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OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS
FROM TELL ASMAR

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This work is dedicated to the memory of

my father
Robert M. Whiting
(1906–1969)

and my teacher and friend
Ignace J. Gelb
(1907–1985)

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PREFACE

It is now over half a century since the last season of excavations at Tell Asmar came to an end, and as yet no comprehensive treatment of the Ur III and Old Babylonian tablets found there has been presented. The present work is a first step in the systematic publication of these tablets and consists of all the letters written in Akkadian found at that site.

. It has long been recognized that the letters found at Tell Asmar are important from both a historical and linguistic point of view. They are documents from a dark age of Mesopotamian history when historical sources consist mostly of repetitive royal inscriptions written in Sumerian and only a scant handful of documents written in Akkadian are known. The letters from Tell Asmar cover a period of a little more than a century, from shortly before 2000 B.C. (end of the Third Dynasty of Ur) to shortly after 1900 B.C. (time of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-El of Babylon), and for the first time offer linguistic continuity for this period. The significance of this fact for the historical grammar of Akkadian and especially for the earliest stage of Old Babylonian and its relationship to Old Akkadian cannot be overstated.

If these letters are important, their importance is matched by the difficulties which they present. In addition to the general lack of context inherent in letters, most of the letters are broken or fragmentary further reducing the context, and the uniqueness of these texts means that there are no parallel, contemporary documents to aid in interpreting them. Finally, the small size and diversity of the letter collection means that only the most common words or phrases, which are already well understood, occur often enough to enable us to ensure their correct interpretation.

The format of the present edition has, to a large extent, been dictated by the limitations imposed by these difficulties. In this edition, I have presented the letters in an order which, based on internal and external evidence, is roughly chronological. Each letter is given in transliteration and accompanied by a translation when feasible. However, many of the more fragmentary letters have been left without translations since there seemed little point in providing translations of well-attested words connected with dots and brackets and punctuated with question marks. On the other hand, I have provided a much more comprehensive Glossary than would normally accompany a collection of letters. The Glossary is in fact a concordance of the letters which gives each identifiable word in its complete context, fully parsed, and with a full translation when possible. The format of the Glossary, especially the fact that each form is fully parsed, compensates for the general lack of a detailed philological commentary for each individual letter. Since the occurrences of each word are collected in the Glossary and the major points of grammar are discussed in the philological section of the introduction and the significant historical problems are treated in the historical section, philological commentary has generally been dispensed with as redundant and used only when a specific point needed to be established which would have unduly distracted the reader if presented in the philological or historical section. Thus, the Glossary and other indexes and the Introduction form an integral part of the treatment of the texts and cannot by dispensed with in evaluating the information they contain.

The letters from Tell Asmar can be divided into an earlier group (generally from the time of Bilalama and earlier) and a later group (generally from the time of Ipiq-Adad I and later) as well as a group of transitional letters (from the time of Ur-Ninmar or Ur-Ningišzida). The terms "earlier letters" and "later letters" are used repeatedly to refer to the first two groups. Some confusion may arise from the fact that the terms early Old Babylonian (time of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-El) and later Old Babylonian (Hammurapi and post-Hammurapi) are used in discussing the language. The reader must keep in mind that the later letters from Tell Asmar (time of Ipiq-Adad I) correspond to the stage of

language widely known as early Old Babylonian (time of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-El). Although the term archaic Old Babylonian is eventually introduced for the early letters (time of Bilalama), it was thought wise not to use this term in the discussion until the language of these letters had been defined and the term could be fully justified. The reader must be careful to distinguish the terms early letters (= archaic Old Babylonian; time of Bilalama) from the term early Old Babylonian (time of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-El). The dividing points of the letters from Tell Asmar into groups are marked with heavy lines in the catalog of the letters, but the reader would do well to keep the following numbers in mind while using the Introduction and Glossary:

1–30:   Early letters (= archaic Old Babylonian; time of Bilalama)
31–38: Transitional letters (time of Ur-Ninmar and Ur-Ningišida)
39–54: Later letters (= early Old Babylonian; time of Ipiq-Adad I, Sumu-abum, and Sumu-la-El)
55:     Very late letter (= later Old Babylonian; time of Hammurapi or later)

The most significant result of the present work for the historical grammar of Akkadian is the definition of the earliest stage of Old Babylonian, which is temporally contiguous to Ur III Akkadian. The comparatively small number of thirty letters and fragments written in archaic Old Babylonian is wholly inadequate for the preparation of a comprehensive grammar of this stage of the language but is quite adequate for defining the main features of the grammar and for establishing which branch of Akkadian it belongs to (see section 8 of the Introduction).

From a historical standpoint, the discussion has generally been limited to the contributions which the letters from Tell Asmar make to the understanding of the history of the period which they cover. However, it has been necessary, especially in connection with the period of Bilalama, to go beyond the letters to provide a historical context in which the early letters can be understood.

Unfortunately, the historical conclusions contributed by the letters must, for the most part, be regarded as tentative. There is a wealth of historical information still awaiting study in the administrative and legal texts from Tell Asmar (see section 2 of the Introduction). These tablets should be given their due consideration and it would be premature to represent the contributions of the letters as providing a complete, or even entirely accurate, historical picture without considering them in the light of the information from the legal and administrative texts.

Although much of this information has been provided by Jacobsen in *OIP* 43, pp. 116–200, my preliminary work on these tablets has resulted in the correction of several date formulas as well as the discovery of several additional date formulas and the assignment (or reassignment) of a number of year dates to specific rulers. In addition, the extensive prosopographic information offered by these texts has barely been touched.

For all these reasons, many of the complex historical problems which the texts from Tell Asmar may help to illuminate, including the extremely difficult question of the position of the Amorites in the social, economic, and political structure of the early Isin-Larsa period, which these letters touch upon, will have to await a thorough study of the economic and administrative texts before their solution can be attempted.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

The bibliographical abbreviations in this volume are those of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*. The style of the *CAD* has been changed to the extent that, in the present work, the author's name and the abbreviated title have been separated by a comma and the title has been italicized. For a list of the non-bibliographical abbreviations used, see the Introduction to the Glossary, p. 129.

The following abbreviations are used that have been changed from the *CAD* abbreviation indicated:

Edzard, *ZZB*	Edzard Zwischenzeit
Gadd, *EDSA*	Gadd Early Dynasties
GAG	von Soden GAG
GKT	Hecker Grammatik

The following additional abbreviations are used:

Batto, *Women at Mari*	B. F. Batto, *Studies on Women at Mari*. Baltimore, 1974.
BJV	*Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History* (rev. ed.) Cambridge, 1923–.
Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader*	F. R. Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader, ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte*. Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks, deel 33, no. 8. Amsterdam, London, 1970.
Leemans, *Foreign Trade*	W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period as Revealed by Texts from Southern Mesopotamia*. Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia 6. Leiden, 1960.
MARI	*Mari, Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*
OrAn	*Oriens Antiquus*
Reiner, *LAA*	E. Reiner, *A Linguistic Analysis of Akkadian*. The Hague, 1966.
RGTC	*Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches

The following works are cited by full title for which the appropriate bibliographical information is provided here:

Driver, G. R. and Miles, J. C. *The Babylonian Laws*. I Legal Commentary. Oxford, 1952. II Transliterated Text, Translation, Philological Notes, Glossary. Oxford, 1955.

Gelb, I. J. *Hurrians and Subarians*. SAOC 22. Chicago, 1944.

Larsen, M. T. *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies*. Mesopotamia 4. Copenhagen, 1976.

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INTRODUCTION

PART I. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL

1. EXCAVATIONS AT TELL ASMAR AND INSCRIPTIONAL MATERIAL FOUND

The ruins of the ancient city of Eshnunna first saw the light of day as a result of six seasons of excavations carried out by the Oriental Institute under the overall direction of Henri Frankfort between the years 1930 and 1936 at a site called Tell Asmar.[1] Among the buildings found was an extensive Ur III/Old Babylonian palace and temple complex which occupied most of the attention of the excavators for the first two seasons (1930/31, 1931/32). The vast majority of the tablets from Tell Asmar were found in the palace/temple during these two seasons. The exact number of such tablets is difficult to assess because pieces of the same tablet often have different field numbers, while collections of fragments registered under one field number frequently contain parts of two, three, or more different tablets. If we assume that these factors tend to counterbalance each other, the number of Ur III and Old Babylonian texts found in the palace/temple during the first two seasons was about 1400. The remaining seasons were devoted mostly to the exploration of other mounds in the general area and to soundings and trenches at Tell Asmar in search of the elusive Esikil (a temple dedicated to the god Tišpak) which was never found. These soundings and trenches yielded a total of 157 tablets from the later seasons.

The workmen employed by the excavators were almost entirely untrained and as a consequence most of the tablets, especially from the early seasons, suffered great damage during excavation. For this reason, the majority of the texts are broken to a greater or lesser degree, mostly from having been struck by picks. Others were damaged by attempts to chip off salt crystals which had formed in and on the tablets. The first tablets found were baked in the field, but only about a hundred or so tablets received this treatment, the remainder being left in the condition in which they were excavated, often with the earth matrix in which they were found still adhering.

2. WORK ON THE INSCRIPTIONAL MATERIAL FOUND AT TELL ASMAR

Work on the preparation of the tablets from Tell Asmar for publication has proceeded rather sporadically. Thorkild Jacobsen, the epigrapher of the expedition, kept meticulous records of where each tablet was found during the excavation and cataloged and identified all that could be identified in the condition in which they were found. In addition, he made hand copies of about two hundred tablets, mostly found during the first season, in the field and made extensive notes on the inscriptions which he later used for his publication of the building inscriptions, seal impressions, and date formulas in *OIP* 43. The field catalog of the tablets consists of a card for each tablet giving a brief description of the contents and the date and place of discovery.

In the intervening years, a number of scholars have worked on the Tell Asmar tablets for various purposes. The tablets of the Sargonic Period from Tell Asmar along with those of the other sites excavated by the expedition were published by I. J. Gelb in *MAD* 1. Other scholars have looked through the tablets for their application to particular problems, but no thorough investigation of the collection as a whole was ever undertaken.

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[1] For preliminary reports see *OIC* 13 (1932), *OIC* 16 (1933), *OIC* 17 (1934), *OIC* 19 (1935), and *OIC* 20 (1936). These reports are generally superseded by *OIP* 43 (1940).

My own work on the texts began in December, 1970, when I started a systematic examination of every tablet found at the site, with the object of preparing a working catalog of the Tell Asmar tablets. About the same time a project was started to bake and clean all the tablets, a much-needed undertaking since many of the tablets were unreadable, and even unidentifiable, in the state they were in, and their condition had hampered previous attempts at a complete catalog. The final stage of the baking and cleaning of the tablets has been carried out with the assistance of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

My survey of the tablets required a full year, at the end of which all the texts had been identified by type although many of them still could not be read in their entirety. The volume of material was so great that it was decided that the texts should be treated in units according to type. Since a large number of the letters dated to immediately post-Ur III times (ca. 2000–1950 B.C.), it was felt that they offered an opportunity to study the Akkadian in use at this period. As a consequence, the letters were singled out to be dealt with first.

3. THE LETTERS FOUND AT TELL ASMAR

Of the more than 1400 Ur III and Old Babylonian tablets found at Tell Asmar, only a scant 59 have been identified as letters or fragments of letters.[2] Statistically, the same fate befell the letters as the rest of the texts, and most of them suffered extensive damage during excavation. The fragmentary condition of most of the letters perhaps contributes to the fact that they have been somewhat neglected, even though they represent what is possibly the largest single known collection of very early Isin-Larsa documents written in Akkadian. Jacobsen made copies and prepared transliterations of most of the letters and spent a good deal of time on them, but only one (no. 28 = 1930-T230) was fully published by him (*AS* 6 pp. 29ff.). Excerpts from several other letters were quoted in *OIC* 13 and *OIP* 43 for their bearing on historical questions, but an edition of all the letters was never prepared.

Having determined to prepare an edition of the Tell Asmar letters, one of the first problems to be faced was how to group them to provide a meaningful presentation. Of the several possibilities, the easiest, but least meaningful, arrangement would have been simply to present them in the order of their excavation or field numbers. This would be easiest because the numbers are already assigned, but least meaningful because, with the exception of the few letters found together, the assignment of these numbers was very much a matter of chance.

Another possibility for the arrangement of the letters would be to group them according to their find spot. Unfortunately, since most of the letters were found in widely separated locations, such an arrangement would have little more significance than a simple ordering of the tablets by field numbers.

Obviously, the most satisfactory presentation of the letters would be one in which those that are related to each other are grouped together. However, due to the fragmentary condition of many of the letters, it is often difficult to judge with certainty the exact nature of the contents of a given letter and its relationship to any other letter. Since most of the letters cover a period of a little more than a hundred years and for the first time provide us with linguistic continuity for this period and especially since there are adequate criteria for determining the relative age of the letters, a chronological arrangement of the letters would be both meaningful and feasible.

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[2] In addition to the 55 letters published here, there are three Sumerian letter orders which will be published with the Ur III administrative texts. One additional document from the time of Bilalama (1931-T317) begins with the letter formula *ana* PN *qibi-ma*, but continues with a list of seven names. The names listed show that the tablet belongs to an archive dealing with garments and therefore it will be published with that archive. Three fragmentary letter envelopes are published in the Supplement to this volume.

4. DATING THE LETTERS

Determining the chronological order of the letters involves a number of interrelating factors, including the find spot of the letter, its contents, the epigraphic and orthographic conventions used, and the names of persons mentioned in it. By considering these factors in varying degrees a more or less precise date for each individual letter could be arrived at.

The most secure method of dating a letter is by recognizing the name of the addressee or the sender. Since almost all of the letters were found in the palace, it is not surprising that many of them are addressed to rulers of Eshnunna. The rulers of Eshnunna addressed by name in the letters are Kirikiri, Bilalama, Uṣur-awassu, Ur-Ninmar, and Ipiq-Adad I. The letters in which these names occur can be placed in their proper chronological position on the basis of the sequence of rulers established by the stratified remains found in the palace and provide fixed points to which other letters can be tied using one or more of the other dating criteria outlined above.

Other names besides those of rulers of Eshnunna found in the letters can be helpful in dating them. For instance, no. 40 is addressed to Ipiq-Adad, but also appearing are the names Šiqlanum, Itur-adnum, Mašparum, and Išmeḫ-bala. Nos. 41–43 are addressed to an individual called *rubûm,* "the prince," but also contain the names Itur-adnum (41), Mašparum (43), and Išmeḫ-bala (43), indicating not only that these letters belong together, but also that *rubûm* was a title used by Ipiq-Adad. In addition, no. 44 mentions Šiqlanum and Itur-adnum and no. 45 mentions Išmeḫ-bala, indicating that these two letters belong with those addressed to Ipiq-Adad and *rubûm.*

Despite the well-kept records of the find spots of the tablets, this information is of limited value in assigning a more or less precise date to a letter because in the majority of cases the letters do not have any significant archaeological context, having been found at scattered locations, or when found together, appearing as refuse or fill. For this reason, although it is possible to say where almost every letter was found, it is impossible to say what it was doing there. The one exception involves the letters found together under a Bilalama pavement in O 31:8 (*OIP* 43, p. 52), where they were apparently used as fill. The fact that in each of these letters where the name of the addressee is preserved, the letter is addressed to Bilalama or simply *ana bēlija,* "to my lord," makes it quite probable that the remaining letters of the cache were also addressed to Bilalama. On the other hand, a number of letters and letter fragments were found in M 31:1 (the large courtyard near the center of the palace), but in this case, these letters seem to have come to be there by pure chance, and even though all the letters found there that have the name of the addressee preserved are addressed to Ur-Ninmar, those letters where the addressee is not named seem to be from an earlier period although found in Ur-Ninmar levels. The problem of find spots is even more complicated since, assuming the excavation records are correct, it can be shown that in one certain case (no. 23) and one probable case (nos. 4 and 5) pieces of the same letter were found in widely separated places in the palace.

When other dating criteria are lacking or inconclusive, a general date can be assigned to a letter on the basis of the epigraphic and orthographic conventions used in it. The term epigraphy is used here to refer to the forms of the signs and the overall characteristics of the writing, while the term orthography refers to the choice of certain signs to represent particular syllables or syllable segments. For example, whether the ḪI sign is written ◇ or ⬦ is a matter of epigraphy, while whether the ḪI sign is used with the value *ṭà* is a matter of orthography. These factors are more fully discussed below in Section 6, Writing, and are summarized here only for their bearing on the dating of the letters.

There is a great deal of variation in the epigraphy, even among letters that are clearly contemporary, and at times even within the same letter. This can be partially accounted for by the fact that even though all the letters were found at Tell Asmar, they may have originated in many different areas

with divergent scribal traditions. In any case, while epigraphy is sometimes useful for confirming a suspected date, it is not reliable as a sole criterion for assigning a date to a letter.

A much more reliable criterion for assigning a general date to a letter is the orthographic conventions used in it. In fact, the letters can be divided into two distinct groups on the basis of orthography. This division is supported and confirmed by other dating criteria when available. The older orthography is consistent with Akkadian orthography used during the Ur III period and is characterized by the regular underdifferentiation of voiced, voiceless, and emphatic consonants such as the use of the GA sign for /ga/, /ka/, and /qa/, and the use of the TI sign for /di/, /ti/, and /ṭi/; the absence of the IA sign; and the frequent use of the SI sign for /ši/. The later orthography is distinguished by the use of the KA and DI signs, and the regular use of the ši sign. The change in orthography can be dated to sometime in the reign of Ur-Ninmar or his successor, Ur-Ningiszida, and seems to be quite abrupt. The fact that the change in orthography can be dated and the fact that the difference is always borne out by letters which can be dated by other means make this dating criterion so important that I have included an indication of the orthography in the catalog of the letters for this edition. The chart shows the method of writing certain etymologically determined phonetic segments (syllables or syllable segments), as follows:

phonetic segment	earlier writing	later writing
ka	GA	KA
di (de)	TI (TE)	DI
ia	A	IA
pa	BA	PA
pi (pe)	BI (BE)	PI
ši	SI	ŠI

In the chart accompanying the catalog (see p. 35), the phonetic segment is indicated at the head of each column under dating criteria. The method of writing the phonetic segment in each letter is shown. An earlier writing is indicated by a minus sign (−), while a later writing is shown by a plus sign (+). Entries followed by a question mark occur in a context too broken to allow a precise determination of the phonetic segment intended. An entry followed by the notation (PN) or (GN) indicates that the phonetic segment occurs only in a personal name or a geographical name where certain writings tend to be conditioned or traditional and therefore a less reliable dating criterion. A glance at the chart shows that the most consistent usage occurs with the KA and DI signs. For a detailed discussion of the orthographic peculiarities of both periods, see below under Section 6, Writing.

One final factor taken into consideration in the grouping of the letters was any contextual similarity indicating that two or more letters might refer to the same situation. Thus, nos. 6–9 are grouped together because they are all concerned with military affairs and belong to the earlier period.

5. FORMULARY AND STYLE

There are three types of address formula found in the letters. The type of formula for each letter is indicated in the catalog of letters (p. 34). As shown in the table, they are:

normal:	*a-na* X	inverted:	*um-ma* Y-*ma*	short:	*a-na* X
	qí-bí-ma		*a-na* X		*qí-bí-ma*
	um-ma Y-*ma*		*qí-bí-ma*		

The normal address formula is, of course, the standard one found in hundreds of Old Babylonian letters. The inverted formula is common in Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) letters where it interchanges

with the normal formula. The two formulas are used in the Old Assyrian letters in order to allow the name of the person of higher status to appear first; however, many of the letters from Tell Asmar are addressed to the ruler of Eshnunna and the relative status of addressee and sender is difficult to assess. The short address formula is quite common among the letters of the earlier period found at Tell Asmar, as it is in Ur III and early Isin-Larsa letters generally.[3] Presumably, the letters with a short address formula were contained in an envelope which bore the sender's name, or else the name of the sender was conveyed by the person delivering the tablet.[4]

The letters are almost entirely devoid of the greeting formulas that characterize later Old Babylonian letters.[5] Only one letter in the collection (no. 31) has what could be considered a greeting formula and this can hardly be construed as a standard formula. On the other hand, the flowery phrases of well wishing which begin this letter must be considered one of the earliest forerunners of the phrases which two hundred years later became a stereotyped introduction to almost every letter.

The letters are too widely divergent in content and origin for us to be able to detect in them anything which could be called an overall "style." Generally, the number of letters is too small and the number of different senders too great for the letters from Tell Asmar to show the overall coherence which is found in other Old Babylonian letter collections such as the official correspondence found at Mari or the letters of Hammurapi to his "governors," Šamaš-ḫazir and Sin-iddinam. The coherence of these letter archives is generated by the fact that large blocks of them are written by the same person and employ a number of standardized phrases that are used over and over. The situation found with the letters from Tell Asmar is quite different. In fact, of the twenty-one letters in which the name of the sender is preserved or given, only one name, Ušašum, appears twice.

6. WRITING

Some of the characteristics of the writing have already been discussed above under Section 4, Dating the Letters. The writing found in the letters as discussed here is treated under the two general areas of epigraphy and orthography as defined there.

The script of the letters of the earlier period is similar to that of texts from the Ur III period and shows about the same range of variation. The writing is very regular and precise, with the signs being carefully formed and clearly written. These texts are usually quite easy to read since the signs are clearly differentiated and there is seldom any question as to which sign is intended.

In the letters of the later period, there is a tendency for the writing to be more cursive with a loss of detail in the signs but the signs still tend to be carefully made. The letters of this period from Tell Asmar are epigraphically similar to other Old Babylonian letters from the time of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-El of Babylon such as the Lu-igisa archive in *BIN* 7[6] and the letters from Tell ed-Der published by Al-A'dami.[7]

The orthography of the earlier letters is much the same as that used for Akkadian during the Ur III period. In addition to the use of GA for /ka/, TI for /di/, BA for /pa/, and the like, which is quite

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[3] Sollberger, *TCS* 1, pp. 2–3.

[4] *Ibid.*, §6.1.1. The envelope fragments presented in the Supplement to this volume all have a seal impressed, presumably that of the sender. Note also the archaic OB letter *PBS* 1/2 1, which has an address formula not attested in our collection (*um-ma Y-ma*) and was discovered in its envelope (*PBS* 7 1, photographs pl. XCVII) which bears the impression of an uninscribed seal and the notation DUB Y *a-na* X "tablet of Y for X."

[5] See E. Salonen, *Grußformeln*, pp. 14–56.

[6] Recently synthesized and added to by Walters in "Water for Larsa" (*YNER* 4) and Stol, *Ab* 8 9.

[7] *Sumer* 23 (1967), 151–67 and pls. 1–17.

regular, there is the occasional use of DA for /ta/ (nos. 3, 20) and DU for /tu/ (nos. 4, 13) both of which are common in Old Akkadian. There is also the use of TU for /du/ (no. 7), and the use of TA for /da/ occurs twice (nos. 4, 15). This last usage is known also in Old Assyrian and at Alalakh but was never common or predominant. The letters of the early period also show a preference for ÚR over UR and ÁŠ over AŠ although the AŠ sign is used as early as the time of Bilalama (nos. 12, 14). The DAM sign is regularly used for /tam/ throughout both periods. The use of the ḪI sign for /ṭa/ is attested in a transitional letter (no. 35), and the rare use of NAM for /pir/ is found in a letter of the earlier period (no. 30). For a complete summary of the values of signs used in the letters, see the Syllabary (p. 123).

In one clear case initial *w* is written as *b* (*ba-áš-bu* 19:12′), but it is a moot point whether this is a matter of orthography or of phonology.[8] In any case, this single example does not provide an adequate base for speculation. There is another example of initial *w* written as *b* in the letters (*a-na ri-iš ba-ar-[ḫi]-i[m]* WA-*ar-ṣú-um e-pi-eš,* "the ritual is to be performed at the end of the month" 15:12′–13′), but in this case a more direct explanation is possible. Rather than *warḫim* being written as *barḫim* in this situation or WA having the value *pa₁₂*, it seems more likely that the writer of the letter has transposed the initial signs of *warḫim* and *parṣum* creating a spoonerism either as a mistake or as a *jeu d'esprit.*

The orthography of the letters of the later period is quite similar to that of contemporary letters from other Mesopotamian sites as pointed out above in connection with the epigraphy. There are no orthographic peculiarities among the letters of the later period, with the exception of one use of ZÉ for /se/ (no. 40).

The use of logograms with the writing system is entirely consistent with normal Old Babylonian usage. Logograms are not used for verbs, and only sparingly for nouns, although some words such as *kaspum* "silver" and *eqlum* "field" are written only logographically. Phonetic complements are occasionally used with logograms, but show only the case ending or a pronominal suffix and never indicate the Akkadian equivalent of the word written logographically. For the occurrences of logograms (and complements), see the Index of Logograms (p. 127).

The expression of double consonants by the writing system is inconsistent in both periods. In the earliest letters there are examples of double consonants written out fully in the same letter with double consonants not expressed in writing as in *iz-zi-ib-šu* for *izzibšu* (4:26) and *tù-wa-ša-ar-š[u]* for *tuwaššaršu* (4:31) or in *úr-ra-dam* for *urradam* (7:16) and *te-pè-eš* for *teppeš* (7:11) and even ⌈*ú*⌉-[*ḫ*]*u-ra* for *uḫḫurā* (11:14) and *úḫ-ḫu-ru* for *uḫḫurū* (11:40). The examples can be multiplied and even in the later period the writing of double consonants is not consistent. One peculiar method of expressing a double consonant is found in *a-na-a-qì* for *anaqqi* (37:7). This method of writing a long vowel to show the doubling of the following consonant is also found in the Akkadian inscription of Lipit-Ištar of Isin (Gadd, *EDSA,* pl. 3) where we find *li-i-ba* for *libba* (i 18) and *ki-i-ta-am* for *kittam* (ii 8).[9]

In several instances the writing system is used to show interrogation by writing an apparent long vowel where one is not expected. Examples of this orthographic convention are found in both periods and include: ⌈*ma*⌉-*ku-úr ra-ma-ni-kà* ⌈*a*⌉-*na mi-nim na-dì-i* "why should your own property be neglected?" (11:48–51); ⌈*i-ma*⌉-[*ti*]-*ma ta-aš-pu-ra-am mi-nam ak-la-a* "whenever you have written to me, what have I (ever) refused (to do)?" (a rhetorical question, 34:16–19); *e-li-i ú-la e-li* "can I or can't I?" (in difficult context, 46:4–5).[10]

[8] Cf. W. von Soden, *JNES* 27 (1968), 215–16; Gelb, *MAD* 2, p. 122; and Reiner, *LAA,* p. 36.

[9] See Poebel, *OLZ* 25 (1922), 511; Gelb, *MAD* 2, p. 42; and Reiner, *LAA,* pp. 45–46.

[10] See *GAG* §39 c. Note, however, that these forms are all final weak verbs, and these writings may perhaps be explained by this fact.

Included here under *Writing* are several features of the letters which may more properly be considered under phonology and hence would be treated by some under *Language*. My justification for this stems from the fact that in dealing with a dead language our knowledge of its phonology is based to a very large extent on the interpretation of the way it is written in differing circumstances. Since phonology must be explained in terms of the writing system, it seems reasonable to include these features under the discussion of *Writing*.

There are numerous uncontracted writings where two dissimilar vowels are juxtaposed in order to indicate a bisyllabic sequence with an intervocalic weak consonant. Such writings are especially common in the earlier letters but continue into the later period. A writing of this type is regularly used to indicate the first person genitive pronominal suffix *-ja* as in *be-li-a* for *bēlija* (6:1 and *passim*), *a-li-a* for *ālija* (9:15), *le-em-né-ti-a* for *lemnētija* (6:17), *wa-ar-du-a* for *wardūja* (12:14, 25), and many others. This method of representing the pronominal suffix *-ja* is also regular in Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian, and continues until the introduction of the IA sign. In the earlier letters, uncontracted writings are the rule rather than the exception. In fact, with the possible exception of *li-qí-i* (see the commentary to no. 20), there are no exceptions. Examples of uncontracted writings include *a + u*: *i-a-um* for *jaum* (32:4, 46:8), ⌜*i*⌝-*ba-ú* from *buāum* (11:44); *e + a*: *te-eš-te-me-a* for *teštemeā* or *teštemmeā* (B perf. or Btn pret. 2. pl. of *šemēum* 23:25); *e + u*: *iš-me-ú-*⌜*ni-ni*⌝ for *išmeūninni* (B pret. 3. masc. pl. of *šemēum* (46:15); *i + a*: [*t*]*ám-li-am* for *tamlīam* (4:23), *šu-ri-am* for *šūriam* (Š imp. of *warāum* 11:31, 30:46), *ša-ni-a-tim* for *šaniātim* (fem. pl. acc. of *šanium* 30:7); *i + u*: *an-ni-um* for *annium* (4:24), *ta-qá-bi-ú* for *taqabbiu* (B pres. 2. masc. sing. subjunctive of *qabāum* 30:34), *ú-še-ṣi-ú-ni-in-ni-ma* for *ušēṣiūninnima* or *ušeṣṣiūninnima* (Š pres. 3. masc. pl. of *waṣāum* 28:14), *ša-ni-ú-tim* for *šaniūtim* (masc. pl. acc. of *šanium* 12:9); *u + a*: *ku-a-ši-ma* for *kuašimma* (12:5), *zu-a-zi-im* for *zuāzim* (25:6); *u + i*: *qá-*⌜*nu-im*⌝ for *qanuim* (4:22).

There is one example in the letters of a "broken" writing where two dissimilar vowels are juxtaposed but do not represent a bisyllabic sequence. In fact, just what these writings do represent has not yet been clearly established.[11] The one example of this type of writing from Tell Asmar, *ta-uṣ-ba-tu* (B pret. 2. masc. sing. subjunctive of *ṣabātum*), fits the general pattern of Old Babylonian occurrences, but this pattern is still too inconsistent and unpredictable for a simple explanation.

The consonant *n* is regularly assimilated to a following consonant and the resulting double consonant is frequently written defectively. Examples of this include: *a-ṣú-úr* for *aṣṣur* (<*anṣur*, B pret. of *naṣārum*, 17:4); *a-dì* for *addi* (<*andi*, B pret. of *nadāum*, 17:5). On occasion, the double consonant is written fully as in *a*[*t*]-*ta-na-ap-ḫu-us* for *attanapḫus/ṣ* (<*antanapḫus/ṣ*, Ntn pres. of *paḫās/ṣum*, 30:9). In some cases, one double consonant is written defectively while another in the same word is expressed fully: *i ni-di-ik-ku*[*m*] for *i niddikkum* (<*i nindin + kum*, B cohortative of *nadānum*, 38:7′). Occasionally the *n* is preserved in a morphophonemic writing: *šu-ku-un-ma* for *šukun + ma* (B imp. of *šakānum*, 11:53); *a-dì-in-ma* for *adīn + ma* (B pret. of *diānum*, 25:4).

The prepositions *ana* and *ina* in their short forms (*an* and *in*) are assimilated to a following noun as in *a-ši-mi-im* for *aššīmim* (<*an + šīmim* "for a price," 28:5) or *i-li-bi-kà* for *illibbika* (<*in + libbi + ka* "in your heart," 12:31). This assimilation is also found in the preposition/conjunction *aššum* which is written *a-na šu-mi* or *a-šu-mi* in the earlier period and becomes *a(š)-šum* in the later period.

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[11] I do not believe, as von Soden suggests (*GAG* §8 c and *JCS* 2 [1948], 291–303, that any Akkadian vowel can be combined with any other Akkadian vowel to indicate a new Akkadian vowel; nor do I agree with Gelb's position (*BiOr* 12 [1955], 98b), that most of these writings may be explained as scribal whims or confusion. In my opinion, the pattern of occurrences is too systematic for Gelb's explanation, but yet not predictable enough for von Soden's. I wish to thank Brigitte Groneberg for allowing me to use the materials she collected for an upcoming article on the subject.

The assimilation of the prepositions *in* and *an* is quite common in Old Assyrian, but is also found in Old Babylonian, especially in literary or poetic language (the so-called hymnic-epic dialect).[12]

Other assimilations and phonetic changes indicated by the writing are much the same as found in later Old Babylonian. For example, the final *m* of the ventive/allative endings (*-am, -nim*) regularly assimilates to the initial consonant of a following pronominal suffix,[13] and a final dental plus *š* of a pronominal suffix becomes *ss* (*d/t/ṭ + š>ss*) as in *a-wa-sú* for *awāssu* (<*awāt + šu*, 44:10). In one case the change is written morphophonemically: *a-wa-at-sú-nu* for *awāssunu* (<*awāt + šunu*, 45:12).[14]

7. LANGUAGE

GENERAL REMARKS

The earlier group of letters from Tell Asmar (nos. 1–30) is probably the largest single known collection of very early Isin-Larsa documents written in Akkadian. It is certainly the largest collection of letters from the beginning of the second millennium.[15] For this reason, perhaps the most significant contribution of the letters is the opportunity they provide to define the language of this "intermediate" period for which texts in Akkadian are generally lacking. It must be pointed out, of course, that this determination is valid only for the Diyala region of which ancient Eshnunna was the center. Even so, there is no reason to expect that the language used in the Diyala region during the first century of the second millennium was significantly different from that used in other parts of Babylonia during the same period.[16] Furthermore, as was pointed out earlier in connection with the writing, although the letters were found at Tell Asmar, at least some of them may have originated in areas of Mesopotamia outside the Diyala region.

The following summary of the salient features of the language of the letters is not meant to be a comprehensive grammar of the language of the period since the amount of textual material available is wholly inadequate for such a purpose. The intent of this section is merely to point out those features of the grammar which help to define the language in terms of known dialects of Akkadian.

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[12] Abbreviated HED. The basic description of HED remains W. von Soden, "Der hymnische-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen," *ZA* 40 (1931), 163–227 (= HED I) and *ZA* 41 (1933), 90–183 (= HED II). References to HED are cited in the relevant sections of *GAG* and are not given again here. For *in* and *an* see *GAG* §114 c–d.

[13] *GAG* §31 e and §84 c.

[14] Cf. *GAG* §30 f and E. Reiner, *LAA*, p. 56.

[15] Other sizeable bodies of texts from this period include: the Mari liver omens, M. Rutten, "Trente-deux modèles de foies en argile inscrits provenant de Tell-Hariri (Mari)," *RA* 35 (1938), 36–70, which for the most part consist of very brief inscriptions and seem to represent a conglomeration of orthographic and linguistic traditions (for commentary see I. J. Gelb, *RA* 50 [1956], 1–10); the administrative texts from the reigns of Išbi-Irra and Šu-ilišu of Isin published in *BIN* 9 which contain many Akkadian loan words, but which include among the 535 texts published only one letter written in Akkadian (no. 475). A recent addition to the number of texts available from this period is the publication of the early administrative texts from Mari (H. Limet, *Textes administratifs de l'époque des Šakkanakku*, *ARM* 19 and *ARMT* 19, which also republishes the texts of this type previously made known by Jestin, *RA* 46 [1952], 185–202; cf. Gelb, *RA* 50 [1956], 1–10). While these texts are apparently post-Ur III and contemporary with the *BIN* 9 texts, they represent a completely different tradition from the Isin texts which are a continuation of the Mesopotamian Ur III tradition (the post-Ur III administrative texts from Tell Asmar also continue the same tradition as the Isin texts). For lack of a better term, the texts from Mari can be said to belong to a Syrian tradition in contrast to the Mesopotamian tradition of the Isin and Eshnunna texts. The recent discoveries at Ebla have shown that Syria had its own cuneiform tradition from at least the middle of the third millennium B.C., and that Mari fell within its sphere, if not continuously, at least from time to time. As progress is made on the materials from Ebla, it may be possible to say whether this was the origin of the tradition of the Mari administrative texts. Whatever the origin of this tradition, it seems to be one of the sources of the idiosyncrasies of the Mari liver omens mentioned above.

[16] While this is an assumption, it can be pointed out that the texts of the immediately preceding Ur III period from Tell Asmar are virtually identical to corresponding texts from southern sites; the administrative texts from Tell Asmar which are contemporary with the earlier letters are virtually identical to the administrative texts from Isin published in *BIN* 9; and the letters of the later period from Tell Asmar are similar in writing and language to contemporary documents in Akkadian from Larsa, Sippar, and Tell ed-Der. While there were certainly local "dialects," the differences between them seem to be small and the few texts of this period are characterized more by coherence than diversity.

PRONOUNS

Pronoun morphology is often one of the most important factors in defining a dialect. For this reason, all the pronoun forms found in the letters are given here in chart form. Blank spaces indicate that the form is not attested; entries followed by an asterisk (*) are found only in letters of the later period. For individual occurrences of the free forms see the Glossary.

Free Forms

		Nom.	*Gen./Acc.*	*Dat.*
Sing.	1c.	*anāku*	*jati*	
	2m.	*atta*	*kuati*	*kuašim*
	2f.			
	3m.	*šut, šu**	*šuati*	
	3f.		*šiati*	
Du	2c.			
	3c.		*šunūti*	
Pl.	1c.	*nīnu**		
	2m.	*attunu*		
	2f.			
	3m.	*šunu*		
	3f.			

Bound Forms

		Nom. (= *stative endings*)	*Gen.*	*Acc.*	*Dat.*
Sing.	1c.	*-āku, -āk*	*-ī, -ja*	*-ni*	*-am, -nim*
	2m.	*-āti*	*-ka*		*-kum*
	2f.		*-ki**	*-ki**	
	3m.	$\emptyset$	*-šu*	*-šu*	*-šum*
	3f.	*-at*	*-ša*	*-ši*	
Du.	2c.				
	3c.	*-ā*			
Pl.	1c.		*-ni*		*-nia[šim](?)**
	2m.				
	2f.				
	3m.	*-ū*	*-šunu*	*-šunuti**	
	3f.	*-ā*			

The forms of the personal pronouns found in the letters give an interesting picture. One of the most distinctive features is the use of *šut* for the third person masculine singular. This form is not found in Old Akkadian or later Old Babylonian, but is normal in Old Assyrian. It is, however, attested in other early Old Babylonian documents from scattered locations.[17] The oblique forms of the independent pronouns consistently show the uncontracted forms in the singular which are characteristic of the older dialects such as Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian, but do not include archaic forms without

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[17] See the commentary to no. 23.

the *-t-* indicator (*šua,* etc.) which have become obsolete before the end of the Old Akkadian period. The uncontracted second person forms are generally not attested in later Old Babylonian.

Only one example of an independent dual personal pronoun is attested, the third person oblique, but dual forms are rare[18] and even this single occurrence has great significance in defining the language of our letters (see also the discussion below on the use of the dual in the letters). The use of dual personal pronouns is quite regular in Old Akkadian and is connected with the existence of a productive dual morpheme in the language. Although the only other occurrence of the third person oblique personal pronoun *šunīti* (*šunēti*) is found in an Old Assyrian text, it must be pointed out that the text in which it occurs is a royal inscription from Aššur and such inscriptions have a different linguistic tradition from the Old Assyrian letters from Cappadocia.[19] My investigations in connection with the dual personal pronouns indicate that they are not used in the Cappadocian letters and plural forms are used even when the context clearly calls for a dual.[20] This is the case despite the fact that the dual is still linguistically productive in Old Assyrian. Dual personal pronouns are not found in later Old Babylonian.

The stative endings are presented here as the bound forms of the nominative personal pronouns.[21] The only deviation from normal Old Babylonian usage found among the stative endings is the use of *-āti* for the second person masculine. The normal form of this morpheme in Babylonian is *-āta,* the form *-āti* being regularly used for the feminine. However, the use of *-āti* for the second person masculine occurs sporadically in Old Babylonian.[22] On the other hand, the form *-āti* is used regularly for both masculine and feminine in Old Assyrian where *-āta* is not attested. It should be noted that the attestation of *-āti* here is a single occurrence (34:29) and should be weighted accordingly.

Also appearing among the stative endings is an example of the dual (30:12), indicating that this form is still productive at the time of these letters.

Among the pronouns other than the personal pronouns, the forms of the determinative/relative pronoun are particularly noteworthy. The singular is undeclined and represented by *ša* for all cases and genders, but the plural is twice (26:6; 28:4) represented by *šūt.* The form *šūt* for the plural of the determinative/relative pronoun is found in Old Akkadian regularly, and in later Old Babylonian occasionally, mostly in fixed forms or in the literary language.[23] The form is not attested in Old Assyrian.[24] A possible example of the dual of the determinative/relative pronoun, *šā,* is to be found in no. 13:12', but this form is difficult to identify with certainty.[25]

The forms of the demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns show no anomalies with the exception of a demonstrative pronoun *unummium,* "this, the aforementioned," which, to my knowledge, does not occur outside these letters. Also used in the letters is a demonstrative adverb *unumma,* "herewith." These two forms seem to correspond to *anummûm* and *anumma* of later Old Babylonian.[26] See the Glossary for occurrences.

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[18] For the forms of the dual personal pronouns and all known attestations of them in Old Akkadian, Old Assyrian, and Old Babylonian, see Whiting, *JNES* 31 (1972), 331–38.

[19] At least they differ to the extent that one can expect royal inscriptions to differ from mercantile letters and other business documents. We could, *a priori,* expect the former to be consciously archaizing and the latter to be closer to the current vernacular. Both are, of course, Old Assyrian.

[20] A single example will suffice since such occurrences are very common. In *TCL* 4 24:22–26 the following statement occurs with reference to two men: *ga-mar-šu-nu* [*š*]*a iš-tù A-lim*^KI *a-di Kà-ni-iš*^KI *kà-ša-dí-šu-nu a-na qá-tí-šu-nu a-dí-in-šu-nu-tí-ma* "I have given them their expenses for their trip from the City to Kanish" (transliteration and translation in M. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies,* p. 185 and n. 73). See also my comments in *JNES* 36 (1977), 210 and n. 7.

[21] For a justification of this presentation, see Buccellati, *JNES* 27 (1968), 1–12.

[22] *GAG* §75 b–c.

[23] *GAG* §46 d.

[24] *Ibid.* and *GKT* §52 a.

[25] See below, n. 44.

[26] *GAG* §45 d and §121 a. Cf. *CAD* A/2 *s.v.*

NOUNS

The declension of nouns (and adjectives) is the same as in later Old Babylonian. The following case endings are attested:

Sing. (nouns and adjectives):

> Nom.:   *-um*
> Gen.:   *-im*
> Acc.:   *-am*

Pl. masc. (nouns):

> Nom.:   *-ū* (11:20; 28:4)
> Obl.:   *-ī* (12:9)

Pl. masc. (adjectives)

> Nom.:   *-ūtum* (30:6)
> Obl.:   *-ūtim* (12:9)

Pl. fem. (nouns and adjectives):

> Nom.:
> Obl.:   *-ātim* (9:8;11:12)

Dual:

> Nom.:
> Obl.:   *-īn* (6:9)

Mimation and nunation are consistently written. In fact, in all the letters only one case can be pointed out where mimation is not written (27:8). Since this letter contains a number of other orthographic and linguistic peculiarities, little can be said about the possible reasons for this. See the commentary to no. 27.

In addition to the regular use of the nominative, genitive, and accusative cases, the terminative adverbial ending *-iš* also occurs in the letters. This ending is used both with adjectives to form adverbs[27] and with substantives.[28] Examples of the *-iš* ending with substantives are *at-wu-⌈iš⌉* for *atwūiš* (Bt inf. of *awāum*, 6:10) and *⌈ku-ub⌉-bu-ti-iš* for *kubbutiš* (D inf. of *kabātum*, 23:19). Adverbs formed with the *-iš* ending are *arḫiš, danniš,* and *kīniš* (see the Glossary for occurrences). For a possible example of *pānišam,* see the commentary to no. 30:45.

VERBS

The conjugational elements found in the letters follow the general scheme for Akkadian verbs.[29] The differences in the stative endings have already been discussed above under *Pronouns*. Among the finite forms of the verb, there is one example of the prefix *ta-* used for the third person feminine singular in *⌈a⌉-wa-tu ta-am-qú-tám* for *awātu<m>*(?) *tamqutam* "news reached me" (27:8). The use of this prefix for the third person feminine singular is regular in Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian, but is occasionally attested in Old Babylonian, mostly in names and in the literary language.[30] The

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[27] *GAG* §67 e; see also B. Groneberg, *AfO* 26 (1978–79), 15–29.

[28] *GAG* §67 a–b and Groneberg, *loc. cit.*

[29] See *GAG* §75 d for the forms.

[30] *GAG* §75 h. Note that Old Assyrian distinguishes between inanimate/impersonal feminines and animate/personal feminines, using the prefixes *i-/u-* for the former and *ta-/tu-* for the latter. This is contrary to our example which uses the prefix

conjugational element for the third person dual is also preserved in the earlier letters (*i-ša-pá-ra-n*[*i-im*] for *išapparānim,* B pres. 3. du. of *šapārum,* 13:12′) as it is in Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian.

The forms of the infinitives found in the letters are particularly instructive in defining the language of the letters. Although few in number, they have been used by extension to form the basis for the lexical entries of many verbs in the Glossary. The infinitive of initial ∂_{3-5} verbs, which has the form *epēšum* in Babylonian, is attested once as *e-ba-bi* for *ebābī* "my being innocent" (B inf. plus first person pronominal suffix, 21:8), showing that the infinitive of this class of verbs in the early letters has the form *epāšum* as is found in Old Assyrian and Old Akkadian.[31]

By contrast, forms of verbs final ∂_{3-5} found in the letters consistently show the change *a>e* in all syllables, and, although infinitive forms are not attested, such writings as *te-še-me* for *tešemme* (13:5) and *te-eš-te-me-a* for *teštemeā* or *teštemmeā* (23:25) indicate that the infinitive of these verbs should be reconstructed as *šemēum.* These forms are distinct from Assyrian which has the change *a>e* only in the syllable containing the ∂_{3-5}.[32]

Two examples of infinitives of middle weak verbs are found in the letters, namely *zu-a-zi-im* for *zuāzim* "to divide" (gen., 25:6) and *dì-a-nu-um* for *diānum* "to judge" (23:21), indicating that these forms remain uncontracted in contrast to later Old Babylonian *zâzum* and *dânum.*[33]

There is nothing particularly unusual about the tenses of the verb or their use in the letters. It is noteworthy that there are a number of clear examples of the perfect formed with the *-ta-* infix, even in the earliest letters.[34] These examples include [*i-t*]*a-ki-*[*iš*] for *ittakis* (B perf. of *nakāsum,* 6:14); *áš-ta-ap-ra-kum* for *aštaprakkum* (B perf. of *šapārum,* 20:23); *iš-ta-kà-an* for *ištakan* (B perf. of *šakānum,* 23:18); *te-eš-te-me-a* for *teštemeā* (B perf. 2. pl. of *šemēum,* 23:25); *ta-⌈ak-ta⌉-la* for *taktala* (B perf. of *kalāum,* 24:23).

A wide range of verbal stems is attested in the letters. The stems found are the B, Bt, and Btn (I/1, I/2, and I/3); D (II/1); Š (III/1); N and Ntn (IV/1 and IV/3); Dr and/or Drt.[35]

The derived stems provide important information that shows that the dialect of the letters is non-Assyrian. In the D and Š stems, the forms of the infinitive, stative, and imperative always appear as *purrusum, purrus,* and *purris* and *šuprusum, šuprus,* and *šupris* with the vowel *u* in the first syllable as elsewhere in Babylonian and Old Akkadian, and not as *parrusum, parrus,* and *parris* and *šaprusum, šaprus,* and *šapris* with the vowel *a* in the first syllable as found in all dialects of Assyrian. Examples of these forms are: D infinitive: ⌈*ku-ub*⌉*-bu-ti-iš* (23:19); D stative: *ku-šu-ud* (24:5, possibly to be interpreted as a B imperative); D imperative: *ku-bi-*[*t*]*a-ni* (11:11), *šu-qí-il* (12:45), *lu-bi-*⌈*iš*⌉ (20:36); Š infinitive: not attested; Š stative: *šu-úr-du* (7:8), *šu-ḫu-*⌈*za*⌉*-ku* (26:10); Š imperative: *šu-bi-lam* (11:19 and *passim*), *šu-ri-am* (11:31). This observation is confirmed by the forms of the precative occurring in

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ta- with an inanimate/impersonal feminine. However, such usages also occur in Old Assyrian; cf. Veenhof, *Old Assyrian Trade,* p. 116, n. 185.

   [31] *GAG* §97 o.

   [32] *GAG* §105 f. However, the form *te-pè-eš* for *teppeš* (7:11) would have led to the reconstruction of the infinitive of this verb as *epēšum* rather than *epāšum* as given above if the same reasoning had been followed. Numerous Old Babylonian writings of verbs final ∂_{3-5} with the vowel *a* instead of *e* indicate that the conventions employed in writing forms of these verbs varied from location to location and probably from scribe to scribe. It must be remembered that the present discussion concerns orthography, not how the language was spoken. In all probability, the change *a>e* in the vicinity of ∂_{3-5} took place early in spoken Akkadian, followed by a long period in which "historical" spellings with *a* alternate with "phonetic" spellings with *e*. See the commentary to no. 7 and no. 19:4.

   [33] The contraction of *u* + *ā* takes place in Babylonian much earlier than that of *i* + *ā*. Thus the normal Old Babylonian forms would be *zâzum* and *diānum,* although contracted forms of the type *dânum* occasionally occur. Cf. *GAG* §16 k and m.

   [34] *GAG* §80. While some of these forms are reconstructed and others could be construed as Btn preterites (see the commentary to no. 23:18 and 25), the form *aštaprakkum* is an "epistolary perfect" (see the commentary to no. 20:23) and cannot be misconstrued. The use of "epistolary tenses" is a convention that is overwhelmingly predominant in Old Babylonian letters, but I am somewhat surprised to find it in use already at this early stage of the language.

   [35] For an explanation and justification of this terminology, see Whiting, *Orientalia* NS 50 (1981), 1–39.

the letters. The first person precative of the B stem has the form *luprus* in Babylonian and Old Akkadian but *laprus* in Assyrian. Examples of this form include *lu-ul-qi-ma* (3:3′), ⌜*lu*⌝-*ul-qi-ma* (26:11), *lu-li-ik* (27:6), *lu-uš-qú-ul* (29:6′), and *lu-úr-de₄* (30:33) indicating that Babylonian usage is consistently followed in the letters. Similarly, the third person precative of the D stem has the form *liparris* in Babylonian and Old Akkadian but *luparris* in Assyrian and this form is represented by *li-bi-ba-nim* for *libbibānim* (D prec. 3. dual(?) of *ebābum*, 21:6), again showing Babylonian usage.

Two occurrences of the verb *tamāum* with the second radical reduplicated are found in the letters. One occurs in the earlier letters ([*n*]*u-ta-ma-am-ma*, 23:23) and one in the later letters (*ú-ta-ma-ma-a*, 50:3). For a full discussion and interpretation of these forms, see Whiting, *Orientalia* NS 50 (1981), 1–39.

In one of the letters addressed to Bilalama there is an occurrence of the "quadriliteral" verb *šuḫarrurum*, otherwise attested only in literary texts.[36] The form is [*t*]*a-aš-ḫa-ra-a*[*r*] (14:9′) and, apart from the form *sá-ḫu-ru-ri-im* in a Mari liver omen,[37] marks the earliest occurrence of a verb of the *šuḫarrurum* group (*šuḫarrurum, šuqallulum, šuqammumum*), although *šuqallulum* is attested in Old Assyrian. The feature that sets the *šuḫarrurum* group of verbs apart is the fact that all the early occurrences of these verbs (Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian) show the conjugation prefixes of the B stem (with the vowel *a* or *i*) rather than those of the Š stem (with the vowel *u*) as in later attestations. The form *tašḫarrar* found here confirms this observation.[38] For my interpretation of this phenomenon, see the discussion in *Orientalia* NS 50 (1981), 1–39.

Another point that requires discussion in connection with verbs is the manner of marking the subjunctive in the letters. In most instances the subjunctive is marked in the same manner as elsewhere in Babylonian, that is, by the addition of -*u* to forms without endings or without any additional marker in the case of forms which already have an affixed ending. There are, however, two examples of the subjunctive marker -*na*, which has a very limited temporal range of attestation.[39] There is no satisfactory explanation for the sudden appearance of this morpheme and its disappearance a little over a hundred years later, especially since it is attested in a number of widely separated locations during its brief vogue. Even more perplexing is the fact that no clear rules can be established concerning its usage, since it is used randomly with both the normal subjunctive marker -*u* and with forms with endings that would normally have no overt subjunctive marker, and often is not used rigorously with each subjunctive form found in a single text. The two examples provide little in the way of clarification for these problems, since in one case it is used in connection with a subjunctive in -*u* in (*a-šar*) *ú-da-ni-nu-na* for *udanninuna* (D pret. 1. sing. subjunctive of *danānum*, 6:12) and in the other it occurs with a form with endings in (*a-na šu-me*) *it-ta-na-la-ku-ni-in-na* for *ittanallakūninna* (Btn pres. 3. m. pl. subjunctive of *alākum*, 30:6) while in the same letter another subjunctive form occurs with the marker -*u* but without -*na* in (*ša*) *ta-qá-bi-ú* for *taqabbiu* (B pres. 2. m. sing. subjunctive of *qabāum*, 30:34). The origin of the subjunctive marker -*na* and its relationship to the Old Akkadian and Assyrian subjunctive marker -*ni* remain vexing problems for which no cogent solution is at present available.

PARTICLES

In the category of indeclinable particles, there is one example of the preposition *iš*, which occurs elsewhere only in archaic texts from Mari where it is used as a synonym for *ana* "to, for." Unfortunately, this example is in a broken context and is followed by a month name (*iš* ITU ᵈ⌜*Ù-gul-lá*⌝,

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[36] *GAG* §109 c.

[37] *RA* 35, p. 46 and pl. VIII, no. 16:2.

[38] The observation was made by Heidel, *AS* 13, pp. 92–106. More information was added by Goetze, *JNES* 4 (1945), 247. Cf. also *GAG* §109 g and *Ergänz* §109 c.

[39] The earliest known attestation is in an inscription of Šulgi (ca. 2050 B.C.). The last occurrence is at Mari in a letter to an unknown deity written by Jasmaḫ-Addu (son of Šamši-Adad, ca. 1800 B.C.). However, the next to last occurrence is in a text

26:12), and while the translation "for the month of Ugulla" is plausible, the form could be eliminated by amending the text to *iš-<tu>* and translating as "since the month of Ugulla."

Unique to these letters is the occurrence of an interjaculatory particle *inni,* written *i-ni* (25:1, 9; 35:18), meaning "now, indeed," or used as an intensifying particle not requiring a translation. Although not attested elsewhere in Akkadian, its similarity to Old Akkadian *enni* (written *e-ni*) and later Old Babylonian *anna* (written *an-na*), suggests that it is related to these forms and to similar forms in other Semitic languages. See the commentary to no. 25. An occurrence of *anni* (written *a-ni,* 20:21), which is common in Old Assyrian is also found in the letters.

The negative particle *ula* is used regularly in the letters of both the earlier and later periods in contrast to later Old Babylonian *ul.* The particle *ula* is used for the negative in Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian. It is used regularly in earlier Old Babylonian down to about the time of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-El when it is gradually replaced by *ul.*

<div align="center">LEXICON</div>

There are several examples in the letters of words which show forms that are not characteristic of Old Babylonian. While this could be considered a matter of morphology or noun formations, the instances are almost all single occurrences and rather than make an unwarranted extension of these forms to general categories, it is better to treat them as individual words.

The adjective *limdum* is apparently derived from the root LMD and outside of the occurrence in our letters (11:12) is attested only at Mari (*ARM* 10 38:13, 19). The *CAD* suggests that it is a by-form of *lamdum.* See Excursus A (p. 111).

The word *šībultum* meaning "gift" is attested twice (15:7′; 29:7′) in the letters, although in the second occurrence the meaning "gift" is not certain. The most common form of the word in Babylonian is *šūbultum,* although the form *šībultum* is also attested in Old Babylonian. The Assyrian form of the word is *šēbultum,* usually with the meaning "consignment." For a full discussion of these forms, see Excursus B (p. 113).

The word for "(one-)third" found in the letters is *šalištum* (25:10) which corresponds to the Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian forms rather than to Old Babylonian *šaluštum.* An example of *šalištum* is found in a mathematical text from Tell Harmal,[40] indicating the survival of this form in the Diyala region.

The word *samūkānu* is attested only in the plural (9:12) and denotes some type of military equipment used in siege warfare. The only other occurrence of this word is in a Mari liver omen[41] where it was misread as *sà-mu-kà-te₄* instead of *sà-mu-kà-ne,* as our form *sà-mu-kà-ni* clearly shows.

<div align="center">SYNTAX</div>

The use of the precative in a conditional sentence[42] is attested in a letter of the earlier period: 10 *ša-na-ti-[im] A-mu-ru-[um] li-k[i-ir(?)-ma(?)]* 10 GIŠ *ia₈-š[i-bi]* 10 GIŠ *dì-ma-ti-[im]* 20 GIŠ *sà-mu-kà-ni li-ib-lam i-na a-li-a da-na-ku* "Even if the Amorites should make war for ten years and bring ten battering rams, ten siege towers, and twenty *samūkānu,* I will remain secure in my city" (9:8–16).

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dated to the first year of Sumu-El of Larsa (1894 B.C.) about a hundred years earlier. Thus almost all the known examples occur within a period of about a hundred and fifty years. See the commentary to no. 6 for other examples and documentation.

[40] *Sumer* 7, p. 148:19.

[41] *RA* 35, p. 49 and pl. XIV, no. 27 F II:3.

[42] According to *GAG* §160 c, this usage is "nur im aB Dialekt von Ešnunna bisher . . . nachweisbar." This statement is not modified in *GAG Ergänz.,* but see, for Larsa, Rowton, *JCS* 21 (1967), 269, n. 16 and M. Anbar, *RA* 69 (1975), 124, *ad* line 10 (with reference to Rowton), and, for Mari, *ARM* 6 68:14–16: *iš-tu i-na-an-na* 10 *li-mi na-ak-rum li-il-li-kam-ma a-ta-ap-pu-ul-šu e-li-i* "from now on, even if ten thousand enemies should come, I will always be able to answer them" (compare Finet, *L'Accadien,* p. 216, §78 i).

Also occurring is the use of the conjunction *ašar* with the meaning "if, what if," a usage found almost exclusively in Old Assyrian.[43] The example is: ⌜*a-šar la*⌝ *ú-da-*⌜*ni*⌝*-nu-*⌜*na*⌝ [*be-l*]*í ki-*⌜*ša*⌝*-d*[*i*] [*i-t*]*a-ki-*[*is*](?) "If I had not strengthened it, my lord would have cut off my head" (6:12–14).

The use of the accusative case as an adverb of manner is attested in ⌜*a*⌝*-na mi-*⌜*ni-im*⌝ ⌜*ma-ag-ri-ta*⌝*-ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-*⌜*lí*⌝*-a i-ta-*⌜*wu-ú*⌝ "Why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord?" (6:15–19).

THE USE AND EXTINCTION OF THE DUAL

The continuity provided by the letters allows us to observe the disappearance of the dual as a productive linguistic form. In the letters of the earlier period, the dual is used regularly in nouns, verbs, and personal pronouns.[44] Examples include: nouns: 2 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-*⌜*an*⌝(?) (possibly to be read *ṣú-ḫa-ra-*⌜*tum*⌝(?), 24:16); *i-dì-in* for *idīn* "arms" (28:8, 11); *ší-ni-*⌜*in*⌝ for *šinīn* "two" (6:9); pronouns: *šu-ni-*⌜*ti*⌝ for *šunīti* "these two" (30:13, possibly another occurrence in [*š*]*u*(?)*-ni-ti*, 30:43); verbs: *i-ša-pá-ra-n*[*i-im*] for *išapparānim* (B pres. 3. du. of *šapārum*, 13:12′); *wa-áš-ba* for *wašbā* (B stative 3. du. of *wašābum*, 30:12). In addition, there are in the earlier letters several verb forms where the subject is not preserved or apparent and which could be interpreted either as duals or as feminine plurals. These are: *i-ṣi-*⌜*ḫa*⌝ for *iṣiḫḫā* (B pres. of *ṣiāḫum*, 19:9′), *li-it-ma-a* for *litmâ* (or *litma²ā*, B prec. of *tamāum*, 21:3), *li-bi-ba-nim* for *libbibānim* (D prec. of *ebābum*, 21:6), ⌜*i*⌝*-tu-úr-ra* for *iturrā* (B pres. of *tuārum*). In a letter addressed to Ur-Ninmar, which is characterized here as transitional, the use of the dual is mixed with the use of the plural with a dual subject. Thus there are the duals DN_1 *ù* DN_2 *li-ra-ma-kà* "may Sin and Ningal love you" (31:4–5) and *iš-da ku-sí-kà lu ki-na* "may the foundation of your throne be firm" (31:10–11), but the plural DN_1 *ù* DN_2 . . . *li-be-lu-kà* "may Tišpak and Ugulla let you rule (for many days and long years)" (31:6–9). This mixture of forms shows that the dual was still in use as late as the rule of Ur-Ninmar (ca. 1930 B.C.), but that the plural was already taking over the function of the dual. By contrast, there is no trace of the dual in the letters of the later period, although, because of the fragmentary condition of most of the letters from this period, it is difficult to find unquestionable passages where a dual might be expected. In fact, only one such passage can be pointed out with certainty: PN_1 *ù* PN_2 ⌜*a-na*⌝ *ṣe-er* PN_3 *ù a-na ṣe-ri-*⌜*ka*⌝ *a-la-ak-šu-nu eš-me* "I heard of the visit of PN_1 and PN_2 to PN_3 and to you" (45:6–11). In this case the plural suffix *-šunu* is used instead of the dual *-šunī,* but in the nearly contemporary Old Assyrian letters dual personal pronouns do not occur even though other dual forms are attested so that the use of the plural instead of the dual in personal pronouns is not conclusive evidence that other dual forms are not in use.[45] At this point in time, however, texts in Akkadian from other areas of Babylonia begin to become available, and it can be seen that the dual is no longer productive in any of these areas.[46] Thus by the time of Ipiq-Adad I

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[43] J. Lewy, *Orientalia* NS 29 (1960), 39, n. 5. The connection of the Old Babylonian reference (*TCL* 7 55:10), given in *CAD* A/2, p. 415a as the last entry under meaning 3, with this meaning of *ašar* is not unequivocal.

[44] Whether the dual of the determinative/relative pronoun (*šā,* see *MAD* 3, p. 254 and *GAG Ergänz.* §46 c) is still in use at this time is difficult to say. An early letter from Tell Asmar has É.NUN [*ù*] [É].ÙR(?) *šu-ut* ⌜*ra*⌝*-ma-ni-a-ma* "the É.NUN and the É.ÙR(?) belong to me" (26:5–6) where the plural *šūt* is used with an apparent dual antecedent. However, it is possible that another room was mentioned in the break between É.NUN and É.ÙR(?) which would justify the use of the plural *šūt.* Note that the archaic Old Babylonian letter *PBS* 4 156 has the following: *ša-wi-ra-an a-ni-an la ša a-bi-a* "these two rings do not belong to my father" (rev. 4–5). The fact that *šūt* is still in use for the plural at this time indicates that the writing ŠA should be interpreted here as the dual *šā* in view of the dual antecedent. However, since the singular *ša* is eventually used for all forms of the determinative/relative pronoun, it is impossible to say with certainty how the inexplicit writing ŠA is to be interpreted in this text. A similar problem is encountered in no. 13:12′ where ŠA is found between a dual antecedent (PN_1 and PN_2) and a dual verb form (*išapparāni* [*m*]). An interpretation of the writing as *šā* is justified but cannot be proved.

[45] Cf. above, p. 10 and n. 20. Examples of plural pronouns with dual antecedents are known even in Old Akkadian. See the commentary to no. 31.

[46] Thus we find at Tell ed-Der PN_1 *ù* PN_2 *i-ta-al-ku-nim* "PN_1 and PN_2 have left" (*Sumer* 23, pl. 17:5–7). Many other examples can be pointed out. Although words such as *kilillān* "both" and *šittān* "two-thirds" as well as words for parts of the

(ca. 1900 B.C.) the dual is no longer a living language form even though it was still in use during the reign of his father, Ur-Ninmar. From this time on, the dual is essentially extinct and appears in the language only as a fossil.

8. POSITION OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE TELL ASMAR LETTERS IN THE HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF AKKADIAN

Since the expressed purpose of the chapter on language was to point out those features of the language of the letters which make it possible to define it in terms of known dialects of Akkadian, it is necessary to summarize these features and display them in a manner which will facilitate an assessment of their significance and discuss the conclusions to which they lead.

The language of the later letters cannot be distinguished in any significant manner from that of other documents in Akkadian from Larsa, Sippar, and Tell ed-Der which can be dated to exactly the same time. This stage of the language is commonly referred to as "early Old Babylonian" mainly because it is at this time that texts in Akkadian begin to become available in Babylonia and continue in a more or less unbroken tradition until the end of the Old Babylonian period some three hundred years later. The texts from the nineteenth century B.C. which are characterized as early Old Babylonian are in many instances distinct from later Old Babylonian, but it has never been questioned that these texts belong to the Old Babylonian tradition.

By contrast, texts in Akkadian from the twentieth century B.C. are scarce and the few that are known are from scattered locations or of unknown provenience so that there is no continuous textual or linguistic tradition for this period. The letters from Tell Asmar help fill this gap, and at least provide texts from a single site that cover the entire period.

The general conclusion with respect to the language of the earlier letters is that it is a dialect of Babylonian (*i.e.,* non-Assyrian), more ancient than what is termed "early Old Babylonian." It preserves many features of Old Akkadian, many of which are also found in Old Assyrian. On the other hand, it also has a number of features which are not characteristic of Old Akkadian or Old Assyrian but which are found in later Old Babylonian. Apart from a few features which will be discussed below, the language of the Tell Asmar letters seems to be descended from Ur III Akkadian and ancestral to early Old Babylonian. One of the problems involved in trying to determine whether the language of the letters is a descendant or continuation of Ur III Akkadian is the fact that documents in Akkadian from the Ur III period are also very rare and it is difficult to define Ur III Akkadian with precision.[47] The general obscurity of the linguistic situation in Mesopotamia at this time complicates the problem of defining the language of the letters. This obscurity even makes a difficult task out of such an apparently simple step as deciding what to call the stage of language represented by the earlier letters from Tell Asmar. The term "early Old Babylonian" is not appropriate because this designation is already widely used for texts from the time of Ipiq-Adad I of Eshnunna, Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-El of Babylon, and Abi-sare and Sumu-El of Larsa, and the language of these texts is distinct from that of the earlier

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body that come in pairs continue to have the form of duals, they are used with plural verbs. However, since parts of the body that come in pairs are grammatically feminine and the feminine plural of verbs is morphologically identical to the dual, such forms can be confused with duals. Apart from such forms and the duals found in literary texts (including omens), the use of the dual is very rare in Old Babylonian. The forms *i-ma-ra* (*JCS* 14, p. 52, no. 77:6) and *im-da-ga-ʳraˈ* (*JCS* 14, p. 53, n. 81:7) were interpreted as duals by Simmons. At Mari we find in a letter to Jasmaḫ-Addu from his brother Išme-Dagan 2 *a-li-ka-an* (!) ... [*i*]*k-šu-da-nim* "the two travellers (that you sent here) have arrived" (*ARM* 4 78:5–6) which is a genuine dual, but the next word of the letter is *ša-al-mu* "they are well" resuming the use of the plural instead of the dual.

[47] According to Gelb "the few texts written in Akkadian in the Ur III Period are conspicuous for their rarity" (*MAD* 2, p. 18) and "the linguistic materials are not adequate to enable us to give a short sketch of the Ur III Akkadian" (*ibid.*). This position is taken also by Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader,* pp. 93–96, §38.

letters from Tell Asmar. The language of the earlier letters should not be termed "Isin-Larsa Babylonian" because the term lacks precision and the language of the later letters could also be so defined.

A term such as "Post-Ur III Akkadian" would be acceptable, but at the present state of our knowledge there is no way to distinguish these texts, on the basis of language alone, from Akkadian texts of the Ur III period. Hence this term is perhaps too precise, and, in the absence of adequate dating criteria, texts of the Ur III period could be described as "Post-Ur III" and vice-versa. This difficulty could be bypassed by using a term such as "late Old Akkadian" and including therein both Ur III and Post-Ur III Akkadian texts. Such an approach would be reasonable since Ur III Akkadian has traditionally been considered as part of Old Akkadian.[48] However, this term does not emphasize the connection between the letters of this period and those of the following early Old Babylonian period. This connection is particularly strong at Eshnunna where characteristics of the earlier letters can still be seen in the letters to Ur-Ninmar, but have completely disappeared from those addressed to his son, Ipiq-Adad I. Thus there is no dynastic interruption at Eshnunna to account for the orthographic and linguistic changes.

For these reasons, I propose that the language of the earlier letters from Tell Asmar, as well as contemporary texts from elsewhere in Babylonia, be termed "archaic Old Babylonian," bearing in mind that it may eventually prove to be indistinguishable from Ur III Akkadian.

The distinguishing characteristics of archaic Old Babylonian (and the other dialects where these features are found) include: the use of the dual in nouns (OAkk, OA, HED), verbs (OAkk, OA, HED), and personal pronouns (OAkk, [OA][49]); the use of *šut* for the third person masculine singular independent personal pronoun (OA); the use of the plural determinative/relative pronoun *šūt* (OAkk, HED, [OB][50]); the use of the uncontracted forms of the oblique cases of the personal pronouns (*kuati, šuati, šiati, kuašim,* etc.) (OAkk, OA,[51] HED); a general preference for the preservation of uncontracted forms (OAkk, OA); preservation of the *a* vowel in the second syllable of the infinitive of initial *ʾ*₃₋₅ verbs (*ebābum,* etc.) (OAkk, OA); regular preservation of mimation and nunation (OAkk, OA, early OB); use of the subjunctive marker *-na*.

There is no indication in archaic Old Babylonian of such distinctly Assyrian features as the so-called vowel harmony (archaic OB *aṣabbatu* [28:16], OA *aṣabbutu*[*ni*]); the presence of the vowel *a* in the first syllable of the infinitive, stative, and imperative of the D and Š stems (Bab. *purrusum,* Ass. *parrusum,* etc.); the presence of the vowel *a* in the first person precative of the B stem (Bab. *luprus,* Ass. *laprus*); the presence of the vowel *u* in the third person precative of the D and Š stems (Bab. *liparris,* Ass. *luparris*). All forms where these features could be detected consistently show Babylonian usage in archaic Old Babylonian texts.

Although most of the features that characterize archaic Old Babylonian are also found in Old Assyrian, there is no need to consider these features as "Assyrianisms" since almost all of them can be

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[48] Cf. *GAG* §2, and *MAD* 2, p. 1. See now, however, Aa. Westenholz, *BiOr* 35 (1978), 163 and nn. 24–26, and note some of the difficulties encountered by Kraus, *JEOL* 24 (1975–76), 74–104, in trying to encompass Ur III letters written in Akkadian within the general framework of Old Akkadian. While I can agree with Westenholz's conclusion that Ur III Akkadian is archaic Old Babylonian (n. 24), I would not agree with his separation of the Babylonian and Diyala dialects as done on p. 163 (cf. here above, p. 8 and n. 16), and certainly not a separation on the same level as that of Old Babylonian, Old Assyrian, and the texts from Mari (see above n. 15). In any case, Westenholz's attribution of I. J. Gelb, "A Tablet of Unusual Type from Tell Asmar," *JNES* 1 (1942), 219–26, to the Diyala dialect (n. 26) is erroneous (as are conclusions based on this attribution) since the tablet is written in Old Assyrian and not in the language of the Diyala texts as pointed out already by Gelb several times in his article.

[49] Only in a royal inscription from Aššur. Cf. above, p. 10 and nn. 19–20.

[50] Only in frozen forms in Old Babylonian. Cf. *GAG* §46 d.

[51] The dative form *kuašim* does not occur in Old Assyrian which uses the gen./acc. forms for the dative as well. Cf. *GAG* §41 c and f, and *GKT* §48 b.

traced back to Old Akkadian. Hence we are dealing with archaisms that are common to two nearly contemporary dialects and not with the influence of one dialect on another. The only feature which is common to Old Assyrian and archaic Old Babylonian that cannot be derived from Old Akkadian is the use of *šut* (instead of *šu*) for the third person masculine singular independent personal pronoun. However, this form is not peculiar to the Tell Asmar letters, but is also found in a number of archaic Old Babylonian texts from other areas of Mesopotamia.[52] Therefore, even this form should not be considered an Assyrianism unless the same origin is postulated for the form in other locations. Since this is the only archaic Old Babylonian form that has a counterpart only in Assyrian, this explanation does not seem likely. On the other hand, the fact that the form is *šu* in Old Akkadian, *šut* in archaic Old Babylonian, and *šu* in early Old Babylonian and later does not have any other obvious explanation.

A similar problem is presented by the subjunctive marker *-na*.[53] This form, however, is not attested in either Old Akkadian or Old Assyrian, where a subjunctive marker *-ni* is used. The fact that the earliest known attestation of the subjunctive marker *-na* is in an Ur III royal inscription of Šulgi suggests that there is a closer link between Ur III Akkadian and archaic Old Babylonian than might have been expected. There is no reason to expect that the Akkadian used in letters immediately after the end of the Ur III period, especially at Eshnunna, should be significantly different from the Akkadian of the Ur III period. While this is a valid *a priori* assumption, it is considerably strengthened by the fact that no distinction can be seen between Akkadian texts of the two periods. The use of the subjunctive marker *-na* in both periods adds positive corroboration to this negative observation. To my knowledge, the third person independent pronoun is not yet attested in a clearly dated Ur III text, but if this form turns out to be *šut* instead of *šu,* it would make an almost conclusive case for the identity of Ur III Akkadian and archaic Old Babylonian. The fact that there are a number of well-attested changes between Old Akkadian of the Sargonic period and Ur III Akkadian[54] suggests that the largest discontinuity comes at the end of the Sargonic period, and that Ur III Akkadian is already the beginning of the Old Babylonian linguistic tradition.

Another detail that requires discussion is the connection between archaic Old Babylonian and the so-called hymnic-epic dialect. The hymnic-epic dialect is of course characterized by numerous archaisms and it has been suggested that texts written in this dialect originated during the Sargonic period.[55] However, it can be seen that most of these archaisms are still to be found in the early letters from Tell Asmar. While it is possible that some of the texts in the hymnic-epic dialect may have been composed during the Sargonic period, there is no reason to discount the early Isin-Larsa period as a time when many of these compositions could have been written. There are, in fact, so many words and expressions in the earlier letters from Tell Asmar that are otherwise attested only in literary texts that many of these letters appear to be written in the hymnic-epic dialect. This, of course, is not the case; rather, it suggests that many of the texts in the hymnic-epic dialect were written when the language found in the Tell Asmar letters was in current use.

Although there are many archaisms in the Tell Asmar letters, it must be pointed out that there are also a number of features which are not characteristic of Old Akkadian or Old Assyrian but which are found in later Old Babylonian. The preposition "with, from" is expressed in Old Akkadian by *ište* and in Old Assyrian by *ište/išti,* but in archaic Old Babylonian by *itti* as it is in later Babylonian.[56] The

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[52] See the commentary to no. 23.

[53] Cf. above p. 13 and n. 39.

[54] *MAD* 2, pp. 18–19. The examples given by Gelb include: The replacement of Sargonic *in* "in" by *ina,* the replacement of *enma* "thus" by *umma,* and the replacement of *ište* "with, from" by *itti.* These changes all continue into Old Babylonian.

[55] W. G. Lambert, *BiOr* 30 (1973), 357–58.

[56] *GAG* §114 l and q. *GKT* §103 d. According to *MAD* 2, p. 19, the form is *itti* in Ur III Akkadian also. See also F. R. Kraus, *RA* 72 (1978), 77–78, and note that the display presented by Kraus on p. 78 is simplified if it is assumed that the Ur III occurrences of *itti* are Old Babylonian rather than Old Akkadian.

present tense of the verb *nadānum* "to give" is *inaddan* in Old Akkadian and *iddan* in Old Assyrian, but is *inaddin* in archaic Old Babylonian as in Old Babylonian.[57] The verb *šemeum* "to hear" is represented in the Tell Asmar letters by such writings as *te-še-me* for *tešemme* (13:5) and *te-eš-te-me-a* for *tešte(m)meā* (23:25) for which the Old Assyrian forms would be *tašamme* and *taštemeā* (or *taštammeā*) respectively. While these forms are not attested in Old Akkadian, the writing *áš-má-ma*[58] indicates that the forms would be **tašamma* and **tašta(m)maʾā*.

Table 1 (pp. 20-21) shows comparisons of some of the features of the dialects of Akkadian which surround archaic Old Babylonian both temporally and geographically (Old Akkadian, early Old Babylonian/Old Babylonian, and Old Assyrian) with those found in the early letters from Tell Asmar.[59]

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[57] *MAD* 2, pp. 179–80 and *GAG* §102 j. Both *inaddan* and *inaddin* occur occasionally in Old Assyrian, cf. *GKT* §100 b.

[58] *MAD* 2, p. 190 and *MAD* 3, p. 274.

[59] These features have been discussed in the preceding pages. The charts as well as the discussion are selective rather than exhaustive. There are many other features in the letters whose interpretation is too uncertain to be used as a basis for general discussion which will only be found in the commentary to the letters or the Glossary. For the other dialects, see *MAD* 2, *MAD* 3, *GAG,* and *GKT*. The attention of the reader is also invited to section E of *GAG* (beginning on p. 242) entitled "Die wichtigsten Eigentümlichkeiten der Hauptdialekte des Akkadischen," especially §188 "Das Altakkadische," §189 "Das Altbabylonische," and §194 "Das Altassyrische," and to *GKT* §157 "Die Position des aA innerhalb des Akkadischen."

Table 1—Comparison of Archaic Old Bablyonian with Other Dialects

Word or Form	(Tell Asmar) Archaic OB	OAkk	OB	OA	Remarks
Personal Pronouns: Free Forms:					
2.m. sing. obl.	kuati	*kua(ti)	kâti/ kâta	ku(w)ati	
2.m. sing. dat.	kuašim	*kuaš(im)	kâši(m)/ kâšu(m)	ku(w)ati	kuašim in HED
3.m. sing. nom.	šut	šu	šu	šut	
3.f. sing. obl.	šiati	šiati	šuati/šâti	šiati	šiati in HED; šêti at Mari
Bound Forms:					
2.m. sing. nom.	-āti	-āt	-āta	-āti	-āti seldom in OB letters; -āt at Mari and rarely in OB omens
Determinative/ Relative Pronoun:					
m. sing.	ša	šu/ši/ša	ša	ša	ša in Ur III; šu in HED and in names in Ur III through OB and in OA
m.pl.	šūt	šūt	ša	ša	šūt in HED and in frozen forms in OB
Demonstrative:					
Pronoun	unummium		anummûm		
(Adverb)	unumma		anumma		
Indefinite Pronoun	mammana	mammana	mamman	mamman	mammana in HED and seldom in OA
Verbs:					
B. pret. 3.f.s.	taprus/ iprus	taprus	iprus	taprus/ iprus	taprus in HED and names in Ur III through OB
Initial ʾ₃₋₅ infinitive	ebābum	ʾarābum/ erāšum	ebēbum	eṣādum	
Medial ʾ₆ infinitive	zuāzum	tuārum	zâzum	tuārum	
Medial ʾ₇ infinitive	diānum	*diānum	diānum/ dânum	diānum	

Final ʾ₃₋₅ B pres.	*tešemme*	**tašamma*	*tešemme*	*tašamme*	
"*nadānum*" B pres.	*inaddin*	*inaddan*	*inaddin*	*iddan*	*inaddan* and *inaddin* seldom in OA
B prec. 1.s.	*luprus*	*luprus*	*luprus*	*laprus*	
D prec. 3.s.	*liparris*	*liparris*	*liparris*	*luparris*	
D inf./stative	*purrus(um)*	*purrus(um)*	*purrus(um)*	*parrus(um)*	
D imperative	*purris*	*purris*	*purris*	*parris*	
Š inf./stative	*šuprus(um)*	*šuprus(um)*	*šuprus(um)*	*šaprus(um)*	
Š imperative	*šupris*	*šupris*	*šupris*	*šapris*	
Subjunctive Suffix	*-na*	*-ni*		*-ni*	*-na* at Mari and in one OB legal text; *-ni* in early OB royal inscription

Particles:

Intensifying Interj.	*inni*	*enni/anni*	*anna*	*anni*	*anni*(?) in one letter from Tell Asmar
Negative	*ula*	*ula*	*ula/ul*	*ula*	

Prepositions:

"*ana*"	*ana/an+*	*ana*	*ana*	*ana/an+*	*an+* often in HED
"*ina*"	*ina/in+*	*in*	*ina*	*ina/in+*	*ina* and *in+* in HED *ina* in Ur III
"*aššum*"	*ana šumi/ aššumi*		*aššum*	*ana šumi/ aššumi*	
"with, from"	*itti*	*ište*	*itti*	*ište/išti*	*itti* in Ur III

Noun Forms:

"third"	*šalištum*	*šalištum*	*šaluštum*	*šalištum*	
"sending"	*šībultum*	*šābultum*	*šībultum/ šūbultum*	*šēbultum*	

Use of Dual:

Nouns	+	+	—	+	dual in nouns and verbs but not in pronouns in
Verbs	+	+	—	+	HED: dual limited to natural pairs in OB; dual pronoun in
Pronouns	+	+	—	—	OA royal inscription but not in OA letters

Vowel Harmony	—	—	—	+	

LETTERS FROM TELL ASMAR

Table 2—Rulers of Eshnunna During the Period Covered by the Letters

Šu-Ilija	
Nur-aḫum	(2010–)
Kirikiri	
Bilalama	
Išar-ramašu	
Uṣur-awassu	(ca. 1950)
Azuzum	
Ur-Ninmar	
Ur-Ningišzida	
Ipiq-Adad I	(ca. 1900)
Šarrija	
Belakum	
Warassa	(ca. 1860)

PART II. HISTORICAL

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE EARLIER LETTERS FROM TELL ASMAR

Information from the letters found at Tell Asmar taken in conjunction with other information from administrative texts and seal impressions as well as information from other sites and sources allows us to provide a historical context in which many of the earlier letters from Tell Asmar can be understood. The letters deal most specifically with the reign of Bilalama and the other information available reveals not only an insight into some of the events of his reign, but also into his relationship to his two predecessors, Nur-aḫum and Kirikiri.[60]

For this reason, the most convenient starting point for the present discussion is the beginning of the reign of Nur-aḫum. It is now known that Nur-aḫum was a contemporary of both Ibbi-Sin of Ur and Išbi-Irra of Isin, and that Išbi-Irra was at least partly responsible for Nur-aḫum being on the throne at Eshnunna. This information comes from the collection of Sumerian letters preserved in Old Babylonian literary tradition under the title Lugal-mu-ra. In a letter of Puzur-Numušda, the ensi of Kazallu, to Ibbi-Sin, the king of Ur, we find among the activities of Išbi-Irra the following (transliteration of F. Ali):

> ^{m}zi-in-nu-um ensí-su-bir₄^{ki}-a ḫéš(LÚ×GÁN)-a in-díb ḫa-ma-
> zi^{ki} nam-ra-aš im-mi-in-ak ^{m}nu-ur-a-ḫi ensí-èš-nun^{ki}-na
> ^{m}šu-^{d}en-líl ensí-kiš^{ki}-a ù puzur-^{d}tu-tu ensí-bàd-zi-ab-ba^{ki}
> ki-ni-šè ba-an-gur-ru-uš
>
> He (Išbi-Irra) took captive Zinnum, ensi of Su-bir₄^{KI}, plundered Ḥamazi
> (and), returned Nur-aḫum, ensi of Eshnunna, Šu-Enlil, ensi of Kish, and
> Puzur-Tutu, ensi of Bad-Ziabba, (each) to his place.[61]

Although preserved in a slightly corrupt form, the *Nu-ur-a-ḫi* (one variant even has *Nu-ur-É-a*[62]) of this passage is certainly the Nur-aḫum known to us from sources found at Tell Asmar.[63] Strengthening this conclusion is the occurrence of Šu-Enlil (lú *Šu-Enlil*, lú-kin-gi₄-a *Šu-Enlil*), presumably the ensi of Kish mentioned in the letter, in texts from Tell Asmar dating to this period.[64]

The significance of this information lies in the ease with which it can be connected with a year date from Eshnunna. The date formula[65] records a defeat of Subartu which is attributed to the god Tišpak (mu ^{d}Tišpak lugal-e SAG×DU SU.BAPPIR-a-ke₄ tibír-ra bí-in-ra-a[66]). It is particularly noteworthy that this victory is ascribed to Tišpak and not to Nur-aḫum to whose reign the date formula belongs. One of the most difficult concepts to envisage is that of a modest Near Eastern ruler. If Nur-aḫum had defeated Subartu he certainly would have so stated in his year date. (Compare the very

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[60] The history of this period has been synthesized by Edzard, *ZZB*, pp. 66–74. The sources for Eshnunna are limited almost exclusively to those provided by Jacobsen in *OIP* 43.

[61] F. Ali, *Sumer* 26 (1970), 161–62, lines 35–40.

[62] This variant occurs in an unpublished Oriental Institute tablet, A 7475, which was not utilized by Ali. Cf. Edzard, *AfO* 19 (1959–1960), 18a.

[63] *OIP* 43, p. 135, Building Inscription No. 2 and pp. 144–45, Seal Legends No. 9, 10, and 11.

[64] Occurrences include *Lú-ša-lim* lú *Šu-^{d}En-líl* (1931-T212) and *Bu-za-núm* (var. *Bu-za-nu-um*) lú-kin-gi₄-a *Šu-^{d}En-líl* (1931-T232, 1931-T239). These tablets record the issue of garments and belong to the archive of Abi-Lulu. For the archive of Abi-Lulu and its date, see *OIP* 43, p. 172, commentary to Date Formula No. 44.

[65] *OIP* 43, pp. 170–71, Date Formula No. 42; cf. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 39 and Edzard, *ZZB*, pp. 71–72.

[66] M. Civil, *RA* 70 (1976), 189, discussed the sign read as TU by Jacobsen in this date formula (*OIP* 43, p. 170, Date Formula No. 42, n. †, identifying it as tibír (TAG×ŠU) and the verb as tibír—ra "to strike with the fist." The correctness of Civil's observation is confirmed by the writing ŠU.TIBÍR in Date Formula No. 70 (*OIP* 43, p. 180) and the following information from tablet VII of the lexical series Nabnitu (*MSL* 16, p. 106):

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
57. & \text{šu-}^{bur}\text{bùr} & = 5\ (up\text{-}nu) \\
58. & \text{ŠU.}^{ti\text{-}bir}\text{TIBÍR} & = 6\ (up\text{-}nu)
\end{array}
$$

similar date *OIP* 43, p. 180, Date Formula No. 70: m u *Bi-la-la-ma* e n s í Áš-n u n^{KI} SAG×DU MAR.TU ŠU.TIBÍR(=šubur$_x$?)-r a b i-i n-r a.) If Nur-aḫum were not responsible for the victory over Subartu, it must have been accomplished by some other agency. Leaving aside the divine intervention of Tišpak as a possibility, the successive mention of the capture of the ensi of Subartu, the plundering of Ḫamazi, and the returning of Nur-aḫum to his place in the Kazallu letter makes it very likely that the defeat of Subartu should be attributed to Išbi-Irra, and that, in fact, the defeat of Subartu reported in the letter and the defeat recorded in the year date represent the same event.

Considerable weight is added to this argument by the conclusion arrived at by Jacobsen, *OIP* 43, p. 172, that Date Formula No. 42 is the first year of Nur-aḫum.[67] Since the Kazallu letter and the Eshnunna year date seem to agree on the fact that Nur-aḫum came to the throne in the wake of a defeat of Subartu, it seems likely that the two sources refer to the same event and that Nur-aḫum was placed on the throne by Išbi-Irra. A corollary to this conclusion is that the reign of Nur-aḫum's predecessor, Šu-ilija,[68] was brought to an end by a defeat at the hands of Subartu and that the city of Eshnunna was in imminent danger of falling into its hands when Išbi-Irra intervened.[69]

The intervention of Išbi-Irra in the affairs of Eshnunna would go a long way toward explaining the difference in status between Šu-ilija and Nur-aḫum, both supposedly independent rulers of Eshnunna. Šu-ilija was deified and took the title *šarrum dannum šar māt Warim* "mighty king, king of the land of Warum."[70] During the reign of Nur-aḫum and his successors these titles were reserved for Tišpak, the ruler being called simply ensi (*iššakkum*) of Eshnunna. The deification of the king and the use of the title *šarrum* were not resumed until the reign of Ipiq-Adad II (ca. 1850).

The question of the exact date of the accession of Nur-aḫum remains. The Kazallu letter mentions the building of the wall Idilpašunu, an event noted in the date formula for Išbi-Irra's ninth year.[71] In

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Line 57 is quite clear and shows that š u - b ù r (š u - b ú r in the formula for the 45th year of Šulgi) is a syllabic writing for the Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian *upnu* "fist." Line 58 is ambiguous and could be taken to indicate that the sign group ŠU.TIBÍR is to be read /tibir/ as an equivalent for Akkadian *upnu,* or that the logogram TIBÍR (glossed for identification) has a reading beginning with š u- (namely /šubur/). The latter possibility seems more likely since the three year dates under discussion use TIBÍR, ŠU.TIBÍR, and š u - b ú r for the same lexeme and the last writing is clearly syllabic. The problem is academic, since t i b i r and š u b u r (š i b i r) are at most dialectal or graphic variants.

[67] Unfortunately, Jacobsen's argument is vitiated by the reassignment of several year dates of this period (see Whiting, *JAOS* 97 [1977], 173–74, nn. 7, 8, and 10). The conclusion is based on the theory that Date Formulas No. 40–41 (Šu-ilija) and 42–44 (Nur-aḫum) are consecutive years. This, in turn, is based on the archival nature of many of the texts bearing these dates and the find spot of some of the tablets with Date Formula No. 44. The fact that the texts with Date Formulas No. 40 and 41 also have Ur III month names while the texts which have Date Formulas No. 46, 47, and 48, which should also belong to the reign of Šu-ilija, have Akkadian month names, indicates that the former are earlier than the latter and hence Date Formulas No. 40 and 41 cannot immediately precede Date Formulas No. 42, 43, and 44 if the latter belong to the reign of Nur-aḫum. Finally, if Date Formula No. 46 belongs to the reign of Šu-ilija, then the entire rationale for placing Date Formula No. 44 after No. 43, and even for assigning it to Nur-aḫum, is destroyed. Obviously, a thorough reworking of the sequence and attribution of the date formulas of this period is needed, but this cannot be done until after a detailed analysis of the administrative texts in which they occur. For the time being, Date Formula No. 42 is retained as the first year of Nur-aḫum because the prominent mention of Tišpak as king indicates that the date belongs after the reign of Šu-ilija while the archival nature of the texts bearing it (and the ús-sa date No. 43) shows that it belongs very shortly after the end of Šu-ilija's reign.

[68] The justification of this interpretation of the name rather than Ilšu-ilija is too long to be included here. See my comments in *JAOS* 97 (1977), 171–77.

[69] Concerning this possibility, letter no. 2 may refer to these events. Although poorly preserved, the letter reports events of a campaign being waged in the mountains to the northeast of Eshnunna. Places mentioned include *Ni-qi₄-[im*^{KI}] = Niqqum and *Ḫa-al-ʳma-ni*^{KI}⌉ = Ḫalman. Also mentioned is a certain Iddin-Sin (*I-di-*^dEN.ZU), possibly an ally of Eshnunna, whose troops have been defeated. The letter ends with the words *a-al-kà ù-ṣú-úr* "protect your city" which could be just good advice or a warning of impending attack.

[70] Whiting, *JAOS* 97 (1977), 174–75.

[71] The numbering assigned to the year dates of Išbi-Irra by Kienast, *JCS* 19 (1965), 53 is followed here. However, it seems likely that Išbi-Irra year A (Crawford, *BIN* 9, pp. 16–17), identified as the first year of Išbi-Irra by Kienast (p. 45) following the suggestion of Edzard, *ZZB,* pp. 61–62, is actually a variant of year 9 (x + 6 in *BIN* 9). The date formula for year A is m u - b à d - g a l Ì-s i-i n-n a^{KI(!)} m u - d ù "year he built the great wall of Isin" (*BIN* 9 85) while that for year 9 appears as m u b à d - g a l *I-dì-il-pá-šu-nu* m u - d ù "year he built the great wall Idilpašunu" (*BIN* 9 68). The Kazallu letter identifies the wall as follows

fact, the building of the wall is mentioned twice in the letter. In the first part of the letter, the messenger of Išbi-Irra announces his intention to build the wall; and in the latter portion of the letter, the ensi of Kazallu reports that the wall has been built. On the basis of these two references to the wall, Wilcke concluded:

> Der Brief stammt aus dem Jahr IE 9 = IS 19. Die Botschaft Išbiʾerra's an Puzurnumušda muß wegen des dazwischenliegenden Baus der Mauer *īdil-pā-šunu* von Isin mindestens ein Jahr früher datiert werden. Außerdem berichtet Puzurnumušda, was in der Zwischenzeit geschehen ist.[72]

Actually, the situation is not nearly so clear cut. It must be kept in mind that, in the letter, we are dealing with a secondary source, not a primary, contemporary one. There is no doubt that the events referred to are historical, but it is unknown what process of editing or compilation the letter went through before reaching its present form. If the letter is taken at its face value, as a verbatim copy of an actual letter, there are still difficulties. There are two opposing lines of reasoning evident from the contents of the letter. If, as Wilcke states, the embassy of Išbi-Irra to Puzur-Numušda must be dated at least a year earlier than the writing of the letter, why did he wait so long to ask for help after Išbi-Irra's lightly veiled threats? The answer must be that he did not consider these threats seriously until he was faced with Išbi-Irra's accomplishments. On the other hand, the accomplishments of Išbi-Irra listed in the letter (the capture of Nippur, the building of the wall, the capture of the ensi of Subartu, the plundering of Ḫamazi, etc.) would seem to require more than one year, even for someone as energetic and ambitious as Išbi-Irra. If this be the case, then the interval between the visit of Išbi-Irra's messenger and the writing of the letter could have been considerably longer than a single year. The mention of the building of the wall in the letter does not necessarily imply that the letter was written in the same year that the wall was built, but only that the letter could not have been written before the wall was built.

If we assume that Išbi-Irra's mission to Puzur-Numušda took place shortly before the building of the wall and that the events enumerated in the letter took place between the visit of Išbi-Irra's messenger and the writing of the letter, we arrive at Išbi-Irra 8 as the earliest possible date for the accession of Nur-aḫum at Eshnunna. The latest possible date may be obtained from an examination of Ibbi-Sin's reply to Puzur-Numušda's letter,[73] where Ibbi-Sin states that he expects the Amorites to come to his aid against Išbi-Irra. However, the Amorites were allied with Išbi-Irra by his twelfth year[74] and, therefore, Ibbi-Sin's letter must have been written before that, at the latest during Išbi-Irra 11.

(transliteration of F. Ali): i-si-in^ki-na bàd-bi ba-an-dù ^m i-di-il-KA-šu-nu mu-sa₄-a ba-sa₄-a "he built the wall of Isin and named it Idilpašunu" (*Sumer* 26, p. 161, lines 31–32). Since the Kazallu letter describes the wall Idilpašunu as the wall of Isin, it is plausible that the year dates mentioning the building of the wall of Isin and the building of the wall Idilpašunu refer to the same event.

[72] Wilcke, *ZA* 60 (1970), 57.

[73] Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 (1949), 59–72.

[74] *BIN* 9 152 and 316. Both of these texts are dated to year 12 of Išbi-Irra. The first records the following issue: 890 kuš ⌜udu-maš⌝(?) níg-kešda kù-babbar-⌜šè⌝(?) níg-ba MAR.TU u₄ ^GIŠtukul NIM-a ⌜ba-sìg⌝-ga-a "890 sheep and goat skins for wrappings for silver, a gift for the Amorites at the time that the Elamites were defeated" (3–7). The gift for the Amorites consists of the silver, the skins being incidental. The reason for the number of skins being given but not the amount of silver is that the text is a record from the office responsible for providing the skins. Judging from the large number of skins provided, the amount of silver must have been considerable. The second text lists by name thirty-eight Amorites (plus the wife of one of them) who receive gifts (see below and n. 78). One of these Amorites (*Ab-de₄-Él*, see below pp. 26–28) is known to be at home in the area of Eshnunna and is a person of very high status. Another of them (*Ša-ma-mu-um*, whose wife is also mentioned) is mentioned frequently in the *BIN* 9 texts (see the index) and is presumably also a person of high status (cf. *BIN* 9 390). It can be assumed on this basis that many, if not all, of the individuals were persons of importance in various areas, presumably local chieftains or sheikhs with whom Išbi-Irra was on friendly terms. These two texts indicate that by Išbi-Irra's twelfth year he was in contact with Amorites in a number of locations, and that they were making common cause with him against the Elamites, either as political allies or possibly as mercenaries.

Since Ibbi-Sin's reply seems to follow Puzur-Numušda's letter almost immediately, Išbi-Irra 11 is also the latest possible date for it. The events of the Puzur-Numušda letter could have taken place during years 8, 9, 10, and partly 11 of Išbi-Irra. However, if most of his successes had come early in this period, it would account for his increase in status during year 9 (deified, use of the title lugal-ma-da-na)[75] and 10 (first appearance of names with Išbi-Irra as theophoric element).[76] Therefore, the earliest possible date is selected, which tentatively identifies Nur-aḫum 1 = Išbi-Irra 8 (2010 B.C.).[77]

Another link between Isin and Eshnunna is found in an Amorite named Abda-El and his son Ušašum. These two are very important persons at Eshnunna during the reigns of Nur-aḫum, Kirikiri, and Bilalama. Just how important they are will be seen shortly. But the first mention of them is found in an Isin text which lists approximately forty Amorites (MAR.TU-e-ne) receiving special issues or gifts (níg-šu-tak₄-a = Akk. *šībultum/šūbultum*[78]). The text is *BIN* 9 316, and in lines 13–14 we find the entries 1 *Ab-de₄-Él* 1 *Ū-ša-šum* dumu-ni "1 Abde-El, 1 Ušašum his son." The name Ušašum appears only in this text and in the texts from Tell Asmar, and its unusualness and the relationship to Abda-El leave no doubt that we are dealing with the same individuals in both places.

The first mention of these two at Eshnunna is found in a seal impression of great importance.[79] The impression is on a fragment of a letter envelope and is presented in the Supplement as No. 1. The inscription is in two columns as follows:

	Supplement 1		1930-T757
i.		ii.	
1.	*Nu-úr-a-ḫu-um*	6.	*Ū-ša-˹šum˺*
2.	*na-ra-am* ᵈ*Tišpak*	7.	*e-mi-˹šu˺*
3.	[ENSÍ]	8.	DUMU *Ab-˹da-El˺*
4.	[*Áš-nun-na*ᴷᴵ]	9.	[*ra*(?)-*bí*(?)]-*an*
5.	[*a-na*]	10.	[*A*(?)-*mu*(?)-*ri*(?)]-*im*
		11.	[*i-q*]*i₄-iš*

Nur-aḫum, beloved of Tišpak, ensi of Eshnunna, to Ušašum his son-in-law,[80] son of Abda-El, *rabiān Amurrim,* presented (this seal).

This seal belongs to the category of presentation seals given by rulers to relatives and high officials of which several other examples are known from Eshnunna.[81] To my knowledge this is the only such seal presented to a son-in-law.

The reading (and reconstruction) of lines 1–8 and line 11 can be considered certain. The reconstruction of lines 9 and 10 is much more speculative. The last sign at the end of each line is clearly

[75] Edzard, *ZZB,* pp. 60–62.

[76] *Ibid.,* p. 61.

[77] The absolute date is based on the so-called "Middle Chronology," which places the reign of Hammurapi at 1792–1750 B.C. This determination is also rather simplistic since it must be borne in mind that an event commemorated in a year date normally took place in the preceding year and thus the building of the wall probably took place during the year Išbi-Irra 8. Furthermore, there is no inherent reason for limiting the visit of Išbi-Irra's messenger to Puzur-Numušda to a single year before the building of the wall so this visit could have taken place much earlier in Išbi-Irra's reign and there is no compelling evidence for when to cut off the possible date. However, if the otherwise unidentified *Zi-nu-um* who receives a "diplomatic" gift in *BIN* 9 332 (see Excursus B, pp. 114–115) is the Zinnum ensi of Subartu mentioned in the Puzur-Numušda letter, then his defeat at the hands of Išbi-Irra cannot have come before the latter's seventh year since the text is dated to the eleventh month of Išbi-Irra 6. If this defeat came in Išbi-Irra's seventh year then once again the first year (date) of Nur-aḫum would correspond to the eighth year (date) of Išbi-Irra. In any case, the choice of a single year, 2010 B.C., as the beginning of Nur-aḫum's reign implies a precision unwarranted by the methodology.

[78] See Excursus B, pp. 113–117.

[79] *OIP* 43, p. 145, Seal Legend No. 10.

[80] For the meaning "son-in-law" for *emum,* see the commentary to no. 12.

[81] See the catalog of such seals by Sollberger, *JCS* 19 (1965), 29 and the discussion by J. Franke in Gibson-Biggs, *Seals,* pp. 61–66.

visible. The restoration of *rabiān Amurrim* is plausible because the title of Abda-El is expected in these two lines, and knowing him to be an Amorite of high status, this title is not at all out of place.[82]

The significance of this seal impression is obvious. It establishes the fact of marriage between the ruling family of Eshnunna and the family of an Amorite of very high status, known also at Isin. The alliance between these two families was even closer, as the letters found at Tell Asmar inform us. In addition to the marriage of the son of Abda-El to the daughter of Nur-aḫum affirmed by the seal, the letters imply that Bilalama was married to a daughter of Abda-El. The evidence for this comes from two letters, no. 12 and no. 11. The first of these (no. 12) is addressed to Bilalama by a woman named Battum. In the opening lines of the letter she establishes that there is a close relationship between her and Abda-El, but the exact nature of the relationship is not stated. In all probability she is the wife (or more likely at this time the widow) of Abda-El. In any case, she says, speaking to Bilalama, *šum-ma a-ta e-mi ù a-na-ku um-ma-kà-ma* "If you are my son-in-law and I am your mother . . ." (lines 29–30), and later on, *šum-ma ma-ri a-ta* "If you are my son . . ." (line 40). These two quotations make two things clear; first that Bilalama was married to Battum's daughter, and second that the terms *ummum* "mother" and *mārum* "son" can refer either to a parent-child relationship or to in-laws. The second letter (no. 11) is addressed to Bilalama by an unidentified individual, almost certainly Ušašum, since he states in the opening lines of the letter: *a-na-ku a-ḫu-kà ši-ir-kà ù da-mu-kà a-na-ku* "I am your brother. I am your flesh and your blood." The letter refers to the coming funeral of Abda-El, and the writer advises Bilalama: *mi-im-ma ša a-na qú-bu-úr Ab-da-El a-bi-kà tu-ša-ba-lam a-ḫa-am-ma šu-bi-lam* "Whatever you intend to send for the funeral of Abda-El, your father, send separately" (lines 26–30). The key word to be noted in this statement is *abika* "your father." We know from a seal that the father of Bilalama was Kirikiri.[83] Hence the reference to Abda-El as *abika* with respect to Bilalama must be interpreted as either "your political superior" or "your father-in-law." The implied relationship of Abda-El to Battum, Bilalama's mother-in-law, makes the latter interpretation quite likely and, in fact, the two interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Accepting this conclusion allows the reconstruction, at least partially, of the family of Nur-aḫum, the family of Abda-El, and their interrelation (see Fig. 1, p. 28).

The two families have carried out a "daughter exchange," apparently for political reasons. This exchange allows us to establish the following conclusions:

1) Nur-aḫum and Abda-El belong to the same generation since their children marry.

2) Bilalama and Ušašum belong to the same generation (specifically, the one after Nur-aḫum and Abda-El) because they are the male participants in the daughter exchange.

3) Nur-aḫum and Kirikiri (Bilalama's father) are brothers because Bilalama must belong to the generation after Nur-aḫum and be from the same family.

4) Presumably, Nur-aḫum did not have a son because a) Nur-aḫum's son would have married the daughter of Abda-El, and b) he would have succeeded to the throne after Kirikiri.

This information helps explain some of the situations brought up in the letters and also some of the year dates of Bilalama. Letter no. 11 establishes that Abda-El died during the reign of Bilalama. It is also known that Bilalama fought with the Amorites[84] while at other times he enjoyed good relations

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[82] For a discussion of this title, see most recently, M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History,* pp. 87–88. The title also appears in letter no. 3 and in the seal impression on the envelope fragment Supplement No. 2.

[83] *OIP* 43, p. 145, Seal Legend No. 12.

[84] *OIP* 43, p. 180, Date Formula No. 70: mu *Bi-la-la-ma* ensí Áš-nun^KI SAG×DU MAR.TU ŠU.TIBÍR-ra bi-in-ra "year Bilalama smote the Amorites"; and probably p. 182, Date Formula No. 81: mu MAR.TU gú im-gar "year the Amorites submitted." Possibly letters no. 6–9 refer to these hostilities.

with them.[85] It is not difficult to hypothesize that war broke out with the Amorites sometime after the death of Abda-El whose prestige would have acted as a restraining force on Bilalama while he was alive.[86]
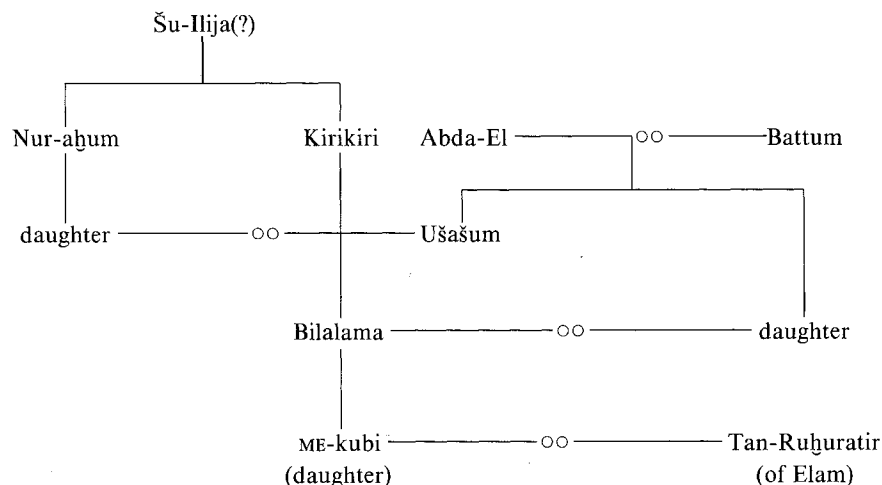
Figure 1—Relationship Between the Families of Bilalama and Ušašum

While the analysis above shows that Nur-aḫum and Kirikiri were brothers, it cannot at present be said for certain whether or not they were the sons of Šu-ilija.[87]

The letters add another piece of information about this dynasty at Eshnunna. Letter no. 24 is addressed to Uṣur-awassu by Ušašum. It begins with the cryptic statement *be-el ir-ni-ti-kà ku-šu-ud mi-im-ma a-na ší-a-ti ú-la a-qá-bi-kum* for which I am unable to provide a satisfactory interpretation. But later in the letter Ušašum says to Uṣur-awassu *šum-ma ma-ri at-ta* "if you are my son" (line 17). While the use of this expression does not necessarily imply any family relationship, it at least opens the possibility that Uṣur-awassu was a descendant of Bilalama and not the ambassador from Der mentioned in two administrative texts from Eshnunna.[88]

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[85] *OIP* 43, p. 178, Date Formula No. 65: mu MAR.TU bala I-šur^{KI} *Bi-la-la-ma*-ra mu-na-an-sum "year the Amorites gave Bilalama the rule of Išur." The administrative texts of this period frequently record gifts for Amorites among whom Abda-El and Ušašum figure prominently. The strain in these relations is indicated by letters no. 11, 12, and 17.

[86] We can also consider the effect that Išbi-Irra may have had on these relations. Since Nur-aḫum came to the throne early in the reign of Išbi-Irra (year 8 by our calculations), the latter ruled for another twenty-five years after the accession of Nur-aḫum. While the length of the reigns of Nur-aḫum and Kirikiri is not known, indications are that the combined time of these two rulers did not exceed ten to fifteen years. Hence, even if the accession date of Nur-aḫum that has been calculated is off by as much as five years, it is very likely that Išbi-Irra was still ruling Isin when Bilalama came to the throne of Eshnunna. Furthermore, Abda-El was known at Isin and presumably had some sort of amicable relationship with Išbi-Irra (see above, n. 74). It even seems possible that the daughter exchange between the families of Nur-aḫum and Abda-El could have been arranged or directed by Išbi-Irra at the time that he placed Nur-aḫum on the throne as a means of exercising some degree of control over the ruler of Eshnunna. In any case, it seems that Bilalama would not be likely to go to war with the Amorites until after the death of both Abda-El and Išbi-Irra.

[87] The reassignment of Date Formula No. 46 (*OIP* 43, p. 173) to the reign of Šu-ilija (Whiting, *JAOS* 97 [1977], 174, n. 10) makes this a possibility. Date Formula No. 46 was assigned to the reign of Kirikiri by Jacobsen because this name occurs in one of the texts bearing this date (1931-T107). However, the occurrence is a simple entry among many others which records an issue of beer for Kirikiri who is not further identified. This would be an unusual manner of referring to a current ruler in an administrative text from his own palace. A similar record of an issue of bread for dumu lugal-me "(royal)" princes" in a text with the same date (1931-T196) suggests that the mention of Kirikiri could be understood in the same light. For the time being, I prefer to leave the question open, as a detailed study of the administrative texts may provide evidence to resolve the issue.

[88] 1930-T222 and 1930-T245. The first of these is a small fragment of a large text which records the issue of a garment and a pair of sandals to *Ú-ṣú-úr-a-wa-sú* lú-kin-gi₄-a DINGIR-*mu-ta-bíl* lú BÀD.AN.[KI] "Uṣur-awassu, the ambassador of Ilum-

In contrast to the numerous references to Amorites in the letters[89] and administrative texts, there is little or no mention of Elam and Elamites in the same documents.[90] This is curious in view of the fact that it is known that ME-*ku-bi,* a daughter of Bilalama, was married to the Elamite king Tan-Ruḫuratir.[91] This raises many questions. Was this marriage with Elam another daughter exchange and was there an Elamite princess living at Eshnunna?[92] If so, what was the nature of Bilalama's relationship with Ilum-muttabbil of Der,[93] who claims to have defeated Elam, Anšan, Šimaškum, and Baraḫšum?[94] Should the destruction of the palace at Eshnunna which accompanied the end of the very brief reign of Išar-ramašu be attributed to Ilum-muttabbil of Der or to Ilušuma of Assyria?[95] In the light of our present knowledge, the answers to these questions remain quite obscure.

2. HISTORICAL CONNOTATIONS OF THE LETTERS FROM TELL ASMAR

The historical impact of some of the letters from Tell Asmar has already been discussed, especially in connection with the period from Šu-ilija to Uṣur-awassu.[96] The letters of this period reflect the same situation as already known from the year dates of the period published in *OIP* 43,[97] namely a very close relationship with the Amorites, at times friendly, at times hostile. The letters highlight this relationship, showing that the two extremes ranged from intermarriage with the Amorites to open warfare with them.

Similarly, the year dates of the period from Azuzum to Ur-Ningiszida are almost entirely devoted to reports of religious or building activities,[98] while the letters of this period are concerned with administrative or personal affairs, indicating that this must have been a period of relative peace and stability, unmarred by major political upheavals.

It is not until the reign of Ipiq-Adad I that political affairs again became the subject of some of the letters from Tell Asmar. The period from Ipiq-Adad I to Warassa at Eshnunna corresponds to parts of the reigns of Sumu-abum and Sumu-la-El of Babylon. The appearance of Sumu-abum and the emergence of Babylon as a serious political force ushers in an extremely complicated historical situation characterized by a very fragmented political structure in which numerous local rulers compete

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muttabbil the man of Der." The year date of the tablet is not preserved. The second tablet records the issue of a quantity of bread kaskal-la-[ni-še] *Ú-ṣur-a-wa-[sú]* lú BÀD.AN.[KI] "for his journey, Uṣur-awassu the man of Der." The text is almost complete, but does not have a year date. However, it also mentions a lú *Ab-da-El* "man of Abda-El" and so must be dated before the death of Abda-El during the reign of Bilalama. Since the two texts deal with two different kinds of commodities (*i.e.,* they are records from two separate offices), both may refer to the same visit of Uṣur-awassu. Cf. *OIC* 13, pp. 32–33 and *OIP* 43, pp. 5 and 197.

[89] See the Glossary for occurrences.

[90] The letters are completely devoid of any mention of Elam or persons who can be identified as Elamites. In the post-Ur III administrative texts from Eshnunna, a few Elamites can be identified. The name *Še-il-ḫa* is found in a seal inscription dated to the reign of Šu-ilija (*JAOS* 97, pp. 173 and 177, Seal Legend No. 7; the name is written *Ši-il-ḫa* on the tablet which bears the seal impression, 1931-T715). The name *Šim-še-il-ḫa* (once *Šim-še-il-ḫa* NIM "Šim-šilḫa the Elamite") occurs in three administrative texts (1931-T693, 1931-T703, 1931-T707) from an archive which possibly dates to the reign of Nur-aḫum (Date Formula No. 58, *OIP* 43, p. 176). I have, thus far, not found any individuals identifiable as Elamites in administrative texts dated to the reign of Bilalama.

[91] *MDP* 2, pl. 15 and p. 80, *MDP* 14, pp. 24–25; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI,* pp. 180–81.

[92] Even if this was not a daughter exchange, a marriage alliance indicates a particularly close relationship with Elam. Under these circumstances, one would expect frequent, or at least regular, comings and goings of messengers and correspondence between Eshnunna and Elam during the reign of Bilalama. The complete lack of evidence for such traffic in the administrative texts of his reign or among the letters addressed to him is very puzzling.

[93] Mentioned in the administrative text cited above (n. 88) and in letter no. 13.

[94] *CT* 21 1; cf. Jacobsen, *AJSL* 44 (1927–28), 261–63 and Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI,* pp. 176–77.

[95] Cf. *OIP* 43, p. 197. These are not the only two possibilities, of course. However, any discussion of this problem would require more space than can be devoted to it here.

[96] See above, pp. 24–28.

[97] *OIP* 43, pp. 177–80 and the summary on p. 197.

[98] *Ibid.,* pp. 180–86.

with one another for power, influence, and territory against a background of political intrigue and shifting alliances. This complexity may be more apparent than real, since it is only at this period that documents which allow an outline of the political situation start to become plentiful. It is possible that a similar situation prevailed in Mesopotamia during the preceding century before the rapid ascendence of the First Dynasty of Babylon upset the apparent balance of power between the Isin and Larsa dynasties.

Most of the information for the reconstruction of the history of this period comes from legal documents (sale and loan contracts) found at various sites in Mesopotamia which have year dates and/or oath formulas which name the local ruler. In analyzing this mass of data, the historians who have worked on this period are generally left with more rulers than can comfortably be accommodated at one location within the time allowed, no idea of the sequence of rulers at a given location, and a number of rulers who cannot be assigned to any locality. As a consequence, most of the reconstructions of the political situation in this period are liberally strewn with question marks indicating the uncertainties involved and the large number of assumptions which must be made to resolve the data available. The information from the letters found at Tell Asmar does not allow us to eliminate many of the question marks, but it does allow us some new assumptions.

Unfortunately for our purposes here, the letters of this period from Tell Asmar are particularly badly broken, and their contribution is limited to the mention of several names which can be identified with persons of importance known from other sources.

The last ruler of Eshnunna addressed by name in the letters is Ipiq-Adad I (no. 40). The letter to him was sent by Abdi-Eraḫ and Šiqlanum, but also mentions the names Mašparum, Išmeḫ-bala, and Itur-adnum. Three other letters (nos. 41–43) are addressed to an individual called *rubûm* "the prince," but also contain the names of Itur-adnum (no. 41), Mašparum (no. 43), and Išmeḫ-bala (no. 43), suggesting that *rubûm* was a title used by Ipiq-Adad I, and not the name of yet another ruler of Eshnunna who must be fitted into the chronological scheme. It should be pointed out that this *rubûm* has nothing to do with the individual called Rubum identified as a ruler of Eshnunna in the two letters on the tablet published by van Dijk in *AfO* 23 (1970), 65–71. As pointed out by van Dijk (p. 71), this ruler belongs to a much later period in the history of Eshnunna.[99]

The sequence of rulers at Eshnunna after Ipiq-Adad I is in need of reexamination since the observations of Jacobsen concerning the relationship between Abdi-Eraḫ and Jawium of Kish given in *OIP* 43, pp. 122–23[100] are no longer tenable. Jacobsen's position was based on the reading of the date formula in tablet IV of Langdon's "Tablets from Kish"[101] as "mu *Ab-di-a-ra-aḫ* (?) ba-an-dib 'year when Abdi-Eraḫ was taken captive'," as it appears in *RLA* 2, p. 193, year [9]. However, the date of tablet IV is actually the well-attested date mu *Ab-di-a-ra-aḫ* ᴳᴵˢgu-za in-dab₅[102] and should be read as mu *Ab-di-a-ra-aḫ* ᴳᴵˢ![g]u-[za in]-dab₅ as has already been pointed out by Edzard, *ZZB,* p. 119, meaning "year when Abdi-Eraḫ seized (took) the throne." The second part of the relationship between Abdi-Eraḫ and Jawium was based on Langdon's interpretation of Jawium as the ruler in whose name the oath was taken in tablet IV, but this is not immediately apparent from Langdon's copy. Simmons unhesitatingly saw the name as Abdi-Eraḫ.[103]

Jacobsen included Abdi-Eraḫ among the rulers of Eshnunna on the basis of the letter to Ipiq-Adad (no. 40) which includes the phrase *šumma abī atta* which he took as evidence that Abdi-Eraḫ was

[99] In all probability this later Rubum is not a named ruler of Eshnunna either, but rather reflects the continuation (or the revival) of the practice noted here of referring to the current ruler of Eshnunna with the title *rubûm* "the prince."

[100] Perpetuated by Harris, *JCS* 9 (1955), 48–49.

[101] *PSBA* 33 (1911), 185–96.

[102] See Simmons, *JCS* 14 (1960), 81.

[103] *Ibid.,* p. 81 and p. 82, n. 120. The copy presented in Dalley, *Edinburgh,* No. 39, shows the most likely reading of the name to be *Ab-di-a-ra-<aḫ>*. The year date is clearly mu *Ab-di-a-ra-aḫ* ᴳᴵˢgu-[za i]n-dab₅.

the son of Ipiq-Adad. However, it is now generally known, and has been pointed out by Edzard, *ZZB*, 119, n. 605 with respect to this particular instance, that the use of the phrase *šumma abī atta* "if you are my father" refers more often to a political relationship than to a family one. Therefore, it is more likely, as Rowton has suggested,[104] that this letter shows that Abdi-Eraḫ was a contemporary of Ipiq-Adad ruling in some other location. Jacobsen was encouraged to add Abdi-Eraḫ to the list of rulers of Eshnunna by the occurrence of a year date of Abdi-Eraḫ on a tablet found at Tell Asmar,[105] but it was only the combined weight of the letter and the year date that brought him to this position. In the entirely similar case of Abi-maṭar for whom only one date formula was found in the tablets from Tell Asmar,[106] Jacobsen declined to include Abi-maṭar in the list of rulers of Eshnunna, adding the very perceptive comment "possibly the date formula belongs not to Eshnunna but to some other small kingdom in the neighborhood."[107]

In view of the foregoing, there is little difficulty with eliminating Abdi-Eraḫ from the list of rulers of Eshnunna. The same reasoning applies to Šiqlanum, the co-author of the letter, but is even more compelling since the only year date mentioning Šiqlanum is mu *Ši-iq-la-nu-um* ba-ug₆ "year when Šiqlanum died," which, if it belongs at Eshnunna, practically guarantees that Šiqlanum was not a ruler of Eshnunna.[108] Abi-maṭar, rejected by Jacobsen as a ruler of Eshnunna, was inserted between Abdi-Eraḫ and Šiqlanum by Harris,[109] but should be removed. Although there is no doubt that Abi-maṭar ruled at Tutub, there is no compelling evidence that he was a ruler of Eshnunna.

Another person of obvious importance who appears in these letters is Išmeḫ-bala (written *Iš-me-eḫ-ba-la*, 40:3', 43:8; 45:9). It is a plausible assumption that this Išmeḫ-bala is the same person whose name appears as Išme-bali in the texts from Tutub.[110] Išme-bali occurs in single attestations of two different date formulas, both of which deal with events which took place in Neribtum, not Tutub. On the basis of this, Harris concluded that Išme-bali ruled both Tutub and Neribtum. But if our assumption of the identity of Išmeḫ-bala and Išme-bali is valid, this generates immediate problems since Išmeḫ-bala occurs in letter no. 40 which was written by Abdi-Eraḫ and Šiqlanum to Ipiq-Adad. If Abdi-Eraḫ was ruler of Tutub and a contemporary of Išmeḫ-bala, it does not seem likely that they both ruled Tutub at the same time. Since Išme-bali is definitely connected with Neribtum by the events commemorated in his year dates and only connected with Tutub by the fact that the tablets bearing his year dates happened to end up there, the obvious conclusion is that Išme-bali ruled Neribtum while Abdi-Eraḫ ruled Tutub and while Ipiq-Adad ruled Eshnunna.[111] Following similar reasoning, it is also

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[104] *CAH* I/1, p. 209.

[105] *OIP* 43, p. 187, Date Formula No. 96.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 195, Date Formula No. 125.

[107] *Ibid.*, n. †. This possibility, that not every year date found at a site belongs to a ruler of that city, is too often overlooked by those working on texts from a single site, with the result that there are frequently too many rulers to be fitted into too short a period. It should be remembered that tablets, especially loan and sale contracts, are portable, and the city where such a document was found is not necessarily the one in which it was drawn up. For this reason, one, or even two year dates from loan or sale contracts should be regarded with suspicion in establishing an individual as ruler of the city in which they were found without corroborating evidence.

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 187, Date Formula No. 97. Date formulas of the type mu PN ba-ug₆ "year PN died" are common during this era (see Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 139, n. 736 for examples). However, dates of this type do not refer to a ruler of the city at which they are used (cf. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 139, n. 737; Harris, *JCS* 9 [1955], 47; and D. Charpin, *RA* 72 [1978], 27). The assumption that this is not true for Eshnunna (Harris, *JCS* 9 [1955], 47 and n. 20) is based on a year date found at Eshnunna and interpreted by Jacobsen as mu ⌈i-ba-al⌉-[pi-el] ba-úš (*OIP* 43, p. 191, Date Formula No. 112). The traces of the year date on the tablet, however, do not support this reading. While the first two signs of the name are easily ⌈I-ba⌉, the last sign before the break looks like ⌈za⌉ rather than ⌈al⌉. Although the reading ⌈I-ba-za⌉-[ ] does not suggest any names known elsewhere, the interpretation ⌈I-ba-al⌉-[pi-El] can be maintained only with difficulty.

[109] *JCS* 9 (1955), 52–53.

[110] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[111] The text of letter no. 40 tends to confirm this observation. The reference to Išmeḫ-bala reads as follows: *a-na Iš-⌈me-eḫ-ba-la⌉ šu-pu-ur-ma ki-ma na-ru-um se₂₀-ek-ra-at šu-di-«iš»-⌈šu⌉* "write to Išmeḫ-bala and inform him that the river is blocked"

probable that the Ikun-pi-Sin found in the Tutub archive ruled at Neribtum and not at Tutub.[112]

Obviously, all of this requires some rather drastic revisions of the chronological chart presented by Harris.[113] Under Eshnunna, Abdi-Erah, Abi-maṭar, and Šiqlanum should be deleted and replaced by Ipiq-Adad I. Under Tutub, Išme-bali and Ikun-pi-Sin should be deleted. Under Neribtum, Išme-bali should be placed ahead of Ikun-pi-Sin and moved up to show his contemporaneity with Ipiq-Adad and Abdi-Erah. This new arrangement is given below in table 3.

Table 3—Chronology

Eshnunna	*Tutub*	*Neribtum*	?	?	*Marad* (?)	*Babylon*
Ipiq-Adad I	Abdi-Erah	Išmeḫ-bala	Mašparum	Šiqlanum	Alum-pumu	Sumu-abum (1894–1881)
Šarrija	Abi-maṭar Sumuna-jarim	Ikun-pi-Sin				Sumu-la-El (1880–1845)
Belakum	Tattanum Ḥammi-dušur	Ḥammi-dušur				
Warassa	Warassa	Warassa				

Unfortunately, the rather indirect synchronism of Abdi-Erah with Sumu-abum of Babylon by way of Jawium of Kish and Manaṅaja of an unknown location established by Jacobsen[114] and preserved by Harris in her chronological chart[115] disappears with the proper interpretation of the year date in the Kish tablet.[116] However, by approaching the problem from a different direction it is possible to arrive at a very similar conclusion for the upper limit of this period.

(3'–5'). Since Neribtum (Ishchali) is downstream from Tutub (Khafajah) it can be suggested that Išmeḫ-bala, the ruler of Neribtum, had written to Abdi-Erah, the ruler of Tutub, complaining about a reduction of the amount of water in the river, perhaps blaming Abdi-Erah for the situation. We could then see the request of Abdi-Erah that Ipiq-Adad write to Išmeḫ-bala and explain the actual situation to him as an indication of the influence of the ruler of Eshnunna in this area. While cities such as Neribtum and Tutub functioned as "independent kingdoms," it must be remembered that the sites in the Diyala region are very close together (Eshnunna is about twelve miles from Tutub, Tutub is about three miles from Neribtum), and movement of the population must have been very free among them. In all probability the rulers of these "independent" kingdoms were closely allied to the most powerful nearby ruler to form a sort of federation. This would account for the fact that Abdi-Erah and Išmeḫ-bala use their own year dates while Abdi-Erah refers to Ipiq-Adad as *abī* "my father" and expects him to write to Išmeḫ-bala and explain why there is no water in the river. The members of these federations probably changed frequently as a result of changes in the power structure, individual personalities, and diplomatic pressure, but, except during actual hostilities, tradesmen, merchants, and other elements of the population must have moved freely among them.

[112] It is difficult to decide where this ruler belongs since there are only two references to him, one found at Tutub and one found at Neribtum (Harris, *JCS* 9 [1955], 55), neither of which is adequate evidence that he ruled at either site. The year date of Ikun-pi-Sin found at Tutub occurs in what is apparently an administrative text which indicates that it belongs at Tutub since texts of this type are much less likely to be carried from place to place than contracts are. However, the wording of the date formula (mu ús-sa *Di-ni-[ik-tum*KI] *I-ku-pí-*dEN.ZU *iṣ-[ba-tu]* "year after (the year) Ikun-pi-Sin captured Diniktum") does not provide evidence that Ikun-pi-Sin was a ruler of Tutub since this could describe the action of an ally (or a nominal overlord?) of Tutub (note the date formula mu Ka-zal-luKI *Sa-mu-a-bi-im* in-dab₅ "year Sumu-abum captured Kazallu" on a tablet from "Kish" belonging to the reign of Manaṅaja, *RA* 8, p. 71; cf. Simmons, *JCS* 14 [1960], 78–79 and Charpin, *RA* 72 [1978], 34). The seal impression of a man who calls himself ARÁD *I-ku-un-pí-*dEN.ZU "the servant of Ikun-pi-Sin" on a text from Neribtum cited by Harris, *loc. cit.*, could be used as evidence that Ikun-pi-Sin ruled Neribtum if it can be shown that the owner of the seal was a citizen of Neribtum. For now, Ikun-pi-Sin is assumed to be a ruler of Neribtum, presumably a successor of Išmeḫ-bala. Keeping in mind that Tutub and Neribtum are only about three miles apart, it is possible, as Harris has suggested, that Ikun-pi-Sin ruled both cities. However, in my opinion, too many rulers are assigned to Tutub for this brief period.

[113] *JCS* 9 (1955), 56, table 1.

[114] *OIP* 43, pp. 122–23.

[115] *JCS* 9 (1955), 56–57.

[116] See above, p. 30.

The letter of Abdi-Eraḫ and Šiqlanum to Ipiq-Adad (no. 40) mentions a Mašparum who had written to them, and letter no. 43 is addressed to *rubûm* (Ipiq-Adad) by Mašparum. Unfortunately, the context surrounding these two occurrences of Mašparum is almost entirely lost, but, again, it is a plausible assumption that the Mašparum of the Tell Asmar letters is the same individual as mentioned in the letter from Tell ed-Der published by Al-A'dami in *Sumer* 23 (1967), 151–56. In this letter it is reported that Mašparum has joined forces with Sumu-abum and is threatening to go to war with Alum-pumu unless the latter makes a treaty with him. Our next assumption is that the Alum-pumu of this letter (written *A-lum-pu-mu* and *A-li-im-pu-mu*) is the same individual as found in Simmons, *JCS* 15 (1961), 55–56, No. 129 (written *A-lum-bi-ú-mu*) and identified as a ruler of Marad,[117] and further, following Simmons, is the same individual whose defeat is recorded in the year date Sumu-la-El 3 (written *Ḫa-lam-pu-ú*).[118] These variant spellings all represent the Amorite name */ʾahlum-puhu/*.[119] Since the defeat of Alum-pumu comes early in the reign of Sumu-la-El and the letter from Tell ed-Der in *Sumer* 23 mentions Sumu-abum, there is no difficulty in placing the synchronism Mašparum—Abdi-Eraḫ—Ipiq-Adad late in the reign of Sumu-abum.

As stated above, the information from the Tell Asmar letters has not allowed us to eliminate many of the question marks in the reconstruction of the political situation, but it has indeed permitted us to make some new assumptions which may eventually be validated.

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[117] Simmons, *JCS* 14 (1960), 86.

[118] *Ibid.* For another discussion of this individual, see Leemans, *JCS* 20 (1966), 48–49. This identity is further strengthened by the occurrence of the name in another letter from Tell ed-Der (written *A-lum-⌈pi⌉-ú-mu,* IM 50425:5; reference courtesy W. G. Lambert and Kh. al-A'dami), written by Sumu-la-El during the reign of Sumu-abum.

[119] See Gelb, *AS* 21, p. 205, *s.v.* ʾHL. The reference given there as Simmons 129 13 should be transliterated *A-lum-bi-ú-mu.*

Cat. No.	Field No.	Addressee	Sender	Letter Formula	Find Spot
1	30–276	[ ]	———	short	?
2	30–713	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1 m W of P 31:1
3	30–710	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	1 m W of P 31:1
4	30–660a₂	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	O 30:12
5	30–361	Possible join to no. 4			M 31:1
6	31–301	be-lí-a	———	short	O 30:8
7	33–7	Nu-úr-Eš₄-tár	———	short	G 26:5
8	33–11	be-lí-a	———	short	sounding in Q 37
9	31–197	[be-lí-a]	———	short	O 31:8
10	31–190	Ki-ri-ki-ri	Ú-ša-šum	inverted	P 31:1
11	31–299	Bi-la-la-ma	———	short	O 31:8
12	31–298	Bi-la-la-ma	Ba-tu-(ma)	normal	O 31:8
13	31–295	Bi-la-la-ma	———	short	O 31:8
14	31–293	[Bi]-la-la-ma	[A-d]a-làl	inverted	O 31:8
15	31–205	Bí-la-ma	DINGIR-lu-<wa>-tár	inverted	O 31:8
16	31–309a₁	Bi-la-ma	———	short	O 31:8
17	31–600	Bi-la-ma	———	short	libn staircase
18	31–198	[Bi]-la-la-ma	———	short	O 31:8
19	31–297	be-lí-a	———	short	O 31:8
20	31–294	[ ]	———	short	O 31:8
21	31–296	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	O 31:8
22	31–309a₂	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	O 31:8
23	30–221+ 30–660a	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	M 31:1 + O 30:12
24	31–142	Ú-ṣur-a-wa-sú	Ú-ša-šum	normal	P 31:1
25	30–740	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	O 31:1
26	31–300	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	O 31:8
27	30–251	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	P 31:1
28	30–230	um-mi-a	I-ṣur-ᵈIM	inverted	P 30:1
29	30–660a₁	be-lí-a	Ša-am-du-ʳušˈ-nu	normal	O 30:12
30	30–399	[be-lí]-a	Ì-lí-iš-ma-lí-a	normal	M 31:1
31	30–220	Ur-ᵈNin-marᴷᴵ	A-mur-i-lu-sú	normal	M 31:1
32	30–299	Ur-ᵈNin-marᴷᴵ	Šu-mu-áš-ku-ra	normal	M 31:1
33	30–113	[Ur]-ᵈNin-marᴷᴵ	[X]-ʳitˈ-gu-mu-um	normal	?
34	30–215	Ur-ᵈNin-[marᴷᴵ]?	Ga-ʳbuˈ-[x-x]	normal	M 31:1
35	30–384	Ur-ᵈ[Nin-marᴷᴵ]?	Da-a[d-x-x]	normal	W of M 31:4
36	30–393	Ur-ᵈ[Nin-marᴷᴵ]?	An-ʳna-pi₅-ᵈEn-lílˈ	normal	below M 31:4
37	30–1	[ ]	[ ]	normal	O 30:2
38	30–5	[ ]	———	short	O 30:2
39	30–153	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	M31:12
40	30–2	I-pí-iq-ᵈIM	Ab-di-ra-aḫ ù Ší-iq-la-nu-um	normal	O 32:2
41	30–96	Ru-bu-um	ᵈEN.ZU-e-mu-qí	normal	O 30:2
42	30–261	Ru-bi-im	I-bi-iš-DINGIR	normal	O 30:2?
43	31–325	Ru-bi-im	Maš-pa-ru-um	normal	W of M 31:17
44	30–189	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	M 31:12
45	30–71	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	?
46	31–304+ 31–309	ʳBi-bi-x-kuˈ?	———	short	O 31:8 (in wall)
47	30–159	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	M 31:3
48	30–229	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	M 30:1
49	31–208	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	dump
50	31–376	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	N of M 30:3
51	30–204	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	M 31:12
52	30–181	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	M 31:12
53	31–187	Am-mu-[ ]	Še-li-ʳBAˈ-tum	normal	N 31:2
54	30–166	Tu-na-ab-šum	Am-mu-ra-pí	normal	N 31:6
55	33–6	ᵈTišpak-mu-ta-bi-il-šu	I-bi-ᵈEN.ZU	normal	P 27:7

THE LETTERS

		Dating Criteria				
ka	*di*	*ia*	*pa*	*pi*	*ši*	*Remarks*
0	—	0	0	0	0	letter order
—	—(PN)	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	
—	—	0	—	0	—	
0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	—	—	0	0	—	
—	—	0	0	—(*pe*)	—	
0	0	—	0	0	0	
—	—	—	0	0	—	
—	0	0	0	0	—	
—	—	0	—	0	0	
—	—	—	0	0	—	
—	—	0	—	0	0	
—	0	0	—	+(PN)	0	
—	0	0	—	—	—	
—	0	0	0	0	—	
—	—	—	0.	0	+	
—	—	0	—	+(PN)	0	
0	—	—	0	0	0	
—	—	—	—	+	—	
0	0	0	0	0	0	
—?	0	0	0	0	—?	
—	—	0	0	0	—	mentions Bilalama
—	0	0	0	—	—	
0	—	0	—	0	—	
0	0	—	0	0	0	
0	0	—	—	—	0	
0	—	—	0	—	+	
—	0	—	0	—	+	
—	—(*te*)	—	0	0	—	
—	0	—	0	0	—	
—	0	—	—	0	—	
0	0	0	0	0	0	
—	—	—	+	0	—	
—	0	0	0	0	+	
—	0	0	0	0	0	
—	0	0	0	0	+(PN)	
—(+GN)	+	—	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	
0	+	—	+	—(PN)	—(PN)	
0	0	0	0	0	0	
+	0	+	+	—	+	
0	+	0	—(+PN)	—	0	
+	+	0	0	0	—(PN)	mentions Šiqlanum
+	+	+(PN)	0	+(—PN)	0	
+	+	—	0	—	+	
0	+	0	0	0	0	
0	0	—	0	0	0	
0	+	0	0	0	+	
0	+	0	+	0	—?	
+	0	0	+	+	0	
+	0	0	0	—	0	
+	+	0	—	0	0	
+	0	0	0	—(PN)	0	
+	+	+	0	0	+	very late

TRANSLITERATIONS, TRANSLATIONS, AND COMMENTARY

No. 1   1930-T276   Pl. 1

1. *a-n*[*a*   ]
2. *qí-b*[*í-ma*]
3. 3.0.0. š[E GUR]
4. ⌜šÀ⌝.GAL [   ]
   reverse
5. [*a-na*   ]
6. *i-dì-*[*in*]
7. DUB LÚ.[   ]
      A.[   ]
8. *li-*[   ]

¹⁻²⁾Say to [PN]: ³⁻⁶⁾Give 3 *kurrū* of barley as fodder [for x to PN]. ⁷⁻⁸⁾A tablet [. . .] he should [. . .].

This letter is placed first in the chronological list because it should date to the Ur III period. The field numbers indicate that it was found in association with the impression of a seal dedicated to Šulgi (1930-T277) that is published in *OIP* 43, p. 142, as Seal Legend No. 1.

Ur III letter orders written in Akkadian are well attested, as in *TCS* 1, nos. 369–73; *BiOr* 26, p. 175, no. 387 (early Isin); and *Orientalia* NS 40, pp. 398–400, nos. 12–13. While these letters are dated to the Ur III period primarily on the basis of stylistic considerations, *TIM* 2 91 is an Ur III letter order in Akkadian with a date (probably Ibbi-Sin 1): [iti gán-gá]n-UD.<DU> [ud-N-kam b]a-zal [mu ᵈI(?)-bí(?)]- ᵈEN.[z]U lugal "month: Gangane, the nᵗʰ day being completed; year Ibbi(?)-Sin became king."

No. 2   1930-T713   Pl. 1
   beginning of obverse destroyed

1. [*Ma*](?)-⌜*an-da*⌝
2. ⌜*a*⌝-*na Ni-qi₄-*[*im*ᴷᴵ]
3. *i-te-ri-i*[*b*]
4. *ù Da-ad-l*[*a-*   ]
5. *a-na Ḫa-al-*⌜*ma-ni*ᴷᴵ⌝
6. [*i-t*]*e-ri-ib*
7. *um-ma Ma-an-da-ma*
8. *a-na I-dì-*ᵈEN.ZU
9. ⌜x-x-NI-NI⌝(?)
   rest of obverse destroyed
   beginning of reverse destroyed
1′. ⌜x⌝-[   ]
2′. *a-la-kà-k*[*um*]
3′. *iš-pu-úr-šum*
4′. *ù* DUMU-*ḫu-dam*
5′. *ṣa-ba-am ša I-dì-*ᵈEN.ZU
6′. *li-im ù 5 me-at*

37

7'. *im-ḫa-aṣ*
8'. [x] *qú-bu-úr ma-*⌈x⌉*-*[   ]
9'. traces of tops of signs
      rest of reverse destroyed
      left edge
      [   ] ⌈*a*⌉*-al-kà ú-ṣú-úr*

. . . [1-6)]Manda has entered Niqqum and Dadl[a-] has entered Ḫalman. [7-8)]This is what Manda said to Iddin-Sin: [9-1')][. . . .] [2'-3')]"I will come to you" he wrote to him. [4'-7')]Furthermore, DUMU-*ḫu-dam* defeated 1500 troops of Iddin-Sin. [8'-9')]. . . . [left edge)]Protect your city!

The fragmentary condition of this letter is particularly vexing since the text seems to deal with a campaign being fought in the mountainous area northeast of Eshnunna if the reading of Niqqum and Ḫalman is correct. It is difficult to determine whether the Iddin-Sin mentioned is an enemy or an ally from the amount of text preserved. If the final line is to be interpreted as a warning, it is possible that the defeat of Iddin-Sin is bad news. This letter could be dated as early as the reign of Šu-ilija; for one possible interpretation of its historical context, see above, p. 23, n. 69.

A further possibility is that the *I-dì-*ᵈEN.ZU of this letter is the same person as the ᵈ*I-dì-*ᵈEN.ZU, king of Simurrum, whose inscriptions are published by Abdul-Hadi al-Fouadi in *Sumer* 34 (1978), 122–29, and reported by Edzard, *AfO* 24 (1973), 75. This possibility is made plausible by the fact that this Iddin-Sin was the father of ᵈ*Za-ba-zu-na* and that a seal impression of a servant of ᵈ*Za-ba-zu-na* was found at Tell Asmar (*OIP* 43, p. 146, Seal Legend No. 13; see also Sollberger, *AnSt* 30 [1980], 63–64), indicating that there was some sort of contact between Eshnunna and this dynasty.

Lines 3, 6.—The verb in these two lines is apparently *erābum* (*erēbum*) "to enter" (in this case probably meaning "to invade"), but the form here, *īterib* (or *ītereb*), does not correspond to either the Babylonian (*īterub*) or the Assyrian (*ētarab*) vocalization of the form. However, for similar aberrant forms of *erēbum*, see Hallo and Tadmor, *IEJ* 27 (1977), 9 and n. 49.

Line 4'.—I am uncertain whether to read DUMU as *mārum* "son" or to consider it as a tribal designation or to interpret it as part of the name. If the latter is the case, DUMU is not to be read as *mārum* since the name is not Akkadian. The signs *Ḫu-dam* call to mind the fairly common Hurrian name Ḫupitam (Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians,* p. 110:6), and it is possible that the text should be emended to DUMU *Ḫu-<pi>-tám* and translated "the son of Ḫupitam."

No. 3   1930-T710   Pl. 1
1. *a-na be-*[*lí-a*]
2. *qí-bí-*[*ma*]
3. *a-lu-um ša-*[*lim*]
4. 1 *Pu-ma-*[*El*]
5. ⌈1⌉(?) ⌈*La*⌉*-ṭú-*[*pu-um*]
      rest of obverse destroyed
      beginning of reverse destroyed
1'. É *a-*[   ]⌈x⌉[   ]
2'. *a-na-ku qá-*⌈*tá*⌉*-*[   ]
3'. *lu-ul-qì-m*[*a*   ]
                  [   ]
4'. *um-ma a-na-*[*ku-ma*]
5'. *ki ša ra-bi-*[*a-an*](?)

6'. *A-mu-ri-im* ⌜x⌝-[   ]
7'. *ti-šu ṭe₄-m[u(?)-um(?)]*
   left edge
8'. *mi-im-ma š[a imaqqutakkum]*(?)
                l[i-li-kam]

[1-2)]Say to my lord: [3)]The city is safe. [4)]Pu-ma-El, [5)]Laṭupum, [. . . .] [1')][. . . .] [2'-3)]I will take . . . and [. . .]. [4')]This is what I said: [5'-7')]You have [. . .] just like the *rabiān Amurrim*. [7'-8')]Let whatever news that reaches you come to me.

Line 4.—The name Pu-ma-El occurs in at least three administrative texts from Tell Asmar. It appears in 1931-T538, discussed in the commentary to no. 19 line 10', as well as in 1931-T315 rev. 14, a large tablet (date not preserved) listing issues of objects of gold, silver, copper, and bronze. This last tablet also records an issue of a gold ring (ḫar) weighing 4 shekels, a silver ring (ḫar) weighing 3 shekels, two bronze cups (gal), and a bronze za-ḫum weighing 1 mina 15 shekels for *A-ḫu-wa-qar* nu-banda₃ u₄ MAR.TU ᴳᴵˢtukul in-da-an-sìg-ga-a "Aḫu-waqar, the lieutenant, when he defeated the Amorites." The simultaneous mention of Pu-ma-El and a defeat of the Amorites indicates that Pu-ma-El was on friendly terms with Eshnunna at a time when there was conflict between Eshnunna and the "Amorites." For the name, see Gelb, *AS* 21, 5171, and note the occurrence of Pu-me-Il in an early Isin text (*BIN* 9 408:30).

Line 5.—For the name Laṭupum see the commentary to no. 19 line 3'.

Line 1'.—The line begins either with É "*bītum*" or with a personal name starting with the divine name *É-a*. The lack of a "Personenkeil" at the beginning suggests that the former possibility is correct, but the personal name indicator is not used with any regularity in these letters.

Lines 2'-3'.—The word at the end of line 2' is presumably *qatātum* "part, share, portion" with a pronominal suffix and suggests a translation "I will take my/your/his/their part." The enclitic *-ma* after *lulqi* shows that another verb followed at the end of line 3' and the spacing of the line confirms this. The occurrence of *umma anākuma* in line 4' suggests that the preceding lines were part of a quotation from some other person and that the *anāku* in line 2' does not refer to the writer of the letter.

No. 4   1930-T660a₂   Pl. 2

1. GA(?)-[   ]
2. *za-*[   ]
3. *am-*[   ]
4. *ma-*[   ]
5. PI-[   ]
6. *i-*GA-[   ]
7. *ma-i* [   ]
8. *ù ša* [   ]
   lower edge
9. *ik-ri-b[u*   ]
10. *ù i-ni-ti la* ⌜*te*⌝-[*gi*(?)   ]
    reverse
11. *A-mu-ru-um mi-ší l[a*   ]
12. ⌜*še*⌝-*mi i-ti-kà* [   ]
13. [   ]-⌜x⌝ *ṭe₄-e-*⌜*mi*⌝-[   ]

14. [   ]-*bí-lu-ni-ku*[*m*]
15. [   ]-*tim*
16. [   ] ⌈*a*⌉-*la-ni*
17. [*u*]*m*(?)-*ma-an*
18. [   ]-*an-ni*
19. [x] ⌈*i*⌉(?) *n*[*i*(?)   ]
20. ⌈x-x⌉-*u*[*n*   *ti*]*m*(?) *ki-dá-núm*
21. [*a*(?)-*d*]*u-ri-i*[*m t*]*ám-li-am*
22. [*a-d*]*ì gá-*⌈*nu-im*⌉ *šu-pu-uk*
23. [*ki*]-⌈*i*⌉ 10 *am-*⌈*ma*⌉-*tim lu ra-pá-áš*
24. [*ù*] *a-wi-lum an-ni-um*
25. [*a*(?)-*n*]*a*(?) *Kár*(*a*)-*ḫar*ᴷᴵ *i-ta-na-am-ma*
26. ⌈x⌉ *la* ⌈*mi-ší*⌉ *iz-zi-ib-šu*
27. *a*-[*š*]*a*(?) *Te-er-qá*ᴷᴵ
28. [*im*(?)-*t*]*a-ḫa-aṣ*
29. [*i*]*b lu* ID GA *ta* AD
30. [   ] *ú-ṣú-úr*
31. [*l*]*a tù-wa-ša-ar-š*[*u*]
32. [   ] ⌈*ki*⌉(?)-*nu-u*[*m*]
33. [   ] traces
     rest destroyed

. . . [1-19] . . . [20-22] . . . outside, against the wall, make a terrace a full *qanuʾum* high. [23] It should be 10 cubits wide. [24-33] . . . .

Although this letter was originally the longest found at Tell Asmar, it is so badly broken that only a few lines of connected context can be extracted from it. Otherwise, there are tantalizing references to locations in the upper Tigris region and to the Amorites, but not enough context to determine the purpose of the letter. The script of the letter is very elaborate and precise, even for this period. The similarity of the script and the texture of the clay suggest that the fragment presented as no. 5 is part of this letter, but the pieces do not physically join.

Line 25.—The writing *i-ta-na-am-ma* is presumably for *ittanamma,* a Btn present of *tamāum* "to swear." The *a*(?) restored at the beginning of the line could just as easily be *i*(?); however, I do not see how a translation "this man repeatedly swears on behalf of (or in) GN" can be easily connected with what precedes or what follows.

Line 27.—There are faint traces after the *a-* that could be the beginning of a MU sign. If so, the passage could be restored as a parallel to No. 2:5'–7': *A-m*[*u-ra-am š*]*a* GN [(number) *im-t*]*a-ḫa-aṣ* "he defeated (number) Amorites of GN." In this case, [*im*(?)-*t*]*a-ḫa-aṣ* in line 28 would be a B perfect rather than a Bt form. However, a reconstruction such as *A-m*[*u-ru-um š*]*a* GN [*i-ti-šu im-t*]*a-ḫa-aṣ* "the Amorites of GN have fought/will fight with him" is equally possible.

No. 5   1930-T361   Pl. 2
     beginning destroyed
1. [x⌉ *um* [   ]
            ⌈x   ]
2. [x⌉ *ki ib* [   ]
3. [*b*]*u šu ma* [   ]

4. [M]AR.TU *ma* [   ]
5. [x⌉ *im ki ma* ⌈x   ]
6. [x⌉-*ma ṣa-bu-u*[*m*   ]
7. [x⌉-*il ù* [   ]
8. [   ] *la ta-na*-[   ]
9. [   ] *ma lu ba* [   ]
10. [   ] *ta i* [   ]
11. [   ] ⌈x⌉ [   ]
    rest destroyed

The script and the texture of the clay of this fragment are so similar to those of no. 4, that it is quite possible that they were originally both part of the same tablet, despite the fact that they do not physically join and that they were found in different parts of the palace. The original tablet was broken in antiquity, which is proved by the fact that some of the fragments of no. 4 had been in a fire while others had not.

No. 6   1931-T301   Pl. 3

1. *a-na be-lí-a*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *a-lu-um*
4. *i*-⌈*na*   *ir*⌉-*ni-ti*
5. *A-mu-ri-im*
6. *ša-ki-in*
7. *a-na be-lí-a*
8. *ú-da*-⌈*na*⌉-*an*
9. *ši-ni*-⌈*in*⌉
10. *at-wu*-⌈*iš*⌉
11. ⌈*ú*⌉-*la a-na-dì-in*
12. ⌈*a-šar la*⌉ *ú-da*-⌈*ni*⌉-
                 nu-⌈*na*⌉
13. [*be-l*]*i ki*-⌈*ša*⌉-*d*[*ì*]
    reverse
14. [*i-t*]*a-ki*-[*is*](?)
15. ⌈*a-na mi-ni-im*⌉
16. ⌈*ma-ag-ri-ta*⌉-*ma*
17. *le-em-né-ti-a*
18. *a-na be*-⌈*lí*⌉-*a*
19. *i-ta*-⌈*wu-ú ù*⌉(?)
20. ⌈*li-bi*⌉ *be-lí*-[*a*]
21. *k*[*i ú-š*]*a-am-ra*-⌈*ṣú*⌉

[1-2]Say to my lord: [3-6]The city is threatened by the Amorites. [7-8]I am strengthening it for my lord. [9-11]I will not permit two things to be discussed. [12]If I had not strengthened it, [13-14]my lord would have cut off my head. [15-21]Why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord and how (dare) they make my lord angry?

Considering its brevity, this letter is particularly dense in archaic forms and rare usages. Rare words include *irnittum* (4) and *magrītum* (16); archaic forms include the word *šinīn* "two" with

nunation preserved—otherwise unattested in Akkadian (9), the use of the terminative adverbial ending
-*iš* (10), and the subjunctive in -*na* (12); rare usages include the conjunction *ašar* with the meaning "if"
(12) and the accusative used adverbially (16). The cumulative effect of these forms and usages is to
make the letter appear as if it were written in the literary language; a more likely explanation, however,
is that it was written when what became the Old Babylonian literary language was still the current
vernacular.

The letter obviously originated in the area directly controlled by Eshnunna since it was written by
a subordinate of the ruler of Eshnunna. The subordinate was apparently trying to justify his actions (or
lack of them) to his ruler, presumably in answer to an angry letter from the latter. See the commentary
to lines 9–11.

Lines 3–6.—The phrase *ālum ina irnitti Amurrim šakin* has no exact parallels. The word *irnittum*
occurs again in letter no. 24, but is common only in literary language (cf. W. von Soden, *Orientalia* NS
16 [1947], 68). The only other occurrence of *irnittum* in a letter known to me is in an Old Assyrian text,
VAT 13470, published in transliteration by J. Lewy in *Orientalia* NS 19 (1950), 3, n. 1: *ik-lu-ú-šu-ma
i-na ir-ni-tim uš-mì-tù-šu* translated by Lewy as "(that) he retained him and caused his death in the
scuffle." The *CAD* has retained Lewy's translation (*CAD* M/1, p. 426b, *s.v. mâtu* 3 a), but von Soden
has placed the occurrence under *nērtum* (*AHw*, p. 780b), reading *né!?-er!?-tim.* An old copy of the text
by Eheloff in the files of the *CAD* shows the signs clearly as *ir* (four verticals) -*ni* (two verticals) -*tim,* so
it appears that the word is *irnittum.* The translation of *irnittum* as "scuffle" is apparently based on the
context, since the most common meaning of the word is "goal," "(military) objective," or "triumph."
Hecker, *GKT* §55 a, gives the meaning of the word as "Kampf," apparently based on the translation by
Lewy. While it is possible that the word might mean "struggle, conflict" or the like in the present letter,
the structure of the phrase *irnitti Amurrim* as the construct plus genitive suggest that it indicates
something like "the military objective of the Amorites." The context of the letter shows that the city has
not been captured, nor is it apparently besieged, since messages are able to pass to the outside.

Lines 9–11.—The expression *ana* X (infinitive) *nadānum* is common in Old Babylonian (cf. *AHw,*
p. 702b, *s.v. nadānu(m)* G II 6 and *CAD* N/1, pp. 51–52, *s.v. nadānu* 1 1) and means to permit the
action expressed by the infinitive to take place, or, in the negative, to prohibit it. Since *atwuiš* is the
semantic equivalent of *ana atwîm,* the meaning of the sentence hinges on the meaning of the word
written *ši-ni-in.* The most probable word represented by these three signs is *šinīn,* the oblique case of
šinā(n) (*du. tantum*) "two," a form with nunation not otherwise attested in Akkadian. An interpreta-
tion of the work as *šēnīn* "a pair of sandals" does not seem plausible in the context. One would not
normally expect the masculine *šinīn* to stand for an indefinite abstract "two things." Perhaps this usage
is based on a lexical distinction, since—to my knowledge—the feminine *šittān/šittīn* is used inde-
pendently only with the meaning "two-thirds." The word *šinīn* can be the object of either *atwûm* or
nadānum. In fact, the use of the terminative adverbial ending -*iš* instead of the preposition *ana* tends to
obscure the syntax since in the first instance the word order would have been *ana šinīn atwîm* whereas
in the second it would have been *šinīn ana atwîm.* If *šinīn* is the object of *atwûm,* the sentence would
mean "I will not permit two things to be discussed" or, more literally, "I will not give two things to talk
about." If *šinīn* is taken as the object of *nadānum,* the translation would be "I will not let the two talk
together." Although the second interpretation makes more sense on the surface, the first seems to fit the
context of the letter better if one takes the meaning of it as "there can be no other interpretation of my
actions." Giving this interpretation to the sentence unifies the entire letter, relating what comes before
to what follows. The letter could be loosely paraphrased (retaining the sense but not the language of
the original) as follows: "The city is threatened, but I am taking positive action on behalf of my lord.
There can be no other interpretation of my actions. If I had not done what I am doing, my lord would

indeed have been angry. Why, then, do they say such terrible things about me to my lord and make him so angry?" Although this is a long way from the Akkadian of the text, it makes it easy to visualize this letter as a response to an angry letter from the sender's superior.

Line 12.—The conjunction *ašar* is used here in its narrower modal sense of "if, what if, suppose" introducing an irrealis condition, a usage that is otherwise restricted almost exclusively to Old Assyrian (cf. J. Lewy, *Orientalia* NS 29 [1960], 39, n. 5 and *CAD* A/2, p. 415a, *s.v. ašar* 3). Note the "correct" use of *la* to negate the verb in the subordinate clause in contrast to the use of *ula* in the preceding main clause. The verb form *udanninuna* is first person singular subjunctive and is marked with both the subjunctive indicators *-u* and *-na*. The subjunctive marker *-na* is a common but unexplainable feature of archaic Old Babylonian. The following examples of the subjunctive in *-na* are known to me:

(1) *i-nu . . . ù-ḫa-li-qú-na* "when he destroyed . . ." (3. sing.) *BJV* 7, Tf. 3:10 (inscription of Šulgi [2094–2047] written in the last few years of his reign; said to come from Susa)

(2) *i-nu-mi . . . i-sà-aḫ-ru-na* "when they were turned . . ." (3. masc. pl.) *RA* 35, pp. 43–45, no. 10 (Mari liver omen, shortly after the time of Išbi-Irra [2017–1985])

(3) *i-nu-mi . . . ú-ti-ru-na* "when he made (it) turn . . ." (3. sing.) *RA* 35, p. 47, no. 22 (Mari liver omen, shortly after the time of Išbi-Irra [2017–1985])

(4) *a-šar la ú-da-ni-nu-na* "if I had not strengthened (it)" (1. sing.) no. 6:12 (the present letter; time of Bilalama [ca. 1995–1950] or earlier)

(5) *a-na šu-me . . . it-ta-na-la-ku-ni-in-na* "concerning (the fact that) they continually come to me" (3. masc. pl.) no. 30:6 (letter to ruler of Eshnunna; around the time of Bilalama [ca. 1995–1950], possibly during the reign of Samium of Larsa [1976–1942])

(6) *[inūmi] . . . im-ḫa-ṣú-na* "[when] he defeated . . ." (3. sing.) Speleers, *Recueil* 4 ii 7 (cf. Jacobsen, *AJSL* 44 [1927–28], 262–63) (royal inscription of Ilum-muttabbil of Der, a contemporary of Bilalama [ca. 1995–1950])

(7) *a-dì . . . i-la-kà-na* "until it comes to me" (3. sing.) *PBS* 1/2 1:9 (private letter found at Nippur; origin unknown; archaic OB in both writing and language; cf. *AbB* 5 156 [= Ni 395] between the same two correspondents also found at Nippur and also archaic OB)

(8) *a-na ag-ri ša še-ᵣamᵌ ubᵌ-lu-na* "for the hired hands who carried the grain" (3. masc. pl.) *TIM* 7 116:8 (undated administrative text from Tell ed-Der; archaic OB in writing and language)

(9) *i-nu-mi . . . i-di-na-an-na ù . . . i-li-ku-na* "when he allowed me and she came . . ." (3. masc. sing.; 3. fem. sing.) *RA* 8, p. 65 i 23–ii 3 (dupl. *CT* 36 4 i 25–28) (royal inscription of Ašduni-jarim of Kish, before the time of Sumu-abum of Babylon [1894–1881])

(10) *la i-qá-bu-na* "(that) he will not say" (3. sing.) *UET* 5 265:12
   la i-pa-ša-ru-na "(that) he will not redeem" (3. sing.) *UET* 5 265 case:9 (legal text from Ur dated to the first year of Sumu-El of Larsa [1894])

(11) *[ša](?) . . . iš-ku-na-an-na* "[which](?) he founded for me" (3. sing.) *ARM* 1 3:20′ (letter to a deity from Jasmaḫ-Addu, ruler of Mari [ca. 1810–1780])

It can be seen from these examples that the subjunctive marker *-na* is found in a wide range of text types: royal inscriptions (1, 6, 9); omens (2, 3); letters (4, 5, 7, 11); administrative texts (8); and legal texts (10). Further, the marker is used both with the normal subjunctive marker *-u* (1, 3, 4, 6, 9b, 10) and with forms with endings that have no other overt subjunctive marker (2, 5, 7, 8, 9a, 11) forming an almost exactly equal distribution between the two categories. Moreover, most of the texts contain additional subjunctive forms that do not have the marker *-na* (2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11). Finally, the sources represent a number of locations both within Mesopotamia, and on its periphery: Susa(?) (1); Mari (2, 3, 11); Eshnunna (4, 5); Der (6); Nippur (actual origin unknown) (7); Tell ed-Der (8); Kish (9); Ur (10).

Thus the subjunctive in -*na* is not an isolated phenomenon, but finds widespread although inconsistent use during its brief lifespan. See the Introduction pp. 13–18.

Lines 13–14.—The expression *kišādam nakāsum* is less common that *qaqqadam nakāsum* but occurs in a letter from Mari: *ki-ša-as-sú i-na* GÍR UD.KA.BAR *ik-ki-ìs* "he cut off his head with a bronze sword" (*ARM* 2 129:17). This, however, is a literal statement. For the use of the expression as an apparent threat of punishment, see *uz-na-a-tum ù ki-ša-da-t*[*um*] *nu-uk-ku-sà* "ears and heads will be cut off" (*YNER* 4 70:9–11). The reading of [*i-t*]*a-* at the beginning of line 14 is based on the spacing of the signs. Note the amount of space taken by *i-ta-* at the beginning of line 19. Furthermore, the slant of the diagonal wedges in the sign indicates TA rather than ŠA or LI, both of which are taller and narrower than TA in this text. The reconstructed form *ittakis* is a B perfect following the preterite in the conditional clause, which indicates to me that both clauses were meant to be conditional. Compare *GAG* §161 e, which is concerned with the *consecutio temporum* within a conditional clause, not the entire sentence. It is, however, not difficult to visualize that this rule might be extended to the entire sentence if it were meant to be a conditional statement. While much of this difficulty could be eliminated by reading [*l*]*i-ki-*[*is*] in line 14 and translating "If I did not strengthen it, may my lord cut off my head," the objections to restoring LI at the beginning of the line, given above, argue against this.

Line 16.—The form *magrītamma* is an example of the use of the accusative case as an adverb of manner. The word means "insult" or "slander."

Line 17.—The form *lemnētija* is the accusative plural of *lemuttum* with the first person singular pronominal suffix. It means "my evil deeds" or, more freely, "evil things about me," and is the object of *ītawwû* in line 19. An interesting parallel to lines 15–19 is found in a Mari letter: *an-ni-it-tim ù ma-da-tim-ma la dam-qa-ti-ia* PN₁ *a-na* PN₂ [*išpuram*] "PN₁, wrote this and many other things unfavorable to me to PN₂" (*CRRA* 18, p. 60:22–24).

No. 7   1933-T7   Pl. 3

1. *a-na Nu-úr-Eš₄-tár*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *Zi-ḫa-da*
4. *2 li-im*
5. *A-mu-ra-am*
6. *i-ḫu-za-am-ma*
7. *a-na qá-qá-dì-*
          kà-ma
   reverse
8. *šu-úr-du*
9. *a-pu-tum*
10. *ší-ip-ra-am*
11. *mi-im-ma la te-pè-eš*
12. *i-na mu-ší-im*
13. *ù i-na mu-uṣ-*
          la-li-im
14. *ma-ṣa-ar-tum*
15. *i-na dú-ri-im*
16. *la úr-ra-dam*

[1-2]Say to Nur-Ištar: [3-8]Ziḫada has taken two thousand Amorites and they are marching against you. [9]It is urgent. [10-11]Do not do any work. [12-16]Night and day the guard should not come down from the wall.

Line 3.—For the name Ziḫada see Gelb, *AS* 21, 6444.

Line 6.—The use of the verb *aḫāzum* with the sense "to take troops and go into battle" (as opposed to "to capture") occurs in an Old Babylonian literary text *CT* 15 2 viii 7: *i-ḫu-uz-ma qar-ra-di-i-ša* "she (Ištar) took her warriors" (cf. Römer, *WO* 4 [1967], 13, 15, 27).

Line 7.—The word *qaqqadum* here has the force of *ramānum* (cf. *AHw*, p. 900a, *s.v. qaqqadu*(*m*) 4 and Gelb, *BiOr* 12 [1955], 104b *ad GAG* §43 a) and *ana qaqqadika* is to be translated simply "against you." A more free translation of lines 3–8 would be "Ziḫada is marching against you with two thousand Amorites."

Line 11.—The writing *te-pè-eš* for *teppeš* shows the extension of the *e* vowel (replacing *a*) to all syllables of a word containing $^{\jmath}_{3-5}$ that is characteristic of Babylonian in contrast to Assyrian which has the *e* vowel only in the syllable containing the $^{\jmath}_{3-5}$ (*e.g., teppaš*). This form also shows clearly that the vowel of the present in this verb is *e* and not *i* as Gelb has maintained. Gelb, *BiOr* 12 (1955), 98a, stated that the form is *eppiš* in Old Akkadian, *ippiš* in Old Babylonian, *ippuš* in post-Old Babylonian, and *eppaš* in Assyrian. A similar statement was made by him in *OAIC*, p. 323, where he added that since the Old Babylonian form is *ippiš* and the Old Akkadian *eppiš*, it is not necessary to derive the form from an original *i/eppaš*. I cannot agree with these statements. In my opinion the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian forms are *ippeš*, the late Old Babylonian and later Babylonian form is *ippuš*, and the Assyrian form is *eppaš*. If the vowel of the present is to be considered *i* instead of *e*, then the verb *epēšum* marks a unique phenomenon in the Akkadian verbal system. The vowels used in the present and preterite of Akkadian verbs are one of the distinctive features of the verbal system, and fall into several categories: a-class (*a-a*), i-class (*i-i*), u-class (*u-u*), ablaut-class (*a-u*), and an *a-i* ablaut used in a few "irregular" verbs and in the D, Š, and partially N stems. A verb may change from one class to another with the passage of time (as in the case of *epēšum* itself), or it may belong to one class in one dialect and to a different class in another, but I know of no category of Akkadian verbs that uses the vowel *i* in the present and *u* in the preterite. Thus, if it is to be maintained that the present of *epēšum* is *ippiš* and the preterite *īpuš*, *epēšum* must be classified as a unique irregular verb. On the other hand, the form *ippeš* is easily explained as a normal phonetic development from *ippaš since *a* > *e* in a word containing $^{\jmath}_{3-5}$ (in Babylonian), and the verb *epēšum* originally belonged to the ablaut-class (*a-u*), characteristically containing transitive verbs, and during the late Old Babylonian period changed to the u-class (*u-u*). Gelb's contention that the Old Akkadian present form was *eppiš*, with the prefix vowel of the third person as *e-* (as in Assyrian) rather than *i-* (as in Babylonian) is based on a misunderstanding. In *OAIC* 53:12–15, Gelb has read GÁN *a-na Su₄-be-lí* [*i*]-*ti-in* ZÍD.BA-*su ù-la e-bí-iš* and translated "the field to Šu-bêlī [he] gave (and) his flour ration he cannot make." However, the photograph of the tablet clearly shows that there is not enough space in the break at the beginning of line 13 to accommodate the sign [*i*]- restored by Gelb, and the only other possible restoration that is compatible with the amount of space and the faint traces is [*a*]-. Thus the form in line 13 must be *addin* rather than *iddin*, making it most likely that the form *e-bí-iš* in line 15 is also a first person form with the correct prefix, *e-*. The sentence is then easily understandable as "I gave PN a field; I will not provide his flour ration (as well)."

Lines 12–16.—An interesting parallel to these lines is found in an Old Babylonian letter from Ammi-ṣaduqa that also gives warning of an impending attack (*AbB* 1 2:16–17): *ma-aṣ-ṣa-ra-a-tum lu du-un-nu-na* LÚ *Ma-ḫa-num i-na* BÀD *la ú-ur-ra-dam* "the guards should be reinforced; the men of Maḫanum should not come down from the wall" (collated C. B. F. Walker).

No. 8   1933-T11   Pl. 4

1. *a-na be-lí-a*
2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *a-lu-um ša-lim*

4. *te-er-ti*

5. *be-li-a dan-*
   na-at

   reverse

6. *be-ˈli la iˈ-*
   na-ḫi-id

¹⁻²⁾Say to my lord: ³⁾The city is safe. ⁴⁻⁵⁾The omen report concerning my lord is strong. ⁶⁾My lord should not worry.

Lines 4–5.—One expects *tertum šalmat* as a normal format for this expression. In fact, *dannat* is not otherwise attested as a complement for *tertum* in this meaning. The term *tertum dannatum* would normally express the idea of a harsh or urgent order or command, which seems out of place in the present context. If *tertum* here means "order, command," a translation consistent with the rest of the letter would have to be something like "the command of my lord is being (quickly) carried out" or "the command of my lord is strictly observed," neither of which follows directly from the Akkadian. On the other hand, even though not attested elsewhere, there is nothing semantically illogical about an omen report being "strong," perhaps implying "exceptionally good" in contrast to the expected *šalmat* "propitious."

No. 9   1931-T197   Pl. 4

1. *a-n[a be-lí-a]*

2. *qí-bí-[ma]*

3. *ṣa-bu-um ša-lim*

4. *a-lu-um ša-lim*

5. *ma-ˈṣa-arˈ-ti*

6. *be-lí-a*

7. *da-na-at*

8. 10 *ša-na-ti-[im]*

9. *A-mu-ru-[um]*

   reverse

10. *li-k[i-ir(?)-ma(?)]*

11. 10 GIŠ *ia₈-š[i-bi]*

12. 10 GIŠ *dì-ma-ti-[im]*

13. 20 GIŠ *sà-mu-kà-ni*

14. *li-ib-lam*

15. *i-na a-li-a*

16. *da-na-ku*

17. *be-lí la i-na-ḫi-id*

¹⁻²⁾Say to my lord: ³⁾The troops are well. ⁴⁾The city is safe. ⁵⁻⁷⁾The garrison of my lord is strong. ⁸⁻¹⁴⁾Even if the Amorites should make war for ten years and bring ten battering rams, ten siege towers, (and) twenty *samūkānu,* ¹⁵⁻¹⁶⁾I will remain strong in my city. ¹⁷⁾My lord should not worry.

This letter was found with a group of other letters beneath a Bilalama pavement in room O 31:8 (mentioned in *OIP* 43, p. 52). It is presented at this point because of its similarity in content and style to the two previous letters (7 and 8). The find spot of this letter suggests that all three letters may belong to a period during which Bilalama was at war with the Amorites. We know that such a period

existed because an Eshnunna year date (*OIP* 43, p. 180, Date Formula No. 70) commemorates a victory of Bilalama over the Amorites. See the Introduction, p. 27 and n. 84.

The tablet is distended, apparently by being balled up like a piece of wastepaper in someone's hand. Its present shape exactly fits the curved palm of the hand. Whether this was done by the sender or the recipient cannot be said, but the letter apparently reached its destination, the ruler of Eshnunna.

Line 10.—The reconstruction of *nakārum* "to be(come) hostile, to be at war" is almost forced by the context. The precative is used here and in line 14 to introduce the irrealis part of a conditional sentence, a usage also found in later Old Babylonian sources from the Diyala region and elsewhere. See the Introduction, p. 14 and n. 42.

Lines 11–13.—The restoration of *ia₈-š[i-bi]* in line 11 is quite certain, not only because of the sense of the letter, but also because the word (*j*)*ašibum* "battering ram" is so frequently mentioned in connection with the word *dimtum* "siege tower," especially in the Mari letters (see *CAD* A/2, p. 428b for references). Furthermore, the only other occurrence of the word *samūkānu* is in connection with (*j*)*ašibum* in a Mari liver omen (*RA* 35, p. 49, No. 27 F II): *šum-ma a-al šu-mi-im i-na ia₈-ši-bi-im ú sà-mu-kà-ne ú-ra-ad* "if a famous city capitulates because of a battering ram and *samūkānu*," which not only assures the correctness of the restoration *ia₈-š[i-bi]*, but also confirms the identification of *samūkānu* as some type of military equipment. See the Introduction, p. 14.

No. 10   1931-T190   Pl. 4

1. *um-ma Ú-ša-⸢šum-ma⸣*
2. *a-na Ki-ri-ki-ri*
3. *qí-bí-ma*
4. *šum-ma a-ḫi at-⸢ta⸣*
5. *ù ⸢a-na-ku⸣ a-ḫu-kà*
6. *a-wa-ti ší-me*
7. *Iš-ra-a* ARÁD-*kà*
8. *ar-na-am lu i-⸢pu-uš⸣*
9. *i-ší-šu a-na iš-*T[I]-
                k[à](?)
10. *a-na šu*(?)-*me* ZA
11. *ù šum-ma Ab-da-*
                Il
12. *⸢i-za⸣-na-šum*
    reverse
13. [   ]-⸢x⸣-*šu-*⸢x⸣
14. [-⸢x⸣-*i wa-áš-*⸢ba-ku⸣(?)
15. *⸢ù i⸣-ni-⸢x⸣*
16. *wa-ar-ki-kà*
17. *li-ta-la-a[k]*
18. *a-li-ma ⸢li⸣-[bi](?)-
                k[à](?)
19. *⸢iš-pu-úr-šu⸣*
20. *⸢ù* x x x⸣[   ]
        [   ]⸢ba⸣(?)[   ]
21. *l[i*(?)-   ]
22. *⸢i-na* x⸣-[   ]

23. ⌜li-bi(?)⌝-[   ] ⌜x x⌝
24. ⌜x-x⌝[   ]-⌜li⌝(?)
25. [   ] ⌜x x⌝

Although it is difficult to extract the sense of this letter, it is apparently a complaint from Ušašum to Kirikiri about one of the latter's "slaves." The term *aḫum* in lines 4 and 5 must be understood here as "kinsman" and not as either "brother" or "political equal," since Ušašum was the nephew of Kirikiri by marriage (see Fig. 1, p. 28) and Ušašum was still subordinate to his father, Abda-El, who is also mentioned in the letter (line 11).

Since it is impossible to establish a continuous context, no translation of the letter is offered. For the individual words in understandable context, see the Glossary.

Line 10.—Read perhaps *a-na* É ME.ZA since the sign identified as ŠU is longer than the other ŠU signs in the text. However, the immediately preceding NA sign is also somewhat spread out. Neither reading seems to make much sense, and both this line and the preceding one are incomprehensible to me.

Line 12.—The entire line is written over an erasure. The verb is *zanānum* "to support, to provide sustenance for" with the final *n* assimilated to the *š* of the pronominal suffix.

Line 23.—Read perhaps ⌜li⌝-*t*[*a*]-⌜*la-ak*⌝ as in line 17.

No. 11   1931-T299   Pl. 5

1. [*a-n*]*a Bi-la-la-ma*
2. [*qí*]-*bí-ma*
3. *a-*⌜*na*⌝-*ku a-ḫu-kà*
4. *ší-ir-kà ù da-mu-kà*
5. *a-na-ku na-ak-ru-um*
6. *na-kà-ar-ma*
7. *a-na-ku a-na a-wa-ti-kà*
8. *a-za-az ù at-ta*
9. *a-wa-ti ší-me*
10. *i-na i-ni-i*
11. *A-mu-ri-im ku-bi-*[*t*]*a-ni*
12. *li-im-da-*⌜*tim*⌝
13. *ša Ab-da-*⌜*El*⌝
14. *mi-im-ma ša* ⌜*ú-ḫu*⌝-*ra*
15. 1 GAL KÙ.GI 3 GA[L KÙ].BABBAR
16. 1 TÚG. NÍG.LÁM SIG₅ *š*[*a bu-d*]*ì-kà*
17. GAL.UD.KA.BAR.ḪI.A 1 URUD[U.Š]EN
18. *a-ta kà-la-ma ti-de₄*
19. *šu-bi-lam la ta-kà-la-am*
20. *ù* ⌜*ší*⌝-*ip-ru-ú m*[*a-t*]*im*
21. *k*[*à-li-š*]*a a-na*
       lower edge
22. [*qú-bu-r*]*i-im*
23. [*ša Ab-d*]*a-El*
       reverse
24. [*i-la-ku*]-*ni-im*

25. ⌈ù A⌉-mu-ru-um kà-lu-šu
26. ⌈i-pá⌉-ḫu-ra-am mi-im-ma
27. ša a-na qú-bu-úr
28. Ab-da-El a-bi-kà
29. tu-ša-ba-lam
30. a-ḫa-am-ma šu-bi-lam
31. 1 ṣú-ḫa-ra-am šu-ri-am
32. la ta-kà-la-am
33. ù šum-ma a-ḫi a-ta
34. 1 ṣú-ḫa-ra-am
35. Maš-kán-šar-ri-am
36. šu-ri-áš-šu la ta-kà-la-áš-šu
37. lu ša KÙ.BABBAR 10 MA.NA
38. šu-ri-áš-šu šu-ma-⌈am⌉
39. [š]u-uk-na-an-ni
40. [NÍ]G(?).ḪI.A úḫ-ḫu-ru
41. [šu-b]i-lam k[i](?) ⌈ša⌉ a-
         š[a-pá-r]a-kum
42. [   ] ⌈i⌉-ma-la
43. [   ] ⌈la⌉ i-la-ak
44. [   ] ⌈i⌉-ba-ú ti-
         [i]r(?)-tám

upper edge

45. [x]-⌈li⌉-ik

left edge

46. [   ]-⌈x-bi⌉(?)
47. [   ]-⌈x-ri⌉-
        ⌈kà⌉
48. ⌈ma-ku⌉-úr
49. ra-ma-ni-kà
50. a-na mi-nim
51. na-dì-i
52. ra-bi-[ṣ]a-am
53. šu-ku-un-ma
54. li-dì-šu
55. la in-na-
      ad-dì

    1-2)Say to Bilalama: 3)I am your brother. 4-5)I am your flesh and your blood. 5-9)An outsider would be unfriendly whereas I support your decisions; and (now) you, pay attention to my affair. 10-11)Make me important in the eyes of the Amorites. 12-19)The expected things for Abda-El, as much as has been withheld: 1 gold cup, 3 silver cups, 1 *lamaḫuššum* garment of best quality of your *būdum*, various bronze cups, 1 copper kettle; you know how much, send (them) to me, do not withhold (them) from me. 20-26)Furthermore, the ambassadors of the whole land are coming for the funeral of Abda-El and all of the Amorites are gathering. 26-30)Whatever you intend to send for the funeral of Abda-El, your father, send separately. 31-32)Send me a boy, do not withhold (him) from me. 33-36)And if you are my brother, send me a boy from Maškanšarrum, do not withhold him from me. 37-39)Even if it costs

10 minas of silver, send him to me. Make me famous. [40-41]Send me the things that have been withheld just as I am writing to you. [42-47][. . .]. [48-51]Why is your own property neglected? [52-54]Appoint an agent and let him take care of it. [55]It will not be neglected!

Although the name of the sender is not given in the letter, it is almost certainly Ušašum, the son of Abda-El and the brother-in-law of Bilalama (see Fig. 1, p. 28). The letter informs us of the death of Abda-El and indicates some of the concern of Ušašum over succeeding to his father's position. Abda-El presumably held the position of *rabiān Amurrim* (see the Introduction, p. 26, and Supplement No. 1), and this letter indicates that Ušašum was anxious to follow his father in that position. Apparently, however, the succession was not a simple matter of inheritance, but presumably Ušašum had to be selected for the position. Most of the letter is devoted to asking Bilalama for his assistance in helping Ušašum reach this goal.

At the beginning, Ušašum reminds Bilalama that he is a member of his kinship group (3–5), pointing out that it is to Bilalama's advantage to have a relative in the position he wants because an outsider might be unfriendly whereas he, as a relation, could be counted on to support Bilalama (5–8). Ušašum then asks Bilalama to build up his prestige among the Amorites (10–11), suggesting that this can best be done by sending to Ušašum the gifts that were promised to Abda-El (12–19). Ušašum continues in the same vein by reminding Bilalama that there is a particularly large gathering for the funeral of Abda-El (20–26) and asking that whatever Bilalama sends as gifts for the funeral of Abda-El, he send separately from those for Ušašum. He then asks Bilalama, again as a matter of prestige (38–39), to send him a boy from Maškanšarrum even if it costs ten minas of silver (31–38), a ridiculously high price for a slave. Ušašum then repeats his request that Bilalama send the expected gifts for Abda-El, which have been withheld, to him (40–41), and at this point the text becomes too broken to follow. The letter closes with some advice from Ušašum to Bilalama about how to keep his property from being neglected.

This letter is highly significant, not only for the light it sheds on the relationship between Ušašum and Bilalama and, more widely, between the Amorite population and the ruler of the state of Eshnunna, but also for the insights it provides into the power structure of the Amorites and the maneuvers Ušašum made in order to be selected for the position of *rabiān Amurrim*. The custom of sending funerary gifts at the death of a person of imporance is also documented by letter no. 15, but the present letter informs us that the funeral of an Amorite chieftain was a public affair, attended by ambassadors from many states and by a gathering of all the Amorite tribes. Presumably, the gathering of the tribes for the funeral also provided an opportunity to hold a *puḫum,* "assembly," for the purpose of selecting a successor to the deceased leader.

It is obvious from the tone of this letter that Ušašum did not expect to simply inherit his father's position, but that it was necessary that he be selected for it and that prestige was an important factor in this selection. If I am correct in assuming that Abda-El had held the position of *rabiān Amurrim* and that this was the position that Ušašum wanted to obtain, it is apparent that one of the functions of this position was to act as intermediary between the ruler of Eshnunna and the Amorite tribes. This follows from the fact that Ušašum's first argument in enlisting Bilalama's support is that it will be to his advantage to have a relative who will support him as *rabiān Amurrim,* whereas with an outsider in this position, Bilalama might not so easily have his own way.

Lines 3–5.—A parallel to these lines and another example of the use of the Akkadian expression "flesh and blood" to indicate kinship is found in an Old Assyrian letter, *Orientalia* NS 36, p. 410 36:4–7: *a-ḫi a-ta be-lí a-ta la na-ak-ra-ku lá a-ḫi-a-ku ši-ir-kà ù da-ma-kà a-na-ku* "you are my brother, you are my lord; I am not an outsider, I am not a stranger, I am your flesh and your blood."

Lines 5–6.—I interpret *nakar* as a B stative of *nakārum* "to be(come) hostile," which has for the stative either *nakar* or *nakir* (*AHw*, p. 718b), but it is also possible that it is the predicative state of the adjective *nakrum* "hostile." Whatever the grammatical reality may be, it is clear that the contrast here is between *aḫum* "kinsman" and *nakrum* "outsider," and that the statement *nakrum nakarma* means "an outsider would/might be unfriendly/hostile." See the general commentary just above.

Line 12.—The word *limdātija* is the accusative feminine plural of the adjective *limdum* with the first person singular pronominal suffix. For a full discussion of the form and its interpretation, see Excursus A (pp. 113–117).

Line 16.—The reconstruction is based on 18A:2′ where the same phrase occurs with reference to a garment. The meaning of *būdum* remains obscure; cf. *CAD* B, p. 305, *s.v. būdu* B, and Edzard, *Tell ed-Dēr*, p. 164 *ad* 152:6′.

Lines 22, 27.—For the meaning of *qubūrum* as "funeral, burial," see the commentary to no. 15:3′.

Line 54.—The meaning of *idûm* as "to take care of, to watch over" is well attested; cf. *CAD* I/J, pp. 27–28, *s.v. idû* 2 2′ a′–b′, and *OBT Tell Rimah* 118:11–12: DINGIR *ša* É *a-bi-ki* ⌜i⌝-*du-ú qá-qá-ad-ki uk-tab-bi-it* "the deity who watches over your dynasty has honored you." *CAD* has taken the present example as the word *lētum* "cheek" (*CAD* L, p. 150a, *s.v. lētu* 1 3′ b″), but the interpretation given there ignores the grammar of the passage.

No. 12   1931-T298   Pl. 6

1. *a-na Bi-la-la-ma*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma Ba-tu-ma*
4. *a-na-ku ki-ma Ab-da-El*
5. *ku-a-ší-ma ta-ak-la-ku*
6. *a-na ma-nim uz-ni*
7. *i-ba-ší*
8. *Ab-da-El i-ba-lu-ṭá-ma*
9. *wa-ar-dì ša-ni-ú-tim*
10. *i-na-dì-na-am*
11. *ma-na-šu ú-nu-mi-im*
12. *ša ta-uṣ-ba-tu*
13. *ú-la wa-ra-ad-kà*
14. *wa-ar-du-a*
15. *ú-la wa-ar-du-kà*
16. DUMU *Šu-*ᵈ*Iš-ḫa-ra*
17. *li-bi-iš-sú-ma*
18. ⌜*a-na*⌝ *I-šur*ᴷᴵ
19. *i-li-ik*
20. *Ma-ra-El wa-ra-ad-kà*
    reverse
21. *a-na* TÚG.ḪI.A *ku-pu-ri-im*
22. *a-na li-qú-tim*
23. *iš-*⌜*pu-úr*⌝*-šu*
24. ⌜*ù*⌝ *a-*⌜*šu*⌝*-mi-kà*
25. *wa-*⌜*ar-du*⌝*-a*
26. *e-te-lu-ma*

27. *a-li-ma li-bi-šu-nu*
28. *i-la-ku*
29. *šum-ma a-ta e-mi*
30. *ù a-na-ku um-ma-kà-ma*
31. *i-li-bi-kà*
32. *a-ba-ší*
33. *li-bi la tu-le-me-en*
34. *wa-ar-dì wu-še-ra-am*
35. *e-bu-úr-šu la i-ḫa-li-iq-ma*
36. *la e-mi-iṣ*
37. *a-šu-mi wa-ar-dì-im*
38. *šu-a-ti qá-dum*
39. *ma-aš-ki-a a-la-ʳkàˈ-kum*
40. *šum-ma ma-ri a-ʳtaˈ*
    upper edge
41. *i-ni a-a-bi-a*
    left edge
42. [   ]WA
43. [   ]-ʳxˈ-*te*
44. *dì-ma-ti-a*
45. *šu-qí-il*
46. *ù dì-qá-ri*
47. *ša ú-še-bi-lam*
48. *a-dì ma-ti*
49. *i-ba-ʳšíˈ*
50. *šu-bi-lam*

[1-2)]Say to Bilalama: [3)]Thus (says) Battum: [4-5)]I must rely on you in place of Abda-El. [6-7)]To whom (else) can I turn? [8)]If Abda-El were alive (gets well?), [9-10)]he would give me other slaves. [11)]Whoever . . . [12)]that you seized [13)]is not your slave. [14-15)]My slaves are not your slaves. [16-19)]The son of Šu-Išhara went to Išur on his own business. [20)]Mara-El, your slave, [23)]sent him [21-22)]to. . . . [24)]And on account of you, [25)]my slaves [26)]act like lords and [27-28)]go wherever they please. [29)]If you are my son-in-law [30)]and I am your mother, [31-32)]I should be in your thoughts. [33)]Do not make me unhappy. [34)]Release my slave [35)]so that his harvest not be lost and [36)]he should not starve. [37-38)]On account of that slave, [38-39)]I come to you with (only) my skin. [40)]If you are my son, [41)]the eyes of my enemies [42-43)]. . . . [44-45)]Stop my tears. [46-50)]And my *diqārum* that I sent there—how long will it remain—send it back!

This is a letter to the ruler of Eshnunna from his mother-in-law. For a discussion of its significance, see the Introduction, p. 27. It contains more than a few difficult points of grammar, not all of which can be discussed here. The letter consists of a long complaint to Bilalama about the expropriation of one of the author's "slaves." The word *wardum* as used in this letter doubtless does not refer to a literal "slave" in our terms, but rather to a "subordinate" or "someone subject to the orders of his *bēlum.*" However, I have used the translation "slave" throughout in order to retain the ancient viewpoint. The complaint of the author consists of general statements (about her status, her relationship to Bilalama, and the way she feels that she should be treated) and specific statements (concerning what has happened to her slave and why he should be returned to her). As I see the structure of the letter, the statements are either general (G) or specific (S) in the following sequence:

4–15 G, 16–23 S, 24–33 G, 34–39 S, 40–45 G, 46–50 S (but irrelevant to the main theme). This construction hinges on the interpretation of the word *ma-na-šu* in line 11 as the interrogative/indefinite pronoun with a pronominal suffix rather than as a personal name Mannašu. If the latter interpretation is taken, the translation of lines 11–13 becomes: "Mannašu . . . , whom you seized, it not your slave." This generates problems with the DUMU Šu-Išḫara in line 16 since the letter is specifically discussing only one slave (thus in lines 34–36 and 37–38), and therefore either Mannašu and the DUMU Šu-Išḫara are the same person, or the information about DUMU Šu-Išḫara is a gratuitous complaint not directly connected with the later pleas for the release of the slave (who must be Mannašu). But given these two possibilities, the first seems an unlikely way of referring to a single individual in an Old Babylonian letter, and the second is contrary to the thrust of the letter, which clearly focuses on the return of one particular slave. Thus it seems more likely that the *ma-na-šu* of line 11 should be understood as an indefinite pronoun, even though doing so causes grammatical problems (see the commentary to line 11).

Finally, the sequence of events described in lines 16–28 does not seem to lead to a logical conclusion. As the action is described, the son of Šu-Išḫara (PN) went to Išur (GN) "on his own business" (lit. "at his own wish"). While he was there, a slave (*i.e.*, subordinate) of Bilalama sent him to do some other work, apparently of a long-term nature. As a result of this action, the author of the letter complains that because of Bilalama her slaves go wherever they wish. This is logically inconsistent since it can hardly be assumed that PN has gone to do this work voluntarily, and, if the basis of her statement that her slaves go wherever they wish is taken to be the remark in lines 16–19 that PN went to GN "at his own wish," it does not seem that Bilalama can be blamed for this. The tone of the letter and the use of such verbs as *ṣabātum* "to seize" (12) and *wuššurum* "to release" (34) scarcely imply that PN is in his present state of his own volition. Since it is obvious that PN was ordered (unlawfully) to go and perform some additional work, I fail to see how the lady can claim that her slaves "go wherever they wish," and if the basis for this claim is taken to be her statement in lines 16–19, I fail to see how she can hold Bilalama responsible. Under these circumstances, lines 24–28 are a rhetorical and illogical complaint in keeping with the overall tone of controlled hysteria of the letter. It is possible to rescue the situation by assuming that *wardūja* in line 25 is a mistake for *wardūka* and that *wardūja* should follow *etellūma* in line 26. In this case lines 24–28 would translate: "And on account of you, your slaves act like lords, and my slaves go wherever they (*i.e.*, your slaves) wish." This sounds like it is closer to what the lady meant to say, and it certainly makes more sense than the actual version.

Lines 8–10.—The writing *i-ba-lu-ṭá-ma,* presumably for *iballuṭamma,* presents several problems. First, the suffix *-am* is not expected, since the verb *balāṭum* does not take the ventive/allative ending. Second, since *balāṭum* is a stative verb, the present should express an ingressive "get well" rather than a durative "be alive." If removed from its context, the sentence would have to be translated (by ignoring the ventive/allative): "A. will get well and will give me other slaves." The context, however, shows that such a translation is contrary to expectation, and thus the sentence must be conditional with the present in both the conditional clause and the resultant clause (*GAG* §160 b). This allows a translation such as: "If A. comes back to life, he will give me other slaves." Since *balāṭum* "to be(come) well, to be(come) alive" opposes both *marāṣum* "to be(come) sick" and *mâtum* "to die" (cf. H. Hirsch, *AfO* 21 [1966], 39–58), the expression "comes back to life" can mean either "gets well" or "returns from the dead." In the absence of the specific fact of Abda-El's death in this letter, either interpretation is semantically plausible, but, as the context of the letter tells us, factually unlikely. The preceding analysis accounts for the use of the present tense of *balāṭum* and the *-ma* at the end of the form, but not for the *-am* suffix. If *iballuṭamma* is taken to mean "he returns from the dead," it is possible that the *-am* suffix is the ventive/allative used to show specific motion from the area of the dead to the area

of the living, but this is highly speculative in the absence of parallel examples. Furthermore, it is also possible that the *-am* here is a simple first person dative suffix expressing "if A. returns to me from the dead."

Line 11.—A great deal, not only in this passage but in the rest of the letter, hinges on whether the writing *ma-na-šu* represents a PN or the interrogative/indefinite pronoun with a pronominal suffix (see the general commentary, above). The arguments given above for rejecting the PN Mannašu are cogent, but not conclusive. This name is rare, and as Stamm, *Namengebung,* p. 131, n. 1, says: "Der Sinn dieser Namen . . . entgeht uns noch"; but it certainly exists and therefore is a possible interpretation. Unfortunately, the grammar is not simplified by accepting the form as *mannašu* (interrogative/indefinite pronoun with pronominal suffix), since the structure of this sentence does not parallel any use of *mannašu* known to me. The normal use of *manna-šu/-ša (/-ši)* in Old Babylonian letters is *manna-šu/-ša (/-ši)* X *ša* . . . , where X is a personal name (usually followed by *annûm*), a personal pronoun, or a noun, always in the nominative case so that *manna-šu/-ša (/-ši)* X forms a nominal sentence or clause that is the antecedent of the relative pronoun *ša:* "who is this X that . . ." In any case, the nature of *mannašu* is not apparent from its component parts, since the pronominal suffix does not indicate a possessive relationship, but rather must form part of a nominal sentence. Thus von Soden translates the name *Manna-šu/-ša* as "Wer ist es?" (*GAG* §47 a), and Ungnad, *VAB* 6, p. 336, interpreted *mannašu atta* as "wer von ihm bist du = wer bist du eigentlich." This usage of *manna-šu/-ša* as a nominal clause is highlighted by the completely anomalous use of *mannaši* in *mannaši awiltum (ša ittika telqûši* [*CT* 45 122:8]) "Who is this woman (that you took with you)," which could be better expressed as *mannum awiltum ši* (although it is also possible that the *-ši* is simply contamination from *telqûši*). I notice that in most instances *manna-šu/-ša* is used when the writer is very upset or angry, and its ungrammatical structure suggests to me that the added suffix may express an intensification of the interrogative into an indefinite and rhetorical statement such as "who in the world," "who the hell," "wer zum Teufel," etc. Another possible explanation is that the pronominal suffix is resumptive and is used merely to mark the gender of a word that does not normally distinguish between masculine and feminine.

All this discussion is essentially beside the point since it does not help to explain the present use of *mannašu.* The other examples of *mannašu* indicate that it should be followed by a nominative. The form *ú-nu-mi-im* is apparently a demonstrative pronoun of the same type as later *anummûm* based on the hypothesis that the *unumma* of 15:4 is to *unummium* as later *anumma* is to *anummûm* (see the Introduction, p. 10 and n. 26, and the Glossary). While the demonstrative pronoun is not out of place, the use of the genitive is difficult to account for since a translation "whoever of this that you seized is not your slave" seems weak. Even if the writing *ú-nu-mi-im* is a mistake for the nominative, the sense is not much improved since a translation such as "whoever this person is that you seized, (he is) not your slave" seems only marginally better. The fact remains that the other examples of *mannašu* to be found in Old Babylonian letters introduce a rhetorical question and not a straightforward statement of fact. To make this example compatible with the others, it would be necessary to consider it as a rhetorical question followed by its answer: "who is this one that you seized?—not your slave!" Another possibility is to treat *ma-na-šu ú-nu-mi-im* as some sort of expletive standing outside the syntactical structure of the sentence. In this case, *ša* would be an indefinite pronoun (without antecedent) rather than a relative pronoun and the translation would be " . . . he whom you seized is not your slave." This also seems weak, especially since it ignores the structure of *ma-na-šu ú-nu-mi-im.*

Line 17.—Apparently the form is *libbi* + terminative adverbial ending + pronominal suffix. For the writing, see Gelb, *MAD* 2, p. 143, and cf. B. Groneberg, *AfO* 26 (1978–79), 25 B I d 5.

Line 21.—The word transliterated here as *ku-pu-ri-im* would be better rendered by KU-BU-*ri-im* since the root is not immediately apparent. The form looks like a D-stem infinitive of *k/qab/pārum*, and the context suggests some activity connected with garments or cloth.

Line 22.—It is difficult to determine the word represented here by the writing *li-qú-tim* since it is apparently not otherwise attested. The root can be either LQ³3 (*leqûm*) or LQT (*laqātum*). The general absence of contracted writings at the time of this letter indicates that unless the last syllable of the stem has the vowel *u*, this word cannot be an abstract form in *-utum*, thus eliminating the word *liqûtum* "adoptive child" from consideration. If this word is derived from *leqûm*, the most likely formation is *parūst* (*perūst*): **laqūhtum > leqūtum*. If the word is from *laqātum*, the most likely formation seems to be *pirrūs: liqqūtum*. The context would seem to favor a *nomen actionis,* but is not sufficiently clear to make this certain. In fact, the context does not exclude the possibility that the writing represents a personal name.

Lines 29–30.—This passage proves that *emum* has the meaning "son-in-law" as well as "father-in-law" in Old Babylonian, but the evidence for this was already at hand in *BA* 5, p. 503, No. 33:12–16: [*a-na* P]N . . . [*e*]-*mi-šu mu-ti* DUMU.SAL.A.NI-*šu* . . . *id-di-nu* "(that) he gave . . . to PN, his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter."

Lines 34–36.—For this construction, compare *ARM* 10 36:25–26: *li-di-nu-nim la ba-ri-a-ku* "let them give (it) to me so that I should not starve."

Lines 38–39.—The horizontal wedge between the signs GA and TUM in line 38 is very weak when compared with the bold AŠ sign in the next line. Since there is no indication of an erasure, I assume that this horizontal wedge is an accidental mark made by resting the stylus on the clay for a moment. Although the interpretation of GA.TUM as *qá-dum* marks the only use of TUM for /*dum*/ in these letters, this interpretation is essentially forced by the syntax of the sentence. Formally, the writing *ma-aš-ki-a* can only represent a genitive singular or an oblique plural. Since the reconstruction of the verb as *a-la-ᵣkà˥-kum,* "I will come to you," is inescapable, there is no place in the sentence for an accusative, and the writing *ma-aš-ki-a* must represent a genitive. In this case, the word preceding *ma-aš-ki-a* must be either a noun in the construct state or a preposition. Since a form in *-tum* would not appear to be in the construct state, the word must be a preposition, and the only preposition that could be read here is *qadum*. Thus the grammar leads inexorably to the interpretation *qadum maškija allakakkum,* which is literally "I will come to you with my skin." Unfortunately, this expression is not attested elsewhere. It seems unlikely that the statement was meant to be understood literally, especially since the request for the return of the *diqārum* at the end of the letter does not indicate that a visit was planned in the near future. Therefore, the expression "I will come to you with my skin" must have a rhetorical or metaphorical meaning, and I suggest "(concerning this slave) I come to you with (only) my skin" conveying the idea "I am defenseless (naked) and rely on your mercy or sense of fairness." This fits very well with the author's portrayal of herself in the opening lines of the letter (4–7) as a defenseless widow who must rely on Bilalama to see that justice is done for her.

Lines 44–45.—This phrase also occurs at Mari (*ARM* 10 92:8: *di-ma-ti-ia šu-uq-qí-il*) and, strangely, is not attested again until its appearance in a New Assyrian letter (*ABL* 1149 rev. 10: *di-a-ti-ia šá-aq-qí-il*). There is general agreement that the verb is the D imperative (*šuqqil*) of *šaqālum* "to weigh" (cf. *AHw*, p. 1178b; Finet, *RA* 68 [1974], 37, n. 3; Dossin *ARMT* 10, p. 270 *ad* 92:8), but the interpretation of it seems problematic. In my opinion this passage must be considered together with the line from Atrahasis *zu-un-ni-šu* ᵈIM *li-ša-aq-qí-il* (Lambert-Millard, *Atra-hasis,* p. 72, II i 11), since the obvious connection between "rain" and "tears" shows that the verb should mean the same thing in both places. In Atrahasis the verb clearly means "make scarce" (Lambert-Millard, *Atra-hasis,* pp. 155–

56:384) as is shown by the parallel use of *lišāqir* (from the Š stem of (*w*)*aqāru* "to be(come) scarce"), and the transfer of meaning from "be weighed" to "be scarce" given there is quite plausible. The connection between "let Adad make scarce (stop, hold back) his rain" and "make scarce (stop, hold back) my tears" rules out such interpretations as "pay me back for(?) my tears" as suggested by *CAD* D, p. 147b or "soupèse (= prens en considération) mes larmes"(?) as suggested by Finet, *RA* 68 (1974), 37, n. 3. Finally, the separation of the two passages as done by von Soden, who took the Atrahasis occurrence as the only example of the D stem of a verb *šakālum* (*AHw*, p. 1178b), is not justified. Both passages belong together, almost certainly under the D stem of *šaqālum*.

Line 46.—For *diqārum* see Salonen, *Hausgeräte* 2, pp. 70–79.

No. 13	1931-T295	Pl. 7

1. *a-na Bi-la-la-ma*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *a-dì ma-ti*
4. *áš-ta-na-pá-ra-kum-ma*
5. [*a*]-*wa-ti la te-še-me*
6. [1] *Nu-úr-a-l*[*i-šu*(?)]
7. [x]-⌐*ip*⌐(?)-[   ]
    rest of obverse destroyed
    beginning of reverse destroyed
1'. ⌐*li*⌐-[   ]
2'. *ù* ⌐*a*⌐-[   ]
3'. *i-na* DUB ⌐x-x⌐[   ]
4'. *ša tu-ša-bi-lam*
5'. *a-na* DINGIR-*mu-ta-bíl*
6'. *ta-áš-ṭú-ra-am*
7'. *a-bu-ti ú-ma-kà-al-ma*
8'. *a-pu-tum ša-ṭá-ru-um*
9'. *a-na ku-a-ti pí-*⌐*iš*⌐*-tù-um*
10'. 1 *Sà-ba-sí-in-núm*
11'. 1 DINGIR-*lu-wa-tár*
          DUMU *I-šu-e*
    left edge
12'. *ša a-bu-t*[*ám*]
13'. *i-ša-pá-ra-n*[*i-im*]
    rest destroyed

[1-2]Say to Bilalama: [3-5]How long will I continue to write to you and you will ignore my affair. [6-7]Nur-al išu [. . . .] [1'-2'][. . .] [3'-4']in the tablet . . . that you sent, [5'-7']you wrote to Ilum-muttabil that my fatherly attitude is of one day's duration. [8'-9']Please, to write (such a thing) is an insult to yourself. [10'-13']Sabasinnum (and) DINGIR-*lu-wa-tár*, the son of *I-šu-e*, who write to me in a fatherly manner [. . .].

The writer of this letter was obviously a person of considerable importance and not merely a subordinate of Bilalama. The phraseology used and the rather curt tone taken with Bilalama imply that the writer was an independent ruler, at least the equal in status of the ruler of Eshnunna and the ruler of Der, Ilum-muttabbil, mentioned in the letter. It is even possible that the writer of the letter was Išbi-Irra himself or his successor, but such a conclusion would be purely speculative. In any case, the

letter has a bearing on the political situation at the time and shows that Bilalama was able to write to Ilum-muttabbil criticizing some third ruler, an action that provoked this rather angry response from that third person.

Unfortunately, the letter is somewhat difficult to understand in detail, but the overall intent of the message seems clear. The letter begins with a rhetorical question that is actually a complaint about Bilalama's negligent attitude toward the writer. After a long break, it resumes in the middle of a complaint that Bilalama has written insulting things to Ilum-muttabbil about the writer. There follows what appears to be an insult directed at Bilalama. The letter concludes with what was presumably a statement to the effect that two other individuals enjoy the "fatherly attitude" of the writer without any complaint.

Line 7.—Restore perhaps [*ši*]-ʳ*ip*ˀ-[*ri*] "my messenger."

Line 3'.—One expects the writing *tup-pí-im*, but the traces of the sign after DUB allow only a reading of *ki* or *na*. The sign does not seem to have been erased, so an interpretation of DUB-*im* is unlikely. That the first sign of the sequence is DUB and not UM is clearly shown by the two vertical wedges at the beginning of the sign. It is possible to reconstruct *tub-*ʳ*qí-im*ˀ, but I would not expect the use of DUB as a syllabogram in free context (*i.e.,* other than in the word *tuppum*) at this time, and furthermore, the use of the verb *šūbulum* "to send" in line 4' does not go with *tubqum* "corner."

Line 4'.—If we assume that the -*am* of *tušābilam* is a simple ventive/allative and not a first person dative suffix, it is possible to connect lines 2'–7' by reconstructing something like the following: ²⁾*u a[nāku ešme (kīma)]* ³⁾*ina* DUB ʳx-xˀ-[ ] ⁴⁾*ša tušābilam* ⁵⁾*ana I.* ⁶⁾*tašṭuram* ⁷⁾*abbūtī ūmakkalma* "and (furthermore) I heard that in the tablet . . . that you sent (there), you wrote to I. that my fatherly attitude is one of one day's duration."

Line 7'.—The translation "fatherly attitude" is rather weak for the term *abbūtum,* since this term has wide implications in the political system, implying a degree of subservience in exchange for the right to ask for protection and intercession. Perhaps a better translation would be "patronage." The interpretation of *abbūtī ūmakkalma* as "my fatherly attitude only lasts for a day" is made clear by a bilingual proverb, *AJSL* 28, p. 242:9–11 (cf. Lambert, *BWL,* p. 259):

nam-ku-li níg u₄-1-kam   *ib-ru-tum ša u₄-ma-ak-kal*
nam-ge₄-me-a-aš   *ki-na-tu-tu*
níg u₄ da-rí-kam   *ša da-ra-a-ti*
"Friendship only lasts for a day; being a colleague, forever."

Lines 8'–9'.—The first question here is whether the first word is *abbūtum* or *aputtum.* If it is taken as *abbūtum,* the grammar of the passage is quite incomprehensible. These two lines are apparently a nominal sentence, and it would seem best to consider the first word as an interjection outside the syntactical structure of the rest of the sentence. Otherwise there is no way to connect two nouns, both apparently in the nominative case, at the beginning of the sentence. The only way to introduce a verb into the sentence would be to break *a-na ku-a-ti* as *a-na-ku a-dì,* "I ignored," but the nouns in the nominative case could still not be accounted for. Finally, there is the question of whether the last word is *bīštum* "evil thing" or *pištum* "lie, insult, calumny." The answer to this is provided by the occurrence in *YOS* 2 1:15–17 (= Stol, *AbB* 9 1:15–17): *ša*(!) *at-ta bé-ṭe-eš-ma ta-qá-ab-bu-ú ia-ši-im pi-iš-tum* "the fact that you speak deceitfully is an insult to me." The exact parallel between *ia-ši-im pi-iš-tum* of *YOS* 2 1 and *a-na ku-a-ti pí-iš-tù-um* in the present letter seems decisive for both the word and its interpretation. Since *jašim pištum* clearly means "an insult to me," *ana kuati pištum* must mean "an insult to you(rself)." The impact of the statement is apparently: "how can you stoop so low as to write such things?"

Line 10'.—The reading of the name as Sabasinnum is obtained from two Tell Asmar loan contracts, 1930-T499 (*Sa-ba-si-nu-um*) and 1930-T539 (*Sa-ba-si-ni-im*, gen.), where a person with this name occurs as the father of one of the witnesses (*Ba-ba-lum* in both instances). The name can be compared with words such as *aluzinnum, arkabinnum, taskarinnum, et cetera.* These words, and many others with the *-innu(m)* affix or element, have long been recognized as of foreign (*i.e.,* non-Akkadian and non-Sumerian) origin (cf. Bilgiç, *Appelativa der kapp. Texte,* pp. 30–32). A particularly apt comparison in this instance would be the word *šuḫatinnum* because the Sumerian equivalent is z a - ḫ a - d i n . The phonetic incompatability of *z* and *š* suggests that the language from which these words came had a sibilant that did not correspond to any in the current Akkadian or Sumerian inventory. The same thing is indicated by the spelling of the name Sabasinnum with the sign SA in the two Tell Asmar loan contracts. These two documents are early Old Babylonian (one of them has Date Formula No. 109 [*OIP* 43, p. 190], which is attributed to Warassa), and at this time the SA sign was not generally used to express Akkadian *s* but was widely used (as was the SI sign) to express Amorite *š*. It is probable that the name Sabasinnum contains a sibilant that did not exist in contemporary Akkadian, possibly the same sound that occurs in *šuḫatinnum.*

Line 11'.—The first name could be either *Ilu-watar* or *Ilum(Ilī)-lu-watar*. The second choice seems more likely because of the tendency to preserve mimation at this time. The name would mean "(my-)god-is-foremost"; an interpretation *An(um)-lu-watar* "An(um)-is-foremost" is also possible; there is a good likelihood that the name is Amorite (see the commentary to no. 15). This person is presumably the same individual who wrote letter no. 15 to Bilalama on the occasion of the death of his father. Apparently he succeeded to his father's position after the latter's death, an indication that letter no. 15 may actually be dated somewhat earlier than this one. The father's name occurs in letter no. 15 as *Ú-su₄-e* and in administrative texts from Tell Asmar dating to the reigns of Šu-ilija, Nur-aḫum, and Bilalama as *I-su₄-e*. See the commentary to no. 15 for further discussion and documentation.

Lines 12'–13'.—The writing with ŠA in line 12' could represent the dual of the relative pronoun, *šā,* in view of the third person dual verbal form *išapparānim* in line 13'. See the Introduction, n. 44.

No. 14   1931-T293   Pl. 7

1. [*um-ma A-d*]*a-làl-m*[*a*]
2. [*a-na B*]*i-la-la-m*[*a*]
3. [*qí-bí*]*-ma*
4. [-*l*]*u-pi-Il*
5. [*m*]*i*(?)-*im*
6. [   ]*am*
7. [   ]-*li*-[   ]
    rest of obverse destroyed
    beginning of reverse destroyed
1'. [-*t*]*i*-˹*a*˺(?)[   ]
2'. [*i*]*t-ti* [   ]
3'. [   ]-*sú-nu lu-u*[*ṣ*(?)-*ba*(?)-*at*(?)]
4'. [   ]-*mi a-na šu-*˹*te/ub*˺-[   ]
5'. [   ]-*ku-nim a-ša-*˹x˺-[   ]
6'. [   ]-*as-sú-nu*
7'. [*a*]*t-ta a-ša-ar ki-ma*
8'. [   ]-*sú-nu ku-i*[*l*]
9'. [*t*]*a-aš-ḫa-ra-a*[*r*]

upper edge

10'. [   ] *ma-tu-kà*

11'. [   ]⸢*ú*(?)-*la*(?)⸣ *ta-ša-pá-*

        ra-am

Although too badly broken to allow a translation, this letter still contains important grammatical information. The letter is addressed to Bilalama from an individual named Adallal. This name is reasonably common and occurs in several Tell Asmar administrative texts, but there is nothing to identify the sender of this letter more definitely.

Line 8'.—The writing *ku-i*[*l*] apparently represents *kuʾʾil* the imperative of *kullum* (D stem only) "to hold (back)." The appearance of [   ]-*sú-nu* before *ku-i*[*l*] indicates that the line is correctly broken since -*sú-nu* also occurs in lines 3' and 6', and the occurrence of other second person forms in lines 7' and 9' justifies the interpretation of the form as an imperative. If so, however, the form is a break from the normal Babylonian method of expressing the D stem of middle weak verbs. Babylonian customarily shows a weak inflection for verbs of this type, with the vowels contracted when the last radical stands alone (*e.g.,* imperative: *kîl;* cf. *GAG* §104 n). Assyrian, on the other hand, usually has a strong inflection (*e.g.,* imperative: *kaʾʾil;* cf. *GKT* §94 d). The *u* vowel in the first syllable of *ku-i*[*l*] shows that the form is not Assyrian. The strong inflection is, however, not characteristic of Babylonian. Already in Old Akkadian the verbs of this class have a weak inflection with the vowels contracted, a feature that is at variance with the general rule of the preservation of uncontracted forms in Old Akkadian (*MAD* 2, p. 188). This same feature is also found in archaic Old Babylonian: in the Ur III examples cited by Gelb, *MAD* 2, pp. 187–88; in the form found in letter No. 26:7, ⸢*ú*⸣-*ki-in* (for *ukîn*) rather than **ú-ka-in* (for **ukaʾʾin*); and in the name in *BIN* 9 234:11, ᵈ*En-líl-mu-ti-ir-gi₄-mi-li-šu,* where *mu-ti-ir* (for *mutîr*) occurs rather than **mu-ta-ir* (for **mutaʾʾir;* a similar name, ᵈ*Tišpak-mu-ti-ir-gi-mi-lí-šu,* is also found in a contemporary text at Tell Asmar). This is also contrary to the general rule favoring the preservation of uncontracted forms in archaic Old Babylonian (see the Introduction, p. 7), so it must be concluded that middle weak verbs, especially in the D stem, had a weak inflection from the earliest times in Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian. The form *ku-i*[*l*] can be regarded as suspect since there is no firm context with which to establish its true identity, but if it is correctly interpreted as *kuʾʾil,* it must represent a Babylonian back-formation, possibly based on an Assyrian model.

Line 9'.—The writing [*t*]*a-aš-ḫa-ra-a*[*r*] is a form of the "quadrilateral" verb *šuḫarrurum* "to be(come) quiet, subdued, inactive" showing the *i/a*-prefixes characteristic of these verbs in the early stages of both Babylonian and Assyrian, and marks the only occurrence known to me of this verb outside of literary texts. For a full discussion of the early forms of this group of verbs and the hypothesis that they may be the remnants of a verbal stem with the final radical reduplicated, see Whiting, *Orientalia* NS 50 (1981), 1–39.

No. 15   1931-T205   Pl. 8

1. *um-ma* DINGIR-*lu-*<*wa*>(?)-*tár-ma*

2. *a-na Bí-la-ma*

3. ⸢*qí*⸣-*bí-*⸢*ma*⸣

4. *ú-nu-um-ma š*[*í-*   ]

5. DUMU   [   ]

6. *a-ḫu-k*[*à*(?)   ]

7. *ù a-b*[*i*(?)   ]

8. *a-na-ku* [   ]

9. ⌜*ú-la*⌝ [   ]
10. *a-na* ⌜x⌝-[   ]
11. *ši-pí-*⌜*ir*⌝(?)-*kà*(?) *im*(?)-*ru*(?)-*uṣ*⌝
12. *a-n*[*a*   ]-⌜x⌝-*ti-iš*
13. G[A-X-(X)]-AG
14. [   ]-*ri-ib ma-tim*
15. [   ]-BI-⌜*i-li-ma*⌝
      rest of obverse destroyed
      beginning of reverse destroyed
1'. [*t*]*i-*⌜*šu e-mu-*x⌝-[   ]
2'. ⌜1 *Ú-su₄*⌝-*e a-na a-bu a-bi-kà*
3'. *a-na a-bi-kà qú-bu-ra-am*
4'. *ú-ša-*⌜*bi*⌝-*il*
5'. *šu-ma a-*⌜*hi*⌝ *a-ta*
6'. ⌜*kà*⌝-*kà-am dá-am-qá-am*
7'. *ši-bu-ul-tám* ⌜*dá*⌝-*mi-i*[*q-tám*]
8'. *a-na qú-bu-ri-šu* ⌜*šu-bi*⌝-[*lam*]
9'. *A-mu-ru-um* ⌜*li*⌝-[   ]
10'. *ši-pí-ri ar-*[*hi*(?)-*iš*(?)]
11'. *ṭú-úr-dam*
12'. *a-na ri-iš ba-ar-*[*hi*]-
                  i[*m*]
13'. WA-*ar-ṣú-um e-pí-eš*

[1)]Thus (says) Ilum-lu-watar: [2–3)]Say to Bilalama: [4–10)][. . . .] [11)]Your messenger got sick. [12–1')][. . . .] [2'–4')]*Ú-su₄-e* sent a funerary gift for your grandfather (and) for your father. [5')]If you are my brother, [6'–8')]send a weapon of the best quality (as) a fine present for his funeral. [9')]Let the Amorites [. . .]. [10'–11')]Send me my . . . quickly; [12'–13')]the ritual is to be performed at the end of the month.

The writer of this letter is presumably the same individual as the person mentioned in letter no. 13 written by an unidentified ruler to Bilalama. The connection is based on the similarity of the pair of names in both texts: DINGIR-*lu-wa-tár* and *I-šu-e* in no. 13 and DINGIR-*lu-tár* and *Ú-su₄-e* in this letter. The writer considers himself an equal of Bilalama since he addresses him as *ahī* "my brother," but he uses the inverted address formula at the beginning of the letter, thus allowing his own name to come first.

The obverse of the letter is badly damaged but presumably contained a summary of past events related to the requests made in the reverse. Apparently the writer had sent a messenger to Bilalama asking for a funerary gift for his father *Ú-su₄-e*, but Bilalama delayed in sending the requested gift. When questioned about the delay, Bilalama replied—if the reconstruction of line 11 is correct—that the original messenger had gotten sick. The reverse of the letter continues with a renewed request for a funerary gift for *Ú-su₄-e*, pointing out Bilalama's obligation to provide such a gift because *Ú-su₄-e* had sent gifts for the funerals of Bilalama's predecessors. The letter ends with a request to reply quickly because the rite is to be held at the end of the month. The *parṣum*, "rite," referred to must be the funeral of *Ú-su₄-e*.

Line 1.—For an interpretation of the name see no. 13, commentary to line 11'. For the possibility that it is Amorite see the commentary to line 2' below.

Line 2.—For this writing of the name see the commentary to no. 17.

Line 4.—The writing *ú-nu-um-ma* is unique, but the word is apparently related to the demonstrative pronoun *unummium* found in these letters and to the later Old Babylonian adverb *anumma* that frequently introduces the message in letters. See the Introduction, n. 25 and the Glossary.

Line 10.—Restore perhaps something like *a-na m[i(?)-nim tašpuram]* and translate together with the following line: "Why did you write to me: 'your messenger got sick'."

Line 2'.—The name *Ù-su₄-e* has a number of variant spellings. It occurs as *I-šu-e* in letter no. 13 which is from an unknown locality (possibly Isin), and appears regularly as *I-su₄-e* in administrative texts from Tell Asmar. The form found in this letter, *Ù-su₄-e*, is taken as the correct writing because it presumably originated in his homeland, but in any case is only an approximation to sounds that did not occur in Akkadian. This is shown first by the use of the sign su₄, which, although it had been used in Old Akkadian (cf. *MAD* 2, pp. 35–38), was not utilized for any Akkadian phoneme at the time of these letters, and thus must indicate an attempt to express a sound that was not used in contemporary Akkadian. Second, the interchange of *I-* and *Ù-* in the spelling of the name indicates that it began with a vowel sound not current in Akkadian. A similar phonological situation is found in a name occurring in the Old Babylonian texts from Kisurra as *E-du-na-sa*, *I-du-na-sa*, and *Ù-du-na-sa* (Kienast, *Kisurra*, index). The most common spelling is *Ù-du-na-sa*, as *I-* and *E-* occur only once each; however, the writing with *E-* and *Ù-* occur in the same text (no. 76) referring to the same individual clearly showing that the variant spellings are a matter of interchange and do not represent different names. Possibly the sound being spelled was something similar to German *ü* (*ue*), and the variant spellings indicate the "nearest equivalent" of the writers.

Ù-su₄-e was as well known at Eshnunna as the present letter implies. His name is found in the following administrative texts from Tell Asmar:

1931-T172: an issue of bread and beer for lú *I-su₄-e* "the man of *I-su₄-e*" followed in the next line by an issue for MAR.TU-ni "his Amorite" (1)

1931-T510: Išar-ramaš received ⅓ mina of silver to make an eme za(g)-mi-⌜rí⌝-tum *I-su₄-e*-[šè] "for *I-su₄-e*" (2)

1931-T501: Išar-ramaš disbursed (ì-lal) an object (not preserved) of silver and gold ki-lá-bi 19 gín kù-gi-bi ⅔ gín 5 še *I-su₄-e*-kam "weighing 19 shekels, having ⅔ shekel 5 grains of gold, belonging to *I-su₄-e*" (3)

1931-T597: an issue of beer for 2 MAR.TU *I-su₄*-⌜e⌝ 1½ sila₃-ta "2 Amorites of *I-su₄-e* at a rate of 1½ quarts each" (4)

1931-T163: an issue of oil (ì-dùg-ga and ì-giš) for šeš *I-su₄-e* ù MAR.TU-ni "the brother of *I-su₄-e* and his Amorite" (5)

Reference (1) has Date Formula No. 46 (*OIP* 43, p. 173) which should belong to the reign of Šu-ilija (see the Introduction, n. 87). References (2) and (3) both have Date Formula No. 43 (*OIP* 43, p. 171), attributed to Nur-aḫum; the first has the month name *Zi-ib-nu-um* and the second has the month name *Ma-mi-tum*. Both tablets belong to the archive of Išar-ramaš (cf. *OIP* 43, p. 172, commentary to Date Formula No. 44), which is very similar in nature to the so-called Craft Archive from Ur that is almost exactly contemporary. Reference (4) has no year date but was found in the same locus (under L 32:2) as (2) and (3). Reference (5) bears Date Formula No. 70 (*OIP* 43, p. 180) belonging to the reign of Bilalama.

The persistent association of the name of *Ù-su₄-e* with Amorites leads one to suspect that he was in fact an Amorite. However, the phonological problems with his name do not fit in with our knowledge

of Amorite names, especially since the sign SU₄ was not regularly used in writing Amorite names at Eshnunna during this period in spite of the fact that a great number of Amorite names appear in the administrative texts. On the other hand, Gelb, *AS* 21, has collected the various spellings of *Ú-du-na-sa* at Kisurra as Amorite, but has left the name unanalyzed (*AS* 21, p. 655). The name of the son of *Ú-su₄-e*, DINGIR-*lu-wa-tár*, is a better candidate for an Amorite origin as can be seen from the many Amorite names ending in *jatar* (*AS* 21, p. 107). Finally, the Amorites are mentioned in the present letter. Although the context is broken, line 9′ might have originally said something like "let the Amorites be pleased (by the funerary gift you send for *Ú-su₄-e*)."

Lines 2′–3′.—If we take *abu abim* "grandfather" and *abum* "father" literally, it implies that Šu-ilija was the father of Nur-aḫum and Kirikiri (see Fig. 1, p. 28) since there is no other ruler of Eshnunna that would fit into this position. It is more likely, however, that the writer is referring only to the two direct predecessors of Bilalama at Eshnunna, Nur-aḫum, and Kirikiri, without being clear about their actual relationship to Bilalama.

Line 3′.—The word *qubūrum* here obviously has the meaning "funerary gift," not "Grab" as given in *AHw*, p. 925b, since it is impossible to send a "grave" from place to place. In other occurrences in these letters (see the Glossary), the word has the meaning "funeral, burial" although in most instances the translation "grave" could be substituted, as in line 8′ below, where *ana qubūrišu* could be translated "for his grave" rather than "for his funeral" without changing the sense of the passage. The word is obviously derived from the root QBR "dig, bury," but the form requires some discussion. The formation *purūs* is used for "deverbale Gegenstandsbezeichnungen" (*GAG* §55 1 17 a II); such objects are frequently the result of the verbal action and thus the meaning "grave" for *qubūrum* as the result of the action of digging or burying is quite sound. Translating the word as "burial, funeral" requires interpreting it as a *nomen actionis,* and, although rare, this usage is found with the form *purūs* in the noun *buqūmum*. This word is used to express both the *nomen actionis* "wool plucking" and the result of the action "wool yield" (*CAD* B, pp. 325–26), and makes a useful parallel to the use of *qubūrum* for both "grave" and "funeral, burial." This explanation, however, still does not account for the use of *qubūrum* as "funerary gift," which must be a transferred meaning or a different formation (*e.g.,* *quburrum* or even *quburrāʾum*).

Line 7′.—The word *šibultum* is clearly used here with the meaning "gift, present." For a complete discussion of this and related forms in other dialects, see Excursus B (pp. 113–117).

Line 8′.—See the commentary to line 3′ above.

Line 9′.—For a possible interpretation see the commentary to line 2′, end.

Line 10′.—The most likely explanation for the writing *ši-pí-ri* is that it is a scribal error for *ši-ip-ri* "my messenger," especially since the use of *ṭarādum* in the next line tends to indicate an animate object, and the messenger seems to be a point of discussion in line 11 above. For writings of this type see F. R. Kraus, *ZA* 51 (1955), 73, No. 58.

Lines 12′–13′.—The context indicates that the word at the end of line 12′ is *warḫum* "month" and the word at the beginning of line 13′ is *parṣum* "rite, ritual." Rather than *warḫum* having the form *barḫum* and WA being read as *pa₁₂*, however, it seems more likely that the scribe has simply interchanged the first signs of these two words. Note also that the scribe has apparently interchanged the last signs of *ri-iš* and *e-pí-eš*. Since *parṣum* is in the nominative case, the writing *e-pí-eš* can only represent the stative *epiš* "be done, happen." This interchange is of less moment than the other, since it involves only the vowels *e* and *i* which frequently interchange in Old Babylonian writings and examples of *ri-iš* for expected *re-eš* are quite common. However, it seems strange that since the scribe used both signs, he should have used them in the opposite manner to what we would have expected as "correct."

The question of whether *rēš warḫim* means "the end of the month" or "the beginning of the month" as discussed by Finet, *BiOr* 10 (1953), 85–88, does not seem germane to the present discussion.

The end of the present month and the beginning of the next month are essentially the same moment in time. It is this moment in time that marks the end of one month and the beginning of the next that is thought of as *rēš warḫim* and this moment occurs at the beginning and end of each month. It is the position of the speaker with respect to this point in time and how he views the action taking place that determines whether the beginning of the month or the end of the month is intended. It would seem that it was possible to express the difference between the end of the month and the beginning by using the terms *warkat warḫim* and *rēš warḫim* as given by the lexical lists (Hh. I, *MSL* 5, p. 24:214–15). However, the expression *warkat warḫim* "the end of the month" does not otherwise occur and only *rēš warḫim* is found in Old Babylonian letters. Since *rēš warḫim* is the only expression for "the beginning/ end of the month" found in real life, we should examine its usage closely. To my knowledge, *rēš warḫim* occurs in three expressions: *ina rēš warḫim, adi rēš warḫim,* and *ana rēš warḫim.* Similar expressions with other prepositions, which one might reasonably expect to find, such as *lāma rēš warḫim* ("before the *r.*"), *ištu rēš warḫim* ("since the *r.*"), or *warki rēš warḫim* ("after the *r.*"), are absent. (In *TCL* 17 23:25 we find *wa-ar-ki wa-ar-ḫi-im* which *CAD* A/2, p. 279b, translates as "after the first of the month;" however, the context there is not sufficiently specific to guarantee this translation and the expression could equally well mean "after a month.") While there is no particular reason why such expressions should not come to light in the future, it is interesting that all the attested examples of *rēš warḫim* consider it as an event to take place in the future rather than a past event. The reason for this may perhaps be connected with the use of the ubiquitous writing UD.N.KAM. The problem of understanding expressions of time and date is complicated by the fact that the Akkadian terms are almost always hidden behind the logographic writing UD.N.KAM which can stand for either "the nth day" or "n days" (cf. *GAG* §72 a and Finet, *L'Accadien* §45). Thus UD.N.KAM used by itself can define either a point in time "(on) the nth day" or a span of time "(for) n days," and other expressions such as *ina* UD.N.KAM can indicate either "on the nth day" or "(with)in n days," *et cetera, et cetera.* One of the most likely reasons that *rēš warḫim* is never referred to as a past event is that the use of UD.N.KAM makes it unnecessary. When the expression UD.N.KAM indicates a moment in time and no specific referent is given, it specifies the nth day of the month and no specific reference to the beginning of the month is required. Furthermore, the beginning of the month can be indicated by the expression UD.I.KAM used to mean "the first of the month," and again no reference to *rēš warḫim* is needed. On the other hand, because of the nature of the Mesopotamian lunar calendar, it is not possible to refer to the end of the month (as a future event) with an UD.N.KAM expression. The lunar month can end on the twenty-ninth or the thirtieth day; thus UD.29.KAM does not specify the end of the month and UD.30.KAM could lead to complications through literal interpretation. (Considering some of the excuses found in Old Babylonian letters, one can easily imagine someone justifying his negligence to his superior by saying something like "you told me to do this on the thirtieth day; since there was no thirtieth day, I did not do it.") Only *rēš warḫim,* which indicates the moment when the old month ends and the new one begins, is specific in this regard.

From the context of the letter it is apparent that the writer is referring to the forthcoming funeral of *Ū-ṣu₄-e* with the term *parṣum* "rite, ritual." It is impossible to say from this occurrence whether or not funeral rites were customarily held in conjunction with the end of the month, but I note that the administrative text that records a funerary gift for the son of Abda-El (1931-T263, discussed in Excursus B, p. 115) is dated to the twenty-eighth day of the month. Is this merely coincidence?

No. 16   1931-T309a   Pl. 8

1. [*a*]-*na Bi-l*[*a-m*]*a*
2. ⌜*qi*⌝-*bi-*⌜*ma*⌝
3. *A-na-Eš₄-tár-ták-la-ku*

4. ⌈GEMÉ ARÁD(?)-ᵈ⌉ *Šará*

5. *ú-[la* K]Ù.BABBAR-*ša*

6. *[ú-l]a* GEMÉ

7. *me-ḫe-er-[ta-ša]*

8. *lu-ša-ri-a-[kum(?)]*

9. *la ta-kà-la-[áš(?)]-*
           ší

    reverse uninscribed

¹⁻²⁾Say to Bilalama: ³⁻⁴⁾Ana-Ištar-taklaku is the slave-girl of ARÁD-ᵈ*Šará*. ⁵⁻⁸⁾I will send you either her price or an equivalent slave-girl. ⁹⁾Do not withhold her.

The tablet is rather poorly preserved. In fact, it was put together from pieces found in a box of miscellaneous fragments. Nevertheless, the entire text can be reconstructed without much difficulty. The text deals with a slave-girl whose ownership has been disputed. Apparently the ruler of Eshnunna (Bilalama) has detained her while the matter was investigated. The writer of the letter was obviously at fault, since he promises to make good the claim and requests that the slave be turned over to her rightful owner.

Line 7.—The correctness of the reconstruction *amtam*(GEMÉ) *me-ḫe-er-[ta-ša]* is assured by the occurrence of this same expression in a legal document from Tell Asmar (1931-T164) where the final statement is: *i-nu-ma i-zi-ra-ni am-ta-am me-ḫe-er-ta-ša uš-za-áz i-ta-la-ak* "if she becomes hostile to me, she will provide an equivalent slave-girl and she can go free."

No. 17   1931-T600   Pl. 9

1. *a-na Bi-la-ma*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *a-na-ku a-wa-at-kà*

4. *ú-la a-ṣú-úr*

5. *a-wa-at-kà a-dì*

6. *ú-la a-ḫu-kà*

7. *ra-bi-um a-na-ku*

8. *a-na mi-ni-im*
    reverse

9. *re-dì ta-áš-ki-iš*

10. *a-na ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a*

11. *re-dì wu-ši-ra-am*

¹⁻²⁾Say to Bilalama: ³⁻⁴⁾I did not obey your order! ⁵⁾(In fact,) I ignored your order! ⁶⁻⁷⁾Am I not your "elder brother"?! ⁸⁻⁹⁾Why did you harass my *redûm*? ¹⁰⁻¹¹⁾Release my *redûm* to my messenger!

The letter is brief and to the point. The writer is angry with Bilalama over some affront presumably involving the ill treatment that one of his soldiers had received at the hands of the ruler of Eshnunna. The writer of the letter is not identified, but was probably Ušašum whom we know to have been the brother-in-law of Bilalama (see Fig. 1, p. 28). This letter may reflect some of the tension between the two sides of the family that may have led to the conflict between Bilalama and the Amorites that we know of from Bilalama's year dates (see the Introduction, p. 27 and n. 84).

Line 1.—The writing *Bi-la-ma* is exceptional. All other writings of the name fall into one of two groups: *Bi-la-la-ma* or *Bí-la-ma*. The writing *Bi-la-la-ma* is found in all Eshnunna year dates and in the majority of letters. The writing *Bí-la-ma* is found in a few letters and in the inscription of ME-*kubi*, Bilalama's daughter and wife of Tan-Ruḫuratir, found in Elam (see *SAKI*, pp. 180–81).

Lines 3–5.—The expressions *awātam naṣārum* and *awātam nadûm* mean "to obey an order" and "to disregard an order" respectively. Note the use of *anāku*, the first person pronoun, to accentuate the subject of the verb forms *aṣṣur* and *addi*. The writer of the letter is obviously very angry and does not consider that he is subject to Bilalama's orders.

Lines 6–7.—It is almost always difficult to determine whether the term *aḫum* "brother" is used in a political or a kinship sense. In this instance, *aḫuka rabium* can mean either "your elder brother" or "your (political) senior." Depending on who the writer of the letter was, both translations could apply. Note that if the term is understood as "elder brother," it must refer to a relation by marriage since a natural older brother of Bilalama would have been ruler of Eshnunna in his place. The historical reconstruction of this period (see the Introduction, pp. 26–28) shows that Ušašum, the son of Abda-El, was married to the daughter of Nur-aḫum, Bilalama's uncle, while Bilalama was married to Ušašum's sister, the daughter of Abda-El (see Fig. 1, p. 28). If the writer of the letter was Ušašum, he could have considered himself both Bilalama's elder brother and his political senior. Note, however, that Abda-El outlived the members of his own generation, Nur-aḫum and Kirikiri, and survived into the reign of Bilalama (see the commentary to no. 11), while Ušašum apparently outlived Bilalama and survived at least into the reign of Uṣur-awassu (see the commentary to no. 24), implying that both Abda-El and Ušašum may have been somewhat younger than their respective contemporaries.

Lines 8–11.—The signs RI.TI are interpreted as *re-dì* for the accusative singular of *rēdûm* "soldier" with first person genitive pronominal suffix in lines 9 and 11, although a writing *re-dì-i* might have been expected in this period. The verbs used suggest that the word should represent a person rather than the other possible interpretations of the writing. In addition to its usual meaning of "to kill," the verb *šakāšum* (or *šagāšum*), like its synonym *dâkum*, has a meaning "to harass, to mistreat" (for *dâkum*, see Walters, *YNER* 4, p. 85 *ad* line 18 and p. 109 *ad* line 25; for *šakāšum*, see *AHw*, p. 1126b. *s.v.* *šagāšum*).

No. 18   1931-T198   Pl. 9
   Three fragments possibly from the same tablet
   A:
1. [*a-na Bi*]-*la-la-ma*
2. [*qí*]-*bí-ma*
3. [   ] *ù E*-PI-*mu a-bi-kà*
4. [   ] ⌜x⌝ *a li-tú-lu*
5. [   ] ⌜x⌝ ⌜ṣé⌝-*er* ⌜x⌝-
            [   ](?)
   rest of obverse destroyed
   beginning of reverse destroyed
1′. [   ] ⌜x⌝ [   ] ⌜x⌝
2′. [x TÚG.GUZ].ZA SIG₅ *ša bu-dì-kà*
3′. [-*l*]*a-ma i-na pu-úḫ-ri-im*
4′. [*š*]*a*(?)-*pá-rum i-ti Za-ak-pi-El*
   upper edge
5′. [-*k*]*à li-li-kam*

B:

beginning of obverse destroyed

1. ⌜ši⌝(?)-[   ]
2. a-⌜ta x⌝[   ]
3. ma-da-[   ]
4. ša la [   ]
5. ta-aš-k[u(?)-un(?)   ]
6. ša-a[l-   ]
7. tu-TI-[   ]
8. a-tu-⌜x⌝[   ]
9. ú-nu-mi-[   ]
10. traces

rest of obverse destroyed

reverse destroyed except for the beginning of three signs

left edge

1'. [x Ì.G]IŠ.DÙG.GA ša ⌜bi⌝-[   ]

C:

beginning of obverse destroyed

1. [   ]⌜a(?)-ḫi⌝
2. [   ]-⌜x⌝
3. [š]a(?)-ni-im
4. [   ]-⌜x⌝-kà ma-li
5. [   ]-ni a-šu-mi
6. [   ]⌜x⌝-⌜li⌝(?)-me

rest of obverse destroyed

beginning of reverse destroyed

1'. [   ]-⌜ku⌝(?)
2'. [   ]-⌜ki⌝
3'. [   ]-⌜x-iš⌝-kà

rest destroyed

There is nothing about the physical characteristics of the three fragments presented here that proves conclusively that they do or do not come from the same tablet. The clay and script of all three pieces are nearly identical, but there is no physical join nor is there any place where the text of one fragment can be shown to overlap that of another. The script of the three pieces is also nearly identical to that of no. 12, so it is possible that any or all of these fragments originally belonged to separate tablets.

No. 18A:

Line 2'.—For *būdum* see the commentary to 11:16.

Lines 4'–5'.—Restore perhaps at the beginning of line 5' [*ši-ip-ri-k*]*à* and translate the two lines as "let a message come with PN, your messenger." For this use of *šapārum* note *TIM* 1 20:46: *mi-i-nu-um ša-pa-ru-um an-nu-um ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am* "what is this message that you sent me," and cf. *AbB* 6 63:5.

No. 18B:

Line 9.—The writing *ú-nu-mi*-[   ] is apparently another example of the demonstrative pronoun *unummium*. See the commentary to no. 12:11.

Line 1′.—For ì.(GIŠ.)DÙG.GA see the commentary to no. 52.

No. 19   1931-T297   Pl. 10

1. *a-na be-lí-a*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. 1 *Ì-lí-ᵉba¹-bu-um*
4. *bí-it a-na*
      šar-ri-im iṭ-ḫa-ma
5. *ma-ma-na ú-la i-li*
6. *a-ta-ma šu-ma-am*
7. *ta-áš-ku-na-ni*
8. ᵉšum(?)-ma(?) li¹-bi
9. [*be*(?)-*lí*(?)-*a*(?)   ]-*um*
10. [   ]-ᵉx-x¹
      rest of obverse destroyed
      beginning of reverse destroyed
1′. ᵉit¹-[mi-i]t-ḫa-
      ᵉṣa¹-[a]m
2′. ᵉšu¹-nu a-na
3′. 1 ᵉLa-ṭù¹-pu-ᵉum¹
4′. ᵉa-na¹ ša-ᵉni¹-im
5′. ᵉta-ak¹-lu
6′. *a-na-ku* ᵉa¹-*na be-l*[*i-a*]
7′. *ta-*ᵉak¹-*la-*ᵉak¹
8′. *i-na* ᵉṣe¹-*ri-a*
9′. *la i-ṣi-ḫa*
      upper edge
10′. *a-na Na-ú-lu-um*
11′. ᵉqí¹-*bí-ma*
      left edge
12′. *a-dì ba-áš-bu*
13′. *i-nu-mi*
14′. *a-ša-t*[*ám*(?)]
15′. *ta-bu-*[*ku*(?)]
16′. [   ]
17′. [   ]

[1-2]Say to my lord: [3-4]Ili-babum spent the night and then had an audience with the king; [5]no one else went. [6-7]You have given me my reputation. [8-10]If my lord(?) wishes [. . . .] [1′][. . .]. [2′-5′]They trust in Laṭupum and in another. [6′-7′]I trust in my lord [8′-9′]They should not laugh at me. [10′-11′]Say to Naulum: [12′]As long as he is present, [13′-15′] . . . , [16′-17′][. . .].

Line 3.—For this name see Gelb, *AS* 21, 2700. The reference given there should refer to this text.

Lines 4–5.—In addition to the meaning "to spend the night," *biātum* also has a more general meaning "to delay, to linger, to tarry." A more colloquial translation of these lines might be "PN

waited around (and then) had an audience with the king, but no one else showed up (to go with him)."
The space after the LI sign at the end of line 5 is damaged and it is possible that *-ik* or *-kam* may have
originally been written there. If so, the verb would have been *alākum* rather than *elēum,* but this
difference would not significantly affect the translation.

Line 4.—My first impression was that the writing *iṭ-ḫa-ma* represented a contracted and defective
writing for *iṭḫi+am+ma > iṭḫâmma.* However, in other letters from this period, contractions of
dissimilar vowels do not occur (see the Introduction, p. 7). The combination *i+a* (and *e+a*) resists
contraction much longer than other combinations and is written uncontracted until late in the Old
Babylonian period. If this writing indicates a contraction, it would be the only example of this
phenomenon in the early letters. Considering the forms found in these letters, it seems much more
probable that the writing *iṭ-ḫa-ma* is an archaic form rather than a contraction. It is my opinion that
the verb *ṭeḫēum* is final $^{\circ}$₃₋₅, and therefore it should behave in exactly the same manner as the verb
šemēum. Von Soden originally construed the root as "*ṭḫī*" (*GAG,* p. 272b) and explained the form
ṭeḫûm by an *ad hoc* rule that *a > e* between *ṭ* and *ḫ* (*GAG* §9 b). More recently, however, he has
indicated the root as "*ṭḫ*ʾ₇" (*AHw,* p. 1375), and has observed that the forms of the present and
preterite are actually *iṭeḫḫe* (Assyrian *iṭaḫḫe*) and *iṭḫe* rather than ending in *-i* as has generally been
assumed (*AHw,* p. 1384). Furthermore, his reconstruction of the Assyrian infinitive as *ṭaḫāʾum*
indicates that he considers it in the same category as Assyrian *šamāʾum* (*AHw,* p. 1211). Thus the
writing *iṭ-ḫa-ma* represents *iṭḫa+(am+)ma* and the form *iṭḫa* is an archaism like the form *išma.*
Contrary to this explanation is the fact that all examples of the verb *šemēum* in the early letters occur
with final *-e* rather than *-a* (with the exception of the name *Ì-lí-iš-ma-lí-a,* which is Amorite; see the
Glossary for other occurrences). However, writings of both *šemûm* and *ṭeḫûm* occur later with final *-a*
(see *AHw, s.v.* for examples), indicating that such "archaic" writings can recur at any time (see the
Introduction, n. 32). Little is known of the etymology of the verb *ṭeḫûm.* The Old Assyrian occurrences
show that it behaves exactly like a final $^{\circ}$₃₋₅ verb in that dialect and the occurrence of *iṭḫa* in this letter
tends to confirm this, but it would be useful to have an Old Akkadian example, which should be
*iṭaḫḫa, to compare with Assyrian *iṭaḫḫe* and Babylonian *iṭeḫḫe.* Unfortunately, the verb is not yet
attested in Old Akkadian, but an interesting parallel is provided by the occurrence in an Ebla text of
the writing *i-da-ḫa-ú* (TM 75 G 1619, reading courtesy D. O. Edzard; cf. Pettinato, *OrAn* 18 [1979],
341 v. I 4 and pl. 37) which is presumably for *jiṭaḫḫaʾū.* The relevance of this piece of evidence to the
present discussion depends, of course, on the phonological rules governing Eblaite and their relation-
ship to contemporary Akkadian, which are not yet established. In any case, the fact that *ṭeḫûm* exhibits
the same patterns as verbs that are known etymologically to be final $^{\circ}$₃₋₅, such as *šemûm* and *peṭûm,*
indicates that it also belongs to this class and should be written with final *-e* rather than *-i.*

Line 3'.—This name probably occurs in No. 3:5 as *La-ṭú-[pu-um]* and also appears in a fragment
of an administrative text (1931-T327, date not preserved) where a lú *La-ṭú-pu-um* "man of Laṭupum"
is mentioned after a lú *Ik-sú-El* and a lú *Ab-da-El.* Iksu-El is well known in the administrative texts
from Tell Asmar (cf., *e.g., JAOS* 88, p. 40 i 10 and ii 20) but does not occur in the letters, while
Abda-El occurs frequently in both the letters and the administrative texts (see the Introduction,
pp. 26–28). Apparently Laṭupum was another local Amorite chieftain who had some interaction with
the ruler of Eshnunna. For an interpretation of the name, see Gelb, *AS* 21, 4245 and 4335.

Line 4'.—The word *šanium* here means "another (person), someone else" (*AHw,* p. 1165a, *s.v.*
šanû(m) II). For this usage, compare *CT* 6 pl. 27b:25 (= *AbB* 2 111): *a-na ša-ni-i-im-ma it-ta-ad-*
[n]u" (they took away half of my field and) they have given (it) to someone else."

Line 9'.—The verb *iṣiḫḫā* is formally either feminine plural or dual, neither of which is compatible
with the pronoun *šunu* (masculine plural) in line 2'. Therefore, either the verb does not agree

grammatically with its subject, or the subject is Laṭupum and the other person mentioned but not named in line 4′, in which case the verb is a third person dual.

Line 10′.—The name *Na-ú-lu-um* also occurs in 1931-T538, a large (three columns obverse and reverse) administrative text that details issues of garments mostly to persons with Amorite names (Iksu-El and Abda-El, discussed above *ad* line 3′, also occur in this text). For an interpretation of the name, see Gelb, *AS* 21, 5015.

Line 12′.—For the writing *ba-áš-bu* in place of *wa-áš-bu* see the Introduction, p. 6 and n. 8. The form is interpreted here as third person masculine singular subjunctive, but it also could be third person masculine plural subjunctive since the subject is not apparent.

Line 15′.—The verb is apparently a second person preterite of *abākum* "to send out" or "to bring in," but since the main clause is broken away it is impossible to determine the exact meaning.

No. 20   1931-T294   Pl. 10

1. ⌜*a-na*⌝ [   ]
2. *qí-bí-*⌜*ma*⌝
3. MAR.TU-*um lu-*⌜x⌝-[   ]
4. *ša Za-ak-da-*[*ti*]
5. *im-ḫa-ṣa-am-m*[*a*]
6. *a-na-ku ú-la i-*[*de₄*(?)]
7. *ma-ru ší-ip-r*[*i-a*]
8. ⌜*a*⌝-*na ṣe-ri-*[*šu*(?)]
9. *áš-tá-pá-a*[*r*]
10. *ù* MAR.TU-[*um*(?)]
11. *kà-lu-šu a-na* ⌜x⌝-[   ]
12. SA.TU-*im* ⌜*i*⌝-[*li*(?)]
13. *ù ul-la-nu-u*[*m*]
14. *mi-im-ma a-wa-ti-*[*šu*(?)]
15. ⌜*ša*⌝ *i-ma-qú-*⌜*tám*⌝
     lower edge
16. [*a-š*]*a-pá-ra-kum*
     reverse
17. ⌜*a*⌝-*d*[*ì u*]*l-la-nu-u*[*m*]
18. *a-tu-ra-am*
19. *a-wa-tum ša* DUMU ᵈ⌜IM⌝-*ba-ni*
20. *áš-pu-*⌜*ra*⌝-*kum*
21. *li-qí-i a-ni*
22. 1 *In-na-ta-nu-um*
23. *áš-ta-ap-ra-kum*
24. *la i-bi-tám*
25. *a-wa-at-kà da-m*[*i-iq*]-*t*[*ám*]
26. *i-*⌜*ti*⌝-*šu ší-pi-*⌜*ir*⌝-[*kà*(?)]
27. *li-ib-*[*lam*(?)]
28. ⌜*šum-ma*⌝ *l*[*i*(?)-*bi*(?)-*kà*(?)]
29. ⌜1 TÚG⌝.BAR.DUL₅ [   ]
30. [*š*]*a*(?) *l*[*i*(?)-   ]
31. ⌜*i*⌝-*na* [   ]

upper edge
32. [MA]R(?).TU [   ]
left edge
33. 10 KUŠ.ⸯEⸯ.SÍR É.BA.AN
34. ⸯaⸯ-na ⸯḫaⸯ-ra-ni-a šu-bi-lam
35. ši-ip-ri
36. 1 TÚG lu-bi-ⸯišⸯ(?)

[1-2)Say to [PN]: [3-5). . . . [6)I do not know. [7-9)I have sent my messenger to him, [10-12)but all of the Amorites have gone to the mountain of [. . .]. [13-15)And from there, whatever news of it that reaches me, [16)I will send to you. [17-18)Until I return from there, [19-21)take responsibility for the matter of the son of Adad-bani that I wrote to you about. [21-23)Now I have sent Innatanum to you; [24)he should not delay there. [25-27)Let your messenger bring your favorable reply with him. [28-32). . . . [33-34)Send me ten pairs of sandals for my journey. [35-36)Provide my messenger with a garment.

This letter was found beneath the pavement in room O 31:8 (*OIP* 43, p. 52), and therefore was probably addressed to Bilalama. The sender is not identified.

Line 3.—Despite the traces, I am unable to suggest any reconstruction for the word at the end of the line. This is particularly unfortunate since it is apparently the object of *imḫaṣamma* in line 5, and without the object it is almost impossible to determine what meaning or nuance to select as a translation for *maḫāṣum*.

Line 4.—The name is restored on the basis of its occurrence in a Tell Asmar administrative text (1931-T377), which records an issue of beer and bread to a lú *Za-ak-da-ti*. This text has the colophon zi-ga kaš₄, "expenditures for messengers," but has no year date. For an interpretation of the name, see Gelb, *AS* 21, pp. 370–71, *s.v.* ZKK.

Line 9.—Note the use of the sign DA to write *áš-tá-pá-ar* as opposed to the use of TA in *áš-ta-ap-ra-kum* in line 23. It is possible that the writing represents a Btn preterite (*aštappar*) rather than a B perfect (*aštapar*) and that the DA sign was used to call attention to the form. If so, translate "I have repeatedly sent my messenger to him."

Line 11.—The end of the line presumably contained the name of the mountain referred to in the next line.

Line 12.—It is also possible to restore *i-[li-ik]* as the preterite of *alākum* "to go" at the end of the line, but the translation would not be affected.

Lines 19–20.—The grammar seems to be substandard in this passage. The word *awātum* in the nominative case seems to be the object of the imperative *liqi* in line 21. Furthermore, another *ša* is required before *ašpurakkum* in line 20. However, for another example of the nominative case used as an anticipated accusative when separated from the verb and with the verb in the imperative, see no. 53 where *awīltum* in line 7 is the object of *šuddinamma* in line 12.

Line 21.—Restore perhaps *a-ni-[ma]* at the end of the line. The word *anni* occurs in Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian (see Westenholz, *BiOr* 35 [1978], 168, n. 60), but to my knowledge it is not otherwise attested in Old Babylonian. Unlike Old Akkadian *enni,* archaic Old Babylonian *inni,* and later Old Babylonian *anna* (see the commentary to no. 25), *anni* seems to be a real adverb meaning "(just) now." This is shown by the opposition *ippanītim . . . anni . . .* "earlier . . . , now . . ." found in Old Assyrian (see *CAD* A/2, p. 121, *s.v. ani,* for references). Whether or not *anni* is related to the demonstrative *annium* and/or to the forms *enni/inni/anna* is a matter that requires further investigation.

It is also possible that the verb here is *qu⁾⁾um* "to wait" rather than *leqûm,* especially since, as F. R. Kraus has pointed out to me, "a meaning 'to assume responsibility for someone,' *CAD* L 138a b),

is not borne out by the passages quoted" (private communication). In this case, the form would be a third person precative; however, because of the preference for uncontracted writings in this period, one would expect this form to be written *li-qá-i* here. A possible translation with *quᵓᵓum* is: "Until I return from there, the matter of PN (that) I wrote to you about—let it wait." This is acceptable since *quᵓᵓum* can be used as an intransitive verb (*GAG* §88 h). It is also possible that the *-a-ni* at the end of the line is a pronominal suffix yielding "let it wait for me," but the occurrence of the "epistolary perfect" *aštaprakkum* in line 23 (see the commentary below) makes the reconstruction of the adverb *anni* "now" more likely. The interpretation of *li-qí-i* as a precative form of *quᵓᵓum* rather than the imperative of *leqûm* has the advantage of eliminating the problem of *awātum* being in the nominative case as discussed above *ad* lines 19–20, but introduces the problem of the contracted writing.

Line 23.—The form *aštaprakkum* is a paradigmatic example of the "epistolary perfect." The "epistolary tenses" are a stylistic device whereby the writer of the letter shifts the perspective of the writing of the letter and acts connected with it (the sending of objects and persons) from his own point of view to that of the recipient. For a full discussion and justification of this interpretation, see D. Pardee and R. M. Whiting, "Aspects of Epistolary Verbal Usage in Ugaritic and Akkadian," *BSOAS* 50 (1987), 1–31.

Line 33.—The Sumerian term é-ba-an means "pair" and is not to be connected with a geographic location. For evidence, see Whiting *apud* Steinkeller, *OrAn* 19 (1980), 87, n. 15.

Line 34.—Or possibly "for my caravan."

Line 36.—I have transliterated *lu-bi-ᵉiš⁾*(?) not because of any uncertainty about the presence of the sign iš, but to allow for the possibility that the original may have had *lu-bi-ᵉiš⁾-[šu]*. The use of a resumptive pronominal suffix is very common in such constructions; the translation would be the same.

No. 21   1931-T296   Pl. 11

        beginning of obverse destroyed
1. ᵉáš-pu⁾-ra-kum
2. um-ma a-na-ku-ma
3. li-it-ma-a
4. um-ma ᵉa⁾-ta-ma
   lower edge
5. a-na ᵈI-id
   reverse
6. li-bi-ba-nim
7. um-ma a-na-ku-ma
8. e-ba-bi šu-ṭe₄-ra-ma
9. li-li-ku
10. [   ]-nim
11. [   ]-li
   rest of reverse destroyed
   left edge
1'. [   ]-ᵉx⁾-tum
2'. [   ]-ra-am

[. . . .] ¹⁻²⁾I wrote to you saying: ³⁾"Let them take an oath," ⁴⁾(but) you said: ⁵⁻⁶⁾"let them prove their innocence by the river (ordeal)." ⁷⁾(Then) I said: ⁸⁻⁹⁾"make a written record of my being innocent and let them go." ¹⁰⁻²'⁾. . . .

Although only a small fragment of the original letter is preserved, it still contains several noteworthy points of grammar. When complete, the letter apparently dealt with an ongoing dispute in which the writer of the letter was involved and of which the addressee (possibly the ruler) was one of the arbiters. The preserved portion of the letter recounts some of the past history of the attempts to settle the dispute given in the form of a very succinct summary of what was apparently an exchange of letters between these two. Presumably the beginning of the letter dealt with the present status of the dispute, and the closing remarks outlined the action which the sender would like the addressee to take. The tablet is unusual in that the reverse is flat while the obverse is rounded.

Line 3.—The form *litma'ā* (later *litmâ*), like the form *libbibānim* in line 6, could be either dual or feminine plural; since the antecedent is lost, the question cannot be resolved.

Lines 8–9.—The form *e-ba-bi* is difficult to explain. It appears to be an infinitive of the type normally found in Assyrian with initial $'_{3-5}$ verbs such as *epāšum* (Bab. *epēšum*) and *erābum* (Bab. *erēbum*). The occurrence of this form need not be considered an Assyrianism, however, since the same form appears on Old Akkadian in *šum-ma e-ra-si-iš na-tu* "if (it) is suitable for plowing" (*HSS* 10 5:23; cf. *MAD* 3, p. 66). Of more immediate concern is an explanation of the final /i/ of the form. Leaving aside the conceptual difficulties involved with a plural infinitive (cf. Aro, *Infinitiv*, p. 67) or with introducing into Akkadian a *qatāli* formation as proposed by Moran for West Semitic (especially for the Canaanite infinitive absolute; cf. *JCS* 4 [1950], 169–72, and *JCS* 6 [1952], 76–80), the most direct solution is to consider the final /i/ as a first person genitive pronominal suffix. This involves a shift in the direction of the discussion, from the innocence of two or more other individuals to the innocence of the writer of the letter. The shift can be justified by the assumption that the other individuals are witnesses whose testimony would vindicate the writer and whose testimony had to be validated in a satisfactory manner. Such an assumption can be supported by evidence from *CH* §9 where we find, in a case involving disputed property, that each party to the dispute is to produce witnesses and the witnesses are to give their testimony under oath (*mu-du-sú-nu ma-ḫar i-lim i-qá-ab-bu-ma*). Although we do not know the nature of the dispute in our letter, it is not difficult to visualize a parallel situation to the one outlined in the Laws of Ḥammurapi.

The phrase *ebābī šuṭṭeramma lillikū* is probably condensed from a much wider context leaving only the bare essentials of a previous letter. It is probable that the subject of *lillikū* is the same as that of *litma'ā* and *libbibānim,* but the reduced context makes it impossible to prove. Shifts from feminine to masculine forms or from dual to plural forms within a letter are not uncommon.

No. 22   1931-T309a₂   Pl. 11
    beginning of obverse destroyed
1. [   ] MAḪ [   ]
2. [*b*]*u-m*[*a*]
3. [   ]-⌜*bi*⌝-[   ]
4. [*k*]*u*(?)*-n*[*im*(?)]
5. [   ]-⌜x⌝-*m*[*a*]
6. [   ] *ma-ri*
    [*š*]*i*(?)-*ip-ri*
7. ⌜x *u₄*⌝-*mi* 5 *u₄-mi*
    reverse
8. *ta-kà-*⌜*la*⌝-[*áš*](?)-
    ⌜*šu-nu-ti*⌝

Line 4.—The verb here is probably a B preterite or precative of *nasāḫum*, but this verb has too many nuances to allow us to translate it in this broken context.

Line 7.—The form *iturrā* may be a dual. If so, lines 5 and 6 probably each contain a personal name which comprise the subject of the verb.

Line 8.—For ì-dùg-ga see the commentary to no. 52.

Lines 11–17.—These lines were translated by M. Rowton, *JESHO* 17 (1974), 21. I am in general agreement with Rowton's interpretation; for something completely different see *CAD* N/1, p. 249b, *s.v.* *namû* A 1 b.

Line 12.—For *ali ša* see Rowton, *JESHO* 17 (1974), 21, n. 1. Rowton took this line as a nominal clause "wherever there is a nomadic encampment." However, the otiose *ša* indicates to me that *ali* here is used as a subordinate conjunction and therefore *nawium* is the subject of the subordinate clause that ends with the subjunctive verb *imaḫḫaṣu* in line 14.

Line 13.—The name Kunzanum also occurs in the administrative text 1931-T276 where a garment (1 túg níg-lám) is received by *Ku-un-za-nu-um*. This text has Date Formula No. 69 (*OIP* 43, p. 179, Bilalama) and the person mentioned there may be the same individual who appears in this letter. For other examples of the name, see Gelb, *AS* 21, p. 307, *s.v.* KNZ. The references given there for the Tell Asmar occurrences, "TA 1930, 181" (cf. INDEX OF NAMES 4173 and 4175), are erroneous and should refer to the present text. Note that the name recurs in the nominative case in line 26. For another example of a name in the accusative case in these letters, see no. 36: *Wa-aq-ra-am* ⌜KUŠ₇(iš)⌝ *la ta-kà-la-am* "do not withhold Waqrum, the groom, from me."

Line 14.—The use of the preterite in the continuation of the narrative shows that the present tense here expresses a durative action in the past (*GAG* §78 e). Rowton (*loc. cit.*) interpreted the verb as third person plural with the subject the impersonal "they," which seems to be supported by the appearance of the third person plural pronoun -*šunu* in lines 15 and 16 and the third person plural form *iddinūšum* in line 17. However, the superfluous *ša* after *ali* in line 12 strongly indicates that *ali* is used as a conjunction and therefore *nawium* must be the subject of the verb which is third person singular subjunctive. I would also prefer a more subtle nuance of the verb *maḫāṣum* such as "to threaten" or "to apply pressure" rather than the direct and literal meanings such as "to strike, to beat, to attack."

Line 16.—I take the writing *ú-ne-šu-nu* to represent *unnēššunu* (< *unnēn* + *šunu*), a writing of *unnēnum* "prayer, request" plus a pronominal suffix. This interpretation requires that the final *n* of the word assimilated to the suffix and that both double consonants were written defectively. In most instances in this letter, double consonants were written fully (lines 2, 7, 14, 18, 19, 23), however, in one other instance (line 17) a double consonant was written defectively, so such a writing is possible here also. Perhaps more difficult is the fact that most other occurrences of the word *unnēnum* (*AHw*, p. 1425) are found in literary texts or royal inscriptions and refer to prayers to the gods, and the use of the word for a request from one person to another is not clearly attested. Still, we have already noted the close connection between the language found in these letters and the language of literary texts, especially those written in the so-called hymnic-epic dialect (see the Introduction, p. 18), and the appearance of a word known primarily from literary contexts in these letters is hardly a cause for concern. Finally, the word is much more common in the plural than in the singular which is attested here, and there may be some difference in meaning between the singular and the plural as there is with the word *ikribum* "blessing, prayer(s)." E. Reiner has suggested reading *ú pi₅-šu-nu* (cf. *CAD* N/1, p. 53b, *s.v.* *nadānu* 2 *pû* a), but this seems unlikely because *ú* is not used anywhere else in these letters for "and" which is consistently written *ù* (note the clear *ù* in line 26) and the use of the NE sign for *pi₅* in free context would be unusual at this time, although it apparently occurs in a personal name in No. 36:3.

Lines 18–19.—*Constructio ad sensum.*

Lines 18, 25.—The verb forms written *iš-ta-kà-an* in line 18 and *te-eš-te-me-a* in line 25 could be Btn preterites rather than B perfects as interpreted here.

Line 20.—The name was analyzed by Gelb, *AS* 21, p. 371, *s.v.* ZRQ, but it appears in at least three administrative texts, always written *Zé-ir-qá-nu-um*. Since the sign ZÉ is normally used for *ṣ* and not *z* in the administrative texts, it seems more likely that the root begins with *ṣ*; however, I have retained Gelb's interpretation here since I cannot disprove it and I have none better to offer. One of the administrative texts records the issue of a pair of sandals for *Ga-na-ma-nu-um* d u m u *Zé-ir-qá-nu-um* (1931-T438; Date Formula No. 76, *OIP* 43, p. 181, unattributed) who may be the same son of Zirqanum mentioned in this letter. Another interesting reference is found in 1930-T695 (date not preserved) which records the issue of a garment for Zirqanum u₄ p u - ú ḫ - r u - u m ì - i m - g i n - n a "when he went to the assembly."

Line 21.—[*na*]*-kà-ar* seems the only reasonable restoration, and [*na*]*-kà-ar dì-a-nu-um* the only way to break the line. The form *nakar* is the B stative of *nakārum* "to be(come) hostile, unfriendly, different." Although it is translated here as "has changed his position," the literal meaning of the stative form is simply "is unfriendly," and the former meaning should be conveyed by the preterite, *ikkir*. However, the tone of the letter seems to imply that the statement of Bilalama in the preceding lines has brought about this state, and the translation here is based on an interpretation of the form as "is (now) unfriendly." The writing *dì-a-nu-um* is apparently the infinitive of the verb *diānum* used as a *nomen actionis*, although one would have expected the noun *dīnum* "judgment" to be used. It is possible that lines 21–23 should be translated "in order to resolve (the issue) he and I will swear an oath (to each other)," but in this case *ana diānim* is expected rather than the infinitive in the nominative case. Such uses of the infinitive are rare (cf. Aro, *Infinitiv,* pp. 16–26), and the use of the infinitive as the subject of a nominal sentence in which the predicate is a clause containing a finite verb is virtually unknown. I assume that the speaker in lines 20–23 is no longer Bilalama and that line 24 begins a complaint to the addressees of the letter for being, in some manner, responsible for the situation. As I understand them, the sense of lines 20–23 seems to be: "the son of Zirqanum is now unfriendly to me; the resolution of the matter is that he and I will have to swear an oath to each other."

Line 22.—It might be argued that *ú* is used here for "and" rather than marking an unusual plene writing *a-na-ku-ú*, but that the latter is in fact the case is proved by the same writing in *BIN* 7 17:5 (= *YNER* 4 29): *pa-al-ga-am ša a-aḫ-ḫi ša a-na-ku-ú ù at-ta nu-uk-ta-la-al-li-mu* "the side canal that you and I inspected together" (for a justification of this translation, see Whiting, *Orientalia* NS 50 [1981], 4 and n. 12). In this case it is clear and unequivocal that *anāku* is written *a-na-ku-ú* and functions in exactly the same manner, as part of the subject of a first person plural verbal form, as is found in the present letter. The only difference is that in *BIN* 7 17 the conjunction "and" is written while in the present letter it is not expressed; the conjunction between coordinate elements is frequently left unexpressed in Akkadian (*GAG* §140 a).

The occurrence of the third person masculine singular personal pronoun *šut* in this line is—to my knowledge—the only example of this form in archaic Old Babylonian that occurs outside of the formula *umma šutma* introducing direct speech. The other examples of *šut* outside of Old Assyrian known to me are:

> *um-ma šu-ut-ma* (no. 30:19, 30)
> *um-ma šu-ut-ma* (*AbB* 5 156:8)
> [*um*]*-ma šu-ut-ma* (*AbB* 5 156:8)
> *um-ma šu-ut-ma* (*PBS* 5 156 rev. 3)
> *um-ma šu-ut-ma* (IM 50871, Tell ed-Der, unpublished, reference
> courtesy W. G. Lambert and Kh. al-A'dami)

These examples all come from texts that I characterize as archaic Old Babylonian. M. T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies,* p. 47, n. 76, described *AbB* 5 156 (= Ni 395) and *PBS* 5 156 along with *PBS* 1/2 1 as "strange 'Old Assyrian' texts," but apart from the occurrences of *šut* in these texts they are all written in good Babylonian utilizing the Babylonian writing system then current, basically the same one found in the early letters in this volume. Therefore it is my opinion that the form *šut* is not an Assyrianism, but is the regular form of the third person masculine singular personal pronoun in archaic Old Babylonian (see the Introduction, p. 18), especially since the later Babylonian form *šu* is not found in any text that can be identified by other means as archaic Old Babylonian.

Line 23.—This verb is a Drt form of *tamāum* "to swear." For my interpretation of these forms, see the discussion in *Orientalia* NS 50 (1981), 1–39. The Drt represents the reciprocal and implies "we will swear an oath to each other."

Line 26.—The reconstruction of the second person plural personal pronoun at the beginning of the line is based on the occurrence of the second person plural verb form at the end of the preceding line.

No. 24   1931-T142   Pl. 12

1. [*a*]-*na Ú-ṣur-a-wa-sú*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma Ú-ša-šum-ma*
4. *be-el ir-ni-ti-kà*
5. *ku-šu-ud mi-im-ma*
6. *a-na ší-a-ti ú-la*
       a-qá-bi-kum
7. [   ]-*ma-tum*
8. ⌜*it*⌝-[*t*]*i*(?) *Šu-ḫu-a-nim*
9. *i-na* [*p*]*i-i Šu-*ᵈ*Nisaba*
10. *ù* 1 ⌜*Da*⌝-*lu-kum*
11. *iš-ku-un*
12. *a-na mi-ni*[*m*]
    reverse
13. *ḫa-bi-it*
14. 2 *me-at* UDU.⌜MÁŠ⌝.Ḫ[I.A]
15. 3 ANŠE.LIBIR(Ù)
16. 2 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-*⌜*an*⌝(?)
17. *šum-ma* ⌜*ma*⌝-*ri* [*a*]*t-ta*
18. ⌜*mi-im*⌝-*ma an-*⌜*ni*⌝-*im*
19. [*wu-ší*]-*ir*
20. [   ] ⌜*ú*⌝-*ba-ab* [   ](?)
21. ⌜*zu*⌝-*uk-*⌜*ki*⌝-*š*[*u*(?) -*n*]*u*(?)
22. *mi-iš-lam tu-*[*ta-ší-i*]*r*(?)
23. *mi-iš-lam ta-ak-ta-la*
24. [*w*]*u-ší-*⌜*ir*⌝
25. [*a*(?)-*w*]*i*(?)-*lum* ⌜*ša*⌝(?)-*ki-iš*

[1-2]Say to Uṣur-awassu: [3]Thus (says) Ušašum: [4-11].... [12-13]Why is he being robbed? [14](With respect to) two hundred sheep and goats, [15]three equids, [16]two boys; [17]if you are my son, [18-19]release all this. [20-21]....[22]Half you have released, [23]half you have withheld. [24]Release (it all). [25]The man is being badly mistreated.

The author of this letter was doubtless the same Ušašum who was the brother-in-law of Bilalama (see Fig. 1, p. 28), although by this time he must have been a fairly old man since Uṣur-awassu was the second successor of Bilalama and Bilalama seems to have had a rather long reign. His use of the expression *šumma mārī atta* "if you are my 'son'" implies that Uṣur-awassu was a descendent of Bilalama and hence a relative by marriage to Ušašum since it is unlikely that the ruler of Eshnunna would be the political subordinate of an Amorite sheikh (see the commentary to no. 11). Thus the use of the phrase *šumma mārī atta* probably reflects both the old marriage tie and the age differential between the sender and the addressee.

Lines 4–6.—The meaning of this passage hinges on the meaning of the expression *bēl irnittim,* which, because of the lack of parallels, cannot be established with certainty. Still, there seem to be only two strong possibilities which are, of course, opposite in meaning. The expression should mean either "enemy, rival, opponent" (as *bēl awātim* means "adversary") or "ally, protector" (as the one who provides or produces victory). The syntax of the passage does not provide much help, for, since there is no way to determine whether the form *bēl* of *bēl irnittika* is nominative or accusative, the form written *ku-šu-ud* in line 5 can be either the B imperative (*kušud*) or the D stative (*kuššud*) of *kašādum*. In the first instance the translation would be "attack your rival/ally" and in the second it would be "your rival/ally is defeated." Finally, *ana šiati* could mean either "about it" or "therefore," and the last part of the passage would be either "I will say nothing about it to you" or "therefore I will say nothing to you."

Lines 7–11.—This passage appears to set up the rest of the letter, providing justification for the statements and requests that follow. The sequence *Šu-ḫu-a-nim* in line 8 is apparently a personal name, but the identification of ⌜*it*⌝-[*t*]*i* before it is problematic. The preposition *itti* "with" is normally written *i-ti* in the earlier letters (see the Glossary), and a connection with *ittum* "sign, mark" does not seem likely from the context. I would like to see lines 7–8 as a nominal clause that serves as the object of lines 9–11. Under these circumstances, the passage could be understood as "(He) has established . . . by the testimony of PN$_1$ and PN$_2$," although I can offer no parallel that would confirm this interpretation of *ina pī* X *šakānum* as "to establish by the testimony of X." Nevertheless, it seems that the subject of *iškun* in line 11 should also be the logical subject of the stative verbs in lines 13 and 25.

Line 16.—It is also possible to read *ṣú-ḫa-ra-*⌜*tum*⌝(?) "girls." A reconstruction of -⌜*tim*⌝ at the end of the line does not seem likely since the list of items seems to be used as an absolute (*i.e.,* stands outside of the syntactical structure of the sentence) and I would therefore expect the listed things to be in the nominative case.

Lines 20–21.—These two lines seem to contain forms of the verbs *ebābum* (*ebēbum*) and *zakāum* (*zakûm*), which would fit the context, but the forms are not readily identifiable. The writing *ú-ba-ab* represents the D present, but could be either first person or third person singular; *zu-uk-ki-* can be either the D infinitive or the D imperative. If *zu-uk-ki-* is taken as the infinitive, [*a-na*] should be restored at the end of line 20 giving *ú-ba-ab* [*a-na*] *zu-uk-ki-š*[*u-n*]*u* "I/he will clear them (of taxes/customs) so that they can be forwarded (lit. for their forwarding)." If *zu-uk-ki-* is interpreted as a D imperative, then the line must be restored as *zu-uk-ki-š*[*u-n*]*u-*[*ti*] with the -*ti* originally written in the break beneath -*šu-nu-*. In this case nothing need be restored at the end of line 20, but it is possible that an opposing pair of pronouns should be inserted at the beginning and end of the line yielding something like [*a-na-ku/šu-ut*] *ú-ba-ab* [*at-ta*] *zu-uk-ki-š*[*u-n*]*u-*[*ti*] "I/he will clear (them); you get them ready to send."

Line 25.—For this meaning of *šakāšum,* see the commentary to 17:8–11.

No. 25   1930-T740   Pl. 13

beginning of obverse destroyed

1. ⌜*i-ni a-wi*⌝-*lu-ú*
2. *ú-la i-ša-lu-ni-ni*

3. A.ŠÀ-⌈*am*(?)⌉ *i*⌉-*ru-šu*

4. *a-dì-in-ma*

5. *a-na pá-ša-ri-im*

reverse

6. *zu-a-zi-im*

7. *dì-na-am*

8. *i-dì-nu-ni-im*

9. *i-ni a-ta*

10. *ša-li-iš-tám*

11. *ta-⌈ta*(?)⌉-*sà-aḫ*

12. [*a*]*r*(?)-*ší*

rest destroyed

. . . . ⁱ⁻³⁾The men did not ask me but cultivated the field. ⁴⁾I started a lawsuit and ⁵⁻⁸⁾they rendered me a judgment allowing me to sell and divide. ⁹⁻¹¹⁾You customarily took out a third ¹²⁾. . . .

Only about a third of the original tablet remains. The letter deals with a dispute over a field, or, more specifically, over the crop grown on a field. The writer of the letter was responsible for the use of the field, as he obviously had the right to go to court concerning the improper use of the field. The person to whom the letter was sent was apparently the owner of the field since the most common rent for a field was one-third of the crop (cf. Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws,* vol. 1, pp. 131–33).

The broken context of the letter does not allow determination of the exact nature of the dispute since the expression *awīlū ula išālūninni eqlam īrušū* could be interpreted to mean either that the men did not obtain his permission at all before cultivating the field, or that they did not consult him about the proper crop or which parts of the field were to be used or something similar.

Lines 1, 9.—The word written *i-ni* at the beginning of these lines seems to stand outside of the syntactical structure of the sentences that it introduces. In addition to the two references in this letter, the writing *i-ni* also appears in letter no. 35. Although the context of this latter occurrence is fragmentary, the passage can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty. The three examples of *i-ni* are:

$$i\text{-}ni\ a\text{-}wi\text{-}lu\text{-}ú\ ú\text{-}la\ i\text{-}ša\text{-}lu\text{-}ni\text{-}ni\ \text{A.ŠÀ-}am\ i\text{-}ru\text{-}šu \tag{1}$$

$$i\text{-}ni\ a\text{-}ta\ ša\text{-}li\text{-}iš\text{-}tám\ ta\text{-}⌈ta⌉\text{-}sà\text{-}aḫ \tag{2}$$

$$i\text{-}ni\ ṭà\text{-}ab\ m[a\text{-}ru\text{-}ši]\text{-}i[p\text{-}ri]\ ku\text{-}ru\text{-}ma\text{-}ta\text{-}[am]\ i\text{-}ma\text{-}ḫa\text{-}$$
$$r[u\text{-}ma]\ ma\text{-}ru\ ši\text{-}i[p\text{-}ri\text{-}a]\ a\text{-}kà\text{-}la\text{-}am\ i\text{-}ma\text{-}ḫ\text{-}ar \tag{3}$$

In addition, a functionally similar word written *e-ni* is found on three occasions in Old Akkadian letters (see *MAD* 3, p. 52 for references):

$$e\text{-}ni\ e\ tal\text{-}li\text{-}ik \tag{4}$$

$$⌈e⌉\text{-}ni\ na\text{-}ʾà\text{-}áš\ ^d Šar\text{-}ga\text{-}lí\text{-}\text{LUGAL-}rí\ ù\text{-}má \tag{5}$$

$$e\text{-}ni\ ʾà\text{-}wa\text{-}at\text{-}zu\ i\text{-}ti\text{-}iš\ i\text{-}da\text{-}ḫa\text{-}az \tag{6}$$

These three examples have received differing treatments at the hands of lexicographers. The *CAD* has considered them separately as an interjection of unknown meaning (*CAD* E, p. 168a). Gelb, however, has considered them together with the word *ennum* which appears in many forms in personal names and which is derived from the verb *enēnum* "to pray," "to request" (*MAD* 3, pp. 51ff.). Accordingly, he interprets *e-ni* as *ennī* "my request," "please." Von Soden (*AHw,* p. 219) follows Gelb. While this interpretation is suitable for example (4), its suitability for (5) and (6) is not immediately

apparent. Similarly, if this interpretation is extended to *i-ni*, it would fit example (3) but not (2), and it would be completely inappropriate for example (1).

Since in all the examples containing *i-ni* and *e-ni,* the form is outside of the syntactical structure of the sentence (*i.e.,* it does not interact with the other sentence elements), it is quite safe to interpret it as an intensifying interjection meaning "surely, certainly, indeed," or perhaps not even requiring a translation.

On the basis of morphological and lexical similarity, the interjection *anna* (*CAD* A/2, p. 125b), should be included here. The *CAD* offers the meanings "now," "indeed(?)," but all the examples cited are translated by "indeed(?)." A strong point of favor of including *anna* in this discussion is that practically all the examples cited are found in letters (*CAD s.v. anna* a). Of the two examples from literary texts cited in *CAD* (*s.v. anna* b), the first is from a poorly understood Old Babylonian text where the passage involved represents direct speech, and the second is more likely to be connected with *annāma* (*CAD* A/2, p. 130a). It seems clear that the word written *an-na* represents a spoken tradition rather than being part of the written language.

Interjections are often more a part of a spoken language than its written counterpart, especially when they are onomatopoetic in origin. While the number of sounds that can be made is, like the number of points on a straight line, infinite, the number of phonemes in a given language is rather strictly limited as is the number of signs used to express them in writing. As a consequence, the accuracy with which a given sound can be represented in writing depends in large measure on the capabilities and limitations of the writing system.

For these reasons, the surface differences in the writings *e-ni, i-ni,* and *an-na* are not necessarily as significant as they may seem. What is more important is their overall similarity in terms of phonetic content. Each writing shows a vowel sound at the extremities and an indication of nasalization. Since Semitic *h* is not expressed in Akkadian cuneiform, the apparent vowel sound may indicate aspiration such as found in the English exclamation or interjection written "hunh" or its variants. Furthermore, because of the syllabic character of Akkadian writing, any attempt to express a nasal grunt in writing would, of necessity, include at least one apparent vowel sound. Obviously the fact that the three writings cannot be used to reconstruct a single grammatically sound form is not significant if one considers that the writings do not represent a word but a sound.

Admitting the overall similarity, both in form and use, of the three writings and the fact that they occur in different periods, it is likely that we are dealing with varying treatments of the same sound on a diachronic basis. This generates the following sequence:

OAkk: *enni*
Archaic OB: *inni*
Later OB: *anna*

With these forms should be compared Arabic اِنَّ (*inna*) "surely, indeed" (usually not translated), Hebrew הנה (*hinnē*) "behold," and Ugaritic *hn* and *hnn* "behold." Whether these forms should be connected with the Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian word *anni* (see the commentary to no. 20:21), the demonstrative *annium,* or the similar forms in other Semitic languages requires further investigation.

Lines 5–6.—The phrase *ana pašārim zuāzim* can be interpreted in two ways. Either *pašārum* and *zuāzum* are coordinate infinitives conjoined without a conjunction meaning "to sell and divide," or *pašārum* is the object of *zuāzum* and is an attracted genitive meaning "to divide the *pašārum.*" Selecting one interpretation or the other does not materially affect the sense of the letter.

Line 10.—For *šalištum* "(one) third," see the Introduction, p. 14 and n. 40.

Line 11.—The verb *ta-⸢ta⸣-sà-aḫ* can be either a B perfect (*tattasaḫ*) or a Btn preterite (*tattassaḫ*) of *nasāḫum* "to take out." The sentence could be translated "you have taken out one-third" or "you customarily took out one-third" depending on which interpretation is selected. The sense of the letter seems to favor the latter, but because the text breaks off at this point, there is no sound basis for a decision. On a speculative level, we could postulate that the sender of the letter is explaining to the recipient that his share will not be as large as usual because of legal difficulties or the improper cultivation of the field. For this use of the verb *nasāḫum,* compare Szlechter, *Tablettes,* p. 138 (MAH 16.218):5–6: 2 ŠE GUR *ki-ma* GÚ.UN A.ŠÀ *ša* PN *na-ás-ḫu* "2 *kurrū* of barley that PN took out as rent of the field."

No. 26   1931-T300   Pl. 13
        beginning of obverse destroyed
1. [   ] ⸢ú⸣(?)-*l*[*a*(?)
2. [*i*]*š-te-en* [   ]
3. [   ] *ú-k*[*i-i*]*n*(?) *be-lí* [   ]
4. [*i-n*]*a mi-ma* ⸢*a-ni*⸣-*im*
5. [*a*]*k-la-a-ku* É.NUN [*ù*](?)
6. [É].ÙR(?) *šu-ut* ⸢*ra*⸣-*ma-ni-a-ma*
7. ⸢*ú*⸣-*ki-in i-na bi-it*
8. *a-*⸢*ḫa*⸣-*ti-a ki-ma wa-ša-bi-*[*im*]
9. *wa-áš-ba-ku um-ma a-na-ku-ma*
10. *iš-tu mi-ma la šu-ḫu-*⸢*za*⸣-*ku*
11. *ma-ku-ri* ⸢*lu*⸣-*ul-qí-ma lu-ta-ṣí*
12. *iš* ITU ᵈʳ*Ù-gul-lá*⸣
        reverse
        only a few isolated signs are readable on the reverse

[1–3]. . . . [4–5]I am entitled to the use of all this. [5–7]I proved that the É.NUN and the É.ÙR(?) belong to me. [7–9]I live in the house of my sister like a tenant. [9]This is what I said: [10–11]As long as I am not permitted to own anything, I will take my property and move out. [12]For the month of Ugulla [. . .].

This letter, of which somewhat less than half is preserved, describes the circumstances attending a dispute over property, probably an inheritance. Presumably, the first portion of the letter was devoted to description of the events leading up to the present situation, which the sender of the letter obviously considers unjust, followed by a plea to the sender's superior for intervention on his behalf. The preserved segment of the letter seems to contain only a part of the past history of the situation.

Line 12.—For *iš* (possibly *iš-<tu>*), see the Introduction, pp. 13–14. Although Ugulla was the consort of Tišpak, the chief god of Eshnunna, the month name Ugulla does not occur in the administrative texts of the Isin-Larsa period from Tell Asmar (cf. H. Hunger, "Kalender," *RLA,* p. 301). To my knowledge, this month name occurs at Eshnunna only in this letter and in a loan contract (1931-T235). This loan contract also has the difficult year name discussed in the Introduction, n. 108.

No. 27   1930-T251   Pl. 14
1. [*a-na*   ]
2. [*qí*]-⸢*bí*⸣-[*ma*]
3. *A-mu-ra-am a*[*d-ki*(?)]

4. *um-ma a-na-ku-[ma]*
5. *i-na pá-ni pí-ᵍqí-tim⸣*
6. 3 ERIM *lu-li-ik*
7. *i-ti a-ḫi-a li-bi*
      li-ṭì-ba-am
8. ᵍa⸣*-wa-tu ta-am-qú-tám*
   reverse
9. *a-na šu-me I-šim-*
      ᵈ*Šul-gi*ᴷᴵ
10. *a-šu-me ki-am*
11. *ù-la a-li-kam*
12. É *ša ta-[aq⸣-*
      bi-am
13. [ ]*-ma ša e*-B[I-]
14. [   ] *šu ri*[   ]
    rest destroyed

⁽¹⁻²⁾S[ay to PN:] ³⁾I summoned(?) the Amorites. ⁴⁾This is what I said: ⁵⁾"On account of the muster, ⁶⁾I will 'go' (= provide) three men." ⁷⁾I should be in agreement with my brother. ⁸⁾News reached me ⁹⁾concerning Išim-Šulgi; ¹⁰⁾for that reason ¹¹⁾I did not come. ¹²⁾The house that you mentioned to me ¹³⁻¹⁴⁾. . . .

Line 5.—The last three signs could also be read *bi-ki-tim* for *bikītim* "sorrow, grief" rather than *piqittim* "muster," and *ina pāni* could be understood as "in spite of," so that the sentence could be translated "in spite of (my) grief, I will provide three men." However, if the verb *dekûm* "to summon, to call up" is correctly restored in line 3, it would tend to support the interpretation given above, although not entirely ruling out the alternative. For the meaning of *ina pāni* as "in consideration of, on account of," note *YOS* 2 147:21–24: *i-na-an-na i-na pa-ni du-bu-bi-ki ú-ul a-la-ka* "now, on account of your pestering, I will not come."

Line 6.—As justification for the use of *alākum* "to provide (workers)," I offer M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History,* pp. 97–108, especially pp. 99–100. This interpretation of the passage was suggested by F. R. Kraus.

Line 8.—The writing *a-wa-tu* is the only example in the entire letter collection of mimation (or nunation) not being written. Under such circumstances I would normally say that the omission was an error of the scribe, but the sign TU is written over an erasure so it seems unlikely that he would have corrected his original writing and still made an error. However, the emending of the sign was accomplished by writing the winkelhakens at the beginning of the sign over two horizontal wedges that were already there, so it is possible that the scribe had begun his sentence with *a-wa-at ta-am-qú-tám* "the news that reached me," changed his mind about the structure, and went back and changed the *-at* to *-tu* in the manner described.

The form *ta-am-qú-tám* is a third person feminine singular verb with the *ta-* conjugational prefix instead of *i-*. See the Introduction, p. 11 and n. 30.

No. 28   1930-T230   Pl. 14

1. *um-ma I-ṣur-*ᵈIM*-ma*
2. *a-na um-mi-a*
3. *qí-bí-ma*

4. *a-wi-lu-ú šu-ut i-*
        ti-šu-nu uš-bu
5. *šu-nu-ma a-ši-mi-im*
         i-dì-nu-ni-ni
6. *a-na* SUKKAL.MAḪ-*im*
7. *qí-bí-ma*
8. *i-dì-in li-iš-*
       ku-un

    reverse

9. *a-na ši-pí-ir*
10. *šar-ri-im*
11. ⌈*i*⌉-*dì-in*
12. *l[i]-iš-ku-un*
13. *a-na* ⌈*šu*⌉-*mi*
      ar-ḫi-iš
14. *ú-še-ṣi-ú-ni-in-ni-ma*
15. *na-dì-ni-a*
16. *a-ṣa-ba-tu*

[1]Thus (says)Iṣur-Adad: [2-3]Say to my mother: [4-5]The men with whom I lived have sold me. [6-7]Say to the *sukkalmaḫḫum* [8]that he should bring pressure to bear, [9-12]that he should bring pressure to bear on the king's messenger, [13-14]so that they may quickly obtain my release and [15-16]I can seize my sellers.

This letter has previously been published in transliteration and translation by Jacobsen (*AS* 6, pp. 29–35); however, a number of details have been reconsidered in the present translation.

The most important of these details from the standpoint of Jacobsen's article is the reinterpretation of *šiprum* in line 9 as "messenger" rather than as "labor." This re-evaluation is based on two major considerations. First is the fact that in the overwhelming majority of the occurrences of the word *šiprum* in the letters of this period it means "messenger" (see the Glossary for examples).

The second, and perhaps the more compelling, consideration is the fact that the signs *ši-pí-ir* in line 9 are written over a partially erased LÚ.KIN.GI₄.A. The signs GI₄.A are clearly visible at the end of the line while the traces visible under *ši-pí-ir* easily fit LÚ.KIN. The reason for the removal of the logogram and the substitution of the syllabic spelling it not clear, but it would seem that it was a deliberate attempt to replace the Sumerian logogram with syllabic Akkadian, especially since the signs *šar-ri-im* in line 10 are also written over an erasure, although I cannot definitely say that the original sign was LUGAL.

Another significant re-evaluation is the interpretation of the first four signs in line 13 as *a-na* ⌈*šu*⌉-*mi* (= later OB *aššum*) "so that" rather than *a-na*-⌈*ku*⌉-*mi* "(as for) me." Again, this evaluation is based on the frequent occurrence of *a-na šu-mi/e* or *a-šu-mi/e* in the letters of this period. See the Glossary *s.v. aššum* for examples.

The presence of *ana šumi* in line 13 connects the end of the letter directly to what comes before yielding one sentence where Jacobsen has translated two. The new sense of the last sentence is "let the *sukkalmaḫḫum* do X to the king's messenger, so that they may quickly obtain my release and (so that) I can seize my sellers." Note that the subjunctive verbs now depend on the conjunction *ana šumi* rather than being examples of a rare modal subjunctive.

The most difficult problem generated by these reinterpretations is the correct understanding of the phrase *ana šipir šarrim idīn liškun,* which is now literally "let him put both arms on the king's messenger." Particularly difficult is the meaning of the phrase *idīn šakānum* which Jacobsen took as the equivalent of the quite common idiom *qātam šakānum* meaning (with *ana*) "to work on something." This connection was logical, especially since *šiprum* "labor" and *idum* "arm" occur together in such phrases as *šipir idišu* meaning literally "the work of his arm" but having the sense of "his own efforts" or "his own labor." Unfortunately, the restriction of the word *šiprum* to its meaning of "messenger" destroys this connection.

Some clue to the meaning of the phrase may be obtained from the fact that it now forms the main clause of a complex sentence of which the dependent clause is "so that they may quickly obtain my release and (so that) I can seize my sellers." Obviously the main clause should specify that action necessary to bring about this result.

This raises the question of the identification of the *sukkalmaḫḫum* and the *šipir šarrim* and the nature of the interaction between them. The *šipir šarrim* "king's messenger" is apparently self-explanatory, but the function of the office of the *sukkalmaḫḫum,* especially at Eshnunna during this period, is far from clear. We can, however, arrive at some conclusions by extension of our knowledge from the Ur III period. The *sukkalmaḫḫum* had great power under the kings of Ur, apparently ranking next below them in the bureaucratic hierarchy. As such, the *sukkalmaḫḫum* certainly had the authority to release prisoners or free other individuals. The role of the *sukkalmaḫḫum* in this process is indicated by at least two Ur III texts. *BRM* 4 5 records the freeing of the sister of a certain man by the king (Ša₆-ga-mu nin₉ Šu-ᵈNin-šubur-ra lugal-e šu in-ni-in-ba), certified by the *sukkalmaḫḫum* (kišib sukkal-maḫ). *TLB* 3 71, which is apparently a catalog or inventory of tablet containers (pisan dub-ba) in the archives of some administrative office, has as the last entry 1 erín šu-bar-ra sukkal-maḫ, indicating that one pisan dub-ba contained tablets referring to (listing?) persons released by the *sukkalmaḫḫum.*

Broadly speaking, there are two sets of circumstances in which the situation of Iṣur-Adad could be explained: either he has been sold within his own country, in which case the *sukkalmaḫḫum* presumably had the power to intervene directly and obtain his release; or he has been sold into a foreign country and his release could only be obtained by invoking a treaty which covered such circumstances.

Returning to the meaning of the phrase *idīn šakānum,* the translation offered above reflects the influence of the American English expression "to put the arm on someone" used colloquially meaning to use force or the threat of force to get someone to do something. This expression develops from the meaning of arm as "force, power," which also exists in Akkadian, so it is reasonable to interpret *idīn šakānum* as "to exert pressure on." This raises the question of why the *sukkalmaḫḫum* should have to exert pressure on the king's messenger unless the messenger was not under his control. This suggests the second situation outlined above where Iṣur-Adad has been sold into a foreign country and the *sukkalmaḫḫum* is not able to simply order his release. In these circumstances it is possible that the *šipir šarrim* is in fact the messenger (or ambassador) of the country into which Iṣur-Adad had been sold, and that the *sukkalmaḫḫum* was expected to use his influence (possibly backed up by a treaty) on the messenger (ambassador) so that Iṣur-Adad could be returned to his homeland.

No. 29   1930-T660a₁   Pl. 15

1. *a-na be-lí-a*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma Ša-am-du-⌜uš⌝-nu-ma*
4. *Mi-na-am-e-pu-[uš(?)-*DINGIR(?)]

5. *ma-ru ši-i*[*p-ri-*x]
6. *ab-b*[*a*(?)-   ]
7. ⸢*i*⸣-[   ]
    rest of obverse destroyed
    beginning of reverse destroyed
1'. *li-b*[*i*(?)   ]
2'. *la i-li-*[   ]
3'. *šum-ma be-lí i-*[   ]
4'. *ma-li pí be-lí-a i-*[x]-
                ba-am
5'. *li-*MU-*ul-kà*
6'. *a-na qá-ti-kà lu-uš-qú-ul*
7'. *ši-bu-ul-ta-kà*
8'. *Bu-du-du li-ib-*
                la-am

[1-2)]Say to my lord: [3)]Thus (says) *Ša-am-du-uš-nu-*(*ma*): [4-2')]. . . . [3')]If my lord [says so], [4'-5')]as much as my lord [says] he should pay you, [6')]I will pay to you. [7'-8')]Let Bududu bring your gift to me.

Although this letter is addressed "to my lord," the small amount of context preserved seems to indicate commercial dealings so it is possible that the *bēlum* "lord" referred to is not the ruler of Eshnunna but was the head of a trading concern in which the sender of the letter was involved. Lines 3'-6' seem to indicate the willingness of the sender to pay the account of a third individual, and the closing lines could refer to a shipment of goods rather than a gift from the ruler of Eshnunna.

Line 1'.—Possibly the beginning of a personal name such as *Li-p*[*í-it-*DN] that could be the subject of the verb in line 5'.

Line 3'.—Restore at the end of the line a verb such as *i*[*qabbiam*].

Line 4'.—The verb at the end of the line is difficult to identify. From the context one would expect something like "as much as my lord says/agrees/orders," but the preserved signs do not suggest any such restoration. The first reconstruction that comes to mind is *i-*[*ṭì*]-*ba-am,* in which case the line would be better broken as *ma li-bi be-lí-a i-*[*ṭì*]-*ba-am* "it satisfies my lord." This, however, raises the problem of the unattached *ma* at the beginning of the line (but see no. 46:24) and makes it more difficult to connect this passage with the next two lines.

Line 5'.—Apparently the scribe simply wrote MU instead of BU since there is no doubt from the context that the form is the third person precative of *apālum* "to answer, to satisfy, to pay."

Lines 4'-6'.—The syntax of this passage is quite involved, containing a subordinate clause that is the object of the verb in a second subordinate clause with the second subordinate clause being the object of the verb in the main clause. A possible parallel, or at least a similar usage, is found in *YOS* 2 119:12-18: *mi-im-ma ḫi-še-eḫ-tam ma-la i-ḫa-aš-še-ḫu a-pu-ul-šu-nu-ti i-na i-di-ka an-ni-tam ep-ša-am-ma . . . i-na a-la-ki-ia ḫi-še-eḫ-tam ma-la li-qè-er-ri-bu-n*[*i*(?)-*kum*] *a-ap-pa-al-ka* "For any requests, as much as they desire, satisfy them. From your own resources do this for me and . . . when I come, I will repay you for the requests, as many as they may have brought [to you]." For this use of the precative, see *GAG* §168 h, but note *AHw,* p. 917a, *s.v. qerēbu*(*m*) D 3 a, indicating that von Soden now reads *tu!-* instead of *li-* in line 17. Note, however, the most recent treatment of the text by Stol, *AbB* 9 119 (pp. 76–77).

Line 7'.—For the form *šībultum* see Excursus B (pp. 113–117). The word could mean either "gift" or "consignment, shipment," depending on the overall context of the letter.

No. 30   1930-T399   Pl. 15

1. [*a-na be-lí*]-*a*
2. *qí*-[*b*]*í-ma*
3. *um-ma* ⌜*Ì*⌝-*lí-iš-ma-lí-a-ma*
4. *a-na šu-me* A.ḪA-*a*
5. ⌜*ma*⌝-*ru ší-ip-ri*
6. [*ša-n*]*i-ú-tum it-ta-na-la-*
         ku-ni-in-na
7. *ša-*⌜*ni-a*⌝-*tim li-ib-bi*
8. *it-ta-*⌜*na-ba-la-am*⌝
9. *ù a*[*t*]-*ta-na-ap-ḫu-us*
10. 1 *A-ḫi-*DÙG *ší-pir₆ be-lí-a*
11. *ù Ba-la-la-ti*
    ma-ru ší-ip-ri-a
12. ⌜IGI *be-lí*⌝-*a wa-áš-ba*
13. *a-*[*na m*]*i-nim šu-ni-*⌜*ti*⌝
14. [*be-lí ú-l*]*a iš-pu-ra-am-ma*
15. [   ] *a-na-ḫi-id*
16. [1 *Li*(?)-*p*]*í*(?)-*it-*ᵈ*Tišpak*
17. [*š*]*í-pir₆ be-lí-a*
18. *el-li-kam*(!)-*ma*
19. *um-ma šu-ut-ma*
    reverse
20. [*um-ma*] *be-lí-ma*
21. [1(?) GU]D(?) *ša ṣa-bi-tim*
22. [   ]-⌜*x*⌝-⌜*ak*⌝(?)-*kum*
23. [   ]-⌜*x*⌝-*ku* ⌜*a-ap-pá-al-šu*⌝
24. [*um-m*]*a a-na-ku-ma*
25. [*a*(?)-*n*]*a*(?) ⌜*qé-re-eb*⌝ TI-⌜*x*⌝-[-*ti*]*m*(?)
26. ⌜*x-x*⌝-[*i*]*n*(?)-*šu*
27. [*x*] ⌜*la*⌝ [   ] ⌜*x*⌝-*ma*
28. ⌜*a-li-ma*(?) 1(?)⌝ GUD(?) *šu-a-ti*
29. ⌜*ṣa*⌝(?)-*ab-ta-am*
30. *um-ma šu-ut-ma be-lí iš-pu-ra-*
           an-ni
31. 1 ⌜GUD⌝ *id-nam-ma*
32. *a-na* ⌜*Sa*⌝-*mi-um*
33. *lu-úr-de₄ um-ma a-na-ku-ma*
34. 1 GUD-*um ša ta-qá-bi-ú*
35. [*ú-la i*]*z-za-az*
36. ⟨*a*⟩-⌜*šu-me* 1 GUD⌝-*im*
37. *be-lí* 1 *A-ḫi-*DÙG
    ù 1 *Ba-la-la-ti*
38. *li-*[*i*]*š-pu-ra-am-ma*
39. [*a*(?)-*n*]*a*(?) *Sa-mi-um*
40. [   ]-⌜*x*⌝

41. [*b*]*e-li-a*
    upper edge
42. [*E*]*n-nam-*ᵈ*Tišpak*
43. [*š*]*u*(?)-*ni-ti*
    left edge and lower edge
44. ⌜*ú*⌝-*la um-ma* [*be-l*]*i-ma*
45. ⌜x⌝-*ni ša-am-*[*m*]*a*
46. [*šu*(?)-*r*]*i-am lu-*[*ša*(?)]-*ri-am*
47. *ù a-na a-la-ki-*[*im*](?)
48. *ša be-lí iš-pu-r*[*a*]-
                    ⌜*an-ni*⌝
49. *ki-am-ma* [   ]
50. [   ] ⌜*ù*⌝(?) *kà-ab-ri-im*
51. [   ]-⌜x⌝ *a-ma-ar-ma a-la-kam*

¹⁻²⁾Say to my lord: ³⁾Thus (says) Ili-išma-lija: ⁴⁻⁶⁾Concerning the fact that (concerning) my . . . other messengers continually come to me, ⁷⁻⁸⁾I continually want something else ⁹⁾and I am constantly being disappointed(?). ¹⁰⁾Aḫi-ṭab, the messenger of my lord, ¹¹⁾and Balalati, my messenger, ¹²⁾remain with my lord. ¹³⁻¹⁵⁾Why has my lord not sent these two to me and [. . .] I have to become concerned. ¹⁶⁾[Lip]it-Tišpak, ¹⁷⁾the messenger of my lord, ¹⁸⁾arrived and ¹⁹⁾this is what he said: ²⁰⁾"this is what my lord says: ²¹⁻²³⁾. . . ." ²⁴⁾This is what I said: ²⁵⁻²⁷⁾". . . . ²⁸⁻²⁹⁾Go up and take that ox for me." ³⁰⁾This is what he said: "my lord sent me." ³¹⁻³³⁾"Give me an ox and I will take it to Samium." ³³⁾This is what I said: ³⁴⁻³⁵⁾"The ox that you are talking about is not available." ³⁶⁾Concerning the ox, ³⁷⁻³⁸⁾let my lord send me Aḫi-ṭab and Balalati and then ³⁹⁻⁴³⁾. . . . ⁴⁴⁾Did my lord not say: ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶⁾"buy [. . .] and send (it) to me and I will send (to you)." ⁴⁷⁻⁴⁹⁾And for the journey that my lord sent me on thus ⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰⁾. . . . ⁵¹⁾I will see and I will come.

This rather long letter was apparently completely preserved until it was struck at least seven times with a pick. The text is archaic in both writing and language, and I assume that it was sent to Bilalama, although it may have been earlier or slightly, but not much, later than his reign. The preserved portions of the text refer to two men whom the sender of the letter wishes to have sent to him and an ox or bull that was supposed to have been sent to the addressee. The beginning of the letter (4–15) explains how upset the sender is about not having been sent the two men. This is followed by an account of the conversation of the sender with a messenger of the addressee who arrived and demanded the ox or bull (16–35). In this conversation the sender tells the messenger that he does not have the animal, but he then goes on to suggest that if the addressee will send the two men to him, he can probably find it and send it to its destination (36–40). From this point on, the context is too broken to be coherent.

Line 3.—For an interpretation of the name, see Whiting, *JNES* 31 (1972), 332, n. 14.

Line 4.—The signs A.ḪA are doubtless to be read ZAḪ₄, but this does not make the equivalent Akkadian lexeme certain. Note in *MSL* 12 (OB Lu Rec. B), p. 186:22–24: lú zaḫ₄ = ḫa-al-q[um], mu-na-ab-t[um], na-du-um. Thus the Akkadian word could be any of these three meaning "fugitive." Furthermore, since LÚ is not written here, ZAḪ₄ could also represent some other word such as ḫuluqqā'um (ḫuluqqûm) "lost/missing property." If the word represented by ZAḪ₄ refers to the two men mentioned in lines 10–11 and again in line 37, "fugitives" would be the correct translation. However, since no explicit reason is given for the sender's desire to have the two men sent to him, it is possible that he wished to question them about some of his property that had disappeared and the second translation would be more appropriate. The -*a* at the end of the word presumably represents the

first person pronominal suffix -*ja* "my" following a genitive. The *a-na šu-me* at the beginning of the line governs both the noun A.ḪA-*a* and the verb in the subjunctive in line 6.

Line 6.—For a discussion of the subjunctive in -*na,* see the commentary to no. 6:12.

Line 9.—The verb is a first person singular Ntn present of *paḫās/ṣum* (cf. *AHw,* p. 811b, *s.v. paḫās/ṣu*?), which is otherwise attested only in lexical texts. The context here suggests a translation such as "I am constantly being disappointed/upset/discouraged/made sick," or the like. The Ntn present form *attanapḫus* taken in conjunction with the Ntn preterite *i-tap-ḫu-sú* from *MSL* 9, p. 92:15 shows both that *paḫās/ṣum* is a u-class verb and the Ntn stem preserves the stem vowel of this class of verb in this instance.

Line 13.—The form *šu-ni-ti* is the oblique case of the third person dual personal pronoun. For a full discussion of the form, see Whiting, *JNES* 31 (1972), 331–37. Another example of the form is possibly to be found at the end of line 43.

Line 16.—[*Ḫa-b*]*i-it-*ᵈ*Tišpak* is also a possible restoration.

Line 19.—For a discussion of the third person singular independent pronoun *šut,* see the commentary to no. 23:22.

Line 21.—The sequence of signs transliterated *ṣa-bi-tim* would be better expressed as ZA-BI-*tim* since I hold no firm convictions about the root of the form. An interpretation of the form as *ṣabītum* "gazelle" seems unlikely, and an interpretation as *ṣābītum* "inn-keeper (fem.)" gains little support from the context. I rather expect some formation based on the root ṢBT and having some connection with the idea of taking or holding, but I have no concrete suggestion to make and have reconstructed the form as *ṣābitum* merely so it may be included in the Glossary. The possibility that it may be a personal name or a characteristic defining a specific type of ox or bull is not entirely excluded by the context.

Line 22.—If the line were completely broken except for the last two signs, I would unhesitatingly restore [*li-dì-na*]-ʳ*ak*ˡ-*kum* "he should give you," the speaker being the *bēlum,* the subject of the verb being the sender of the present letter, and the -*kum* referring to the messenger. The preserved traces in the line deter me from this, but still do not render it impossible.

Line 23.—On the basis of the preceding comment, restore perhaps [*a-n*]*a*(?)-*ku* at the beginning of the line and translate "I (myself) will pay him."

Line 28.—The poorly preserved sign after -*li-* is possibly -*ik* rather than -*ma,* which would yield the B imperative of *alākum* "go," rather than *elēum* "go up." Either reconstruction surmises that the sentence is an indirect quotation, introduced in the preceding broken section, of the orders given to the messenger by the person who sent him. Another possible interpretation is that the sentence is a command given to the messenger by the speaker (the sender of the letter): "go (elsewhere) and get the ox." This last interpretation depends on whether the -*am* of *ṣabtam* can be the ventive/allative ending or whether it must be interpreted as the dative suffix "for me." If the latter is the case, the person speaking can only be the one who sent the messenger.

Line 32.—The Samium mentioned here and in line 39 could be the Samium who ruled Larsa (1976–1942 B.C.), but, apart from being in the correct time period, there is no evidence to support such a connection.

Lines 39–40.—These lines presumably contained a statement to the effect that the sender of the letter would send the ox or bull to Samium if the two men he wanted were sent to him.

Line 43.—See the commentary to line 13 above.

Line 45.—A possible reconstruction at the beginning of the line is [GI]Š.Ì "sesame(?)," but the use of the verb *šūrûm* in line 46 (if correctly restored) tends to indicate an animate object inasmuch as *šūbulum* is normally used with inanimate objects in these letters. F. R. Kraus in a private communication has suggested the restoration of the line as [*p*]*á-ni-ša-am-*[*m*]*a* and a connection with Old

Assyrian *pānišam* "first (of all)." This would permit the understanding of lines 45–46 as "First (of all) send to me; (then) I will send there." In this case, the discussion would still be concerned with the ox or bull and the two men, and the use of the verb *šûrûm* would be appropriate. The fact that *pānišam* is thus far attested only in Old Assyrian is hardly a reason for excluding it from archaic Old Babylonian.

Line 47.—Because of the space limitations at the end of the line, restore perhaps -[*a*] rather than -[*im*] and translate "for my journey."

Line 48.—Note the accusative suffix of *išpuranni* "he sent me (direct object)"; compare line 30.

Lines 50–51.—The preserved portions of these two lines certainly belong at the end of the letter rather than between the obverse and reverse as their position of the lower edge of the tablet would normally indicate. Not only do they not make any sense if they are inserted at that point, but there is also a double dividing line between them and the text at the end of the obverse. The single broken signs before the complete words at the beginning of the lines make it clear that they are not independent, but are the continuation of lines begun in the last column on the left edge of the tablet.

No. 31   1930–T220   Pl. 16

1. *a-na* Ur-ᵈNin-mar⌈ᴷᴵ⌉
2. *qi-bi-ma*
3. *um-ma A-*⌈*mur*⌉*-i-lu-sú-ma*
       EN *ša* ᵈEN.ZU
4. ᵈEN.ZU *ù* ᵈ*Nin-gal*
5. *li-ra-ma-kà*
6. ᵈ*Tišpak ù Ù-gul-lá*
7. *u₄-mi ma-du-tim*
8. *ar-kà-tim ša-na-tim*
9. *li-be-lu-kà*
10. *iš-da ku-sí-kà*
11. *lu ki-na*
        reverse
12. *a-na a-wa-at*
13. *ṣú-ḫa-ri-im*
14. ⌈*ša*⌉ *aš-pu-ra-ku-um*
15. DUMU *ši-ip-ri-a*
16. *ša-al-ma*
17. *ku-šu-ud-ma*
18. IGI ⌈ᵈEN⌉.ZU
19. ⌈*ù* ᵈ*Nin*⌉*-gal*
20. *lu-uk-ru-ub-kum*

¹⁻²⁾Say to Ur-Ninmar: ³⁾Thus (says) Amur-ilussu, the En-priest of Sin: ⁴⁻⁵⁾May Sin and Ningal love you. ⁶⁻⁹⁾May Tišpak and Ugulla keep you as ruler for many days (and) long years. ¹⁰⁻¹¹⁾May the foundation of your throne be firm. ¹²⁻¹⁴⁾Concerning the matter of the boy that I wrote you about: ¹⁵⁻¹⁷⁾Ask my messenger and take care of the matter and ¹⁸⁻¹⁰⁾I will pray for you before Sin and Ningal.

This is the only letter in the collection for which the place of origin can be identified with certainty. The letter was written by the En-priest of Sin, who was located in Tutub (see J. Renger, *ZA* 58 [1967], 122, §14). The actual message is not even included in the letter, which only gives instructions to ask the messenger for the message. Apparently the sender did not want to put the message in writing but had it committed to memory by the person bringing the letter.

Line 1.—For a justification of the interpretation of the divine name as Ninmar(a) rather than Ninkimar(a), see Whiting, *ZA* 76 (1986), 1–3.

Lines 5, 9, and 11.—The verb *li-be-lu-kà* is third person plural while the form *li-ra-ma-kà* in line 5 is third person dual, although both verbs have a dual subject. The form *ki-na* in line 11 could be either dual or feminine plural. The dual was falling into disuse during this period (see the Introduction, pp. 15–16), and it could be argued that this is an example of the plural taking over the function of the dual. However, similar examples of lack of agreement can be found extending back into Old Akkadian. The following are known to me:

Sargon b 1 (= *AfO* 20, p. 36:20–34; dupl. Sargon b 6 = *AfO* 20, p. 43:8–24) (late copy): dual antecedent (GN$_1$ and GN$_2$), plural verb (*i-za-zu-ni*), dual pronoun (*u-sá-ḫi-su-ni*)

HSS 10 11:7–10: dual antecedent (PN$_1$ and PN$_2$), dual verb (*la-ba-a*), plural pronoun ([x]-⌈x-su⌉-nu)

MAD 5 60:6–10: dual antecedent (PN$_1$ and PN$_2$), plural verb (*è-la-ku*)

CT 50 78:1–2: dual antecedent (1 GEMÉ 1 DUMU.SAL), plural pronoun (ŠÁM-*su-nu*)

The example given by Aa. Westenholz, *JCS* 26 (1974), 75, is uncertain.

Line 9.—The form *li-be-lu-kà* is an old crux. Jacobsen (*OIP* 43, p. 184, Date Formula No. 87, note *) transliterated *li-bi$_4$-lu-kà* and translated "may Tishpak and Ugulla convey to you," considering the verb a precative form of *wabālum* "to bring." The facts, that the sign BE is not used for *bi$_4$* elsewhere in these letters, that the construction requires a dative pronominal suffix (*-kum*) rather than the accusative (*-ka*), and that the expected form of the plural would be *liblū*, combine to make this interpretation unlikely. *CAD* B, p. 201b, *s.v. bēlu* 2, takes the form as a D stem of *bēlum* with the meaning "to make somebody a ruler," connecting it with the form *ú-ba-ʾi-lu-ši* from *AfK* 1, p. 28 ii 1, as the only other attestation. I have followed *CAD* in my interpretation. However, *AHw*, p. 94a, has interpreted the *AfK* occurrence as the D stem of *baʾālu* and does not deal with the present example. If this analysis is correct, then the present example is the only attestation of the D stem of *bēlum,* making the *CAD* interpretation very tenuous. While the posited meaning of the D stem of *bēlum* "to make/keep somebody a ruler" makes good sense in the present context, we should consider the possibility that the form *li-be-lu-kà* is a B stem and not the sole example of the D stem. If the form is a B-stem precative, it can only mean "may they rule you." Since the context assures us that this phrase is meant to be a strong expression of good wishes, we must explain it as such. The only way to accomplish this—it seems to me—is to assume that the expression is somehow connected with the *bēlum-wardum* relationship known to exist between a ruler and his god as expressed in seal inscriptions. Since Tišpak was the national god of Eshnunna and Ugulla was his consort, we can expect a *bēlum-wardum* relationship to have existed between them and Ur-Ninmar as ruler of Eshnunna. The existence of this relationship between Tišpak and Ur-Ninmar is proved by Seal Legend No. 34 (*OIP* 43, p. 151). In these circumstances, we could expect the form *li-be-lu-kà* to express a wish that the gods continue this relationship without turning away from or rejecting the ruler. Since this wish with reference to gods would only be appropriate when addressed to a ruler, we can surmise that it would be rare in letters. However, for another formulation of the *bēlum-wardum* relationship outside of seal inscriptions, compare No. 48:8–11: *be-lí i-na ki-it-tim i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma* ARÁD-*sú a-na-ku* "my lord in truth rules me and I am his slave."

Lines 15–20.—For the sequence imperative followed by first person precative in the expression "do X for me and I will pray for you before the gods," cf. *PBS* 7 27:21–23 and *ARM* 10 92:20–23.

Line 17.—I assume that *awātum,* preposed in line 12, is the elided object (*GAG* §184 d) of *kašādum.* For *kašādum* "to finish completely," "bewältigen, erledigen," compare *CAD* K, p. 208a, *s.v. kašādu* 2 i and *AHw*, p. 460a, *s.v. kašādu(m)* 7 a. For *awātam kašādum* "to see a matter through," "to

take care of business," note no. 51:9–10 and for Old Assyrian (*contra CAD* K, pp. 278–79, *s.v. kašādu* 2 f: "to win a case"), see *AHw, loc cit.* and M. T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies,* pp. 184–86.

No. 32   1930-T299   Pl. 16

1. *a-⌈na⌉* Ur-ᵈNin-marᴷᴵ
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma Šu-mu-áš-ku-ra-ma*
4. A.ŠÀ-*um i-a-um*
5. *ša pá-aq-ri-e*
6. *mu-um-⌈x⌉*
7. *mi-ší-e[l(?)-š]u(?)*
8. *kà-l[i(?)]*
9. A.ŠÀ *li-[*   ]
10. [*a*]-*na* ⌈x⌉ ⌈ù⌉(?) NUMUN
11. ⌈*i-na*⌉-*an-na* [   ](?)
12. *nam-kà-r[a-am]*
    lower edge
13. *i-na* A.Š[À   ]
14. *uš-ti-[*   ]
    reverse
15. *šum-ma la [ki-am]*(?)
16. *šu-up-ra-am-ma*
17. GUD.⌈ḪI.A⌉ *ù* ARÁD.ḪI.⌈A⌉
18. *lu-uṭ-⌈ru-dam⌉*
19. *ù* A.ŠÀ
20. *ša* 1 *At-[ta(?)]-li-El*
21. 1 *Ma-am-m[a(?)]-kum*
22. ⌈*ik*⌉(?)-*kà-[a]l*
23. ⌈*ki-am*⌉-*m[a]* NUMUN-*šu*
24. *li-i[m-ḫ]u-úr*
25. *ù* A.Š[À *a*]-*wi-lim*
26. *li-[iš]-bi-ir*
27. *ù* [1(?)] PÙ.ŠA-*Eš₄-tár*
    upper edge
28. *ṭù-[ú]r-dam*

¹⁻²⁾Say to Ur-Ninmar: ³⁾Thus (says) Šumu-aškura: ⁴⁻⁵⁾My field that was claimed (by somebody else) ⁶⁾is(?) [. . .]. ⁷⁻⁸⁾Half of it is being withheld. ⁹⁻¹⁴⁾[. . .]. ¹⁵⁾If it is not so, ¹⁶⁻¹⁸⁾write to me and I will send oxen and slaves there. ¹⁹⁻²²⁾Furthermore, Mammakum enjoys the use of the field of Atta-li-El. ²³⁻²⁴⁾In this manner let him get his seed grain, ²⁵⁻²⁶⁾and let him break up the field of the man. ²⁷⁻²⁸⁾Finally, send Puzur-Ištar to me.

No. 33   1930-T113   Pl. 17

1. [*a-na* Ur]-ᵈNin-marᴷᴵ
2. [*qí-b*]*í-ma*
3. [*um-ma* x]-⌈*it*⌉(?)-*gu-mu-um-*
       ma

4. [*a-wi-i*]*l-tum*
5. [   ]-*ma-at*
6. [   ]-*ir-šu*
7. [   ]-⌜x⌝-*at*
8. [   ] ⌜*an*⌝(?)-*ni-ki-am*
   rest of obverse destroyed
   beginning of reverse destroyed
1'. [   ]-⌜*in-ši*⌝
2'. [*a-w*]*i-il-tim*
3'. [   ] ⌜*i*⌝-*ṭe₄-ḫe*
4'. [*a-wi*]-*il-tum*
5'. [*š*]*u*(?)-*ṣí-am-ma*
6'. [*š*]*u*(?) GAL
7'. [   ]-⌜x⌝-UD
   upper edge
8'. [   ]-*ma*
9'. [*t*]*i*(?)-ZU

No. 34   1930-T215   Pl. 17

1. *a-na* Ur-ᵈNin-[marᴷᴵ](?)
2. *qí-b*[*í-ma*]
3. ⌜*um-ma* GA-*bu*(?)⌝-[x-x-*ma*]
4. ⌜*šum-ma*⌝ *be-lí* ⌜*at-ta*⌝
5. ⌜*šum-ma a*⌝-*bi at-ta*
6. ⌜*a-na a-wa*⌝-*ti-kà*
7. ⌜*ap-la-aḫ*⌝-*ma*
8. [   ]-*zu-mu*
9. ⌜*ú-wa*⌝-*ší-ir*
10. ⌜*iq*⌝-*bi-ú*-⌜*ni-im-ma*⌝(?)
11. *um-ma* ⌜*šu*⌝-*nu-ma*
12. *a*-⌜*wi-lam*⌝
13. ⌜*la tu-wa-ša*⌝-*ar*
14. ⌜*i-na*⌝ [*te*(?)-*r*]*e-ti-kà*
15. ⌜*ú-wa*⌝-[*ší*]-*ir-šu*
16. ⌜*i-ma*⌝-[*ti*]-*ma*
   reverse
17. *ta-aš-pu-ra-am*
18. *mi-nam*
19. *ak-la-a*
20. *um-ma a-na-ku-ma*
21. *at-ta lu be-li-ma*
22. *a-na-ku lu wa-ra-ad-kà*
23. *aq-bi-šum*
24. *a-ša-ar-ša-ni*
25. *pa-ni-šu iš*-⌜*ku*⌝-*u*[*n*]
26. ⌜*a*⌝-⌜x-x-x⌝ [   ] ⌜*ša*⌝(?) *a-ḫi-a*
27. *i*-⌜*ta*⌝-*wu-ú*

28. *um-ma a-na-ku-ma*
29. *a-dì ba-al-ṭá-ti*
30. *at-ta-ma lu be-el-ni*
31. *aq-bi-šum ú-la iš-me-*
                     an-n[i]
32. *i-lu-ma* ⌈PÙ.ŠA⌉-MA[R.TU]
33. *ta-aš-[pu-ur](?)[   ]*
    upper edge
34. [   ]
35. [   ] *ši*(?) *bi*[ ]
    left edge
36. *ma-mi-tám it-mu-*⌈ú⌉ [   ](?)
37. 1 PÙ.ŠA-MAR.TU *ú-*[ ]x x x x

[1-2)]Say to Ur-Nin[mar](?): [3)]Thus (says) ⌈GA-*bu*(?)⌉-[x-x]: [4)]If you are my lord, [5)]if you are my father; [6-9)]I respected your order and let [   ]-*zu-mu* go. [10-11)]They spoke to me as follows: [12-13)]"do not let the man go." [14-15)](But) I let him go by your orders. [16-17)]Whenever you have written to me, [18-19)]what have I (ever) refused (to do). [20)]This is what I said: [21-22)]"you are indeed my lord and I am indeed your slave." [23)]I told him (this). [24-25)]He tried elsewhere, [26-27)]. . . . [28)]This is what I said: [29)]"as long as you are alive, [30)]you are indeed our lord." [31)]I told him (this) but he didn't pay any attention to me. [32-33)]They went up and you sent(?) Puzur-Amurrum. [33-35)][. . . .] [36)]They swore an oath [. . .](?) [37)]Puzur-Amurrum. . . .

The letter could have been addressed to either Ur-Ninmar or Ur-Ningišzida. It is obviously from a subordinate who was trying to justify an unpopular action by using the "I-was-only-following-orders" motif, apparently in order to establish his position in case someone complained to the ruler of Eshnunna about his action.

Line 9.—The context of the letter suggests that the verb *wuššurum* "to release, to let go" has, in addition to its usual sense of "to release from detention or debt," a meaning "to release from service or employment" or "to fire." It is clear from the context that neither the man himself nor another group of people wanted him to be "released."

Line 29.—The normal form of the second person masculine stative ending in Babylonian is *-āta*, the form *-āti* being regularly used for the feminine. However, the use of *-āti* for the masculine occurs sporadically in Old Babylonian. See the Introduction, p. 10 and n. 22, and note in a letter from Tell ed-Der: *lu e-te-le-ti* "you (masc.) are indeed a lord" (IM 49543 + 49238:39; reference courtesy W. G. Lambert and Kh. al-A'dami).

Line 34.—The writing *i-lu-ma* is apparently a contracted writing of *īliūma* from *elûm* "to go up." Note the contracted writing *it-mu-ú* (from *itmaū*) in line 36. MAR.TU in the name PÙ.ŠA-MAR.TU is written without the divine determinitive both here and in line 37 making it impossible to decide whether it is to be interpreted as a divine name or as a geographical name since names of the type Puzur-DN and Puzur-GN both occur. Note, however, the discussion of MAR.TU = [d]MAR.TU by Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, pp. 88–89.

Line 37.—The last sign of the line is unrecognizable. Read perhaps 1 PÙ.ŠA-MAR.TU *ú-[la i]q-bi-*⌈*šu*⌉*-um*(!) and translate "Puzur-Amurrum did not tell him." This would assume that the scribe left the two horizontal wedges off the front of the UM sign, which is not unlikely since it was written on the corner of the tablet, but note that the syllable /*šum*/ is written with the ŠUM sign elsewhere in the text (lines 3, 4, 23, 31).

No. 35   1930-T384   Pl. 18

1. *a-na* U r-^d[   ]
2. *qí-bí-[ma]*
3. *um-ma Da-a[d(?)-x-x-ma]*
4. *šu-um-ma a-b[i a-ta]*
5. *šu-um-ma ṭ[a-ra-ma-ni]*
6. 5 SILA₃ ZÍD ŠE *a-[*   ]
                 [   ]
7. *ku-ru-m[a-*   ]
8. *a-p[u-tum(?)*   ]
9. *ù [*   ]
   reverse
10. *la [*   ]
11. *ù [*   ]
12. *a-na [*   ]
13. *i-ᶦḫuᶦ(?)-ᶦxᶦ [*   ]
              [   ]
14. *a-na ku-ru-[ma-ti-šu](?)*
15. *ma-ru ši-ip-[ri-a](?)*
16. *lu ku-pu-u[d](?)*
17. *a-pu-tu[m]*
18. *i-ni ṭà-ab m[a-ru ši]-i[p-ri]*
19. *ku-ru-ma-ta-[am]*
   upper edge
20. *i-ma-ḫa-r[u-ma(?)]*
21. *ma-ru ši-i[p-ri-a]*
   left edge
22. *a-kà-la-am i-ma-ḫa-ar*

¹⁻²⁾Say to Ur-[   ]: ³⁾Thus (says) *Da-a[d(?)-x-x]:* ⁴⁾If you are my father, ⁵⁾if you love me; ⁶⁻¹³⁾ .... ¹⁴⁻¹⁶⁾Is my messenger supposed to take care of (providing) his own daily food ration? ¹⁷⁾Please, ¹⁸⁻²⁰⁾indeed it is good that messengers should receive a daily food ration, ²¹⁻²²⁾but my messenger should (also) receive food.

This letter may have been written to either Ur-Ninmar or Ur-Ningišzida. The sender is complaining that his messenger or ambassador is not being given the usual "per diem" received by other messengers. The broken section probably outlined the specific circumstances that the sender is complaining about. The last part of the letter is rather freely restored.

Line 18.—For *i-ni,* see the commentary to no. 25.

No. 36   1930-T393   Pl. 18
1. *a-na* U r-^d[   ]
2. *qi-bí-[ma]*
3. *um-ma An-ᶦna-pi₅ᶦ-*
       ᶦ^dEn-lílᶦ-ma

4. *š[um-m]a a-ḫi*

    ⌜*at-ta*⌝(?)

5. 1 *Wa-aq-ra-am* ⌜KUŠ₇(IŠ)⌝

reverse

6. *la ta-kà-la-am*

rest uninscribed

   [1-2)]Say to Ur-[. . .]: [3)]Thus (says) Anna-pi-Enlil: [4)]If you are my brother, [5-6)]do not withhold Waqrum, the groom, from me.

   Line 4.—The traces of the last sign do not look like TA, but no other reconstruction seems possible.

No. 37   1930-T1   Pl. 18

  1. ⌜*a-na*⌝ [   ]

  2. *qí-b[i-ma]*

  3. *um-ma* PA.⌜LÚ(?).AN(?)-*ma*⌝

  4. *šum-ma a-bi at-t[a]*

  5. *ni-qì-a-am*

  6. *kà-ab-tám*

  7. ⌜*a*⌝-*na-a-qì*

  8. [*a*](?)-*pu-tum*

  9. [   ]-⌜*x*⌝ *mar* ⌜*x*⌝(?) *ti*

10. ⌜*x*⌝ [   ](-)⌜*am-tim*⌝

11. ⌜*ù*⌝(?) *ti*-[   ]

rest destroyed

   [1-2)]Say to [. . .]: [3)]Thus (says) PA.LÚ.AN: [4)]If you are my father—[5-7)]I will make an important offering: [8)]Please, [9-11)][. . .].

   Line 3.—The name is reconstructed on the basis of its occurrence in a Tell Asmar administrative text (1930-T184 rev. 3–7, date not preserved): [3)]1 an-za-am kù-babbar 1/2 ma-na [4)]⌜níg-šu-tak₄-a⌝ PA.LÚ.AN [5)][. . .] kù-babbar [6)]⌜*Na-ni-ia*⌝ lú-ni [7)]gìr PN "1 silver drinking vessel (weighing) ½ mina, an official gift for PA.LÚ.AN; [1(?)] silver [. . .] for Nanija, his 'man'; via PN." The occurrence of níg-šu-tak₄-a in this text implies that PA.LÚ.AN was a foreigner (*i.e.,* not from Eshnunna) and a person of some rank (see Excursus B, p. 114), making it possible that this reference is to the sender of the present letter. It also makes an interpretation of the signs as ugula Lu-dingira very unlikely, although I have no other interpretation to offer.

   Line 4.—The phrase *šumma abī atta* (and similar ones) is normally followed by a wish or demand expressed by a precative, imperative, or prohibitive. Such phrases can, however, be used as an absolute construction without a following wish or demand (cf., *e.g.,* no. 34:4–5).

   Line 7.—The writing is for *anaqqi,* the first person present of *naqûm* "to pour out." For the plene writing of a vowel to indicate a double consonant, see the Introduction, p. 6 and n. 9, and note in archaic Old Babylonian the writing *mi-i-ma* for *mimma* (*PBS* 1/2 1:3).

No. 38   1930-T5   Pl. 19

1. [*a-na*   ]
2. [*qí*]-*b*[*í-ma*]
3. *aš-šum* [   ]
4. *a-na Ka-zal-*[*lu*$^{\text{KI}}$](?)
5. *a-la-kà-*[*am*]
6. *iq-bi ú-l*[*a iq-bi*](?)
7. *a-na ki-*[   ]
8. *iṣ-ba-at* [   ]
9. *ù ma-tum* ⌐*kà*¬-*l*[*u-ša*](?)
10. *i-a-ti* [   ]
11. *ip-ta-a*[*l-*   ]
12. [x]-⌐x¬ 1 *I-*[   ]
     rest of obverse destroyed
     beginning of reverse destroyed
1′. ⌐*a-na*¬ [   ]
2′. *i ni-*⌐*li*¬-*am-*[*ma*](?)
3′. 1 *Uš-kà-bu-u*[*m*](?)
4′. *li-ṣí-am-*[*ma*](?)
5′. *i ni-ša-al-šu*
6′. *ga-am-la*[*m*]
7′. *i ni-di-ik-ku*[*m*]
8′. *ki-am ni-iš-p*[*u-*x-x]
9′. *ù at-t*[*a*]
10′. *ki-am-ma šu-p*[*u-ur-*]
11′. ⌐1¬ *Uš-kà-b*[*u-um*]
     rest of reverse destroyed
     left edge
1″. [   ] *at-ta*
2″. *la ta-na-di-šum*
3″. *a-wa-tum r*[*a*(?)-   ]
4″. *ša e-l*[*i-*   ]
5″. *iš-ku-n*[*u*(?)]

[1-2)][Say to   ]: [3)]concerning [PN](?), [4-6)]did he or did he not promise to go to Kazallu? [7-12)]. . . . [1′-5′)] We will go up to [GN](?) and Uškabum will come forth and we will question him. [6′-7′)] We will give you the *gamlum*. [8′-10′)] We wrote in such a manner and you write likewise. [11′)] Uškabum [. . . .] [1″-2″)][. . .] do not give (it) to him. [3″-5″)]. . . .

Line 4.—*Ka-zal-*[*lu*$^{\text{KI}}$] should be assumed rather than *Ka-ni-*[*iš*$^{\text{KI}}$] or something similar because one would expect Kaniš to be written with the GA sign since this text uses GA for /*ka*/ (line 5), whereas *Ka-zal-lu* is a conditioned writing occurring with KA already in Old Akkadian (cf. *RGTC* 1, p. 84, *s.v.*). Note, however, that this text uses the DI sign in line 7′, making this the only letter in the collection that mixes the use of GA and DI for /*ka*/ and /*di*/ respectively. See the Introduction, p. 4, and the Catalog of the Letters.

Line 11.—The verb is apparently *palāḫum* "to fear, to respect," but the form could be restored in a number of ways depending on the reconstruction of line 10. The subject is presumably *mātum kaluša* in

line 9, so the form should be singular and therefore only a B perfect or Btn preterite could be restored. If we posit a personal name at the end of line 10, only a Btn preterite would fit: *mātum kaluša jâti* [*u* PN] *ip-ta-a*[*l-la-aḫ-ni-a-ti*] "the entire country has always feared/respected PN and me." If we restore an adverb (*e.g., danniš*) at the end of line 10, either a B perfect (*ip-ta-a*[*l-ḫa-an-ni*]) or a Btn preterite (*ip-ta-a*[*l-la-ḫa-an-ni*]) would be appropriate: "the entire country has (always) [greatly] feared/respected me." Other, more elaborate, reconstructions are possible, but these seem the most likely.

    Line 6′.—Perhaps better transliterated as GA-*am-lam* since a connection with *gamlum* "boomerang" (*AHw,* p. 279a) is not immediately clear from the context.

No. 39   1930-T153   Pl. 19

       beginning of obverse destroyed

1. 1 DINGIR-⌜x⌝-[   ]
2. *i-na qá-*[*ti-a*]
3. *aṣ-ba-a*[*t*]
4. *ù ta-a*[*q-ta-bi*]
5. *um-ma a*[*t-ta-ma*]
       reverse
6. *la ta-la-a*[*k*]
7. *A-mu-*⌜*ra*⌝(?)-[*am*](?)
8. *la te-*[   ]
9. *ma-*[   ]
10. ⌜*te*⌝(?)-[   ]
       rest destroyed

[1-3]I captured P[N]. [4-5]And you spoke (to me) as follows: [6]"Do not go; [7-8]do not [. . .] the Amorites." [9-10][. . . .]

    Lines 4–5.—Restored on the basis of no. 41:4–5.

No. 40   1930-T2   Pl. 20

1. *a-na I-pí-iq-*ᵈ⌜IM⌝
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma Ab-di-ra-aḫ*
4. *ù Ší-iq-l*[*a-nu*]-*um-ma*
5. *a-na 1 Du-*⌜*ni-ba*⌝-*la*
6. 1 *Aš-du-*⌜*ma*⌝-*ri-*⌜*im*⌝
7. *ù I-túr-*⌜*ad*⌝-*nu-u*[*m*]
8. *a-na pu-úḫ-ri-im*
9. *ni-iš-ta-pa-ar-*⌜*šu-nu-ti*⌝(?)
10. *ga-mi-ir-ti a-wa-ti-*⌜*šu*⌝-*nu*
11. *ni-la-ma-da-*⌜*am-ma*⌝
12. *ni-ša-pa-ra-ku-*⌜*um*⌝
13. *ù Ma-áš-pa-*[*ru-um*]
14. *iš-pu-ra-ni-*⌜*a*⌝-[*ši*(?)-*m*]*a*
15. ⌜*a-na-ku ù*⌝ *Ší-iq-*[*la-nu-u*]*m*
       rest of obverse destroyed
       beginning of reverse destroyed

1'. *iš*-[   ]
2'. *is-ḫ*[*u*-   ]
3'. *a-na Iš-*ʳ*me-eḫ-ba-la*ˈ
4'. *šu-pu-ur-ma ki-ma na-ru-um*
5'. *se₂₀-ek-ra-at šu-di-*≪*iš*≫-*š*[*u*]
                            -*u*[*m*]
6'. *ù ni-*ʳ*nu*ˈ *ri-ig-ma-am*
7'. *nu-š*[*e-ṣi ú-l*]*a n*[*i*-x-*a*]*r*(?)
8'. *ù* [*um-ma Ab-di-ra-aḫ-ma*]
9'. *šu*[*m-ma a-bi at-ta*]
10'. *n*[*a-ra-am za-ku*(?)-x-x]
11'. *A-mu-ri-*ʳ*za*-xˈ-[   ]
12'. *me-e li-m*[*u-ur-ma*]
13'. *li-tu-ra-a*[*m*](?)
14'. *A-mu-ra-am i-n*[*a qá-ti*]*-a*
15'. *lu-uṣ-ba-at* [   ](?)

[1-2]Say to Ipiq-Adad: [3-4]Thus (say) Abdi-Eraḫ and Šiqlanum: [5](As) for Duni-bala, [6-9]we have sent Ašdu-marim and Itur-adnum to the assembly. [10-12]We will find out about all their affairs and write to you. [13-15]And Mašparum wrote to us, and Šiqlanum and I. . . . [1'-2']. . . . [3'-5']Write to Išmeḫ-bala and inform him that the river is blocked. [6'-7']And we will send out an alarm(?) but we will not [. . .]. [8']And thus (says) Abdi-Eraḫ: [9']If you are my father, [10'][. . .] the river. [11'][PN](?) [12'-13']should inspect the water and return. [14'-15']I will capture the Amorites.

The semicircular chip out of the center of the reverse of the tablet is a new break since the time that Jacobsen transliterated the text in the field. I have been unable to find this fragment anywhere in the collection. The restored signs inside the brackets in lines 7'-10' are taken from Jacobsen's transliteration. For the identification of Abdi-Eraḫ and Šiqlanum and an evaluation of the significance of this letter, see the Introduction, pp. 30-33.

Line 10'.—One expects an imperative at the end of the line.
Line 11'.—This is presumably a personal name, but I have no interpretation or parallels to suggest.

No. 41   1930-T96   Pl. 20
1. *a-na ru-bu-um*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma* ᵈEN.ZU-*e-mu-qí-ma*
4. *ta-aq-ta-bi*
5. *um-ma at-ta-ma*
6. A.ʳšÀˈ(?) [x-(x)]-ʳxˈ-*te*
7. [x]-ʳxˈ-[x]-ʳxˈ
8. [   ]-ʳxˈ AN [   ](?)
   reverse
9. [*ki*(?)-*m*]*a*(?) *I-túr-ad-n*[*u-um*]
10. *ri-ig-ma-am*
11. *iš-ta-ak-nu* [*eš-me*](?)
12. *šum-ma be-lí at-ta*
13. ʳ*šu*ˈ-*pur-ma*

14. *ri-ig-ma-am*
15. ⌈*la*⌉(?) *ú-še-ṣi*

1-2)Say to the prince: 3)Thus (says) Sin-emuqi: 4-5)You spoke (to me) as follows: 6)The field(?)[. . .] 7-8)[. . .]. 9-11)(Now) [I have heard tha]t Itur-adnum has made a fuss. 12)If you are my lord, 13-15)write so that he should not cause the fuss to go out.

Line 1.—For the conclusion that *rubûm* "prince" was a title used by Ipiq-Adad I, see the Introduction, p. 30. For the use of the title in general, and especially in Old Assyrian, see M. T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies,* pp. 121–29.

Line 6.—Read possibly *a-*⌈*di*⌉ at the beginning of the line instead of A.⌈ŠÀ⌉.

Line 9.—As an alternative, [*š*]*a* could be restored at the beginning of the line, but a subordinate conjunction is needed somewhere to justify the subjunctive *ištaknu* in line 11.

Lines 10–11.—I interpret *rigmam šakānum* here as "to make a fuss" rather than "to file a complaint" because "complaint" seems to imply a specific direction or nature for the action taken while "fuss" suggests a sort of general uproar without any specific action being taken. Support for this interpretation can be found in the use of this expression in Old Babylonian letters (see *AHw,* p. 982a, *s.v. rigmu(m)* 2 b). Note also in an archaic Old Babylonian letter from Tell ed-Der: *a-na mi-nim i-na ma-aš-kà-ni-im ta-ṣa-ba-at-ma ri-ig-ma-[am] ta-ša-k[à-an]* "why do you want to take (grain) from the threshing floor and (thereby) cause a fuss" (IM 50871:11–15; reference courtesy W. G. Lambert and Kh. al-A'dami).

Line 11.—The [*eš-me*] restored at the end of the line is needed for the syntax. There is not much space left to accommodate the signs, but these two signs do not require much space. Compare no. 45:11.

Lines 14–15.—Unlike *rigmam šakānum* in lines 10–11, which is well attested, the expression *rigmam šūṣûm* occurs—to my knowledge—only in this text and no. 40:6'–7'. While the translation of *rigmam nušeṣṣi* in no. 40 as "we will send out an alarm" makes good sense, a similar translation does not seem appropriate here. However obscure the specific meaning may be, it is clear that *rigmam la šūṣûm* is an action that negates or counteracts *rigmam šakānum.*

No. 42   1930-T261   Pl. 21

1. [*a-n*]*a ru-bi-im*
2. [*q*]*í-bí-ma um-ma*
3. *I-bi-iš-*DINGIR-*ma*
4. ⌈*mi*⌉-*šu a-wa-tum a-ni-tum*
5. [*š*]*a a-šum A-ar-ši-*DINGIR
6. [*t*]*a-aš-ta-na-pa-⸢ra⸣-am*
7. [*n*]*a-pí-iš-ta-ka*
8. [*um*](?)-*ma Ì-lí-a-at-ma*
9. [x-*m*]*a a-ni-tum*
10. [   ] *za-am-ri-ia*
11. [   ]⌈x⌉ *ku ud*(?) *ši ki ma*
12. [   ]⌈x⌉[   ]
      rest of obverse destroyed
      written along right edge and probably continued from the lower edge: *a-la-kam*
      beginning of reverse destroyed

1'. [   ]ᶜxᶜ[   ]
2'. [   ] *a-ni-t*[*um*](?)
3'. [*i*(?)-*t*]*i-a i-ba-ši*
4'. [*šu*](?)-*ú-ma li-zi-iz-ma*
5'. [*šum*]-*ma la ma-ru-ka*
6'. [*a*]-*na-ku qí-bi-am*
7'. [   ] *ši ra za ni iš me*
8'. [*a-ša-a*]*r-ša-ni ú-la*
        [   ](?) *a-ka-la-šum*
9'. [*ù a-na ṣ*]*é-er* DUMU.ME *Ša-am-ḫi-im*
    upper edge
10'. [-*r*]*a*(?)-*am*
11'. [   ] *ma-ri-šu*
    probably continued on the left edge which is complete destroyed

¹⁻²⁾Say to the prince: ²⁻³⁾Thus (says) Ibiš-Il: ⁴⁻⁶⁾What is this matter that you continue to write me about concerning Jarši-Il? ⁷⁻⁸⁾(I swear)(?) by your life (that) this is what Ili-jat said: ⁹⁻¹²⁾. . . . ¹'⁻³'⁾. . . . ⁴'⁾Let he himself serve, and ⁵'⁻⁶'⁾if I am not your son, say so. ⁷'⁾. . . . ⁸'⁾Elsewhere I would not withhold (it) from him. ⁹'⁾[And] to the sons of Šamḫum ¹⁰'⁻¹¹'⁾. . . .

Line 1.—See the commentary to no. 41:1.

Line 3.—For this name see Gelb, *AS* 21, 2412 and p. 108, *s.v.* JBIŠ.

Line 5.—The sequence *a-aC* (where C is any consonant) is a common writing for initial *ja-* in the Diyala region. See Gelb, *AS* 21, p. 553, and Aa. Westenjholz, *BiOr* 35 (1978), 164, n. 38. For the Amorite name *Jarši-Il,* see Gelb, *AS* 21, p. 347, *s.v.* RŠJ.

Line 7.—The form *napištaka* is apparently an adverbial accusative meaning "by your life." Another possible interpretation of lines 7–8 is: "Ili-jat (swore to) the following (on an oath) by your life." In either case, the usage apparently reflects the custom of taking an oath by the life of the ruler that is so well attested in legal texts.

Line 8.—For the writing *-a-at* to express *-jat,* see the commentary to line 5 above. For the name Ili-jat, see Gelb, *AS* 21, 2687 (the reference given there should read 1930, 261 instead of 1931, 261).

Line 9'.—Although DUMU.ME *Ša-am-ḫi-im* could be interpreted as "the citizens of Šamḫum" rather than "the sons of Šamḫum," Šamḫum is a personal name and not a geographic one as listed in *RGCT* 3, p. 218. The reference from Hashimi cited there refers to a field *i-na ta-wi-ir-tim ša Ša-am-ḫu-um* and thus is a personal name (cf. *AHw,* p. 1341a, *s.v. tawwertum* 1 a). The name also occurs in *BIN* 7 85:15. The geographic name is BÀD-*Ša-am-ḫu-um*ᴷᴵ (cf. *RGCT* 3, *loc. cit.*) or Dur-Šamḫum, doubtless named after a person with this name.

No. 43   1931-T325   Pl. 21

1. [*a-n*]*a ru-bi-im*
2. [*qí-b*]*i-ma*
3. [*um-ma*] *Maš-pa-ru-um-ma*
4. [   ] *a-wa-at*
5. [ᵈᴵ]M-ILLAT
6. [-*p*]*u-ra-kum*
7. [   ]-ᶜxᶜ-*du-um-*
        mu-ni

8. [*Iš-m*]*e-eḫ-ba-la*
9. [   ] *ma-ṣí-im*
10. [*-p*]*u-ur-šu*
    lower edge
11. [*a*]*-wa-tám*
12. [*-t*]*i iq-bi-am*
    reverse
13. [*ù šum*]*-ma*
        [*a-ḫi a*]*t-ta*
14. [   ]*-am*
15. [   ]*-um*
16. [*-b*]*a*(?)*-an-ni*
        [   ]*-ta*
17. [   ]*-*⸢*x*⸣*-an-ni* [*-t*]*a*(?)
18. [   ]*-*⸢*x*⸣*-za a-ḫi*(?)
19. [*wa-a*]*r-ki pá-ni*
20. [   ] *be-lí*
21. ⸢*i-na*⸣*-di-nam*
    upper edge
22. ⸢*tup*⸣*-pá-am mi-ḫi-ir tup-pí-im*
    left edge
23. [*šu-bi-lam*](?)

Line 1.—See the commentary to no. 41:1.

Line 3.—For Mašparum, see the Introduction, pp. 32–33.

Line 12.—Read perhaps [*t*]*i-iq-bi-am* "you said to me." For similar second person forms, see those collected by M. Stol, *BiOr* 28 (1971), 366a (note that *TCL* 17 28:6 has *ti-iq-bi-a-am* instead of *ti-iq-bi-am* as given by Stol).

No. 44   1930-T189   Pl. 22
        beginning of obverse destroyed.
1. ⸢*ša*⸣ *it-t*[*i*   ]
2. *wa-aš-ba-at*
3. *uš-te-ṣi-am*
4. *um-ma šu-ú-ma*
5. *ka-ki e-le-qí-ma*
6. *it-ti* 1 *Ší-iq-la-ni*[*m*]
    lower edge
7. *am-ta-ḫa-aṣ*
8. erased
    reverse
9. erased
10. *ki-am a-wa-sú lu ti-d*[*i*]
11. *ša-ni-t*[*ám*]
12. 1 *I-túr-ad-nu-u*[*m*]
13. ⸢*x*⸣-[   ]*-*⸢*bí-la*⸣(?)[   ](?)
    rest destroyed

[the garrison(?)] ¹⁻²⁾that was with [. . .] ³⁾he brought out. ⁴⁾This is what he said: ⁵⁻⁷⁾"I will take my weapon and do battle with Šiqlanum." ⁸⁻⁹⁾(erased) ¹⁰⁾Such was his statement; you should really know. ¹¹⁾Another matter: ¹²⁾Itur-adnum ¹³⁾. . . .

The first seven lines of this letter were given in transliteration and translation by Jacobsen, *OIC* 13, p. 50. In all probability the letter was addressed to Ipiq-Adad.

Lines 8–9.—Line 8 originally had x-(x)-*ip-di* and line 9 had *ki-ma am-ta-ḫa-ṣú*. What is important about the lines, however, is the fact that the signs RA and NI are clearly written on top of the erasure in smaller script than the rest of the text. There is also a horizontal wedge between the RA and the NI that could be either an AŠ sign in the smaller script or the bottom wedge of an incompletely erased sign underneath. In any case, the RA and NI were definitely written after the erasure was made, and I assume that they were written for some purpose. The only explanation that comes to my mind to account for their presence is that they were put there in order to validate the erasure in the same manner that changes in official documents today are initialled in order to validate them. This document amounts to an intelligence report, and it is possible that both sender and addressee were anxious to ensure that important information could not be erased by some third party and perhaps even false information inserted without detection. Note that the two erased lines have not been written over, but only marked with the signs RA and NI, implying that both facts are significant. If so, there was a twofold system to prevent tampering with documents of this type: (a) a method of validation for erasures was arranged to prevent important information from being removed; (b) it was prohibited to write over erasures in order to prevent false information from being inserted. This is admittedly a rather fanciful explanation for what may after all be only two or three stray signs on the corner of the tablet; but, on the other hand, there is no reason to assume that the problem of communication security is strictly a modern one.

No. 45   1930-T71   Pl. 22

    beginning of obverse destroyed

1. traces
2. ⸢*ša ma-da*⸣(?)-[*b*]*i*(?)-*im*
3. ⸢*ta-ra-ka-su*⸣ [x]-*pu-uš*
4. *ul-lu-tum mi-nam*
5. *i-na-*⸢*di*⸣-*nu-kum*
6. 1 *Ì-lí-iš-pí-iq*
7. *ù* DUMU *Ia-di-di-im*
    lower edge
8. ⸢*a-na*⸣ *ṣe-er*
    reverse
9. 1 *Iš-me-eḫ-ba-la*
10. *ù a-na ṣe-ri-*⸢*ka*⸣
11. *a-la-ak-šu-nu eš-me*
12. *a-wa-at-sú-nu*
13. *lum-mi-da-an-ni*
14. *a-na* KA A.SUG-*im-ma*
15. [x]-*pe-eš*
16. traces
    rest of reverse destroyed

¹⁻³⁾. . . . ⁴⁻⁵⁾What can those others give you? ⁶⁻¹¹⁾I heard of Ili-išpiq's and the son of Jadidum's visit to Išmeḫ-bala and to you. ¹²⁻¹³⁾Inform me about their affairs. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶⁾. . . .

No. 46   1931-T304 + 1931-T309   Pl. 23

1. [a-n]a ⌜Bi-bi-x-ku⌝
2. ⌜qí-bí⌝-ma
3. Me-te-ba-an
4. e-li-i
5. ú-la e-li
6. i-na šu-ri-im
7. mi-il-ku-um
8. i-a-um
9. x-ri-um
10. [i]-⌜na⌝ [š]a-ni-i[m]
11. [   ]⌜x⌝[   ]
12. [m]i-na-⌜am⌝
13. lu-pu-uš
14. ⌜a⌝-ap-⌜ta-ri(?)-ik(?)⌝
15. lu la iš-me-ú-⌜ni⌝-
         n[i]
16. A-mu-ru-um
17. a-wa-[t]ám
    reverse
18. ša Tu-tu-ub
19. ⌜i⌝-ta-ad-na-am
20. ⌜šum-ma ṣa-ab⌝-tu-
         t[i-i]m
21. [t]u-wa-ša-ra-⌜ma⌝
22. [a-n]a-ku a-na
         [A-m]u-ri-i[m]
23. [   ]-⌜x⌝-lu-⌜x⌝
24. ⌜ma⌝ ṣa-ba-ka
25. lu-wa-ší-ra-am
26. a-na ⌜ḫa⌝-am-ša-at
         u₄-mi
27. a-wa-tum ša-ak-
         na-at
28. i-na ṭu-pí-im
29. šu-uṭ-ra-am
30. i-na ⌜Ù⌝-ru-ḫa-lam
         we-du-a
    upper edge
31. [w]a-aš-bu-⌜ú⌝
    left edge
32. a-na šu-mi-ka WA-[   ] ṭi-de₄
33. a-ru-ma ar-⌜x⌝-[T]u-⌜tu-ub⌝(?)

[1-2)]Say to *Bi-bi*-x-*ku:* [4)]Can I win (my lawsuit?) against [3)]*Me-te-ba-an* [5)]or can't I? [6)]In the beginning [7-11)]. . . . [12-13)]What should I do? [14)]I have repeatedly made difficulties (but), [15)]they just (= absolutely) would not pay any attention to me. [16)]The Amorites [17-19)]have given me a decision about Tutub. [20-21)]If you will release the captives and [22-23)]I will . . . to the Amorites, [24-25)]then indeed I can get your troops released. [26-27)]For five days the matter is settled. [28-29)]Write (it) on a tablet for me. [30-31)]My *wēdû* are staying in Uruḫalam. [32)]For your sake, [32-33)]. . . .

This letter was obviously addressed to a person of importance since it deals with international diplomacy and asks for a decision concerning an apparent exchange of captives. One would expect it to be sent to a ruler, but the name is not recognizable either as a ruler of Eshnunna or of another city. Possibly the addressee was a military commander who could make such decisions as the letter calls for.

Although the first part of the letter (3–15) is obscure, the second part (16–25) describes an arrangement for the exchange of captives. It would seem that the exchange offer was valid for five days (26–27) after which it presumably would be withdrawn, and that the sender wanted a written confirmation of the acceptance of the offer by the addressee (28–29).

Line 3.—*Me-te-ba-an* is presumably a personal name, but, depending on the sense of the verb *leûm* (*leûm*) in lines 4–5, could possibly be a geographical designation. I have no interpretation for it (cf. Gelb, *AS* 21, 4662).

Lines 4–5.—When *leûm* has a person as subject, it has the meaning "to overcome," "to win (over)" and frequently occurs in contexts dealing with legal cases. Although less common, it can also refer to a physical contest and presumably even to a military encounter. In the present instance, the context surrounding the occurrence is not sufficiently clear to establish what type of situation is being discussed.

Lines 6–11.—The understanding of these lines hinges on two main factors. First is whether the sequence *ina šurrim* . . . *ina šanîm* . . . is to be interpreted as an opposition ("earlier . . . now . . ." or "in the beginning . . . in the future . . ." or "the first time . . . the next time . . .") or a continuation ("in the first place [= firstly] . . . in the second place [= secondly] . . ."). Second is whether *milkum* in line 7 is to be interpreted as "advice, counsel" or "mood, intent, decision." These possibilities provide quite a number of combinations and permutations for the interpretation of the passage. If *ina šurrim* . . . *ina šanîm* . . . is taken as an opposition, then lines 7–9 and line 11 should also express an opposition, or at least a significant change in status. If it is taken as a continuation, then lines 7–9 and line 11 are not necessarily connected except in the overall context of the letter. In either case, lines 6–11 presumably explain or rationalize the uncertainty and hesitancy expressed by the writer in lines 4–5 and again in lines 12–13.

Line 9.—The first sign is apparently either DI or ZU/SU but neither gives a word that I recognize.

Lines 14–15.—*Constructio ad sensum.*

Line 14.—I assume that the form is a Btn preterite since I would not expect a B perfect before the preterite in line 15. However, the entire reconstruction is very tentative.

Line 15.—If the first two signs are correctly read as *lu la,* this is certainly a unique occurrence in Old Babylonian. However, the position of the sign LU at the left margin of the tablet makes a reconstruction of ⌈*ù*⌉-*la* unlikely unless it is assumed that the scribe completely left out the IGI that is the first component of the ù sign. Note also the clearly written *ú-la* in line 5, making a reconstruction ⌈*ù*⌉-*la* even less likely. Obviously, this *lu la* cannot be equated with the *lu la* of New Assyrian, which is used as a prohibitive and thus always occurs before the present (see Ylvisaker, *Grammatik,* p. 61 and n. 4; for an exceptional use before a stative, compare *AHw,* p. 559a, *s.v. lū* 5 b and S. Parpola, *LAS,* pp. 196–97, No. 255:11), or with the similar uses of *lu la* in peripheral Akkadian texts of the Middle

Babylonian period (*CAD* L, p. 225b, *s.v. lu* 1 4′ c). This present use of *lu la* before a preterite is also unique. The *lu* must be considered as the asseverative particle (cf. *GAG* §81 f and *CAD* L, pp. 225–26, *s.v. lu* 2), which is rare in Old Babylonian letters (but seems rather more common in the archaic letters), and the *la* must be considered a negative so that the combination simply expresses a strong negation: "(I repeatedly made difficulties, but) they just (= absolutely) would not pay any attention to me."

Line 23.—Perhaps something like "I will take them safely. . . ."

Line 24.—The significance of the *ma* at the beginning of the line is not entirely clear to me. Presumably it is an asseverative particle (see *CAD* M/1, pp. 1–2, *s.v. mā* 2). It seems unlikely that it is a conjunctive *-ma* carried over from a verb in the previous line, but see the commentary to no. 29:4′.

Line 30.—ᵣŪᵔ-*ru-ḫa-lam* is possibly an aberrant writing for the place name Urguḫalam, which should be located in the Diyala region not far from Eshnunna (see my comments in *JCS* 28 [1976], 181).

The word written *we-du-a* is presumably to be connected with (*w*)*ēdû(m)* (*AHw*, p. 1495), even though the meaning remains obscure and the plural is otherwise attested only as *wēdûtum*.

No. 47   1930-T159   Pl. 23

    beginning of obverse destroyed

1. [   ]-ᵣxᵔ-*li*-[   ]
2. [   ]ᵣxᵔ-*ri-bu-šu*
3. [-*i*]*r am-ti-im*
4. [   ]ᵣᵈᵔŠEŠ.KI-m a-a n-s u m
5. [-*k*]*u-un i-ri-šu*
6. [   ]ᵣxᵔ-*šu-ma*
7. [   ]ᵣiᵔ-*di-in*
8. [   ]ᵣxᵔ-*ú*-ᵣxᵔ
9. [   ]ᵣxᵔ[   ]

    rest of obverse destroyed
    beginning of reverse destroyed

1′. [   ]-ᵣxᵔ
2′. [   ]-*a*
3′. [   ]-*bu*
4′. [   ]-*ma*
5′. [*Áš*]-*nun-na*ᴷᴵ
6′. [x-*l*]*i-ik*
7′. [   ]-ᵣxᵔ[ ]
8′. [   ]-*ma*
9′. [   ]-ᵣxᵔ

    rest destroyed

No. 48   1930-T229   Pl. 24

    beginning of obverse destroyed

1. ᵣARÁDᵔ *be-li*ᵔ-[*a*(?)]
2. *ki-ma* GÌR.N[ITÁ](?)
3. *be-li-a iš-ti-*[*ni-iš*](?)
4. *a-na ti-i-ir-t*[*i*]
      *be-li-*ᵣaᵔ

5. *az-za-az*
6. *šum-ma ki-ni-iš*
7. ARÁD *be-lí-a-ma*
8. *a-na-ku be-lí*
9. *i-na ki-it-tim*
10. *i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma*
11. ARÁD-*sú a-na-ku*
    lower edge
12. [   ] ⌜x⌝ -⌜x⌝
    reverse
13. [   ]-⌜x⌝-*tám-ma*
14. [   ]-⌜x⌝-*a*
15. [   ]-⌜x⌝-*ma*
16. [   ]-⌜ib⌝(?)-*lam*
17. [   ]-⌜x⌝ *ma-tim*
18. [   ]-⌜x⌝-*i-ma*
19. ⌜x⌝-[   ] ⌜ma⌝(?)-*tim*
20. ⌜dan⌝-*ni-iš-ma*
          le-mu-un
21. *um-m*[*a*]-⌜x⌝-[*m*]*a*(?)
          [   ]-⌜x⌝-*m*[*a*]
22. *be-*[*lí*(?)   ]
    rest of reverse destroyed
    left edge
1'. ⌜*be-lí*⌝ [   ] ⌜*a-na be*⌝-*l*[*í*(?)-*a*(?)   ]
2'. [   ]

[...] [1)]the slave of my lord [...] [2-5)]as a *šakkanakkum* of my lord I (will) at once obey the command of my lord. [6-8)]If I am truly the slave of my lord, [8-11)]my lord in truth rules me and I am his slave. [12-2')]. . . .

It is possible that this text was not a letter but was originally a loyalty oath. If it was a letter, the writer can only be described as obsequious.

The doodles in lines 4, 12, and 20 were made with a fingernail while the clay was still moist.

Lines 2–5.—*Constructio ad sensum.*

Line 2.—M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History,* pp. 82–83, has argued that GÌR.NITÁ should be read *rabiānum* in texts from the Diyala region. However, the evidence he has presented is all circumstantial, and until a firmer basis for such a reading is established, the traditional reading of *šakkanakkum* is retained here.

Lines 6–11.—See the commentary to no. 31:9.

No. 49   1931-T208   Pl. 24

1. [*a-na*   ]
2. [*qi-b*]*i-*⌜*ma*⌝
3. [*um-ma*   ]-⌜x⌝-*la-*⌜*ku*⌝-*ma*
4. [   ]-⌜x⌝-*lum*
5. [*ša*](?) ⌜*i*⌝-*na-bi-ta-kum*

6. [*w*]*a-ar-di*
7. ⌈*x*⌉-*bu*-⌈*li*⌉(?)
8. [*x*] *ud bi i ku* [   ]
9. [*i-t*]*a*(?)-*bi-it-m*[*a*]
          ar-[   ]
   rest of obverse destroyed
   beginning of reverse destroyed
1'. [   ]-⌈*x-x*⌉
2'. [   ]*i-ša-sí-k*[*um*](?)
3'. [*w*]*u-ši-ra-am*
   rest uninscribed

No. 50   1931-T376   Pl. 24
   beginning of obverse destroyed
1. ⌈*si-ki*⌉-[   ]
2. *la iš-mi-šu*
3. *ú-ta-ma-ma-a*
4. *di-nu-um pa-nu-um šu-ma*
   reverse uninscribed except for random wedges

   This text was possibly not a letter, but may have been a court memorandum or a deposition. A text of this type, written in Old Assyrian, was found at Tell Asmar (I. J. Gelb, "A Tablet of Unusual Type from Tell Asmar," *JNES* 1 [1942], 219–26). That text was apparently prepared as a deposition (unwitnessed) in an area where Old Assyrian was the written language and brought to Eshnunna to be used as evidence in a legal case. The present tablet may have served a similar purpose or it may have been a letter informing someone what would be sworn to in the event of a court case.

   The translation of the three preserved lines depends on how the form *ú-ta-ma-ma-a* is parsed. The form is either a Dr (*utamamma*) or a Drt (*uttamamma*) of *tamûm* "to swear" (for the terminology used see Whiting, *Orientalia* NS 50 [1981], 1–39). If the form is Dr, then the subject is probably the same as that of the verb in line 2 and the passage should be translated "he will swear that he did not hear it"; if the verb is Drt, this form implies a reciprocal and therefore requires a plural (or dual) subject, and the verb is either feminine plural or dual (*uttamammâ*) and must be translated "they will swear to each other that he did not hear it." In either case, the last line should be understood as "(therefore) the earlier judgment is (still) valid (lit. is it)."

No. 51   1930-T204   Pl. 25
   beginning of obverse destroyed
1. traces
2. traces
3. [   ] ⌈*i-ka-aš-ša-ad*⌉
4. ⌈*x-x-x*⌉-*ka*
5. *kar*-[*ṣ*]*í*(?)-*im*
6. *e-ep-pe-eš*
   reverse
7. *ki-ma a-ḫu-ka*
8. *a-na-ku-ma*
9. *a-wa-at-ka*

10. *a-ka-aš-ša-du*
11. *a-pa-aq-qí-id-kum*
     rest uninscribed

$^{1-6)}$. . . I will do. $^{7-8)}$Just as I am your brother $^{9-10)}$and would take care of your affair, $^{11)}$(so) I entrust (this) to you.

Lines 9–10.—For *awātam kašādum,* see the commentary to no. 31:17.

No. 52   1930-T181   Pl. 25

1. [*a-na* . . .]
2. [*qí-bí-ma*]
3. [*um-ma* . . . *-ma*]
4. ⌈ŠÀ.TAM.MEŠ⌉
5. *ù ra-qú-ú-*MEŠ
   reverse
6. *a-na* É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG
7. ⌈*li*⌉*-ru-bu-ma*
8. ⌈*pí-iš-ša*⌉*-ti*
9. [*li-im-ḫ*]*u-*⌈*ru*⌉*-nim*

$^{1-3)}$[. . . .] $^{4-9)}$Let the *šatammū* and the "perfume makers" enter the "storeroom of top quality sweet oil" and get my anointing oil for me.

Lines 4–6.—Syllabic writings of *raqqûm* are rare in Old Babylonian letters, the only other occurrence known to me being *ARM* 7 103:4, but are somewhat more common in Mari administrative texts (*e.g., ARM* 23 469–73, 475, 477, 479–80, 483–85, 487–88). The Sumerian terms ŠIM.SAR, šà-tam, and ì-rá-rá are all equated with *raqqûm* in the lexical series Lu (*MSL* 12, p. 137:257–59). The word *raqqûm* also has the same meaning as *muraqqûm* (*muraqqium*) as was pointed out by Landsberger, *AfO* 10 (1935–36), 150, *raqqûm* being prevalent in Babylonian while *muraqqûm* is more common in Assyrian. Both are normally translated "perfume maker." The word *muraqqûm* is the active participle of the verb *ruqqûm,* which as von Soden suggested (*AHw,* p. 995a, *s.v.*) is probably a denominative verb from *rīqum* "aromatic plant or essence" and therefore has only a D stem, while *raqqûm* (<*raqqāʾum) is a *parrās* formation denoting a profession or occupation (*GAG* §55 o 23 a II). In view of the identity of the two terms, the treatment afforded them in *AHw* is somewhat misleading. *AHw* has an entry for *muraqqītu,* which is the feminine form of *muraqqû,* with the meaning "Salben-mischerin" "female ointment mixer," while the entry for *muraqqiu/muraqqû* gives the meaning "etwa 'Parfumeur'" "perhaps 'perfume maker'" and the word *raqqû(m)* II is given the translation "Ölkelterer" "oil presser." In view of the fact that the formations of the words *muraqqûm* and *raqqûm* both indicate "the person who performs the action indicated by the verbal root" and that both are equated with Sumerian ì-rá-rá (see *AfO* 18, p. 83:255 for *muraqqûm*) but not with ì-sur = *ṣāḫitum* "oil presser" it is apparent that both words have the same meaning. The meaning of the words is perhaps best revealed by the Sumerian since sur = *ṣaḫātum* "to press" (*ŠL* 101:25) and rá means "to mix" (Deimel, *Orientalia* 21 [1926], 11; cf. Bauer, *Lagasch,* pp. 334 *ad* IV 3 and 335 *ad* I 3). Although the occupation *raqqûm/muraqqûm* must have involved some pressing of plants for oils or essences, its main function seems to have been the mixing and preparation of salves, unguents, ointments, and perfumes.

One such preparation was the commodity known as ì-(giš-)dùg-ga, literally "sweet oil," for which the Akkadian equivalent is *šamnum ṭābum* (*AHw,* p. 1157, *s.v. šamnu(m)* 3 c). Von Soden

translates the term as "Feinöl," but actually ì-dùg-ga was an elaborate concoction containing over twenty ingredients. The recipes for three types of ì-dùg-ga are found in *MVN* 4 61 (= *Orientalia* 15, pp. 55–56) and *TCL* 5, pl. 32 and show that, in addition to a wide range of aromatic and other substances, ì-dùg-ga also contained dates, figs, and beer. In fact, high quality beer (kaš sig₅) seems to have formed the liquid base for ì-dùg-ga since in all three recipes that are preserved, the amount of beer used is almost exactly equal to the final amount of ì-dùg-ga produced. Another interesting and somewhat surprising fact is that the ingredients do not include anything identified as oil of the most common types such as sesame oil (ì-giš) or animal fat (ì-udu, ì-nun, etc.). Thus the translation "Feinöl" for ì-dùg-ga or ì-giš-dùg-ga, implying that it was a higher grade or quality of oil than simple ì or ì-giš, is misleading since ì-(giš-)dùg-ga was an aromatic unguent made of a complicated mixture of ingredients, none of which was ì or ì-giš.

In addition to the lexical equation of šà-tam with *raqqûm* cited above, the connection of the *šatammū* with the *raqqû* is further illustrated by an early Isin text. *BIN* 9 366 includes an issue of leather covers for jars of "sweet oil" (ì-dùg-ga) é ì-rá-rá-šè gìr PN₁ ì-rá-rá ù PN₂ šà-tam "for the workshop of the *raqqû*, via PN₁, the *raqqûm*, and PN₂, the *šatammum*."

Despite this persistent association of the *šatammū* and the *raqqû*, and even despite the lexical equation, the *šatammum* and the *raqqûm* were certainly not the same thing. The *šatammū* were accountants and clerks, and, as such, must have functioned in practically every office of the bureaucracy. See M. Gallery, "The Office of the *šatammu* in the Old Babylonian Period," *AfO* 27 (1980), 1–36.

At Mari, the term é ì-dùg-ga alternates with é ì-sag (*ARM* 23 488 and 486; cf. D. Soubeyran, *ARMT* 23, p. 419 and D. Charpin, *MARI* 2, p. 212, n. 4). The function as a storeroom is indicated by the occurrence of É *ku-nu-ki-im* [*ša*] Ì.DÙG.GA SAG (*ARM* 21 256:10–11), translated by J.-M. Durand, *ARMT* 21, p. 295, as "l'entrepôt scellé des parfums de luxe," where a number of various bronze objects were stored.

Finally, the term é ì-dùg-ga is also attested in an administrative text from Larsa dated to the reign of Sumu-El (*YOS* 14 212): 0.2.17 ½ sila₃ ì-giš mu-túm PN₁ é ì-dùg-ga-šè šu-ti-a PN₂ ì-rá-rá "0.2.17 ½ sila₃ of sesame oil, a delivery of PN₁ for the storeroom of 'sweet oil,' received by PN₂, the *raqqûm*" (cf. D. Charpin, *BiOr* 36 [1979], 192 and n. 8).

No. 53   1931-T187

1. *a-na Am-mu-*[   ]
2. *qi-bí-*[*ma*]
3. *um-ma Še-li-*⌈BA⌉-*tum-*[*ma*]
4. *šum-ma a-ḫi at-ta*
5. *ù a-na-ku*
6. *a-ḫa-at-ka*
7. *a-wi-il-tum*
8. *tap-pá-ti*
9. *lu ni-pu-tám*
10. *lu* KÙ.BABBAR
11. *lu* ŠE
12. *šu-di-na-ma*
13. *šu-bi-lam*

¹⁻²⁾Say to Ammu-[   ]: ³⁾Thus (says) *Še-li-*⌈BA⌉-*tum:* ⁴⁾If you are my brother ⁵⁻⁶⁾and I am your sister, ⁷⁻¹³⁾from the woman, my associate, collect either a distrainee or the silver or the grain and send it to me.

This tablet is presently missing. I am indebted to Thorkild Jacobsen for the transliteration of the text presented here. According to the records, the tablet was never received at the Oriental Institute. See my comments in *JAOS* 97 (1977), 171.

No. 54   1930-T166   Pl. 26

obverse not transliterated

reverse

1. ⌜a-na⌝ *Tu-na-ab-šum*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma Am-mu-ra-pí-ma*
4. [*t*]*a-ta-wi-im-ma*
5. *ú-la am-gu-ur-ki*
6. ⌜i⌝-*na-na a-na a-wa-ti-ki*
7. ⌜uz⌝(?)-[*ni aš*]-⌜ta⌝-*ka-an*
8. [   ]-⌜x⌝-*im*
9. [   ]-⌜x⌝

rest destroyed

[1-2]Say to Tunabšum: [3]Thus (says) Ammu-rapi: [4-5]You spoke to me, but I did not agree with you. [6-7]Now I have come around to your point of view. [8-9][. . . .]

This text is clearly an exercise for reasons that are obvious from the copy and need not be enumerated here. For a discussion of letter writing exercises in the Old Babylonian period, see F. R. Kraus, *JEOL* 16 (1959–62), 16–39.

No. 55   1933-T6   Pl. 26

1. *a-na* ᵈ*Tišpak-mu-*⌜*ta*⌝-*bi-il-*⌜*šu*⌝
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma I-bi-*ᵈEN.ZU-*ma*
4. *ma-ru-ka-a-ma*
5. *šum-ma a-bi at-ta*
6. *ša ṣa-ba-at qa-ti-ia*
7. *e-pu-uš la* ⌜*e*⌝-*bé-*⌜*re*⌝
8. 1 *šu-ši* GUR ŠE
9. *li-di-nu-nim*

lower edge

10. [*šum-m*]*a a-bi at-ta*

reverse

11. *la a-ru-u*[*r-tum*] NU.BANDA₃
12. *la i-na-*⌜*ki*(?)-*šu*(?)-*ú*⌝

[1-2]Say to Tišpak-muttabbilšu: [3]Thus (says) Ibbi-Sin, [4]your son: [5]If you are my father, [6-9]do what is necessary to guarantee me; so that I should not go hungry, let them give me sixty *kurrū* of barley. [10]If you are my father: [11-12]There is no famine; they should not put aside the *laputtûm*.

Line 1.—For the name, compare ᵈUTU-*mu-ta-bi-il-šu* in *CT* 8 43 b:18.

Lines 6–7.—This is a very common type of infinitive construction. For its interpretation, see Aro, *Infinitiv,* pp. 49–50.

Line 10.—The surface of the tablet is not damaged, so it seems that the signs at the beginning of the line were inadvertently erased by someone holding the tablet with the upper and lower edge between his thumb and forefinger.

Line 12.—For *nakāšum* "to neglect, to put aside," see, besides the dictionaries, von Soden, *ZA* 68 (1978), 78, *ad* line 67 (cf. Stol, *AbB* 9, p. 151). This reading was suggested by F. R. Kraus.

EXCURSUS A: limdum "(made) known," "known (about)"

The form *limdātim* found in no. 11:12 is the accusative feminine plural of the adjective *limdum* used as a substantive. This word is apparently derived from the root LMD "know," and is otherwise attested only in a letter found at Mari (*ARM* 10 38). Interestingly enough, this Mari letter was apparently written at Sippar (cf. Sasson, *JCS* 25 [1973], 77–78, and Batto, *Women at Mari,* pp. 93–102). The passage in question (lines 12–21) reads as follows (with my own reconstruction of line 15):

> *a-na mi-nim* 2 SAG GEMÉ *li-im-da-ti-ia* [*t*]*a-ap-ru-ús* [*ù*](?) *aš-šu-m*[*i-ša ši-wi*]-*ri* ⌈*tu*⌉-*ša-bi-lam*
> 1 GEMÉ *ta-ap-ta-ra-às i-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma* 2 GEMÉ *li-im-da-ti-ia ù lu-bu-ši šu-bi-lam.*

Both *CAD* L, p. 191a and Batto, *op. cit.,* p. 101, have opted for the meaning of *limdum* as "trained," and Batto translated the *ARM* 10 38 passage as follows:

> "Why have you singled out the two female slaves that were trained for me? . . . you have sent me. One of the female slaves you have singled out! Now then send me (both of) the two female slaves that were trained for me—and (also send me) my ration of clothes!"

Batto's interpretation is based on a passage in another letter from the same woman (*ARM* 10 42:1′–6′) in which he reads

> "[(x)]x-*ma ša*⌉[. . .] *la-am-da-a-ku* 2 GEMÉ *tu-la-mi-da-ni a-na mi-nim a-na* 1 GEMÉ *tu*⌉-*te-er*
> GEMÉ⌉ *šu-bi-lam*"

and translates

> " . . . in which(?) . . . I am skilled(?), you have trained two female slaves for me. Why have you reneged (?) on one slave? Send me the (other) slave(?)!"

However, Dossin, *ARMT* 10 42:1′–6′, has read the passage as

> "[*šam*]*aššammam* (= [ŠE].NI.GIŠ) *ta-*[*ka-al-la*?] *la-am-da-a-*[*k*]*u* 2 *amātim tu-la-mi-da-ni a-na mi-nim a-na* 1 *amtim tu*⌉-*ut*⌉-*te-er* x *šu-bi-lam*"

and translated:

> "Tu [me retiens(?) le sé]same; j'en avais reçu la promesse. Tu m'avais promis 2 servantes. Pourquoi, en ce qui concerne 1 servante, t'es-tu ravisé? Fais m'(en) amener [1(?) (encore)(?)]."

Batto based the meaning of *limdum* in *ARM* 10 38 as "trained" on his interpretation of *tulammidanni* in *ARM* 10 42:4′ as "you have trained . . . for me," while Dossin took *limdum* to mean "promis" (*ARMT* 10, p. 260 *ad* 38:13, 19) and translated the *ARM* 10 38 passage as:

> "Pourquoi as-tu retranché les 2 femmes esclaves que tu m'avais promises? [   ] tu (m')as fait porter; tu as retranché 1 servante. Maintenant donc, les 2 servantes que tu m'avais promises et ma ration d'étoffe, fais-moi porter."

The nuance "promise" selected by Dossin as an interpretation of *lummudum* "to inform" is easily acceptable and fits the context quite well. It is made certain by yet another passage from this same woman's correspondence, *ARM* 10 36:22–26:

> *ip-ri lu-bu-ši ša* A.BA *ú-la-*⟨*mi*⟩*-da-an-ni* ⟨*ú-la*⟩ *i-di-nu-nim-ma li-di-nu-nim la ba-ri-a-ku*

> my barley ration (and) my clothing (allowance) that my father promised me, they have not given to me; let them give (it) to me so that I should not starve

which is quite incompatible with Batto's interpretation of *lummudum* as "to train." Taking all three passages into consideration and keeping the meaning of *lamādum* as "to know, to find out" and *lummudum* as "to inform" and by extension "to promise," it would seem that the *ARM* 10 42 passage should be read:

> [*ki-ma* x *ù*](?) [ŠE].Ì.GIŠ *ta-[ap-ru-sú*](?) *la-am-da-a-ᵓku*ᵓ 2 GEMÉ *tu-la-mi-da-ni a-na mi-nim a-na* 1 GEMÉ *tu*(!)-*ut*(!)-*te-er* (erasure) *šu-bi-lam*

> I have found out [that you have held back my x and](?) my sesame. You promised me two slaves; why have you changed it to one slave? Send (these things) to me.

Before analyzing the Mari passage containing *limdum,* it will be worthwhile to investigate the Eshnunna occurrence. We have already seen that the translation "trained" for *limdum* based on the meaning of *lummudum* "to train" is not consistent with the use of *lummudum* in other passages written by the same person; in the letter from Tell Asmar, a translation of *limdum* as "trained" is completely impossible because the *limdātum* are listed in lines 15–17 and consist of various types of objects. There is no reason why the word has to mean exactly the same thing in both letters, but since both are talking about things that have been withheld from the author of the letter followed by a request that they be sent, the contexts are virtually identical and therefore it is likely that the word has the same meaning in both places. Dossin's interpretation of *limdum* as "promis" is appropriate for the Mari passage, and would also fit the Eshnunna example, but since "promised" is based on a nuance of *lummudum* in the sense of "to inform," it is my feeling that the most general meaning of *limdum* is "(made) known" or "known (about)" and that by the extension of this meaning to varying contexts it means "promised" or "expected." It is clear from the context of the Tell Asmar letter that the delivery of a number of objects for Abda-El, presumably as gifts, was expected and that the objects had been held back, apparently because of the death of Abda-El. Whether these objects were expected because they were regular and customary deliveries or because they had been mentioned specifically as being sent is not clear. In either case, Ušašum asked Bilalama to send these gifts, intended for Abda-El, to him so that his Amorite colleagues would see that Ušašum was held in as high regard by the ruler of Eshnunna as his father had been. Thus the translation of *limdātim ša Abda-El . . . šubilam* is "send me the expected things for Abda-El" (whether they were expected as regular and customary gifts or because they had been specifically promised is not important for the meaning of *limdum*), and the translation of 2 GEMÉ *limdātija . . . šubilam* is "send me the two slaves promised to me," keeping in mind that the basic meaning is "made known to me" and that "promised" is only a nuance based on the usage of *lummudum* favored by the author of the letters found at Mari.

On this basis, I would interpret the *ARM* 10 38 passage as follows:

> Why did you hold back the two slaves promised to me? [And on account of her](?) you sent me my [ring-money] and have held back one (more) slave. Now then, send me the two slaves promised to me and my clothing allowance.

It would seem that there are two verbal adjectives associated with *lamādum:* (a) the regular form *lamdum* (not yet attested in Old Babylonian; cf. *CAD* L, p. 67b) meaning "informed, experienced, skilled, trained"; (b) a non-paradigmatic form *limdum* meaning "(made) known, expected, promised." If this analysis is correct, *lamdum* and *limdum* are separate words with different meanings rather than *limdum* being a "by-form" of *lamdum* with the same meaning as suggested by *CAD* L, p. 191a or an example of "Vokalfärbung" as suggested by Römer, *AOAT* 12, p. 69, n. 4.

EXCURSUS B: šā/ē/ī/ūbultum "gift, shipment, consignment"

The word *šībultum,* clearly used in no. 15:7′ with the meaning "gift, present," corresponds to later Babylonian *šūbultum* "gift, present" and to Assyrian *šēbultum* "consignment, shipment." The Sumerian equivalent is níg-šu-tak₄-a, a fact that seems not to have had much currency in Sumerological literature until the publication of *MSL* 13 with the result that a good deal of confusion about the meaning of the term has arisen. The equivalence is shown by the lexical series Nigga which has níg-šu-tak₄-a = *šu-bu-ù-ul-tum* (*MSL* 13, p. 115:8). The same equivalence is given by Hh. I (*MSL* 5, p. 12:39), although it has been obscured by the fact that the Sumerian níg-šu-dug₄-ga-a from a Ras Shamra version of the forerunner to Hh. I was taken as representing the main textual tradition while the fact that all other versions of the text that have this line preserved show níg-šu-tak₄-a or níg-tak₄-àm was relegated to the note to the line. The equivalence is also found in Erimḫuš Bogh. B (*MSL* 17, p. 118:18′; cf. *MSL* 5, p. 11, note to lines 36–38) and the line in question can be reconstructed from *KBo* 1 35 (B) and 37 (B₃). *KBo* 1 37 is part of a two-column version from which can be read the following:

níg-šu-tak₄-[a]   ⌜*šu-bul-tù*⌝ (collated H. G. Güterbock)

KBo 1 35 contains a four-column version (Sumerian, syllabic Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite) that preserves the following:

[   ] *šu-bu-ul-tù   up-pí-iš-[š]ar*

Combining the two sources, the following equivalents are obtained:

Sumerian: níg-šu-tak₄-a
Akkadian: *šūbultum*
Hittite: *uppeššar*

The equation is not given in Deimel, *ŠL,* although other material from *KBo* 1 is included there. Admittedly, the sign TAK₄ is difficult to recognize, and, in order to obtain the equation, one must combine the evidence of *KBo* 1 35 and 37; it is much easier to reconstruct the Boghazköy source today with the help of other lexical material that was not available at that time. However, the fact that the equation níg-šu-tak₄-a = *šūbultum* is not in *ŠL* and that it was obscured in *MSL* 5 has resulted in its apparently not being generally known to Sumerologists, occasionally with disastrous results.

We can expect that the equation níg-šu-tak₄-a = *šūbultum* has some bearing on the meaning of the Sumerian verb šu—tak₄, especially since the form níg-šu-tak₄-a is consistently equated with *šūbultum* rather than being associated with other Akkadian words for "gift" such as *nidintum* or *qīštum.* In fact, there is an overall tendency in the lexical texts to keep the cognate roots together and parallel in the various general words for "gift." A glance through *CAD* and *AHw* will show the following overall scheme:

dé = *babālum*	níg-dé-a = *biblum*
sum = *nadānum*	níg-sum-mu = *nidintum*
ba = *qiāšum*	níg-ba = *qīštum*

To round out this picture we should add another pair:

šu—tak₄ = ?	níg-šu-tak₄-a = *šūbultum*

If the analogy is sound, it is apparent that $šu—tak_4 = šubulum$ "to send." Note that in each case the noun is a concrete substantive indicating the result of the verbal action, each with a logical semantic development into "gift":

$babālum$ = "to bring"	$biblum$ = "that which is brought" > "gift"
$nadānum$ = "to give"	$nidintum$ = "that which is given" > "gift"
$qiāšum$ = "to present"	$qīštum$ = "that which is presented" > "gift"
$šūbulum$ = "to send"	$šūbultum$ = "that which is sent" > "gift"

This chain of logic can be taken a step farther by considering the Hittite word $uppeššar,$ given as the equivalent of $níg-šu-tak_4-a$ and $šubultum$ in Erimhuš Bogh. B. This word is a concrete substantive indicating the result of the action derived from the verb $uppa-$ "to send" (cf. Friedrich, *Heth. Wb.,* pp. 234–35). The word $uppeššar$ thus has exactly the same semantic development as the word $šūbultum$:

$uppa-$ = "to send"	$uppeššar$ = "that which is sent" > "gift"

Evidence from comparative semantics is far from conclusive, but the fact that the concept "that which is sent" becomes the word for "gift" is such a common development coupled with the use of cognate roots in parallel Sumerian and Akkadian verbs and deverbal nouns argues strongly in favor of a meaning "to send" for $šu—tak_4$, despite the absence to date of a direct lexical equation "$šu—tak_4 = šubulum.$"

The translation "to send" for $šu—tak_4$ was advanced by F. Ali, *Sumerian Letters,* p. 66; E. Sollberger, *TCS* 1, p. 177:693 2; and M. Cohen, *Orientalia* NS 45 (1976), 274. It was objected to by M. Powell, *ZA* 68 (1978), 165, apparently more on the basis of methodology than semantics since he eventually (p. 194) translated $šu—tak_4$ as "send." The salient point of the entire discussion is that none of these authors ever used the equation $níg-šu-tak_4-a = šubultum$ as evidence for the meaning of the verb $šu—tak_4$.

The term $níg-šu-tak_4-a$ is quite common in the administrative texts from Eshnunna as it is in the contemporary texts from Isin in *BIN* 9. The occurrences in *BIN* 9 were misinterpreted by Edzard, *ZZB,* p. 38, n. 165 and *passim,* as $nì-šu-peš-a$ "Zuteilung für die 'Fänger'" by reading $šu-tak_4$ as $šu-peš$ (Akk. $bā^{\jmath}irum$) "Fänger." This was unfortunate because the term $níg-šu-tak_4-a$ is very important for the reconstruction of political history. The Tell Asmar texts show that persons who receive objects or commodities designated as $níg-šu-tak_4-a$ are usually outsiders (*i.e.,* not from Eshnunna) and persons of some rank or status. The same names will reoccur in administrative texts represented by $lú$ or $lú-kin-gi_4-a$ "messenger or ambassador." This pattern can also be observed in the texts from Isin. Particularly instructive in this regard is *BIN* 9 395 which describes in lines 22–26 an elaborate box designed as a case for a golden drinking vessel (1 $^{GIŠ}na-ah-ba-tum\ an-za-am\ kù-gi$), covered with leather and lined with felt, which in lines 27–28 is said to be $níg-šu-tak_4-a\ ki\ Ú-si-i$ MAR.TU-šè gìr $I-din-a-bu-um\ lú-kin-gi_4-a$ "a gift for $Ú-si-i$ the Amorite, via Iddin-abum, the messenger/ambassador." The text continues with the issue of a pair of sandals and a leather water bag for this same Iddin-abum, followed by the issue of three pairs of sandals and three water bags for $lú-kin-gi_4-a$ $Ú-si-i$ MAR.TU $3-a-bi$ "the three messengers/ambassadors of $Ú-si-i,$ the Amorite." Clearly this text outlines some of the preparations for a diplomatic mission in which a gift for $Ú-si-i$ is entrusted to Iddin-abum, a messenger/ambassador from Isin, who will accompany the three messengers/ambassadors of $Ú-si-i$ back to their homeland and present the gift to him. Among other important people who receive $níg-šu-tak_4-a$ in the Isin texts are Abda-El and Ušašum (*BIN* 9 316), who are well known at Eshnunna (see the Introduction, p. 26), and $Zi-nu-um$ (*BIN* 9 332:18), possibly the same

person as the Zinnum, ensi of Su-bir₄ᴷᴵ, mentioned in the letter of Puzur-Numušda to Ibbi-Sin (see the Introduction, p. 23, and p. 26, n. 77).

The occurrences of the expression níg-šu-tak₄-a in the Isin and Eshnunna texts point to its use as a technical term in administrative texts with the meaning "official gift" or "diplomatic gift." This is apparently the meaning of níg-šu-tak₄-a advocated by Powell, *ZA* 68 (1978), 190:64. Even so, despite the fact that níg-šu-tak₄-a refers to an official or diplomatic gift, this may be a bias from the administrative texts (note that in *MSL* 5, níg-šu-tak₄-a = *šūbultum* occurs among terminology for various types of wedding gifts), and it would not be a valid position to work backward from this point to conclude that šu—tak₄ means "to make an official present (of something)" any more than it would be valid to assume that since *šūbultum* means "gift," *šūbulum* means "to give a gift." Just as níg-šu-tak₄-a probably has a wider meaning than "official/diplomatic gift," I would also opt for a more general translation of šu—tak₄ as "to send" as the basic meaning, especially in view of the occurrences (*ZA* 68, p. 190:68–70 plus *TCS* 1 147:14) where "send" is a proper translation regardless of any specific nuance implied by the context. The term níg-šu-tak₄-a can be used to refer to an incoming gift as well as one that is being sent. This is shown by a Tell Asmar text (1931-T148) that lists among "miscellaneous deliveries" (mu-túm-didli) 1 dug ZAG.ŠÈ.LAL ì-nun níg-šu-tak₄-a Iš-bi-ìr-ra "1 jar of ghee, an official gift from Išbi-Irra." This text has Date Formula No. 46 (*OIP* 43, p. 173) and should date to the reign of Šu-ilija (see the Introduction, n. 87).

While the equivalence of níg-šu-tak₄-a and *šūbultum* is well established, it remains to be shown that the word *šībultum* in no. 15:7′ is in fact the same word as *šūbultum*. There can be no doubt from the context that the word *šībultum* there must be interpreted as "gift" or "present," but the equivalence can be more firmly established by the comparison of this context with the use of níg-šu-tak₄-a in a Tell Asmar administrative text for the same type of gift. Tell Asmar 1931-T263 lists a garment (1 túg níg-lám), a jar of oil (1 dug šagan ì-giš), and two strings of fruit (2 ᴳᴵˢpèš še-ir-gu), all described as níg-šu-tak₄-a u₄ *A-wi-la-nu-um* dumu *Ab-da-El* ba-ug₆ "an official gift when Awilanum, the son of Abda-El, died." This text has Date Formula No. 69 (*OIP* 43, p. 179, Bilalama) and thus is contemporary with letter no. 15 at least to the extent that both date to the reign of Bilalama. These texts shed some light on the nature of grave goods and funerary practices among the Amorites, but such topics are beyond the scope of the present discussion, and what is significant is that *šībultum* is used in an Akkadian context for the same concept that is expressed by níg-šu-tak₄-a in Sumerian. Other uses of the term níg-šu-tak₄-a show that it has a wider meaning than "funerary gift," just as *šībultum* in no. 15:7′ has a wider meaning than *qubūrum* "funerary gift" used in line 3′.

The Assyrian form of *šūbultum* is *šēbultum*. In the Cappadocian texts it has the meaning "consignment (*i.e.*, shipment)" as has been shown by Veenhof, *Old Assyrian Trade*, pp. 140–43, who made allowance for the fact that it may also mean "gift" in some instances. Veenhof, following Hecker, *GKT* §55 d, considered *šēbultum* as a substantivized verbal adjective from the Š stem of *wabālum* as opposed to von Soden, *GAG* §56 i 21 b (*šēbultum*) and §56 j 23 b (*šūbultum*), who considered both *šēbultum* and *šūbultum* as *nomina actionis* from this same stem but with different formations. In both cases, the concept of a substantivized verbal adjective fits the meaning of the words better than a *nomen actionis*. The two words would then have a parallel semantic development: "that which is sent" > "consignment, shipment" and "that which is sent" > "gift." The analysis of the word *šēbultum* provided by Veenhof, especially the phonological development of *šēbultum* and *šūbultum*, is quite sound. The main problem is that in the Tell Asmar texts the word seems quite clearly to be *šībultum* and not *šēbultum*.

In addition to letter no. 15, the word *šībultum* occurs twice more in texts from Eshnunna. It is found in letter no. 29 where we have *ši-bu-ul-ta-kà Bu-du-du li-ib-la-am* "let PN bring your *š.* to me,"

and in Tell Asmar 1931-T123 which is a small clay tag that says simply *ší-bu-ul-ti I-tu-ru-um a-na be-lí-a* "the *š.* of PN for my lord." In letter no. 29, the context seems commercial so it is possible that *šībultum* there means "consignment, shipment" rather that "gift." There is no context associated with the clay tag, so either meaning of the word could be appropriate. To my knowledge, the word *šūbultum* does not occur in texts from Tell Asmar.

Von Soden, following his initial position in *GAG,* has separate entries in *AHw* for *šūbultum* (p. 1258b) and *šēbultum* (p. 1208a), the latter with the note that the Old Babylonian form is *šībultum.* In *AHw, šūbultum* is defined as "Sendung, Geschenk" while *šēbultum* is given the meanings "Versendung, Transport." In my view, this is an artificial and unnecessary division. Furthermore, this separation of *šūbultum* and *šēbultum* into two words with *šībultum* being appended to *šēbultum,* has resulted in a good deal of confusion of the individual entries. Thus the occurrences of *šībultum* in *CT* 48 42 have been placed under *šēbultum* "Versendung, Transport," even though the *šībultum* is a small parcel of land. Since land cannot be sent from place to place, it is obvious that this text uses *šībultum* in its completely transferred meaning of "gift," especially since the term is used in conjunction with the verb *qiāšum* "to present." Similarly, the occurrences of *šībultum* in *CH* §112 (cf. Leemans, *Foreign Trade,* p. 74, n. 2) are used to indicate "consignment, shipment" and not as a *nomen actionis.* Although *ana šībultim* could possibly be translated "for transporting" rather than "as a consignment," the term *bēl šībultim* can only mean "the owner of the consignment," and these occurrences belong under the meaning "Sendung" rather than "Versendung, Transport." What is more important, von Soden has not noted that a variant text uses *šūbulti* (Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws,* vol. 2, p. 110 *ad* Col. iib ll. 57 and 73) and that a late version from Kouyunjik has *še-[bu-ul]-ti* (cf. Borger, *BAL,* vol. 2, p. 22; collated R. Borger, to whom I am indebted for pointing out this occurrence). Thus all three forms of the word occur as variants in the Laws. Finally, as meaning 2 of *šēbultum* von Soden gives "für *šūbultu* 'Geschenk'" citing two Old Babylonian texts (*TCL* 10 125 and 98) where *šībultum* and *šūbultum* interchange in exactly the same context. However, the term in these texts does not mean "gift" but "consignment, shipment." The commercial nature and significance of these texts have been discussed extensively by Leemans, *Foreign Trade,* pp. 57–84, who pointed out (p. 71, n. 1) that *šībultum* and *šūbultum* were the same word. It is interesting to note that, although Leemans argued for the Eshnunna origin of all the texts in this group, the text that has *šībultum* is dated with the Eshnunna calendar while the text that uses *šūbultum* is dated with the Larsa calendar. Two recently published texts (*RA* 72, p. 133 21 and 22) that also refer to this same trade give further evidence of the use of *šūbultum* for "consignment, shipment," in this instance with reference to goods rather than silver. Another example of *šībultum* used with the meaning "consignment, shipment" that was not collected by von Soden for *AHw* is found in IM 49307, a letter found at Tell ed-Der, partially published in transliteration by Leemans, *Foreign Trade,* pp. 106–7: *ši-pí-ir-ka i-li-ka-ma ši-bu-ul-ta-ka a-na* PN *i-di-in* "your messenger arrived and gave your consignment to PN." It is clear from these examples that *šēbultum, šībultum,* and *šūbultum* are all used with both meanings: "consignment, shipment" and "gift."

The only justification for separating *šūbultum* and *šēbultum* is the existence of the Old Babylonian form *šībultum,* used with the same meanings, which cannot be derived from an original Babylonian *šuprust* form and must ultimately go back to a *šaprust* formation. Unless the word *šībultum* was derived from Assyrian, we must reckon with an original Babylonian *šaprust* formation. The development *aj (ai)* > *ē* is normal in Assyrian as the development *aj (ai)* > *ī* is normal in Babylonian (cf. *GAG* §§11 a and 22 f) while *aw (au)* > *ū* regularly in Babylonian. Therefore Old Babylonian *šībultum* can only be derived from an original *šaprust* form from *wabālum* with initial *w* considered as initial *j* in exactly the same manner as the development of Assyrian *šēbultum* was explained by Veenhof (*loc. cit.*).

Veenhof (p. 141, n. 242) discounted the idea of an original Babylonian *šaprust* formation, but did not deal with the problem of Old Babylonian. *šībultum*. The formation *šuprust* is the normal form of the *nomen actionis* to the Š stem in Babylonian, but since *šē/ī/ūbultum* does not function as a *nomen actionis,* it can properly be asked whether all three words were not derived from an original *šaprust* formation with the phonological differences being the result of a different treatment of the initial radical of the root. Thus *šajbultum* becomes *šēbultum* in Old Assyrian but *šībultum* in Old Babylonian, while *šawbultum* becomes *šūbultum*.

With this in mind, we can consider two Old Akkadian occurrences that, as Leemans, *Foreign Trade,* p. 71, n. 1, has pointed out, may be an earlier form of *šūbultum*. *MAD* 1 292:13–15 records: 6 ŠE.GUR.SAG.GÁL *šu sa-bu-ul-ti* š[E] *ši* DINGIR-*na-zi-ir* Lugal-ezen *im-[ḫur]* "6 gursaggal of barley of the *š.* of barley of PN₁, PN₂ received." *MAD* 1 321:6–9 lists: 80 (*sic,* collated) ŠE.GUR *Na-bí-u[m]* DAM.KÀR *im-[ḫur] a-na ša-bu-u[l]?-t[im]*(*sic,* collated) "80 gur of barley PN, the merchant, received; for *š.*" The connection of these two occurrences with later *šūbultum* is not unequivocal since the contexts are not specific; however, von Soden has collected them under *šupēltum* in *AHw* (p. 1279) which seems unlikely since the original form of this word is *šupaʾʾultum* and a contracted writing of that type would not be expected in Old Akkadian. There are two problems with connecting the Old Akkadian references with later *šūbultum*. First is the variant spellings of the word with the signs SA and ŠA, which normally represent different phonemes in Old Akkadian (cf. Gelb, *MAD* 2, pp. 35–38). Since the *š* of *šūbultum* is the *š* of the Š stem, the correct writing is with SA; however, although the writing conventions are observed in the great majority of cases, there are exceptions (cf. Gelb, *loc. cit.*) and the writing with ŠA could be acceptable. Second is the problem of the vowel *a* in the first syllable. As a possible solution we can adduce the permissible forms of the preterite of the verb *šūbulum* where we find *ušābil, ušēbil,* and *ušūbil* (although *ušūbil* is not directly attested, analogous forms of other verbs with initial *w* show that it could have existed; cf. *GAG* §103 s–v and *MAD* 2, pp. 183–84). If we follow von Soden (*GAG* §130 s), the last two forms were derived from the roots JBL and WBL respectively while the first was derived from the unaugmented biconsonantal root. By analogy, we can suggest that Old Akkadian *šābultum* is a *ša(p)rust* formation derived from the unaugmented root BL. While the connection between this *šābultum* and later *šūbultum* remains speculative, if the preceding analysis of Old Akkadian *šābultum* is correct, it fits nicely with the later forms of the word and guarantees that the original formation of the word was *šaprust*.

Regardless of whether there was an Old Akkadian word *šābultum* that was related to *šūbultum* or not, the evidence shows that *šēbultum, šībultum,* and *šūbultum* are all the same word; that the general meaning of the word is "that which is sent" with the concrete meanings "consignment, shipment" and "gift" but that it is not used as a *nomen actionis;* that *šībultum* can only be derived from an original *šaprust* formation and therefore it is possible that all three forms are ultimately derived from the same *šaprust* formation.

SUPPLEMENT

The following three fragmentary letter envelopes are presented here as a supplement to the letters themselves. Based on the impressions of text found on the inside of the fragments, none of the envelopes seem to belong to any of the preserved letters, but it is possible that they may have belonged to a letter on which the corresponding text has been destroyed. From the impressions of signs on the fragments, only one complete word, *ul-la-nu-um,* can be recovered from Supplement 1.

The texts of the inscriptions presented here are not included in the Glossary or other indexes to the main volume.

Supplement 1   1930-T757   Pl. 27

For a transliteration, translation, and commentary, see the Introduction, p. 26. The copy presented shows only the seal inscription and is a composite from three impressions. For a drawing and discussion of the iconography, and photographs of the piece, see J. Franke, "Presentation Seals of the Ur III/Isin-Larsa Period" in Gibson-Biggs, *Seals,* p. 63 and microfiche card C-8.

Supplement 2   1930-T133   Pl. 27
1. ⌜*I*⌝*-túr-š*[*ar*(?)*-ru*(?)*-um*(?)]
2. *ra-bí-an* MA[R.TU]
3. [*š*]*a Di-ni-i*[*k-tim*ᴷᴵ]
4. [DUMU](?) ⌜*Ì-lí*⌝(?)-[   ]

Itur-š[arrum](?), *rabiān Amurrim* of Diniktum, [son of] ⌜Ili⌝(?)-[   ]

This inscription was not published in *OIP* 43. The piece was found in M 31:6 (*OIP* 43, pl. 5) in association with sealings of servants of Ipiq-Adad I (1930-T125, 1930-T134–35; *cf. OIP* 43, p. 153, Seal Legend Nos. 42, 43, and 45).

The format of the inscription duplicates that of the brick inscription of Sin-gamil, also *rabiān Amurrim* of Diniktum (*Sumer* 2, p. 20; cf. M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History,* p. 88). However, this seal impression is about a hundred years earlier than Sin-gamil since it belongs to the period of Ipiq-Adad I (ca. 1900) while Sin-gamil is mentioned in the Mari correspondence (*Syria* 33, p. 65, A.1314:19). This implies that the title "*rabiān Amurrim* of Diniktum" had a fairly long tradition.

The copy shows the entire fragment of the envelope.

Supplement 3   1930-T255   Pl. 27

i.   ii.
1. ᵈKA.DI   6. *mi-gir* ᵈK[A.DI]
2. [*d*]*a-núm*   7. *na-ra-*[*am*]
3. [LUG]AL BÀD.AN.⌜KI⌝   8. ᵈI[NNIN]
4. [   ]⌜x-x⌝*-ba*   9. ⌜GÌR⌝.[NITÁ]
5. [UŠ *d*]*a*(?)*-*⌜*núm*⌝(?)   10. [BÀD.AN.KI]
                                        11. [ARÁD.ZU]

Istaran, the mighty, king of Der: [. . .]*-ba,* mighty man, favorite of Istaran, beloved of Inanna, *šakkanakkum* of Der, is your servant.

The inscription is published in *OIP* 43, pp. 155–56 as Seal Legend No. 55. I have no suggestions to offer for the reading of the name of the otherwise unattested ruler of Der in line 4.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

ᵈˢEŠ.KI-ma-an-sum   47:4

Ši-iq-la-nu-um   40:4, 15

 Ši-iq-la-ni[*m*] (gen.)   44:6

Šu-ḫu-a-nim(?)   24:8

*Šu-*ᵈ*Iš-ḫa-ra*   12:16

Šu-mu-áš-ku-ra   32:3

*Šu-*ᵈ*Nisaba*   24:9

ᵈ*Tišpak-mu-*⸢*ta*⸣*-bi-il-*⸢*šu*⸣   55:1

Tu-nu-ab-šum   54:1

U r - ᵈN i n - m a r ᴷᴵ   31:3; 32:1; 33:1

U r - ᵈN i n - [m a r ᴷᴵ] (or U r - ᵈN i n -
 [g i š - z i - d a])   34:1

U r - ᵈ[N i n - m a r ᴷᴵ] (or U r - ᵈ[N i n -
 g i š - z i - d a])   35:1; 36:1

Ú-ṣu₄-e   15:2′ (see also *I-šu-e*)

Ú-ṣur-a-wa-sú   24:1

Ú-ša-šum   10:1; 24:3

Uš-kà-bu-u[*m*](?)   38:3′, 11′

Wa-aq-ra-am (acc.)   36:5

Za-ak-da-[*ti*]   20:4

Za-ak-pi-El   18A:4′

Zi-ḫa-da   7:3

[*Zi*(?)*-ir*(?)]-⸢*qá-nu-um*⸣   23:1

 Zi-ir-qá-nim (gen.)   23:20

[X]-⸢*it*⸣(?)*-gu-mu-um*   33:3

[. . .]-⸢x⸣*-la-*⸢*ku*⸣*-(ma)*   49:3

[. . .*-l*]*u-pi-Il*   14:4

[. . .]*-zu-mu*   34:8

2. Geographic Names

[*Áš*]*-nun-na*ᴷᴵ   47:5′

Ḫa-al-⸢*ma-ni*⸣ᴷᴵ   2:5

*I-šim-*ᵈ*Šul-gi*ᴷᴵ   27:9

*I-šur*ᴷᴵ   12:18

Kár(*a*)*-ḫar*ᴷᴵ   4:25

Ka-zal-[*lu*ᴷᴵ](?)   38:4

Maš-kán-šar-ri-am (gentilic, acc.)   11:35

Ni-qi₄-[*im*ᴷᴵ]   2:2

*Te-er-qá*ᴷᴵ   4:27

Tu-tu-ub   46:18, 33(?)

⸢*Ù*⸣*-ru-ḫa-lam*   46:30

3. Divine Names

Adad(ᵈIM)   only in PNs

El(*Il*)   only in Amorite PNs

Eš₄-tár   only in PNs

ᵈ*En-líl*   only in the PN *An-na-pi₅-*ᵈ*En-líl*

ᵈ*I-id*   21:5

ᵈ*Iš-ḫa-ra*   only in the PN *Šu-*ᵈ*Iš-ḫa-ra*

Jaraḫ   only in the Amorite PN *Ab-di-ra-aḫ*

Nanna(ᵈˢEŠ.KI)   only in the PN ᵈˢEŠ.KI-m a - a n -
 s u m

ᵈ*Nin-gal*   31:4, 19

ᵈ*Nin-mar*ᴷᴵ   only in the PN U r - ᵈN i n - m a r ᴷᴵ

ᵈ*Nisaba*   only in the PN *Šu-*ᵈ*Nisaba*

Sin (ᵈEN.ZU)   31:3, 4, 18; and in PNs

ᵈ*Šará*   only in the PN ARÁD-ᵈ*Šará*

ᵈ*Šul-gi*   only in the GN *I-šim-*ᵈ*Šul-gi*ᴷᴵ

ᵈ*Tišpak*   31:6; and in PNs

ᵈ*Ù-gul-lá*   only in the month name ITU ᵈ*Ù-gul-lá*
 Ù-gul-lá   31:6

SYLLABARY

The following is a list of the syllabic values of the signs used in the letters. The numbering, names of signs, and numerical index for the values follow W. von Soden and W. Röllig, *Das Akkadische Syllabar* (= *AnOr* 42). Values given in parentheses occur only in proper names or in otherwise restricted contexts.

1.	AŠ	*aš*	
		rum	⌜*š*⌝*a*(?)-*pá-rum* (18A:4′)
4.	BA	*ba*	
		pá	
5.	ZU	*zu*	
		ṣú	
		sú	
12.	AN	*an*	
15.	KA	*ka*	
27.	LA	*la*	
30.	TU	*tu*	
		ṭú	
		dú	*dú-ri-im* (7:15)
31.	LI	*li, le*	
35.	MU	*mu*	
36.	QA	*qa*	*qa-ti-ia* (55:6)
41.	RU	*ru*	
42.	BAD	*be*	
		pè	*te-pè-eš* (7:11)
43.	NA	*na*	
46.	TI	*ti*	
		ṭì	
		dì	
47.	MAŠ	(*maš*)	*Maš-kán-šar-ri-am* (11:35), *Maš-pa-ru-um* (43:3)
49.	NU	*nu*	
52.	ḪU	*ḫu*	
54.	NAM	*nam*	
		pir$_6$	*ší-pir$_6$* (30:10, 17)
55.	IG	*ig/k/q*	
59.	ZI	*zi*	
		ṣí	
		sí	
60.	GI	*gi*	
		qì	⌜*a*⌝*-na-a-qì* (37:7)
61.	RI	*ri, re*	
68.	DIM	*tim*	
70.	AG	*ag/k/q*	
71.	EN	*en*	*tu-le-me-en* (12:33)
73.	SUR	(*šur*)	*I-šur*^{KI} (12:18)
76.	SA	(*sa*)	*Sa-mi-um* (30:32, 39)
77.	GÁN	(*kán*)	*Maš-kán-šar-ri-am* (11:35)
78.	KÁR	(*kár(a)*)	*Kár(a)-ḫar*^{KI} (4:25)
80.	DUR	(*túr*)	*I-túr-*⌜*ad*⌝*-nu-u*[*m*] (40:7)
82.	LÀL	(*làl*)	[*A-d*]*a-làl* (14:1)
83.	DAR	(*tár*)	*Eš$_4$-tár*

124   *LETTERS FROM TELL ASMAR*

85. SI	*ší*	
90. TAB	(*tap*)	*tap-pá-ti* (53:8)
92. TAG	*šum*	
93. AB	*ab/p*	
96. UG	*ug/k/q*	
97. AZ	*az/s/ṣ*	
100. UM	*um*	
101. DUB	(*tup*)	⌐*tup*¬-*pá-am* (43:22), *tup-pí-im* (43:22)
102. TA	*ta*	
	ṭá	
	dá	*dá-am-qá-am* (15:6′), *ki-dá-núm* (4:20)
103. I	*i*	
104. IA	*ia*	
108. AD	*ad/t/ṭ*	
109. SI	*ṣi, ṣe*	
	se₂₀	*se₂₀-ek-ra-at* (40:5′)
110. IN	*in*	
120. AM	*am*	
122. NE	*ne*	*ú-ne-šu-nu* (23:16), [*u*]*š-te-ne-il* (23:10)
	bí	*qi-bí-ma, bí-it* (19:4)
	(*pi₅*)(?)	*An-*⌐*na-pi₅-*ᵈ*En-líl*¬ (36:3)
124. BÍL	(*bíl*)	DINGIR-*mu-ta-bíl* (13:5′)
129. KUM	*kum*	
	qum	
131. ÚR	*úr*	
134. IL	*il*	
	(*él*)	*Ab-da-Él* (10:11) compared with *Ab-da-El* (11,12)
135. DU	*du*	
	ṭù	*ṭù-*[*ú*]*r-dam* (32:28)
	tù	*tù-wa-ša-ar-š*[*u*] (4:31), *pí-*⌐*iš*¬-*tù-um* (13:9′)
137. TUM	*tum*	
	dum	*qá-dum* (12:38)
138. UŠ	*uš*	
139. IŠ	*iš*	
140. BI	*bi*	
	bé	⌐*e*¬-*bé-*⌐*re*¬ (55:7)
	pí	
141. ŠIM	(*šim*)	*I-šim-*ᵈ*Šul-gi*ᴷᴵ (27:9)
146. NI	*ni*	
	né	*le-em-né-ti-a* (6:17)
	(*lí*)	*Ì-lí-iš-ma-lí-a* (30:3), *be-lí*
	(*ì*)	*Ì-lí-*
	(*zal*)(?)	*Ka-zal-*[*lu*ᴷᴵ](?) (38:4)
147. IR	*ir, er*	
152. DAG	(*ták*)	*A-na-Eš₄-tár-ták-la-ku* (16:3)
153. PA	*pa*	
156. GIŠ	*iz/s/ṣ*	
160. AL	*al*	
161. UB	*ub/p*	
162. MAR	(*mar*)	
163. E	*e*	
165. UN	*un*	
169. Ú	*ú*	

170.	GA	*ga*	
		qá	
		kà	
173.	KAL	(*dan*)	*dan-na-at* (8:5), ⌜*dan*⌝-*ni-iš-ma* (48:20)
176.	GI₄	(*qi₄*)	*Ni-qi₄-*[*im*ᴷᴵ] (2:2)
178.	RA	*ra*	
184.	SAR	*šar*	
187.	ID	*id*/*t*/*ṭ*	
191.	DA	*da*	
		tá	*áš-tá-pá-a*[*r*] (20:9)
192.	ÁŠ	*áš*	
193.	MA	*ma*	
199.	BUR	*pur*	⌜*šu*⌝-*pur-ma* (41:13)
202.	ŠA	*ša*	
203.	ŠU	*šu*	
212.	ŠE	*še*	
213.	BU	*bu*	
		pu	
218.	TE	*te*	
		ṭe₄	
		de₄	*lu-úr-de₄* (11:18)
219.	KAR	*kar*	*kar-*[*ṣ*]*í*(?)-*im* (51:5)
221.	UD	*ud*/*t*/*ṭ*	
		(*u₄*)	*u₄-mi* (22:7; 31:7; 46:26)
223.	PI	*pi, pe*	
		wi	
		wa	
		wu	
		ia₈	*ia₈-š*[*í-bi*] (9:11)
229.	ḪI	*ḫi*	
		(*ṭà*)	*ṭà-ab* (35:18)
235.	KAM	*kam*	
236.	IM	*im, em*	
238.	ḪAR	(*ḫar*)	*Kár*(*a*)-*ḫar*ᴷᴵ (4:25)
		(*mur*)	*A-*⌜*mur*⌝-*i-lu-sú-*(*ma*) (31:3)
248.	MI	*mi*	
249.	GUL	(*gul*)	ᵈ⌜*Ù-gul-lá*⌝ (26:12)
251.	NIM	*nim*	
254.	LAM	*lam*	
255.	ZUR	(*ṣur*)	*I-ṣur-*ᵈIM-(*ma*) (28:1)
258.	UL	*ul*	
261.	IGI	*ši*	
		lim	
263.	AR	*ar*	
264.	Ù	*ù*	*ù* (*passim*), *ù-la* (27:11), ᵈ⌜*Ù-gul-lá*⌝ (26:12)
266.	DI	*di, de*	
269.	KI	*ki, ke*	
		qí, qé	
270.	DIN	*din*	
271.	ŠUL	(*šul*)	*I-šim-*ᵈ*Šul-gi*ᴷᴵ (27:9)
275.	EŠ	*eš*	
277.	LAL	(*lá*)	ᵈ⌜*Ù-gul-lá*⌝ (26:12)
287.	ME	*me*	

289.	IB	*ib/p*
290.	KU	*ku*
		qú
292.	LU	*lu*
301.	DAM	*dam*
		tám
302.	GU	*gu*
306.	EL	*el*
307.	LUM	*lum*
		núm
310.	UR	*ur*
311.	A	*a*
316.	ZA	*za*
		ṣa
		sà
317.	ḪA	*ḫa*

INDEX OF LOGOGRAMS

The following is a list of the logograms occurring in the letters with the exception of numerals, determinatives, and those used in proper names. Akkadian equivalents are given in parentheses and meanings will be found in the glossary. If no equivalent is given, the Akkadian equivalent is either unknown or uncertain and some discussion will usually be found in the commentary to the individual letter.

A.ḪA-*a*	30:4
A.SUG-*im-ma*	45:14
A.ŠÀ (*eqlum*)	32:9, 13, 19, 25; 41:6(?)
A.ŠÀ-[*am*(?)]	25:3
A.ŠÀ-*um*	32:4
ANŠE.LIBIR(Ù) (*agālum*)	24:15
ARÁD (*wardum*)	48:1, 7
ARÁD.ḪI.A	32:17
ARÁD-*kà*	10:7
ARÁD-*sú*	48:11
BAR.DUL₅ (see TÚG.BAR.DUL₅)	
DUB (*tuppum*)	1:7; 13:3′
DUG.GAN (*kannum*)	23:8
DUG.GA (*ṭābum*) (see Ì.DUG.GA)	
DUMU (*mārum*)	2:4′(?); 12:16; 13:11′; 15:5; 20:19; 23:3(?), 20; 31:15; 45:7
DUMU.ME	42:9′
E.SÍR (see KUŠ.E.SÍR)	
É (*bītum*)	3:1′(?); 27:12
É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG	52:6
É.BA.AN	20:33
É.NUN (*kummum*)	26:5
É.ÙR(?) (*rugbum*)	26:6
EN (*ēnum*)	31:3
ERIM (*ṣabum*)	27:6
GAL (*kāsum*)	11:15
GAL.UD.KA.BAR.ḪI.A	11:17
GAN (see DUG.GAN)	
GEMÉ (*amtum*)	16:4, 6
GÌR.N[ITÁ](?) (*šakkanakkum*)	48:2(?)
GUD (*alpum*)	30:21, 28, 31
GUD.ḪI.A	32:17
GUD-*im*	30:36
GUD-*um*	30:34
GUR (*kurrum*)	1:3; 55:8
GUZ.ZA (see TÚG.GUZ.ZA)	
Ì.DÙG.GA (*šamnum ṭābum*)	23:8
Ì.DÙG.GA SAG (see É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG)	
[Ì.G]IŠ.DÙG.GA	18B:1′
IGI (*maḫrum*)	30:12; 31:18
IŠ (see KUŠ₇)	
KA	45:14
KÙ.BABBAR (*kaspum*)	11:15, 37; 53:10
KÙ.BABBAR-*ša*	16:5

KÙ.GI (*ḫurāṣum*)	11:15
KUŠ.E.SÍR (*šēnum*)	20:33
KUŠ₇(IŠ) (*kizûm*)	36:5
MA.NA (*manûm*)	11:37
MAR.TU (*Amurrum*)	5:4; 20:32(?)
MAR.TU-*um*	20:3, 10(?)
MÁŠ (see UDU.MÁŠ.ḪI.A)	
NÍG.ḪI.A(?)	11:40
NÍG.LÁM (see TÚG.NÍG.LÁM)	
NU.BANDA₃ (*laputtûm*)	55:11
NUMUN (*zērum*)	32:10
NUMUN-*šu*	32:23
SA.TU-im (*šadu²um*)	20:12
SAG (*rēštum*) (see É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG)	
SIG₅ (*damqum*)	11:16; 18A:2′
SILA₃ (*qûm*)	35:6
SUKKAL.MAḪ-im (*sukkalmaḫḫum*)	28:6
ŠÀ.GAL (*ukullûm*)	1:4
ŠÀ.TAM.MEŠ (*šatammum*)	52:4
ŠE (*šeum*)	1:3; 35:6; 53:11; 55:8
ŠEN (see URUDU.ŠEN)	
TÚG (*ṣubātum*)	20:36
TÚG.ḪI.A	12:21
TÚG.BAR.DUL₅	20:29
TÚG.GUZ.ZA	18A:2′
TÚG.NÍG.LÁM (*lamaḫuššum*)	11:16
UD.KA.BAR (*siparrum*) (see GAL.UD.KA.BAR.ḪI.A)	
UDU.MÁŠ.ḪI.A (*ṣēnum*)	24:14
URUDU.ŠEN (*ruqqum*)	11:17
ZÍD (*qēmum*)	35:6

INTRODUCTION TO THE GLOSSARY

The glossary is very extensive, amounting to a concordance of the letters. Each identifiable word is given in its complete context, fully parsed, and with a translation when possible (including those words not translated in the individual translations). This format compensates for the lack of a detailed philological commentary to each letter. However, for those passages marked as difficult or otherwise questionable in the glossary, some commentary will usually be found with the individual letter. Because of reduction of context, passages may not have exactly the same translation in each citation. Words or forms that are completely reconstructed are not included in the glossary. Lexical entries are generally based on the archaic forms as reconstructed from the letters (see the Introduction, p. 12).

The following abbreviations are used in the glossary and elsewhere in the commentary:

acc.	accusative	neg.	negative
adj.	adjective	nom.	nominative
adv.	adverb	OA	Old Assyrian
Ass.	Assyrian	OAkk	Old Akkadian
Bab.	Babylonian	OB	Old Babylonian
c.	common gender	obl.	oblique
conj.	conjunction	part.	participle
dat.	dative	perf.	perfect
DN	divine name	pl.	plural
du.	dual	PN	personal name
f.; fem.	feminine	prec.	precative
gen.	genitive	prep.	preposition
GN	geographic name	pres.	present
HED	hymnic-epic dialect	pret.	preterite
imp.	imperative	pron.	pronoun, pronominal
indecl.	indeclinable	sing.	singular
inf.	infinitive	*s.v.*	*sub verbum*
interj.	interjection	syll.	syllabically
intrans.	intransitive	unk.	unknown
lit.	literally	wr.	written
log.	logographically	1.	first person
m.; masc.	masculine	2.	second person
mng.	meaning	3.	third person

GLOSSARY

A

abākum "to bring in," "to dispatch."

   B pret. 2. masc. sing: *i-nu-mi a-ša-t*[*ám* (?)] *ta-bu-*[*ku*(?)] (in broken context) **19:15′**

abātum "to run away, to flee." In N with same meaning.

   N. pret. 3. masc. sing.: [P]N(?) [*ša*](?) ⌜*i*⌝*-na-bi-ta-kum* [*w*]*a-ar-di* "PN(?) who ran away to you is my slave" **49:5**

   N perf. 3. masc. sing.: [*i-t*]*a*(?)*-bi-it-m*[*a*] (in broken context) **49:9**

abbūtum "fatherly attitude."

   acc: PN₁ (and) PN₂ *ša a-bu-t*[*ám*] *i-ša-pá-ra-n*[*i-im*] (in broken context) **13:12**

   nom. with pron. suffix: *a-bu-ti ú-ma-kà-al-ma* "(you wrote that) my *a.* is of one day's duration" **13:7′**

abum "father," "(political) superior." In most instances it is impossible to determine which sense is intended in these letters.

   nom. with pron. suffix: in the phrase *šumma a-bi atta* "if you are my 'father'" **34:5; 35:4; 37:4; 40:9; 55:5, 10**

   gen. with pron. suffix: *mi-im-ma ša a-na qú-bu-úr* PN *a-bi-kà tu-ša-ba-lam* "whatever you intend to send for the funeral of PN, your 'father'" **11:28**

   PN *a-na a-bu a-bi-kà a-na a-bi-kà qú-bu-ra-am ú-ša-bi-il* "PN sent a funerary gift for your grandfather (and) for your father" **15:3′**

   a-bi-kà (in broken context) **18A:3**

   in the expression *abu abim* "grandfather": PN *a-na a-bu a-bi-kà a-na a-bi-kà qú-bu-ra-am ú-ša-bi-il* "PN sent a funerary gift for your grandfather (and) for your father" **15:2′**

adi (conj.) "as long as, while, until."

   a-dì ba-áš-bu "as long as he is present" **19:12′**

   ⌜*a*⌝*-d*[*ì u*]*l-la-nu-um a-tu-ra-am* "until I return from there" **20:17**

   a-dì ba-al-ṭá-ti "as long as you (masc.!) are alive" **34:29**

adi (prep.) "up to, as far as."

   [*t*]*ám-li-am* [*a-d*]*ì qá-*⌜*nu-im*⌝ *šu-pu-uk* "make a terrace a full *qanuʾum* high" (lit. "up to a *qanuʾum*") **4:22**

   in the expression *adi mati* "how long, until when": *dì-qá-ri ša ú-še-bi-lam a-dì ma-ti i-ba-*⌜*ší*⌝ *šu-bi-lam* "my *diqārum* that I sent there—how long will it remain—send it back!" **12:48**

   a-dì ma-ti áš-ta-na-pá-ra-kum-ma [*a*]*-wa-ti la te-še-me* "how long will I continue to write to you and you will ignore my affair?" **13:3**

agālum (an equid)

   wr. log. (ANŠE.LIBIR) only: 3 ANŠE.LIBIR(Ù) **24:15**

aḫamma (adv.) "separately."

   mi-im-ma ša a-na qú-bu-úr PN *a-bi-kà tu-ša-ba-lam a-ḫa-am-ma šu-bi-lam* "whatever you intend to send for the funeral of PN, your 'father', send separately (from the things you send for my own use)" **11:30**

aḫātum "sister."

   nom. with pron. suffix: *šum-ma a-ḫi at-ta ù a-na-ku a-ḫa-at-ka* "if you are my brother and I am your sister" **53:6**

gen. with pron. suffix: *i-na bi-it a-⌈ḫa⌉-ti-a ki-ma wa-ša-bi-[im] wa-áš-ba-ku* "I live in the house of my sister like a tenant" **26:8**

aḫāzum "to take, to hold."

    B. pret. 3. masc. sing.: PN 2 *li-im A-mu-ra-am i-ḫu-za-am-ma* "PN has taken two thousand Amorites and (they are marching against you)" **7:6** (The sense of "take" in this passage is "to take into battle," not "to capture." See the commentary to no. 7)

    Š stative 1. sing.: *iš-tu mi-ma la šu-ḫu-⌈za⌉-ku ma-ku-ri ⌈lu⌉-ul-qí-ma lu-ta-ṣí* "as long as I am not permitted to own anything, I will take my property and move out" **26:10**

aḫum "brother, kinsman," "(political) equal, ally." As with *abum,* it is difficult to determine which sense is intended in the letters.

    nom. with pron. suffix: in the phrase *šumma a-ḫi atta* "if you are my 'brother'" **10:4; 11:33; 15:5′; 36:4; 53:4**

        šum-ma a-ḫi at-⌈ta⌉ ù ⌈a-na-ku⌉ a-ḫu-kà "if you are my 'brother' and I am your 'brother'" **10:5**

        a-⌈na⌉-ku a-ḫu-kà "I am your brother" **11:3**

        a-ḫu-k[à(?)] "your brother" (in broken context) **15:6**

        ú-la a-ḫu-kà ra-bi-um a-na-ku "am I not your 'elder brother'?" **17:6**

        ki-ma a-ḫu-ka a-na-ku-ma a-wa-at-ka a-ka-aš-ša-du "just as I am your 'brother' and would take care of your affair" **51:7**

    gen. with pron. suffix: *i-ti a-ḫi-a li-bi li-ṭi-ba-am* "I should reach an agreement with my 'brother'" **27:7**

        ⌈ša⌉(?) a-ḫi-a (in broken context) **34:26**

ajjābum "enemy."

    gen. with pron. suffix: *i-ni a-a-bi-a* "the eyes(?) of my enemies" (in broken context) **12:41**

akalum "food."

    acc.: *ma-ru ši-i[p-ri-a] a-kà-la-am i-ma-ḫa-ar* "my messenger should receive food" **35:22**

akālum "to eat," "to enjoy/be entitled to the use of something."

    B stative 1. sing.: *[i-n]a mi-ma ⌈a-ni⌉-im [a]k-la-a-ku* "I am entitled to the use of all this" **26:5**

    B pres. 3. masc. sing.: A.ŠÀ *ša* PN₁ PN₂ *⌈ik⌉(?)-kà-[a]l* "PN₂ enjoys the use of the field of PN₁" **32:22**

alākum "to go," "(with ventive/allative) to come, to arrive," "to provide (workers)."

    B inf.: *a-na a-la-ki-[im](?) ša be-lí iš-pu-r[a]-⌈an-ni⌉* "for the journey which my lord sent me on" **30:47**

        a-na GN *a-la-kà-[am] iq-bi ú-l[a iq-bi](?)* "did he or didn't he promise to go to Kazallu?" **38:5**

        PN₁ *ù* PN₂ *⌈a-na⌉ ṣe-er* PN₃ *ù a-na ṣe-ri-⌈kà⌉ a-la-ak-šu-nu eš-me* "I heard of PN₁'s and PN₂'s visit to PN₃ and to you" **45:11**

    B pres. 1. sing.: *a-la-kà-k[um]* "I will come to you" **2:2′**

        qá-dum ma-aš-ki-a a-la-⌈kà⌉-kum "I come to you with (only) my skin" **12:39**

        a-ma-ar-ma a-la-kam "I will see and I will come" (in broken context) **30:51**

        a-la-kam "I will come" (in broken context) **42:right edge**

    B pres. 2. masc. sing.: *la ta-la-a[k]* "do not go" (in broken context) **39:6**

    B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *⌈la⌉ i-la-ak* "he should not go" (in broken context) **11:43**

    B pres. 3. masc. pl.: *⌈ší⌉-ip-ru-ú m[a-t]im k[à-li-š]a a-na [qú-bu-r]i-im [ša Ab-d]a-El [i-la-ku]-ni-im* "the envoys of the entire country are coming for the funeral of PN" **11:24**

        a-li-ma li-bi-šu-nu i-la-ku "they go wherever they please" **12:28**

B pret. 1. sing.: ⌈a⌉-wa-tu ta-am-qú-tám a-na šu-me GN a-šu-me ki-am ù-la a-li-kam "news reached me concerning GN; for that reason I did not come" **27:11**

B pret. 3. masc. sing.: ⌈a-na⌉ GN i-li-ik "he went to GN" **12:19**

PN [š]i-pir₆ be-lí-a el-li-kam(!)-ma "PN the messenger of my lord arrived" **30:18**

B prec. 1. sing.: 3 ERIM lu-li-ik "I will 'go' (= provide) three men" **27:6**

B prec. 3. sing.: li-li-kam "let him come" (in broken context) **18A:5′**

li-il-li-ik "let him go" (in broken context) **23:2**

B prec. 3. masc. pl.: e-ba-bi šu-ṭe₄-ra-ma li-li-ku "make a written record of my being innocent and let them go" **21:9**

B undetermined: [x]-⌈li⌉-ik (in broken context) **11:45**

[x-l]i-ik (in broken context) **47:6′**

Btn pres. 3. masc. pl.: ⌈ma⌉-ru ší-ip-ri [ša-n]i-ú-tum it-ta-na-la-ku-ni-in-na "other messengers continually come to me" **30:6**

Btn prec. 3. masc. sing.: wa-ar-ki-kà li-ta-la-a[k] "let him continue to follow you" (in broken context) **10:17**

ali "where, wherever."

a-li-ma ⌈li⌉-[bi](?)-k[à](?) ⌈iš-pu-úr-šu⌉ "he sent him wherever you wanted" (in broken context) **10:18**

a-li-ma li-bi-šu-nu i-la-ku "they go wherever they please" **12:27**

a-li ša na-wi-um ⌈1⌉ Ku-un-za-nam i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ṣú (difficult) **23:12**

alpum "bull, ox."

wr. log. (GUD) only: [1(?) GU]D(?) ša ṣa-bi-tim (in broken context) **30:21**

⌈a-li-ma(?) 1(?)⌉ GUD(?) šu-a-ti ⌈ṣa⌉(?)-ab-ta-am "go up and take that ox" **30:28**

be-lí iš-pu-ra-an-ni 1 ⌈GUD⌉ id-nam-ma a-na PN lu-úr-de₄ "(this is what he said:) my lord sent me; give me the ox and I will take it to PN" **30:31**

1 GUD-um ša ta-qá-bi-ú [ú-la i]z-za-az "(this is what I said:) the ox that you speak of is not available" **30:34**

<a>-⌈šu-me 1 GUD⌉-im be-lí PN₁ ù PN₂ li-[i]š-pu-ra-am-ma [. . .] "concerning the ox, let my lord send me PN₁ and PN₂ and [. . .]" **30:36**

šum-ma la [ki-am](?) šu-up-ra-am-ma GUD.⌈ḪI.A⌉ ù ARÁD.ḪI.⌈A⌉ lu-uṭ-⌈ru-dam⌉ "if it is not so, write to me and I will send oxen and slaves there" **32:17**

ālum "city, town."

nom.: a-lu-um ša-lim "the city is safe" **3:3; 8:3; 9:4**

a-lu-um i-⌈na ir⌉-ni-ti A-mu-ri-im ša-ki-in "they city is threatened by the Amorites" (difficult) **6:3**

gen. with pron. suffix: i-na a-li-a da-na-ku "I remain strong in my city" **9:15**

acc. with pron. suffix: ⌈a⌉-al-kà ú-ṣú-úr "protect your city!" (in broken context) **2:left edge**

amārum "to see, to look at, to inspect."

B pres. 1. sing.: a-ma-ar-ma a-la-kam "I will see and I will come" (in broken context) **30:51**

B prec. 3. sing.: me-e li-m[u-ur-ma] li-tu-ra-a[m(?)] "he should inspect the water and return" **40:12**

ammatum "cubit (a unit of linear measurement)."

gen.: [t]ám-li-am [a-d]ì qá-⌈nu-im⌉ šu-pu-uk [ki]-⌈i⌉ 10 am-⌈ma⌉-tim lu ra-pá-áš "make a terrace a full qanuʾum high; it should be ten cubits wide" **4:23**

amtum "slave-girl."

    wr. log. (GEMÉ): PN₁ GEMÉ PN₂ "PN₁ is the slave-girl of PN₂" **16:4**

        ú-[*la* K]Ù.BABBAR-*ša* [*ú-l*]*a* GEMÉ *me-ḫe-er-*[*ta-ša*] *lu-ša-ri-a-*[*kum*(?)] "I will send you either her price or an equivalent slave-girl" **16:6**

    wr. syll.: [-*i*]*r am-ti-im* (in broken context) **47:3**

Amurrum "Amorite(s)." Used in sing. as a collective noun.

    wr. log. (MAR.TU): [MA]R.TU (in broken context) **5:4; 20:32**

        MAR.TU-*um lu-*˹x˺-[   ] *ša* PN *im-ḫa-ṣa-am-m*[*a*] (broken and difficult) **20:3**

        MAR.TU-[*um*(?)] *kà-lu-šu a-na* ˹x˺-[   ] SA.TU-*im* ˹*i*˺-[*li*(?)] "all of the Amorites went up into the mountain of [. . .]" **20:10**

    wr. syll.: *A-mu-ru-um mi-ši l*[*a*   ] (in broken context) **4:11**

        10 *ša-na-ti-*[*im*] *A-mu-ru-*[*um*] *li-k*[*i-ir*(?)-*ma*(?)] "even if the Amorites should make war for ten years" **9:9**

        ˹*A*˺-*mu-ru-um kà-lu-šu* ˹*i-pá*˺-*ḫu-ra-am* "all of the Amorites are gathering" **11:25**

        A-mu-ru-um ˹*li*˺-[   ] (in broken context) **15:9′**

        A-mu-ru-um a-wa-[*t*]*ám ša* GN ˹*i*˺-*ta-ad-na-am* "the Amorites have given me a decision about GN" **46:16**

    gen.: *a-lu-um i-*˹*na ir*˺-*ni-ti A-mu-ri-im ša-ki-in* "the city is threatened by the Amorites" (difficult) **6:5**

        i-na i-ni-i A-mu-ri-im ku-bi-[*t*]*a-ni* "give me prestige in the eyes of the Amorites" **11:11**

        [*a-n*]*a-ku a-na* [*A-m*]*u-ri-i*[*m*] [   ]-˹x˺-*lu-*˹x˺ "I will [. . .] to the Amorites" **46:22**

    acc.: PN 2 *li-im A-mu-ra-am i-ḫu-za-am-ma* "PN has taken two thousand Amorites and (they are marching against you)" **7:5**

        A-mu-ra-am a[*d-ki*(?)] "I summoned(?) the Amorites" (difficult) **27:3**

        A-mu-˹*ra*˺(?)-[*am*](?) *la te-*[   ] "do not [. . .] the Amorites" (in broken context) **39:7**

        A-mu-ra-am i-n[*a qá-ti*]-*a lu-uṣ-ba-at* "I will capture(?) the Amorites" (in broken context) **40:14′**

    in the title *rabiān Amurrim* "sheikh (possibly the leader of a coalition of tribes)": *ki ša ra-bi-*[*a-an*](?) *A-mu-ri-im* ˹x˺-[   ] *ti-šu* "(this is what I said:) you have [. . .] just like the *rabiān Amurrim*" (in broken context) **3:6′**

an (see *ana*.)

ana (prep.) "to, for."

    wr. *a-na: passim.*

    wr. *an* with *n* assimilated to the first consonant of the next word: *a-ši-mi-im i-dì-nu-ni-ni* "they sold me" **28:5**

        for this writing in *ana šumi > aššumi* see *aššum* (prep.)

anāku (pron. 1. sing. nom.) "I."

    introducing direct speech: *um-ma a-na-ku-ma* "this is what I said" **3:4′; 21:2, 7; 26:9; 27:4; 30:24, 33; 34:20, 28**

    used as a subject in nominal clause or sentence: *šum-ma a-ḫi at-*˹*ta*˺ *ù* ˹*a-na-ku*˺ *a-ḫu-kà* "if you are my brother and I am your brother" **10:5**

        a-˹*na*˺-*ku a-ḫu-kà ší-ir-kà ù da-mu-kà a-na-ku* "I am your brother—I am your flesh and your blood" **11:3–5**

        šum-ma a-ta e-mi ù a-na-ku um-ma-kà-ma "If you are my son-in-law and I am your mother" **12:30**

ú-la a-ḫu-kà ra-bi-um a-na-ku "am I not your 'elder brother'?" **17:7**

at-ta lu be-li-ma a-na-ku lu wa-ra-ad-kà "(this is what I said:) you are indeed my lord; I am indeed your 'slave'" **34:22**

⌈*šum*⌉-*ma la ma-ru-ka* ⌈*a*⌉-*na-ku qí-bi-am* "if I am not your 'son', say so!" **42:6′**

šum-ma ki-ni-iš ARÁD *be-lí-a-ma a-na-ku be-lí i-na ki-it-tim i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma* ARÁD-*sú a-na-ku* "if I am truly the 'slave' of my lord, my lord in truth rules me and I am his 'slave'" **48:6–11**

ki-ma a-ḫu-ka a-na-ku-ma a-wa-at-ka a-ka-aš-ša-du "just as I am your brother and would take care of your affair" **51:8**

šum-ma a-ḫi at-ta ù a-na-ku a-ḫa-at-ka "if you are my brother and I am your sister" **53:5**

used to stress subject in verbal sentences (including stative): *a-na-ku qá-*⌈*tá*⌉-[ ] *lu-ul-qì-m*[*a*] "I will take [. . .]" (in broken context) **3:2′**

na-ak-ru-um na-kà-ar-ma a-na-ku a-na a-wa-ti-kà a-za-az "an outsider would be unfriendly whereas I support your decisions" **11:7**

a-na-ku ki-ma PN *ku-a-ší-ma ta-ak-la-ku* "I rely on your in place of PN" **12:4**

a-na-ku a-wa-at-kà ú-la a-ṣú-úr a-wa-at-kà a-dì "I did not obey your order—I ignored your order" **17:3**

a-na-ku ⌈*a*⌉-*na be-l*[*í-a*] *ta-*⌈*ak*⌉-*la-*⌈*ak*⌉ "I trust in my lord" **19:6′**

a-na-ku ú-la i-[*de₄*(?)] "I do not know" **20:6**

[*a-n*]*a-ku-ú šu-ut* [*n*]*u-ta-ma-am-ma* "he and I will swear an oath" (in difficult context) **23:22**

[*a-n*]*a-ku a-na* [*A-m*]*u-ri-i*[*m*] [ ]-⌈*x*⌉-*lu-*⌈*x*⌉ "I will [. . .] to the Amorites" **46:22**

in broken context: *a-na-ku* **15:8**

⌈*a-na-ku ù*⌉ *Ší-iq-*[*la-nu-u*]*m* **40:15**

anni (exclamatory adv.) "now, just now." See also *inni*.

a-ni PN *áš-ta-ap-ra-kum la i-bi-tám* "now I have sent PN to you; he should not spend the night (delay) there" (possibly *a-ni-*[*ma*]) **20:21**

annikīam (adv.) "here, to here."

⌈*an*⌉(?)-*ni-ki-am* (in broken context) **33:8**

annium (determinative pron.) "this, that."

anaphoric use:

nom. masc.: *a-wi-lum an-ni-um* "this man" (in difficult context) **4:24**

nom. fem.: ⌈*mi*⌉-*šu a-wa-tum a-ni-tum* [*š*]*a a-šum* PN [*t*]*a-aš-ta-na-pa-ra-am* "what is this matter which you continue to write me about concerning PN" **42:4**

in broken context: [x-*m*]*a a-ni-tum* **42:9**

[ ] *a-ni-t*[*um*](?) [*i*(?)-*t*]*i-a i-ba-ši* **42:2′**

in the expression *mimma annîm* "all of this/that": [*i-n*]*a mi-ma* ⌈*a-ni*⌉-*im* [*a*]*k-la-a-ku* "I am entitled to the use of all this" (in broken context) **26:4**

šum-ma ⌈*ma*⌉-*ri* [*a*]*t-ta* ⌈*mi-im*⌉-*ma an-*⌈*ni*⌉-*im* [*wu-ší*]-*ir* "if you are my son release all of this" **24:18**

apālum "to answer, to pay (an obligation)."

B pres. 1. sing.: ⌈*a-ap-pá-al-šu*⌉ "I will answer him" (in broken context) **30:23**

B prec. 3. sing.: *šum-ma be-lí i-*[ ] *ma-li pí be-lí-a i-*[x]-*ba-am li-pu*(wr. MU!)-*ul-kà a-na qá-ti-kà lu-uš-qú-ul* "if my lord says so, as much as my lord says he should pay you, I will pay to you" (broken and difficult) **29:5′**

appuna (adv.) "moreover."

ap-[*pu*]-⌈*na*⌉-*ma iš-ta-kà-an* ⌈*ku*(?)-*ub*(?)⌉-*bu-ti-iš* "moreover, he construed it as an honor (difficult) **23:18**

apputtum "please," "it is urgent."

    a-pu-tum ší-ip-ra-am mi-im-ma la te-pè-eš "it is urgent, do not do any work" **7:9**

    a-pu-tum ša-ṭá-ru-um a-na ku-a-ti pí-⌜iš⌝-tù-um "please, to write (such a thing) is an insult to yourself" **13:8′**

    a-p[u-tum(?)] (in broken context) **35:8**

    a-pu-tu[m] i-ni ṭà-ab m[a-ru š]i-i[p-ri] ku-ru-ma-ta-[am] i-ma-ḫa-r[u-ma](?) ma-ru ši-i[p-ri-a] a-kà-la-am i-ma-ḫa-ar "please, indeed it is good that messengers should receive a daily ration, but my messenger should (also) receive food" **35:17**

    [a](?)-pu-tum (in broken context) **37:8**

arḫiš (adv.) "quickly, soon."

    ší-pí-ri ar-[ḫi(?)-iš(?)] ṭú-úr-dam "send me my . . . quickly" **15:10′**

    a-na ⌜šu⌝-mi ar-ḫi-iš ú-še-ṣi-ú-ni-in-ni-ma na-dì-ni-a a-ṣa-ba-tu "so that they may quickly obtain my release and I can seize my sellers" **28:13**

arkum (adj.) "long."

    fem. pl.: DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *u₄-mi ma-du-tim ar-kà-tim ša-na-tim li-be-lu-kà* "may DN₁ and DN₂ let you rule for many days and long years" **31:8**

arnum "crime, offense."

    acc.: ARÁD-*kà ar-na-am lu i-⌜pu-uš⌝* "your 'slave' has indeed committed a crime" **10:8**

arurtum "drought, famine."

    nom.: *la a-ru-u[r-tum]* NU.BANDA₃ *la i-na-⌜ki(?)-šu(?)-ú⌝* "there is no famine; they should not put aside the *laputtûm*" **55:11**

ašar "where," "if."

    as conj.: ⌜*a-šar la*⌝ *ú-da-⌜ni⌝-nu-⌜na⌝ [be-l]í ki-⌜ša⌝-d[ì] [i-t]a-ki-[is](?)* "if I had not strengthened it, my lord would have cut off my head" (difficult) **6:12**

    in *ašar kīma* (mng. unk.): [*a]t-ta a-ša-ar ki-ma* [ ]*-sú-nu ku-i[l]* (in broken context) **14:7′**

ašaršani (adv.) "elsewhere."

    a-ša-ar-ša-ni pa-ni-šu iš-⌜ku⌝-u[n] "he tried elsewhere" **34:24**

    [a-ša-a]r-ša-ni ú-la [ ](?) *a-ka-la-šum* (in broken context) **42:8′**

aššatum "wife."

    acc.: *i-nu-mi a-ša-t[ám(?)] ta-bu-ku(?)]* (in broken context) **19:14′**

aššum (*ana šumi*) (conj.) "so that, concerning the fact that."

    a-na ⌜šu⌝-mi ar-ḫi-iš ú-še-ṣi-ú-ni-in-ni-ma na-dì-ni-a a-ṣa-ba-tu "so that they may quickly obtain my release and I can seize my sellers" **28:13**

    governing both noun and verb in the same clause: *a-na šu-me* A.ḪA-*a* ⌜*ma*⌝-*ru ši-ip-ri [ša-n]i-ú-tum it-ta-na-la-ku-ni-in-na* "concerning the fact that (concerning) my . . . other messengers continually come to me" **30:4**

aššum (*aššumi, ana šumi*) (prep.) "concerning, on account of."

    before a substantive or proper name: *a-na šu(?)-me* ZA (doubtful) **10:10**

    a-šu-mi wa-ar-dì-im šu-a-ti "on account of that slave" **12:37**

    a-šu-mi [ ] (at end of line, beginning of following line broken) **18C:5**

    ⌜*a*⌝-*wa-tu ta-am-qú-tám a-na šu-me* GN "news reached me concerning GN" **27:9**

    a-na šu-me A.ḪA-*a* "concerning my . . ." (see above under *aššum* conj.) **30:4**

    <*a*>-⌜*šu-me* 1 GUD⌝-*im* "concerning the ox" **30:36**

    aš-šum [ ] "concerning [. . .]" **38:3**

    ⌜*mi*⌝-*šu a-wa-tum a-ni-tum [š]a a-šum* PN *[t]a-aš-ta-na-pa-ra-am* "what is this matter which you continue to write me about concerning PN?" **42:5**

with pron. suffix: *a-ˈšuˈ-mi-kà wa-ˈar-duˈ-a e-te-lu-ma a-li-ma li-bi-šu-nu i-la-ku* "on account of you my slaves act like lords and go wherever they please" **12:24**

a-na šu-mi-ka (in broken context) **46:32**

in *aššum kīam* "for that reason": ˈaˈ-wa-tu ta-am-qú-tám a-na šu-me GN a-šu-me ki-am ù-la a-li-kam* "news reached me concerning GN; for that reason I did not come" **27:10**

atta (pron. 2. masc. sing. nom.) "you."

introducing direct speech: *um-ma a(t)-ta-ma* "this is what you said"

wr. *a-ta-ma:* **21:4**

wr. *at-ta-ma:* **39:5; 41:5**

in the phrases *šumma abī/aḫī/bēlī/mārī a(t)-ta* "if you are my father/brother/lord/son"

wr. *a-ta:* **11:33; 15:5′**

wr. *at-ta:* **10:4; 24:17; 34:4, 5; 36:4, 37:4; 40:9′; 41:12; 43:13; 53:4; 55:5, 10**

used as subject in nominal clause or sentence: *šum-ma a-ta e-mi ù a-na-ku um-ma-kà-ma* "if you are my son-in-law and I am your mother" **12:29**

at-ta lu be-li-ma "you are indeed my lord" **34:21**

a-dì ba-al-ṭá-ti at-ta-ma lu be-el-ni "as long as you are alive, you are indeed our lord" **34:30**

used to stress the subject in verbal sentences:

with imperative: *at-ta a-wa-ti ší-me* "you pay attention to my affair" **11:8**

[*a*]*t-ta a-ša-ar ki-ma* [ ]*-sú-nu ku-i*[*l*] (in broken context) **14:7′**

at-t[*a*] *ki-am-ma šu-p*[*u-ur-*] "you write likewise" **38:9′**

with prohibitive: *at-ta la ta-na-di-šum* "do not give (it) to him" (in broken context) **38:1″**

with other second person forms: *a-ta kà-la-ma ti-de₄* "you know how much" **11:18**

a-ta-ma šu-ma-am ta-áš-ku-na-ni "you have given me my reputation" **19:7**

a-ta ša-li-iš-tám ta-ˈta(?)ˈ-sà-aḫ "you customarily took out a third" **25:9**

attunu (pron. 2. masc. pl. nom.) "you."

[*a*(?)-*t*]*u*(?)-*nu ù* PN (in broken context) **23:26**

awātum "word, order, matter, affair, decision, news."

nom.: ˈaˈ-d[*ì u*]*l-la-nu-u*[*m*] *a-tu-ra-am a-wa-tum ša* DUMU ˈᵈˈIMˈ-ba-ni áš-pu-ˈraˈ-kum li-qí-i "until I return from there, take responsibility for the matter of the son of PN which I wrote to you about" **20:19**

ˈaˈ-wa-tu ta-am-qú-tám "news reached me" **27:8**

a-wa-tum r[*a*(?)-] *ša e-l*[*i-*] *iš-ku-n*[*u*(?)] (in broken context) **38:3″**

ˈmiˈ-šu a-wa-tum a-ni-tum[*š*]*a a-šum* PN [*t*]*a-aš-ta-na-pa-ra-am* "what is this matter which you continue to write me about concerning PN?" **42:4**

ki-am a-wa-sú lu ti-d[*i*] "such was his statement, you really should know" **44:10**

a-wa-tum ša-ak-na-at "the matter is decided" **46:27**

gen.: *a-na-ku a-na a-wa-ti-kà a-za-az* "I will support your decisions" **11:7**

ul-la-nu-u[*m*] *mi-im-ma a-wa-ti-*[*šu*(?)] ˈšaˈ *i-ma-qú-ˈtámˈ* [*a-š*]*a-pá-ra-kum* "from there, whatever news of it that reaches me, I will send to you" **20:14**

a-na a-wa-at ṣú-ḫa-ri-im ˈšaˈ *aš-pu-ra-ku-um* "(as) for the matter of the boy which I wrote to you about" **31:12**

ˈa-na a-waˈ-ti-kà ˈap-la-aḫˈ-ma* "I obeyed (lit. feared) your order" **34:6**

ga-mi-ir-ti a-wa-ti-ˈšuˈ-nu ni-la-ma-da-ˈam-maˈ ni-ša-pa-ra-ku-ˈumˈ "we will find out about all of their affairs and write to you" **40:10**

[*t*]*a-ta-wi-im-ma ú-la am-gu-ur-ki* ˈiˈ-na-na a-na a-wa-ti-ki ˈuzˈ(?)-[*ni aš*]-ˈtaˈ-ka-an "you spoke to me but I did not agree with you; now I have come around to your point of view" **54:6**

acc.: *a-wa-ti ší-me* "pay attention to my affair" **10:6; 11:9**

> *a-dì ma-ti áš-ta-na-pá-ra-kum-ma* [*a*]-*wa-ti la te-še-me* "how long will I continue to write to you and you will ignore my affair" **13:5**
>
> *a-na-ku a-wa-at-kà ú-la a-ṣú-úr a-wa-at-kà a-dì* "I did not obey your order—I ignored your order" **17:3–5**
>
> *a-wa-at-kà da-m*[*i-iq*]-*ṭ*[*ám*] *i-*ᵎ*ti*ᵎ-*šu ší-pi-*ᵎ*ir*ᵎ-[*kà*(?)] *li-ib-*[*lam*(?)] "let your messenger bring your favorable reply with him" **20:25**
>
> [*a*(?)-*wa*(?)-*a*]*t*(?) PN [*a-na*] *mi-nim te-eš-te-me-a* "why did you pay attention to the affair of PN?" **23:24**
>
> [*a*]-*wa-tám* [-*t*]*i iq-bi-am* (in broken context) **43:11**
>
> *a-wa-at-sú-nu lum-mi-da-an-ni* "inform me about their affairs" **45:12**
>
> *A-mu-ru-um a-wa-*[*t*]*ám ša* GN ᵎ*i*ᵎ-*ta-ad-na-am* "the Amorites have given me a decision about GN" **46:17**
>
> *ki-ma a-ḫu-ka a-na-ku-ma a-wa-at-ka a-ka-aš-ša-du* "just as I am your brother and would take care of your affair" **51:9**

awûum "to speak." Attested only in Bt "to discuss, to talk together, to speak."

> Bt inf.: *ší-ni-*ᵎ*in*ᵎ *at-wu-*ᵎ*iš*ᵎ ᵎ*ú*ᵎ-*la a-na-dì-in* "I will not permit two things to be discussed" (difficult) **6:10**
>
> Bt pres. 3. masc. pl.: ᵎ*a-na mi-ni-im*ᵎ ᵎ*ma-ag-ri-ta*ᵎ-*ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-*ᵎ*lí*ᵎ-*a i-ta-*ᵎ*wu-ú*ᵎ "why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord?" **6:19**
>
> Bt pret. 2. fem. sing.: [*t*]*a-ta-wi-im-ma ú-la am-gu-ur-ki* "you spoke to me but I did not agree with you" **54:4**
>
> Bt pret. 3. masc. pl.: ᵎ*a*ᵎ-ᵎx-x-x*ᵎ[   ] ᵎ*ša*ᵎ(?) *a-ḫi-a i-*ᵎ*ta*ᵎ-*wu-ú* (in broken context) **34:27**

awīltum "woman."

> nom. as anticipated acc.: *a-wi-il-tum tap-pá-ti lu ni-pu-tám lu* KÙ.BABBAR *lu* ŠE *šu-di-na-ma šu-bi-lam* "(if you are my brother) from the woman, my associate, collect either a distrainee or the silver or the grain and send it to me" **53:7**
>
> in broken context: [*a-wi-i*]*l-tum* **33:4**
>
> > [*a-w*]*i-il-tim* **33:2′**
> >
> > [*a-wi*]-*il-tum* **33:4′**

awīlum "man, person."

> nom.: *a-wi-lum an-ni-um* "this man" (in difficult context) **4:24**
>
> [*a*(?)-*w*]*i*(?)-*lum* ᵎ*ša*ᵎ(?)-*ki-iš* "the man is being badly mistreated" **24:25**
>
> ᵎ*a-wi*ᵎ-*lu-ú ú-la i-ša-lu-ni-ni* A.ŠÀ-ᵎ*am*(?) *i*ᵎ-*ru-šu* "the men did not ask me but cultivated the field" **25:1**
>
> *a-wi-lu-ú šu-ut i-ti-šu-nu uš-bu šu-nu-ma a-ši-mi-im i-dì-nu-ni-ni* "the men with whom I lived have sold me" **28:4**
>
> gen.: A.Š[À *a*]-*wi-lim li-*[*iš*]-*bi-ir* "let him break up the field of the man" **32:25**
>
> acc.: *a-*ᵎ*wi-lam*ᵎ ᵎ*la tu-wa-ša*ᵎ-*ar* "(this is what they said:) do not let the man go" **34:12**

B

balāṭum "to live, to be alive, to be in good health."

> B stative 2. masc.! sing.: *a-dì ba-al-ṭá-ti at-ta-ma lu be-el-ni* "as long as you are alive, you are indeed our lord" **34:29**
>
> B pres. 3. masc. sing.: PN *i-ba-lu-ṭá-ma wa-ar-dì ša-ni-ú-tim i-na-dì-na-am* "if PN were alive (gets well?), he would give me other slaves" **12:8**

bašābum (see *wašābum.*)

bašāum "to be, to exist, to be on hand."

    B pres. 1. sing.: *šum-ma a-ta e-mi ù a-na-ku um-ma-kà-ma i-li-bi-kà a-ba-ší* "if you are my son-in-law and I am your mother, I should be in your thoughts" **12:32**

    B pres. 3. sing.: *a-na ma-nim uz-ni i-ba-ší* "to whom can I turn (lit. to whom will my ear be)" **12:7**

        dì-qá-ri ša ú-še-bi-lam a-dì ma-ti i-ba-⌜ší⌝ šu-bi-lam "my *diqārum* that I sent there—how long will it remain—send it back!" **12:49**

        a-ni-t[um](?) [i(?)-t]i-a i-ba-ši (in broken context) **42:3′**

beālum "to rule." In D "to make someone ruler."

    B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *be-lí i-na ki-it-tim i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma* ARÁD-*šú a-na-ku* "in truth my lord rules me and I am his 'slave'" **48:10**

    D prec. 3. masc. pl.: DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *u₄-mi ma-du-tim ar-kà-tim ša-na-tim li-be-lu-kà* "may DN₁ and DN₂ let you rule for many days and long years" **31:9** (possibly B prec.; see the commentary)

bēlum "lord, master."

    introducing direct speech: *um-ma be-lí-ma* "this is what my lord said" **30:20, 44**

    in the phrase *šumma be-lí atta* "if you are my lord": **34:4; 41:12**

    in the address of letters: *ana be-lí-a qibi-ma* "say to my lord" **3:1; 6:1; 8:1; 9:1; 19:1; 29:1; 30:1**

    nom. with pron. suffix: ⌜*a-šar la*⌝ *ú-da-*⌜*ni*⌝-*nu-*⌜*na*⌝ [*be-l*]*í ki-*⌜*ša*⌝-*d*[*ì*] [*i-t*]*a-ki-*[*is*](?) "if I had not strengthened it, my lord would have cut off my head" (difficult) **6:13**

        be-lí la i-na-ḫi-id "my lord should not worry" **8:6; 9:17**

        šum-ma be-lí i-[ ] *ma-li pi be-lí-a i-*[x]-*ba-am li-pu*(wr. MU!)-*ul-kà a-na qá-ti-kà lu-uš-qú-ul* "if my lord says so, as much as my lord says he should pay you, I will pay to you" (broken and difficult) **29:3′**

        a-[*na m*]*i-nim šu-ni-*⌜*ti*⌝ [*be-lí ú-l*]*a iš-pu-ra-am-ma* "why has my lord not sent these two to me?" **30:14**

        be-lí iš-pu-ra-an-ni "(this is what he said:) my lord sent me" **30:30**

        be-lí PN₁ *ù* PN₂ *li-*[*i*]*š-pu-ra-am-ma* "let my lord send me PN₁ and PN₂" **30:37**

        a-na a-la-ki-[*im*](?) *ša be-lí iš-pu-r*[*a*]-⌜*an-ni*⌝ "for the journey which my lord sent me on" **30:48**

        be-lí ⌜*i-na*⌝-*di-nam* "my lord will give to me" (in broken context) **43:20**

        be-lí i-na ki-it-tim i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma ARÁD-*sú a-na-ku* "in truth my lord rules me and I am his 'slave'" **48:8**

    in broken context: *be-lí* [ ] **26:3; 48:1′**

    be-[*lí*(?)] **48:22**

    wr. other than *be-lí: at-ta lu be-li-ma* "you are indeed my lord" **34:21**

        a-dì ba-al-ṭá-ti at-ta-ma lu be-el-ni "as long as you are alive, you are indeed our lord" **34:30**

    gen. with pron. suffix: *a-lu-um i-*⌜*na*⌝ *ir*⌝-*ni-ti* A-*mu-ri-im ša-ki-in a-na be-lí-a ú-da-*⌜*na*⌝-*an* "the city is threatened by the Amorites; I am strengthening it for my lord" **6:7**

        ⌜*a-na mi-ni-im*⌝ ⌜*ma-ag-ri-ta*⌝-*ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-*⌜*lí*⌝-*a i-ta-*⌜*wu-ú ù*⌝(?) ⌜*li-bi*⌝ *be-lí-*[*a*] *k*[*i ú-š*]*a-am-ra-*⌜*ṣú*⌝ "why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord and how (dare) they make my lord angry" **6:15–21**

        a-lu-um ša-lim te-er-ti be-lí-a dan-na-at "the city is safe—the omen report concerning my lord is strong" **8:5**

        a-lu-um ša-lim ma-⌜*ṣa-ar*⌝-*ti be-lí-a da-na-at* "the city is safe—the garrison of my lord is strong" **9:6**

        a-na-ku ⌜*a*⌝-*na be-l*[*í-a*] *ta-*⌜*ak*⌝-*la-*⌜*ak*⌝ "I trust in my lord" **19:6′**

šum-ma be-lí i-[   ] *ma-li pí be-lí-a i-*[x]*-ba-am li-pu*(wr. MU!)*-ul-kà a-na qá-ti-kà lu-uš-qú-ul* "if my lord says so, as much as my lord says he should pay you, I will pay to you" (broken and difficult) **29:4′**

PN₁ *ší-pir₆ be-lí-a ù* PN₂ *ma-ru-ší-ip-ri-a* ⌜IGI *be-lí*⌝*-a wa-áš-ba* "PN₁, the messenger of my lord, and PN₂, my messenger, remain with my lord" **30:10–12**

PN [*š*]*i-pir₆ be-lí-a el-li-kam*(!)*-ma* "PN the messenger of my lord arrived" **30:17**

[*šum-ma ki-ni-iš*](?) ⌜ARÁD *be-lí*⌝*-*[*a-ma a-na-ku*](?) *ki-ma* GÌR.N[ITÁ](?) *be-lí-a iš-ti-*[*ni-iš*](?) *a-na ti-i-ir-t*[*i*] *be-lí-*⌜*a*⌝ *az-za-az šum-ma ki-ni-iš* ARÁD *be-lí-a-ma a-na-ku be-lí i-na ki-it-tim i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma* ARÁD*-sú a-na-ku* "If I am truly the 'slave' of my lord, as a *šakkanakkum* of my lord I will at once obey the command of my lord. If I am truly the 'slave' of my lord, my lord in truth rules me and I am his 'slave'." **48:1–11**

in broken context: [*b*]*e-lí-a* **30:41**

⌜*a-na be*⌝*-l*[*i*(?)*-a*(?)] **48:1′**

in the expression *bēl irnittim* (mng. uncertain): *be-el ir-ni-ti-kà ku-šu-ud mi-im-ma a-na ší-a-ti ú-la a-qá-bi-kum* (difficult) **24:4**

berēum "to starve, to go hungry."

B pres. 1. sing.: *la* ⌜*e*⌝*-bé-*⌜*re*⌝ "I should not go hungry" **55:7**

biātum "to spend the night, to delay (intrans.), to tarry."

B stative 3. masc. sing.: PN *bí-it a-na šar-ri-im iṭ-ḫa-ma ma-ma-na ú-la i-li* "PN spent the night and then had an audience with the king; no one else went" **19:4**

B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *a-ni* PN *áš-ta-ap-ra-kum la i-bi-tám* "now I have sent PN to you; he should not delay there" **20:24**

bītum "house," "storeroom."

wr. log. (É): É *ša ta-*⌜*aq*⌝*-bi-am* "the house that you mentioned to me" (in broken context) **27:12**

⌜ŠÀ.TAM.MEŠ⌝ *ù ra-qú-ú-*MEŠ *a-na* É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG ⌜*li*⌝*-ru-bu-ma* ⌜*pí-iš-ša*⌝*-ti* [*li-im-ḫ*]*u-*⌜*ru*⌝*-nim* "let the *šatammū* and the 'perfume makers' enter the 'storeroom of top quality sweet oil' and get my anointing oil for me" **52:6**

in broken context: É *a-*[   ] **3:1′**

wr. syll.: *i-na bi-it a-*⌜*ḫa*⌝*-ti-a ki-ma wa-ša-bi-*[*im*] *wa-áš-ba-ku* "I live in the house of my sister like a tenant" **26:7**

buāum "to come(?)."

B pres.(?): ⌜*i*⌝*-ba-ú* (in broken context) **11:44**

būdum (mng. unk.) (See *būdu* B in *CAD* B, p. 305.)

1 TÚG.NÍG.LÁM SIG₅ *š*[*a bu-d*]*ì-kà* "1 *lamaḫuššum* garment of best quality of your *b.*" **11:16**

[x TÚG.GUZ].ZA SIG₅ *ša bu-dì-kà* "x GUZ.ZA garment(s) of best quality of your *b.*" **18A:2′**

D

damqum "good, fine, favorable, pleasing," "of best quality."

wr. log. (SIG₅): 1 TÚG.NÍG.LÁM SIG₅ "1 *lamaḫuššum* garment of best quality" **11:16**

[x TÚG.GUZ].ZA SIG₅ "x GUZ.ZA garment(s) of best quality" **18A:2′**

wr. syll.: ⌜*kà*⌝*-kà-am dá-am-qá-am ší-bu-ul-tám* ⌜*dá*⌝*-mi-i*[*q-tám*] *a-na qú-bu-ri-šu* ⌜*šu-bi*⌝*-*[*lam*] "(if you are my brother) send a weapon of the best quality (as) a fine present for his funeral" **15:6′–8′**

a-wa-at-kà da-m[*i-iq*]*-t*[*ám*] *i-*⌜*ti*⌝*-šu ší-pi-*⌜*ir*⌝*-*[*kà*(?)] *li-ib-*[*lam*(?)] "let your messenger bring your favorable reply with him" **20:25**

damum "blood."

nom. with pron. suffix: *a-˹na˺-ku a-ḫu-kà ší-ir-kà ù da-mu-kà a-na-ku* "I am your brother—I am your flesh and your blood" **11:4**

danānum "to be(come) strong." In D "to make strong, to strengthen, to reinforce."

D pres. 1. sing.: *a-lu-um i-˹na ir˺-ni-ti A-mu-ri-im ša-ki-in a-na be-lí-a ú-da-˹na˺-an* "the city is threatened by the Amorites; I am strengthening it for my lord" **6:8**

D pret. 1. sing.: ˹*a-šar la*˺ *ú-da-˹ni˺-nu-˹na*˺ [*be-l*]*í ki-˹ša˺-d*[*ì*] [*i-t*]*a-ki-*[*is*](?) "if I had not strengthened it, my lord would have cut off my head" (difficult) **6:12**

danniš (adv.) "strongly, heartily, very."

˹*dan*˺-*ni-iš-ma le-mu-un* "it is very evil" (in broken context) **48:20**

dannum "strong, secure."

in predicative use (with stative endings): *a-lu-um ša-lim te-er-ti be-lí-a dan-na-at* "the city is safe—the omen report concerning my lord is strong" **8:5**

a-lu-um ša-lim ma-˹ṣa-ar˺-ti be-lí-a da-na-at "the city is safe—the garrison of my lord is strong" **9:7**

i-na a-li-a da-na-ku "I remain secure in my city" **9:16**

dekēum "to summon, to call up."

B pret. 1. sing.: *A-mu-ra-am a*[*d-ki*(?)] "I summoned(?) the Amorites" **27:3**

diānum "to judge, to render a judgment, to start a lawsuit."

B inf.: *dì-a-nu-um* [*a-n*]*a-ku-ú šu-ut* [*n*]*u-ta-ma-am-ma* "the judgment is that he and I will swear an oath" (difficult) **23:21**

B pret. 1. sing.: ˹*a-wi*˺-*lu-ú ú-la i-ša-lu-ni-ni* A.ŠÀ-˹*am*˺(?) *i*˺-*ru-šu a-dì-in-ma* "the men did not ask me but cultivated the field—I started a lawsuit and . . ." **25:4**

B pret. 3. masc. pl.: *a-na pá-ša-ri-im zu-a-zi-im dì-na-am i-dì-nu-ni-im* "they rendered me a judgment allowing me to sell and divide" (continuation of the preceding citation) **25:8**

dimtum "(siege) tower."

acc. pl.: 10 *ša-na-ti-*[*im*] *A-mu-ru-*[*um*] *li-k*[*i-ir*(?)-*ma*(?)] 10 GIŠ *ia₈-š*[*i-bi*] 10 GIŠ *dì-ma-ti-*[*im*] 20 GIŠ *sà-mu-kà-ni li-ib-lam* "even if the Amorites should make war for ten years and bring ten battering rams, ten siege towers, and twenty *samūkānu* (I will remain secure in my city)" **9:12**

dīmtum "tear, weeping, distress."

acc. pl. with pron. suffix: *dì-ma-ti-a šu-qí-il* "stop my tears" **12:44**

dīnum "judgment, lawsuit."

nom.: *di-nu-um pa-nu-um* "the earlier judgment" (in difficult context) **50:4**

acc.: *a-na pá-ša-ri-im zu-a-zi-im dì-na-am i-dì-nu-ni-im* "they rendered me a judgment allowing me to sell and divide" **25:7**

diqārum (a vessel).

dì-qá-ri ša ú-še-bi-lam a-dì ma-ti i-ba-˹ší˺ šu-bi-lam "my *diqārum* that I sent there—how long will it remain—send it back!" **12:46**

dūrum "(defensive) wall."

gen.: [*a*(?)-*d*]*u*(?)-*ri-i*[*m t*]*ám-li-am* . . . *šu-pu-uk* "make a terrace against the wall(?)" (difficult) **4:21**

ší-ip-ra-am mi-im-ma la te-pè-eš i-na mu-ší-im ù i-na mu-uṣ-la-li-im ma-ṣa-ar-tum i-na dú-ri-im la úr-ra-dam "do not do any work—night and day the guard should not come down from the wall" **7:15**

E

ebābum "to be(come) clean, to be(come) innocent." In D "to prove innocent, to make free of claims."

B inf.: *e-ba-bi šu-ṭe₄-ra-ma li-li-ku* "(this is what I said:) make a written record of my being innocent and let them go" **21:8**

D pres.(?): [   ]ᵉú¹-*ba-ab* [   ](?) ᵉzu¹-*uk*-ᵉki¹-*š*[*u*(?)-*n*]*u*(?) (broken and doubtful) **24:20**

D prec. 3. dual(?): *a-na* ᵈ*I-id li-bi-ba-nim* "(this is what I said:) let them prove their innocence by the river (ordeal)" **21:6**

ebūrum "harvest."

wa-ar-dì wu-še-ra-am e-bu-úr-šu la i-ḫa-li-iq-ma la e-mi-iṣ "release my slave so that his harvest not be lost and he should not starve" **12:35**

elēum "to go up, to go into the presence of someone important."

B imp.: ᵉa-li-ma¹(?) ·1(?)¹ GUD(?) *šu-a-ti* ᵉṣa¹(?)-*ab-ta-am* "go up and take that ox for me" **30:28**

B pret. 3. sing.: PN *bí-it a-na šar-ri-im iṭ-ḫa-ma ma-ma-na ú-la i-li* "PN spent the night and then had an audience with the king; no one else went" **19:6**

MAR.TU-[*um*(?)] *kà-lu-šu a-na* ᵉx¹-[   ] SA.TU-*im* ᵉi¹-[*li*(?)] "all of the Amorites went up into the mountain of [. . .]" **20:12**

B pret. 3. masc. pl.: *i-lu-ma* PN *ta-aš-*[*pu-ur*](?) "they went up and you sent PN" (doubtful) **34:32**

B prec. 1. pl. (cohortative): ᵉa-na¹[GN](?) *i ni-*ᵉli¹*-am-*[*ma*](?) PN *li-ṣí-am-*[*ma*](?) *i ni-ša-al-šu* "we will go up to [GN](?) and PN will come forth and we will question him" **38:2′**

emāṣum "to be(come) hungry."

B stative 3. masc. sing.: *wa-ar-dì wu-še-ra-am e-bu-úr-šu la i-ḫa-li-iq-ma la e-mi-iṣ* "release my slave so that his harvest not be lost and he should not starve" **12:36**

emum "son-in-law."

nom. with pron. suffix: *šum-ma a-ta e-mi ù a-na-ku um-ma-kà-ma* "if you are my son-in-law and I am your mother" **12:29**

ēnum "En-priest."

wr. log (EN) only in address formula of letter: *um-ma* PN-*ma* EN *ša* ᵈEN.ZU "thus (says) PN, the En-priest of Sin" **31:3**

epāšum "to make, to do."

B stative 3. masc. sing.: *a-na ri-iš ba-ar-*[*ḫi*]-*i*[*m*] WA-*ar-ṣú-um e-pí-eš* "the ritual is to be performed at the end of the month" **15:13′**

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: *ša ṣa-ba-at qa-ti-ia e-pu-uš* . . . 1 *šu-ši* GUR ŠE *li-di-nu-nim* "(if you are my father) do what is necessary to guarantee me; . . . let they give me sixty *kurrū* of barley" **55:7**

B pres. 1. sing.: ᵉx-x-x¹-*ka kar-*[*ṣ*]*i*(?)-*im e-ep-pe-eš* (in broken context) **51:6**

B pres. 2. masc. sing.: *ší-ip-ra-am mi-im-ma la te-pè-eš* "do not do any work" **7:11**

B pret. 3. masc. sing.: ARÁD-*kà ar-na-am lu i-*ᵉpu-uš¹ "your 'slave' has indeed committed a crime" **10:8**

B prec. 1. sing.: [*m*]*i-na-*ᵉam¹ *lu-pu-uš* "what should I do?" **46:13**

eqlum "field, arable land." Wr. log. (A.ŠÀ) only.

nom.: A.ŠÀ-*um i-a-um ša pá-aq-ri-e* "my field which was claimed (by somebody else)" **32:4**

gen.: *nam-kà-r*[*a-am*] *i-na* A.Š[À   ] *uš-ti-*[   ] (in broken context) **32:13**

acc.: ᵉa-wi¹-*lu-ú ú-la i-ša-lu-ni-ni* A.ŠÀ-ᵉam¹(?) *i*¹-*ru-šu* "the men did not ask me but cultivated the field" **25:3**

A.ŠÀ *ša* PN₁ PN₂ ᵉik¹(?)-*kà-*[*a*]*l* "PN₂ enjoys the use of the field of PN₁" **32:19**

A.š[À *a*]-*wi-lim li*-[*iš*]-*bi-ir* "let him break up the field of the man" **32:25**

in broken context: A.šÀ *li*-[   ] **32:9**

A.⌜šÀ⌝(?) [x-(x)]-⌜x⌝-*te* **41:6**

erābum "to enter, to invade."

B perf. 3. masc. sing.: ⌜PN₁⌝ ⌜*a*⌝-*na* GN₁ *i-te-ri-i*[*b*] *ù* PN₂ *a-na* GN₂ [*i-t*]*e-ri-ib* "PN₁ has entered GN₁ and PN₂ has entered GN₂" **2:1–6**

B prec. 3. masc. pl.: ⌜šÀ.TAM.MEš⌝ *ù ra-qú-ú-*MEš *a-na* É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG ⌜*li*⌝-*ru-bu-ma* "let the *šatammū* and the 'perfume makers' enter the 'storeroom of top quality sweet oil'" **52:7**

erāšum "to cultivate (a field)."

B pret. 3. masc. pl.: ⌜*a-wi*⌝-*lu-ú ú-la i-ša-lu-ni-ni* A.šÀ-⌜*am*⌝(?) *i*⌝-*ru-šu* "the men did not ask me but cultivated the field" **25:3**

etellum "prince, lord."

nom. pl. (in predicative use): *a*-⌜*šu*⌝-*mi-kà wa*-⌜*ar-du*⌝-*a e-te-lu-ma a-li-ma li-bi-šu-nu i-la-ku* "on account of you my slave act like lords and go wherever they please" **12:24**

ezābum "to leave behind, to abandon, to spare."

B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *a-wi-lum an-ni-um* [*a*(?)-*n*]*a*(?) GN *i-ta-na-am-ma* ⌜x⌝ *la* ⌜*mi-ší*⌝ *iz-zi-ib-šu* (broken and difficult) **4:26**

G

gamirtum "totality, all."

acc.: *ga-mi-ir-ti a-wa-ti*-⌜*šu*⌝-*nu ni-la-ma-da*-⌜*am-ma*⌝ *ni-ša-pa-ra-ku*-⌜*um*⌝ "we will find out about all of their affairs and write to you" **40:10**

gamlum (mng. uncertain).

acc.: *a-na* [GN](?) *i ni*-⌜*li*⌝-*am*-[*ma*](?) PN *li-ṣí-am*-[*ma*](?) *i ni-ša-al-šu ga-am-la*[*m*] *i ni-di-ik-ku*[*m*] "we will go up to [GN](?) and PN will come forth and we will question him; we will give you the *g.*" **38:6′**

Ḫ

ḫabātum "to rob."

B stative 3. masc. sing.: *a-na mi-ni*[*m*] *ḫa-bi-it* "why is he being robbed?" **24:13**

ḫalāqum "to be(come) lost."

B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *wa-ar-dì wu-še-ra-am e-bu-úr-šu la i-ḫa-li-iq-ma la e-mi-iṣ* "release my slave so that his harvest not be lost and he should not starve" **12:35**

ḫamiš "five."

fem.: *a-na* ⌜*ḫa*⌝-*am-ša-at u₄-mi* "for(?) five days" **46:26**

ḫarrānum "trip, journey," "caravan."

gen. with pron. suffix: 10 KUš.⌜E⌝.SÍR É.BA.AN ⌜*a*⌝-*na* ⌜*ḫa*⌝-*ra-ni-a šu-bi-lam* "send me ten pairs of sandals for my journey" **20:34**

ḫurāṣum "gold."

wr. log. (KÙ.GI) only: 1 GAL KÙ.GI "one gold cup" **11:15**

I

i (1. pl. prec. particle).

⌜*a-na*⌝ [GN](?) *i ni*-⌜*li*⌝-*am*-[*ma*](?) PN *li-ṣí-am*-[*ma*](?) *i ni-ša-al-šu ga-am-la*[*m*] *i ni-di-ik-ku*[*m*] "we will go up to [GN](?) and PN will come forth and we will question him; we will give you the *gamlum*" **38:1′–7′**

Id "river (as a divinity)."

gen.: *um-ma a-na-ku-ma li-it-ma-a um-ma* ⌈*a*⌉*-ta-ma a-na* ᵈ*I-id li-bi-ba-nim* "I said: 'let them take an oath' (but), you said:" 'let them prove their innocence by the river (ordeal).'" **21:5**

idum "arm," "force."

in the phrase *idīn šakānum* "to exert pressure.": *a-na* SUKKAL.MAḪ-*im qí-bí-ma i-dì-in li-iš-ku-un a-na ši-pí-ir šar-ri-im* ⌈*i*⌉*-dì-in l*[*i*]*-iš-ku-un* "say to the *sukkalmaḫḫum* that he should bring pressure to bear, that he should bring pressure to bear on the king's messenger" **28:6–12**

idûm "to know (as a fact)," "to take care of (something)." In Š "to inform."

B pres. 1. sing.: *a-na-ku ú-la i-*[*de₄*(?)] "I do not know:" **20:6**

B pres. 2. masc. sing.: *a-ta kà-la-ma ti-de₄* "you know how much" **11:18**

ti-de₄ (in broken context) **46:32**

B pret. 2. masc. sing.: *ki-am a-wa-sú lu ti-d*[*i*] "such was his statement, you should really know" **44:10**

B prec. 3. masc. sing.: ⌈*ma-ku*⌉*-úr ra-ma-ni-kà a-na mi-nim na-dì-i ra-bi-*[*ṣ*]*a-am šu-ku-un-ma li-dì-šu la in-na-ad-dì* "Why is your own property neglected? Appoint an agent and let him take care of it. It will not be neglected!" **11:54**

Š imp. 2. masc. sing.: *a-na* PN *šu-pu-ur-ma ki-ma na-ru-um se₂₀ ek-ra-at šu-di-*≪*iš*≫*-š*[*u*]*-u*[*m*] "write to PN and inform him that the river is blocked" **40:5′**

ikribum "blessing." In pl. "prayer(s)."

nom.: *ik-ri-b*[*u*] (in broken context; possibly *ik-ri-b*[*u-um*]) **4:9**

immatima (see *mati.*)

in (see *ina.*)

ina (prep.) "in, within, on, by means of."

wr. *i-na: passim.*

in the form *in* with *n* assimilated to the first consonant of the next word: *šum-ma a-ta e-mi ù a-na-ku um-ma-kà-ma i-li-bi-kà a-ba-ší* "if you are my son-in-law and I am your mother, I should be in your thoughts" **12:31**

for this writing in *immatima* (< *in*+*mati*+*ma*) see *mati*

inanna (adv.) "now."

⌈*i-na*⌉*-an-na* [   ](?) *nam-kà-r*[*a-am*] *i-na* A.Š[À   ] *uš-ti-*[   ] (in broken context) **32:11**

[*t*]*a-ta-wi-im-ma ú-la am-gu-ur-ki* ⌈*i*⌉*-na-na a-na a-wa-ti-ki* ⌈*uz*⌉(?)*-*[*ni aš*]*-*⌈*ta*⌉*-ka-an* "you spoke to me but I did not agree with you; now I have come around to your point of view" **54:6**

inītum "(services of an) ox team."

acc. with pron. suffix: *i-ni-ti la* ⌈*te*⌉*-*[*gi*(?)] "do not neglect my ox team(?)" (broken and difficult) **4:10**

inni (interj.) "now, indeed." Used as an intensifying particle perhaps not requiring a translation. See also *anni* and the commentary to no. 25.

⌈*i-ni a-wi*⌉*-lu-ú ú-la i-ša-lu-ni-ni* A.ŠÀ-⌈*am*⌉(?) *i*⌉*-ru-šu* "(indeed) the men did not ask me but cultivated the field" **25:1**

i-ni a-ta ša-li-iš-tám ta-⌈*ta*⌉(?)⌉*-sà-aḫ* "(indeed) you customarily took out a third" **25:9**

i-ni ṭà-ab m[*a-ru ši*]*-i*[*p-ri*] *ku-ru-ma-ta-*[*am*] *i-ma-ḫa-r*[*u-ma*](?) *ma-ru ši-i*[*p-ri-a*] *a-kà-la-am i-ma-ḫa-ar* "indeed it is good that messengers should receive a daily ration, but my messenger should (also) receive food" **35:18**

īnum "eye."

    du. oblique: *i-na i-ni-i A-mu-ri-im ku-bi-[t]a-ni* "give me prestige in the eyes of the Amorites"
        11:10

    i-ni a-a-bi-a "the eyes(?) of my enemies" (in broken context) **12:41**

inūmi (conj.) when(ever)."

    a-dì ba-áš-bu i-nu-mi a-ša-t[ám(?)] ta-bu-[ku(?)] (in broken context) **19:13'**

irnittum "goal, victory."

    gen.: *a-lu-um i-˹na ir˺-ni-ti A-mu-ri-im ša-ki-in* "the city is threatened by the Amorites" (difficult)
        6:4

    in the expression *bēl irnittim* (mng. uncertain): *be-el ir-ni-ti-kà ku-šu-ud mi-im-ma a-na ší-a-ti ú-la*
        a-qá-bi-kum (difficult) **24:4**

iš (prep.) "to, for."

    iš ITU ᵈʳ*Ū-gul-lá*˺ (in broken context) (read perhaps *iš-<tu>*) **26:12**

išdum "foundation."

    du. nom.: *iš-da ku-sí-kà lu ki-na* "may the foundation of your throne be firm" **31:10**

ištēn "one."

    [i]š-te-en (in broken context) **26:2**

ištēniš (adv.) "at once."

    ki-ma GÌR.N[ITÁ](?) *be-lí-a iš-ti-[ni-iš](?) a-na ti-i-ir-t[i] be-lí-[a] az-za-az* "as a *šakkanakkum*
    of my lord I will at once obey the command of my lord" **48:3**

ištu (conj.) "as long as (?)."

    iš-tu mi-ma la šu-ḫu-˹za˺-ku ma-ku-ri ˹*lu*˺*-ul-qí-ma lu-ta-ṣí* "as long as I am not permitted to
    own anything, I will take my property and move out" **26:10**

ištu (prep.) "since." See *iš* (prep.).

išûm "to have."

    B pres. 2. masc. sing.: *ki ša ra-bi-[a-an](?) A-mu-ri-im* ˹x˺-[   ] *ti-šu* "you have [. . .] just like the
    rabiān Amurrim" **3:7'**

itti (prep.) "(together) with."

    before substantive or proper name: *i-ti* PN "with PN" (in broken context) **18A:4'**

        ˹*it*˺*-[t]i Šu-ḫu-a-nim* (difficult) **24:8**

        i-ti a-ḫi-a li-bi li-ṭì-ba-am "I should be in agreement with my brother" **27:7**

        [   ]˹*ša*˺ *it-t[i*   ] *wa-aš-ba-at uš-te-ṣi-am um-ma šu-ú-ma ka-ki e-le-qí-ma it-ti* PN *am-ta-*
        ḫa-aṣ "[the garrison(?)] which was with [. . .] he brought out; this is what he said: I will take
        my weapon and do battle with PN" **44:1–7**

    with pron. suffix: ˹*še*˺*-mi i-ti-kà* [   ] (in broken context) **4:12**

        a-wa-at-kà da-m[i-iq]-t[ám] i-˹ti˺-šu ší-pi-˹ir˺-[kà(?)] li-ib-[lam(?)] "let your messenger bring
        your favorable reply with him" **20:26**

        a-wi-lu-ú šu-ut i-ti-šu-nu uš-bu "the men with whom I lived" **28:4**

        a-ni-t[um](?) [i(?)-t]i-a i-ba-ši (in broken context) **42:3'**

J

jašibum "battering ram."

    acc. pl.: 10 *ša-na-ti-[im] A-mu-ru-[um] li-k[ir(?)-ma(?)]* 10 GIŠ *ia₈-š[í-bi]* 10 GIŠ *dì-ma-ti-[im]* 20
    GIŠ *sà-mu-kà-ni li-ib-lam* "even if the Amorites should make war for ten years and bring ten
    battering rams, ten siege towers, and twenty *samūkānu* (I will remain secure in my city)" **9:11**

jati (pron. 1. sing. acc.) "me."

    ma-tum ⌈*kà*⌉-*l*[*u-ša*](?) *i-a-ti* [   ] *ip-ta-a*[*l-*   ] (in broken context) **38:10**

jaum (pron. 1. sing. gen.) "my, mine."

    A.ŠÀ-*um i-a-um ša pá-aq-ri-e* "my field which was claimed (by somebody else)" **32:4**

    i-na šu-ri-im mi-il-ku-um i-a-um x-*ri-um* (in difficult context) **46:8**

K

kabātum "to be(come) heavy, to be(come) important." In D "to make important, to honor."

    D inf.: *ap-*[*pu*]-⌈*na*⌉-*ma iš-ta-kà-an* ⌈*ku*(?)-*ub*(?)⌉-*bu-ti-iš* "moreover, he construed it as an honor" (difficult) **23:19**

    D imp. 2. masc. sing.: *i-na i-ni-i A-mu-ri-im ku-bi-*[*t*]*a-ni* "give me prestige in the eyes of the Amorites" **11:11**

kabrum "thick, fat."

    kà-ab-ri-im (in broken context) **30:50**

kabtum "heavy, important, substantial."

    ni-qì-a-am kà-ab-tám ⌈*a*⌉-*na-a-qì* "I will make an important offering" **37:6**

kakkum "weapon."

    acc.: ⌈*kà*⌉-*kà-am dá-am-qá-am ší-bu-ul-tám* ⌈*dá*⌉-*mi-i*[*q-tám*] *a-na qú-bu-ri-šu* ⌈*šu-bi*⌉-[*lam*] "(if you are my brother) send a weapon of the best quality (as) a fine present for his funeral" **15:6′**

    acc. with pron. suffix: *ka-ki e-le-qí-ma it-ti* PN *am-ta-ḫa-aṣ*" (this is what he said:) I will take my weapon and do battle with PN" **44:5**

kalama "everything, all, total."

    a-ta kà-la-ma ti-de₄ "you know how much" **11:18**

kalum "whole, entirety, all."

    with pron. suffix: ⌈*ší*⌉-*ip-ru-ú m*[*a-t*]*im k*[*à-li-š*]*a a-na* [*qú-bu-r*]*i-im* [*ša Ab-d*]*a-El* [*i-la-ku*]-*ni-im* ⌈*ù A*⌉-*mu-ru-um kà-lu-šu* ⌈*i-pá*⌉-*ḫu-ra-am* "the envoys of the entire country are coming for the funeral of PN and all of the Amorites are gathering" **11:20–26**

    MAR.TU-[*um*(?)] *kà-lu-šu a-na* ⌈x⌉-[   ] SA.TU-*im* ⌈*i*⌉-[*li*(?)] "all of the Amorites went up into the mountain of [. . .]" **20:11**

    ma-tum ⌈*kà*⌉-*l*[*u-ša*](?) "the entire country" (in broken context) **38:9**

kalāum "to hold back, to withhold, to refuse."

    B stative 3. masc. sing.: *mi-ší-e*[*l*(?)-*š*]*u*(?) *kà-l*[*i*(?)] "half of it is being withheld" **32:8**

    B pres. 1. sing.: *a-ka-la-šum* (in broken context) **42:8′**

    B pres. 2. masc. sing.: *mi-im-ma ša* ⌈*ú-ḫu*⌉-*ra . . . šu-bi-lam la ta-kà-la-am* "as much as has been delayed . . . send to me—do not withhold from me" **11:19**

    1 *šú-ḫa-ra-am šu-ri-am la ta-kà-la-am ù šum-ma a-ḫi a-ta* 1 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-am Maš-kán-šar-ri-am šu-ri-áš-šu la ta-kà-la-áš-šu* "send me a boy, do not withhold (him) from me; and if you are my brother, send me a boy from GN, do not withhold him from me" **11:31–36**

    PN₁ GEMÉ PN₂ *ú-*[*la* K]Ù.BABBAR-*ša* [*ú-l*]*a* GEMÉ *me-ḫe-er-*[*ta-ša*] *lu-ša-ri-a-*[*kum*(?)] *la ta-kà-la-*[*áš*(?)]-*ší* "PN₁ is the slave-girl of PN₂. I will send you either her price or an equivalent slave-girl. Do not withhold her." **16:9**

    ta-kà-⌈*la*⌉-[*áš*](?)-⌈*šu-nu-ti*⌉ (in broken context) **22:8**

    PN *la ta-kà-la-am* "(if you are my brother) do not withhold PN from me" **36:6**

    B pret. 1. sing.: ⌈*i-ma*⌉-[*ti*]-*ma ta-aš-pu-ra-am mi-nam ak-la-a* "whenever you have written to me, what have I (ever) refused (to do)" **34:19**

B perf. 2. masc. sing.: *mi-iš-lam tu-[ta-ší-i]r*(?) *mi-iš-lam ta-ak-ta-la* "half you have released, half you have withheld" **24:23**

kannum (a type of vessel or container.)

wr. log. (DUG.GAN) only: 1 DUG.GAN Ì DÚG.GA "one *kannum* of 'sweet oil'" (in broken context) **23:8**

kapādum "to take care of, to make arrangements for." In D with same meaning.

D stative 3. masc. sing.: *a-na ku-ru-[ma-ti-šu]*(?) *ma-ru ši-ip-[ri-a]*(?) *lu ku-pu-u[d]*(?) "is my messenger supposed to take care of (providing) his own daily food ration?" **35:16**

kapārum (mng. uncertain.)

D inf.(?): PN *wa-ra-ad-kà a-na* TÚG.ḪI.A *ku-pu-ri-im a-na li-qú-tim iš-ᵓpu-úrᵓ-šu* "PN, your 'slave', sent him to . . ." (difficult) **12:21**

karābum "to pray, to bless."

B prec. 1. sing.: IGI DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *lu-uk-ru-ub-kum* "I will pray for you before DN₁ and DN₂" **31:20**

karṣum "calumny(?)."

gen.: ᵓx-x-xᵓ-*ka kar-[ṣ]í*(?)-*im e-ep-pe-eš* (in broken context) **51:5**

kaspum "silver, price."

wr. log. (KÙ.BABBAR) only: 3 GA[L KÙ].BABBAR "three silver cups" **11:15**

lu ša KÙ.BABBAR 10 MA.NA "even if it costs ten minas of silver" **11:37**

ú-[la K]Ù.BABBAR-*ša [ú-l]a* GEMÉ *me-ḫe-er-[ta-ša] lu-ša-ri-a-[kum*(?)] "I will send you either her price or an equivalent slave-girl" **16:5**

lu ni-pu-tám lu KÙ.BABBAR *lu* ŠE *šu-di-na-ma šu-bi-lam* "collect either a distrainee or the silver or the grain and send it to me" **53:10**

kāsum "cup." See *CAD* K, p. 255.

wr. log. (GAL) only: 1 GAL KÙ.GI 3 GA[L KÙ].BABBAR . . . GAL.UD.KA.BAR.ḪI.A "one gold cup, three silver cups, . . . , various bronze cups" **11:15–17**

kašādum "to reach, to arrive."

B pres. 3. masc. sing.: ᵓ*i-ka-aš-ša-ad*ᵓ (in broken context) **51:3**

D(?) stative (?) 3. masc. sing.: *be-el ir-ni-ti-kà ku-šu-ud mi-im-ma a-na ší-a-ti ú-la a-qá-bi-kum* (difficult) (possibly B imp. instead of D stative) **24:5**

with *awātum* as object "to take care of a matter (completely), to see a matter through.":

B pres. 1. sing.: *ki-ma a-ḫu-ka a-na-ku-ma a-wa-at-ka a-ka-aš-ša-du* "just as I am your brother and would take care of your affair" **51:10**

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: *a-na a-wa-at ṣú-ḫa-ri-im* ᵓ*ša*ᵓ *aš-pu-ra-ku-um* DUMU *ši-ip-ri-a ša-al-ma ku-šu-ud-ma* IGI DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *lu-uk-ru-ub-kum* "concerning the matter of the boy that I wrote to you about: ask my messenger and take care of the matter and I will pray for you before DN₁ and DN₂" **31:17**

kî (adv.) "how."

ᵓ*a-na mi-ni-im*ᵓ ᵓ*ma-ag-ri-ta*ᵓ-*ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-*ᵓ*lí*ᵓ-*a i-ta-*ᵓ*wu-ú ù*ᵓ(?) ᵓ*li-bi*ᵓ *be-lí-[a] k[i ú-š]a-am-ra-*ᵓ*ṣú*ᵓ "why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord and how (dare) they make my lord angry" **6:21**

in *kî ša* "just as": *ki ša ra-bi-[a-an]*(?) *A-mu-ri-im* ᵓ*x*ᵓ-[ ] *ti-šu* "you have [. . .] just like the *rabiān Amurrim*" **3:5'**

[NÍ]G(?).ḪI.A *úḫ-ḫu-ru [šu-b]i-lam k[i]*(?) ᵓ*ša*ᵓ *a-š[a-pá-r]a-kum* "send me the things that have been withheld just as I am writing to you" **11:41**

kî (prep.) "like, in the manner of."

[*t*]*ám-li-am [a-d]ì qá-*ᵓ*nu-im*ᵓ *šu-pu-uk [ki]-*ᵓ*i*ᵓ 10 *am-*ᵓ*ma*ᵓ-*tim lu ra-pá-áš* "make a terrace a full *qanuᵓum* high; it should be ten cubits wide" **4:23**

kīam (adv.) "thus, in such a manner, likewise."

   a-na a-la-ki-[im](?) *ša be-lí iš-pu-r[a]-*ˈ*an-ni*ˈ *ki-am-ma* [   ] "for the journey which my lord sent me on thus [. . . .]" **30:49**

   A.ŠÀ-*[am] ša* PN₁ PN₂ ˈ*ik*ˈ-*kà-[a]l* ˈ*ki-am*ˈ-*m[a]* NUMUN-*šu li-i[m-ḫ]u-úr* "PN₂ enjoys the use of the field of PN₁; in this manner let him get his seed (grain)" **32:23**

   ki-am ni-iš-p[u-x-x] ù at-t[a] ki-am-ma šu-p[u-ur] "we wrote in such a manner and you write likewise" **38:8′–10′**

   ki-am a-wa-sú lu ti-d[i] "such was his statement, you should really know" **44:10**

in *aššum kīam* "for that reason": *[a]-wa-tu ta-am-qú-tám a-na šu-me* GN *a-šu-me ki-am ù-la a-li-kam* "news reached me concerning GN; for that reason I did not come" **27:10**

in *šumma la kīam* "if it is not so, otherwise": *šum-ma la [ki-am]*(?) *šu-up-ra-am-ma* GUD.ˈḪI.Aˈ *ù* ARÁD.ḪI.ˈAˈ *lu-uṭ-*ˈ*ru-dam*ˈ "if it is not so, write to me and I will send oxen and slaves there" **32:15**

kidānum (adv.) "outside."

   ki-dá-núm [a(?)-*d]u*(?)-*ri-i[m t]ám-li-am* . . . *šu-pu-uk* "outside, against the wall, make a terrace . . ." **4:20**

kīma (conj.) "as, just as, as soon as, that."

   a-na PN *šu-pu-ur-ma ki-ma na-ru-um se₂₀-ek-ra-at šu-di-≪iš≫-š[u]-u[m]* "write to PN and inform him that the river is blocked" **40:4′**

   ki-ma a-ḫu-ka a-na-ku-ma a-wa-at-ka a-ka-aš-ša-du a-pa-aq-qí-id-kum "just as I am your brother and would take care of your affair, I entrust (this) to you" **51:7**

kīma (prep.) "like, as, just like, instead of, in place of."

   a-na-ku ki-ma PN *ku-a-ší-ma ta-ak-la-ku* "I must rely on you in place of PN" **12:4**

   *i-na bi-it a-*ˈ*ḫa*ˈ-*ti-a ki-ma wa-ša-bi-[im] wa-áš-ba-ku* "I live in the house of my sister like a tenant" **26:8**

   ki-ma GÌR.N[ITÁ](?) *be-lí-a iš-ti-[ni-iš]*(?) *a-na ti-i-ir-t[i] be-lí-[a] az-za-az* "as a *šakkanakkum* of my lord I will at once obey the command of my lord" **48:2**

in *ašar kīma* (mng. unk.): [*a]t-ta a-ša-ar ki-ma* [   ]-*sú-nu ku-i[l]* (in broken context) **14:7′**

kīniš (adv.) "truly."

   šum-ma ki-ni-iš ARÁD *be-lí-a-ma a-na-ku be-lí i-na ki-it-tim i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma* ARÁD-*sú a-na-ku* "if I am truly the 'slave' of my lord, my lord in truth rules me and I am his 'slave'" **48:6**

kīnum "true, firm, secure."

   nom. sing. masc.: ˈ*ki*ˈ(?)-*nu-u[m]* (broken and questionable) **4:32**

   obl. pl. masc.: ˈ*ki-nu-tim*ˈ (in broken context) **22:10**

kišādum "neck."

   acc. with pron. suffix: ˈ*a-šar la*ˈ *ú-da-*ˈ*ni*ˈ-*nu-*ˈ*na*ˈ *[be-l]í ki-*ˈ*ša*ˈ-*d[i] [i-t]a-ki-[iš]*(?) "if I had not strengthened it, my lord would have cut off my head (lit. 'cut through my neck')" (difficult) **6:13**

kittum "truth."

   gen.: *šum-ma ki-ni-iš* ARÁD *be-lí-a-ma a-na-ku be-lí i-na ki-it-tim i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma* ARÁD-*sú a-na-ku* "if I am truly the 'slave' of my lord, my lord in truth rules me and I am his 'slave'" **48:9**

kizûm "groom, personal servant."

   wr. log. (KUŠ₇ (IŠ)) only: 1 *Wa-aq-ra-am* ˈKUŠ₇ (IŠ)ˈ *la ta-kà-la-am* "(if you are my brother) do not withhold PN, the groom, from me" **36:5**

kuānum "to be(come) firm, to be(come) secure." In D "to make firm, to prove."

> B stative 3. du.: *iš-da ku-sí-kà lu ki-na* "may the foundation of your throne be firm" **31:11**

> D pret. 1. sing.: [   ] *ú-k[i-i]n*(?) (in broken context) **26:3**

>> É.NUN [*ù*](?) [É].ÙR(?) *šu-ut* ⌐*ra*⌐-*ma-ni-a-ma* ⌐*ú*⌐-*ki-in* "I proved that the É.NUN and the É.ÙR belong to me" **26:7**

kuašim (pron. 2. sing. dat.) "(to, for) you."

> *a-na-ku ki-ma* PN *ku-a-ší-ma ta-ak-la-ku* "I must rely on you in place of PN" **12:5**

kuati (pron. 2. sing. gen./acc.) "you."

> *a-pu-tum ša-ṭá-ru-um a-na ku-a-ti pí-*⌐*iš*⌐-*tù-um* "please, to write (such a thing) is an insult to yourself" **13:9′**

kullum (D stem only.) "to hold (back)."

> D imp. 2. masc. sing. (?): [*a*]*t-ta a-ša-ar ki-ma*[   ]-*sú-nu ku-i*[*l*][*t*]*a-aš-ḫa-ra-a*[*r*] (broken and doubtful) **14:8′**

kummum (a room in a private house).

> wr. log. (É.NUN) only: É.NUN [*ù*](?) [É].ÙR(?) *šu-ut* ⌐*ra*⌐-*ma-ni-a-ma* "the É.NUN (*kummum*) and the É.ÙR belong to me" **26:5**

kurrum (a measure of capacity).

> wr. log. (GUR) only: 3.0.0 *š*[E GUR] ⌐*šÀ*⌐.GAL [   ] [*a-na*] *i-dì-*[*in*] "give 3 *kurrū* of barley [to PN] as fodder [for x]" **1:3**

> 1 *šu-ši* GUR ŠE *li-di-nu-nim* "let them give me sixty *kurrū* of barley" **55:8**

kurummatum "(daily) food allowance."

> 5 SILA₃ ZÍD ŠE *a-*[   ] *ku-ru-m*[*a-*   ] (in broken context) **35:7**

> *a-na ku-ru-*[*ma-ti-šu*](?) *ma-ru-ši-ip-*[*ri-a*](?) *lu ku-pu-u*[*d*](?) *a-pu-tu*[*m*] *i-ni ṭà-ab m*[*a-ru ši*]*-i*[*p-ri*] *ku-ru-ma-ta-*[*am*] *i-ma-ḫa-r*[*u-ma*](?) *ma-ru ši-i*[*p-ri-a*] *a-kà-la-am i-ma-ḫa-ar* "Is my messenger supposed to take care of (providing) his own daily food ration? Please, indeed it is good that messengers should receive a daily food ration, but my messenger should (also) receive food." **35:14–22**

kussûm "chair, throne," "rule."

> gen. with pron. suffix: *iš-da ku-sí-kà lu ki-na* "may the foundation of your throne be firm" **31:10**

L

la (negative particle) "no, not." See also *ula*.

> used with 2. pres. as neg. imp. (prohibitive): *la* ⌐*te*⌐-[*gi*(?)] "do not neglect" **4:10**

>> [*l*]*a tù-wa-ša-ar-š*[*u*] "do not release him" **4:31**

>> *la te-pè-eš* "do not do (any work)" **7:11**

>> *la ta-kà-la-am* "do not withhold from me" **11:19, 32; 36:6**

>> *la ta-kà-la-áš-šu* "do not withhold him" **11:36**

>> *la ta-kà-la-*[*áš*(?)]-*ší* "do not withhold her" **16:9**

>> *li-bi la tu-le-me-en* "do not make me unhappy" **12:33**

>> ⌐*la tu-wa-ša*⌐-*ar* "do not release (the man)" **34:13**

>> *la ta-na-di-šum* "do not give to him" **38:2″**

>> *la ta-la-a*[*k*] "do not go" **39:6**

> used with 1. or 3. pres. or stative as neg. prec.: *ma-ṣa-ar-tum i-na dú-ri-im la úr-ra-dam* "the guard should not come down from the wall" **7:16**

>> *be-lí la i-na-ḫi-id* "my lord should not worry" **8:6; 9:17**

la in-na-ad-dì "it will not be neglected" **11:55**

e-bu-úr-šu la i-ḫa-li-iq-ma la e-mi-iṣ "(release my slave) so that his harvest not be lost and he should not starve" **12:35–36**

i-na ⸢ṣe⸣-ri-a la i-ṣi-ḫa "they should not laugh at me" **19:9′**

la i-bi-tám "he should not delay there" **20:24**

ri-ig-ma-am ⸢la⸣(?) ú-še-ṣí "so that he should not cause the fuss to go out" (difficult) **41:15**

la ⸢e⸣-bé-⸢re⸣ "so that I should not go hungry" **55:7**

NU.BANDA₃ *la i-na-⸢ki⸣(?)-šu(?)-ú⸣* "they should not put aside the *laputtûm*" **55:12**

used to negate the predicate in subordinate clauses: ⸢*a-šar la⸣ ú-da-⸢ni⸣-nu-⸢na⸣* [*be-l*]*i ki-⸢ša⸣-d*[*ì*] [*i-t*]*a-ki-*[*iš*](?) "if I had not strengthened it, my lord would have cut off my head" **6:12**

iš-tu mi-ma la šu-ḫu-⸢za⸣-ku ma-ku-ri ⸢lu⸣-ul-qí-ma lu-ta-ṣí "as long as I am not permitted to own anything, I will take my property and move out" **26:10**

used to negate nominal sentences: [*šum*]-*ma la ma-ru-ka* [*a*]-*na-ku* "if I am not your son" **42:5′**

la a-ru-u[*r-tum*] "there is no famine" **55:11**

used to negate a finite verb in a main clause: *a-dì ma-ti áš-ta-na-pá-ra-kum-ma* [*a*]-*wa-ti la te-še-me* "how long will I continue to write to you and you will ignore my affair" **13:5**

in *šumma la kīam* "if it is not so, otherwise": *šum-ma la* [*ki-am*](?) *šu-up-ra-am-ma* GUD.⸢ḪI.A⸣ *ù* ARÁD.ḪI.⸢A⸣ *lu-uṭ-⸢ru-dam⸣* "if it is not so, write to me and I will send oxen and slaves there" **32:15**

in *lu la* "absolutely not" (exceptional): *lu la iš-me-ú-⸢ni⸣-n*[*i*] "they absolutely would not pay any attention to me" **46:15**

in broken or unidentifiable context: *a-wi-lum an-ni-um* [*a*(?)-*n*]*a* GN *i-ta-na-am-ma⸢x⸣ la ⸢mi-ší⸣ iz-zi-ib-šu* (difficult) **4:26**

la i-li-[   ] (in broken context) **29:2′**

la iš-mi-šu (in broken context) **50:2**

labāšum "to clothe oneself." In D "to provide clothes for."

D imp. 2. masc. sing.: *ši-ip-ri* 1 TÚG *lu-bi-⸢iš⸣*(?) "provide my messenger with a garment" **20:36**

lamādum "to know, to learn, to find out." In D "to inform."

B pres. 1. pl.: *ga-mi-ir-ti a-wa-ti-⸢šu⸣-nu ni-la-ma-da-⸢am-ma⸣ ni-ša-pa-ra-ku-⸢um⸣* "we will find out about all their affairs and write to you" **40:11**

D imp. 2. masc. sing.: *a-wa-at-sú-nu lum-mi-da-an-ni* "inform me about their affairs" **45:13**

lamaḫuššum (a type of garment).

wr. log. (TÚG.NÍG.LÁM) only: 1 TÚG.NÍG.LÁM SIG₅ *š*[*a bu-d*]*ì-kà* "1 *lamaḫuššum* garment of best quality of your *būdum*" **11:16**

laputtûm (a military or civilian officer).

wr. log. (NU.BANDA₃) only: NU.BANDA₃ *la i-na-⸢ki⸣(?)-šu(?)-ú⸣* "they should not put aside the *laputtûm*" **55:11**

leāum "to be able," "to overcome, to win."

B pres. 1. sing.: *e-li-i ú-la e-li* "can I win (my lawsuit?) or can't I?" (in difficult context) **46:4–5**

lemēnum "to be(come) evil." In D "to make evil."

D pres. 2. masc. sing.: *li-bi la tu-le-me-en* "do not make me unhappy" **12:33**

lemnum (adj.) "evil."

in predicative use: ⸢*dan⸣-ni-iš-ma le-mu-un* "it is very evil" (in broken context) **48:20**

lemuttum "(something) evil."

acc. pl. with pron. suffix: ⸢*a-na mi-ni-im⸣ ⸢ma-ag-ri-ta⸣-ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-⸢lí⸣-a i-ta-⸢wu-ú⸣* "why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord?" **6:17**

leqēum "to take, to receive, to take responsibility (for something)."

   B imp. 2. masc. sing.: ⌜a⌝-d[ì u]l-la-nu-u[m] a-tu-ra-am a-wa-tum ša DUMU ᵈ⌜IM⌝-ba-ni áš-pu-⌜ra⌝-kum li-qí-i "until I return from there, take responsibility for the matter of the son of PN which I wrote to you about" **20:21** (possibly D prec. of qu²²um [see the commentary]).

   B pres. 1. sing.: ka-ki e-le-qí-ma it-ti PN am-ta-ḫa-aṣ "(this is what he said:) I will take my weapon and do battle with PN" **44:5**

   B prec. 1. sing.: a-na-ku qá-⌜tá⌝-[   ] lu-ul-qì-ma "I will take [. . .]" (in broken context) **3:3′**

   iš-tu mi-ma la šu-ḫu-⌜za⌝-ku ma-ku-ri⌜lu⌝-ul-qí-ma lu-ta-ṣí "as long as I am not permitted to own anything, I will take my property and move out" **26:11**

libbum "heart, mind, desire, inside." Used with various nuances as the subject or object of many verbs and in idiomatic expressions.

   as subject of verb: i-ti a-ḫi-a li-bi li-ṭì-ba-am "I should be in agreement with my brother" **27:7**

   ša-⌜ni-a⌝-tim li-ib-bi it-ta-⌜na-ba-la-am⌝ "I continually want something else" **30:7**

   as object of verb: ⌜a-na mi-ni-im⌝ ⌜ma-ag-ri-ta⌝-ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-⌜lí⌝-a i-ta-⌜wu-ú ù⌝(?) ⌜li-bi⌝ be-lí-[a] k[i ú-š]a-am-ra-⌜ṣú⌝ "why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord and how (dare) they make my lord angry" **6:20**

   li-bi la tu-le-me-en "do not make me unhappy" **12:33**

   terminative adverbial with pron. suffix: PN li-bi-iš-sú-ma ⌜a-na⌝ GN i-li-ik "PN went to GN on his own business" **12:17**

   as object of prep.: i-li-bi-kà (< in+libbi+ka) a-ba-ší "I should be in your thoughts" **12:31**

   in šumma libbi X "if X wishes": ⌜šum(?)-ma(?)⌝ li⌝-bi [be(?)-lí(?)-a(?)] "if my lord wishes" (in broken context) **19:9**

   ⌜šum-ma⌝ l[i(?)-bi(?)-kà(?)] "if you wish" (in broken context) **20:28**

   in alima libbi X "wherever X wishes": a-li-ma ⌜li⌝-[bi](?)-k[à](?) ⌜iš-pu-úr-šu⌝ "he sent him wherever you wanted" **10:18**

   a-li-ma li-bi-šu-nu i-la-ku "they go wherever they please" **12:27**

limdum (adj.) "(made) known, expected, promised." See Excursus A (p. 111).

   fem. pl. used as substantive (acc.): li-im-da-⌜tim⌝ ša PN mi-im-ma ša ⌜ú-ḫu⌝-ra . . . šu-bi-lam "send me . . . . the expected things for PN, as much as has been withheld" **11:12**

līmum "one thousand."

   used in absolute state: DUMU-ḫu-dam ṣa-ba-am ša PN li-im ù 5 me-at im-ḫa-aṣ "DUMU-ḫu-dam defeated 1500 troops of PN" **2:6′**

   PN 2 li-im A-mu-ra-am i-ḫu-za-am-ma "PN has taken two thousand Amorites and (they are marching against you)" **7:4**

liqūtum (mng. uncertain). Probably lequtum or liqqūtum.

   PN wa-ra-ad-kà a-na TÚG.ḪI.A ku-pu-ri-im a-na li-qú-tim iš-⌜pu-úr⌝-šu (difficult) **12:22**

lu (precative or asseverative particle) "be it, even if," "certainly, indeed."

   used in nominal clauses and sentences: at-ta lu be-li-ma a-na-ku lu wa-ra-ad-kà "you are indeed my lord and I am indeed your 'slave'" **34:21–22**

   a-di ba-al-ṭá-ti at-ta-ma lu be-el-ni "as long as you are alive, you are indeed our lord" **34:30**

   lu ša KÙ.BABBAR 10 MA.NA "even if it costs ten minas of silver" **11:37**

   used with stative: [t]ám-li-am [a-d]ì qá-⌜nu-im⌝ šu-pu-uk [ki]-⌜i⌝ 10 am-⌜ma⌝-tim lu ra-pá-áš "make a terrace a full qanu²um high; it should be ten cubits wide" **4:23**

   iš-da ku-si-kà lu ki-na "may the foundation of your throne be firm" **31:11**

   a-na ku-ru-[ma-ti-šu](?) ma-ru ši-ip-[ri-a](?) lu ku-pu-u[d](?) "is my messenger supposed to take care of (providing) his own daily food ration?" **35:16**

used with finite verb: ARÁD-*kà ar-na-am lu i-*⌜*pu-uš*⌝ "your 'slave' has indeed committed a crime" **10:8**

ki-am a-wa-sú lu ti-d[*i*] "such was his statement, you should really know" **44:10**

in *lu la* "absolutely not" (exceptional): *lu la iš-me-ú-*⌜*ni*⌝*-n*[*i*] "they absolutely would not pay any attention to me" **46:15**

lu . . . lu "either . . . or": *lu ni-pu-tám lu* KÙ.BABBAR *lu* ŠE *šu-di-na-ma šu-bi-lam* "collect either a distrainee or the silver or the grain and send it to me" **53:9–13**

M

ma (asseverative particle) "indeed, truly."

⌜*ma*⌝ *ṣa-ba-ka lu-wa-ši-ra-am* "indeed I can get your troops released" **46:24**

mādum (adj.) "numerous, many."

acc. pl.: DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *u₄-mi ma-du-tim ar-kà-tim ša-na-tim li-be-lu-kà* "many DN₁ and DN₂ let you rule for many days and long years" **31:7**

magārum "to agree (with someone)."

B pret. 1. sing.: [*t*]*a-ta-wi-im-ma ú-la am-gu-ur-ki* "you spoke to me but I did not agree with you" **54:5**

magrītum "slander."

acc. used adverbially: ⌜*a-na mi-ni-im*⌝ ⌜*ma-ag-ri-ta*⌝*-ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-*⌜*lí*⌝*-a i-ta-*⌜*wu-ú*⌝ "why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord?" **6:16**

maḫārum "to receive, to get."

B pres. 3. masc. sing./pl.: *i-ni ṭà-ab m*[*a-ru ši*]*-i*[*p-ri*] *ku-ru-ma-ta-*[*am*] *i-ma-ḫa-r*[*u-ma*](?) *ma-ru ši-i*[*p-ri-a*] *a-kà-la-am i-ma-ḫa-ar* "indeed it is good that messengers should receive a daily food ration, but my messenger should (also) receive food" **35:18–22**

B prec. 3. masc. sing.: A.ŠÀ *ša* PN₁ PN₂ ⌜*ik*⌝(?)*-kà-*[*a*]*l* ⌜*ki-am*⌝*-m*[*a*] NUMUN-*šu li-i*[*m-ḫ*]*u-úr* "PN₂ enjoys the use of the field of PN₁, in this manner let him get his seed (grain)" **32:24**

B prec. 3. masc. pl.: ⌜*pí-iš-ša*⌝*-ti* [*li-im-ḫ*]*u-*⌜*ru*⌝*-nim* "let them get my anointing oil for me" **52:9**

maḫāṣum "to beat, to strike, to defeat." In Bt "to fight (with someone)."

B pres. 3. masc. pl.(?): *a-li ša na-wi-um* ⌜*l*⌝ *Ku-un-za-nam i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ṣú* (difficult) **23:14**

B pret. 3. masc. sing.: DUMU-*ḫu-dam ṣa-ba-am ša* PN *li-im ù* 5 *me-at im-ḫa-aṣ* "DUMU-*ḫu-dam* defeated 1500 troops of PN" **2:7′**

MAR.TU-*um lu-*⌜x⌝*-*[   ] *ša Za-ak-da-*[*ti*] *im-ḫa-ṣa-am-m*[*a*] (broken and difficult) **20:5**

Bt imp. 2. masc. sing.: [*mi-i*]*t-ḫa-*⌜*ṣa*⌝*-*[*a*]*m* (in broken context) **19:1′**

Bt pres. 1. sing.: *ka-ki e-le-qí-ma it-ti* PN *am-ta-ḫa-aṣ* "(this is what he said:) I will take my weapon and do battle with PN" **44:7**

Bt undetermined: [*im*(?)*-t*]*a-ḫa-aṣ* (in broken context) **4:28**

maḫrum "front." As prep. *maḫar* "before, in the presence of."

wr. log. (IGI) only: PN₁ *ší-pir₆ be-lí-a ù* PN₂ *ma-ru-ši-ip-ri-a* ⌜IGI *be-lí*⌝*-a wa-áš-ba* "PN₁, the messenger of my lord, and PN₂, my messenger, remain with my lord" **30:12**

IGI DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *lu-uk-ru-ub-kum* "I will pray for you before DN₁ and DN₂" **31:18**

makkūrum "(moveable) property."

nom.: ⌜*ma-ku*⌝*-úr ra-ma-ni-kà a-na mi-nim na-dì-i* "why is your own property neglected?" **11:48**

acc. with pron. suffix: *ma-ku-ri* ⌜*lu*⌝*-ul-qí-ma lu-ta-ṣí* "I will take my property and move out" **26:11**

malāum "to fill, to fulfill."

B pres. 3. masc. sing.: ⌜*i*⌝*-ma-la* (in broken context) **11:42**

mali "as much as."

    šum-ma be-lí i-[   ] *ma-li pí be-lí-a i-*[x]-*ba-am li-pu*(wr. MU!)-*ul-kà a-na qá-ti-kà lu-uš-qú-ul* "if my lord says so, as much as my lord says he should pay you, I will pay to you" (broken and difficult) **29:4′**

    ma-li [   ] (at end of line, beginning of next line broken) **18C:4**

māmītum "oath."

    acc.: *ma-mi-tám it-mu-*⌐*ú*⌐ "they swore an oath" (in broken context) **34:6**

mammana (indefinite pron.) "anyone." With neg. "no one."

    PN *bí-it a-na šar-ri-im iṭ-ḫa-ma ma-ma-na ú-la i-li* "PN spent the night and then had an audience with the king; no one else went" **19:6**

mannum (interrogative pron.) "who."

    nom. with pron. suffix: *ma-na-šu ú-nu-mi-im ša ta-uṣ-ba-tu ú-la wa-ra-ad-kà* "whoever ... you seized is not your slave" **12:11**

    gen.: *a-na-ku ki-ma* PN *ku-a-ší-ma ta-ak-la-ku a-na ma-nim uz-ni i-ba-ší* "I must rely on you in place of PN. To whom (else) can I turn?" **12:6**

manûm "mina (a unit of weight)."

    wr. log. (MA.NA) only: *lu ša* KÙ.BABBAR 10 MA.NA "even if it costs ten minas of silver" **11:37**

maqātum "to fall." With *awātum* as subject "to arrive (said of news or a report)."

    B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *ul-la-nu-u*[*m*] *mi-im-ma a-wa-ti-*[*šu*(?)] ⌐*ša*⌐ *i-ma-qú-*⌐*tám*⌐ [*a-š*]*a-pá-ra-kum* "from there, whatever news of it that reaches me, I will send to you" **20:15**

    B pret. 3. fem. sing.: ⌐*a*⌐-*wa-tu ta-am-qú-tám a-na šu-me* GN "news reached me concerning GN" **27:8**

marāṣum "to be(come) sick." In Š "to make sick."

    B pret. 3. masc. sing.: *ší-pí-*⌐*ir*(?)-*kà*(?) *im*(?)-*ru*(?)-*uṣ*⌐ "your messenger got sick" (in broken context) **15:11**

    Š pres. 3. masc. pl.: ⌐*a-na mi-ni-im*⌐ ⌐*ma-ag-ri-ta*⌐-*ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-*⌐*lí*⌐-*a i-ta-*⌐*wu-ú ù*⌐(?) ⌐*li-bi*⌐ *be-lí-*[*a*] *k*[*i ú-š*]*a-am-ra-*⌐*ṣú*⌐ "why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord and how (dare) they make my lord angry" **6:21**

mārum "son, descendant," "political subordinate."

    wr. log. (DUMU): PN DUMU PN "PN the son of PN" **13:11′**

        DUMU PN "the son of PN" **12:16; 20:19; 23:20; 45:7**

        DUMU.ME PN "the sons of PN" **42:9′**

    wr. syll.:

    nom. with pron. suffix: in the phrase *šumma ma-ri atta* "if you are my 'son'" **12:40; 24:17**

        [*šum*]-*ma la ma-ru-ka* [*a*]-*na-ku* "if I am not your son" **42:4′**

        um-ma PN-*ma ma-ru-ka-a-ma* "thus (says) PN, your son" (in address formula of letter) **55:4**

    gen.(?) with pron. suffix: *ma-ri-šu* (in broken context) **42:11′**

    in *māru šiprim* "messenger, ambassador":

    nom. pl.: *a-na šu-me* A.ḪA-*a* ⌐*ma*⌐-*ru ší-ip-ri* [*ša-n*]*i-ú-tum it-ta-na-la-ku-ni-in-na* "concerning the fact that (concerning) my ... other messengers continually come to me" **30:5**

    nom. pl. and sing. with pron. suffix: *a-na ku-ru-*[*ma-ti-šu*](?) *ma-ru-ši-ip-*[*ri-a*](?) *lu ku-pu-u*[*d*](?) *a-pu-tu*[*m*] *i-ni ṭà-ab m*[*a-ru ši*]-*i*[*p-ri*] *ku-ru-ma-ta-*[*am*] *i-ma-ḫa-r*[*u-ma*](?) *ma-ru ši-i*[*p-ri-a*] *a-kà-la-am i-ma-ḫa-ar* "Is my messenger supposed to take care of (providing) his own daily food ration? Please, indeed it is good that messengers should receive a daily food ration, but my messenger should (also) receive food." **35:14–22**

nom. with pron. suffix: PN₁ *ši-pir₆ be-lí-a ù* PN₂ *ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a* ⌈IGI *be-lí*⌉-*a wa-áš-ba* "PN₁, the messenger of my lord, and PN₂, my messenger, remain with my lord" **30:11**

gen. with pron. suffix: *a-na ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a re-dì wu-ši-ra-am* "release my *rēdûm* to my messenger" **17:10**

acc. with pron. suffix: *ma-ru ši-ip-r[i-a]* ⌈*a*⌉-*na ṣe-ri-[šu(?)] áš-tá-pa-a[r]* "I have sent my messenger to him" **20:7**

a-na a-wa-at ṣú-ḫa-ri-im ⌈*ša*⌉ *aš-pu-ra-ku-um* DUMU *ši-ip-ri-a ša-al-ma ku-šu-ud-ma* "concerning the matter of the boy that I wrote to you about: ask my messenger and take care of the matter" **31:15**

undetermined: *ma-ru ši-i[p-ri-*x] (in broken context) **29:5**

maṣāum "to be equal to, to be sufficient for."

     B inf.: [   ] *ma-ṣí-im* (in broken context) **43:9**

maṣṣartum "guard, garrison."

nom.: *i-na mu-ši-im ù i-na mu-uṣ-la-li-im ma-ṣa-ar-tum i-na dú-ri-im la úr-ra-dam* "night and day the guard should not come down from the wall" **7:14**

a-lu-um ša-lim ma-⌈*ṣa-ar*⌉-*ti be-lí-a da-na-at* "the city is safe—the garrison of my lord is strong" **9:5**

Maškanšarrium (gentilic adj.) "from Maškanšarrum (a city)."

acc.: 1 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-am Maš-kán-šar-ri-am šu-ri-áš-šu la ta-kà-la-áš-šu* "(if you are my brother) send me a boy from Maškanšarrum, do not withhold him from me" **11:35**

maškum "skin."

gen. with pron. suffix: *a-šu-mi wa-ar-dì-im šu-a-ti qá-dum ma-aš-ki-a a-la-*⌈*kà*⌉-*kum* "on account of the slave, I come to you with (only) my skin" **12:39**

mati (*immati*) (adv.) "when(ever)."

immatima (< *in*+*mati*+*ma*): ⌈*i-ma*⌉-[*ti*]-*ma ta-aš-pu-ra-am mi-nam ak-la-a* "whenever you have written to me, what have I (ever) refused (to do)" **34:16**

in the expression *adi mati* "how long, until when": *di-qá-ri ša ú-še-bi-lam a-dì ma-ti i-ba-*⌈*ší*⌉ *šu-bi-lam* "my *diqārum* that I sent there—how long will it remain—send it back!" **12:48**

a-dì ma-ti áš-ta-na-pá-ra-kum-ma [*a*]-*wa-ti la te-še-me* "how long will I continue to write to you and you will ignore my affair?" **13:3**

mātum "land, country."

nom.: *ma-tum* ⌈*kà*⌉-*l[u-ša*](?) *i-a-ti* [   ] *ip-ta-a[l-*   ] (in broken context) **38:9**

nom. pl. with pron. suffix: *ma-tu-kà* (in broken context) **14:10′**

gen.: ⌈*ší*⌉-*ip-ru-ú m[a-t]im k[à-li-š]a a-na* [*qú-bu-r]i-im* [*ša Ab-d*]*a-El* [*i-la-ku*]-*ni-im* "the envoys of the entire country are coming for the funeral of PN" **11:20**

     [   ]-*ri-ib ma-tim* (in broken context) **15:14**

māū (*pl. tantum*) "water."

in broken context: *ma-i* [   ] **4:7**

me-e li-m[u-ur-ma] li-tu-ra-a[m(?)] "he should inspect the water and return" **40:12′**

meatum "one hundred."

used in absolute state: DUMU-*ḫu-dam ṣa-ba-am ša* PN *li-im ù* 5 *me-at im-ḫa-aṣ* "DUMU-*ḫu-dam* defeated 1500 troops of PN" **2:6′**

2 *me-at* UDU.⌈MÁŠ⌉.Ḫ[I.A] "two-hundred sheep and goats" **24:14**

meḫertum "equivalent, replacement." See also *miḫrum*.

acc. with pron. suffix: *ú-*[*la* K]Ù.BABBAR-*ša* [*ú-l*]*a* GEMÉ *me-ḫe-er-*[*ta-ša*] *lu-ša-ri-a-*[*kum*(?)] "I will send you either her price or an equivalent slave-girl" **16:7**

miḫrum "equivalent, replacement." See also *meḫertum.*

> in *miḫir tuppim* "answer, reply (to a letter)": ⸢*tup*⸣-*pá-am mi-ḫi-ir tup-pí-im* [*šu-bi-lam*](?) "send me an answering letter" **43:22**

milkum "counsel, advice," "mood, decision, intent."

> nom.: *mi-il-ku-um i-a-um* "my advice(?)" (in difficult context) **46:7**

mimma (indecl.) (indefinite pron.) "any, all, everything, whatever."

> *ṭe₄-m*[*u*(?)-*um*(?)] *mi-im-ma š*[*a imaqqutakkum*](?) *l*[*i-li-kam*] "let whatever news that reaches you come to me" **3:8′**
>
> *ší-ip-ra-am mi-im-ma la te-pè-eš* "do not do any work" **7:11**
>
> *li-im-da-*⸢*tim*⸣ *ša* PN *mi-im-ma ša* ⸢*ú-ḫu*⸣-*ra . . . šu-bi-lam* "send me . . . the expected things for PN, as much as has been withheld" **11:14**
>
> *mi-im-ma ša a-na qú-bu-úr* PN *a-bi-kà tu-ša-ba-lam a-ḫa-am-ma šu-bi-lam* "whatever you intend to send for the funeral of PN, your 'father', send separately (from the things you send for my own use)" **11:26**
>
> *ul-la-nu-u*[*m*] *mi-im-ma a-wa-ti-*[*šu*(?)] ⸢*ša*⸣ *i-ma-qú-*⸢*tám*⸣ [*a-š*]*a-pá-ra-kum* "from there, whatever news of it that reaches me, I will send to you" **20:14**
>
> *be-el ir-ni-ti-kà ku-šu-ud mi-im-ma a-na ši-a-ti ú-la a-qá-bi-kum* (difficult) **24:5**
>
> *šum-ma* ⸢*ma*⸣-*ri* [*a*]*t-ta* ⸢*mi-im*⸣-*ma an-*⸢*ni*⸣-*im* [*wu-ší*]-*ir* "if you are my son release all this" **24:18**
>
> [*i-n*]*a mi-ma* ⸢*a-ni*⸣-*im* [*a*]*k-la-a-ku* "I am entitled to the use of all this" **26:4**
>
> *iš-tu mi-ma la šu-ḫu-*⸢*za*⸣-*ku ma-ku-ri* ⸢*lu*⸣-*ul-qí-ma lu-ta-ṣí* "as long as I am not permitted to own anything, I will take my property and move out" **26:10**

mīnum (interrogative pron.) "what."

> nom. with pron. suffix: ⸢*mi*⸣-*šu a-wa-tum a-ni-tum* [*š*]*a a-šum* PN [*t*]*a-aš-ta-na-pa-ra-am* "what is this matter which you continue to write me about concerning PN?" **42:4**
>
> acc.: ⸢*i-ma*⸣-[*ti*]-*ma ta-aš-pu-ra-am mi-nam ak-la-a* "whenever you have written to me, what have I (ever) refused (to do)" **34:18**
>
> *ul-lu-tum mi-nam i-na-*⸢*di*⸣-*nu-kum* "what can those others give you?" **45:4**
>
> [*m*]*i-na-*⸢*am*⸣ *lu-pu-uš* "what am I supposed to do?" **46:12**
>
> in *ana mīnim* "why": ⸢*a-na mi-ni-im*⸣ ⸢*ma-ag-ri-ta*⸣-*ma le-em-né-ti-a a-na be-*⸢*lí*⸣-*a i-ta-*⸢*wu-ú ù*⸣(?) *l*[*i-b*]*i be-lí-*[*a*] *k*[*i ú-š*]*a-am-ra-*⸢*ṣú*⸣ "why do they slanderously say evil things about me to my lord and how (dare) they make my lord angry" **6:15**
>
> ⸢*ma-ku*⸣-*úr ra-ma-ni-kà a-na mi-nim na-dì-i* "why is your own property neglected?" **11:50**
>
> *a-na mi-nim re-dì ta-áš-ki-iš* "why did you harass my *rēdûm*?" **17:8**
>
> [*a*(?)-*wa*(?)-*a*]*t*(?) PN [*a-na*] *mi-nim te-eš-te-me-a* "why did you pay attention to the affair of PN?" **23:25**
>
> *a-na mi-ni*[*m*] *ḫa-bi-it* "why is he being robbed" **24:12**
>
> PN₁ *ši-pir₆ be-lí-a ù* PN₂ *ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a* ⸢IGI *be-lí*⸣-*a wa-áš-ba a-*[*na m*]*i-nim šu-ni-*⸢*ti*⸣ [*be-lí ú-l*]*a iš-pu-ra-am-ma* "PN, the messenger of my lord, and PN₂, my messenger, remain with my lord. Why has my lord not sent these two to me?" **30:13**

mišlum "half."

> acc.: *mi-iš-lam tu-*[*ta-ší-i*]*r*(?) *mi-iš-lam ta-ak-ta-la* "half you have released, half you have withheld" **24:22–23**
>
> in broken context: *mi-ší-e*[*l*(?)-*š*]*u*(?) "half of it" (doubtful) **32:7**

muṣlālum "(mid)day."

> gen.: *i-na mu-ší-im ù i-na mu-uṣ-la-li-im ma-ṣa-ar-tum i-na dú-ri-im la úr-ra-dam* "night and day the guard should not come down from the wall" **7:13**

mūšum "night."

>   gen.: *i-na mu-ší-im ù i-na mu-uṣ-la-li-im ma-ṣa-ar-tum i-na dú-ri-im la úr-ra-dam* "night and day the guard should not come down from the wall" **7:12**

N

nadānum "to give." In Š "to collect."

>   B imp. 2. masc. sing.: 3.0.0 š[E GUR] ⌜ŠÀ⌝.GAL [   ] [*a-na*   ] *i-dì-[in]* "give 3 *kurru* of barley [to PN] as fodder [for x]" **1:6**

>   *be-lí iš-pu-ra-an-ni* 1 ⌜GUD⌝ *id-nam-ma a-na* PN *lu-úr-de₄* "(this is what he said:) my lord sent me; give me an ox and I will take it to PN" **30:31**

>   B pres. 1. sing.: *ší-ni-⌜in⌝ at-wu-⌜iš⌝ ⌜ú⌝-la a-na-dì-in* "I will not permit two things to be discussed" (difficult) **6:11**

>   B pres. 2. masc. sing.: *at-ta la ta-na-di-šum* "do not give (it) to him" **38:2″**

>   B pres. 3. masc. sing.: PN *i-ba-lu-ṭá-ma wa-ar-dì ša-ni-ú-tim i-na-dì-na-am* "if PN were alive (gets well?), he would give me other slaves" **12:10**
>   *be-lí* ⌜*i-na*⌝-*di-nam* (in broken context) **43:20**

>   B pres. 3. masc. pl.: *ul-lu-tum mi-nam i-na-*⌜*di*⌝-*nu-kum* "what can those others give you?" **45:5**

>   B pret. 3. sing.: ⌜*i*⌝-*di-in* (in broken context) **47:7**

>   B pret. 3. masc. pl.: *ú-ne-šu-nu i-*⌜*dì-nu*⌝-*šu-um* (difficult) **23:17**
>   *a-wi-lu-ú šu-ut i-ti-šu-nu uš-bu šu-nu-ma a-ši-mi-im i-dì-nu-ni-ni* "the men with whom I lived have sold me" **28:5**

>   B perf. 3. masc. sing.: *A-mu-ru-um a-wa-[t]ám ša* GN ⌜*i*⌝-*ta-ad-na-am* "the Amorites have given me a decision about GN" **46:19**

>   B prec. 1. pl. (cohortative): *a-na* [GN](?) *i ni-*⌜*li*⌝-*am-*[*ma*](?) PN *li-ṣí-am-*[*ma*](?) *i ni-ša-al-šu ga-am-la*[*m*] *i ni-di-ik-ku*[*m*] "we will go up to [GN](?) and PN will come forth and we will question him; we will give you the *gamlum*" **38:7′**

>   B prec. 3. masc. pl.: *la* ⌜*e*⌝-*bé-*⌜*re*⌝ 1 *šu-ši* GUR ŠE *li-di-nu-nim* "so that I should not go hungry, let them give me sixty *kurru* of barley" **55:9**

>   Š imp. 2. masc. sing.: *a-wi-il-tum tap-pá-ti lu ni-pu-tám lu* KÙ.BABBAR *lu* ŠE *šu-di-na-ma šu-bi-lam* "(if you are my brother and I am your sister) from the woman, my associate, collect either a distrainee or the silver or the grain and send it to me" **53:12**

nadāum "to throw down, to neglect."

>   B stative 3. masc. sing.: ⌜*ma-ku*⌝-*úr ra-ma-ni-kà a-na mi-nim na-dì-i* "why is your own property neglected?" **11:51**

>   N pres. 3. masc. sing.: *ra-bi-*[*ṣ*]*a-am šu-ku-un-ma li-dì-šu la in-na-ad-dì* "(Why is your own property neglected?) Appoint an agent and let him take care of it. It will not be neglected!" **11:55**

>   with *awātum* as object "to disregard an order": *a-na-ku a-wa-at-kà ú-la a-ṣú-úr a-wa-at-kà a-dì* "I did not obey your order—I ignored your order" **17:5**

nādinum "seller."

>   acc. pl. with pron. suffix: *a-na* ⌜*šu*⌝-*mi ar-ḫi-iš ú-še-ṣi-ú-ni-in-ni-ma na-dì-ni-a a-ṣa-ba-tu* "so that they may quickly obtain my release and I can seize my sellers" **28:15**

naḫādum "to be(come) concerned, to worry (intrans.)."

>   B pres. 1. sing.: *a-*[*na m*]*i-nim šu-ni-*⌜*ti*⌝ [*be-lí ú-l*]*a iš-pu-ra-am-ma* [   ] *a-na-ḫi-id* "why has my lord not sent these two to me and [. . .] I have to become concerned" **30:15**

>   B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *be-lí la i-na-ḫi-id* "my lord should not worry" **8:6; 9:17**

nakārum "to be(come) different, to be(come) unfriendly, to be(come) hostile."

> B stative 3. masc. sing.: *na-ak-ru-um na-kà-ar-ma a-na-ku a-na a-wa-ti-kà a-za-az* "an outsider would be unfriendly whereas I support your decisions" **11:6**
>
> [DU]MU PN [*na*](?)-*kà-ar* "the son of PN has changed his position" (in difficult context) **23:21**
>
> B prec. 3. masc. sing.: 10 *ša-na-ti-[im] A-mu-ru-[um] li-k[i-ir*(?)-*ma*(?) 10 GIŠ *ia₈-š[i-bi]* 10 GIŠ *dì-ma-ti-[im]* 20 GIŠ *sà-mu-kà-ni li-ib-lam* "even if the Amorites should make war for ten years and bring ten battering rams, ten siege towers, and twenty *samūkānu* (I will remain secure in my city)" **9:10**

nakāsum "to cut (through)."

> B perf. 3. masc. sing.: ⌜*a-šar la*⌝ *ú-da-*⌜*ni*⌝-*nu-*⌜*na*⌝ [*be-l*]*í ki-*⌜*ša*⌝-*d[ì]* [*i-t*]*a-ki-*[*is*](?) "if I had not strengthened it, my lord would have cut off my head" (difficult) **6:14**

nakāšum "to neglect, to put aside."

> B pres. 3. masc. pl.: NU.BANDA₃ *la i-na-*⌜*ki*⌝(?)-*šu*(?)-*ú*⌝ "they should not put aside the *laputtûm*" **55:12**

nakrum "enemy, outsider."

> nom.: *na-ak-ru-um na-kà-ar-ma a-na-ku a-na a-wa-ti-kà a-za-az* "an outsider would be unfriendly whereas I support your decisions" **11:5**

namkarum "irrigation ditch."

> acc.: ⌜*i-na*⌝-*an-na* [   ](?) *nam-kà-r[a-am] i-na* A.Š[À   ] *uš-ti-*[   ] (in broken context) **32:12**

napištum "life."

> acc. used adverbially(?): [*n*]*a-pí-iš-ta-ka* [*um*](?)-*ma* PN-*ma* "(I swear?) by your life this is what PN said" (broken and difficult) **42:7**

naqāum "to pour out, to make an offering."

> B pres. 1. sing.: *ni-qì-a-am kà-ab-tám* ⌜*a*⌝-*na-a-qì* "I will make an important offering" **37:7**

nārum "river, canal."

> nom.: *a-na* PN *šu-pu-ur-ma ki-ma na-ru-um se₂₀-ek-ra-at šu-di-≪iš≫-š[u]-u[m]* "write to PN and inform him that the river is blocked" **40:4′**
>
> acc.: *n[a-ra-am za-ku*(?)-x-x] (in broken context) **40:10′**

nasāḫum "to tear out, to take out, to transfer."

> B undetermined (pret. or prec.): [x-*s*]*ú-úḫ* (in broken context) **23:4**
>
> Btn pret. 2. masc. sing.: *a-ta ša-li-iš-tám ta-*⌜*ta*(?)⌝-*sà-aḫ* "you customarily took out a third" **25:11**

naṣārum "to guard, to protect."

> B imp. 2. masc. sing.: ⌜*a*⌝-*al-kà ú-ṣú-úr* "protect your city!" (in broken context) **2:left edge**
>
> *ú-ṣú-úr* (in broken context) **4:3**
>
> with *awātum* as object "to obey an order": *a-na-ku a-wa-at-kà ú-la a-ṣú-úr a-wa-at-kà a-dì* "I did not obey your order—I ignored your order" **17:4**

naṭālum "to look at."

> B prec. 3. masc. pl. (or subjunctive): *li-ṭú-lu* (in broken context) **18A:4**

nawium "nomadic encampment (?)."

> nom.: *a-li ša na-wi-um* ⌜1⌝ *Ku-un-za-nam i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ṣú* (difficult) **23:12**

niālum "to lie down." In Š "to put down, to deposit."

> Š perf. 3.(?) sing.: [   ] *ša-mu-im* [*u*]*š-te-ne-il* (in broken context) **23:10**

nīnu (pron. 1. pl. nom.) "we."

> *ni-*⌜*nu*⌝ *ri-ig-ma-am nu-š[e-ṣi ú-l*]*a n[i-*x-*a*]*r*(?) (broken and difficult) **40:6′**

nipûtum "distrainee (involuntary pledge for a debt)."

> acc.: *lu ni-pu-tám lu* KÙ.BABBAR *lu* ŠE *šu-di-na-ma šu-bi-lam* "collect either a distrainee or the silver or the grain and send it to me" **53:9**

niqium "offering."

    acc.: *ni-qì-a-am kà-ab-tám* ⌜*a*⌝-*na-a-qì* "I will make an important offering" **37:5**

P

paḫārum "to gather, to assemble (intrans.)."

    B pres. 3. masc. sing.: ⌜*ší*⌝-*ip-ru-ú m*[*a-t*]*im k*[*à-li-š*]*a a-na* [*qú-bu-r*]*i-im* [*ša Ab-d*]*a-El* [*i-la-ku*]-*ni-im* ⌜*ù A*⌝-*mu-ru-um kà-lu-šu* ⌜*i-pá*⌝-*ḫu-ra-am* "the envoys of the entire country are coming for the funeral of PN and all of the Amorites are gathering" **11:26**

paḫās/ṣum (mng. uncertain). Possibly "to be sick at heart, discouraged, disappointed," or something similar.

    Ntn pres. 1. sing.: *a-na šu-me* A.ḪA-*a* ⌜*ma*⌝-*ru ší-ip-ri* [*ša-n*]*i-ú-tum it-ta-na-la-ku-ni-in-na ša-*⌜*ni-a*⌝-*tim li-ib-bi it-ta-*⌜*na-ba-la-am*⌝ *ù a*[*t*]-*ta-na-ap-ḫu-us* "concerning the fact that (concerning) my . . . other messengers continually come to me, I continually want something else and I am constantly being disappointed(?)" **30:9**

palāḫum "to fear, to respect, to show regard for."

    B pret. 1. sing.: ⌜*a-na a-wa*⌝-*ti-kà* ⌜*ap-la-aḫ*⌝-*ma* PN ⌜*ú-wa*⌝-*ší-ir* "I respected your order and let PN go" **34:7**

    B perf. or Btn pret. 3. sing.: *ma-tum* ⌜*ká*⌝-*l*[*u-ša*](?) *i-a-ti*[ ] *ip-ta-a*[*l-*] (broken and difficult) **38:11**

pāni (adv.) "earlier."

    [*wa-a*]*r-ki pá-ni* [ ] *be-lí* ⌜*i-na*⌝-*di-nam* "sooner or later my lord will give [. . .] to me" (in broken context) **43:19**

pānum "front." In pl. "face."

    a-ša-ar-ša-ni pa-ni-šu iš-⌜*ku*⌝-*u*[*n*] "he tried elsewhere" **34:25**

    in prepositional use *ina pāni* "in the face of, in consideration of": *i-na pá-ni pí-*⌜*qí-tim*⌝ 3 ERIM *lu-li-ik* "on account of the muster, I will 'go' (= provide) three men" **27:5**

pānûm (adj.) "former, earlier, previous."

    di-nu-um pa-nu-um "the earlier judgment" (in difficult context) **50:4**

paqādum "to entrust (something to someone)."

    B pres. 1. sing.: *ki-ma a-ḫu-ka a-na-ku-ma a-wa-at-ka a-ka-aš-ša-du a-pa-aq-qí-id-kum* "just as I am your brother and would take care of your affair, (so) I entrust (this) to you" **51:11**

paqrū (*pl. tantum*) "claim."

    gen. pl.: A.ŠÀ-*um i-a-um ša pá-aq-ri-e* "my field which was claimed (by somebody else)" **32:5**

parṣum "rite, ritual."

    nom.: *a-na ri-iš ba-ar-*[*ḫi*]-*i*[*m*] WA-*ar-ṣú-um e-pí-eš* "the ritual is to be performed at the end of the month" (rather than WA(PI) being read *pa₁₂* in this situation, it seems more likely that the scribe has transposed the initial signs of *warḫim* and *parṣum*) **15:13′**

pašārum "to sell."

    B inf.: *a-na pá-ša-ri-im zu-a-zi-im dì-na-am i-dì-nu-ni-im* "they rendered me a judgment allowing me to sell and divide" **25:5**

piqittum "muster."

    gen.: *i-na pá-ni pí-*⌜*qí-tim*⌝ 3 ERIM *lu-li-ik* "on account of the muster, I will 'go' (= provide) three men" **27:5**

pištum "calumny, insult, lie."

    nom.: *a-pu-tum ša-ṭá-ru-um a-na ku-a-ti pí-*⌜*iš*⌝-*tù-um* "please, to write (such a thing) is an insult to yourself" **13:9′**

piššatum "anointing oil (ration)."

    acc. with pron. suffix: ⸢ŠÀ.TAM.MEŠ⸣ *ù ra-qú-ú*-MEŠ *a-na* É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG ⸢*li*⸣-*ru-bu-ma* ⸢*pí-iš-ša*⸣-*ti* [*li-im-ḫ*]*u*-⸢*ru*⸣-*nim* "let the *šatammū* and the 'perfume makers' enter the 'storeroom of top quality sweet oil' and get my anointing oil for me" **52:8**

puḫrum "assembly."

    gen.: *i-na pu-úḫ-ri-im* (in broken context) **18A:3′**

        i-na pu-úḫ-ri-šu-nu ú-ší-ib "he sat in their assembly" **23:15**

        PN₁ *ù* PN₂ *a-na pu-úḫ-ri-im ni-iš-ta-pa-ar*-⸢*šu-nu-ti*⸣(?) *ga-mi-ir-ti a-wa-ti*-⸢*šu*⸣-*nu ni-la-ma-da*-⸢*am-ma*⸣ *ni-ša-pa-ra-kum* "we have sent PN₁ and PN₂ to the assembly; we will find out about all their affairs and write to you" **40:8**

pum "mouth, utterance, statement."

    gen.: [   ]-*ma-tum* ⸢*it*⸣-[*t*]*i*(?) *Šu-ḫu-a-nim i-na* [*p*]*í-i* PN₁ *ù* PN₂ *iš-ku-un* (broken and difficult) **24:9**

        šum-ma be-lí i-[   ] *ma-li pí be-lí-a i-*[*x*]*-ba-am li-pu*(wr. MU!)*-ul-kà a-na qá-ti-kà lu-uš-qú-ul* "if my lord says so, as much as my lord says he should pay you, I will pay to you" (broken and difficult) **29:4′**

Q

qabāum "to say, to speak, to order, to promise."

    in address formula of letters: *a-na* PN *qí-bí-ma* "say to PN" appears or can be reconstructed in every letter. Wr. *qí-bi-ma* **31:2**

    in body of letter: *a-na* PN ⸢*qí*⸣-*bí-ma* "say to PN" **19:11′**

        a-na SUKKAL.MAḪ-*im qí-bí-ma* "say to the *sukkalmaḫḫum*" **28:6**

    B imp. 2. masc. sing.: [*šum*]*-ma la ma-ru-ka* [*a*]*-na-ku qí-bi-am* "if I am not your son, say so!" **42:6′**

    B pres. 1. sing.: *be-el ir-ni-ti-kà ku-šu-ud mi-im-ma a-na ší-a-ti ú-la a-qá-bi-kum* (difficult) **24:6**

    B pres. 2. masc. sing.: 1 GUD-*um ša ta-qá-bi-ú* [*ú-la i*]*z-za-az* "(this is what I said:) the ox that you are talking about is not available" **30:34**

    B pret. 1. sing.: *um-ma a-na-ku-ma at-ta lu be-li-ma a-na-ku lu wa-ra-ad-kà aq-bi-šum* "this is what I said: 'you are indeed my lord and I am indeed your 'slave.' I told him (this)." **34:23**

        um-ma a-na-ku-ma a-dì ba-al-ṭá-ti at-ta-ma lu be-el-ni aq-bi-šum ú-la iš-me-an-n[*i*] "this is what I said: 'as long as you are alive, you are indeed our lord.' I told him (this) but he didn't pay any attention to me." **34:31**

    B pret. 2. masc. sing.: É *ša ta*-⸢*aq*⸣-*bi-am* "the house that you mentioned to me" (in broken context) **27:12**

    B pret. 3. masc. sing.: *a-na* GN *a-la-kà-*[*am*] *iq-bi ú-l*[*a iq-bi*](?) "did he or didn't he promise to go to GN?" **38:6**

        [*a*]*-wa-tám* [*-t*]*i iq-bi-am* (in broken context) **43:12**

    B pret. 3. masc. pl.: ⸢*iq*⸣-*bi-ú*-⸢*ni-im-ma*⸣(?) *um-ma* ⸢*šu*⸣-*nu-ma a-*⸢*wi-lam*⸣ ⸢*la tu-wa-ša*⸣-*ar* "they spoke to me as follows: do not let the man go" **34:10**

    B perf. 2. masc. sing.: *ta-a*[*q-ta-bi*] *um-ma a*[*t-ta-ma*] *la ta-la-a*[*k*] "you spoke to me as follows: do not go" **39:4**

        ta-aq-ta-bi um-ma at-ta-ma "you spoke (to me) as follows" (in broken context) **41:4**

qadum (prep.) "with."

        a-šu-mi wa-ar-dì-im šu-a-ti qá-dum ma-aš-ki-a a-la-⸢*kà*⸣-*kum* "on account of that slave, I come to you with (only) my skin" **12:38**

qanuʾum "reed (a unit of linear measurement)."

>   gen.: [*t*]*ám-li-am* [*a-d*]*ì qá-˹nu-im˺ šu-pu-uk* "make a terrace a full *qanuʾum* high (lit. 'up to a *qanuʾum*')" **4:22**

qaqqadum "head, self."

>   gen. with pron. suffix: PN 2 *li-im A-mu-ra-am i-ḫu-za-am-ma a-na qá-qá-dì-kà-ma šu-úr-du* "PN has taken two-thousand Amorites and they are marching against you" **7:7**

qātum "hand." Used with many verbs of taking, receiving, selling, and paying.

>   gen. with pron. suffix: *a-na qá-ti-kà lu-uš-qú-ul* "I will pay (it) to you" **29:6′**
>
>   P[N] *i-na qá* [*ti-a*] *aṣ-ba-a*[*t*] "I captured PN (in broken context) **39:2**
>
>   *A-mu-ra-am i-n*[*a qá-ti*]*-a lu-uṣ-ba-at* "I will capture the Amorites" (in broken context) **40:14′**
>
>   *ša ṣa-ba-at qa-ti-ia e-pu-uš* . . . 1 *šu-ši* GUR ŠE *li-di-nu-nim* "(if you are my father) do what is necessary to guarantee me . . . let them give me sixty *kurrū* of barley" **55:6**
>
>   in pl. *qātātum* "part, share, portion": *a-na-ku qá-˹tá˺-*[   ] *lu-ul-qí-m*[*a*] (in broken context) **3:2′**

qēmum "flour."

>   wr. log. (ZÍD) only: 5 SILA₃ ZÍD ŠE "5 *qû* of barley flour" (in broken context) **35:6**

qerbum "middle, inside."

>   in prep. phrase: [*a*(?)*-n*]*a*(?) ˹*qé-re-eb*˺ TI-˹x˺-[-*ti*]*m*(?) (in broken context) **30:25**

qubūrum "burial, funeral," "funerary gift."

>   ˹*ší*˺*-ip-ru-ú m*[*a-t*]*im k*[*à-li-š*]*a a-na* [*qú-bu-r*]*i-im* [*ša Ab-d*]*a-El* [*i-la-ku*]*-ni-im* ˹*ù A*˺*-mu-ru-um kà-lu-šu* ˹*i-pá*˺*-ḫu-ra-am mi-im-ma ša a-na qú-bu-úr Ab-da-El a-bi-kà tu-ša-ba-lam a-ḫa-am-ma šu-bi-lam* "the envoys of the entire country are coming for the funeral of PN and all of the Amorites are gathering—whatever you intend to send for the funeral of PN, your 'father', send separately (from the things you send for my own use)" **11:20–30**
>
>   PN *a-na a-bu a-bi-kà a-na a-bi-kà qú-bu-ra-am ú-ša-˹bi˺-il šu-ma a-˹ḫi˺ a-ta ˹kà˺-kà-am dá-am-qá-am ší-bu-ul-tám* ˹*dá*˺*-mi-i*[*q-tám*] *a-na qú-bu-ri-šu* ˹*šu-bi*˺*-*[*lam*] "PN sent a funerary gift for your grandfather (and) for your father; if you are my brother, send a weapon of the best quality (as) a fine present for his funeral" **15:2′–8′**
>
>   [x] *qú-bu-úr ma-˹x˺-*[   ] (in broken context) **2:8′**

qûm (a measure of capacity.)

>   wr. log. (SILA₃) only: 5 SILA₃ ZÍD ŠE "5 *qû* of barley flour" (in broken context) **35:6**

R

ra āmum "to love."

>   B pres. 2. masc. sing.: *šu-um-ma a-b*[*i a-ta*] *šu-um-ma t*[*a-ra-ma-ni*] "if you are my father, if you love me" **35:5**
>
>   B prec. 3. du.: DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *li-ra-ma-kà* "may DN₁ and DN₂ love you" **31:5**

rabiānum in *rabiān Amurrim* "sheikh (possibly the leader of a coalition of tribes)."

>   *ki ša ra-bi-*[*a-an*](?) *A-mu-ri-im* ˹*x*˺*-*[   ] *ti-šu* "(this is what I said:) you have [. . .] just like the *rabiān Amurrim*" (in broken context) **3:5′**

rābiṣum "agent."

>   acc.: ˹*ma-ku*˺*-úr ra-ma-ni-kà a-na mi-nim na-dì-i ra-bi-*[*ṣ*]*a-am šu-ku-un-ma li-dì-šu la in-na-ad-dì* "Why is your own property neglected? Appoint an agent and let him take care of it. It will not be neglected." **11:52**

rabium (adj.) "big, large."

>   nom.: *ú-la a-ḫu-kà ra-bi-um a-na-ku* "am I not your 'elder brother'?" **17:7**

rakāsum "to bind, to make an agreement or contract."

    B pres. 2. masc. sing.: [*b*]*i*(?)-*im* ⌐*ta-ra-ka-su*¬ [x]-*pu-uš* (in broken context) **45:3**

ramānum "self."

    gen. with pron. suffix: ⌐*ma-ku*¬-*úr ra-ma-ni-kà a-na mi-nim na-dì-i* "why is your own property neglected?" **11:49**

    É.NUN [*ù*](?) [É].ÙR(?) *šu-ut* ⌐*ra*¬-*ma-ni-a-ma* ⌐*ú*¬-*ki-in* "I proved that the É.NUN and the É.ÙR(?) belong to me" **26:6**

rapāšum "to be(come) wide."

    B stative 3. masc. sing.: [*ki*]-⌐*i*¬ 10 *am-*⌐*ma*¬-*tim lu ra-pá-áš* "it should be ten cubits wide" **4:23**

raqqûm "perfume maker, ointment mixer."

    nom. pl.: ⌐ŠÀ.TAM.MEŠ¬ *ù ra-qú-ú*-MEŠ *a-na* É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG ⌐*li*¬-*ru-bu-ma pí-iš-ša*¬-*ti* [*li-im-ḫ*]*u-*⌐*ru*¬-*nim* "let the *šatammū* and the 'perfume makers' enter the 'storeroom of top quality sweet oil' and get my anointing oil for me" **52:5**

redēum "to follow, to drive (cattle, prisoners, etc. from one place to another)." In Š "to lead."

    B prec. 1. sing.: 1 ⌐GUD¬ *id-nam-ma a-na* PN *lu-úr-de₄* "give me an ox and I will take it to PN" **30:33**

    Š stative 3. masc. sing.: PN 2 *li-im A-mu-ra-am i-ḫu-za-am-ma a-na qá-qá-dì-ká-ma šu-úr-du* "PN has taken two-thousand Amorites and they are marching against you" **7:8**

rēdûm "soldier."

    acc. with pron. suffix: *a-na mi-ni-im re-dì ta-áš-ki-iš a-na ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a re-dì wu-ši-ra-am* "Why did you harass my *rēdûm*? Release my *rēdûm* to my messenger." **17:8–11**

rēštum (adj.) "top quality, first-class."

    wr. log. (SAG) only: ⌐ŠÀ.TAM.MEŠ¬ *ù ra-qú-ú*-MEŠ *a-na* É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG ⌐*li*¬-*ru-bu-ma* ⌐*pí-iš-ša*¬-*ti* [*li-im-ḫ*]*u-*⌐*ru*¬-*nim* "let the *šatammū* and the 'perfume makers' enter the 'storeroom of top quality sweet oil' and get my anointing oil for me" **52:6**

rēšum in *rēš warḫim* "end of the month."

    a-na ri-iš ba-ar-[*ḫi*]-*i*[*m*] WA-*ar-ṣú-um e-pí-eš* "the ritual is to be performed at the end of the month" **15:12**

rigmum "noise, alarm, fuss."

    acc.: *ni-*⌐*nu*¬ *ri-ig-ma-am nu-š*[*e-ṣi*] "we will send out an alarm(?)" **40:6′**

    [*ki*(?)-*m*]*a*(?) PN *ri-ig-ma-am iš-ta-ak-nu* [*eš-me*](?) *šum-ma be-lí at-ta* ⌐*šu*¬-*pur-ma ri-ig-ma-am* ⌐*la*¬(?) *ú-še-ṣí* "[I have heard tha]t PN has made a fuss; if you are my lord, write so that he should not cause the fuss to go out" (difficult) **41:9–15**

rubûm "prince." (used as a title by Ipiq-Adad I).

    in address of letters only: *a-na ru-bu-um* **41:1**

    [*a-n*]*a ru-bi-im* **42:1; 43:1**

rugbum "loft, roof house."

    wr. log. (É.ÙR) only: É.NUN [*ù*](?) [É].ÙR(?) (*rugbum*) *šu-ut* ⌐*ra*¬-*ma-ni-a-ma* ⌐*ù*¬-*ki-in* "I proved that the É.NUN and the É.ÙR(?) belong to me" **26:6**

ruqqum "(copper) kettle."

    wr. log. (URUDU.ŠEN) only: 1 URUD[U.Š]EN "one copper kettle" **11:17**

S

samūkānu (only pl. attested.) (a type of military equipment used in siege warfare).

    acc. pl.: 10 *ša-na-ti-*[*im*] *A-mu-ru-*[*um*] *li-k*[*i-ir*(?)-*ma*(?)] 10 GIŠ *ia₈-š*[*i-bi*] 10 GIŠ *dì-ma-ti-*[*im*] 20 GIŠ *sà-mu-kà-ni li-ib-lam* "even if the Amorites should make war for ten years and bring ten battering rams, ten siege towers, and twenty *samūkānu* (I will remain secure in my city)" **9:13**

sekērum "to block, to dam."

> B stative 3. fem. sing.: *a-na* PN *šu-pu-ur-ma ki-ma na-ru-um se₂₀-ek-ra-at šu-di-≪iš≫-š[u]-u[m]* "write to PN and inform him that the river is blocked" **40:5′**

siparrum "bronze."

> wr. log. (UD.KA.BAR) only: GAL.UD.KA.BAR.ḪI.A "various bronze cups" **11:17**

sukkalmaḫḫum "prime minister."

> wr. log. (SUKKAL.MAḪ) only: *a-na* SUKKAL.MAḪ-*im qí-bí-ma i-dì-in li-iš-ku-un a-na ši-pí-ir šar-ri-im* ⌈i⌉-*dì-in l*[*i*]-*iš-ku-un* "say to the *sukkalmaḫḫum* that he should bring pressure to bear, that he should bring pressure to bear on the king's messenger" **28:6**

<div align="center">Ṣ</div>

ṣabātum "to seize, to capture, to hold, to take, to arrest."

> B inf.: *ša ṣa-ba-at qa-ti-ia e-pu-uš* "do what is necessary to guarantee me" **55:6**
>
> B imp. 2. masc. sing.: ⌈*a-li-ma*(?) 1(?)⌉ GUD(?) *šu-a-ti* ⌈*ṣa*⌉(?)-*ab-ta-am* "go up and take that ox for me" **30:26**
>
> B pres. 1. sing.: *a-na* ⌈*šu*⌉-*mi ar-ḫi-iš ú-še-ṣi-ú-ni-in-ni-ma na-dì-ni-a a-ṣa-ba-tu* "so that they may quickly obtain my release and I can seize my sellers" **28:16**
>
> B pret. 1. sing.: P[N] *i-na qá-*[*ti-a*] *aṣ-ba-a*[*t*] "I captured PN" (in broken context) **39:3**
>
> B pret. 2. masc. sing.: *ma-na-šu ú-nu-mi-im ša ta-uṣ-ba-tu ú-la wa-ra-ad-kà* "whoever . . . you seized is not your slave" **12:12**
>
> B pret. 3. sing.: *iṣ-ba-at* (in broken context) **38:8**
>
> B prec. 1. sing.: *A-mu-ra-am i-n*[*a qá-ti*]-*a lu-uṣ-ba-at* "I will capture the Amorites" (in broken context) **40:15′**

ṣābitum (mng. unk.)

> gen.: [1(?) GU]D(?) *ša ṣa-bi-tim* (in broken context) **30:21**

ṣabtum (verbal adjective to *ṣabātum*) "captured, captive."

> acc. pl. masc. used as substantive: ⌈*šum-ma ṣa-ab*⌉-*tu-t*[*i-i*]*m* [*t*]*u-wa-ša-ra-*⌈*ma*⌉ "if you will release the captives" **46:20**

ṣābum "troops, workers." Used in sing. as a collective noun.

> wr. log. (ERIM): *i-na pá-ni pí-*⌈*qí-tim*⌉ 3 ERIM *lu-li-ik* "on account of the muster, I will 'go' (= provide) three men" **27:6**
>
> wr. syll.:
>
> nom.: *ṣa-bu-um ša-lim* "the troops are well" **9:3**
>
> *ṣa-bu-u*[*m*] (in broken context) **5:6**
>
> acc.: DUMU-*ḫu-dam ṣa-ba-am ša* PN *li-im ù* 5 *me-at im-ḫa-aṣ* "DUMU-*ḫu-dam* defeated 1500 troops of PN" **2:5′**
>
> ⌈*šum-ma ṣa-ab*⌉-*tu-t*[*i-i*]*m* [*t*]*u-wa-ša-ra-*⌈*ma*⌉ [*a-n*]*a-ku a-na* [*A-m*]*u-ri-i*[*m*] [   ]-⌈x⌉-*lu-*⌈x⌉ ⌈*ma*⌉ *ṣa-ba-ka lu-wa-ṣí-ra-am* "if you will release the captives, I will [. . .] to the Amorites, then indeed I can get your troops released" **46:24**

ṣēnum "small cattle (sheep and goats)."

> wr. log. (UDU.MÁŠ.ḪI.A) only: 2 *me-at* UDU.⌈MÁŠ⌉.Ḫ[I.A] "two-hundred sheep and goats" **24:14**

ṣērum "back." As prep. (*ana/ina*) *ṣēr* "to, at, upon."

> *i-na* ⌈*ṣe*⌉-*ri-a la i-ṣi-ḫa* "they should not laugh at me" **19:8′**
>
> *ma-ru ší-ip-r*[*i-a*] ⌈*a*⌉-*na ṣe-ri-*[*šu*(?)] *aṣ-tá-pá-a*[*r*] "I have sent my messenger to him" **20:8**
>
> PN₁ *ù* PN₂ ⌈*a-na*⌉ *ṣe-er* PN₃ *ù a-na ṣe-ri-*⌈*ka*⌉ *a-la-ak-šu-nu eš-me* "I heard of PN₁'s and PN₂'s visit to PN₃ and to you" **45:8–10**

in broken context: ⌜x⌝ ⌜ṣé⌝-er ⌜x⌝-[   ](?) **18A:5**

[*a-na ṣ*]*é-er* DUMU.ME PN "to the sons of PN" **42:9′**

ṣiāḫum "to laugh."

B pres. 3. du.(?): *i-na* ⌜*ṣe*⌝-*ri-a la i-ṣi-ḫa* "they should not laugh at me" **19:9′**

ṣubātum "garment, clothing."

wr. log. (TÚG) only: PN *wa-ra-ad-kà a-na* TÚG.ḪI.A *ku-pu-ri-im a-na li-qú-tim iš-*⌜*pu-úr*⌝-*šu* "PN, your 'slave', sent him to. . . ." (difficult) **12:21**

ši-ip-ri 1 TÚG *lu-bi-*⌜*iš*⌝(?) "provide my messenger with a garment" **20:36**

ṣuḫārum "boy, person in a subservient position."

nom. du.(?): 2 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-*⌜*an*⌝(?) "two boys" **24:16**

gen.: *a-na a-wa-at ṣú-ḫa-ri-im* ⌜*ša*⌝ *aš-pu-ra-ku-um* "concerning the matter of the boy that I wrote you about" **31:13**

acc.: 1 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-am šu-ri-am la ta-kà-la-am ù šum-ma a-ḫi a-ta* 1 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-am Maš-kán-šar-ri-am šu-ri-áš-šu la ta-kà-la-áš-šu* "send me a boy, do not withhold (him) from me; and if you are my brother, send me a boy from Maškanšarrum, do not withhold him from me" **11:31–36**

Š

ša (determinative/relative pron., indecl. in sing., *šūt* used with pl.) "who, which, of, pertaining to, concerning."

before proper name: "of, belonging to, pertaining to PN/GN" **2:5′, 4:27; 11:13; 20:4, 19; 31:3; 32:20; 46:18**

before substantive: **11:16, 37; 18A:2′; 30:21; 32:5; 55:6**

used to introduce a relative clause with verb in subjunctive: **3:8′; 11:14, 27; 12:12, 47; 13:4′, 12′; 20:15; 27:12, 13; 30:34, 48; 31:14; 38:4″; 42:5; 44:1**

in pl. with *šūt:*

before substantive: É.NUN [*ù*](?) [É].ÙR(?) *šu-ut* ⌜*ra*⌝-*ma-ni-a-ma* ⌜*ú*⌝-*ki-in* "I proved that the É.NUN and the É.ÙR(?) belong to me" **26:6**

used to introduce a relative clause with verb in subjunctive: *a-wi-lu-ú šu-ut i-ti-šu-nu uš-bu* "the men with whom I lived" **28:4**

in *ali ša* "wherever(?)": *a-li ša na-wi-um* ⌜*1*⌝ *Ku-un-za-nam i-ma-aḫ-ḫa-šú* (difficult) **23:12**

for *kî ša* "just as" see *kî* (adv.)

ša°ālum "to ask, to question."

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: *a-na a-wa-at ṣú-ḫa-ri-im* ⌜*ša*⌝ *aš-pu-ra-ku-um* DUMU *ši-ip-ri-a ša-al-ma ku-šu-ud-ma* "concerning the matter of the boy that I wrote you about: ask my messenger and take care of the matter" **31:16**

B pret. 3. masc. pl.: ⌜*a-wi*⌝-*lu-ú ú-la i-ša-lu-ni-ni* A.ŠÀ-⌜*am*⌝(?) *i*⌝-*ru-šu* "the men did not ask me but cultivated the field" **25:2**

B prec. 1. pl. (cohortative): PN *li-ṣí-am-*⌜*ma*⌝(?) *i ni-ša-al-šu* "PN will come forth and we will question him" **38:5′**

ša°āmum "to buy."

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: ⌜*ú*⌝-*la um-ma* [*be-l*]*i-ma* ⌜*x*⌝-*ni ša-am-*[*m*]*a* [*šu*(?)-*r*]*i-am lu-*[*ša*(?)]-*ri-am* "did not my lord say: buy [. . .] and send (it) to me and I will send (to you)" **30:45** (possibly to be read [*p*]*á-ni-ša-am-*[*m*]*a;* see the commentary)

šadu°um "mountain."

wr. log. (SA.TU) only: MAR.TU-[*um*(?)] *kà-lu-šu a-na* ⌜*x*⌝-[   ] SA.TU-*im* ⌜*i*⌝-[*li*(?)] "all the Amorites went up into the mountain of [. . .]" **20:12**

šakkanakkum "governor-general."

wr. log. (GÌR.NITÁ) only: *ki-ma* GÌR.N[ITÁ](?) *be-lí-a iš-ti-[ni-iš*[(?) *a-na ti-i-ir-t*[*i*] *be-lí*⌈*a*⌉ *az-za-az* "as a *šakkanakkum* of my lord I will at once obey the command of my lord" **48:2**

šakānum "to set, to place, to establish, to appoint, to determine."

B stative 3. masc. sing.: *a-lu-um i-*⌈*na ir*⌉*-ni-ti A-mu-ri-im ša-ki-in* "the city is threatened by the Amorites" (difficult) **6:6**

B stative 3. fem. sing.: *a-wa-tum ša-ak-na-at* "the matter is decided" **46:27**

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: ⌈*ma-ku*⌉*-úr ra-ma-ni-kà a-na mi-nim na-dì-i ra-bi-[ṣ]a-am šu-ku-un-ma li-dì-šu la in-na-ad-dì* "Why is your own property neglected? Appoint an agent and let him take care of it. It will not be neglected!" **11:53**

B pret. 3. masc. sing.: [   ]*-ma-tum* ⌈*it*⌉*-[t]i*(?) *Šu-ḫu-a-nim i-na* [*p*]*í-i* PN₁ *ù* PN₂ *iš-ku-un* (broken and difficult) **24:11**

a-ša-ar-ša-ni pa-ni-šu iš-⌈*ku*⌉*-u*[*n*] "he tried elsewhere" **34:25**

B pret. 3. masc. pl. (or subjunctive): *a-wa-tum r*[*a*(?)-   ] *ša e-l*[*i-*   ] *iš-ku-n*[*u*(?)] (in broken context) **38:5″**

B perf. 1. sing.: [*t*]*a-ta-wi-im-ma ú-la am-gu-ur-ki* ⌈*i*⌉*-na-na a-na a-wa-ti-ki* ⌈*uz*⌉(?)*-[ni aš]-*⌈*ta*⌉*-ka-an* "you spoke to me but I did not agree with you; now I have come around to your point of view" **54:7**

B perf. 3. masc. sing.: *ap-[pu]-*⌈*na*⌉*-ma iš-ta-kà-an* ⌈*ku*(?)*)*⌉*-ub*(?)⌉*-bu-ti-iš* "moreover, he construed it as an honor" (difficult) (possibly Btn pret.) **23:18**

[*ki*(?)*)-m*]*a*(?) PN *ri-ig-ma-am iš-ta-ak-nu* [*eš-me*](?) "[I have heard tha]t PN has made a fuss" **41:11**

B prec. 3. masc. sing.: *i-dì-in li-iš-ku-un a-na ši-pí-ir šar-ri-im* ⌈*i*⌉*-dì-in l*[*i*]*-iš-ku-un* "(say to the *sukkalmaḫḫum*) that he should bring pressure to bear on the king's messenger" **28:8–12**

with *šumum* as object "to make famous, to make respected or respectable":

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: *šu-ma-*⌈*am*⌉ [*š*]*u-uk-na-an-ni* "make me respected" **11:39**

B pret. 2. masc. sing.: *a-ta-ma šu-ma-am ta-áš-ku-na-ni* "you have given me my reputation" **19:8**

šakāšum "to kill," "to harass, to mistreat."

B stative(?) 3. masc. sing.: [*a*(?)*)-w*]*i*(?)*)-lum* [*š*]*a*(?)*)-ki-iš* "the man is being badly mistreated" **24:25**

B pret. 2. masc. sing.: *a-na mi-ni-im re-dì ta-áš-ki-iš a-na ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a re-dì wu-ši-ra-am* "Why did you harass my *rēdûm*? Release my *rēdûm* to my messenger." **17:9**

šalāmum "to be(come) well, to be(come) safe."

B stative 3. masc. sing.: *a-lu-um ša-lim* "the city is safe" **3:3; 8:3; 9:4**

ṣa-bu-um ša-lim "the troops are well" **9:3**

šalištum "(one) third."

acc.: *a-ta ša-li-iš-tám ta-*⌈*ta*(?)*)*⌉*-sà-aḫ* "you customarily took out a third" **25:10**

šamnum "oil."

in *šamnum ṭābum* (lit. 'sweet oil', a kind of perfume or unguent):

wr. log. (Ì.DÙG.GA, Ì.GIŠ.DÙG.GA) only: [Ì.G]IŠ.DÙG.GA *ša* ⌈*bi*⌉*-[*] (in broken context) **18B:1′**

1 ⌈DUG⌉.GAN Ì.DÙG.GA "one *kannum* of 'sweet oil'" (in broken context) **23:8**

⌈ŠÀ.TAM.MEŠ⌉ *ù ra-qú-ú-*MEŠ *a-na* É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG ⌈*li*⌉*-ru-bu-ma* ⌈*pí-iš-ša*⌉*-ti* [*li-im-ḫ*]*u-*⌈*ru*⌉*-nim* "let the *šatammū* and the 'perfume makers' enter the 'storeroom of top quality sweet oil' and get my anointing oil for me" **52:6**

šamuʾum (mng. unk.)

gen.: [   ] *ša-mu-im* [*u*]*š-te-ne-il* (in broken context) **23:9**

šanium "second, other, another."

gen.: ⸢*šu*⸣-*nu a-na* PN ⸢*a-na*⸣ *ša*-⸢*ni*⸣-*im* ⸢*ta-ak*⸣-*lu* "they trust in PN (and) in another" **19:4′**

[*i*]-⸢*na*⸣ [*š*]*a-ni-i*[*m*] "in the second place" (opposed to *ina šurrîm* "in the beginning" in line 6) **46:10**

acc. fem. used to introduce a new topic: *ša-ni-t*[*ám*] "another matter" **44:11**

nom. pl. masc.: ⸢*ma*⸣-*ru ší-ip-ri* [*ša-n*]*i-ú-tum it-ta-na-la-ku-ni-in-na* "other messengers continually come to me" **30:6**

acc. pl. masc.: PN *i-ba-lu-ṭá-ma wa-ar-dì ša-ni-ú-tim i-na-dì-na-am* "if PN were alive (gets well?), he would give me other slaves" **12:9**

acc. pl. fem. used as substantive: *ša*-⸢*ni-a*⸣-*tim li-ib-bi it-ta*-⸢*na-ba-la-am*⸣ "I continually want something else" **30:7**

šapākum "to pile up."

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: [*t*]*ám-li-am* [*a-d*]*ì qá*-⸢*nu-im*⸣ *šu-pu-uk* "make a terrace a full *qanuʾum* high" **4:22**

šapārum "to send, to write (to someone)."

B inf.: [*š*]*a*(?)-*pa-rum* (in broken context) **18A:4′**

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: *šum-ma la* [*ki-am*](?) *šu-up-ra-am-ma* "if it is not so, write to me" **32:16**

at-t[*a*] *ki-am-ma šu-p*[*u-ur-*] "you write likewise" **38:10′**

a-na PN *šu-pu-ur-ma* "write to PN" **40:4′**

šum-ma be-lí at-ta ⸢*šu*⸣-*pur-ma* "if you are my lord, write" **41:13**

B pres. 1. sing.: [NÌ]G(?).ḪI.A *úḫ-ḫu-ru* [*šu-b*]*i-lam k*[*i*](?) ⸢*ša*⸣ *a-š*[*a-pá-r*]*a-kum* "send me the things that have been withheld just as I am writing to you" **11:41**

ul-la-nu-u[*m*] *mi-im-ma a-wa-ti-*[*šu*(?)] ⸢*ša*⸣ *i-ma-qú-*⸢*tám*⸣ [*a-š*]*a-pá-ra-kum* "from there, whatever news of it that reaches me, I will send to you" **20:16**

B pres. 1. pl.: *ga-mi-ir-ti a-wa-ti-*⸢*šu*⸣-*nu ni-la-ma-da-*⸢*am-ma*⸣ *ni-ša-pa-ra-ku-*⸢*um*⸣ "we will find out about all their affairs and write to you" **40:12**

B pres. 2. masc. sing.: ⸢*ú*(?)-*la*(?)⸣ *ta-ša-pá-ra-am* (in broken context) **14:11′**

B pres. 3. du.: PN₁ PN₂ *ša a-bu-t*[*ám*] *i-ša-pá-ra-n*[*i-im*] (in broken context) **13:12′**

B pret. 1. sing.: ⸢*a*⸣-*d*[*ì u*]*l-la-nu-u*[*m*] *a-tu-ra-am a-wa-tum ša* DUMU ⸢d⸣⸢IM⸣-*ba-ni áš-pu-*⸢*ra*⸣-*kum li-qí-i* "until I return from there, take responsibility for the matter of the son of PN which I wrote to you about" **20:20**

⸢*áš-pu*⸣-*ra-kum um-ma a-na-ku-ma li-it-ma-a* "I wrote to you saying: let them take an oath" **21:1**

a-na a-wa-at ṣú-ḫa-ri-im ⸢*ša*⸣ *aš-pu-ra-ku-um* "concerning the matter of the boy that I wrote you about" **31:14**

B pret. 2. masc. sing.: ⸢*i-ma*⸣-[*ti*]-*ma ta-aš-pu-ra-am mi-nam ak-la-a* "whenever you have written to me, what have I (ever) refused (to do)" **34:17**

i-lu-ma PN *ta-aš-*[*pu-ur*](?) "they went up and you sent PN" (doubtful) **34:32**

B pret. 3. masc. sing.: *a-la-kà-k*[*um*] *iš-pu-úr-šum* "I will come to you he wrote to him" **2:3′**

a-li-ma ⸢*li*⸣-[*bi*](?)-*k*[*à*] ⸢*iš-pu-úr-šu*⸣ "he sent him wherever you wanted" **10:19**

PN *wa-ra-ad-ká a-na* TÚG.ḪI.A *ku-pu-ri-im a-na li-qú-tim iš-*⸢*pu-úr*⸣-*šu* "PN your 'slave' sent him to . . ." **12:23**

a-[*na m*]*i-nim šu-ni-*⸢*ti*⸣ [*be-lí ú-l*]*a iš-pu-ra-am-ma* "why has my lord not sent these two (men) to me?" **30:14**

be-lí iš-pu-ra-an-ni "(this is what he said:) my lord sent me" **30:30**

a-na a-la-ki-[*im*](?) *ša be-lí iš-pu-r*[*a*]-⸢*an-ni*⸣ "for the journey which my lord sent me on" **30:48**

PN *iš-pu-ra-ni-*⌐*a*⌐-[*ši*(?)-*m*]*a* "PN wrote to us" **40:14**

B perf. 1. sing.: *ma-ru ši-ip-r*[*i-a*] ⌐*a*⌐-*na ṣe-ri-*[*šu*(?)] *áš-tá-pá-a*[*r*] "I have sent my messenger to him" **20:9**

a-ni PN *áš-ta-ap-ra-kum* "now I have sent PN to you" **20:23**

B perf. 1. pl.: PN₁ *ù* PN₂ *a-na pu-uḫ-ri-im ni-iš-ta-pa-ar-*⌐*šu-nu-ti*⌐(?) "we have sent PN₁ and PN₂ to the assembly" **40:9**

B prec. 3. masc. sing.: <*a*>-⌐*šu-me* 1 GUD⌐-*im be-lí* PN₁ *ù* PN₂ *li-*[*i*]*š-pu-ra-am-ma* "concerning the ox, let my lord send me PN₁ and PN₂" **30:38**

Btn pres. 1. sing.: *a-dì ma-ti áš-ta-na-pá-ra-kum-ma* [*a*]-*wa-ti la te-še-me* "how long will I continue to write to you and you will ignore my affair?" **13:4**

Btn pres. 2. masc. sing.: ⌐*mi*⌐-*šu a-wa-tum a-ni-tum* [*š*]*a a-šum* PN [*t*]*a-aš-ta-na-pa-ra-am* "what is this matter which you continue to write me about concerning PN?" **42:6**

šaqālum "to weigh out, to pay" "to diminish (intrans.)." In D "to reduce to nothing."

B prec. 1. sing.: *ma-li pí be-lí-a i-*[x]-*ba-am li-pu*(wr. MU!)-*ul-kà a-na qá-ti-kà lu-uš-qú-ul* "as much as my lord says he should pay you, I will pay to you" **29:6′**

D imp. 2. masc. sing.: *dì-ma-ti-a šu-qí-il* "stop my tears" **12:45**

šarrum "king."

gen.: PN *bí-it a-na šar-ri-im iṭ-ḫa-ma* "PN spent the night and then had an audience with the king" **19:5**

a-na ši-pí-ir šar-ri-im ⌐*i*⌐-*dì-in l*[*i*]-*iš-ku-un* "he should bring pressure to bear on the king's messenger" **28:10**

šasāum "to call out, to complain."

B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *i-ša-sí-k*[*um*](?) [*w*]*u-ši-ra-am* "if he complains to you, let him go" (in broken context) **49:2′**

šatammum "accountant, clerk."

wr. log. (ŠÀ.TAM) only: ⌐ŠÀ.TAM.MEŠ⌐ *ù ra-qú-ú-*MEŠ *a-na* É Ì.DÙG.GA SAG ⌐*li*⌐-*ru-bu-ma* "let the *šatammū* and the 'perfume makers' enter the 'storeroom of top quality sweet oil'" **52:4**

šattum "year."

acc. pl. used adverbially: 10 *ša-na-ti-*[*im*] *A-mu-ru-*[*um*] *li-k*[*i-ir*(?)-*ma*(?)] "even if the Amorites should make war for ten years" **9:8**

DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *u₄-mi ma-du-tim ar-kà-tim ša-na-tim li-be-lu-kà* "may DN₁ and DN₂ let you rule for many days and long years" **31:8**

šaṭārum "to write, to inscribe." In D with same meanings.

B inf.: *a-pu-tum ša-ṭá-ru-um a-na ku-a-ti pí-*⌐*iš*⌐-*tù-um* "please, to write (such a thing) is an insult to yourself" **13:8′**

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: *i-na tu-pí-im šu-uṭ-ra-am* "write (it) on a tablet for me" **46:29**

B pret. 2. masc. sing.: *a-na* PN *ta-áš-ṭú-ra-am* "you wrote to PN" **13:5′**

D imp. 2. masc. sing.: *e-ba-bi šu-ṭe₄-ra-ma li-li-ku* "(this is what I said:) make a written record of my being innocent and let them go" **21:8**

šebērum "to break, to break up." In D with same meanings.

B(?) prec. 3. masc. sing.: A.Š[À *a*]*wi-lim li-*[*iš*(?)]-*bi-ir* "let him break up the field of the man" (possibly to be read *li-*[*še*(?)]-*bi-ir* and interpreted as D prec.) **32:26**

šemēum "to hear, to heed, to pay attention to."

B part.(?): ⌐*še*⌐-*mi i-ti-ká* [   ] "my 'hearer' with you [. . .]" (in broken context) **4:12**

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: *a-wa-ti ší-me* "pay attention to my affair" **10:6; 11:9**

B pres. 2. masc. sing.: *a-dì ma-ti áš-ta-na-pá-ra-kum-ma* [*a*]-*wa-ti la te-še-me* "how long will I continue to write to you and you will ignore my affair?" **13:5**

B pret. 1. sing.: PN₁ *ù* PN₂ ⌜*a-na*⌝ *ṣe-er* PN₃ *ù a-na ṣe-ri-*⌜*ka*⌝ *a-la-ak-šu-nu eš-me* "I heard of PN₁'s and PN₂'s visit to PN₃ and to you" **45:11**

B pret. 3. masc. sing.: *aq-bi-šum ú-la iš-me-an-n*[*i*] "I told him (this) but he didn't pay any attention to me" **34:31**

   la iš-mi-šu (in broken context) **50:2**

B pret. 3. masc. pl.: *lu la iš-me-ú-*⌜*ni*⌝-*n*[*i*] "they absolutely would not pay any attention to me" **46:15**

B perf. 2. pl.: [*a*(?)-*wa*(?)-*a*]*t*(?) PN [*a-na*] *mi-nim te-eš-te-me-a* "why did you pay attention to the affair of PN" (possibly Btn pret.) **23:25**

šēnum "sandal."

   wr. log. (KUŠ.E.SÍR) only: 10 KUŠ.⌜E⌝.SÍR É.BA.AN ⌜*a*⌝-*na* ⌜*ḫa*⌝-*ra-ni-a šu-bi-lam* "send me ten pairs of sandals for my journey" **20:33**

šeum "grain, barley."

   wr. log. (ŠE) only: 3.0.0 *š*[E GUR] ⌜ŠÀ⌝.GAL [   ] [*a-na*] *i-dì-*[*in*] "give 3 *kurrū* of barley [to PN] as fodder [for x]" **1:3**

   lu ni-pu-tám lu KÙ.BABBAR *lu* ŠE *šu-di-na-ma šu-bi-lam* "collect either a distrainee or the silver or the grain and send it to me" **53:11**

   1 *šu-ši* GUR ŠE *li-di-nu-nim* "let them give me sixty *kurrū* of barley" **55:8**

šiati (pron. 3. fem. sing. gen./acc.) "her, it."

   in *ana šiati* "therefore(?)": *be-el ir-ni-ti-kà ku-šu-ud mi-im-ma a-na ší-a-ti ú-la a-qá-bi-kum* (difficult) **24:6**

šībultum "gift," "consignment, shipment." See Excursus B (p. 113).

   acc.: ⌜*kà*⌝-*kà-am dá-am-qá-am ší-bu-ul-tám* ⌜*dá*⌝-*mi-i*[*q-tám*] *a-na qú-bu-ri-šu* ⌜*šu-bi*⌝-[*lam*] "send a weapon of the best quality (as) a fine present for his funeral" **15:7′**

   acc. with pron. suffix: *ši-bu-ul-ta-kà* PN *li-ib-la-am* "let PN bring your gift to me" **29:7′**

šīmum "price."

   gen.: *a-wi-lu-ú šu-ut i-ti-šu-nu uš-bu šu-nu-ma a-ši-mi-im*(< *an*+*šīmim*) *i-dì-nu-ni-ni* "the men with whom I lived have sold me (lit. 'given me for a price')" **28:5**

šinān (*du. tantum*) "two."

   acc.: *ši-ni-*⌜*in*⌝ *at-wu-*⌜*iš*⌝ ⌜*ú*⌝-*la a-na-dì-in* "I will not permit two things to be discussed" (difficult) **6:9**

šipīrum (mng. unk.)

   acc. with pron. suffix: *ší-pí-ri ar-*[*ḫi*(?)-*iš*(?)] *ṭú-úr-dam a-na ri-iš ba-ar-*[*ḫi*]-*i*[*m*] WA-*ar-ṣú-um e-pí-eš* "send me my *š*. quickly; the ritual is to be performed at the end of the month" (possibly the writing *ší-pí-ri* is a scribal error for *ší-ip-ri* "my messenger") **15:10′**

šiprum "messenger, envoy, ambassador," "work."

   meaning "work":

   acc.: *ší-ip-ra-am mi-im-ma la te-pè-eš* "do not do any work" **7:10**

   meaning "messenger":

   nom. with pron. suffix: *ší-pí-*⌜*ir*(?)⌝-*kà*(?) *im*(?)-*ru*(?)-*uṣ*⌝ "your messenger got sick" (in broken context) **15:11**

   a-wa-at-kà da-m[*i-iq*]-*t*[*ám*] *i-*⌜*ti*⌝-*šu ší-pí-*⌜*ir*⌝-[*kà*(?)] *li-ib-*[*lam*(?)] "let your messenger bring your favorable reply with him" **20:26**

   nom.: PN *ší-pir₆ be-lí-a* "PN the messenger of my lord" **30:10, 17**

nom. pl.: ⌜*ši*⌝-*ip-ru-ú m*[*a-t*]*im k*[*à-li-š*]*a a-na* [*qú-bu-r*]*i-im* [*ša Ab-d*]*a-El* [*i-la-ku*]-*ni-im* "the
envoys of the entire country are coming for the funeral of PN" **11:20**

gen.: *a-na ši-pí-ir šar-ri-im* ⌜*i*⌝-*dì-in l*[*i*]-*iš-ku-un* "he should bring pressure to bear on the king's
messenger" **28:9**

acc. with pron. suffix: *ši-ip-ri* 1 TÚG *lu-bi-*⌜*iš*⌝(?) "provide my messenger with a garment" **20:35**

for *māru šiprim* "messenger" see *mārum*

šīrum "flesh."

nom. with pron. suffix: *a-*⌜*na*⌝-*ku a-ḫu-kà ší-ir-kà ù da-mu-kà a-na-ku* "I am your brother—I am
your flesh and your blood" **11:4**

šu (pron. 3. masc. sing. nom.) "he." See also *šut*.

introducing direct speech: *um-ma šu-ú-ma* "this is what he said" **44:4**

in broken context: [*šu*](?)-*ú-ma li-zi-iz-ma* "let he himself serve" **42:4′**

in difficult context: *di-nu-um pa-nu-um šu-ma* **50:4**

šuati (pron. 3. masc. sing. gen./acc.) "him, it."

in anaphoric (determinative) use "this, that, the aforementioned": *a-šu-mi wa-ar-dì-im šu-a-ti* "on
account of that slave" **12:38**

⌜*a-li-ma*(?) 1(?)⌝ GUD(?) *šu-a-ti* ⌜*ṣa*⌝(?)-*ab-ta-am* "go up and take that ox for me" **30:28**

šuḫarrurum "to be(come) quiet."

B pres. 2. masc. sing.: [*a*]*t*(?)-*ta a-ša-ar ki-ma*[   ]-*sú-nu ku-i*[*l*] [*t*]*a-aš-ḫa-ra-a*[*r*] (broken
and difficult) **14:9′**

šumma "if."

wr. *šum-ma:* **10:4, 11; 11:33; 12:29, 40; 19:8; 20:28; 24:17; 29:3′; 34:4, 5; 36:4; 37:4; 40:9′; 41:12;
42:4′; 46:20; 48:6; 53:4; 55:5**

wr. *šu-um-ma:* **35:4, 5**

wr. *šu-ma:* **15:5′**

in *šumma la kīam* "if it is not so, otherwise": *šum-ma la* [*ki-am*](?) *šu-up-ra-am-ma* "if it is not so,
write to me" **32:15**

šumum "name, reputation, fame."

acc.: *šu-ma-*⌜*am*⌝ [*š*]*u-uk-na-an-ni* "make me respected" **11:38**

a-ta-ma šu-ma-am ta-áš-ku-na-ni "you have given me my reputation" **19:7**

for *ana šumi* (*aššumi*) see *aššum* (conj.) and *aššum* (prep.)

šunīti (pron. 3. du. gen./acc.) "these two, them both."

PN₁ *ši-pir₆ be-lí-a ù* PN₂ *ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a* ⌜IGI *be-lí*⌝-*a wa-áš-ba a-*[*na m*]*i-nim šu-ni-*⌜*ti*⌝ [*be-lí
ú-l*]*a iš-pu-ra-am-ma* "PN₁, the messenger of my lord, and PN₂, my messenger, remain with
my lord. Why has my lord not sent these two to me?" **30:13**

[*š*]*u*(?)-*ni-ti* (in broken context) **30:43**

šunu (pron. 3. masc. pl. nom.) "they."

introducing direct speech: ⌜*iq*⌝-*bi-ú-*⌜*ni-im-ma*⌝(?) *um-ma* ⌜*šu*⌝-*nu-ma* "they spoke to me as fol-
lows" **34:11**

used to stress subject in verbal sentences (including stative): *šu-nu a-na* PN ⌜*a-na*⌝ *ša-*⌜*ni*⌝-*im* ⌜*ta-
ak*⌝-*lu* "they trust in PN (and) in another" **19:2′**

a-wi-lu-ú šu-ut i-ti-šu-nu uš-bu šu-nu-ma a-ši-mi-im i-dì-nu-ni-ni "the men with whom I
lived have sold me" **28:5**

šurrûm "beginning."

gen.: *i-na šu-ri-im mi-il-ku-um i-a-um* x-*ri-um* [*i*]-⌜*na*⌝ [*š*]*a-ni-i*[*m*] [   ]⌜x⌝[   ] [*m*]*i-na-*⌜*am*⌝
lu-pu-uš "In the beginning, [. . .]; in the second [. . .]. What should I do?" (broken and
difficult) **46:6**

šuššum "sixty."

> 1 *šu-ši* GUR ŠE "sixty *kurrū* of barley" **55:8**

šut (pron. 3. masc. sing. nom.) "he." See also *šu*.

> introducing direct speech: *um-ma šu-ut-ma* "this is what he said" **30:19, 30**

> used as subject of verb: [*a-n*]*a-ku-ú šu-ut* [*n*]*u-ta-ma-am-ma* "he and I will swear an oath" **23:22**

šūt (determinative/relative pron.) see *ša*.

T

takālum "to trust in, to rely on, to be faithful to." Regularly governs the dative.

> B stative 1. sing.: *a-na-ku ki-ma* PN *ku-a-ší-ma ta-ak-la-ku* "I must rely on you in place of PN" **12:5**

> > *a-na-ku* ⌜*a*⌝-*na be-l*[*í-a*] *ta-*⌜*ak*⌝-*la-*⌜*ak*⌝ "I trust in my lord" **19:7′**

> B stative 3. masc. pl.: ⌜*šu*⌝-*nu a-na* PN ⌜*a-na*⌝ *ša-*⌜*ni*⌝-*im* ⌜*ta-ak*⌝-*lu* "they trust in PN (and) in another" **19:5′**

tamāum "to swear (an oath)." In Drt "to swear to each other."

> B pret. 3. masc. pl.: *ma-mi-tám it-mu-*⌜*ú*⌝ "they swore an oath" **34:36**

> B prec. 3. du.(?): *li-it-ma-a* "let them take an oath" **21:3**

> Btn pres. 3. masc. sing.: *a-wi-lum an-ni-um* [*a* (?)-*n*] *a* (?) GN *i-ta-na-am-ma* (in difficult context) **4:25**

> Drt pres. 1. pl.: [*a-n*]*a-ku-ú šu-ut* [*n*]*u-ta-ma-am-ma* "he and I will swear an oath" **23:23**

> Drt (or Dr) 3. masc.(?): *ú-ta-ma-ma-a* (in broken and difficult context) **50:3**

tamlīum "terrace."

> acc.: *ki-dá-núm* [*a*(?)-*d*]*u*(?)-*ri-i*[*m t*]*ám-li-am* [*a-d*]*ì qa-*⌜*nu-im*⌝ *šu-pu-uk* [*ki*]-⌜*i*⌝ 10 *am-*⌜*ma*⌝-*tim lu ra-pá-áš* "outside, against the wall, make a terrace a full *qanu²um* high; it should be ten cubits wide" **4:21**

tappātum "associate (fem.)."

> nom. with pron. suffix as anticipated acc.: *a-wi-il-tum tap-pá-ti lu ni-pu-tám lu* KÙ.BABBAR *lu* ŠE *šu-di-na-ma šu-bi-lam* "(if you are my brother and I am your sister,) from the woman, my associate, collect either a distrainee or the silver or the grain and send it to me" **53:8**

têrtum "command, order," "omen report."

> nom.: *a-lu-um ša-lim te-er-ti be-lí-a dan-na-at* "the city is safe—the omen report concerning my lord is strong" **8:4**

> gen.: *ki-ma* GÌR.N[ITÁ](?) *be-lí-a iš-ti-*[*ni-iš*](?) *a-na ti-i-ir-t*[*i*] *be-lí-*⌜*a*⌝ *az-za-az* "as a *šakkanakkum* of my lord I will at once obey the command of my lord" **48:4**

> gen. pl. with pron. suffix: ⌜*i-na*⌝ [*te*(?)-*r*]*e-ti-kà* ⌜*ú-wa*⌝-[*ší*]-*ir-šu* "I let him go by your orders" **34:14**

> acc.: *ti-*[*i*]*r*(?)-*tám* [x]-⌜*li*⌝-*ik* (in broken context) **11:44**

tuārum "to return."

> B pres. 1. sing.: ⌜*a*⌝-*d*[*ì u*]*l-la-nu-u*[*m*] *a-tu-ra-am* "until I return from there" **20:18**

> B pres. 3. du.(?): ⌜*i*⌝-*tu-úr-ra* (in broken context) **23:7**

> B prec. 3. masc. sing.: *me-e li-m*[*u-ur-ma*] *li-tu-ra-a*[*m*](?) "he should inspect the water and return" **40:13′**

tuppum "tablet, document, letter."

> wr. log. (DUB): DUB LÚ.[   ].A.[   ] *li-*[   ] "he should [. . .] a tablet of [. . .]" **1:7**

> > *i-na* DUB ⌜x-x⌝-[   ] *ša tu-ša-bi-lam* "in the tablet . . . that you sent there" (in broken context) **13:3′**

wr. syll.:

gen.: *i-na tu-pí-im šu-uṭ-ra-am* "write (it) on a tablet for me" **46:28**

acc./gen.: ⸢*tup*⸣*-pá-am mi-ḫi-ir tup-pí-im* [*šu-bi-lam*](?) "send me an answering letter" **43:22**

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ṭābum (adj.) "good, sweet, agreeable."

in predicative use: *i-ni ṭà-ab m*[*a-ru ši*]*-i*[*p-ri*] *ku-ru-ma-ta-*[*am*] *i-ma-ḫa-r*[*u-ma*(?)] "indeed it is good that messengers should receive a daily food ration" **35:18**

for *šamnum ṭābum* see *šamnum*

ṭarādum "to send (persons and animals)."

B imp. 2. masc. sing.: *ší-pí-ri ar-*[*ḫi*(?)*-iš*(?)] *ṭu-úr-dam* "send me my *šipīrum* quickly" **15:11′**
PN *ṭu*[*ú*]*r-dam* "send me PN" **32:28**

B prec. 1. sing.: GUD.⸢ḪI.A⸣ *ù* ARÁD.ḪI.⸢A⸣ *lu-uṭ-*⸢*ru-dam*⸣ "I will send oxen and slaves there" **32:18**

ṭeḫēum "to approach, to enter into the presence of an important person."

B pres. 3. masc. sing.: ⸢*i*⸣*-ṭe₄-ḫe* (in broken context) **33:3′**

B pret. 3. masc. sing.: PN *bi-it a-na šar-ri-im iṭ-ḫa-ma* "PN spent the night and then had an audience with the king" **19:5**

ṭēmum "report, news."

nom.: *ṭe₄-m*[*u*(?)*-um*(?)] *mi-im-ma š*[*a imaqqutakkum*](?) *l*[*i-li-kam*] "let whatever news that reaches you come to me" **3:7′**

in broken context: *ṭe₄-e-*⸢*mi*⸣*-*[   ] **4:13**

ṭiābum "to be(come) good, sweet, agreeable."

with *libbum* as subject "to be in agreement":

B prec. 3. masc. sing.: *i-ti a-ḫi-a li-bi li-ṭì-ba-am* "I should be in agreement with my brother" **27:7**

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</div>

u "and."

written consistently *ù*: **passim**

uḫḫurum (D stem only) "to delay, to withhold."

D stative 3. masc. pl.: [NÍ]G(?).ḪI.A *úḫ-ḫu-ru* [*šu-b*]*i-lam* "send me the things that have been withheld" **11:40**

D stative 3. fem. pl.: *li-im-da-*⸢*tim*⸣ *ša* PN *mi-im-ma ša* ⸢*ú-ḫu*⸣*-ra* . . . *šu-bi-lam* "send me . . . the expected things for PN, as much as has been withheld" **11:14**

ukullûm "fodder, sustenance."

wr. log. (ŠÀ.GAL) only: 3.0.0 Š[E GUR] ⸢ŠÀ⸣.GAL [   ] [*a-na*   ] *i-dì-*[*in*] "give 3 *kurrū* of barley [to PN] as fodder [for x]" **1:4**

ula (neg. particle) "no, not." Wr. regularly *ú-la;* wr. *ù-la* **27:11.** See also *la.*

used in nominal sentences: *ma-na-šu ú-nu-mi-im ša ta-uṣ-ba-tu ú-la wa-ra-ad-kà wa-ar-du-a ú-la wa-ar-du-kà* "Whoever . . . you seized is not your slave. My slaves are not your slaves." **12:11–15**

ú-la a-ḫu-kà ra-bi-um a-na-ku "am I not your 'elder brother'?" **17:6**

⸢*ú*⸣*-la um-ma* [*be-l*]*í-ma* "did my lord not say as follows" **30:44**

used to negate the predicate in a main clause or an indicative sentence:

ší-ni-⸢*in*⸣ *at-wu-*⸢*iš*⸣ ⸢*ú*⸣*-la a-na-dì-in* "I will not permit two things to be discussed" (difficult) **6:11**

a-wa-at-kà ú-la a-ṣú-úr "I did not obey your order" **17:4**

ma-ma-na ú-la i-li "no one else went" **19:5**

mi-im-ma a-na ší-a-ti ú-la a-qá-bi-kum "therefore I can say nothing to you" (difficult) **24:6**

⌜*a-wi*⌝-*lu-ú ú-la i-ša-lu-ni-ni* A.ŠÀ-⌜*am*⌝(?) *i*⌝-*ru-šu* "the men did not ask me but cultivated the field" **25:2**

a-šu-me ki-am ù-la a-li-kam "for that reason I did not come" **27:11**

a-[*na m*]*i-nim šu-ni-*⌜*ti*⌝ [*be-lí ú-l*]*a iš-pu-ra-am-ma* "why has my lord not sent these two to me?" **30:14**

1 GUD-*um ša ta-qá-bi-ú* [*ú-la i*]*z-za-az* "the ox that you are talking about is not available" **30:35**

aq-bi-šum ú-la iš-me-an-n[*i*] "I told him (this) but he didn't pay any attention to me" **34:31**

a-na GN *a-la-kà-*[*am*] *iq-bi- ú-l*[*a iq-bi*](?) "did he or didn't he promise to go to GN?" **38:6**

e-li-i ú-la e-li "can I or can't I?" **46:5**

[*t*]*a-ta-wi-im-ma ú-la am-gu-ur-ki* "you spoke to me but I did not agree with you" **54:5**

in broken context: ⌜*ú*(?)-*la*(?)⌝ *ta-ša-pá-ra-am* **14:11′**

⌜*u-la*⌝[ ] **15:9**

[*ú-l*]*a n*[*i-*x-*a*]*r*(?) **40:7′**

ula . . . ula "either . . . or": *ú-*[*la* K]*ù.*BABBAR-*ša* [*ú-l*]*a* GEMÉ *me-ḫe-er-*[*ta-ša*] *lu-ša-ri-a-*[*kum*(?)] "I will send you either her price or an equivalent slave girl" **16:5–6**

ullānum (adv.) "from there."

ul-la-nu-u[*m*] *mi-im-ma a-wa-ti-*[*šu*(?)] ⌜*ša*⌝ *i-ma-qú-*⌜*tám*⌝ [*a-š*]*a-pá-ra-kum* "from there, whatever news of it that reaches me, I will send to you" **20:13**

⌜*a*⌝-*d*[*ì u*]*l-la-nu-u*[*m*] *a-tu-ra-am* "until I return from there" **20:17**

ullûm (demonstrative pron.) "that ([over there] as opposed to this [over here] or that [the afore-mentioned])."

nom. pl.: *ul-lu-tum mi-nam i-na-*⌜*di*⌝-*nu-kum* "what can those others give you?" **45:4**

ūmakkal (adv.) "for one day."

a-bu-ti ú-ma-kà-al-ma "(you wrote that) my fatherly attitude is of one day's duration" **13:7′**

umma (particle introducing direct speech) "thus, as follows."

in the address formula of letters: *um-ma* PN-*ma* "thus (says) PN" ***passim.***

in the body of letters:

used to introduce quotations: *um-ma* X-*ma* "this is what X said:" **2:7**(?); **3:4′; 21:2, 4, 7; 23:11; 26:9; 27:4; 30:24, 30, 33; 34:11, 20, 28; 39:5, 40:8′; 41:5; 42:8; 44:4**

in double use to quote someone quoting someone else: PN [*š*]*í-pir₆ be-lí-a el-li-kam*(!)-*ma um-ma šu-ut-ma* [*um-ma*] *be-lí-ma* "PN the messenger of my lord arrived and this is what he said: this is what my lord says" **30:17–20**

used with neg. as question: ⌜*ú*⌝-*la um-ma* [*be-l*]*í-ma* "did my lord not say as follows" **30:44**

ummum "mother."

nom. with pron. suffix: *šum-ma a-ta e-mi ù a-na-ku um-ma-kà-ma* "if you are my son-in-law and I am your mother" **12:30**

gen. with pron. suffix: *a-na um-mi-a qí-bí-ma* "say to my mother" (in address formula of letter) **28:2**

ūmum "day."

acc. pl. used adverbially: ⌜x *u₄*⌝-*mi* 5 *u₄-mi ta-kà-*⌜*la*⌝-[*áš*](?)-⌜*šu-nu-ti*⌝ (in broken context) **22:7**

DN₁ *ù* DN₂ *u₄-mi ma-du-tim ar-kà-tim ša-na-tim li-be-lu-kà* "may DN₁ and DN₂ let you rule for many days and long years" **31:7**

gen.: *a-na* ⌜*ḫa*⌝-*am-ša-at u₄-mi* "for five days" **46:26**

unnēnum "petition, request."

    acc. with pron. suffix: *i-na pu-úḫ-ri-šu-nu ú-ší-ib ú-ne-šu-nu i-ʾdì-nuʾ-šu-um* "he sat in their assembly; they gave him their petition(?)" (difficult) **23:16**

unumma (adv.) "herewith." Cf. *CAD* A/2, p. 147, *s.v. anumma.*

    ú-nu-um-ma š[*i*   ] (first word of letter, in broken context) **15:4**

unummium (demonstrative pron.) "this, the aforementioned (?)." Cf. *CAD* A/2, p. 149, *s.v. anummû.*

    gen.: *ma-na-šu ú-nu-mi-im ša ta-uṣ-ba-tu ú-la wa-ra-ad-kà* "whoever . . . you seized is not your slave" **12:11**

    in broken context: *ú-nu-mi-*[   ] (at beginning of line) **18B:9**

uznum "ear, intelligence, attention."

    nom. with pron. suffix: *a-na-ku ki-ma* PN *ku-a-ší-ma ta-ak-la-ku a-na ma-nim uz-ni i-ba-ší* "I must rely on you in place on PN. To whom (else) can I turn (lit. 'to whom will my ear be')?" **12:6**

    acc. with pron. suffix: [*t*]*a-ta-wi-im-ma ú-la am-gu-ur-ki* ʾ*i*ʾ-*na-na a-na a-wa-ti-ki* ʾ*uz*ʾ(?)-[*ni aš*]-ʾ*ta*ʾ-*ka-an* "you spoke to me but I did not agree with you; now I have come around to your point of view" **54:7**

uzuzzum (irregular verb) "to stand, to serve, to be available."

    B pres. 1. sing.: *a-na-ku a-na a-wa-ti-kà a-za-az* "I support your decisions" **11:8**

    ki-ma GÌR.N[ITÁ](?) *be-lí-a iš-ti-*[*ni-iš*](?) *a-na ti-i-ir-t*[*i*] *be-lí-*ʾ*a*ʾ *az-za-az* "as a *šakkanakkum* of my lord I will at once obey the command of my lord" **48:5**

    B pres. 3. masc. sing.: 1 GUD-*um ša ta-qá-bi-ú* [*ú-la i*]*z-za-az* "the ox that you are talking about is not available" **30:35**

    B prec. 3. masc. sing.: [*šu*](?)-*ú-ma li-zi-iz-ma* "let he himself serve" **42:4′**

W

wabālum "to bring, to carry." In Š "to send (inanimate objects)."

    B prec. 3. masc. sing.: 10 *ša-na-ti-*[*im*] *A-mu-ru-*[*um*] *li-k*[*i-ir*(?)-*ma*(?)] 10 GIŠ *ia₈-š*[*i-bi*] 10 GIŠ *dì-ma-ti-*[*im*] 20 GIŠ *sà-mu-kà-ni li-ib-lam* "even if the Amorites should make war for ten years and bring ten battering rams, ten siege towers, and twenty *samūkānu* (I will remain secure in my city)" **9:14**

    a-wa-at-kà da-m[*i-iq*]-*t*[*ám*] *i-*ʾ*ti*ʾ-*šu ší-pi-*ʾ*ir*ʾ-[*kà*(?)] *li-ib-*[*lam*(?)] "let your messenger bring your favorable reply with him" **20:27**

    ši-bu-ul-ta-kà PN *li-ib-la-am* "let PN bring your gift to me" **29:8′**

    Š imp. 2. masc. sing.: *šu-bi-lam* "send to me" (with various objects) **11:19, 30, 41; 12:50; 15:8′; 20:34; 53:13**

    Š pres. 2. masc. sing.: *mi-im-ma ša a-na qú-bu-úr* PN *a-bi-kà tu-ša-ba-lam a-ḫa-am-ma šu-bi-lam* "whatever you intend to send for the funeral of PN, your 'father,' send separately (from the things you send for my own use)" **11:29**

    Š pret. 1. sing.: *dí-qá-ri ša ú-še-bi-lam a-dì ma-ti i-ba-*ʾ*ší*ʾ *šu-bi-lam* "my *diqārum* that I sent there—how long will it remain—send it back!" **12:47**

    Š pret. 2. masc. sing.: *i-na* DUB ʾx-xʾ-[   ] *ša tu-ša-bi-lam* "in the tablet . . . that you sent there (in broken context) **13:3′**

    Š pret. 3. masc. sing.: PN *a-na a-bu a-bi-kà a-na a-bi-kà qú-bu-ra-am ú-ša-*ʾ*bi*ʾ-*il* "PN sent a funerary gift for your grandfather (and) for your father" **15:4′**

    with *libbum* as subject "to want, to desire":

Btn pres. 3. masc. sing.: *ša-⌈ni-a⌉-tim li-bi-bi it-ta-⌈na-ba-la-am⌉* "I continually want something else" **30:8**

warādum "to go down, to come down."

B pres. 3. fem. sing.: *i-na mu-ší-im ù i-na mu-uṣ-la-li-im ma-ṣa-ar-tum i-na dú-ri-im la úr-ra-dam* "night and day the guard should not come down from the wall" **7:16**

warāum "to lead, to bring." In Š "to send (persons and animals)."

Š imp. 2. masc. sing.: 1 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-am šu-ri-am la ta-kà-la-am ù šum-ma a-ḫi a-ta* 1 *ṣú-ḫa-ra-am Maš-kán-šar-ri-am šu-ri-áš-šu la ta-kà-la-áš-šu lu ša* KÙ.BABBAR 10 MA.NA *šu-ri-áš-šu* "Send me a boy, do not withhold (him) from me; and if you are my brother, send me a boy from Maškanšarrum, do not withhold him from me. Even if it costs ten minas of silver, send him to me" **11:31–38**

[šu(?)-r]i-am lu-[ša(?)]-ri-am "send (it) to me and I will send (to you)" **30:46**

Š prec. 1. sing.: *ú-[la* K]Ù.BABBAR*-ša [ú-l]a* GEMÉ *me-ḫe-er-[ta-ša] lu-ša-ri-a-[kum(?)]* "I will send you either her price or an equivalent slave girl" **16:8**

⌈ú⌉-la um-ma [be-l]í-ma ⌈x⌉-ni ša-am-[m]a [šu(?)-r]i-am lu-[ša(?)]-ri-am "did not my lord say: buy [. . .] and send (it) to me and I will send (to you)?" **30:46**

wardum "slave," "subordinate."

wr. log. (ARÁD): ARÁD*-kà ar-na-am lu i-⌈pu-uš⌉* "your 'slave' has indeed committed a crime" **10:7**

GUD.⌈ḪI.A⌉ *ù* ARÁD.ḪI.⌈A⌉ *lu-uṭ-⌈ru-dam⌉* "I will send oxen and slaves there" **32:17**

šum-ma ki-ni-iš ARÁD *be-lí-a-ma a-na-ku be-lí i-na ki-it-tim i-bi-i-la-an-ni-ma* ARÁD*-sú a-na-ku* "if I am truly the 'slave' of my lord, my lord in truth rules me and I am his 'slave'" **48:6–11**

⌈ARÁD *be-lí⌉-[a]* (in broken context) **48:1**

wr. syll.:

nom. with pron. suffix: *ma-na-šu ú-nu-mi-im ša ta-uṣ-ba-tu ú-la wa-ra-ad-kà wa-ar-du-a ú-la wa-ar-du-kà* "Whoever . . . you seized is not your slave. My slaves are not your slaves" **12:11–15**

PN *wa-ra-ad-kà* "PN your 'slave'" **12:20**

a-⌈šu⌉-mi-kà wa-⌈ar-du⌉-a e-te-lu-ma a-li-ma li-bi-šu-nu i-la-ku "on account of you my slaves act like lords and go wherever they please" **12:24**

at-ta lu be-li-ma a-na-ku lu wa-ra-ad-kà "(this is what I said:) you are indeed my lord and I am indeed your 'slave'" **34:22**

[w]a-ar-di (in broken context) **49:6**

gen.: *a-šu-mi wa-ar-dì-im šu-a-ti* "on account of that slave" **12:38**

acc. with pron. suffix: *wa-ar-dì wu-še-ra-am* "release my slave" **12:34**

acc. pl.: PN *i-ba-lu-ṭá-ma wa-ar-dì ša-ni-ú-tim i-na-dì-na-am* "if PN were alive (gets well?), he would give me other slaves" **12:9**

warḫum "month."

gen.: *a-na ri-iš ba-ar-[ḫi]-i[m]* WA*-ar-ṣú-um e-pí-eš* "the ritual is to be performed at the end of the month" (rather than *warḫim* being written as *barḫim* in this situation, it seems more likely that the scribe has transposed the initial signs of *warḫim* and *parṣum*) **15:12′**

warki (adv.) "later, afterwards."

[wa-a]r-ki pá-ni [ ] *be-lí ⌈i-na⌉-di-nam* "sooner or later my lord will give [. . .] to me" (in broken context) **43:19**

warki (prep.) "after."

with pron. suffix: *wa-ar-ki-kà li-ta-la-a[k]* "let him continue to follow you" (in broken context) **10:16**

waṣāum "to come out, to go forth." In Bt "to move out." In Š "to send or bring forth, to let go out, to obtain the release (of someone)."

 B prec. 3. masc. sing.: PN *li-ṣi-am-[ma]*(?) *i ni-ša-al-šu* "PN will come forth and we will question him" **38:4′**

 Bt prec. 1. sing.: *ma-ku-ri* ⌜*lu*⌝-*ul-qí-ma lu-ta-ší* "I will take my property and move out" **26:11**

 Š pres. 1. pl.: *ni-*⌜*nu*⌝ *ri-ig-ma-am nu-š*[*e-ṣi*] "we will send out an alarm(?)" **40:7′**

 Š pres. 3. masc. sing.: ⌜*šu*⌝-*pur-ma ri-ig-ma-am* ⌜*la*⌝(?) *ú-še-ṣi* "(if you are my lord,) write so that he should not cause the fuss to go out" **41:15**

 Š pres. 3. masc. pl.: *a-na* ⌜*šu*⌝-*mi ar-ḫi-iš ú-še-ṣi-ú-ni-in-ni-ma na-dì-ni-a a-ṣa-ba-tu* "so that they may quickly obtain my release and I can seize my sellers" **28:14**

 Š perf. 3. masc. sing.: [. . .] ⌜*ša*⌝ *it-t*[*i*] *wa-aš-ba-at uš-te-ṣi-am* "[the garrison(?)] which was with [. . .] he brought out" **44:3**

wašābum (*bašābum*) "to sit, to stay, to be (in a certain place), to live (in a certain place)."

 B stative 1. sing.: *wa-áš-*⌜*ba-ku*⌝(?) (in broken context) **10:14**

  i-na bi-it a-⌜*ḫa*⌝-*ti-a ki-ma wa-ša-bi-*[*im*] *wa-áš-ba-ku* "I live in the house of my sister like a tenant" **26:9**

 B stative 3. masc. sing. (subjunctive): *a-dì ba-aš-bu* "as long as he is present" **19:12′**

 B stative 3. fem. sing.: [. . .] ⌜*ša*⌝ *it-t*[*i*] *wa-aš-ba-at uš-te-ṣi-am* "[the garrison(?)] which was with [. . .] he brought out" **44:2**

 B stative 3. du.: PN₁ *ší-pir₆ be-lí-a ù* PN₂ *ma-ru ší-ip-ri-a* ⌜IGI *be-lí*⌝-*a wa-áš-ba* "PN₁, the messenger of my lord, and PN₂, my messenger, remain with my lord" **30:12**

 B stative 3. masc. pl.: *i-na* GN *we-du-a* [*w*]*a-aš-bu-*⌜*ú*⌝ "my *wēdû* are staying in GN" **46:31**

 B pret. 1. sing.: *a-wi-lu-ú šu-ut i-ti-šu-nu uš-bu* "the men with whom I lived" **28:4**

 B pret. 3. masc. sing.: *i-na pu-úḫ-ri-šu-nu ú-ší-ib* "he sat in their assembly" **23:16**

waššābum "tenant."

 gen.: *i-na bi-it a-*⌜*ḫa*⌝-*ti-a ki-ma wa-ša-bi-*[*im*] *wa-áš-ba-ku* "I live in the house of my sister like a tenant" **26:8**

wēdûm (mng. uncertain) (possibly a trusted agent or emissary).

 nom. pl. with pron. suffix: *i-na* GN *we-du-a* [*w*]*a-aš-bu-*⌜*ú*⌝ "my *wēdû* are staying in GN" **46:30**

wuššurum (D stem only) "to release, to let go."

 D imp. 2. masc. sing.: *wa-ar-dì wu-še-ra-am e-bu-úr-šu la i-ḫa-li-iq-ma la e-mi-iṣ* "release my slave so that his harvest not be lost and he should not starve" **12:34**

  a-na ma-ru ši-ip-ri-a re-dì wu-ši-ra-am "release my *rēdûm* to my messenger" **17:11**

  ⌜*mi-im*⌝-*ma an-*⌜*ni*⌝-*im* [*wu-ší*]-*ir* "(if you are my son,) release all this" **24:19**

  [*w*]*u-ší-*⌜*ir*⌝ (in broken context) **24:24**

  i-ša-sí-k[*um*](?) [*w*]*u-ši-ra-am* "if he complains to you, let him go" (in broken context) **49:3′**

 D pres. 2. masc. sing.: [*l*]*a tù-wa-ša-ar-š*[*u*] (in broken context) **4:31**

 D pres. 2. masc. sing./D pret. 1. sing.: ⌜*a-na a-wa*⌝-*ti-kà* ⌜*ap-la-aḫ*⌝-*ma* PN ⌜*ú-wa*⌝-*ší-ir* ⌜*iq*⌝-*bi-ú-*⌜*ni-im-ma*⌝(?) *um-ma* ⌜*šu*⌝-*nu-ma a-*⌜*wi-lam*⌝ ⌜*la tu-wa-ša*⌝-*ar* ⌜*i-na*⌝ [*te*(?)-*r*]*e-ti-kà* ⌜*ú-wa*⌝-[*ší*]-*ir-šu* "I respected your order and let PN go. They spoke to me as follows: do not let the man go. (But) I let him go by your orders." **34:6–15**

 D pres. 2. masc. sing./D prec. 1. sing.: ⌜*šum-ma ṣa-ab*⌝-*tu-t*[*i-i*]*m* [*t*]*u-wa-ša-ra-*⌜*ma*⌝ [*a-n*]*a-ku a-na* [*A-m*]*u-ri-i*[*m*] [ ]-⌜*x*⌝-*lu-*⌜*x*⌝ ⌜*ma*⌝ *ṣa-ba-ka lu-wa-ší-ra-am* "if you will release the captives, I will [. . .] to the Amorites then indeed I can get your troops released" **46:20–25**

 D perf. 2. masc. sing.: *mi-iš-lam tu-*[*ta-ší-i*]*r*(?) *mi-iš-lam ta-ak-ta-la* "half you have released, half you have withheld" **24:22**

Z

zakāum "to clear, to release." In D "to send on."

    D inf.(?): [   ] ⌜*ú*⌝-*ba-ab* [*a-na*](?) ⌜*zu*⌝-*uk*-⌜*ki*⌝-*š*[*u*(?)-*n*]*u*(?) (in broken context) **24:21**

zanānum "to support, to provide sustenance for."

    B pres. 3. masc. sing.: *šum-ma* PN ⌜*i-za*⌝-*na-šum* "if PN will support him" (in broken context) **10:12**

zērum "seed (grain)."

    wr. log. (NUMUN) only: [*a*]-*na* [x] ⌜*ù*⌝(?) NUMUN (in broken context) **32:10**

    A.ŠÀ *ša* PN$_1$ PN$_2$ ⌜*ik*⌝(?)-*kà*-[*a*]*l* ⌜*ki-am*⌝-*m*[*a*] NUMUN-*šu li-i*[*m-ḫ*]*u-úr* "PN$_2$ enjoys the use of the field of PN$_1$; in this manner let him get his seed (grain)" **32:24**

zuāzum "to divide."

    B inf.: *a-na pá-ša-ri-im zu-a-zi-im dì-na-am i-dì-nu-ni-im* "they rendered me a judgment allowing me to see and divide (the crop)" **25:6**

UNPARSED FORMS

The following is a list of sequences of signs that should contain a complete word or a recognizable part of a word that have not been included in the glossary or discussed in the commentary because I have been unable to determine the correct lexical entry. Since the list is short and alphabetical order does not seem significant, they have been left in the order of occurrence. The solution of these problems is left as an exercise for the reader.

mi-ší l[*a*]	4:11
⌜x⌝ *la* ⌜*mi-ší*⌝	4:26
[ ]-*bi-lu-ni-ku*[*m*]	4:14
[ ]⌜*a*⌝-*la-ni*	4:16
[*u*]*m*(?)-*ma-an*	4:17
[*i*]*b lu* ID GA *ta* AD	4:29
i-ší-šu a-na iš-T[I]-*k*[à](?)	10:9
⌜*ù i*⌝-*ni*-⌜x⌝	10:15
G[A-X-(X)]-AG	15:13
[*t*]*i*-⌜*šu e-mu*-x⌝-[ ]	15:1′
TI-⌜x⌝-[-*ti*]*m*(?)	30:25
mu-um-⌜x⌝	32:6
uš-ti-[ ]	32:14
[*š*]*u*(?) GAL	33:6′
a-⌜X-X-X⌝ [ ]	34:26
i-⌜*ḫu*⌝(?)-⌜x⌝ [ ]	35:13
za-am-ri-ia	42:10
[ ]⌜x⌝ *ku ud*(?) *ši ki ma*	42:11
[ ] *ši ra za ni iš me*	42:7′
[ ]-⌜x⌝-*du-um-mu-ni*	43:7
a-na KA A.SUG-*im-ma*	45:14
a-ru-ma ar-⌜x⌝-[ ]	46:33
[ ]⌜x⌝-*ri-bu-šu*	47:2
[-*k*]*u-un i-ri-šu*	47:5
⌜x⌝-*bu*-⌜*li*⌝(?) [x] *ud bi i ku* [ ]	49:7–8
⌜*si-ki*⌝-[ ]	50:1
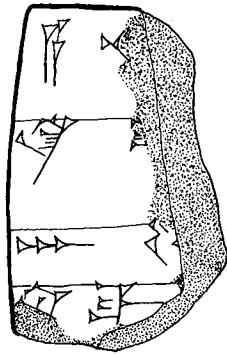
PLATE 1

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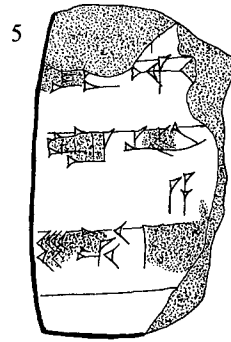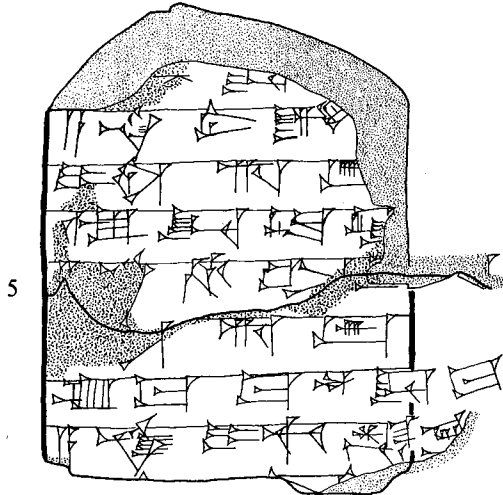
5

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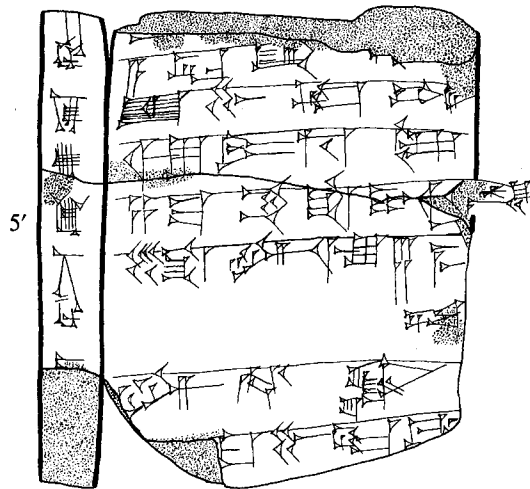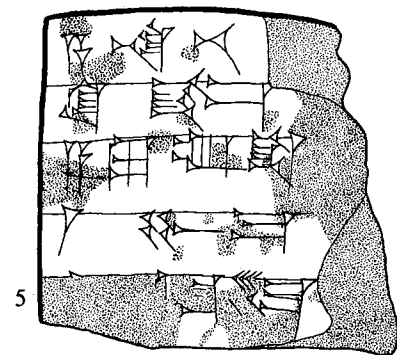
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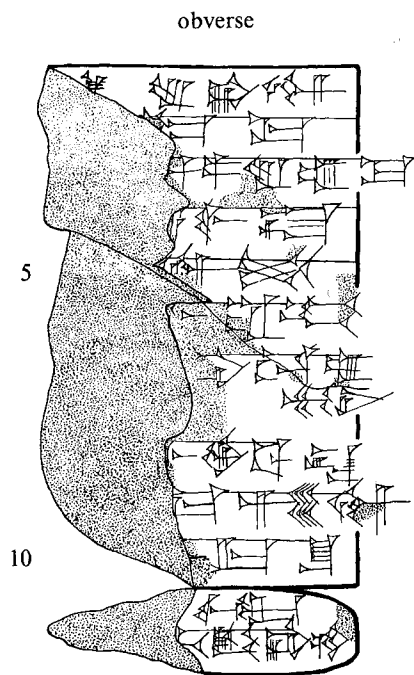
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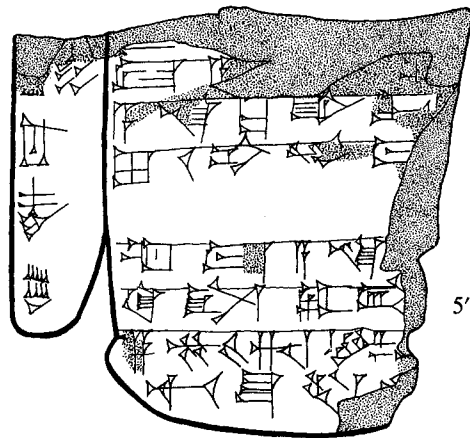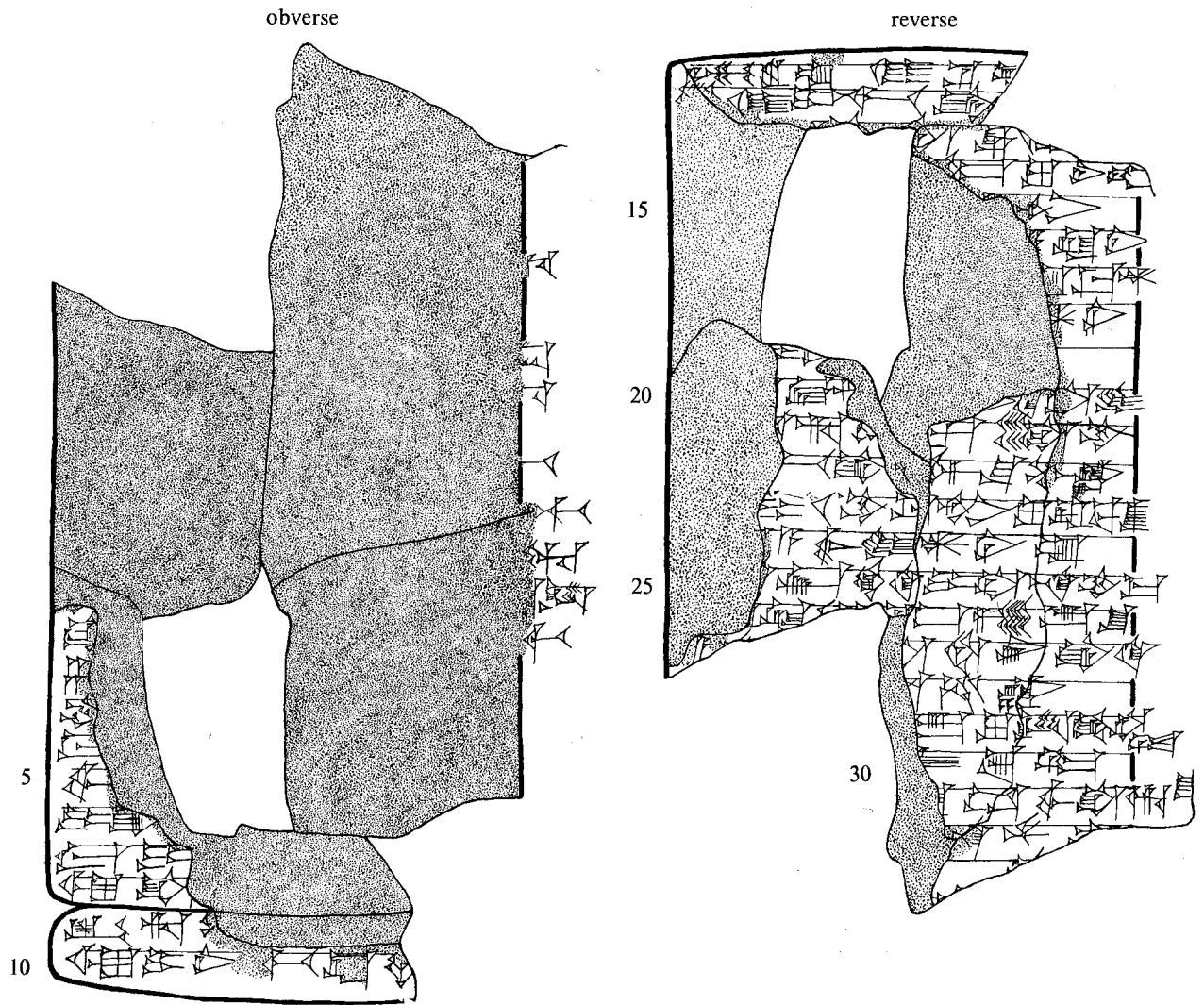
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Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 2

No. 4

obverse   reverse

15

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5   25

10   30

No. 5

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Scale ca. 1:1
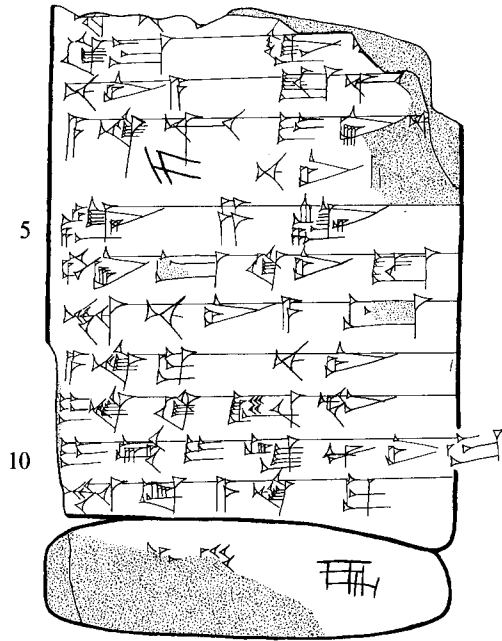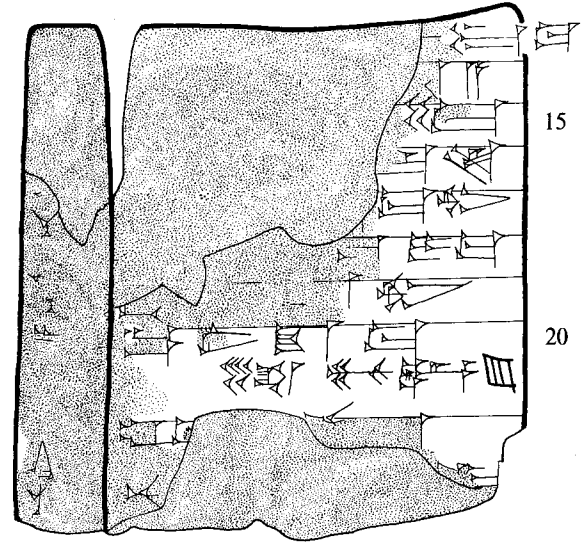
PLATE 3

No. 6

obverse   reverse

No. 7

obverse   reverse

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 4

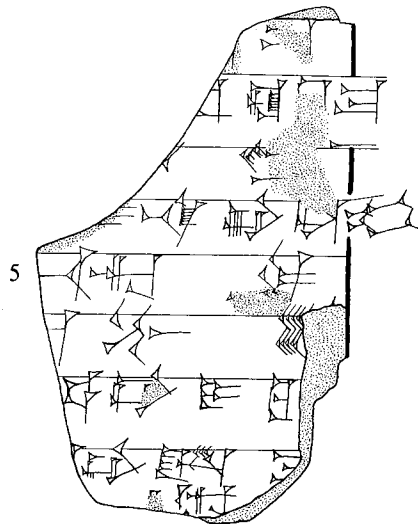obverse   No. 8   reverse

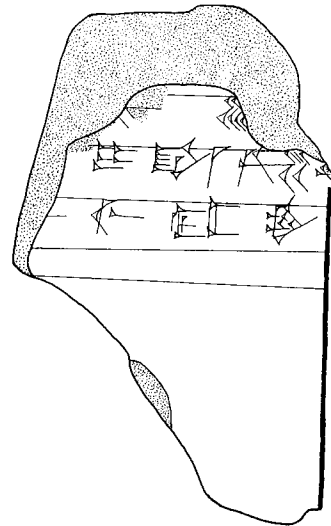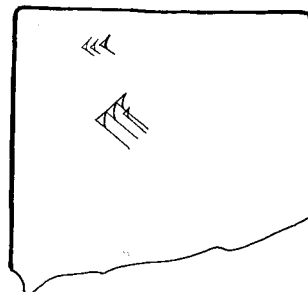obverse   No. 9   reverse

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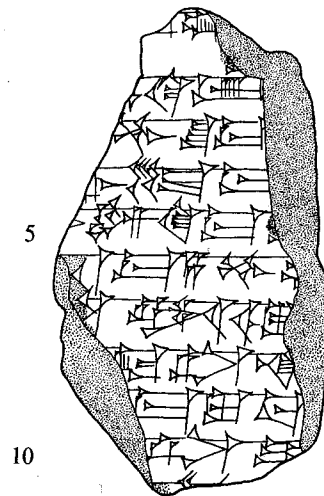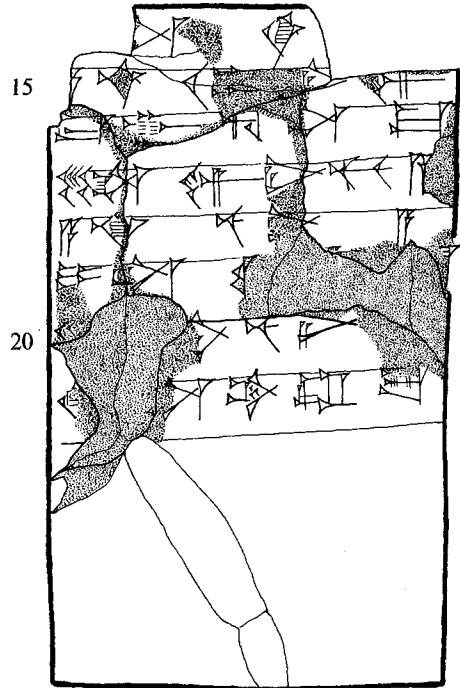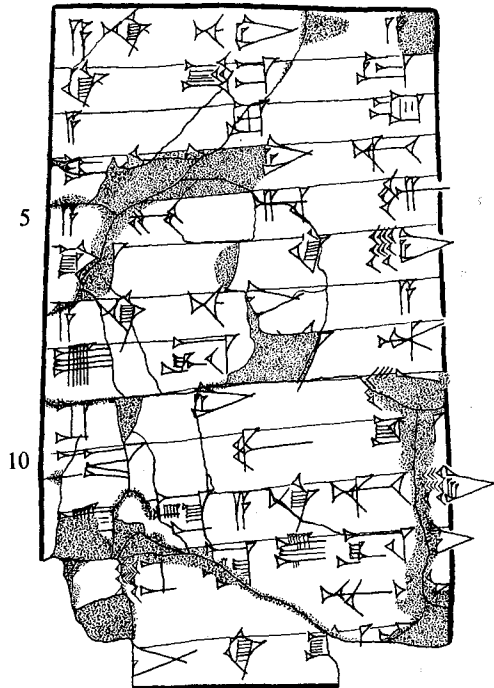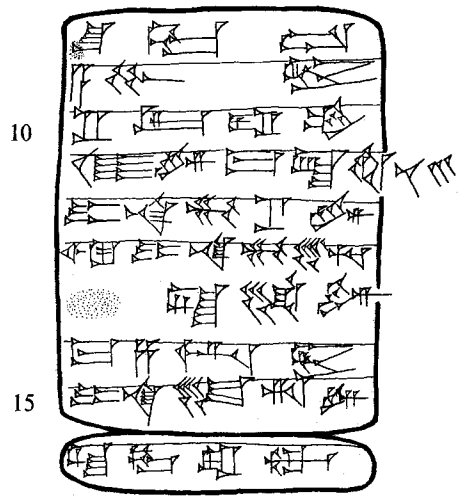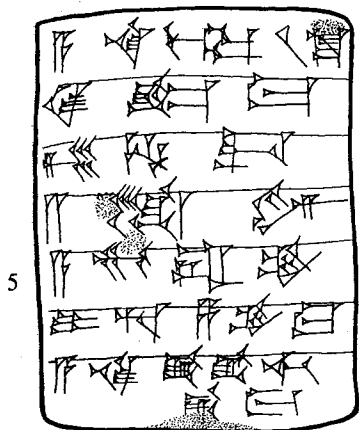
obverse
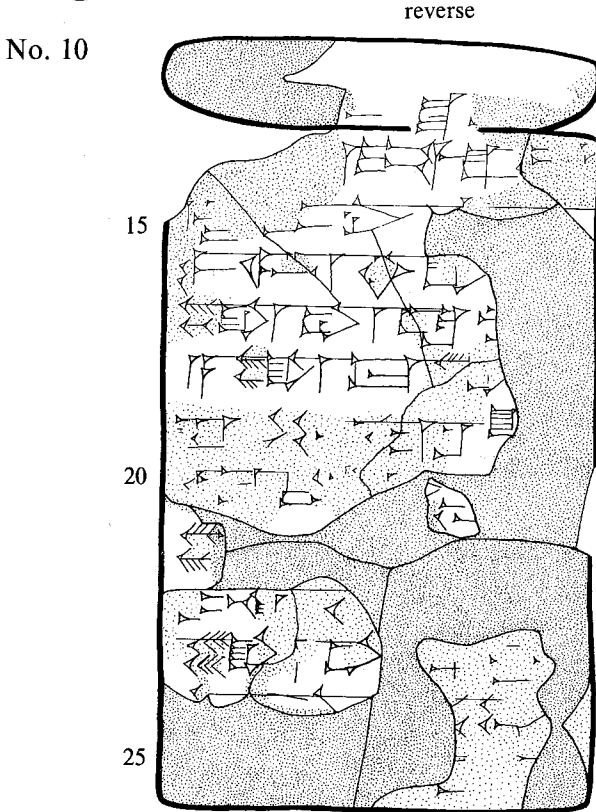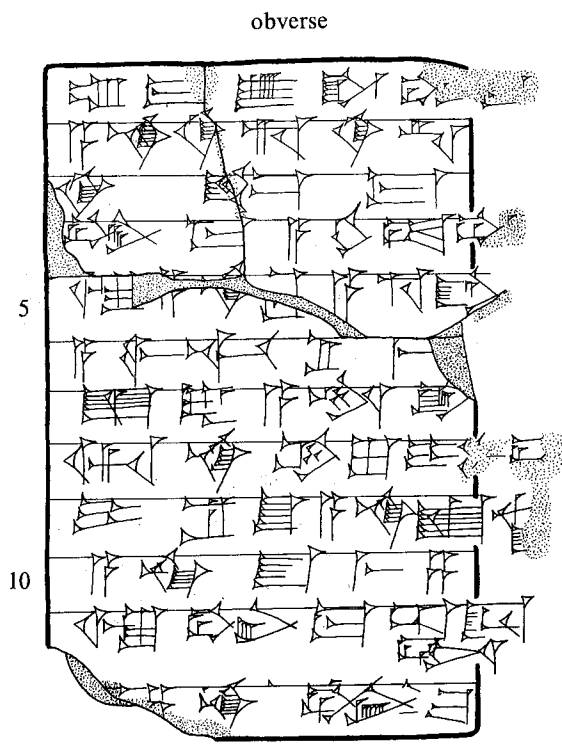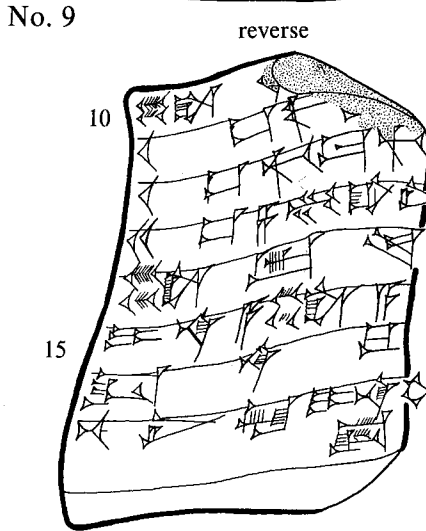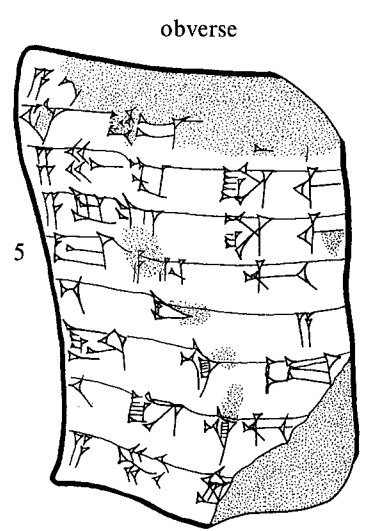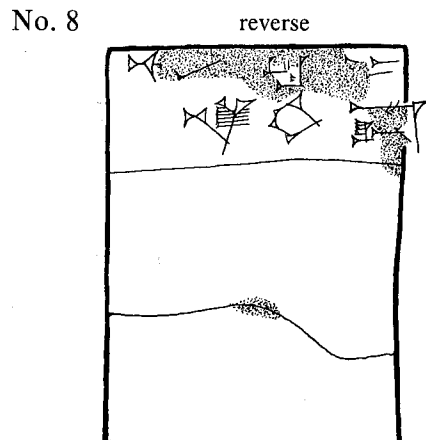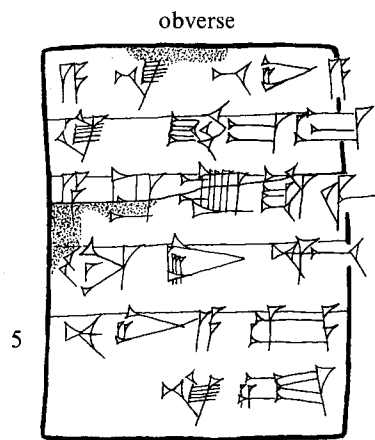
Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 5

No. 11

obverse

reverse

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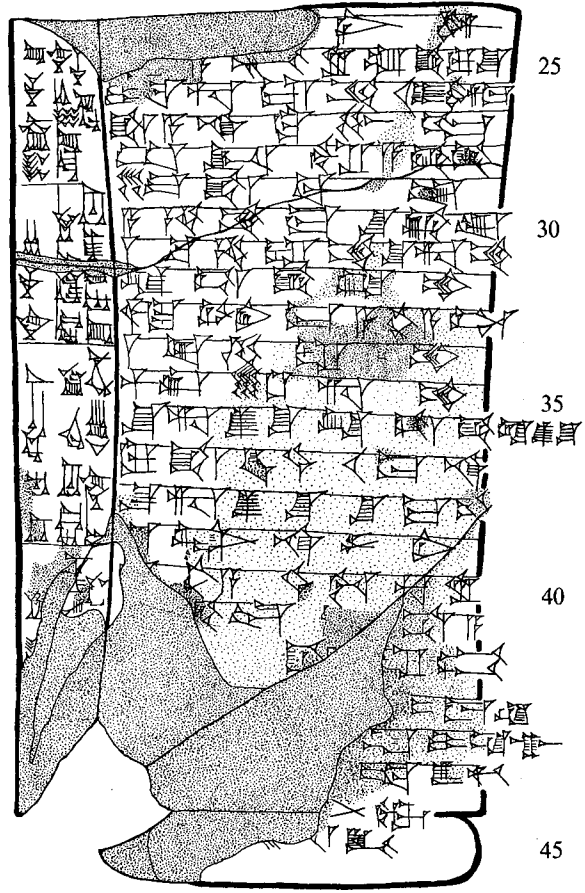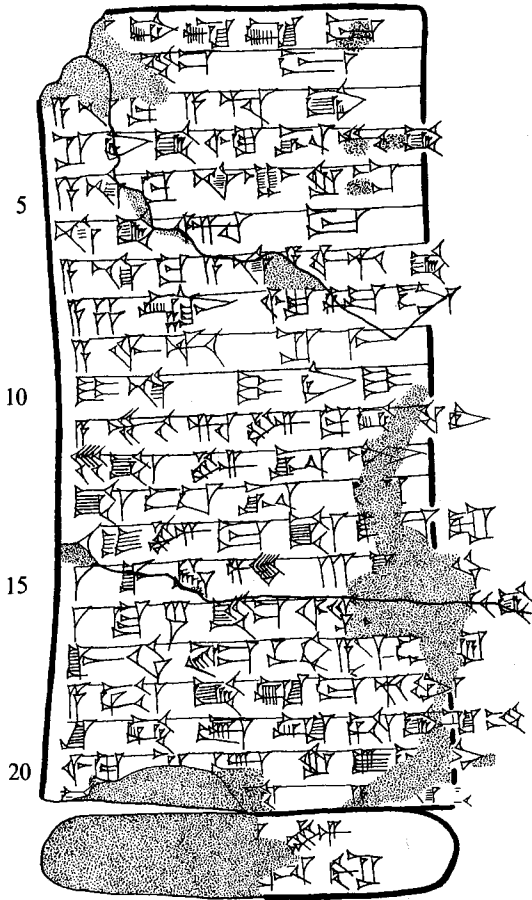
Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 6

No. 12

obverse

reverse

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Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 7

No. 13

obverse

reverse

5

5′

10′

No. 14

obverse

reverse

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5′

10′
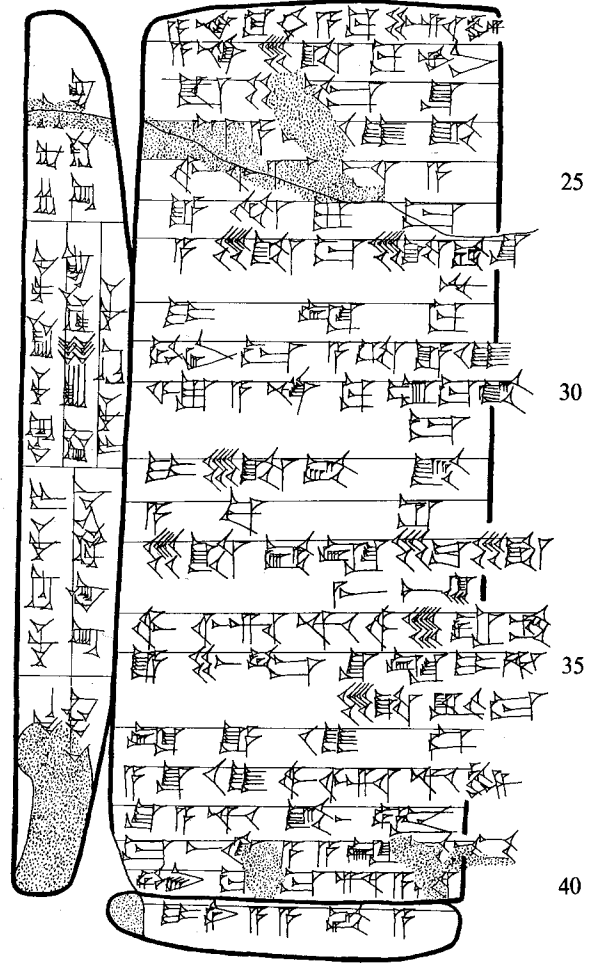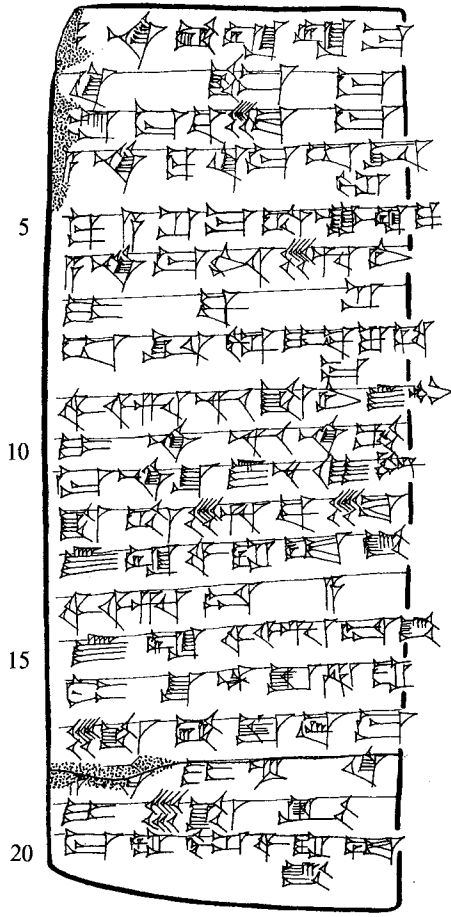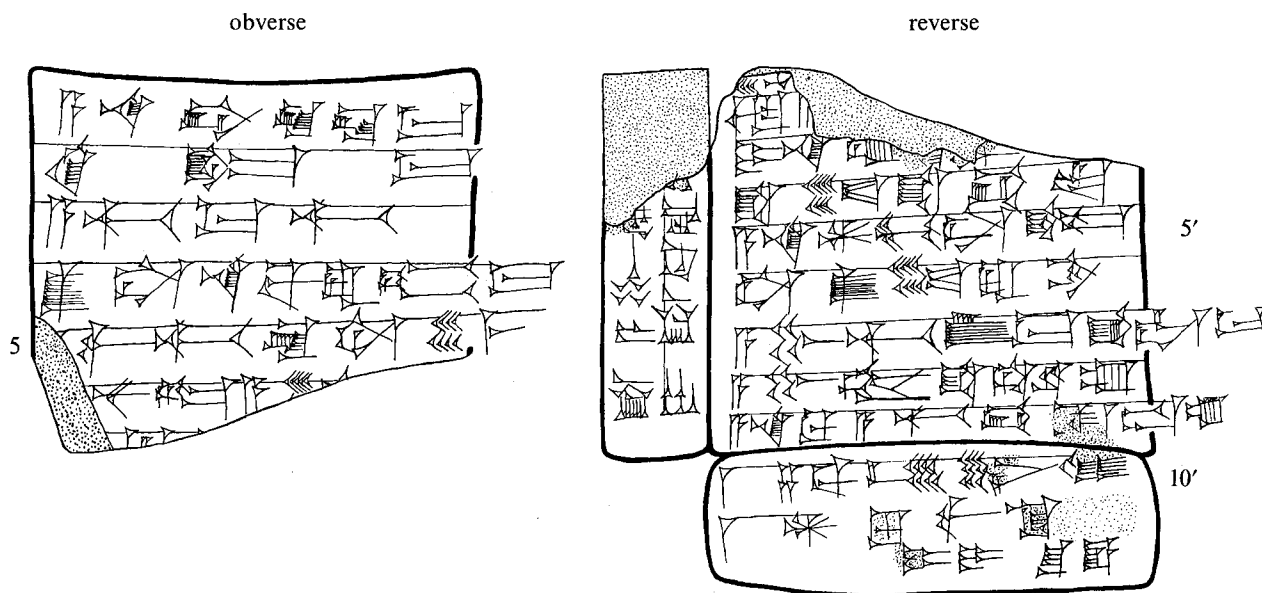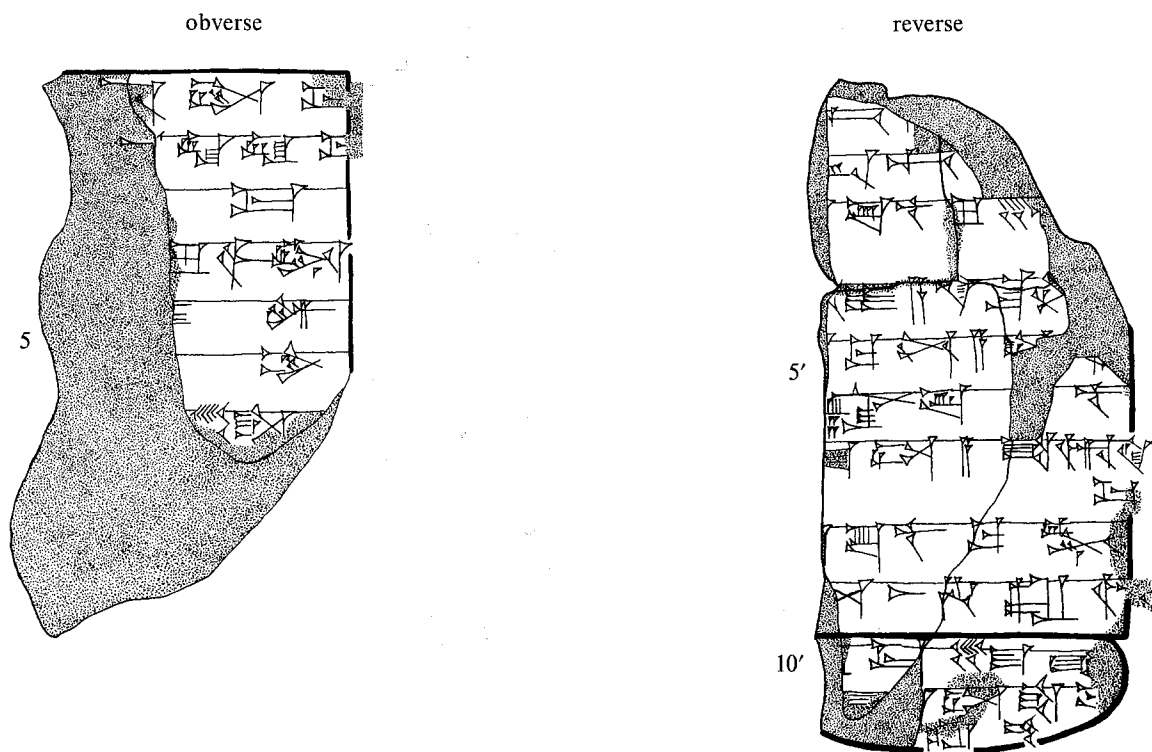
Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 8

No. 15

obverse reverse

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15

5'

10'

No. 16

5

Scale ca. 1:1

No. 17

obverse   reverse

No. 18

obverse   reverse

A

B

C

C

B

A
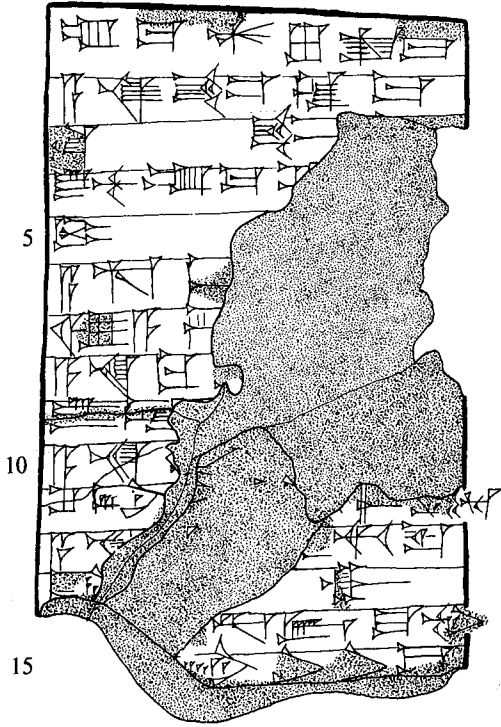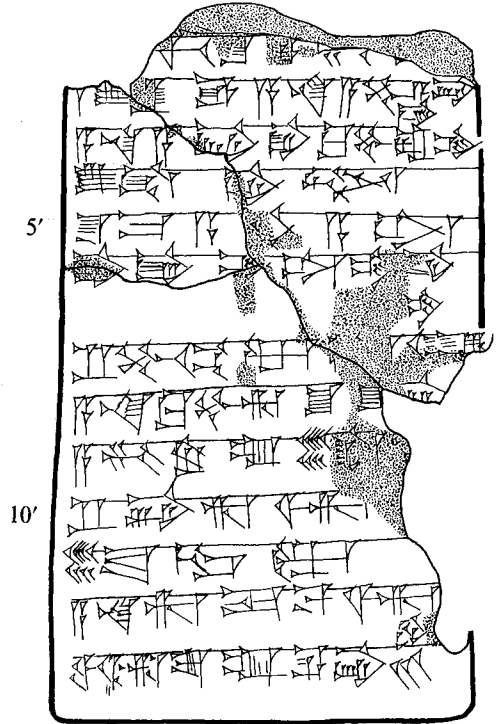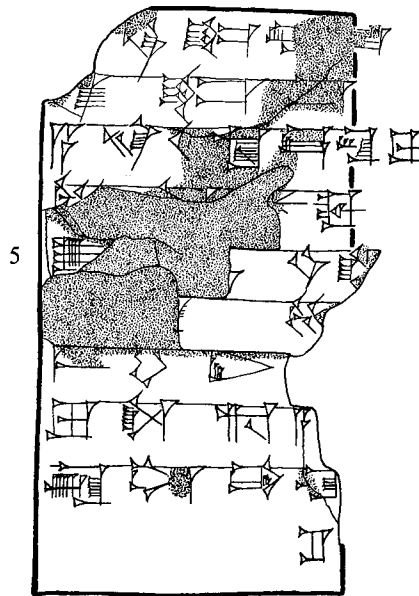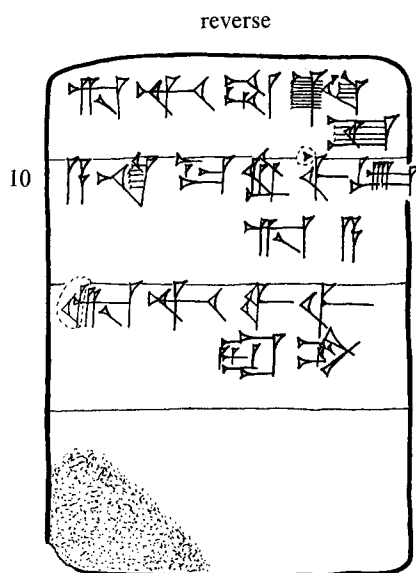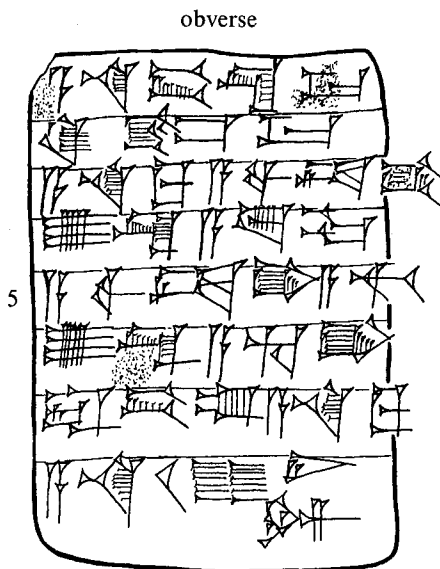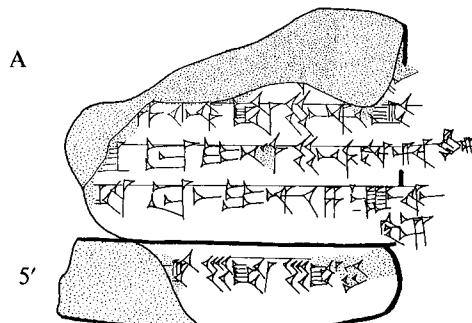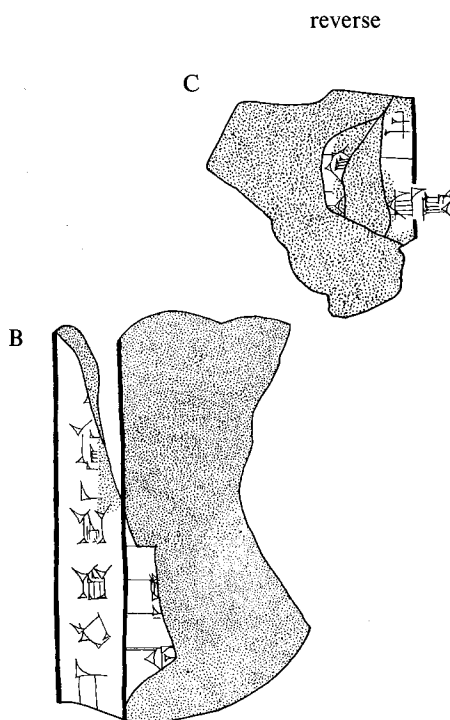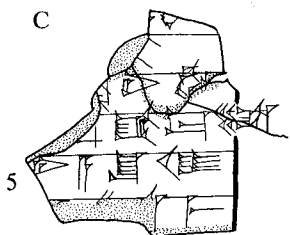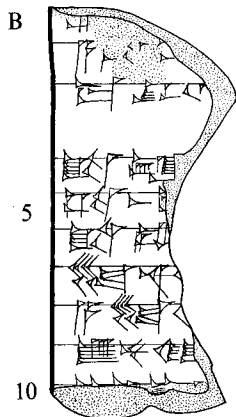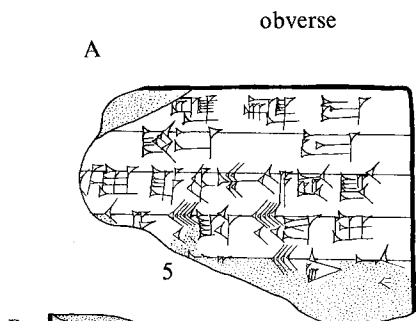
PLATE 10

No. 19

obverse

reverse

5

5'

10'
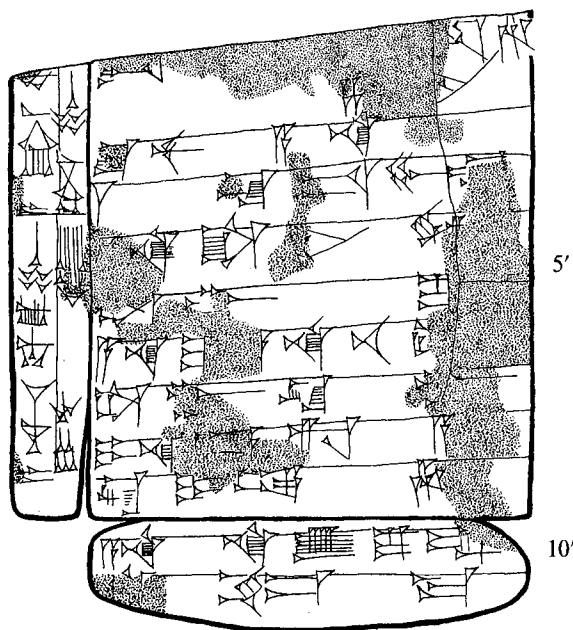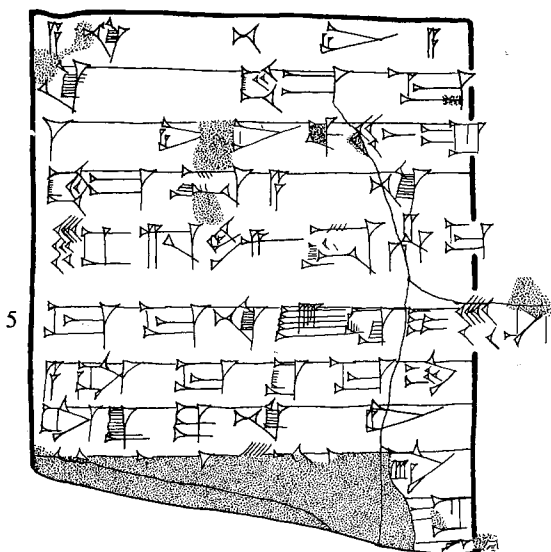
No. 20

obverse

reverse

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Scale ca. 1:1

No. 21

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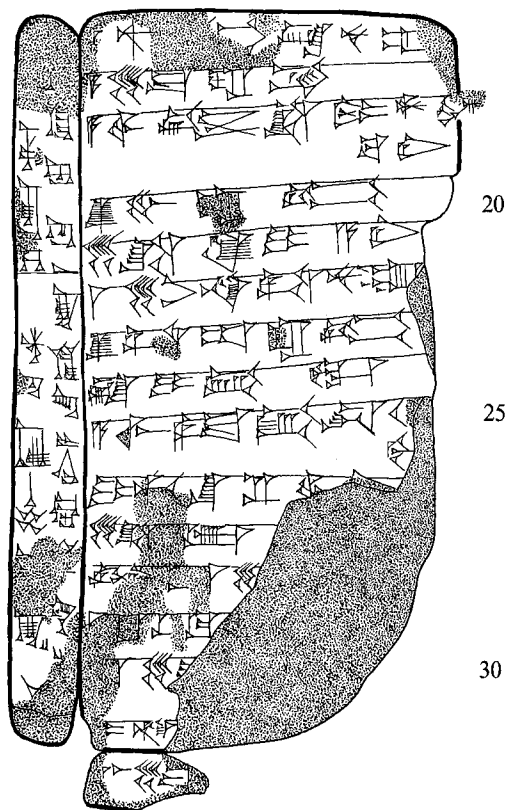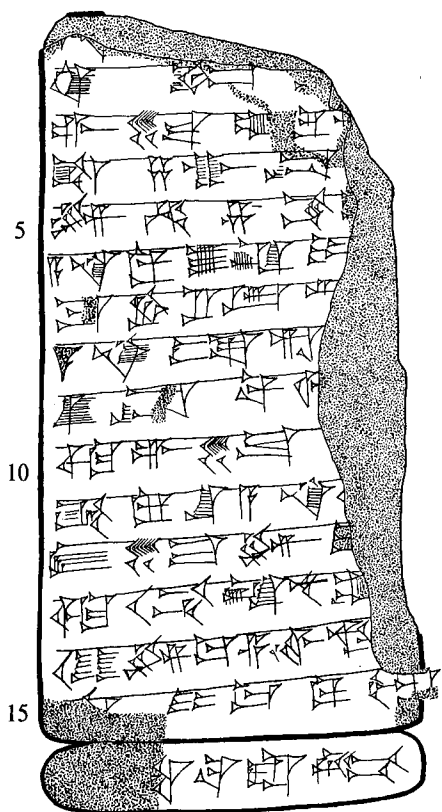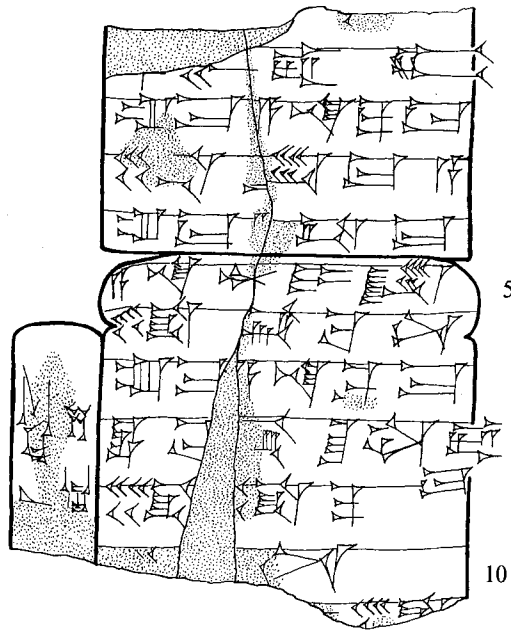
No. 22

obverse   reverse

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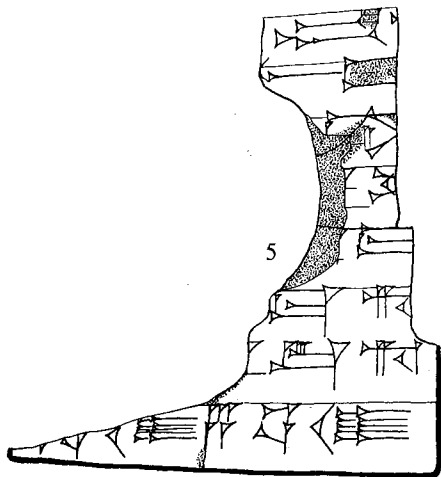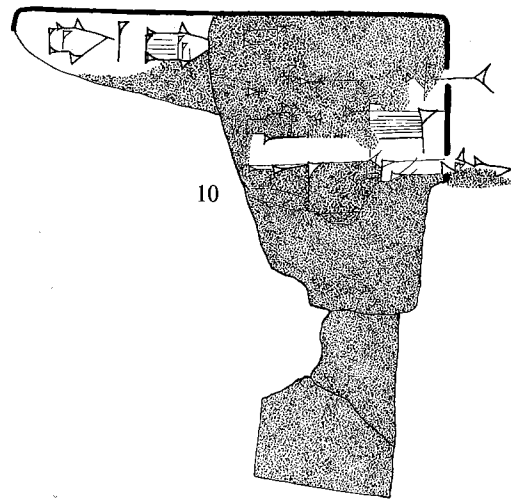
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PLATE 12

No. 23

obverse   reverse
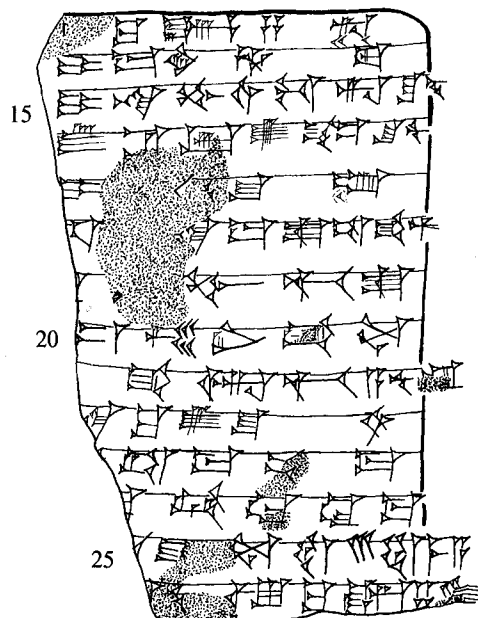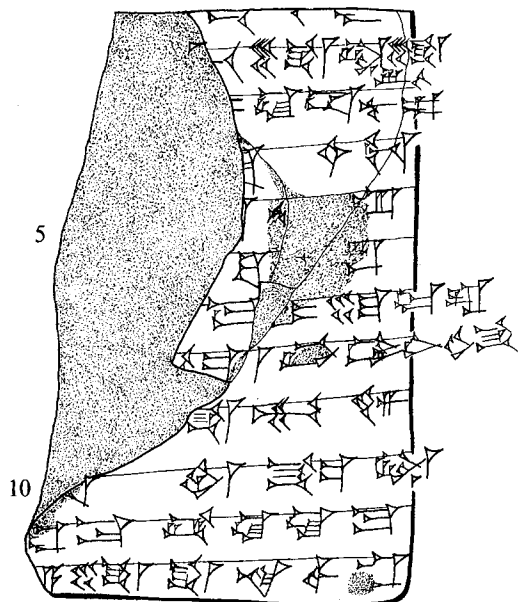
No. 24

obverse   reverse
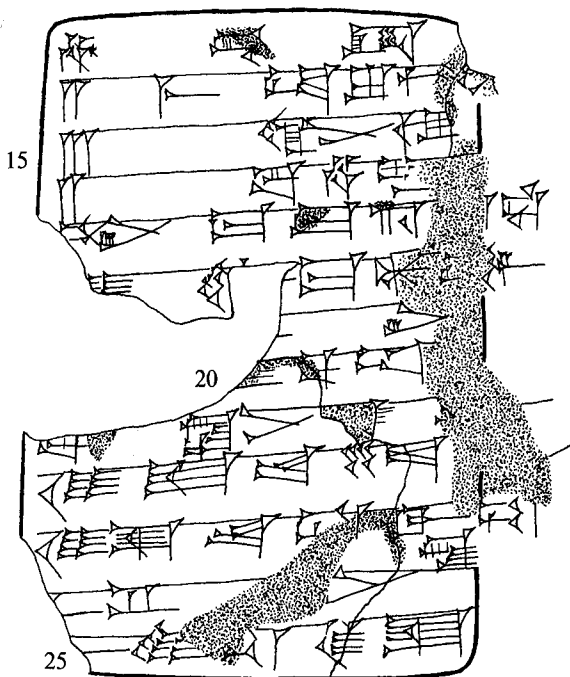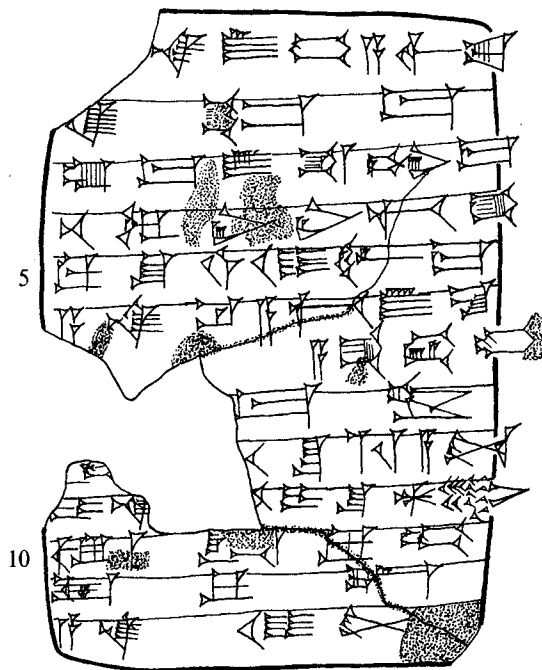
Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 13

No. 25

obverse   reverse
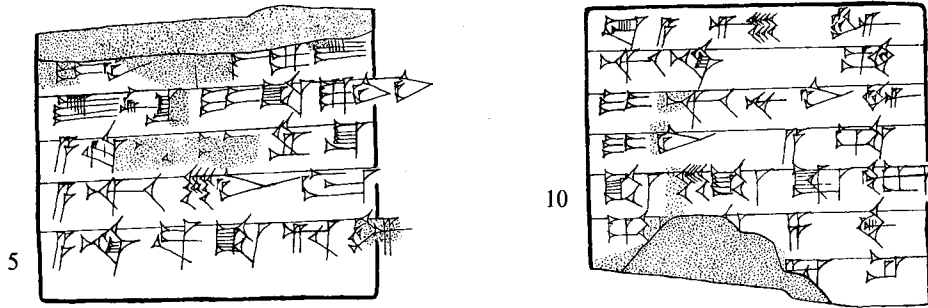
No. 26
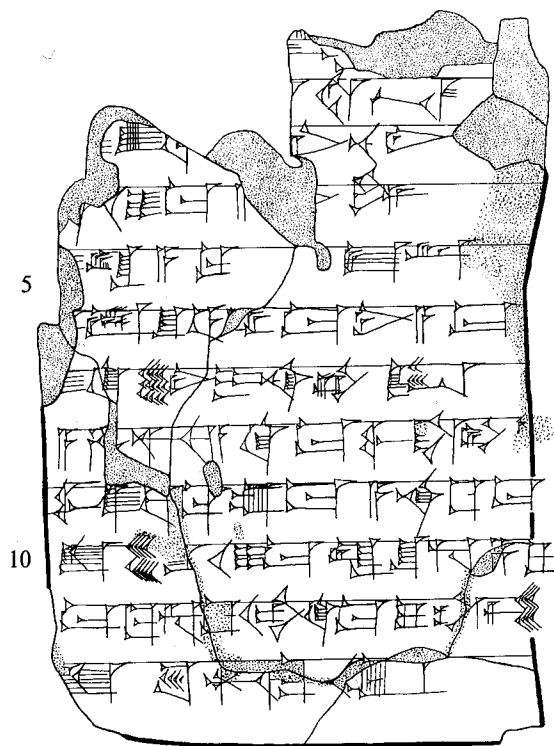
Reverse not copied

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 14

No. 27
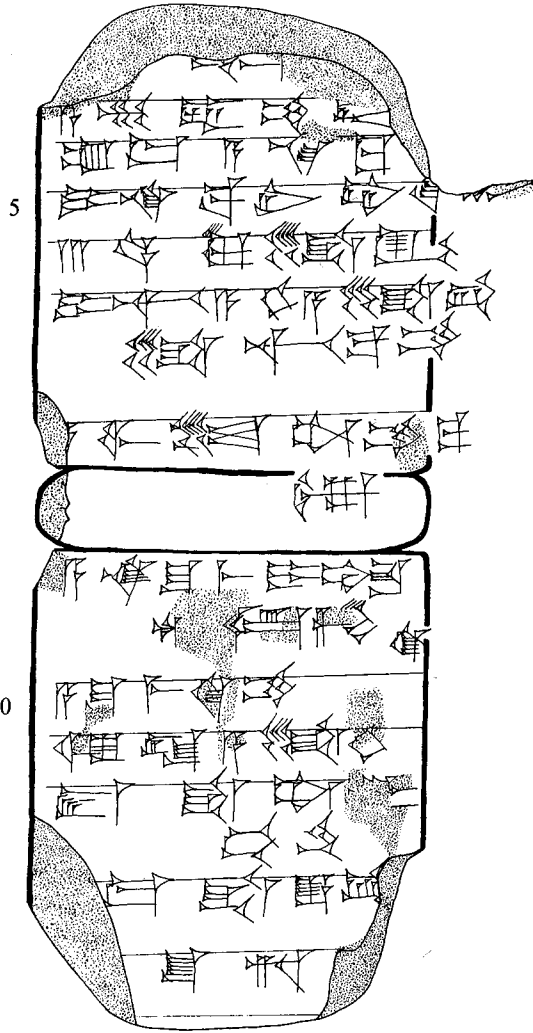
No. 28

obverse

reverse

5

10

15

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 15
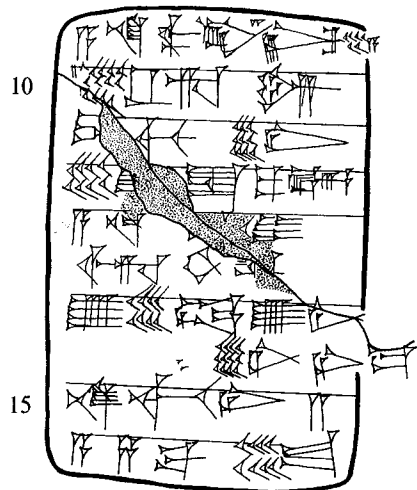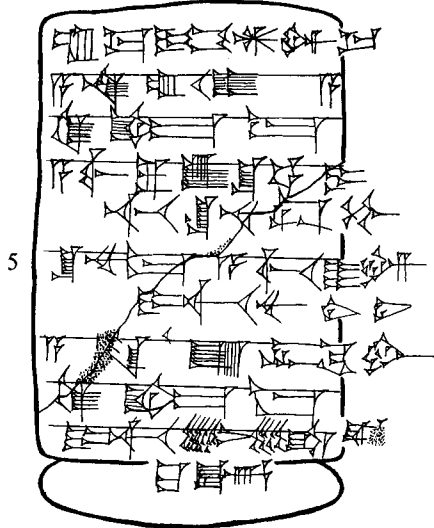
No. 29
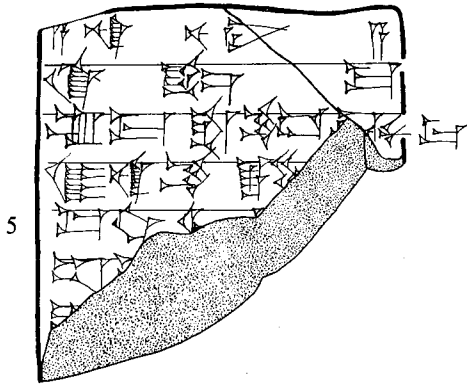
obverse   reverse
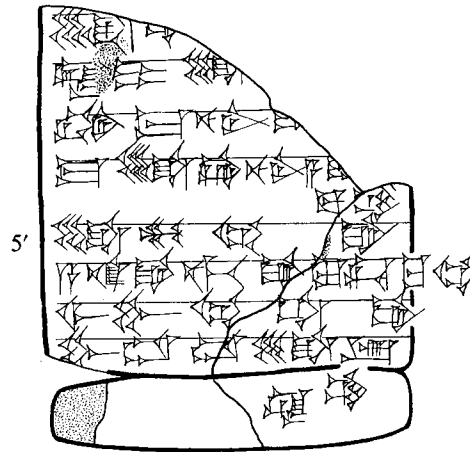
No. 30

obverse   reverse
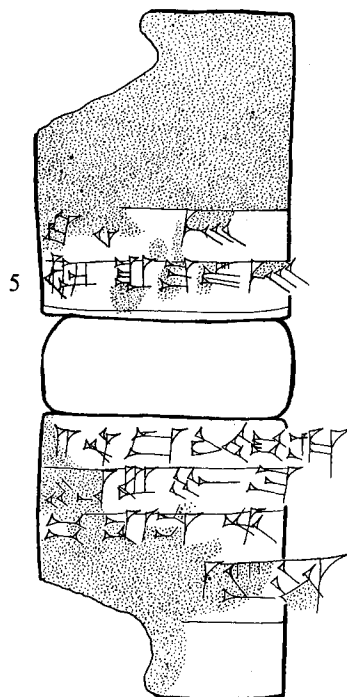

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 16
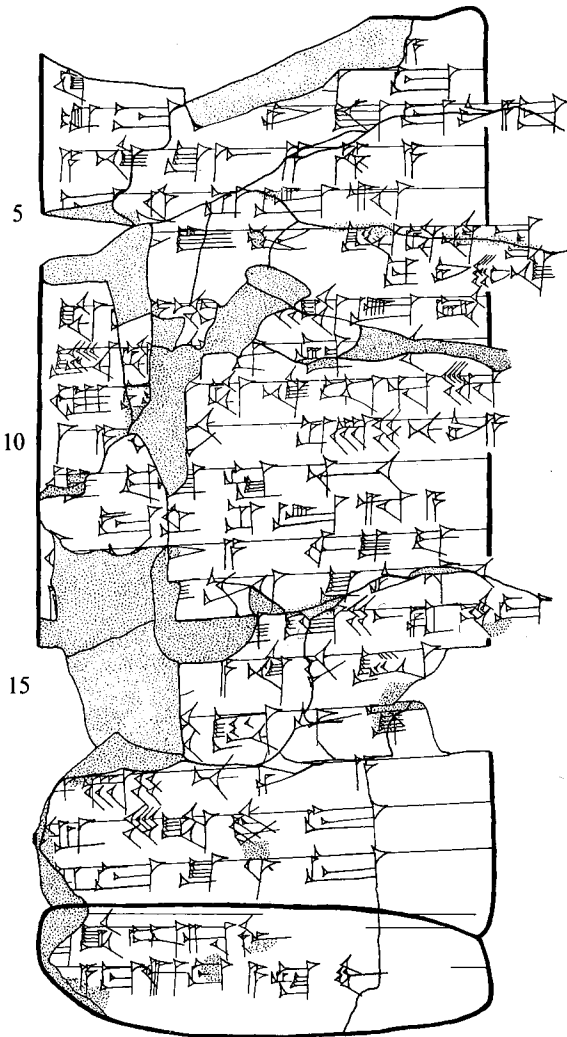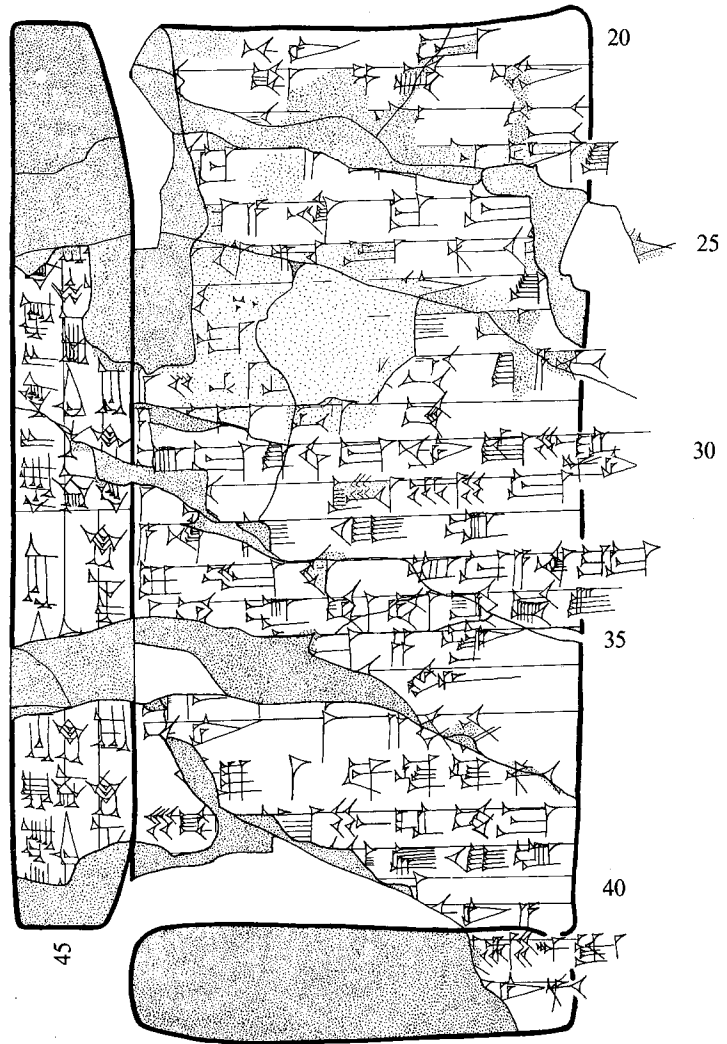
No. 31
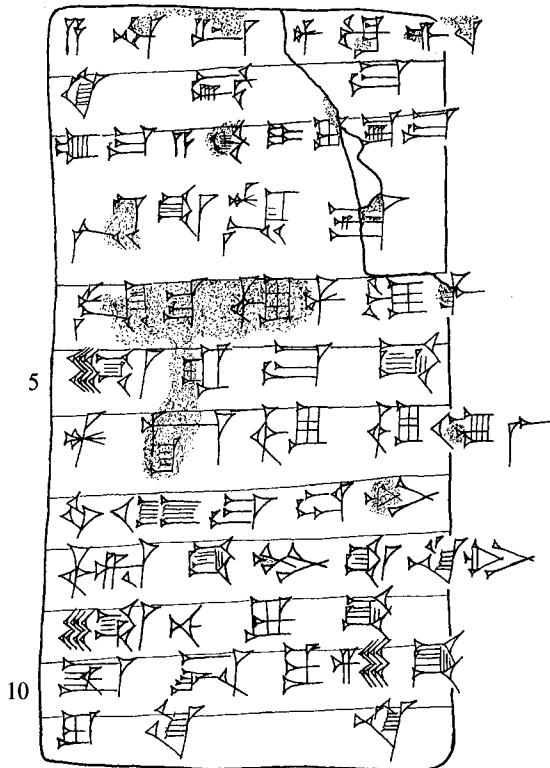
obverse reverse
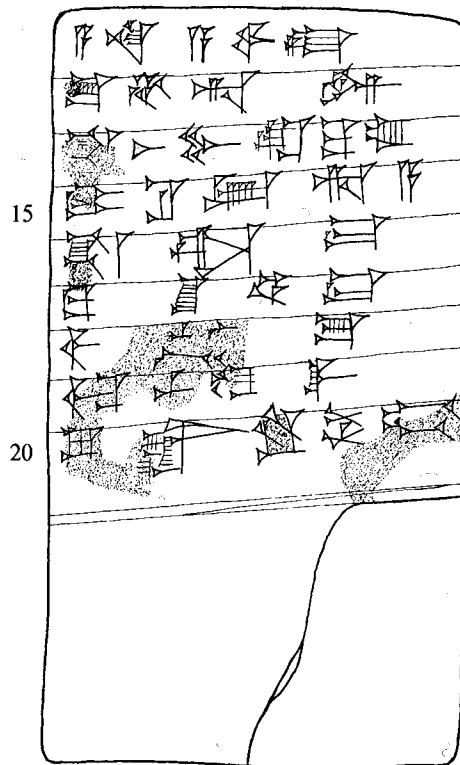
No. 32

obverse reverse

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 17
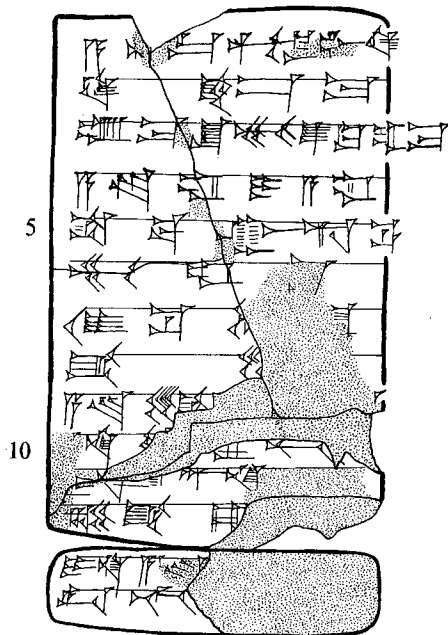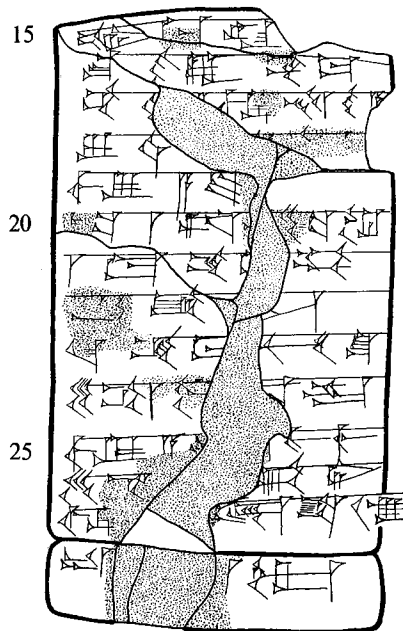
No. 33

obverse   reverse
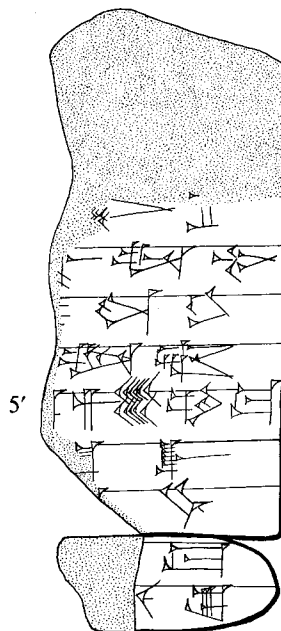
No. 34

obverse   reverse

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 18
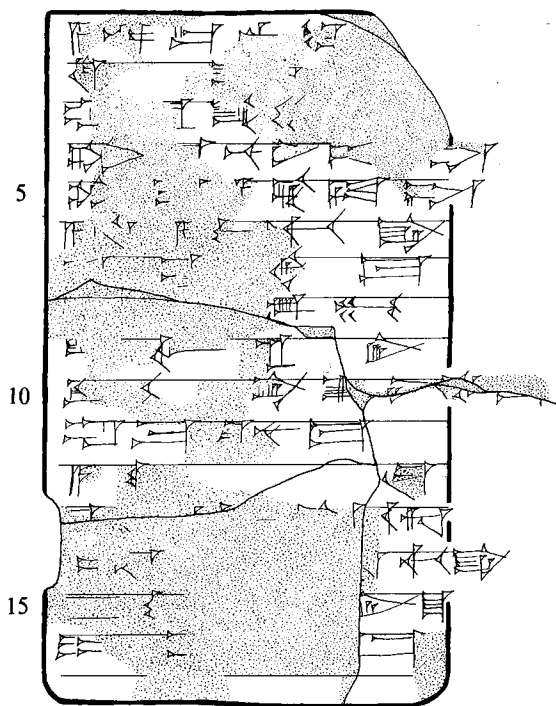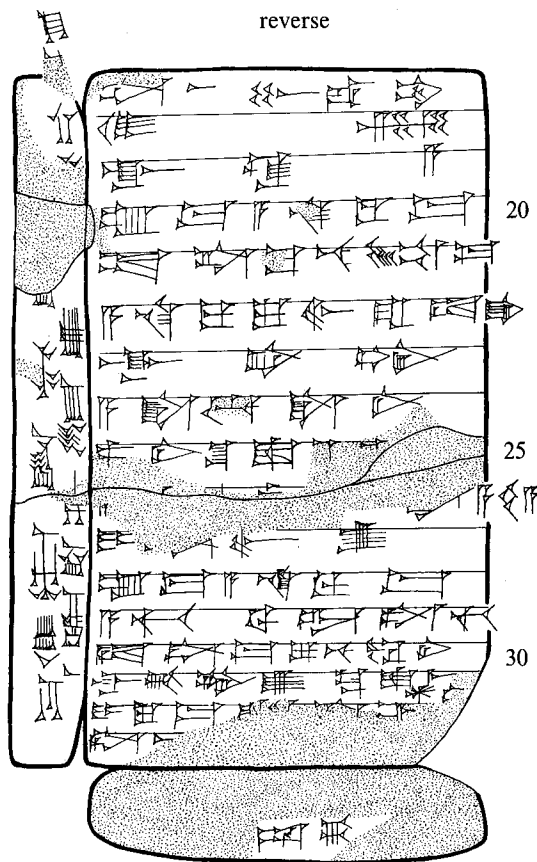
No. 35
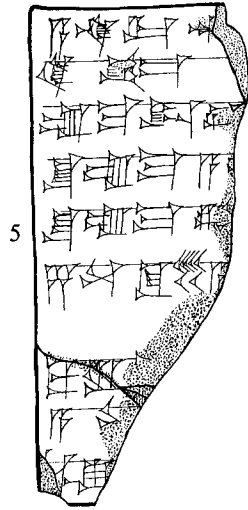
obverse   reverse

No. 36

No. 37

obverse
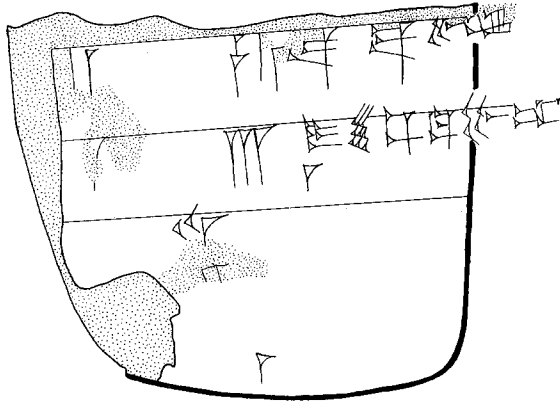

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 19
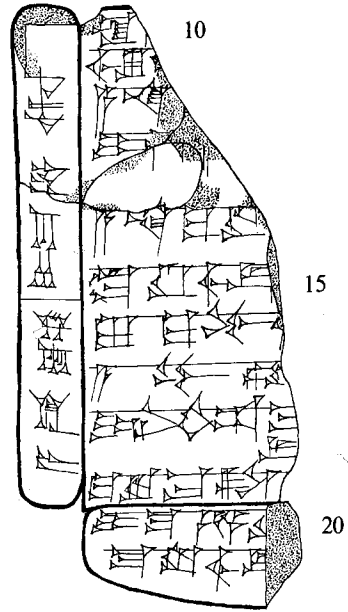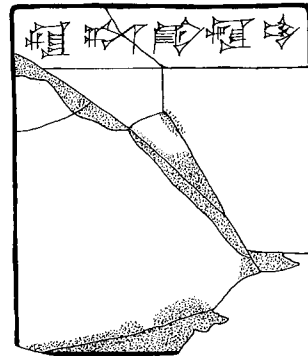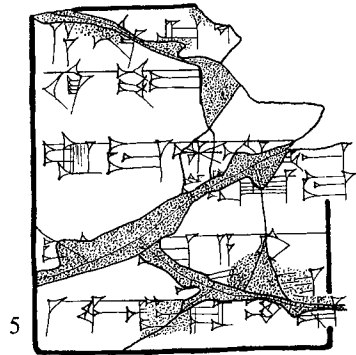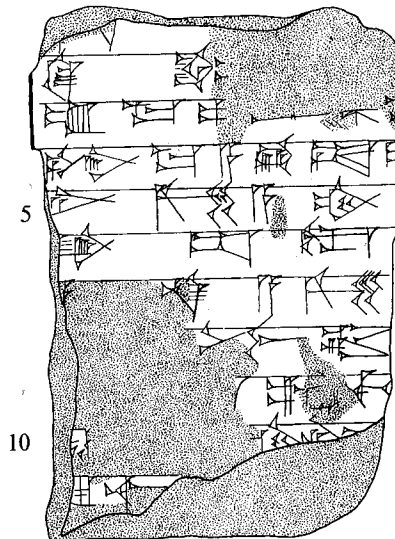
No. 38
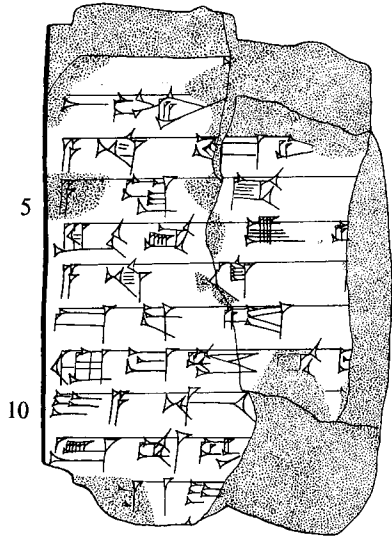
obverse   reverse
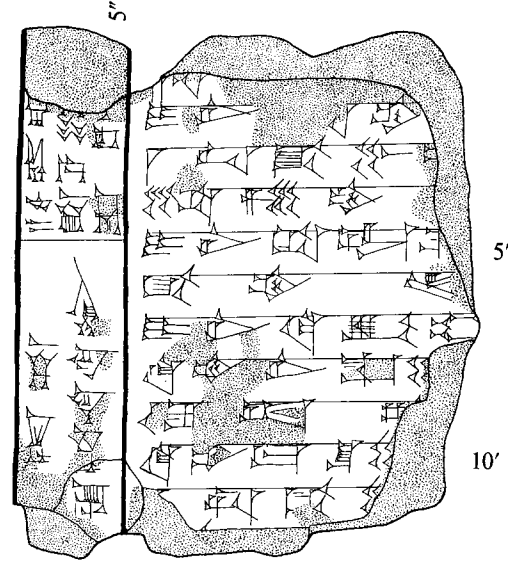
No. 39
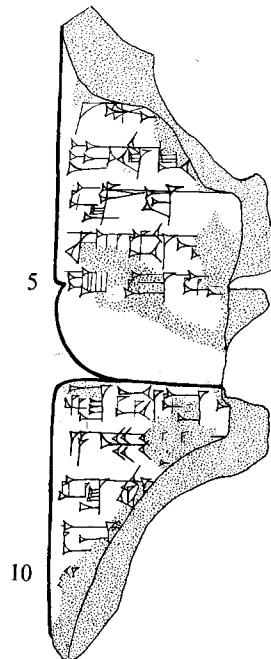
Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 20

No. 40
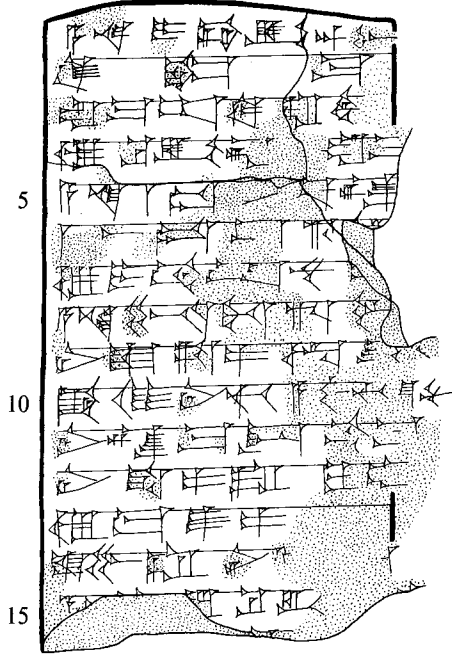
obverse

reverse
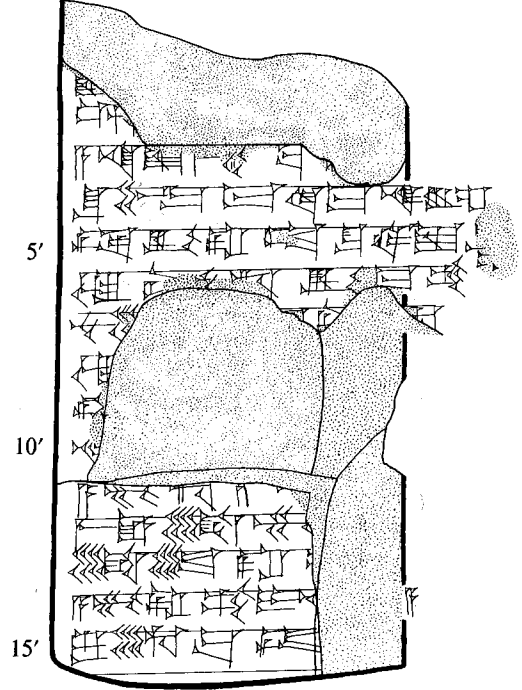
No. 41

obverse

reverse

Scale ca. 1:1
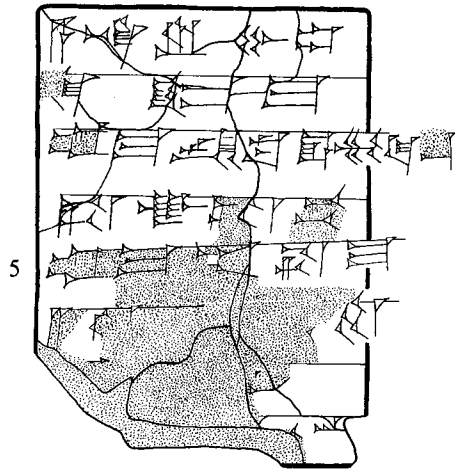
No. 42
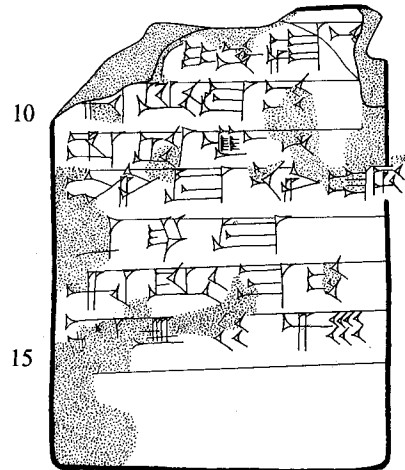
obverse

reverse
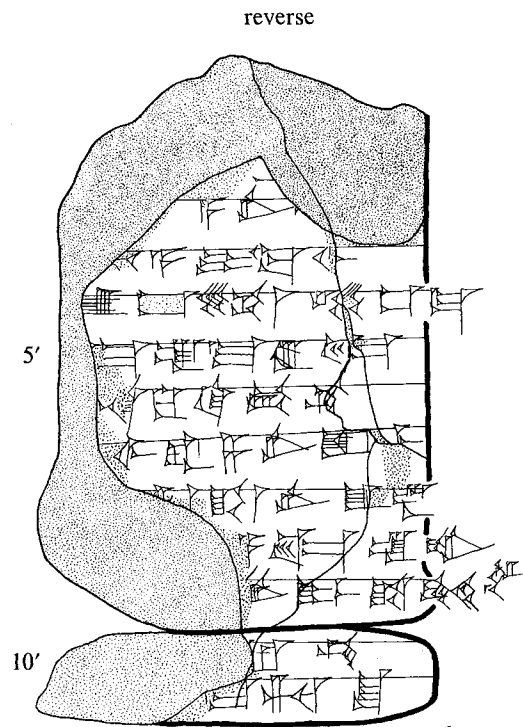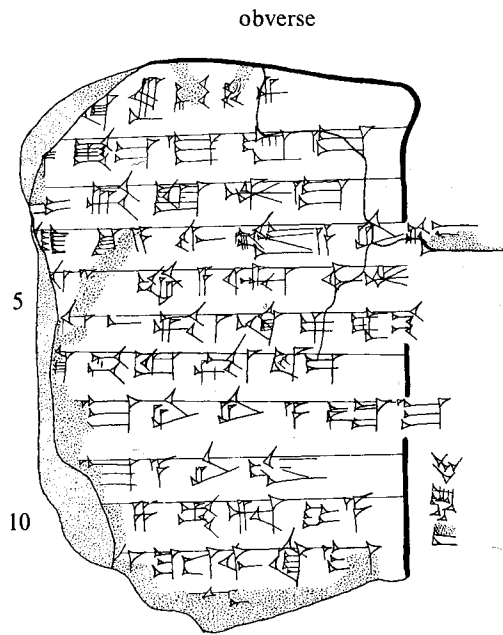
No. 43
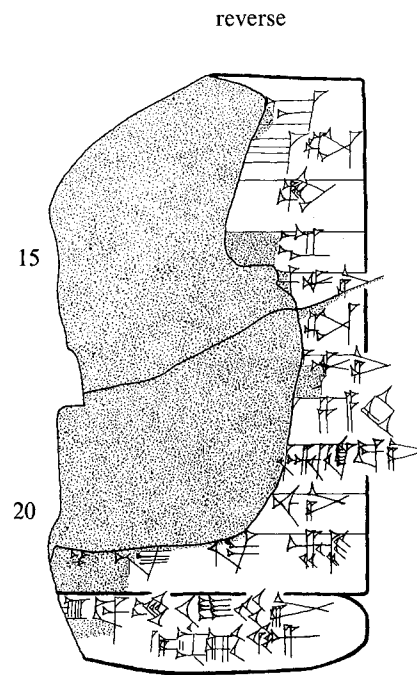
obverse

reverse

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 22

No. 44   No. 45
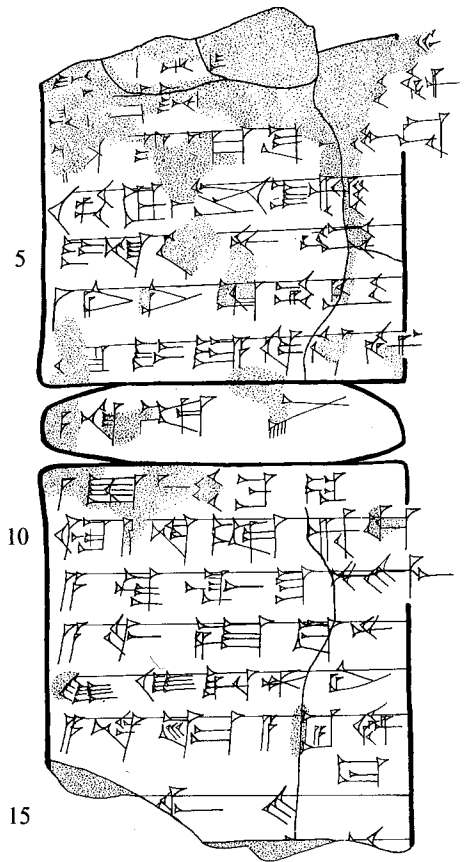
Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 23

No. 46

obverse

reverse

No. 47

obverse

reverse

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 24

No. 48

obverse

reverse

5

10

15

20

No. 49

obverse

reverse

5
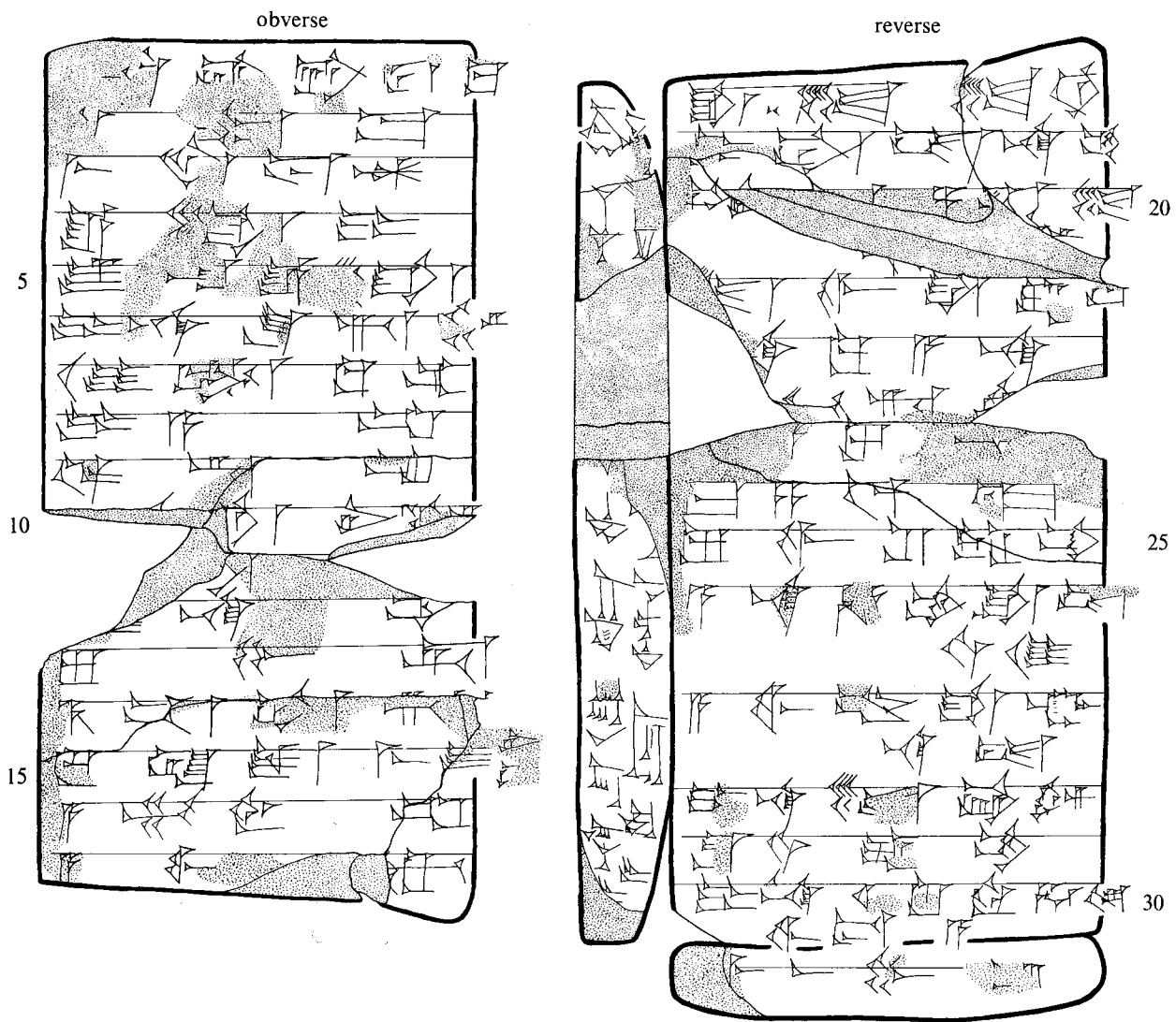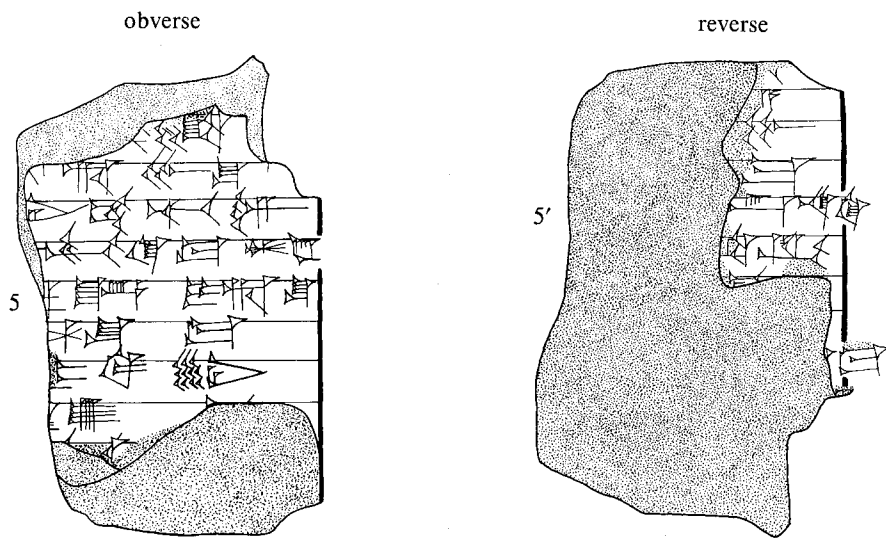
No. 50
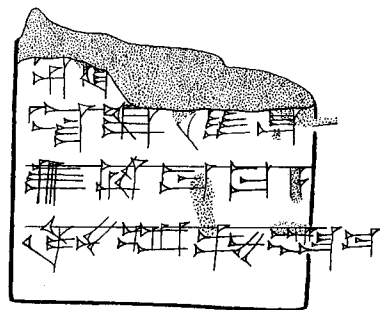
Scale ca. 1:1
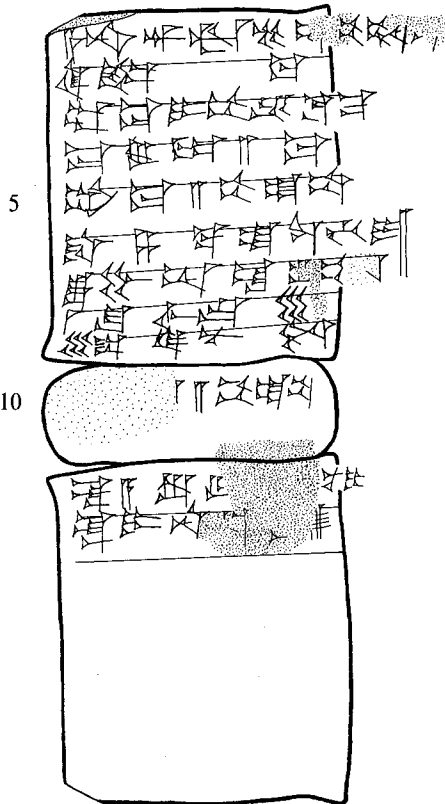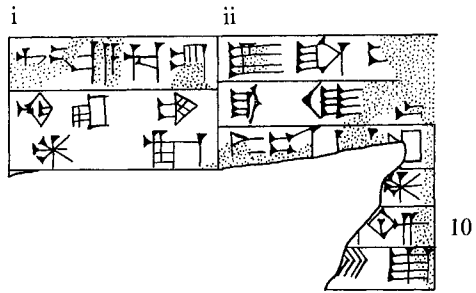
PLATE 25

No. 51
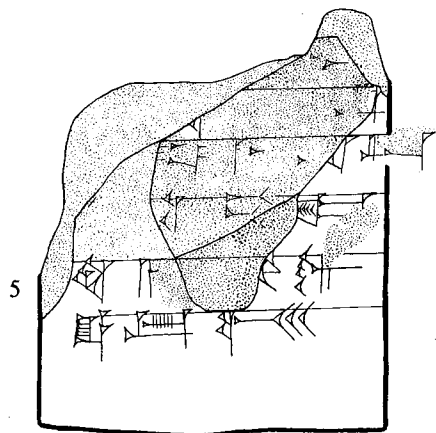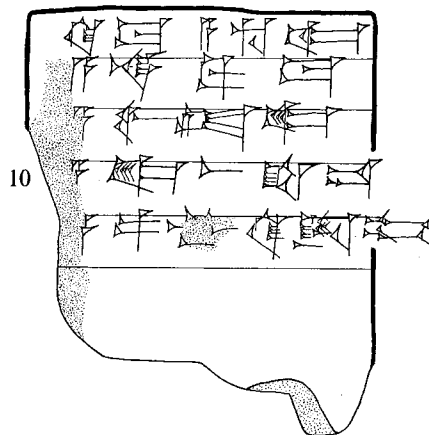
obverse

reverse

No. 52

Scale ca. 1:1

PLATE 26

No. 54

obverse

reverse

5

No. 55

5

10
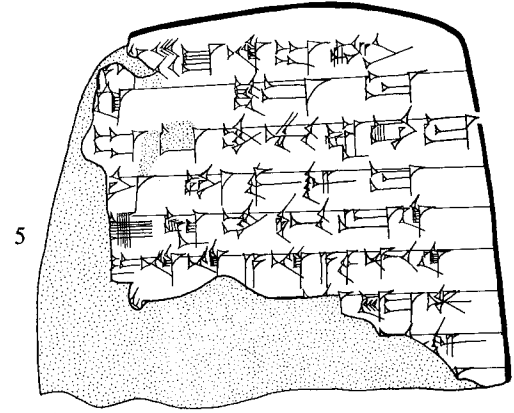
Scale ca. 1:1

Supplement 1

Supplement 2

i   ii

10

Supplement 3

Scale ca. 2:1

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