BABYLONIAN TEXTS FROM THE FOLIOS OF SIDNEY SMITH
PART FOUR: TWO OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS

BY
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The late Sidney Smith’s folios of cuneiform copies and notes contained copies of several Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian archival texts that remained unpublished at the time of his death in 1979. In all cases but one, these tablets have been either published by other scholars or Smith’s copy has been found to be incomplete. The purpose of this article is to make available to scholarship the single exception and thereby finally to complete the publication of Smith’s copies of cuneiform texts. The exception is an Old Babylonian letter (no. 1). Alongside it is presented Smith’s copy of another Old Babylonian letter that has been made public but not previously published in cuneiform (no. 2).

1. THE DEARE TABLET

In the summer of 1941, while Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, Sidney Smith received for study a small cuneiform tablet sent by the municipal museum in Littlehampton, Sussex. He identified it as an Old Babylonian letter, copied it and had it photographed by the British Museum photographic service (Figs. 1–2). According to the British Museum’s records the photographic negatives bear the numbers H.243–246; it was further noted that the tablet belonged at the time to a lady identified as E. Winifred Deare of Worthing, also in Sussex.

In due course Smith returned the tablet to the curator of Littlehampton Museum, along with a letter expressing a desire to publish it and asking permission from its owner to do so (Smith folios, handwritten copy 18.vi.1941). No reply is extant, only a postcard confirming the safe return of the tablet to Littlehampton and advising that the museum was closed for the duration of the war (Smith folios, 25.vii.1941). Smith never did publish his copy and the museum authorities can find no trace of the tablet in their records. Because its whereabouts today are unknown, the tablet will have to go by the name of the Deare tablet.

The Deare tablet is inscribed with a short letter in Old Babylonian cuneiform and endorsed with the sender’s cylinder seal. In his letter to his colleague in Littlehampton Smith identified the tablet as a “complete envelope with a letter inside”. He may have assumed that it was an envelope simply from the presence of the seal impressions. Dominique Charpin points out to me that an envelope bearing the full text of a letter would be extraordinary, but that there are known examples of Old Babylonian letters on tablets endorsed with sealings (discussed by


2. I thank Lucy Ashby, Archives and Exhibitions Officer of the Littlehampton Museum for her assistance in this matter.

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Kraus 1985a). On these grounds it may be suspected that the Deare tablet is not after all a tablet enclosed in an envelope, as Smith presumed, but solid; verification must await the tablet’s reappearance.

Whether tablet or envelope, the photographs show that the object measures 34 × 34 × 20 mm. The content of the letter written on it is a simple instruction: Damiq-Marduk orders Marduk-dayyān to give a quantity of bricks to Eliyātum, and advises him that Eliyātum will repay him in kind at the beginning of the following year. Damiq-Marduk’s sealing commits him as a guarantor of this obligation, and demonstrates that Eliyātum was acting as his agent. There is one point of philological interest (see 1.10 and the note thereon).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{obv.} & \quad & \text{rev.} & \quad & \text{edge} & \quad & \text{seal inscription} \\
1 & a-na & d\text{marduk(amar.utu)-} & d\text{ayyān(di.kud) } & qī- & qū-ma \\
2 & u-ma & d\text{a-mi-iq-} & d\text{marduk(amar.utu)-} & m-a \\
3 & 2 \text{mušar(sar) libnātim(sig₄)} & b₄ \\
4 & a-na & e-li-ia-tum & \{i-[di-in-m]a\} \\
5 & i-di-in-ma \\
6 & w-a-r-ka-nu \\
7 & li-bnātim(sig₄) & b₄ & k-i-ma & li-bnātim(sig₄) & b₄ \\
8 & i-na & p-a-ni & ša-at-tim \\
9 & ū-ta-ar \\
10 & a-wi-lum & b-e-l & ši- & bu₁-tim! \\
11 & l-i-bnātim(sig₄) & b₄ & l-a-ka- & l-a₁-su₁ \\
12 & \{\text{erasure}\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

1 To Marduk-dayyān say, 2 thus Damiq-Marduk: 5 give 3 two mušarum-measures of bricks 4 to Eliyātum and 6 later, 8 at the beginning of the year, 9 he will return them, 7 brick for brick. 10 The fellow is conducting a business enterprise; 11 do not withhold the bricks from him.

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{da-mi-iq-} & d\text{marduk(amar.utu)} \\
2 & māri(\text{dumu}) & 6\text{adad(iškur)-ra-bi} \\
3 & \text{warad(ir)!?} & 6\text{adad(iškur)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Damiq-Marduk, son of Adad-rabi, servant(!) of Adad.

Notes
3. In the Old Babylonian period 2 mušar of volume comprised 288 cubic cubits, the equivalent of about 36 m³ (Powell 1989–90:490). In her study of the metrology of bricks Eleanor Robson reports that the volume measure mušarum effectively functioned as a numerical term, with a value 720 bricks (Robson 1999: 59). Thus Damiq-Marduk asks Marduk-dayyān to give Eliyātum 1,440 bricks.

4. The word idinma was erased and written on the next line instead.

10. The last word of this line is written over the junction between face and edge, and its legibility suffers as a consequence. Although Smith’s copy suggests otherwise, the final sign appears from the photograph to end with a horizontal wedge, not a vertical. Given the traces,
there is good reason to suspect the presence of the term *bēl šibûtim*, a compound booked in the Old Babylonian lexical list OB Lu B ii 52 (ed. Civil 1969: 180): [l]ül.al.ás.si-bu!(MU)-tim; see also vi 35 (ed. Civil 1969: 186): [l]ül.al.ás.a = a-wi-il ši-bu-t[im].

Because *šibûtim* can mean “need, desire”, the dictionaries both interpret *bēl šibûtim* and *awîl šibûtim*, lit. “owner/man of š.”, as a person needed by some other party (CAD § 171 “needed person”, AHw 1099 “benötigte Person”). F. R. Kraus adopted the same position in his study of *bēl* compounds in Old Babylonian (1973: 80: “jemand, den man braucht”, “nach dem Bedarf besteht”; cf. pp. 82, 89, ref. courtesy D. Charpin). In addition to the lexical evidence there are two passages in other Old Babylonian letters that use the phrases: (a) TCL VII 51: 17–19 (ed. Kraus 1968: 34–35): [a-wi-lünum be-el ši-bu-tim] [u₄,u₄]m is-sâ-anqâ-ak-kum la ta-ka-al-la₄ a-šu₁ “the fellow is a *bēl*: when he comes to you do not detain him”; (b) VAS XVI 57: 9–10 (ed. Frankena 1974: 36–37): a-wi-lünum ša aš-pu-ra-ak-kum a-wi-il ši-bu-tim la ik-ka-al-lam “the fellow I have sent you is an *awîl*: he must not be kept from me”. It is easy to see that the dictionaries’ understanding of *bēl* and *awîl šibûtim* works well here, for in both passages the sender has a vested interest in the speedy return of an indispensable go-between. Consequently neither Kraus nor Frankena dissented from the dictionaries’ consensus in their respective translations. However, a vested interest is not a good motive in the present letter, where the sender does not ask for the immediate return of Eliyâṭum, merely for the latter to be given bricks without delay. The conventional understanding of *bēl šibûtim* here stalls on a non sequitur.

The word *šibûtim* is much used in the Old Babylonian period to mean “business activity”, “enterprise”. If the *šibûtim* in *bēl* and *awîl šibûtim* applies to the man so described and not to another party (who needs him), the phrases would then denote a person doing business. Passages (a) and (b) make equally good sense if the phrases are so translated: (a) “the fellow is conducting a business enterprise: when he comes to you do not detain him”; (b) the fellow I sent you is engaged on business; he must not be withheld from me”. The present passage only makes sense on such an understanding: Eliyâṭum is a busy man engaged on a serious purpose and should not be refused what he has come to fetch.

11. Final -šu lacks mimation, for it is dative, in ablative meaning; for *kâlûm* + dative in other Old Babylonian letters see the passage VAS XVI 57: 9–10 quoted in the note on l. 10, and two further instances:

(a) In Sippar a certain Māri-Ištar instructed his correspondents (CT 33 26a 6–10, ed. Frankena 1966: 116–17 no. 182): m₄k-sum-la₄-marduk(amar.utu)-ma-an-ni ṯ¥ps-ptime ša-ta-bi-la-ak-ku-nuši-im 2 ša-ši kiššê(gi.isa₃)₈šu-bi-la-ni-im la ta-ka-al-la-šum “I have sent you this letter by way of Šumma-lâ-Marduk-mannî. Have him bring me twice sixty reed bundles. Do not withhold (any) from him!”

(b) At Mari the lady Bahlatum grew impatient for the jewellery she had ordered (ARM X 109: 17–19, ed. Durand 2000: 409–11 no. 1209): ši-ip-ra-am ša-a₁₄lu ar₄-ḫi₁₄šu-bi-lam la ta’ka-la-a[l₄]m “Send me that piece of work very soon! Do not keep it from me!”

Seal impression. Impressions of cylinder seals are often difficult to extract from the background surface when they share it with writing. The traces Smith copied at the beginning of l. 3 do not suggest any obvious reading; they could well stem from the collation of two different impressions. The impression of a seal of a Damiq-Marduk, son of Adad-rabi, occurs between two other impressions on the lease contract BIN VII 182, where it records the presence of the witness *da-mi-iq₄-marduk(amar.utu) (l. 27) and reads: [da-mi-iq₄-marduk(amar.utu)] / māri(dumu) ²dadid(iškur)-ra-[bi] / warrad(i)²[a](dad(iškur)) “Damiq-Marduk, son of Adad-rabi, servant of Adad”. I propose that this is the same seal as that used on the Deare tablet.
Commentary

The letter’s spelling is not diagnostic of a provenance more exact than southern Mesopotamia, but the presence of two personal names compounded with Marduk, the god of Babylon, suggests that it derives from northern Babylonia. As already noted, Damiq-Marduk’s seal inscription almost certainly duplicates the second of three seal impressions that endorse a tablet now in New Haven, NBC 5290 (BIN VII 182 = Alexander 1943 pl. 60, ed. Cocquerillat 1967: 173; seal quoted in the textual note above). In that tablet, which is dated to the fourth year of king Samsuiluna of Babylon, Damiq-Marduk, son of Adad-rabi, is one of the witnesses to Marduk-dayyân’s contractual agreement to rent and manage a date-plantation.

The Damiq-Marduk and Marduk-dayyân of the contract BIN VII 182 may well be the same persons as the sender and addressee of the letter published here. If so, the letter’s archival context begins to emerge, for BIN VII 182 is one of a small group of tablets, without archaeological provenance and scattered among collections in Europe and North America, that is concerned with the agricultural affairs of a group of tribesmen and the settlement named after them, Āl(uru) Ra-ba-bi-ki or Ra-ba-ba-a-ri “Town of the Rababû” in the north Babylonian province of lower Yaḫrubum, in Samsuiluna’s reign. This archive and its connections have been reported by, among others, Marten Stol (1976: 86, 1982: 162, 2004: 819, 2007), Dominique Charpin and Jean-Marie Durand (1981: 27, Charpin 1981: 521 A8) and Denis Lacambre (1998: 136–37, ref. courtesy Charpin). The dossier, in so far as it concerns Damiq-Marduk, Marduk-dayyân and the Rababû, is here set out in tabular format (Table 1).

As can be seen from the table, a person or persons called Marduk-dayyân plays a prominent part in this dossier. In five documents Marduk-dayyân takes out a lease on agricultural land: three date-plantations of the Rababû (texts Nos. 1, 4 and 5) and two fields (Nos. 7 and 9), at least one for the purpose of growing garlic (No. 7). Four documents of the group list a Marduk-dayyân as a witness, either described as a date-farmer (nukaribbum, Nos. 2 and 8 in the table), or as a son of Adad-rabi (Nos. 1 and 3). In text No. 1 two persons of this name appear, Marduk-dayyân as lessee of a date-grove (i.e. the date-farmer) and Marduk-dayyân, son of Adad-rabi, as witness, so it becomes unlikely that the two are the same individual.

Damiq-Marduk, son of Adad-rabi, is presumably a brother of the Marduk-dayyân who shares his patronym. He acts as a witness to one of the Marduk-dayyan’s leases (No. 4). In one of the leases where the date-farmer Marduk-dayyân is himself a witness, a certain madasal.lu.he-se,ga agrees terms to rent plots of arable land (No. 8); it seems likely that this person is our Damiq-Marduk, under a Sumerianized form of his name (‘asal.lu.he = Marduk, sa6,ga = damiq). The Adad-rabi who appears fifteen years later as a lessee of a Rababean date plantation (Nos. 10–11) is unlikely to be the father of either Damiq-Marduk, son of Adad-rabi, or Marduk-dayyân of the same patronym, given the lapse of years, but the name could well have been borne by one of their sons, i.e. a grandson of Adad-rabi Senior. In taking out a lease on a date-grove of the Rababû, Adad-rabi Junior would be continuing the family’s business practices. Text No. 12, undated, documents a further commercial relationship between men called Marduk-dayyân and Damiq-Marduk, in a transaction concerning the barter of garlic in which the former probably figures as producer (cf. No. 7), the latter as one of four traders.

3. The date-grove lease TIM V 40 ([p].iii.Si 26) is associated with this archive by Stol 1982: 162 n. 3 but is omitted here because it features neither Damiq-Marduk, Marduk-dayyân nor the Rababû.
Table 1. Documents attesting to the activities of persons named Damiq-Marduk and Marduk-dayyān and/or to land belonging to the Rababû, in order of date.

Si = year name of Samsuiluna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Description and date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AO 10340, Nougayrol 1979: 75, ed. Charpin and Durand 1981: 29</td>
<td>Šamaš-nāšir leases a date-grove of the Rababû from Adad-šarrum, Šunūma-ilû and others. Marduk-dayyān nukaribbum is a witness. 1.xii.Si 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ex coll. S. Gregory, ed. Langdon 1934, Cocquerillat 1967: 186</td>
<td>Ibbatum leases a date-grove from Adad-šarrum, Šunūma-ilû and others. Marduk-dayyān, son of Adad-rabi (seal), is a witness. 10.xii.Si 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>BIN VII 182 = Alexander 1943 pl. 60, ed. Cocquerillat 1967: 173</td>
<td>Marduk-dayyān leases a date-grove of the Rababû from Qurrūdūm and others. Damiq-Marduk, son of Adad-rabi (seal), is a witness. 24.xi.Si 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>YOS XII 126 = Feigin 1979 pl. 23</td>
<td>Marduk-dayyān leases a date-grove of the Rababû from Qurrūdūm, Adad-šarrum, Šunūma-ilû and others. 5.i.Si 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>YOS XII 135 = Feigin 1979 pl. 24</td>
<td>Marduk-dayyān leases a field from Našium-malik to grow garlic. 20.iv.Si 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>YOS XII 217 = Feigin 1979 pl. 40</td>
<td>Asalluḫe-saga (= Damiq-Marduk) leases arable land from Šunūma-ilû and Šarrum. Šunūma-ilû and others. nukaribbum are witnesses. -.iii.Si 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>TLB I 205 = Leemans 1954–64 pl. 57</td>
<td>Ipqatum and Marduk-dayyān lease arable land from Wēdum-qarrād. [Šamaš]-nāšir is a witness. Date 1.v.Si 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Grant 1938: 242–43 no. 9, cf. Cocquerillat 1967: 175</td>
<td>Adad-rabi and Iddin-ilum lease a date-grove of the Rababû from Šunūma-ilû and others. 15.x.Si 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>YOS XII 434 = Feigin 1979 pl. 76, duplicate of no. 10</td>
<td>Marduk-dayyān(di.kud)1 is noted as liable to make a balancing payment, arising from the barter of 180 strings of garlic (‘gi-id-lu1 sum”), to four individuals, including Damiiq-Marduk. Undated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. THE RAPHAËL TABLET (Abb X 144)

Smith’s copy of a second Old Babylonian tablet is accompanied by an annotation in his hand, “Old Babylonian letter (collection of O. C. Raphael Esq.)”. Oscar Raphael was a collector of Asian art and antiquities who became honorary keeper of Oriental ceramics at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in 1926. His collection comprised mainly Far Eastern and Islamic sculpture, jade and ceramics, but also some Egyptian and ancient Persian antiquities (Gray 1945), including a serpentine head of the twelfth-dynasty pharaoh Amenemhet III (Ricketts 1917). On his death in 1941 Mr Raphael bequeathed his treasures partly to the Fitzwilliam and partly to the British Museum, in a division designed to strengthen each museum’s holdings. His Babylonian tablet was unsurprisingly deemed surplus to the requirements of the British Museum and entered the Fitzwilliam in 1946, where it now goes by the accession number 42-1946. Smith must have copied it in the 1920s or ’30s (Fig. 3).

The letter is addressed to a woman called Kapazila by her brother Sîn-erïbam and concerns a strategy for buying her release from bondage. Its text was published, alongside six other Old Babylonian letters in the Fitzwilliam Museum, by F. R. Kraus in vol. 10 of Altbabylonische Briefe (Kraus 1985b: 126–27 no. 144). Smith and Kraus disagree on two points. In 1. 13 Smith has copied, after i-li-ka-ki, a further sign, obviously written on the right edge, which Kraus correctly placed in 1. 6, where it is the šar in the personal name mnu-ur-ēš-šar-ra. In 1. 18 Smith copied li-ṭi(Ti)-bu-ū where Kraus inadvertently transliterated li-ṭi-bu-ū. The troublesome 1. 7, which Kraus noted as marred by erasure and failed to decipher, can plausibly be read from Smith’s copy as mal-la ti-šē!-e. The sentence that includes this clause then translates (ll. 6–11): “Your heir, Nūr-Išara, has taken all you possess (mala tišē) from your house, and your chest is in store at Warad-[DN]’s house.”


5. The division of the collection is described in detail by Gray 1945, but see also the Cornucopia website managed by a British organization called the Museums Libraries and Archives Council, http://www.cornucopia.org.uk/html/search/verb/GetRecord/8387 (visited April 2009).
Fig. 1. Tablet formerly in the possession of E. Winifred Deare, obverse, reverse, right and top edges. Photographs courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 2. Sidney Smith’s hand copy of the Deare tablet

Fig. 3. Sidney Smith’s hand copy of the Raphael tablet (= AbB X 144)
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Frankena, R. 1966. *Briefe aus dem British Museum (LIH und CT 2–33)*. Altbabylonische Briefe 2. Leiden


This article publishes the late Sidney Smith’s drawings of two Old Babylonian letters and gives an annotated edition of the first, an instruction to lend a quantity of bricks to a third party. It was sent by Damiq-Marduk to Marduk-dayyân, who are probably the persons of these names known to have been engaged in date-cultivation in the province of lower Yaḥrurum during the reign of Samsuiluna of Babylon. The letter is noteworthy for its use of the Akkadian expression bel šibûtim, here argued as denoting a person conducting business activities.

Dans cet article sont publiées les copies par le regretté Sidney Smith de deux lettres paléo-babyloniennes, la première étant accompagnée d'une édition commentée ; il s'agit de l'ordre de prêter une certaine quantité de briques à un tiers. Cette lettre a été envoyée par Damiq-Marduk à Marduk-dayyân, qui sont probablement les personnes de ce nom connues par leur implication dans la culture de palmeries de la région du Yaḥrurum inférieur pendant le règne de Samsuiluna de Babylone. La lettre se signale par son emploi de l'expression akkadienne bel šibûtim, que l'on propose ici de comprendre comme désignant un homme d'affaires.