A MINOR OLD BABYLONIAN ARCHIVE
ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF PERSONNEL

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"Yet they escaped. For I stayed"
R. Kipling

The texts published in this article share the following common features:1

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

The texts are part of the holdings of the British Museum. Nine of the twelve tablets (nos. 12814–12874) are described in Figulla’s Catalogue, CBT I; the remaining three (nos. 23134, 23138 and 23166) were discovered in the manuscript of the unpublished second volume of the catalogue, H. H. Figulla, M. Sigrist, and C.F.B. Walker, CBT II, that Sigrist and Walker kindly put at our disposal. The tablets are published here with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. P. Mander, who subsequently collated the tablets, drew the hand copies; the Photographic Service of the British Museum prepared the photographs.4

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

We are preparing similar unpublished Old Babylonian documents in the British Museum for publication.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

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

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

3. In CBT I no. 12814 is described as: “Contract between PN₁ and PN₂ concerning allocation of work to substitutes of younger brothers;” the following numbers refer to this one, with the note: “Contract similar to 12814.”

4. We offer a special thanks to the photographers of the British Museum for their kind collaborative spirit.
tute workers. By the same token, this kind of personnel transfer is quite different from the one studied by C. Zaccagnini in 1983. Because of the unique nature of the documentation, we provide both copies and photographs of the tablets, whose surface is often eroded: only 12850 (= text 12) has not been copied here since a photograph will suffice.

The texts are arranged in chronological order.

a) Museum number = edition number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum number</th>
<th>Edition number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12814</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12822</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>23166</td>
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</table>

b) Edition number = Museum number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edition number</th>
<th>Museum number</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>23138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12831</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>12874</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>12854</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

1. Description of the Texts

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 30/VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 3/IX</td>
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<td>3 4/IX</td>
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<td>4 17/IX</td>
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<td>5 18/IX</td>
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<td>6 18/IX</td>
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<td>7 20/IX</td>
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<td>8 20/IX</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 21/IX</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 26/IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 [x]/IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 [x]/IX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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


7. The term dah (Akkadian tashhum), in reference to a person, is usually translated either “added” or “substitute” (see
less regularly (texts 5 obv. 9; 9 obv. 3 and 10 obv. 9), by a “senior” (šu), who is his father, or by a “junior” (tur: texts 3 obv. 3; 4 obv. 10), who may also be his brother. The next section registers the transfer in the opposite direction of his “substitute” (pūhšu), similarly accompanied by his dah, šu or tur. In text 4 obv. 3, a “reservist” (diri) instead of the “senior” is transferred in both directions. Texts 11 and 12 are exceptions since they deal with the transfer of one person only.

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

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

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

- urukár-râ-pâ-bru-lu?ki (text 3 obv. 9)
- uru-â-en-kiki (text 10 obv. 3)
- uru ha-an-zí-pa-ta-nu?ki (texts 6 obv. 3, 7 obv. 3)
- uru-i-din-du (text 4 rev. 1)
- uru-i-gu-ne (text 2 rev. 2)
- uru-kâ-âš-pa-a-nu-umkî (text 8 obv. 9)
- uru-ki-bur-ma-meîkî (text 11 obv. 2, 12 obv. 2)
- uru-na-ap-sa-nu-umkî (texts 8 obv. 3, 9 obv. 4)
- uru-nam-ramkî (texts 5 obv. 4)
- uru-pa-lâ-ma-hi-lumkî (text 4 obv. 6)
- uru-ra-ha-samkî (text 12 obv. 9)
- uru-ri-ib-bi-i (text 2 obv. 6)
- uru-ra-zú-samkî (text 3 obv. 4)

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

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

a) (1 éren) PN₁ dumu PN₂
b) dah PN₃ šeš-ni
c) (PlaceN)
d) šà ProfN₃ nī-šu PN₄
e) a-na ProfN₄ nī-šu PN₅
f) nadin
g) puḫšu PN₆
h) dah PN₇ šeš-ni
i) (PlaceN)
j) šà ProfN₇ nī-šu PN₈
l) a-na ProfN₈ nī-šu PN₉
m) (PlaceN)
 n) nadin
 o) (kišib PN)
p) date

2. Groups of Workers and Their Superiors

The most frequently mentioned groups of workers involved by this replacement of personnel are the soldiers (āga-uš, 11 texts) and the crew of “cargo-ships” (mā-ì-dub, 6 texts). In addition, there are ox drivers (åà-guš, texts 5–6), shepherds (ka-bar, text 3) and donkeys (text 11), conscripts of the royal army (ēren ka-kešda lugal, text 2), charioteers (kir-i-dib, text 1), and fullers (lúazlag₄ text 4). More precisely, almost all the teams mentioned in the first section of our texts join contingents of soldiers (āga-uš). The only exception is text 11: Here a person leaves the āga-uš and becomes, or returns to, his former occupation (see §4) as a shepherd of donkeys. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that text 11 is the only text of the archive that ends with a list of witnesses, among whom there are military officers such as an ugula-mar-tu and a nu-bànda.

For each of these groups of workers the name of the person in charge is mentioned: As a rule his name is preceded by the term nī-šu, though somewhere the formula a-na PN replaces nī-šu PN.

From the use of both expressions in the same text (11) and in reference to the same person, the ugula-mar-tu Bēššunu, it may be inferred that they had the same meaning. On the other hand, the expression ugula PN replaces nī-šu PN in text 2 and precedes it in 4. The persons under whose responsibility the various contingents of āga-uš are reported to act are Arwium (texts 8–9), Inbūša (text 3), Marduk-našir (texts 5–7), Uraš-muballit (text 10), Uši-nūrum (text 1 and 4) and Bēššunu, the last with the title of ugula-mar-tu (texts 11, 12). Also, the groups of employees in the mā-ì-dub, and consequently their officials, are mentioned

13. For this type of ship, attested only in OB texts, and which may carry a burden of 60–120 gur of various goods, see A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, StOr 8/4 (Helsinki, 1939), 35–36, sub “mā-ì-dub. The letter AbB 2, 36, must be mentioned in connection with our texts, which register employees among the cargo of such ships: Hammurabi informs Sîn-iddinam about the energetic protest of a certain Tarbatum concerning the non-arrival of personnel, and regrets the delay in the construction of the mā-ì-dubs. Consequently, the king orders Sîn-iddinam to send the ērens to Tarbatum at once, and, in addition, exacts a list of the personnel in question with the indication of their names and relative fees. A mā-ì-dub āga-uš₅, likely “a cargo-ship (under guard) of soldiers,” is mentioned in L. Speleers, *RIAAM*, 228 obv. 10 (H 41) (see J. R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* [Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957], 187, n. 3). The mention of this ship is preceded by the name of five PA.PA with their nu-bàndas, and of one ugula-mar-ta.

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

15. An Uraš-muballit with the title of ugula-mar-tu occurs in a letter of Hammurabi (AbB 4, 36 obv. 6) but, in all probability, he has no relationship with the namesake of our text, even though the latter also served in the army.
A MINOR OLD BABYLONIAN ARCHIVE ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF PERSONNEL

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

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

3. The Seal Impressions

All the tablets of the archive appear to bear seal impressions, although only three texts (1 rev. 4; 3 rev. 1; 6 rev. 4) include the expression kišib PN. The names occurring in those expressions are Sîn-iṟīb (text 1), and Iribaḫ-Sīn (text 2), while in text 6 two names actually occur, namely Sîn-iṟīb and Tarību. Since the seal impressions of texts 1 and 3 are illegible, it is impossible to make sure whether the names mentioned in the expression kišib PN actually occur in the seal legends as well. In text 6 the name of the owner of the seal, Ur-Ninsiana, in its legend, is different from both the names mentioned in the phrase kišib PN. Considering the relationship among seal legends and content of the tablets they are impressed upon, it is remarkable that the legend of seal B (for these denominations, see below), occurring in texts 2, 8, and 9, perfectly matches texts 8 and 9 (both documents record transfers on consecutive days, 20th and 21st) with the names of the same officials (nī-šu) of the āgā-uš (Arwium) and the má-i-dub (Šamaš-magir). The same similarities occur in the tablets 5 and 6 whereon the legend E is impressed: the same persons are in charge of the soldiers and of the ox drivers and the two texts are dated to the 18th and to 20th days respectively.

In conclusion, it should be noted that of the four individuals whose names are readable in the seal legends, Šamaš-magir (seal B), is the person in charge of the má-i-dub on the three texts in which the seal is impressed, Mari-Amurrum (seal H, text 11) is the nu-bānda mentioned in that same text at the bottom of the list of the witnesses, and Habilkūnum (seal 1, text 12) is one of the two nu-bānda cited at the end of that text. In contrast, Ur-Ninsiana (seal E) seems not to be mentioned in the two documents impressed by his seal (5 and 6).

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

A) Text 1: totally illegible
B) Texts 2, 8, 9: Šamaš-magir, dumu Šīn-magir, īr Šīm-um
C) Text 3: ..., i-št, ..., A-MAS ..., īr ..., [i] AN ...
D) Text 4: Šīn-..., dumu Šīn-..., īr ī-kab-[ī]
E) Texts 5, 6: ur-Šīn-sīm-an-na, īr Šīn-šubur-palil, ā-MI’ ...
F) Text 7: Šīn-..., dumu ..., īr Šīm-um
G) Text 10: Šīn-..., dumu x ..., īr dū ...
H) Text 11: ma-rī-Šīm-um, dumu a-b[l]-i-li, [ār] Šīm-um
I) Text 12: ha-bil-ki-nu-um, dumu nu-ra-tum, īr Šīm


Scribal Hands

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

Hand a: texts 1, 2, and 5. This scribe to uses the grapheme ū instead of uh in the word pūšu.

Hand b: texts 9, and 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PN dumu PN dah PN şeš-ni</td>
<td>šà kirù-dib̂ nã nikù PN</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>na-di-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dumu PN dah PN şeš-ni</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na kirù-dib̂ a-na PN</td>
<td>na-di-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[PN] dumu PN [dah] PN şeš-ni</td>
<td>[šà mā]i-dub ugula PN</td>
<td>[a-na éren] ka-keïda</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dumu PN dah PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà éren ka-keïda lugal nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na má-i-dub</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>PN dah PN şeš-ni tur PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ka-bar u₂-udu-hā nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dah PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na ka-bar u₂-udu-hā nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PN dumu PN dah diri PN ad-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà hazlag₄, ugula PN nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ki-ma PN dumu PN dah tur-ra PN şeš-ni diri PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ₄</td>
<td>a-na hazlag₄</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>PN dumu PN dah PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà-gu₄ nì-šù PN PlaceN</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dah PN şeš-ni šù PN PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN PlaceN</td>
<td>[a-na šà-gu₄, nì-šù PN (?)]</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>PN dumu PN dah PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà-gu₄ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dah PN, PN şeš-ni šù PN PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na šà-gu₄ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 éren PN dah PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dah PN dumu PN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PN … dah PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dumu PN dah PN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>PN dumu PN dah PN şeš-ni šù PN PlaceN</td>
<td>šà má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na àga-ulmeš nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dah PN dumu PN ü PN … PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ [nì-šù PN]</td>
<td>a-na má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PN dumu PN dah PN şeš-ni PlaceN</td>
<td>šà má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dumu PN dah PN şeš-ni šù PN ad-si PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PN dumu PN PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na ka-bar anše-hâ a-na PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN lù PN dah PN şeš-ni</td>
<td>šà ka-bar anše-hâ</td>
<td>a-na àga-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PN PlaceN nu-bànda PN ugula PN</td>
<td>šà má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na PN ugula-mar-tu</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>pu-uh-šu PN dumu PN PlaceN</td>
<td>šà ága-úñ nì-šù PN</td>
<td>a-na má-i-dub nì-šù PN</td>
<td>PlaceN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that the sealings do not match the scribal hands: text 5, written by Hand a, is sealed by Seal E, while text 2, from the same hand, is sealed by Seal B. This latter is also impressed on text 9, which was been written by Hand b. One must conclude that the seals impressed on the tablets did not belong to the scribes who actually wrote them.

(P.M.)

4. Relationships with Other Old Babylonian Documents

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

Some interesting parallels with our archive are supplied by a few long registers of personnel: here too, we find that the previous employment and most probably to his original center of activity. This worker had been transferred (in-na-ad-na) as “added soldier” (a-na dah àga-ušmes) and now another individual replaces him for the same task: pihšu ana dah àga-ušmes ana ipiq-ilšu u tarišbatum dumumes du-ub-ba nadin “his substitute has been given, as added soldier, to Ipiq-ilšu and Tarišbatum, the (military) secretaries(?).” Compared to the texts so far, this tablet provides further evidence that this replacement of personnel has been established “by order of the king” (ana qabê åarrim). However, such an order is most likely evident in the present texts.

Somewhat similar is the record of a man who has been transferred (in-na-ad-na) from the position of a worker to that of a military secretary: pihšu ana dah àga-ušmes ana ipiq-ilšu u tarišbatum dumumes du-ub-ba nadin “his substitute has been given, as added soldier, to Ipiq-ilšu and Tarišbatum, the (military) secretaries(?).” Compared to the texts so far, this tablet provides further evidence that this replacement of personnel has been established “by order of the king” (ana qabê åarrim). However, such an order is most likely evident in the present texts.

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A similar terminology concerning the military and civil personnel occurs in some tallies from Tutub-Khafaje (S. Greengus, Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity [Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1979], NN.314–316; see also NN.317–318). The surface of these tablets is divided into five or more columns. The headings contain the names of the categories of the workers, whose number is inserted in the various columns. Left to right, these...
columns are characterized by the terms sag, dah, diri, tur and šu, all recurring in our texts as well, apart from the first indicating the principal worker of the team. Tablet N.314, the only almost complete text, retains the name of the official ni-šu and the date (Si 27). Tablet N.315, dated to Si 15, is chronologically closer to the present archive. A few muster rolls (Greengus, *OB Tablets from Ishchali*, 305–13), coming from the same site, record the names of érens, in some cases with the addition of the respective dah, diri and tur. The first of these texts, dated to an undeterminable year of Samsu-iluna, gives the total of 13 éren-sag tur šē-sī, “13 soldiers (and) the juniors, their brothers.”

Some letters addressed by Hammurabi to Sîn-iddinam refer to the same replacement of personnel registered in our texts. Generally in these letters, Hammurabi relates the complaint of several authorities against the fact that workers under their responsibility have been shifted to some other activities and angrily demands an explanation of such a breach of the orders written on sealed tablets. The tablets of this archive most likely belong to the category of documents mentioned by Hammurabi. The protest of the kizûm Sîn-magir is reported in A. Ungnad, *BB*, 38 since his millers have been transferred to a contingent of soldiers.18 Similarly, in *AbB* 2, 1 Hammurabi orders the baker Gimillum and his dah, established as àga-uš by Sîn-iddinam, be returned to their previous jobs while a substitute will be employed as soldier,19 and in *AbB* 2, 43 Hammurabi reproaches Sîn-iddinam for the enlistment among the àga-uš of the énsi Sîn-ilÌ, whom the king had placed under the responsibility of another official. In the meantime, Hammurabi orders the finding of substitutes for the sons/assistants of Sîn-ilÌ who have also been enrolled as soldiers, so that they can return, probably together with their father, to their previous activities.20

A complaint is also the topic of the letter A. Ungnad, *BB*, 37. Three chief-shepherds complain about the shift of some ka-bars to a contingent of àga-uš without being replaced.21 A list of these individuals follows, indicated by their personal names and patronymics or place of origin, plus the mention of their brothers-dah as well as of the na-gadas under whose responsibility they previously worked. The letter ends with the statement that, “it is written in the muster roll of the palace: ‘they are shepherds’” and with the order to return them to their rightful persons in charge.22 The same order regarding some ka-bars, employed, without the regular authorization, as àga-uš23 is notified in *AbB* 2, 3. As to the last two letters, note that texts 3 and 11 and the above-discussed *CT* 8, 32, Bu. 91-5, 545 also deal with these two groups of workers, the ka-bar and the àga-uš.

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

22. i-na dub é-gal ki-à-am ša-te-er ka-barasša šu-šu ki-ma i-na dub é-gal ša-at-ru a-pu-ul-ši-nu-ti (rev. 17–20).
23. ka-barasša ni-šu a-pil-ìtutu à na-ra-am-men zu [a]-na àga-ušša la à-ma-al-lú-ši (obv. 9–11).
5. The Origins of the Archive

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

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

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

Transcriptions and Translations

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

obv. 1) apil-dmar-tu dumu apil-eš-tár
   2) dah in-bi-i-li-šu šeš-ni
   3) šá kir₂-dib₃neši
   4) ni-šu ḏen-zu-na-gir
   5) a-na āga-uš ni-šu ú-ši-nu-[rum]
   6) na-di-in
   7) pu-uh-šu a-wi-il₂-qiškur
   8) dumu qiškur-sar-rum
   9) dah ḏutu-mu-še-zib šeš-ni
  10) šá āga-uš ni-šu ú-ši-nu-rum

rev. 1) a-na kir₂-dib₂neši
   2) a-na nu-ár₂-dutu ū ap-lum
   3) na-di-in
   4) kišib ḏen-zu-i-ri-ba
   blank

5) itu apin-du₃-a u₃ 10×3-kam
6) mu [k]lib gú-du-a-bi šu₃-bir₂-li₅.ta₁

Seal. A
illegal

₁Apil-Amur rim, son of Apil-Eštar, (his) added worker being In bi-il₃šu, his brother, (his) has been given (from) the charioteers (under) the responsibility of Sin-magir, (to) the soldiers under the responsibility of Šu₅-n₃rum; (his) substitute (is) Awil-Adad, (son of) Adad-šarrum, (his) added worker being Šama₃-mu₃šezib, his brother: (his) has been given (from) the soldiers under the responsibility of Šu₅-n₃rum, (to) the charioteers, (to) Nîr-Šama₃ and Aplum. Seal of Sin-ir₃ba. S-VIII month, 30th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.
A MINOR OLD BABYLONIAN ARCHIVE ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF PERSONNEL

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

obv. 1) [ ] dumu a-wi-[i]-l-ilm
2) [dah qur'-d]j'-es₃-tár šeš-ni
3) [ša mā]-l₁-dub ugula ₃utu-ma-gir
4) [a-na éren] ka-kešda lugal
5) nī-šu in-bu-ša n[₄]-₅di-in₁
6) au₅-ib-bi-bi-i
7) pu-uh-šu u-bar₄-marduk dumu x-x
8) dah a-wi-il-a-[lu] šeš-ni
9) ša éren ka-kešda lugal nī-šu in-bu-ša

rev. 1) a-na má-₅-dub l₄na₁-[di-in]
2) au₅-gi-bu-NE
3) itu gan-gan-è u₃-kam₃ mu ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal / [k]lib gu₅-dù-a-bi / l₄su-bi₃₅-bi₃

Seal B
₄utu-ma-gir
dumu ₃en-zu-ma-gir
ir ₄mar-tu

₅[...], son of Awīl-ilim, ²(his) added worker being Qurdi(?)-Eštar, his brother, ₃has been given ⁴from the cargo-ships, (being) superintendent Šamaš-magir, ⁵to the soldiers of the army of the king ⁶under the responsibility of Inbuša ⁷of the town of Ribibi; ⁷his substitute (is) Ubar-Marduk, ⁹son of ..., ⁸(his) added worker being Awīljatum: ⁹(divine) has been given ⁸from the soldiers of the army of the king under the responsibility of Inbuša, ⁹to the cargo-ships of Šamaš-magir, ⁸of the town of IgibuNE. ⁹–IX month, ³rd day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Šamaš-magir, son of Šīn-magir, servant of (the god) Amurrum.
T.03 BM 23166; 4/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) m₂ṭib-li-[b[a-šu]
2) dah a-hu-[um š[ēš-ni]
3) tur pîr-hu-[um š[eš-ni]
4) a₅u-[a-ah-da₅]
5) ša ka-bar u₄-udu-hā ni'-šu / hal-bi-[ba-li-du-ka]
6) a-na åga-uš ni'-šu in-bu-ša
7) pu-uh-šu na-[bi-₅]en-zu x
8) dah be-li-da-aja-an šeš-ni
9) a₅gar-ra-[nin-PAP-lu₅]
10) ša åga-uš ni'-šu in-bu-ša
11) a-na ka-bar u₄-udu-hā
12) ni'-šu hal-bi-ba-li-du-ka

Lower Edge
13) na-di-in

rev. 1) kišib¹ i-[ri-ba-am]-₅en-zu blank
2) itu gan-gan-è u₄ 4-kam
3) mu kilb gû-du-a-bi

Seal C
[ ]-i-ì
[ ]-A-MAŠ
ir [ ]
[u] AN-[ ]

صلاة libbûšu, ṃ(his) added worker being Ahum, his brother, ṃ( and his) junior being Pirhum, his brother. ṃ(all of them are) of the town of Zahđa, ṃ(has been given) from the shepherds of ewes and sheep, under the responsibility of Halbi-baliduka, ṃto the soldiers under the responsibility of Inbûša; ṃhis substitute ( is) Nabi-Sîn .... ṃ(his) added worker being Bêli-dajjûn, his brother, ṃof the town of Garra-NinPAPlu (?); ṃ(e) ṃ(he) has been given ṃfrom the soldiers under the responsibility of Inbûša, ṃto the shepherds of ewes and sheep, ṃunder the responsibility of Halbi-baliduka. ṃSeal of Irîbam-Sîn. ṃ–½IX month, 4th day ( of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: …
A MINOR OLD BABYONIAN ARCHIVE ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF PERSONNEL 47

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

obv. 1) ípio-ir-hu-um dumu a-hu-um
2) dahi « »
3) diri a-hu-um ad-ni
4) ša 4ażlag ugula 6en-zu-še-me-š
5) ni-šu 4nanna-zi-ma-an-sum
6) 4pa-al-lu'-ma-hi-lum
7) a-na 4a-su-an-mez nī-šu ú-ši-nu-rum
8) na-di-in
9) ki-ma sa-an-bi-um dumu a-ša
Lower Edge
10) dahi tur-ra il-šu-ib-1ni-šu lšeš-ni
11) diri AN.NLIT.AN še[š-ni]

rev. 1) 4i-di-in 6en-zu-ški
2) ša 4a-su-an-mez
3) a-na 4ażlag mez na-di-in
blank
4) itu gan-gan-è u₄ 10+7-kam
5) nu kilib-bi gū-dū-a-bi / lše-su-bi₄ lseš-ta'

Seal D

den-zu-[ ]
dumu 6en-zu-[ ]
ìr 4kab-[ta]

Ór 1-Pirhum, son of Ahum, (his) added worker being ..., (his) reservist being Ahum, his father, 4has been given 'from the fullers, (whose superintendent is) Sîn-šemi, (under the responsibility of Nanna-zi-mansum, (of the town of) Pallumahilum 'to the soldiers under the responsibility of Üsi-nûrum; instead (of him,) Sanbium, son of Aša (?) , (his) added worker being the junior Išu-ibnišu, his brother, (his) reservist being AN.NLIT.AN, his brother —(all of them of the town of) Iddin-Sîn: (he) has been given, (from the soldiers, to the fullers. 4-5IX month, 17th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Sîn-..., son of Sîn-..., servant of (the deity) Kabta.
T.05 BM 12854; 18/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) *mi-li-ha-lum* dumu 4*ụtu-*
   2) dah i-*bi*-i*nî*nî-*bât* šeš-ni
   3) ša ša₄*gu₄* nî-šu ud-bal₄-a-nam-hé
   4) *uru*-sam-ru₄
   5) a-na a-ga-u₄*šu* 4*marduk₄*[na-ṣi]r
   6) na-di-in
   7) pu-ūh-šu e-zi₄*la*₄-eš₄₄-tár₄
   8) dah ki-*ma*-i₄₄*lim* šeš-ni
   9) šu di₄*šu*₄ [ad-aš]
   10) ša a-gu-u₄*šu* 

broken

rev. 1) [ ] x
   2) ugula a-hu-*um*

blank

3) itu gan-gan-è u₄ 10+8-kam

4) mu kilib ġu₄-dù-a-bi / kis-su-bir₄

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Seal E

ur₄₄*nî*-si₄₄-*an-na
ir 4*nî*-sbùr-palîl
e-MI₄₄-x-x-x

⁰ ¹Ilî-ha-lum, son of Šamaš..., ²(his) added worker being Ibbi-Nînîbûr, his brother, ³ has been given ⁴ from the ox-drivers under the responsibility of Udbala-namhe ⁵ (from the town of) Namrum, ⁶ to the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-naṣîr (?); ⁷ his substitute (is) Eziz-Eštar (?), ⁸ (his) added worker being Kîma-ilîm, his brother, ⁹ (his) senior being Di..., his father, ... ¹¹ ² superintendant Ahum; ¹² IX month, 18th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Ur(?)-Nînîsiana..., servant of Nînîbur-palîl, (of the house of) ...
T.06 BM 12842; 20/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) \(\text{mu} \ qí-iš-ti-il \ dumu \ a\text{-}la\text{-}x̄-a\)
2) dah \(\text{a}-\text{lí}-\text{lu}-\text{mur} \ šeš-ni\)
3) \(\text{a}-\text{ha-an-zí}\text{-}1\text{ pl}-\text{tu-nu}\)
4) ša ša-gu̱, ni-šu ud-bal-a-[na-am-hé]
5) \(\text{a}-\text{na} \ \text{aga-uššē}\text{-}1 \ \text{marduk-na-šir}\)
6) na-di-[in]
7) \(\text{pu}-\text{uh-šu} \ x-x-x-rā-bu\)
8) dah \(\text{šen}-\text{zu-ri-ba-am} \ \text{ta}-\text{ri-bu} / \ šeš-ni\)
9) šu̱ dumu-x-x ad-ni
10) ša ḡa-űššē
11) ni-šu \(\text{marduk-na-šir}\)

rev. 1) \(\text{a}-\text{na} \ \text{ša-gu},\)
2) ni-šu ud-bal-a-na-am-hé
3) na-di-in
4) kišib \(\text{30}-\text{ri-ba-am} \ \text{ta}-\text{ri-bu}\)
5) itu gan-gan-è u₃ \(10 \times 2\text{-}4\text{kam}\)
6) mu kilib gű-[dű-]a

Seal E
\(\text{ur}-\text{ni-si}-\text{an-na}\)
\(\text{ir} \ \text{nin-šubur-palil}\)
\(\text{é-MI}-\text{x-x-x}\)

\(\text{Qišṭi-ili, son of Aja...a, (his) added worker being Ali-lûmur, his brother, (of the town of) Hanzipatanu (has been given from the ox-drivers under the responsibility of Udbala-namhe, to the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-našir; (his substitute (is)... -razabu, (his) added worker being Sin-iribam (and) Tarîbu, his brothers, (his) senior being Mār-... his father: (he) has been given from the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-našir, to the ox-drivers under the responsibility of Udbala-namhe; seal of Sin-iribam (and) Tarîbu 5-6 IX month, 20th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.}

Seal: Ur(?)-Ninsiana..., servant of Ninšubur-palil, (of the house of)...\)
T.07 BM 12858; 20/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) 1 éren at-[t]a₁-a x a-bi-[ ]
2) dah i-li-ma-a-bi šeš-ni
3) [su]-an-zi₁-pa₁-ša₁
4) Išša₁ má-i-dub ni-šu d₃nanna-kar
5) a-na₁ āga-ūš₃₃₃₃ ni-šu d₃marduk-na-šir
6) i₁-na₁-di-in
7) Ipu-ūh-šu₁ nu-úr-₃₃₃₃₃₃₃ kab-ta x-x
8) dah i-li-ib-ni-a-ni
9) dumu ur₃nin-si₁-an-na
10) ša āga-ūš₃₃₃₃ ni-šu d₃marduk-na-šir

rev. 1) a-na má-i-dub
2) ni-šu d₃nanna-kar-a
3) na-di-in
blank
4) itu gan-gan-ē u₃₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁₁¹

⁰¹conscrip, Atta ….²(his) added worker being Ilīma-abī, his brother, ³(from the town of) Hanzipata ⁴has been given ⁵from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Nanna-ētir, ⁶to the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-naṣir; ⁷his substitute (is) Nūr-Kabta ….⁸(his) added worker being Ill-ibnianni, ⁹son of Ur-Ninsiana: ¹⁰(he) has been given ¹¹from the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-naṣir, ¹²to the cargo-ships ¹³under the responsibility of Nanna-ētir; ¹⁴²IX month, ²₀th day (of the) year ²³⁹ of Hammurabi.

Seal: Sin-…. son of X…. servant of the god Amurrum.
T.08 BM 23134; 20/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) 𒈪𒆠šur-ta-b[ī] x x [ ]
2) dah ša-x-a-šši šeš-ni
3) ₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃০4 du-tu-ma-gir
5) a-na āga-us x x
6) ni-šu ar-wi-um na-[di-in]
7) pu-uh-šu îr-d₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃০3 en-zu-ma-gir
8) dah x-x-gi šeš-ni
data₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃০3 en-zu-ma-gir
10) ša āga-us ni-šu ar-wi-um
11) a-na má-ì-dub

rev. 1) ni-šu du-tu-ma-gir na-di-in
datu-ma-gir
2) itu gan-gan-è u₃ 10×2-kam
3) mu ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal / klib-bi gu-du-a / i₃su-bir₃

Seal B
DU₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃₃০4 du-tu-ma-gir
DUMU₃০3 en-zu-ma-gir
IR mot-tu

০1 Ilum-rabi …, ০(his) added worker being … until, his brother, ০(of the town of) Napsanum ০has been given ০from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Šamaš-magir, ০to the soldiers… ০under the responsibility of Arwium; ০his substitute (is) Warad-Lisi, ০son of] Ŭši-nūrum, ০(his) added worker being …gi, his brother, ০(of the town of) Kašpānum: ০(he) has been given ০from the soldiers under the responsibility of Arwium, ০to the cargo-ships ০under the responsibility of Šamaš-magir; ০IX month, 20th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Šamaš-magir, son of Šin-magir, servant of the god Amurrum.
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T.09 BM 12860; 21/IIX/Ha 39

Seal B

obv. 1) $\mu\partialutu$-mu-uš-ta-al dumu e-te-ia-tum
2) dah $a$-hi-ia-a šeš-ni
3) šu e-te-ia-tum
4) $\text{[en]}$na-ap-sa-nu-um$^*$
5) ša má-i-đub nī-šu $\partialutu$-ma-gir
6) a-na $\partialu$ga-uš$^*$
7) nī-šu ar-wi-um na-di-in
8) pu-uh-šu u-bar-r[i]-ja'
9) [dah] $\partialu$mu-l-ki dumu NI-[ ]
10) $u$-i-li-x-[ ]
11) $\text{[en]}$na-ap-s[a-nu-um$^*$]
12) ša āga-uš [nī-šu ar-wi-um]

rev. 1) a-na má-[i-dub]
2) nī-šu $\partialu$tu-[ma-gir na-di-in]
blank
3) itu gan-gan-ē u₄ 10×2+1-kam
4) mu ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal / kilib-bi gū-du-
   a-bi / $\text{[en]}$su-bir$^*$

$^*$ Samaš-muštâl, son of Etejatum, (his) added worker being Ahija, his brother, (his) senior being Etejatum (of the town of) Napsanum (has been given (from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Samaš-magir, (to the soldiers (under the responsibility of Arwium; (his substitute (is) Ubarrija, (his) added worker being Mār-ersetim, son of NI...., and II... (all of them are of the town of) Napsanum: (he) has been given from the soldiers, [under the responsibility of Arwium,] (to the cargo-ships (under the responsibility of Samaš-magir: (IX month, 21st day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Samaš-magir, son of Sin-magir, servant of the god Amurrum.
T.10 BM 12814; 26/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) "a-ha-nu-ta dumu i-ri-ba-ia
2) dah dumu-ki šeš-ni
3) "er-"en-ki
4) ša má-i-dub ni-šu i-din-mar-tu
5) a-na āga-uš nî-šu a-raš-mu-ba-li-ît
6) na-di-in
7) pu-úh-šu a-wi-il-dingir dumu ra-bu-ut-"en-zu
8) dah ta-ri-ba-tum šeš-ni
9) šu ra-bu-ut-"en-zu ad-aš
10) ša āga-uš nî-šu a-raš-mu-ba-li-ît
11) a-na má-i-dub
12) nî-šu i-din-mar-[tu]

rev. 1) na-di-in
2) [itu gan-gan-ê] u₄ 10×2 + 6-kam
3) mu .wrap|kilibl gû-dû-a-bi /"su-bir_ki ši gîš bi-ra

Seal G
"en-zu-[ ]
dumu gi'[ ]
[i]r [ ]

Ahanuta, son of Iribaja, 2(his) added worker being Mār-eršētim, his brother, 3 (of the town of) Bit-Sîn 4has been given 4from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Iddin-Amurrum, 4to the soldiers under the responsibility of Uraš-muballit; 7his substitute (is) Awîl-ili, son of Rabût-Sîn, 4(his) added worker being Tarîbatum, his brother, 9(his) senior being Rabût-Sîn, his father: 11(he) has been given 10from the soldiers under the responsibility of Uraš-muballit, 11to the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Iddin-Amurrum; 2–3IX month, 26th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Sîn-..., son of ..., servant of the god ...
T.11 BM 12822; -/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) \( \text{m}x-x(-x)-\text{ga} \) dumu \( \text{la-ra-ba-aš-du-um} \)
2) \( \text{em}ki\text{-}\text{bur,} ma\text{-}ma\text{ki} \)
3) ša āga-uš\text{mu} nī-šu be-el-šu-nu ugula-
mar-tu
4) a-na ka-bar anše-hā
5) a-na ū\( \text{da-aq-qum} \) na-di-in
6) pu-\( ū\text{-}šu \) ma-as-qum lū ir\( \text{-}d\)mar-tu
7) dah bur\( \text{-}d\)iškur šeš-ši
8) ša ka-bar anše-hā
9) a-na āga-uš\text{mu} a-na be-el-šu-nu ugula-
mar-tu
10) na-di-in

rev. 1) igi šu\( \text{-}d\)mar-tu dumu nu-ri-ia
2) igi e-pe-eš-\( \text{dingir} \) lū īl-šu-ba-ni ugula
urum\( \text{mu} \) / lū zi-\( \text{wa-a} \)\( \text{-}ki \)
3) igi i-li-\( \text{ip-pa-al-sà-am} \) ugula-mar-tu
4) igi dumu\( \text{-}d\)mar-tu nu-bānda
blank
5) itu gan-gan-lē\( \text{u}, x\text{-kam} \)
6) mu ha-am-mu-ra-[bi] lugal / kilib gū-dū-
a-b[i]

Seal H
ma-ri\( \text{-}d\)mar-tu
dumu a-b[i]-i-li
[ir] \( \text{d} \)mar-tu

\( \text{1} \) ...ga, son of Larabašdum, \( \text{2} \) (of the town) of Kibur-Mama, \( \text{3} \) from the soldiers under the responsibility of Bēšunu, the superintendent of the Amorrea, \( \text{4} \) has been given \( \text{5} \) to the herdsmen of the donkeys \( \text{6} \) to Daqqum; \( \text{7} \) his substitute (is) Masqum, man of Warad-Amurrim, \( \text{8} \) (his) added worker being Būr-Adad, his brother: \( \text{9} \) (he) has been given \( \text{10} \) from the herdsmen of the donkeys
the soldiers under the responsibility of Bēlšunu, the superintendent of the Amorrites; witness: Šū-Amurrim, son of Nūrijā; witness: Epeš-ilum, the man of Išu-bani, superintendent of the villages of (the town of) Ziwa; witness: Ilī-ippalah, superintendent of the Amorrites; witness: Mār-Amurrim, the overseer; IX month, … day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

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

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

obv. 1) ūdšu-pa-ē-a-n[a`-din`]
2) urukī-bur-∂ma-m[a]1
3) nu-bānda a-hu-lī-a-tum
4) ugula i-li-ip-pa-al-sa-am
5) ša má-i-dub nūšu im-gur-[³nin-urta]
6) a-na be-ēl-šū-nu ugula-mar-tu [na-di-in]
7) pu-uh-šu
8) ṣu-ga-mil dumu ir-zi-[ib-nu-am[i=im]
9) ura-ha-šum²
10) ša āga-uš³
11) nūšu be-ēl-šū-nu ugula-mar-tu
12) a-na má-i-dub

rev. 1) [n]ī-šu im-gur-∂nin-urta
2) na-di-in

3) aš-šun im-gur-∂nin-urta má`-gūd’
4) ḫa-nil-ku-nu-um [nu-banda]
5) i-na-ki-[x]-tim-ma-li²¹ [nu-banda]
6) itu gan-gan-è u₄ [x-kam]
7) mu ha-am-nu-i-a-bī lugal ]

Seal I
ha-nil-ku-nu-um
dumu nu-ra-tum
ir 4x

⁰Sulpaea-n[adin’ …]. ²(of the town of) Kibur-Mama, ³being overseer Ahujatum (and) being superintendent Ilī-ippalaham, ⁴[has been given] from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Imgur-Ninurta, ⁵to Bēlšunu, the superintendent of the Amorrites; ⁶his substitute ⁷(is) Šamaš-gamil, son of Warad-zibnu-im, ⁸(of the town of) Rahšum: ⁹(he) has been given ¹⁰from the soldiers ¹¹under the responsibility of Bēlšunu, the superintendent of the Amorrites, ¹²to the cargo-ships ¹³under the responsibility of Imgur-Ninurta; ¹⁴in place of Imgur-Ninurta, the (man who) tows boat; ¹⁵Habil-kīnum, the overseer, ¹⁶(and) Ina-kittim-matī…, the overseer; ¹⁷IX month, … day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Habil-kīnum, son of Nūratum, servant of the god ….
6. Index of Personal Names

a-bí-i-lí
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a-ha-nu-ta
dumu i-ri-ba-ia: 10 obv. 1

a-hí-ia-a
dah, brother of ḍutu-mu-uš-ta-al: 9 obv. 2

a-hu-út-a-tum
nu-bànda: 12 obv. 3

a-hu-um
dah, brother of i-tib-li-ba-šu: 3 obv. 2
diri, ad, father and reservist of pi-i₄hu-um
4 obv. 1, diri obv. 3
ugula: 5 rev. 2

a-ia²-x¹-a
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a-li-lu-mur
dah, brother of qí-i₄ti-i₄li: 6 obv. 2

a-pil-eṣ-tár
father of a-pil₄mar-tu: 1 obv. 1

a-pil₄mar-tu
dumu a-pil-eṣ-tár: 1 obv. 1

a-ṣa'
father of sa-an-bi-um: 4 obv. 9

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2 obv. 1

a-wi-il-ia-t[um]
dah, brother of u-bar₄marduk: 2 obv. 8

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AN².NI.IT.AN
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12 obv. 6, 11

be-li-da-ia-an
dah, brother of na-bi₄en-zu: 3 obv. 8

bur₄diškur
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10 obv. 2
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Išu¹, ad, father of Ix-x₁₄ra-za-bu: 6 obv. 9
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den-zu-[ ]
dumu den-zu-[ ]: 4 Seal
dumu gir²-[ ]: 10 Seal
gir-[ ]
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[ ]-i-li
3 seal 1
T.01 BM 23138; 30/VIII/Ha 39

obverse

reverse

right edge
T.02 BM 12831; 3/IX/Ha 39
A MINOR OLD BABYLONIAN ARCHIVE ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF PERSONNEL

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

T.04 BM 12874; 17/IX/Ha 39
T.05 BM 12854; 18/IX/Ha 39

T.06 BM 12842; 20/IX/Ha 39
T.07 BM 12858; 20/IX/Ha 39

T.09 BM 12860; 21/IX/Ha 39
T.08 BM 23134; 20/IX/Ha 39
A MINOR OLD BABYLONIAN ARCHIVE ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF PERSONNEL  65

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

obverse

reverse

bottom edge

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

obverse

reverse

right edge