

The Members of the Royal House of Old Babylonian

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ABSTRACT

Despite the extensive knowledge of King Hammurabi and his achievements, whether political or military, or the legislation known by his name, which is the Hammurabi Law, our knowledge of his family members was not at the level we know himself, and the reason for this is the lack of research that dealt with members of the royal family in Old Babylonian Period. For example, we do not know the name and origin of Hammurabi's first wife. Royal marriages were a family affair and his first wife must have been a member of an important contemporary royal dynasty, such as the dynasty of Assur or Eshnunna, and as well as his first wife, Hammurabi must have had secondary wives and many concubines. As we do not know which of these women gave birth to his successor, Samsu- Iluna, another important question is whether or not the kings of Babylon belonged to a single line from father to son. We know from other kingdoms such as Isin, Larsa, and Mari, that many dynasties followed each other to the throne over decades and centuries. Current information about the first dynasty of Babylon indicates that it was a single dynasty connected from Sumu-la-El to Samsu-ditana, a succession of ten kings over three centuries. Given contemporary evidence as well, it is possible that the brothers succeeded each other on the throne. This article is based on these ideas and poses the following question: What can we rebuild and know the Babylonian royal family? At the end of this paper, the reader will find a clear family tree of the kings of the first dynasty of Babylon containing all the family members who were likely to be members of the royal family.

Keywords: Old Babylonian Period, Babylon, First Dynasty of Babylon, Hammurabi, Royal Inscriptions.

أعضاء البيت الملكي في العصر البابلي القديم

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الخلاصة:

على الرغم من المعرفة الواسعة للملك حمورابي وإنجازاته سواء كانت السياسية أو العسكرية أو ما اشتهر به من تشريع عرف باسمه وهو قانون حمورابي إلا أن معرفتنا بأفراد عائلته لم تكن بالمستوى الذي نعرفه ذاته، والسبب في ذلك هو قلة الأبحاث التي تناولت أفراد العائلة المالكة في العصر البابلي القديم. على سبيل المثال، لا نعرف اسم وأصل زوجة حمورابي الأولى. كانت الزيجات الملكية من الشؤون الأسرية ويجب أن تكون زوجته الأولى عضواً في سلالة ملكية معاصرة مهمة، مثل سلالة آشور أو أشنونا، وفضلاً عن زوجته الأولى، لا بد أن حمورابي كان لديه زوجات ثانويات والعديد من المحظيات. كما أننا لا نعرف أي من هؤلاء النساء أنجبت خليفته سمسو إيلونا، سؤال مهم آخر هو ما إذا كان ملوك بابل ينتمون إلى سلالة واحدة متصلة من الأب إلى الابن أم لا. نعلم من ممالك أخرى مثل إيسن

ولارسا وماري، أن العديد من السلالات تبع بعضها بعض على العرش على مدى عقود وقرون. تشير المعلومات الحالية عن سلالة بابل الأولى أنها كانت سلالة واحدة متصلة من سمسو لائيل إلى سمسو ديتانا، تعاقب عشرة ملوك على مدى ثلاثة قرون. بالنظر إلى الأدلة المعاصرة فضلا عن ذلك، يمكن أن يكون الإخوة قد خلفوا بعضهم بعضا على العرش. ويقوم البحث على هذه الأفكار ويطرح السؤال التالي: ما الذي يمكننا إعادة بناء ومعرفة العائلة المالكة البابلية؟ في نهاية هذه الورقة، سيد القارئ شجرة عائلة واضحة لملوك سلالة بابل الأولى تحتوي على جميع أفراد العائلة الذين يُحتمل أن يكونوا أعضاء في العائلة المالكة.

Introduction

Everybody with some historical knowledge knows Hammu-rabi of Babylon who ruled from 1792 to 1750 BCE according to the Middle Chronology. But what do we know of his family and dynasty? It turns out that little research has been done into the Old Babylonian (OB) royal family of Babylon and that there are more questions than answers.

For example, we do not know the name and origin of Hammu-rabi's first wife. Royal marriages were dynastic affairs and his first wife must have been a member of an important contemporary royal dynasty, such as that of Samsi-Addu or Ešnunna. In addition to his first wife, Hammu-rabi must have had secondary wives and several concubines.¹ We also do not know which of these women bore his successor Samsu-iluna.

Another important question is whether or not the kings of Babylon belonged to one continuous, father-to-son dynasty. We know from other kingdoms such as Isin, Larsa or Mari that several dynasties followed each other on the throne over decades and centuries. The current information on OB Babylon suggests that it had one continuous dynasty from Sumula-El (1880-1845 BCE) down to Samsu-ditana (1625-1595 BCE), a succession of ten kings over three centuries. Given the contemporary evidence, this would be very unique. In addition, it could be that brothers succeeded each other on the throne.² We do not know for certain the father of each reigning OB monarch of Babylon.

These and other questions, sparked the research for this article, posing the question: what can we reconstruct and know about the Babylonian royal family? At the end of this paper, the reader will find one tentative "maximum" family tree of the First Dynasty of Babylon containing all the family members who could potentially have been a member of the royal family. It should be taken with caution because we are lacking many names and it could be the case, as more texts are published, that some of the people therein, turn out not to be members of the royal family. For this reason, there is also a "minimum" family tree that only contains people for which it can be securely ascertained that they belonged to the royal family. This article starts with defining how we can identify members of the royal family. After this, a survey of the known Babylonian princes, princesses, and one possible queen is given. Subsequently, the reader will find some remarks on the names given to the royal family members, ending with the socio-economic role that royal family members had.

How We Identify Members of the Royal Family

Let us start with a cliché, we know that people were members of the royal family because the texts tell us so. A text or cylinder seal impression can give us the name of someone's father and if that father is a king with a rare or recognizable name, we may assume that we are dealing with a royal family member. Things are however not always as simple because a king sometimes has a rather common name, like for example Sîn-muballit (1812-

1793 BCE). It is well known that other people called Sîn-muballiṭ lived during the reign of their namesake. Similarly, even with a rare name such as that of king Hammu-rabi, we can get confused because there is a small group of texts from Sippar revolving around a certain *nadītum* called Ruttum who is identified as the daughter of one Hammu-rabi.³ Even though the texts stem from king Hammu-rabi's reign, she is rightly not counted as a royal daughter by most scholars.⁴ This is mostly because Ruttum is nowhere mentioned as DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL "daughter of the king" and that nothing else in her group of texts hints at anything royal.

The other, more common way in which royal family members are identified, is because the texts identify them as DUMU LUGAL "son of the king" or DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL "daughter of the king". However, the problem is that we often cannot be certain *whose* son or daughter the prince or princess exactly is. Sometimes the texts are very concrete about this, as in the case of Hammu-rabi's sons Sumu-ditāna and Mutu-Numaḥa, as well as with Iltani, the daughter of Sîn-muballiṭ and sister of Hammu-rabi.⁵ Nevertheless, the term DUMU.(MUNUS) LUGAL is still difficult to grasp. Charpin has written that it designates somebody of royal blood (*fille de roi*), not necessarily a child of the ruling monarch (*fille du roi*).⁶ This provides an elegant solution, but we would need in one text the name of a royal family member identified as DUMU.(MUNUS) LUGAL and be certain that he/she is not a child of the ruling monarch. No such text has as of yet surfaced.

Richardson (2017) on the other hand had a completely different notion, he presumed that the late OB DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL: ... *was not a "princess," but is best understood as an institutional class of votaresses without families to support them, thus afforded legal protections as dependents of the King's household (...). They were thus "daughters (or wards) of the Crown" rather than biological daughter of the king of Babylon, organized into a household, perhaps eponymously named for one or more past living Iltanis.*⁷ The case is well researched, but lacks conclusive evidence, as the author admits.⁸ On p. 90 of the same article, we read: *On this understanding, a woman called DML (i.e. DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL, "daughter of the king", RdB) would be identified as someone under the household protection of the Crown: without a father, and not subject to the authority of a husband or male relatives, her legal and social subordination required marking. She had to go in some household. The fact that a woman is a nadītum is in my opinion a sufficiently specific marking as a social class, which is (nominally) protected by the Codex Hammu-rabi and royal edicts such as the Samsu-iluna hungry nadītum's letter.*⁹ In addition, all the *nadītum*'s already went into a household, as "brides" into that of the gods Šamaš and Aya. *Nadītum* women in the Sippar cloister were nevertheless always still subject to their family, however, this did not mean that her brothers could reclaim her property after the *pater familias* died. Furthermore, there were other late OB royal women indicated as DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL, such as Annabum who was certainly not a *nadītum*.

The hypothesis of Richardson (2017) concerning the DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL had been informed by the more than fifty late OB documents mentioning a DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL and/or the woman Iltani, spanning a period of ca. one hundred years.¹⁰ This Iltani is another one than the daughter of Sîn-muballiṭ, that we shall call Iltani I. The second, later Iltani was either the daughter of Samsu-iluna or Abi-ešuḫ, and we shall name her Iltani II. Stol (1987) put forward the hypothesis that Iltani II died during the reign of Ammī-šaduqa and that her business was continued in her name (after her death?).

The bulk of the late OB Iltani/DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL texts¹¹ stem from the reigns of Abī-ešuh, Ammī-ditāna and first few years of Ammī-šaduqa, warranting the hypothesis that she died somewhere in Ammī-šaduqa year 8 or 9. After these years, we see a sharp decline in the number of texts, and only three are datable beyond Ammī-šaduqa year 8. In only two of these texts we see an Iltani mentioned¹² as a contracting party. So either the estate was continued in her name after her death, or there was an “Iltani III”, daughter of Ammī-ditāna or Ammī-šaduqa who lived and conducted business during Ammī-šaduqa’s and Samsu-ditāna’s reign. Rather than proposing a new class of women as Richardson did, this, in my opinion, is a more plausible explanation for the longevity and other problems of the late OB Iltani dossier.

To sum up this section, the term DUMU(.MUNUS) LUGAL “son/daughter of the king” indicates someone of royal Babylonian blood, however, it is often impossible to determine whether or not this person is a child of the incumbent monarch.

Babylonian Princes

In this section, the reader will find all known references to (supposed) male family members of the Babylonian royal family in the OB period.

- Ibbi-Sîn “Sin named (him)”, is identified as a “son of king Sabium” on a cylinder seal.¹³
- Rīš-Marduk “Rejoice Marduk”, a brother of an unnamed king of Babylon occurs in *AbB* 14 103.¹⁴ In the letter Rīš-Marduk orders the addressee Lubluṭ-ilī to give an amount of barley to Ilī-ma-abī and Lipit-Adad. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know which king was Rīš-Marduk’s brother, because we have no other reliable prosopographical ties in this text to other documents.
- Sumu-ditāna “Progeny of Ditāna” (*su-mu-di-ta-na/su-mu-di-ta-an*) occurs in the Mari texts *FM* 2 119: 6, *FM* 2 120: 1, *LAPO* 18 1037: 5, *ARM* 24 242: 4, *ARM* 30 p. 392 (M.11460: 6), *ARM* 30 p. 419 (M.12094: 3), *ARM* 32 p. 451-452 (M.5092: 22), and *FM* 11 145: 5, furthermore, he is mentioned indirectly (without name) in *ARM* 26/2 375, *FM* 2 13, and *LAPO* 16 163. He was sent by his father Hammu-rabi to the royal court of Mari to gain international experience, comparable to an internship. He did not come alone and was accompanied by a palace-official called Adad-ilī and others to take care of his needs. The dossier concerning Sumu-ditāna and his younger brother has been studied extensively by Lion 1994 and she concludes that both princes left Babylon in the course of the year ZL 12 (= 1763 BCE), about a year before Mari-Babylon relations turned sour leading to Mari’s destruction. Sumu-ditāna was apparently still with Zimri-Lim in Nahur (northern Syria) in ZL 13/I/13 according to M.12094 (*ARM* 30 p. 419).

Sumu-ditāna is explicitly called Hammu-rabi’s “eldest son” (*ma-ra-šu ra-bé-em*) in *FM* 2 119: 5 and “eldest servant” (*ṣú-ḫa-ra-am ra-bé-em*) in *ARM* 26/2 375: 7. This has led to the idea that he was the original heir to the Babylonian throne. However, it was Samsu-iluna who became the next king in 1750 BCE. We can only speculate on the fate of Sumu-ditāna between 1763 and 1750 BCE and whether or not he was older than Samsu-iluna or how the latter came to be the next king.¹⁵ Another reference to Hammu-rabi’s son Sumu-ditāna is found in *BDHP* 28: 17, a son of Sumu-ditāna, called Sumu-hammu, is mentioned as a witness to a sale of royal land.¹⁶ If the year name is correct (Samsu-iluna 8), we are here just a few years after Samsu-iluna’s accession. Note also that neither Sumu-hammu, nor Sumu-ditāna is called DUMU LUGAL.

- Mutu-Numaha “Man of Numaha” (*mu-tu-nu-ma-ḥa*) is mentioned by name in *FM* 2 121: 12’ and *ARM* 26/2 375: 4. In the latter letter he is identified as a younger brother of Sumu-ditāna and Hammu-rabi asks Zimrī-Līm to accommodate Mutu-Numaha in a certain way (we do not know how due to a break), or else to send him to Yamhad or Qatna.
- Sumu-ḥammu “Progeny of the grandfather” was a son of Sumu-ditāna according to *BDHP* 28: 17 (*su-mu-ḥa-am-mu* DUMU *su-mu-di-ta-na* (Si.8²/VII/8), from Sippar, see above). There must have been multiple men with this name.¹⁷ Apart from *BDHP* 28: 17 we do not have another text with a patronym. Other Sippar texts mentioning him are: *CT* 6 44c: 6 (Ha.30²/XI/10) a Sumu-ḥammu hands out silver to hire harvest laborers; in *MHET* II/2 266:9 (Ha.37/VI/11) he sells a house to the *nadītum* Šāt-Aya; and another Sumu-ḥammu owns a neighboring field in *MHET* II/6 901: 4 (Aš 12/IV/25). In the documents from Dūr-Abi-ešuh we also encounter a Sumu-ḥammu with the title GAL.UKKIN.NA/*mu’errum* “commander”, always without patronym.¹⁸ This man is part of a travelling group of high officials who are sometimes present for the distribution of barley to mercenaries. Finally, there is an unpublished letter in the British Museum, BM 104294, written by one Sumu-ḥammu to Dadā. In the letter, he demands that a servant of his, Iddin-Zababa from Šadlaš, but living in Kish, must not be transferred with other Kishites to Rāpiqum.
- Sîn-ibnīšu “Sîn created him” is a “son of the king” according to *YOS* 13 43: 5 (Sd. 13/XII/24), the same person probably occurs in *YOS* 13 142: 8 (undated) as well.¹⁹
- An unnamed prince is referenced in *AbB* 12: 7, he is the recipient of sheep.

Babylonian Princesses

- Ayyalatum “Hind”²⁰ (*a-ia-la-tum*, *CT* 47, 11: 24 (Sm); *a-ia-la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS [*su-mu-la-la*-(DINGIR)], Al-‘Adhami 1997 (= *Edubba* 7 75): 33 (envelope): 33 (AS 2); ^d*a-a-la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *su-mu-la-DINGIR*, *CT* 8 29b : 22 (As) ; and probably ^d*a-a-la-tum*, *CT* 8 49b : 5 (AS, with case *MHET* II/1 79 : 5). This woman was clearly a daughter of Babylon’s first king Sumu-la-El and even though she is not explicitly identified as a *nadītum* devotee (LUKUR) of Šamaš, she clearly was one as she is mentioned in witness lists surrounded by other *nadītum*’s and personnel connected to the *gagûm* cloister or Šamaš’ temple. Note that she is not identified as DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL.
- Šallurtum (meaning not certain, a type of fruit or a fruit tree), *ša-lu-ur-tum*, DUMU.MUNUS *su-ma-la-DINGIR* LUGAL, DAM ^dEN.ZU-kà-ši-id LUGAL, KI.ÁG.A.NI, “Šallurtum, daughter of king Sumu-la-El, wife of king Sîn-kāšid, his beloved one”.²¹ This inscription was found on a seal impression from Uruk and attests to a diplomatic marriage between the royal houses of Uruk and Babylon. These were already connected to each other due to the same Amorite tribal background (Amnānum and/or Yaḥrūrūm).²² Eventually, for reasons unknown, Sîn-kāšid participated in an anti-Babylonian coalition together with Larsa and Ešnunna around 1843-42 BCE.²³ Finally, it would be interesting to know whether the successor to the throne of Uruk, Sîn-erībam, was the son of Šallurtum and Sîn-kāšid.
- Iltani I “Our goddess”, daughter of Sîn-muballit, there is a text that has the Iltani daughter of Sin-muballit seal and the mentioning of her as DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL in the text: the unpublished Di 696b, cf. De Boer 2011a: 594f.
- Šamšu-nittum “The Sun is ours” (^dUTU-*šu-ni-it-tum*), she was married to the Turukkû king Zaziya. She is found in two letters that were intercepted by agents working for Mari’s king Zimrī-Līm, these were found amongst the Mari letters. The texts were re-edited by Durand

2000 as *LPO* 18 1266 and 1267.²⁴ The letters were written by Hammu-rabi who addresses Šamšu-nittum as “sister”.

- An unnamed granddaughter of Sîn-muballit (DUMU.MUNUS ŠEŠ LUGAL) was perhaps stationed in Larsa for cultic reasons.²⁵
- Arwītum, “Female gazelle” (*ar-wi-tum* DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL DAM *na-ra-am-d*EN.ZU, “Arwītum, daughter of the king, wife of Narām-Sîn) occurs in one text from Larsa (*TCL* 11 156: 19 (Ha.36/IX), she is perhaps a sister or daughter of Hammu-rabi.²⁶ The text is a list of fields assigned to several officials. Unfortunately, we do not know the status of her husband Narām-Sîn.
- Lamassani “Our protective goddess” (*la-ma-sà-ni* LUKUR *d*UTU, DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL), she was a *nadītum* living in the Sippar *gagûm*-cloister and occurs as the owner of a field that is leased in *VAS* 29 18: 2-3 (Si.1/IX). She also occurs in the unpublished text BM 97835: 3-4 (Ha.40²/II/2),²⁷ where she lends two shekels of silver to a married couple.
- An unnamed daughter of Hammu-rabi was married to Šilli-Sîn,²⁸ who ruled Ešnunna briefly from ca. 1764-62 BCE, this is known from a Šilli-Sîn year name: MU *ší-lí-d*EN.ZU DUMU.MUNUS *am-mu-ra-bi*.²⁹
- Elmēšum (meaning not certain³⁰ “a type of precious stone”, *mí**el-me-šum* DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL), a daughter of the king is mentioned in *CT* 45 58: 2 (Aš 9/X/1) as the proprietress of a boat that is hired.³¹
- Annabum (meaning not certain,³² perhaps “Hare”, *mí**an-na-bu* DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL) occurs in four texts. In *VAS* 7 84: 5, 11 (Aš 9/VI/4), she receives a number of sheep as offerings (*lipit qāti*) for the temple of Ištar in Babylon; in *VAS* 7 85: 3, 8 (Aš 10/I/15) she receives goats; and in *VAS* 7 86: 7 (Aš 10/I/15) she receives a goat for the cultic meal (*tākultu*) of Sîn-imguranni’s wife, the senior scribe of Uṭul-Ištar; and in *VAS* 7 100: 9 (Aš 14 X/3) she leases an orchard and a field. According to Pientka this small text group stems from the vicinity of Dilbat or Kiš.³³

Interesting is the fact that her seal is impressed on the first three tablets, which has a prayer: *d*inanna nin-gal-maḥ, an-ki ba bu gá, *an-na-bu-um*, geme₂ ní tuku-zu, igi ša₆-ga-zu-ta, ḥúl eš-bar-ma-ab “Oh Ištar, great powerful lady, ...heaven and earth(?), Annabum, your attentive servant, with your favorable eye, grant me joy”³⁴ The same seal is impressed on the envelope of *AbB* 1 15. The seal on this envelope, carrying also *a-na a-bi-ia* “to my father”, is published as *CT* 52 187. The letter is a plea from the sender to the addressee to send a tablet concerning a slave. It has no address lines, but some unusual greeting formulae: “May the protective deity of daddy grant you, my father, an old age in a long life and a good reputation in the palace that you frequent. You my father, may you be well, may you be healthy! May the protective deity of daddy watch over you!” Was this letter sent by Annabum to her father, king Ammī-ditāna? That would mean that *biātīya* “my daddy” was her nickname for Ammī-ditāna. Annabum’s seal impression and *VAS* 7 84 suggest a connection between her and the goddess Ištar.

- Iltani II “Our goddess”, daughter of Samsu-ilūna or Abi-ešuḥ. For this princess, who was certainly a *nadītum*, see above and the references collected by Richardson 2017: 69-71.
- Iltani III “Our goddess”, daughter of Ammī-ditana or Ammī-šadūqa. See above for my reasons to suspect a third Iltani.

A Queen?

- Šamuḫtum “The prosperous one” (^{mi}ša-mu-úḫ-tum ‘um’-mi ‘šar’-ri) is identified (perhaps?) as “mother of the king” in VAS 7 88: 6 (Aš 10/XI/10²). The reference is uncertain because the text is an otherwise ordinary field lease contract from Dilbat.

*The Names of the Royal Family Members**Amorite names*

A fascinating aspect of the royal house of Babylon, or of any royal house for that matter, is the tradition of giving their children specific names. These names are often programmatic and infused with ancestral traditions. Luckily, we are somewhat informed on the ancestral traditions of the OB Babylonian royal family, thanks to a text called “the genealogy of the Hammu-rabi dynasty”.³⁵ This document reflects part of a so-called *kispum* ritual in which deceased ancestors and others connected to the royal house were invited to eat and drink from a banquet. The goal was to appease their spirits so that they would bless instead of harm the family. The document starts with a list of nineteen legendary ancestors that has long been the topic of debate because some of these names look like fabrications or are –in reality– the names of tribes, and others look like actual, albeit barely attested personal names.³⁶ Our main interest in “the genealogy of the Hammu-rabi dynasty” is how the names of the ancestors served as an inspiration for the names of Babylon’s princes.

One element in particular from the “genealogy of the Hammu-rabi dynasty” occurs in royal names: Ditān/Ditānu/Ditāna. We have prince Sumu-ditāna “Progeny of Ditāna”, and kings Ammī-ditāna “My paternal grandfather is (like) Ditāna), and Samsu-ditāna “The sun is (like) Ditāna). In the genealogy we find Ditānu and the personal name Abī-ditān “My father is (like) Ditān”. The term Ditān has been studied extensively by Marchesi 2006: 7-19 and he concludes that Ditān or Tidnum is an Amorite tribe first attested in texts from the second half of the third millennium BCE and that the name is probably inspired by the Akkadian word *ditānum* meaning “bison”. In the second millennium BCE Ditān is no longer encountered as a tribal name,³⁷ but only as an element in (early OB) personal names and as an eponymous ancestor of the Babylonian royal house. In personal names its usage is rare, we find in early OB Kiš and the “Mananā” dynasty texts Mālana-Ditāna (meaning unknown) and Inūḫ-ditān “Ditān is restful”³⁸; in Ur there is a certain Me-Ditān (meaning unknown);³⁹ in early OB Sippar there is an Ilī-ditān “My god is Ditān”;⁴⁰ and we have even have a reference from Mari: Ilī-ditāna.⁴¹ Finally, there are some names composed with Ditān in the so-called “Amorite name list”: Sumu-šidqu-Ditāna “Progeny of the righteous of Ditāna(?)”⁴² and Sumu-ditnum “Progeny of Ditnum”.⁴³ It is clear that the usage of Ditān in personal names was restricted and perhaps even considered taboo to some. The element Ditān perhaps belonged to the realm of exclusive royal and/or aristocratic names that commoners were not supposed to bear. It is then no surprise that an early OB king of Marad (ca. 1878-1871 BCE) was called Sumu-ditān. Another Marad king, Sumu-numhim, carried in his name the element of another eponymous “Hammu-rabi genealogy” ancestor and/or tribe: Numḫa/Namḫû/Numaḫa. Numḫa as an element in personal names was also restricted to certain people, the only example from the Babylonian royal house is prince Mutu-Numaḫa. The stock of names and elements was thus similar between the short-lived Marad royal house (De Boer 2013b) and Babylon’s royal family. Given their common backgrounds, it stands to reason that Babylon’s royal house had tribal connections with that of Marad.⁴⁴

Another frequently occurring element in the names of the Babylonian kings is the term *ḫammum* (Hammu-rabi) or ‘*ammum* (Ammī-ditāna, Ammī-šaduqa), which must mean

“paternal grandfather”, as Hammu-rabi himself says in a letter quoted by Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 228.⁴⁵ These names indicate again the central importance of the family’s ancestors. The paternal grandfather is qualified as “great” (*rabi*),⁴⁶ righteous (*šaduqa*) or as the eponymous ancestor Dītān(a). A name such as Abī-ešuḫ “my father is helpful” stands in the same tradition.

Names with Sîn as its theophoric element

Male names were mostly Amorite, but also Akkadian. Interestingly, a number of the Akkadian names have the moongod Sîn as a theophoric element:⁴⁷ Ibbi-Sîn, Apil-Sîn, Sîn-muballit, and Sîn-ibnīšu. In general, Sîn was by far the most popular deity in OB personal names. Of the hundred most common names throughout the early OB period, thirty-six were composed with Sîn.⁴⁸ The reason for this special relationship between the OB Babylonian royal house and Sîn can perhaps be explained in two ways. Firstly, it could be that Sîn was the chief god of the tribe to which the royal house belonged. According to the “Anam letter”, it belonged to either the Amnānum or the Yaḥrūrūm clan within the broader Mār-yamīna tribal confederation,⁴⁹ in addition, we can also not exclude a connection to the Numḥa tribe.⁵⁰ We do not know which deity was specifically connected to either tribe. However, Sîn was considered the main deity of at least one Amorite tribe, the Yamutbalum tribe.⁵¹ Interestingly, this tribe is presented in the Mari texts as the antagonist of the Numḥa tribe.⁵²

Another way of regarding the special relationship is to see Sîn as the dynastic deity of the Babylonian royal house. Every royal dynasty had its dynastic god that was not necessarily the same as someone’s tribal, personal, or city god.⁵³ The only circumstantial evidence that Sîn could have been the royal house’s dynastic deity is that he is presented as “the one who created” Hammu-rabi⁵⁴ and Samsu-iluna.⁵⁵ However, other deities, like Marduk or Ninmaḫ are also presented as the “creator” of the Babylonian kings.⁵⁶ We need firmer evidence if we want to state that Sîn was the dynastic god of Babylon’s First Dynasty.

Names of royal women

It appears that the names of royal women were not based on Amorite ancestral traditions or other onomastic rules. All the names that we have are Akkadian and, as opposed to the male names, were not unique to the royal family. Here is a nice parallel with the Mari court where this was also the case, however, the Mari princesses also carried programmatic names with concepts such as *mātum* “land” or *nawûm* “pasture”.⁵⁷ There are many contemporary homonyms known for the Babylonian royal women Iltani, Annabum, Elmēšum, Šallurtum, Ayyalatum, Arwītum, Lamassani, and Šamuḫtum. The only interesting Babylonian royal female name is Šamšu-nittum “The Sun is ours”, (presumably) a sister of Hammu-rabi. The name is reminiscent of an earlier Isin princess called Mātum-niātum “The land is ours”,⁵⁸ but also of course of King Samsu-ilūna “The Sun is our god”.

The Socio-Economic Role of the Royal Family Members

Princesses as nadītum women and priestesses

The royal women who were *nadītum*’s devoted to Šamaš all carried names that were common among other *nadītum*’s such as Ayyalatum, Iltani, and Lamassani. We are hardly informed about the activities and lives of Ayyalatum and Lamassani, but the multiple royal women called Iltani have left us enough texts to say something about their lives.

There is a staggering amount of information on the *nadītum* women of Šamaš and to give a full overview is beyond the scope of this article.⁵⁹ However, it is useful to give some basic information on these women because it will shed light on why princesses were dedicated to a deity. The *nadītum* women of Šamaš were devotees to the sun god and his wife Aya. They are said to live in a separate compound, called the *gagûm* close to the main temple of Šamaš in Sippar-Yahrûrum. Because they were in official wedlock with the sun god, they were not allowed to marry. However, their families had usually given them a dowry to provide for their livelihood and this allowed some *nadītum* daughters of rich families to go into business with their property. As such, fields were leased out and loans were provided at a profit. The idea was that the accumulated property of the *nadītum* remained within the family. Approaching old age, a *nadītum* would typically adopt a niece to bestow upon her the property in return for the young woman taking care of her elder aunt.⁶⁰ This niece, a daughter of a brother, was also consecrated as a *nadītum*, keeping part of the original paternal estate intact. The exact day-to-day activities of a *nadītum* are unclear, but it is certain that they prayed for their families' wellbeing and participated in religious festivals.

Here above, I have argued for the existence of three Iltani's: Iltani I (daughter of Sîn-muballit), Iltani II (daughter of Samsu-iluna or Abi-ešuh), and Iltani III (daughter of Ammī-ditāna or Ammī-šadūqa). Without going into too much detail concerning their economic activities and property, we can state that Iltani I owned large flocks of sheep and goats for wool that she also lent out.⁶¹ She had fields and date palm orchards cultivated by tenant farmers⁶² and part of their yield was used in offerings.⁶³ VAS 9 16 (Ha.22/II) is a text that might be concerned with offerings to the dead because dates are provided for the "offering of the steppe" (*a-na* GABA.RI EDEN.NA). It was believed that spirits (GIDIM or *eṭemmu*) roamed the steppe.⁶⁴ The unpublished text BM 81223 (courtesy M. Stol) is the earliest dated Iltani I text we have (Ha.8/V). It is a receipt that records two transactions, one is the receiving of barley for the princess' food and the other is the receiving of barley for ancestral funerary offerings (KI.SI₃.GA/*kispum*) for the months II, IV and V. We know from other texts that month V was very important to the Babylonian royal house's funerary offerings.⁶⁵ It seems that, in addition to the funerary rituals performed by the royal house in Babylon, Iltani I also performed the *kispum* ritual for her ancestors.

For Iltani II/Iltani III there are more texts, they too had large flocks of sheep and goats for wool that was processed by groups of female weavers.⁶⁶ Indirectly it is clear that Iltani II/Iltani III possessed a lot of land⁶⁷ and enough farmers to cultivate their own as well as additional plots.⁶⁸ We are also informed about their religious activities, sheep were delivered on their behalf to diviners for extispicy⁶⁹ and they held large swaths of Crown lands on behalf of the royal family.

Annabum is not a *nadītum* but probably a type of priestess connected to Ištar, this is based on the prayer to Inanna/Ištar on her seal and the offering of sheep to the temples of Marduk and Ištar-of-Babylon in VAS 7 84.

Dynastic marriages

At least three royal daughters, and probably many more, were married off for political and diplomatic reasons. This was a common practice in the OB period and is best known from the Mari court of Zimri-Lim.⁷⁰ We can safely assume that every Babylonian king pursued an active matrimonial policy; not only giving out daughters in marriage but also marrying daughters of other kings. We know of three cases in which a Babylonian king married off his

daughter to another ruler: a daughter of Sumu-la-El, Šallurtum was married to Uruk's Sîn-kāšid; a daughter of Sîn-muballiṭ (Šamšu-nittum) was married to the Turukkean king Zaziya; and a daughter of Hammu-rabi (name unknown) was married to Šilli-Sîn of Ešnunna.

Princes and Other Branches

There is little that we can say about the socio-economic role of the Babylonian princes. In the case of Ibbi-Sîn and Sîn-ibnīšu we know little more than their names. The two sons of Hammurabi Sumu-ditāna and Mutu-numaḥa were sent to the befriended kingdom of Mari for a learning experience. A son of Sumu-ditāna called Sumu-ḥammu appears in a list of high officials witnessing the sale of royal land. This provides an important clue pointing towards the role of princes: they were courtiers or worked in the military. It is no surprise that the king relied on family members in the control of his realm. Outside of Babylon we have a few examples of this practice: the Larsa king Rīm-Sîn (1822-1763 BCE) had appointed his brother Sîn-muballiṭ as a kind of viceroy in the town of Maškan-šāpir. The Mari texts also give some examples of this from northern Syria where the brothers of kings were important generals.⁷¹

Conclusions: in the Service of the King

Even though the textual sources do not provide us with a full image of the Old Babylonian royal family of Babylon, we do get an idea about the lives of its members. The Old Babylonian king was the sole ruler of the realm and he needed the support from his tribe and family in the exercise of his kingship. So we can conclude that the lives of the royal family were in the service of the king. Royal women had two main roles: they were either married off to vassals, high officials, or allies in diplomatic marriages, or they became priestesses. Men of royal blood had four options: they either became king, went into exile, were murdered, or fulfilled a role in the royal administration as a courtier, high official, or military official. There is no doubt that new texts will shed more light on the royal family to which Hammu-rabi belonged.

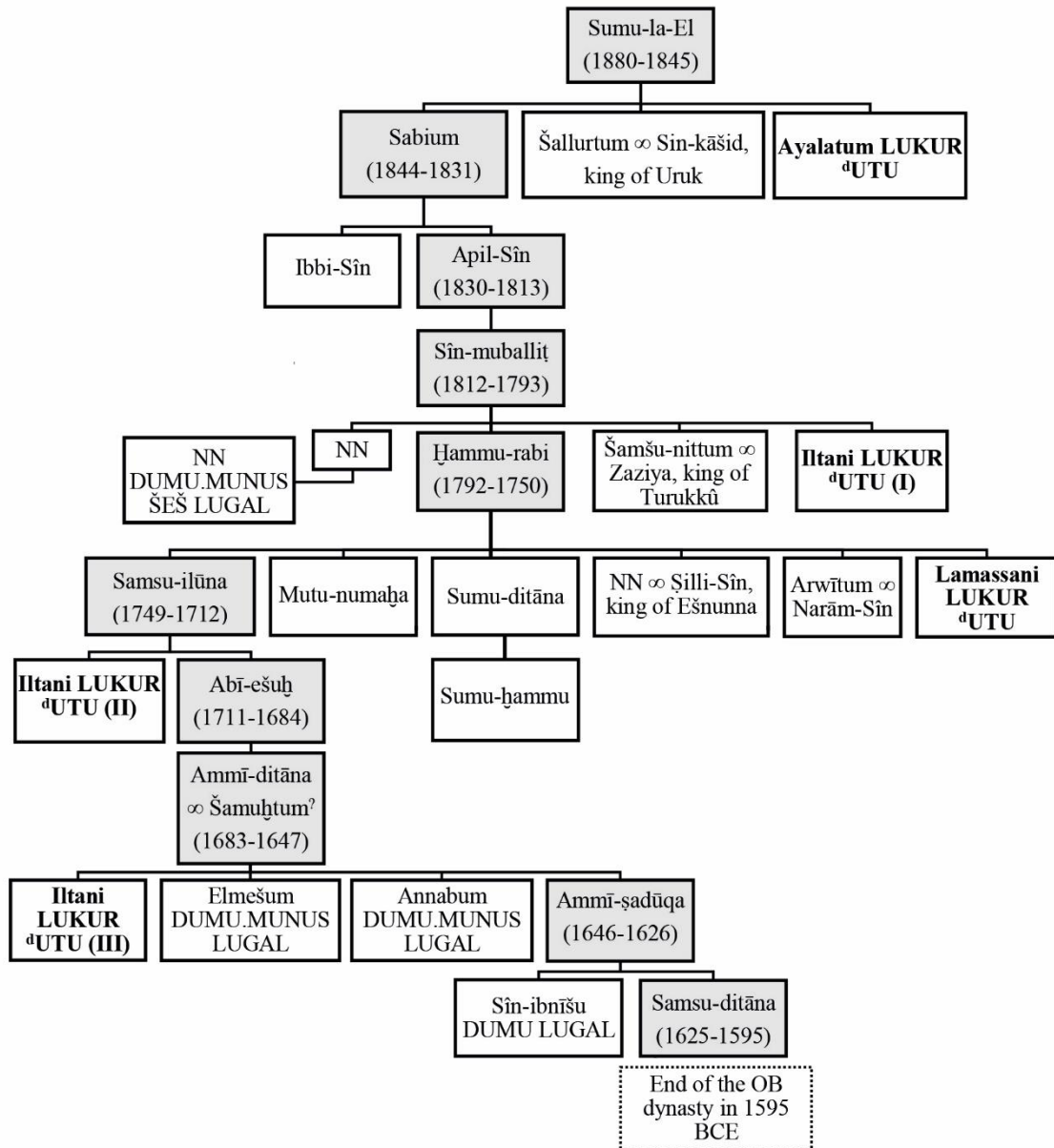


Figure 1: the “maximum” family tree containing all possible royal family members. The kings are indicated with grey. It is assumed that every king was the son of the previous ruler. Also note that Iltani II was either the daughter of Samsu-iluna or Abi-ešuĥ and Iltani III of either Ammî-ditâna or Ammî-šaduqa.

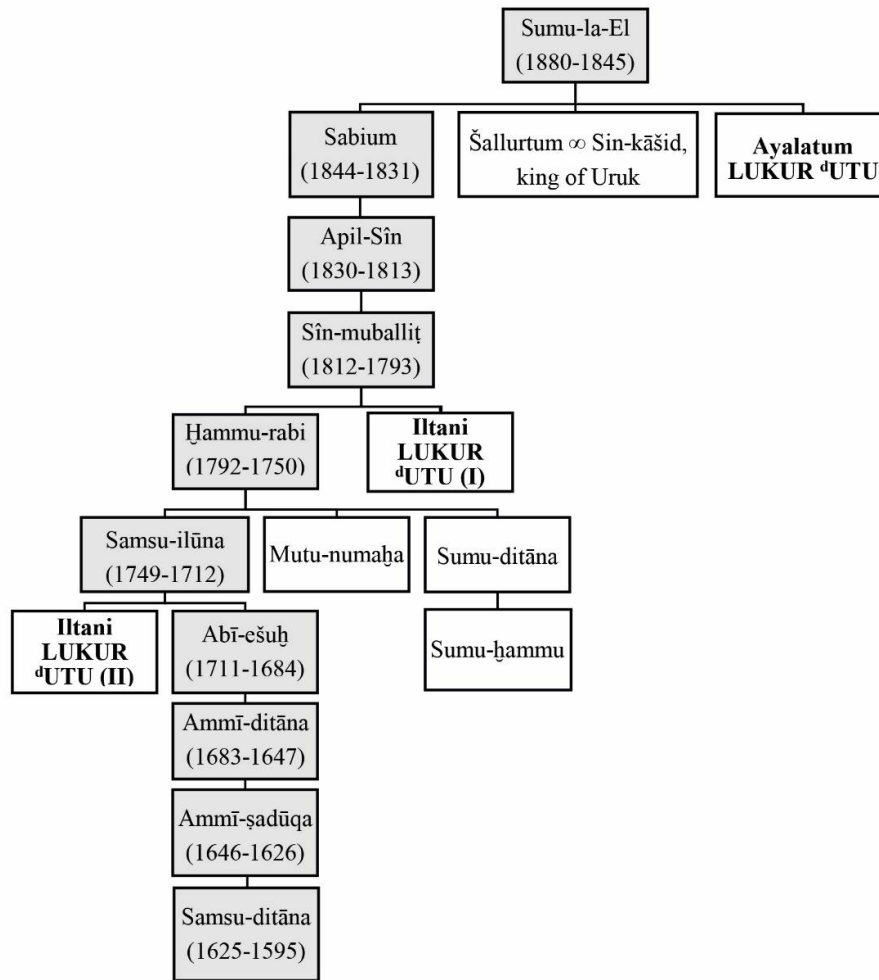


Figure 2: the “minimum” family tree containing only people who were certainly royal family members

Footnotes:

¹ The kingdom of Mari provides contemporary evidence on the harem of the king, see Ziegler 1999.

² As it happened in Larsa, where first Warad-Sîn (1834-1823 BCE) was king and then his brother Rīm-Sîn (1822-1763 BCE).

³ It seems that Hammu-rabi was a distinctly royal name given to leaders, not only of kingdoms, but also of tribes, see the remarks by Durand 2013: 50–51. Nonetheless, there are a number of non-royal men from southern Mesopotamia who are also called Hammu-rabi, an example is found in Abraham and Gabbay 2012 no.13: 9 (Rīm-Sîn 9). From Tell Haddad (Mê-Turān) in the kingdom of Ešnunna, there is even a seal inscription (Muhammad 1992: 42–43) of a Hammu-rabi, son of Sîn-muballiṭ, servant of King Ibal-pī-El!

⁴ Eg. Richardson 2017: 73 n. 25, Barberon 2012: 67 n. 372, Nakata 2016: 103 n.30. The Rutnum group is studied in detail by Tyborowski 2010 who did consider her as a daughter of king Hammu-rabi. Stol (personal communication) has indicated the possibility that this Rutnum was perhaps a daughter of Hammu-rabi of Kurdā, or even Hammu-rabi of Aleppo.

⁵ Despite the hesitance of Richardson 2017: 72–73. The reader is referred to De Boer 2011a: 595 for the conclusive evidence.

⁶ Charpin 2003: 133; Charpin 2004: 255.

- ⁷ Richardson 2017: 68. To bolster this claim, he presents six arguments: 1) the supposed longevity of the Late OB Iltani dossier; 2) the lack of evidence for the late OB Iltani's biological descent from the king; 3) the dispersed prosopography of the people occurring in her texts; 4) a comparison to other women named Iltani who were *not* called DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL; 5) the precarious social and economic status of women called Iltani and the DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL's; 6) a study of the activities found in the late OB Iltani and/or DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL texts.
- ⁸ Richardson 2017: 89 *The theme need not be belabored any longer: it cannot, on present evidence, be either proven or disproven that DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL was not a statement of paternity, but rather an office; nor that the personal name Iltani designated women in votary status to temples.*
- ⁹ This letter is known in several copies and is studied by Janssen 1991. It stipulates that women who entered the *gagûm* cloister as *nadîtum* women had to have sufficient means to make a living and that debtors of her family could not lay claim to her possessions.
- ¹⁰ Richardson 2017: 69–71 provides a catalogue. A few texts should be added, such as the two harvester contracts in Sabee and Naif 2011 from Sippar Yaḥrûrum (Abu Habbah).
- ¹¹ An overview is in Pientka 1998: 319.
- ¹² MHET II/4 552 (Aš 17) and 562 (Sd. 19), the other text is OLA 21 31 (Sd. 13).
- ¹³ RIME 4 3.3.1: *i-bi-^dEN.ZU*, DUMU *sà-bu-um* LUGAL.
- ¹⁴ That is: he himself writes in lines 5: *aš-šum a-wi-le-e ša šar-ri-im a-ḫi-ia* “about the men of the king, my brother...” Sommerfeld 1982: 111 read the name as *re-sú-^dAMAR.UTU*, Veenhof's reading from AbB 14 is followed here.
- ¹⁵ Interestingly, another Sumu-ditāna surfaces in the letters found at Tell Leilan (Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna), in PIHANS 117 113. He writes a letter to “my lord” Till-Abnu, king of Šubat-Enlil.
- ¹⁶ This was first seen by Stol 2002: 736. Charpin 2018b: 115–116 provides a new edition of BDHP 28.
- ¹⁷ This is certain for the Sumu-ḫammu in MHET II/1 26: 12 (Sabium), this text stems from Ḫalḫalla (Stol 1998a), the Suhean Summu-ḫammu mentioned in AbB 12 56: 11, 18 must also be a homonym.
- ¹⁸ Sem 1278: 34 (Ae. 28/II/30, Földi 2014); CUSAS 29 6: 10 (Ae.o+1/III/5); CUSAS 29 7: 8 (Ae. o+1/I/16); CUSAS 29 8: 14 (Ae o+1/III/5); CUSAS 29 10: 11 (Ae.o+1/V/8); CUSAS 29 13: 12 (Ae.o+1); CUSAS 29 14: 7 (Ae.o+1/VII/17); CUSAS 29 16: 18 (Ae.o+1/VIII/10); CUSAS 29 30: 8 (Ad.[?]/III/6); CUSAS 29 31: 8 (Ad.1/VII/22); and CUSAS 29 32: 8 (Ad.1/VII/22).
- ¹⁹ See also Pientka 1998: 347.
- ²⁰ The name of this princess either refers to the Akkadian word for hind or deer, *ayyalatum*, or is an abbreviation of a more elaborate name containing the theophoric element Aya (for example Šāt-Aya or Erišti-Aya), evidenced by the addition of the divine determinative in CT 8 29b: 22.
- ²¹ RIME 4 4.1.16.
- ²² This common background is evidenced by the Anam letter: Van Koppen 2006: 127–130.
- ²³ As we know from a treaty published by Guichard 2014, for additional remarks, De Boer 2014b.
- ²⁴ Durand 2012: 40 n.21 nevertheless remarks that the letter could have been written by Hammu-rabi of Kurdâ.
- ²⁵ Charpin 2018a. This could be Arwîtum, but we lack any evidence.
- ²⁶ Kraus 1965: 22 n.108 suspects the same, but Arwîtum could also be a daughter of Rîm-Sîn.
- ²⁷ Courtesy M. Stol and E. Woestenburg.
- ²⁸ There is a possibility that this was not Hammu-rabi of Babylon, but rather Hammu-rabi of Kurdâ.
- ²⁹ Muhammad 1992: 28 (two texts from Tell Hadad/Mê-Turân: DF Haddad 567 and 570). The year name also occurs on the unpublished text Haddad 82, quoted by Al-Rawi 1982: 118.
- ³⁰ Schuster-Brandis 2008: 409–410.
- ³¹ This is not the same woman as in CT 8 7b (Ad.11/XI/2). The Elmešum in this text is the daughter of Ammīya, not, as the copy suggests, Ammī-ditana. See the edition of this text on www.archibab.fr.
- ³² Annabum could be a variation of Arnabum “hare”, but we would expect the feminine form Arnabtum.
- ³³ Pientka 1998: 311 also assigns VAS 7 87 (Aš 10/V/8) to this text group.
- ³⁴ See Limet 1971: 68 and Pientka 1998: 207 for more information on this seal.
- ³⁵ First published by Finkelstein 1966, see most recently Durand 2012 (with previous bibliography).
- ³⁶ For easy reference, the names as they appear on the tablet are (following some readings of Durand 2012):
- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 ¹ <i>a-ra-am-ma-da-ra</i> (Arâm-mādara) | ¹ <i>ip-ti-ia-mu-ta</i> (Ipti-yamuta), |
| ¹ <i>tu-ub-ti-ia-mu-ta</i> (Tubti-yamuta) | ¹ <i>bu-ḫa-sú-um</i> (Buḫāsum), |
| ¹ <i>ia-am-qú-us-sú-ḫa-lam-ma</i> (Yamqussu-ḪA.LAM.MA) | ¹ <i>su-ma-li-ka</i> (Su(m?)-malika), |
| ¹ <i>ḫe-a-na</i> (Hana) | ¹ <i>aš-ma-du</i> (Ašmadu) |

- 5 ¹*nam-zu-ú* (Namzû)
¹*dī-ta-nu* (Ditānu)
¹*zu-um-ma-bu* (Zummabu)
¹*nam-ḥu-ú* (Namḥû)
¹*am-na-nu* (Amnānu)
- 10 ¹*ia-aḥ-ru-rum* (Yahrûrum)
- ³⁷ De Boer 2013a: 270–271.
- ³⁸ *da-zi-hu-um* DUMU *ma-a-la-na-di-ta-na*, RA 8 p. 72–73 3: 17–18, Yawium h; *i-nu-uh-di-ta-an*, SCT 39: 3, Haliyūm f; *nu-úr-^dEN.ZU*, *dumu i-nu-úh-di-ta-an*, SCT 38: 17–18.
- ³⁹ *me-^ddi-ta-an*, UET 5 497: 11 (undated), UET 5 581: 11 (undated). Note the divine determinative, only occurring with Ditān in this name.
- ⁴⁰ *ī-lī-di-ta-an* DUMU *su-pa-pu*, CT 48 29:38, Apil-Sîn
- ⁴¹ *ī-lī-di-ta-na*, FM 6 42 v: 23 (p. 354), Ilī-ditāna is part of the household of the deceased high official Sammêtar.
- ⁴² *su-mu-šī-id-qu-di-ta-na*, PBS 11/2 1 i: 15.
- ⁴³ *su-mu-di-it-nu-um*, PBS 11/2 1 i: 36.
- ⁴⁴ As it did with Uruk (De Boer 2018) and probably a number of others as well.
- ⁴⁵ In the letter Hammu-rabi calls Apil-Sîn “my *ḥammum*” (l.13 *ḥa-am-mi a-pil-^dEN.ZU*). The term is translated by other scholars as “paternal uncle” due to cognates in other Semitic languages. If the term *does* mean “paternal uncle” in Amorite, then we would have proof that Apil-Sîn and Sîn-muballit were in reality brothers! This is not impossible, but there is no other evidence to prove or disprove this. See also Durand 2013: 50. Other, similar occurrences of *ḥammum* are in Charpin 2012: 96 (TH 72.5: 30) and FM 6 6: 8.
- ⁴⁶ Contra another opinion, explained and advocated by for example Streck 1999, where Ḥammu-rāpi’ is explained as “the father’s brother is healing”.
- ⁴⁷ The exception being prince Rīš-Marduk.
- ⁴⁸ De Boer 2014: 68, by far the most common name was Sîn-iddinam “Sîn has given me”.
- ⁴⁹ Van Koppen 2006 with Charpin 2004: 83–84 n. 289–291.
- ⁵⁰ Due to the programmatic name of Hammu-rabi’s son Mutu-Numaḥa “Man of Numḥa” and the mentioning of Numḥa as an “ancestor” in the “genealogy of the Hammu-rabi dynasty”.
- ⁵¹ “Sîn, lord of Yamutbalum”, this is known from a letter found at Tell Leilan, PIHANS 117 43: 9’, and a seal legend from Himdiya, king of Andarig, Eidem 2011: 281–282. In addition, the sons of Kudur-mabuk of Larsa (who was the “father of Emutbalum”), all had names with Sîn.
- ⁵² See Durand 2004: 133–136. Whereas the northern Syrian city state of Andarig was connected with Yamutbalum, its neighboring antagonist city state of Kurdā was connected to the Numḥa tribe.
- ⁵³ Durand 2008: 304–305.
- ⁵⁴ in the prologue and epilogue of the Codex Hammu-rabi, CH ii 14–15; *ša ^dEN.ZU*, *ib-ni-ù-šu*; CH L 41–42; *^dEN.ZU be-el ša-me-e*, DINGIR *ba-ni-i*.
- ⁵⁵ RIME 4 4.3.7.5 (=Samsu-iluna A): 39; *a-na ^dEN.ZU* DINGIR *ba-ni-ia* (Sumerian: *^dnanna dingir-sag-d u-m u-š é*).
- ⁵⁶ RIME 4 4.3.6.17: 27–28; RIME 4 4.3.7.5: 35–36.
- ⁵⁷ Durand 2013: 55.
- ⁵⁸ The name is mentioned in a year name of king Iddin-Dagan, see De Boer 2021: 12.
- ⁵⁹ The reader is referred to Barberon 2012: 60–68 and De Graef 2016 for recent research and a bibliography.
- ⁶⁰ On taking care of the elderly see Stol 1998b.
- ⁶¹ TCL 1 177 (Si.5³, 1085 sheep and goats) and CT 45 31 (Si.2, 1078 sheep and goats). CT 48 108 (Ha.42) is a loan of wool by Iltani I to three men.
- ⁶² There is no text giving us detailed information concerning the fields of Iltani I. VAS 9 202: 18–19 (Ha.33³) mentions her tenant farmer Tarībatum as a witness. VAS 9 4 (Ha.17) is a loan of barley by Iltani I, BBVOT 1 90 (Ha.43) is a harvest labor contract in which she pays a middleman for workmen.
- ⁶³ The texts concerning Iltani I’s offerings are VAS 9 14 (Ha.21), VAS 9 16 (Ha.22), VAS 9 17 (Ha.22), VAS 13 15 (Ha.21), VAS 13 16 (Ha.21) and BM 81223.
- ⁶⁴ Tsukimoto 1985 p. 238.
- ⁶⁵ Tsukimoto 1985: 40–51, the clearest evidence are AbB 14 7 written by Ammī-ditāna and AbB 6 51, written by Samsu-ditāna they both concern *kispum* ancestral offerings in month V.
- ⁶⁶ The small group of texts revolving around these weavers is studied in De Boer 2011.

- ⁶⁷ Three texts describe the rent Iltani II received from her fields (JCS 2 110 no.22, JCS 5 90a, OLA 21 35) She also contracts middlemen to obtain extra workmen (for example *TCL* 1 162 and *JCS* 2 112 no. 29).
- ⁶⁸ In a number of cases Iltani II leases fields from her fellow *nadītum*'s: *CT* 8 17b, *BDHP* 2 and *MHET* II/4 552.
- ⁶⁹ *JCS* 2 103 no. 2 and *JCS* 2 104 no. 6
- ⁷⁰ See Charpin and Durand 1985: 335, Lafont 1987, Ziegler 1999, and more recently Bodi 2014.
- ⁷¹ See the examples from Durand 1998: 365.

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