

AN ADOPTION AND INHERITANCE CONTRACT FROM THE REIGN OF IGGID-LIM OF ḪANA

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Description of the Tablet

Text number 779 of the Rosen Babylonian Collection, part of the Yale Babylonian Collection, is a contract pertaining to adoption and inheritance; the oath and seal impression preserved on the document reveal that it was drawn up during the reign of Iggid-Lim, king of Ḫana. This contract, although incomplete, is of importance for the study of the Ḫana kingdom. It is only the second text known from the reign of Iggid-Lim, and it bears a more complete impression of the seal of Iggid-Lim than is found on the other text; the inscription and iconography of the seal will be analyzed below. The text is also the first adoption contract known from the Ḫana kingdom and includes some clauses which are not otherwise attested.

The preserved part of RBC 779 consists of approximately the lower two-thirds of the original, its length is 65 mm, its width is 70 mm and its maximum thickness is 33 mm. The script is clear, and the tablet has been baked. On the left margin a single impression of the royal seal of Iggid-Lim, which had granulated gold caps, extends right around the tablet, rolled from front to back.

The authors wish to thank Prof. W. W. Hallo for giving us his kind permission to publish the text. Authorship of the various parts of the article is as follows: Section I is by Podany; Section II is by Colbow, translated from German by Beckman; Section III is by Podany, with transliteration of the seal inscription by Beckman; and Sections IV and V are by Beckman and Podany.

In size and shape, RBC 779 closely resembles other Ḫana texts with impressions of royal seals.¹ These are preserved from the reigns of Išar-Lim (AO 2673), Isih-Dagan (AO 20162), and Ḫammurapiḫ (MLC 613 and YBC 6518).² Another text from the reign of Iggid-Lim (TPR 7 4) bears a small part of the impression of the king's seal.³ A fragment of a text from the reign of Isih-Dagan (TPR 7 5) does not preserve the left margin, so it is impossible to determine whether or not it was

1. All the Ḫana kingdom texts as well as those in the Ḫana style, other than those published by Rouault in TPR 7 and TFR 1, will be included in the forthcoming volume *Kings of Ḫana: An Analysis of Their Time and Place in Syro-Mesopotamian History* by Amanda H. Podany, to be published in the series *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* (Udenna Publications). The volume will include copies and photographs of each document. The following are the known texts dating to the reigns of kings Išar-Lim, Iggid-Lim, Isih-Dagan, and Ḫammurapiḫ, other than RBC 779: AO 2673 (reign of Išar-Lim): F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 4/III (1897) 69–78, Pl. XXXII = *TCL* 1 n. 237; TPR 7 4 (Iggid-Lim): O. Rouault, TPR 7 (SMS 7/2 1979), n. 4; TPR 7 5 (Isih-Dagan): Rouault, TPR 7 n. 5; AO 20162 (Isih-Dagan): J. Nougayrol, *RA* 41 (1947) 42ff.; MLC 613 (Ḫammurapiḫ): Rev. C. H. W. Jones, *PSBA* 29 (1907) 177–84; YBC 6518 (Ḫammurapiḫ): F. J. Stephens, *RA* 34 (1937) 184–90; *Syria* 37 (Ḫammurapiḫ): Nougayrol, *Syria* 37 (1960) 42–46; AO 9047 (Ḫammurapiḫ): Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme, *Syria* 5 (1924) 275ff. The latter is not a tablet but an inscribed votive duck.

2. The spelling “Ḫammurapiḫ” will be used throughout this article, although the king's name was written a number of different ways: Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi₂-iḫ (MLC 613:30); Am-mi-ra-pi₂-iḫ (YBC 6518:14’); Ḫa-am-mu-ra-[pi₂] (YBC 6518 seal impression line 1, collation by W. W. Hallo); Am-mi-ra-pi (*Syria* 37:32); and Am-mu-ra-pi (AO 9047:1).

3. Rouault, TPR 7 (1979) 9–10, Pl. 4.

sealed.⁴ However, the profile of the fragment shows that it was of a similar shape to the other documents listed above.

All are pillow-like in shape, the thickness of the text expanding from narrow edges to a maximum of around 33–35 mm at the center.⁵ In only two of the texts (AO 2673 and MLC 613) is the original height of the tablet preserved; in both the ratio of height to width is approximately 1.3:1.

In all but one of the examples, the seal impressed on the tablet bore granulated metal caps and was rolled around the tablet from front to back, a practice which is unique to the Ḫana tablets.⁶ None of these documents with royal seals includes any seal impressions other than that of the king himself. On AO 2673 the seal was impressed twice in the margin, once in the upper portion and once in the lower portion, which may also have been true of RBC 779, since the preserved sealing is low on the obverse and all other texts for which the top is preserved have a sealing in the upper part of the margin. The only other text known from the reigns of any of these kings is a private land sale contract from the time of Ḫammurapiḫ, which does not physically resemble the texts with impressions of royal seals.⁷

The “royal seal” texts, including RBC 779, seem therefore to form a distinct group which is defined by their physical characteristics: their size and shape, the presence of the king’s seal, and the similarity of script. The text from the reign of Ḫammurapiḫ which does not bear a royal seal does not fit into this group, being small and square, with the impression of a single seal which is not that of the king. Other texts which have generally been classified as belonging to the Ḫana period, and which date to the reigns of kings Yāpaḫ-Sūm[u-X], Iṣi-Sūmu-Abu, Yadiḫ-

Abu, Kaštīliašu, Šunuḫru-Ammu, and Ammi-madar, are distinct from the “royal seal” texts described above.⁸ They tend to bear more seal impressions, to be taller and more rectangular, with straighter edges. Reasons for the distinctions between these two groups of texts are discussed in a separate article in this volume.⁹

The Seal Impression¹⁰

On the seal impression considered here (Fig. 1), a figure with a mace (*Gottkönig*) steps from the left toward a female figure who holds her hands in the position characteristic of a LAMMA-deity.

The male personage wears an ankle-length slit garment which covers his upper body and right leg, as well as an undergarment reaching to the left knee. In his lowered right hand this

8. The following are the known Ḫana-style texts from the reigns of these kings: *TFR* 1 8 (Yāpaḫ-Sūm[u-X]): O. Rouault, *Terqa Final Reports* 1 (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 16, 1984) n. 8, pp. 44–51, 87–88, Pl. XVI, XVII; *TFR* 1 9 (Iṣi-Sūmu-Abu): Rouault, *TFR* 1 pp. 52–55, 89, Pl. XVIII; *TFR* 1 1 (Yadiḫ-Abu): Rouault, *TFR* 1, pp. 6–9, 71–72, Pl. II, III; *TFR* 1 2 (Yadiḫ-Abu): Rouault, *TFR* 1, pp. 10–15, 73–74, Pl. IV, V; *TFR* 1 3 (Yadiḫ-Abu): Rouault, *TFR* 1, pp. 16–19, 75–77, Pl. VI, VII; *TFR* 1 4 (Yadiḫ-Abu): Rouault, *TFR* 1, pp. 20–27, 78–80, Pl. VIII–X; *TFR* 1 5 (Yadiḫ-Abu): Rouault, *TFR* 1, pp. 28–35, 81–84, Pl. XI–XIII; *TFR* 1 6 (Yadiḫ-Abu): Rouault, *TFR* 1, pp. 36–40, 85, Pl. XIV; *TFR* 1 6M (Yadiḫ-Abu): Rouault, *TFR* 1, pp. 40–41, 86, Pl. XV; *TFR* 1 10 (Kaštīliašu): Rouault, *TFR* 1, pp. 54–55, 90, Pl. XV; AO 4656 (Kaštīliašu): Thureau-Dangin, *JA* 1909/II 149–55; AO 4672 (Kaštīliašu; a copy of AO 4656): Schorr, *Bab* 3 (1910) 266–67, Pl. XVII; *MI* (Kaštīliašu): T. Bauer, *MAOG* IV (1928/29) 1–6; AO 9055 (Šunuḫru-Ammu): F. Thureau-Dangin and R. P. Dhorme, *Syria* 5 (1924) 269, 271; AO 9056 (Šunuḫru-Ammu): Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme, *Syria* 5 (1924) 269, 272; VAT 6685 (Ammi-madar): A. Ungnad, *BA* VI/5 (1909) 26–32 = VS VII 204.

9. A. H. Podany, “A Middle Babylonian Date for the Ḫana Kingdom,” pp. 53–62 in this volume.

10. I am thankful to Prof. Dr. W. W. Hallo for permission to publish the seal on RBC 779. I am also very indebted to him for his hospitality during my research visit to Yale. This study was carried out under a postdoctoral stipend from the Deutscher Forschungsgemeinschaft on the topic of “Late Old Babylonian Glyptic.” To the DFG are due my thanks for the funding of my research in the USA. I am grateful to my advisor, Prof. Dr. B. Hrouda, for his constant help and assistance in my various research projects. I wish to thank Drs. A. Podany and G. Beckman for their willingness to include my contribution in the present study. In addition I am particularly obliged to the latter for the translation of my text, which was originally composed in German. (G. Colbow)

4. Rouault, *TFR* 7 (1979) 11, Pl. 5.

5. For example, the thickness of AO 2673 is 33.5 mm; YBC 6518: 35 mm; AO 20162: 33 mm.

6. D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Near East* (1987), 116.

7. Nougayrol, *Syria* 37 (1960) 205–9. The text, formerly No. 2 in the Schaeffer collection, has not been located and no photograph was published, but the dimensions (66 x 67 x 20 mm) show that it was considerably smaller than the royal texts.



Fig. 1

figure holds a weapon, of which only a portion of the haft is preserved. With elbow bent before the body, his left hand rests at his waist. The hair style and head covering of the figure are no longer clearly recognizable. Still visible at the neck are perhaps the traces of a chignon.

The female figure facing left wears an ankle-length flounced garment and a chignon at her neck with an extension in the form of an “S,” the end of which points toward her shoulder. In contrast to traditional depictions of the intercessory goddess, the figure on the impression discussed here does not wear a horned crown.

The granulated gold caps originally on the seal had edges made up of a series of triangles. As may be seen in Beckman’s copy, these caps extended down over the seal so that the extreme left edge (and possibly also the right edge) of the inscriptional field was covered and therefore was not impressed on the tablet. It also seems that the lower cap was fitted at an angle so that the bottom margin of the seal impression slopes down slightly to the right. The preserved length of the impression is 3.6 cm, and its preserved height (without setting) is 1.9 cm.

As seen from the inscription (discussed below), this impression was made by a seal of Iggid-Lim, king of Ḫana. Two impressions of seals of this king are now known. One found on a text from Terqa published by O. Rouault¹¹ presents only the inscription, while the other is that studied here, on which both inscription and pictorial design are preserved. The pictorial representation

of the Iggid-Lim seal agrees in certain features with the previously published royal seals of Išar-Lim,¹² Isih-Dagan, and Ḫammurapiḫ¹³ of the Ḫana dynasty. All of these pieces seem to have a common theme. In particular, on the other royal seals—as far as they are preserved—a male figure stands opposite a female figure. However, the representation on the Isih-Dagan seal is so badly destroyed that it is no longer possible to discern the gender of the figure confronting the preserved male personage.

On the Išar-Lim and Ḫammurapiḫ seals the male figure is depicted in the posture of the figure with a mace, as also on the Iggid-Lim seal. Furthermore, in both representations the figure carries a sickle-sword in his lowered hand. Perhaps we may also restore this weapon in the Iggid-Lim sealing on the basis of the preserved haft.

In contrast, the male personage on the Isih-Dagan seal may be compared to these representations only to the extent that he is also armed, a criterion which is not very telling. He does not, however, assume the posture of a figure with a mace, but rather that of a supplicant, and bears in his bent left hand a club and not a sickle-sword.

Despite extensive damage to the region of the head of a male figure on the Iggid-Lim sealing, I believe that I can demonstrate that his hairstyle was a chignon with swallow-tail extension. Thus he is similar to the male figures on all other royal seals known from Ḫana. It is not possible to determine whether this personage also wears a broad-edged cap. This feature, which would link the male figure of the Iggid-Lim seal to the representations on the Išar-Lim and Isih-Dagan seals, has unfortunately been entirely lost. On the seals of Išar-Lim and Ḫammurapiḫ, as on that of Iggid-Lim, a female figure in the pose of an intercessory goddess has been chosen as the counterpart of the male in the posture of the figure with a mace. The identity of the figure opposite the supplicant on the Isih-Dagan seal remains unexplained.

12. Cf. D. Collon, *MARI* 5 (1987) 150.

13. Cf. Collon, *MARI* 5 (1987) 148f. (Isih-Dagan), and 150f. (Ḫammurapiḫ).

11. Rouault, *TPR* 7 (1979) 178.

On all royal seals of the Ḫana dynasty on which there may be recognized a female personage with hands held in the pose of an intercessory goddess, the figure wears her long hair gathered up at the neck with ends trailing down toward her shoulders. None of these female figures is provided with a horned crown. In this respect all of these depictions are similar. In her clothing, however, the female figure on the Iggid-Lim seal differs significantly from those on the other two seals. In contrast to all the other females of this series of seals she wears a flounced garment.

A further common feature of all of the impressions of royal seals of the Ḫana dynasty discussed here is that a rather long inscription (of more than three lines) is engraved on each. These will be discussed in more detail below.

Besides these shared features we may also observe an important divergence between the Iggid-Lim seal and other examples. As far as it may be made out, the costume of the male personage on this seal differs in several points from the clothing worn by the male figures on other royal seals from Ḫana. In particular, all other males of this series of seals wear an ankle-length slit garment over a knee-length undergarment, while the clothing of the armed man on the Iggid-Lim seal consists of an ankle-length outer garment broadly open in front, under which a knee-length undergarment is visible. The rear vertical seam of this open cloak is not represented, in contrast to that of the slit garments on the other seals. Furthermore, the borders of the textile on the Iggid-Lim seal are without ornamentation, while those on the Išar-Lim and Isih-Dagan seals are richly decorated.¹⁴

In summary we may state that the Iggid-Lim seal may indeed be connected with the other royal seals of the Ḫana dynasty in many aspects of representation, but that it displays a number of striking divergences in the rendering of cloth-

14. Due to the very simplified execution of the figures, the seal of Ḫammurapiḫ shows many divergences in details of hairstyle and clothing and therefore cannot be regarded as representative.

ing which should perhaps be interpreted as regional or temporal stylistic peculiarities. The representations on the Išar-Lim and Ḫammurapiḫ seals are more closely related in a number of features to the Iggid-Lim seal than is the iconography of the Isih-Dagan seal.

The differences between the Iggid-Lim impression and those on documents from the period of the kings Yāpaḫ-Sūm[u-X], Yadiḫ-Abu, Kaštīliašu, Šunuḫru-Ammu, and Ammi-madar are so significant that the seal of Iggid-Lim cannot be ordered among the glyptic created under these so-called Ḫana rulers. Therefore we must place Iggid-Lim either at the junction between the two groups of kings or at the end of the succession of rulers as now known. The execution of the seal, however, speaks against both hypotheses.

One may affirm the continued validity of the division of the Ḫana glyptic into two groups as proposed by A. Goetze¹⁵ and refined by A. Podany.¹⁶ The differences between the two groups of seals must be understood in reference to *Zeitstil*, since regional variations and contrasts in the social position of the seal owners cannot be adduced here in explanation.¹⁷

The chronological relationship of the two groups of seals may be approached through a comparison of the most extensively argued dating suggestions proposed previously. I will expand upon these two chains of argumentation with my own observations on the dating of the Ḫana glyptic.

15. A. Goetze, *JCS* 11 (1957) 63.

16. A. Podany, "The Chronology and History of the Ḫana Period" (Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, 1988), 119f.

17. One might interpret the differences between Group I and Group II of the glyptic imagery from Ḫana as variations between the representations on royal seals and those on the seals of private persons. This is, however, excluded because the impressions of the royal seals of Ḫana never appear on texts in which Yāpaḫ-Sūm[u-X], Yadiḫ-Abu, Kaštīliašu, Šunuḫru-Ammu, or Ammi-madar are mentioned, either directly in oaths or indirectly in year names. An overlap between the two "dynasties" is therefore unlikely. Since to all appearances the two groups of kings did not rule contemporaneously, the stylistic, iconographic, and compositional divergences among the glyptic representations certainly do not reflect positions in the social hierarchy, but rather point to different periods of execution for the various seals.

The first of these suggested datings, represented above all by Th. Beran, A. Goetze, and E. Porada,¹⁸ stresses the connections between individual glyptic images of Group II of the Ḫana seals (Išar-Lim through Ḫammurapiḫ) and Kassite glyptic. E. Porada adduces the following characteristics of Kassite seals in connection with the seal of Ḫammurapiḫ: The absence of indices by which human and divine representations are to be clearly distinguished from one another, the stylization of the coiffure and a “broad-shouldered” outline of male figures, the appearance of the ladder pattern as a decorative element on clothing, and the introduction of a long cloak open in front to reveal an undergarment and thereby expose a leg.

According to current opinion, the conflation of human and divine features in the representation of figures in scenes on seals is first attested in the year Samsu-iluna 6 and manifests itself initially in the depiction of humans with divine attributes.¹⁹ The first portrayal of a divinity without the characteristic horned crown dates from the time of Abi-ešuḫ.²⁰

Since the transference of divine attributes to human figures is already attested before the first mention of Kassites in year 9 of Samsu-iluna, the abandonment of clear criteria for distinguishing human from divine figures can no longer be regarded without further qualification as a feature introduced into glyptic by the Kassites. We can, however, confirm that this characteristic was maintained in the Kassite period.

The second chronological schema, worked out by D. Collon,²¹ stresses the Old Babylonian features of the seals of Išar-Lim, Isiḫ-Dagan, and

Ḫammurapiḫ, namely the depiction of a short undergarment beneath the long cloak, the representation of the female figure in the posture of an intercessory goddess, and the use of the drill to render details. These glyptic characteristics marshalled by her as Old Babylonian, however, provide only a *terminus post quem* for the dating of the Ḫana seals, since all of them continue to be employed in Kassite glyptic.

This also applies to the setting of the seal in caps of granulated gold, earlier regarded as a Kassite practice, since, as D. Collon has demonstrated, it is already attested under Šamši-Adad.²²

A feature little remarked upon previously is the sickle-sword which the male personages on the seals of Iggid-Lim, Isiḫ-Dagan, and Ḫammurapiḫ hold in their lowered hands. This weapon is depicted in connection with a male figure only twice in seal impressions of the Old Babylonian period. On the Mukannišum seal²³ a triumphant figure dispatches a conquered enemy with a sickle-sword, while on an impression from Chagar Bazar²⁴ a male figure facing right and clothed in a sumptuous garment holds the shaft of this weapon in his lowered right hand and a ring in his bent left hand. Both of these parallels are from Syria.

Of these two examples, however, only the figure on the Mukannišum seal may be directly compared with the male personage on the Iggid-Lim seal, since both represent a figure with a mace as warrior/triumphator.²⁵ The male figure with sickle sword and ring still remains unique and almost certainly represents a different iconographic type. But in seal impressions of the Kassite period we often encounter male figures in the pose of the figure with a mace, carrying sickle-swords in lowered hands.²⁶ They wear either a smooth garment, with or without a cen-

18. Th. Beran, *AfO* 18 (1958) 257, where the Išar-Lim seal is assigned to pre-Kassite glyptic; Goetze, *JCS* 11 (1957) 63ff.; E. Porada in *Ancient Mesopotamian Art and Selected Texts* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1976), 38ff.

19. These human figures with divine attributes are the so-called presenters of animal offerings in flounced garments. The earliest known attestations for such figures are in sealings on tablets from year 6 of Samsu-iluna at Yale, as yet unpublished.

20. A. Moortgat, *VR* (1966) Nr. 494 = L. al-Gailani, *BIA* 17 (1980) 77, Nr. 44.

21. Collon, *MARI* 5 (1987) 148ff.

22. Collon, *MARI* 5 (1987) 146, with note.

23. Al-Gailani, *BIA* 17 (1980) 69, No. 40e.

24. See n. 21.

25. This iconographic type has been studied in an unpublished Munich master's thesis: B. Einwag, “Untersuchungen zu Triumphatordarstellungen im frühen zweiten Jahrtausend” (1987).

26. D. Matthews, *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium*, Orbis biblicus et

tral vertical seam,²⁷ or a cloak open in front.²⁸ Male figures in slit garments like those on the seals of Iših-Dagan and Ḫammurapiḫ have not yet been found on Kassite seal impressions. Therefore one may compare only the male figure on the Iggid-Lim seal directly with Kassite representations.²⁹

The male personage in the posture of the figure with a mace on our Ḫana seal corresponds to many Kassite pieces not only in costume and weaponry, but also in a particular detail of his dress. Like most Kassite figures in garments open in front, his cloak shows a rounded transition between the horizontal lower border and the diagonal edge of the strip of cloth hanging down from the waist. This feature also speaks for a close relationship of the Iggid-Lim seal with Kassite glyptic.

The evaluation of the observations and theories set forth here in regard to the chronological placement of the royal seals from Ḫana presents the following picture: According to style, iconography, and details of clothing and weaponry, the Iggid-Lim seal belongs to the group of Ḫana royal seals, but the placement of this group of seals within the established structure of Ancient Near Eastern chronology still remains problematic. One reason for this is the fact that the royal seals of Ḫana were presumably individual creations, which despite a number of common features differ greatly from one another, because the special wishes of the patron had to be taken into account in their production. Thus far it has

hardly been possible to point to criteria which would allow us to recognize a homogeneous temporal style. Therefore comparison with dated seal impressions from Babylonia has thus far yielded sparse results. Moreover, the few iconographic features common to all seals of this group may be assigned to two different epochs of Ancient Near Eastern history. Therefore they do not take us further in the question of the chronological placement of the glyptic from Ḫana.

In any case, the seals of Iggid-Lim and Ḫammurapiḫ reveal a close connection with Kassite representations. Therefore it seems as though the Kassite features of these seals predominate over their Old Babylonian characteristics. It is thus worthwhile to consider a chronological attribution to the time of the last rulers of the First Dynasty of Babylon or to the early Kassite period.

This theory may perhaps be made somewhat more precise through consideration of the impressions on contracts from the period of Yāpaḫ-Sūm[u-X] through Kaštiliašu.³⁰ The glyptic iconography on these tablets displays no Kassite characteristics, but if we compare these impressions with Old Babylonian pieces from Babylonia, it is apparent that they have many features connecting them to the glyptic of the period of Ammi-ditana, Ammi-ṣaduqa, and Samsu-ditana. Some impressions on contracts of the time of Kaštiliašu reveal stylistic features which tie them closely to representations of the period of Samsu-ditana.³¹ For the moment, then, the reign of the final Old Babylonian ruler must be postulated as the *terminus ad quem* for the creation of the Kaštiliašu seals.

orientalis, series archaeologica 8 (Fribourg, 1990), Nos. 73-77, 80-82, 84/85, 87, 89(?)90(?), 93, 96-100, 102/103, 106, 108-10, 115, and 120.

27. An exception is Matthews, *Principles of Composition*, No. 110 (figure in flounced garment).

28. Cf. Matthews, *Principles of Composition*, Nos. 76/77, 84/85, and 97-99.

29. Although the triumphant figure on the Old Babylonian Mukannišum seal indeed seems to wear an open garment, he is not considered here, since in contrast to the personage on the Iggid-Lim seal and the males on the Kassite examples, he is represented in movement and not in a static posture. It is possible that a different costume is intended on this seal, and that it only resembles the open garment because of the vigorous action of the figure.

30. Bibliography on all published sealed Ḫana texts is given by Podany, *Chronology*, 426ff.

31. The best example for the introduction of these stylistic features in the period of Kaštiliašu is shown here in Fig. 2 which represents an impression found on the tablets AO 4656 (L. Delaporte, *Louvre II*, A 595A) and AO 4672 (*Louvre II*, Pl. 118, No. 17). My drawing is a composite made on the basis of an examination of both original tablets. For material from the time of Samsu-ditana, see E. Klengel-Brandt, *AOF* 10 (1983) 87ff., Nos. 32-35 (Samsu-ditana years 19-24) and No. 38 (Samsu-ditana year 10). Earlier examples of these stylistic variants are not known.



Fig. 2

The royal seals of Ḫana must thus have been created approximately contemporaneously with the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon or shortly thereafter. This theory may be supported by the observation that all of these pieces display characteristics current in both the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods, while a number of them in addition already show Kassite features.

The Seal Inscription

The seal inscription on RBC 779 (Fig. 3) can be reconstructed as follows:³²

[I-gi-]iḫ-Li-[im]	[Igg]id-Li[m]
[PA.]TESI ^d Da-[gan]	[re]gent of Da[gan]
[L]UGAL KUR Ḫa-[na]	[k]ing of the land of Ḫa[na]
[DUMU] I-šar-[Li-im]	[son] of Išar-[Lim]
[I]R ₃ Il ₃ -a-[ba ₄]	[sl]ave of Ila[ba]
[u ₃] ^d Da-[gan]	[and] Da[gan]

The inscriptions on the seals of Išar-Lim (AO 2673), Išiḫ-Dagan (AO 20162), and Ḫammurapiḫ (MLC 613 and YBC 6518) are remarkably similar to this one. The seal inscription on RBC 779 is identical to that of Išiḫ-Dagan except for the differences in the kings' names and those of their fathers.³³ The seal inscription of Išar-Lim differs in the fact that the king does not take the epithet "regent of Dagan," and describes himself as "beloved" (*narām*), rather than "slave" (IR₃)

32. Note that this transliteration differs from that of the same inscription published by D. R. Frayne in *RIM* 4, 731 and by Podany, *Chronology*, 56–57. The reason for the discrepancy is that, since 1988 when the first transliteration was done, the tablet has been baked. This has rendered several of the lines more legible.

33. AO 20162: *I-si-iḫ-dDa-gan/PA.TESI dDa-gan/LUGAL KUR Ḫa-na/LUGAL DUMU I-gi-id-Li-im/IR₃ Il₃-a-ba₄/u₃ dDa-gan*.

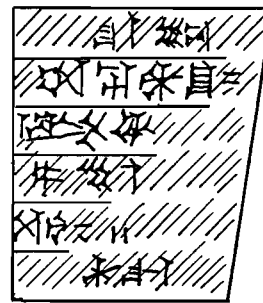


Fig. 3

of Iḫaba and Dagan.³⁴ In the inscription of Išiḫ-Dagan, the king's father is revealed to be Iggid-Lim himself, and Iggid-Lim's own father is now seen to be Išar-Lim. The similarities between the three royal inscriptions must result from the fact that the three kings were consecutive rulers from a single royal family.

The seal inscription of Ḫammurapiḫ is also closely related to that of Iggid-Lim, the only distinctions being, again, the names of the king and his father, and the fact that Ḫammurapiḫ is described as regent of both Dagan and Iḫaba.³⁵ These similarities, especially in the names of the king's patron deities, suggest that Ḫammurapiḫ was of the same dynasty as Išar-Lim, Iggid-Lim, and Išiḫ-Dagan, although separated from them by at least a generation.³⁶ The elements in Ḫammurapiḫ's seal inscription are more like those of Iggid-Lim and Išiḫ-Dagan than that of Išar-Lim; therefore one must assume that his reign fell after theirs, rather than before that of Išar-Lim. Indeed, this hardly needs mentioning, since Ḫammurapiḫ refers to cities named after Iggid-Lim and Išar-Lim in a year-name and therefore was clearly a later king.³⁷

34. AO 2673: *I-šar-Li-i[m]/LUGAL KUR Ḫa-na/LUGAL DUMU I-din-Ka-ak-ka/na-ra-am Il₃-a-ba₄/u₃ dDa-gan*.

35. MLC 613 and YBC 6518: *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-[pi₂]/PA³.TESI¹ dDa-gan/u₃ Il₃-a-ba₄/LUGAL KUR Ḫa-na/DUMU A-zi²-li²-a²-a²/IR₃ Il₃-a-ba₄/u₃ dDa-gan?*

36. Ḫammurapiḫ mentions his father Azilia(?) in his seal inscription and elsewhere commemorates the year in which he "ascended to the throne of his [father]" (*Syria* 37:32–33) so Azilia(?) must have been king before him.

37. MLC 613:32–33. This fact was first noted by Johns when the text was first published, *PSBA* 29 (1907) 183.

obv

seal

Handwritten cuneiform text on the obverse side of a tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A vertical line on the left side of the tablet is labeled 'seal'. The text is written in a cuneiform script, with some characters appearing to be in a different dialect or script than others. The tablet has a slightly irregular shape, with a pointed top and a rounded bottom.

rev

seal

Handwritten cuneiform text on the reverse side of a tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A vertical line on the left side of the tablet is labeled 'seal'. The text is written in a cuneiform script, with some characters appearing to be in a different dialect or script than others. The tablet has a slightly irregular shape, with a pointed top and a rounded bottom.

The other seal inscription on a text from the reign of Iggid-Lim, *TPR* 7 4, is largely broken; little is preserved of the inscription except the ends of four lines.³⁸ The evidence from RBC 779 allows us to reconstruct the inscription of *TPR* 7 4 as follows:

[*I-gi-id-Li-im*]
 [PA.TE.SI ^d*Da-g*]an
 [LUGAL KUR 𒄩a]-n[a]
 [DUMU *I-šar-L*]i-im
 [IR₃ *Il₃-a-ba₄ u₃]d[*a-gan*]*

Although apparently bearing a royal inscription of Iggid-Lim, this impression must have been made by a different seal from that which was rolled on RBC 779, since the line following the name of the king's father bears signs which seem to read "dDa-" (and certainly not "Il₃-a-" as would be expected). These signs are not found until the following line on RBC 779. Also, the king's seal on *TPR* 7 4 shows no signs of having been capped with granulated gold triangles, unlike the seal on RBC 779.

Transliteration	Translation
obv. 1'. [u ₂ -u l a-bi at-t[a]	
2'. [a-n]a ^f dIŠKUR-na-aḥ-[da]	
3'. u ₂ -ul AMA-mi at-t[i]	
4'. A.ESIR ₂ UD.DUA em-ma-am	
5'. SAG.DU-zu ik-kap-par ₂	
6'. 1 gun(!) KU ₃ .BABBAR IN.NA.ANSUM	
7'. i-na DUMU.MEŠ Iš-me- ^d Da-gan i-š _{u2} -ti u ₃ DIRI ^{IP} .MEŠ	(7') Among all(?) the children of Išme-Dagan, Igmil-Dagan is the senior child and will enjoy two inheritance shares. Adni-Dagan will come (only) after him.
8'. ^m Ig-mil- ^d Da-gan DUMU.GAL	
9'. 2 qa-ta-ti I ₃ .GU ₇	
10'. u ₃ Ad-ni- ^d Da-gan ur-ki-šu i-lak	
11'. DUMU na-as-bu ša la ba-aq-ri	(11') The son is incontestable and free from claims or release.
12'. u ₃ la an-da ₂ -ra-ri	
13'. ba-qir i-ba-aq-qa-ru	
i.e. 14'. MU ^d UTU ^d Da-gan ^d I-tur ₂ -me-er	(13') A claimant who makes a claim—(since they have sworn in the names of Šamaš, Dagan, Itūr-Mēr, and Iggid-Lim the king—will pay 10 mina of silver to the palace.
15'. u ₃ I-gi-id-Li-im LUGAL	
rev. 16'. IN.PAD ₃ .DA.E.MEŠ	
17'. 10 MA.NA KU ₃ .BABBAR a-na E ₂ .GAL	
18'. I ₃ .LA ₂ .E	
19'. 5 IKU A.ŠA ₃ A.GAR ₃ ^{URU} Sag-ga-ra-ti ^{KI} i-na mu-ša-ri	(19') 5 IKU of land in the irrigation district of Sagaratum, in the mūšaru, upper long side: (land of) the palace, lower long side: (land of) Adda-baḥla son of Iribi;
20'. US ₂ .SA.DU AN.TA E ₂ .GAL	
21'. US ₂ .SA.DU KI.TA Ad-da-ba-aḥ-la DUMU I-ri-bi	

38. Rouault, *TPR* 7 (1979) 165–80.

- 22'. 10 *ki-nu-na-tu₄* ša ^{GIŠ}PEŠ.MEŠ *i-na*
^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ (22') 10 kinuna-measures of fig-trees in the orchard, bordered by the arru-stone;
- 23'. US₂.SA.DU ^{NA4}*ar-ri*
- 24'. E₂ UR.SUM.GAL US₂.SA.DU DUMU. (24') the house of UR.SUM.GAL, bordered by
 MEŠ *Pu-zu-ri* (the property of) the sons of Puzuru—(this is)
 the inheritance share of Adda-naḥda, which
 she took from the house of her father.
- 25'. ḪA.LA ^{m f d}IŠKUR-*na-aḥ-da*
- 26'. ša *i-na* E₂ *a-bi-ša te-el-qa-a*
- 27'. [^{-d}*Da-gan* DUMU Ša-*ma-d*SUM (27') [...]Dagan son of Šama-NISABA(?)
 (=NISA(BA)[?])
- 28'. [*uš-t*]-*ri-bu-ni-iš-šu* 28'. [...] she brought to him ...
- 29'. [] *x*

Notes

Lines 1'-3': The essence of these lines is the same as that found in lines 6-8 and 11-13 of the will from the reign of Ḫammurapiḫ of Ḫana (MLC 613),³⁹ although in the latter instance the document pertains to a wife renouncing her husband or the husband renouncing his wife, rather than an adopted son renouncing his parents. The principal difference between the two is that in the will the verb *i-qa-ab-bi* is included at the end whereas it must have preceded the clause in RBC 779. These formulas are commonplace in OB and Emar adoptions, with *qabû* usually preceding the speech; e.g., *Emar* VI, 5.

Lines 4'-5': The penalty (or at least the threat of it) of having hot asphalt smeared or poured on one's head was a common one in Ḫana, and is one of the distinguishing features that have been used in the past to identify "Ḫana" texts. Until now, however, it has been found only in contracts that deal with real estate transactions, in which it was prescribed as punishment for anyone reneging on the deal and was to be accompanied by a ten mina fine to be paid to the palace. The clause is missing only from two contracts: *Syria* 37, from the time of Ḫammurapiḫ, and *ZA* 79, a much later document from the time of

Tukulti-Ninurta I which was written in the Ḫana style. Perhaps the penalty specifically concerned asphalt because the material is found in abundance in the lower middle Euphrates region.

The practice of imposing physical punishments along with fines when a contract was broken seems to be unknown in documents from the First Dynasty of Babylon, but became more common in Kassite times.⁴⁰ The Middle Assyrian laws include the provision that asphalt should be poured on the head of a harlot caught wearing a veil.⁴¹ This may be a direct legacy of the legal practices used during the Ḫana kingdom.

Line 6': Whereas in most Ḫana contracts the recipient of any fine is specified as being the palace (as in the fine in line 17'), here no recipient is listed. Emar adoptions show that fines were to be paid by the adoptive parent(s) or the adoptee to the other party if the agreement was renounced.

In all other Ḫana documents the verb used in connection with the paying of a fine was I₃.LA₂E, as in line 18' of RBC 779. The only Ḫana kingdom parallel for the use of the verb IN.NA.AN.SUM comes from a contract from the reign of Ḫammurapiḫ, in which it was used to refer to payment for the orchard, not payment of a fine. The distinction might be that action of paying one's adopted parents an amount to com-

39. MLC 613:6-8: šum-*ma* ¹Ki-ik-ki-nu DAM-*sa₃/a+na* ^fBi-it-ti-^dDa-gan DAM-šu/u₂-ul DAM-*mi at-ti i-qa-ab-bi*; 11-13: u₃ šum-*ma* ^{m f}Bi-it-ti-^dDa-gan DAM-*su₂/a+na* Ki-ik-ki-ni DAM-šu/u₂-ul DAM-*mi at-ta i-qa-ab-bi*.

40. Podany, *Chronology*, 258-60.

41. Middle Assyrian Laws, Tablet A 40: T. J. Meek trans. in J. Pritchard, *ANET*, 183a.

pensate them for the loss of their son was regarded as different from paying a fine to the palace and therefore required a distinct verb. Among the Emar adoption texts, the verb usually used in reference to the fine for renouncing the agreement was *nadānum*, as here.

Lines 7'-10': The expression, *iṣūtu u watrūtu*, is posited on analogy to the attested *iṣu (u) madu* for "complete." Cf. CADI, 221f.

Lines 11'-12': This clause of the contract, like that which refers to the asphalt penalty, is characteristic of almost all Ḫana contracts. It was current from the time of the earliest known document, in the reign of Yāpaḫ-Sūm[u-X],⁴² to the Middle Assyrian period.⁴³ The meaning of the phrase has been widely debated, the most recent and exhaustive discussion being that of Kümmel in his publication of the Middle Assyrian contract.⁴⁴ In most instances the noun that begins the phrase refers to the land being sold or otherwise transferred, but in ZA 79 the noun *tuppu* is substituted. Kümmel translates the relevant clause as follows: "Die Tafel ist unanfechtbar(?). Das Feld (ist) frei von einem Vindikation(sanspruch) und (unterliegt) nicht einer (etwaigen) Lastenbefreiung."⁴⁵ In Buccellati's recent discussion of the phrase he understands it to mean "a field not subject to homesteading protection, for which no repossession right is recognized, whether as a result of private or state intervention."⁴⁶ This meaning derives from a proposed distinction between lands which can be repossessed if the original owner manages to assert a claim to them (*eqel muškēnim*, a phrase attested at Mari, but not in Ḫana texts) and lands which are unencumbered (*eqlum nasbum*). If this theory is correct, the appearance of *nasbum* in RBC 779 in reference to a man or boy implies the existence of some adoptions in which the adoptees *could* be reclaimed by their original parents. In any event, the general purpose of the phrase seems to be to

secure the new parents against claims by the original parents or other guardians of the boy.

Lines 13'-18': This passage, which secures the adoption against any claimants, is identical in every detail (except for the name of the king and with the addition of an AQ-sign in *ibaqqaru*) to lines 17-20 of AO 2673, dating to the reign of Iṣar-Lim, father of Iggid-Lim. All other texts having to do with real estate include the same series of phrases, with minor variants.

The gods invoked are Šamaš, Dagan, and Itūr-Mēr except in the following instances: Syria 37, MLC 613, both from the reign of Ḫammurapiḫ, and RA 79, probably from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, in which no god is named and the phrase is "MU DINGIR *u*₃ LUGAL"; and TFR 1 8, TFR 1 9, TFR 1 3, and TFR 1 6, from the reigns of Yāpaḫ-Sūm[u-X], Iṣi-Sūmu-Abu, and Yadiḫ-Abu, in which only Dagan and Itūr-Mēr are invoked.

The verb following the list of gods and king is IN.PAD₃.DA.E.MEŠ only in RBC 779 and AO 2673. In the documents from the reigns of Iṣi-Sūmu-Abu and Yadiḫ-Abu the verbs *i-ku-ul*⁴⁷ (he ate) and *iz-ku-ru*⁴⁸ (they invoked) are used. These are clearly not synonymous; although Rouault interprets the use of *akālu* as comparable to its meaning in the expression *asak x akālum*,⁴⁹ the preterite tense of *ikul* suggests that it might rather refer to the original taking of the oath rather than its violation. IN.PAD₃ is the verb found in documents from the reigns of Kaštiliašu and Ammi-madar.⁵⁰ This clause is broken in all other documents from the reigns of Iggid-Lim and Iṣiḫ-Dagan, and the contracts listing an oath from the times of Ḫammurapiḫ and Tukulti-Ninurta I omit the verb.

The clause pertaining to the fine is essentially the same in every Ḫana document for which the section is preserved.⁵¹

42. TFR 1 8:14-16; TFR 1 8E:18-19.

43. ZA 79:22-24.

44. Kümmel, ZA 79 (1989) 197-99.

45. Kümmel, ZA 79 (1989) 195.

46. G. Buccellati, forthcoming article in *Gevirtz memorial volume*, edited by Robert Ratner.

47. TFR 1 1:21; TFR 1 2:15; TFR 1 3:26; TFR 1 5:16; TFR 1 6:29; TFR 1 9:19.

48. TFR 1 4E:23bis.

49. Rouault, TFR 1 9, note on 1.21.

50. AO 4656/4672:28; M1:23; VAT 6685:36.

51. TFR 1 8:22 (5 MA.NA); TFR 1 1:22; TFR 1 2/2E:17 (5 MA.NA); TFR 1 3:27; TFR 1 4/4E:25; TFR 1 5:18 (E₂.GAL-*lim*); TFR 1 5E:16 (E₂.GAL-*lim*); TFR 1 6:24; AO 4672/4656:30; M1:25;

Line 19': Most fields in documents of the Ḫana type are described by reference to the *ugāru* in which they were located, which were in turn named after a city or town, as here.⁵² In a 1990 study, G. Buccellati defined an *ugāru* as “an irrigation district served by a medium size feeder canal . . . a discrete entity by virtue of its differential access to water.”⁵³

The reference to Saggaratum indicates that this city was within the kingdom of Ḫana in the time of Iggid-Lim. The city seems to have been centrally located in the Ḫana kingdom, near the confluence of the Habur and Euphrates. It may have been situated at the modern site of Tell Abu Ha'it.⁵⁴ Saggaratum had been of strategic importance to kings of the region for some time: it was a regional capital of the kingdom of Mari;⁵⁵ the site of fortifications constructed by Samsuiluna and commemorated in that king's 33rd year name,⁵⁶ and of a city wall constructed by king Šunuḫru-Ammu which was also the subject of a year name.⁵⁷

The term *mūšarum* is found in one of the documents from the reign of Yadiḫ-Abu (*TRF* 1 2/2E:1). Buccellati translates this as “garden,”⁵⁸ but since the land here is specifically referred to as a “field” (A.ŠA₃) and orchards are mentioned later in the text in a different context (see line 22'), the term may instead refer to a particular way of planting a field.⁵⁹

Lines 20' and 21': The designations US₂SA.DU AN.TA and US₂SA.DU KL.TA for the first two

sides of a field, orchard, or house, are found in almost all texts of the Ḫana type that pertain to real estate. The only exceptions are *Syria* 37, from the time of Ḫammurapiḫ, and RA 79 from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

It seems that a considerable amount of land throughout the kingdom of Ḫana belonged to the palace. This is reflected in the fact that all but one of the Ḫana documents mentioning real estate from the reigns of the kings from Ammi-madar to Ḫammurapiḫ mention palace land as located at the boundary of a field, as in RBC 779.⁶⁰ In several instances the palace land nearly surrounds the property. The land involved was not concentrated in one region; it is found in many different irrigation districts. For three of the texts (AO 2673, VAT 6685, AO 20162) the proximity of palace land can be explained by the fact that the transactions recorded concerned land that is specifically described as belonging to the king. It is not surprising that the land around these plots would also have belonged to the palace. Another text from the Ḫana kingdom in which land belonging to the palace is mentioned (YBC 6518) is too fragmentary for a determination of whether or not the land changing hands belonged originally to the palace. Only in RBC 779 is palace land mentioned in a context in which the king is clearly not involved in the content of the contract (although his seal appears on it).

The nine known contracts from the reigns of kings Ammi-madar to Ḫammurapiḫ, all apparently found at different times and in different places, must reflect only a minute fraction of all

MI.25; VAT 6685:38; *TPR* 7 4:8'; *Syria* 37:22; ZA 79:28 (E₂GAL-*lim*). *TFR* 1 9:17 reads “1 MA.NA KU₃BABBAR I₃LA₂E” with the recipient unspecified.

52. For a listing of the references to *ugāru* see Buccellati, “The Rural Landscape of the Ancient Zor: The Terqa Evidence,” in B. Geyer, ed., *Techniques et pratiques hydroagricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué*, Tome 1 (Paris, 1990), 164.

53. Buccellati, “Rural Landscape,” 160.

54. J.-M. Durand, “Le culte des bētyles en Syrie,” in J.-M. Durand and J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* (Paris, 1985), 80 n. 4.

55. Gröneberg, *RGTC* 3, 200.

56. Ungnad, *RLA* 2, p. 185.

57. Podany, *Chronology*, 202, 433.

58. Buccellati, “Rural Landscape,” 162.

59. CAD M, part II, 262, “mūšaru.”

60. Palace land flanks seven of the twelve sides of three fields (each in a different *ugāru*) given by Ammi-madar to Pagirum (VAT 6685:5, 11, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23); three sides of a house in Bi[. . .] of Terqa, given by Išar-Lim to Abi-ḫunni (AO 2673:3-5); two sides of a field in Bit Bidda in a text dating to Isih-Dagan (AO 20162:2, 3); two sides of a field in Damara and perhaps three sides of a field in Baramati mentioned in a text from the time of Ḫammurapiḫ (YBC 6518:3, 5, 7, 8^p, 10^p). The exception is *Syria* 37, in which all borders to the orchard are recorded as the names of private individuals and geographical features. In documents from the reigns of kings prior to Ammi-madar, only two refer to palace land: it was located on one side of a field sold in the time of Yadiḫ-Abu (*TFR* 1 6:3) and on one side of a field sold in the time of Kaštiliašu (AO 4656/4672:7).

the documents written during the period of the kingdom. It seems a statistical improbability that they are untypical of the period. If that is the case we may postulate that land belonging to the palace was found throughout the Ḫana kingdom during this time. In contrast, documents from the reigns of kings Yāpaḥ-Sūm[u-X?] to Šunuḫru-Ammu rarely refer to palace land.

Line 23': In this line and line 24' are found the only known instances from Ḫana texts of pieces of property (in this case a field and a house) being designated by only one side, designated US₂. SA.DU. This may be due to the fact that since the property was not changing hands, as was the case in other documents, a precise definition of the boundaries was unnecessary.

The term *ar-ru* is puzzling. It also appears twice in VAT 6685 in designating a feature at opposite borders of a single field, though in that instance without the determinative NA₄.⁶¹ G. Buccellati has suggested that this term was identical in meaning to two other terms found in texts from Terqa, used in both instances to designate the boundary of a field: *ḫu-ur-ru*, which appears in *TFR* 1 8:5 (spelled *ḫu-ur-ru-um* on the envelope of the same text) and A.SUG in AO 4656:14 and AO 4672:13. He defines the term as "a standing body of water, corresponding to old

meander loops, and swamplike in appearance."⁶² However, it is unclear why such a body of water would be designated as "stone." Certainly the term refers in RBC 779, as in the Terqa documents, to a geographical feature.

Line 24': Puzurum is also the name of the owner of the archive dating to the reigns of Yadiḫ-Abu and Kaštiliašu which was excavated at Terqa.⁶³ There is, however, no reason to suppose that this is the same man, since 1) the earlier Puzurum lived in Terqa, not in Saggaratum (where, by implication, this house is located), 2) all other evidence suggests that a considerable amount of time separated the reigns of Kaštiliašu and Iggid-Lim, 3) the father's name of this Puzuru is not given, and 4) the name Puzurum is known from the archives at Mari and was therefore not an unusual one in the region.

Line 25'-28': These lines seem to indicate that the property listed above constituted the dowry of the adoptive mother, perhaps protected against claims by her children and adopted son in the case of her husband's death. If [Išme]-Dagan is to be restored in line 27' the verb in the following line is perhaps a reference to the marriage, and should be restored [uš-t]e-ri-bu-ni-iš-šu.

61. VAT 6685:7-8: [SAG].KI AN.TA *ar-ru*SA[G].KI KI.TA *ar-ru*.

62. Buccellati, "Rural Landscape," 161. The term *arru* also appears in a text from Emar published by Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 13 (1991) 309f. No. 42:8-14: *šum-ma / ur-ra še-ra-a-am / tup-pu ka-an-ni-ku / i-na pu-uz-ri ša-at-ru / ša-a ar-ru i-na* ⁶³PISAN / *ša A-hi-ra-(ha-aq) u₃ DUMU.MEŠ-šu / a-šar i-la-ma ḫe-pi₂*
63. Rouault, *TFR* 1.