

Kassite letters: Communicating Orders and Networking within the Administration of Kassite Babylonia

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by

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1. Introduction

1.1 Chronology and conventions

The following thesis has the aim to provide a comprehensive overview and analysis of the form, language, the function and “Sitz im Leben” of the Kassite period letters. The term “Kassite period” refers to the period of ca. 1500-1150 BC in Babylonia.¹ For an overview of the sources and their origins, see Brinkman, “Materials and Studies for Kassite History Vol. 1” (MSKH, 1976), and “A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C.” (AnOr. 43, 1968).

For the bibliographical abbreviations as well as the abbreviations of the periods of Mesopotamian history (MB for Middle Babylonian etc.), cf. the list of abbreviations in the Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. The abbreviations TN for “toponym”, and GN for “god’s name” are based on Paulus 2014d: 911-914.

The absolute chronology in this thesis is based on Brinkman 2017: 36. For an overview of Kassite historiographical problems based on the synodic phases of Venus, see Brinkman 1976: 32-33, fn. 89 and id. 2017: 29. The names of the Kassite kings are abbreviated according to Hölscher, 1996: 295. The Mesopotamian capacity units are written according to Englund’s notation system (1990: xiii-xvii): gur;bariga.bán.sila.²

1.2 The corpus and the state of publication

The Kassite period still represents a mostly unpublished and unexplored period within the field of Assyriology (Brinkman 1976: vii; Paulus 2012: 87-91; Sassmannshausen 2001: 1). Brinkman (1976: 4-5, 41) catalogued out of ca. 12,000 existing texts in MSKH 1 1,400 texts. According to Sassmannshausen (2001: 3) ca. 9% of the material, mainly from Nippur, had been published by 2001 — Sassmannshausen published an additional 467 tablets (ca. 4% of 12,000 tablets). Ca. 90% of the cuneiform tablets from the Kassite period (i.e. more than 12,000 tablets) come from Nippur. Paulus claimed in 2012 that ca. 20% of the texts from Nippur had been published (Paulus 2012: 89).

At least 95% of the cuneiform tablets from Nippur are administrative and legal documents (Brinkman 1976: 41).³ So far 646 Kassite letters have been identified (see below).

¹ Regarding the absolute dates and terminology used to describe the period in question, see Brinkman 2017: 29-31 with further references.

² See Powell 1987-1990: 494; Sassmannshausen 2001: 448-449. The size of one bán (*sūtu*) was not standardised in the MB period, but varied between 4-12 sila (litres).

³ The difference between a legal and an administrative document is the list of witnesses (Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996: 49, fn. 48, Oelsner 1980: 98, fn. 2; Renger 1977: 89, n. 2). Some Kassite legal documents do not contain a list of witnesses (Oelsner 1980: 89, fn. 2). There are more exceptions to that rule from the Neo-Babylonian Period (cf. Oelsner Wells Wunsch 2003: 951).

This thesis contains an analysis of the Kassite period letters from Nippur. I will refer to Kassite period letters from Nippur as “Kassite letters”, since the majority of the epistolary material from the Kassite period comes from Nippur. Only a limited number of Kassite period letters have been found in other towns (Dūr-Enlilē, Dūr-Kurigalzu, and Tell Imlihiye).⁴ The Kassite archives from Babylon contain nine letters and still await publication (see Pedersén 2005: 69-108)⁵. In the following the Kassite letters addressed to or sent by specific officials are occasionally referred to as “correspondence”, i.e. “communication by exchanging letters”, even though the response in the form of a letter is not always preserved. However, the many quotations from preceding letters, which appear in the Kassite letters, make it apparent that there was an exchange between sender and recipient, and justify the term “correspondence”.

The following publications can be found in the bibliography according to the name of the author and the year of publication.

1.2.1 Philadelphia

289 tablets from Nippur in the collection of the Penn Museum⁶, Philadelphia, can be identified as Kassite period letters. 176 Kassite letters from the Philadelphia have been published and partially translated in the first half of the 20th century. Radau published 102 Kassite letters from the collection of the Penn Museum in 1908 (BE 17/1, here referred to with BE 17) with a translation of a few selected letters. Lutz published 70 letters in 1919 (PBS 1/2, nos. 15-86) with a translation of a few selected letters. Four letters from Philadelphia are published in PBS 7, 29, PBS 12/1, 24, and PBS 13, 68 and 76.

Waschow translated 55 letters from BE 17/1 and PBS 1/2 in 1936, and in 1957 Aro published a glossary of the published Kassite letters (SO 22). Salonen published a chapter on the Kassite address and greeting formulae in his study of address and greeting formulae of Mesopotamian letters in 1967. In 1967 Oppenheim (116-118) translated four Kassite letters from Nippur (BE 17, 24, 31, 47; PBS 1/2, 58), and in 2006 Hecker provided a German translation of two out of these four letters (BE 17, 24 and 31; cf. Hecker 2006: 114-115).

Among the four letters translated by Oppenheim were two medical letters (BE 17, 31 and 47). In 1983 Parpola included these in his transliteration and translation of six medical letters (LAS II). In 2014 Sibbing Plantholt discussed the corpus of Kassite medical letters from Philadelphia (ZA 104/2). Apart from the medical letters, the Kassite letters from Assur were translated and discussed by von Soden in 1957-58 (AfO 18). In 2001 Faist transliterated and translated two of these: BE 17, 77 and 91 (Faist 2001: 19-21, 210, fn. 44).

⁴ In 1949 Gurney published and translated six Kassite letters from Dūr-Kurigalzu (Iraq 11: nos. 10-15). In 2015 van Soldt published and translated 11 Kassite letters from Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30, nos. 23-33). Only one Kassite letter was found in Tell Imlihiye (Kessler 1985: 18-19).

⁵ M4: 1 letter, M8: 1 letter, M10: 6 letters, M13: 1 letter.

⁶ The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, commonly called Penn Museum.

Additionally, at least 113 unpublished tablets (including joint tablets) in the collection of the Penn Museum can be identified as Kassite letters.

In 2001 Sassmannshausen published transliterations and translations of a number of published and unpublished Kassite letters (or just relevant passages) in footnotes of “Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit”. Sassmannshausen is currently preparing an edition of the complete corpus.

In 2018 the Santander Academic Travel Award allowed me to image the 289 Kassite letters at the Penn Museum in Philadelphia with a RTI (Reflectance Transformation Imaging) dome. The RTI dome takes 76 pictures with a changing light source coming from 76 LEDs inside the dome. The RTI images will enable the viewer to change the lighting and will be freely available via the CDLI database.

1.2.2 Jena, London, Paris

Apart from Philadelphia small numbers of Kassite letters from Nippur ended up in the British Museum, London (seven letters), the Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer, Jena (nine letters) and the Louvre, Paris (one letter).

Six letters from the British Museum, CT 43, 59, 60, 94, and 102, CT 44, 67, and CT 51, 41 were published in 1963 and 1972 by Figulla, Pinches and Walker (CT 43, 44 and 51). An unpublished Kassite letter in the collection of the British Museum is BM 82720 (see below “b) *aḫu*-letters to Amīl-Marduk”). In 1958-59 Aro and Bernhardt published nine Kassite letters (WZJ 8) from Jena. In 1981 Durand published one tablet from the Louvre (AO 8134, TBER, pl. 14).

1.2.3 Other collections

In the “Peiser archive” of unknown provenance, which Peiser published in 1905, one Kassite letter can be identified (UDBD, no. 114). Further Sassmannshausen found two letters from the Ištar-temple in Nippur in the Nies Babylonian Collection at Yale University (NBC 10719 and NBC 10731), which had been used as filling material (cf. forthcoming publication by Sassmannshausen). In 1965 Biggs published and translated one Kassite letter in a private collection in JCS 19, which belongs to the corpus, since the sender can be identified with an official from Nippur (see below “6.3 Banâ-ša-Marduk”).

According to Kraus (1947: 111-112) 336 Kassite letters from Nippur are stored in the Eski Şark Museum, Istanbul. Ca. 286 tablets are damaged and barely legible, while 50 tablets are too fragmentary for an analysis (Kraus 1947: 112). Of the letters in Istanbul, three letters are published and translated, as they were sent from Assur and Dilmun: von Soden published and translated Ni. 669 in 1957-58 (AfO 18; see comments by Faist 2001: 21, fn. 44, 236, fn. 156), and Ni. 615 and Ni. 641 were published and translated by Cornwall 1952: 137-145; Olijdam 1997: 199-203; Potts 1986: 169-174.

1.3 The research question and the structure of the thesis

As shown above, ca. 60% of the known Kassite letters in Philadelphia, and barely any of the letters in Istanbul have been published.

Most of the translations and interpretations of the published epistolary material are outdated, since they have been made in the first half of the 20th century, when the organisation of the Kassite kingdom had been inadequately investigated. Only the small number of medical letters as well as the letters from Assur and Dilmun have received special attention due to their content, and have been repeatedly (re-)translated (see above).

Recent publications about the administration and society in the Kassite period, such as Tenney's 2011 study about the low-class workers, and Paulus' jurisprudential analysis of the *kudurru*-monuments (2014d), have not focused on the Kassite letters. While Sassmannshausen incorporated a number of unpublished and published letters in transliteration and translation in the footnotes of his comprehensive overview over the administration of the Kassite kingdom in 2001, he did not focus on the text type of the Kassite letter, nor on its language and function or its "Sitz im Leben".

A comprehensive study of the text type "Kassite letter" and its "Sitz im Leben" is therefore an urgent desideratum. This thesis is a preliminary study of ca. 49% (314 of 646) of the Kassite period letters (all 310 letters, which are not stored in Istanbul, and the four published letters from Istanbul). It contributes to the research on Kassite society and on the organisation of the Kassite kingdom by analysing the written communication between the elite officials of the Kassite kingdom stationed in Nippur and other provinces, and provides new insights into the administrative structures and the role of Nippur and its governor in relation to neighbouring provinces.

This thesis aims to address fundamental questions about the corpus, concerning the positions of senders and recipients, the reasons for the composition of the letters, their transfer, their archiving, their function and content, and what they can tell us about the Kassite kingdom.

In chapter two I define the text type of the Mesopotamian letter and describe the epistolary conventions in ancient Mesopotamia.

Chapter three pertains to the structure and formulae which are typical in each part of a Kassite letter in comparison with epistolary material from previous periods and contemporary letters from Assyria and Ugarit.

Chapter four addresses the archaeological and archival context of the Kassite letters and their function in the organisation of the Kassite kingdom.

In chapter five I depict the relations of the province officials in Nippur to other provinces based on the Kassite letters.

Chapter six consists of four case studies of six provincial and temple officials from Nippur based on their correspondence.

The conclusion in chapter seven sums up the observations of the previous chapters, i.e. the information about the administration of the Kassite kingdom and the communication between officials based on the Kassite epistolary material.

2. Letters in context

A letter is a part of a communication process. In human communication, however, there is not only a transmission of facts from sender⁷ to receiver (cf. Shannon, Weaver 1949), but also meta-communication, which depends on the medium, conveys certain codes - normative interpretive devices which are used by interpretive communities - in a specific context, and which depends on the communicative relationships.⁸

A product of such a communication process is a message. A letter is, however, only a one-sided part of the communication process, since “‘communication’ [...] comprises the notions of response, sharing and interaction” (Usmani, 2008). A letter is a one-sided message from the perspective of the sender, which is transmitted from one party to another. The message is embodied in a communicatively functional text (Nickisch, 1991: 9; Sallaberger 1999: 9). The recipient of a message is spatially away from the original context of production.

Letters belong to asynchronous communication, since the responses are significantly delayed and the exchange does not take place at the same time for its participants (Chandler, Munday, 2016). The communication process via letters shows similarities to oral face-to-face communication, but differs through the temporal delay in responses and the spatial distance (“brieftypischen Phasenverzug”), which slows down the conversational character of a letter (Nickisch, 1991: 11; Sallaberger 1999: 8-9). OB and Kassite letters occasionally mention a past conversation (*aqtabâkkumma*, “I have said to you”; *iqtabi*, “he said” etc.) which may have occurred during a physical meeting, and which is continued in the letter.

There is a difference between written and oral everyday speech, such as different times to plan, process, and react to statements, as well as the (lack of) necessity to be explicit. Thus, it is impossible to reconstruct every day or colloquial speech from the written word (from a letter, for instance).⁹ The language which is used in letters can be described as a form of the written standard language without any literary or aesthetic ambitions (Sallaberger 1999: 11). Consequently, the reconstruction of everyday speech remains impossible for a dead language such as Akkadian.

Sallaberger advises caution when applying text analysis to OB letters, since the disciplines applying such theories normally work with material of contemporary languages, which provide much more context for the analysed material than a dead language. However, the approaches of text analysis do provide a useful framework for Assyriological research, see Sallaberger 1999: 7. Similarly Kraus (1973:

⁷ The “sender” is not necessarily the scribe. It is unclear whether sender and scribe of a Kassite letter are identical (cf. the distinction between “Emittent” and “Briefschreiber” in Sallaberger 1999: 22, fn. 19). The sender could have dictated the message to the scribe verbatim or expressed the intended message and expected the scribe to compose the letter.

⁸ Chandler Munday 2016.

⁹ See Sallaberger 1999: 10 for an overview of the differences between oral speech and the written word.

40-42; 1974: 118-119) suggests that contemporary practices of letter writing shed light on the process in ancient Mesopotamia.

To understand the network of officials running the Kassite kingdom the analysis of letters is crucial. If we follow Jakobson's model of communication (1960: 350-377), messages only make sense in relation to six relevant factors (addresser, message, context, contact, code, and addressee). Social, semiotic and interpretative codes provide a framework, within which signs make sense. Codes are normative, interpretive devices, which interpretive communities used, i.e. conventions of meaning making in a communication system, which its users shared and understood. According to Sallaberger, the scribes were aware of the semiotic and interpretative codes, i.e. which phrases met the requirements and expectations of a certain genre and were expected from the recipient, i.e. reader.

The language of letters, i.e. what was seen as appropriate (attributes, greeting formulae, verb tenses), tells us a great deal about the hierarchies between the Kassite officials. The requests, orders, and dutiful reports were conveyed using semiotic and interpretative codes understood by the interpretive community of Kassite officials. Thus, the Kassite letters do not only tell us what was expected and required of each part of the network of Kassite officials, but also how the administration of Nippur fits into the greater network of the provincial system.

In the following chapter I will describe the corpus and characteristics of the Kassite letters. In order to find out more about the practice of letter writing in the Kassite period I will draw primarily - but not exclusively - on Old Babylonian (including Mari) and Middle Assyrian epistolary material. These corpora serve as a comparison. While the Middle Assyrian letters are contemporary, the Old Babylonian letters come from the same (but a broader) geographic region as the Kassite letters, and they provide the stylistic predecessors for the Kassite material.

2.1 The definition of a Mesopotamian letter

Letters represent the only type of texts from the Ancient Near East where one sender addresses a single, concrete, historically identifiable recipient or a small group of recipients (Sallaberger 1999: 21). This makes it likely that this is the only group of texts in which we can recognise some semiotic and interpretative codes which were also used in the daily communication at that time, although the written form of communication in a letter followed its own rules, as argued above.¹⁰

The letter was the nonpareil means of communication in Mesopotamia. At the intersection of the oral and the written form of communication the scribe and/or messenger played an important role, as he converted the written word into spoken expressions, and vice versa. In ancient Mesopotamia literacy was primarily confined to learned circles, while lower ranking functionaries were required to have

¹⁰ Kraus 1973: 40-42; id., 1974: 118-120; Nickisch 1991: 9-11; Sallaberger 1999: 21.

scribalcy and numeracy skills to do the bookkeeping for their institution. An illiterate person had to use a scribe to draft a message. Literacy and orality were interwoven aspects of communication.¹¹

The written message might have been dictated to the scribe and/or read out loud to the recipient (see below). It was already practice in the third millennium to begin a letter with the address formula “Say to PN”. This implies that a messenger recited the letter out loud, and, perhaps, could even make additional comments to make the content intelligible in the case of misunderstandings.

Sallaberger considers this instruction for the messenger to be fiction by the time of the OB period for the following reasons: In the address formula of the OB letters the sender refers to himself in the 1st ps. sg., while the messenger is addressed with the imperative. The recipient of the letter is not directly addressed, but referred to by name (“Speak to PN”, i.e. to someone in the 3rd ps. sg.). In the address formula of OB letters the sender would occasionally add an apposition to his name, which characterised his relationship to the recipient, such as *waradka*, “your servant”, with a personal suffix in the 2nd ps. sg., as opposed to the use of the 3rd ps. sg. in the address formula. If the sender would have wanted to remain consistent, he would have had to add *warassu*, “his servant” or *warad bēlīja*, “the servant of my lord” as an attribute to his name - in accordance with the 3rd ps. sg. in the first part of the address formula.¹² Thus, the OB address formula shows clear signs of having become a formulaic expression (Sallaberger 1999: 5).

Additionally, a letter and/or envelope did not only transmit a message through the written word and/or oral expression, but could also contain a visual message: the impression of a cylinder seal. It was used to convey the status of the sender, and authenticity and origin of the message. Thus, visual (seal), literal (script), and oral (reading it out loud) means of communication were all applied in a letter (Tsouparopoulou, 2015: 11).

2.1.1 Akkadian terms for “letters”

The Akkadian word *tuppu*, “tablet” is the most common term for “letter”.¹³ Specific terms for message are *našpertu*, *šipru*,¹⁴ *unneḍukku* or *ze’pu*; the messenger is the *mār šipri*.

Šipru, “commission, report, message”, but also “order for work to be performed, task” or “service” (for more meanings see CAD Š/3: 73a-b), is attested since the Old Akkadian period. Mainly in Old Akkadian and OA sources, but also in a few younger ones from Elam, Alalakh and Mitanni¹⁵, it can refer to the messenger or envoy itself, see CAD Š/3: 74a-75b.

¹¹ This also applies to the communication between rulers and subordinates in a largely illiterate society to spread royal propaganda.

¹² Sallaberger 1999: 24.

¹³ Schroeder 1938: 63.

¹⁴ Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 49.

¹⁵ For a Kassite example see the *kudurru* NM II (Paulus 2014d: 329), which refers to Nirah in iv, l. 24 as *šipru ša Nusku*, “the messenger of Nusku”.

Našpertu (variant of *našpartu*), “letter, message, instructions, written order” (CAD N/2: 70b) is attested since the OB or OA period. *Našpertu* refers to a legally binding document; in OA letters it refers to an order of goods (CAD N/2: 71b-73a, s.v. *našpartu*), in Mari letters it designates a legal summons from a superior, especially in Mari letters from the king (CAD N/2: 70b-71b, s.v. *našpartu*).

Already in the Ur III period the Sumerian verb form *ú-na-(a-)-du₁₁*, which was part of the 3rd millennium address formula PN-ra *ú-na-(a-)-du₁₁* (“After you have said it to PN”), became the term for “letter”. The OB loanword *unnedukku* was used in southern Babylonia in the OB period for a letter (Sallaberger 1999: 23; Sollberger, 1966: 1).

A late term for letter is *egirtu*.¹⁶ It is mostly attested in NA sources (CAD E: 45b-46b).

The Kassite letters most frequently refer to written communication with the terms *tuppu* and *ṭēmu*. The term *šipirtu*, “order, legal document, message, letter” in the Kassite letter BE 17, 34: obv. l. 5 is apparently used to refer to a written order by the lord:

obv. 5b	<i>ki pi-i ši-pi-ir-ti ša ʿka¹ [...]</i>	According to the wording of the order of ... [...]
obv. 6	<i>ki-[i a]-na be-lí-ia ú-še-ʿbi-la¹ e-nin be-lí</i>	after I had them be brought to my lord, just now,
		after my lord
obv. 7a	<i>ki-i iš-pu-ra um-ma-ʿa¹</i>	had sent (a letter) to me (saying) the following:

However, as these examples from Kassite letters show, the general term *tuppu*, “tablet”, may also refer to administrative lists (of workers, for example), or legal documents, especially sealed tablets, such as a *kanīku*:

PBS 1/2, 27 + 54, rev. ll. 3-6:

rev. 3	<i>a-na ʿARAD-U₄-ÈŠ.ÈŠ ARAD-ka 3 i-ʿme-ri¹-ia</i>	After I had sent three donkeys to Arad-eššēši,
		your servant,
rev. 4	<i>ki-i áš-pu-ru 6 MA GAB.LÀL [...]</i>	(I found that) there were six minas of wax [...]
rev. 5	<i>i-na ^{NA4}KIŠIB-šú ka-ni-ik ki-i u-še-ʿbi¹-la</i>	sealed on his tablet.
		After I had let them be brought (to me ?, or after
		I had let them (=the donkeys) be brought),
rev. 6	<i>a-na be-lí-ia uš-te-bi-la</i>	I have let them (= the six minas of wax) be brought.

PBS 1/2, 27 + 54, rev. ll. 23-24:

rev. 23b	<i>ù tup-pu ša be-lí-ia</i>	And after the tablet of my lord
rev. 24a	<i>ki-i ik-šu-da</i>	had arrived,

PBS 1/2, 39: obv. ll. 3-5:

obv. 3	<i>ù ša i-na-aš-šu-ú</i>	And how much he carries away
obv. 4	<i>ki-i ma-ši i-na tup-pi</i>	
obv. 5	<i>šu-ṭú-ur-ma</i>	write down on a tablet,
obv. 6	<i>šu-bi-la</i>	and let it (=the tablet) be brought to me!

PBS 1/2, 45: obv. ll. 7-8:

obv. 7	<i>tup-pa ša LUGAL</i>	the tablet which the king
obv. 8	<i>ú-še-bi-lak-ku</i>	had sent to you

PBS 1/2, 74: obv. l. 6:

obv. 6	<i>aš-šu₄ tup-pi ša É ʿŠá-DINGIR-DÙ-ʿa¹ [...]</i>	Regarding the tablet of the house of Ša-ili-banâ [...]
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¹⁶ Schroeder 1938: 63.

BE 17, 14: rev. ll. 7-8:

rev. 7b *aš-šu₄ tup-pi ša* ^{1d}UTU-LUGAL
rev. 8a *ša be-lí iš-pu-ra*

Regarding the tablet of Šamaš-šarru,
about whom my lord had sent (a letter) to me ...

BE 17, 23: obv. ll. 16-17:

obv. 16 *tup-pa ki a-mu-ru i-na* ^{ITU}KI-^dMÜŠ *a-na*
né-še-e ta-ab
obv. 17a *be-lí li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma*

After I read o the tablet that the month *ulūlu* is good
for tearing down,
my lord shall send (a letter) to me.

BE 17, 33: rev. ll. 13-14:

rev. 13 [...] ^{1x}*tup-pa a-na* [UGU] *be-lí-ia*
rev. 14 [... *ul*]-¹*te*¹-*bi-la*

[...] I have regularly let a tablet [...] be brought to my
lord.

The Kassite officials frequently promise to write a *ṭēmu* or act according to a *ṭēmu* in their letters. According to the AHw: 1385b-1387b *ṭēmu* means “Planungsfähigkeit, Entschluß(kraft); Verstand; Anweisung; Bescheid“. The CAD T: 85a translates “1. report, news, information, situation, matter, 2. order, command, instructions, 3 decision, deliberation, (divine) counsel, will, discretion, initiative, 4. plan, intention, 5. reason, intelligence” etc.

Regarding the use of *ṭēmu* in the contemporary MA letters, Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 67 translates *ṭēmu* as a “Bescheid, Nachricht, Auskunft”, which can be delivered orally as well as in written form. Cancik-Kirschbaum (1996: 67-68) distinguishes between *ṭēma šapāru*, “to send a (written) notification”, *ṭēma šakānu*, “to give someone an order/instruction”, *ṭēma qabā’u*, “to proclaim/orally deliver a notification”, *ṭēma ubālu* “to bring/deliver a notification”, *ṭēma laqā’u*, “to seek a report”, *ṭēmu alāku*, “a notification (is) coming”, *ṭēma lamādu*, “to be informed/receive a notification”, and *ṭēma dagālu*, “to expect a notification”.

In the Kassite letters I translate *ṭēmu* as “report”, if a subordinate has to report to his superior regarding the fulfilment of his duties. The medical letter BE 17, 33 by Šumu-libši provides a good example, as Šumu-libši promises to report about the health of his patients to the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī in Nippur:

BE 17, 33: rev. ll. 6-14:

rev. 6 U₄-29-KAM *i-na* ^dUTU *na-pa-[hi]*
rev. 7 DUMU *šip-ri-ia* ¹*ul-te-ša-a*¹
rev. 8 *ki-i ša* ¹*be-lí* ¹*iq-ba*¹-*a*
rev. 9 *ṭe₄-e-em* ¹*mu*¹-*ši a-lam*¹-*ma-ad*-¹*ma*¹
rev. 10 [*i-na*] ^dUTU ¹*na-pa-hi a-ša*¹-*ap-pa-ra*¹
rev. 11 [... *ṭe*]-*em* ¹*iš-ku*¹-*nu a-lam*¹-*ma-ad*-¹*ma*¹
rev. 12 [*i-na* ^dUTU *ra-bé-e a-šap*¹-*pa-ra*
rev. 13 [...] ^{1x}*tup-pa a-na* [UGU] *be-lí-ia*
rev. 14 [... *ul*]-¹*te*¹-*bi-la*

On the 29th day when the sun was rising
I have let my messenger go out.
Just as my lord has ordered me (to do),
I am going to become informed about the report of the
night, and
during the (time of) Šamaš rising (=sunrise) I am
going to send (a letter).
I am going to become informed about the order which
he (= my lord) has given,
and during the (time of) Šamaš setting (=sunset) I am
going to send (a letter).
[...] I have regularly let a tablet [...] be brought to my
lord.

In another letter from Šumu-libši to the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī in Nippur Šumu-libši promises that he is going to send his own messenger to him, since the omission of a bandage change halted the recovery of the daughter of Ajjāru:

BE 17, 47: rev. ll. 10-11:

rev. 10	ṛe¹-ma a-lam-ma-ad-ma	I am going to become informed about the report.
rev. 11	[...] ṛx¹ lu¹-bi-ir-ma	[...] and I shall go over and
rev. 12	[DUMU šip]-ṛri-ia ú-še-ša-a¹	I will let my [me]ssenger go out.

Ṭēmu also appears with *apālu*, “to answer” or *šālu*, “to question”:

BE 17, 42: rev. l. 5:

rev. 5b	ṛe¹-mi a-pa-al-ša	I am (hereby) going to answer with my report. (The report follows)
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BE 17, 22: obv. l. 8:

obv. 8	ṛe-em mur-ši-ša ki iš-a-lu-ši	after he/one had asked about the report about her illness
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Furthermore several Kassite letters contain *ṭēma šapāru*, “to send a (written) notification”:

BE 17, 76: obv. ll. 5- 6:

obv. 5b	ṛe-e-ma	Send the report to me!
obv. 6	šu-up-ra-am-ma	

BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 11-12:

obv. 11	ù ṛe-em ŠE.BAR	Also: a report about the barley, nothing whatsoever you have sent to me!
obv. 12	mi-im-ma ul ta-áš-pu-ra	

BE 17, 89: rev. l. 12- t.e. 2:

rev. 12	DUMU šip-ri-ia a-na ^{URU} ZIMBIR ^{KI}	Send my messenger to Sippar to Ninnū’a and your report and your greetings!
rev. 13	a-na ¹ Nin-nu-ú-a-ma	
t.e. 1	ṛè-em-ka ù šu-lum-ka	
t.e. 2	šu-up-ra	

BE 17, 94: rev. 5:

rev. 5	ṛe₄-ma šu-up-ra	Send the report to me!
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PBS 1/2, 48: rev. ll. 2-3:

rev. 2	ṛe-e-ma a-na be-lí-ia	I am going to send a report to my lord!
rev. 3	a-šap-pa-ra	

PBS 1/2, 74: obv. ll. 10-11:

obv. 10	ṛx¹ an-nu-ú ṛè-ma mi-im-[ma]	[...] this one has not sent any report at all to me ¹⁷
obv. 11a	[ul iš-pu-ra]-am-ma	

Ṭēmu appears with *turrû*:

PBS 1/2, 57: obv. l. 14’:

obv. 14’b	ṛe-em-ka a-na É.GAL te-er	Make your report for the palace return!
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PBS 1/2, 62: obv. l. 8:

obv. 8	ḥa-am-ṭi-iš ṛe-e-ma ú-tar-ra	He is going to quickly make the report return.
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¹⁷ Also possible: “... this one has not sent any order at all to me”.

ṭēmu with *lamādu*:

BM 82720: rev. l. 1-2:

rev. 1	ù ṭe-ma ar-ka-a	And the future report
rev. 2	a-la-ma-ad-ma	I am going to learn, and

BE 17, 33: rev. ll. 9, 11:

rev. 9	ṭe4-e-em ṛmu ¹ -ši a-ṛlam ¹ -ma-ad-ṛma ¹	I am going to become informed about the report of the night, and
rev. 11	[... ṭe]-em ṛiš-ku ¹ -nu a-ṛlam ¹ -ma-ad-ṛma ¹	I am going to become informed about the order which he (= my lord) has given,

The reports can be characterised as positive, or they refer to their content, for example, the work duty:

BE 17, 53: rev. ll. 17-18:

rev. 17	it-ti mar-ṣú-ti ṭe-em du-ṛul ¹ -[lī]	together with (a report about) the sick ones
rev. 18	ul ta-šap-pa-ṛra-am ¹ -ma ḥi-ṭa [...]	you are not going to send a report about the <i>dullu</i> work duty! An offense [...]

PBS 1/2, 40: rev. ll. 11-12:

rev. 11	[...] ṛbe ¹ -lī-ia ṭe-em dul-li	[...] of my lord a report about the <i>dullu</i> work duty
rev. 12a	[...] a-šap-pa-ra	[...] I am going to send (to you).

PBS 1/2, 26: obv. l. 6:

obv. 6	ù ṭe-em ḥu-de-e ša be-lī [iš-pu-ra]	and the positive report (= good news), which my lord [had sent to me]
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ṭēma šakānu, is usually translated as “Befehl/Bescheid erteilen” (Aro, 195: 112; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 68; AHw: 1386b-1387a, s.v. *ṭēmum*). The translation of *ṭēmu* as “order” is also attested in the Kassite letters, and could refer to oral as well as to written orders - which were also sent (*šapāru*) - from a superior (von Soden, 1965: 1386b-1387a; CAD 90a-92a):

BE 17, 34: rev. ll. 15-16:

rev. 15b	iš-tu aš-šu ¹⁴ ^{URU} Ḫi-[ba-ri-ti]	Since the month <i>tašrītu</i> (7 th month), since my lord had given orders to me because of the town Ḫibarītu ... [...]
rev. 16	be-lī ṭe-e-ma iš-ku-na-an-ni a- [...]	

BE 17, 57: rev. l. 6:

rev. 6	be-lī ṭe-e-ma li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma	My lord shall send the instructions.
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PBS 1/2, 19: rev. ll. 1-2:

rev. 1	ṭe-ma li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma	my lord shall send an order to me,
rev. 2	lu-um-mi-id-ṛma ¹	so that I shall impose (the <i>dullu</i> work duty on them), and

PBS 1/2, 51: obv. l. 13:

obv. 13	be-lī ṭe-mi a nin ki šu	and my lord shall send my order ...
obv. 14	ša ^{III} ŠU.NUMUN.NA li-iš-ṛpu ¹ -[ra ...]	of the month Du’uzu [...]

BE 17, 55: obv. l. 7-b.e. l. 2:

obv. 7’b	^{1d} En-lil-ki-din-ni a-na LUGAL	After Enlil-kidinnī.
obv. 8’	ki-i iq-bu-ú LUGAL DUMU ^{1U} da-ša-aš	had told (it) to the king, the king placed (=gave) a (written) order to the son of Udašaš:
obv. 9’	ṭe-ma il-ta-ka-an um-ma-a šu-pu-ur-ma	The following: “Send (a letter), and
obv. 10’	^{LU} DAM.GAR.MEŠ ù DUMU.TUR.MEŠ	send the merchants and the adolescents
b.e. 1	ša ^{1d} En-lil-ki-di-ni šu-pu-ur-ma	of Enlil-kidinnī, and

b.e. 2	<i>li-mi-iš-ši-ru-ni</i>	they shall release them!”
BE 17, 55: rev. ll. 4-11:		
rev. 4	LUGAL <i>a-na DUMU</i> ¹ <i>Ú-da-ša-aš um-ma-a</i>	The king (said) to the son of Udašaš:
rev. 5	<i>ša-al-ma-at aq-ta-ba-ak-ku-um-ma</i>	“You are well. I have said to (= ordered) you, and
rev. 6	<i>ta-al-ta-pa-ar-ma DUMU.TUR.MEŠ</i>	you have written,
rev. 7	<i>ša</i> ^{1d} <i>En-líl-ki-din-ni un-de-iš-ši-ru-ni-i</i>	and they have let free the adolescents of Enlil-kidinnī!” ¹⁸
rev. 8	DUMU ¹ <i>Ú-da-ša-aš a-ka-an-na-a iq-ta-bi</i>	The son of Udašaš has said thus:
rev. 9	<i>um-ma-a</i> ^{1d} <i>En-líl-ki-di-ni a-na be-lí-ia</i>	“The following: after Enlil-kidinnī had spoken to my lord,
rev. 10	<i>ki-i iq-bu-ú be-lí a-na ia-a-ši</i>	my lord has placed (=given) the following order to me:”
rev. 11	<i>†e-ma il¹-ta-ak-na-an-ni um-ma-a</i>	
In BE 17, 33: rev. l. 11:		
rev. 11	[... <i>†e</i>]-em <i>†iš-ku¹-nu a-†lam¹-ma-ad-†ma¹</i>	I am going to become informed about the order which he (= my lord) has given,
BE 17, 92: rev. l. 5:		
rev. 5	<i>†e4-e-ma šu-kun</i> [...]	Give the order!
PBS 1/2, 15: obv. l. 7:		
obv. 7	<i>i-na</i> ^{GIŠ} MAR.GÍD.DA.MEŠ <i>ša †e-mi-ia</i> <i>†ki áš¹-ša-a</i>	(and) after I had transported (them) there on the wagon of (=according to) my (written) order,
PBS 1/2, 30: rev. l. 2:		
rev. 2	<i>†è-ma-ia</i> <i>†šu¹-[ku-un ...]</i>	Give an order!
PBS 1/2, 73: rev. ll. 7-8:		
rev. 7b	<i>be-lí</i>	my lord
rev. 8	<i>†e-e-ma a-ka-an-na il-ta-ak-na-an-ni</i>	has ordered me the following
PBS 1/2, 20: rev. l. 15:		
<i>te-en-†šu¹</i> , “his order (?)”		

2.1.2 The sender and his scribe

When analysing the OB letters Wilcke (2000: 29) found that less than 1% mention the actual process of *šaṭāru*, of „writing“ a letter (or the D-stem *šutturu*, Wilcke, 2000: 29). Notably *šaṭāru*, “to write”, is to be distinguished from *šapāru*, which primarily means “to send”. In the Kassite letters *šaṭāru*, “writing (of a letter)” can be distinguished from “giving” or “bringing” (*nadānu*, *abālu* etc.):

BM 82720: rev. ll. 3-5:		
rev. 3	<i>a-šap-pa-ra-ku-um-ma</i>	I am going to send (a letter) to you, and
rev. 4	<i>a-na pa-an LUGAL a-na</i>	you are going to travel to the king to Nippur.
rev. 5	<i>†URU</i> NIBRU ^{KI†} <i>te-re-da-a</i>	
BE 17, 14: rev. l. 7- t.e. l. 2:		
rev. 7b	<i>aš-šua †up-pi ša</i> ^{1d} UTU-LUGAL	Regarding the tablet of Šamaš-šarru,
rev. 8	<i>ša be-lí iš-pu-ra a du ga</i>	about whom my lord had sent (a letter) to me ...
t.e. 1	ARAD-ka ^{1d} <i>Dil-bat-ba-ni ša</i> <i>††up¹-[pa²]</i>	(?) your servant Dilbat-bāni,

¹⁸ Regarding paratactic clauses linked with a coordinating *-ma* and verb forms in the perfect see Aro 1955: 137-138.

t.e. 2 ṛiṣ¹-ṭù-ru-ma id-di-na-aš-ṛṣu¹

who [w]rote the ta[b]let (?), and who gave it to him,

PBS 1/2, 39: obv. ll. 3-5:

obv. 3 ù ša i-na-aš-šu-ú
obv. 4 ki-i ma-ši i-na ṭup-pi
obv. 5 šu-ṭú-ur-ma
obv. 6 šu-bi-la

And how much he carries away
write down on a tablet,
and let it (=the tablet) be brought to me!

CT 43, 94: rev. ll. 7-8:

rev. 7 ù ša an-nu-ti šu-uṭ-ra-am-ma
rev. 8 šu-bi-la₁₂

And about this write it down,
and send it to me!

Wilcke claims that in the OB period *šaṭāru* is only used once without any object, which means that it could designate the whole process of writing and sending a letter all together:

AbB 9, 83: obv. ll. 5-7:

obv. 5 a-na DINGIR-šu-i-bi-šu ba-ri-im
obv. 6 aš-ṭú-ur-ma
obv. 7 um-ma šu-ú-ma

I wrote to Ilšu-ibbišu, the diviner,
and he said...

This is also attested in two Kassite letters; in one case (PBS 1/2, 40) *ilṭur* is followed by a ventive and dative suffix (“to him”):

BE 17, 27: obv. l. 12:

obv. 12 aš-šum Ì.GIŠ piš-šat É be-lí-ia ša be-lí iš-ṭú-ru

Regarding the sesame oil allotments of the house of my lord about which my lord had written:

PBS 1/2, 40: obv. ll. 4-5:

obv. 4b ša be-lí iš-pu-ra um-ma-a ṭup-pa
obv. 5 [a]-ṛna¹ ḫur-ša-an GAR KUR il-ṭù-ra-aš-šu

... about which my lord had written (a letter) to me: the following: A tablet
He wrote to him a tablet regarding *ḫuršānu* ordeal of the provincial governor.

The exact process of the letter production is still difficult to reconstruct. We are unable to discover how much of the wording is contributed by the sender who is mentioned in the address formula and/or by a professional scribe. Kraus proposes two extremes: either the letter is the exact account of the message that was dictated to him (i.e. the scribe wrote down every word dictated to him verbatim), or the wording of the letter is that of the scribe, not the official (i.e. the scribe wrote down a summary of the general content of the message, Kraus, 1973: 40ff). Some OB letters written by a “professional” scribe who differed from the one stated in the address formula were marked with the sentence *ina qabê bēlīja ašpurakkum*, “I am writing to you by order of my lord”. This does not necessarily mean that all letters written by a scribe were marked in this way (Sallaberger 1999: 11, fn. 12).

Wealth and social status must have affected the practice as well: It seems likely that wealthy and high-ranking officials had a personal secretary/scribe to whom they dictated their letters. It was possibly beneath officials of a high status to write their letters themselves (Wilcke 2000: 10). The Mari letters imply that royal letters were drafted by highly trusted officials functioning as secretaries to the king, as they were the only ones able to write a *ṭēmum gamrum*, a “complete (=detailed) letter” (Charpin 2007: 401).

The OA merchants in *kārum Kaniš* were probably literate. Larsen, however, laments¹⁹ that the “the outrageously hideous private documents” show that the writers were amateurs and only used a limited amount of syllabic signs (115 signs).²⁰ Wilcke assumes that the head of the merchant’s house of the *kārum* dictated the letters to inferior officials and younger relatives, and in larger *kāruns* also to professional scribes, see Wilcke, 2000: 10.

The question whether the senders hired a scribe to write a letter, or whether they wrote the letters themselves is connected to the question of literacy. Although the OB letters mention that the recipient should listen to the letter (*šemû*) being read to him (*šasû*), a majority of (especially central/south Mesopotamian) letters from the OB period actually suppose that the recipient could perceive the content of the letter with his own eyes, i.e. he could “see” it (*amāru*). This implies literacy.

There is a disagreement over the scope of literacy in the Ancient Near East. Pearce and Michalowski assert that literacy was confined to a small elite of officials in Mesopotamia²¹. According to Vanstiphout (1995: 2188b) “literacy was more extensive than primary sources report”. It can be assumed that there was variation in the degree of literacy in three millennia of Mesopotamian history. In the early second millennium literacy was more widespread than in the following periods of Mesopotamian history (including the MB period), in which it was centred in palaces and temples (Vanstiphout, 1995: 2188b).

According to Postgate (1992: 69) the OB letters support this assumption, as they were exchanged between family members and concerned “trivial domestic matters”. The Mari letters show that also lower ranking administrators and generals could read and write, and letters containing many errors may be attributed to senders writing “without the mediation of a scribe” (Charpin 2007: 401-402). OB court documents allege that the parties who provided legal documents as proof did write these documents themselves. Simple legal or administrative documents require only the knowledge of a few sumerograms. The OB letters were mostly written syllabically, and the sender and recipient’s ability to write is frequently assumed (Wilcke, 2000: 33).

This theory of widespread literacy in the OB period is supported by archaeological evidence. In Nippur and Isin, and to a lesser degree also in Ur and Sippir-Amnānum, most of the findspots of tablets in the OB levels are in houses in the residential areas. This shows a widespread literacy among the urban population (Wilcke, 2000: 8-22). It has to be emphasised that nearly all houses in the residential area of Nippur contained tablets, including school texts. As opposed to this, the bulk of largely administrative texts from Kassite Nippur stems from the palace and temple institutions, which points to a concentration of literacy in these institutions, and not on “Tablet Hill” in the residential area (Pedersén 1998: 115-116). The opposite, however, is true for Kassite Babylon: most of the 564 tablets were found in domestic

¹⁹ Larsen 1976: 305.

²⁰ Thureau-Dangin 1928: 4-6.

²¹ “Scribes functioned in a society in which the vast majority of people were illiterate,” see Pearce 1995: 2265. “Literacy was always highly restricted in the Ancient Near East, and only an elite, scribes as well as government and temple officials – could read and write,” see Michalowski 1995: 2279.

quarters (Pedersén 2005: 69). The total number of written documentation from Kassite Babylonia is much smaller than from the preceding periods.

Some Mari letters show signs that they were written from dictation, containing unfinished sentences, and an unusual word-order (the verb could not be at the end of the sentence, for example), or explicitly mention the intent to dictate a letter to a scribe (cf. Charpin 2007: 401, 415).

According to Durand (1997/I: 32) an administrator sends a tablet (*šapāru*, *šūbulu*), lets someone else write it for him (Š-stem of *šaṭāru*), or makes someone copy it (from a draft, or he copies quotations from the received letter) or write it up (from notes, D-stem of *šaṭāru*; “recopier” can be translated as “to copy out” or “to write up (notes)”, cf. Corréard 2010), while a scribe simply writes the letter (*šaṭāru*).

Regarding the use of *šaṭāru* and *šapāru* with regard to the literacy and the rank of senders and recipients in the Kassite period one can make the following observations: in Kassite letters the occurrence of the verb *šapāru* far outweighs the occurrence of the verb *šaṭāru* (in G-, D-, or Š-stem). In Kassite *ardu*-letters the subordinates frequently apply the verb *šapāru* when they mention previous letters from their lords, and ask their lord to write a letter to them:

BE 17, 39: t.e. ll. 1-3:

t.e. 1	[...] ṛx ¹ É	[...] (of ?) the house,
t.e. 2	ṛša be ¹ -lī iš-pu-ra a-na be-lī-ṛia ¹	(that) about which my lord had sent (a letter)
		to me, to my lord
t.e. 3	uš-te-bi-la	I have let (it) be brought.

BE 17, 68: obv. l. 12:

obv. 12a	be-lī ḥa-mu-ut-ta li-iš-pur-ma	my lord shall quickly send (a letter) to me,
		and

Similarly, subordinates describe their own letters to their lords with the verb *šapāru*:

PBS 1/2, 43: obv. ll. 16-17:

obv. 16b	a-na be-lī-ṛia ¹	I have not sent (a letter) to my lord.
obv. 17	ul áš-pu-ra	

It is clear that *šapāru* means “to send something”; in the context of the Kassite correspondence it often refers to a tablet, which is written and sent. However, it also appears in the Kassite letters to express the sending of goods and people:

PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 15-16:

obv. 15	DUMU šip-ri-ia ša a-na mu-uḥ be-lī-ia áš-pu-ṛra ¹	My lord shall send my messenger (back) to
obv. 16a	be-lī liš-pu-ra-áš-šu ₁₄ -ma	me, whom I had sent to my lord.

The senders of *bēlu*- and *aḫu*-letters also order the subordinates to send letters using the verb *šapāru*:

BE 17, 55: obv. l. 8'-b.e. l.1 (the king's written order):

obv. 9 ^b	šu-pu-ur-ma	“Send (a letter), and
obv. 10'	^{LÚ} DAM.GAR.MEŠ ù DUMU.TUR.MEŠ	send the merchants and the adolescents
b.e. 1	ša ^{1d} En-líl-ki-di-ni šu-pu-ur-ma	of Enlil-kidinnī, and”

HS 111: obv. ll. 12-13:

obv. 12b	<i>a-na ia-ši</i>	to me
obv. 13	<i>a-na me-re-eš-ti ta-šap-pa-ra-ni-in-ni</i>	you (pl.) will send (a letter) for supplies!

Following Durand (1968: 32) the senders and recipients of Kassite letters were administrators, who made subordinate scribes write the letters for them.

There are only a few instances of the verb *šaṭāru*. In one *ardu*-letter Kudurrānu describes his lord's action with the verb *šaṭāru*:

BE 17, 27: obv. l. 12:

obv. 12	<i>aš-šum ĩ.GIŠ piš-šat É be-lí-ia ša be-lí iš-tú-ru</i>	Regarding the sesame oil allotments of the house of my lord about which my lord had written:
---------	--	--

In the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 40 *šaṭāru* is used in a quotation from a letter by the lord, who had used the verb to describe the action of a third person:

PBS 1/2, 40: obv. ll. 4-5:

obv. 4b	<i>ša be-lí iš-pu-ra um-ma-a ṭup-pa</i>	... about which my lord had written (a letter) to me: the following: A tablet
obv. 5	<i>[a]-^fna¹ ḫur-ša-an GAR KUR il-ṭù-ra-aš-šu</i>	He wrote to him a tablet regarding <i>ḫuršānu</i> ordeal of the provincial governor.

In one Kassite *aḫu*-letter between nearly equal officials it is distinguished between *šaṭāru*, “to write”²², *šapāru*, “to send” and *šūbulu*, “to have someone bring something/let something be brought”. The recipient was expected to write himself:

CT 43, 94: rev. ll. 12-13:

rev. 12	<i>ṭup-pa šu-uṭ-ra-am-ma</i>	Write a tablet, and
rev. 13	<i>šu-bi-la₁₂</i>	send it to me!

CT 43, 94: rev. ll. 3-8:

rev. 3	<i>[NINDA ù KAŠ] ^fša¹ ^dUTU-DI.KU₅ ša ik-ka-lu-ú</i>	You have not sent any of [the bread and the beer] of Šamaš-dajjān which he (usually) eats.
rev. 4	<i>[mi]-^fim¹-ma ul ta-aš-pu-ra</i>	
rev. 5	<i>[mi]-^fna¹-a ik-kal ša-a-al-ma</i>	Ask him what he (usually) eats,
rev. 6	<i>NINDA ù KAŠ ša ^dUTU-DI.KU₅</i>	and write down the bread and beer of Šamaš-dajjān
rev. 7	<i>ù ša an-nu-ti šu-uṭ-ra-am-ma</i>	and that of these, and
rev. 8	<i>šu-bi-la₁₂</i>	send it to me!

In a *bēlu*-letter the lord distinguishes between writing and carrying the letter as well. His subordinate had to be able to write himself:

PBS 1/2, 39: obv. ll. 3-5:

obv. 3	<i>ù ša i-na-aš-šu-ú</i>	And how much he carries away
obv. 4	<i>ki-i ma-ši i-na ṭup-pi</i>	
obv. 5	<i>šu-ṭú-ur-ma</i>	write down on a tablet,
obv. 6	<i>šu-bi-la</i>	and let it (=the tablet) be brought to me!

One thing which can be observed is that in three out of four examples the highest ranking members of the elite (who wrote *aḫu*- and *bēlu*-letters) are the ones who use the verb *šaṭāru*. Perhaps, the fact that these high-ranking officials, who wrote *aḫu*- and *bēlu*-letters, ordered the recipients to personally write

²² It is unclear whether PBS 1/2, 77 was a *bēlu*- or an *aḫu*-letter, but the staves of *šaṭāru* in obv. l. 6, b.e. l. 2, and in rev. ll. 5, 10 refer to a workers' list and not to a letter.

and send a letter implies that they concerned a delicate matter, with which they only entrusted the recipient. This would potentially imply that the recipient had an important position in the Kassite administration. This implication could also apply to the *ardu*-letter quoting the higher ranking lord, who mentioned a personally written report concerning the potentially delicate and important matter of a *huršānu* ordeal of the provincial governor (!). As opposed to this, following Durand, this would imply that the recipient had a lower rank, since he had to write himself, and did not have a scribe to write for him. However, the number of Kassite letters containing the verb *šaṭāru* is too insignificant to draw any meaningful conclusions.

From OB Mari and the NA period memorandums (lists of topics the sender wanted to address in his letter) of the scribes are preserved (Charpin 2007: 401; id. 2010: 122-123). While the composition of a text from a written instruction allowed the scribe to choose a tablet of a size appropriate to the length of the letter (Charpin 2007: 401), the Kassite writers occasionally chose tablets which were too large (i.e. they left the reverse completely void of text), or, on the contrary, wrote a message which was too long on a tablet which was too small (i.e. they had to fill all edges with text).

Mistakes occurred when the written message was conveyed orally and vice versa.²³ It is attested in the OB period that a scribe had to read out loudly the letter he had just written down to its sender before putting it in an envelope.²⁴ I assume that this was done to prevent the scribe from making any mistakes or from writing something contrary to the message his employer wanted to convey to the recipient. Since the envelopes of letters did not contain the exact content of the inner tablet as, for example, the envelopes of legal documents did (see below), the mistake could not be discovered after the letter had been placed in its case. Examples from OB Mari show that scribes made mistakes when writing from dictation (see Charpin, 1995: 47).

In Kassite *ardu*-letters the senders quote their lords as having spoken (*qabû*) the orders to them. Since *ṭēma qabā'u* means “to proclaim/orally deliver a notification”, and since letters were read out loud to the recipient, one may suppose that some of these references to their lords’ speech may have referred to letters from their lords, which had been read out loud by a messenger.

An example is the *aḫu*-letter BE 17, 89, which Pān-Ani-rabî-lūmur sent from Dēr to Ninnū’a. Pān-Ani-rabî-lūmur had sent his messenger to the king in Nippur, and the king “told” him that Ninnū’a was located in Sippar (rev. ll. 7-11):

rev. 7	<i>um-ma-a DUMU šip-ri-ia ša a-na</i> ^{URU} NIBRU ^{KI}	The following: My messenger, whom I had sent to the king to Nippur, [...]. After he/they had not seen you, and when I was not sending (a letter) to you, he said the following to me: “He is in Sippar.”
rev. 8	<i>a-na UGU LUGAL áš-pu-ru</i> [x x x]	
rev. 9	<i>ki la i-mu-ru-ka-ma la a-šap<-par>-⁷ka</i> ⁷¹²⁵	
rev. 10	<i>iq-ba-a um-ma-a i-na</i> ^{URU} ZIMBIR ^{KI}	
rev. 11a	<i>šu-ú</i>	

²³ Charpin 1995: 43-55.

²⁴ Charpin 1995: 47.

²⁵ In rev. l. 9 the accusative suffix 2nd ps. sg. m -*ka* is directly attached to both verb forms, *ṭmurū* and *ašappar*. Two lines below, *šapāru* is followed by a ventive and dative suffix, as it is in rev. l. 11 (*ašpurakku*).

However, in general *qabû* refers to the act of speaking in person, and it often appears with explicit references to the location where someone had spoken, or to personal names, in whose presence someone had “spoken”.

BE 17, 27: obv. l. 20-b.e. 1:

obv. 20 <i>i-na URU^{KI} i-na a-šab be-lí-ia a-na be-lí-ia</i> b.e. 1 <i>‘aq¹-bi um¹-ma a-din⁷ ia-nu-ú [...]</i>	In town in the presence of my lord to my lord I said the following: “I gave (it). It is lacking [...]”
--	--

BE 17, 59: rev. ll. 9-12:

rev. 9 <i>a-na IGI¹Bu-un-na-^dNin-urta</i> rev. 10 <i>ù^{1d}Nusku-ŠEŠ-ŠUM-na</i> rev. 11 <i>DUMU¹Me-le-^dŠu-qa-mu-na</i> rev. 12 <i>iq-ba-a</i>	In the presence of Bunna-Ninurta and Nusku-aḥa-iddina the son of Mele-Šuqamuna said to me:
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2.1.3 The messenger

According to the OB letters the sender paid a man (occasionally referred to as *ṣuḥārum*) to carry the letter in an envelope to the recipient. The messenger carried the letter, i.e. the cuneiform tablet, in an envelope which the recipient had to break to be able to read it.²⁶ The OA envelope of the letter L 29-573, b.e. ll. 1-3 (Lewy 1968: 32, Hecker 2006: 84) is a good example:

L 29-573, b.e. ll. 1-3:

b.e. 1 <i>1 ṭup-pá-am iš-tí-in</i> b.e. 2 <i>pè-té-ma šit-ta-me</i> b.e. 3 <i>1 ṭup-pá-am kà-i-ilš</i>	Open one tablet, and listen yourself to it; keep the (other) tablet
--	---

Merchants in northern Syria and Anatolia used trading caravans travelling to and from Babylonia to send their letters:

TCL 19, 44: rev 9’-12’ (P357610):

rev. 9 <i>um-ma</i> rev. 10 <i>né-nu-ma na-áš-pá-ra-tim</i> rev. 11 <i>ša iš-tù a-lim^{KI}</i> rev. 12 <i>tù-šé-ši-a-^rni¹ a-le</i>	The following: we (asked them): the letters you took along from the city, where (are they)?
---	--

See below “(h) ‘lettre d’envoi’” for Kassite letters accompanying goods.

Although the envelopes of letters bore the personal name of the recipient in the phrase “*ana PN*”, “to PN”,²⁷ one Mari letter (A.2701) reports that a messenger delivered a letter to the wrong recipient (the king of Qatna). The envelope was opened, but “when he saw that it was written for my lord, then he did not let the king listen to it” (Charpin 1995: 48-50).

As the aforementioned extracts of the Kassite letters BE 17, 33 and BE 17, 47 from the physician Šumu-libši show, a physician sent his own messenger to the *šandabakku* of Nippur.

²⁶ Sallaberger 1999: 27.

²⁷ See AbB 9, 210, AbB 7, 156, AbB 2, 116 (these letters range from the early OB period, i.e. from Sumu’el to Ammišaduqa), see Sallaberger 1999: 26. For Ur III envelopes of letters see Kienast and Volk 1995: 19; Sollberger 1966: 2 ff., for MA envelopes of letters see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 51, for Nuzi see Postgate 2013: 367.

BE 17, 33: rev. ll. 6-7:

rev. 6 U₄-29-KAM *i-na* ^dUTU *na-pa-[hi]*
rev. 7 DUMU *šip-ri-ia*¹ *ul-te-ša-a*¹

On the 29th day when the sun was rising
I have let my messenger go out.

BE 17, 47: rev. l. 12:

rev. 12 [DUMU *šip*]-¹*ri-ia ú-še-ša-a*¹

I will let my [me]ssenger go out.

In PBS 1/2, 16 the sender Kudurrānu asks his lord to send his own personal messenger (*mār šiprīja*) back:

PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 15-16:

obv. 15 DUMU *šip-ri-ia ša a-na mu-uh be-lí-ia áš-pu-¹ra*¹
obv. 16a *be-lí liš-pu-ra-áš-šu*₁₄-*ma*

My lord shall send my messenger (back) to
me, whom I had sent to my lord.

“Proper” messengers (*mār šiprim*, *ša šipirātim*), who may have read out the message and provided additional information, were distinguished from tablet carriers (*wābil tuppim*) and runners (*lāsimum*) in the Old Babylonian period. At the royal court a large number of both ranks were available to the king. Furthermore, a relay system is attested, i.e. the transfer of the tablet from one messenger to the next (Charpin 2007: 407-408).

Apart from *mār šipri*, in the Kassite period also royal envoys, including messengers called *rakbû* appear (Sassmannshausen 2001: 60). The *rakbû*²⁸, Sum. *rá/ra-gaba*, from *rakābu*, “to ride (a horse), drive a chariot, travel by boat” was apparently a messenger travelling by boat in the Akkad and Ur III period (Such-Gutiérrez 2015: 20). A *rá/ra-gaba* belonged to the diplomatic sphere, often held additional offices, and received more rations than a “runner” (*lú-KAŠ*₄, cf. Such-Gutiérrez 2015: 21).²⁹ This supports the role of *rakbû* as a royal envoy, i.e. a high-ranking messenger associated with the palace. Accordingly, Stol (2012: 336) attests him a high rank at the royal court, at the harem and working for priestesses,³⁰ and as envoy or messenger for elite officials in the OB period. Some high officials from the family of Arad-Ea, who held important offices in the Kassite kingdom also bore the title *rakbû* (Paulus, 2014d: 98).

Sassmannshausen (2001: 59) translates *sukkallu*, the Akkadian loanword from Sumerian *sukkal*,³¹ as messenger. However, since Kassite officials with the title *sukkallu* held important offices, and received grants from the kings, it is likely that they were high-ranking ministers, and not messengers (Paulus, 2014d: 98, 114).³²

²⁸ The Akkadian verbal adjective *rakbu* (AHw: 947b: “Meldereiter”) became the loanword *ra/rá-gaba* in Sumerian. Afterwards it was reintroduced to Akkadian in the form of *rakbû* (AHw: 947b: “(reitender) Gesandter”), similar to other Sumerian words ending in /a/, such as *aga* (*agû*), *bala* (*palû*), *gala* (*kalû*), or *sanga* (*sangû*), see Such-Gutiérrez 2015: 19-20, fns. 7, 8.

²⁹ However, some low-ranking *rá/ra-gaba* officials are attested without a *šuku* plot, and living off wages (Such-Gutiérrez 2015: 26-27). Since the horse appears in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC in Mesopotamia, and the oldest preserved image of a man riding an equid comes from the Ur III period (Weseli 2004: 471), the *rakbû* might have originally travelled by boat. Furthermore, the import of horses was a royal domain (Weseli 2004: 471-472).

³⁰ For an association with eunuchs see Stol 2012: 332-333.

³¹ Renger identifies the *sukkal* at the royal court with the (grand) vizier (Renger 1972-1975: 437). Sallaberger (2003-2005: 201) calls him (*suga*l₇) together with the *maškim* “Gesandter”.

³² See Owen 2016: 119 for the translation of *sukkal* as “secretary, civil servant” in the Ur III period, but also Dahl 2020: 423 (“messenger”).

Further, Sassmannshausen (2001: 59) translates *kallû* as a messenger of the king or the provincial government in the Kassite period. However, in the Kassite period a *kallû*-official was an “official responsible for summoning people for public work” (CAD K: 83), and on *kudurrus kallû* officials (of the dry land and of the canal) were barred from entering a grantee’s land to levy (*ṣabātu* and *naṣû*) workforce (MNA, 3, obv. 3; MNA 7, obv. 6; MŠ 3: i, l. 19 - ii, l. 18; NKU I, 1: iii, l. 27; Paulus, 2014d: 166, fn. 175; 395, 399). Similarly, in the Kassite letter CT 43, 94: 26-30, there is a distinction between a “messenger” called *mār šipri* and a person holding the office of a *kallû*:

CT 43, 94: rev. ll. 9-13:

rev. 9	ù DUMU šip-ri-ia la tu-qá-a	Don’t wait for my messenger!
rev. 10	a-na DUMU šip-ri ša KI kal-le-e	Regarding the messenger, who is going to go
rev. 11	a-na mu-uḥ LUGAL il-la-ka	together with the <i>kallû</i> to the king,
rev. 12	ṭup-pa šu-uṭ-ra-am-ma	write a tablet, and
rev. 13	šu-bi-la ₁₂	send it to me!

According to Sassmannshausen (2001: 49) scribes are occasionally mentioned in expenditure lists as delivering the received goods, such as barley. In BE 15, 168: obv. l. 5³³ 0;1.0.0 /0;1.3.0 (~30 l flour/~45 l barley) DUMU ¹Kir-^rsu¹-ma-la ^{1d}IM-URU₄-iṣ-DUB.SAR *i-din* U₄-7-KAM, “(to) the son of Kirsumala Adad-ē/iriš, the scribe, has given it on the 7th day”. Sassmannshausen quotes two further Kassite attestations in which scribes deliver *iṣkaru* (ÉŠ.GÀR) work material/supplies to workmen (CAD I: 244b-250a; Sassmannshausen, 2001: 74-75, 259). However, it is common in Kassite expenditure lists that several individuals, who are not necessarily designated as scribes, give out individual amounts to recipients, for example in BE 15, 168: obv. ll. 4, 6, 9, 10, 14-16, 18, 23-24, rev. ll. 5-8. The reasons for the involvement of these individuals, who “give” ((ša) ... *iddin(u)*) to individual recipients (or the recipients “receive” (ša ... *imḥur(u)*, *maḥir*)³⁴ the amounts out of their own or someone else’s house or hands), are not noted, but they either belonged to the household, for which they gave out the resource, or they may have owed the amount to that household, and by giving it out in their name they paid back their debt.

In BE 14, 92: 4-5, however, it says 2;0.1.0 ÉŠ.GÀR ^{1d}Nin-urta-na-šir DUB.SAR *i-na* ^{ITU}ŠE.KIN.KU₅ *iṣ-ša-a*, “2;0.1.0 (~244 l-732l) *iṣkaru* (emmer) work supplies (which) the scribe Ninurta-nāšir transported in the month Addaru”.³⁵ This may indeed imply that a scribe, who as an administrator managed accounts, functioned as a messenger and accompanied a work supply-delivery.

Apart from the lower class *ṣuḥārum*,³⁶ *mārū šipris* are attested in the palace context of Nippur in expenditure lists as recipients of barley and flour, especially in *aklu* expenditure lists.³⁷ However, they appear to receive lower amounts than other recipients. The respective *aklu* lists apparently list amounts

³³ BE 15, 168 is a ZI.GA/šitu expenditure list, which notes “a total of 14;2.2.0 flour (and) barley, (measured with) the *šutu* vessel of 5 ŠILA, expenditure” (rev. l. 9).

³⁴ For the use of *maḥir* and *imḥuru* in Kassite accounts see Petschow 1974: 59.

³⁵ The same scribe receives an *iṣkaru* supply (barley) from the house of Ana-Ea-taklāku in CT 51, 30: l. 5: 1;0.0.0 (~300 l) ÉŠ.GÀR ^{1d}Nin-urta-URU DUB.SAR.

³⁶ cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 121-122.

³⁷ According to Murai (2018: 254) *aklus* were commodities provided by “artisans (brewers, millers, oil-pressers) [...] for various purposes (banquets, offerings, rations/fodder, provisions for caravans, etc.)”.

given out for only a couple of days. *Mārū šipris* appear in the *aklu* lists MRWH 28 and 29, and MUN 170. In the *aklu* expenditure list MRWH 28: 36: [...] DUMU.MEŠ *šip-ri*, “the messengers” receive flour and barley among other people identified by name or occupation, and who occasionally get rations (ŠUK) for 6 or up to 17 days.³⁸ A *mār šipri* is also mentioned in the *aklu* expenditure list MRWH 29. In l. 16 DUMU *šip-ri ša* LÚ URUBÀD.†AN^{†KI} ¹Na-aḥ-zi-^dAMAR.UTU LÚrŠIDIM[†], “the messenger of the man from Dēr, Naḥzi-Marduk, the house builder” receives 0;0.0.2 (~2 l) flour and 0;0.1.3 (~ 7-10 l)³⁹ barley. In MRWH 29 several amounts are given as travel provisions (NINDA.KASKAL) or as rations (ŠUK) to persons identified by their occupation, for example to a cook, cupbearer, *ša rēši*, or even the prince. The *mār šipri* receives the lowest amount (the cook receives rations of 0;0.3.4 (~16-25 l) flour, Tarību the cupbearer gets rations of 0;0.3.5 (~17-26 l) flour /0;1.0.0 (~24-42 l) barley, Sîn-muballit, the *ša rēši* 0;0.3.0 (~72-126 l)/0;1.4.0 (~40-70 l), and the prince receives travel provisions of 0;2.2.2 (~58-100 l)/2;0.0.0(240-420l)).⁴⁰ In another *aklu* text MUN 170, l. 11 (sealed by Amīl-Marduk) a messenger receives - again - the lowest quantity (0;0.2.0/0;0.2.0 (~8-24 l)) of flour and barley compared to what other persons receive.

In BE 15, 168 (ZI.GA/šitu expenditure)⁴¹ flour and barley are given to three messengers: in l. 10: 0;0.1.0 (~5 l) flour and 0;0.2.0 (~10 l) barley for DUMU *šip-ri* [...] *sa-li-ḥa Ib-ni-^d*AMAR.UTU, “the messenger [of (?)] the *sāliḫu* official Ibni-Marduk”, in l. 11: 0;0.1.0 (~5 l) /0;0.2.0 (~10 l) for DUMU *šip-ri* ¹Ki-lam-di-^dAMAR.UTU U₄-13, “to the messenger of Kilamdi-Marduk on the 13th day”, and in l. 18: 0;0.2.0 (~10 l)/0;0.1.0 (~5 l) for DUMU *šip-ri ša* ¹A-mi-la-ti ¹NÍG.BA-^dAMAR.UTU *id-din* U₄-17, “(to) the messenger of Amīlātu Qīšat-Marduk has given on the 17th day”. As has already been observed in the *aklu* lists, the amounts, which the messengers receive, are on the lower end of the spectrum.⁴² In BE 15, 154: rev. l. 17 a messenger is again at the lower end of the spectrum and receives the relative small amount of 0;0.1.0 (~4-12 l)⁴³ barley.

Furthermore the expenditure lists confirm that the Kassite officials had their own personal messengers (as Šumu-libši mentioned in BE 17, 33: rev. ll. 6-13 and 47: ll. 22-24). The expenditure lists accordingly note down each messenger as belonging to, i.e. under the command of a certain high official. In PBS 2/2, 20, in which barley is given out for draft horses (obv. l. 1; 1 BÂN = 5 SĪLA), several *mār šipri ša*

³⁸ The BÂN size is not given, and the amount of flour and barley in l. 36 is unfortunately destroyed.

³⁹ According to Petschow, 1974: 74 the number of SĪLAs per BÂN is partly destroyed, i.e. at least 4 wedges are visible. One would expect 12 to be written with a winkelhaken and 2 wedges, 10 with a GAL sign, so the range of possibilities lies between 4-7 SĪLA.

⁴⁰ MRWH 29 is dated in the third year of Kudur-Enlil. The expenditures are usually for a few days. The expenditures are *lā ašābu*, “not for residing (?)” According to Murai a translation for *lā ašābu* is unclear (Murai, 2018: 43).

⁴¹ According to BE 15, 168: obv. l. 1: 1 BÂN/sūtu = 5 SĪLA/qū.

⁴² The messengers receive similar amounts as the *māḥiṣu* receives (0;0.1.0 flour and 0;0.3.0 barley), and as an Amorite woman (Šundurtu of Usuḫ-bilti-Marduk) receives (0;0.1.0 /0;0.1.0). A merchant receives slightly more (0;0.2.0 /0;0.3.0), and his amount is delivered by an official who not explicitly marked as a scribe (¹BA-ša-^dAMAR.UTU DAM.GĀR U₄-28-KAM *Pú-gu-lu₄* DUMU ¹30-li-is-su *id-din*). The highest amount (3;2.3.0) - only - of flour is received by Ninurta-apla-iddina for a *naptanu* banquet for ca. 1 week.

⁴³ BE 15, 154 does not state the number of SĪLAs per BÂN.

PN, “messenger[s] of PN”, receive barley in rev. ll. 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, and 11 (three times 0;0.4.0 (~20 l), two times 0;0.2.0 (~10 l), and one time 0;0.3.0 (~15 l)). One of them is the messenger of a cupbearer (l. 25).

Mār šipris furthermore received bread (CBS 9854, CBS 11430, UM 29-15-211, Sassmannshausen, 2001: 60), and messengers of the king are recorded as recipients of belts and a gown (PBS 2/2, 121, and MKJ 2, Sassmannshausen, 2001: 60)

Royal messengers were apparently not only required to transfer tablets, but also to accompany humans back to the king, as the Kassite letter BE 17, 55: rev. ll. 1-7 tells us. In BE 17, 55 some messengers had bought boys for the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī, and were detained together with their purchase. The king intervened and ordered that a letter should be sent to the detainees:

BE 17, 55, rev. ll. 1-3:

rev. 1	DUMU <i>šip-ri</i> 'LUGAL' <i>a-na mu-uš-šu-ri-ni</i>	After the messenger of the king had arrived to redeem us,
rev. 2	<i>ki-i il-li-ka šu-ú ki ú-še-bi-ta-na-ši</i>	and then, after he had seized us,
rev. 3	<i>a-na mu-uḥ LUGAL ul-te-bi-la-na-ši</i>	he had us brought to the king.

Mari's state correspondence with its vassals was carried by high military officials or palace administrators, who functioned as ambassadors (such as Zimri-Lîm's representatives at Babylon; cf. Holmes 1975: 376). The Mari messengers were so well known that they were referred to only by their name, but were “frequently given the title of messenger” (Munn-Rankin, 1956: 99). In the roughly contemporary international Amarna correspondence the *mār šipri* functioned as an official emissary who had to “defend the policy of [their] country” (Holmes, 1975: 377), and not just as a carrier of an encased text on a tablet (which they additionally might have had to read out loud to the recipient). In one Amarna letter (EA 149: ll. 83) it is mentioned that foot soldiers could function as a *mār šiprim* for the dangerous transfer of international royal correspondence. When the messengers, whom Kadašman-Enlil I (1374-1360) sent to Amenhotep IV, could not identify the Kassite princess at Amenhotep's court, Amenhotep complains that the Kassite messengers were low class and not dignitaries from the Kassite court (EA 1, ll. 15-19).

Similarly OA messenger, who were sent out by the *kārums* in Anatolia or from Aššur enjoyed a status comparable to that of an official ambassador, since they functioned as substitutes for their ruler to take oaths with the local rulers of Anatolia (cf. the OA letters kt f/k 183; Balkan 1955: 73-74; Michel 2001: 106-107; Hecker, 2006: 87).

In the Amarna correspondence messengers (also referred to as merchants) sent to equal kings (not vassals) were mentioned specifically by name in 23 letters, which shows how important they were (Holmes 1975: 376-377). See the mention of Kassite messengers by name in the Amarna letters:

EA 7 (letter from Burna-Buriaš to Amenhotep IV): ll. 73-74, 78-82:

73	[ù] 'Ša-al-mu DUMU <i>ši-ip-ri-ia ša aš-pu-ra-</i> 'ak'-[ku]	and Šalmu, the messenger, about whom I sent (a letter) to you:
74	[ši]-ni-šu ge-er-ra-šu ḥa-ab-'ta'-[at]	his caravan was looted twice. [...]

78	[<i>ma-ti</i>] <i>di-na ša-a-šu a-ḥu-ú-a</i> ¹ <i>i</i> ¹ -[<i>da-an</i>]	When will my brother pass judgement in this legal case?
79	[<i>ki-i</i>] DUMU <i>ši-ip-ri-ia a-na pa-an a-ḥi-ia it-bu-ú</i>	When my messenger files a lawsuit before my brother,
80	[<i>a-ka</i>]- <i>an-na</i> ¹ <i>Ša-al-mu a-na pa-an a-ḥi-ia li-id-bu</i> ¹ -[<i>ub</i>]	[thus] may Šalmu speak before my brother:
81	[<i>ú</i>]-[<i>de</i> ¹ - <i>e-šu li-te-er-ru-ni</i>]-[<i>iš</i> ¹]-[<i>šu</i>]	his goods they shall return to [him],
82	[<i>ù</i>] <i>ḥi-bi-il-ta-šu li-ša-al-li-mu</i>	and his losses they shall make good (again).

EA 11 (letter from Burna-Buriaš to Amenhotep IV): rev. ll. 6-9:

rev. 6	<i>šum-ma la-bi-ru-tu₄ ga-mi-ru-tu₄ i-[ba-aš]-¹šu ḥa</i> ¹ -[<i>mu</i>]-[<i>ta</i> ¹ <i>šu-bi-i-la</i> ¹	If [there] is a full quota of old ones, have them brought to me immediately.
rev. 7	<i>šum-ma la-bi-ru-tu₄ ia</i> -[<i>a</i> ¹ - <i>nu eš-šu-ú-ti</i> ¹ <i>li-il-pu</i> ¹ - <i>tu-ú-ma</i>	If there are no old ones, let them fashion new ones,
rev. 8	¹ <i>Ša-al-ma DAM.GÀR šu-bi-i-la šum-ma</i> ¹ <i>Ša-al-mu</i> ¹ <i>DAM.GÀR</i> ¹ <i>it-ta-at-la-ka</i>	and let Šalmu, the merchant, bring (them) here! If Šalmu, the merchant, had already departed,
rev. 9	DUMU <i>ši-ip-ri-i-ka ša il-la-ka li-il-qa-a</i>	then let your messenger, who is going to come here, take it here!

EA 11: obv. ll. 5-6:

5	[<i>ul-tu aš-ša-at a</i>]- <i>bi-ka</i> ¹ <i>qu-ub</i> ¹ - <i>ba-tu₄</i> ¹ <i>Ḥu</i> ¹ -[<i>a-a</i> DUMU ¹ <i>ši</i> ¹ -[<i>ip-ri-ia</i>]	When the wife of] your [fa]ther was mourned I sent [to you my me]ssenger Ḥu'a
6	[<i>ù</i> ¹ <i>Mi-ḥu-ni ta-ar</i>]-[<i>gu</i> ¹ - <i>ma</i>]-[<i>na</i> ¹ <i>al-ta-ap-ra</i>]-[<i>ak-ku</i>]	[and Miḥuni, the trans]lator.

EA 10 (letter from Burna-Buriaš to Amenhotep IV): ll. 36-39:

36	<i>šum-ma la-bi-ru-tu ep-šu-tu i-ba-aš-šu-ú</i>	And if there are old ones which already exist,
37	<i>ki-i</i> ¹ <i>Ši-in-di-šu-ga-ab</i> DUMU <i>ši-ip-ri-ia ik-ta-al</i> -[<i>da</i> ¹ - <i>ku</i>	and when Šindišugab, my messenger has reached you already,
38	GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ <i>ki-i ka-al-le-e ḥa-mu-ut-ta li-iš-ša-am-ma</i>	then he shall fetch chariots as fast as he can,
39	<i>a-na mu</i> -[<i>uḥ</i> ¹]- <i>ḥi-ia li-ik-šu-da</i>	and he may reach me!

EA 10: ll. 48-49:

48	<i>ù ki-i</i> DUMU <i>ši-ip-ri-ka it-ti</i> ¹ <i>Ši-in-di-šu-ga-ab</i>	and when your messenger [is going to come here] together with Šindišugab,
49	[<i>i-la-ka šu-ul</i>]- <i>ma</i> -[<i>na</i>]-[<i>ši</i> ¹ <i>e-pu-uš-ma ú-še</i>]-[<i>ba-la-aš-ši</i> ¹	I will make [a greeting] gift for her, and I will bring it to her!

As opposed to the small allowances granted to messengers of domestic correspondence in the *aklu* expenditure lists, the international messengers enjoyed “certain facilities and privileges when on missions [...]. Frequently they were 'wined and dined' by foreign kings, probably to leave a good impression on the envoy and possibly to interrogate him in a sly manner” (Holmes 1975: 377).⁴⁴

Burna-Buriaš II (1359-1333) even apologises to Amenhotep IV for not letting his messengers participate in his banquet, as he had been sick:

EA 7: ll. 8-11:

8	<i>ul-tu u₄-mi ša</i> DUMU <i>ši-ip-ri ša a-ḥi-ia ik-šu</i> -[<i>da-an-ni</i>]	Since the day on which the messenger of my brother has r[each]ed me]
9	[<i>ši</i> ¹]-[<i>i</i>]-[<i>ri ul ṭa-ba-an-ni-ma</i> DUMU <i>ši-ip-ri-šu a-i</i>]-[<i>ka-am-ma</i>]	my flesh has not been good to me. No[ne] of his messengers
10	[<i>i-na p</i>]-[<i>a-ni-ia a-ka-la ul i</i>]-[<i>ku</i> ¹]-[<i>ul ù ši-ka-ra</i> [ul <i>iš-ti</i>]	has ever eaten a meal in my presence [nor has drunk] a beer.

⁴⁴ Holmes interprets EA 3:23-28 as Kadasman-Enlil inviting the Egyptian messengers to "come and eat and drink with me." However, ll. 27 and 28 seem to contain the imperative 2nd ps. sg. and seem not to refer to the messengers, who have merely seen the new house (l. 25: [DUMU].¹MEŠ¹ *ši-pi-ri-ka i-ta-am*-[*ru ù*]).

11	[i-nu]-ú DUMU šī-ip-ri-ka ta-ša- ³ a-al-ma i- ¹ qā ¹ - [ab-bi-ka]	[When] you are going to ask your messenger, he will t[ell you].
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And Aššur-uballiṭ I promises good treatment of the Egyptian messengers at his court in his presence:

EA 16: ll. 6-8:

6	‘DUMU’.MEŠ šī- ¹ ip-ri ¹ -ka ki-i a-mu-ru	After I had seen your messengers
7	ḥa-da- ¹ a-ku ¹ da-ni-iš DUMU.MEŠ šī-ip-ri-ka	I rejoiced greatly. Your messengers shall
8	a-na ¹ tek ¹ -né-e i-na maḥ-ri-ia lu aš-bu	reside near me in (order to receive) great care.

2.1.4 Receiving a letter

As mentioned above the address formula “Speak (= read out loud) to PN (=recipient)!” was in use since the third millennium BC and implies that the letter is read out loudly to the recipient. The messenger, who had carried the tablet to the recipient might have read it out loudly to him, as he was always present during receipt (regarding issues with different dialects or pronunciation in international correspondence see Hoffner 2009: 51).

When a letter was received, it was read out loudly⁴⁵ (*šasû*, *šitassû*, *našsû*), and it was heard (*šemû*,⁴⁶ Wilcke 2000: 27). Wilcke (2000: 26) has analysed the occurrence of the verbs *šemû*, “to listen”, and *amāru*, “to see” in the OB letters. Most of the northern Mesopotamian (including the Diyala east of the Tigris) letters mention that the recipients did listen to the content of the letters being read to them. The central/southern Babylonian letters appear to show that the recipient “saw” the letter, and did not “listen to” it (Wilcke 2000: 28).

These phrases referring to the recipient perceiving a letter were also practiced in school texts. In southern Mesopotamian scribal schools phrases containing *amāru*, “to see”, were practiced for letter writing. These phrases are also attested in school exercises from the Diyala region. In practice, however, the northern Babylonian scribes preferred to refer to the recipient “listening to” the letter being “read to” them (Wilcke 2000: 28).

OA letters from *kārum* Kaniš contain references to listening to as well as seeing a letter (Wilcke 2000: 27). The OA letter says:

kt 83/k 117, Günbatti 1995: 107-108; Hecker 2006: 87 (P361476, see also the OA letter L 29-573, rev. 5-7): obv. ll. 5-12, rev. ll. 5-11:

obv. 5	<i>ṭup-pè-e wa-bar-tum</i>	The trading station of Ulama and Šalatuar had
obv. 6	<i>ša Ū-lá-ma ù Ša-lá-tù-ar</i>	tablets brought to you, and
obv. 7	<i>ú-šé-bi4-lu-nim-ma</i>	
obv. 8	<i>ni-iš-ta-me-ma ni-ik-nu-uk-ma</i>	we listened (to them), and we sealed (them), and
obv. 9	<i>na-áš-ú-ni-ku-nu-tí</i>	they are brought up to you.
obv. 10	<i>i-ša-am-ší ṭup-pè-e</i>	On the day that we ourselves listened to the
obv. 11	<i>ni-iš-ta-me-ú</i>	tablets,
obv. 12	<i>2 šī-ip-ri</i>	we (immediately) sent two messengers [...].

⁴⁵ It is unlikely that the address formula “Speak to PN!” was addressed to the object carrying the message, i.e. the cuneiform tablet, as Kristensen (1977: 144) proposed for the address formulae of Ugaritic letters.

⁴⁶ The G-stem *šasû* (“to shout, summon, exclaim, proclaim, make a loud noise”, CAD Š/2: 147) and the Gtn-stem *šitassû* (“to call, to produce sounds repeatedly/again and again/continually”, CAD Š/2: 147) can both be translated as “to read” and - with *ana pani* - also “to read out loudly”.

obv. 13-rev. 4	...	...
rev. 5	<i>ni-iš-ta-pár a-wa-tám</i>	The first word which they send to us,
rev. 6	<i>pá-ni-tám-ma</i>	
rev. 7	<i>ša ú-bu-lu-ni-ni</i>	
rev. 8	<i>ni-ša-pá-ra-ku-nu-tí-ma</i>	we are going to send to you (pl.),
rev. 9	<i>ú-za-ku-nu ni-pá-tí</i>	so that we are going to open your (pl.) ears.
rev. 10	<i>I-ku-pì-a DUB.SAR</i>	Ikū'a, the scribe,
rev. 11	<i>ši-pár-ni</i>	is our messenger.

The following Kassite letter is an example for the use of *amāru*, to see what was written down (*šaṭir*):

PBS 1/2, 77: obv. ll. 1'-6':

obv. 1'	<i>ša i-na</i> ^{URU} _r KÁ.DINGIR.RA ^{KI} ₁	... which in Babylon
obv. 2'	<i>tu-uš-i-da-an-ni</i>	you brought to my attention.
obv. 3'	<i>um-ma-a i-na</i> ^{GIŠ} _{LI.U5} .UM	The following: I looked at (=read) the wooden writing board.
obv. 4'	<i>lu-mu-ur i-na</i> ^{GIŠ} _{LI.U5} .UM	After I had looked at (=had read) my wooden writing board,
obv. 5'	<i>at-tu-ú-a ki-i a-m-ru</i>	
obv. 6'	<i>ul ša-at-ru</i>	(I found that) they are not written down (there).

PBS 1/2, 77: obv. ll. 9'-b.e. l. 2':

obv. 9'	<i>¹Iš-bu-ú-la a-bu-ú-a</i>	"Išbūla, my father,
b.e. 1'	<i>i-na ši-be me-e ša</i>	during/in (the section under) the soakings (of fields) with water of
b.e. 2'	<i>^{1d}Nin-urta-ŠÚM-ŠEŠ.MEŠ ša-ṭi-ir</i>	Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē is written down there."

PBS 1/2, 77: rev. ll. 4'-5':

rev. 4'	<i>a-bu-ú-a</i> ^r _{i-na} ¹ MU-22-KAM	"my father, in the 22 nd year
rev. 5'	<i>Na-zi-^rMúru¹-taš ša-ṭi-ir</i>	of (king) Nazi-maruttaš was written down (there)."

PBS 1/2, 77: rev. ll. 7'-10':

rev. 7'	<i>i-na</i> MU-22-KAM	"In the 22 nd year
rev. 8'	<i>Bur-na-Bu-ri-ia-aš</i>	of (king) Burna-Buriaš
rev. 9'	<i>^{1d}Nin-urta-ri-im-DINGIR.MEŠ a-bu-ú-a</i>	Ninurta-rīm-aḥḥē, my father,
rev. 10'	<i>ša-ṭi-ir</i>	was written down there."

Additional to the written message a messenger might have conveyed ancillary information orally to the recipient. In the treaty CTH 41, 131, KBo 1.5, iv, 32-39 Tudḥališa II cautions Sunaššura: "if the words spoken by the messenger do not correspond to what is written on the tablet, you must not trust him." (CTH 41 and 131, KBo 1.5, iv, 32-39, see Beckman 1999: 20, 171).

In the unpublished Mari letter A.836 Ibāl-(pī?)-El proposes to king Zimri-Lim to make his messenger orally proclaim a different information than written on the clay tablet (Charpin 2007: 413). In a famous example from OB Mari the messengers are blamed for conveying a similar sounding, but wrong name of a man (Yadiḥ-abum instead of Yaḥadum; cf. A.2435 and ARM III, 68, Charpin 1995: 54-55).

2.1.6 Conclusion: the importance of the messenger

The overview of the process of letter writing, the attestations for the role, rank, rations and the complaints about mistakes by messengers in the OA, Mari, Amarna and Kassite letters show how important the messenger was for the transfer of the message. He could be identical with the scribe, he had to know and/or be able to read out loudly the content of the letter, and he had to know (how to

locate) the recipient. Thus, the Kassite letters often only refer to the recipient by his title - it was unnecessary to add more information such as a personal name, because the conveyor of the message, the messenger, did know this information.

For this reason in some letters of the 3rd millennium and in the OB period the address formula is missing. As the messenger knew all the relevant information, he could orally greet and address the recipient. Thus, written address and greeting formulae were unnecessary and this also explains their “frozen” formulaic character, as well as the occasional mix of pronouns and suffixes in the 2nd and 3rd ps.

The OA, Mari and Amarna letters tell us that ambassador-like functionaries were messengers (*mār šipri*). However, in a non-international, inner-state context, runners and tablet-carriers may have delivered local messages within Nippur and within the kingdom. The Kassite expenditure lists show messengers as subordinates of elite officials. They receive smaller amounts of rations than other officials.

3. The parts of a letter

The elements of a Mesopotamian letter are 1) address formula, 2) greeting formula, 3) one or several messages, and 4) exhortation.

Address and greetings formulae are codes applied by the scribes, and the different phrases, which are used according to the relationship and the hierarchy between sender and recipient, are subcodes. They follow the conventions of the communication system, and are understood by its interpretive communities. With a few exceptions (the OB *ze'pum*⁴⁷ letters, for instance) Mesopotamian letters are characterised by a traditional address formula, which is directed at the messenger, and by a respective greeting formula, as well as by genre-specific phrases and expressions (Sallaberger 1999: 9).

The elements of a Mesopotamian letter are formulated independently of the function of the letter, i.e. whether it is an order, accusation, request or report (see below “3.3.1 The epistolary function of a message”; Sallaberger 1999: 21, 30-31).

“Damit herrscht in der vertikalen Beziehung innerhalb einer Hierarchie oder einer als familienähnlich aufgefaßten Struktur ein asymmetrisches Anredeverhalten. Ein Brief an den König ist an *bēlī* adressiert und in indirekter Anrede gehalten; dieser schreibt in seinem Antwortbrief in der Adresse Namen oder Titel des Untergebenen und spricht diesen in der 2. P. an. Höflichkeit äußert sich hier darin, daß dieses Untergebenenverhältnis in der Regel nicht explizit geäußert wird [...].“ (Sallaberger 1999: 71)

The address and greeting formula were used to express polite submission and respect, i.e. they have the function to verbalise deference towards the recipient and signal the continuation of servitude and submission in the future. The expression of the address and greeting formula is an act of honorification, which strengthens the positive image of the recipient, and, thus, transfers positive courtesy. Addresses to the recipient, and self-references to the sender which could diminish the positive image of the recipient, i.e. address appellatives and appositions which would express a lower rank of the recipient and self-references of the sender which imply a higher rank are both avoided. Instead they are replaced by neutral personal names, see Sallaberger 1999: 45-46.

⁴⁷ Finkelstein 1972: 2-6; Edzard 1995: 142-143; Sallaberger 1999: 26.

formulaic element	Eblaite letters	Old Sum. letters	OAkk letters	Ur III letters	OB ¹ letters	OA letters	Kassite letters	Ugarit/Amarna letters	MA letters
Address Formula: - sender	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	x	x	x	x
Address Formula: - recipient	x	(x)	(x)	x	x	x	x	x	x
Greeting Formula					(x)		(x)	(x)	(x)

x = generally attested formulaic element,

(x) = not always attested, e.g. not attested in letters from superiors to inferiors; only apparent in certain subgroups (e.g. between “brothers” or in letters from subordinates to their lords)

Fig. 1: address and greeting formulae in letters from the 3rd and 2nd millennium.

3.1 The address formula

In the address formula both sender and recipient are named. There are several options to choose from when phrasing the address formula. The sender (or his scribe) knew the social conventions as well as the conventions of letter writing, and the choice he made gives us information about the relations between sender and recipient (Sallaberger 1999: 21).

3.1.1 The address formula in the 3rd millennium

According to Sallaberger the letters in the 3rd millennium were formulated as instructions to the messenger, and the address formula was only a memory aid for the messenger. The address formula was not obligatory in the 3rd millennium BC. It became obligatory in the first half of the second millennium BC in the OA and OB letters.⁴⁸

In the address formula of Eblaite letters the sender is stated first *enma*⁴⁹ *mal(i)kum*/PN, “the following the king/PN”. This note of authorisation is followed by the introduction of the recipient *šin*⁵⁰ PN, “to PN” (for deviations see Kienast and Waetzoldt 1990: 63-65). Lambert indicates a connection to the Old Akkadian *enma* PN₁ *ana* PN₂ *qibima* (Lambert 1981: 156-157).

The first part of the address formula in the Old Sumerian letters from Girsu is the note of authorisation (“Legitimationsvermerk”, Kienast and Volk 1995: 4-5) stating who commissioned the message: 1. PN(-

⁴⁸ Sallaberger 1999: 22-23.

⁴⁹ It is unclear whether the Eblaite *en-ma* is the equivalent to the Old Akkadian *en-ma*, “thus” (Lambert 1981: 156). However, the known Eblaite examples for the Eblaite address formula all begin with *en-ma*. Kienast and Waetzoldt (1990: 65) also list the sentence *du₁₁ (or inim) en a₅-na en-na-da-gan* (Aret XIII, 1: r. 7,2-7,5), perhaps “that which is said (the word or even order) of the king to Enna-Dagan”, under the examples for Eblaite address formulae in letters. However, this example does not belong in the context of Eblaite address formulae. The Eblaite text TM.75.G.1913+ is not a letter, but a document from the religious context (Archi and Biga 2003: 1-5, Fronzaroli 2003: 12). The line in question seems not to record a quote from a letter (between two kings ?), equivalent to a greeting formula, but an order of the king to Enna-Dagan to deliver animals to the temple priestess for sacrifice (Fronzaroli 2003: 5).

⁵⁰ For the translation of the preposition *šin* for Akkadian *ina* and *ana* see Diakonoff 1990: 28; Kienast and Waetzoldt 1990: 64; Lambert 1981: 155-160; Pettinato 1980: 232-233.

e) na-(b)é-a. This is traditionally understood to derive from i-n.na-b-e-a, “that (is it), which PN is saying (to him)” (a finite nominalised clause with an imperfective *marû* form + 3rd ps. sg. dative marker, Dahl 2020: 247; Kienast and Volk 1995: 5). Kienast and Volk (1995: 4-7) propose a perfective translation of the address formula from the perspective of the messenger: “This is, what PN has said: ‘Speak to PN!’” The Old Akkadian equivalent *enma* PN, “The following PN”, and the younger Akkadian version *umma*⁵¹ PN are not a complete sentence.

The OS “Legitimationsvermerk” is followed by the imperative PN(-ra) du₁₁-ga-na, “Speak to PN”, parallel to the Old Akkadian imperative *ana* PN *qibima* (Kienast and Volk 1995: 4-5). In the Akkad period the imperative is replaced by PN(-ra) ú-na(-a-)du₁₁, “after you have spoken to PN”⁵² (Kienast and Volk 1995: 5; Thomsen 1984: 209).⁵³

Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian letters begin with the aforementioned address formula stating both sender and recipient. In letter orders the address formula is occasionally omitted, or appears at the end of the letter after stating the theme/main concern of the letter (as a one sided address formula which only mentions either sender or recipient, Kienast and Volk 1995: 11-13).

Ur III letters contain an address formula, but never a greeting formula. We can distinguish between three types of address formulae (Dahl 2020: 242): type I does not mention the sender, but only the recipient (PN(-ra) ú-na(-a-)du₁₁, “after you have spoken to PN”). Type II contains both the name and/or title of the sender and of the recipient. Almost all Type II letters state the sender before the recipient (Dahl 2020: 247), which might be due to the higher rank of the sender in these cases (1. PN /title (e.g. lugal-gu₁₀) na-bé-a, “PN”/title (e.g. “my king) say(s)”, 2. PN(-ra) ú-na(-a-)du₁₁, “after you have spoken to PN”). In Type III letters the actual message, a list of objects or people, precedes the address (Dahl 2020: 248).

3.1.2 The Old Babylonian address formula

The address formula of Old Babylonian (OB) letters states first the recipient, *ana* PN *qibima*, “Speak to PN”, then secondly the sender, *umma* PN-*ma*, “PN says the following” (Sallaberger 1999: 22); in the late OB period the sender could be named first. Unlike the Old Assyrian letters the order was generally not reversed according to the hierarchy of sender and recipient (Whiting 1987: 4-5). In general, if the recipient of an OB letter is of equal or lower rank, then in most cases there is no title applied to him, but he is only addressed with his personal name.

⁵¹ Regarding the translation of *umma* see Sallaberger 1999: 24, fn. 25.

⁵² see Dahl 2020: 243, fns. 485 and 486 with further literature about the translation of PN(-ra) ú-na(-a-)du₁₁ as imperative or prospective form. See also Jagersma 2010: 161, 526 (ex. 39, 119).

⁵³ “After you have spoken to PN” is directed at the messenger who carried the letter to the recipient; thus the address formula is also called “Botenformel”, “Botenauftrag”, or “Auftragsvermerk” in German (Kienast and Volk 1995: 4; Sallaberger 1999: 23). See above “2.1.3 The messenger” for the role of the messenger as conveyor of the message.

The early Old Babylonian letters of Ešnunna often only contain a short address formula *ana PN₁ qibima* similar to the Type I address formula of Ur III letters (see above). Whiting (1987: 4-5) assumes that the sender's name was written on the envelope surrounding the letters, or the messenger informed the recipient about the identity of the sender.

In the earliest OB I-letters from the 19th century addressed to higher ranking recipients the recipient was addressed with his personal name, which could be followed by a title (1. *ana PN (+ bēlī/abī) qibima*). This could either be *bēlī* ("my lord", used for a much higher ranking recipient), or *abī*, ("my father", to address an equal or slightly higher ranking recipient, cf. Sallaberger 1999: 34-35, 37). These appellatives/titles were used to express the superiority of the recipient, seldom an equal rank (such as *aḫī/aḫātī*).

Most commonly the sender refers to himself solely with his name in the address formula (Sallaberger 1999: 42-43). If the sender added a kinship apposition (for example, *aḫūka*, "your brother"), it matched the one of the recipient (*aḫī*, "my brother", in this instance). Real siblings addressed each other with their personal names, not appellatives.

Only in the younger OB letters it became popular to replace the recipients' names with titles in the address formula. From ca. 1800 BC onward OB II-letters addressed to higher ranking recipients could replace the name of the higher ranking recipient with a wide range of administrative, religious and military titles (Sallaberger 1999: 38-39) and (kinship) appellatives: 1. *ana bēlī/šāpirī/abī/ummī (aḫī/aḫātī/awīlum) (ša GN uballītušu) qibima*, 2. *umma PN-ma*. Apart from the personal name of the recipient, the appellatives *bēlī* and *aḫī* are the only appellatives, which are used both in the OB and the Kassite period to address a recipient.

Bēlī is the most widespread appellative (Sallaberger 1999: 56). Subjects to the king addressed him *ana bēlīja*; which is also used to address other superior officials. This is still the case in the Kassite period (see below). However, as opposed to the Kassite period, in the OB period the senders rarely refer to themselves with *waradka*, "your servant", but with their name or title (Sallaberger 1999: 30). *bēlī/bēlī* and *šāpirī* expressed close relations to the recipient, since they contain the 1st ps. sg. possessive suffix (i.e. "my lord/lady/overseer"), as opposed to the neutral appellative *awīlum*. In the OB letters the sender chose to address a recipient with *bēlī*, if he perceived the recipient as having a much higher rank than himself; *aḫī* was chosen for either an equal or slightly higher ranking official, see Sallaberger 1999: 69.

The second appellative which survives from the 3rd millennium throughout the OB period up to the Kassite letter corpus is *aḫī* (Sallaberger 1999: 62). *Aḫī* expresses familiarity and an equal relationship. The 3rd ps. verb forms are rarely used in combination with this appellative. *Aḫī* appears most frequently in late OB letters with an elaborate greeting formula, and either verb forms in the simple 2nd ps., or in combination with 2nd ps. personal pronouns with an appellative as apposition (such as *aḫī atta*), see Sallaberger 1999: 62-63. These late OB letters were, perhaps, antecedents to the Kassite *aḫu*-letters, which also contain the most elaborate greeting formulae of all types of Kassite period letters.

After 1800 BC it became more common to use kinship appellatives instead of a personal name, such as *aḫī/aḫātī/abī/ummī*, “my brother/sister/father/mother”. This did not necessarily imply blood relations. Since kinship and family relations represented a core value in Ancient Near Eastern society, kinship terms were used to express close relations in the address formula.

While it became more common to address higher ranking recipients with the formal title *awīlum* from the 17th century BC/Ammīditana’s reign onward (cf. OB III letters to a superior: 1. *ana bēlī/šāpirī/abī/aḫī/awīlum* (ša GN *uballītušu*) *qibima*), only ca. 10% (in provenanced letters from Kiš and Sippar nearly none) of the letters contain the title *awīlum*, “lord”, and ca. 5% either *abī/ummī* or *bēlī*. The recipients from the youngest OB letters (Kiš and Sippar) are mostly addressed with their personal name; out of these ca. 60-80% contain a greeting formula, see Sallaberger 1999: 33, 36.

3.1.3 The Old Assyrian address formula

OA letters directed at a superior recipient state the recipient before the sender in the address formula *ana PN₁ qibima umma PN₂(ma)*, whereas OA letters to inferior or equal ranking recipients turn the order of recipient and sender around: *umma PN₂ ana PN₁ qibima*.⁵⁴

3.1.4 The Amarna and Ugaritic address formula

As opposed to the OB and the Kassite tradition the Ugaritic address formula follows the same principle as the OA formula: an equal or higher ranking correspondent⁵⁵ is introduced first, the lower ranking correspondent second (Nougayrol, 1955: 2-3; Ahl 1973: 69-74). This strict hierarchical principle seems to be a trait in the Ugarit and the OA letters, but seems to have not played a role in OB Babylonia (Sallaberger 1999: 22), nor does it appear in the Kassite epistolary material.

The sender introduces himself with *umma PN(-ma/ardīka/tupšarri/mār šarri etc.)* or *aban kunukkīma*, the recipient is addressed with *ana PN (+title/appellative) qibima* (Ahl 1973: 72-74). As is the case in other corpora an inferior sender also uses honorific titles/appellatives to address the higher ranking recipient. According to Nougayrol (1955: 2) small countries were meticulous in matters of etiquette and ceremony, and consistently and consequently used both address formulae according to the hierarchy (Ahl 1973: 70-72).

As opposed to the Ugaritic material and in accordance with the Kassite address formula, the order of sender and recipient in the Amarna address formula does not reflect the social status of the correspondents (Mynářová 2007: 115-122). This is visible in letters from the Babylonian king to the pharaoh: he addresses the pharaoh first, certainly not implying that the pharaoh had a higher rank than himself. Furthermore it is apparent in the Kassite letters that the order of sender and recipient in the address formula tells us nothing about the status of the correspondents (see below).

⁵⁴ Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 55; Michel 2001: 35; Whiting 1987: 4-5.

⁵⁵ Schaeffer 1955: xx.

EA 8: obv. ll. 1-4:

1	[a-na] Na-ap-ḫu-u ³ -ru-re-[ia]	S[peak] to Napḫu'rure[ia],
2	ʽLUGALʽ KUR Mi-iṣ-ri-i ŠEŠ-ia ʽqīʽ-[bí-ma]	the king of the land of Egypt, my brother.
3	um-ma Bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš LUGAL KUR Ka-ra-	Thus, (says) Burna-Buriaš, the king of the land
	[du-ni-aš]	of Karaduniaš,
4a	ŠEŠ-ka-ma	your brother:

EA 148: obv. ll. 1-2:

1	a-na LUGAL EN-lí-ia DINGIR-ia ʽUTU-ja	To the king, my lord, my god, my sun:
2	um-ma A-bi-LUGAL ARAD-ka	the following (says) Abī-milkī (of Tyre), your servant:

In the Amarna letters from Syria/Palestine *umma* can be followed by a PN in the Genitive. Then it is to be translated as “the word of PN”, according to its Ugaritic equivalent *thm* PN (Ahl 1973: 72; Albright, 1942: 33, fn. 7; Rainey, 1996/3: 176-180).

It seems the Kassite usage of the address formulae was not influential in the West: the strict hierarchical principle of addressing a higher ranking correspondent first can only be found in the Akkadian letters from Ugarit and in OA letters, but not in OB and Kassite ones from Babylonia and in MA letters. Letter writing was taught in scribal schools. According to Cohen (2013: 65) schooling material in the Late Bronze Age had reached Emar, Ḫattuša and Ugarit from OB Babylonia via the Middle Euphrates region, Assur and Hurrian regions, although it showed a great variety and different writing styles and grammatical features (and the time of transmission varies). Based on the comparison in this chapter, the address formula in Ugarit may have been influenced by OA traditions, and reached Ugarit in the OB period.

3.1.5 The Kassite address formula

a) *ardu*-letters

The largest group of Kassite letters are *ardu*-letters, which were written to a higher ranking recipient, who is addressed with the title *bēlu*. The king was also addressed with the title *bēlu*. Biggs (1965: 95-96) assumed that all *ardu*-letters were addressed to the king. However, some of the *ardu*-letters were clearly addressed to high-ranking officials, such as the *šandabakku* (the governor of Nippur, see below “5. The province of Nippur and the office of the *šandabakku*”), and not to the king. An example is the corpus of medical *ardu*-letters from the physician Šumu-libši, who reports to his *bēlu* about the sickness of (temple) singers (BE 17, 31-33, 47, PBS 1/2, 71, N 969). His colleague Bēlu-muballiṭ reports to a *bēlu* about the same patients (PBS 1/2, 72). Since we have letters from the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī to Šumu-libši preserved (BE 17, 53 and PBS 1/2, 82), it is very likely that the *bēlu*, whom Šumu-libši and Bēlu-muballiṭ address, is the governor of Nippur and not the king. However, the *šandabakku* was not the only recipient of *ardu*-letters: in the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 26: obv. l. 4 the sender writes about the *šandabakku*: *i-tu* GÚ.EN.NA *ša be-lí ʽiṣʽ-[pu-ra ?]*, “to the *šandabakku*, about whom my lord [had sent (a letter) to me (?)]”.

In the submissive address formula of *ardu*-letters the sender refers to himself as *aradka* PN₁/PN₁ *aradka*, “your servant PN₁/PN₁, your servant”. As opposed to the OA and the Ugaritic address formulae the subordinate sender can be mentioned before the superior recipient. There are two types of address-formulae of *ardu*-letters: in type a) the sender refers to himself in the first line (*aradka* PN₁), followed by the greeting formula. The greeting formula can be followed by the second part of the address-formula: *ummā ana bēlījama*, “The following (say) to my lord”. This second part, however, is optional.

In type b) the order of sender and recipient is reversed: First the sender addresses his superior *ana bēlīja qibima*, “Speak to my lord:”, followed by *umma* PN₁ *aradka*, “the following (says) PN₁, your servant”.

Hypocorisms are not common in *ardu*-letters; the *ardu*-letter CT 51, 41 from Ninnū’a to Bananāju is an exception. The *ardu*-letter HS 115 begins with a list and lacks a traditional address- and greeting formula.

218 Kassite letters are *ardu*-letters: AO 8134 (TBER, pl. 14); BE 17, 1-33, 33a, 34-52, 54-60, 60a, 61-74, 94; Biggs, JCS 19: 98-99;

CBS 2104, 4739, CBS 4740+ N 2483, CBS 4742, 4753, 4765, 4767, 4770, 4771, 4773, 4774, 4776, 4779, 4788, 4792, 4793, 4794, 4885, 5486, 7824, 7825, 7826, 7880, 8665, 9822, 9948, 10209, 10559, 13388, 14200, 15009;

CT 43, 59, 102, CT 51, 41;

HS 108, 109, 112, 114, 115 (list), 116;

N 898+931, 958, 961, 965, 967, 969, 985, 1259, 1286, 1476+1478, 1497, 1608, 1754, 1985, 2016, 2239, 2324, 2627, 2656, 3227, 3443+3631, 3508, 3531, 3543, 3546, 4387, 4428;

PBS 1/2, 15-16, 18-20, 22, 25-26, 27+54, 28, 33, 37+N 4296, 38, 40-44, 47-53, 55-59, 61-66, 68, 70-73, 78-80, 83-86; PBS 7, 29; PBS 12/1, 24; PBS 13, 76;

Scheil RT 19, 60⁵⁶;

UM 29-13-544, 29-13-638, 29-13-681, 29-13-725, 29-15-43, 29-15-87, 29-15-317, 29-15-347, 29-15-380, 29-15-468, 29-15-516, 29-15-692, 29-15-729, 29-15-992, 29-15-994, 29-16-29, 29-16-201, 29-16-299, 29-16-304, 29-16-615, 29-16-686, 29-16-786;

b) *bēlu* and *šarru*-letters

Two groups of Kassite letters are from a superior sender directed at a lower ranking recipient: the *bēlu*- and the *šarru*-letters.

⁵⁶ The address-formula of the letter Scheil, RT 19: 356 (p. 60; Ni. 356) is broken off. It contains an elaborate greeting formula reminiscent of the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 24 from Kalbu to his lord (see forthcoming Zimmermann 2021). However, some *aḫu*-letters between equal officials could contain elaborate greeting formulae, as well.

Bēlu-letters were sent from a higher ranking official to a lower ranking one, for example, from the *šandabakku*, the allegedly highest ranking official under the Kassite king, to an inferior one (such as BE 17, 78 and 79). *Bēlu*-letters found in the palace are either copies of sent letters, drafts, or unsent letters. The address formula of the *bēlu*-letters is *ana* PN₁ *qibima umma* PN₂. Again the lower ranking recipient is mentioned before the superior sender, as opposed to the OA and Syro-Palestinian tradition. Furthermore the Kassite letters largely follow the OB tradition of writing *ana* PN *qibima* with BÍ and not BI. Popova (2016: 64) notes that the same OB orthography is applied in the address formulae of Alalakh VII-letters (mid-17th century BC). The Babylonian orthography *qí-bí-ma* had become an orthogram, a fixed writing “which [was] used in the same form so often that [it] had been memorized by scribes since childhood” (Popova 2016: 64). Outside the address formula verb forms of *qabû* could be written with the sign BI; this is also the case in Kassite period letters, such as in the family letter PBS 1/2, 21, in which the orthogram *qí-bí-[ma]* is written in the address formula (obv. l. 2), while the imperative *qí-bi-i* in obv. l. 9 is written with BI.⁵⁷ The contemporary MA letters on the other hand follow the parallel Assyrian tradition from the OA letters, and apply BI instead of BÍ (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 54-55).

27 Kassite letters are *bēlu*-letters: BE 17, 53, 78-79, 83-86, 93, 97, 99⁵⁸; CBS 4735, CBS 4772; HS 110, HS 111, HS 113; N 1593; NBC 10731; PBS 1/2, 23, 29, 31-32, 34, 39, 69, 82; UM 29-15-741, UM 29-16-136.

Some higher ranking officials address lower ranking officials with hypocorisms, such as the famous officials Innannu and Martukkû. This may be, because these recipients belonged to a different household (that of a temple), and, thus, a scribal convention from the *aḫu*-letters between equal, high-ranking officials (see below “c) *aḫu*-letters”) was adapted.

Only a small number of letters appear to be *šarru*-letters, i.e. sent from the king to the *šandabakku*. The address formula of *šarru* letters is, *ana* PN *qibima umma šarrumma*, “Speak to PN, the following says the king”. It is obvious that the king is higher ranking, but is mentioned after the lower ranking recipient. Out of three *šarru* letters, BE 17, 75, PBS 1/2, 24, and 76, two letters, BE 17, 75 and PBS 1/2, 24, were sent to the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk, and one letter, PBS 1/2, 76, is addressed to the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē.

c) *aḫu*-letters

The third Kassite letter group, the *aḫu*-letters,⁵⁹ stem from the context of the very highest level of elite officials, since the senders referred to themselves with the term *aḫuka*, “your brother”. It has been

⁵⁷ See the Kassite examples PBS 1/2, 42: rev. l. 9: *a-qa-ab-bi*;

PBS 1/2, 16: obv. l. 5; 29: obv. l. 10: *aq/ta-aq-bi*;

BE 17, 23: rev. l. 11; 52, rev. l. 8; 55: obv. l. 7; PBS 1/2, 47: rev. l. 2: *aq/iq/ni-iq/-ta-bi(-šu-nu-ti)*;

PBS 1/2, 59, obv. l. 8; 61: rev. l. 6: *li-iq-bi-ma*.

⁵⁸ Note the imperative *alkamma* in obv. l. 10^c.

⁵⁹ Güterbock 1945-1951: 130.

assumed that *aḫu*-letters were directed at the presumably highest ranking provincial governor of the Kassite kingdom, the governor of Nippur (*šandabakku*). The senders deemed the recipient slightly higher ranking than themselves.

The address formula of the *aḫu*-letters is *ana* PN₁ *qibima umma* PN₂ *aḫūkama* (occasionally *ša arāmu*, “whom I love”, is inserted). The recipient is often addressed with a hypocorism.⁶⁰ Thus, it is not always clear whether one of the recipients is one of the well-known *šandabakkus*. The following hypocorisms⁶¹ are attested: Amīlīja (BM 82720; BE 17, 80+PBS 1/2, 46; PBS 1/2, 30, 36, 45, 67, 81) for the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk, Illilīja (CBS 4769, BE 17, 88, Ni 615, Ni 641) or Illīja (BE 17, 92) for the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī, and, perhaps, Ninnū’a⁶² (BE 17, 89) for the *šandabakkus* Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē or Ninurta-apla-iddina. Further attested hypocorisms in *aḫu*-letters are: Amurrīja (UDBD 114), Danitīja⁶³ (BE 17, 82), Iddīja and Iddinīja (CT 44, 67 and PBS 1/2, 74), Innū’a (BE 17, 87), and Nūrīja (CT 43, 94). As mentioned above, hypocorisms do not only appear in *aḫu*-letters, but also in a few *ardu*- and *bēlu*-letters.

The following 29 Kassite letters are *aḫu*-letters: BM 82720; BE 17, 80 + PBS 1/2, BE 17, 81-82, 87, 88, 89-90, 92, 96; CBS 4730, CBS 4769, CBS 4782; CT 43, 60, 94; CT 44, 67; N 2631, N 3393⁶⁴; Ni. 615, Ni. 641, PBS 1/2, 30, 36, 45, 67, 74, 81; UDBD 114; UM 29-13-600, UM 29-15-322.

d) International and family letters

Two small sub groups of Kassite letters are family letters and international letters.

There are three letters which can be termed “family letters”: a letter from a father (BE 17, 76, l. 1: *um-ma-a a-bi-ka*, short note, orders), from a sister (PBS 1/2, 21: *a-ḫa-at-ka-ma*), and a letter to a father (and mother, PBS 1/2, 35: obv. l. 1 *a-na a[-bi-ia/-ḫi-ka ...]*, rev. ll. 1-2: *a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi [...]* *a-bi-ia ù um-mi-ia*¹). It is unclear whether these letters expressed real blood-relations, since kinship appellatives were used for non-family-members, and in the OB period siblings addressed each other with their personal names (Sallaberger 1999: 44-45).

Three letters from Nippur can be termed “international”, as they come from Assur: BE 17, 77 and 91, as well as Ni. 669.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ For Kassite hypocorisms see Hölscher 1996: 9-10 and Sassmannshausen 1998: 840.

⁶¹ Sassmannshausen 2001: 10.

⁶² Ninnū’a is also the sender of the *ardu*-letter CT 51, 41.

⁶³ Hölscher (1996: 60) does not suspect this to be a hypocorism, but a female name; see the review by Sassmannshausen 1998: 840.

⁶⁴ Although the sender of N 3393 refers to himself as *abūka*, “your father”, the form of N 3393 resembles an *aḫu*-letter. See the discussion below under “c) N 3393: the transition period between Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and his successor Enlil-kidinnī”.

⁶⁵ von Soden, 1957-1958: 368-371.

e) Unclear category

The following 29 letters cannot be clearly attributed to one of the six types of Kassite letters described above: BE 17, 59a, 95, 98; CBS 4731, CBS 4777, CBS 4787, CBS 5487, CBS 7245, CBS 7388, CBS 8325, CBS 8666+8667, CBS 10927, CBS 13345, CBS 14209; N 879, N 930+934, N 966, N 2031, N 3051, N 4330; NBC 10719; PBS 1/2, 17, 60, 75, 77; PBS 13, 68; UM 29-15-322; UM 29-15-668, UM 29-16-241.

3.1.6 The Middle Assyrian address formula

We can distinguish two types of address formulae in MA letters: The first type is usually written from a higher ranking sender to a subordinate recipient, and thus lacks the polite greeting formula. The address formula is *ana PN₁ qibima umma PN₂(ma)*, and it only contains the name of the recipient, followed by that of the sender (not vice versa, as it is the case in the OA letters), followed by a line incised into the clay, which separates the letter text from the address formula (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 54-56).

The second type of address formula appears in letters from subordinates to higher ranking officials. It occurs together with a greeting, and/or “devotion formula” (see below). It says *ana PN₁ bēlīja tuppi PN₂ urdīka*, “To PN₁, my lord, the tablet of PN₂, your servant” (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 56-57).

3.2 The greeting formula

Ahl (1973:49-50, 75-82) distinguishes three elements of a greeting formula in Akkadian letters from Ugarit: “an obeisance of the sender to the addressee”, “a greeting”, and a “divine blessing”. These categories are applicable to Ancient Near Eastern epistolary material. While the long OB greeting formulae differ in their elaborate phraseology from the younger and shorter Kassite ones, the internal Kassite greeting formulae show similarities to the (contemporary) formulae attested in Ugarit and the international Amarna correspondence, but also the MA greeting formulae. Especially international *aḫu*-letters between the “brotherhood of kings” and internal Kassite *aḫu*-letters show similarities.

3.2.1 The Old Babylonian greeting formula

The letters from the 3rd millennium do not contain a greeting formula.⁶⁶ In general, Old Assyrian letters do not seem to have contained any greeting formulae, either (Hecker 2006: 77-100; Michel 2001). All of the early OB letters from Lagaš and Umma from the 19th century BC do not include any greeting formulae. Accordingly, most of the Ešnunna letters, which come from the early OB period, do not contain a greeting formula, either (Whiting, 1987: 5).⁶⁷ A greeting formula only became common after 1800 BC.⁶⁸ Whether the sender chooses to include a greeting formula at all (Sallaberger 1999: 21), but also which greeting formula he chooses to apply, informs us about his relation with the recipient.

From ca. 1800 BC onward ca. 70% of the letters which address the recipient with his name in the address formula, contain a greeting formula - it seemed to be especially common among the elite of officials working in Larsa under Ḫammurapi’s reign (1792-1750; cf. Sallaberger 1999: 38).

The recipients of a majority of the slightly younger letters from the time of Ḫammurapi (1792-1750) and Samsu-iluna (1749-1712) from Larsa, Nippur and Lagaba are addressed with their personal names (ca. 90% Larsa, ca. 85% Nippur, ca. 68% Lagaba). Most of those letters in which a recipient is addressed directly with his name and not only by a title contain a greeting formula. Out of these the highest percentage of such letters with a greeting formula comes from Larsa, while in Lagaba and Nippur up to ca. 1/5 and 1/4 of them do not contain a greeting formula. Only in a few instances titles such as *abī/ummī* or *šāpirī* replace the name of the recipient in the address formula, Sallaberger 1999: 35.

However, if the very submissive and honorary appellative *bēlī*, “my lord”, is used to address a superior official and especially the king, then the standard greeting formula is applied much more seldom (only in 28% percent of the cases, cf. Sallaberger 1999: 40). This is a stark contrast to the Kassite *ardu*-letters from subordinates to their lords (*ana bēlīja*), which all apply a submissive greeting formula.

⁶⁶ Sallaberger 1999: 22.

⁶⁷ See the exception in the Ešnunna letter no. 31/1930-T220, obv. ll. 4-11 in Whiting 1987: 88-89: ^dEN.ZU ù ^dNin-gal li-ra-ma-kà ^dTišpak ù ^dŪ-gul-lá u₄-mi ma-du-tim ar-kà-tim ša-na-tim li-be-lu-kà iš-da ku-sí-kà lu ki-na.

⁶⁸ Sommerfeld 1982: 112.

Under Sîn-muballiṭ the standard formula (GN (GN ...) (*aššumīja*) (*ana dariātim/dāriš ūmī ...*) *liballiṭūka*, cf. Sallaberger 1999: 75; Salonen, 1967: 14-51) appeared, and it became common under Ḫammurapi/Rīm-Sîn in the first half of the 18th century BC. It is a plea for a “divine blessing” (cf. Ahl’s three types of greeting formulae in Ahl 1973: 81-82). Regarding the gods invoked see below “c) *aḫu*-letters” and Dalley 1973: 79-88. Even though most of the Mari letters barely contained any greeting formula (most of them stem from the period before Ḫammurapi’s reign, when greeting formulae were not included in letters), the aforementioned standard greeting formula occasionally appears in Mari letters (Salonen 1967: 53).

The letters from Lagaba from the reign of Samsu-iluna contain the additional blessing *lū balṭāta lū šalmāta*, and/or *ana šulmīka ašpuram šulumka šupram* (cf. Sallaberger 1999: 75); occasionally reduced to only one of the two phrases.⁶⁹ This is Ahl’s second possible element of a greeting formula (Ahl 1973: 77-81)

Eventually, in the late OB period, under Ammīditana, the common greeting formula became the following: *lū balṭāta lū šalmāta (lū dariāta) ilum nāširka rēška ana damiqtim likīl ana šulmīka ašpuram šulumka maḥar Šamaš ū Marduk lū dari* (cf. Sallaberger 1999: 75). This is a combination of two of Ahl’s elements of a greeting formula: “greeting” and “divine blessing” (Ahl 1973: 77-82). Before Ḫammurapi’s reign (1792-1750), especially in the letters found in the south, Šamaš was the deity appealed to in the greeting formula, whereas from Ḫammurapi onward, especially in northern Babylonia, Marduk and Šamaš were invoked.⁷⁰ It appears that the gods, to whom the sender appeals, are occasionally chosen according to the association with a town or cult of either the sender or recipient.⁷¹ If, for example, one of the senders or recipients was a *nadītu* of Marduk or Zarpanītum, these gods were invoked (Sallaberger 1999: 25; Sommerfeld 1982: 113-114). In the late OB letters sometimes the king was additionally invoked in the greeting formula.⁷²

3.2.2 The Amarna and Ugaritic greeting formula

Ugaritic letters from lower to higher ranking kings and officials always contain the expression of obeisance (Ahl 1973: 75), similar to the Kassite *ana dinān bēlīja lullik* (Cancik-Kirschbaum’s devotion formula, see below). The same applies to the Amarna letters from Levantine rulers to the pharaoh (Mynářová’s “imperial documents”, 2007: 151-163). For a detailed analysis of the greeting formula elements (obeisance, greeting, divine blessings) in the Amarna letters see Mynářová 2007: 112-114, 147-64).

⁶⁹ see furthermore Sallaberger 1999: 78-81

⁷⁰ See esp. Sommerfeld 1982: 118, 122. From Ḫammurapi’s reign onward Marduk was not only worshipped in the city of Babylon, but in all of northern Babylonia, although his cult was minor compared to that of the other deities. However, he seems to have played an important role in the folk religion at that time, see Sommerfeld 1982: 122.

⁷¹ Sommerfeld 1982: 119.

⁷² Sallaberger 1999: 26.

RS 20.184: obv. l. 4:

obv. 4 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia am-qut*⁷³

Hereby, I am falling at the feet of my lord.

RS 17.422: obv. ll. 5-7:

obv. 5 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia*

obv. 6 *iš-tu ru-qiš*

obv. 7 *2-šú 7-šú am-qut*

Hereby, seven times and seven times I am falling at the feet of the king, my lord!

EA 148, l. 3:

3 *7 u 7 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL be-li-ia am-qut*

Hereby, seven times and seven times I am falling at the feet of the king, my lord!

EA 174, ll. 5-7:

5 *a-na šu-pa-li up-^rri*¹

6 *GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia*

7 *7 ù 7 am-qú-ut*

Hereby, I am falling beneath the dirt of the feet of the king, my lord, seven times and seven times!

The letters between allegedly equal correspondents or kings contained Ahl's greeting element of a greeting formula, which could be preceded and followed by an assurance that all was equally well at the sender's place (Mynářová 2007: 151-152). Note that both in the Ugaritic as well as in the Amarna correspondence either the 2nd or the polite 3rd ps. sg. appear to address the recipient. In RS 20.13 (letter no. 2) both forms even interchange. The Babylonian king respectfully addresses the pharaoh in the 3rd ps., while the pharaoh uses the 2nd ps. sg.

RS 16.03: obv. l. 4:

obv. 4 *lu-ú šul-mu a-na muḫ-ḫi-ka*

All shall be well for you!

RS 10.046: obv. ll. 4-5:

obv. 4 *a-na muḫ-ḫi šār KUR URU Ú-gas-ri-it*

obv. 5 *a-ḫu-ia dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu*

All shall be extremely well for the king of the land of the city of Ugarit, my brother!

RS 20.13, letter 2: ll. 14-18:

obv. 14 *a-nu-um-ma a-^rna¹ É-ka*

obv. 15 *ù a-na a-bi-ka* [^{MUNUS}]AMA-ka

obv. 16 ^{MUNUS}DAM-ka ù a-na gab-ba

obv. 17 *mim-mu-ú ša ŠEŠ.DU₁₀-ia*

obv. 18 *dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú ^ršul¹-mu*

All shall [be] extremely well f[o]r your house, for your father, your mother, for your wife, and for all, whatever there is of my good brother!

EA 1, ll. 3-9 (Amenhotep III to Kadašman-Enlil):

3b *a-na maḫ-ri-ia šul-mu*

4 *a-na maḫ-ri-ka ^rlu¹-ú šul-mu a-na É-ka a-na DAM.MEŠ-ka*

5 *a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-na LÚ.MEŠ*

*GAL.GAL.MEŠ-ka*⁷⁴ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka

6 *GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka a-na lib-bi KUR.KUR-ka da-an-ni-iš lu-ú šul-mu*

7 *a-na ia-a-ši šul-mu a-na É-ia a-na DAM.MEŠ-ia a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ia*

8 *a-na LÚ.MEŠ GAL.GAL.MEŠ-ia*

ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ia

Regarding myself: everything is well.

For yourself everything shall be well, for your house, for your wives, for your sons, for your senior court officials, for your horses, for your chariots, for the heart of your lands shall all be extremely well.

For myself all is well. For my house, for my wives, for my sons, for my senior court officials, for my horses, for my chariots,

⁷³ In the prostration formula of vassal letters from Ugarit and other vassal kingdoms the sender uses Akkadian preterite *amqut*. The form is an "epistolary performative", since the "sender is representing himself as having fallen at the time of writing the letter", but is also performative, since "it effects the act of obeisance without necessarily performing the act to which the formula makes reference, since social considerations permit this 'fiction' only in letters" (Pardee Whiting 1987: 5-6. 13, 28-30, fn. 14).

⁷⁴ Brinkman 1968: 300; Paulus 2014d: 250, fn. 285.

9	ÉRIN.MEŠ<-ia> <i>ma-ad šul-mu ù <a-na> lib-bi</i> KUR.KUR-ia <i>ma-gal šul-mu</i>	for my troops, which are numerous, everything is well. And for the heart of my lands everything is very well.
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EA 7, ll. 4-7 (Burna-Buriaš to Amenhotep IV):

4	[a-na] ¹ ia ¹ -ši ù É-ia a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA-ia ù ¹ GIŠ ¹ .[GIGIR.MEŠ-ia]	For myself and my house, for my horses and my chariots,
5	[a-na] ¹ ra ¹ -ab-bu-ti-ia ù ma-ti-ia da-an-ni-[iš šu- ul-mu]	for my senior court officials and my lands all is extremely well.
6	a-na a-ḫi-ia ù É-šu a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA-šu ù ¹ GIŠ ¹ .[GIGIR.MEŠ-šu]	For my brother and his house, for his horses and his chariots,
7	a-na ra-ab-bu-ti-šu ù ma-ti-šu da-an-ni-iš ¹ lu ¹ [šu-ul-mu]	for his senior court officials and his lands all shall be extremely well!

In the Ugaritic letters the greeting element is frequently combined with the divine blessing element (Ahl 1973: 80-81).⁷⁵ This is also apparent in the Kassite *aḫu*-letters, which do also combine both elements in their greeting formula (see below). According to Dalley (1973: 79-88) this is a sign for “private correspondence”, and does not appear in royal letters.

RS 11.723: obv. l. 7:

obv. 7	DINGIR.MEŠ-nu ÛRU-ru-[ka]	The gods shall protect you!
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RS 4.449: obv. ll. 4-5:

obv. 4b	^d IM na-pí-iš-ta-ka	Teššup shall protect your life!
obv. 5a	li-iš-šur	

3.2.3 The Kassite greeting formula

The internal Kassite *aḫu*-letters from an elite context of the provinces of the Kassite kingdom, which are often addressed to the *šandabakku* of Nippur, not only contain both of Ahl’s “greeting” and “divine blessing” greeting formula categories, but their phraseology and choice of vocabulary resemble the contemporary greeting formulae of international Ugaritic and Amarna letters between equal kings (the “brotherhood of kings”).

As opposed to Sallaberger’s aforementioned theory that great hierarchical differences between sender and recipient resulted in a lack of a greeting formula in the OB period (letters addressed to a *bēlu* were less likely to contain a greeting formula, see above), all *ardu*-letters from submissive senders addressed to their higher ranking lords not only contain the appellative *bēlī(ja)*, but also contain a submissive devotion formula (“I shall go as my lord’s substitute). This is Ahl’s first category of a greeting formula, “an obeisance of the sender to the addressee” (Ahl 1973: 75-77).

The OB tradition that a high-ranking official did not use a polite greeting formula to greet his subordinate, and directly addressed his subordinate with his name and in the 2nd ps. sg. continued in the Kassite period. It seems more likely to me that this was an expression of power by the lord, since he did not need to bother with polite phrases, and that this was not an expression of politeness, as Sallaberger asserts (see above, Sallaberger 1999: 71).

⁷⁵ For the divine blessing in the Amarna letters see Mynářová 2007: 164.

a) *ardu*-letters

The *ardu*-letters are characterised by the submissive address and greeting formula *ana dinān bēlīja lullik*, “I shall go as my lord’s substitute”. Comparable to the greeting formulae used by subordinate (vassal) rulers when writing to the pharaoh or to the ruler of Ugarit, this is “an obeisance of the sender to the addressee” (Ahl 1973: 75-77). While the subordinate rulers “throw themselves at the feet” of their overlord, the Kassite subordinates offer to sacrifice themselves for their lord.

This devotion formula became most common in the Kassite period, but is only seldom written in OB letters (see ARM V, 57: 4-5; CT 43, 66: 4-7; Salonen 1967: 48, 53). Salonen’s theory (1967: 103) that this greeting formula became popular in the Kassite period due to fear and distress during the Kassite invasion, does not make sense, as the Kassite reign over southern Mesopotamia was not only exceptionally long-lasting but also stable compared to preceding kingdoms (Paulus 2014a: 65-100). Furthermore, similar or even more severe crises preceded the Kassite period, for example, when the rulers of the preceding 1st dynasty of Babylon, the Isin-Larsa period, or even of the Ur III period fought wars with competing kingdoms. As Röllig (1972: 47) has pointed out, this did not result in a change of the address formula of OB or Ur III letters. Röllig proposes a change in societal structures as a reason for the application of this greeting formula instead:

“Wichtig ist vielmehr [...], daß sich nämlich von der altbabylonischen zur Kassiten-Zeit die Sozialstruktur geändert hat, eine ‚bürgerliche‘ Epoche, die bis zu einem gewissen Maße selbst den Verkehr mit dem König ‚familiär‘ halten konnte, abgelöst wurde von einer feudalen, die sehr viel schärfere Unterschiede der Stände kannte. [...] Nicht die veränderte historische Situation hat sich in der Formel niedergeschlagen, sondern das veränderte Verhältnis der Menschen zueinander, wobei der Niedriggestellte seine Ergebenheit bis zum Tode beteuern zu müssen glaubt.“ (Röllig 1972: 47)

The term *dinānu* means “substitute” (CAD D, 148b-150). This vocabulary does not appear in the legal context, but in the magical-ritual context when a person is cleansed from an adhering evil, i.e. a divine verdict. In the ritual context the evil or punishment from the divine verdict befalls the *dinānu*, the substitute, instead of the person. In magic rituals, such as Namburbi rituals, clay figurines (“Omenanzeiger”) were used as substitutes (*ana dinānī/ūšu*).⁷⁶ The substitutes in the substitute king rituals were also called *dinānu*.⁷⁷ Thus, this greeting formula implies (an offer for) a self-sacrifice of the

⁷⁶ In the Namburbi ritual the adhering evil is washed of the human and transferred to an “Omenanzeiger”. See the universal Namburbi 2, l. 38: [*ana pu*]-*hī-ia ad-din-ka ana pi-di-ia ad-din-ka ana an-du-na-ni-ia ad-din-ka*¹, „I have given to you as a substitute for me, I have given to be reprieved, I have given to you as a substitute for me” (Maul 1994: 73, 487). The term *dinānu* is not only used in the Namburbi rituals, but also in the series Maqlû, and in other rituals.

If a human faced a negative verdict by the divine council, the negative verdict was transferred to a substitute figurine, a “Substitutionsfigürchen” (*šalam andunāni*), which would then be subject to the punishment which was originally intended to be inflicted on the human. As in the substitute king ritual the substitute itself was called *pūhu*. The prayer to Šamaš in the long *izišubbû*-Namburbi, l. 134, says: “I have given to you [...] a substitute figurine (*šalam andunānija*). Any evil, which befalls me, shall the substitute figurine accept for me” (Maul 1994: 74, 139). A consecutive incantation from the large *izišubbû*-Namburbi, l. 138, says *ana di-na-ni-ia na-ad-na-ta*, “You have been given as my substitute” (Maul 1994: 74, 139).

⁷⁷ In the substitute king ritual the ruling king abdicated intermittently and was replaced by a substitute (a slave, convict, or a female slave replacing the queen). After the substitute king had been executed, the original king ascended the throne again (Parpola 1983: XXII-XXXII). Parpola (1983: XXVII) translates *ana dinān bēlīja lullik*

sender for his lord, the recipient. It does not have any connection to a legal representative in the context of a legal transaction.⁷⁸

Occasionally the submissive greeting formula of *ardu*-letters is followed by a dutiful report about the condition of the estate of the lord (including towns, fields and subordinates): *ana bīti/āli/(ū) šēri/na'rē/na'rāti ša bēlīja šulmu*, “regarding the house/town/the estates/hinterland [...]the singers (m/f) of my lord: everything is in best order”. This is a direct response to the requests by *bēlu* senders in the *bēlu*-letters, who request a report (Akkadian *ṭēmu*) from their subordinates at the end of their letters. This is also attested in the Old Babylonian period (Charpin 2007: 403-404), and is reminiscent of the status reports of the equal kings in the Amarna correspondence before or after the greeting element in the greeting formula (see above).

Some *ardu*-letters contain additional submissive greeting formulae which praise the lord:

UM 29-15-87: obv. ll. 3-4:

obv. 3	<i>lib-bi a-na a-mar be-lī-ia</i>	My heart has laughed very much, when (I was)
obv. 4	<i>ma-a'-diš iṣ-ṣi-ḥa-an-[nī]</i>	looking at my lord.

A few *ardu*-letters contain features from *aḫu*-letters, such as the greeting formula or divine blessing of *aḫu*-letters. These may follow the usual submissive greeting-formula of *ardu*-letters. These hybrids are the following: CBS 15009; CT 51, 41; BE 17, 5, 38; HS 109, HS 116; PBS 1/2, 52; UM 29-13-638. In BE 17, 38 the greeting formula is followed by praises of the lord's appearance and speech (obv. ll. 7-10). Such praises are occasionally part of exceptionally elaborate greeting-formulae of *aḫu*-letters (see below).

The use of the *aḫu*-greeting-formula does not necessarily mean that the sender had a (nearly) equal rank as the recipient. In PBS 1/2, 52 the sender refers to his superior as *be-lī i-lu-ti*, “my lord, my deity” (obv. l. 6).

b) *bēlu*-letters

Since the *bēlu* (and *šarru*) letters were sent from a higher to a lower ranking person, the superior official did not bother to include a greeting formula.

with “I am ready to die as my lord's substitute”, and assumes that its use is “[p]ossibly an indirect indication that the ritual was repeatedly practiced in the OB/MB period” (Parpola 1983: XXVII).

⁷⁸ A legal representative was introduced with the following phrases: *ina našparti*, *ina qībi* (*ana qābe*), *ana šibûti*, *ana šumūšu/ana šumi ša*, (the last one, “(sealing) in the name of”, is the actual deed in the name of the commissioner). It is not differentiated between power of attorney and commission; the contracts record the performance of either payer or recipient *ina našparti* of the debtor or creditor (Petschow 1959: 45, 66; Neumann 2011: 142-143).

c) *aḫu*-letters

The *aḫu*-letters are characterised by two of Ahl's greeting formula elements, the greeting *ana kâša lū šulmu*, and the often added divine blessing *ilāni ša TN napšātika liššurū*. The two letters, PBS 1/2, 3079 and 3680 are addressed to the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk, and contain exceptionally elaborate greeting formulae to emphasise his high status.

The invocation of gods in the greeting formula to protect the recipient's life is already attested in the OB period, and stems from Southern Mesopotamia. This epistolary tradition spread north- and westwards under Ḫammurapi's reign (Dalley 1973: 83-84).

In the Isin-Larsa period the sender invoked his local city god followed by his recipient's city god. After Larsa's conquest Larsa's city god Šamaš was invoked first in the greeting formula, followed by the sender's city god - the recipient's city god was usually omitted.⁸¹ After Ḫammurapi's conquest Marduk was added to signify Babylon's supremacy, so that this tradition of invoking Šamaš and Marduk in a greeting formula spread to the North together with Ḫammurapi's conquests. Only occasionally the sender favoured his own city god (Dalley 1973: 86-87).

In the case of the Kassite *aḫu*-letters it seems likely that the senders invoked their local city gods and not the recipients', since the letters were found in the palace of Nippur, and in case the recipients' gods were invoked, Enlil from Nippur would be expected. However, Enlil is not invoked, instead in most *aḫu*-letters the sender invokes gods from distant towns and provinces.

Most of the gods are not invoked by name, but by their location, i.e. *ilāni ša TN napšātika liššurū*. See the following examples:

BE 17, 87: obv. l. 5:

obv. 5 DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* ¹⁷*Pu-rat-^rti¹* the gods of the Euphrates

⁷⁹ PBS 1/2, 30 comes from Isin (obv. ll. 4-6: ^d*Gu-la a-šib-ti* ^{URU}*I-ši-in nap-šá-ti-ka li-iš-šur ù a-na ša-la-mi-ka la i-mé-ek-ke*). In obv. ll. 1-2 it says: *a-na* ¹*LÚ-ia ša a-ra-mu-šu qí-bí-ma*.

⁸⁰ PBS 1/2, 36 comes from Dūr-Enlil and Ekallātu (ll. 4-10: DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* ^{URU}*BĀD-dEn-líl ù É.GAL.ḪI nap-ša-ti-ka li-iš-šu-ru man-nu pa-ni-ka ba-nu-ti* ^r*li¹-[mur]* ^ù ^r*da¹-[ba-ab]-^rka¹ ta-ba liš-^rte¹ [mi] a-na [a-ma]-^rri-ka¹ ŠĀ-bi ma-^ra-da iš-ši-ḫa-an-^rni¹*).

⁸¹ Landsberger proposed that the deity who was called upon first was the city god/dess of the recipient, and a possible second deity was either the highest god of Babylonia ("Landesgott"), the city god/dess of the sender or even the personal god of the recipient (Landsberger 1928-1929: 300). The OB letters from Ur show that most commonly Šamaš is invoked, occasionally together with Marduk, although Šin as the city god of Ur and the recipient's city god would be expected according to Landsberger's theory (Dalley 1973: 81).

Leemans (1968: 200) and King (1910: 6) on the other hand believed that either the sender's city or personal god/dess determined which deity was invoked. Dalley demonstrates that this is unlikely since not all OB letters found at Ur came from Sippar or Larsa or any town in which Šamaš was the most prominent city god. Since Ur was controlled by Larsa when the mentioned letters were written, Dalley argues that Šamaš was invoked for political reasons by the senders from various places. Similarly Marduk and Šamaš were invoked in the North, in Tell al-Rimah, after Ḫammurapi had conquered the area (due to Babylonian influence, Dalley 1973: 81, 86). Dalley provides several OB examples which show that the sender's god was mostly invoked in OB greeting formulae, but also the recipient's city god, a god appearing in the theophoric element of the sender's name (his personal god) and/or a god locally prominent for historical-traditional reasons (Dalley 1973: 81-84).

BM 82729: obv. l. 5:

obv. 4 'DINGIR'.MEŠ *ša* URU *Kar-d*EN- the gods of Kār-bēl-mātāti
KUR.KUR

PBS 1/2, 81: obv. l. 3

obv. 3 DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu* URU *Kar-d*EN- the gods, the ones living in Kār-bēl-mātāti
KUR.KUR

UDBD 114: obv. l. 3:

obv. 3 DINGIR.MEŠ *a-šib* URU *Kar-d*EN- the gods, the one(s) living in Kār-bēl-mātāti
KUR.KUR

PBS 1/2, 45: obv. ll. 4:

obv. 4 [DINGIR.MEŠ] *a-ši-bu i-na* URU *Kar-d*EN- the gods, who are living in Kār-bēl-mātāti
KUR.'KUR'

PBS 1/2, 67: obv. l. 4: *ilāni ašib Akkade*;

obv. 4a DINGIR.MEŠ *a-šib* URU *Ak-ka-de* the gods, the one(s) living in Akkade

PBS 1/2, 74: obv. l. 4: *ilāni ša Pān-šēri*

obv. 4 DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* IGI-EDIN^{KI} the gods of Pān-šēri

PBS 1/2, 36: obv. ll. 4-5:

obv. 4 DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* URU BĀD-^d*En-lil* the gods of Dūr-Enlil
obv. 5a ù É.GAL.ĪI and Ekallātu

CT 43, 60: obv. l. 3:

obv. 3 DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* ABUL ù [...] 'x' the gods of city gate

CT 44, 67: obv. ll. 4-5:

obv. 4 DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* URU BĀRA-DUMU^{KI} the gods of Parak-māri
obv. 5 ù URU BĀD-^d30-*mu-bal-li*^{KI} and Dūr-Sîn-muballiṭ

The gods invoked by name are Šamaš and Marduk (BE 17, 81, ll. 4-5, N 2631), in one case of Arad-bēlti (CBS 4782, l. 4; same sender as BE 17, 81). While the tradition from the 1st dynasty of Babylon was still continued in the early Kassite period, and Šamaš and Marduk still figure prominently in the Kassite (seal) inscriptions and names (Bartelmus 2017: 245-312), the sender of CBS 4782 and BE 17, 81, Erība-Marduk, cannot be dated to the early Kassite period. Arad-bēlti is not localised (Nashef 1982: 34), but the invocation of Šamaš and Marduk could also mean that a letter (see N 2631) came from Babylon or Larsa.

Other gods invoked (GN *ša ašib/ti/ū* TN, “GN of/an inhabitant of TN”) are Anu-rabû, Ninlil, Mandānu, and Amurru, who are DINGIR.MEŠ *a-šib* É.DIM.GAL.KALAM.MA (cf. BE 17, 89, ll. 4-5), i.e. from Dēr, and Inzak and Meskilak DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* NI.TUK^{KI} (Ni. 615, ll. 4-5; Ni. 641, ll. 7-9; UM 29-13-600; BE 17, 96: 1'), as well as Gula *a-šib-ti* URU *I-ši-in* (PBS 1/2, 30, l. 4).

One greeting formula (BE 17, 82: obv. l. 6) and possibly a parallel (in CT 43, 94: obv. l. 5) confirms the assumption that the sender's god is invoked (unless the king is meant, since he was addressed with the title *bēlu* in *ardu*-letters).

BE 17, 82: obv. ll. 6-7:

obv. 6 *be-lí kab-tu₄ [nap-ša]-'ti-ka'* My honourable lord shall protect your life.
obv. 7 *li-iš-šur*

CT 43, 94: obv. l. 5:

obv. 5 EN *kab-tu₄ nap-ša-ti-ka li-iš-šu-ur* My/the honourable lord shall protect your life

N 3393 is a hybrid, as the sender N 3393 calls himself the father of the recipient in the address formula, but applies the greeting formula of an *aḫu*-letters (*ana kâša lū šulmu*).

PBS 1/2, 74 is a hybrid, as it contains the greeting-formula of an *aḫu*-letter (see below), and the sender addresses the recipient with a hypocorism. However, because the sender does not refer to himself as *aḫūka*, “your brother”, the address-formula is that of a *bēlu*-letter to a subordinate. Further, the letter contains several imperatives, which point to a *bēlu*-letter. Ilu-aḫa-iddina must have deemed himself higher ranking than the recipient, but not high-ranking enough to send a *bēlu*-letter to him. The recipient is not a known *šandabakku* (unless Iddija is a hypocorism of Ninurta-apla-iddina - however, in another *aḫu*-letter, CT 44, 67, the recipient Iddin-Enlil is addressed a second time (obv. l. 3) with the hypocorism Iddinīja, which may be a variant of Iddija).

3.2.4 The Middle Assyrian greeting formula

The notion of obeisance and devotion appears in MA letters from subordinates to their superiors, just as in Ugarit, Amarna and in the Kassite letters. Cancik Kirschbaum (1996: 56) calls Ahl’s (1973: 75-77) element of “obeisance of the sender to the addressee” in the MA letters “Ergebenheitsformel”: *ultaka’ in ana dinān bēlīja attalak*, “I have repeatedly been prostrating myself, and I have repeatedly been going as my lord’s substitute” (for a discussion of the durative Gt stem see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 56-59; Röllig 1972: 47 assumes this to be a perfect). The element of prostration in the formula is apparent in the letters from Ugarit, Bogazköy, Emar, Nuzi and in the Amarna letters.

As has been seen above in the OB and Ugaritic greeting formulae, *šulmu* or *šalāmu* (the root *šlm*) appears frequently in Mesopotamian greeting formulae (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 59). In MA letters from Dūr-Katlimmu, and Tall Billā Cancik-Kirschbaum translates the phrase *ana PN₁ PN₂ (PN₃) šulmu*, “for PN₁ PN₂ (PN₃) is well-being” as a short assessment report, and gives examples such as *ana šarre ekalle mar’ē šulmu* (BATSH 4,10, Dez. 3490: 5), or *ana šarre ū ekalle šulmu* (BATSH 4,11, Dez. 2519: 5) from Dūr-Katlimmu. As seen above, such assessment reports were also written before and after Ahl’s greeting element in the Kassite *ardu*-letters (not in Kassite *aḫu*-letters), and in the Amarna letters between equal kings.

Opposed to this the precative phrases with a *lū* as a blessing are intended to wish well-being for the recipient(s) family, sphere of influence and/or belongings), and not as an assessment report. Cancik-Kirschbaum (1996: 59) lists MA examples for both phrases, i.e. for those which include the precative *lū*, and for those lacking a *lū*. Her examples for *šulmu*-wishes are from letters from Assur, Nippur, Tall ar-Rimah and Tall Billā. They contain the phrases such as *ana kuaša bēlīka pāḫitīka gabbe lū šulmu* (one of them, VAT 8851: 4-6, contains an OB address formula). Cancik-Kirschbaum (1996: 59) attributes the precative in the two Nippurean letters to the Babylonian tradition.

According to Cancik-Kirschbaum (1996: 59) the *šulmu*-wish (*ana kâša/PN₁ ū PN₂ lū šulmu*) is used in the MA letter corpus in the royal correspondence as well as in letters from subordinates to their superiors. As opposed to this I can make the following observation in the Kassite letter corpus: The *šulmu*-wish is predominantly used in *aḫu*-letters, while the assessment report *ana N₁ (ū PN₂) šulmu* appears in *ardu*-letters.

3.3 The message

Charpin (2007: 401, 403) already emphasised the rigid rhetoric and formulaic character of the Mari letters⁸². This observation can also be made about the Kassite letters. The composition of a letter was part of the scribal education (Sallaberger 1999: 403). The Mari letters contain references to the need to be concise when sending a report to a superior recipient due to the limited size of the clay tablet (Charpin 2007: 401).

3.3.1 The epistolary function of a message

A letter can contain one or several messages.

Ardu-letters often contain references to previous orders by the lord, such as “(Regarding) that, about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me”, followed by a direct quotation of that which the lord had ordered in written or oral form. These features give letters the character of a dialogue. Elaborate repetitions of previous communication by a sender indicates that the sender is not in regular communication with the recipient, and needs to put more effort into maintaining the relationship (Sallaberger 1999: 14-15). The senders of *ardu*-letters apparently needed to put a lot of effort into maintaining the relationship with their lord; their letters tend to be the longest, because they contained the most elaborate quotations of their lords’ orders (see below “4.2.3 The archaeological context of the Kassite letters”).

If the sender only briefly mentions an issue, which only he and the recipient know, i.e. “regarding PN/object”, and does not repeat the content of previous communication, then this indicates a regular and quick correspondence between sender and recipient. Another indicator for regular communication and for a similar area of work are abrupt changes of topic after one or two lines and the discussion of several issues within a letter, without an elaborate explanation. In this case the letter writer does not need to put in much effort into the maintenance of the relationship (Sallaberger 1999: 14-15). This is typical for *bēlu*-letters (and *šarru*-letters), which tend to be shorter than *ardu*-letters, because the lords did not need to put much effort into maintaining the relationship with their subordinates, because they did not need to elaborately quote the utterances of lower ranking officials and because they also did not include a greeting formula.

⁸² “Rather than a specific format, there are scribal conventions or formulae, particularly for the address and the conclusion, as well as a number of recurrent rhetorical figures” (Charpin 2007: 403).

In the following I am going to discuss the different types of epistolary function a Kassite letter could have based on the classifications, which Nougayrol (1968: 67-68), Ahl (1973: 120-129) and Hawley (2008: 67-69) applied to Ugaritic letters.

“Another, less frequently discussed problem is the question of the function of the Ur III letters within the administration. Not one single transaction detailed in one of the now more than 750 published Ur III letters has been shown to relate to a transaction recorded in the ordinary administrative texts. [...] The letters served to override the rigid structures of the administration in exceptional cases” (Dahl 2020: 242)

As opposed to Ur III letters there is no indication that Kassite letters had the function to circumvent administrative structures. One thing that may resemble the function of Ur III letters is that Kassite subordinates frequently explained to their lords the reasons why they had been unable to fulfill a duty. These explanations functioned as a justification and may even imply a request for leniency, such as an extended deadline to bring in the levies which they should have collected.

Hawley (2008: 69-71) applies the speech act theory on Ugaritic letter. He addresses the difference between the superficial grammatical form of a message and its pragmatic function, which is neither “straightforward, nor intuitively obvious”. A declarative statement, seemingly giving factual information (“message d’information”), may actually reprimand the recipient for neglect or inappropriate conduct. Letter messages do not only transmit information, but also perform a particular force. According to Austin and Searle, an utterance can perform a) a locutionary/propositional act (Searle 1969: 24), i.e. the expression of a particular meaning, b) an illocutionary act, i.e. the expression of a particular force, and a perlocutionary act, i.e. the particular effect on the hearer. The locutionary meaning partly accounts for the illocutionary force, i.e. its illocutionary force is implicit in the sentence’s meaning. However, the “sentence’s meaning does not determine the illocutionary force with which it is uttered” (Green 2020). Other factors, such as context and tone (which we are lacking in the written sources of ancient Mesopotamia), determine its illocutionary force (Green 2020).

Hawley (2008: 71) applies Austin’s (1975: 151-163) and Searle’s (1975: 350-361) categories of illocutionary acts on Ugaritic letters and equates them with Nougayrol’s (1968: 67-68) and Ahl’s (1973: 120-129) categories of the epistolary function of Ugaritic letters (see fig. 2 below).

The use of certain morpho-syntactic forms with differing pragmatic functions are also apparent in Kassite letters. Lords occasionally replace the imperatives in their *bēlu*-letters with matter-of-fact statements in the 2nd ps. sg. present tense/future to emphasise that it was a casualty and routine, and obviously expected of the recipient to carry out the order, i.e. “you are going to do so”. For a detailed analysis of tenses see below “3.3.2 The verb form”.

In the following table the categories of Ahl (1973: 120-129), Nougayrol (1968: 67-68), Sallaberger (1999: 142-143), and the illocutionary categories from speech act theory (Hawley 2008: 67-69) are equated and the categories relevant for the Kassite letters are marked through a bold font.

Ahl (1973: 120-129)	Nougayrol (1968: 67-68);	Austin (1975: 151-163), Hawley (2008: 67-69), Searle (1975: 350-361)
	"d'introduction" to receive the envoy in a certain manner	
	"d'envoi" a message accompanying goods which are sent	
1) situation report "well-being of either the sender or the addressee, or both the sender and the addressee" (Ahl 1973: 120)	"d'information" "donnée, promise, ou demandée" (Nougayrol 1968: 68)	(ii) Assertive (Hawley 2008: 71)/ (i) Verdictives (Austin 1975: 151, 153) "the delivering of a finding, official or unofficial, upon evidence or reasons as to value or fact" (or Expositives (cf. Searle 1975: 352-353)/
2) message of information "narrative report often concluding with a directive either that the addressee know the facts reported and act accordingly or that he should not worry since he now has the information given in the letter" (Ahl 1973: 125)		(i) Representative (Searle 1975: 354-355) "to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case"
3) message of information and direction (Ahl 1973: 126-128)	Sallaberger's (1999: 142-143) core of a text: 1) element to establish contact 2) information 3) initiative 4) request 5) element to establish contact	"de politesse" "combined message: initially information, but then an injunction to act" (Hawley 2008: 69) (i) Directive (Searle 1975: 355-356) "attempts [...] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. They may be very modest 'attempts,' [= invitations, suggestions], or they may be very fierce attempts [= insisting]." (contains many of Austin's "Exercitives" (Austin 1975: 151, 155-156) "the exercising of powers, rights, or influence"
4) the message of inquiry "an inquiry characterized by the interrogative sentence" (Ahl 1973: 128-129)		
5) the message of inquiry and direction (Ahl 1973: 129)	"d'injonction" "to force or to encourage one's correspondent to act in a certain way" (Hawley 2008: 68-69)	(i) Directive (Hawley 2008: 71; Searle 1975: 355-356) parts of Austin's "Exercitives" (Austin 1975: 151, 155-156)
		(iii) Commissive (Searle 1975: 356) "to commit the speaker to a certain course of action" (Austin 1975: 157-158)
		(iv) Expressive (Searle 1975: 356-357) "to express the psychological state specified [...] about a state of affairs" (iv) Behabitives (Austin 1975: 157-158) "reaction to other people's behaviour"
		(v) Performative (v) Declarations (Searle 1975: 358-361) "Declarations bring about some alternation in the status or condition of the referred to object or objects solely in virtue of the fact that the declaration has been successfully performed"

Fig. 2: the epistolary function of Mesopotamian letters.

The following functions are attested in Kassite letters: a) "Lettre d'information", b) "Lettre d'injonction", c) the combined "message de politesse", d) message of inquiry, e) commissive messages, f) expressive category, g) performative category, and h) "Lettre d'envoi".

a) "Lettre d'information"

Ahl's situation report is a "report of the author" about his well-being, a "directive to the addressee" to write about his own well-being, or a combination of the two. In Kassite letters the sender does not request a report about the well-being of the recipient. In Kassite *ardu*-letters the subordinates request that their

lords send orders to them, and in *bēlu*-letters the lords request that their subordinates send reports. These requests concern reports about the duties of the subordinates on the land which they manage for their lord, and the transaction of resources, and do not resemble the requests in Ugaritic letters about the well-being of the recipient (“whatever is well, (of this) return word”, cf. Ahl 1973: 120-125)

However, the first element of Ahl’s “situation report”, i.e. the “report of the author”, can be found in some *ardu*-letters, in which a dutiful report by the subordinates about the condition of the estate of the lord follows the greeting formula: *ana bīti/āli/(ū) šēri/na’rē/na’rāti ša bēlīja šulmu*, “regarding the house/town/the estates/hinterland [...]the singers (m/f) of my lord: everything is in best order” (see above “a) *ardu*-letters”).

The “message d’information” (Nougayrol 1968: 68) transmits factual information, occasionally accompanying a delivery (“message d’envoi”; Ahl 1973: 125-126; Hawley 2008: 67-68; Nougayrol 1968: 68).

Most *ardu*-letters do not only consist of “messages d’information”. Subordinates did not solely send reports about their duties to their lords, but their statements also performed other illocutionary acts. An example is BE 17, 37, in which Sîn-karābī-išme reports to his lord four messages. Only the first, and, possibly, the fourth message are “messages d’information”:

- 1) accomplishment: barley and emmer were measured (obv. ll. 7-9)
- 2) assurance that they are going to compensate for a delivery of barley from the Sealand province which had been delivered by 18 boats (obv. ll. 10-14)
- 3) assurance that a man called Ekišnugal-limmir will return a delivery of 200;0.0.0 Gurs of barley which has been late, i.e. has not arrived (obv. l. 15-rev. l. 3)
- 4) precautionary defence/apology: he had not received barley(-levies) from his province (*mātu*), i.e. from all inhabitants of his province: neither from the *ḫazannus*, large households (É.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ = royal grants; or “palaces” ?), *sumakti* (the fatherless/of unknown heritage, cf. CAD S: 377), and *ālik pani*-leaders⁸³ (rev. ll. 4-10)

The official who sent the report bore the responsibility and was probably liable for the execution of his duties, apparently the collection of levies consisting of barley and emmer. Thus, message 1 is an assertive speech act, i.e. a report about a successfully executed duty (measurement of collected barley and emmer). This is followed by two commissive speech acts (see below category e), i.e. two assurances that his subordinates will fulfil the duties in the future (messages 2 and 3: a remuneration for a delivery). The last message is a list of officials who have failed to deliver barley to the sender. This may be an assertive illocutionary act (i.e. the delivering of information). However, this explanation for a delay may be interpreted as a defence (or even apology) by the sender, who could not fulfil his duty (i.e. the collection of barley from the inhabitants of his province). Such an utterance would belong to the categories “exercitives” or “expositives” (Austin 1975: 155-157, 161-163), which include accusations and the “expounding of views, the conducting of arguments” (although the verbs used by the sender do not conform to the lists by Austin). If message 4 functions as an apology or a complaint by the sender about his subordinates, this belongs to “f) expressive category” below (Austin 1975: 157: a “reaction to

⁸³ For the *ālik pani* cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 38. It is unclear whom the leaders led in this context.

other people's behaviour"). The speculation exemplifies the limits of speech act theory on dead languages and written texts, as cautioned by Sallaberger (1999: 7-11), since the proposed categories of illocutionary acts can only be determined together with contextual conditions which we are lacking in the case of this Kassite letter.

b) "Lettre d'injonction"

Kassite *bēlu*-letters can only consist of directives (including exhortations, see here obv. 1. 5: "Do not do anything bad against me!"):

obv. 1	<i>a-na</i> ¹ <i>In-na-an-ni qí-bí-ma</i>	Speak [to] Innannu:
obv. 2	<i>um-ma</i> ^f <i>In-bi-A-a-ri-im-ma</i>	The following (says) Inbi-ajjari:
obv. 3	3;0.0.0 ŠE.BAR <i>a-na</i> ¹ ŠÚM- ^d U.GUR	Give 3;0.0.0 (Gur) of barley to Iddin-Nergal!
obv. 4	<i>i-di-in</i>	
obv. 5	<i>li-mu-ut-ta la te-ep-pu-ša-an-ni-ma</i>	Do not do anything bad against me! And
obv. 6	<i>ša aq-ba-aš-šu li-iš-am-ma</i>	that which I told him he shall buy, and
obv. 7	<i>li-il-qa-a</i>	he shall take.
rev. 1	ŠE.BA MUḪALDIM.MEŠ <i>a-na</i> ¹ d30-is- ^r saḫ ² - <i>ra</i>	Give the barley of the cooks to Šin-issahra!
rev. 2	<i>i-di-in</i>	
rev. 3	4;0.0.0 ŠE.BAR <i>a-na</i> ^f <i>Di-ni-ša-at-kal</i>	Give 4;0.0.0 (Gur) of barley to Dīnīša-atkal!
rev. 4	<i>i-di-in</i>	

However, "attempts [...] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something" (Searle 1975: 355) can be more subtle. Reports by subordinates about droughts (see the example BE 17 24 below in category f) or about a lack of resources may have had the illocutionary force on their lord to send resources to the subordinate. Similarly, complaints about colleagues may have got the listener (=recipient) to punish the colleagues. Since implicated directives (i.e. the illocutionary force of a locutionary utterance) depend on the relationship between sender and recipient, including the expectations and responsibilities placed on each party (and their office in the Kassite administration), the directive illocutionary force may pass by the modern reader, since we still lack a lot of information about the exact context of each Kassite letter (prosopographical information and knowledge about the exact organisation of the Kassite offices and administration). See examples for possibly implicated directives in the following categories:

c) The combined "message de politesse"

The combined message of information and direction (de politesse) is that which Sallaberger (1999: 142-143) describes as a core of a text. Many Kassite *ardu*-letters contain reports that the subordinate has followed his lord's orders and fulfilled his tasks, followed by polite requests to the lord in the precativ, indicating that the lord "may" or "shall" arrange for something to happen (for example, something to be delivered). The request is depicted as a logical consequence of the task, which the subordinate has fulfilled. It can also follow a promise to fulfil a duty in the future. However, in order to do so the sender asks his lord to send him something. The injunction to act can also be a consequence of an event which is bound to happen (such as the harvest or a delivery), i.e. "as soon as X happens, my lord shall Y...").

Sallaberger (1999: 142-143) lists three elements of the core of a text in an OB letter (from the time of Hammurapi to the end of the OB period)⁸⁴: 1) information, 2) initiative, and 3) request. In a letter these three elements are embedded in a framework of elements to establish contact (i.e. address and greeting formula, and exhortation).

1) Information

First, the recipient is informed about the situation at the place of the sender. This narrative which describes the previous history informs the recipient about the reason for the writing of the letter and is usually induced with *aššum*, “because” (Sallaberger 1999: 144-145). The information of the narrative is referenced through repetition or pronouns in the following text. It is a common trait of letters, administrative and legal texts to state the object of reference, i.e. the reason for drafting the text, at the beginning (Sallaberger 1999: 144).

The *narrative* is occasionally interspersed with indirect polite phrases such as “as you know”, which implies a connection between sender and recipient through shared knowledge, honouring the recipient through rhetorical acknowledgement of his knowledge, and implying his duty to act (Sallaberger 1999: 146). This is also used in Kassite letters, see the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 43: rev. l. 11:

rev. 6	<i>ul-tu kit-ta ù ta-ri-[iṣ]-ṛta¹-a</i>	Since I have been speaking justice and correctness,
rev. 7	<i>a-da-ab-bu-bu ek-le-e-tu [...]</i>	darkness [...]
rev. 8	<i>a-na pa-ni-ia pa-ar-ṛka¹-[a]</i>	are placed (as an obstruction) in front of me.
rev. 9	<i>sa-ar-ta ep/ip-pu-uš-ma [...]</i>	He (?) committed a criminal act [...]
rev. 10	<i>i-kab-bi-it ul ša ṛta¹[...]ṛ-x¹ a-na-ku</i>	he is becoming influential/bothersome. I, myself, am not ...,
rev. 11a	<i>ù be-lí i-di</i>	and my lord knows it.

The sender Nusku-karābī-išme seems to be affected by an undesirable condition in the preceding lines and maintains his truthfulness and/or innocence to his lord, expressing familiarity with the phrase “and my lord knows it”.

In Kassite letters the information part can be induced with *aššum*, “because”, but more often with *ša*, “regarding”; sometimes the narrative describing the previous history is stated without a conjunction. The narrative can contain a chain of events described in a series of temporal or causative subordinate clauses (*kī ... kī...*, “after ..., and after ...”), ending in the consequence in the main clause, i.e. a problem, which is the reason for the letter. The reason for the writing of the letter (sometimes introduced with *inanna*, “now”) is written in the t-form/perfect, while the preceding subordinate clauses are written in the imperfect to express anteriority. The first and the third element are sometimes connected through a verbatim repetition of the information part, i.e. the reason for the sending of the letter (information), in the request part of the letter.

⁸⁴ cf. the corresponding elements in Jaffe 1982: 98; cf. Sallaberger 1999: 142-143.

2) Initiative

The second element describes the initiative of the sender, which could be the sending of the letter by a messenger, and/or the sending of goods, such as silver. It connects the first part (information) with the third part (request). It can be introduced with *anumma* or *inanna*, “now”, and a verb form in the 1st ps. sg. in the t-form/perfect of *ṭarādum*, *wabālum* or *šapārum* (for *anumma* followed by the t-form see Pardee Whiting 1987: 22, fn. 50; von Soden 1995: 104, §80b). The sender often expresses with this element the wish to communicate, i.e. as a result of the problem the sender contacts the recipient (Sallaberger 1999: 146).

This element, which is attested in OB letters, is not common, but it is attested in Kassite letters (see the example below). However, often the first element, the narrative describing the events at the place of the sender, is directly followed by the third element, the request.

3) Request

Most OB letters have the function of a request (Sallaberger 1999: 147). This observation is true for the Kassite letters as well: the requests stand either in the 3rd ps. precative from a subordinate directed at his lord, or in the form of an imperative by the lord to his subordinate. In the OB period the request was followed by a formulaic exhortation (Sallaberger 1999: 147-148).

A lot of Kassite letters contain several combined “messages de politesse”. This means that a narrative describing a problem (element 1), followed by a request (element 3), is often followed by the same sequence again and again. Element 1 (information), on which the request was based, could be left out or was shortened to a subordinate clause (*ša PN*, “regarding PN”).

All three elements can be found in the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 3: obv. ll. 21-26 (cf. on the cdl: P266568), however, element two and three are interspersed with element one a second time:

- 1) “Regarding the *kalû*-dikes of the *natbaktu*-reservoir: the reed of 5 *ḫarbu* fields of the *iššakku* farmers of Marduk-nāšir has been put in place.”⁸⁵
- 2) I have sent (a letter) to my lord when my lord was residing (in his residence), and now I have sent (a letter) to my lord again.
- 1) After the reed had been put in place and after they had driven the cows of the *errēšu*- and *iššakku*-farmers here, (after that) they left. [...]
- 3) My lord shall kindly arrive here.”

d) Message of inquiry

The message of inquiry (Ahl 1973: 128-129) is barely attested in Kassite letters, since most questions belong to the expressive category. They mostly function as rhetorical questions. One example is BE 17, 83: l. 29: *am-mi-ni la ta-di-in*, “Why did you not give (it)?”. In BE 17, 83 Ninurta-apla-iddina enquires why Innannu did not follow his orders. This question could be an incentive to follow his orders and

⁸⁵ For the meaning of *qanâ nadû* see the discussion below in fn. 86 under “f) Expressive category” and cf. van Soldt 1988: 117-118.

would, thus, belong to the category b) “Lettre d’injonction” (see above), or the expressive category (f), below, to express his indignation about Innannu’s disobedience.

e) Commissive messages

“Commissive” speech acts can be found in “messages in which the sender commits himself to a future course of action” (Hawley 2008: 71). Many *ardu*-letters from subordinates contain the promise to follow the lord’s order and fulfil the duty in the future, for example, to send a report in the future (*tēma ana bēlīja ašappara*, “I am going to send the report (about this) to my lord”). Sometimes the promise depends on a precondition which needs to be fulfilled, such as a delivery, a flooding, or the harvest, for example: “as soon as X happens, I am going to do Y” (cf. the examples below under “a) *ardu*-letters”).

f) Expressive category

Category iv, “Expressive”, concerns the communication of emotions and of the attitude of the sender. In the Kassite letters there are several examples for the expression of distress through “utterances which are superficially interrogative” (Hawley 2008: 72-73).

Inquiries may be used to express, for example, accusations, especially in Kassite *ardu*-letters, in which the submissive sender could not afford to directly accuse his lord of neglect. “The obvious intent of such passages, despite the interrogative form, is disciplinary, remonstrative, or the like” (Hawley 2008: 73).

A good example is CBS 4787: rev. ll. 2-5, in which the sender asks the rhetorical question: “Why shall they give to the sublime (*šaqû*)/cupbearer (*šāqû*) Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ three servants of the god (=temple) for the *naptanu*-banquet?” The question is either rhetorical because Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ is qualified as “sublime”, but the sender nevertheless questions why he deserves to receive “servants of the temple”, or the position of the cupbearer did not qualify him to such an assignment (for the cupbearer in the Kassite period see Sassmannshausen 2001: 102-103).

Another example is the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 46, in which the sender enquires about the reasons for a delay in canal works (obv. l. 8) and asks when the recipient’s workers will start their work (digging, cf. rev. ll. 6-7). These two questions actually express accusations that the recipient, his lord, had not fulfilled his duty. The sender reports in the background narratives in obv. ll. 4-7, and rev. ll. 4-7 about his own accomplishments, i.e. the fulfilment of his duties: he seems to have removed reed from stretches of the canal so that the water could flow.⁸⁶ Each report is followed by an inquiry about the delay in sending a

⁸⁶ According to van Soldt (1988: 117-118) *qanâ nadû* means “to put reed into place”. However, in BE 17, 46 there is no dike, dam or sluice which would have been constructed out of or strengthened with reed (cf. van Soldt 1988: 117-118). However, *nadû* has many idiomatic uses. With regard to fields *nadû* can mean “neglect, leave (a field) lying fallow” (cf. AHw: 706, s.v. *nadû(m)* III; CAD N/1: 76a-78b, s.v. *nadû*). With regard to canals, *nadû* can appear as an adjective to refer to a “disused canal”, cf. CAD N/1: 68a (van Soldt 1988: 117 suggests the meaning “abandon” for *qanâ nadû* in the Kassite letter CBS 4742). The letter is a subtle accusation that the sender was left to do the work, and that the lord’s *qīpu*-commissioners have not provided him with a workforce and organised the canal maintenance. However, it seems unlikely to me that the sender exactly listed the length of the canal which he neglected in each period of time.

workforce. The first question about the delay is followed by an explicit directive to assign workers to do the work. The directive is addressed to anonymous subordinates of the lord in the precative 3rd ps. pl., and not directly to the lord in the 3rd ps. sg. This shall probably tone down the direct accusation that his lord had not ordered that a workforce was conscripted. However, to exert pressure on his request, the sender writes directly after this request that “[t]he *šandabakku* shall not be angry” (rev. ll. 2-3). In rev. ll. 8-9 the question is followed by the statement that none of the subordinates of the recipient has organised the necessary work. This statement is not informative as the morpho-syntactic form would suggest, but has the pragmatic function of an expression of dissatisfaction.

obv. 1	<i>a-na be-lī[-ia qí-bí-ma]</i>	[Speak] to [m]y lord:
obv. 2	<i>um-ma-[a¹ ... ÚRDU-ka]</i>	The following (says) [your servant ...]:
obv. 3	<i>um-ma-a a-na be-lī^fia¹-ma</i>	The following (speak) to my lord:
obv. 4	<i>e-zi-ib I₇ an-ni-tu₄</i>	Apart from the fact that this canal
obv. 5	<i>a-na ŠA A.ŠA-ka hi-ra-tu₄</i>	is dug into the heart of your field,
obv. 6	<i>1 ITU 10 u₄-mi iš-tu</i>	it is one month and 10 days since
obv. 7	<i>qa-na-a ad-du-ú</i>	I had thrown away the reed (growing in that canal).
obv. 8	<i>ki-ki-i 20 NINDA la ma-a-^rli¹</i>	How comes that the 20 nindas (180m) are not filled (with water)? ⁸⁷
obv. 9	<i>ÉRIN.ĦI.A ma-a'-da-a</i>	They shall bind (=conscript) many <i>šābu-workers</i> and
rev. 1	<i>li-ir-ku-su-ma</i>	
rev. 2	<i>li-pu-šu-ma GÚ.EN.NA</i>	they shall seed with a seeder-plough. The <i>šandabakku</i>
rev. 3	<i>la i-ra-'u-ú-ub</i>	shall not be angry.
rev. 4	<i>um-ma-a iš-tu maḥ-ru-ú</i>	The following: Since the previous (reed)
rev. 5	<i>na-du-ú 1 UŠ na-bal-kat-ta</i>	had been thrown (away), 1 UŠ (360m) excess (=more)
rev. 6	<i>at-ta-di im-ma-ti</i>	I have thrown away. When
rev. 7	<i>i-ḫi-ir-ru-ú</i>	will they dig?
rev. 8	<i>qí-ip-ka a-a-um-ma</i>	None of your <i>qīpu</i> commissioners
rev. 9	<i>ul i-mu-ur</i>	has looked (after this).

In BE 17, 24, Kalbu lists all the injustice he has to endure, which includes his lands being cut off from water and - in consequence - being abandoned. He expresses his despair with an allusion to divine intervention from literature, and a question implying his helplessness and desperation, as he has nowhere to go.

BE 17, 24: obv. l. 18-b.e. l. 4

obv. 18	<i>ù^{URU} Man¹-nu-ge-er-^dĪŠKUR ša LUGAL ra-in-ga</i>	But the town Mannu-gēr-Adad, which the king, who loves you,
obv. 19	<i>ù be-lí a-na ši-ba-ta-an-nu-ti⁸⁸ id-di-na</i>	and my lord, gave to me as a grant,
b.e. 1	<i>i-na la me-e na-di zu-un-na i-na šá-me-e</i>	has been abandoned due to a lack of water. If only they had given me rain out of heaven
b.e. 2	<i>ù mi-la i-na naq-bi ki-i i-di-nu-ním</i>	and a flood ⁸⁹ from the spring!
b.e. 3	<i>URU^{KI} ša be-lí i-ri-man-ni i-na la-me-e</i>	The town that my lord granted me has, due to the lack of water,
b.e. 4	<i>na-di a-na ba-la-aṭ a-i-ka-a lul-lik</i>	been abandoned. Where shall I go to live?

Another possibility is to translate “to throw (away/down) reed”, i.e. clean out canals so that the water can flow. The sender, thus, reports about the length of the canals which he cleaned out.

⁸⁷ *Malû* appears often in the context of filling a field with water, i.e. irrigating it, cf. van Soldt 1988: 107.

⁸⁸ cf. CAD Š: 155b.

⁸⁹ Paulus 2014d: 240, fn. 209

Kalbu's letter contains more such questions, as he is unable to pay his levies due to the drought (rev. ll. 5-6 *mi-na-ṛa* [x-x-x-x *lu-ul*]-*qa-am-ma lu-ud-di-in*, "what shall I take [...] and what shall I give?"). This is a rhetorical question expressing despair.

Another well-known example is the Kassite letter BE 17, 48 (CBS 11893), written by a royal official, who explicitly makes a statement to emphasise his high position in the hierarchy of the royal administration, after having been sent to inspect the unsatisfactory work of a subordinate (rev. ll. 4-6). The passage could be interpreted to be informative, but it is presumably meant to express indignation and injured pride.

BE 17, 48, rev. ll. 12-13:

rev. 12	<i>ul mu-ša-ki-lu a-na-ku lu man-za-az</i>	I am not a fattener, it is the case that I am palace official.
rev. 13a	<i>pa-ni a-na-ku l₇ eḫ-te-ri</i>	I am used to digging canals!

Similarly, the lords express their annoyance with questions, as well, such as Inbi-ajjari to Innannu (see a similar example in Hawley 2008: 72):

BE 17, 86: rev. ll. 3-4:

rev. 3	<i>at-ta ša LÚ-ba-ni-i</i>	You, why have you been writing regarding
rev. 4	<i>am-mi-ni ta-ša-pa-ra</i>	Amīl-banû to me?

Inbi-ajjari gives several statements which are not informative as their morpho-syntactic form would suggest, but have the pragmatic function to express indignation. These statements tell us that Innannu and a colleague have entrusted her with cattle, sheep, goats and a workforce but do not trust her with the management of them (HS 111: rev. ll. 16-19).

g) Performative category

Category v, "Performative", are messages "in which the sender effects, by means of the message itself, instantaneous changes in the state of affairs described or named" (Hawley 2008: 73). While this is possible in direct speech, it is rare in written correspondence, since Mesopotamian legal documents were largely documents of proof. Hawley (2008: 73-74) gives the example of prostration formulae in Amarna and Ugaritic letters (variations of "I have fallen at the feet of my lord.").

The performative category is barely attested in the Kassite epistolary corpus. One instance that may count as a performative speech act is a *bēlu*-letter which contains an order to the recipient and third parties. At the end the sender affirms that he has written the truth in this letter:

PBS 1/2, 31: rev. ll. 7-8:

rev. 7	<i>ki-i-ni kit-ti⁹⁰</i>	It is the absolute truth
rev. 8	<i>āš-pu-rak-ku</i>	about which I have (hereby) sent (a letter to you). ⁹⁰

⁹⁰ This affirmation only functions as a performative message if it refers to the message preceding it, and not to a previous letter (such as PBS 1/2, 34: obv. l. 6-8).

The references in letters to the procedure of sending the letter, or the goods that accompanied it, have been interpreted as a performative act (“Koinzidenzfall”, cf. Pardee Whiting 1987: 23; von Soden 1995: 104, §80c; this is not expressed with *aštaprakkum* in Kassite letters, but with the verb form *uštēbila*).⁹¹ However, these statements about the sent goods and letters merely report an act, but do not effect it (Pardee Whiting 1987: 26). Thus, I list them in the category h) “Lettre d’envoi”.

h) “Lettre d’envoi”

Ardu-letters from subordinates to their lord often contain a reference to the goods that they had dutifully sent to their lords. It is likely that these letters accompanied the goods that are mentioned, because the senders used the epistolary perfect to refer to the sending of the letter by a “present” sender to a “present” recipient and to refer to goods which they sent together with the “present” letter (Pardee Whiting 1987: 17, 19, 23). The epistolary perfect⁹² in Akkadian letters was applied to adopt the epistolary perspective from the point of view of the reading of the letter (Pardee Whiting 1987: 27, fn. 79).

BE 17, 39: t.e. ll. 1-3:

t.e. 1	[...] ¹ x ¹ É	[...] (of ?) the house,
t.e. 2	¹ ša be ¹ -lī iš-pu-ra a-na be-lī- ¹ ia ¹	(that) about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me,
t.e. 3	uš-te-bi-la	to my lord I have let (it) be brought.

PBS 1/2, 79: rev. ll. 11-12:

rev. 11	¹ ša ¹ ^{ITU} DU ₆ .KÙ.KÁM a-na	That of the month Tašrītu
rev. 12	[be-lī]- ¹ ia ¹ ul-te-bi- ¹ la ¹	I have let (it) be brought to my [lord].

PBS 1/2, 27 + 54: rev. ll. 7-8:

rev. 7	1 ¹ TUG ₁ a-ri-bu ù 2 ¹ TUG ₁ GÚ.È	One <i>aribû</i> garment and two <i>naḥlaptu</i> garments
rev. 8	a-na be-lī-ia uš-te-bi-la	I have let be brought to my lord.

BE 17, 34: obv. ll. 9-10:

obv. 9	bur-ru-mu-ti ù til-le-e ¹ SISKUR ¹ i-na ¹ i ¹ -	I have let the speckled <i>tillû</i> -garments and the <i>tillû</i> -
	[...] ¹ x ¹ -šu-nu	garments of the offering in their ... [...] be brought
obv. 10	a-na be-lī-ia uš-te-bi- ¹ la ¹	to my lord.

The *aḥu*-letter CT 44, 67 tells us that the sender Aḥu-aqru sent a bucket of apples to his “brother” Iddin-Enlil/Iddinīja:

CT 44, 67: rev. ll. 2-5:

rev. 2b	ù šu-ul-ma-na	And as a gift
rev. 3	šu-ug-ra ša ^{GIŠ} HAŠHUR	I have sent to you a bucket of apples
rev. 4	a-na šu-ul-mi-ka	for your well-being!
rev. 5	ul-te-bi-la-ku	

⁹¹ Guidi and Heimpel (1969: 148-152) use the term “Koinzidenzfall” for epistolary preterites, i.e. finite verb forms in the preterite that describe actions that were “contemporaneous with the letter-writing”, which “will be a part of the past by the time the reader sees the letter” (cf. Pardee Whiting 1987: 3, 23-24).

⁹² Note that the use of the perfect and preterite verb tenses changes between the OB and Kassite period (see Aro 1955: 80-86), and the epistolary perfect appears to replace the epistolary preterite. The preterite is used to express anteriority to the time when the letter was written (*consecutio temporis*). Thus, I distinguish between performatives and epistolary conventions, and not between preterite and perfect verb forms.

Further, the text of the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 5 only consists of submissive elements of the greeting formulae of *aḫu*-letters, which are also found in Amarna letters from the Levant and Ugarit (obv. 8-rev. l. 3). The letter does not contain any request or report apart from the information that the sender had sent the rests of offerings (wine of the province Tuplijaš, possibly prebends) with this letter.

3.3.2 The verb form

a) *ardu*-letters

The subordinate sender, who has already called himself *aradka*, “your servant”, in the address formula, rarely uses the imperative, but mostly uses the 3rd ps. sg. precativ for his submissive and polite pleas to his lord. The recipient is generally referred to as *bēlī(ja)*, “(that of) my lord”, and with the possessive suffix in the 3rd ps. sg. m -š*u*. Only occasionally a subordinate may apply the prohibitive, i.e. *lā* and a verb form in the present tense, i.e. “My lord shall not...” If the lower ranking officials refer to previous (letter) orders from the lords then they also apply the 3rd ps. sg. verb forms (*ša bēlī išpura*, “that about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me”).

The recipient is only rarely directly addressed in the 2nd ps. sg., which is mostly done in the *bēlu*-letters from higher to lower ranking officials. Only occasionally a possessive or pronominal suffix appears in the 2nd ps. sg. This “slip” from the polite 3rd ps. to the more intimate 2nd ps. has already been observed by Sallaberger in the late Old Babylonian period (Sallaberger 1999: 5, 24). An unusual example for an imperative presumably directed at the superior lord is BE 17, 35: rev. l. 12⁹³:

BE 17, 35: rev. ll. 11-15:

rev. 11	<i>aš-š_u14 a-na-ku i-tu be-lī-ia</i>	Because I have come to my lord,
rev. 12	<i>al-^llik¹-ka a-na ¹SU-^dAMAR.UTU</i>	send (a letter) to Eriša-Marduk
rev. 13	<i>šu-pu-ur-ma a-na ¹Ku-du-ra-nu</i>	so that he shall send (a letter) to Kudurrānu,
rev. 14	<i>^lli¹-iš-pu-ra-ma li-il-li-^lik¹</i>	so that he shall come.
rev. 15	<i>SIG4.MEŠ li-il-bi-nu</i>	They shall make bricks.

The requests to the lord in the precativ indicate that the lord “may” or “shall” arrange for something to happen. Although these requests often appear to be urgent and necessary, they are made to sound optional due to the hierarchy between sender and recipient. The urgency can be emphasised with *ḫamutta*, “promptly”.

BE 17, 49: rev. ll. 1’-3’:

rev. 1’	<i>be-lī [...]</i> ^l x ¹ -ma	My lord [...]
rev. 2’	<i>ḫa-mu-ut-^lta¹ [...]</i> x x	shall let them (?) [...]
rev. 3’	<i>li-iš-bi-il-ki-ta</i>	cross promptly!

BE 17, 68: obv. l. 12:

obv. 12	<i>be-lī ḫa-mu-ut-ta li-iš-pur-ma li-di-^lšu¹ [...]</i>	my lord shall quickly send (a letter) to me, and [they] shall thresh!
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⁹³ Note, however, that the passage begins with an *ummā* in rev. l. 9, which could imply a quotation from the sender’s lord.

BE 17, 26: obv. ll. 6-8:

obv. 6	<i>ki-i ša</i> ^{URU} MUN ^{KI} - <i>ma ga-am-rat</i> 100 ŠE.BAR ^{GIŠ} BÁN.GAL	As soon as the barley of the town Ṭabtu is complete, my lord shall impose 100 units of barley on me, measured with the large <i>sūtu</i> vessel,
obv. 7	<i>be-lí li-mi-da-ma a-na</i> ^{LÚ} LUNGA ^{LÚ} KA.ZÍD.DA	so that I shall give (it) - and additionally seeds
obv. 8a	<i>ù</i> ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ <i>lu-ud-di-in</i>	- to the brewer and the <i>kaššidakku</i> -miller.

BE 17, 27: obv. l. 9:

obv. 9b	<i>be-lí liš-pu-^rra¹-[am-ma ...]</i>	My lord shall send (a letter ?) [to me (?) ...]
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BE 17, 28: rev. ll. 12-13:

rev. 12	<i>né-pi-ši ša ši-ri</i>	The tools of the flesh ⁹⁴
rev. 13	<i>be-lí li-še-bi-la</i>	my lord shall have brought to me.

PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 15-16:

obv. 15	DUMU <i>šip-ri-ia ša a-na mu-uḥ be-lí-ia áš-pu-^rra¹</i>	My lord shall send my messenger (back) to me, whom I had sent to my lord, and he must
obv. 16	<i>be-lí liš-pu-ra-áš-šu₁₄-ma la ú-ša-am-a-^rad⁹⁵</i>	not increase (it).

Occasionally well-wishing is expressed in the stative precative:

PBS 1/2, 79: b.e. l. 2:

b.e. 2	<i>be-lí lu-ú ša-li-im</i>	My lord shall be well.
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The subordinates also use the precative to politely ask about the details of their orders, i.e. what exactly they are supposed to do - or in desperate rhetorical questions regarding their future, as it is the case in BE 17, 24:

BE 17, 24: b.e. l. 4:

b.e. 4b	<i>a-na ba-la-aṭ a-i-ka-a lul-lik</i>	been abandoned. Where shall I go to live?
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BE 17, 24: rev. ll. 5-6:

rev. 5b	<i>mi-na-^ra⁷ [x-x-x-x]</i>	What [...]
rev. 6a	<i>[lu-ul]-qa-am-ma lu-ud-di-in</i>	[shall I] take and shall I give?

If a subordinate sends a *ṭēmu*, a report, to his *bēlu* about the executed orders, then he uses the 1st ps. sg perfect tense. An example is the *ardu-letter* BE 17, 23 from Imguru to his lord, who uses the present tense to promise to oblige his lord's orders in the future, but uses the perfect to report his accomplishments:

BE 17, 23: obv. ll. 12-13:

obv. 12	<i>ul-tu</i> U ₄ -4-KAM <i>al-li ap-ta-ta-ar-ma</i>	Since the 4 th day I have repeatedly searched for the hoes,
obv. 13	<i>a-na šu-ri na-ka-si uq-te-er-ri-ib</i>	and I have brought (them) near for the cutting of the reed.

BE 17, 23: obv. ll. 21-24:

obv. 21	[...] ^r hur ¹ - ^{ḥu} -ra-tu ₄ <i>ša a-na ma-an-da-at-ti-ia</i>	[... The <i>ḥurḥuratu</i>] red dye, which [I to]ok for my <i>mandattu</i> ,
obv. 22	[...] <i>e-el]-qu-ú</i>	
obv. 23	[<i>ki-i be-lí</i>] ^r iq ¹ -ba-a <i>a-na</i> ¹ Ki-din- ^d AMAR.UTU	[as my lord or]dered me (to do), [after I had given it?] to Kidin-Marduk,
obv. 24	[<i>ki-i ad-din</i>]-nu ^r 10 MA ¹ .NA <i>ta-bar-ri an-da-ḥar</i>	I have received 10 minas of red dyed wool.

⁹⁴ Maul, 2003-2005: 70; Sallaberger, 2007: 421.

⁹⁵ The verb *mādu* has a strong/firm ' and thus builds the Š-stem according to the Š-stem of the strong verbs, see von Soden 1995: 165 (§98s); AHW: 574.

The fact that a “present” writer sent a letter and/or goods to a “present” addressee was expressed with the epistolary perfect (Pardee Whiting 1987: 17, 20).⁹⁶ This “irregular” use of perfects (and preterites) in Akkadian (and West Semitic), i.e. “those that do not conform to our modern expectations”, can be explained with the concept of epistolary tenses. Pardee and Whiting (1987: 3) describe epistolary tenses as “the point of view of the hearer [...] since actions contemporaneous with the letter-writing will be a part of the past by the time the reader sees the letter” (Pardee Whiting 1987: 3).

Further, the t-form or perfect denotes the central event in a sequence of events, the event on which the action in subsequent clauses is based. Huehnergard’s (1997: 157) observations about the “focusing nuance” of the perfect in OB letters can also be applied to the Kassite letters:

“[I]t indicates the crucial event, the main point, of the letter. Because of this assertive or emphatic nuance, it does not often occur in questions, in relative clauses [...], or after a negative [...]. Further, as the central statement of the letter, the Perfect is not usually followed by *-ma*. Instead, the next main clause verb (if there is one), is almost always an injunctive form (i.e., Imperative, Precative, Prohibitive, Vetitive).” (Huehnergard 1997: 157-168)

Consequently Imguru uses the preterite instead of the perfect to report that he did not receive red-dye in BE 17, 23:

BE 17, 23: obv. ll. 19-20:

obv. 19	[aš]-š _{u4} ta-bar-ri ša be-lí iš-pu-ra	Concerning the red dyed wool, about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me,
obv. 20	[hur]- ^r hu ¹ -ra-ti i-na ŠU ¹ EN-u-sa-tu ₄ ul am- ^h u-ur	the ^h ur ^h uratu red dye out of the hand of Bēl-usātu I did not receive!

Similarly Nusku-tešlīta-išme reports in PBS 1/2, 43 about his own deeds in the 1st ps. sg. perfect, but uses the preterite for those tasks which he has not accomplished:

PBS 1/2, 43: obv. ll. 9-10:

obv. 9	te-lit 6 URU.MEŠ ša il-qa-a	I have let the <i>telītu</i> -revenues of 6 cities, which I took,
obv. 10	a-na be-lí-ia ul-te-bi-la	be brought to my lord.

PBS 1/2, 43: obv. ll. 16-17:

obv. 16b	a-na be-lí- ^r ia ¹	I have not sent (a letter) to my lord.
obv. 17	ul aš-pu-ra	

PBS 1/2, 43: rev. ll. 14-16:

rev. 14	tup-pi te-li-ti ša IGI-EDIN	I have let the tablet about the <i>telītu</i> -revenue of Pān-šēri
rev. 15	ù KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA ^{K1}	and the province Babylon
rev. 16	a-na be-lí-ia ul-te-bi-la	be brought to my lord.

Other examples for the use of the perfect tense for the successfully accomplished task which the sender reports about to his lord are the following, also in the 3rd ps. sg. (!):

PBS 1/2, 50: obv. l. 10:

obv. 10	U ₄ -1-KAM ^r nap ¹ - ^h ar ÉRIN.ĪI.A a-na ¹⁷ BĀD- ^d ISKUR ^{K1} ul-te-bi-ir	On the first day I let the total of the workers cross over the Dūr-Adad canal.
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⁹⁶ “This usage of the preterite and perfect is analogous to the usage of the pluperfect and perfect in Latin epistolary usage [...]. In Akkadian the perfect was used to express the act immediately following the first epistolary act (which is usually expressed as a preterite [...]).” (Pardee Whiting 1987: 17-18)

BE 17, 39: obv. ll. 4-6:

obv. 4	<i>i-na pu-ut A.ŠÀ.MEŠ [...]</i>	He has established a border to the head sides
obv. 5	<i>ša TUKUL^{ku}-ti-É-kur^{KI} ša be-[li]</i>	of the fields of Tukultī-Ekur, as my lord
obv. 6	<i>iš-pu-ra ik-te-di-ir</i>	had sent (a letter to do).

BE 17, 45: obv. ll. 5-11:

obv. 5	<i>[...]-ti ù GI.DU₁₀.GA</i>	and I have let sweet reed
obv. 6	<i>[...]-a ul-te-bi-la</i>	[...] be brought to you,
obv. 7	<i>ù ARAD-ka ŠEŠ-ši-ir-ra</i>	and your servant Aḥa-širra
obv. 8	<i>GI.DU₁₀.GA a-na be-lí-ia</i>	has let sweet reed be brought to my lord.
obv. 9	<i>ul-te-bi-la</i>	
obv. 10	<i>ù i-na pu-ut di-qa-ra-ti</i>	And on account of the <i>diqāru</i> -bowls
obv. 11	<i>a-na ša-qí-i al-ta-pár</i>	for pouring water, I have sent (a letter to you).

BE 17, 3: obv. ll. 7-8:

obv. 7	<i>[...]-te 30.0.0.0 GUR NUMUN ša im-^rlu¹-ú^r kī¹-i</i> <i>l¹ iḥ-ḥi-^rsu¹</i>	It was 30.0.0.0 seeds (cropland, 300 <i>ikū</i> , 243ha), which they had fi[l]led (with seeds?), [a]fter the <i>nāru</i> canal had run [dry], (so) he placed [water (? there)].
obv. 8a	<i>[me-e (?)] il-^rta¹-ka-an</i>	

PBS 1/2, 27 + 54: obv. ll. 18-19:

obv. 18	<i>10 UZ.TUR^{MUŠEN} ša i-na ŠE.BAR ni-mu-ru⁹⁷</i>	I have let 10 ducks, which we inspected in the
obv. 19	<i>a-na be-lí-ia uš-te-^rbi¹-la</i>	(process of being fattened with ?) barley, be brought to my lord.

It is typical for *ardu*-letters that the sender reports about other servants of the lord, who have not accomplished a task which the lord had presumably ordered them to do. We can assume that these denunciations served as an excuse for mishaps and unaccomplished tasks. These acts of informing against a third party are also expressed with the negated verb form in the preterite:

BE 17, 3: obv. ll. 10:

obv. 10b	<i>ù PA₅ d[...]-ra ul ip-te</i>	He did not open the <i>atappu/palgu</i> -ditch of [...]ra.
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PBS 1/2, 31: obv. l. 11:

obv. 11	<i>[am]-mi-ni la il-li-kám-ma</i>	Why did he not come?
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BE 17, 52: obv. ll. 17-18:

obv. 17	<i>ul il-li-ik-ka-ma</i>	He did not come,
obv. 18	<i>ul a-mu-ur-šu</i>	and I did not see him.

PBS 1/2, 51: rev. ll. 7-9:

rev. 7	<i>KASKAL.MEŠ ša KÜ.SI₂₂ ša Aḥ-la-mi-i</i>	The caravans of the gold of the Aḥlamû
rev. 8	<i>a-ka-nu ul ú-ri-da-ni a-na ta-an-di</i>	did not come down here to me.
rev. 9a	<i>it-tar-da-ni</i>	They have come down to the sea.

⁹⁷ Waschow, 1936: 22-24 reads *šum-mu-ru* instead of *ni-mu-ru* and translates: “10 Enten, die in (einem Käfig ??) bewahrt wurden”, without providing additional information. *marû*, *marû* means “to fatten” an animal. The Š-stem is *šumrû*. Grammatically only a ŠD-stem would fit, i.e. a hapax form such as *šumurrû*, or a stative/verbal adjective *šumurru*. This seems unlikely to me outside of the SB/hymn-like-epical dialect (von Soden, 1995: 153). On the other hand the sender seems to be a learned scholar or religious functionary in the temple context, so it is possible that he used rare grammatical forms. Grammatically 10 UZ.TUR^{MUŠEN} *ša i-na ŠE.BAR šum-mu-ru*, “the 10 ducks, which have been raging in the barley” is possible - but unlikely - as well (CAD Š/1: 296a-b). *Šum-mu-ru* could be understood as *šūmurru* (verbal adjective or infinitive of the rarely attested Š-stem of *amāru*, CAD A/2: 23a-b, s.v. *amāru*), “the 10 ducks, which have been let to be examined/inspected (?)”. The sign is damaged; it is possible to read the sign NI instead of ŠUM. *Nīmuru* could be a subordinated 1st ps. pl. of *amāru*, i.e. “the 10 ducks which we inspected in the (process of being fattened with) barley”.

The stative is used in main clauses that contain observations about conditions in the area of responsibility of the lord, but also in short notes about successfully accomplished tasks:

BE 17, 45: rev. ll. 7-10:

rev. 7	<i>a-ma-ti</i> ⁹⁸ <i>ša GÚ.EN.NA</i>	The (legal) issue (sg.) of the <i>šandabakku</i> ,
rev. 8	<i>ma-la i-ba-áš-šú-ú</i>	as much of it as it entails,
rev. 9	<i>a-na be-lí-ia</i>	is entrusted to my lord.
rev. 10	<i>pa-aq-da-at</i>	

PBS 1/2, 79: rev. l. 10: (after reporting about another person trying to harm him, the sender writes)

rev. 10	<i>ʾùʾ ARAD-šú ul ba-ni</i>	and his servant is not good
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BE 17, 3: obv. l. 13:

obv. 13b	<i>ša^{dr} Ir-raʾ-ga-[mil] ʾtaʾ-mi-ir-tu ʾraʾʾ-bi-tu</i> <i>ma-la-at</i>	Regarding Irra-gā[mil: the] large [t]amirtu land is filled.
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BE 17, 3: obv. l. 16:

obv. 16	<i>me-e ul-tu nam-kar ʾDÙ.A-šáʾ-</i> <i>ʾAMAR.UTU ki-i ep-tu-ú mi-šú</i>	After I had opened the waters out of the <i>namgāru</i> canal of Ba[nā]-šá-Marduk, it (became clear that they) were too meagre.
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PBS 1/2, 27 + 54: obv. ll. 5-6:

obv. 5	<i>um-ma-a NINDA-ma ul ba-ni KAŠ.SAG-</i> <i>ma</i>	The bread is not good, and the first quality beer
obv. 6	<i>ul ʾa-a-ab ʾù kib-su-um-ma ul ba-ni</i>	is not good tasting, also the rites are not correct.

PBS 1/2, 27 + 54: obv. l. 14:

obv. 14	<i>rik-su ba-ni a-na a-mar be-lí-ia ša-ri-ik</i>	The <i>riksu</i> -preparation (for the offering) is good. It is ready for the inspection of my lord.
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PBS 1/2, 27 + 54: rev. ll. 10-11:

rev. 10b	<i>na-ak-ka-ʾmaʾ-tu</i>	The storehouses
rev. 11a	<i>ma-la-a ʾù ša-ab-tu-ma</i>	are full, and they have seized/collected (them/it).

In their reports to their lords the submissive senders often describe in which order they fulfilled their lords' orders (i.e. "After I had done this ..., I did that ..."). A typical characteristic of Kassite letters are subordinate clauses beginning with the conjunction *kī*. If *kī* is followed by a verb form in the preterite in a subordinate clause, then it is translated as "after" indicating anteriority. *Kī* usually stands directly before the preterite verb form. The main clause usually contains a perfect indicating posteriority (*consecutio temporis*). In the MB period this replaces the OB temporal clauses beginning with *kīma*, as well as paratactic clauses linked with *-ma* (Aro, 1955: 147-148).

PBS 1/2, 27 + 54: rev. ll. 5-6:

rev. 5b	<i>ki-i u-še-ʾbiʾ-la</i>	After I had let them be brought (to me ?, or after I had let them (=the donkeys) be brought),
rev. 6	<i>a-na be-lí-ia uš-te-bi-la</i>	I have let them (= the six minas of wax) be brought.

UM 29-15-992: rev. ll. 6'-7':

rev. 6'	<i>ki il-qu-nim-šu ʾa-na be-ʾ[lí]-ia</i>	After they had taken him (with them),
rev. 7'	<i>ul-te-bi-la-áš-šu</i>	I let it be brought to my lord.

⁹⁸ *paqdat* is the stative sg. fem.

BE 17, 42: rev. ll. 6-11:

rev. 6	<i>um-ma-a be-lí i-¹de¹ ki-i</i> 0.0.0.3 SĪLA	The following: My lord kn[ows] that - after Bēlānu had seeded 0.0.0.3 seeds
rev. 7	<i>¹Be-la-nu i-ri-šu ù a-na-ku</i>	with a seeder-plough, and that after I
rev. 8	<i>ki ir-da-áš-šu ki-i ¹áš-šu¹</i>	had overseen him, (and) that after I had come up (to him),
rev. 9	<i>ki-i an-nu-ti ¹ul¹ [it]-¹te¹-ep-šá-an-ni⁹⁹</i>	that when he then (after that) did n[ot d]o this for me,
rev. 10	<i>ki-i in-da-na-ḫa-¹ru¹⁰⁰</i>	(and) that as soon as he has repeatedly been receiving (perhaps seeds?),
rev. 11	<i>ki-i ir-da-a at-ta-at-la-ka</i>	(and) that (only) after he had followed me (= my orders) - that only then (after all this) I came here.

BE 17, 48: obv. ll. 9-11:

obv. 9	A.ŠÀ ša DUMU ¹ ÚRDU-iu-ú ku-du-ur-ra	After he had established a border of the field of the son of Ardīju with a <i>kudurru</i> ,
obv. 10	<i>ki-i ik-dī-ra ki-i im-ḫur-an-ni</i>	(and) after he had approached me (about it),
obv. 11	<i>a-na ¹dIŠKUR-URU₄ it-ta-din</i>	he gave (it) to Adad-ē/īriš.

BE 17, 48: obv. ll. 13-15:

obv. 13	A.ŠÀ ḫa-an-ša ki-i ú-še-ri- ¹ da ¹ -an-ni	After he had let the fifth field come back down to me (= i.e. he returned it?),
obv. 14	SAG.DU ¹⁰¹ À.ŠA im-ta-ḫa- ¹ aš ¹ -[ma]	he ploughed the top part of the fallow field, and
obv. 15	¹ šu ¹ -ú it-ta-[di-in]	he ga[ve it].

BE 17, 48: rev. l. 7:

rev. 7	¹ Bu-na- ^d Nin-urta ki-i ú-ri-du i-te-li	After Bunna-Ninurta had come down, he went up.
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If the sender wants to report to his lord about certain conditions, then the subordinate clause containing *kī* and a preterite verb form is followed by a stative in the main clause to describe the state of affairs. The *kī* is not to be translated as “after”, but rather as “as” and “when”.

BE 17, 48: rev. ll. 5-6:

rev. 5	ù A.SÀ ša ¹ 50-KIŠ-DINGIR.MEŠ	and when I inspected the field of Enlil-kiššat-ilāni,
rev. 6	<i>ki-i a-mu-ru-ma gi-ir-ri šu-ru dan^{an}</i>	(I found that) on my path the reed (?) was strong. ¹⁰²

BE 17, 23: rev. ll. 5-6:

rev. 5	¹ ḫur ¹ -ḫu-ra-tu ₄ i-na BÀD-Ku-ri-gal-zu	When I looked for <i>ḫurḫuratu</i> -red dye in Dūr-Kurigalzu,
rev. 6	¹ ki ¹ ú-bi- ¹ u-ú ia-nu	(I found that) it was lacking there.

⁹⁹ The Gtn preterite (syncopated form as in perfect G-stem) of *epēšu* stands here with the object *annūtī*.

¹⁰⁰ *Indanaḫḫaru* is the subordinated Gtn present tense/durative (CAD M/1: 66, s.v. *maḫāru*), possibly to be translated as durative of the past.

¹⁰¹ See Liverani 1996: 1-41 and Paulus 2014d: 83-84 for the (legal) terminology used in Kassite field descriptions. A unit of length such as a SAG “small side” (upper or lower SAG) cannot be ploughed; only a surface unit can be ploughed. According to CAD M/1: 81a *qaqqad eqli maḫāšu* means ploughing a (fallow) field. It is unclear what the “head” or “top part” of a field exactly encompasses. Similarly the phrase *qaqqad PN maḫāšu*, “to assume guarantee”, is not suitable in this context, because it has a person as the rectum to the regens *qaqqad* (CAD M/1: 80b, s.v. *maḫāšu*).

¹⁰² *Šūru* means “reed bundle” (CAD Š/3: 368); the AHw: 1287a neutrally translates “(Schilf-)Rohr”. *Šūru* has several other unclear meanings which do not fit the context easily (cf. CAD Š/3: 367-370). *Dān* is sg., so *šūru* would have to be understood as sg. and translated as “one reed bundle/(one ?) reed”.

UM 29-15-992: rev. ll. 8'-9':

rev. 8'	ù ŠE.BAR ša UDU.U ₈ .NIGA Na-ri ^{KI} (?) ¹⁰³	And when I inspected the barley of the fattened ewe of (the town) Nāru,
rev. 9'	ki-a a-mu-ru a-na a-ma-ri be-lí-ia	(I found that) it is (now) ready for the
rev. 10'a	šar-qà-at	inspection of my lord.

PBS 1/2, 27 + 54: rev. ll. 3-5:

rev. 3	a-na ¹ ARAD-U ₄ -ÈŠ.ÈŠ ARAD-ka 3 i- ^r me-ri ¹ -ia	After I had sent three donkeys to Arad-eššēši, your servant,
rev. 4	ki-i áš-pu-ru 6 MA GAB.LÀL [...]	(I found that) there were six minas of wax [...]
rev. 5a	i-na ^{NA4} KIŠIB-šú ka-ni-ik	sealed on his tablet.

If a subordinate clause containing *kī* and a preterite form is followed by the present tense in the main clause, it can express the durative of the past (Aro, 1955: 148):

PBS 1/2, 58: obv. ll. 7-11:

obv. 7	li-pi-it qa-ti ki-i aš-šu-ú	When I performed the <i>lipit qāti</i> extispicy ritual,
obv. 8	te-e-er-tu a-na a-ma- ^r ri ¹ il-lak	the omen was going to see (the results).
obv. 9	a-na ^{URU} dEn-lil ^{KI} a-na a-[la-ki (?)] a [?]	It is not good to [go (?)] to Nippur
obv. 10	ul ṭa-a-ab ù ^r da ¹ -[...]	and [...]
obv. 11	iš-ša-na-ba-ta-an- ^r ni ¹ [...]	was repeatedly seizing me.

If a sender wants to express that an action is going to be finished at a certain time in the future, then the *kī* in the subordinate clause is followed by the perfect. In this case the *kī* is translated as “when, as soon as”. The main clause contains the future consequence of that finished action, i.e. a verb form in the durative, or a precativ to request an action as a consequence of the subordinate clause. This rule does also apply to subordinate clauses without *kī*:

PBS 1/2, 50: rev. ll. 25-26:

rev. 25b	ki-i ib-te-ru-ú i-na É be-lí-ia	Whenever they have become hungry, then
rev. 26a	ip-ra-a ul a-ma-ḥar	don't I (usually) receive rations from the estate of my lord?

BE 17, 3: obv. l. 6-7:

obv. 6	[(ki?) it ²]-ta-aḥ-su nam-kar-Si-mat- ^d [En]- ^r lil ¹ ù nam-kar- ^d rEn ¹ -[lil ^{KI}]	As soon as it (they = pl. of water) are going to have returned, I am going to open the <i>namgāru</i>
obv. 7a	[e-pe]- ^r et ¹ -te	canal Namkar-Simat-[Enli] and the <i>namgāru</i> canal Namkar-E[nlil].

BE 17, 3: obv. l. 15:

obv. 15	me-e ip-te-te-e-ma ^r il-la ¹ -ku	As soon as he is going to have opened the water, they (Akkadian plural of water) are going to go (= flow).
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If the sender wants to express that his lord needs to do something as a consequence of his own planned future action, then the *kī*-subordinate clause contains a present tense verb form to express the future deed, followed by a precativ in the main clause to politely ask for something to be done. The first example, BE 17, 24, rev. ll. 4-6 contains a preterite verb form in the first *kī*-subordinate clause to indicate

¹⁰³ Collation shows that UDU.U₈ NIGA is followed by the signs *na-ri-ki*. The *nariku*-vessel does not make sense in this context. Perhaps a town or settlement was called *nāru*, “river, canal”, and KI is the determinative to mark a toponym.

that this event has already occurred in reality (and not an action that is going to be finished in the future - if this was the case, then we would expect a perfect verb form, Aro 1955: 148-149):

BE 17, 24: rev. ll. 4-6:

rev. 4b	[x-x-x]- ^r ka [?] -an-ni i-na-an-na ki-i i-li- [ku [?]]	[he has ...] me. And now, after they have co[me]
rev. 5	[ABUL URUDU.MEŠ] UDU.MEŠ U ₈ - MU-2 i-si-ru mi-na- ^r a [?] [x-x-x-x]	(and) after they have demanded the payment of the (levy from the) towns gates(, which consists) of copper, the sheep, and the two-year old ewes - after that, what [...]
rev. 6	[lu-ul]-qa-am-ma lu-ud-di-in ù áš-šu ^r dEn [?] [-lil-x [?]]	[shall I] take and shall I give? And regarding En[lil-... (?)]

PBS 1/2, 19: obv. l. 7-rev. l. 4:

obv. 7b	URU hi-il-ti ¹⁰⁴	When I am going to dig the <i>hīštu</i> -weirs of the Sumundar canal,
obv. 8	ša ¹⁷ Su-mu-un-da-ar	
obv. 9	ki e- <i>he</i> -ru-ú URU hi-il-ti	
obv. 10	ša ¹⁷ Pu-rat-ti-i	and when I am going to dig the <i>hīštu</i> -weirs of the Euphrates,
rev. 1	ki e- <i>he</i> -ru-ú be-lí	then my lord shall send (a letter) to me,
rev. 2	ṭè-ma li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma	so that I shall impose (the <i>dullu</i> work duty on them),
rev. 3	lu-um-mi-id- ^r ma ¹	and they shall dig!
rev. 4	li-i <i>h</i> -ru-ú	

There is also one example in which a *kī*-subordinate clause first states a current condition in the stative, followed by a second subordinate clause reporting about an anterior action from the past in the preterite, which had consequences for the present. The main clause contains a durative verb form to express an ongoing process.

BE 17, 35: rev. ll. 1-6:

rev. 1	[aš]-šu ₁₄ É.GAL É-a-nu ù KÁ-a-nu	Regarding the palace: the inner and the outer part
rev. 2	ki-i a- <i>ha</i> -mi-iš ri- ^r qa ¹	are both equally empty.
rev. 3	ù TÚG.ḪI.A ša ÚRDU-ka ¹ SU- ^d AMAR.UTU	And the fabrics of your servant Erība-Marduk
rev. 4	a-na ^{LU} UŠ.BAR ù ka-ši-ri	they gave to the weaver and the <i>kāširu</i> -fuller as their
rev. 5	ki-i man-da-at-ti-šu-nu id-di-nu	<i>mandattu</i> -work quota.
rev. 6	a-šar ú-kal-lu ₄ ma-am-ma ul ^r i ¹ -ma- <i>ha</i> -ar	In the place where they offer them, no one is going to receive them.

The subordinate senders also apply *ištu/ultu*, “since, after”, to describe the order in which they performed a task. *Ištu/ultu* with the stative as well as with the preterite express an anterior action which was finished in the past, for example, a task which the sender had already completed. He then proceeds to state a task which he has accomplished, or an event which has taken place “since” this previous event had happened:

BE 17, 24: rev. ll. 1-3:

rev. 1	ù ABUL URUDU.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ u U ₈ - MU-2 ša iš-tu GÚ. ^r EN ^r .NA-ti	Also, (what about) the (levy from the) town’s gate (which consists) of copper, the sheep, and the two-year old ewes, which since (the time of) the office of the <i>šandabakku</i>
rev. 2	ša ¹ Na-zi- ^d En-líl a-bi-ka ù EN u ₄ -mi	of Nazi-Enlil, your father, and up until today
rev. 3	za-ka-ku ù i-na-an-na be-lí it-ti- ^r ka [?]	I have been exempted from. And now, my lord, together with you,

BE 17, 46: obv. ll. 6-7:

obv. 6	1 ITU 10 u ₄ -mi iš-tu	It is one month and 10 days since
obv. 7	qa-na-a ad-du-ú	I threw away the reed (growing in the canal).

¹⁰⁴ It is unclear what the logogram URU before the term *hi-il-ti*, “*hīštu*-weirs” means.

BE 17, 46: rev. ll. 3-4:

rev. 3	<i>um-ma-a iš-tu maḥ-ru-tù?</i>	The following: Since the previous (reed)
rev. 4	<i>na-du-ú 1 UŠ na-bal-kat-ta</i>	had been thrown away,
rev. 5a	<i>at-ta-di</i>	I have thrown away 1 UŠ (360m) excess.

PBS 1/2, 73: rev. ll. 7-8:

rev. 7	<i>be-lí iš-tu¹ ZÁLAG^d Dil-bat ú-ni-ki-rù ia-a-ši</i>	Since my lord had turned against Nūr-Dilbat, my
	<i>be-lí</i>	lord
rev. 8	<i>ṭe-e-ma a-ka-an-na il-ta-ak-na-an-ni</i>	has sent to me the plan in the following way:

Just as a subordinate clause with *kī* and a verb form in the perfect, a subordinate clause with *ištu/ultu* and a perfect verb form expresses an action that is going to be finished at a certain time in the future - granted the main clause contains a present tense verb form. Similarly, if the *ištu/ultu*-subordinate clause contains a verb form in the present tense, a similar notion is expressed, i.e. “after” something has happened in the future, another action is described as a consequence in the precative or present tense:

PBS 1/2, 50: rev. ll. 12-13:

rev. 12b	<i>ul-tu ṭqá-nu ú² qat-tu-ú be-lí ki li-ib-bi-šu</i>	After I am going to have finished the ree[d],
rev. 13a	<i>ṭlī¹ [pu-uš]-ša-an-ni</i>	my lord shall treat me
		according to his heart.

BE 17, 13: rev. ll. 6'-7':

rev. 6	LÚ.SAG.LUGAL <i>ul-tu dul-la</i>	After (better: because) the <i>ša rēš šarri</i> is not
rev. 7	<i>la ú-še-ep-pe-šu ú-ma-ṭa</i>	going to carry out the <i>dullu</i> work duty,
		he is going to decrease the quantity.

If the senders wanted to justify that they were unable to follow an order due to a colleagues failure, they apply a (negated) durative combined with the adverb *adīna*, “until now” (Aro, 1955: 114), occasionally also *inanna*. The durative expresses an ongoing processes over a period of time with consequences for the present, or an event which has not yet happened (Huehnergard 1997: 98), similar to the English present perfect or present perfect continuous. Thus, the following examples often also contain a stative verb form:

PBS 1/2, 57: obv. ll. 10'-12':

obv. 10'	<i>um-ma-a ša É^{1d} En-lil-ki-d[i-ni ...]</i>	[(saying)] the following: “Regarding the
obv. 11'	<i>gi-na-ti gu-un-nu-nu URU-ṭda¹ [lī^{K1}]</i>	house of Enlil-kid[innī ...]:
obv. 12'	<i>a-na mé-ke-ri ma-am-ma ul i-[na]m-din-na-an-ni</i>	They are confined in confinements.
		No one is giving the town Āl-dālī to me for irrigating.

BE 17, 3: obv. ll. 8-9:

obv. 8b	<i>[... i-na] ṭI¹ E-tel-ṭpī¹ [ṭGN...]</i>	By now [... (water ?)] has not yet been placed
		... in the [...] of the <i>nāru</i> ca]nal of Etel-p[ṭI- (GN ?) ...]
obv. 9	<i>[... (ki- ?)]-i I¹ Ḥaš-mar-gal-[du ... mu-ú²] a-di-na ul iš-ša-ka-nu-ma</i>	[(and)] [... in the ...] of the <i>nāru</i> canal of Ḥašmar-gald[u ... (?)].

BE 17, 3: obv. ll. 12-13:

obv. 12b	<i>mu-ú a-di-na i-na [ḥi]-ṭša¹-a-ti</i>	Until now water has not been placed in (the
obv. 13a	<i>[ul] iš-ša-ka-nu</i>	upstream side of) [the w]eirs.

BE 17, 3: rev. 1-4:

rev. 1	<i>i-na-an-na A^{me-e} a-na na-at-ba-ak-ti e-pe-te-ṭma²</i>	Now, that I have opened (Engl.: present perfect) the water to the <i>natbaktu</i> -reservoir,
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rev. 2	<i>mu-ú a-na URU ^dÍr-ra-ga-mil ul ir-ru-^rbu-ma[?]</i>	the water is not flowing into the town of Erra-gāmil.
rev. 3	<i>me-e a-na na-at-ba-ak-ti e-pe-te-ma</i>	If I am going to open the water into the <i>natbaktu</i> -reservoir,
rev. 4	<i>a-na BÀD-^dEn-lil.Īl.A^{KI} ki-i ir-ru-bu ù ka-lu-ú ul e-pu-uš</i>	how shall it flow into Dūr-Enlilē, when the <i>kalû</i> dike is not done?

BE 17, 13: obv. ll. 9-10:

obv. 9	<i>ù a-ši-ib pa-ni-šu-nu</i>	And as the one, who sits in front of them,
obv. 10	<i>a-na pe-te-e ul i-nam-din-šu-nu-ti</i>	he does not give (= allow) them to open (canals).

However, occasionally the sender might also predict that something is not going to happen in the future, so the negated present tense verb form cannot always be translated as durative of the past, but as the future:

BE 17, 48: rev. ll. 8-10:

rev. 8	<i>ša-nu-ú ù ša-al-šum-ma</i>	The second and the third person,
rev. 9	<i>ma-la im-ma-ru-šu ma-am-ma ul i-ša-bat</i>	as many as are going to inspect it (m), none of them is going to tackle it.
rev. 10	<i>il-lu-ú ù i-ri-iq-qu</i>	They are (all) going to get up and to leave.

Promises to do something in the future are written in the 1st ps. sg. present tense:

BE 17, 3: obv. 17-19:

obv. 17	<i>A.ŠÀ ša ^dÍr-ra-ga-mil ^ri-ma-la¹-(a)-^rma¹ na-at-ba-ak-ta</i>	As soon as it is going to have filled the fields of Erra-gāmil, I am going to close the <i>natbaktu</i> -reservoir,
obv. 18	<i>e-se-ke-er-ma me-e [ša[?]] I₇ [Nam]-gar-^dEn-lil^{KI}</i>	and I am going to open water from the <i>nāru</i> canal Namkar-Enlil
obv. 19a	<i>a-na na-at-ba-ak-ti ^re¹-[pe]-^ret-te¹</i>	into the <i>natbaktu</i> -reservoir.

PBS 1/2, 43: rev. l. 18-t.e. l. 1:

rev. 18	<i>te-ma a-na be-lí-ia</i>	I am going to send the report (about this) to
t.e. 1	<i>a-šap-pa-ra</i>	my lord!

BE 17, 33: rev. ll. 8-10:

rev. 8	<i>ki-i ša ^rbe-lí¹ iq-^rba¹-a</i>	Just as my lord has ordered me (to do),
rev. 9	<i>te⁴-e-em ^rmu¹-ši a-^rlam¹-ma-ad-^rma¹</i>	I am going to become informed about the report of the night, and
rev. 10	<i>[i-na] ^{dr}UTU¹ na-pa-^{hi} a-^rša¹-ap-^rpa-ra¹</i>	during the (time of) Šamaš rising (=sunrise) I am going to send (a letter).
rev. 11	<i>[... te] ^rem ^riš-ku¹-nu a-^rlam¹-ma-ad-^rma¹</i>	I am going to become informed about the order which he (= my lord) has given,
rev. 12	<i>[i-na ^d]UTU ra-bé-e a-^ršap¹-pa-ra</i>	and during the (time of) Šamaš setting (=sunset) I am going to send (a letter).

To reinforce the promise to carry out ones lord's instructions in the future - especially if the lord had to do something in order to create the preconditions for his subordinate's task - then the sender could also use the precative in the 1st ps. sg.:

PBS 1/2, 43: obv. ll. 13-14:

obv. 13	<i>ka-a-a-na-am-ma a-na be-lí-ia</i>	I shall (precative Gt-Stem) always send (a letter) to my
obv. 14a	<i>lul-tap-pa-ra</i>	lord.

BE 17, 45: rev. ll. 2-5:

rev. 2	<i>1 GÚ.UN URUDU be-lí</i>	My lord shall have 1 talent of copper
rev. 3	<i>li-še-bi-lam-ma</i>	brought to me,

rev. 4	<i>si-it/tá²-si¹⁰⁵ Lu-ub-da-a-a-i</i>	so that I shall repay the (or her ?) rest of the Lubdaean.
rev. 5	<i>lu-šal-li-im</i>	

A typical characteristic of Kassite reports from subordinates to their superior officials are references to previous orders from their lords: “regarding that which/the issue/the fact that ... (about which my lord has sent (a letter)/said)”. The lower ranking senders quote their lords’ orders in direct speech to indicate that they executed them according to their exact wording. They do this, perhaps, in order to insure or protect themselves against criticism from their superiors in case of mishaps.

A prominent way of referring to a previously communicated order is the use of the anaphoric or rather determinative pronoun *ša* without a preceding correlate (Aro, 1955: 146; von Soden, 1995: 265).

PBS 1/2, 58: obv. ll. 5-7:

obv. 5	<i>ša be-lí a-na URU^dEn-líl^{KI} a-la-ka</i>	Regarding the fact that my lord sent (a letter) to me
obv. 6	<i>iš-pu-ra</i>	(saying) to go to Nippur:
obv. 7	<i>li-pi-it qa-ti ki-i a-šu-ú</i>	when I performed the <i>lipit qāti</i> extispicy ritual ...

BE 17, 26: obv. ll. 3-5:

obv. 3b	<i>ša be¹-lí iš-pu-ra</i>	Regarding the following, about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me:
obv. 4	<i>um¹-ma-a ŠE.BAR ša URU^dHi-ba-ri-ti ù URU^dKar-^dAG</i>	Give the barley from Ḫibarītu and Kār-Nabû to the brewer and the <i>kaššidakku</i> -miller!
obv. 5	<i>a-na LÚ^LLUNGA ù LÚ^LKA.ZÍD.DA i-di-in</i>	

BE 17, 27: rev. ll. 9-13:

rev. 9	<i>ša URU^dMUN^{KI} maš-qí-tu₄ qa-ta-at KÁ nam-ga-ra-ti</i>	Regarding Ṭabtu: The irrigation outlets have run dry, the openings of the irrigation canals
rev. 10	<i>su-uk-ku-ur ù šu-qú-ti¹⁰⁶ [...]</i>	are closed, and the irrigated [...],
rev. 11	<i>ù LÚ^LNÍG.KUD.DA ša be-lí iš-^rpu¹-[ra ...]</i>	and the <i>mākisu</i> -tax collector whom my lord had se[nt (here ?) ...]
rev. 12	<i>i-la-am-mi^r ša²^r URU^dHi-ba-^rri¹-[tu ...]</i>	made his round. Regarding Ḫiba[rītu ...]:
rev. 13	<i>ka-su-ra kal-da-at ù x [...]</i>	She/it reached the border and [...]

PBS 1/2, 72: obv. ll. 6-8:

obv. 6	<i>[ša] i-ra-as-su mar-ša-tu₄</i>	Regarding the one whose breast is ill (f.):
obv. 7	<i>[na] a-š-ma-at-ta e-te-si-^riḫ¹-ma¹⁰⁷</i>	they are going to bandage him/her with a poultice,
obv. 8	<i>ú-ša-am-ma-du-[ši/šu]</i>	which I have assigned.

¹⁰⁵ On the photography of the cuneiform tablet BE 17, 45 the signs *si-id/t/-si* are recognisable. The last *-si* is not a mistake of the copier of BE 17 for *-ta*, as Aro, 1956: 91 suggests. *Sittu* or *šittu*, the “rest”, is both *š/sitti* and *š/sītat* in the status constructus, and thus, it is according to von Soden, 1995: 105 possible to build a status pronominalis *š/sītassi* (**š/sītatši*) or *š/sittāši*. *Sītsi* could be an erroneous variant of the status pronominalis of *š/sittu* with the possessive suffix 3rd ps. sg. fem. *-ši*, as the final /t/ of *šit-* assimilates to /s/ if a suffix beginning with /š/ is added, i.e. **sīt-ši* > *sīssi*, written *sītsi*. Another possibility is to read the second sign not as *-it-*, but as a *da/ta*, i.e. *si-tá-si* for *sītatši* > *sītassi*. In both cases it is unclear what or whom the final fem. possessive suffix refers to. Thus, it might be a scribal error (*-si* instead of *-ti*) for *š/sitti*, i.e. simply “the remainder/rest of the Lubdaean”.

¹⁰⁶ According to the AHw: 1180a-1181b *šaqqû* can either mean “hoch sein, werden”, or “tränken (mit), bewässern”. The D-stem *šuqqû* is only attested for the meaning “to be tall, high”, and means “to make taller, higher” (AHw, 1180a-1181b). It appears to be more probable in the given context that the verbal adjective *šuqqûtu* means “the irrigated (ones pl.)”, and not “the ones which have been made higher/the high(er) ones” (although irrigation outlets could have been heightened to block them?).

¹⁰⁷ The RTI image shows *e-te-si-^riḫ¹-ma*, *ētesihma*, 3rd ps. sg. perfect G-stem or preterite Gt stem of *esēḫu*, “to assign” (CAD E: 327b-329b). Waschow (1936: 35) reads *e-te-iš-r[u]-ma*, *ētesruma* from *erēšu* in the Gt preterite, “I have straightened myself?”, and Aro (1955: 30, 73) reads *e-te-eš₁₅-^rru¹-ma*, of the verb *ešēru*, “in Ordnung bringen”, but believes the form to be a Š-stem. This is unlikely, since the verb form would need to have a u-prefix to be a finite verb form of the Š-stem.

BE 17, 31: obv. ll. 11-12:

obv. 11	<i>ša DUMU.MUNUS ¹Muš-ta-li</i>	Regarding the daughter of Muštālu:
obv. 12	<i>i-ša-ta-tu ba-al-ṭa</i>	the skin lesions ¹⁰⁸ have healed.

BE 17, 31: obv. ll. 15-17:

obv. 15	<i>ša DUMU.MUNUS ¹DINGIR-ip-pa-aš- ra</i>	Regarding the daughter of Ilī-ippašra:
obv. 16	<i>2 i-ša-tu-ša uḫ-ḫu-ra-tu₄</i>	The second skin lesion has produced a
obv. 17	<i>ši-i-pa it-ta-di</i>	discoloration. ¹⁰⁹

BE 17, 31: rev. l. 3:

rev. 3	<i>[ša] ¹DUMU ¹Ḫu-ut-tir-me šu-ul-mu</i>	[Regarding the son] of Ḫuttirme: He is healthy.
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BE 17, 31: rev. ll. 6-10:

rev. 6	<i>ša aḫ-la-mi-ti</i>	Regarding the Aḫlamaean (f.):
rev. 7	<i>mi-ši-il i-ša-ta-ti [uḫ]-ḫu-ra</i>	half of her skin lesions [are re]maining.
rev. 8	<i>ša DUMU.MUNUS ¹Ba-ba-[ti]</i>	Regarding the daughter of Babātu:
rev. 9	<i>i-ša-ta-tu ša še-li-ša uḫ-ḫu-ra</i>	the skin lesions of her side are remaining,
rev. 10	<i>ù i-ge-en-ni-iḫ</i>	and she is coughing.

Another way to refer to previous orders from their lords is to begin a subordinate clause with the conjunction *aššu*, “because, on the account of the fact that”, or to address an issue with the preposition *aššu*, “concerning, with respect to” (CAD A/2: 466a-471a). Each part of the letter beginning with an *aššu* concerns a specific issue.

BE 17, 27: obv. ll. 12-14:

obv. 12	<i>aš-šum Ì.GIŠ piš-šat É be-lí-ia ša be-lí iš-tú-ru</i>	Regarding the sesame oil allotments of the house
obv. 13	<i>1;0.4.0 Ì.GIŠ piš-šat MU-1-KAM 0;0.0.1 Ì.GIŠ</i>	of my lord about which my lord had written:
obv. 14	<i>ul ad-din</i>	1;0.4.0 of sesame oil allotments of one year.
	<i>ù na-ra-ru il-ta-na-sa-a</i>	(Out of this) I have not given 0;0.0.1 of oil,
		and he repeatedly exclaims “Help!”

BE 17, 27: obv. ll. 15-17:

obv. 15	<i>aš-šum Ì.GIŠ i-tu-ú ŠÀ.TAM-mi e-še-er</i>	Regarding the oil with the <i>šatammu</i> I have done
obv. 16	<i>ù ú-ša-am-ša na-da-na ù la na-da-n[a]</i>	it early,
obv. 17	<i>ul i-qa-ab-ba-a</i>	and I have done it late in the evening,
		but to give or not to give (the oil)
		he did not say to me.

BE 17, 27: obv. ll. 18-19:

obv. 18	<i>aš-šu₁₄ ¹Di-in-DINGIR-lu-mur ša be-lí iš-pu-ra</i>	Regarding Dīn-ili-lūmur, about whom my lord
obv. 19	<i>um-ma-a a-bu-us-su-ú ša-ab-ta-ta</i>	had sent (a letter saying) the following:
		“Did you intercede on his behalf?”

BE 17, 26: rev. ll. 3-5:

rev. 3	<i>aš-šu₁₄ ^{NA4}ḪAR.MEŠ ša ^{NA4}[...]</i>	Regarding the grinding slabs out of (type of
rev. 4	<i>a-na ¹I-lī-aḫ-ḫe-e-ri-ba ¹a-na²¹ [...]</i>	stone) [...]:
rev. 5	<i>i-le-eq-qa-a</i>	[I have (?) ...] to Ilī-aḫḫē-e-riḫa in order to [...].
		He is going to take (them).

BE 17, 26: rev. ll. 6-7:

rev. 6	<i>aš-šu₁₄ ša-ba-ši ša be-lí iš-pu-ra</i>	Regarding the collecting of the <i>šibšu</i> levy about
rev. 7	<i>U₄-2-KAM a-na ša-ba-ši e-qé-ri-ib</i>	which my lord sent (a letter) to me:
		I am going to begin collecting in 2 days.

¹⁰⁸ For the translation of *išātu* see Sibbing Plantholt, 2014: 177-178.

¹⁰⁹ Sibbing Plantholt, 2014: 177-178.

BE 17, 26: rev. ll. 8-11:

rev. 8 *aš- šu₁₄ šu-ki-i ša i-tu-ú¹ Iz-kùr-^d Nin-urta*
 rev. 9 *ša-ak-nu-ma be¹-li iš-pu-ra a-na KÁ*
 rev. 10 *ša É be-lí-a ul i-la-ak ku-bur-ra-a mi-iš*
 rev. 11 *ù mu-ra-ku ia-a'-nu-um*

Regarding the door pole which had been deposited with Izkur-Ninurta, and about which my lord sent (a letter) to me: it does not go (=fit) into the gate of the house of my lord. It has too little of thickness, and the length is lacking.

b) *bēlu-* and *šarru-*letters

Bēlu- and *šarru-*letters contain direct orders in the imperative.

BE 17, 83: obv. l. 9:

obv. 9a *qú-ri-ib-šū-nu-ti-i-ma*

Bring them here!

BE 17, 83: obv. l. 11:

obv. 11 *šū-um-ḫi-ir-šū-nu-ti*

Let them receive!

BE 17, 83: obv. l. 14:

obv. 14 *2;0.0.0 GUR ŠE.BAR a-na DUMU^{MUNUS} Ta-a-du i-di-in*

Give 2;0.0.0 of barley to the son of Tādu (f.)!

BE 17, 83: rev. ll. 4-8:

rev. 4 *ŠE.BAR a-na^{1d} 30-IBILA-[URU₄]*
 rev. 5 *mu-du-ud-ma i-din-ma li-iš-ša-a*
 rev. 6 *ù at-ta ḫa-mu-ut-ta*
 rev. 7 *al-ka-am-ma ŠE.NUMUN*
 rev. 8 *a-na URU.KI i-din*

Measure barley for Sîn-apla-[ē/iriš (?)], and give it, and he shall carry it away! And you, come immediately here, and give seeds to the town!

BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 3-4:

obv. 3 *ŠE.GIŠ.Ì ša ḫa-za-an-na-a-ti*
 obv. 4 *la ta-ma-ḫa-ar*

Don't receive the sesame of the *ḫazannus*!

Occasionally the lord also writes matter-of-fact statements in the 2nd ps. sg. present tense/future about an order which the recipient is going to carry out.

BE 17, 83: rev. ll. 17-19:

rev. 17 *um-ma-a a-na DUMU^f Ta-a-du [...]*
 rev. 18 *i-na ŠÀ ŠE.BAR at-tu-ú-a tu-še-er-[re-eb ...]*
 rev. 19 *na-ḫa-sa aq-ba-áš-šū*

The following: for/to the son of Tādu [...] into (out of ?) the barley, which belongs to me, you shall let enter [...] I have ordered him to return.

General instructions to a third party, i.e. to multiple subordinates whom the sender does not address directly, and whom he might not know personally, can be written in the precative, as opposed to direct instructions to the recipient of the letter in the imperative:

BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 5-10:

obv. 5 *at-ta-ma-an-nu ŠE.GIŠ.Ì*
 obv. 6 *li-iš-ḫu-tu-ú-ma*
 obv. 7 *Ì.GIŠ a-na É^{NA4} KIŠIB li-še-ri-bu*
 obv. 8 *ù at-ta ŠE.GIŠ.Ì-ka*
 obv. 9 *šū-ḫu-ut-ma Ì.GIŠ*
 obv. 10 *a-na É^{NA4} KIŠIB šu-ri-ib*

Whoever it is, they shall press the sesame, and they shall let the sesame oil enter the sealed house! And you, press your sesame, and let the sesame oil enter the sealed house!

BE 17, 85: obv. ll. 3-7:

obv. 3	3;0.0.0 ŠE.BAR <i>a-na</i> ¹ SUM- ^d U.GUR	Give 3;0.0.0 (900l) to Iddin Nergal!
obv. 4	<i>i-di-in</i>	
obv. 5	<i>le-mu-ut-ta la te-ep-pu-ša-an-ni-ma</i>	Don't do anything bad towards me!
obv. 6	<i>ša aq-ba-aš-šu li-iš-am-ma</i>	He (=Iddin-Nergal ?) shall buy what I ordered him (to buy),
obv. 7	<i>li-il-qa-a</i>	and he shall take (it)!

Bēlu-letters often contain complaints that the subordinate recipient has not followed his lord's orders which had been given to him in the past. This also includes short statements about the failures, mistakes, and negligence of their inferiors.

BE 17, 86: rev. ll. 8-10:

obv. 11	<i>at-ta am-mi-ni ki-i ar-di</i>	You, why have you continuously been treating him like a slave?
obv. 12	<i>te-te-pu-^rus¹-su a-di ba-al-ta-ka</i>	As long as I am alive
obv. 13	<i>it-ti-ka ul a-da-ab-bu-ub</i>	I am not going to talk to you!

BE 17, 83: obv. ll. 5-7:

obv. 5	<i>um-ma-a ÉRIN.ĪI.A an-nu-ti</i>	The following: These <i>šābu</i> work troops,
obv. 6	<i>ša áš-pu-ra-ak-ku tu-^rše¹-[li²-šu]-nu-ti-ma</i>	about whom I had sent (a letter) to you, you have taken them away, although
obv. 7	URU.KI <i>la mu-uš-šu-^rur¹</i>	the town is not exempt (from levies/the <i>dullû</i> work duty).

BE 17, 83: rev. ll. 9-11:

rev. 9	<i>ù ŠE.BAR LIM GUR ^{GIŠ}BÁN.GAL ša ¹Ib-ni-^dAMAR.UTU</i>	And I have ordered you to give barley, 1000 Gur, measured with the big <i>sūtu</i> vessel, that of Ibni-Marduk.
rev. 10	<i>na-da-na aq-ba-ak-ku</i>	Why did you not give it?
rev. 11	<i>am-mi-ni la ta-di-in</i>	

BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 11-12:

obv. 11	<i>ù te-em ŠE.BAR</i>	Also: a report about the barley,
obv. 12	<i>mi-im-ma ul ta-áš-pu-ra</i>	nothing whatsoever you have sent to me!

In general the lord may make a reference to a previous order he has given - perhaps in written form - to the recipient:

BE 17, 84: obv. l. 13-rev. l. 2:

obv. 13	<i>ù ¹Ha-áš-mar</i>	And Hašmar
obv. 14	<i>ša áš-pu-rak-ku</i>	about whom I had sent (a letter) to you:
rev. 1	NINDA <i>ù KAŠ a-na pi-i</i>	give bread and beer according to (the number of)
rev. 2	<i>a-mi-le-e-šu i-din</i>	his men!

The lords, who send the *bēlu*-letters, also demand reports from their lower ranking recipients.

BE 17, 94: rev. l. 5:

rev. 5	<i>te⁴-ma šu-up-ra</i>	Send the report to me!
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The high-ranking senders also refer to previous reports they had received from their inferior servants. If the lord quotes previous reports from his servant, then he uses the 2nd ps. sg:

BE 17, 86: obv. ll. 4-9:

obv. 4	<i>ša KÙ.SI₂₂ ta-aš-pu-ra</i>	Regarding the gold about which you had sent (a letter) to me
obv. 5	<i>um-ma-a ša DUMU.MEŠ ^rNIBRU^{1KI}</i>	the following: "Regarding the sons of Nippur:
obv. 6	<i>KÙ.SI₂₂ tar-šu li-šu-ú</i>	They shall bring the appropriate (amount of) gold!"

obv. 7	<i>i-na</i> NIBRU ^{KI} LÚ ^I DAM.GÀR.MEŠ	(However,) in Nippur there are no merchants, and
obv. 8	[i]a-nu-um-ma it-ti DUMU.MEŠ EN.LÍL ^{KI}	don't take (it) from the sons of Nippur!
obv. 9	[la] ¹ te ¹ -le-eq-qé	

BE 17, 86: rev. ll. 3-4:

rev. 3	<i>at-ta ša</i> LÚ ^I -ba-ni-i	You, why have you been writing regarding
rev. 4	<i>am-mi-ni ta-ša-pa-ra</i>	Amīl-banû to me?

BE 17, 86: rev. ll. 5-6:

rev. 5	<i>ša</i> ¹ E-mi-da<-na>- ^d AMAR.UTU <i>ša ta-aš-pu-ra</i>	Regarding Ēmid-ana-Marduk about whom you had sent (a letter) to me:
rev. 6	<i>ul na-ka-rum šu-ú a-ḫu-ia</i>	He is not an enemy, he is my brother!

c) *aḫu*-letters

Aḫu-letters display a certain ambiguity, as they apply language that expresses submission but also dominance. On the one hand they contain direct orders in the imperative, and make use of the direct 2nd ps. sg. possessive and pronominal suffixes. But on the other hand they also occasionally refer to the recipient in the 3rd ps. sg. with his personal name and the “polite” precative verb form, i.e. “PN shall ...”. As it is also the case in the *bēlu/šarru* letters the precative is also used to refer to third parties, who shall follow the sender’s orders.

Aḫu-letters further contain magniloquent and bombastic greeting formulae, asking local gods to protect the recipient. One could draw parallels to the elaborate greeting formulae in the international diplomatic Amarna correspondence between the “brotherhood of kings”, as in both corpora the senders address the recipients with the endearing appellative *aḫu* to express closeness. The use of the appellative *aḫūka*, “your brother”, reflects this ambiguity: The person who sends the letter expresses affection, but also emphasises that he has a rank nearly as high in the hierarchy as the recipient. *Aḫu*-letters were, perhaps, exchanged between the highest officials of the kingdom, and thus display both very formal and polite phrases, but also straightforward communication among their inner elitist circle.

A good example is PBS 1/2, 67, as the sender Marduk-šumu-līšer speaks about the recipient Amīlīja in the 3rd ps. sg. precative, but also gives him straightforward orders in the imperative:

PBS 1/2, 67: obv. ll. 5-12:

obv. 5b	<i>um-ma-a a-na</i>	The following (say) to
obv. 6	¹ LÚ ^I -ia ^{1d} Nusku-e-a <i>ša a-na le-et</i>	Amīlīja: Since Nuskuē’a, whom you have sent to the
obv. 7	¹ E-ṭè-ri taš-pu-ru	side of Eṭēru,
obv. 8	<i>ul-tu ma-ḫa-ra ša</i> ŠE.BAR	has not said (= ordered) the receiving of the barley,
obv. 9	<i>la iq-bu-ú ù ul-te-ep-ri-is</i>	I have let (it = the deliveries) stop.
obv. 10	<i>e-nen-na</i> ¹ LÚ ^I -ia it-ti ¹ E-ṭè-ri	Now, Amīlīja shall discuss (it) with Eṭēru,
obv. 11	<i>lid-bu-um-ma</i> ^{1U} ṭup-šar-ra-šú	
obv. 12	<i>li-iš-pu-ra-am-ma</i>	and he shall send the scribe to me!

PBS 1/2, 67: rev. ll. 2-3:

rev. 2b	<i>ši-ri-im-ma</i>	Apply yourself to it,
rev. 3	<i>ki-pi-id-ma ḫa-an-ṭiš šup-ra</i>	plan ahead, and sent it here promptly!

PBS 1/2, 67: rev. ll. 7-10:

rev. 7	<i>ù ša</i> ŠE.BAR <i>ša e-re-ši-ka</i>	And regarding the barley of your seeding (with a seeder plough),
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rev. 8	<i>šup-ra-am-ma lu-ú i-na</i>	send it here! And he shall
rev. 9	^{URU} <i>Ši-tu-la lu-ú i-na</i> ^{URU} <i>Ma-še-e</i>	throw it (=put it in storage) either in Šitulu or in
rev. 10a	<i>lid-di</i>	Mašê.

CT 43, 60 contains a lot of indirect orders directed at third parties in the precativ, but also direct orders in the imperative:

CT 43, 60: obv. ll. 11-12:

obv. 11	<i>i-di li-mu-ur-ma in-na-šum-ma</i>	He shall inspect (them), and they shall be brought,
obv. 12a	<i>lil-qa-a</i>	and he shall take them.

CT 43, 60: rev. ll. 1-4:

rev. 1b	<i>ša-al-šú-ma</i>	Ask him, and
rev. 2	¹ ANŠE ¹ .MEŠ <i>a-šar id-di-nu</i>	he shall receive the donkey at the place, at which he
		had given (them).
rev. 3	<i>li-im-ḫu-ra-am-ma a-na</i>	And then, give (them) to
rev. 4a	<i>a-mi-li-ia i-din</i>	my man.

CT 43, 94 is a good example to show that the sender, who calls himself the recipient's brother, actually reprimanded the recipient in a style similar to the *bēlu*-letters for negligence and mistakes, and gives a few direct orders:

CT 43, 94: rev. ll. 3-8:

rev. 3	[NINDA ù KAŠ] ¹ ša ¹ ^d UTU-DI.KU ₅ <i>ša ik-ka-lu-ú</i>	You have not sent any of [the bread and the beer] of Šamaš-dajjān which he (usually) eats.
rev. 4	[mi]- ¹ im ¹ -ma <i>ul ta-áš-pu-ra</i>	
rev. 5	[mi]- ¹ na ¹ -a <i>ik-kal ša-a-al-ma</i>	Ask him what he (usually) eats,
rev. 6	NINDA ù KAŠ <i>ša</i> ^d UTU-DI.KU ₅	and write down the bread and beer of Šamaš-dajjān
rev. 7	<i>ù ša an-nu-ti šu-uṭ-ra-am-ma</i>	and that of these, and
rev. 8	<i>šu-bi-la₁₂</i>	send it to me!

CT 43, 94: rev. l. 9:

rev. 9	<i>ù DUMU šip-ri-ia la tu-qá-a</i>	Don't wait for my messenger!
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CT 43, 94: rev. ll. 12-13:

rev. 12	<i>ṭup-pa šu-uṭ-ra-am-ma</i>	Write a tablet, and
rev. 13	<i>šu-bi-la₁₂</i>	send it to me!

3.4 The exhortation

Ur III letters usually end with an exhortation,¹¹⁰ i.e. an urgent appeal, to follow the orders given in the message. There are six categories of Ur III-exhortations: a) urgency of message, b) invocation of family allegiance, c) invocation of higher authority, d) clause against complaints, e) Akkadian exhortations in Sumerian letters, and f) miscellaneous. Category a) is most frequent (Dahl 2020: 236).

In the OB period the request was followed by a formulaic exhortation, which was often a prohibitive, such as *lā takalla*, “do not hold back!”. These prohibitions are not based on the behaviour of the individual recipient of the letter, i.e. to admonish him for neglect, but formulaic idioms, which were deemed adequate, and were required when sending a request (Sallaberger 1999: 147-148; see also Salonen 1967: 50-51).

¹¹⁰ According to Kienast and Volk 1995: 20 a quarter of Ur III-letter orders contain an exhortation.

In Kassite letters the exhortation is optional. It appears in some *aḫu*- and *bēlu*-letters, which contain clear orders (directives) in the imperative, and is only rarely attested in *ardu*-letters (see the examples below). In the unusual or hybrid *ardu*-letter CT 51, 41 it may be a sign for an elevated status of the sender, who had learned the traditional use of an exhortation in a scribal school, and treated the recipient nearly as an equal, and not as his superior.

a) Urgency of message

In Kassite letters requests can be reinforced with adverbs such as *ḥamṭiš*, “quickly” and *ḥamutta*, “promptly” (CAD H: 71, 75). See the following examples:

type of Kassite letter	exhortation	position
<i>šarru</i> -letter	PBS 1/2, 76: rev. ll. 6-10: ^{1d} UTU-DI.KU ₅ ^{GIS} GIGIR-ka li-iš-ša-šum-ma ḥa-mut-ta li-ik-šu-da, “Šamaš-dajjān shall bring your chariot here, and he shall reach me promptly!”	end of letter, following a directive
<i>bēlu</i> -letter	HS 111: rev. l. 8: ir-ba ša ŠE.GIŠ.Ī ḥa-mu-ut-ta šu-up-ra, “Hurry, send the income of the sesame (cultivation)!”	middle of text, following a directive
<i>aḥu</i> -letter	PBS 1/2, 45: rev. l. 2: ḥa-an-ṭiš šu-pu-ur-ma, “Send (a letter) quickly!”	middle of text, following a directive
<i>aḥu</i> -letter	PBS 1/2, 67: -rev. ll. 2-3 ṣi-ri-im-ma ki-pi-id-ma ḥa-an-ṭiš šup-ra, “Apply yourself to it, and plan it, and send quickly!”	middle of text, following information (description of a problem)
<i>aḥu</i> -letter	CBS 4730: rev. ll. 6’b-8’: ṭè-em-šu ù šu-lu-um-šu ḥa-an-ṭi-īš ¹ liš-pu-[ra ...], “His written instructions and his greetings he shall quickly send (to me ?)!”	end of letter

b) Invocation of allegiance

type of Kassite letter	exhortation	position
<i>aḥu</i> -letter	BE 17, 80 + PBS 1/2, 46: rev. l. 12-t.e. l. 2 (unusual <i>aḥu</i> -letter, lack of greeting formula): <i>a-na mu-uh-ḥi-ka a-na man-ī-ni¹¹ ki-i a-šap-pa-rù¹¹¹</i> “(If not) to you, ¹¹² to whom could I send (a letter)?”	end of letter
<i>ardu</i> -letter	HS 109: rev. ll. 7-8: <i>a-na mu-uh be-lī-ia [man]-nu ki-i i-ša-a-lu-šu</i> , “(If not) to my lord, who will interrogate him?” Unusual <i>ardu</i> -letter/hybrid: HS 109 has elements of an <i>aḥu</i> -letter (<i>aḥu</i> -letter greeting formula, i.e. divine blessing); sender denies complicity in a crime committed by another man who is a servant of the lord, and whom the lord shall interrogate.	end of letter
<i>aḥu</i> -letter	PBS 1/2, 36: rev. ll. 11-12: <i>a-na UGU¹ LÚ-ia a-na man-ni ki-i a-šap-pa-ru</i> , “(If not) to Amīlīja, to whom could I send (a letter)?”	end of letter
<i>aḥu</i> -letter	PBS 1/2, 67: rev. ll. 10-14: <i>ma-am-ma-na ul i-šu re-da-ka^{ku}</i> , “I have no one. I follow you (2 nd ps. sg.)” The sender seems to refer to the recipient as a “lord” in the preceding lines (<i>be-lī it-til-tu₄ it-ti-ia ta-na-zī-iq</i> [...] <i>it-ti-ia i-zī-iq</i> , “My lord (3 rd ps. sg.) is one time/for the first time upset with me [...] was upset with me.”), although an <i>aḥu</i> -letter implies a nearly equal status of sender and recipient — unless the sender refers to a third party with the appellative “lord” (?).	end of letter
<i>aḥu</i> -letter	CT 43, 94: rev. ll. 13-14: <i>aš-šu₁₄ i-na ṭú-bi-im-ma-a a-ha-mi-iš šu-ub-bu-ti</i> , “Because of (doing it) in goodness and in being banded together (in friendship)”	end of letter

¹¹¹ *kī iša*’’*alušu* and *kī ašapparu* are subordinated. *Ana manni* is an interrogative nominal clause, which is followed by a subordinated (suffix *-u*) object clause, see von Soden 1995: 285. For *mannu* followed by indirect interrogative subordinate clauses see von Soden 1995: 288-289.

¹¹² For *ana muḥ/muḥḥika* in BE 17, 80 + PBS 1/2, 46, HS 109, and in PBS 1/2, 36, see Aro, Bernhardt 1958-1959: 567, who translate it with “über ... hinaus, außer”, i.e. “Apart from you/my lord/Amīlīja, who(m) ...”.

c) Invocation of higher authority

type of Kassite letter	exhortation	position
<i>ardu</i> -letter	BE 17, 46: rev. ll. 2b-3: GÚ.EN.NA <i>la i-ra-'u-ú-ub</i> , “The <i>šandabakku</i> shall not be angry.”	middle of text, following a directive

d) Clause against complaints

type of Kassite letter	exhortation	position
<i>ardu</i> -letter	CT 51, 41: rev. ll. 5b-6: <i>ma-am-ma la i-ma-áš-ša-a'-šu-nu-ti</i> , “No one must let them be forgotten!” (3 rd ps. sg.) Unusual <i>ardu</i> -letter/hybrid: CT 51, 41 has elements of a <i>bēlu</i> - and <i>aḫu</i> -letters (no greeting formula, hypocorisms, which are also used in <i>bēlu</i> -letters, see the letters to Innannu and Martukkû below); message text avoids addressing recipient either in 3 rd or 2 nd ps. sg.	end of letter
<i>bēlu</i> -letter	HS 110: obv. l. 15, rev. l. 9: <i>la te-me-ek-ke</i> , “Do not be negligent!”	1) middle of text, following list of requests, 2) end of letter
<i>bēlu</i> -letter	HS 113: obv. l. 7: <i>at-ta mi-nu-ú ki-i la te-še-mu-ú</i> , “You, why is it as if you are not listening (to me)?”	middle of text, beginning of scolding
<i>bēlu</i> -letter	HS 113: obv. l. 12, l.e. ll. 1-2: [...] <i>la¹ te-me-ke bi-ri-it 'ù¹ [... le-mut]-'ta¹-ka la e-še-em-mé</i> , “[...] Do not be negligent! Between [...] I shall not hear [anything b]ad (from you)!”	1) middle of text, following scolding, 2) end of letter
<i>aḫu</i> -letter	PBS 1/2, 45: rev. ll. 3-4: ARAD- <i>ka¹ Ku-ub-bu-la la i-kal-lu-ú-ma</i> , “They shall not hold back your servant Kubbula!”	(nearly) end of letter, following a directive
<i>aḫu</i> -letter	CT 43, 60: b.e. ll. 2-3, rev. ll. 12-13: <i>pa-ni-ka a-na [...]/i-na la e-de-e la ta-ša-ka-an</i> , “Do not act with your face for [...] as if you do not know!”	1) middle of text, following orders, 2) end of letter

f) Miscellaneous

type of Kassite letter	exhortation	position
international letter	Ni. 669: rev. ll. 11-12: <i>ma-am-ma ḫi-bil-tu-šu-nu la i-ša-ka-an</i> , “No one shall place damages on them (= No one shall harm them)!”	end of letter, following assurance of protection

4. The “Sitz im Leben” of the Kassite letters

4.1 The organisation of the Kassite kingdom

4.1.1 The provinces and the royal domain

The Kassite kingdom was organised in provinces (*pīhatu* or *mātu*); for a list of provinces and a discussion of the terms see Sassmannshausen 2001: 22-23, and Paulus 2014d: 185-198. In the West there were a lot of small provinces, each consisting of one town, often a cultic centre such as Nippur, while the provinces in the north and east were larger, forming a circle around the centre of the Kassite kingdom (Paulus 2014d: 185-198).

Land of the palace (gardens) is also mentioned on the *kudurrus*. Since the provincial administration was referred to as “palace”, this land may have belonged to the provincial administration (Paulus 2014d: 201).

Apart from the provinces land of a specific status existed in several provinces, such as the *pīhāt šarri*, the royal domain. The levies collected from the royal domain went directly to the king (Paulus 2014d: 195-196).

Ridūtu-land was located in several provinces, as well, and was either a province, or land of a specific status. For *ridūtu* (which means “inheritance”) a *šakin māti* is attested (cf. Brinkman 1968: 90, fn. 473; Paulus 2014d: 195-196, fn. 483).

4.1.2 The royal grants and the Kassite period letters

Additionally, the king gave large areas of land in the form of royal grants to officials and temples. The lands of royal grants were distributed over several provinces. The king and/or the provincial governors (including the *šandabakku* of Nippur) gave royal grants to elite officials, military and religious functionaries. The granted lands could incorporate several towns and settlements. The population on the royal grant was exempt from levies to the province, and the levies were collected and the work duty was used by the grantee, who was the beneficiary of the levies (Paulus 2014d: 163-175). In the Kassite period, the grantees could not sell royal grants (this became possible in the Isin II period; Paulus 2014d: 174-175).

The descriptions of their locations on the *kudurrus* show that most often they bordered on land belonging to other persons (Bīt-PN, “house of PN”).

However, the phrase *bīt-PN* may have also been used to refer to the farmers who cultivated land on the royal grants. The text HS 156 from the Isin II period (king Adad-apla-iddina) shows the transfers of 25 *harbu*-fields from a number of sellers, i.e. “private” owners of land, in the area of the town Dūr-Nusku¹¹³

¹¹³ Dūr-Nusku lay near Nippur (Nashef 1982: 95-96).

to a Ninurta-mušallim. In HS 156 the individual properties are called *bīt PN*, “house of PN”. However, the persons referred to in “*bīt PN*”, were not the sellers of the fields. The fields were sold by other persons (PN₂) to the buyer (PN₃). With one exception, the sellers do not bear the same names which appear in the phrases “*bīt-PN*”, “house of PN”. Paulus suggests that the men, whose fields were sold, i.e. whose personal names appeared in the phrase “*bīt PN*”, “house of PN”, may have been *iššakku*-farmers (Paulus 2014d: 173), who cultivated and were in possession of fields which belonged to a royal grant. The grantee sold some of his land, i.e. in this case 25 *harbu* fields, which were cultivated by *iššakku*-farmers (*bīt PN*) to someone else.

In the heartland of Babylonia, in Nippur and Babylon, for instance, royal grants were mostly given to temples, especially in the early Kassite period. Some towns were exempted from levies to the province or crown. This exemption meant that their levies went to a temple. Kurigalzu I (-1375) may have exempted Babylon from levies for the benefit of the Marduk temple (cf. Paulus 2010: 197, fn. 28). In the early NB period large cultic centres were exempted from levies to the king for the benefit of their deities, such as Borsippa for Nabû (Paulus 2010: 197, fn. 28).

In the early NB period in the heartland of Babylonia small properties (including gardens) were sold to private individuals, which attests to private property in the region (Paulus 2014d: 197). The map of the area around Nippur, CBS 13865, showed land belonging to individuals (Bēlšunu, Ētir-Nusku, Iddin-Marduk), referred to as their town, their land and their irrigation canals (URU, A.ŠÀ, *nam-gar*; Note that also a *nam-gar Bur-ra-Ši-pak*, a *namgaru*-canal of a man called Burra-Šipak) and to the god Marduk (É, A.ŠÀ). Paulus (2014d: 205) assumes that they received the land in the early Kassite period. The map also shows land of the *bārû* diviners (^{LÚ}HAL): the land of the offering-table of the *bārû*-diviner(s) (A.ŠÀ *pa-áš-šu-ri ša* ^{LÚ}HAL), the land of the shocks of the *bārû*-diviner(s) (A.ŠÀ *ku-ri-li ša* ^{LÚ}HAL), and the land of the city-gate of the *bārû*-diviner(s) (A.ŠÀ KÁ URU *ša* ^{LÚ}HAL). The fields may have been sustenance fields for the *bārû*-diviner(s), or they were collective grantees, i.e. recipients of a royal grant, of which they could collect the levies.

The royal grants to individuals (officials) were mostly given to provinces surrounding central Babylonia, i.e. border regions and newly conquered or reconquered territories in order to protect the border regions (Paulus 2014d: 198). Both the agricultural productivity in newly conquered areas had to be increased, and the high-ranking military officials as well administrative ones had to be provided for, especially since the Kassite rulers could not simply take over a set administrative system from their preceding dynasties to feed and reward them due to chaos and decline during the collapse of the Old Babylonian kingdom (Paulus 2014d: 212). The grantees had a personal interest in cultivating the newly or reconquered land, recruit workforce and impose levies, so that they would gain a profit out of their grant (Paulus 2014d: 198).

In the early Kassite period the king gave royal grants in the area stretching from Dūr-Kurigalzu along the Tigris southward and in the Sealand province in order to integrate the newly conquered Sealand

territory into the Kassite kingdom and to protect the border to the east, to the Elamite kingdom. In the late Kassite period royal grants were given in the border regions to Assyria as a reaction to the conquests of the Assyrian king Tukultī-Ninurta I. Further, a few grants were given in the Sealand province. After the Elamites had been chased out of Babylonia in the Isin II period, royal grants were given again in the region of the Tigris in order to protect the borders to Elam (Paulus 2014d: 198).

The Kassite letters describe administrative processes, which could take place on royal grants as well as on provincial or on royal land. Since the towns on royal grants were no longer part of the provincial administration, Paulus (2012: 93) argues that “[i]t is hard to find traces of this system [of royal donations] in provincial archives, as for example in the governor’s archive in Nippur, because these towns are neither listed in the income list[s] of taxes nor were their inhabitants subscribed for public labor”. However, it seems that Mesopotamia was permeated by patrimonial structures before the 1st millennium BC. Especially the system of the royal grants shows traces of patrimonialism (Zimmermann 2017: 235-238). The grantees benefitted from their office and position as military, provincial, palace, and/or temple officials, or as members of the royal family by receiving grants from the king for their service.¹¹⁴

In a patrimonial society a “private” and a “public” sphere are not separated, which might result in some references to royal grants in the Kassite period letters. Further, large royal grants had structures and officials who managed them, which were similar to provinces.¹¹⁵ The main function of the grantees was to collect levies and cultivate newly (or re-)conquered land, similar to the duty of the head of a provincial household to collect levies in his province. Further, the elite, i.e. the grantees, consisted of the same elite group of families, which supplied the offices who managed the provincial and royal administration.¹¹⁶ Thus, there was presumably no considerable difference in the perception of the administration of a royal grant and of a province.

“Modern distinctions attempting to separate out public versus private functions of such officials are sometimes ill suited to understanding the workings of ancient society, and one must proceed with care in unraveling the interwoven threads in the complex texture” (Brinkman 2017: 18-19).

The elite of the Kassite kingdom, consisting of the highest provincial, royal, military, temple, and palace officials, who were grantees, are the senders and recipients of the letters. This means that correspondence concerning work on royal grants to temples or individuals could appear in Kassite letters. However,

¹¹⁴ Further arguments for patrimonial structures are: royal grants could not be disposed of by the grantee, and grants were tied to the office of the grantee (see the land of the diviners on the map CBS 13865). Paulus argues that the *bēl bīti* was the owner of a royal grant. Bit-PN, the house of “PN”, referred to royal grants, i.e. large properties “owned” by individuals. However, in HS 156 (Isin II period), properties called *bīl*-PN, “house of PN”, referred to *iššakku*-farmers cultivating and holding the fields in possession, while the actual owners of the land appear as sellers and buyers (cf. Paulus 2014d: 173).

¹¹⁵ “Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass größere Landschenkungen [...] eine innere Struktur aufwiesen, die einer Provinz nicht unähnlich war” (Paulus 2014d: 184, 543, 545, 548).

¹¹⁶ Compare the grantees’ families and the offices, which their family members held, in Paulus 2014d: 154. It seems consistent with this that in some cases the sons of the governors (*šandabakkus*) of Nippur, who also held the office of the high priest of Enlil (*nēšakku*), held the same titles as their fathers. Furthermore the family members of the governors held high offices in the central and provincial administration, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 16-17. See Brinkman’s criticism in Brinkman 2004: 286-287.

none of the grantees, who are attested on Kassite *kudurrus*, can be identified with a sender or recipient of a letter. However, the households of some senders and recipients, for example of the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī or of Innannu, are attested in other sources (cf. Nashef 1982: 58, 61).

It is unclear whether the assurances of subordinates to their lords in the palace of Nippur, confirming that the “house/town/hinterland/singers... of [their] lord are in best order”, refer to their royal grant, which contained a town, or to a temple, which they managed and for which singers worked, or to their provincial household. The senders report about the *šābu*-workers of their lord, and refer to other “servant[s] of [their] lord” (*arad bēlīja*). In each letter, based on other references to temples or provincial offices, i.e. contextual references, and based on the offices of sender and recipient (if they can be determined from seal legends, or administrative or legal texts), it has to be decided whether “*ša PN/bēlīja*” refers to a royal grant to a temple, to an individual, or to provincial assets.

As opposed to this Paulus differentiates between the “private” and the “public” sphere, which is not patrimonialism, but the modern rational-legal type of domination¹¹⁷ of Weber’s “ideal types” of government (Zimmermann 2017: 235-238)¹¹⁸. According to Paulus, officials managed the provincial or temple assets in official capacity. She argues that it was distinguished between a land grant to a god, i.e. to a temple, and a grant to a priest of a temple (to a *šangû* or *nēšakku*, for instance, Paulus 2014d: 157-163). She assumes the same for the office of the *šandabakku*, the governor of Nippur:

“Der Gouverneur stand an der Spitze einer Provinz und verwaltete diese, daher unterstand ihm ebenfalls das als Land der Provinz bezeichnete Eigentum. Gleichzeitig werden jedoch einige Ländereien explizit als ‘Land des Gouverneursamtes’ bezeichnet. Außerdem ist zumindest beim *šandabakku* ersichtlich, dass er auch ‘Privateigentum’ haben konnte” (Paulus 2014d: 202).

Paulus bases her argument on the *kudurru* MNA 3: i, l. 15, in which the land which is granted, is described as bordering on Bīt-Ada and *eqel bīt šaknūti*, “the land of the house of the *šaknu*-office” (Paulus 2014d: 544, 549: “*šaknūtu* ist als Abstraktum zum Amt des *šakin māti* zu verstehen”).¹¹⁹ In MNA 3 the grantee (*bēl bīti*) of Bīt Ada sells land to a *sakrumaš* of Bīt Ada; the king grants it to the buyer (Paulus 2014d: 183). The land lay in the royal grant Bīt Ada, which had structures similar to a province (cf. the titles of officials of Bīt Ada, cf. Paulus 2014d: 183-184, 545). Bīt Ada lay in the province Irrēja. The buyer of the land was exempt from the *ilku*-duty of the province Irrēja, and the *šakin māti* of Irrēja was not allowed to enter the land (see MNA 3: obv. l. 7; Paulus 2014d: 548). Thus, the *eqel bīt šaknūti*, on which the transferred land bordered, may have been the land of the *šakin māti*-office of Irrēja, and not part of Bīt Ada. Royal grants could be bound to an office (Brinkman 2006: 14; Paulus 2014a: 160, 176). The king could expropriate a grantee due to misconduct, and give the expropriated

¹¹⁷ Weber 1978: 226-241.

¹¹⁸ Kleber 2012: 221-238.

¹¹⁹ While *šaknu* referred to an overseer over workers (Sassmannshausen 2001: 42-44), *šakin māti* (GAR KUR) referred to the provincial governor. It has been suggested by Gurney (1983: 17-18) and Sassmannshausen (2001: 43-44) that *šaknu* followed by a toponym referred to provincial governors, as well.

grant to another person, who held the same office as the former grantee.¹²⁰ Thus, the “house of the *šaknūtu*-office may have been land used to provide for the office holder or the *šakin māti*-office. However, it does not prove that the *šakin māti* of Irrēja received a different, “private” royal grant, which was separate from his “official” *šaknūtu*-grant. Royal grants were usually called *bīt PN*, “the house of PN”.

Šaknūtu-land may have referred to the provincial land of the province of Irrēja, as opposed to the royal grant *Bīt Ada*. However, provincial land bordering on a royal grant is usually referred to as *NAM (pīhātu)* on *kudurrus* (such as KuE 1: ii, l. 6; Paulus 2014d: 342).

CAD Š/1: 192 translates *šaknūtu* both with “governorate” and with “office of *šaknu*”. For the NA term *bīt šaknūtu* the CAD suggests the meaning “house of the office of *šaknu*”. On the *kudurru* NKU I 2: ii, l. 28 someone is assigned to the office *GAR.KUR-ú-ti šá KUR Na-mar*, which contains the toponym Namar; this designates the *šaknu*-office as that of a *šakin māti* of the province Namar.

Šaknūtu, the *šaknu*-office, could be the abstractum of the office of the overseer (*šaknu*) or the office of the provincial governor (*šakin māti*). *Egel bīt šaknūti*, “the land of the house of the *šaknu*-office”, may have not referred to the land of a provincial governor, after all, but to the land of an office holder of a *šaknu*-office. In the Kassite legal document MBTU 1 a *šakin māti*, a “provincial governor”, called Sîn-ašarēd is mentioned in obv. l. 8. However, as a witness the *šaknu ša Uri*, “the *šaknu* of Ur”, called Marduk-gāmil, is listed in rev. l. 11. Other actors in the legal case bear the title *šaknu*, “overseer”. The husband of a woman who is transferred from the hands of an overseer to the *šakin māti*, the provincial governor Sîn-ašarēd, and then to a weaver, appeals to this decision. The husband is brewer of Sîn of Ur, so it is likely that the *šakin māti* Sîn-ašarēd, to whom the husband appealed, was the provincial governor of the province Ur. However, if the *šaknu ša Uri* Marduk-gāmil was the provincial governor of Ur, then Sîn-ašarēd must have been a provincial governor of another province. Another solution is that the *šaknu* of a town was an overseer over the workforce in this town, and not the same as a *šakin māti*, a “provincial governor”.

Regardless of whether the “land of the office of the *šakin māti*” was separate from a “private” royal grant of a provincial governor or not, this land would have been referred to as “his” land in Kassite letters. In the Kassite letters the distinction between the households, which the officials managed in their official capacity, such as temple households, provincial assets, as well as, possibly, their own households, cannot always be maintained. Both the temple and the *šandabakku*’s household were referred to with the same phrase of ownership (*ša PN/bēlīja*), cf. UM 29-15-317: obv. l. 6 “[t]he temple and the house of my lord are in best order”. The singers, for whom the physicians Šumu-libši and Bēlu-muballit cared, were referred to as “the male and female singers of my lord” in Šumu-libši’s letters to

¹²⁰ Brinkman 2006: 14: “These case, though isolated, at least suggest that some land plots were assigned to individuals on the basis of services they were expected to render to the crown. Whether such practices were more widespread than we are currently able to detect must remain undecided”.

the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī (see below BE 17, 31, 32, 33, N 969 und PBS 1/2, 71). The *šandabakku* managed “his” household and that of a temple. It is attested that some *šandabakkus* held high religious offices in Nippur (*nêšakku*, *pašīšu*, see below “6.3.7 Conclusion: who was Banâ-ša-Marduk?”, and cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 16-18, 61-62). Thus, this may serve as an explanation that the *šandabakku* was involved in land management of these temples in provinces other than his own province Nippur. Some of these references to the house, town, hinterland and other assets of the *šandabakku* may also refer to a royal grant he had received from the king, which was located in several provinces.

4.1.3 The cultivators

Land in collective hand is also mentioned on the *kudurrus*. This land is attributed to occupational groups, especially from the military, such as chariot fighters (*sakrumaš*), makers of bows and arrows (*sasinnu*), or (work ?) troops (*eqel šābē*), but also land of *ikkaru*-farmers and of *iššakku*-farmers of *ridûtu*. The lands of military personnel were probably sustenance fields (cf. Paulus 2014d: 199-201).

a) Hired cultivators

In the Kassite letter PBS 1/2, 73: obv. l. 10 we learn that a “house of my *ikkaru*-farmers” existed, in which *ikkaru*-farmers lived, who belonged to Ninurta-ašarēd, the sender of the letter. This implies that these *ikkaru*-farmers were not the owners of the property. The context, however, is unclear. In obv. ll. 5-7 Ninurta-ašarēd writes that female palace servants settle in the house (i.e. on the land) of Burruqu. Then someone asks an overseer where these female palace servants shall go (obv. ll. 8-9). In the following lines Ninurta-ašarēd appears to address the resettlement of these female palace servants who had been in the “house of the servant of [his] lord” (obv. l. 11), and who are now *ina*, “in” the house of his *ikkaru*-farmers, or have been moved “out” of it.

obv. 5	<i>i-na É¹Bur-ru-qí</i> GEME.MEŠ É.GAL	In the house of Burruqu the female palace servants
obv. 6	<i>ša be-lí-ia ba-i-ru-ma</i>	of my lord appeared (m pl.), and
obv. 7	<i>it-ta-aš-ba a-na ša-ak-ni</i>	they have settled (f pl.) there.
obv. 8	<i>ki aq-bu-ú um-ma-a a-a-i-ka-am-ma</i>	After they (pl. m) had said to the overseer the following:
obv. 9	<i>li-il-li-ku</i>	“Where shall they (pl. m) go?”
obv. 10	<i>i-na É ik-ka-ra-ti-ia</i> GÉME É.GAL.MEŠ ‘ <i>ma-am¹-ma</i>	In/out of the house of my <i>ikkaru</i> -farmers the female palace servants, whoever (was)
obv. 11	<i>i-na É ARAD ša be-lí-ia</i> GÉME É.GAL.MEŠ ‘ <i>x²-me²-ku²¹</i>	in the house of the servant of my lord, the female palace servants (they) ... (?) and
obv. 12	<i>ù a-na-ku aš-šu¹⁴ be-lí-ia ‘áš²¹-šur ha-</i> <i>‘da²-x ú²/šu²¹-ši-‘i¹</i>	and I, myself, removed because of my lord. ... he/I went out/he was letting go out (?).
obv. 13	<i>i-na-an-na la ar-du ša be-lí-ia a-na-ku</i>	Now, I am not a servant of my lord (anymore).
obv. 14	<i>lu aš-ša-ab URU^{K1} a-na-ku-ma ù šar-ru-</i> <i>‘um-ma¹</i>	Indeed, I am an inhabitant of the city, and promptly
obv. 15a	<i>e-ru-ba</i>	I have entered (it).

Ikkaru-farmers (sum. ^{LÜ}ENGAR) were — probably hired — low class farm workers or ploughmen in the Kassite period and often receive rations together with oxen, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 106-107. In the OB period a person could be hired *ina ikkarūtīm*, “in a ploughmanship”, and received wages in silver as well as sustenance, cf. de Graef 2018: 227. The CAD I/J: 49 offers both “dependent on a larger

organization)”, and “farm bailiff (overseer over large agricultural holdings)”. In the NB period the term was an occupational title (Jursa 1995: 7) for hired farmers.¹²¹

b) Tenants/lessees

Another type of farmer was the *errēšu*-farmer, who probably leased fields from grantees, temples or other households. In the OB and NB period *errēšu* (from *erēšu*, “plough with a seeder-plough”) were lessees of fields (cf. CH §§ 42, 45-47; Jursa 1995: 81, 83-84; Dandamaev 1984: 589).¹²² In BE 14, 39 a legal conflict is described: one man complains that another man took land away from him, which his ancestor had received as a grant from the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē. He claims he never had to pay *šibšu*-levies. However, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē claims that the land was not given as a royal grant, but as *errēšūtu*-land (Paulus 2014d: 167-168) — and it was not *zakkūtu*-land, i.e. exempt from levies. *Errēšūtu*-land implies that the land was leased to the claimant, and he was merely a tenant/lessee, and not a grantee. This makes it probable that *errēšu*-farmers were, indeed, lessees in the Kassite period.

A letter which supports the translation “lessee” or “tenant” for *errēšu* is PBS 1/2, 22. The lessees in PBS 1/2, 22: obv. ll. 7-15 had apparently received emmer seeds to cultivate the land from their lessor and owed the lessor rent, but had fled. However, after having been captured, they were apparently forced to pay their debt, as the satisfied sender reports to his lord in obv. ll. 14-15:

obv. 7	ù a-na URU-DUMU-Ba- 'i-li AN.TA ^{KI}	And after I had travelled to Āl-mār-Bā'ili-elû
obv. 8	ki-i er-du-ù er-re-šu ša bi-rit ^{URU} DIDLI ¹ [...]	the <i>errēšu</i> -farmers of (the land) between the towns,
obv. 9	šu-ù-nu ù LÚ ša ^{1d} Nin-urta-re-šu-šu	they and the man of Ninurta-rēšūšu,
obv. 10	ša i-na UGU-ḫi ḫar-bi-šu áš-bu	who had been living upon his <i>ḫarbu</i> -field,
obv. 11	it-ti a-si-ri-ia iḫ-ta-liq	fled together with my prisoner.
obv. 12	ki-i áš-pu-ru er-re-ši ša bi-rit ^{URU} DIDLI [...]	After I had sent (a letter), and after I/he had captured the <i>errēšu</i> -farmers of (the land) between the towns,
obv. 13	ki-i ú-pi-i-du-ni 58;1.1.0 ZÍZ.AN.NA [...]	I have collected 58;1.1.0 of emmer [...] and
obv. 14	ù 45;0.4.0 ZÍZ.AN.NA NUMUN e-te-si- ^r ir ¹	45;0.4.0 emmer-seeds.
obv. 15	ŠE.NUMUN ma-la ad-di-nu 0;0.0.1 i-na ^r UGU ¹ [er]-re-ši	Of the seeds, as many as I had given, not even 0;0.0.1 remained as a debt for the <i>errēšu</i> -farmers.

c) The population in provinces or on royal grants

Iššakku-farmers (sum. ÉNSI) are attested as cultivators of (up to three) *ḫarbu*-fields (Paulus 2014d: 173) and were the general population in the provinces and on royal grants. According to the *kudurru* MNA 2: ii, l. 13 they could be *iššakku*-farmers of the king, of the province governor, or of a household. This means that they either belonged to the province and paid *šibšu*- and *miksu*-levies to the provincial tax-collector, or they belonged to a royal domain, to the royal grant of a temple or to a royal grant of an individual grantee, and had to pay their levies to their respective lord (Paulus 2014d: 173). They had a

¹²¹ However, according to Dandamaev (1984: 589) *ikkaru*-farmers in the NB period were “essentially the property of the landowners”.

¹²² However, according to de Jong Ellis (1976: 73) the term *errēšu* could refer to “any tenant or cultivator”.

higher legal (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 106) status than *errēšu*-farmers. Aro (1957 41) translates them as “Gutsverwalter”.

4.1.4 Levies and work duty

Levies were collected by towns and transferred through the provincial administration to the king. Each province was managed by a provincial governor called *šakin māti* or (more traditionally) *šakkanakku* (Sassmannshausen 2001: 25-27; Paulus 2014d: 251). Below the *šakin māti* other provincial officials managed the collection of levies, agriculture, irrigation and animal husbandry (Sassmannshausen 2001: 37-40, 229-231). If the land had been given as a royal grant, the grantee organised the collection of levies and the enforcement of the work duties on the population (Paulus 2014d: 163-175).

The provincial administration imposed the *šibtu*-levy on cattle, sheep, and goats (Paulus 2014d: 164). The *šibšu*- and *miksu*-levies were imposed on agricultural produce, vegetables and fruit. The *šibšu*-levy was a third of the taxable capital (*rēš makkūri*), and half of the sesame yield in Nippur; in Dūr-Enlilē it was 2/5 on barley (de Jong Ellis 1976: 110-132; Devecchi 2020: 2018). The percentage of *miksu*-levies of the yield is unknown, but they were, probably, annually collected (de Jong Ellis 1976: 149-160).

Apart from levies the population in the provinces and on the royal grants had to fulfil work duties. These included military service, chariot duty, work duties called *dullu* or *tupšikku*, which included the maintenance of the canals and the streets, and the provision of transport wagons, animals or carriers, equids, wood, straw and plants (Paulus 2014d: 163-165).

4.2 The archaeological context

Two findspots in Nippur have yielded most of the Kassite period administrative documents published so far: The Gula temple and the palace.¹²³

4.2.1 The Gula temple (area WA)

In the west of Nippur, in the area WA (hill 1), the northern part of a Gula temple was excavated under the so-called Achaemenid/Seleucid “Court of Columns” in the 2nd campaign of the University of Pennsylvania, cf. Gibson 1992: 18-20; Pedersén 1998: 115; Sassmannshausen 2001: 186. There, in a “small burned room which seemed to be in some way connected with the larger structure” a “large deposit of inscribed tablets of baked clay” (Peters 1898: 114-115) was found. 245 well-preserved tablets were found in the area WA, “the clay about them showed marks of burning” (Peters 1898: 172-192, esp. 188). Furthermore, 53 tablets and fragments were found. According to Peters, Haynes excavated “a large number of tablets of the same type” in area WA (Peters 1898: 188). A total of ca. 300 administrative texts stem from area WA, either from the Gula temple or from an adjacent building. They date to the 25th year of Burna-Buriaš II to the accession year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (1245-1233, cf. Pedersén 1998:

¹²³ For the other three archives from Nippur see Brinkman 2017: 19, fn. 149, and Pedersén 1998: 115-116.

115. Sassmannshausen (2001: 187) published a list of tablets from the findspot WA. Most texts in BE 15 and part of the texts published in BE 14, as well as a few texts in PBS 2/2, five MUN-texts and other publications stem from this findspot. In the University Museum of Philadelphia the low CBS-numbers, i.e. the 2000s and 3000s numbers (specifically 3000-3045, 3051-3100, 3123-3223, 3233-3236, 3273-3275, 3331-3337, 3339-3342) come from the area WA (Sassmannshausen 2001: 186-187).

4.2.2 The palace (area WB)

In the southwest of Nippur, in the area WB in hills 9 and 10 (especially in the southwest of hill 9) a Kassite palace was excavated. In area WB “a fine deposit of tablets of the Cossaeon period” was found (Peters 1898: 185). The findspot is described in the following way: “In the second year, in my search for tablets, I bored a few holes on the back of this hill [...] and found some very large tablets of the Cossaeon period” (Peters 1898: 208), and “well up in a gully [...] I found a deposit of tablets of the Cossaeon period, all baked and some of enormous size” (Peters 1898: 211). The tablets leaned against the wall, and “crumble[d] badly as soon as the air gets them”, according to Haynes (Sassmannshausen 2001: 187). A total of ca. 10,000 Kassite tablets were found there in between 1893 und 1895 and in the fourth campaigns of the University of Pennsylvania (Pedersén 1998: 113; Sassmannshausen 2001: 186-187). In the 12th campaign ca. 70 administrative and legal texts were found in the palace.¹²⁴ The texts from the palace are mostly administrative and legal documents, and were partially published in BE 14 and 15, and in PBS 2/2 (Sassmannshausen 2001: 186-187). According to Pedersén (1998: 115) most of the 467 tablets published by Sassmannshausen in MUN (2001) come from the palace (Sassmannshausen lists five MUN-texts to the area WA (Gula temple)). “Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether all the tablets from this area of the city come from one archive in this palace, from several palace archives, or even from houses nearby” (Pedersén 1998: 115). The texts date from Burna-Buriaš’s II year 4 to Kadašman-Ḫarbe’s II reign (Pedersén 1998: 115). Further, “a collection of letters may come from this archive”, especially those in BE 17, stem from the palace, as well.

4.2.3 The archaeological context of the Kassite letters

The size of the tablets, colour, and script size of the Kassite letters varies considerably. The curvature of the tablets often does not help to determine which side is obverse or reverse; the reverse exhibits only occasionally slightly more curvature than the obverse. With one exception (N 4428) all letters are inscribed in portrait format. The length of the tablets varies considerably — the smallest tablet has a side length of 3.7 cm and a width of 3.2 cm (PBS 1/2, 76), while the largest tablet measures 16.7 x 11 cm (PBS 1/2, 63). The longest tablets do not necessarily contain the most lines, since the size of the signs varies. Exceptionally large tablets containing long texts are the Kassite letters (BE 17, 3: 66 lines; CBS

¹²⁴ In the southwest of the courtyard a tablet fragment was found, in the adjacent room 13 “several hundred very small fragments of Kassite economic tablets, mainly only corners or edges” and “[s]eventy-eight fragments”, and in room 18 “several tablet fragments that seem to be of a type that dates to the thirteenth century or later” were found (Franke 1992: 66-68; Gibson 1992: fig. 46; Sassmannshausen 2001: 186).

4742: 66 lines; PBS 1/2, 27+54: 56 lines, and PBS 1/2, 50: 64 lines); *ardu*-letters from subordinates tend to be long reports. The shortest letters are from the king to the governor of Nippur (PBS 1/2, 24: 9 lines, 76: 10 lines); the *bēlu*-letters from the governor and other officials to subordinates can be slightly longer (BE 17, 85: 11 lines; PBS 1/2, 23: 10 lines). *Ahu*-letters between (nearly) equally high-ranking officials have an average of 15-30 lines.

Based on Sassmannshausen's list of tablets with CBS numbers found in the area WA (3000-3045, 3051-3100, 3123-3223, 3233-3236, 3273-3275, 3331-3337, 3339-3342), in the Gula temple, one letter (BE 17, 85, CBS 3206) published in BE 17 was found in the area WA and not WB, i.e. in the Gula temple, and not in the palace. However, the *bēlu*-letters BE 17, 85, 86 and HS 111 all come from the same sender, Inbi-ajjari, and were addressed to the same recipient Innannu. *Bēlu*-letters could be drafts for letters or copies of sent letters. It seems likely that all three *bēlu*-letters would have been archived by the same sender, and found in the same building. BE 17, 86 bears a low CBS number (CBS 3675) but is not listed by Sassmannshausen among the numbers presumed to be found in the area WA. It is unclear where in Nippur HS 111 was found. Since the rest of the Kassite letters seems to come from the palace, BE 17, 85 (CBS 3206) may actually be a copy of a letter sent from the palace, just like BE 17, 86 (since both letters stem from Inbi-ajjari). However, it is also possible that the recipient Innannu archived them in area WA (Gula temple). Further, it is unclear for which institution Inbi-ajjari worked (see below) – her *bēlu*-letters may have originated in the area WA, since she may have belonged to the same temple administration as Innannu.

The rest of the CBS numbers of the Kassite letters published in BE 17 do not overlap with Sassmannshausen's list of tablets from area WA. Most CBS numbers in BE 17 are significantly higher and, thus, must originate from the palace. Similarly, the CBS numbers of the Kassite letters published in PBS 1/2, 15-86 do not overlap with Sassmannshausen's list, and a lot of them are much higher than the 3000s. However, one *ardu*-letter, PBS 1/2, 55, bears the low number CBS 2245. The unpublished CBS numbers of Kassite letters are all 4000s upward, with one exception, CBS 2104.

4.3 Envelopes and sealed letters

With the possible exception of a part of the Amarna and the Hittite correspondence (Weeden 2014: 42) it was customary to encase letters in a sealed clay envelope in the 2nd millennium BC. We have proof of the contemporary practice of encasing letters in an envelope in the Levant (an inscribed envelope in Gezer) and in Assyria (Mynářová 2014b: 21-23). Most epistolary archives from 2nd millennium Mesopotamia have yielded (fragments of) sealed envelopes of letters. This makes it likely that the Kassite letters were originally encased in clay envelopes as well. However, out of the Kassite letters from Nippur one securely-identified sealed Kassite letter (N 1593)¹²⁵ and one sealed envelope of a letter,

¹²⁵ For a discussion see Zimmermann 2021 (forthcoming article in Mesopotamia 55).

which may not date to the Kassite period (BE 17 24),¹²⁶ survive. Two sealed, much damaged tablets, N 4185¹²⁷ and N 930+934¹²⁸, may be Kassite letters as well.

The sealed tablet N 1593 is a *bēlu*-letter from the *šandabakku* Enlil-AL.SA₆ to Enlil-iddina. It is unclear why N 1593 was sealed. It concerns repair work on canals directly adjacent to the town of Nippur. N 1593 may have been sealed and sent without an envelope, which is attested for some NA and LB letters intended for local delivery (Radner 1995: 72, 76; Walker 2014: 103-104). N 1593 may have been authenticated, i.e. sealed, for legal purposes, as has been proposed for the sealed OB letters. N 930+934 obviously concerns a legal matter, which presumably was the reason for its sealing. Already in the Ur III period letters (letter orders) were kept sealed in archives because of their legal function.

BE 17 24 cannot be securely dated to the Kassite period, because it contains a reference to the *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil, who may have been in office in the Isin II period. For a discussion about its dating see my forthcoming article Zimmermann 2021.

The 23 *bēlu*-letters sent by high officials to lower ranking officials outside of the palace of Nippur must be either copies, drafts or unsent letters (as already suggested by Kraus 1947: 111-112). This means that only a minority of the Kassite letters came without an envelope in the first place. The recipients of several *bēlu*-letters, such as Innannu and Martukkû (see below “6.1 Innannu” and “6.2 Martukkû and Lal-ur-alim”), are attested as working for a temple in the archive of the area WA (possibly the Gula temple). Innannu received two letters from the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina. Thus, we would expect that the letters, which they received, would be archived in the area WA, and not in the palace (WB).

The ca. 600 years younger archive of 113 early NB letters (and 15 other tablets) found in (!) or atop the Kassite palace context in Nippur, i.e. in the same area as the Kassite letters had allegedly been found, also contained copies of sent letters (Cole 1996: 7). For the roughly contemporary Amarna correspondence it is assumed that the letters by the pharaoh were duplicates of sent letters as well (Mynářová 2014b: 23). Some of the *ardu*- or *aḫu*-letters which contain references to the absence of the travelling *šandabakku*, may have been brought back to the palace (for example, see my forthcoming article Zimmermann 2021).

The NB letter-archive from the Kassite palace in Nippur was found in a fill around a child’s grave without a mention of any envelopes (Cole 1996: 1, 3, 9). This is the first indication that, perhaps, the Kassite letters come from similar circumstances. The roughly contemporary Amarna collections have not yielded any envelopes, either.¹²⁹ They were a collection of parts of dead archives, which were collected and later discarded. Similar circumstances may be an explanation for the lack of (or just one)

¹²⁶ For a discussion see Zimmermann 2021 (forthcoming article in Mesopotamia 55).

¹²⁷ Matthews (1992 117, no. 153), and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996: 217, no. 295) suggested that N 4185 is a letter. For a discussion see Zimmermann 2021 (forthcoming article in Mesopotamia 55).

¹²⁸ N 930+934 cannot be securely identified as a letter, but may be a court record (see Zimmermann 2021).

¹²⁹ The Amarna as well as the Nippur excavations have in common that the archaeological context of the letters is not sufficiently documented. A comparison is difficult, since the Amarna collection is not a Mesopotamian archive, and it contains international diplomatic correspondence as opposed to the Kassite letters from Nippur.

Kassite letter envelope(s). The Kassite letters may have been part of several collections of dead, and discarded archives in the Nippur palace, which may partly explain the lack of letter envelopes. The Nippur palace archives cover more than 130 years and 10 kings, largely dating to the latter period between Burna-Buriaš's year 4 (1357 BC) and Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (1223 BC, Pedersén 1998: 115). The changes of rule were tumultuous and resulted in the rule of several Assyrian vassals. The fact that the administrative archives from all these rulers were kept over such a long period of time may be a hint that the Kassite letters were part of a collection of dead archives, and the process of collecting old documents may be an explanation for the lack of envelopes.

4.4 The archival context

Since the excavators at the end of the 19th century did not record the findspots of the Kassite period letters from the palace complex at Nippur,¹³⁰ the archival context of the letters remains unclear.¹³¹ We do not know whether the Kassite letters come from several rooms or archives, how they had been filed, which documents they had been filed with, whether they form a collection of “dead” archives,¹³² or even whether they stem from rubbish pits, i.e. had been discarded.

The existence of a chancellery in Ancient Near Eastern palaces is debated.¹³³ However, in the area WB, i.e. in the palace where the Kassite letters were found, also ca. 10,000 Kassite administrative accounts, rosters, and lists have been discovered. In the same area, albeit as a fill of a child's grave, the much younger epistolary archive of the *šandabakku* of Nippur from the 8th century BC (Cole 1996: 1, 3, 9; Sassmannshausen 2001: 152-153) was unearthed. Thus, it is likely that the Kassite period letters belong to the archive(s) of the provincial administration, i.e. the *šandabakku*'s office in Nippur.¹³⁴

Subordinate officials wrote *ardu*-letters from Nippur province, but also from other provinces. High-ranking provincial and/or temple officials from distant provinces wrote *aḫu*-letters to the *šandabakku* and other provincial officials in the palace of Nippur. These *ardu*-letters were presumably archived in order to document the exchange of resources (for example, barley loans), payments, the collection of levies in certain area and in general the agricultural administration (for example, cultivation, repair works on the irrigation), and to hold the officials accountable in case disputes arose (cf. Arkhipov 2019: 38). The copies of sent *bēlu*-letters were archived for the same reason.

¹³⁰ Franke 1978: 66-68; Gibson 1978: fig. 46. Pedersén 1998: 113-114; Peters 1898: 185, 208, 211; Sassmannshausen, 2001: 186-187.

¹³¹ Pedersén 1998: 112-116; Sassmannshausen 2001: 186-187. For details on the practices during the excavation, see Clayden 2016: 1-87.

¹³² Arkhipov 2019: 35-36; Brosius 2003: 7-8; Fales 2003: 197; Veenhof 2003: 105. The Kassite letters might even have been temporary deposits. In OA *kārum* Kaniš people temporarily deposited groups of records, including letters, in archival rooms of someone else's home, when they expected to be absent for a period of time (Veenhof 2003, 115). See also Arkhipov's discussion of several archives stored in the palace of Mari, and the fact that the Mari letters were organised by Ḫammurapi's scribes in a room that had originally not contained an archive (Arkhipov 2019: 35-42).

¹³³ Charpin 2010: 125-126; Sassmannshausen 2001: 16, 72; for Amarna see Mynářová 2014a: 377-378.

¹³⁴ Paulus 2012: 89-90; Sassmannshausen 2001: 3, 17-21, 186-188.

“The sealed letter was kept in the archive to justify the chain of command, but usually could not be used as a receipt tablet” (Sallaberger 2015: 16, 27).

Biggs (1965: 96) suggested that “[m]ost of the Nippur letters are, in fact, probably copies of the letters which were actually sent”. The majority of the Kassite letters were *ardu-* and *aḫu-*letters. A number of *ardu-* and *aḫu-*letters was sent to the *šandabakku*. The “chancellery” or provincial administration was localised in Nippur palace. Thus, we can assume that the largest number of Kassite letters were not letters sent from the palace as Biggs proposed, but letters sent to the palace in Nippur. There is no reason why the *šandabakku* and other officials in the palace would copy letters which they had received, instead of directly archiving the received letters. Only the *bēlu*-letters are copies or drafts of sent letters (see above).

Bēlu-letters were probably archived to document the economic decisions of the provincial officials in the palace. Their written instructions (*tēmu*), which were sent not only to their own subordinates but also to temple officials, resulted in income and expenditure to the provincial household(s). They also resulted in financial obligations (outstanding debts, for instance). *Bēlu*-letters addressed to officials belonging to a different household, such as a temple household, especially needed to be documented in the form of a copy, so that the sender had proof of the communication. Recipients like Innannu and Martukkû belonged to a temple household, and hiring each other’s herdsman or loaning barley was based on legal agreements. The transfers of resources mentioned in the letters between temple officials and the provincial administration was probably based on legal agreements.

Hawley (2008: 75) suggests six reasons for the archiving of Ugaritic letters: 1.) the “potential importance for the local scribes”, i.e. to quickly retrieve “delicate and important diplomatic affairs” (such as a diplomatic marriage), 2.) accidental archiving, and 3.) a “Performative” category, with letters being archived to prove a “transaction of some sort which concerns the recipient”, i.e. letters with a “quasi-legal value”, 4) “rhetorical purposes”, i.e. letters serving as reference (Hawley 2008: 76-77), 5.) “pedagogical purposes” (Hawley 2008: 77-78), and 6.) the archiving of amusing or intimate messages for their sentimental value (Hawley 2008: 78-79).

Category 1.) is irrelevant for the Kassite epistolary corpus, as the Kassite letters — with the exception of the three letters from Assur — do not contain any diplomatic information, but only concern administrative issues within the Kassite kingdom. Category 5.) “pedagogical purposes” (Hawley 2008: 77-78) is not attested among Kassite school texts from Nippur (see Veldhuis 2000: 67-94), although letter writing was part of the scribal education in Mesopotamia. Category 6.) (Hawley 2008: 78-79) is irrelevant as well, since most letters appear not to have contained amusing or intimate messages.

However, category 3.), letters with a “quasi-legal” value, is relevant for the Kassite epistolary corpus. Hawley (2008: 75-76) lists “performative” messages under category 3.), i.e. letters which instantaneously change the state of affairs by the means of the message itself (Hawley 2008: 73). As mentioned above, such performative messages are rare in the Kassite epistolary corpus.

However, not only performative speech acts give a letter a “quasi-legal” value. A letter containing orders by a lord to his subordinate proved that the receiving subordinate had been informed of his order. Similarly, a report by a Kassite official to his lord about the tasks he executed served as a proof (to a certain extent) that he had fulfilled the task. In case the subordinate failed to fulfil his duty, the letter could serve as proof.

Indeed, many Kassite *bēlu-letters* archived in the palace at Nippur contain reprimands and accusations that the subordinate had been neglectful of his duties. One could easily imagine that punishments could be executed on the basis that the received letter proved that the recipient had been informed in time.

BE 17, 83: obv. ll. 3-4:

obv. 3	<i>um-ma-a am-mi-ni áš-pu-^rra¹-[ak-ku]</i>	The following: why have you not come here
obv. 4	<i>la ta-al-li-i-^rka¹</i>	as I had ordered you to do?

BE 17, 83: rev. ll. 9-11:

rev. 9	<i>ù ŠE.BAR LIM GUR ^{GIŠ}BÁN.GAL ša ¹Ib-ni- dAMAR.UTU</i>	And I have ordered you to give barley, 1000 Gur, measured with the big <i>sītu</i> vessel, that of Ibni-Marduk.
rev. 10	<i>na-da-na aq-ba-ak-ku</i>	Why did you not give it?
rev. 11	<i>am-mi-ni la ta-di-in</i>	

PBS 1/2, 34: obv. ll. 6-10:

obv. 6b	<i>áš-šū₁₄ ki-i-ni ki-it-ti</i>	Because it is the absolute truth
obv. 7	<i>áš-pu-ra-ku ù NUMUN ša aq-ba-ku</i>	about which I had sent (a letter) to you, and (because of) the seeds, about which I had spoken to you (=given you orders), take (them), and go out! [...]
obv. 8	<i>^rle¹-qé-ma ši-i [...]</i>	[...]After you had not sent (a letter) to me,
obv. 9	<i>^rx x¹ ki-i la ta-áš-pu-ra</i>	[...] after you had not let be brought to me
obv. 10	<i>[...] ^rx¹ ki-i la tu-še-bi-la-am-ma</i>	

On the other hand, many *ardu-letters* contain eager assurances that the sender executed certain tasks, as well as excuses for being unable to do as had been ordered, often blaming a colleague for sabotage.

BE 17, 34: obv. ll. 14-17:

obv. 14	<i>[...] ^rri¹ tam-ši-li ki-i pi-i ša šad-da-ag-[da]</i>	[...] ... replica(s) according to the wording of last year
obv. 15	<i>[...] -na a-na ma-ḥa-ši be-lí iq-ba-a</i>	[...] (which) my lord had ordered me to weave
obv. 16	<i>[...] ^rSÍK¹ SAG ba-na-a ki pi-i maḥ-ri-i</i>	[...] good, first quality ... (?) according to the earlier wording
obv. 17a	<i>[...] li/ú]-še-bi-la</i>	[...] I/he had it/shall have it be brought.

BE 17, 39: obv. ll. 4-6:

obv. 4	<i>i-na pu-ut A.ŠÀ.MEŠ [...]</i>	He has established a border to the head sides
obv. 5	<i>ša TUKUL^{ku}-ti-É-kur^{KI} ša be-[lí]</i>	of the fields of Tukultī-Ekur, as my lord
obv. 6	<i>iš-pu-ra ik-te-di-ir</i>	had sent (a letter to do).

BE 17, 39: t.e. ll. 1-3:

t.e. 1	<i>[...] ^rx¹ É</i>	[...] (of ?) the house,
t.e. 2	<i>^rša be¹-lí iš-pu-ra a-na be-lí-^ria¹</i>	(that) about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me, to my lord
t.e. 3	<i>uš-te-bi-la</i>	I have let (it) be brought.

CT 43, 102: obv. l. 5-rev. l. 13:

obv. 5	<i>ša be-lí iš-pu-ra</i>	Regarding that about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me (saying):
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obv. 6 *um-ma-a ÉRIN.MEŠ-ka ma-du-ú*
 obv. 7 *ÉRIN.MEŠ a-na pa-ni be-lí-ia*
 obv. 8 *ki-i i-ti-qu ¹A-na-ku-DINGIR-ma*
 obv. 9 *i-na KA-I₇.DA^{KI}*
 obv. 10 *re-es-su-nu it-ta-ši*
 obv. 11 *ù it-ti ^{GIŠ}MÁ*
 obv. 12 *il-ta-par-šu-nu-ti*
 rev. 1 *a-na ša LÚ a-am-ma*
 rev. 2 *am-ma-ar-ma*
 rev. 3 *ù ¹Ú.NI¹-ia a-na la e-de-e*
 rev. 4 *a-ša-ak-ka-an*
 rev. 5 *šum-ma 1 LÚ ak-ta-la*
 rev. 6 *be-lí ú-ka-na-ni-ma*
 rev. 7 *a-na ša-ad-di be-lí-ia*
 rev. 8 *ú-ša-aq-qa-an-ni*
 rev. 9 *ù i-na ŠA-bi ÉRIN.MEŠ*
 rev. 10 *ša qa-ti-ia ša a-na IGI be-lí-ia*
 rev. 11 *i-ti-qu 7 ÉRIN.MEŠ*
 rev. 12 *^{1d}AMAR.UTU-MU-TUKU-ši*
 rev. 13 *a-na ¹URU-Ir¹-re-e il-ta-pa-ar*

PBS 1/2, 26: obv. ll. 4-7:

obv. 4 *i-tu GÚ.EN.NA ša be-lí ¹iš¹-[pu-ra ?]*
 obv. 5 *a-na pa-ni a-ma-ti ša be-lí [iq-bu-ú]*
 obv. 6 *ù ṭe-em ḥu-de-e ša be-lí [iš-pu-ra]*
 obv. 7 *[...] ¹x¹ a-kan-na aq-ta-ba-aš-šu*

“The following: Your *šābu*-workers are a large number!”

After the *šābu*-workers had gone overland to my lord, Anāku-ilimma has inspected them in Pī-nāri.

And with a boat
he has sent them.

And regarding that I am going to see that man

and my ... (?) for the not-knowing
I have placed.

If I actually held one man back,
then my lord would convict me,
and he would put me up on the signpost of my
lord (= make an example of me ?).

And out of the *šābu*-workers
under my administration, who have gone
overland to my lord,
Marduk-šuma-šubši has sent seven *šābu*-
workers
to Āl-irrē.

To the *šandabakku*, about whom my lord
[had sent (a letter) to me (?)] ,
in view of the words, which my lord [had
spoken]
and the positive report (= good news), which
my lord [had sent to me],
[...] now, I have told him [...]

Thus, it can be assumed that both the orders as well as the reports may have been kept in a “quasi-legal” function as proof that a) the order had been given, and b) that it had been executed.

Hawley’s category 4.), “rhetorical purposes” (Hawley 2008: 76-77) is a likely reason for the archiving of Kassite letters. While no drafts of Kassite letters can be determined with certainty, the letters frequently quote the previous messages. This frequent rhetorical element in the Kassite epistolary composition makes it likely that the letters were kept to serve as reference when the answer was composed.

BE 17, 55: rev. ll. 4-11:

rev. 4 *LUGAL a-na DUMU ¹Ú-da-ša-aš um-ma-a*
 rev. 5 *ša-al-ma-at aq-ta-ba-ak-ku-um-ma*
 rev. 6 *ta-al-ta-pa-ar-ma DUMU.TUR.MEŠ*
 rev. 7 *ša ^{1d}En-lil-ki-din-ni un-de-iš-ši-ru-ni-i*
 rev. 8 *DUMU ¹Ú-da-ša-aš a-ka-an-na-a iq-ta-bi*
 rev. 9 *um-ma-a ^{1d}En-lil-ki-di-ni a-na be-lí-ia*
 rev. 10 *ki-i iq-bu-ú be-lí a-na ia-a-ši*
 rev. 11 *¹ṭe-ma il¹-ta-ak-na-an-ni um-ma-a*

The king (said) to the son of Udašaš:
“You are well. I have said to (= ordered) you,
and

you have written,
and they have let free the adolescents of
Enlil-kidinnī!”¹³⁵

The son of Udašaš has said thus:
“The following: after Enlil-kidinnī had
spoken to my lord,
my lord has placed (=given) the following
order to me:”

¹³⁵ Regarding paratactic clauses linked with a coordinating *-ma* and verb forms in the perfect see Aro 1955: 137-138.

PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 4-6a:

- | | | |
|---------|--|---|
| obv. 4 | <i>aš-šu₁₄ ¹dÉ-a-SAG.KAL ša be-lí iš-pu-ra um-ma-a</i> | Regarding Ea-ašarēd, about whom my lord sent (a letter saying) the following to me: |
| obv. 5 | <i>[a-ma-t]a a-na ¹dÉ-a-SAG ki-i la ta-aq-bi</i> | “Why have you not talked to Ea-ašarēd about [the issue]?” |
| obv. 6a | <i>[...]-a e-se-er</i> | I have pressed [...] for payment. |

PBS 1/2, 77: obv. ll. 1'-6':

- | | | |
|---------|---|--|
| obv. 1' | <i>ša i-na URU^rKÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI}</i> | ... which in Babylon |
| obv. 2' | <i>tu-uš-i-da-an-ni</i> | you brought to my attention. |
| obv. 3' | <i>um-ma-a i-na ^{GIŠ}LI.U₅.UM</i> | The following: I looked at (=read) the wooden writing board. |
| obv. 4' | <i>lu-mu-ur i-na ^{GIŠ}LI.U₅.UM</i> | After I had looked at (=had read) my wooden writing board, |
| obv. 5' | <i>at-tu-ú-a ki-i a-m-ru</i> | |
| obv. 6' | <i>ul ša-at-ru</i> | (I found that) they are not written down (there). |

BE 17, 27: obv. l. 18-b.e. 1:

- | | | |
|---------|--|---|
| obv. 18 | <i>aš-šu₁₄ ¹Di-in-DINGIR-lu-mur ša be-lí iš-pu-ra</i> | Regarding Dīn-ili-lūmur, about whom my lord had sent (a letter saying) the following: |
| obv. 19 | <i>um-ma-a a-bu-us-su-ú ša-ab-ta-ta</i> | “Did you intercede on his behalf?” |
| obv. 20 | <i>i-na URU^{KI} i-na a-šab be-lí-ia a-na be-lí-ia</i> | In town in the presence of my lord to my lord |
| b.e. 1 | <i>^raq¹-bi um¹-ma a-din[?] ia-nu-ú [...]</i> | I said the following: “I gave (it). It is lacking [...] |

BE 17, 27: rev. ll. 14-16:

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| rev. 14 | <i>ul iš-pu-ra ù ša be-lí [iš-pu-ra ...]</i> | he did not send (a letter) to me. And regarding that about which my lord [had sent (a letter) to me (saying):] |
| rev. 15 | <i>um-ma-a i-na ŠÀ te-lit MU-1[?]-[KAM ...]</i> | “The following:
out of the <i>telītu</i> -revenue of one year [...] |
| rev. 16 | <i>la te-[q]er-ri-ib a-di ŠE[.BAR ...]</i> | do not bring here! Until/including the barley [...] |

BE 17, 34: obv. ll. 6-9:

- | | | |
|--------|--|---|
| obv. 6 | <i>ki-[i a]-na be-lí-ia ú-še-^rbi-la¹ e-nin be-lí</i> | after I had them be brought to my lord, just now, after my lord |
| obv. 7 | <i>ki-i iš-pu-ra um-ma-^ra¹ ša [a-na] mu-uḫ til-le-e</i> | had sent (a letter) to me (saying) the following:
“Regarding that which concerns the <i>tillû</i> -garments |
| obv. 8 | <i>ki-lal-le-e til-li-šu-nu šu-bi-la til-le-e</i> | send both of their <i>tillû</i> -garments!” |
| obv. 9 | <i>bur-ru-mu-ti ù til-le-e ^rSISKUR¹ i-na ^ri¹-[...]-^rx¹-šu-nu</i> | I have let the speckled <i>tillû</i> -garments and the <i>tillû</i> -garments of the offering in their ... [...] be brought to my lord. |

See the example of “6.3.2 PBS 1/2, 57” in which the direct speech of an interrogation is given elaborately. The *ardu*-letter BE 17, 55 contains a number utterances of the parties in the legal conflict about the detained servants of Enlil-kidinnī and, thus, has a “quasi-legal” function which was probably the reason for its archiving in the archive(s) of the *šandabakku* in the palace.

5. The province of Nippur and the office of the *šandabakku*

Nippur was the seat of Enlil, and the provincial administration was closely connected to the temple administration (Paulus 2014a: 84). In the middle of the Kassite period, Enlil was the most important god in Babylonian royal ideology according to royal dedications, building inscriptions, kings' names, royal titles and divine epitheta. Marduk became more important at the end of the Kassite period (Bartelmus 2017: 246).

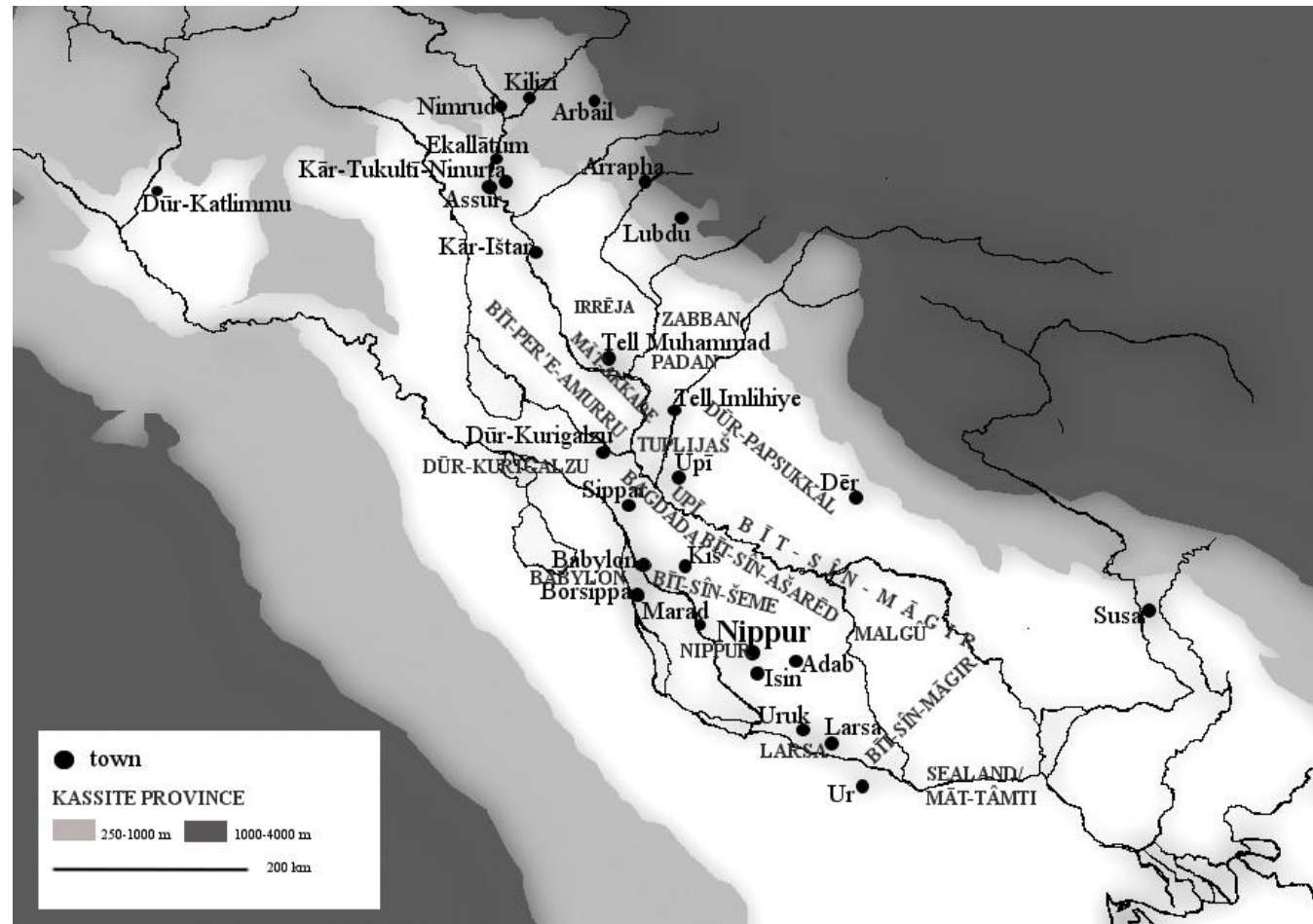
The governor of Nippur, the *šandabakku*¹³⁶, appears to have had the highest religious and governmental office in the hierarchy of the Kassite kingdom after the king, and even communicated directly with the Assyrian court (see below “d) Enlil-kidinnī's correspondence with Assur”).¹³⁷ His functions included agricultural management, maintenance of irrigation, provision of personnel, storage and redistribution of agricultural produce, maintenance of public order, and judging in court cases (see the elaborate discussion in Sassmannshausen 2001: 17-23). Further, he was involved in the “provision of personnel and supplies for the temples, and dealing with representatives from Assyria and messengers from other cities and provinces.[...] Among the interested parties are religious officials or institutions (especially the NIN.DINGIR GAL and the NIN.DINGIR TUR), which own large herds and employ a significant number of laborers on their projects. The relationship of the governor to the religious institutions is as yet not clearly understood” (Brinkman 2017: 18-19).

Nippur's relationship to Dūr-Kurigalzu and the old capital Babylon is unclear (Paulus 2014a: 69, fn. 44). It is unclear whether Babylon or Dūr-Kurigalzu were the main royal residence in the 14th and 13th century (Brinkman 2004: 287, fn. 26; id. 2017: 14). Note that the Kassite *ardu*-letter N 961 may contain a reference to Babylon (obv. l. 8, the sign KÁ is unclear) following a *te-e-em É.GAL ki-i a-ša-lu*, “written order from the palace, after I had asked for it” (obv. l. 6), which may be a reference to the palace in Babylon. The Kassite textual material from Babylon still needs to be published. There was a royal residence in Nippur and it is likely that there were royal residencies in Akkade, Ešnunna, Larsa, and Ur. Sassmannshausen suggests that Babylon was the royal residence at the beginning of the Kassite period, and was moved to Dūr-Kurigalzu under Kurigalzu I. At the end of the Kassite period Meli-Šipak moved the royal residence to Akkade. However, later the royal residence was apparently again in Babylon (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 9). The king travelled within the Kassite kingdom as the Kassite letters confirm, and visited Nippur regularly. We should probably discard the idea of one single “capital”.

¹³⁶ For the translation of this title see Borger 2004: 117, 157; Leemans 1989: 233; Petschow 1983: 143; Sassmannshausen 2001: 16. For its writing see Landsberger 1965: 76-77.

¹³⁷ cf. Brinkman 2004: 288.

Fig. 3: Map of the Kassite provinces based on the maps by Nashef 1982: 342 and Paulus 2014d: 197.¹³⁸



¹³⁸ Note that Paulus locates Bīt-Sîn-māgir east of the Tigris, while Nashef locates it south of Nippur, see the discussion below “c) N 3393: the transition period between Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and his successor Enlil-kidinnī”). Since the Kassite letter N 3393 connects Bīt-Sîn-māgir with the Euphrates (see also Paulus 2014d: 191, fn. 425) I maintained Nashef’s localisation in the south of Nippur, bordering on the Euphrates.

The rough location of “Māt Akkade”, east of the Tigris and east of Bīt-Per’e-Amurru, is based on Gelb 1992: 124; Paulus 2014b: 201-202, 204; ead. 2014d: 197; Sommerfeld 2003: 585; id. 2011: 94; id. 2014: 151-175. For the discussion about the existence of a province Akkade separate from the province Bīt-Per’e-Amurru see below “a) The provinces in which Kudurrānu worked”, and Paulus 2014b: 204, fn. 52; Sassmannshausen 2001: 23. Since the Kassite letter BE 17, 28: rev. ll. 7-8 mentions two towns in *māt Akkade* (KUR *A-ga-a-dè*) I included a province Akkade in my map (see also the *šakkanakku* of the province Akkade on the *kudurru* MŠ 2: ii, ll. 9-10).

5.1 *aḫu*-letters

Out of 29 (securely identified) *aḫu*-letters (N 3393 is discussed below under “N 3393: the transition period between Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and his successor Enlil-kidinnī”) ca. two thirds contain a reference to their origin in the greeting formula (in the divine blessing): 16 come from distant provinces, only three from the vicinity of Nippur. Ca. one third of the 29 letters, i.e. ten *aḫu*-letters do not contain a reference to the location of the sender. Seven of these ten *aḫu*-letters do not refer to a town, at all. Either they do not contain a divine blessing in their greeting formula, or the divine blessing does not mention the location of the deities. The greeting formula of two *aḫu*-letters is broken off and may have contained a reference to the location of the sender. The divine blessing in one *aḫu*-letter asks for the gods of the Euphrates; thus, the exact location of the sender is unclear.

Out of 29 *aḫu*-letters 17 letters were addressed to *šandabakkus*. Eight *aḫu*-letters were sent to the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. The majority of *aḫu*-letters to Enlil-kidinnī (six) comes from Dilmun, one (possibly) from Bīt-Sîn-māgir, and only one comes from the vicinity of Nippur. Amīl-Marduk receives the majority (six) of his eight letters from five distant towns/provinces (Akkade, Dūr-Enlil and Ekallātu¹³⁹, Isin, and Kār-bēl-mātāti). The *aḫu*-letter BE 17, 89 to Ninnū’a was probably directed to the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē or to Ninurta-apla-iddina. Only one *aḫu*-letter to a *šandabakku* (Amīl-Marduk) does not contain any reference to the town of the sender, the greeting formula of the other one to Amīl-Marduk is destroyed. To sum up: The majority of *aḫu*-letters from distant towns/provinces (14 out of 16) was addressed to a *šandabakku*. Out of three letters from the vicinity of Nippur, only one of them was addressed to a known *šandabakku*.

The rest of the *aḫu*-letters, ca. a third of them, are addressed to high officials in Nippur whose office we do not know, and of these the senders do not refer to their own location for the most part. We cannot exclude that some of the recipients were *šandabakkus* as well.

However, some *aḫu*-letters were clearly sent to other officials, and not to a *šandabakku*: the recipient of the *aḫu*-letter BE 17, 81, Aḫū’a-bani, was not the *šandabakku*. Aḫū’a-bani¹⁴⁰ is the recipient of two *aḫu*-letters from Erība-Marduk (BE 17, 81 and CBS 4782). In BE 17, 81: obv. ll. 6-9 the sender Erība-Marduk reports that the Nippureans plead with the *šandabakku* on behalf of the recipient Aḫū’a-bani (obv. l. 7: *aššumīka*), who was possibly the son of Innību (cf. obv. ll. 6-9). The sender of another *aḫu*-letter, CBS 4730: rev. l. 6’, writes that he had sent a substitute for a fuller to Amīlīja. Amīlīja may refer to the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk, which would mean that the recipient of the *aḫu*-letter CBS 4730 was not the *šandabakku* (in the rest of the damaged letter the sender addresses his “brother” in the 2nd ps. sg.).

¹³⁹ See below “6.3.3 JCS 19, 98-99” for the mention of Ekallātu in the context of “fish from the sea”. One town with the name Dūr-Enlil possibly lay in the Sealand province (see below “(ab) Dūr-Enlil or Dūr-Enlilē?”).

¹⁴⁰ A herdsman called Aḫū’a-bāni is listed in BE 15, 199: obv. l. 11 (a cattle muster, deductions on the reverse, presumably found in the palace, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 187; Kurigalzu II year 15, cf. Hölscher 1996: 24).

This means that *ahu*-letters were not just sent between the provincial governors of other provinces and Nippur province, but possibly between other high officials, such as temple personnel and royal officials. Especially the *ahu*-letters of Erība-Marduk, Katar-Saḥ and an unknown sender to the *šandabakku* imply that the senders came from a religious context or the royal court (cf. BE 17, 92, BM 82720, PBS 1/2, 45).

The *ahu*-letter UDBD 114 to a man called Amurrīja from the Peiser-archive, i.e. the descendants of Nabû-šarrāḥ (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 4), may originate in Borsippa, and not in Nippur.¹⁴¹ UDBD 114 comes from Kār-bēl-mātāti, which was located between Babylon and Borsippa.

Aḥū'a-bani and Iddin-Enlil (CT 44, 67) are the only two recipients of *ahu*-letters who are addressed with their full name and not with a hypocorism — however, Iddin-Enlil is addressed a second time in the same letter (CT 44, 67: obv. l. 3) with the hypocorism Iddinīja. The recipients' names of three *ahu*-letters are not preserved (nos. 27, 28, 32), and only the first part of the name of the recipient of the *ahu*-letter CT 43, 60 is preserved (Nin-'SAR' ...]). The recipients of the other four *ahu*-letters are addressed with a hypocorism (Dannitīja, Innū'a, Nūrīja, Iddīja). Perhaps, Iddīja is another form of Iddinīja (Enlil-kidinnī was addressed with Illilīa, Illīja, and Kiddinīja).

The themes of *ahu*-letters do not differ substantially from *ardu*-letters by subordinates to the provincial administration in Nippur: They concern the restoration of temples, the collection of levies, the provision of towns and workers and agricultural issues. Since the letters are exchanged among the elite of the kingdom, the organisation of the workforce, including lists of workers, their provision, and fled workers are addressed.

¹⁴¹ Sassmannshausen suggests an origin of the Peiser archive in Borsippa in his unpublished manuscript.

Fig. 4: *aḫu*-letters from distant provinces:

<i>aḫu</i> -letter	sender	location of sender	household of sender	recipient	themes
BM 82720	Erība-Marduk	Kār-bēl-mātāti	temple (?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Amīl-Marduk in Nippur	- religious rituals/ offerings involving the king <i>šandabakku</i> shall come to the king in Nippur
BE 17, 89	Pān-Ani-rabī-lūmur	Dēr	temple (Edingal-kalamma)	<i>šandabakku</i> Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē or to Ninurta-apla-iddina	- correspondence with the king - contact/ greetings - king is located in Nippur (= king travelling) - king believes Ninnū'a is located in Sippar (= <i>šandabakku</i> travelling)
CBS 4782	Erība-Marduk	Arad-bēlti		Aḫū'a-bani	- barley of the hinterland - an inspection by Aḫū'a-bani - fuller - sheep of Iddin-Nergal
N 3393	Dajjān-Marduk	Bīt-Sin-māgir (?), Manki(š)u	province (?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Enlil-kidinnī in Nippur	see below "c) N 3393: the transition period between Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and his successor Enlil-kidinnī"
Ni 615, Ni 641, BE 17, 88, BE 17, 96, CBS 4769, UM 29-13-600	Ilī-ippašra	Dilmun (no reference to a town in the greeting formula of BE 17, 88)	temple household/ provincial administration in Dilmun	<i>šandabakku</i> Enlil-kidinnī in Nippur	- revolting Aḫlamū in Dilmun - restoration of a temple in Dilmun - a religious dream about the completion of the temple - dates (agricultural produce) - the fortification of Amala - the provision of the town Amala with dates from Dilmun - merchants - travelling to Babylon
PBS 1/2, 30	Izkur-Marduk	Isin	(?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Amīl-Marduk in Nippur	- transfer of goods/resources - leather harnesses for horses
PBS 1/2, 36	Usāt-Marduk	Dūr-Enlil and Ekallātu	(?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Amīl-Marduk in Nippur	40 and 60 <i>šābu</i>-workers - reed - land cultivated by the <i>šandabakku</i> (?)
PBS 1/2, 45	Katar-Saḫ	Kār-bēl-mātāti	royal court (?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Amīl-Marduk in Nippur	- the king's correspondence with the <i>šandabakku</i> - a field in Kadukū
PBS 1/2, 67	Marduk-šumu-lišer	Akkade	either Amīl-Marduk's household or another "lord's" household (cf. rev. ll. 10-14)	<i>šandabakku</i> Amīl-Marduk in Nippur	- reminder that a subordinate shall maintain continuous barley deliveries - sending of a tablet with instructions regarding the choice of a workforce (?) - a legal agreement (sealed tablet) regarding a purchase of oil
PBS 1/2, 81	Šamaš-šumu-lišer	Kār-bēl-mātāti	(?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Amīl-Marduk in Nippur	- irrigation/ canal maintenance - agriculture - workforce - a future meeting in person
UDBD 114	Sin-šumu-lišer	Kār-bēl-mātāti	(?)	Amurrija	- borders of a royal grant (?) - Amurrija shall show the sender the right borders of a royal grant to the town Upī

Fig. 5: *aḫu*-letters from the vicinity of Nippur:

<i>aḫu</i> -letter	sender	location of sender	household of sender	recipient	themes
BE 17, 92	(?)	Pi-nāri (?), no reference to a town in the greeting formula	royal court	<i>šandabakku</i> Enlil-kidinnī in Nippur	• <i>bēl pīḫāti</i>-officials • collection of levies (barley) • travelling of the <i>šandabakku</i> • collection of <i>šibšu</i>-levy for king, and the promise of a reimbursement for taking the levies • drawing up an account with the <i>šandabakku</i>
CT 44, 67	<i>Aḫu-aqru</i>	Parak-māri and Dūr-Sîn-muballiṭ	(?)	Iddin-Enlil, Iddinīja	• request for barley in exchange for sickles • <i>dullu</i>-work duty in the hinterland (possibly belonging to a town of Iddin-Enlil's household ?) • the sending of a gift basket of apples to the recipient
PBS 1/2, 74	Ilī-aḫa-iddina	Pān-šēri	(?)	Iddīja	• a tablet of the house of Ša-ili-banā in a basket of clay tablets • the overseers of the house of Ša-ili-banā • Iddīja shall send the tablet to Ilī-aḫa-iddina

Fig. 6: *aḫu*-letters from unknown locations:

<i>aḫu</i> -letter	sender	location of sender	household of sender	recipient	themes
BE 17, 80 + PBS 1/2, 46	Enlil-mukīn-apli	no reference to a town in the greeting formula	(?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Amīl-Marduk in Nippur	• negligence of a messenger • a disruption of the transactions/ deliveries to and from a town belonging to the household of the <i>šandabakku</i> • release of a workforce on the hinterland (of that town ?)
UM 29-15-322	(?)	(?) broken off	(?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Amīl-Marduk in Nippur	• fields of the house of Enlil-kidinnī • water for Amīl-Marduk's workers • measuring of land (possibly for a royal grant ?) • sealed document (possibly for a royal grant ?)
BE 17, 81	Erība-Marduk	no reference to a town in the greeting formula	(?)	Aḫū'a-bani	• pleading by Nippureans with the <i>šandabakku</i> for the sake of Aḫū'a-bani • the son of Innibu • (levies ? from) a gate (?) • a <i>sasinmu</i> (bow-maker)
BE 17, 82	Erība-Marduk	no reference to a town in the greeting formula	(?)	Danītija	• gold smith
BE 17, 87	Guzar-ilu	at the Euphrates (?)	(?)	Innū'a	• a <i>širiku</i>-gift • a request for a new <i>kusitu</i>-gown as a change of clothing • ploughing of a field
BE 17, 90	Sin-ē/iriš	no reference to a town in the greeting formula	(?)	(?)	• transport and transfees of goods
CT 43, 60	Kudurrānu	no reference to a town in the greeting formula	(?)	Nin-S[AR-...]	• donkey theft
CT 43, 94	<i>Aḫu-irēmšu</i> (?)	no reference to a town in the greeting formula	(?)	Nūrīja	• the receipt of a tablet of Alzibu • provision of workers with bread and beer • Nūrīja shall return rations from the palace (bread and beer) which had been assigned to him (by Alzibu ?) • inspection of rations of the palace • beer-rations for individuals • a reimbursement for food which Šamaš-dajjān had been consuming • the sending of a messenger who was with the king
CBS 4730	Šuḫilīšu	(?) broken off	(?)	(?)	• an escaped worker of the recipient • pressing for payment • the replacement of a fuller of Amīl-Marduk
N 2631	(?)	no reference to a town in the greeting formula	(?)	(?)	(?)

5.2 Letters to and from the *šandabakku*

Ardu-letters were sent from officials of the province of Nippur and also from other provinces (see the *ardu*-letters from Banâ-ša-Marduk (probably a temple official), Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut in chapter six to the palace administration in Nippur. It is not always clear which *ardu*-letters addressed to a lord (*ana bēlīja*) were actually addressed to the *šandabakku*.

Ardu-letters also mention the *šandabakku* in the third person, which shows that not all *ardu*-letters were sent to the *šandabakku*. One example is the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 26 from Ilī-rešâ-rēma to his lord. In obv. ll. 4-11 he mentions his interactions with the *šandabakku* and another provincial governor (possibly of the province Pān-šēri, which bordered on Nippur).

obv. 4	<i>i-tu</i> GÚ.EN.NA <i>ša be-lí</i> ¹ <i>iš</i> ¹ -[<i>pu-ra</i> ?]	To the <i>šandabakku</i> , about whom my lord [had sent (a letter) to me (?)],
obv. 5	<i>a-na pa-ni a-ma-ti</i> <i>ša be-lí</i> [<i>iq-bu-ú</i>]	in view of the words, which my lord [had spoken]
obv. 6	<i>ù te-em hu-de-e</i> <i>ša be-lí</i> [<i>iš-pu-ra</i>]	and the positive report (= good news), which my lord [had sent to me],
obv. 7	[...] ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ <i>a-kan-na aq-ta-ba-aš-šu</i>	[...] now, I have told him [...]
obv. 8	[...] <i>ka</i> ¹ <i>du</i> ¹ - <i>li</i> <i>ša na-ap-pa-a</i> ¹ <i>hi</i> ² - <i>i</i> ¹	your (?) [...] the <i>dullu</i> -work duty of the smiths
obv. 9	[<i>x x</i>] ¹ <i>ša</i> ¹ LUGAL <i>il-te</i> - ¹ <i>qé</i> ¹ - <i>šu</i>	[...] which the king has taken,
obv. 10	[<i>x x x</i>] ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ <i>ša IGI-EDIN</i> <i>ša be-lí</i> <i>iš-pu-ra-an-ni</i>	[...] of Pān-šēri about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me,
obv. 11	[<i>x x x</i>] ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ - <i>za di</i> - ¹ <i>na</i> ¹⁴² <i>ša-kin</i> KUR <i>it-ti-ia</i>	[...] the legal process the provincial governor together with me

Another example is the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 52: obv. ll. 8-10, in which the sender writes that he has received a land grant from “the land of the temple of Ninurta-apla-iddina” (obv. l. 8, see below “5.2.4 Ninurta-apla-iddina”).

A third example is the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 59 (the obverse is largely destroyed). The *šandabakku*’s orders are mentioned twice:

b.e. 1	[... <i>ú-he</i>]- <i>bi-il</i>	[... he did] wrong.
b.e. 2	<i>ù</i> ¹ <i>šum</i> - <i>ma</i> ¹ <i>a-na-ku a-a-am-ma</i>	and if I am someone (?), then
b.e. 3	¹ <i>ah</i> ¹ - <i>šu du-uk</i> <i>ša-lam-ta-šu</i>	kill his brother! His corpse
rev. 1	<i>a-na É.GAL</i> <i>šu-bi-il</i>	have brought to the palace!”
rev. 2	GÚ.EN.NA- <i>ki a-kan-na iq-ta-ba-ba</i>	Thus, (my ?) <i>šandabakku</i> has said to me:
rev. 3	<i>um-ma-a</i> 20 ÉRIN.MEŠ <i>ša É</i> ¹ <i>d</i> 30- <i>ma-gir</i>	“The following: 20 <i>šābu</i> -workers of (the province) Bīt-Sîn-māgir
rev. 4	<i>a-na na-pu-ul-ti am-mi-ni</i>	why are they rendered destitute for life?
rev. 5	<i>šu-nu uk-ku-ma i-na muḥ-ḥi</i>	Why shall they place a written instruction about
rev. 6	¹⁷ <i>nam-ga-ri</i> <i>ša EN KUR.KUR</i>	the <i>namgāru</i> -canal of the lord of all countries
rev. 7	<i>te-e-ma am-mi-ni</i>	(=Enlil)?”
rev. 8	<i>i-ša-ak-ka-nu</i>	
rev. 9	<i>a-na IGI</i> ¹ <i>Bu-un-na</i> - ^d <i>Nin-urta</i>	In the presence of Bunna-Ninurta
rev. 10	<i>ù</i> ¹ <i>d</i> ¹ <i>Nusku</i> -ŠEŠ-ŠÚM- <i>na</i>	and Nusku-aḥa-iddina
rev. 11	DUMU ¹ <i>Me-le</i> - ^d <i>Šu-qa-mu-na</i>	the son of Mele-Šuqamuna
rev. 12	<i>iq-ba-a</i>	said to me:
rev. 13	<i>aš-šu</i> ₁₄ ¹ <i>Ša-šil-lu-ša</i> ^L <i>U</i> AŠGAB	“Because of Ša-šilluša, the leatherworker,

¹⁴² Note that Hölscher (1996: 234) reads the name Zākiru instead of *za di*-¹*na*¹. However, according to my collation obv. l. 11 reads *za di*-¹*na*¹. Another possible emendation suggested by Sassmannshausen in his unpublished manuscript is *a*¹-*di-na*.

rev. 14	<i>ša be-lí iš-pu-ra</i> URU <i>im-mah</i> ¹ -[<i>har</i> ?]	about whom my lord had sent (a letter) to me, the town is going to [be received (?)].”
rev. 15	<i>i-na</i> URU-ŠÚM- ^d AMAR.UTU [...]	In/out of Āl-iddin-Marduk [...]
rev. 16	<i>ŠÁM</i> ¹ - <i>im</i> GÚ.<EN.>NA <i>ki</i> ¹ [...]	of the price (?) after/when (of) the <i>šandabakku</i> [...]
rev. 17	<i>x</i> GIŠ <i>x</i> ¹ [...] <i>ku</i> [...]	[...]

In another *ardu*-letter an issue pertaining to the governor of Nippur is entrusted to the recipient: *a-ma-ti ša* GÚ.EN.NA *ma-la i-ba-áš-šú-ú a-na be-lí-ia pa-aq-da-at a-na* ^{URU}BÀD-*Ku-ri-gal-zu*¹ [...], “The (legal) issue (sg.) of the *šandabakku*, as much of it as it entails, is entrusted to my lord. To Dūr-Kurigalzu [...]” (BE 17, 45: rev. ll. 7-11).

The Kassite letters concern the administration of land, agriculture, the production of goods (textiles), and the levying and use of work crews in the province of Nippur, but also in distant provinces. The letters contain references to the border regions of the Kassite kingdom. The officials describe administrative processes, such as levying harvest or workers, which could take place on royal grants as well as on provincial or on royal land. Unfortunately, the letters do not always contain toponyms. Originally the letters have been associated with the provincial administration of Nippur, i.e. the governor’s office.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Paulus 2012: 89-90; Sassmannshausen 2001: 3, 17-21, 186-188.

<i>šanda- bakkus</i>	Amilātu (Sassmannshausen 2001: 16)			Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē BB II			Enlil-kidinnī BB II 24 (1336) -			Enlil-AL.ŠA ₆ NM 8 (1300) -		Ninurta-apla-iddina (Balkan 1986: 11)		Uzi-Šugab (Sassmanns- hausen 2001: 16)		Amil- Marduk ŠŠ 9 - Ka 8	
king (regnal years) based on Brink- man 2017: 26	Kuri- galzu I -1375		Kadašman- Enlil I (1374-1360) = 15	Burna-Buriaš II (1359-1333) = 27			Kurigalzu II (1332-1308) = 25		Nazi-maruttaš (1307-1282) = 26			Kadašman- Turgu (1281-1264) = 18		Kadaš- man- Enlil II (1263- 1255) = 9	Kudur- Enlil (1254- 1246) = 9	Šagarakti- Šuriaš (1245- 1233) = 13	Kaš- tiliaš IV (1232- 1225) = 8
absolute chrono- logy		1380	1370	1360	1350	1340	1330	1320	1310	1300	1290	1280	1270	1260	1250	1240	1230

Fig. 7: the terms of office of the *šandabakkus* and the regnal years of the Kassite kings based on Balkan 1986: 11, Sassmannshausen 2001: 16 and Sollberger 1968: 191-197.

A *šandabakku* named Nazi-Enlil, the father of the recipient, is mentioned in the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 24. Balkan suggests that Nazi-Enlil was in office under king Kurigalzu II (Balkan 1943: 50; engl. transl. in Balkan 1986: 11; Brinkman 1976: 418-423; Röllig 1967, 173-184), and left “very few documents”, but does not provide any evidence of this. Balkan 1948: 748, fn. 77 (I wish to thank Taha Yurttaş translating the Turkish into English) also refers to the *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil in BE 17, 24: rev. 2. He explains how Radau in his analysis of the Kassite revolt against the grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ misread *iš-tu GÚ.ʽENʽ.NA-ti* in BE 17, 24: rev. 1 for *iš-tu ʽbeʽ-na-ti* (Radau 1908, 69-70) and thus concluded that the recipient’s father Nazi-Enlil was the usurper Nazi-Bugaš (or Šuzigaš, see Brinkman 1976: 418-423). Balkan’s assertion that the Nazi-Enlil of BE 17, 24 was a *šandabakku*, and not a king, however, does not elucidate, which sources attest to a *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil under Kurigalzu II.

Balkan (1986, 11) claims that a *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil was in office following the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī, and before the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina. Sassmannshausen (2001: 17, fn. 210) questions whether Balkan was referring to unpublished material.

Landsberger (1965: 76-77) follows Balkan’s order of *šandabakku* officials, but postpones Nazi-Enlil’s term of office as *šandabakku* to the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš. Sollberger (1968: 193), following both Balkan and Landsberger, dates a *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil to the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš as well. Neither Balkan nor Hölscher have provided us with any evidence to support their assertion that Nazi-Enlil was a *šandabakku* under Kurigalzu II (or, following Landsberger, under Nazi-Maruttaš).

However, Enlil-kidinnī’s son, Enlil-AL.SA₆ (cf. the seal inscription Matthews 1992: 136, no. 189; Sassmannshausen 2001: 16), is attested as a *šandabakku* during the 8th year of Nazi-Maruttaš (see MUN 434). Enlil-AL.SA₆ is even attested earlier in *aklu* texts and in a receipt of barley for the horses of Enlil-AL.SA₆ from the regnal years 17, 18, and 21 of Kurigalzu II, Nazi-Maruttaš’s predecessor (Hölscher 1996: 66; Sassmannshausen 2001: 18). It is unclear whether Enlil-AL.SA₆ was already in office as a *šandabakku* at that time, as the title *šandabakku* is not mentioned. This does not leave much time for a *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil between those two well-known *šandabakkus*, Enlil-kidinnī and Enlil-AL.SA₆. Another option would be to date the *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil between Enlil-AL.SA₆ and his successor Ninurta-apla-iddina.

Hölscher (1996: 118) refers to Balkan (1954: 72), who lists a *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil under Marduk-zākir-šumi in the 9th century BC (AO 6684), a witness Nazi-Enlil on a *kudurru* from the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina II (late 8th century BC, see Brinkman 1987-1990, 375; Paulus 2014, 693-703, v 1, ^{1d}MAŠ-EN-šú-nu A ^{1Na}zi-^d50), as well as the Late Babylonian land purchase BE 8/1, 149, which mentions Nazi-Enlil as an ancestor (obv. 10, 17). Balkan also lists the unpublished and undated text CBS 3520 (obv. 13’; see also Clay 1912: 111), and the unpublished text Ni. 1045 (rev. “left col.” l. 14’?) as attestations for the name Nazi-Enlil. The Kassite list CBS 3520 can be viewed on CDLI (P259895); the date and heading are broken off, the first column contains amounts followed by “ditto” (KI.MIN). The name Nazi-Enlil appears in obv. ii 13’ without a title after 1;0.0.0 KI.MIN in col. i. It is unknown whether this unpublished text Ni. 1045 dates Nazi-Enlil to the reign of Kurigalzu II and Nazi-Maruttaš. According to Balkan the name Nazi-Enlil in the unpublished text Ni. 1045 does not appear with the title *šandabakku* (Balkan 1954, 72).

While a *šandabakku* Nazi-Enlil is not attested in a published source from the Kassite period, a *šandabakku*, the “son of Nazi-Enlil”, is attested in the Isin II period (see Sassmannshausen 2001: 17, fn. 210). In the purchase contract NŠL-RU 1 (late 11th century, 1st year of Nabû-šumu-libūr, 1038 BC; cf. Brinkman, Walker 1985: 72; Paulus 2014d: 613-617.), a son of a Nazi-Enlil called Nusku-zēra-iddina, a *šandabakku*, appears as a buyer of fields in Nippur province. For a detailed discussion see my forthcoming article (Zimmermann 2021).

5.2.1 Kassite letters to/from Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē

Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē¹⁴⁴ was *šandabakku* under king Burna-Buriaš II, before Enlil-kidinnī held the office from Burna-Buriaš II year 24, see Sassmannshausen 2001: 16. He also held the office of the *nēšakku*-priest (cf. BE 1, 33).

The name Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē is mentioned in the letter PBS 1/2, 77 (perhaps, sent from Babylon, cf. obv. ll. 1'-2'). The sender checks entries on wooden writing boards to look for the names of men who were conscripted for irrigation work during the reign of two preceding kings, Burna-Buriaš II and Nazi-maruttaš (1307-1282). One man claims that his father irrigated fields with water from a Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē.

obv. 9'	¹ Iš-bu-ú-la a-bu-ú-a	“Išbula, my father, during/in (the section under) the soakings (of fields) with water of
b.e. 1'	i-na ši-be me-e ša	
b.e. 2'	^{1d} Nin-urta-ŠÚM-ŠEŠ.MEŠ ša-ti-ir	Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē is written down there.”

However, it is unclear whether this is reference to the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē.

a) The king's correspondence with Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē

The king — presumably Burna-Buriaš II — wrote the letter PBS 1/2, 76 to the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē. The king instructs the *šandabakku* (poss. suff. 2st ps. sg. -ka) to make another subordinate bring his chariot to him.

obv. 1	a-na ^{1d} Nin-urta-ŠÚM-ŠEŠ. ¹ MEŠ	Speak to Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē:
obv. 2	qí-bí-ma	
obv. 3	um-ma LUGAL-ma	The following says the king:
obv. 4	um-ma-a U ₄ -um ṭup-pi	The following: The day on which you have seen
obv. 5	ta-mu-ru	my tablet,
obv. 6	^{1d} UTU-DI-KU ₅	Šamaš-dajjān shall bring your chariot here, and
obv. 7	GIŠGIGIR-ka	
obv. 8	li-iš-ša-šum-ma	
obv. 9	ḥa-mut-ta	he shall reach me promptly!
obv. 10	li-ik-šu-da	

b) Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē and long distance trade

Another man bearing the name Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē wrote the *bēlu*-letter UM 29-15-741 to a subordinate.¹⁴⁵ Since it is a *bēlu*-letter from the palace in Nippur, it is likely that the sender Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē is the *šandabakku* of the same name. The tablet is worn and damaged. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē informs his subordinate that *ḥurḫuratu* red dye has become more expensive (the ratio gold to *ḥurḫuratu* dye changes from 1:120 to 1:100, cf. obv. ll. 4-8).¹⁴⁶ The red dye seems to be part of someone's work

¹⁴⁴ The Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē mentioned in BE 17, 52: obv. l. 14 is a subordinate of the recipient, and, thus, unlikely the *šandabakku*.

¹⁴⁵ The subordinate bore the name 'GAL-ša²-d²x¹ [...], a name of the type Rabâ-ša-GN; cf. Hölscher 1996: 172-175.

¹⁴⁶ In NB documents one mina carmine dye could dye 2 1/2 minas of wool. During the NB period the ratio silver to carmine dye was 1: 15-20 under Nebuchadnezzar, 1:40 under Nabonid, 1:60 in the Achaemenid period, cf. Kleber 2017: 6, 21, 23, 57, 60-61.

assignment (obv. ll. 6, 12: $\text{ṣi}^1\text{-si-ih-ta/ti-ṣi-}^1\text{na}^1$, 2nd ps. pl. f.). These lines seem to refer to the purchase of red dye for textile production. *ḥurḥuratu* (*ša tūlti*) was “red dye (made from worms)” and referred to carmine red textile dye made from cochineal scales. Cochineal scales had to be imported from the west, and are attested on Mediterranean oak trees (Kleber 2017: 21-23, 60-61).

obv. 4	$\text{ṣa}^1\text{-na-nu-um-ma}$	Earlier
obv. 5	$\text{ḥur}^1\text{-ḥu-ra-tu}_4\text{ ba-na-}^1\text{tu}_4$	<i>ḥurḥuratu</i> red dye of good quality (pl.)
obv. 6	$\text{i-na i-}^1\text{ṣi}^1\text{-[ih]-ti-ṣi-na}$	out of their working (material) assignment:
obv. 7	2 MA-NA $\text{ḥur-ḥu-}^1\text{ra}^1\text{-tu}_4$	two minas of <i>ḥurḥuratu</i> red dye
obv. 8	$\text{a-na 1 GÍN KÙ.SI}_{22}$	(could be bought) for one shekel of gold.
obv. 9	$\text{i-na-an-na 1 } 2/3\text{ MA.NA.TA.ÀM}$	Now, it is 1 2/3 minas (of <i>ḥurḥuratu</i> red dye) each
obv. 10	$\text{a-na 1 GÍN KÙ.SI}_{22}$	for one shekel of gold
obv. 11	TA ša-an-na-ti-ma	out of the copper vessels
obv. 12	$\text{[i]-si-ih-ta-ṣi-}^1\text{na}^1$	(which is/of) their working (material) assignment.

The rest of the letter is too damaged to be translated, but also seems to concern the price for *ḥurḥuratu* dye. This implies that the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē was involved in long distance trade, since carmine had to be imported. As shown below in the correspondence between the Nippurean palace (possibly the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina) and the *nāqīdu* herdsman Kudurrānu and Itīša-aḥbut, the *šandabakku* was involved in the textile production for the king and temples.

c) N 3393: the transition period between Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and his successor Enlil-kidinnī

A clear reference to the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē is made in the letter N 3393 (cf. P278429 in the CDLI) to Enlil-kidinnī. The sender is $\text{DI.KU}_5\text{-}^d\text{AMAR.UTU a-bu-ka-[ma]}$, “Dajjān-Marduk, your father” (obv. l. 2). It is uncommon in Kassite letters that the sender refers to himself with the kinship term “your father” following his name. The appellative *abu* implies a higher rank of the sender and not necessarily real family relations. It expresses familiarity, and it was common in the OB period (Sallaberger 1999: 42). The familiarity is also expressed by the use of the hypocorism Kiddinīja for the recipient Enlil-kidinnī. Usually the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī is addressed with the hypocorism Illīa or Illillīa (see below). The greeting formula is that of a Kassite *aḥu*-letters ($\text{a-na ka-ša lu ṣu-ul-}^1\text{mu}^1$).

The sender Dajjān-Marduk apparently deemed himself more senior than, and holding more authority than Enlil-kidinnī. He predicts that Enlil-kidinnī will ask for seeds as soon as he will be in office. Dajjān-Marduk predicts his answer: he is going to tell him that someone (pl.) is going to write to Enlil-kidinnī’s father (*ana abīka*) Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē about the Euphrates and the province [Bīt]-Sîn-māgir. Since the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē was the father of Enlil-kidinnī, this confirms that Kiddinīja is a previously unattested hypocorism for Enlil-kidinnī. It is unclear why the first request by the new *šandabakku* is going to be met with a report to the previous *šandabakku*.

obv. 4'	$\text{ul-}^1\text{tu}^1\text{ re-eṣ }^1\text{ša-an-da}^1\text{-ba-ak-ku-ti-ka-ma }^1\text{te}^1\text{-[...]}$	After you have [...] the start of your tenure of the <i>šandabakku</i> -office,
obv. 5	$\text{ù ta-}^1\text{qā}^1\text{-ab-bi }^1\text{um}^1\text{-ma -a i-na mi-ni-i }^1\text{x}^1\text{-[x x]}$	then you are going to say the following: “In what/why ... [...]
obv. 6	$\text{ša ze-e-ri }^1\text{x}^1\text{ [x x] lu-uq-ba-ak-ku}$	of the seeds [...]?” I shall say to you:

obv. 7	¹⁷ <i>Pu-^rra²¹-at-ta</i> [<i>x x x É?</i>] ¹ ^d <i>30-ma-gi-ir a-na a-</i> <i>^rbi²¹¹⁴⁷-ka</i>	“About the Euphrates [...Bīt]-Sîn-māgir to your father (?)
obv. 8	^{1d} <i>rNin²¹-urta-na-din-^rŠEŠ.MEŠ¹ i-ša-ap-pa-ru-ma</i>	Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē they are going to send (a letter).”

Nashef (1982: 342) locates the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir in the south of Nippur, between the Sealand (Māt-tāmti) in the south, and Bīt-Sîn-ašarēd in the north. He locates the province Bīt-Sîn-ašarēd in the south of Isin and Adab (cf. the map in Nashef 1982: 342), so that Bīt-Sîn-māgir is located even further in the south. Paulus (2014d: 197) locates Bīt-Sîn-māgir in the northeast of Nippur, on the east side of the Tigris, with Bīt-Sîn-ašarēd and Malgû on the west side of the Tigris. Both provinces, Bīt-Sîn-māgir and the Sealand, shared a border, and Bīt-Sîn-māgir lay near the Tigris (Nashef 1982: 342; Paulus 2014d: 190-191) already under Kudur-Enlil (1254-1246).¹⁴⁸ On the *kudurru* NM 2: i, ll. 20-28 the river Ṭabān and the town Tiriqān are located in the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir (Paulus 2014d: 325-327). The Ṭabān lay east of the Tigris (Nashef 1982: 342; Paulus 2014d: 190, fn. 422). Paulus suggests that either Bīt-Sîn-māgir originally lay east of the Tigris and was “moved” to the north of the Sealand province after the Elamites attacked the Kassite kingdom at the end of the Kassite period, or that the north-eastern part of the Sealand was turned into Bīt-Sîn-māgir after it was conquered by the Kassites (Paulus 2014d: 191).

Nashef (1982: 69) suggests that the clan “Bīt-Sîn-māgir” owned several territories (“Wohngebiet des Stammes”) in different places. While Paulus acknowledges that grantees could have royal grants in different provinces, she argues that two provinces would not have had the same name (Paulus 2014d: 190-191). However, Paulus has also argued that royal grants were transferred back into the public *ilku* system of the province. An example is the province Bīt-Per’e-Amurru, which was named after its former owner.¹⁴⁹ The name Sîn-māgir is attested in the Kassite period (Hölscher 1996: 189), so it is likely that the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir was a former grant. Furthermore, we should, perhaps, refrain from strictly distinguishing between provinces and royal grants, as royal grants had an administrative structure similar to a province.¹⁵⁰ Thus, it is imaginable that a former grant, which had been distributed over several provinces covered similarly scattered areas as a royal grant. For the administration in Nippur it was important that the responsible officials managing the territory were held accountable.

¹⁴⁷ The sign between the signs *a-* and *-ka* is damaged through a crack. Two winkelhaken are visible. The signs 𒀭, BI or even BU could be considered. The context makes *-bi-* most likely, since Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē is attested as Enlil-kidinnī’s father (Hölscher 1996: 67; Sassmannshausen 2001: 16).

¹⁴⁸ See the *kudurru* ENAp 1: obv. l. 2 in Paulus 2014d: 190-191, 521-524, and the *kudurru* KuE 1 (Paulus 2014d: 191, 341-342; possibly a younger copy).

¹⁴⁹ Bīt-Per’e-Amurru had already become a province in the Kassite period, but was most likely a royal grant under Kurigalzu I. See the seal B 1062 in Matthews 1992: No. 54; Paulus 2014d: 184, fn. 358 (with further literature); ead. 2014b: 200; Sassmannshausen 2001: 40.

A second example is the royal grant Bīt-Ada, which became a province of the same name in the Neo-Babylonian period, see Kessler 2006-2008: 40; Paulus 2014d: 183-184, 545 (MNA 3, I, l. 1, III, l. 9-14 and the top of the *kudurru*, l. 1, see Paulus 2014d: 51, 543, 548).

¹⁵⁰ Paulus 2012: 191-206; ead. 2014: 185-198. As Paulus has shown, the royal grant Bīt-Ada had an administrative structure similar to a province (Paulus 2014d: 183-184). For Bīt-Ada (located in the province Irrēja) the officials *bēl pīḥāti*, *ḥazannu*, *šākin ṭēmi*, *gugallu šá É-¹A-da*, “of Bīt-Ada”, are attested among other titles known from the provincial administration. See Paulus 2014d: 183-184, 543, 545, 548 (MNA 3, I, l. 1, III, l. 9-14 and the top of the *kudurru*, l. 1).

In light of the location of Bīt-Sîn-māgir in Nashef's map in the south of Nippur, bordering on the Euphrates, N 3393: obv. l. 7 — although it is damaged — appears to support this localisation already before the Elamites attacked the Kassite kingdom at the end of the Kassite period. The town Mankiṣ(ṣ)u (N 3393: obv. l. 18) lay in Bīt-Sîn-māgir and in the south of Nippur (cf. Nashef 1982: 183).

Dajjān-Marduk mentions the canals of a temple (obv. l. 9) and possibly hired *ikkaru*-farmers of Enlil-kidinnī, implying that the *šandabakku* managed temple lands in distant provinces such as Bīt-Sîn-māgir.

- obv. 9 I₇.MEŠ ša¹ DINGIR 'ú¹-[ma-ak]-ka-ru-ma me-e The canals of the god (=temple) are going to
i-¹kar¹⁵¹-ri-ka irrigate (them), and the water of your *ikkaru*-
farmers (?)
- obv. 10a 500 (5 ME);0.0.0 ŠE.NUMUN ú-ša-am-ka-ru-ú- let(s) him irrigate 500;0.0.0 Gur of seeds.
šu

The letter is difficult to translate. Apparently another provincial governor prevented Dajjān-Marduk from irrigating the area for which he was responsible (the erection and possibly “cutting” of *miḥru*-weirs is mentioned; for *miḥru*-weirs see van Soldt 1988: 117) and neglected the management of a large province (*pi-ḥa-tu ra-bi-tu*; obv. ll. 13, 17). Dajjān-Marduk himself had control over a province (or “area of responsibility”, cf. *ša a-na pi-ḥa-ti-ia* in obv. l. 12). It seems the conflicting parties communicated with each other (obv. l. 16), and approached the king (obv. l. 15).

According to Dajjān-Marduk the levies of Mankiṣ(ṣ)u were late, implying that he had some control over Mankiṣ(ṣ)u or the collection of its levies. It is possible that he was the *šakin māti* of Bīt-Sîn-māgir, about which he predicts “them” to send (a letter) to Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē in obv. ll. 7-8.

- obv. 10b i-na-an-na ia-a-ši Now they are mentioning me.
- obv. 11 zu-uk-ku-ru ki-i iš-ḥi-ṭa-an-ni ša-la-am-di I₇-ma After he had attacked me, the corpse¹⁵² of the
river,
- obv. 12 ša a-na pi-ḥa-ti-ia il-la-ku i-na pa-ni 'mi¹-iḥ-ra which is flowing to my province, (and which)
'in¹-na-du-ú is left lying (unburied) in front of the *miḥru*-
weir,¹⁵³
- obv. 13 pi-ḥa-¹ta ra¹-bi-ta il-te-et tu-ul-¹te¹/li¹(-)-id-di one large province .../you have let (him?)
neglect/he neglected (?).
- obv. 14 ki ia-a-ši šu-um-¹ki-ia¹⁵⁴ mi-iḥ-ra ša I₇.MEŠ [x]- Because of the letting (them/him) disregard
ia [ib¹]-tu-qu me (?),
the *miḥru*-weir of the canals (of) my [...] they
have [cut (?)] through.
- obv. 15 um-ma lu a-na-ku-ma a-na šar-ri la a-ta-[...] The following: Be it that I have not [...] to the
king

¹⁵¹ Sassmannshausen reads KAR in his unpublished manuscript (no. 276); the first part of the sign is obscured by a crack.

¹⁵² *Šalamtu* is attested as *šalamdu* in the Kassite period, cf. AHw: 1143.

¹⁵³ The expression seems to appear in an omen; cf. the OB example YOS 10, 24: l. 34: *ḥušaḥḥum ša šalmātum innandu ibbašši*, “there will be such a famine that corpses will be left lying (unburied)” (cf. CAD Š/1: 204b, s.v. *šalamtu*). I would like to thank Stephanie Dalley for pointing me to it.

¹⁵⁴ *Šu-um-¹ki-ia¹* is difficult to translate. *Šumkū*, “onions”, is only attested in OA sources (CAD Š/3: 274). The sign KI is damaged; even if we supposed a DI, the meaning of *šumdu* (which seems to be a hapax legomenon cf. CAD Š/3: 266) is unclear. *Mekū* is otherwise not attested in a Š-stem. The infinitive in the Š-stem would be *šumkū*. The possessive suffix (i.e. the personal suffix in the genitive) can occasionally express the genitivus objectivus, i.e. have the meaning of an object (cf. von Soden 1995: 53). *Šumkīja* would mean “the allowing to disregard/letting (him/them) disregard me”. Additionally, *šumkīja* is preceded by *jāši*, the personal pronoun in the 1st ps. sg. dative, which would be the indirect object of a verb in the Š-stem, which may be reflected in the suffix of *šumkīja* (the genitivus objectivus).

obv. 16	[...] - ¹ x-x ¹ -š ^u ¹ i ¹ -l ⁱ iq-ri-ib it-ti a-[¹ ha-mi-iš] ni-iz- qir	[...] his [...] of the gods/my god he approached. With [each other (?)] we spoke.
obv. 17	[...] pi- ¹ ha]-tu ra-bi-tu na-da-a-ma	[...] the neglecting of the large [pro]vince, and
obv. 18	[...] ^{URU} Man-ki-š ^u ša u ¹ - ¹ hu ¹ -r ^u	[...] (of) the town Manki ¹ (š)u, which were late

The rest of the letter is too damaged to make sense; in obv. l. 19 the king, and in obv. l. 29 *a-bu-ka*, “your father” is mentioned. N 3393 is confirming the family relations between Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē (see, for example, Enlil-kidinnī’s seal impression Matthews no. 164; Petschow 1974: 49) and his son Enlil-kidinnī, and gives us a fascinating glimpse into the time before Enlil-kidinnī became a *šandabakku*. Thus, the letter must date shortly before Burna-Buriaš II year 24 (1336 BC).

5.2.2 Kassite letters to/from Enlil-kidinnī/Illīja

Enlil-kidinnī is the most famous *šandabakku* and held the office from Burna-Buriaš II year 24. Enlil-kidinnī is well attested as sender and recipient of Kassite letters. For the activities of the “House of Enlil-kidinnī” in the town Dūr-Enlilē see van Soldt 2015: 24.

a) Enlil-kidinnī’s medical correspondence

Enlil-kidinnī corresponded with healing specialists, cf. Sibbing Plantholt 2014: 172. The healer Šumu-libši sent six *ardu*-letters to Enlil-kidinnī: BE 17, 31, 32, 33, 47, CBS 7825, N 969 and PBS 1/2, 71; his colleague *Bēlu*-muballiṣ, whom Šumu-libši mentions in BE 17, 31: rev. l. 4, sent one *ardu*-letter, PBS 1/2, 72, to Enlil-kidinnī. As a response Enlil-kidinnī sent the letters BE 17, 53 and PBS 1/2, 82.¹⁵⁵ For other medical letters between provincial officials and officials who had healing functions¹⁵⁶ see Sibbing Plantholt 2014: 2014: 171-181.

The healer Šumu-libši confirms (with the exception of BE 17, 47): *a-na na-a'-re-e na-a'-ra-a-ti*¹⁵⁷ (^{MUNUS}*E-ti-ir-ti*) ù É *be-lí-ia šu-ul-mu*, “regarding the male and female singers (and regarding Ētirtu) and the house of my lord: they are in best order/health”. We can gather from this that he worked for the household of the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī, and that he cared for a number of singers. The *būt bēlīja* could also refer to the provincial household the *šandabakku* managed. In the short *bēlu*-letter PBS 1/2, 82 Enlil-kidinnī instructs Šumu-libši how to treat two male patients.

The *šandabakku* was not only the head of the province, but also held the highest religious office (*nēšakku*, *pašišu*) in Nippur. The name Šumu-libši is listed together with the temple of Gula in BE 14, 148: obv. l. 9, a list of expenditures of oil and sesame to a number of temples, to lamps of king and to the inner part of the palace (*bītānu*) in Nippur (Sassmannshausen 2001: 155, 158, fn. 2688). BE 14, 148 dates to Burna-Buriaš II year 17 (note that Enlil-kidinnī became *šandabakku* in Burna-Buriaš II year 24) and was found in the palace (WB) of Nippur. It documents expenditures from the provincial

¹⁵⁵ PBS 1/2, 82, which was addressed to Šumu-libši, and BE 17, 53 show that BE 17, 31, 32, 33, 47, N 969 and PBS 1/2, 71 were sent to the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī.

¹⁵⁶ Geller distinguishes between *asū*, “physician” and *āšipu*, “exorcist”, cf. Geller 2010: 27-33, 43-48, 56-61.

¹⁵⁷ The profession may mean musicians in general.

administration to temples in the province. Healers were under the patronage of Gula; the healer Šumu-libši may have been a healer and priest in the temple of Gula, and looked after the welfare of the “ladies of the sanctuary” (cf. Radau 1908: 37; Waschow 1936: 25). As temple official Šumu-libši may have been an exorcist. However, *Bēlu*-muballit and Šumu-libši treat their patients with poultices and potions, rituals are not mentioned. Thus, Geller (2010: 27-33, 43-48, 56-61) believes that Šumu-libši was an *asû*, a physician, who dealt with the physical side of a disease and applied drugs and used the scalpel. An exorcist would have also spoken incantations. “Šumu-libši was either an exorcist with serious medical expertise or an *asû*-physician who was called in to treat temple personnel” (Geller 2010: 70).¹⁵⁸

Šumu-libši cares for and reports about the health of thirteen sick female singers (and two men). Singers are attested both in temples and in the palace. The singers’ lives were apparently valuable enough to their “employer” to receive medical care,¹⁵⁹ and for the *šandabakku* of Nippur to take an interest in their recovery (for a detailed discussion of their symptoms see Sibbing Plantholt 2014: 176-180). Foreign singers were exchanged as precious diplomatic gifts. In the Kassite period Elamite and Subarean singers are attested at the royal court in Dūr-Kurigalzu (Ambos 2008: 502). One of Šumu-libši’s patients is identified by her ethnicity as *aḫlamītu*.¹⁶⁰ With the exception of one Hurrian name the majority of the names of the fathers of Šumu-libši’s patients appear to be Babylonian (Hölscher, 1996: 85).¹⁶¹

Apart from *Ēṭirtu* the women are referred to with their filiation (“the daughter of PN”), and not with personal names, which may imply a young age or low social status. In another damaged *ardu*-letter, CBS 7826, an unknown sender reports about the male and female singers of his lord and *Ēṭirtu*, and a horse in broken context. Young female musicians often ended up in royal harems and were actually concubines (Ziegler, 2006: 247, 349). The context of a harem is possible for the female singer whom Šumu-libši treats, who apparently shared the same quarters¹⁶² or were treated together, which may have led to the spread of a contagious disease (all girls share the same symptoms, cf. Geller 2010: 70-71). OB letters from Mari tell us about the spread of infectious diseases in the harem of the palace of king Zimri-Lim (1775-1762 BC, cf. Lafont 2001: 138; Ziegler 1999: 28-29, 69-82; ead. 2006: 245). Young female singers (*nārtum*) were among the lower classes of a harem, being supervised by a governess (Lafont, 2001: 135-136; Ziegler, 1999: 22-24, 29-30; Ziegler, 2006: 346). In the Middle Babylonian letters, *Ēṭirtu* might have been such a governess.

¹⁵⁸ *Bēlu*-muballit quotes the incipit of a medical text, and requests a number of herbs, implying that he consulted medical handbooks and/or to show off his medical expertise (Geller 2010: 71; Sibbing Plantholt 2014: 181). *Bēlu*-muballit specifically requests *nuḫurtu*-resin which may have been intended for his patient coughing up phlegm (*su’ālu*). According to STT 92: ii, l. 11, *nuḫurtu*-resin stops phlegm.

¹⁵⁹ In general, musicians, both male and female, had a high status at the royal courts of the Old Babylonian period. Šumu-libši’s patients can apparently give orders to the healing professionals (Sibbing Plantholt, 2014: 180), see BE 17, 47: obv. ll. 4-5: “they bandaged her with a poultice as (she) requested”.

¹⁶⁰ *Aḫlamītu* was also a personal name, cf. Hölscher 1996: 24, but here it is written without a personal wedge.

¹⁶¹ However, the ethnicity of a person cannot automatically be deduced from the language of their name.

¹⁶² Note that an unknown sender reports to his lord in Nippur about the installation and production of doors for the *Ē* MUNUS.ḫI.A in PBS 1/2, 44.

One of Bēlu-muballīt's patients is a king's daughter (see PBS 1/2, 72: rev. ll. 3-5), who could have lived in a palace with the harem in Babylon or in Dūr-Kurigalzu. Although it is not attested in Kassite sources (Brinkman 2004: 287), Sassmannshausen (2001: 14, 63) believes that king's daughters were NIN.DINGIR-priestesses, because it was customary from the OAkk to the NB period for kings to appoint their daughters as *entu*-priestesses. The Kassite letter PBS 1/2, 60 supports a placement of the female singers in the context of a temple, i.e. as singers in a cultic context. In PBS 1/2, 60 *pappardilû* stones of Ninlil are deposited with the daughter of Ajjāru. The daughter of Ajjāru was a patient of Šumu-libši in BE 17/1, 47: obv. l. 4 and PBS 1/2, 71: obv. l. 9. Both the daughters of Ajjāru and Huttirme (Šumu-libši's patient in BE 17, 31: rev. l. 3) appear in MRWH 40: obv. ll. 1, 7, in which eight daughters and four temples/shrines in Nippur receive amounts of something, probably barley (Petschow 1974: 90-91). Further, Enlil-kidinnī sent a *bēlu*-letter, BE 17, 78, to his subordinate Aḫūšina. The preserved lines concern no medical issue. Enlil-kidinnī gives the orders that a son of Mūrānu shall come to him, and that something shall be done by/to Abbuttānītu, the daughter of Hut[tirme (?) ...] (obv. ll. 6-7: *at-ta* ¹*Ab-bu-ut-ta*¹-*ni-ta* DUMU.MUNUS ¹*Hu-ut*¹-[*tir*²-*me*² x]-*il*¹). This could be the patient of Šumu-libši.

In PBS 1/2, 60: rev. l. 3 a golden band of Ištar is also deposited in the house of Enlil-kidinnī. It is possible that the "house of Enlil-kidinnī" could refer to the temple household(s) the *šandabakku* managed in his religious capacity. However, in a younger *aḫu*-letter to the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk, who was in office from Šagarakti-Šuriaš, year 9 (1232 BC), to Kaštiliaš IV (1232-1225), year 8 (1225 BC), the sender extends his greetings in the greeting formula not only to the house, horses, chariots of Amīl-Marduk, but also to the singers of the recipient's household (*a-na ... na-re-e aḫ-ḫi-ia* DUMU.MEŠ ¹*En-lil-ki-di-ni ... [lu šu-ul-mu]*, "for ... the singers, my brothers the sons of Enlil-kidinnī... [all shall be well]" (obv. ll. 5-9). It is not attested that Amīl-Marduk held the religious offices of the *nēšakku* or *pašīšu* (Sassmannshausen 2001: 17).

The damaged *bēlu*-letter BE 17, 53 may have been sent from Enlil-kidinnī to Šumu-libši or *Bēlu*-muballīt. It contains descriptions of sick patients' (obv. l. 18, rev. ll. 4, 9, 18) symptoms on the obverse (obv. ll. 6-19), which seem to be coughing (obv. l. 8) and something located in the breast-area (obv. ll. 6, 16), which is treated with a poultice (obv. l. 15). Šumu-libši's and *Bēlu*-muballīt's patients coughed and had abscesses on the breast out of which clear liquid oozed (see PBS 1/2, 71: obv. ll. 9-10: *i-ša-ta-tu ša ir-ti-ša zu-ta it-ta-da-a*), which is treated with a poultice. The palace official ends his letter (rev. ll. 18-19) with a demand for a report: *it-ti mar-šú-ti ṭe-em du-ut*¹-[*li*] *ul ta-šap-pa-ra-am*¹-*ma ḫi-ta* [...], "together with (a report about) the sick ones you are not going to send a report about the *dullu* work duty! An offense [...]". Šumu-libši ends to of his medical reports (N 969: rev. ll. 4-6; PBS 1/2, 71: rev. ll. 14-17) with reports about building works (brick layers), thus, this letter could be an admonition not to include non-medical topics in his reports. Šumu-libši had more than healing functions, and as possible temple official he also managed the temple restoration. One patient in BE 17, 53 is the daughter of a king (obv. l. 12), which may be a hint that the letter is from Enlil-kidinnī to *Bēlu*-muballīt, and not to Šumu-libši.

A Šumu-libši also wrote the *ardu*-letter CBS 7825 about the ploughing of fields to his lord in Nippur. The name Šumu-libši is mentioned in the Kassite letter CBS 4742: rev. ll. 21, 23 as an official responsible for *kalû* dikes in canals of Dūr-Enlil (see below “(ab) Dūr-Enlil or Dūr-Enlilē?”). The letter is sent by Lal-Ekur to his lord in Nippur; Hölscher dates a man with the name Lal-Ekur in documents from Nippur to the latter half of Burna-Buriāš’s reign and Kurigalzu II’s reign (1332-1308), which would be the time when Enlil-kidinnī was *šandabakku*. The sender Lal-Ekur also wrote the Kassite letter UM 29-16-29 to his lord, in which he lists sheep for the temples Ekur, Ekiur, Ešumeša and the temple of Nusku in Nippur (obv. ll. 5-13); it seems he had some responsibility to provide Nippurean temples with sheep. A father of an *iššakku*-farmer called Šumu-libši is attested in the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 53, which concerns fled workers from the house of Enlil-kidinnī (see below).

b) Enlil-kidinnī’s correspondence with Imguru

Enlil-kidinnī also wrote a barely preserved *bēlu*-letter, BE 17, 79, to Imguru. Something is *na-ak-su*, “cut off”, *ḥa-al-¹qá¹*, “lost, fled”, and a messenger (obv. l. 8) as well as order/report (rev. l. 4) are mentioned.

Imguru is known from three *ardu*-letters to his lord, presumably Enlil-kidinnī. Imguru assures his lord in all three letters that his house is in best order (BE 17, 22: obv. l. 4; BE 17, 23: obv. l. 3; PBS 1/2, 41: obv. l. 2). In BE 17, 22 he reports about the injured foot of a woman called Qaqqadānītu, for whom he brings the medical professional Ḫuzālu (BE 17, 22: obv. ll. 5-10). Then he reports that he baked 1300 bricks and set layers of bricks (BE 17, 22: obv. l. 11-rev. l. 1)

In BE 17, 23 Imguru reports to the *šandabakku* about his building works and the baking of bricks (obv. ll. 4-11), hoes, cutting reed (obv. ll. 12-13), and his plans to tear down a house of beds belonging to an annex of a building (obv. ll. 14-18). Imguru writes to his lord in obv. l. 19-rev. l. 8 that he searched for *ḥurḥuratu* carmine dye in Dūr-Kurigalzu for his *dullu*-work duty, where it was lacking. He also spoke in Upī to his lord (rev. l. 11) about weavers which had been detained in Panbalu, and wrote three times to his lord about it (rev. ll. 9-15). Just like Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut he seems to have been involved in the wool production, and was also localised in the east of the Tigris, in Upī and Panbalu, but also travelled to Dūr-Kurigalzu.

In PBS 1/2, 41: obv. ll. 3-13 Imguru writes that the smiths working for Imguru’s lord were unable to finish the production of braziers (*ki-nu-né-ti*) in time, although Imguru told them *ša-bat¹-ma e-pu-uš*, “Seize (=begin) it, do it!” (obv. l. 10).

obv. 11 *šu-ú an-ni-ka-a ul i-ma-an-gu-ur*

(But) here he, himself, is not following (my) order.

obv. 12 *um-ma-a du-ul-li LUGAL ṣa-ab-ta-ku*

(He said) the following: “I am (currently) seizing (=beginning) *dullu*-work duty of the king!”

This tells us that Imguru's lord, probably the *šandabakku* in Nippur, gave work supplies and orders to independent craftsmen, who could also take the royal court as a client. Both households apparently worked separately. Here the craftsmen gave preference to the work order from the king.

In PBS 1/2, 41: rev. ll. 1-12 the lord of another household shall send "one of his brothers" to the servants of Imguru's lord; Imguru predicts that this person will procrastinate and delay his *dullu*-work duty (rev. l. 11).

In rev. ll. 13-15 Imguru informs the *šandabakku* that carpenters of Ṭābtu, Šarru-Sîn and Ḫībarītu winnow (barley). This confirms Imguru's location in the northeast of the Kassite kingdom (Ḫībarītu lay near Upī). It shows that officials working in provinces far away from Nippur reported to the *šandabakku* in Nippur. In the last lines (rev. ll. 16-19) Imguru asks his lord for orders regarding canal works.

Imguru worked in a similar region as Kudurrānu and Itīša-aḫbut, who worked for the household of the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina. It would be presumptuous to assume they worked on exactly the same lands in that region, which could imply that the lands either belonged to the same temple, or were inherited in the family of the *šandabakku* (it is unclear whether Ninurta-apla-iddina was a son of Enlil-kidinnī or Enlil-AL.ŠA₆, see Sollberger 1968: 191-192).

c) Enlil-kidinnī's correspondence with Dilmun

Ilī-ippašra wrote six *aḫu*-letters from Dilmun to Enlil-kidinnī in Nippur. The letters Ni 615 and Ni 641, and the damaged fragment BE 17, 88 have been published and discussed.¹⁶³ Further, the published letter BE 17, 96 and the unpublished letters CBS 4769 and UM 29-13-600 can be attributed to Ilī-ippašra's correspondence with Enlil-kidinnī.

Ilī-ippašra addressed Enlil-kidinnī in his letters from Dilmun with the well-known hypocorism Illilīja, and referred to himself as his "brother". Potts (1986: 170) suggested that Ilī-ippašra was the governor of the province Dilmun. In Dilmun a cylinder seal of another provincial governor of the Kassite kingdom has been found (Potts 1990: 310). Potts (1986: 170) argues that the daughter of Ilī-ippašra, who is a patient of Šumu-libši in BE 17, 31: obv. ll. 15-18 and PBS 1/2, 71: rev. ll. 6-8 (cf. Sibbing Plantholt 2014: 177-178), is the daughter of the governor of Dilmun.

Potts also addresses the question why the governor of Dilmun would report to the governor of Nippur, and not to a royal official in the capital of the Kassite kingdom, Dūr-Kurigalzu or Babylon. According to him Šumu-libši took care of daughters of the elite in Nippur, which he believes is a sign that Ilī-ippašra is originally a Nippurean and writes to his acquaintance in Nippur (Potts 1986: 170-171).

¹⁶³ Cornwall 1952: 137-145; Oljdam 1997: 199-203; Potts 1986: 169-174; id. 1990: 309-313.

A son of a man called Ilī-ippašra, called Ninurta-bāni, is attested as a guarantor to keep five *amīlūtu* of Enlil-kidinnī from fleeing in BE 14, 2.¹⁶⁴ One of the witnesses, Bēl-usāti¹⁶⁵ (rev. ll. 11, 17), is listed together with Ilī-ippašra in a list of precious stones (PBS 2/2, 105: i, obv. ll. 4, 9). It seems that Ilī-ippašra's family had close relations with Enlil-kidinnī's household. The name Ilī-ippašra¹⁶⁶ in other administrative documents from Nippur (Burna-Buriaš II/Kurigalzu II) cannot be associated with Ilī-ippašra from Dilmun.

In Ni. 615: obv ll. 7-14 Ilī-ippašra writes to the *šandabakku* in Nippur that he had sent a man, possibly a merchant (Olijdam 1997: 200), to Babylon; a woman¹⁶⁷ belonging to that merchant had begun travelling from Dilmun without his consent. This implies that the Kassite administration in the provinces monitored travelling caravans (according to other letters they wanted to acquire gold from caravans in exchange of goods), travelling had to be authorised, and unauthorised travelling was reported. Ilī-ippašra himself announces that he plans to travel in the 6th month (*elūlu*) to Babylon. Note that Ilī-ippašra does not inform the governor of Nippur that he, the merchant or the woman will travel to Nippur, but that they will travel to a different province, Babylon — probably because the *šandabakku*'s office was the highest office in the kingdom.

In obv ll. 13-16 Ilī-ippašra reports a problem: the Aḫlamû surrounding him robbed him of dates, and he is helpless. According to Olijdam (1997: 200-201) dates “were part of the redistribution system (in as much as they constituted the main ingredient of the Dilmun diet) and they probably formed the bulk of the agricultural taxes sent to Nippur” (see also Potts 1990: 299-301). Olijdam (1997: 200) believes that Ilī-ippašra travelled to Babylon to meet with the king because of his troubles with the Aḫlamû.

Ilī-ippašra had also written the letter BE 17, 88, of which only a fragment is preserved. In BE 17, 88: obv. l. 6 he writes about a *tēm šarri ša*, “the written order of the king which”, which may also be the reason for his planned journey to Babylon (Olijdam 1997: 201). It is unclear whether Babylon or Dūr-Kurigalzu were primary residence of the Kassite kings (Brinkman 2004: 287, fn. 26). Thus, the reason for Ilī-ippašra's journey remains a speculation.

In Ni. 615: obv. l. 17-rev. l. 5 Ilī-ippašra reports about building works; first he lists town names, presumably located on Dilmun (obv. ll. 17-19), then he writes that a temple is old (obv. ll. 20-22). The temple name is illegible. Ilī-ippašra then reports that someone had dreamt about the completion of the É.GAL (rev. ll. 2-5). Although É.GAL means palace, Olijdam (1997: 201) suggested that this was the

¹⁶⁴ In BE 14, 2, which dates to Burna-Buriaš II year 6, i.e. before Enlil-kidinnī had become *šandabakku*, Enlil-kidinnī detained his own (?) five *amīlūtu* (a family, obv. ll. 1-8). The son of Ilī-ippašra, Ninurta-bāni, and another man, guaranteed that the five *amīlūtu* of Enlil-kidinnī would not flee (“Stillesitzbürgschaft”), and offered to pay a reparation in case they would flee (obv. l. 9-rev. l. 4).

¹⁶⁵ Note that Bēl-usāti is mentioned in the same context as Enlil-kidinnī in the letter PBS 1/2, 60: rev. ll. 3-5. PBS 1/2, 60 concerns precious stones and jewellers belonging to goddesses.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. BE 14, 10: obv. l. 5; D 85 (MSKH: Q.2.115.168; Donbaz, SCCNH 2: 72); PBS 2/2, 111: rev. ll. 4-5; PBS 2/2, 130: iii, 55', iv, 77' (*Šamaš-šulūlī ša Ilī-ippašra*).

¹⁶⁷ Cornwall (1952: 144) and Potts (1990: 311) emend the name of the woman to [*Su*]-*te-tu* (a Sutean). Olijdam (1997: 200) emends the name [*Ku*]-*te-tu*.

name of the temple. However, in the rest of the letter Ilī-ippašra writes about the restoration of a temple, not of a palace (cf. also Potts 1990: 313). In Failaka, where Kassite period palace structures were found, and where the Dilmunite god Inzak was worshipped, Kassite period seal inscriptions refer to a temple called É.GAL.GU.LA (“Great Palace”; Potts 1990: 271, 293). Another inscription from Failaka probably refers to a temple called [É].GAL-^d*In-za-ak* (Potts 1990: 287); see further examples in Potts 1990: 293. This shows that on other islands in the Gulf region (cf. Potts 1990: 287) temples could be referred to as É.GAL.

The next lines make clear that Ilī-ippašra needs the approval of the king and the help of the *šandabakku* to contact third parties, who shall send workers and repair his temple (in rev. ll. 6-18). It seems an abandoned temple was a serious religious issue and needed the involvement of the *šandabakku* in Nippur. Nashef (1986: 342) suggested that Ilī-ippašra may have assumed that the robberies of the Aḫlamû angered the gods and led to the decay of the temple.

In his letter Ni. 641: obv. l. 12-b.e. l. 2 Ilī-ippašra reports to Enlil-kidinnī that he has been negotiating with the Aḫlamû, but that they are hostile (*ša na-ka-ri*) and threaten to rob him (*ù ḫa-ba-ti-im-ma it-ti-ia lu i-da-^rab-bu¹-bu*). The last lines (rev. ll. 4-6) require a collation (see differing readings in CAD U/W: 45b, s.v. *uḫinnu* 44b-47a ; Cornwall 1952: 145; Olijdam 1997: 202)

Of the damaged unpublished *aḫu*-letter CBS 4769 only the first four lines of the address- and greeting formula are preserved, which tell us that the sender was Ilī-ippašra and the recipient was Illillīja (Enlil-kidinnī). On the reverse rev. ll. 4-6 we learn that “[he ?] has sent two weapons and [...] to me” (2 ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *ù* [...] ^r*il¹-tap-ra-ni*). The sending of weapons may be related to Ilī-ippašra’s problems with the Aḫlamû.

In BE 17, 96: obv. l. 1’ part of the greeting formula of *aḫu*-letters is preserved ([DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* NI.TUK]^{KI} *na-ap-ša-^rti¹-[ka li-iš-šu-ru]*), but not Ilī-ippašra’s usual wish that the gods of Dilmun shall protect the recipient. According to obv. ll. 9’-11’, the sender, probably Ilī-ippašra, sent dates from Dilmun to Amala until the month *nisannu* (1st month; *a-di* ^{ITU}BÁRA.ZAG.GAR ZÚ.^rLUM^r *ul-^rtu^r* [...] ^{URU}SAL.TUK^{KI} *a-na* ^{URU}*A-ma-la* ^r*áš¹-[pu-ur-ma (?)]*). The sender arrived somewhere, probably in Amala (obv. ll. 3’-4’), and mentions cultivated fields in the area (obv. l. 5’). The next part concerns not executed building activities (obv. l. 6’: *ul ib-ni*), the fortification of Amala (obv. l. 7’), and a famine (obv. l. 8’: *i-na bu-bu-ú-ti*). In rev. ll. 4-5 we learn that currently (?) enough food is available in a town (*a-ka-li i-ba-áš-ši* *ù* URU^{KI} ^r*i¹-[...]* *ù* DUMU.MEŠ URU^{KI} *im-ma i-ba-al-lu-^rtu¹(-)[ú[?] ...]*, “my/the food is available, and the town [...] and the sons of the town are going to live”). Ilī-ippašra, however, is worried, and asks what will be left/available in case he has not come to Amala in the month *ulūlu* (6th month). He predicts that [...] URU^{KI} *na-du-ú*, “[...] and the town will be neglected” (rev. ll. 7-8). Mentioning the fortification twice, Ilī-ippašra also predicts that people will go out and walk away (rev. ll. 9’-11’).

Ilī-ippašra was apparently responsible for the provision of Amala, which is not located (Nashef 1982: 28). Although Ilī-ippašra may have been the governor of Dilmun, Amala is not located in Dilmun, since the dates have to be delivered from Dilmun to Amala. We have already learned in Ni. 615 that Ilī-ippašra travelled to Babylon; in BE 17, 96 we learn that he also travelled to Amala. In both letters he informs the provincial administration in Nippur about his travel plans.

The unpublished letter UM 29-13-600 is another letter from Ilī-ippašra to Enlil-kidinnī. The address-formula (i.e. names of sender and recipient), and the first part of the greeting formula (*ana kâša lū šulmu*) are missing. In the second part of the greeting formula of UM 29-13-600 the sender asks Inzak and Meskilak, the gods of Dilmun, to protect the recipient (obv. ll. 1'-5'). Ilī-ippašra uses exactly the same greeting formula in Ni. 615: obv. ll. 4-6 and Ni. 641: obv. ll. 7-11. Furthermore, the sender of UM 29-13-600 reports on the reverse ll. 2-4 that [...] 'Aḥ¹-la-mu-'ú I-en' [...] iṣ]-ša-ab-tu-ma [a]-'na¹ BÂD-Ku-ri-gal-zu [...], "they have seized one Aḥlamû [...] to Dūr-Kurigalzu [...]". Since Ilī-ippašra had reported about problems with Aḥlamû in Dilmun to Enlil-kidinnī, it is likely that this letter was written by Ilī-ippašra to Enlil-kidinnī, as well. In obv. ll. 6-8 Ilī-ippašra mentions his merchants (DAM.GÂR-ú-a-a). Most of the letter is too damaged to provide us with any information.¹⁶⁸

Unfortunately Ilī-ippašra's letters from Dilmun do not tell us which office he held. He restored a temple on the island, and communicated with the king, as well as with the provincial governor of Nippur. The reasons for the *šandabakku*'s involvement in Dilmun is unclear. A personal relationship based on a common past in Nippur, as proposed by Potts, is a speculation. It is unclear whether he was a provincial governor (as has been proposed) and/or a temple official, which is equally possible. As a temple official he may have been responsible for restoration work on a temple in Dilmun as well as the date palms of a grant belonging to the temple, and communicated for that reason with Enlil-kidinnī, who also held the religious office of the *nēšakku* of Enlil in Nippur. His daughter may have been a singer in "Enlil-kidinnī's household" (a temple in Nippur?).

d) Enlil-kidinnī's correspondence with Assur

Three Kassite letters were sent from Assur to the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī: BE 17, 77, 91 and Ni 669, cf. von Soden 1957-1958: 368-371; Faist 2001: 19-20, 209-211, fn. 44, 236-237, fn. 156.

The (future ?) Assyrian king Ellil-nārāri (Faist 2001: 21) wrote the *bēlu*-letter BE 17, 91 to Enlil-kidinnī. BE 17, 91 lacks any greeting-formula. Ellil-nārāri uses the address-formula applied in MA letters and in Kassite *bēlu*-letters when the sender is higher ranking than the recipient (see above): 'a-na 'I-lī-[li-ia] qī-bi-'ma¹ um-ma 'dEn-<līl>-ÉRIN.TAḤ-ma. Ellil-nārāri does not refer to himself as a king, and addresses Enlil-kidinnī with a hypocorism, which was most common in Kassite *aḥu*-letters. Just as in Kassite *bēlu*-letters Ellil-nārāri uses imperatives (obv. l. 8, rev. l. 1: *še-bi-la*, "send!") to give orders to

¹⁶⁸ In obv. ll. 7-8 we learn that "they (pl. f) are removed" (*malhā*), and "regarding them: they are fine (*ana šāšumu šulmu*). In rev. ll. 5-8 Ilī-ippašra mentions someone's brothers, that he bought something, and that something was lacking.

the subordinate *šandabakku*. The letter lacks any polite expressions of brotherhood visible in contemporary Amarna-letters, and solely focuses on the exchange of goods. The Assyrian king lists what he sends (jewellery with precious stones and a hairpin, for details see Faist 2001: 20-21, fns. 38-40, 43), and states what he expects in return (chair covers), including alternatives (60 thick clothes) in cases the desired goods are not available. Administrative documents from Nippur, CBS 3235 and 3776, seem to show that luxury items were given to a messenger of Ellil-nārāri when he was still crown prince, and not yet king. The texts possibly date to Burna-Buriaš's II years 25 (1335) and 27 (1333, cf. van Soldt 1997: 97-104), i.e. at least seven years before Ellil-nārāri became king (1326-1317, cf. Brinkman 2017: 26 and Gasche et al. 1998: pl. 4). In CBS 3235 and 3776 a belt out of red wool and other luxury items are given to a messenger of Ellil-nārāri.

In Ni. 669 Ellil-nārāri appears to use the same address-formula typical for *bēlu*-letters as he does in BE 17, 91, but expresses his higher rank even more explicitly with two appositions: he seems to designate Enlil-kidinnī with the apposition [ARAD]-ia, “my servant”, and himself with the apposition *šār KUR-ka-ma*, “your king of the lands”¹⁶⁹ (cf. von Soden 1957-1958: 370). This is followed by the greeting formula known from Amarna-letters and Kassite *aḫu*-letters: [*a-na ka-ša*] É-ka à *a-na pa-ḫa-ti-ka* [lú-u] ʾšul¹-mu, “For you, your house and for your province all shall be well!” (obv. ll. 4-5). The sender uses the polite international greeting formula applied among kings regarding each other as equals, but adapts it to the position of the recipient as provincial governor by addressing his *pā/ḫātu*, “province”. The letter is damaged. According to obv. l. 12-rev. l. 3 (*na-ka-ru* [*a-na*] ʾKUR¹ Aš-šur [...] 2-šu 3-šu *e-ni-ú-[ni]* *a-na ŠÀ-bi* KUR-[*su-nu*] *i-tal-la-ku*, “The enemies changed the borders to the land Aššur [...] two to three times. To their land they have gone away”), and rev. ll. 6-10 (*a-na šu-mi-ka a-na-ku ma-šar-ta i-na mu-ḫi-šu-nu a-ša-ka-an-ma*, “Because of you I, personally, have placed guards on you”) the main part seems to concern hostile attacks in Assyrian territory (Lullubeans ?), and the Assyrian king agrees to protect Babylonian traders on Assyrian territory (cf. Faist 2001: 236, fn. 156; Freydank 1996: 68). Further, the Assyrian king is unable to give tin to the Kassites, because “enemies” withheld it (obv. l. 11: [*a-na*]-ʾku¹ *i-šu*, “[ti]n is lacking”, and rev. ll. 4-5: *a-na-ka ú-kal-la-mu* ʾDIRI *ia¹-a-nu*, “They are withholding tin, a surplus is lacking”).

BE 17, 77 is a letter from Aššur-mušešib, an Assyrian eponym, to a *šandabakku* in Nippur. It is unclear whether the recipient is Enlil-kidinnī, or his successor Enlil-AL.ŠA₆.¹⁷⁰ Of the address-formula *a-na* ¹*En-lil*-[*ki-di-ni*/AL.ŠA₆] *qí-bi*-[*ma um-ma*] ¹*A-šur-mu*KAR is preserved (obv. ll. 1-3), the word [ŠEŠ-

¹⁶⁹ *Šar mātātika* is a conventional expression, and does not express “the king of your land”, i.e. that the Assyrian king called himself the king of the Kassite kingdom. The use of the possessive suffix *-ka* (2nd ps. sg.) seems to derive from the common address formula of the Amarna-letters between “equal” kings: *ana* PN₁ *šar māt* X *aḫija qibima umma* PN₂ *šar māt* Y *aḫuka*, “to PN₁, the king of X, my brother, thus says PN₂, the king of Y, your brother”. Von Soden (1957-1958: 370) emends *umma* in obv. l. 3. However, Ellil-nārāri may have applied and reversed the order of the phrases of the MA address-formula from subordinates to higher ranking recipients (*ana* PN₁ *bēlīja tuppi* PN₂ *urđika*) to clearly express the hierarchy: “To PN₁, my servant, the tablet of PN₂, your king”.

¹⁷⁰ Aššur-mušešib, son of Kidin-Ellil, was in office under Adad-nārāri I (1305-1275) or Salmanassar I (1274-1246) cf. Faist 2001: 210, fn. 45, pl. 1. Enlil-kidinnī was in office from Burna-Buriaš II year 24 and Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ was in office from Nazi-maruttaš, year 8 (1300).

ka], “your brother” is emended (cf. Faist 2001: 2001, fn. 44). The greeting formula is the same as in Ni. 669. The legible text may concern the protection of Babylonian traders in Assyria: *[a]-na gi-ir-ri [...]-an-ni ša la [... a]-na DUMU ši-[ip-ri-ia/ka (?) al]-^rtap¹-ra-^rak¹-[ku ...]*, “[r]egarding the caravan [...] to me, which not [...] r]egarding my/your messenger [...] I] have placed [for you ...]” (BE 17, 77: obv. ll. 7-10).

The fact that the crown prince and later the king of the Assyrian kingdom (Ellil-nārāri) corresponded with the *šandabakku* of Nippur confirms the high position of the *šandabakku*, which may have exceeded that of a provincial governor. His correspondence with the Assyrian crown prince (and eponym) implies that he had a similar rank in Babylonia, i.e. the highest office below the king.

e) An *aḫu*-letter to Enlil-kidinnī

The name of the sender of the *aḫu*-letter to Illīja (Enlil-kidinnī), BE 17, 92, is completely broken off. The high-ranking official, most likely a royal official, considered himself equal to the *šandabakku* and addressed him in the 2nd ps. sg. (poss. suff. and finite verb forms) and even with imperatives. The sender apparently had some control over the town Pī-nāri, which lay near Nippur,¹⁷¹ since he informs Enlil-kidinnī that the tents (perhaps, of semi-nomadic people who were herding animals ?) had been carried away (rev. ll. 14-15).

In broken context the sender complains that Enlil-kidinnī has gone too far away from him, so that the *šandabakku*’s messengers have problems reaching him (?), and that the king expects (?) his *biltu*-levy, and keeps writing to him repeatedly (obv. ll. 5-8). BE 17, 92, thus, confirms that the *šandabakku* was travelling. The following lines concern barley (obv. l. 9, rev. l. 2), *bēl pīḫāti*-officials who do not agree on something (obv. ll. 10-11, rev. l. 4), poured out barley (obv. l. 14), i.e. yield from the field collected for redistribution (cf. *tabku* in headings of administrative lists), and a journey to a man called Amurru- [...] (b.e. l. 2). Enlil-kidinnī’s “brother” orders Enlil-kidinnī to give someone else a written order: *ṭe₄-e-ma šu-kun*, “Place a written order!” (rev. l. 5). As soon as a barley delivery arrives at Enlil-kidinnī’s place, Enlil-kidinnī shall send a report to the sender of the letter (rev. ll. 6-8). The sender wants to collect the *šibšu*-levy *a-na LUGAL*, “for the king” (rev. l. 9), and suggests to draw up their account together *ù NÍG.ŠID-ni it-ti a-ḫa-mi-iš i ni-pu-uš-ma* (rev. ll. 10-11). The sender writes: “I shall collect levies, and I shall compensate you!” (*lu-si-ir-ma lu-še-li-in-ga*). It is unclear why the sender wants to “satisfy” or “compensate” Enlil-kidinnī. Perhaps, the “brother” was “hired” to collect levies - in the OB period investors expected that accounts were drawn up of the what had been done by merchants with their investment, so they would receive their investment back and the agreed upon part of the profit (Stol 2004: 882-883). We can expect some cotractual agreement between Enlil-kidinnī’s “brother” and Enlil-kidinnī which resulted in the account that the “brother” wanted to draw up. The *šibšu*-levy, as part of the *telītu*-revenues, was collected for the king by the towns and provinces. As a provincial governor,

¹⁷¹ In BE 14, 114 Bīt-I’irti lay between Pī-nāri and Kār-Baba, which lay near Nippur, cf. Nashef 1982: 60, 152.

Enlil-kidinnī was ultimately responsible for the collection of levies from his province of Nippur. It is possible that the sender wanted to compensate Enlil-kidinnī, because he collected *šibšu*-levy which Enlil-kidinnī usually collected. The expenditure to the sender would be listed in the joint account which the sender wants to draw up together with Enlil-kidinnī.

f) Enlil-kidinnī and cult objects

The letter PBS 1/2, 60 mentions the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. It shows that not all letters were sent from and to the *šandabakku*. PBS 1/2, 60 informs us that the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī was involved in the deposition of cult objects from temples of female goddesses (Ninlil and Ištar). His involvement may be explained with his office of the *nēšakku* of Enlil and *pašišu* of Ninlil.

The sender and recipient of the letter PBS 1/2, 60 are unknown; it may be an *ardu*- or *aḫu*-letter, since the recipient is both addressed in the 2nd ps.sg. and as “my lord” (*al-tap-ra-ak-ku*, “I have sent to you”, and *be-lí i-na bi-ri ... iš-pu-ru-ni*, “(and after) my lord, during divination ... had sent to me”; rev. ll. 5, 6, 7). The sender is probably a priest, since he practices *bīru*, “divination”, and since he sees something in a dream:

obv. 7	[i]- ^r na ¹ ^{ITU} DU ₆ .KÙ <i>i-na</i> SAG <i>ar-ḫi</i>	In the month <i>du'ūzu</i> (4 th month), at the beginning of the month,
obv. 8	<i>i-na šu-ut-ti-ia</i> 1 LÚ <i>i-da-bu-ub</i>	in my dream one man was speaking.
rev. 1	<i>šar-rù a-na ma-ḫar</i> ^d En-lil-ki-di-ni	After the king had sent (a letter) to Enlil-kidinnī,
rev. 2	<i>ki iš-pu-ru</i> ^{1dr} Nin-gír ²¹ -[^{su?}]-ti-kal	(and) as soon as Nin[girsu (?)]-tikal
rev. 3	<i>ḫi-i-iš</i> KÙ.SI ₂₂ <i>ša</i> ^d Iš8-tár <i>i-na</i> ^d En-lil-ki-di-ni	carried the gold necklace of Ištar to the house
rev. 4	<i>it-ta-šu-ni</i> ¹ Be-el-ú-sà-a-ti	of Enlil-kidinnī,
rev. 5a	<i>al-tap-ra-ak-ku</i>	I sent Bēl-usāti to you.

Note that the name Bēl-usāti appears with the name Ilī-ippašra in a list of precious stones and mountings in PBS 2/2, 105: i, obv. ll. 4, 9, which concerns the deposition of lapis lazuli and *pappardilū* stones of the goddess Ninlil with the daughter of Ajjāru (obv. ll. 1-5). Enlil-kidinnī had enquired about the health of the daughter of Ajjāru and received reports from the physician Šumu-libši in BE 17/1, 47: obv. l. 4 and PBS 1/2, 71: obv. l. 9.

g) Enlil-kidinnī in other Kassite letters

ga) A Kassite letter about Enlil-kidinnī's slave purchases

The *ardu*-letter BE 17, 55 was written by a merchant who purchased *šeḫḫerūtu*,¹⁷² “young” (ones), “servants” (cf. AHw: 1088b; CAD Š: 174b-176b) for the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. The letter, however,

¹⁷² Possibly related to *suḫurtū*, “adolescents” (DUMU.TUR.MEŠ), “a class or profession”, cf. CAD Š: 237b-238a; Sassmannshausen 2001: 122-123. They are reminiscent of Ur III TUR.TUR-dab₅-ba, “seized adolescents” (also “staatliche Dienstleute im Sklavenstand”, cf. Falkenstein 1956-1957: 97-98; Neumann 1979: 36). In an Ur III document (ITT III, 6545) eight responsible overseers of TUR.TUR-dab₅-ba, including a merchant, are obliged to catch escaped TUR.TUR-dab₅-ba-people, and bring them back to the palace. Merchants were sent to return escaped slaves in the Ur III period, cf. Neumann 1979: 35, fns. 149-151.

is not written to the *šandabakku*, but it is a report to someone else. The merchant was apparently held accountable by someone in the palace of Nippur, to whom he reported what had happened with his last purchase objects. The official to whom he sent his report was neither the *šandabakku* nor the king, although the purchased adolescents were explicitly those belonging to Enlil-kidinnī. This may imply that a province official in the palace had an interest in the slave purchases of Enlil-kidinnī, and could be interpreted as the reason for archiving this report, but also for the scrutinization of Enlil-kidinnī's deliveries of purchased workforce.

Several purchase records from the governor Enlil-kidinnī, and a sealed list of his legal actions of ca. 20 years show that the governor Enlil-kidinnī bought a number of slaves (Petschow 1983: 143-155). For a detailed discussion and list of slave purchases see Petschow (1974: 45-49; 1982: 143-155).

In the Kassite suretyship document BE 14, 2 five people (obv. ll. 1-5) are first designated as NAM.LÚ.ÚR (= *amīlūtu*; obv. l. 6) and as ARAD *ša* ^{1d}*En-lil-ki-di-ni*, “slaves of Enlil-kidinnī”, who are then detained in the house of Enlil-kidinnī. In several slave purchase documents the term *amīlūtu* is either used instead, or parallel to other terms for slaves, such as *ardu* (Steinert 2012: 93, fn. 9285; see BE 14, 7; PBS 8/2, 162). Personnel was also purchased in groups. In the purchase documents from Nippur (as opposed to those from Ur), the purchased people are categorised by the same sex-age designations as the servile population on the large rosters, and by many of the same collective terms such as *qinnu*, “family” (Petschow 1983: 154), and *amīlūtu*, (Tenney 2011: 31-33). The people, whom Enlil-kidinnī buys, are referred to with the same sex-age-classifications (MUNUS.TUR, GURUŠ.TUR, DAM.A.NI, for instance, cf. BE 14, 7; PBS 8/2, 162; Petschow 1983, 144-145).

In Kassite administrative and legal documents persons called *amīlu* or *amīlūtu* can be associated with the servile labouring population of Nippur, including slaves (Brinkman 1980: 21; Steinert 2012: 93, fn. 285).¹⁷³ According to Tenney (2011: 129) *amīlūtu* had “two basic functions in Middle Babylonian; it can serve as a collective designation for a group of persons or as an abstract term for civil/social status.” Administrative documents, such as expenditure lists found in the palace of Nippur show that *amīlūtu*, who belong to persons, temples, and to the inner palace area (*būtānu*), receive rations (Steinert 2012: 93, fn. 285).¹⁷⁴ The term *amīlūtu* appears in large multi-column as well as single column administrative rosters attributing rations to the servile labouring population of Nippur. Lists of provisions tell us that a number of these low-status servile labourers (part of them were foreigners, cf. Brinkman 1980: 20; id. 2004, 284-285; Paulus 2014d: 83, fn. 176; Sassmannshausen 2001: 130-151; Tenney 2011: 51, 121-129) worked in food preparation (for example, as millers and brewers), and belonged to the palace

Among the *érin*-workers/soldiers in Ur III Lagaš was a group-of-ten of *érin-tur-tur*, a classification according to their military roles, or who may have been underage *érin*-workers/soldiers. A *šeš-gal* “seized” each group of ten (*i-dab₅*), see Maekawa 1976: 16-18, fn. 2.

¹⁷³ “The word has two basic functions in Middle Babylonian; it can serve as a collective designation for a group of persons or as an abstract term for civil/social status.” (Tenney 2011: 129)

¹⁷⁴ Paulus (2014c: 244) believes that the organisation and provision of the workforce in Kassite Nippur resembled the Ur III period.

personnel, i.e. palace servants, gatekeepers, porters, and guards, and in the textile production, i.e. as weavers, and carders of wool (cf. Brinkman 1980: 19-20; Paulus 2014c: 218; Tenney 2011: 98-104). In the Kassite letters, mobile work crews, so-called *šābu*, Sumerian ÉRIN, appear in the context of different geographic regions. If the ÉRIN of the letters are the same groups of workers as the *amīlūtu* listed in the rosters, then, perhaps, an argument can be made for mobile work crews.

In BE 17, 55 a man called Pilandu questions the legitimacy of Enlil-kidinnī's purchase and detains the purchased adolescents. One of the merchants, who is the sender of the letter, complains to Enlil-kidinnī, who in turn complains to the king. The king orders a third person, the son of Udašaš, who has authority over Pilandu, to make "them" release the detained adolescents. Both the merchants and *šeḫherūtu ša Enlil-kidinnī*, "the adolescents of Enlil-kidinnī", shall be sent to him. A messenger of the king comes and brings the writer of the letter together with the purchase adolescents to the king.

obv. 2'b	ù lu DUMU.TUR.[MEŠ ...]	and be it the adolescents,
obv. 3'	ša na-ša-nu li-il-ta-'a-a-lu um-ma-a i-na [x x x]	whom we are bringing, they shall repeatedly ask (them) the following: "In/from [...]
obv. 4'	ma-ti ša-a'-ma-tu-nu ù DUMU.TUR.MEŠ na-ša-nu-ma	when were you bought?" And the adolescents, whom we are bringing,
obv. 5'	DUMU ¹ Pi-la-an-du še-eḫ-ḫe-ru-ti ki i-ki-ma-na-ši	after the son of Pilandu had taken the adolescents away from us,
obv. 6'	ki-i ni-il-li-ku a-na ^{1d} En-lil-ki-din-ni	(and) after we had gone to Enlil-kidinnī,
obv. 7'	ni-iq-ta-bi ^{1d} En-lil-ki-din-ni a-na LUGAL	we told (it). After Enlil-kidinnī,
obv. 8'	ki-i iq-bu-ú LUGAL DUMU ¹ U-da-ša-aš	had told (it) to the king, the king placed (=gave) a (written) order to the son of Udašaš:
obv. 9'	te-ma il-ta-ka-an um-ma-a šu-pu-ur-ma	The following: "Send (a letter), and
obv. 10'	^{LU} DAM.GAR.MEŠ ù DUMU.TUR.MEŠ	send the merchants and the adolescents
b.e. 1	ša ^{1d} En-lil-ki-di-ni šu-pu-ur-ma	of Enlil-kidinnī, and
b.e. 2	li-mi-iš-ši-ru-ni	they shall release them!"
rev. 1	DUMU šip-ri ¹ LUGAL ¹ a-na mu-uš-šu-ri-ni	After the messenger of the king had come to us to release us,
rev. 2	ki-i il-li-ka šu-ú ki ú-še-bi-ta-na-ši	and after he had seized us,
rev. 3	a-na mu-uḫ LUGAL ul-te-bi-la-na-ši	he sent us to the king.

In rev. ll. 4-12 the narrative is repeated by the king and by the son of Udašaš. The merchant appears to validate his story by repeating the direct speech of the king and the official who released them. Udašaš and Pilandu notably bear Kassite names.

Enlil-kidinnī's involvement in the slave trade may be mentioned in a badly damaged sealed tablet N 930+934 (cf. Zimmermann 2021). N 930+934: obv. ll. 2 and 4 mention a head (?) and possibly the *abbuttu* hairstyle (for slaves), followed by the name Enlil-kidinnī. The tablet is damaged, and the beginning as well as large pieces of its right side of the tablet are missing. N 930+934 mentions *šībūtu*, "witnesses" three times (obv. ll. 8, 15, 16), so it is likely that the tablet contains an account of a legal dispute.

gb) BE 17, 18

Enlil-kidinnī is mentioned in the badly damaged *ardu*-letter BE 17, 18. The obverse and rev. ll. 1-5 concern ploughing, seeding and levying. The letter is largely destroyed:

obv. 13	[...] ŠE <i>la i-ba</i> ¹ <i>aq²-qa-ru</i> ¹	[... because of (?)] the barley they are not going to make a claim (?)
obv. 14	[...] ¹ NUMUN ²¹ <i>i-iš²</i>	the see[ds ...] are too few (?)
obv. 15	[...] ¹ NUMUN ¹ <i>e-la-a</i> ¹⁷⁵	[...with (?) the s]eeds I (had/will) came/come up
obv. 16	[...] (-) <i>de-ki</i>	[...] is levied (?) ¹⁷⁶
obv. 17	[...] ^{KI?} <i>e-la-a</i>	[... out of/to] ... (toponym) I had come up
obv. 18	[...] <i>de-ki</i>	[...] is levied.
obv. 19	[... URU]-GIBIL ^{KI177} <i>e-la-a</i>	[... out of/to Ālu]-eššu I had come up
obv. 20	[...] ¹ ša ²¹ <i>de-ki</i>	[...] ¹ which ¹ is levied.
rev. 1	[...] SAĜ.DU.MEŠ A.ŠÀ.MEŠ ¹ u ¹ [i]- ¹ ma- <i>ha¹-šu</i>	[...] They will not pl[ou]gh the (fallow) fields.
rev. 2	[...] ŠE.NUMUN <i>ma-li</i> [...]	[...] is filled with seeds. [...]
rev. 3	[... <i>i-na² ma²</i>]- ¹ le ²¹ - <i>e u¹h¹-u¹-ur</i> [...]	[...] ... [...] remained.
rev. 4	[... <i>a-na²</i>] ^{URU} URDU-NIN ^{KI} <i>at-ta-ši</i>	[...] I have brought [... to/of] Arad-Bēlti
rev. 5	[... <i>a-na² En</i>]- ¹ li ¹ ^{KI} <i>at-ta-ša-a</i>	[... to/of Nip]pur I have brought here

Enlil-kidinnī is mentioned in the context of *dimtu*-forts, apparently staffed by military troops from Akkade,¹⁷⁸ Nippur and Arad-bēltī (unlocated, cf. rev. ll. 4-11). This implies that the *šandabakku* was involved in the fortification, provision of (?) and movement of troops. These military fortifications were probably maintained because Kurigalzu II, who had been installed as a king after a revolt, had to fight a “nobody” who attacked Nippur together with allies from Dēr, and murdered Nippureans in the temple Esagildingirene, or with Kurigalzu’s II victory over the Elamite Ĥurbatila (Paulus 2014a: 70-71). In any case Kurigalzu II was involved in warfare and this may have been the explanation for the mention of the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī in the context of the fortification, movement or provision (?) of military troops from Nippur.

rev. 6	[... <i>d</i>]- <i>ma-a-ti Ni-ip-pu-ri-i</i>	[...the <i>d</i>] <i>imtu</i> forts of the Nippureans
rev. 7	[... ¹ dEn-lil ²]- <i>ki-di-ni i-iš²¹</i>	[... of Enlil]-kidinnī is too little.
rev. 8	[...] <i>ša</i> DUMU ¹ Man-nu-ki- ^d <i>Sukkal</i> ¹⁷⁹	[...] of the son of Mannu-kī-Sukkal
rev. 9	[...] <i>id-ma i-ip-pu-šu</i>	[...] and they will do.
rev. 10	[...] <i>Ak-ka-di-i ša di-ma-a-¹tu⁴</i>	[...] the Akkadians of the <i>dimtu</i> forts
rev. 11	[...] <i>di-i-ma-tu ku-bur-re-e ik-te-ši-ir</i>	[...] of the <i>dimtu</i> forts their thickness he has repeatedly repaired.

The rest of the letter seems to concern the building of boats, a legal agreement involving a sealed tablet, *iššakku*-farmers of the town Āl-rē’i, which the sender manages, and the distribution of resources.

rev. 12	[...] <i>at-ta-di</i>	[...] I have thrown down/neglected.
rev. 13	[...] ¹ im ² - <i>ši-na¹ ia-a-nu</i>	[...] ¹ their (f.) ¹ [...] is lacking.
rev. 14	[...] <i>i el-la-a</i>	[... to ...] I will come up.
rev. 15	[...] <i>id-di-na-am-ma</i> ^{GIŠ} MÁ.MEŠ <i>lu-pu-¹u¹š¹</i>	[... (after)] he had given to me [...], I shall build the boats.
rev. 16	[...] <i>ši-na a-na I₇ at-ta-du-ú</i>	[...] I have launched them (f. pl.)/two [...] (boats) into the river. ¹⁸⁰
rev. 17	[... <i>i</i>]- ¹ nam ¹ - <i>di-nu-ni ku-nu-uk-ki-ia lu na-¹š¹u¹-[ú]</i>	[...] (which) he/they will to me, (and) my sealed tablet shall be brought!

¹⁷⁵ The present tense/durative is not always written with double-l.

¹⁷⁶ (-)*de-ki* may be part of a longer word.

¹⁷⁷ cf. Nashef 1982: 19.

¹⁷⁸ The localisation of Akkade is still debated; in the Late/NB period attestations of Akkade come from the archives of the Ebabbar of Sippar and a location in the lower Diyala region near Sippar has been proposed (cf. Beaulieu 1989: 44-46; Durand, Joannès 1988: 51-52; Zadok 1985: 4-5).

¹⁷⁹ Hölscher (1996: 269) reads Papsukkal. From the Kassite period onward the deity Nin-šubur/Ilabrat is replaced with Papsukkal; in MB names Sukkal alternates with Papsukkal (cf. Wiggermann 1998-2000: 492).

¹⁸⁰ cf. CAD N/1: 80, s.v. *nadū*.

rev. 18	[... <i>lu</i>]- <i>ul-qá-am-ma lu-ud-di-in</i>	[... I shall] take and I shall give.
rev. 19	[...] 'ÉNSI'.MEŠ <i>ša URU-SIPA^{K1} at-tu-^rú-a¹</i>	[... the <i>iššakku</i> farmers (?) of the town Āl-rē'i, which belongs to me,
rev. 20	[...] <i>i-na dā-ši gu-um-mu-ra</i>	[...] both of them/they (f.) have finished threshing
rev. 21	[...] <i>i-na ŠÀ 2 ki az-ru-ú</i>	[...] when I had scattered it in the middle of the second one (?),
rev. 22	[...] ^r <i>it¹-ta-al-ku-ni</i>	[... then th]ey came to me
rev. 23	[...]ÉNSI [?]].MEŠ <i>ša Kan-du-re-e</i>	[... the <i>iššakku</i> farmers] of Kandurû
rev. 24	[...] <i>it-ta-al-ku-ni</i>	[...] then they came to me
rev. 25	[...] <i>a-na mu-uh^h-hi be-lí-ia</i>	[...] before my lord
b.e. 1	[...] <i>a</i> [...]	[...]

gc) Enlil-kidinnī in other letters

PBS 1/2, 53 is an *ardu*-letter from Ikūna to his lord in Nippur, and he reports about workers who had fled from the house of Enlil-kidinnī. The letter pertains to the transfer of *šābu*-troops to different commanders. *Šābu*-troops were used for agricultural and building work, but also for the military. In obv. ll. 3-6 we learn that two men have departed. Ikūna seized their sealed tablets (or seals), and transferred *šābu*-troops from a barge to their command. The transferred *šābu*-workers seem to partially come out of the house of Enlil-kidinnī, and have fled (obv. ll. 7-9).

obv. 3	^{1d} UTU- <i>i-mit-ti</i> DUMU ¹ ŠEŠ-DÙ	Šamaš-imittī, the son of <i>Aḫu</i> -bani,
obv. 4	ù ¹ È- <i>a-na-ZÁLAG-^dIM it-bu-^rú¹-[ma]</i>	and Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad have departed, and
obv. 5	<i>ku-nu-uk-ki-šu-nu aš-ša-bat</i>	I have seized their seals/sealed tablets
obv. 6	ù ÉRIN.MEŠ TA <i>ma-kit-ti ad-di-na-šu-nu-^rti¹</i>	and the <i>šābu</i> -workers out of the barge I had given to them. ¹⁸¹
obv. 7	<i>iš-tu⁴ É ^{1d}En-lil-ki-di-ni</i>	As soon as they escaped from the house of Enlil-
obv. 8	<i>ki-i il-ta-ḫi-tù ^rki¹ ú-šú-ú</i>	kidinnī, after they had gone out,
obv. 9	<i>it-ta-at-la-ku šum-ma a-na-ku</i>	they have gone away.
obv. 10	<i>a-ta-pi-šu-nu ú-pa-ad-šu-nu-ti</i>	I swear that I will not tie off (?) their <i>atappu</i> -
obv. 11	ù <i>šum-ma^{URU} ARAD-GAŠAN it-tál-ku-ni</i>	canals, and the (ones of ? the) town Arad-bēltī will not go away! ¹⁸²
b.e. 1	<i>be-lí pa-ni-šu a-na la e-^rdi¹-ti</i>	My lord must not set his face for the not ... !
b.e. 2	<i>la i-ša-kan li-pi-i-du-šu-nu-ti</i>	They shall put them in fetters
b.e. 3	<i>lil-qù-ni-iš-šu-nu-ti</i>	(and) they shall take them here.

The rest of the letter concerns two *iššakku*-farmers (=population in provinces or on a royal grant) who assigned *šābu*-workers to a certain overseer/commander of the recipient (rev. l. 1-t.e. l. 3). However, the transfer of the workers was apparently halted due to a dream of an *errēšu*-tenant of Babylon, which could not be interpreted (?). The last line (t.e l. 3) concerns the production of mudbricks.

PBS 1/2, 53: rev. l 1-t.e. l.3:

rev. 1	¹ <i>Iri-ba-tu⁴ DUMU ¹Im-ba-aš-si</i>	Irībātu, the son of Imbassi,
rev. 2	¹ <i>I-qī-šu DUMU ¹MU-lib-ši ÉNSI.^rMEŠ¹</i>	(and) Iqīšu, the son of Šumu-libši, the <i>iššakku</i> -farmers,
rev. 3	ÉRIN.MEŠ <i>ša ma-kit-ti a-na UGU be-lí-ia</i>	have brought (f pl. = dual ?) the <i>šābu</i> -workers of the barge to my lord.
rev. 4	<i>ul-te-bi-la u⁴-ma ša a-na</i>	On the day when I had them come down to the
rev. 5	<i>pa-la-ag ša-pir ÉRIN.MEŠ ú-še-ri-du</i>	<i>palgu</i> -ditch of the overseer of the <i>šābu</i> -workers,
rev. 6	LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA <i>iš-te-en</i>	after one man of Babylon,
rev. 7	<i>er-re-šu ša be-lí-ia šu-ut-ta</i>	

¹⁸¹ For the use of the pronominal suffix 3rd ps. pl. m accusative instead of the dative suffix in the Kassite period see Aro 1955: 54-55, 58.

¹⁸² For oaths expressed as the protasis of a conditional sentence see Huehnergard 2005: 438.

rev. 8	<i>ki ip-šu-ra ul i-de</i>	an <i>errēšu</i> -farmer (= lessee/tenant) of my lord, had recounted/interpreted a dream, he did not understand it.
rev. 9	<i>ša-lim-tu⁴ ul i-de [...]</i>	Whether it was favourable, he did not know. [...]
rev. 10	<i>i-na ir-ti-ia 'x' [...]</i>	In my breast [...]
rev. 11	<i>be-lí ep-šu-nin-[ni ...]</i>	After my lord had done for me [...]
rev. l. 12-t.e. l. 1	too fragmentary	
t.e. 2	<i>a-di be-lí i-bíl-[...]</i>	until my lord ... [...]
t.e. 3	SIG ⁴ <i>ú-šal-ban-šu-nu-ti</i>	I have let them produce mudbricks.

Enlil-kidinnī is also mentioned in the letter PBS 1/2, 57 as discussed below in chapter “6.3 Banâ-ša-Marduk”. In the letters PBS 1/2, 57: obv. ll. 9-11 and in BE 17, 9 we learn that Enlil-kidinnī’s *šābu-workers* were detained in Bīt-Sîn-māgir under the command of Banâ-ša-Marduk.

gd) Enlil-kidinnī’s family relations according to Kassite letters

A Kassite letter confirms that Amīl-Marduk was Enlil-kidinnī’s son (in MUN 283, which dates to ŠŠ 4, Amīl-Marduk, the “son of Enlil-kidinnī”, cf. obv. l. 2, rev. ll. 3-4, receives oil). The *aḫu*-letter PBS 1/2, 81 is written by Šamaš-šumu-līšer from Kār-bēl-mātāti to Amīlīja, the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk, who was in office from Šagarakti-Šuriaš, year 9 (1232 BC), to Kaštiliaš, year 8 (1220 BC). The sender mentions the “sons of Enlil-kidinnī”, i.e. Amīl-Marduk’s family, in the greeting formula, right after other possessions (house, horses, chariots) of the recipient, and before mentioning his brothers and sisters: *a-na ... DUMU.MEŠ* ^{1d}*En-lil-ki-di-ni aḫ-ḫa-ti-ia 'še'-eḫ-ri ra-bi-i ... [lu šu-ul-mu]*, “for ... the sons of Enlil-kidinnī, my brothers, my sisters, the little ones and the big ones... [all shall be well]” (obv. ll. 5-9). Since the self-reference as *aḫūka*, “your brother” is used in address-formulae for people who are not members of the family, this does not necessarily mean that “my brothers, my sisters, the little ones and the big ones...” refers to the blood-related siblings of the sender Šamaš-šumu-līšer. However, it cannot be excluded that Šamaš-šumu-līšer belonged to the family of Amīl-Marduk, and, thus, also to Enlil-kidinnī’s descendants. Since he explicitly included female siblings, it is unlikely that he referred to a “brotherhood of provincial governors”, since female officials in this position are unknown. In rev. ll. 2-6 Šamaš-šumu-līšer writes about the maintenance (rev. ll. 6-7: *lib-tu-qu-ma li-lu-ú*, “they shall cut through, and they shall come up”) of a canal (rev. l. 2’: *'nam'-ga-ru ša šu-pa-la*) and a field (rev. l. 3: *A.ŠÀ ša ni-'bi'*) and announces that he will be able to finish the work in fifty days under good conditions (rev. ll. 4-5: *šum-ma ṭa-ba-ku*, “if I am good”). He also announces that he and the *šandabakku* shall discuss in person (rev. l. 9: *i ni-id-bu-um-ma*) in the month *nisannu* (1st month).

Another letter UM 29-15-322 may give us more information on Enlil-kidinnī’s family. The address and greeting formula of UM 29-15-322 are broken off, but it seems to be an *aḫu*-letter to the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk (in rev. l. 8 Amīlīja is addressed with *um-ma-a a-na LÚ-ia*; in rev. l. 3 Iddinīja (?) is mentioned).¹⁸³ UM 29-15-322: obv. ll. 1’-7’ are too damaged to gather much information, but obv. ll. 8’-11’ concern a son of Nakaru, who had been assigned to dig a canal by the recipient of the letter. The son of Nakaru reports that he has dug a canal, but the water has not reached the land it was supposed to

¹⁸³ Since the letter is mainly a report about irrigation work, it is also possible that it is an *ardu*-letter.

reach (b.e. ll. 1-2: *a-di-na-ma ap-pi-ti-<ia> mu-ú ul i-ma-ḥa-šu*, “but so far the water has not been beating accordingly/on my snout (?)”).

rev. 1	ù ša É ^{1d} En-lil-ki-di-ni	And regarding the fields of the house of Enlil-kidinnī ¹⁸⁴ and the water:
rev. 2	A.ŠÀ.MEŠ-šú me-e-ma mu-ú	(there is ?) water.
rev. 3	DUMU ¹ AŠ-ia a-na DUMU ¹ Na-ka-ri	I have sent the son of Iddinīja (?) to the son of Nakaru.
rev. 4	al-ta-pa-ar me-e a-na ÉRIN.MEŠ-ka	They are going to place water correctly for your
rev. 5	ú-ka-an-nu	workers.

The rest of the letter seems to concern the measuring of land for a royal grant: in rev. ll. 6-7 the sender writes he kept the one(s) who measured (the participle *māšīḥu*, not *mašīḥānu*!) land from measuring the area up until the *ugāru*-land (belonging to a settlement).¹⁸⁵ In rev. ll. 8-9 the sender asks Amīlīja about a sealed document/seal (*lu-ú ka-an-ka*) and available water (*me-e ma-la i-ba-šu-ú*). Usually, the king proclaimed a royal grant, which was recorded on a legal document of proof. The king also issued a “sealed document of the king of the instructions” (*kanīk šarri ša šiprēti*). This was followed by the obligatory land survey. A lack of a survey made the donation legally void (Paulus 2014d: 102). During the land survey both supra-regional royal officials, but also local officials functioned as witnesses. Following the land survey the king issued and sealed an *ammātu* document (cf. Charpin 2002: 178; Paulus 2014d: 102-104).

5.2.3 Enlil-AL.ŠA₆

Two *bēlu*-letters from the *šandabakku* Enlil-AL.ŠA₆, the son of Enlil-kidinnī, are preserved: PBS 1/2, 23 and the unpublished letter N 1593. Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ writes the short *bēlu*-letter PBS 1/2, 23 (10 lines, only the obverse inscribed) to Amurru-karābī-išme. He instructs Amurru-karābī-išme to release (obv. l. 8: *muš-še-er-ma*) the *šibšu*-levy consisting of sesame from Enlil-muballīt, since it is *at-tu-ú-šu*, “belonging to him” and to his *šutāpu*-cooperative (obv. ll. 4-8). Instead of Amurru-karābī-išme, Enlil-muballīt shall collect it for himself (obv. ll. 9-10: *šu-ú liš-bu-uš* ‘*at*¹-*ta la ta-šab-bu-uš*). Paulus (2014d: 174) believes that in PBS 1/2, 23 the *šandabakku* tells the collector of levies not to collect the *šibšu*-levy from him, because he was probably a grantee and, thus, was the recipient of the levies from his grant.

Amurru-karābī-išme appears in PBS 2/2, 19: obv. l. 4. PBS 2/2, 19 is a list of the *telītu*-revenue of sesame of Dūr-Amurru from Nazi-maruttaš, year 1 (obv. ll. 1-2), the columns list the *rēš makkūri*, the “taxable capital” (i), the *šibšu*-levy (ii), and their names (iii). Dūr-Amurru lay in the province Bīt-Per’e-Amurru (cf. the *kudurru* MŠ 5: i, l. 7 in Paulus 2014d: 416-417; there were probably two towns with that name, cf. Nashef 1982: 88), while PBS 2/2, 19 was found in Nippur. This means that an institution in Nippur listed collected levies of a settlement in a different province (Bīt-Per’e-Amurru). The *šibšu*-levy (2;1.3.0) from Amurru-karābī-išme’s taxable capital (4;3.0.0) is in obv. l. 4; he appears to have the largest taxable capital of all listed men. Paulus (2014d: 174) believes that it was Amurru-karābī-išme’s

¹⁸⁴ Preposed genitive construction: “regarding the house of Enlil-kidinnī: its fields”.

¹⁸⁵ *ugāru* was a type of irrigated land belonging to a settlement (Paulus 2014d: 83, 86; van Soldt 1988: 109)

function to collect the levies for the (temple) administration. However, the fact that Amurru-karābī-išme is listed first, does not mean that he is the official calculating the *rēš makkūri* and collecting the *šibšu*-levy of the other listed men. PBS 2/2, 19 lists several men who had cultivated sesame in Dūr-Amurru and had to pay a *šibšu*-levy, which was deduced from their yield. Amurru-karābī-išme may have been one of seven cultivators (*iššakku*-farmers) listed in PBS 2/2, 19 on land, which may have belonged to a temple grant of a temple in Nippur. He could also have been one of the officials collecting levies for the temple in Nippur. This could explain why they collected levies from Dūr-Amurru in a different province than Nippur. However, PBS 2/2, 19 is not listed among the tablets found in area WA (Gula temple) of Nippur, but was probably found in the Nippur palace (Sassmannshausen 2001: 187). Levies of the temple grants were partially collected by officials working for the provincial administration (Paulus 2014d: 201). Note that Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ also held the religious office of the *nēšakku* and *pašīšū* (Sassmannshausen 2001: 17). This could explain why the collection of levies from temple lands in a different province are listed in a document from Nippur, and would mean that Amurru-karābī-išme managed part of temple land in Dūr-Amurru. Another possibility is that Dūr-Amurru in Bīt-Per'e-Amurru belonged to a royal grant of the *šandabakku* or another high-ranking provincial official and PBS 2/2, 19 lists the levies Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ collected on his grant.

The second *bēlu*-letter by Enlil-AL.ŠA₆, N 1593, is addressed to his subordinate Enlil-iddina and pertains to the irrigation in Nippur province or a province adjacent to it (see Zimmermann 2021).

Lastly, Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ is mentioned in the letter fragment CBS 4787: rev. l. 3'. Only the inscription on the reverse is preserved. This Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ was a cupbearer (or qualified as “sublime”), and he received temple personnel and rams for the *naptanu*-banquet, a collective meal which probably had a cultic aspect (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 327-328). If this refers to the *šandabakku* Enlil-AL.ŠA₆, then it shows the involvement of the *šandabakku* in religious affairs, and that temple-personnel had to be assigned to a royal functionary (cupbearer ?) or provincial officials (*šandabakku* ?). It emphasises that both households were separated.

rev. 1	ṛx x x x x (x) ¹	...
rev. 2	iq-ta-ṛba ¹ -a um-ma-a mi-na-ṛa ²	he has said the following to me: “Why shall
rev. 3	a-na ^{1d} En-lil-AL.ŠA ₆ ša-qá-ṛam ²	they give to the cupbearer/sublime Enlil- AL.ŠA ₆
rev. 4	3 ARAD.ṛMEŠ ¹ DINGIR a-na nap-ta-ni	three servants of the god (=temple) for the <i>naptanu</i> -banquet,
rev. 5	li-id-di-nu	
rev. 6	ù UDU.ṛNÍTA ¹ an-nu-ti	and shall rams of these (men ?) stand (available ?)
rev. 7	i-na ṛna-kam ¹ -ti li-ṛzi ¹ -zu	in the storehouse ^{186?} ”
rev. 8	ù aš-šu GÚ.UN um-ma-a	And because of the <i>biltu</i> -levy the following:
rev. 9	ṛki-i ¹ iš-tu pa-na	when from earlier (times ?)
rev. 10	[x] ṛx ¹ i-ma-aḥ-ḥa-ru-ma	... they/he will receive, and
rev. 11	[...] ṛx-bu ¹ i-tu-šu ²	[...] ... with him.

¹⁸⁶ Sassmannshausen 2001: 172.

5.2.4 Ninurta-apla-iddina

Ninurta-apla-iddina was a *šandabakku* under king Nazi-maruttaš (Balkan 1986: 11). I suggest that he was in office after Enlil-AL.ŠA₆, since Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḫbut, who are mostly attested under Nazi-maruttaš’s successor Kadašman-Turgu (1281-1264), worked for his household (see BE 14, 168, and below chapter “6.4.7 Who were the officials Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḫbut?”).

Two *bēlu*-letters from the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina to his subordinate Innannu (BE 17, 83, 84) are discussed below in chapter “6.1.1 Letters by Ninurta-apla-iddina to Innannu”. Further, the *šandabakku* is mentioned in the *bēlu*-letter HS 113 from Lal-ur-alim to Martukkû, which is discussed below in chapter “6.2.2 HS 113”.

The *šandabakku* is further mentioned in the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 52 by Etel-pī-Ninurta from Babylon to his lord in Nippur. PBS 1/2, 52 is a “hybrid” between an *ardu*- and an *aḫu*-letter, since the sender applies a greeting formula typical for *aḫu*-letters in an *ardu*-letter (according to obv. ll. 3-4 the gods of Babylon shall protect his lord’s life) and uses the imperative directed at his lord (rev. ll. 6-8).

Etel-pī-Ninurta reports that he had received two *ḫarbu*-fields:

obv. 6	<i>be-li i-lu-ti iq-¹ba¹</i>	My lord, my divinity, spoke to me:
obv. 7	LUGAL <i>aš-šu¹ Mu-ta-ki-li lu-um-ḫur</i>	“I shall receive the king because of Mutakkilu.”
obv. 8	2 <i>ḫar-bi ša A.ŠÀ DINGIR¹ Nin-urta-IBILA-ŠÚM-na</i>	After he had given 2 <i>ḫarbu</i> -fields of the land of the temple (of) Ninurta-apla-iddina of Ālu-ša-Girsi as a land grant to me,
obv. 9	<i>ša URU-ša-gir-si ki-i i-ri-ma-an-ni</i>	(I found that) he stopped his work, and had become idle.
obv. 10	<i>ba-aṭ-ṭal ri-qu</i>	

The subject of the sentence, who granted the two *ḫarbu*-fields of temple land to Etel-pī-Ninurta, was either Mutakkilu or Ninurta-apla-iddina (see Paulus 2014d: 92).¹⁸⁷ Ninurta-apla-iddina may have been the *šandabakku* of that name. As a *šandabakku* he would have had enough power (according to Sollberger 1968: 191 someone else was a *nēšakku*-priest during his tenure) to grant the *ḫarbu*-fields to Etel-pī-Ninurta.

Since the lord had promised to talk with the king about Mutakkilu in the preceding lines (obv. ll. 6-7), it is likely that the man who had granted the temple land was Mutakkilu. The *ḫarbu*-fields had belonged to “the land of the temple of Ninurta-apla-iddina” localised near the town Ālu-ša-Girsi” (possibly near Girsu). It is noteworthy that temple land is that “(of) Ninurta-apla-iddina”, implying that he had control over it, and makes it possible that in some Kassite letters the *bītu* of a *šandabakku* may have referred to temple land.

The verb *rāmu*, “to grant, to deed an estate” appears on *kudurrus* to express the land grant (Paulus 2014d: 92). Further below in the letter, in rev. ll. 3-5 the sender asks “Why has Mutakkilu given the land to

¹⁸⁷ Note that Ninurta-apla-iddina is not preceded by a *ša* as opposed to the *egēl ilī* and the town Ālu-ša-Girsi. The issue, about which the conflict ensues, i.e. the two *ḫarbu* fields, presumably stands at the beginning of the sentence, as it is common in legal and administrative documents. Only afterwards the involved parties are introduced.

Esagil-lidiš?”, applying the verb *nadānu*, which is also used on *kudurrus* (Paulus 2014d: 94). This implies that Mutakkilu was the one who granted land, albeit by order of Ninurta-apla-iddina.

Etel-pī-Ninurta complains that someone, probably Mutakkilu (or Ninurta-apla-iddina), had become inattentive. In the following lines Etel-pī-Ninurta describes that he had been cultivating much more land than he had originally received as a grant. In the previous year he had cultivated 0;4.0.0 Gur (6.48 ha) of land, which the man, who had granted the two *harbu*-fields to him, had irrigated.

obv. 11	MU.IM.MA 0;4.0.0 ṛx ²¹ ŠE.BAR ṛx ²¹ 188	Last year, after he had filled 0;4.0.0 of barley
b.e. 1	<i>ki-i im-lu-ú e-te-ri-iš</i>	(with water) ¹⁸⁹ , I cultivated them.

In b.e. l. 2-rev. l. 2 Etel-pī-Ninurta reports to have irrigated and cultivated a field of the size of two Gur (16.2 ha). If *harbu*-fields had the size of a *šimdu*-field (8100 m²), which could be ploughed in one day, then two *harbu*-fields (16200 m²) would be one tenth of two Gur of land which he had cultivated. However, as we learned in obv. l. 8, Etel-pī-Ninurta was only responsible for one tenth of the land he had cultivated, since he only received two *harbu*-fields. Further, the land, which he had cultivated in the previous year, was four times as big as the two *harbu*-fields he had received (see above).

b.e. 2	<i>e-né-na</i> 2 GUR ŠE.NUMUN	Now, I have filled 2;0.0.0 of barley seeds
rev. 1	<i>me-e im-ta-la</i>	with water.
rev. 2	<i>a-na-ku-ma e-ri-iš</i>	I have been seeding (them with a seeder plough).

Then Etel-pī-Ninurta asks why Mutakkilu has given land to a third person, and tells his lord that he does not want to be compensated with different land in the future. Instead, he appears to use the imperative to order (!) his lord to take away land, presumably from the new owner (?). Note that Mutakkilu has given a large area of land, perhaps containing multiple *harbu*-fields (A.ŠÀ), and not individual *harbu*-fields to a third person.

rev. 3	<i>am-mi-ni</i>	Why
rev. 4	¹ <i>Mu-ta-ki-lu</i>	has Mutakkilu
rev. 5	A.ŠÀ <i>a-na</i> ¹ <i>Sag-gil-li-di-iš</i>	given the land to Esagil-lidiš?
rev. 6	ŠUM- <i>in be-li</i> A.ŠÀ	My lord must not give land to me afterwards
rev. 7	<i>ar-ka-a</i> ¹⁹⁰ <i>la</i> ŠUM- <i>na-ma</i> ¹⁹¹	(= in the future)!
rev. 8	<i>ma-aḥ-ra-ma šu-li(-)</i> ¹ <i>ni</i> ¹⁹² [x]	Thus, take the old/previous one away [...]!

The official Mutakkilu apparently acted by command of the lord and reassigned individual *harbu*-fields belonging to the land (A.ŠÀ) of a temple under Ninurta-apla-iddina’s management. According to obv. l. 7 the recipient wants to have a conversation “because of” the conflict with the king. It seems the reassignment of *harbu*-fields of a temple caused the conflict. Further, the sender had cultivated large areas of land for the temple. He was either not responsible for this land, because it was ten or four times

¹⁸⁸ The end of this line is difficult to read; the translation is tentative, since the amount of barley (240l) seems to be quite a small amount to cause the dispute.

¹⁸⁹ cf. van Soldt 1988: 107.

¹⁹⁰ *eqla arkâ*, “later/future land” (?); due to the context I decided to translate the adverb *arka*, “afterward” (CAD A/2: 271-272).

¹⁹¹ The ventive suffix in *inaddina* expresses the 1st ps. sg. dative “to me”.

¹⁹² The accusative suffix 1st ps. -*ni* would imply that Etel-pī-Ninurta asks his lord to take away a field from himself. This does not make sense. The ventive suffix for pl. forms, -*nim*, can be excluded, since *šūli* is imperative sg. m. There is not enough space for more than another sign; and in the next line a new theme is introduced with *ummā*.

larger than his own a royal grant, or he describes his work to emphasise that he had been an industrious official and deserved his grant for his hard work. The *šandabakku*'s name only appears in relation to a temple which apparently owned land in a different province than Nippur (near Girsu). This would place Kassite letters from distant provinces found in Nippur describing the management of land in different provinces in the context of temple land in these provinces. The *šandabakku*'s role and his religious offices serve as an explanation for his interest in these lands.

5.2.5 Amīlīja/Amīl-Marduk

a) *šarru*-letters to Amīl-Marduk

Two letters from a king are addressed to Amīl-Marduk, who was a *šandabakku* from Šagarakti-Šuriaš, year 9 - Kaštiliaš, year 8. In the letter BE 17, 75 from the king to Amīl-Marduk, the king orders the *šandabakku* to refer parties involved in a legal conflict to the king. The transfer of the parties to the king implies that the *šandabakku* functioned as a judge when the king was busy, or a legal case was very serious. BE 17, 75 is damaged; the lower third (?) and parts of the right edge are missing. The king mentions four men, who seem to be litigating in court: obv. ll. 5-9: ¹*dNin-urta-ŠÚM-MU DUMU ¹Ap-pa-na-a-¹a¹ ša da-ba-ab-[ba (?) ...] it-ti ¹Ḫa-ni-[...] ¹ū¹ ¹Dam-qu 'DUMU' [...] ¹it¹-ti ¹d30-¹eri¹-[ba ...]*, “Ninurta-nādin-šumi, the son of Appānāju, who [...] the litigating against Ḫani[...], and Damqu, the son of [...] against Sīn-er[ība ...]”). The king had apparently been ill. Most of the surface on the reverse is damaged; in rev. l. 10 the king reports that he has recovered, and can thus function as a judge: ¹ū¹ [ba]-¹a¹¹-¹ta-ku ¹it-ti¹ *be-el da-ba-bi-šu a-na UGU-ia šu-bi-la-áš-šu*, “and I shall live/recover. And send him to me together with the adversary in court” (rev. l. 10-t.e. l. 3).

The surface of the short letter (9 lines) PBS 1/2, 24 has a blackened surface. The king asks the *šandabakku* to travel to him to Babylon (obv. l. 7-rev. l. 2: ¹a-na¹ URU KÁ.DINGIR.RA *le-qa-am-ma kul-da*, “take here to Babylon and reach me!”), and bring another person with him (obv. ll. 5-6).

b) *aḫu*-letters to Amīl-Marduk

Eight *aḫu*-letters were directed at Amīlīja, the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk (for PBS 1/2, 81 and UM 29-15-322 see above “gd) Enlil-kidinnī's family relations according to Kassite letters”). The “brothers” of the *šandabakku*, i.e. nearly equally high-ranking officials, wrote from Kār-bēl-mātāti (BM 82720, PBS 1/2, 45), Akkade, Isin, Dūr-Enlil and Ekallātu.

One *aḫu*-letter, BE 17, 80 + PBS 1/2, 46, from Enlil-mukīn-apli, does not contain the *aḫu*-greeting formula, which invokes the gods of the town of the sender to protect the recipient's life, and does not wish well-being upon the recipient. Instead, Enlil-mukīn-apli reports about his own wellbeing (obv. ll. 6-8). Enlil-mukīn-apli reports that another official or messenger (the son of Ilu-bani) wasted time, and, thus, he did not send (a letter ?) to the town belonging to the *šandabakku*'s (your 2nd pl.) household (obv. ll. 9b-10: *a-na URU ša bi-ti-ku-nu*, “to the town of your house”). He reports that he did not receive a

delivery from that town (rev. ll. 1-2: *ša qur-ru-bi* [...] *ul ú-qar-ri-bu-[ú]-^rni¹*, “regarding the delivery, they did not bring [...] to me”), and that someone, possibly a workforce (?), shall be released onto the hinterland (ÉDIN, rev. ll. 3-8). Then Enlil-mukīn-apli orders the *šandabakku* to give a third person instructions (rev. l. 10: *tēma šukun*). Although Enlil-mukīn-apli leaves out a greeting formula, he sends the letter with an exhortation that shall express familiarity with the *šandabakku*: *a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi-ka a-na man-^rni¹ ki-i a-šap-pa-rù*, “(If not) to you, to whom could I send (a letter)?” (rev. l. 12-t.e. l. 2).

Erība-Marduk wrote the *aḫu*-letter BM 82720 to Amīlīja. According to the greeting formula (obv. ll. 5-6) Erība-Marduk was stationed in Kār-bēl-mātāti, which was located between Babylon and Borsippa (Nashef 1982: 152-153). Erība-Marduk first lists religious rituals involving the king (!) performed on three days of a month (obv. ll. 7-10), and then tells the *šandabakku* that he shall come to Nippur where the king is located. This confirms that the *šandabakku* was travelling, as he was not in Nippur at the time of the receipt of the letter, and it also confirms that the king travelled to Nippur, possibly for religious rituals (unless these are performed in Kār-bēl-mātāti).

obv. 7	U4-13-KAM <i>ni-qu-ú na-qí</i>	On the 13 th day the offering is offered.
obv. 8	U4-14-KAM GU4.MEŠ <i>tab-ku</i>	On the 14 th day the oxen are piled up (for an offering ?).
obv. 9	U4-15-KAM LUGAL <i>a-na ma-le-e</i>	On the 15 th day the king came up for the filling.
obv. 10	<i>i-la-a</i>	
rev. 1	<i>ù te-ma ar-ka-a</i>	And the future report
rev. 2	<i>a-la-ma-ad-ma</i>	I am going to learn, and
rev. 3	<i>a-šap-pa-ra-ku-um-ma</i>	I am going to send (a letter) to you, and
rev. 4	<i>a-na pa-an LUGAL a-na</i>	you are going to travel to the king to Nippur.
rev. 5	^r URU NIBRU ^{KI1} <i>te-re-da-a</i>	

A *bārû*, a “diviner”, called Erība-Marduk was stationed in Kār-bēl-mātāti according to the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 58, which Erība-Marduk wrote to his lord in Nippur. In PBS 1/2, 58 Erība-Marduk reports about the results of an extispicy concerning a journey to Nippur and about the appetite of the crown prince. If this was the same person, then Erība-Marduk wrote both an *ardu*- and an *aḫu*-letter to the provincial administration in Nippur. Since the *aḫu*-letter was addressed to the equal ranking *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk, the *ardu*-letter implies a higher-ranking recipient (the king ?). Another option is that Erība-Marduk had a higher rank when he wrote the *aḫu*-letter, and it was, thus, appropriate to refer to himself as the *šandabakku*’s brother.

Another *aḫu*-letter from Kār-bēl-mātāti, PBS 1/2, 45, from Katar-Saḫ, does not concern religious matters. Katar-Saḫ writes that the king had sent a letter to Amīl-Marduk (obv. ll. 7-8, obv. l. 10-rev. l. 1: *ṭup-pa ša LUGAL ú-še-bi-lak-ku*, and *ki-i pi-i ṭup-pi ša LUGAL ú-še-bi-lak-ku* “(according to) the tablet which the king had sent to you”) about a field(s)/land belonging to the town Kadukû (unlocated; Nashef 1982: 146).¹⁹³ In order to follow the king’s orders the *šandabakku* shall quickly send (a letter) to him (rev. l. 2: *ḫa-an-ṭiš šu-pu-ur-ma*) and he shall not hold back his servant Kubbula (a messenger ?), and send him back (rev. ll. 3-5).

¹⁹³ Since the sender in Kār-bēl-mātāti is involved in the issue concerning Kadukû, Kadukû may lie in the vicinity of Kār-bēl-mātāti.

A Marduk-šumu-līšer wrote the *aḫu*-letter PBS 1/2, 67 from Akkade (obv. ll. 4-5) to Amīl-Marduk. The address-formula notably contains *ša arāmu*, “whom I love”. In the exhortation at the end Marduk-šumu-līšer suddenly addresses Amīl-Marduk submissively as his lord (3rd ps. sg., unless another lord is meant, who is not the recipient of the letter)¹⁹⁴, but then changes to the 2nd ps. sg. when he asserts his uttermost dependence on the recipient: *be-lí it-til-tu₄ it-ti-ia ta-na-zi-iq [...]* *it-ti-ia i-zi-ig ma-am-ma-na ul i-šu re-da-ka^{ku}*, “My lord is one time/for the first time upset with me [...] was upset with me. I have no one. I follow you” (Rev. ll. 10-14). In obv. ll. 6-14 Marduk-šumu-līšer reports that a man called Nuskuē’a stopped receiving barley, i.e. collecting levies, after he had stopped receiving orders to do so. Amīl-Marduk shall personally talk to the official, with whom Nuskuē’a is staying, to make them “receive barley”. The *šandabakku* was apparently responsible for repeatedly ordering his subordinates to collect levies. Marduk-šumu-līšer then orders the *šandabakku* to quickly send a tablet, possibly concerning a workforce (?).¹⁹⁵ The *šandabakku* had apparently asked for oil and barley seeds for seeding, so Marduk-šumu-līšer writes in rev. ll. 4-10 that the *šandabakku* shall send his men with a sealed document (rev. ll. 5-6: ^{NA4}KIŠIB-šú *ša-bat-ma šu-bi-lam-ma*), possibly a legal agreement on which the exchange of resources is based.

Another *aḫu*-letter to Amīl-Marduk, PBS 1/2, 30, was sent from Izkur-Marduk from Isin (cf. the greeting formula in obv. ll. 3-6). The lower half of the letter is missing. According to obv. ll. 8-9, Izkur-Marduk entrusted himself to someone, then mentions several transfers (someone shall receive and give something, cf. rev. ll. 3-5). Then he reports that leather straps of horse harnesses have been carried away by a river and asks the *šandabakku* to send him good harnesses (rev. ll. 6-9).

Another *aḫu*-letter, PBS 1/2, 36, was sent from Dūr-Enlil and Ekallātu (cf. obv. ll. 4-6) to Amīl-Marduk. Hölscher (1996: 231) dates this letter to the reign of Kadašman-Turgu, which would be at least 30 years too early for the letter to be addressed to the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk.¹⁹⁶ PBS 1/2, 36 was sent from Usāt-Marduk¹⁹⁷ and contains an exceptionally elaborate greeting formula (cf. obv. ll. 2-10). Usāt-Marduk writes about 40 and 60 *šābu*-workers (obv. l. 14, rev. ll. 6, 9) and work involving reed (rev. ll. 5, 10), as well as fields which the *šandabakku* cultivated (rev. ll. 2-3). The letter ends (rev. ll. 11-12) with an exhortation expressing familiarity *a-na UGU¹ LÚ-ia a-na man-ni ki-i a-šap-pa-ru*, “(If not) to

¹⁹⁴ The exhortation at the end expresses uttermost dependence on the recipient. The preceding lines concern the annoyance of a lord. The exhortation could either be a plea that the sender shall take pity on him, or it means that the sender aggravated “his lord”, i.e. not the recipient, and asks the recipient for help.

¹⁹⁵ PBS 1/2, 67: obv. l. 14-rev. l. 3: *šum-ma-a¹ LÚ.MEŠ DIRI ma-la i-ba-āš-šú-u us-si-ip-pi-i-iḫ ù DUB a-na muḫ-ḫi-ia i¹-ba-a re-ša-am-ma¹ ma-ma¹-an DUB a-na na-še-e¹ ul¹ a-kaš-ša-ad ṣi-ri-im-ma ki-pi-id-ma ḫa-an-ṭiš šup-ra*, “If he/I scatter the additional men, as many as exist, and (if) the tablet advances to me, then I will not obtain anyone for the preparing/inspecting the tablet. Apply yourself to it, and plan it, and send quickly!”

¹⁹⁶ Hölscher (1996: 231) identifies the sender with a *ḫazannu* in BE 15, 175: iv, l. 1’ and BE 14, 99a: obv. ll. 3, 25 (dating to Kadašman-Turgu).

¹⁹⁷ See below “(ab) Dūr-Enlil or Dūr-Enlilē?”. In the documents from Dūr-Enlilē an Usātu/Usātu’a is attested as a recipient of an expenditure for one month (CUSAS 30, 170: rev. l. 4) dating to Šagarakti-Šuriaš, year 1, and in a list of *rēš makkūri* (taxable capital) of the town Āl-irre (CUSAS 30, 40: obv. l. 22) dating to the 10th year of a king. Usātu’a’s capital in the list CUSAS 30, 40 is not *zakātu*, i.e. “exempt” from levies, as royal grants are, and he is listed together with the same names as in CUSAS 30, 170 (Izkur-[...], Qunnunu).

Amīlīja, to whom could I send (a letter)?” (cf. the exhortation in BE 17, 80 + PBS 1/2, 46: rev. l. 12-t.e. l. 2).

c) *ardu*-letters from men called Amīl-Marduk

An official called Amīl-Marduk wrote at least four *ardu*-letters (N 1259, BE 17, 3, 6, PBS 1/2, 55, and, perhaps, BE 17, 10) to his lord in Nippur. The letters concern the management of canals in the province Dūr-Enlilē, Dūr-Nusku and Erra-gāmil, i.e. near Nippur. Provincial land, but also land and canals belonging to royal grants are mentioned. The official Amīl-Marduk was apparently responsible for the irrigation and maintenance of canals and the yield of fields in provinces adjacent to Nippur, but reported to a lord in the palace in Nippur. These letters were either sent by Amīl-Marduk before he became a *šandabakku* or by a different person bearing that name.

N 1259 seems to be a report about an inspection of land and the expected yield of seeds, which possibly belong to a royal grant, since the letter appears to contain the imperative *zukki*, “Exempt!/Free (from)!” in obv. l. 7.

obv. 4	A.ŠÀ.MEŠ ša ^{URU} Ēr-ra-ga-[mil ...]	After I had inspected the fields/land of the town Erra-gā[mil ...],
obv. 5	ki-i a-ta-ma-ru 22;0.0.0 ʾNUMUNʾ [...]	22;0.0.0 Gur of seeds [...]
obv. 6	7;1.0.0 PI NU.BU 6;1.0.0 PI ʾRIʾ ¹ .U ₄ [...]	7;1.0.0 Gur ... (?) , 6;1;0.0 Gur ... (?) [...]
obv. 7	ŠU.NÍGIN 13;2.0.0 ša zu-uk-ʾkiʾ ¹ i- [...]	Exempt (?) a total of 13;2.0.0 gur! [...]
obv. 8	i-na ša ʾša(-)alʾ(-)liʾ(-)ši-ir ʾDUMUʾ ¹ [...]	out of that which had been (illegitimately) taken away (?) flesh (?) ... the son [...]
rev. 1ʾ	ʾli-id-di-nu xʾ [...]	he shall give [...]
rev. 2ʾ	ša ʾDINGIR-ŠUM-na ʾbaʾ ¹ [...]	of Ilu-iddia ... [...]
rev. 3ʾ	li-ib-ba-al-ki-ta-am-ma	he shall cross over to me and [...]

A very long (66 lines) *ardu*-letter by Amīl-Marduk (BE 17, 3; cf. translation P266568) concerns irrigation. Amīl-Marduk first reports which canals he has opened to irrigate areas of land (BE 17, 3: obv. ll. 4-8), and then complains that two canals, which belong to two men (or formerly in the possession of two men after whom they are named), have not been opened for irrigation (obv. ll. 8-10). Amīl-Marduk then mentions an order by his lord to open sluices (obv. ll. 11-12). Then, Amīl-Marduk reports about the irrigation of land belonging to the town Erra-gāmil (obv. ll. 13-20), and that *iššakku*-farmers of a man called Marduk-nāšir shall be admonished, since they are supposed to maintain *kalû*-dikes (obv. ll. 21-28). Obv. l. 29-rev. l. 4 tells us that the irrigation of Dūr-Enlilē was connected to the irrigation of Erra-gāmil, since Amīl-Marduk shall apparently irrigate Dūr-Enlilē by opening *natbaktu*-reservoirs in Erra-gāmil (although we do not know the distance between the reservoirs and the area that should be irrigated). In rev. ll. 5-11 Amīl-Marduk repeats a conversation between himself and his lord concerning reed and *ḥarbu*-fields of the *tamirtu*-land of Dūr-Enlilē, and seeding in Dūr-Nusku and Erra-gāmil, possibly all located in (or adjacent to) the *pīḫāt* Dūr-Enlilē, “the province of Dūr-Enlilē” (in which the *kalû*-dikes of the *tamirtu*-land were neglected as described on the obverse, cf. rev. ll. 12-14). The rest of the letters is damaged, but seems to concern agricultural matters (harvesting, *šabu*-work crews, seeding),

including irrigation (rev. ll. 15-31). The letter ends with a mention of *ḥašartu*-wool and a deity (t.e. ll. 1-4), and a report about the health of another man (l.e. ll. 1-2).

Another *ardu*-letter, PBS 1/2, 55, from Amīl-Marduk to his lord concerns irrigation with the Nār-Enlil (probably near Nippur, cf. Nashef 1982: 309). A fragment of a short letter, BE 17, 6, from Amīl-Marduk to his lord refers to planting (obv. l. 7: *iz-za-aq-^rpu¹*, “they have planted”) and/or the irrigation in two unlocated places, Zibbat-nāri (obv. l. 4, or the “storage basin of the *nāru*-canal”), and Palak (obv. l. 5). One *ardu*-letter by a [...]Marduk, BE 17, 10, of which only a fragment is preserved (mentioning oxen in obv. l. 4), may have been sent from the same Amīl-Marduk.

d) Amīl-Marduk mentioned in Kassite letters

The *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk, referred to with his hypocorism Amīlīja, is mentioned in the *aḫu*-letter CBS 4730: rev. l. 6 by Šuḫilīšu¹⁹⁸. The name of the recipient as well as the place from which he writes is destroyed (cf. obv. l. 1). In obv. ll. 5-9 Šuḫilīšu writes about detainees of the recipient, who shall bring work on spindles to completion, and protect the recipient. The reverse concerns the replacement of a fuller in which the *šandabakku* was apparently involved:

rev. 1'	<i>iḥ-ta-liq^r x¹ [...]</i>	he has escaped. ... [...]
rev. 2'	<i>a-na-ku be-^rlī² a/2-am/bi-x²-x²¹ [...] ^ris²¹-si-ru-šu-ma</i>	I am. My lord ... [...] he/they have pressed for payment, and
rev. 3'	<i>i-zi-iḥ ù áš-šu^{LÚ} ÁZLAG ša taš-pu-ra</i>	he was girded (?). ¹⁹⁹ And because of the fuller, about whom you had sent (a letter) to me,
rev. 4'	<i>a-na pu-uḫ-i-šu áš-ta-pa-ar</i>	I have sent for a replacement for him.
rev. 5'	<i>i-leq-qu-ni-iš-su-ma a-na^{LÚ} ia</i>	They are going to take him, and I have sent him to Amīlīja. His written instructions
rev. 6'	<i>ú-se-bi-la-áš-šu^{LÚ} ia tē-em-šu</i>	and his greetings he shall quickly send (to me
rev. 7'	<i>ù šu-lu-um-šu ḥa-an-ṭi-^riš¹</i>	?)!
rev. 8'	<i>liš-pu-[ra ...]</i>	

Further, Amīl-Marduk is mentioned in a fragment of a letter, PBS 1/2, 17. The upper half of the tablet is missing. The king orders Amīl-Marduk to travel to meet the *šatammu*, a temple official, and *ša rēši* officials of the king (for the office of the *ša rēši* see Paulus 2014d: 112-113; Sassmannshausen 2001: 45-48), while a subordinate of the *ša rēši* is supposed to examine the rations for several temples.

obv. 1'	[^d UTU]- ^r URU ¹ LÚ ¹ SAG ¹	[Šamaš]-nāšir, the <i>ša rēši</i> ,
obv. 2'	[...] ^r iš ¹ -pu- ^r ra ¹ -aš-šu	[...] he has sent (a letter) to him.
obv. 3'	[^{LÚ}]ŠĀ.TAM ù LÚ SAG LUGAL	The <i>šatammu</i> and the <i>ša rēši</i> of the king
obv. 4'	<i>um-ma-a LUGAL iš-pu-ra-aš-šu</i>	(said) the following: “The king has sent (a letter) to him.
obv. 5'	<i>iq-ta-ba-na-a-ti</i>	He has said to us:
obv. 6'	^{LÚ} ^d AMAR.UTU <i>li-ir-da-am-ma</i>	Amīl-Marduk shall travel here, and
obv. 7'	<i>it-ti-šu i ni-id-bu-ub</i>	we shall discuss with him.”
rev. 1	ù ^d UTU- ^r URU ¹ ša LÚ SAG LUGAL	And Šamaš-nāšir of the <i>ša rēši</i>
rev. 2	<i>a-na qī¹-id-da-a-ti</i>	continued his journey downstream
rev. 3	<i>i-te-ti-iq</i>	
rev. 4	ŠUK ša É DINGIR.MEŠ <i>a-na i-ta-mu-ri</i>	in order to (repeatedly) inspect the ration(s) of the various temples.

¹⁹⁸ According to Hölscher (1996: 211) the Kassite name Šuḫila is attested.

¹⁹⁹ Does not make sense, but *i-si-iḥ*, *īsiḫ*, “he assigned”, lacks an object.

Of the letter N 879 only the last three lines are preserved; on the obverse in l. 1' a man called Amīl-Marduk is mentioned. Since the letter concerns planting (rev. l. 2: 'ni-za-qáṣ', "we are going to plant"), and the official is not referred to with his hypocorism, this may refer to the same Amīl-Marduk, who reported about the irrigation around Dūr-Enlilē in his *ardu*-letters (who may have been the famous *šandabakku* before his term of office).

obv. 1'	[']LÚ-AMAR.UTU ¹ a-na ¹ Ib-ni- ^d KUR [...]	after Amīl-Marduk had sent (a letter) to Ibni-Amurru [...], he did not give.
obv. 2'	[ki]-i iš-pu-ru ul id-di-in	
obv. 3'	[...] a-na šu-lu-ti il-ta-pa-ar	[...] that which had been brought up (pl.) ²⁰⁰ he has sent.

5.2.6 Ninnū'a

An *aḫu*-letter (BE 17, 89) addressed to and an *ardu*-letter (CT 51, 41) written by a man called Ninnū'a (hypocorism) are attested. With some exceptions the first element of a bipartite or tripartite Akkadian name is often used to build a hypocorism, such as Illilīja for Ellil-kidinnī, Amīlīja for Amīl-Marduk, or Erīmšūa for Irēmšu-Ninurta, see the list in Hölscher 1996: 9 (note, however, the hypocorism Ninurtaē'a for Tukultī-Ninurta, cf. Hölscher 1996: 10). Thus, it is possible that Ninnū'a is a hypocorism for one of the *šandabakkus*, whose name begins with the theophoric element Ninurta, i.e. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē or Ninurta-apla-iddina.

Pān-Ani-rabī-lūmur addresses the *aḫu*-letter BE 17, 89 to Ninnū'a *ša a-ra-mu-šú*, "whom I love" (cf. obv. l. 1). According to the greeting formula the gods Anu-rabū, Ninlil, Mandānu, and Amurru, who "live" in the temple Edimgalkamma, shall protect the recipient's, i.e. Ninnū'a's, life. The Edimgalkamma was the temple of Ištarān (equated with Anu-rabū, cf. Lambert 1976-1980: 211) in Dēr and was rebuilt by Kurigalzu (George 1993: 76). This implies that the sender Pān-Ani-rabī-lūmur wrote from the town Dēr. The greeting formula is elaborate and praises the sender's physical features as well as his character (obv. ll. 3-10). In rev. ll. 7-t.e. 2 Pān-Ani-rabī-lūmur writes that the king resided in Nippur, and that the king told him that Ninnū'a was located in Sippar. Thus, BE 17, 89 confirms that the king visited Nippur. If Ninnū'a was one of the two *šandabakkus*, either Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē or Ninurta-apla-iddina, then BE 17, 89 implies that the *šandabakku* was travelling as well, in this case to Sippar. The letter, however, was found in Nippur. Since the sender had been informed about the location of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē or Ninurta-apla-iddina, it is likely that he sent it to right town (Sippar), and the *šandabakku* carried it with him back to Nippur.

rev. 7	um-ma-a DUMU šip-ri-ia ša a-na ^{URU} NIBRU ^{KI}	The following: My messenger, whom I had
rev. 8	a-na UGU LUGAL áš-pu-ru [x x x]	sent to the king to Nippur, [...].
rev. 9	ki la i-mu-ru-ka-ma la a-šap<-par>- ⁷ ka ²⁰¹	After he/they had not seen you, and when I
rev. 10	iq-ba-a um-ma-a i-na ^{URU} ZIMBIR ^{KI}	was not sending (a letter) to you,
rev. 11	šu-ú DUMU šip-ri-ia ul áš-pu-rak-ku	he said the following to me: "He is in Sippar.
rev. 12	DUMU šip-ri-ia a-na ^{URU} ZIMBIR ^{KI}	I have not sent my messenger to you.

²⁰⁰ In MB period: *šūlūtu*, "summons", "that which has been brought up" cf. AHw: 1271a; CAD Š/2: 265a; other options: *šultu/šulutu*, "a grass" (cf. CAD Š/2: 259"; *šūlūtu*-votive object (CAD Š/2: 264a-b).

²⁰¹ See above fn. 25.

rev. 13 *a-na* ¹*Nin-nu-ú-a-ma*
t.e. 1 *ṭē-em-ka ù šu-lum-ka*
t.e. 2 *šu-up-ra*

Send my messenger to Sippar to Ninnū'a and
your report and your greetings!"

A man called Ninnū'a wrote the *ardu*-letter CT 51, 41 to Bananāju²⁰², which is a hypocorism as well (cf. Hölscher 1996: 10). The hypocorisms imply a familiarity between sender and recipient. Note that this *ardu*-letter is not addressed *ana bēlīja*, "to my lord". However, the sender refers to himself as *ARAD-ka-ma*, "your servant" (cf. obv. l. 2) in the address formula. Ninnū'a does not apply the usual submissive greeting formula for *ardu*-letters, but begins the message after the address formula as it is common in *bēlu*-letters. In the message text he avoids pronouns or verb forms addressing the recipient either in the 3rd ps. sg. (typical for *ardu*-letters) or 2nd ps. (typical for *bēlu*-letters). Instead, Ninnū'a reports the orders of a *bēl pīhāti*, who had been received by a *šutāpu*-cooperative of the *girseqû*-courtiers (see Sassmannshausen 2001: 125), in direct speech. The *bēl pīhāti* ordered Ninnū'a to come to him and to send scribes to collect the *šibšu*-levy, which partly consisted of reed (obv. l. 9-rev. l. 1):

rev. 2 *ša* DINGIR *i-na* UGU *lid-du-ú*
rev. 3 *ù i-na* DINGIR *a-pi šu-bu-uš*

Regarding the god (= temple): in this respect
they shall abandon work.²⁰³
And from the (land of the) god (= temple)
collect the *šibšu*-levy consisting of reed!

The *bēl pīhāti* commands Ninnū'a to collect the *šibšu*-levy, while the workers conduct their work (rev. ll. 4-5: *i-na ip-ši-šú-nu šu-bu-uš*), and ends the letter with the exhortation *ma-am-ma la i-ma-áš-ša-'a-šu-nu-ti*, "No one must let them be forgotten!" (rev. ll. 5-6). Note that the exhortation is in the 3rd ps. sg. and does not admonish the recipient directly in the 2nd ps. sg. Thus, the morpho-syntactic forms of the letter remain polite and submissive, and resemble an *ardu*-letter. The unusual address-formula and the lack of the greeting formula, as well as the appliance of an exhortation point to a sender who may have held a position nearly on the same level as the recipient in the official hierarchy.

²⁰² One may speculate whether this is a hypocorism for Banâ-ša-Marduk, who is attested under Enlil-kidinnī. It is questionable whether Enlil-kidinnī's predecessor, the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (who was a *nēšakku* himself at some point), would write an *ardu*-letter to a *nēšakku*-priest, who certainly had a high position in the hierarchy.

²⁰³ See CAD N/1: 78, s.v. *nadû*.

5.3 The geographical scope of the Kassite letters

The *šandabakku* and other provincial officials of the palace in Nippur received letters dealing with issues from distant and nearby provinces (see above “4.1.1 The provinces and the royal domain”). The following chapter is a selection of Kassite period letters grouped according to a selection of toponyms and hydronyms mentioned in the letter texts. I selected the toponyms in the east, northeast, north, and south of the Kassite kingdom to show the wide geographical extent of the letters.

The Kassite letters found in Nippur are — with the exception of three letter discussed above under “d) Enlil-kidinnī’s correspondence with Assur” — not international correspondence. Assur is seldom mentioned. Iddin-Ninurta writes in an *ardu*-letter to his lord in Nippur (BE 17, 20) that he fortified something (rev. l. 4’), and that he did not see someone, who stayed in the town Assur (rev. ll. 6’-7’: [ša] i-^rna¹ ma-at Aš-šur a-ši-ib [...] ul a-mu-ur-šu). The fragment of the *ardu*-letter N 1985 lists the towns: Arad-bēlti, Assur (?) [...] Āl-gisallē [...] and regarding the barley of [...] (obv. ll. 4-6).

In another *ardu*-letter, HS 112, the gold-trade is discussed: the sender reports that the “bringing-in is satisfactory” (obv. l. 5: *šu-ru-ub-tu₄ ša-al-ma-at*), and that an “Assyrian adolescent of [his] lord” had collected (*i-te-si-ir*), but “they” do not agree that the gold shall be put into an oven, presumably to be melted (obv. ll. 6-9). Metal objects received through the international trade during the Amarna-period were melted to see whether they were solid, and of what kind of gold-alloy they were made. Burna-Buriaš complained in EA 7: rev. ll. 28-29 and EA 10: obv. ll. 18-24 to the pharaoh that he melted the gold which had been sent to him, and was disappointed of the quality of the alloy. It is unclear from which location the sender reports, and which status the “Assyrian adolescent” had. Perhaps, the Assyrian trading partners protested against the melting of the precious gold objects in a kiln, which was done to test them. On the reverse of the same letter the sender reports that the gold of a caravan of Aḫlamû (perhaps, not anymore a reference to their ethnicity, but used for long-distance traders associated with semi-nomadic people) has not arrived at the quay (rev. ll. 3-8). The Aḫlamaean caravans appear in other Kassite letters in the context of the gold trade (see below “a) Sealand”), and in Dilmun, i.e. the south of the Kassite kingdom. In the Kassite letter HS 108 the movement of Assyrian (and possibly Hittite ?) *šābu*-troops (or work crews) is mentioned, perhaps prisoners of war used as *šābu*-workers.

5.3.1 Nippur's vicinity

See above “5.1 *aḫu*-letters” for *aḫu*-letters from Pān-ṣēri and Parak-māri (CT 44, 67; PBS 1/2, 74).

a) North of Nippur

aa) Dūr-Enlilē, Dūr-Nusku and Erra-gāmil²⁰⁴

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponyms/hydronyms
BE 17, 3	<i>ardu</i>	Amīl-Marduk	“lord”	See above “c) <i>ardu</i> -letters from Amīl-Marduk”. According to rev. ll. 1-4 the irrigation systems of both towns, Dūr-Enlilē and Erra-gāmil, are connected.	• Erra-gāmil • Dūr-Nusku • Dūr-Enlilē • Namkār-simat-Enlil • Namkār-Enlil • Nār-Etel-pī • Nār-Ḥašmar-galdu • Nār-Nanna-gugal • Namkār-Banâ-ša-Marduk
BE 17, 39	<i>ardu</i>	Ubāru	“lord”	The sender reports about the well-being of oxen and farmers of his lord, land of the town Tukultī-Ekur, the Nār-Tukultī-Ekur canal leading to Ḥamru (and field of Burrutu in the area of Ḥamru, who is exempt from levies), and the irrigation of Dūr-Enlilē. Ḥamru can be found on the map of the area around Nippur, CBS 13865 (cf. Paulus 2014d: 203).	• Tukultī-Ekur • Ḥamru • Nār-Tukultī-Ekur

²⁰⁴ See the topographical map from Nippur, in which Tukultī-Ekur, Dimtu, and Kār-Nusku are located near each other in Murai 2018: 27-28, fig. 2.

ab) Dūr-Enlil or Dūr-Enlilē?

For a reference to Dūr-Enlil in PBS 1/2, 63 see below “a) Dūr-Kurigalzu”. The letter mentions distant provinces/towns: regions Padan, Zabban, and Lubdu in the northeast, Dūr-Kurigalzu and Pān-ṣēri (near Nippur). In obv. ll. 16’-17’ the sender reports that “Regarding Dūr-Enlil, Āl-mār-Sîn-ē/īriš and Al-Ilu-minâ-ē/īpuš: the *tamirtu*-land in its entirety lies fallow” (*ša BĀD-^dEn-lil ša URU-DUMU-^d30-URU₄ ù ša URU-¹DINGIR-mi-na-a-e-pu-uš ta-mi-ir-tu₄ ga-ab-bi-ša na-^rda¹-[at]*). In obv. l. 20’ Pān-ṣēri is mentioned, but it is unclear whether the sender still writes about the same geographic region as in obv. ll. 16’-17’.

letter	type	sender(s)	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym
CBS 4742	<i>ardu</i>	Lal-Ekur	“lord”	Lal-Ekur reports about the well-being of the temple to his lord (obv. l. 2), about locusts which ate wheat and lentils in his <i>tamirtu</i>-land, and about locusts in the land of Parak-māri (obv. ll. 3-14) and in the <i>tamirtu</i>-land of Āl-Burruqi (obv. l. 15).²⁰⁵ The rest of the obverse concerns locusts and <i>kuluppû</i>-birds. On the reverse locusts and <i>kuluppû</i>-birds, which affect the yield of fields around the settlement/shrine Nēmed-Ninurta (rev. ll. 1-9; cf. Nashef 1982: 204) are mentioned. Then the sender reports about cultivating fields irrigated by and digging the canal Nār-bīt[...] (rev. l. 10) and about either the town <i>Pī-nāri</i> or the mouth of a river (rev. l. 11). rev. 20 <i>i-na 3 UŠ 10 NINDA 1/2 GI ka-le-e BĀD-^dEn-lil ša e-pe-ru ša-ap-ku ša TA ¹⁷IDIGNA</i> In 3 UŠ 10 NINDA 1/2 GI (= 1141,5m) of the <i>kalû</i>-dike(s) of Dūr-Enlil, (on) which earth is heaped up, of the Tigris, rev. 21 <i>ša ¹MU-lib-ši 20 NINDA 6 GI pa-na-tu šu-ú-ra ku-ul-lu-um-ma</i> of Šumu-libši, 20 NINDA 6 GI (= 138m) on the front part show/expose reed (to the sun). rev. 22 <i>2 UŠ 55 NINDA ka-lu-ú ša e-pe-ru ša-ap-ku ša pu-ut A.ŠĀ.MEŠ</i> 2 UŠ 55 NINDA (= 1050m) is the <i>kalû</i>-dike, (on) which earth is heaped up, of the short front side of the fields,²⁰⁶ rev. 23 <i>ša BĀD-^dEn-lil^{rK1} MU-lib¹-ši</i> of Dūr-Enlil, (of) Šumu-libši, rev. 24 <i>110 NINDA 8 GI e-pe-^rru¹ ša-ap-ku</i> 110 NINDA 8 GI (= 684m) of earth is heaped up (and)	• Āl-Burruqi • Ālu-dannu • Dūr-Amurru • Dūr-Enlil • Nēmed-Ninurta • Parak-māri • (Pī-nāri) • Nār-bīt- [...] • Tigris

²⁰⁵ See above “a) Hired cultivators” for the mention of *bīt Burruqi*, the “house of Burruqi” in PBS 1/2, 73: obv. ll. 5-7. In the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 68: obv. l. 8 and rev. l. 2 the old and new barley and the arrears (levies of the city gate) and *miksu*-levy of the towns Āl-Burruqi and Āl-pēṣīti are listed. The sender Nūr-Adad promises to settle the debts.

²⁰⁶ cf. Liverani 1996: 19; Paulus 2014d: 83.

				<i>šu-^rú-ru¹ ul ku-ul-lu-um</i> rev. 25 <i>ka-le-e BÂD-^dEn-líl ša iš-tu</i> ¹⁷IDIGNA ¹Ib-ni-^dMAR.TU rev. 26 <i>ša e-pe-ru ša-ap-ku i-na ŠÀ 35</i> NINDA <i>pa-na-tu šu-ra ku-ul-lu-um</i> The rest of the letter concerns reed, which was applied to the <i>kalû</i>-dikes. Further, a cupbearer, butcher, a <i>ša rēši</i>-official and an adolescent divided the reed and put it in place (rev. l. 31). The rest of the letter concerns building works on sluices of canals belonging to Dūr-Amurru and Ālu-dannu.	the reed does not show/is not exposed (to the sun). The <i>kalû</i>-dike(s) of Dūr-Enlil, from the Tigris, of Ibni-Amurru, who had heaped up earth, in 35 NINDA (= 210m) on the front part shows/exposes reed (to the sun).	
CBS 4885	<i>ardu</i>	?	“lord”	The obverse concerns (requests for) written orders from the sender’s lord (obv. ll. 1-4, 10-11), a granary (obv. l. 7), and an overseer (<i>šaknu</i>, obv. l. 9). rev. 1 [...] ÉRIN.ĤI.A <i>ša</i> [...] [...] the <i>šābu</i>-workers of [...] rev. 2 [...] <i>iš-pu-ra um-ma-a</i> ^rU₄-um²¹ [...] (had) sent (a letter) to me (saying) the following: “When [...] rev. 3 [...] ^rx¹-am-ru ÉRIN.ĤI.A-<i>šu-nu</i> [...] ... their <i>šābu</i>-workers ... [...] <i>šu-zi-^rx¹</i> [...] rev. 4 [...] <i>-a ša BÂD-^dEn-líl zu-’i-iz-ma</i> [...] ... distribute... of Dūr-Enlil! ... [...] ^rŠE²/<i>te²/tu²</i>(-)[...] rev. 5 [...] <i>-šu-nu ša i-na pa-an MU ša</i> [...] their [...]... before the year²⁰⁷ in which <i>BÂD-^dEn-^rlíl</i> [...] Dūr-Enlil ... [...] rev. 6 [...] <i>-an mi-’a-a-ti e-pi-ri iš-pu-ku-</i> [...] ... he/they heaped up 100 (units) of earth <i>ma</i> [...] and [...] The rest of the letter pertains to reed (rev. ll. 8, 12) and a “quay of the lady” before a reed marsh (rev. l. 14: <i>kar GAŠAN ša pa-an ap-pa-ri</i>).	• Dūr-Enlil	
PBS 1/2, 36	<i>aḫu</i>	Usāt-Marduk	Amīlīja	Sent from Dūr-Enlil and Ekallātu. Concerns reed. For a summary see above “b) <i>aḫu</i>-letters to Amīl-Marduk”.	• Dūr-Enlil • Ekallātu	
PBS 1/2, 83	<i>ardu</i>	Bēlānu	“lord”	Letter concerns a legal matter. obv. 4 DAM ENSI <i>ša BÂD-^dEn¹-[líl²]</i> The wife of an <i>iššakku</i>-farmer of Dūr-Enlil obv. 5 <i>šar-qa-at-ma i-na GUR₇</i> is a thief! And in the granary obv. 6 <i>ša</i> ^rZI¹-[x]-DINGIR-<i>šu</i> of ... [...]-ilīšu On the reverse, the sender plans to question involved parties.	• Dūr-Enlil	
UM 29-15-729	<i>ardu</i>	?	“lord”	The obverse concerns <i>ḫīštu</i>-weirs in the canal Nār-Dimat[...] and detailed descriptions (of the <i>ḫīštu</i>-weirs) with measurements. On the reverse the canal Nār-iltāni (the “Canal of our goddess”) which irrigates Dūr-Enlil (rev. l. 3’: [...] ^rmi¹-<i>ik-ri ša BÂD-^dEn-líl</i>) is mentioned.	• Dūr-Enlil • Erra-gāmil • Kār-Nabû • (Zibbat-nāri)	

²⁰⁷ For the temporal meaning of *ina pān* see CAD P: 91, s.v. *panu* A.

				Thereafter the canals of the towns Erra-gāmil (which lay near Dūr-Enlilē), the possible town Zibbat-nāri, which could also be a reference to a water storage basin (<i>zi-bat-I₇</i> , “storage basin of the <i>nāru</i> -canal”, also mentioned in BE 17, 6), and Kār-Nabû (Bagdada) are mentioned.	• Nār-Dimat-...] • Nār-iltāni
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Dūr-Enlilē (the theonym Enlil is followed by the signs MEŠ or 𒂗𒂊) lay in the north of Nippur and was an “important economic center that was to a certain degree dependent on Nippur” (van Soldt 2015: 30). Apart from Dūr-Enlilē, the toponym Dūr-Enlil (with the theonym Enlil in the sg.) is attested. In BE 14, 5 from Nippur the payments of levies from BĀD-^d*En-lil* (obv. l. 5) and BĀD-^d*En-lil*.𒂗𒂊 (b.e. l. 4) are listed.

In the following, I try to evaluate whether the references to Dūr-Enlil in the letters could refer to Dūr-Enlilē. Nashef (1982: 90) lists three towns called Dūr-Enlil: 1) one near the Tigris, 2) one with a connection to Nippur and 𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊 (based on BE 1, 33), and 3) one in the Sealand.

1) According to CBS 4742, the Tigris fed Dūr-Enlil’s canals. In the same letter, *hīštu*-weirs of Dūr-Amurru, which lay further north in Bīt-Per’e-Amurru (Nashef 1982: 88; Paulus 2014d: 416-417), are mentioned. The same letter concerns locusts in the lands of Parak-māri (CBS 4742: obv. l. 8), which lay in the south of Nippur (Nashef 1982: 215), as opposed to Dūr-Enlil which supposedly lay in the north of Nippur.

2) According to the votive inscription BE 1, 33 Bīt-Enlil lay between Kiš and Nippur. BE 1, 33 was presumably found in Kiš (Nashef 1982: 90, 303). According to BE 1, 33 Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, the *šandabakku* and *nēšakku*-priest, dedicated a diorite cup of the Bīt-𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊 (l. 23) to king Burna-Buriaš, and performed a “pure water ritual” (l. 26). 𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊 was located near Kiš (Nashef 1982: 32; in the Kassite letter CBS 7880 the sender reports about his management of canals that irrigate 𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊). The ritual was performed in Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē’s “subsistence field” (gána šuku-da-ni), which bordered on the bank of KAL-Lātārak canal, the Nanna-gugal canal, Dūr-Enlil, the Edištum canal, and the “fields of Nippur” (BE 1, 33: ll. 14-21). The KAL-Lātārak canal lay near Kiš (the deity Lātārak belonged to Ištar’s circle, and Ištar was worshipped in Kiš and 𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊, cf. Lambert 1987-1990: 163-164; Nashef 1982: 303); According to BE 17, 3 (see above “aa) Dūr-Enlilē, Dūr-Nusku and Erra-gāmil”) the Nanna-gugal canal lay in the area of Dūr-Enlilē and/or Nippur (Nashef 1982: 308). Thus, the Dūr-Enlil in BE 1, 33 could be identified with Dūr-Enlilē in the north of Nippur. Note that in the texts from Dūr-Enlilē in CUSAS 30 the goddess Ištar is the deity, which appears most often, and Lātārak appears once (cf. van Soldt 2015: 584).²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Further, a list of Ištar temples throughout Babylonia was found among the texts from Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30, 451; however, it may have been a Sealand tablet, cf. van Soldt 2015: 529).

In the letter UM 29-15-729 Dūr-Enlil is mentioned in the same letters as Erra-gāmil, which lay near Dūr-Enlilē. The same letter informs us that Dūr-Enlil was irrigated with the canal Nār-iltāni, the “Canal of our goddess”. Since Dūr-Enlil has a *kār bēlti*, “quay of the lady” in CBS 4885, it may be that the name of both the quay and the canal refer to the same city goddess. This would mean that the Dūr-Enlil in both letters is the same town. UM 29-15-729 also mentions Kār-Nabû, which probably lay in the province Bagdada (see below “a) The provinces in which Kudurrānu worked”), and which may have bordered on Kiš from the north.

The town BĀD-^dEN.LÍL.LE.KE₄ appears in a year name of the Sealand king Ayadaragalama to commemorate the rebuilding of a temple (mu a. a-dāra-galam.ma lugal.e é.unú^(ki) libir.ra (bād. ^den.líl.le.ke₄ mu.un.dù?), cf. Boivin 2018: 123-124). The Sealand I king Ayadaragalama presumably had control over Nippur (see the hymn of Ayadaragalama to the gods of Nippur (P431311), cf. Boivin 2018: 64, 103). Boivin (2018: 124, fn. 152) suggests that Dūr-Enlilē may be the former (?) Dūr-Abī-ešuh, since Enlil was worshipped there. Two towns called Dūr-Abī-ešuh existed in the late OB period as fortresses against the Sealand I dynasty, one close by Nippur (CUSAS 8 and 29), near the canal Ḫammurapi-nuḫuš-nišī, which connected Nippur to the Tigris, and a second on near a barrage of the Tigris (Boivin 2018: 97-99). Note that the *kalû*-dikes of Dūr-Enlil discussed in the Kassite letter CBS 4742: rev. ll. 20, 25 are located in (a canal branching from ?) the Tigris.

3) According to Chronicle 20B a town called Dūr-Enlil, which is still attested in the NA period (Nashef 1982: 90), lay in the Sealand and had an Enlil-temple which Agum destroyed (Brinkman 2017: 10, fn. 70; Boivin 2018: 123). The *aḫu*-letter from Dūr-Enlil and Ekallātu, PBS 1/2, 36, which concerns work involving reed (rev. ll. 5, 10), may have come from the Sealand province, since a town called Ekallātu receives fish deliveries from the sea for regular *ginû*-offerings in JCS 19, 98-99: rev. ll. 4-10 (see below “6.3.3 JCS 19, 98-99”). PBS 1/2, 36 also concerns work involving reed (rev. ll. 5, 10), which may be a reference to the reed in the marshes and swamps in the Sealand province in the south of Babylonia (however, two letters associated with Dūr-Enlil no. 1) and 2), CBS 4885 and CBS 4742, both intensively report on work involving reed, so this is not an argument to localise Dūr-Enlil).

Note that CUSAS 30, 298: rev. l. 9 from Dūr-Enlilē may contain a reference to Dūr-Enlil (last signs unclear, cf. van Soldt 2015: 374).

The Kassite letters cannot answer the question whether Dūr-Enlilē can be identified with Dūr-Enlil. It is possible that the town Dūr-Enlil in the Kassite letters CBS 4742, UM 29-15-729, and, perhaps, CBS 4885 can be identified with Dūr-Enlilē. This would place Dūr-Enlilē in the northeast of Nippur, between Nippur and Kiš, with an irrigation fed by the Tigris. Further, the importance of Ištar and Lātārak may point to an identification of Dūr-Enlilē and Dūr-Enlil. This, however, cannot be proposed with certainty.

ac) Dimtu, Kār-Nusku and Tukultī-Ekur

For a reference to Tukultī-Ekur and Dūr-Enlilē in BE 17, 39, HS 114 and PBS 1/2, 50 see above “aa) Dūr-Enlilē, Dūr-Nusku and Erra-gāmil” and below “a) Dūr-Kurigalzu” and “b) Babylon”.

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponyms/hydronyms
CBS 4788	<i>ardu</i>	Nabium-nāšir	“lord”	Report about the irrigation of fields belonging to several towns. On the obverse three towns are mentioned: Ḫar-[...] (obv. l. 7), Āl-Ra-ki-mi (obv. l. 15), and Ālu-ša-[...] (obv. l. 16). On the reverse the sender reports that he let water in canals and will build a <i>kalū</i> -dike near (?) the <i>ḫamru</i> of Kār-Nusku (rev. ll. 6-7), irrigated seeded fields near the town Šar-Sîn and the canal Patti-Enlil (rev. l. 13), and a “released” ration (rev. l. 22 ŠUK <i>muš-šu-ur</i>).	• Āl-Ra-ki-mi • Ālu-ša- [...] • Ḫar- [...] • Kār-Nusku • Šar-Sîn • Patti-Enlil
N 965	<i>ardu</i>	Marduk-līssu	“lord”	The sender reports that he opened the canals of Kār-Nusku and Tukultī-Ekur, and mentions the town Dimtu (obv. ll. 4-6). On the reverse a town ending in [...] -Enlil (rev. l. 3), and beginning with Kār- [...] (rev. l. 6) are mentioned. The letter concerns ploughing and irrigation; on the reverse a <i>ludū</i> -field and summoning and sending out a workforce are mentioned.	• Dimtu • Kār-Nusku • Tukultī-Ekur • [...] -Enlil • Kār- [...]
PBS 1/2, 49	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	The sender orders Marduk-muballit to divide a sesame field in Tukultī-Ekur, and later describes the ripening period (?) of sesame fields of the town Āl-bāšāti and Tukultī-Ekur, as well as <i>ugāru</i> -land of Tukultī-Ekur. Further, oxen and ploughmen shall be brought to Tukultī-Ekur.	• Āl-bāšāti • Tukultī-Ekur
PBS 1/2, 61	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	Report about reed, <i>tamirtu</i> -land and ploughmen; <i>ḫar-bi ša TUKUL-ti-É-kur</i> ^{K1} <i>Kar-^dNusku ù AN.ZA.GÀR</i> ^{K1} <i>lil-li-ku-nim-ma</i> , “The <i>ḫarbu</i> -ploughs of Tukultī-Ekur, Kār-Nusku and Dimtu shall come to me” (obv. ll. 9-11).	• Dimtu • Kār-Nusku • Tukultī-Ekur
UM 29-16-686	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	See below “6.2.8 Dating Lal-ur-alim”. In obv. l. 4 the <i>ḫarbu</i> -fields of Kār-Nusku are mentioned.	• Kār-Nusku
CBS 2104	<i>ardu</i>	Enlil-tukultī	“lord”	The sender writes about the <i>tamirtu</i> -land of Kār-Nusku (obv. l. 4), and mentions seeds and reed as well as another town beginning with Dūr- [...] (obv. l. 8).	• Dūr- [...] • Kār-Nusku

ad) Āl-Irrē and Pī-nāri

For references to Āl-Irrē and Pī-nāri in the *ardu*-letters PBS 1/2, 57, 59 and the *aḫu*-letter BE 17, 92 see above “5.2.6 Ninnū’a” and below “b) Bīt-Sîn-māgir”.

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym
CT 43, 102	<i>ardu</i>	Ninurta-kabit-aḫḫēšu ²⁰⁹	“lord”	See the translation above in chapter “4.4 The archival context”.	• Āl-Irrē • Pī-nāri
PBS 1/2, 20	<i>ardu</i>	Etel-pû	“lord”	The sender manages the workforce in Āl-Irrē, but is located in Nippur (rev. l. 14). However, he reports about the town and hinterland of his lord, possibly Āl-Irrē. He complains about idle workers in the town Āl-Irrē: obv. 5b URU-<i>Ir'-re-e ša be-lí</i> The town Āl-irrē, which my lord obv. 6 <i>i-du-ú ša il-ki ù di-ku'-ti šu-ú</i> knows, which is that of the <i>ilku</i>-duty and the corvée work performed upon summons²¹⁰, obv. 7 ÉNSI.MEŠ <i>ša i-bi-ra i-na ŠÀ</i> after the <i>iššakku</i>-farmers, which he had chosen, had obv. 8 <i>ul-li-i</i> organised themselves in the area over there obv. 9 <i>šu-ta-pu'-tu ki-i i-ri-du-ú šu-ú</i> in a <i>šutāpu</i>-cooperative, obv. 10 <i>ša ši-in-nu-ú GU₄.MEŠ ù iš-ten-</i> it (the <i>šutāpu</i>-cooperative), obv. 11 <i>nu-ú ÉNSI.MEŠ</i> which (is out of) two oxen each and a single one of obv. 12 <i>il-ka la i-la-ku-ma</i> the <i>iššakku</i>-farmers, The idle <i>iššakku</i>-farmers caused the sender a loss, so he requests ploughs to fulfil their duty (obv. ll. 10-20). In b.e. ll. 1-2 Etel-pû writes that the city gate and one <i>ḫarbu</i>-field of Āl-Irrē are exempt from levies. According to the reverse servants of the lord were present in Āl-Irrē, a granary of the sender as well as beer and garlic, and fodder for donkeys is mentioned.	• Āl-Irrē • Nippur

²⁰⁹ Hölscher (1996: 155) reads Ninurta-kabti-aḫḫēšu.

²¹⁰ For *dékûtu* in the OB period see Stol 2004: 751.

b) South of Nippur

See above “5.1 *aḫu*-letters” for *aḫu*-letters (CT 44, 67) from Parak-māri²¹¹ and Dūr-Sîn-muballiṭ.

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponyms/hydronyms
BE 17, 83	<i>bēlu</i>	Ninurta-apla-iddina	Innannu	See below “6.1 Innannu” and “6.2 Martukkû and Lal-ur-alim”	• Āl-šēlibi • Nippur
BE 17, 86	<i>bēlu</i>	Inbi-ajjari	Innannu		• Nippur • Karû
HS 110	<i>bēlu</i>	Lal-ur-alim	Martukkû		• Āl-šēlibi

²¹¹ According to Nashef (1982: 215) Parak-māri lay in the south of Nippur.

5.3.2 East

a) Dēr

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym																																																
BE 17, 89	<i>aḫu</i>	Pān-Ani-rabī-lūmur	Ninnū'a	See above “5.2.6 Ninnū'a”.	• Nippur • Sippar																																																
BE 17, 5	<i>ardu</i>	Arad-bēlti	“lord”	Address- and greeting-formula of an <i>ardu</i>-letter, blessing of an <i>aḫu</i>-letter (the town Dēr and the god Iṣtarān shall protect the life of the sender's lord). The letter text only consists of submissive elements of a greeting formula of <i>aḫu</i>-letters, which are also found in Amarna letters from the Levant and Ugarit (obv. 8-rev. 1. 3). The sender must come from a religious background since he sends the rests of offerings to his lord. Prebends (GIŠ.ŠUB.BA, Akkad. <i>išqu</i>) could consist of the rest of offerings.²¹² The letter accompanied a delivery from the sender to his lord consisting of wine of the province Tupliaš (Nashef 1982: 265; Paulus 2014d: 192). <table><tr><td>obv. 1</td><td>[a-na be]-lī-ia</td><td>Say the followin[g] [to] my [l]ord:</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 2</td><td>qī-bī-ma um-ma-[a]</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>obv. 3</td><td>¹URDU-GAŠAN.NA URDU-k[a]</td><td>Arad-bēlti, your servant.</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 4</td><td>a-na di-na-an be-lī-ia</td><td>I shall go as my lord's substitute.</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 5</td><td>lu-ul-li-ik</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>obv. 6</td><td>BAD-AN^{K1} ū [d]IŠTARAN</td><td>The city Dēr and the god Iṣtarān</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 7</td><td>na-ap-ša-[at] be-lī-ia li-iš-šu-ru</td><td>shall protect the life of my lord!</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 8</td><td>DINGIR.MEŠ ma-la be-lī</td><td>The gods, as many as my lord</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 9</td><td>pa-al-ḫu-šu-nu-ti</td><td>worships,</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 10</td><td>na-ap-ša-a-ti ša be-lī-ia</td><td>shall protect the life of my lord!</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 11</td><td>li-iš-šu-ru</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>obv. 12</td><td>ū a-na ia-ši ša be-lī</td><td>And for me, whom my lord</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 13</td><td>qá-^ras¹-su ^ri¹-[na] ^rmu¹-uḫ-ḫi-ia</td><td>has placed his hand upon,</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 14</td><td>um-mi-du [...] ša [...] x-x</td><td>[...] who [...] (?)</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 15</td><td>ta-ap-pu-^rū¹[-ta² li-il-li-ik²]</td><td>(for me) he shall come to (my) assistance!</td></tr><tr><td>obv. 16</td><td>a-^rna pa-an LUGAL¹ lu [...]</td><td>To the king (I) shall [...]</td></tr></table>	obv. 1	[a-na be]-lī-ia	Say the followin[g] [to] my [l]ord:	obv. 2	qī-bī-ma um-ma-[a]		obv. 3	¹ URDU-GAŠAN.NA URDU-k[a]	Arad-bēlti, your servant.	obv. 4	a-na di-na-an be-lī-ia	I shall go as my lord's substitute.	obv. 5	lu-ul-li-ik		obv. 6	BAD-AN ^{K1} ū [d]IŠTARAN	The city Dēr and the god Iṣtarān	obv. 7	na-ap-ša-[at] be-lī-ia li-iš-šu-ru	shall protect the life of my lord!	obv. 8	DINGIR.MEŠ ma-la be-lī	The gods, as many as my lord	obv. 9	pa-al-ḫu-šu-nu-ti	worships,	obv. 10	na-ap-ša-a-ti ša be-lī-ia	shall protect the life of my lord!	obv. 11	li-iš-šu-ru		obv. 12	ū a-na ia-ši ša be-lī	And for me, whom my lord	obv. 13	qá- ^r as ¹ -su ^r i ¹ -[na] ^r mu ¹ -uḫ-ḫi-ia	has placed his hand upon,	obv. 14	um-mi-du [...] ša [...] x-x	[...] who [...] (?)	obv. 15	ta-ap-pu- ^r ū ¹ [-ta ² li-il-li-ik ²]	(for me) he shall come to (my) assistance!	obv. 16	a- ^r na pa-an LUGAL ¹ lu [...]	To the king (I) shall [...]	• Dēr • Tuplijaš
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²¹² A prebend is a “customary function-related income of a member of the Mesopotamian institutional clergy”. “[C]ertain groups of participants (nar, gudu₄, gala) in specific rites each collectively received the requirements, especially food, for those rites and on the other that specified participants, named or indicated by title only, obtained specified gifts. Some persons with possible clerical status, amongst others, received remnants of offerings, notably bread, in texts from a routine Ur III file from the Inanna temple archive from Nippur” (van Driel 2003-2005: 518-520). See also Paulus 2014d: 88-90: the land grants to temples could include stipulations that the (population on the) granted lands had to deliver agricultural produce to the temple.

				rev. 1 rev. 2 rev. 3 rev. 4 rev. 5 rev. 6 rev. 7	<i>bu-ur-ki</i> ù ^r še-e ¹ -[pī] <i>ša be-lí-ia ut-te-eš-ši-i</i> [q] <i>ù at-ta-ta-ag-ra-ar</i> ^{GI} ŠGĚSTIN <i>mar-ru ša Tu-up-li-a-aš</i> <i>ri-ḫe-et</i> ^d IŠTARAN <i>ra-^ri-mi¹-ka</i> <i>ù</i> LUGAL <i>i-ra-’a-a-mu</i> <i>be-lí ba-la-ṭa li-il-ti</i>	The knees and the feet of my lord I kissed repeatedly and I bowed down repeatedly. The sour wine from Tuplijaš, the leftovers of (the offerings presented to) the god Ištarān, of the one who loves you, - and since he (=the god Ištarān ?) loves the king - my lord may drink the life!	
UM 29-13-638	<i>ardu</i>	Burra-Ištarān	“lord”	Address- and greeting-formula of an <i>ardu</i> -letter, blessing of an <i>aḫu</i> -letter (the town Dēr and the god Ištarān shall protect the life of the sender’s lord). The rest of the letter concerns the processing of barley from several towns, probably in the vicinity of Dēr. obv. 1 obv. 2 obv. 3 obv. 4 obv. 5 obv. 6 obv. 7 obv. 8 obv. 9 obv. 10 obv. 11 obv. 12 obv. 13 obv. 14 obv. 15 rev. 1’	<i>[a]-^rna¹ be-lí-ia qí-bí-ma</i> ^r <i>um¹-ma Bur-ra-^dIŠTARAN</i> ^r <i>ÚRDU¹-ka-ma a-na di-na-an</i> ^r <i>be¹-lí-ia lu-ul-i-ik</i> ^r <i>De²-er ^rù¹ ^dIŠTARAN</i> <i>nap-šat be-lí-ia li-iš-šur-ru</i> URU.KI [x x] EN [<i>ní</i>]- <i>di-i-^rtu¹</i> ^{URU} <i>Ma-la-ki</i> <i>ša-ak-nu</i> ŠE.BAR <i>iš-tu ŠÀ-bi</i> <i>ú-ši-^rbi-ru-ma¹ [i]-^rna²¹ URU-</i> <i>ša-^ra¹-[x]^rKI¹</i> <i>ki-ma ar-ri</i> [...] ^r <i>ta¹-ba-ki</i> <i>ú ša ^rURU-ša¹-[...]^{KI}</i> <i>^rú-ši-bi-ru¹ [...] ^ri¹-na ŠÀ-bi ^rx¹-ma</i> <i>i-^rta¹-[...]</i> <i>ku² [...]</i> [...] <i>ní² [...]</i> [...] <i>e² [...]</i> [...] <i>^rna¹-ad [...]</i>	Say the followin[g] [to] my lord: The following (says) Burra-Ištarān, your servant: I shall go as my lord’s substitute. The city Dēr and the god Ištarān shall protect the life of my lord! The town [...] the lord (= owner) of an uncultivated plot of land of the town Malaku they are placed. The barley out of it they grinded (smashed ?). And out of the town Ālu- ša-A[...] like a bird used for decoy (?) [...] of the heaping up and (regarding) that of the town Ālu-ša-[...] they grinded (smashed ?). [...] out of it ... [...] he/they [...] [...] [...] [...]	• Ālu-ša-A[...] • Ālu-ša-[...] • Dēr • Malaku

b) Upī

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym
PBS 1/2, 28	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	Conflicts between the royal administration in Upī and the recipient, the lord of the sender. The sender complains that whenever he cuts reed to build huts for his lord, he cannot transport the reed from the land, perhaps a royal grant, of a certain Irrigu (<i>ina bīt Irrigi</i>), who will take it away from him (rev. ll. 1-5). It is unclear why the Nippurean official wanted to cut reed on land of another person. As a grantee Irrigu would have been exempt from levies, and provincial officials were not allowed on his land to deduce levies. Irrigu seems to have opposed the orders of the lord in Nippur and used the reed for other purposes (a sluice, rev. l. 5). The following lines describe a conflict between the royal administration (a <i>ša rēš šarri</i>) and the household of sender and recipient (the gardeners of the lord): rev. 6 ¹Ki-din-^dIM DUMU ¹A-na-ka-la-ma- ^dIM Kidin-Adad, the son of Ana-kalāma- LÚ SAG LUGAL Adad, the <i>ša rēši šarri</i>, rev. 7 <i>ša i-na</i> UGU ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆.MEŠ <i>ša</i> ^{URU}Ú-pi-i <i>ša-ak-nu</i> who is assigned in the gardens of Upī, rev. 8 ^{LÚ}NU-^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ <i>ša be-lí-ia ir-ta-pi-is ù ul-te-^reb¹-[bi-ir-šu]</i> has beaten the gardener of my lord and he injured him severely! rev. 9 <i>um-ma-a be-el-ka i-na ba-lu-ú ki-ki-ia ù</i> The following: How is your lord doing without me? And rev. 10 <i>a-di-na</i> ^{GIŠ}.HI.A <i>a-na</i> LUGAL <i>ul a-na-ak-ki-is</i> I have not yet chopped the wood for the king. rev. 11 <i>ù šu-ú</i> ^{GIŠ}.HI.A <i>i-na-ak-ki-is</i> NU-^r^{GIŠ}KIRI₆¹ But he, on the other hand, will chop wood. The gardener has told this rev. 12 <i>iq-ta-ba-aš-šu um-ma-a iš-tu [GIŠ[?] na-ak-su?] be-lí ^rlid¹-[...]</i> to him, the following: “After it (= the wood) is chopped my lord shall [...]	• Upī
PBS 1/2, 33	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	Detailed description of repairs of a specific <i>kalû</i> -dike and the irrigation of specific land (A.ŠĀ) in which the lord was directly involved (rev. ll. 1-10). The letter ends with a reference to the <i>šakin māti ša pīhāt Upī</i> in broken context (rev. l. 11).	• Upī
N 930+934	(?)	(?)	(?)	See forthcoming Zimmermann 2021.	• Dūr-Kurigalzu • Upī • Nār-Bīnānīti • Sumundar
BE 17, 23	<i>ardu</i>	Imguru	“lord”	See above “b) Enlil-kidinnī’s correspondence with Imguru”.	• Dūr-Kurigalzu • Panbalu • Upī
UM 29-15-692	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	The letter concerns the irrigation of fields or gardens, <i>iššakku</i> -farmers (obv. l. 7: ^Ē NSI.MEŠ), the town Upī (obv. l. 11), gardeners (obv. l. 13: <i>a-na pa-an</i> NU. ^{GIŠ} KIRI ₆), and two donkeys (obv. l. 15:	• Bagdada • Upī

				2 ANŠE.MEŠ) on its damaged obverse. In rev. ll. 1'-4' the town/province Bagdada²¹³ (rev. l. 2': [...]-ša-Ninurta, "[...] of Ninurta of Bagdadu") is mentioned. In rev. ll. 4'-5' we learn that the sender was informed that a man had not cut šaššūgu tree, which he was supposed to do. In rev. ll. 6-7' the culprit is questioned why he did destroy a garden belonging to someone from Nippur by not cutting the tree (or why he divided it into two parts; <i>hepû</i> can also mean "to divide", cf. CAD H: 173-174, s.v. <i>hepû</i>). The garden, which the accused had destroyed (or divided), was either located in Bagdada or Upī. Possibly in his defence the accused explains that the provincial governor had written down his <i>mandattu</i>-work quota and given it to him (rev. ll. 9'-10'), implying that he was occupied with the <i>mandattu</i>-work quota for the provincial official of Upī. The sender of the letter also talked to the <i>hazannu</i> of Upī. It is unclear whether he did so in order to investigate the matter in the preceding lines further. Upī and Bagdada lay on opposing sides of the Tigris (cf. Paulus 2014c: 197). rev. 11' <i>ù a-na ha-za-an URU Ú-pi-i^{KI}</i> And to the <i>hazannu</i> of the town Upī rev. 12' <i>a-qa-bi-ma an-ni-tas iq-ta-ba-a</i> I was speaking, and he said this to me: According to the <i>hazannu</i> of Upī the provincial governor of Upī had announced to seize something, possibly the workforce. rev. 13' <i>um-ma-a GAR KUR iq-bi-ma</i> "The following: the provincial governor had said rev. 14' <i>ṛi¹-le-qu-ú a-na ia-ši</i> that he was going to take (it/them). For me rev. 15' <i>[x (x)]-a te-ri-ša-ni</i> [...] ... are you requesting of me?" rev. 16' <i>[...] ṛx¹ ÉRIN.MEŠ ša in-ṛdin²¹</i> [...] the <i>šābu</i> workers whom he gave (?) rev. 17' <i>[... be]-ṛli¹-ia [x x x]</i> [...] my lo[rd (?) ...]	
UDBD 114	<i>aḫu</i>	Sîn- šumu- līšer	Amurrija	The recipient knows the <i>mišru</i>-borders of land and shall come to the sender to show them the correct <i>mišru</i>-borders (obv. ll. 5-12). In obv. ll. 12-13 <i>kudurrēti</i> (<i>kudurrūs</i> or borders of royal grants?) of the town Upī are mentioned.	• Kār-bēl-mātāti • Upī

²¹³ The province Bagdada lay between Sippar and the Tigris, where the Nār-šarri flows into the Tigris and between the Tigris and the Nār-mê-aqrūti (Nashef 1982: 129-130; Paulus 2014c: 189).

5.3.3 Northeast (Kudurrānu, Ittīša-aḥbut)

Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut apparently work in the northern and northeastern provinces Akkade, Bīt-Per'e-Amurru, and possibly Bagdada and Upī, but also in the provinces in the north of Nippur, Dūr-Kurigalzu and Babylon:

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym
BE 17, 26	<i>ardu</i>	Kudurrānu	“lord”	see below “6.4.6 The provinces in which Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut worked”	• Ḫībarītu • Kār-Nabû • Taḫtu
BE 17, 27	<i>ardu</i>	Kudurrānu	“lord”		• Āl-mašmašši • Ḫībarītu • Nippur • Šītulu • Taḫtu
BE 17, 28	<i>ardu</i>	Kudurrānu	“lord”		• Akkade • Āl-mašmašši • Kār-Nabû • Šītulu • Patti-Enlil
CT 43, 59	<i>ardu</i>	Kudurrānu	“lord”		• Kār-Nabû • (Nūr-Ištar-Akkade) • Taḫtu
PBS 1/2, 16	<i>ardu</i>	Kudurrānu	“lord”		• Akkade • Kār-Bēl-mātāti • Panbalu • Šītulu
PBS 1/2, 22	<i>ardu</i>	Barmu	“lord”		• Abu • Āl-mār-Bā'ili-elû • Āl-mār-Bā'ili-šaplû • Dunni-[...]
BE 17, 34	<i>ardu</i>	Ittīša-aḥbut	“lord”		• Abu • Ḫībarītu • Tigris

BE 17, 35	<i>ardu</i>	Ittiša-aḫbut	“lord”		• Nippur
PBS 1/2, 15	<i>ardu</i>	Ittiša-aḫbut	“lord”		• Ḫibarītu • Tigris

Note that there is another Kassite *ardu*-letter (PBS 12/1, 24) about amounts of barley, emmer, (beer)vessels and malt from Ḫalman (modern Sarpol-e Zahab, Western Iran, further in the northeast than Zabban and Padan), Burrataš (Nashef 1982: 75, cf. NA Bīt-Burutaš in Parpola 1970: 79-80) and Ḫamana (Nashef 1982: 116), which should have been collected, but have not reached the sender. In the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 63 (see below) Padan and Zabban, and further in the northeast Lubdu are mentioned. Other fragments of Kassite letters tell us about a fortification of Lubdu and *ṣābu*-troops (BE 17, 99:obv. ll. 6, 8), and a lack of fodder for sheep and donkeys in that area (PBS 7, 29: obv. l. 4’).

5.3.4 North:

a) Dūr-Kurigalzu

For a reference to Dūr-Kurigalzu in BE 17, 23 and N 930+934 see above “b) Upī”.

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym
HS 108	<i>ardu</i>	Šūzubanni-Šamaš	“lord”	Report about a the loading of baskets for shipment, and about the departure of a governor and his Assyrian <i>šābu</i> -troops or work crews, perhaps, prisoners of war used as a workforce (obv. ll. 4-5). Šūzubanni-Šamaš orders Kalbu to bring goods by boat to Dūr-Kurigalzu (obv. ll. 6-10). Baskets shall be brought to the “Hittites” (obv. ll. 11-12, perhaps, they are <i>šābu</i> -troops or work crews, as well). Sender suggests to impose levies on the town Kār-bēl-mātāti (between Babylon and Borsippa; obv. l. 13) to procure the goods. On the reverse Šūzubanni-Šamaš writes to his lord that Nusku-karābī-išme shall return, provide feeders, and pour <i>ḫirgalū</i> -flour to <i>qīpu</i> -commissaries, and bring flour up. In the same letter the detention of criminals in Šītulu is discussed (rev. l. 14-t.e. l. 4).	• Āl(u)-[...]Marduk (?) • Dūr-Kurigalzu • Kār-bēl-mātāti • Šītulu
HS 114	<i>ardu</i>	Aḫu-bani	“lord”	The sender of the <i>ardu</i> -letter HS 114 assures his lord on the obverse that his donkeys are well, and then lists numbers of foals from stallions belonging to several men and the king. According to rev. ll. 2-5 experts of donkeys are detained (?) in Dūr-Kurigalzu (<i>mas-su-ú ša ANŠE.MEŠ i-na ʾBĀD-Ku-ri-gal-zu</i> ¹) with their small sons; the lord shall send (a letter) to Dūr-Kurigalzu so that they are released. Further, the crop of the towns Dimtu, Ḫarriḡi, Nitigaldu, Āl-mār-Addu-nāširšu and Abu was destroyed by locusts (rev. ll. 6-8).	• Abu • Āl-mār-Adad-nāširšu • Dimtu • Dūr-Kurigalzu • Ḫarriḡi/Ḫarri-qanî • Nitigaldu
BE 17, 13	<i>ardu</i>	Erība-Marduk	“lord”	Complaint that a <i>ša rēš šarri</i> keeps <i>qīpu</i> commissaries, the servants of the sender’s lord, from Nippur, Dūr-Kurigalzu, and Arad-bēlti, from performing their <i>dullu</i> work duties. This means that the lord of Erība-Marduk had the control over subordinates from in three different provinces. On the reverse of BE 17, 13 Erība-Marduk complains that the interference of the royal official has caused damage, i.e. a lack of food for <i>šābu</i> -workers (peas, cress, oil).	• Arad-bēlti • Dūr-Kurigalzu • Nippur
BE 17, 45	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	Deliveries by the lord to the sender (donkeys) and by the sender to the lord (deliveries of reed), and requests of the sender to his lord (copper, pots for watering). The sender wants to remunerate a man from Lubdu (possibly for a delivery of donkeys from his lord. This would imply that the lord in Nippur organised the delivery of donkeys from Lubdu.). The letter ends with the confirmation that a (legal) issue of the <i>šandabakku</i> of Nippur is entrusted to the sender’s lord, who was located in Nippur, and that something is going to Dūr-Kurigalzu (rev. ll. 7-11).	• Dūr-Kurigalzu
BE 17, 57	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	A field, a tax collector, and tools for offerings in the temple are mentioned. In rev. ll. 4-11 we learn that the sender wants to travel to Dūr-Kurigalzu and asks his lord to organise a delivery of	• Dūr-Kurigalzu

				<i>maṣḥatu</i> -flour for rations to the temple. The letter ends with a confirmation that the sender has travelled to Dūr-Kurigalzu, and expects a written instruction from his lord.	
BE 17, 59a	<i>aḫu/bēlu</i>	(?)	(?)	Only the lower third of the <i>aḫu</i> - or <i>bēlu</i> -letter (2 nd ps. sg. m pronominal suffixes and imperatives) BE 17, 59a is preserved. The sender has been entrusted with a house of the king (!), and mentions the “Subareans of Dūr-Kurigalzu”, who go (?) to the king (obv. ll. 4-5). The recipient shall judge in a court process (b.e. l. 3-rev. l. 1). The last preserved lines concern a town in Dilmun (rev. ll. 2-3).	• Dilmun • Dūr-Kurigalzu
CBS 4777	(?)	(?)	(?)	Only a heavily worn fragment of the letter is preserved. In obv. l. 3’ the ARAD É.GAL ‘BÀD-Ku-ri’-[gal-zu], a “palace servant of Dūr-Kurigalzu” are mentioned.	• Dūr-Kurigalzu
PBS 1/2, 63	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	In the <i>ardu</i>-letter PBS 1/2, 63 Padan and Zabban (cf. map in Nashef 1982) and further in the northeast Lubdu are mentioned, as well as maintenance works on <i>kalû</i>-dikes of canals belonging grantees such as the canal Nāru-ša-Ea-iddina and the town Al-Ea-iddina, and the canal Nār-Qablat-āli, which lay near Dūr-Kurigalzu (cf. Nashef 1982: 314). Further, irrigation work in Dūr-Enlil together with Āl-Sîn-ē/īriš and Al-Ilu-minā-ē/īpuš, and in Pān-šēri directly bordering on Nippur are mentioned. Then, the sender quotes his lord, who requested that he should send fled workers to him. The sender writes: obv. 22 <i>iš-tu u4-um be-lí a-na BÀD-Ku-ri-gal-zu iš-pu-ra-an-ni im-ma-ti ÉRIN.ĦI.A i-na le-qé-e</i> Since the day when my lord had sent me to Dūr-Kurigalzu, during the taking of <i>šābu</i>-workers, obv. 23 <i>ù lu ḫa-al-qu-ti eš-šu-ti ša il-qu-ni a-na be-lí-ia ul aš-pu-ra</i> and, be it new fled ones, which they had taken to me, when have I not send (them) to me lord? The last part of the letter concerns the procurement of wooden beams in Dūr-Kurigalzu for the regular <i>ginû</i>-offering in several temples (obv. l. 29).	• Āl-Ilu-minā-ēpuš • Āl-mār-Sîn-ē/īriš • Āl-(Pap)sukkal-zākir/iddina²¹⁴ • Dūr-Kurigalzu • Dūr-Enlil • Kari[...] • Lubdu • Padan • Pān-šēri • Zabban • Nār-qablāt-āli • Nāru-ša-Āl-(Pap)sukkal-zākir/iddina
UM 29-13-600	<i>aḫu</i>			In this <i>aḫu</i> -letter from Dilmun a criminal or revolting Aḫlamû (obv. l. 28) from Dilmun is apparently transported to Dūr-Kurigalzu.	• Dilmun • Dūr-Kurigalzu

²¹⁴ cf. Hölscher 1996: 288; different reading in Nashef 1982: 311, who reads *É-a* instead of SUKKAL, however, after collation it is clearly SUKKAL.

b) Babylon

For a reference to Babylon in UM 29-15-317 see below “b) Bīt-Sîn-māgir”.

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym
UM 29-13-544	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	The obverse: an annual payment of ducks to the king and the town Malaku (obv. l. 7). Reverse: a garden in Babylon is mentioned (rev. l. 4), as well as seeding.	• Babylon • Malaku
UM 29-15-994	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	The sender of the <i>ardu</i>-letter UM 29-15-994 reports on the obverse about available ʾš^u¹-ru-ub-ti ša ʾÉ¹ DINGIR, the “bringing in of the temple” (obv. ll. 5-6), a <i>ḥištu</i>-weir of the house of Irrigu, and a sluice of the town of Ḥarbe-ianzi. In rev. ll. 1-6 the sender writes (note the unusual word order): rev. 1 ù ša a-na pa-an be-lí-ia And that which had remained before my lord rev. 2 i-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA a-na a-ma-ri in Babylon for inspection rev. 3 2 ITU.MEŠ ki i-ri-ḥu for two months, rev. 4 be-lí a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA a-na (and that which was for) my lord for ka-ša-di reaching Babylon, rev. 5 ul be-lí ṭe-ma iš-pu-ra my lord has not sent a written instruction! Since several <i>ardu</i>-letters report about the beer, bread and rites ready for inspection of their lord, this may be a temple-inspection.	• Babylon • Ḥarbe-ianzi
BE 17, 60a	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	Damaged, the obverse concerns a conflict (obv. ll. 7-9) and a merchant (obv. l. 10). On the reverse the sender reports that he or someone else has been “bound” legally (rev. l. 4: <i>ir-ku-sa-an-ni</i> , “he bound (for) me”), mentions a <i>ku-dúr be-lí-ia</i> , a “ <i>kudurru</i> of my lord” (rev. l. 5), and that his lord sent something or went to Babylon (rev. l. 7: [...] <i>be-lí a-na</i> ^{URU} KÁ.DINGIR.RA).	• Babylon
BE 17, 62	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	Heavily damaged, mentions “bound” (= conscripted) <i>šābu</i> -workers, and that someone or something is going [... a]-ʾna ¹ KÁ.DINGIR.RA (obv. l. 7). On the reverse someone shall be released, and a granary is mentioned.	• Babylon
BE 17, 71	<i>ardu</i>		“lord”	Heavily damaged, Babylon is mentioned in obv. l. 8. The reverse concerns a lack of water in the canals Namkār-simat-Enlil and Namkār-Kaštiliašu.	• Babylon • Namkār-simat-Enlil • Namkār-Kaštiliašu
BE 17, 95	(?)	(?)	(?)	Damaged fragment, mentions Babylon in obv. l. 3; the context is unclear. The rest of the letter concerns a woman called Rīšāti who returned a measuring vessel which was sealed (obv. ll. 9-13), and the lack of a position (someone in office?) in Nippur (rev. ll. 1-2).	• Babylon

N 2627	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	Damaged fragment. Babylon (written syllabically) is mentioned twice; further gold and a messenger are discussed.	• Babylon
Ni. 615	<i>aḥu</i>	Ilī-ippašra	Illilīa	See above “c) Enlil-kidinnī’s correspondence with Dilmun”.	• Āl-bēl-Esusu • Ālu-ša-U[...] • Babylon • Dilmun • Eš[...] • Sîn-nūri • Šašuḫi²¹⁵
PBS 1/2, 24	<i>šarru</i>	Šagarakti-Šuriaš/Kaštiliaš IV	Amīl-Marduk	See above “a) <i>šarru</i> -letters to Amīl-Marduk”.	• Babylon
PBS 1/2, 43	<i>ardu</i>	Nusku-karābī-išme	“lord”	Nusku-karābī-išme collected the <i>telītu</i> -revenue and the <i>šibšu</i> -levy from the Diyala region, Pān-šēri and Babylon for his lord. For a translation and discussion see below “c) PBS 1/2, 15” an above “4.1.1 The provinces and the royal domain”.	• Babylon • Pān-šēri • Diyala
PBS 1/2, 50	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	Report about multiple agricultural issues (work in gardens, the digging of a well, digging of canals, the management of (idle) workers, ploughing and oxen, seeding and irrigation, horses) in provinces bordering on Nippur, i.e. in Pān-šēri (the canal Nār-Dūr-Adad), Tukultī-Ekur (north of Nippur, near Dūr-Enlilē), near Isin (Dūr-Gula), and further in Āl-Ninurta-muballit, Āl-rē’i, and Emūqāt-Marduk. The sender has dug the canal Nār-Dūr-Adad too late, in the month <i>simanu</i> (3rd month, cf. obv. ll. 40-41a). As a consequence the sender asks his lord to do something to his account in Babylon, and punish him how he deems suitable. obv. 41’b NÍG.ŠID-ia After my lord had [...] my account obv. 42’ [i]-^rna¹ KÁ-DINGIR.RA^{KI} be-lí in/out of Babylon, which since the month ki-i [...] ša ul-tu^{ITU}SIG₄.A <i>simanu</i> obv. 43’ [a]-^rdī^{ITU}NE.GAR qá-nu-ú a- until the month <i>abu</i> (5th month) reed [...]. [...] i-na-na be-lí li-tu-ur-^rma¹ Now, my lord shall return (it), and obv. 44’ [li]-pu-uš-ma ^rul-tu qá¹-[ti]-^ria he shall proceed. And since it was too little ma¹-tú-ú be-lí ki li-ib-bi-šu out of my hands, my lord shall treat me obv. 45’a ^rli¹-[pu]-^rša¹-an-ni according to is heart!”	• Āl-Ninurta-muballit • Āl-rē’i • Babylon • Dūr-Gula • Emūqāt-Marduk • Tukultī-Ekur • Nār-Dūr-Adad
PBS 1/2, 53	<i>ardu</i>	Ikūnu	“lord”	See above “g) Enlil-kidinnī in other Kassite letters”.	• Arad-bēlti • Babylon

²¹⁵ cf. Oljdam 1997: 200.

PBS 1/2, 77	(?)	(?)	(?)	See above “2.1.4 Receiving a letter”.	Babylon
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The letter *ardu* N 961: obv. l. 8 may contain a reference to Babylon, but the sign KÁ is unclear.²¹⁶

5.3.5 South:

a) Sealand

letter	type	sender	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym
BE 17, 16	<i>ardu</i>	Ninurta- [...]	“lord”	Ninurta-[...] reports about the feeding of cattle- and sheep herds of the temple and of his lord, the irrigation of the town Šamaš-tukultī, barley seeds, and that he has come down to the sealand [province] (obv. 14).	- Šamaš-tukultī - sea (Sealand ?)
BE 17, 37	<i>ardu</i>	Sîn-karābī-išme	“lord”	Sîn-karābī-išme promises to compensate for a delivery of barley from the Sealand province which had been delivered by 18 boats (obv. ll. 10-14): obv. 10 <i>uṭ-ṭe-ta ša</i> ^{KUR}A.AB.BA^{KI} I am going to compensate for the barley of the Sealand province, obv. 11 18 ^{GIŠ}MÁ <i>it-ti pa-na-a-ti</i> 18 boats with the previous obv. 12 <i>ù ar-ka-a-ti</i> and the future (deliveries ?), obv. 13 <i>ša ik-šu-da-ni</i> which have reached me. obv. 14 <i>a-na-ap-pa-lu₄</i> For the rest of the letter see above “a) ‘lettre d’information”.	Sealand
PBS 1/2, 51	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	On the obverse the letter concerns the capturing of thieves (obv. ll. 5-9) and a demand for oxen for ploughing (obv. ll. 9-12). On b.e. l. 1 the sea is mentioned (<i>a-na ta-an-di ša a</i> -[...], “to the sea which I [...]”), followed by several orders about travelling to the sea and the <i>mandattu</i> -work quota. The following lines concern caravans of a man called Aḫlamû ²¹⁷ , who carried gold, and who apparently did not stop at the location of the sender.	sea (Sealand ?)

²¹⁶ N 961:

obv. 6	<i>ṭe-e-em É.GAL ki-i a-ša-lu</i>	The report of the palace, after I had asked,
obv. 7	<i>šu-ul-mu</i>	(everything is) in order.
obv. 8	1 ŠU <i>ú-re-ti ša É</i> ²¹⁶ .DINGIR.RA	60 roofs of the temple (?)
obv. 9	<i>il-ta-nu-ú</i>	they have done again.

The sign is a LAGAB or É. É DINGIR.RA, i.e. “temple” is uncommonly written with the Sumerian genitive RA. The following text mentions the restoration of a prison É.SIKIL.LA (for the É.SIKIL.LA see Levavi 2017: 100-101), *ḫazannus*, digging of foundations and irrigation canals, restorations on walls with straw (cf. the reverse of N 961).

²¹⁷ The Aḫlamû were a Westsemitic population (Sassmannshausen 2001: 130), but here a personal wedge indicates that Aḫlamû is a personal name (cf. attestations listed in Hölscher 1996: 24).

				rev. 7 KASKAL.MEŠ <i>ša</i> KÙ.SI₂₂ <i>ša</i> ¹<i>Aḫ-la-mi-i</i> The caravans of the gold of the Aḫlamû rev. 8 <i>a-ka-nu ul ú-ri-da-ni a-na ta-an-di</i> did not come down here to me. rev. 9a <i>it-tar-da-ni</i>²¹⁸ They have come down to the sea. In order to acquire gold from the caravan the sender wants to travel to the sea.²¹⁹ In the same context the sender plans to collect a payment due (<i>esēru</i>) consisting of “the barley of the dates” (ŠE.BAR <i>ša</i> ZÚ.LUM.MA), implying an exchange of barley for dates or the payment of a price in form of barley. On the other hand “barley of dates” could refer to barley cultivated below date palms in a garden.²²⁰ Dates came from Dilmun, and the Sealand province was the first stop on the way from Dilmun to the north. rev. 9b <i>lu-li-ik-ma</i> KÙ.SI₂₂-<i>ma</i> I shall go, and I shall take gold and rev. 10 <i>lu-ul-qé ú ŠE.BAR ša ZÚ.LUM.MA</i> I shall collect the grain of the dates, and <i>lu-si-ir <a>-na</i> rev. 11 <i>man-da-at-ti lu-ur-ku-us ú</i> for the <i>mandattu</i>-work quota I shall bind (them), and	
PBS 1/2, 62	<i>ardu</i>	Ninurta-mīna-[...]	“lord”	The damaged letter concerns gold, specifically bracelets and ankle-bracelets made of gold. The sender waits for “those of the sea” (obv. l. 6: <i>ša tam-ti a-di-na ul i-ka-ša-du-ni</i>). Further a miller/millstone (obv. l. 15: ÅR.ÅR) is mentioned. On the reverse the transfer of goods (among others a type of beer), and the [...] ¹IG¹ <i>ša KÁ É.GAL a-šar be-el-ka</i> ¹šur¹ [...] ¹x¹-<i>bi a-na a-bi</i>, “the door of the palace gate, where your lord [...] to my father” (rev. ll. 10-11) are discussed. Unfortunately it is unclear whether the gate of the palace appears in a quotation from a previous order by the lord or from a third party (Iddin-Enlil, who is mentioned in rev. l. 6). The rest of the letter seems to pertain to the provision of worker (?), among others a “simpleton” (rev. l. 18: <i>sa-ak-lu</i>).	• sea (Sealand ?)

²¹⁸ The first ps. sg. accusative suffix *-ni* (Aro, 1955: 55) does not make sense here. If the caravans arrived at a different geographical location than the one of the sender, then the sender cannot report that they have come down “to me”. This might be a scribal error of the sender.

²¹⁹ Not only the income of temples, but also the income of the lands of the palace, largely consisted of barley, obtained through levies and leasing land, for instance. Acquiring gold through and from merchants for the temple is well attested (for the OB period cf. van de Mieroop 1993: 62, for the NB period and the Eanna temple cf. Joannès 1982: 244-256; Kleber 2008: 226-227).

²²⁰ In the NB lease contracts of gardens sharecropping could include the payment of the rent in the form of fruits or barley which were cultivated below the date palms in the garden (“*Unterkultur* (Obstbäume oder Gerste)”, cf. Jursa 2003-2005: 177-179). Perhaps, the sender wanted to collect the lessor’s share of a sharecropping agreement, i.e. the rent for leased gardens from lessees for his lord.

b) Bīt-Sîn-māgir

letter	type	sender(s)	recipient	content	toponym/hydronym
BE 17, 9/PBS 1/2, 57	<i>ardu</i>	Banâ-ša-Marduk/(?)	“lord”	<i>Šābu-workers</i> of the <i>šandabakku</i> Enlil-kidinnī were detained in the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir by a <i>šakin-tēmi</i> official (see the detailed discussion below in “6.3. Banâ-ša-Marduk”). The lord in Nippur receives reports about the irrigation and his workers in Bīt-Sîn-māgir and in Pī-nāri, which lay near Nippur (cf. PBS 1/2, 57). A <i>bārû</i> Martukkû is involved in the management of a canal in Bīt-Sîn-māgir.	• Āl-dālī • Bīt-Kidinnī • Bīt-Sîn-māgir • Rakābu • Pī-nāri
BE 17, 11	<i>ardu</i>	Bēlānu	“lord”	Bēlānu reports that he cultivated a <i>harbu tēmi</i> -field of his lord. This was apparently not his usual task, but he had to do it, because the ploughmen of his lord had neglected the seeding, irrigation and protection of the field (obv. l. 4-rev. l. 3). On the reverse he reports that <i>šābu-workers</i> returned to Nippur and Arad-bēlti; and that the local <i>šābu-workers</i> in his town were “bound (= conscripted) for the <i>dullu</i> -work duty of the <i>harbu tēmi</i> fields of the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir” (rev. ll. 8-9). Thus, the sender asks his lord to send him a workforce.	• Arad-bēlti • Bīt-Sîn-māgir • Nippur
BE 17, 59	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	The <i>šandabakku</i> is quoted in the 3 rd ps. He enquires about the poverty of <i>šābu-workers</i> of (the province) Bīt-Sîn-māgir (rev. ll. 3-4) and the reason for ordering the workers to dig a canal belonging to the temple of Enlil (EN KUR.KUR, rev. ll. 5-8).	• Āl-Iddin-Marduk • Bīt-Sîn-māgir • Namgāru-ša-Bēl-mātāti
JCS 19, 98-99	<i>ardu</i>	Banâ-ša-Marduk/(?)	“lord”	See below “6.3.3 JCS 19, 98-99”.	• Babylon (Edurmaḥ) • Bīt-ŠEŠ.AN • Ekallātu²²¹ • Nippur (Ekur, Ešumeša, Ekiur/Ebaradurgara) • Nār-bīni • Nāru-šēḫru • Tigris
N 3393	hybrid	Dajjān-Marduk	Kidinnīja	Dajjān-Marduk mentions his own province (obv. l. 12: <i>a-na pi-ḫa-ti-ia</i>) and that someone neglected a <i>pi-ḫa-ta ra-bi-ta</i> , “a large province” (obv. ll. 13, 17). This province was either Bīt-Sîn-māgir (including the town Mankiṣ(š)u), or its neighbouring province. Dajjān-Marduk predicts that someone (pl.) will send (a letter) to Enlil-kidinnī’s father about Bīt-Sîn-māgir (obv. ll. 6-8). In the same letter it is implied that the <i>šandabakku</i> managed temple lands in distant provinces such as	• Bīt-Sîn-māgir • Mankiṣ(š)u • Euphrates

²²¹ Ekallātu probably lay in the Sealand near Dūr-Enlil, cf. Nashef 1982: 90, and PBS 1/2, 36: obv. ll. 4-5.

				Bīt-Sîn-māgir, since the sender reports about canals of a temple and the recipient's <i>ikkaru</i> -farmers (obv. ll. 9-10).	
PBS 1/2, 56	<i>ardu</i>	(?)	“lord”	A <i>māḥiṣu</i> (hunter) shall catch wild donkeys that are scattered in Bīt-Enlil (obv. ll. 4-8). “And in the town Kirimmi-Ištar, in Bīt-Sîn-māgir, five wild donkeys are drinking water, and the water was sitting (= becoming less ?) in the <i>nāru</i> -canals” (obv. ll. 9-12). The rest of the letter contains several requests to the lord to fill ponds with water; the lord shall also give orders (rev. l. 6: <i>be-li li-iq-bi-ma</i>) about the cultivation of the land of the king (rev. l. 4: A.ŠA LUGAL). According to PBS 1/2, 56 the lord of the sender, a provincial official in Nippur, controlled canals and ponds in the provinces Bīt-Enlil and Bīt-Sîn-māgir, and also influenced the cultivation of land of the king.	• Bīt-Enlil • Bīt-Sîn-māgir • Kirimmi-Ištar
PBS 1/2, 59	<i>ardu</i>	Erība-Marduk	“lord”	The letter concerns reed of the Nār-Bīnānīti (obv. ll. 4-7), a request for an order of the king (obv. l. 8), and a <i>ḥazannu</i> of his lord (rev. l. 2). In rev. ll. 4-7 in Āl-irrē, which lay near Dūr-Enlilē, a scribe from Bīt-Sîn-māgir has put barley into a granary and fled. It is interesting that a scribe from a different province is working in Āl-irrē.	• Āl-irrē • Bīt-Sîn-māgir • Nār-Bīnānīti
UM 29-15-317	<i>ardu</i>	Iddin-...]	“lord”	Letter begins with assurance that the bread and beer for temple offerings are of a good quality and the rites are (conducted) correct(ly), and that adolescent servants were present (obv. ll. 1-5). According to obv. l. 6 “[t]he temple and the house of my lord are in best order”, implying that the recipient in Nippur was the head of a household and a temple, making it likely that it was the <i>šandabakku</i>. Then the sender reports about the behaviour of the <i>šakin māti</i> of Bīt-Sîn-māgir, who ate in the temple, i.e. received temple prebends. He asks the brewers to take the left-overs from the offerings with him to Babylon (?), and is told that the king ordered the adolescent servants to do so. However, according to rev. ll. 4-5 the adolescents did not take it, and the governor of Bīt-Sîn-māgir did not take the brewers with him. obv. 7 ^{LU}GAR.KUR <i>ša É-d30-ma-gir</i> U₄-25-KAM After the <i>šakin māti</i> (governor) of Bīt-Sîn-māgir on the 25th day, obv. 8 <i>ša mu-ši ki-i ik-šu-da</i> U₄-27-KAM of (in) the night had reached me, on the 27th obv. 9 <i>a-di še-e-ra a-na É DINGIR ki-i i-ru-bu</i> until the morning after he had entered the temple, obv. 10 É DINGIR.MEŠ <i>it-ta-ta-al-la-ak</i> (in) the temples he walked repeatedly around, obv. 11 <i>i-na É DINGIR ip-ta-ta-an</i> he ate repeatedly in the temple, obv. 12 ^{LU}LUNGA.MEŠ <i>ša a-na É.GAL il-li-ku</i> (and) after he had asked the brewers, who had come to the palace, obv. 13 ^{ti}it¹-ti-šu <i>na-ša-a i-na</i> ^{KA} DINGIR¹ to carry with him to Babylon, [...] obv. 14 ^{ki}ki¹-i <i>iš-a-lu-šu-nu-^{ti}ti¹</i> [...] now, they have said: b.e. 1 ^aa¹-ka-an-na <i>iq-ta-bu-^{ti}ti¹</i> “The following: that which had been presented (as an offering?), which the king had ordered (them) b.e. 2 ^{um}um¹-ma-a <i>ṭuḥ-ḥi ša LUGAL iq-bu-^{ti}ti¹</i>	• Babylon • Bīt-Sîn-māgir

				rev. 1 <i>na-da-na šu-ḥa-ru-ú qa-ad-ni</i> to give, the adolescent servants under our hand rev. 2 <i>ul-te-lu-ú</i> ^{LÜ}GAR.KUR <i>ša 5 TI ša-</i> they have let it come up.” <i>ka</i>²¹ After the <i>šakin māti</i> (governor) of ... five ... rev. 3 <i>ki-i iš-a-lu a-ka-an-na iq-ta-bu-ú</i> asked, they said thus: rev. 4 <i>um-ma-a LUNGA.MEŠ ul il-qé</i> “The following: he did not take the brewers, rev. 5 <i>ù šu-ḥa-ru-ú ul il-qu-ú</i> and the adolescent servants did not take (it).” The left-overs from the offerings (?) are stored in the sealed house, and the <i>šakin māti</i> (governor), probably the same one mentioned before, i.e. the governor of Bīt-Sîn-māgir, asks whether collected payments (<i>isru</i>) of bitumen and reed are the result of an old <i>ilku</i>-duty (rev. ll. 9-10). The <i>šakin māti</i> is mentioned again in t.e. l. 1.	
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6. An economic profile of six officials

In this chapter the letters of six officials are discussed in detail. The case-studies comprise a) recipients of *bēlu*-letters from a temple household in Nippur, b) senders of *bēlu*-letters, c) senders of *ardu*-letters from distant provinces, and d) the sender of an *ahu*-letter. This table gives an overview over the periods in which six officials were active.

six officials							Innannu																									
							Lal-ur-alim																									
							Martukkû 1								Martukkû 2																	
							Banâ-ša-Marduk																									
													Kudurrānu																			
													Ittiša-aḫbut																			
šanda- bakku (years in office)	Amilātu (Sassmannshausen 2001: 16)			Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē BB II			Enlil-kidinnī BB II 24 -			Enlil-AL.ŠA ₆ NM 8 -			Ninurta-apla-iddina (Balkan 1986: 11)			Uzi-Šugab (Sassmanns hausen 2001: 16)			Amīl- Marduk ŠŠ 9 - Ka 8													
king (regnal years)	Kuri- galzu I		Kadašman- Enlil I (1369-1355)		Burna-Buriaš II (1354-1328)			Kurigalzu II (1327-1303)			Nazi-maruttaš (1302-1277)			Kadašman-Turgu (1276-1259)			Kadaš- man- Enlil II (1258- 1250)		Kudur- -Enlil (1249- 1241)		Šagarakti- Šuriaš (1240- 1228)		Kaš- tiliaš IV (1227- 1220)									
absolute chrono- logy	1380		1370		1360		1350		1340		1330		1320		1310		1300		1290		1280		1270		1260		1250		1240		1230	

Fig. 8: the periods in which Innannu, Lal-ur-alim, Martukkû (1 and 2), Kudurrānu, and Ittiša-aḥbut were active are rough estimates based on the documents discussed below.

6.1 Innannu

Innannu, and a slightly younger colleague Martukkû, appear in a number of administrative lists, specifically expenditure lists, from the area WA. The texts in BE 14, BE 15, and PBS 2/2 (see the lists in Sassmannshausen 2001: 188-190) attest that both, Innannu and Martukkû, frequently provided work material for millers, bakers, and brewers for the production of bread, beer, and flour (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001. 188-190).

The texts from Martukkû and Innannu mostly date to the reign of Nazi-maruttaš, when the *šandabakkus* Ninurta-apla-iddina and Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ were in office (Paulus RAI talk 2018). In her talk about Innannu and Martukkû at the RAI 2018 (Innsbruck) Paulus identified Innannu's (Martukkû's) household with a temple household in Nippur.

Innannu and Martukkû managed external affairs of a temple, i.e. deliveries of work material to brewers and bakers, and loans to farmers and others, and interacted with merchants in order to make purchases for the temple (Paulus RAI talk 2018). The "Archiv des Speichers", which is the archive Sassmannshausen (2001: 187) reconstructs out of the tablets found in area WA (Gula temple) during the 2nd expedition, documents their expenditures (outgoing loans, for instance). Innannu and Martukkû appear as creditors in sealed legal agreements documenting individual loans to *iššakku*-farmers or towns' mayors.

Innannu regularly supervises barley distributions to brewers and bakers to produce beer and bread, and to *iššakku*-farmers in the form of seed. The villages, which the barley Innannu is distributing comes from, as well as the recipients, overlap with those of a man called Inanna-apla-iddina in BE 15, 132 (dating to Kurigalzu II year 2). Thus, Innannu can be identified with Inanna-apla-iddina (Paulus RAI talk 2018).

Many receipts of deliveries of work material from Innannu and Martukkû in BE 14, 15 and PBS 2/2 were sealed by the recipients. This means that the work material (such as barley for beer) was delivered to craftsmen, which did not belong to the temple household, to produce offerings for the temple (i.e. food production was "outsourced"; Paulus RAI talk 2018). This required contracts to safeguard the quality of the products.

An example is the contract BE 14, 42 between Innannu and the millers and brewers. BE 14, 42 stipulated that the millers and brewers were punished, if the final products ("first quality beer" and bread) were neither sweet (the beer) nor good (bread; cf. Sassmannshausen, 2001: 77).²²²

obv. 1	<i>tup-pi ri-ki-iš-ti</i>	The tablet of a contract
obv. 2	<i>ša ¹In-na-an-nu</i>	which Innannu
obv. 3	<i>a-na ^{LÜ}LÜNGA.MEŠ</i>	with the brewers
obv. 4	<i>ù KA.ZÍD.DA</i>	and (with) the <i>kaššidakku</i> -miller
obv. 5	<i>ir-ku-su</i>	concluded.

²²² See the parallels in three Kassite letters, in which the inferior officials assure their respective lords that "(regarding the temples), the bread is good, the beer is sweet, the rites are (conducted) correct(ly)/are ready for the inspection of my lord" (Biggs JCS 19: obv. ll. 2-3; UM 29-15-317: obv. l. 4, HS 112, WZJ 8, pl. ix-x).

obv. 6	KAŠ SAG <i>ul ʔa-am-ma</i>	(If) the first-class beer is not good, and
obv. 7	NINDA <i>ul ba-ni-ma</i>	the bread is not good,
obv. 8	<i>i-na ba-lu</i> ¹ GAL- <i>a-ša-^dU.GUR</i>	(and if) without Rabā-ša-Nergal(‘s permission)
obv. 9	NINDA KAŠ <i>ù mé-re-eš-tu</i>	bread, beer and supplies
obv. 10	<i>i-nam-di-in-ma</i>	he will give (out), then
obv. 11	<i>i-na-du-ú</i>	they will beat (him)
obv. 12	<i>i-ba-qa-nu</i>	(and) they will tear out (his hair).
rev. 1	<i>nap-ḫa-ar</i>	The total of
rev. 2	<i>ši-ka-ri</i>	the beer
rev. 3	<i>ša iš-tu</i> ^{ITU} APIN.DU ₈ .A	from the month <i>araḫsamna</i> (8 th month)
rev. 4	<i>ša MU-1-KAM</i>	of the first year
rev. 5	<i>a-na ka-ap-ru</i>	for the <i>kaprû</i>
rev. 6	<i>i-ka-na-ak</i>	he will seal it.
rev. 7	^{ITU} GU ₄ .SI.SÁ	The month <i>ajjaru</i> (2 nd month),
rev. 8	U ₄ -3-KAM	the third day,
rev. 9	MU-2-KAM	the second year
rev. 10	^d Na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš	of king Nazi-maruttaš.
rev. 11	LUGAL.E	
rev. 12	^{NA4} KIŠIB ^{LU} LUNGA	Seal of the brewer.
rev. 13	^{NA4} KIŠIB KA.ZÍD.DA	Seal of the <i>kašsidakku</i> -miller.

Furthermore, BE 14, 42 tells us that the beer is sealed for the *kaprû*, a type of offering possibly connected to the *akītu* festivals in Nippur and Babylon.²²³ The connection to religious festivities suggests that Innannu had a role in a temple.

The craftsmen took clients from several institutions. The text PBS 2/2, 136 shows that the brewers (Bubbu, the son of Dān-Amurru, and Qubānu, obv. l. 10, rev. ll. 1, 8) delivered beer to several clients, i.e. to a *ša rēši*, *šaknu*, *šandabakku* (represented by his scribe Erību), another brewer, and to the house of Innannu. This shows that Innannu and the *šandabakku* belonged to different households.

The receipt BE 14, 35 and the short list of barley expenditures, BE 14, 79, show that Innannu’s household and the *šandabakku*’s household loaned barley to each other: in the BE 14, 35 Innannu gave barley as a loan for fodder for the horses of the *šandabakku* Enlil-AL.ŠA₆. In BE 14, 79 the cereals are given “out of the house of Ninurta-apla-iddina as if (it was) the hand of Martukkû”, i.e. instead of or for

²²³ The term *kaprû* appears in CBS 10616 (which may come from the palace due to its high CBS number, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 186-187), a register of expected cultic expenses from Nippur. CBS 10616 lists regular ordinary disbursements (*gi-nu-ú kun-nu ša MU.AN.NA*, “established, customary offerings (or dues) for the year”), and extraordinary disbursements for temples, festivals, days of the month, meals of the king (ŠUK LUGAL), and for other religious occasions (cf. CBS 10616 obv. ll. 1’-10’ and ll. 11’-20’, and rev. ll. 1-20, Tenney 2016: 163).

Kaprû may be connected to *akītu* celebrations in Nippur in the month Ajjaru. CBS 10616 lists expenditures for an *akītu*-festival at the temple of Marduk in Nippur (8th Nisannu = 1st month), and for a second *akītu*-festival on the 24th Ajjaru (2nd month), possibly for the god Ninurta (Tenney 2016: 168, 172). Two days later, on the 26th day of the month Ajjaru (2nd month) 0;2.2.0 (140l) of expenditures (possibly milk or ghee) were given as the ŠUK LUGAL, the “food portion of the king”, EN 0;0.1.5 *mer-di-ti*, “including 15 litres of *merdītu*”, and EN 0;1.0.5 *kap-re-e*, “including 65 litres of *kaprû*” (CBS 10616: obv. ll. 18’-20’). Apparently, this amount - with the exception of 0;0.1.5 - was distributed among the temples and shrines of Enlil (0;0.5.0), Ninlil (0;0.2.5), Ninurta (0;0.2.5), and Nusku (0;0.2.5), cf. CBS 10616: obv. ll. 19’-20’ (see Tenney’s interpretation in 2016: 173).

In Tašrītu (7th month), the temples of Marduk and Gula receive expenditures (CBS 10616: ll. 8-9). In 1st millennium Babylonia a second *akītu* may have been celebrated in the month Tašrītu. In CBS 10616: rev. l. 10, on the 26th day of the month Tašrītu (7th month), 0;2.2.0 (140l) of expenditures (possibly milk or ghee), including 0;2.0.5 (125l) of *kaprû* are given as the ŠUK LUGAL, the “food portion of the king”. Tenney (2016: 176) interprets this as a sacrifice, “perhaps for his [=the king’s] consumption later or an indication that this allocation is meant to celebrate, commemorate, or bless a current or deceased monarch rather than to provide sustenance during a royal visit”. It appears that *akītu* festivals were celebrated in Babylon and Nippur in the 7th month, which may be connected to *kaprû*.

Martukkû. The small amounts given out in BE 14, 79 were listed meticulously, since Martukkû was obliged to pay back the loan.

BE 15, 135, a list of expenditures managed by Innannu, tells us that Innannu paid back loans to the palace (ll. 7-9), sent a work material delivery to Bubbu, the brewer (l. 3), but also sent an amount of barley to his own household in Nippur (l. 6: 1.2.4.0 É *In-na-an-ni* NIBRU^{KI}).

According to Paulus (RAI talk 2018), most documents listing amounts of barley given to *iššakku* farmers actually refer to loans from Innannu's temple, and not rations. Innannu often gave barley to certain *iššakku*-farmers (Indardīja, Kakkīšu, his son Meli-Saḥ, Pirnaqu, and the son of Sîn-ēpiru). Paulus gives the example of BE 15, 90: obv. ll. 1-2, which lists "barley loan(s) (measured with) the big *sūtu*-vessel, given. Zarāt-Karkara, the month *šabātu* (11th month), the 18th year [...]". Some of these *iššakku* farmers' names also appear in the damaged list BE 15, 175, which lacks a header and subscript, but probably listed outstanding debts (Torczyner 1913: 25-28). However, BE 15, 90 and BE 15, 175 are not listed among the documents from the temple area WA in Nippur by Sassmannshausen (2001: 187), which would imply that they were found in the palace. However, among the recipients in BE 15, 90 is a Ninurta-apla-iddina, possibly the *šandabakku*. Since the *šandabakku* managed the provincial administration (documents from area WB), we would not expect that he was a recipient of a loan from his own institution (unless we expect modern bureaucracy and a strict dichotomy between office and office holder). Thus, BE 15, 90 and BE 15, 175 were, perhaps, found in area WA, and were issued by the temple institution in area WA to list loans by the temple institution.

Paulus claims that the *iššakku* farmers, who received barley from Innannu, belonged to the palace. She bases this assumption on BE 15, 91, obv. l. 1, which records the *telītu*-revenue (barley and cress) of the *iššakku*-farmers of the town (?) Ekallātu (no KI determinative; Torczyner 1913: 32 translates "of the palaces" instead). In order to associate the *iššakku*-farmers with the palace, Paulus presumably reads *ekallātu*, the "palaces (Pl. f.)" as well. Ekallātu is a town in Babylonia, possibly in the Sealand province (Nashef 1982: 102). BE 15, 91 lists Indardīja, Meli-Saḥ, Pirnaqu, and Sîn-ēpiru, the usual recipients of Innannu's barley. A man named Innannu is listed as the last *iššakku*-farmer, as well. However, BE 15, 91 is listed among the documents from the area WA (Gula temple) in Nippur, and thus lists the revenue from *iššakku* farmers working for the temple.

The names of many of these recipients of barley from Innannu also appear as recipients of barley in BE 15, 37. Obv. ll. 1-2 (heading) reads "barley measured with the big *sūtu*-vessel of the temple given to the *errēšu* farmers and *qattinu* of Zarāt-Karkara". Innannu usually gives out barley in the town Zarāt-Karkara. Thus, Paulus concludes that Innannu's household is identical with the temple household mentioned in the heading of BE 15, 37. Note that BE 15, 37 is not listed among the documents from area WA in Nippur. According to Paulus, the amounts they receive in BE 15, 37, are typical for barley loans, and not for rations. Sassmannshausen (2001: 92) interprets this as a list of rations for one month.

If we look at the barley loans documented on Kassite receipts for barley (or emmer) loans, then a large number were about 300 to an excess of 800 ŠILA of barley,²²⁴ while a few were even larger, at 1200 to 2230 ŠILA,²²⁵ and even fewer ca. 6000-30000 ŠILA.²²⁶ The amounts in BE 15, 37 are much smaller than the barley amounts attested in the contemporary receipts: a *kaššidakku* and a carpenter receive 60 ŠILA of barley, a *māhišu* official receives either 100 ŠILA, 120 ŠILA, or 150 ŠILA, a herald 80 ŠILA, and a leatherworker 150 ŠILA. Certain individuals with well-known names, but listed without occupation, receive as much as 450 ŠILA. As opposed to this adult male workers received monthly rations of 60 ŠILA, an adult woman 40 ŠILA (cf. Paulus 2014e: 235). If the amounts were rations, then they may have provided for the families of the recipients, which consisted of several people of different sex/age-classifications in one month, and four men who receive the amount of one monthly ration: 60 ŠILA (cf. Paulus 2014e: 235). The fact that the well-known recipients Ninurta-aḫa-iddina and Innannu receive 300 ŠILA (obv. l. 10) implies that the expenditures in BE 15, 37 were loans.

BE 15, 163²²⁷ is a list of rations given out over three months in Nippur.²²⁸ In ll. 27-29 Innannu receives “barley (for) eight women of the god (who are) under the ‘hand’ of Amīl-banû”. The rations (are) under the ‘hand’ of Innannu, *bītānu*”; i.e. Innannu supervises the distribution of barley to eight women of a god, who came from the inner part of the temple (*bītānu*) and were supervised by a man called Amīl-banû. Paulus associates the *bītānu*, the “inner area”, with Innannu’s temple, and not with the inner area of a palace. Furthermore, Amīl-banû appears as a supervising official at the end of the list (BE 15, 163: ll. 49).

In the receipt BE 15, 93 Amīl-banû, the porter (of) the *bītānu*, receives 5;0.0.0 of barley from Innannu from/in the town Kandurû. Inbi-ajjari mentions Amīl-banû in her letter BE 17, 86: rev. ll. 3-4 to Innannu:

rev. 3 <i>at-ta ša LÚ-ba-ni-i</i> rev. 4 <i>am-mi-ni ta-ša-pa-ra</i>	You, why have you been writing regarding Amīl-banû to me?
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Later in the same letter BE 17, 86 she mentions an unnamed porter (Amīl-banû was an *apīl bābi*, i.e. “porter”):

²²⁴ See BE 14, 26: 1;2.3.0 (large *sūtu* vessel); BE 14, 41a: 1;4.3.0 (large *sūtu* vessel, ÍB.TAG, arrears, probably of barley, Sassmannshausen 2001: 196); BE 14, 49: 2;4.2.0 or 2.4.3.0 (large *sūtu* vessel); BE 14, 106: 3;3.0.0 (*sūtu* vessel of 7 ŠILA); BE 15, 30: 1;0.0.0 (large *sūtu* vessel); BE 15, 43: 3;0.0.0 (ration-*sūtu* = 7 ŠILA, 1 GUR = 210 ŠILA, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 264); BE 15, 45: 2;0.0.0 (large *sūtu* vessel); BE 15, 63: 1;0.0.0 (large *sūtu* vessel); BE 15, 142: 0;2.3.0 emmer (large *sūtu* vessel); MUN 1: 2;2.3.0 (large *sūtu* vessel); MUN 4: 2;0.0.0 (*sūtu* vessel of 5 ŠILA).

²²⁵ See BE 14, 86: 4;0.0.0 emmer (large *sūtu* vessel), BE 14, 98: 5;0.0.0 barley (large *sūtu* vessel), BE 14, 111: 5;0.0.0 (large *sūtu* vessel); MUN 6: 7;3.5.0.

²²⁶ See BE 14, 115: 95;4.1.0 (arrears, large *sūtu* vessel); BE 15, 82: 14;2.0.0 (large *sūtu* vessel); MUN 7: 20;0.4.0 GUR (ration-*sūtu* = 7 ŠILA, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 264).

²²⁷ On the right edge of BE 15, 163 it says two (!) times *ṭuppāša lā šatrat*, “her tablet was not written”. These statements could be read when the tablet stood on its small side, perhaps in a shelf. As Inbi-ajjari seems to be a high-ranking female who can give orders to Innannu and other men, we could speculate whether these statements in BE 15, 163, which refer to a high-ranking woman, actually refer to her. Another option could be that the feminine genitive/possessive suffix refers to the rations recorded on the tablet (“the tablet about this was not written”).

²²⁸ The majority of recipients in ll. 4-24, 32-38, mostly women (one of them known as palace servant from a different list BE 15, 200, cf. Hölscher 1996: 46), receive 0;0.5.0 in the first two months and 0;1.4.0 in the third months (with one exception: in l. 24 Abbū-ṭābū receives 0;1.2.0 in the third month).

rev. 11 *um-ma¹ a-píl IG-ia*
t.e. 1 *[i]-na e-bu-ri IN lim-ḫu-ur¹*
t.e. 2 *[x] tu¹-ul-te-el-si-ma*

'The following: My porter
shall receive straw in the harvest period.
[...] you have let him be called up.

6.1.1 Letters by Ninurta-apla-iddina to Innannu

Two letters, BE 17, 83-84, were written by the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina to Innannu.

It is implied that the journey from the location of Innannu to his lord in Nippur was lengthy, as it apparently required travel provisions. Thus, the *šandabakku* instructs Innannu in BE 17, 84: rev. ll. 3-5: *ù NINDA.KASKAL-šu ša a-di li-tu-ú-a e-pu-uš*, "And provide (him) with his food for the journey, which (shall last) up to my side!" In BE 17, 83, obv. ll. 3-4 the *šandabakku* is scolding him for not appearing in front of him in person. BE 17, 83 contains one of the references to the practice of the *šandabakku* of Nippur to travel (in this case with Ibni-Marduk), perhaps writing some of his correspondence while being absent from the palace in Nippur.

rev. 12 *šu-ú it-ti-ia te-bi*
rev. 13 *ul a-ši-im-ma it-ti-ka*
rev. 14 *ul i-da-bu-ub*

He is together with me on the move
(=departed),
he is not present, and
he is not going to talk with you.

a) BE 17, 83

In BE 17, 83 Ninurta-apla-iddina firstly complains that Innannu let workers from a town (URU^{KI}) leave, although the town was not exempt from the *dullu*-work duty. Since Innannu was stationed in a different town than the *šandabakku*, URU^{KI} should refer to another town than Nippur (as opposed to Nashef 1982: 210). If Innannu belonged, indeed, to a temple, then this could imply that — by sending work crews away — he treated the town and its workers as if it was a grant to his temple (a grant would have been exempt from levies to the provincial administration).

Then Ninurta-apla-iddina orders Innannu to bring five brewers from Nippur. Since the origin of these brewers would not need to be pointed out otherwise, this supports the assumption that Innannu's town (URUK^{KI}) was not Nippur. Later in the letter we learn that the *šandabakku* is travelling together with Ibni-Marduk. Thus, Innannu must either send the brewers to the place in which Ninurta-apla-iddina currently resides, or to Nippur.

Further, Innannu is instructed to give staples to a group of people (possibly ÉRIN, i.e. *šābu*) and either together with or from (cf. Aro 1955: 100) "the Nippurean(s)" (*itti Nippurī*), i.e. the "five brewers from Nippur" (cf. obv. l. 8).

obv. 5 *um-ma-a ÉRIN.ḪI.A an-nu-ti*
obv. 6 *ša áš-pu-ra-ak-ku tu-š[e-li²-šu]-nu-ti-ma²²⁹*
obv. 7 *URU.KI la mu-uš-šu-u[r]*
obv. 8 *ša 5 LÚLUNGA^{MEŠ} ša NIBRU^K[l]*

The following: These *šābu* work troops,
about whom I had sent (a letter) to you, you
have taken them away, although
the town is not exempt.
Regarding the five brewers of Nippur:

²²⁹ *Šūlū*, the Š-stem of *elū*, has the meaning "to oust a person, to take a person away", cf. CAD E: 133-135, s.v. *elū*.

obv. 9	<i>qú-ri-ib-šu-nu-ti-i-ma ša [x]-^rx¹.MEŠ²³⁰</i>	bring them here! And regarding the [<i>šābu-workers</i> (?)]
obv. 10	<i>it-ti Ni-ip-pu-ri-i nam-^rha¹-ar-ta</i>	together with/from the Nippureans the staples (which have been received)
obv. 11	<i>šu-um-^{hi}-ir-šu-nu-ti</i>	let them receive!
obv. 12	<i>šum-ma an-ni-ta ul tu-ul-te-(em[?])-^{hi}-ir-šu-nu-ti</i>	If you do not let these [=brewers and Nippureans (?)] receive them,
obv. 13	<i>ul at-tu-ú-a ŠE.BAR ik-ka-lu</i>	then they cannot eat the barley which belongs to me.

Ninurta-apla-iddina threatens that they (=the Nippurean(s) and brewers ?) will not eat his barley, if Innannu does not follow his order. Thus, it appears that the *šandabakku* is in this case providing for a number of brewers and possibly other artisans. This may be a loan from Innannu/from Innannu's temple to the *šandabakku*/the provincial administration, or a repayment of a loan. Note that Innannu has to deliver staples to the brewers. We would assume that Innannu concluded his own legal agreements with the brewers in order to receive a good produce for his temple (see above). The brewers on the other hand may have worked for the provincial administration, and, thus, received barley from the *šandabakku* in exchange for work for the province (but not for the temple). Either the temple household was closer connected to the palace than assumed, or Innannu advanced a delivery of staples for the *šandabakku*, which would be paid back later (a loan ?). We may also speculate, whether this was also part of a provision of the temples by the palace.

Having given instructions about the provision of Nippurean brewers, Ninurta-apla-iddina proceeds to instruct Innannu to provide the *amīlūtu* of the brewers from Āl-šēlibi with barley, either from or together with the inhabitants of Āl-šēlibi (south of Nippur; Murai 2018: 244-249).

obv. 15	<i>ša ^{LÚ}LUNGA URU-še-li-bi^{KI}</i>	Regarding the brewer of the town Āl-šēlibi:
obv. 16	<i>9 a-mi-lu-us-su a-na pi-i a-mi-lu-t[i-šu]</i>	(For) 9 of his <i>amīlūtu</i> - according to their status
obv. 17	<i>it-ti áš-ša-bi ša URU.KI</i>	as <i>amīlūtu</i> - together with/from the inhabitants
obv. 18	<i>ŠE.BAR id-na-áš-šu</i>	of the town give him (=the brewer) barley!

The context for this transfer of barley to the brewer and his *amīlūtu* workers is unknown. Just as in the preceding lines obv. ll. 5-13 (see above) it could be a loan, a payback of a loan, but also a sign that the temple household was closely connected to the palace, because the temple officials followed orders from the *šandabakku*.

BE 17, 83 contains more orders by the *šandabakku* to Innannu: Innannu shall give barley to the son of Tādu (2;0.0.0 Gur; obv. l. 14), and to Sîn-apla-iddina (rev. ll. 4-5).

Further, the *šandabakku* instructs Innannu to give barley “of Ibni-Marduk”, who is travelling together with the *šandabakku*.

²³⁰ The mention of brewers in obv. l. 8 and l. 15 makes it likely that in obv. l. 9 [^{LÚ}]LUNGA¹.MEŠ has to be emended. However, the rests of the sign visible on the right edge before the sign MEŠ do not resemble the LUNGA signs on this tablet, nor the ones attested from the Kassite period (cf. the sign list in BE 14, no. 81). The sign ends in two vertical wedges above one another, and is preceded by what looks like rests of winkelhaken and a low horizontal wedge at the bottom. Radau (1908: 111) emends ÉRIN, which would be an emendation parallel to the following lines obv. ll. 15-18. NB that the plural of ÉRIN, the *šābu* work troops, mentioned before in obv. l. 5, is written with the signs 𒂍.A; however, both plural markers are attested in Kassite letters.

rev. 9	ù ŠE.BAR LIM GUR ^{GIŠ} BÁN.GAL ša ^I Ib-ni- dAMAR.UTU	And I have ordered you to give barley, 1000 Gur, measured with the big <i>sūtu</i> vessel, that of Ibni-Marduk.
rev. 10	na-da-na aq-ba-ak-ku	
rev. 11	am-mi-ni la ta-di-in	Why did you not give it?
rev. 12	šu-ú it-ti-ia te-bi	He is travelling with me.
rev. 13	ul a-ši-im-ma it-ti-ka	He is not present and with you
rev. 14	ul i-da-bu-ub	he will not talk.

Since there is a lack of “garlic and onions, (and) leeks for eating” (rev. ll. 15-16), Innannu shall add barley to Ninurta-apla-iddina’s barley either instead of a “son of Tādu”, or he shall provide the son of Tādu with barley from Ninurta-apla-iddina (rev. ll. 17-18: “to the son of Tādu [...] out of the barley, which belongs to me, you shall let it enter to/for him”). This barley is explicitly designated as Ninurta-apla-iddina’s property. The emphasis on his ownership supports Paulus’ argument that the *šandabakku*’s household, which may have been that of the provincial administration, and Innannu’s household were separate.

rev. 17	um-ma-a a-na DUMU ^f Ta-a-du [...]	The following: for/to the son of Tādu [...]
rev. 18	i-na ŠÀ ŠE.BAR at-tu-ú-a tu-še-er-[re-eb ...]	into (out of ?) the barley, which belongs to me, you shall let enter [...]
rev. 19	na-ḥa-sa aq-ba-áš-šu	I have ordered him to return.

Paulus (RAI talk 2018) identifies Innannu’s expenses with barley loans, and not with rations given out in the name of the *šandabakku*. In the last part of BE 17, 83: rev. ll. 6-7, the *šandabakku* orders Innannu to give barley to a complete town. Paulus puts this in the context of barley loans to a large number of *iššakku* farmers, which is, for example, visible in BE 15, 175, a very large list of outstanding loans (a sum of ca. 125,000 SILA on the surviving tablet) which arranges debtors by villages (obv. l. 22: Kandurū, rev. l. 19: Karê-Aštaba-ḥetuk, rev. l. 27: Kār-Adab).

b) Innannu and the *ḥazannu* Sîn-issaḥra

Paulus separates between office and office holder, and proposes that the temple official Innannu was obliged to pay levies to the provincial administration like other inhabitants of the province. He appears alongside *ḥazannu* officials, i.e. town’s mayors, in lists of collected levies of the palace. A contemporary *ḥazannu* is Sîn-issaḥra (Sassmannshausen 2001: 31-32; Hölscher 1996: 188-189). In the letter BE 17, 85: rev. ll. 1-2 and HS 111: rev. ll. 2-3 Inbi-ajjari orders Innannu to give barley and, in broken context, some other produce, probably, sesame, to him:

BE 17, 85: rev. ll. 1-2:

rev. 1	ŠE.BA MUḤALDIM.MEŠ a-na ^{1d} 30-is-s[ah ²]- ra	Give the barley of the cooks to Sîn-issaḥra!
rev. 2	i-di-in	

HS 111: rev. ll. 2-3:

rev. 2	ŠE.GIŠ.Ì [...]- ^r ta-ni mu-ú ¹ [...]	Sesame [...] ... [...]
rev. 3	a-na ^{1d} 30-[is]-saḥ-ra i-di-[in]	give to Sîn-issaḥra!

The *ḥazannu* with the name Sîn-issaḥra is attested in BE 15, 175: obv. l. 23 (ll. 33-35, 39), where he was possibly a recipient of a loan. In BE 15, 50 Sîn-issaḥra binds himself by contract to issue 3;3.3.0 of

barley from the palace, i.e. provincial resources, to Innannu, who presumably kept this document as proof in case Sîn-issahra did not deliver the barley. The same *ḥazannu*, Sîn-issahra, delivers emmer and barley to the *bītānu*, the inner area (of the palace) in two other texts, BE 15, 41 and 89. In the ration list BE 15, 163, in which Innannu receives barley for eight women working in the temple, Sîn-issahra receives barley from the town Dūr-Gula (near Isin).

c) BE 17, 84

In BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 3-19 the *šandabakku* orders Innannu not to receive sesame from the *ḥazannu* officials. Instead, both the *ḥazannu* officials and Innannu shall press their sesame separately from each other. However, then both of them shall deliver the sesame oil, which they had pressed, to the same destination, the “Seal House”, which presumably belonged to the provincial administration of the palace. If the oil was a levy collected by the provincial administration, then both the temple official Innannu and the *ḥazannu*s of the province had to pay it.

According to obv. ll. 11-12 *Innannu* was obliged to report about his dealings to the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina.

obv. 11 *ù ʔe-em ŠE.BAR*
 obv. 12 *mi-im-ma ul ta-áš-pu-ra*

Also: a report about the barley,
 nothing whatsoever you have sent to me!

This implies that Innannu, whom Paulus (RAI talk 2018) supposes to be a temple official managing a completely separate household, was held accountable by the *šandabakku* and followed his orders.

Furthermore, in BE 17, 84: obv. l. 13-rev. l. 5, the *šandabakku* orders Innannu to provide for the workers of a man called Ḥašmar: “And Ḥašmar, about whom I have talked to you, give him bread and beer according to (the number) of his men! And provide (him) with his food for the journey, which (shall last) up to my side!” It is unclear why Innannu must provide for a man associated with or working for the *šandabakku*, but a loan is a possible explanation.

6.1.2 Letters by Inbi-ajjari to Innannu

BE 17, 85, 86 and HS 111 are three letters from a woman called Inbi-ajjari to Innannu (three out of a total of four Kassite letters from women, see also the family letter PBS 1/2, 21). Inbi-ajjari’s letters are *bēlu*-letters. She uses a lot of imperatives and addresses Innannu with the 2nd ps. sg. Among the orders *idin*, “Give...!” she also admonishes him not to act against her orders (*limutta lā teppušannima*, “Don’t do anything bad against me!”).

a) BE 17, 85

In BE 17, 85 Inbi-ajjari orders Innannu to give three amounts of barley to three recipients. The amounts of 3;0.0.0 and 4;0.0.0 respectively (and one unspecified amount) could be loans (see above).

b) BE 17, 86

In BE 17, 86: obv. ll. 4-12 Inbi-ajjari addresses Innannu's request for gold. Income of temples largely consisted of barley, obtained through levies collected on their own temple lands. Thus, Innannu's temple needed merchants to exchange barley for gold, something which can be seen already in the Old Babylonian documents from Larsa (van de Mieroop 1993: 62) and again in Neo-Babylonian documents from the Eanna temple (cf. Joannès 1982: 244-256; Kleber 2008: 226-227).

obv. 4	ša KÙ.SI ₂₂ ta-aš-pu-ra	Regarding the gold about which you had sent (a letter) to me
obv. 5	um-ma-a ša DUMU.MEŠ 'NIBRU' ^{KI}	the following: "Regarding the sons of Nippur:
obv. 6	KÙ.SI ₂₂ tar-šu li-šu-ú	They shall bring the appropriate (amount of) gold!"
obv. 7	i-na NIBRU' ^{KI} LÚ ¹ DAM.GÀR.MEŠ	(However,) in Nippur there are no merchants, and
obv. 8	[i]a-nu-um-ma it-ti DUMU.MEŠ EN.LÍL' ^{KI}	don't take (it) from the sons of Nippur!
obv. 9	[la] 'te ¹ -le-eq-qé	
obv. 10	[...] ^{KI} a-na ša-ba-ti	[...] in order to size
obv. 11	[...] -ri 2 ME LÚ ¹ DAM.GÀR.MEŠ	[...] 200 merchants
obv. 12	[...] ša ŠE.BAR [šu ² /ú ²] -ri-id	[...] who(/of) had the barley brought down.

In rev. ll. 1-2 Inbi-ajjari orders Innannu to collect the *biltu* levy from someone. *biltu* (GÚ.UN) appears in the Kassite period as a term for levies on the yield, from which recipients of royal grants were exempt (Paulus 2014d: 165, 239). As a temple functionary Innannu may have had to deal with collecting the levies from the farmers on the temple lands, possibly grants from the king. As a grantee itself, the god or rather the temple, was the beneficiary of the levies and work duty from the population on its grant.

In rev. ll. 5-10 Inbi-ajjari scolds Innannu for the mistreatment of a certain Ēmid-⟨ana⟩-Marduk. She then reports having used up the flour, which she had received from Innannu, and orders him to draw up an account — possibly, to prove how many loans he had given out. The letter ends with the order to bring chairs from the town Karû (i.e. ll. 2-3).

c) HS 111

In her third letter (WZJ 8, pl. VII-VIII, HS 111) Inbi-ajjari addresses the provision of *amīlūtu* workers. According to obv. ll. 3-7 Innannu had stated that Inbi-ajjari shall demand barley from a man called Bēlānu to provide for the *amīlūtu*.

However, Inbi-ajjari says that she is using her own supplies to provide *amīlūtu* and *ikkaru* ploughmen and oxen, which belong to Innannu and other people (2nd ps. pl.) with barley ration and seeds.

Inbi-ajjari clearly distinguishes between the "*amīlūtu* belonging to you (pl.)" (obv. l. 8: *at-tu-ku-nu-ú a-mi-lu-ut-ku-nu*) and the "oxen and the farmers of both of you (pl.)" (obv. ll. 10-11: GU₄ ù LÚ¹ENGAR.MEŠ *ša ki-lá-le-¹e-ku-nu¹*) and her own supplies in her own storehouse (*i-na ka-ri-ia*). She orders Innannu: "to me you (pl.) will send (a letter) for supplies!" (obv. ll. 12-13: *a-na ia-ši a-na me-re-eš-ti ta-šap-pa-ra-ni-in-ni*). Only if her supplies are depleted, she will ask Bēlānu to help her —

otherwise she appears to have enough to provide for Bēlānu's and Innannu's *amīlūtu*, *ikkaru* ploughmen, and oxen.

obv. 14	<i>ša-ni-ta šum-ma ŠE.BAR ia-nu</i>	Secondly, if the barley is lacking,
obv. 15	<i>qī-ba-am-ma ¹Be-la-na lu-ri-iš</i>	then speak to me, and from Bēlānu I shall demand!

It seems Inbi-ajjari is rejecting Innannu's advice to borrow (?) barley from Bēlānu to provide for workers which she has to provide for, although they do not belong to her.

She then complains that Innannu and others (2nd ps. pl.) have burdened her with the responsibility to supervise *amīlūtu* workers, cattle, goats and sheep, but do not trust her to be able to provide for them:

obv. 16	[a]-mi-lu-ta i-nam-di-nu-nim-ma	They are giving the <i>amīlūtu</i> workers to me.
obv. 17	[a-n]a a-mi-lu-ti ud-du-ra- ^r tu ¹ -nu	And now you are worried about the <i>amīlūtu</i> workers
obv. 18	[ÁB.GU ₄ .]HĪ.A U ₈ .UDU.HĪ.A i-nam-di-nu-nim-ma	Cattle and goats and sheep they are giving to me, and
obv. 19a	[(x) ud]-du-ra-tu-nu	[...] you (pl.) are [wo]rried about it.

Inbi-ajjari then mentions in broken context a *be-lu-^rka²¹* [(x)] *ma-a-ti* (?), “your lord (possibly meaning owner of the) [(?)] land” (obv. ll. 19b-20, possibly including b.e. ll. 1-2). She then cautions Innannu not to give the wrong work supplies to an artisan:

rev. 4	<i>a-na DUMU ¹Rak²-ra¹-ba-^rti¹ la ta-nam-din</i>	Do not give (sesame ?) to the son of Rakrabati
rev. 5	<i>a-na DUMU ¹Rak²-ra¹-ba-ti ^ra-na pi-i¹ qá-ti- [šu]</i>	To the son of Rakrabati in accordance with [his] craftsmanship (?)
rev. 6	[ÉŠ.] ^r GĀR ¹ id-na-aš-šu ù mu- ^r hu ¹ -[ur]-šu	<i>iškaru</i> work supplies give to him, and receive him (or it: the produce?)!

Inbi-ajjari instructs Innannu to give 2;0.0.0 of barley - perhaps, as a loan - to a man called Šūma-ilu (rev. l. 7). This is followed by the order to quickly send the yield of the sesame cultivation (rev. l. 8), and to take care of pupils in the Edubba:

rev. 9	DUMU.MEŠ É <i>tup-pi pa-aq-du-nik-ku</i>	The sons (=pupils) of the tablet house are entrusted to you.
rev. 10	<i>re-eš-šu²-nu i-ta-aš-ši</i>	Keep on taking care of them!

In the palace of Nippur, where the Kassite letters were allegedly found, no Kassite period school text from a dated archaeological context has been identified (cf. Veldhuis 2000: 67-94).²³¹ Most of the school exercises found in Kassite Nippur stem from the early Nippur campaigns in the 1890s, and, thus, we have no useful archaeological information about these (Veldhuis 2000: 69). In area WA (the Gula temple), within the temple area, about a hundred fragments of Kassite school tablets were found (Gibson 1992: 12; Veldhuis 2000: 68). In area WC-1, a public building containing mostly administrative and legal texts, a few school texts were found, such as a god list, and an UR₅.RA = *hubullu* list. Similarly, Kassite period school texts are attested in the domestic area TB (and in TA, cf. Clayden 2016: 26;

²³¹ There is not much evidence to support the allegation that there were schools in palaces. Cavigneaux and Waetzoldt (2009: 296) refer to the lines 36-40 in the literal composition “Schooldays” from the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, in which a porter (lú-ká-na) and a man of the wooden writing boards/plans (lú-giš-*hur-ra*, cf. Kramer 1949: 2002) reprimand the students. Cavigneaux and Waetzoldt believe that the officials, who beat the student, belong to the palace personnel.

Pedersèn 1998: 114-116; Veldhuis 2000: 69). Thus, these few archaeologically documented school texts form Kassite Nippur stem from temples and domestic quarters. The rest of the Kassite school texts from Nippur do not come from documented find spots. The Inanna temple in Ur III Nippur served as a location of a temple school (Cavigneaux and Waetzoldt 2009: 296). Thus, Innannu's work in the Edubba places him in a temple.

Inbi-ajari's letter ends with instructions to bring her draught animals, and to equip another person (rev. ll. 11-14).

d) Inbi-ajjari

The name Inbi-ajjari appears in PBS 2/2, 142, which dates to Kurigalzu II or Nazi-maruttaš (Hölscher 1996: 184). PBS 2/2, 142 was found in the area WA. Line 1 says SÍG.ĤI.A TÚG.ĤI.A *man-da-at-tu*₄ ITU^UKIN.^dINNIN.NA MU.[BI.IM], “wool, textiles, the *mandattu*–“work quota” of the month *elūlu* (6th month), [their] names [are]... in the hand of Ninsar-[...]”.

The production summary PBS 2/2, 142 (Tenney 2011: 100) contains the work quota (*mandattu*) of one month. The disbursed wool is presumably listed parallelly to textiles that were produced out of it.²³² The majority of names appears to be female. One exception in rev. l. 4 is one male worker, *mār B/Marija* (followed by the signs GI₆.PÀR[?]/14;0.0.0 'GUR[?]'). While the first four names (obv. ll. 2-5) are destroyed, the fifth and sixth female name (Rabât-Gula and Sîn-abūša, obv. ll. 6-7) are attested as *rē'ī imēri*, “donkey shepherds” in the ration list BE 15, 190: v, ll. 3, 21 found in the palace area. The rest of the women, Nisannītu and Sîn-ludlul (b.e. 1 and rev. l. 3) are attested in the same ration list BE 15, 190 (iii, l. 17' and v, l. 15). Perhaps, some of the workers whom Inbi-ajjari managed, were hired by the province administration, for example, as donkey shepherds (with herding contracts) to manage the herds of the provincial administration. However, if the workers listed in PBS 2/2, 142 belonged to the *šābu-*

²³² A *nahlaptu* gown weighed about half a mina (ca. 250g) in the Ur III period (Waetzoldt 1972:52, fn. 118), in the OB period two minas, 23 shekels and 135 *uttetu* (ca. 1193g), in Nuzi two minas, and in the LB period even five minas. For the *kizzu* gown no weight is attested (cf. the sources under CAD K: 479a).

Only the amounts of wool for the *kizzu* gowns in ll. 2-4 and three *nahlaptu*-gowns in l. 5 are preserved. The amounts of wool needed to produce the other gowns have broken off. In l. 5 three minas are used for three *nahlaptu kizzi*, each weighing one mina. In l. 7 for 1 TÚG GÚ.Ē *ki-iz-zi* only one wedge is preserved slightly too far on the right to be the only wedge left of MA. This means either that more than one mina was used for only one *nahlaptu kizzi*, or that a fraction is written. In l. 9 the respective amount of wool for the two TÚG GÚ.Ē SAGA SAĜ *nam-mu* (CAD N/1:235b), the “two good *nahlaptu*-gowns (and?) headdresses (?)” is broken away. The remaining wedge either points to the use of 1/3 (ca. 167 g), 2/3 (ca. 333 g) or three (1.5 kg) minas for two *nahlaptu*-gowns (each weighing ca 80.4, 167 or 750 g). Considering that a *nahlaptu*-gown weighed at least two minas in the OB period, it is likely that 1.5 minas wool or less were used for a *nahlaptu*-gown in l. 9 (cf. Waetzoldt, 1980-83:22-23, CAD N/1:139a).

In l. 10 two wedges are preserved for three to six *nahlaptu* for offering. Considering the way the numbers are written in the preserved lines of the first column, not more than three minas are to be expected (opposite to the style of writing the numbers of the totals in ll. 15 and 17). Therefore, the *nahlaptu* for the offering might have weighed between 1/2 mina (250g) and 1 mina (ca. 500g).

Based on the preserved entries one mina may have been the standard amount for one *nahlaptu*. As the *nahlaptu* was originally a light covering for the shoulders, such a low weight is possible. A change in meaning may have occurred with time, and Waetzoldt mentions considerable differences in weight (from 40-300g, cf. Waetzoldt, 1980-83:22-23).

troops of the province, then Inbi-ajjari's temple would have hired them, and, perhaps, kept a list of the work materials, workers and the end product to document the work quota of the hired workers from a different institution.

The managing official Ninsar-[...] (male) is listed next to the totals (rev. l. 5). Inbi-ajjari is listed after him, separately from the other workers, next to an amount of wool she presumably received, but not next to an amount of fabric. This may indicate a higher rank than the rest of the listed workers. Since PBS 2/2, 142 was found in area WA, and belonged to the same archive in which Innannu and Martukkû are attested, Inbi-ajjari may have worked for the same temple institution. Note that according to Sassmannshausen (2001: 187) one *bēlu*-letter from Inbi-ajjari (BE 17, 85) was found in area WA, and that the second letter sent from her (BE 17, 86) was possibly found in area WA as well, due to its low CBS number (see above). This could imply that the sender Inbi-ajjari belonged to the same temple administration as Innannu.

6.1.3 Innannu's functions

Innannu liaised with the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina, and according to the *šandabakku*'s orders he fulfilled the following tasks:

- Innannu had to write and give report to the *šandabakku* about the barley he collected or gave out (BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 11-12).
- Innannu apparently managed workers who performed the *dullu*-work duty (BE 17, 83: obv. ll. 5-7).
- Innannu provided bread and beer for the subordinates of a man called Ḫašmar, who travelled to the *šandabakku* (possibly a messenger, cf. BE 17, 84: obv. l. 13-rev. l. 5).
- Innannu gave out barley as work material to artisans, and, probably, as well, as rations to workers: he arranged for the provision of barley for brewers, the workers of brewers, and other craftsmen by liaising with the provincial administration of Nippur, i.e. the *šandabakku* (BE 17, 83: obv. ll. 8-13). The brewers and workers (of the brewers), for whom he was ordered to provide by the *šandabakku*, were from Āl-šēlibi (BE 17, 83: obv. ll. 15-18). Innannu should give out barley to several men, such as to the son of Tādu and Sîn-apla-iddina (BE 17, 83: obv. l. 14; rev. ll. 4-5).
- The *šandabakku* ordered Innannu to give out barley to an entire town (BE 17, 83: rev. ll. 6-7).
- Innannu gave out barley, which, apparently, did not belong to him: In BE 17, 83: rev. ll. 17-18 the *šandabakku* either ordered Innannu to add barley to the *šandabakku*'s stored barley instead of a "son of Tādu", or he ordered Innannu to provide the son of Tādu with barley from the *šandabakku*. This payment either instead of the *šandabakku* or instead of Tādu could be a loan given in advance, until the debtor could pay the owed amount.

Secondly, Innannu gave out barley "of Ibni-Marduk", who was travelling together with the *šandabakku* (BE 17, 83: rev. ll. 9-14).

- Innannu received sesame from the *ḥazannu* officials; in BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 3-19 the *šandabakku* ordered Innannu not to accept sesame from the *ḥazannu* officials.
- Innannu was responsible for the pressing of sesame into oil (BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 8-9).
- Innannu delivered sesame oil to the “Seal House” (provincial administration of the palace), to which the *ḥazannus* also delivered their sesame oil (BE 17, 84: obv. ll. 9-10).

Innannu received the following orders from Inbi-ajjari:

- Innannu taught pupils in the Edubba, which may have belonged to a temple (HS 111: rev. ll. 9-10).
- Innannu was involved in giving work supplies to artisans (the son of Rakrabati; HS 111: rev. ll. 2-6). In HS 111: rev. ll. 13-14 Inbi-ajjari instructed Innannu to equip someone (Ḫalamma-sisa) with something (work material, or horses or donkeys).
- By order of Inbi-ajjari Innannu gave out barley to several people: Innannu should give barley “of the cooks” and sesame to the *ḥazannu* Sîn-issahra (BE 17, 85: rev. ll. 1-2; HS 111: rev. ll. 2-3). Innannu should give barley to Iddin-Nergal (BE 17, 85: obv. l. 3), Dīnīša-atkal (BE 17, 85: rev. l. 3), and Šūma-ilu (HS 111: rev. l. 7).
- Innannu was involved in providing flour for Inbi-ajjari (BE 17, 86: t.e. l. 3).
- Innannu managed the sesame cultivation and is ordered by Inbi-ajjari to send it to her (HS 111: rev. l. 8).
- Innannu was apparently held accountable for his expenditures: he should draw up an account (?, cf. BE 17, 86: l.e. 2).
- Innannu should obtain gold from Nippureans, i.e. merchants in Nippur (BE 17, 86: obv. ll. 4-11).
- Innannu collected the *biltu* levy on the yield from someone (BE 17, 86: rev. ll. 1-2).
- Innannu had access to horses and donkey, which he should bring to Inbi-ajjari (HS 111: rev. ll. 11-12).
- Innannu was also responsible for building works, and should build a house for Ēmid-⟨ana⟩-Marduk (BE 17, 86: rev. l. 7).
- Innannu should bring chairs from the town Karû to his lord (BE 17, 86: l.e. ll. 2-3).
- Innannu had his *amīlūtu* workers under his command, who seemed to include (hired ?) *ikkaru*-farmers, and who received rations, seeds and oxen-fodder from Inbi-ajjari, and possibly from Bēlānu (HS 111: obv ll. 8-13)

6.1.4 Conclusion: who was Innannu?

The *bēlu*-letters to Innannu were presumably copies of sent letters; the letters from the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina were found in the palace of Nippur, and the *bēlu*-letters from Inbi-ajjari may have been found in the area WA, which was possibly the Gula temple. The recipient Innannu is attested in administrative documents from the area WA. Ninurta-apla-iddina’s *bēlu*-letters, which had been found

in the palace, were, perhaps, drafts, unsent letters, or copies of sent letters archived in the palace. The *bēlu*-letters of Inbi-ajjari, who may have been a member of the institution in area WA, were, perhaps, also unsent letters, drafts or copies. Another possibility is that Inbi-ajjari's letters had been received by Innannu, a member of the institution producing the WA archive(s), who had archived them in the area WA.

The senders, among them the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina, are then to be associated with the provincial administration in the palace. Further, both Ninurta-apla-iddina, and Inbi-ajjari mention Nippureans whom Innannu shall either provide for or send back; it is likely that they cared for their own subordinates from the town of Nippur who were stationed with Innannu somewhere else (Āl-šēlibi, Karû). Innannu was probably stationed in a town close to Nippur, probably Āl-šēlibi or Karû; Āl-šēlibi lay in south of Nippur (Murai 2018: 244-249).

The sender of two letters to Innannu, the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina, managed the provincial administration but also the temple administration, which explains his orders to the temple official Innannu.

Inbi-ajjari's role is difficult to determine. In BE 17, 86: obv. ll. 4-8 we learn that Innannu wrote to Inbi-ajjari in order to obtain gold from Nippureans; Inbi-ajjari informs him that there are no merchants in Nippur from whom she can obtain gold. Inbi-ajjari was apparently stationed in Nippur, and Innannu was somewhere else. Inbi-ajjari's letters were, perhaps, not found in the palace (see above "4.2.3 The archaeological context of the Kassite letters"). She may have belonged to a third household (with a textile production unit) or to the temple institution in area WA. Similar to Ninurta-apla-iddin she orders Innannu to give amounts of barley to people (BE 17, 85), including a *ḥazannu*. She may have borrowed amounts or ordered Innannu to pay back debts. These transfers of resources were, perhaps, based on legal agreements. Inbi-ajjari also provided Innannu's workers (hired *ikkaru* farmers) with rations, seeds and oxen-fodder (HS 111: obv ll. 8-13) — the agreements between Innannu's temple household and Inbi-ajjari's household are unknown to us.

In BE 17, 86: rev. ll. 1-2 Inbi-ajjari orders Innannu to collect the *biltu* levy. *Biltu* refers to levies deduced from the revenue of crops and fruit and vegetables for the provincial administration; grantees were exempt from it (Paulus 2014d: 165, 239, 392-393). If Inbi-ajjari belonged to the same temple household as Innannu, her orders would have concerned levies for the temple. However, Inbi-ajjari may have belonged to the provincial household, and may have interfered with the collection of levies on temple grants (it is assumed that levies of the temple grants were partially collected by provincial officials, cf. Paulus 2014d: 201).

Inbi-ajjari was probably a higher ranking functionary in Innannu's temple. Inbi-ajjari is attested in the production summary PBS 2/2, 142 from the area WA (Gula temple). The managing official is a Ninsar[...]. Inbi-ajjari's role in that list is unclear, since she is listed after the totals, but she may have had the function of an overseer for workers of Innannu's temple institution. Since some of the workers are

attested in a ration list from the palace (BE 15, 190), it is possible that Inbi-ajjari's workers were exchanged with or hired by the province (or Inbi-ajjari belonged to the provincial administration of Nippur and managed provincial workers, who had been hired by Innannu's temple).

6.2 Martukkû and Lal-ur-alim

The letters HS 110 and HS 113 are both written by Lal-ur-alim to the official Martukkû.

6.2.1 HS 110

In the letter HS 110 a visit of the sender Lal-ur-alim is mentioned. Lal-ur-alim will visit the town Āl-šēlibi (cf. Nashef 1982: 18, 24) on the 28th day in order to inspect a *tākultu*-banquet (GIŠBUN) for ten days. The *tākultu*-banquet is one of the earliest attested major state rituals with a Hurrian origin, and is attested since the Old Babylonian period (Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 392, 402). In Assyria the *tākultu*-banquet should “foster territorial control” and legally bind the gods from all regions of the kingdom “into a relationship of mutual obligations” with the capital, the kingdom, and the king (Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 401).²³³

The *kaprû* in CBS 10616: rev. l. 10, is on the 26th day of the month Tašrītu. CBS 10616 does not list a ritual on the 28th day of any month, but contains the SÍSKUR DU₆.KÙ (in Enlil's shrine in the Ekur, Tenney 2016: 176) on the 29th of Tašrītu (this ritual was celebrated on the 27th/28th of the seventh, but also sixth month (?), in the Ur III period, cf. Sallaberger 1993/2: 75M).

obv. 3	UD-28-KAM <i>ki-i la me-ke-e</i>	On the 28th day, if there is no negligence,
obv. 4	<i>a-ka-aš-ša-da-ak-ku</i>	I will reach you.
obv. 5	<i>ta-kul-tu₄ ša 10 u₄-mi lu-ú^r am¹-[rat]</i>	The festive banquet for ten days shall be inspec[ted]
obv. 6	10 <i>u₄-mi i-na URU-KA₅.A^{KI} uš-šab</i>	(For) 10 days I am going to stay in Āl-šēlibi.
obv. 7	ZÍ.DA <i>ba-nu-ú DUG.GAL.MEŠ</i>	Good flour, large vessels
obv. 8	<i>ša ma-al-ti-ti ù kap-ri</i>	of drink(s), and (that of the) <i>kaprû</i>
obv. 9	<i>lu-ú ma-a-du</i>	shall be plentiful.

The term *kaprû* refers to a type of offering. The term appears in CBS 10616, a register of expected cultic expenses from Nippur, which first lists regular ordinary disbursements (*gi-nu-ú kun-nu ša MU.AN.NA*, “established, customary offerings (or dues) for the year”), and then lists extraordinary disbursements for temples, festivals, days of the month, meals of the king (ŠUK LUGAL), and other religious occasions (cf. CBS 10616 obv. ll. 1'-10' and ll. 11'-20', and rev. ll. 1-20, Tenney 2016: 163). The institution which produced the cultic expenditure list is unknown. CBS 10616 has a high CBS number, and, consequently, may belong to the palace (WB, hill 10, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 186-187).

Martukkû shall arrange for Lal-ur-alim's visit that supplies for a religious celebration (flour, vessels, drinks and *kaprû* offerings²³⁴, wood, pottery clay, torches, salt) shall be available (obv. ll. 7-12). Furthermore beer brewing equipment is specifically requested (obv. ll. 13-14).

²³³ The *tākultu*-meal was prepared for the gods of all provinces, and food was distributed to numerous officials and courtiers of the royal court (Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 394, 401).

²³⁴ See AHw: 445, s.v. *kapru*(m) II (“eine Art Opfer?”) and CAD K: 190b-191a for the translation as *kapru*-sacrifice. The translation in the CAD K: 140a, s.v. *kanāku*, of BE 14, 42: rev. ll. 1-6 (*naphar šikari ša ištu*

obv. 13 4 *mu-ra-aṭ-ṭi-ba-a-tu*
 obv. 14 *ša ma-al-ti-ti lu ru-uṭ-ṭi-ba*

Four vessels to soak beer mash
 of (=for) drinks shall be soaked (=filled with
 soaking beer mash).

This is followed by the exhortation in obv. 1. 15, *la te-me-ek-ke*, “Do not be negligent!”, which is repeated in rev. 1. 9, in the last line of the letter. The exhortations are intended to remind Martukkû of the fact that Lal-ur-alim is arriving on the 28th and plans to stay 10 days, just as he stated at the beginning of the letter in ll. 3-6:

obv. 15 *la te-me-ek-ke*
 obv. 16 10 *u₄-mi uš-šab*

Do not be negligent!
 (For) 10 days I am going to stay.

Regarding rev. ll. 1-6a see below “6.2.4 Martukkû no. 2 (1272-1232 BC)”. In the last lines of the letter, Lal-ur-alim orders Martukkû to leave Āl-šēlibi on the 10th day, i.e. presumably return to Nippur after his visit (or to arrive early on the 10th day to prepare for his visit on the 28th day?). This could imply that Martukkû has to travel from Nippur to Āl-šēlibi (in the south of Nippur, cf. Murai 2018: 244-249).

rev. 6b ¹U₄-10-KAM *x¹*
 rev. 7 *re-de-e-ma¹ at¹-lak*
 rev. 8 U₄-28-KAM *a-kaš-¹ša¹-da-ak-ku*
 rev. 9 *la te-me-ek-ke*

On the 10th day [...] proceed to travel and go away!
 On the 28th day I will reach you.
 Do not be negligent!

6.2.2 HS 113

Lal-ur-alim writes a second *bēlu-letter*, HS 113, to his subordinate Martukkû. After mentioning the plague (*mūtānu*) in broken context (obv. ll. 3-4), Lal-ur-alim criticises Martukkû for standing by his father, who has apparently committed a crime and has to return ten towns, which he apparently managed or possessed. Perhaps, he owed levies from these towns to the provincial administration. These ten towns may have been a part of a royal grant of Martukkû’s father, which was expropriated by Lal-ur-alim’s institution. Martukkû had been aware of a *ṭēm pīḫāti*, a “report about the province” or “area of responsibility”, which could imply that his father was a high official managing a province, an administrative sub-unit of a province (see Paulus 2014d: 196), or temple lands. His son Martukkû may have inherited his office.

obv. 5 *a-bu-ka ul-tu₄ ki-i ka-[...]*
 obv. 6 10 URU.DIDLI *ú-ta-a¹ ar¹ [...]*
 obv. 7 *at-ta mi-nu-ú ki-i la te-še-mu-ú*
 obv. 8 *e-zi-ib ša it-ti a-bi-ka*
 obv. 9 *ta-az-zi-zu ù ṭe-em pī-ḫa-ti*
 obv. 10 *ti-du-ú mi-im-ma ma-la a¹bu-ka¹*
 obv. 11 *i-pu-šu a-a-i-tam-ma*
 obv. 12 ¹le¹-mut-ta-ka *la e-še-em¹-[me]*

Your father from ... [...] he will return 10 towns [...] You, why is it as if you are not listening (to me)?
 Apart from the fact that you had stood by your father,
 and that you did know about the report of(=about) the province,
 and that everything your father has done,
 (apart from that) I shall not hear anything bad from you (anymore)!

Martukkû had apparently been the cause for complaints, because he had been loyal to his father. Lal-ur-alim accuses Martukkû of not listening to him (obv. 1. 7). Lal-ur-alim applies in HS 113 two

araḥsamna ša ištēn šatti ana kab/pru ikannak, “all the beer which (has been brewed) since the month of Arahsamnu he seals (in bottles) for (transport to) the village”) is incorrect.

exhortations: on the obverse l. 12 and on the left edge l. 2 he warns Martukkû that he does not want to hear complaints about him, and he admonishes him not to be negligent.

l.e. 1	[...] ¹ la ¹ te-me-ke bi-ri-it ¹ û ¹ -[...]	[...] Do not be negligent! Between [...]
l.e. 2	[le-mu ¹]- ¹ ta ¹ -ka la e-še-em-mé	I shall not hear [anything b]ad (from you)!

At the beginning of the reverse, Lal-ur-alim forbids Martukkû to do something, which concerns his father. In rev. ll. 11-12 Lal-ur-alim returns to the subject of Martukkû's father and announces that he will tear down the house of Martukkû's father (!), apparently, because of something which Martukkû's father did to Enlil-rēšû'a. A man with the name Enlil-rēšû'a is a contemporary of Innannu and is attested as a recipient of flour and barley together with Lal-ur-alim and Innannu in the undated expenditure list BE 15, 168, which Hölscher dates to Kurigalzu's II or Nazi-maruttaš's reign.

rev. 11	[...]-a-ia ša a-bu-ka a-na ^d En-lil-re-šû-ú-a	My [...] which your father to Enlil-rēšû'a
rev. 12	[...] É a-bi-ka e-ḫe-ep- ¹ pe ¹ [...]	[...] I will demolish ²³⁵ the house of your father [...].

The rest of the obverse is mostly destroyed; Lal-ur-alim forbids Martukkû to do something with an ax (obv. l. 13), and the name Ninurta-apla-iddina is mentioned (obv. l. 14). As seen above, the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina wrote three letters (BE 17, 83-85) to Innannu. Further below on the reverse (rev. l. 13-t.e. l. 1) the name Ninurta-apla-iddina is mentioned again: Martukkû shall forward the request that Ninurta-apla-iddina shall return to Lal-ur-alim.

rev. 13	[a-na ¹ rdMAŠ ¹ -IBILA-ŠÚM-na qí-bí-[ma]	Speak [to] Ninurta-apla-iddina:
t.e. 1	[um-ma]-a li-ter-[ra-am-ma]	The following: He shall return [to me and]

In rev. ll. 4-6 we learn that Lal-ur-alim has the power to install *ḫazannus*. If I understand rev. ll. 5-6 correctly, then Lal-ur-alim orders Martukkû to appoint the *ḫazannus*, whom Lal-ur-alim appoints. This implies that Lal-ur-alim and Martukkû had a higher rank than a *ḫazannu*. Perhaps, Lal-ur-alim worked for the provincial administration and appointed *ḫazannus*, and as a lower ranking temple official Martukkû may have had to accept the *ḫazannus* who were “in front of” him.

However, the Kassite letters in the Hilprecht collection (HS 110 and HS 113) may have originated in area WA, which is also a possibility for Innannu's letters (see above), which would imply that Lal-ur-alim belonged to the same temple institution as Martukkû.

rev. 4	i-na pu-ut ḫa-za-an-na-ti ša ta-áš-pu- ¹ ra ¹	On account of the <i>ḫazannus</i> , about whom I had sent (a letter) to you:
rev. 5	ma-an-na ša a-na-ku a-šak-ka-nu	anyone who I am appointing,
rev. 6	ša pa-nu-ka at-ta ši-ta-ka-an	(and) who is in front of you, appoint every time!

In rev. ll. 7-10, Lal-ur-alim tells Martukkû to only provide Sîn-aḫa-iddina with supplies, if the “gives water” - perhaps, if Sîn-aḫa-iddina opens his canals to irrigate Martukkû's fields.

rev. 7	i-na pu-ut ^{ld30} ŠEŠ-ŠÚM-na ša ta-áš-pu-ra	On account of Sîn-aḫa-iddina, about whom I had sent (a letter) to you:
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²³⁵ Note that *ḫepû* is used for the breaking of a legal tablet to invalidate it (such as breaking a debt note after paying the debt), in this case, perhaps, the legal document about the land grant to Martukkû's father. Further, there is the possibility to translate rev. l. 12 as “I will divide the house (= grant) of your father”, since *ḫepû* can mean “to divide”, cf. CAD H: 173-174, s.v. *ḫepû*.

rev. 8	<i>šum-ma mé-e i-nam-di-na-ku mé-ri-iš-ta</i>	if he gives water to you, then give (him) supplies,
rev. 9	<i>[ma]-^rla¹ i-ri-šu-ka i-din</i>	as many as he desires!
rev. 10	<i>[šum]-^rma¹ mé-e ul it-ta-din mi-im-ma la im- ^rmar¹</i>	If he has not given the water, then he shall not see anything!

The name Sîn-aḥa-iddina is attested frequently in documents of the reign of several kings, from Kadašman-Enlil I to Kadašman-Turgu. A shepherd from the reign of Kadašman-Enlil I²³⁶ and one (or two) donkey shepherd(s) from the reign of Nazi-maruttaš²³⁷ bore the name. It should also be noted that an “*aklu* received by Enlil-AL.SA₆” (*ak-lu₄* ^{1d}*En-lil-AL.SA₆ maḥ-ru*, CBS 3136: obv. l. 5-b.e. l. 1), who was a *šandabakku* under Nazi-maruttaš, is sealed by a Sîn-aḥa-iddina (b.e. l. 2; Matthews no. 26; cf. Murai 2018: 133. 137).

Later than Kadašman-Turgu’s 13th year (1269; see BE 14, 99: rev. l. 10) Sîn-aḥa-iddina appears in the cattle muster BE 14, 99: rev. l. 16:

ù l 1 ÁB MU 2 *ta-ḥu-ú ša ši-ma-at uz-ni pa-al-tu i-na ŠU* ^{1d}30-ŠEŠ-SÚM-na ^ruz¹-^rna¹ [...], “and one two-year old cow, a young animal of the ear tag of a double-headed ax in the hand/care of Sîn-aḥa-iddina. The ear (tag) ...”

Since there are so many shepherds or officials involved in herding bearing this name in a time span of 100 years, the name Sîn-aḥa-iddina cannot help us to date the letter HS 113.

On the top end of the tablet (the letter continues on the left edge) Lal-ur-alim asks Martukkû why he has not reported to him about issue with sheep and goats.

t.e. 2	[...] ^r x ¹ ša U ₈ .UDU.ḪI.A ^r a-nu ² [-um ² -ma ² ...]	[...] of the sheep and goats no[w ...]
t.e. 3	^r am-mi-ni ¹ la ta-áš-[pu-ra ...]	why have you not writt[en to me?]

6.2.3 Martukkû’s function

According to Lal-ur-alim’s order Martukkû has the following functions:

- Martukkû had to provide foodstuffs for religious rituals and banquets, perhaps, prebends: In HS 110: obv. ll. 5-12 Martukkû had to provide for a ten-day *tākultu*-banquet, i.e. a “state ritual” (Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 392, 402), and he should arrange for beer to be brewed (obv. ll. 13-14).
- Martukkû had access to “supplies”, which he could give out (HS 113: rev. ll. 7-10).
- Martukkû was involved in the wool production: he had access to wool, gave out wool to the daughter of Bēlšunu (HS 110: rev. ll. 1-6), and he should report about sheep and goats to Lal-ur-alim (HS 113: t.e. ll. 2-3).

²³⁶ Murai 2018: 124. See MUN 325: obv. ll. 1-2 (Kadašman-Enlil I, year 6) and N 2645: obv. ll. 3’-4’, 6’, rev. l. 7, sealed by *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḥḫē.

²³⁷ Cf. BE 15, 190, reign of Nazi-maruttaš (Hölscher 1996: 185). In BE 15, 190 the female workers, whom Inbi-ajjari supervised in PBS 2/2, 142, are listed. If the woman named Inbi-ajjari is the same woman who wrote the letters to Innannu, then we can date Sîn-aḥa-iddina to the time Innannu was active (Kurigalzu II and Nazi-maruttaš).

- Martukkû had a high office and appointed *hazannu* officials (=town mayors): Martukkû had enough authority to know the contents of a report about a province (or “area of responsibility” in HS 113: obv. l. 9, and supervised and/or appointed (by order of Lal-ur-alim) *hazannu* officials (HS 113: rev. ll. 4-6).

6.2.4 Martukkû no. 2 (1272-1232 BC)

In HS 110, rev. ll. 1-6a, an order given by a man called ẖuzālu is quoted by Lal-ur-alim. Martukkû shall weigh out wool:

rev. 1	ù SÍK.ḪI.A 2 GÚ.UN	And weigh out 2 talents of wool
rev. 2	a-na DUMU.MUNUS ¹ Be-el-šu-nu ḫi-iṭ-ma	for the daughter of Bēlšunu,
rev. 3	i-din ¹ Ḫu-za-lu ₄ iq-ba-a	and give (them)! ẖuzālu said to me:
rev. 4	um-ma-a 1 GÚ eš-še-tu ₄	“The following: 1 new talent
rev. 5	ù 1 GÚ la-bi-ra-a- ^r tī ¹	1 old talent
rev. 6a	ḫi-iṭ-ma i-din-ma	weigh out and give (them)!

Both Hölscher (1996: 139, no. 1 and 2) and Murai (2018: 153) distinguish between two men with the name Martukkû with a 75 year gap between them.

One of the two Martukkûs (no. 1) is attested in documents from Kurigalzu II year 22 (1311) to Kadašman-Turgu, year 6 (1276).

Another man called Martukkû, the son of Sîn-ē-īriš (Hölscher 1996: 139, no. 2) is attested together with ẖuzālu for 50 years, from Kadašman-Turgu’s (1281-1264) year 10 (1272) according to CT 51, 28, through Šagarakti-Šuriaš’s (1245-1233) years 9-10 (1237-1236) according to BE 14, 136, BE 15, 26, and MRWH 17, to Kaštiliaš’s IV (1232-1225) accession year (1232 -) to ? (BE 14, 145; CT 51, 37).

Since this Martukkû is attested together with ẖuzālu, it is possible that the recipient of HS 110 is this Martukkû. Hölscher (1996: 139) dates both letters from Lal-ur-alim to Martukkû (HS 110, 113) much earlier, to the reign of Nazi-maruttaš, i.e. to Martukkû no. 1.

Martukkû und ẖuzālu appear together in BE 14, 136 and in HS 154 (MRWH 17). HS 152, HS 154 and BE 14, 136 concern the NIN.DINGIR priestesses of Nippur (see Sassmannshausen 2001: 62-64). BE 14, 136 and HS 154 record the income of natural produce and capital of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses. According to Petschow (1974: 55-56), ẖuzālu and Martukkû are the managers of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses’ capital. HS 154 ll. 1-34 begins with “old barley”, i.e. a positive balance from from a previous year (Šagarakti-Šuriaš, year 8, ll. 5-6), followed by the *telītu* income of the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses (ll. 7-9), seeds received through *isru*, i.e. collected payments, which were distributed in the form of rations (ll. 13-15), but also in the hand, i.e. under the management of ẖuzālu and Martukkû (ll. 17-19). Similarly “old rests” of the years 6 and 8 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, i.e. a positive balance of sesame, ghee, wool and goatshair are listed, all in the hand of, i.e. managed by, ẖuzālu (ll. 20-34, cf. Petschow 1974: 56-57).²³⁸

²³⁸ The “old rests” of sesame and barley (ll. 7 and 22) from Šagarakti-Šuriaš, year 8, are transferred from the text HS 152 (MRWH 16, an account of *telītu* income of sesame and barley of the NIN.DINGIR.GAL and TUR) to this ledger (Petschow 1974: 55-57).

Ll. 35-45 concern the barley and seeds managed by Martukkû. Ll. 35-38 notably list the positive balance from from a previous year (year 6 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš) *i-na* UGU ¹Mar-tu-ki DUMU ¹dUTU-URU₄-iš kun-nu, “which are confirmed as being the debt of/owed by Martukkû, son of Sîn-ē/īriš”. According to Petschow the goods that remain after all deductions are then transferred to BE 14, 136 (Petschow 1974: 55). A positive rest remained after the deductions, i.e. the expenses of the NIN.DINGIR are less than their income.

BE 14, 136 is not listed among the documents found in area WA (the Gula temple). BE 14, 136 lists the *re-ḥa-a-nu šá* DUB.ŠAR.MEŠ *ša* NIN.DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* ¹LÚ-^dAMAR.UTU GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU^{KI} *i-na* ^{ITU}NE *ša* MU-9-KAM Šá-ga-ra-ak-ti-Sur-ia-áš *i-na* UGU ¹x¹-[x(-x)] *i-kin-nu*, “remainders of the scribes of the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses, which Amīl-Marduk, the *šandabakku* of Nippur in the month *abu* (fifth month) of the 9th year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš confirmed to be the debt of ...[...]

 (t.e. ll. 1-2). Since the “rests”, i.e. the positive balance from HS 154, has been copied to BE 14, 136 (cf. Petschow 1974: 55, esp. fn. 3), *rēḫu* “remainder” or “outstanding obligation” (CAD R: 254b-256b) actually refers to the “remainders” or “rests”, i.e. the positive balance left from previous accounts, which the *šandabakku* confirms. The first five columns list barley, sesame, ghee, wool and goatshair; the last column lists *re-ḥa-a-[nu] šá* DUB.ŠAR.MEŠ *ša* NIN.[DINGIR.MEŠ] MU.BI.IM, “the remainders of the scribes of the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses, their names are:”. Thus, in the last column the responsible officials (scribes) are listed, who a) work for the priestesses, and who b) owe the remaining barley, i.e. who manage it. Apart from shepherds (obv. l. 14, rev. l. 9), several names appear, such as Adad-šar-ilāni (obv. l. 12), Iqīša-Nergal (obv. ll. 9, 10, rev. l. 8), and the son of Irēmšu-Ninurta (obv. l. 8, rev. l. 1). In the last column in rev. l. 3 the outstanding payments are ŠU ¹Hu-za-li, in the same column in rev. l. 6 the goods are ŠU ¹Mar-tu-ki. In rev. ll. 3-5, in the ghee-column, the amount of ghee is ŠU ¹Hu-za-li ù *Mar-tu-ki*. We can gather from this that Huzālu and Martukkû worked for a temple and the priestesses of a temple, and that they functioned as managers of cattle and sheep- and goatherds, as the produce is “in the hand of” (ŠU) them. BE 14, 136 explicitly states that the *šandabakku* assigned amounts of barley, sesame, ghee, wool and goatshair *i-na* UGU, as “the debt of x-[...]”, i.e. owed by someone, possibly the scribes (see Petschow 1974: 55; Sassmannshausen 2001: 49, fn. 746; Torczyner 1913: 58). This may imply that the scribes of the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses “owed” the produce, because they managed the capital for the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses.

According to HS 154 and BE 14, 136 the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk issued the account for the NIN.DINGIR.TUR (HS 154 obv. ll. 1-4) and he confirmed a debt “upon” someone (BE 14, 136: te. ll. 1-2). This debt consisted of the “remainders of the scribes of the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses”. Provincial administration partially collected the levies of the temple grants (Paulus 2014d: 201). The listed revenue (*telītu*) is apparently that which the *šandabakku* contributed to their household. On the one hand the heading of BE 14, 136 could mean that the *šandabakku* established the provision of the priestesses by placing a debt upon someone (the scribes ?) to provide for the priestesses. On the other hand it could mean that the scribes of the priestesses owed the remainders to the *šandabakku*, i.e. he confirmed their

debt, because he had provided for the priestesses, and according to the account the priestesses had more income than expenditures. According to Petschow (1974: 62) the *šandabakku* managed or supervised the management of the temple, which could explain why BE 14, 136 was found in the palace. Apparently, the *šandabakku* kept accounts about the income and expenditure of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses. Torczyner (1913: 8) suggested that the scribes, who managed the resources of the temple, were subordinates of the *šandabakku*, who provided for the NIN.DINGIR priestesses.

From HS 154 (MRWH 17): l. 36 we learn that Martukkû is the son of a Sîn-ē/īriš. The *aḫu*-letter BE 17, 90 was written from a Sîn-ē/īriš to an unknown *šandabakku*.

BE 14, 145 (not found in area WA/Gula temple) is damaged, but the following can be understood:

“5;0.0.0 Gur of barley, measured with the *naptanu-sūtu*-vessel (KIN.[SIG ...]), which from the town Pī-nār[i] out of the hand of Ninurta-[...] Ilī-aḫa-iddina the son of Ta-[...] has received and about which a sealed tablet (=contract) [he has issued (?)].
 4;1.4.0 Gur in/from ... (x-[x] ^ris²-si²[...]) Martuk[ku ...] for the *naptanu* [...],
 0;1.2.0 Ea-ibni [...], the son of Ezija [...] (in/of) Āl-Šēlebi, out of the 4;1.4.0 Gur in the hand of ^rthe son (?)¹ [of ...],
 a total of 5;0.0.0 Gur of barley, measured with the *naptanu-sūtu*-vessel (KIN.SIG) [...] Ilī-aḫa-iddina gave [...] (and) a sealed tablet (=contract) about it he will issue [...] it will be smashed/annulled²³⁹ [...]. The 12th day of the month *elūlu* (6th month), the [...] year of king Kaštiliaš (IV), written by Martu[kkû].”

Martukkû is one of two recipients of barley from Ilī-aḫa-iddina, who had received the barley before from someone else, whose name begins with the theonym Ninurta-[...] (Ninurta-apla-iddina?). Martukkû appears to use the received barley for a *naptanu*-banquet, a collective meal which probably had a cultic aspect (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 327-328). Martukkû is also the scribe of BE 14, 145.

The two men documented together with Martukkû in BE 14, 145, Ea-ibni and Ilī-aḫa-iddina come from the same context as Martukkû: they manage cattle, sheep and goats as well as agricultural produce for the NIN.DINGIR priestess(es) of one (or more ?) temples:

Ea-ibni, who receives barley in BE 14, 145 alongside Martukkû, also appears in HS 147 (MRWH 27): l. 25. HS 147 (MRWH 27)²⁴⁰ lists the *aklu* (consisting of sheep and goats) of an unnamed temple or of several temples (l. 1 reads *ak-lu* É DINGIR, “the *aklu* of (a) temple(s)”, and the columns list sheep and goats together with the Ekur, Parak-māri, and Bīt-bēri) in the years 9 and 10 of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (Petschow 1974: 69-71). Part of the *aklu*, i.e. 32 sheep destined to or coming from Parak-māri, are

²³⁹ *Uptassasu* is the 1st/3rd ps. present tense of *putassusu*, the Dt-stem of *pasāsu* “to smash, obliterate, annul, cancel” (the Dt-stem expresses a passive or reciprocative meaning).

²⁴⁰ Each column of MRWH 27 lists both the number of sheep or goats and a temple (Ekur, Parak-māri, and Bīt-bēri). The last column lists “their names”; according to Petschow (1974: 69) these are either men who deliver the goats and sheep, or the ones who receive them. ll. 7-14, 20 list names without any attributes, ll. 15, 16, 19, 21, and 27-29 designate the sheep and goats as *šibtu*, a levy on cattle, goats and sheep. ll. 22-26 list male sheep for the Sealand province, given by the son of Ilī-izziza (ll. 22-24) and by Ea-ibni (ll. 25-26).

designated as “sheep from the Sealand province which Ea-ibni had given” (ll. 25-26), and part of the *aklu* is the *šibtu*, the levy on cattle, sheep and goats.²⁴¹

Ilī-aḥa-iddina who receives the barley and distributes it to Martukkû and Ea-ibni, seems to be involved in managing cattle and sheep and goats for the NIN.DINGIR priestess(es), like Martukkû: he appears in the cattle muster BE 14, 99a, which is the *mi-nu* ÁB.GU₄.ḪI.A ù U₈.UDU.ḪI.A NIN.DINGIR.MEŠ MU-11-KAM *Ka-daš-man-Tur-gu* (rev. l. 24 or bottom edge?).²⁴² Two times, in obv. l. 4, and in rev. l. 5 Ilī-aḥa-iddina appears in a very high-ranking and supervising position, as the responsible *nāqīdu* herdsmen, the *ḥazannus* as well as *kaššûs* responsible for the listed cattle, the sheep and goats, as well as their arrears, are under his supervision, i.e. their totals are his *pīḥātu*, his “area of responsibility”. Furthermore he appears two times as the manager of cattle, sheep and goats as well as their arrears for the NIN.DINGIR.GAL-priestess(es), as he is listed before totals attributed to her/them (obv. l. 12 and rev. l. 11).

CT 51, 28: l. 10 is a *gabri kunukki*, a copy of loan contract, and dates to the 7th day of the month *addaru* (12th month) of the 10th year of Kadašman-Turgu. Martukkû, the scribe and son of Šamaš-ē/īriš, acts as a witness for the loan of barley by the creditor Irēmšu-Ninurta (cf. the Irēmšu-Ninurta listed with Martukkû in BE 14, 136) from the town Taḥlaš to the debtor Napšira-Nusku.

CT 51, 37 lists the *šītu* (ZI.GA, expenditure) of sesame oil out of the hand of (managed by) the preparer of sesame oil Līšer-Nergal (cf. obv. l. 1, rev. ll. 6-7) and dates to the month *addaru* (12th month) of the accession year of Kaštiliaš IV. Martukkû is attested in obv. l. 7: 0;1.0.0 (PI) *a-na* ŠÀ ¹*Mar-tuk i-din*.

One document found in area WA, probably the Gula temple (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 189), BE 15, 26, which dates to the *du'ūzu* (4th month), of the 10th year of one king, contains both names, Ḫuzālu and Martukkû. In BE 15, 26 a large amount of barley from Āl-Šēlibi (obv. l. 2) for rations of Nippur and Dūr-Kurigalzu (obv. ll. 3-4) *i-na* ŠU ¹*Hu-za-lu* ù ¹*Mar-tu-ki*, “out of the hand(s) of Ḫuzālu and Martukkû” (obv. l. 5-b.e. l. 1) is received by Ḫananāju and Nūr-Marduk (b.e. l. 2-rev. l. 1).

Murai believes that the man called Martukkû who appears with Ḫuzālu in our letter HS 110 and in the documents discussed above does not belong to the “Archiv des Speichers” (WA, the Gula temple) in Nippur. However, BE 15, 26 - in which both Martukkû and Ḫuzālu are attested - does come from area WA (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 189-190). The location Al-Šēlibi is – according to Murai (2018: 244-249) – frequently attested in the “Archiv des Speichers”.

²⁴¹ Three of the herdsmen contributing to the *aklu* or receiving it in HS 147 (MRWH 27), Amīl-Sîn, Mungudu and Rabâ-ša-Gula (ll. 12-14, cf. Petschow 1974: 69-71) also appear in BE 14, 132: obv. l. 7, rev. l. 7, 12, as “herdsmen of the god”.

²⁴² However, it should be noted that not all entries, i.e. cattle, sheep and goats, as well as their products in BE 14, 99a are attributed to the NIN.DINGIR.GAL or TUR, but only several groups of entries, followed by a total which is then attributed to the NIN.DINGIR.GAL or TUR. The rest is associated with specific herdsmen, *ḥazannus* and other responsible officials, whose names - such as Ilī-aḥa-iddina - are written across the columns for *nāqīdu*, *ḥazannu* and *kaššû*. Ilī-aḥa-iddina managed both cattle as well as goats and sheep, as well as the responsible herdsmen and officials, and he appears with a colleague among the officials working for the NIN.DINGIR.GAL.

Note that BE 14, 136, in which Martukkû no. 2 is attested as a scribe of the NIN.DINGIR.TUR (rev. ll. 3-6) under Šagarakti-Šuriaš, and the receipt BE 14, 145 (written by Martukkû), in which he receives barley for a *naptanu*-banquet, were not found in the area WA (Gula temple).²⁴³ This shows that the temple official Martukkû was involved in economic transactions (loans ?) with the palace - the *šandabakku* confirms that he and other scribes of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses owed revenue to (BE 14, 136), and Martukkû receives barley from the palace (BE 14, 145).

In total we learn from the discussed documents that a man called Martukkû was a scribe of, i.e. managed the NIN.DINGIR priestesses' business, especially their cattle, sheep and goatherds, as well the produce made from the cattle, sheep and goats. Note that in HS 110: rev. ll. 1-6 Martukkû shall give two talents of wool "for the daughter of Bēlšunu". We could speculate whether such a female recipient may have belonged to the NIN.DINGIR priestesses, also because the wool is referred to as old and new wool. The same vocabulary, i.e. an "old" (LIBIR.RA) amount of barley, sesame and butter is listed in HS 154: ll. 5, 21, 26 under the management of Ḫuzālu of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses and refers to positive remainders from a previous account. In HS 110: rev. ll. 1-6 Martukkû shall give one talent of the "old" wool, which had been left at the disposal of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses, and one talent of the "new" wool, probably recently collected.

The temple for which Martukkû and Ḫuzālu worked dealt with the *šandabakku*, who - at least partially (?) provided for the NIN.DINGIR priestesses, and may also have taken or given loans of barley from and to the temple, or made herding agreements with it.

Since Martukkû no. 2 was the son of a Sîn-ē/iriš (Hölscher 1996: 139), and Martukkû was a hypocorism, there is the possibility that Martukkû stands for the name Nūr-Marduk. In the legal document (apparently an extra-court agreement) Nippur III 126 Nūr-Marduk, the son of Sîn-ē/iriš, sells a jenny to Taqīšu, the son of Ḫunnubu, and later exchanges the jenny for a cow (the date of the text is destroyed, Hölscher (1996: 85) suggests the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II). Hölscher (1996: 161) suggests that this Nūr-Marduk is the recipient of barley from Ḫuzālu and Martukkû in BE 15, 26 (see above). If this was the case, then the fact that both Martukkû no. 2 and Nūr-Marduk appear in the same document makes it unlikely that Nūr-Marduk can be identified with Martukkû.

6.2.5 Martukkû no. 1 (1311-1276 BC)

Martukkû no. 1 is attested for ca. 37 years (Hölscher 1996: 139, no. 1; Sassmannshausen 2001: 190), from the 22nd year (1311) of Kurigalzu II to the 6th year (1276) of Kadašman-Turgu (1281-1264). If he were identical with Martukkû no. 2, he would have had to be in office for at least 79 years.

A number of the documents of the "Archiv des Speichers" attesting to Martukkû do not contain the name of a king. BE 15, 26, which Murai and Hölscher attribute to Martukkû no. 2, is one of these documents,

²⁴³ The finding spots of HS 154 (MRWH 17), CT 51, 28 and 37 are unknown.

as it dates to the 10th year of any king. Martukkû no. 2 appears in a number of *aklu* documents (beer, flour, barley etc.) in connection with Āl-Šēlibi and Zarāt-Karkara from the area WA, i.e. in connection with settlements in the south of Nippur (Murai 2018: 153, the document group “Matthews no. 61”²⁴⁴).

Undated texts such as BE 15, 17 and 18 do not contain names of other officials which help us date them, and could even be attributed to the Martukkû no. 2. In the *aklu* text BE 15, 17 (26th *ajjaru* (2nd month), 7th year) barley, beer (of several qualities), and flour (obv. ll. 1-4) are designated as “the *aklu* of Martukkû” (obv. l. 5-b.e. l. 1) from the town Āl-šēlibi (rev. l. 3). In BE 15, 18 barley, flour and beer (of several qualities), and large vessels (ll. 1-5) are “(of) Martukkû” (l. 6) “from the 27th *ajjaru* (2nd month) to the 25th *simanu* (3rd month) of the 7th year of Āl-šēlibi”.

Martukkû no. 1 is a contemporary of Innannu, the *šandabakkus* Enlil-AL.ŠA₆ and Ninurta-apla-iddina, and gave out barley from the south of Nippur from Zarāt-Karkara, Āl-Šēlibi, and Dunni-aḫi (Murai 2018: 244-249). In BE 14, 36 (Kurigalzu II, year 22), BE 14, 158 and in BE 15, 115 Martukkû gives out flour and barley out of the house of Innannu. Innannu is attested in earlier documents from Kurigalzu’s II and Nazi-maruttaš’s reign (see above).

In BE 14, 76 (Nazi-maruttaš, year 19) Martukkû gives out 2;0.0.0 Gur of barley out of the house of Ninurta-apla-iddina (not “for” Ninurta-apla-iddina, as Sassmannshausen 2001: 190 translates, and not *kī*, “instead of”, i.e. a loan). BE 14, 76 was found in area WA (Gula temple), cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 189. While Paulus (RAI talk 2018) argues for a separation of the household of the *šandabakku* and the temple household(s) of Innannu and Martukkû, BE 14, 76 may imply that Martukkû, who may have managed agricultural income and expenditure of a temple was also a subordinate of the *šandabakku*, since he was authorised to give out barley for the *šandabakku*. We do not know if the “house of Ninurta-apla-iddina” was separated consequently from the household of the provincial administration (cf. Paulus 2014d: 202, fn. 539).

Martukkû is a hypocorism. Just as Innannu is probably a hypocorism for Inanna-apla-iddina (attested in BE 15, 132, Kurigalzu II, year 2, i.e. 1331) the hypocorism Martukkû stands for a name containing the theonym Marduk. One possibility is Marduk-nīšu. Sassmannshausen (2001: 76, 194) pointed out that there was a connection between Marduk-nīšu and Innannu. In BE 15 24 two men receive (rev. ll. 1-5) sesame out of the house of Marduk-nīšu out of the hand of Innannu (obv. ll. 2-3) instead of from *kī qāt* (“as if from”) Aḫa-iddina-Marduk, the son of Erība-Amma. BE 15, 112 Innannu (presumably) receives barley from Adi-mati-ilī out of Dunni-aḫi (obv. ll. 1-2), and gives it out to several people, among others to the house of Marduk-nīšu for renting a boat (obv. ll. 3-4). In BE 15, 155 rations are given out to 30 women from the house of Innannu (including an *ĪB.TAG₄/šittu*, a “remainder of the house of Innannu”, b.e. ll. 2-3) and the house of Marduk-nīšu (rev. l. 17). In BE 15, 61, 66, 101 and 103 both the house of Innannu and the house of Marduk-nīšu receive barley (Sassmannshausen 2001: 76). In BE 15, 61

²⁴⁴ The use of the same seal may not necessarily help us to date all texts sealed with this seal - it was common that one seal was used by different officials or inherited.

Innannu gives out (obv. l. 5) barley which comes out of the town of Nippur-Kalbīja to the house of Marduk-nīšu and to the house of Innannu (obv. ll. 3-4). In BE 15, 66 the house of Innannu and the house of Marduk-nīšu both (obv. ll. 5-6) receive barley (next to Amīl-banû, cf. b.e. l. 1, see above “6.1 Innannu”) which had been carried off, out of Nippur-Kalbīja (obv. ll. 1-4). As shown above, Amīl-banû, the porter of the *bītānu*, is mentioned in the letter from Inbi-ajjari to Innannu and receives barley from Innannu in the receipt BE 15, 93. BE 15, 101 lists barley which had been received by Usātūša from Pī-nāri (obv. ll. 1-2). Apart from the house of Marduk-nīšu and the house Innannu (obv. ll. 3-4), also the son of Ṭāb-ašābšu, a *kašsidakku* (rev. ll. 1-2), receives barley. The son of Ṭāb-ašābšu, a *kašsidakku*, receives *hirgalû* flour and barley from the house of Innannu out of the hand of Martukkû in BE 14, 158 (see above). In BE 15, 103 emmer is given out from Pī-nāri (obv. ll. 1-2), among others to the houses of Innannu and Marduk-nīšu (obv. ll. 3-4). To my knowledge there is no text in which both Martukkû and Marduk-nīšu appear.

6.2.6 The *bārû* Martukkû

In the letter PBS 1/2, 57: rev. l. 10 a *bārû*, a “diviner, seer” (Sassmannshausen 2001: 68-69) called Martukkû is mentioned. He is mentioned together with other important officials, who appear as senders and recipients in other Kassite letters, such as Arad-bēlti, Banâ-ša-Marduk (probably also a temple official, cf. “6.3 Banâ-ša-Marduk”), and Kilamdi-Šīpak:

rev. 6	ù i-na-an-na šu-ú-ra a-na ša-pe-e-ma	And now, for the soaking of the reed (bundles with bitumen) and
rev. 7	tak-ki-ra a-na si-ki-ri	for the damming up of the <i>takkīru</i> ²⁴⁵ -canal,
rev. 8	a-na-ku ¹ URDU-GAŠAN ¹ DÛ-a-šá- ^d AMAR.UTU	I (myself), Arad-Bēlti, Banâ-ša-Marduk,
rev. 9	¹ Kī ¹ -lam-di-Šī-pak ša É ¹ Mu-bar-ri-i	Kilamdi-Šīpak of the house of Mubarrû,
rev. 10	ù ¹ Mar-tu-ku ¹ HAL	and Martukkû, the diviner,
rev. 11	i-na mu-uḥ tak-ki-ri ki ¹ ni-zi- ¹ zu ²	(we) have supervised the <i>takkīru</i> canal.

The official Banâ-ša-Marduk, who is listed together with the diviner Martukkû in rev. l. 8, may have been the sender of BE 17, 9 and JCS 19, 98-99 (see below “6.3 Banâ-ša-Marduk”), and was a contemporary of the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. We learn that this diviner Martukkû is involved in canal works together with a Banâ-ša-Marduk. If the diviner Martukkû in PBS 1/2, 57 is to be identified with one of the two Martukkûs discussed above, then it would be more likely the earlier Martukkû, since Enlil-kidinnī was a *šandabakku* from Burna-Buriaš II year 24 presumably to Nazi-maruttaš, year 8. However, this may indeed be a reference to a different man bearing the same hypocorism.

6.2.7 Lal-ur-alim’s function

- Lal-ur-alim travelled in the vicinity of Nippur to inspect the preparation of religious banquets (HS 110: obv. ll. 4-5).

²⁴⁵ Cf. van Soldt 1988: 113.

- Lal-ur-alim had the control of stored amounts of agricultural produce, and had the power to tell his subordinates to give goods or keep them from people, i.e. wool or other supplies (HS 110: rev. ll. 1-6; HS 113: rev. l. 8). He supervised and organised the provision of religious banquets (*naptanu* and *tākultu*) and offerings (HS 110: obv. ll. 7-14).
- Lal-ur-alim reprimanded subordinates and controlled that they followed his orders (HS 113: obv. ll. 7-12)
- Lal-ur-alim expropriated grantees or removed officials, who had committed an offence, from their position by taking back towns and tearing down houses - in this case of Martukkû's father (HS 113: obv. l. 6, rev. l. 12).
- Lal-ur-alim appointed *hazannus* which his subordinates had to assign (HS 113: rev. ll. 4-6).

6.2.8 Dating Lal-ur-alim

A man called Lal-ur-alim is attested in three administrative documents, BE 15, 44, 156, and 158, which appear to date to the reign of Nazi-maruttaš.

BE 15, 44 and 156 belong to the “Archiv des Speichers” (Sassmannshausen 2001: 187, 189, 191). BE 15, 44 dates to the 15th year of a king (8th day of the month *nisannu* (1st month)), probably Nazi-maruttaš (Hölscher 1996: 130). The first two columns list amounts of flour and barley, followed by personal names. Among others, the recipients are Enlil-AL.SA₆ (rev. l. 11), Kudurrānu (rev. l. 2). The last entry (t.e. l. 1) appears to mention salt for the *gugallu*, the “canal inspector”. In obv. l. 10 Lal-ur-alim receives barley.

BE 15, 156 and 168 are both expenditure lists without a date; Hölscher dates them both to Kurigalzu II or Nazi-maruttaš.

BE 15, 156 is a list of expenditures of flour and *hīrgalû* flour. In obv. l. 2 Lal-ur-alim receives travel provisions. Martukkû's colleague Innannu receives both types of flour in obv. l. 7.

BE 15, 168 is a list of expenditures (ZI.GA/*šītu*) of flour and barley. In obv. l. 12 Lal-ur-alim and Ibni-Marduk receive flour for horses on the 13th day. In obv. l. 21 Lal-ur-alim receives barley and flour “from the 13th day of the month *nisannu* (1st month) until the 30th day”, part of which is rations (and) horse feed, and part of it is flour for his (own) ration(s). Another recipient is Enlil-rēšū'a (rev. l. 3), whom Lal-ur-alim mentions in HS 113: rev. ll. 11-12, and who is a contemporary of Innannu.

Although no king is mentioned in any of these lists, Innannu and Enlil-AL.SA₆ point to the reign of Kurigalzu II and Nazi-maruttaš.

A man called Lal-ur-alim has written another Kassite letter, CBS 15009, and he is mentioned in the Kassite letter UM 29-16-686.

CBS 15009 is an *ardu-letter* from a lower ranking Lal-ur-alim to his lord. Only the upper part of CBS 15009 is preserved.²⁴⁶ The address and greeting formula of an *ardu-letter* (obv. ll. 1-5) is followed by a version of the greeting formula of *aḫu*-letters (obv. l. 6: DINGIR.MEŠ-*ka* ù *nap*-^r*ša*¹-[*ti-ka li-iš-šu-ru*], “And your gods [shall protect your (?) life!]”). In *aḫu*-letters the sender usually invokes his local gods; here, however, the recipient’s gods shall protect him (!). Another unusual detail in this letter fragment is that the subordinate Lal-ur-alim uses personal pronouns and possessive suffixes in the direct 2nd ps. Sg. (*attā/-ka*), which usually appear in *bēlu*- and *aḫu*-letters (see above).

obv. 7	<i>at-ta-ma ul-tu</i> [...]	And you, since [...]
obv. 8	<i>it-ti-ka an-^rḫu¹-[tu² ...]</i>	from/with you the exhaus[tion (?) ...]
obv. 9	<i>ši-ri ul ṭa-ba-[an²-ni² ...]</i>	My flesh is not good [(to me = I am ill) ...]

Lal-ur-alim informs his lord that he is ill — unless *šīrī* refers to an extispicy (see the “tools of the flesh” below in BE 17, 28: rev. l. 12). Lal-ur-alim mentions the plague (*mūtānu*) in his letter to Martukkû HS 113: obv. ll. 3-4, albeit in broken context. This is, unfortunately, the only preserved content to be associated with the sender of the letters HS 110 and 113 to Martukkû.

UM 29-16-686 is only a fragment with a heavily worn surface, the beginning and the right side is broken. The few legible phrases seem to imply the “closing” of an opening in a building with bricks (*pe-ḫu-ú* SIG⁴.MEŠ¹, obv. l. 2), mention a *māḫiṣu* (hunter/weaver, obv. l. 2), the *ḫarbu* (?) fields of the town Kār-Nusku²⁴⁷ (obv. l. 4), and the personal name Sarriqu (obv. l. 5). Unfortunately the lines preceding and following the mention of the name Lal-ur-alim do not tell us more about him.

obv. 9	<i>ar-ki-ia am-mi-ni ^rARAD²-ia² [...]</i>	Why behind me my servant (?) [...]
obv. 10	<i>a-na ¹L àl-úr-Alim a-^rx¹ [...]</i>	I (?) [...] to Lal-ur-Alim [...]
obv. 11	<i>^rx¹ da a-na e-mi/mé-^rdī² [...]</i>	[...] ... (?) to the one who imposes levies (tax assessor ?)/in order to impose [...]

Thus, it is likely that Lal-ur-alim dates to the reign of the kings Kurigalzu II and Nazi-maruttaš.

This corresponds with HS 113, in which Lal-ur-alim mentions the name Ninurta-apla-iddina twice (obv. l. 14; rev. l. 13-t.e. l. 1). Furthermore, in HS 113: rev. l. 11 Lal-ur-alim mentions Enlil-rēšū’a, who even appears together with Lal-ur-alim and Innannu in BE 15, 168.

Note that the name Lal-ur-alim appears as a resident of Nippur in Ludlul-bēl-nēmeqi: iii, ll. 25-26, who sends a purifier to the sufferer in the sufferer’s dream: LĀL-ÚR-ALIM.MA *a-šib* NIBRU^{KI} *a-na ub-bu-bi-ka iš-pu-ra-an-[ni]*, “Lal-ur-alim, a resident of Nippur, has sent me to purify you”.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ The reverse is uninscribed, as the lower part of the tablet, i.e. the upper part of the reverse, is missing, the tablet may have been inscribed on the upper part of the reverse.

²⁴⁷ Kār-Nusku lay in the north of Nippur (Murai 2018: 29-31, 244-249), which was mostly managed by the provincial administration of Nippur and not the temple in area WA.

²⁴⁸ I would like to thank Stephanie Dalley for pointing this out to me. Note that the name of the protagonist of Ludlul-bēl-nēmeqi, Subsi-mesre-sakkan, appears in a legal document from the same period from Ur as a *šakin māti* (NM 16), and in PBS 2/2, 20: rev. l. 10 (Annus Lenzi : xvi-xvii).

6.2.9 Conclusion: who were Lal-ur-alim and Martukkû?

Martukkû is a hypocorism. Just as Innannu is probably a hypocorism for Inanna-apla-iddina (attested in BE 15, 132, Kurigalzu II, year 2, i.e. 1325), the hypocorism Martukkû may have been used for several names and officials. Martukkû no. 2 from the beginning of the 13th century (slightly later than Innannu) may have had a different personal name with the theonym Marduk than Martukkû no. 2, who worked with ẖuzālu (or both had the same name).

On the one hand, Lal-ur-alim's mention of the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina and Enlil-rēšū'a in his letter HS 113, as well as his association with the *šandabakku* Enlil-AL.SA₆, and with Innannu, point to Martukkû no. 1 (1311 to 1276). On the other hand, Lal-ur-alim mentions ẖuzālu in HS 110, and asks him to report on sheep and goats, which points to Martukkû no. 2 (1272 to 1232).

The letters tell us that Martukkû was in Āl-šēlibi and provided for religious festivities and offerings. The undated documents BE 15, 17, 18, and 26 show that man bearing the name Martukkû, working for the institution leaving the archives of the area WA (possibly the Gula temple ?), gave out barley, flour and beer from Āl-šēlibi. He is, thus, likely to be identified with the recipient of our letters HS 110 and 113.

It is at present impossible to attribute BE 15, 17, 18 and 26 either to Martukkû no. 1 or to no. 2:

Hölscher and Murai attribute BE 15, 17 and 18 to Martukkû no. 1, and BE 15, 26 to Martukkû no. 2. If BE 15, 17 and 18 attest to Martukkû no. 1, then this would locate Martukkû no. 1 in Āl-šēlibi. Apart from BE 15, 17 and 18 Martukkû no. 1 is not attested in Āl-šēlibi.

Unless BE 15, 26 is attributed to Martukkû no. 2, Martukkû no. 2 is also not attested in Āl-šēlibi. In BE 14, 145 Martukkû no. 2 is not located in Āl-šēlibi, however, another recipient is associated with Āl-šēlibi. BE 15, 26 is attributed to Martukkû no. 2, because in BE 15, 26 he gives out barley together with ẖuzālu. However, contrary to Hölscher's and Murai's dating, BE 17, 26 could date to Martukkû no. 1 - then Martukkû no. 2 would not be attested in Āl-šēlibi at all.

Martukkû no. 1 (1307-1271 BC)	Martukkû no. 2 (1267-1227 BC), scribe of NIN.DINGIR priestesses
Martukkû no. 1 is only attested in Āl-šēlibi, if BE 15, 17 and 18 belong to Martukkû 1 - however, BE 15, 17 and 18 may belong to Martukkû 2.	Martukkû no. 2 is only attested in Āl-šēlibi with ẖuzālu, if BE 15, 26 belongs to Martukkû no. 2.
HS 110: Martukkû had access to foodstuffs, similar to Martukkû 1.	HS 110: provision for religious banquets/rituals, religious context
HS 113: names Ninurta-apla-iddina (2x), Enlil-rēšū'a mentioned	HS 110: ẖuzālu mentioned
	HS 110: "old" (LIBIR.RA) wool mentioned - similar designation as used for "old" remainders of barley, sesame and butter in HS 154 of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses
Lal-ur-alim: attested under Nazi-maruttaš's reign/with Enlil-AL.SA ₆	HS 113: report about sheep and goats

Considering the attestation of a man called Lal-ur-alim as a contemporary of Innannu (see above "6.2.8 Dating Lal-ur-alim") and of the *šandabakku* Enlil-AL.SA₆, it seems likely that the recipient of Lal-ur-

alim's letters is Martukkû no. 1 despite the mention of a man called ẖuzālu in HS 110, rev. ll. 1-6. It is obviously possible that another contemporary of Martukkû no. 1 also bore the name ẖuzālu.

If our recipient would be Martukkû no. 2, and if Lal-ur-alim is indeed the same high official appearing in expenditure lists with Innannu and the *šandabakku* Enlil-AL.SA₆, then the letters he wrote to Martukkû no. 2 must date to a time, when Lal-ur-alim was already for a long time in office, i.e. when he was very old, and when Martukkû was still young and is first attested in documents, such as under Kadašman-Turgu's reign in the first half of the 13th century. Officials attested under Nazi-maruttaš's reign or the later years of Kurigalzu II, such as the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina or Enlil-rēšū'a, mentioned by Lal-ur-alim in his letter to Martukkû (HS 113), could have still been alive and active in Kadašman-Turgu's reign, when Martukkû no. 2 became active. The name Ninurta-apla-iddina in Lal-ur-alim's letter to Martukkû may have referred to another person, and not the *šandabakku*. ẖuzālu, on the other hand, who appears in administrative documents from the first ten years (1245-1236) of the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriaš may have been active ca. 40 years before, i.e. in Kadašman-Turgu's reign (1281-1264), when Lal-ur-alim and Enlil-rēšū'a were still alive and active. These speculations cannot be proven at present.

If both *bēlu*-letters from Lal-ur-alim, HS 110 and 113, were found in the palace in Nippur, then it would be likely that Lal-ur-alim worked for the provincial administration in Nippur. Note, however, that two *bēlu*-letters to Martukkû no. 1's colleague Innannu by Inbi-ajjari (BE 17, 85, 86) bear low CBS numbers and may have been found in area WA. The find spots of HS 111, which is from the same sender (Inbi-ajjari), and HS 110 and 113, as well as the rest of the Kassite letters in the Hilprecht collection (Jena) are unclear. The recipient Martukkû (either no. 1 or no. 2) is associated with a temple household (area WA and/or the NIN.DINGIR priestesses).

Note that Lal-ur-alim appears as a recipient of barley in two expenditure lists from the temple institution in area WA, BE 15, 44 and 156. This does not mean that he belonged to the archive(s) of area WA. Economic transactions between both institutions resulted in officials of both institutions appearing in each other's administrative records. Expenditures to officials of the other institution were probably documented because amounts were owed back.

In HS 113 we learn that Martukkû's father had to return (*turru*) ten (!) towns; further, Martukkû had been aware of a *ṭēm pīhāti*, a "report about the province" or "area of responsibility". Martukkû's father apparently had had the power over 10 towns, and possibly over a *pīhātu*, which makes it likely that he was a high-ranking official. These ten towns could have been part of a province or temple lands, which Martukkû's father had managed. Royal grants could have a similar structure to a province (Paulus 2014d: 183-184) and could be managed by men bearing the same titles as provincial officials, such as *ḫazannus*.²⁴⁹ If Martukkû's father had to return (*turru*) ten (!) towns, which were situated in his royal grant or in that of the temple he worked for, then this may imply that he was expropriated due to

²⁴⁹ See above fns. 145 and 146.

committing an offence. Lal-ur-alim may have managed the return of royal grants into the public *ilku* system of the provinces.

At the same time Martukkû no. 1 is attested as giving out barley and other goods (rations, loans, and work material) in the archive of area WA (the Gula temple) in Nippur (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 190) under Nazi-maruttaš (Martukkû no. 1). Martukkû no. 2 is attested as scribe of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses and manages animal husbandry as well as other agricultural resources. This would render both Martukkû no. 1 and no. 2 as temple officials working for the temple institution in area WA (Gula temple).

Can we separate this household WA, for which both Martukkû and Innannu worked, completely from the provincial household as Paulus (RAI talk 2018) argues? Although both households exchanged barley loans and were connected with each other by other economic activities and legal agreements, the letters found in the palace show that the temple officials Innannu and Martukkû followed orders of the palace. Note that Martukkû gives out barley from the house of the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina in BE 14, 76. Innannu received direct orders from the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina. This points to a close connection between the provincial administration and the administration of the temple(s), which may have exceeded business relations between two separate households.

Lal-ur-alim's letters tell us that Martukkû could appoint *hazannus* (with the guidance of Lal-ur-alim) and had knowledge of a report of a *pīḫātu*, a province (although *pīḫatu* could also refer to the "area of responsibility") of the father of Martukkû, about whose report he was informed. This could imply that he had a function in the administration of a province - if he worked for a temple, then this may refer to the temple lands which were managed similarly to a province.

6.3 Banâ-ša-Marduk

The sender of both letters, BE 17, 9 and JCS 19, 98-99, bears the name Banâ-ša-Marduk and he appears to be the same person, who is also mentioned in PBS 1/2, 57.

In JCS 19, 98-99: obv. 15-rev- l. 1 the official Banâ-ša-Marduk writes about trouble with his workers, who are not obeying his orders. In JCS 19, 98-99: obv. l. 15-rev. l. 3 we learn that the workers who do not obey Banâ-ša-Marduk's orders (*errēšu*-farmers) belong to a temple, but also to Banâ-ša-Marduk's lord. The lord shall send a *dēkû*-summoner to Banâ-ša-Marduk to levy for him a new workforce. In BE 17, 9 the official Banâ-ša-Marduk reports that *šābu-workers* of his lord have been detained in the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir by a provincial official (*šakin-ṭēmi*), while in PBS 1/2, 57 an anonymous sender reports that the detained work crews (partly) belonged to Enlil-kidinnī (obv. ll. 9-11: [...] to Bēl-kala-Marduk the following: "Regarding the house of Enlil-kid[innī ...]: They are confined in confinements."). In PBS 1/2, 57: obv. ll. 16-20 the sender also reports that a man called Bēl-kala-Marduk asked Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-bēlti: "(Then) Bēl-kala-Marduk interrogated (them,) Banâ-ša-

Marduk and Arad-Bēlti (by saying) the following: ‘[...] and why are you (pl. m) confined (in) the confinements?’”.

Banâ-ša-Marduk’s troubles with his workers and his subsequent detainment apparently lead to a legal process. From PBS 1/2, 57, we learn that Bēl-kala-Marduk is apparently sent to Bīt-Sîn-māgir to inspect the conflict between the *šakin tēmi* and Banâ-ša-Marduk (and Arad-bēlti). In BE 17, 9: rev. ll. 9-12 Banâ-ša-Marduk writes that he has two witnesses (two *ḥazannu* officials) for his side of the story.

6.3.1 BE 17, 9

In BE 17, 9: obv. ll. 3-4 Banâ-ša-Marduk confirms in his greeting formula dutifully that the city and (its) hinterland of his lord are in best order, i.e. he reports from a land and settlements in the possession of his lord (a royal grant) or an area belonging to an institution such as a temple or the provincial administration which his lord manages — presumably from Nippur where his letter was found (see above “a) *ardu-letters*”). The preparation of a threshing floor and a *māḥiṣu* official (weaver/hunter) are mentioned (obv. ll. 7-8). In obv. l. 12 the name Adad-rā’im-zēri appears.²⁵⁰ In broken context, in rev. l. 2, Banâ-ša-Marduk seems to report that he levied a workforce (?). Then the name Esagil-šūrīja (rev. l. 3) is mentioned, which also appears in in the Kassite letter PBS 1/2, 57 (obv. l. 7), in which Banâ-ša-Marduk is mentioned, as well.

rev. 3	<i>É-sag-il-šú-ri-ia</i> [x-x]	Esagil-šūrīja [...]
rev. 4	GAR-in-tē-mi ša É- ^{1d} 30- ^r ma-gir ¹	After the <i>šakin tēmi</i> of the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir
rev. 5	1 ME ÉRIN.ḪIA gi-in-na-ta	had confined 100 <i>šābu-workers</i> in a confinement,
rev. 6	ki-i ig-nu-na ÉRIN.MEŠ ša be-lí-ia	he beat the <i>šābu-workers</i> of my lord.

In obv. ll. 4-6 Banâ-ša-Marduk reports to his lord that a high-ranking official (the *šakin tēmi*) of the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir has detained *šābu-workers*, and beat the *šābu-workers* of his lord.

rev. 7b	ù KÁ at-ta-de-e	Furthermore: I have erected a gate.
rev. 8	ib-ta-ta-aq	He broke through (it).

The same high-ranking official (the *šakin tēmi*) has broken through a gate which Banâ-ša-Marduk has erected. We are lacking a context - did he besiege a fortified settlement or building and had to “break through” a gate to enter? It should be noted that canals had “gates”, too (*bābu*, KÁ, cf. van Soldt 1988: 112).

rev. 9	a-na ši-bu-ti-ia ^{1d} U.GUR-ba-ni	As my witnesses I have put up Nergal-bāni,
rev. 10	ḥa-za-na ša ^{URU} Ra-ka-nu	the <i>ḥazannu</i> of Rakāb/nu
rev. 11	ù ḥa-za-an-na ša É- ¹ Ki-din-ni?	and the <i>ḥazannu</i> of Bīt-Kidinnī
rev. 12	aš-ta-ka-an	

²⁵⁰ Adad-rā’im-zēri is attested in the receipt BE 14, 20. In BE 14, 20 he receives 20;0.0.0 emmer from Ḫunnubu (14th day of the month *ajjaru* (2nd month) of the 14th year of Kurigalzu II).

In any case this conflict with the *šakin tēmi* of the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir seems to end up at court, as Banâ-ša-Marduk reports to have assembled two witnesses, two *hazannus* of the settlements Rakābu and of Bīt-Kidinnī (“the house of Kidinnū”).

The two *hazannus* who serve as witnesses for Banâ-ša-Marduk managed the settlements Rakābu and Bīt-Kidinnī. Nashef (1982: 224) reads *Ra-ka-nu* or *Ra-ka-BE*. *Rakābu māt Isin* is attested in the Neo-Babylonian version of the “Sargon Geography” (Grayson 1978: 60, l. 25 and 62, l. 4). In the Kassite period Isin is not attested as provincial capital (Kaniuth 2017: 498), and may have been part of another province.²⁵¹ Bīt-Sîn-māgir covered areas in the east of the Tigris and in the south of Nippur, but it would be speculative to assume it covered the area of Isin and thus a settlement called Rakābu. Settlements called Bīt-Kidinnī or Bīt-kidin-Saḥ are not located.²⁵²

6.3.2 PBS 1/2, 57

The beginning of PBS 1/2, 57 is broken off, so the sender of PBS 1/2, 57 is unknown. At the beginning the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir is mentioned. This is followed by the mention of someone’s *šābu*-workers in the town Pī-nāri,²⁵³ or from a “mouth of a river”. The sender has levied *šābu*-workers, probably to repair a “gate” (van Soldt 1988: 112) of a *takkīru* canal belonging to his lord, i.e. the recipient of the letter.

obv. 1 ^c	[...] ^r ga/ri [...] [...]	[...]
obv. 2 ^c	ù [...] ^r x ¹ ša I ₇ [...]	and [...] of the river [...]
obv. 3 ^c	a-n[a] É ¹ d30-ma-[gi-ir]	t[o] Bīt-Sîn-mā[gi]
obv. 4 ^c	ÉRIN.MEŠ-šu-nu i-na KÁ- ^r I ₇ ^{KL} [...]	Their <i>šābu</i> workers in (/out of the town) Pī-n[āri] (?) [...]
obv. 5 ^c	ù tak-ki-ra ša be-li-[ia ...]	and the <i>takkīru</i> -canal of [my] lord [...]
obv. 6 ^c	ÉRIN.MEŠ na-ša-ku KÁ tak-[ki-ri ...]	I have been bringing <i>šābu</i> workers. The gate of the tak[kīru] canal [...]

In obv. l. 7 the name Esagil-šūrīja is mentioned, which is also mentioned in Banâ-ša-Marduk’s letter BE 17, 9: rev. l. 3. This is followed by the name Adad-šar-ilāni in obv. l. 8. An Adad-šar-ilāni, the son of Bēlī-emūqāja, was the *ša rēši* of the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. He bought four *amīlūtu* for Enlil-kidinnī in PBS 8/2, 162: obv. ll. 7, 16 (cf. Petschow 1974: 46; id. 1982: 144), which dates to the 24th year of Burna-Buriaš II (1336). He also appears in a list of horses (PBS 2/2, 98: rev. l. 2).

obv. 7 ^c	[¹ É]-sag-il-šū-ri-[ia ...]	Esagil-šūrī[ja ...]
obv. 8 ^c	[...] ^d ISKUR-LUGAL-D[INGIR.MEŠ ..]	[...] Adad-šar-i[lāni ...]

²⁵¹ Isin was neither “a flourishing city” nor a provincial capital (in the Isin II period it is attested as a provincial capital); however, texts from Nippur document that foodstuffs and other goods were sent to Isin, partly for offerings (Kaniuth 2017: 498).

²⁵² While Nashef 1982: 62 reads Bīt-Kidinnī, Sassmannshausen 2001: 30 reads Bīt-Kidin-Saḥ. Note that a settlement called Bīt-Kidin-Bēl is attested on a *kudurru* NMA 1: ii, l. 6 (BBSt. 9: 82-92; cf. Paulus 2014d: 624). The last sign is located on the right edge of the table. It contains two vertical wedges, which appear to cross two horizontal wedges. The heads of the diagonal lower wedge and the vertical upper one point slightly apart, while the ends lean towards each other. Further, the sign resembles the sign NI, which is written two lines above on the right edge.

²⁵³ In BE 14, 114 Bīt-I’irti lay between Pī-nāri and Kār-Baba, which lay near Nippur, cf. Nashef 1982: 60, 152.

In obv. l. 10 direct speech directed at a man named Bēl-kala-Marduk begins. The last part of obv. l. 9 is missing, but it appears as if someone - perhaps one of the two men mentioned in the preceding lines obv. ll. 7-8, i.e. Esagil-šūrīja or Adad-šar-ilāni - is writing or speaking to Bēl-kala-Marduk about the *bīt Enlil-kidinnī*, “house of Enlil-kidinnī” (obv. ll. 9-10). Since Adad-šar-ilāni is attested as buying *amīlūtu* for Enlil-kidinnī (PBS 2/2, 162), it is likely that this is the household of the *šandabakku*. Adad-šar-ilāni (or someone else) tells Bēl-kala-Marduk that the problem which the house of Enlil-kidinnī faces is that a number of people are detained. Furthermore, the person talking or writing to Bēl-kala-Marduk is unable to irrigate the town Āl-dālī. The location of Āl-dālī is unknown. Since the speaker asks Bēl-kala-Marduk in obv. l. 13 to travel to him, we have to conclude that the direct speech is a quotation from a letter. Bēl-kala-Marduk shall travel to the speaker in order to inspect a type of dam he has built, and to send a report to the palace. Overall, we get a summary of complaints and orders which Bēl-kala-Marduk receives in obv. ll. 9-14.

obv. 9 ^c	<i>a-na</i> ¹ EN-ka-la- ^d AMAR.UTU <i>ki</i> ¹ x ¹ [...]	After [(I/he) said/sent (a letter ?)] to Bēl-kala-Marduk
obv. 10 ^c	<i>um-ma-a</i> <i>ša</i> É ¹ dEn-līl-kī-d[i-ni ...]	[(saying)] the following: “Regarding the house of Enlil-kid[innī ...]:
obv. 11 ^c	<i>gi-na-ti</i> <i>gu-un-nu-nu</i> URU- ¹ da ¹ -[<i>lī</i> ^{k1}]	They are confined in confinements.
obv. 12 ^c	<i>a-na</i> <i>mē-ke-ri</i> <i>ma-am-ma</i> <i>ul</i> <i>i</i> -[<i>na</i>] <i>m-din-na-an-ni</i>	No one is giving the town Āl-dālī to me for irrigating.
obv. 13 ^c	¹ ri ¹ -da-am-ma <i>ki-la-a-ti</i> <i>ša</i> <i>e-pu-šu</i>	Travel here and do thoroughly inspect each <i>kilātu</i> -dam (or barrage ?), which I have built,
obv. 14 ^c	<i>i-ta-am-mar-ma</i> <i>te-em-ka</i> <i>a-na</i> É.GAL <i>te-er</i>	and make your report for the palace return!”

The sender of the letter PBS 1/2, 57 then reports Bēl-kala-Marduk’s actions after he had received the complaints and orders.

obv. 15 ^c	<i>ki-i</i> <i>ir-da-a</i> KÁ <i>tak-ki-ri</i> <i>i</i> - ¹ ta ¹ -ta-mar	After he had travelled here, he inspected the gate of the <i>takkīru</i> -canal.
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First, Bēl-kala-Marduk apparently travelled to the person whose direct speech is quoted in obv. ll. 9-14. Then he inspected a gate of a *takkīru* canal of his lord - the recipient of this letter PBS 1/2, 57, which is presumably the *takkīru* canal the sender had mentioned in obv. ll. 5-6. Note that he is not inspecting a *kilātu* dam, although he is told to do so in obv. l. 13.

This is followed by the next passage of direct speech at least from obv. l. 18 to b. e. 1, as Bēl-kala-Marduk interrogates two men, Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-Bēlti:

obv. 16 ^c	¹ DÜ-a-ša- ^d AMAR.UTU ù ÚRDU-GAŠAN	(Then) Bēl-kala-Marduk interrogated (them,) Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-Bēlti
obv. 17 ^c	¹ EN-ka-la- ^d AMAR.UTU <i>ú-si-niq-šu-nu-ti</i>	(by saying) the following: “Why did you (sg.) cut the reed now,
obv. 18 ^c	<i>um-ma-a</i> <i>šu-ú-ra</i> <i>am-mi-na-an-na-a</i>	and why are you (pl. m) confined (in) the confinements?
obv. 19 ^c	<i>ta-ki-ir-ma</i> <i>gi-na-ti</i> <i>am-mi-ni</i>	Why have you (pl. f ?) let the ‘Entrance of the King’ be neglected?
obv. 20 ^c	<i>gu-un-nu-na-tu-nu-ma</i>	
b. e. 1	<i>nē-re-eb</i> <i>šar-ri</i> <i>am-mi-ni</i> <i>tu</i> - ¹ ša ¹ -da-a	

Bēl-kala-Marduk asks Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-Bēlti a) why they cut reed at this time, b) why they are detained, and c) why they neglected the *nēreb šarri*, the “Entrance of the King”. The term *nērebu*

appears in the cultic and ritual context of temple gates,²⁵⁴ i.e. as the ceremonial name of a temple gate. Divine statues were displayed in temple gates when they carried in or out of the temple, such as the *bāb nēreb Gula*, the “gate of the entrance of Gula”, perhaps the main gate of the Gula temple in Babylon (May 2014: 90, fn. 85). The northern gate of the chapel of Nabû of the Esagila is called *bāb nēreb Nabû ū Bēlet-Bābili*, the “gate of the entrance of Nabû and Bēlet-Bābili”.

Ritual processions passed through city gates during religious festivals such as the *akītu* festival (Pongratz-Leisten 1994: 48; ead. 2006-2008: 98-103). The *akītu* gate is attested for Kassite Nippur (May 2014: 89-90). The king visited Nippur for *akītu* festivals (cf. Tenney 2016: 153-180). One of the *akītu* festivals in Nippur may have been the reason for a visit by a prince. A small city gate of Nippur²⁵⁵ was the KÁ DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL, the “gate of the princes”, which is attested in the Kassite texts MUN 48: 34; 50: 18; PBS 2/2, 77: 11; PBS 2/2, 106: 26. (Sassmannshausen 2001: 180).

Since in rev. ll. 3-4 it is claimed that *gunnunātunu*, “you (pl. m) are confined” (2nd ps. pl. m) it is likely that Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-Bēlti are addressed. Since Bēl-kala-Marduk asks Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-Bēlti in obv. ll. 16-17, 19-20 why they have been detained, it appears as if his interrogation of Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-Bēlti may continue until rev. l. 5.²⁵⁶

b. e. 2	<i>pi-ta ba-lu šar-ra aš-a-lu</i> ²⁵⁷	As I had asked for the opening (ceremony) without the permission of the king,
b. e. 3	[<i>ba</i> ʔ]-[<i>bi</i> ʔ] <i>ip-te pi-ta ša ip-tu-[ú]</i>	he opened [the gate (?)]. The opening, which [they] opened,
b. e. 4	[<i>ar</i> ʔ- <i>ki-ia i-la-ka</i>	runs behind me.
rev. 1	<i>a-na-ku i-na tú-bi-ia e-pe-ḫe</i>	I will gladly close it.
rev. 2a	<i>lu-maš-šir</i>	I shall release (them?).

Bēl-kala-Marduk appears to tell Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-bēlti in the 1st person sg. that he authorised the opening — perhaps, an opening ceremony or ritual — without the permission of the king. In consequence, a third actor or several actors opened the gate (*ipte*, 3rd ps. sg. in b. e. l. 3, and *iptû*, 3rd ps.

²⁵⁴ The *mušlālu* gate in the city Assur also bore the name *abul nēreb šarri*, the “king’s entrance gate” according to the cultic topography of Assur SAA 20, 49: 121 (cf. May 2014: 90). The term *nēreb šarri*, the “entrance of the king”, is attested in a cultic context in Neo Assyrian letters and scholarly texts, see SAA 17, 47: rev. l. 14, SAA 20, 1: obv. l. 1, and SAA 20, 2: i, l. 3’. In SAA 17, 47: rev. ll. 12-15 the *nēreb šarri* leads into the Esagila temple: “May Marduk and Šeru’a make the king, my lord’s entry into Esagila and Babylon regular for a hundred years!” In SAA 20, 1: obv. l. 1, and SAA 20, 2: i, l. 3’ a Neo-Assyrian text on rituals to be performed in the Assur temple in the month *šabātu* from the 18th to 23rd day, it says: “On the 18th day the king goes down to the temple. [He ...] at the ro[yal] entrance”.

²⁵⁵ For the names of Nippur’s city gates in the Kassite period see May 2014: 80; Oelsner Stein 2011: 110; and Sassmannshausen 2001: 179-180.

²⁵⁶ However, the report about a series of events leading to the opening of something, probably the gate for the “Entrance of the King” (*nēreb šarri*) in the following lines b.e. l. 2-rev. l. 1 could also come from the sender of the letter.

²⁵⁷ *Balu* is followed by a genitive (CAD B: 70-72), *šarra* stands in the accusative. However, the direct object of *ašālu* cannot be *šarra*, as this would leave the preposition *balu* without an object, i.e. “I asked the king to open without...?”.

The sign following *ba-* is a *-lu*, not another *-ba*. If the sign LU was an error, and was emended to BA (the two vertical wedges could be traces of an earlier inscription), then it would be possible to read *pi-ta ba-ba šar-ra aš-a-lu*, “I asked the king to open the gate”.

pl. in b. e. l. 4). The opening (*pīta ša iptū*) “runs” (*illaka*) behind the speaker (b. e. l. 4) - note that the verb *alāku* can be used for a road or water.²⁵⁸ The speaker offers to bar it (rev. l. 1).

In rev. l. 2a Bēl-kala-Marduk or the sender of the letter promise in the 1st ps. sg. to release someone — presumably the detained men.

rev. 2b	<i>i-na-an-na URU-da-lī^{KI}</i>	Now, the town Āl-dālī
rev. 3	<i>ul mi-ki-ir ša gi-na-a-ti</i>	is not irrigated. Regarding that in confinements,
rev. 4	<i>gu-un-nu-na-a-tu-nu ta-kul-ta</i>	you (pl. m) are confined in,
rev. 5	<i>šar-ra man-nu ú-ša-ak-kal</i>	who will let the king eat the <i>tākultu</i> -banquet?”

In rev. l. 2 Bēl-kala-Marduk makes the observation that the town Āl-dālī could not be irrigated. It makes sense that this observation is made by Bēl-kala-Marduk, since he receives the complaint in obv. ll. 11-12 that someone had not “given” Āl-dālī to someone else for irrigating. Then Bēl-kala-Marduk makes a second observation that several people whom he addresses in the 2nd ps. pl. m are detained. Again, this confirms that the direct speech by Bēl-kala-Marduk continues up until rev. l. 5. The consequence of Banâ-ša-Marduk’s and Arad-Bēlti’s detainment is that they have not been able to prepare the *tākultu*-banquet for the king.

It is unclear whether the last preserved section of the letter, PBS 1/2, 57: rev. ll. 6-14, is written from the perspective of Bēl-kala-Marduk, or whether it is written from the perspective of the sender in the 1st ps. sg (*anāku*, rev. l. 8). The sender or Bēl-kala-Marduk write that he, together with Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-Bēlti, who had just been freed from detainment, as well as a man called Kilamdi-Šīpak (the house of Mubarrū) and a diviner called Martukkū supervise the damming up of a *takkīru* canal. This *takkīru* canal may be the one of which the sender mentioned a gate in obv. ll. 5-6, and/or which Bēl-kala-Marduk already inspected in obv. l. 15. This is followed by a report about the *takkīru* canal of another man, which is also located in Bīt-Sîn-māgir (rev. ll. 12-14).

rev. 6	<i>ù i-na-an-na šu-ú-ra a-na ša-pe-e-ma</i>	And now, for the soaking of the reed (with bitumen) and
rev. 7	<i>tak-ki-ra a-na si-ki-ri</i>	for the damming up of the canal,
rev. 8	<i>a-na-ku ¹URDU-GAŠAN ¹DÜ-a-šá-^dAMAR.UTU</i>	I (myself), Arad-Bēlti, Banâ-ša-Marduk,
rev. 9	<i>^{1r}Ki¹-lam-di-Ši-pak ša É ¹Mu-bar-ri-i</i>	Kilamdi-Šīpak of the house of Mubarrū,
rev. 10	<i>ù ¹Mar-tu-ku ^{1U}HAL</i>	and Martukkū, the diviner,
rev. 11	<i>i-na mu-uḥ tak-ki-ri ki¹ ni-zi-¹zu²</i>	(we) have supervised the <i>takkīru</i> canal.
rev. 12	<i>mu-ù i-na KÁ tak-ki-ri ¹Ú-[x]-¹ra/ši/uk²-Saḥ/ú¹</i>	The water in the gate of the <i>takkīru</i> canal of U...-Saḥ (personal name),
rev. 13	<i>a-na na-de-e mi-iḥ(erasures)-ri</i>	in order to erect the <i>mīḥru</i> dam
rev. 14	<i>¹ša¹ [É ^{1d}]30-ma-gir ḥa-¹da²-lu⁴²</i>	of Bīt-Sîn-māgir, the damming up

6.3.3 JCS 19, 98-99

The Kassite letter JCS 19, 98-99, an *ardu*-letter from Banâ ša-Marduk to his lord, was published by Biggs in 1965 (pp. 95-102). The letter is in a private collection. Biggs supposes its provenience to be Adab (Biggs 1965: 95).

²⁵⁸ Since a “gate” of a *takkīru* canal was mentioned before, it is possible that this concerns the opening of a canal.

Just as the senders of two other Kassite letters (UM 29-15-317: obv. l. 4, HS 112, WZJ 8, pl. ix-x) Banâ-ša-Marduk assures his lord that the bread and beer for temple offerings are of a good quality, and that his lord shall come and inspect the rites performed at his temple. This confirms that Banâ-ša-Marduk has an association with a temple. The recipient of the letter is responsible for the offerings in a temple — a responsibility traditionally associated with the king or the *šandabakku*, who could traditionally also hold the office of the *nēšakku* priest (Sassmannshausen 2001: 16-18). In hymns to gods the social order, the correct conduction of rites and the preparation of the offerings is controlled by deities, such as Nanše or Ĥendursaga (see, for example, the hymns Nanše A or Ĥendursaga A); priests, who neglect the conduction of rites and preparation of offerings lose their position (see Nanše A: ll. 113-129).

obv. 2	ša É DINGIR a-ka-lu ba-ni ši-ka-ru ʔa-ab	Regarding the temple: the bread is good, the
obv. 3	ʔkib ¹ -su a-na a-mar be-lí-ia	beer is sweet, the rites are ready for the inspection of my
		lord.

Banâ-ša-Marduk then reports to his lord about his *dullu* work duty, which consisted of building work on gates which belong to important temples (and/or shrines) in Nippur: the Ekur (Enlil), the Ešumeša (Ninurta), and either the Ekiur (Ninlil) or the Ebaradurgara (Ištar).

obv. 5	dul-li É.DINGIR.MEŠ ša ʔa-ab-ta-ku	Of the/my (?) <i>dullu</i> work duty of the
obv. 6	i-na KÁ É-kur É-šu-me-ša ₄	temples, which I have begun,
obv. 7	ù É.KA ² .ʔUR ² .RA ² a-su-pa-ʔa-tim ¹	in the gates of the Ekur, the Ešumeša, and the Eka(i)ur (?) I have constructed
		outbuildings.
obv. 8	ur-te-ki-is ʔu-uš-ša ša li-mit	After they had removed the reed fences
obv. 9	É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ ki-ʔi id ¹ -ku-ú	surrounding the temples,
obv. 10	i-ga-ra ša ʔSIG ₄ [MEŠ ² /ĤI.A ²] ʔe ² -te-pu-uš	I erected a wall out of (clay) bricks.
obv. 11	ši-ki-in ʔi-i-[di] É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ	Because I had evenly placed a layer of mud
obv. 12	ki-i a-ʔa-mi-[iš] al-ta-kan	plaster on the temples,
obv. 13a	ù ʔa-a-pu lab-ku	thus, the ʔāpu earth dye (outer layer) is (still) moist.

Then Banâ-ša-Marduk complains that the workers he assembled to dig out a dried-up canal are not obeying his orders. The *errēšu*-farmers are specifically labelled as belonging to the god, i.e. a temple, but also to his lord, the recipient of the letter. Thus, he asks his lord to send a *dēkû*-summoner to him to levy him a (new ?) workforce or summon the workers who had run off - probably by force - to complete the canal work. The location of the Nār-bīni (the Tamarisk Canal) is unknown.

obv. 13b	um-ma-a	The following:
obv. 14	I ₇ -bi-ni ab-la-at ù mu-ú i-na lib-bi-ša	The Nār-bīni (the Tamarisk Canal) has
		dried up, and water is lacking in it.
obv. 15	ia-a'-nu er-re-e-ši ša DINGIR	After I had sent down the <i>errēšu</i> -farmers of
b.e. 1	ki-i ú-še-ri-du	the god (=temple),
b.e. 2	ʔe-ru-ú ù er-re-šu	(I found that) the diggers and the <i>errēšu</i> -
		farmers
b.e. 3	ša be-lí-ia	of my lord
rev. 1	ʔu ¹ še-mu-nin-ni be-lí de-ka-a liš-pu-ʔra-am-ma ¹	were not listening to me. My lord shall send
		a <i>dēkû</i> -summoner to me, and
rev. 2	ʔlid ¹ -ke-e-ʔšu ¹ -nu-ti-ma li-ri-du-ú-ma	he shall levy them and they shall follow
		(him), and
rev. 3	[la ²]-ʔam ¹ be-lí-ia I ₇ lul-te-si-iq	before my lord I shall make (it) ready.

Banâ-ša-Marduk seems to not only manage building work on temples, but also manages the regular offerings of fish from the sea. The fish is delivered to towns called Ekallātu and to Bīt-ŠEŠ.AN. Ekallātu is not the Ekallātu in Assyria (Nashef 1982: 102; for its location near a Dūr-Enlil see PBS 1/2, 36: obv. ll. 4-5; since one town with the name Dūr-Enlil possibly lay in the Sealand province (cf. Nashef 1982: 90), Ekallātu may have been located in the south, possibly close by the sea, as well).²⁵⁹ Bīt-ŠEŠ.AN could also be a temple name. Another official called Erība-Sîn, who is apparently located at the same place as the recipient of the letter, took away the fish deliveries. Since he is together with the recipient, the recipient shall speak with him so that he reinstitutes the deliveries of fish for the *ginû* offerings (for the *ginû* offerings in the Kassite period see Sassmannshausen 2001: 166-167).

rev. 4	ù LÚŠU.KU ₆ .MEŠ <i>tam-tim</i>	Furthermore: the fishers of the sea (deep-sea fishers)
rev. 5	ša a-na 'É.GAL.ĪI ^{KI} ù 'É ¹ -ŠEŠ.AN ^{KI}	who are going to carry the <i>ginû</i> offerings to the town Ekallātu and to Bīt-ŠEŠ.AN -
rev. 6	<i>ge-e-na-a i-za-bi-lu</i> DUMU ¹ SU- ^d 30	after the son of Erība-Sîn
rev. 7	<i>ki-i it-ba-lu-šu-nu-ti ge-e-nu-ú</i> KU ₆ .MEŠ	had carried them away, the <i>ginû</i> offerings (consisting) of fish
rev. 8	<i>ba-ti-iq</i> DUMU ¹ SU- ^d 30 <i>i-tu-ú</i>	were cut off. The son of Erība-Sîn, he (is) with
rev. 9	<i>be-lí-ia šu-ú be-lí liš-al-šu-^rma¹</i>	my lord. My lord shall ask him, so that
rev. 10	<i>ge-e-nu-ú la ba-ti-iq</i>	the <i>ginû</i> offerings are not cut off.

In rev. ll. 11-17 Banâ-ša-Marduk addresses his *dullu* work duty on the temple Edurmaḥ, the seat of Enlil in the Esagila in Babylon (George 1993: 81). He concluded the plastering of walls and a ramp, but is complaining about a lack of bolt(s), and asks his lord for a delivery of bolts.

rev. 11	ù ša dul-li ša 'É-dūr ² -maḥ ² a-ra-am- ^r ma ¹	Furthermore: regarding my (?) <i>dullu</i> work duty on the Edurmaḥ:
rev. 12	ù i-ga-ri-ša ṭi-i-da al-ta-kan	I placed mud plaster on the ramp and its (f.) wall.
rev. 13	<i>i-ga-ra šu-pa-la-a ki-i 'ih²-lu-šu</i>	After they had scraped the plaster off the lower wall,
rev. 14	<i>ṭi-i-da al-ta-kan a-gur-ru le-eb-né-et</i>	I placed mud plaster (on it). The kiln-fired brick(s) is (are) made,
rev. 15	ù si-ku-ru ia-a'-nu be-lí ṭè-e-ma	but a bolt (=locking device) is lacking. My lord shall give me an order, and
rev. 16	<i>liš-kun-ma si-ku-ri li-id-di-nu-ma</i>	they shall give bolts so that
rev. 17	<i>dul-la lu-uk-šu-ud</i>	I shall be able to finish the <i>dullu</i> work duty completely.

The last issue about which Banâ-ša-Marduk reports to his lord is that a canal (the *nāru šēḫru*, the small canal) is *a-di pi-i ze-re-e in-da-la*, “filled up until the mouth of the winnowers” (rev. ll. 18-19). Biggs (1965: 102) believes that the canal must have passed by a threshing floor. It is unclear with which substance the canal is filled. Usually a field is “filled up” (*malû*) with water, i.e. irrigated, even if the object water is not mentioned (cf. van Soldt 1988: 107). Note that in BE 17, 3: obv. l. 16 a canal called Namkār-Banâ-ša-Marduk near Erra-gāmil/Dūr-Enlilē is mentioned.

²⁵⁹ cf. the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 1: rev. ll. 7-10, in which the sender reports that Ninurta-aḫa-iddina and Nūr-Šamaš imprisoned a *ša rēš šarri* in Ekallātu, and that works on a lower quay was not completed (rev. ll. 11-13). A quay could be located at a canal or river, but, perhaps, also at the coast of the Sealand at the Persian Gulf.

As a consequence the date palms are *i-na me-e ša DINGIR ù ša be-lí-ia i-lu-ú*, i.e. they “rise out of the water of the god (= temple) and of my lord” (rev. ll. 19-21). This could mean that the date palm plantation is flooded — unless *elû* means that the date palms “are elevated” out of the water - which may be the case if the *nāru šēhru* was filled up with earth and not water and cause a lack of irrigation.

Date palms require a lot of water, and often lay next to canals; if the groundwater is not enough they are traditionally irrigated through flooding. Thus, they can tolerate flooding and have a great resistance to salinity. However, an excess of water may cause diseases such as root rot in a date palm, a lack of drainage may lead to salt accumulation in the soil. Thus, a flooding may cause a lot of harm to date palms.

Banâ-ša-Marduk suggests two strategies to solve the problem: a) his lord shall give a written order so that “out of the house of Riḫēt-ili it will become plentiful”, and b) he wants to dig a *namgāru* canal “from the Tigris to its innermost part”, possibly reaching an area of *ugāru* land (l. e. 1-3). An *ugāru* was a type of irrigated land belonging to a settlement (Paulus 2014d: 83, 86; van Soldt 1988: 109).²⁶⁰ Digging a canal from the Tigris (!) to the date palm plantation would presumably lead more water to the area in need. Furthermore, it shall become “plentiful” out of an estate belonging to a man (or family) called Riḫēt-ili. This presumably means that Riḫēt-ili (or the officials managing his royal grant) shall open his canals and irrigate the area which Banâ-ša-Marduk supervises. Thus, we can conclude that the date palms are actually in need for water - otherwise Banâ-ša-Marduk would not plan to dig a canal to prevent the date palms from “rising out of” or “being elevated out of” the water.

rev. 18	I ₇ TUR <i>a-di pi-i ze-re-e</i>	The small canal (<i>Nāru-šēhru</i>) until the mouth of the winnowers
rev. 19	<i>in-da-la ù</i> ^{GIŠ} GIŠIMMAR.MEŠ <i>i-na me-e</i>	it is filled up, so that the date palms have been elevated out of the water
rev. 20	<i>ša DINGIR ù ša be-lí-ia</i>	of the god (= temple) and of my lord
rev. 21	<i>i-lu-ú be-lí liš-pu-ra-^ram-ma¹</i>	My lord shall send (a letter) to me, so that
l.e. 1	<i>iš-tu bi-it ¹Ri-ḫe-e-et-DINGIR ma-a'-da ù ša ú[-ga⁷-ri⁷]</i>	out of the house of Riḫēt-ili it will become plentiful and regarding the <i>u[gāru-land (?)]:</i>
l.e. 2	<i>^rnam¹-ga-ra iš-tu I-di-ig-la-at a-na lib-bi-ša</i>	the <i>namgāru</i> canal from the Tigris to its innermost part
l.e. 3	<i>^rlu¹-uḫ-ra-am-ma</i> ^{GIŠ} GIŠIMMAR.MEŠ <i>la i-lu-ú</i>	I shall dig it, so that the date palms shall not be elevated (out of the water).

²⁶⁰ The CAD T: 119a defines *tamirtu* as “a type of agricultural, especially irrigated, land”. According to Paulus (2014d: 83, 86) *tamirtu* is a synonym for *ugāru*, A.GĀR, “Feldflur” (“agricultural land of community”), a administration unit connected to a city and bearing the same name. According to van Soldt (1988: 109) both terms refer to two different types of designations of land: “[...] *ugāru* primarily means ‘farm land’ or ‘land used for agriculture’, that is, a term referring to the use made of the land. *tamirtu*, on the other hand, seems to have been a well-defined geographical entity, an area surrounded by dikes, in which agriculture and the necessary irrigation took place”. *ugārus*, referring to the intended use of the land for agriculture, could be found inside a *tamirtu*, a defined geographical entity. A *tamirtu*, an irrigated geographical region, could also be part of land intended for agricultural use, i.e. an *ugāru* (van Soldt, 1988: 109). In *kudurrus* the term *ugāru* is regularly replaced with *tamirtu*. Paulus (2014d: 109, fn. 46) quotes only a part of van Soldt’s argument (1988: 109) that “*ugārus* could very well be found inside a *tamirtu*”. This gives the impression that this is the only explanation which van Soldt gave. In the *kudurru* MŠ 1, I, ll. 4, 7-9 (cf. Paulus, 2014d: 369) a *tamirtu* “of” an *ugāru* is mentioned, which supports van Soldt’s explanation that one of both types of designated land could be found within the other. Generally, however, the examples referred to by Paulus, which show a synonymous use when describing the location of granted land, show that a distinction was not always made.

6.3.4 The seal of Banâ-ša-Marduk

The seal “Sotheby’s 181”²⁶¹ belongs to a *nêšakku*-priest²⁶² of Enlil called Banâ-ša-Marduk, who is the son of Iddin-Ninurta. The seal is made of pink banded Agate (23 x 8 mm).

The inscription reads:

1 *Ba-na-a-ša*-^dAMAR.UTU
2 NU.ÊŠ ^d*En-lil*
3 DUMU *I-din*-^d*Nin-urta*
4 ARAD ^dŠU.ZI.AN.NA²⁶³
5 ù ^dUN.GAL-NIBRU^{K1}

6.3.5 Banâ-ša-Marduk’s function

While Banâ-ša-Marduk’s troubles with his workers, and his subsequent detainment are a common theme to identify the sender of BE 17, 9 and JCS 19, 98-99 with the sender of PBS 1/2, 57, his official position is difficult to determine. In the following I will summarise his areas of responsibility:

- We can conclude that Banâ-ša-Marduk had some responsibility regarding the restoration of temples and especially temple gates. In all three letters Banâ-ša-Marduk was occupied with erecting “gates”: In BE 17, 9: obv. ll. 7-8 Banâ-ša-Marduk reported to his lord that the *šakin tēmi* had broken through a gate which he had erected. In PBS 1/2, 57 Bēl-kala-Marduk accused the detained Banâ-ša-Marduk to have neglected the *nēreb šarri*, the “entrance of the king”, which “ran” behind him, and which he could “bar” (b.e. l. 1-rev. l. 2). In JCS 19, 98: obv. 5-13 Banâ-ša-Marduk reported to his lord that he performed construction work on gates which belonged to important temples (and/or shrines) located in Nippur (the Ekur, the Ešumeša, and either the Ekiur or the Ebaradurgara). Further, he performed construction work on a ramp (?) and a wall of a temple in Babylon (Edurmaḥ, George 1993: 81). His construction work consisted of erecting murals and of plastering.
- Banâ-ša-Marduk was also occupied with irrigation work, and, specifically, “gates” of canals: In PBS 1/2, 57: rev. 6-14, Banâ-ša-Marduk, together with the anonymous sender of the letter or with Bēl-kala-Marduk and other men, was responsible for the damming up of a *takkīru* canal.²⁶⁴ In JCS 19, 98-99: obv. l. 13-rev. l. 3 Banâ-ša-Marduk sought a workforce to re-dig the Nār-bīni (the Tamarisk Canal), and reported about a filled up Nāru-ṣēḥru (the “small canal”, rev. ll. 18-20) as well as his plans to dig up a *namgāru* canal from the Tigris (l.e. l. 2). In BE 17, 9 Banâ-ša-Marduk did not mention any irrigation work, but a threshing floor (obv. l. 7). In JCS 19, 98-

²⁶¹ Sotheby’s Erlenmeyer (Jun. 1992) no. 181; in Stiehler-Alegria Delgado’s catalogue (1996) seal no. 5.

²⁶² Stiehler-Alegria Delgado assumes that Banâ-ša-Marduk must have been the governor of Nippur as well, because the *šandabakkus* of Nippur often held the office of the *nêšakku* priest of Enlil (Sassmannshausen 2001: 17).

²⁶³ Šuzi-ana, the “righteous hand of heaven” belongs to the circle of Enlil. In the Old Babylonian predecessor list to AN = Anum, TCL 15, 10, she is mentioned in the circle of Enlil, see Krebernik 2011-2013:377-379. In Nippur her place for the cult was a chapel within the Ê-gá-gi-maḥ (house, exalted harem, George, 1993: 86, No. 297).

²⁶⁴ In the same letter PBS 1/2, 57 the anonymous sender mentions a “gate” (van Soldt 1988: 112) of a *takkīru* canal. In the same letter someone orders Bēl-kala-Marduk to inspect *kilātu* dams (obv. l. 13), and Bēl-kala-Marduk inspects the gate of a *takkīru* canal (obv. l. 15).

99 the *nāru šēhru*, the small canal was *a-di pi-i ze-re-e in-da-la*, “filled up until the mouth of the winnowers” (rev. ll. 18-19).

- It is obvious that Banâ-ša-Marduk had an association with temples, since he managed restoration and construction work on temples (1.), and he supervised *errēšu* tenants (and, possibly also *hērû*, i.e. “diggers”, as well as in general *šābu* working crews) of temples. Furthermore, he was apparently responsible for the date palm plantations, which were “elevated out of the water of the god (= temple) and of my lord” (JCS 19, 98-99: rev. ll. 19-21). However, his duties with regard to temples were even more elaborate: he was apparently responsible for the offerings and rites: in JCS 19, 98-99: obv. ll. 2-3 Banâ-ša-Marduk assured his lord that the bread and beer for temple offerings were of a good quality, and that his lord should come and inspect the rites performed in his temple. According to the same letter he also organised the regular *ginû* offerings, which were transported to the town Ekallātu and a temple or settlement called Bīt-ŠEŠ.AN. (rev. ll. 4-10). In PBS 1/2, 57: rev. ll. 3-5 Banâ-ša-Marduk and Arad-Bēlti were unable to prepare the *tākultu*-banquet, a “state ritual” for the king, due to their detainment.

6.3.6 Dating Banâ-ša-Marduk

According to JCS 19, 98-99: obv. l. 15-rev. l. 3 Banâ-ša-Marduk sent *errēšu*-farmers belonging to a temple to repair a canal, but the diggers and the *errēšu*-farmers of his lord did not obey his orders. This means that at least part of the workers are under the command of or belong to the institution of the recipient of the letter. The lord had the power to send a *dēkû*-summoner, who can discipline the unruly workers or would levy new ones. In PBS 1/2, 57: obv. ll. 9-11 the detained work crews of Banâ-ša-Marduk belong to the house of Enlil-kidinnī (“Regarding the house of Enlil-kid[innī ...]: They are confined in confinements.”). It seems that Banâ-ša-Marduk supervised workers of Enlil-kidinnī and that Enlil-kidinnī was the recipient of his letters BE 17, 9 and JCS 19, 98-99. Banâ-ša-Marduk apparently inspected temple offerings, and building works for his lord, Enlil-kidinnī, and he apparently also managed the upkeep of the city and (its) hinterland of his lord (BE 17, 9: obv. ll. 3-4). Enlil-kidinnī may be the famous *šandabakku*. In the letter PBS 1/2, 57: obv. l. 8 a man called Adad-šar-ilāni is mentioned, who may be the same official who worked for the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. Enlil-kidinnī is attested for the first time as a *šandabakku* in the purchase document PBS 8/2, 162 (BB II 24), in which a man called Adad-šar-ilāni acted as Enlil-kidinnī’s substitute by buying *amīlūtu* (slaves ?) for him.

The name Banâ-ša-Marduk is attested in two administrative documents which date in the latter part of Enlil-kidinnī’s time in office as a *šandabakku*. There are 11 years between BE 14, 34 (KG II 20 = 1313) and PBS 2/2, 20 (NM 4 = 1304), so it is possible that the sender of the Kassite letters Banâ-ša-Marduk is attested in both ledgers. Both lists, BE 14, 34 and PBS 2/2, 20, are not listed among the documents most likely found in the area WA, the Gula temple, but seem to belong to the palace administration (Sassmannshausen 2001: 187).

The name Banâ-ša-Marduk is attested together with a man called Kidinnû in the ledger BE 14, 34: obv. l. 6 (*Banâ-ša-Marduk Kidinnû*). Unless the *ḫazannu* of Bīt-Kidinnî whom Banâ-ša-Marduk enlists as witness in BE 17, 9: rev. l. 11 does not bear the name Kidinnû, then the appearance of that *ḫazannu* together with Banâ-ša-Marduk may help us date the sender of our letters. BE 14, 34 dates to Kurigalzu II (1332-1308), year 20 (= 1313) see b.e. l. 1). BE 14, 34 lists emmer, lentils, peas and cress, paired with personal names (MU.BI.IM).²⁶⁵

Banâ-ša-Marduk is also attested in PBS 2/2, 20, which is a list which attributes barley rations to people and their number of (draft ?)horses on the obverse.²⁶⁶ PBS 2/2, 20 dates in the 4th year (=1304 BC) of Nazi-maruttaš (1307-1282). Banâ-ša-Marduk appears in obv. l. 13, 15 and 16. There he receives barley rations on the 19th, 20th and 21st day of the month *tašrītu* (7th month), each time for 18 horses (compare the photography in the CDLI with the copy by Clay in PBS 2/2, 20). In the same list a man called Arad-Bēlti is mentioned, however, not associated with Banâ-ša-Marduk (PBS 2/2, 20: obv. l. 24).

6.3.7 Conclusion: who was Banâ-ša-Marduk?

As we have seen in the case of Innannu and Martukkû, temple officials received direct orders from provincial officials, such as the *šandabakku*. Banâ-ša-Marduk reports to a provincial official in the palace, where one of his *ardu*-letters and a letters mentioning him were found. The findspot of JCS 19, 89-99 is unclear, although Biggs assumes it to be Adab.

Banâ-ša-Marduk refers to the building work on the Nippurean temples which he conducted as “the/my (?) *dullu* work duty of the temples, which I have begun” (JCS 19, 89-99: obv. l. 5). Banâ-ša-Marduk also had the power over the workers of the temple. In JCS 19, 98-99: obv. l. 15-rev. l. 1 Banâ-ša-Marduk writes: “After I had sent down the *errēšu*-farmers of the god (=temple), (I found that) the diggers and the *errēšu*-farmers of my lord were not listening to me.” The workers who do not listen to Banâ-ša-Marduk’s commands belong to his lord — the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. Apparently, Banâ-ša-Marduk also had the power over Enlil-kidinnī’s workers: according to BE 17, 9: rev. ll. 5-6 and PBS 1/2, 57: obv. ll. 10’-11’, 16’-20’ the *šakin tēmi* of the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir confined Banâ-ša-Marduk together with the workers of his lord Enlil-kidinnī.²⁶⁷ It is distinguished between workers and date palms belonging to a temple and to the lord of Banâ-ša-Marduk. In JCS 19, 98-99: rev. ll. 19-20 it reads “the

²⁶⁵ The offices of the other men listed in BE 14, 34, who are mostly mentioned in pairs, are not stated. Appāju in obv. l. 10 is perhaps a *ḫazannu* (see Hölscher, 1996: 34 and BE 14, 37, 17, which dates two years later than BE 14, 34), and Ašûšu-namir perhaps as well (see Hölscher, 1996:40; Scheil, RT 20, 63, ll. 4’, 9’).

²⁶⁶ The left, first column, is called *šimittu* (NÍG.LÁ), “team (usually a pair, of draft animals)” or “animal (trained to go into harness)” (CAD Š: 198a-199a), i.e. this column contains each number of horse-teams. The second column has the heading ŠE.GIŠ BÂN 5 SÎLA PAD ANŠE.KUR.RA, “barley(, measured with) the *sûtu* vessel containing 5 *qû*, food rations for the horses”, while the last column with the personal names has the heading MU.BI.[IM], “their names are”. The first lines, obv. ll. 2-7, contain amounts of barley for several horse pairs from the 17th-22th of the month *tašrītu*. In obv. l. 9 A.AB.BA, the sealand Mât-Tâm̄ti is mentioned.

²⁶⁷ See above “6.3.1 BE 17, 9” and “6.3.2 PBS 1/2, 57”. Furthermore in PBS 1/2, 57: obv. ll. 9-11 it is explicitly stated that “Regarding the house of Enlil-kid[innī ...]: They are confined in confinements.” Banâ-ša-Marduk points out that the “the *šakin tēmi* of the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir had confined 100 *šābu-workers* in a confinement”, but he only “beat the *šābu-workers* of [his] lord” (BE 17, 9: rev. ll. 4-6).

date palms have been elevated out of the water of the god (= temple) and of my lord”.

The fact that according to JCS 19, 98-99: rev. ll. 1-2 a *dēkû* summoner of Enlil-kidinnī shall levy workers locally means that Enlil-kidinnī had authority in Bīt-Sîn-māgir and could summon from there. Furthermore, it seems the workers belonging to Enlil-kidinnī had been working alongside the ones of the temple and were detained together. There are at least 100 *šābu-workers* detained and those belonging to Enlil-kidinnī were beaten by the *šakin ṭēmi* of Bīt-Sîn-māgir. One could infer that there was a distinction between the temple and the Enlil-kidinnī’s household, as each time the assets of both households are enumerated. However, it appears as if the *šandabakku* controlled the temples and had ultimate authority over their workers.

Banâ-ša-Marduk had the authority to command the *errēšu* farmers of the temple; according to the letters he also provided for their offerings, and performed restoration work on temple buildings in several towns. If Banâ-ša-Marduk was a contemporary of the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī, it is unclear whether Banâ-ša-Marduk could have held the office of the *nēšakku* priest at the same time as the *šandabakku* was in office. Sassmannshausen (2001: 61) claims that the *nēšakku* of Enlil was the highest religious office in the Kassite kingdom. Brinkman (2004: 284), however, states that “[t]here is no proof that the *nēšakku* was the high priest (CAD, AHW, and CDA list no such meaning for *nēšakku* or *nešakku*”. According to Renger (1969: 141) *nēšakku* priests had a similar rank to *gudu₄/pašīšu*-priests in the Old Babylonian period, and probably became more important in the Middle Babylonian period. The office mostly existed in the Ekur in Nippur and was an equivalent to the *gudu₄/pašīšu* priest in other temples (Huber Vulliet and Sallaberger 2003-2005: 630). Renger (1969: 142) calls the office of the *nēšakku* a “Wechselamt”, i.e. a function exercised alternatively or in turns (alternative charge). It is unclear if this means that several priests took turns in executing this function. Four out of 10 attested Kassite *nēšakku*-priests were also *šandabakkus*. Thus, both Sassmannshausen (2001: 62) and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996: no. 5) assumed that Banâ-ša-Marduk could have been a *šandabakku* of Nippur as well. According to Sollberger (1968: 191), however, different persons held the offices of the *šandabakku* and *nēšakku* in the period from Nazi-maruttaš to Kaštiliaš IV. Unfortunately, it is unknown when Enlil-kidinnī became *nēšakku* of Enlil, and how long he held the title in addition to his position as *šandabakku*.²⁶⁸ The undated purchase document PBS 13, 64: obv. l. 11 attests to [¹ *En-lil*]-¹*ki*¹-*di-ni* NU.ĒŠ ⁴EN.LÍL.LI GÁ.DUB.BA.A NIBRU^{KI} (cf. Petschow 1983: 145-147). The seal “Sotheby’s 181” of the *nēšakku*-priest of Enlil called Banâ-ša-Marduk would attest to another office holder while Enlil-kidinnī was *šandabakku* (see above “6.3.4 The seal of Banâ-ša-Marduk”).

Banâ-ša-Marduk apparently had religious functions, and like Martukkû prepared the food for the *tākultu*-banquet, and maintains the quality of bread and beer as well as *ginû*-offerings consisting of fish. He explicitly asks his lord to inspect the performance of the rites. It should be noted that the *nēšakku*-priest

²⁶⁸ Although Enlil-kidinnī appears as an owner of slaves already in Burna-Buriaš’s II year 6 (BE 14, 2: rev. l. 13), he is for the first time attested with the title *šandabakku* 18 years later in Burna-Buriaš II year 24 (PBS 8/2, 162; Petschow 1983: 144, 152; Sassmannshausen 2001: 16).

traditionally prepared the offerings for the god, which included barley and drink offerings and possibly the slaughtering of animals (Huber Vulliet and Sallaberger 2003-2005: 630). As a *nēšakku* Banâ-ša-Marduk would probably have had the highest position in the temple and possibly even managed the restoration of the temples Ekur, the Ešumeša, and either the Ekiur or the Ebaradurgara as he reports in JCS 19, 98-99. It is possible that Banâ-ša-Marduk held the office of the *nēšakku* at the same time as a high office in the provincial administration - under Nabû-kudurrī-ušur a *ḫazannu* is attested as *nēšakku*. Further, princes are attested as *nēšakkus*, as well (Sassmannshausen 2001: 62). If Banâ-ša-Marduk is the same person as the seal owner, then his functions in the letters match those of a *nēšakku*-priest.

Unfortunately most toponyms and hydronyms cannot be securely located. The letter and its recipient were located in Nippur, as were the temple gates which Banâ-ša-Marduk restored. He also worked in Babylon and other smaller settlements we have not been able to locate, yet. However, in JCS 19, 98-99: rev. ll. 4-5 Banâ-ša-Marduk writes about fish deliveries from Persian Gulf fishermen (*bā'irū tāmti*) to two unlocated settlements (Ekallātu and Bīt-ŠEŠ.AN; Ekallātu was probably located near Dūr-Enlil in the Sealand, cf. PBS 1/2, 36: obv. ll. 4-5), and offers to dig a canal from the Tigris (i.e. ll. 2-3). Biggs (1965: 101) wonders whether *tāmtu* can refer to the marshes - presumably in southern Babylonia (including the province *māt tāmti*), as well. Biggs also proposes the question whether the fish would indeed be transported over a long distance from the sea, possibly the Persian gulf, and whether it would be pickled or dried for transport. "If the towns mentioned are near the sea, we must assume that Nippur had a degree of administrative control far to the south" (Biggs 1965: 101). Both provinces, Bīt-Sîn-māgir and the Sealand, shared a border (Nashef 1982: 342; Paulus 2014d: 190-191) already under Kudur-Enlil. Thus, these geographical hints fit together with the fact that according to BE 17, 9 and PBS 1/2, 57 Banâ-ša-Marduk is detained in Bīt-Sîn-māgir.

Only one of the two *ardu*-letters from Banâ-ša-Marduk contains a dutiful report that the city and (its) hinterland of his lord are in best order (BE 17, 9: obv. ll. 3-4). The properties of the house of his lord (Enlil-kidinnī), which Banâ-ša-Marduk manages, could have been those of a temple (although the *šābu*-workers and date-palms of Enlil-kidinnī and the temple are distinguished otherwise). In the second letter from Banâ-ša-Marduk, JCS 19, 98-99, the report on his lord's lands is replaced by a report on the quality of the offerings and correct procedure of rites instead of a report about Enlil-kidinnī's towns and lands.

We can conclude that Banâ-ša-Marduk probably worked for a temple. Since the *šandabakku* also held the presumed highest religious office in Nippur, he also had authority over temple officials such as Banâ-ša-Marduk, who apparently reported to him. The letter attests to a supraregional authority the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī.²⁶⁹ Banâ-ša-Marduk worked on temple lands in several provinces, i.e. in Nippur, Babylon, Bīt-Sîn-māgir and unlocated settlements (including Ekallātu and Bīt-ŠEŠ.AN). The letters show that the *šandabakku* had a certain degree of authority over temples and possibly also the grants of these temples, i.e. the properties of these temples, such as date palm plantations and their

²⁶⁹ Already Balkan (1986: 8-11) assumed a supraregional power of Nippur.

canals. Banâ-ša-Marduk's work concerns temples and agriculture (irrigation canals, date palm plantations). It is additionally possible that he worked on Enlil-kidinnī's royal grant, which could have been located in different provinces. The detainment of the workers belonging to Enlil-kidinnī and to a temple show how the provincial administration could be in conflict with grantees such as a temple or the *šandabakku*. This would explain why a subordinate of the governor of Nippur and/or a temple in Nippur could get detained in Bīt-Sîn-māgir.

6.4 Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut's letters

The sender of six Kassite letters (BE 17, 26-28; CT 43, 59-60; PBS 1/2, 16) is named Kudurrānu. Men with the same name are mentioned in four letters (BE 17, 35; PBS 1/2, 22, 34; UM 29-16-241). BE 17, 35, which mentions Kudurrānu, is written by a man called Ittīša-aḥbut. Ittīša-aḥbut is the sender of five letters (BE 17, 34-35; PBS 1/2, 15, 25, 85).

6.4.1 *ardu*-letters from Kudurrānu

a) PBS 1/2, 16

PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 4-9 concern a legal matter concerning a man called Ea-ašarēd, whom Kudurrānu has pressed for payment. These lines also concern a master craftsman and an apprentice (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 73-74), and the release of a detained person, possibly Ea-ašarēd. Ea-ašarēd is not attested anywhere else (Hölscher 1996: 62).

obv. 4	<i>aš-šum</i> ¹ <i>É-a-SAĜ.KAL ša be-lí iš-pu-ra um-ma-a</i>	Regarding Ea-ašarēd, about whom my lord sent (a letter saying) the following to me:
obv. 5	<i>[a-ma-t]a a-na</i> ¹ <i>É-a-SAĜ ki-i la ta-aq-bi</i>	"Why have you not talked to Ea-ašarēd about [the issue]?"
obv. 6	<i>[...]a e-se-er um-ma-ni ù ša-ma-al-le-e</i>	I have pressed [...] for payment. The master craftsman and the apprentices
obv. 7	<i>[...]an-na-a ša</i> ¹ <i>É-a-SAĜ.KAL be-lí di</i> ¹ <i>man</i> ² <i>ta</i> ² <i>pí</i>	[...] this [...] of Ea-ašarēd my lord ...
obv. 8	<i>[...]i-nu-ú ú ki-i da-an-na-ti i-da-a[b-bu]-¹bu</i>	[...] ..., and according to the strict orders, which he is going to speak,
obv. 9	<i>[...]n-de-ši-ra-aš-šu [...]</i>	[...] I have/he has released him [...].

Obv. ll. 10-14 concern two men: one man whose name ends with "-šarra-ušur", who had travelled to the place where Kudurrānu was located and sent his messenger to someone (obv. ll. 10-11), and a man called Zākiru. Zākiru appears to forbid someone to give barley to another person (obv. ll. 12-13). Kudurrānu informs the recipient that Zākiru is now located in Kār-Bēl-mātāti. The name Zākiru is attested for a number of men (Hölscher 1996: 234). A *nāqīdu* herdsman Zākiru (son of Erību) is attested in the cattle muster BE 14, 99a: rev. l. 3 in which arrears of cattle, sheep and goats of the *nāqīdu* herdsman are listed; Zākiru is under the responsibility of Ilī-aḥa-iddina. A son of Zākiru appears as herdsman in BE 14, 168: obv. l. 25, in the same cattle muster in which Ittīša-aḥbut and Kudurrānu are attested. Note, however, that this Zākiru has a different patronym: he is a son of Erību, and is, thus, a different person than Zākiru, the son of Ubāru, who is a brother of Kudurrānu according to BE 14, 112 and 114 (see below "a) Kudurrānu no. 1, the colleague of Ittīša-aḥbut"). Both lists, BE 14, 99a and 168,

are not listed among the documents from the area WA (Gula temple), but may have come from the palace.²⁷⁰

The name -šarra-ušur cannot be attributed to a name attested elsewhere.²⁷¹

Kudurrānu asks his lord to send back his personal messenger (obv. ll. 15-16). Furthermore, he shall not increase an amount (?). Kudurrānu writes that the messenger shall deliver 20 GUR of barley to him (= Kudurrānu), and shall give or do something to Kudurrānu's lord (obv. l. 17). Then 10 Gur of barley of a certain month are mentioned, followed by the mention of a loan with interest from the month *simanu* (3rd month; obv. ll. 18-19). In the OB period barley was harvested (*eṣēdu*) between the last months of the preceding year (*addaru*), and the first month of the new year (*nisannu*), until the first half of the second month (*ajjaru*). In the third month *simanu* the barley was ready to be transported (at the *ūm ebūri*), cf. Cohen 1993: 80, 119-124; Hruška 1990: 109; Landsberger 1949: 260-262.²⁷² This means that the barley loans in PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 18-19 were given right after the harvest had been brought in. Then the town Šītulu is mentioned (obv. l. 20).

The first lines on the reverse are damaged. They concern the lack of certain people (workforce?) in a town, whom the lord had requested (rev. ll. 5-6). Similarly, in rev. ll. 11-13 Kudurrānu reports the lack of fatteners available (*a-na ú-zu-uz-zi*) and known to his lord (*ma-la be-lí i-du-ú*) in town. In rev. 7-8 Kudurrānu reports that someone passed him by, and that he has not visited someone. Then Kudurrānu reports that he is going to deduct 10 GUR of barley — unfortunately the purpose of his deduction is broken off. This could be the rest of the 20 Gur of barley he had received in obv. l. 17, or connected to the loan in obv. ll. 18-19. Kudurrānu also announces that he is going to send a brewer and a *kaššidakku* (miller).

rev. 8b	<i>e-né-en-na</i> ŠE.BAR 10;0.0.0 <i>a-n[a ...]</i>	Now, barley, 10;0.0.0, for [...]
rev. 9	<i>lu-us-su-ḫa</i> ^{LÚ} LUNGA-a-a <i>lu-uš-pur-ma li-^rip-te²-ma²/li²¹</i>	I shall deduct. I shall send the brewer and he shall ... (?)
rev. 10	^{LÚ} KA.ZÍD.DA-a-a-am <i>lu-^ruš-pur¹-ma li-id-<di>-na²</i>	my (?) <i>kaššidakku</i> -miller, and he shall give (?).

At the end of his letter Kudurrānu reports about a lack of straw, wood and clay in Akkade, which is thus unavailable to his lord (rev. ll. 13-14). Kudurrānu then mentions that his lord apparently regularly travelled to Panbalu and Akkade, and had recently travelled to Panbalu. This means that the recipient of Kudurrānu's letter, a high official in the palace of Nippur, travelled to far distant provinces, such as Akkade.

rev. 13b	<i>i-na A-ga-de^{KI} pa-an be-li-ia</i>	In the presence of my lord in Akkade
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²⁷⁰ A man with the name Zākuru is mentioned in the Kassite letter PBS 1/2, 21: rev. l. 9 in the context of a legal process which shall be judged by the king.

²⁷¹ The theonym before -šarra-ušur is difficult to read. Hölscher (1996: 69) reads either Enlil (En-líl) or Ninurta (Nin-urta). The lower part of the first sign is destroyed; the sign could be read as EN, but the second sign does neither look like KI nor KID (*lil*). The second sign could possibly be an IL. It is possible that the first sign is a MÜŠ, i.e. Istar. Šarru-nāšir is not attested as an independent name (cf. Hölscher 1996).

²⁷² In the NB period the barley in the north was ready to be collected already in the 2nd month *ajjaru* (Landsberger 1949: 260-262).

rev. 14	^r ul ¹ IN.NU ul GIŠ.ĦI.A ù ħa-aš-bu i-na ba-qan ² da- ^r ab ¹ -[x]	neither straw nor wood and clay during plucking of the ... [...]
rev. 15	[ul]-tu be-lí a-na ^{URU} Pan-ba-li il-li-ka	[Si]nce my lord had come to the town Panbali,
rev. 16	^r lu ¹ i-na ^{URU} Pan-ba-li ù lu i-na A-ga-dē ^{KI}	- be it in Panbali or be it in Akkade -
rev. 17	IN.NU GIŠ.ĦI.A ù ħa-aš- ^r bu ¹ [x x] a-na pa-an be-lí-ia	straw, wood and clay [...]. That I stood available in the presence of my lord,
rev. 18	az-zi-zu ² ¹ [...] be-lí-ia	[...] of my lord
rev. 19	i-du- ^r ú ¹ [...]	(that) they/he knows (?) [...]

The letter closes with a confirmation that Kudurrānu had stood available to his lord, and appears to concern the availability of more workforce known to Kudurrānu's lord.

b) BE 17, 26

In BE 17, 26: obv. ll. 3-4 Kudurrānu repeats the order of his lord to give “barley from Ħibarītu and from Kār-Nabû to the brewer and the *kaššidakku* (miller)”. Kudurrānu does not write whether or why he does not collect barley from these towns, but intends to collect levies from the town Ṭabtu first, before his lord shall impose 100 Gur (?) of barley on him, which he wants to give - together with seeds - to the brewer and the *kaššidakku* millers (obv. ll. 5-8). The lower part of the tablet is broken off, thus obv. l. 8-rev. l. 5 are damaged. They concern *šābu-workers*, a sluice, and millstones for (?) Ilī-aḥḥē-erība (rev. 4). Ilī-aḥḥē-erība is not attested anywhere else.

Kudurrānu assures his lord that he will collect *šibšu* levies, as it is his duty (rev. ll. 6-7). Kudurrānu is also responsible for building work on his lord's house (*ša bīt bēlīja*), as he reports on the fitting of a new door for his lord's house. A man called Izkur-Ninurta is involved. A carpenter (*naggāru*) called Izkur-Ninurta is attested in the reign of Nazi-maruttaš.²⁷³

rev. 8	aš-šu ¹⁴ šu-ki-i ša i-tu-ú ¹ Iz-kūr- ^d Nin-urta	Regarding the door pole which had been placed with Izkur-Ninurta
rev. 9	ša-ak-nu-ma be ¹ -lí iš-pu-ra a-na KÁ	and about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me: into the gate
rev. 10	ša É be-lí-a ul i-la-ak ku-bur-ra-a mi-iš	of the house of my lord it does not fit. The thickness is not enough,
rev. 11	ù mu-ra-ku ia-a'-nu-um	and its length is lacking.

c) BE 17, 27

In BE 17, 27: obv. ll. 4-6 Kudurrānu reports to have seeded 70 Gur of seeds in the towns Šītulu and Āl-mašmašši, which have produced good barley. The latter part of the following lines is destroyed. In broken context a *našraptu* dyeing vat (? , obv. l. 7),²⁷⁴ the canal inspector Nūr-Šamaš (obv. l. 8), seeding (obv. l. 9), *tillû*-gowns for mourning (? , obv. l. 10), and the giving of water (*ma-la ub-ba-lu₄*, “as much as they/he can carry”, obv. l. 11) are mentioned. A canal inspector Nūr-Šamaš is not attested anywhere else (Hölscher 1996: 162).

²⁷³ See BE 15, 38c: obv. l. 11 and BE 15, 39: obv. l. 7, which date to Nazi-maruttaš, year 1 and 16. Izkur-Ninurta receives barley in BE 15, 174: obv. l. 10 and BE 15, 189: obv. l. 5.

²⁷⁴ In Neo-Babylonian texts *našraptu* can mean “linen textile”, cf. Quillien 2017: 100.

In obv. ll. 12-17 Kudurrānu assures his lord he has not given out any sesame oil allotments of the house of his lord. It appears the lord is lacking oil and is, thus, asking for help. As a consequence Kudurrānu begs the *šatammu* of a temple to give him oil, but the *šatammu* has not responded.

obv. 12	<i>aš-šum</i> Ġ.GIŠ <i>piš-šat</i> É <i>be-lí-ia ša be-lí iš-tú-ru</i>	Regarding the sesame oil allotments of the house of my lord about which my lord had written:
obv. 13	1;0.4.0 Ġ.GIŠ <i>piš-šat</i> MU-1-KAM 0;0.0.1 Ġ.GIŠ <i>ul ad-din</i>	1;0.4.0 of sesame oil allotments of one year. (Out of this) I have not given 0;0.0.1 of oil,
obv. 14	<i>ù na-ra-ru il-ta-na-sa-a</i>	and he repeatedly exclaims “Help!”
obv. 15	<i>aš-šum</i> Ġ.GIŠ <i>i-tu-ú ŠA.TAM-mi e-še-er</i>	Regarding the oil with the <i>šatammu</i> I have done it early,
obv. 16	<i>ù ú-ša-am-ša na-da-na ù la na-da-n[a]</i>	and I have done it late in the evening,
obv. 17	<i>ul i-qa-ab-ba-a</i>	but to give or not to give (the oil) he did not say to me.

Kudurrānu’s lord had, furthermore, ordered Kudurrānu to further the cause of a man called Dīn-ili-lūmur. A male Dīn-ili-lūmur is not attested elsewhere.²⁷⁵ Kudurrānu had previously been *ina āli*, “in town”, i.e. possibly Nippur (Nashef 1982: 210) in the presence of his lord, which means that he had travelled to Nippur and spoke in person with his lord. The conflict in which Dīn-ili-lūmur appears to involve (something of) the gods Anu and Enlil (? , b.e. l. 2), and, a man (or town) called Nūr-Ištar-Akkade.

A weaver named Nūr-Ištar-Akkade was attested under Nazi-maruttaš (Hölscher 1996: 161). In CT 43, 59 Kudurrānu collected the *šibšu*-levy of Kār-Nabû and Nūr-Ištar-Akkade. Note that there is no personal wedge before the name Nūr-Ištar-Akkade in CT 43, 59: obv. l. 9, but the element Akkade in the name is written with the KI-determinative. Kudurrānu may have collected the revenues for the king from the grantee Nūr-Ištar-Akkade, who had benefitted from the levies from the population on his grant

obv. 18	<i>aš-šu</i> ₁₄ ¹ <i>Di-in</i> -DINGIR- <i>lu-mur</i> <i>ša be-lí iš-pu-ra</i>	Regarding Dīn-ili-lūmur, about whom my lord had sent (a letter saying) the following:
obv. 19	<i>um-ma-a a-bu-us-su-ú ša-ab-ta-ta</i>	“Did you intercede on his behalf?”
obv. 20	<i>i-na</i> URU ^{KI} <i>i-na a-šab be-lí-ia a-na be-lí-ia</i>	In town in the presence of my lord to my lord
b.e. 1	¹ <i>aq</i> ¹ - <i>bī um</i> ¹ - <i>ma a-din</i> ² <i>ia-nu-ú</i> [...]	I said the following: “I gave (it). It is lacking [...]
b.e. 2	[^d <i>A-nu</i> <i>ù</i> ^d <i>BAD um-ma</i> ¹ <i>d</i> [...]]	(of) Anu and Enlil.” The following ... ^(person) [...]
b.e. 3	[...] ^d <i>INNIN A-ga-dē</i> ^{KI} <i>a-na</i> [...]	[Nūr]-Ištar-Akkade for/to [...]
b.e. 4	<i>a-šap-pa-ru-šu-ma</i> ¹ <i>na/pa-ri/ru</i> ¹ [...]	I will send him/it, and ... [...]
rev. 1	<i>be-lí</i> ¹ <i>ik</i> ² - <i>ta</i> ² - <i>la-šu be-lí</i> ¹ <i>x</i> ¹ [...]	my lord has withheld (from) him. My lord [...]
rev. 2	<i>a-na a-mat aḥ-ḥa-¹zu¹-ú be-lí</i> ¹ <i>i</i> ¹ -[...]	that whom/which I am going to seize for the (legal) issue, my lord ... [...]

In rev. ll. 3-4 we learn that Kudurrānu’s lord had sent wool to him for his *mandattu* work quota. Another person informs Kudurrānu that he had used the wool to produce something, presumably, textiles, and gave the products to a third party.

rev. 3	<i>aš-šu</i> ₁₄ SÍG.ḪI.A <i>ša be-lí iš-pu-ra um-ma</i> ¹ <i>r</i> _x ² ¹ -[...]	Regarding the wool, which my lord had sent: the following: ^(person) ... [...]
rev. 4	<i>iq-ba-a um-ma man-da-at-ta ki-i ú-qa-tu-ú</i>	said to me the following: “After I had completed the <i>mandattu</i> -work quota,
rev. 5a	<i>at-ta-din</i>	I gave (it).”

²⁷⁵ A female Dīn-ili-lūmur appears in sources from the reign of Nazi-maruttaš/Kadašman-Turgu (Hölscher 1996: 61).

Kudurrānu writes that his lord sent two talents of wool from the town of Nippur, which he distributed. Furthermore, a man called Erība-Marduk sent 20 minas of wool, which Kudurrānu distributed as well (rev. ll. 5-7). Kudurrānu is left with 40 minas of wool, which he sent to Erība-Marduk, who is working for his lord (rev. ll. 7-8).

rev. 5b	2 GÚ.UN ša NIBRU ^{KI} ša be-lí ú-še-bi-la	After I had distributed two talents of the town of
rev. 6	ù 20 MA.NA ša ÚRDU-ka ¹ SU- ^d AMAR.UTU id-di-na	Nippur, which my lord had let brought here (to me), and 20 minas, which your servant, Erība- Marduk, had given to me, 40 minas of wool had been left for me.
rev. 7	ki-i ú-za-i-zu 40 MA.NA SÍG.ĦI.A ir-te-ḥ[a]-ni- in-ni	
rev. 8	ù a-na ÚRDU-k[a] ¹ SU- ^d AMAR.UTU al-ta-pa- ar	Then, I have sent them to your servant, Erība- Marduk.”

In rev. ll. 9-10 Kudurrānu complains that the *mašqītu*-irrigation canals of the town Ṭabtu have run dry, because the *namgāru*-canals which feed them are closed. However, his lord has sent a tax-collector (rev. ll. 11-12). Kudurrānu further reports that someone or something has reached the border of the region of Ḫibarītu, and he was not informed (rev. ll. 12-14).

The end of the letter (rev. ll. 15-20) is partly destroyed. The prohibitive in rev. l. 16 implies a direct speech from Kudurrānu’s lord (cf. *bēlu*-letters). Kudurrānu is told that the *telītu*-revenue of one year shall not be brought to him, but that barley will be collected from somewhere (rev. ll. 15-17). Kudurrānu’s lord mentions a *bābānu*, the outer palace area, which is “equally ... (?)” in rev. l. 19. As Ittīša-aḫbut reports in BE 17, 35: rev. ll. 1-2, the inner and outer parts of the palace are equally empty; this emendation seems likely here. The lord of Kudurrānu was located in Nippur, and, thus, probably referred to the palace of Nippur. Ittīša-aḫbut refers to the palace of Nippur, as well, repeating information he had learned from his lord in Nippur (cf. BE 17, 35: obv. l. 13: “Regarding the wool from Nippur”).

rev. 14	ul iṣ-pu-ra ù ša be-lí [iṣ-pu-ra ...]	he did not send (a letter) to me. And regarding that about which my lord [had sent (a letter) to me (saying):]
rev. 15	um-ma-a i-na ŠÀ te-lit MU-1 [?] -[KAM ...]	“The following: out of the <i>telītu</i> -revenue of one year [...] do not bring here! Until/including the barley [...] they/he will collect, I (will) 0;0.0.1 of bar[ley ...] Why did I receive [...] and the <i>bābānu</i> (outer palace area) equal[l]y [...]” Because of me my lord not [...]
rev. 16	la te-[q]er-ri-ib a-di ŠE[.BAR ...]	
rev. 17	ik-kam-mi-su a-na-ku 0;0.0.1 Š[E.BAR [?] ...]	
rev. 18	am-mi-ni am-ḥur ba [?] -a[b [?] /at [?] /ṣi [?] ...]	
rev. 19	ù KÁ-a-nu ki-i a-ḥa-m[i [?] -iṣ ...]	
rev. 20	aš-šum-mi-ia be-lí ul i- [...]	

d) BE 17, 28

In BE 17, 28 Kudurrānu writes that horses are brought to him and mentions two men, Izkur-Dilbat and Sirišaš (cf. Hölscher 1996: 193). Note that in BE 15, 168: obv. l. 25 an Izkur-Dilbat receives fodder for horses; in l. 9 a son of Āttu receives barley “for Dūr-Kurigalzu from Izkur-Dilbat in the 9th year” (*ana Dūr-Kurigalzu itti Izkur-Dilbat ina šatti 9*). His name is attested in other documents dating to Nazi-maruttaš.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Cf. BE 15, 37: obv. l. 11; BE 15, 174: obv. l. 11; BE 15, 175: i, l. 33 (not listed among the documents from area WA).

In the damaged lines at the beginning (obv. ll. 5-10) it is unclear which parts are quotes by the lord or a third party. A number of horses are brought to someone, perhaps, to Kudurrānu, and they are going to be inspected and taken by a messenger.

obv. 5	<i>aš-šum</i> ¹ <i>Iz-^rkùr¹-^dDil-bat</i> <i>ša</i> ^r <i>i-tu²</i> ¹ <i>Si-ri-ša-^ráš¹</i>	Because of Izkur-Dilbat who is together with Sirišaš:
obv. 6	<i>be-lí</i> [...] ^r <i>ru²</i> <i>x¹</i> [...] ^r <i>um¹-ma-a</i>	my lord [...] ... [...] the following:
obv. 7	ANŠE.KUR.[RA.(MEŠ ²) <i>x-x(-x)</i>] ^r <i>im²</i> - <i>ta-a'-ra-ni</i>	"The horse(s) ... (he) has advanced towards me."
obv. 8	<i>ù</i> ^r <i>qu¹</i> -[...] ^r <i>iq¹-ta-ba-a</i>	and ... [...] has said to me:
obv. 9	<i>um-^rma-a</i> ANŠE ¹ .KUR.RA ^{MEŠ²?} <i>am-ma-ar-ma</i>	"The following: I am going to inspect the horses, and
obv. 10	^r DUMU <i>šip¹-ri-ia i-le-qé-ma i-lak</i>	my messenger is going to take (them), and he will go."

In obv. l. 11 the canal Patti-Enlil is mentioned. In obv. l. 13 Kudurrānu mentions the regular *ginû*-offering (for the *ginû* offerings in the Kassite period see Sassmannshausen 2001: 166-167). Right after this reference, Kudurrānu asks his lord to let someone acquire an axe, mace and spade of silver, and *ina āli*, "out of the town", possibly Nippur (Nashef 1982: 210) a *kitîtu* tool (out) of *mitrû*, currently in possession of the overseer (in rev. ll. 1-6). The purpose of this equipment is "striking" or "sweeping", cf. rev. l. 6.

rev. 1	[...] ^r x HA ¹ .ZI.IN	[...] an axe,
rev. 2	^r <i>mi-it¹</i> -[<i>tî</i>] <i>ù</i> GIŠ.MAR KÙ.BABBAR	a mace, and a spade (made) out of silver,
rev. 3	<i>ù i-na</i> URU ^{KI} <i>a-na</i> UGU 1 <i>ki-ti-it</i>	and in/from the town additionally one <i>kitîtu</i> tool
rev. 4	^r <i>mi-it¹-re-e</i> <i>ša</i> ŠU ^{LÚ} GAR- <i>ni</i>	(out ?) of <i>mitrû</i> , which is in the hand of the overseer,
rev. 5	<i>a-pu-tu-um-ma</i> <i>šu-ur-ša</i>	urgently let them acquire!
rev. 6	<i>a-na</i> <i>ša-ba-ti ia-a'-nu</i>	They are (currently) lacking for the striking/sweeping (?).

The *ginû*-offering is mentioned, again, in l.e. ll. 1-2. This time it is the *ginû*-offering in/of the town Kār-Nabû. After Kudurrānu's lord had neglected its provision, it was not carried out. In the same context as the *ginû*-offerings, in the lines directly preceding the lines on the left edge, in rev. ll. 12-13, Kudurrānu asks his lord to deliver to him the "tools of the flesh", possibly for an extispicy.

rev. 12	<i>né-pi-ši</i> <i>ša</i> <i>ši-ri</i>	The tools of the flesh
rev. 13	<i>be-lí li-še-bi-la</i>	my lord shall have brought to me.
l.e. 1	[...] ^{URU} [^r <i>Kar¹-^dAG 5 NINDA gi-nu-ú</i> <i>ša na-ab-^rtî¹</i> - [<i>il</i>]	[...] in/of Kār-Nabû the regular <i>ginû</i> -offering, which was inter[rupted ?].
l.e. 2	[...] <i>be-</i> [^r <i>lî²</i>] <i>ki-i ú-maš-ši-rù uḫ-ta-ta-li-qu</i>	[...] after my [lord ?] had abandoned it, it was made to disappear.

In rev. ll. 7-8 we learn that the towns Āl-mašmašši and Šītulu lay in *māt Akkade*, the province Akkade. Kudurrānu reports that the barley on nine *ḫarbu* fields is of a good quality and that the irrigation functions.

e) CT 43, 59

CT 43, 59 tells us that Kudurrānu was responsible for collecting the *telîtu*-revenues from the town Ṭabtu (obv. ll. 5-8) and the *šibšu*-levy of Kār-Nabû and Nūr-Ištar-Akkade (obv. l. 9-b.e. l. 1).

Kudurrānu reports that he has collected a *telītu* of 456 Gur (164160 litres; each GUR = 360 ŠILA/litres, 1 BĀN = 12 ŠILA, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 448-449) from the fields (A.ŠĀ; obv. ll. 5-6). Note that he distinguishes fields called A.ŠĀ (*eqlu*) and *harbu*-fields. Parallel to the fields neutrally referred to as A.ŠĀ, he also reports that he has begun collecting from the yield of the *harbu* fields (obv. ll. 7-8).

In obv. ll. 9-11 Kudurrānu explains that he has not sent a report about the *šibšu*-levy of Kār-Nabû and Nūr-Ištar-Akkade to his lord, since “they” have not collected the *šibšu*-levy, yet. The reason seems to be that fields (A.ŠĀ) in Kār-Nabû have been flooded (obv. ll. 12-13), and the *errēšu*-farmers cultivating them (*er-re-šu i-na mu-uḫ-ḫi um-mu-du*) have not ploughed them (obv. l. 15-b.e. 1).

Lastly, Kudurrānu discusses a delay in the production of belts which his lord had requested (rev. ll. 1-2). Note that the leather out of which they are produced stems from the temple.

rev. 1	<i>aš-šum me-se-er-re-e ša be-lī</i>	Regarding the belts, about which my lord
rev. 2	<i>iš-pu-ra me-se-er-re-e šī-na</i>	had sent (a letter) to me: After they (m) had taken
rev. 3	<i>ki-i il-qu-ni a-na be-lī-ia</i>	their (f) belts, they were not prepared for my lord.
rev. 4	<i>ul ša-ar-qú</i>	
rev. 5	<i>ma-áš-ka tu-bu-uḫ-ta il-te-en</i>	One hide of a slaughtered animal
rev. 6	<i>ṛša²⁷⁷ É.DINGIR ki-i ša-áš-a a-na áš¹-ka-pi</i>	of the temple, like the aforementioned, I have given
		to the leather worker
rev. 7	23. <i>at-ta-di-in i-ḫa-am-ma-tu-ma</i>	They hurry, and
rev. 8	24. <i>DUMU šip-ri-ia ar-ka-a</i>	and (with) my messenger, later,
rev. 9	25. <i>a-na be-lī-ia ú-še-eb-bi-la</i>	I will have (them) be brought to my lord.

6.4.2 An *aḫu*-letter from Kudurrānu: CT 43, 60

CT 43, 60 is an *aḫu*-letter from a man called Kudurrānu. Thus, it comes from the context of the highest level of elite officials. The name of the recipient of CT 43, 60 is partly destroyed (obv. l. 1). ^{1d}Nin- is followed by a winkelhaken. A possible emendation is ^{1d}Nin-ṛsar¹.²⁷⁷

obv. 1	<i>a-na ^{1d}Nin-ṛsar²⁷⁷-[x²-x² qí-bí-ma]</i>	[Speak to] Nins[ar-... (?):]
obv. 2	<i>um-ma ¹Ku-du-ra-nu[-ma ŠEŠ-k]a²</i>	The following (says) Kudurrānu, your [brother:]
obv. 3	<i>DINGIR.MEŠ ša KÁ¹.GAL ú [...]-x²</i>	The gods of the city gate and of [...]
obv. 4	<i>nap-ša-ti-ka li-iṣ-ṣ[ú]-ṛru¹</i>	shall protect your life!

Sassmannshausen (2001: 180, fn. 3120) interprets this as a temple situated on a city gate. Religious rites were performed in city gates (Mielke 2011: 96), and apotropaic figurines and protective genies were placed in city gates (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2011: 87). Furthermore, cultic places were often in the vicinity of city gates (Mielke 2011: 96).

Kudurrānu informs Ninsar[...] that a man called Kuppupu has stolen two or four donkeys from him, and that the thief brought them to Ninsar[...] (obv. ll. 5-7). Kudurrānu sends a subordinate who knew the stolen donkeys called Tarību to Ninsar[...], who shall control whether Ninsar[...] keeps stolen goods (obv. ll. 8-12). The name Tarību is attested for a large number of men (Hölscher 1996: 219-220).

obv. 8	<i>ṛum-ma-a² i¹-tu-ṛuk²⁷⁷-ka il-te-qa-a</i>	The following: to you (?) he has taken (them).
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²⁷⁷ In the Kassite period names such as Ninsar-bēla-ušur, Ninsar-ēpir, Ninsar-illatī-likūna, Ninsar-mudammīq or Ninsar-rišā-rēma are attested, cf. Hölscher 1996: 152.

The winkelhaken is crossed by a horizontal wedge. However, it does not seem to be the sign NU, since the horizontal edge appears to stem from one of the horizontal wedges of the preceding sign NIN. Thus, we are unable to read a hypocorism Ninnū'a (cf. BE 17, 89 and CT 51, 41) for a known *šandabakku* in Nippur.

obv. 9	<i>a-mi-¹lī¹ Ta-ri-ba ša áš-pu-rak-ku</i>	My man Tarību, about whom I have sent (a letter) to you,
obv. 10	<i>ma-as-su-ta ša ANŠE.MEŠ</i>	knows the (=is an expert in) identifying of the donkeys.
obv. 11	<i>i-di li-mu-ur-ma in-na-šum-ma</i>	He shall inspect (them), and they shall be brought,
obv. 12a	<i>lil-qa-a</i>	and he shall take them.

In case Kuppupu has given (presumably sold) the stolen donkeys to someone else, i.e. not to Ninsar- [...], then Kudurrānu expects Ninsar-[...] to know to whom Kuppupu would sell them (obv. l. 12-b.e. l. 3).

obv. 12b	<i>ù šum-ma</i>	And if
b.e. 1	<i>a-na ša-nim-ma</i>	he has indeed given (them) to someone else,
b.e. 2	<i>it-ta-din pa-ni-ka</i>	then do not act with your face as if you do not know!
b.e. 3	<i>i-na la e-de-e</i>	
rev. 1	<i>la ta-¹ša¹-ka-an</i>	

Kuppupu was, perhaps, a subordinate of Ninsar- [...], since Kudurrānu expects Ninsar-[...] to know about Kuppupu's activities. Thus, he demands of Ninsar-[...] to question Kuppupu about the donkeys' location and make him demand the donkeys back from the person to whom he has given them (rev. ll. 1-3). Once Kuppupu has reacquired the donkeys, which he had stolen, from a third party, possibly a dealer in stolen goods, he shall give them to Kudurrānu's man Tarību (rev. ll. 3-4).

rev. 1b	<i>ša-al-šú-ma</i>	Ask him, and
rev. 2	<i>¹ANŠE¹.MEŠ a-šar id-di-nu</i>	he shall receive the donkey at the place, at which he had given (them).
rev. 3	<i>li-im-ḫu-ra-am-ma a-na</i>	And then, give (them) to
rev. 4a	<i>a-mi-li-ia i-din</i>	my man.

In rev. ll. 4-8 Kudurrānu asks Ninsar-[...] to thoroughly question Kuppupu, and not to believe his lame excuses.

rev. 4b	<i>šum-ma</i>	If
rev. 5	<i>iq-ta-ba-ak-ku um-ma</i>	he says to you the following
rev. 6	<i>ul sar-ra-ku la te-šim-mi-šú</i>	"I am not criminal", then do not listen to him!
rev. 7	<i>se-el-šú mu-ur-ri-ir-šu-ma</i>	Pressure him! Examine him thoroughly, and
rev. 8a	<i>ANŠE.MEŠ lid¹-di-na-ak-ku</i>	he shall give the donkeys back to you.

Kudurrānu informs Ninsar-[...] that he cannot expect to receive a *sikmū*, a reward for questioning or arresting the fugitive thief Kuppupu. *sikmū* usually meant "payment for apprehending a fugitive" (cf. CAD S: 259). According to Frankena (1978: 219-222) owners of runaway slaves had to pay a *sikmū* to the person catching the fugitive. The reason for not paying a reward is that Kudurrānu has the upper hand: he claims to have an eye-witness for "it" (rev. l. 10: *a-mi-ra-an-šú*), i.e. for the theft. Since the whole letter concerns the theft of donkeys, and not a debate about ownership, we have to assume that the eye-witness is for the theft, and that Kudurrānu does not need to prove his ownership and/or legal acquisition of the donkeys in the first place by providing a witness.

Furthermore, Kudurrānu writes that he has a guarantor (rev. l. 10: *kattūšu*; correct: *kattāšu*, but since we do not expect a pl. m, this seems to be the full triptotic declination in the status pronominalis?). The AHW:466a translates *kattū* as "der die Aussage bestätigt". We do not know what the guarantor guaranteed for Kudurrānu, but it is likely that he guarantees Kudurrānu's rightful claim to own or

possess two or four donkeys. The donkeys may have been part of a transaction, i.e. they may have been hired, the object of a purchase, the means of payment, or a security. According to Petschow (1974: 34-35) in the Kassite period it is attested²⁷⁸ that a guarantor guaranteed to pay the owed payment in case of default by the debtor (Zahlungsgarantie), for example, to provide two oxen by a certain date, and in case of default to provide the *duplum* (BE 14: 11).

rev. 8b	<i>a-na-ku</i>	I, myself,
rev. 9	<i>ul ki-i si-ik-mi áš-pu-rak-ku</i>	have not sent to you a <i>sikmū</i> -payment (for catching the fugitive thief Kuppupu ?),
rev. 10	<i>a-mi-ra-an-šú ù kat-tu-šú</i>	because an eye witness for it, and a guarantor for it
rev. 11	<i>i-ba-áš-ši a-na a-ma-at</i>	exist. Regarding this (legal) issue
rev. 12	<i>áš-pu-rak-ku pa-ni-ka a-na [...]</i>	I have sent (a letter) to you. Do not act with your face
rev. 13	<i>la e-de-e la ta-ša-^rka^r-[an]</i>	for [...] as if you do not know!

Kudurrānu ends his letter with a threatening exhortation: “Do not act with your face for [...] as if you do not know!”. Again, this is a repetition of a thread he already made to the recipient in b.e. l. 2.

6.4.3 Mentions of Kudurrānu in the Kassite letters PBS 1/2, 22, 34 and UM 29-16-241

The name Kudurrānu is mentioned in an *ardu*-letter from Barmu (PBS 1/2, 22, cf. Hölscher 1996: 47), in a *bēlu*-letter from Adad-šar-ilāni to Usātūša (PBS 1/2, 34), and in the possible letter UM 29-16-241.

a) PBS 1/2, 22

The sender of PBS 1/2, 22 is called Barmu. A man named Barmu, a contemporary of Innannu, is attested as an *iššakku* farmer contributing to the *te-li-tum* ÉNSI.MEŠ É.GAL-*la-^rtum^r*, “the revenue(s) of the *iššakku*-farmers of the town (?) Ekallātum” (BE 15, 91, obv. l. 1), to which also Innannu is contributing. In BE 15, 85 he is one of the recipients of flour and barley (obv. l. 6). In BE 15, 90: obv. l. 32 he is one of the recipients of barley loans from Zarāt-Karkara (cf. obv. ll. 1-2). All three lists date to the years 18 and 19 of Nazi-maruttaš, which would be slightly earlier than Kudurrānu, who is attested in the reign of Kadašman-Turgu. Another Barmu is attested earlier, in Kurigalzu II year 6 (PBS 2/2, 6: obv. l. 21’).²⁷⁹

Further, a man called Barmu is the recipient (together with Ša-Aššur-damqā) of a *bēlu*-letter from Napšira-Marduk, NBC 10731. The letter concerns shepherding and mentions the *šandabakku*. If this Barmu was the sender of PBS 1/2, 22, in which he mentions a Kudurrānu, then this would put him in the same context as Kudurrānu, i.e. involved in cattle or sheep herding. Note that NBC 10731 was found in the Ištar-temple in Nippur.²⁸⁰

NBC 10731: obv. ll. 3-7:²⁸¹

obv. 3	[... SI]. ^r PA ^r U ₈ .UDU.ḪI.A ša DUMU ^r Iš-lu- <i>mu-na</i>	“[Regarding] the shepherds of the (female) sheep of the son of Išlumūnu
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²⁷⁸ Following Petschow (1974: 34-35) in the Kassite period it is attested that a guarantor guaranteed that the debtor was present to fulfil his obligation to the debtor (Gestellungsbürgschaft), that the debtor remained at the place where he was supposed to fulfil his obligation (Stillesitzbürgschaft), or guaranteed to pay the owed payment in case of default by the debtor (Zahlungsgarantie).

²⁷⁹ The Barmu in PBS 8/1, 98 is undated.

²⁸⁰ Sassmannshausen’s unpublished manuscript no. 266.

²⁸¹ Sassmannshausen’s transliteration; unpublished manuscript no. 266.

obv. 4	[...]- ^r ki/di ¹ ša GÚ.EN.NA 7 U ₈ .UDU.ĪI.A-šu	[...] ... of the <i>šandabakku</i> seven of his (female) sheep
obv. 5	[... am]-mi-ni ta-ša-ab-bat	[... w]hy are you seizing (them)?
obv. 6	[GÚ]. ^r EN ¹ .NA a-na ma-ḥa-ri-im-ma	The <i>šandabakku</i> for receiving ... and
obv. 7	[...]- ^r ŠEŠ ² .MEŠ ² -šu U ₈ .UDU.ĪI.A-šu	[...] his (brothers ?) ... his (female) sheep

In PBS 1/2, 22: rev. ll. 6-10 Barmu mentions Kudurrānu in the context of a conflict: Ninurta-bēl-apli, the son of Sîn-iqūla, made false accusations against a subordinate of Kudurrānu, the son of Amīl-Ea. According to Barmu, as a reaction (?), his lord had sent a scribe called Sîn-tabni-šuklil, the son of A[...] (rev. ll. 9-10). Amīl-Ea is not attested anywhere else.

rev. 6	šú-ḥa-ra-a ša ¹ Ku-du-ra-ni DUMU ¹ LÚ- ^d É-a	The young male subordinate of Kudurrānu, the son of Amīl-Ea, against whom Ninurta-bēl-apli, the son of Sîn-iqūla, made false accusations to my lord,
rev. 7	ša ¹ dNin-urta-EN-IBILA DUMU ¹ d30-i-qu-la	
rev. 8	kar-ši-šu a-na be-lī-ia i-[ku-lu]	
rev. 9	be-lī ¹ d30-tab-ni-šuk-lil DUMU ¹ A-[...]	my lord had sent Sîn-tabni-šuklil, the son of A[...],
rev. 10	tup-šar-ra iš-pu-ru-ma [...]	the scribe, and [...]

The name Ninurta-bēl-apli is attested in BE 14, 140: obv. l. 3, which dates to Šagarakti-Šuriaš.²⁸² The name of the person who owes bran to Ninurta-bēl-apli in BE 14, 140, Ubburu, is attested together with Kudurrānu at least 25 years earlier, in BE 14, 101: rev. l. 2, which dates to Kadašman-Turgu, year 13 (1264).

It is unclear whether the preceding or following lines are thematically connected to the described conflict between Kudurrānu and Ninurta-bēl-apli. As other Kassite letters show, unrelated topics can be addressed in each line or every second line.

On the obverse of the tablet we learn that Barmu travelled to collect *šibšu*-levies from between/within (?) the town Abu, but had not received the *šibšu*-levy of the granary nor seeds (obv. ll. 3-5). Barmu also informs his lord that in the area between towns near the town Āl-mār-Bā'ili-elū *errēšu*-farmers belonging to his lord, and a man belonging to Ninurta-rēšūšu²⁸³, “who had been living upon his *ḥarbu*-field” (*ša i-na muḥ-ḥi ḥar-bi-šu áš-bu*), had fled (obv. ll. 7-11). Barmu captured them and collected 58;1.1.0 of emmer and 45;0.4.0 emmer-seeds from them. Thus, the *errēšu*-farmers, who were probably lessees/tenants (obv. l. 15), did not owe him any more seeds or emmer, perhaps for their rent (?):

obv. 12	ki-i áš-pu-ru er-re-ši ša bi-rit ^{URU} DIDL [...]	After I had sent (a letter), and after I/he had captured the <i>errēšu</i> -farmers of (the land) between the towns,
obv. 13	ki-i ú-pi-i-du-ni 58;1.1.0 ZÍZ.AN.NA [...]	I have collected 58;1.1.0 of emmer [...] and
obv. 14	ú 45;0.4.0 ZÍZ.AN.NA NUMUN e-te-si- ^r ir ¹	45;0.4.0 emmer-seeds.
obv. 15	ŠE.NUMUN ma-la ad-di-nu 0;0.0.1 i-na ^r UGU ¹ [er]-re-ši	Of the seeds, as many as I had given, 0;0.0.1 did not remain as a debt for the <i>errēšu</i> -farmers.

According to rev. l. 1 the recipient of Barmu's letter was the superior of a *bēl pīhāti*.

rev. 1	^r EN.NAM ÚRDU-ka ² ul[-tu ²] Du-un-ni- ^d [... ^{KI}] ²	the <i>bēl pīhāti</i> , your servant, fr[om ?] Dunni-[...]
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²⁸² BE 14, 140: obv. l. 1-b.e. l. 1: 2;3.0.0 *tup-ḥu i-na* UGU ¹Ub-bu-ri ša ¹dNin-urta-EN-IBILA TA NÍG.ŠID-šú ep-šú ú-ki-in, “2;3.0.0 Gur of bran owed by Ubburu, which Ninurta-bēl-apli confirmed after his account had been drawn up”.

²⁸³ A man of that name is attested as *šatammu* of Enlil-of Nippur and later as a *nēšakku* under Nazi-maruttaš, when Ninurta-apla-iddina was *šandabakku* (Sollberger 1968: 192).

b) PBS 1/2, 34

PBS 1/2, 34 is a *bēlu*-letter from Adad-šar-ilāni to the lower ranking Usātūša.²⁸⁴ In BE 14, 101 (Kadašman-Turgu, year 13), both Kudurrānu (obv. l. 12) and a man called Adad-šar-ilāni²⁸⁵ (obv. l. 5)²⁸⁶ are recipients of barley loans with interest (UR₅.RA) from Dūr-Gula.

In obv. ll. 4-6 Adad-šar-ilāni orders Usātūša to give oxen to a man called Kudurrānu.

obv. 4	GU ₄ ša <i>aq-ba-ak-ku</i>	Give the oxen, which I had ordered you to do, to
obv. 5	<i>a-na</i> ¹ <i>Ku-du-ra-ni</i>	Kudurrānu!
obv. 6a	<i>i-din</i>	

In the following lines Adad-šar-ilāni complains that Usātūša has not delivered goods (obv. ll. 9-10), confirms that he had “written the truth” previously (obv. ll. 6-7), i.e. he reiterates previous orders, and he orders him to receive straw and barley from two men (Ninurta-muballiṭ and Marduk-līssu, rev. ll. 2-6).

c) UM 29-16-241

Kudurrānu is also mentioned in the fragment UM 29-16-241. The top and bottom, as well as the left side of both obverse and reverse have broken off. It is unclear whether UM 29-16-241 is a letter, or a legal document, such as a court record. In obv. l. 2 a *dajjānu*, a judge, is mentioned, followed by the verb form *iqbû*, “they spoke”. Direct speech appears in legal documents in the Kassite period in the so-called “Zwiegesprächsurkunde”. The “Zwiegesprächsurkunde” was a contract containing the statements of one or of both parties in the direct speech.²⁸⁷ The form of the “Zwiegesprächsurkunde” was used for court records (MRWH 8) as well as extrajudicial agreements (Paulus 2017: 55), and direct speech appears in contracts (Petschow 1974: 35-36).

In UM 29-16-241 the verbs *kunnu*, “to make firm, to establish, to place correctly” (obv. l. 3: *ú-kin*), which also means “to testify, to make a statement as a witness, confirm, certify” (cf. CAD K: 159, 168-171, s.v. *kānu*), and *dabābu*, “to speak” (obv. l. 10, rev. l. 7: *i-da-ab-bu-bu-ma*), which can also mean “to litigate, plead in court” are used (see the examples in CAD D: 8b-9b, s.v. *dabābu*). However, the typical vocabulary of the “Zwiegesprächsurkunde”, *kām iqbî*, “he spoke thus” and *išmēšuma*, “he heard him”, does not appear. The imperative in rev. l. 8 (*mu-un-ni*, “count!”) could be an indicator for a *bēlu*-letter.

²⁸⁴ The name Usātūša is attested for multiple men in the reign of Kurigalzu II (1332-1308), ca. 25 years earlier than the reign of Kadašman-Turgu (1281-1264), but also under Nazi-maruttaš (1307-1282), cf. Hölscher 1996: 231.

²⁸⁵ The *ša rēši* Adad-šar-ilāni, who is attested under *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī dates at least 58 years earlier than the *nāqīdu* Kudurrānu who is attested under Kadašman-Turgu (cf. BE 14, 168). A colleague of Martukkû no. 2 called Adad-šar-ilāni, a scribe of the NIN.DINGIR priestesses, dates to Šagarakti-Šuriaš, year 9, i.e. more than 30 years later than the *nāqīdu* Kudurrānu (cf. BE 14, 168).

²⁸⁶ The same Adad-šar-ilāni is attested in CT 51, 38 (Kadašman-Turgu, Hölscher 1996: 19).

²⁸⁷ cf. Neumann 2003: 104-105; id. 2007:127; Petschow 1965: 103-120; id. 1974: 38-39.

The document presumably dates to Kaštiliaš IV, since the name Kaštiliaš appears within the text in obv.

l. 11: [... LUGAL].E ^dKaš-til-ia-[šu].²⁸⁸

obv. 1	[...] ^r x x x x am x ¹ GIŠ	[...] ...
obv. 2	[...] DI.KU ₅ iq-bu-ú	[...] the judge they had spoken:

Kudurrānu is mentioned three times (obv. ll. 3, 4, 8). In obv. l. 3 Amīl-Ninurta testifies (?) for Kudurrānu, in obv. l. 4 a *niksu* of Kudurrānu is mentioned, and in obv. l. 8 something belonging to Kudurrānu is given to someone. *Niksu* means “slash, slaughter, cutting of the head, cut-off flesh” (CAD N/2: 231-233). *Karū* means “granary” (Sassmannshausen 2001: 175). *Nikis karē* may have been an amount of barley for the *ḥazannu*, or a levy which the *ḥazannu* collected (Sassmannshausen 2001: 175).

obv. 3	[...] ¹ LU ⁷ ₁ - ^d Nin-urta a-na ¹ Ku-du-ra-ni ú-kin	[...] Amīl-Ninurta has made firm/correct for Kudurrānu
obv. 4	[...] ¹ URDU ¹ - ^d AMAR.UTU ša ni-ki- ^r is ¹ ¹ Ku-du-ra-ni	[...] Arad-Marduk, who ... the <i>niksu</i> -share of Kudurrānu
obv. 5	[...] ^r bi ⁷ ₁ É ² i-tu ² -ú ¹ dNin-urta-ki-na-i-de	[...] ... the house together with Ninurta-kīna-īde
obv. 6	[...] ú ¹ dNin-urta-da-bi-bi aš-bu	[...] and Ninurta-dābibī, who is present,
obv. 7	[...] a/i- ^r na ¹ le-qé-e ¹ URDU ¹ - ^d AMAR.UTU	[...] during taking/in order to take, Arad-Marduk
obv. 8	[...] ¹ Ku-du-ra-ni id-din-šu-nu-ti	[...] of Kudurrānu he gave them
obv. 9	[...] -ka(-)lu ² /su ² ^r aš ⁷ ₁ - ¹ Al-kát- ^d Nin-lil	[...] ... (?) [...]. Alkāt-Ninlil
obv. 10	[...] ^r i ¹ -da-ab-bu-bu-ma	[...] he/they are going to litigate, and
obv. 11	[...] LUGAL].E ^d Kaš-til-ia-[šu]	[...] king] Kaštiliaš
rev. 1	[...] ^r x ¹ -bi-ia	[...] my ... [...]
rev. 2	[...] ap-pi É ²	[...] peak/tip (?) of the house/property (?)
rev. 3	[...] x- ^h i DIŠ	[...] ...
rev. 4	[...] ¹ Al]-kát- ^d Nin-lil i-na É-ni iš-šap-par	[...] Al]kāt-Ninlil will be sent in our house
rev. 5	[...] ¹ Al]- ^r kát ¹ - ^d Nin-lil	[...] Al]kāt-Ninlil
rev. 6	[...] ^r E ¹ ¹ dNin-urta-da-bi-bi	[...] house (?) of Ninurta-dābibī
rev. 7	[...] i-da-ab-bu-bu	[...] he/they are going to litigate
rev. 8	[...] ¹ URDU ² - ^d AMAR.UTU mu-un-ni	[...] Arad]-Marduk count!
rev. 9	[...] ^r x x ¹ [...]	[...] ... [...]

6.4.4 Ittīša-aḥbut's letters

a) BE 17, 34

In obv. ll. 4-13 Ittīša-aḥbut confirms that he has sent *tillû* garments to his lord. According to CUSAS 30: 374 a *tillû*-garment could have sleeves (*tillê aḥi*, obv. l. 3) and “trimmings (?)” (van Soldt 2015: 374: *adi ša sūnāti*, obv. l. 12), and were also used as a night gowns (*mūši*, obv. l. 2).

Ittīša-aḥbut apparently received a written order (obv. l. 5: *šipirtu*) from his lord (obv. ll. 7-8) to send both (obv. l. 8) types of *tillû*-garments: *tillû*-garments from the offering (obv. ll. 4, 9: *ša niqî, tillê niqî*) and speckled ones (obv. l. 4: *burruma*) to his lord (obv. l. 6). The garments are sent together with three *šābu*-workers (obv. l. 12). One of them is not only a *šābu* worker, but also a palace servant (obv. ll. 11-12).

obv. 4	[aš-šu ₁₄] ^r ti ⁷ -le ša SISKUR ú bur-ru-ma ša ^r a ¹ -[na]	[Regarding the] <i>tillû</i> -garments from the offering, and the multi-coloured one, which for [...]
obv. 5	[...] ú-še-bi-la ki pi-i šī-pi-ir-ti ša ^r ka ¹ [...]	[...] I/he has let it be brought. According to the wording of the order of ... [...]

²⁸⁸ This is one of the later texts of the Nippur palace archives, since the archives cover more than 130 years and 10 kings, largely dating to the latter period between Burna-Buriaš II, year 4 (1356 BC) and Kadašman-Ḥarbe II (1223 BC, Pedersén 1998: 115).

obv. 6	<i>ki-[i a]-na be-lí-ia ú-še-^rbi-la¹ e-nin be-lí</i>	after I had them be brought to my lord, just now, after my lord
obv. 7	<i>ki-i iš-pu-ra um-ma-^ra¹ ša [a-na] mu-uḫ til-le-e</i>	had sent (a letter) to me (saying) the following: “Regarding that which concerns the <i>tillû</i> -garments
obv. 8	<i>ki-lal-le-e til-li-šu-nu šu-bi-la til-le-e</i>	send both of their <i>tillû</i> -garments!”
obv. 9	<i>bur-ru-mu-ti ù til-le-e ^rSISKUR¹ i-na ^ri¹-[...]-^rx¹-šu-nu</i>	I have let the speckled <i>tillû</i> -garments and the <i>tillû</i> -garments of the offering in their ... [...] be brought to my lord.
obv. 10	<i>a-na be-lí-ia uš-te-bi-^rla¹</i>	
obv. 11	<i>¹La-qí-pa ÚRDU É.GAL ¹ÚRU-ki-na-^dAMAR.UTU</i>	I have sent Lā-qīpu, a palace servant, Ušur-kīna-Marduk, and Ninsar-illatī-likūna, three <i>šābu</i> -workers, together with the <i>tillû</i> -garments to my lord.
obv. 12	<i>^rú¹ ^{1d}Nin-sar-il-la-ti-li-ku-na 3 ÉRIN.ḪI.A</i>	
obv. 13	<i>[it]-^rtí¹ til-le-e a-na UGU be-lí-ia al-tap-ra</i>	

In obv. ll. 14-15 we learn that the lord had given Ittīša-aḫbut instructions in the preceding year to weave a fabric, and it seems Ittīša-aḫbut made a replica, i.e. an exact copy, of the type of fabric he had been ordered. Ittīša-aḫbut appears to assure his lord that this fabric is “good” and “first quality” (obv. l. 16) and repeatedly refers to “the wording of last year” (obv. l. 14) and “the earlier wording” (obv. l. 16). This replica of an earlier work order is brought to Ittīša-aḫbut’s lord, as well (obv. l. 17).

obv. 14	<i>[...]-^rri¹ tam-ši-li ki-i pi-i ša šad-da-ag-[da]</i>	[...] ... replica(s) according to the wording of last year
obv. 15	<i>[...]-na a-na ma-ḫa-ši be-lí iq-ba-a</i>	[...] (which) my lord had ordered me to weave
obv. 16	<i>[...] ^rSÍK¹ SAG ba-na-a ki pi-i maḫ-ri-i</i>	[...] good, first quality ... (?) according to the earlier wording
obv. 17a	<i>[... li/ú]-še-bi-la</i>	[...] I/he had it/shall have it be brought.

Furthermore, Ittīša-aḫbut’s lord had ordered “good wool”, which Ittīša-aḫbut will have brought to him (obv. ll. 17-18).

The rest of the letter concerns the irrigation. According to obv. ll. 19-20 a *šakin māti* called [Ilī ?]-ajabāš (a *šakin māti* with that name is not attested anywhere else)²⁸⁹ has given a written instructions or a report about an issue with the irrigation (*aššu mē tēma*) to someone — perhaps, he gave an order to Ittīša-aḫbut. Since the letter is an *ardu*-letter, and it is unlikely that Ittīša-aḫbut would give an order to his lord, the imperative *šupra*, “Send!”, in obv. l. 21, is most likely a quotation in direct speech.

obv. 18b	<i>ù ša be-lí iš-pu-ra</i>	And (regarding) that about which my lord had sent (a letter) to me
obv. 19	<i>[... DINGIR²]-a-a-ba-aš-ma GAR KUR aš-šu₁₄ me-e tē-e-ma</i>	[...], and [Ilī ?]-ajabāš, the <i>šakin māti</i> , regarding the water a report
obv. 20	<i>[...] ki-i it-ta-ad-na-ak-ku</i>	[...] when he had given to you
obv. 21	<i>[...] ^rri²-ka šu-up-ra</i>	“[...] ... send to me!”

Rev. ll. 1-8 are damaged, but concern the availability and level of water (rev. ll. 2-3, 6) in irrigation canals and the mouth of a canal (rev. l. 1), someone being thirsty for water (rev. l. 4), three *ḫarbu*-fields

²⁸⁹ The sources from the reigns of Kadašman-Enlil I and Burna-Buriaš II (Hölscher 1996: 93) are too early for this Ilī-ajabāš to be a contemporary of Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḫbut. However, the name Ilī-ajabāš is attested in a fragment of a list of *iškaru* work material deliveries of sesame among the payers or recipients (TMH NF 5, 55: obv. l. 3’), which Hölscher dates to the reign of Kadašman-Turgu. See also PBS 2/2, 126 in which the issuing (?) of six fetters for six criminals kept in the É.SIKIL.LA (see Levavi 2017: 100-101) is *qāt Ilī-ajabāš*, “in the hand of Ilī-ajabāš” (obv. l. 5).

and the returning of something, perhaps, of these *harbu*-fields (rev. ll. 7-8). In rev. l. 4 the Tigris is mentioned.

In rev. ll. 9-10 something (water ?) has entered something and someone opened something (a canal ?), and someone has returned something — possibly the town Abu — and dammed up a canal.

rev. 9	[...] <i>ki-i i-ru-ba ki-i ip-tu-ú</i>	[...] after he/it entered, after he/they had opened,
rev. 10	ù AB ¹ (UM) ^{KI} <i>ù ki ú-ter-rù is-se-ke-er</i>	then, the town Abu (?), as well, after he/they had returned (it/them), he has dammed (it) up.

Rev. ll. 11-17 concern three *harbu*-fields (rev. l. 11: 3 *har-bu ú*)²⁹⁰ as well as hoisting devices (rev. l. 11: 3 *dí-la-ti*) for drawing water of the town *Ḫībarītu*, a town which Kudurrānu had mentioned in BE 17, 26 and 27. Rev. l. 13 contains the imperative *id-na-áš-šum-ma*, “Give to him!”, which is uncharacteristic for a submissive *ardu*-letter from a subordinate to his lord (the imperative only appears in quoted direct speech in *ardu*-letters). Thus, it is likely that the direct speech of the lord is quoted here. The lord orders Ittīša-aḫbut to give a *sissinnu*-remuneration in kind (rev. l. 12: *si-is-si-in-na*) to his servant Iqīša-Adad for his report (rev. l. 13: *a-na ṭe-mi-šu*), and he shall be clad in a garment. In the NB period dependants of an institution working as gardeners received the “gardener’s salary”, the *sissinnu*, according to the size and type of land they cultivated. A *sissinnu*-payment also appears in some types of orchard-lease contracts and is received by the tenants, as well (Janković 2013: 67, 76-77; Ries 1976: 104).

We also learn that the lord had been giving orders to Ittīša-aḫbut concerning the town *Ḫībarītu*. As opposed to Nashef (1982: 210) URU^{KI} may refer to *Ḫībarītu* in this context.

rev. 11	<i>ša</i> ^{URU} <i>Ḫi-ba-ri-ti</i> 3 <i>har-bu ú</i> 3 <i>dí-la-ti</i>	Regarding the town <i>Ḫībarītu</i> , the three <i>harbu</i> -fields
rev. 12	<i>be-lí ša</i> 3 <i>har-bi si-is-si-in-na a-na</i> ÚRDU- <i>ka</i>	and the three hoisting devices for drawing water: my lord (said): “Regarding the three <i>harbu</i> -fields -
rev. 13	¹ BA-šá- ^d IM <i>a-na ṭe-mi-šu id-na-áš-šum-ma</i>	give a <i>sissinnu</i> to your servant Iqīša-Adad for his report, and
rev. 14	<i>lu-ba-^rša¹ lil-ta-bi-iš</i>	he shall wear a garment.”
rev. 15	TA ^{ITU} DU ₆ .KÚ <i>iš-tu aš-šu₁₄</i> ^{URU} <i>Ḫi-[ba-ri-ti]</i>	Since the month <i>tašrītu</i> (7 th month), since my lord had given orders to me because of the town <i>Ḫībarītu</i>
rev. 16	<i>be-lí ṭe-e-ma iš-ku-na-an-ni a-[...]</i>	... [...]
rev. 17a	<i>i-na</i> URU ^{KI} <i>áš-bu</i>	they are living in the town.

In the last lines (rev. ll. 17-18) we learn that Ittīša-aḫbut also transported straw on a wagon. Then he quotes a speech he gave to a third person (rev. ll. 19-20: named Uba-[...]). Ittīša-aḫbut told this man that someone ate together with him (t.e. l. 1), and quotes a third person (t.e. l. 2: *šu-ú an-ni-ta iq-[bi]*). In broken context he mentions *a-šar-ni*, “our place” (r.e. l. 3), and something he plans to give (r.e. l. 1).

²⁹⁰ *Harbu* can also refer to the *harbu*-plough (CAD Ḫ: 97-98).

b) BE 17, 35

In obv. ll. 4-9 we learn that Ittīša-aḥbut travelled somewhere to roof a *parḥu*-house²⁹¹ (obv. l. 5) and tore down the *bīt ruqqi* storage house.²⁹²

obv. 4	TA U ₄ -um ak-šu- ^r da ¹	Since the day I had reached (it),
obv. 5	iš-te-en É pa-ar-ḥa uš-ša-li-il	I have covered one <i>parḥu</i> -house with a roof
obv. 6	ù É ru-uq-qi ša be-lí i-mu-ru-ma	and I have torn down the (storage) house of
obv. 7	pu-us-su na-pa-la iq-ba-a	cauldrons, which my lord had inspected and of
		which its front to tear down he had ordered me,
obv. 8	ki-i a-mu-ru-ma pu-ḥu-ur-šu	– after I had seen it and (as) its totality was brittle.
obv. 9	pu-ut-ṭu-ru at-ta-pa-al	

In obv. ll. 10-12 we learn that Ittīša-aḥbut's lord arranged for the delivery of 70 beams of wood, presumably for a building project. However, Ittīša-aḥbut only received 55 beams.

obv. 10	ù 60+10 ^{GIŠ} ÜR.MEŠ ša be-lí-ia	And the 70 (wooden) beams of my lord,
obv. 11	iq-bu-ù 50+5 ^{GIŠ} ÜR.MEŠ	which he had said (=ordered), 55 (wooden) beams
obv. 12	iš-šu-ni-ma id-di-nu-ni	they carried to me and they gave them to me.

According to obv. l. 13-rev. l. 2 Ittīša-aḥbut had expected a wool delivery from Nippur, and his lord had informed him that the inner (*bītānu*) and the outer part (*bābānu*) of a palace are empty and do not contain any wool (obv. l. 13).

obv. 13	[aš]-šu ₁₄ SÍK.ḪI.A i-na NIBRU ^{KI}	Regarding the wool from Nippur:
b.e. 1	a-na be-lí-ia aq-ta-bi	I have spoken to my lord.
rev. 1	[aš]-šu ₁₄ É.GAL É-a-nu ù KÁ-a-nu	Regarding the palace: the inner and the outer part
rev. 2	ki-i a-ḥa-mi-iš ri- ^r qa ¹	are both equally empty.

Fabrics of a servant of the lord, called Erība-Marduk, are given *kī mandattīšunu*, “as” or “instead of” their *mandattu* work quota to a weaver and a *kāširu*-fuller. Apparently they are kept somewhere, and possibly offered for sale, but do not even fetch a price of half a shekel of gold. This is a parallel to sources from Ugarit, in which *mandattu* referred to the trading capital merchants received to acquire goods for the palace. In this case textiles are given as *mandattu* in order to acquire gold (see above “b) BE 17, 86”).

rev. 3	ù TÚG.ḪI.A ša ÚRDU-ka ¹ SU- ^d AMAR.UTU	And the fabrics of your servant Erība-Marduk
rev. 4	a-na ^{LÚ} UŠ.BAR ù ka-ši-ri	they gave to the weaver and the <i>kāširu</i> -fuller as their
rev. 5	ki-i man-da-at-ti-šu-nu id-di-nu	<i>mandattu</i> -work quota.
rev. 6	a-šar ú-kal-lu ₄ ma-am-ma ul ^r i ¹ -ma-ḥa-ar	In the place where they offer them, no one is going to receive them.
rev. 7	um-ma-a 1/2 GÍN-ma KÙ.SI ₂₂	The following: They do not even fetch a price of half
rev. 8	ul ub-ba-lu	a shekel of gold!

Rev. ll. 9-15 concern the lack of bricks for building works on a house at the current location of Ittīša-aḥbut: since he has travelled to his lord, and cannot act locally, he asks his lord to write to Erība-Marduk

²⁹¹ *Parāḥu* means “to sprout”, *puruhḥu* means “to ferment” (CAD P: 145a; AHw: 827b, s. v. *parāḥu*). Barley was brought to germinate on the roofs, floor or in *napraḥtu*-vessels (Röllig 1970: 19-20). *Parā'u*, NA *parāḥu*, means “to cut through, to sever, to slit” (CAD P, 181); *bītu par'u* or *bītu parḥu* would mean a “cut house (without a roof ?)”. *Barāḥu* means “to shine” (AHw: 105b); it is possible to read *bā-ar-ḥa*, as *barḥu* is the verbal adjective “shining” (AHw: 107a). A *bītu barḥu*, a “shining house”, could have had a cultic function. Aro (1957: 79) translates “ich habe mein Haus mit *parḥu* überdacht”; the CAD P: 184 translates “since arriving here I have roofed one building with p. (or: one p. building)”.

²⁹² Note that Ittīša-aḥbut is involved in the textile production, and that wool was dyed in a cauldron (*ruqqu*) in NB texts (Quillien 2017: 100).

who shall contact Kudurrānu, who shall organise the production and/or delivery of bricks. Kudurrānu was apparently stationed at the same place in which Ittīša-aḥbut is usually stationed. If Ittīša-aḥbut had already arrived at his lord's place, he would not have needed to write a letter to his lord. Thus, it is likely that he writes the letter while from a third place, perhaps, while travelling (Note: in obv. ll. 4-9 Ittīša-aḥbut says that he had arrived somewhere).

rev. 9	<i>um-ma-a a-na É ki-i a-ḥa-mi-iš</i>	The following: regarding the house after he had set
rev. 10	<i>it-ta-ša-ab ù SIG₄ ia-a'-nu</i>	each of them down (?) side by side, and bricks are
		lacking.
rev. 11	<i>aš-šu₁₄ a-na-ku i-tu be-lí-ia</i>	Because I have come to my lord,
rev. 12	<i>al-^rlik^r-ka a-na ¹SU-^dAMAR.UTU</i>	send (a letter) to Erība-Marduk
rev. 13	<i>šu-pu-ur-ma a-na ¹Ku-du-ra-nu</i>	so that he shall send (a letter) to Kudurrānu,
rev. 14	<i>^rli^r-iš-pu-ra-ma li-il-li-^rik^r</i>	so that he shall come.
rev. 15	<i>SIG₄.MEŠ li-il-bi-nu</i>	They shall make bricks.

Note that the request to send (a letter) to Erība-Marduk contains an imperative *šu-pu-ur-ma*, “Send (a letter)!” (rev. l. 13), which is unusual for a submissive *ardu*-letter to a higher-ranking lord. The passage begins with an *ummā*, which could imply a quotation from Ittīša-aḥbut's lord. However, the passage is not preceded by an explicit statement pointing to a speaker, such as “(as) my lord had said/sent (a letter) to me”. Further, the speaker explicitly states that he travelled to his lord, which makes it more likely that Ittīša-aḥbut is the speaker, and writes about his own journey to the recipient.

Rev. l. 16-l.e. 1. 2 concern the lord's request for oil: apparently the lord's subordinates have repeatedly pestered Ittīša-aḥbut by asking for oil. However, Ittīša-aḥbut claims to be lacking oil himself. Instead he recommends to his lord to send (a letter) to the *šatammu* of a temple, who shall provide him with the desired product.

rev. 16	<i>aš-šu₁₄ Ì.GIŠ ša be-lí-ia na-ra-[ru?]</i>	Because of the oil of my lord, about which he
		repeatedly cries out “Help!”,
rev. 17	<i>il-ta-na-sú a-na ¹Ku-du-ra-[ni]</i>	as I have already said to Kudurrā[nu],
l.e. 1	<i>[ÚR]DU-ka ki-i aq-bu-ú um-ma-a Ì.GIŠ i-na</i>	your servant, the following: “Oil is lacking in my
	<i>ŠU-ia [ia-nu[?]]</i>	hands.”,
l.e. 2	<i>be-lí a-na ŠA.TAM liš^{is}-pu-ra-ma Ì.GIŠ ru-</i>	my lord shall send (a letter) to the <i>šatammu</i> and oil
	<i>uš¹-<ta> liš-<ku>-nu</i>	of the best quality they shall provide.

c) PBS 1/2, 15

Ittīša-aḥbut begins his *ardu*-letter by reporting that he had received a delivery of straw from a man called Nusku-karābī-išme for the *dullu*-work duty of the house of his lord. This means, he was a member of the house of his lord. We also learn that he received the delivery during prayer, i.e. a religious ritual.

A man with the name Nusku-karābī-išme is the sender of the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 43 (see the summary below in “7.2.3 The *pīḫatus* in the vicinity of Nippur”). In PBS 1/2, 43 Nusku-karābī-išme collects revenues from Babylon, Pān-šēri, and in the Diyala region and provides for a temple which is lord manages. Nusku-karābī-išme may have been the *ḥazannu* of Babylon (Gurney 1949: 132-133); other possibilities to explain that he collected levies in several provinces would be that he was a temple official managing temple lands in several provinces, or that he was a royal official who collected revenues from several provinces for the king and reported to the *šandabakku* in Nippur about it (Nashef 1992: 155).

In another Kassite letter, WZJ 8, HS 108: rev. ll. 3-7 (Nazi-maruttaš, cf. Hölscher 1996: 163), the sender Šūzubanni-Šamaš writes to his lord that Nusku-karābī-išme shall return, provide feeders, and pour *hirgalū*-flour to *qīpu*-commissaries, and bring flour up. In the same letter the detention of criminals in Šītulu is discussed (rev. l. 14-t.e. l. 4).

In PBS 1/2, 15 Nusku-karābī-išme transported straw for his lord, who was also Ittīša-aḥbut's lord, to Ittīša-aḥbut for the *dullu*-work duty of his lord. In PBS 1/2, 15: rev. ll. 4-9 we learn that Nusku-karābī-išme had his own household and *šābu*-workers, whom his lord had assigned to the *ḥazannu* of Ḥībarītu. Since *šābu*-workers were sent to work in other provinces, this could mean that the lord had assigned the workers of the *ḥazannu* of Babylon to the *ḥazannu* of Ḥībarītu.

obv. 4	1 ME ša- ^r ḥar ¹ -[ri] ša ti-ib-ni [a]-na dul-li	After Nusku-karābī-išme had given 100 nets
obv. 5	ša É be-lī-ia ¹ ^r dNUSKU ¹ -A.[RA.ZU]-GIŠ.TUK	containing straw for the <i>dullu</i> -work duty of the
obv. 6	i-na DŪ ik-ri-bi ki-i id- ^r di ¹ -na	house of my lord during the proceedings of the
		prayer to me,

Ittīša-aḥbut reports that he has begun the *dullu*-work duty of the house of his lord according to a written order. The lower part of the tablet is broken off.

obv. 7	i-na ^{GIŠ} MAR.GÍD.DA.MEŠ ša ṭe-mi-ia ^r ki	(and) after I had transported (them) there on the
	áš ¹ -ša-a	wagon of (=according to) my (written) order,
obv. 8	du-ul-la ša É be-lī-ia ša- ^r ab-ta ¹ -[ku]-ma	I have seized (=begun) the <i>dullu</i> -work duty of the
		house of my lord, and

On the reverse we learn that the lord had ordered to constrain a body of water (rev. l. 2), and that *šābu*-workers shall “go away to the house of their lord” (rev. l. 3). This means that the workers belong to another head of a household.

rev. 2	um-ma-a mi-si-ir me-e ta-al-ta-kan	The following: You have placed the “detainment of
		water”,
rev. 3	ÉRIN.ḪI.A a-na É be-lī-šu-nu li-it-ta-al-ku	(and that) the <i>šābu</i> -workers shall go away to the
		house of their lord.

In rev. ll. 4-5 we learn that someone (= the lord ?) “bound”, i.e. assigned 12 *šābu* workers belonging to the household of Nusku-karābī-išme and gave them to a *ḥazannu* of the town Ḥībarītu. This seems to be an elaboration of the preceding lines rev. ll. 2-3, i.e. the workers who could work on the “detainment of the water” have been assigned by the lord to the *ḥazannu* of Ḥībarītu. It seems, Ittīša-aḥbut reminds his lord what he had ordered in the past. This is presumably followed by a quote in the direct speech, since in rev. l. 8 the imperative *epuš*, “Build!”, appears. This could either be a reiteration of that which the *ḥazannu* of Ḥībarītu had ordered the workers to do, or of that which Ittīša-aḥbut's lord had ordered the *ḥazannu* of Ḥībarītu to do (rev. ll. 8-9):

rev. 4	um-ma-a a-na be-lī-ia-ma	(Say) the following to my lord:
rev. 5	12 ÉRIN.ḪI.A ¹ ^d NUSKU-A.RA.ZU-GIŠ.TUK	After he had assigned 12 <i>šābu</i> -workers of Nusku-
rev. 6	ki-i ir-ku-su a-na ḥa-za-an-ni ^{URU} Ḫi-ba-ri-ti	karābī-išme,
rev. 7	it-ta-din um-ma-a kar ¹⁷ IDIGNA	he has given them to the <i>ḥazannu</i> of Ḥībarītu.
		(He said) the following: “Build the
rev. 8	e-pu-uš ù dul-li te-ep-pu-šú	quay/embankment of the Tigris,
rev. 9	tu-kal-la-ma-an-ni	and you are going to show to me the <i>dullu</i> -work duty
		that you are doing!”

d) PBS 1/2, 25

Ittīša-aḥbut begins this *ardu*-letter by reporting about the health of the son of his lord, who has a healthy appetite (obv. l. 9-rev. l. 1) and is healthy (obv. l. 8; rev. ll. 2-3).

In rev. l. 4-t.e. 1 we learn that Ittīša-aḥbut had delivered *tillû*-garments for the king to his lord. In case the lord, i.e. the recipient of the letter, has passed the gowns on to the king, then Ittīša-aḥbut is going to accept that. However, if the gowns are still in possession of his lord, then Ittīša-aḥbut wants them to be returned to him, because there is a lack of *tillû*-gowns at his current location.

rev. 4	<i>ti-le-e</i> LUGAL <i>ša a-na be-lî-ia</i>	If my lord has given the <i>tillû</i> -garments of the king,
rev. 5	<i>û-še-bi-la be-lî a-na É.GAL</i>	which I had let be brought to my lord, to the palace,
rev. 6	<i>it-ta-dîn-ma lu na-ad-nu</i>	(then) they shall, indeed, be given!
rev. 7	<i>û be-lî ul it-ta-dîn-ma</i>	And if my lord has not given (them), then they shall
rev. 8	<i>lî-ter-ru-ni</i>	return (them).
rev. 9	<i>til-lu-û x x¹-tu₄</i>	The ... <i>tillû</i> -garments,
rev. 10	<i>š^a ki-i mu¹-[...]</i>	which (?) after ... [...],
t.e. 1	<i>š^a URU^{KI} ia-nu</i>	which are lacking in the town.

e) PBS 1/2, 85

After reporting that the household of his lord is in best order (obv. l. 3) Ittīša-aḥbut reports that palace servants have arrived at his current location on the 20th day of the month Abu (5th month; obv. ll. 4-5). In obv. ll. 6-9 Ittīša-aḥbut then reports that he had bricks delivered to his place in order to renovate a broken gate of a garden belonging to a man called Širiktu. Širiktu, however, had not yet started the *dullu*-work duty.

obv. 6	<i>i¹-gar</i> GIŠKIRI ₆ <i>ša KÁ Ši-ri-ik-ti</i>	The wall of the garden of the gate of Širiktu
obv. 7	<i>e-ni-iš¹-ma 20 na-at-ba-ki</i>	is weak, and, thus, I have lowered it by 20 courses of
obv. 8	<i>uš-te-ri-da e-ši-ru a-di-nam</i>	bricks. I drew (a ground plan).
obv. 9	<i>a-na dul¹-li ul¹ i-qé-ri-ib</i>	He has not yet started the <i>dullu</i> -work duty.

Obv. l. 10-rev. l. 3 possibly concern a quiver (?) at the location of Ittīša-aḥbut's lord, which he wants to have delivered to his place.

6.4.5 Kudurrānu's and Ittīša-aḥbut's responsibilities

a) Kudurrānu's function

Kudurrānu's letters inform us about his functions:

- Kudurrānu must have had some responsibilities in the cultic or religious realm, possibly because temples were located in settlements he managed, or he managed the provision of temples for his lord, who had the responsibility to provide temples. When he organised the delayed production of belts for his lord, he informed his lord that the leather, out of which the belts were produced, came from a temple (CT 43, 59: rev. ll. 1-9).

In BE 17, 28: obv. l. 13 and l.e. ll. 1-2 Kudurrānu mentioned the *ginû* offering, specifically the *ginû*-offering in/of the town Kār-Nabû. Kudurrānu's lord had neglected its provision. He also mentioned the "tools of the flesh" (Be 17, 28: rev. ll. 12-13). In BE 17, 28: rev. ll. 1-6 Kudurrānu

requested the delivery of cultic equipment (an axe, mace and spade of silver), and a *kitītu* tool (out) of *mitrû*, which were in possession of the overseer for “striking” or “sweeping”.

- Kudurrānu also worked in the context of animal husbandry (PBS 1/2, 16: rev. ll. 11-13) and was responsible for the production of belts out of animal hides (CT 43, 59: rev. ll. 1-9). In PBS 1/2, 34: obv. ll. 4-6 a man called Kudurrānu received oxen.
- Kudurrānu also dealt with horses. In BE 17, 28: obv. ll. 5-10 horses were brought and inspected.
- Kudurrānu was involved in the textile production. In BE 17, 27: obv. ll. 7, 10 a *naṣṣraptu* dyeing vat/linen textiles (?) and *tillû*-gowns for mourning (?) are mentioned. In BE 17, 27: rev. ll. 3-8 Kudurrānu received processed wool and distributes it.
- Kudurrānu was responsible for the cultivation of fields, including seeding in the towns Šītulu and Āl-mašmašši (BE 17, 27: obv. ll. 4-6). Apparently, he had to deduce levies from the yield of lands he managed for his lord. In BE 17, 27: rev. ll. 11-12 we learn that although the irrigation system at Ṭabtu had not functioned properly, and probably caused a reduced yield, the lord had sent a tax collector.
- Since Kudurrānu managed agricultural land he must have been responsible for its irrigation, as well. In BE 17, 26: obv. l. 9 a sluice is mentioned. However, although he complained about cut off irrigation canals of the town Ṭabtu in BE 17, 26: rev. ll. 9-10, he did not seem to have the influence to change the situation, as neighbours and provincial officials seemed to have controlled these canals. In BE 17, 28: rev. ll. 7-8 we learn that Kudurrānu was responsible for barley revenues and the irrigation for nine *ḥarbu* field in the towns Āl-mašmašši and Šītulu.
- Kudurrānu either gave out barley loans or received them (PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 17-19).
- Kudurrānu collected several levies for his lord: In BE 17, 26: rev. ll. 6-7) he assured his lord that he was going to collect the *šibšu*-levies. Kudurrānu also collected the *šibšu*-levy of Kār-Nabû and Nūr-Ištar-Akkade (CT 43, 59: obv. l. 9-b.e. l. 1). The cultivated fields, from which the *šibšu* was deduced, were cultivated by *errēšu*-farmers (*er-re-šu i-na mu-uh-ḫi um-mu-du*) (CT 43, 59: obv. l. 15-b.e. 1).

In PBS 1/2, 16 he reported a lack of straw, wood and clay in Akkade and Panbali (PBS 1/2, 16: rev. ll. 13-17).

Kudurrānu was responsible for collecting the *telītu*-revenue from A.ŠÀ-fields and *ḥarbu*-fields of the town Ṭabtu (CT 43, 59: obv. ll. 5-8). In BE 17, 27: rev. ll. 15-20 Kudurrānu rejected the *telītu*-revenue of one year (the geographical region is unknown), but wrote that barley would be collected from somewhere else. When collecting the *telītu*-revenue, Kudurrānu differentiated between A.ŠÀ-fields (*eqḷu*) and *ḥarbu*-fields; *ḥarbu* fields were a type of field of a standardised size (Paulus 2014d: 169), of which the side-length were even used as reference for length measurement (cf. the Kassite letter N 1593).

- Kudurrānu did not only collect levies, but was also involved in further processing of the levies. In PBS 1/2, 16: rev. ll. 9-10 he dealt with brewers and *kaṣṣidakku* millers. He passed the

collected levies on to craftsmen. BE 17, 26: obv. ll. 3-8 concern the levies in the form of barley (and seeds) from the towns Kār-Nabû, Ḫībarītu and Ṭabtu, which should be passed on to a brewer and a *kaššidakku* (miller). In BE 17, 26: rev. ll. 3-5 the production of a millstone is mentioned.

- Kudurrānu was involved in building works, including the fitting of a new door for his lord's house (BE 17, 26: rev. ll. 8-11).
- Kudurrānu dealt with all kinds of legal matters for his lord. He pressed debtors for payment, who owed something to his lord (PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 4-9), and interceded on behalf of third parties by command of his lord (BE 17, 27: obv. l. 18-rev. l. 2).
- Kudurrānu was also responsible for sesame oil reserves and their expenditure in the form of allotments (BE 17, 27: obv. ll. 12-17), which included liaising with the *šatammu* of a temple in order to receive oil for his lord.

b) Ittīša-aḫbut's function

Ittīša-aḫbut's functions attested in his *ardu*-letters to his lord are the following:

- Ittīša-aḫbut cared for the son of his lord, and reported about his health (especially his appetite) to his lord (PBS 1/2, 25: obv. l. 8 - rev. l. 3).
- Ittīša-aḫbut was involved in the production of textiles, and sent *tillû* garments to his lord in Nippur (BE 17, 34: obv. ll. 4-13). Ittīša-aḫbut delivered *tillû*-garments for the king to his lord, who should pass them on to the palace (PBS 1/2, 25: rev. l. 4-t.e. 1). He received instructions from his lord in Nippur to weave certain types of fabrics (BE 17, 34: obv. ll. 14-17). In BE 17, 35: rev. ll. 3-8 he reported that fabrics were given to a weaver and a *kāšīru*-fuller as a trading capital to acquire gold.
- Ittīša-aḫbut had access to wool, and probably managed sheep herds, since he sent wool to his lord (BE 17, 34: obv. ll. 17-18). BE 17, 35: obv. l. 13-rev. l. 2 we learn that a wool delivery from Nippur had not arrived due to empty storage rooms in the palace of Nippur.
- Ittīša-aḫbut managed building and restoration works, tore down and roofed store houses (BE 17, 35: obv. ll. 4-9). He used wooden beams for his building work (BE 17, 35: obv. ll. 10-12) and ordered bricks to be delivered (PBS 1/2, 85: obv. ll. 7-8). He repaired a wall belonging to the garden of a man called Širiktu (PBS 1/2, 85: obv. ll. 6-8). In BE 17, 35: rev. ll. 9-15 Ittīša-aḫbut asked his lord to organise the production and/or delivery of bricks for building works by other officials (Erība-Marduk and Kudurrānu) at his place of residence, since he planned to leave it.
- In obv. ll. 6-9 Ittīša-aḫbut then reported that he had bricks delivered to his place in order to renovate a broken gate of a garden belonging to a man called Širiktu.

- Similar to Kudurrānu Ittīša-aḥbut was also responsible for sesame oil reserves (rev. l. 16-l.e. l. 2). However, the oil reserves in his household were empty, and he recommended to his colleague Kudurrānu to ask a temple official (*šatammu*) for oil.
- Ittīša-aḥbut also managed the irrigation, among others of *ḥarbu* fields, possibly with water from the Tigris (BE 17, 34: obv. l. 19-rev. l. 8). In broken context he reported about the opening and the damming up of canals (BE 17, 34: rev. ll. 9-10). According to BE 17, 34: rev. ll. 11-17 he managed *ḥarbu*-fields in the town Ḫībarītu, and organised hoisting devices for drawing water. In PBS 1/2, 15: rev. l. 2 he was supposed to constrain a body of water.
- Ittīša-aḥbut may have also been involved in managing the workforce on the lands of his lord; this may have included lessees/tenants of orchards. In BE 17, 34: 13 he paid a subordinate a *sissinnu* gardener's salary, which temple dependants and tenants received in the NB period for cultivating gardens for the temple (Janković 2013: 67, 76-77; Ries 1976: 104), and clothed him.
- Ittīša-aḥbut also transported straw (BE 17, 34: rev. ll. 17-18), which was a levy the provincial population had to pay to the provincial administration or to the grantee possessing their land. In PBS 1/2, 15: obv. ll. 4-8 he received a delivery of straw for the *dullu*-work duty of the house of his lord, transported the straw according to written orders from his lord, and began to do the *dullu*-work duty of the house of his lord.
- Ittīša-aḥbut was also conducting religious duties, i.e. prayer (PBS 1/2, 15: obv. l. 6).

6.4.6 The provinces in which Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut worked

a) The provinces in which Kudurrānu worked

In PBS 1/2, 16: rev. ll. 13-17 Kudurrānu writes that his lord travelled to Akkade and Panbali. This means that the recipient of Kudurrānu's letter, a high official in the palace of Nippur, travelled to far distant provinces, such as Akkade.

Kudurrānu collected levies in Ḫībarītu, Kār-Nabû and Ṭabtu and was active in Akkade, Āl-mašmašši, Panbalu, and Šītulu.²⁹³ Ḫībarītu, Kār-Nabû und Ṭabtu may have been located in the vicinity of each other (Nashef 1982: 157-158). Ḫībarītu was located in the northeast of Babylonia. Ur III²⁹⁴ und OB²⁹⁵ sources locate Ḫībarītu in the north of Sippar, possibly in the east of the Tigris and the region of Upī²⁹⁶.

²⁹³ In another *ardu*-letter, BE 17, 41: rev. ll. 3-4, someone seems to go from Ṭabtu to Akkade.

²⁹⁴ According to the so-called "Katastertext des Urnammu" (Nashef 1982: 125) from the Ur III period, Ḫībarītu lay at the ZUBI, a name for the river Tigris, and at the eastern border of Akšak, i.e. Upī. For Akšak and Upī see Edzard, Farber 1974: 6-7; Gragg 1963: 72; Nashef 1982: 272; Paulus 2014d: 194, fn. 467; Streck 2003-2005: 115. Upī is in the east of the Tigris, cf. Streck 2003-2005: 114.

²⁹⁵ According to an OB itinerary Ḫībarītu was the second station on the way from Sippar to Aššur; according to Hallo (1964: 57-68) it was located 50km in the north of Sippar.

²⁹⁶ In BE 17, 65 Ḫībarītu is mentioned in the same context as a provincial governor of Upī (Nashef 1982: 125). BE 17, 65: obv. l. 2 reads [...] *Ḫi-ba-ri-ti* [...], obv. l. 3 reads [...] *-ni be-lí iš-pu-¹ra¹*, obv. l. 4 reads [...] *¹ša¹-ak-na¹* URU¹ *Ṭi-pi¹-[i]*.

According to PBS 1/2, 15: rev. ll. 3-9 Ḫībarītu must have lain directly at the bank of the Tigris, since the *ḫazannu* of Ḫībarītu has a quay built at the Tigris.

Kār-Nabû is somehow connected to the canal Nār-mê-aqrūti (Mê-Kalkal in Nashef 1982: 304-305), which ran parallel to the Tigris near the province Bagdada (west side of the Tigris). On the Kudurru MNA 1: i, ll. 2-10 (Paulus 2014d: 533-534) the granted lands lay in the province Bagdada (l. 6), the meadows/land of Kār-Nabû (l. 2) and the banks of the canal Nār-mê-aqrūti (l. 3). In CT 43, 59 obv. l. 9-b.e. l. 1 Nūr-Ištar-Akkade is mentioned together with Kār-Nabû and without a personal wedge, but the determinative KI, as a source of the *šibšu*-levy.²⁹⁷

Akkade was most likely located in the Northeast of the Babylonian kingdom,²⁹⁸ in the east of the Tigris. It was probably located in or adjacent to the province Bīt-Per'e-Amurru (Paulus 2014b: 202, 204). Akkade was a royal residence in the Kassite period alongside Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu and Nippur (Paulus 2014b: 206). Bīt-Per'e-Amurru lay in the north-east of the northern Nār-šarri canal that connected Euphrates and Tigris at Sippar, and stretched northward along the Tigris as well as eastward to the east of the Tigris, where the Radānu flows from the east into the Tigris (Paulus 2014b: 201-202). To its south the provinces Babylon and Bagdada, east of the Tigris the province Upī, and to its west the province Dūr-Kurigalzu bordered on it (Paulus 2014b: 201-202; ead. 2014d: 197). Paulus (2014b: 204) notes that Akkade is not mentioned together with the province Bīt-Per'e-Amurru, although a *kudurru* (MŠ 1: i, 1-6) localises land as belonging to the town of Akkade and, in a higher category, also to the province Bīt-Per'e-Amurru. The same land is irrigated through canals connected (or fed) by the Nār-šarri and the Radānu (Paulus 2014b: 202). Paulus does not believe that Akkade was a separate province, but belonged to the province Bīt-Per'e-Amurru (Paulus 2014b: 204). However, a *šakkanakku*, a governor of Akkade, is attested on the *kudurru* MŠ 2: ii, ll. 9-10 (Paulus 2014b: 204, fn. 52), and in the Kassite letter CBS 14200: obv. l. 5 a *šakin māti* of the town (!) Akkade is mentioned (GAR KUR ^{URU}Ak-ka-di), who handled emmer and barley in a granary (note that on the rev. l. 10 the *šandabakku* is mentioned). Paulus (2014b: 200, fn. 15, 17) argues that a Kassite province has to be designated as NAM (*pīḫātu*); however the term *mātu* is also attested for “province” (Sassmannshausen 2001: 23), and in BE 17, 28: rev. ll. 7-8 the *māt Akkade* (KUR A-ga-a-dè) is mentioned. Unless the province Bīt-Per'e-Amurru, which had developed out of a former grant, did cover “scattered” areas of land like a (former) royal grant, this would localise Akkade east of it, east of the Tigris. However, as noted above, Late/NB period attestations of Akkade from Sippar place it in the lower Diyala region near Sippar (cf. Beaulieu 1989: 44-46; Durand, Joannès 1988: 51-52; Zadok 1985: 4-5). According to BE 17, 28: rev. ll. 7-8 the towns Āl-mašmašši and Šītulu were located in Māt Akkade.

²⁹⁷ Toponyms of the type *nūr*-GN, “the light of a the god ...”, are seldom attested in OB and MB Babylonia (cf. Nashef 1982: 211, although, there the toponym Āl-Nūr-Enlil may be the result of a royal grant to a man named Nūr-Enlil; see Nūr-Adad near Larsa in Groneberg 1980: 181).

²⁹⁸ cf. Gelb 1992: 124; Sommerfeld 2003: 585; Sommerfeld 2014: 151-175; Sommerfeld 2011: 94.

The town Panbalu is mentioned twice together with Akkade in PBS 1/2, 16: rev. ll. 13-17 as a destination for travelling, which Kudurrānu's lord visited. Balkan (1956: 90-91) believes Panbalu to be the Kassite writing for Babylon (cf. the attestations for Babalum and Pambalu in Nashef 1982: 47). Paulus argues that the rest of the letter does not contain Kassite terms and that it was unlikely to use a Kassite writing for a town as famous as Babylon (Paulus 2014b: 203). BE 17, 23: rev. ll. 9-11 confirms that Panbalu lay in the province or vicinity of Upī, in the east of the Tigris. Thus, Panbalu does not refer to Babylon. In the same letter, PBS 1/2, 16: obv. ll. 12-13 Kudurrānu mentions the location of a man in Kār-Bēl-mātāti, which was located between Babylon and Borsippa (Nashef 1982: 152-153).

The town Šītulu is mentioned right after Kudurrānu's involvement in giving or receiving barley loans in PBS 1/2, 16: obv. l. 20a. Šītulu is assumed to be located in northern Babylonia (Nashef 1982: 249-250). The Kassite letter HS 108 would place Šītulu at least as far north as Dūr Kurigalzu: the sender writes about the shipment of resources to Dūr Kurigalzu (obv. l. 10), levies from Kār-bēl-mātāti (obv. l. 13), and crimes in Šītulu (rev. l. 14-t.e. l. 4). OB Šītullum is located in north Babylonia, as well (Groneberg 1980: 223).

Kudurrānu also mentions the canal Patti-Enlil, which supposedly connected Dūr-Kurigalzu with Sippar; Dūr-Kurigalzu lay in the north of Sippar, as well (cf. Baqir 1944: 5; Nashef 1982: 312).

This overview makes it clear that Kudurrānu was mostly active in the provinces Akkade and Bīt-Per'e-Amurru (Āl-mašmašši, Šītulu), and, possibly, in the south of it in the provinces Bagdada or in lands bordering on the province Bagdada (Kār-Nabû) and Upī (Ḫibarītu). He apparently also managed lands in the southwest of the province Bīt-Per'e-Amurru, i.e. in the provinces Dūr-Kurigalzu and Babylon (Kār-Bēl-mātāti).

b) The provinces in which Ittīša-aḫbut worked

Ittīša-aḫbut does not mention as many towns' names as Kudurrānu in his letters. Apparently, he managed the irrigation of fields in the region of the Tigris (BE 17, 34: rev. l. 4; PBS 1/2, 15: rev. l. 7).

Ittīša-aḫbut was also active in the town Ḫibarītu (northeast of Babylonia, east of the Tigris, near Upī), a town which Kudurrānu had mentioned in BE 17, 26 and 27.

The reading of the third town's name appearing in a letter of Ittīša-aḫbut is insecure. In BE 17, 34: rev. ll. 9-10 someone may be returning (?) the town Abu (?). In the letter PBS 1/2, 22: obv. ll. 3-5, in which a man called Kudurrānu (son of Amīl-Ea) is mentioned by the sender Barmu, Barmu travels to the town Abu to collect *šibšu*-levies from the area (?).

6.4.7 Who were the officials Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut?

a) Kudurrānu no. 1, the colleague of Ittīša-aḥbut

According to Hölscher (1996: 125-126) five administrative documents, BE 14, 117b, BE 14, 168, BE 15, 160, CT 51, 32 and PBS 2/2, 95, contain a reference to a *nāqīdu* herdsman (Sassmannshausen 2001:112-113) called Kudurrānu.

In CT 51, 32: l. 13 (Kadašman-Turgu, year 10) a man called Kudurrānu receives 5;0.0.0 of barley from Kār-Baba (which lay near Nippur, cf. Nashef 1982: 152).

BE 14, 117b is a list of the *šūrubtu*, the “bringing in” (AHw: 1287b), i.e. a delivery of rams (Kudur-Enlil, year 4, Hölscher 1996: 126 reads year 7; obv. ll. 1-2). The list contains eight entries, which are entrusted with Kudurrānu (rev. ll. 4-5). In rev. l. 3 Kudurrānu, himself, appears to contribute a gall bladder of a female sheep (^{U8}*mar-tu* ¹*Ku-du-ra-ni*) to the collected amount. Sassmannshausen (2001: 187) does not list BE 14, 117b among the documents found in the area WA (Gula temple), which means it most likely came from the archives of the palace. This implies that Kudurrānu collected rams and other products of sheep and goat for the palace.

Kudurrānu is attested in obv. l. 8 of the cattle muster BE 14, 168. BE 14, 168 was probably found in the palace of Nippur (Sassmannshausen 2001: 168).²⁹⁹ Kudurrānu’s name stands in the column of the *ḫazannus* (10th column), and not in the column for herdsmen (9th column). The text is written from the 9th to the 10th column: ¹*KI-ša-aḥ-bu-ut ki-mu*³⁰⁰ ¹*Ku-du-ra-ni* [...], “Ittīša-aḥbut instead of Kudurrānu”. Ittīša-aḥbut acted as a representative or substitute for (the *ḫazannu* or equally ranking ?) Kudurrānu. Note that not all herdsmen in the 9th column are marked with *kīmu* as representatives for their respective *ḫazannus* in the 10th column.

In case Kudurrānu was a *ḫazannu* (his name stands in the *ḫazannu*-column), then it is important to note that a *ḫazannu* had functions which seem to exceed that of a town’s mayor, and he was responsible for collecting levies of several towns.³⁰¹ A *ḫazannu* could replace the provincial governor (*šakin māti*) during the measuring of land for a royal grant, administer exchanges of royal grants for the king, and

²⁹⁹ In l. 22 cows of an unlocalised (Nashef 1982: 236) place called Sūru (“ditch”, cf. CAD S: 415) are mentioned. According to Kessler (2013: 333) the toponym S/Sūru is attested multiple times in northern and southern Babylonia. In the NA period there was a Sūru at the lower Ḥabur (the centre of Bīt-Ḥalupê/Bīt-Ḥadippê), and a fortified Sūru at the Middle Euphrates (Kessler 2013: 333-334), and a MB Sūru in south-eastern Anatolia, which belonged to the Mitanni kingdom and was conquered by Adad-narāri I (Kessler 2013: 334).

³⁰⁰ *Kīmu* is usually not applied to persons, cf. Aro 1955: 97-98; CAD K: 378a-b, Sassmannshausen 2001: 154, fn. 2618, 174, fn. 3009, 175, fns. 3062, 232-233, 246, 281, 298, 389. *Kīmu* appears between several personal names in BE 14, 168: ll. 29, 30 and 44. In another cattle muster, BE 14, 99a, *kīmu* is written between personal names in the *herdsmen* and *ḫazannu* columns in two lines (ll. 38, 40).

KI could be read as *kī*, “like, as” (Aro 1955: 96-97) or *ittu* “together with, out of” Aro 1955: 100. The sumerogram MU has many Akkadian equivalents, such as *šumu*, “name”. *Kī šumi*, “as the name” or *itti šumi*, “with the name”. For legal representatives phrases such as *ana šumūšu/ana šumi ša* are attested.

³⁰¹ For the function of the *ḫazannu* see Brinkman 1976: 298; Paulus 2014d: 254 and Sassmannshausen 2001: 29-34.

even sell properties to the king. As a representative of the province he was forbidden from entering a royal grant (Paulus 2014d: 254).

BE 14, 168 dates to the 11th-13th year of a king whose name is broken off. Famous officials such as Irēmšu-Ninurta (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 190-191) and Rabâ-ša-Nergal (id. 2001: 192) are mentioned. Irēmšu-Ninurta dates to the reign of Kadašman-Turgu, his earliest attestations are the last years of Nazi-maruttaš, and he is frequently attested in Kadašman-Turgu's years 10-13 (Hölscher 1996: 107). Rabâ-ša-Nergal can be dated to the early reign of Nazi-maruttaš and in Kadašman-Turgu's reign.³⁰² Thus, Kudurrānu and Ittiša-aḫbut can be dated to the reign of Kadašman-Turgu.

Hölscher believes that Kudurrānu, a son of Bāšu, and brother of Rab-dīnša, is to be identified with the *nāqidu* Kudurrānu. This seems unlikely since Kudurrānu, the son of Bāšu, is a low-ranking *šābu*-worker, and not a high-ranking official (*nāqidu* or *ḫazannu* ?) who corresponds with the provincial administration in Nippur. Kudurrānu, the son of Bāšu, is mentioned in two expenditure lists (BE 15, 160 and PBS 2/2, 95) in which barley is distributed from the area of Isin (Namkar-ešēgi, cf. Nashef 1982: 306). Several names are the same in both lists. Some amounts are fodder for sheep and cattle, and several *iššakku* farmers are listed; they are designated as belonging to several different people. Several families (*qinnu*) are recipients (obv. ll. 5-10). Other recipients are a fuller, *dālû* water drawers, a brewer, a palace servant, and a porter. In BE 15, 160: rev. l. 7 (Kadašman-Turgu, year 12) Kudurrānu is listed at the bottom of the reverse, after a long hiatus, in smaller script than the larger entries on the obverse and on top of the reverse. Further, he is referred to as GURUŠ.'TUR', a typical sex/age classification for *šābu*-workers (cf. Tenney 2011: 17). Sassmannshausen (2001: 117, fn. 1987) believes that BE 15, 160 is a list of rations. The timespan of the expenditure in BE 15, 160 is unclear, but the amounts indicate half a year. Kudurrānu receives the monthly ration for a GURUŠ.TUR without a job designation³⁰³ (0;0.1.0 per month, measured with the large *sūtu*-vessel) for half a year 0;1.0.0 of barley. In BE 15, 160: obv. l. 1, rev. l. 2 a palace servant and a *dālû* receive 1;1.0.0 of barley each, which would be standard rations for half a year (2;2.0.0 Gur would be a ration for 12 months, measured with the large *sūtu*-vessel, cf. Paulus 2014e: 220).³⁰⁴

In PBS 2/2, 95: l. 13 (Nazi-maruttaš/Kadašman-Turgu)³⁰⁵ Kudurrānu is identified as a son of Bāšu, whose daughter is listed as recipient under the totals on the bottom of the reverse. Kudurrānu receives

³⁰² Hölscher differentiates between two Rabâ-ša-Nergals, one attested during Nazi-maruttaš's, and attested one during Kadašman-Turgu's reign (Hölscher 1996: 174).

³⁰³ Kudurrānu is designated as a GURUŠ.TUR and receives 0;1.0.0 of barley (large *sūtu*-vessel). A GURUŠ.TUR without job designation received 0;0.1.0 per month (with a job designation a GURUŠ.TUR received 0;0.1.5/0;0.2.0 of barley per month measured with the large *sūtu*-vessel, cf. Paulus 2014e: 235).

³⁰⁴ The size of the families (*qinnu*, obv. ll. 5-10) who receive barley is unclear, nor how many farm workers worked for each single *iššakku* (BE 15, 160: obv. ll. 2-5). The families in ll. 5-7 receive 4;4.0.0 Gur, which would be the rations for half a year for four GURUŠ. The *iššakku* in obv. ll. 2-4 receive 8;2.3.0 — with 8;2.0.0 they could provide for 7 GURUŠ for half a year, or even more GURUŠ.TUR or workers of another sex/age classification.

³⁰⁵ In PBS 2/2, 95: l. 13 Kudurrānu, the son of Bāšu, receives 1;1.0.0 barley. Hölscher 1996: 126 dates PBS 2/2, 95 to the reign of Nazi-maruttaš or Kadašman-Turgu. A number of entries are totalled each with towns' names such as Qaštu, Dūr-Gula and Namkar-ešēgi. Some of the expenditures are given as fodder for sheep or oxen and as seeds.

1;1.0.0, the standard rations for half a year for an adult GURUŠ. This makes it likely that PBS 2/2, 95 dates later than BE 15, 160, since Kudurrānu seems to have grown from a GURUŠ.TUR to a GURUŠ.

To sum it up: the sex/age classification (GURUŠ.TUR) and the receiving of standard rations for low class workers may be a sign which points to a lower class worker and not to a high-ranking official who wrote the Kassite letters. Thus, it is doubtful that the Kudurrānu in BE 15, 160 and PBS 2/2, 95 is the *nāqīdu* from the cattle muster BE 14, 168. Note that a second man with the name Kudurrānu, the *dālū* water drawer mentioned above, appears in both lists as recipient. This shows that the name was fairly common (cf. Hölscher 1996: 125-126).

I would like to add the Kudurrānu, who is attested in BE 14, 101 (Kadašman-Turgu, year 13) as a recipient of a barley loan with interest (UR₅.RA) from Dūr-Gula (near Isin),³⁰⁶ to the possible attestations of the sender of the Kassite letters. In BE 14, 101 a man called Adad-šar-ilāni³⁰⁷ also receives a loan. A man with the name Adad-šar-ilāni mentioned Kudurrānu in his *bēlu*-letter PBS 1/2, 34: obv. ll. 4-6 to the lower ranking Usātūša. In BE 14, 101: obv. l. 14 Kudurrānu receives 2;0.0.0 of barley. Since the barley in BE 14, 101 stems from the region of Isin Hölscher believes that this Kudurrānu is identical with the *dālū* water drawer Kudurrānu (son of Ħuzālu) from the region of Isin in BE 15, 160: l. 19 and PBS 2/2, 95: l. 45. However, since a number of names are listed which are attested as herdsmen in other lists, Kudurrānu may be identical with the herdsman Kudurrānu who wrote the Kassite letters.

A man called Kudurrānu, the sender of five Kassite letters (BE 17, 26-28; CT 43, 59; PBS 1/2, 16) and Ittīša-aḥbut, the sender of five Kassite letters (BE 17, 34-35; PBS 1/2, 15, 25, 85) are most likely to be identified with the *nāqīdu* herdsman and/or *ḥazannu*, who are listed together in BE 14, 168: obv. l. 8. This *ḥazannu*/herdsman Kudurrānu may have been mentioned in the *bēlu*-letter PBS 1/2, 34: obv. ll. 4-6 by Adad-šar-ilāni to Usātūša, and in the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 22 by Barmu, since Barmu, the sender of PBS 1/2, 22, may also be the recipient of a *bēlu*-letter NBC 10731 (found in the Ištar-temple), which pertains to the receipt of sheep herds by the *šandabakku*, i.e. puts him in the same context as Kudurrānu.

I would like to suggest another patronym for the *nāqīdu* who sent the Kassite letters: Kudurrānu, the son of Ubāru, who is attested in BE 14, 112: ll. 7-8 (Kadašman-Turgu, years 10-14).³⁰⁸ Radau (1908: 117) had already suggested it and I believe he was right for the following reasons: According to BE 14, 114: rev. l. 5 (Kadašman-Turgu, year 15) Ubāru had another son called Zākiru,³⁰⁹ and Kudurrānu mentioned

³⁰⁶ BE 14, 101: obv. l. 1 says: ŠE UR₅.RA ^{GIŠ}BAR.GAL *ša ina BÀD-dGu-la^{KI} SÚM-na*, “barley, a loan with interest, measured with the large sūtu-vessel, given out in Dūr-Gula”. Dūr-Gula lay near Isin, cf. Nashef 1982: 92.

³⁰⁷ Recipients are the herdsmen Gubbuḥu, Rabâ-ša-Nergal, Ninurta-aḥa-iddina, Napšira-Amurru, Nusku-aḥa-iddina (obv. ll. 2, 6, 7, 10, 13; Hölscher 1996: 78, 147, 153, 162, 174), a man called Adad-šar-ilāni (obv. l. 5), a gardener Nūr-Šuqamuna, and several *iššakku*-farmers.

³⁰⁸ In BE 14, 112 “barley, measured with the large *sūtu*-vessel, which out of the hand of Irēmšu-Ninurta Nusku-zākir-šumi, the son of Enlil-AL.SA₆ has repeatedly been taking (*li-te-qu-ú*):” The barley Nusku-zākir-šumi has been taking apparently consists of amounts from a number of people listed below. In ll. 7-8 Taqīšu, the son of Ninurta-bani, receives 20;0.0.0 (6000 l) out of the hand of Kudurrānu, son of Ubāru in Kadašman-Turgu, year 13.

³⁰⁹ The name Zākiru is attested for a large number of men in the Kassite period (Hölscher 1996: 234). In BE 14, 114 barley is received out of the hand of Irēmšu-Ninurta by Iqīša-Marduk (*ša ... mi-taḥ-ḥu-rù*, rev. ll. 8-11) and is apparently contributed by the listed people.

a Zākiru in his letter PBS 1/2, 16: obv. l. 12. In BE 14, 114 both Zākiru and Ittīša-aḥbut are listed.³¹⁰ The connection between Ittīša-aḥbut and Kudurrānu as well as the mention of Zākiru (PBS 1/2, 16: obv. l. 12) make it possible that this Kudurrānu, son of Ubāru, and brother of Zākiru, may have been the sender of the Kassite letters.

Further, in both lists sons of Ubāru, Zākiru and Kudurrānu contribute to a payment made by Irēmšu-Ninurta. Irēmšu-Ninurta also appears in BE 14, 168 together with Ittīša-aḥbut and Kudurrānu. He does not only appear in the herdsmen column in rev. ll. 3-6,³¹¹ but appears as recipient of a part of collected cattle (obv. l. 7) which was deduced³¹², and he distributed part of the levied cattle (rev. l. 2)³¹³, i.e. he was involved in the organisation and redistribution of cattle. Irēmšu-Ninurta is also associated with the house of Ninurta-apla-iddina, and appears in the “Archiv des Speichers” mostly in the reign of Kadašman-Turgu. He gave barley loans and disbursed barley for rations and work material for the millers and brewers, who received levies and payments (e. g. of debts) in Nippur (Sassmannshausen 2001: 76, 94, 188, 190-191). A *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina was in office under king Nazi-maruttaš (Balkan 1986: 11), possibly, after (?) Enlil-kidinnī’s son Enlil-AL.SA₆, held the office of a *šandabakku* in the year NM 8 (=1300 BC, see Paulus 2014d: 70-71; Sassmannshausen, 2001: 16). In the receipt BE 14, 84 (NM 24) Irēmšu-Ninurta (Erīmšūa) gives out barley out of the house of Ninurta-apla-iddina as *iškaru*-work material delivery. The last line of the cattle muster BE 14, 168: rev. 27 mentions Ninurta-apla-iddina, possibly implying that he had a supervising function and the cattle muster was done under his authority.

Apart from BE 14, 114 and 168 Ittīša-aḥbut appears as witness alongside Martukkū, son of Sîn-ē/iriš, in receipt of a barley loan with interest, CT 51, 28. The barley is given out by Irēmšu-Ninurta. This connects Ittīša-aḥbut potentially with Ubāru and his sons, since in both lists BE 14, 112 and 114 sons of Ubāru, Zākiru and Kudurrānu, contribute to a payments made by Irēmšu-Ninurta.

nāqidu herdsmen did not only manage cattle, but also sheep and goats (Sassmannshausen 2001: 112-113). The cattle muster BE 14, 168: obv. l. 8 which lists both Ittīša-aḥbut and Kudurrānu can be

³¹⁰ BE 14, 114: rev. l. 5 1;0.0.0 of barley come from the “Bīt-I’irti out of the hand of Rīš-Sagil, Zākiru, the son of Ubāru”. Bīt-I’irti lay between Pī-nāri and Kār-Baba (Nashef 1982: 60, 152). In the region of Kār-Baba Kudurrānu receives barley in CT 51, 32. Further, in BE 14, 114: obv. l. 6 4;0.0.0 of barley come from the place Kur/Tarrētu out of the hand of Ittīša-aḥbut (*Tar-re-ti^{KI} i-na ŠU^{KI} šá-aḥ-bu-ut^{x(x)}*).

³¹¹ BE 14, 168: rev. ll. 3-6: “20 ploughing oxen (ŠĀ.GU₄) of the 5 *ḥarbu* fields of the *iššakku* farmers” (rev. l. 3), “6 ditto of the members of the *šutāpu*-cooperative” (rev. l. 4), “19 young oxen in the ... (?) 13 in the hand of Bunna-Gula, Irēmšu-Ninurta received 6 out of the hand of Rabâ-ša-Nergal for the members of the *šutāpu*-cooperative.”

³¹² In BE 14, 168: obv. l. 7 in the columns for adult cows and 3-year-old cows, it says that Irēmšu-Ninurta will receive 10 (cows ?) including 5 as gift.

³¹³ BE 14, 168: rev. l. 2: “including 10, which they collected, including 3 cows, including 7 2-year old bulls from the gate of the muster/counting of the 1st year, out of which (?) Irēmšu-Ninurta distributed 11 to the members of the *šutāpu*-cooperative in the 11th year. And 4 ... (?) he did not take. They have been deducted.”

BE 14, 168: rev. l. 12: “including 4, which were collected, including 3 cows, including 2 of the gate of the muster/counting of the 11th year. Out of 13 for the members of the *šutāpu*-cooperative Irēmšu-Ninurta has distributed. [...] he did not take. They have been deducted.”

BE 14, 168: rev. l. 16: “[...] which were collected, including a cow, including a 2-year old bull of the gate of the muster/counting of the 11th year. Out of 6 for the *iššakku* farmers in the 1st year Irēmšu-Ninurta [...]”

connected to the letters by both men, since Ittīša-aḥbut reports in BE 17, 35 about a lack of wool for the production of fabrics, and mentions Kudurrānu. The other functions of Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut (listed above), among others building works, agricultural work, and the procurement of oil, show us that they had a high-ranking office with numerous responsibilities. In BE 17, 68: obv. l. 8 a *nāqidu* is ordered to thresh a threshing floor (NA.GAD 1 KISLAḤ *li-di-šu-nu*)³¹⁴, and other officials apparently had functions exceeding the ones we would expect based on their title. An example is the medical specialist Šumu-libši, who was responsible for building works, as well (see his Kassite letters N 969: ll. 15-17 and PBS 1/2, 71: ll. 31-34).

Following Sassmannshausen (2001: 186-187) the cattle muster BE 14, 168, and BE 14, 117b were found in the palace. Both Ittīša-aḥbut and Kudurrānu were apparently herdsmen for the house of the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina, since his name appears at the end of the cattle muster in rev. l. 27. Judging from the letters written by Kudurrānu to his lord in Nippur, he was spending time in northern provinces of the Kassite kingdom. If the cattle muster BE 14, 168 recorded business in Nippur province, then his absence and replacement with Ittīša-aḥbut may be explained by his activities in the north.

The findspot of CT 51, 32 is unknown. Since Ninurta-apla-iddina was a *šandabakku* under Nazi-maruttaš and possibly under Kadašman-Turgu, it is possible that Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut worked for his household, but also managed cattle herds of temple institutions, since contemporary herding contracts show that shepherds and herdsmen, who worked for a *ḥazannu* and ultimately for the *šandabakku*, had to deliver arrears to the clients who hired them - which could be a temple (see Kudurrānu's and Ittīša-aḥbut's colleague Irēmšu-Ninurta, for instance). The fact that Ittīša-aḥbut produced and sent *tillû*-garments for the king to his lord, who passed them on to the palace (PBS 1/2, 25) supports the assumption that both officials worked for the palace.

BE 14, 101 is listed among the documents from area WA (Sassmannshausen 2001: 186-187). In BE 14, 101 Kudurrānu is a recipient of a loan with interest (UR₅.RA) from Dūr-Gula (near Isin). It is well possible that he receives a loan from the temple institution WA, while he himself was not working for the temple. Several names in BE 14, 101 are attested as herdsmen's, which could have been colleagues of the herdsman Kudurrānu.

Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut worked for the household of their lord, who was located in the palace of Nippur. Kudurrānu writes five letters to a higher ranking official, his lord (*ardu-letter*). In three of these letters (BE 17, 26-28) he assures his lord in the greeting formula that the house, the city and (its) hinterland of his lord are in best order, in two letters he only confirms that the city and (its) hinterland belonging to his lord (CT 43, 59; PBS 1/2, 16) are in best order. This means he managed lands on which settlements, i.e. towns, were located for his lord, who could dispose over these lands. Similarly, Ittīša-aḥbut assures his lord in the greeting formula of all five of his *ardu*-letters to his lord that his household is in best order; in the greeting formula of one letter (BE 17, 34) he additionally confirms that the town

³¹⁴ cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 113.

and hinterland of his lord are in best order. In PBS 1/2, 15: obv. ll. 4-8 we learn that Ittīša-aḥbut began the *dullu*-work duty of the house of his lord (obv. l. 8 “I have seized (=begun) the *dullu*-work duty of the house of my lord”). In PBS 1/2, 15 Ittīša-aḥbut reports that he had received a delivery of straw for the *dullu*-work duty of the house of his lord and that he received the delivery during prayer, i.e. a religious ritual. The *dullu* work duty of his lord may have included work on and the provision of that temple.

According to BE 17, 35: rev. ll. 9-15 Kudurrānu seems to be stationed at the same place as Ittīša-aḥbut, since Ittīša-aḥbut wants him to organise local building activities while he, himself, leaves. Based on the letters both of them were active in provinces in the northeast of the Kassite kingdom, east and west of the Tigris. Based on the administrative documents they were also involved in transactions in the province of Nippur.

Both officials collected the *telītu* and *šibšu* levies of *eqlu*-fields and of *ḥarbu*-fields. In BE 17, 28: rev. ll. 7-10 Kudurrānu evaluates the quality of the barley on four and five *ḥarbu*-fields each in Āl-mašmašši and in Šītulu (province Akkade). Furthermore, in CT 43, 59: obv. ll. 6-8, Kudurrānu reports that they have begun levying the *telītu* revenue from the *ḥarbu* fields of the town Ṭabtu. In BE 17, 34: rev. l. 7 Ittīša-aḥbut mentions the irrigation of three *ḥarbu* fields in broken context, and the payment of a *sissinnu*,³¹⁵ a “remuneration in kind”, for three *ḥarbu* fields in the town Ḫibarītu to a servant of Ittīša-aḥbut (BE 17, 34: rev. ll. 11-14). *Ḥarbu*-fields were usually cultivated by *iššakku*-farmers for a lord, i.e. provincial governor, the king or another household and had to pay *šibšu*- and *miksu*-levies to their lord (Paulus 2014d: 173). Thus, it makes sense that Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut collected the *šibšu* levies from farmers cultivating the land of their lord.

In PBS 1/2, 15: rev. ll. 3-9 Ittīša-aḥbut mentions *šābu-workers* belonging to another person, Nusku-karābi-išme, whom someone, possibly his lord, gave to a *ḥazannu* (of Ḫibarītu). We would assume that the *ḥazannu* of Ḫibarītu was under the authority of his own provincial governor (*šakin māti*), and not the lord of Ittīša-aḥbut and Nusku-karābi-išme in Nippur. However, as discussed above, Nusku-karābi-išme may have been the *ḥazannu* of Babylon attested in Gurney 1949: 132-133. If this is the case, then it is noteworthy that both *ḥazannus* of Babylon and Ḫibarītu were following the orders of the governor of another province, the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina of Nippur. It is also possible that the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina, for whom Ittīša-aḥbut worked, had a grant (Paulus 2014d: 174-175) which included Ḫibarītu, and could dispose of the workforce there and assign them to subordinate officials (such as a *ḥazannu*).

³¹⁵ In the NB period dependent gardeners of an institution received the “gardener’s salary”, the *sissinnu*, according to the size and type of land they cultivated. A *sissinnu* payment also appears in some types of orchard-lease contracts and is received by the tenants, as well (Janković 2013: 67, 76-77; Ries 1976: 104). This means that the recipients were either dependants working for the temple, or “independent” lessees for whom the temple (or a NB rent farmer) was a lessor.

Kudurrānu's and Ittīša-aḥbut's letters thus illustrate how a household in Nippur – in their case most likely a household belonging to a provincial official of Nippur province, possibly the *šandabakku*, had fields and orchards in distant provinces. As Paulus argued, grants of the king were given in the border regions of the Kassite kingdom. In this case the land of Kudurrānu's and Ittīša-aḥbut's lord lay in Bīt-Per'e-Amurru and Akkade. Important officials such as the *šandabakku* were most likely grantees and sent their officials to manage their lands in distant provinces.

It is unknown whether Ninurta-apla-iddina also held the religious offices of the *nēšakku*-priest and the *pašīšū*-priest. If he did, he may also have had the authority to manage temple lands in distant provinces. Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut were also responsible for the provision of cultic equipment, including the “tools of the flesh”, *ginū*-offerings (BE 17, 28: rev. ll. 1-6, rev. ll. 12-13, i.e. ll. 1-2), and conduct prayer (PBS 1/2, 15: obv. ll. 4-6).

b) Ittīša-aḥbut in Kassite administrative sources

Hölscher identifies the *nāqīdu* Ittīša-aḥbut, who represents Kudurrānu in the cattle muster BE 14, 168: obv. l. 8, with Ittīša-aḥbut in BE 14, 114 (both discussed above). This Ittīša-aḥbut is also attested as a witness in the receipt of a barley loan with interest, CT 51, 28: obv. l. 7. Ittīša-aḥbut, the son of Amurru-iddina, appears with another witness, Martukkū (no. 2), son of Šin-ē/īriš.

obv. 1	4;0.0.0 ŠE ^{GIŠ} BÁN.GAL	4;0.0.0 Gur of barley, measured with the large <i>sūtu</i> -vessel,
obv. 2	<i>i-na Taḥ-la-aš^{KI}</i>	out of the town Taḥlaš
obv. 3	<i>i-na ŠU^IARḤUŠ-šú-^dNin-nurta</i>	out of the hand of Irēmšu-Ninurta
obv. 4	^I BÚR-ra- ^d Nusku <i>iḥ-hur</i>	Napšira-Nusku has received.
obv. 5	<i>i-na U₄.BURU₁₄ i-nam-din-ma</i>	On the day of the harvest he will give back, and
obv. 6	^{NA4} KIŠIB-šú <i>i-ḥe-pi</i>	the sealed tablet he will break.
rev. 1	IGI ^I KI-šá-aḥ-bu-ut DUMU ^I ^d KUR-ŠÚM-na	Witness: Ittīša-aḥbut, son of Amurru-iddina,
rev. 2	IGI ^I ^d En-líl-šú-lu-li	Witness: Enlil-šulūli,
rev. 3	DUMU ^I Be-la-ni	son of Bēlānu,
rev. 4	IGI DUB.SAR ^I Mar-tu-ki	Witness: the scribe Martukkū,
rev. 5	DUMU ^I ^d UTU-URU ₄ -iš	the son of Šamaš-ē/īriš,
rev. 6	^{ITU} ŠE.KIN.KU ₅ U ₄ -7-KAM MU-10-KAM	The month <i>addaru</i> (12 th month), the 7 th day, the 10 th year
rev. 7	<i>Ka-dāš-man-tūr-gu</i>	of (king) Kadašman-Turgu.
rev. 8	^{NA4} KIŠIB ^I BÚR-ra- ^d Nusku	The seal of Napšira-Nusku.
t.e. 1	<i>gab-ri</i> ^{NA4} KIŠIB-šú	the copy of his sealed tablet.

Under Nazi-maruttaš different men with the name Ittīša-aḥbut are attested: a brewer (cf. BE 14, 60³¹⁶, 62³¹⁷, 65³¹⁸, BE 15, 48³¹⁹) and an *iššakku* farmer (BE 14, 57³²⁰; Hölscher 1996: 111). These documents stem from the area WA in Nippur (Sassmannshausen 2001: 18-187).

c) Kudurrānu no. 2: CT 43, 60

The sender of the *aḥu*-letter CT 43, 60 called Kudurrānu may be a different Kudurrānu than the sender of the *ardu*-letters. Neither the content nor the prosopography show any connection to the *nāqīdu* or *ḥazannu* of BE 14, 168: obv. l. 8. The type of the *aḥu*-letter implies that this Kudurrānu had a higher rank in the hierarchy than the sender of the five *ardu*-letters. However, it is possible that Kudurrānu advanced ranks and wrote this letter later in his career. Further, it is possible that the *nāqīdu* Kudurrānu was also responsible for donkeys.

In a list of collected seed (*isru*) from Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30, 64) Kudurrānu, the son of Šarriqu, grandson of Amīlūta,³²¹ is listed together with his father in rev. ll. 1-3. In the same list a man called Kuppupu pays his *isru* as well (rev. l. 13). Kuppupu is the name of the donkey thief in Kudurrānu's letter CT 43, 60. The appearance of both names in the list may be coincidental. Kudurrānu, son of Amīlūtu, is the seller of land of the *hurādu*-military unit of the *entu*-priestesses in the land purchase contract MUN 10 (Kudur-Enlil's accession year) from Nippur (Paulus 2014d: 349-352; Sassmannshausen 2001: 213-216), i.e. 20 years younger than the *nāqīdu* Kudurrānu.

d) Kudurrānu no. 3: UM 29-16-241

The name Kudurrānu appears three times in the possible letter or legal document UM 29-16-241, in which a man called Arad-Marduk interacts with Kudurrānu concerning the *niksu* share (obv. ll. 4, 7-8), which was an amount of barley for the *ḥazannu*, or a levy which the *ḥazannu* collected (Sassmannshausen 2001: 175). Since the text presumably dates to Kaštiliaš IV (cf. obv. l. 11: [... LUGAL].E ^dKaš-til-ia-[šu]), the Kudurrānu in UM 29-16-241 cannot be identified with a man of the same name in two administrative lists from Nippur, BE 14, 151 and BE 15, 73, in which Kudurrānu is

³¹⁶ BE 14, 60: expenditure list, in obv. l. 4 the brewer Ittīša-aḥbut receives 5;0.0.0 of barley as *iškaru*-work material delivery.

³¹⁷ BE 14, 62: expenditure from Dunni-aḥi of Enlil-mukīn-aplī; in rev. l. 5 the brewer Ittīša-aḥbut receives 4;0.0.0 of barley as *iškaru*-work material delivery.

³¹⁸ BE 14, 65: expenditure from Dunni-aḥi which Apil-Addu brought; in obv. l. 6 Ittīša-aḥbut receives 5;0.0.0 of barley as *iškaru*-work material delivery (in the following l. 7 the house of Innannu is a recipient).

³¹⁹ BE 15, 48: Ittīša-aḥbut receives barley from Qaqqadānu Šūzub-Marduk, and Ilīšu-ibni (obv. ll. 1-6) which is totalled in obv. l. 7 as the *iškaru*-work material delivery of the brewers. Another amount from Ugišia-Saḥ is added (obv. l. 8) and all entries totalled again (obv. l. 9). Rev. l. 1 tells us that all deliveries come from Dūr-Nusku, which lay near Nippur (Nashef 1982: 95-96).

³²⁰ BE 14, 57: expenditure of barley from the *telītu*-revenue of Zarāt-Karkara to *iššakku*-farmers, to be used for rations to draft-oxen and *ikkaru* ploughmen.

³²¹ Šarriqu, the son of Amīlūtu, appears in the note CUSAS 30, 233 which records a partial repayment of grain (cf. van Soldt 2015: 307).

listed once *kī Arad-Marduk*, “instead of (?)” (or KI as *itti*, “with, from” ?) Arad-Marduk³²² among *iššakku*-farmers (BE 14, 151), and in the same lists as the *nikis karê*, the *niksu* share (at the end of BE 15, 73), since both lists date to the reigns of Nazi-maruttaš and/or Kadašman-Turgu, i.e. at least 50 year earlier.

e) Other Kudurrānus in Kassite administrative sources

The name Kudurrānu is attested for a number of different men in 17 Kassite texts from Nippur (Hölscher 1996: 125-126), and 11 texts from Dūr-Enlilē (van Soldt 2015: 552) as well as on the *kudurru* MŠ 4 (Meli-Šipak, 1181-1167): i, l. 20 from the Isin II period. No contextual connection to the writer of a Kassite letter can be made.

³²² BE 14, 151 lists personal names. According to Sassmannshausen (2001: 430) some of the listed persons are *iššakku*-farmers (rev. ll. 6, 19), oil pressers (rev. l. 14), and *ikkaru* ploughmen (rev. l. 16). Some names have an *a-na te-mi* after their name (obv. l. 16, rev. l. 9). In obv. l. 5 ¹*Ku-du-ra-nu ki* ¹ARAD-^dAMAR.UTU, “Kudurrānu instead of Arad-Marduk” is listed. Hölscher dates BE 14, 151 to the reign of Nazi-maruttaš or Kadašman-Turgu.

7. Conclusion

Let me now outline the main findings of my work:

It is not the case that all Kassite letters were sent to the king, as Biggs (1965: 95-96) proposed. Instead, the *šandabakku*, who was the head of the household of Nippur province, was often the recipient: first, more than 50% of the *aḫu*-letters were sent to men, whom we can clearly identify as *šandabakkus*.

Second, the recipient of a number of *ardu*-letters, an anonymous “lord”, can in some cases be identified with the *šandabakku*, since *bēlu*-letters from known *šandabakkus* to individuals who had sent *ardu*-letters (about the same or similar themes) to their “lord” are preserved. An example is the correspondence between the healers Šumu-libši and Bēlu-muballīt with the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī, or Imguru and the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. In both cases *bēlu*-letters from the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī to Bēlu-muballīt, Imguru, and Šumu-libši have been preserved.

Third, a number of *bēlu*-letters were sent from men whom we can identify as *šandabakkus* (such as the letters from Ninurta-apla-iddina to Innannu); they were copies of sent letters, drafts or unsent letters stored in the palace of Nippur.

Fourth, three *šarru*-letters from the king to the *šandabakku* were found in the Kassite palace of Nippur.

Fifth, the archive of the *šandabakku* from the early NB period has been found in the same area.

However, not all Kassite letters found in the palace of Nippur were sent to or from a *šandabakku*. There are references to the *šandabakku* as a third actor in some *aḫu*- and *ardu*-letters. Further, the names of the senders of *bēlu*-letters and of the recipients of less than 50% of the *aḫu*-letters are not those of a *šandabakku* known from legal and administrative texts or seal inscriptions.

However, apart from Babylon and Dūr-Kurigalzu, Nippur was a royal residence (as were Akkade, Ešnunna, Larsa, and Ur), and the “coming up” and “down” of the king and of the crown prince is attested. The *arād šarri* (“the coming down of the king”), the *ele šarri* (“the coming up of the king”), and the *arād mār šarri* (“the coming down of the prince”) to Nippur is mentioned in Nippurean *aklu*-texts (Nobuaki 2018: 115, 244-249). Thus, we cannot exclude the possibility that some submissive *ardu*-letters to a “lord” were received by the king, when he was present in the palace in Nippur.

As opposed to the OB letters, Kassite letters were mostly official correspondence, and did not concern personal, mundane matters. However, three family letters found in the palace document that the recipients, who were office holders in the palace, did not separate their familial issues from their office.

In this thesis 310 Kassite letters from Nippur, which are not stored in Istanbul, and four letters stored in Istanbul, i.e. a total of 314 Kassite letters, have been analysed. Only an extremely small number of these are family letters, *šarru*-letters and international letters (3 letters each).

As seen above in chapter “3.1.5 The Kassite address formula”, the about two thirds (218 out of 314) of the Kassite letters were *ardu*-letters from subordinates to their lords in the palace in Nippur. The

subordinates worked in the households of the recipients and confirmed the status of the house, town, hinterland and other assets belonging to their lord, such as cattle, sheep or goats. The identity of the lord is often unclear. As seen above in chapter “5.2 Letters to and from the *šandabakkus*”, it may have been the *šandabakku* in many cases, as he was the head of the provincial administration in the palace of Nippur.

27 Kassite letters out of 314 were *bēlu*-letters, i.e. drafts, unsent letters, or copies of letters sent from officials of the provincial administration in Nippur to their subordinates outside of the palace, and to representatives of other institutions, for example, to temple officials.

29 Kassite letters out of 314 were *aḫu*-letters, which were sent from (nearly) equally ranking officials of the Kassite kingdom to officials belonging to the provincial administration of Nippur. Their address- and greeting formula is reminiscent of the letters between equal kings of the Amarna correspondence. 14 out of 17 *aḫu*-letters, which were addressed to a known *šandabakku*, came from other provinces, including Dilmun and Dēr. They show that the *šandabakku* corresponded with the highest elite of the Kassite kingdom from far distant provinces, and not only the main residencies Babylon and Dūr-Kurigalzu. Some *aḫu*-letters were probably sent by temple or royal officials, since they concern religious rituals involving the king.

7.1 The provincial administration according to Kassite letters

As shown above in chapter “5.2 Letters to and from the *šandabakkus*”, the letters by and from the *šandabakkus*, which were found in the palace in Nippur, tell us the following:

The *šandabakku* was not always stationed in the palace in Nippur, but travelled within the Kassite kingdom (to Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Sippar or Upī, for instance).

The *šandabakku*’s subordinates sent letters to him about his house, town, hinterland, cattle, sheep, singers, and chariots. It is not always clear whether these properties and assets were provincial land, his royal grant, or temple lands (see above “4. The ‘Sitz im Leben’ of the Kassite letters”).

It seems that the *šandabakku* managed the households of temples. Several *ardu*-letters seem to imply that his subordinates referred to the temples’ assets as those of their lord’s household.

The subordinate in PBS 13, 76: obv. l. 4 reports about the status of the “the town and the temple”, for which he and his lord were, apparently, responsible.

In the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 16: obv. ll. 4-5, the sender reports about the well-being of the sheep and cattle of the temple (*ša ili*) and the lord (*ša bēlīja*). It is unclear if the animals belonging to each household, i.e. that of the temple or of the lord, were separated.

Similarly, in UM 29-15-317: obv. l. 6, and UM 29-13-681: obv. ll. 4-5 the subordinates report that “[t]he temple and the house of my lord are in best order”. Both letters stem from the context of a temple. The rest of the letter UM 29-15-317 concerns the correct conduct of rites, and the quality of the beer and

bread for offering, and the behaviour of the governor of Bīt-Sîn in a temple. In the damaged letter UM 29-13-681 several cultic buildings are mentioned, including the temple of the Sebetu (and a caravanserai).

Nusku-karābi-išme, perhaps, the *hazannu* of Babylon,³²³ PBS 1/2, 43: obv. ll. 3-4, reports about the collection of revenues from Babylon, Pān-šēri, and in the Diyala region and provides for a temple, which his lord manages (see below “7.2.3 The *pīhatus* in the vicinity of Nippur”).

obv. 3	<i>a-na</i> EDIN URU ^{K1} É DINGIR ù É <i>be-lí-<ia> šul-mu</i>	Regarding the hinterland, the town, the temple, and the house of my lord: they are in best order.
obv. 4	<i>šu-ru-ub-ti</i> É DINGIR <i>ma-la i-ba-áš-šu-ú šal-mat</i>	The (my?) income of the temple, as much as exists, is in best order.

In the *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 52: obv. ll. 8-9 the sender receives two *harbu*-fields of “the land of the temple of Ninurta-apla-iddina of the town Ālu-ša-Girsi” (see the translation and discussion above under “5.2.4 Ninurta-apla-iddina”).

It remains unclear whether the “temple and the house of my lord” in these examples means that the temple was equally in the possession of the lord as his house. Since both houses and cattle “of the temple” (*ša ilī*) and “of my lord (*ša bēlīja*) are listed next to each other, it is possible that both households and their assets were explicitly separated (either). In any case, the letters show that the *šandabakku* of Nippur and the officials, who worked for him, supervised temple land, and his subordinates reported to him and his subordinates in the palace of Nippur.

The *šandabakku* was also responsible for the correct conduction of religious rites and preparation of offerings to the gods (see the *ardu*-letters Biggs JCS 19: obv. ll. 2-3; UM 29-15-317: obv. l. 4, HS 112, WZJ 8, pl. ix-x, in which inferior officials assure their respective lords that “(regarding the temples), the bread is good, the beer is sweet, the rites are (conducted) correct(ly)/are ready for the inspection of my lord”), which were important to keep the cosmic and social order of the Kassite kingdom in line. In Mesopotamian tradition this was the task of the king, who would, for example, restore the divine order as legislator (Neumann 2003: 61-63). In hymns to gods the social order, the correct conduction of rites and the preparation of the offerings is controlled by deities, such as Nanše or Ḫendursaga (see, for example, the hymns Nanše A or Ḫendursaga A). This important task of the *šandabakku* supports the assumption that the *šandabakku* had the second most important position in the Kassite kingdom after that of the king.

³²³ It is also possible that Nusku-karābi-išme was a temple official, who collected levies from temple lands in several provinces, or that he was a royal official who collected revenues from several provinces for the king and reported to the *šandabakku* in Nippur about it (Nashef 1992: 155).

7.2 Letters from the vicinity of Nippur

The size of Nippur province is unclear (cf. Paulus 2014d: 196).

“[I]n the immediate vicinity of Nippur (i.e., within 15 km of the city) the settled area rose by 54% compared to the Old Babylonian period. The growth was especially marked in the smallest category of settlements, villages between 0.1 and 2.0 hectares tripling in number and almost doubling their proportion of the total settled hectareage. Particularly to the immediate south and southeast around Nippur new settlements sprang up” (Brinkman 2017: 14)

The map of the area around Nippur, CBS 13865, shows land belonging to the provincial administration of Nippur province, i.e. land of the palace (A.ŠÀ É.GAL)³²⁴, the town Ḫamru and the swamps of Ḫamru (URU, AMBAR), and *ludû* fields. *Ludû* fields were cultivated by the population of a province as part of their *ilku*-duty (Paulus 2014d: 166, 204).

7.2.1 The north of Nippur

In 12 *ardu*-letters (listed above under “a) North of Nippur”, with the possible addition of five letters listed under “ab) Dūr-Enlil or Dūr-Enlilē?”) the subordinates of the *šandabakku* and of other provincial officials report to their lord(s) in Nippur from settlements in the north of Nippur (Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ekur, Dimtu, Kār-Nusku, and Āl-Irrē). According to Murai (2018: 29-31, 244-249), these settlement in the north are barely attested in the archives from the area WA (the “Archiv des Speichers”, i.e. the Gula temple).

The letters from the north of Nippur concern the irrigation, *tamirtu*- and *ugāru*-land, the building of weirs and the digging of canals, as well as the summoning and sending out *šābu*-work crews and ploughmen to different towns. One provincial official reports to his lord in Nippur that the lands of the town Āl-irre were subject to the *ilku*-duty of *iššakku*-farmers, but one *harbu*-field and a city gate was exempt from levies (PBS 1/2, 20). Since we have *ardu*-letters with reports from subordinates from these areas found in the palace, these lands were, perhaps, managed by the provincial administration of Nippur (the archive from area WB).

7.2.2 The south of Nippur

While the *ardu*-letters from settlements in the north of Nippur imply that these areas were managed by the provincial administration of Nippur, the south, attested in documents from the area WA (Murai 2018: 29-31, 244-249) may have (partially ?) belonged to the temple institution in area WA (the Gula temple). The *šandabakku* and other provincial officials wrote *bēlu*-letters to representatives of other institutions (royal or temple administration), who were active in the south of Nippur. Examples are Innannu and Martukkû, the temple officials from the temple in area WA in Nippur (see above “b) South of Nippur”). These *bēlu*-letters concern the collection of levies and the expenditure of barley in settlements in the

³²⁴ The land of the palace is called *niširtu*, a “reduction”; the size points to a former grant, cf. Paulus 2014d: 202.

south of Nippur (for example, Āl-Šēlibi, Karû, Murai 2018: 244-249), and the processing of the collected harvest.

There is also one *aḫu*-letter (CT 44, 67) from Parak-māri, which according to Nashef (1982: 215) lay in the south of Nippur (the letter is both from Parak-māri and the *pīḫatu* Dūr-Sîn-muballit), which was sent to Iddin-Enlil/Iddinīja (possibly to the same recipient as PBS 1/2, 74, Iddīja). It is unclear which office the apparently high-ranking “brother” in the palace in Nippur had. The sender requests barley in exchange for sickles, promises to fulfil his *dullu*-work duty, and sends a bucket of apples as a present. Since *aḫu*-letters were exchanged between equal (“*aḫūka*”) and, possibly, distinct households, this could imply that the sender sent the letter from lands of a temple household in the south of Nippur, and there was an exchange of resources between both households.

7.2.3 The *pīḫatus* in the vicinity of Nippur

It is not always clear whether the subordinates report about provincial lands, a royal grant to their lord or to a temple, or even the royal domain. Thus, it is difficult to decide, whether letters from the vicinity of Nippur reported about provincial lands belonging to Nippur province. There are *pīḫatus* (“provinces” or “areas of responsibility/administrative units”) which directly bordered on Nippur’s city wall: Bīt-Bēri, Bīt-Sîn, Dūr-Sîn-muballit, Lā-nibâš, Pān-šēri, Sali-..., and *pīḫatu elītu* (Nashef 1992: 151-159; Paulus 2014d: 196). They may have been sub-units of Nippur province, managed by *bēl pīḫātis* (Paulus 2014d: 196), or independent provinces (Nashef 1992: 151-159).

A text found in Nippur (PBS 13, 78, presumably in the palace, area WB, cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 187) lists 118 “filled” *ḫarbu*-fields and canals used to irrigate them, belonging to towns which are attributed to a number of smaller towns/settlements in the *pīḫatu* Pān-šēri (Nashef 1992: 152-153). The fact that such a list was kept in Nippur implies that the provincial administration in Nippur controlled the listed *ḫarbu*-fields. It is unclear, however, whether this listed land represents Pān-šēri in its entirety.

In PBS 1/2, 18 the sender lists the *telītu*-revenues of a temple (obv. l. 4: *te-lit* ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *ša* DINGIR.MEŠ), followed by an amount of the *pi-ḫat* É-^d30 [...] (obv. l. 5), of IGI EDIN^{rKI1} (obv. l. 6), and of the *pi-ḫat* É-DANNA^{rKI1} (plus another amount, cf. obv. l. 7) each. Obv. l. 8 says PAP ... *te-lit* ŠE.GIŠ.Ì [...] (?), “a total of of the *telītu*-revenues of the sesame [...] (?)”, perhaps to be emended “[*ša* DINGIR.MEŠ (*ù* ?)]”, [of the temples (and ?)]. This is followed by a second total in obv. l. 9: ^r*nap*¹-*ḫar pi-ḫa-a-ti* ^r*x x*¹ [...], “the total of the provinces [...]”.³²⁵ The *telītu*-revenues were the “sum of all agricultural revenues yearly due to the central administration” (including the *šibšu*-levy). The administration of Nippur province was apparently involved in its collection, and the *telītu* was destined for the royal government (Devecchi 2020: 220-221).

³²⁵ See Nashef 1992: 156 for a calculation of the size of the land based on its yield.

It is unclear whether each listed amount came from *telītu*-revenues of temple lands in each of the three listed *pīḫatus*. However, only the first amount is attributed to the temples (obv. l. 4). The rest of the amounts is attributed to two *pīḫatus* and *pān šēri* (perhaps the *pīḫatu* of that name). This implies that a) the provincial administration in Nippur managed and collected the *telītu*-revenues, i.e. the sum of levies, from the yield of sesame in Bīt-Sîn, Pān šēri, and Bīt-Bēri, and of temple land³²⁶ (?), and that b) these *pīḫatus* were sub-units of Nippur province, because their revenues were reported to the provincial administration in the palace of Nippur in this letter. Further, in obv. l. 4 the sesame revenues of the temples are listed before the exact amount in volume measures, whereas in obv. ll. 5-7 the amounts of the three *pīḫatus* are given first, followed by the origin of their sesame. This gives obv. ll. 5-7 the character of a list, and obv. l. 4 the character of a heading. This would imply that the sesame from the three *pīḫatus* originated from temple lands within the three *pīḫatus*.

The sender bears the name Ninurta-rēšū[a/šu]. A man bearing the name Ninurta-rēšūšu was the *ḫazannu* of Nippur under Šagarakti-Šuriaš. As a *ḫazannu* of Nippur the responsibilities of Ninurta-rēšūšu may have included the collection of the levies from the sub-units in the province of Nippur. An undated *šandabakku* Ninurta-rēšūa is attested in the Kassite letter HS 112: obv. l. 17. However, PBS 1/2, 18 is a report by a subordinate to his lord — as a *šandabakku* Ninurta-rēšūa would presumably only had the king above himself in the hierarchy. The collection of the revenues from sub-units of Nippur province is appropriate for the office of a *ḫazannu* or a *šandabakku* of Nippur. However, Paulus (2014d: 196) believes that the sender was Ninurta-rēšūšu, the *šatammu* of Enlil of Nippur under Nazi-maruttaš/Kadašman-Turgu, who later became a *nēšakku* priest.³²⁷ This would place the collection of revenues in the context of the temple administration, and it would mean that Ninurta-rēšūšu collected the sesame revenues from temple lands in Bīt-Sîn, Pān šēri, and Bīt-Bēri. However, since only the first amount is attributed to temples, it seems more likely that the sender listed the sesame-revenues from provincial lands belonging to Nippur province.

The sender of another *ardu*-letter, PBS 1/2, 43, Nusku-karābī-išme reports about the town, hinterland, temple and house of his lord, and about the income of a temple (see “c) PBS 1/2, 15” below).³²⁸ The collected levies are used for the *naptanu*, a collective meal with a cultic aspect (cf. Sassmannshausen 2001: 327-328), and for rations. Nusku-karābī-išme apparently provided for a temple and also managed the collections of levies for the temple. Provincial officials collected levies for temples. Further, the sender had sent the *telītu*-revenues of six towns (obv. l. 6: *te-lit* 6 URU.MEŠ) to his lord, and he managed the collection of the *šibšu*- and *telītu*-revenues from Pān-šēri, Babylon and four town on the banks of the Diyala (PBS 1/2, 43: rev. ll. 14-19: *ṭup-pi te-li-ti ša* IGI-EDIN ù KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI} *a-na be-*

³²⁶ However, royal grants to temples should have been exempt from the collection of levies by the province.

³²⁷ Hölscher 1996: 158. The *šatammu* was the son (descendant) of Nūr-Dilbat and grandson of Enlil-bāni, who were descendants of the *šandabakku* Amīlātu (Sassmannshausen 2001: 16; Sollberger 1968: 192-193). Sollberger (1968: 192) dates him in the reign of Nazi-maruttaš or after.

³²⁸ We know from another letter by Ittīša-aḫbut, PBS 1/2, 15, that a man called Nusku-karābī-išme delivered straw to Ittīša-aḫbut, who worked for the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina (see below “c) PBS 1/2, 15”, cf. BE 14, 168). It is possible that his *ardu*-letter PBS 1/2, 43 was sent to the *šandabakku* as well.

li-ia ul-te-bi-la 4 URU.MEŠ ša GÚ-¹⁷DUR.ÙL *i-šab-bu-šu-ma te-ma a-na be-li-ia a-šap-pa-ra*, “I have sent a tablet about the *telītu*-revenue³²⁹ of Pān-šēri and Babylon to my lord. They are collecting the *šibšu*-levy of our towns of the shore of the Diyala. I am going to send a report to my lord”).

If Nusku-karābī-išme was a temple-official, it would explain why he collected revenues from temple land in three different provinces (Babylon, Pān-šēri, and in the Diyala region), and reports about the temple and house of his lord (obv. l. 3) and the income of the temple (obv. l. 4). However, a Nusku-karābī-išme is attested as a *hazannu* of Babylon in a document from Dūr-Kurigalzu (cf. Gurney 1949: 132-133; Hölscher 1996: 164). This office would explain why he was responsible for the collection of levies from the province Babylon. It does not explain, why the *hazannu* of Babylon reported to a lord in Nippur province, and why he managed the collection of levies in Pān-šēri,³³⁰ a subunit of the province of Nippur — unless the *šandabakku* of Nippur had indeed supraregional powers and the provincial officials of other provinces reported to him. A *hazannu* of one province (Babylon) could apparently collect levies in several provinces: in Pān-šēri (possibly Nippur), and in the region of the river Diyala. Nashef (1992: 155) suggests that Nusku-karābī-išme worked for the royal administration. Unfortunately, the fact that the official Nusku-karābī-išme could collect levies in three different provinces — either for the supraregional royal administration or a temple — in the letter PBS 1/2, 43 does not help us determine whether Pān-šēri was part of Nippur province.

In the fragmented letter PBS 1/2, 78 the provinces *pīḫatu elītu* and Bit-bēri are mentioned. In obv. ll. 1’-3’ barley or emmer of the towns Āl-Enlil-ēpir and Āl-Ilī-rabi followed by 500 Gur barley in/out of a province (*pīḫātu*) are mentioned in broken context. Then the sender demands that his lord shall write to him, and that “[t]hey shall give to me 200;0.0.0 Gur from the *pīḫatu elītu* and 200;0.0.0 Gur of emmer from Bit-bēri. The province(s) must not rise!” (obv. l. 4-rev. l. 2: 2 ME *i-na* NAM AN.TA ù 2 ME ZÍZ.AN.‘NA’ *i-na* É-DANNA^{K1} *lid-di-nu-nim-ma pi-ḫa-tu₄ la il-li*). If he receives the barley and emmer the sender promises to work on a quay of a canal (rev. ll. 3-6). Since the letter was found in the palace of Nippur, this implies that the provincial administration of Nippur was responsible for the requested barley and emmer from *pīḫatu elītu* and Bit-bēri, which could imply that these *pīḫatus* were not independent provinces, but sub-units of Nippur province.

PBS 13, 78 and the *ardu*-letters PBS 1/2, 18, 43 and 78 support the assumption that Pān šēri, Bit-bēri, Bit-Sîn, *pīḫatu elītu* were sub-units of the province of Nippur. The fact that Ninurta-rēšūšu collected levies from sub-units of his province would suit a function as a *hazannu* of Nippur.

³²⁹ Ellis believes that “the estimates and assessments had probably been determined locally before a tablet giving the total expected amount was sent on to the headquarters” (Ellis 1976: 127). Devecchi (2020: 211) does not believe that the tablet contained estimates before the harvest had been conducted. Note that the amounts of *telītu*-revenues in PBS 1/2, 18 are much smaller than the legible totals; perhaps expected levies did not match the actual yield. However, even if the “tablet” PBS 1/2, 18 contained estimates, it still would have been sent after the harvest.

³³⁰ Nashef (1992: 155) points out that the *pīḫatu* Pān-šēri must have had an equally important status as the province Babylon.

The fact that Nusku-karābī-išme collected levies from Babylon would be appropriate for a *hazannu* of Babylon. PBS 1/2, 43 implies that a) *šandabakku* of Nippur, who had the highest office in the Kassite kingdom after the king, managed the supraregional collection of levies from several provinces for the king, and that b) *hazannus* operated across provincial borders, and could also collect levies from other provinces.

However, the senders of PBS 1/2, 18 and 43 may have been temple officials — Ninurta-rēšūšu may have been the *šatammu* of Enlil of Nippur under Nazi-maruttaš/Kadašman-Turgu, who later became a *nēšakku* priest, and Nusku-karābī-išme managed the offerings and the income of a temple — who collected levies from temple lands in different provinces. The involvement of the *šandabakku* and other palace officials from Nippur in distant provinces can be explained with his religious offices, which may have comprised the management of a royal grant to a temple in other provinces. His own grants may have been located in distant provinces, as well (see the discussion above in “6.3 Banâ-ša-Marduk”). This explanation may be applied to the reports about the reports from *pīhatus* in Nippur’s vicinity, too: the temple functionaries may have reported to the *šandabakku* in his function as a temple official about the revenue of temple lands in Bīt-Sîn, Bīt-Bēri, and *Pān šēri*.

At least three *aḫu*-letters were sent from the *pīhatus* which bordered on Nippur’s city walls: BE 17, 92 (from Pī-nāri), PBS 1/2, 74 (from Pān-šēri), and CT 44, 67 (see above “7.2.2 The south of Nippur”).

In PBS 1/2, 74 the sender asks his “brother” in Nippur to send a tablet listing overseers of the household of a man called Ša-ili-banâ, who had failed to send a report (*tēmu*) about his overseers. The sender had spotted the tablet in tablet-baskets in the rear part of a building in Nippur, at the place of the recipient of the letter (perhaps, the palace or the house of Ša-ili-banâ ?). Among others, a donkey shepherd with the name Ša-ili-banâ is attested under Kurigalzu II (Hölscher 1996: 200). Since the recipient in the palace of Nippur had the tablet listing the overseers of Ša-ili-banâ, it is likely that Ša-ili-banâ’s household was connected to the provincial administration in Nippur, either as a subunit of the provincial administration, or a temple household (not a “private” land grant).

PBS 1/2, 74 tells us that a high official in the *pīhātu* Pān-šēri had an interest in certain overseers (of workers) on a list, which was stored in Nippur. While this may be interpreted as a sign that Pān-šēri was controlled by Nippur, we know from the other Kassite letters that work crews from various provinces were sent to distant provinces. Thus, a work crew from Nippur may have been sent to an “independent” province Pān-šēri or to another household within Pān-šēri.

It is likely that the sender of the *aḫu*-letter, BE 17, 92 (see above “e) An *aḫu*-letter to Enlil-kidinnī”), was a royal official, since he writes that he shall collect levies for the king (rev. l. 9: *a-na LUGAL lu-uš-bu-uš*) and that the king expects (?) his *biltu*-levy (obv. ll. 5-8). The sender wants to draw up an account BE 17, 92: rev. ll. 10-11: *ù NÍG.ŠID-ni it-ti a-ḫa-mi-iš i ni-pu-uš-ma*) with his brother, the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī. The same expression is used in HS 154: obv. ll. 1-4, in which the *šandabakku* Amīl-Marduk drew up the account of the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses ([NÍG.ŠID] ... *ša* ... 'LÚ-

^dAMAR.[UTU GÚ].EN.NA NIBRU^{KI} *i-pu-^ršu¹*). Further, the sender offers to remunerate the recipient for the *šibšu*-levies, which he wants to collect, perhaps, because these *šibšu*-levies should have been collected by the governor of Nippur province, Enlil-kidinnī. However, all provincial levies were ultimately collected for the king, so the reasons for compensating the *šandabakku* are unclear. Perhaps, the royal official who wrote to Enlil-kidinnī from land of the royal domain in Pī-nāri.

According to two *ardu*-letters from subordinates to the palace in Nippur, Pī-nāri seems to have been under the control of the *šandabakku* and appears twice in the context of the transfer of *šābu*-workers. Enlil-kidinnī receives an *ardu*-letter with the mention of someone's *šābu*-workers in the town Pī-nāri (or from the "mouth of a river, and not the town of that name, cf. PBS 1/2, 57: obv. l. 4'). In another *ardu*-letter (CT 43, 102) *šābu*-workers are shipped from Pī-nāri to the lord in Nippur (another group is sent to Āl-irre).

The proposition that the *pīhatus* bordering on the city walls Nippur were sub-units of Nippur province is supported by the *ardu*-letters concerning the town Dūr-Enlilē, which lay in the north(-east) of Nippur (Murai 2018: 29-31).

According to the letter BE 17, 3: rev. l. 12 Dūr-Enlilē (see the discussion "ab) Dūr-Enlil or Dūr-Enlilē?"), which van Soldt (2015: 30) describes as an "important economic center that was to a certain degree dependent on Nippur", was a *pīhātu*. The subordinate cites his lord in direct speech about the cultivation of fields in the towns Erra-gāmil and Dūr-Nusku which lay near Dūr-Enlilē, and the maintenance of a *kalû*-dike(s) of *tamirtu*-land in the *pīhātu* Dūr-Enlilē (rev. ll. 10-14). According to BE 17, 3: rev. l. 5 the lord in Nippur inspected the *tamirtu*-land of Dūr-Enlilē, and according to obv. l. 29 the lord in Nippur managed the irrigation of Dūr-Enlilē (or just parts of it ?), since the sender writes: "Regarding what my lord wrote to me: 'The following: Open the water to Dūr-Enlilē!'"'. This tells us that the "lord" in Nippur had control over Dūr-Enlilē and its surrounding areas.

A second *ardu*-letters, BE 17, 39, implies that the Nippurean administration had control over the area stretching from Nippur to Dūr-Enlilē. The sender confirms the well-being of the oxen and farmers of his lord, implying that the following report is about the lord's household, i.e. that of the province of Nippur. The sender reports that someone, perhaps, a grantee (?), erected a border³³¹ to fields of Tukultī-Ekur (which frequently appears in texts from Dūr-Enlilē, cf. van Soldt 2015: 29), and that *šābu*-workers of *iššakku*-farmers neglected an area of land³³² stretching to the *ugāru* of the *tamirtu*-land of (the town) Ḫamru (a town visible on a map of the vicinity of Nippur, CBS 13865). Further, a *harbu*-field of a man called Burrutu in Ḫamru is exempt from the *dullu*-work duty. The damaged reverse concerns irrigation in Dūr-Enlilē.

³³¹ The sender writes that he *i-na pu-ut A.ŠÀ.MEŠ [...]ša TUKUL^{kul}-ti-É-kur^{KI} ša be-[lī] iš-pu-ra ik-te-di-ir*, „Against the small sides of the fields [of (personal name ?)] of Tukultī-Ekur, as my lord had written, he has created a border” (obv. ll. 4-6).

³³² cf. AHW: 337b, s.v. *haṭū*; for a different reading see Aro 1957: 65; CAD M/1: 430b, s.v. *maṭū*.

In the *ardu*-letters mentioning Dūr-Enlil, the appliance of reed to dikes and barrages, i.e. for irrigation work, is the main topic. As discussed above (“(ab) Dūr-Enlil or Dūr-Enlilē?”), Dūr-Enlil may at least be in some cases identified with Dūr-Enlilē.

Thus, the *ardu*-letters BE 17, 3 and 39, as well as the letters mentioning Dūr-Enlil imply that the *pīhatu* Dūr-Enlilē was not an independent province, but a sub-unit of Nippur province, since Nippurean officials had control over canals in Dūr-Enlilē, as far in the northeast as the Tigris (cf. CBS 4742 and Boivin 2018: 97-99, 152).

7.3 The households of six officials

The economic profile of five officials is discussed above in chapter 6 “An economic profile of six officials”. The officials were temple officials (Banâ-ša-Marduk, Innannu, Martukkû), or they worked for the provincial administration of Nippur (Lal-ur-alim, Kudurrānu, Ittīša-aḥbut). They are recipients of *bēlu*-letters from the palace in which copies or drafts of the letters addressed to them were found (Innannu, Martukkû), or they were senders of *ardu*-letters addressed to their lord in the palace (Banâ-ša-Marduk, Kudurrānu, Ittīša-aḥbut).

The following table gives an overview over the case studies above:

name	Innannu (Inanna-apla-iddina ?)	Martukkû (Marduk-nīšu ?)	Lal-ur-alim	Banâ-ša-Marduk	Kudurrānu	Ittīša-aḥbut
office		(<i>bārû</i> ?)		(<i>nēšakku</i> -priest ?)	<i>nāqidu/hazannu</i> (?)	<i>nāqidu/hazannu</i> (?)
sender/recipient	recipient	recipient	sender	sender	sender	sender
institution/household	temple	temple	province (?)	temple	provincial administration/ <i>šandabakku</i>	provincial administration/ <i>šandabakku</i>
superior	<i>šandabakku</i> Ninurta-apla-iddina, Inbi-ajjari	Lal-ur-alim	(?)	<i>šandabakku</i> Enlil-kidinnī	<i>šandabakku</i> Ninurta-apla-iddina	<i>šandabakku</i> Ninurta-apla-iddina
subordinates	<i>šābu</i> -workers/artisans/ <i>amīlūtu</i>	<i>hazannus</i>	Martukkû	<i>šābu</i> -workers, artisans, <i>amīlūtu</i>	<i>šābu</i> -workers, artisans, <i>errēšu</i> -farmers	
dating to the reign (a) king(s)	Kurigalzu II/Nazi-maruttaš; Inanna-apla-iddina (BE 15, 132, Kurigalzu II year 2)	Martukkû no. 1: Kurigalzu II, year 22 (1311), to Kadašman-Turgu, year 6 (1276) Marduk-nīšu (Kurigalzu II, years 5, 10, 13; Nazi-maruttaš) Martukkû (no. 2): Kadašman-Turgu, year 10 (1272) to Kaštiliaš's IV accession year (1232)	Kurigalzu II/Nazi-maruttaš, (in BE 15, 156 with Innannu)	Kurigalzu II/Nazi-maruttaš;	Kadašman-Turgu	Kadašman-Turgu
dating to the <i>šandabakku</i>	Enlil-AL.ŠA ₆ (BE 14, 35), Ninurta-apla-iddina (Balkan 1986: 11; possibly in office after (?) Enlil-AL.ŠA ₆ ?)	<i>bārû</i> Martukkû in PBS 1/2, 57: rev. l. 10: contemporary of Enlil-kidinnī (<i>šandabakku</i> ?)	Enlil-AL.ŠA ₆ (BE 15, 44)	Enlil-kidinnī	Ninurta-apla-iddina (BE 14, 168)	Ninurta-apla-iddina (BE 14, 168)
main function according to letters	- giving out barley and sesame (work supplies) for further processing to brewers and as rations for workers, - care for pupils in the Edubba, - acquisition of gold	- appointing <i>hazannu</i> officials - provide foodstuffs for religious rituals and banquets, <i>tākultu/kapru</i> - wool production/sheep and goatherds <i>bārû</i> (? unclear if the <i>bārû</i> from PBS 1/2, 57 is the same person)	- inspection of cultic provisions/offering (s ?) - expropriation of unruly officials (Martukkû's father)	- building works: restoration of temples, erecting murals, plastering; erecting temple gates - irrigation work: digging canals, damming up, erecting "gates" of canals - provision of foodstuffs for temple, supervision of rites/offerings (bread, beer)	- animal husbandry (horses, oxen), - distribution of processed wool (to artisans) for further production - textile production (esp. <i>tillū</i>-gowns); production of leather belts - cultivation of fields, seeding; maintenance of irrigation - collection of levies (<i>šibšu</i>, <i>telītu</i>) - giving out (?) /receiving barley loans	- nursing/care for health of son of his lord - textile production (esp. <i>tillū</i>-gowns for king), weaving specific types of gowns - sale of textiles to acquire gold - management of wool resources

				• organisation of regular <i>ginû</i> offerings • preparation of the <i>tākultu</i>-banquet	• managing resources such as straw, wood and clay • processing of barley, forwarding barley to brewers and <i>kaššidakku</i> millers • organisation and provision for temple cult/offerings/rituals: request for “tools of the flesh”, for cultic equipment (axe, mace, spade out of silver and a <i>kititu</i> tool out of <i>mitrû</i>), organisation of <i>ginû</i> offering • production of a millstone • building works, fitting of a door • legal matters: pressing debtors for payment, interceding for third parties by command of his lord • acquisition of sesame oil; expenditure in form of allotments	• cultivation of fields, maintenance of irrigation (organisation of devices for drawing water) • building works (use of wooden beams, bricks) • acquisition of sesame oil • management of workforce (clothing, payment of a <i>sissinnu</i>-gardener’s salary) • managing of straw-resources delivery of straw • execution of the <i>dullu</i>-work duty of the house of his lord • religious duties (prayer)
geographical region	letters: Āl-šēlibi (south of Nippur, Murai 2018: 244-249), Karû admin. documents: Nippur³³³, Isin³³⁴ and Bīt-Sîn-šeme³³⁵	letters: Āl-šēlibi (south of Nippur, Murai 2018: 244-249) admin. documents: BE 15, 17, 18 and 26: Āl-šēlibi³³⁶ Martukkû no. 2 in administrative documents³³⁷: Pī-nāri, Taḥlaš Martukkû no. 1 in administrative documents: Dūr-Nusku (near Nippur, area Bīt-Sîn); Dunni-aḫi (unlocated, Nashef 1982: 34), Karê-Karzi-ban (Nashef 1982: 154); Marduk-nišu: Kandurû, Nippur-Kalbīja Nippur-Kalbīja (near Nippur, Nashef 1982: 210-211),	letters: Nippur, Āl-šēlibi (south of Nippur, Murai 2018: 244-249)	letters: provinces Nippur, Babylon, Bīt-Sîn-māgīr (maybe Sealand province) towns: Ekallātu,³³⁸ Bīt-ŠEŠ.AN, Nippur (Ekur, Ešumeša, Ekiur/Ebaradurgara); Babylon (Edurmah); canals/rivers: Nār-bīni (“Tamarisk canal”), Nāru-šēḫru (“small canal”), Tigris	letters: provinces: Akkade/Bīt-Per’e-Amurru: Āl-mašmašši, Panbalu, Šītulu Taḫtu, Bagdada (?): Kār-Nabû, Upī (?): Ḫībarītu, Dūr-Kurigalzu: canal Patti-Enlil, Babylon: Kār-Bēl-mātāti; admin. documents: Nippur, Kār-Baba (near Nippur), Sūru; possibly: Dūr-Ninlil, Kur/Tarrētu, Zarāt-Ikkaluša, Isin: Dūr-Gula, canal Namgar-ešēgi, Nippur: Bīt-I’irti, Pī-nāri	letters: Abu (?), Tigris, provinces: Upī (?): Ḫībarītu

³³³ Innannu is associated with or gave out resources from: Dūr-Nusku (near Nippur, area Bīt-Sîn); Āl-šēlibi (south of Nippur, Murai 2018: 244-249), Nippur-Kalbīja (near Nippur, Nashef 1982: 210-211), Pī-nāri (unlocated; however, in BE 14, 114 Bīt-I’irti lay between Pī-nāri and Kār-Baba, which lay near Nippur, cf. Nashef 1982: 60, 152), Karê-Aštaba-ḫetuku (unlocated); Āl-Ḫašmar-Saḫ (unlocated).

³³⁴ Innannu is associated with or gave out resources from: Zarāt-Dūr-Gula, Dūr-Gula and Isin, cf. BE 15, 40; Nashef 1982: 281).

³³⁵ Innannu is associated with or gave out resources from: Dūr-Rīm-Sîn (which lay in the province Bīt-Sîn-šeme in the area of Borsippa, cf. Nashef 1982: 97; Paulus 2014d: 191).

³³⁶ In BE 15, 26 Martukkû gives out barley from Āl-šēlibi to/for Nippur and Dūr-Kurigalzu.

³³⁷ BE 14, 145: Martukkû receives barley from Pī-nāri, the other recipient is associated with Āl-šēlibi (BE 14, 145); CT 51, 28: Taḥlaš; CT 51, 37: other recipients apart from Martukkû are associated with Diniktu and Arad-bēlti.

³³⁸ Ekallātu probably lay in the Sealand near Dūr-Enlil, cf. Nashef 1982: 90, and PBS 1/2, 36: obv. ll. 4-5.

The Kassite letters document a close association between the two institutions temple and palace in Nippur, which exceeded business relations between two separate households. As noted above, the *šandabakku* often held the office of the *nēšakku*, the highest priest of Enlil, in Nippur, and *pašišu* of Ninlil (Sassmannshausen 2001: 17). In central Babylonia, including Nippur, grants were given to temples. Paulus (2014d: 201) assumes that the levies of the temple grants were partially collected by officials working for the provincial administration. The *šandabakku* managed or supervised the management of the temple, which explains why the *šandabakku* issued the account for the NIN.DINGIR.TUR (HS 154 obv. ll. 1-4), and why BE 14, 136, in which he confirms the debt of the “remainders of the scribes of the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses”, was found in the palace (Petschow 1974: 62). Banâ-ša-Marduk, Kudurrānu, and Ittīša-aḥbut were all involved in the provision of temples, although presumably only Banâ-ša-Marduk was a temple official, while Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut were province officials. Temples were even referred to as the *šandabakku*’s own household (see above).

The administration of the temple household, for which both Martukkû and Innannu worked and which kept its archive in the area WA in Nippur, followed the commands of provincial officials. Although both households are attested as parties in economic transactions (loans) and other legal agreements, the letters found in the palace show that the temple officials Innannu and Martukkû followed orders of the palace, for example, to advance barley for the *šandabakku* (“Give to PN!”). As mentioned above, Torczyner (1913: 8) even suggested that the scribes, who managed the resources of the temple, were subordinates of the *šandabakku*, who provided for the NIN.DINGIR priestesses. Ninurta-apla-iddina gives direct orders (imperatives) to Innannu (see above “6.1.1 Letters by Ninurta-apla-iddina to Innannu”). Furthermore, Martukkû gave out barley from the house of the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina in BE 14, 76. This points to a close connection between the *šandabakku* and the administration of the temple(s).

Martukkû and Innannu also receive letters from other assumed provincial officials, Lal-ur-alim and Inbi-ajjari. Since the copies of the *bēlu*-letters (unsent letters or drafts) were found in the palace it is likely that Lal-ur-alim and Inbi-ajjari worked for the palace administration in the palace complex.

Banâ-ša-Marduk may have been a *nēšakku*-priest, i.e. a temple official. He managed workers for the *šandabakku* Enlil-kidinnī, but also managed the workers for a temple in the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir, and date palm gardens of the temple. As opposed to Innannu and Martukkû, however, Banâ-ša-Marduk is not attested in documents from the area WA as one of the temple officials giving out barley and other foodstuffs. However, area WA is associated with the Gula temple and not with the Ekur, in which the *nēšakku* probably functioned. Further, we learn that Banâ-ša-Marduk managed building work on numerous temples in Babylonia (JCS 19, 98-99). It is likely that all three letters concern the same person, who had religious duties (offerings and temple restoration) and management of gardens, canals and work crews for Enlil-kidinnī in Bīt-Sîn-māgir. These may have been the mundane administrative tasks of a priest. However, as mentioned above, *nēšakku*-priests held other provincial offices at the same time as their religious office.

Banâ-ša-Marduk's letters, which were found in the palace in Nippur, tell us that Enlil-kidinnī's workers were detained by province officials of the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir. As pointed out above, Enlil-kidinnī's business in a province which was not Nippur, can usually be explained by his title of a *nêšakku* (highest priest of Enlil in Nippur), and that of a *pašīšu* of Ninlil (Sassmannshausen 2001: 17). However, in the case of the correspondence with Banâ-ša-Marduk, we have to assume that Banâ-ša-Marduk himself was a *nêšakku* — or at a different stage of his career, maybe, another temple official. Enlil-kidinnī may have been involved in the management of temple lands in other provinces such as Bīt-Sîn-māgir, because provincial officials of Nippur were assigned to collect the levies of temple grants. Unless the *šandabakku* did indeed have supraregional power and interfered in the management of other provinces, as Balkan (1986: 8-11) suggested, it seems likely that the *šandabakku* managed the affairs of the temple and its grant in Bīt-Sîn-māgir. Banâ-ša-Marduk reported to him about the appliance of work crews and irrigation on a royal grant of a temple.

Since the *šandabakku* held the assumed highest religious office as well, he also supervised the restoration of several temples and shrines in Nippur, and — according to Banâ-ša-Marduk who reported to him — even in Babylon. The *šandabakku* was apparently the link between the temple and provincial administration in Nippur.

Banâ-ša-Marduk begins his letters with a short report about the town and hinterland of his lord, who was presumably Enlil-kidinnī. We cannot exclude the possibility that the workers of Enlil-kidinnī, who were in conflict with the local provincial administration in Bīt-Sîn-māgir, were actually his personal workforce he used on a royal grant. Holding the highest office in the Kassite kingdom it is likely that the *šandabakku* had received royal grant (the Bīt-Enlil-kidinnī, cf. the attestations in Nashef 1982: 58) which could have been partly localised in Bīt-Sîn-māgir. Thus, the *šandabakku* may have assigned his workers to work on temple lands in that province, as well. The conflict with the provincial administration in Bīt-Sîn-māgir, represented by the local *šakin tēmi*, is reflected in the curse formulae of the *kudurrus*, which should protect the grantee from intrusion by the provincial officials (cf. Paulus 2014d: 59-60, 229-259).

Both Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut belonged to the household of the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina (and both confirm in each of their letters that “the house, the city and (its) hinterland of [their] lord are in best order”). They write submissive *ardu*-letters to Ninurta-apla-iddina. Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut can be identified as two officials working for the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina in BE 14, 168 (Kadašman-Turgu, years 11-13). Ittīša-aḥbut appears in the column for *nāqīdus* (“herdsmen”) *kīmu*, “instead of”, i.e. representing Kudurrānu. Kudurrānu may, thus, also be a *nāqīdu*, since he is replaced with Ittīša-aḥbut. Since the line *Ittīša-aḥbut kīmu Kudurrānu* stretches from the column of *nāqīdus* to the column of *ḥazannus* (“towns’ majors”), Kudurrānu may have been a *ḥazannu*. The letter BE 17, 27 from Kudurrānu and the letter BE 17, 35 from Ittīša-aḥbut confirm that both officials worked for the palace in Nippur: Both, Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḥbut quote their lord in direct speech and indirectly that the lord

is lacking wool in the *bītānu* and *bābānu* of the palace in Nippur (cf. BE 17, 27: rev. ll. 15-20; BE 17, 35: obv. l. 13-rev. l. 2).

Kudurrānu confirms in his letters that he was involved in animal husbandry and the textile production, especially the production of *tillū*-gowns. Ittīša-aḥbut's letters attest that he managed wool resources, as well, and that he was involved in the textile production, specifically the production of *tillū*-gowns for the king, and the weaving of specific types of gowns. Ittīša-aḥbut also reported about the sale of textiles to acquire gold. Both of them work in distant provinces in the northeast. The involvement of the *šandabakku* in these provinces (Akkade, Bīt-Per'e-Amurru, Upī, Bagdada etc.) can be explained— again — by his management of temple lands as highest religious official in Nippur, or by his own royal grant, which may have been scattered in these provinces.

7.4 Letters from other regions of the Kassite kingdom

As we have seen above, the *šandabakku* organised the collection of levies for the temples. Further, his subordinates reported to the *šandabakku* in Nippur from distant provinces about the house, town, hinterland, temple, and singers of their lord. This means that the *šandabakku* managed these properties, assets, and workforce in provinces other than Nippur, for example, in Bīt-Sîn-māgir. The province officials in the palace also received reports about “garrisons of my lord” (see BE 17, 33a, CBS 4792).

The provincial governors of other provinces (Akkade, Bīt-Sîn-māgir, Upī etc.) are occasionally mentioned in *ardu*-letters, but their status and influence compared to the *šandabakku* of Nippur is unclear. The letters seem to confirm an elevated status of the *šandabakku*, who also corresponded with the Assyrian crown prince. If the sender of PBS 1/2, 43, Nusku-karābi-išme, was indeed the *ḫazannu* of Babylon, who collected the *telītu*-revenues from several provinces, this would imply that the provincial officials of other provinces were subordinates of governor of Nippur. Apparently, the *šandabakku* in Nippur had control over the collection of the *telītu*-revenues from several provinces for the king (Devecchi 2020: 220-221; Nashef 1992: 155).

The “supraregional” influence of the *šandabakku* (Balkan 1986: 8-11), however, may be rooted in his management of temple lands of the temples of Nippur, which were scattered in different provinces. On the other hand, temples used to receive royal grants in the heartland of Babylonia (Paulus 2010: 197, fn. 289). The sender of PBS 1/2, 43, Nusku-karābi-išme could also have been a temple official, who collected levies from temple lands in several provinces.

7.4.1 Letters from the east and northeast of the kingdom

Two out of three letters from in Dēr come from a temple. The *šandabakku* may have been active in other provinces, because he was the governor Nippur, who had a large number of temples in Nippur under his control, or because he managed temple lands there in his religious function as a temple official.

The *aḫu*-letter and the two hybrid *ardu*-letters with blessings of an *aḫu*-letter from Dēr imply that the senders, who were most likely temple officials, viewed themselves as equals of (or only slightly inferior to) the recipient in Nippur. The sender of the *aḫu*-letter (BE 17, 89) from the temple Edingalkalama in Dēr to the *šandabakku* Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē or Ninurta-apla-iddina writes that he had been in contact with the king, and wants to establish contact with the *šandabakku*, who is said to be in Sippar. According to the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 5 the sender sends the remains of offerings (wine from Tuplijaš) from Dēr to his “lord” in Nippur. The third *ardu*-letter from Dēr (UM 29-13-638) contains a report about the processing of barley from several towns, presumably (from temple lands ?) around Dēr.

Five or six letters mention activities of Nippureans in Upī (see above “5.3.2 East”). A damaged *aḫu*-letter (UBD 114, perhaps, not from Nippur) appears to mention borders of royal grants and *kudurrus* in Upī. The recipient in Nippur knows the borders of the granted lands in Upī, which implies that he was involved in granting lands in Upī, or was a recipient of a grant in Upī, and had his own subordinates on his lands in Upī (in the same letter overseers are mentioned). At least four letters, which mention Upī, are *ardu*-letters. A fifth document, N 930+934, which may either be a letter or a legal document, mentions work on the fortification of Upī. In PBS 1/2, 33 the provincial governor of the province Upī is mentioned.

In two *ardu*-letters subordinates from Nippur had conflicts with royal officials and the local provincial administration of the province Upī. In PBS 1/2, 28 the sender is first in conflict with the household of Irrigu, who prevents him from taking reed from his lands (either his royal grant or the provincial unit he was managing). The sender admits that he had not chopped wood for the king, and that a royal official, a *ša rēš šarri*, had beaten up a gardener of his lord and cut reed for the king. In UM 29-15-692 the sender, who writes from Bagdada or Upī (which lay on opposing sides of the Tigris), writes that the governor prevented a man from cutting a tree for his lord by giving him a *mandattu*-work quota to fulfil, which resulted in a destroyed garden of a Nippurean. Thus, the letters from Upī directly attested to Nippureans owning property (gardens) in Upī. The *ḫazannu* of Upī tells the sender that the provincial governor of Upī ordered them to take something (away from the Nippureans ?). Both *ardu*-letters emphasise that it was distinguished between the household of the lord in Nippur and that of the local provincial administration in Upī (*ḫazannu*, *šakin māti*) as well as the royal official (*ša rēš šarri*), who was assigned to the gardens in Upī. Apparently, the king had a royal domain in Upī, and (temple?) officials from Nippur managed land in Upī, as well. Thus, the subordinates reporting from Upī and other northeastern provinces (on both sides of the Tigris) may be working on temple lands, which belonged to the “house of [their] lord”, or the royal grants of the *šandabakkus* (*bīt Enlil-kidinnī* or *bīt-Ninurta-apla-iddina*).

We also learn that the *šandabakku* had travelled to Upī to talk with his subordinate Imguru (BE 17, 23: rev. l. 11). The official Imguru, who reports to his lord Enlil-kidinnī, worked in a similar region as Kudurrānu and Ittīša-aḫbut, who worked for the household of the *šandabakku* Ninurta-apla-iddina. The *šandabakkus* (Enlil-kidinnī and Ninurta-apla-iddina) apparently received reports from subordinates in

several northeastern provinces, including Upī: Akkade and Bīt-Per'e-Amurru, Panbalu, Ḫibarītu and Upī, Ṭabtu and Panbalu.

7.4.2 The south of the kingdom

As the letters in chapter “5.3.5 South” show, three out of four *ardu*-letters, which mention the Sealand province, concern trade: in BE 17, 37 the sender promises to pay for deliveries of barley transported by 18 boats, and in a second instance the sender wants to travel to the sea, presumably to the Sealand province, to acquire gold from a caravan of an Aḫlamû, and to collect a payment of barley in exchange for dates (PBS 1/2, 51). In PBS 1/2, 62 gold bracelets are mentioned; it is unclear whether “those from the sea” are the ones delivering or receiving the gold bracelets (cf. obv. l. 5). In the *ardu*-letter BE 17, 16 the sender confirms that the cattle and sheep of his lord are in best order, and reports about the herding of cattle and sheep, the irrigation and seeds for barley, before he announces: [...] *ʾtaʾ-an-ti at-ta-ra-ad*, “I came down to the sealand [province]” (obv. 14).

The province Bīt-Sîn-māgir features prominently in the Nippur texts (cf. above “5.3.5 South”). Eight *ardu*-letters report about the activities of subordinates of the Nippurean governor in the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir.

Apparently the lord in Nippur had control over canals and ponds in the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir, and he had subordinates stationed there. He also had influence over a part of the royal domain: two *ardu*-letters mention the activities of subordinates and *šābu*-workers of the *šandabakku* in Bīt-Sîn-māgir, where they were in conflict with a local *šakin ṭēmi*, who detained and beat the workers of the *šandabakku* (BE 17, 9; PBS 1/2, 57). The sender Banâ-ša-Marduk was probably a temple official, who managed temple land in Bīt-Sîn-māgir. In PBS 1/2, 56 the subordinate asks his lord in Nippur to give orders to fill reservoirs in Bīt-Sîn-māgir, irrigate fields, and that the land of the king shall be cultivated. Sealed documents of several people are mentioned, perhaps, grantees.

Two *ardu*-letters report about the actions of the governor of Bīt-Sîn-māgir: a high-ranking official wrote a letter to Enlil-kidinnī complaining that a colleague neglected a *pīḫatu rabītu*, “a large province”, perhaps, Bīt-Sîn-māgir (N 3393). In UM 29-15-317 a temple official reports that the *šakin māti* of Bīt-Sîn-māgir wanted to take rest of offerings from a temple with him to Babylon, and about a conflicting order from the king.

Šābu-workers from Bīt-Sîn-māgir were also assigned for work in other provinces. According to PBS 1/2, 59 a scribe from Bīt-Sîn-māgir worked in Āl-Irrē near Nippur, according to BE 17, 11, workers from Arad-bēlti and Nippur worked in Bīt-Sîn-māgir: a subordinate complains that he does not have enough *šābu*-workers to cultivate a *ḫarbu ṭēmi*-field of his lord. The *šābu*-workers of Nippur and Arad-bēlti had returned to their home, and the ones in his town were “bound (= conscripted) for the *dullu*-work duty of the *ḫarbu ṭēmi* fields of the province Bīt-Sîn-māgir” (rev. ll. 8-9). The location of the *ḫarbu ṭēmi*-field of the sender’s lord is unclear. However, this letter suggests that the *šābu*-work crews were

mobile and assigned to work in different provinces. In another *ardu*-letter a subordinate quotes the *šandabakku*, who had enquired why *šābu*-workers from Bīt-Sîn-māgir were kept starving. It is unclear where these *šābu*-workers were assigned to work, but it seems the *šandabakku* is questioning their assignment to work on a canal belonging to the temple of Enlil (EN KUR.KUR).³³⁹

7.4.3 Babylon and Dūr-Kurigalzu

The important royal residencies Babylon (14 letters) and Dūr-Kurigalzu (11 letters) are mentioned most often (cf. chapter “5.3.4 North”). These letters confirm that it was necessary to inform the *šandabakku* about issues in both royal residencies, Babylon and Dūr-Kurigalzu.

The senders of eight *ardu*-letters report to their lords in Nippur about their activities in Dūr-Kurigalzu. One *aḫu*-letter from Dilmun, a possible *aḫu*-/*bēlu*-letter, and an unclassifiable fragment contain references to Dūr-Kurigalzu.

When someone travelled to Dūr-Kurigalzu from the south (from Dilmun), the *šandabakku* in Nippur was informed, perhaps, because they could stop in Nippur on the way: an *aḫu*-letter informs the *šandabakku* of Nippur that a revolting Aḫlamû is transported from Dilmun to Dūr-Kurigalzu.

In the damaged *aḫu*-/*bēlu*-letter BE 17, 59a the sender, who is entrusted³⁴⁰ with the house of the king, possibly the royal domain, mentions the “Subareans of Dūr-Kurigalzu”, who are sent to the king. In the rest of the letter he mentions Dilmun. The recipient in Nippur must have had an office which was important enough to function as a judge, since the sender asks him to judge a court process (b.e. l. 3-rev. l. 1).

One subordinate writes in HS 108 about the shipment of goods to Dūr-Kurigalzu, and Assyrian workers of a governor. Other resources are brought “up” to the Hittites. These may have been former prisoners of war used as workforce. Since the lord in Nippur is informed about shipments to Dūr-Kurigalzu, the goods shipped may come from Nippur. The sender suggests that levies should be imposed on Kār-bēl-mātāti, which, again, implies that the recipient in Nippur had far reaching influence to Kār-bēl-mātāti, which lay between Babylon and Borsippa. In another *ardu*-letter the lord in Nippur is asked to send (a letter) to Dūr-Kurigalzu to release imprisoned donkey-experts (HS 114). According to another *ardu*-letter (BE 17, 13) the lord had the control over subordinates (his *qīpu*-commissaries) from three different provinces: Nippur, Dūr-Kurigalzu, and Arad-bēlti.

Two subordinates report about the provision of temples in Dūr-Kurigalzu: The sender of the *ardu*-letter (BE 17, 57) travels to Dūr-Kurigalzu while simultaneously asking his lord in Nippur for supplies for a temple. Another *ardu*-letter (PBS 1/2, 63) was sent from Dūr-Kurigalzu. The sender was stationed in

³³⁹ Land belonging to the EN KUR.KUR is for example attested in the province Bīt-Sîn-šeme, while (military) officials belonging to the EN KUR.KUR appear in Nippur province (Lackenbacher 1983: 143-154; Paulus 2014, 491-502, 613-617).

³⁴⁰ *paqādu* is used in investment contracts from the OB period; the trader is obliged to pay back the investment and share the surplus/profit, see Stol 2004: 882.

Dūr-Kurigalzu to send escaped workers back to Nippur. The sender also reports to his lord about the procurement of wood for the *ginû*-offering of temples, which are probably located in Dūr-Kurigalzu. In the same letter, the sender reports about activities in various geographical regions of the Kassite kingdom: the movement of workers or troops (?) of Zabban and Pandan to Lubdu, and irrigation work and cultivation (his *dullu*-work duty), among others in Dūr-Enlil, Pān-šēri, and near Dūr-Kurigalzu.

Ten *ardu*-letters from subordinates, two unclassified letters and one *aḫu*-letter from Dilmun mention Babylon, and in one *šarru*-letter the king requests the presence of the *šandabakku* in Babylon.

Apart from an *ardu*-letter, presumably from the *ḫazannu* of Babylon (PBS 1/2, 43), who reported that he collected levies from the Diyala region, Pān-šēri, and from Babylon (PBS 1/2, 43), subordinates often report to their lord(s) in Nippur about transfers of people or goods to Babylon. The transported goods are “bound” (= conscripted) *šābu*-workers (BE 17, 60a, 62), and that their lord was supposed to come and inspect temple offerings in Babylon (UM 29-15-994). Caravans and officials from Dilmun also reported to Nippur when they travelled to Babylon (Ni. 615).

Another subordinate, who managed lands in the vicinity of Nippur, asked his lord in Nippur to do something to his account in Babylon as a punishment for his neglect (PBS 1/2, 50). Similarly, the sender of the letter PBS 1/2, 77 writes to the recipient in Nippur that they had met in person in Babylon, and that the recipient had enquired about conscripted workers on lists in Babylon. These letters imply that accounts and workers under the command of the provincial administration in Nippur were centrally administrated in Babylon. As we have seen in other letters, work crews from one province were sent to work in another province.

7.5 Summary

Apart from Babylon most Babylonian towns have not yielded much Kassite textual documentation. Perhaps, Nippur had a more important position as administrative centre in the Kassite kingdom than other Babylonian towns. The letters show that the province officials of Nippur travelled through the Kassite kingdom, and that the king travelled and regularly visited Nippur.

The Kassite letters not only prove that the governor of Nippur had an elevated status, but also supraregional influence. He was involved in the collection of levies for the king, and in the supraregional distribution of resources, which are tasks ascribed to the royal administration.

Further, the Kassite letters show that the town of Nippur was surrounded by sub-units called *pīḫatus*, and that the province of Nippur stretched northeast up until Dūr-Enlilē.

Although areas WA and WB in Nippur were two separate institutions, there existed more than business relations, which are documented in the form of legal agreements, between these two separate households. The *šandabakku* had the command over the institution in area WB, perhaps, because he often held religious offices (*nēšakku*, *pašīšu*), and/or the temples were under the control of the provincial

administration. Levies of temple grants were collected by provincial officials, and the provincial administration of Nippur controlled the assets of the NIN.DINGIR-priestesses. Temples were may have been referred to as the *šandabakku*'s own household.

Nippur's network reached south through Isin and the Sealand to Dilmun, and in the north to Bīt-Pere-Amurru. In the northeast regular communication with Upī, Dēr and Akkade is attested. The involvement of Nippurean officials in distant provinces can be explained through the involvement of the *šandabakku* of Nippur in the management of temple lands in different provinces.

Further, provincial officials, such as *ḫazannus*, from other provinces reported to the *šandabakku*, because the *šandabakku*, as the highest official under the king, was involved in the collection of levies for the royal administration.

The *šandabakku* and his subordinates, who were the elite officials of the Kassite kingdom, were presumably among the recipients of royal grants. Thus, their management of land in distant provinces can be explained through their royal grants. The letters show a close connection between temple and provincial households, and, in many cases, not a clear distinction between both households.

Due to the word limit and time constraints I could not include more prosopographical studies (for example of Ubāru, Erība-Marduk), and chapters about the term *mandattu*, the visits of the king and crown prince for cultic activities in Nippur, the terminology applied to irrigation work, other provincial offices, and the activities of *šābu*-workers visible in Kassite letters. I hope to include these themes in the future.

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