. San Nicolò, "Neubabylonische Urkunden aus Ur," OrNs 19 (1950): 218 n. 1. See also M. W. Stolper, Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1985), 8, with notes.

<sup>65</sup>See Dandamaev, Political History, 184-87. Stolper cautions that the claims of the Classical authors that Xerxes wrecked havoc within Babylon must be weighed against the witness of economic documents from later reigns mentioning property and personnel from the Esagila; see Entrepreneurs and Empire, 9 n. 24.

<sup>66</sup>George G. Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia," AJSL 58 (1941): 319-25.

<sup>67</sup>On the volume and distribution of texts see J. Oelsner, "Zwischen Xerxes und Alexander: babylonische Rechtsurkunden und wirtschaftstexte aus der späten Achämenidenzeit," WO 8 (1976): 312-14, n. 10; and M. Stolper, Entrepreneurs and Empire, 10 and "Late Achaemenid Legal Texts from Uruk and Larsa," BagM 21 (1990): 559-60. Most of what is known from cuneiform sources about Babylonia during the middle years of Achaemenid rule comes from the Murašû archives of Nippur.

this pattern (see Appendix 3). Based on this decline Dandamaev has argued that concurrent with the political actions of Xerxes Babylonia lost its status as an important world economic center.<sup>68</sup> One might add that the Persian Royal Road, the main trunk of which skirted Babylonia to the north and east, evidently worked to carry Persian economic and military priorities elsewhere. Disagreeing with the assessment of Dandamaev is Stolper. While recognizing that the political status of Babylonia had changed under Darius and Xerxes, Stolper argues that the smaller number of texts which date to the middle and late years of Achaemenid rule should not by itself cause us to view as lessened Babylonia's role as the breadbasket of the Persian Empire.<sup>69</sup>

The archaeological evidence from Larsa during the Achaemenid Period is too sparse to allow any conclusions about life there in the fifth through early third centuries. That the Ebabbar--and the city--continued to function, however, is clear based on evidence of its operation during the Hellenistic Period.<sup>70</sup>

The defeat of Darius III at Gaugamela by Alexander the Great on 1 Oct 331 marked the beginning of the end of Babylonian culture.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Dandamaev, Political History, 186-87. According to Dandamaev, Babylonian prosperity returned by the end of the fifth century.

<sup>69</sup>Stolper, Entrepreneurs and Empire, 9-10; BaqM 21 (1990): 559.

<sup>70</sup>"Le résultat essentiel de ces trois campagnes [de fouilles, 1981, 1983 et 1985] est d'avoir montré la pérennité de l'E.babbar, de sa reconstruction de la période néo-babylonienne à la fin de la période hellénistique qui voit la destruction du temple en cours d'activité;" O. Lecomte, "Fouilles du sommet de l'E.babbar," in Larsa 1985, 136.

<sup>71</sup>On Hellenistic history as it effected Babylonia see M. Cary, A History of the Greek World from 323-146 B.C. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

Cuneiform gradually ceased to be used as the medium of communication for administration and commerce, and by Parthian times survived only in the esoteric work of astrologers.<sup>72</sup> The latest cuneiform text from Larsa is an economic document concerning income from ceremonies for the goddess Aya dated to the year 225+ B.C.E. (= S.E. 86+, Selucus III Soter).<sup>73</sup> Greek institutions in Babylonia slowly took the place of their Babylonian counterparts,<sup>74</sup> and the founding of Greek *poloi* throughout the east further weakened the fabric of traditional Babylonian life.<sup>75</sup>

Initially, Greek rulers actively supported temples in Babylon. According to Classical sources, Alexander (330-323) began to restore the

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<sup>72</sup>A. Sachs, "The Latest Datable Cuneiform Tablets," in Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer, ed. Barry L. Eichler, AOAT 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon and Bercker Kevelaer, 1976), 379-98.

<sup>73</sup>Gilbert J. P. McEwan, Texts from Hellenistic Babylon in the Ashmolean Museum OECT 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 26. BRM II 51, a promissory note concerning repayment of seed grain issued by officers of the Šamaš temple, may be dated later. The date and provenience of BRM II 51 has been the subject of much discussion; see most recently the summary of L. Timothy Doty, "Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1977), 375-76, n. 220. Doty suggests a date in the sixth regnal year of the Parthian king Phraates II (133 B.C.E.). The text is dated by Doty to UNUG(!).KI (Rev. 15), making it the latest known archival text from Uruk. However Zadok (RGTC 8 210), following McEwan, reads [UD].UNUG.KI.

<sup>74</sup>Doty, "Cuneiform Archives," 330-35.

<sup>75</sup>Although Babylonian culture reached back into hoary antiquity and was in all likelihood more deeply ingrained among the masses than we can appreciate, the cumulative effect of the Greek *poloi* on Mesopotamian civilization should not be underestimated. See Getzel M. Cohen, The Seleucid Colonies: Studies in Founding, Administration and Organization (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1978), 35 n. 30.



Esagila;<sup>76</sup> work was continued by Philip Arrhidaeus (323-316)<sup>77</sup> and completed by Antiochus I Soter (281-261).<sup>78</sup> There are no other references to building activities on Babylonian temples by Hellenistic rulers. McEwan<sup>79</sup> concludes that the evidence

does not indicate that any great interest was taken in the affairs of the temple (of Babylon by the Seleucid kings), nor is there any evidence that they took any interest in temples outside the Babylonian area.

There is barely sufficient archaeological and textual evidence to propose a framework for life at Larsa in the Seleucid and Parthian<sup>80</sup> Periods, and certainly nothing which would qualify as political history.<sup>81</sup> Archaeological excavations at Larsa reveal occupation into the first century B.C.E., but without evidence for major renovation of the temple complex.<sup>82</sup> The remains of Hellenistic houses were found outside of the temple wall but within the temenos. Numerous kilns in

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<sup>76</sup>Horace Leonard Jones, The Geography of Strabo, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), XVI 1:5. Note that the account continues: "None of his successors cared for this matter."

<sup>77</sup>T. G. Pinches, Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts (Providence: Brown University Press, 1955), 212 Rev. 14'.

<sup>78</sup>Weißbach, VAB III 132-35.

<sup>79</sup>Gilbert J. P. McEwan, Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1981), 194.

<sup>80</sup>For the Parthian Period generally see Neilson C. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

<sup>81</sup>See Joachim Oelsner, Materialien zur Babylonischen Gesellschaft und Kultur in Hellenistischer Zeit (Budapest, 1986), 98 with notes.

<sup>82</sup>Huot, et. al., Sumer 44 (1985-88): 35-40.

the southern part of the city suggest a separate manufacturing area.<sup>83</sup>  
A scattering of Parthian pottery was found at a small site three km.  
northwest of Larsa.<sup>84</sup>

The final demise of Larsa is difficult to pinpoint in time, as is its cause. By the end of the first millennium forces which proved to be greater than those indigenous to Mesopotamia had forever altered the ancient political and institutional structures of Babylonia. In the end, life in the alluvium continued without the great cities of the past.

C. Neo-Babylonian Letters from Larsa. 1. Chronology. A small corpus of letters found in the Eanna archive which were sent to Uruk by officials from Larsa provides important information about intercity relations in sixth century Babylonia in which Larsa played a role. The group includes twenty-four published letters, most of which are included in a preliminary discussion of the corpus by Beaulieu.<sup>85</sup> These twenty-four letters, in addition to four more which concern Larsa but were not sent from there, are listed with a summary of their contents in Appendix 2.

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<sup>83</sup>Elizabeth C. Stone, "The Spacial Organization of Mesopotamian Cities," in Velles Paraules: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil on the Occassion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, eds. P. Michalowski and others, Aula Orientalis 9 (Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1991), 240.

<sup>84</sup>Robert McC. Adams and Hans J. Nissen, The Uruk Countryside (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 237 n. 441.

<sup>85</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 58-59, 77-81. Beaulieu adds four unpublished letters to the corpus, NCBT 18, NCBT 32, NCBT 48 and NCBT 58, none of which will be discussed herein.

Three criteria have been used to assign these letters to Larsa. First, the content of many of the letters strongly suggests, and in some cases requires, an origin at Larsa. The second criterion is prosopography. Many of the letters were sent by known officials of the Ebabbar temple in Larsa. The names of these officials also serve to provide a temporal parameter by which the majority of the letters may be given an approximate date. The third criterion involves an element of the salutation found in many of the letters. Dietrich has suggested that distinctive formulae of address can be used to identify letters which were sent both to and from Sargon II,<sup>86</sup> and in a recent unpublished dissertation B. T. Arnold has argued convincingly that letters sent by the *šākin tēmi ša Uruk* in the seventh century B.C.E. employed a distinctive and carefully phrased tripartite "gubernatorial formula" (address, blessing and prayer) which was used only by holders of that office.<sup>87</sup> In the same way it is here held that letters which appeal to the blessing of Šamaš, Aya and/or Bunene, and which were found in Uruk, probably came from Larsa.<sup>88</sup> While useful, however, this third criterion appears not to be as exact for sixth century Larsa as it was

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<sup>86</sup>Manfried Dietrich, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Babyloniens," *WO* 4 (1967-68): 89; see also Erkki Salonen, *Die Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonisch-assyrischen Briefen*, *StOr* 38 (Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1967), 103-4.

<sup>87</sup>B. T. Arnold, "Babylonian Letters from the Kuyunjik Collection: Seventh Century Uruk in Light of New Epistolary Evidence (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, 1985), 21-29.

<sup>88</sup>Arnold, "Babylonian Letters," 77. It is possible that a letter from Sippar which on principle would have borne the same salutation might have found its way to Uruk, but the assumption here is that this is unlikely.

for seventh century Uruk inasmuch as a few letters which prove to have originated at Larsa invoke the blessing of Bēl and Nabû.

All of the letters from Larsa except one can be given an approximate date by means of prosopography. An attempt was made in Appendix 2 to place the letters in an approximate chronological sequence, and reference should be made there for the following discussion. One letter, BIN 1 50, was sent by Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, known to have been the *qīpu* of Ebabbar<sup>89</sup> between the eighteenth and thirty-eighth years of Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>90</sup> Nine letters (BIN 1 67; YOS 3 18, 49, 51, 56, 89, 99, 100 and 101) were sent by Nādin-ahi, *qīpu* of Ebabbar from Nabonidus year 9 to sometime in the latter part of the reign of Cyrus.<sup>91</sup> Four letters (BIN 1 1, 10; YOS 3 78 and 82) were sent by Iltameš-'idrī<sup>92</sup> who apparently succeeded Nādin-ahi as *qīpu* and probably remained in that office until the beginning of the reign of

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<sup>89</sup>For discussion of this and other titles attested at Larsa see Section D, 3, below.

<sup>90</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 75, for texts dating Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur's term in office, to which one must note add E. Gehlken, Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv, Part I (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1990), Text 131, for Nebuchadnezzar year 38. San Nicolò, Prosopographie, 33; 36 n. 1a, tentatively assigned a certain Nabû-kibsu-ušur, *qīpu ša Ebabbar* during Nebuchadnezzar year 23 (Pohl, AnOr 8 10:5-6), to Sippar, but in a later article concluded that Nabû-kibsu-ušur should be identified with Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur ("Materialien zur Viehwirtschaft in den neubabylonischen Tempeln. V." OrNs 25 (1956): 35.

<sup>91</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 75, 78.

<sup>92</sup>On the variant form of this name and its West Semitic ties see Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 78-81, with notes; and R. Zadok, The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography, OLA 28 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1988), 79-80.

Darius I.<sup>93</sup> A certain Itti-enši-Nabû<sup>94</sup> appears as co-sender of one of these letters (BIN 1 10), indicating that two other letters from Larsa which were sent by him (BIN 1 21 and TCL 9 133) should be dated to the same general time period. YOS 3 62 was sent by Šamaš-ah-iddin<sup>95</sup> who was also co-sender with Itti-enši-Nabû in BIN 1 21; this letter evidently was written late in the reign of Nabonidus because in the body of the letter Šamaš-ah-iddin complains that he has not received a garment "since year 13" (*ul-tu MU.13.KAM*).<sup>96</sup>

It is possible to identify many of the recipients of the letters as well. The recipient of BIN 1 50 was Nabû-bānī-ah, probably the same individual who is attested as *tupšar Eanna* during Nebuchadnezzar year 41.<sup>97</sup> Nabû-ah-iddin appears as recipient in several letters which were sent by Nādin-ahi and Iltameš-'idri (BIN 1 10, 67; YOS 3 18, 49, 51, 78 and 89). This individual held the office of *ša reš šarri bēl piqitti*

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<sup>93</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 78.

<sup>94</sup>Possibly Itti-enši-Nabû son of Bēl-rēmanni descendant of Egibi who appears as a principle to a loan in Gehlken *Uruk I* 131 (*Simanu* 20, Nebuchadnezzar year 38) and as a witness in YNER 1 5:4 (6 *Ululu*, Neriglissar year 3) and YOS 19 55:9 (7 *Nisanu*, Nabonidus year 9); see Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 62, 72. The name is not attested with a title.

<sup>95</sup>Possibly Šamaš-ah-iddin son of Šamaš-bānī-ah descendant of Šangû-Šamaš who appears with Itti-enši-Nabû son of Bēl-rēmani in Gehlken, *Uruk I* 131.

<sup>96</sup>YOS 3 62:10-11.

<sup>97</sup>As suggested by Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 78; cf. Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 144. Nabû-bānī-ah is first attested in documents from Uruk in Nebuchadnezzar year 23 (BIN 1 133 19) where he appears as a witness, without title. On the career of Nabû-bānī-ah see R. H. Sack, "The Scribe Nabû-bānī-ahi, son of Ibnā, and the Hierarchy of Eanna as seen in the Erech Contracts," *ZA* 67 (1977): 42-52.

*Eanna* from Nabonidus year 17 to Cambyses year 4.<sup>98</sup> He was succeeded in office by Sin-šar-ušur<sup>99</sup> who was the recipient of a letter sent by Iltameš-'idrī (YOS 3 82). Three letters sent by Nādin-ahi were received by Nādin, whom Beaulieu has identified as Nādin son of Balātu, *šakin tēmi ša Uruk* from Nabonidus year 13 to Cyrus year 1 (YOS 3 56, 99 and 100).<sup>100</sup> In addition to these letters, Nādin was a recipient of four other letters from Larsa (BIN 1 5; TCL 9 134; YOS 3 54 and 93; but cf. also YOS 3 98). Murānu appears as a co-recipient in TCL 9 134 and YOS 3 93 (also YOS 3 98). Inasmuch as these letters appear to have been written a number of years after BIN 1 50 (the letter addressed to Nabû-bānī-ah, *ṭupšar Eanna*), it is possible that this Murānu is to be equated with the individual of the same name who was son of Nabû-bānī-ah and who held the same office as his father.<sup>101</sup> Balātu was co-recipient with Nādin in three letters (BIN 1 5; TCL 9 134 and YOS 3 93; also YOS 3 98), and he, too, may have been *ṭupšar Eanna*.<sup>102</sup> Balātu also appears as sole recipient in YOS 3 94; hence this letter is contemporary with the others. Kinā appears as co-recipient in TCL 9 134 and YOS 3 93 and as sole recipient in TCL 9 133; he may possibly be identified with Kinā son

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<sup>98</sup>Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 144.

<sup>99</sup>Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 144.

<sup>100</sup>Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, 161.

<sup>101</sup>Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 118; Sack, "The Scribe Nabû-bānī-ahi," 52 and n. 27. Murānu is attested in the office *ṭupšar Eanna* in Cyrus years 1 and 4.

<sup>102</sup>Son of Sin-ibnī; Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 111-12. Balātu is attested in this office from Nabonidus year 17 through Cyrus year 4.

of Zēriya, also *tupšar Eanna*.<sup>103</sup> If these identifications are correct, it becomes probable that the Nādin of these letters was not Nādin son of Balātu, *šākin tēmi ša Uruk*, but rather should be identified with Nādin son of Bēl-ahhē-iqīša who appears as *tupšar Eanna*<sup>104</sup> along with Murānu son of Nabû-bāni-ah in YOS 6 108:14 and with Kinā son of Zēriya in YOS 6 203:23; 225:32; and 232:15. In addition, all three of these individuals are attested together in several documents from the reign of Cyrus (YOS 7 5:17ff; 18:15ff; 49:17ff; 90:19ff).<sup>105</sup> Although circumstantial, the similarity of this with the same confluence of PN, place and time in the Larsa letters strongly suggests that that Nādin along with Balātu, Murānu and Kinā were all *tupšar Eanna*.<sup>106</sup>

YOS 3 92 and 98 can also be given approximate dates by the mention of Nabû-ah-iddin within the body of each letter. The only letter from Larsa which cannot be dated by prosopography is TCL 9 131.

In summary, of the twenty-three letters from Larsa which can be given an approximate date, twenty-two can be placed between the ninth year of Nabonidus (547/46) and the beginning of the reign of Darius I (c. 521), a period of 26 years. The status of Larsa as revealed in these letters therefore must be seen in the light of the political

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<sup>103</sup>Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 116; Sack, "The Scribe Nabû-bāni-ahi," 52 and n. 27. Kinā is attested in this office from Nabonidus year 12 through Cyrus year 4.

<sup>104</sup>Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 122. Nādin is attested in this office from Nabonidus year 12 through Cyrus year 4.

<sup>105</sup>These texts were collected by Sack, "The Scribe Nabû-bāni-ahi," 52 n. 27.

<sup>106</sup>Personal conversation with Professor Muhammad Dandamaev; see also Dandamaev, "Nādin, a Scribe of the Eanna Temple,": *AfO Beiheft* 19 (1982): 400-2.

uncertainty which accompanied the rise of Achaemenid rule in Babylonia.

2. Content. Most of the letters from Larsa report on the status of affairs in the Ebabbar or its holdings. Three themes characterize the letters:

- a). Requests--In most of the letters officials of the Ebabbar request that officials in Uruk send commodities for use in Ebabbar activities;
- b). Complaints--In several letters officials of the Ebabbar complain to officials in Uruk that commodities ordered or promised had not arrived in Larsa; and
- c). Reports--A few letters contain reports made by officials of the Ebabbar to officials in Uruk regarding a variety of issues, including the status of commodities moving from Larsa to Uruk. These reports suggest that the officials of the Ebabbar were in some ways subject to an authority resident in Uruk, and that both the Ebabbar and the Eanna were further subject to authority in Babylon.

Each of these themes will be discussed in turn.

a). Requests. The majority of the letters from Larsa carry requests to officials in Uruk for commodities necessary for the proper and timely functioning of Ebabbar activities. Briefly, the letters ask for commodities as shown in Table 1:



TABLE 1: COMMODITIES REQUESTED IN LETTERS SENT FROM LARSA TO URUK

TEXT	COMMODITIES REQUESTED
BIN 1 1	cattle for Šamaš and dates
BIN 1 5	silver and silver cups for Larsa
BIN 1 10	a mantle and headdresses of dyed wool for <i>Bēlet</i> -Larsa
BIN 1 21	wine for the Ebabbar
BIN 1 67	wine for the <i>ginū</i> -offering for Šamaš
TCL 9 133	wine for the <i>ginū</i> -offering
TCL 9 134	birds for the <i>eššešu</i> -festival
YOS 3 18	sheep and wine for Šamaš
YOS 3 49	dyed wool for clothing, and wine
YOS 3 51	workmen for litter poles ( <i>tallu</i> ); worked leather products (KUŠ <i>kannu</i> u KUŠ <i>rišittu</i> ), ghee, dried figs and a silver <i>našappu</i> -vessel for the <i>eššešu</i> -festival
YOS 3 54	wine for the <i>ginū</i> - and <i>guggu</i> -offerings and ducks
YOS 3 56	cattle and sheep for the <i>ginū</i> -offering for Šamaš
YOS 3 62	a garment for Antu, aromatics and juniper cuttings for the <i>ginū</i> -offerings for Antu and Mār-bīti, bronze objects ( <i>pingu</i> u <i>turkullašunu</i> UD.KA.BAR- <i>šunu</i> ) and wax
YOS 3 78	a copper vessel for the <i>ginū</i> -offering in exchange for a copper vessel sent
YOS 3 82	workmen for litter poles (GIŠ <i>tallu</i> ); worked leather products (KUŠ <i>kannu</i> KUŠ <i>rišitu</i> ), figs, raisins and wine for the <i>ginū</i> -offering for Šamaš
YOS 3 89	honey, ghee, raisins and worked leather products ( <i>kannu</i> u <i>rišittu</i> ) for the procession of Šamaš, and fine oil for rubbing on a canopy
YOS 3 92	cattle, wine for the <i>ginū</i> -offering and a bird
YOS 3 93	birds and eggs
YOS 3 94	dyed wool for the work of Šamaš
YOS 3 99	sheep for the <i>ginū</i> -offering
YOS 3 100	honey and ghee for an offering
YOS 3 101	dates for the <i>ginū</i> -offering

These appear to be simple requests made by one temple administration to another. In one case a copper vessel which had been used for the *ginû*-offering but was apparently no longer fit for use was sent by Iltameš-'idrī with a request that it be exchanged for another.<sup>107</sup> There is no evidence in the letters that the officials at Larsa were purchasing these commodities from individuals or institutions in Uruk.<sup>108</sup> One must note that YOS 3 18 refers to a financial transaction between named officials in Larsa and an unnamed creditor. After complaining that he was too hard-pressed to fulfill all of his responsibilities in a timely manner, Nādin-ahi reports that at least

. . . [KU<sub>3</sub>].BABBAR [erasure]

a-[na um]-me-e-a(!)-nu

25 a-na UGU-hi UDU.NITA<sub>2</sub> ki-i

aš<sub>2</sub>-pu-ra . . .

I have sent silver to the creditor (25) in regard to the sheep.

It is impossible to know for what use the sheep in question was needed in Larsa, but it was apparently unrelated to the sheep and other commodities which were being supplied by Uruk.

The various requests by officials from Larsa are emphasized by Beaulieu in his discussion of the content of the Larsa letters. Beaulieu also notes a number of administrative tablets from the Eanna

<sup>107</sup>YOS 3 78:7-17. In this regard note YOS 6 53 and GCCI 1 368 which record the allocations of precious metal to goldsmiths of Eanna for repairing the jewelry of Aya and the "divine daughter of the Ebabbar;" cf. Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 59 and Section D, 3 and 4, below.

<sup>108</sup>See also the various administrative documents which record the disbursement of commodities from Uruk to Larsa discussed in Section D, 2, below.

which record disbursements of commodities to Larsa and which, it appears, corroborate the evidence of these letters<sup>109</sup> (see Appendix 4 and Section D, 2, below). Beaulieu concludes<sup>110</sup>

that Larsa was, to some extent, in a subordinate position to Uruk which may have functioned as a kind of supply center for the surrounding communities.

Beaulieu speaks of the tie between Larsa and Uruk as one of "administrative dependence."<sup>111</sup> The evidence is impressive, yet it must be considered alongside the other themes found in these letters. In fact, the relations between Larsa and Uruk were complex and not reducible to a single formula.

b). Complaints. Much of the correspondence sent from Larsa to officials in Uruk contains a sense of urgency. Many of the letters which request the delivery of commodities include a statement that a certain commodity either was in short supply ("X-commodity *maṭṭu*"<sup>112</sup> / "X-commodity *iṣhir ittiya*"<sup>113</sup> / "X-commodity *aḡarru*"<sup>114</sup>) or was entirely lacking ("X-commodity *jānu*"<sup>115</sup>). Sometimes the request

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<sup>109</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 59.

<sup>110</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 59.

<sup>111</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 60; cf. Beaulieu, "Ubara (EZENxKASKAL)<sup>KI</sup> = Udannu," *Acta Sumerologica* 13 (1991): 98.

<sup>112</sup>BIN 1 10:11-15; 67:16-17; TCL 9 134:9-12; YOS 3 51:5-6 (*lu mādu maṭṭu*); 56:15-17; 92:18-19; 93:8-11; 99:5-6.

<sup>113</sup>YOS 3 89:8-9.

<sup>114</sup>YOS 3 18:26.

<sup>115</sup>BIN 1 1:6-8; TCL 9 133:11-13; YOS 3 54:6-8; 78:7-8; 82:6-8; 89:6-7; 99:11-12. Cf. also BIN 1 21:12-14: *Šamaš lū idī kī ½ karānu ina Ebabbar ibaššu* "Šamaš knows that there is (only) one-half (of a container) of wine in the Ebabbar."

includes a plea to send the commodity quickly (*kapdu*),<sup>116</sup> and in one instance an overnight delivery was demanded.<sup>117</sup> Another letter, YOS 3 94, reports that the weaver Šamaš-ilūa had been dispatched to Uruk himself in order to secure dyed wool so that his own work for Šamaš would not come to a stop.

In other letters the senders actually complain about the non-arrival of goods or about negligence on the part of others. TCL 9 133, a text which will be discussed in more detail below, reports that wine destined for Babylon had not yet arrived in Larsa. In YOS 3 62 Šamaš-ah-iddin complains to the *šatammu* of Uruk that he has not received a garment "since year 13."<sup>118</sup> In BIN 1 50 the sender Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, *qīpu* of the Ebabbar, apparently accuses the recipient, Nabû-bānī-ah, *ṭupšar Eanna*, of negligence in regard to an ox destined for the Ebabbar.<sup>119</sup> The frustration of Larsa officials is best seen, however, in YOS 3 92:<sup>120</sup>

IM <sup>1</sup>na-di-nu  
u <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-ia<sub>2</sub> a-na  
<sup>1</sup>gu-za-nu u <sup><1></sup>ar<sub>2</sub>-rab  
AD.MEŠ-ni <sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>a-a

<sup>116</sup>TCL 9 133:14-16; 134:20-22; YOS 3 93:23-26.

<sup>117</sup>YOS 3 100:8-11: *kapdu . . . muši gabbi likšudu* ("Quickly . . . travel all night").

<sup>118</sup>YOS 3 62:10-12.

<sup>119</sup>BIN 1 50:5-10. The subject of the remainder of this letter is obscure, although the general tenor is one of a lack of performance on the part of some workmen.

<sup>120</sup>The text has been edited by E. Ebeling, *Neubabylonische Briefe aus Uruk* (Berlin: Im Verlage des Herausgebers, 1930-34), 76-78.

- 5    *šu-lum u TIN ša<sub>2</sub> AD.MEŠ-ni*  
      *liq-bu-u<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> ŠA<sub>3</sub>.TAM*  
      *u<sub>3</sub> <sup>ld</sup>AG.ŠEŠ.MU*  
      *a-na <sup>1</sup>SUM-na-A LU<sub>2</sub> GAL bu-[li]*  
      *ip-te-qid-u<sub>2</sub> um-ma*
- 10   *GUD a-na UD.UNUG.KI*  
      *šup-ra GUD ul iš-pur*  
      *[al]-la 3 GUD*  
      *[nu](!)-uh-hi-tu*  
      *u<sub>3</sub> GUD ša<sub>2</sub> a-na*
- 15   *<sup>d</sup>UTU il-lak*  
      *ia-a-nu 2 GUD EN.MEŠ*  
      *lip-qid-u<sub>2</sub>-ma liš-pur-u<sub>2</sub>-ni*  
      *GIŠ.GEŠTIN a-na gi-ni-e*  
      *ma-tu 1+EN DUG-u<sub>2</sub>-du-u<sub>2</sub>*
- 20   *ša<sub>2</sub> GIŠ.GEŠTIN EN.MEŠ*  
      *lu-še-bi-lu-ni*  
      *ki-i iš-šur-ku-nu*  
      *i-ba-aš<sub>2</sub>-šu-u<sub>2</sub>*  
      *1 iš-šur EN.MEŠ*
- 25   *lu-še-bi-lu-ni*  
      *la i-qab-ba-am<sub>3</sub>*  
      *um-ma mi-nam-ma*  
      *UD-mu a-ga-a*  
      *ta-šap-par-ru*

30 <sup>d</sup>UTU *ki-i* TA UD.25.KAM<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> KIN.GI<sub>4</sub>.A

LU<sub>2</sub> SIPA-u<sub>2</sub> *it-ti-šu<sub>2</sub> la baṭ-la*

Letter from Nādin and Zēriya to Guzanu and Arrab our fathers. May Šamaš and Aya command (5) well-being and life for our fathers! The *Šatammu* and Nabū-ah-iddin have ordered Nādin-apli, overseer of the herds: "Send (10) an ox to Larsa!" An ox has not been sent, but three inferior oxen and an ox for (15) Šamaš have come, have they not? May the lords order and send two oxen. Wine for the *ginū*-offering is in short supply. May the lords send one container (20) of wine. If you have a bird, may the lords (25) send one bird. Do not say, "Why are you writing today?" (30) In regard to Šamaš, since the twenty-fifth day (of the month) neither a messenger nor a shepherd has appeared before him.

The complaints here are numerous, and reminiscent of those received by any modern shipping office: the shipment was misdirected; the wrong commodities were sent; the goods which were shipped were of poor quality; the shipment was late. Of note is the statement that an ox which should have been sent to Larsa instead was sent for the use of Šamaš. Although the majority of the letters in the Larsa corpus concern goods for the Ebabbar, some goods evidently were destined for non-temple use.

c). Reports. Of the letters which might be categorized as "temple reports," three mention the movement of goods from Larsa to Uruk and/or to Larsa from Babylon. Because the movement of these goods is important for understanding the role of Larsa in southern Mesopotamia during the sixth century, each of these letters will be given in transliteration and translation below. The first is BIN 1 21:<sup>121</sup>

IM [erasure] <sup>1</sup>KI.SIG.<sup>d</sup>AG

u<sub>3</sub> <sup>1d</sup>UTU.ŠEŠ.MU [a-na]

<sup>121</sup>Edited by Ebeling, NBU, 174-5.

- <sup>1d</sup>KUR.GAL.NUMUN.DU<sub>3</sub> <sup>1d</sup>EN-na-din-A  
<sup>1</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>1</sup>mar-duk  
5 u<sub>3</sub> <sup>1d</sup>in-nin-<sup>1</sup>NUMUN.TIL  
AD-i-ni <sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>a-a  
a-na AD-i-ni lik-ru-bu  
a-mur 2 GUN hu-ra-tu<sub>4</sub>  
ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>1</sup>tab-ni-e-a a-na  
10 AD-e-ni nu-ul-te-bi-lu  
GID<sub>2</sub>.DA EN.MEŠ li-ib-lak-ku-u  
<sup>d</sup>UTU lu-u<sub>2</sub> i-di ki-i  
½ GIŠ.GEŠTIN ina E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA  
i-ba-aš<sub>2</sub>-š<sub>2</sub>u<sub>2</sub>-u 1+EN  
15 DUG šap-pat  
[EN].MEŠ  
[lu]-u<sub>2</sub>-še-bi-lu-ni  
a-mur a-na UGU-hi GIŠ.GEŠTIN  
a-na [E<sub>2</sub>.SAG.IL<sub>2</sub>].LA  
20 ni-[il-ta]-par kap-du  
KASKAL<sub>2</sub> a-na GIR<sub>3</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>tab-ni-e-a  
EN.MEŠ liš-kun-nu-u<sub>2</sub>  
u<sub>2</sub> GID<sub>2</sub>.DA ša<sub>2</sub> mah-ra  
ša<sub>2</sub> hu-ra-tu<sub>4</sub> [EN].MEŠ  
25 lu-še-bi-lu-ni

Letter from Itti-enši-Nabû and Šamaš-ah-iddin to Amurru-zēr-ibnī, Bēl-nādin-apli, Mušēzib-Bēl, Marduk and (5) Innin-zēr-ušabši our fathers. May Šamaš and Aya bless our fathers! See here, we have sent two talents of *hūratu*-dye with Tabnēa to (10) our fathers. May the lords bring the document (?) to you. Šamaš knows for sure that (there is only) one-half

of a container of wine in the Ebabbar, (so) may the lords send one (15) container. See, (20) we have written to Esagila concerning the wine. Quickly may the lords send Tabnēa on a journey, and may the lords (25) send the receipt for the *hūratu*-dye.

Notes:

Lines 8, 24--*hūratu*. CAD H 247b "(a dye made from a plant or its parts)," possibly *Rhus coriaria*<sup>122</sup> (sumac) or *Isatis tinctoria*<sup>123</sup> (woad); cf. *inzahurētu*, a red dye<sup>124</sup> and *hathūru/hathurētu*, a dye.<sup>125</sup> Ebeling reads *pagratu* and suggests "Galläpfel," but this identification is unlikely. In the Chaldean Period *hūratu* was used as a modifier for specific shades of purple.<sup>126</sup> *Hūratu*-dye was used primarily in the preparation of hides and wool.

Line 11--GID<sub>2</sub>.DA/*giṭṭa*. This is probably not the same document referred to in line 23.

Two points are of note regarding this text. First, Itti-enši-Nabû and Šamaš-ah-iddin (the senders of the letter) report that they have supplied five persons from Uruk (the recipients of the letter) with *hūratu*-dye and request a receipt for the delivery. This movement is

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<sup>122</sup>CAD H 248 sub. *hūratu*. See George E. Post, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*, 2d ed, revised by J. E. Dinsmore, vol. I (Beirut: American Press, 1932), 285; and Michael Zohary, *Flora Palaestina*, Pt. II (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1972), 300.

<sup>123</sup>A. Leo Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.," *JCS* 21 (1967): 242 n. 19. See Post, *Flora*, 285 and cf. Zohary, *Flora Palaestina*, Pt. 1 (1966), 259-60.

<sup>124</sup>CAD I/J 163a; D. B. Weisberg, "Wool and Linen Material in Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar," *Eretz Israel* 16 (1982): 224\*.

<sup>125</sup>CAD H 149b and Weisberg, "Wool and Linen Materials," 224\*.

<sup>126</sup>Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade," 242.



significant in light of the many texts which give evidence for the regular movement of commodities in the opposite direction. One way<sup>127</sup> to explain the movement of *hūratu*-dye from Larsa to Uruk derives from Oppenheim's analysis of long-distance trade.<sup>128</sup> According to Oppenheim, specialized commodities including *hūratu*-dye were brought down the Euphrates from the West to Babylon in bulk where they would be divided between the various partners who financed the venture for further delivery to specific points within Babylonia. One must not assume, however, that Babylon was always the break-bulk terminal for such shipments. Rather, if the partners lived in another city it is likely that the shipment would first go there before being broken and routed for delivery. As will be seen in Chapter Four, a number of texts from the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu record *harrānu*-type activities which, although they may not have included long-distance trade, suggest an environment at Larsa in which such trade could have taken place. In this light it is possible that Itti-enši-Nabû and Šamaš-ah-iddin were

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<sup>127</sup>Other possibilities of course exist, some of which have been suggested in a discussion of a similar text by D. B. Weisberg ("A Neo-Babylonian Temple Report," *JAOS* 87 (1967): 8-12). The temple report published by Weisberg speaks of wine, honey and other specialized commodities being given to the Eanna by the king (= royal patronage of the local cult) and includes a statement that the king had inquired about the quantity of "property of Bēlet-Uruk" which had come up to Babylon (= a tax on temple income, or a strictly inter-temple affair?). See now a new interpretation of the text offered by Beaulieu ("An Episode in the Fall of Babylon to the Persians," *JNES* 52 (1993): 241-61) who sees the text as recording an inquiry by Urukian officials who had accompanied the statue of Ištar to Babylon in the face of the Persian invasion of 539, to officials who had remained in Uruk regarding provisions for Ištar while holding temporary residence in Babylon.

<sup>128</sup>Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade," 236-54. The two texts discussed by Oppenheim are TCL 12 84 and YOS 6 168. Note *CAD* H 247b sub. *hūratu*: "imported from Asia Minor where it was grown in gardens."

partners in trading ventures which served to supply the Eanna with commodities not readily available in Babylonia. If so, it is unclear whether Itti-enši-Nabû and Šamaš-ah-iddin were operating as private individuals, as agents of the Ebabbar or as individuals in cooperation with the Ebabbar; a connection with the Ebabbar is likely in view of the prosopographic ties with Gehlken, Uruk I 131.<sup>129</sup> From a modern perspective it is often difficult to determine whether persons were operating in a private or public (temple) capacity in transactions recorded in Neo-Babylonian texts because, in the estimation of Weisberg, the scribes did not view such distinctions as rigidly as we might today.<sup>130</sup> If the Ebabbar was involved in trading ventures one wonders why that temple at the same time was dependent on Uruk for some of the same commodities which could be received directly from the West.

Second, both the Esagila in Babylon and the Eanna in Uruk evidently bore some responsibility for the shortage of wine at the Ebabbar. It is possible that the Eanna functioned as an intermediate supply point between the Esagila and the Ebabbar and that Itti-enši-Nabû and Šamaš-ah-iddin complained to officials in Babylon about the availability of wine as a prompt to secure action from the Eanna. Such a scenario is consistent with the dominant religious and political role

<sup>129</sup>Gehlken, Uruk I 131 records a loan of silver (property of Bēlet-Uruk and Nanā) to Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, *qīpu* of the Ebabbar and four other individuals including Itti-enši-Nabû son of Bēl-rēmani, Šamaš-ah-iddin son of Šamaš-[bānī-ah] descendant of Šangû-Šamaš, and Šamaš-ŠEŠ(?)-[X.X] son of Marduk-zēr-ibni descendant of LU, [X.X] (for the last named PN see also TCL 9 133, where Itti-enši-nabû and Šamaš-ahhē-erība appear together).

<sup>130</sup>David B. Weisberg, review of Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv, by E. Gehlken, in JNES, forthcoming.

which Babylon--and its primary temple--played in the sixth century B.C.E. On the other hand, it is also possible that the Ebabbar at times bypassed Uruk and sought wine directly from Babylon. This seems to have been the case in TCL 9 133:<sup>131</sup>

[IM <sup>1</sup>] [KI.SIG].<sup>d</sup>AG

[u <sup>1</sup>] <sup>d</sup>UTU.ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ.SU

a-na <sup>1</sup>ki-na-a ŠEŠ-i-ni

<sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>a-a šu-lum

5 u TIN ša<sub>2</sub> ŠEŠi-ni liq-bu-u<sub>2</sub>

ina UGU-hi GIŠ.GEŠTIN a-na

TIN.TIR.KI ki-i

ni-iš-pu-ra

a-di(!)-i UGU-hi en-na

10 GIŠ.GEŠTIN ul ik-šu-du

GIŠ.GEŠTIN ša a-kan-na

i-gar-ru-bu

ia-a-nu

kap-du GIŠ.GEŠTIN

15 a-na gi-ni-e

ŠEŠ-u<sub>2</sub>-a lu-še-bi-la

Letter from Itti-enši-Nabû and Šamaš-ahhē-erība to Kinā our brother. May Šamaš and Aya command well-being (5) and life for our brother! Concerning the wine about which we have written to Babylon--until now (10) the wine has not arrived. There is no longer any wine which can be offered here. May my brother send wine quickly (15) for the *ginû*-offering!

In this instance the lack of a timely response by Babylon (the Esagila?)

<sup>131</sup>Edited by Ebeling, NBU, 284-85.

prompted Itti-enši-Nabû and Šamaš-ahhē-erība to request wine from Uruk.

A third text, YOS 3 62, records the movement of commodities into Uruk:<sup>132</sup>

- IM <sup>1d</sup>UTU.ŠEŠ.MU a-na  
LU<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>-tam-mu EN-ia u<sub>4</sub>-mu-us-su  
<sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG a-na TIN ZI.MEŠ  
a-rak u<sub>4</sub>-mu ša<sub>2</sub> EN-ia<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-šal-la  
5 a-mur 5 [ME GIS<sup>1</sup>].NU.UR<sub>2</sub>.MA  
a-na gi-ni-e ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN ša<sub>2</sub> UNUG.KI  
[u<sub>3</sub> 1] ME a-na EN-ia  
ul-te-bi-la-ku ku-si-ti  
a-na an-tu<sub>4</sub> ul-ti E<sub>2</sub>.AN.NA  
10 ta-al-la-ka ul-tu  
MU.13.KAM<sub>2</sub> ku-si-ti  
ul aš<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub> [erasure] ina UD.UNUG.KI  
uz-nu ša<sub>2</sub> EN-ia a-na UGU-hi  
ap-te-tu<sub>4</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>-pi-ri-e  
15 u LU<sub>2</sub> tup-šar-ri-e  
EN li-ih-ru-šu  
a-di UGU-hi ša<sub>2</sub> al-la-kam<sub>2</sub>-ma  
DINGIR.MEŠ a-na UGU-hi  
EN-ia u<sub>2</sub>-šal-lu-u<sub>2</sub>  
20 ŠEM.HI.A ša<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub>.GAL ba-ni-e  
bu-ra-šu<sub>2</sub> ki-si-it-tu<sub>4</sub> a-na  
gi-ni-e ša<sub>2</sub> an-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>EN URU-ia<sub>2</sub>

<sup>132</sup>Edited by Ebeling, NBU, 50-53.

u <sup>d</sup>DUMU.E<sub>2</sub> EN lu-še-bi-la  
 pi-in-gu u tur-kul<sub>2</sub>-la-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu UD.KA.BAR-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu  
 25 a-na e-ri-bi ina UGU-hi-ia  
 qi<sub>2</sub>-bi-ma 5 MA.NA GAB.LAL<sub>3</sub>  
 ul-tu E<sub>2</sub>.AN.NA lu-še-bi-lu-ni  
 hi-ši<sub>2</sub>h-ti ša<sub>2</sub> i-ba-aš<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>-u  
 a-na E<sub>2</sub>.AN.NA a-na ku-u<sub>2</sub>-mu  
 30 lu-še-bi-il te<sub>3</sub>-e-mu  
 u šu-lum ša<sub>2</sub> EN-ia lu-uš-mu

Letter from Šamaš-ah-iddin to the *šatammu* my lord. I pray daily to Bēl and Nabû for good health (and) a long life for my lord. (5) See here, I have sent 500 pomegranates for the *ginû*-offering for the Lady-of-Uruk and 100 for my lord. A garment from Eanna for Antu (10) should be coming, since I have not received a garment since year 13. In Larsa I opened the ear of my lord about this. Let the overseers (15) and the scribes clarify (the matter, my) lord, until I come (and) beseech the gods on behalf of my lord. (20) May my lord send aromatics from the house of the *Rab-bānī* (and) juniper cuttings for the *ginû*-offerings for Antu, the lord of my city and for Mār-bīti. Order (25) for delivery on my behalf the *pingu* and its bronze *turkullu*. Send me five minas of wax from Eanna. Whatever is needed for Eanna in exchange (30) let me send. May I hear the answer and of the well-being of my lord!

Notes:

Line 24--*pingu*. AHW 864a "Knauf;" Ebeling, Glossar, 177

"Einfassung;" Salonen, Die Türen, 82-83 "ein Teil des Schlosses."

Line 24--*tarkullu*. AHW 1330b "Haltepflock;" Egeling, Glossar, 250

"Gegenstand aus Kupfer."

It is not clear if YOS 3 62 was sent from Larsa; at best the evidence is circumstantial. First, prosopography favors this connection. Šamaš-ah-iddin, the sender of YOS 3 62, also appears as sender (with Itti-enši-

Nabû) in BIN 1 21, while Itti-enši-Nabû appears as a co-sender (with Šamaš-ahhē-erība) in TCL 9 133, and all three appear in Gehlken, Uruk I, 131. Second, in YOS 3 62 Šamaš-ah-iddin reports that he had met with the *Šatammu* of Uruk in Larsa to discuss the matter of a garment for Antu. While officials from one city are often found visiting in another,<sup>133</sup> it is unlikely that both Šamaš-ah-iddin and the *Šatammu* travelled to a third city for their meeting. Rather, it is consistent with general practice for an official from Uruk to have met another official in the home city of the latter, or vice versa. Against the identification of YOS 3 62 with Larsa is the mention of the deities Antu and Mār-bīti. Neither deity is otherwise attested in connection with Larsa.<sup>134</sup> The salutation which invokes Bēl and Nabû is inconsequential inasmuch as at least three other letters from Larsa contain the same greeting.<sup>135</sup>

If the identification of YOS 3 62 with Larsa is correct, the statement of Šamaš-ah-iddin that he was willing to send "whatever is needed for Eanna" is interesting. This offer probably should not be

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<sup>133</sup>So also in BIN 1 5:10-12; YOS 3 18:6-15. See H. W. F. Saggs, "Two Administrative Officials at Erech in the 6th Century B.C.," Sumer 15 (1959): 29-38. Saggs argues that "the *Šatammu* seems always to have exercised control from Eanna, whilst the *rēš šarri bēl piqitti*, though often associated with the *Šatammu* at Eanna, is quite commonly found inspecting, assessing and reporting on estates and canals away from Erech" (pp. 30-31). This is not, however, an exact division of duties. YOS 3 62:12-14 reports that the *Šatammu* appeared in Larsa, and YOS 3 18:10-15 implies that both the *Šatammu* and the *rēš šarri bēl piqitti* visited Nādin-ahi in Larsa.

<sup>134</sup>See RLA 1 sub. "Antu" and RLA 7 sub. "Mār-bīti." On the status of An in Larsa during the Larsa Dynasty see H. Wohlstein, The Sky-god An-Anu (Jericho NY: Paul A. Stroock, 1976), 69-70.

<sup>135</sup>BIN 1 5; 67; YOS 3 100.

taken too literally inasmuch as on the whole Larsa's own resources appear to have been limited, and it may have been little more than a courtesy. Yet if Uruk should have a need which Larsa was able to fill, such as in this case for pomegranates, Šamaš-ah-iddin states his willingness to oblige.

These reports suggest that the officials of the Ebabbar were in some ways subject to the authority of persons or institutions in Uruk. Other letters also support this conclusion. TCL 9 131 is a temple report addressed to the *Šatammu* which concerns the status of four items: a sheep belonging to the *Šandabakku*-official of Šamaš;<sup>136</sup> a message of the *Šatammu* which had to be related via the senders of the letter to someone else; a watchman (*maššāru*); and a *Širkū* of Šamaš. In YOS 3 18 Nādin-ahi reports to the *Šatammu* and Nabū-ah-iddin about matters related to his work load. Specifically, he mentions that he had not yet approached a *Šanū*-official<sup>137</sup> about irrigation work in Piqūdu nor had he been able to send a messenger (*mār Šipri*) back to Uruk. The issue of authority is further illustrated by three letters which end with the formula *tēmi ša bēlia lušmu* ("may I hear the answer of my lord!") or its equivalent (TCL 9 131, YOS 3 62 and YOS 3 93). Based on the content of these letters, the senders were asking for administrative decisions from Uruk regarding matters addressed.

In summary, the overall impression gained from the Larsa letters is that the Ebabbar in Larsa was in some ways administratively dependent on the Eanna in Uruk, but the reasons for suggesting so are more complex

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<sup>136</sup>On the *Šandabakku* see Section D, 3, below.

<sup>137</sup>On the *Šanū*-official see Section D, 3, below.

than has been previously suggested. The movement from the Eanna of commodities necessary for the timely functioning of Ebabbar activities is but one element in a matrix of intertemple connections between Uruk and Larsa.

D. Neo- and Late-Babylonian and Seleucid Legal and Administrative Texts. 1. Chronology. A number of legal and administrative texts provide additional valuable information about Larsa in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. The most important of these are texts which were dated at Larsa. Twenty-five published texts dated at Larsa in the Neo- and Late-Babylonian and Seleucid Periods are described in Appendix 3.<sup>138</sup> To these may be added a number of unpublished texts dated at Larsa, twenty-three of which are cited by Beaulieu in his discussion of the Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive.<sup>139</sup> Stolper makes mention

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<sup>138</sup>Two texts are included in Appendix 3 even though there is some doubt as to the city in which they were drafted. The city name in the date formula of YNER 1 5 was first read by Weisberg as UD.[KIB.NUN].KI but collated by Beaulieu ("Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 61-63) as UD.[UNUG].KI. Within the body of this text Nādin son of Šum-ukīn descendent of Šangū-Sippar appears as witness suggesting a Sippar origin, but Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu son of Labāši, an individual well-represented in other Larsa texts, appears as principle to the transaction. The second text is BRM 2 51, a Seleucid text with a vexing date. The city name is unclear in the hand copy; a short space and an upright wedge are followed by UNUG.KI. Although the majority, including most recently Doty ("Cuneiform Archives from Hellenistic Uruk," Ph.D. diss, Yale University, 1977, 114-15) who collated the text, read UNUG.KI, Oelsner, *Materialien*, 468 n. 872, McEwan (*Priest and Temple*, 123), Zadok (RGTC 8 210, following McEwan) and Arnaud (*Sumer* 44 50 n. 19) read UD.UNUG.KI. Remarks Doty: "The text. . . is quite unusual for an Uruk text both in its content and its onomasticon" (p. 113) and "although written in Uruk, the text probably refers to affairs of the Ebabbar Temple in Larsa" (p. 115).

<sup>139</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 63-64. Two of the twenty-three, YBC 7378 (= YOS 19 7) and NCBT 547 (= YOS 19 55) have been published in Beaulieu's article and are therefore included in my Appendix 3. Beaulieu notes that "most" of the twenty-three were drafted at Larsa (p. 63).



of BM 109978, a fragment recording a loan of barley dated at Larsa in the first year of Artaxerxes.<sup>140</sup> A fragment recording a transaction of wheat from the collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, numbered A 164b, was possibly dated at Larsa in the reign of Nabonidus.<sup>141</sup> The record of a loan of silver preserved on a second fragment from the same collection, A 170, was also perhaps dated at Larsa; the king's name is not preserved in the date formula.<sup>142</sup> Fourteen texts drafted at Larsa and dating to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar from the collection of the Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University,<sup>143</sup> are among texts edited with hand copy for the first time in Chapter Four.

Many additional texts shed light on Larsa even though they were drawn up at another city<sup>144</sup> or the name of the city at which they were drafted does not appear in the text. Forty-five such published texts are listed with a description of their connection to Larsa in Appendix 4. Of these most make mention of Larsa itself, officials from Larsa, or other persons who can be positively identified with Larsa. Eleven,

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<sup>140</sup>Stolper, "Late Achaemenid Legal Texts," 563 n. 9.

<sup>141</sup>Graciously provided by David B. Weisberg. The date reads  
[UD?]. [UNUG?.KI?] ITI ZIZ<sub>2</sub> UD.21.KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.[X].KAM<sub>2</sub> AG.I LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI.

<sup>142</sup>Also provided by David B. Weisberg. The date reads:  
[UD?.UNUG?].KI ITI.[X UD.X.KAM<sub>2</sub>] MU.12.KAM<sub>2</sub> [X.X.X] [LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI].

<sup>143</sup>The collection of the Horn Archaeological Museum, numbering some 3000 cuneiform texts in all, is described briefly by L. T. Geraty in M. Sigrist, Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum, AUCT 1 (Berrian Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1984), iii-vii. The collection includes more than 50 unpublished Neo-Babylonian tablets from Larsa.

<sup>144</sup>Usually Uruk but also Šatīru (BIN 2 108 and YOS 7 156), Udannu (Beaulieu OrNs 61 409) and Alu ša Mušallim-Marduk (Nbk 52).

however, mention only Šamaš<sup>145</sup> or the Ebabbar<sup>146</sup> and could be Sippar texts.<sup>147</sup> However, inasmuch as most of these record the shipment of commodities from Uruk for the performance of the cult in the Ebabbar, or of gold objects sent from the Ebabbar to Uruk for repair, it is more likely that they reflect local movements rather than the movement of commodities between Uruk and a city in northern Babylonia.<sup>148</sup> Another eight texts mention the *Ragqat-Šamaš*, all in connection with the distribution of commodities for work performed but only two specifically in connection with Larsa.<sup>149</sup> Zadok lists two entries for *Ragqat-Šamaš* in RGTC 8, one near Sippar and the other near Larsa,<sup>150</sup> dividing texts between them in part based on what appears to be the same assumption, i.e., that texts found in the archives of Uruk are more likely to have been connected with Larsa than with Sippar.

Several observations can be made regarding chronology. Of the 61 published texts in Appendices 3 and 4 which can be dated with reasonable

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<sup>145</sup>BIN 1 96; UCP 9/1 67 48; UCP 9/1 105 48; Weisberg *JANES* 21 23.

<sup>146</sup>GCCI 1 386; YOS 1 49; YOS 6 53; YOS 6 118; YOS 7 64; YOS 7 74.

<sup>147</sup>The find spot of nine of these eleven texts is listed as Uruk by Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 165-66. The exceptions are Weisberg, *JANES* 21 23 (published in 1992; Weisberg's translation adds ". . . of Larsa!"); and YOS 6 118. It should be noted that numerous other texts which mention the Ebabbar or Šamaš could also have Larsa connections, although the contextual or prosopographic is often inconclusive.

<sup>148</sup>See the comments of Joannès, *TBER* 209 n. 1, regarding text *TBER* 10 (AO 6799). Note also that *TCL* 12 40 and *TCL* 13 178, dated at Babylon, were part of the Eanna archive.

<sup>149</sup>GCCI 1 103; DCEP 1 537; *TBER* 65 (AO 19925); *TBER* 67 (AO 19928); YOS 6 19; YOS 6 133; YOS 6 146; YOS 6 229. The latter two texts, YOS 6 146 and YOS 6 229, also mention Larsa.

<sup>150</sup>Zadok, *RGTC* 8 258-59.

certainly, most date to the late Chaldean and early Achaemenid Periods as shown in the following Table 2:

TABLE 2: PUBLISHED LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS GROUPED BY KING OR PERIOD

KING OR PERIOD	NUMBER OF TEXTS DATED AT LARSA (Appendix 3)	NUMBER OF TEXTS NOT DATED AT LARSA (Appendix 4)
Nabopolassar	0	1 (year 19)
Nebuchadnezzar	4 (earliest = year 21)	7
Amēl-Marduk	0	0
Neriglissar	2	1
Labaši-Marduk	0	0
Nabonidus	11	16
Cyrus	0	5
Cambyses	2 (latest = year 6)	5
Darius I	0	1 (acc. year)
Late Achaemenid	2	0
Seleucid	3	1

The data of this table compares favorably with the chronological data deriving from the letters from Larsa discussed in Section C above. Clearly Larsa was an active and thriving city during the reign of Nabonidus.

A closer look should be made at the texts which date to the reign of Nabonidus. These are listed by regnal year in Table 3:

TABLE 3: PUBLISHED LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS GROUPED BY REGNAL YEAR OF NABONIDUS

NABONIDUS REGNAL YEAR	TEXTS DATED AT LARSA (Appendix 3)	TEXTS NOT DATED AT LARSA (Appendix 4)
1	Beaulieu, <u>OrNs</u> 60 68-69 Gift of slave YOS 6 11 Lease of land TBER 64 (Dup. YOS 6 11) Schwenzner <u>AfK</u> 2 107-19 (Dup. YOS 6 11) YOS 6 10 Reorganization of Eanna	JANES 21 23 Receipt of silver
2	--	CT 55 340 Withdrawl of silver and sesame
3	BIN 2 113 Loan of silver and sheep	--
4	--	YOS 6 53 Gold and jewelry of Ebabbar sent to Uruk for repair
5	--	GCCI 1 386 Gold and jewelry of Ebabbar sent to Uruk
6	--	YOS 6 71 Notes visit of Nabonidus to Larsa in year 1
7	--	--
8	--	YOS 6 109 Silver for hired orchard workers in Larsa YOS 6 146 Tools for workmen of <i>Raggat-</i> <i>Samaš</i>
9	YOS 6 124 Gift of slave BIN 2 119 Loan of dates Beaulieu, <u>OrNs</u> 60 72 Payment of tithe in dates to Ebabbar	--  (continued)

NABONIDUS REGNAL YEAR	TEXTS DATED AT LARSA (Appendix 3)	TEXTS NOT DATED AT LARSA (Appendix 4)
10	---	TCL 12 95 Dates for Larsa YOS 6 19 Beer for work- men of <i>Ragqat-Samaš</i> YOS 6 133 Rations for workmen of <i>Ragqat- Samaš</i>
11	---	YOS 6 229 Dates for workmen of <i>Ragqat- Samaš</i>
12	YOS 6 172 Loan of silver and barley	Nbn 612 Sesame to PN
13	---	---
14	---	Pohl AnOr 8 32 Rations for workmen in Larsa
15	---	YOS 6 118 Cattle to Ebabbar TBER 65 (AO 19925) Rations for workmen of <i>Ragqat- Samaš</i>
16	BIN 2 117 Receipt of barley	---

It is not possible to conclude from these texts that life in Larsa was adversely affected by Nabonidus' ten-year sojourn in Teima (regnal years 3-13). Indeed, Nabonidus undertook a restoration of the Ebabbar *in abstentia* during his tenth regnal year,<sup>151</sup> and it is tempting to see the repair of jewelry belonging to Aya and the divine daughters of the Ebabbar in years 4 and 5 in anticipation of this restoration.<sup>152</sup> Based

<sup>151</sup>Bezold, *PSBA* 11 (1889): 92-101.

<sup>152</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 59-60, suggests that Larsa may not have been able to support its own workshop of specialized craftsmen for the repair of gold jewelry.

on the chronological distribution of all of the Larsa texts it can be seen that work on the *Ragqat-Šamaš* began in earnest at about the same time that the Ebabbar was restored by Nabonidus and continued for the remainder of his reign.<sup>153</sup>

The fourteen unpublished texts from Larsa which date to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and which will be presented in Chapter Four greatly enhance our picture of Larsa during the sixth century and confirm that the fortunes of Larsa did not crest only under Nabonidus as might otherwise be indicated by the date of the published<sup>154</sup> texts, but that Larsa already had obtained an important and significant level of economic activity under Nebuchadnezzar.

It should be noted that the text dated to Nabopolassar year 19 (BIN 1 96), a record of sesame for pressed-out oil for Šamaš at the disposal of PN, could be a Sippar text.

Of note for chronology are two texts from Larsa dated to the Late Achaemenid Period published by Stolper<sup>155</sup> and four Seleucid texts.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup>The only other datable texts which indicate work performed on the *Ragqat-Šamaš* are GCCI 1 103 (Nebuchadnezzar year 38) and TBER 67 AO 19928 (Neriglissar year 2). On the nature of the work, see Section D, 2, below.

<sup>154</sup>The unpublished texts mentioned by Beaulieu in connection with the archive Itti-Šamaš-balātu which date Nebuchadnezzar fall between his thirty-third and thirty-ninth years.

<sup>155</sup>Matthew W. Stolper, "Late Achaemenid and Legal Texts from Uruk and Larsa," *BagM* 21 (1990): Texts 12 (Darius II year 15 = 408 B.C.E.) and 20 (either Darius II year 2 = 422 B.C.E. or Artaxerxes II year 2 = 403 B.C.E.)

<sup>156</sup>Arnaud *Sumer* 44 54 (Philip III Arrhidaeus year 3 = 320 B.C.E.); BRM 2 51 (Arsak 6 = Julian date uncertain); OECT 9 1 (= c. 316-12 B.C.E.) and OECT 9 26 (S.E. 86+ = 225+ B.C.E.). To these may be added a fragment (L.81.42) described by Arnaud in *Larsa et Oueili* (1983), 354, which preserves on one side a badly mutilated commentary or lexical text

The latest text which can be dated with certainty to Larsa, OECT 9 26 (S.E. 86+ = 225+ B.C.E.) from the reign of Seleucus III Soter, is a record concerning income from ceremonies of Aya. The Julian date of BRM 2 51 (Arsak year 6) is uncertain, as is the city at which it was drafted although a provenience at Larsa is accepted here. The sixth year of the Arsacid Dynasty was 242 B.C.E., but because at this time Babylonian scribes were still under Seleucid rule and therefore dating documents to the Seleucid Era, it is unlikely that this is the intended date. In a recent discussion of the date of BRM 2 51 Doty (who dated the text at Uruk) accepted the proposal of Debevoise for the sixth regnal year of Phraates II = 133 B.C.E.;<sup>157</sup> while this date would be very late, it is not impossible for a Larsa text based on archaeological evidence for settlement at Larsa into Parthian times. The matter remains uncertain.

The gap in documentation between the early years of Darius I and the Late Achaemenid and Seleucid Periods is consistent with a similar gap in texts from Uruk and has been the subject of speculation by several scholars as noted in Section B above. That approximately the same temporal distribution of texts occurs at more than one site

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and on the other three lines of a hymn mentioning Nabû. According to Arnaud, palaeographic evidence suggests a date in the Hellenistic Period or later. Note also BM 68610, a Seleucid contract dated to the ninth year of Alexander IV (308 B.C.E.) published by A. H. Layard, Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character (London: Harrison and Son, 1851), 80A. This text is described, with anecdotes of its discovery in 1819, by R. D. Barnett, "Charles Bellino and the Beginnings of Assyriology," Iraq 36 (1974): 15. Barnett suggests that this text, the second earliest found in modern times, may be from Larsa. The text has been edited by R. J. van der Spek, Grondbezit in het seleucidische Rijk (Amsterdam, VU Uitgeverij, 1986), 202-11.

<sup>157</sup>Doty, "Cuneiform Archives," 375-76 n. 220; see more recently the discussion, with bibliography, by Karlheinz Kessler, "Eine arsakidenzeitliche Urkunde aus Warka," BagM 15 (1984): 281 n. 17.

suggests that the cause(s) for the decline in the early years of Darius I might be found in forces greater than those within an individual city, such as a change in imperial Persian policy or practice, or in the rise of documentation in Aramaic on perishable materials, rather than on accidents of discovery or selective publication. Archaeological evidence does not require a sudden curtailment of life in Larsa early in the reign of Darius I.

Additional comments can be made on several issues raised by Beaulieu in his preliminary study of Neo-Babylonian Larsa. These include the disbursement of commodities from Uruk to Larsa, the titles of officials and occupations attested at Larsa and the nature of the connection between Larsa and neighboring cities. Each of these will be commented on briefly in turn. The Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive will be discussed in Chapter Four.

2. The Disbursement of Commodities from Uruk to Larsa. Beaulieu mentions that several texts from the administrative archives of the Eanna temple record the disbursement of commodities to Larsa, thus by and large corroborating the evidence of the letters sent by officials in Larsa to Uruk requesting commodities for the maintenance of the Ebabbar cult.<sup>158</sup> The disbursement of commodities to Larsa recorded in administrative texts is shown in Table 4, and commodities disbursed specifically to the *Raqqat-Šamaš* are shown in Table 5:

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<sup>158</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 59.



TABLE 4: COMMODITIES DISBURSED TO LARSA IN EANNA ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

TEXT	DISBURSEMENT
Pohl AnOr 8 32	barley rations for the workmen of Larsa
BIN 1 96	sesame for pressed-out oil for Šamaš
Dar 10	dates for Šamaš of Larsa
Nbn 612	sesame for PN the Larsan
TBER 10 (AO 6799)	wool for work to be performed in the Ebabbar
TBER 19 (AO 8161)	wool from the land of Sūhu <sup>159</sup> for the Ebabbar
TCL 12 95	dates for Larsa
UCP 9/1 67 48	sheep for the <i>sattukku</i> -offering of Šamaš
UCT 9/1 105 48	sheep for the <i>guggu</i> -offering of Šamaš
YOS 1 49	a sheep for the Ebabbar from sheep "set aside" for the <i>sattukku</i> - and <i>guggu</i> -offerings
YOS 6 109	silver for hired laborers for fruit trees in Larsa
YOS 6 118	cattle for the Ebabbar
YOS 6 229	dates for two individuals, <i>urāše</i> of Larsa
YOS 7 8	sheep for the Ebabbar as replacement for omissions; goats for the table of the <i>urāšu</i> of Larsa
YOS 7 64	a sheep for the Ebabbar from sheep "set aside" for the <i>sattukku</i> -offering
YOS 7 74	sheep for the Ebabbar as replacement for omissions

As seen in Section C, 2a, above, the requests contained in the letters sent to Uruk were primarily for sacrificial animals, foodstuffs for offerings, wool and other paraphernalia for the Ebabbar, although occasionally a commodity was simply delivered either "for Larsa" or without a specified destination. Similarly, most of the disbursements

<sup>159</sup> A region on the middle Euphrates east of Mari and north of Babylonia well attested in the Old Babylonian Period; see M. Anbar, "La région au Sud du district de Mari," *IOS* 5 (1975): 13-15.

recorded in the administrative texts were for the maintenance of the Ebabbar. In TCL 12 95 and YOS 6 109 it is difficult to determine the nature of the involvement of the Ebabbar, if any. Nbn 612 records a complex transaction apparently unrelated to the Ebabbar in which dates, royal property (*nidinit šarri*) were disbursed from the storehouse in exchange for silver which was in turn exchanged for other commodities for named individuals, including sesame for Niqūdu the Larsan.<sup>160</sup>

Eight texts record disbursements for work on the *Raqqat-Šamaš*:

TABLE 5: COMMODITIES DISBURSED TO THE *RAQQAT-ŠAMAŠ* IN EANNA ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

TEXT	COMMODITY DISBURSED	RECIPIENT
YOS 6 229	dates	workmen ( <i>šābē</i> ), under Nabû-udammīq
DCEP 537	dates	30 workmen, for work ( <i>šābē ša dullu</i> )
GCCI 1 103	beer	20 farm laborers ( <i>ikkarē</i> ), received by Gimil
YOS 6 19	beer <sup>161</sup>	workmen ( <i>šābē</i> ), received by Madān-ēreš (continued)

<sup>160</sup> See M. A. Dandamaev, "Die Rolle des *tamkārūm* in Babylonien im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.," in *Beiträge zur sozialen Struktur des alten Vorderasien*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, No. 1, ed. Horst Klengel (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971), 71.

<sup>161</sup> The reference 2 *dannātu ša šikari paši ša itti perri ša MN ana šābē* is unclear. E. Salonen, *Neubabylonische Urkunden verschiedenen Inhalts* II (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia, 1967), 49, offers "perru-Arbeitskommando" for *ša itti perri* following the suggestion of AHw 855b. Note GCCI 2 92: 2 GUR *ṭābtu* 2 GUR *sahlī ana šābē ša pirri ša MN PN* "2 kor salt, 2 kor cress seed for the workers (under the command of) PN for MN," a text in which Sack suggests the *šābē ša pirri* were a type of worker; see R. H. Sack, *Amel-Marduk*, 84, and similar references in CT 55 70:2; GCCI 2 268:3; GCCI 2 274:5; TCL 12 59:7,32,52 and TCL 13 3:9. In the Neo-Assyrian Period a type of tax collection was called *pirru*; see J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), 106.

TEXT	COMMODITY DISBURSED	RECIPIENT
TBER 65 (AO 19925)	daily rations	workmen ( <i>ṣābē</i> ), under Anum-ah-iddin
YOS 6 133	silver to purchase barley for rations	workmen ( <i>ṣābē</i> ), under Innin-ahhē-iddin
TBER 67 (AO 19928)	silver, and silver for bitumen	Innin-alik-pani, for work ( <i>ša dullu</i> )
YOS 6 146	construction tools including spades, buckets, sickles, brick-making tools and irrigation apparati	workmen ( <i>ṣābē</i> )

The *Raqqat-Šamaš* is also mentioned in four letters; in each, the sender cannot be positively identified as a Larsan. YOS 3 24 contains an order to give 50 *kur* of barley from the *Raqqat-Šamaš* to two individuals, Innin-šum-ušur and Šamaš-mudammiq. YOS 3 33 carries a request that 100 hired men and workmen (LU<sub>2</sub> ERIN<sub>2</sub>.ME LU<sub>2</sub> HUN.GA<sub>2</sub>.ME u LU<sub>2</sub> ERIN<sub>2</sub>.ME) from the *Raqqat-Šamaš* be given their wages and food rations and sent to Nabû-ah-iddin, the sender of the letter (probably *ša reš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna*) because of the severity of his own work. YOS 3 117 mentions the death of Rimanni-Marduk, herdsman of cattle which were in Nār-Tuplišu<sup>162</sup> in the *Raqqat-Šamaš*. In YOS 3 146 22 the *Raqqat-Šamaš* occurs in a broken context.

The *Raqqat-Šamaš* was apparently a low-lying area<sup>163</sup> near one of

<sup>162</sup>The location of Nār-tuplišu, like that of *Raqqat-Šamaš*, is unknown. Note LU, *nasikāti ša Nār-tupli'aš* ("shiekh of Nār-tupli'aš") in ABL 906:1-2; ABL 1112:3-4.

<sup>163</sup>AHW 958a *raqqatu* II "Uferwiese, -streifen". H. Weiss, "Kish, Akkad and Agade," JAOS 95 (1975): 448-49, with notes, has discussed the overlap of Akkadian terms for areas whose topography allowed for inundation irrigation and artificial ponding, and suggests the

the canals supplying water to Larsa<sup>164</sup> in which a major effort<sup>165</sup> was undertaken by the Ebabbar to control the supply of water, evidently to enlarge or protect temple agricultural and grazing land. Work was performed there by gangs of men which are usually designated *šābē* in the texts, each of which was under the authority of a different named individual. During the Neo-Babylonian period the term *šābē*, a general word for "troop," could designate either temple slaves or free hired labor depending on the context.<sup>166</sup> Inasmuch as in YOS 6 229 the *šābē* *ša Raqqat-Šamaš* occur in a long list of disbursements made primarily to artisans and persons of official position, Dandamaev is of the opinion that at least here these workmen were free hired labor.<sup>167</sup> In YOS 6

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translation "pasture" or "meadow" for *raqqatu*. Notes Weiss, "within the Akkadian literature . . . [such definitions] sink directly into the morass of terms for seasonally, or perennially, paludal and riparian environments." *Raqqatu* may be a loan from Aramaic 𐤓𐤓𐤕, "alluvial ground; bank;" see S. A. Kaufman, The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic, AS 19 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 88; and M. Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (New York: Judaica Press, 1971), 1498 for citations. Several Neo-Babylonian toponyms are composed with *Raqqat/u* as the first element. In addition to the toponym under discussion, Zadok, RGTC 8 259-29, lists a *Raqqat-Šamaš* near Sippar, a *Raqqatu-ša-Aya* of unknown location, a *Raqqatu-ša-kišad-Puratti* near Babylon on the Euphrates near the Borsippa Canal and a *Raqqatu-ša-šarri* opposite the Šamaš Gate of Babylon near the Borsippa Canal. In addition, a city with the name *Raqqat* is perhaps located near Uruk. One must note that there is some connection of three of these locations with Šamaš. Note also the citations in AHW 958a for *ana raqqat pī nāri*; *raqqat nāri* and *raqqatu ša eḡel*.

<sup>164</sup> Adams and Nissen, The Uruk Countryside, 56, notes watercourses approaching Larsa from the northwest and from the northeast during the Neo-Babylonian Period.

<sup>165</sup> The texts mentioning workmen assigned to the *Raqqat-Šamaš* cover a period of 26 years (from Nebuchadnezzar year 38 to Nabonidus year 15).

<sup>166</sup> Dandamaev, Slavery, 470-71, 509; see also Joannès, TEBR 191-92.

<sup>167</sup> Dandamaev, Slavery, 276-77; 302 n. 320.

133 the rations provided the *šabē* were for the months of *Dāzu*, *Abu* and *Ulūlu*, while in YOS 6 19 the rations were for the months of *Tašritu*, *Arahsamnu* and *Kislimu*. This suggests that the term of service was for three months. Together, these six months coincide with the period of the year during which water levels in southern Babylon were at their lowest<sup>168</sup> and, therefore, the need for irrigation water was the greatest. Also, repair work on the canals could be most easily carried out during this time.

3. Officials, Occupations and Titles Attested at Larsa. A number of persons from Larsa are designated by title in the published texts of the Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid and Seleucid Periods. For reasons of convenience, the following discussion will also include the titles which are mentioned in the texts of the Horn Archaeological Museum edited in Chapter Four.

a). *Šangū* and *qīpu*. The officials from Larsa with the greatest authority, namely the *Šangū* and the *qīpu*, have been subject of study by both Joannès<sup>169</sup> and Beaulieu.<sup>170</sup> There is an interesting distribution in the wording of the title for each office. The title *Šangū* is usually written with the city name (LU<sub>2</sub> SANGA/E<sub>2</sub>.MAŠ UD.UNUG.KI/URU *la-ar-sa*); a single exception in an unpublished text reads LU<sub>2</sub> SANGA E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA.<sup>171</sup> The title *qīpu*, on the other hand, is usually written with the temple

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<sup>168</sup>Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 41: "The water subsides in June and sinks to its lowest in September and October."

<sup>169</sup>Joannès, *TEBR*, 314.

<sup>170</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 75-77.

<sup>171</sup>Noted by Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 75. The unpublished text is NCBT 795:1.

name (LU<sub>2</sub> TIL.LA GID<sub>2</sub>.DA/*qi-i-pi*/pa ša<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA) with the single exception of LU<sub>2</sub> *qi-i-pa* ša<sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI in BIN 1 169 1. The persons who are attested in the office of *šangû* in Larsa are listed in Table 6; those who were *qīpu* appear in Table 7.

TABLE 6: ŠANGO OF LARSA/EBABBAR

NAME OF ŠANGO	DATES ATTESTED	TEXT
Nabû-mukīn-zēr	Ššu 14	TCL 12 12:38
Šamaš-bāni-ah	Nbk 2	NCBT 795:3, unpub.
Marduk-ēreš	Nbk X	Unger <i>Babylonia</i> 286:106
Iddin-Marduk	Nbk 29	Arnaud RA 68 178:23

TABLE 7: QĪPU OF EBABBAR/LARSA

NAME OF QĪPU	DATES ATTESTED	TEXT
Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur	earliest: Nbn 18 latest: Nbn 38	NCBT 519:8-9, unpub. Gehlken <i>Uruk I</i> 131:4-5
Bēl-šūzibanni	Nrglsr 3	YNER 1 5:2
Nādin-aḥi	Nabonidus 9	Beaulieu <i>OrNs</i> 60 72:6-7
Iltameš-'idri	earliest: Camb acc latest: Camb 3	BIN 1 169:1 YOS 7 156:4

Joannès notes that the temple at Larsa, like the Ebabbar at Sippar but unlike many other temples such as the Eanna, had at its head a *šangû* rather than a *šatammu*.<sup>172</sup> In the day-to-day operation of the Ebabbar and its estates, however, it is difficult to assess the relative responsibilities of the *šangû* and the *qīpu* because it is the latter who

<sup>172</sup>Joannès, *TEBR*, 314.

appears more often in texts in a role analagous to the *šatammu* of Eanna.<sup>173</sup> This may be because at Larsa the office of *qīpu* (as well as persons who held the office but were not designated by title) is simply better attested than is the office of *šangû*. The evidence from Larsa for these titles describes functions which were administrative rather than sacerdotal. In some cases the administrative functions of the *šangû* and the *qīpu* seem to have overlapped each other.

Duties performed by the *šangû* of Larsa include the following. The *šangû* of Larsa attested (*ina kanak tuppi*) the sale of a prebend in Larsa (Arnaud RA 68 178:23) and appears as witness to the sale of a house in Babylon (TCL 12 12:38). The *šangû* of Larsa also appears in a list of *šangê* from several southern Babylonian towns who were summoned by Nebuchadnezzar (for reasons unknown<sup>174</sup>) to Babylon (Unger, Babylon, 286:10).

The attested duties of the *qīpu* of the Ebabbar are various. The *qīpu* appears as witness in three texts (BIN 1 169:1; VAS 20 88:23; YNER 1 5:2). In addition, the holder of this office attested the sale of a prebend at Larsa (*ina kanak tuppi*--Arnaud RA 68 178:25), the payment of a tithe in dates to the Ebabbar (*ina uzuzzu*--Beaulieu OrNs 60 72:6-7=YOS 19 55:6-7) and an oath that rent due on arable land of Bēlet-Uruk would be imposed fairly on the *errēšu* and the *ikkaru* (*ina uzuzzu*--BIN 2 108:11-12). In YOS 7 156 the *qīpu*, along with the *šatammu* of Eanna and

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<sup>173</sup>See the description of the *šatammu* at Uruk as described in Landsberger, Brief des Bischofs, 30, 58-63; and Saggs, "Two Administrative Officials at Erech in the 6th. Century B.C.," Sumer 15 (1959): 29-38.

<sup>174</sup>See discussion of this *Hofkalender* of Nebuchadnezzar in Chapter Two above.

two other individuals, assigned workmen (*šābe*), with rations, to guard temple land (belonging to Bēlet-Uruk and Šamaš), royal land, and the land of a bow fief.<sup>175</sup> In two texts, Beaulieu *OrNs* 61 409 and our Text 11 (Chapter 4, Section A), persons were ordered to appear before the *qīpu*. The *qīpu* of Larsa was also responsible, with others, for securing commodities for the maintenance of the Ebabbar as seen by the many letters sent to Uruk by persons who held this office and by TBER 19 (AO 8161), a record that wool from the land of Sūhu for the Ebabbar was placed at the disposal of Iltameš-'idrī and another individual. Finally, the *qīpu* of Larsa is attested as party in two loans. In Pohl *AnOr* 8 10 the *qīpu* assumed responsibility for a loan of cattle made by the Eanna to an individual who defaulted on the original loan.<sup>176</sup> According to our Text 15, the *qīpu*, along with four other named officials of the Ebabbar (the *bēl piqitti ša bēl pīhati*, the *tupšar ša Ebabbar*, and two *aklē ša Ebabbar*) were debtors in a loan of silver for temple use.

The titles of a number of other officials or specialized occupations are also attested at Larsa:

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<sup>175</sup>For "bow fief" see primarily the texts of the Murašû archive; Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, 24-25, with notes. According to Dandamaev, *Slavery*, 470, in this text the workmen assigned to temple and royal land alike were temple slaves.

<sup>176</sup>See M. San Nicolò, "Materialien zur Viehwirtschaft in den neubabylonischen Templn. V," *OrNs* 25 (1956): 33-36; and H. Petschow, "Zum neubabylonischen Bürgschaftsrecht," *ZA* 53 (1959): 241-47.



b). *šandabakku ša šamaš* (LU<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>-an-<sup>177</sup>da-bak-ku] ša<sub>2</sub> dUTU<sup>177</sup>).

Nabû-ēpuš, *šandabakku* of *šamaš*, is mentioned in connection with some sheep in a temple report sent in a letter from Larsa to the *šatammu* of Eanna (TCL 9 131:7). In the Neo-Babylonian Period the *šandabakku* was a high-ranking official attested chiefly in Nippur (as governor) but occasionally in other cities as well. However, by the beginning of the Achaemenid Period the activity of the *šandabakku* in Nippur had been reduced to temple and economic affairs.<sup>178</sup> TCL 9 131:7 is the only Neo-Babylonian reference to a *šandabakku ša šamaš*, evidently a temple administrator in Larsa, and it is therefore quite unlikely that the holder of this office functioned as governor of Larsa. TBER 5 (AO 2140), a fragmentary legal text which Brinkman and Kennedy date to the mid-eighth century B.C.E.,<sup>179</sup> mentions a number of officials including, in successive lines (11'-12'), [PN] LU<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>-an-da-bak-[X] [...] and [PN] LU<sub>2</sub> SAG UD.[UNUG].[KI].

c). *bēl piqitti ša bēl pīhati* (LU<sub>2</sub> pi-qit-ti ša<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> EN.NAM = "the *bēl piqitti* under authority of the *bēl pīhati*"). Ina-tēšī-ētir son of Nabû-ah-iddin descendant of Naggāru, *bēl piqitti ša bēl pīhati*, was debtor along with other officials of the Ebabbar in a loan of silver recorded in our Text 15. During the Neo-Babylonian Period *bēl-piqitti*

<sup>177</sup>For the reading of the title GU<sub>2</sub>.EN.NA as *šandabakku*, see B. Landsberger, Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon, (Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1965), 75-77.

<sup>178</sup>R. Zadok, "The Nippur Region during the Late Assyrian, Chaldean and Achaemenid Periods Chiefly According to Written Sources," IOS 8 (1978): 274.

<sup>179</sup>J. A. Brinkman and D. A. Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence for Early Neo-Babylonian Society," JCS 35 (1983): 12-13.

was a general term for "administrator."<sup>180</sup> The duties of the individual *bēl piqittē* varied in part depending on the structure and needs of the particular administration under which they functioned. In some cases the title *bēl piqitti* was further specified by the addition of a second title, the best known instance of which was the *rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna*.<sup>181</sup> The Neo-Babylonian *bēl pīhati* was an administrator of a higher level than was the *bēl piqitti*,<sup>182</sup> and the title *bēl piqitti ša bēl pīhati* attested at Larsa is consistent with this pattern of authority. After the middle of the eighth century the title *bēl pīhati* often designated a provincial governor in Babylonia,<sup>183</sup> and it is possible that the *bēl pīhati* mentioned in Text 15 was governor of Larsa.<sup>184</sup> The political position of Larsa within the provincial

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<sup>180</sup>San Nicolò, *Prosopographie*, 29-30 n. 72, translates "(Verwaltungs-)Beamten."

<sup>181</sup>On the duties of this office see Saggs, "Two Administrative Officials at Erech," 29-38; for the title *bēl piqitti* in Babylonia during the Seleucid Period see G. J. P. McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981), 32-34.

<sup>182</sup>For the title *bēl pīhati* during the First Millennium see Brinkman, *PKB*, 303-4; for the writing *pīhatu* for NAM see *PKB* n. 1940.

<sup>183</sup>In the Persian Period the title *bēl pīhati*, like the title *ahšadrapannu* ("satrap") designated not only governors of all Babylonia but frequently governors of relatively small administrative districts; see M. Dandamaev, "The title *ahšadrapānu* in Nippur," in *Nippur at the Centennial: Papers read at the 35e Rencontre assyriologique internationale, Philadelphia, 1988*, ed. M. deJong Ellis (Philadelphia: S. N. Kramer Fund, 1992), 29-32; and M. W. Stolper, "Bēlšunu the Satrap," in *Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, ed. F. Rochberg-Halton, AOS 67 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987), 396.

<sup>184</sup>It is difficult to determine whether the *de facto* head of Larsa was the *šangū*, the *qīpu*, the *bēl pīhati* or another official. The texts from Larsa do not provide adequate evidence, and arguments by analogy (eg. from Sippar) are inconclusive. A *šakin tēmi* is not attested at Larsa.

system of Babylonia during the sixth century B.C.E. is unknown. It is not clear, for instance, whether Larsa was located in the same province as was Uruk; the texts which give evidence of a tie between the two cities speak primarily of a tie between the Eanna and the Ebabbar rather than between the cities as political entities. It is therefore not known whether this *bēl pihati* was a resident of Larsa or of Uruk, although the general flow of authority evident in the letters discussed in Section C, 2,c above might suggest the latter. Although the *bēl pihati* was a secular administrator, the context of Text 15 suggests that the *bēl piḡitti* under his authority was a temple functionary.

d). *aklē ša Ebabbar* (LU<sub>2</sub> PA.MEŠ ša<sub>2</sub> E.BABBAR.RA = "overseers of the Ebabbar").<sup>185</sup> Two persons with the title *akli ša Ebabbar*, Šamaš-šum-ukīn son of Aplā descendant of Amurru-udammiq and Šamaš-zēr-līšir son of Šākin-šum descendant of Rē'i, are among five officials of the Ebabbar who were named as debtors in a loan of silver in Text 15. The *aklu* was generally a low-level administrative functionary; the specific duties of these *aklē ša Ebabbar* are unknown.

e). *urāšu ša Larsa* (LU<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ra-šu<sub>2</sub>/raš ša<sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI). YOS 6 229:12 records a disbursement of two *kur* of dates for Aširu and Nanā-iddin, *urāše* of Larsa, in Nabonidus year 11. YOS 7 8:21-22 records a disbursement of two adult male goats "for the table of the *urāšu* of Larsa" (*ana paššūri ša urāšu ša Larsa*, without PN) in Cyrus year 1. In our Text 10 Itti-Šamaš-balātu assumes responsibility for an obligation regarding an *urāšu* and the planting of seed. Many, including

<sup>185</sup>The reading *šāpiru* for PA is also possible; see CAD A/1 280; Š/1 458; and Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 151-52.

Weingort,<sup>186</sup> Dandamaev,<sup>187</sup> Stolper<sup>188</sup> and Joannès,<sup>189</sup> have argued that during the Neo-Babylonian Period the *urāšu* was a corvée worker<sup>190</sup> responsible for building and maintaining public works such as canals and roads. Disagreeing with the consensus is Beaulieu,<sup>191</sup> who has suggested that in the Neo-Babylonian Period the *urāšu* was a "higher official" who may have held responsibilities similar to those of the *urāšu* mentioned in Neo-Assyrian texts, namely, the inspection and supervision of building operations and the management of the labor force assigned to these tasks.<sup>192</sup> Beaulieu adds that if so, the *urāše* mentioned in YOS 6 229 and YOS 7 8 may have been stationed in Uruk and sent to Larsa to supervise public works, in addition to being in charge of the actual shipment of commodities moving from Uruk to the Ebabbar. Although the evidence is equivocal, in our opinion the Larsa texts favor a view which sees the *urāšu* as some sort of functionary rather than a common worker (note the phrase *ana paššūri ša urāšu* cited above), but

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<sup>186</sup>S. Weingort, Das haus Egibi in neubabylonischen Rechtsurkunden, (Berlin: Druck "Viktoria," 1939), 27-30.

<sup>187</sup>Dandamaev, Slavery, 326.

<sup>188</sup>M. Stolper, Entrepreneurs and Empire, 47-48.

<sup>189</sup>F. Joannès, Archives de Borsippa: la famille Ea-ilūa-bāni: Étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., HEO 25 (Genève:Droz, 1989), 151-59, with n. 16, p. 157; see also G. van Driel, "Neo-Babylonian Texts from Borsippa," BiOr 49 (1992): 44-45.

<sup>190</sup>Note Aramaic 𐤀𐤓𐤔𐤕/𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤔, "field laborer" (Jastrow, Dictionary, 120) and CAD I/J 53a, "laborers," in translation of TCL 13 150:1.

<sup>191</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 74-75.

<sup>192</sup>Note A. Y. Ahmad, "The Neo-Assyrian *urāšu* Office," Sumer 45 (1987-88), 57-60; and AHW 1428a *urāši* I, "ein Arbeitsleiter," with collocations.

there is nothing which suggests that the *urāšu* be ranked among the higher administrative officials. In YOS 6 229 the occupations of persons who received dates, along with the *urāšu*, were either craftsmen (bleachers, bronze smiths, leatherworkers, carpenters, cooks, weavers or the like), workmen of various sorts, or agents (LU<sub>2</sub> *musahhiru*) of the *šatammu* and *qīpu*; clearly "higher officials" are out of context here. Apparently the term *urāšu*, like the word *ikkaru*, can designate either a laborer or the overseer of such laborers; the latter is preferable when a PN is mentioned, as in YOS 6 229. The title *urāšu ša Larsa*, analogous to *ikkari ša DN/TN/GN*, can be translated "corvée bailiff of Larsa."

f). *šanū* (LU<sub>2</sub> 2-i = "administrative assistant"). In YOS 3 18 Nādin-ahi, *qīpu* of Larsa, reported to the *šatammu* of Uruk that he had not been able to approach a *šanū*-official regarding irrigation work in the town of Piqūdu. The location of Piqūdu is unknown, although context places it in the vicinity of Larsa or Uruk.<sup>193</sup> It is difficult to tell from the context whether this *šanū*-official was resident at Larsa or at Piqūdu. A *šanū*-official is attested at Piqūdu in CT 54 429:6.<sup>194</sup>

g). *ša reši* (LU<sub>2</sub> SAG). The development of the secular title *ša reši* in the first millennium B.C.E. has been discussed by Brinkman.<sup>195</sup> Four titles are attested in connection with Larsa which begin with the

<sup>193</sup>Note R. Zadok, RGTC 8 249-50: "probably a tribal settlement in southern Babylonia, perhaps not far from Uruk;" cf. the Aramean tribe of the same name.

<sup>194</sup>Note also Bēl-šūzibanni LU<sub>2</sub> 2-u, *ša*, KURPiqūdu (AnOr 8 33 13), perhaps the same Bēl-šūzibanni who had been *qīpu* of Larsa under Neriglissar as suggested by Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus*, 95.

<sup>195</sup>Brinkman, PKB, 309-11 with note 428a. The collocation *ša reši* is a loanword for Aramaic 𐤓𐤕𐤕, "eunuch;" see Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 100.

element *ša reši*. A broken legal text which Brinkman and Kennedy date to the mid-eighth century on prosopographic grounds<sup>196</sup> lists titles of persons from various cities including a *ša reš Larsa* (TBER 5 AO 2140:12'). An unnamed individual, *ša reš ša ina muhhi dullu ša Larsa*, is attested in the fourteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (GCCl 2 395:7). Bēl-rēšū'a, *ša reš šarri*, was witness to the payment of a tithe of dates to the Ebabbar in a text dated at Larsa in the ninth year of Nabonidus (Beaulieu *OrNs* 60 72:8-9 = YOS 19 55:8-9). The Larsa assembly under a city prefect (*puhru ša reš āli*) is mentioned in a OECT 9 26, dating to S.E. 86+.<sup>197</sup> Thus, the durability of the title *ša reši* is apparent at Larsa, outlasting the more prominent titles of temple officials of the Neo-Babylonian Period.

h). *atū ša bāb rābī* (LU<sub>2</sub> I<sub>3</sub>.<sup>1</sup>DU<sub>8</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub> KA<sub>2</sub>.<sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup>-i = "doorkeeper of the Great Gate"). Innin-zēr-ibnī son of Nabu ahhe-ušallim, *atū ša bāb rābī*, appears in a text which records an assignment for guard duty at Larsa in the first year of Cambyses (YOS 7 121:1-2). This is the only known attestation of this particular title, although *atū ša + bāb x/bīt*

<sup>196</sup>Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence for Early Neo-Babylonian Society," *JCS* 35 (1983): 12-13.

<sup>197</sup>For *puhru* at several Babylonian cities (not Larsa!) see M. San Nicolò, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden des ausgehenden 8. und des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* ABAW 34 (München: C. H. Beck, 1951), 146-47; and M. A. Dandamaev, "The Neo-Babylonian Elders," in *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of I. M. Diakonoff*, (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, Ltd., 1982), 40-41. According to McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 192, the *puhru* in Seleucid Larsa was "more or less [a] secular assembly . . . which nevertheless exercised a sort of control over the temples." This McEwan contrasts with the old *puhur Ebabbar* of Larsa which, according to McEwan, existed down to the early Hellenistic Period. Note that BM 68610, edited by van der Spek, *Grondbezit in het Seleucidische Rijk*, 202-11, and possibly from Larsa, mentions LU<sub>2</sub> UKKIN *ša*<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub> BABBAR.RA (lines 15-16, 20).

x is a common collocation at other Neo-Babylonian cities.<sup>198</sup>

i). *tupšarru* (LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID = "scribe"). Twenty-two<sup>199</sup> scribes appear in the published texts dated at Larsa. These are listed in chronological order in Table 8 below, together with ten scribes whose names are preserved in texts from the Horn Archaeological Museum drafted at Larsa (our numbers 1-3, 5-8 and 10-15). <sup>d</sup>[X]-[ah](?)-iddin son of Mušallim-Šamaš, scribe of BRM 2 51, is designated *tupšar bīti* (LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID.E<sub>2</sub> = "temple scribe").<sup>200</sup> Another temple scribe, Šamaš-šum-ušur son of Apkallu,<sup>201</sup> *tupšar ša Ebabbar*, appears in Text 15 as debtor in a loan of silver but not as scribe of the text. Of special interest is the appearance of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu son of Labāši as scribe in three texts drafted at Larsa between years 30 and 35 of Nebuchadnezzar. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu was also scribe of a fourth text, our Text 4, which was drafted in Nebuchadnezzar year 29 in Dūr-ša-lāsime, a city otherwise unattested in cuneiform sources.

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<sup>198</sup> See atū A in CAD A/II 517b-518a.

<sup>199</sup> Dandamaev's total of 67 Larsa scribes must include texts whose dating formula does not include the city name Larsa as well as unpublished materials; "The Social Position of Neo-Babylonian Scribes," in Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 15, ed. Horst Klengel (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982), 36.

<sup>200</sup> For the position and role of temple scribes see M. A. Dandamaev, "The Social Position of Neo-Babylonian Scribes," in Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien, ed. H. Klengel (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982), 37-38.

<sup>201</sup> This temple scribe is probably the same individual who appears as scribe of YOS 17 19, dated at Larsa, although the patronymic there reads Šamaš-šum-ušur descendant of (mār) Apkallu. The same individual also appears in YOS 17 360 i:14-15: gold, from Šamaš-šum-ušur descendant of (mār) Apkallu, the Larsan (LU<sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI-u<sub>2</sub>-a), received in Nebuchadnezzar year 14 as impōst.

TABLE 8: SCRIBES IN NEO-BABYLONIAN TEXTS DATED AT LARSA, INCLUDING  
LARSA TEXTS DATED TO NEBUCHADNEZZAR FROM THE HORN  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

DATE	TEXT	SCRIBE
Nebuchad 20+	10	Nabû-kabti-ilī son of [...] desc. of Epeš-ili
Nebuchad 21	Nbk 125	Marduk-zēr-ibnī son of 'Nabû'-[X.X]
Nebuchad 21	YOS 17 19	Šamaš-šum-ušur desc. of Apkallu
Nebuchad 22	1	Gimillu son of Marduk-šum-iddin
Nebuchad 24	13	Šamaš-zēr-[X] son of Balātu desc. of [X.X]
Nebuchad 25	2	Nabû-bānī-ah son of Nabû-šum-ukīn
Nebuchad 25	15	Zākir son of Tābiya desc. of Kidinu-Marduk
Nebuchad 27	14	[ <sup>ld</sup> X.X.GAR]-un son of Šum-ukīn
Nebuchad 28	3	Nabû-bānī-ah son of Nabû-šum-ukīn
Nebuchad 29	Arnaud <u>RA</u> 68 178	Nādin-Amurru son of Šum-ukīn
Nebuchad 30	12	Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši
Nebuchad 30+	11	Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši
Nebuchad 34	5	Gimillu-Nanā son of Marduk-erība
Nebuchad 35	6	Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši
Nebuchad 38	Gehlken <u>Uruk I</u> 131	Nabû-bānī-ah son on Ibnā desc. of Ekur-zākir
Nebuchad 38	7	Šamaš-bēl-zēri son of Babiya desc. of Rab-bānū

(continued)



DATE	TEXT	SCRIBE
Nebuchad 39	8	Nabû-mukîn-apli son of Marduk-ēreš
--	Pohl <u>AnOr</u> 9 14	[X.X]-ā son of <sup>d</sup> [X.X.X] desc. of Rē'ī- alpi
Nrglslr 3	YNER 1 5	Ea-balātu-ēreš son of Nabû-bēlšunu
Nrglslr X	ROMCT 2 10	Šamaš-zēr-iddin son of Šamaš-šum-ukîn
Nabonidus 1	Beaulieu <u>OrNs</u> 60 68 = YOS 19 7	Šamaš-kāšir son of Šamaš-zēr-iddin
Nabonidus 1	BIN 2 119	Šamaš-hātin-enši son of Šamaš-zēr- iqīša
Nabonidus 1	TBER 64 (AO 19924) YOS 6 11 (dupl.) Schwenzner <u>AfK</u> 2 107-19 (dupl.)	Aplā son of Bēl-iddin desc. of Egibi
Nabonidus 3	BIN 2 113	Šamaš-ahhē-erība <sup>1</sup> son of Šamaš-zēr- iddin
Nabonidus 9	Beaulieu <u>OrNs</u> 60 72 = YOS 19 55	Balātsu son of Šamaš-šum-ušur desc. of Šangû-Šamaš
Nabonidus 9	YOS 6 124	Šamaš-ahhē-erība son of Šamaš-mukîn- apli desc. of Ea- <sup>1</sup> [X.X-tu]
Nabonidus 12	YOS 6 172	Rīmût-Šamaš son of Šamaš-ahhē-erība
Nabonidus 16	BIN 2 117	Nidintu-Šamaš son of Šamaš-mukîn-apli desc. of Šangû-Šamaš
Cambyes 1	YOS 7 121	Nabû-zēr-līšir son of Gimillu desc of Kuduranu
Cambyes 6	OECT 10 130	Šamaš-zēr-iddin son of Nādin desc. of Bā'iru
Darius II 2 or Artax II 2	Stolper <u>BagM</u> 24 20	Šamaš-nādin-zēr son of Bunene-ibnī <sup>202</sup>
(continued)		

<sup>202</sup>This PN occurs as a witness in Stolper BagM 24 12:18 (Darius II year 15).

DATE	TEXT	SCRIBE
Darius II 15	Stolper <u>BagM</u> 24 12	Šamaš-rē'išunu son of Šamaš-šum-iddin
Phillip III Arrhideus 3	Arnaud <u>Sumer</u> 44 54	Nādin son of Sîn-ahhē-iddi
S.E. 86+	OECT 9 26	Dumqi-Anu son of <sup>203</sup> Anu-uballiṭ desc. of Sîn-lēq-unnini
Arsak 6	BRM 2 51	[ <sup>d</sup> X]-[ah](?)-iddin son of Mušallim- Šamaš

j). *mār banī* (LU<sub>2</sub> DUMU.DU<sub>3</sub>.MEŠ = "full citizen"). Although the status of *mārbanūtu* is well attested in Neo-Babylonian texts,<sup>204</sup> the only occurrence of *mār banī* in connection with a person from Larsa is BIN 1 169:9, in reference to Iltameš-'idrī, *qīpu*.

k). [LU<sub>2</sub>]<sup>1</sup>[X]-ga-MEŠ *ša Ebabbar*. This title is attested in BRM 2 51:5, a Seleucid text. Unnamed officials, *x-qē ša Ebabbar*, issued seed grain for temple fields to two individuals who agreed to return an equal amount of seed grain to the Ebabbar at the end of the upcoming growing season.

Several occupations of a non-official nature are also attested at Larsa:

1). *šābē* (LU<sub>2</sub> ERIN<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ = "workmen"). For *šābē* in general see the discussion of *šābē ša Raqqat-Šamaš* above. Other workmen at Larsa are also mentioned in the texts. Pohl AnOr 8 32:21-22 records the

<sup>203</sup>Scribe of OECT 9 19; 20; 21; 27; 33; and BM 24 19; 26.

<sup>204</sup>See M. A. Dandamaev, "The Neo-Babylonian Citizens," Klio 63 (1981): 45-49; and Kümmel, Familie, Beruf und Amt, 162.

disbursement of barley rations for *šābē ša Larsa* in Nabonidus year 14. Ten workmen who performed work in the Ebabbar (10 *šābē ša dullu ina Ebabbar ippuš*) received a disbursement of wool from the Eanna as recorded in TBER 10 (AO 6799) (date broken). In the opinion of Joannès, this work may have involved preparation or weaving of the wool.<sup>205</sup> In two letters from Larsa, officials of the Ebabbar requested that the Eanna send *šābē ana* (GIŠ) *talli*, "workmen for litter poles"<sup>206</sup> (YOS 3 51:5,7; YOS 3 82:6,7). In each case the request for these workmen occurs with a request for leather bands<sup>207</sup> (KUŠ *kannu*) and pieces of tanned leather (KUŠ *rišitu*), and for foodstuffs for the rituals of Šamaš. Inasmuch as YOS 3 89 contains a request for similar products "for the procession of Šamaš" (*a-na ta-bi-e* <sup>d</sup>UTU), these workmen probably were needed to build or repair the litter which carried the divine images in Ebabbar ceremonies. Pohl *AnOr* 9 14:13-15 (date broken) mentions *šābē šarri* ("royal workmen") of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu, along with seven shekels of silver which had been given him, evidently by the royal house, for their support. One such *šāb šarri* is mentioned by name in our Text 3:8-9. It may be thus inferred that the king owned land in the vicinity of Larsa which he leased to individuals and that he also provided the necessary workmen for that land.

<sup>205</sup> Joannès, *TEBR*, 209.

<sup>206</sup> *AHW* 1311b *tallu* I 4)b) "Tragstange für Sänften;" Ebeling, *Glossar*, 246 *tallu* "Stuhl, Sänfte;" cf. *AHW* 293b *gištallu* "Querholz, tragbaum für Götterbilder?"

<sup>207</sup> The *CAD* is unsure whether to read *kannu*, sub. *kannu* B "fetter, band, rope, belt, wisp of straw to bind a sheaf" (see *CAD* K 157a-b) or *qannu*, sub. *qannu* B "fringe, hem." Both *kannu* and *rišitu* appear without the determinative in YOS 3 89.

m). *ikkarē* (LU<sub>2</sub> ENGAR.ME = "farm laborers"/"farmers"). In GCCI 1 103:2-3 (Nebuchadnezzar year 38) persons who worked at the *Raqqat-Šamaš* are called *ikkarē*. According to Dandamaev, the *ikkarē* were of the status "dependent farmer" when they worked in the service of a temple, as is the case here.<sup>208</sup> An *ikkaru* also appears in Text 10.

n). *agrē* (LU<sub>2</sub> HUN.GA<sub>2</sub>.ME = "hired laborers"). YOS 6 109 records a receipt of silver for *agrē* who were involved in the harvest of fruit of an undesignated variety in Larsa in Nabonidus year 8. It is unclear from the context if the work involved picking the fruit or processing it once it had been picked. Although there is no direct indication in the text, these *agrē*, like the *šābē ša Raqqat-Šamaš*, probably worked on Ebabbar estates.<sup>209</sup> Note also the mention of *agrē* who were paid and then summoned out of the *Raqqat-Šamaš* by the *ša reš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna* (YOS 3 33).

o). *rē'ī sattukki* (LU<sub>2</sub> SIPA SA<sub>2</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> = "shepherd of the *sattukku*-offering flocks").<sup>210</sup> UCP 9/1 67 48 (Nebuchadnezzar year 24) records that Tukulti-Marduk son of Kudurri, *rē'ī sattukki*, received ten sheep for the *sattukku*-offering of *Šamaš*. As was the practice with other temples, the Ebabbar maintained its own flocks for temple use.

p). *nāqid ša arhē* (LU<sub>2</sub> na-qid ša<sub>2</sub> GUD.AB<sub>2</sub>.ME = "herdsman of cattle"). The death in the *Raqqat-Šamaš* of Rimanni-Marduk, *nāqid ša arhē*, is mentioned in a letter, YOS 3 117. The name of the sender of

<sup>208</sup>For *ikkaru* in the service of the temples see Dandamaev, *Slavery*, 590-615.

<sup>209</sup>This is the opinion of Dandamaev, *Slavery*, 127.

<sup>210</sup>Note also YOS 3 92:30-31: "Neither a messenger (*mār šipri*) nor a shepherd (*rē'ū*) has appeared before *Šamaš* since day 25."

this letter is broken; the recipients are persons from Uruk. According to Kümmel,<sup>211</sup> the *nāqīdu* at Uruk occupied the middle-position in a three-tiered hierarchy of personnel involved in animal husbandry (*rab būli---nāqīdu---rē'ū*). Kümmel has advanced evidence that the actual herding was performed by the *rē'ū*, while the *nāqīdu* was often involved in wide-ranging entrepreneurial interests, a "middle-man" between the temple administration and work in the fields. Because the death of Rimanni-Marduk was reported to Eanna personnel, it is likely that this *nāqīd* was a representative of the Eanna. His presence in the *Ragqat-Šamaš* suggests Eanna interests there, perhaps in cooperation with the Ebabbar.

q). *išparru* (LU<sub>2</sub> UŠ.BAR = "weaver"). YOS 3 94, a letter sent to the Eanna, requests wool for *Šamaš-ilua*, *išparru*, so that his work for *Šamaš* might be able to continue. Whether *Šamaš-ilua* is also one of the *gābē* who received wool for work performed in the Ebabbar mentioned above (TBER 10) is a matter of conjecture.

r). *maššaru* (LU<sub>2</sub> EN.NUN = "watchman"). In a letter to the *Šatammu* of Uruk, officials in Larsa reported on a matter concerning a *maššaru* (TCL 9 131:19), evidently in Larsa.

s). *mār šipri* (LU<sub>2</sub> A.KIN/KIN.GI<sub>4</sub>.A = "messenger, agent"). *Mār šiprē* carried messages as well as commodities between Uruk and Larsa. A messenger, due to be sent from Larsa to Uruk with greetings (*ana šulum*) for the *Šatammu*, is mentioned in YOS 3 18. That another messenger, expected to bring goods from Uruk to *Šamaš*, was overdue prompted the

<sup>211</sup>H. M. Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt*, 48-92; cf. also G. van Driel, "Neo-Babylonian Sheep and Goats," *BSA* 7 (1993): 224-25.

drafting of YOS 3 92. In three instances persons who carried goods between Larsa and Uruk are mentioned by name but without title: Tabnēa (BIN 1 21:9,21); Baniya (TCL 9 134:13) and Šamaš-mukīn-abi (YOS 3 54:11). Note that Šamaš-ilūa, weaver, was sent from Larsa to Uruk to secure and transport wool for his own work in YOS 3 94.

t). *qallu* (LU, *gal-la/lat* = "slave"). Household slaves appear in two texts dated at Larsa. Beaulieu OrNs 60 68 (= YOS 19 7, Nabonidus year 1), reports that Itti-Šamaš-balātu and his wife, Nanaya-kuzbu, gave their slave, Bēl-ētir-Šamaš, to their son, Arad-Šamaš. Itti-Šamaš-balātu, as will be seen in Chapter Four, was apparently a wealthy and influential citizen of Larsa in the mid-sixth century B.C.E. His son, Arad-Šamaš, is known primarily through his own business transactions beginning shortly after the events recorded in this text and continuing until the fourth year of Cyrus. Inasmuch as Itti-Šamaš-balātu was active in business for at least ten years after he had given this slave to his son, and furthermore inasmuch as it was not uncommon for persons of only moderate means in sixth century Babylonia to own from three to five slaves,<sup>212</sup> it appears as though the transaction recorded in Beaulieu OrNs 60 68 might be best seen as a gift by a generous father to a coming-of-age son. The second gift of a slave was a dowry made to Arad-Šamaš, son of Itti-Šamaš-balātu, by his new in-laws (YOS 6 124; Nabonidus year 9).<sup>213</sup> The slave, female of unknown age, was separated from her mother by the transaction.

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<sup>212</sup>Dandamaev, Slavery, 216.

<sup>213</sup>cf. Martha T. Roth, "The Dowries of the Women of the Itti-Marduk-balātu Family," JAOS 111 (1991): 19-37.

u). *širku* (LU<sub>2</sub> *ši-ri-ik-ka* = "temple slave"). A matter about a *širku ša šamaš* is mentioned in a letter, TCL 9 131:24-25; on a possible context for this citation see Section D, 4, below.<sup>214</sup>

v). *ērib bīti* (LU<sub>2</sub> TU.E<sub>2</sub> = "temple personnel"). GCCI 2 395:9 mentions an *ērib bīti ša šamaš* in an administrative context.

w). While not properly falling under the category "Officials and Occupations," it is nevertheless appropriate in this context to mention the title *<sup>d</sup>mārāt Ebabbar* (*<sup>d</sup>DUMU.SAL/<sup>d</sup>DUMU.SAL.ME E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA* = "divine daughter(s) of the Ebabbar"). Two texts record the allocation of gold and gold jewelry belonging to female deities of the Ebabbar to persons, presumably from Uruk, for repair. In GCCI 1 386:9-10 (Nabonidus year 5) the deities mentioned are Aya and the "divine daughters of the Ebabbar" (*<sup>d</sup>a-a u <sup>d</sup>DUMU.SAL.ME E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA*), while YOS 6 53:7 (Nabonidus year 4) mentions a single divine daughter of the Ebabbar (*<sup>d</sup>DUMU.SAL E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA*). Although the evidence is equivocal, it is likely that in both texts the title should be understood as referring to attendant deities of Aya. Except for this one reference in the singular, all other instances of the collocation *<sup>d</sup>mārāt + TN* occur in the plural.<sup>215</sup> One must note, however, *<sup>d</sup>mārāt bīti*, singular, an epithet of one or more goddesses which occurs in connection with the temple of Ištar in

<sup>214</sup>For *širku* see R. P. Dougherty, *The Širkūtu of Babylonian Deities*, YOSR V-2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923); and Dandamaev, *Slavery*, *passim*.

<sup>215</sup>The occurrences are *<sup>d</sup>mārāt Ebabbar* in VAS 6 26:20-21; Nbn 78:11; Nbn 115:9; Cyr 190:17; Camb 414:8; and T. G. Pinches, "The Collection of Babylonian Tablets Belonging to Joseph Offord, Esq.," *PEQ* 1900 261 II:1-4; and *mārāt Eanna* in F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1921) 114:10 and S. Lackenbacher, "Un nouveau fragment de la 'fête d'Ištar,'" *RA* 71 (1977): 31-50.

Nineveh and a temple of Gula.<sup>216</sup> <sup>d</sup>Mārat + DN, on the other hand, consistently occurs in the singular, as an epithet either of Ištar<sup>217</sup> or of other individual goddesses<sup>218</sup> according to divine genealogy.

Six texts mention various articles of clothing in the wardrobe of the <sup>d</sup>mārāt Ebabbar, together with divine clothing of Šamaš, Aya and Bunene.<sup>219</sup> It is not possible to determine whether any or all of these texts should be assigned to Larsa or Sippar. In any case, two points are of interest. The first is that the <sup>d</sup>mārāt Ebabbar rather than Mamu, the daughter of Šamaš and Aya and sister of Bunene according to the official genealogy,<sup>220</sup> appear in these texts. The second is that divine daughters of the Eanna (<sup>d</sup>mārāt Eanna) appear in a fragmentary text describing the Akītu-festival as it was observed in Uruk during the Seleucid Period.<sup>221</sup> This text relates that the <sup>d</sup>mārāt Eanna, no doubt in full regalia, took their place alongside other minor named deities in ceremonies which preceded the departure of the divine procession for the bīt-akītu. When one recalls that three letters sent from Larsa to Uruk carried requests for worked leather products and specialty foodstuffs for the procession of Šamaš, for workmen for litter poles,

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<sup>216</sup>RLA 7 sub. *Mārat-bīti*.

<sup>217</sup>E.g. TCL 6 51 Rev. 23-24; see K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, *Studia Orientalia* 8 (Helsingforsiae: Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1938), 332, and CAD M/I 303b.

<sup>218</sup>Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, 124-26; CAD M/1 304a.

<sup>219</sup>VAS 6 26; Nbn 78; Nbn 115; Cyr 190; Camb 414; Pinches, PEQ 1900 261 II.

<sup>220</sup>Mamu bears the epithet *mārāt Šamaš* in An-Anum III 137; cf. RLA 7 331 sub. "Mamu," and the PN *Mārat-Šamaš* (CT 8 11a 11).

<sup>221</sup>Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 114 10.



and for fine oil for rubbing on a canopy (YOS 3 51, YOS 3 82 and YOS 89), it is tempting to view the <sup>d</sup>*mārāt Ebabbar*, with clothing and gold jewelry, in a similar processional at Larsa<sup>222</sup> or perhaps even Uruk<sup>223</sup> or Babylon.

4. The Connection between Larsa and Neighboring Cities. Neo-Babylonian Larsa was, in the view of Beaulieu, a city to some extent subordinate to Uruk because of the apparent dependence of the former on the latter for commodities necessary for the proper and timely functioning of the Ebabbar.<sup>224</sup> That the vast majority of the texts which shed light on Larsa--including those dated at Larsa--were apparently found in the archives of the Eanna suggests an administrative tie between the two cities, or at least between the Eanna and the Ebabbar. Whether or not this tie should be characterized primarily as one of dependence by the Ebabbar on the Eanna is an open question. Clearly Uruk, dominated by the Eanna, was the major city in southern Babylonian in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E., and, *a priori*, one might expect Uruk to have been the place to which area cities or institutions turned, if necessary, for assistance. Furthermore, in a period of centralized government it is to be expected that a city of prominence such as Uruk would become a major regional

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<sup>222</sup>Note the *akītu*-festival of Bēlet-Sippar in Nbn 283.

<sup>223</sup>Beaulieu has argued that the inclusion of the *Bēlet-Eanna ša Udannu* in this retinue (mentioned in the fragment of the "fête d'Ištar" published by Lackenbacher) "was probably meant to symbolize, at the religious level, and to reactualize, at the time of the ritual, the relation of administrative and cultic dependence which tied Udannu to Uruk" ("Kissik, Dūru and Udannu," *OrNs* 61 (1992): 403).

<sup>224</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 59-60.

center within a larger economy and flow of authority. Indeed, as seen above, the letters sent from Larsa suggest that the officials of the Ebabbar were in some ways subject to the authority of their counterparts at the Eanna. Nevertheless, it is also clear from the texts that during the Neo-Babylonian Period Larsa was able to function as an important city both in its own right and in cooperation with other cities and institutions. The intercity dynamic of Larsa within southern Babylonia can be further summarized as follows.

As seen in Section C, 2c,<sup>225</sup> Larsa may have played an important role in international and intra-Babylonian trade in the sixth century B.C.E. Specialized commodities such as *hūratu*-dye moved north out of Larsa destined for Uruk.

In four texts persons who held high office in Larsa attested to legal proceedings which were dated at cities other than Larsa. The way in which each decision affected the Ebabbar, and hence required the participation of one of its high-ranking officers, is not always apparent:

a). The earliest text, TCL 12 12 (dated at Babylon in Šamaš-šum-ukīn year 14), records the purchase of a house, an orchard and some land in Uruk by Mušeziḫ-Marduk son of Kiribtu descendant of Sīn-nāṣir, an individual unattested in other texts. Nabû-mukīn-zēr, *šangû* of Larsa, appears as the first and only titled witness. None of the principals to the transaction can be positively identified as Larsans, no doubt owing to the general lack of textual evidence from Larsa dating to the seventh century B.C.E.

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<sup>225</sup> Note the discussion of BIN 1 21 and TCL 9 133.

b). In VAS 20 88 (dated at Uruk in Nebuchadnezzar year 35) Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, *qīpu* of Ebabbar, appears as the second titled witness, following Sîn-iddin, *qīpu* of Eanna. This text, the right portion of which is entirely broken away, records an agreement to farm temple land. The rent due was to be paid to Bēlet-Uruk (lines 11-12), at least a portion thereof "in the measure of Šamaš of(?) Larsa(?)" (line 16).

c). BIN 1 169<sup>226</sup> (dated at Uruk in the accession year of Cambyses) records a controversy in which the *šatammu* and the *rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna* asked the guards of Uruk for their service, along with that of the *širkē*, for the temple guard; the guardsmen refused. In retaliation, the *širkē* were henceforth prohibited from guarding the center of the city. The controversy seems to have been limited to Uruk, yet Iltameš-'idrī, *qīpu* of Larsa, appears in the text as the first titled witness (*ina pānišunu*), preceeding even an Eanna official, Silimili, *rēš šarri ša muhhi quppi ša šarri ša Eanna*.<sup>227</sup> Why this might have been so is a matter of speculation. Perhaps Iltameš-'idrī was in part<sup>228</sup> responsible for supplying (or returning?)<sup>229</sup> *širkē* to Uruk who

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<sup>226</sup>See Dougherty, *The Shirkātu of Babylonian Deities*, 21-23 with bibliography of previous discussion.

<sup>227</sup>At least two of the remaining six witnesses, all designated *mār bānē*, were from Uruk: Arad-Marduk son of Zēriya descendant of Egibi (Kümmel, *Familie*, 152) appears third; his father, Zēriya, had been *šatammu Eanna* under Nabonidus; and Nabû-bēlšunu son of Bēl-ah-ušabšī descendant of Amēl-Ea (Kümmel, *Familie*, 119).

<sup>228</sup>Dougherty, *Shirkātu*, 23-24, suggests that GCCI 2 103 contains the names of three men to whom responsibility was given to secure new *širkē* for guard duty following the events reported by BIN 1 169.

<sup>229</sup>Dougherty, *Shirkātu*, 47-49, YOS 7 70, which states that *širkē* who belonged to the Eanna were placed at the disposal of Gobryas, and then returned.

would fulfill the responsibilities of the negligent Uruk *širke*. If this were so, it becomes possible to suggest a context for a portion of TCL 9 131, a letter containing a temple report sent from Larsa to the *šatammu* of Uruk. The sender of this letter, who specifically asks for a reply from the *šatammu*, states that "this [individual] is without doubt a *širkû* of Šamaš" ([a-ga-a] lu-u<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> šī-ri-ik-ka a-na dUTU --lines 24-25). In their endeavor to secure *širke* for the needs of Uruk, the officials of Eanna may have tried to encroach upon the personnel of the Ebabbar.

d). BIN 2 108 (dated in Šaṭīru in Cambyses year 1+) records an oath sworn by three named individuals,<sup>230</sup> *rab ikkarē*, that rent due on arable land belonging to Bēlet-Uruk was to be imposed on the *errešē* and *ikkarē* fairly.<sup>231</sup> Iltameš-'idrī is the only official named *ina ušuzzu* in this text. The tie to Larsa is unexpected inasmuch as Šaṭīru was located north of Uruk, in the north(eastern) part of the region of Bīt-Amukani.<sup>232</sup> A second text, YOS 7 156 (dated at Šaṭīru in Cambyses year 3), provides more information about the connection of Larsa to Šaṭīru during the reign of Cambyses. According to this text, Iltameš-'idrī, together with Nabû-mukīn-apli, *šatammu* of Eanna, and Ea-abi, inspector of the *Angullu* Marsh, assigned three workmen to a small contingent of men whose job it was to protect land belonging to Bēlet-Uruk, Šamaš, the

<sup>230</sup>Two of these individuals are known from other texts: for Ina-šilli-Nanā son of Innin šum ušur see Kümmel, *Familie*, 101-2, 107; for Nanā-ēreš son of Mukkēa see Kümmel, *Familie*, 102-3, 108.

<sup>231</sup>For discussion of this text regarding the unjust estimation of the size of the grain fields, and hence the anticipated yield, by temple officials, see D. Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies et Cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk* (559-520) ADFU 8 (Berlin: Gebruder Mann Verlag, 1968), 60-61.

<sup>232</sup>Zakok, RGTC 8 291; Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, 18-20; Plate 3.

king and a bow fief from the ravages of wild donkeys and gazelles. The land in question is described as bordering the Takkiru<sup>233</sup> and Harrikibbi<sup>234</sup> Canals and the Rāṭu Marsh,<sup>235</sup> and was hence north, but apparently within the vicinity, of Uruk. The texts dated at Šaṭīru are evidence that by time of Cambyses the Ebabbar was able to control land north of Uruk and farm it, evidently in cooperation with the Eanna.

Six other cities are mentioned in texts related to Larsa.

Evidence for a tie between Uruk, Larsa and Piqūdu, the last named a city of unknown location, was discussed in connection with the Šanū official in Section D, 3, above. Apparently the Eanna maintained holdings in Piqūdu for which the qīpu of Larsa served as agent. Nbk 52

(Nebuchadnezzar year 6), which mentions the repayment of emmer in Larsa, was dated at Ālu ša Mušallim-Marduk.<sup>236</sup> Our Text 4, a loan of barley credited to Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and another individual, was drafted at Dūr-ša-lāsime and stipulates that repayment was to be made in Šūdanu; both localities are otherwise unknown. Text 12, also a loan of barley, designates repayment in URU 'AB(?) .KA(?) -a-a'. The sixth city is Udannu.<sup>237</sup> Beaulieu *OrNs* 61 409 (dated at Udannu, Nebuchadnezzar year

<sup>233</sup>Zadok, RGTC 8 400; Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, 16b, 19a; Plate 3.

<sup>234</sup>Zadok, RGTC 8 351; Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, 16b, 19a; Plate 3.

<sup>235</sup>Zadok, RGTC 8 260; Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, 18a; Plate 3.

<sup>236</sup>This is the only attested occurrence of this toponym; see Zadok, RGTC 8, 15.

<sup>237</sup>Zadok, RGTC 8, 317-18. Udannu has been the subject of two recent studies by Beaulieu, "UBARA (EZENxKASKAL)<sup>k1</sup> = Udannu," *Acta Sumerologica* 13 (1991): 97-109; and "Kissik, Dūru and Udannu," *OrNs* 61 (1992): 400-24. The location of Udannu is uncertain; Zadok provides evidence for a location north of Uruk possibly near Marad; cf. Beaulieu, "Kissik, Dūru and Udannu," 421.

29) records an order regarding repairs made on a house; the plaintiff was to appear before Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, *qīpu* of Larsa, in Udannu.

Beaulieu has argued that during the Neo-Babylonian Period Uruk maintained the same administrative status with Udannu as it did with Larsa.<sup>238</sup> What is interesting here is that, in spite of the influence of the Eanna in Udannu, the *qīpu* of Larsa was called upon to adjudicate a matter in that city. The text gives no indication as to the nature of the relationship of the parties involved in the dispute with the authority resident at Larsa.

Two texts record loans of commodities belonging to the Eanna in which Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, *qīpu* of Larsa, was involved. Gehlken Uruk I 131 (dated at Larsa in Nebuchadnezzar year 38) records a loan of silver, property of Bēlet-Uruk and Nanā, the price of a calf for the rituals of the Ebabbar, made to Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur and three persons without title from Larsa. The witnesses were from known families of Uruk. AnOr 8 10 (dated at Uruk in Nebuchadnezzar year 23) records a transaction in which Nabû-kibsu-⟨šar⟩-ušur assumed responsibility for a loan of 41 cattle, property of Innin of Uruk and Nanā, on which the original borrower had defaulted.

Five texts provide information about the ability of craftsmen belonging to one temple to perform work for another. YOS 6 53 (Nabonidus year 4) and GCCI 1 386 (Nabonidus year 5) can be understood as reporting allocations of gold and jewelry, cultic paraphernalia, from the Ebabbar to the Eanna for repair by goldsmiths. TBER 10 (AO 6799---date broken) records a disbursement of wool belonging to the Eanna for

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<sup>238</sup>Beaulieu, "Kissik, Dūru and Udannu," 411.

work to be performed in the Ebabbar. Two letters (YOS 3 51; YOS 3 82) sent from the *qīpu* of Larsa to the *šatammu* of the Eanna and the *reš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna* request workmen for litter poles, presumably, as has been seen, in preparation for the processional of Ebabbar deities.

An important issue concerns how the three situations recorded in these five texts might relate, if at all, to the Eanna Craftsmen's Charter.<sup>239</sup> The Craftsmen's Charter prohibited craftsmen (*ummānū*) belonging to the Eanna from performing work for another temple without the expressed permission of the *šatammu* of the Eanna and the *reš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna*. The first point to note is that the Craftsmen's Charter is dated to the fourth year of Cyrus and hence postdates the two texts which record the allocation gold and jewelry to the Eanna. Therefore, while such an allocation might indicate that during the Neo-Babylonian Period<sup>240</sup> the Ebabbar may not have been able to maintain its own workshop of goldsmiths, there is no reason to conclude that the lack of a workshop in the Ebabbar was due to a monopoly of goldsmiths at the Eanna which had been legalized by the Craftsmen's Charter, as does Beaulieu.<sup>241</sup> It is unknown whether Ebabbar craftsmen were subject to the same kind of an agreement. Second, regarding TBER 10, Joannès has emphasized that because the terms of the Craftsmen's Charter allowed the work of the Eanna to take place in other temples *with the permission of* the top officers of the Eanna, the Charter sought not to prohibit such

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<sup>239</sup>Weisberg, YNER 1 1.

<sup>240</sup>Archaeological evidence attests to such a workshop in the Old Babylonian Period; see D. Arnaud, Y. Calavet and J.-L. Huot, "Ilšu-ibnīšu, orfèvre de l'E.babbar de Larsa," *Syria* 56 (1979): 1-64.

<sup>241</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 60.

work but only to control it.<sup>242</sup> Hence, it is wholly consistent with the terms of the Charter that in each recorded instance when, subsequent to the enactment of the Charter, the Ebabbar had a need for workmen to build or repair litter poles, the *qīpu* of Larsa requested such workmen specifically from the *šatammu* of the Eanna and the *rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna*.

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<sup>242</sup>Joannès, *TEBR*, 209.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### TEXTS FROM THE HORN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

#### DATING TO THE REIGN OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR

A. The Archive of Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši and his son Arad-Šamaš. The archive of Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši and his son Arad-Šamaš provides a welcome glimpse into private economy in southern Babylonia during the sixth century B.C.E.<sup>1</sup> This archive was first described by Beaulieu in his study of Neo-Babylonian Larsa.<sup>2</sup> Beaulieu was able to identify 31 texts as belonging to the archive, eight of which had been previously published while the majority were either slated for publication in the Yale Oriental Series or remain unpublished. To these 31 can now be added eleven texts from the Horn Archaeological Museum (our texts 1-11) which date to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. All of the texts known to belong to the archive are listed in chronological order in Table 9:

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<sup>1</sup>Private archives from southern Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian Period are also known at Uruk and Ur. For Uruk see H. Hunger, "Das Archiv des Nabû-ušallim, *BagM* 5 (1970): 193-304; and J. van Dijk, "Die Inschriftenfunde," *UVB* 18 (1959/60): 39-41. The archive of Sin-uballit and other, smaller private archives from Ur are described in H. H. Figulla, *Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period*, UET 4 (London: British Museum, 1949), 2-5. These archives consist chiefly of loans of silver and purchases of temple prebends.

<sup>2</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 60-74.

TABLE 9: TEXTS IN THE ARCHIVE OF ITTI-ŠAMAŠ-BALĀTU AND  
ARAD-ŠAMAŠ

TEXT	DATE
10	Nebuchadnezzar 20+, <i>Tašritu</i> 8
1	Nebuchadnezzar 22, <i>Ṭebetu</i> 16
2	Nebuchadnezzar 25, <i>Nisanu</i> 16
3	Nebuchadnezzar 28, <i>Simanu</i> 9
4	Nebuchadnezzar 29, <i>Ululu</i> 24
11	Nebuchadnezzar 30+, <i>Ṭebetu</i> (?) 28
NCBT 534 (unpublished)	Nebuchadnezzar 33, <i>Šabaṭu</i> 28
NCBT 1021 (unpublished)	Nebuchadnezzar 34, <i>Duzu</i> 10
NCBT 867 (unpublished)	Nebuchadnezzar 34, <i>Ululu</i> 9
5	Nebuchadnezzar 34, <i>Tašritu</i> 29
NCBT 517 (unpublished)	Nebuchadnezzar 34, xx xx
NCBT 871 (unpublished)	Nebuchadnezzar 35, <i>Aiaru</i> 3
6	Nebuchadnezzar 35, <i>Šabaṭu</i> 3+
NCBT 627 (unpublished)	Nebuchadnezzar 37, <i>Addaru</i> 22
7(?)	Nebuchadnezzar 38, <i>Arahsamnu</i> 25
8	Nebuchadnezzar 39, <i>Nisanu</i> 4
NCBT 521 (unpublished)	Nebuchadnezzar 39, <i>Addaru</i> 10
9	Nebuchadnezzar 39, xx 20
NCBT 609 (unpublished)	Nebuchadnezzar xx, <i>Ṭebetu</i> 10(?)
NCBT 1071 (=YOS 16)	Amēl-Marduk 1, <i>Nisanu</i> 5
YNER 1 5	Neriglissar 3, <i>Ululu</i> 6
NCBT 1241 (=YOS 16)	Neriglissar xx, <i>Nisanu</i> 25
ROMCT 2 10	Neriglissar xx, <i>Duzu</i> 21
Beaulieu OrNs 60 68-69 = YOS 19 7	Nabonidus 1, <i>Tašritu</i> 30
BIN 2 113	Nabonidus 3, <i>Addaru</i> 8
BIN 2 118(?)	Nabonidus 4, <i>Šabaṭu</i> 23 (continued)

TEXT	DATE
YOS 19 63	Nabonidus 4, xx 6
YOS 19 69	Nabonidus 8, <i>Tašritu</i> 3
Beaulieu <i>OrNs</i> 60 72 = YOS 19 55	Nabonidus 9, <i>Nisanu</i> 7
BIN 2 119	Nabonidus 9, <i>Duzu</i> 1
YOS 6 124	Nabonidus 9, <i>Tašritu</i> 6
YOS 19 33	Nabonidus 6, <i>Addaru</i> 27
YOS 19 39	Nabonidus 10(?), <i>Abu</i> (?) 12
YOS 19 44	Nabonidus 10, <i>Ululu</i> II 25
YOS 19 35	Nabonidus 12, <i>Šabaṭu</i> 23
YOS 19 59	Nabonidus 15, <i>Duzu</i> 30
YOS 19 27	Nabonidus 15, <i>Ululu</i> 24
NCBT 518 (unpublished)	Nabonidus 15, xx 20(?)
NCBT 958 (unpublished)	Cyrus 2, <i>Addaru</i> 12(?)
NCBT 585 (unpublished)	Cyrus 4, <i>Ululu</i> 22
Pohl <i>AnOr</i> 9 14	xx xx xx xx
Steigers <i>JCS</i> 28 50	xx xx xx xx

Two texts have been included in this count even though their identification with the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu is not certain. BIN 2 118, a text included by Beaulieu, is a receipt of dates which was dated to the fourth year of Nabonidus. The dates were received by Nabû-ušabši from (*ina qātē*) Itti-Šamaš. Itti-Šamaš is a shortened form of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu,<sup>3</sup> but the archival identification of this text must remain uncertain because neither name in the transaction occurs with

<sup>3</sup>Tallqvist, *NBN*, 82a, 82b, lists Itti-DN as "abgekürzt" for Itti-DN-balāṭu.

patronymics nor does the dating formula include a city name.<sup>4</sup> Text 7, which is dated at Larsa, has also been included in the list of texts belonging to the archive even though the reading of the PN, [KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>] [la-ba<sup>1</sup>-ši, is largely restored.

Two additional texts, while not recording business activities of Itti-Šamaš-balātu or Arad-Šamaš, should also receive consideration in an attempt to reconstruct the careers of these two businessmen. These are Text 12, a record of a loan of barley in Larsa (Nebuchadnezzar year 30) for which Itti-Šamaš-balātu was scribe, and OECT 10 130, a marriage agreement dated at Larsa in the sixth year of Cambyses in which Arad-Šamaš appears as witness.

As described by Beaulieu, the early part of the archive (texts dating to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar) is characterized by several *harrānu*-type agreements<sup>5</sup> in which Itti-Šamaš-balātu often acted as an investor or as an agent on behalf of an investor. The latter part of the archive (texts dating to the reigns of Nabonidus and Cyrus) is primarily composed of promissory notes for silver, barley and dates in which Itti-Šamaš-balātu and Arad-Šamaš appear as debtors and creditors. It should be noted that only one loan of silver with Itti-Šamaš-balātu as creditor is included in the count of Beaulieu (*AnOr* 9 14); to this can now be added Texts 6 and 7. A number of other texts

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<sup>4</sup>A provenance at Larsa is likely based on the frequent occurrence of the divine element Šamaš in the names of the witnesses.

<sup>5</sup>Only two texts, ROMCT 2 10 and Text 6, are formal *harrānu* agreements according to the classification of Lenz, *Die neubabylonischen harrānu-Geschäftsunternehmen*, *ArG* 18 (Berlin: J. Schweitzer Verlag, 1976). Related documents are Texts 5 and NCBT 534, 609, 627 and 1071; see Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 69-70.

appearing chronologically throughout the archive record the involvement of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and Arad-Šamaš in aspects of agriculture and animal husbandry.<sup>6</sup> According to Beaulieu,

these texts indicate that Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and his son drew part of their wealth from their position as lessees of arable land belonging to the estates of the temples and the royal household, land which they then farmed out to tenants. Their position may have been somewhat comparable to the *fermiers généraux* of Uruk, in which case they must have been obligated to deliver part of their income to the landowners in the form of taxes and tithes.

The archive is not known to contain sales of real estate, of temple prebends or, until now (Texts 2 and 3), of movable property.<sup>8</sup>

Eleven texts from the Horn Archaeological Museum edited with hand copy here for the first time provide an important addition to the Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive. These texts offer evidence that the business activities of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu were more extensive than was previously known. In addition, it is now clear that Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu was active in business at least eleven years prior to the earliest text cited by Beaulieu. These eleven new texts will be discussed in chronological order,<sup>9</sup> with additional comments when appropriate based on other texts in the archive. A full discussion of the career of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu,

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<sup>6</sup>Eg. AnOr 9 14; NCBT 871; 958; 1021; 1241; YOS 19 55; 19 63.

<sup>7</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 72.

<sup>8</sup>There are no published sales of real estate or movable property at all from Larsa, and only one published sale of a prebend (Arnaud, RA 68 178, a brewer's prebend for two days of Šabaṭu).

<sup>9</sup>Numbers 1-9; numbers 10 and 11 are placed last because their year dates are partially broken.

however, awaits publication of all of the known documents of the archive.

TEXT 1

40 x 29 x 16 mm. Baked.

16 *Tebet*, Nebuchadnezzar year 22/January 15, 582 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 2 (PI) 2 BAN<sub>2</sub> ŠE.GIŠ.I<sub>3</sub> 2½ GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR  
2. ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1d</sup>AG.I A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>ina-SUH<sub>3</sub>.SUR  
3. ina UGU<sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.<sup>1</sup>TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>  
4. <sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši ina <sup>1</sup>ITI.AB<sup>1</sup>  
5. i-<sup>1</sup>nam-din<sup>1</sup>  
6. LU<sub>2</sub> MU.GUB <sup>1</sup>ri-<sup>1</sup>mut<sup>1</sup>  
Lo.E. 7. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>a-ša<sub>2</sub>-ag-gi-i  
Rev. 8. u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1</sup>gi-mil-lu  
9. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1d</sup>AMAR.UTU.MU.DU<sub>3</sub>  
10. UD.UNUG.KI ITI.AB  
11. UD.16.KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.22.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
12. <sup>d</sup>AG.NIG<sub>2</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL.TIN.TIR.KI

(1-4). 2 *pān* 2 *sūt* of sesame (and) 2½ shekels of silver belonging to Nabû-nā'id son of Ina-tēši-ētir is charged against the account of Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši.

(5). In *Tebet* he shall repay (it).

(6-9). Witnesses: Rīmūt son of Ašaggī and scribe, Gimillu son of Marduk-šum-iddin.

(10-12). Larsa, 16 *Tebet*, year 22 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Notes:

Line 1: ŠE.GIŠ.I<sub>3</sub> is here translated as sesame although the identification remains in doubt.<sup>10</sup>

Line 4: The month name could be read as NE, but the broken space at the end of the line favors the reading AB. The term of the loan, therefore, is no more than two weeks.

Line 7: For the PN a-ša<sub>2</sub>-ag-gi-i see GCCI 1 202:3.

This loan of sesame and silver to Itti-Šamaš-balātu is the earliest known business transaction of the archive, predating the earliest text previously known by just over eleven years and one month. It is also the only text in the archive which records the transaction of sesame, although evidence for sesame at Larsa is also found in Text 14. Texts 1 and 14 are both promissory notes for short-term loans of sesame (Text 1 = two weeks; Text 14 = one month) contracted in the winter, well after the harvest.

TEXT 2

48 x 36 x 18 mm. The tablet has several deep cracks. Baked.

16 *Nisanu*, Nebuchadnezzar year 25/April 21, 580 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. [<sup>1</sup>] <sup>d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.BA-ša<sub>2</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>UTU-ina-SUH<sub>3</sub>.SUR  
2. [a<sup>1</sup>-na IGI <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN [erasure] A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>

<sup>10</sup>See the discussion in CAD Š/I 306-7 (sub *Šamaššammū*) and J. M. Renfrew, "Finds of Sesame and Linseed in Ancient Iraq," *BSA* 2 (1985): 63-65; and D. Bedigian, "Is še-giš-i<sub>3</sub> Sesame or Flax?" *BSA* 2 (1985): 159-78.

3. [1] [la]-ba-ši il-lik-ma ki-a-am iq-bi
4. [um]-ma 1/3 GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR lud-dak-kam<sub>2</sub>-ma a-hi
5. HA.LA-a ina AB<sub>2</sub> bur-[tu<sub>4</sub> u<sup>1</sup> DUMU.SAL-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>1</sup>MU.MU u  
<sup>1d</sup>UTU-ri-ih(?)-tu<sub>2</sub>(?)-URU<sub>3</sub>
6. [e]-pu-uš a-hi HA.LA-a šu-[X.X]
7. <sup>1</sup>KI. <sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN iš-me-šu<sub>2</sub>-ma 1/3 GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR
8. ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.BA-ša<sub>2</sub> ma-hir u a-hi HA.[LA-a]
- Lo.E. 9. <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.BA-ša<sub>2</sub> ina AB<sub>2</sub> bur-[tu<sub>4</sub>]
10. u DUMU.SAL-šu<sub>2</sub> iš-[muṭ(?) iš-muṭ(?)]<sup>1</sup>
- Rev. 11. <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.BA-ša<sub>2</sub> u <sup>1</sup>KI. <sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN
12. [ina] AB<sub>2</sub> bur-tu<sub>4</sub> u DUMU.SAL-šu<sub>2</sub> [erasure]
13. DUMU.SAL.HI.A-ta-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu
14. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>LU<sub>2</sub>. <sup>d</sup>AG A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>MUATI.TUG
15. <sup>1</sup>šu-la-a
16. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.I <sup>1d</sup>AG.I A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>
17. <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-tu<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>EN.LIL<sub>2</sub>.MU.MU [erasure] A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>
18. <sup>1d</sup>MAŠ.SU u LU<sub>2</sub>.ŠID <sup>1d</sup>AG.DU<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ
19. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.GUB
- U.E. 20. UD.UNUG.KI ITI.BAR<sub>2</sub> [UD].16. [KAM<sub>2</sub>]
21. [MU].25.KAM<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub>
22. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI
- Le.E. 23. <sup>1d</sup>UD.NUMUN.GIŠ A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>
24. <sup>1</sup>GAR.MU

(1-6). Šamaš-zēr-iqīša son of Šamaš-ina-teši-ētir came and spoke to Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši as follows: "Let me give you 1/3 shegel of silver. I have invested in(?) one-half share in a cow and its



calf which is in the possession of Šum-iddin and Šamaš-rihit-ušur. One-half share is . . .

(7-10). Itti-Šamaš-balātu agreed. He accepted 1/3 sheqel of silver from Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, and one-half share in a cow and its calf Šamaš-zēr-iqīša . . .

(11-13). Šamaš-zēr-iqīša and Itti-Šamaš-balātu [(will share?) in (the half-share of)] the cow and its calf, (including) their calves.

(14-19). Witnesses: Amēl-Nabû son of Nabû-irašši, Šulā son of Nabû-nā'id, Nabû-nā'id son of Zērûtu, Enlil-Šum-iddin son of Ninurta-erība and scribe, Nabû-bānī-ah son of Nabû-Šum-ukīn.

(20-22). Larsa, 16 *Nisanu*, year 25 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

(23-24). (Witness:) Šamaš-zēr-līšir son of Šākin-Šum

#### Notes:

Line 5: This line continues two-thirds of the way across the reverse of the tablet. One might expect a verb at the end of line 5 preceeding *epēšu* in line 6 (perhaps *mahāru(?)*), but in the cramped writing where lines 5 and 15 merge one is not apparent.

Lines 5, 9-10, 12: For *burtu* and the reading of AB<sub>2</sub> see MSL VIII 1 63-66.

Line 6: The verb at the end of the line is obscure. The signs suggest a stative or verbal adjective of the same verb which appears in line 10.

Line 10: The reading is apparently *iš-muṭ(?)* with dittography. This text contains a number of erasures and overerasures (lines 2, 5, 12 and 17). The erasure in line two was clearly due to dittography (TIN), and dittography may have played a role in the overerasure in at the end

of line 12. If the reading *išmuṭ* is correct the verb must be *šamātu*, "to strip off, tear loose, cut off, rub away,"<sup>11</sup> but this does not appear to fit the context of the transaction. The verb *šamātu*, "to mark,"<sup>12</sup> i.e., "brand animals," makes more sense but the 3ms G preterite of this verb is always *išmit*.

Line 12: *u DUMU.SAL-šu<sub>2</sub>* appears to have been written in part over *u DUMU.SAL-šu<sub>2</sub>*. However, a verb is expected somewhere in lines 11-13 and may be preserved in the traces at the end of line 12.

Lines 16-17: *Nabû-nā'id* son of *Zērûtu* also appears as witness in 6:8-9, drafted at Larsa.

Line 18: *Nabû-bāni-ah* son of *Nabû-šum-ukīn* appears as scribe in 3:17, drafted at Larsa, and as witness in 14:4, also drafted at [Larsa].

Line 23: *Šamaš-zēr-līšir* son of *Šakin-šum* appears (with ancestor name) as *akli ša Ebabbar* in 15:8, drafted at Larsa.

The transaction recorded in Text 2, which is couched in the terms of a dialogue document,<sup>13</sup> apparently involves ownership of one-half share in cow and its calf, including additional calves which might be born to either in the future. The cow and calf are owned by *Itti-Šamaš-balātu* but are currently in the possession of two other individuals,

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<sup>11</sup>CAD Š/I 308b.

<sup>12</sup>CAD Š/I 307a.

<sup>13</sup>Texts 3 and 10 are also dialogue documents. The dialogue document form has been discussed by M. San Nicolò, "Zur Entwicklung der babylonischen Urkundenformen," in Festschrift für Gustav Hanaušek, (Graz, no date), 23-35; M. San Nicolò and A. Ungnad, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1935), 63-67; and H. Petschow, "Die neubabylonische Zwiesgesprächsurkunde und Genesis 23," JCS 19 (1965): 103-20.

Šum-iddin and Šamaš-rihit-ušur. Šamaš-zēr-iqīša offers to buy into ownership of the animals at the price of 1/3 shekel. This price is extremely low for even one cow in the Neo-Babylonian Period, let alone two animals and their unborn.<sup>14</sup> Dubberstein has suggested that the 1/3 shekel price, which occurs several times in texts recording the sale of cows and oxen in the Neo-Babylonian Period, may be either an error for 1/3 mina (i.e., 20 shekels), which is unlikely, or a misreading of the signs for 12 shekels, either of which are amounts consistent with the then-going price for cows or oxen.<sup>15</sup> In this text the price, if correctly read as 1/3 shekel, must indicate joint-ownership--albeit in vastly unequal portions--of the cow and calf.<sup>16</sup> In light of the nascent business climate in Larsa in the middle of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (see discussion of Text 3 below), it is possible that by agreeing to this transaction Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu was aiding Šamaš-zēr-iqīša's entry into business.

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<sup>14</sup>W. Dubberstein, "Comparative Prices in Later Babylonia," AJSL 56 (1939): 30-31 with n. 51 for attested prices.

<sup>15</sup>Dubberstein, "Comparative Prices," 31 n. 51.

<sup>16</sup>Such situations are not unusual. Note that Text 6 records a joint venture in which the two partners invest vastly differing amounts of silver.

## TEXT 3

48 x 38 x 19 mm. The obverse is badly broken. Baked.

9 *Simanu*, Nebuchadnezzar year 28/June 9, 577 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. <sup>1</sup>haš-di-ia [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>na-na]-[a-X]  
 2. a-na <sup>1</sup>[KI]. [<sup>d</sup>UTU]. [TIN] [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>][la-ba-ši]  
 3. [il-lik]-[ma ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma X.X] qa(?) - lak-ku-u<sub>2</sub>  
 4. a-na [ša<sub>3</sub>(?)]<sup>1</sup>. [X.X.X]  
 5. <sup>1</sup>KI. [<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN] [iš]-[me-šu<sub>2</sub>-ma]  
 6. 9 GIN<sub>2</sub> [KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR] [X]. [X] 30 [BAR(?).UG/AZ(?)]<sup>1</sup>  
 7. a-na <sup>1</sup>haš-di-ia i-din  
 8. [KU<sub>3</sub>].BABBAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG-ta-lim-mu-[URU<sub>3</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>KA<sub>2</sub>. [KAM<sub>2</sub>]  
 Lo.E. 9. LU<sub>2</sub> ERIN<sub>2</sub> LUGAL-šu<sub>2</sub> id-din-nu  
 10. pu-u<sub>2</sub>-tu LU<sub>2</sub> se-hi-i  
 Rev. 11. u LU<sub>2</sub> pa-qa-ra-nu <sup>1</sup>[X]. [X]  
 12. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>e-ri-šu<sub>2</sub> [na]-[šu-u<sub>2</sub>]  
 13. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-nu <sup>1d</sup>U.GUR. [PAB]  
 14. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>har-ra-nu-<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.MU  
 15. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU <sup>1</sup>za-ab-di-ia  
 16. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>MAN(?) -ka-nu  
 17. u LU<sub>2</sub> [ŠID] <sup>1d</sup>AG.DU<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.GUB  
 18. UD.UNUG.KI ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD.9.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 U.E. 19. MU.28.KAM<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub>  
 20. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-4). Hašdiya son of Nanā-[...] came [and spoke] to Itti-[Šamaš]-balātu [son of] Labāši [as follows: "...] the storehouse for [...]."

(5-9). Itti-Šamaš-balātu agreed. 9 shekels of silver ... to Hašdiya give. He shall give the silver belonging to Nabû-talimmu-ušur son of Bau-ēreš, his royal workman.

(10-12). [...] son of Erišu assumes guaranty against suits brought by a person acting unlawfully (or) a person bringing claims.

(13-17). Witnesses: Nergal-nāšir son of Harranu-Bēl, Nergal-iddin son of Mušēzib-Marduk, Zabdiya son of MAN(?)-kanu and scribe, Nabû-bānī-ah son of Nabû-šum-ukin.

(18-20). Larsa, 9 *Simanu*, year 28 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

#### Notes:

Line 1: The spacing of the traces for the first sign following the DINGIR in the father's name favors the reading *na* rather than UTU. The name is possibly Nanā-ēreš (cf. Kümmel, *Familie*, 41-2). Two individuals from Uruk are attested with the name Hašdiya son of Nanā-ēreš during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar: YOS 17 155:1 (year 19) and GCCI 1 212:2 (year 12+).

Line 7: A 3ms imperative (*idin*) seems out of place at this point in the agreement statement of a dialogue document. The text does not seem to record an order. *Idin* could be preterite; note VAS 3 33:3.

Line 8: For the reading <sup>ld</sup>AG-ta-lim-mu-URU, see Tallqvist, *NBN*, 149.

Lines 10-12: The *Eviktionsklausel* is characteristic of documents

attesting to sale of movable property (*Mobiliarkauf*).<sup>17</sup>

Line 14: The expected form of the PN is Harrān-Bēl (Kümmel, *Familie*, 89, 91; however, note the forms *gi-mil-lu<sup>d</sup>na-na-a* (5:11) and *mu-ra-nu<sup>d</sup>gu-la* (VAS 4 165:17)

Line 15: Zabdiya is a West Semitic PN, common at Nippur. This is the only West Semitic PN in the texts edited herein.<sup>18</sup>

Line 17: Nabū-bānī-ah son of Nabū-šum-ukīn also appears as scribe in 2:18, drafted at Larsa, and as a witness in 14:4, also dated at [Larsa]. The writing <sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.GUB<sup>1</sup> is cramped due to the intrusion of lines 3 and 8 from the obverse.

Due to the poor state of preservation of the tablet, the nature of the transaction recorded in Text 3 is difficult to understand. The presence of a guarantee clause in lines 10-12 suggests a sale of movable property (*Mobiliarkauf*). The commodity sold might be either grain or rights to grain.

Text 3 can also be compared to two other texts of the archive which mention the royal workmen (*šabē šarri*) of Itti-Šamaš-balātu and/or Arad-Šamaš; these are *AnOr* 9 14 and NCBT 958.<sup>19</sup> The latter text, which is dated in Cyrus year 2, is forty years distant from Text 3 (Nebuchadnezzar year 28). Apparently the family of Itti-Šamaš-balātu

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<sup>17</sup>H. Petschow, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht*, ASAW 48/1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956), 114 with n. 356.

<sup>18</sup>For Zabdiya see M. D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašû Documents* (Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1976), 21-22; 71-72; and R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenid Periods* (Jerusalem: H. J. and Z. Wanaarta, 1977), 115.

<sup>19</sup>See discussion of Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 71.

profited from a long-standing economic relationship with the crown. Indeed, it is possible that Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu owed his start in business to royal patronage. One is reminded of the comments of Woolley and Moorey regarding the private archive of the Sîn-uballiṭ family in Ur. According to Woolley, textual and archaeological evidence suggest that Sîn-uballiṭ lived and worked in Babylon during the reign of Nabopolassar and later, during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, moved to Ur where he occupied a large house.<sup>20</sup> Woolley and Moorey then suggest that Nebuchadnezzar tried to rehabilitate Ur (and no doubt, we may add, secure a loyal base of support in the south) by rebuilding its *temenos* and recalling to Ur prominent families who had drifted away to other cities. The evidence from Larsa fits this pattern. The building activities of Nebuchadnezzar at Larsa coincide with the rise of the business activities of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu. Beaulieu has spoken of the ties which the family of Nanaya-kuzbu, wife of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu, may have had with Uruk, and it is possible that Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu himself may have resided in Uruk prior to his activity at Larsa. It should be noted that the earliest published texts drafted at Larsa in the sixth century B.C.E. (Nbk 125 and YOS 17 19, both dated in Nebuchadnezzar year 21) predate by just one year the earliest text of the Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive. All of this awaits further documentation from the early years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

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<sup>20</sup>P. R. S. Moorey, Ur 'of the Chaldees,' revised and updated edition of Sir L. Woolley, Excavations at Ur (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 257; see also Sir L. Woolley, The Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods, UE 9 (London and Philadelphia: Trustees of the Two Museums, 1962), 3.

With the addition of the texts of the Horn Archaeological Museum, the earliest portion of the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu (prior to Nebuchadnezzar year 34) gives evidence that Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu was first involved in borrowing capital and participating in joint-ventures with the crown and other individuals, practices which are consistent with a new business. It was only in the thirty-fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar--and continuing through the reign of Neriglissar--that Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu was able to extend loans to others (Texts 5-8), an indication that his business was becoming both stable and profitable.

#### TEXT 4

49 x 41 x 21 mm. The tablet is fragile and flaking. Not baked.

24 Ululu, Nebuchadnezzar year 29/October 9, 576 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 40 GUR [X.X] [BAN<sub>2</sub>] ŠE.BAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub>-bar-[ia]  
 2. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>haš-di-ia ina UGU-hi  
 3. <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši  
 4. u <sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.DA A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ib-na-a  
 5. [ina] [ITI].SIG<sub>4</sub> ŠE.BAR ina SAG.DU-šu<sub>2</sub>  
 6. [ina] [URU] šu-u<sub>2</sub>-da-nu i-[nam]-[din-nu]  
 7. [ŠE].[BAR] ša<sub>2</sub> UGU-hi-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ba-[la(?)]-[tu(?)]
- Rev. 8. [LU<sub>2</sub> mu]-[kin]-nu <sup>1d</sup>[UTU.MU.URU<sub>3</sub>]  
 9. [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>][ša<sub>2</sub>]-<sup>d</sup>AG-šu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.[MU].[X]  
 10. [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.NUMUN.GI <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN].DU<sub>3</sub>  
 11. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ša<sub>2</sub>-pik <sup>1</sup>gi-mil-lu  
 12. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-ia [erasure] u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID



13. <sup>1</sup>KI.UTU.TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> la-ba-ši  
 14. 'URU' BAD<sub>3</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> la-si<sub>3</sub>-me-e  
 U.E. 15. 'ITI.KIN' UD.24.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 16. MU.29.KAM<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.'URU<sub>3</sub>'  
 17. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-4). 40 kur [X] sūt of barley belonging to Ubarya son of Hašdiya is charged against the accounts of Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši and Nergal-lē'ī son of Ibnā.

(5-6). [In] *Simanu* they shall re[pay] the barley in its capital amount [in] Šūdanu.

(7). It is the [bar]ley which is loaned him from the estate of Balātu.

(8-13). [Wit]nesses: Šamaš-šum-ušur [son] of Ša-Nabû-šu, Nabû-šum- [ . . . ] son of Nabû-zēr-ušallim, Šamaš-zēr-ibni son of Šapik, Gimillu son of Zēriya and scribe, Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši.

(14-17). Dūr-ša-lāsime, 24 *Ululu*, year 29 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

#### Notes:

Line 1: The space following the GUR sign could be an erasure; only the tail of a horizontal (BAN<sub>2</sub>?) remains.

Lines 1, 2: An Ubarya son Hašdiya appears in Nbn 556:6 (Nabonidus year 11) and Nbn 1118:4 (year broken).

Line 6: The city name might also be read URU su-u<sub>2</sub>-da-nu or URU lu-u<sub>2</sub>-da-nu; URU-šu u<sub>2</sub>-da-nu, "his city, Udannu," is unlikely.

Line 14: The city name is constructed with the word *lāsimu*,

possibly a type of *kallû*-official.<sup>21</sup>

Text 4 records a loan of barley to Itti-Šamaš-balātu and Nergal-lē'ī son of Ibnā for nine months. In addition to Text 4, four other texts involving Itti-Šamaš-balātu were not drafted at Larsa. These are NCBT 521 (Borsippa), YOS 19 35 (Uruk), BIN 2 118 (Ālu bīt rē'ī) and YOS 19 44 (Ālu ša Mušēzib-Nabû); the latter two, like Dūr-ša-lāsime, are otherwise unattested.

It is not unusual to have a scribe of one document appear as a witness or contracting party in another document. The situation of Text 4, in which the same individual is both contracting party and scribe, is also well-known in Babylonia, although occurring less frequently.<sup>22</sup> Itti-Šamaš-balātu appears in both roles in Texts 6 and 11 as well, and as scribe alone in Text 12.

#### TEXT 5

40 x 30 x 18 mm. The tablet is fragile and flaking. Not baked.

29 *Tašritu*, Nebuchadnezzar year 34/November 18, 571 B.C.E.

Obv. 1. 3 GUR ŠE.BAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>KI. <sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN

2. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>la-a-ba-ši ša<sub>2</sub> KASKAL<sup>II</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>See J. Brinkman, *PKB*, 299 and n. 1963 and 1967.

<sup>22</sup>Note the comments of M. Dandamaev, "The Social Position of Neo-Babylonian Scribes," 39, regarding Itti-Marduk-balātu son of Nabû-ahhē-iddina descendant of Egibi: "He was a representative of those Babylonian scribes who used their professional knowledge and skill [as a scribe] in order to be engaged in commerce, to practice usury and banking operations."

3.  $\check{s}a_2$  <sup>1</sup>*ri-mut*-<sup>d</sup>EN A- $\check{s}u_2$   $\check{s}a_2$  <sup>1</sup>SUM-na-A
4. *ina* UGU <sup>1</sup>TUK- $\check{s}i$ -DINGIR [A- $\check{s}u_2$   $\check{s}a_2$ ] <sup>1</sup>MU.GUB
5. *ina* ITI  $\check{S}U$   $\check{S}E$ .BAR *ina* UD.UNUG.KI
6. *ina* SAG.DU- $\check{s}u_2$  *i-nam-din*
- Lo.E. 7.  $LU_2$  *mu-kin-nu* <sup>1</sup> $LU_2$ .<sup>d</sup>AG A- $\check{s}u_2$   $\check{s}a_2$
- Rev. 8. <sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.GI
9. <sup>1d</sup>AG-*mu-še-tiq*<sub>2</sub>-UD.DA A- $\check{s}u_2$   $\check{s}a_2$
10. <sup>1</sup>DU<sub>3</sub>-*tu*<sub>2</sub>- $\check{s}u_2$
11.  $LU_2$   $\check{S}ID$  <sup>1</sup>*gi-mil-lu*-<sup>d</sup>na-[na-a]
12. A- $\check{s}u_2$   $\check{s}a_2$  <sup>1d</sup>[AMAR.UTU-*eri*<sub>4</sub>-ba]
13. UD.UNUG.KI ITI.[DUL] UD.[29.KAM<sub>2</sub>]
- U.E. 14. [MU].34.KAM<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub>
15. LUGAL TIN.[TIR.KI]

(1-4). 3 *kur* of barley belonging to Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši, which was from the business capital of Rīmūt-Bēl son of Nādin-apli, is charged against the account of Rāši-ili son of Šum-ukīn.

(5-6). In *Duzu* he shall repay the barley in its capital amount in Larsa.

(7-12). Witnesses: Amēl-Nabû son of Nergal-ušallim, Nabû-mušētiq-šēti son of Banitušu (and) scribe, Gīmīllu-Nanā son of Marduk-erība.

(13-15). Larsa, 29 *Tašritu*, year 34 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

#### Notes:

Lines 2-3: Rīmūt-Bēl son of Nādin-apli also appears in 6:3.

Line 11: The form Gīmīllu + DN (rather than Gīmīl-DN with the verbal form in the construct) is unusual but attested; note the syllabic

spellings *gi-mil-lu*<sup>d</sup>UTU (Nbn 351:21) and *gi-mil-lu*<sup>d</sup>*gu-la* (Nbk 335:13).

Line 12: See YOS 17 201:8 for this spelling of Marduk-erība.

Text 5 will be discussed in connection with Text 6 due to prosopographic ties with the latter.

#### TEXT 6

52 x 37 x 22 mm. The tablet is fragile and flaking and has been broken into two parts which are joined. Not baked.

3+ Šabattu, Nebuchadnezzar year 35/February 8+, 569 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. [X MA.NA] [KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR] ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>  
2. [SUM]-[na-A 5+] GIN<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>[UTU.TIN] [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>]  
3. <sup>1</sup>[la]-ba-ši ina UGU-hi <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.MU [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>]  
4. <sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši a-na KASKAL<sup>II</sup>-nu mim-ma  
5. ma-la ina URU u EDIN ip-pu-šu<sub>2</sub>  
6. šal-šu<sub>2</sub> ina u<sub>2</sub>-tur it-ti-[šu<sub>2</sub>]-[nu ik-kal]  
R. 7. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>[LU<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>] [X A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>]  
8. <sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.GI <sup>1d</sup>AG.I [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>]  
9. <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-tu<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>[AMAR.UTU.MU].DU<sub>3</sub> [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>]  
10. <sup>1d</sup>[AMAR.UTU.NUMUN]. [X]  
11. u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>  
12. <sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši UD.UNUG.KI ITI.[ZIZ<sub>2</sub>]  
U.E. 13. UD.[3+].KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.[35].KAM<sub>2</sub>  
14. <sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL TIN.TIR. [KI]

(1-4). [X mi]nas of silver belonging to Rīmūt-Bēl son of [Nādin-]apli (and) 5+ shekels (of silver) belonging to Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu [son of] Labāši, are charged against the account of Šamaš-zēr-iddin [son of] Labāši for a commercial venture.

(4-6). Of whatever profit he makes in the city or abroad, they shall enjoy one-third.

(7-12). Witnesses: Amēl-<sup>d</sup>[. . . son of] Nergal-ušallim, Nabû-nā'id [son of] Zērūtu, Marduk-šum-ibni

[son of] Marduk-zēr-[. . .] and scribe, Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu son of Labāši.

(12-14). Larsa, 3+ Šabattu, year 35 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Notes:

Line 2: I have reconstructed the father's name as Nādin-apli based on Text 5 in which Rīmūt-Bēl son of Nādin-apli appears with Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu in a text mentioning *harrānu* capital. This reconstruction is consistent with the traces of line 2.

Lines 5-6: There is no indication in the *Gewinnverteilungsklausel*<sup>23</sup> as to the manner in which the profit was to be divided between the two investors. Such notation might be expected inasmuch as Rīmūt-Bēl and Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu had put up vastly different amounts of capital for the venture.

Line 7: The first named witness is possibly Amēl-Nabû son of Nergal-ušallim, who appears as first named witness in 5:7.

Lines 8-9: Nabû-nā'id son of Zērūtu also appears as witness in 2:19.

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<sup>23</sup>H. Lenz, Die neubabylonischen harrānu-Geschäftsunternehmen, 18-27.

Line 11: Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu also appears as scribe and principle in Texts 4 and 11.

Line 12: The month name could also be read GUD or DUL.

Text 5 records a nine month loan of barley belonging to Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu which was part of the business capital (KASKAL<sup>II</sup>) of Rīmūt-Bēl son of Nādin-apli. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and Rīmūt-Bēl also appear together in Text 6, as joint-investors of silver in a *harrānu*-agreement. The two texts are dated fifteen months apart and show that, for a time, these two men were able to maintain a partnership in business. The prosopographic connections between Texts 5 and 6 provide at least one instance of a possible tie between the *harrānu* activities of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and his involvement as a creditor in promissory notes.<sup>24</sup>

Text 6 is now the second text of the archive (with AnOr 9 14) in which Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu appears as creditor in a loan of silver, suggesting that the role of the family in money-lending activities may have been larger than previously thought.<sup>25</sup>

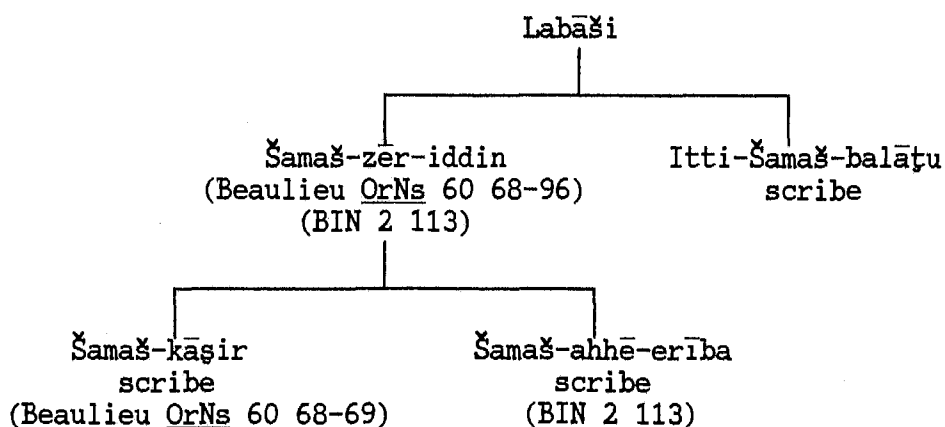
Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu was the junior investor in Text 6, putting up a significantly smaller amount of silver than did Rīmūt-Bēl. His participation in the business venture may be connected to the personage of the debtor, Šamaš-zēr-iddin son of Labāši. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and Šamaš-zēr-iddin appear together in two other texts. The first is BIN 2

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<sup>24</sup>Note the comments of Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 73, regarding the lack of evidence for a connection between the three types of documents prominent in the Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive, namely, *harrānu* contracts, promissory notes and transactions related to agriculture and animal husbandry.

<sup>25</sup>See Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 69.

113, in which Šamaš-zēr-iddin was witness to a loan of silver and sheep made to Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu. In their edition of BIN 2 113, San Nicolò and Petschow forwarded the suggestion that Šamaš-zēr-iddin was the brother of Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu,<sup>26</sup> a possibility which we think is likely. The second text in which Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu and Šamaš-zēr-iddin appear together is Beaulieu OrNs 60 68-69 (= YOS 19 7), a text in which Šamaš-zēr-iddin was witness,<sup>27</sup> albeit last named, to the gift of a slave by Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu and Nanaya-kuzbu to Arad-Šamaš. It is further interesting that the scribes of these two texts were sons of Šamaš-zēr-iddin. All of this is rather suggestive for reconstructing the genealogy of Labāši, although not in a manner as conclusive as that offered by the evidence which has been provided by Beaulieu OrNs 60 68-69 for reconstructing the family of Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu. The following is offered as a tentative addition to the genealogy reconstructed by Beaulieu:<sup>28</sup>



<sup>26</sup>M. San Nicolò and H. Petschow, Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. 8, n. to line 11.

<sup>27</sup>Note Arnaud, RA 68 178 in which various sons of Etellu appear as principal and witnesses in a single transaction.

<sup>28</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 66.

TEXT 7

49 x 34 x 17 mm. The tablet is crumbling; Obv. largely destroyed. Not baked.

25 Arahšamnu, Nebuchadnezzar year 38/November 29, 567 B.C.E.

Obv. 1. [5+] GUR ŠE.BAR 1 [GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub>].BABBAR ša<sub>2</sub>  
 2. [<sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>][la-ba]-ši  
 3. [...] ša<sub>2</sub>(?)  
 (space for approximately 8 lines broken away)

Rev. 1'. [X] [<sup>1</sup>dUTU.[X.X.X]  
 2'. [A]-[šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>dU.GUR-u<sub>2</sub>-[še-zib]  
 3'. u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1</sup>dUTU.EN.NUMUN  
 4'. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ba-bi-ia<sub>2</sub> A LU<sub>2</sub> GAL.[DU<sub>3</sub>]  
 5'. UD.UNUG.KI ITI.APIN  
 6'. UD.25.KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.38.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 U.E. 7'. <sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub>  
 8'. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-3). 5+ kur of barley (and) 1 shekel of silver belonging to [Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of] Labāši [. . .]

(space for approximately 8 lines broken away)

(1'-4'). [. . .] Šamaš-[. . .] son of Nergal-ušēzib and scribe, Šamaš-bēl-zēri son of Babiya descendant of Rab-bānū.

(5'-8'). Larsa, 25 Arahšamnu, year 38 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.



If the reconstruction of the PN in line 3 is correct, Text 7 provides a third loan of silver in which Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu was creditor. Neither here nor in Text 6 was the amount of silver loaned by Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu very large.

# TEXT 8

39 x 33 x 16 mm. Baked.

4 *Nisanu*, Nebuchadnezzar year 39/April 5, 566 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 2 GUR 4 BAN<sub>2</sub> ŠE.BAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>KI. <sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN  
 2. A šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši ina ŠE.BAR  
 3. ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>EN-e-~~te~~<sub>3</sub>-ru-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 4. ša<sub>2</sub> ina pa-ni-šu<sub>2</sub> ina UGU-hi  
 5. <sup>1</sup>ri-mut [erasure] A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>  
 6. <sup>1</sup>a-hu-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu ITI.GUD  
 7. ŠE.BAR ina SAG.DU-šu<sub>2</sub>
- Lo.E. 8. [ina] UD.UNUG.KI
- Rev. 9. ina KA<sub>2</sub> ka-lak-ka  
 10. i-nam-din LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-nu  
 11. <sup>1d</sup>U.GUR-ina-SUH<sub>3</sub>.SUR A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>TIN-su  
 12. <sup>1d</sup>BE.MU.DU<sub>3</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>NIG<sub>2</sub>.DU  
 13. <sup>1</sup>si-lim-ili<sub>3</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši  
 14. u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1d</sup>AG.GUB.A  
 15. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AMAR.UTU.KAM<sub>2</sub>
- U.E. 16. A LU<sub>2</sub> SIPA.GUD UD.UNUG.KI  
 17. ITI.BAR<sub>2</sub> UD.4.KAM<sub>2</sub>

- Le.E. 18. MU<sup>1</sup>.39.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 19. <sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL

(1-6). 2 *kur* 4 *sūt* of barley belonging to Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši, from the barley which was at the disposal of Bēl-eṭeru-Nabû, is now charged against the account of Rīmūt son of Ahušunu.

(6-10). (In) *Aiaru* he shall repay the barley in its capital amount at the gate of the storehouse in Larsa.

(11-16). Witnesses: Nergal-ina-tēši-ēṭir son of Balātu, Ea-šum-ibni son of Kudurri, Silim-ili son of Labāši and scribe, Nabû-mukin-apli son of Marduk-ēreš descendant of Rē'i-alpi.

(16-19). Larsa, 4 *Nisanu*, year 39 of Nebuchadnezzar, king (of Babylon).

Notes:

Line 3: For the reading <sup>1</sup>EN-e-~~te~~<sub>3</sub>-ru-<sup>d</sup>AG see Tallqvist, NBN, 266.

Line 19: There is no room on the tablet for TIN.TIR.KI.

This text records a loan of barley made by Itti-Šamaš-balātu which had been at the disposal of another individual. The loan was made during the harvest season for one month.

TEXT 9

50 x 38 x 18 mm. The tablet is fragile and flaking. Not baked.  
 Month broken, Nebuchadnezzar year 39/566-565 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 20 GUR ŠE.BAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AMAR.UTU.[NUMUN(?)]<sup>1</sup>. [X]  
 2. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.NUMUN.GUB<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ina(?) - [X.X]

3. A [LU<sub>2</sub> TUG<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR] <sup>1</sup>[X]. [X.X A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>]
4. <sup>1d</sup>AG.X.X] [. . . . .]
5. [ina] [UGU]-hi <sup>1</sup>KI. <sup>d</sup>[UTU.TIN]
6. [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>la-ba]-[š<sub>i</sub>] [X X]
- Lo.E. 7. [. . . . .]
8. [. . . . .]
- Rev. 9. [LU<sub>2</sub>] [mu-kin]-[nu] <sup>1d</sup>AG(?) .X]. [X]
10. [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>X]. [X.URU<sub>3</sub>] <sup>1</sup>EN-šu<sub>2</sub>-[nu]
11. [A-šu<sub>2</sub>] [ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>. . . . .] [šID]
12. [A]-[šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> . . . . .] [X X]
13. <sup>1</sup>[X]. [X.X . . . . .]
14. UD.[UNUG]. [KI ITI.X]
15. UD.20.[KAM<sub>2</sub>] MU.[39 KAM<sub>2</sub>]
- U.E. 16. <sup>1d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub>
17. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-6). 20 *kur* of barley belonging to Marduk-zēr(?) -  
[. . .] son of Nabû-zēr-ukîn, Ina(?) - [. . .]  
descendant of Pušāya, (and) [. . . son of] Nabû-  
[. . .], is charged against the account of Itti-Šamaš-  
balāṭu [son of Labā]šī.

(6-8). [. . .]

(9-13). [Witness]es: Nabû(?) - [. . . son of . . .] -  
uṣur, Bēlšunu son [of . . . , . . .] son [of . . . and  
scribe, . . . son of . . .]

(14-17). Larsa, 20 [. . .], year 39 of  
Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Text 9, which is badly broken, records a loan of barley made by three men to Itti-Šamaš-balātu. The duration of the loan and the terms of repayment are destroyed.

# TEXT 10

56 x 41 x 20 mm. The tablet is broken into three pieces, all of which have been joined. The center of the reverse contains areas of smooth clay which is superimposed over a number of signs. Baked.

8 Tašritu, Nebuchadnezzar year 20+/September-October 585+ B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. <sup>1</sup>UTU.KAM<sub>2</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>e-rib-šu<sub>2</sub> a-na pa-ni  
 2. <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>la-[ba]-ši il-lik-ma ki-[a-am]  
 3. iq-bi [um-ma] a-na LU<sub>2</sub> ENGAR ŠE [UD X] [X X]  
 4. [u] [a-na] LU<sub>2</sub> X.ZU(?) u [X-kam<sub>2</sub>(?)]-ma(?) <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>[UTU.TIN]  
 5. [iš-me-šu-ma] a-na [LU<sub>2</sub> ENGAR ŠE UD X X X]  
 6. [X X X] [X]-šu<sub>2</sub> SILA(?) GAB(?) u<sub>3</sub> [X X]  
 7. <sup>1</sup>UTU.[KAM<sub>2</sub> na]-ši ul-tu UD.8.KAM<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> [ITI]. [DUL]  
 8. a-di UD.8.KAM<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> ITI.GUD <sup>1</sup>UTU.KAM<sub>2</sub> ina pa-[ni]  
 9. <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN [u<sub>2</sub>-kin]-nu(?) ša<sub>2</sub> ITI 1 (PI) 4 BAN<sub>2</sub> [ŠE.X]  
 10. <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN a-na <sup>1</sup>UTU.KAM<sub>2</sub> i-nam-din  
 11. 1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN ul-tu UD.20.KAM<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> ITI.APIN  
 Lo.E. 12. <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN ul-tu GAZ GIŠ DU<sub>3</sub>(?)-šu<sub>2</sub>  
 13. ir-ri-šu<sub>2</sub>-ma a-na <sup>1</sup>UTU.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 14. i-nam-din pu-ut GI.[X] u<sub>3</sub>  
 Rev. 15. LU<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ra-šu<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN na-ši  
 16. ina ŠE.NUMUN-šu<sub>2</sub> [AM<sub>3</sub>] [X] [X] LUGAL HA.LA

17. *it-ti* <sup>1d</sup>[UTU]. [KAM<sub>2</sub>] *it-tir* *pu-ut dul-lu*
18. *ša*<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>KI. <sup>d</sup>[UTU]. TIN <sup>1d</sup>[UTU.KAM<sub>2</sub>] *na-ši*
19. <ina> *qa-ti-su-nu* 18+ GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>. [BABBAR] *i-tur<sub>3</sub>-ru*
20. LU<sub>2</sub> *mu-kin* - [nu <sup>1</sup>X.X A-*šu*<sub>2</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>] *u<sub>2</sub>-bar-ia*
21. [<sup>1</sup>] NUMUN-*ia*<sub>2</sub> [A-*šu*<sub>2</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>X.X]. [X] A LU<sub>2</sub> A.ZU <sup>1</sup>MU.MU
22. [A-*šu*<sub>2</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>X.X-<sup>d</sup>] *gu-lā u* LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1d</sup>AG.IDIM.DINGIR.MEŠ
23. [A]-[*šu*<sub>2</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>X.X] [A] <sup>1</sup>DU<sub>3</sub>-eš-DINGIR UD. UNUG.KI<sup>1</sup>
24. ITI.DUL UD.8. [KAM<sub>2</sub>] MU. 20+ KAM<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>
- U.E. 25. <sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-4). Šamaš-ēreš son of Eribšu came and spoke to Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši as follows: "To the farmer grain . . . [and] to the . . ."

(4-7). Itti-Šamaš-balātu agreed. To the farmer grain . . . Šamaš-ēreš bore(?).

(7-9). From the eighth day of [Tašritu] to the eighth day of Aiaru Šamaš-ēreš shall place(?) (it) at the disposal of Itti-Šamaš-balātu.

(9-10). Itti-Šamaš-balātu shall give Šamaš-ēreš 1 *pān* 4 *sūt* of grain per month.

(11-13). From the twentieth day of Arahšamnu Itti-Šamaš-balātu shall sow from his . . . a plot of land (requiring) one *kur* of seed.

(13-14). To Šamaš-ēreš he shall give (it).

(14-15). Itti-Šamaš-balātu is responsible for expenses(?) and for the *urāšu*.

(16-17). From his aforementioned plot of arable land . . . share with Šamaš-ēreš he shall pay.

(17-18). Šamaš-ēreš is responsible for the work of Itti-Šamaš-balātu.

(19). He shall pay him 18+ shekels of silver.

(20-23). Witnesses: [. . . son of] Ubarya, Zēriya [son of . . .] descendant of Asū, Šum-iddin [son of . . .]-Gula and scribe, Nabû-kabti-ilī son [of . . .] descendant of Epeš-ili.

(23-25). Larsa, 8 *Tašritu*, year 20+ of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Notes:

Lines 3, 5: The type of grain mentioned is not clear. ŠE (še'u) is rare in Neo-Babylonian texts, but the following signs (UD.X.X.X) are not helpful.

Line 7: The month name is reconstructed from the date in line 24 and, by implication, *Arahsamnu* in line 11. The agreement recorded in the text covers one growing season (fall through spring).

Line 14: The traces GI.[X] might preserve a form of *gimru*, "expenses;" perhaps *gi-mir* or *gi-mar*(?).

Line 22: For the PN Nabû-kabti-ilī see Tallqvist, *NBN*, 259a, 318a.

Text 10 records an agreement between Šamaš-ēreš son of Eribšu and Itti-Šamaš-balātu regarding grain to be grown on a plot of arable land for a single growing season (*Tašritu* to *Aiaru*). Many of the details of the agreement are unclear due to the broken nature of the text. Apparently Itti-Šamaš-balātu was to be given use of some land and return to Šamaš-ēreš a certain amount of grain per month. Whether the object of the verb *nadānu* in line 14 is a commodity or the land itself remains unclear. Itti-Šamaš-balātu was responsible for various expenses including work performed by an *urāšu*, but Šamaš-ēreš was responsible for

the overall work of Itti-Šamaš-balātu and was to pay him a sum of silver amounting to over 3 shekels per month which, it appears, would cover both his work and the expenses incurred. That an *urāšu* was involved suggests that attention had to be given to irrigation in order for the crop to be grown. Lines 16-17 contain an additional obligation owed to Šamaš-ēreš by Itti-Šamaš-balātu regarding a *zittu*. Because the date of Text 10 is broken (Nebuchadnezzar year 20+) it is not possible to provide for it an exact chronological context.

#### TEXT 11

49 x 44 x 20 mm. The tablet is fragile and flaking. Not baked.

28 *Tebetu*(?), Nebuchadnezzar year 30+/February(?) 574+ B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. UD 1 KAM<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> ITI.GAN  
 2. <sup>1</sup>UTU.MU.GIŠ A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>mar-duk<sup>1</sup>  
 3. <sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU.NUMUN.DU<sub>3</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>. [X.X]  
 4. <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>la-ba<sup>1</sup>-ši  
 5. <sup>1</sup>[X].<sup>1</sup>[X.X.X] A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>AG-na(?) - <sup>1</sup>piš(?)<sup>1</sup> - [tim(?) - URU<sub>3</sub>(?)]  
 6. ib-ba-<sup>1</sup>ka-a<sup>1</sup>-ma a-na  
 7. <sup>1</sup>AG-kib-su-LUGAL.URU<sub>3</sub>  
 8. <sup>1</sup>qi<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-i-[pi] ša<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.<sup>1</sup>RA<sup>1</sup>
- Lo.E. 9. [i]-<sup>1</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-di-<sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-nu-u'  
 10. <sup>1</sup>ki-i la<sup>1</sup> i-tab-ku-<sup>1</sup>nim<sup>1</sup>-ma
- Rev. 11. <sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup> id-<sup>1</sup>dan<sup>1</sup>-nu-u'  
 12. 1 MA.NA [X] <sup>1</sup>GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR<sup>1</sup> i-nam-din  
 13. <sup>1</sup>GIN<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> [KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR X X X] <sup>1</sup>[X.X.X]<sup>1</sup>-'

14. [1+EN] *pu-ut 2-i na*<sup>1</sup>-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub>-u<sub>2</sub>
15. [LU<sub>2</sub> *mu-kin-nu* <sup>1</sup>X.X.X A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>X.] [X.X]
16. [<sup>1</sup>X.X.X] A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> [<sup>1</sup>X.X.X]
17. <sup>1</sup>dAG.MU.MU u LU<sub>2</sub>.ŠID
18. <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>1</sup>.TIN A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši
19. [UD].UNUG.KI ITI.[AB(?)]
- U.E. 20. [UD].28.KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.30+. [KAM<sub>2</sub>]
21. <sup>1</sup>dAG<sup>1</sup>.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL [TIN.TIR.KI]

(1-9). On the first day of *Kislimu* Šamaš-šum-līšir son of Marduk, Marduk-zēr-ibnī son of Nabū-[. . .] (and) Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši shall bring [. . .] son of Nabū-napištim-ušur(?) and hand (him) over to Nabū-kibsu-šar-ušur, *qīpu* of the Ebabbar.

(10-12). If they do not bring (him) or hand (him) over, they shall pay 1 mina and X shekels of silver.

(13). One shekel [of silver . . .] they shall . . .

(14). [Each] shall act as guarantor for the others.

(15-18). [Witnesses: . . . son of . . . , . . .] son of [. . .], Nabū-šum-iddin and scribe, Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši.

(19-21). Larsa, 28 *ṭebetū*, year 30+ of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

#### Notes:

Line 3: A Marduk-zēr-ibnī son of Nabū-<sup>1</sup>X.X<sup>1</sup> appears as scribe of Nbk 125, drafted at Larsa in Nebuchadnezzar year 21.

Line 13: The traces at the end of line 13 preserve a verb. The nature of the clause of line 13, standing between the penalty clause and the guarantee clause, is unclear.



Line 17: It is not clear whether Nabû-šum-iddin was ancestor of persons in line 16 or stands without patronymics (cf. 21:11).

Line 18: Labāši written over erasure. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu was also scribe of Texts 4, 6 and 12.

Text 11 records an instance in which three men, including Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu, assumed surety for a fourth to appear before the *qīpu* of the Ebabbar.<sup>29</sup> Included is a fine should they fail to appear by the assigned date. If our reading of the month name in the dating formula is correct, the period of suretyship was just over ten months. The text includes no indication as to the nature of the claim which the Ebabbar had on the individual who was to be presented there.

B. Other Texts from Larsa. Four texts dated at Larsa in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and which are part of the collection of the Horn Archaeological Museum do not belong to the private business archive of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu. Of these, three record loans between private individuals and one is an Ebabbar text.

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<sup>29</sup> Suretyship in Neo-Babylonian law has been discussed by P. Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911), 50-76; 157-58; R. P. Dougherty, "The Babylonian Principle of Suretyship as Administered by Temple Law," *AJSL* 46 (1929-30): 73-103; and J. W. Snyder, "Babylonian Suretyship Litigation: A Case History," *JCS* 9 (1955): 25-28.

TEXT 12

51 x 39 x 19 mm. The tablet is fragile and flaking. Not baked.

19 *Tebet*, Nebuchadnezzar year 30/January 20, 574 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 24 GUR ŠE.BAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>[da-di-ia]  
 2. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>na-din ina UGU-hi  
 3. <sup>1d</sup>AG.LUGAL.URU<sub>3</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 4. ina ITI.GUD ŠE.BAR ina SAG.DU-šu<sub>2</sub>  
 5. ina URU [AB(?).KA(?)]-a-a  
 6. i-[nam]-din
- Rev. 7. [LU<sub>2</sub> mu]-[kin]-nu <sup>1</sup>ba-laṭ-su  
 8. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>KUR.GAL.KAL  
 9. <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.BA-ša<sub>2</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>  
 10. <sup>1</sup>šu-zu-bu  
 11. u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>  
 12. <sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši UD.UNUG.KI  
 13. [ITI].AB UD.19.KAM<sub>2</sub>
- U.E. 14. [MU].30.KAM<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub>  
 15. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-3). 24 *kur* of barley belonging to Dadīa son of Nādin is charged against the account of Nabû-šar-ušur son of Nabû-ēreš.

(4-6). In *Aiaru* he shall repay the barley in its capital amount in . . .

(7-12). [Wit]nesses: Balāṭsu son of Amurru-udammiq, Šamaš-zēr-iqīša son of Šuzubu and scribe, Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu son of Labāši.

(12-15). Larsa, 19 *Tebet*, year 30 of Nebuchandezzar, king of Babylon.

Notes:

Line 5: The city name is effaced by incised lines angled to the right of vertical. I am unable to identify the city based on the traces.

Line 11: Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu was also scribe of Texts 4, 6 and 11.

This text, a loan of barley for four months, is the only text in which Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu appears as scribe but not also party to the transaction recorded in the text.

TEXT 13

37 x 28 x 16 mm. The tablet is fragile and flaking. Not baked.

X *Abu*(?), Nebuchadnezzar year 24/August-September, 581 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. [13] GUR ŠE.BAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>gi-[mil]-[lu]  
2. [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>] <sup>1</sup>NI<sub>3</sub>.DU A <sup>1</sup>ku-na-[a]  
3. [ina] [UGU] <sup>1</sup>dUTU.NUMUN.[GAL]-[ši]  
4. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>[X.X A <sup>1</sup>dUTU.[X]  
5. [a(?)]-na [ITI.GAN(?)<sup>1</sup> ŠE.BAR  
6. ina UD.UNUG.KI ina [SAG]. [DU-šu<sub>2</sub>]  
Lo.E. 7. ina KA<sub>2</sub> ka-lak-[ku]  
8. i-nam-din  
Rev. 9. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>e-tel-[lu]  
10. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ri-mut A <sup>1</sup>dUTU.[X]

11. <sup>1d</sup>AG.[X].DU<sub>3</sub> A <sup>1</sup>[X].[X.X]
12. u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.[X]
13. A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>[ba-la]-tu A <sup>1</sup>[X.X]
14. [UD].[UNUG].KI ITI.[NE(?)] [UD.X.KAM<sub>2</sub>]
- U.E. 15. [MU].24.[KAM<sub>2</sub>]
16. <sup>d</sup>AG].NI<sub>3</sub>.<sup>d</sup>DU.URU<sub>3</sub>] LUGAL
17. [TIN.TIR].KI

(1-4). 13 *kur* of barley belonging to Gimil[lu son of] Kudurri descendant of Kunā is charged against the account of Šamaš-zēr-ušabši son of [. . .] descendant of Šamaš-[. . .]

(5-8). In *Kislimu* he shall repay the barley in its capital amount at the gate of the storehouse in Larsa.

(9-13). Witnesses: Etellu son of Rīmūt descendant of Šamaš-[. . .], Nabū-. . .-ibni descendant of [. . .] and scribe, Šamaš-zēr-[. . .] son of Balātu descendant of [. . .].

(14-17). [Lar]sa, X Abu(?), year 24 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

#### Notes:

Line 5: *ina*, written AŠ, is certainly expected rather than *ana* in this phrase. A syllabic spelling of *ina* would also be quite unusual here.

Text 13 records a loan of barley for four months. As is the case in Text 8, the barley was to be repaid in the gate of the storehouse in Larsa. The city name in line 14 is read Larsa rather than Uruk based on its occurrence in line 6 and in spite of the appearance of ancestor

names which, as seen in connection with Text 15 below, are not especially characteristic for a text recording a loan between private parties drafted in Larsa.

#### TEXT 14

51 x 37 x 18 mm. The tablet is fragile and flaking. Not baked.  
X *Arahsamnu*, Nebuchadnezzar year 27/November-December, 578 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 3+ GUR ŠE.ŠE.GIŠ.I<sub>3</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.GAL<sub>2</sub>-ši<sub>2</sub>  
2. A-šu<sub>2</sub>-ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>e-tel-lu ina UGU <sup>1</sup>gi-mil-lu  
3. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>tab-ni-e-a ina ITI.GAN i-nam-din  
(space of one-half blank line on tablet)  
4. [LU<sub>2</sub>] [mu]-kin-ne<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.DU<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ A-šu<sub>2</sub>  
5. [ša<sub>2</sub>] <sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.GUB <sup>1d</sup>UTU.DU<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ  
6. [A]-[šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>] <sup>1d</sup>AG.LUGAL.URU<sub>3</sub> u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID  
7. [<sup>1d</sup>X.X.GAR]-[un] A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>MU.GUB
- Lo.E. 8. [UD.UNUG.KI] [ITI].APIN
- Rev. 9. [UD.X.KAM] [MU].27.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
10. [<sup>1d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>].DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL [TIN.TIR].KI  
(space of one-half blank line on tablet)  
11. u<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>3</sub>-ti<sub>3</sub> mah-ri-ti ša<sub>2</sub> 4 [GUR] ŠE.GIŠ.I<sub>3</sub>  
12. ina UGU <sup>1</sup>gi-mil-lu he-pa-a-tu<sub>2</sub>

(1-3). 3+ kur of sesame belonging to Šamaš-zēr-ušabši son of Etellu is charged against the account of Gimillu son of Tabnēa.

(3). In *Kislimu* he shall repay (it).

(4-7). Witnesses: Nabû-bānī-ah son of Nabû-šum-ukīn, Šamaš-bānī-ah [son] of Nabû-šar-ušur and scribe, [. . .-iš]kun son of Šum-ukīn.

(8-10). [Larsa, X] *Arahsamnu*, year 27 of [Nebuch]adnezzar, king of Babylon.

(11-12). The previous document of credit regarding 4 *kur* of sesame charged against the account of Gimillu is destroyed.

#### Notes:

Line 1: Šamaš-zēr-ušabši son of Gimillu purchased a brewer's prebend recorded in Arnaud RA 68 178, a text dated at Larsa in Nebuchadnezzar year 29.

Lines 4, 8: Nabû-bānī-ah son of Nabû-šum-ukīn was scribe of Texts 2 (Larsa, Nebuchadnezzar year 25) and 3 (Larsa, Nebuchadnezzar year 28). The city name is reconstructed as UD.UNUG.KI on prosopographic grounds.

#### TEXT 15

54 x 37 x 15 mm. The tablet is broken into three pieces, all of which have been joined. Baked.

9 *Arahsamnu*, Nebuchadnezzar year 25/November 8, 580 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 2 MA.NA 18 GIN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.「MU」.GAR-un  
 2. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>BA-ša<sub>2</sub>-a A LU<sub>2</sub> GIR<sub>2</sub>.LA<sub>2</sub> ina UGU-hi  
 3. <sup>1d</sup>AG-kib-su-LUGAL.URU<sub>3</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> qi<sub>2</sub>-i-pi  
 4. ša<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA <sup>1</sup>ina-SUH<sub>3</sub>.SUR A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.ŠEŠ.MU  
 5. DUMU LU<sub>2</sub> NAGAR LU<sub>2</sub> EN-pi-qit-ti ša<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> EN.NAM  
 6. <sup>1d</sup>UTU.MU.URU<sub>3</sub> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>NUN.ME LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID ša<sub>2</sub> 「E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR」.RA  
 7. <sup>1d</sup>UTU.MU.GUB A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>A-a A <sup>1d</sup>KUR.GAL.「KAL」

8. <sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.GIŠ A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>GAR.MU A LU<sub>2</sub> SIPA-i
9. LU<sub>2</sub> PA.MEŠ š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> [UD.UNUG<sup>1</sup>.KI
- Lo.E. 10. KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR KASKAL<sup>II</sup>-an š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> [RI(?) X X u<sub>2</sub>(?) X X<sup>1</sup> gi [X<sup>1</sup> ERIN<sub>2</sub>
11. [š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub>] <sup>d</sup>UTU na-ad-nu ina ITI.[ŠE KU<sub>3</sub>].BABBAR
- Rev. 12. [u<sup>1</sup>]-tu NI<sub>3</sub>.GA <sup>d</sup>UTU id-di-[nin]-nu
13. 1+EN pu-ut [2]-i na-šu-u
14. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>EN-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub>-nu A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>ŠU<sub>2</sub>.NUMUN.DU<sub>3</sub>
15. A <sup>1d</sup>EN.A.URU<sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup>šul-lum A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.KAM<sub>2</sub>
16. A <sup>1</sup>MU.<sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL <sup>1d</sup>EN.MU [A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>30<sup>1</sup>.MU
17. A <sup>1d</sup>EN.A.URU<sub>3</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.SUR A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.GI
18. A <sup>1</sup>na-[bu-un]-na-a-a <sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.URU<sub>3</sub>
19. A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.GAR-un A LU<sub>2</sub> A.ZU LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID
20. <sup>1</sup>za-kir A-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>DU<sub>10</sub>.GA-ia<sub>2</sub> A <sup>1</sup>ki-di-nu-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.[UTU]
- U.E. 21. UD.UNUG.KI ITI.APIN UD.9.KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.25.[KAM<sub>2</sub>]
22. <sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-9). 2 minas 18 shekels of silver belonging to Nabû-šum-iškun son of Iqīšā descendant of Tābiḥu is charged against the accounts of Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, qīpu of the Ebabbar, Ina-tēšī-ētir son of Nabû-ah-iddin descendant of Naggāru, the bēl piqitti ša bēl pīhati, Šamaš-šum-ušur son of Apkallu, šupšar ša Ebabbar, (and) Šamaš-šum-ukīn son of Aplā descendant of Amurru-udammiq (and) Šamaš-zēr-līšir son of Šakin-šum descendant of Rē'i, aklē ša Ebabbar of Larsa.

(9-11). Silver (for) a commercial venture . . . of Šamaš is given.

(11-12). In Addaru they will repay the silver from the assets of Šamaš.

(13). Each shall act as guarantor for the others.

(14-20). Witnesses: Bēlšunu son of Marduk-zēr-ibnī descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur, Šullum son of Nabû-ēreš

descendant of Iddin-Amurru, Bēl-iddin son of Sin-iddin  
descendant of Bēl-apla-uṣur, Nabû-ēṭir son of Nabû-  
uṣallim, descendant of Nabunnaya, Nabû-šum-uṣur son of  
Nabû-šum-iškun descendant of Asû, and scribe, Zākīr  
son of Tābiya descendant of Kidinu-Marduk.

(21-22). Larsa, 9 *Arahsamnu*, year 25 of  
Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Notes:

Line 6: Šamaš-šum-uṣur son of Apkallu is probably the same  
individual as Šamaš-šum-uṣur descendant of (*mār*) Apkallu who appears as  
scribe in YOS 17 19:15 (a loan of silver from the assets of Šamaš and  
Aya drafted at Larsa in Nebuchadnezzar year 21), and as LU<sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI-  
u-a in YOS 17 360:15 (impost given in Nebuchadnezzar year 14).

Line 7: Šamaš-šum-ukīn son of Aplā is probably the same  
individual as Šamaš-šum-ukīn descendant of (*mār*) Aplā who appears as  
witness in YOS 17 19:12.

Line 8: The individual named in line 8 is probably the same  
Šamaš-zēr-līšir son of Šākin-šum who appears as an untitled witness  
without descendant's name in 2:23.

Line 12: A number of unexpected spellings occur with the verb  
*nadānu*. The third sign in the verb here looks like *nin*, but could be  
clarified.

Line 15: On the spelling *šul-lum* (also in Nbn 312 5) for *šul-lu-*  
*mu* see Tallqvist, *NBN*, 205.

Text 15 records a loan of silver for four months by individual to  
five officers of the Ebabbar in Larsa for a commercial venture. The  
nature of the enterprise to be undertaken is by the Ebabbar is not clear



due to the poor state of preservation of line 10.

I am unable to find Nabû-šum-iškun son of Iqīšā descendant of Tābihu in other texts. If he was a private individual his influence at the Ebabbar must have been significant. However, it is also possible that Nabû-šum-iškun, and the silver loaned by him, belonged to an institution (another temple, perhaps?).<sup>30</sup> As seen in Chapter Three, Section 3, 2c, above, in the view of Weisberg the scribes of texts from the Neo-Babylonian Period did not always find it necessary to make a clear-cut distinction between private and public interests when recording business transactions.<sup>31</sup>

Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, *qīpu*, is well known from other Larsa texts (see Chapter 3, Section D,3, above). The other offices mentioned in Text 15 (see also the discussion in Chapter 3, Section D,3) are otherwise unattested at Larsa, although three of the office-holders, Šamaš-šum-ušur, Šamaš-šum-ukīn and Šamaš-zēr-līšir, are apparently found without title in other Larsa texts drafted prior to this one (YOS 17 360 = Nebuchadnezzar year 14; YOS 17 19 = Nebuchadnezzar year 21 and Text 2 = 16 *Nisanu*, Nebuchadnezzar year 25). As for reason these persons appear in some texts with title and in others without, at least three possibilities present themselves. First, it is possible that these men did not hold office when the earlier texts were drafted. While this explanation might be the most obvious, it is unlikely that such was the case for Šamaš-zēr-līšir inasmuch as his appearance in Text 2 predates

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<sup>30</sup>Note Gehlken, *Uruk I* 131, in which silver, property of Bēlet-Uruk and Nanā, was loaned to officers of the Ebabbar.

<sup>31</sup>D. B. Weisberg, review of *Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte*, by E. Gehlken, in *JNES*, forthcoming.

Text 15 by only seven months. Second, these officials may not have been acting in an official capacity in certain recorded transactions and hence appear there without title. In the case of Šamaš-zēr-līšir Text 2 recorded a transaction between private parties. However, both YOS 17 19 and YOS 17 360 record transactions involving temple property, and it is therefore likely, as a third possibility, that the scribes simply did not feel the necessity to record the titles in a manner consistent with our understanding of the nature of the transaction.

A related issue is the manner in which the scribes recorded the patronage of these same individuals. Beaulieu has noticed that, unlike the prominent business families of Babylon and Borsippa, the members of the family of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu never bear an ancestral name.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, he has remarked that few of the scribes of texts dated at Larsa bear ancestral names.<sup>33</sup> This latter comment appears in the context of his discussion of the scribal tradition of Larsa, a tradition which he has labeled "local" and "provincial," perhaps less-refined than that of scribes trained in the Uruk tradition.<sup>34</sup> It is our contention that the scribal tradition which flourished at Larsa was quite deliberate in the manner in which it recorded ancestor names, and that the way in which an individual's patronage was recorded had nothing to do with the fact that the scribe was from Larsa *per se* but rather was determined by the type of transaction recorded in the text. An analysis of all published texts drafted at Larsa in the Neo-Babylonian Period in

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<sup>32</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 66.

<sup>33</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 66.

<sup>34</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 66.

addition to the fourteen texts dated at Larsa edited herein reveals a clear pattern in the manner in which patronage was recorded by Larsa scribes. Texts which recorded transactions between private parties characteristically<sup>35</sup> do not include ancestor names. On the other hand, texts drafted at Larsa in which an institution was involved characteristically do include ancestor names. The breakdown is as follows: With a single exception, texts which recorded transactions in which the temple was party always include full patronage for many or all of the named individuals.<sup>36</sup> YOS 7 121, an order for guard duty, also includes ancestor names. AnOr 9 14 records a private transaction which includes ancestor names, but the silver involved was capital which had originally issued from the crown. In addition to these texts, only three other published texts drafted at Larsa list ancestor names, and these are the only three texts which deal with family rights.<sup>37</sup> Thus it is clear that scribes at Larsa included ancestor names if the text recorded transactions which involved the interests of an institution or a change in family rights. If the text recorded a transaction solely between private individuals, however, ancestor names apparently were not deemed necessary.

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<sup>35</sup> Exceptions are usually (certainly not incidentally!) the scribe; BIN 1 117:8,10 (scribe); BIN 2 119:3; ROMCT 2 10:13; and our texts 7:Rev. 4' (scribe); 8:16 (scribe); 9:3; 10:21,23 (scribe) and 13:2,4,10,11,13 (scribe).

<sup>36</sup> Beaulieu OrNs 60 72; Gehlken Uruk I, 131; YNER 1 5; YOS 6 10; YOS 6 11 (with duplicates); YOS 17 19; and our Text 15. The lone exception is Arnaud RA 68 178.

<sup>37</sup> Beaulieu OrNs 60 68-69 (gift of a slave to son by parents); YOS 6 124 (gift of a slave as dowry); and OECT 10 130 (marriage agreement).

C. Texts from Babylon, Borsippa and Dilbat. Four texts dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar which are included in the corpus of texts from the Horn Archaeological Museum were drafted at cities other than Larsa. These include one text from Babylon, two texts from Borsippa and one text from Dilbat.

# TEXT 16

51 x 35 x 19 mm. Baked.

Babylon, 4 Abu, Nebuchadnezzar year 2/July 20, 603 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1.  $^2$  MA<sup>1</sup>.NA KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>NI<sub>3</sub>.DU A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.GAL<sub>2</sub>-ši  
 2. A <sup>1d</sup>EN.A.PAB ina UGU <sup>1</sup>SAG.GIL  
 3. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ZALAG<sub>2</sub>-e-a A <sup>1</sup>ir-a-ni  
 4. ša<sub>2</sub> ITI ina UGU 1 ma-ni-e 2-TA ŠU<sup>II</sup>.MEŠ  
 5. KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR ina UGU-hi-šu i-rab-bi  
 6. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-nu <sup>1d</sup>EN.BA-ša<sub>2</sub>
- Lo.E. 7. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>e-še<sub>3</sub>-ru A <sup>1</sup>mu-šal-lim
- Rev. 8. <sup>1d</sup>UD.TIN-it A <sup>1</sup>[LU<sub>2</sub>] MA<sub>2</sub>.LAH<sub>4</sub>  
 9. u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1</sup>SUM-nu-nu [erasure] A  
 10. LU<sub>2</sub> TUG<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR TIN.[TIR].KI ITI.NE  
 11. [UD].4.KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.2.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 12. <sup>1d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.PAB  
 13. LUGAL [erasure] E.KI

(1-3). 2+ minas of silver belonging to Kudurri son of Nabû-ušabši descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur is charged against the account of Saggil son of Nūreya descendant of Irani.

(4-5). Monthly, 2/3 (shekel) of silver per mina shall accrue (as interest) against his account.

(6-10). Witnesses: Bēl-iqīša son of Eṭēru descendant of Mušallim, Šamaš-uballiṭ descendant of Malāhu and scribe, Iddinunu descendant of Pūšaya.

(10-13). Babylon, 4 Abu, year 2 Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Notes:

Line 8: <sup>1</sup>LU<sub>2</sub> MA<sub>2</sub>.LAH<sub>4</sub>, written with DIŠ preceeding LU<sub>2</sub>, is exceptional; cf. VAS 4 141:10 and CAD M/1 151a.

Line 9: Note that a Mušēzib-Marduk son of Iddinnu descendant of Pūšaya appears in YOS 6 235 25, a text dated at Uruk in Nabonidus year 12 (testimony concerning silver), fifty-nine years after Text 16.

Line 10: For the reading of LU<sub>2</sub> TUG<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR see YOS 17 pg. 63 n.104 and CAD A/2 447 sub. ašlāku.

TEXT 17

46 x 38 x 18 mm. The tablet has been broken into four pieces; three are joined and one is missing. Baked.

Borsippa, 17 Šabaṭu, Nebuchadnezzar year 20+/January-February, 584+ B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 6 GUR 1 (PI) [2 BAN<sub>2</sub>] [ŠE.BAR]  
2. ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ri-mut-[<sup>d</sup>X.X LU<sub>2</sub>]  
3. gal-la ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>A.[E<sub>2</sub>]. [X.X A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>X.X]  
4. A <sup>1</sup>TIN ina UGU-hi <sup>1</sup>TIN [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.A]. [X]  
5. A <sup>1</sup>[LU<sub>2</sub>] NAGAR u<sub>3</sub> <sup>1d</sup>EN.SU

6. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>ld</sup>AG-ga-mil ina ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub>
7. ŠE.BAR gam-mar<sub>2</sub>-MEŠ ina BAR.SIP.KI
8. i-nam-din-nu 1+EN pu-ut ša-ni-e
- Lo.E. 9. na-šu-u<sub>2</sub>
- Rev. 10. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-nu <sup>ld</sup>UTU.GI
11. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>IR<sub>3</sub>.<sup>d</sup>AG A <sup>1</sup>AŠ.SUR
12. [<sup>ld</sup>AG].PAB A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>ld</sup>A.E<sub>2</sub>.I
13. [A] LU<sub>2</sub> [BAHAR<sub>2</sub>] LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID
14. <sup>ld</sup>AG-ša<sub>2</sub>-[kin]-MU A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>ld</sup>AG.DU<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ
15. A LU<sub>2</sub> SIPA.GUD BAR.SIP.KI
16. ITI.ZIZ<sub>2</sub> UD.17.KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.[20+<sup>1</sup>].[KAM<sub>2</sub>]
17. <sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> [erasure]
- U.E. 18. LUGAL TIN.TIR.[KI]

(1-6). 6 kur 1 pān 2 sūt [of barley] belonging to Rīmūt-[. . .] the slave of Mār-bīti-[. . . son of . . .] descendant of Balātu, is charged against the accounts of Balātu son of Nabû-apla-[. . .] descendant of Naggāru and Bēl-erība son of Nabû-gāmil.

(6-8). In *Simanu* they shall repay the barley in full in Borsippa.

(8-9). Each shall act as guarantor for the other.

(10-15). Witnesses: Šamaš-ušallim son of Arad-Nabû descendant of Eda-eṭir, Nabû-nāgir son of Mār-bīti-nā'id descendant of Pahhāru (and) scribe, Nabû-šākin-šum son of Nabû-bānī-ah descendant of Rē'ī-alpi.

(15-18). Borsippa, 17 Šabaṭu, year 20+ of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

#### Notes:

The signs of this text are written in an uneven hand.

Line 5: <sup>h</sup>Naggāru as an ancestor name occurs both with and without the masculine determinative DIŠ; Tallqvist, NBN, 158.

Line 14: Possibly read <sup>ld</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> rather than <sup>ld</sup>AG-ša<sub>2</sub>-[kin]-MU.

Text 17 records a loan of barley for four months by a slave to two individuals in Borsippa.<sup>38</sup> Many slaves in sixth century Babylonia managed their own property (peculium), a practice described in detail by Dandamaev.<sup>39</sup> Often such slaves belonged to persons who were attached to large business houses (eg. Murašû, Egibi) and thereby benefited from the resources of the enterprise. The financial background of others, such as Rīmūt-[. . .] slave of Mār-bīti-[. . .] of the Balātu family mentioned in Text 17, is unknown.

#### TEXT 18

49 x 36 x 19 mm. The tablet is broken into five pieces, three of which are joined and two of which are missing. Baked.

Borsippa, X Abu, Nebuchadnezzar year 42/July-August, 563 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. [pu-ut LU<sub>2</sub>] [mu]-kin-nu-u<sub>2</sub>-tu  
2. [ša<sub>2</sub> X.X a]-gur-ru ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>SUM-na-[ŠEŠ]  
3. [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>X.X A] [<sup>1</sup>]ku-du-ra-nu

<sup>38</sup>Studies on archives from Borsippa include F. Joannès, Archives de Borsippa. La famille Ea-illûta-bâni: Étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII<sup>e</sup> au Ve siècle av. J.-C. (Genève: Droz, 1989); and G. van Driel, "Neo-Babylonian Texts from Borsippa," BiOr 49 (1992): 28-50.

<sup>39</sup>Dandamaev, Slavery, 320-71.

4. <sup>š</sup>a<sub>2</sub> la(?) X X ITI(?) X X<sup>1</sup> ME MU ša<sub>2</sub> 'X A šu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>
5. ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.GUB.DUMU.UŠ A <sup>1</sup>ar<sub>2</sub>-kat-'DINGIR.ME<sup>1</sup>
6. im-hu-ru <sup>1d</sup>UTU.ŠEŠ.MU
7. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.I A <sup>1</sup>ki-din-<sup>d</sup>30
8. na-ši <sup>1d</sup>UTU.ŠEŠ.MU
9. 'u<sub>2</sub>-ka<sup>1</sup>-ni-ma a-na
- Lo.E. 10. <sup>1d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>. [GUB.DUMU.UŠ i]-'nam-din<sup>1</sup>
- Rev. 11. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-'kin<sup>1</sup>-[nu <sup>1</sup>X.X.X A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>]
12. <sup>1</sup>lib-lu<sup>1</sup> A 'LU<sub>2</sub> ŠU<sup>1</sup>.I
13. <sup>1</sup>MU.GUB A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.LAL-is
14. A <sup>1d</sup>BE.EN.DINGIR.MEŠ
15. LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.GUB A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>[X]. 'X<sup>1</sup>
16. A [<sup>1</sup>X.X]. 'X<sup>1</sup> 'bar-sip<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-KI ITI. 'NE<sup>1</sup>
17. [UD.X]. 'KAM<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> MU.42.KAM<sub>2</sub>
18. [<sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>].DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-8). Šamaš-ah-iddin son of Nabû-nā'id descendant of Kidin-Sîn is responsible for seeing that Nādin-ahi son of [. . . descendant of] Kuduranu testifies [regarding . . . bricks] (and) regarding . . . which Nabû-mukīn-apli descendant of Arkāt-ilī received.

(8-9). Šamaš-ah-iddin will (also) testify.

(9-10). He will give (it) to Nabû-mukīn-apli.

(11-16). Witness[es: . . . son of] Liblu<sup>1</sup> descendant of Gallābu, Šum-ukīn son of Nabû-tāriš descendant of Ea-bēl-ilī (and) scribe, Nabû-šum-ukīn son of [. . .] descendant of [. . .].

(16-18). Borsippa, X Abu, year 42 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.



Notes:

Line 4: The traces at the end of line 4 may preserve a PN; if so, Nabû-mukîn-apli in line 5 is a father's name rather than party to the suretyship agreement.

Line 5: Possible prosopographic connections can be made with Nabû-mukîn-apli son of Nabû-šum-līšir descendant of Arkât-ilī (scribe of NBC 8364 = YOS 19 102,<sup>40</sup> drafted at Borsippa in Nabonidus year 7) or Nabû-mukîn-apli son of Bēl-ušallim descendant of Arkât-ilī (witness in Nbn 210 13, drafted at Borsippa in Nabonidus year 5).

Line 7: For the PN Kidin-Sîn see Tallqvist, NBN, 89a.

Text 18 records a guarantee of surety for testimony<sup>41</sup> regarding bricks. A matter regarding something which was received by Nabû-mukîn-apli and which may or may not be related to the bricks is also pertinent to the testimony. Clearly this text includes only some of the customary information necessary for a proper adjudication of the case; absent are the locality at which the testimony was to be heard, the name of the individual presiding over the testimony, perhaps the date of the preceeding, and a statement of penalty should the Nādin-ahi fail to appear. Such information is presumably contained in other texts related to the case.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>This text has been edited by Joannès, Archives de Borsippa, 143; 344-45.

<sup>41</sup>See also the comments of Text 11, another record of suretyship.

<sup>42</sup>Note the discussion of several texts related to a single case by J. W. Snyder, "Babylonian Suretyship Litigation: A Case History," JCS 9 (1955): 25-28.

## TEXT 19

48 x 41 x 18 mm. One corner of the tablet is broken away. Baked.  
Dilbat, Tebetu 17+, Nebuchadnezzar year 13/January 25+, 591 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. 8 GUR 1 PI ŠE.BAR SAG.DU NI<sub>3</sub>.GA <sup>d</sup>INNIN<sup>1</sup>. [DIL.BAD]  
 2. ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>URAŠ.DU<sub>3</sub>.NUMUN A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>za-kir  
 3. A <sup>1d</sup>BE-di-par-DINGIR.ME ina UGU <sup>1d</sup>URAŠ.MU  
 4. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ku-na-a A <sup>1</sup>SI.SA<sub>2</sub>-ri  
 5. 4 GUR ŠE.BAR SAG.DU NI<sub>3</sub>.GA <sup>d</sup>INNIN.DIL.BAD  
 6. ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>URAŠ.DU<sub>3</sub>.NUMUN ina UGU <sup>1d</sup>AG.DA  
 7. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG.NUMUN.DU<sub>3</sub> A <sup>1d</sup>BE-di-par-DINGIR.ME  
 8. a-na UGU 1 GUR 1 PI ŠE.BAR ina UGU-hi-šu<sub>2</sub>  
 9. ta-rab-bi ina ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> i-nam-di-[nu]  
 10. 1+EN pu-ut 2-i na-šu-<sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub>  
 Lo.E. 11. mim-mu-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu ša<sub>2</sub> URU u <sup>1</sup>EDIN<sup>1</sup>  
 12. ma-la ba-aš<sub>2</sub>-šu-<sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub> [maš-ka-nu]  
 13. [ša<sub>2</sub>] <sup>1d</sup>URAŠ.DU<sub>3</sub>.NUMUN LU<sub>2</sub> [ra-šu-u]  
 Rev. 14. ša<sub>2</sub>-nam-ma ina UGU ul <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[šal-laṭ]  
 15. a-di <sup>1d</sup>URAŠ.DU<sub>3</sub>.NUMUN <sup>1</sup>ŠE<sup>1</sup>. [BAR-šu<sub>2</sub>]  
 16. i-šal-<sup>1</sup>li-mu u<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-il<sub>3</sub>-tim <sup>1</sup>mah-ri-ti<sup>1</sup>  
 17. <sup>1</sup>he-pa<sup>1</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 18. LU<sub>2</sub> mu-kin-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> <sup>1d</sup>URAŠ.MU.DU<sub>3</sub>  
 19. [A]-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>GUB.A A <sup>1d</sup>BE.AN.GUD.DINGIR.ME  
 20. <sup>1d</sup>AG.MU A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub>-bar A <sup>1d</sup>NIN(?).KAM<sub>2</sub>(?)  
 21. <sup>1</sup>bar-ba-ru A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>EN.SUR [A <sup>1</sup>X.X]  
 22. LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID <sup>1d</sup>AG.SUR.<sup>1</sup>ZI<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ

23. [A]-š<sub>u</sub><sub>2</sub> š<sub>a</sub><sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>šil-la-a A <sup>1d</sup>BE.AN.[GUD].DINGIR.[ME]  
 U.E. 24. DIL.BAD.KI ITI.AB UD.[17+].KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 Le.E. 25. MU.13.KAM<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>MUATI.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.[URU<sub>3</sub>]  
 26. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI

(1-4). 8 *kur* 1 *pān* of barley, capital amount, property of Innin-[Dilbat] belonging to Uraš-bānī-zēr son of Zākir descendant of Ea-dipar-ilī, is charged against the account of Uraš-iddin son of Kunā descendant of Liširi.

(5-7). 4 *kur* of barley, capital amount, property of Innin-Dilbat belonging to Uraš-bānī-zēr, is charged against the account of Nabû-lē'ī son of Nabû-zēr-ibnī descendant of Ea-dipar-ilī.

(8-9). 1 *pān* of barley shall accrue as interest per *kur*.

(9). In *Simanu* they shall repay (it).

(10). Each shall act as guarantor for the other.

(11-14). Their property, whether in city or country, whatever they have, [is pledged to] Uraš-bānī-zēr.

(14-16). No other creditor shall have control until Uraš-bānī-zēr receives his barley.

(16-17). The former document of credit is destroyed.

(18-23). Witnesses: Uraš-šum-ibnī son of Mukīn-apli descendant of Ea-qarrad-ilī, Nabû-iddin son of Ubar descendant of Bēlet-ēreš, Barbaru son of Bēl-ētir descendant of [. . .], (and) scribe, Nabû-ētir-napšāti son of Šilla descendant of Ea-qarrad-ilī.

(24-26). Dilbat, 17+ *Tebet*, day 13 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

#### Notes:

Lines 1,5,10: The first upright of both the <sup>d</sup>INNIN sign and the 1+EN sign is written as a horizontal, an orthographic peculiarity of

this scribe.

Line 2: The za sign is written with three upright wedges, a variation attested in the same PN (Zākir) in a text from Dilbat (BRM 1 54:15; cf. Fossey, Manuel, 33932.

Lines 3, 7: Note the spelling of the PN in Dar 479:15: <sup>d</sup>e-a-di-pa-ri-ili

Line 9: The verbal form is *tarabbi*, fem., rather than the expected *irabbi*.

Line 20: <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ēreš is conventionally writted <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN.KAM<sub>2</sub>.

Only a few Neo-Babylonian texts drafted at Dilbat are known,<sup>43</sup> and a full study of the corpus is necessary. Stolper has advanced evidence that during the Late Achaemenid Period Dilbat was under the commercial and (temple) administrative domain of Babylon, lying 30 miles to the north.<sup>44</sup> It is likely that a similar situation attained there during the sixth century B.C.E. in light of the centuries-old tie between the northern centers of Babylon, Dilbat and Borsippa, but the particulars await further study.

D. Texts of Unknown Provenance. The remaining five texts edited herein are of unknown provenance. The city name contained in the dating formulae of Texts 20 and 22-24 has been destroyed and Text 21, a notation of indebtedness, does not include a city name in its dating formula.

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<sup>43</sup>Zadok, RGTC, 118-19; cf. E. Unger, "Topographie der Stadt Dilbat," ArOr 3 (1931): 26.

<sup>44</sup>M. Stolper, "Late Achaemenid Texts from Dilbat," Iraq 54 (1992): 119-39. Stolper's study includes a text from the Horn Archaeological Museum (73.2957) dated to Artaxerxes year 22 (443 or 383 B.C.E.).

TEXT 20

42 x 26 x 10 mm, fragment, obverse largely destroyed. Baked.

16 *Ululu*, Nebuchadnezzar year 2/August 31, 603 B.C.E.

Obv. 1. [X GUR ZU<sub>2</sub>.LUM].<sup>1</sup>MA ZAG.LU<sup>1</sup>

2. [. . . . .]

3. [. . . . .]

4. [. . . . .].<sup>1</sup>GUR<sup>1</sup>(?)

(space for approximately 6 lines broken away)

Rev. 1' [. . .] <sup>1d</sup>UTU.GUB.A <sup>1</sup>A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>[. . .]

2' [A LU<sub>2</sub>] <sup>1</sup>SANGA<sup>1</sup> DIL.BAT.KI <sup>1</sup>kur-ban-ni

3' [A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>] <sup>1</sup>ri-mut A LU<sub>2</sub>!.DIM<sub>2</sub>!

4' [u LU<sub>2</sub>] <sup>1</sup>ŠID<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>im-bi-ia A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1d</sup>EN.KAR-[ir]

5' [. . .].<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> ITI.KIN UD.16.KAM<sub>2</sub>

U.E. 6' <sup>1</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>.2.KAM<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub>

7' [LUGAL TIN].<sup>1</sup>TIR<sup>1</sup>.KI

(1-4). X *kur* of dates, the estimated yield

. . .

(space for approximately 6 lines broken away)

(Rev 1'-4'). [Witnesses: . . .] Šamaš-mukīn-apli son of [. . . descendant of] Šangū-Dilbat, Kurbanni [son of] Rīmūt descendant of Itinnu [and] scribe, Imbiya son of Bēl-ētir.

(Rev 5'-7'). [. . .], 16 *Ululu*, year 2 of Nebuchadnezzar, [King of Ba]bylon.

Notes:

Line Rev. 3': In writing LU<sub>2</sub>!.DIM<sub>2</sub>! the scribe apparently was influenced by the signs KUR.BAN in line 2' directly above.

Line Rev. 4': There appears to be no room on the tablet for an ancestor name for the scribe.

The name of the city at which Text 20 was drafted has been broken away. It is possible that the text was drafted at Larsa although the early date (Nebuchadnezzar year two) might suggest otherwise; certainly the date is too early for the Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive.

TEXT 21

48 X 33 x 18 mm. The top left corner of the obverse appears to have been pressed flat after it was inscribed and before the clay had dried. Baked.

27 *Addaru*, Nebuchadnezzar year 23/March 16, 581 B.C.E.

- Obv. 1. [gi-nu-u<sub>2</sub>] ša LU<sub>2</sub> MU u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠIM×GAR  
 2. ša<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub>.<sup>d</sup>NIN.GIR<sub>2</sub>.SU  
 3. TA UD.1.KAM<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> ITI.ŠE.MIN EN UD.1.KAM<sub>2</sub>  
 4. ša<sub>2</sub> ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> <sup>1d</sup>AG-eri<sub>4</sub>-ba  
 5. u <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>EN-ab-ni e-ṭir-'  
 6. 2 GUR ŠE.BAR-su-nu ri-hi-it  
 7. ŠE.BAR eš-[še ina UD.10.KAM<sub>2</sub>] na-aš<sub>2</sub>-šu-u<sub>2</sub>  
 Rev. 8. ina GUB ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>šu-la-a  
 9. A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>[šul]-lum-ma-a

10. <sup>1d</sup>EN.<sup>1</sup>na-din-DUMU.US<sup>1</sup> A-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> GUB.A
11. <sup>1d</sup>AG-bul-liṭ-an-ni
12. ITI.ŠE UD.27.KAM<sub>2</sub> MU.23.KAM<sub>2</sub>
13. <sup>1d</sup>AG.NI<sub>3</sub>.DU.URU<sub>3</sub> LUGAL NUN.KI

(1-5). Nabû-erība and Itti-Bēl-abni have paid (a portion of) the regular offering belonging to the baker's and the brewer's (prebend) of the Ningirsu Temple (for the period) from 1 *Addaru* II to 1 *Simanu*.

(6). 2 *kur* of their barley (is the) balance (due).

(7). Fresh barley shall be brought on day 10.

(8-11). In the presence of Šulā son of Šullummaya, Bēl-nādin-apli son of Mukīn-apli (and) Nabû-bulliṭanni.

(12-13). 27 *Addaru*, year 23 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

#### Notes:

Line 1: The baker's and brewer's prebends are probably intended although LU<sub>2</sub> MU u LU<sub>2</sub> ŠIM×GAR are written without phonetic compliments.

Line 3-4, 12: There was an intercalary *Addaru* during the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar. The three month period of time referred to in lines 3-4 (1 *Addaru* II through 1 *Simanu*) began two days after the drafting of this tablet (27 *Addaru*).

Line 5: For the reading <sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>EN-ab-ni see Tallqvist, *NBN*, 82.

Line 5: The use of the UMUN sign following a final consonant is unusual; see 11:12 (*i-nam-din-u'*) and TCL 118 10 (*u<sub>2</sub>-uṭ-tir'*).

Line 7: For eššu as an adjective describing newly gathered produce (NB) see BRM 1 97:1,12; cf. *CAD* E 375b.

Line 8: *ina* GUB-zu  $\check{s}a_2$  is expected. While *ina* GUB  $\check{s}a_2$  is unusual, it appears in Nbn 278 5; Nbn 444 6; Nbn 657 8; and Nbn 1024 5,9. *ina* GUB-zu  $\check{s}a_2$  normally indicates that the following PNs are officials, but patronymics rather than titles are given here. I am unable to find these individuals otherwise attested with titles.

Line 9: For the reading *šul-lum-ma-a* with doubled-*m* see BIN 1 114 4,15 (*šul-lum-mu*).

Line 11: Nabû-bulliṭanni stands without patronymics, which is unexpected for a witness. Perhaps Nabû-bulliṭanni is to be understood as the ancestor of Bēl-nādin-apli and Mukīn-apli with the assumption that the scribe omitted the A (*mār*) following GUB.A at the end of line 10 (haplography).

Text 21 records a note of indebtedness regarding barley for the *ginū*-offering belonging to the baker's and brewer's prebend of the Ningirsu Temple for a period of three months. The note states the amount of barley outstanding, the day when it was due and the quality of barley (*eššu*, "fresh") required.

Of particular interest is the mention of a Ningirsu temple in line 2. A temple with the name  $E_2.NIN.GIR_2.SU$  is unknown in cuneiform literature. The best attested temple dedicated to Ningirsu was the Eninnu ("House of Fifty") at Girsu (Tello), a temple which was praised at length by Gudea in the twenty-second century B.C.E.<sup>45</sup> Gudea's inscription mentions fifty-two names connected with the Eninnu, none of

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<sup>45</sup>See A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš*, Teil I: Einleitung. AnOr 30. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1966), 116-43.



which includes the name Eningirsu. Although the Eninnu must have been the dominant building of Girsu in the third millennium, its plan has not been uncovered in archaeological excavations.<sup>46</sup> In addition, excavations have revealed only isolated and fragmentary evidence that the mound at Tello was inhabited during the first millennium prior to some building activity in the second century B.C.E.<sup>47</sup> Due to the poor state of preservation of the mound it is possible that the Eninnu survived in a greatly reduced form at Tello under the name Eningirsu into the Neo-Babylonian Period eventhough the structure has not been verified archaeologically. However, because neither the name Girsu nor Lagaš appear in texts of *any* kind from the Neo-Babylonian Period, it is unlikely that a temple was active at Tello in the sixth century B.C.E. It is also possible that the great temple tradition of Girsu--in whole or in part--was relocated to another site, perhaps to the Ninurta temple which is known to have existed in Babylon during the Neo-Babylonian Period.<sup>48</sup> A third possibility is that the E-Ningirsu was a chapel within an active temple complex.

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<sup>46</sup>A. Parrot, Tello: Vingt Campagnes de Fouilles (1877-1933), (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1948), 150-58; see also E. Heinrich, Die Tempel und Heiligtümer in alten Mesopotamien: Typologie, Morphologie und Geschichte, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982), 139-43. Apparently the methodology employed by de Sarzec during the early campaigns coupled with extensive pillaging have hindered Parrot and others from recovering and positively identifying the temple complex.

<sup>47</sup>Parrot, Tello, 309-14. Several bricks bearing the name Adad-nādin-ahhē in Aramaic and Greek (second century B.C.E.) have been found over the ruins of what Parrot thinks might be the Eninnu, suggesting that that ruler built a palace on the site. Other finds of note include some figurines and a few Neo-Babylonian texts from Ur.

<sup>48</sup>See E. Heinrich, Die Tempel und Heiligtümer in alten Mesopotamien: Typologie, Morphologie und Geschichte, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1982), 317.

TEXT 22

39 x 27 mm. The tablet is very fragile and would break into pieces if turned over. Not baked.

Date broken.

- Rev. 1'. [X X X *ri*(?) *šu*<sub>2</sub>] [. . .]  
 2'. LU<sub>2</sub> *mu-kin-nu* <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-*tu* A-*šu*<sub>2</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub>  
 3'. <sup>1d</sup>EN.A.MU <sup>1d</sup>[AMAR.UTU]. [X.X]  
 4'. A-*šu*<sub>2</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub> <sup>1d</sup>UTU-*ina*-SUH<sub>3</sub>.SUR  
 5'. [X X X X A(?) - *šu*<sub>2</sub>(?) *ša*<sub>2</sub>(?)<sup>1</sup>] [. . .]  
 6'. [LU<sub>2</sub> ŠID<sup>1</sup> <sup>1d</sup>AG.EN<sup>1</sup>.DINGIR.MEŠ [A-*šu*<sub>2</sub> *ša*<sub>2</sub>]  
 7'. <sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.X-*ra*(?)-X<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 8'. [X X X] [X<sup>1</sup>] [. . .]

(1'). . . .

(2'-7'). Witnesses: Zērūtu son of Bēl-apla-iddin,  
 Marduk-[. . .] son of Šamaš-ina-tešī-ētir, [. . . son  
 of(?) . . .] and scribe, Nabû-bēl-ilī [son of] Nergal-  
 . . .

(7'-8'). [. . . year X of Nebuchadnezzar, king of  
 Babylon.]

Notes:

The signs of this text are written in a delicate hand.

Line 1': The first sign of line 1' could be a number and is possibly written as an overerasure.

# TEXT 23

52 x 38 mm. The tablet is crumbling. Not baked.

Date broken.

- 1'. [ . . . . . ]
- 2'. [ . . . . . ] <sup>1d</sup>EN.NUMUN
- 3'. [X X] [X KAŠ] [X] <sup>X</sup>.DU<sub>3</sub> [A(?) - šu<sub>2</sub>(?)<sup>1</sup> ša<sub>2</sub>
- 4'. [X] GUB [X] UD [X] [X X] [X]
- 5'. [X] [X] <sup>d</sup>UTU [X X] [ . . . . . ]
- 6'. [X] [RI] UD [X X] [ . . . . . ]
- 7'. [ . . . . . ] u<sub>2</sub> [ . . . . . ]

(1'-7'). [ . . . ] Bēl-zēr [ . . . ] son(?) of  
[ . . . ] Šamaš [ . . . ] and [ . . . ]

# TEXT 24

49 x 38 x 21 mm. The tablet is crumbling and is broken into several pieces. Not baked.

Date broken.

- 1'. [ . . . . . ] <sup>1d</sup>X].GI
- 2'. [A(?) - šu<sub>2</sub>(?) ša<sub>2</sub>(?) <sup>1</sup>] <sup>d</sup>AG.[X]. [X . . . ]
- 3'. [ . . . ] [X].DU<sub>3</sub> [ . . . . . ]
- 4'. [ . . . . . ] 30(?) [LUGAL]
- 5'. [ . . . . . ] [X X] ŠE.[BAR(?)<sup>1</sup>
- 6'. [ . . . . . ] [X] [X X]

(1'-6'). [. . .]-ušallim [son of(?)] Nabû-[. . .]  
barley(?) [. . .]

CHAPTER FIVE  
TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF INTERCITY RELATIONS  
BETWEEN LARSA AND URUK  
DURING THE NEO-BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Textual and archaeological evidence reveals that the city of Larsa was a dynamic economic and religious center in southern Babylonia from at least the middle of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar through the early Achaemenid Period. Although the volume of evidence shedding light on Larsa after the accession of Darius I is much less by comparison, it is nevertheless sufficient to posit significant activity at Larsa into the Hellenistic Period and beyond.

The textual basis for reconstructing life at Larsa during the Neo-Babylonian Period is broad enough to allow the historian a variety of perspectives. On the one hand, the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balātu son of Labāši offers an inside look at the business dealings of a prominent entrepreneur. On the other hand, legal and administrative documents and letters related to Ebabbar activities reveal an active and viable temple economy and even provide a glimpse at cultic activities. Clearly Larsa participated fully in the revival of fortunes which crested in southern Babylonia during the sixth century B.C.E.

The eleven texts from the archive of Itti-Šamaš-balātu edited for the first time in Chapter Four provide an important contribution to our understanding of private economy in Larsa during the sixth century B.C.E. These new texts suggest that Itti-Šamaš-balātu began his business activities with the aid of royal patronage at least as early as

the twenty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar, at about the same time that the king sought to restore the physical structure of the Ebabbar.<sup>1</sup> Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu's business activities occasionally involved both royal<sup>2</sup> and temple<sup>3</sup> interests. We now know that Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu used his skills as a scribe in his own business operations.<sup>4</sup> Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu's involvement as creditor in transactions involving silver is now attested in three texts.<sup>5</sup> For a period of time Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu engaged in business operations with Rīmūt-Bēl son of Nādin-apli. This partnership involved in one instance loaning barley which had been gained through *harrānu* activities to a third party,<sup>6</sup> thus providing evidence for at least one connection between the *harrānu* activities of Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and his issuance of promissory notes. As might be expected, members of the family of Labāši other than Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu and his son Arad-Šamaš were also involved in business<sup>7</sup> and scribal<sup>8</sup> activities.

Reference has been made in this study to the conclusion of Beaulieu that Larsa was administratively dependent on Uruk during the

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<sup>1</sup>Texts 1-3.

<sup>2</sup>Text 3; AnOr 9 14; NCBT 958.

<sup>3</sup>Text 11; YNER 1 5; Beaulieu OrNs 60 72 (= YOS 19 55); Steigers JCS 28 50.

<sup>4</sup>Texts 4, 6, 11 and 12.

<sup>5</sup>Texts 6 and 7; AnOr 9 14.

<sup>6</sup>Text 5.

<sup>7</sup>Šamaš-zēr-iddin son of Labāši (Text 6 and BIN 2 113).

<sup>8</sup>Šamaš-kāṣir son of Šamaš-zēr-iddin (Beaulieu OrNs 60 68-69) and Šamaš-ahhē-erība son of Šamaš-zēr-iddin (BIN 2 113).

Neo-Babylonian Period.<sup>9</sup> Beaulieu's position is founded primarily on the evidence of commodities moving from Uruk to Larsa--usually at the request of officials of the Ebabbar--for the timely functioning of Ebabbar cultic activities. While this evidence cannot be gainsaid, one must at the same time be careful not to give it undue weight. There are several indications that Larsa still should be seen first as a viable urban center in its own right, with an old tradition of self-sufficiency that remained largely intact in spite of political and economic forces which pressed upon it from outside its own borders.

First, it must be emphasized that very few texts from the Neo-Babylonian Period have been found at Larsa. Those texts that are known to have come from the ruins of Tell es-Sinkarah are almost exclusively building inscriptions. The letters and economic texts which report Ebabbar activities were found in the archives of the Eanna in Uruk. One might suspect that these records were deposited in the Eanna archives *just because* they reported activities which were of importance to the Eanna; hence, by them we view the Ebabbar through the eyes of the Eanna. At the same time, however, an archive of the magnitude of the Eanna could also become a repository for texts which were not related to Eanna activities. For example, records of the private archive of Nergal-nāšir son of Nanā-ibni were stored in the Eanna.<sup>10</sup> Although the provenance of the Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive is unknown, it, too, may have come from

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<sup>9</sup>Beaulieu, The Reign of Nabonidus, 88; "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 59-60.

<sup>10</sup>M. Dandamaev, "The Economy of the Uruk Region in the 6-5th Centuries B.C. (Nergal-nāšir, son of Nanā-ibni)," in Tenth International Economic History Congress, Leuven, 1990, Session B-16: The Town as Regional Economic Center in the Ancient Near East, Proceedings, vol. 20, eds. E. Aerts and H. Klengel (Leuven: University Press, 1990), 7.

the storerooms of the Eanna.<sup>11</sup> The very fact that non-Eanna texts were stored in the Eanna speaks of the important position which that institution held in southern Babylonia during the sixth century B.C.E. Nevertheless, due to the nature of the available evidence our understanding of Larsa and the Ebabbar is prone to be shaped by Eanna priorities. An archive located within the confines of the Ebabbar has yet to be uncovered; should it be so, our understanding of the role of the Ebabbar and Larsa in southern Babylonia is sure to be modified.

A second factor which must be considered in an attempt to understand the role of Larsa within southern Babylonia is the political authority which issued out of Babylon and later, via Babylon, from Persia. During the sixth century B.C.E. urban southern Babylonia was largely unified, its cohesion grounded not only in an ancient shared culture but also by a native ruling dynasty. Yet one might still expect to see a tension on the city level between a desire for self-sufficiency on the one hand and a need for interdependence on the other, a tension located in the forces which worked to define the role of each urban area within the political arena of the whole. As the crown began to increase its control over the temples during the reign of Nabonidus, it becomes increasingly difficult to separate from our vantage point the respective priorities--political and economic--of each. As an example, when visiting Larsa during his first regnal year Nabonidus issued orders pertinent to the reorganization of the Eanna. Why he undertook this activity at Larsa and not at Uruk, a city which was also on his

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<sup>11</sup>Cf. Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 74.



itinerary, has yet to be explained. Beaulieu remarks,<sup>12</sup>

It seems strange that the affairs of the Eanna were settled at Larsa, while this city was normally dependent upon Uruk in the Neo-Babylonian Period.

The actions of Nabonidus present a difficulty only if one assumes that Larsa was "normally" dependent on Uruk at the time. Rather, the choice of Nabonidus to issue his orders from Larsa may have had political overtones: while acknowledging his loyalty to the ancient temple cities, Nabonidus was careful to show that political realities superseded intertemple priorities. Regardless of the shape of other authority structures within southern Babylonia, Uruk and Larsa were together subservient to the crown.

Third, does the evidence of intertemple activity point more toward competition or cooperation? There is little to suggest outright competition between the Ebabbar and the Eanna. One instance might be YOS 3 33, in which the *ša reš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna* requested that 100 workmen currently occupied in the *Raqqat-Šamaš* be made available for his own use. It is not clear from this text, however, whether these men were already working on Eanna holdings. On the other hand, there is much to suggest some sort of cooperation between the temples. Apparently both the Eanna and the Ebabbar maintained agricultural interests within the vicinity of each other's base of operations, the former in the *Raqqat-Šamaš*<sup>13</sup> and the latter in *Šaṭiru*, northeast of

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<sup>12</sup>Beaulieu, "Neo-Babylonian Larsa," 88.

<sup>13</sup>YOS 3 117.

Uruk.<sup>14</sup> At least two texts record loans issued by persons affiliated with the Eanna to individuals from the Ebabbar.<sup>15</sup> Five texts speak of work of one temple being performed by craftsmen of the other; in four instances the assistance of craftsmen belonging to the Eanna was needed by the Ebabbar<sup>16</sup> but at least once, according to Joannès,<sup>17</sup> the work was performed by the Ebabbar for the Eanna. Whether the disbursement of commodities from the Eanna to the Ebabbar indicates cooperation between the temples or should be seen as mere dependency of the latter on the former is a matter of emphasis. That commodities also moved from Larsa to the Eanna<sup>18</sup> suggests something more than a one-way dependency. It is clear that Uruk, the dominant urban center of southern Babylonia, did function as a kind of supply center for area cities and towns when needed. At the same, however, time Uruk itself was occasionally in need to be resupplied with staples or specialized items from Babylon and other cities.<sup>19</sup>

Much work remains to be done in order to widen the perspective through which Neo-Babylonian Larsa can be viewed. The textual base can be broadened in at least three ways. First, a careful scrutiny of all

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<sup>14</sup>BIN 2 108; YOS 7 156.

<sup>15</sup>AnOr 8 10; Gehlken Uruk I 131.

<sup>16</sup>GCCI 1 386; YOS 6 51; 53; 82.

<sup>17</sup>TBER 10 AO 6799.

<sup>18</sup>YOS 3 62.

<sup>19</sup>Barley (BIN 1 29; TCL 9 108; YOS 3 53; 77; 81; 165; 171), wool (TCL 9 116; YOS 3 11; 114), sheep (YOS 3 26), silver (YOS 3 68) and alum (YOS 3 124); see M. Dandamaev, "Nādin, a Scribe of the Eanna Temple," 401. Note again YOS 3 62 mentioned above (pomegranates and "whatever is needed for Eanna").

texts which mention Šamaš or the Ebabbar and are not clearly from Sippar--published and unpublished--is certain to reveal additional prosopographic ties with Larsa. Second, the recent publication of thousands of Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid economic texts from Sippar<sup>20</sup> has provided ample material by which comparative studies can be made between the northern (Sippar) and southern (Larsa) Ebabbar temples. Third, a study of the intercity relations of other ancient temple cities such as Ur (with Uruk), Dilbat (with Babylon) and Borsippa (with Babylon) will provide important insights by which a more complete picture of the urban dynamic of sixth-century Babylonia can be gained.

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<sup>20</sup>CT 55-57.

## APPENDIX 1

### NEO-BABYLONIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS MENTIONING LARSA OR FOUND AT LARSA

#### A. Nabopolassar

Arnaud, Syria 53 48 14; 80 (L.74.7) (cylinder)

Content illegible

Found at Larsa

#### B. Nebuchadnezzar

Ball, PSBA 10 359-68 with Pl. 1-8 (cylinder fragment)

Building the Eulla temple in Sippar

Found at Sippar

(= VAB IV 102-13, no. 13; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 292)

Jacobsen, CTNMC 62-67 no. 79 (cylinder)

Building the Lugal-Marad temple in Marad

Provenience unknown, but other exemplars of this text have  
been found at Marad

(= VAB IV 70-77, no. 1 (i 1-iii 19); 78-79, no. 2; cf.  
Berger, AOAT 4/1, 277-84)

Legrain, PBS 15 76 (cylinder fragment adding lines to VAB IV 144-  
49, no. 17)

Restoration of the Etemenanki ziggurat in Babylon

Provenience unknown, but fragments containing other lines  
have been found at Susa and Babylon

(cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 295-97)

1 R 51 no. 2 (cylinder)

Restoration of the Ebabbar temple in Larsa

Numerous exemplars (fragments and partial duplicates of  
bricks) have been found at Larsa, including Birot, Syria  
45 243; Arnaud, Syria 48 293 (L.70.86 and L.70.87);  
Arnaud, Syria 53 48 8; 80 (L.70.86 and L.70.87); 81

(L.74.9); and Arnaud Larsa et 'Oueili 1978-1981 354-56 4  
(= VAB IV 96-97, no. 10, with variants; cf. Berger, AOAT  
4/1, 249-51)

1 R 52 no. 5 (brick)

Restoration of the Ebabbar temple in Larsa

Numerous exemplars (fragments and partial duplicates) have  
been found at Larsa, including Birot, Syria 45 242-43;  
Arnaud, Syria 48 292; and Arnaud, Syria 53 48 9.  
(= VAB IV 204-5, no. 45; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 216, 225)

Unger, Babylon 282-94 no. 26 (prism)

*Hofkalender*/"Court List" of Nebuchadnezzar

Found at Babylon

(cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 313)

Weißbach, WVDOG 5 Pl. 7-41 (Wadi Brisa Inscription)

Campaign to the northern Levant to secure timber

Found at Wadi Brisa near Hermel, Lebanon

(= VAB IV 150-77, no. 19; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 316-18)

### C. Nabonidus

Bezold, PSBA 11 92-103 no. 2 with Pl. 3-5 (cylinder)

Restoration of the Ebabbar temple in Larsa

Three exemplars (fragments) have been found at Larsa:

Arnaud, Syria 48 293 = Arnaud, Syria 53 80 (L.70.17); and

Charpin, Larsa 1985 186 and 187

(= Beaulieu no. 9 and VAB IV 234-43, no. 3; cf. Berger, AOAT  
4/1, 369-70)

CT 34 Pl. 26-37 = I R 69 (fragments, Barrel-Cylinder of Nabonidus)

Restoration of the Ebabbar temples in Sippar and Larsa and  
the Eulmaš temples in Agade and Sippar-Anunitum

Found at Ur and probably Sippar

(= Beaulieu no. 16 and Langdon, AJSL 32 (1915-16): 102-17  
superseding VAB IV 242-51, no. 4; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1,  
377-78)

Gadd, AnSt 8 56-69 (basalt stela, Nabonidus H2, A and B)

Restoration of the Ehulhul temple in Harran

Found at Harran

Fragments found at Larsa, Arnaud, Sumer 44 48-50 2

(= Beaulieu no. 13; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 383)

Messerschmidt, MVAG 1 73-83 (basalt stela)

Statement of intent to restore the Ehulhul temple in Harran

Found at Babylon

(= Beaulieu no. 1 and VAB IV 270-89, no. 8; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1, 384-86)

I R 68 no. 4 (brick)

Titulary

Numerous exemplars have been found at Larsa including

Arnaud, Syria 48 292

(= Beaulieu no. 12 and VAB IV 294-95, no. 12; cf. Berger, AOAT 4/1 348-49)

## APPENDIX 2

### LETTERS

#### A. Neo-Babylonian Letters From Larsa

The letters described in this appendix are placed in approximate chronological order based on prosopographic considerations.

<u>Text</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Topic</u>
BIN 1 50	Nabû-kibsu-šar- uṣur	Nabû-bānī-ah	Report that various commodities have not been received which has resulted in a stoppage of work
YOS 3 101	Nādin-ahi	Šatammu	Request for dates for the <i>ginû</i> -offering for Šamaš
BIN 1 67	Nādin-ahi	Šatammu Nabû-ah-iddin	Request for wine for the <i>ginû</i> -offering for Šamaš
YOS 3 18	Nādin-ahi	Šatammu Nabû-ah-iddin	Report that since sender is hard pressed, he has not been able to perform various duties; request for sheep and wine for Šamaš
YOS 3 49	Nādin-ahi	Šatammu Nabû-ah-iddin	Request for wool for clothing, and for wine
YOS 3 51	Nādin-ahi	Šatammu Nabû-ah-iddin	Request for workmen for litter poles; request for worked leather products, ghee, dried figs and a silver <i>našappu</i> -vessel for the <i>eššešu</i> -festival

<u>Text</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Topic</u>
YOS 3 89	Nādin-ahi	Šatammu Nabû-ah-iddin	Request for worked leather products, honey, ghee and raisins for the procession of Šamaš, and fine oil for rubbing on a canopy
YOS 3 56	Nādin-ahi	Nādin	Request for cattle and sheep for the <i>ginû</i> - offering for Šamaš
YOS 3 99	Nādin-ahi	Nādin	Request for sheep for the <i>ginû</i> -offering
YOS 3 100	Nādin-ahi	Nādin	Request for honey and ghee for preparations for an offering
YOS 3 54	Balāṭsu Nadintu-Šamaš	Nādin	Request for wine for the <i>ginû</i> - and <i>guqqû</i> - offerings and ducks
YOS 3 93	Balāṭsu Nidintu-Šamaš	Nādin Kinā Balāṭu Murānu	Request for birds and eggs
YOS 3 94	Balāṭsu Nidintu-Šamaš	Balāṭu	Request for wool so that work for Šamaš will not stop
BIN 1 5	Nergal-ēpuš	Nādin Balāṭu	Request for silver and silver cups for Larsa
TCL 9 134	Šamaš-hatin-enši	Nādin Kinā Murānu Balāṭu	Request for birds for the <i>eššešu</i> -festival



<u>Text</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Topic</u>
BIN 1 1	Iltameš-'idrī Iddin-Šamšu	Šatammu	Request for cattle for Šamaš; request to make dates available in Uruk
BIN 1 10	Iltameš-'idrī Itti-enši-Nabû	Šatammu Nabû-ah-iddin	Request for sacred clothing for Bēlet-Larsa
YOS 3 78	Iltameš-'idrī	Šatammu Nabû-ah-iddin	Request for a copper vessel for the <i>ginû</i> - offering in exchange for one sent
YOS 3 82	Iltameš-'idrī	Šatammu Sîn-šar-ušur	Request for workmen for litter poles; request for worked leather products, figs, raisins and wine for the <i>ginû</i> - offering for Šamaš
BIN 1 21	Itti-enši-Nabû Šamaš-ah-iddin	Amurru-zēr-ibnī Bēl-nādin-apli Mušēzib-Bēl Marduk Innin-zēr-ušabši	Request for receipt for <i>hūratu</i> -dye which was sent to Uruk; request for wine for Ebabbar; report that Esagila was notified about shortage of wine
TCL 9 133	Itti-enši-Nabû Šamaš-ahhē-erība	Kinā	Report that wine from Babylon has not arrived; request for wine for the <i>ginû</i> -offering

<u>Text</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Topic</u>
YOS 3 62	Šamaš-ah-iddin	Šatammu	Request for receipt for pomegranates which were sent for the <i>ginû</i> -offering for Bēlet-Uruk and for the Šatammu; request for a garment for Antu and for aromatics for the <i>ginû</i> -offering for Antu and Mār-bīti; request for bronze objects and wax; statement that whatever is needed for Eanna in return for these commodities will be sent
YOS 3 92	Nādin Zēriya	Guzanu Arrab	Report that cattle as ordered by the Šatammu and Nabû-ah-iddin to be sent did not arrive; request for cattle, wine for the <i>ginû</i> -offering and a bird
TCL 9 131	Apkallu Innin-šum-ibni	Šatammu	Report on various temple matters including the status of a sheep belonging to Nabû-ēpuš, the Šandabakku ša Šamaš, the status of a temple servant (Širku) and reassurance that the city watch is being properly performed

## B. Other Neo-Babylonian Letters Mentioning Larsa

<u>Text</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Topic</u>
GCCI 2 395	Mukīn-Marduk	[King of Lands]	Report that a Babylonian had fled to Media and then killed his slave who had been sent to him with an order from the king, and that the criminal has not yet been extradited; the offense involved a person described as <i>ša reš ša ina muhhi dulli ša Larsa</i> and was witnessed by two <i>ērib bīti ša Šamaš</i> .
GCCI 2 398	[broken]	[broken]	Statement in defense of actions by sender regarding silver owed by men from Larsa; request for workers for irrigation work

<u>Text</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Topic</u>
YOS 3 32	Balātu	Šatammu	Report that Balātu brought fodder to officials ( <i>sepīru</i> ) of the Šatammu; officials asked for a present ( <i>šugarrū</i> ) for which they compensated with sheep; officials request Balātu to go with them to Ur; he reports that he will accompany them to Larsa
YOS 3 98	Šamaš-uballiṭ Marduk-šum-līšir	Nādin Murānu Balātu	Report that Nabū-ah-iddin gave barley from Udannu to Šumia, and that Šumia supplied bitumen; report that X has gone to Larsa and that barley was allocated for the cattle- and sheep-(?) sheds and for the <i>ginū</i> -offering.

# APPENDIX 3

## PUBLISHED LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS DATED AT LARSA

### FROM THE NEO- AND LATE-BABYLONIAN AND SELEUCID PERIODS

The texts in this appendix are placed in an order based on the model provided by the Classified and Descriptive Catalogues of YOS 17

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal</u> <u>Year</u>	<u>Year</u> <u>B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description</u>
Beaulieu <u>OrNs</u> 60 68-69 = YOS 19 7	<i>Taš</i>	30	Nbn 1	555	Larsa. Gift of slave to son by parents
YOS 6 124	<i>Taš</i>	6	Nbn 9	547	Larsa. Gift of slave as dowry
OECT 10 130	<i>Arah</i>	27	Camb 6	524	Larsa. Marriage agreement; dialogue document
Arnaud <u>RA</u> 68 178	<i>Abu</i>	28	Nbk 29	576	Larsa. Sale of a brewer's prebend for Šamaš and Aya for two days in MN; price 12 shekels of silver
YOS 6 11	<i>Nis</i>	28	Nbn 1	555	Larsa. Lease of land from Eanna for barley and date cultivation in exchange for a portion of the harvest annually; by royal order; dialogue document
TBER 64 (AO 19924)	<i>Nis</i>	28	Nbn 1	555	Duplicate of YOS 6 11

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description</u>
Schwen- zner <u>AfK 2</u> 107-19	<i>Nis</i>	28	Nbn 1	555	Duplicate of YOS 6 11
Nbk 125	<i>Aia</i>	15	Nbk 21	584	Larsa. Record concerning division of profit from a capital venture
ROMCT 2 10	<i>Duz</i>	21+	Nrglsr [X]	[X]	Larsa. Record of a business venture ( <i>harrānu</i> )
Stolper <u>BagM 24</u> 12	<i>Teb</i>	6	Dar II 15	408	Larsa. Contract regarding joint ownership of a heifer
Pohl <u>AnOr</u> 9 14	<i>Nis?</i>	[X]	[X]	[X]	Larsa. Loan of silver to be repaid in silver; interest unspecified; with pledge of land
YOS 17 19	<i>Šab</i>	12	Nbk 21	583	Larsa. Loan of silver, property of Šamaš and Aya, to be repaid in barley; interest unspecified
Gehlken <u>Uruk I</u> 131	<i>Sim</i>	20	Nbk 38	567	Larsa. Loan of silver, property of Bēlet-Uruk and Nanā; form of payment and interest unspecified
BIN 2 113	<i>Add</i>	8	Nbn 3	552	Larsa. Loan of silver and sheep; interest specified at 20 percent

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description</u>
YOS 6 172	<i>Nis</i>	15	Nbn 12	544	Larsa. Loan of silver and barley by <sup>f</sup> PN <sub>1</sub> to PN <sub>2</sub> and his wife; interest unspecified; house of <sup>f</sup> PN <sub>1</sub> at disposal of PN <sub>2</sub> rent free
Arnaud <u>Sumer</u> 44 54	<i>Teb</i>	17	Philip III Arrhid 3	320	Larsa. Loan of barley to be repaid in barley; interest specified
BRM 2 51	[X]	6	Arsak 6	?	Larsa? Loan of seed grain (barley, emmer and wheat) by Ebabbar; interest unspecified
BIN 2 119	<i>Taš</i>	1	Nbn 9	547	Larsa. Loan of dates; interest unspecified
Stolper <u>BagM</u> 24 20	<i>Aia</i>	1	(RN omitted -either Dar II or Art II) 2	...	Larsa. Barley owed in exchange for silver
YOS 6 10	<i>Nis</i>	28	Nbn 1	555	Larsa. Order to reorganize matters relating to Eanna functions
YOS 7 121	<i>Šab</i>	5	Camb 1	528	Larsa. Order to perform guard duty for 4+ days in place of PN

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description</u>
Beaulieu <u>OrNs</u> 60 72 = YOS 19 55	<i>Nis</i>	7	Nbn 9	547	Larsa. Record of partial payment of tithe ( <i>ešru</i> ) in dates to the Ebabbar
OECT 9 26	<i>Add</i>	24	S.E. 86+	225+	Larsa. Record concerning income from ceremonies of Aya
BIN 2 117	<i>Ulu</i>	7	Nbn 16	540	Larsa. Receipt of barley
YNER 1 5	<i>Ulu</i>	6	Nrglsr 3	557	Larsa? Confirmation of receipt of barley; dialogue document



# APPENDIX 4

## PUBLISHED LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

### FROM THE NEO- AND LATE-BABYLONIAN AND SELEUCID PERIODS

#### NOT DATED AT LARSA BUT PERTAINING THERETO

The texts in this appendix are placed in an order based on the model provided by the Classified and Descriptive Catalogues of YOS 17

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
VAS 20 88	<i>Arah</i>	5	[Nbk] 35	570	Uruk. Document concerning an agreement to farm temple land by farmers (LU <sub>2</sub> ENGAR.MEŠ); dialogue document; Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, <i>qīpu</i> of Larsa, appears <i>ina</i> IGI-šū <sub>2</sub>
Pohl AnOr 8 10	<i>Duz</i>	23	Nbk 23	582	Uruk. Loan of cattle, property of Innin of Uruk and Nanā, to PN, is now charged against the account of Nabû-kibsu-⟨šar⟩-ušur, <i>qīpu</i> of Ebabbar, because PN defaulted on the loan ( <i>la i-bu-kam<sub>2</sub>-ma [a]<sub>2</sub>-na E<sub>2</sub>.AN.NA la id-di-nu-uš</i> ), to be repaid in cattle; interest unspecified
Steigers JCS 28 50	[...]	[.]	[...]	[...]	Loan of barley, property of Šamaš (NI <sub>3</sub> .GA <sup>d</sup> UTU) to be repaid in barley; interest unspecified; reverse destroyed

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
Nbk 52	<i>Ulu</i>	14	Nbk 6	599	Ālu ša Mušallim-Marduk. Court document regarding repayment ( <i>i-tur-ru</i> ) of emmer in Larsa
BIN 2 108	<i>Šab</i>	4	Camb [1+]	[X]	Šaṭiru. Oath that the rent due on arable land ( <sup>1</sup> ŠE.NUMUN <sup>1</sup> ša <sub>2</sub> GIŠ.BAN <sub>2</sub> ) of Bēlet-Uruk shall be imposed on the <i>errešu</i> and <i>ikkaru</i> fairly; Iltameš-'idrī, <i>qīpu</i> of Larsa, appears <i>i-na</i> GUB-zu
Beaulieu <u>OrNs</u> 61 409	<i>Duz</i>	13	Nbk 29	576	Udannu. Order regarding payment for repairs made on a house; plaintiff shall appear before Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur, <i>qīpu</i> of Larsa, in Udannu ( <i>a-na</i> IGI PN . . . <i>i-ger-ru-bu</i> )
VAS 20 126	<i>Ulu II</i>	9	[Cyr X]	[X]	Uruk. Record of an investigation ( <i>ma-aš<sub>2</sub>-a-a-al-tu<sub>4</sub></i> ) regarding gold jewelry in connection with the goddess Ušur-amātsu; mention of ša <sub>2</sub> <i>ina</i> UD.UNUG.KI in broken context
YOS 6 71	<i>Arah</i>	23	Nbn 6	550	Uruk. Record of an inquiry about two garments for Bēlet-Uruk and Nanā; dialogue document; includes a statement that residents of Bēltia had met with Nabonidus in Larsa during his first regnal year about the matter

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
YOS 6 72	<i>Arah</i>	23	Nbn 6	550	Uruk. Duplicate of YOS 6 71
BIN 1 169	<i>Kis</i>	17	Camb acc.	529	Uruk. Order forbidding <i>širke</i> from guarding the center of the city; dialogue document; Iltameš-'idrī, <i>qīpu</i> of Larsa, appears as first-named witness (LU <sub>1</sub> DUMU.DU <sub>3</sub> .MEŠ <i>ša<sub>2</sub> ina pa-ni-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu</i> )
YOS 7 156	<i>Šab</i>	4	Camb 3	526	Šaṭīru. Assignment to duty of 3 workmen (LU <sub>1</sub> ERIN <sub>2</sub> .MEŠ) with necessary rations guarding arable land of Bēlet-Uruk, Šamaš, the king and a bow fief (ŠE.NUMUN <i>ša<sub>2</sub></i> <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN <i>ša<sub>2</sub></i> UNUG.KI <i>ša<sub>2</sub></i> <sup>d</sup> UTU <i>ša<sub>2</sub></i> LUGAL <i>u<sub>3</sub></i> <i>ša<sub>2</sub></i> LU <sub>1</sub> BAN) from wild animals; dialogue document; assignment made by PN <sub>1</sub> , Šatammu of Eanna, Iltameš-'idrī, <i>qīpu</i> of Larsa and PN <sub>2</sub> , inspector of the <i>Angillu</i> -marsh
TCL 13 135	<i>Arah</i>	25	Cyr 4	535	Uruk. Order to PN, herdsman of Bēlet-Uruk, to deliver cattle to Larsa ( <i>a-na UD.UNUG.KI ib-ba-ak-[ka]</i> )
OECT 9 1	[...]	[.]	[...]	316- 312?	Uruk. Quitclaim for a parcel of land which borders on(?) Larsa ( <i>[a]-na UD.UNUG.KI ta-la-[ak]</i> )

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
YOS 17 360	Aia- Šab	[.]	Nbk 14	591/ 590	Six-column impost list; gold, income given for silver and "expenses," including gold received from PN the Larsan (LU <sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI-u <sub>2</sub> -a)
YOS 6 118	Arah	9	Nbn 15	541	Disbursement of cattle, including five three-year old bulls sent to the Ebabbar and apportioned for sacrifices for year 15 ( <i>ina pa-ras ša<sub>2</sub></i> MU.15. KAM <sub>2</sub> . . . šap-ru)
YOS 7 8	Aia	30	Cyr 1	538	Document concerning settlement of accounts of sheep for the <i>sattukku</i> -offering ([IM ša <sub>2</sub> e-piš] [NIG <sub>2</sub> .ŠID] ša <sub>2</sub> UDU.NITA <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub> .DUG <sub>4</sub> ) for two years, including sheep sent to the Ebabbar (as replacement) for omissions ( <i>a-na baṭ-lu a-na E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA</i> [šap-ru]) and goats for the table of the <i>urāšu</i> of Larsa ( <i>a-na GIŠ(!) BANŠUR(!) ša<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ra-šu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI</i> )
UCP 9/1 67 48	Abu	30	Nbk 24	581	Receipt of sheep for the <i>sattukku</i> -offering of Šamaš by PN, shepherd of the <i>sattukku</i> -offering (LU <sub>2</sub> SIPA SA <sub>2</sub> .DUG <sub>4</sub> )

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
YOS 7 74	<i>Sim</i>	7	Cyr 8	531	Receipt of sheep for the <i>sattukku</i> -offering, including sheep (as replacement) for omissions to the Ebabbar ( <i>a-na baṭ-lu a-na E<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR.RA</i> )
CT 57 210	[...]	[.]	[...]	[...]	Receipt (?) of sheep . . . which are from Larsa ([...] <sup>1</sup> <i>ša<sub>2</sub> TA UD.UNUG.KI</i> ); fragment
YOS 7 64	<i>Ulu</i>	[.]	Cyr 7	532	Sheep set aside ( <i>par-su</i> ) for the <i>sattukku</i> -offering, itemized daily, including a sheep for the Ebabbar on day 26
YOS 1 49	<i>Teb</i>	[.]	Camb 3	526	Sheep set aside ( <i>par-su</i> ) for the <i>sattukku</i> - and <i>gugqû</i> -offerings, itemized daily, including a sheep for the Ebabbar on day 26
UCP 9/1 105 48	[...]	[.]	[...]	[...]	List of sheep for sacrificial offerings for four years, including sheep for the <i>gugqû</i> -offering of Šamaš
Pohl <u>AnOr</u> 8 32	<i>Nis</i>	[.]	Nbn 14	542	Barley measured out from the rent of PN ( <i>ŠE.BAR ša<sub>2</sub> ina GIŠ.BAN<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> PN . . . im-šu-hu</i> ) for various purposes including rations for the workmen of Larsa ( <i>ŠUK.HI.A ša<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> ERIN<sub>2</sub>.ME ša<sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI</i> )

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
Dar 10	Šab?	12?	Dar acc.	521	Barley and dates given (SUM-na) for various purposes including dates for Šamaš of Larsa
Nbn 612	Duz	24?	Nbn 12	544	Disbursement of dates from the storehouse, royal property (TA E <sub>2</sub> NIG <sub>2</sub> .GA <i>ni-din-it</i> LUGAL), to be exchanged for silver for other commodities including sesame given to PN the Larsan ( <i>ina lib<sub>3</sub>-bi</i> 1 MA.NA KU <sub>3</sub> . BABBAR <i>a-na</i> 6 GUR ŠE.GIŠ.I <sub>3</sub> <i>a-na</i> PN UD.UNUG.KI- <i>a-a</i> SUM- <i>in</i> )
YOS 6 229	Teb	28	Nbn 11	544	Disbursement of dates, including dates received by PN <sub>1</sub> and PN <sub>2</sub> , <i>urāše</i> of Larsa (LU <sub>2</sub> <i>u<sub>2</sub>-raš</i> ša <sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI) and dates for the workmen of <i>Raqqat-Šamaš</i> (LU <sub>2</sub> ERIN <sub>2</sub> .MEŠ ša <sub>2</sub> <i>raq-gat<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>UTU</i> )
DCEP 537	[...]	[.]	[...]	[...]	Disbursement of rations including dates for 30 workmen for work at <i>Raqqat-Šamaš</i> (ša <sub>2</sub> 30 LU <sub>2</sub> ERIN <sub>2</sub> .ME ša <sub>2</sub> <i>dul-lu</i> ša <sub>2</sub> GARIN <i>raq(!)-gat-<sup>d</sup>UTU</i> )
TCL 12 95	[X]	12	Nbn 10	546/ 545	Disbursement of dates to various persons and places including Larsa; verb broken

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
GCCI 1 103	<i>Kis</i>	11	Nbk 38	567	Receipt of beer for 20 field laborers sent to <i>Raqqat-Šamaš</i> ( <i>ša<sub>2</sub> a-na 20 LU<sub>2</sub> APIN.ME ša<sub>2</sub> a-na GARIN raq-gat<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>UTU šap-ru</i> )
YOS 6 19	<i>Ulu II</i>	10	Nbn 10	545	Receipt of beer <i>ša<sub>2</sub> it-ti pe-er-ri</i> for 3 months for workmen of <i>Raqqat-Šamaš</i> ( <i>LU<sub>2</sub> ERIN<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ ša<sub>2</sub> GARIN raq-gat<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>UTU</i> )
BIN 1 96	<i>Sim</i>	9	Nbp 19	607	Sesame for pressed-out oil ( <i>ŠE.GIŠ.I<sub>3</sub> ... ša<sub>2</sub> I<sub>3</sub>.GIŠ.BARA. AG</i> ) for <i>Šamaš</i> at the disposal of PN ( <i>IGI <sup>d</sup>UTU ina IGI PN</i> )
TBER 65 (AO 19925)	<i>Arah</i>	14	Nbn 15	541	Disbursement of various commodities including rations for workmen of <i>Raqqat-Šamaš</i> ( <i>NINDA.HI.A ša<sub>2</sub> LU<sub>2</sub> ERIN<sub>2</sub>.ME ša<sub>2</sub> GARIN raq-gat<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>UTU PN</i> )
YOS 6 109	<i>Abu</i>	24	Nbn 8	548	Receipt of silver for hired laborers for fruit (trees?) in Larsa ( <i>LU<sub>2</sub> HUN.GA<sub>2</sub>.ME ša<sub>2</sub> in-bi i-na UD.UNUG.KI šam-hat im-ha-ru</i> )
Weisberg JANES 21 23	<i>Šab</i>	27	Nbn 1	554	Receipt of silver and [X] from the wooden chests of <i>Šamaš</i> ( <i>GIŠ šid-da-ti ša<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>UTU</i> )
BE 8 145	[...]	[.]	[...]	[...]	Silver given for various purposes including for the income (?) of PN the Larsan ( <i>ša<sub>2</sub> a-na [e]-rib ša<sub>2</sub> PN LU<sub>2</sub> la-[ar]-su(!)-u<sub>2</sub>-a SUM-na</i> )

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
YOS 6 133	Arah	[X]	Nbn 10	546	Silver for purchase of various commodities including barley for 3 month's rations for workmen of <i>Raggat-Šamaš</i> , to PN (ŠUK.HI.A ša <sub>2</sub> . . . LU <sub>2</sub> ERIN <sub>2</sub> .ME ša <sub>2</sub> GARIN rag-gat <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> UTU a-na PN)
TBER 67 (AO 19928)	Aia	14	Nrglśr 2	558	Silver for purchase of various commodities in Babyon by the <i>qīpu</i> of Eanna for various purposes, including silver for work at <i>Raggat-Šamaš</i> brought to PN ( <i>a-na dul-lu ša<sub>2</sub> GARIN rag-gat<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>UTU a-na PN<sub>1</sub> šu-bu-ul</i> ) and silver for bitumen for work at <i>Raggat-Šamaš</i> given to the same individual ( <i>a-na dul-lu ša<sub>2</sub> GARIN rag-gat<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>UTU a-na PN<sub>1</sub> id-din-nu</i> )
CT 55 340	Arah	7	Nbn 2	554	Note concerning silver and sesame, withdrawn by the Larsan (LU <sub>2</sub> <i>la-ar-su-a-a na-ša<sub>2</sub>-'</i> ); no PN
GCCI 2 343	Teb	17	(no RN) 2	[...]	Receipt of gold and silver, weighed out ( <i>ha-ṭa-nu</i> ), and golden objects for Larsa and Bunene (KU <sub>3</sub> .GI <i>te'-hir-ti ša<sub>2</sub></i> UD.UNUG.KI [...] MA.GAL.LA ša <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> <i>bu-ne-ne</i> )



<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
GCCI 1 386	<i>Add</i>	6	Nbn 5	550	Gold for braided wires for the pectoral of Aya and the divine daughters of the Ebabbar (KU <sub>2</sub> .GI <i>a-na gu-hal-gi</i> -MEŠ ša <sub>2</sub> GABA ša <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup> a-a u <sup>d</sup> DUMU.SAL.ME E <sub>2</sub> .BABBAR.RA) at the disposal of PN <sub>1</sub> and PN <sub>2</sub>
YOS 6 53	<i>Aia</i>	4	Nbn 4	552	Gold and gold jewelry belonging to the divine daughters of the Ebabbar ( <sup>d</sup> DUMU.SAL.MEŠ E <sub>2</sub> .BABBAR.RA) at the disposal of PN <sub>1</sub> and PN <sub>2</sub> , goldsmiths, including gold for repair ( <i>a-na bat-ga</i> ) of objects
TBER 10 (AO 6799)	[...]	[.]	[...]	[...]	Disbursement of [wool] and rations to various persons including 2 month's supply of [wool] for 10 workmen for work done in the Ebabbar (ša <sub>2</sub> 10 LU <sub>2</sub> ERIN <sub>2</sub> .MEŠ ša <sub>2</sub> <i>dul-lu ina</i> E <sub>2</sub> .BABBAR.RA <i>ip-pu-uš</i> )
TBER 19 (AO 8161)	<i>Šab</i>	3	Camb acc.	530	Disbursement of various commodities including wool, property of [...] the land of Suhu (SIG <sub>2</sub> .HI.[A NI <sub>3</sub> ].GA X-ša <sub>2</sub> -tu <sub>4</sub> ša <sub>2</sub> KUR <i>su-u<sub>2</sub>-hu</i> ) at the disposal of Iltameš-'idri, qīpu, and PN, brought ( <i>šu-bu-ul</i> ) to the Ebabbar

<u>Text</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Regnal Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Contents</u>
YOS 6 146	Abu	28	Nbn 8	548	Tools sent to Larsa for workmen of <i>Ragqat-Šamaš</i> ( <i>ne</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>pe-šu</i> <sub>2</sub> <i>ša</i> <sub>2</sub> UD.UNUG.KI <i>šu-bu</i> - [ <i>lu</i> ] . . . LU <sub>2</sub> ERIN <sub>2</sub> .MEŠ <i>ša</i> <sub>2</sub> GARIN <i>rag-gat</i> <sub>2</sub> - <sup>d</sup> UTU)
Dupont- Somer RA 40 145	[...]	[.]	[...]	[...]	Fragment of an ostrakon (Aramaic) listing PNs, found at Larsa

# HORN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM TEXTS

## DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

The texts in the catalogue are placed in an order based on the model provided by the Classified and Descriptive Catalogues of YOS 17

<u>Text</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
3	73.2908	<i>Sim</i>	9	28	577	Larsa. Sale of movable property(?); dialogue document; obv. badly broken. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive
2	73.2969	<i>Nis</i>	16	25	580	Larsa. Record concerning ownership of a cow and its calf; dialogue document. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive
10	73.2855	<i>Taš</i>	8	20+	585+	Larsa. Record concerning an agreement to farm arable land; dialogue document. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive
16	73.2960	<i>Abu</i>	4	2	603	Babylon. Loan of silver to be repaid in silver; interest specified at 13 1/3 percent
6	73.3056	<i>Šab</i>	3+	35	569	Larsa. Loan of silver for a commercial venture (KASKAL <sup>II</sup> ); scribe is creditor. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive

<u>Text</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
15	73.2972	Arah	9	25	580	Larsa. Loan of silver to officials of the Ebabbar for four months for a commercial venture (KASKAL <sup>II</sup> ), to be repaid in silver from the assets of the Ebabbar ( <i>ul-tu NI<sub>3</sub>.GA<sup>d</sup>UTU</i> ); interest unspecified
7	73.2966	Arah	25	38	567	Larsa. Loan of silver and barley; obv. largely destroyed. Itti-Šamaš-balātu archive (?)
1	73.2927	Teb	16	22	582	Larsa. Loan of silver and sesame for less than one month; form of repayment and interest unspecified. Itti-Šamaš-balātu archive
17	73.2992	Šab	17	20+	584+	Borsippa. Loan of barley by a slave to two men for four months, to be repaid in barley; interest unspecified
19	73.2864	Teb	17+	13	591	Dilbat. Loan of barley to two men for five months, to be repaid in barley; interest specified at 20 percent

<u>Text</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
4	73.2984	<i>Ulu</i>	24	29	576	Dūr-ša-lāsime. Loan of barley to two men for nine months, to be repaid in barley without interest; scribe is debtor. Itti-Šamaš-balātu archive
13	73.2902	<i>Abu(?)</i>	X	24	581	Larsa. Loan of barley for four months, to be repaid in barley without interest.
12	73.2981	<i>Teb</i>	19	30	574	Larsa. Loan of barley for four months, to be repaid in barley without interest
5	73.3060	<i>Taš</i>	29	34	571	Larsa. Loan of barley belonging to PN <sub>1</sub> which was from the business capital of PN <sub>2</sub> (ša <sub>2</sub> KASKAL <sup>II</sup> ša <sub>2</sub> PN <sub>2</sub> ) for nine months, to be repaid in barley without interest. Itti-Šamaš-balātu archive
8	73.3065	<i>Nis</i>	4	39	566	Larsa. Loan of barley to PN <sub>2</sub> which had been at the disposal of (ša <sub>2</sub> ina pa-ni- šu <sub>2</sub> ) PN <sub>1</sub> for one month, to be repaid in barley without interest. Itti-Šamaš-balātu archive
9	73.3068	X	20	39	566- 565	Larsa. Loan of barley; terms of repayment are destroyed. Itti-Šamaš-balātu archive

<u>Text</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Year B.C.E.</u>	<u>Description and Comments</u>
14	73.2924	<i>Arah</i>	X	27	578	[Larsa]. Loan of sesame for one month, form of repayment and interest unspecified
18	73.2973	<i>Abu</i>	X	42	563	Borsippa. Guarantee of surety for testimony regarding bricks ([ <i>pu-ut LU<sub>2</sub></i> ] <i>mu-kin-nu-u<sub>2</sub>-tu . . . na-ši</i> )
11	73.2642	<i>Teb</i> (?)	28	30+	574+	Larsa. Order to bring PN before authority, with penalty for nonfulfillment; scribe is surety. Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive
20	73.3024	<i>Ulu</i>	16	2	603	Document dealing with estimated yield ( <i>imittu</i> ) of a date grove; fragment; obv. largely destroyed
21	73.2828	<i>Add</i>	27	23	581	Notation concerning a record of indebtedness of barley for the <i>ginū</i> -offerings belonging to the baker's and brewer's prebend of the Ningirsu temple for three months.
22	73.2802	X	X	X	X	Fragment; list of witnesses on rev.
23	73.2919	X	X	X	X	Fragment.
24	73.3051	X	X	X	X	Fragment.

# HORN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM TEXTS

## INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

Whenever the text has only PN<sub>1</sub> *mār* PN<sub>2</sub>, PN<sub>2</sub> is arbitrarily but consistently identified as the ancestor of PN<sub>1</sub>.

Abbreviations: a., ancestor; desc., descendant; f., father; s, son; wit., witness.

Determinatives: <sup>d</sup>, DINGIR; <sup>h</sup>, denotes occupation; <sup>l</sup>, masculine.

Ahušunu (<sup>l</sup>*a-hu-š<sub>2</sub>-nu*) f. of Rīmūt,  
8:6.

Amēl-<sup>d</sup>Nabū (<sup>l</sup>LU<sub>2</sub>.<sup>d</sup>AG)

1. (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-irašši,  
wit., 2:14.

2. (571) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nergal-ušallim,  
wit., 5:7.

Amēl-<sup>d</sup>[X] (<sup>l</sup>LU<sub>2</sub>.<sup>d</sup>[X]) (569) s. of  
<sup>d</sup>Nergal-ušallim, wit., 6:7.

<sup>d</sup>Amurru-udammiq (<sup>l</sup>KUR.GAL.KAL)

1. f. of Balāṭsu, 12:8.

2. a. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-šum-ukīn and  
Aplā, 15:7.

Apkallu (<sup>l</sup>NUN.ME) f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-šum-  
uṣur, 15:6.

Aplā (<sup>l</sup>A-a) f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-šum-ukīn,  
desc. of <sup>d</sup>Amurru-udammiq, 15:7.

Arad-<sup>d</sup>Nabū (<sup>l</sup>IR<sub>3</sub>.<sup>d</sup>AG) f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-  
ušallim, desc. of Eda-ēṭir,  
17:11.

Arkāt-ilī (<sup>l</sup>*ar<sub>2</sub>-kat*-<sup>l</sup>DINGIR.ME<sup>l</sup>) a.  
of Nabū-mukīn-apli, 18:5.

Ašaggī (<sup>l</sup>*a-š<sub>2</sub>-ag-gi-i*) f. of Rīmūt,  
1:7.

<sup>h</sup>Asū (LU<sub>2</sub> A.ZU)

1. a. of Zēriya and [<sup>l</sup>X.X].<sup>l</sup>[X],  
10:21.

2. a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-šum-uṣur and  
<sup>d</sup>Nabū-šum-iškun, 15:19.

Babiya (<sup>l</sup>*ba-bi-ia<sub>2</sub>*) f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-bēl-  
zēri, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Rab-bānū,  
7:Rev.4'.

Balāṭsu

1. (<sup>l</sup>*ba-laṭ-su*) (574) s. of  
<sup>d</sup>Amurru-udammiq, wit., 12:7.

2. (<sup>l</sup>TIN-*su*) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nergal-ina-  
tešī-ēṭir, 8:11.

Balāṭu

1. (<sup>l</sup>TIN) (584+) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-  
apla-[X], desc. of <sup>h</sup>Naggāru,  
17:4.

2. (<sup>l</sup>*ba-laṭ-tu*) f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr-  
[X], a.'s name broken,  
13:13.

3. (<sup>1</sup>ba-<sup>1</sup>la(?)<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>1</sup>tu(?)] (576) in  
bīt Balātu, 4:7.
4. a. of <sup>d</sup>Mār-bīti-[X.X] and  
[<sup>1</sup>X.X], 17:4.
- Banitušu (<sup>1</sup>DU<sub>3</sub>-tu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-  
mušetiq-šēti, 5:10.
- <sup>1</sup>Barbaru (<sup>1</sup>bar-ba-ru) (591) s. of  
<sup>d</sup>Bēl-ētir, a.'s name broken;  
wit., 19:21.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-iddin (<sup>1</sup>dEN.A.MU) f. of  
Zērūtu, 22:Rev.3'.
- <sup>d</sup>Bau-ēreš (<sup>1</sup>dKA<sub>2</sub>.<sup>1</sup>KAM<sub>2</sub>) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-  
talimmu-ušur, 3:8.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-ušur
1. (<sup>1</sup>dEN.A.URU<sub>3</sub>) a. of Bēlšunu  
and <sup>d</sup>Marduk-zēr-ibnī, 15:15.
  2. (<sup>1</sup>dEN.A.URU<sub>3</sub>) a. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-iddin  
and <sup>d</sup>Sīn-iddin, 15:17.
  3. (<sup>1</sup>dEN.A.PAB) a. of Kudurri and  
<sup>d</sup>Nabū-ušabši, 16:2.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēl-erība (<sup>1</sup>dEN.SU) (584+) s. of  
<sup>d</sup>Nabū-gāmil, 17:5.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēl-ētir
1. (<sup>1</sup>dEN.SUR) f. of <sup>1</sup>Barbaru,  
a.'s name broken, 19:21.
  2. (<sup>1</sup>dEN.KAR-[ir]) f. of Imbiya,  
20:Rev.4'.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēl-iddin (<sup>1</sup>dEN.MU) (580) s. of  
<sup>d</sup>Sīn-iddin, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-  
ušur, wit., 15:16.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēl-iqīša (<sup>1</sup>dEN.BA-ša<sub>2</sub>) (603) s. of  
Eteru, desc. of Mušallim, wit.,  
16:6.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēl-nādin-apli (<sup>1</sup>dEN.<sup>1</sup>na-din-DUMU.UŠ<sup>1</sup>)  
(581) s. of Mukīn-apli, wit.,  
21:10.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēl-zēr (<sup>1</sup>dEN.NUMUN<sup>1</sup>) (date broken),  
23:2'.
- Bēl-ețeru-<sup>d</sup>Nabū (<sup>1</sup>EN-e-țe<sub>3</sub>-ru-<sup>d</sup>AG)  
(566), 8:3.
- <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ēreš (<sup>1</sup>dNIN(?)<sup>1</sup>.KAM<sub>2</sub>(?)) a. of  
Nabū-iddin and Ubar, 19:20.
- Bēlšunu (<sup>1</sup>EN-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu)
1. (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-zēr-ibnī,  
desc. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-ušur,  
wit., 15:14
  2. (566/565) f.'s name broken,  
wit., 9:10.
- Dadīa (<sup>1</sup>da-di-ia<sup>1</sup>) (574) s. of  
Nādin, 12:1.
- <sup>d</sup>Ea-bēl-ilī (<sup>1</sup>dBE.EN.DINGIR.MEŠ) a.  
of Šum-ukīn and <sup>d</sup>Nabū-tāriš,  
18:14.
- <sup>d</sup>Ea-dipar-ilī (<sup>1</sup>dBE-di-par-DINGIR.ME)
1. a. of <sup>d</sup>Uraš-bāni-zēr and  
Zākir, 19:3.
  2. a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-lē'ī and <sup>d</sup>Nabū-  
zēr-ibnī 19:7.
- <sup>d</sup>Ea-garrad-ilī (<sup>1</sup>dBE.AN.GUD.DINGIR.  
ME)
1. a. of <sup>d</sup>Uraš-šum-ibnī and  
Mukīn-apli, 19:19.
  2. a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-ētir-napšāti and  
Šillā, 19:23.
- <sup>d</sup>Ea-šum-ibnī (<sup>1</sup>dBE.MU.DU<sub>3</sub>) (566) s.  
of Kudurri, wit., 8:12.



- Eda-ētir (<sup>1</sup>AŠ.SUR) a. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-ušallim and Arad-<sup>d</sup>Nabû, 17:11.
- <sup>d</sup>Enlil-šum-iddin (<sup>1</sup>EN.LIL<sub>2</sub>.MU.MU) (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-erība, wit., 2:17.
- Epeš-ili (<sup>1</sup>DU<sub>3</sub>-eš-DINGIR) a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-kabti-ilī and [X.X], 10:23.
- Erībšu (<sup>1</sup>e-rib-šu<sub>2</sub>) f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-ēreš, 10:1.
- Erišu (<sup>1</sup>e-ri-šu<sub>2</sub>) f.'s name broken, 3:12.
- Etellu (<sup>1</sup>e-tel-[lu])
1. (581) s. of Rīmūt, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-[X], wit., 13:9.
  2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr-ušabši, 14:2.
- Eṭēru (<sup>1</sup>e-te<sub>3</sub>-ru) f. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-iqīša, desc. of Mušallim, 16:7.
- <sup>h</sup>Gallābu ([LU<sub>2</sub> ŠU<sup>1</sup>.I) a. of Libluṭ and [...], 18:12.
- Gimillu (<sup>1</sup>gi-mil-lu)
1. (582) s. of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-šum-ibnī, scribe, 1:8.
  2. (581) s. of Kudurri, desc. of Kunā, 13:1.
  3. (578) s. of Tabnēa, 14:2,12.
  4. (576) s. of Zēriya, wit., 4:11.
- Gimillu-<sup>d</sup>Nanā (<sup>1</sup>gi-mil-lu-<sup>d</sup>[na-na-a]) (571) s. of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-erība, scribe, 5:11.
- Harranu-<sup>d</sup>Bēl (<sup>1</sup>har-ra-nu-<sup>d</sup>EN) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nergal-nāšir, 3:14.
- Hašdiya (<sup>1</sup>haš-di-ia)
1. (577) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nanā-[X], 3:1,7.
  2. f. of Ubarya, 4:2.
- Ibnā (<sup>1</sup>ib-na-a) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nergal-lē'ī, 4:4.
- Iddin-<sup>d</sup>Amurru (<sup>1</sup>MU.<sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL) a. of Šullum and <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ēreš, 15:16.
- Iddinunu (<sup>1</sup>SUM-nu-nu) (603) desc. of <sup>h</sup>Pūšāya, scribe, 16:9.
- Imbiya (<sup>1</sup>im-bi-ia) (603) s. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-ētir, scribe, 20:Rev.4'.
- Ina-tešī-ētir (<sup>1</sup>ina-SUH<sub>3</sub>.SUR)
1. (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ah-iddin, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Naggāru, <sup>h</sup>bēl piqitti ša <sup>h</sup>bēl pīhati, 15:4.
  2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-nā'id, 1:2.
- Ina(?)-[X.X] (566/565) desc. of Pūšāya, 9:2.
- Iqīšā (<sup>1</sup>BA-ša<sub>2</sub>-a) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-iškun, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Tābihu, 15:2.
- Irani (<sup>1</sup>ir-a-ni) a. of Saggil and Nūreya, 16:3.
- <sup>h</sup>Itinnu (LU<sub>2</sub>! DIM<sub>2</sub>!) a. of Kurbanni and Rīmūt, 20:Rev.3'.
- Itti-<sup>d</sup>Bēl-abni (<sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>EN-ab-ni) (581), 21:5.
- Itti-<sup>d</sup>Šamaš-balātu (<sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN)
1. (585+) s. of Labāši, 10:2, 4,9,10,12,15,18.
  2. (582) s. of Labāši, 1:3.
  3. (580) s. of Labāši, 2:2,7,11.
  4. (577) s. of Labāši, 3:2,5.
  5. (576) s. of Labāši, scribe, 4:3,13.

6. (574) s. of Labāši, scribe, 12:11.
  7. (574+) s. of Labāši, scribe, 11:4,18
  8. (571) s. of Labāši, 5:1.
  9. (569) s. of Labāši, scribe, 6:2,11.
  10. [<sup>1</sup>KI.<sup>d</sup>UTU.TIN] (567) s. of Labāši, 7:2.
  11. (566) s. of Labāši, 8:1.
  12. (566/565) s. of Labāši, 9:5.
- Kidin-<sup>d</sup>Sîn (<sup>1</sup>ki-din-<sup>d</sup>30) a. of <sup>d</sup>Samaš-ah-iddin and <sup>d</sup>Nabû-nā'id, 18:7.
- Kidinu-<sup>d</sup>Marduk (<sup>1</sup>ki-di-nu-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.[UTU<sup>1</sup>]) a. of Zākir and Tābiya, 15:20.
- Kudurānu (<sup>1</sup>ku-du-ra-nu) a. of Nādin-ahi and [...], 18:3.
- Kudurri (<sup>1</sup>NI<sub>3</sub>.DU)
1. (603) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ušabši, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-ušur, 16:1.
  2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-šum-ibnī, 8:12.
  3. f. of Gimillu, desc. of Kunā, 13:2.
- Kunā (<sup>1</sup>ku-na-a)
1. f. of <sup>d</sup>Uraš-iddin, desc. of Līširi, 19:4.
  2. a. of Gimillu and Kudurri, 13:2.
- Kurbanni (<sup>1</sup>kur-ban-ni) (603) s. of Rīmūt, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Itinnu, wit., 20:Rev.2'.
- Labāši (<sup>1</sup>la-ba-ši)
1. f. of Itti-<sup>d</sup>Samaš-balātu, 1:4; 2:3; 3:2; 4:3,13; 5:2 (la-a-ba-ši); 6:3,12; 7:2; 8:2; 9:6; 10:2; 11:4,18; 12:12.
  2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Samaš-zēr-iddin, 6:4.
  3. f. of Silim-ili, 8:13.
- Libluṭ (<sup>1</sup>lib-luṭ) s.'s name broken, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Gallābu, 18:12.
- Līširi (<sup>1</sup>SI.SA<sub>2</sub>-ri) a. of <sup>d</sup>Uraš-iddin and Kunā, 19:4.
- <sup>h</sup>Malāhu (<sup>1</sup>LU<sub>2</sub> MA<sub>2</sub>.LAH<sub>4</sub>) a. of <sup>d</sup>Samaš-uballiṭ, 16:8.
- MAN(?) -kanu (<sup>1</sup>MAN(?) -ka-nu) f. of Zabdiya, 3:16.
- <sup>d</sup>Mār-bīti-nā'id (<sup>1</sup>dA.E<sub>2</sub>.I) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-nāšir, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Pahhāru, 17:12.
- <sup>d</sup>Mār-bīti-[X.X] (<sup>1</sup>dA.[E<sub>2</sub>].[X.X]) (584+) f.'s name broken, desc. of Balātu, 17:3.
- Marduk (<sup>1</sup>mar-duk<sup>1</sup>) f. of <sup>d</sup>Samaš-šum-līšir, 11:2.
- <sup>d</sup>Marduk-ēreš (<sup>1</sup>dAMAR.UTU.KAM<sub>2</sub>) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-mukīn-apli, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Rē'ī-alpi, 8:15.
- <sup>d</sup>Marduk-erība (<sup>1</sup>dAMAR.UTU-eri<sub>4</sub>-ba) f. of Gimillu-<sup>d</sup>Nanā, 5:12.
- <sup>d</sup>Marduk-šum-ibnī (<sup>1</sup>dAMAR.UTU.MU.DU<sub>3</sub>)
1. (569) s. of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-zēr-[X], wit., 6:9.
  2. f. of Gimillu, 1:9.

<sup>d</sup>Marduk-zēr-ibnī

1. (<sup>1d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU.NUMUN.DU<sub>3</sub>) (574+) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-[X.X], 11:3.
2. (<sup>1d</sup>ŠU<sub>2</sub>.NUMUN.DU<sub>3</sub>) f. of Bēlšunu, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-ušur, 15:14.

<sup>d</sup>Marduk-zēr-[X]

1. (<sup>1d</sup>AMAR.UTU.NUMUN(?)<sup>1</sup>.[X]) (566/565) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-zēr-ukīn, 9:1.
2. (<sup>1d</sup>AMAR.UTU.NUMUN<sup>1</sup>.[X]) f. of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-šum-ibnī, 6:10.

<sup>d</sup>Marduk-[X.X] (date broken) s. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-ina-tēšī-ētir, wit., 22:Rev.3'.

Mukīn-apli (<sup>1</sup>GUB.A)

1. f. of <sup>d</sup>Uraš-šum-ibnī, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-qarrad-ilī, 19:19.
2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-nādin-apli, 21:10.

Mušallim (<sup>1</sup>mu-šal-lim) a. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-iqīša and Eteru, 16:7.

Mušēzib-Marduk (<sup>1</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nergal-iddin, 3:15.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-ah-iddin (<sup>1d</sup>AG.ŠEŠ.MU) f. of Ina-tēšī-ētir, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Naggāru, 15:4.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-apla-[X] (<sup>1d</sup>AG.A<sup>1</sup>.[X]) f. of Balātu, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Naggāru, 17:4

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-bānī-ah (<sup>1d</sup>AG.DU<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ)

1. (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-ukīn, scribe, 2:18.
2. (578) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-ukīn, wit., 14:4.
3. (577) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-ukīn, scribe, 3:17.

4. f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šākin-šum, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Rē'ī-alpi, 17:14.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-bēl-ilī (<sup>1d</sup>AG.EN<sup>1</sup>.DINGIR.MEŠ) (date broken) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nergal-[X-ra(?)-X], scribe, 22:Rev.6'.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-bullit-anni (<sup>1d</sup>AG-bul-liṭ-an-ni) (581), wit., 21:11.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-ēreš (<sup>1d</sup>AG.KAM<sub>2</sub>)

1. f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šar-ušur, 12:3.
2. f. of Šullum, desc. of Iddin-<sup>d</sup>Amurru, 15:15.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-erība (<sup>1d</sup>AG-eri<sub>4</sub>-ba) (581), 21:4.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-ētir (<sup>1d</sup>AG.SUR) (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ušallim, desc. of Nabunnaya, wit., 15:17.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-ētir-napšāti (<sup>1d</sup>AG.SUR.ZI.MEŠ) (591) s. of Šillā, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-qarrad-ilī, scribe, 19:22.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-gāmil (<sup>1d</sup>AG-ga-mil) f. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-erība, 17:6.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-iddin (<sup>1d</sup>AG.MU) (591) s. of Ubār, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ēreš, wit., 19:20.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-irašši (<sup>1d</sup>MUATI.TUG) f. of Amēl-<sup>d</sup>Nabû, 2:14.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-kabti-ilī (<sup>1d</sup>AG.IDIM.DINGIR.MEŠ) (585+) f.'s name broken, desc. of Epeš-ili, scribe, 10:22.

<sup>d</sup>Nabû-kibsu-šar-ušur (<sup>1d</sup>AG-kib-su-LUGAL.URU<sub>2</sub>)

1. (580) <sup>h</sup>qīpi ša Ebabbar, 15:3.
2. (574+) <sup>h</sup>qīpi ša Ebabbar, 11:7.

- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-lē'ī (<sup>1d</sup>AG.DA) (591) s. of  
<sup>d</sup>Nabû-zēr-ibnī, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-  
dipar-ilī, 19:6.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-mukīn-apli
1. (<sup>1d</sup>AG.GUB.A) (566) s. of  
<sup>d</sup>Marduk-ēreš, desc. of  
<sup>h</sup>Rē'ī-alpi, scribe, 8:14.
  2. (<sup>1d</sup>AG.GUB.DUMU.UŠ) (563) s. of  
Arkāt-ilī, 18:5,10.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-mušētiq-ḡeti (<sup>1d</sup>AG-mu-še-tiq<sub>2</sub>-  
UD.DA) (571) s. of Banitušu,  
wit., 5:9.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-nā'id (<sup>1d</sup>AG.I)
1. (582) s. of Ina-tēšī-ētir,  
1:2.
  2. (580) s. of Zērūtu, wit.,  
2:16.
  3. (569) s. of Zērūtu, wit.,  
6:8.
  4. f. of Šulā, 2:16.
  5. f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-ah-iddin, desc.  
of Kidin-<sup>d</sup>Sīn, 18:7.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-[na(?)-piš(?)]-[tim(?)-URU<sub>3</sub>(?)]  
s.'s name broken, 11:5.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-nāšir (<sup>1d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>.PAB) (584+) s. of  
<sup>d</sup>Mār-bīti-nā'id, desc. of  
<sup>h</sup>Pahhāru, wit., 17:12.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šākin-šum (<sup>1d</sup>AG-ša<sub>2</sub>-[kin<sup>1</sup>]-MU)  
(584+) s. of Nabû-bānī-ah, desc.  
of <sup>h</sup>Rē'ī-alpi, scribe, 17:14.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šar-ušur (<sup>1d</sup>AG.LUGAL.URU<sub>3</sub>)
1. (574) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ēreš, 12:3.
  2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-bānī-ah, 14:6.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-iddin (<sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.MU) (574+)  
wit., 11:17.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-iškun (<sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.GAR-un)
1. (580) s. of Iqīšā, desc. of  
<sup>h</sup>Tabihu, 15:1.
  2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-ušur, desc.  
of <sup>h</sup>Asū, 15:19.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-ukīn (<sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.GUB)
1. (563) f.'s and a.'s names  
broken, scribe, 18:15.
  2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-bānī-ah, 2:19;  
3:17; 14:5.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-ušur (<sup>1d</sup>AG.MU.URU<sub>3</sub>) (580)  
s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-iškun, desc. of  
<sup>h</sup>Asū, wit., 15:18.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-[X] (<sup>1d</sup>AG.[MU<sup>1</sup>].[X]) (576) s.  
of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-zēr-ušallim, wit., 4:9.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-talimmu-ušur (<sup>1d</sup>AG-ta<sup>1</sup>-lim-mu-  
[URU<sub>3</sub>]) (577) s. of <sup>d</sup>Bau-ēreš,  
<sup>h</sup>šāb šarri, 3:8.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-tāriš (<sup>1d</sup>AG.LAL-iš) f. of Šum-  
ukīn, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-bēl-ilī,  
18:13.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ušabši (<sup>1d</sup>AG.GAL<sub>2</sub>-ši) f. of  
Kudurri, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-  
ušur, 16:1.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ušallim (<sup>1d</sup>AG.GI) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-  
ētir, desc. of Nabunnaya, 15:17.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-zēr-ibnī (<sup>1d</sup>AG.NUMUN.DU<sub>3</sub>) f. of  
<sup>d</sup>Nabû-lē'ī, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-dipar-  
ilī, 19:7.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-zēr-ukīn (<sup>1d</sup>AG.NUMUN.GUB<sup>1</sup>) f.  
of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-zēr(?)-[X], 9:2.

- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-zēr-ušallim (<sup>1d</sup>AG.NUMUN.GI) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šum-[X], 4:10.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-[X]-ibnī (<sup>1d</sup>AG.[X].DU<sub>3</sub>) (581)  
a.'s name broken, wit., 13:11.
- <sup>d</sup>Nabû-[X.X]  
1. (566/565) s. of [X.X]-uṣur, wit., 9:9.  
2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-zēr-ibnī, 11:3.  
3. f. of [<sup>1d</sup>X]-ušallim, 24:2'.  
4. s.'s name broken, 9:4.
- Nabunnaya (<sup>1</sup>na-[bu-un]-na-a-a) a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ēṭir and <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ušallim, 15:18.
- Nādin (<sup>1</sup>na-din) f. of Dadīa, 12:2.
- Nādin-ahi (<sup>1</sup>SUM-na-ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>) (563), f.'s name broken, desc. of Kudurānu, 18:2.
- Nādin-apli (<sup>1</sup>SUM-na-A)  
1. f. of Rīmūt-<sup>d</sup>Bēl, 5:3.  
2. ([SUM]-[na-A]) f. of Rīmūt-Bēl, 6:2.
- <sup>h</sup>Naggāru  
1. (LU<sub>2</sub> NAGAR) a. of Ina-tēšī-ēṭir and <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ah-iddin, 15:5.  
2. (<sup>1</sup>LU<sub>2</sub> NAGAR) a. of Balātu and <sup>d</sup>Nabû-apla-[X], 17:5.
- <sup>d</sup>Nanā-[X] (<sup>1d</sup>na-na-[a-X]) f. of Hašdiya, 3:1.
- <sup>d</sup>Nergal-iddin (<sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.MU) (577) s. of Mušēzib-<sup>d</sup>Marduk, wit., 3:14.
- <sup>d</sup>Nergal-ina-tēšī-ēṭir (<sup>1d</sup>U.GUR-ina-SUH<sub>3</sub>.SUR) (566) s. of Balātu, wit., 8:11.
- <sup>d</sup>Nergal-lē'ī (<sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.DA) (576) s. of Ibnā, 4:4.
- <sup>d</sup>Nergal-nāšir (<sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.[PAB<sup>1</sup>]) (577)  
s. of Harranu-<sup>d</sup>Bēl, wit., 3:13.
- <sup>d</sup>Nergal-ušallim (<sup>1d</sup>U.GUR.GI)  
1. f. of Amēl-<sup>d</sup>Nabû, 5:8.  
2. f. of Amēl-<sup>d</sup>[X], 6:8.
- <sup>d</sup>Nergal-ušēzib (<sup>1d</sup>U.GUR-u<sub>2</sub>-[še-zib])  
f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-[X.X.X], 7:Rev.2'.
- <sup>d</sup>Nergal-[X-ra(?)-X] f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-bēl-ilī, 22:Rev.7'.
- <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-erība (<sup>1d</sup>MAŠ.SU) f. of <sup>d</sup>Enlil-šum-iddin, 2:18.
- Nūreya (<sup>1</sup>ZALAG<sub>2</sub>-e-a) f. of Saggil, desc. of Irani, 16:3.
- <sup>h</sup>Pahhāru (LU<sub>2</sub> [BAHAR<sub>2</sub>]) a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-nāšir and <sup>d</sup>Mār-bīti-nā'id, 17:13.
- <sup>h</sup>Pūšāya (LU<sub>2</sub> TUG<sub>2</sub>.BABBAR)  
1. a. of Ina(?)-[X.X], 9:3.  
2. a. of Iddinunu, 16:10.
- <sup>h</sup>Rab-bānū (LU<sub>2</sub> GAL.[DU<sub>3</sub>]) a. of Šamaš-bēl-zēri and Babiya, 7:Rev.4'.
- Rāši-ili (<sup>1</sup>TUK-ši-DINGIR) (571) s. of Šum-ukīn, 5:4.
- <sup>h</sup>Rē'ī (LU<sub>2</sub> SIPA-i) a. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr-līšir and Šākin-šum, 15:8.
- <sup>h</sup>Rē'ī-alpi (LU<sub>2</sub> SIPA.GUD)  
1. a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-mukīn-apli and <sup>d</sup>Marduk-ēreš, 8:16.  
2. a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šākin-šum and <sup>d</sup>Nabû-bānī-ah, 17:15.
- Rīmūt (<sup>1</sup>ri-mut)  
1. (582) s. of Ašaggī, wit., 1:6.

2. (566) s. of Ahušunu, 8:5.
3. f. of Etellu, desc. of  
<sup>d</sup>Samaš-[X], 13:10.
4. f. of Kurbanni, desc. of  
<sup>h</sup>Itinnu, 20:Rev.3'.  
<sup>d</sup>Rīmūt-<sup>d</sup>Bēl (<sup>1</sup>ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN)  
  1. (571) s. of Nādin-apli, 5:3.
  2. (569) s. of Nādin-apli, 6:1.<sup>d</sup>Rīmūt-[<sup>d</sup>X.X] (<sup>1</sup>ri-mut-[<sup>d</sup>X.X])  
(584+), <sup>h</sup>qalla ša <sup>d</sup>Mār-bīti-  
[X.X], 17:2.
- Saggil (<sup>1</sup>SAG.GIL) (603) s. of  
Nūreya, desc. of Irani, 16:2.
- Silim-ili (<sup>1</sup>si-lim-ili<sub>3</sub>) (566) s. of  
Labāši, wit., 8:13.
- <sup>d</sup>Sin-iddin (<sup>1</sup>30<sup>1</sup>.MU) f. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-  
iddin, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-ušur,  
15:16.
- Šillā (<sup>1</sup>sil-la-a) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-ētir-  
napšāti, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-qarrad-  
ilī, 19:23.
- Ša-<sup>d</sup>Nabû-šu (<sup>1</sup>š<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-š<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>2</sub>) f. of  
<sup>d</sup>Samaš-šum-ušur, 4:9.
- Šākin-šum (<sup>1</sup>GAR.MU) f. of <sup>d</sup>Samaš-  
zēr-līšir, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Rē'i, 2:24;  
15:8.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-ah-iddin (<sup>1</sup>UTU.ŠEŠ.MU) (563)  
s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-nā'id, desc. of  
Kidin-<sup>d</sup>Sin, 18:6,8.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-bānī-ah (<sup>1</sup>UTU.DU<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ) (578)  
s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šar-ušur, wit.,  
14:5.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-bēl-zēri (<sup>1</sup>UTU.EN.NUMUN)  
(567) s. of Babiya, desc. of  
<sup>h</sup>Rab-bānū, scribe, 7:Rev.3'.

- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-ēreš (<sup>1</sup>UTU.KAM<sub>2</sub>) (585+) s. of  
Eribšu, 10:1,7,8,10,13,17,18.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-ina-tēšī-ētir (<sup>1</sup>UTU-ina-SUH<sub>3</sub>.  
SUR)  
  1. f. of <sup>d</sup>Samaš-zēr-iqīša, 2:1.
  2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-[X.X], 22:Rev.  
4'.<sup>d</sup>Samaš-mukīn-apli (<sup>1</sup>UTU.GUB.A)  
(603) f.'s name broken, desc. of  
<sup>h</sup>Šangū-Dilbat, wit., 20:Rev.1'.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-rihit-ušur (<sup>1</sup>UTU<sup>1</sup>-ri-ih(?)-  
tu(?)-URU<sub>3</sub>) (580) 2:5.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-šum-līšir (<sup>1</sup>UTU.MU.GIŠ)  
(574+) s. of Marduk, 11:2.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-šum-ukīn (<sup>1</sup>URU.MU.GUB) (580)  
s. of Aplā, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Amurru-  
udammiq, <sup>h</sup>akli ša Ebabbar, 15:7.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-šum-ušur (<sup>1</sup>UTU.MU.URU<sub>3</sub>)  
  1. (580) s. of Apkallu, <sup>h</sup>tupšar  
ša Ebabbar, 15:6.
  2. (576) s. of Ša-<sup>d</sup>Nabû-šu,  
wit., 4:8.<sup>d</sup>Samaš-uballit (<sup>1</sup>UD.TIN-it) (603)  
desc. of <sup>h</sup>Malāhu, wit., 16:8.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-ušallim (<sup>1</sup>UTU.GI) (584+) s.  
of Arad-<sup>d</sup>Nabû, desc. of Eda-  
ētir, wit., 17:10.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-zēr-ibnī (<sup>1</sup>UTU.NUMUN<sup>1</sup>.DU<sub>3</sub>)  
(576) s. of Šāpik, wit., 4:10.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-zēr-iddin (<sup>1</sup>UTU.NUMUN.<sup>1</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>)  
(569) s. of Labāši, 6:3.
- <sup>d</sup>Samaš-zēr-iqīša (<sup>1</sup>UTU.NUMUN.BA-š<sub>2</sub>)  
  1. (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Samaš-ina-tēšī-  
ētir, 2:1,8,9,11.

2. (574) s. of Šuzubu, wit., 12:9.
- <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr-līšir (<sup>1d</sup>UD.NUMUN.GIŠ)
  1. (580) s. of Šākin-šum, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Rē'i, <sup>h</sup>akli ša Ebabbar, 15:8.
  2. (580) s. of Šākin-šum, wit., 2:23.
- <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr-ušabši (<sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.GAL<sub>2</sub>-š<sub>2</sub>i)
  1. (581) f.'s name broken, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-[X], 13:3.
  2. (578) s. of Etellu, 14:1.
- <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr[X] (<sup>1d</sup>UTU.NUMUN.[X]) (581) s. of Balātu, a.'s name broken, scribe, 13:12.
- <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-[X]
  1. desc. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr-ušabši and [X.X], 13:4.
  2. desc. of Etellu and Rīmūt, 13:10.
- <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-[X.X.X] (567) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nergal-ušēzib, wit., 7:Rev.1'.
- <sup>h</sup>Sangū-Dilbat ([LU<sub>2</sub>] 'SANGA' DIL.BAT. KI) a. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-mukīn-apli and [. . .], 20:Rev.2'.
- Šapik (<sup>1</sup>ša<sub>2</sub>-pik) f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr-ibni, 4:11.
- Šulā (<sup>1</sup>šu-la-a)
  1. (581) s. of Šullummaya, wit., 21:8.
  2. (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-nā'id], wit., 2:15.
- Šullum (<sup>1</sup>šul-lum) (580) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-ēreš, desc. of Iddin-<sup>d</sup>Amurru, wit., 15:15.
- Šullummaya (<sup>1</sup>šul-lum-ma-a) f. of Šulā, 21:9.
- Šum-iddin (<sup>1</sup>MU.MU)
  1. (585+) s. [<sup>1</sup>X.X-<sup>d</sup>]Gula, wit., 10:21.
  2. (580) 2:5.
- Šum-ukīn (<sup>1</sup>MU.GUB)
  1. (563) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-tāriš, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-bēl-ilī, wit., 18:13.
  2. f. of Rāši-ili, 5:4.
  3. f. of [<sup>1</sup>X.X.GAR]-un, 14:7.
- Šuzubu (<sup>1</sup>šu-zu-bu) f. of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš-zēr-iqīša, 12:10.
- <sup>h</sup>Tabihu (LU<sub>2</sub> GIR<sub>2</sub>.LA<sub>2</sub>) a. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-šum-iškun and Iqīša, 15:2.
- Tabiya (<sup>1</sup>DU<sub>10</sub>.GA-ia<sub>2</sub>) f. of Zākir, desc. of Kidinu-<sup>d</sup>Marduk, 15:20.
- Tabneā (<sup>1</sup>tab-ni-e-a) f. of Gimillu, 14:3.
- Ubar (<sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub>-bar) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-iddin, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Bēlet-ēreš, 19:20.
- Ubarya (<sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub>-bar-ia)
  1. (585+) s.'s name broken, 10:20.
  2. (<sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub>-bar-[ia]) (576) s. of Hašdiya, 4:1.
- <sup>d</sup>Uraš-bāni-zēr (<sup>1d</sup>URAS.DU<sub>3</sub>.NUMUN) (591) s. of Zākir, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-dipar-ilī, 19:2,6,13,15.

<sup>d</sup>Uraš-iddin (<sup>1d</sup>URAS.MU) (591) s. of  
Kunā, desc. of Līširi, 19:3.

<sup>d</sup>Uraš-šum-ibnī (<sup>1d</sup>URAS.MU.DU<sub>3</sub>) (591)  
s. of Mukīn-apli, desc. of <sup>d</sup>Ea-  
qarrad-ilī, wit., 19:18.

Zabdiya (<sup>1</sup>za-ab-di-ia) (577) s. of  
MAN(?) - kanu, wit., 3:15.

Zākir (<sup>1</sup>za-kir)

1. (580) s. of Tābiya, desc. of  
Kidinu-<sup>d</sup>Marduk, scribe,  
15:20.

2. f. of <sup>d</sup>Uraš-bāni-zēr, desc.  
of <sup>d</sup>Ea-dipar-ilī, 19:2.

Zēriya

1. ([<sup>1</sup>]NUMUN-ia<sub>2</sub>) (585+) f.'s  
name broken, desc. of <sup>h</sup>Asū,  
10:21.

2. (<sup>1</sup>NUMUN-ia) f. of Gimillu,  
4:12.

Zērūtu

1. (<sup>1</sup>NUMUN-tu) (date broken) s.  
of <sup>d</sup>Bēl-apla-iddin, wit.,  
22:Rev.2'.

2. (<sup>1</sup>NUMUN-tu<sub>2</sub>) f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-  
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Partially broken names (beginning  
destroyed)

[<sup>1d</sup>X.X.GAR]-un (578) s. of Šum-ukīn,  
scribe, 14:7.

[<sup>1d</sup>X].GI (date broken) s. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū-  
[X].[X], 24:1'.

[<sup>1</sup>X.X-<sup>d</sup>][gu]-la f. of Šum-iddin,  
10:22.

[<sup>1</sup>X].[X.URU<sub>3</sub>] f. of <sup>d</sup>Nabū(?) - [X].[X],  
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20:Rev.1'

22:Rev.5',Rev.5'.

23:3',4'



HORN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM TEXTS

INDEX OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

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Borsippa (BAR.SIP.KI), 17:7,15; ([*bar-sip*]<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-KI), 18:16.

Dilbat (DIL.BAD.KI), 19:24.

Dūr-ša-lāsime ([URU]<sup>1</sup> BAD<sub>3</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> la-si<sub>3</sub>-me-e), 4:14.

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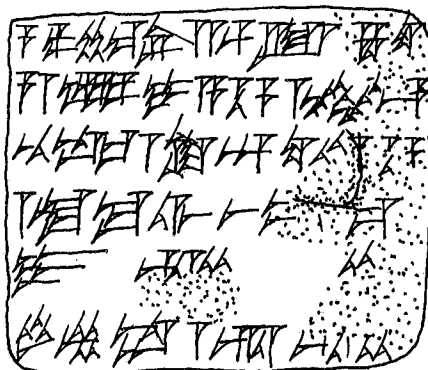
# HORN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM TEXTS

## CONCORDANCE OF MUSEUM NUMBERS

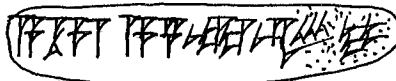
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73.2802	22	73.2972	15
73.2828	21	73.2973	18
73.2855	10	73.2981	12
73.2864	19	73.2984	4
73.2902	13	73.2992	17
73.2908	3	73.3024	20
73.2919	23	73.3051	24
73.2924	14	73.3056	6
73.2927	1	73.3060	5
73.2960	16	73.3065	8
73.2966	7	73.3068	9

1

Obv.



Lo.E.



Rev.



Le.E. 23

**Obv.**

°overerasure  
\*erasure

- **overerasure**

5

**Lo. E.**

10

**Rev.**

° ° overerasure

continuation of line 5  
onto Rev. 15

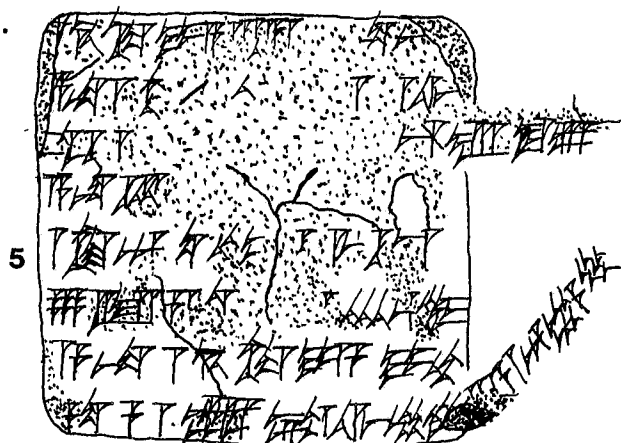
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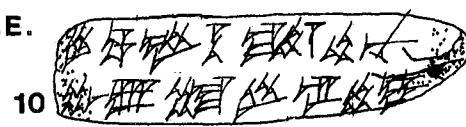
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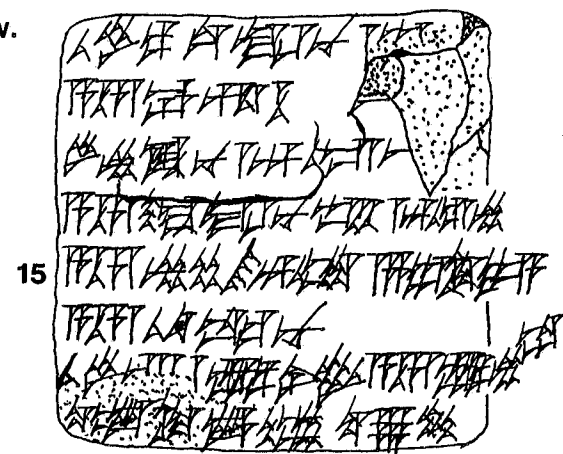
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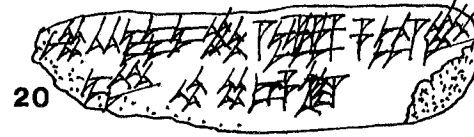
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Rev.

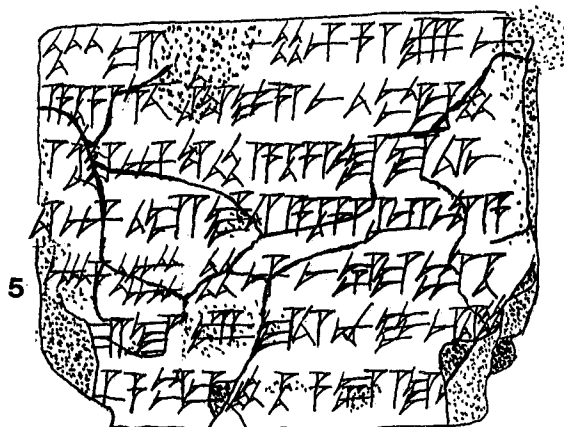


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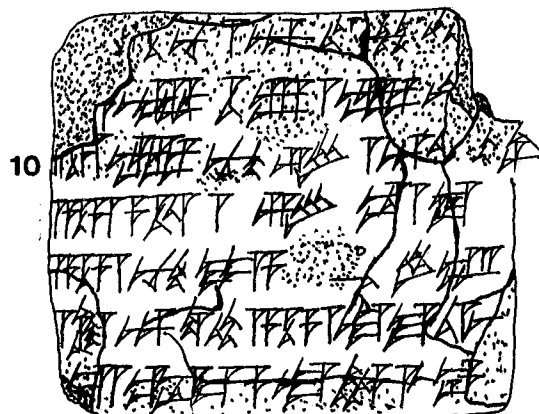


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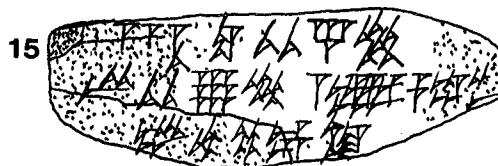
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Rev.

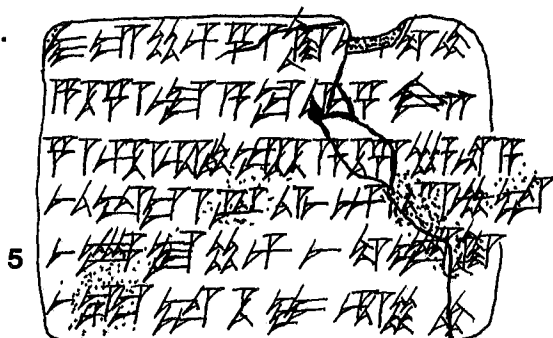


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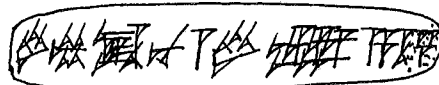


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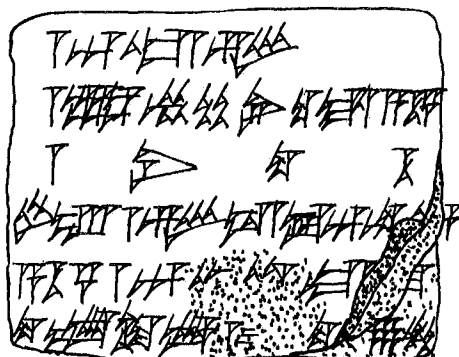


Lo. E.



Rev.

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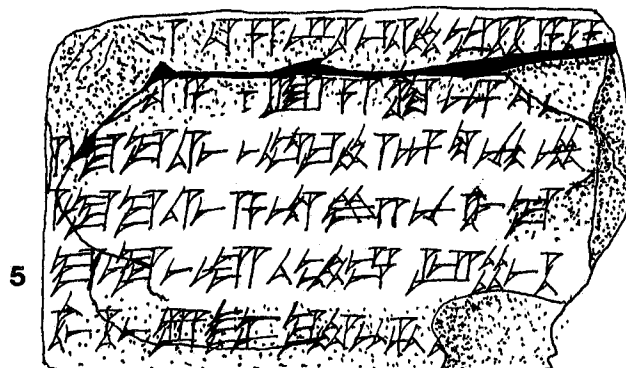
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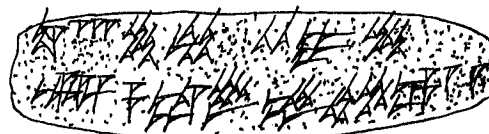
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Rev.



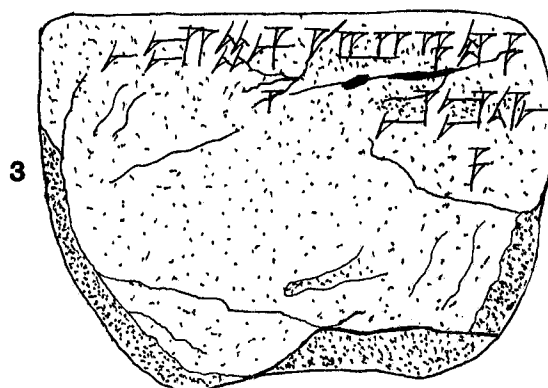
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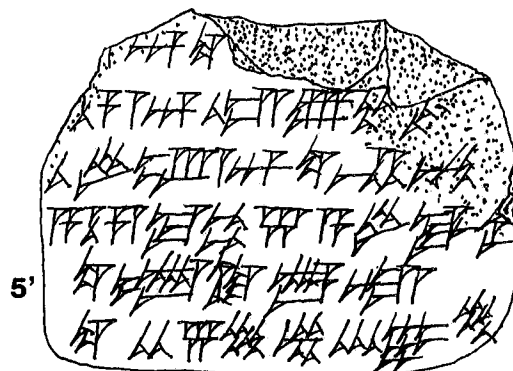


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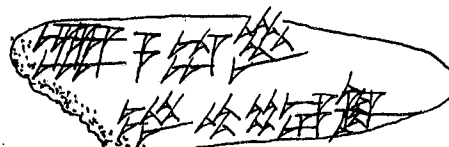
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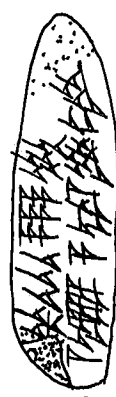
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U.E.



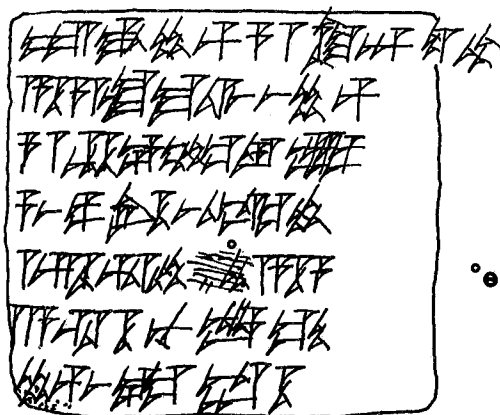
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Obv.

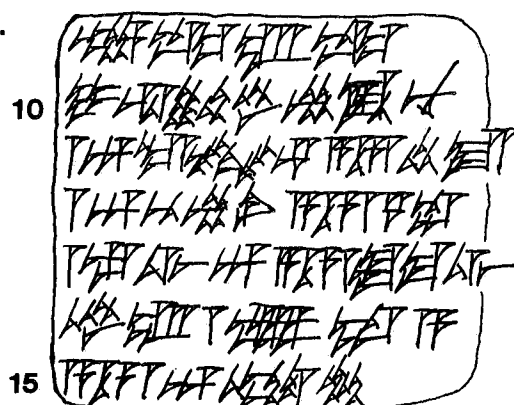


erasure

Lo.E.

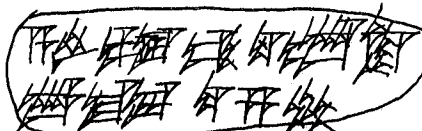


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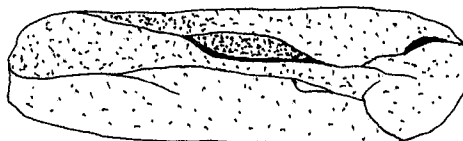


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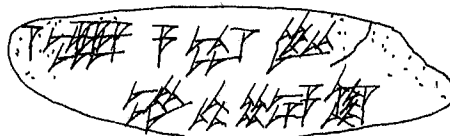
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Rev.



U.E.



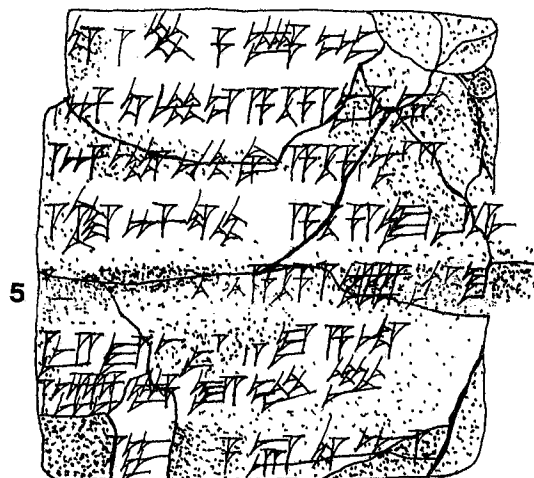
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Obv.

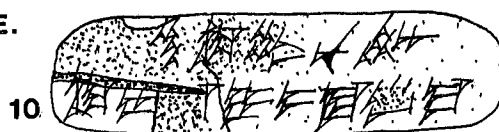
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11

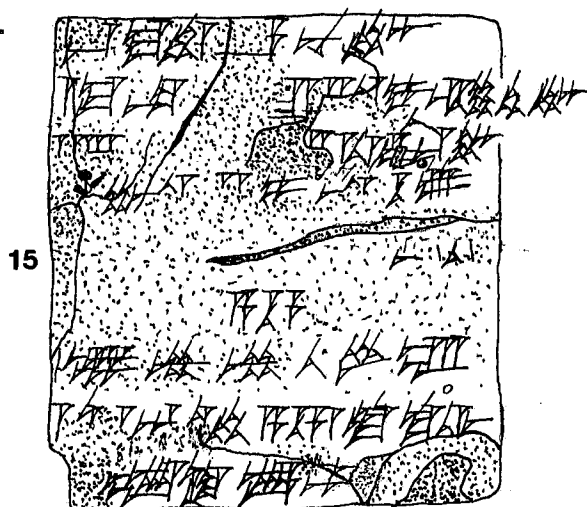
Obv.



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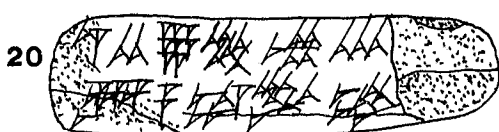
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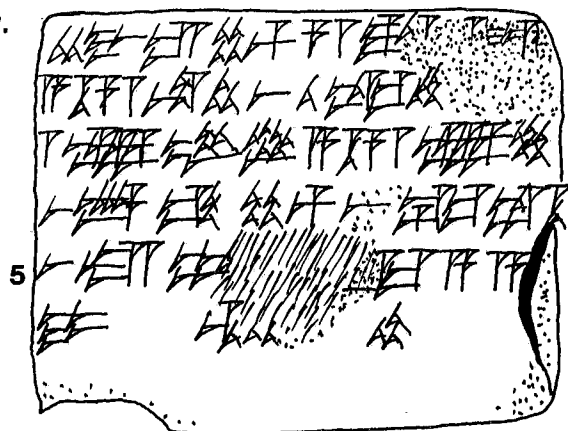
°overerasure

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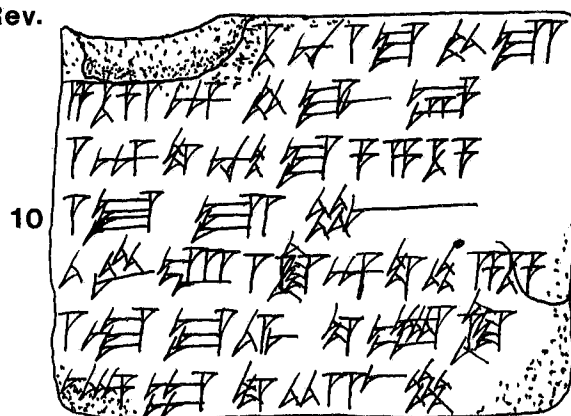


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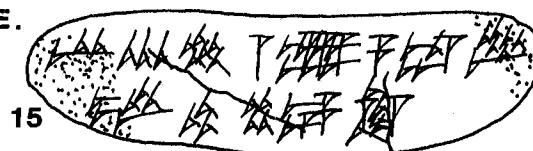
Obv.



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13

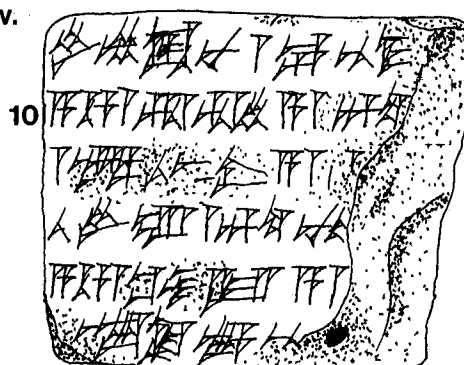
Obv.



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Rev.

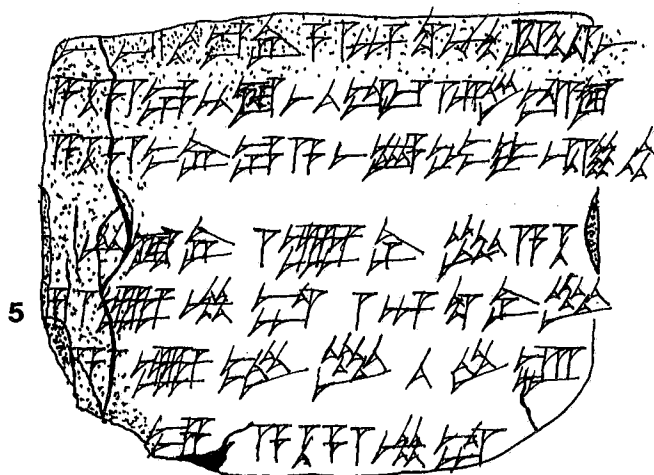


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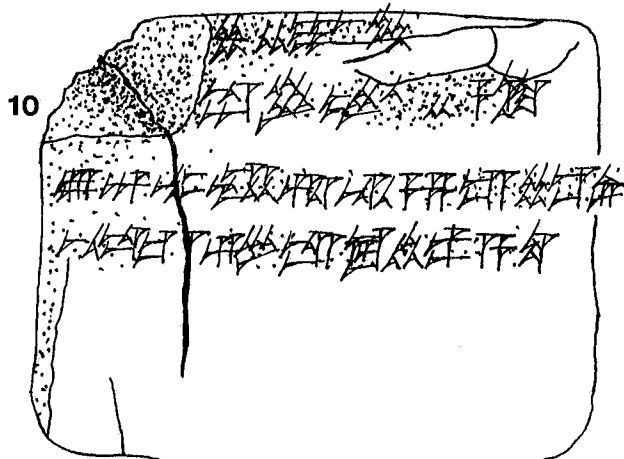
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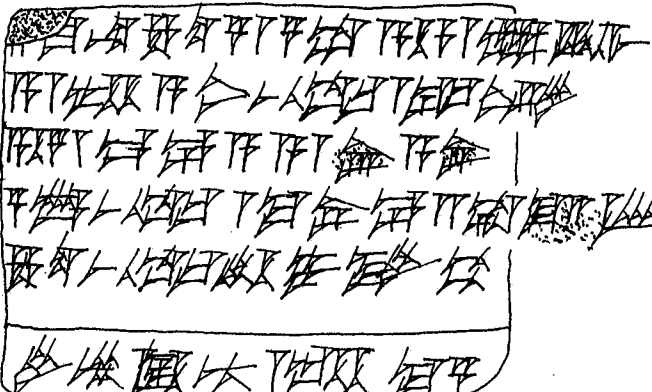
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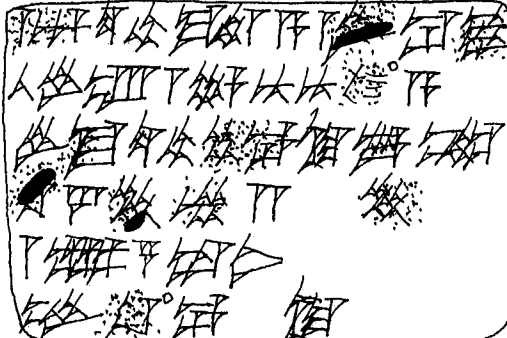
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Rev.

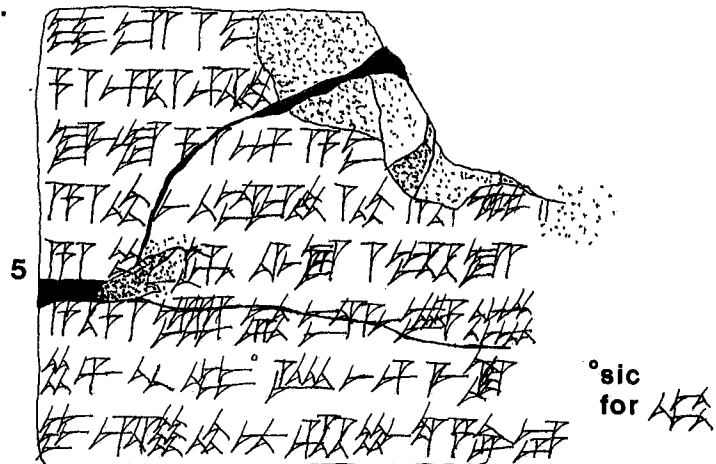
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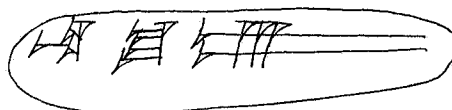
°erasure

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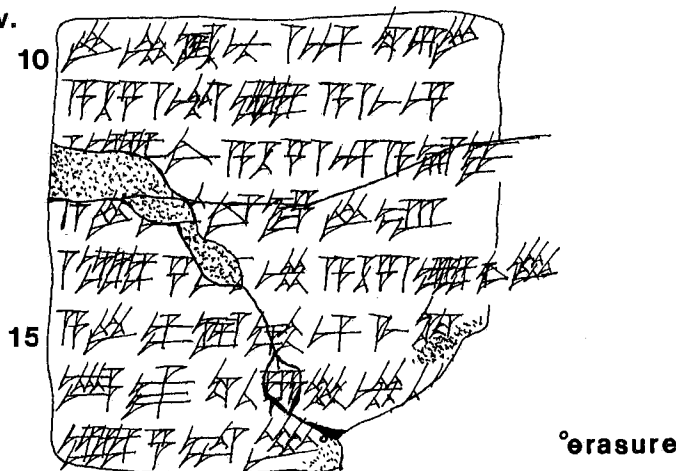
Obv.



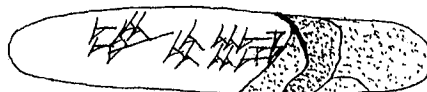
Lo.E.



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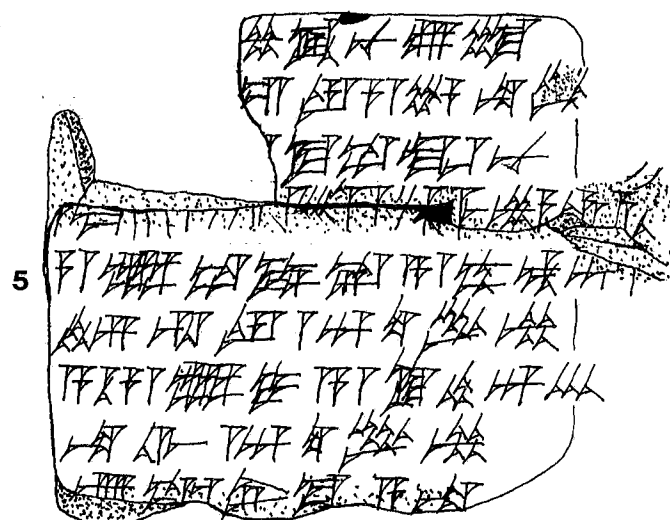


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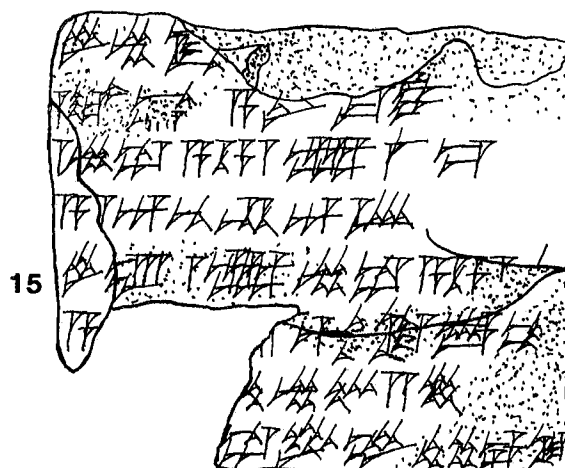


Lo.E.

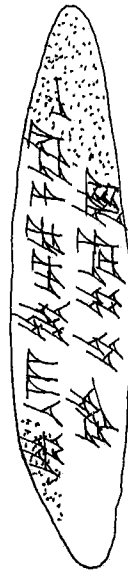
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Rev.



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Obv.

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20

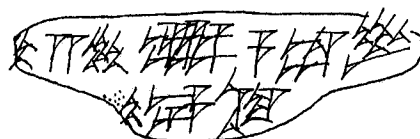
Obv.



Rev.



U.E.



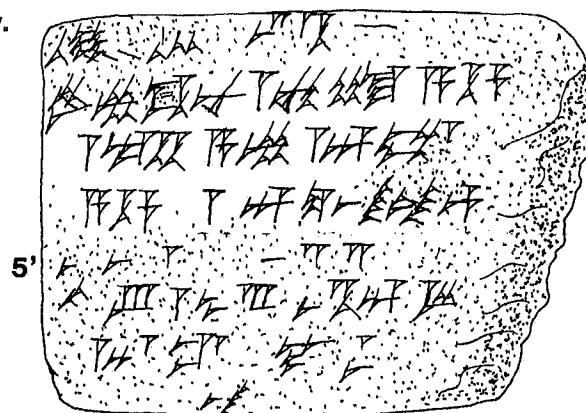
21

Obv.

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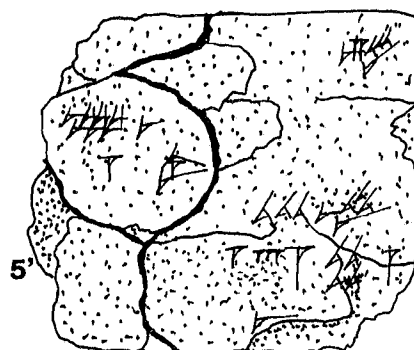
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