

**CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM NIMRUD VI**

**Documents from the Nabu Temple and from  
private houses on the citadel**

by S. Herbordt, R. Mattila, B. Parker (†), J.N. Postgate, D.J. Wiseman (†)

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In grateful memory of

**Donny George**

an ever helpful friend and colleague

## Preface

This volume has been long in the making and has drawn on the assistance and expertise of a number of colleagues and institutions. I wish first to acknowledge the major contributions of Donald Wiseman and Barbara Parker who provided us with the *editio princeps* of the majority of the tablets in this volume of CTN. Urged on by Max Mallowan they produced generally accurate copies and editions of these texts before Neo-Assyrian studies had been rejuvenated under the leadership of Karlheinz Deller, and it is only with the passage of time and the availability of previously unedited texts that a new edition is desirable.

My own involvement with these two groups of texts was a natural progression from volumes 2 and 3 of CTN, and although some progress was made already in Baghdad in the 1970s my Neo-Assyrian engagement was deflected to Nineveh in order to collate the Kouyunjik material in the British Museum for the State Archives of Assyria Vols. VII and XI. While preoccupied with these and other concerns I sought the assistance of Dr Raija Mattila, and with the resources of Helsinki she generated transliterations of all the texts and prepared copies of some of the previously unedited pieces stored in the British Museum. It is a pleasure to acknowledge her contribution to the volume and to thank her and Simo Parpola for the Helsinki input.

This edition would have been impossible without the friendly and efficient collaboration of our colleagues in the Iraq Museum, notably Dr Fawzy Rashid, Dr Bahijah Ismail and Dr Donny George. The staff of the Department of the Middle East at the British Museum, especially Jonathan Taylor, gave every assistance to Dr Mattila, Dr Herbordt, and me, and we are very grateful to the British Institute for the Study of Iraq for a travel grant enabling Dr Herbordt to make her study trip to the museum. As mentioned below in the Introduction, some of the tablets found their way to other museums, in Melbourne, Oxford, and New York, and our thanks go to Christopher Davey, Roger Moorey and Joan Aruz respectively for their permission to include these and for supplying photos. Thanks also to Ira Spar for permission to reproduce his elegant copies.

The copies on Plates 1–44 are a mixed bunch. Some are borrowed, with permission, from articles in *Iraq*, or from Dr Spar's copies for the Metropolitan Museum. The others are by Raija Mattila or Nicholas Postgate, and are reproduced directly from our pencil copies. This means they are fainter than usual with inked drawings, but we feel they are acceptable and that the process of inking is also a process of normalization which affects the accuracy of representation. The text editions were effectively finalized in 2015, and in that year I gave a paper on the Nabu Temple texts at the symposium in St Petersburg marking the centenary of the birth of Professor I.M. Diakonoff (N. Koslova ed., *Proceedings of the international conference dedicated to the centenary of Igor Mikhailovich Diakonoff (1915–1999)*, pp. 165–179). This was published in 2018 in St Petersburg, and overlaps with the introductory sections in this volume.

Finally, my sincere thanks to Augusta McMahon, Ellen McAdam and Ali Khadr for seeing the book through to publication, and especially to Bronwen Campbell for her skill and patience in transforming a very fragmented original into this final version.

Nicholas Postgate  
February 2019

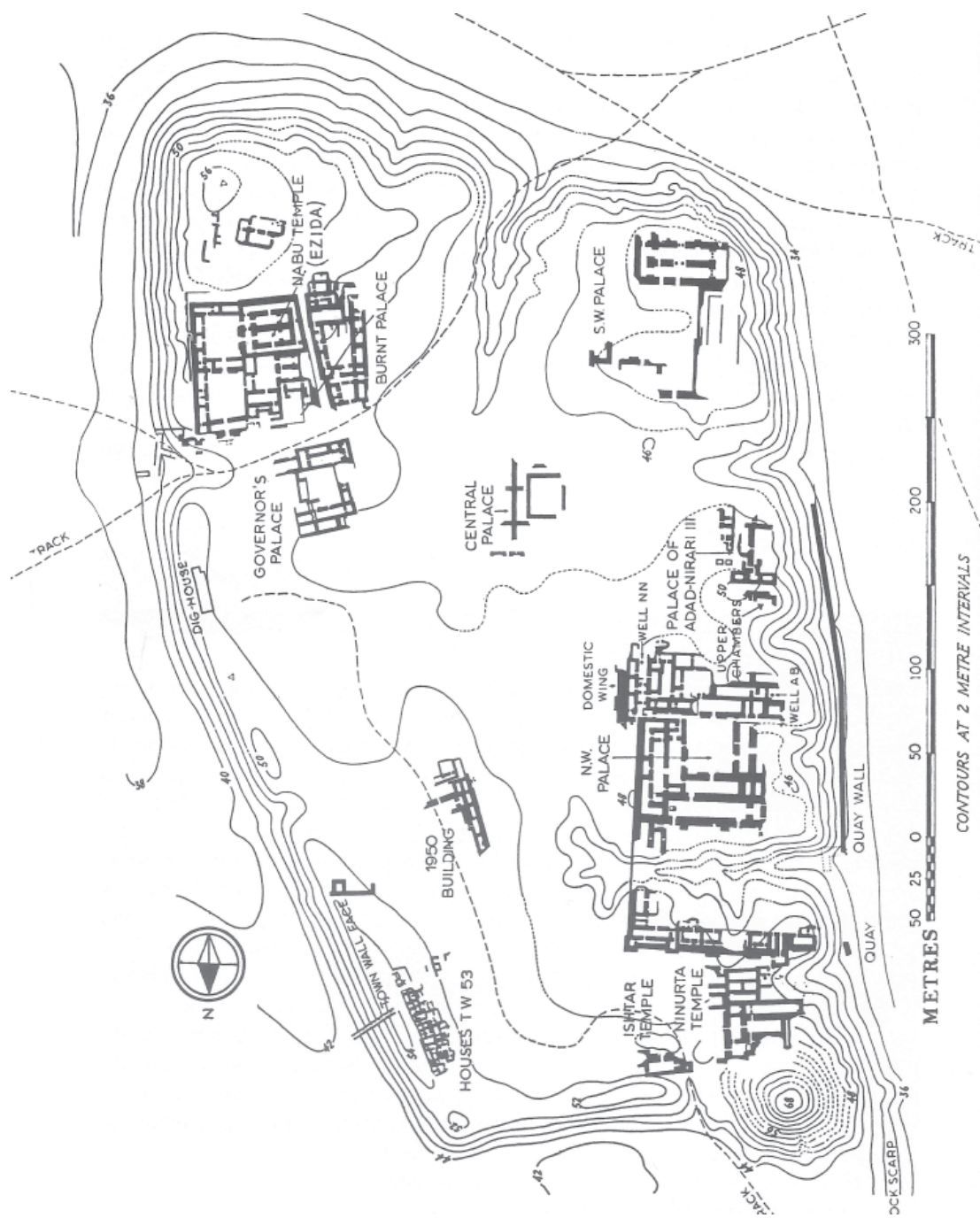


Figure 1. The Nimrud acropolis (Oates & Oates 2001, p. 29. © BISI)

## Introduction

Nicholas Postgate

This volume of *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud* is designed to fill the gap between the Nimrud Letters found in 1952 (edited by H.W.F. Saggs in CTN 5), and the texts from Fort Shalmaneser published in CTN 3 by S.M. Dalley and J.N. Postgate. The texts it studies were therefore excavated in 1953 (ND 3400ff.), 1954 (ND 4300ff.), and 1956 (ND 5400ff.), and came almost exclusively from two main areas, the Nabu Temple and the houses at the north-east corner of the citadel (known to the excavators as TW 53). The 1953 tablets were catalogued and partly edited by D.J. Wiseman in *Iraq* 15 that same year, and most of the 1956 texts were edited by B. Parker in *Iraq* 19 (1957), but the passage of time and the inclusion of previously unpublished texts fully justify a new and comprehensive edition in the CTN series. Three tablets found in the “Town Wall Palace” (Nos. 116–118) are also included here although one is a hemerology. It should be noted that some of the texts excavated in 1953 were from the North-West Palace, and these are not edited here because it is planned to include them in CTN 7, which should be devoted to the non-epistolary texts from the North-West Palace including the so-called Ziggurat Terrace: many of these were edited by B. Parker in *Iraq* 23, but others from the 1952 season remain unpublished. Work on CTN 7 has been hindered because some of the tablets in the Iraq Museum have never been studied, but it will follow on the completion of volume 6, in the hope that conditions will improve.

On a brief visit to Iraq in August 2002 I was able to see a number of Nimrud tablets with the kind permission of the staff of the Iraq Museum. A few of these were from the 1952 season, but to my surprise, the Museum staff also brought me a number of dockets from Room 16 of the Nabu Temple which had not been mentioned in Barbara Parker’s article in *Iraq* 19. Subsequently I discovered that some more dockets from the same context remained unpublished among the cuneiform texts allocated in the 1956 division to the British expedition and now stored in the British Museum. These brought the number of corn loan dockets in this assemblage from 19 to 39 (Nos. 11–49). Admittedly, the additional texts included more damaged pieces, but the increased number helps to give greater validity to any conclusions based on a discussion of the assemblage as a whole, and it seems essential to present all these texts together. To this end, we republish Barbara Parker’s excellent copies, which have been collated against the originals (but not amended) when these were stored in the British Museum. In Baghdad in 2002 time did not permit me to collate the copied dockets which remained in the Iraq Museum, nor to copy the unpublished dockets there; however I made transcriptions of the unpublished texts, and in many cases photographs were prepared for me at very short notice by the late Donny George in the Iraq Museum’s photo laboratory. These photographs are included in the present volume, and as a small recognition of Donny George’s services to Iraqi archaeology it gives us pleasure to dedicate this volume to his memory. Any unpublished 1956 texts stored in the British Museum have been copied by the editors (Raija Mattila or Nicholas Postgate). Among the tablets from the Town Wall houses there are several which we

were unable to collate because their present location is unknown (see below).

It is regrettable that our coverage of these texts is so patchy, but there is no obvious prospect of relocating the tablets assigned to the expedition, and we do not feel that the extra results which might come if in the unforeseeable future one of us could copy the uncopied (but transliterated and photographed) texts in Baghdad, or collate others copied by Barbara Parker, would justify further delay in producing this edition.

### *ND numbers*

The ND numbers were assigned during the excavation season and compiled into the typewritten excavation catalogue of finds. In a few cases a single ND number was assigned to (parts of) more than one tablet, and in these cases we have subsequently introduced an alphabetic suffix (e.g. ND 3462b) to distinguish the separate pieces.

### *Museum numbers*

At the end of the season a division of antiquities took place, and approximately half the inscribed material was allocated to the expedition, the other half to the Iraq Museum. The Iraq Museum pieces were given a “mim ‘ayin” number, see the List of Museum and ND numbers in this volume (pp. 259–261). In a few cases where a piece was deemed relatively insignificant it received no IM number but was just assigned to the “for study” (*liddaris*) category (e.g. No. 116). In a few cases we believe that tablets were allocated to the Iraq Museum but we do not have a record of the IM number. As far as we know, all the texts allocated to the Iraq Museum remain in Baghdad. In 2002 JNP was able to collate some of these which had already been copied by Wiseman or Parker, and to copy or transcribe some previously unpublished pieces.

Of the Expedition’s half the majority are now in the British Museum. A few were entrusted to Museum ownership in the 1950s, but more were transferred there in about 2000 from the custody of the Institute of Archaeology in Gordon Square. Also in the 1950s a few tablets from the 1953 season of excavations were donated to other museums which had been supportive of the Nimrud expedition: the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the Australian Institute for Archaeology in Melbourne, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (see the list on pp. 259–261). We are very grateful to Roger Moorey(†), Christopher Davey, and Joan Aruz respectively for their help in allowing access to the originals and/or providing photographs which are used in the volume. Unfortunately there remain a few pieces whose current location is unknown to us. We believe these were allocated to the expedition and would consequently have been brought to London, but they appear not to be among the tablets now stored in the British Museum, and we can only hope that they will one day resurface.

### *Dimensions*

These are in centimetres. Given first is the dimension parallel with the lines of writing, i.e. width, followed by the height, and where a third dimension is given this is the thickness of the document. If the thickness is not given the dimensions are taken from *Iraq* 19 or from the excavation catalogue, where the thickness was not usually recorded. Dimensions in round brackets – such as (3.5) are incomplete because of breakage to the document.



### *Provenances*

These are cited according to the individual entries in the typewritten site catalogue, or as published in *Iraq* 19, not necessarily verbatim. Note the simple statement in *Iraq* 19, 127 “All the grain dockets were found together in room N.T. 16.”

### *Dates*

Canonical eponym dates are given after Millard 1994. The order of the post-canonical eponyms remains uncertain, but for convenience we have used the year assignments suggested in Reade 1998, prefixed by an R. The alternative dates offered by Parpola in PNA 1/I, XVIII-XIX are also given, prefixed by a P. Hence R619/P621 means “Reade assigns this eponym to 619, Parpola to 621 BC”. It should be stressed that these proposed dates can only be taken as an approximate guide until an eponym list covering the years after 649 BC is recovered.

### *Sealing*

This section aims to describe the presence and disposition of any seal impressions or similar features, followed by S. Herbordt’s description of the glyptic designs. Many of the impressions from 1953 were illustrated and described by Barbara Parker in *Iraq* 19, and these and others were already included in Herbordt 1992 (*Neuassyrische Glyptik*). Nevertheless it appeared useful to study the glyptic of these two coherent groups, especially since there are some impressions on tablets in the British Museum not previously studied, and the photographs from the Iraq Museum have also enabled the inclusion of several more fresh examples. Nevertheless, there are some Iraq Museum tablets or envelopes with impressions which it has not been possible to show.

### *Personal names*

In cases where the correct reading of a name is uncertain we have generally followed the reading suggested in the *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (PNA). However, the traditional renderings of the divine names Ištar and Ninurta have been retained (as opposed to PNA’s Issar and Inurta).



## The Seal Impressions on Tablets from the Nabu Temple and TW 53 in Nimrud

Suzanne Herbordt

The majority of the 115 documents from the Nabu Temple and the private houses on the citadel are sealed. In this volume we present 63 different seal impressions which are impressed on 59 tablets and one clay sealing (No. 115). These are all the seal impressions that have been documented to this date, most of which have been previously published in the glyptic studies by B. Parker and S. Herbordt (Parker 1955; Parker 1962; Herbordt 1992). However, a number of unpublished pieces stored in the British Museum were drawn and documented by the author in 2015 and are included here. We are fortunate also to reproduce photographs of a number of previously unpublished seal impressions on tablets from the Iraq Museum that were taken by D. George. A further 18 tablets located in the Iraq Museum are known to bear seal impressions but lack any documentation. These are regrettably missing here. Their occurrence is mentioned in the catalogue, however. On five tablets the seal impressions are too worn to recognize the design and in 28 cases either the tablets are not sealed or no sealing survives. In addition to the sealed tablets there are three bearing incised designs<sup>1</sup> (Nos. 82; 101; 103-1) and three with fingernail impressions<sup>2</sup> (Nos. 16; 61; 108).

The seal material from the Town Wall Houses outweighs that from the Nabu Temple. Whereas the tablets from TW 53 are mainly from the intact archive of Šamaš-šarru-ušur covering 46–47 years (cf. pp. 131 ff.), the documents from the Nabu Temple are from secondary contexts (D. Oates 1957, p. 30; Parker 1957, p. 125; Herbordt 1992, p. 24 fig. 4; p. 27). Published here are 42 seal impressions (+ 3 unpublished and one unrecognizable) from TW 53 ranging in date from 665 B.C. (No. 63) to 618 B.C. (No. 111; cf. pp. 131–132 and Table 12). From the Nabu Temple there are 21 seal impressions (+14 unpublished and 4 unrecognizable). Only one dates to the 8<sup>th</sup> century (No. 2; 759 B.C.). The rest fall into the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century with the latest dating to 653 B.C. (No. 39; cf. p. 38 and Table 2). In accordance with our knowledge about Neo-Assyrian glyptic of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, stamp seal impressions (46 + one seal edge, Pl. 6, No. 16) outnumber cylinder seal impressions (17)<sup>3</sup>. There are 4 cases in which the cylinder seal was not rolled on the clay but impressed as a stamp seal (Pl. I, Nos. 22; 29; 42; Pl. II, No. 27)<sup>4</sup>.

### *Sealing Practices*

A joint use of cylinder and stamp seals on the same document is attested only twice (Nos. 68; 87). In the first case (Pl. II, No. 68-1; Pl. III, No. 68-2) two persons are named as seal owners, but it is unclear which seal belongs to whom. In the second example (Pl. V, No. 87-1; Pl. II, No. 87-2) only one person is named as seal owner, Mannu-ki-Nabu, for the two different seals used. However, the stamp seal impressions showing two monkeys playing the flute (Pl. V,

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1 On this practice see Herbordt 1992, p. 42; Radner 1997, p. 40.

2 On the use of fingernail impressions (*šupru*) with specific references to Nimrud and Nineveh see Herbordt 1992, pp. 42–45; also including Assur, Radner 1997, pp. 36–39; Postgate 1976, p. 8f.; Boyer 1939, pp. 208–218.

3 See Herbordt 1992, p. 9 f.; 46 f.; 150 f.; Fügert 2015, p. 8 f.; 134 f.

4 On this practice with further references see Herbordt 1992, 46 f.

No. 87-1) occur on another document from the Ziqqurra Terrace (ZT) rm. 14 (Parker 1955, 116f.; pl. 24, 5; Herbordt 1992, p. 181f., Nimrud 41). There, the seal owner, Ubru-Nabu, son of Nabu-duri, seals alone. We can therefore attribute the cylinder seal impression on our tablet (Pl. II, No. 87-2) from TW 53 to Mannu-ki-Nabu, the bird-feeder.

In two cases fingernail impressions appear on a document in combination with seal impressions<sup>5</sup>. The first example (Pl. VI, No. 16) shows fingernails impressed vertically next to the partial impressions of the edge of a circular stamp seal. The two different means of sealing here correspond to the two persons named as debtors on this grain loan. In the second example, also a grain loan, one seal owner is explicitly named (No. 103) for impressions of a stamp seal (Pl. III, No. 103-2) and two incised, pinwheel-shaped designs (Pl. III, No. 103-1). The design appears to be made by multiple fingernail impressions surrounding a central point. The most plausible explanation for the two different means of sealing is a two-factor authentication.

Three tablets show the exclusive use of fingernail impressions as a seal substitute (Nos. 61; 101; 108). No. 61 is a straightforward example with three fingernail impressions impressed horizontally in the delineated space for sealing at the top of the tablet. No. 108 (Pl. VI) shows two rows of three fingernail impressions on the envelope of a land lease. J.N. Postgate has commented that they are impressions simulating fingernails, but the half-moon shape would indicate that part of the finger tip was also impressed. Of particular interest are the fingernail impressions on document No. 101, the loan (?) of a goose. At the left is an X-shaped sign and at the right a design in the shape of a bird's claw (Pl. VI, No. 101). A good comparison from this corpus, also from TW 53, is the incised design of a bird's claw on the envelope of a silver loan (Pl. VI, No. 82). Further comparisons for this type of seal substitute come from Assur and Sultantepe with tablets bearing the design of a bird's head made by fingernail incisions (Böhme 2014, pl. 67, no. Ist 46) as well as incised drawings of a bird's head (Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 67 nos. 471–472; Herbordt 1992, pl. 17, 25). The incised designs on tablets from Assur also include scorpions (Böhme 2014, pl. 67, no. Ist 49; Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 67, no. 473).

The use of more than one seal by a single person is attested occasionally<sup>6</sup>. Two grain loans from the Nabu Temple (Nos. 18 and 38) name Nabu-šarḫu-ubašša as debtor, who uses two different stamp seals on the two documents (Pl. IV, No. 18; Pl. V, No. 38). Six years lie between the use of the two different seals (661 B.C. for No. 18 and 655 B.C. for No. 38). Furthermore, Adad-milki-ušur, a debtor of Šamaš-šarru-ušur on both a silver loan and a grain loan (No. 85, 631 B.C.; No. 107, 622 B.C.) from TW 53, also uses two different stamp seals within a period of 11 years (Pl. III, No. 85; Pl. IV, No. 107). And finally, Nabu-remanni appears as debtor on 4 different tablets from TW 53 (Nos. 84, 89, 90, 95). Two of these documents are sealed (Nos. 89, 90), but because no documentation of the seal impressions is presently available, it is unclear whether or not the same seal was used in both cases.

5 For further examples from Nimrud and Nineveh see Herbordt 1992, p. 46. For the combined use of seal and fingernail impressions specifically on land sales from Assur see Radner 1997, p. 39; Klengel-Brandt & Radner 1997, p. 137 f.; Faist & Klengel-Brandt 2010, p. 126f.

6 On the multiple seals used by Ubru-Nabu see the discussion above and the catalogue commentary (Herbordt) for nos. 68 and 87. Although the individuals, Nabu-iddin (nos. 15 and 16) and Qurdi-Nergal (nos. 77 and 102), are named as borrowers on more than one text, it is unclear whether or not they used different seals. This is due to the fact that they are named as one of two borrowers for one seal impression on no. 16 and no. 77. In the case of Nabu-sumu-iddina, who is named as borrower on no. 14 (date 667 B.C.) and seal owner on a sales document (no. 64; date 649 B.C.), it is unclear whether or not we are dealing with the same person. The seal impressions on both tablets are not documented.

### Seal Designs

The seal designs on the cylinder seal impressions from the Nabu Temple and Town Wall Houses fall into the two major categories of ritual scenes and contest scenes. Ritual scenes predominate, with designs showing either a worshipper and deities (Pl. I, Nos. 2; 20; 28; 43; probably also No. 22), two worshippers and/or genies flanking a stylized tree (Pl. II, Nos. 7; 65; 68-1; 100; 115; probably also Pl. I, Nos. 29; 42), or two worshippers and/or genies and divine symbols (Pl. II, Nos. 27; 72). Only three examples show contest scenes (Pl. II, Nos. 4; 60; 87-2).

The cylinder seal impression with the earliest date (Pl. I, No. 2; 759 B.C.) comes from the Nabu Temple and belongs to a seal type of high ranking officials (often eponyms) dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> century which are characterized by scenes of worshippers and anthropomorphic deities combined with a seal inscription naming the seal owner<sup>7</sup>. Impressed on a dedication to Nabu, the seal inscription names Šepe-šarri as its owner, probably one of the staff of the Nabu Temple (see p. 19). The first line of the document also names the god Nabu as seal owner. Although discussed previously, the seal deserves particular mention because it bears one of the few anthropomorphic representations of the god Nabu, who is shown standing on the *mušhuššu*-dragon holding a beaded ring<sup>8</sup>. One of the best parallels occurs on another dedication text to Nabu (made of bronze) stored in the British Museum<sup>9</sup> (see Postgate 1987, p. 62 with fig. 1) also showing the deity standing on the *mušhuššu*-dragon, in this case holding a stylus. In her discussion of the sealing, Parker also drew attention to the stamped bricks from the Nabu Temple with the symbols of Marduk (spade) and Nabu (stylus) on the back of the *mušhuššu*-dragon (Parker 1962, p. 30). Furthermore, a bronze relief from the Nabu Temple in Khorsabad showing the *mušhuššu*-dragon solely with the stylus on its back reinforces the association of this *Mischwesen* acting as an attribute with the god Nabu (Loud & Altman 1938, pl. 50, 22; Seidl 1998–2001, p. 27 no. 13). The flanking *lahmu*-figures here associated with Nabu appear on another seal in the context of a worship scene with the Storm-god, Adad (Collon 1987, no. 792 = Collon 2001, pl. 23, 277).

Previously unpublished cylinder seal impressions include a ritual scene with a worshipper in front of a four-winged deity (Ištar/Šauška?) wearing a long open robe and holding a bow upright at its tip with her left hand (Pl. I, no. 20). Unusual is the gesture of adoration on the part of the worshipper, who is shown with both arms raised with palms up. The usual gesture of adoration shows the right arm raised and the left held horizontally at the waist (e.g., Pl. I, nos. 2 and 22). The cylinder seal impression no. 28 (Pl. I) shows a ritual scene with the god in the winged sun-disc, symbol of Šamaš, held by a bull-man (?)<sup>10</sup>. Flanking the scene are a genie in a fish cloak holding a *banduddu*-bucket on the left and a worshipper on the right. The genie wearing a fish cloak appears as a single figure on two further impressions of cylinder seals that have been impressed in the manner of a stamp seal (Pl. I, nos. 29 and 42). Because of the identical motif and sealing practice, it seems very likely that the seals have the same owner

<sup>7</sup> On this seal type see Herbordt 1992, pp. 71–74; Watanabe 1999, pp. 313–366; Collon 1987, p. 77.

<sup>8</sup> See Parker 1962, p. 30; Seidl 1998–2001, p. 26 f. nos. 15–19, with further examples.

<sup>9</sup> BM 118796. See Postgate 1987, p. 62 fig. 1.

<sup>10</sup> On the winged sun-disc and Šamaš see Seidl 1971, 485; Seidl 1989, 235 no. 3; Calmeyer 1979, p. 357 f. with Note 25–26; Opificius 1984, p. 200; Black & Green 1992, p. 186; Herbordt 1992, pp. 98–100; Collon 2001, pp. 79–92.

<sup>11</sup> On the identity of seated goddesses on star-studded thrones see Herbordt 1992, pp. 75–78; Watanabe 1999, 322 f.

(PN preserved only on no. 42). A further ritual scene shows a worshipper and a female deity seated on a star-studded throne with the symbols of Marduk and Nabu (spade and stylus) and the stylized tree in front of her (Pl. I, no. 43). Because the attribute animal on which the throne rests is so poorly preserved, it is unclear whether it is a *mušhuššu*-dragon or dog. Therefore the identity of the goddess is uncertain (Mullissu or Gula?)<sup>11</sup>. At the top and bottom of the seal impression the grooved seal cap is visible.

Scenes with the stylized tree surmounted by the winged sun-disc and flanked by two worshippers or genies are well-represented, with five examples (Pl. II: Nos. 7; 65; 68-1; 100; 115). A less frequent variant is shown on No. 100 (Pl. II) with the worshippers/genies in kneeling position. The stylized tree, also often referred to as the “sacred tree”, has recently been convincingly identified as a piece of cult furniture, specifically the <sup>G</sup>*urigallu* occurring in ritual texts<sup>12</sup>. U. Seidl (Seidl & Sallaberger 2005/2006, p. 60) furthermore interprets the appearance of the winged sun-disc over the stylized tree as the visualization of the presence of the Sun-god, Šamaš, in ritual context.

The three cylinder seal impressions showing combat scenes have all been previously published (Pl. II, Nos. 4; 60; 87-2). Two from TW 53 (Pl. II, Nos. 60; 87-2) are of the types with a deity/genie in combat with a *Mischwesen* or animal. Typical for these scenes is the position of the smiting god/genie wielding a mace as well as his raised leg standing on the back of the combat victim (Herbordt 1992, pp. 88–90). The owners of the seals are named with their professions of “bird feeder” (No. 87-2; cf. also commentary in catalogue) and “verger of Nabu” (No. 60).

From the Nabu Temple comes an antithetic combat scene with three figures which sealed a dedication text (Pl. II, No. 4). This elaborate seal shows a genie in combat with two scorpion men, whom he subdues by grasping them by the beard<sup>13</sup>. The remaining field is filled with figural filling motifs: two monkeys, two genies wearing a fish-cloak, a standing bird, and a goat-fish (*suhurmašu*). In his discussion of the text, Postgate has indicated that the witnesses listed on the document are important individuals from Kalhu/Nimrud (cf. *JNP Commentary* p. 26). Thus the seal owner, Nabu-sagib, son of Ahhe-damqu, is also likely to be a member of the ‘ruling class’ of Kalhu (cf. *JNP* p. 16 quoting Deller). This confirms the previous observation that seals showing three-figured antithetic combat scenes were owned by high-ranking persons and/or were used for sealing important documents (Herbordt 1992, p. 155; p. 159 f.). Additional support for this conclusion is now also provided by the seal material from Tell Šeḫ Ḥamad (Fügert 2015, p. 217).

The stamp seal impressions attested here fall into well-known categories of Neo-Assyrian stamp seal designs<sup>14</sup>: divine symbols and linear motifs (Pl. III), ritual scenes (Pl. IV, Nos. 69; 109; 111), *Mischwesen* (Pl. IV, No. 25), animals (Pl. IV–VI), and Egyptianizing designs (Pl. VI, Nos. 63 and 70). Clearly dominant, however, are seal designs showing single animals in great variety (Pl. IV–VI). Represented are bovines (Pl. IV, Nos. 18; 19; 46; 66; 71-1; 106;

11 On the identity of seated goddesses on star-studded thrones see Herbordt 1992, pp. 75–78; Watanabe 1999, 322 f.

12 The identification as <sup>G</sup>*urigallu* was made by Seidl & Sallaberger 2005/2006, 54–74. On the stylized tree as artificial see also Giovino 2006, 110–125; Giovino 2007 (with further references).

13 For an exact parallel from Assur, see Böhme 2014, pl. 42, Ist 34. The profession of the seal owner, in this case, Mannu-ki-Arbail, is not given on the document.

14 On Neo-Assyrian stamp seal designs see Herbordt 1992, 98–122; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 84–99; Fügert 2015, 444–460.



107), caprids (Pl. V, Nos. 24; 62; 77; 98), a dog (Pl. V, No. 86), monkeys (Pl. V, Nos. 87-1, and 67), a frog (Pl. V, No. 104), a fish (Pl. V, No. 38), and an assortment of different kinds of birds (Pl. III, No. 68-2; Pl. VI, Nos. 13; 48; 62a; 76; 88).

Among the new animal sealings published here is a handsomely cut square seal showing a cow suckling a calf (Pl. IV, No. 18). In the upper field are the winged sun-disc and a small circular filling ornament. The seal owner, Nabu-šarḫu-ubašša, used a different seal depicting a fish (Pl. V, No. 38) five years later. The outlines of the seal impressions in the clay show two different seal types. The first is square (Pl. IV, No. 18) and the second has a shape which indicates an Assyrian duck-shaped seal (Pl. V, No. 38).

Bovines also appear to be represented on three grain dockets with previously unpublished seal impressions (Pl. IV, Nos. 19, 46, 107). The only available documentation of the sealings are the photos by Donny George, thus making identification uncertain. One example shows a rectangular seal design with the winged sun-disc in the upper field over what looks to be a bovine. It falls into the category of animal representations surmounted by divine astral symbols, including the lunar crescent, star of Ištar, or the *Sebetti* (Pl. III, Nos. 68-2; 99; Pl. IV, Nos. 18; 19; 106; Pl. V, Nos. 24; 62; 86; Pl. VI, No. 13).

Six different seal impressions with depictions of birds are present on documents from both the Nabu Temple (Pl. VI, Nos. 13; 48) and TW 53 (Pl. III, No. 68-2; Pl. VI, Nos. 62a; 76; 88). Whereas most show smaller birds, perhaps the ‘doves’ referred to in the texts (cf. JNP, pp. 223–224)<sup>15</sup>, three previously unpublished examples show larger birds: a goose (Pl. VI, No. 48), a duck (Pl. VI, No. 88), and an undetermined species (Pl. VI, No. 76). Interestingly, the owner of the seal showing the duck in flight (Pl. VI, No. 88) is a bird-feeder by profession. This is the only seal, however, whose design relates to the owner’s profession. It is also worth noting that although the contracts involving birds from the archive of Šamaš-šarru-ušur (Nos. 98–101; 112; cf. also the commentary of JNP pp. 223–224) are not impressed with seals depicting birds, one tablet is ‘sealed’ by incised marks resembling a bird’s claw (Pl. VI, No. 101).

To the known seal impressions showing symbols, several new ones have been added here. Three examples show rosettes (Pl. III, Nos. 33; 80; 110), one fragmentary sealing shows the crescent moon and a vegetal motif (Pl. III, No. 74), and one shows seven doughnut-shaped spheres (Pl. III, No. 94), perhaps the *Sebetti* (Pleiades). The alignment of the spheres in rows of two, three, and two differs, however, from the usual representations of the seven globes of the *Sebetti* which are rendered in two parallel rows (Herbordt 1992, pp. 102f.).

### *The Seal Owners<sup>16</sup> and their Seals*

On the legal documents published here, the professions of the seal owners are not often mentioned together with the personal name. We have only 22 examples of named professions in this seal corpus (cf. List of Seal Owners, pp. 12–14). Based on the prosopography of the archives, it has been possible to determine the professions or social status in additional cases when they are not explicitly mentioned. For example, in his commentary on the identity of

<sup>15</sup> Compare also the stamp seal impressions on a tablet from Fort Shalmaneser showing a dove alighting, Dalley & Postgate 1984, pl. 47, 29; Herbordt 1992, pl. 27, 4 (Nimrud 77).

<sup>16</sup> On the identity of the seal owner on legal documents, should he not be explicitly named with the *Siegelvermerk* NA<sub>4</sub>. KİŞİB, cf. Postgate 1976, p. 7 f.; 12 f.; 35 f.; Herbordt 1992, 37–40.

the borrowers (i.e., seal owners) named on loan documents from the Nabu Temple, Postgate concludes that – with or without a named profession — most were probably employed by the temple (pp. 40–42, 48–49). On the documents from TW 53 (room 19), the seal owners are persons who conducted business with Šamaš-šarru-ušur, the owner of the archive. In all cases we are dealing with private rather than official seals.

The two most remarkable seal impressions in the corpus are cylinder seals impressed on two dedication texts to the god Nabu from the Nabu Temple (Pl. I, No. 2; Pl. II, No. 4). Although the professions are not given with the personal names, Postgate has determined through prosopographical evidence that Šepe-šarri (No. 2) is probably a highly placed member of the Nabu Temple staff (p. 19) and that Nabu-sagib (No. 4) can be counted among the important individuals of Kalhu (pp. 16, 26). Both seal designs, the first a ritual scene showing a worshipper and anthropomorphic deities (Pl. I, No. 2; date: 776 or 759 B.C.) and the second depicting an antithetical three-figured combat scene (Pl. II, No. 4; date: 619 B.C.), have been associated with high-ranking Assyrian officials (see discussion above under “Seal Designs”). As seals belonging to two important individuals from Kalhu, further confirmation of this association with persons of high status is provided here.

Various craftsmen are mentioned on loan documents from the Nabu Temple. In two cases they seal as borrowers: 1) three leather-workers of the governor of Kalhu (Pl. IV, No. 25) and 2) a textile worker (fuller?; Pl. II, No. 27). Both tablets date to the year 661 B.C. Different seal types are used with the leather workers sealing with a stamp showing a sphinx (Pl. IV, No. 25) and the textile worker using a cylinder seal only partially impressed showing divine symbols (Pl. II, No. 27).

Among military officials represented in the corpus is the high-ranking cohort commander (GAL *kišir*), who seals with a stamp showing divine symbols (Pl. III, No. 99). In addition, the body guard of the House of the Crown Prince seals with a stamp depicting a worshipper with the divine symbols of Marduk, Nabu and the lunar crescent (Pl. IV, No. 111). Thus, it does not hold true that cylinder seals rather than stamp seals were used by high-ranking individuals.

Cylinder seal owners attested here have different professions of variable social status. For example, two seals showing combat scenes are used by a “verger of Nabu” (Pl. II, No. 60) and a bird-feeder (Pl. II, No. 87-2). Cylinder seals depicting ritual scenes with the stylized tree are owned by a eunuch (LÚ.SAG; Pl. I, No. 43) and a bird-catcher (Pl. II, No. 65). In fact, the well-attested bird-feeders and bird-catchers can own either a cylinder (Pl. II, Nos. 65; 87-2) or stamp seal (Pl. III, Nos. 71-2; 92; Pl. IV, No. 71-1; Pl. VI, No. 88). In only one case does the design showing a duck relate to the bird-feeder profession (Pl. VI, No. 88).

The use of Egyptian (Pl. VI, Nos. 63; 70) and pseudo-Egyptian stamp seals (Pl. VI, No. 39) during the Neo-Assyrian period in Assyria is wide-spread (Herbordt 1992, p. 120f.; p. 159; Keel 2014, p. 35f.; Klengel-Brandt 2014, p. 103f.; Fügert 2015, p. 200f.). The seal impressions presented here are owned by persons with Assyrian rather than Egyptian personal names. The newly published pseudo-Egyptian seal impression (Pl. VI, No. 39) belonged to Šamaš-kenu, a palace [official?].

Finally, a simple stamp seal impression showing only a thick, raised line on the round seal face deserves mention here (Pl. III, No. 35). Two Nabu Temple staff members, Aplaya and Balaṭi (cf. pp. 41; 91), are named as borrowers and are thus seal owners on the grain loan (No.



35). There are several comparisons for this kind of “seal design”, including one in this corpus used by Urkittu-ušur, son of Qibiya, from the town of Kiširtu (Pl. III, No. 97) from TW 53 (for further parallels see catalogue Nos. 35 and 97). Moreover, in Assur a further comparable seal was used by two expedition chiefs (EN – KASKAL) on a silver loan (date post-canonical)<sup>17</sup>. The design is relatively nondescript and was perhaps engraved on seal rings. However, the use by Nabu Temple staff at Kalhu and military officers at Assur indicates that its use was not just limited to simple professions or provincial persons (on the location of Kiširtu see p. 221). In general, we can confirm our previous observation that there is little differentiation in the seal designs of different professional groups (Herbordt 1992, p. 104f.).

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<sup>17</sup> On the seal impressions and the tablet see Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 62, no. 415; Jakob-Rost, Radner & Donbaz 2000, text 114; pl. 9, no. 47 a-b (photo); Deller, Fales & Jakob-Rost 1995, p. 101 f., no. 115.

Seal Owner	CTN 6 No.	Suppl. No.	Prove-nance	Sealing	Plate No.
Ab[u?-...]	67		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
Abu-lešir, S. of Gabbu-a[mur]	74		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Adad-milki-ereš, S. of Šangu-Ištar	106		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
Adad-milki-ušur	107		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
Adad-milki-ušur, S. of Lu-šakin	85		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Addallal	101		TW 53	incised marks and finger nail	VI
Adi-ilu-iqqibuni, S. of Ḫaldi-aplu-iddina	47		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Aḫi-aḫ-ide, the merchant, S. of Naqamu	72		TW 53	sealed (cylinder)	II
Aḫu-edī	106		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	IV
Aḫu-eriba, cohort commander (GAL <i>ki-šir</i> ), S. of Mušallim-Ištar	99		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Aḫu-eriba, S. of Aplu-duri, the textile worker (fuller?)	27		NT	sealed (cylinder)	II
Aḫu-eriba, the grove watchman	26		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Aḫu-lamašši, the farmer (LÚ*.ENGAR)	23		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Amerama	61		TW 53	finger nail	
Aplaya, Nabu Temple staff (cf. Postgate, commentary on the borrowers, p. 39)	35		NT	sealed (stamp)	III
Arbailayu	78		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Arzanu, S. of [...], the doorkeeper (LÚ*.Ī.DU <sub>8</sub> )	24		NT	sealed (stamp)	V
A]tamar-ana-Nabu(?)	42		NT	sealed (cylinder)	I
Balaṭi, Nabu Temple staff (cf. Postgate, commentary on the borrowers, p. 39)	35		NT	sealed (stamp)	III
Bariki, S. of Remanni-ili	86		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
Bel-abu-ušur, the gardener	16		NT	finger nail and seal edge	VI
Bel-aḫu-ušur, S. of La-tubaššanni-Adad, bird-catcher of the queen	71	1	TW 53	sealed (stamp)	IV
Bel-aḫu-ušur, S. of La-tubaššanni-Adad, bird-catcher of the queen	71	2	TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
				sealed (unrecog-nizable)	
Bel-kumua	73		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	
Bisusi	94		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Dada, the gaddaya(?)	19		NT	sealed (stamp)	IV
Gasusayu	13		NT	sealed (stamp)	VI
Ḫandaburi	66		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	IV
Iliya-šarru-ibni	62		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
Ilu-iadinu	76		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
Ilu-ibni, S. of Ša-la-ili-mannu	100		TW 53	sealed (cylinder)	II
Izbu, the bodyguard of the House of the Crown Prince, son of Balaṭu-ereš from the Village of the Crown Prince	111		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	IV
				sealed (unrecog-nizable)	
Kabla-Adad, S. of Nabu-šumu-ibni	31		NT	sealed (stamp)	
Kanunaya (the guarantor)	69		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	IV
Kipu[...qi	67		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
Kurilaya, the bird-catcher from the town of Rapa	65		TW 53	sealed (cylinder)	II

Seal Owner	CTN 6 No.	Suppl. No.	Prove-nance	Sealing	Plate No.
La-ḫitayu, S. of Quri-Nergal	83		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Lamur? [...]	46		NT	sealed (stamp)	IV
Limraṣ-libbi-ili	77		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
Mannu-ki-Arbail	109		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	IV
Mannu-ki-Aššur	63		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
Mannu-ki-Nabu, the bird-feeder	87	2	TW 53	sealed (cylinder)	II
Mušallim-Ištar	21		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-aḫu-ušur	105		TW 53	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-iddin, S. of Nabu-šeḫib	15		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-iddin, the butler	16		NT	finger nail and seal edge	VI
Nabu-kenu-[...] Elamite(?)	10		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-kibsi-ušur Nabu Temple staff (cf. Postgate, commentary on the borrowers, p. 39)	34		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-le'i, S. of Urad-Ištar, the bird-feeder	92		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Nabu-na'id, Nabu Temple staff (cf. Postgate, commentary on the borrowers, p. 39)	34		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-nadin-aḫi, S. of Nabu-kuṣṣanni	20		NT	sealed (cylinder)	I
Nabu-našir	12		NT	sealed (unrecognizable)	
Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur, verger of Nabu	60		TW 53	sealed (cylinder)	II
Nabu-remanni	89		TW 53	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-remanni	90		TW 53	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-sagib, S. of Aḫḫe-damqu	4		NT	sealed (cylinder)	II
Nabu-šarhu-ubašša	18		NT	sealed (stamp)	IV
Nabu-šarhu-ubašša	38		NT	sealed (stamp)	V
Nabu-šumu-iddina	14		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-šumu-iddina, S. of Sukkayu	64		TW 53	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-šumu-ušur, Nabu Temple staff (cf. Postgate, commentary on the borrowers, p. 39)	14		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-taklak	36		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Nabu-turšanni	40		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Ninurta?-kazbate	68	1	TW 53	sealed (cylinder)	II
Ninurta?-kazbate	68	2	TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Ninurta-nadin-aḫi	103	1	TW 53	finger nail (design)	III
Ninurta-nadin-aḫi	103	2	TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Nur-Šamaš, S. of Pušḫi	64		TW 53	sealed (unpubl)	
Nurti, leather-worker of the Governor of Kalhu	25		NT	sealed (stamp)	IV
Pagu-ili-ušur	63		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
Pan-ilišu	80		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Qurdi-Nergal	77		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
Qurdi-Nergal	102		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Qutuzu	104		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
Remua, leather-worker of the Governor of Kalhu	25		NT	sealed (stamp)	IV

Seal Owner	CTN 6 No.	Suppl. No.	Prove- nance	Sealing	Plate No.
Ribate, S. of Daddi-ibni	75		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Sukkayu, S. of Nurti, the Queen's tailor	37		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
Šalam-šarri-iqbi, S. of Šil(li)-Ištar	7		NT	sealed (cylinder)	II
Šamaš-ke[nu(-...)], the [...] of the palace	39		NT	sealed (stamp)	VI
Šepe-Ištar, leather-worker of the Governor of Kalhu	25		NT	sealed (stamp)	IV
Šepe-Nabu-aššabat	70		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
Šepe-šarri (seal inscription), Nabu Temple staff (cf. Postgate commentary, pp. 17/19)	2		NT	sealed (cylinder)	I
Sulmu-Bel (?), who confirms the receipt of three shekels silver for field rental from Šamaš-šarru-ušur	108		TW 53	finger nail	VI
Ubru-Nabu	68	1	TW 53	sealed (cylinder)	II
Ubru-Nabu	68	2	TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Ubru-Nabu, S. of Nabu-duri (not explicitly named; see Herbordt commentary, p. 207)	87	1	TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
Ubru-Sebetti, S. of Šamši-na'id, the doorkeeper	70		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
Urad-Ištar, the bird-feeder	88		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
Urad-Mullissu, S. of Šunu-aḫḫe	41		NT	sealed (unrecog- nizable)	
U]rdu, S. of Lu-šakin	82		TW 53	incised marks	VI
Urkittu-ušur, S. of Qibiya, from the town of Kiširtu	97		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
Zer-Ištar	98		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	V
?? (unclear)	110		TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
[...]ayu	3		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
[...]Babili	28		NT	sealed (cylinder)	I
[PN], eunuch (LÚ.SAG)	43		NT	sealed (cylinder)	I
[PN1], the [bird <sup>?</sup> -feed]er, [PN2], the [bird <sup>?</sup> -fe]eder and [PN3], S. of Nabu <sup>?</sup> -aplu-ušur	30		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
[...], S. of Urad-Nabu	33		NT	sealed (stamp)	III
not preserved, perhaps the same as No. 42, A]tamar-ana-Nabu	29		NT	sealed (cylinder)	I
not preserved	17		NT	sealed (unrecog- nizable)	
not preserved	22		NT	sealed (cylinder)	I
not preserved	48		NT	sealed (stamp)	VI
not preserved	49		NT	sealed (unpubl)	
not preserved	62	a	TW 53	sealed (stamp)	VI
not preserved	94	a	TW 53	sealed (stamp)	III
not known (clay sealing without writing)	115		TW 53	sealed (cylinder)	II
Divine Name: <sup>d</sup> Nabu (according to the text)	2		NT	sealed (cylinder)	I

## Part I: tablets from the Nabu Temple

1

### Letter (1)

ND 5428 (IM 67586)

Copy: Plate 1 (JNP)

Vertical tablet: 2.5 x 4.9 x 1.7 cm.

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, topsoil

Not dated

Not sealed

Obv.	1	IM <sup>1</sup> 15–MU–KAM	Tablet of Ištar-šumu-ereš
	2	<i>a-na</i> <sup>1.d</sup> AG–MU–PAB	to Nabu-šumu-ušur.
	3	<i>lu šul-mu a-na ka-a-ša</i>	I hope you are well.
	4	<i>an-nu-rig</i> <sup>1.d</sup> MAŠ <sup>?</sup> –PAB-AŠ	Now Ninurta <sup>?</sup> -aḫu-iddina
	5	<i>ina muḫ-ḫi-ka il-la-ka</i>	is coming to you.
	6	<i>mi-i-nu</i>	What(ever)
	7	<i>ša te-en-šú-ni</i>	his affair is,
	8	<i>i-zi(-)is-si-šú</i>	stand <sup>?</sup> with <sup>?</sup> him
	9	<i>e-pu-uš</i>	and do (it).

Rev. (uninscribed)

#### Notes

4: both copies (DJW and JNP) give MAŠ rather than PA. Although there is the trace of a second horizontal wedge in JNP's copy, this may be misleading, coming through from the preceding DINGIR.

#### Commentary

To judge from the first three lines this is a letter between equals. There is no way to tell if this is official ("government") or private business, but the High-priest of Nabu after Pulu was called Nabu-šumu-ušur, and given the tablet's provenance from the temple it is clearly possible that this is the same man. As for the author, the name Ištar-šumu-ereš is very widely attested, and this holder of the name cannot be certainly identified with any other holders (see L. Pearce, PNA 2/I, 577-9).

### Legal documents (2–49)

#### Conveyances (2–8)

There are no real estate conveyances from the Nabu Temple, whether house or field sales or restricted conveyances (leases, pledges etc.). Conveyances of persons are principally represented by Texts 2–5, and very likely 6, which belong in the temple because they record the dedication of persons and also real estate to the service of Nabu (and in most cases the temple context is confirmed by the witnesses). No. 7 is a fairly elaborate and unique document recording the adoption of a slave as a son and heir, and has no obvious connection with the Nabu Temple, while No. 8, which is not certainly from the Nabu Temple, is a fragment probably coming from a normal slave sale document.

*Dedication conveyances*

Nos. 2–5 constitute an important body of evidence for the practice of dedicating family members and other property to a temple, comparable to the Neo-Babylonian *širkūtu* institution but much less well documented in Assyria. Table 1 summarizes some essential data.

No.	ND	SAA 12	Item(s) dedicated	Provenance	Date
2	ND 5420		[all information lost]	NT 12	11.XI.759
3	ND 5463	95	2 boys	NT 13	[x.x].655
4	ND 5550	96	1 boy, 1 girl, 7 homers of land	NTS 13	25.VII.619
5	ND 6207	97	[.....], 100 sheep	E side NT courtyard	[lost]
6	ND 5403		[all information lost]	unstratified	[lost]
–	BM 118796	98	House in Kalḫu, 30 homers land, 11 people plus sheep, 12 homers land, more people [....]	unknown	[none or lost]

Table 1. dedication conveyances

We might have expected to retrieve the dedication texts from a single context, but in fact they are scattered. No. 2 came from the library in NT 12 and No. 3 was found in NT 13 next door, but No. 4 came from NTS 13, the gate chamber at the north side of the building. We have no precise provenances for Nos. 5 and 6. The two best preserved texts (Nos. 3 and 4) were discussed by Karlheinz Deller (1966, 190–192), who placed them alongside very similar documents recording dedications to the Ninurta Temple at Kalḫu, which were apparently recovered from the palace at Nineveh (ADD 640, 641 and 642; SAA 12.92-94), but must have originated in Kalḫu. Deller drew up a list of the persons serving as witnesses in the three texts from Kouyunjik and the two best preserved documents edited here, noting their occurrence in other Nimrud texts, and describing them as “the ruling class of Nimrud, ca. 640 B.C.” It is evident from the listing of the chief priests (*šangû*) of the two temples alongside each other as witnesses, in both Nabu and Ninurta Temple dedications, that the two temples maintained a close relationship. The Nabu Temple documents seem to belong before and after the three Ninurta Temple dedications found at Nineveh: these were post-canonical and assigned by Deller to 641, 640 and 632 BC (under Reade’s scheme the years would be 636, 635 and 639). Bel-iqbi, the *limmu* in No. 4 was assigned by Deller to 616 BC, and in Reade’s scheme belongs to 619 BC; in any case it is much later than the Ninurta Temple documents since it falls in the reign of Sin-šarru-iškun, whereas it now seems probable that No. 3 is the earliest of these transactions, dating back to 655 BC, early in the reign of Assurbanipal. Note however that No. 2, also a dedication, dates at least as far back as 759 BC.

Included in Table 1 is a unique text now in the British Museum. It is inscribed on a thin copper plaque with suspension loop at the top, and with the figures of four deities incised at the top of the obverse (Kataja & Whiting No. 98; after Postgate 1987). The text begins “To Nabu great lord, his lord, Aššur-rešuwa for the preservation of his life and the prolongation of his days” and proceeds to list the items he has dedicated, which include a house in Kalḫu,

land in two different villages, and a number of men with their families, among them a farmer, a shepherd (who comes with his sheep), and a baker. Inscribing this text on a copper plaque with divine figures underlines the solemnity attached to the procedure of dedication, which is also revealed in the use of literary Babylonian dialect on the other tablets, and in the high social standing of some of the witnesses, who include the mayor (*ḫazannu*) of the city and the high-priests of the Nabu and the Ninurta Temples (see Deller 1966). The significance of the transaction is reflected in the fact that in No. 4 the dedication is “for the life” of the king, Sin-šarru-iškun and his queen, or in the case of the copper plaque, for the life of the dedicator.

As for the ultimate destination of the persons dedicated we can only guess. In Nos. 3 and 4 in view of the humble status of the persons dedicated, as children either of slaves or of a mother outside the patriarchal system, we should probably expect them to fulfil a menial role, while in the copper plaque the rural personnel — the farmer and the shepherd — doubtless remained where they are, but henceforth attached to temple lands.

## 2 Dedication to Nabu

ND 5420 (IM 59899)

Copy: Plate 1 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: (6.5) x (5.5) cm.

Provenance: NT12 on floor with ivories

17.XI.759<sup>?</sup>

### *Sealing*

*Fig. 3; Plate I*

Cylinder seal impression at top of Obv.; 3.8 x 2.7 cm (complete seal design).

*Design:* A bearded deity wearing a tall horned headdress surmounted by a star stands on a *mušḫuššu*. He raises his right hand, in his left hand he holds a “ring resembling a necklace” (Parker 1962, p. 29). Facing the deity stands a bearded worshipper with raised right and extended left hand. Standing behind the deity and the worshipper and thus flanking the composition are two ‘six-locked heroes’ (*laḫmu*) shown with their faces *en face*. One hand is raised, the other extended. They both wear kilts with a tassel hanging between the legs. Their heads are topped by a star. The seal inscription is placed between the two heroes.

The deity standing on the *mušḫuššu* could be interpreted as Nabu since the seal owner according to the seal inscription, Šepe-šarri, was likely part of the staff of the Nabu Temple and the text a dedication to Nabu. Interestingly, the first line of the document names the god Nabu as seal owner. (cf. Commentary of JNP below).

*Comparisons:* Herbordt 1992, pp. 72 f.; 178 f. Nimrud 29; p. 193 Nimrud 88; p. 198 Nimrud 108; p. 205 Nimrud 135; pl. 1, 1–3; Collon 1987, nos. 343 and 792; Collon 2001, pl. 23, 277 (= Collon 1987, no. 792; worship scene flanked by two *laḫmu* figures).

*Seal inscription:* NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 1GÌR.2–MAN / GAR-šú LIL-bur

“Seal of Šepe-šarri, may he who impresses it flourish”.



*Note*

For this phrase, see CAD B, 126b, in particular *ša-kín-šu li-bur* cited from Langdon 1919, 85 No. 36:6, though in such phrases *labāru* is also used, cf. *ša-kín* NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB *an-ni-i li-bur li-di-iš li-me-er ù li-la-bi-ir*, Langdon No. 26.

*Publication:* Parker 1962, 29 f. pl. 10, 3; Mallowan 1966, pl. 237; Herbordt 1992, p. 196 Nimrud 97; pl. 21, 6 (published only as photo).



Figure 3. No. 2, Obverse (*Iraq* 24 Pl. X.3. © BISI)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB dMU.DÙG.GA.S[A<sub>4</sub>.A]  
2 er-šu ša qí-bit-su la [\_\_\_\_\_]

cylinder seal impression

3 [ ] x [ ]  
(remainder of Obverse broken away)

Rev. (upper part broken away)

1' [IGI <sup>1</sup>]<sub>r</sub><sup>d</sup>PA–<sup>r</sup>*šal-lim*<sup>1</sup>–PA[B<sup>7</sup>.MEŠ]  
2' [IGI] <sup>1</sup>GÌR.2–MAN LÚ\*.[x x (x x)]  
3' [IGI] <sup>1</sup>SUĤUŠ–<sup>d</sup>PA IGI [<sup>1</sup> x x (x x)]  
4' [IGI] <sup>1</sup>*d*PA–*šá-kín*–*šùl-me* [  
5' IGI <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur*–MU–AŠ IGI <sup>1</sup>[  
6' IGI <sup>1</sup>DÙ–*a-a* IGI <sup>1</sup><sub>d</sub>[  
7' ITI.ZÍZ UD.17.KÁM\* [  
8' *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>IGI–*aš-šur*–[*la-mur*]



Obv. 1 Seal of (the god Nabu,) “Called by a good name”, the wise, whose command is not [changed].

(remainder of Obv. and upper part of Rev. lost)

Rev. 1’ [witness] Nabu-šallim-aḥ[ḫe, witness] Šepe-šarri, the [..., witness] Ubru-Nabu, witness [..., witness] Nabu-šakin-šulme, [...], witness Aššur-šumu-iddina, witness [...], witness Bunaya, witness [...].

<sup>71</sup> Month of Šabaṭu (XI), 17th day, eponymate of Pan-Aššur-[lamur] (759? BC).

### Notes

Obv. 1: for this Sumerian epithet cf. Pomponio 1998, 17a, citing Pomponio 1978, 6–8. Here it evidently stands in place of the god’s name.

Rev. 8’: Pan-Aššur-lamur was eponym in both 759 and 776 BC; like Millard (1994, 112) I have plumped for the later date, but without compelling justification.

Rev. 6’: This name is listed under Bānāia in PNA 1/II. This may be correct, but a reading *būnāya* for DÙ-*a-a* is certain for some 9th century names such as Bel-bunaya and Aššur-bunaya (both eponyms; see CTN 2 on No. 17:47), which may offer us the correct reading for this early 8th century occurrence.

### Commentary

Although the text states that the seal impressed is that of the god Nabu, the inscription on the seal itself, which is of very high quality, identifies it as belonging to Šepe-šarri, who appears in the witness list after Nabu-šallim-aḥḫe. It seems probable that he was highly placed on the staff of the Nabu Temple, but his precise function is unfortunately broken away. It is perhaps worth noting that three of the six witnesses whose names are preserved have names composed with Nabu.

It is regrettable that more of this document is not preserved, so that we cannot be sure of the nature of the transaction it recorded. It has the format of a conveyance text, and the examples of Nos. 3 and 4 suggest that it may have documented the dedication of a person to the temple, although in those cases the seal is not described as belonging to Nabu himself. A change in practice would not be surprising, however, since this tablet was written in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century, more than a century before those two dedications.

## 3

## Dedication of persons to Nabu

ND 5463 (IM 67588)

Copy: Plate 1 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXXII)

Conveyance tablet: 6.5 x 10.5 cm.

Provenance: Room NT 13.

[x.x.]655 BC(?)

Newer edition: SAA12 No. 95.

*Sealing*

Three stamp seal impressions after l. 2 on Obv.

- Obv. 1 [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB<sup>1</sup> x x x ]-a-a  
 2 [EN UN.MEŠ ta-]da-a-ni

3 stamp seal impressions

- 
- 3 <sup>1</sup>IR-d<sup>15</sup> <sup>1</sup>dAG-*ha-mat-ur<sup>1</sup>*-[a]  
 4 PAB 2 DUMU.MEŠ<sup>munus</sup> *la-ša-ḫi-it-ti* NIN-šú [( )]  
 5 NINDA.MEŠ *us-sa-kil ub-tal-li-s*[u-nu ( )]  
 6 TA\* UGU *zi-i-zi in-ta-t*[aḫ-šú-nu]  
 7 *ur-tab-bi-šú-nu ú-zak-ki*-[šú-nu ( )]  
 8 a-na <sup>d</sup>AG *ša qé-reb uru<sup>u</sup>kal*-[ḫi]  
 9 EN-šú *id-d*[in]  
 10 *man-nu šá ina muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu i-šal-li*-[tu-(u-)ni]  
 11 *ù lu-u ina da-na-n*[i]  
 12 TA\* *šap-la* <sup>d</sup>AG *ú-še-ša-šú*-[nu<sup>2</sup>]  
 13 <sup>d</sup>AG DUB.SAR *gim-r*[i]  
 14 MU-šú NUMUN-šú TA\* KUR *lu-ḫal*-[liq]  
 15 *ar-rat ma-ru-uš-ti š*[a la BÚR]  
 16 *li*-[ru-ur-šú]  
 B.E. 17 UD-mu 1-en *la ba-laṭ*-[su liq-bi]  
 Rev. 18 <sup>d</sup>taš-me-tum *kal-la-t*[u x x (x x)]  
 19 *ina* IGI <sup>d</sup>AG *ḫa-’i-i*-[ri-šá]  
 20 *a-mat-su lu-u tu*-[lam-mìn]  
 21 *šim-tu la ṭa-ab-tú lu*-[u ta-šim-šú]  
 22 *la ṭu-ub lib-bi la ṭu-ub* [UZU *lu-u taq-bi*]
- 
- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 23 IGI <sup>1</sup> i-din-ia                                | LÚ.SANGA [ša <sup>d</sup> MAŠ] |
| 24 IGI <sup>1</sup> dPA-MU-PAB                              | LÚ.SAN[GA ša <sup>d</sup> PA]  |
| 25 IGI <sup>1</sup> dPA-MAN-PAB                             | <sup>lú</sup> šá UG[U É]       |
| 26 IGI <sup>1</sup> dPA-u-a                                 | LÚ.DAM.GÀ[R (.....)]           |
| 27 IGI <sup>1</sup> r <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> -bal-a-a | LÚ.ditto [(.....)]             |
| 28 IGI <sup>1</sup> [x x (x)]-a                             | LÚ.GALA [(.....)]              |

- 29 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x (x x)]-a LÚ.NAR.GAL ša <sup>d</sup>PA  
 30 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x (x x) LÚ.M]U É.DINGIR ša <sup>d</sup>PA  
 31 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x (x)]tu<sup>2</sup>-PAB<sup>2</sup> 'LÚ.MU' É É.DINGIR ša <sup>d</sup>PA  
 32 [IGI <sup>1</sup>[<sup>d</sup>PA-P]AB-AŠ <sup>lú</sup>šá <sup>giš</sup>gaš-ša-te-šú ditto  
 33 [IGI <sup>1</sup>.<sup>d</sup>x-]DINGIR-a-a LÚ.DUMU KAŠ.LUL ditto  
 34 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x x)]x LÚ.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>  
 35 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x x)]x LÚ.GAL še- 'x (x)<sup>1</sup> -a-te ditto  
 36 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x x) LÚ.A.]BA ditto  
 37 [ITL.X UD.X.KÁM *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>a-ú]-ia-a-nu  
 38 [LÚ.EN NAM KUR *qu*]-ú-e  
 39 [IGI PN LÚ.A.BA *ša-bit dan-n*]-i-te  
 (remainder broken away but probably uninscribed)

<sup>1</sup> [Seal of ....]ayu, [owner of the people being so]ld.

<sup>3</sup> Urad-Ištar (and) Nabu-ḥamatua, in all two sons of La-šaḥittu, his sister. <sup>5</sup> He has given them bread to eat (and) kept [them] alive, wean[ed (them)] from the breast, (and) brought them up. <sup>7</sup> He has cleared [them (of claims)] (and) given (them) to Nabu who (dwells) in Kal[ḥu], his lord.

<sup>10</sup> Whoever (tries to) wield authority over them, or by force (tries to) take them away from under Nabu's control, <sup>13</sup> – may Nabu, the scribe of the universe, abolish his name (and) his seed from the land, may he [curse him] with an evil curse that cannot [be dissolved, may he command that he] live not one day (longer). <sup>18</sup> May Tašmetum, [.....] bride [spoil] his reputation before Nabu her spouse, [may she decree for him] an unpleasant fate (and) [order (for him)] no mental or [physical] well-being.

<sup>23</sup> Witness Iddiniya, priest [of Ninurta], witness Nabu-šumu-ušur, priest [of Nabu], witness Nabu-šarru-ušur, overseer of [the house], witness Nabua, merchant [(.....)], witness Tabalayu, ditto (=merchant [(.....)]), witness [....]a, lamentation-priest [(.....), witness PN], chief singer of Nabu, [witness PN, co]ok of the temple of Nabu, [witness ...]-ušur-aḥi, house cook of the temple of Nabu, [witness Nabu-]aḥu-iddina, the firewood-supplier of ditto (=the temple of Nabu), [witness ...]-ilaya, junior cupbearer of ditto (=the temple of Nabu), [witness PN], doorkeeper, [witness PN], chief ..... of ditto (=the temple of Nabu), [witness PN, scr]ibe of ditto (=the temple of Nabu).

<sup>37</sup> [Month of ..., nth day, eponymate of Au]ianu, [governor of Q]uwe.

<sup>39</sup> [Witness PN, who drew up the de]ed.

#### Notes

2: in the translation we retain the formulation “owner of (the item) being sold”, but it should be noted that the strict grammatical analysis of this phrase should probably be “the person responsible for the sale of (the item)”, with *bēl ... tadāni* denoting the seller's role in the transaction rather than making a statement about his ownership of the item being sold.

5–7: it is perhaps slightly surprising to have the uncle “weaning” the children, but he must be the subject of *iddin* in l. 9, and the Assyrianisms in this part of the document (e.g. *ussākil*, *intataḥ*, *-šunu*) suggest that if the sister were subject the verbal forms would have the feminine prefixes (*tu-*, *ta-*) as in l. 20.

12: it is uncertain whether this verb would have been given the Assyrian subjunctive *-ni*, since in similar passages the scribes often go Babylonian and omit it (although a proper Babylonian form would have *-šunūti*).

18: SAA restore [GAL-*tú*] at the end of the line.

22: in an unpublished copy by D.J. Wiseman there is a ruling after this line.

23–24: for these two men, and their roles as priest of Ninurta and Nabu respectively, see ADD 640 (=SAA 12.92) r.1-2 and ADD 641 (=SAA 12.93) r.11-12.

25: for the restoration of É see No. 37:20 where the same man acts as a witness.

30, 32: in these two lines SAA12 follows K. Deller (1966, 191) in restoring the names Urdu and Nabu-aḥu-iddina. In l. 32 Deller's proposal taken from No. 4:43 is indeed supported by traces on the Wiseman copy as shown in our transliteration, as well as the unusual profession, but in view of the time lapse between the two documents SAA 12's hesitation seems well placed and prudence dictates leaving the name in l. 30 unrestored.

33: the “cupbearer's sons” feature in the Nimrud wine lists, and in two of the four occasions they are listed after the “cupbearers” (see Kinnier Wilson, CTN 1, Pl. 17:26–7; 30:22–3).

35: PNA 4/I suggests restoring this title to read GAL *še-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-a-te*. The cited entry CAD Š/III 264–5 gives the plural form of the word but does not refer to this passage, and this title is not attested elsewhere. Since Parker's copy does not favour restoring *lu* it seems safer to refrain from a definite restoration.

37–38: the eponym date here was restored thus in SAA 12.95 and it is hard to doubt its correctness. This makes the similarities between the witness lists here and in No. 4, dating some 35 years later, quite striking. In one case (Nabu-aḥu-iddina) it is the same man, but in other cases it is the presence at both transactions of the priests, of two merchants, and of cooks that fixes the attention.

### *Commentary*

Unfortunately the name of the “owner” of the two boys here being dedicated to Nabu is lost in the broken first line. He was evidently their “owner” because his sister belonged in his patriarchal household, her son(s) having no father. In one of the Ninurta Temple dedications (ADD 640) it is explicitly stated that the boy being dedicated was born to his mother “in her function as a hierodule” (*ina ḥarīmūtiša*), and it is possible, perhaps even probable, that the same situation occurs here. There could, though, be other explanations, such as the death of her husband. In any case, as observed in Postgate 1976, 111, the details of how the “owner” had supported the boys are doubtless included in order to establish in this legal document his entitlement to dispose of them.

## Dedication of persons and land to Nabu

ND 5550 (IM 67615)

Copy: Plate 2 (BP; Iraq 19 Pl. XXXIII)

Conveyance tablet: 6.0 x 10.2 cm.

Provenance: In burnt debris on pavement of room NTS 13.

25.vii.R619/P621

Newer edition: SAA 12.96

*Sealing**Figs. 4–5; Plate II*

Cylinder seal impression at top of Obv.; height 2.8 cm.

*Design:* An antithetical combat scene with a genie holding by the beard two human-headed demons with ostrich bodies and a scorpion tail. The two demons attack, each with a raised claw. In front of the left leg of the genie are two unidentified objects or symbols. In the upper field of the seal a standing bird and two seated monkeys, each holding up a paw. In the lower field between the legs of the scorpion-tailed demons are two genies wearing a fish cloak and holding a small bucket. Between the two demons is a goat-fish (*suḫurmašu*). Both the *suḫurmašu* and the genies wearing fish cloaks belong to the sphere of the God Ea.

*Comparisons:* from Assur, Böhme 2014, pl. 42 no. Ist 34; pl. 83 no. Ist 34 (exact parallel); Moortgat 1988<sup>3</sup>, no. 743 (for the holding of the beards); Herbordt 1992, p. 165 Assur 10, pl. 3, 6 (for standing bird); Barnett 1978, pl. 29, 9 (for standing bird).

*Publication:* Parker 1962, 36 fig. 1 pl. 19, 1; Mallowan 1966, 256 pl. 229; Herbordt 1992, p. 191f. Nimrud 82; pl. 8, 6.

Obv. 1 *a-na* <sup>d</sup>AG *a-šib* É.ZI.D[A]2 *ša qé-reb* <sup>uru</sup>kal-ḫa EN GAL-*e* EN-*šu*

cylinder seal impression

3 <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*sa-gib* A <sup>1</sup>PAB.MEŠ-SIG<sub>5</sub> *a-na* <sup>1</sup>lu<sup>l</sup>-<sup>r</sup>x - x<sup>1</sup>4 *a-na* <sup>mu[nus]</sup>p[al-ḫu-ú-še-zib] PAB 2 DUMU.MEŠ [šá?]5 <sup>munus</sup>TA\*-<sup>d</sup>ur-kit-tú-lib-bi ÌR.MEŠ-š[u x x ]6 ù É 7 ANŠE A.ŠÀ *ina* <sup>uru</sup>ša-bat-lu-kun7 *ṭiḫi*\* KASKAL *ša a-na* <sup>uru</sup>ša-bat-lu-kun DU-u-ni8 *ṭiḫi*\* KASKAL *ša a-na* URU.ŠE LÚ\*.SUKKAL DU-u-ni9 *ṭiḫi*\* A.ŠÀ *ša* <sup>1</sup>AD-u-mu <sup>uru</sup>ši-du-na-a-a10 *ṭiḫi*\* A.ŠÀ *ša* <sup>1</sup>ba-al-ḫa-lu-šu LÚ.GAL.[5]0<sup>?</sup>11 *a-na* TI.LA ZI.MEŠ *ša* <sup>1</sup>30-MAN-iš-k[un]12 LUGAL KUR *aš-šur* EN-šú u TI ZI.MEŠ *ša* MUNUS.É.GAL-šú13 *a-na* <sup>d</sup>AG EN-šú SÍSKUR-ma BA-*eš*14 *man-nu* *ša ina* ur-kiš *ina* ma-te-ma15 *i-za'-qup-a-ni* GIL-u-ni lu NUN EGIR-u

- 16 *lu-u* LÚ.GAR-*nu-šú* *lu-u qur-ub-šú*  
 17 *lu-u mam-ma-nu-šú* *lu-u* EN *il-ki-šú*  
 B.E. 18 *lu-u* EN *a-za-ni-šú* *lu-u* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú*  
 19 *lu-u* DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-*šú* *lu-u* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú*  
 20 *lu-u* DUMU ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* *i-šal-liṭ-u-ma*  
 21 [*ina*] *muḥ-ḥi-šú* *ba-lat* <sup>d</sup>PA *il-ku*  
 22 [(x x x)] <sup>r</sup>*i-me-su-ma ina da-na-ni*<sup>1</sup>  
 Rev. 23 T[A\*] IGI <sup>d</sup>AG *e-kim-[u<sup>2</sup>-šú]*  
 24 <sup>d</sup>[A]G *a-šib É.ZI.DA ina GIŠ.TUKUL d[an-n]u<sup>2</sup>*  
 25 *i[na Š]U.2 LUGAL lim-nu-šu*  
 26 <sup>d</sup>[*ta*]š-*me-tum ḥi-rat* <sup>d</sup>AG *ina* IGI <sup>d</sup>PA  
 27 [*ḥa*]-*i-ri-šá* MUNUS.ḪUL-*šú* *liq-bi*  
 28 [<sup>d</sup>UT]U *da-a-a-na* AN-*e u* KI-*tim*  
 29 *ni-ṭil* IGI.2.MEŠ-*šú* *lim-ḥur-šú-ma*  
 30 *ina* GI<sub>6</sub>.GI<sub>6</sub> DU.MEŠ-*k[a]*  
 31 <sup>d</sup>A.É LÚ.[SUKK]AL GAL-*u ša* <sup>d</sup>PA  
 32 MU-<sup>r</sup>*šú*<sup>1</sup> NUMUN-*[šú]* *ina* KUR ZÁḪ  
 33 [ *š*]a KA IM *an-ni-e iš-mu-u*  
 34 [<sup>1</sup> x x x (x x)] LÚ.SAG LUGAL  
 35 [<sup>1</sup> x x x (x x)] <sup>l</sup>*ḥa-za-na* <sup>uu</sup>*kal-ḥ[a/i]*  
 36 [<sup>1</sup> x x x (x x)] <sup>l</sup>*qe-pu* É <sup>d</sup>PA É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 37 <sup>1.d</sup> [ x ]-MAN-PAB LÚ.SANGA <sup>d</sup>PA  
 38 <sup>1</sup>*tab-ni-d*<sup>15</sup> LÚ.GAL *mi-dil*  
 39 <sup>1</sup>*i[n-da-b]i-i* LÚ.GAL É.GAL  
 40 <sup>1</sup>ḪAR-š[*u<sup>2</sup>-(x-)*]*ú* LÚ.GAL É.G[AL<sup>2</sup>]  
 41 <sup>1</sup>*gal-lul* <sup>l</sup>*lah-ḥi-ni* [<sup>d</sup>M]AŠ  
 42 <sup>1</sup>*na-ni-i* <sup>l</sup>*lah-ḥi-ni* [<sup>d</sup>]PA  
 43 <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB-AŠ <sup>l</sup>*šá ga-[ša]-te-šú*  
 44 <sup>1</sup>*ab-di-i* <sup>r</sup>LÚ.DAM<sup>1</sup>.GÀR  
 T.E. 45 <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-SU LÚ.DAM.GÀR  
 46 ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> UD.25.KÁM  
 47 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>EN-E LÚ\*.GAR.KUR <sup>uu</sup>*tuš-ḥa-an*  
  
 L.S. 48 <sup>1</sup>*ur-du* LÚ\*.MU É <sup>d</sup>PA <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KÀD-<sup>r</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-ni* LÚ\*.A.B[A]  
 49 <sup>1</sup>MU-GIN LÚ.GAL [*ki-š*]*ir [ša]* <sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup> MUNUS.É.GAL  
 50 <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur*-KUR-LÁ-*in* L[Ú.GAL *ki-š*]*i[r]* <sup>l</sup>*šá* IGI É.GAL *ša* MUNUS.KUR

<sup>1</sup> To Nabu who dwells in Ezida which is inside Kalḫu, great lord, his lord.

<sup>3</sup> Nabu-sagib, son of Aḫḫe-damqu <sup>13</sup> dedicated and presented to Nabu his lord <sup>11</sup> for the preservation of the life of Sin-šarru-iškun, king of Assyria, his lord, and the preservation of the life of his queen, <sup>3</sup> Lul[...] (and) Palḫu-ušeziḫ, in all two sons(!) [of] Issi-Urkittu-libbi, his slaves [...] <sup>6</sup> and a plot of 7 homers of field in the town of Šabat-lukun, adjoining the



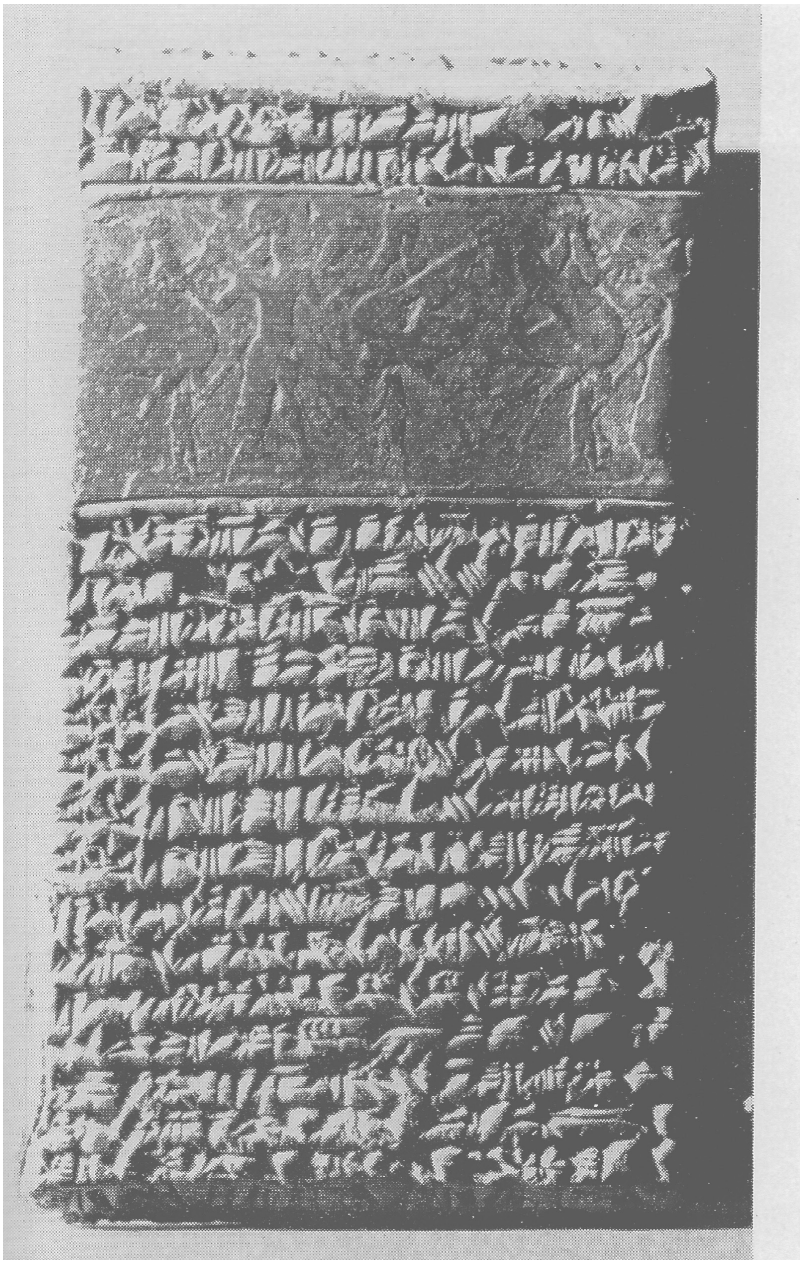


Figure 4. No.4, Obverse (*Iraq* 24 Pl. XIX.1. © BISI)

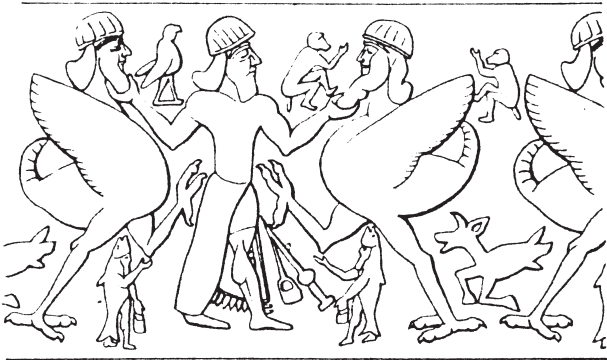


Figure 5. No.4 (B. Parker)

road which goes to the town of Šabat-lukun, adjoining the road which goes to the Village of the Vizier, adjoining the field of Adumu, the Šidonian, adjoining the field of Ba'al-ḫalušu, the commander of fifty<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Whoever in the future at any time comes forward and contravenes (this deed), whether a future prince, or his officer, or his relative, or anyone of his, or his state-service superior, or his “quiver-master”, or his sons, or his grandsons, or his brothers, or the sons of his brothers, who wields authority over him(!) (or) without the consent of Nabu imposes state-service (or corvee) on him(!), (or) takes [him] away from the service of Nabu by force – <sup>24</sup> may Nabu who dwells in Ezida deliver him with his forceful weapon into the hands of the king, may Tašmetum, the wife of Nabu speak ill of him before Nabu her husband, <sup>28</sup> may Šamaš, the judge of heaven and earth deprive him of his eyesight, (so that) he will walk perpetually in darkness. May Mar-bitī, the Chief Vizier of Nabu abolish his name (and) [his] seed from the land.

<sup>33</sup> [The witnesses(?) wh]o heard the wording of this tablet: [PN], royal eunuch; [PN], mayor of Kalḫu; [PN], delegate for the Temple of Nabu (and) the Temple of Ninurta; [...-]šarru-ušur, priest of Nabu; Tabni-Ištar, salt-meat manager; I[nda]bi, palace manager; Ḫarš[u, (...)] palace manager; Gallulu, cereal-processor of Ninurta; Nani, cereal-processor of Nabu; Nabu-aḫ-iddina, firewood-supplier; Abdi, merchant; Ninurta-eriba, merchant.

<sup>46</sup> Month Tašritu (VII), 25<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Bel-iqbī, governor of Tušḫan.

<sup>48</sup> Urdu, cook of the Temple of Nabu; Nabu-kušranni, scribe; Šumu-(u)kin, cohort-commander of the Queen's House; Aššur-matu-taqqin, [cohort-com]mander, palace overseer of the queen.

### Notes

10: collation (JNP) suggested reading LÚ.GAL [K]UR; SAA 12 (without collation) suggests LÚ.GAL [5]0. Parker's copy would allow either.

22: SAA 12 restores at the beginning of the line [*tup-šik-ku*] which may well be correct, unless the scribe deliberately started this line half-way across.

37: probably [Marduk]-šarru-ušur after the witness of this name entitled “priest of Nabu” in ADD 640 (SAA 12.92) r. 3.

39: see ND 2307:54 *in-da-bi-e* LÚ É.KUR (FNALD No. 14), perhaps a confusion on the part of the scribe who meant to write LÚ.GAL KUR or GAL É.GAL?

50: After collation of the original FNALD restored here L[Ú.GAL *ki-š*][i[r]] after the name of Aššur-mata-taqqin. If the text is correctly restored, it is possible his profession should be understood rather as “cohort-commander of the palace overseer of the queen”.

### Commentary

Nabu-sagib here dedicates two sons of a slave together with 7 homers of arable land to Nabu, “for the life of Sin-šarru-iškun”. Lines 14–32 have a good selection of curses (in Babylonian dialect) on anyone who attempts to annul this dedication, and lines 33–45 and 48–50 list some important individuals as witnesses, including the mayor of the city, the (royal) delegate (*qēpu*) of both the Nabu and the Ninurta Temples, the high-priest (*šangu*) of the Nabu Temple, other lesser temple staff, and officials from the palace and the queen's palace.



## 5

## Dedication of persons and sheep to Nabu

ND 6207 (BM)

Copy: Plate 2 (JNP; NARGD Pl. XXIII)

Conveyance tablet: 6.4 x (5.0) cm.

Ed.: NARGD No. 37; SAA12.97

[date lost]

Provenance: East side of Nabu Temple courtyard: “from upper bosh of cutting east side of Nabu Temple courtyard (Abu Abd’s cut)”.

Sealing

None survives.

Obv. (upper part broken away)

- 1’ <sup>1</sup>ta du<sup>2</sup>’[  
 2’ 1 ME UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ’[  
 3’ *ú-zak-ki-ma a-<sup>1</sup>na* <sup>4</sup>AG<sup>1</sup> [  
 4’ *man-nu šá ina* UGU UN.MEŠ š[u<sup>2</sup>-  
 5’ *i-da-bu-bu i-šal-liṭ-ṭ*[u<sup>2</sup>  
 6’ LUGAL *dan-nu be-el be-el(-)l*[i-  
 7’ <sup>4</sup>AMAR.UTU *zar-pa-ni-<sup>1</sup>tum x x* <sup>1</sup>[x x]  
 8’ BALA-a-šú TA\* KUR *li-ḫal-li-q*[u]  
 9’ <sup>4</sup>AG DUB.SAR É.<sup>1</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.GÍL  
 10’ UD.MEŠ-šú GÍD.DA.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-kar-ri  
 11’ *taš-me-tum ḫi-rat* <sup>4</sup>na-bi-um  
 12’ *ina pa-an* <sup>4</sup>na-bi-um

Rev. 13’ *ḫa-’i-ri-i-šá le-mut-ta-šú lit-ta-áš-qir*

- 14’ *iš-tar a-šib-bat* <sup>uru</sup>arba-ìl SAḪAR.ŠUB.BA-a  
 15’ *li-mal-li-šú a-na* É.KUR É.GAL  
 16’ *e-reb-šú li-ḫal-liq*  
 17’ <sup>1</sup>dNIN<sup>1</sup>.URTA<sup>1</sup> *a-šib* <sup>uru</sup>kal-ḫa a-na GAG.TI-i-šú  
 18’ [x x (x) li]-šá-an-qit-su  
 19’ [IGI PN <sup>lu</sup>ḫa-za-nu [<sup>uru</sup>kal-ḫa  
 (remainder broken away)

(beginning broken) <sup>2</sup> 100 male sheep [.....] he has cleared (of claims) [and given/dedicated] to Nabu [his lord].

<sup>4</sup> Whoever litigates (or tries to) wield authority over [those] people, may the strong king, lord of lords, [...] Marduk (and) Zarpanitu [.....] abolish his reign from the land. <sup>9</sup> May Nabu, the scribe of Esagila, shorten his length of days, may Tašmetu, the bride of Nabu speak ill of him in front of Nabu her husband. <sup>14</sup> May Ištar who dwells in Arbail infect him with leprosy, (and so) abolish his entry to temple and palace, may Ninurta who dwells in Kalḫu fell him with his [...] arrow.

<sup>19</sup> [Witness PN] mayor [of Kalḫu], (remainder broken away)

*Notes*

3': for *uzakki* "he cleared (from claims)" cf. No. 3. It is used in conveyances of persons. SAA 12 restores [EN-šú *id-din*] at the end of the line. This is plausible enough (cf. No. 3), but for the verb we cannot rule out *iqiš* "he presented" (cf. No. 4:13).

8': the mention of "his reign" (*palašu*) discloses that the curses here are aimed at future rulers in particular.

18': SAA 12 restores [*zaq-ti*] "sharp" at the beginning of the line, but there are other possibilities, such as *šamri* or *ezzi* "fierce".

*Commentary*

That this tablet was a dedication follows from l. 3', and this is supported by the curse formulae in ll. 4'–18' and the fact that, as in No. 4, the first witness is a mayor of (probably) Kalḫu. From the "people" mentioned in l. 4' it is clear that the dedication concerned more than one person, as well as, uniquely for Neo-Assyrian dedication conveyance tablets, the sheep mentioned in l. 2' (though cf. the copper dedication BM 118796 described above).

**6**

**Dedication**

ND 5403 (=IM 67580)

Copy: Plate 3 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: (4.1) x (6.8) x 3.6 cm.

Provenance: Unstratified context east of the Nabu Temple

[date lost]

No sealing survives

Obv. (beginning broken away)

- 1' d?<sup>1</sup>[  
 2' x[  
 3' r<sup>d1</sup>[x x (x)] r<sup>1</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup> É.[  
 4' d<sup>1</sup>AMA[R.UTU (x)] x DINGIR.MEŠ[  
 5' ár-rat ma-ru-uš-ti [li-ru-ur-šú]  
 6' a-a ir-ši-šú re-e-mu [  
 7' a-na šim-ti [  
 8' d<sup>1</sup>AG pa-qid kiš-š[at x x x x x]  
 9' UD.MEŠ-šú li-kar-r[i x x x]  
 10' na-aq A.MEŠ [  
 11' [x] r<sup>1</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [  
 (remainder of Obv. broken away)

Rev. (beginning broken away)

- 1'' x[  
 2'' li-šá-x[

- 3" <sup>d</sup>MAŠ DUMU.ÚŠ *a*-[šá-re-du (.....)]  
 4" *a*-na ŠU.2 *gal-le*-[*e lip-qid-su*]  
 5" <sup>d</sup>U.GUR *dan-dan-ni* [DINGIR.MEŠ (.....)]  
 6" *a*-*a ig-me-l*[*a nap-šat-su*]  
 7" <sup>d</sup>taš-me-tum *kal-lat* [<sup>d</sup>AG<sup>?</sup> *ina pān*]  
 8" *ha-*'*i-ri-šá a-mat l*[*e-mut-ti x x (x)*]  
 9" *i-na ma-ḥar* DINGIR *u LUGAL a-a*[  
 10" <sup>d</sup>gu-la *a-zu-g*[*al-la-tú x x x x*]  
 11" *ina* SU-šú *li-ša*[*b-ši*  
 12" *ta<sup>2</sup>-bu u SAR*[  
 13" IGI <sup>1</sup>[  
 (remainder of Rev. broken away)

- L.S. 1 IGI <sup>1</sup>EN-*iq-bi* LÚ.MU *ša É x*[  
 2 IGI <sup>1</sup>šul-mu-MAN LÚ.MU *ša É. GAL<sup>1</sup>*[ (.....)]  
 3 IGI <sup>1</sup>aš-šur-PAB.MEŠ-*šal-lim* DUMU <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>NIN.[  
 4 IGI <sup>1</sup>na-di-nu DUMU <sup>1,d</sup>AG-PAB-AŠ LÚ.MAŠ.M[*AŠ* (.....)]

Obv. (beginning lost) <sup>1</sup>'[.....] to the house [.....] may Mar[duk ...] of the gods [curse him] with a noxious curse, <sup>6</sup>' may he have no mercy for him, [may he *condemn him to a disastrous*] fate. <sup>8</sup>' May Nabu, who manages the totality [of heaven and earth] shorten his days, [may DN *deprive him* of] anyone to libate water [ for him .....] (remainder of Obv. and beginning of Rev. lost).

Rev. 3" [May] Ninurta, fo[remost] heir of [....., hand him over ] into the power of demons. <sup>5</sup>" May Nergal, strongest [of the gods], show no mercy [for his life. May] Tašmetu, bride of [Nabu, pronounce an evil] word (about him) [before] her husband, (and so) may he not [*enter*] into the presence of god and king. <sup>10</sup>" May Gula, the great [physician], cause [a *permanent trauma*] in his body, ..... good and ...[...].

<sup>13</sup>" (Beginning of witness list lost) <sup>L.S. 1</sup> Witness Bel-iqbi, cook of the [.....] house/temple; witness Šulmu-šarri, cook of the palace [(.....)]; witness Aššur-aḥḥe-šallim, son of Urad-Nin[...]; witness Nadinu, son of Nabu-aḥu-iddina, the exor[cist (.....)].

#### Notes

Obv. 8': probably *pāqid kiššat* [*šamê u eršet*] (cf. CAD P 127a for parallel passages).

Obv. 9'–10': if a divine name is correctly restored at the end of Obv. 9', then we expect a verb like *lizammešu* or *likimšu* "let him deprive him of" (cf. CAD N/i, 337).

Rev. 4": for this usage of *paqādu*, if correctly restored, cf. CAD P 122–3.

Rev. 8": for the actions of Tašmetum cf. No. 4:26–8, and No. 5:11'–13', but the precise phraseology differs in each case. Here the copy marginally favours reading *l[i* rather than *s[u*, suggesting *amat lemutti*; thereafter possibly *liqbi*, but cf. No. 5:13': *littašqir*.

Rev. 9": restore perhaps [*i-ru-ub*], for the sentiment cf. No. 5:15–16.

Rev. 11": the unpleasant diseases to be caused by Gula featuring in curses are most often *simma lazza*, cf. CAD Z 158.

### Commentary

That this fragment belonged to a dedication conveyance seems evident from the nature of the curses, and the professions of the final members of the witness list, by comparison with No. 3. Unfortunately nothing survives to indicate the object of the dedication — but the probability is that it was one or more persons.

## 7

### Adoption of slave

ND 5480 (=IM 67591)

Copy: Plate 4 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: 4.7 x (7.2) x 2.4 cm.

[date lost]

Provenance: From Nabu Temple, behind the fish gate.

### Sealing

Fig. 6

Cylinder seal impression on upper Obv.

*Design:* Winged disc flanked by worshippers (JNP sketch on copy; the tablet has not been photographed, so the sketch on the copy, which was not intended for publication, is our only visual record of the design).

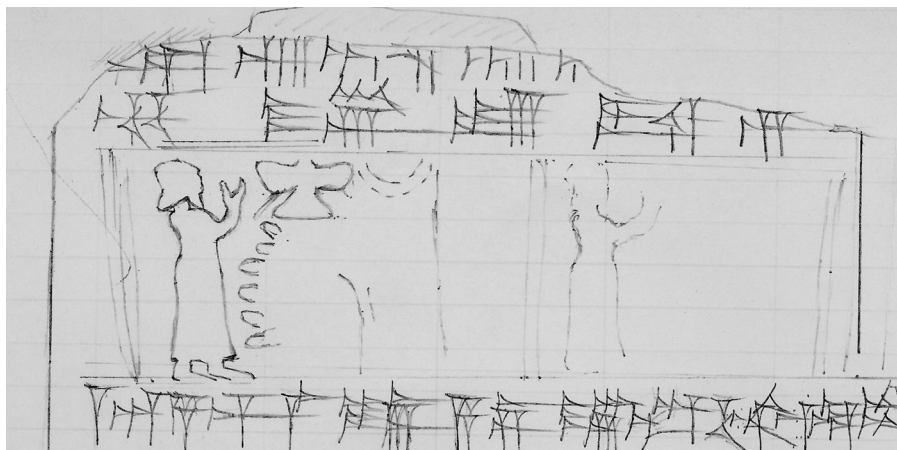


Figure 6. No.7 (J.N. Postgate)

- Obv. 1 [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB PN]  
 2 [D]UMU <sup>1</sup>šil-<sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>15 LÚ<sup>1</sup>.x[  
 3 EN LÚ *ta-da-ni*

---

cylinder seal impression

---

- 4 <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-LÁ-in-a-ni LÚ.ÌR-šú <sup>munus.<1></sup>la-qip-tú MUNUS<sup>2</sup>-šú  
 5 ša <sup>1</sup>NU-MAN-E ú-piš-ma <sup>1</sup>ba-tu-ru

- 6 TA\* IGI <sup>1</sup>NU-MAN-*iq-bi ina lib-bi* 35 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
7 *a'-na DUMU-u-ti-šú TI-qé* 10 *lu-u DUMU.MEŠ-šú*  
8 *ša <sup>1</sup>ba-tu-ri <sup>1.d</sup>ša-maš-LÁ-in-a-ni*  
9 ŠEŠ-šú-nu *dan-nu zi-it-tú is-si-šú-nu*  
10 *e-kal il-ku is-si-šú-nu il-lak*  
11 *ha-bu-le-šú ú-šal-lam ha-bu-le-šú*  
12 *ú-šá-da-na kas-pu g[am-m]ur*  
13 *ta-din L[Ú šú-a-tú] <sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup>-rip*  
14 <sup>r</sup>laq-qi<sup>1</sup> *tu-a-ru de-e-nu*  
15 DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub> *la-áš-šú man-nu šá ina ur-kiš*  
16 [i]na *ma-te-e-ma i-za-qu-pa-a-ni*  
B.E. 17 GIL-u-ni *lu-u <sup>1</sup>NU-MAN-E*  
18 *lu-u DUMU.MEŠ-šú lu-u DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú*  
Rev. 19 *lu-u PAB.MEŠ-šú lu-u DUMU PAB.MEŠ-šú*  
20 *šá TA\* <sup>1</sup>ba-tu-ri*  
21 *DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú PAB.MEŠ-šú*  
22 *DUMU PAB.MEŠ-šú de-e-nu*  
23 DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub> *ub-ta-u-ni*  
24 *šib-tu be-en-nu a-na 1 ME UD-me*  
25 *sa-ar-tú a-na kal MU.AN.NA.MEŠ*  
26 *kas-pu ana 10.MEŠ a-na EN.MEŠ-šú ú-GUR*  
27 *a-na la de-ni-šú DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub>-ma NU TI-qé*  
28 *man-nu šá GIL-u-ni aš-šur ù <sup>d</sup>ša-maš*  
29 *EN ù <sup>d</sup>PA a-de-e šá LUGAL*  
30 *lu-u EN de-ni-šú 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an*
- 
- 31 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>EN-*ba<sup>1?</sup>-ni* IGI <sup>1</sup>aš-šur-PAB<sup>2</sup>-SU (x)  
32 IGI <sup>1</sup>PAB-u-bi IGI <sup>1</sup>a-zi-mil-ki  
33 IGI <sup>1</sup>ha<sup>2</sup>-di-A-AŠ IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
34 [DU]MU <sup>1</sup>pu-u-li IGI <sup>1.iti</sup>AB-a-a  
35 [IGI] <sup>1</sup>pi-laq-qu IGI <sup>1</sup>ár-za-bu-tú  
36 [IGI <sup>1</sup>]R<sup>2</sup>-<sup>d</sup>15 DUMU <sup>1</sup>SAR<sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup>x x <sup>1</sup>[( )]  
37 [IGI <sup>1</sup> x (x) ]x-BE-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>1</sup>IGI <sup>1</sup>[x x (x x) ]  
(T.E. broken away)

<sup>1</sup> [Seal of Šalam-šarri-iqbi], son of Šil(li)-Ištar, the [...], owner of the man being sold.

<sup>5</sup> Baṭuru enacted (the procedures) and <sup>7</sup> acquired <sup>6</sup> from Šalam-šarri-iqbi for 35 shekels of silver

<sup>4</sup> Šamaš-taqqinanni, his slave, (and) Laqiptu, his woman, belonging to Šalam-šarri-iqbi, <sup>7</sup> to be his (adopted) son.

Let the sons <sup>8</sup> of Baṭuru be 10 (in number), Šamaš-taqqinanni (will still be) their elder brother. He shall enjoy a share (of the inheritance) with them, he will perform state service with them.

<sup>11</sup> He will repay his debts, and he will get his debts repaid.

<sup>12</sup> The price is paid in full. [That] man is purchased and acquired. There is no (further)

withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation.<sup>15</sup> Whoever in the future at any time arises and contravenes (the agreement) — whether it be Šalam-šarri-iqbi, or his sons, or his grandsons, or his brothers, or his brothers' sons — who initiates a lawsuit (or) litigation against Baṭuru, his sons, his grandsons, his brothers, (or) his brothers' sons,

<sup>24</sup> (Guarantee against) seizure (and) epilepsy for 100 days, penalty for all years.

<sup>26</sup> He shall return the price tenfold to its owners, he shall plead in his invalid lawsuit and not succeed.

<sup>28</sup> Whoever contravenes, let Aššur and Šamaš, Bel and Nabu, (and) the fealty-oaths to the king be lord(s) of his lawsuit. He shall pay 10 minas of silver.

<sup>31</sup> Witness Bel-bani<sup>2</sup>; witness Aššur-aḫu-....; witness Aḫubi; witness Azi-milki; witness Ḫaldi-aplu-iddina; witness Samedu, son of Pulu; witness Kanunayu; [witness] Pilaqu; witness Arzabutu; [witness Ur]ad-Ištar, son of ...[...; witness ...]-Nergal; witness [.....]; (remainder, perhaps 2 lines, broken away).

#### Notes

4: I can only assume that Laqiptu is the wife (or just “woman”) of Šamaš-taqqinanni, who is transferred with him but not formally acknowledged in the legal formulation of the adoption. The scribe can hardly mean she is the wife of Šalam-šarri-iqbi. It is possible that the text has GE[MÉ]-šú making Laqiptu the slave woman of Šalam-šarri-iqbi.

7: for this phrase with ten sons, the closest parallel known to me is in the Old Babylonian document VAT 926 (VS 8.127; Schorr 1913, No. 8), where we should read 10 *ma-ri* PN<sub>1</sub> *ù* (f)PN<sub>2</sub> *li-ir-šu-ú-ma* PN<sub>3</sub>-*ma a-ḫu-šu-nu ra-bu-um* “Let Bunene-abi and Ḫušutum get 10 sons, Šamaš-abili (will still be) their big brother”. In Neo-Assyrian TCL 9.57 the phrase is “Let 7 heirs of Sinqi-Ištar (and) Remute be engendered, Aššur-šabatsu-iqbi (will still be) their senior heir” (FNALD No. 17). A similar sentiment, though with “many” (*ma'dūtum*) instead of 10, is found at Mari in ARM 8.1.

24: note that the scribe has omitted to give any penalties for the contraventions envisaged in ll. 15–23.

31: wedges in the sign before *-ni* and the traces at the end of the line are probably erasures.

34: witnesses are not usually given their father's name, and this may strengthen the case for thinking that it is possible that Samedu's father was the priest Puli. If so, this would be the sole feature of this document suggesting a connection with the Temple.

#### Commentary

This is a welcome addition to the rather scarce Neo-Assyrian adoption conveyances. The adopting father, Baṭuru, acquires the slave Šamaš-taqqinanni, apparently along with his wife, from Šalam-šarri-iqbi for 35 shekels of silver. Up to this point the phraseology of the document does not differ significantly from that of an ordinary slave purchase, with the exception of the critical phrase *ana mārūtišu*. The clauses peculiar to an adoption are in ll. 7–12.

ND 7062 (IM 75769)

Copy: Plate 3 (JNP; collated)

Conveyance tablet: (2.8) x (5.3) cm.

[date lost]

Provenance: “Found on a dump at SE corner of Nimrud, ... probably excavated during 1957 season in the Ezida Temple”.

No seal impression survives

Obv. (upper part broken away)

- 1' [ ]-<sup>r</sup>*e*<sup>2</sup>-*kit-tú* DUMU-*šú*<sup>1</sup>  
 2' [ ]<sup>1.d</sup>UTU-SU<sup>sup.ras.</sup>  
 3' [ ]*x a-na* 1 ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR  
 4' [ ]*x.KÁM il-qé*  
 5' [*kaspu gammur t*]*a-din*<sup>1</sup> LÚ *šú-a-tú*  
 6' [*zarip laqi t*]*u-a-ru*  
 7' [*dēnu* DU<sub>11</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub>] *la-áš-šú*  
 8' [*mannu (ša) ina urkiš lu*<sup>2</sup>]-*ú ma-te-ma*  
 9' [*izaqqupanni l*]*u-u*<sup>1</sup>*pu-li-i*  
 10' [*lu-u* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú lu-u* DU]MU<sup>12</sup> DUMU.MEŠ-*šú*  
 11' [*lu-u ....- šú lu-u qu*]*r-ub-šú*  
 Rev. 12' [TA\* PN ] TA\* DUMU.MEŠ- *šú*  
 13' [*dēnu* DU<sub>11</sub>.]DU<sub>11</sub> (erasure)  
 14' [*ubta 'ūni x MA.NA K*]Ū.BABBAR *i-dan*  
 15' [*kaspu ana* 10.MEŠ *ana E*]N-*šú GUR*  
 16' [*ina (la) dēni-šu idabbub-ma l*]*a TI*

17'-19' (final signs of witnesses' names, undeciphered)  
 (remainder of Rev. broken away)

(Beginning broken away)

<sup>1</sup> [(a man) ..... from Puli(?) and(?) ...]-kittu<sup>2</sup>, his son, [.....] Šamaš-eriba [enacted (the procedures) and] for one and a half minas of silver [.....]... took.

<sup>5</sup> [The price is] paid [in full]. That man [is purchased and acquired]. There is no (further) withdrawal, [lawsuit (or) litigation]. <sup>8</sup> [Whoever in the future] or<sup>7</sup> at any time [arises], whether Puli, [or his sons or] his sons' sons. [or ...., or (one of)] his relative(s), [who initiates a lawsuit (or) litigation [against Šamaš-eriba or] against his sons, shall pay [x minas of ]silver. <sup>15</sup> He shall return [the price tenfold to] its owner, [he shall plead in his (invalid) lawsuit but] not succeed.

(Witness list and date broken away).



### Notes

3': the use of *ana* here, instead of the usual *ina libbi* may hint that we do not have a normal slave sale. The translation assumes that *uppiš-ma* stood in the first half of this line.

4': the correct restoration of this line remains elusive. If instead of TI *tadin* is correctly restored in l. 5' (requiring a slight emendation of the copy), *il-qé* must be correct in l. 4' (rather than some phrase such as *š]a-kan il-ki*, which in any case would be unparalleled). In that case ]12.KÁM might be considered, but neither an expression of time nor any other numerical phrase would be easy to account for in this context.

8': for *lu-ú* between *urkiš* and *ma-te-ma* the reader refers us to *ina ur-kiš lu-u ina ma-ti-ma* (Rafidain 17 No. 7:13).

### Commentary

This fragment, despite some curious phrasing, shows no signs of belonging to anything other than a standard slave sale, with Puli (and perhaps his son) as sellers, and Šamaš-(e)riba as the purchaser. A man named Puli is found as the priest (*šangu*) of Nabu; if he were here the purchaser, in whose possession the document would normally have remained, it would be tempting to assume that he is the same man, but since here he is rather the previous owner this seems less likely, albeit not impossible.

## 9

### Silver debt-note

ND 4325 (IM 67664)

Copy: Plate 5 (JNP)

Inner tablet: 3.3 x 2.5 x 1.9 cm.

20(+x).vi.679

Provenance: "From N.T. 9 (?) E; of Loftus' easterly small room. Nejem Abdullah's gang. On burnt brick pavement of II a possibly plaster floor above it".

Not sealed.

Obv. 1 10 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR

2 *ša* <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki-10*

3 *p[a]-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> AD-i-si*

4 *a-na 3-su-si-šú*

5 *i-ra-bi*

B.E. 6 ITI.KIN UD.20[(+x).KÁM]

7 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>TA-10-*n[i-nu]*

Rev. 8 IGI <sup>1</sup>dU.GUR-*n[a<sup>2</sup>-x (x)]*

9 IGI <sup>1</sup>na-ni-i

10 IGI <sup>1</sup>DUMU-15

11 IGI <sup>1</sup>a[d<sup>p</sup>]-di-mat-A

T.E. 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>DIN[GIR(.x)]-AD-PAB

13 IGI <sup>1</sup>šá-DINGIR-šá-a-ni-AN

14 IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-še-zib

<sup>1</sup> 10 shekels of silver, belonging to Mannu-ki-Adad, at the disposal of Abu<sup>7</sup>-isi. It will increase at one-third of it(s capital).

<sup>6</sup> Month of Ululu, 20[(+x)th] day, eponymate of Issi-Adad-ninu.

<sup>8</sup> Witness Nergal-na[...]; witness Nani; witness Mar-Ištar; witness Addi-mat-aplu<sup>??</sup>; witness Ilu<sup>7</sup>-abu-ušur; witness Ša-iliša-aninu<sup>??</sup>; witness Nabu-šezib.

#### Notes

4: this scribe (perhaps Nabu-šezib, the final witness), may have perpetrated a number of oddities; here no doubt 3-*su* should be treated as a sort of logographic writing of “1/3” (from *šalussu*), with the following *-si* betraying the correct reading of *šalussi-šu*.

11: the transcription is a counsel of desperation: the *di* and the KUR seem likely to be correct, but a writing of *ad(i)-* as *ad-di-* would be abnormal, and no examples of *ad(i)-mat(i)* followed by A(=*aplu*) are attested.

12: There is space for only a narrow additional sign between DINGIR and AD, and since the name Ilu-abu-ušur is attested more than once (PNA 2/I, 525) this is likely to be the correct reading.

13: There is no reason to assume that the sign after DINGIR was meant to be 15 (=Ištar), and *iliša* “her god seems defensible; at the end of the line we would expect *a-ni-nu*.

#### Commentary

This is a rather minimalist document with a few scribal peculiarities. The interest rate of 1/3 is unusual (Nos. 27 and 43 are not relevant, being loans of grain rather than silver), and there is no repayment date. Without the phrase *i/ana pūhi* it is not certain to be a loan, although the presence of the interest rate clause rather suggests that it is. It is noticeable that the witnesses are different from those in the majority of grain loans. This might be because with a date in 679 BC it is earlier than most of those transactions, or possibly because it derives from a different “office” within the Temple establishment. However, Mannu-ki-Adad is stated as the creditor (and not Nabu!), so perhaps this is a purely private document unrelated to the business affairs of the Temple.

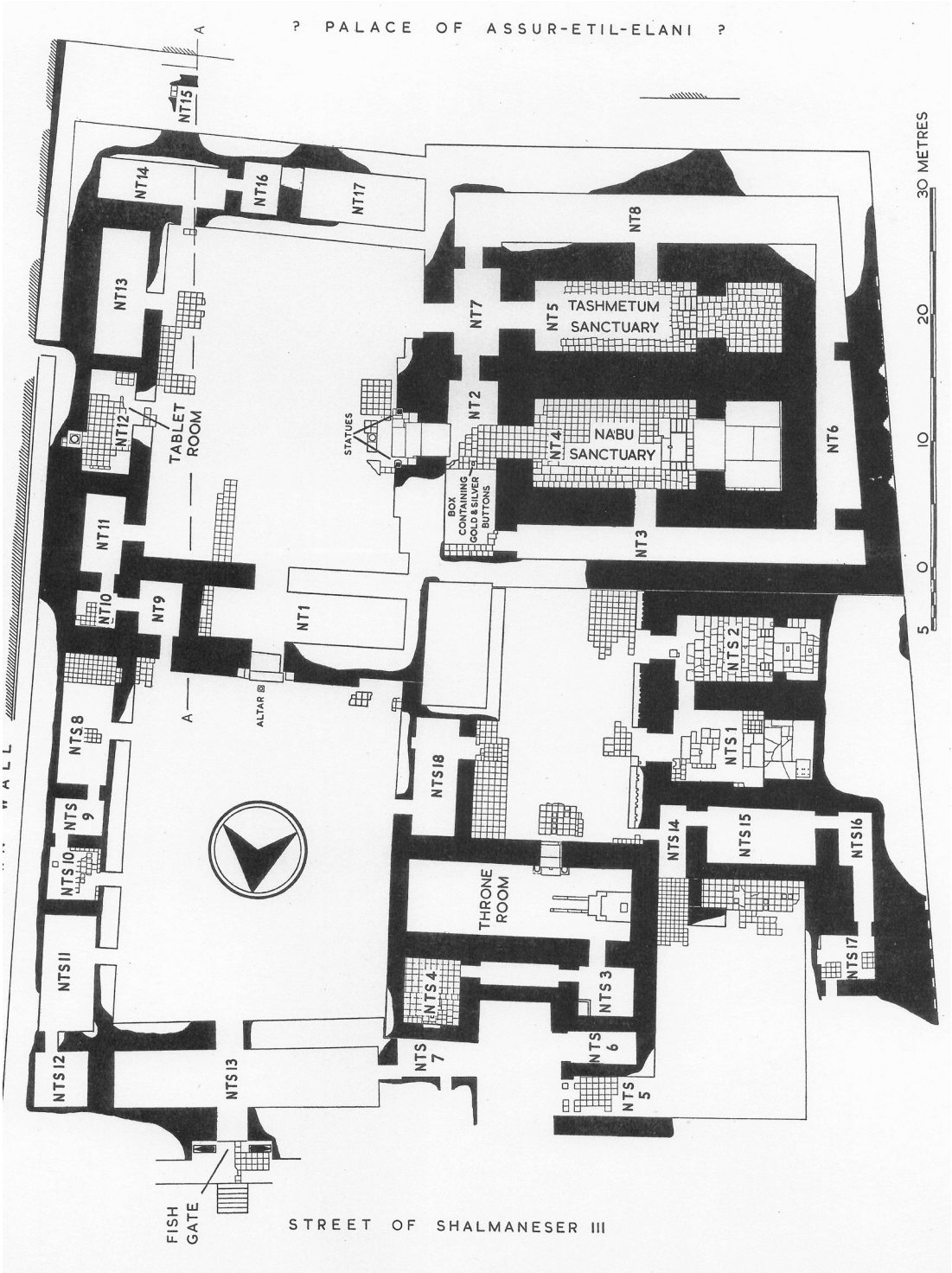


Figure 2. The Nabu Temple (Oates & Oates 2001, p.112. ©BISl)

## Triangular grain loan docketets (10–49)

### *Introduction to the grain loans*

Nos. 10–49 are all so-called triangular or “heart-shaped” docketets which are the normal form in which the 7<sup>th</sup> century scribes presented grain loans. These clay documents usually took the shape of an isosceles triangle with the short side at the top and the first line of writing positioned immediately below it. The triangle was formed round a knotted string, the impression of which is often visible in the interior of the clay. The string emerged from inside the clay either at the two corners at the top of the triangle or via a single hole placed centrally in the short side. Although proof is still lacking, the most plausible explanation of these docketets is that they were sealing the string which tied up a scroll on which another version of the text was inscribed (Postgate 1976, 5–6; accepted Radner 1997, 28–31). This would make the triangular docket a functional equivalent of the traditional clay envelope used to enclose loans of silver and other metals. If the “inner” document in the case of grain (and other commodity) loans was indeed a scroll (whether of leather, papyrus or some other perishable substance), the initial assumption would be that it was written in ink in Aramaic. If correct, this plainly has significant implications for the role of Aramaic writing as opposed to Neo-Assyrian cuneiform in 7<sup>th</sup> century society since grain loans must have been frequent and ubiquitous across society. The commodity is usually grain, but other commodities recorded on triangular docketets include wheat, straw, wine, sheep (CTN 3 Nos. 15–20) and birds (from TW 53, Nos. 100–101 below).



Figure 7. Group of docketets. Upper row from left: No. 17, No. 44, No. 47;

Lower row from left: No. 28, No. 46, No. 48, No. 42

On the docketets from the Nabu Temple the commodity is invariably grain, probably specifically barley, written ŠE.PAD.MEŠ. 40 such docketets were found in the Nabu Temple, 21 of them published by Barbara Parker in 1957, and 19 additional ones from the same group presented here for the first time. The great majority of these were found together “in a pit on top of a cut down wall between rooms N.T. 14 and 16, on the south side of the inner courtyard



to the temple” (Parker 1957, 125). The salient features of the archive were masterfully summarized by Parker in her introduction, and for the most part need updating here only in response to the extra texts now available.

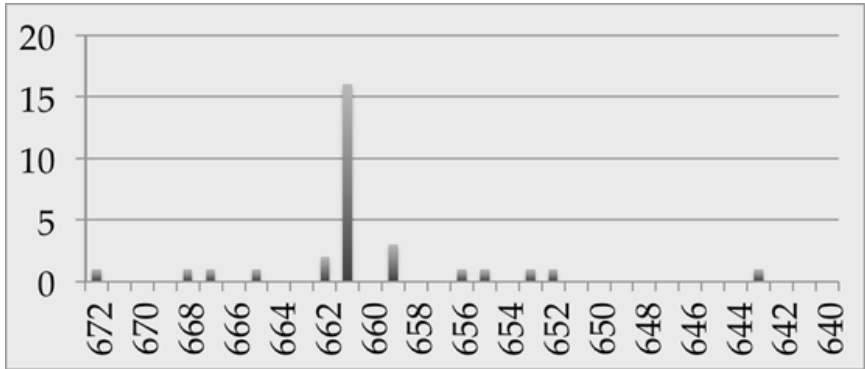


Table 2. dated grain docket

Like most texts from Nimrud other than those from the North-West Palace, these grain transactions from the Nabu Temple almost all belong to the 7th century (Table 2; not included are the outliers Nos. 10, from 708 BC and 11, from 699 BC). The main body of the archive comes from the years 672 to 652 BC, that is from near the end of the reign of Esarhaddon to 16 years into the reign of his son Assurbanipal, giving a span of about 20 years for which the temple’s grain loaning activities are clearly attested. However, it is very obvious that the main bulk of the texts comes from the years 662 to 660, and in particular from the 12th month of 661 from which 16 of the 40 come. How to interpret this is unclear: we have to bear in mind that what we are looking at are the debts which were NOT repaid, so the question has to be, not why were so many debts incurred in 661, but why were so many borrowers unable to make their (fairly modest) repayments in that one year? As Parker pointed out (1957, 125–6) most of the debts are small amounts of grain, and only two of the dockets she published were larger loans “obviously for business purposes”. The answer could be that there was a general failure of crops in the summer of 661; but of course there are plenty of other possible factors which might have distorted the record.

The wording of these documents is quite standardized and very simple.

(Envelope: NA4.KIŠIB PN1)	(Seal of PN1)
n ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ	n homers of barley
ša dNabu	belonging to Nabu
(ša PN2)	(belonging to PN2)
ina pān PN1	at the disposal of PN1
ina pūhi ittiši	He has taken it on loan.
(ina adri <interest rate> iddan)	(He shall pay <n%> at the threshing-floor.)
(šumma la iddin ana mithar tarabbi)	(If he did not pay, it will increase by 100%.)
Witnesses	Witnesses
Date	Date

Table 3. basic formula of grain loan documents

In its operative clauses the formulation of the grain loans is the same as that used in the metal loans. However, only rarely do we have a Siegelvermerk on the grain dockets (as here, Nos. 37 and 40), and in most cases, the text begins by stating the item loaned (with various descriptive phrases), followed by the identity of the owner introduced by *ša*. There follows the identity of the borrower(s) who is/are said to have “taken” (*ittiši* / *ittaššū*) the commodity, usually *a/ina pūhi*, which I translate as “on loan”. There may then follow clauses regulating the interest to be exacted (if any), and arrangements for repayment. After this, in the majority of the grain dockets edited here, comes the list of witnesses (each name introduced by IGI, which is to be understood as “witness”, rather than “before” since following names, e.g. Urdu, stand in the nominative), followed at the end of the text by the month, date and eponym year. In a few cases the date comes instead before the witness list.

### *Metrological matters*

The statement of the commodity loaned is followed by metrological details, specifying the *sūtu* in use. There are at least four different *sūtu* mentioned,

1. The container used to measure the grain on most of the Nabu Temple dockets was described as “the 9 *qū sūtu* of the Assyrians”: *ina GIŠ.BÁN ša 9 ina 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a*, e.g. No. 18 (661). An abbreviation of this — *ina GIŠ.BÁN ša 9* — is used in a few slightly later texts: Nos. 34 (659), 35 (659), 36 (659), and 37 (656). The non-legal text No. 11 (699) probably also means this *sūtu* when it writes *ina ša 9 ina 1 qa*.
2. The copper *sūtu* is mentioned five times: *ina GIŠ.BÁN (ša) URUDU* Nos. 14 (667), 15 (665), 16 (662), 40 (652) and 41 (643).
3. A “regular offerings” *sūtu* is met in No. 47: *ina GIŠ.BÁN [š]a gi-né-e*, and No. 48 possibly has a “new regular offerings *sūtu*” [*ina GI*]Š.BÁN GIB[IL<sup>?</sup>] *ša gi-né-e*. Doubtless this measure was kept in the temple, for we know from No. 11 that it received regular offerings in the shape of grain. No. 49 also seems to refer to a silver measuring vessel, if the surviving end of l. 3 reading *ina 1 qa ša KÙ.BABBAR* is correctly so understood.
4. Three texts use the *sūtu* of the *ašūdu*: *ina GIŠ.BÁN ša a-šu-di* No. 12 (672); cf. Nos. 13 (668) and 17 (662). Unfortunately, the meaning of *ašūdu* remains unknown. CTN 3 No. 14:10 appears to impose the provision of the *ašūdu* of the king as a penalty in case of failure to deliver 9 homers of grain. Another significant context is in the Aššur Temple offerings lists where the entry DUG *a-šu-du har-še za-am-ri* is found several times (SAA 7, Nos. 207–209, 215–18). This at least rules out the translation as “porridge”, since with the DUG determinative and the following words *harše* and *zamri* it is clear that *ašūdu* must be defining the container or form in which the offering is supplied. It is true that we remain uncertain of the precise nature of the substance called *haršu* (though it was certainly cereal-based), but there is at least no doubt that *zamru* is “fruit”. It follows that when *ašūdu* is mentioned as though it is in itself an edible commodity, it must refer to a culinary preparation traditionally served in some type of vessel, and this is in agreement with SAA’s translation “a bowl for fruit and dough” (SAA 7.209). However, it must have a more general usage, to judge from ND 2489 (Parker, *Iraq* 23 Pl. XVI), where *a-šu-du* appears to sum up a long list of grain issues to staff. Perhaps the *ašūdu* container was routinely

used for the distribution of foods in certain social circumstances so that it referred to “rations”, and this is the context in which a particular *sūtu* vessel was put to use.

5. No. 16, one of the loans with multiple borrowers, has a “*sūtu* of Nabu” (*ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* <sup>d</sup>PA No. 16:4, and also in l. 1, restored). Although this is unusual, the words “of Nabu” cannot here be a statement of the creditor’s identity because otherwise the phrase *ina sūti* would be meaningless. It should not however encourage us to take “of Nabu” as referring to the *sūtu* measure in the great majority of instances (see next paragraph).

6. Finally, No. 11 from 699 BC is exceptional in various respects, including the use of both the “big (*sūtu*)” – *ina danniti* – and its terminology referring to the 9 *qū sūtu* (*ina ša 9 ina 1 qa*). Another variant of the *sūtu* is probably referred to by the phrase *ina ša* KAR.MEŠ KUR in l. 10, although this is nowhere else attested. For further comment see the commentary to the text.

### *The creditor*

The identity of the creditor is very simple: in virtually every one of these loans the “creditor” is the god Nabu, whose role is indicated by the word *ša* in the same way as a human creditor’s would be. In No. 34 the text adds *ša Kalḫi*, but this is unique. In rare instances, there seems to be some ambiguity because the phrase “of Nabu” could also be taken as referring to the measuring vessel. The bare mention of the deity as the only “owner” of the loaned barley conceals from us the identity of the human agents responsible for the transaction, which must obviously have been controlled by one or more members of the regular staff of the temple. However, in rare cases a human creditor is named in addition to the god. In No. 12:3 from 672 BC the grain is “belonging to Pulu, the priest” but also in the following line “belonging to Nabu”; the opening lines of No. 17 may have been similar, but too little survives for any certainty. In No. 36:3 (from 659 BC, 13 years later) the grain is “belonging to Nabu, belonging to Nabu-šumu-ušur”, who is surely the priest (SANGA) of Nabu who witnesses No. 3:24, and is attested in this role for much of the 7<sup>th</sup> century (see Commentary on No. 36; he does not feature in the witness lists in this grain loan archive, but he does witness the dedication texts Nos. 3 and 4 and SAA 12.92–94 (ADD 640–642), dedications to Ninurta; for a possible third instance see No. 17). The bald formulation of the texts merely allows us to say that in each case the grain is described as the property of the god, without giving us any clue as to whence it came, where it was stored or how it was administered.

It is unlikely that the high-priest was always present in person when these loans were made. It seems probable that in some or indeed most cases authority to make the loan was entrusted to someone lower in the temple hierarchy. In that case it might well have been one of a group of men who frequently recur as witnesses (see below): they are hardly ever given their professional titles, but it seems very likely some of them held official posts in the temple.

### *The borrower(s)*

The borrower’s or borrowers’ name(s) are introduced by *ina* IGI or (*ina*) *pa-an*, which can be rendered with the rather clumsy English phrase “at the disposal of”. In more formal legal documents it is normal for the scribe to give the filiations of the principals, and/or their profession, and such extra details are often given about the borrower(s). In two documents (Nos. 24 and 27)



both the borrower's patronymic and his profession appear to have been given, while one or the other is found as listed below. However the borrowers often have no further identification, and this may suggest they were regular customers. When the patronymic is included, this is either because a higher degree of formality is required, or an indication that the person is not familiar to the creditor – i.e. in this situation, not closely associated with the Nabu Temple. Hence, in the 10 instances where a patronymic is given (Nos. 15; 20; 22; 24; 27; 31; 33; 37; 41; 47), it is likely that in most if not all cases the borrower is an outsider, with the corollary that where there is no patronymic he may be an insider. Naturally this is not an unbreakable rule.

butler	LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL	No. 16.6–7
[cattle/bird] feeders	<i>mušākil</i> [.....]	Nos. 24:2–3; 32:3
doorkeeper	LÚ*.Ì.DU <sub>8</sub>	No. 30:1–4
farmer	LÚ*.ENGAR	No. 23:3
Gaddaya(?)	<sup>lú</sup> <i>ga-<sup>r</sup>da?</i> <sup>1</sup> [(x x)]	No. 19:3
gardener(?)	LÚ*.NU.GIŠ <sup>?</sup> .SAR <sup>?</sup>	No. 16:2
grove watchman	LÚ*.EN.NUN MURUB <sub>4</sub>	No. 26:3
leatherworkers	LÚ.AŠGAB.MEŠ	No. 25:3–4
palace [.....]	L[Ú*. x x š] <i>a</i> É.GA[L]	No. 39:3–4
Queen's tailor	LÚ.KA.KÉŠ <i>ša</i> MUNUS.É.GAL	No. 37:1–2
textile worker	LÚ.TÚG.BABBAR	No. 27:3–4

Table 4. borrowers' professions

These professions include a palace official and a butler, who presumably worked within the confines of the city, if not the citadel itself, and a few craft-workers: a group of three leatherworkers employed by the Governor of Kalḫu, a textile worker, and a tailor working in the Queen's household. Probably from outside the citadel are a gardener, a grove watchman, a farmer, and animal or bird fatteners. It is quite possible that these labourers and craftsmen were working formally or informally for the temple itself, but it is impossible to prove this.

In a few cases the borrower is someone who appears frequently as a witness to other transactions from the archive. Some of these, if not all, are likely to have been on the staff of the Temple. This is virtually certain for the Nabu-šumu-usur who took out a loan jointly with another borrower in 667 BC, because 8 years later in 659 BC he has become the high-priest, being named in No. 36 alongside the God Nabu as the creditor in a grain loan.

The two borrowers in No. 35, Aplaya and Balaṭi, are known as witnesses in other dockets (Balaṭi very frequently), and another pair of borrowers in No. 34, Nabu-kibsi-ušur and Nabu-na'id, are also well attested as witnesses. In each case their frequent appearance as witnesses must mean that they were readily available to the temple administration when loans were being recorded, and so they were very likely also members of the temple staff. This would mean that members of the temple staff were in the habit of taking loans from their employers – from Nabu – and we may reasonably expect that these loans were on favourable terms. Loans by a temple to members of its own staff are known centuries earlier, when the Middle Assyrian Aššur Temple offerings archive occasionally mentions loans made to one or more of

the temple staff as private individuals (Postgate 2013, 123–5).

While most loans are to a single individual, in a few cases more than one borrower is included in a single document: No. 14 (2); No. 25 (3); No. 30 (3); No. 34 (2); No. 35 (2). Where these are simply two persons identified by their names there is little further we can say about the transaction. It can hardly be coincidental that the pairs of borrowers in Nos. 34 and 35 are both men who appear frequently as witnesses in other dockets. Rather different are No. 25, where the loan is taken out by three leather-workers, and No. 30 where at least two of the borrowers are animal (or bird) feeders. Their shared profession obviously accounts for their sharing of the loan, but there are no explicit provisions regulating their mutual liability with respect to the repayment of the loan.

To understand the social background to this archive, we need to consider the absolute value of the loans being made. The minimal nutritional requirements for adults and children have often been discussed, and one of the more thorough and more recent discussions is from the pen of Jürgen Seeher in the context of the huge Late Bronze Age storage facilities excavated by him at the Hittite capital Hattusas at Boğazköy (Seeher 2000, 294–5). He assumes a norm of about 500 grams per day for a male adult, broadly equivalent to 1 litre, or in Assyria, 1 *qû*.

Homers	Number of borrowers	Number of texts	Text Nos.
1.0	1; 1	2	17; 19
1.1	1	1	41
1.5	1	1	15
1.7	2	1	34
2.0	1; 2; 1; 1; 1	5	12; 16; 22; 31; 38
2.5	1	1	36
3.0	1; 1; 2; 1; 1; 2	6	20; 23; 24; 26; 32; 35
3.2	1	1	14
4.0	1; 1; 1; 1; 1	5	10; 18; 21; 33; 40
5.0	3	1	25
6.0	2	1	27
10.0	3	1	30
21.0	1	1	37
33.0	1	1	47

Table 5. amounts of grain borrowed

As Table 5 shows, a majority of the loans we are witnessing are of 2, 3 or 4 homers. i.e. about 200, 300 or 400 litres. These amounts would suffice for a single individual during several months up to more than a year, or for several individuals for much shorter periods, which is more likely if we assume that the loan is designed to fill a lack in a family’s domestic supplies in the run up to harvest. It is therefore likely that the majority of the loans are not commercial transactions, but designed to safeguard the daily subsistence of ordinary individuals and their families. This is in agreement with the timing of the loans, because, as Table 6 shows, the majority of the loans were made around the end of the Mesopotamian year (in months XII–II, March to May), and this is of course the time, shortly before the harvest, when domestic grain supplies are likely to be running low.

Month	Text No.	Total	%
I	14, 16, 37	3	8.1
II	15, 17, 34, 38, 41	5	13.5
III	35	1	2.7
IV		0	
V		0	
VI		0	
VII		0	
VIII		0	
IX	39	1	2.7
X	36, 43	2	5.4
XI	18, 40	2	5.4
XII	13, 19-30	13	35.1
[lost]	31-33, 42, 44-49	10	27.0
Total		37	100

Table 6. months of making loan

*Interest, repayment terms, and supplementary details*

There is considerable variety in the arrangements for repayment (see Table 7). In 13 instances no repayment date is specified, and in this case interest is always charged: usually 20% (8 texts), once each 30% (No. 43), 40% (No. 25) and 50% (No. 46); rate broken in 2 instances. Since no date for repayment is imposed, it is understandable that in these documents there is no penalty for late payment. About half of all contracts (at least 18 and probably more because of damaged texts) require repayment of the loan “at the threshing-floor” (*ina adri*), which is of course the time in the agricultural cycle when the new season’s grain becomes available. Why in one solitary case (No. 15) the date for repayment is set in the 6<sup>th</sup> month remains obscure.

No.	Homers	Number of debtors	Category of debtors	Repayment date	Initial interest	Penalty interest	Date
10	4.0	1	C	-	20%	-	24.i.708
11		n/a	n/a	-	-	-	16.i.699
12	2.0	1	C	[...]	[...]	[...]	-.i.672
13	[...]	1	C	<i>ina adri</i>	50%	100%	16.xii.668
14	3.2	2	C	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	-	21.xii.667
15	1.5	1	A	Month VI	0%	20%	22 <sup>2</sup> .ii.665
16	2.0	2	BB	<i>ina adri</i>	20%	100%	18.i.662
17	1.0	[1]	[ ]	[...]	20%	[...]	20.[n].662
18	4.0	1	C	-	20%	[...]	[x].xi.661
19	1.0	1	B	[...]	[...]	[...]	26.xii.661
20	3.0	1	A	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	50%	27.xii.661
21	4.0	1	C	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	50%	27.[xii].661
22	2 <sup>2</sup> .0	1	A	<i>ina adri</i>	[0%]	[...]%	27.[xii].661
23	3.0	1	B	-	20%	-	27.xii.661
24	3.0	1	A+B	-	20%	-	28.xii.661
25	5.0	3	BBB	-	40%	-	28.xii.661
26	3.0	1	B	-	20%	-	28.xii.661

No.	Homers	Number of debtors	Category of debtors	Repayment date	Initial interest	Penalty interest	Date
27	6.0	1	A+B	<i>ina adri</i>	30%	50%	28.xii.661
28	[...]	1	C	-	20%	-	28.[xii].661
29	[...]	1	C	-	[...]%	-	[...]xii. 661
30	10.0	3	BBA	<i>ina adri</i>	50%	100%	[x].xii.661
31	2.0	1	A	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	20%	[n.n.]661
32	3.0	1	B	-	20%	-	[.....].661
33	4.0	1	A	<i>ina adri</i>	20%	50%	[.....].661
34	1.7	2	CC	<i>ina adri</i>	20%	50%	[x].ii.659
35	3.0(?)	2	CC	-	[...]%	-	1.iii.659
36	2.5	1	C	<i>ina adri</i>	20%	50%	5.x.659
37	21.0	1	A+B	<i>ina adri</i>	50%	100%	26.i.656
38	2.0	1	C	<i>ina adri</i>	20%	-	20+.ii.655
39	[...]	1	B	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	50%	[...]ix.653
40	4.0	1	C	<i>ina adri</i>	20%	-	17.ii.652
41	1.1	1	A	<i>ina adri</i>	50%	100%	1.ii.R643
42	[...]	1	C	-	20%	-	[...]
43	[...]	[...]	[...]	-	30%	-	[x].[x].[...]
44	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	50%	-	[...]
45	[...]	1	[...]	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	50%	[...]
46	[...]	1	C	-	50%	-	[...]
47	33.0	1	A	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
48	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
49	[...]	1	[...]	-	20%	-	[...]

- Category A: Borrowers with patronymic
- Category B: Borrowers with profession
- Category C: Borrowers with neither patronymic nor profession

Table 7. rates of interest

About half of all contracts (at least 18 and probably more because of damaged texts) require repayment of the loan “at the threshing-floor” (*ina adri*), which is of course the moment in the agricultural cycle when the new season’s grain becomes available. In these texts the interest to be charged up until the repayment date varies (Table 8).

Rate of interest	No. of documents
0%	8
20%	6
30%	1
50%	3

Table 8. initial rates of interest

Plainly in the majority of instances the temple was lending the grain on favourable terms, since after the harvest it will have been considerably less scarce than it was at the time of the loan, so that loans at 0% and probably also at 20% were effectively a form of charity. It was noted above that the majority of the loans in the main archive (Nos. 13–49) come from around the end of the Mesopotamian year.

In some cases, the contract does not envisage a failure to repay on time and therefore specifies no penalty for late repayment. Where a penalty is stated, the rate in relation to the initial rate is as follows (Table 9):

Initial rate	Penalty rate	No.	Total
0%	20%	15; 32	2
0%	50%	20; 21; 39; 45	4
20%	50%	33; 34; 36	4
20%	100%	16	1
30%	50%	27	1
50%	100%	13; 30; 38; 41	4

Table 9. initial and penalty interest rates

The easiest way to characterize this distribution is simply to point out that no initial loans at 0% attracted a penalty rate of 100%, and that all loans at 50% incurred a penalty of 100% for late repayment. The interest charged varied considerably from contract to contract, and the penalties might be smaller where the initial interest was low, and greater where the initial interest was higher. Or put another way, when the temple started out with a generous interest rate, it carried the generosity through when a penalty rate needed to be imposed. What remains unclear is the time factor. If the initial penalty rate intends the interest to be calculated as a percentage of the capital regardless of the lapse of time, as it seems at first sight, can the same be true for a late repayment, where no fixed date is in evidence?

In 13 instances no date for repayment is specified, and in this case interest is always charged: usually 20% (8 texts), once each 30% (No. 43), 40% (No. 25) and 50% (No. 46); rate broken in two instances. Since no date for repayment is imposed in these documents, it is understandable that there is no penalty for late repayment.

### *Categories of debtors*

The size and timing of each loan was naturally dependent in part on the identity and social standing of the borrower. As Parker pointed out (1957, 125–126) most of the loans are small amounts of grain, and only three of the texts she published involved larger amounts “obviously for business purposes”. Of these three No. 37 recording 21 homers is the only docket to include a pledge clause. It also has a unique supplementary provision requiring the delivery of straw, and the document’s formality is underlined by the presence of a Siegelvermerk. The borrower is a member of the queen’s staff, but his social status cannot have been very exalted if he has to provide his wife as a pledge. The two other large amounts are No. 47 (33 homers) and No. 11 (59.2 homers); little further detail survives of No. 47, and No. 11 is not a legal document but an administrative note. The use of the regular offerings *sūtu* (*ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša gi-né-e*) in No.

47 could be related to the size of the loan or the formality of the proceedings, but pace Parker, No. 11 does not mention this *sūtu*.

The remaining “normal” loans are all of relatively small amounts, but Table 10 indicates some possible relationship between the way the debtor is referred to and the terms of interest. Debtors marked as “Category A” in Table 7 are given their patronymic, which is a relatively formal designation, since in this archive it is unusual for the witnesses to be given their patronymic. “Category B” debtors come with their profession, which may also in part be a sign that they are at a social distance from the creditor (in the person of a temple official), since again the professions of witnesses are only rarely stated. By contrast “Category C” debtors have neither patronymic nor profession, which could be taken to imply that they were relatively close socially to the Nabu Temple personnel (and in some cases, mentioned above, we know this to be the case).

	0%	20%	30%	40%	50%	Total
Category A	4	2	1	0	3	10
Category B	1	5	1	1	2	10
Category C	2	7	0	0	2	11

Table 10. final interest rates imposed on debtors in Categories A, B and C

The presumption might be that those closest socially to the Nabu Temple establishment, i.e. Category C, might be granted favourable terms for their loans, whereas we might expect those less close, i.e. Category A and perhaps Category B, to be treated more commercially. In fact this does not really emerge: the only respect in which Category C could be thought to have special treatment is that this group has a high proportion paying only 0% or 20% (9 out of 11), and no-one paying 30% or 40%. However, they do have two debtors paying 50%, just as Category A has three and Category B two, which suggests that there was some factor unknown to us which dictated the imposition of a 50% rate in some cases. Taken as a whole, this analysis of the body of debtors does not reveal any very significant trends, although it is possible that with a larger sample size some might emerge.

There are few other variations. In No. 30 there is a guarantor: *¹ki-qi-la-nu* EN ŠU.2.MEŠ *ša* ŠE.PAD.MEŠ, and this text is also one of only two which include an obligation to provide harvesters. The amount loaned is higher than usual (10 homers), and as in No. 37 the rates of interest are 50% followed by 100%, the highest attested. By contrast the other text with a harvesting obligation is No. 41, where the loan is only 1.1 homers, and only a single harvester is specified; on the other hand the interest rates are high (50% and 100%), and so for some reason Urad-Mullissi was given tough terms by the Temple.

	12	13	14	15	16	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
Nuriti	•					•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•		•?		•	•	•		•	•	•
Batati	•			•		•	•	•	•	•			•		•			•	•	•	•		•			•	•	•			•	•	•
Bisuni		•	•	•	•					•									•	•											•		•
Nabu-taklak		•	•																	•												•	
Nabu-remanni		•	•																														
Nabu-na'id				•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•	•			•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•			•	•
Davi					•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•					•	•	•	•					•	•						•
Abu-lamašši							•			•																							•
Urdi							•	•	•		•											•	•		•	•							•
Nabu-kibsi-usur								•			•															•	•						•
Galulu											•																						
Mannu-ki-abi											•			•																			
Gula-cir																																	
Abu-bani											•																						
Tutaya														•																			
Itakua																			•														
Nabu-alhe-erba																						•											
Aplaya																								•					•				
[...]iskip																																	•

Table 11: Witnesses in the Nabu Temple documents

Note to Table

The texts used are the grain loan docketts (Nos. 12–48; No. 49 shares no witnesses with other texts and is not included in the Table). They are arranged chronologically, with the earliest on the left. The names are listed in the order of each one’s first appearance as a witness. Hence the timespan of each person’s appearances is given by the left-hand and right-hand dots. It is a list of names, not of individuals, so if two witnesses share a name (as occasionally happens), they are not differentiated.



Alongside the loans themselves, the archive sheds some light on the personnel of the temple. There are some witnesses who reappear time and time again in these texts and may therefore have been on the staff of the Nabu Temple over a period of years (see Table 11). Unfortunately, professions are only rarely stated, no doubt because the identity of the frequently recurring gentlemen (and they are all male) was well known. Not even the scribe usually identifies his profession (although we might guess by comparison with other contemporary texts that his name will often have come at the end of the witness list, there is no way to prove this.) Of the most frequent witnesses, Nurti, who is often the first on the list, is twice given the title LÚ.NAR “musician”, and this is obviously compatible with an appointment on the staff of the temple. The same applies to Dayi, who is once described as a “door-keeper”. Sadly, we have no profession stated for Balaṭi or Nabu-na’id, who are often listed in that order before Dayi and after Nurti (the musician). These people must have been permanently present in the temple or somewhere in its vicinity, where they could be summoned to function as witnesses when a transaction was being completed.

Apart from these there are a few witnesses who have broadly administrative roles. These include four scribes, Nabu-nadin-šumi, Nabu-našir, Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe and Ubru-Gula. They only appear once each so they cannot have been regular scribes for the temple; it seems probable that one or more of the frequently occurring witnesses without stated profession would have been a scribe, e.g. Nabu-na’id. In addition to Dayi, there are two door-keepers: Nabu-balassu-iqbi (No. 49) and Tutayu, who acts as a witness twice in the Nabu Temple archive (Nos. 27 and 30), and seven times in the Town Wall houses archive, where his profession as door-keeper is specified on two occasions (Nos. 64 and 74). In the same archive Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur is once called “servant of Nabu” (No. 64) and on another occasion the *qatinnu* of Nabu (No. 60); unfortunately the role of a *qatinnu* remains uncertain (see on No. 60).

Two members of the culinary staff are known to us. Nani, named as the *laḫḫinu* of Nabu witnessing the dedication conveyance No. 4, has a title which derives from the Middle Assyrian *alaḫḫinu*, an official in charge of the production of bread and similar farinaceous foods. There is no good reason to think that this role had significantly changed, and we know from No. 11 that the temple was handling volumes of grain in need of processing, and would still have required a specialist of this kind, so this witness should fall under the heading of food production. Likewise witnessing No. 4 is Urdu “the cook of the House of Nabu”, who also acts as witness to one of the Town Wall houses texts (No. 64), with the same profession; he may have been the Urdu who often turns up as a witness to grain loans.

### *The craftsmen*

Three of the grain dockets stand out from the others because instead of the usual list of witnesses they have a group of craftsmen (Nos. 25; 27; 30; cf. also the badly damaged No. 45). Two (and possibly all three) of these dockets were written on the same day (28.XII.661). They include a goldsmith, a bronze smith, two iron smiths, a stone-carver, a textile worker and a gardener. The texts do not say whether these men were employees of the temple, or merely working in its vicinity, but it does at least seem probable that the metal and stone workers were habitually working close to each other. A group of craftsmen like this must surely have been

employed by an institution, rather than a private household, and the obvious candidate in this case is the Nabu Temple.

That these three transactions are a little different from the others also emerges from other details. In the case of No. 25 three persons borrow a total of 5 homers, and they are all described as the leather-workers of the governor of Kalḫu. In No. 27 the borrower, who takes 6 homers — the largest amount any individual borrows in the whole archive — is a textile-worker. Finally No. 30 records the loan of a total of 10 homers divided between three borrowers. As with the other two, these borrowers' profession is given — they are “feeders” either of birds or of cattle; and as well as this, the contract includes an obligation to provide harvesters, and is backed up by a guarantor, all features which are unusual in this archive but probably reflect the size of the loan. So, unlike the regular small loans, in each of these relatively large loans the borrowers are craftsmen or animal husbandry specialists, and the appearance of craftsmen as witnesses must be related in some way to the borrowers' professions.

#### *No. 50*

While some of the witnesses mentioned above are surely, and the craftsmen just discussed are possibly, on the Nabu Temple staff, we are fortunate to have one unique document which gives the names of at least 49 men alongside a part of the Nabu Temple with which they are in some way associated (No. 50). No doubt the association between the men listed and their part of the building was self-evident to the writer and readers of the tablet; we can only guess that they held some form of responsibility for its maintenance and/or security. The frequency with which the assignments are carried out by a family of two, three or four brothers suggests that these posts at the temple were entrusted to a traditional elite. It is clear that one does not need four full-time officials to administer an entrance, and these assignments would therefore seem to be at least partly honorific or symbolic. The system of prebends which is so well attested for Babylonian temples is hard to document in Assyria, but perhaps this is what we are looking at here. At least five of the personal names turn up also in texts from the Town Wall houses; of these, two are rather common, but it seems probable that Nabu-kibsi-ušur, Šalam-šarri-iqbi and Tuqnu-ereš are the same men, suggesting that text No. 50 from the Nabu Temple dates from the same stretch of time as the TW 53 archive, that is to say, in the second half of the 7th century, later than the main Nabu Temple archive. There is however no indication in the text that any of the post-holders held a more specific religious or secular office in connection with their responsibilities.

#### *The granary*

The laconic formulation of the grain dockets invariably describes the grain as the property of the god, but does not give us any clue as to where it came from, where it was stored or how it was administered. Nevertheless, to make loans to its staff and to outsiders, the temple must obviously have had a granary or grain store; the questions are, where, and how big? There is no mention of a granary preserved on No. 50, although there are at least two breaks in the tablet where it could be restored. If we look at the plan (Fig. 2), there is no part of the temple building which obviously represents a grain storage facility, nor did Mallowan or Oates report any excavated features suggesting one. The temple plan appears to be more or less complete

as excavated, and so perhaps the granary was in a separate location, possibly off the citadel mound – although it could of course have been adjacent to the main temple, either to the west or across the street to the north. The only textual evidence for grain storage arrangements is given us by No. 11 from 699 BC, which is exceptional in various respects. This text records the largest amount of grain mentioned in the archive, a total of 140.2 homers of barley (~14,000 litres). Although it is not a legal document and is unsealed, it IS written on a triangular docket with string-holes (suggesting that there may have been an Aramaic duplicate). It records three transfers of grain within the administration to the temple brewer and baker, and to an Aramaean baker, and it is explicitly stated that the grain is the “fixed offering of Nabu” (*gi-nu-u ša* <sup>4</sup>PA). The *gin(a)u* system is very well attested half a millennium earlier by the huge Middle Assyrian archive from the Aššur Temple, which alongside other products records large consignments of barley coming in as “fixed offerings”, to be transmitted to the bread-makers and brewers (Postgate 2013, Chapter 4.1). At the end of the text we read that “Mutī has issued a total of 140.2 homers of barley from the grain-store (*karme*) of Nabu” (for *karmu* cf. Llop 2005; Faist & Llop 2012). This text therefore proves the existence of a temple granary, although not its location, and reveals that its grain comes from fixed offerings delivered to the temple. Or at least some of its grain, because the dedication texts (Nos. 4–5) reveal that the temple had its own agricultural establishments.

## 10

## Grain loan

ND 4316 (IM 67542)

Copy: Plate 5 (JNP)

Horizontal docket: 5.4 x 3.7 x 2.0 cm.

24.i.708

Provenance: From Nabu Temple H.1, on pavement level beside stone slab lying in recess in east wall.

*Sealing*

The same stamp seal showing a jar(?) is impressed once on the Obv. and once again on the Rev. No doubt it was impressed by Nabu-kenu-[...].

Obv 1    <sup>1</sup>4<sup>1</sup> ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ SAG.DU  
       2    <sup>1.d</sup>AG-GIN[-x (x)] KUR<sup>2</sup> NIM<sup>2</sup>

stamp seal impression

      3    ša <sup>d</sup>PA ina pu-u-<sup>1</sup>hi it<sup>1</sup>-ti-ši  
       4    a-na 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-a-a  
 Rev. 5    ITI.BARAG UD.24.KÁM\*  
       6    lim-mu <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-ú-pa-<sup>1</sup>hír

stamp seal impression

<sup>1</sup> 4 homers of barley, capital. <sup>2</sup> Nabu-kenu-[...] Elamite(?). <sup>3</sup> Belonging to Nabu, he has taken on loan. <sup>4</sup> (It will increase at the rate of) 2 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>5</sup> Month of Nisannu (I), 24<sup>th</sup> day. Eponymate of Šamaš-upaḫḫir.

*Notes*

2: statistically the sign DU following Nabu is likely to stand for *kēnu*, but the traces at the end of the line do not agree with any of the third elements attested in such names (see PNA 2/II, 839–40). Given the laconic nature of the whole document, it seems possible that the two final signs were KUR.NIM, as suggested, although one would normally expect this to be followed by -a-a.

*Commentary*

This is an extremely abbreviated document, but contains the essential information concerning a grain loan from the Temple. One has to assume that the borrower is abnormally mentioned before the “creditor” (Nabu). Although it comes from the Nabu Temple, it is not from the same location as the great majority of grain dockets, and it is dated significantly earlier than them, so clearly does not belong in the same archive.

11

Issue of grain

ND 5457 (BM)

Copy: Plate 5 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXVII)

Triangular docket: 4.8 x 7.0 x 2.7 cm.

Collated June 2014

String-hole at each top corner, and probably at base.

16.I.699

Provenance: Nabu Temple Room 16. Depth ca. 3 m.

Not sealed.

- Obv. 1 59 ANŠE 2BÁN *ša* RI UD?  
 2 *ina* KALAG-*ti* *ša* 29 ANŠE 6BÁN<sup>še</sup> *ši-pír-t[i]*  
 3 LÚ\*.ŠIMxA  
 4 51 ANŠE *ina* *ša* 9 *ina* 1 *qa*  
 5 <sup>1</sup>*ša* 25 ANŠE 5BÁN [(x)] *ši-pír-ti*  
 6 [L]Ú\*.NINDA  
 7 PA[B 1 ME] 10 ANŠE 2BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 Rev. 8 *gi-nu-u*  
 9 *ša* <sup>d</sup>PA  
 10 30 ANŠE *ina* *ša* KAR.MEŠ KUR  
 11 <sup>1.d</sup>IM-*su-ri*  
 12 LÚ\*.NINDA KUR *ár-ma-a-a*  
 13 PAB 1 ME 40 ANŠE 2BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 14 TA\* *kar-me* *ša* <sup>d</sup>PA  
 15 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>*mu-ti-i*  
 16 <sup>1</sup>*i-ti-din*  
 T.E. 17 ITI.BARAG UD.19.KAM  
 18 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>EN-MAN-*a-ni*

<sup>1</sup> 59.2 homers, ....., (measured) by the large (*sūtu* measure), (equivalent) of 29.6 homers, message of the brewer; <sup>4</sup> 51 homers, (measured) by the 9 *qû* (*sūtu* measure), (equivalent) of 25.5 homers, message of the baker. <sup>7</sup> Total [1]10.2 homers of barley, the fixed-offering of Nabu.

<sup>10</sup> 30 homers, (measured) by the (*sūtu* measure) of the land/palace<sup>7</sup> markets – Adad-suri, the Aramaean baker.

<sup>13</sup> Total: 140.2 homers of barley, from the granary of Nabu, at the disposal of Muti. He has given out.

<sup>17</sup> Month of Nisannu, 19<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Bel-šarrani (699 BC).

Notes

1: at one stage in preparing the edition it was proposed to read *tal-p[i-ti]* at the end of the line, but collation shows no horizontal wedge and no additional sign after UD. Should we read *ša-ri-tú*? If so what would this mean?

2: for *ina danniti* “by the big (*sūtu*)”, and the precise 2:1 relationship of the measures recorded here and

in l. 5 see already Postgate 1976, 68.

2, 5: it is uncertain whether we should here read *ši-pír-ti* or *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti* (*damiqti* “good quality”). On balance *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti* seems less likely, because it has no substantive to qualify, unless we assume it refers proleptically to ŠE.PAD.MEŠ. The word *šipirtu* is not specially common in Neo-Assyrian texts, but if correct would have to mean something like “order, instruction”; in Middle Assyrian texts it often refers to an oral instruction for action within the administration.

10: it is plain from the comparison with ll. 2 and 4 that *ina ša KAR.MEŠ KUR* defines the measuring standard used. Whether KUR here stands for *mātu* or *ēkallu* is not self-evident. This variant of the *sūtu* is not however mentioned elsewhere.

17: 19 (and not 16) collated.

### Commentary

As noted by Barbara Parker, this docket is unsealed and should therefore perhaps be considered an administrative rather than a legal document. On the other hand, the presumption with a docket of this type is that it was used to seal an Aramaic scroll. Whether it was an informal debt-note is uncertain; *ittidin* “he has given out” in l. 16, may be stating that he has fulfilled his obligation by making a payment, in accordance with instructions. Whatever the precise function of this document, it interestingly reveals that the barley coming as fixed-offerings (*ginū*) into the Nabu temple was shared between the brewers and the bakers (or a brewer and a baker), exactly as the fixed-offerings to the Assur Temple were in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC. Then the “baker” was titled *alahhinu*, but this is not sufficient cause to propose *(a)lahhinu* as the Neo-Assyrian reading of LÚ.NINDA, which remains unknown (unless it is *muraqqi’u*, cf. Postgate 1980, 68 observing that the Kuyunjik list in MSL XII.240 col.vi.29 has LÚ.NINDA and LÚ(collated) *mu-raq-qi-u* on the same line, which usually implies two writings for a single word). Nevertheless, it is a further instance of genuine continuity between Middle and Neo-Assyrian practice in the temple offerings regimes.

It seems likely that Muti was a Nabu Temple official with prime responsibility for the temple’s granary, and since the issue to the Aramaean baker is not qualified as “fixed-offering” (*ginū*) this seems to show that commodities with different origins were stored together in a single granary, later to be issued for a variety of purposes (rather than having the fixed-offerings routed directly from the initial contributor to the members of staff responsible for processing them for use in the temple). Since it is obvious from the numerous dockets found alongside this unique document that the temple made frequent loans to individuals, we may fairly assume that such loans also came from the same granary.

12

Grain loan

ND 5476/7 (BM)

Copy: Plate 6 (JNP)

Triangular docket: 3.7 x (3.6) x 1.8 cm.

String-hole at each top corner, exiting from side.

-.672

Provenance: Nabu Temple Room 16 (with ND 5475)

Sealing

There is a very faint stamp seal impression between ll. 4 and 5, no longer decipherable. The blank space between Rev. 2' and 3' shows traces of erased wedges but no clear sign of a seal impression.

- Obv. 1 (erasures) 2 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 2 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša a-šu-di*  
 3 *ša* <sup>1</sup>*pu-ú-li* LÚ.SAN[GA]  
 4 *ša* <sup>d</sup>AG

stamp seal impression

- 5 [*ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>]AG–PAB  
 6 [*ina pu-u-ḫi it*]-*t*[*i-š*]*i*  
 (remainder of Obv. broken away)

Rev. (beginning of Rev. broken away)

- 1' [IGI <sup>1</sup>]TIL.A-[*i*]  
 2' [IGI] <sup>1</sup>*nu-u[r]-ti-<sup>r</sup>i*<sup>1</sup>  
 (2 lines erased)  
 3' IGI <sup>1</sup>*gab-bu-a-mur*  
 4' IGI <sup>1.d+</sup>AG–*rém-a-ni*

- 5' *li-mu* <sup>1.d+</sup>AG–EN–PAB L[Ú\*.x]  
 6' <sup>uru</sup>BÀD–LUGAL-*uk-ka*

<sup>1</sup> 2 homers of barley, (measured) by the *sūtu* for *ašūdu* vessels, belonging to Puli, the priest, belonging to Nabu, <sup>5</sup> [at the disposal of] Nabu-našir. [He has] taken [(it) as a loan]. (Break)

Rev. 1' [Before] Balati; [witness] Nurti; witness Gabbu-amur; witness Nabu-remanni.

Rev. 5' Eponymate of Nabu-bel-ušur [governor] of Dur-Šarrukku (672 BC).

Notes

2: This *sūtu* is also used in No. 13. See above, p. 39 on the meaning of *ašūdu*.

3–4: at first sight these lines could mean “belonging to Puli, the priest of Nabu”, but it is more likely that “of Nabu” is used here as in almost all these dockets to indicate the deity as the “owner” of the grain (cf. No. 17 for the same situation).



Rev. 5': When Nabu-bel-ušur's profession is mentioned, it is as governor of Dur-Šarrukku in northern Babylonia (Millard 1994, 103–4). There hardly seems to be space at the end of the line to accommodate L[Ú\*.šá-kin], but this or perhaps L[Ú\*.NAM] must have been there.

### *Commentary*

This is the earliest of the grain loan dockets to mention the pair of witnesses Nurti and Balaṭi, who will recur frequently in years to come. It is hastily drafted, to judge from the erasures and the absence of a day or a month. It is unusual to have both the priest and the god listed as “owners”.

## 13

## Grain loan

ND 5461 (BM)

Copy: Plate 6 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXIX)

Triangular docket: 4.3 x 5.8 x 2.0 cm.

16.XII.668

One string-hole top centre, but there is also a string impression down the left side exposed by the broken surface, possibly leading to a second hole at the top left corner. This docket is smaller and more sharply angled than is usual in this archive.

Provenance: Nabu Temple Room 16

### *Sealing*

*Fig. 8; Plate VI*

Two round stamp seal impressions on Obv. impressed at 90° angle to writing; diam. 1.25 cm.

*Design:* Bird with raised tail feathers facing left. In upper field the moon crescent. The seal edge is surrounded by a raised line.

*Comparisons:* Although bird representations on Assyrian stamp seals are common, there is no exact parallel for the bird on this seal.

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 191 Nimrud 81; pl. 17, 12.



Figure 8. No. 13 (S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 [x ANŠE] ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 2 [x x ]x a-*ṣu-di* ša <sup>d</sup>PA  
 3 [ša] <sup>uu</sup>kal-*hi*  
 4 [ina IGI] <sup>1</sup>ga-su-sa-a-a

2 stamp seal impressions

5 *ina pu-u-*hi* it-ti-ši*  
 6 *ina ad-ri a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-šá*  
 7 *i-da-an*  
 Rev. 8 *šum-ma la i-din*  
 9 *a-na mit-*har**  
 10 *ta-rab-bi*  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>bi-su-ni  
 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-tak-lak  
 13 IGI <sup>1</sup>ri-ba-a-te  
 14 ITI.ŠE UD.16.KÁM\*  
 15 [l]i-mu <sup>1</sup>mar-la-rim

<sup>1</sup> [x homers] of barley, [(measured) by the *sūtu* for] *aṣūdu* vessels, belonging to Nabu [of] Kalḫu, [at the disposal of] Gasusayu.

<sup>5</sup> He has taken [(it) as a loan]. <sup>7</sup> He shall deliver (it) <sup>6</sup> at the threshing-floor at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>8</sup> If he did not deliver it, it will increase at parity.

<sup>11</sup> Witness Bisuni; witness Nabu-taklak; witness Ribate.

<sup>14</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 16<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Marlarim.

#### Notes

2: *aṣūdu* occurs in No. 12, preceded by GIŠ.BÁN; here the traces before *a-* do not look like BÁN; however there is hardly space in the copy to include *ša* before *aṣūdi*, and so I assume the horizontal stroke before *a* is the end of BÁN. Note that (pace e.g. Lapinkivi in PNA 1/II, 422) the barley is not “qualified as *aṣūdu* offerings of the temple of Nabû in Kalḫu”, since *aṣūdu* here must define the *sūtu* measure in use, as in No. 12, and “of Nabu” is the statement identifying the owner of the commodity loaned.

11: this name is written <sup>1</sup>bi-su-ni here and in five other texts, and only once (No. 47 Rev. 3') as <sup>1</sup>bi-su-nu. This makes it very unlikely that the name originated as either \*Bēl-šunu or \*Bēt-šunu, since the final -i cannot be explained away as a genitive case ending with the name “interpreted as a nominative noun without suffix” as suggested by S.M. Luppert-Barnard (PNA 1/II, 348), because it is well established that witnesses' names do not stand in the genitive after IGI (cf. instances of Urdu in this archive).

#### Commentary

This loan has one of the least generous terms, requiring 50% interest at the threshing-floor and 100% in case of failure to meet the repayment date.

## 14

## Grain loan

ND 5460 (IM 59906)

Copy: Plate 6 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXX)

Triangular docket: 4.5 x 6.5 cm.

Provenance: Nabu Temple Room 16

21.I.667

*Sealing*

Seal impressions after l. 4, no photo or further details available.

- Obv. 1 3 ANŠE 2BÁN ŠE.PAD.ME  
 2 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN URUDU  
 3 *ša* <sup>d</sup>AG  
 4 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–MU–AŠ

seal impressions

- 5 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–MU–PAB  
 6 *ina* *pu-u-ḫi it-ta-ṣu*  
 7 *ina* *ad-ri*  
 Rev. 8 *a-na* SAG.DU–šá  
 9 *i-da-an*  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>*bi-su-ni*  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>*nu-ur-ti-i*  
 12 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–*tak-lak*  
 13 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–*rém-a-ni*  
 14 ITI.BARAG UD.21.KÁM  
 15 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>*ga-ba-ru*

<sup>1</sup> 3.2 homers of barley, (measured) by the copper *sūtu*, belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Nabu-šumu-iddina, at the disposal of Nabu-šumu-ušur. <sup>6</sup> They have taken (it) on loan. <sup>9</sup> He(!) shall deliver (it) <sup>7</sup> at the threshing floor at its capital (amount).

<sup>10</sup> Witness Bisuni; witness Nurti; witness Nabu-taklak; witness Nabu-remanni.

<sup>14</sup> Month of Nisannu (I), 21<sup>st</sup> day, eponymate of Gabbaru.

*Notes*

5: the priest of Nabu from 655 BC bore this name (see on No. 36); if it is the same man, the fact that he is here taking out a loan jointly with another borrower makes it likely that in 667 BC he was not yet the priest.

9: it is not clear whether only one of the borrowers is tasked with repayment (and if so which of the two), or the scribe has loosely used the singular when a plural would have been more accurate.

*Commentary*

This interest-free loan, with no penalty stated for late repayment, was taken out shortly before the harvest and is to be repaid once the harvest has been processed.

15

Grain loan

ND 5451 (IM 59903)

Copy: Plate 6 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXX)

Triangular docket: 4.2 x 6.0 cm.

Provenance: Nabu Temple Room 16, tip on top of broken wall.

22<sup>?</sup>.II.665

*Sealing*: the copy in *Iraq* indicates seal impressions after l. 3, but it is not stated whether they are from a stamp seal (most likely) or a cylinder seal (also possible).

Obv. 1 1 ANŠE 5BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
2 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* URUDU *ša* <sup>d</sup>PA  
3 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–SUM-*in* DUMU <sup>1.d</sup>PA–*še-zib*

seal impressions

4 *a-na pu-u-ḥi it-ti-ši*  
5 *ina* ITI.KIN  
6 *a-na* SAG.DU-*ša*  
7 SUM-*an*  
Rev. 8 *šum-ma la i-din*  
9 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-*a-a*  
10 *ta-rab-bi*  
11 IGI <sup>1</sup>*bi-su-ni*  
12 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-*i*  
13 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ḥar-ma-ki*  
(one blank line)  
14 ITI.GUD UD.22<sup>?</sup>.KÁM  
15 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki*–LUGAL

<sup>1</sup> 1.5 homers of barley, (measured) by the copper *sūtu*, belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Nabu-iddin, son of Nabu-še-zib. <sup>4</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>7</sup> He shall deliver (it) <sup>5</sup> in the month of Ululu (VI) at its capital (amount). <sup>8</sup> If he did not deliver (it), it will increase at the rate of 2 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>11</sup> Witness Bisuni; witness Balaṭi; witness Ḥarmaki.

<sup>14</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 22<sup>nd?</sup> day, eponymate of Mannu-ki-šarri.

*Commentary*

A four month interest free loan made shortly before the harvest. The loan initially attracts no interest, rather unusually until the 6<sup>th</sup> month (September/October) rather than the threshing-floor, but thereafter is subject to a rate of only 20%. The borrower is perhaps also one of two borrowers in No. 16, although there his profession rather than his patronymic is given.

16

**Grain loan**

ND 5453 (BM)

Copy: Plate 6 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXX)

Triangular docket: 4.8 x 5.9 x 2.4 cm

One string-hole at each top corner.

18.I.662

Surface in poor condition.

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

*Sealing**Figs. 9–10; Plate VI*

Impressions at top of Obv.; 1.3 cm (length of largest impression).

*Design:* Docket with two partial round stamp seal impressions, i.e., semicircular imprints, showing just the seal edges; below possibly the impressions of two further semicircular seal edges or two nail marks(?). At above right of the seal space eight vertical incisions (also nail marks?). The fact that two different means of sealing (seal impressions and nail marks) occur here corresponds to the two persons named as debtors.

*Publication:* not previously published.

Figure 9. No. 16, Obverse (E. Schmidtchen. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

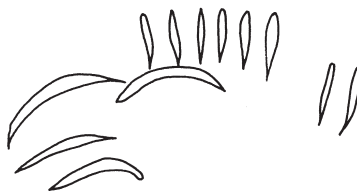


Figure 10. No. 16, Obverse (S. Herboldt)

Obv. 1 '2<sup>1</sup> ANŠE *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* <sup>d</sup>[AG?]  
 2 *ina* [IGI] <sup>1</sup>EN-AD-PAB LÚ\*.NU.<sup>1</sup>GIŠ?.SAR?<sup>1</sup>

finger-nail impressions

3 3BÁN *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* URUDU  
 4 7BÁN *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* <sup>d</sup>PA<sup>1</sup>  
 5 PAB 1 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.M[EŠ]  
 6 *pa-an* <sup>1</sup>dPA-AŠ?  
 7 LÚ\*.KAŠ.LUL  
 Rev. 8 [P]AB-*ma* 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 9 *ina* IGI-šú-nu *ina* pu-u-*hi*  
 10 *it-ta-šu a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-šá  
 11 *ina ad-ri i-du-nu*  
 12 *šum-ma la i-din-nu a-na mit-ḥar*  
 13 *i-du-nu* ITI.BARAG UD.18.KÁM  
 14 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>DÜG-IM-d30  
 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>pu-u-lu LÚ\*.SANGA<sup>1</sup>  
 16 IGI <sup>1</sup>bi-su-ni  
 17 IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-I  
 18 IGI <sup>1</sup>da-a-a-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>  
 19 LU\*.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>

<sup>1</sup> 2 homers of barley, (measured) by the *sūtu* of Nabu, at the [disposal] of Bel-abu-ušur, the gardener<sup>2</sup>. <sup>3</sup> 3 *sūtu* (measured) by the copper *sūtu*, 7 *sūtu* (measured) by the *sūtu* of Nabu, in total 1 homer of barley, <sup>6</sup> at the disposal of Nabu-iddin, the butler. <sup>8</sup> Total 3 homers of barley at their disposal. They have taken (it) on loan. <sup>10</sup> They shall deliver 2 *sūtu* per homer at the threshing-floor. If they did not deliver (it), they shall deliver it at parity.

<sup>13</sup> Month of Nisanu (I), 18<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Ṭab-šar-Sin.

<sup>15</sup> Witness Pulu, the priest; witness Bisuni; witness Nabu-na'id; witness Dayi, the doorkeeper.

#### Notes

2: GIŠ.SAR is by no means certain, but it is difficult to see what else may have stood here.

6: instead of AŠ it is possible that we should read -DÜ or -I. If -iddin is correct, a man of the same name is the borrower in No. 15.

8: collation reveals a -*ma* between PAB and 3.

12: collation reveals a damaged -*nu* after -*din*.

13-14: the date is here, atypically, placed before the witnesses' names.

15: Pulu is also attested in No. 12:3. In PNA 3/I his profession here is rendered as SANGA<sup>1</sup>, and this is now confirmed by collation.

17: for Nabu-na'id see PNA 2/II, 853 under Nabû-na'id 16, where it is noted that he recurs in these texts with other witnesses (Nurfî, Balaṭû, Daiaî and Urdu). This is the earliest occurrence of Nabu-na'id and Dayi who both act as witnesses very frequently henceforth.

*Commentary*

This records two ostensibly separate loans, the first of two homers to a gardener, the second of one homer to Nabu-iddin, a butler. The two amounts are totalled, and the two debtors appear to be collectively charged with repaying the debts after the harvest, and, if they default, with paying a high rate of interest thereafter. There was evidently some element of collective responsibility, since otherwise this transaction would have been recorded on two entirely separate debt-notes.

**17****Grain loan**

ND 5475/5 (IM59911/5)

Transliteration: JNP

Triangular docket: 5.0 x 5.7 x 2.0 cm.

Provenance: Found with No. 19 in NT Room 16

20.ii.662

*Sealing*

Partial impression from seal after l. 4.

Obv. 1 1 ANŠE ŠE.[PAD.MEŠ *ina* G]IŠ.BÁN  
 2 *a-ṣu-[(u-)di*  
 3 *ša* <sup>1</sup>x[  
 4 *ša* <sup>d</sup>A[G

small part of stamp or cylinder seal impression remaining

(one line of text possibly broken)

5 [ ]x  
 6 [ *it-ti*]-*ši'*  
 7 [ ]x  
 Rev. 8 [ ] 2-BÁN-*ša*  
 9–11 (three lines broken away)  
 12 <sup>1</sup>IGI [ <sup>1</sup>  
 13 IGI <sup>1</sup>[x x x (x x)]-I/-i  
 14 IGI <sup>1</sup>x[ x x (x x)]  
 15 ITI.G[UD. UD].20.KÁM\*  
 L.S. 16 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>DÙG.GA-IM-<sup>d</sup>[30]  
 17 *ša* [<sup>un</sup>ra-]<sup>r</sup>*ṣap*<sup>2</sup>-*pa*<sup>1</sup>

*Notes*2: for this type of *sūtu* see on Nos. 12 and 13.

3–4: No. 12 also gives the name of the human creditor in the following line, as must have been done here, followed by “of Nabu”. As there, this must be stating the divine owner of the grain, rather than



saying “[priest] of Nabu”. The human creditor there is the priest Pulu; the traces of the PN here comprise two diagonals, and could perhaps be read *p[u-*, but this is far from certain without collation.

6: the transliteration has ]-*pi* here, but by comparison with other dockets, an emendation to ]-*ši* looks probable.

8: for this clause imposing an interest payment of 20% see e.g. No. 15:9. There do not seem to be enough lines in the break for this to be a payment imposed after default, so it could possibly be an initial interest rate (attested e.g. in No. 13).

16–17: eponymate of Ṭab-šar-Sin (662 BC).

### *Commentary*

Not worth translation. This must have been a loan of one homer of grain from the Nabu Temple, but no details of the issuing staff member or the recipients survive.

## 18

### Grain loan

ND 5476/4 (BM)

Copy: Plate 7 (JNP)

Broad triangular docket: 4.2 x 6.1 x 2.2 cm.

One string-hole at top centre.

[?].XI.661

Provenance: Found with ND 5475 in Nabu Temple, Room 16

### *Sealing*

*Figs. 11–12; Plate IV*

Two square stamp seal impressions on Obv, one on Rev, all from same stamp seal. Best preserved on left of Obv. The seal impression on Rev. is stamped 180° to the written text; 1.7 x 1.8 cm.

*Design:* A cow with head turned back and raised tail suckling a calf. In the upper field the winged sun-disc and a small round filling ornament.

*Commentary:* The same debtor, Nabu-šarḫu-ubašša, seals with a different stamp seal on another grain loan from the Nabu Temple (Pl. V, No. 38).

*Comparisons:* here No. 106 (ND 3464); rectangular seal from Nimrud (NW palace, Rm. FF, “level” IV), Parker 1955, p. 108; pl. 18, 5; oval seal from Ninurta Temple in Nimrud, Parker 1962, p. 31; pl. 12, 12; oval seal impression from Nineveh, Layard 1853, pl. 69, 17 (= BM 84730); base of a stamp-cylinder seal from Tarsus, Goldman 1963, p. 356 pl. 162; pl. 165, 6; circular seal from Nush-i Jan, Curtis 1984, p. 24 fig. 4, no. 233; pl. 6; a scarab from Byblos, Dunand 1950, pl. CCI, no. 16983.

For examples of goats suckling their young see several stamp seals from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, cat. nos. 368A (= Jakob-Rost, *Stempelsiegel*, no. 368); 428; 429; 430; Böhme 2014, pl. 63 no. Ist 9.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 11. No. 18, Obverse (E. Schmidtchen. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

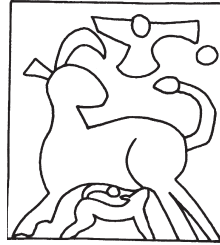


Figure 12. No. 18 (S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 4 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
 2 *ina* 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša <sup>d</sup>AG  
 3 *ina* pa-an <sup>1.d</sup>AG-šar-*hu-ú-ba-šá*  
 4 *a-na* pu-u-*hi it-ti-ši*

two rectangular stamp seal impressions

5 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-*a-a*  
 6 *ta-rab-bi*  
 Rev. (2 or 3 lines broken away)  
 1' I[GI <sup>1</sup> x x x x ]  
 2' IGI <sup>1</sup>[ x x x x ]

two rectangular stamp seal impressions  
3' ITI.ZÍZ U[D.x.KÁ]M  
4' *li-mu* <sup>1.ṛuru</sup> *arba*<sup>1</sup>-[il]-ṛa<sup>1</sup>-a  
5' LÚ.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 4 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at the disposal of Nabu-šarḫu-ubašša. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>5-6</sup> It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer. (2–3 lines lost)

Rev. 1' Wi[tness PN], witness [PN]

Rev. 3' Month of Šabaṭu (XI), [nth] day, eponymate of Arbailayu, the steward.

### *Commentary*

On grounds of space, it seems likely that the broken lines gave the names of further witnesses, so that the operative section of the document is complete, ending with *tarabbi*. No repayment date, or penalty for default is specified. Perhaps the assumption is that the debt will be repaid at the harvest, which is usually the case.

## 19

### Grain loan

ND 5474 (IM 59910)

Transliteration: JNP

4.2 x (6.1) x 2.0 cm.

One string hole top centre.

26.XII.661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16. On top of cut down wall.

### *Sealing*

*Fig. 13; Plate IV*

Three rectangular seal impressions impressed both on Obv. and Rev. at 90° angle to the written text; 1.3 x 1.0 cm.

*Design:* At the top the winged sun-disc. Below a quadruped. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify the animal because of the quality of the photo.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 13. No. 19, Reverse (© The Iraq Museum)

Obv. 1 1 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9 [( )]  
 2 *ina* 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša <sup>r</sup>d x x (x)<sup>1</sup>  
 3 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>da-da-a <sup>lu\*</sup>ga-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>2</sup>-(x x)]

3 rectangular seal impressions

4 [*ina pu-u-ḫi it-ti*]-š*i*  
 (remainder of Obv. broken away)

B.E. (broken away)

Rev. (upper part broken away)

1' <sup>r</sup>IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur<sup>1</sup>-ti-<sup>r</sup>t<sup>2</sup>

2' IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-i

3' IGI <sup>1</sup>.<sup>d</sup>PA-I

4' IGI <sup>1</sup>da-a-a-i

3 rectangular seal impressions

5' ITI.ŠE UD.26.KÁM\*

6' *li-mu* <sup>1.uru</sup>arba-il-a-a

7' LÚ\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 1 homer of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to [Nabu<sup>2</sup>], <sup>3</sup> at the disposal of Dada, the *ga*.... He has [taken (it) on loan.]

(break of about 7 lines)

Rev. 1' Witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Dayi.

Rev. 5' Month of Addaru (XII), 26<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Arbailayu, the steward.

#### Notes

2: unfortunately the end of this line could not be deciphered and does not show well on the photograph.

There certainly seem to be more than a single sign after the presumed DINGIR. The divine name is unlikely to be any other than Nabu, but it is not obvious from the traces how the name was written, or whether there is something extra after it.

3: At the end of the line the GA is clear, and it does not appear to be followed by TU which would yield NIMGIR. The profession *gaddayu* is poorly attested, and I hesitate to propose restoring it here.

### *Commentary*

With the identity of the borrower unknown, and any subsidiary clauses lost in the break, this loan does not contribute a great deal to the general picture.

## 20

### Grain loan

ND 5454 (BM)

Copy: Plate 7 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXXI)

Triangular docket: 4.4 x 6.1 x 2.0 cm.

Collated June 2014

One string-hole top centre

27.XII.661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

### *Sealing*

*Figs. 14–15; Plate I*

Cylinder seal impression on both Obv. and Rev. On Rev. impressed 180° to the written text; 3.5 x 1.5 cm (complete seal design).

*Design:* four-winged female<sup>?</sup> deity (Ištar/Šauška?) with long open robe and extended left leg holds an upright standing bow at the tip with her left hand. A male worshipper stands facing her with both arms raised, hands open. Filling motifs between the two figures are from top to bottom a six pointed star, the moon crescent and a fish in diagonal position. Unusual here is the gesture of adoration on the part of the worshipper.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 14. No. 20, Obverse (E. Schmidtchen. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

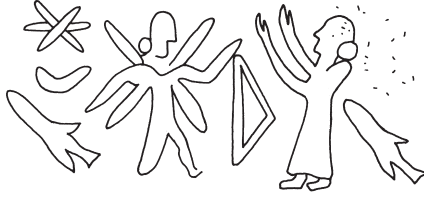


Figure 15. No. 20, Obverse  
(S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
 2 *ina* 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša <sup>d</sup>AG  
 3 *ina* pa-an <sup>1.d</sup>PA-AŠ-PAB DUMU <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KÀD-an-ni  
 4 a-na pu-u-hi it-ti-ši

cylinder seal impression

5 a-na SAG.DU-šá *ina* ad-ri  
 6 SUM-an šum-ma la i-din  
 7 a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-a-a  
 8 ta-rab-bi  
 Rev. 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>[TIL.L]A-i  
 11 IGI [<sup>1.d</sup>AG]-I  
 12 IGI [<sup>1</sup>da-a-a]-i  
 13 IGI [<sup>1</sup>AD-la-maš]-ši  
 14 IGI <sup>r1</sup>[ur-d]u  
 (one blank line)  
 15 ITI.ŠE UD.27.KÁM  
 16 li-mu <sup>1.uru</sup>[arba]-il-a-a  
 17 LÚ\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 3 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at the disposal of Nabu-nadin-aḫi, son of Nabu-kušranni. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>5</sup> He will pay (it) at its capital (amount) at the threshing-floor. <sup>6</sup> If he did not pay (it), it will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>9</sup> Witness Nurti, witness [Bala]ṭi, witness [Nabu]-na'id, witness [Day]i, witness [Abu-lamaš] ši, witness [Ur]du.

<sup>15</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 27<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of [Arba]ilayu, the steward.

#### Notes

3: this Nabu-kušranni is hardly likely to be the same man as the scribe of No. 4, which is dated about 40 years later.

13: name restored after No. 22:13.

*Commentary*

This loan was made on the same day as No. 21, and imposes identical interest-rate conditions: an interest-less loan in the first instance, followed by 50% interest on failure to repay at that stage.

21

**Grain loan**

ND 5455 (IM 59904)

Copy: Plate 7 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXXIII)

Triangular docket: 5 x 6 cm.

27.[XII].661

One string hole top centre.

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16. From tip against side of wall.

*Sealing*

Three impressions of same stamp seal on Obv. after l. 4 and on Rev. after l. 14. No drawing or photo available.

- Obv. 1 4 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
2 *ina* 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša <sup>d</sup>AG  
3 *ina* pa-an <sup>1</sup>mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>15  
4 *a-na* pu-u-*hi* it-ti-ši

3 stamp seal impressions

- 5 *a-na* SAG.DU-šá *ina* ad-ri  
6 SUM-an šum-ma la i-din  
7 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-a-a  
8 ta-rab-bi  
Rev. 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i  
10 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-i  
11 IGI <sup>r1</sup>[<sup>d</sup>A]G-I  
12 IG[I <sup>1</sup>da-a-a]-i  
13 IG[I <sup>1</sup>ur]-du  
14 IGI [<sup>1.d</sup>PA-kib-]ši-PAB

3 stamp seal impressions

- 15 [ITI.ŠE] UD.27.KÁM\*  
16 [li-mu <sup>1.uru</sup>]arba-il-a-a  
17 [LÚ].AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 4 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at the



disposal of Mušallim-Ištar. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>5</sup> He will pay (it) at its capital (amount) at the threshing-floor. <sup>6</sup> If he did not pay (it), it will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>9</sup> Witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness [Day]i, witness [Ur]du, witness [Nabu-kib]si-ušur.

<sup>15</sup> [Month of Addaru (XII)], 27<sup>th</sup> day, [eponymate of] Arbailayu, [the] steward.

#### Notes

12–14: as noted by Parker, the witnesses are identical to ND 5459 (No. 24) dated a day later. This suggests strongly that the month name in l. 15 should be restored as Addaru, meaning that this docket was written the same day as No. 20.

#### Commentary

Like No. 20, an interest-less loan in the first instance, followed by 50% interest in case of failure to repay at that stage.

## 22

## Grain loan

ND 5476/2 (BM)

Copy: Plate 7 (JNP)

Triangular docket: (4.9) x 6.9 x 2.5 cm.

One string-hole top centre

27.[XII].661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16 with ND 5475 dockets

#### Sealing

*Figs. 16–17; Plate I*

On Obv. after l. 4 a probable stamp seal impression, no detail preserved. On Rev. cylinder seal impressed as stamp at 90° angle to the written text; 0.9 x 2.2 cm.

*Design:* Only one figure of the cylinder seal composition is shown here, a male worshipper facing left with one hand raised and one extended in the gesture of adoration. A thin raised line is visible at the top of the impression as well as the upper seal edge.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 17. No. 22, Reverse (S. Herbordt)

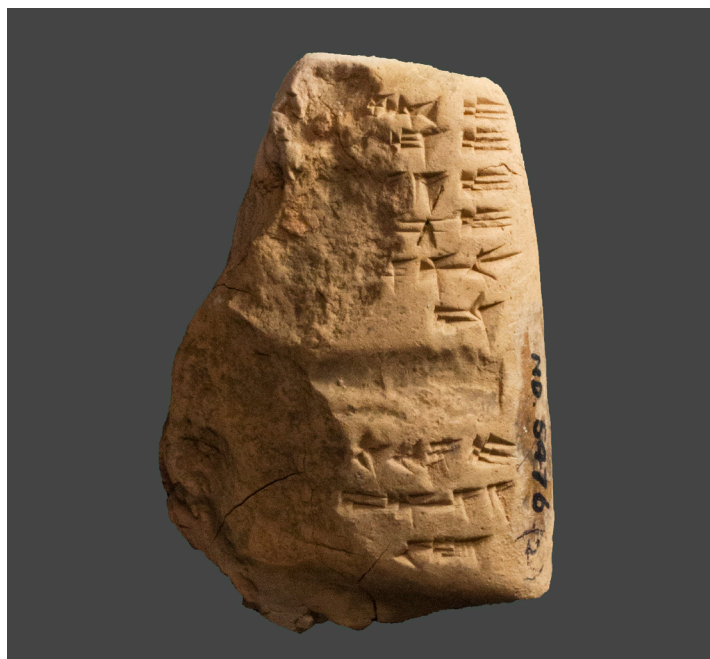


Figure 16. No. 22, Reverse (E. Schmidtchen. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

- Obv. 1 <sup>1</sup>2<sup>1</sup> ANŠE Š[E.PAD.MEŠ *in*]a GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
 2 [*in*]a 1 qa š[a aš-šur-a-a] ša <sup>d</sup>[AG]  
 3 *ina pa-an* [<sup>1</sup> x x x x ]x DUMU <sup>1</sup>x[ x x x (x x)]  
 4 [*a-n*]a p[u]-u-[*hi i*]t-t[*i-ši*]

stamp seal impression?

- 5 *a-n*[a SAG.DU-šá *ina*] *ad-ri*  
 6 SUM-a[n šumma la] <sup>1</sup>i-d<sup>1</sup>[*in*]  
 7 *a-na* [1 ANŠE xBÁN-a-a]  
 8 *ta-<sup>1</sup>rab<sup>1</sup>-[bi]*  
 Rev. 9 IG[I <sup>1</sup>nu-u]r-ti-i  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI[*TI*].LA-i  
 11 [IGI] <sup>1</sup>[*da-*]a-a-i  
 12 [IGI <sup>1</sup>.<sup>d</sup>P]A-I  
 13 [IGI <sup>1</sup>AD-l]a-maš-ši  
 14 [IGI <sup>1</sup>ur]-du

cylinder seal impression

- 15 [ITI.ŠE] UD.27.KÁM\*  
 16 [*lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>.ur]<sup>u</sup>arba-il-a-a  
 17 [ L]Ú\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup>2<sup>2</sup> homers of bar[ley (measured) b]y the 9 *qû sūtu* o[f the Assyrians], belonging to [Nabu],  
<sup>3</sup> at the disposal of [PN<sub>1</sub>], son of [PN<sub>2</sub>]. He [has taken (it) on] lo[an]. <sup>5</sup>He shall deliver (it) [at] the threshing floor at [its capital (amount)]. If he did not deliver (it), it will increase at [x *sūtu* per homer].

<sup>9</sup>Witness [Nu]rti, witness [Ba]laṭi, [witness D]ayi, [witness Na]bu-na'id, [witness Abu-]l]amašši, [witness Ur]du.

<sup>15</sup> [Month of Addaru (XII)], 27<sup>th</sup> day, [eponymate of] Arbailayu, the steward.

#### Notes

13: this name is restored as Abu-lamašši (rather than Aḥu-lamašši) in the light of No. 49:7'.

#### Commentary

Grain loan with zero interest initially, repayment at the threshing floor, and interest charged at a rate now lost in the event of failure to repay on time. Identity of borrower lost.

## 23

## Grain loan

ND 5449 (=IM 59901)

Copy: Plate 8 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXIX)

Triangular docket: 6 x 6.5 cm.

One string-hole top centre

27.XII.661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16 [as 5447]

#### Sealing

Impression of stamp seal after l. 3 on Obv., and impressions of same seal after l. 12 on Rev.

Obv. 1 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* 9  
 2 'ina<sup>1</sup> 1 *qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša* <sup>d</sup>AG  
 3 *ina pa-an* <sup>1</sup>PAB-*la-maš-ši* LÚ\*.ENGAR

seal impression

4 *a-na pu-u-ḫi it-ti-ši*  
 5 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-*a-*'a<sup>1</sup>  
 6 *ta-rab-b[i]*  
 7 IGI <sup>1</sup>*bi-s[u-ni]*  
 8 IGI <sup>1</sup>*nu-ur-t[i-i]*  
 Rev. 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-*i*  
 10 IGI <sup>1,d</sup>AG-I  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>*re-mut*-DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*  
 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>*da-a-[a-]*'i<sup>1</sup>  
 (seal impressions)

- 13 ITI.ŠE [U]D.27.KÁM\*  
14 *li-mu* <sup>r11</sup>[(<sup>urru</sup>)*arba-il-a-a*]  
15 LÚ\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 3 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Aḫu-lamašši, the farmer. <sup>4</sup> He has taken (it) on loan, It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>7</sup> Witness Bis[uni], witness Nurt[i], witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Remut-ilani, witness Dayi.

<sup>13</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 27<sup>th</sup> day. Eponymate of [Arbailayu], the steward.

#### Notes

13: despite the transliteration in *Iraq* 19, the copy has a clear 27, rather than 28.

#### Commentary

Loan with 20% interest from the start, and no repayment date specified. The witness list shares four names with the majority of loan texts from the 26–28<sup>th</sup> Addaru.

## 24

### Grain loan

ND 5459 (BM)

Copy: Plate 8 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXVIII)

Triangular docket: 5.8 x 6.9 x 2.1 cm.

One string-hole top centre

28.XII.661

Provenance: Nabu Temple Room 16

#### Sealing

*Fig. 18; Plate V*

Two rectangular seal impressions on Obv. and two seal impressions on the Rev., of which only the seal edges are visible; 1.75 x 1.6 cm.

*Design:* A goat with front legs folded slightly inward faces right. Above a crescent moon and below an eye-shaped filling motif.

*Comparisons:* Goats appear quite frequently on Neo-Assyrian stamp seals. Further examples of rectangular stamp seals come from Nimrud, Parker 1955, pl. 19, 5; from Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, No. 476.

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 191 Nimrud 80; pl. 16, 18.

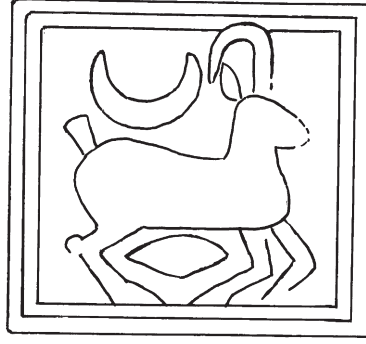


Figure 18. No. 24, Reverse (S. Herbordt)

- Obv. 1 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* 9 *ina* 1 *qa*  
 2 *ša aš-š[ur]-a-a ša* <sup>d</sup>AG *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>ar-za-a-ni  
 3 DUMU <sup>r1</sup>[x x]x-ni LÚ\*.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>

2 rectangular seal impressions

- 4 *a-na pu-[u-hi it-t]i-ši*  
 5 *a-na* 1 <sup>r</sup>ANŠE 2BÁN<sup>1</sup>-a-a  
 6 *ta-rab-bi*  
 Rev. 7 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i  
 8 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-i  
 9 IGI <sup>1,d</sup>PA-I  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>da-a-a-i  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du  
 12 [IGI <sup>1,d</sup>]PA-kib-si-PAB  
 2 rectangular seal impressions

- 13 ITI.ŠE UD.28.KÁM\*  
 14 *li-mu* <sup>1,uru</sup>arba-il-a-a  
 15 LÚ\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 3 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Arzanu, son of [...], the doorkeeper. <sup>4</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>7</sup> Witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Dayi, witness Urdu, witness Nabu-kibsi-ušur.

<sup>15</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 28<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Arbailayu, the steward.

### Commentary

Loan with 20% interest from the start, and no repayment date specified. The witness list is identical to that in No. 21.

25

Grain loan

ND 5452 (BM)

Copy: Plate 9 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXXII)

Triangular docket: 5.3 x 6.5 cm

One string-hole top centre.

28.XII.661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, on top of cut down wall

*Sealing*

*Fig. 19; Plate IV*

Two oval seal impressions on the Obv. and two on the Rev. (here at a 180° angle to the written text); 1.7 x 0.8 cm. Although three persons are named as debtors, all leather workers, only one seal was used on the docket.

*Design:* A reclining, winged, and bearded sphinx facing left. At the left edge is a cross-and-ball symbol. The seal shows pronounced use of the drill.

*Comparisons:* Herbordt 1992, p. 241 Ninive 148; pl. 15, 18; p. 251 Ninive 196; pl. 15, 20; Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 66 nos. 463; 465; 466; from Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, nos. 456–461.

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 191 Nimrud 79; pl. 15, 19.

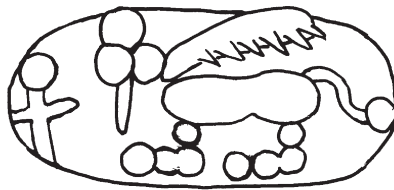


Figure 19. No. 25 (S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 5 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
 2 *ina* 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša <sup>d</sup>AG  
 3 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>GÌR.2–<sup>d</sup>15 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i  
 4 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>re-mu-ú-a LÚ.AŠGAB.MEŠ  
 5 ša LÚ.EN.NAM ša <sup>uru</sup>kal-ḫi

2 oval stamp seal impressions

6 *a-na* pu-u-ḫi it-ta-ṣu  
 7 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 4BÁN-a-a  
 8 ta-rab-bi  
 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>ga-lul LÚ.SIMUG KÙ.GI  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>man-n[u-ki]–AD

- B.E. 11 LÚ.ʽNÍG¹.BÙR.BÙR  
 Rev. 12 IGI ¹<sup>d</sup>*gu-la*–KAR-*ir*  
 13 LÚ.SIMUG AN.BAR  
 14 IGI ¹PAB–*ba-ni* LÚ.ʽ [ ( ) ]  
 15 IGI ¹*ha-am-bar-ru* LÚ\*.NU.GIŠ.SAR  
 16 IGI ¹*suk-ka-a-a* ʽLÚ\*¹.TÚG.[BABBARʽ]  
 17 IGI ¹<sup>d</sup>U.G[UR]–KAR-*ir*

2 oval stamp seal impressions

- 18 ITI.ŠE UD.28.KÁM\*  
 19 *li-mu* ¹<sup>umu</sup>*arba-il-a-a*  
 20 LÚ\*.AGRIG

¹ 5 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, ³ at the disposal of Šepe-Ištar, at the disposal of Nurti, (and) at the disposal of Remua, the leather-workers of the Governor of Kalḫu. ⁶ They have taken (it) on loan. It will increase at 4 *sūtu* per homer.

⁹ Witness Gallulu, the goldsmith, witness Man[nu-ki]-abi, the stone-carver, witness Gula-eṭir, the ironsmith, witness Aḫu-bani, ditto (=ironsmith), witness Ḫambarru, the gardener, witness Sukkayu, the fuller?, witness Nergal-eṭir.

¹⁸ Month of Addaru (XII), 28<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Arbailayu, the steward.

#### Notes

4: although the profession was read as ZADIM in *Iraq* 19, the sign as copied is definitely closer to a Neo-Assyrian AŠGAB.

11: for this logogram (= *pallišu* ?) see Borger 2003, p. 446; CAD P, 68–9.

16: for this profession see note on No. 27:4.

#### Commentary

This transaction is unusual, in involving a variety of craftsmen both as borrowers and witnesses. Unusual also is the *ab initio* 40% interest rate without repayment date. This transaction is one of at least five which were concluded on the same day. With a further five loans dated to the previous two days (Nos. 19–23), one wonders whether the temple was encouraging borrowers at this time. Compare No. 30, which also has some of the same craftsman witnesses and multiple borrowers with a common profession.



26

Grain loan

ND 5456 (IM 59905)

Copy: Plate 9 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXXI)

Triangular docket: 4.5 x 5 cm.

28.XII.661

One string-hole top centre

Provenance: Nabu Temple Room 16. Depth ca. 3 m.

Sealing

Stamp seal impressions on Obv. and Rev.

- Obv. 1 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
2 *ina* 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša <sup>d</sup>AG  
3 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>PAB-SU LÚ\*.EN.NUN MURUB<sub>4</sub>

seal impressions

- 4 *a-na pu-u-ḫi it-ti-ši*  
5 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-*a-a*  
6 *ta-rab-bi*  
Rev. 7 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i  
8 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-i  
9 IGI <sup>1,d</sup>PA-I  
10 IGI <sup>1</sup>da-a-a-i

seal impressions

- 11 ITI.ŠE UD.28.KÁM\*  
12 *li-mu* <sup>1.uru</sup>arba-*il-a-a*  
13 LÚ\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 3 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at the disposal of Aḫu-eriba, the grove watchman. <sup>4</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>7</sup> Witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Dayi.

<sup>11</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 28<sup>th</sup> day. Eponymate of Arbailayu, the steward.

Notes

3: despite the logogram EN.NUN.MURUB<sub>4</sub> for the middle watch of the night (*qablītu(m)*, CAD Q, 5), MURUB<sub>4</sub> here must stand for the Neo-Assyrian word *qablu* which appears to refer to a tree plantation (CAD Q, 16, *qablu* C), and has a watchman in the Harran census (SAA 11.201.ii.39 <sup>lū</sup>ma-šar *qab-li*).

*Commentary*

Like Nos. 23 and 24, this was a loan with 20% interest from the start, and no repayment date specified. The four witnesses all regularly appear in the loans taken out at this time.

**27****Grain loan**

ND 5447 (BM)

Copy: Plate 9 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXVII)

Triangular docket, rather rectangular: 5.1 x 6.7 x 3.3 cm.

One string-hole, top centre.

28.XII.661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, on top of cut down wall.

*Sealing**Fig. 20; Plate II*

Cylinder seal impressed as a stamp twice on the Obv. and twice on the Rev. In all cases the seal is impressed at a 90° angle to the written text; 0.9 x 2.7 cm.

*Design:* The winged sun-disc over the spade-shaped symbol of Marduk (with one hanging tassel preserved). Over the sun-disc two sphere-shaped filling motifs.

*Commentary:* a PN Ahu-eriba is also attested as debtor (= seal owner) on a silver debt note from ZT, however using a different seal. See Herbordt 1992, p. 175 Nimrud 16; pl. 27, 5 (= ND 2081).

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 190f. Nimrud 78; pl. 4, 13.

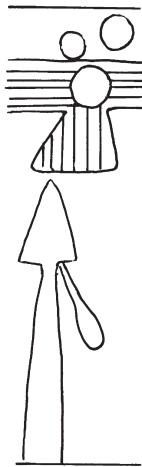


Figure 20. No. 27 (S. Herbordt)

- Obv. 1 6 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* 9  
 2 *ina* 1 *qa ša aš-šur-a-a* <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>A[G]  
 3 *ina pa-an* <sup>1</sup>PAB-SU DUMU <sup>1</sup>DUMU.ÚS-BÀD<sup>1</sup>  
 4 LÚ.TÚG.BABBAR *a-na pu-u-ḫi it-ti-ši*

2 cylinder seal impressions

- 5 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 3BÁN-šá *ina ad-ri* S[UM-a]*n*  
 6 *šum-ma la i-din*  
 7 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-*a-a*  
 8 *ta-rab-bi*  
 Rev. 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>ga-lul<sup>1</sup> LÚ\*.SIMUG.K[Ù.G]I  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-AD LÚ\*.NÍG.<sup>1</sup>BÙR.BÙR<sup>1</sup>  
 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>a-du-ni-i  
 13 LÚ\*.SIMUG ZABAR  
 14 IGI <sup>1</sup>dAG-I  
 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>tu-ta-a-a

2 cylinder seal impressions?

- 16 ITI.ŠE UD.28.KÁM\*  
 17 *li-mu* <sup>1</sup>.uru<sup>1</sup>arba-íl-a-a  
 18 LÚ\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 6 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at the disposal of Aḫu-eriba, the son of Aplu-duri, the fuller<sup>2</sup>. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>5</sup>He will deliver it at the threshing-floor at 3 *sūtu* per homer. If he did not deliver it, it will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>9</sup> Witness Nurti, witness Gallulu, the goldsmith, witness Mannu-ki-abi, the stone-carver, witness Aduni, the bronzesmith, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Tutayu.

<sup>16</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 28<sup>th</sup> day. Eponymate of Arbailayu, the steward.

#### Notes

3: BÀD confirmed by collation (JNP, June 2014).

4: for the profession LÚ.TÚG.BABBAR see also No. 25:16. If taken as AŠLAG=*ašlāku* it may mean a “fuller”, but there is reason to think that it may mean a “laundryman” more generally (see Postgate 2014, 408, 414); on another proposed reading see CAD P 538 s.v. *pūšaja*, with similar meaning. See also Baker 2017, 85. This Aḫu-eriba is not likely to be the same man as the borrower in No. 26 since the two transactions are on the same day.

10: the sign after *ga* is copied as *bur*, but see *Iraq* 19, 127 footnote 3 (“not *pur* as in copy”). Gallulu the goldsmith is a witness in No. 25:9.

15: the note “seal impressions obv. and rev. destroyed” (*Iraq* 19, 127) suggests that there may have been seal impressions between ll. 15 and 16.

### *Commentary*

A rather bigger loan than most, witnessed among others by three craftsmen (cf. Nos. 25 and 30). The loan attracts 30% interest on repayment after the harvest, and 50% if not repaid then.

**28**

### **Grain loan**

ND 5475/3 (IM 59911/3)

Transliteration: JNP

Triangular docket: 5.0 x 6.8 x 2.2 cm.

One string-hole top centre

28.[XII].661

Provenance: Found with No. 19 in Nabu Temple, Room 16.

### *Sealing*

*Fig. 21; Plate I*

Cylinder seal impression on the Obv.; ca. 1.9 x 2.0 cm (preserved on tablet).

*Design:* At center of the impression is a bull man(?) with raised arms holding the winged sun-disc with deity in the center. He is flanked on the left by a genie with a fish cloak and on the right by a worshipper. The genie raises his right and holds a *banduddu*-bucket in his left hand.

*Comparisons:* for the bull-man holding the winged sun-disc with deity in the center, two examples on cylinder seal impressions from Assur: Böhme 2014, pl. 57 no. Ist 76; Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl.56 no. 347; the seal of Ištar-duri (without provenance), Collon 1987, no. 343.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 21. No. 28, Obverse

(© The Iraq Museum)

Obv. 1 [x ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GI]Š.BÁN ša 9  
 2 [*ina* 1 qa aš-šur-a-a] ša <sup>d</sup>AG  
 3 *ina* [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x (x)]x-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 4 *a-na* [pu-u-*hi* it]-ti-ši

cylinder seal impression

5 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-a-[a]  
 6 *ta-rab-b*[i]  
 7 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i  
 8 LÚ.NAR [( )]  
 Rev. 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-i [( )]  
 10 <sup>1</sup>IGI <sup>1</sup>[<sup>d</sup>P]A<sup>?</sup>-[I<sup>?</sup>]  
 11–14 (break of about 4 lines)  
 15 [ITI.ŠE] UD.28.KÁM\*  
 16 *li-mu* <sup>1.umu</sup>*arba-il-a-a*  
 17 LÚ\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> [x homers of barley (measured) by] the 9 *qû sūtu* [of the Assyrians], belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at [the disposal of ...]-Babili. <sup>4</sup> He has [taken (it)] on [loan]. It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>7</sup> Witness Nurti, the musician, witness Balaṭi, witness [Na]bu-[na'id], (1 or more lines broken)

<sup>15</sup> [Month of Addaru (XII)], 28<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Arbailayu, the steward.

#### Notes

7–8: given that Nurti occurs so frequently at the head of the list of witnesses, it seems reasonable to take his profession here as LÚ.NAR= *nuāru* “musician”, not as LÚ.LUL= *parrišu* “criminal” (cf. CAD P, 191), and to deduce that he was a member of the temple staff. He is listed as the first witness with the same title in No. 45.

11–14: the odds are that this break included at least one more witness (e.g. Dayi), and possibly two, but some of the space was probably left blank for sealing.

#### Commentary

No doubt a straightforward barley loan with 20% interest from the start.

## 29

### Grain loan

ND 5476/6 (BM)

Copy: Plate 9 (JNP)

Triangular docket: 5.4 x 6.6 x 2.4 cm.

One string-hole top centre

[...].XII.661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

#### Sealing

Figs. 22–23; Plate I

On Obv. two frag. cylinder seals impressed as stamps at a 90° angle to the written text; on Rev.

the impression of a cylinder seal(?) is almost indistinguishable; 1.7 x 1.1 cm.

*Design:* The seal impressions on the Obv. show a genie facing left wearing a fish-cloak. Preserved is only the upper body with part of the arms. In the upper field behind the head of the genie the tail end of a fish. Probably identical to No. 42 (= ND 5476/6). There the debtor (= seal owner) is A]tamar-ana-Nabu(?).

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 22. No. 29, Obverse (E. Schmidtchen.  
Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 23. No. 29 (S. Herbordt)

- Obv. 1 [x ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ ina] GIŠ.[BÁN ša 9]  
 2 [ina 1 qa ša aš-šur-a]-a [ša <sup>d</sup>AG]  
 3 [ina IGI/pa-an <sup>1</sup>]DI-[x x x (x x)]  
 4 i[na<sup>?</sup> pu-u-*hi*] it-[ti-š*i*]

2 cylinder seal impressions

- 5 a-na 1 AN[ŠE 2BÁN<sup>?</sup>]-a-a ta-ra[b-bi]  
 6 IGI <sup>1</sup>a-bat-tu  
 7 IGI <sup>1</sup>pi-la-qu  
 8 IGI <sup>1</sup>il-ta-ku-u-a  
 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-t[i-]i  
 B.E. 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>  
 Rev. 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>dAG-I  
 12 IGI [<sup>1</sup>x x x]-a  
 13 IGI [<sup>1</sup>x x x]-su-PAB

- 14 IGI <sup>1</sup>[x x x]-i  
 15 <sup>1</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup> <sup>1.d</sup>rBE<sup>2</sup>-sa<sup>2</sup>-kip<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>

cylinder seal impression

- 16 ITI.ŠE UD.[x.KÁM\*]  
 17 [li]m-me <sup>1.uru</sup>arba-il-a-a [(LÚ\*.AGRIG)]

<sup>1</sup> [x homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû*] *sû*[tu] of the Assyrian[s], [belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at the disposal of] P[N. He] has [taken (it)] o[n loan]. <sup>5</sup> It will in[crease] at [2<sup>2</sup> *sûtu*] per homer.  
<sup>6</sup> Witness Abattu, witness Pilaqu, witness Iltakua, witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness [...].a, witness [...].su-uṣur<sup>2</sup>, witness [...].i, witness Enlil<sup>2</sup>-sakup.  
<sup>16</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), [...].th day, [epo]nymate of Arbailayu [(, the steward)].

#### Notes

4: the first sign of this line cannot be *a*.

8: this PN is possibly the same as Il-taka (wr. DINGIR-*ta-ka-a*, PNA 2/I, 525).

13: the name Nabu-kibsi-uṣur is written with a -*su* in ND 2308 (see Gentili, PNA2/II, 841); a man of this name acts as witness in Nos. 21, 24, 37, 40 and 48.

#### Commentary

This docket is noticeably different from most of the others, not only in the list of witnesses but also in other respects. Unusually, though not uniquely, the scribe has written on the bottom edge of the docket, in l. 4 he seems to have written *ina* (and not *ana*) *pūḫi*, and in l. 17 we have *lim-me* (and not *li-mu*). In the other dockets *tarabbi* usually has a line to itself. In fact, what this shows up is the consistency of the other dockets which suggests that they were all written by one person. In the witness list we have three of the usual suspects in ll. 9–11, but there are three unfamiliar names in ll. 6–8 — possibly they were associated with the borrower.

## 30

### Grain loan with harvester liability

ND 5469 (=IM 59909)

Copy: Plate 10 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXIX)

Triangular docket, close to rectangular: 5 x 7 cm.

[x.].XII.661

One string hole top centre

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

*Sealing*: Stamp seal impressions after l. 7 on Obv., possibly also on Rev. after l. 21.

- Obv. 1 3 ANŠE <sup>1</sup>3<sup>1</sup> [<sup>lú\*</sup>e-ṣi-di *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x x)]  
 2 <sup>lú\*</sup>mu-[šá-kil x x x x (x x)]  
 3 3 ANŠE 3 <sup>1</sup>[<sup>lú\*</sup>e-ṣi-di *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x x)]



- 4 <sup>lú\*</sup>*mu-šá-[kil x x x (x x)]*  
 5 4 ANŠE 4 <sup>lú</sup>*[e-ši-di ina IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x x)]*  
 6 DUMU <sup>1.Γd</sup>PA<sup>2</sup>-A-PAB<sup>1</sup> [x x x x (x x)]  
 7 *ina IG[I x (x)] i<sup>2</sup>-a <sup>1</sup>LÚ<sup>2</sup> x [x x (x x)]*

seal impressions

- 8 PAB 10 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ 10 <sup>lú\*</sup>*e-ši-di*  
 9 *ša <sup>d</sup>AG ina pa-ni-[šú-nu]*  
 10 *a-na pu-u-lī it-t[a-šu]*  
 11 *a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-a-a ta-GA[L-b]i*  
 12 ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *a-na ad-ri*  
 B.E. 13 <sup>lú</sup>*e-ši-di*  
 14 *a-na e-ša-di*  
 Rev. 15 *i-du-nu šum-ma la i-di-nu*  
 16 *a-na mit-l̄har i-rab-bi-ú*  
 17 <sup>1</sup>*ki-qi-la-nu* EN ŠU.2.MEŠ  
 18 *ša ŠE.PAD.MEŠ*  
 19 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ga-lul LÚ\*.SIMUG AN.BAR*  
 20 IGI <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki-AD LÚ\*.NÍG.BÙR.BÙR*  
 21 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>*gu-la-KAR-ir LÚ\*.SI[MU]G AN.BAR*

space for seal impressions

- 22 IGI <sup>1</sup>*PAB-ba-ni [x x x x]*  
 23 IGI <sup>1</sup>*tu-ta-a-a [x x x x]*  
 24 ITI.ŠE [UD.x.KÁM\*]  
 25 *li-mu <sup>1.ur</sup>[<sup>u</sup>arba-ìl-a-a]*

<sup>1</sup> 3 homers, 3 [harvesters, at the disposal of PN<sub>1</sub>], the [bird<sup>2</sup>-feed]er; <sup>3</sup> 3 homers, 3 [harvesters, at the disposal of PN<sub>2</sub>], the [bird<sup>2</sup>-fe]eder; <sup>5</sup> 4 homers, 4 harvesters, at the disposal of PN<sub>3</sub>], son of Nabu<sup>2</sup>-aplu-ušur, [.....] .....

<sup>8</sup> Total 10 homers of barley, 10 harvesters, belonging to Nabu, at [their] disposal. They have ta[ken (them)] on loan. It will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer. <sup>12</sup> They shall deliver the barley at the threshing-floor, (and) the harvesters at the harvest. If they did not deliver (them), they will increase at parity.

<sup>17</sup> Kiqilanu is the guarantor of the barley.

<sup>19</sup> Witness Gallulu, ironsmith, witness Mannu-ki-abi, stone-carver, witness Gula-eṭir, ironsmith, witness Aḫu-bani, [.....], witness Tutayu, [.....].

<sup>24</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), [nth day], eponymate of [Arbailayu].

#### Notes

2, 4: it seems probable, if not certain, that these two borrowers had the same profession. This was

possibly “bird-feeder” (*mušākil iššurē*), or “cattle-feeder” (*m. alpē*).

7: it is not obvious what could have stood in this line, but it must presumably have conveyed further information of some kind about the third borrower, or of all three borrowers collectively.

16: since ŠE.PAD.MEŠ stands for a feminine singular word it seems likely that the subject of *irabbi’ū* is both the grain and the harvesters.

19: a Gallulu, goldsmith, is listed among the witnesses to No. 27 immediately before Mannu-ki-abi, and is presumably the same man despite the discrepancy in the metal he works.

### Commentary

This loan is unusual in various respects, most obviously in the requirement to provide harvesters. One harvester is required for each homer loaned, a correlation which is also observed (approximately) in No. 41, the only other contract involving harvesters in this archive, where a loan of 1.1 homers is linked to one harvester. The transaction is also unique within the archive in having a guarantor for the barley (ll. 17–18). While it does not have the most regularly appearing group of witnesses (Nurti and company), it shares witnesses (Gallulu, Mannu-ki-abi and Gula-eṭir) with Nos. 25 and 27.

There is no obvious indication of why this was a collective loan document, given that each borrower’s loan is listed separately (and in one case higher than the others’).

## 31

### Grain loan

ND 5458 (BM)

Copy: Plate 10 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXVII)

Triangular docket: 5.0 x 6.6 x 2.6 cm.

One string-hole in top, slightly left of centre

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

[ x. x ].661

*Sealing:* Two impressions of a circular stamp seal on Obv., diam. 1.2 cm. Design indistinct. Probably also on Rev. between ll. 12 and 13, but no impression preserved here.

Obv. 1 2 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
 2 *ina* 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša <sup>d</sup>r AG<sup>1</sup>  
 3 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>kab-la–<sup>d</sup>IM DUMU <sup>1</sup>.<sup>d</sup>PA–MU–DÙ

2 stamp seal impressions

4 a-[n]a pu-u-*hi* it-ti-ši  
 5 a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> SAG.DU-šá *ina* ad-ri  
 6 SUM-an  
 7 šum-ma la i-din  
 Rev. 8 a-na 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-<sup>r</sup>a-a<sup>1</sup>  
 9 tar-b[i]  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-<sup>r</sup>tī-i<sup>1</sup>

11 [I]GI <sup>1</sup>TI.L[A-]i12 [I]GI <sup>1</sup>.rdAG-I<sup>1</sup>

space for seal impressions

13 [ITI.x UD.x.KÁM\*]

14 [li-mu <sup>1</sup>.uruarba-il]-a-a

15 [LÚ]\*.AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 2 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu* of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at the disposal of Kabla-Adad, son of Nabu-šumu-ibni. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>5</sup> He will deliver (it) at its capital on the threshing-floor. If he did not deliver (it then), it will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>10</sup> Witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id.

<sup>13</sup> [Month of . . . ., nth day, eponymate of Arbail]ayu, the Steward.

#### Notes

3: *kab* clear on collation.

12: collated.

13: the surviving surface here shows no signs, but it is possible the day and month were positioned in the breaks to each side.

#### Commentary

Repayment of the initial loan at harvest time, with interest at 20% imposed in case of late repayment.

## 32

## Grain loan

ND 5476/3 (BM)

Copy: Plate 10 (JNP)

Triangular docket: 4.8 x 6.1 x 2.7 cm.

One string-hole top centre. Abraded surface

[... ...].661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, with ND 5475.

#### Sealing

Blank space on Obv., no impression visible.

Obv. 1 3 'ANŠE ŠE<sup>1</sup>.PA[D.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša] 9

2 [*ina* 1] qa ša aš[-šur-a-a ša <sup>d</sup>A]G

3 [*ina* IGI] 'x[ x x x LÚ\*.]Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>

4 [*ina*] pu-[u-*hi* it-ti-ši]

- blank space, no impressions preserved
- 5 *a-[na 1 ANŠE] 2BÁN-a-a ʿtar-rab<sup>1</sup>-bi*
- 6 *IG[I<sup>1</sup>x (x)]-tu<sup>2</sup>*
- 7 *IG[I<sup>1</sup>nu-u]r-ti-i*
- 8 *[IGI<sup>1</sup>]TIL.A-i*
- Rev. 9 *IGI<sup>1</sup>PA-I*
- 10 *IGI<sup>1</sup>kas<sup>2</sup>-da-a-a*
- 11 *IGI<sup>1</sup>ʿil-ta<sup>1</sup>-ku-u-a*
- 12 *IGI<sup>1</sup>d[a-a-]a-i*
- 13 *IGI<sup>1</sup>[x x]x-a*
- 14 *ʿITIʿ[<sup>x</sup> UD.x.]KAM<sup>2</sup>*
- 15 *[l]im-me<sup>1</sup>ur[<sup>u</sup>arba-il]-a-a*
- 16 *[LÚ\*.AG]RIG GAL-u*

<sup>1</sup> 3 homers of barley [(measured) by the] 9 *qû* [*sūtu*] of the As[syrians, belonging to Na]bu, <sup>3</sup> [at the disposal of PN, the] doorkeeper. [He has taken (it)] on lo[an]. It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per [homer].

<sup>6</sup> Witness [...]*tu*, witness [Nu]rti, [witness] Balaṭi, witness Nabu-naʿid, witness Kasdayu, witness Iltakua, witness D[a]yi, witness [...]*a*.

<sup>14</sup> Month [of ..., n]th [day], eponymate of [Arbail]ayu, the Chief [Stew]ard.

#### Notes

3: the PN in this line may have begun with SUḪ[UŠ- .

5: the two signs before *bi* are very poorly preserved; *ta[r* is also possible.

6: possibly [Abat]*tu*, who features as the first witness in No. 29.

10: This PN is not attested elsewhere in this archive; is it a form of Kaldayu? The two diagonals seem too high for a BI (i.e. *kaš-*).

11: for this name see No. 29:8.

16: in this archive this eponym's title is usually just given as AGRIG "steward", without GAL-*u*.

#### Commentary

Simple barley loan with interest of 20% and no fixed repayment date.

### 33

### Grain loan

ND 5476/5 (BM)

Copy: Plate 11 (JNP)

Triangular docket: 4.3 x 6.1 x 2.2 cm.

One string-hole top centre.

[ x.x ].661

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

*Sealing**Figs. 24–25; Plate III*

Three very small, circular stamp seal impressions on Obv. Originally there were more, but part of the surface is broken away. Only one fragmentary seal impression is preserved on Rev.; diameter 0.8 cm.

*Design:* Stamp seal shows a small rosette with ten petals and a concave central point. The rosette is surrounded by a raised line.

*Comparisons:* Rosettes and/or star-shaped motifs are common on Neo-Assyrian stamp seals. See e.g., Herbordt 1992, pl. 11, 1–10; pl. 29, 7. From Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 18, nos. 75–77; pl. 19, no. 80; pl. 60, nos. 75–77, 80, 386B, 387–390. From Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, No. 323–337; 341–349. From Mardin, Herbordt 1992, p. 171 Mardin 1; pl. 29, 8.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 24. No.33, Obverse (E. Schmidtchen.  
Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

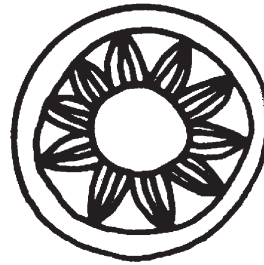


Figure 25. No.33 (S. Herbordt)

- Obv. 1 4 [ANŠE ŠE].<sup>1</sup>PAD<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ina GIŠ.[BÁN] ša 9  
 2 i[na 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a] ša <sup>d</sup>AG  
 3 in[a IGI/pa-an <sup>1</sup>x x ]x DUMU <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>PA  
 4 a-n[a pu-u-ḫi i]t-ti-ši

4 stamp seal impressions

- 5 a-na 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-šá ina ad-ri  
 6 SUM-an šum-ma la i-din  
 7 a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-a-a  
 8 ta-rab-bi  
 Rev. 9 [IG]I <sup>1</sup>bi-su-ni

- 10 [IGI <sup>1</sup>]nu-ur-t[i]-i
- 11 [IGI <sup>1</sup>]TI.ʿLA<sup>1</sup>-i
- 12 [IGI <sup>1</sup>].<sup>d</sup>AG-[I]
- 13 [IG]I <sup>1</sup>da-a-[a-i]  
seal impressions
- 14 [IT]I.[x UD.x.KÁM\*]
- 15 [l]i-[mu <sup>1.uru</sup>arba-il-a-a]
- 16 L[Ú\*].AGRIG

<sup>1</sup> 5 [homers of bar]ley (measured) by the] 9 qû [sūtu of the Assyrians], belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at [the disposal of PN], the son of Urad-Nabu. He has taken (it) on [loan]. He shall deliver (it) at the threshing-floor at 2 sūtu per homer. <sup>6</sup> If he did not deliver it (then), it will increase at 5 sūtu per homer.

<sup>9</sup> [Witn]ess Bisuni, [witness] Nurti, [witness] Balaṭi, [witness] Nabu-[naʿid], witness Day[i].

<sup>14</sup> [Month of ....., nth day], epon[ymate of Arbailayu], the steward.

### Commentary

Barley loan with 20% interest initially, to be repaid at the threshing-floor, but 50% interest if repayment is not made on time.

34

### Grain loan

ND 5464 (IM 59907)

Copy: Plate 11 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXXI)

5.2 x 6 cm.

[...].II.659

One string-hole top centre

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, in the tip, beside wall.

- Obv. 1 1 ANŠE 2BÁN ina IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-kib-si-PAB  
 2 5BÁN ina IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-I  
 3 PAB 1 ANŠE 7BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ ina GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
 4 ša <sup>d</sup>PA ša <sup>uru</sup>kal-ḫi  
 5 ina IGI-šú-nu ina pu-u-ḫi it-ta-ṣu

seal impressions

- 6 ina ad-ri a-na 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-šá  
 7 SUM-an šum-ma la i-din  
 8 a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-šá  
 Rev. 9 ta-rab-bi  
 10 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-I  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i

- 12 IGI 'TI-*i*  
 13 IGI 'ur-*du*  
 14 ITI.GUD UD.[x.KÁM\*]  
 15 *lim-mu* 'si-*lim*—[aš-šur]  
 16 LÚ.SUKKAL 2

<sup>1</sup> 1.2 homers at the disposal of Nabu-kibsi-ušur. 0.5 homer at the disposal of Nabu-na'id.

<sup>3</sup> Total: 1.7 homers of barley, in the 9 <qû> *sūtu* <of the Assyrians>, belonging to Nabu of the city of Kalḫu, at their disposal. They have taken (it) on loan. <sup>6</sup> He' shall deliver (it) at 2 *sūtu* per homer. If he' did not deliver it (then), it will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>10</sup> Witness Nabu-na'id, witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Urdu.

<sup>14</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), [n]th day, eponymate of Silim-[Aššur], the Deputy Chancellor.

#### Notes

3: the regular phrase *ina 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a* has been omitted by the scribe after this line.

6–7: the singular verbs are curious here. Is this carelessness on the part of the scribe, or should we assume that one of the two borrowers is assuming liability for the repayment of both debts? Cf. No. 16.

8: in this phrase 5BÁN would normally be followed by the distributive *–a-a*.

10: it is unclear whether this is the same person as the second borrower, or there were two men with the same name.

12: this name is usually written TI.LA-*i* but the writing without LA is also found in No. 35.

#### Commentary

The two borrowers in this contract, Nabu-kibsi-ušur and Nabu-na'id, are very likely the men of these names who appear as witnesses in other grain loan dockets. Their role in those texts rather suggests that they may have been members of the temple staff, or otherwise regularly available to act as witnesses, so that we may have here a loan handed out by the temple to its own personnel, a situation closely parallel to No. 35. In that case, it is intriguing that the terms are not particularly generous: interest of 20% is charged from the start, and this rises to 50% if payment does not take place at the threshing-floor as required.

## 35

## Grain loan

ND 5476/1 (BM)

Copy: Plate 11 (JNP)

Triangular docket: 5.2 x (5.4) x 2.3 cm

1.III.659

One string-hole top centre

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, found with ND 5475

#### Sealing

*Figs. 26–27; Plate III*

One small, circular, fragmentary stamp seal impression on surviving uninscribed part of Obv.; diameter 0.6 cm.



*Design:* Weathered seal impression showing one thick, raised line.

*Comparisons:* here No. 97 (ND 3445 = Herbordt 1992, p. 186 Nimrud 60; pl. 11, 21); from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, p. 216 Ninive 42; pl. 11, 20; p. 216 Ninive 42b; pl. 11, 22; from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 62 no. 415.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 26. No.35, Obverse (E. Schmidtchen. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

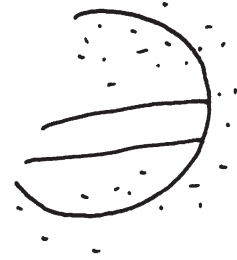


Figure 25. No.35 (S. Herbordt)

- Obv. 1 1 ANŠE 5BÁN *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>A-*ia*  
 2 1[ ANŠE 5BÁN? *ina* IGI] <sup>1</sup>TI-*i*  
 3 [PAB 3(?) ANŠE ŠE.PAD.M]EŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9  
 4 [ša <sup>d</sup>AG *ina*] *pa-ni-šú-nu*

space for seal impressions

- 5 [*a-na pu-u-ḫi it-ṭa-ṣu*  
 6 [*a-na* 1 ANŠE xBÁN]-šá  
 (bottom damaged, but possibly not inscribed)  
 Rev. 7 *ta-ṛab<sup>1</sup>-bi*  
 8 IGI <sup>1,d</sup>PA-PAB.MEŠ-SU  
 9 IGI <sup>1,d</sup>PA-I  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-*i*  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du  
 12 ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD.1.KÁM\*  
 13 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>si-lim-aš-šur  
 14 LÚ.SUKKAL 2-ú

<sup>1</sup> 1.5 homers at the disposal of Aplaya. 1[.5<sup>2</sup> homers at the disposal of] Balaṭi. <sup>3</sup> [Total: 3<sup>2</sup> homers of bar]ley, in the 9 (*qû*) *sūtu*, [belonging to Nabu, at] their disposal. They have ta[ken (it) on loan]. <sup>6</sup> It will increase at [x *sūtu* per homer].

<sup>8</sup> Witness Nabu-aḥḫe-eriba, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Nurti, witness Urdu.

<sup>12</sup> Month of Simanu (III), 1<sup>st</sup> day, eponymate of Silim-Aššur, the Deputy Chancellor.

#### Notes

1: Aplaya is also found in No. 37 as a witness (3 years later).

2: The spacing of the signs in this line matches that in l. 1 very closely, and suggests that the broken part also matched l. 1. It cannot be certain that here too the loan was of 1.5 homers, but it seems probable and l. 3 has been tentatively restored accordingly. Balaṭi appears frequently as a witness, and his absence from the witness list here suggests that it is indeed the same man. This writing of the name (without the LA) is also used in No. 34:12.

3–4: as in No. 34 the scribe (perhaps Urdu, since he is listed last in each case) has not bothered to include the otherwise standard phrase *ina 1 qa ša aš-šur-a-a*. That this occurs twice suggests that the omission was intentional.

6: the rate of interest was very likely 20%, but cf. No. 25 which has 40% in a similar context with multiple borrowers.

12: this line is slightly indented by comparison with the lines before and after it, and the same feature recurs in No. 34.

#### Commentary

There are a number of ways in which this text resembles No. 34. It comes from the same month and year, and in each case there are two borrowers, one at least of whom features among the archive's regular pool of witnesses. In each case the phrase identifying the *qû* in use as "of the Assyrians" is omitted. The suspicion that the same scribe is responsible for each document is strengthened by the indentation of the first line of the date (see note on l. 12).

The transactions are not however identical. In this case, despite the broken state of the text, it is probable that the only interest mentioned is an initial rate (perhaps, but not certainly, 20%), without provision for failure to repay, in contrast to No. 34 where a higher rate is specified in case of failure to repay at the threshing-floor.

36

Grain loan

ND 5450 (IM 59902)

Copy: Plate 12 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXIX)

Triangular docket: 5 x 6.5 cm.

One string-hole top centre

5.X.659

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16. Top of cut down wall

*Sealing*

Impressions on Obv. after l. 4; no further details.

- Obv. 1 2 ANŠE 5BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 2 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* 9  
 3 *ša* <sup>d</sup>PA *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>PA–MU–PAB  
 4 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–*tak-lak*  
 seal impressions
- 5 *ina pu-u-ḫi it-ti-ši*  
 6 *ina ad-ri*  
 7 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN–*šá*
- Rev. 8 SUM–*an*  
 9 *šum-ma la i-din*  
 10 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 5BÁN–*šá*  
 11 *ta-rab-bi*  
 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>nu–ur–ti–i  
 13 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI–i  
 14 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–I  
 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>pu–uš–ḫi  
 16 ITI.AB UD.5.KÁM\*  
 17 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>si–lim–<sup>r</sup>aš–šur<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2.5 homers of barley (measured) by the 9 (*qû*) *sūtu*, belonging to Nabu, belonging to Nabu-šumu-ušur, <sup>4</sup> at the disposal of Nabu-taklak. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>6–8</sup> He shall deliver (it) at the threshing-floor at 2 *sūtu* per homer. <sup>9</sup> If he did not deliver (it then), it will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Pušḫi.

<sup>16</sup> Month of Kanunu (X), 5<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Silim-Aššur.

*Notes*

10: here, in contrast to most of the documents (e.g. No. 34) which use the distributive –*a-a* before *iddan*, but normally use –*šá* before *tarabbi*, –*šá* is used in both contexts. This is also the case in Nos. 39–40. The alternation (between –*šá* and –*a-a*) does not seem to be very meaningful.

*Commentary*

At first sight, a normal grain loan. However, “by the Assyrian *qû*” is omitted (as also in Nos. 34 and 35), and this is one of the two or three texts in this archive where the name of a human “creditor” is listed alongside “the god Nabu”. Nabu-šumu-ušur is a common name but a man holding it is known as the priest (*šangû*) of Nabu between 661 and 621/616 BC (PNA 2/II, p. 892-3 entry 10). In this archive he is presumably the borrower in No. 14, and the creditor here in No. 36, although this transaction dates to 667 BC while his earliest explicit mention as “priest” is in 655 BC (No. 3 as witness).

37

**Grain loan with pledge of woman**

ND 5448 (IM 59900)

Copy: Plate 12 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXVIII)

Large triangular docket; 7 x 8 cm.

One string-hole top centre

26.I.656

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

*Sealing*: Three impressions of a stamp seal showing “large bird” (*Iraq* 19, 128) on the Obv., but apparently none (and no space dedicated to sealing) on the Rev.

- Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>TE-*a-a* DUMU <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-*ti-i*  
 2 LÚ.KA.KÉŠ *ša* MUNUS.É.GAL  
 3 21 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* 9  
 4 *ša* <sup>d</sup>AG

3 stamp seal impressions

- 5 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>*su-ka-a-a*  
 6 *ina* *pu-u-ḫi i-ti-ši*  
 7 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-*šá*  
 8 *ina* *ad-ri* SUM-*an*  
 9 50 *ma-qar-rat*.MEŠ  
 10 *ša* ŠE.IN.NU.MEŠ  
 11 *is-se-niš*  
 12 *a-na* SAG.DU-*šá*  
 Rev. 13 SUM-*an*  
 14 BE-*ma la* SUM-*ni*  
 15 *a-na* *mit-ḫar ta-GAL-bi*  
 16 <sup>munus</sup>*li-i'-ba-a-si*  
 17 MUNUS-šú *ina* *šá-par-te šá-kín-at*  
 18 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15 LÚ\*.SANGA  
 19 IGI <sup>1</sup>*a-ba-tu*

- 20 IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-MAN-PAB <sup>lú</sup>šá UGU É  
 21 IGI <sup>1</sup>na-a'-di-i LÚ\*.UŠ.BAR  
 22 IGI <sup>1</sup>DUMU.ÚS-a-a  
 23 IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-kib-si-PAB  
 24 IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-PAB LÚ\*.A.BA  
 25 IGI <sup>1</sup>BÀD-ma-ki-<sup>d</sup>15  
 26 IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-SUM-MU LÚ\*.A.BA  
 27 ITI.BARAG UD.26.KÁM\*  
 28 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>mil-ki-ra-me  
 29 LÚ\*.GAL KA.KÊŠ

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Sukkayu, son of Nurti, the Queen's Tailor.

<sup>3</sup> 21 homers of grain (measured) by the *sūtu* of 9 (*qû*), belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Sukkayu. <sup>6</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. He will deliver (it) on the threshing-floor at 5 *sūtu* per homer. <sup>9-13</sup> He shall deliver 50 bales of straw together with (it) as its capital. If he did not deliver (it then), it will increase at parity. <sup>16</sup> Li'basi, his wife, is placed in pledge.

<sup>18</sup> Witness Urad-Ištar, the priest, witness Abattu, witness Nabu-šarru-ušur, the overseer of the house, witness Na'di, the weaver, witness Aplaya, witness Nabu-kibsi-ušur, witness Nabu-našir, the scribe, witness Dur-maki-Ištar, witness Nabu-nadin-šumi, the scribe.

<sup>27</sup> Month of Nisannu, 26<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Milki-rame, the Chief Tailor.

#### Notes

4: "of the Assyrians" here omitted.

5: the common name Sukkayu is here written syllabically, but as <sup>1</sup>TE-a-a in l. 1, thus providing a second "mathematical" proof that this is the correct reading of the name (cf. PNA 3/I, 1154).

#### Commentary

This transaction is unusual in various respects. It is larger than the other dockets, no doubt because of the length of the text it has to carry. It has a seal caption (ll. 1–2), and a clause pledging the borrower's wife (ll. 16–17). The requirement to supply 50 bales of straw is unique to this text. With these extra conditions, and an initial interest rate of 50% followed rapidly (given the month) by a rate of 100% in case of late repayment, this is a much less generous loan than most (as already observed by Parker in the *editio princeps*). Was the queen's tailor thought to be an unreliable debtor — or merely a well-heeled one?

ND 5476/9 (BM)

Copy: Plate 12 (JNP)

Triangular docket inscribed parallel to long axis: (5.1) x 4.0 x 2.2 cm.

String-hole at each left-hand corner, some string survives

20[(+n).II.6[55]

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16.

*Sealing**Figs. 28–29; Plate V*

Oval stamp seal impression on Rev. at end of text impressed at 90° angle to the writing. Only one seal impression preserved, most of Rev. is broken away; 1.4 x 1.0 cm.

*Design:* Stamp with image of a fish. Shape of seal impression indicates a duck-shaped seal.

*Commentary:* The same debtor, Nabu-šarḫu-ubašša, seals with a different stamp seal on another grain loan from the NT (pl. 4, no. 18).

*Comparisons:* duck-shaped stamp seal from TW 53 in Nimrud, Parker 1955, pl. 18, 2; seal impressions from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, p. 226f. Ninive 84; pl. 17, 17; p. 228 Ninive 91; pl. 17, 19; p. 235 Ninive 119; pl. 17, 16; p. 237f. Ninive 131; pl. 17, 18. From Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 66, no. 462; Böhme 2014, pl. 66 no. Ist 21; Haller 1954, pl. 17c; from Khorsabad, Loud & Altman 1938, pl. 58, 101; from Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, no. 464; from Babylon, Jakob-Rost 1975, no. 386.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 28. No.38, Reverse (E. Schmidtchen. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

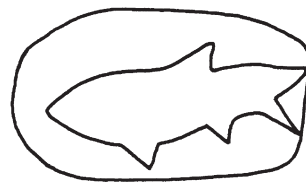


Figure 29. No.38 (S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 2 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.M[EŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN]  
 2 *ša* 9 *qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša* <sup>r</sup>dAG<sup>1</sup>  
 3 *ina pa-an* <sup>1</sup>.dPA-šar-*hu-ú-ba-š[a]*  
 4 *ina pu-u-*hi* i-ti-ši* [( )]  
 5 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-*a-a tar-b[i]*  
 6 *ina lib-bi ad-ri i-[da-an]*  
 7 ITI.GUD UD.20[(+x).KÁM\*]  
 B.E. 8 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>a-  
 Rev. 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>T[I<sup>?</sup>.LA-*i* (?)]  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>x[  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>.d[  
 (1 or more stamp seal impressions)  
 (remainder of Rev. uninscribed)

<sup>1</sup> 2 homers of barley (measured) [by] the 9 *qû* [*sūtu*] of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, <sup>3</sup> at the disposal of Nabu-šarḫu-ubašša. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>5</sup> It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer, he shall [deliver (it)] at the threshing-floor.

<sup>7</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 20[(+x)th], eponymate of A[myanu (.....).  
 (remainder lost)

#### Notes

7–8: here, as in No. 16 and No. 40, the date precedes the witnesses.

8: as far as I can see, there is rather surprisingly only one eponym name in the right chronological bracket which could begin with *a-* (or *A-*), and that is Amyanu for 655 BC.

#### Commentary

A simple loan with interest of 20% from the date of the transaction (April/May. so very close to harvest), and no provision for a higher rate in case of non-payment.

## 39

### Grain loan

ND 5476/8 (BM)

Copy: Plate 13 (JNP)

Triangular docket: (4.2) x 6.2 x 2.2 cm.

One string-hole, towards the right-hand side of the top

[...].IX.653

Provenance: Found with 5475 in Nabu Temple, Room 16

#### Sealing

Figs. 30–31; Plate VI

Two oval stamp seal impressions on Obv.; 1.5 x 0.9 cm.

*Design:* in the upper field a fan-shaped motif separated by a raised line from an eight pronged star in the field beneath. A thin, raised line outlines the seal design. A deep groove at the edges



indicates that the setting of the seal was also impressed.

The outline of the impressed seals indicates that a scarab or scaraboid stamp seal was used. Both the motifs and the dividing line separating the field into two areas are not characteristically Assyrian and suggest a pseudo-Egyptian seal type.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 31. No.39 (S. Herbordt)

Figure 30. No.39, Obverse (E. Schmidtchen.

Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

- Obv. 1 [x ANŠE ŠE.PAD].MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁ[N ša 9]  
 2 *in*[a 1 qa ša aš-šur]-a-a  
 3 š[a <sup>d</sup>AG *ina* IGI] <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-G[IN<sup>?</sup> (x)]  
 4 L[Ú\*. x x š]a É.GA[L]

2 stamp seal impressions

- 5 *ina pu-u-ḫi it-ti-ši*  
 6 *ina ad-ri a-na* SAG.DU-šá  
 7 SUM-an šum-ma la i-<sup>r</sup>din<sup>1</sup>  
 8 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-šá  
 Rev. 9 *ta-rab-bi*  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>a-[x x ]x  
 11 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>[x x (x)]  
 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>pu-[x x (x)]  
 13 IGI <sup>1</sup>[x x x (x)]  
 14 IGI <sup>1</sup>x[ x x x DUMU]  
 15 <sup>1</sup>ḫa-am-b[a<sup>2</sup>- x x (x)]  
 16 ITI.GAN[ UD.x.KÁM\*]  
 17 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>aš-šur-DIN[GIR-a-a]

<sup>1</sup> [x homers of bar]ley (measured) by the [9 *qû*] *sûtu* [of the Assyrians, belong[ing to Nabu,  
<sup>3</sup> at the disposal] of Šamaš-ke[nu(-...)], the [...] of the pal[ace]. <sup>5</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. He shall deliver it at its capital (amount) at the threshing-floor. <sup>7</sup> If he did not deliver (it then), it will increase at 5 *sûtu* per homer.

<sup>10</sup> Witness A[...], witness [...], witness Pu[...], witness [...], witness [..., the son of(?)] Ĥamb[a...].

<sup>16</sup> Month of Kislimu (IX), [nth day], eponymate of Aššur-i[laya].

#### Notes

4: although professions “*ša êkallî*” are infrequent, there does not appear to be any doubt about the *ša* here. I am grateful to Prof. H. D. Baker for supplying this list of professions attested “of the palace”: *atû* (doorkeeper), *kāšîru* (tailor), *mukîl appāti* (rein-holder), *mušākil alpî* (ox feeder), *rab kišri* (*ša šēpē*) (cohort-commander), *šaknu* (prefect), *šaniu* (deputy), and *tašlīšu* (third rider). Naturally the additional phrase “of the palace” does not necessarily form part of an official’s formal title.

8: here, as in Nos. 36 and 40, we have -*šá* in place of the more usual -*a-a*; see note on No. 36:10.

10: possibly A[battu] (cf. Nos. 29:6 and 37:19).

12: cf. Pušḫi in No. 36:13.

14: the first sign of this PN is either *za-* or *ḫa-*.

#### Commentary

This loan was taken out in the 9<sup>th</sup> month, so more than half a year before the specified repayment date. It is evidently a “charitable” loan since it only has to be repaid at face value, first attracting interest (of 50%) in case of failure to repay at the threshing-floor.

## 40

### Grain debt-note

ND 5468 (IM 59908)

Copy: Plate 13 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXXII)

“Cylindrical” docket: 3.5 x 4.5 cm.

17.XI.652

Probably a string-hole in each of the two pulled out top corners.

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16 on top of cut down wall.

*Sealing*: Impressions (how many not stated) of a square seal on both Obv. and Rev., “showing *mušmuššu*[sic]-dragon bearing on its back the standards of Marduk and Nabu” (Parker, *Iraq* 19, 134).

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*tur-ša-a-ni*  
2 4 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ SAG.DU  
3 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* URUDU

stamp seal impressions

4 *ša* <sup>d</sup>PA

- 5    *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–*tur-ṣa-a-ni*  
 6    *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-*i-šá*  
 7    *ina ad-ri* SUM-*an*  
 8    ITI.ZÍZ UD.17.KÁM  
 9    *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur*–BÀD–PAB  
 Rev. 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ur-du*  
 11 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–*kib-si*–PAB  
 12 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–I  
 13 IGI <sup>1</sup>*da-a-a-i*  
 14 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ–*tī-i*

stamp seal impressions

- 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>SUḪUŠ–<sup>d</sup>ME.ME  
 16 LÚ\*.A.BA

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Nabu-turṣanni.

<sup>2</sup> 4 homers of grain, capital, in the copper *sūtu*, belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Nabu-turṣanni. <sup>6</sup>He will deliver 2 *sūtu* per homer at the threshing-floor.

<sup>8</sup> Month of Šabaṭu (XI), 17<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Aššur-duru-ušur.

<sup>10</sup> Witness Urdu, witness Nabu-kibsi-ušur, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Dayi, witness Ninurti.

<sup>15</sup> Witness Ubru-Gula, the scribe.

### Notes

1: Within this archive it is unusual to have a Siegelvermerk on a grain loan docket; cf. No. 37, which is exceptional in other respects.

2: SAG.DU (*qaqqudu* or *kaqqudu*) is not usually found in this context.

3: the *-i-* is unusual but seems clear; it does not assist greatly in reconstituting the Akkadian form lying behind the logographic writing 2BÁN.

8-9: for the position of the date before the witnesses cf. on No. 16 and No. 38.

16: this is the only docket in the archive in which the scribe's profession is stated. Ubru-Gula does not recur elsewhere.

### Commentary

Although this contract has at least four of the regular witnesses, it differs in various respects from the majority of the grain loan dockets (see the Notes), perhaps because it is from the hand of a different scribe. It is also an unusual shape, described by Parker as “cylindrical”, and nearly 10 years later than most of the dockets. It is a debt-note drawn up in early spring for repayment after the harvest with 20% interest added. Nothing is said of eventual failure to repay. It is difficult to know whether it was a simple loan, like all the other grain contracts with which it was found, or in fact no loan because the obligation had some other origin.

41

Grain loan

ND 5465 (BM)

Copy: Plate 13 (BP; *Iraq* 19, Pl. XXXI)

Triangular docket: 5.2 x 5.7 x 2.5 cm.

One string-hole top centre

1.II.R643/P644

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

*Sealing*: Two impressions of a stamp seal on Obv. The seal had a diameter of ~1.5 cm and a design of a swan-like bird(?).

Obv. 1 1 ANŠE 1BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* 9  
2 *ša* <sup>d</sup>PA *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>İR–<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL  
3 DUMU <sup>1</sup>šú-nu–PAB.MEŠ *ina* pu-u-*hi* it-ti-*ši*  
4 *ina* ad-ri a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-*šá*  
5 1 <sup>lú</sup>e-*ši*-du i-da-an

2 circular stamp seal impressions

6 *šum-ma la i-din*  
7 *a-na mit-*har**  
Rev. 8 *ta-rab-bi*  
9 IGI <sup>1</sup>TI-i  
10 IGI <sup>1,d</sup>PA–I  
11 IGI <sup>1</sup>ba-la-si-i  
12 IGI <sup>1</sup>si-in-qi–15  
13 ITI.GUD UD.1.KÁM\*  
14 *lim-mu* <sup>1,d</sup>PA–MAN–PAB  
15 LÚ.GAL SAG

<sup>1</sup> 1.1 homers of grain (measured) by the 9 *qû sūtu*, belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Urdu-Mullissi, son of Šunu-aḥḥe. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>4</sup> He will deliver 5 *sūtu* per homer at the threshing-floor (and) 1 harvester. <sup>6</sup> If he did not deliver, it will increase at parity.

<sup>9</sup> Witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Balasi, witness Sinqi-Ištar.

<sup>13</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 1<sup>st</sup> day, eponymate of Nabu-šarru-ušur, the Chief Eunuch.

*Commentary*

A loan of grain with 50% interest in the month or two before the harvest, and a rate of 100% thereafter in case of failure to repay. This contract is one of only two to include an obligation to provide harvest labour (No. 30 is the other), and if a date of 643 BC is approximately correct, it may be the latest document in the archive by some 9 years, although it still has two of our regular witnesses, Balaṭi and Nabu-na'id.

ND 5475/4 (IM 59911/4)

Transliteration: JNP

Triangular docket: (4.8) x (6.9) x 2.9 cm

One string-hole top centre

[date uncertain]

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

*Sealing**Fig. 32; Plate I*

One cylinder seal impression on the Rev. and two on the Obv. All are set as stamps at 90° to the text. On the Obv. the seal impressions are worn and the photo is not clear; width ca. 2.1 cm.

*Design:* Impression on the Rev. of tablet shows a genie wearing a fish-cloak holding a *banduddu*-bucket facing left (preserved up to the neck). The seal is probably identical to No. 29 (ND 5476/6).

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 32. No.42, Reverse (© The Iraq Museum)

- Obv. 1 [x ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GI]Š.BÁN ša 9  
 2 [*ina* 1 *qa* ša *aš-šur-a*]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ša <sup>d</sup>AG  
 3 [*ina* IGI/*pa-an* <sup>1</sup>I]GI<sup>r</sup>.LÁ-*a-na*-<sup>d</sup>P[A<sup>?</sup>]

two cylinder seal impressions

- 4 *a-na* *pu*-[*u*]-*hi* *it-ti-ši*

- 5 *a-na* 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-*a-a*  
 6 *ta-rab-bi*  
 7 IGI 'nu-ur-ti-i [( )]  
 8 IGI 'TI.LA-i [( )]

(B.E. broken away but probably uninscribed)

- Rev. 9 IGI '[x x x x x]  
 10 IGI [' x x x x x]  
 11 small uninscribed line  
 12 ITI.[x UD.x.KAM]  
 cylinder seal impression  
 13 [l]i-mu <sup>1.d</sup>x<sup>1</sup>—[x (x)] x[....]  
 14 LÚ\*.GAR.KUR <sup>uru</sup>arrap-<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [x homers of barley (measured) by] the 9 *qû sūtu* [of the Assyrian]s, belonging to Nabu, [at the disposal of A]tamar-ana-Nabu<sup>7</sup>. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>5</sup> It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>7</sup> Witness Nurti; witness Balati; witness [.....]; witness [.....].

<sup>12</sup> Month [of ....., xth day], eponymate of P[N], governor of Arrapha.

#### Notes

3: for names beginning IGI.LÁ see PNA I/i, 231, although there are no instances there with a following *ana*. I have not found a parallel usage with *ana*, but compare AHw 41b *amāru(m)* G.C 2.b) nB/nA mit *ina/ana muḥḥi* jmdm. ergeben sein: nB ša *ana muḥḥi šarri ... am-ru* ABL 844, 10 with similar passages.

13: there are traces of the eponym's name, but they are hard to restore. The governor of Arrapha closest in time to the remainder of the archive is Ištar-duri in 714, but the traces preserved do not favour restoring the divine name as Ištar, nor does the element rendered ŠE later in the line agree with an expected BĀD. Moreover, if 714 were the correct date it would be unexpectedly early compared with the remainder of the texts (given that the two witnesses' names surviving are found there regularly). One solution would be to assume an error in transcription, and to replace <sup>uru</sup>arrap-<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup> with <sup>uru</sup>arba-<sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup>. This line is not visible in the photo, and collation is evidently desirable: there is no indication in the original transcription of any doubt about the identity of *ha*, even if it is damaged above, but a simple error of the transcriber should not be ruled out — a copy would have been better!

#### Commentary

Because of the uncertainties surrounding the eponym year this piece has not been assigned to 714 BC, but placed here with the other dockets whose year cannot be established. Despite its fragmentary condition the two witnesses in ll. 7–8 regularly feature in the contracts clustering around 661 BC, and are otherwise first attested in No. 12 (672 BC). Virtually all details, apart from the name of the borrower, are lost.

ND 5473 (BM)

Copy: Plate 14 (JNP)

Triangular docket, top broken: (5.0) x (5.8) x 3.0 cm.

The string impressions in the interior do not clearly show where the string came out.

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

[...].X.[...]

*Sealing**Figs. 33–34; Plate I*

Cylinder seal impression on Obv.; 3.0 x 2.3 cm. On Rev. at least four small circular stamp seal impressions with no design preserved; diameter 0.8 cm.

*Design:* Cylinder seal with impressions of caps top and bottom. Left seated goddess on studded throne with raised hand, her feet resting on *mušhuššu*/dog(?). In front of her the spade-shaped symbol of Marduk, the stylus symbol of Nabu, and an intricate stylized tree (type “arch-and-net tree” after Collon 2001, p.83). To the right of stylized tree a worshiper facing left. The scene is repeated to the right but encrusted.

It is unclear why two different seals were used since only one debtor is named.

*Comparisons:* closest parallels from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 36, no. 3, 162; from Zincirli, von Luschan 1943, pl. 39, n.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 33. No.43, Obverse (E. Schmidtchen. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

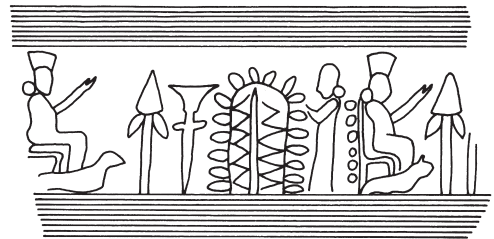


Figure 34. No.43 (S. Herbordt)



Obv. (2-3 lines broken away)

1' 'ša<sup>2</sup> x x<sup>1</sup> [

2' LÚ.SAG [

cylinder seal impression

3' a-[n]a 1 ANŠE 3BÁN-šá

4' [t]a-rab-bi

Rev. 5' IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-ur-ti-i

6' IGI <sup>1</sup>TI-i

7' IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-<sup>1</sup>T<sup>1</sup>

8' IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-PA[B]-AŠ

4 or more stamp seal impressions

9' IGI <sup>1</sup>dPA-[x x (x)]

10' ITI.AB [UD.x.KÁM\*]

11' [.....]

[.....] <sup>1</sup>'belonging to(?) [Nabu(?), at the disposal of PN], eunuch. [He has taken (it) on loan].

<sup>3</sup>'It will increase at 3 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>5</sup>'Witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Nabu-aḥu-iddina. <sup>9</sup>'Witness Nabu-[.....].

<sup>10</sup>'Month of Kanunu, [nth day, eponymate of .....].

#### Notes

1': *ša* is not certain; if correct, it presumably introduced the name of Nabu — usually here <sup>d</sup>AG —, but the slight traces visible are not sufficient for certainty.

2': there is probably room here for the expected *ina pu-u-ḥi it-ti-ši* or *it-ta-ṣu*.

3': yet again –šá instead of –a-a.

7': the final sign confirmed by collation (3.vi.2014).

#### Commentary

Without the opening lines of this document, it is impossible to speculate why the cylinder seal was used on the Obverse, but a stamp seal on the Reverse. Equally, there is not enough detail to suggest why the initial interest required is at the unusual rate of 30%.

44

Grain loan<sup>2</sup>

ND 5475/1 (IM 59911/1)

Transliteration: JNP

Triangular docket: (5.2) x 7.4 x (2.5) cm.

One string-hole top centre

[date lost]

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, found with No. 19

*Sealing*: none preserved.

Obv. (most of surface broken away)

1' [a-na 1 ANŠE] 5BÁN-šá

2' [t]a<sup>2</sup>-[rab]-bi

Rev. (2 blank lines)

3' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-I4' IGI <sup>1</sup>A-ia5' IGI <sup>1</sup>DÙG.GA-IM-<sup>d</sup>U.<sup>1</sup>GUR<sup>1</sup>6' [I]GI <sup>1</sup>PAB-SU A <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-[x (x)]7' [I]GI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB8' [I]GI <sup>1</sup>ur-du9' [IGI <sup>1</sup>]x - x<sup>1</sup>-[x x (x)]10' [IGI] <sup>1</sup>x[

(2 lines broken away)

(Beginning broken away)

1' it will increase at 5 *sūtu* [per homer].

3' Witness Nabu-na'id, witness Aplaya, witness Ṭab-šar-Nergal, witness Aḫu-eriba, son of Ninurta- [...], witness Nabu-našir, witness Urdu, witness [.....], witness [.....] (remainder, probably giving the date, broken).

45

## Grain loan

ND 5475/2 (IM 59911/2)

Transliteration: JNP

Triangular docket: (5.6) x 7.7 x (3.8) cm.

One string-hole top centre

[date lost]

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, found with NT19

*Sealing*: If a seal or seals were impressed on the blank spaces after ll. 3 and 16 (as was presumably intended) no visible impression survives.

Obv. 1 [x ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN ša 9]

- 2 [in]a 1 [qa ša aš-šur-a-a ša <sup>d</sup>AG]  
 3 [ina<sup>2</sup>] pa<sup>2</sup>-an ur [ ]  
 space for seal impressions  
 4 a-[na pu-u-hi] it-ti-š[i]  
 5 a-n[a SAG.D]U-šá ina ad-ri  
 6 SUM-an [š]um-ma la i-din  
 7 a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN  
 8 ta-rab-bi  
 Rev. 9 [IGI <sup>1</sup>nu-u]r-ti-i LÚ.NAR  
 10 [IGI <sup>1</sup> x x x ]-A DUMU x[ (x)]  
 11 [ ]  
 12 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x) <sup>lu</sup>]še-lap-pa-[a-a]  
 13 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x)] LÚ\*. [x (x)]  
 14 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x (x)] LÚ\*.AŠGAB  
 15 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x (x)] <sup>r</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> ša d[a<sup>2</sup> x (x)]  
 16 [ LÚ\*.A].BA  
 blank space of two lines  
 17 IT[I.X UD.X.KÁM\*]  
 18 [li(m)-me/u PN]

<sup>1</sup> [n homers of grain (measured) by the 9] qû [sūtu of the Assyrians, belonging to Nabu, at the] disposal of [PN]. He has taken (it) on [loan]. <sup>5</sup> He will deliver (it) at its [capit]al (amount) at the threshing-floor. If he did not deliver it (then), it will increase at 5 sūtu per homer.

<sup>9</sup> [Witness Nur]ti, the musician, witness [.....] son of [....., witness ....., witness .....,] the Šelappa[ean, witness .....,] the [....., witness .....,] the leather-worker, [witness ...].... [the sc]ribe.

<sup>17</sup> (Date broken away).

### Notes

3: this restoration of the line seems unavoidable, although the transcription made from the original does not show any sign before the *pa*, and a Personenkeil is missing before *ur*.

9: the restoration of the name Nurti is supported by No. 28 where the same person's profession is also given as LÚ.NAR.

10: the sign following DUMU begins with two horizontals (e.g. *b[i]*) and so this must be a profession rather than his patronymic.

### Commentary

What remains of this loan document is uninformative. The only notable feature of the text is the unusual range of professions associated with the witnesses: Nurti of course is very well known to us (although this is one of only two cases where his profession is mentioned), but we do not otherwise meet witnesses identified as a leather-worker (*aškāpu*) or a Šelappaeon — some kind of building technician. The presence of craftsmen among the witnesses is reminiscent of Nos. 25, 27 and 30.

ND 5475/6 (IM 59911/6)

Transliteration: JNP

Triangular docket: (3.9) x (5.7) x (2.4) cm.

Top edge with location of string-hole(s) broken away

[date lost]

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16, found with NT19

*Sealing**Fig. 35; Plate IV*

Two circular seal impressions on Obv.; diameter ca. 1.6 cm.

*Design:* Bull galloping to the left with tail raised in an arch above its back. In the field below a rhombus or eye-shaped filling ornament.

*Comparisons:* here No. 66 (ND 3421 = Herbordt 1992, pl. 16, 5 Nimrud 23); round, oval and rectangular seal impressions from Nimrud and Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 16, 2–3 (Ninive 60, Ninive 147); 6–7 (Ninive 12, Ninive 132); pl. 27, 5 (Nimrud 16); pl. 27, 7 (Nimrud 76) (several examples also with rhombus as filling motif). From Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, nos. 434; 467.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 35. No. 46, Obverse

(© The Iraq Museum)

Obv. (top of Obv. broken away, but probably uninscribed)

1 [x AN]ŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.[BÁN x (x)]

2 š[a] <sup>d</sup>AG *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>la<sup>2</sup>-mur-x[ (x x)]

3 *a-na pu-u-ḫi it-ti-š[i]*

2 stamp seal impressions

4 [a-]na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-*a-a*

5 *ta-rab-bi*

Rev. 6 IGI <sup>1</sup>bi-su-ni

- 7 IGI <sup>1</sup>*nu-ur-ti-i*  
 8 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-I  
 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>*nu-ur-ti-i*  
 10 [IGI] <sup>1</sup>[x x]SAG<sup>?</sup> ME<sup>?</sup>-šú  
 (probably blank space)  
 (remainder broken away)

<sup>1</sup> [x hom]ers of barley (measured) by the [copper(?) *sū*]tu, belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Lamur<sup>2</sup>[...]. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>4</sup>It will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>6</sup> Witness Bisuni, witness Nurti, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Nurti<sup>sic</sup>, [witness] .....  
 (Date broken away)

#### Notes

1: the short space at the end of the line suggests that we should restore here [URUDU], rather than any variant of the Assyrian 9 *qū sūtu*.

2: one possibility for the name here which was considered but rejected was to read <sup>1</sup>*la-mur-x*[, however PNA knows no name beginning thus. When transcribing the text the sign following *hi* was copied as an *áš*, but from the photo <sup>1</sup>*la-ḫi-ṭ[a-a-a]* (for this name see No. 83) looks possible.

9: this name does appear to have been written twice, perhaps in error.

#### Commentary

Familiar witnesses, suggesting this probably belongs with the No. 16–36 group. No repayment date specified, interest payable at 50% from the start.

## 47

### Grain loan

ND 5475/7 (IM 59911/7)

Copy: Plate 14 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXX)

Triangular docket: 5.7 x (4.3) x (2.7) cm.

Collated JNP

Upper part only preserved; string-hole to left of centre at top.

[date lost]

*Sealing*: impression(s) on Obv. broken away; one impression on top edge.

- Obv. 1 33 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 2 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN [*š*]a *gi-né-e*  
 3 *ša* <sup>d</sup>AG  
 4 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>*a-ṛdi*<sup>1</sup>–[DINGIR–*i*]q–*qí-bu-u-ni*  
 5 DUMU <sup>1.d</sup>*ḫal-di*–A–AŠ  
 6 [*a/ina pu-u-ḫi*] <sup>1</sup>*it-ti*<sup>1</sup>–š[*i*]  
 (remainder of Obv. broken away)

- Rev. (upper part broken away)
- 1' [ ]-*zib*<sup>?</sup>
- 2' I[GI <sup>1</sup>]r x x <sup>1</sup> [ ]
- 3' IGI <sup>1</sup>*bi-su-<sup>1</sup>nu*<sup>1</sup> [IGI .....]
- 4' IGI <sup>1</sup>*PA-tak-lak* IG[I .....]
- 5' IGI <sup>1</sup>*PA-MU*-[x x x (x x) ]x
- T.E. (blank space to allow for string-hole)
- 6' IGI <sup>1</sup>*za*-(stamp seal impression)-*a-a*
- 7' <sup>lú\*</sup>*mu-šá-kil* GUD.NÍTA.MEŠ
- L.S. 8' IGI <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-[.....]
- 9' *ša É*<sup>?</sup>[

<sup>1</sup> 33 homers of barley, (measured) by the regular offerings *sūtu*, belonging to Nabu, at the disposal of Adi-ilu-iqqibuni, son of Ḫaldi-aplu-iddina. He has taken (it) [on loan.] (Remainder of Obv. and beginning of Rev. lost).

Rev. 2' Witness [.....], witness Bisunu, [witness .....], witness Nabu-taklak, witness [.....]. witness Nabu-šumu-[...], witness Za[z]ayu, the ox-feeder, witness Zeru-[...], of [...].

#### Notes

2: this and No. 48 are the only occurrences of the “regular offerings *sūtu*” in this archive. Presumably the fixed offerings in question were due to the Nabu Temple, and therefore the measuring vessel must have belonged within the temple administration. For a *sūtu* so-designated in the Middle Assyrian offerings archive from the Aššur Temple see Freydank 1992, 282.

4: for other attestations of a man with this name in 7<sup>th</sup> century Kalḫu see Radner, PNA 1/I, 52.

Rev. 4': a Nabu-taklak and a Bisuni also appear together as witnesses in Nos. 13–14, suggesting that this document may, like them, belong early in the archive, around 668–667 BC.

Rev. 6': there was probably a second *za* in this name obscured by the stamp seal impression.

Rev. 7': this is an unusual profession in Neo-Assyrian (see Baker 2017, 66), although well attested in contemporary Babylonia.

#### Commentary

The amount of 33 homers (~3300 litres) is by far the largest in this group of grain dockets. If l. 6 is correctly restored, it was a loan, but there is nothing to indicate what may be missing in the break in the way of repayment and interest clauses. Presumably the date was also lost in the same break, although it is more usually placed after the witnesses on the grain dockets.

48

# Grain loan

ND 5475/9 (IM 59911/9)

Transliteration: JNP

Triangular docket: (4.1) x (4.8) x (2.4) cm.

Lower part only preserved; string-hole(s) in top lost

[date lost]

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

## Sealing

*Figs. 36–37; Plate VI*

One complete and one fragmentary oval seal impression on Obv.; one oval seal impression preserved on Rev. (impressed 180° to written text); dimensions: ?

*Design:* A graceful, long-necked bird with head turned back, probably a goose.

*Comparisons:* no exact parallels.

*Publication:* not previously published.

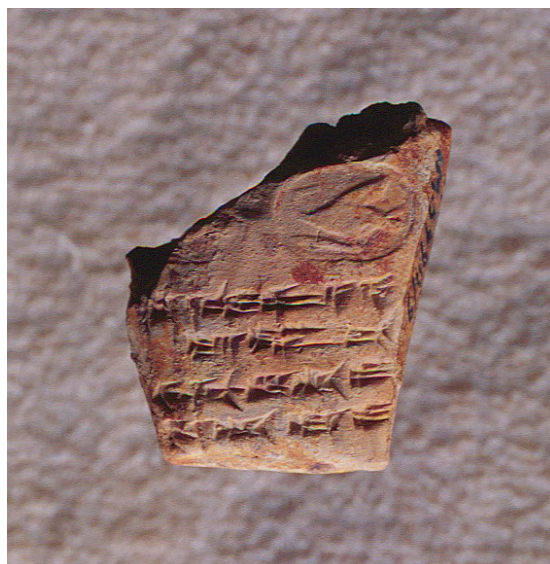


Figure 36. No. 48, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)



Figure 37. No. 48, Reverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

Obv. (upper part broken away)

1' [a/ina pu-u-*hi* it-ti]-š*ī*

space with 2 oval stamp seal impressions

2' a-na 1 ANŠE 2BÁN-a-a

3' ta-rab-bi

4' IGI 'nu-ur-ti-i



- 5' IGI <sup>1</sup>TI.LA-*i*  
 Rev. 6' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-<sup>1</sup>Γ<sup>1</sup>  
 7' IGI <sup>1</sup>AD-*la-maš-<sup>1</sup>šī<sup>1</sup>*  
 8' [IGI <sup>1</sup>]da-a-a-*i*  
 9' [IGI <sup>1</sup>ur]-*du*  
 10' [IGI <sup>1.d</sup>P]A-*kib-si*-PAB  
 11' [IGI <sup>1</sup>x (x) ]x-*sa-kip*

space with 1 [+1] stamp seal impressions

- 12' [ ]x  
 (remainder broken away)

1' He has [taken (it) on loan]. It will increase at 2 *sūtu* per homer.

4' Witness Nurti, witness Balaṭi, witness Nabu-na'id, witness Abu-lamašši, [witness] Dayi, [witness Ur]du, [witness Na]bu-kibsi-ušur, [witness ...]-sakup.  
 (remainder, including date, broken away)

#### Notes

3': the feminine form *tarabbi* makes it likely that the commodity loaned was as usual ŠE.PAD.MEŠ, "barley".

11': the only witness with a name ending like this is Enlil-sakup (No. 29), but the traces here before *sa* are not reconcilable with LÍ]L or B]E (see photograph); they look more like P]A, giving Na]bu-sakup or -sagib, a name which is already present in No. 4. and perhaps in No. 51.

#### Commentary

This docket was written in neat script on good quality clay. It was no doubt a barley loan with 20% interest from the start, but no repayment clause. To judge from the witness list, this text was probably written very close in time to Nos. 20 and 21, i.e. in the 12th month of 661 BC.

## 49

## Grain loan

ND 5475/8 (IM 59911/8)

Copy: Plate 14 (BP; *Iraq* 19 Pl. XXX)

Triangular docket: 5.0 x (3.8) x 2.3 cm.

Upper part only preserved; one string-hole at each top corner

[date lost]

Provenance: Nabu Temple, Room 16

*Sealing*: Cylinder seal impression on Obv. and perhaps on Rev.

- Obv. 1 [x x] <sup>1</sup>ŠE<sup>21</sup> [*ina* GI]Š.BÁN GIB[IL<sup>?</sup> ]  
 2 *ša gi-né-e*

3 [x (x)] x (x) *ina* 1 *qa ša* KÙ.BABBAR

cylinder seal impression

(remainder of Obv. broken away)

Rev. 1' [x x x] 'x' [

---

space of 1.5 lines, perhaps with cylinder seal impression

2' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-SAG[(-x x x)]

3' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-*bal*-[*lit*]

4' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU L[Ú\*. x (x)]

5' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-NUMUN-DÚ? [(x x)]

6' [I]GI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-TI.LA-*su-iq-bi*

T.E. 7' LÚ\*.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>

8' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MES-SUM-PAB.MEŠ LÚ\*.A.BA

L.S. 9' [I]TI.X[

10' *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>x[

<sup>1</sup> [...] grain? [(measured) by] the new? *sūtu* of regular offerings [.....] by 1 *qû* of silver [.....]. (Remainder of Obv. and beginning of Rev. broken away).

Rev. 2' Witness Nabu-reš[...], witness Šamaš-bal[*lit*], witness Nabu-le'i, the [.....], witness Nabu-zeru-ibni?, witness Nabu-balassu-iqbi, the doorkeeper, witness Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe, the scribe.

Rev. 9' Month of [.....], eponymate of P[N].

### Notes

1: whether ŠE is correctly read, is uncertain: the single logogram is not usually found alone, since the scribes normally specify ŠE.PAD.MEŠ or some other cereal species. At the beginning of the line B. Parker saw wedges which could be taken for 3 AN[ŠE (see her copy), but this does not leave much space for the commodity, certainly not enough for ŠE.PAD.MEŠ. A further collation is needed. The traces at the end of the line are consistent with GIBIL, but the restoration is not certain. However, the fact that the *sūtu* was specified makes it virtually certain that this was another grain loan.

2–3: in the light of No. 47 *ša ginê* must refer to the *sūtu* measure; whether the details in l. 3 are also part of the description of the measure is unclear. We know there was a copper *sūtu* measure in use, and therefore a silver measure is perfectly imaginable. The phrase *ina* 1 *qa* is found regularly in the phrase *ša* 9 *ina* 1 *qa ša aššurāyē*; the traces before *ina* in l. 3 could belong to a number sign, such as 9, but in the absence of any parallel passages it is difficult to restore the phrase with any confidence.

Rev. 2': A name Nabu-reši is attested, but a name with a third element, Nabu-reš-išši, is much more frequent and should possibly be restored here (see Baker, PNA 2/II, 864).

Rev. 5': Parker's copy in *Iraq* 19 shows the sign after NUMUN as DÚ; JNP's transcription of the text

in 2002 gives it as MEŠ, but this may not be preferable. Further collation is needed.

Rev. 9': collation in 2002 suggests that the logogram for the month may have been either BA[RAG or Š[U.

### *Commentary*

The mention of the *sūtu* measure in use, although enigmatic, confirms that this must have been a transaction concerned with a dry commodity, probably grain of some kind. None of the witnesses is found in other documents here, and it is possible that it comes from a different context or a different period of time. (This text was accordingly not included in the chart of witnesses, Table 9).

**Miscellaneous administrative documents (50–59)**

These remaining documents from the Nabu Temple come from scattered locations and are all different. They comprise a list of temple personnel with their spheres of responsibility (No. 50), a list of measured commodities (No. 51), an obscure administrative fragment (No. 52), a list of Babylonians (No. 53), a flock-count (No. 54), a possible note of food-offerings (No. 55), textiles of the goddess Tašmetu (No. 56), a record of timber and precious metal (No. 57), a note of gold issued, and another note of gold (No. 59). The last two tablets and No. 53 came from NT 12 and 13, close to the main temple library, but the others were found in random contexts, no doubt displaced from their proper locations.

**50****Nabu Temple staff**

ND 4318 (IM 67543)

Copy: Plates 15–16 (JNP)

Vertical tablet: 6.4 x 11.8 x 3.0 cm.

Transliteration: Postgate 1974, 64–65

Not dated

Provenance: From SEB II, in brown earth lying directly on burnt layer close to N. wall

Not sealed

*Disposition of the text*

The Obverse is divided into 2 columns by a centrally placed double vertical ruling, and into sections by horizontal rulings which run the full width of the two columns. It is clear that within each section the entry in the left-hand column is supplied with information in the right-hand column. In some cases there are more lines in the left-hand, in others more in the right-hand column, leaving blank spaces in the other column. Our line numbering takes account of both columns, and the transliteration observes the scribe's two columns. Here it is assumed that "Side A" in the original transcription is the Obverse, but in fact it remains uncertain which face is the Obverse.

Obv. 1	<sup>r1</sup> .dPA-še <sup>1</sup> -zib-a-ni	PAB 4 ÉRIN.MEŠ
2	<sup>1r</sup> x x <sup>1</sup> -I	ina IGI SAG.DU?
3	<sup>1</sup> PAB-SU	ri-iš DIN[GIR?(.x)]
4	<sup>r1</sup> LÁ <sup>1</sup> -KAM-eš	
5	[ <sup>1</sup> x x x ]x-lu?	PAB 4 ÉRIN.MEŠ
6	[ <sup>1</sup> x x ]x-lu	
7	<sup>1</sup> [x-] <sup>d</sup> AG	
8	<sup>1</sup> ZÁLAG- <sup>d</sup> šá-maš	ina IGI 4 É.NIGIN <sup>?</sup> .MEŠ
9	[ <sup>1</sup> .] <sup>d</sup> PA-SU	ina IGI É.GEŠTIN
10		É na-kan-te dan-nu
11	[ <sup>1</sup> ]da-na-a-nu	PAB 2 ÉRIN.MEŠ

12	<u>[<sup>1</sup>]ban-si-i[(-x)]</u>	<u>É gi-né-e dan-n[u]</u>
13	<sup>1</sup> KAM-eš-DINGIR[(.x)]	PAB 2 ÉRIN.MEŠ
14	<sup>1</sup> re-mut- <sup>d</sup> PA PAB-šú	ina IGI É.GAL ša LUGAL
15		<u>É LÍL<sup>?</sup> 'GIBIL<sup>1</sup></u>
16	<sup>1d</sup> PA-TUKUL-ti 3 PAB.MEŠ-šú	PAB 4 ÉRIN.MEŠ
17		ina IG[I] né-reb É-a-ni
18		<u>né-reb É á-kit</u>
19	<sup>1</sup> IM.4-i 2 PAB.MEŠ-šú	PAB 3 ina IGI É UD.7 <sup>1</sup> .KÁM*
20	<sup>1d</sup> PA-kib-si-PAB	ina IGI É ub-sa-a-te
21	<sup>1</sup> NU-MAN-E 2 PAB.MEŠ-šú	PAB 3 ina IGI É a-ki-a- <sup>1</sup> te <sup>1</sup>
Rev. 22	<sup>1</sup> ITI.ŠU-a-a 2 PAB.MEŠ-šú	<u>É.ŠU.2 ša SANGA</u>
23	<sup>1</sup> SUḪUŠ- <sup>d</sup> AG	<sup>1</sup> ina IGI <sup>1</sup> [x (x) x] x ki
24		[x x x x (x x)]
25		<u>[x x x x (x x)]</u>
26	<sup>1</sup> na-sa-a[ (x x x)]	[x x x x] šá <sup>?</sup> NUN <sup>?</sup>
27		<u>[x x x] 2-u-<sup>1</sup>te<sup>1</sup></u>
28	<sup>1d</sup> PA-PAB.MEŠ-[x (x)]	[x (x) x] šu <sup>?</sup> ni KUR
29	a-di x[ x x]	
30	<u>[x x x (x x)].IB</u>	<u>[(x)] bir-te na-mer-a-ni</u>
31	[ <sup>1</sup> ]x x [x (x)] DINGIR <sup>?</sup> [(x)]	[ina IGI <sup>?</sup> ] 'É <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1d</sup> PA-KÀD-PAB
32	<sup>1</sup> x x <sup>1</sup> [x x] ú <sup>?</sup> [x] x	x [x] ú mu i-maḫ-ḫu-šu
33	<sup>1</sup> x[ x x x (x x)] x	ina IGI [T]ÛR É <sup>2</sup> [-a-ni]
34	<sup>1</sup> [x x x (x x)]x	PAB [x] 'ÉRIN <sup>1</sup> . [ME]Š
35	<sup>1</sup> na-a-[x (x x)]x	ina [IGI ]
36	<sup>1</sup> P[AB <sup>?</sup> - x (x x)] <sup>1</sup> İR <sup>1</sup> - <sup>d</sup> PA	[ ]
37	<sup>1</sup> M[U <sup>?</sup> - x x x (x x)]-PAB	[ ]
38	<sup>1</sup> [x x]- <sup>d</sup> šá-maš PAB-šú	[PAB 4 <sup>?</sup> x (x)] TÙ[R É U]D <sup>?</sup> .7.KÁM*
39	<sup>1</sup> [x x]x-SU <sup>?</sup> PAB-šú	<u>[x (x) x] x ra [x (x)]</u>
40	<sup>1</sup> [ ]	<sup>1</sup> PAB <sup>1</sup> 3 ["] ša É ŠU.2 ša SANGA
41	<sup>1</sup> [ ]	
42	<u><sup>1</sup>[x x (x)] 'x x x<sup>1</sup></u>	
43	<sup>1</sup> [x-L]Á-a-a 3 PAB.MEŠ-šú	<u>PAB 4 '' ša KÁ PÚ</u>
44	<sup>1</sup> NU-MAN-E 2 PAB.MEŠ-šú	<u>PAB 3 '' É a-sa-al-li</u>

<sup>1</sup> Nabu-šeziḫanni, ...-na'id<sup>?</sup>, Aḫu-eriba, Tuqun-ereš – Total 4 staff, assigned to the head<sup>?</sup> ..... the head<sup>?</sup> of [DN<sup>?</sup>].

<sup>5</sup> [P]N, [P]N, [...] -Nabu, Nur-Šamaš – Total 4 staff, assigned to four ...-houses.

<sup>9</sup> Nabu-eriba – assigned to the wine-house, the large storeroom.

<sup>11</sup> Dananu, Bansi(...) – Total 2 staff, the large Regular Offerings house.

<sup>13</sup> Ereš-ilu, Remut-Nabu, his brother – Total 2 staff, assigned to the palace of the king, the new ...-house.

<sup>16</sup> Nabu-tukulti (and) his 3 brothers – Total 4 staff, assigned to the inner entrance (and) the entrance of the *akītu* House.

<sup>19</sup> Amurri (and) his 2 brothers – Total 3 (staff), assigned to The 7<sup>th</sup> Day House.

<sup>20</sup> Nabu-kibsi-ušur – assigned to the *abūsu*-rooms.

<sup>21</sup> Šalam-šarri-iqbi (and) his 2 brothers – Total 3 – assigned to the *akītu* Houses.

<sup>22</sup> Da”uzayu (and) his 2 brothers – (assigned to) the workshop of the Priest.

<sup>23</sup> Ubru-Nabu – assigned to [ ].

<sup>26</sup> Nasa[...] – [assigned to] ..... secondary [.....].

<sup>28</sup> Nabu-aḥḥe-[...] together with [..... PN [- ...] ..... between the towers.

<sup>31</sup> [PN .....] – [assigned to] the house<sup>2</sup> of Nabu-kašir-aḥi [.....] ..... they strike.

<sup>33</sup> [PN (.....)] – assigned to the in[terior] courtyard.

<sup>34</sup> [PN], Na[...], A[ḥu<sup>2</sup>-...], Urad-Nabu, M[u..., ...]-našir<sup>2</sup> – Total [6<sup>2</sup>] staff, as[signed to .....].

<sup>38</sup> [...]Šamaš (and) his brother, [...]eriba<sup>2</sup> (and) his brother – [Total 4<sup>2</sup> (staff assigned to)] the court[yard of] The 7<sup>th</sup> D[ay<sup>2</sup> House].

<sup>40</sup> [3 PN] – Total 3 [ditto], of the workshop of the Priest.

<sup>43</sup> [...]jau (and) his 3 brothers – Total 4 ditto of the Gate of the Well.

<sup>44</sup> Šalam-šarri-iqbi (and) his 2 brothers – Total 3 ditto of the Basin House.

### Notes

2: “At first we read SAG.DU but on collation the second sign rather resembles TA or IL” (*Sumer* 30, 65). The PN could of course be a name ending in –ī.

2–3: although (and because) the terminology here is obscure, there is a good chance that this section, which is probably the first one (rather than l. 22) refers to the main cellae (NT4 and 5; see Fig. 2).

8: the term É.NIGIN is not to my knowledge attested elsewhere. Here, given that NIGIN suggests a form from *lawū(m)* (e.g. *libītu*) we might suggest a “surrounding room” and identify this section with the narrow passages enclosing three sides of the main cellae (NT3, 6 and 8).

12: the copy does not show traces of a *-ki* after *-si-i*, although this was indicated in the transliteration. There are no other instances of this name at present, but there is no reason to doubt the clear *ban* shown in the copy.

19: although the copy shows 8 wedges before KÁM\*, it seems very likely that this is the same “House” as in l. 38, where the copy equally clearly shows a 7. The figure 8 is usually written with two rows of four wedges, and to bring the two entries together it is easiest to read 7 here too.

22: the translation of *bēt qāti* as “workshop” (here and in l. 40) is provisional only; cf. No. 52:2’.

30: here we should perhaps restore a name ending in <sup>d</sup>nin]-urta, but this writing of Ninurta is much less frequent than <sup>d</sup>MAŠ.

33: this restoration is supported by ABL 367:9 (=SAA 13.71) *ina tar-ba-ši ša É-a-ni ša É* <sup>d</sup>PA “in the interior courtyard of the Nabu Temple”.

43: the spacing suggests that there is a sign before LÁ. If this was IGI, we have no other instances of the name which would be some form from *amāru*. Alternatively cf. <sup>d</sup>PA–LÁ-ia (No. 53.8’).

44: this is presumably the same family as in l. 21.

### Commentary (see also p. 49).

This tablet was found in 1954, when the Nabu Temple was still referred to as the “South-East Building”. The text was first published (without a hand copy) in Postgate 1974 and the fresh edition differs little (with the exception of l. 14 where the transcription erroneously has *ina*

IGI É.ŠU<sup>II</sup> in place of the copy's *ina* IGI É.GAL). It clearly lists personnel associated with different components of a building, and although it is never explicitly stated, there can be little doubt that the building is the Nabu Temple. Rather typically of Neo-Assyrian scribal practice, it lacks any heading or explanatory lines at the end, and it is therefore impossible to be certain that this was the entire text, rather than one of a series of two or more tablets. As it stands, the text is ruled into 20 sections, each corresponding to a room, courtyard or other architectural unit. Not all the building parts are legible, but they include entrances, storerooms, courtyards, the *akītu*-houses, the king's "palace" (i.e. throne-room?), a wine house, the fixed-offerings house and others.

The excavated plan (Fig. 2) shows that the core of the temple comprised the twin shrines of Nabu and Tašmetu (NT4 and NT5), with an encircling corridor (NT3, NT6 and NT8). These were reached from an inner courtyard, which was enclosed by about 7 rooms, and was itself reached from the outer courtyard, also enclosed by about 7 rooms on the NW and NE, making 14 rooms not counting the courtyards. To the SW of the outer courtyard were further rooms, including a second smaller pair of cellae (NTS1 and NTS2), identified on the basis of this text as the *akītu* house, and the throne room suite with stone dais, amounting to some 9 further rooms in all including the small central courtyard. Since it seems likely that some of the architectural units mentioned in the different sections of the text comprised more than a single room, it is possible that the list of sections is complete as we have it.

Each part of the building is placed in a separate section on the right-hand side of the tablet, with the names of the associated men on the left. The text must have listed a minimum of 52 men, although at least one group of three brothers is listed twice (ll. 21 and 44), bringing the total down to 49. No doubt the association between the men listed and their part of the building was self-evident to the writer and readers of the tablet; we can only guess that they held some form of responsibility for its maintenance and/or security. The translation "assigned to" is intentionally vague, but in at least 8 of the 19 sections the assignments are carried out by a family of two, three or four brothers suggesting that these posts at the temple were entrusted to a traditional elite. It is clear that one does not need a full-time official, let alone four officials, to administer a single entrance, and these assignments would therefore seem to be at least partly honorific or symbolic. The system of prebends which is so well attested for Babylonian temples is hard to document in Assyria, but it is perhaps what we are looking at here. H.D. Baker (pers. comm.) notes that discrete parts of the Hellenistic Resh Temple at Uruk were assigned to specific prebendaries, which may be a pertinent parallel.

At least five of the personal names turn up also in texts from the Town Wall houses; of these, two are rather common, but it seems probable that Nabu-kibsi-ušur, Šalam-šarri-iqbi and Tuqnu-ereš are the same men, suggesting that text No. 50 from the Nabu Temple dates from the same stretch of time as the Town Wall houses archive, that is to say, in the second half of the 7th century, later than the Nabu Temple archive. There is however no indication in the text that any of the post-holders held a more specific religious or secular office in connection with their responsibility.

## 51

## List of commodities

ND 4405/73 (IM?)

Copy: Plate 17 (DJW)

Dimensions not recorded

Provenance: Nabu Temple H.2 pit

No date preserved

No seal impression on surviving part of tablet.

Face A (upper part broken away)

- 1' [ ] ʿ6BÁN<sup>še</sup>1[PN]  
 2' [ ] 6BÁN<sup>še</sup> 5<sup>1.d?</sup> AG-šal-l[im  
 3' [ ] 6BÁN<sup>še</sup> 1 qa <sup>1</sup>e-muq <sup>1</sup>e-muq x[  
 4' [ ] 1 ANŠE 4 <sup>1</sup>rAD<sup>1</sup> -la-maš-[ši  
 5' [ ] <sup>1.d</sup>AG-bal-liṭ-s[u<sup>2</sup>]  
 6' [ A]NŠE 8BÁN 1 qa <sup>1.d</sup>AG-PAB-PAB  
 7' [ ] 4BÁN <sup>1.d</sup>AG-TI.LA-su<sup>2</sup>-iq<sup>2</sup>-b[i<sup>2</sup>]  
 8' [ ] 1 ANŠE 3BÁN [<sup>1</sup>.]<sup>d</sup>AG-sa-kip-EN  
 9' [ ]x 2BÁN 4 qa <sup>1</sup>re-mut-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni  
 (blank line?)  
 10' [ ]x a-na 1 ANŠE 3BÁN-a-a  
 11' [ ] <sup>1.d</sup>PA-I  
 (remainder broken)

Face B (presumably uninscribed or more likely broken away)

NB. The transliteration here is taken from the copy of D.J. Wiseman. The tablet is presumed to be in the Iraq Museum but we have not been able to collate it. This is regrettable since there are doubts about the arrangement of the text and about several individual signs. It is uncertain whether the surviving face is Obverse or Reverse.

1'–9' (beginning of each line broken, each line seems to have given a volume (of grain) and a personal name. There are inconsistencies which make it difficult to restore the precise volumes and only the PNs are given here): Nabu-šallim[...], Emuq ..., Abu-lamaš[ši], Nabu-balliṭsu, Nabu-aḫu-ušur, Nabu-balassu-iqbī?, Nabu-sakip(-bel), Remut-ilāni.

10' [...] at 3 *sūtu* per homer.

11' [...] Nabu-na'id

(remainder broken)

## Notes

3': the apparently repeated PN here is presumably an error of the scribe or the copyist.

5'–7': these names are too common to allow us to identify them with individuals known from other texts.

8': the element *sa-kip* (or *sa-gīb*) in PNs is not usually followed by another element, but the EN cannot



be a professional designation and must be the end of the name.

9': a man named Remut-ilani acts as a witness to No. 23.

11': a Nabu-na'id is frequently attested as a witness in the grain docket.

### Commentary

The capacity entries and the phrase in l. 10' make it probable that this tablet listed debtors to the Temple along with the amounts of their debts: it would imply that the PNs in the first section had loans attracting 30% interest. Perhaps the following section listed debtors (including Nabu-na'id) whose interest rate was different.

## 52

### Administrative fragment

ND 4405/20 (IM<sup>?</sup>)

Copy: Plate 17 (DJW)

Dimensions not recorded

No date preserved

Provenance: Nabu Temple, H.2 pit

No seal impression on surviving part of tablet.

Obv. Col. i (only the final signs of 3–4 lines preserved)

Obv. Col. ii (upper part broken away)

- 1' [x x (x x)]-ni-ia <sup>r</sup>x x'[(x x)]
- 2' <sup>r</sup>TA\* É ŠU.2' ša <sup>lu</sup>lah-<sup>hi</sup>-[ni]
- 3' TA\* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–PAB a-n[a<sup>?</sup> (x x)]
- 4' ina GIŠ.BÁN<sup>?</sup> <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-x[(x x)]
- 5' <sup>d</sup>MAŠ AN.BAR <sup>1.d</sup>PA–LÁ–IGI
- 6' <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki–<sup>d</sup>PA <sup>d</sup>KU<sup>?</sup>–IGI
- 7' <sup>d</sup>PA URUDU ša GIŠ.LI.U<sub>5</sub>
- 8' TA\* É ŠU.2 ša <sup>lu</sup>lah-<sup>hi</sup>-ni
- 9' TA\* IGI <sup>1</sup>SAG.LÁ a-na DINGIR.MEŠ
- 10' [x (x)]x MAŠ AN.BAR  
(remainder broken away)

Rev (traces only of a few signs in 2 ll.)

<sup>2'</sup> From the workshop of the *lahhinu*, from Nabu-našir to<sup>?</sup>[.....] in the *sūtu*-measure of<sup>?</sup> Mannu-ki- [...], Ninurta<sup>?</sup> (of<sup>?</sup>) iron<sup>?</sup> – Nabu-tariš-pani, Mannu-ki-Nabu, Marduk<sup>?</sup>-lamur<sup>?</sup>.

<sup>7'</sup> Nabu (of<sup>?</sup>) copper, of the writing-board. From the workshop of the *lahhinu*, from PN to the gods, [.....] Ninurta<sup>?</sup> (of) iron.

## Notes

ii.2', 8': the NA *lahḫinu* is generally associated with temples, and bears the same title as the *alahḫinu* of the Middle Assyrian texts, who we know was responsible for the processing of grain and flour for the temples. For the *bēt qāte*, and its uncertain meaning, see No. 50:22.

ii.3': conceivably the text had *a-n[a DINGIR.MEŠ]* at the end of the line (cf. ii.9'). This could be an independent phrase, but note that some PNs end with *-ana-ilani* (e.g. Nabu-tariš-ana-ilāni, PNA 2/II, 896).

ii.4': the PN could be Mannu-ki-Aššur (reading *-aš-š[ur]*), Mannu-ki-Nabu (reading *-DIN[GIR.PA]*, cf. ii.6' below) or composed with another divine name.

ii.5': on his copy of this tablet, D.J. Wiseman wrote <sup>d</sup>MAŠ AN.BAR (Ninurta iron), presumably in the light of <sup>d</sup>PA URUDU (Nabu copper) in ii.7'. It is perhaps more plausible than a repetition of <sup>d</sup>MAŠ, but neither reading is entirely convincing. Compare ii.10' which may have had the same phrase. The PN here is apparently unparalleled, but it could be understood as "Nabu has directed (his) face".

ii.9': this name is read <sup>1</sup>*šak-lal* in PNA 3/II, 1184 (and explained as deriving from Šakil-AI, not wholly convincingly).

## Commentary

The nature and content of this piece remain obscure.

## 53

## List of Babylonians

ND 5462 (BM)

Copy: Plate 18–19 (JNP)

Vertical tablet: 7.7 x (15.4) x 2.6 cm.

No date preserved

Provenance: NT 13 rubbish above lowest earth floor

No sealing preserved

- Obv. §1 (upper part broken away)  
 1'-2' (almost entirely lost)  
 3' [PAB] <sup>1</sup>5<sup>1</sup> <sup>1.d</sup>AG-MAN-PAB [\_\_\_\_\_]  
 §2 4' <sup>1</sup>*ha-lu-ur-su* <sup>1</sup>*ki-d[i-* \_\_\_\_\_ ]  
 5' <sup>1</sup>*sa-a'-di*-DINGIR <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-SUM-*na* [ \_\_\_\_\_ ]  
 6' [<sup>1.d</sup>]AG-*šal-lim* <sup>munus.d</sup>*na-na-*<sup>1</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>[-x x (x x)]  
 7' [<sup>mu</sup>]<sup>nus</sup>*sag-gil-ia* <sup>munus</sup>*ga-mil-tú* [<sup>munus</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[-x x (x)]  
 8' PAB 11 <sup>1.d</sup>PA-LÁ-*ši* <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*e-mu-qi-ia*  
 §3 9' <sup>1</sup>PAB-<sup>1</sup>*e-du*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>*nu-ri-ia* <sup>1.d</sup>PA-DÙ-*uš*  
 10' <sup>1.d</sup>DUMU.EN-*at-kal* <sup>munus</sup>*ga-mil-tú* <sup>munus</sup>*sa-ra-a-a*  
 11' <sup>munus</sup>*ka-rib-tu*  
 12' PAB 7 <sup>1</sup>SUḪUŠ-<sup>d</sup>AG <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB-*ir*  
 §4 13' <sup>1</sup>*gi-mil-lu* <sup>1.d</sup>URAŠ-SUM-*na* <sup>1</sup>*ba-la-tu*  
 14' <sup>1</sup>*šu-ma-ia* <sup>1</sup>*gi-mil-lu* <sup>1</sup>r x x x <sup>1</sup>

- 15' *munus*i-la-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> *munus*sag-gíl-ia *munus*i-lu-x<sup>1</sup>[ x (x x)]  
 16' *munus*ta-ra-áš *munus*bi-<sup>1</sup>de-e<sup>1</sup>-tú *munus*ta-ME-x[ x (x)]  
 17' PAB 13 <sup>1</sup>in-ga-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-a-a <sup>1.d</sup>PA-AD-x[ x (x x)]  
 §5 18' <sup>1</sup>nu-ri-ia <sup>1.d</sup>U.GUR-KAR-ir <sup>1</sup>ar-[x x (x x)]  
 19' <sup>1</sup>da-bi-bu *munus*ga-mil-tú *munus*ha-x[ x (x x)]  
 20' *munus*na-a'-tu *munus*a-<sup>1</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>[x x (x x)]  
 21' [P]AB 8 <sup>1.d</sup>[\_\_\_\_\_]

(break, but probably nothing missing)

- Rev. §6 (beginning broken away)  
 1' [<sup>1</sup>x (x)]-SUM-na <sup>1</sup>x[ ]  
 2' [<sup>1</sup>x (x)]-x-PAB-APIN-eš <sup>1</sup>[ ]  
 3' [*munus*x x-]<sup>d</sup>30 *munus*ka[- ]  
 4' [PA]B <sup>1</sup>9<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x] x <sup>1.d</sup>[x (x)]-NUMUN-DÙ  
 §7 5' <sup>1</sup>s[a<sup>2</sup>- x x x x x x x <sup>1</sup> x x -]di-nu  
 6' *munus*[ S]AG-tú  
 7' mu[nus ]  
 8' PA[B \_\_\_\_\_]  
 §8 9' <sup>1</sup>[ ]  
 10' <sup>1</sup>x[ ]  
 11' mu[nus ]  
 12' PAB[ \_\_\_\_\_ -S]UM-na  
 §9 13' <sup>1</sup>[ ]  
 14' <sup>1</sup>EN-x[ ]-a  
 15' PAB 4 [ \_\_\_\_\_]

(remainder broken away)

§1 [..... Total] 5, Nabu-šarru-ušur (and) [PN].

§2 Ḫalursu, Kidi[...., PN], Sa'di-ilu, Zeru-iddina, [PN], Nabu-šallim, <sup>f</sup>Nana-..., <sup>f</sup>Saggiliya, <sup>f</sup>Gamiltu, [<sup>f</sup>PN]. Total: 11, Nabu-tarši, (and) Nabu-emuqeya.

§3 Aḫū-edu, Nuriya, Nabu-epuš, Mar-Bel-atkal, <sup>f</sup>Gamiltu, <sup>f</sup>Saraya, <sup>f</sup>Karibtu. Total: 7, Ubru-Nabu (and) Nabu-našir.

§4 Gimillu, Uraš-iddina, Balaṭu, Šumaya, Gimillu, [PN], <sup>f</sup>lātu, <sup>f</sup>Saggiliya, <sup>f</sup>lu[...], <sup>f</sup>Taraš, <sup>f</sup>Bidetu, <sup>f</sup>Ta..[...]. Total: 13, Ing...ayu (and) Nabu-abu-[...].

§5 Nuriya, Nergal-eṭir, Ar[...], Dabibu, <sup>f</sup>Gamiltu, <sup>f</sup>Ḫa[...], <sup>f</sup>Na'tu, <sup>f</sup>A[...]. Total: 8, [PN (and) PN].

§6 [...]-iddina, [PN, PN], [...]-aḫū-ereš, [PN, PN], [<sup>f</sup>...]-Sin, <sup>f</sup>Ka[...], <sup>f</sup>PN]. Total: 9, [PN (and) ...]-zeru-ibni.

§§7-9 (too broken for translation).

#### Notes

Obv. 3': Nabu-šarru-ušur is a very common Neo-Assyrian name. One holder of it acted as the *ša muḫḫi*

*bēti* of the Kalḫu Nabu Temple in the reign of Assurbanipal (PNA 2/II, 876 no. 24).

Obv. 4': the name Ḫalursu is possibly the same as Ḫalusu (PNA 2/I, 445). The second name is probably some formation from *kidinnu*.

Obv. 5': the element Sa'di appears to be new.

Obv. 6': Nana is a Babylonian goddess, and a good proportion of female names beginning with her name listed in PNA 2/II, 924-5 belong to slave women, captives, or distrainees.

Obv. 7': the name Saggilia recurs in §4. The name Gamiltu recurs in §3 and §5.

Obv. 8': it is unclear whether this writing represents Nabu-tarši, a name not otherwise attested, or the common name Nabu-tariš. The name Nabu-emuqeya is given in a Neo-Assyrian list of PNs (PNA 2/II, 825).

Obv. 9': the name Nuriya recurs in l. 18'.

Obv. 10': the female PN Saraya is attested once in ABL 220 (see Kessler, PNA3/I, 1092).

Obv. 11': for Karibtu as a Neo-Babylonian PN see CAD K.

Obv. 12': names composed with an initial SUḪUŠ (to be read Ubru-) are well attested in Assyria, but not in Babylonia at this time. The name Ubru-Nabu is very common in Neo-Assyrian (PNA 3/II, 1365-68), but it is worth noting that a man with this name is listed in No. 50:23, as having responsibility for some component (identity lost) of the Nabu Temple. Nabu-našir is also very common; again it is worth noting that a scribe with this name acts as a witness in the docket No. 37 recording a loan of barley from the Nabu Temple in 656 BC.

Obv. 13': the name Gimillu is repeated in the next line – surely a different person. The god Uraš is rarely if ever attested in Neo-Assyrian names, but belongs at Dilbat in Babylonia.

Obv. 17': the third sign in the first name (after *-ga-*) is possibly a narrow *-ma-* or a *-maš/bar-*; unfortunately we have no parallels to suggest the correct reading. It is tempting to read the second PN as <sup>1</sup>dPA-I (Nabu-na'id) but this would give three PNs in this line, whereas in all other testable cases there are only two after the total. Furthermore the AD sign looks like a single sign, not as though it should be resolved into I followed by the Personenkeil.

Rev. 1'–4': since there is probably no line missing at the base of the Obv., and we require only 9 names in this section, there is probably no line, or only one, missing at the top of the Rev.

Rev. 3': the second name could be restored as Ka[ribtu] (cf. §3).

### *Commentary*

The lack of any explanatory text makes this at first sight a very frustrating document. In all probability, the scribe has given us 5 sections on the Obv. and 4 on the Rev., each of which lists a number of male personal names followed by a number of female names, with a total in the final line of each section followed by 2 male personal names. The totals range from 4 to 12 persons. There are certainly female names in each section preserved, but the proportions are very variable: 4 of the 11 names in §2 are female, 3 of the 7 names in §3, 6 of the 12 names in §4, 4 of the 8 names in §5, perhaps only 3 of the 9 names in §6, perhaps 4 or more in §7 which seems to have fewer male names than female, perhaps 2 or 3 in §8, and probably only 1 of 4 names in §9. No indication is given of any family or other relationship between the individuals listed, and the names after the total in each section can hardly be the head of a family since two men are regularly mentioned. Where a name is repeated (only happens with females) the obvious assumption is that two or more women bore the same name, rather than that the same

person features in different sections. The mixture of male and female names, without any indication of ages, rather suggests that we have here the adult members of families, even if there is no indication of which woman goes with which man.

Following the lead of Saggiliya, it seems possible that many of both the female and the male names, are Babylonian, and to judge from the recurrence of both male and female names very likely from a single location. The name Uraš-iddin(a) hints at the possibility that some or all of these Babylonians came from Dilbat, but several of the names are attested in texts from elsewhere in Babylonia; see Tallqvist 1905 for instances of these names: Balaṭu, Bel-atkal, Dabibi, Gimillu, Ilat(u), Nabu-šallim, Nergal-eṭir, Nuriya, Saggiliya, Šumaya, Uraš-iddin(a), Zeru-iddina.

It can be no coincidence that names composed with Nabu are relatively frequent after the totals: only two such names are in the main body of a section (Nabu-šallim in §2 and Nabu-epuš in §3), but at least 6 names with Nabu are given after the totals in §§1–4 alone, the other contexts being damaged. This strongly suggests that the men with this role come from a different sector of society: such names are just as likely to be Assyrian as Babylonian, and the frequency of this one deity may have something to do with the Nabu Temple in which the tablet was found. The obvious scenario is one in which the men and women listed in each section are in some socially subordinate role relative to the two men named after the totals — but it is pointless to speculate whether these were formally slaves, or prisoners of war, or subject to some other form of control.

## 54

## Flock count

ND 4302 (BM)

Copy: Plate 20 (JNP)

Small horizontal tablet: 2.6 x 1.9 x 1.2 cm.

Provenance: From sub-surface debris square south of C1

Not dated

Not sealed.

Obv.	1	2 <i>pu-ḫal</i>
	2	3 3*
	3	5 2*
	4	5 DUMU MU
B.E.	5	20 ÛZ
Rev.	6	5 ʾ3* <sup>1</sup>
	7	2 ʾ2* <sup>1</sup>
	8	6 [DUMU] MU
	9	<sup>1</sup> <i>ta-a</i>

<sup>1</sup> 2 rams, 3 3-year-olds, 5 2-year-olds, 5 1-year-olds. <sup>5</sup> 20 nanny goats, 5 3-year-olds?, 2 [...], 6 1-year-[olds]. <sup>9</sup> Ta.

### Notes

1: for *puḫālu* as the term for a breeding male of various species, see CAD P, 479.

2–3, 6: the asterisk indicates the use of horizontal wedges which are regularly used by Neo-Assyrian scribes to indicate age in years. The Akkadian words for these age designations are not known but are doubtless forms derived from the relevant cardinal numbers, such as *šana'iyu* and *šalašiyu*.

### Commentary

Similar flock counts, each on small horizontal tablets ending with a single personal name, are known from the Governor's Palace archive (CTN 2, Nos. 131 and 232), ND 3418 from the Ziggurat Terrace (Wiseman 1953, Pl. XI) and from Nineveh (Kouyunjik: SAA 11.79; Nebi Yunus: MacGinnis 1992, Nos. 12–16). These small horizontal tablets were formulaic, as is clear from some of the tablets where no numeral is entered for some of the animal categories. Nevertheless the terminology can vary: in some texts (e.g. CTN 2, 131; 232; MacGinnis Nos. 14; 16) the first entry is KAL for *dannu* “big”. Here, however, as in MacGinnis No. 12, it is *puḫālu*, and the first entry in ADD 697 (=SAA 11.78), which is similar too although concerned with much larger numbers and lacking a personal name, has 30 NITÁ *pu-ḫa-lu*. Goats are listed after the sheep; sometimes the species is not stated but tacitly implied by the order of the entries; in other cases we do find ÛZ (as here) or MÁŠ. A PN is almost always given, and probably specified the shepherd to whom the animals are entrusted: whether we should see these as a note of the animals when handed over to the shepherd, or when brought in by him remains unclear. Either way, the presence of this tablet within the Nabu Temple precincts suggests, though it does not prove, that the temple owned mixed flocks some of which were pastured by a shepherd called Ta.

## 55

### Note of meat

ND 5418 (BM)

Copy: Plate 20 (JNP)

Oval horizontal tablet: 3.3 x 2.4 x 1.2 cm.

Not dated

Provenance: NT G 5, level of stone foundation by door sill of Tashmetum shrine

Coarse clay with lime/chalk inclusions

Not sealed.

Obv. 1 1 <sup>du</sup>*g**qa-but*  
 2 4 MÁŠ.SÌLA.MEŠ  
 3 PAB <sup>1</sup>*ša*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>SUM-*na-iá*

Rev. (uninscribed apart from a couple of wedge-like marks at the centre)

<sup>1</sup> 1 bowl, 4 shoulder (cut)s. <sup>3</sup> All of Iddinaya.

## Notes

2: for the logogram see CAD N/I, 120 s.v. naglabu A.

## Commentary

These two items would very likely have featured in the offerings menu of the temple (and hence among commodities issued by the temple to recipients of one kind or another. The name Iddinaya is not uncommon (Baker/Kessler, PNA2/I, 503-4).

## 56

## Note of fibres

ND 4317 (BM)

Copy: Plate 20 (JNP)

Horizontal tablet: 4.4 x 2.6 x 1.5 cm.

Not dated

Provenance: From NT H. 1 pavement level beside stone slab lying in a gap in the east wall

Not sealed.

- Obv. 1 19 GÍN SÍG <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>2</sup>-x - ú<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 2 14 ½ GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÌN.SA<sub>5</sub>  
 3 2 [[½]] GÍN SÍG.ZA.GÌN.GI<sub>6</sub>  
 4 1 ½ GÍN SÍG *tab-ri-bu*  
 5 13 GÍN GADA *pu-ú-šu*  
 B.E. 6 [P]AB 50 GÍN *ur-su-tu*  
 Rev. 7 ša <sup>túg</sup>nik<sup>1</sup>-si u TÚG.BAR.DIB  
 8 ša <sup>r</sup>dtaš<sup>1</sup>-me-tu[m]  
 9 ina IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-še-zib-an-ni

<sup>1</sup> 19 shekels of ..... wool. 14½ shekels red wool. 2 shekels black wool. 1½ shekels scarlet wool. 13 shekels byssus-flax. <sup>6</sup> Total: 50 shekels, deposit<sup>2</sup>, of the *niksu*-textiles and coat of the goddess Tašmetum. <sup>9</sup> At the disposal of Ninurta-še-zibanni.

## Notes

2–3: the translations “red” and “black” wool reflect the final element in the two logograms and follow the Practical Vocabulary of Assur which offers *šalittu* and *suntu* respectively. We are still uncertain how “red wool” may have differed from *tabribu* (l. 4) (see Postgate 2014).

3: after 2 there is an erased ½. Without this the total of 50 shekels in l. 6 is accurate and the erasure is surely therefore intentional.

7: for the writing BAR.DIB and its variants as writings of *kusītu* see Borger 2003, 275 (no. 121). Attestations of the word *ursutu* are given in CAD U/W, 249, with a meaning “depot” proposed. It has also been restored tentatively in SAA 11.65:1 (ADD 767; wooden items). The usage here should be compared with ADD 679:1 (SAA 6.190) where an *ursutu* seems to comprise textiles (including 4 *niksi*) associated with a deity. In SAA 6 it is translated hesitantly “parcel”, and the fact that here the combined

weight of the different amounts of fibre is given does indeed suggest that they are treated as a single consignment either physically or administratively.

### Commentary

Fine wool and flax destined for the wardrobe of Nabu's spouse, Tashmetum. The function of Ninurta-šeziḫanni is not known to us. There was an eponym of this name, governor of Talmusi, in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century (754 BC) but there is no compelling reason to suppose that this is the same man.

## 57 Memorandum of timber and precious metal items

ND 5472 (BM)

Copy: Plate 21 (JNP)

Vertical tablet, with rounded profile: 4.0 x (7.0) x 2.6 cm.

It is uncertain which face is the Obv., both faces are equally convex.

Not dated

Provenance: "From the Fish Gate near the floor".

No sealing preserved.

- Face A
- 1 [x x (x)] KÙ.ʽBABBAR x x<sup>1</sup> [
  - 2 [x x (x)]x-te [(x x)]
  - 3 [(x) <sup>1</sup>]dMES-EN-PAB LÚ\*.GAL NÍG.K[A<sub>9</sub>(.MEŠ)]
  - 4 1 GIŠ.MES.MÁ.GAN.NA 12 *ina* 1 KÙŠ GÍD.D[A]
  - 5 1BÁN *ku-bur-šú*
  - 6 1 GIŠ.MES.MÁ.GAN.NA 2 ½ KÙŠ GÍD.DA
  - 7 1BÁN *ku-bur*
  - 8 1 <sup>giš</sup>šá-áš-šu-gu 8 *ina* 1 KÙŠ GÍD.DA
  - 9 1BÁN *ku-bur-šú*
  - 10 [<sup>1</sup>]x-ʽga<sup>2</sup>-a-a DUMU <sup>1</sup>di-di-i
  - 11 [(x x) <sup>1</sup>x-]x-ka LÚ\*.GAL ú-ra-a-te
  - 12 [LÚ\*.A/DUMU š]ip-ri<sup>meš</sup>
  - 13 [(x) x x Z]ABAR šá *an-ze-e* [(x x)]
  - 14 [x x (x x)] ZAB[AR]
- (remainder of Face A broken away)

Face B (upper part broken away)

- 1' *ma-a* ʽni<sup>2</sup>-x<sup>1</sup>[
- 2' *la* ú-ʽsa<sup>2</sup>-ḫi<sup>1</sup>-r[a<sup>2</sup>
- 3' *id*-[
- 4' 2 ZA.ḪUM.MEŠ KÙ.GI x[ x x (x)] ʽx x<sup>1</sup>
- 5' DUMU <sup>1</sup>É.KUR-šú-ra-b[i LÚ\*.A/DUMU š]ip-ri
- 6' 1 *pa-gu-lu* [(x x x) K]Ù.GI
- 7' [<sup>1</sup>k]a<sup>2</sup>-ʽak<sup>1</sup>-k[a<sup>2</sup>- x (x x x)]



8' 1 [x x (x)] KU.BABBAR [  
(remainder of Face B broken away)]

<sup>A.1</sup> [1] silver [....., ...].....[....] – Marduk-bel-ušur, the Chief Accoun[tant].

<sup>4</sup> 1 sissoo-log 12 cubits long, 1 *sūtu* thick. 1 sissoo-log 2½ cubits long, 1 *sūtu* thick. 1 *šaššugu*-log 8 cubits long, 1 *sūtu* thick – ...gaya, son of Didi [and ...].. the team commander, [the en]voys.

<sup>13</sup> [1] bronze [....] of Anzu, [.....] bronze [.....  
(break)]

<sup>B.1'</sup> saying “We<sup>2</sup> [.....ed,] he did not return [(it and)] gi[ve (it to us).”]

<sup>4'</sup> 2 gold basins [(.....) P]N, son of Ekuršu-rabi, [the en]voy.

<sup>6'</sup> 1 gold vessel, Kakka<sup>2</sup>[...].

<sup>8'</sup> 1 silver [vessel<sup>2</sup>, PN].

### Notes

A.1: the traces after BABBAR are ambiguous, one possible reading is for example 'gab-bi/e', but other possibilities for the first sign would be 'EN' or 'MU'.

A.5: for the use of capacity measures to give the circumference of logs, see CAD K, 484 s.v. kubru (though note that in Assyrian we would expect *kubar-šu*). For the mathematics involved, see Powell 1990, 491 IIIB.

A.8: unfortunately the identity of the tree called *šaššugu* remains unknown. but it must have given fairly high quality timber since it was used for the rims of chariot wheels (see CAD Š/ii, 176-7).

B.3': possibly *id[din]* or *id[dinnaši]*.

B.4': for the logogram ZA.ĤUM see CAD Š/I, 105-6 s.v. šāḥu. The traces at the end could be read K]Ü.G[I], but at this point we need the name of Ekuršu-rabi's son, and the traces admit of multiple possible readings for both signs.

### Commentary

This tablet evidently lists a number of fairly valuable items or groups of items each associated with a person or persons. Given that the status of “envoys” (*mār šipri*) is fairly elevated, the likelihood is that the people named are recipients, and that these are gifts distributed by the state or the temple for services rendered.

ND 5421 (IM 67585)

Copy: Plate 22 (JNP)

Horizontal tablet: 5.4 x 3.7 x 2.3 cm.

Provenance: Nabu Temple Room 13

26.VII.788

Not sealed

- Obv. 1 2 *kap-pi* KÙ.GI  
 2 *ša ina gur-še ú-še-lu-ni*  
 3 6 MA.NA *šu-da-te* KÙ.GI  
 4 ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> UD.21.KÁM\*  
 5 GI *tup-pi ša LÚ\*.DUB.SAR É.GAL*  
 6 2 ḪAR KÙ.GI <sup>1</sup>*a-pi-e*  
 B.E. 7 2 <sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup> *ša <sup>1</sup>PA-šal-lim-PAB.MEŠ*  
 Rev. 8 2 *ša <sup>1</sup>mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>15*  
 9 7 MA.NA *ša <sup>1</sup>mar-duk*  
 10 *ina 1 MA.NA ša NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DIL*  
 11 PAB 9 <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> MA.NA *ina 1 MA.NA dan-ni*  
 12 KÙ.GI.MEŠ *a-na MUŠ.UŠUMGAL*  
 13 ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> UD.26.KÁM\*  
 T.E. 14 *lim-mu <sup>1</sup>10-mu-šá-mir*

<sup>1</sup> 2 gold bowls which they dedicated in the shrine<sup>2</sup>, 6 minas gold castings – 21<sup>st</sup> of Tašritu (VII).

<sup>5</sup> The stylus of the Palace Scribe. <sup>6</sup> 2 gold torcs – Ape, 2 ditto (=gold torcs) of Nabu-šallim-aḫḫe, 2 (gold torcs) of Mušallim-Ištar, 7 minas of Marduk (measured) by the agate mina.

<sup>11</sup> Total: 9<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> minas (measured) by the large mina – gold for the dragon.

<sup>13</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> of Tašritu, eponymate of Adad-mušammir.

#### Notes

2: for *guršu* the *Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (p. 97) offers “chapel” (or “(ritual) sexual congress”). The quality of the initial velar remains in doubt (g or q?), and the association with a sexual ritual depends on an etymology in need of substantiation.

3: *šudāte* must be a derivative from *šādu*, D *šuddu* “to melt”, which is in current usage in Neo-Assyrian letters referring to gold-working (ABL 997; 1194). This nominal formation appears not previously to be attested, except perhaps in *ša šu-di ZABAR* “bronze crucible” (Practical Vocabulary of Assur 446).

4: for *qan tuppi* “stylus” see CAD Q 79–80.

11: see addendum, p. 268.

#### Commentary

This appears to be a list of a miscellaneous collection of gold artefacts which were intended for re-working into gold for a dragon. The dragon is possibly a statue of some description, though not one of the “Fishmen” whose stone statues flank the entrance to the Nabu Temple

from the street. The broken text CTN 3.95 found in Room NE 50 of the Kalḫu Review Palace lists the dimensions of supernatural figures in different parts of the Nabu Temple, and amounts of gold which were perhaps intended for casting or overlaying the statues. The *(u)šumgallu* is associated in various 1st millennium contexts with Marduk, Nabu and Ninurta (cf. CAD U/W, 330), but note in particular ABL 951 (SAA 13.134):12'-13' "the dragons on which Nabu stands" (*šu-un-gal-li ša dPA ina muḫ-ḫi iz-za-zu-u-ni*).

## 59

## Note of gold

ND 5415 (BM)

Horizontal tablet: 5.7 x 3.3 x 2.1 cm.

Surface worn.

Provenance: From debris of Nabu Temple Room 12

Not sealed.

Copy: Plate 22 (JNP)

24.ii Year not given

Obv. 1 'KÙ'.GI ša <sup>1</sup>dPA-A-AŠ  
 2 TA É.GAL *ma-šar-ti*  
 3 *ina* ITI.GUD UD.24.KÁM *na*<sup>12</sup>-š[i]  
 4 *ina* ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> UD.8.KÁM  
 5 <sup>1</sup>x[ x (x) ]x EN [x x (x)]  
 B.E. 6 x[ (x) ]x m[u<sup>2</sup> x x x (x x)]  
 Rev. (2 lines at most broken away)  
 (remainder of Rev uninscribed)

<sup>1</sup> The gold of Nabu-aplu-iddina has been taken from the Review Palace on the 24<sup>th</sup> of Ayyaru (II).

<sup>4</sup> On the 8<sup>th</sup> of Tašritu (VII) – P[N ....] ..... (remainder lost).

## Notes

3: the two signs at the end of the line are hard to interpret. The final sign has been transliterated as -š[i], although the traces look more like -šú, in order to give a grammatically acceptable construction, and the translation follows this.

## Commentary

There are 18 holders of the name Nabu-aplu-iddina listed in Baker, PNA2/II, 805–6, though only two appear to be based in Kalḫu, a *rab urāte* of the reign of Sargon (No. 1 CTN 3.99.i.11) and an individual from late in the reign of Assurbanipal (no. 11, ND 2332). Without a date for this tablet it is hard to judge the likelihood of either of these being our person.

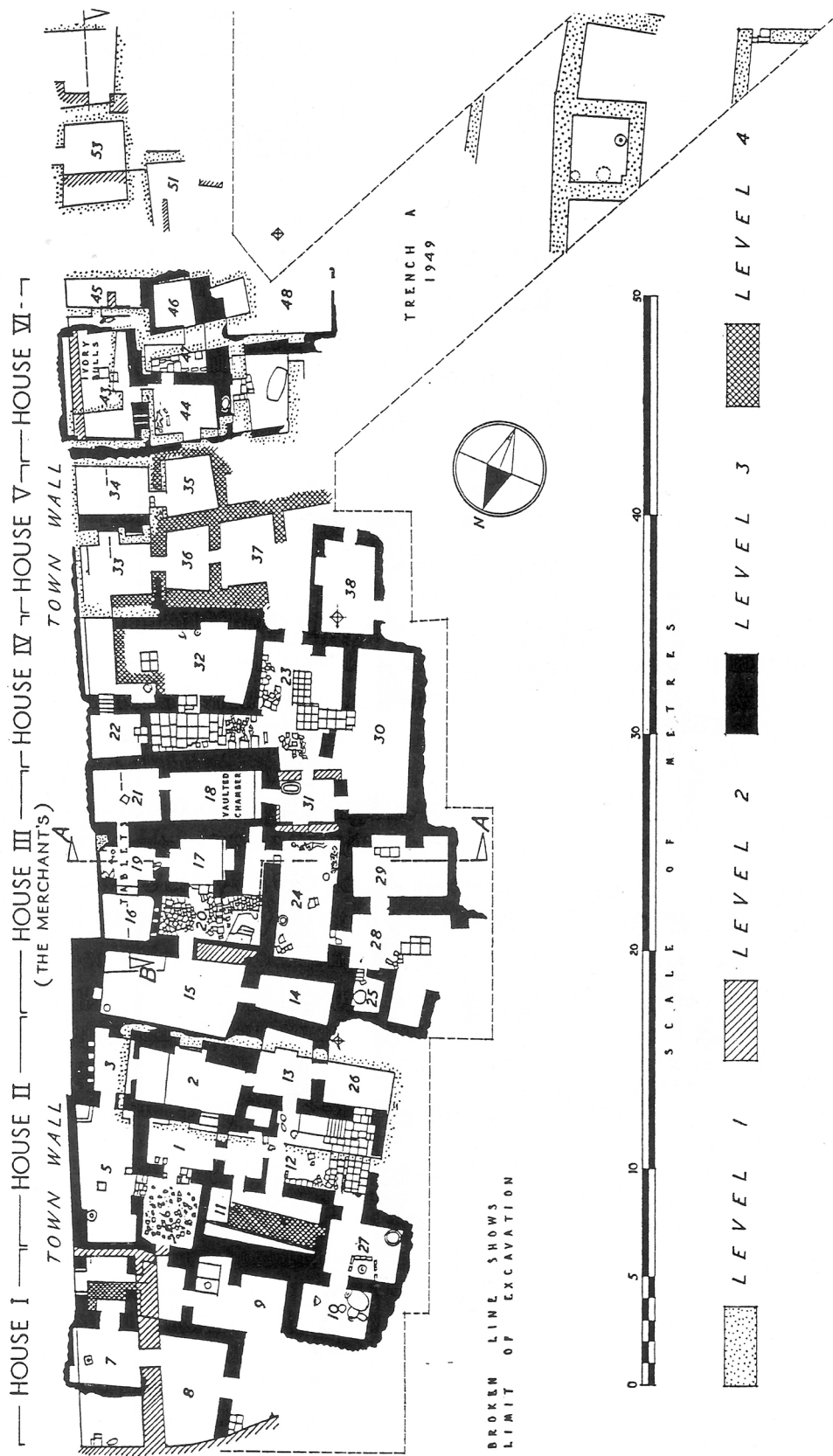


Figure 38. Plan of Town Wall Houses (Oates & Oates 2001, p. 136. ©BISI)

## Part II: tablets from the Town Wall Houses

Texts 60 to 114 all came from the range of domestic housing along the north-eastern edge of the acropolis mound. The excavators distinguished six separate houses (numbered I to VI from north to south; see Fig. 38) and together these were given the collective designation TW53 (Town Wall 1953). As with the Nabu Temple texts (Nos. 1–59), the tablets from TW53 are presented here by text genre (conveyances followed by loans and other debt-notes), and within each genre as far as possible in chronological order, using Reade's proposed sequence for the post-canonical eponyms, with Parpola's dates cited alongside. The majority of the texts (47) were found in TW53 Room 19, and they plainly constitute an archive of a man named Šamaš-šarru-ušur. According to D.J. Wiseman, who first published the archive and was present at Nimrud when it was excavated, the tablets from here had been baked by a fire which destroyed the building (Wiseman 1953, 135), but they were not seriously damaged by the fire and indeed many of the tablets are in fine condition. Occasional tablets were found in other rooms:

TW53 Room 1: ND 3412 = No. 111

TW53 Room 5: ND 3415 = No. 61

TW53 Room 11: ND 3478 = No. 110

TW53 Room 11: ND 3479a, b = Nos. 62, 73

TW53 Room 33: ND 3467 = No. 113

Of these Rooms 1, 5 and 11 are in House II, while Room 33 is in House V. Their contents make no mention of Šamaš-šarru-ušur, and they presumably belong to separate households.

### *The archive of Šamaš-šarru-ušur*

The majority of the tablets from Room 19 are either sale documents in which Šamaš-šarru-ušur is the purchaser, or debt-notes in which he is the creditor. This makes it clear that as a group these tablets came from his personal archives. From No. 64:6 we learn that he was a eunuch (despite the fact that in l. 14 the scribe mentions his sons and grandsons) but his patronymic is never used, and we know nothing more about his position in society. Presumably he must have had some degree of wealth or influence to be occupying a house on the citadel, even though it may not have been specially large, and the capital had long since moved further north. Among the witnesses to some of his transactions are people with links to the Ninurta Temple, but it is hard to know whether this merely reflects spatial proximity or some institutional connection.

The earliest text from his archive (No. 63) is not one of Šamaš-šarru-ušur's own transactions, but he is the creditor in No. 98, dated to 660 BC (see Table 12). There follows No. 76 in 652 BC, and thereafter there is never a break of more than three years in the sequence of dates until R614 (No. 97). It is true that the eponym Sin-šarru-ušur in No. 97 is assigned to 625 BC in Parpola's scheme, but he assigns Nabu-tapputu-alik, the eponym of No. 73, to 613 BC, so that whichever reconstruction of the post-canonical eponym list we follow, the span of Šamaš-šarru-ušur's career stretches from 660 to 614 or 613, i.e. 46 or 47 years.

Year	Nos.	Class
665	63	C
660	98	D
652	76	D
650	77	D
649	64	C
R646	78	L
R643	65	C
R642	79, 80, 102	DLL
R641	66, 81	CL
R640	60	C
R639	67	C
R638	68, 109	CV
R637	103	D
R636	69	C
R635	70, 82, 99, 104	CLDL
R634	83	L
R633	71, 105	CD
R632	84, 100	DD
R631	85	L
R630	86, 87, 112	DLV
R629	88, 89	DD
R627	62, 106	CL
R626	90, 91, 108	DLV
R624	92	L
R623	93	D
R622	72, 107	CL
R619	101	L
R616?	73	C
R614	97	D

C = Conveyance

D = Debt-note

L = Loan

V = Various

Table 12 TW53 dated texts

During this time he seems to have been remarkably consistent in the range of his activities, with conveyances, debt-notes and loans being represented throughout.

### *The conveyance texts*

All we know about him is therefore to be taken from his activities as reflected in the legal documents. No. 60 is a house sale from around 640 BC, and as suggested by Wiseman (1953, 135), this may well have been the very house in which the archive was found. The other sale documents concern slaves, male and female. In Nos. 64–65, 68, 71–72 and 74–75 the purchaser is Šamaš-šarru-ušur himself. The earliest of these purchases is No. 64, where a slave woman is bought together with her son (649 BC). Later, in R643, R638 and R633, he buys a single woman, and No. 69 (R636) records a legal transaction in which a woman enters the house of Šamaš-šarru-ušur under the terms of an earlier guarantee. Male slaves he bought singly in No. 72 (R622) and Nos. 74–75 (dates lost).

There are also four slave conveyances from Room 19 in which the purchaser is not Šamaš-šarru-ušur. The earliest of these, No. 63 (purchaser Kanunayu), is dated 665 BC and thus is the oldest document in the archive. The others are Nos. 66 (purchaser Lutubašanni-Adad; R641), 67 (Nabu-qate-šabat; R639) and 70 (Ubru-Nabu; R635). In the case of No. 66 the woman purchased is later (R633) sold to Šamaš-šarru-ušur by Lutubašanni-Adad's son, so it is plain that this tablet attesting to her earlier acquisition was transferred to her new owner, along with her person, just as happened with real estate transactions in Old Babylonian society (cf. CAD U/W, 118-19 s.v. ummatu B). With Nos. 63, 67 and 70 we have no indication of why these purchase tablets found their way into Šamaš-šarru-ušur's archive, although it is obviously possible that the same explanation might apply. In the case of No. 63 it would account for its relatively early date, some fifteen years before the earliest of Šamaš-šarru-ušur's own slave purchases (No. 64), and it would also explain why the witnesses do not include any of the regular names from Šamaš-šarru-ušur's own transactions. Nos. 62 and 73, both sales of a slave woman, dating to the 620's and 616 BC, are probably not from his archive, having been found in Room 11.

In Šamaš-šarru-ušur's case the question arises, whether these slave purchases were supplying personnel for his doubtless extensive household, or rather are evidence for his commercial activities, meaning that he was acting as a dealer in slaves. The archive as it has reached us contains eight documents relating to Šamaš-šarru-ušur's acquisition of slaves. These were single women in four cases (Nos. 65; 68; 69; 71), a woman with her son in No. 64, and in three cases a male slave (Nos. 72; 74; 75). It is difficult to favour one explanation over another, but the time span of these transactions stretches over about 27 years, from 649 BC to R622, and if we can assume that title deeds would not remain in the possession of a seller this would suggest that some of the slaves in question had been Šamaš-šarru-ušur's property for one or two decades, an improbable situation if they formed part of a commercial slave trading venture. The likeliest conclusion would therefore seem to be that Šamaš-šarru-ušur did indeed maintain a fairly numerous household staff, some, if not all, of whom were classed as slaves. Whether any of them had specialist skills remains unknown to us since slaves are not given any professions.

*The witnesses*

As with the Nabu Temple archive many of the witnesses reappear time and again, both in the conveyances and in the loans and other debt-notes. Table 13 shows the distribution of these names over time.

From No. 64 (649 BC) on there is a recurring group of witnesses who must have been closely associated with Šamaš-šarru-ušur's household, even if they were not actually members. Šil-Bel-dalli and Nabu-le'i appear together from the start, in No. 98 (660 BC). Nabu-le'i is still witnessing in R619 (No. 101), but Šil-Bel-dalli's latest appearance is some ten years earlier, in R630. The pair are joined in 649 BC (No. 64) by Samidu, (La-)dagil-ili, Urdu and Dudu who are all recurrent members of the cadre of witnesses. Of these Urdu lasts longest, until R622 (No. 107), preceded by (La-)dagil-ili, Samidu and Dudu (last appearances R626, Nos. 108 and 91). They feature especially in the debt-notes and loans, but also alongside other less regularly attested witnesses in some of the conveyances. Text No. 64, as well as supplying the first attestation for most of these witnesses, with the additional formality often found in conveyances, also gives them professional designations. From here we learn that Šil-Bel-dalli was a eunuch (LÚ.SAG), even though in No. 60:29–30, the house purchase, his profession is given as “[.....] of the house”. (La-)dagil-ili was also a eunuch, and Nabu-le'i was a “son of a palace slave woman”. Samidu was a scribe (but he has a title including GAL in No. 60:30), Tutaya and Nur-Šamaš son of Kurilaya were door-keepers, and Urdu was a cook in the Nabu Temple (if the same man). A witness to tablets earlier than No. 64 was Nabu-piya-aḫi-ušur, who in this text is identified as a “servant of the god Nabu” (l. 44).

The position with Dudu is more complicated. From the frequency with which he appears last in the list of witnesses it seems likely that he was acting as scribe (even though Samidu is often present higher up the same list), and this seems to be supported by his appearance in No. 60:40, where he is the final witness and is identified as “the scribe” (A.BA). However, in No. 64:31 we meet a Dudu who is the “cereal-processor (*laḫḫinu*) of Ninurta”, and this must be the same witness as in No. 74:33 with the same name and profession (*laḫḫinu*). Significantly perhaps, in each of these conveyances he is listed next to Urdu, as happens very frequently in the loans and debt-notes. It is unclear whether we have here two namesakes, or more likely just one Dudu whose profession could oscillate between scribe and *laḫḫinu* and who served the Ninurta Temple at the same time as acting as a frequent witness for the Šamaš-šarru-ušur household.



	98	76	77	64	78	65	80	79	102	81	60	68	109	103	69	104	82	70	99
Ahu-imme	•																		
Nabu-le'i	•	•	•	•		•	•		•			•				•	•		
Šil-Bel-dalli	•	•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•		•		•	•		
Nabu-piya-aḫi-ušur	•		•	•		•													
Nabu-rehitu-ušur	•																		
Nabu-nadin-šumi	•																		
Nabua		•				•													
Nur-Šamaš		•		••	•	•		•				•							
Mannu-ki-Ninua		•																	
Mar-liḫi(ya)		•		•															
Arbailayu			•								•								
Šangu-Ištar			•										•						
Bel-duri			•																
Samidu				•	•	•	•		•		•	•		•		•	•		
(La-)dagil-ili				•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•		•		•	•		•
Nabu-šumu-iddina				•															
Dudu			•	•	•	•	•		•		•	•	•	•		•	•		
Urdu			•	•		•			•			•		•		•	•		
Tur-nadin-apli				•															
Pan-Ištar-lamur				•															
Ninurta-aplu-ušur				•		•													
Ištar-šumu-iddina				•															
Ilu-iadinu				•		•													
Urad-Ištar				•		•					•			•	•				
Qat-Ištar-ašbat				•															
Tutayu				•	•	•						•						•	
Mannu-ki-Ninurta				•							•								
Šamaš-šarru-ušur								•											
Iuḫe								•											
Babi								•											
Hub(tu)-Aššur										•								•	
Dur-maki-Ištar <sup>2</sup>										•									
Nergal-qurbu										•									
Dayi											•								
Naniya											•								
Ahu-lamur											•								
Nabu-gabbu-ile'i											•								
Nabu-zeru-iddina											•								
Dari-abua											•								
Lu-šakin											•							•	
Aplu-ereš											•								
Nabu-kenu-ušur											•								
	98	76	77	64	78	65	80	79	102	81	60	68	109	103	69	104	82	70	99

## Notes to the Table

The texts are arranged chronologically, with the earliest on the left. The names are listed in the order of each one's first appearance as a witness. Hence the span of each person's appearances is given by the left-hand and right-hand dots. A few texts are not included here, either because they have no surviving witness names, or because none of their witnesses occur in other texts (these are conveyances in which Šamaš-šarru-ušur does not feature). They are Nos. 62; 63; 66; 67; 73 and 93.

Table 13. TW53 witnesses

	83	71	100	84	85	86	87	89	88	106	90	91	108	92	107	72	101	97
Aḫu-imme																		
Nabu-le'i	•	•	•	•	•	•				•		•	•			•	•	
Šil-Bel-dalli	•	•	•	•		•	•											
Nabu-piya-aḫi-ušur																		
Nabu-reḫitu-ušur						•												
Nabu-nadin-šumi																		
Nabua																		
Nur-Šamaš		•				•	•											
Mannu-ki-Ninua																		
Mar-liḫi(ya)																		
Arbailayu																		
Šangu-Ištar																		
Bel-duri																		
Samidu	•	•	••			•	•			•		•						
(La-)dagil-ili	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•					
Nabu-šumu-iddina						•												
Dudu	•	•				•	•	•		•		•						
Urdu	•	••		•						•					•			
Tur-nadin-apli																		
Pan-Ištar-lamur																		
Ninurta-aplu-ušur																		
Ištar-šumu-iddina																		
Ilu-iadinu															•			
Urad-Ištar		•				•												
Qat-Ištar-ašbat																		
Tutayu							•											
Mannu-ki-Ninurta									•		•			•		•		•
Šamaš-šarru-ušur																		
Iuḫe																		
Babi																		
Ḫub(tu)-Aššur																		
Dur-maki-Ištar <sup>?</sup>																		
Nergal-qurbu																		
Dayi																		
Naniya																		
Aḫu-lamur																		
Nabu-gabbu-ile'i																		
Nabu-zero-iddina																		
Dari-abua																		
Lu-šakin																		
Aplu-ereš																		
Nabu-kenu-ušur																		
	83	71	100	84	85	86	87	89	88	106	90	91	108	92	107	72	101	97

Table 13. TW53 witnesses (ctd.)

	98	76	77	64	78	65	80	79	102	81	60	68	109	103	69	104	82	70	99
Ilu-paḫru												•							
Tariba-Ištar												•							•
Ubru-Allaya												•							
Nabu-šarru-ušur												•							
Nergal-epuš												•	•						•
Urad-Nabu												•							
Ribayu													•						
Ninurta-mutaqqini															•				
Šumma-Nabu															•				
Dilil-Ištar															•				
Qanni-Ištar-ašbat																			
Remana-Ištar																•		•	
Dayyan-Ninurta																		•	
Il(u)-natan																		•	
Gabbu-amur																		•	
Kiḫlanu																		•	
Šumma-tašib																		•	
Šulmu-šarri																		•	
Urad-Nana(ya)																			•
Nabu-balassu-iqbi																			•
Aḫu-iabu																			
Sulummaya																			
Nabu-nasir																			
Ninurta-apil-kumua																			
Abda																			
Balte-idri																			
Adad-milki-ereš																			
Aḫušina																			
Samsi																			
Mušeziḫ-Nabu																			
Aḫu-eriba																			
Ninurta-besun																			
Mar-Ištar																			
Mannu-ki-abī																			
Bel-šarru-ušur																			
Nana-eriba																			
Mannu-ki-Bel																			
Šaši																			
Taršiya?																			
Ḫabil-ken																			
Addallal																			
Turši-Ištar																			
	98	76	77	64	78	65	80	79	102	81	60	68	109	103	69	104	82	70	99

Table 13. TW53 witnesses (ctd.)

	83	71	100	84	85	86	87	89	88	106	90	91	108	92	107	72	101	97
Ilu-pahru																		
Tariba-Ištar		•														•		
Ubru-Allaya																		
Nabu-šarru-usur																		
Nergal-epuš				•	•					•						•	•	•
Urad-Nabu								•										
Ribayu																		
Ninurta-mutaqqini							•											
Šumma-Nabu																		
Dilil-Ištar																		
Qanni-Ištar-asbat																		
Remana-Ištar																		
Dayyan-Ninurta																		
Il(u)-natan																		
Gabbu-amur																		
Kiqilanu																		
Šumma-tašib																		
Šulmu-šarri																		
Urad-Nana(ya)		•																
Nabu-balassu-iqbi																		
Aḫu-iabu		•																
Sulummaya						•												
Nabu-nasir						•												•
Ninurta-apil-kumua							•											
Abda							•											
Balte-idri								•										
Adad-milki-ereš									•		•							
Ahušina												•						
Samsi													•					
Mušeziḫ-Nabu													*					
Aḫu-eriba														•				
Ninurta-besun														•				
Mar-Ištar														•				
Mannu-ki-abi														•				
Bel-šarru-usur															•			
Nana-eriba																•		
Mannu-ki-Bel																•		
Šasi																•		
Taršiya?																•		
Ḫabil-ken																	•	
Addallal																		•
Turši-Ištar																		•
	83	71	100	84	85	86	87	89	88	106	90	91	108	92	107	72	101	97

Table 13. TW53 witnesses (ctd.)

ND 3463 (IM 57048)

Conveyance tablet: 4.8 x 7.9 cm.

Provenance: TW53 Room 19

Copy (Obv. only): Plate 23 (JNP)

12.VIII.R640/P641

*Sealing*

*Figs. 39–41; Plate II*

Cylinder seal impression at top of Obv.; height ca. 2.0 cm.

*Design:* At the right a bearded deity combating a rampant sphinx with right arm raised in smiting position and right foot standing on winged lion (head missing, possibly also a sphinx). At the left a bearded worshipper with hand raised in adoration. A fish as filling motif between worshipper and sphinx and a rhombus or eye-motif behind the smiting god. The seal impression shows pronounced use of the drill.

*Comparisons:* from Nineveh and Nimrud, Herbordt 1992, pl. 6, 4–7 (Ninive 166, Ninive 139, Ninive 189; Nimrud 42); cylinder seal from Tell Halaf, Hrouda 1962, pl. 25, 36.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, p. 118 fig. 9; pl. 25, 1; Herbordt 1992, p. 188 Nimrud 66; pl. 6, 3



Figure 39. No. 60, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

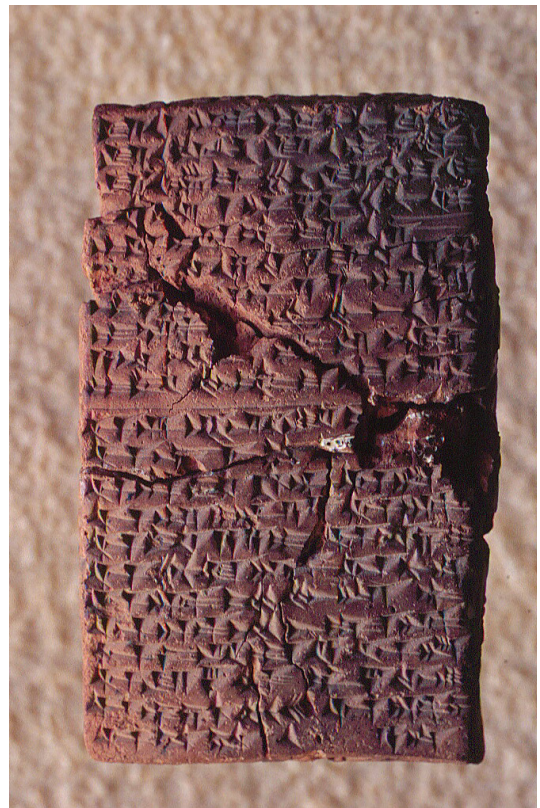


Figure 40. No. 60, Reverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

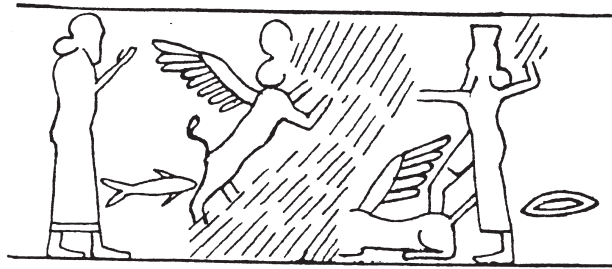


Figure 41. No. 6 (B. Parker)

Obv. 1 'NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB<sup>1</sup> <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-ŠEŠ-PAB  
2 <sup>lú</sup>qa-tin-nu ša <sup>d</sup>PA  
3 EN É ta-SUM-ni

cylinder seal impression

4 [É ep-š]ú<sup>?</sup> 'a-di<sup>1</sup> [G]IŠ.ÙR.MEŠ-šú  
5 [a]-'di<sup>1</sup> GIŠ.I[G.MEŠ-šú x x ] a nu GUR šú ni[  
6 du [(x)] ta<sup>?</sup> 'x x<sup>1</sup> [x x] É L[Ú?  
7 òi<sup>hi</sup> É <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU [' s]u-qa-qi  
8 '' re-bi-te '' 'É<sup>1</sup> [<sup>1.d</sup>š]á-maš-MAN-PAB  
9 ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU ina <sup>uru</sup>kal-òi  
10 kaq-ri ša AD-šú ša <sup>1.d</sup>r<sub>x</sub> (x)<sup>1</sup>[.M]EŠ<sup>?</sup>-šú-PAB  
11 <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-PAB-PAB kaq-ri [x x ina òib-b]i  
12 10<sup>sup.ras.</sup> GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR [(x) <sup>1.d</sup>š]á-maš-[MAN-PAB]  
13 a-na <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-[PAB-PA]B<sup>?</sup> x[ x x x x ]ni  
14 É š[u<sup>?</sup> x x x ]i si [x (x x)]  
B.E. 15 kas-pu [gam-mur ta-din] É z[a-rip]  
16 laq-qi de-[e-nu D]UG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> [laššú]  
17 man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina ma-[te-ma]  
18 i-za-qu-pa-ni i-GIL-u-n[i]  
Rev. 19 lu-u <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-PAB-PAB lu-u DUMU-[-šú]  
20 lu-u PAB.MEŠ-šú lu-u <sup>lú\*</sup>šá-kín-šú  
21 lu-u LÚ.GAL 50-šú lu mam-ma-mi-ni[-šú]  
22 ša TA\* <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB de-e-[nu]  
23 DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> ub-ta-u-ni  
24 '5<sup>1</sup> MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 MA.NA KÙ.GI  
25 ina bur-k[i] <sup>d</sup>MAŠ a-šib <sup>uru</sup>kal-òi  
26 i-šak-[kan] kas-pu ina 10-a-te  
27 a-na EN-'šú<sup>1</sup> ú-GUR ina de-ni-šú  
28 i-da-bu-ub-ma la <i-> laq-qe  
29 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li L[Ú. x (x x)] É  
30 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du LÚ<sup>?</sup> [x (x)] 'GAL<sup>1</sup> [(x)]

- 31 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gil-DINGIR IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-x[(...)]  
 32 IGI <sup>1.uru</sup>arba-il-a-a IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-x[  
 33 IGI <sup>1</sup>da-a-a-i IGI <sup>1</sup>na-ni-ia  
 34 IGI <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ IGI <sup>1</sup>PAB-la-a-mur [L]Ú\*.NINDA  
 35 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-gab-bu-ZU LÚ\*.NINDA  
 36 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-NUMUN-AŠ DUMU <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB-PAB<sup>?</sup> LÚ\*. [x]  
 37 IGI <sup>1</sup>dà-ri-AD-u-a IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-15 LÚ\*.NINDA  
 38 IGI <sup>1</sup>lu-ša-kin <sup>1a\*</sup>ša pu-li-šu  
 39 IGI <sup>1</sup>DUMU.NÍTA-KAM-eš IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-GIN-PAB  
 40 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u A.BA  
 T.E. 41 ITI.APIN UD.12.KÁM\*  
 42 lim-me <sup>1.d</sup>aš-šur-ga-ru-u-a-ni-ra  
 L.S. 43 ½ [GÍ]N K[Ù.BAB]BAR ša šu-pur-šú

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur, verger of Nabu, owner of the house being sold.

<sup>4</sup> A built house together with its beams, together with its doors, ....., <sup>7</sup> adjacent to the house of Nabu-le'i, [adjacent to] the lane, adjacent to the square, adjacent to the house of [Ša]maš-šarru-ušur, <sup>9</sup> in the centre of the city of Kalḫu, ground(?) of his father, of [...]šu-ušur, [this] ground(?) Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur [... in excha]nge for 10 shekels of silver, Šamaš-[šarru-ušur] to Nabu-pi-[aḫi-ušur] .....

<sup>15</sup> The price [has been paid in toto], the house is [legally] acquired. [There is no] (further) law[suit] or litigation. Anyone who in the future at any time arises and contravenes (the agreement), <sup>19</sup> whether Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur, or [his] son, or his brothers, or his officer, or his commander of 50, or anyone [of his], who initiates legislation (or) litigation against Šamaš-šarru-ušur, <sup>25</sup> shall place 5 minas of silver and 1 mina of gold in the lap of Ninurta who dwells in Kalḫu, shall return the price tenfold to its owner. He shall plead in his lawsuit but not succeed.

<sup>29</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, the [...]of the house, witness Samedu, the [...] chief [...], witness Ladagil-ili, witness Urad- [...], witness Arbailayu, witness Nabu- [...], witness Dayi, witness Naniya, witness Mannu-ki-Ninurta, witness Aḫu-lamur, the baker, witness Nabu-gabbu-ile'i, the baker, witness Nabu-zeru-iddina, son of Nabu-aḫi-ušur<sup>?</sup>, the [...], witness Dari-abua, witness Urad-Ištar, the baker, witness Lu-šakin, the limestone supplier, witness Aplu-ereš, witness Nabu-kenu-ušur, witness Dudu, scribe.

<sup>41</sup> Month of Araḫsamna (VIII), 12<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Aššur-garua-neri.

<sup>43</sup> Half a shekel of silver “for his fingernail”.

NB: Due to time pressure in Baghdad there is only a transcription of the Rev. of this tablet, no copy.

#### Notes

2: the “translation” of *qatinnu* as “verger” has been chosen because it is in England an office with relatively menial duties associated with a church. The seller here is described as the “servant of Nabu” (LÚ.İR šá <sup>d</sup>PA) in No. 64:44. The precise role of the *qatinnu* in Assyria is unknown, but contexts like



this one show that he has a function associated with the temple, while not, as far as we can see, being a “priest” with ritual duties. Evidence for a temple connection was assembled by Menzel, I, 263–4. For a recent discussion of this title in Middle Assyrian times see Jakob 2003, 558–9.

9: since Šamaš-šarru-ušur’s house, in which this tablet was found, was on the citadel mound, it is quite likely that the phrase *ina qab(as)si āli ina Kalḫi* implies that this house which he is acquiring was also on the citadel, and given Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur’s office, was perhaps the precise house from which this archive was recovered.

12–13: safe restoration of these lines seems impossible. It is certain that Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur is selling the property, and Šamaš-šarru-ušur buying it; however there is no obvious place to restore *uppiš-ma*, it is uncertain what preposition, if any, should be restored before Šamaš-šarru-ušur’s name in l. 12, and why Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur’s name is preceded by *ana* in l. 13.

28: restoring an *i* before *laq-qe* conforms to our understanding of Neo-Assyrian grammar, but the same apparent omission is found in text No. 61, making it possible that it is deliberate.

30: since GAL (=rab) normally occurs at the beginning of a professional title, here it is perhaps the second half of É.GAL, but Samedu (or a Samedu) occurs so regularly among Šamaš-šarru-ušur’s witnesses that I hesitate to give him a title which would put him among the palace staff.

40: Dudu, the scribe, in this position is almost certainly the writer of the tablet. He is also surely the same Dudu as appears frequently as a witness without professional title in many of the less formal texts (i.e. not conveyances) from this archive, often at or near the end of the witness list which suggests he was the scribe although he does not give his title (e.g. Nos. 65 (LÚ.A.BA); 71; 78; 81 Env.; 82; 83; 86; 87; 89; 94; 96; 102; 103; 104; 105). He is possibly also the Dudu bearing the title *laḫḫinu* of Ninurta (No. 64) or just *laḫḫinu* (No. 74).

### Commentary

For the most part this tablet has the regular wording of a house conveyance text, although the details of the property are obscure in places, especially ll. 4–6, and the critical statement of transfer of the property (in ll. 11–14) is difficult to reconstruct.

The witness list includes several of the witnesses who recur regularly in the contract texts of this archive (and were therefore no doubt members of or neighbours of the Šamaš-šarru-ušur household, see above, pp. 134ff.). However, the list is much longer than in those texts and there are therefore other names, some at least probably associated with the seller. Thus the names in ll. 29, 30, 31, and 32 occur more or less frequently in the archive, whereas the name Dayi, in l. 33, is very familiar from the Nabu Temple archive, and probably represents the same person, given the rarity of his name. Mannu-ki-Ninurta is very likely the man of this name who is “in charge of the entrance” (*ša pān nēribi*) in No. 64:45. On the other hand the three bakers (ll. 34, 35, 37) do not have any definite connection with Šamaš-šarru-ušur’s household, and they, like the limestone supplier in l. 38, may perhaps be from the seller’s side.

As suggested in the note to ll. 12–13, and already by Wiseman (1953, 135) it seems possible that this tablet is the proof of purchase of the house to which Room 19 belonged, since it dates to around 640 BC. In that case some of the contract tablets (Nos. 76–81) which are dated earlier than this would have to have been transferred there from a previous residence.



ND 3415 (BM)

Conveyance tablet: 4.8 x 9.0 x 2.6 cm.

Provenance: TW 53, Room 5 (House II)

Copy: Plate 24 (JNP)

[date lost]

*Sealing:* Finger nail impressions on Obv.Obv. 1 [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>]<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-me-r[a-ma]

2 [EN] É SUM-n[i]\_\_\_\_\_

finger nail impressions

3 É ep-šú a-di GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ-šú

4 2 GIŠ.IG.MEŠ-šú ina lib-bi

5 ú-piš-ma <sup>1</sup>ra-b[a]-a-nu6 TA\* IGI <sup>1</sup>a-me-ra-ma7 ina lib-bi 55<sup>?</sup> MA.NA URUDU.MEŠ

8 il-qe kas-pu ga-mur

9 ta-din É šu-a-tú

10 za-rip laq-qi tu-a-ru

11 de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la-áš-šú

12 man-nu ša ina ur-kiš

13 a-na ma-ti-ma i-za-qu-pa-ni

14 lu-u <sup>1</sup>a-me-ra-ma

15 lu-u ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú lu-u DUMU ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú

16 ša TA\* <sup>1</sup>ra-ba<sup>1</sup>-a-nu17 <sup>1</sup>ù ŠEŠ.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> -šú ù DUMU ŠEŠ-šú18 [de-e-n]u DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> ub-ta-u-niRev. 19 [x MA.NA] 'KÙ.BABBAR<sup>1</sup> RI<sup>?</sup> [(x)] LUḪ-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>20 <sup>1</sup>4<sup>1</sup> MA.NA KÙ.G[I] sa[k-r]u21 ina bur-ki <sup>d</sup>MAŠ a-šib <sup>ruru</sup>kal<sup>1</sup>-hi

22 i-šak-kan 1 GÚ.UN AN.NA

23 ina LÚ\*.EN.NAM URU-šú SUM-an

24 kas-pu ina 10.MEŠ-te ina EN-šú

25 ú-ta-ra ina de-ni-šú

26 DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>-ma la <i->laq-qe27 IGI <sup>1</sup>nap-šar-DINGIR LÚ\*.AŠGAB ša MUNUS.É.GAL28 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x ]x-DINGIR-a-a29 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x ]x-ki LÚ\*.NINDA30 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x]-a LÚ\*.BURU<sub>14</sub>(?)31 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x (x) ]x-ma

32 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x (x)–S]AG<sup>2</sup>

33 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x x ]x

34 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x x b]a<sup>2</sup>

35 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x x ]x

36 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x x x ]x

37 [IGI <sup>1</sup>x x -m]ur<sup>2</sup>

38 [x x x x x ] na [x]

39 [x x x x x x x]

T.E. (uninscribed)

<sup>1</sup> [Seal of] Amer[ama, owner of] the house being sold.

<sup>3</sup> A built house together with its beams, (with) two doors within it, Rabanu enacted (the procedures) and acquired from Amerama in exchange for 55 minas of copper.

<sup>8</sup> The price has been paid in full. That house is legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. <sup>12</sup> Whoever in the future at any time arises, whether Amerama, or his brothers, or the sons of his brothers, who initiates [a lawsuit] (or) litigation against Rabanu and his brother[s] and the son of his brother, shall place [...] minas of purified silver (and) 4 minas of refined gold in the lap of Ninurta who dwells in Kalḫu, (and) shall pay 1 talent of tin to the governor of his city. <sup>24</sup> He shall return the price tenfold to its owner. He shall plead in his lawsuit (but) not succeed.

<sup>27</sup> Witness Napšar-ili, the leatherworker of the queen; [witness ...]-ilaya, [witness ...]ki, the baker, [witness ....]a, the smith(?), (*7 more witnesses' names are lost; the date may have been written in lines 38–39*).

#### Notes

26: for the insertion of *i* see the note on No. 60:28.

30: the sign at the end of the line is clearly written on the tablet. The closest resemblance is to BURU<sub>14</sub> (=ebūru), but this is not a precise match, and I am not aware that BURU<sub>14</sub> ever stands for a profession. Conceivably an erroneous writing of SIMUG (“smith”).

#### Commentary

Rabanu purchases a house from Amerama for 55 minas of copper. We know of no link between Šamaš-šarru-ušur and Rabanu, who would have retained the tablet after the completion of the transaction. This no doubt reflects the fact that this tablet was found separately in Room 5, on the east side of House II.

ND 3479a (BM)

Copy: Plate 25 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: 5.2 x 8.2 x 2.6 cm.

Provenance: TW 53, Room 11

20(+).V.R627/P624

*Sealing**Fig. 42; Plate 25*

Two fragmentary circular or oval seal impressions on Obv. impressed at 90° angle to written text; 1.15 x 1.25 cm.

*Design:* In the centre a quadruped (caprid?). Left, a fish(?) and in field above the moon crescent.

*Comparisons:* from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 16, 26-27 (Ninive 48, Ninive 67); from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 64 nos. 437–438.

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 180 Nimrud 34; pl. 16, 25.



Figure 42. No. 62 (S. Herbordt)

- T.E. 1 [DU]MU <sup>1</sup>PAB-*bu-u*  
 Obv. 2 [N]A<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-*ia*–MAN–DÙ  
 3 EN MUNUS *ta-da-ni*

2 stamp seal impressions

- 
- 4 [<sup>m</sup>unus<sub>x</sub> (x)]x–AD GÊME-šú [( )]  
 5 [ša <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-*i*]a–MAN–DÙ *ú-p*[iš-*ma*]  
 6 [<sup>1</sup>a]-a–su-ri ina ŠÀ 1 MA.N[A KÙ.BABBAR]  
 7 [ša] L[Ú\*].DAM.GÀR TA\* IGI <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-[*ia*–MAN–DÙ]  
 8 [*il-*]qe kas-pu ga-mur [*ta-din*]  
 9 <sup>1</sup>MUNUS<sup>1</sup> šu-a-tu zar-pat la-q[e<sup>2</sup>-at]  
 10 tu-a-ru de-e-nu D[UG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la-aš-šu]  
 11 man-nu ina ur-kiš im-m[a-te-ma]  
 12 i-z[a]-qu-pa-a-ni lu-u [<sup>1</sup>DINGIR-*ia*–MAN–DÙ]  
 13 lu-u DUMU.MEŠ-šú ša TA\* <sup>1</sup>[a-a–su-ri ù]  
 14 DUMU.MEŠ-šú de-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DU[G<sub>4</sub> ub-ta-u-ni]  
 15 5 MA.NA [K]Ù.BABBAR 1 MA.N[A KÙ.GI]  
 16 ina bur-[*ki*]  
 B.E. 17 <sup>1</sup>kas<sup>2</sup>-p[u<sup>2</sup>]  
 (about 5 lines broken away)

- Rev. 1' 'DUG<sup>1</sup><sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>-ma [la ilaqqe]  
 2' šib-tú be-en-n[u ana 1 ME UD-me]  
 3' sa-ar-tú a-[na kal UD/MU(.AN.NA).MEŠ]  
 4' IGI 'pu-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[  
 5' IGI 'kur-DINGIR[-a-a<sup>2</sup>]  
 6' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>UT[U-]x[  
 7' [I]GI <sup>1</sup>za<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-[  
 8' [IGI] <sup>1</sup>g[a]b-bu-<sup>1</sup>ZU<sup>1</sup>-DIN[GIR  
 9' [IGI <sup>1</sup>]qu-u-[  
 10' [IG]I <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>2</sup>-<sup>1</sup>x - x<sup>1</sup>[  
 11' 'IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-[r]ém-n[i ( )]  
 12' I[GI] <sup>1</sup>i[a]<sup>2</sup>-din-DINGIR.x[( )]  
 13' IGI <sup>1.f.d</sup>UTU-AD-PAB [( )]  
 14' ITI.NE UD.20[(+x.KÁM)]  
 15' lim-mu <sup>1</sup>ITI.AB-a-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>  
 16' LÚ\* BÀD-MA[N-GI]N  
 17' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Son of Aḥ-abu <sup>2</sup> Seal of Iliya-šarru-ibni, owner of the woman being sold.

<sup>6</sup> Aya-suri enacted (the procedures) and [acqu]ired from Ili[ya-šarru-ibni] <sup>4</sup> [...]abi, the female slave [belonging to Ili]ya-šarru-ibni, in exchange for 1 mina [of silver (weighed by the mina) of] the merchant.

<sup>8</sup> The price has been paid in full. That woman is legally acquired. [There is no] (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) li[tigation]. <sup>11</sup> Whoever in the future at any [time] arises, whether [Iliya-šarru-ibni] or his sons, [(and) initiates] a lawsuit (or) litigation against [Aya-suri and] his sons, [shall place] 5 minas of silver (and) 1 mina of [gold] in the lap of [Ninurta who dwells in Kalḥu(?)]. <sup>17</sup> Whoever [.....

(ca. 5 ll. lost)

Rev. 1' He shall plead [in his lawsuit (but) not succeed.]

Rev. 2' (Guarantee against) seizure (and) epilepsy [for 100 days], against criminality fo[r all years/days]

<sup>4</sup> Witness Pu[...], witness Kur-il[aya], witness Šamaš-[...], witness Za[...], witness Gabbu-ile'i-ilu, [witness] Qu[...], wit[ness] Ša<sup>2</sup>[...], witness Nabu-remanni, wi[tness] Iadin-ilu[...], witness Šamaš-abu-ušur.

<sup>14</sup> Month of Apu (V), 20(+x)th day, eponymate of Kanunaya, the man of Dur-Šarruken,

<sup>17</sup> Witness Nabu-[...].

## Notes

1: this line giving the name of the seller's father is obviously added as an afterthought and therefore placed on the Top Edge which the scribe had intended to leave blank.

17: the *kaspu* phrase immediately follows the payment to Ninurta in Nos. 60 and 70, and suggests the reading here but the traces are slight and it is necessarily uncertain.

Rev. 8': this name is not otherwise attested, so it is possible we should emend the copy to give the

known name <sup>1</sup>*gab-bu-ina-ŠU(.2)-DIN[GIR]* “Gabbu-ina-qat-ili” see Hunger, PNA 1/II, 416.

Rev. 15-16': this is an unusually informal way to express Kanunayu's office, but it should probably be considered scribal shorthand rather than an error. Before Rev. 16' was deciphered, this eponym was identified as Kanunayu, the *limmu* for 671 or 666, and this text is accordingly misplaced — it should stand after No. 71.

Rev. 17': the last sign in this witness' name ends with a very clear broken vertical. It could have been A, in which case the name may have been Nabua, but there are other possibilities, such as [KA]L, so a firm restoration is not possible.

### *Commentary*

This is a straightforward slave sale with familiar Schlußklauseln as far as they are preserved. The witnesses do not overlap with the regular cadre of witnesses in Šamaš-šarru-ušur's documents, and this is probably more because the tablet came from Room 11 at the northern end of the architectural layout, and was unconnected with his archive, than because of the late date.

## 62a

## Sale(?)

ND 3479 (c) (BM)

Small fragment from the left side of a conveyance-type tablet.

[date lost]

Provenance: uncertain.

### *Sealing*

*Fig. 43; Plate VI*

One circular stamp seal impression impressed at a 90° angle to the written text within a delineated seal space on fragmentary tablet (almost no cuneiform preserved); diameter 1.1 cm.

*Design:* Two birds standing opposite one another. Below a guilloche band, at the left a drop-shaped filling motif.

*Comparisons:* from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 17, 7 (Ninive 125); a conical seal from Nimrud, Parker 1955, pl. 19, 7; from Assur, Böhme 2014, pl. 65 no. Ist 72; on tablets of the Achaemenid period from the Murašû archive in Nippur, Legrain 1925, nos. 809–810.

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 198 Nimrud 107; pl. 17, 8.



Figure 43. No. 62a (S. Herbordt)

This fragment has been stored with ND 3479 (a) (No. 62), but as with ND 3479 (b) (No. 73) this cannot be taken as proof that it was found with or near ND 3479 (a). Therefore, although it surely comes from TW53, its provenance from Room 11, though possible, cannot be considered definite.

63

### Sale of slave woman

ND 3424 (Ashmolean 1954.737)

Copy: Plate 26–27 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: 5.3 x 9.8 x 2.9 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

18.XI.665

#### Sealing

*Figs. 44–45; Plate VI*

Four oval seal impressions on Obv.; 0.9 x 1.4 cm

*Design:* An Egyptian seal design consisting of a squatting deity holding a *maat*-feather.

Two seal owners are named here for impressions of only one stamp seal. Neither of the names is Egyptian. The last line of the document notes that half a shekel of silver was paid for ‘his’ seal. On this aspect of sealing practice cf. Herbordt 1992, p. 49f.

*Comparison:* an oval stamp seal from Assur with the same motif, Keel 2014, p. 30 no. 132 (with commentary); pl. 26, no. 132.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 119 fig. 12; pl. 26, 1; Herbordt 1992, p. 177 Nimrud 21; pl. 18, 4.



Figure 44. No. 63 Obverse (*Iraq* 17 Pl. XXVI.1. © BISI)



Figure 45. No. 63  
(B. Parker)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki-aš-š[ur]*  
 2 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*pa-gu-DINGIR-PAB EN MUNUS SUM-ni*

4 stamp seal impressions

---

3 <sup>munus</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-[ta]r-bi-e-di GÊME-šú-nu*  
 4 *ú-piš-ma <sup>1</sup>ITI.AB-a-a*  
 5 TA\* IGI LÚ.MEŠ *an-nu-te ina lib-bi*  
 6 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ina ša KUR gar-ga-mis*  
 7 *il-qe kás-pu gam-mur ta-din*  
 8 MUNUS *šú-a-tú zar<sub>4</sub>-pat na-ši-at*  
 9 *tu-a-ru de-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la-áš-šú*  
 10 *man-nu šá ina ur-kiš ina ma-te-ma*  
 11 *i-GIL-u-ni lu-u LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-te*  
 12 *lu DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu lu-u ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu*  
 13 *[š]a de-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>*  
 Rev. 14 <sup>1</sup>TA\*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ITI.AB-a-a DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
 15 DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú *ub-ta-u-ni*  
 16 *kás-pu ana 10.MEŠ ana EN.MEŠ-šú u-GUR*  
 17 *ina de-ni-šú DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>-ma NU TI*  
 18 *šib-ti be-en-nu a-na 1 ME UD.MEŠ*  
 19 *sa-ar-tú ana kal UD.MEŠ*  
 20 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB-KAM-eš LÚ.MU  
 21 IGI <sup>1</sup>*u-bi-ia-a* ” <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-I  
 22 IGI <sup>1</sup>*šùl-mu-EN LÚ.NINDA É 2-i*  
 23 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-tak-lak  
 24 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-PAB-PAB ” <sup>1</sup>ZU-DINGIR  
 25 IGI <sup>1</sup>AD-IGI.LÁ ” <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-DÙ  
 26 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ku-sa-su* ” <sup>1</sup>EN-ZU  
 27 IGI <sup>1</sup>*aš-sur-še-zib-a-ni* ” <sup>1</sup>*ni-nu-a-ri*  
 28 IGI <sup>1</sup>*suk-ka-a-a* ” <sup>1</sup>*šil-AŠ*  
 29 [I]TI.ZÍZ UD.18 *lim-me*  
 T.E. 30 <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki-LUGAL DIŠ+U K[UR]*  
 31 [IG]I <sup>1.d</sup>PA-šal-lim-PAB.MEŠ LÚ\*.A.B[A]  
 L.S. 32 IGI <sup>1</sup>*pu-uš-ḥu LÚ.NAGAR*  
 33 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ša NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú*



<sup>1</sup> Seal of Mannu-ki-Aššur, seal of Pagu-ili-ušur, owner(s) of the woman being sold.

<sup>3-7</sup> Kanunayu enacted (the procedures) and acquired Atar-bedi, their slave woman, from these men, in exchange for 1 mina of silver (weighed) by (the mina) of Carchemish. <sup>8</sup> That woman is legally taken. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. <sup>10</sup> Whoever in the future at any time contravenes (the agreement), whether these men or their sons or their brothers, who initiates a lawsuit (or) litigation against Kanunayu, his sons (or) his grandsons, shall return the price tenfold to its owners. <sup>17</sup> He shall plead in his lawsuit but not succeed. <sup>18</sup> (Guarantee against) seizure and epilepsy for 100 days, criminality for all time.

<sup>20</sup> Witness Nabu-aḫu-ereš, the cook, witness Ubiya, witness Ninurta-na'id(?), witness Šulmu-Bel, the baker of the "Second House", witness Nabu-taklak, witness Ninurta-aḫu-ušur, witness La'iti-ilu, witness Abu-lamur, witness Zeru-ibni, witness Kusu, witness Bel-le'i, witness Aššur-šeziḫanni, witness Ninuari, witness Sukkayu, witness Šil-Aššur.

<sup>29</sup> Month of Šabaṭu (XI), 18<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Mannu-ki-šarri, Palace Herald.

<sup>31</sup> Witness Nabu-šallim-aḫḫe, the scribe, witness Pušḫu, the carpenter.

<sup>33</sup> Half a shekel of silver for his(!) seal.

#### Notes

21: in differentiating <sup>1</sup>dMAŠ-I (read Ninurta-na'id) from <sup>1</sup>dMAŠ-ti-i (read Nurti) I follow Baker in PNA 2/I, 554 and 558, but without total conviction.

27: note that there is only one –a- in this name (pace Pearce, PNA 2/II p. 964), which puts the etymology indicated there in doubt. Moreover one cannot rule out reading –a-tal.

28: in agreement with Reynolds, PNA 3/I, 1171, I take the AŠ here as an abbreviation for aššur.

30: according to Millard 1994, 99 the only other document which assigns an official title to Mannu-ki-šarri is ADD 128 (=SAA 14 No. 72) where his title is SAG MAN, i.e. eunuch of the king, but he has the title Palace Herald in Eponym List A9 (Millard 1994, 53).

33: these additional payments were made to the seller (see Postgate 1976, 8), and here we would therefore expect a plural suffix, as in No. 64:46.

#### Commentary

Kanunayu purchases the slave woman Atar-bedi from two men, Mannu-ki-Aššur and Pagu-ili-ušur, for 1 mina of silver. We are not told how the two men come to be joint sellers (which need not mean they were joint owners), although the most obvious explanation would be that they were close relatives, e.g. brothers who had inherited the slave woman. However, this would not apply to the sellers in No. 64, to cite only one instance.

Kanunayu is a common name, but the purchaser here is perhaps the same man as was involved in a guarantee for a slave woman in Šamaš-šarru-ušur's household in No. 69.



ND 3426 (IM 57050)

Copy: Plate 28 (DJW; Iraq 15 Pl. XII 9)

Conveyance tablet: 5.7 x 9.2 cm.

Collations FNALD No. 9

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

9.XII.649

*Sealing*: two different stamp seal impressions after l. 3.

- Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'ZÁLAG—<sup>d</sup>šá-maš DUMU 'pu-uš-*hi-i*  
 2 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'dPA—MU—AŠ DUMU 'su-ka-a-a  
 3 PAB 2 LÚ.MEŠ-e EN UN.MEŠ [*ta-d*]a-ni

2 stamp seal impressions

- 4 <sup>munus</sup>a-*ha-ti-le-i* 'se-e'-*ha-ri* DUMU-šá 3 ru-tu  
 5 PAB 2 ZI.MEŠ ša LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-ti  
 6 ú-piś-ma 'dšá-maš—MAN—PAB LÚ.SAG TA\* IGI LÚ.MEŠ an-nute  
 7 ina lib-bi 2 MA.NA 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina ma-né-e  
 8 ša <sup>uru</sup>gar-ga-mis il-qé kas-pu gam-mur  
 9 ta-din UN.MEŠ šú-a-tú zar'-pu TI-ú  
 10 tu-a-ru de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la-áš-šú  
 11 [m]an-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina ma-te-e-ma i-za-qu-pa-ni  
 12 GIL-u-ni lu-u LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-te lu-u DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 13 lu-u DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu lu GAR-nu-šú-nu lu-u mám-mu-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu  
 14 ša TA\* 'dšá-maš—MAN—PAB DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
 15 de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> ub-ta-u-ni 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR LUḫ-ú  
 16 1 MA.NA KÙ.GI sak-ru ina bur-ki <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 17 a-šib <sup>uru</sup>kal-*ha* GAR-an 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ BABBAR.MEŠ  
 18 ina GÌR.2 aš-šur i-rak-kas 1 ANŠE ḫar-ba-kan-ni  
 B.E. 19 ina GÌR.2 <sup>d</sup>MAŠ.MAŠ ú-še-rab  
 Rev. 20 7 GI.AMBAR.MEŠ ša la ki-iš-ri  
 21 ina KÁ aš-šur i-zaq-qáp  
 22 bi-lat AN.NA a-na LÚ.EN.NAM URU-šú SUM-an  
 23 šib-ti bé-en-ni a-na 1 ME UD.MEŠ  
 24 sa-ar-tu ina kal MU.MEŠ  
 25 kas-pu ina 10.MEŠ-te a-na EN.MEŠ-šú GUR-ra  
 26 ina de-ni-šú DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>-ma la TI-qé
- 
- 27 IGI 'šil—EN—dal-li LÚ.SAG  
 28 IGI 'sa-mi-du LÚ.A.BA  
 29 IGI 'da-gil—DINGIR LÚ.SAG  
 30 IGI 'dPA—MU—AŠ LÚ.DUMU ŠÁM  
 31 IGI 'du-du-u <sup>lu</sup>laḫ-*hi-nu* šá <sup>d</sup>MAŠ

- 32 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ur-du* LÚ.MU É DINGIR šá <sup>d</sup>PA  
 33 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG–<sup>d</sup>šá-maš DUMU <sup>1</sup>*kur*–DINGIR-*a-a* LÚ\*.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>  
 34 IGI <sup>1</sup><sup>d</sup>PA–ZU LÚ.DUMU GÉME.É.GAL  
 35 IGI <sup>1</sup>*tu-ur*<sup>1</sup>–AŠ–A LÚ.GAL GIŠ.GAG.MEŠ šá A MAN  
 36 IGI <sup>1</sup>IGI–15–*la-mur* DUMU <sup>1</sup><sup>d</sup>PA-*ia-a*  
 37 IGI <sup>1</sup><sup>d</sup>MAŠ–A–PAB<sup>1</sup> LÚ.NINDA ša <sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 38 IGI <sup>1</sup><sup>d</sup>15–MU–AŠ LÚ.A.BA DIB IM  
 39 ITI.ŠE UD.9<sup>1</sup>.KÁM\* *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>PAB–DINGIR-*a-a* LÚ.GAR KUR *gar-ga-mis*  
 T.E. 40 IGI <sup>1</sup>*mar-li-ḫi-ia* DUMU <sup>1</sup>DÙG–IM–15  
 41 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG–<sup>d</sup>šá-maš <sup>lú</sup>*mu-šá-kil* MUŠEN.MEŠ  
 42 IGI <sup>1</sup>DINGIR–*ia-di-nu* <sup>lú</sup>*mu-šá-kil* MUŠEN.MEŠ  
 L.S. 43 IGI <sup>1</sup>ÌR–15 <sup>lú</sup>*mu-šá-kil* MUŠEN.MEŠ IGI <sup>1</sup>ŠU–15–*aš-bat* LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ  
 44 IGI <sup>1</sup><sup>d</sup><PA>–KA-*ia*–PAB–PAB LÚ.ÌR šá <sup>d</sup>PA IGI <sup>1</sup>*tu-ta-a-a* LÚ.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>  
 45 IGI <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki*–<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>lú</sup>šá–IGI–*né-ri-bi*  
 46 ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ša NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB–šú-nu  
 47 IGI <sup>1</sup>[ <sup>lú</sup>*mu-šá* ]–*kil* [MUŠEN].MEŠ

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Nur-Šamaš, son of Pušḫi, seal of Nabu-šumu-iddina, son of Sukkayu. Total two men, owner(s) of the people being sold.

<sup>3</sup> Aḫati-le'i (and) Se'-ḫari her son 3 spans (tall), total two souls, belonging to these men, Šamaš-šarru-ušur the eunuch enacted (the procedures) and acquired from these men in exchange for 2 minas 1 shekel of silver (weighed) by the Carchemish mina.

<sup>8</sup> The price is paid in full, those people are legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. Whoever in the future at any time may arise and contravene (the agreement), whether these men, or their sons, or their grandsons, or their officer, or anyone of theirs, who initiates a lawsuit (or) litigation against Šamaš-šarru-ušur (or) his sons (or) his grandsons, shall place 5 minas of purified silver (and) 1 mina of refined gold in the lap of Ninurta who dwells in Kalḫu, shall bind two white horses to the feet of Aššur, shall introduce one *ḫarbakannu* horse into the feet of Nergal. <sup>20</sup> He shall erect seven reeds without nodes in the gate of Aššur. He shall pay one talent of tin to the governor of his city.

<sup>23</sup> (Guarantee against) seizure (and) epilepsy for 100 days, criminality for all years. He shall return the price tenfold to its owners. <sup>26</sup> He shall plead in his lawsuit but not succeed.

<sup>27</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, the eunuch, witness Samidu, the scribe, witness Dagil-ili, the eunuch, witness Nabu-šumu-iddina, son of a purchased slave, witness Dudu, the cereal-processor of Ninurta, witness Urdu, the cook of the temple of Nabu, witness Nur-Šamaš son of Kurilayu, the doorkeeper, witness Nabu-le'i, the son of a palace slave-woman, witness Ṭur-nadin-apli, the overseer of the doorlocks of the Crown Prince, <sup>36</sup> witness Pan-Ištar-lamur son of Nabuya, witness Ninurta-aplu-ušur, the baker of Ninurta, witness Ištar-šumu-iddina, the scribe who executed the tablet.

<sup>39</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 9<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Aḫu-ilaya, the governor of the province of Carchemish.

<sup>40</sup> Witness Marliḫiya son of Ṭab-šar-Ištar, witness Nur-Šamaš, the bird-feeder, witness Ilu-iadinu, the bird-feeder, witness Urad-Ištar, the bird-feeder, witness Qat-Ištar-ašbat, the bird

trapper, witness Nabu-pi-aḫi-uṣur, the slave of Nabu, witness Tutayu, the doorkeeper, witness Mannu-ki-Ninurta, the controller of the entrance.

<sup>46</sup> Half a shekel of silver for their seal. [Witness PN, the bird]-feeder.

### Notes

28: Samidu may be near the beginning of the witness list here and in No. 65 because his father Puli/u was the high-priest or held another high post.

30: this Nabu-šumu-iddina is presumably not the man of this name who is one of the sellers.

33: this Nur-Šamaš, son of Kurilayu, appears as a witness in No. 65 and No. 74 where again he is described as a door-keeper. Likely enough, given his function as a door-keeper, he also acted as a witness in other texts (67; 68; 71; 76; 78; 80; 86; 87; 88), but without the patronymic this must remain uncertain.

39: note that the date is placed here, directly after the line naming the scribe as a witness, only for the witness list then to be continued, presumably as a result of an afterthought on someone's part.

41: this is the third Nur-Šamaš (see ll. 1 and 33)!

42: Ilu-iadinu, surely the same man, turns up in No. 65:32 as a witness between Urad-Ištar (a bird-feeder in 64:43 and Tutayu (a doorkeeper in 64:44); a man of this name also features as the debtor in No. 76 and a witness in No. 106, but there are not clear indications that in these cases it was the same man.

43: Urad-Ištar the bird feeder is the borrower in text No. 88 (and also a witness in No. 65).

44: inserting PA to give the divine name Nabu, as suggested by Deller 1966, 192, provides us with a witness who is known in three other of the earliest TW53 texts, and this seems preferable to reading Ilu-, although that cannot be entirely ruled out.

46: compare note on No. 63: 33.

### Commentary

Purchase by Šamaš-šarru-uṣur of a slave woman and her young son. The price of 2 minas and 1 shekel of silver seems high by comparison with No. 63. There is nothing to tell us why the two sellers work together. Nur-Šamaš, son of Pušḫi, is encountered borrowing 12 shekels of silver from Šamaš-šarru-uṣur in No. 96, in a different eponym year, and apart from his namesake who acts as witness in l. 30 no Nabu-šumu-iddina is encountered elsewhere in this archive.

The witnesses include some of the men who recur regularly in the less formal debt-notes of the archive, and helpfully the scribe (Ištar-šumu-iddina) has provided their professional titles. Undoubtedly some of them are members or close affiliates of Šamaš-šarru-uṣur's household, but note that we also have members of the staff of the Nabu Temple (ll. 32 and 44) and the Ninurta Temple (ll. 31 and 37). The clutch of four bird-feeders and one bird-catcher (ll. 41–47) inevitably make one think of the debt-notes for birds (Nos. 98–101), and the fact that at least two of them feature in other documents from the archive strengthens the likelihood that these members of a bird-rearing establishment are closely associated with the household.

65

Sale of daughter

ND 3423

Conveyance tablet: 4.8 x 8.5 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

Transliteration: DJW

Photo: *Iraq* 17, Pl. XXIII.2

22.IV.R643/P644

*Sealing*

*Figs. 46–47; Plate II*

Cylinder seal impression at top of Obv.; height 1.8 cm.

*Design:* Two bearded worshippers with hand raised in gesture of adoration are shown flanking a stylized tree whose top has the shape of a palmette. Above the tree the winged sun disc. Between the backs of the two worshippers are a six-pronged star and two eye-shaped filling ornaments.

The drawing originally published by Parker and reproduced here (Fig. 47) is inaccurate in that, e.g., the figures are elongated and the stylized tree and star are not accurately rendered. Therefore cf. photo, Fig. 46.

*Comparisons:* from Nimrud, Parker *Iraq* 17, pl. 16, 4; Parker 1962, pl. 18, 4; from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 39 nos. 190 (= Moortgat 1988<sup>3</sup>, no. 675); 191 (= Moortgat 1988<sup>3</sup>, no. 673); pl. 40 nos. 13; 193 (= Moortgat 1988<sup>3</sup>, no. 677); 196; from Tell Halaf, Hrouda 1962, pl. 24, 18 (= Moortgat 1988<sup>3</sup>, no. 674); from Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, no. 35.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 115 fig. 6; pl. 23, 2; Herbordt 1992, p. 183f. Nimrud 47; pl. 3, 2.



Figure 46. No. 65, Obverse  
(*Iraq* 17 Pl. XXVI.2. © BISI)

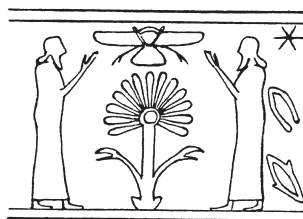


Figure 47. No. 65  
(B. Parker)

- Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*kur-il-DINGIR-a-a*  
 2 LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ TA\* <sup>uru</sup>*ra-pa-a*  
 3 EN DUMU.MUNUS-šú *ta-da-a-ni*

cylinder seal impression

- 
- 4 <sup>munus</sup>*ga-lu-su* DUMU.MUNUS-*su*  
 5 *ša* <sup>1</sup>*kur-il-DINGIR-a-a*  
 6 *up-piš-ma* <sup>1.d</sup>*ša-maš-LUGAL-PAB*  
 7 TA\* IGI <sup>1</sup>*kur-il-DINGIR-a-a*  
 8 *ina lib-bi* 16 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR  
 9 *a-na* DUMU.MUNUS-*ú-tú-šú*  
 10 *il-qé kas-pu gam-mur*  
 11 *ta-din* MUNUS *šu-a-tú*  
 12 *za-ár-pat laq-qi-at*  
 13 *tu-a-ru de-e-nu*  
 14 DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> *la-áš-šú*  
 15 *man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ù ma-te-ma*

(ll. 16–21 on B.E. and Rev. not recorded)

- Rev. (content of ll. 22-37 reconstructed from index in *Iraq* 15)
- 22 IGI <sup>1</sup>*sa-me-du* DUMU <sup>1</sup>*pu-u-li*  
 23 IGI <sup>1</sup>*šil-EN-dal-li*  
 24 IGI <sup>1</sup>*la-da-gil-DINGIR*  
 25 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU  
 26 (details missing)  
 27 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*u-a*  
 28 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-*ia-Á.2-PAB*  
 29 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>*ša-maš* DUMU <sup>1</sup>*kur-il-DINGIR-a-a*  
 30 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-A-PAB LÚ.GAR-*nu*  
 31 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 32 IGI <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-*ia-di-nu*  
 33 IGI <sup>1</sup>*tu-ta-a-a*  
 34 IGI <sup>1</sup>*du-du-u* LÚ.A.BA  
 35 ITI.ŠU UD.22.KÁM  
 36 *lim-mu* <sup>1.d</sup>PA-MAN-PAB  
 37 LÚ.GAL SAG

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Kurilaya, the bird-catcher from the town of Rapa, owner of his daughter being sold.

<sup>6</sup> Šamaš-šarru-ušur enacted (the procedures) and acquired <sup>4</sup> Galusu, the daughter of Kurilaya

<sup>8</sup> in exchange for 16 shekels of silver to be his daughter. <sup>10</sup> The price is paid in full. That woman is legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. Whoever

in the future and at any time

(text passage not recorded)

<sup>22</sup> Witness Samedu son of Puli/u, witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Nabu-le'i, (witness .....), witness Nabua, witness Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur, witness Nur-Šamaš son of Kurilaya, witness Ninurta-aplu-ušur, the officer, witness Urad-Ištar, witness Ilu-iadinu, witness Tutayu, witness Dudu, the scribe.

<sup>35</sup> Month of Tammuz, 3<sup>rd</sup> day, eponymate of Nabu-šarru-ušur, the Chief Eunuch.

#### Notes

1–2: since Kurilaya the bird-catcher is explicitly said to come from a place called Rapa, he is perhaps not the father of Nur-Šamaš (see No. 64 and the witness in l. 29 of this tablet), tempting though this looks.

22–34: a comparison with No. 64 will show that the majority of these witnesses are found there too, with their professions. Samedu in No. 64 is second in the list and identified as a scribe, while Šil-Bel-dalli heads the list there with the title “eunuch”.

#### Commentary

No copy or complete transliteration of this tablet was published in *Iraq* 15, although the photo of the Obv. in *Iraq* 17 is legible. Unfortunately the present location of the tablet is unknown, and is therefore impossible to restore the missing lines 16–21, or to check the accuracy of the witnesses and date which have been reconstructed from the index in *Iraq* 15. In the catalogue entry (*Iraq* 15, 140) D.J. Wiseman gives an indication of the content of the missing lines: “Penalty for infringement: payment of 5 mana of silver, Aššur, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabū, Ninurta and Gula shall judge the case and restoration of the purchase price tenfold to the rightful owner”.

The reconstructed text records the sale to Šamaš-šarru-ušur of a girl who is the daughter of the seller. The price, 16 shekels of silver, is low, but the text stipulates that she is bought to be Šamaš-šarru-ušur's daughter. In all other respects it looks like a sale, and unless something very unusual stood in the missing passage (ll. 16–21), which is unlikely given Wiseman's description, there are no special clauses. A girl purchased to become a wife to a son is not usually described as a “daughter” but as a “bride, daughter-in-law” (*kallatu*). Here then perhaps Šamaš-šarru-ušur is seeking to enlarge the female side of his family for some other domestic reason.



66

## Sale of slave woman

ND 3421 (BM 131984)

Conveyance tablet: 4.3 x 6.8 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

Copy: Plate 29 (JNP)

3.XII.R641/P643

*Sealing*

Two oval seal impressions on Obv.; 2.4 x 1.9 cm.

*Figs. 48–49; Plate IV*

*Design:* Bull galloping to the right with head turned back and tail raised in an arch above its back. In field below an eye-shaped filling ornament. Two small branch-like filling motifs left and right. The composition is surrounded by a raised line. The photo clearly shows the tassel at the end of the bull's tail and an eye-shaped filling ornament at the bottom.

*Comparisons:* from Nineveh and Nimrud, Herbordt 1992, pl. 16, 6 (Ninive 12); p. 196 Nimrud 99 (= Postgate 1984, pl. 47, 18).

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 121 fig. 21; pl. 28, 1; Herbordt 1992, p. 177 Nimrud 23; pl. 16, 5



Figure 49. No. 66  
(B. Parker)

Figure 48. No. 66, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXVIII.1. © BISI)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>ḥa-an-da-bu-ri  
2 EN GÉME-šú SUM-ni

2 stamp seal impressions

3 <sup>munus.d</sup>ur-kit-tum-ḥa-mat GÉME-šú  
4 4 ru-tu GÉME-šú ša <sup>1</sup>ḥa-an-da-bu-ri  
5 ú-piš-ma <sup>1</sup>lu-tú-ba-šá-ni-<sup>d</sup>IM  
6 ina lib-bi 20 MA.NA URUDU.MEŠ  
7 il-qe kas-pu ga-mur  
8 ta-din MUNUS šú-a-tú za-ár-pat  
9 laq-qi-at tu-a-ru de-e-nu  
Rev. 10 DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la-áš-šú  
11 man-nu šá GIL-u-ni  
12 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an  
13 šib-tú be-en-nu ina 1 ME UD-me  
14 sa-ár-tú ina kàl UD.MEŠ  
15 ina MU.AN.NA la ba-ši-ti  
16 a-ki 1 qa ŠE.PAD.MEŠ ina 1 ½ MA.NA URUDU.MEŠ  
17 ta-lak-u-ni GÉME TI-at  
18 IGI <sup>1</sup>e-ri-su  
19 IGI <sup>1</sup>aq-ru  
20 IGI <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-<sup>uru</sup>arba-il  
21 IGI <sup>1</sup><sup>uru</sup>arba-il-a-a  
22 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-ḥi-im-me  
23 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-u-a-a LÚ\*.A.BA  
24 ITI.ŠE UD.3.<sup>1</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup>  
25 lim-mu <sup>1</sup>aš-šur-MAN-PAB  
26 ša <sup>uru</sup>mar-qa-si

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Ḥandaburi, owner of his slave woman being sold.

<sup>5</sup> Lu-tubaššanni-Adad enacted (the procedures) and acquired <sup>3</sup> Urkittum-ḥamat his slave woman of 4 spans, the slave woman of Ḥandaburi, in exchange for 20 minas of copper.

<sup>7</sup> The price has been paid in full. That woman is legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. <sup>11</sup> Whoever contravenes (the agreement) shall pay 2 minas of silver. (Guarantee against) seizure (and) epilepsy for 100 days, criminality for all time. <sup>15</sup> In a year of dearth, when 1 qû of grain goes for 1 ½ minas of copper, the slave woman is acquired.

<sup>18</sup> Witness Erisu, witness Aqru, witness Mannu-ki-Arbail, witness Šil-Bel-ḥimme, witness Nabuaya, the scribe.

<sup>24</sup> Month of Addaru, 3<sup>rd</sup> day, eponymate of Aššur-šarru-ušur, of Marqasi.



*Notes*

3: this woman resurfaces later in No. 71 (see Commentary).

5: this man's name is written as La-tubaššanni-Adad when he is mentioned as the father of a seller in No. 71.

15: this is a "Getreidekursangabe" as found in other Neo-Assyrian sale documents (Deller, 1964). The phrase *ina šatti la bašīti* remains rather enigmatic; as noted in Postgate 1976, 22 one has to compare *ina šatti ukli la bašīti* (CTN 2, No. 15:52) where *ukli* has to be understood as "food" (not "overseer"), and in each case it is not the year that is non-existent but the food.

*Commentary*

In this document Ḫandaburi sells his slave girl Urkittum-ḫamat, who is only 4 spans tall, to Lu-tubaššanni-Adad for 20 minas of copper. The note in ll. 15–17 tells us that the sale was made in a famine year, and it is possible this would have affected the irreversibility of the transaction, but there is no explicit provision for the redemption of the girl, such as we sometimes encounter in restricted slave conveyances (Postgate 1976, 28–29).

This document would have been in the possession of Lu/a-tubaššanni-Adad. That it is found in TW53 Room 19 is explained by text No. 71, where the same woman, now however an old lady, is sold to Šamaš-šarru-ušur by the son of Lu/a-tubaššanni-Adad for 17 shekels of silver. Evidently the previous deed of sale was passed on to Šamaš-šarru-ušur as the new owner (cf. Commentary to No. 71 for further thoughts on these two documents).

The witnesses to this transaction do not reappear in the other documents of this archive (and accordingly this text has not been included in Table 12).

**67****Sale of slave woman**

ND 3460a+b (BM)

Copy: Plate 30 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: 4.8 x 8.5 x 2.3 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

23.VI.R639/P634

*Sealing*

*Figs. 50–51; Plate V*

Three circular seal impressions at top of Obv.; 1.15 x 1.1 cm.

*Design:* A monkey(?). In the field above a round and an eye-shaped filling ornament.

The drawing here was collated by Herbordt (replacing the drawing by Parker 1955, 120 fig. 17).

*Comparisons:* no comparable seal designs.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, pl. 27, 1; Herbordt, SAAS 1 p. 180 Nimrud 33; pl. 17, 6.



Figure 50. No. 67, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXVII.2. © BISI)



Figure 51. No. 67  
(S. Herbordt)

- Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>A[D<sup>2</sup>-  
2 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>ki-p[u- x - x ]x-qi  
3 EN MUNUS SUM-<sup>1</sup>a-ni<sup>1</sup>

3 stamp seal impressions

- 
- 4 <sup>munus.d</sup>a-tar-di-mir GÉME-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>  
5 ú-piš-ma <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ŠU.2-ša-bat  
6 ina lib-bi 50 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR il-<sup>1</sup>qe<sup>1</sup>  
7 kas-pu ga-mur ta-din-ni  
8 MUNUS šu-a-tú zar<sub>4</sub>-pat laq-qi-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>  
9 tu-a-ru de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>  
10 la-a-áš-šú man-nu' šá ina ur-kiš  
11 im-ma-te-ma i-za-qu-pa-ni  
12 lu-u LÚ.MEŠ-e an-nu-u-te

- 13 *lu-u* DUMU.MEŠ-šú-*nu* *lu-u* DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú-*nu*  
 14 *ša* TA\* <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ŠU.2-*ša-bat*  
 15 *u* DUMU.MEŠ-šú *u* DU[MU DU]MU.MEŠ-šú  
 B.E. 16 *de-e-nu* DU[G<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>]  
 17 *ub-ta-<sup>r</sup>u-ni<sup>1</sup>*  
 Rev. 18 *šib-tu be-nu ina* 1 ME UD-*me*  
 19 *sa-ar-tú ina kal* MU.AN.NA.MEŠ  
 20 *kas-pu ina* 10.MEŠ *ina* EN-šú *u-GUR*  
 21 *ina de-ni-šú* DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>-*ma*  
 22 *la i-laq-qe*  
 23 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>GA-šil-MAN GAL KUR  
 24 IGI <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-paḥ-ḥur GAL.KUR  
 25 IGI <sup>1</sup>rém-a-ni-15  
 26 IGI <sup>1</sup>na-ni-i  
 27 IGI <sup>1</sup>KAŠ.LUL  
 28 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-šal-lim-<sup>r</sup>PAB.ME(Š)<sup>1</sup>  
 29 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup>[x (x)]  
 30 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>r</sup>šá-maš<sup>1</sup>  
 31 <sup>r</sup>IGI <sup>1</sup>ḥa-a-a-nu  
 32 [ITI.K]IN UD.23.KÁM  
 T.E. 33 [*lim-mu*] <sup>1</sup>bu-lu-ṭu  
 34 [IGI <sup>1</sup>t]ab-URU-a-a  
 35 <sup>r</sup>IGI <sup>1</sup>DÜ-a-a

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Ab[u<sup>2</sup>-...], seal of Kipu[...]qī, owner(s) of the woman being sold.

<sup>5</sup> Nabu-qate-šabat enacted (the procedures) and acquired <sup>4</sup> Atar-dimir, his(!) slave woman, in exchange for 50 shekels of silver. <sup>7</sup> The price is paid in full, that woman is legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. <sup>10</sup> Whoever in the future at any time arises, whether these men, or their sons, or their grandsons, who initiates a lawsuit (or) litigation against Nabu-qate-šabat and his sons and his grandsons. <sup>18</sup> (Guarantee against) seizure (and) epilepsy for 100 days, criminality for all years. <sup>20</sup> He shall return the price tenfold to its owner. He shall plead in his lawsuit, but not succeed.

<sup>23</sup> Witness Ṭab-šil-šarri, palace overseer, witness Ilu-paḥḥur, palace overseer, witness Remanni-Ištar, witness Nanī, witness Šaqiu, witness Nabu-šallim-aḥḥe, witness ....., witness Nur-Šamaš, witness Ḥayanu.

<sup>32</sup> [Month of] Ululu (VI), 23<sup>rd</sup> day, [eponymate of] Bulluṭu.

<sup>34</sup> Witness Tabalayu, witness Bunaya.

#### Notes

NB. the first three lines of the Obverse and final three lines of the Reverse, along with the three lines on the TE are on a fragment of the tablet which was separated from the main body when described in *Iraq* 15. 4: as in No. 63, the slave woman here bears a purely Aramaic name. At the end of the line the scribe should surely have written -šú-*nu* as there are two sellers (cf. No. 68:5).

18: the scribe has failed to include the penalties to be incurred if the sellers or their relations contest the transaction.

24: this name is normally read *Ilu-lip-ḫur*, however one of the witnesses in No. 68 bearing the same title of *rab ēkalli* has the name *Ilu-paḫ-ru*, and it seems unavoidable to see this as the same man. One should perhaps not totally rule out the possibility that the name could vary between *-lipḫur* and *-paḫru*, but it seems easier to read here *-paḫ-ḫur*. The consequence of this would be that all the names listed under *Ilu-lipḫur* (Baker, PNA 2/I, 531) and under *Ilu-paḫḫir* (Jas, PNA 2/I, 534) should be united under the heading *Ilu-paḫḫur*, *Ilu-paḫru*.

### Commentary

Nabu-qate-ṣabat here purchases a slave woman from two sellers, whose names are only stated in the broken Siegelvermerk, for 50 shekels of silver. There are no unusual clauses.

The first two witnesses both appear to have been *rab ēkalli*. It seems unlikely that there were two holders of this title in the North-West Palace, so conceivably one of them held office in the Review Palace (Fort Shalmaneser). In any case their appearance as witnesses here must reflect in some way the background to the transaction, but without further information about Nabu-qate-ṣabat the purchaser, it is impossible to know whether the palace connection is with him, or with the two sellers whose names are mostly lost. However, since *Ilu-paḫru* (written thus) appears as the first witness in No. 68 with the same title, the involvement of palace officials is not unique. In that case the purchaser is Šamaš-šarru-ušur in person, and unlike here several of the witnesses belong to the regularly recurring cohort; the tablet is probably dated one year and two months after this one.

## 68

### Sale of slave woman

ND 3422 (BM)

Copy: Plate 31 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet 4.7 x 8.0 x 2.3 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

2.VIII.R638/P633

### Sealing

Impressions of two different seals on tablet. Cylinder seal impression at top of Obv. impressed 180° to the written text; 2.0 x 1.8 cm (No. 68-1). Also two impressions of circular stamp seal 180° to written text; diameter 1.3 cm. (No. 68-2).

68 -1

*Figs. 52–53; Plate II*

*Design:* A winged genie holding a *banduddu* bucket (only partially visible) faces a stylized tree at the left. Above the tree is the winged sun disc. Behind the genie a four-pronged star and an eye-shaped filling ornament. Collated drawing here by Herbordt.

*Commentary:* Although there are two persons named as seal owners, Ubru-Nabu and Ninurta(?) -kazbate, it is unclear which of the two seals impressed belonged to whom. For a



further seal of Ubru-Nabu cf. Herbordt 1992, p. 181f. Nimrud 41 (impressed on two tablets from Nimrud, including here No. 87 (1) (= ND 3437) and ND 2078 from ZT).

*Comparisons:* from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 40 no. 197 (= Moortgat 1988<sup>3</sup>, no. 749); 201; from Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, no. 38.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 121 fig. 19 pl. 27, 4; Herbordt 1992, p. 183 Nimrud 45; pl. 3, 3.

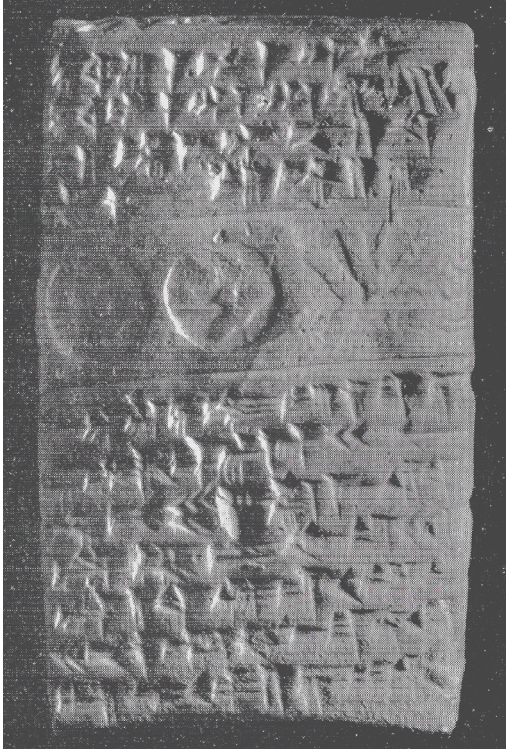


Figure 53. No. 68-1  
(S. Herbordt)

Figure 52. No. 68, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXVII.4. © BISI)

68-2

*Fig. 54; Plate III*

*Design:* The winged sun-disc topped by a crescent moon. In the lower field two birds (of which only the left is clearly visible) shown back to back.

*Commentary:* see No. 68-1 above.



Figure 54. No. 68-2 (S. Herbordt)

*Comparisons:* for the winged sun-disc: from Nineveh and Nimrud, Herbordt 1992, pl. 10, 24 (Ninive 97); 25 (Ninive 124); 26 (Nimrud 30); 27 (Ninive 177); 29 (Nimrud 121); 31 (Ninive 43); from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 57 no. 352 (= Jakob-Rost 1975, no. 398).

*Publication:* Parker 1955, pl 27, 4 (photo); Herbordt 1992, p. 183 Nimrud 46; pl. 10, 32 (drawing).

- Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>SUḪUŠ<sup>-d</sup>AG  
 2 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ<sup>?</sup>-ka-az-ba-a-te  
 3 PAB 2 LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-a-te  
 4 EN MUNUS ta-da-a-ni

1 cylinder seal and 2 stamp seal impressions

- 5 <sup>munus.d</sup>ba-ni-tum-ta-šá-ma-ni-i GÉME-šú-nu  
 6 ú-piš-ma <sup>d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB  
 7 ina lib-bi 54 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR  
 8 il-qe kas-pu ga-mur ta-din-ni  
 9 tu-a-ru<sup>1</sup> (tablet: ud) de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> <la-> áš-šú  
 10 man-nu šá ina ur-kiš ina ma-ti-ma  
 11 i-za-qu-pa-a-ni i-GIL-u-ni  
 Rev. 12 lu-u LÚ an-nu-te lu-u DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 13 lu-u DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu lu-u PAB.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 14 lu-u DUMU PAB.MEŠ-šú-nu lu-u LÚ.GAR-nu  
 15 lu-u LÚ.GAL ki-šir-šú-nu  
 16 TA\* <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
 17 DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú <<nu>> PAB.MEŠ-šú DUMU PAB.MEŠ-šú  
 18 de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> ub-ta-u-ni  
 19 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an  
 20 IGI <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-paḥ-ru LÚ.GAL KUR  
 21 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
 22 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gíl-DINGIR  
 23 IGI <sup>1</sup>ta-ri-ba<sup>1</sup> (tablet: su)-<sup>d</sup>15  
 24 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u  
 25 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du<sup>1</sup> (tablet: lu)  
 26 IGI <sup>1</sup>SUḪUŠ<sup>-d</sup>al-la-a-a  
 T.E. 27 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU<sup>1</sup> (tablet: GUR)  
 28 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-MAN-PAB  
 29 IGI <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 L.S. 30a IGI <sup>1</sup>U.GUR-<sup>1</sup>DÚ<sup>?</sup>-uš <sup>1</sup>ITI<sup>1</sup>.APIN UD.2.KÁM  
 31 lim-me <sup>1</sup>pa-qa-<sup>uru</sup>arba-il  
 32 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>šá-maš IGI <sup>1</sup>tu-ta-a-a IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du  
 30b IGI <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>P[A]

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Ubru-Nabu, seal of Ninurta<sup>?</sup>-kazbate. Total these two men, owner(s) of the woman being sold.

<sup>6</sup> Šamaš-šarru-ušur enacted (the procedures) and acquired <sup>5</sup> Banitum-tašamanni, their slave woman, in exchange for 54 shekels of silver.

<sup>8</sup> The price is paid in full. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. <sup>10</sup> Whoever in the future at any time arises (and) contravenes (the agreement), whether these men, or their

sons, or their grandsons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or an officer, or their cohort commander, <sup>18</sup> (and) initiates a lawsuit (or) litigation <sup>16</sup> against Šamaš-šarru-ušur, his sons, his grandsons, his brothers, his brothers' sons, shall pay 10 minas of silver.

<sup>20</sup> Witness Ilu-paḥru, palace overseer, witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Ladagil-ili, witness Tariba-Ištar, witness Dudu, witness Samedu, witness Ubru-Allaya, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Nabu-šarru-ušur, witness Urad-Ištar, witness Nergal-epuš'.

<sup>30a</sup> Month of Araḥsamna (VIII), 2<sup>nd</sup> day, eponymate of Upaqqā-ana-Arbail.

<sup>32</sup> Witness Nur-Šamaš, witness Tutayu, witness Urdu, witness Urad-Na[bu].

### Commentary

This scribe appears to have had a bad day, with an unusual number of mistakes including four incorrect signs (ll. 9, 23, 25 and 27), one sign omitted (l. 9, *la*) one sign wrongly included (l. 17, *nu*), and the curious form *annuāte* in l. 3. Some of the regular provisions for a slave sale, such as the *šibtu bennu* clause, are missing, though this is not necessarily an error. In other respects this is a fairly normal slave sale document.

Be that as it may, the document no doubt sufficed to supply Šamaš-šarru-ušur with good title to the ownership of the slave woman Banitum-tašamanni, for the price of 54 shekels of silver. As in other sales with more than one seller (Nos. 63 and 64), we are not offered any clue to why the two men in question are acting jointly; but as in No. 64, there are impressions from two different seals as to be expected, one here being a cylinder seal, and the other a stamp. As noted under No. 67, apart from Ilu-paḥru the palace overseer, the majority of the witnesses come from Šamaš-šarru-ušur's regular cohort of witnesses, making it likely that the transaction took place at or near his residence on the citadel.

## 69

### Distraint of woman

ND 3443 (BM 131987)

Copy: Plate 32 (RM)

Sealed tablet: 4.2 x 3.0 x 1.7 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 1918.II.R636/P638

### Sealing

*Fig. 55; Plate IV*

Two circular seal impressions on Obv.; 1.5 x 1.3 cm.

*Design:* Two worshippers left and right face one another. Between them two folding tables. In the field above the winged sun-disc and a six-pronged star. At the left edge a fish (?).

*Comparisons:* from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 13, 19 (Ninive 135). For a figure standing in front of a folding table, see from Babylon, Jakob-Rost 1975, nos. 314; 316; 318–320. For a seated figure at a table see from Zincirli, von Luschan 1943, pl. 37v.

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 186 Nimrud 58; pl. 13, 18.

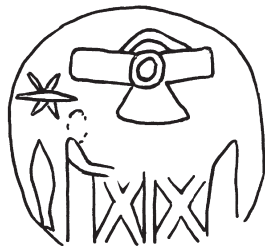


Figure 55. No. 69 (S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 <sup>1</sup>sa-al-ti-DI[NG]IR <sup>1</sup>AD-eri-ba  
2 <sup>1</sup>ITI.AB-a-a EN ŠU.2.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>

2 stamp seal impressions

3 <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> <sup>1.d</sup>ša-maš-MAN-PAB  
4 i-ḥa-ṣu-u-ni  
B.E. 5 <sup>munus.d</sup>na-na-a-a-di-me-qi  
Rev. 6 MUNUS-šú <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>sa-al-ti-DINGIR  
7 DUMU [<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>2</sup>-t]a-a-a  
8 <sup>1</sup>ITI.AB-a-a i-ša-bat-si  
9 <sup>1</sup>É<sup>1</sup> <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB <ú-> se-ri-bi  
10 ÚŠ.MEŠ ZÁḤ-at ina UGU <sup>1</sup>ITI.AB-a-a  
11 ITI.GUD UD.18 lim-me <sup>1</sup>aš-šur-<sup>1</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup>-GUR  
12 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-15  
13 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-mu-LÁ-ni  
14 IGI <sup>1</sup>šum-ma-<sup>d</sup>PA<sup>1?</sup>  
T.E. 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>di-lil-15  
L.S. 16 ina ŠÀ ṣi-ib-ta-[t]e?  
17 <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB  
18 [l]a qur-bu

<sup>1</sup> Sa'al-ti-ilu, Abu-eriba, Kanunayu – guarantor(s), whom Šamaš-šarru-ušur smote. <sup>5</sup> Nanaya-dimmeqi, the woman of Sa'al-ti-ilu son of [Tu<sup>2</sup>t]ayu – Kanunayu seized her (and) introduced her into the house of Šamaš-šarru-ušur.

<sup>10</sup> (If) she dies or flees, (the liability) is on Kanunayu.

<sup>11</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 18<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Aššur-gimilli-tirri.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Urad-Ištar, witness Ninurta-mutaqqini, witness Šumma-Nabu<sup>?</sup>, witness Dilil-Ištar.

<sup>16</sup> In the seizure(s)<sup>?</sup> Šamaš-šarru-ušur is not involved.



## Notes

1: note that this line corrects the reading suggested in Postgate 1976 No. 49 (so also l. 16).

4: for this usage of *maḥāṣu* see K. Deller, OrNS 35 (1966) 33<sup>2</sup>.

9: emending the first sign to É seems the simplest way of giving good sense to this clause; an alternative emendation would be Š[U, but as far as I know we have no parallels for this phrase to help us out.

16-18: this note at the end seems clearly to state that Šamaš-šarru-ušur took no part in the act of “seizure”, apparently leaving the “dirty work” to Kanunayu, though subsequently content to benefit from it. It is not obvious why in l. 16 we have the plural form *šibtāte*, since there only appears to be a single person distraised, and only on one occasion. Nevertheless, grammatically the *-ta-* is only explicable as part of a plural form, and there is certainly one further sign which ends in a vertical.

## Commentary

The plain situation behind this document is that Kanunayu had previously undertaken to act as guarantor for Nanaya-dimmeqi. She must in some way have infringed the terms of the previous contract, and therefore Šamaš-šarru-ušur required him to act. He evidently located her and handed her over physically to Šamaš-šarru-ušur in whose house she is expected to remain. This document now records Kanunayu’s liability for any further default by the woman.

So much is clear, but it leaves open questions. Were Sa’alti-ilu and Abu-eriba also guarantors (*bēl qātāti*)? Sa’alti-ilu is the woman’s husband, so perhaps unlikely to have been able to act as a guarantor, and we have no information about Abu-eriba. The background to these events is also unknown, although as suggested in Postgate 1976, it is likely that the original debt was incurred by Sa’alti-ilu, and that his wife was put up as collateral at that stage, with the additional back-up of Kanunayu as a guarantor.

## 70

## Sale of slave woman

ND 3425 (IM 58044)

Transliteration: JNP

Conveyance tablet: 3.4 x 6.7 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

5.IX.R635/P637

## Sealing

Fig. 56; Plate VI

Two rectangular seal impressions on Obv. (?); 1.2 x 2.0 cm.

*Design:* Representation of pharaoh facing left wearing the crown of lower Egypt and kilt. He holds a crook over his shoulder with his right hand. In front of him the hieroglyph *sa* (reading B. Parker).

Parker 1955, p. 119, comments that the shallow engraving is a technique used in scarab cutting. The two seal owners named, Šepe-Nabu-aššabat and Ubru-Sebetti, have Assyrian PNs, however.

*Comparisons:* no parallels.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 119 fig. 13; Herbordt 1992, p. 189 Nimrud 70; pl. 18, 2.



Figure 56. No. 70  
(B. Parker)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'GÌR.2-<sup>d</sup>PA-a-ša-bat  
2 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'SUḪUŠ-<sup>d</sup>7.BI  
3 DUMU <sup>1</sup>dUTU-ši-I LÚ.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>  
4 EN MUNUS SUM-ni

2 rectangular stamp seal impressions

5 <sup>munus.d</sup>15-EN-PAB GÉME-šú-[n]u  
6 ša LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-ti  
7 ú-piš-ma 'SUḪUŠ-<sup>d</sup>PA LÚ.GAL KUR  
8 TA\* IGI LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-ti  
9 ina lîb-bi 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR TI-qe  
10 kas-pu gam-mur SUM-ni  
11 GÉME šú-a-tú za-ar-pat<sup>at</sup>  
12 laq-qi-at tu-a-ru  
13 de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la-áš-šú  
14 man-nu šá GIL-u-ni  
B.E. 15 lu-u LÚ.MEŠ an-nu-ti  
16 lu-u A.MEŠ-šú-nu lu-u A A.MEŠ-šú-nu  
17 lu-u PAB.MEŠ-šú-nu lu-u A PAB.MEŠ-šú-nu  
Rev. 18 lu-u LÚ.GAR-nu-šú-nu lu-u mám-ma-nu-šú-nu  
19 de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> <<šá>> TA\*  
20 'SUḪUŠ-<sup>d</sup>PA ub-ta-u-ni  
21 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 MA.NA KÙ.GI ina bur-ki  
22 <sup>d</sup>MAŠ a-šib <sup>um</sup>kàl-ḥa i-šá-kan  
23 kas-pu a-na 10.MEŠ ina EN-šú GUR-ra

- 24 *ina de-ni-šú* DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> *la i-laq-qe*  
 25 IGI <sup>1</sup>*rém-a-na*-<sup>d</sup>15 LÚ.A.BA  
 26 IGI <sup>1</sup>DI.KUD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 27 IGI <sup>1</sup>*hu-ub-tú-aš-šur*  
 28 IGI <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-na-tan  
 29 IGI <sup>1</sup>*gab-bu-a-mur*  
 30 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ki-qi-la-a-nu*  
 31 IGI <sup>1</sup>*lu-šá-kín*  
 32 IGI <sup>1</sup>*tu-ta-a-a*  
 33 IGI <sup>1</sup>BE-*ma*<sup>?</sup>-*ta-šib*  
 34 IGI <sup>1</sup>*šul-mu*-MAN LÚ.GAL GAG.MEŠ  
 T.E. 35 ITI.GAN UD.5.KÁM  
 36 *lim-me* <sup>1,d</sup>*za-ba*<sub>4</sub>-*ba*<sub>4</sub>-SU

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Šepe-Nabu-aššabat, seal of Ubru-Sebetti son of Šamši-na'id, the doorkeeper, owner(s) of the woman being sold.

<sup>7</sup> Ubru-Nabu the palace overseer enacted (the procedures) and acquired <sup>5</sup> Ištar-bel-ušri, the slave woman of these men, from these men in exchange for 1 mina of silver.

<sup>10</sup> The price is paid in full. That slave woman is legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. <sup>14</sup> Whoever contravenes (the agreement), whether these men, or their sons, or their grandsons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their officer, or anyone of theirs, (and) initiates a lawsuit or litigation against Ubru-Nabu, shall place 10 minas of silver (and) 1 mina of gold in the lap of Ninurta who dwells in Kalḫu. <sup>23</sup> He shall return the price tenfold to its owner. He shall plead in his lawsuit (but) not succeed.

<sup>25</sup> Witness Remana-Ištar, scribe, witness Dayyan-Ninurta, witness Ḫubtu-Aššur, witness Il(u)-natan, witness Gabbu-amur, witness Kiqilanu, witness Lu-šakin, witness Tutayu, witness Šumma-tašib, witness Šulmu-šarri, overseer of the locks.

<sup>35</sup> Month of Kislimu (IX), 5<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Zababa-eriba.

#### Notes

7: there is no way of telling if this Ubru-Nabu is the same as the seller of a slave woman to Šamaš-šarru-ušur in No. 68.

32: a Tutayu is listed 6 times as a witness to the texts of this archive, and in Nos. 64 and 74 he has the profession "doorkeeper" (LÚ.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>), which doubtless accounts for his relatively frequent appearance. None of the other witnesses to this sale reappears more than once or twice.

#### Commentary

As in No. 68, there are two sellers named here, without any indication of their relationship to each other or how they can both be the owners of the slave woman as stated in ll. 5-6. The purchaser, not Šamaš-šarru-ušur (as also in Nos. 63 and 67), but Remana-Ištar, is a palace overseer, and this suggests some association with the two conveyances in which one or two palace overseers (though not this one) act as witnesses (Nos. 67 and 68). The price of 1 mina silver is matched in No. 63.

71

**Sale of slave woman**

ND 3420 (BM 131983)

Copy: Plate 32 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: 4.5 x 8.3 x 2.5 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

25.VI.R633/P635

*Sealing*

Impressions of two different seals on tablet. Two fragmentary, circular seal impressions on Obv.; diameter 2.0 cm (No. 71-1). Also on Obv. two small, concave rectangular seal impressions; 0.9 x 0.7 cm (No. 71-2).

71-1

*Fig. 57; Plate IV*

*Design:* A quadruped with front part missing. In the field above one linear and two eye-shaped filling motifs. At the left a further eye-shaped filler. The circumference of the seal is surrounded by a raised line.

*Commentary:* Although there are impressions of two different stamp seals on the tablet only one seal owner is named.

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 182 Nimrud 43; pl. 16, 9.



Figure 57. No. 71-1 (S. Herbordt)

71-2

*Fig. 58; Plate III*

*Design:* Linear design consisting of crossed lines.

*Commentary:* See No. 71-1.

*Comparisons:* from Assur, Böhme 2014, pl. 61 no. Ist 4.

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 182 Nimrud 44; pl. 11, 19.

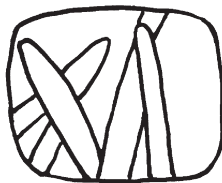


Figure 58. No. 71-2 (S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>EN-PAB-PAB  
 2 DUMU <sup>1</sup>la-tú-ba-šá-a-ni-<sup>d</sup>IM  
 3 LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN ša MUNUS.É.GAL  
 4 EN MUNUS ta-SUM-ni

2 stamp seal impressions and 2 on right edge

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5 <sup>munes</sup>ur-kit-tum-*ha-mat*  
 6 GÉME-šú par-šu-un-tú  
 7 ša <sup>1</sup>EN-PAB-PAB  
 8 ú-piš-ma <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB  
 9 TA\* IGI <sup>1</sup>EN-PAB-PAB  
 10 ina ŠÀ 17 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR  
 11 il-qe kas-pu ga-mur  
 12 ta-din-ni MUNUS šu-a-tú  
 13 za-ár-pa-at laq-qí-at  
 14 tu-a-ru de-e-nu  
 15 DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la-áš-šú  
 B.E. 16 man-nu ša ina ur-kiš  
 17 ina ma-ti-ma i-za-qu-pa-ni  
 18 i-GIL-u-ni  
 Rev. 19 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an  
 20 aš-šur <sup>d</sup>šá-maš <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>PA  
 21 LUGAL DUMU MAN lu' EN de-ni-šú  
 22 šib-tú bé-nu ina 1 ME UD-m[e] sa-ár<-tú>  
 23 ina kâl UD.MEŠ ina de-[n]i-šú  
 24 DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la 'i<sup>1</sup>-laq-qe  
 25 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
 26 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
 27 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gil-DINGIR  
 28 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU  
 29 IGI <sup>1</sup>ta-ri-ba-<sup>d</sup>15  
 30 DUMU <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 31 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du DUMU <sup>1</sup>SUĦUŠ-su-u-nu  
 32 LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN ša MUNUS.KUR  
 33 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a-a  
 34 DUMU <sup>1</sup>sa-su-ú  
 35 LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN ša MUNUS.KUR  
 36 IGI <sup>1</sup>PAB-ia-bu  
 37 DUMU <sup>1</sup>pa-la-a-*hi*  
 38 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 T.E. 39 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u  
 40 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>šá-maš

L.S. 41 ITI.KIN UD.25.KÁM\*

42 *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>EN-lu-dà-ri

Aramaic note: *b<sup>2</sup>lhtr*

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Bel-aḥu-uṣur, son of La-tubaššanni-Adad, bird-catcher of the queen, owner of the woman being sold.

<sup>8</sup> Šamaš-šarru-uṣur enacted (the procedures) and acquired <sup>5</sup> Urkittum-ḥamat, his elderly slave woman, belonging to Bel-aḥu-uṣur from Bel-aḥu-uṣur in exchange for 17 shekels of silver.

<sup>11</sup> The price is paid in full. That woman is legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. <sup>16</sup> Whoever in the future at any time arises (and) contravenes (the agreement) shall pay 5 minas of silver. <sup>20</sup> May Aššur, Šamaš, Bel, Nabu, the king (and) the crown prince be his legal antagonist(s). (Guarantee against) seizure (and) epilepsy for 100 days. Criminality for all time. He will plead in his lawsuit but not succeed.

<sup>25</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Urdu, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Tariba-Ištar, son of Urad-Ištar, witness Urdu, son of Ubru-sunu, the bird-catcher of the queen, witness Urad-Nanaya, son of Sasu, bird-catcher of the queen, witness Aḥu-iabu, son of Palaḥi, witness Urad-Ištar, witness Dudu, witness Nur-Šamaš.

<sup>41</sup> Month of Ululu (VI), 25<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Bel-lu-dari.

*Aramaic note:* Bel-aḥu-uṣur. The first letter of this name was initially not seen, and the reading of the following four Aramaic letters was given to me by Prof. Alan Millard. He is not responsible for my suggestion that they represent an attempt to write the seller's name. It seemed to me that since three of these four letters equate acceptably to consonants in the Akkadian name, we needed to find a way of reconciling the remaining letter (*t*) and supplying one missing at the beginning. Collation revealed the trace of the first letter on the extreme edge of the tablet, which it is tempting to understand as a partially preserved *b*. As a result it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the *t* in Aramaic equates to the *ṣ* in *uṣur*, however unexpected this may be.

#### Notes

3, 32 and 35: the scribe here uses LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN instead of the more usual LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ.

22: the final syllable of *sartu* is definitely missing at the end of the line; this is undoubtedly because the final wedges of *ar* are immediately adjacent to the final vertical of *at* from the end of l. 13.

#### Commentary

The most notable feature of this text is that Urkittum-ḥamat, the “elderly slave woman” features in No. 66 as a slave woman of 4 spans. This tablet is provisionally assigned to 633 BC, while No. 66 is assigned to 641 BC. Something does not fit here: she is certainly the same girl/woman since she is here being sold to Šamaš-šarru-uṣur by the son of Lu/a-tubaššanni, the purchaser in No. 66. We could, I suppose, assume that she was genetically short of stature, so that her height of 4 spans did not necessarily indicate she was still a child, but this seems inherently unlikely. Alternatively, we should place Bel-lu-dari's eponymate considerably later, or Aššur-šarru-uṣur's earlier (although he could not be more than four or five years earlier).

The price of 17 shekels of silver is on the low side, presumably because of her age; it is not possible to compare her previous purchase price of 20 minas of copper.

Of the witnesses, some eight are regularly present in this archive, whereas the others, who are given their patronymic and sometimes also their profession, do not reappear and are presumably here on behalf of the seller Bel-aḫu-uṣur who like Urdu son of Ubrusunu (l. 31) and Urad-Nanaya son of Sasu, is a bird-catcher of the queen.

## 72

## Sale of slave

ND 3427 (IM 57047)

Copy: Plate 33 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: 5.2 x 9.5 x 2.7 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

4.IX.R622/P622

*Sealing*

*Figs. 59–60; Plate II*

Worn cylinder seal impression at top of Obv.; height ca. 1.7 cm.

*Design:* Two genies wearing kilts and long open robes. Between the figures is a triangular symbol on a stand with hanging tassels (a variant of the symbol of Marduk?). In front of the genie on the left is an incense stand with a crescent moon and sun disc in the upper field. The seal design shows a pronounced use of the drill.

The drawing made by B. Parker and illustrated here is flawed, in particular the depiction of the dress of the two genies and their elongated proportions. Therefore, cf. photo (Fig. 59).

*Comparisons:* For the triangular symbol on a stand, from Nineveh: Herbordt 1992, pl. 7, 6 (Ninive 5); from Tall Šeḫ Ḥamad, Fügert 2015, no. 34; an unprovenanced cylinder seal, Porada 1948, no. 699.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 118 fig. 10 pl 25, 2; Herbordt 1992, p. 184 Nimrud 48; pl. 4, 9.

- Obv. 1 'NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB<sup>1</sup> [']a-ḫi-aḫ-i-de 'DAM.GÀR<sup>1</sup>  
 2 A 'r<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-qa-mu  
 3 EN [LÚ.ŠÁ]M ÌR-šú ta-din  
 cylinder seal impression  
 4 'LÚ.ŠÁM<sup>1</sup> ÌR-šú  
 5 ša 'r<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ḫi-aḫ-i-de  
 6 ú-piṣ-'ma<sup>1</sup> 'dUTU-MAN-PAB  
 7 ina ŠÀ 1 ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR il-qe  
 8 kas-pu [ga]-'mur ta<sup>1</sup>-din  
 9 ÌR šu-a-tú za-rip la-qí  
 10 tu-a-ru de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>  
 11 la-áš-šú man-nu šá ina ur-kiš



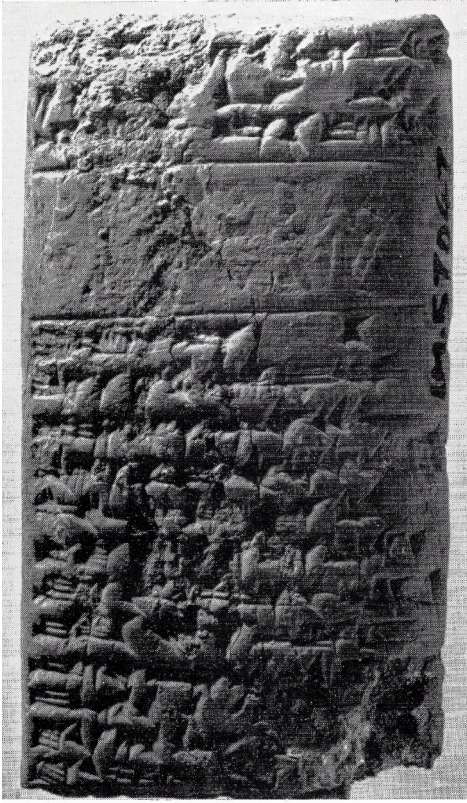


Figure 59. No. 72, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXV.2. © BISI)

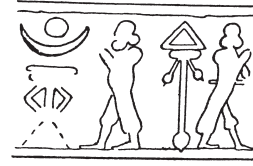


Figure 60. No. 72  
(B. Parker)

- 12 *ina ma-a-te i-za-qu-pa-an-ni*  
 13 *i-GIL-u-n[i]*  
 14 *lu-u <sup>1</sup>a-ḫi-aḫ-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[de]*  
 15 *lu-u DUMU.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú lu<sup>1</sup>-u [DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú]*  
 B.E. 16 *lu-u PAB.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú lu-u [DUMU PAB.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú]*  
 17 *[l]u-u LÚ\*.GAR-nu lu x [x (x)]*  
 Rev. 18 *TA\* <sup>1</sup>.<sup>d</sup>UTU-MAN-P[AB DUMU.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú]*  
 19 *DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú PAB.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú DU[MU] PAB.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú*  
 20 *de-e-nu DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>ub<sup>1</sup>-ta-u-ni*  
 21 *10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 MA.NA KÙ.GI sak-rum*  
 22 *ina bur-ki <sup>d</sup>MAŠ a-šib <sup>uru</sup>kàl-ḫa GAR*  
 23 *ina de-ni-šú DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>-ma <sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup> il-qé*  
 24 *šib-tú ina bi-it UD-me sa-[a]r-tú*  
 25 *ina kàl MU.AN.NA.MEŠ KÙ.<sup>1</sup>BABBAR ina<sup>1</sup> 10.MEŠ*  
 26 *ina EN-šú ú-GUR aš-šur <sup>d</sup>[U]TU EN <sup>d</sup>PA*  
 27 *lu-u EN de-ni-šú*  
 28 *ITI.GAN UD.4.KÁM\* lim-mu <sup>1</sup>[10].10-i*  
 29 *IGI <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ IGI <sup>1</sup>.<sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>PA-ZU*  
 30 *IGI <sup>1</sup>U.GUR-DÙ-uš*  
 31 *IGI <sup>1</sup>na-na-SU*

- 32 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ta-ri-ba*–15  
 33 IGI <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki*–<sup>1</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>  
 34 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ša-ši*–<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>  
 35 IGI <sup>1</sup>LÁ-š[<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup>-(x)-]a<sup>2</sup>  
 36 L[Ú\*.A.B]A

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Aḫi-aḫ-ide, the merchant, son of Naqamu, owner of his purchased slave being sold.

<sup>6</sup> Šamaš-šarru-ušur enacted (the procedures) and acquired <sup>4</sup> the purchased man, the slave of Aḫi-aḫ-ide <sup>7</sup> in exchange for 1 ½ minas of silver.

<sup>8</sup> The price has been paid in full. That slave is legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, lawsuit (or) litigation. <sup>11</sup> Whoever in the future at any time arises (and) contravenes (the agreement), whether Aḫi-aḫ-i[de], or his sons, or [his grandsons], or his brothers or [his brothers' sons], or an officer, or [...], (and) initiates a lawsuit (or) litigation against Šamaš-šarru-u[šur (and) his sons] (and) his grandsons (and) his brothers (and) his brothers' son(s), <sup>21</sup> shall place 10 minas of silver (and) 1 mina of refined gold in the lap of Ninurta who dwells in Kalḫu. He shall plead in his lawsuit but not succeed. <sup>24</sup> (Guarantee against) seizure for 100(!) days, criminality for all years. He shall return the price tenfold to its owner. May Aššur, Šamaš, Bel and Nabu be his legal antagonist(s).

<sup>28</sup> Month of Kislimu, 14<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Daddi.

<sup>29</sup> Witness Mannu-ki-Ninurta, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Nergal-epuš, witness Nana-eriba, witness Tariba-Ištar, witness Mannu-ki-Bel, witness Šaši, witness Taršiya<sup>2</sup>, the scribe.

#### Notes

2, 4: the repetition of LÚ.ŠÁM indicates that the scribe was deliberately using this term to differentiate the man being sold from a normal “slave”. This is not the place to discuss the implications of the term, but note that the slave's own name is not given to us.

23: better would be a present tense (*i-laq-qé*).

24: note the surprising *ina bi-it UD-me* for the more usual 1 ME UD-me, which we would expect to read as *mēt ūme*.

#### Commentary

A simple sale, in which Šamaš-šarru-ušur purchases an unnamed male slave for 1½ minas of silver. Note that the tablet was written late in the history of the archive (622 BC).

## 73

## Sale of slave woman

ND 3479b (BM)

Copy: Plate 33 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: (4.0) x (5.2) x 2.0 cm.

Provenance: TW 53, Room 11<sup>?</sup> (House II)

10(+x).I.R616/P613

This fragment has been stored with ND 3479a (No. 62), but as with ND 3479c (No. 62a) this cannot be taken as proof that it was found with or near ND 3479a. Therefore, although it surely comes from TW53, its provenance from Room 11, though possible, cannot be considered definite.

*Sealing*: two faint stamp seal impressions, seal design unrecognizable.

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>EN-<sup>1</sup>ku-mu<sup>1</sup>-[u-a]  
2 <sup>1</sup>EN<sup>1</sup> MUNUS SUM-n[i]

2 stamp seal impressions

3 <sup>1</sup>munus<sup>1</sup>pi-la-qi-t[ú GÉME-šú]  
4 ša <sup>1</sup>EN-ku-[mu-u-a x x x]  
5 munus<sup>1</sup>ka-t[a- ]  
(remainder of Obv. broken away)

Rev. (upper part broken away)

1' <sup>1</sup>munus<sup>1</sup>pi-la<sup>1</sup>-[qi-tú  
2' munus<sup>1</sup>ka-t[a-  
3' TA\* IGI <sup>1</sup>x[  
4' IGI <sup>1</sup>mar-di-[i  
5' IGI <sup>1</sup>hi-ni-<sup>1</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [  
6' IGI<sup>1?</sup> <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-ku-[  
7' IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-[  
8' IGI <sup>1</sup>U.GUR-KA[R-ir]  
9' ITI BARAG UD.10[(+x).KÁM *lim-me*]  
10' <sup>1</sup>.dPA-tap-ut-a-[lik]  
T.E. 11' IGI <sup>1</sup>ha-an-ši-lu  
12' LÚ.A.B[A]

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Bel-kumua, owner of the woman being sold.

<sup>3</sup> Pilaqqitu [the slave woman] of Bel-ku[mua .....] Kata[.....]  
(remainder of Obv. and upper part of Rev. broken away)

Rev. 1' Pila[qqitu .....] Kata[.....] from P[N .....]

4' Witness Mardi[...], witness Hini...[...], witness<sup>?</sup> ...[...], witness Sa[...], witness Nergal-eti[r].

9' Month of Nisannu, 10(+)th day, [eponymate of] Nabu-tapputu-a[lik].

11' Witness Ḫanšilu, the scribe.

#### Notes

Rev. 5': the tablet certainly does not have <sup>1</sup>*hi-ni-ni*, nor is the name Ḫiniduti or Ḫinibira (see PNA 2/I, 472-3 for these names).

#### Commentary

While the first two lines make it clear that this must have been the sale (or other type of conveyance) of a woman, little else about it is certain. Pilaqqitu seems to be the name of the woman being sold, but what is the role of the woman whose name begins Kata[ ? She can hardly be the seller, since that would appear to be Bel-kumua.

74

#### Sale of slave

ND 3429 (BM)

Copy: Plate 34 (JNP)

Conveyance tablet: 4.6 x 7.7 x 2.4 cm

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

[x.]II.Bel-[...]

#### Sealing

Figs. 61–62; Plate III

Three weathered circular seal impressions on Obv.; diameter 1.6 cm.

*Design:* Only part of the seal design is recognizable. In upper field the crescent moon, at the left a vegetal motif.

*Publication:* not previously published.

- 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'AD–[GIŠ]
- 2 DUMU 'gab-bu–'a'[-mur<sup>2</sup>]
- 3 EN LÚ 'SUM'–[ni]

3 stamp seal impressions

- 4 <sup>1.r</sup>d15<sup>1</sup>–I LÚ\*.ĪR x[ x x ]x x[(x x)]
- 5 ša 'AD–[GIŠ (x x)]
- 6 ú-piš-ma <1><sup>d</sup>šá-maš –[MAN–PA]B
- 7 TA\* IGI 'AD–GIŠ
- 8 ina ŠÀ 51 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR il-qe
- 9 kas-pu gam–'mur<sup>1</sup> ta-din LÚ šu-a-tú
- 10 za-rip laq-qī tu-a-ru de-e-nu
- 11 la-áš-šú man-nu ša ina ur-kiš ina ma-te-ma



Figure 61. No. 74, Obverse

(S. Herbordt, Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

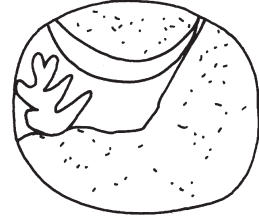


Figure 62. No. 74

(S. Herbordt)

- B.E. 12 *i-za-qu-pa-a-ni* G[I]L-u-ni  
 Rev. 13 *lu-u* <sup>1</sup>AD-GIŠ *lu-u* DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
 14 *lu-u* DUMU DUMU.MEŠ-šú *lu-u* PAB.MEŠ-šú  
 15 *lu-u* DUMU PAB.MEŠ-šú ša TA\* <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB  
 16 PAB.MEŠ-šú DUMU PAB.MEŠ-šú *de-e-nu* DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>  
 17 *ub-ta-u-ni* šib-tú *be-en-nu* ina 1 ME UD-me  
 18 *sa-ar-tú* ina kal MU.AN.NA.MEŠ  
 19 *kas-pu* ana 10.MEŠ-te ina *be-lí-šú* ú-GUR  
 20 ina de-ni-šú DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>-ma la TI  
 21 [I]GI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
 22 [IG]I <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
 23 [IGI] <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>šá-maš<sup>1</sup> DUMU <sup>1</sup>kur-DINGIR-a-a LÚ\*.Ì.DU<sub>8</sub>  
 24 [IGI] <sup>1</sup>la-da-gíl<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR  
 25 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU  
 26 IGI <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 27 IGI <sup>1</sup>tu-ta-a-a LÚ\*.Ì.[DU<sub>8</sub>]  
 28 IGI <sup>1</sup>qa-lu-un-z[u]  
 29 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>15-MU-AŠ [(x x)]  
 T.E. 30 ITI.GUD UD.[x.KÁM]  
 31 *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>E[N- x (x x)]  
 32 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du LÚ\*.[

- L.S. 33 IGI <sup>1</sup>*du-u-du-ú* [<sup>1</sup>]<sup>ú</sup>*laḥ-ḥi-nu*  
 34 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ZÁLAG-ta-a-nu* [L]<sup>Ú</sup>\*.NINDA  
 35 IGI <sup>1</sup>*mar-li-ḥ*[<sup>i?</sup> <sup>lú\*</sup>]*mu-šá-kil* MUŠEN.MEŠ

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Abu-lešir, son of Gabbu-a[mur], owner of the man being sold.

<sup>6</sup> Šamaš-[šarru-uš]ur enacted (the procedures) and acquired <sup>4</sup> Ištar-na'id, slave [.....] of Abu-lešir (...) from Abu-lešir in exchange for 51 shekels of silver.

<sup>9</sup> The price is paid in full. That man is legally acquired. There is no (further) withdrawal, (or) lawsuit. <sup>10</sup> Whoever in the future at any time arises (and) contravenes (the agreement), whether Abu-lešir, or his sons, or his grandsons, or his brothers, who initiates a lawsuit or litigation against Šamaš-šarru-ušur, his brothers, (or) his nephews.

<sup>17</sup> (Guarantee against) seizure (and) epilepsy for 100 days, criminality for all years. He shall return the price tenfold to its owner. He shall plead in his lawsuit, (but) not succeed.

<sup>21</sup> Witness Samedu, [witn]ess Šil-Bel-dalli, [witness] Nur-Šamaš, son of Kurilaya, doorkeeper, witness Ladagil-ili, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Urad-Ištar, witness Tutaya, doorkeeper, witness Qalunzu, witness Ištar-šu-iddin(a) [...].

<sup>30</sup> Month of Ayyaru, [...th] day, eponymate of Bel-[-...].

<sup>32</sup> Witness Urdu, the [...], witness Dudu, cereal-processor, witness Nurtanu, baker, witness Marliḥi, bird feeder.

#### Notes

2: -a[mur] is not the only possible restoration of this name, but statistically much the most probable.

6: the Personenkeil was omitted before the PN by the scribe.

17: here the scribe has omitted to state the penalties to be exacted from anyone who contravenes the contract.

21: there is an erasure between *me* and *du* in this line.

29: there is space at the end of the line for (LÚ.)A.BA, and this is possibly to be restored in the light of No. 64:38 where a man of this name is identified as the scribe who produced the tablet.

35: for this name cf. No. 76:11 <sup>1</sup>DUMU-*li-ḥi*.

#### Commentary

Abu-lešir sells a slave named Ištar-na'id to Šamaš-šarru-ušur for 51 shekels of silver. The wording of the document follows the standard formulae (although not perfectly — see note on l. 17). The witness list includes several of the most frequently occurring witnesses in this archive.



ND 3428 (IM)

Transliteration: DJW

Conveyance tablet: 5.6 x 9.8 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

[date lost]

*Sealing*

*Fig. 63; Plate III*

Four stamp seal impressions on Obv.; diameter 1.1 cm. Parker notes that the two at the right are too faint to distinguish.

*Design:* Circular stamp seal impression showing an eight pointed rosette. The design is surrounded by a thin raised line.

Two persons are named as seal owners. Since there are no photos of the tablet, it is unclear whether or not the faint impressions at the right of the sealing space are from the same seal as described above.

*Comparisons:* Herbordt 1992, pl. 11, 4 (Ninive 37); unpublished seal impression on an Aramaic tablet from Assur (Ass. Fd. Nr. 8645e; VAT 9362); Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 60 nos. 75–77; 80; 386B; from Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, nos. 324; 335; 336.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 124 fig. 26; Herbordt 1992, p. 184 Nimrud 49; pl. 11, 9.

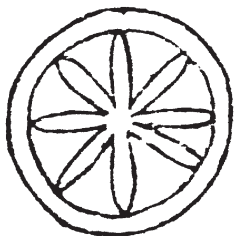


Figure 63. No. 75 (B. Parker)

- Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'SU-*a-te*  
 2 A '10.10<sup>2</sup>–DÙ LÚ.UŠ.BAR  
 3 EN LÚ *ta-da-ni*  
 seal impression  
 4 'man-nu-ki-<sup>d</sup>šá-maš LÚ.IGI LÚ.MU  
 5 ú-piš-ma 'dšá-maš–MAN–PAB

(remainder not recorded)

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Ribate, son of Daddi-ibni, weaver, owner of the man being sold.

<sup>4</sup> Šamaš-šarru-ušur enacted (the procedures) <and acquired> Mannu-ki-Šamaš the ....(of) the cook(?) ....

(remainder unknown)



### Notes

2: in *Iraq* 15 the father's name is given as Šarru?-bani and in the index on p. 158 the signs are rendered MAN.KAK. However, in *Iraq* 17, p. 124 B. Parker writes of this tablet “Two men are mentioned as sealing the document, Rimute, the son of a gate official (SÚL.DU<sub>8</sub>) and Abad<sup>sic</sup>-bel-ibni, the son of a weaver. Together they sell a slave, a baker's assistant”. I deduce that the tablet has '10.10-DÙ, and that Parker has taken the first 10 as Adad-, the second as -bel. For the not uncommon name Daddi-ibni see Schwemer, PNA 1/II, 363, where some at least of the Nimrud occurrences could be this person.

4: the profession in this line was rendered in *Iraq* 15, 141 as *amēl pān amēl nuḥatimmu*, which suggests the reconstruction in our transliteration. Parker's phrase “baker's assistant” probably reflects the same reading of the signs, but in the absence of parallels for such a usage of LÚ.IGI doubts must prevail.

### Commentary

The present location of this tablet is unknown, but it was allocated to Baghdad in the division. The above lines are reconstructed from the catalogue entry in *Iraq* 15 p. 141, and are accordingly uncertain in detail. Parker's notes in *Iraq* 17, p. 124 (cited above) suggest that there is more to be reconstructed in ll. 1–3 than we have been able to give here.

These opening lines show that the document must have recorded the purchase by Šamaš-šarru-ušur of the man named Mannu-ki-Šamaš who is given an obscure professional title. A further 17 lines were present when the catalogue entry was composed, and it gives the further detail that the price was 56 shekels. Nothing further can be said at present, except that most of the Reverse is missing, including the witnesses and date.

### Loans and other debt-notes (Nos. 76–107)

Šamaš-šarru-ušur may not have traded in human flesh, but he certainly seems to have used his capital in a variety of ways. Text No. 112 (from R630) appears to list small sums of silver advanced by him to ten debtors. This is entirely plausible, since we have some 20 loans or debt-notes for usually small amounts of silver (Nos. 76–96), including two which make mixed loans of silver and grain (Nos. 88 and 89). Nos. 102–107 are loans or debt-notes for grain alone, usually inscribed on the triangular dockets so familiar from the Nabu Temple. Unique is a debt-note apparently for a chain (No. 97), the purpose of which remains obscure. Most eye-catching are Nos. 98–101 since these show Šamaš-šarru-ušur in some kind of business involving birds, possibly geese and doves.

#### Loans and other debt-notes for silver (Nos. 76–96; Table 14)

Some of these texts are definitely loans, with the tell tale phrase *ina pūhi ittiši* (Nos. 78, 80–83, 85–86, 91–92, 94, 96). Others (Nos. 76–77, 79, 84, 87–90, 93, 97) lack it, but they are usually so similar in all other respects to the loans, that they may be debt novations (cf. commentary on No. 89), or simply cases where the relevant phrase was omitted (cf. No. 82, where it is present on the envelope but not on the tablet). In most cases the provisions are very simple, stating no more than the amount of the debt and the rate of interest (usually 25%) (Nos. 76; 80; 81; 82; 85; 86; 87; 91; 92; 94; 96). In a few cases no interest is payable initially (Nos. 79; 84; 88; 89; 90), and then 25% is charged in the event of a failure to repay on time. The period between the execution of the loan document and the deadline for repayment varies from about 9 months (No. 79) to about one and a half months (Nos. 84; 88) and just one month (No. 90). It is noticeable that the 25% rate (or as the scribes express it “at one quarter”) agrees with interest rates on silver going back to Old Babylonian times, and is not a rate ever charged for grain loans in the Nabu Temple (see Table 7). In No. 88 where both silver and grain are owed in a single document (note that this is not a loan), the silver repayment is just less than 2 months (15.VI) and so later than the grain which is to be repaid at the threshing-floor. The grain in the very similar contract No. 89 is also to be repaid at the threshing-floor, but the silver appears to be due back within a fortnight, in the same month as the document was drawn up.

With the exception of the earliest document, No. 76, and No. 86, the amounts of silver owed are relatively small (from just 3 to 16 shekels). In this respect the silver loans and debt-notes are broadly similar to the grain loans both from the Nabu Temple and from TW 53 (Nos. 102–107), being more suggestive of community support than a commercial enterprise, and the number of debts with no initial interest reinforces this impression. The same picture is given by the incidence of patronymics: the father’s name would not be expected for the creditor (with whom the document remained), but it would not be unusual for a patronymic to identify a debtor, especially one socially distant from the creditor. In fact out of 19 texts 8 give the debtor’s patronymic (Nos. 81–83, 85–86, 91–92, 96) and all of these impose 25% interest from the start, whereas of the 11 texts with no patronymic 5 impose no interest initially (Nos. 79, 84, 88–89, 90), suggesting that these debtors are socially familiar.

There are a few non-standard provisions. In two cases the loan is backed up by the pledge of a person (a daughter in No. 83, a wife in No. 92), and in Nos. 85 and 86 by a guarantor (*bēl qātāti*). These are all interest-bearing loans from the start, and the debtors are given their patronymics, which is unsurprising since the additional clauses rather imply social distance.

The interest in No. 83 takes the unusual form of two geese, and this is reminiscent of No. 78 where the penalty for late repayment also takes the form of two geese. The small fragment No. 93 mentions two geese immediately after naming a guarantor, but it is not clear what role the birds are fulfilling here. The occasional appearance of geese in these silver transactions has to be understood in the context of Šamaš-šarru-ušur's dealings in birds, as evidenced by Nos. 98–101. Unique in this archive is No. 77 which is a debt-note backed by the antichretic use of a field for 6 years, explicitly identified as being “instead of the interest on the silver”.

Two of the contracts record larger debts. No. 86 is a loan of half a mina silver and the unusual size of the loan is certainly reflected in the presence of a guarantor (who like the borrower is given his patronymic). In other respects it is entirely normal for this archive, and although it has more witnesses than usual (11), they are mostly familiar from the other contracts. The one exception is the man called Sulummaya who is a bodyguard (*ša qurbūti*) and is significantly placed as the first witness on the envelope, and the last on the tablet. The size of the loan may account in some way for the presence of this socially elevated witness. By contrast No. 76, dating to 652 BC, is much less formalized, although it records a debt of one and a half minas. The silver is described as “silver of Arbail”, though perhaps the scribe intended to write “of Ištar of Arbail”. This is the only contract which describes the silver in this way, but in a few cases it is specified that the silver is “purified” (LUḫ-*u*) (Nos. 77; 96) or “good quality” (SIG<sub>5</sub>) (No. 83). The witnesses are mostly well-known to us, though at 652 BC the text is relatively early.

No.	Quantity	Goods	Number of debtors	<i>ina pūhi</i>	Repayment date	Initial interest	Penal interest	Date
76	1.5 mina	silver	1			25%		12.V.652
77	10 shekels	silver	2			field lease		28.I.650
78	5 shekels	silver	1		UD.20.KÁM	25%	2 geese	2.III.R646
79	5.5 shekels	silver	1		Month IV	0%	25%	25.VII.R642
80	5 shekels	silver	1	y		25%		12.II.R642
81	7 shekels	silver	2	y		25%		14.II.R641
82	6 shekels	silver	1	y		25%		1.VII.R635
83	10 shekels	silver	1	y	Month II	2 geese	0.25 shekel monthly	26.XI.R634
84	12 shekels	silver	1		Month XI	0%	25%	15.IX.R632
85	5 shekels	silver	1	y		25%		24.VIII.R631
86	0.5 mina	silver	1	y		25%		23.I.R630
87	16 shekels	silver	1			25%		27.II.R630
88	5.33 shekels 3.4 homers	silver grain	1		15th Month VI <i>ina adri</i>	0% 0%	25%	24.IV.R629
89	5 shekels 1.5 homers	silver grain	1		Month II <i>ina adri</i>	0% 0%		14.II.R629
90	3.25 shekels	silver	1		25th Month VII	0%	25%	25.VI.R626
91	3 shekels	silver	1	y		25%		1.IX.R626
92	8 shekels	silver	1	y		25%		10.XII.R624
93	[...]	silver	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]		28.VII.R623
94	3 shekels	silver	1	y		25%		30.II.P632
96	12 shekels	silver	1	y		25%		14.I.year unknown
97	35 1	chains <i>hutugi</i>	1		Month II		<i>akī</i> <i>maḥīri</i>	10.X.R614
98	230	doves	1		Month III	0%	Mo. VI 50% then 100%	6.XII.660
99	2	geese	1		Month X	0%	Mo. III 120 doves	17.IX.R635
100	36	doves	1		Month IV	0%	100%	11.II.R632
101	1	goose	1	y	Month X	0%	100%	14.IX.R619
102	5 homers	grain	1	y	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	50%	14.XII.R642
103	3 homers	grain	1		<i>ina adri</i>	0%	50%	11.II.R637
104	1 homer	grain	1	y	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	50%	15.I.R635
105	3.2 homers	grain	1					28.VII.R633
106	3 homers	grain	2	y	<i>ina adri</i>	0%	50%	5.II.R627
107	1 homer	grain	1	y				28.VIII.R622

Table 14. TW53 debt notes and interest rates

76

## Silver debt-note

ND 3440 (IM 57063)

Unopened case tablet: 4.9 x 3.2 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

Transliteration: JNP

12.V.652

*Sealing*

Two oval stamp seal impressions on Obv.; 2.0 x 1.0 cm.

*Fig. 64; Plate VI**Design:* Griffin or bird with long, pointed beak.*Comparisons:* No parallels for this seal design.*Publication:* not previously published.

Figure 64. No. 76, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'DINGIR-*ia-di-nu*  
2 1 ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ša* KÙ.BABBAR *ša arba-il*

2 stamp seal impressions

3 *ša* 'dšá-maš-MAN-PAB  
4 *ina* IGI 'DINGIR-*ia-di-nu*  
B.E. 5 *ina* 4-tú-šú GAL-*bi*  
6 IGI 'šil-EN-<dat>-*li*  
Rev. 7 IGI 'dPA-ZU  
8 IGI 'dPA-*u-a*  
9 IGI 'ZÁLAG-'dšá-maš  
10 IGI 'man-nu-ki-<sup>uru</sup>NINA  
11 IGI 'DUMU-*li-ḫi*

12 ITI.NE UD.12.KAM  
T.E. 13 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur*–BÀD–PAB

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Ilu-iadinu.

<sup>2</sup> 1 ½ minas of silver of the silver of Arbail, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Ilu-iadinu. It will increase at one-quarter.

<sup>6</sup> Witness Šil-bel-dalli, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Nabua, witness Nur-Šamaš, witness Mannu-ki-Ninua, witness Mar-lihi.

<sup>12</sup> Month of Apu (V), 12<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Aššur-duru-ušur.

#### Notes

2: it seems possible that the second KÙ.BABBAR in this line is an error for <sup>d</sup>15 “Ištar”.

#### Commentary

Except for the enigmatic designation of the silver in l. 2 this is a very simple debt note. It lacks the *ina pūhi* clause, so it may not be a fresh loan, and there are no provisions for repayment.

## 77 Silver debt-note with pledge of fields

ND 3430 (Aust. Institute for Archaeology IA 5.074)

Transliteration: DJW

Unopened case-tablet: 4.9 x 3.7 cm.

Provenance: TW53 Room 19

28.I.650

#### Sealing

*Figs. 65–67; Plate V*

Two circular stamp seal impressions on Obv.; dimensions: ? Two seal owners are named here, Qurdi-Nergal and Limraṣ-libbi-ili, although only one seal was used.

*Design:* Goat (?) facing left shown kneeling on front left knee.

*Comparisons:* best parallel is a conical stamp seal from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 64 no. 316A.

*Publication:* not previously published.





Figure 65. No. 77, Obverse  
(Courtesy The Australian Institute for Archaeology)



Figure 66. No. 77, close up of Obverse  
(Courtesy The Australian Institute for Archaeology)



Figure 67. No. 77, Reverse  
(Courtesy The Australian Institute for Archaeology)



- Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>qur-di-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
 2 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>GIG-ŠÀ-DINGIR  
 3 10 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR LUḪ-u
- 2 stamp seal impressions
- 4 ša <sup>1d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB ina pa-ni-šú-nu  
 5 ku-um ru-bé-e ša KÙ.BABBAR  
 6 É 2 ANŠE A.Š[À ina] ú-sal-li
- B.E. 7 gab-di <sup>1</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>15
- Rev. 8 É 2 ANŠE ina mu-le-e  
 9 gab-di KASKAL <sup>uru</sup>NINA  
 10 PAB 4 ANŠE A.ŠÀ.GA  
 11 ina URU.ŠE ú-sa-a-ni  
 12 3 mi-re-še 3 kar-ap-ḫi  
 13 PAB 6 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ KÚ  
 14 la še-pi-ši la ŠE nu-sa-ḫe  
 15 ina UD-me ša KÙ.BABBAR ina UGU  
 16 ŠE.K[I.U]D<sup>2</sup> i-šak-<kan->u-ni  
 17 A.ŠÀ-šú-nu u-še-ṣu-u  
 18 ITI.BARAG UD.28.KÁM  
 19 lim-mu <sup>1</sup>EN-KASKAL-KUR-u-a
- T.E. 20 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
 21 IGI <sup>1d</sup>PA-ZU
- L.S. 22 IGI <sup>1.uru</sup>arba-ìl-a-a  
 23 IGI <sup>1d</sup>PA-KA-PAB-PAB  
 24 IGI <sup>1</sup>SANGA-15  
 25 IGI <sup>1</sup>EN-BÀD

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Qurdi-Nergal, seal of Limraš-libbi-ili.

<sup>3</sup> 10 shekels of purified silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at their disposal. <sup>5</sup> Instead of interest on the silver, he will enjoy the usufruct of an estate of 2 homers of field in the river-flats, adjacent to Šangu-Ištar (and) an estate of 2 homers in the upland, adjacent to the Nineveh road, in total 4 homers of field in the village of Usani, 3 cultivation (years and) 3 fallow (years), in total 6 years.

<sup>14</sup> No straw-taxes (and) no grain-taxes. On the day that they deposit the silver on the threshing-floor, they shall redeem their field.

<sup>18</sup> Month of Nisannu (I), 28<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Bel-Ḫarran-šadua.

<sup>20</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Arbailayu, witness Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur, witness Šangu-Ištar, witness Bel-duri.

## Notes

3: the quality of the silver is not usually specified, and there is no obvious reason why it should have been in this instance. Cf. No. 96 , and also No. 83 for “good quality” (SIG<sub>5</sub>) silver.

11: the photograph confirms the reading URU.ŠE *ú-sa-a-ni* (against a transcription which gave *mu* in place of ŠE).

14: on collation (by DJW) and on the photograph the signs here appear as *la ŠE pi ši*. Since *šibši* is certainly what is intended, perhaps the scribe wanted to start both *šibši* and *nusāḫē* with the sign ŠE, although this does not explain the *p* (as opposed to *b*).

16: the expected word here is *tarammu*, which is sometimes written in NA documents with a logogram rendered ŠE.SU<sub>7</sub>, in which the SU<sub>7</sub> is variously written as LAGARxŠE+ŠE or LAGARxŠE+SUM (see Postgate 1976, 91; Borger 2003, 722–723; CAD T s.v. *tarammu* A). However, the traces here do not agree with either form of the logogram, as the first part of the sign group closely resembles the beginning of KI, and the end looks like UD. While *tarammu* means a “grain heap” (as implied no doubt by the “DUL”(=hill)-like form of the LAGAR component, KI.UD (=kislāḫ) means a “threshing-floor”. It is not otherwise attested in this formula, which is restricted to field leases, but the practical difference (and distance) between threshing-floor and grain heap is presumably slight.

## Commentary

This transaction is very similar to field leases, on which see Postgate 1976, 29–31 §2.4.3. The difference is that it is formulated here as a debt-note with antichretic pledge of fields, whereas the leases have the same clauses relating to the period of the lease (here ll. 6–14) attached to a conveyance, in which the creditor acts as a (temporary) “purchaser”. Here, having received 10 shekels of silver the two men who seal the document give Šamaš-šarru-ušur the usufruct of 4 homers of fields for a total of 6 years, and this substitutes for any interest that would otherwise have been charged on the capital, as explicitly stated in l. 6. The text does not specify when the capital should be repaid – presumably at the end of the 6 years — or what happens if it is not, but since in ll. 15–17 the debtors are entitled to recover their land when(ever) they repay the silver, it would be reasonable to see this transaction as a loan backed up by a pledge, rather than a long-term advance rental payment initiated by the creditor to secure the usufruct of the land.

## 78

## Silver loan

ND 3434 (BM 131986)

Copy: Plate 34 (JNP)

Unopened case tablet: 3.9 x 2.9 x 2.2 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

2.III.R646/P646

## Sealing

Figs. 68–69; Plate III

Three circular seal impressions on Obv. of tablet envelope; diameter 1.0 cm.

Design: Cross-shaped motif.

*Comparisons:* Herbordt 1992, p. 163 Assur 2; pl. 11, 15 (Assur 6); pl. 11, 17 (Nimrud 5); from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 61, no. 393; also an unpublished seal impression from Assur, Ass. Fd. Nr. 9570a (VAT 16532).

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 123 pl. 29, 3 (photo); Herbordt 1992, p. 185 Nimrud 52; pl. 11, 16 (drawing).



Figure 68. No. 78, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXIX.3 © BISI)

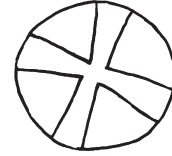


Figure 69. No. 78  
(S. Herbordt)

T.E. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1.uru</sup>arba-ìl-a-a  
Obv. 2 5 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR  
3 ša <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB

3 stamp seal impressions

4 ina IGI <sup><1>.uru</sup>arba-ìl-a-a  
5 ina pu-u-ḫi i-ti-ši  
B.E. 6 a-na 4-tú-šú GAL-bi  
7 ina UD.20.KÁM\* KÙ.BABBAR  
Rev. 8 SUM-an šum-ma la SUM-ni  
9 2 KUR.GI.MUŠEN ina ITI.NE  
10 SUM-an ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD.2.KÁM\*  
11 lim-me <sup>1.d</sup>PA-MAN-PAB.MEŠ-šú  
12 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
13 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
14 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gíl-DINGIR  
15 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du  
L.S. 16 IGI <sup>1</sup>tu-ta-a-a  
17 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>šá-maš  
18 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Arbailayu.

<sup>2</sup> 5 shekels of silver belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Arbailayu. He has taken it on loan. <sup>6</sup> It will increase at one quarter. He will deliver the silver on the 20<sup>th</sup> day. <sup>8</sup> If he did not deliver it, he shall deliver 2 geese in the month of Apu (V).

<sup>10</sup> Month of Simanu (III), 2<sup>nd</sup> day, eponymate of Nabu-šar-aḫḫešu.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Samedu, witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Urdu, witness Tutayu, witness Nur-Šamaš, witness Dudu.

#### Notes

7: presumably this means “on the 20th (of Simanu)”.

9: the signs *ina* ITI.NE look as though they may have been added as an afterthought.

18: Dudu here is probably the scribe, as in the other texts where his name comes last (see on No. 80 Envelope 14).

#### Commentary

Arbailayu takes out a short term loan of 5 shekels of silver from Šamaš-šarru-ušur, to be repaid within 18 days, along with 25% interest. Failure to repay entails a payment of two geese within three months. The transaction is witnessed by seven of the very regular witnesses in Šamaš-šarru-ušur’s archive.

## 79

## Silver debt-note

ND 3454 (Aust. Inst. for Arch. IA5.047)

Copy: Plate 34 (DJW)

Unsealed inner tablet: 2.9 x 1.6 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

25.VII.R642/640



Figure 70. No. 79, Obverse

(Courtesy The Australian Institute for Archaeology)



Figure 71. No. 79, Reverse

(Courtesy The Australian Institute for Archaeology)

Obv. 1 5 ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 2 *ša* <sup>1</sup>*gu-ri-ia*  
 3 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–PAB–PAB  
 4 <sup>lú\*</sup>*mu-ša-kil* GUD  
 B.E. 5 *ina* ITI.ŠU SUM-*an*  
 6 BE-*ma* NU SUM-*ni*  
 Rev. 7 *ina* 4-*tú-šú* GAL  
 8 ITI.DUL UD.25  
 9 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>MAN–ÚŠ–TI  
 10 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>UTU–MAN–PAB  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>*iu-še-e*  
 T.E. 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG–<sup>d</sup>UTU  
 13 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ba-bi-i*

<sup>1</sup> 5 ½ shekels of silver, belonging to Guriya, at the disposal of Nabu-aḫu-uṣur, the cattle feeder.

<sup>5</sup> He will deliver it in the month of Tammuz (IV). If he did not deliver it (then), it will increase at one quarter.

<sup>8</sup> Month of Tašritu (VII), 25<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Šarru-metu-uballit.

<sup>10</sup> Witness Šamaš-šarru-uṣur, witness Iuše, witness Nur-Šamaš, witness Babi.

#### Notes

11: the photograph seems to support Wiseman's copy with a sign like GÚR after the *ia*. However this does not give a convincing name, and it can be emended to *hi* by comparison with No. 109:17 where what is surely this same name is written <sup>1</sup>*ia-ú-še-e*.

#### Commentary

A simple record of a debt of 5 ½ shekels of silver owed by a cattle feeder to a man named Guriya. The debt is interest-free for the first 9 months or so, but without knowing the background to this transaction it is impossible to know if this is merely charitable, or has some other rationale. In this document Šamaš-šarru-uṣur features not as creditor but as the first witness. We have no clues as to the identity of Guriya, who is not known from elsewhere.

## 80

### Silver loan

ND 3459 (IM 57060)

Transliteration: JNP

Tablet: 3.4 x 2.4 cm.

Envelope: fragmentary

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

12.II.R642/P640

#### Sealing

Fig. 72; Plate III

Two circular seal impressions on envelope Obv.; diameter 1.6 cm.

*Design:* Circular seal with a four-leaved rosette.

*Comparisons:* Herbordt 1992, p. 163 Assur 2; pl. 11, 17–18 (Nimrud 5 and Nimrud 19); Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 60 nos. 389, 390, 392; pl. 61 no. 93; unpublished seal impression from Assur, Ass. Fd. Nr. 9570a (VAT 16532).

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 72. No. 80, Obverse of envelope  
(© The Iraq Museum)

*Tablet*

Obv. 1 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

*Envelope*

1 [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>pa-an-DINGIR-šú]

2 [(x x x) 5 GÍN] KÙ.BABBAR

2 stamp seal impressions

2	ša <sup>1.d</sup> UTU-MAN-PAB	3	ša <sup>1.d</sup> ša-maš-MAN-PAB
3	ina IGI <sup>1</sup> pa-an <sup>1</sup> -DINGIR-šú	4	ina IGI <sup>1</sup> pa-an-DINGIR-šú
4	ina pu-u- <i>hi</i> i-ti-ši	5	[ina] pu-u- <i>hi</i> i-ti-ši
5	a-na 4-tú-šú GAL-bi	B.E. 6	[a-n]a 4-tú-šú i-GAL-bi
6	ITI.GUD UD.12	Rev. 7	[I]TI.GUD UD.12.KÁM*
Rev. 7	lim-me <sup>1</sup> MAN-ÚŠ-[bal-li]	8	lim-me <sup>1</sup> MAN-ÚŠ-bal-li[t]
8	IGI <sup>1</sup> šil-EN-da[l-li]	9	IGI <sup>1</sup> šil-EN-dal-li]
9	IGI <sup>1</sup> [sa]-me-du	10	IGI <sup>1</sup> sa-me-du
10	IGI <sup>1</sup> la <sup>2</sup> -da <sup>2</sup> -gíl <sup>2</sup> -[DINGIR]	11	IGI <sup>1</sup> da-gíl-[DINGIR]
11	IGI <sup>1.d</sup> PA-ZU	12	IGI <sup>1.d</sup> PA-ZU
12	IGI <sup>1</sup> ur-du	13	[IG]I <sup>1</sup> ur-du
		14	[IGI <sup>1</sup> d]u-du-u



*Translation of envelope*

<sup>1</sup> [Seal of Pan-ilišu.]

<sup>2</sup> [(.....) 5 shekels] of silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Pan-ilišu. He has taken (it) on loan. It will increase [at] one quarter.

<sup>7</sup> Month of Ayyaru, 12<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Šarru-metu-balliṭ.

<sup>9</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Samedu, witness (La-)Dagil-[ili], witness Nabu-le'i, witness Urdu, [witness D]udu.

*Notes*

T. 10: In the circumstances there need be little hesitation in accepting the reading of this line, but note that on the Envelope the initial *la* is omitted. Both forms occur as a witness' name frequently in this archive, and this text seems to show that they are variants of the same name (and person).

E. 14: Dudu appears only here on the envelope, as the last witness. By comparison with No. 109 where the scribe features only as the final witness on the envelope this suggests that Dudu was the scribe of this document, and further that he was also the scribe of the numerous documents within the archive where he is listed as the final witness.

*Commentary*

Šamaš-šarru-ušur here loans 5 shekels of silver to Pan-ilišu (otherwise unknown). Interest at 25%, and no stated repayment date or conditions. Usual witnesses.

**81**

**Silver loan**

ND 3452 (IM)

Copy: Plate 25 (DJW; *Iraq* 15, Pl. XII)

Unsealed inner tablet: 3.5 x 2.4 cm.

14.II.R641/P643

- Obv. 1 7 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR  
2 ša <sup>1d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB  
3 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>ka-šu-du  
4 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>PAB-SU  
5 DUMU <sup>1</sup>Z[U<sup>?</sup>]-DINGIR  
B.E. 6 ina pu-u-ḫi i-ti-ši  
7 ina 4-tú-šú GAL-bi  
Rev. 8 ITI.GUD UD.14.KÁM\*  
9 lim-mu <sup>1</sup>aš-šur-MAN-PAB  
10 IGI <sup>1</sup>da-gil-DINGIR  
11 IGI <sup>1</sup>ḫu-ub<-tú>-aš-šur  
12 IGI <sup>1</sup>BÀD-ma-<sup>1</sup>kī<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>1[<sup>5</sup>?]  
13 IGI <sup>1</sup>U.GUR-qur-b[u<sup>?</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> 7 shekels of silver belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Kaššudu, at the disposal



of Aḫu-eriba, son of La[’iti]-ilu. He(!) has taken (it) on loan. It will increase at one quarter.

<sup>8</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 14th day, eponymate of Aššur-šarru-ušur.

<sup>10</sup> Witness Dagil-ili, witness Ḫub<tu>-Aššur, witness Dur-maki-Iš[ar<sup>?</sup>], witness Nergal-qurb[u<sup>?</sup>].

#### Notes

5: the sign before DINGIR could also be restored as K[A, raising the possibility of a name Abat-ili, but ZU–DINGIR (La’iti-ilu) is attested as a witness in No. 63:24.

6: the scribe should presumably have written *ittaṣṣū* since there are two borrowers.

11: compare <sup>1</sup>*ḫu-ub-tú-aš-šur* (No.70:27; several other attestations Fabritius, PNA2/I, 475).

#### Commentary

Silver loan of seven shekels to two borrowers at 25% interest. No repayment clauses and only one regular witness.

## 82

## Silver loan

ND 3444 (BM)

Copy: Plate 35 (RM)

Envelope: (4.1) x 3.1 x 2.5 cm.

Tablet: 3.5 x 2.3 x 1.8 cm.

1.VII.R635/P635

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

#### Sealing

*Fig. 73; Plate VI*

Instead of a sealing, there is an incised design on the envelope Obv.; 1.5 x 1.1 cm.

*Description:* Incised drawing of a bird’s claw.

The debtor, Urđi, son of Lu-šakin (who is responsible for the incision drawing here), could be the brother of Adad-milki-ušur who seals on Nos. 85 (ND 3438) and 107 (ND 3450).

*Comparisons:* For bird claw-shaped fingernail impressions cf. here No. 101 (ND 3465); from Assur a bird’s head made by fingernail incisions, Böhme 2014, pl. 67, no. Ist 46 (see also no. Ist 49, scorpion); an incised drawing of a bird’s head on a tablet from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 67 no. 471–472 (see also no. 473, scorpion); from Sultantepe, Herbordt 1992, pl. 17, 25 (Sultantepe 4).

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 186 Nimrud 59; pl. 17, 22.

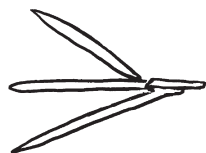


Figure 73. No. 82 (S. Herbordt)

## Tablet

Obv. 1 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

## Envelope

1 N[A<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>u]r-di2 DU[MU <sup>1</sup>lu-ša-ki]n

3 6 G[ÍN KÙ.BAB]BAR

blank space with incised design

2 ša <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB3 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-di

4 ina 4-tú-šú GAL-bi

5 ITI.DUL UD.1.KÁ[M\*]

B.E. 6 lim-me <sup>1</sup>za-KÁ-SURev. 7 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal8 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du9 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gil-DINGIR10 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU11 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du12 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u4 ša <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB5 [ina] IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-di6 [ina] pu-u-<sup>hi</sup> i-ti-š<sup>i</sup>

B.E. 7 a-na 4-tú-šú GAL-bi

Rev. 8 ITI.DUL UD.1.KÁM\*

9 lim-me <sup>1</sup>za-KÁ-SU10 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal11 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du12 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gil-DINGIR13 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU14 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du15 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u

## Translation of envelope

<sup>1</sup> S[eal of U]rdu, so[n of Lu-šaki]n.<sup>3</sup> 6 sh[ekels of sil]ver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, [at] the disposal of Urdu. He has taken (it) [on] loan. It will increase at one quarter.<sup>8</sup> Month of Tašritu (VII), 1<sup>st</sup> day, eponymate of Zababa-eriba.<sup>10</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dal(li), witness Samedu, witness Ladagil-ili, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Urdu, witness Dudu.

## Notes

E.2: father's name restored after No. 112:8. Presumably the debtor Urdu is not the same person as the Urdu who acts as a witness here (and in several other documents). Whether he is a brother to the debtor Adad-milki-ušur in No. 84 is harder to say.

E.6: note that this line (*ina pūhi ittiši*) was omitted on the tablet.

## Commentary

Šamaš-šarru-ušur here loans 6 shekels of silver to Urdu son of Lu-šakin. Interest at 25%, and no stated repayment date or conditions.

83

## Silver loan

ND 3432 (IM 57054)

Transliteration: JNP

Unopened case tablet: 5.0 x 3.6 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

26.XI.R634/P636

*Sealing**Figs. 74–75; Plate III*

Three oval seal impressions on Obv.; 1.2 x 0.8 cm.

*Design:* Eye-shaped motif.*Comparisons:* Herbordt 1992, pl. 11, 29 (Nimrud 90); pl. 11, 30 (Nimrud 55); pl. 11, 32 (Balawat 2); an unpublished tablet from Assur, Assur No. 95711 (VAT 16519).*Publication:* Parker 1955, 120 pl. 27, 2; Herbordt 1992, p. 184 Nimrud 50; pl. 11, 31.

Figure 74. No. 83, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXVII.2. © BISI)



Figure 75. No. 83  
(S. Herbordt)

T.E. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>la-ḫi-ṭa-a-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>  
Obv. 2 DUMU <sup>1</sup>qur-di-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
3 10 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR SIG<sub>5</sub>  
4 ša <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB

3 stamp seal impressions

5 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>la-ḫi-ṭa-a-ú  
6 ina pu-u-ḫi i-ti-ši  
7 2 MUŠEN.KUR.GI.MEŠ  
8 ša ša-bat ŠU.2  
B.E. 9 TA\* KÙ.BABBAR ina ITI.GUD  
10 SUM-an šum-ma la SUM-ni

- Rev. 11 4\* GÍN ša ITI-šú  
 12 i-GAL-bi  
 13 <sup>munus</sup>ba-sa-a-su MUNUS-šú  
 14 ina šá-par-te šá-kín-at  
 15 ITI.ZÍZ UD.26.KÁM\*  
 16 lim<-me> <sup>1.d</sup>30-MAN-PAB  
 17 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
 18 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
 19 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gil-DINGIR  
 T.E. 20 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU  
 L.S. 21 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du  
 22 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u

<sup>1</sup> Seal of La-ḫitayu, son of Qurdi-Nergal.

<sup>3</sup> 10 shekels of good quality silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of La-ḫitayu. He has taken (it) on loan. <sup>7</sup> 2 geese, caught by hand(?), he will deliver with the silver in the month of Ayyaru (II). <sup>10</sup> If he did not deliver, it will increase at one-quarter of a shekel per month. <sup>13</sup> Basasu, his woman, is placed as pledge.

<sup>15</sup> Month of Šabaṭu (XI), 26<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Sin-šarru-ušur.

<sup>17</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Samedu, witness Ladagil-ili, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Urdu, witness Dudu.

#### Notes

2: a Qurdi-Nergal is himself listed as a borrower in No. 77 (dated 650 BC).

3: for another term for high quality silver cf. No. 77:3.

7: note that here (as in No. 100:1) the scribe has placed MUŠEN before the remainder of the logogram. For its traditional position as a post-determinative cf. No. 93.

8: the phrase ša šabāt qāti presumably could mean “of catching by hand” (and was taken more or less this way by Wiseman: “caught with his own hand”), although it is hard to see how else he might have caught the birds. Does it mean “from the wild” as opposed to in captivity?

11: the figure 4\* is written with four horizontals, a normal way of writing the fraction ¼ in Neo-Assyrian texts.

16: we are unsure if the omission of -me or -mu is an error of the ancient scribe or the modern transcriber.

17–22: the witness list here is identical with No. 81's; not too surprising as the two documents are probably in adjacent years.

#### Commentary

Šamaš-šarru-ušur here loans 10 shekels of silver to Laḫitayu (otherwise unknown to us). The capital of the silver is to be repaid within three months, together with two geese in lieu of interest. If Laḫitayu misses the deadline, the silver will accrue interest at 0.25 shekel, i.e. 2.5%, monthly. Unusually for this archive the debtor's wife is pledged.

ND 3451 (BM)

Copy: Plate 36 (RM)

Inner tablet: 3.8 x 2.4 x 1.5 cm.

Envelope: (4.3) x (3.3) cm. Th. 0.35 cm.

15.IX.R632/P632

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

*Sealing*: none survives (it would have been on Obv. of envelope which is lost).*Tablet*

- Obv. 1 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 2 *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB  
 3 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*rém-a-ni*  
 4 *ina* UD.1 *ša* ITI.ZÍZ  
 5 *i-dan ina* SAG.DU-*šú*  
 B.E. 6 BE-*ma* NU SUM  
 7 *ina* 4-*tú-šú* GAL-<sup>1</sup>*bi*<sup>1</sup>  
 Rev. 8 IGI <sup>1</sup>*šil*-EN-*dal-li*  
 9 IGI <sup>1</sup>*la-da-gíl*-DINGIR  
 10 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>*ur-du*  
 12 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>U.GUR-DÙ-*uš*  
 T.E. 13 ITI.GAN UD.15  
 14 *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>10-*rém-ni*

<sup>1</sup> 12 shekels of silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Nabu-remanni. <sup>4</sup> On the 1<sup>st</sup> day of the month of Šabaṭu (XI) he shall deliver (it), at its capital (amount). <sup>6</sup> If he did not deliver (it), it will increase at one quarter.

<sup>8</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Ladagil-ili, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Urdu, witness Nergal-epuš.

<sup>13</sup> Month of Kislimu (IX), 15<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Adad-remanni.

*Note*

5: note that the phrase *ina* SAG.DU is here placed after *iddan*, whereas on the envelope it is in the usual (and no doubt more correct) position.

*Envelope*

- B.E. 1' [*ša* ITI.ZÍZ *ina*] <sup>1</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.[DU-*šú*]  
 Rev. 2' [S]UM-*an* BE-*ma* <sup>1</sup>NU<sup>1</sup> S[UM]  
 3' *ina* 4-*tú-šú* GAL-*b[i]*  
 4' ITI.GAN UD.15[(.KÁM)]  
 5' *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>10-*rém*-[*ni*]  
 6' <sup>1</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup> *du-du-u*

- 7' [IGI <sup>1</sup>l]a-da-gil-DIN[GIR]  
 8' [IGI <sup>1</sup>u]r-du  
 9' [IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-]'ZU'  
 remainder broken away

The text remaining on the envelope duplicates that on the tablet, except for differences in the order of the text. Thus the date is placed before the list of witnesses, the normal order of the *iddan* clause is restored, and the first witness on the envelope is Dudu, who does not appear on the tablet (cf. No. 80).

#### Commentary

Like No. 79, this debt-note does not explicitly identify itself as a loan (lacking the phrase *ina pūḥi ittiši*), although in the light of No. 81 this may not be decisive since the relevant part of the envelope is lost. Nabu-remanni is given a month and a half to repay the 12 shekels of silver, but after the 1<sup>st</sup> of Šabaṭu the debt will start attracting 25% interest. A Nabu-remanni borrows from Šamaš-šarru-ušur also in Nos. 88 and 89. Usual witnesses.

85

#### Silver loan

ND 3438 (BM)

Copy: Pl. 36 (JNP)

Probably unopened case tablet: 4.5 x 2.8 x 2.1 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

24.VIII.R631/P627

#### Sealing

Fig. 76; Plate III

Two oval seal impressions on envelope Obv.; 1.6 x 1.0 cm.

*Design:* Eye-shaped motif.

*Comparisons:* Herbordt 1992, pl. 11, 29 (Nimrud 90); pl. 11, 31 (Nimrud 50); pl. 11, 32 (Balawat 2); an unpublished tablet from Assur, Assur No. 95711 (VAT 16519). The debtor and seal owner, Adad-milki-ušur, seals with a different stamp seal on No. 107 (cf. also below, No. 107, note on l. 4).

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 185 Nimrud 55; pl. 11, 30.



Figure 76. No. 85 (S. Herbordt)

- T.E. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>10–*mil-ki*–PAB  
 Obv. 2 A <sup>1</sup>*lu-ša-kín*  
 3 5 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR  
 4 <sup>1</sup>*ša*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1.d</sup>UTU–MAN–PAB
- 2 stamp seal impressions
- 5 *ina* <sup>1</sup>IGI <sup>11</sup>10–*mil-ki*–PAB  
 6 *ina p[u]-u-ḫi it-ti-ši*  
 B.E. 7 *a-na* 4-*ti-šú* GAL  
 8 <sup>1</sup>*nar-gi-i* A <sup>1</sup>*iz-bi*  
 Rev. 9 EN ŠU.2.MEŠ *ša* KÙ.<sup>1</sup>BABBAR<sup>1</sup>  
 10 ITI.APIN UD.24.KÁM\*  
 11 *lim-mu* <sup>1.d</sup>ŠÚ–MAN–PA[B]  
 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>*da-gil*–DINGIR  
 13 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>U.GUR–DÙ–<sup>1</sup>*uš*<sup>1</sup>  
 14 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–<sup>1</sup>ZU<sup>1</sup>  
 15 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–LÁ–*an-n[i]*  
 16 LÚ\*.A.BA

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Adad-milki-ušur, son of Lu-šakin.

<sup>3</sup> 5 shekels of silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Adad-milki-ušur. <sup>6</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. It will increase at one quarter. <sup>8</sup> Nargi, son of Izbu, (is) guarantor of the silver.

<sup>10</sup> Month of Araḫsamnu (VIII), 24<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Marduk-šarru-ušur.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Dagil-ili, witness Nergal-epuš, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Nabu-taqqinanni, the scribe.

#### Note

12: Dagil-ili is a version of the name La-dagil-ili (see on No. 80 T.10).

#### Commentary

A straightforward loan of 5 shekels of silver from Šamaš-šarru-ušur to Adad-milki-ušur. He may have been a brother of Urdu, son of Lu-šakin (No. 81) but is otherwise unknown to us. Note how the guarantor is given his patronymic, doubtless because he is associated with Adad-milki-ušur rather than the creditor. The first three witnesses are familiar; Nabu-taqqinanni appears only here, which no doubt in part explains why he gives his profession as scribe, something the more regular scribes do not bother to do.



86

**Silver loan**

ND 3435 (MMA 54.117.27a+b)

Copy: Plate 37 (Spar & von Dassow 2000, Pl. 1–2)

Tablet: 3.8 x 2.5 x 1.8 cm.

Envelope: 5.0 x 3.7 x 2.9 cm.

23.I.R630

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

*Sealing*

*Figs. 77–79; Plate V*

Two circular seal impressions on envelope Obv.; 2.0 x 1.9 cm.

*Design:* Dog with curled tail shown walking to the right. In the field above a star and two groups of three spheres. At the right an eye-motif. The edge of the seal is surrounded by a thin, raised line.

*Comparisons:* no parallels.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 118f. fig. 11; pl 25, 3; Herbordt 1992, p. 185 Nimrud 53; pl. 16, 31.



Figure 77. No. 86, Obverse  
(Spar & von Dassow Pl. 122 © Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Figure 78. No. 86, Reverse  
(Spar & von Dassow Pl. 122 © Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Figure 79. No. 86  
(B. Parker)

*Tablet*

- T.E. 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <sup>uru</sup>gar-<ga->miš  
 2 ša<sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB  
 Obv. 3 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>ba-ri-ki-i  
 4 A <sup>1</sup>rém-a-ni-DINGIR  
 5 ina pu-u-hi ÍL  
 6 ina 4-tú-šú GAL-bi  
 7 <sup>1</sup>iz-bu A <sup>1</sup>a-qa-bi-DINGIR  
 8 EN ŠU.2.MEŠ šá KÙ.BABBAR

B.E. 9 ITI.BARAG UD.23.KÁM\*

10 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>EN-KUR-*u-a*

11 IGI <sup>1</sup>*sa-me-du*

Rev. 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>*šil*-EN-*dal'-li*

13 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15

14 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU

15 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-PAB-PAB

16 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>*šá-maš*

17 IGI <sup>1</sup>*la-da-gíl*-DINGIR

18 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB

T.E. 19 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-MU-AŠ

L.S. 20 IGI <sup>1</sup>*du-du-u*

21 IGI <sup>1</sup>*su-lu-ma-a*<-*a*>

### Envelope

T.E. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*ba-ri-ki-i*

2 DUMU <sup>1</sup>*rém-a-ni*-DINGIR

Obv. 3 ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <sup>unu</sup>*gar-ga-miš*

4 *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>*šá-maš*-MAN-PAB

5 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>*ba-ri-ki-i*

6 *ina pu-u-ḫi* ÍL

2 stamp seal impressions

7 *a-na* 4-*tú-šú* GAL-*bi*

8 <sup>1</sup>*iz-bu* A <sup>1</sup>*a-qa-bi*-DINGIR

B.E. 9 EN ŠU.2.MEŠ *ša* KÙ.BABBAR

10 ITI.BARAG UD.23.KÁM\*

Rev. 11 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>EN-KUR-*u-a*

12 IGI <sup>1</sup>*su-lu-ma-a-a* LÚ\* *qur-but*

13 IGI <sup>1</sup>*šil*-EN-*dal-li*

14 IGI <sup>1</sup>*sa-me-du*

15 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15

16 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU

17 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-*iá*-PAB-PAB

18 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>*šá-maš* IGI <sup>1</sup>*la-da-gíl*-DINGIR

19 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB IGI <sup>1</sup>*du-du-u*

T.E. 20 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-MU-AŠ

### Translation of envelope

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Bariki, son of Remanni-ili.

<sup>3</sup> Half a mina of silver (weighed by the) Carchemish (mina), belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Bariki. He has taken (it) on loan. It will increase at one quarter.

<sup>8</sup> Izbu, son of Aqabbi-ili, is the guarantor of the silver.

<sup>10</sup> Month of Nisannu, 23<sup>rd</sup> day, eponymate of Bel-šadua.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Sulummaya, the bodyguard, witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Samedu, witness Urad-Ištar, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Nabu-pi-aḫi-ušur, witness Nur-Šamaš, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Nabu-našir, witness Dudu, witness Nabu-šumu-iddina.

The tablet has a virtually identical text, except for (1) the absence of the Siegelvermerk, (2) the naming of the borrower's father in l. 4, (3) Sulummaya's position as the final instead of the first witness, and (4) the inversion of the order of Šil-Bel-dalli and Samedu in the witness list.

#### Notes

T. 4: here unusually the tablet offers more information than the envelope, giving us the name of the borrower's father.

T. 10: for Bel-šadua see on No. 85:8.

T. 21: Dudu is probably the scribe. Sulummaya's name here lacks the final *-a* although it is present in l. 12 of the Envelope, where he is placed first among the witnesses, perhaps because of his status as a bodyguard (*ša qurbūti*).

#### Commentary

Loan of 30 shekels of silver to Bariki. This fairly large amount may partly explain the need for a guarantor. Most of the witnesses are familiar, but Sulummaya is known only here, and stands out not only because his profession is stated, but also because it is "bodyguard", which places him among the royal entourage. His special position also no doubt explains why he is listed on the envelope before Šil-Bel-dalli, who regularly features as the first witness in many of the texts of the archive.

## 87

## Silver debt-note

ND 3437 (IM 57039)

Transliteration: JNP

Unopened case-tablet: 4.3 x 3.2 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

27.II.R630

#### Sealing

Impressions of two different seals on tablet. One circular seal impression on R.E. of envelope; diameter 1.2–1.3 cm (No. 87-1). Also on Obv. a cylinder seal impression; height ca. 2.0 cm (No. 87-2).

#### 87-1

*Figs. 80–81; Plate V*

*Design:* Two seated monkeys face one another, each playing the flute. Drawing by Parker has been collated by Herboldt. The monkey on the right does not wear a necklace but rather has neck folds indicated by two short lines.

*Commentary:* Impressions of the same stamp seal occur on a tablet from ZT rm. 14 (ND 2078; cf. Herbordt 1992, p. 181f. Nimrud 41; *limmu* Aššur-gimilli-tirri, R636, P638). There, the seal owner is clearly Ubru-Nabu, son of Nabu-duri, who seals alone. On our tablet No. 87 (ND 3437) a different seal owner (Mannu-ki-Nabu) is named for two different seal impressions. It therefore seems likely that Mannu-ki-Nabu, the bird-feeder, is the owner of the cylinder seal used here (see below on No. 87-2).

*Comparisons:* Motif of a seated monkey playing the flute on a Babylonian cylinder seal of unknown provenance, Collon 1987, no. 676.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, p. 117; pl. 24, 6; Herbordt 1992, p. 181f. Nimrud 41; pl. 17, 4.



Figure 80. No. 87, Right Side  
(© The Iraq Museum)



Figure 81. No. 87  
(B. Parker)

## 87-2

*Figs. 82–83; Plate II*

*Design:* At the left a worshipper faces a deity standing on an attribute animal (the head clearly visible in photo, *mušhuššu* (?)). The deity raises the left hand and holds a ring in the right. In the field above the two figures is a dotted rosette. At the right of the seal a hero is shown in combat with a rampant bull with head turned back. The hero holds the bull by the ear with his left hand while his right hand is raised in striking position. With his extended left leg he jumps on the back of the bull. In the field above are the winged sun-disc and the seven globes of the *Sebetti*.

*Commentary:* See No. 87-1 above.

*Comparisons:* here No. 60 (ND 3463 = Herbordt 1992, pl. 6, 3 (Nimrud 66)); from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 6, 4-6 Ninive 139; Ninive 166; Ninive 189; from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 45 no. 62.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 117 fig. 8 pl. 24, 6; Herbordt 1992, p. 182 Nimrud 42; pl. 6, 7.

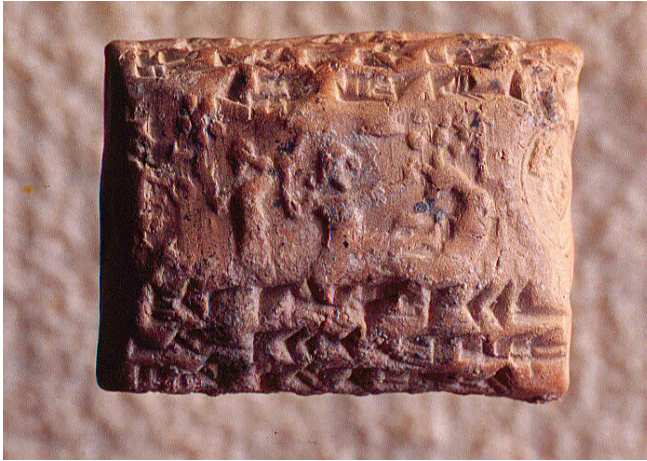


Figure 82. No. 87, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

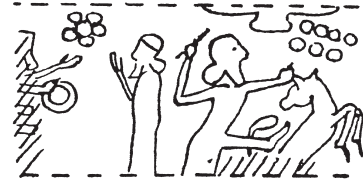


Figure 83. No. 87, Right Side  
(B. Parker)

T.E. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-<sup>d</sup>PA  
Obv. 2 <sup>lú\*</sup>mu-šá-kil MUŠEN.MEŠ  
3 16 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR

cylinder seal impression and stamp seal impression on right side

4 ša <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB  
5 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-<sup>d</sup>PA  
6 a-na 4-tú-šu GAL-bi  
B.E. 7 ITI.GUD UD.27<sup>?</sup>.KÁM\*  
Rev. 8 lim-me <sup>1</sup>EN-KUR-u-a  
9 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
10 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
11 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gíl-DINGIR  
12 IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>šá-maš  
13 IGI <sup>1</sup>tu-ta-a-a  
14 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-a-píl-ku-mu-u-a  
15 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-mu-LÁ-ni  
16 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u  
L.S. 17 IGI <sup>1</sup>ab-da-a

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Mannu-ki-Nabu, the bird-feeder.

<sup>3</sup> 16 shekels of silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Mannu-ki-Nabu. <sup>6</sup> It will increase at one quarter.

<sup>7</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 27<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Bel-šadua.

<sup>9</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Nur-Šamaš, witness Tutayu, witness Ninurta-apil-kumua, witness Ninurta-mutaqqini, witness Dudu, witness Abda.



*Notes*

8: Bel-šadua is not listed in Parpola's scheme for the post-canonical eponyms (PNA 1/I, xviii-xx), but see Baker, PNA1/II, 327 for this text and others, from both Nimrud and elsewhere, which need to be slotted into the post-canonical sequence. (I can see no basis for normalizing the name as Bel-šaddu'a with a double d).

*Commentary*

A simple debt-note for 16 shekels of silver owed by a bird-feeder. Interest of 25% is specified, but there is no time limit stated and consequently no penalty for late repayment. Most of the witnesses are familiar; Ninurta-mutaqqini is a witness also in No. 69, Ninurta-apil-kumua and Abda only here.

**88**

**Silver and grain debt-note**

ND 3442 (IM 57057)

Transliteration: JNP

Unopened case-tablet: 4.5 x 3.0 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

24.IV.R629/P618

*Sealing*

*Fig. 84; Plate VI*

Two oval stamp seal impressions Obv.; 1.7 x 1.4 cm.

*Design:* Bird (duck?) flying to the left with outspread wings.

Interestingly, the seal owner, Urad-Ištar, is a bird-feeder by profession.

*Comparisons:* from Nineveh a seal impressed on clay sealings together with official (royal?) seals, Herbordt 1992, p. 138; pl. 17, 11; here No. 48 (ND 5475/9).

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 84. No. 88, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)



- T.E. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 Obv. 2 <sup>lu</sup>*mu-šá-kil* MUŠEN.MEŠ  
 3 5 3-*su* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 4 3 ANŠE 4<sup>7</sup>BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 5 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša* 8 *qa*
- 2 stamp seal impressions
- 6 *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>*šá-maš*-MAN-PAB  
 B.E. 7 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 8 *ina* UD.15.KÁM *šá* ITI.KIN  
 9 KÙ.BABBAR SUM-*an* BE-*ma* *la i-din*  
 Rev. 10 *ina* 4-*tú-šú* GAL-*bi*  
 11 *ina ad-ri* ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* SAG.DU-*šá*  
 12 [SUM-*an*] IGI <sup>1</sup>*la-da-gil*-DINGIR  
 13 [IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG]-<sup>d</sup>*šá-maš*  
 14 <sup>1</sup>IGI <sup>1.1.d</sup>U.GUR-*e-pu-uš*  
 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>*lu-ḫi-i*  
 16 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>30-KAM-PAB  
 L.S. 17 ITI.ŠU UD.27<sup>7</sup>.KÁ[M]  
 18 *lim-mu* <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*sa-kip*
- 19 *ina* ITI.DUL SUM-x[(x)]

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Urad-Ištar, the bird-feeder.

<sup>3</sup> 5 ⅓ shekels of silver, (and) 3.4 homers of barley (measured) by the 8 *qû sūtu*, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Urad-Ištar. <sup>8</sup> On the 15th day of the month of Ululu (VI) he shall pay the silver. If he did not pay (it), it will increase at one quarter. <sup>11</sup> At the threshing-floor [he shall deliver] the barley at its capital (amount).

<sup>12</sup> Witness La-dagil-ili, witness [Nur]-Šamaš, witness Nergal-epuš, witness Luḫi'i, witness Sin-ereš-aḫi(?).

<sup>17</sup> Month of Du'uzu (IV), 27th day, eponymate of Nabu-sakip.

<sup>19</sup> He shall(?) pay in the month of Tašritu (VII).

#### Notes

19: this line is written on the Left Side, but in the opposite direction to ll. 17-18. Clearly it is intended as a supplementary addition to the text, but since the repayment time for silver is specified in l. 7 ("in Ululu") and for the grain in l. 11 ("at the threshing-floor"), it is difficult to see where it should be inserted.

#### Commentary

This document and the next unusually (though not uniquely) combine silver and barley in a single transaction. The debtor here is a bird-feeder, like the debtor in No. 85, and as in that document the transaction is not marked as a true loan by the use of *ina pūḫi*; there are no

indications of why. The silver is to be repaid in less than two months, failing which interest of 25% will be charged (a second deadline is, as usual, not mentioned). The grain is to be repaid at the threshing-floor, as usual, and no provision appears to be made for late delivery.

89

**Silver and grain debt-note**

ND 3458 (IM 58045)

Transliteration JNP

Unopened case-tablet: 4.5 x 3.0 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

14<sup>?</sup>.II.R629/P618

*Sealing*

Two impressions from one end of a cylinder seal or from a stamp seal. See No. 90.

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1.d</sup>PA-rém-a-ni  
2 5 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR  
3 1 ANŠE 5BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina* GIŠ.BÁN 8  
4 *a-di ru-bi-me-ša*

2 seal impressions

5 *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>ša-maš-MAN-PAB  
6 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-rém-a-ni  
B.E. 7 *ina* ITI.GUD *ina* SAG.DU-šú  
8 SUM-an ŠE.PAD.MEŠ *ina ad-ri*  
Rev. 9 *ina* SAG.DU-ša *i-dan*  
10 ITI.GUD UD.<sup>14</sup> <sup>1</sup>lim-me <sup>1.d</sup>PA-sa-kip  
11 NAM *la-ḫi-ri*  
12 IGI <sup>1</sup>da-gíl-DINGIR  
13 IGI <sup>1</sup>ba-al-te-id-ri  
14 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u  
15 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>PA

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Nabu-remanni.

<sup>2</sup> 5 shekels of silver (and) 1.5 homers of barley (measured) by the *sūtu* (of) 8 (*qû*), together with its interest(?), belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Nabu-remanni. <sup>7</sup> In the month of Ayyaru (II) he shall deliver (it) at its capital (amount). He shall deliver the barley at the threshing-floor at its capital (amount).

<sup>10</sup> Month of Ayyaru, 14<sup>?</sup>th day, eponymate of Nabu-sakip, governor of Laḫiru.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Dagil-ili, witness Balte-idri, witness Dudu, witness Urad-Nabu.

## Notes

4: the phrase *a-di ru-bi-me-šú* is obviously a version of the phrase found at least three times in other Neo-Assyrian documents, written *a-di ru-bi-e-šú/šá* (CAD R 400). Not too much weight should be placed on a single instance, but the writing here with *-me-* rather suggests that the writing *-bi-e-* represents two syllables. The significance of this phrase here is not immediately obvious. The scribe appears to be saying that Nabu-remanni owes 1.5 homers plus an unspecified amount of interest. However, in ll. 8–9 we read that he will repay the barley capital (i.e. usually, the amount initially borrowed) at the threshing-floor, which would normally imply no interest. Is it possible, therefore, that this phrase implies that the stated amount of barley, and perhaps also of silver already includes an amount of interest? If so, this is a debt novation, which would account for the absence of an *ina pūḫi* clause.

7–8: these two lines evidently apply to the silver component of the debt. The repayment date appears to be no more than two weeks.

8–9: repayment of the barley on the threshing-floor is also fairly imminent, since the harvest was possibly in the next month (Simanu).

## Commentary

This document much resembles No. 87, in that both texts are dated to the same year, and both record a mixed debt, of silver and grain. The silver debt is 5 shekels here, and 5 1/3 shekels in No. 87; the barley debt is 1.5 homers here but 3.4 homers in No. 87. Neither document has the *ina pūḫi* phrase typical of a true loan, so as suggested in the note to l. 4 it is possible they are both debt novations. No. 90 is also a debt-note with Nabu-remanni as the debtor, and the faint surviving impressions on that tablet seem to come from the same seal as he uses here.

## 90

## Silver debt-note

ND 3453 (IM 57051)

Copy: Plate 38 (JNP)

Sealed tablet: 3.2 x 2.3 x 1.7 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

25.VI.R626/P623

*Sealing*: two impressions of a stamp seal, or possibly cylinder seal, probably identical to that which made the impressions on No. 89.

T.E. 1 3 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.BABBAR

Obv. 2 ša <sup>1.d</sup>UTU–MAN–PAB

2 seal impressions

3 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA–rém-a-ni

4 *ina* UD.25 ša ITI.DUL

B.E. 5 KÙ.BABBAR SUM-an

6 BE-ma NU SUM-ni

Rev. 7 *a-na 4-tú-šú GAL-bi*  
 8 ITI.KIN UD.25.KÁM  
 9 *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur*-KUR-LÁ  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>*da-gíl*-DINGIR  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki*-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 T.E. 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>10-*mil-ki*-APIN-*eš*

<sup>1</sup> 3 ¼ shekels of silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Nabu-remanni. <sup>4</sup> On the 26th day of the month of Tašritu (VII) he shall deliver the silver. If he did not deliver (it), it will increase at one quarter.

<sup>8</sup> Month of Ululu (VI), 25th day, eponymate of Aššur-matu-taqqin.

<sup>10</sup> Witness Dagil-ili, witness Mannu-ki-Ninurta, witness Adad-milki-ereš

### Commentary

Although sealed, this tablet seemed too small to be an unopened envelope, and does not have the usual Siegelvermerk which would be expected on an envelope. A Nabu-remanni incurred at least three other debts to Šamaš-šarru-ušur: Nos. 84 (R632), 89 (same seal; R629) and 95 (date lost). Here his debt of 3 ¼ shekels of silver is to be repaid exactly one month from the date of the document; failing that it will attract 25% interest.

91

### Silver loan

ND 3461 (BM)

Copy: Plate 38 (JNP)

Inner tablet: 3.9 x 2.8 x 2.0 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

1.IX.R626/P623

Not sealed.

Obv. 1 [3 GÍN] KÙ.BABBAR  
 2 [*ša* <sup>1,d</sup>]UTU-MAN-PAB  
 3 [*ina* IGI <sup>1,d</sup>UT]U-[SUM-PA]B.MEŠ  
 4 [A <sup>1,d</sup>PA-I]  
 5 *ina pu-ḫi* [*i(t)-t*]*i-ši*  
 6 *a-na 4-[tú-šú ( )]*  
 7 *i-GAL-bi* [( )]  
 B.E. 8 ITI.GAN UD.[1.KÁM\*]  
 Rev. 9 *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur*-KUR-L[Á]  
 10 IGI <sup>1</sup>*sa-me-du*  
 11 IGI <sup>1</sup>*la-da-gíl*-DIN[GIR]  
 12 IGI <sup>1,d</sup>PA-ZU  
 13 [IGI] <sup>1</sup>PAB-*ši-na*

14–15 illegible

16 [IGI <sup>1</sup>du]-du-u

<sup>1</sup> [3 shekels] of silver, [belonging to] Šamaš-šarru-ušur, [at the disposal of Šam]aš-[nadin-aḥ] ḥe, [son of Nabu]-na'id. <sup>5</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. It will increase at one quarter.

<sup>8</sup> Month of Kislimu (IX), [1st] day, eponymate of Aššur-matu-taq[qin].

<sup>10</sup> Witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Aḥu-šina, witness [...], witness [...], witness Du]du.

### Commentary

This tablet was catalogued in *Iraq* 15, p. 145, when it was evidently in much better condition than now. The transcription offered here restores the amount of silver in l. 1, the personal names in ll. 2–3 and the date in l. 8 in the light of Wiseman's catalogue entry and index of personal names.

This is a minimalist silver loan with interest at 25% and no repayment date or penalties for late repayment specified.

## 92

## Silver loan

ND 3441 (IM)

Copy: Plate 38 (DJW; *Iraq* 15 Pl. XII)

Unopened case-tablet: 4.3 x 2.7 cm.

10.XII.R624/P629

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

### Sealing

*Fig. 85; Plate III*

Fragmentary oval seal impression on envelope Obv.; height 2.0 cm.

*Design:* In the upper field a winged sun-disc. Below, a star and eye-shaped filling motif. At the left edge are traces of at least three small spheres. The seal edge is surrounded by a thin, raised line.

The seal owner here, Nabu-le'i, is the son of Urad-Ištar, the bird feeder, who seals on No. 88 above. See also commentary below.

*Comparisons:* from Nimrud, Herbordt 1992, pl. 10, 37 (Nimrud 64); from Bastam, Seidl 1979, 139, no. C1; C2; C3; C4; Seidl 1988, 147 no. C6.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 120 Fig 15; Herbordt 1992, p. 186 Nimrud 57; pl. 10, 36.

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>.dPA–ZU  
 2 A <sup>1</sup>İR–15 *mu-šá-ki* MUŠEN  
 3 8 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR  
 seal impression

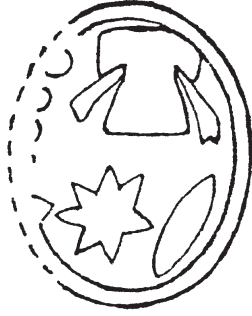


Figure 85. No. 92 (B. Parker)

- 4 *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB  
 5 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU *ina pu-u-ḫi <i-> ta-ṣu*  
 B.E. 6 *ina 4-ut-ti-šú GAL-bi*  
 7 <sup>munus</sup>*pu-u-tú-up-ni-SU*  
 Rev. 8 DUMU.MUNUS-*su ina šá-par-ti*  
 9 *šak-na-at ina A.ME Ì.GIŠ*  
 10 MUŠ GÍR.TAB ÚŠ ZÁḫ  
 11 *ina UGU AD-šá ina UD-me KÙ.BABBAR*  
 12 SUM-*u-ni DUMU.MUNUS-su*  
 13 *ú-še-ša ITI.ŠE UD.10*  
 14 *lim-mu* <sup>1.d</sup>PA-MAN-PAB A.BA KUR *aš-šur-a-a*  
 T.E. 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ*  
 16 IGI <sup>1</sup>PAB-SU  
 L.S. 17 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ-*bé-sún*  
 18 IGI <sup>1</sup>DUMU-<sup>d</sup>15  
 19 IGI <sup>1</sup>*man-nu-ki-AD*

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Nabu-le'i, son of Urad-Ištar, bird-feeder.

<sup>3</sup> 8 shekels of silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Nabu-le'i. <sup>5</sup> They(!) took (it) as a loan. It will increase at one quarter.

<sup>7</sup> Put-upni-eriba, his daughter, is placed as a pledge. <sup>9</sup> Death – by water, oil, snake, and scorpion – and flight (are liabilities) on her father. <sup>11</sup> On the day he delivers the silver, he will release his daughter.

<sup>13</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 10<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Nabu-šarru-ušur, Assyrian palace scribe.

<sup>15</sup> Witness Mannu-ki-Ninurta, witness Aḫu-eriba, witness Ninurta-besun, witness Mar-Ištar, witness Mannu-ki-abī.

#### Notes

1–2: Urad-Ištar the father is presumably the same as Urad-Ištar the bird-feeder in No. 88. This makes it difficult to decide if it is he or his son who is here described as a “bird-feeder”. Wiseman copied the borrower’s name as <sup>d</sup>PA-ZU, and read it Nabū-li’u, and this appears to be correct in l. 5. There is a shadow of doubt about this reading because in ll. 8 and 12 the word DUMU.MUNUS-*su* also appears to be written with the ZU sign, and this makes it difficult to be sure whether the final sign in l. 7 is meant

to be ZU (as copied) or SU.

5: this line appears to contain two errors, the omission of *i-* before *ta-šu*, and the form *ittaššu* itself which is plural when there is but one borrower so that *ittiši* is expected.

7: *pace* Jankovic in PNA 3/I, 1001, reading *-šu*, the copy shows a clear ZU at the end of this line. In the light of our note on ll. 1-2, this could be either ZU or SU. I have opted for SU, since “the prayer has restituted” gives perfectly reasonable sense.

### Commentary

A straightforward loan of 8 shekels of silver with no repayment provisions but a pledge of the borrower’s daughter. Since ll. 1–13 imply that Put-upni-eriba has been transferred into the creditor’s custody, it is noteworthy that 25% interest is also being charged, since in some situations the benefit of the pledge’s labour can substitute for interest on the capital borrowed. Nabu-eriba is a bird-feeder (the title presumably refers to him and not to his father), and so he may belong in a circle of persons associated with the Šamaš-šarru-ušur household.

Note that here, as also in BT 139 from Balawat (Parker 1963, 100), the risk clause places the liability on the father of the pledged person, as we might expect, despite evidence that in other cases the creditor bears the risk (see Postgate 1976, 48–9). See there too for the unresolved dilemma of the water and oil, and whether they are also cited as a cause of death.

93

### Silver debt-note

ND 3466b (IM f.s.)

Transliteration: JNP

Envelope fragment : dimensions unknown

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

28.VII.R623/P630

Sealing: no impression survives.

Obv. (completely broken away)

Rev. (upper part broken away)

- 1' [x] <sup>1</sup>*be-la<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>ni</sup>* x[ (x) ]
- 2' [x] <sup>1</sup>*arba-il*–MU–AŠ EN ŠU.2 <sup>1</sup>*šá* KÙ.BABBAR
- 3' [(x+)]2 KUR.GI.MUŠEN *ša-bat* ŠU.2
- 4' [I]TI.DUL UD.28.KÁ[M\*]
- 5' [*lim*]-*mu* <sup>1</sup>*NU*–MAN–[E]
- 6' traces only

### Commentary

This fragment gives us the name of Arbail-šumu-iddina as the guarantor of the silver, then mentions 2 or more geese “caught by hand(?)” — see on No. 83:8 for this phrase. It seems likely that this was in the first instance a silver loan or debt-note, and that the geese only come into the contract at a later stage.



94 Silver loan

ND 3462 (BM)  
Tablet: 3.5 x 2.5 x 1.8 cm.  
Envelope: 4.2 x (2.7) x 2.8 cm.  
Provenance: TW53, Room 19

Copy: Plate 39 (RM)  
Collated JNP June 2014  
  
30.II.P632

Sealing

Fig. 86–87; Plate III

Two oval stamp seal impressions on envelope Obv.; 1.6 x 1.0 cm.

Design: seven doughnut-shaped spheres arranged diagonally in groups of two, three, and two. Possibly the *Sebetti*? The dots of the *Sebetti* are, however, usually aligned in two rows (Herbordt 1992, pp. 102 f.).

Comparisons: an oval stamp seal from Nimrud (found above building DD outer town), Mallowan 1966, p. 258 fig. 234 (= Parker 1962, pl. 9, 2); a scaraboid seal from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 62, no. 408.

Publication: not previously published.

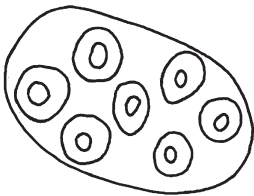


Figure 86. No. 94  
(S. Herbordt)

Figure 86. No. 94 Envelope, Obverse  
(E. Schmidtchen.  
Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum )

Tablet		Envelope	
Obv.	1	3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	Obv. 1 NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> bi-su-si-i
	2	ša <sup>1.d</sup> UTU–MAN-PAB	2 3 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR
	3	ina IGI <sup>1</sup> bi-su-si-i	2 stamp seal impressions
	4	ina pu-u-ḫi i-ti-ši	(remainder of Obv. broken away)
	5	ina 4-tú-šú GAL-bi	
	6	ITI.GUD UD.30.KÁM*	

B.E. 7	<i>lim-me</i> <sup>1</sup> DÙG. <sup>1</sup> GA <sup>1</sup> - <i>šil</i> -30	
Rev. 8	[I]GI <sup>1</sup> š[ <i>il</i> -E]N- <i>dal-l[i]</i>	Rev. (beginning broken away)
9	[IG]I <sup>1</sup> r <sup>1</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> - <i>me-du</i>	1' IGI [ <sup>1</sup> ]r <sup>1</sup> sa- <i>me-du</i> <sup>1</sup>
10	[I]GI <sup>1</sup> la- <i>da-gil</i> -DINGIR	2' IGI <sup>1</sup> la- <i>da-gi</i> [ <i>l</i> -DINGIR]
11	IGI <sup>1</sup> .dPA-ZU	3' IGI <sup>1</sup> .dPA-ZU
12	IGI <sup>1</sup> ur- <i>du</i>	4' [I]G[I <sup>1</sup> ]ur- <i>du</i>
13	IGI <sup>1</sup> du- <i>du-u</i>	5' [I]GI <sup>1</sup> du- <i>du-u</i>

*Translation of tablet*

<sup>1</sup> 3 shekels of silver, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Bisusi. <sup>4</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. It will increase at one quarter.

<sup>6</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 30<sup>th</sup> day, eponymate of Ṭab-šil-Sin.

<sup>8</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Urdu, witness Dudu.

The surviving text on the envelope duplicates the tablet, except for the introductory Siegelvermerk in l. 1 “Seal of Bisusi”. The thickness of the envelope clay varies from 0.2 to 0.4 cm.

*Notes*

1: the final *-i* is present on the side of the top right hand corner of the envelope (coll. JNP).

7: This eponym is attested only here and since the tablet could not be located for collation was not included in Reade's list of post-canonical eponyms. Dr Mattila's copy and further collation of the tablet leave no doubt of the reading.

*Commentary*

Laconic record of a loan of 3 shekels of silver to Bisusi, with interest of 25%.

**94a**

**Fragment of loan envelope**

ND 3462a (BM)

Stored with No. 94 are fragments of an envelope. Parts of two lines are legible: [*i*]na IGI <sup>1</sup>šu-nu-PAB.M[EŠ] / [*i*]na pu-u-*hi i-t[i-ši]*, showing that this came from a different document recording a loan to Šunu-aḥḥe. The name of the creditor does not survive.

*Sealing*

*Fig. 88; Plate III*

Small, fragmentary oval seal impression on envelope fragment; 0.55 x 0.65 cm.

*Design:* Linear design.

*Commentary:* This sealed fragment is included in a box in the British Museum with two other

pieces correctly labelled as ND 3462 (= CTN 6 No. 94). The piece described and drawn here apparently does not belong to the other fragments. Thus, the correction to Herbordt 1992, p. 187 Nimrud 65.

*Comparisons:* from Nimrud, Herbordt 1992, pl. 11, 19 (Nimrud 44).

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 187 Nimrud 65; pl. 11, 23.



Figure 88. No. 94a (S. Herbordt)

## 95 Silver debt-note(?)

ND 3466a (IM)

Transliteration: JNP

Envelope: dimensions unknown

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

[date lost]

*Sealing:* no impression survives.

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*rém-a-ni*  
2 [x] GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR

space for seal impression below an erased line

remainder of Obv. and B.E. broken away

Rev. upper part broken away

1' IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*ṛki*?[-x (x)]  
2' IGI <sup>1</sup>U.GUR-DÙ-*uš*

Obv. 1 Seal of Nabu-remanni. 2 [x] shekels of silver [... (remainder of Obv. below space for seal and upper part of Rev. broken away)]

Rev. 1' Witness Nabu-ki[...], witness Nergal-epuš.

### Note

Rev. 1': possibly Nabu-kibsi (see No. 96:16).

### Commentary

The chances are that this is a fragment of a silver loan or debt-note, although this is not 100% certain. A Nabu-remanni is also debtor in Nos. 84, 89 and 90. The creditor is in all probability Šamaš-šarru-ušur, if only because Nergal-epuš occurs 10 times as a witness in his archive.

ND 3431 (E)

Transliteration: DJW

Unopened case-tablet: 4.3 x 3.0 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

14.I.Ša-ili-tadammeqi

*Sealing:* No information is offered in *Iraq* 15 about seal impressions. Since it is an envelope there almost certainly were some.

This document was assigned to the Expedition in the division, but we have regrettably been unable to locate it. Here the text has been reconstituted from the information given in the catalogue on *Iraq* 15, p. 142 (including the details of the lines: 6+2+8+1+1 ll.) and from the indices on pp. 155–9. Where a line number is given, this is supplied from Wiseman's information in *Iraq* (the reader will note that the names of the witnesses in ll. 13–14 were not included in the Personal Names index and are therefore unknown to us). Signs which have been entirely reconstructed are in smaller type.

Obv. 1	NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> ZÁLAG– <sup>d</sup> šá-maš
2	A <sup>1</sup> pu-uš- <i>hi</i> 12 GÍN(MEŠ) KÙ.BABBAR LUḪ-u <i>ša</i> <sup>d</sup> 15
5	<i>ša</i> <sup>1.d</sup> šá-maš–MAN–PAB
6	<i>ina</i> IGI <sup>1</sup> ZÁLAG– <sup>d</sup> šá-maš
B.E.	<i>ina</i> pu-u- <i>hi</i> <i>i(t)-ti-ši</i> <i>ina</i> 4-tú-šú GAL-bi
Rev.	ITI.BARAG UD.1(.KÁM)
10	<i>lim-mu</i> <sup>1</sup> ša–DINGIR– <i>ta-da-me-qi</i>
11	LÚ.GAR.KUR <sup>umu</sup> <i>de-eḫ-ri</i>
12	IGI <sup>1</sup> šil–EN– <i>dal-li</i>
13–14	two lines not reconstructible
15	IGI <sup>1</sup> ur-du
16	IGI <sup>1.d</sup> PA– <i>kib-si</i>
T.E. 17	IGI <sup>1.d</sup> PA–ZU
L.S. 18	IGI <sup>1</sup> du-du-u

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Nur-Šamaš, son of Pušhi.

<sup>3</sup> 12 shekels of purified silver, of Ištar, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Nur-Šamaš. He has taken (it) on loan. It will increase at one quarter.

<sup>9</sup> Month of Nisannu, 1st day, eponymate of Ša-ili-tadammeqi, the governor of Deḫru.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, (2 witness names not recorded), <sup>15</sup> witness Urdu, witness Nabu-kibsi, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Dudu.

Notes

1: a Nur-Šamaš is a frequent witness in this archive, but he is the son of Kurilaya. Nur-Šamaš, son of Pušhi does however feature as one of two sellers of a slave woman and her son in No. 64 (dated 649 BC).

3: for “purified” silver (*mas(i)u*) cf. No. 77.

4: the significance of the phrase “of Ištar” is difficult to determine. A comparable passage is found in a silver debt-note from Assur, where the object of the loan is given as 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR GIBÍL-*u ša* 15 šá <sup>uru</sup>*arba-il ša* PN (Donbaz & Parpola 2001, No. 288:1-3). The easiest solution, also adopted by Radner (1997, 73), is to compare other Neo-Assyrian contracts in which the object of a silver loan is characterized as “first-fruits (SAG.MEŠ)” of a deity, such as another Assur text in Geneva given in transliteration in Postgate 1983,155, which starts 30 MA.NA 11 ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR / SAG.MEŠ *ša* 15 šá <sup>uru</sup>*arba-il ša* PN; for other examples of *rēšāti* in similar contexts see CAD R 273. On BM 103392 (FNALD No. 26) the remark SAG.MEŠ šá *aš-šur* is placed on the left side of the envelope, and is plainly an afterthought not included on the inner tablet. It has not been convincingly explained how amounts of silver described as first-fruits of a deity could also function — as it is clear they did — as the property of an individual citizen (for an attempt, see Postgate 1983, 156–8).

10: since this is the only known occurrence of this eponym’s name our inability to collate it is doubly frustrating, but there is no reason to doubt the correctness of Wiseman’s initial reading of the signs. For the use of *damāqu* in Neo-Assyrian cf. SAA 10 No. 361:17’ *ina māt Aššur ta-da-mi-iq* “You will be happy in Assyria” (translation of Parpola). It is of course technically uncertain whether *tadammeq* here should be taken as a 2nd sing. masc. or 3 sing. fem. form, but the *ta-* must belong with the verb since *dammīq* by itself could only be a D stem imperative, a mood which is not usual in personal names.

11: Wiseman writes *šakin*, which must I think reflect LÚ.GAR or LÚ.GAR.KUR (*šá-kìn*).

Commentary

Straightforward loan of 12 shekels of silver to Nur-Šamaš, with 25% interest. The witnesses, so far as known, are from the usual pool.

97

Debt-note for chain(s)

ND 3445 (BM)

Copy: Plate 39 (JNP)

Envelope: 4.1 x 3.0 x 2.4 cm.

Tablet: 3.4 x 2.2 x 1.7 cm.

10.X.R614/P625

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

Sealing

Fig. 89; Plate III

Three circular seal impressions on Obv.; diameter 1.5 cm.

Design: A raised line.

Comparisons: from Nimrud here No. 35 (ND 5476); from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 11, 20 (Ninive 42); pl. 11, 22 (Ninive 42b).

Publication: Herbordt 1992, p. 186 Nimrud 60; pl. 11, 21.

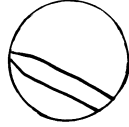


Figure 89. No. 97 (S. Herbordt)

*Envelope*

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>ur-ki-tú-PAB  
 2 A <sup>1</sup>qi-bi-ia TA\* <sup>uru</sup>ki-šir-te  
 3 35 ḫar-ḫa-ri<sup>meš</sup>  
 4 1 ḫu-tu-gi  
 3 stamp seal impressions  
 5 ša <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB  
 6 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-ki-tú-PAB  
 7 ina ITI.GUD SUM-an BE-ma  
 B.E. 8 la SUM-an a-ki ma-ḫi-ri  
 Rev. 9 il-qe SUM-an  
 10 ITI.AB UD.10.KÁM\*  
 11 lim-mu <sup>1.d</sup>30-MAN-PAB A.BA KUR  
 12 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>U.GUR-DÛ-uš  
 13 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB  
 14 IGI <sup>1</sup>man-nu<sup>1</sup>-ki-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>a-da-lál  
 T.E. 16 IGI <sup>1</sup>LÁ-15

*Tablet*

Obv. 1 35 ḫar-ḫa-ri<sup>meš</sup>  
 2 1 ḫu-tu-gi  
 3 ša <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB  
 4 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-ki-tú-PAB  
 5 ina ITI.GUD SUM-an  
 6 BE-ma la SUM-an  
 B.E. 7 a-ki ma-ḫi-ri  
 Rev. 8 il-qe SUM-an  
 9 ITI.AB UD.10  
 10 lim-mu <sup>1.d</sup>30-MAN-PAB  
 11 IGI <sup>r11</sup>U.GUR-DÛ  
 12 ” <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB  
 13 ” <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ

*Envelope:* <sup>1</sup> Seal of Urkittu-ušur, son of Qibiya, from the town of Kiširtu. <sup>3</sup> 35 chain(link)s (and) 1 ḫutugi, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Urkittu-ušur. <sup>7</sup> He shall deliver (them) in the month of Ayyaru (II). If he does not deliver (them then), he shall deliver (them) in accordance with the exchange rate at which he acquired (them).

<sup>10</sup> Month of Kanunu (X), 10th day, eponymate of Sin-šarru-ušur, Palace Scribe.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Nergal-epuš, witness Nabu-našir, witness Mannu-ki-Ninurta, witness Addallal, witness Turši-Ištar.

The text of the tablet is virtually identical, though naturally lacking the Siegelvermerk, and omitting the eponym's profession and the two witnesses listed last on the envelope.

*Notes*

Env. 2: of the mentions of this toponym listed in Parpola 1970, 210 the most informative refers to a town called Kiširtu south-east of Assyria, visited by Aššur-našir-apli II in 880 BC in the course of his third campaign against Zamua (Grayson RIMA 2 (1991) p. 206 Col. ii.58).

Env. 3 & Tab. 1: ḫarḫaru is safely attested with the meaning “chain” (no doubt derived from a

reduplication of Sumerian *ḫar* “ring”; see von Soden, AHw 325). The only doubtful point here is whether 35 whole chains are meant, or a chain of 35 links, which seems more probable on practical grounds. Env. 4 & Tab. 2: *ḫu-tu-gi* remains an enigmatic hapax legomenon. In association with a chain, one might perhaps think of a “hook”, but it is worrying that the word ends with an *i* rather than a *u*.

Env. 8 & Tab. 6: note the unusual present tense.

Env. 8–9 & Tab. 7–8: the translation “exchange rate at which he acquired (them)” assumes that the scribe intended *maḫīri* to be a construct noun governing the following verb. Since *ilqe* cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered a subjunctive form, I can only assume that the scribe’s grasp of Assyrian grammar was defective.

Env. 15–16: whereas Nergal-epuš, Nabu-našir and Mannu-ki-Ninurta are familiar witnesses, Addallal occurs only once elsewhere, as the debtor in No. 100, and Turši-Ištar is found only here. They are not mentioned on the inner tablet, and it is possible they are present as associates of the debtor.

### *Commentary*

This is apparently not a loan, but a debt-note for the chain(s) and another item listed. The material of these items is not specified, but if a chain is correct, it is presumably either copper or iron. It seems likely that the transaction is some form of work or delivery contract. So it may be that Urkittu-ušur was a metalworker who will be manufacturing the goods himself, or some kind of commercial middleman who is undertaking to deliver them in the second month, that is in something like four months’ time. The length of time suggests that manufacture and delivery are intended, but it is hard to see why Šamaš-šarru-ušur is using someone from the provinces.

The purpose of the repayment clause in Env. 7-9 clause is very hard to unravel. It is quite unclear why a rate of exchange is involved, but one scenario might be as follows: in the transaction recorded here on the 10th of Kanunu Urkittu-ušur did not physically receive the chain and hook(?), since they were yet to be made, but rather a sum of silver (or copper) equivalent in value to them (perhaps including the cost of manufacture) at the going rate.



### Contracts involving birds (Nos. 98–101, 112)

A few documents from TW53 are concerned with birds, interestingly spread over about 40 years from 660 BC (No. 98) to R619 (No. 101). Some are debt-notes for a certain number of birds (Nos. 98–101), others involve birds in the supplementary clauses (Nos. 78, 83, and 93). Two species are mentioned, KUR.GI.MUŠEN(.MEŠ), Akkadian *kurkû*, currently thought to be “goose”, and a much smaller bird written TU.GUR<sub>4</sub>.MUŠEN(.MEŠ), Akkadian *sukanninu*. Unfortunately, there is no real certainty as to the identification of these two species. The TU.GUR<sub>4</sub>.MUŠEN is translated by CAD T as “turtledove”, on the basis of the possibly onomatopoeic Sumerian equivalent /tukur/, a rather precarious argument. Both species are included in the menu for Assurnasirpal’s inaugural banquet for the palace at Kalḫu: 500 *kurkû* (l. 112), followed in l. 113, among other birds, by 10,000 TU.MUŠEN.MEŠ and 10,000 TU.GUR<sub>4</sub>.MUŠEN.MEŠ. The TU.MUŠEN, Akkadian *summatu*, is taken to be a “dove” (CAD S 378; “Taube” AHw 1058). These translations do not address the issue of whether it is a wild or domesticated species. Naturally it could be both, and von der Osten-Sacken concludes that in the 3rd millennium Mesopotamian texts TU.MUŠEN refers to the Felsentaube (*Columba livia*, in English rendered “rock dove”, but also just “pigeon”). This wild species is generally recognized as the ancestor of the domesticated pigeon. Fifth Dynasty Egyptian wall paintings illustrate the capture of wild doves and the keeping of doves in pens (von der Osten-Sacken 2015, 284). She also falls in with the identification of the TU.GUR<sub>4</sub>.MUŠEN as the “turtle-dove” (*Streptopelia turtur*) (p. 303), agreeing with CAD that the Sumerian word is onomatopoeic (p. 292). Nevertheless, without better evidence these identifications must be treated as hypothetical, and here I have tried to avoid committing myself by translating TU.GUR<sub>4</sub>.MUŠEN simply as “dove”. Likewise I have accepted the translation “goose” for *kurkû*, although von der Osten-Sacken reverts to “crane” (Kranich), see pp. 344–5. In her study of the Neo-Babylonian Sippar texts Janković translates *kurkû* as “wild goose” (Wildgans) without discussion, and she sees UZ.MUŠEN as the designation of a domestic goose (Hausgans) (2004, 8–9).

Whichever species are involved, it seems plain that these birds were kept or caught for food. Documents recording fodder for birds are already known from the 3rd millennium in south Mesopotamia (von der Osten-Sacken 2015), and there is plentiful evidence for the rearing of birds in the Neo-Babylonian sources (Janković 2004). Some at least will have been reared and fattened domestically, given the occurrence of the “bird-feeder” (*mušākil iššūrī*) in our archive (Nos. 64; 74; 86; 88; 92), and CTN 3 No. 10 records the large sum of 2 minas of silver taken by an official for the supply of fodder (*kissutu*) for “birds” (MUŠEN.MEŠ) in the Kalḫu Review Palace. On the other hand, it seems possible that the phrase *ša šabāt qāti* (No. 83:8; 93 rev. 3’) could refer to some means of capturing a wild goose.

In No. 99 the debt is for two “geese”, and No. 101 is a loan (apparently) of just one goose (and a similar transaction probably accounts for the single goose appended to a list of silver debts in No. 112). Additionally in No. 78 the penalty for late repayment is two geese, two geese again feature as a supplement to the repayment of the silver capital in No. 83, and perhaps also in No. 93 which is badly broken. By contrast in No. 98 we have a debt of 230 doves, and a debt of 36 in No. 100. The debt-note for 2 geese in No. 99 has a penalty for late

repayment of 120 doves. While it does not prove the identifications one way or the other, the disparity in numbers certainly supports the perception that the *kurkû* is a relatively large, and the *sukanninu* a relatively small bird.

The question remains, what was Šamaš-šarru-ušur doing with these birds. With the exception of No. 101, where he apparently “lends” one goose, the debt-notes only inform us of what birds he is to receive and when. They are probably contracts obliging the debtors to supply birds at a specified time, and the formulaic phrase *ša PN* need not be taken to mean that the birds were in Šamaš-šarru-ušur’s possession at any moment before that time. On the other hand, these are not purchase documents: if he were simply buying 230 or 36 doves (for silver or any other currency) no documentation would normally be required. It does not seem likely, in view of his other activities, that he was a poultry farmer, that was the task of the *mušākil iṣṣūrī*, or a fowler (MUŠEN.DÙ). Rather, he may have required these birds for his own household and needed to be sure that they would be available when he wanted them, or perhaps more likely he was committed to supply the birds to an institution, such as one of the temples on the acropolis. As was pointed out by the reader of the manuscript, “the ratio of 1 “goose” to 10 “turtledoves” seems to be the norm” in the Assur Temple offerings lists (SAA 7), displaying a similar proportion between the species, which might strengthen the case for an association with a temple.

98

## Debt-note for birds

ND 3436 (IM 57055)

Transliteration: JNP

Unopened case-tablet: 5.3 x 3.8 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

6.XII.660

*Sealing**Figs. 90–91; Plate V*

Two oval stamp seal impressions on both Obv. and Rev. of envelope; 1.1 x 0.9 cm.

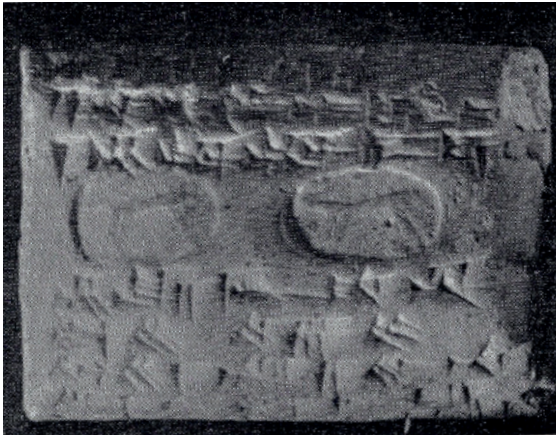
*Design:* Quadruped (goat?).*Comparisons:* From Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 16, 10 (Ninive 61); from Assur, Böhme 2014, pl. 64 no. Ist 64.*Publication:* Parker 1955, 120 Fig 18 pl 27, 3; Herbordt 1992, p. 185 Nimrud 54; pl. 16, 22.

Figure 90. No. 98, Reverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXVII.3. © BISI)

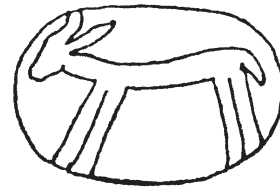


Figure 91. No. 98  
(B. Parker)

T.E. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'NUMUN–<sup>d</sup>15  
Obv. 2 2 ME 30 TU.GUR<sub>4</sub>.MUŠEN.MEŠ  
3 ša <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš–MAN–PAB

2 stamp seal impressions

4 ina IGI 'NUMUN–<sup>d</sup>15  
5 ina ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> ina <sup>ur</sup>kal-*hi*  
6 SUM-an šum-ma la SUM-ni  
B.E. 7 a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-šú-nu  
8 ina ITI.KIN SUM-an  
Rev. 9 šum-ma la SUM-ni  
10 a-na mit-*har* i-GAL-bi [( )]

11 <sup>1</sup>EN-DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub>-*né-e-ri*

2 impressions of same stamp seal

12 EN ŠU.2.MEŠ *ša* MUŠEN.MEŠ

13 ITI.ŠE UD.6.KÁM\*

14 *lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>*gír-ša-pu-na*

15 IGI <sup>1</sup>PAB-*im-me-e*

T.E. 16 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU IGI <sup>1</sup>*šil*—EN-*dal-li*

L.S. 17 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-PAB-PAB

18 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*re-ḫi-tú*-PAB

19 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-SUM-MU

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Zer-Ištar.

<sup>2</sup> 230 doves, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Zer-Ištar. <sup>5</sup> In the month of Simanu (III) he shall deliver (the birds) in the city of Kalḫu. If he did not deliver, he shall deliver in the month of Ululu (VI) at 5 *sūtu* per homer. <sup>9</sup> If he did not deliver (then), it will increase at parity.

<sup>11</sup> Bel-garu'a-nere (is) the guarantor of the birds.

<sup>13</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 6th day, eponymate of Gir-šapuna.

<sup>15</sup> Witness Aḫu-imme, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Šil-bel-dalli, witness Nabu-piya-aḫi-ušur, witness Nabu-reḫitu-ušur, witness Nabu-nadin-šumi.

#### Notes

7–8: it is unclear whether this clause envisages the late repayment in grain as a substitute for birds, or whether *a-na* 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-*šú-nu* should be understood as a way of expressing 50%.

11: for reading KA.KA as *gārū'a* cf. Mattila, PNA I/1, 185, s.v. Aššūr-gārū'a-nēre.

16: given the early date Šil-Bel-dalli may be only the third witness listed (instead of his more usual first place) because the two before him are more senior.

19: a Nabu-nadin-šumi is a scribe in No. 37 (from the Nabu Temple, 656 BC), and since in each text he is the final witness he may have been the scribe here too, only four years earlier. In that case it is interesting to find him operating in both locations.

#### Commentary

This is likely to be a delivery contract: Zer-Ištar is not borrowing these birds from Šamaš-šarru-ušur but undertaking to supply them in about three months' time. Unusually the possibility of late delivery is entertained twice: if he misses the initial repayment date of the third month, he is to repay in a further three months, and is charged 50% extra. If he misses the sixth month payment opportunity, the birds will attract 100% interest.

If it is correctly identified as a delivery contract, obviously the birds will not have been in evidence at the time of the contract, and one has to assume that Zer-Ištar received some other item of equivalent value, i.e. probably silver (or copper), effectively as pre-payment for the birds. Similar considerations apply to Nos. 97 and 99.

99

## Debt-note for geese

ND 3439 (BM)

Copy: Plate 40 (JNP)

Unopened case-tablet: 3.6 x 2.6 x 2.1 cm.

Provenance: TW15, Room 19

17.IX.R635/P637

*Sealing**Fig. 92; Plate III*

Oval seal impression on Obv.; 1.1 x 1.4 cm.

*Design:* In the upper field the winged sun-disc, below a crab. The edge of the seal is surrounded by a thin, raised line.

*Comparisons:* here No. 68 (ND 3422 = Herbordt 1992, p. 185 f. Nimrud 56); from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 10, 30–31 (Ninive 55; Ninive 43); from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 57 no. 72; for the crab, Herbordt 1992, pl. 6, 6 (Ninive 189).

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 185 f. Nimrud 56; pl. 10, 34.



Figure 92. No. 99 (S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB 'PAB–SU GAL *ki-šir*  
 2 A 'mu-DI–15  
 3 2 KUR.GI.MUŠEN'.MEŠ

1 stamp seal impression

4 *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>*ša-maš*–MAN–PAB  
 5 *ina* IGI 'PAB–SU  
 6 *šúm-ma ina* ITI.AB NU SUM-*ni*  
 B.E. 7 1 ME 20 TU.GUR<sub>4</sub>.MUŠEN.MEŠ  
 8 *ina* ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> SUM-*an*  
 Rev. 9 'PAB-*la-a-mur* A 'NU–TÉŠ-*ša-ana*–10  
 10 EN ŠU.2.MEŠ *ša* MUŠEN.MEŠ  
 11 IGI 'la-*da-gíl*–DINGIR  
 12 IGI 'U.GUR–DÜ-*uš*  
 13 IGI 'IR-*na-na-a*  
 14 IGI 'tar-*ri-ba*–15

- 15 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-TIN-*su*-E  
 L.S. 16 ITI.GAN UD.17  
 17 *lim-mu* <sup>1.d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub><-ba<sub>4</sub>>-SU

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Aḫu-eriba, cohort commander, son of Mušallim-Ištar.

<sup>3</sup> 2 geese, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Aḫu-eriba. <sup>6</sup> If he did not deliver (them) in the month of Kanunu (X), he shall deliver 120 doves in the month of Simanu (III).

<sup>9</sup> Aḫu-lamur, son of La-tubaššanni-Adad, is guarantor of the birds.

<sup>11</sup> Witness La-dagil-ili, witness Nergal-epuš, witness Urad-Nana, witness Tariba-Ištar, witness Nabu-balassu-iqbi.

<sup>16</sup> Month of Kislimu (IX), 17th day, eponymate of Zababa-eriba.

#### Notes

17: note that No. 71, which also mentions a La-tubaššanni-Adad as a father, is likewise dated to the eponymate of Zababa-eriba.

#### Commentary

Like No. 98 this is probably a delivery contract: it can hardly be a loan, since why would one borrow two geese only to have to return them later (and to feed them in the interim)? In this instance the debtor has only about a month and a half in which to supply the geese, and if he fails he is then obliged to supply 120 doves within a further three months. Presumably Aḫu-lamur's responsibility as guarantor is to supply the doves if Aḫu-eriba misses both the first and the second deadline.

## 100

### Debt-note for doves

ND 3448 (IM 57062)

Copy: Plate 40 (DJW)

Triangular docket: 3.4 x 4.5 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

11.II.R632/P631

#### Sealing

*Figs. 93–94; Plate II*

Worn cylinder seal impression on Obv. impressed 180° to the written text; ca. 2.7 x 1.6 cm.

*Design:* Preserved at the center of the impression are two kneeling (?) bearded figures back to back. The left figure with right hand raised (holding a 'cone'?) faces a stylized tree at far left. The right genie figure holds a 'cone' (?) in his left hand and faces the stylized tree, which appears here again at the far right. The seal composition can be reconstructed as two kneeling figures flanking a stylized tree consisting mainly of a large palmette. It is unclear from the photo whether or not the winged sun-disc is present above the tree.

*Comparisons:* cylinder seal from Hasanlu (HAS 60-1022), Marcus 1996, no. 62; cylinder seals



without provenance, Moortgat 1988<sup>3</sup>, pl. 80, 676; Wittmann 1992, pl. 35, 157; Collon 2001, pl. 13, no. 165.

*Publication*: not previously published.



Figure 93. No. 100, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

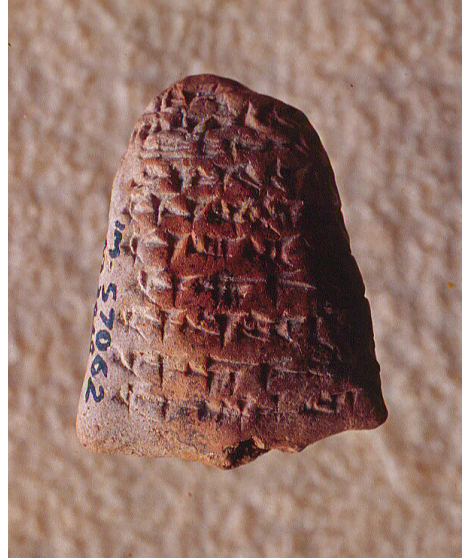


Figure 94. No. 100, Reverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

Obv. 1 36 MUŠEN.GUR<sub>4</sub>.TU.MEŠ  
2 ša <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB  
3 ina IGI <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-DÙ  
4 DUMU <sup>1</sup>šá-la-DINGIR-man-nu

cylinder seal impression

5 ina ITI.ŠU  
6 SUM-an  
Rev. 7 BE-ma NU SUM-ni<sup>1</sup>  
8 a-na mit-ḥar  
9 i-GAL-bi-u  
10 ITI.GUD UD.11.KÁM\*  
11 lim-me <sup>1.d</sup>IM-rém-a-ni  
12 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
13 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
14 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gíl-DINGIR  
15 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
16 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU



<sup>1</sup> 36 doves, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Ilu-ibni, son of Ša-la-ili-mannu.

<sup>5</sup> In the month of Du'uzu (IV) he shall deliver (them). If he did not deliver (them) they will increase at parity.

<sup>10</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 11th day, eponymate of Adad-remanni.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Samedu(!), witness Nabu-le'i.

#### Notes

1: the copy clearly shows the two elements of the logogram inverted with MUŠEN at the front (cf. No. 83:7).

7: DJW's copy has SUM-an, but JNP's transliteration (made in the Iraq Museum) gives the more usual SUM-ni.

15: the repetition of Samedu's name, perhaps a scribal mistake, is confirmed by the photograph.

#### Commentary

Another bird contract with a short (about 2 month) time limit for delivery. Ilu-ibni, the debtor, is not otherwise known. As with No. 100, the debt increases by 100% in case of failure to deliver on time. In this instance there are no obstacles to recognizing the transaction as a delivery contract.

## 101

### Loan(?) of goose

ND 3465 (BM)

Copy: Plate 40 (JNP)

Oblong docket: 2.9 x 4.5 x 1.8 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

14.IX.R619/P621

One string hole top centre.

#### Sealing

*Fig. 95; Plate VI*

Fingernail marks at top of Obv. Dimensions: ca. 2.3 x 0.8 cm

*Description:* Two incised designs made with fingernails. At the left is an x-shaped sign, at the right a design in the shape of a bird's claw.

Interesting here is the fact that the contract deals with the loan(?) of a goose.

*Comparisons:* for bird claw-shaped design cf. here No. 82 (ND 3444); from Assur a bird's head made by fingernail incisions, Böhme 2014, pl. 67, no. Ist 46 (compare also no. Ist 49, scorpion); an incised drawing of a bird's head on a tablet from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 67 no. 471–472 (compare also no. 473, scorpion); from Sultantepe, Herbordt 1992, pl. 17, 25 (Sultantepe 4).

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 95. No. 101, Obverse  
(E. Schmidtchen, Courtesy The Trustees of the  
British Museum)

Obv. irregular finger-nail impressions

- |      |    |                                |
|------|----|--------------------------------|
|      | 1  | 1 KUR.GI.MUŠEN                 |
|      | 2  | ša <sup>1d</sup> UTU-MAN-PAB   |
|      | 3  | ina IGI <sup>1a</sup> -dal-lal |
|      | 4  | ina pu-ḫi ÍL-ši                |
|      | 5  | UD.20.[K]ÁM šá ITI.AB          |
|      | 6  | SUM-na                         |
| Rev. | 7  | BE-ma la SUM-ni                |
|      | 8  | ina mit-ḫar i-rab-bi-u         |
|      | 9  | ITI.GAN* UD.14.K[ÁM*]          |
|      | 10 | lim-me <sup>1EN</sup> -E       |
|      | 11 | IGI <sup>1d</sup> PA-ZU        |
|      | 12 | IGI <sup>1ḫa</sup> -bil-GIN    |
|      | 13 | IGI <sup>1U</sup> .GUR-DÛ-uš   |

<sup>1</sup> 1 goose, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Addallal. He has taken (it) on loan.

<sup>5</sup> He shall deliver (it on) the 20th of Kanunu (X). If he did not deliver (it then), they(!) will increase at parity.

<sup>9</sup> Month of Kislimu (IX), 14th day, eponymate of Bel-iqbi.

<sup>11</sup> Witness Nabu-le'i, witness Ḫabil-ken, witness Nergal-epuš.

#### Notes

8: the *-u* at the end of the line, making the verb plural, is clear, but only one goose is mentioned in l. 1 (it seems unlikely that we should take the vertical wedge to stand for 60). Perhaps the scribe was writing

other similar “goose loans” in which more than one bird was loaned, and inattentively repeated the plural form of the verb from them.

### *Commentary*

This document is somewhat unusual in various respects. It is a label formed round a knotted string, like almost all 7th century grain loans, but its long sides are nearly parallel, making it more of an oblong than a triangular docket. The blank space at the head of the Obverse, with apparently randomly placed finger-nail impressions, is also unusual, since more usually a space for seal or other impressions is left after the opening lines on the Obverse. Loans for commodities other than grain are not often written on dockets of this kind, but it is not unknown.

The transaction is apparently the loan of a single goose, to be repaid little more than a month later. Failure to repay then will attract 100% interest — so presumably entail the repayment of two geese. Two of the witnesses (Nabu-le'i and Nergal-epuš) are familiar, though this document is later than most. The borrower is named Addallal, possibly the same person as the witness in No. 97. While this transaction is clearly marked as a loan, by the phrase *ina pūhi ittiši*, it is difficult to see how that could have worked, for reasons set out in the commentary to No. 99. Put succinctly, what possible benefit could there be for Addallal if he “borrowed” one bird only to have to return it little more than a month later, or to supply two birds if he missed the deadline?

### Grain loans and debt-notes (Nos. 102–107)

Nos. 102–104 and 106–107 are normal grain loans inscribed on triangular docket, and for the most part with witnesses very familiar from the silver loans. Only No. 105 is a little different, being a debt-note inscribed on a sealed tablet without any witnesses. More or less all one can say about these grain transactions in general is that they show that making such loans is part of Šamaš-šarru-ušur's global activities, although the fact that in most cases no interest is exacted until after the harvest suggests that it is a relatively charitable model.

#### 102

#### Grain loan

ND 3449 (Ash. 1954.738)

Copy: Plate 41 (JNP)

Triangular docket: 3.7 x 5.8 x 1.7 cm.

One string-hole top centre.

14.XII.R642/P640

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

#### Sealing

*Figs. 96–97; Plate III*

Circular stamp seal impression on Obv.; diameter ca. 2.0 cm

*Design:* The following symbols clockwise: in the upper field the winged sun-disc, the Sebeti, 'spade' of Marduk and stylus of Nabu, an eye-shaped motif, a star, and a semi-circle (half-moon?).

*Comparisons:* here No. 92 (ND 3441); also for winged sun-disc over symbols or hieroglyphs, stamp seal impressions from Bastam, Seidl 1979, 139, no. C1; C2; C3; C4; Seidl 1988, 147 no. C6.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 119 fig. 14 pl. 26, 2; Herbordt 1992, p. 187 Nimrud 64; pl. 10, 37.



Figure 96. No. 102, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXVI.2. © BISI)



Figure 97. No. 102  
(B. Parker)

Obv. 1 5 ANŠE 3BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 2 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN 10  
 3 *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB

stamp seal impression

4 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>qur-di-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
 5 *ina* pu-u-<sup>hi</sup> i-ti-<sup>ši</sup>  
 Rev. 6 *ina* ad-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>  
 7 *ina* SAG.DU-šá  
 8 SUM-an BE-ma NU SUM-ni  
 9 *ina* 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-šá  
 10 tar-GAL-bi  
 11 ITI.ŠE UD.14  
 12 *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>MAN-ÚŠ-bal-liṭ  
 13 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
 14 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gíl-DINGIR  
 15 IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU  
 16 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du  
 17 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u

<sup>1</sup> 5.3 homers of barley, (measured) by the *sūtu* (of) 10 (*qû*), belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Qurdi-Nergal. <sup>5</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. At the threshing-floor he will deliver (it) at its capital (amount). <sup>8</sup> If he did not deliver (it then), it will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>11</sup> Month of Addaru (XII), 14th day, eponymate of Šarru-metu-(u)balliṭ.

<sup>13</sup> Witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Urdu, witness Dudu.

#### Notes

10: this unusual writing of *tarabbi* is also met in Nos. 103:9 and 106:14, perhaps from the hand of the same scribe, who might be Dudu.

#### Commentary

The borrower in this simple grain loan of 5.3 homers is perhaps the same as Qurdi-Nergal named as one of the debtors in No. 77, dated to 650 BC. The terms of the loan are identical with No. 106, although this transaction is about two months earlier in the year, and except for the omission of Nergal-epuṣ in No. 102, the witnesses are also identical, and listed in the same order. This makes it strange that No. 102 is dated to 640 or 642 BC by Parpola and Reade respectively, whereas they assign Kanunayu, eponym of No. 106, to 624 or 627. Perhaps it is therefore wrong to identify Šarru-metu-(u)balliṭ with Šamaš-metu-uballiṭ as do Parpola and Reade, following Millard 1994, 119. Rather, Šarru-metu-(u)balliṭ should be close in time to Kanunayu, while Šamaš-metu-uballiṭ may remain some fifteen years earlier. Nevertheless, the current dating has been allowed to stand when ordering this text chronologically, partly because we do not need yet another post-canonical eponym.

## 103

## Debt-note for grain

ND 3447 (MMA 57.27.23)

Copy: Plate 41 (IS; Spar &amp; von Dassow 2000 Pl. 3 No. 3)

Triangular docket: 3.5 x 5.1 x 1.9 cm.

One string-hole top centre.

11.II.R637/P639

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

*Sealing*

Two types of sealing on docket. Two incised designs on Obv.; 0.9 x 1.3 cm. (No. 103-1). In addition two stamp seal impressions; diameter ca. 1.2 cm. (No. 103-2).

103-1

*Fig. 98; Plate III*

*Description:* Two incised pinwheel-shaped designs, perhaps made with a fingernail.

*Commentary:* Only one person is named as seal owner for two different means of sealing. It seems very likely to be a case of two-factor authentication.

*Comparisons:* for incised designs and those made with fingernail impressions, here Nos. 101 (ND 3465); 82 (ND 3444); from Assur a bird's head made by fingernail incisions, Böhme 2014, pl. 67, no. Ist 46 (compare also no. Ist 49, scorpion); an incised drawing of a bird's head on a tablet from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 67 no. 471–472 (compare also no. 473, scorpion); from Sultantepe, Herbordt 1992, pl. 17, 25 (Sultantepe 4).

*Publication:* published only as photo in Parker 1955, pl. 29, 4 (reproduced in Herbordt 1992, p. 187 Nimrud 63; pl. 29, 7).



Figure 98. No. 103, Obverse  
(Spar & von Dassow 2000, Pl. 122  
© Metropolitan Museum of Art)

103-2

Fig. 98; Plate III

*Design:* Star with 19 rays. The edge of the seal is surrounded by a raised line.

*Comparisons:* here No. 33 (ND 5476/5); from Nineveh, Herbordt 1992, pl. 11, 1 (Ninive 27).

*Commentary:* See No. 103-1 above.

*Publication:* published only as photo in Parker 1955, pl. 29, 4 (reproduced in Herbordt 1992, p. 187 Nimrud 62; pl. 29, 7); also Bregstein in Spar & von Dassow 2000, Pl. 122.



Figure 99. No. 103, Reverse

(Spar & von Dassow 2000, Pl. 122

© Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Figure 100. No. 103, T.E.

(Spar & von Dassow 2000, Pl. 122

© Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ–AŠ–PAB  
2 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
3 ina GIŠ.BÁN ša iš-GÀR

2 stamp seal impressions, 2 incised marks

4 ša <sup>1.d</sup>UTU–MAN–PAB  
5 [ina] IGI <sup>1.d</sup>MAŠ–AŠ–PAB  
Rev. 6 ina ad-ri  
7 SUM-an BE-ma NU SUM-ni  
8 a-na 1 ANŠE 5BÁN-šá  
9 tar-GAL-bi  
10 ITI.GUD UD.11.KÁM\*  
11 lim-me <sup>1</sup>mu-šal-lim–aš-šur



- 12 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
 13 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
 14 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gil-DINGIR  
 15 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du  
 16 IGI <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 17 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Ninurta-nadin-aḫi.

<sup>2</sup> 3 homers of barley (measured) by the work-assignment sūtu, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, [at] the disposal of Ninurta-nadin-aḫi. <sup>6</sup> At the threshing-floor he shall deliver (it). If he did not deliver (it then), it will increase at 5 sūtu per homer.

<sup>10</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 11th day, eponymate of Mušallim-Aššur.

<sup>12</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-Dalli, witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Urdu, witness Urad-Ištar, witness Dudu.

#### Notes

9: for this writing of *tarabbi* see note on No. 102:10.

#### Commentary

A simple grain debt-note with payment at the threshing-floor, with 50% interest in case of default. Apparently not a loan, but the amount of three homers is quite normal to judge from the Nabu Temple grain dockets. All six witnesses are familiar, but Ninurta-nadin-aḫi, the debtor, does not occur elsewhere in the archive.

## 104

## Grain loan

ND 3446 (IM 57056)

Transliteration: JNP

Triangular docket: 3.4 x 4.4 cm.

One string-hole top centre

15.I.R635/ P637

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

#### Sealing

Fig. 101; Plate V

Three circular stamp seal impressions on Obv.; diameter ca. 0.8 cm.

*Design:* Frog viewed en face.

*Comparisons:* a scaraboid seal from Assur with turtle viewed en face, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 66 no. 461.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 124 fig 30; Herbordt 1992, p. 187 Nimrud 61; pl. 17, 5.



Figure 101. No. 104 (B. Parker)

Obv. 1 1 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
2 *ina* GIŠ.BÁN GIŠ <sup>1</sup>x (x) <sup>1</sup>ki su-tú É? [(x)] x A MAN  
3 ša <sup>1,d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB  
4 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>qu-tú-u-zu

3 stamp seal impressions

5 *ina* pu-u-*hi* i-ti-ši  
6 *ina* ad-ri *ina* SAG.DU-šá  
7 SUM-an BE-ma  
8 la SUM-ni  
Rev. 9 *ina* 1 ANŠE 5-BÁN-šá  
10 tar-GAL-bi  
11 ITI.BARAG UD.15  
12 lim-me <sup>1</sup>za'-KÁ-SU  
13 IGI <sup>1</sup>šil-EN-dal-li  
14 IGI <sup>1</sup>sa-me-du  
15 IGI <sup>1</sup>la-da-gil-DINGIR  
16 IGI <sup>1</sup>qa-a-ni-15-aš-bat  
17 IGI <sup>1,d</sup>PA-ZU  
18 IGI <sup>1</sup>ur-du  
19 IGI <sup>1</sup>du-du-u

<sup>1</sup> 1 homer of grain (measured) by the sūtu ..... of the Crown Prince, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Qutuzu. He has taken (it) on loan. He shall deliver (it) at the threshing-floor at its capital (amount). <sup>7</sup> If he did not deliver (it), it will increase at 5 sūtu per homer.

<sup>11</sup> Month of Nisannu (I), 15th day, eponymate of Zababa-eriba.

<sup>13</sup> Witness Šil-Bel-dalli, witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Qanni-Ištar-ašbat, witness Nabu-le'i, witness Urdu, witness Dudu.

#### Notes

2: the signs immediately after GIŠ.BÁN were sketched like this: 

They may have been specifying the sūtu measure employed, but if so it is not attested elsewhere. The following signs (*ki su tú*) were clear; it seems unlikely that we have here the word *kissutu* “fodder”, nor does a syllabic writing of sūtu seem probable. The signs after -tú are written on the Rev. The traces

before A.MAN resemble 𒂍 or even GAŠAN.

10: for this writing of *tarabbi* see note on No. 102:10. Dudu is again the final witness (and so perhaps the scribe).

12: the eponym's name must be Zababa-eriba; the transcription gives *kù* in place of *za*, but this is probably an error of the transcriber.

### Commentary

Loan of just one homer of grain to Qutuzu (if that is the correct reading of this name). As usual, the capital is to be repaid at the threshing-floor and 50% interest to be imposed if the debtor defaults. Just one unfamiliar witness (Qanni-Ištar-ašbat), the remaining six are familiar.

**105**

### Debt-note for grain

ND 3456 (IM 57046)

Transliteration: JNP

Horizontal tablet: 4.3 x 2.4 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

18.VI.R633/P635

*Sealing*: Three impressions of the same stamp seal on lower Rev. below text.

Obv.	1	3 ANŠE 2BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ
	2	<i>ina</i> GIŠ.BÁN šá 8 qa
	3	ša <sup>1.d</sup> šá-maš-MAN-PAB
	4	<i>ina</i> IGI <sup>1.d</sup> PA-PAB-PAB
Rev.	5	ITI.DU <sub>6</sub> UD.28
	6	<i>lim-me</i> <sup>1</sup> EN-lu-dà-r[i]

<sup>1</sup> 3.2 homers of barley (measured) by the *sūtu* of 8 *qû*, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Nabu-aḥu-ušur.

<sup>5</sup> Month of Tašritu (VII), 28th day, eponymate of Bel-lu-dari.

### Commentary

This is a laconic debt-note for 3.2 homers of barley, owed to Šamaš-šarru-ušur by Nabu-aḥu-ušur. It is also unusual for a number of reasons. In the first place at this date it is normal for grain loans to be written on a triangular docket (presumably sealing a scroll of some kind). Secondly, it is not a case tablet – unsealed tablet inside sealed envelope – which is the norm for other loan contracts, principally silver, at this date. Instead the single tablet is sealed, though not as one would normally expect near the top of the Obverse, but on the Reverse, which is more usual in administrative documents. The tablet itself is not a neat rectangular shape, but has rounded corners. Furthermore, although the sealing gives the impression of a legally formalized document, there are no witnesses.

For all these reasons, this is probably not a barley loan, but a document formalizing an obligation incurred in some other way, which is not specified. The different nature of the business is no doubt also responsible for the absence of any repayment arrangements.

ND 3464 (MM 54.117.28)

Copy: Plate 42 (IS; Spar & von Dassow 2000 Pl. 2 No. 2)

Triangular docket: 3.4 x 5.3 x 1.9 cm.

One string-hole top centre

5.II.R627/P624

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

*Sealing*

*Figs. 102–103; Plate IV*

Rectangular stamp seal impression on Obv.; ca. 2.0 x 1.9 cm.

*Design:* A cow with head turned back and raised tail suckling its calf. In the upper field the seven globes of the Sebetti, the crescent moon, and a star. At the right an eye-shaped filling motif. The seal is framed by a thin, raised line.

Two persons are named as seal owners for one seal impression.

*Comparisons:* here No. 18 (ND 5476/4); rectangular seal from Nimrud (NW palace, Rm. FF, “level” IV), Parker 1955, p. 108; pl. 18, 5; oval seal from Ninurta Temple in Nimrud, Parker 1962, p. 31; pl. 12, 12; oval seal impression from Nineveh, Layard 1853, pl. 69, 17 (= BM 84730); base of a stamp-cylinder seal from Tarsus, Goldman 1963, p. 356 pl. 162; pl. 165, 6; circular seal from Nush-i Jan, Curtis 1984, p. 24 fig. 4, no. 233; pl. 6; a scarab from Byblos, Dunand 1950, pl. CCI, no. 16983.

For examples of goats suckling their young see several stamp seals from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 63, nos. 428; 429; 430; pl. 64, no. 368A (=Jakob-Rost 1975, no. 368); Böhme 2014, pl. 63, no. Ist 9.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 120 fig 16; pl 26, 3; Herbordt 1992, p. 188 Nimrud 67; pl. 16, 1; Pittman 1987, p. 13 fig. 3; also Bregstein in Spar & von Dassow 2000, Pl. 122.



Figure 102. No. 106, Obverse  
(Spar & von Dassow 2000, Pl. 122  
© Metropolitan Museum of Art)

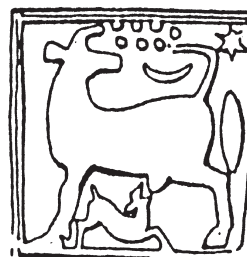


Figure 103. No. 106  
(S. Herbordt)

Obv. 1 NA<sub>4</sub>.<sup>r</sup>KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>PAB-*e*-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>  
 2 NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1.d</sup>IM-*mil-ki*-<sup>r</sup>KAM<sup>1</sup>-*eš*  
 3 A <sup>1</sup>SANGA-15  
 4 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 5 [*ina*] GIŠ.BÁN 10

stamp seal impression

6 *ša* <sup>1.d</sup>šá-*maš*-MAN-PAB  
 7 *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>IM-*mil-ki*-KAM-*eš*  
 8 *ina* IGI <sup>1</sup>PAB<sup>1</sup>-*e*-*di*  
 9 *ina pu-u-ḫi* <*i*>-*ta-ṣu*  
 Rev. 10 *ina ad-ri*  
 11 *ina* SAG.DU-šá  
 12 SUM-*nu* BE-*ma* NU SUM-*nu*  
 13 *ina* 1 ANŠE 5-BÁN-šá  
 14 *tar*-GAL-*bi*  
 15 ITI.GUD UD.5.KÁM\*  
 16 *lim-me* <sup>1</sup>ITI.AB-*a-a*  
 17 IGI <sup>1</sup>*sa-me-du*  
 18 IGI <sup>1</sup>*la-da-gil*-DINGIR  
 19 [IG]I <sup>1.dr</sup>PA<sup>1</sup>-[ZU]  
 20 [IG]I <sup>1</sup>*u*]r-*du*  
 21 [IG]I <sup>r1</sup>*du*-[*d*]u-*u*<sup>1</sup>  
 L.S. 22 IGI <sup>1</sup>[(<sup>d</sup>)U.GUR-*e*]-*pu-uš*

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Aḫu-edi, seal of Adad-milki-ereš, son of Šangu-Ištar.

<sup>4</sup> 3 homers of barley, (measured) [by] the *sūtu* (of) 10 (*qû*), belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Adad-milki-ereš, at the disposal of Aḫu-edi. <sup>9</sup> They have taken (it) on loan. At the threshing-floor they will deliver (it) at its capital (amount). <sup>12</sup> If they do not deliver (it then), it will increase at 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>15</sup> Month of Ayyaru (II), 5th day, eponymate of Kanunayu.

<sup>17</sup> Witness Samedu, witness La-dagil-ili, [witness] Nabu-[le'i, witness U]rdu, [witness] Dudu, witness [Nergal-e]puš.

#### Notes

3: this line with the father's name is written smaller and close beneath l. 2, and must have been inserted as an afterthought.

14: see note on No. 102:9.

16: a Kanunayu was also eponym in 671 and 666, but in view of the dates of the other texts in the archive, this is more likely to be the post-canonical eponym.

19–22: these witness names can be confidently restored by comparison with several other texts from the archive.

*Commentary*

A straightforward loan of three homers of grain to two borrowers. Repayment without added interest at the threshing-floor (not far off as the contract is dated to the 2nd month), with a penalty of 50% in case of non-payment. Aḥu-edi is perhaps the man hired in No. 109, while Adad-milki-ereš may have acted as witness in No. 90. The witnesses are all familiar.

**107** **Grain loan**

ND 3450 (IM 57065) Transliteration: JNP  
Triangular docket: 4.9 x 3.4 cm.  
Inscribed longitudinally from “base” to apex of triangle, with one string-hole in “base”.  
Provenance: TW53, Room 19 28.VIII.R622/P622

*Sealing* *Figs. 104–105; Plate IV*  
Three identical stamp seal impressions on Obv.; dimensions: ?

*Design:* Shape of seal impressions indicates a duck-shaped stamp seal. Seal image worn. Bull running (?), facing left (?).

The debtor and seal owner, Adad-milki-ušur, seals on No. 85 with a different stamp seal.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 104. No. 107, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)



Figure 105 No. 107, Reverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

Obv.     1     1 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
          2     ina GIŠ.BÁN šá 10 qa  
          3     ša <sup>1.d</sup>šá-maš–MAN–PAB

3 stamp seal impressions

4     *ina* IGI <sup>1.d</sup>IM–*mil-ki*–PAB  
 B.E.   5     *ina pu-u-ḫi it-ti-ši*  
 Rev.   6     *ina* 1 ANŠE 5BÁN ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
        7     IGI <sup>1</sup>*ur-du*  
        8     IGI <sup>1</sup>DINGIR–*ia-di-nu*  
        9     IGI <sup>1.d</sup>EN–MAN–PAB  
       10    ITL.APIN UD.28.KÁM  
       11    *lim-me* 110.10-i

<sup>1</sup> 1 homer of barley, (measured) by the *sūtu* of 10 *qû*, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Adad-milki-ušur. <sup>5</sup> He has taken (it) on loan. The barley (will increase by) 5 *sūtu* per homer.

<sup>7</sup> Witness Urdu, witness Ilu-iadinu, witness Bel-šarru-ušur.

<sup>10</sup> Month of Araḥsamnu (VIII), 28th day, eponymate of Daddi.

#### Notes

4: this debtor is probably also the borrower in No. 85, about 10 years earlier.

6: this is a drastically abbreviated formulation of the interest clause.

#### Commentary

Loan of grain to Adad-milki-ušur. Unlike most such loans in this archive it attracts 50% interest from the start. Perhaps this has something to do with the time of year, because the usual requirement to repay at the threshing-floor is absent, and the loan is dated to the 8th month, about half a year before the harvest.

## 108

## Land lease

ND 3457 (tablet) + 3466c (envelope) (IM)     Copy (tablet): Plate 42 (DJW; *Iraq* 15 Pl. XIII)

Tablet: 3.1 x 1.7 cm.

Envelope: not measured

–.IX.R626/P623

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

#### Sealing

*Figs. 106–107; Plate VI*

Three pairs of fingernail impressions on envelope Obv.; length ca. 1.1 cm.

*Description:* The fingernail impressions are half-moon shaped indicating that part of the finger tip was also impressed.

*Publication:* not previously published.





Figure 106. No. 108, Envelope, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)



Figure 107. No. 108, L.S. with  
Aramaic  
(© The Iraq Museum)

*Tablet*

Obv.	1	3 ANŠE <i>ka-rap-ḫi</i>
	2	<i>ša ʾšul-mu-EN</i>
	3	<sup>1.d</sup> UTU-MAN-PAB <i>e-ra'-áš</i>
	4	<i>e-ši-id ú-ga-lap'</i>
	5	<i>e-li la še-ib-še</i>
B.E.	6	<i>la nu-sa-ḫe</i>
	7	3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <i>gi-mir</i>
Rev.	8	A.ŠÀ-šú <i>i-ti-ši</i>
	9	ITI.GAN <i>lim-mu ʾaš-šur-KUR-LÁ</i>
	10	IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>da-gil-DINGIR</i>
	11	IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>sam-si-i</i>
	12	IGI <sup>1.d</sup> PA-ZU

*Envelope*

T.E.	1	3 ANŠE ŠE <i>ka-rap-ḫi</i>
Obv.	2	<i>ša ʾšul-mu-EN</i>
	3	<sup>1.d</sup> <i>ša-maš-MAN-PAB</i>
		6 “finger-nail” impressions
	4	<i>e-[ra-áš</i> remainder of Obv. broken away
Rev.		upper part broken away
	1'	IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>ʾ[</i>
	2'	IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>ʾsamʾ[-si-i</i>
	3'	IGI <sup>1.d</sup> PA <sup>1</sup> <i>[-ZU</i>
	4'	IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>mu-še-zib-d</i> PA <sup>1</sup> A.BA <sup>1</sup>
L.S.		4 letter Aramaic Beischrift: <i>s 'bl</i>

*Tablet*

<sup>1</sup> 3 homers of fallow land, belonging to Šulmu-Bel, Šamaš-šarru-ušur will cultivate. He will harvest it, “shave” it, and leave. No straw tax, no grain tax. <sup>7-8</sup> He has taken 3 shekels of silver (as) cost of his field.

<sup>9</sup> Month of Kislimu (IX), eponymate of Aššur-matu-taqin.

<sup>10</sup> Witness Dagil-ili, witness Samsi, witness Nabu-le'i.

*Envelope:* <sup>Rev 4'</sup> Witness Mušeziḫ-Nabu, scribe.

*Notes*

3–5: for the terminology here cf. ND 2342 (*Iraq* 16 Pl. IX): 1 ANŠE 3BÁN *ka-rap-ḫi e-ra-áš e-ši-di ú-ga-la-pa e-li* (Postgate 1976, No. 28).

L.S.: The Aramaic, which was read for us by Prof. Alan Millard, would appear to be a rendering of the Assyrian name we write Šulmu-Bel. This is reasonable inasmuch as although the document was found among Šamaš-šarru-ušur's archive, even though he is the obligated party – the cultivator rather than the owner of the field – this docket also serves to attest the receipt of his 3 shekels field rental by the field owner Šulmu-Bel. To reconcile the Aramaic name with the cuneiform, we need to posit (1) assimilation of *l* and *m* giving *šummu*, followed by (2) the substitution of a glottal stop for the doubled intervocalic *mm* (so *šu'u*-Bel), cf. e.g. *da'iq*, and (3) the expected rendering of Assyrian *š* by Aramaic *s*.

*Commentary*

Here Šamaš-šarru-ušur is renting a three homer plot of land, paying one shekel per homer, presumably for a single year. As in ND 2342, mentioned in the note to ll. 3-5, after harvesting the field the cultivator is obliged to “shave” it before leaving it.

**109****Hiring contract**

ND 3433 (IM 57058)

Copy: Plate 42 (JNP)

Unopened envelope(?): 4.1 x 4.7 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

22.X.R638/P633

*Sealing*

*Figs. 108–109; Plate IV*

Two stamp seal impressions on envelope Obv.; 1.0 x 1.3 cm.

*Design:* At the right a bearded worshipper with hand raised in gesture of adoration. In front of him an ambos-shaped incense burner. In the upper field the crescent moon and a star.

The drawing by Parker erroneously shows the worshipper with elongated proportions. Therefore cf. the photo (Fig. 108).

*Comparisons:* here No. 111 (ND 3412); from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 55 nos. 317B; 320; 324.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 121f. fig. 22; pl. 28, 2; Herbordt 1992, p. 184f. Nimrud 51; pl. 14, 7.

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 121f. fig. 22; pl. 28, 2; Herbordt 1992, p. 184f. Nimrud 51; pl. 14, 7.



Figure 108. No. 109, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXVIII.2 © BISI)

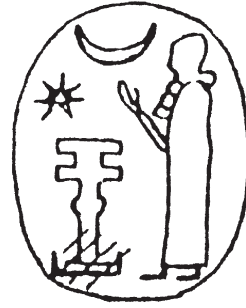


Figure 109. No. 109  
(B. Parker)

T.E.	1	8 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR
Obv.	2	<i>ig-r[i] ša <sup>1</sup>PAB-e-di</i>
	3	<i>ša <sup>1,d</sup>šá-maš-MAN-PAB</i>
		2 stamp seal impressions
	4	<i>ina IGI <sup>1</sup>man-nu-ki-arba-il</i>
	5	<i>ina ŠÀ <sup>1</sup>PAB-e-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup> LÚ*.TUR ŠU.2-šú</i>
	6	<i>it-ta-na-áš-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup></i>
B.E.	7	<i>e-da-nu ina Š[À] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[d]a<sup>2</sup>-ni</i>
	8	<i>i-pa-làh-šú ki-ma</i>
	9	<i>i-da-nu-šú us-sal-lim</i>
Rev.	10	<i>il-lak ú-ša</i>
	11	ITL.AB UD.22 <i>lim-mu</i>
	12	<i><sup>1</sup>ú-paq-ana-arba-il</i>
	13	IGI <sup>1</sup> SU-ba-a-a <sup>lu*</sup> šá UGU URU
	14	<i>ša de-e-nu e-me-du-ni</i>
	15	IGI <sup>1</sup> U.GUR-DÙ-uš
	16	IGI <sup>1</sup> la-da-gil-DINGIR
	17	IGI <sup>1</sup> iu-u- <i>he-e</i>

<sup>1</sup> 8 shekels of silver, the hire of Aḫu-edi, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Mannu-ki-Arbail.

<sup>5</sup> As replacement for Aḫu-edi they shall regularly bring his personal servant(?).

<sup>7</sup> He (the replacement) shall serve him (=Šamaš-šarru-ušur) for a period in exchange for the

(missed) period. When he has completed his period, he may go and depart.

<sup>11</sup> Month of Kanunu (X), 22nd day, eponymate of Upaqa-ana-Arbail.

<sup>13</sup> Witness Ribayu, the city overseer who imposed the judgement.

<sup>15</sup> Witness Nergal-epuš, witness La-dagil-ili, witness Iuḫe.

#### Notes

2: Åkerman in PNA 2/II, 934a has this name as Nāšir-ēdi but until proved otherwise an interpretation as Aḫu-edi still strikes me as more plausible.

5: the suffix –šú is sufficient to establish that LÚ\*.TUR ŠU.2 is not a professional title applying to Aḫu-edi but must refer to another person. The LÚ\* determinative suggests (but does not prove – cf. LÚ.DUMU šipri) that this is not māru but šaḫru or a cognate form. However the phrase šaḫar/šuḫar qāti vel.sim. does not appear to be attested and its meaning is not self-evident. The translation is a not very convincing guess.

5, 7: *ina libbi* has a variety of meanings in Neo-Assyrian. Here l. 7 strongly suggests that we are looking at the usage which is regularly used in sale documents to introduce the price paid – e.g. No. 63 *ina lib-bi* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR “in exchange for 1 mina of silver”. So in l. 7 *edānu ina libbi edāni* has to mean “a (new) fixed time in exchange for the (original) fixed time”, and likewise in l. 5 *ina libbi* PN will have to mean “in replacement for”.

6: *ittanaššū* is plainly a Gtn Present form, and this is therefore something prescribed by Ribayu the presiding official. It appears to be plural, and the subject will have to be persons on Mannu-ki-Arbail’s side of the dispute.

17: for this name compare No. 79:11 where the same person (probably) acts as witness with the name written ‘IA-ḫe’-e.

#### Commentary

This unique text is difficult at first sight to unravel. What seems clear is that it concerns the hire-money for Aḫu-edi of 8 shekels, which is described as “of” Šamaš-šarru-ušur. This presumably means that he paid the silver to Mannu-ki-Arbail in return for labour to be provided by Aḫu-edi and, because Aḫu-edi is missing, is owed that amount. The tablet has nothing further to say about the silver, but evidently Aḫu-edi has not made an appearance and other arrangements are imposed by the city overseer Ribayu who is arbitrating the dispute. He specifies the conditions under which Aḫu-edi’s replacement is to work, conditions which are not precisely defined here but presumably were set out in the original contract.

## 110

## Confirmation of payment

ND 3478 (IM)

Copy: Plate 43 (DJW; *Iraq* 15 Pl. XIV)

Tablet: 4.0 x 2.7 cm.

Provenance: TW 53 Room 11 (House II)

#### Sealing

*Fig. 110; Plate III*

Three stamp seal impressions on Obv.; dimensions: ?

*Design:* The seal impressions have the unusual shape of a quarter circle. A four(?)-dotted rosette made with concentric circles is visible at the left of the photo.

*Comparisons:* for the dotted rosette, from Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, no. 346.

*Publication:* not previously published.



Figure 110. No. 110, Obverse  
(© The Iraq Museum)

T.E.	1	[x x (x x)] KÙ.BABBAR
Obv.	2	[x (x) <sup>1</sup> l]i-di-bu-li-pu-šu
	3	[š]a <sup>1</sup> İR-na-na-a-a

3 impressions

	4	a-na <sup>1</sup> LÁ-APIN-eš i-di-nu-ni
B.E.	5	<sup>1</sup> ma(-a) <sup>1</sup> a-na <sup>1</sup> ITI.ŠU-a-a
	6	[d]i-ni it-ti-din
Rev.	7	<sup>1</sup> ú-sa-lim
		remainder uninscribed

<sup>1</sup> [.....] silver [belonging to (?)] Lidibbu-lipušu, which Urad-Nanaya gave to Tuqnu-ereš, saying “Give (it) to Tamuzayu”.

<sup>6</sup> He has given (it and) has (so) paid in full.

#### Notes

2–4: an alternative interpretation would be to assume that Lidibbu-lipušu and Urad-Nanaya are acting as a pair, so that the *iddinūni* in l. 4 is a plural form. This would have the advantage of reducing the complexity of the transaction by having only three parties (Lidibbu-lipušu + Urad-Nanaya – Tuqnu-ereš – Tamuzayu), but the formulation [ša] PN<sub>1</sub> [š]a PN<sub>2</sub> introducing a subordinate clause is awkward. 5: I transcribe Tamuzayu to conform with PNA 3/II, p. 1309, although the likelihood is that in Assyria the name was more like Ta’uzayu.



*Commentary*

Rather like No. 105 this sealed tablet is not witnessed. For other sealed tablets using the term *šallumu* “to pay in full” see Postgate 1976, 55–56.

**111****Receipt of silver**

ND 3412 (IM 57027)

Copy: Plate 43 (JNP)

Horizontal tablet: 5.8 x 3.3 cm.

Provenance: TW 53 Room 1 (House II)

[-].R618/P626

*Sealing**Figs. 111–112; Plate IV*

Two oval stamp seal impressions on Obv.; 1.3 x 2.0 cm.

*Design:* Worshipper with hand raised in gesture of adoration faces the symbols of Nabu (stylus) and Marduk (spade). In the upper field the crescent moon.

*Comparisons:* from Nimrud, Herbordt 1992, p. 172 Nimrud 3; pl. 14, 5 (Nimrud 28); pl. 28, 6 (Nimrud 106); Parker 1955, pl. 19, 1; pl. 19, 8; from Assur, Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 54 nos. 85; 313–314; from Tall Šeh Hamad, Fügert 2015, nos. 237–241; here No. 109 (ND 3433; worshipper in front of incense burner).

*Publication:* Parker 1955, 122 fig. 23 pl. 28, 3; Herbordt 1992, p. 197 Nimrud 101; pl. 14, 6

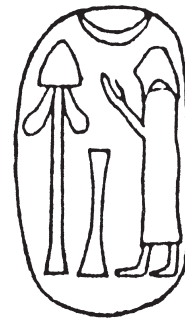


Figure 112. No. 111  
(B. Parker)

Figure 111. No. 111, Obverse  
(Iraq 17 Pl. XXVIII.3. © BISI)

T.E.	1	NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> <i>iz-bu</i> LÚ <i>q[ur-bu]</i> t <sup>1</sup> É <sup>1</sup> A MAN
Obv.	2	DUMU <sup>1</sup> TIL.LA–APIN- <i>eš</i> TA* <sup>1</sup> URU.ŠE <sup>1</sup> A MAN
	3	<i>e-gír-tú ša</i> 8 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR SAG.DU
	4	<i>ša ina</i> IGI <sup>1</sup> EN–KAR- <i>ir</i> LÚ*.Ì.SUR [ <i>šá É</i> <sup>d</sup> PA]
		2 oval stamp seal impressions
	5	18 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR <sup>1</sup> EN–KAR- <i>ir</i> LÚ*.Ì.SUR
	6	<i>a-na</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>iz-bu ú-sal-lim</i> SUM- <i>ni</i>
	7	<sup>1</sup> <i>ú-tu<sup>1</sup>-ru</i> TA* IGI <i>a-ḫe-iš</i>
B.E.	8	<sup>1</sup> <i>iz-bu iq-ṭi-bi ma-a e-gír-tú</i>
	9	<i>ḫa-al-qát šum-ma ina še-er-te</i>
Rev.	10	<i>ina li-<sup>1</sup>diš e-gír<sup>1</sup>-tú ina</i> ŠU.2 <sup>1</sup> <i>iz-bu</i>
	11	[ <i>lu-u</i> ] <i>ina</i> [ŠU.2 DUM]U- <i>šú lu-u ina</i> ŠU.2 ŠEŠ- <i>šú</i>
	12	[ <i>lu-u ina</i> ŠU.2] A [ŠEŠ]- <i>šú lu-u ina</i> ŠU.2 <i>mám-ma-ni-šú</i>
	13	<i>t[u-u-ša ša m]a-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-qi šī-i</i>
	14	I[ <i>TI x x x lim-me</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>i]q<sup>1</sup>-bi–DINGIR.MEŠ-ni</i>
	15	I[ <i>GI</i> ] <sup>1</sup> [ <i>x x x x (x x) aš</i> ]- <i>šur-a-a</i>
	16	[ <i>IGI</i> ] <sup>1</sup> D[U]- <sup>1</sup> <i>x (x x (x))<sup>1</sup>-ir<sup>2</sup></i>
	17	[ <i>IGI</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>x x x x x x</i> ] <i>x-šá–<sup>1</sup>EN<sup>2</sup></i>
	18	<sup>1</sup> IGI <sup>1</sup> GÌR.2– <sup>1</sup> dPA <sup>1</sup> – <i>aš-bat</i>
T.E.	19	IGI <sup>1</sup> dPA–DÙ–PAB.MEŠ

<sup>1</sup> Seal of Izbu, the bodyguard of the House of the Crown Prince, son of Balaṭu-ereš from the Village of the Crown Prince.

<sup>3</sup> A tablet of 8 shekels of silver, capital sum, which is at the disposal of Bel-eṭir, the oil-presser [of the House of Nabu]. <sup>5</sup> 18 shekels of silver Bel-eṭir, the oil-presser has repaid in full to Izbu.

<sup>7</sup> They are mutually paid off.

<sup>8</sup> Izbu said: “The tablet is lost”. If on the morrow or the next day the tablet <sup>13</sup> [turns up] in the hand(s) of Izbu, [or in the hand(s) of] his [son], or in the hand(s) of his brother, [or in the hand(s) of] the son of his [brother], or in the hand(s) of anyone of his – that (tablet) is to be crushed.

<sup>14</sup> Mo[nth of ....., eponymate of I]qbi-ilani.

<sup>15</sup> W[itness PN] the [Ass]yrian [scribe(?)], w[itness ....., [witness ...]-ša-Bel?, witness Šepe-Nabu-ašbat, witness Nabu-ban-aḫḫe.

#### Notes

4: the signs enclosed in square brackets at the end of the line were omitted in my copy on Plate 43, but have been restored from my transcription of the tablet which included a rough sketch of the final two signs (<sup>d</sup>PA).

13: restored after MCS 2.19 (CAD M/i, 267).

14: collation would probably reveal the traces surviving before *-bi-* to belong to *i]q-*, given that a date is expected here and this is the only 7th century eponym with a name ending in *-ilani*.



*Commentary*

This receipt tablet was written to provide evidence that Bel-eṭir had paid off his debt. It appears that the initial loan was of 8 shekels of silver, but the repayment was of 18 shekels; presumably this reflects interest which had accrued in the meantime. Normally, in this situation, the original tablet recording the loan would be broken, and this would be sufficient to establish that the debt had been repaid. However, in this case the creditor Izbu cannot find the original, hence the need for this receipt (cf. Postgate 1976, 56).

This tablet comes from House II to the north of Šamaš-šarru-ušur's house, and so far as preserved the witnesses are different from those in his archive.

**112****List of silver debts**

ND 3455 (IM?)

Copy: Plate 43 (DJW; *Iraq* 15 Pl. XIII)

Tablet: 3.0 x 4.8 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 19

-X.R630

Not sealed

Obv.	1	1 ½ GÍN <i>ina</i> IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>gab-bu-a-mur</i>
	2	1 GÍN <i>ina</i> IGI <sup>1</sup> SUḪUŠ- <i>aš-šur</i>
	3	3 GÍN <i>ina</i> IGI <sup>1</sup> LÁ-DINGIR-KAM- <i>eš</i>
	4	DUMU <sup>1</sup> PA-SU
	5	1 GÍN :. <sup>1</sup> <i>ḥa-a-i<sup>1</sup>a-nu</i>
	6	1 GÍN :. <sup>1</sup> <i>si-lim-dIM</i>
	7	1 GÍN :. <sup>1</sup> <i>ur-di</i>
	8	DUMU <sup>1</sup> <i>lu-šá-kín</i>
B.E.	9	½ GÍN <sup>1</sup> <i>ti-ka-su</i>
Rev.	10	1 GÍN :. <sup>1</sup> I-d15
	11	<sup>uru</sup> <i>a-ma-an-ta-a-u</i>
	12	1 GÍN :. <sup>1</sup> <i>pu-ṭi-še-ra</i>
	13	<i>ina</i> ITI.GUD
	14	PAB 11 GÍN ITI.ZÍZ
	15	<i>lim-me</i> <sup>1</sup> EN-KUR- <i>u-a</i>
	16	1 KUR.GI.MUŠEN KUR <i>a-ra-me-i</i>
	17	<i>ina</i> <sup>uru</sup> <i>arba-il</i>
L.S.	18	1 GÍN :.
	19	<sup>1</sup> GIG <sup>1</sup> -LÁL

<sup>1</sup> 1 ½ shekels (of silver) at the disposal of Gabbu-amur. 1 shekel at the disposal of Ubru-Aššur. 3 shekels at the disposal of Tuqun-ili-ereš, son of Nabu-eriba. 1 shekel ditto (=at the disposal of) Ḫayanu. 1 shekel ditto (=at the disposal of) Silim-Adad. 1 shekel ditto (=at the disposal of) Urdu, son of Lu-šakin. Half a shekel Tikasu. 1 shekel ditto (=at the disposal of) Na'id-Ištar, of

the town of Amanta. 1 shekel ditto (=at the disposal of) Puṭi-šera. In the month of Ayyaru (II).

<sup>14</sup> Total: 11 shekels, month of Šabaṭu (XI), eponymate of Bel-šadua.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Aramaean goose.

<sup>17</sup> In the city of Arbail.

<sup>18</sup> 1 shekel ditto (=at the disposal of) Maršu-taqqin.

#### Notes

9: with Alhadeff in PNA3/II, 1326, this name is probably the same as the name written elsewhere <sup>1</sup>*ti-ku-su*.

15: for this eponym, not listed by Parpola see note on No. 87:8.

#### Commentary

These nine small sums of silver *ina pān* nine men are presumably loans, perhaps due for recovery in Ayyaru. Since Urdu the son of Lu-šakin borrows 6 shekels of silver from Šamaš-šarru-ušur in No. 82 (R635, so about 5 years earlier), it seems a reasonable assumption that the creditor here too is Šamaš-šarru-ušur. Although somewhat doubtful, it also seems likely that the loan to Maršu-taqqin or his repayment took place or is expected to take place in Arbail (rather than Kalḫu). This short text is therefore likely to mean that at this moment in time Šamaš-šarru-ušur had ten clients owing him small sums of silver (and one goose), reinforcing the picture given by the score of silver contracts from his archive (Nos. 76–96).

### 113

#### *ilku* contributions

ND 3467 (IM)

Copy: Plate 44 (DJW; *Iraq* 15, Pl. XIII)

Tablet: 3.7 x 7.5 cm.

Provenance: TW53, Room 33 Level 4 (House V)

Not dated

Not sealed

Obv.	1	<i>il-ku ša LÚ*.GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ</i>
	2	<i>ša ina lib-bi LÚ*.GAL É.GAL <sup>1</sup>pa-ni-i</i>
	3	<i>3 ANŠE <sup>še</sup>ki-su-u-tú</i>
	4	<i>ša ITI-šú<sup>sup.ras.</sup></i>
	5	<i>7 <sup>še</sup>ma-qa-ra-a-te zib mi ka tú</i>
	6	<i>9 ½ ŠE.IN.NU</i>
	7	<i>9BÁN ZÍD.DA.MEŠ 1 qa GEŠTIN.MEŠ</i>
	8	<i>½ qa Ì.MEŠ 1BÁN ku-dim-me</i>
	9	<i>1BÁN MUN<sup>sup.ras.</sup>.MEŠ</i>
	10	<i>1 ANŠE 2BÁN <sup>še</sup>ki-ši-in-ni</i>
	11	<i>ú-ma-a ina lib-bi UD.MEŠ-ia</i>
	12	<i>10 <sup>še</sup>ma-qa-ra-a-te ŠE.IN.NU</i>
	13	<i>1 qa Ì.MEŠ ša ITI-šú</i>

	14	<i>i-ma-ḥar-ra-an-ni</i>
Rev.	15	24 GÍN.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR
	16	ša Ú.MEŠ-šu
	17	<i>i-ma-ḥa-ra-ni</i>
	18	1 ANŠE 8BÁN ZÍD.DA.MEŠ
	19	2 <sup>túg</sup> sa-ga-a-te
	20	2 <sup>kuš</sup> ma-za-’e
	21	3 MA.NA SÍG.ÚZ
	22	3 qa Ì.MEŠ
	23	PAB an-nu-u
	24	ša ina KASKAL-šú
	25	KÙ.BABBAR ša Ú.MEŠ
	26	<i>be-lí li-ri-ma-a-ni</i>
	27	<i>ina lib-bi</i> GUD.NÍTA
	28	<i>la-a-dí<sup>1</sup>-in-ni</i>
	29	<i>ina</i> GIŠ.APIN

<sup>1</sup> The *ilku*-duty of the grooms which is for the palace overseer Pani.

<sup>3</sup> 3 homers of fodder, for his month. 7 bales of ....., 9 ½ (bales of) straw, 9 *sūtu* flour, 1 *qû* wine, ½ *qû* oil, 1 *sūtu* kudimmu, 1 *sūtu* salt, 1.2 homers *kišinnu*.

<sup>11</sup> Now during my days <sup>14</sup> he receives from me <sup>12</sup> 10 bales of straw (and) 1 *qû* of oil for his month.

<sup>17</sup> He receives from me <sup>15</sup> 24 shekels of silver for his plants, 1.8 homers of flour, 2 tunics, 2 leather flasks, 3 minas of goat-hair, 3 *qû* of oil.

<sup>23</sup> All this is his campaign (supplies).

<sup>25</sup> May my lord excuse me from the silver for the plants (so that) I may spend it on an ox – for the plough.

### Commentary

This text, with its valuable detail on the substance of *ilku* contributions, was edited in Postgate 1974, pp. 399–401. The tablet was collated (cf. statement on p. 246) and the readings in ll. 4, 9 and 28 result from this collation. In l. 12 however it is hard to be sure if the sign ŠE was correctly omitted by the copyist and wrongly restored in my transliteration, or is in fact present but missed out in the copy.

This is the only tablet from House V. The easiest assumption is that this house was the residence of the person referred to in l. 26 as “my lord”. This would make him responsible for the level of *ilku* payments, as made by the grooms. The role of Pani the palace overseer is not clear: conceivably he is in fact “my lord”, but it seems likelier that he is a different authority.

114

**List of equipment**

ND 3468 (BM)

Copy: Plate 44 (JNP)

Vertical tablet: 2.9 x (4.1) x 2.0 cm.

Provenance: TW 53 Room 23, upper fill

Not dated

No sealing preserved.

Obv. (upper part broken away)

1' x[ x x (x) ]x

2' GIŠ.DIB GU.ZA

3' ša É ra-ma-ki

4' <sup>giš</sup>na-ra-ma-tú

5' ša KASKAL

6' ši-pi-ra-ti ša GADA

7' É <sup>kuš</sup>hi-ma-ti

Rev. (uninscribed except for some rough scratches)

2' A wooden .... of a chair, of the washing house.

4' Maces for the journey.

6' Linen sheets. Container for leather flasks.

*Notes*

Divergences from the published copy are the result of collation.

2': I am unaware of a reading for the logogram GIŠ.DIB, but it seems likely to represent a component of a chair or stool.

4': this passage is listed under *nar'amtú* (a mace) in CAD N/i, 342, with the comment "obscure".

6': *šipirtu* is a textile associated in other contexts with beds or chairs, so must be a rug or blanket, or perhaps, if as here of linen, a "sheet" cf. Postgate 2014, 423.

*Commentary*

The function of this assemblage of miscellaneous items is hard to deduce from the surviving lines.

115

## Clay sealing, uninscribed

ND 3280 (BM)

Provenance: TW53, Rm 33 “level 3”.

*Sealing**Fig. 113; Plate II*

Cylinder seal impression on a clay sealing whose function is undetermined.

*Design:* Winged genie with wings spread horizontally facing left. He appears to carry a bow (?) over his shoulder and wears a sword girded at the hip. His right hand is raised, the left holds a cane-like object. In front of the genie above and below the wing are two rosettes. In the lower field a semi-circle surrounding a dot. In the field over the right wing another dot. The composition is framed at the top by a horizontal raised line. The seal design is executed with pronounced use of the drill and wheel (cut style).

*Comparisons:* from Nimrud, Herbordt 1992, pl. 1, 2 (Nimrud 135)

*Publication:* Herbordt 1992, p. 202f. Nimrud 123; pl. 3, 17.



Figure 113. No. 115

(S. Herbordt)

### Part III: three tablets from the Town Wall Palace

These three tablets were found in 1956 in Room 1 of the “Town Wall Palace” (named DD during the excavation; see Oates & Oates 2001, 141–3). They are of different genres, including No. 118, a hemerology, and give no clue to the purpose of the room or the building. The presence of the hemerology should not be taken as evidence that there was any kind of library here: hemerologies, like incantation texts, were strictly utilitarian. They should not be viewed in our terms as “literary” texts, and may well have been consulted regularly by persons outside the scribal elite.

116

Letter

ND 5489/ii (IM, for study)

Transliteration: JNP

Provenance: From DD room 1, in fill from fallen roof

Obv. (beginning broken away)

1' [š]a<sup>2</sup> lu x[

2' ù zi-x[

3' za-qi-pu ni-[

4' a-mar ú-x[

5' a-di ʿx x<sup>1</sup>[

6' ù ša [

7' ta-ša-bat-a-ni [

8' lib-bi ha-[

9' ù ŠI[M

B.E. 10' [x (x)]-ni-ni : [

11' [Š]IM šá-k[u<sup>2</sup>-

12' a-di GIŠ x[

Rev. 13' a-di x[

14' ša ša-ku-x[

15' LÚ.EN pi-qi-[(it-)ti

16' du[l]-lu [

17' x[

18' DU-ni [

19' a iš<sup>2</sup> qi [

20' GIŠ.MEŠ ša š[a

21' lu-u la i-[

22' ša mim-ma x[

23' lu-u ZA-x[

L.S. 24' i-ni-šú i i

Letter, too broken to permit any connected translation.

117

## Note of textiles

ND 5489/iii (BM)

Copy: Plate 44 (JNP)

(4.7) x 5.7 x 2.2 cm.

Provenance: From DD room 1, in fill from fallen roof

Horizontal tablet, large script

Not dated

Not sealed

Obv. 1 24 <sup>túg</sup>*dap-pa*-[*sat*  
 2 4 <sup>túg</sup>*da-x*[  
 3 6 <sup>túg</sup>*qir*-[*me*  
 4 4 <sup>túg</sup>*qa*<sup>1</sup>-*r*[*a-ri*  
 5 2 TÚG.SIL[*U*Ḫ  
 6 [x (x)] *qir-mu* [

Rev. 7 (possibly one line broken)  
 8 x[  
 9 4 x[  
 10 5 x[  
 11 *ša* <sup>1</sup>x (x)<sup>1</sup> [

<sup>1</sup> 24 blankets, 4 ....-textiles, 6 coats, 4 bedspreads, 2 pillows, [1<sup>?</sup>] coat,  
 (remainder lost)

## Notes

1, 3–5: for *dappastu*, *qirimu*, *qarāru* and SILUḪ see SAA 7, p. xxix. All translations are speculative.

## Commentary

It is uncertain whether the reverse also listed textiles. Those on the Obverse (with the exception of l. 2) occur in the textile lists from the royal palace at Nineveh (SAA 7, pp. xxix–xx).

118

## Hemerology

ND 5489/i (BM)

Copy: Plate 44 (JNP)

Provenance: From DD room 1, in fill from fallen roof

not dated

Not sealed

Obv. 1–6 (ca. 6 lines virtually illegible)  
 7 x x (x) UD.6.KÁM IDIM <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> x[ ]  
 8 DIŠ UD.11.K[ÁM] *ka-liš ma*-[*gir*]  
 9 DIŠ UD.13.K[ÁM] *e* [x (x)] ZI IDIM [ x (x) ]



- 10 DIŠ UD.14.KÁM x [x ])x KA<sup>?</sup> la<sup>?</sup> ŠE.[GA  
 11 'ma<sup>?</sup>-gàr<sup>?</sup>1 di [x x (x)] 5 L[Ú<sup>?</sup> x x (x) ]
- Rev. 12 DIŠ UD.18.KÁM ŠE.GA [  
 13 DIŠ [UD]. 'x<sup>1</sup>.KÁM ŠE.GA [  
 14 D[IŠ UD].22.KÁM GAŠAN 'la<sup>?</sup> ŠE.GA ŠÀ.[ĤÚL.LA]  
 15 [DIŠ U]D.25.KÁM *in di-nim ma-gir*  
 16 [DIŠ UD] '26'[(+x)].KÁM *ka-liš ma-gir*  
 17 [DIŠ UD x.KÁ]M *ka-liš ma-gir*  
 18 [x x x ]x.MEŠ ša ITI.SIG<sub>5</sub> ITI.ŠU

*Notes*

- 14: cf. STT 301.ii.9: UD.22.KÁM GAŠAN ŠE.GA ŠÀ.ĤÚL.LA (for *ḥud libbi*).  
 15: cf. STT 300.ii.11: UD.27.KÁM *in di-nim ma-gir*.  
 8, 16-17: cf. STT 301.ii.12-13: *ka-liš ma-gir*.  
 18: possibly MJU.MEŠ (“lines”). The third and fourth months.

## List of Museum and ND numbers in this volume

AIA: The Australian Institute for Archaeology, La Trobe University

Ash.: The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

BM: The British Museum (mostly stored by ND number)

IM: The Iraq Museum, Baghdad

MMA: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

ND No.	Museum No.	CTN 6 No.	3457+3466c	IM	108
3280	BM	115	3458	IM 58045	89
3412	IM 57027	111	3459	IM 57060	80
3415	BM	61	3460a+b	BM	67
3420	BM 131983	71	3461	BM	91
3421	BM 131984	66	3462	BM	94
3422	BM	68	3462a	BM	94a
3423	?	65	3463	IM 57048	60
3424	Ash. 1954.737	63	3464	MMA 54.117.28	106
3425	IM 58044	70	3465	BM	101
3426	IM 57050	64	3466a	IM	95
3427	IM 57047	72	3466b	IM for study	93
3428	?	75	3467	IM	113
3429	BM	74	3468	BM	114
3430	AIA 5.074	77	3478	IM	110
3431	?	96	3479a	BM	62
3432	IM 57054	83	3479b	BM	73
3433	IM 57058	109	3479c	BM	62a
3434	BM 131986	78	4302	BM	54
3435	MMA 54.117.27	86	4316	IM 67542	10
3436	IM 57055	98	4317	BM	56
3437	IM 57039	87	4318	IM 67543	50
3438	BM	85	4325	IM 67644	9
3439	BM	99	4405/20	IM?	52
3440	IM 57063	76	4405/73	IM?	51
3441	IM	92			
3442	IM 57057	88	5403	IM67580	6
3443	BM	69	5415	BM	59
3444	BM	82	5418	BM	55
3445	BM	97	5420	IM59899	2
3446	IM 57062	104	5421	IM 67585	58
3447	MMA 57.27.23	103	5428	IM 67586	1
3448	IM 57062	100	5447	BM	27
3449	Ash.1954.738	102	5448	IM 59900	37
3450	IM 57065	107	5449	IM 59901	23
3451	BM	84	5450	IM 59902	36
3452	IM	81	5451	IM 59903	15
3453	IM 57051	90	5452	BM	25
3454	AIA 5.047	79	5453	BM	16
3455	IM	112	5454	BM	20
3456	IM 57046	105	5455	IM 59904	21

5456	IM 59905	26
5457	BM	11
5458	BM	31
5459	BM	24
5460	IM 59906	14
5461	BM	13
5462	BM	53
5463	IM 67588	3
5464	IM 59907	34
5465	BM	41
5468	IM 59908	40
5469	IM 59909	30
5472	BM	57
5473	BM	43
5474	IM 59910	19
5475/1	IM 59911	44
5475/2	IM 59911	45
5475/3	IM 59911	28
5475/4	IM 59911	42
5475/5	IM 59911	17
5475/6	IM 59911	46
5475/7	IM 59911	47
5475/8	IM 59911	49
5475/9	IM 59911	48
5476/1	BM	35
5476/2	BM	22
5476/3	BM	32
5476/4	BM	18
5476/5	BM	33
5476/6	BM	29
5476/7	BM	12
5476/8	BM	39
5476/9	BM	38
5480	IM 67591	7
5489/i	IM for study	118
5489/ii	BM	116
5489/iii	BM	117
5550	IM 67615	4
6207	BM	5
7062	IM 75769	8

<b>Museum No.</b>	<b>ND No.</b>	<b>CTN 6 No.</b>			
AIA 5.047	ND 3454	<b>79</b>	IM 59908	ND 5468	<b>40</b>
AIA 5.074	ND 3430	<b>77</b>	IM 59909	ND 5469	<b>30</b>
			IM 59910	ND 5474	<b>19</b>
			IM 59911	ND 5475/1	<b>44</b>
Ash.1954.737	ND 3424	<b>63</b>	IM 59911	ND 5475/2	<b>45</b>
Ash.1954.738	ND 3449	<b>79</b>	IM 59911	ND 5475/3	<b>28</b>
			IM 59911	ND 5475/4	<b>42</b>
BM 131983	ND 3420	<b>71</b>	IM 59911	ND 5475/5	<b>17</b>
BM 131984	ND 3421	<b>66</b>	IM 59911	ND 5475/6	<b>46</b>
BM 131986	ND 3434	<b>78</b>	IM 59911	ND 5475/7	<b>47</b>
			IM 59911	ND 5475/8	<b>49</b>
IM 57027	ND 3412	<b>111</b>	IM 59911	ND 5475/9	<b>48</b>
IM 57039	ND 3437	<b>87</b>	IM 67542	ND 4316	<b>10</b>
IM 57046	ND 3456	<b>105</b>	IM 67543	ND 4318	<b>50</b>
IM 57048	ND 3463	<b>60</b>	IM 67580	ND 5403	<b>6</b>
IM 57050	ND 3426	<b>64</b>	IM 67585	ND 5421	<b>58</b>
IM 57054	ND 3432	<b>83</b>	IM 67586	ND 5438	<b>1</b>
IM 57055	ND 3436	<b>98</b>	IM 67588	ND 5463	<b>3</b>
IM 57056	ND 3446	<b>104</b>	IM 67591	ND 5480	<b>7</b>
IM 57057	ND 3442	<b>88</b>	IM 67615	ND 5550	<b>4</b>
IM 57058	ND 3433	<b>109</b>	IM 67644	ND 4325	<b>9</b>
IM 57060	ND 3459	<b>80</b>	IM for study	ND 5489/i	<b>118</b>
IM 57062	ND 3448	<b>100</b>	IM for study	ND 3466b	<b>93</b>
IM 57063	ND 3440	<b>76</b>	IM no. unknown	ND 3441	<b>92</b>
IM 57065	ND 3450	<b>107</b>	IM no. unknown	ND 3452	<b>81</b>
IM 58044	ND 3425	<b>70</b>	IM no. unknown	ND 3457+	<b>108</b>
IM 58045	ND 3458	<b>89</b>	IM no. unknown	ND 3455	<b>112</b>
IM 59899	ND 5420	<b>2</b>	IM no. unknown	ND 3466a	<b>95</b>
IM 59900	ND 5448	<b>37</b>	IM no. unknown	ND 3467	<b>113</b>
IM 59901	ND 5449	<b>23</b>	IM no. unknown	ND 3478	<b>110</b>
IM 59902	ND 5450	<b>36</b>	IM?	ND 4405/20	<b>52</b>
IM 59903	ND 5451	<b>15</b>	IM?	ND 4405/73	<b>51</b>
IM 59904	ND 5455	<b>21</b>			
IM 59905	ND 5456	<b>26</b>	MMA 54.117.27	ND 3435	<b>86</b>
IM 59906	ND 5460	<b>14</b>	MMA 54.117.28	ND 3464	<b>106</b>
IM 59907	ND 5464	<b>34</b>	MMA 57.27.23	ND 3447	<b>103</b>



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- AoF *Altorientalische Forschungen*. Berlin.
- ARM Archives Royales de Mari
- BATSH Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu (Wiesbaden)
- CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*.
- CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud. (London)
- FNALD J.N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian legal documents* (Warminster 1976).
- MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
- NARGD J.N. Postgate, *Neo-Assyrian Royal Grants and Decrees*. Studia Pohl: Series Maior 1 (Rome 1969).
- PNA The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (Helsinki)
- RIMA Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods (Toronto)
- SAA State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki)
- SAAB State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Helsinki)
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies (Helsinki)
- STT O.R. Gurney, *The Sultantepe Tablets* (London)
- VS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (Berlin)
- WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
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*Addendum to No. 58 (February 2019)*

I am grateful to J.E. Reade for his suggestion that the arithmetic in this text can be justified if we assume (1) that the two bowls are the same as the 6 minas, (2) that the stylus weighed  $\frac{1}{3}$  (light) mina, (3) that each torc weighed 1 mina, and (4) that the agate mina is half a big mina—so  $6 + \frac{1}{3} + 6 + 7 = 19 \frac{1}{3} \div 2 = 9 \frac{2}{3}$ .

## Index of Personal Names

f. = father (of)  
s. = son (of)  
w. = witness  
d. = daughter  
\*= name of eponym

### Female names

A[...]	53:20'
Aḫati-le'i	64:4 mother of Se'-ḫari, slave woman
Atar-bedi	63:3 slave woman
Atar-dimir	67:4 slave woman
Banitum-tašamanni	68:5 slave woman
Basasu	83:13 wife of La-ḫitayu
Bidetu	53:16'
Gallusu	65:4 d. of Kurilaya
Gamiltu	53:7', 10', 19'
Ḫa[...]	53:19'
Ilatu	53:15'
Ilu[...]	53:15'
Issi-Urkittu-libbi	4:5 m. of Lul[...] and Palḫu-ušeziḫ
Karibtu	53:11'
Kata[...]	73:5, Rev. 2'
Ka[...]	53.rev.3'
Laqiptu	7:4 wife of slave
La-ṣaḫittu	3:4
Li'basi	37:16 wife of Sukkayu
Nana-dimeqi	69:5 wife of Sa'alti-ilu
Nana-[...]	53:6'
Na'tu	53:20'
Palḫu-ušeziḫ	4:4 slave
Pilaqqitu	73:3, Rev. 1' slave woman
Put-upni-eriba	92:7 d. of Nabu-eriba
Saggilia	53:7', 15'

Saraya	53:10,
Ta-ME[...]	53:16'
Urkittum-ḥamat	66:3 slave woman; 71:5 slave woman
[...]-abi	62:4 slave woman
[...]-Sin	53.rev.3'

#### Male names

A[...]	39:10 w.
Abattu	29:6 w.; 37:19 w.
Abda	87:17 w.
Abdī	4:44 LÚ.DAM.GÀR, w.
Abu-eriba	69:1 guarantor
Abu <sup>2</sup> -isi	9:3 debtor
Abu-lamašši	20:13 w.; 22:13 w.; 48:7' w.
Abu-lamur	63:25 w.
Abu-lešir	74:1, 5, 7, 13 s. of Gabbu-a[mur], seller
Ab[u <sup>2</sup> -...]	67:1 seller
Adad-milki-ereš	90:12 w.; 106:2, 7 s. of Šangu-Ištar, debtor
Adad-milki-ušur	85:1, 5 s. of Lu-šakin, debtor; 107:4 debtor
*Adad-mušammir	58:14
*Adad-remanni	84:14, Env. 5'; 100:11
Adad-suri	11:11 LÚ.NINDA KUR <i>ár-ma-a-a</i>
Addallal	97 Rev. 15 w.; 101:3 debtor
Addi-mat-aplu <sup>2</sup>	9:11 w.
Adi-ilu-iqqibuni	47:4 s. of Ḥaldi-aplu-iddina, debtor
Adumu	4:9 <sup>uru</sup> <i>ši-du-na-a-a</i>
Aduni	27:12 LÚ*.SIMUG ZABAR, w.
Aḥ-abu	62:1 f. of Iliya-šarru-ibni
Aḥḥe-damqu	4:3 f. of Nabu-sagib
Aḥi-aḥ-ide	72:1, 5, 14 s. of Naqamu, DAM.GÀR, seller
Aḥu-bani	25:14 LÚ.SIMUG AN.BAR, w.; 30:22 w.
Aḥubi	7:32 w.
Aḥu-edi/u	53:9'; 106:1, 8 debtor; 109:2, 5 hireling
Aḥu-eriba	26:3 LÚ*.EN.NUN MURUB <sub>4</sub> , debtor; 27:3 s. of Apluduri, LÚ.TÚG.BABBAR, debtor; 44.r.6' s. of Ninurta-[...], w.; 50:3; 81:4 s. of La'iti-ilu, debtor; 92:16 w.; 99:1, 5 s. of Mušallim-Ištar, debtor
Aḥu-iabu	71:36 s. of Palaḥi, w.
*Aḥu-ilaya	64:39 LÚ.GAR KUR <i>gar-ga-mis</i>
Aḥu-imme	98:15 w.
Aḥu-lamašši	23:3 LÚ*.ENGAR, debtor

Aḫu-lamur	60:34 LÚ.NINDA, w.; 99:9 s. of La-tubaššanni-Adad, guarantor
Aḫu-šina	91:13 w.
Aḫu-...]	50:36
Amerama	61:1, 6, 14, seller
Amurri	50:19
*Amyanu	38:8
Aplaya	35:1 debtor; 37:22 w.; 44.r.4' w.
Aplu-duri	27:3 f. of Aḫu-eriba
Aplu-ereš	60:39 w.
Aqabbi-ili	86:7, Env. 8 f. of Izbu
Aqru	66:19 w.
Arbailayu	60:32 w.; 77:22 w.; 78:1, 4 debtor
*Arbailayu LÚ.AGRIG	18.r.4'; 19.r.6'; 20:16; 21:16; 22:16; [23:14]; 24:14; 25:19; 26:12; 27:17; 28:16; 29:17; [30:25]; 31:14; 32:15; [33:15]
Arbail-šumu-iddina	93:2' guarantor
Arzabutu	7:35 w.
Arzanu	24:2 s. of [...]ni, LÚ*.Ì.DU <sub>8</sub> , debtor
Ar[...]	53:18'
Aššur-aḫḫe-šallim	6 L.S.3 s. of Urad-NIN[...], w.
Aššur-aḫu-eriba	7:31 w.
*Aššur-duru-ušur	40:9; 76:13
*Aššur-garua-neri	60:42
*Aššur-gimilli-tirri	69:11
Aššur-matu-taqqin	4.50 <sup>lu</sup> ]šá IGI É.GAL ša MUNUS.KUR, w.
*Aššur-matu-taqqin	90:9; 91:9; 108:9
*Aššur-šarru-ušur	66:25 ša <sup>uru</sup> mar-qa-si; 81:9
Aššur-šeziḫanni	63:27 w.
Aššur-šumu-iddina	2.r.5' w.
Atamar-ana-Nabu	42:3 debtor
*Auianu	3:37
Aya-suri	62:6 buyer
Azi-milki	7:32 w.
Ba'al-ḫalušu	4:10 LÚ.GAL.[5]0'
Babi	79:13 w.
Balasi	41:11 w.
Balaṭi	12.r.1' w.; 15:12 w.; 19.r.2' w.; 20:10 w.; 21:10 w.; 22:10 w.; 23:9 w.; 24:8 w.; 26:8 w.; 28:9 w.; 29:10 w.; 31:11 w.; 32:8 w.; 33:11 w.; 34:12 w.; 35:2 debtor; 36:13 w.; 38:9 w.; 41:9 w.; 42:8 w.; 42:6' w.; 48:5' w.
Balaṭu	53:13'
Balaṭu-ereš	111:2 f. of Izbu
Balte-idri	89:13 w.
Bansi(...)	50:12



Bariki	86:3, Env.1, s. of Remanni-ilu, debtor
Baṭuru	7:5, 8, 20 buyer
Bel-abu-ušur	16:2 LÚ*.NU.GIŠ <sup>?</sup> .SAR <sup>?</sup> , debtor
Bel-aḫu-ušur	71:1, 7, 9 s. of La-tubaššanni-Adad, LÚ.DÙ.MUŠEN ša MUNUS.É.GAL, seller
Belani(?)	93:1'
Bel-atkal	53:10'
Bel-bani <sup>?</sup>	7:31 w.
Bel-duri	77:25 w.
Bel-eṭir	111:4, 5 LÚ*.Ì.SUR [šá É <sup>d</sup> PA] payer
Bel-garu'a-nere	98:11 guarantor
*Bel-Ḫarran-šadua	77:19
*Bel-iqbi	4:47 LÚ*.GAR.KUR <sup>uru</sup> tuš-ḫa-an; 101:10
Bel-iqbi	6.L.S.1 LÚ.MU ša É x[, w.
Bel-kumua	73:1, 4 seller
Bel-le'i	63:26 w.
*Bel-lu-dari	71:42; 105:6
*Bel-šadua	86:10, Env. 11; 87:8; 112:15
*Bel-šarrani	11:18
Bel-šarru-ušur.	107:9 w.
Bel-[...]	53.rev.14'
*Be[l-...]	74:31
Bisuni/u	13:11 w.; 14:10 w.; 15:11 w.; 16:16 w.; 23:7 w.; 33:9 w.; 46:6 w.; 47.r.3' w.
Bisusi	94:3, Env. 1 debtor
*Bulluṭu	67:33
Bunaya	2.r.6' w.; 67:35 w.
Dabibu	53:19'
Dada	19:3 <sup>lu</sup> ga- <sup>r</sup> da <sup>71</sup> -(x x)], debtor
*Daddi	72:28; 107:11
Daddi-ibni	75:2 LÚ.UŠ.BAR, f. of Ribate
Dagil-ilu	64:29 LÚ.SAG, w.; 81:10 w.; 85:12 w.; 89:12 w.; 90:10 w.; 108:10 w.; cf. Ladagil-ilu
Dananu	50:11
Dari-abua	60:37 w.
Da''uzayu	50:22; 110:5
Dayi	16:18 LU*.Ì.DU <sub>8</sub> , w.; 19.r.4' w.; 20:12 w.; 21:12 w.; 22:11 w.; 23:12 w.; 24:10 w.; 26:10 w.; 32:12 w.; 33:13 w.; 40:13 w.; 48:8' w.; 60:33 w.
Dayyan-Ninurta	70:26 w.
Didi	57.A.10 f. of [...]gayu
Dilil-Ištar	69:15 w.
DI-[...]	29:3 debtor
Dudu	60:40 A.BA, w.; 64:31 <sup>u</sup> laḫ-ḫi-nu ša <sup>d</sup> MAŠ, w.; 65:34 LÚ.A.BA, w.; 68:24

	w.; 71:39 w.; 74:33 <sup>lú</sup> <i>laḫ-ḫi-nu</i> , w.; 78:18 w.; 80:Env. 14 w.; 82:12 w., Env. 14 w.; 83:22 w.; 84:Env. 5'; 86:20 w., Env. 19 w.; 87:16 w.; 89:14 w.; 94:13 w., Env. Rev. 5' w.; 96:18 w.; 103:17; 106:21 w.; 102:17 w.; 104:19 w. 37:25 w.; 81:12 w.
Dur-maki-Ištar	
Ekuršu-rabi	57.B.5' [ <i>mār</i> ] <i>šipri</i>
Emuq ....	51:3'
Enlil'-sakup	29:15 w.
Ereš-ilu	50:13
Erisu	66:18 w.
*Gabbaru	14:15
Gabbu-amur	12.r.3' w.; 70:29 w.; 74:2 f. of Abu-lešir; 112:1 debtor
Gabbu-ile'i-ili	62 rev. 8' w. (see note ad loc.)
Gallulu	4:41 <sup>lú</sup> <i>laḫ-ḫi-ni</i> [ <sup>d</sup> M]AŠ, w.; 25:9 LÚ.SIMUG KÙ.GI, w.; 27:10 LÚ*.SIMUG.KÙ.GI, w.; 30:19 LÚ*.SIMUG AN.BAR, w.
Gasusayu	13:4 debtor
Gimillu	53:13', 15'
*Gir-šapuna	98:14
Gula-eṭir	25:12 LÚ.SIMUG AN.BAR, w.; 30:21 LÚ*.SIMUG AN.BAR w.
Guriya	79:2 creditor
Ḫabil-ken	101:12 w.
Ḫaldi-aplu-iddina	7:33 w.; 47:4 f. of Adi-ilu-iqqibuni
Ḫalursu	53:4'
Ḫambarru	25:15 LÚ*.NU.GIŠ.SAR, w.
Ḫamb[a...]	39:15 w.
Ḫandaburi	66:1, 4 seller
Ḫanšilu	73 Rev. 11' w.
Ḫarmaki	15:13 w.
Ḫaršu	4:40 LÚ.GAL É.GAL, w.
Ḫayanu	67:31 w.; 112:5 debtor
Ḫini...	73: Rev. 5' w.
Ḫubtu-Aššur	70:27 w.; 81:11 w.
Iadin-ilu[...]	62 rev. 12' w.
Iddinaya	55:3
Iddiniya	3:23 LÚ.SANGA [ <i>ša</i> <sup>d</sup> MAŠ], w.
Iliya-šarru-ibni	62:2, 5, 7, [12], s. of Aḫ-abu, seller
Iltakua	29:8 w.; 32:11 w.
Ilu <sup>2</sup> -abu-ušur	9:12 w.
Ilu-iadinu	64:42 <sup>lú</sup> <i>mu-ša-kil</i> MUŠEN.MEŠ, w.; 65:32 w.; 76:1, 4 debtor; 107:8 w.
Ilu-ibni	100:3 s. of Ša-la-ili-mannu, debtor

Il(u)-natan	70:28 w.
Ilu-paḥḥur(u)	67:24 GAL KUR, w.; 68:20 GAL KUR, w.
Indabi	4:39 LÚ.GAL É.GAL, w.
Ing[...]ayu	53:17'
*Iqbi-ilani	111:14
*Issi-Adad-ninu	9:7
Ištar-bel-ušri	70:5 slave woman
Ištar-šumu-ereš	1:1
Ištar-šumu-iddin(a)	64:38 LÚ.A.BA <i>šābit tuppi</i> , w.; 74:29 w.
Iuḫe	79:11 w.; 109:17 w.
Izbu	85:8 f. of Nargi; 86:7, Env. 8 s. of Aqabbi-ilu, guarantor; 111:1, 6, 8, 10 s. of Balaṭu-ereš, LÚ <i>q[ur-bu]t</i> 'É' A.MAN, sealer
Kabla-Adad	31:3 s. of Nabu-šumu-ibni, debtor
Kakka(...)	57.B.7'
Kanunayu	7:34 w.; 63:4, 14, buyer; 69:2, 8, 10 guarantor
*Kanunayu	62 rev. 15'; 106:16 LÚ* BÀD-MA[N-GI]N
Kasdayu	32:10 w.
Kaššudu	81:3 debtor
Kidi[...]	53:4'
Kipu[...]qi	67:2 seller
Kiqilanu	30:17 guarantor; 70:30 w.
Kurilaya	62 rev. 5' w.; 64:33 f. of Nur-Šamaš; 65:1, 7 LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ TA* <sup>uru</sup> <i>ra-pa-a</i> , seller; 74:23 f. of Nur-Šamaš
Kusasu	63:26 w.
Ladagil-ilu	60:31 w.; 65:24 w.; 68:22 w.; 71:27 w.; 74:24 w.; 78:14 w.; 80:10 w., Env. 11 w.; 82:9 w., Env. 12 w.; 83:19 w.; 84:9 w, Env. 7' w.; 86:17 w., Env. 18 w.; 87:11 w.; 88:12 w.; 91:11 w.; 94:10 w., Env. Rev. 2' w.; 99:11 w.; 100:14 w.; 103:14 w.; 106:18 w.; 102:14 w.; 104:15 w.; 109:16 w.
La-ḫiṭayu	83:1, 5 s. of Qurdi-Nergal, debtor
La'iti-ilu	63:24 w.; 81:5 f. of Aḫu-eriba
Lamur'[...]	46:2 debtor
La/u-tubaššanni-Adad	66:5 buyer; 71:2 f. of Bel-aḫu-ušur; 99:2 f. of Aḫu-lamur
Lidibbu-lipušu	110:2
Limraš-libbi-ili	77:2 debtor
Luḫi'i	88:15 w.
Lul[...]	4:3 slave
Lu-šakin	60:38 <sup>lū</sup> <i>ša pu-li-šu</i> , w.; 70:31 w.; 82 Env. 2 f. of Urdu; 85:2 f. of Adad-milki-ušur
Mannu-ki-abi	25:10 LÚ.NÍG.BÙR.BÙR, w.; 27:11 LÚ*.NÍG.BÙR.BÙR, w.; 30:20 LÚ*.NÍG.BÙR.BÙR, w.; 92:19 w.

Mannu-ki-Adad	9:2 creditor
Mannu-ki-Arbail	66:20 w.; 109:4 debtor
Mannu-ki-Aššur	63:1, seller
Mannu-ki-Bel	72:33 w.
Mannu-ki-Nabu	52:6'; 87:1, 5 <sup>lú</sup> <i>mu-ša-kil</i> MUŠEN.MEŠ, debtor
Mannu-ki-Ninua	76:10 w.
Mannu-ki-Ninurta	60:34 w.; 64:45 <sup>lú</sup> <i>ša</i> -IGI- <i>né-ri-bi</i> , w.; 72:29 w.; 92:15 w.; 90:11 w.; 97:13 w., Env. 14 w.
Mannu-ki-Šamaš	75:4 sold
*Mannu-ki-šarri	15:15; 63:30 <i>nāgir ekalli</i>
Mannu-ki-...]	52:4'
Mar-Bel-atkal	53:10'
Mardi	73 Rev. 4' w.
Marduk-bel-ušur	57.A.3 LÚ*.GAL NÍG.K[A <sub>9</sub> (.MEŠ)]
Marduk <sup>2</sup> -lamur <sup>2</sup>	52:6'
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<i>gada[...]</i>	<sup>lú</sup> <i>ga-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>71</sup>-[(x x)]</i> 19:3
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Documents from the Nabu Temple and from private houses on the citadel

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## Remarks on the Illustrations (Plates I–VI)

The following previously unpublished seal impressions on tablets stored in the British Museum and included here were drawn by S. Herbordt<sup>1</sup>.

Plate I: Nos. 20, 22, 29, 43

Plate III: Nos. 33, 35, 74, 94

Plate IV: No. 18

Plate V: No. 38

Plate VI: Nos. 16, 39, 101

All of the seal drawings on Plates I–VI have been reproduced with the scale of approximately 1:1 (excepting the sketch of a cylinder seal impression made by J. N. Postgate, Plate II, No. 7). Exact seal measurements are given in the catalogue.

Previously unpublished are also the following photographs of sealed tablets in the Iraq Museum taken by D. George.

Plate I: Nos. 28, 42

Plate II: No. 100

Plate III: Nos. 80, 110

Plate IV: Nos. 19, 46, 107

Plate VI: Nos. 48, 76, 88, 108

Published by the courtesy of the Australian Institute for Archaeology is the following photograph: Plate V: No. 77.

The sources of all other drawings and photos, most of which have been previously published in the glyptic studies by B. Parker and S. Herbordt (Parker 1955; Parker 1962; Herbordt 1992), are acknowledged in the catalogue.

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<sup>1</sup> S. Herbordt's pencil drawings were inked by A. Gubisch.

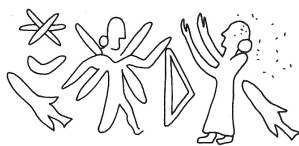


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2



20



22



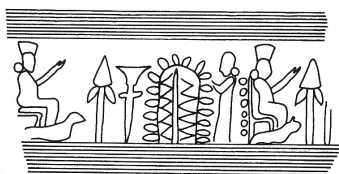
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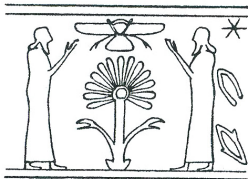
29



42



43



65



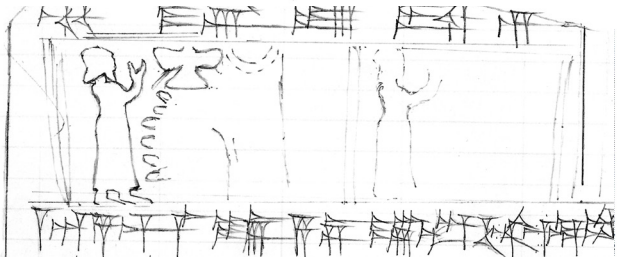
68-1



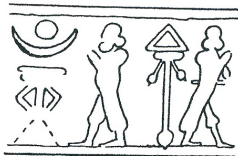
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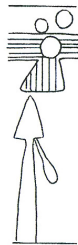
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7



72



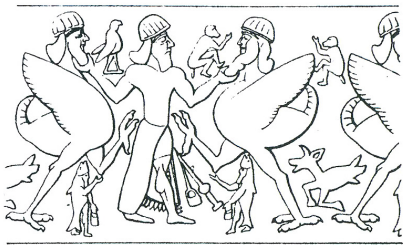
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87-2



60



4

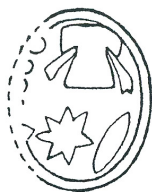




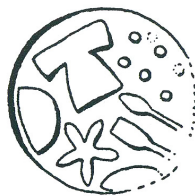
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92



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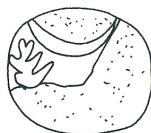
103 (1-2)



75



33



74



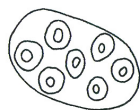
78



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94a



94



80



110



97



35



85



83



69



109



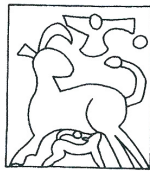
111



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106



18



19



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66



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107



24



98



62



86



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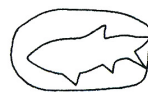
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104



67



38





62a



13



88



48



76



82



101



16



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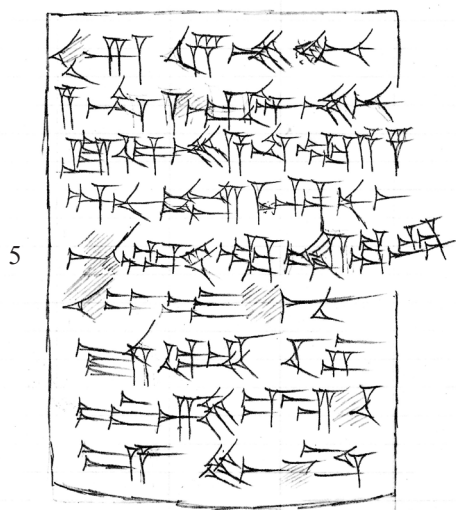


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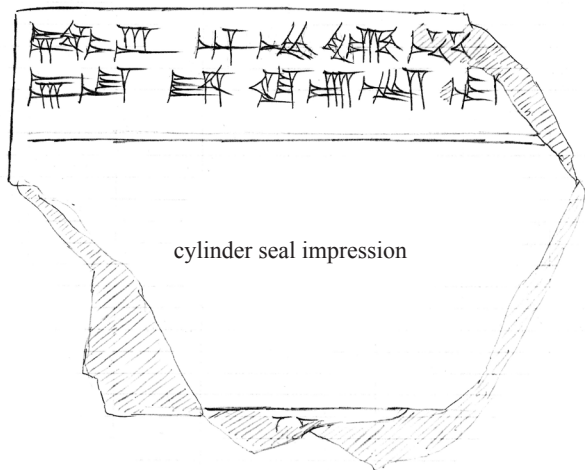
39

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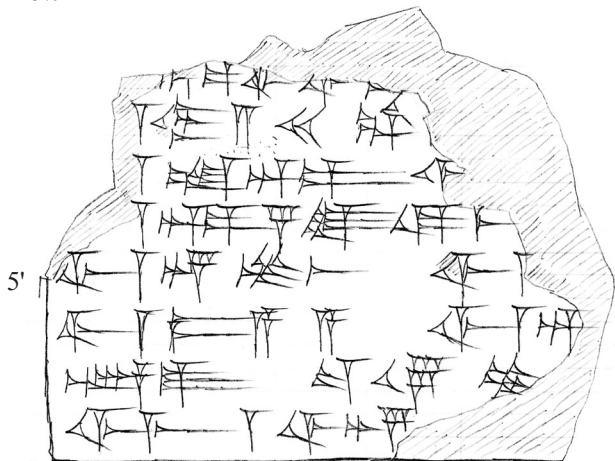


2

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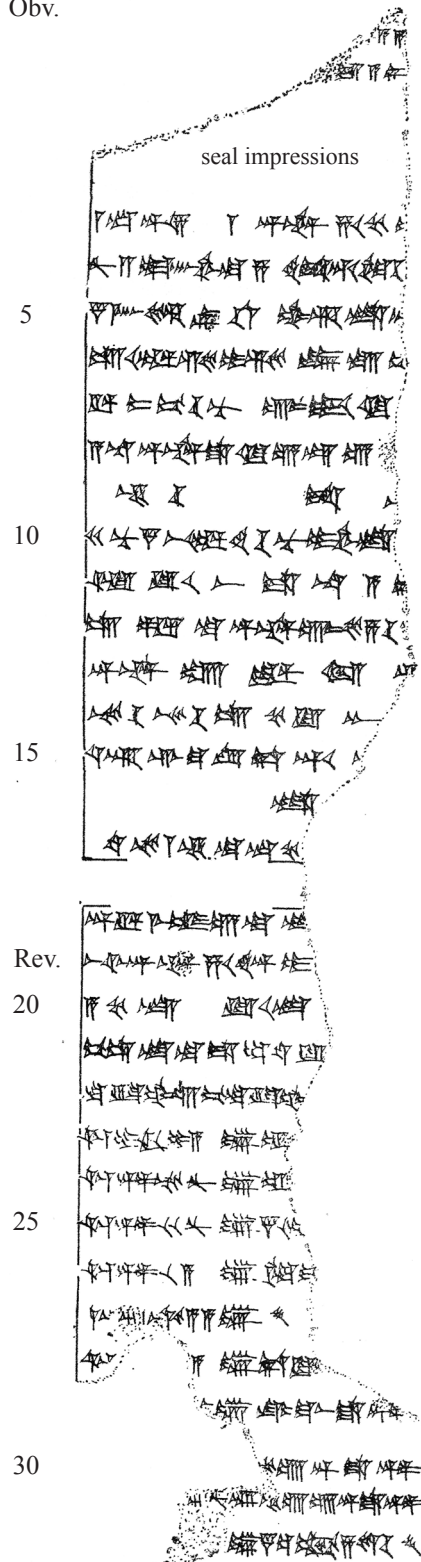


Rev.



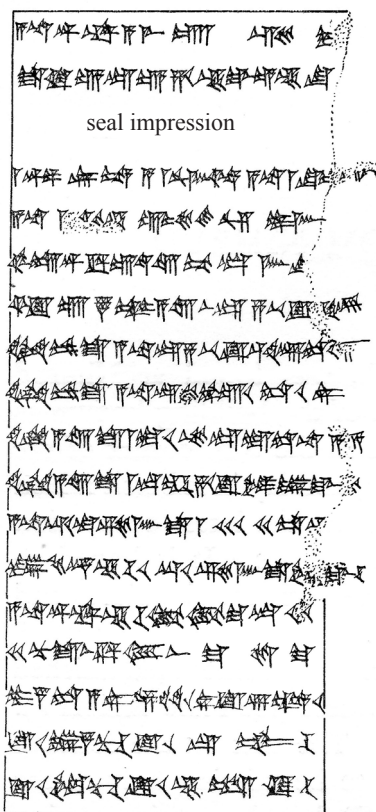
3

Obv.



4

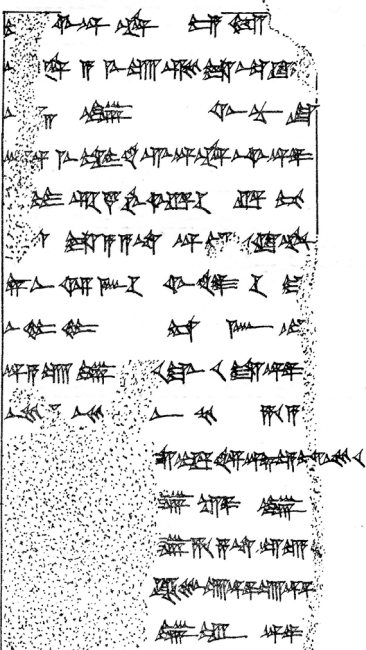
Obv.



edge



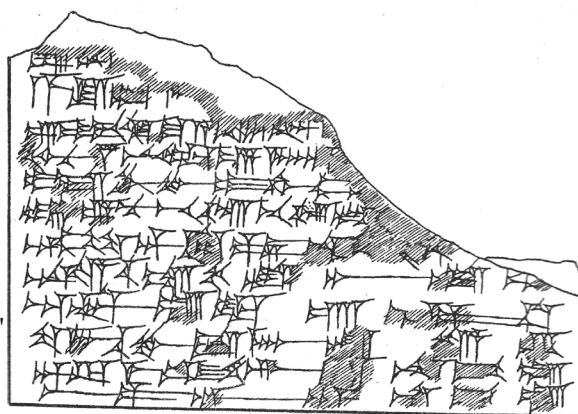
Rev.



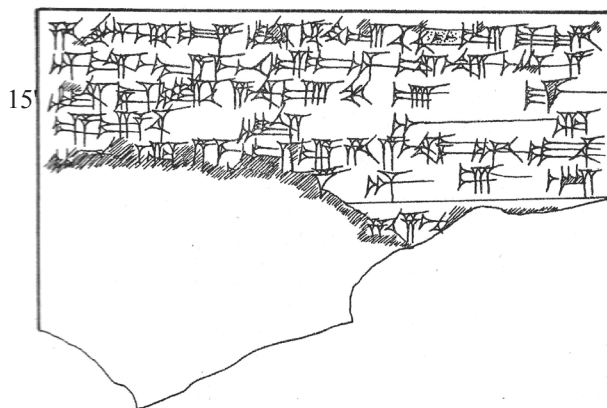
35

Obv.

5



Rev.

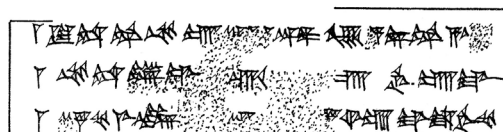


40



edge 45

left edge:

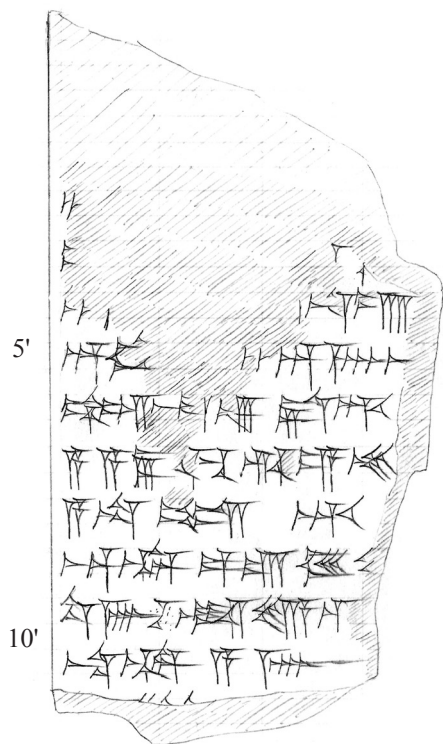


50

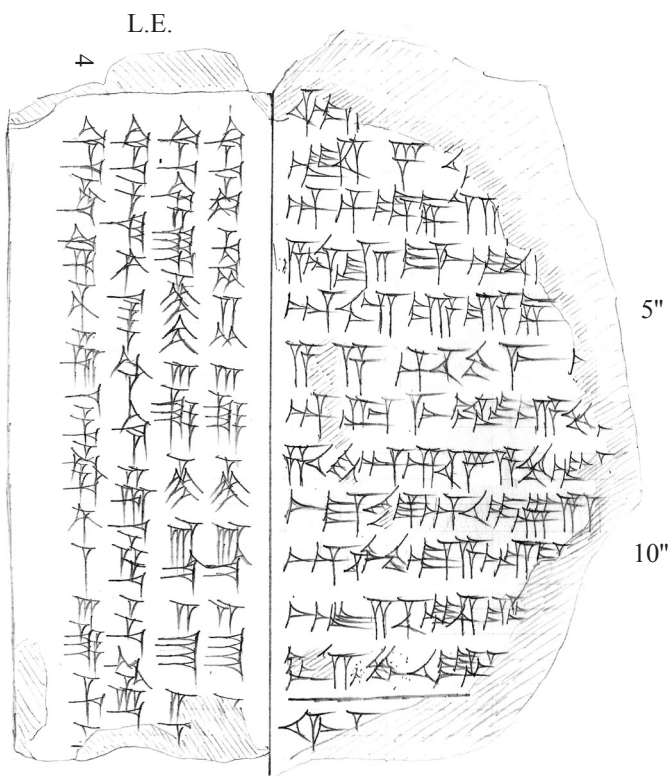


6

Obv.



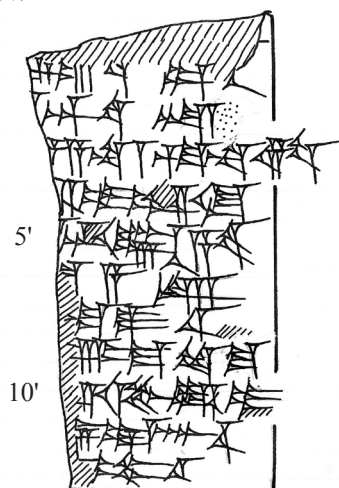
Rev.



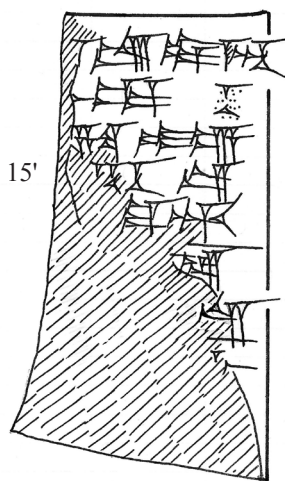
L.E.

8

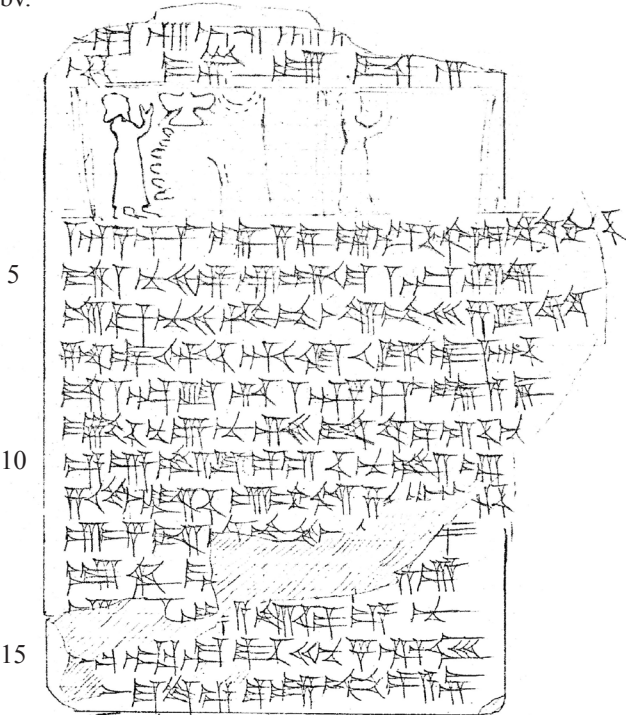
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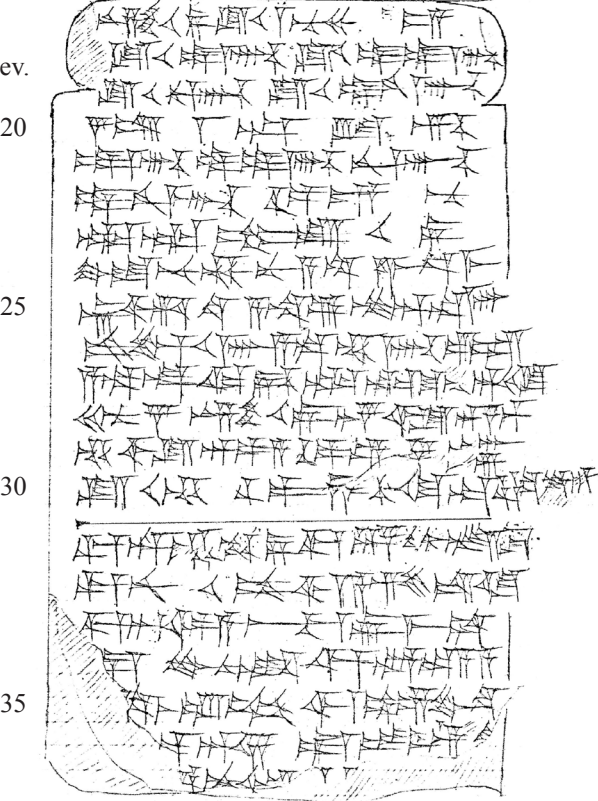
Rev.



Obv.



Rev.

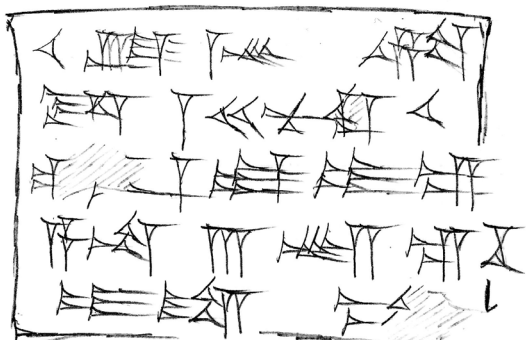




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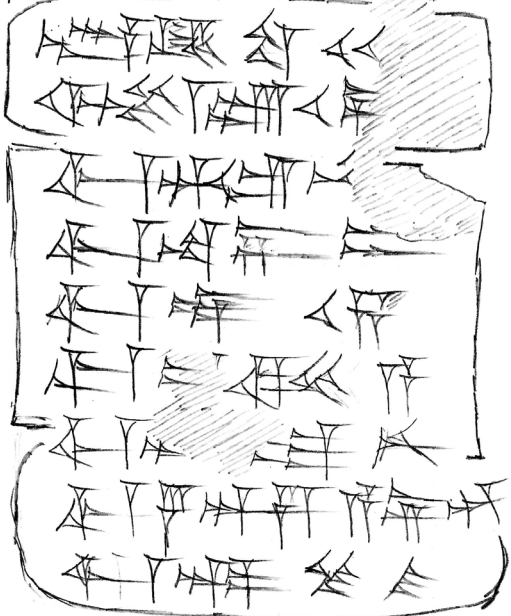
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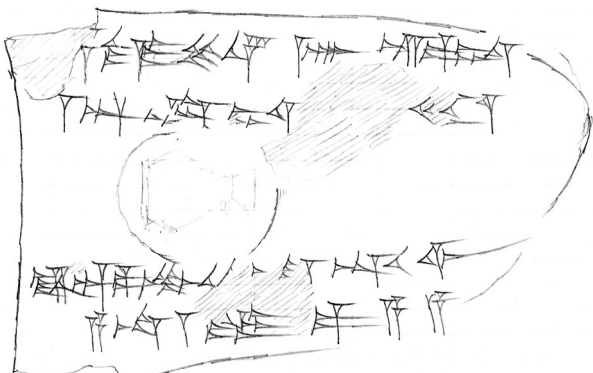
Rev.

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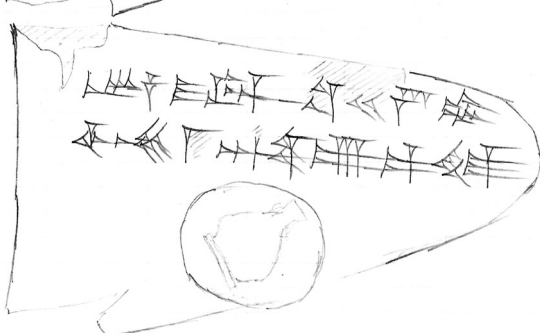
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Rev.

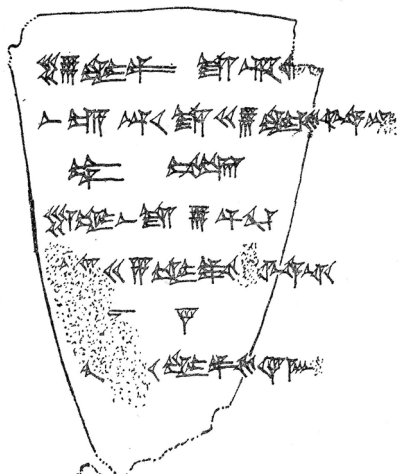
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11

Obv.

5



Rev.

10



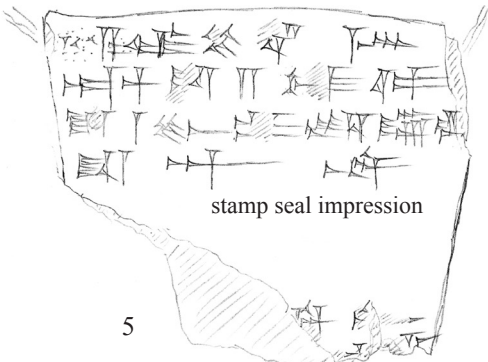
15

Handwritten cuneiform script on the reverse of tablet 11, lines 11 through 15. The script is arranged in five horizontal rows within a rectangular frame.

Obv.

12

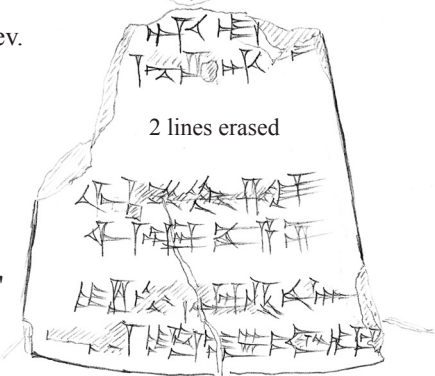
13



Rev.

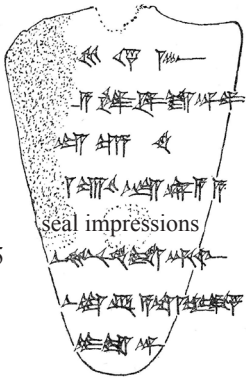
2 lines erased

5'



Obv.

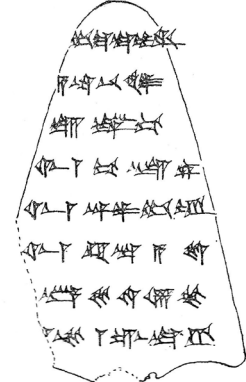
5



Rev.

10

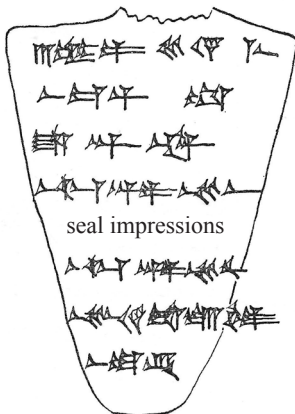
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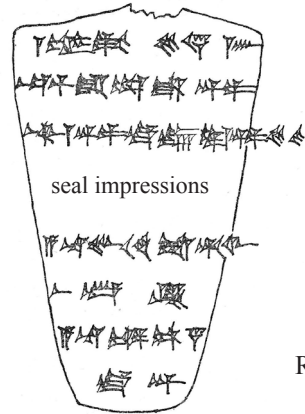
Obv.

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Obv.

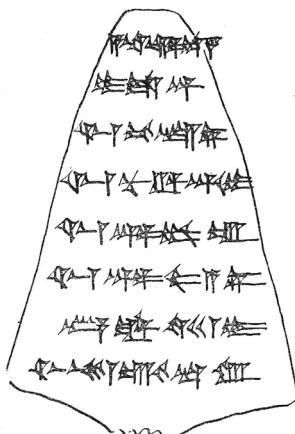
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Rev.

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Rev.

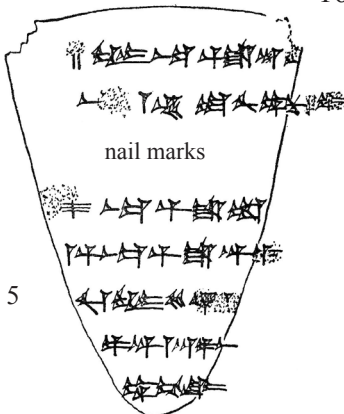
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Obv.

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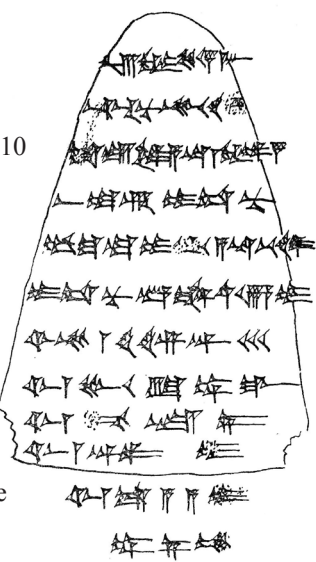


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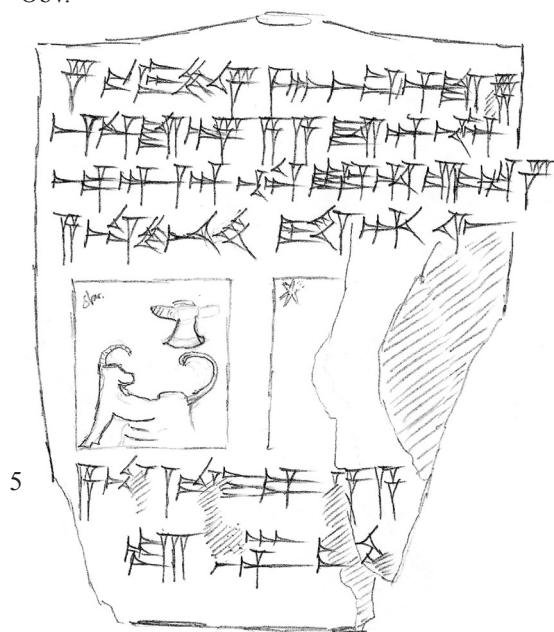
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edge

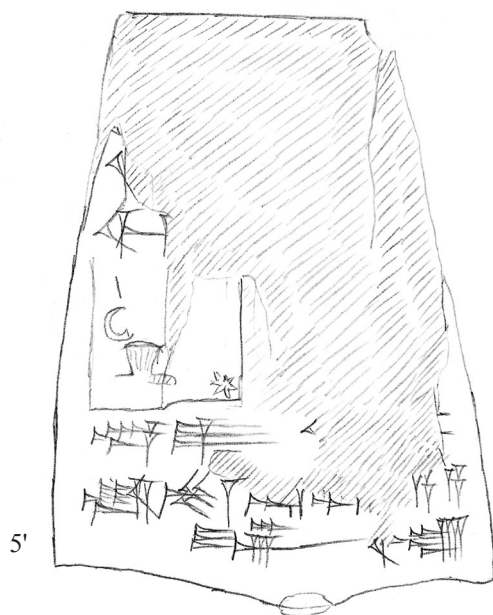


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Obv.

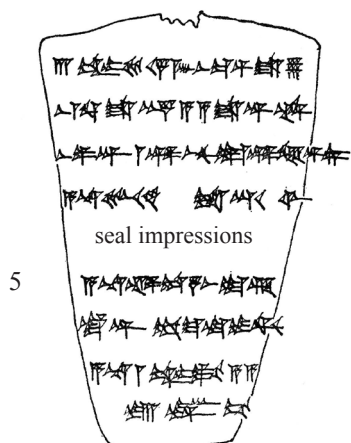


Rev.

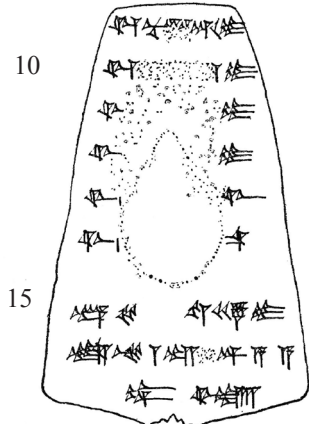


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Obv.

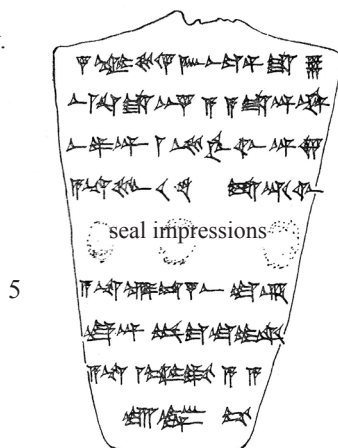


Rev.

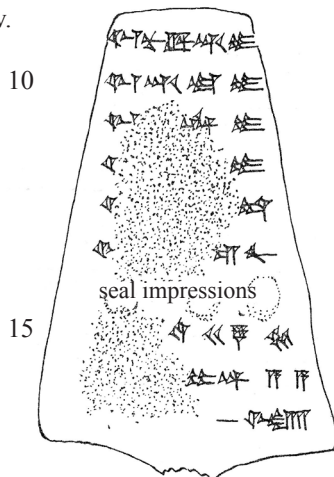


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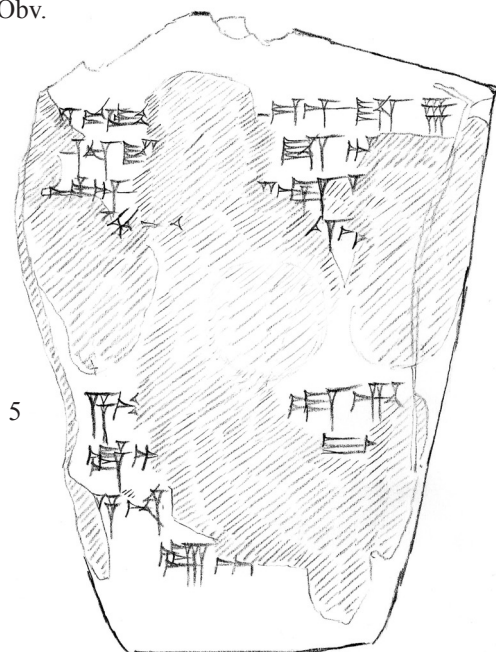
Obv.



Rev.

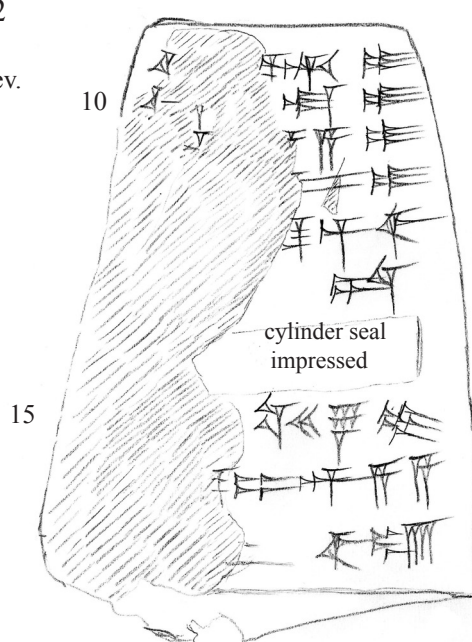


Obv.



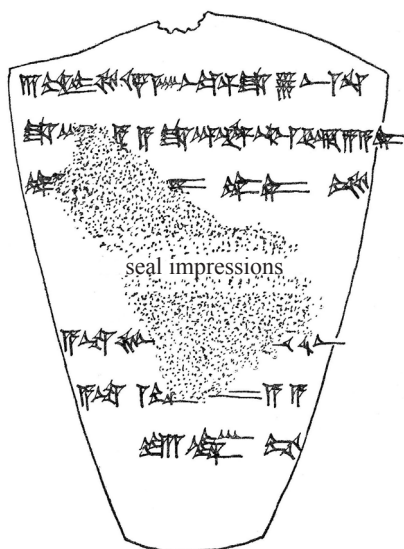
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Rev.

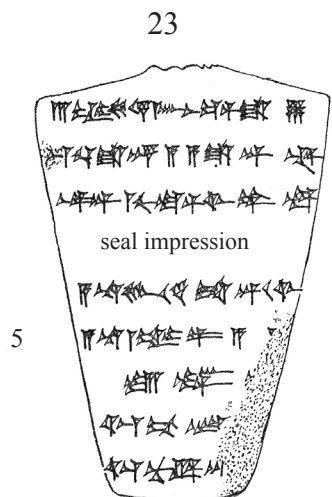


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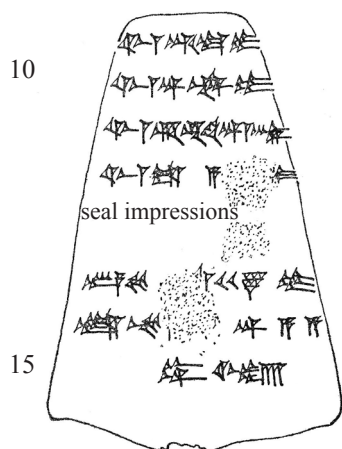
Obv.



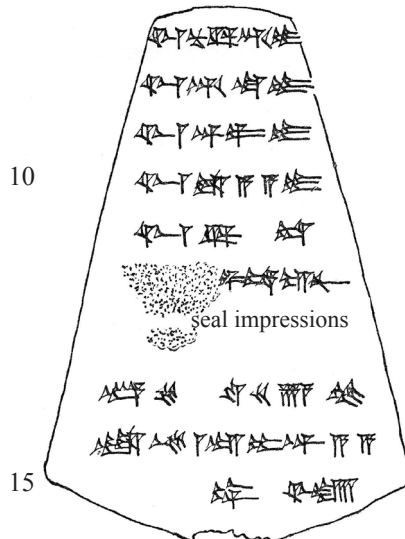
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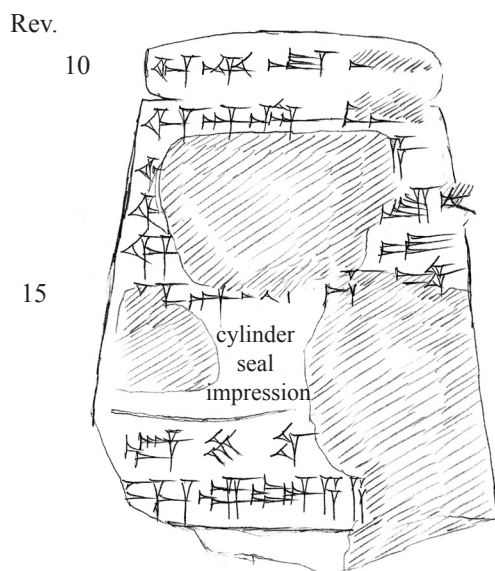
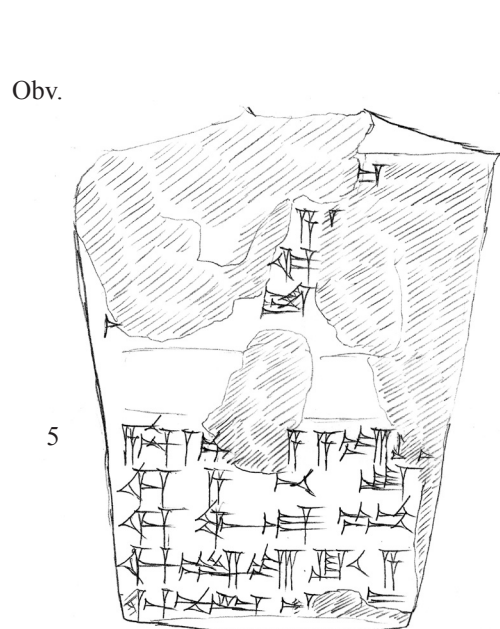
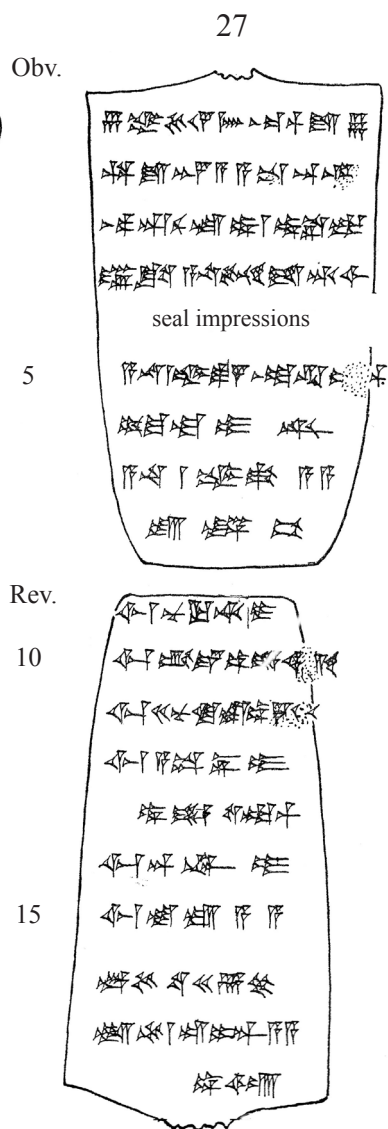
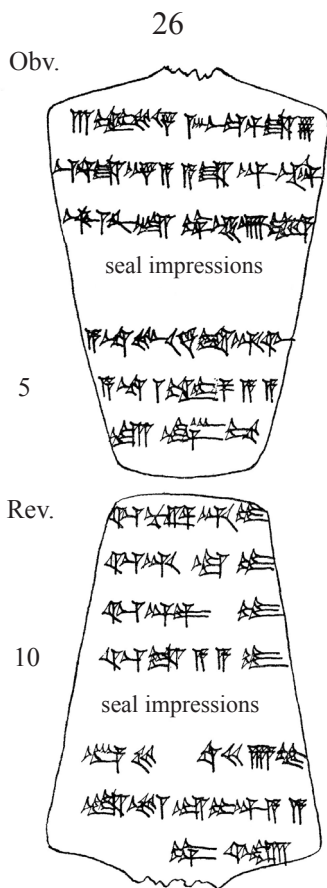
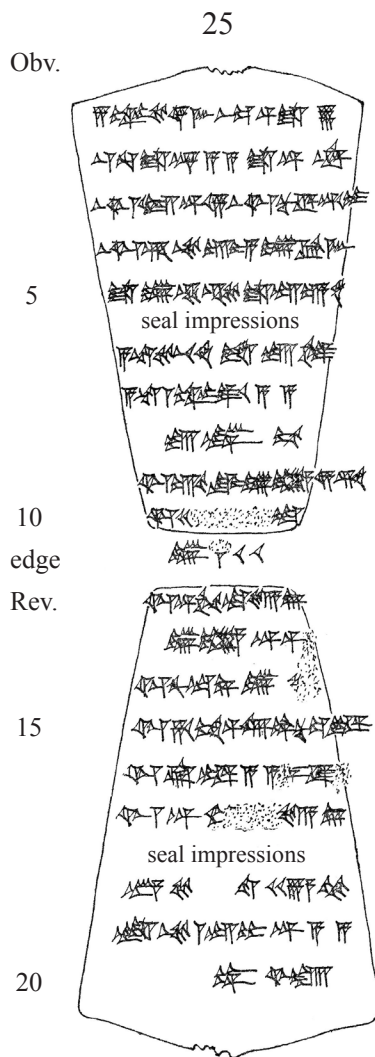
Rev.



Rev.

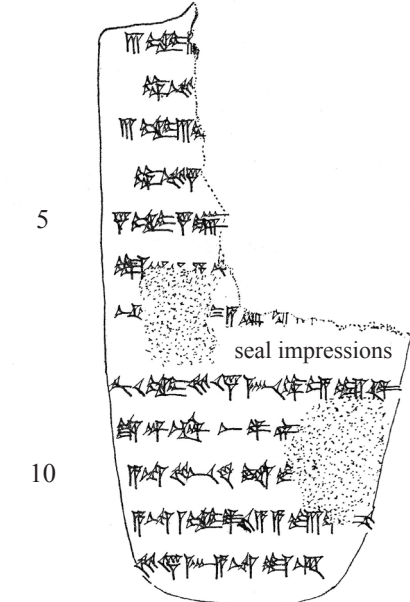






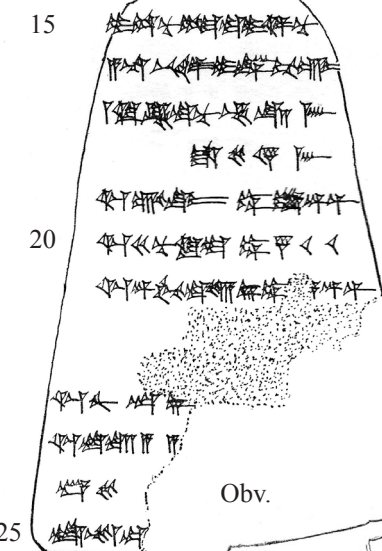
Obv.

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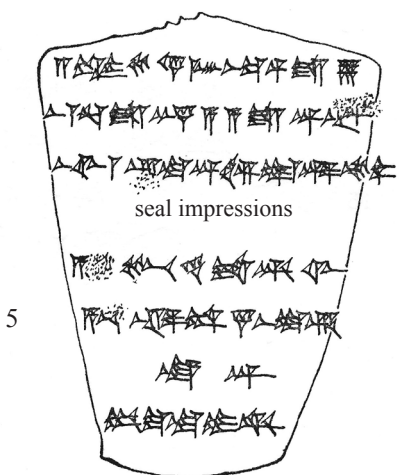
edge

Rev.

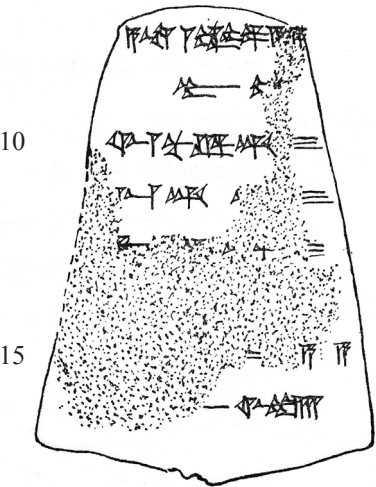


Obv.

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Rev.

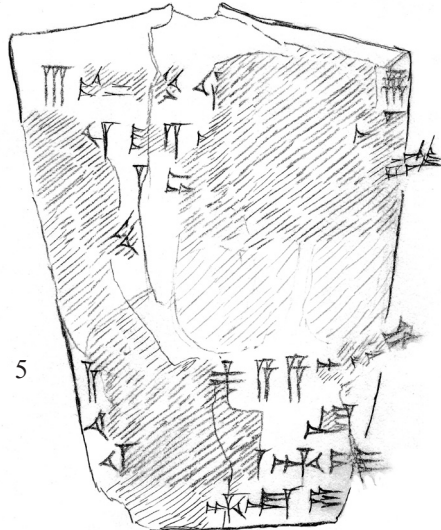


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Rev.

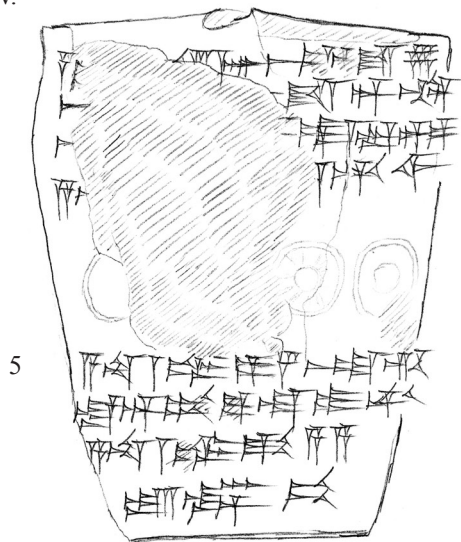


Obv.



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Obv.

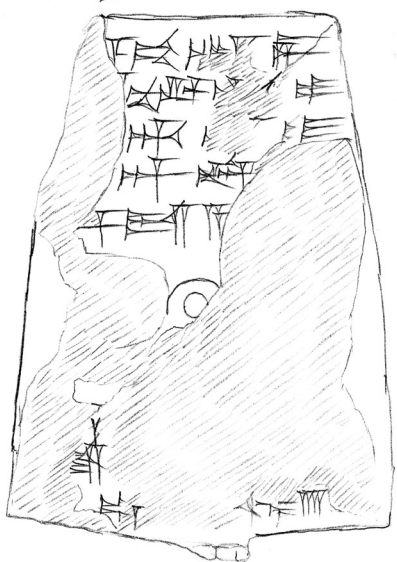


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Rev.

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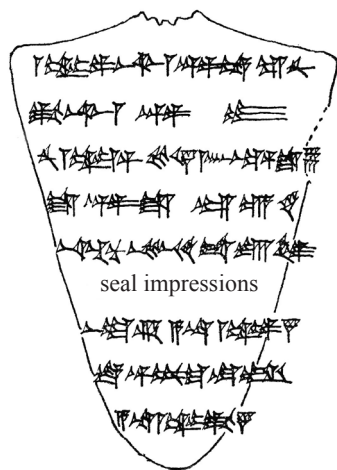
15



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Obv.

5

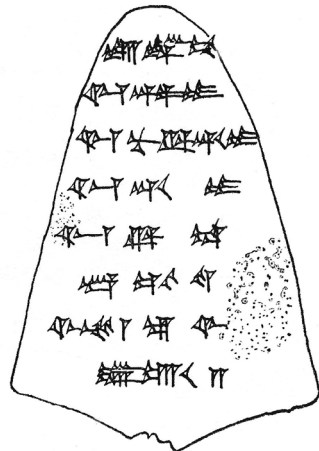


seal impressions

Rev.

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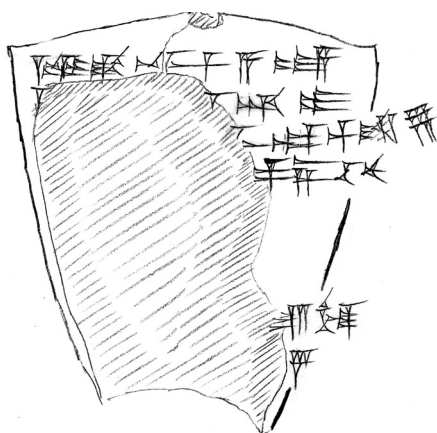
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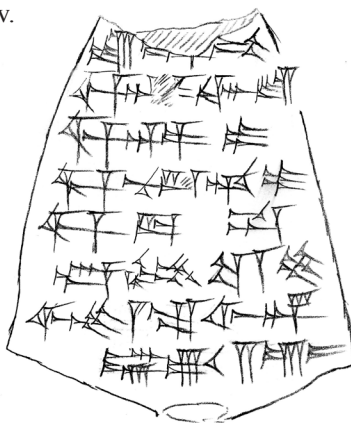
Obv.

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Rev.

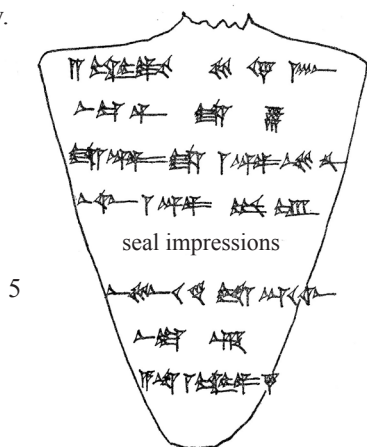
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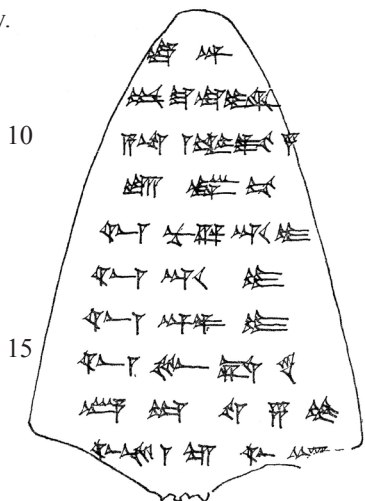
36

Obv.



5

Rev.

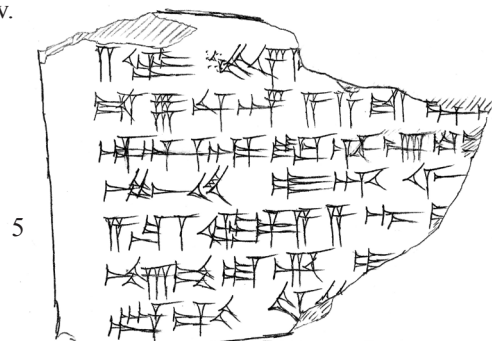


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Obv.



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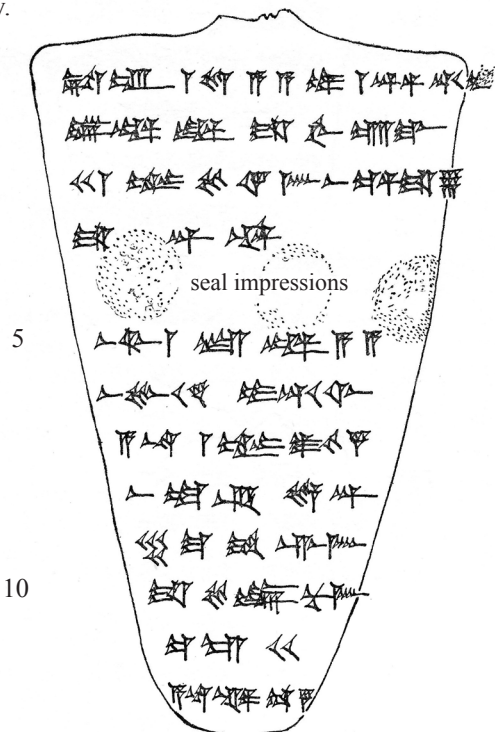
Rev.



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Obv.



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Rev.



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Obv.

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Rev.

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Obv.

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Rev.

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Obv.

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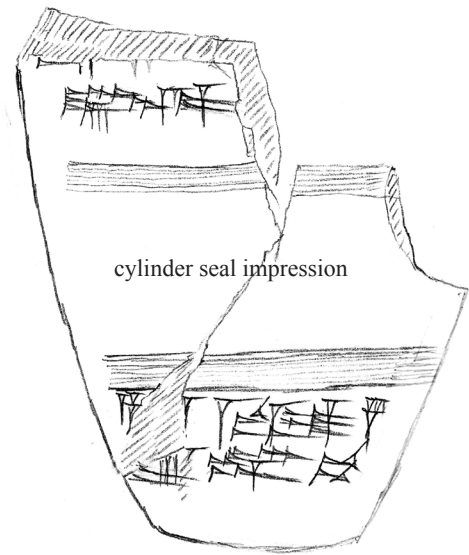
Rev.

10

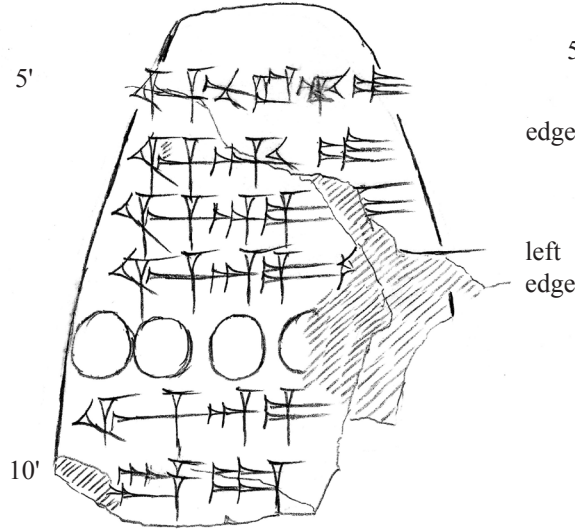
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Obv.

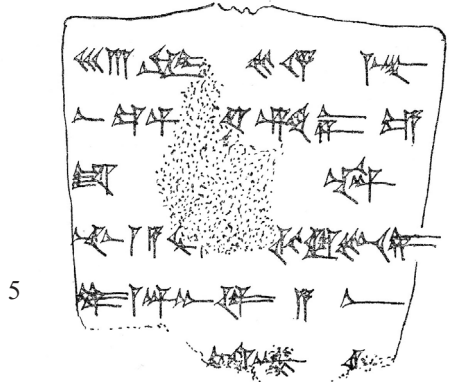


Rev.

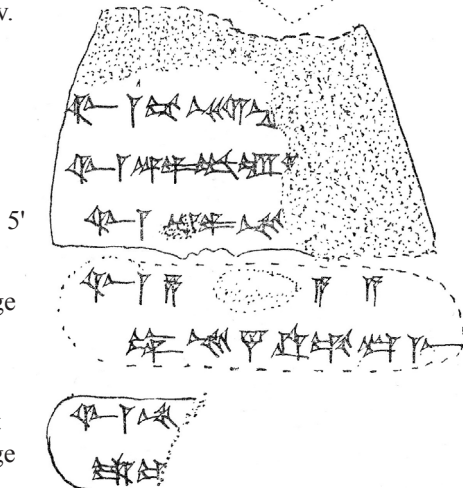


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Obv.

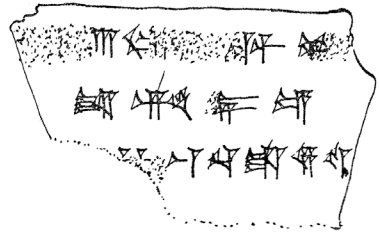


Rev.

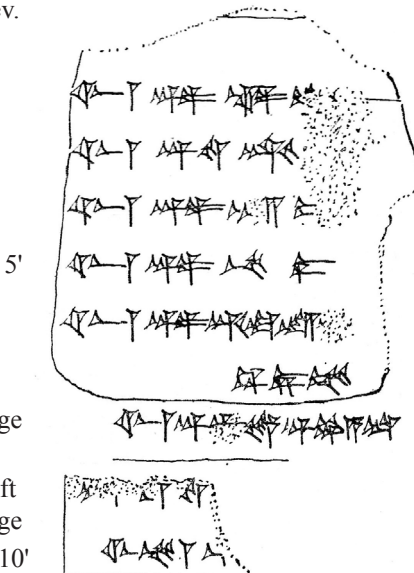


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Obv.



Rev.



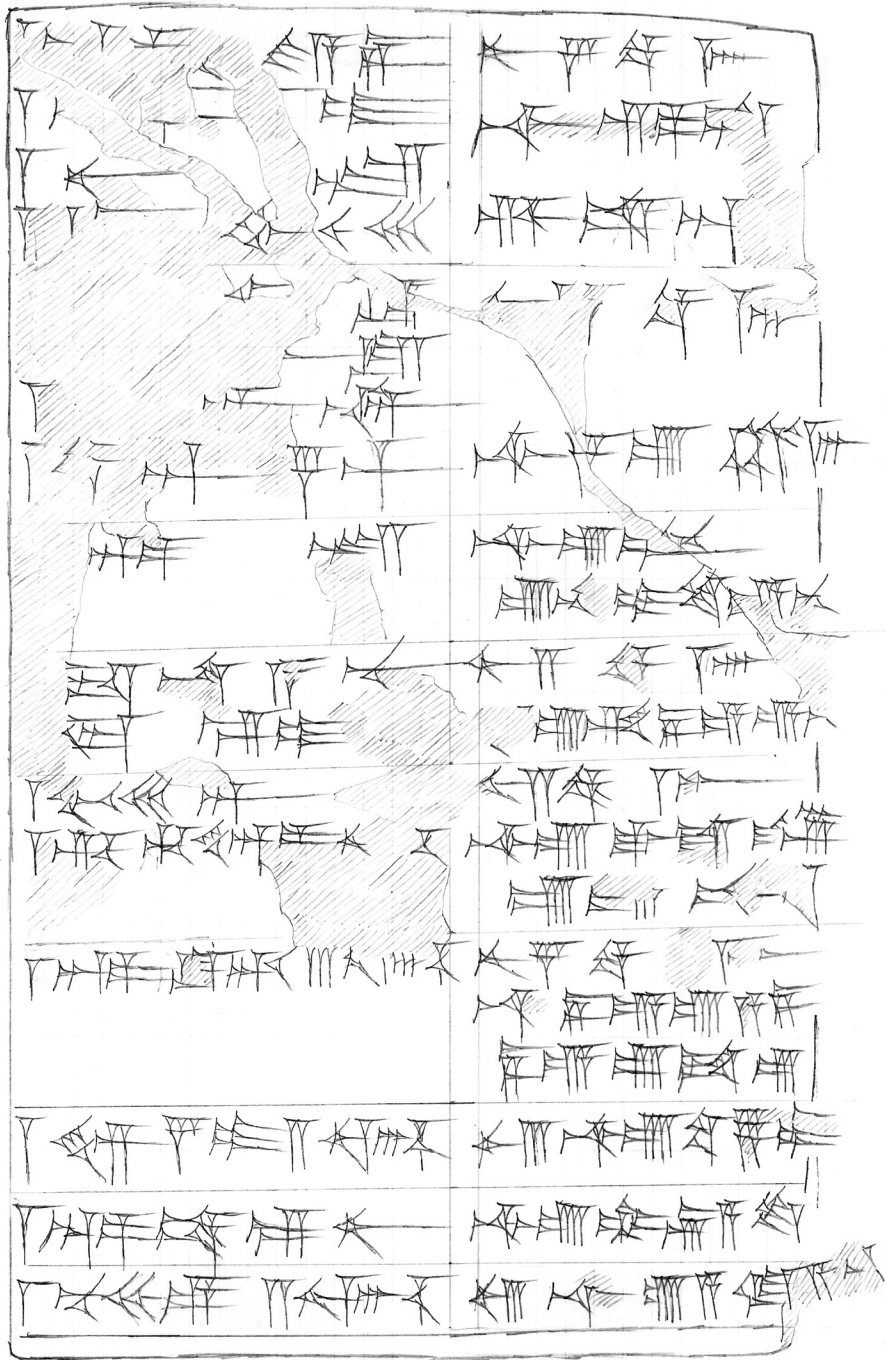
Obv.

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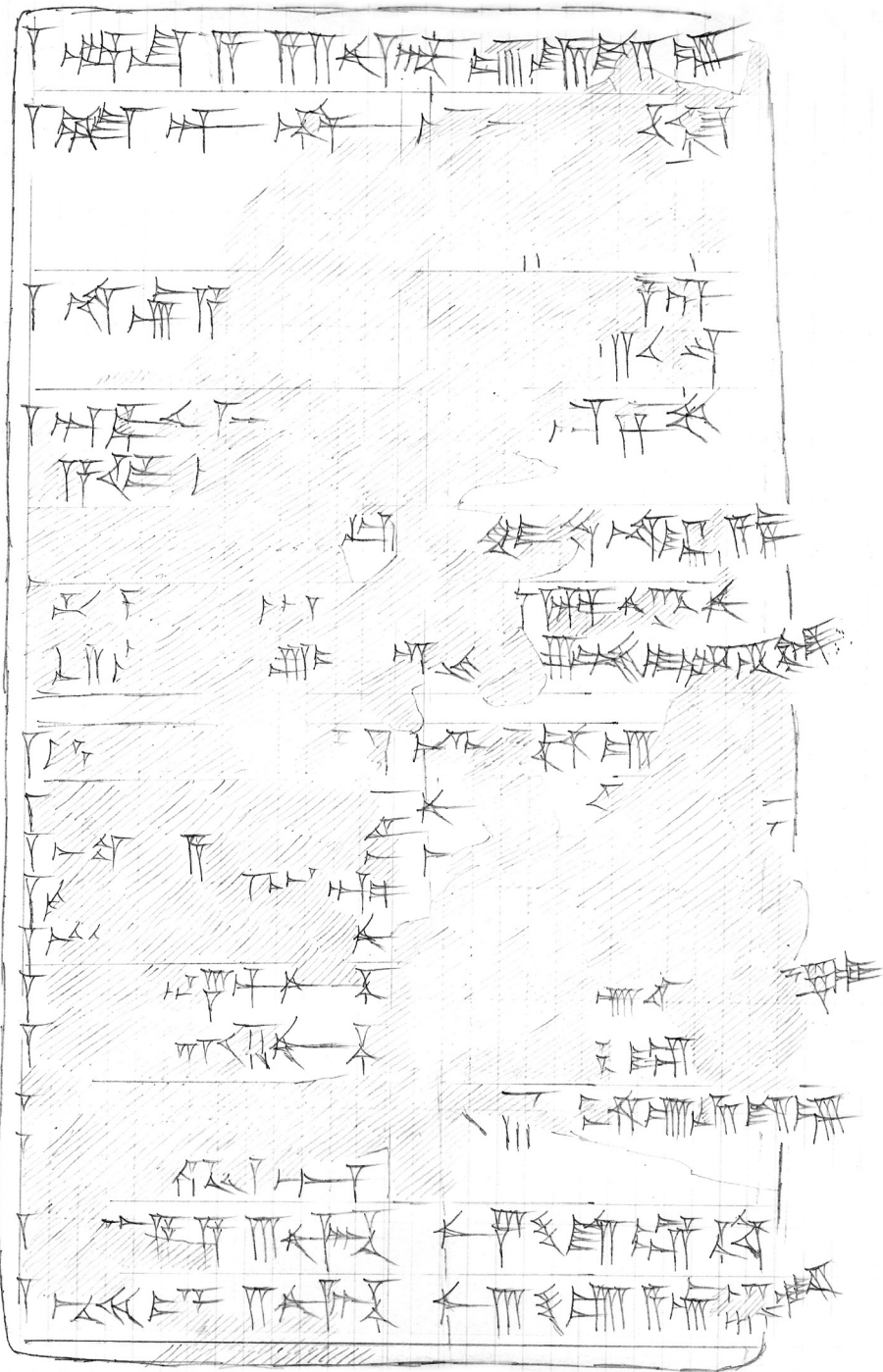
Rev.

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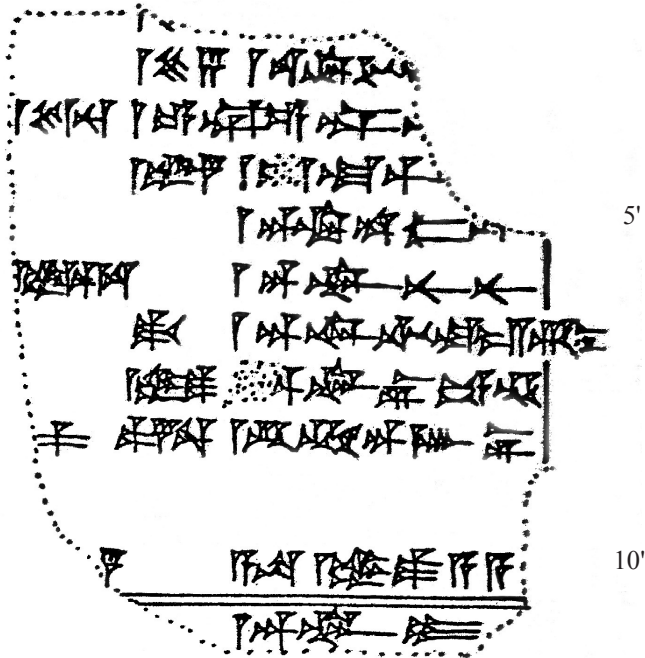
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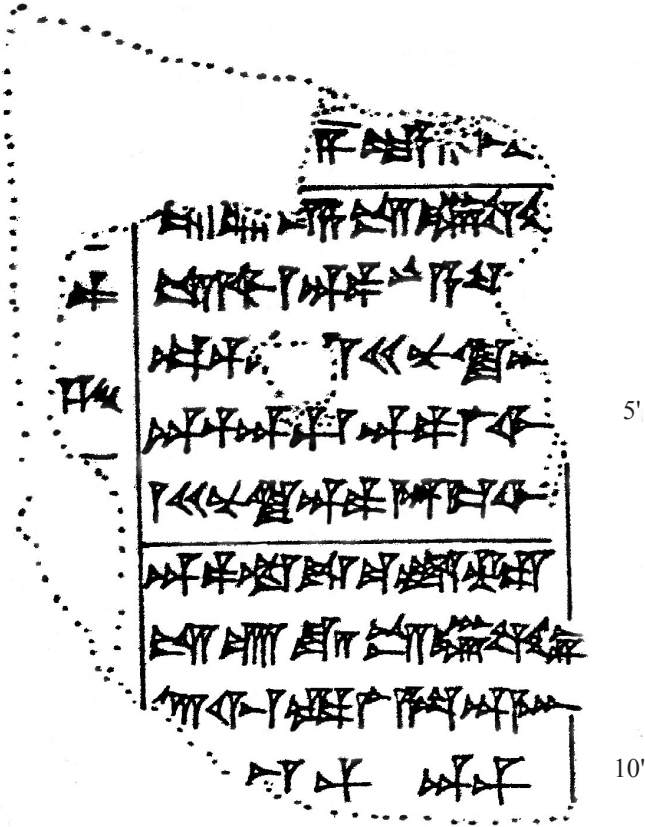
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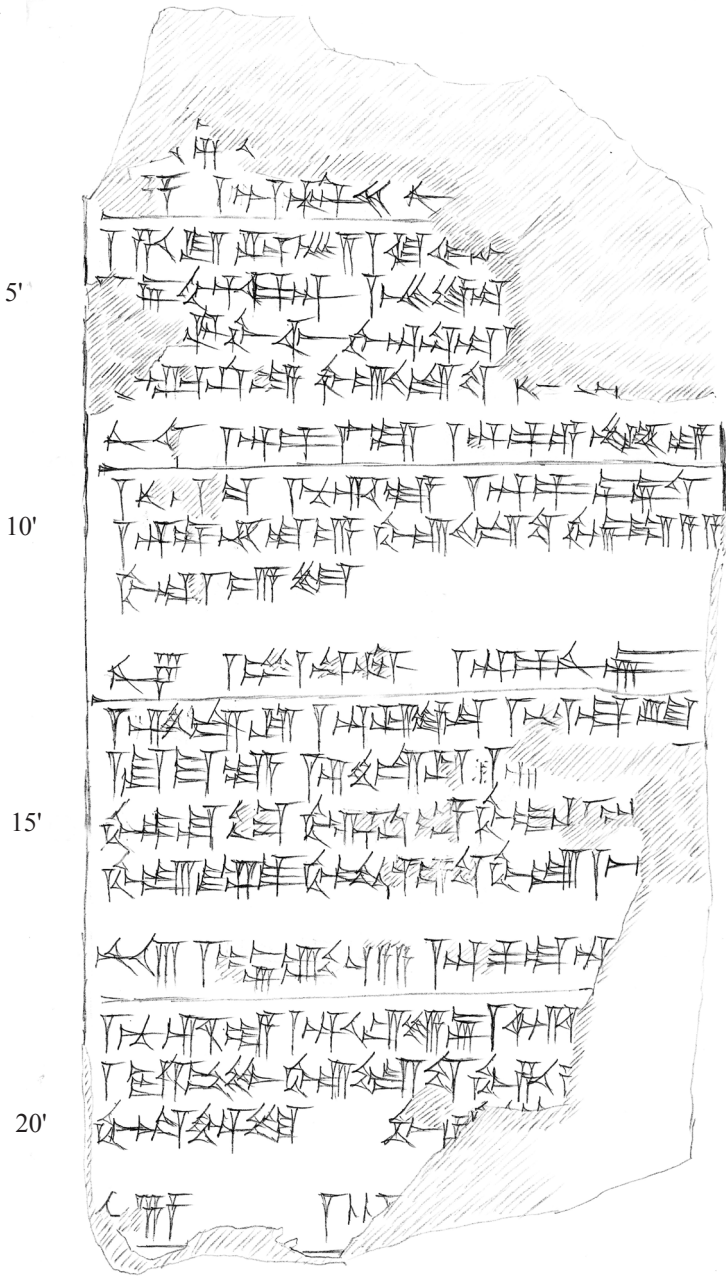
51



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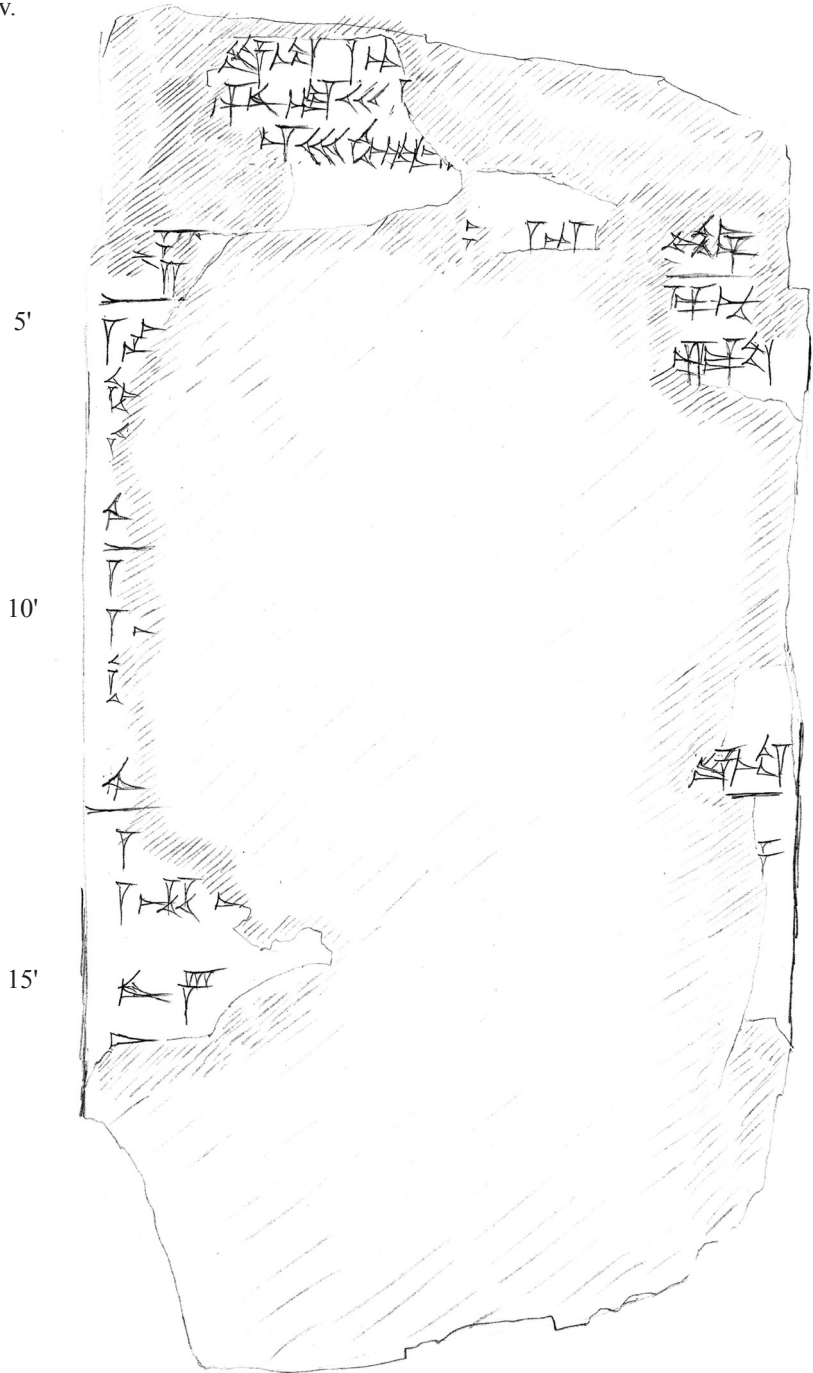


Obv.



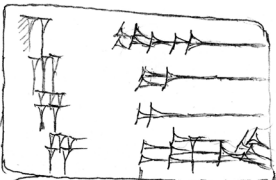


Rev.



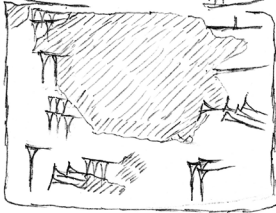
54

Obv.

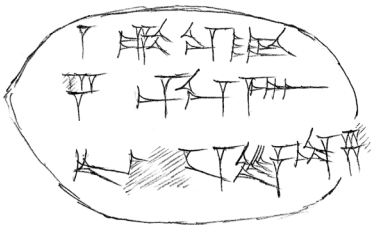


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Rev.

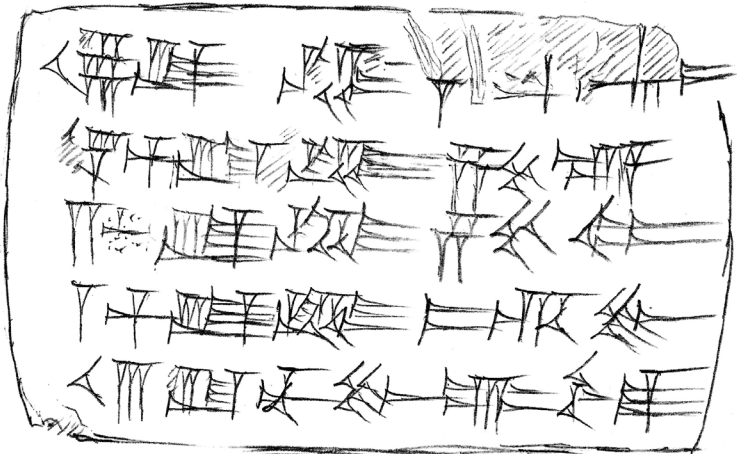


55



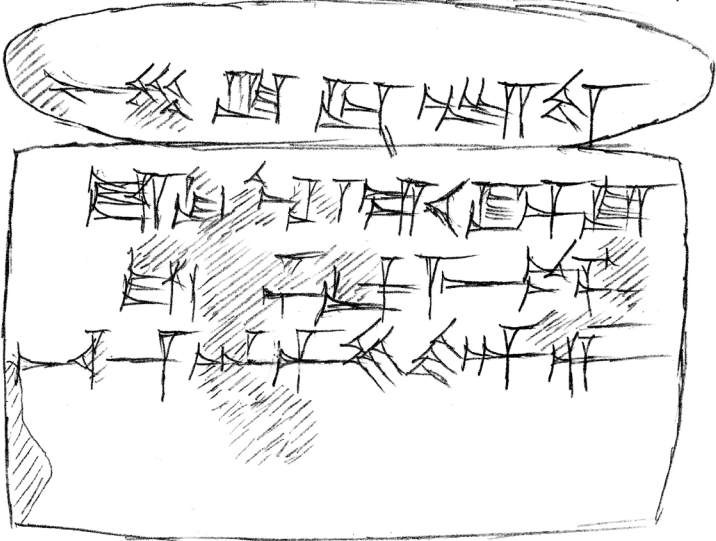
56

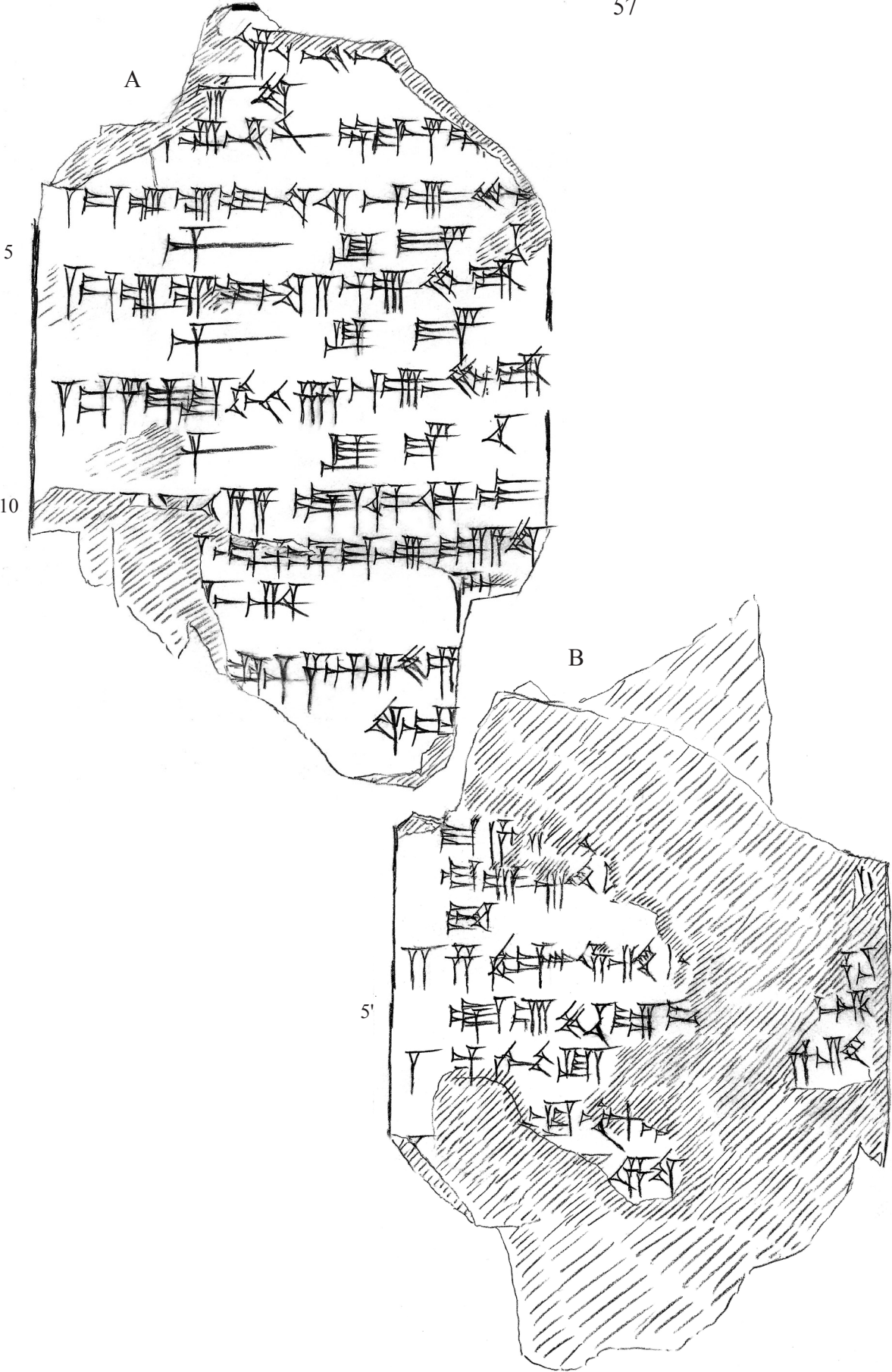
Obv.



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Rev.

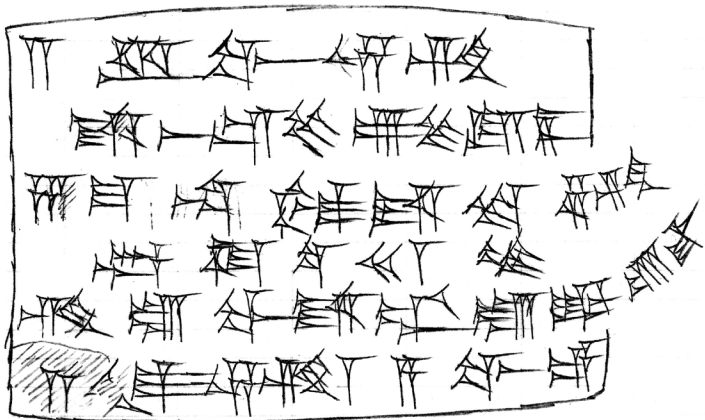




58

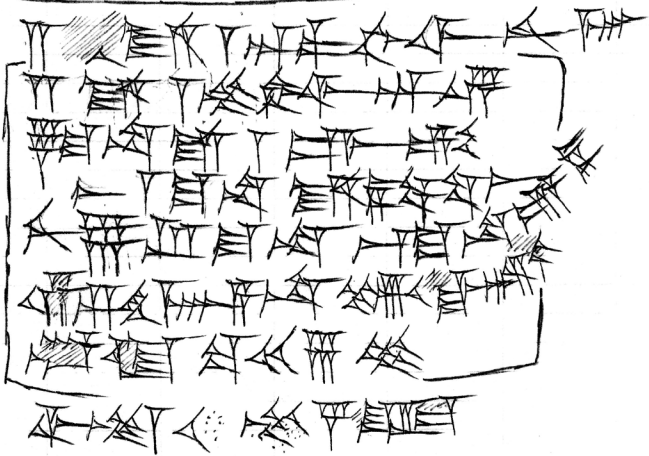
Obv.

5'



Rev.

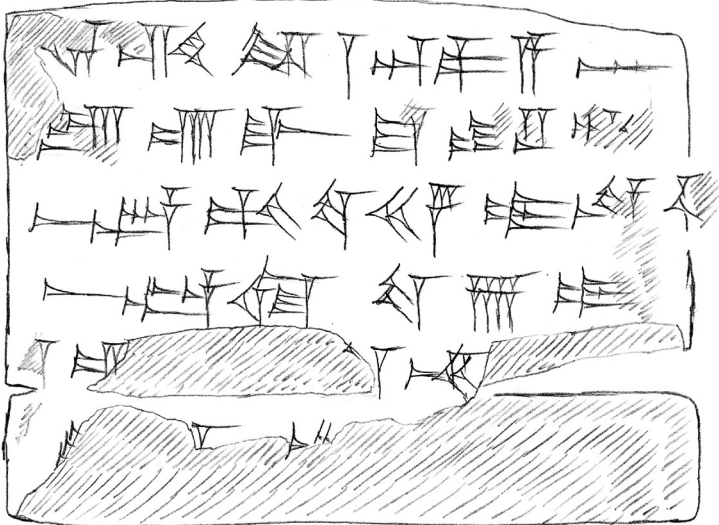
10'



59

Obv.

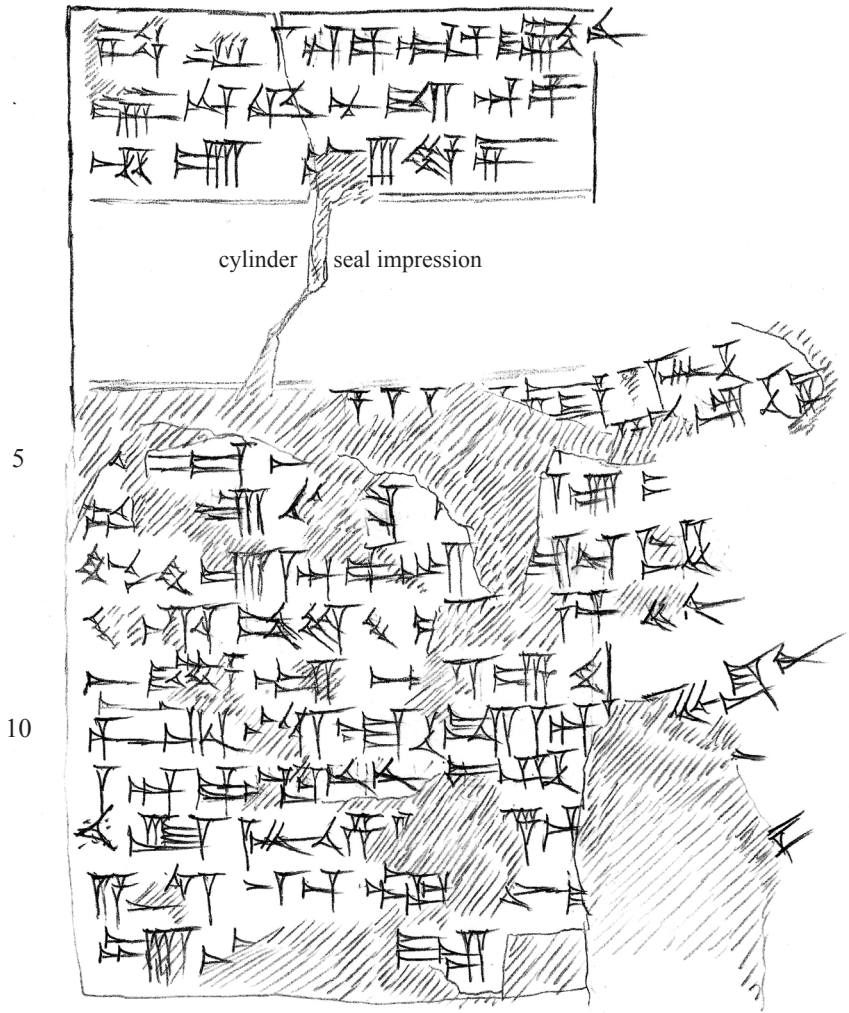
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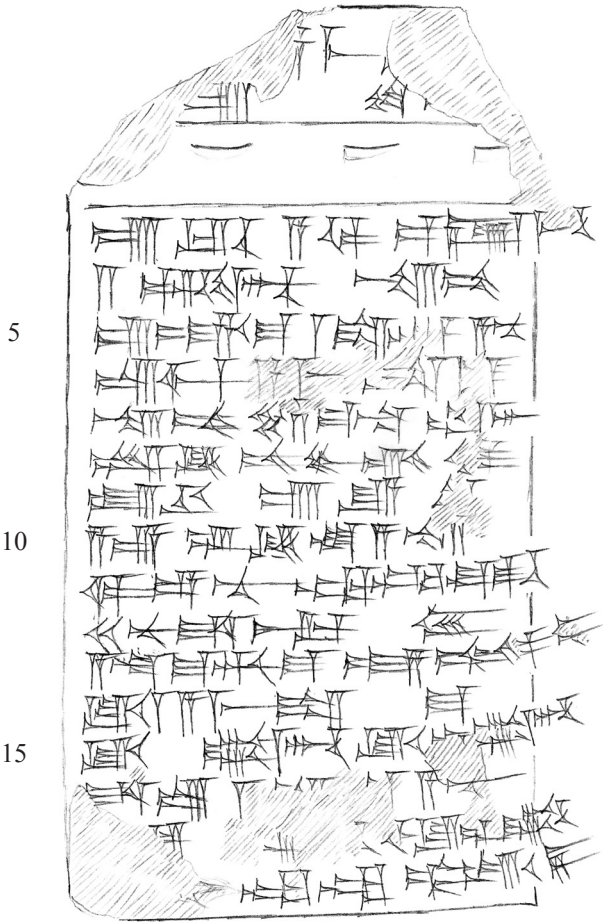


60

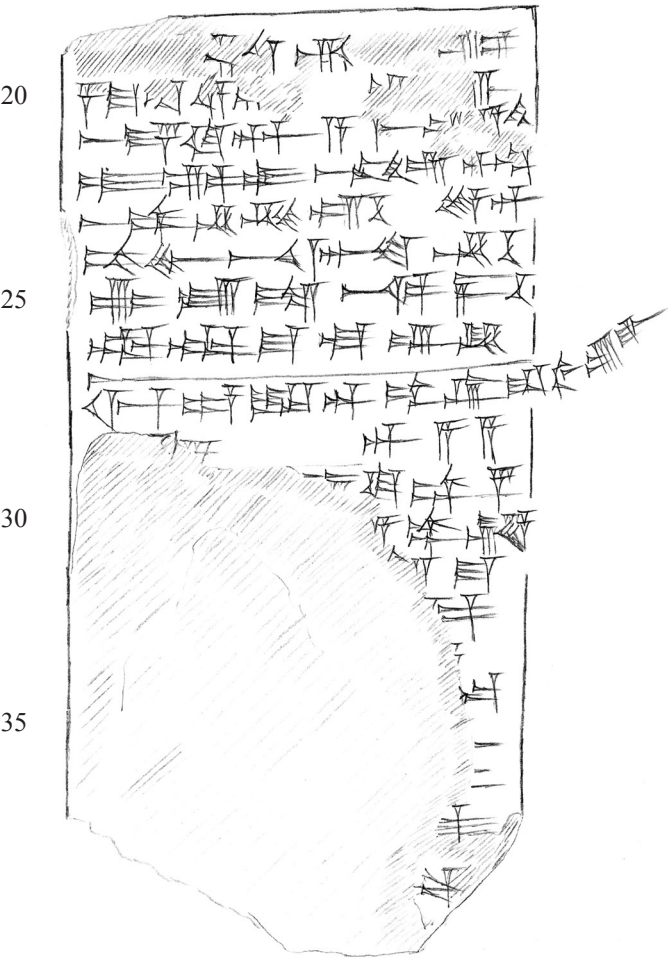
Obv.



Obv.

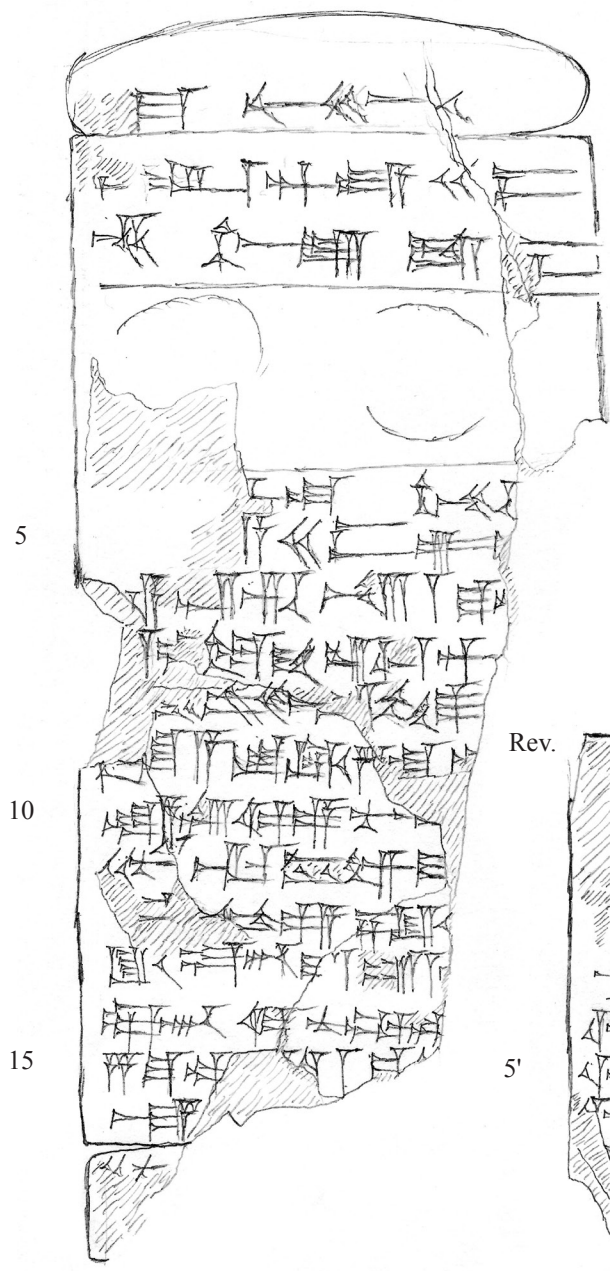


Rev.

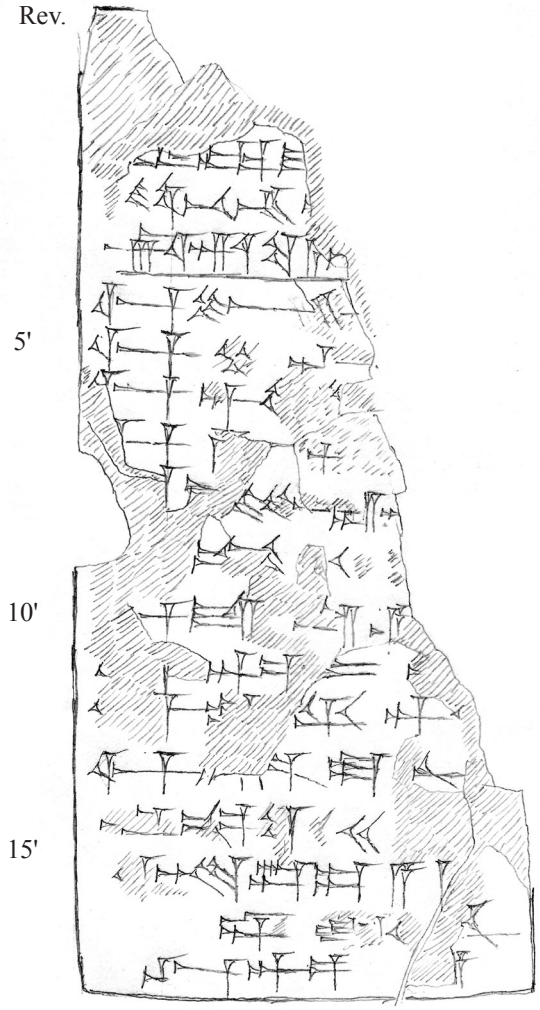


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Obv.



Rev.



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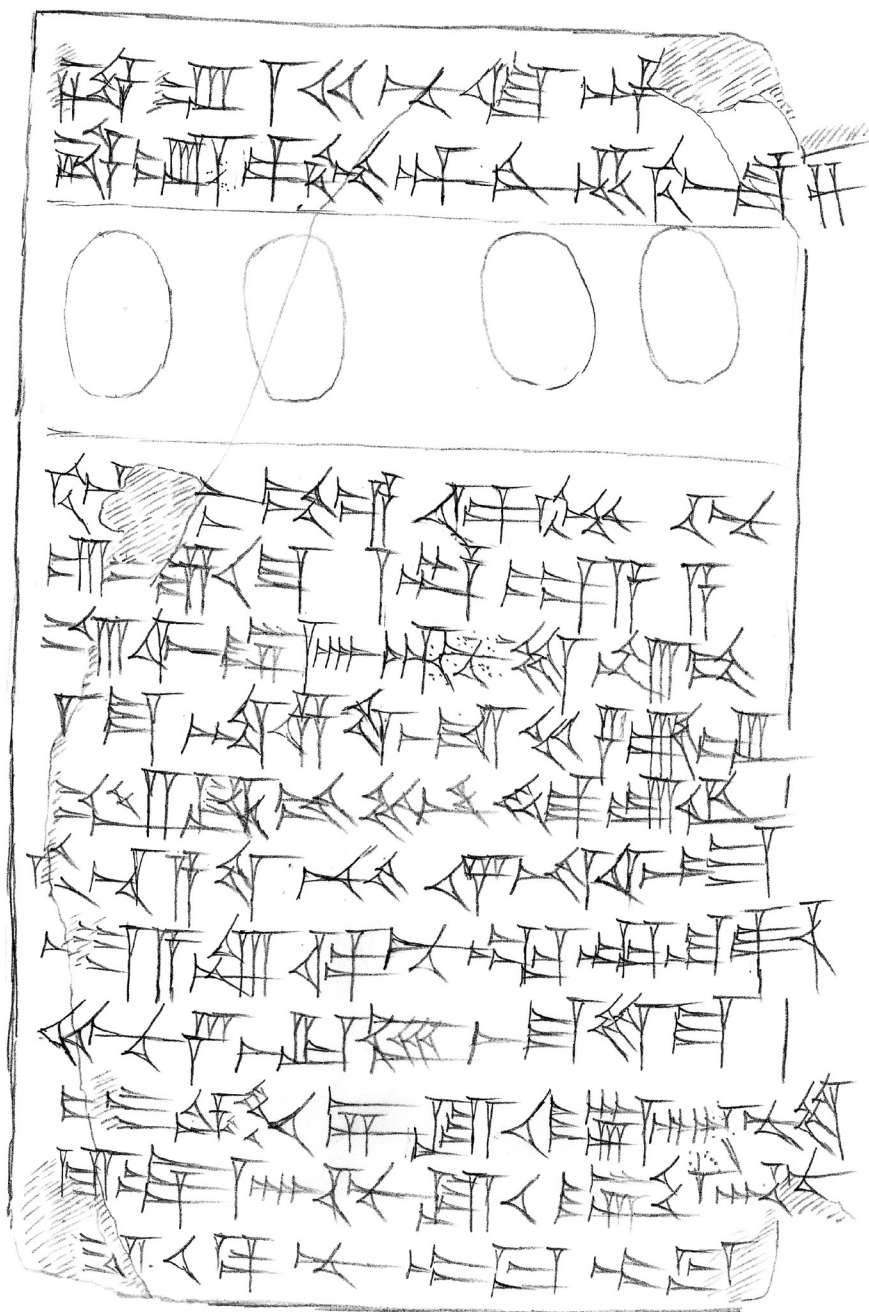




Obv.

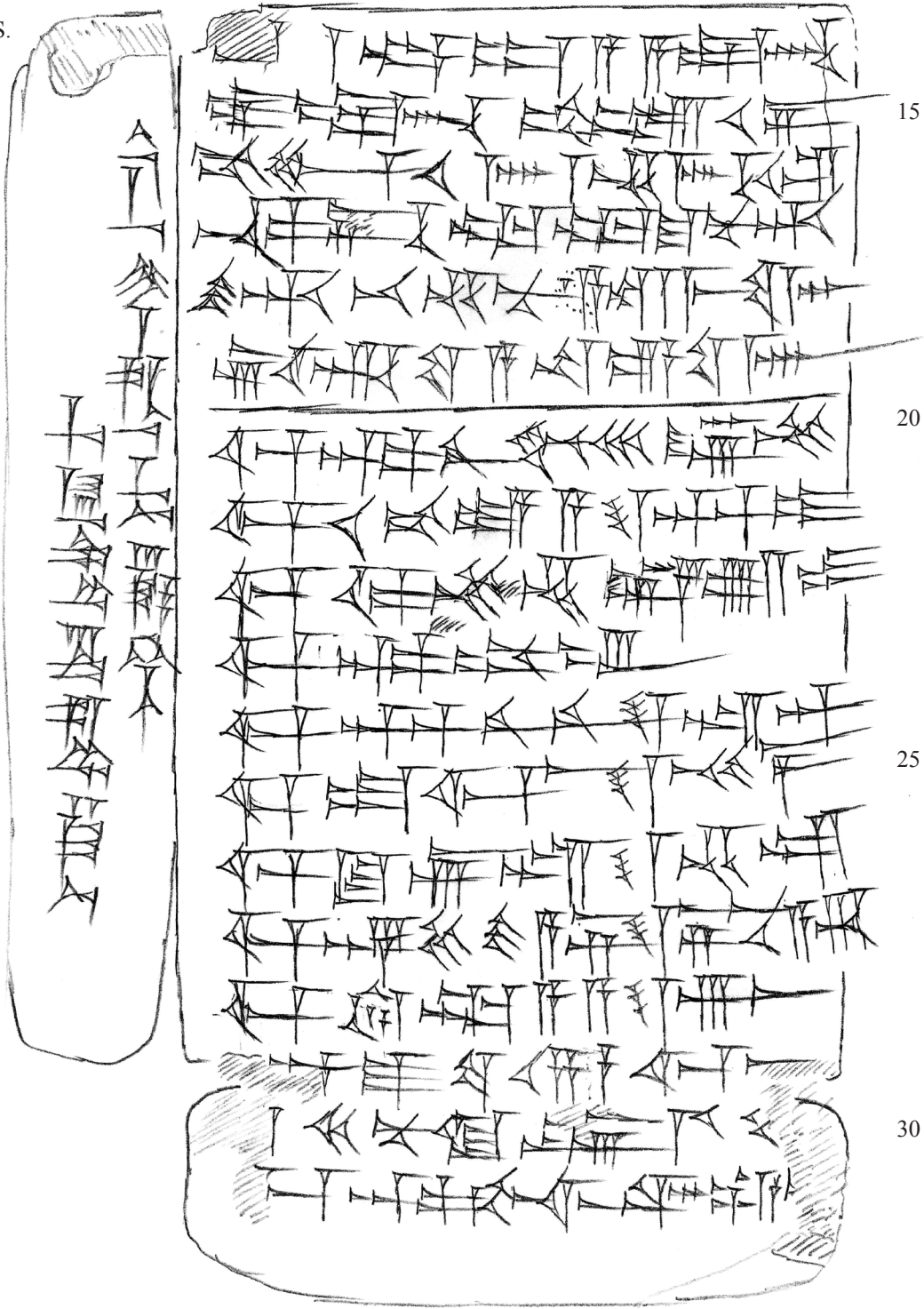
5

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Rev.

L.S.



Obv.

5  
2 seal impressions  
10  
15

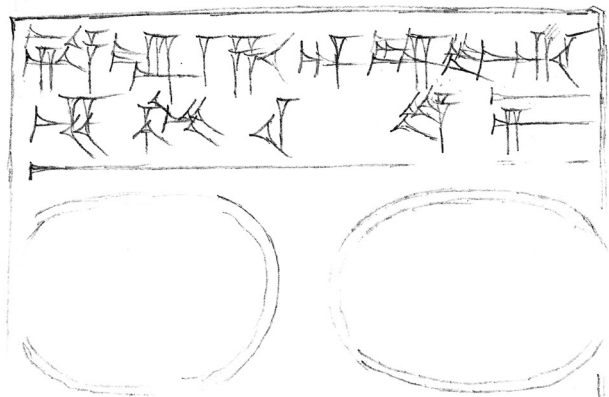
64

Rev.

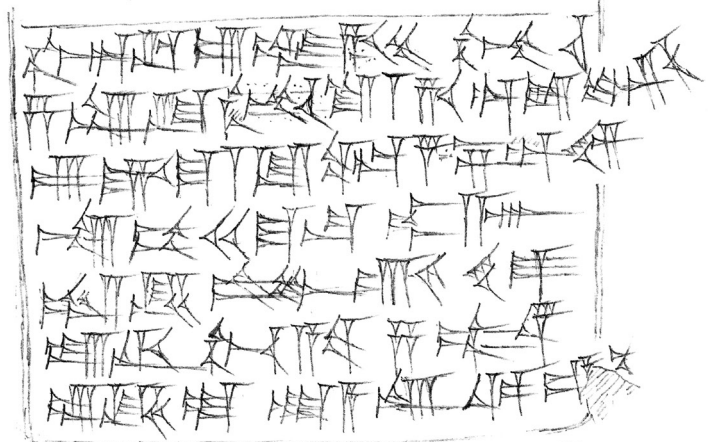
25  
30  
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45  
erased

66

Obv.



5



Rev.

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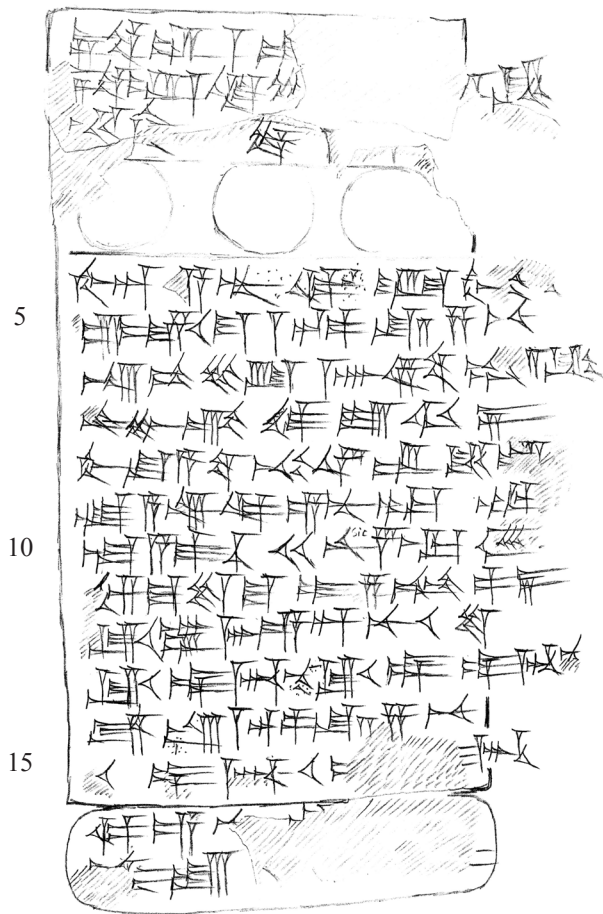


25

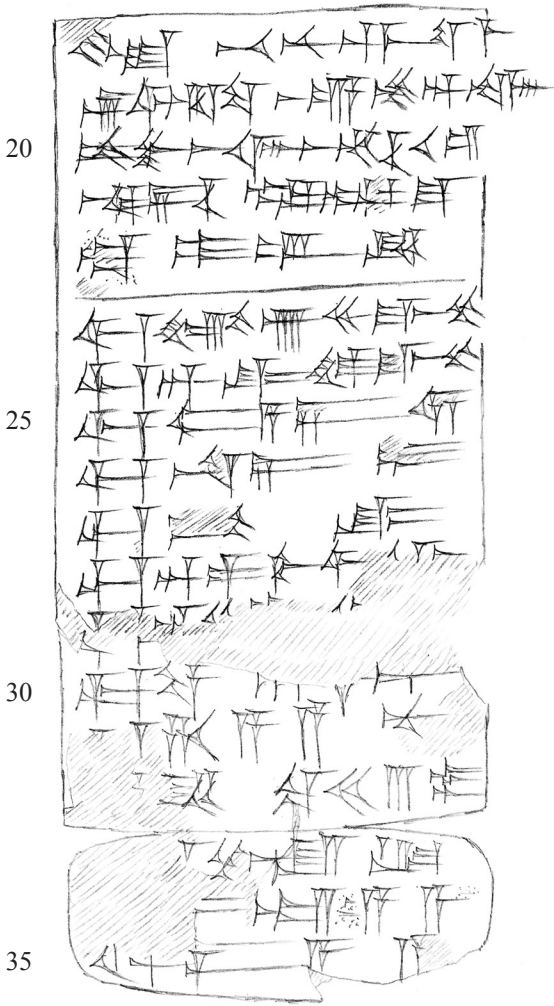


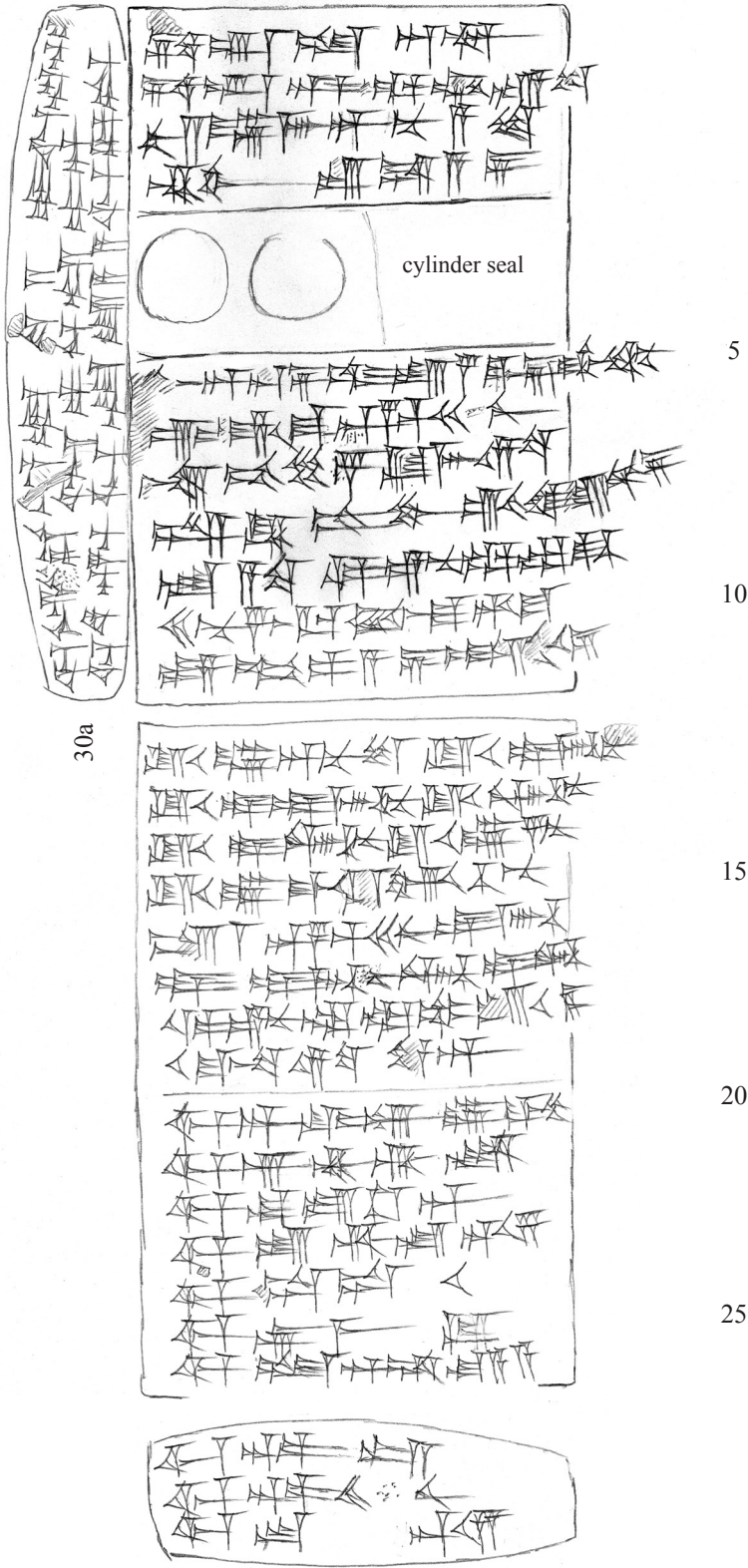


Obv.



Rev.

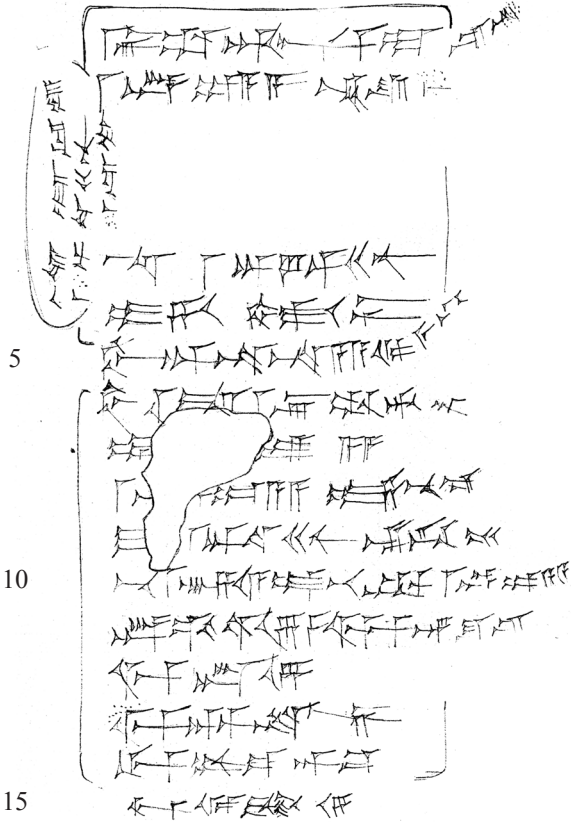




Obv.

69

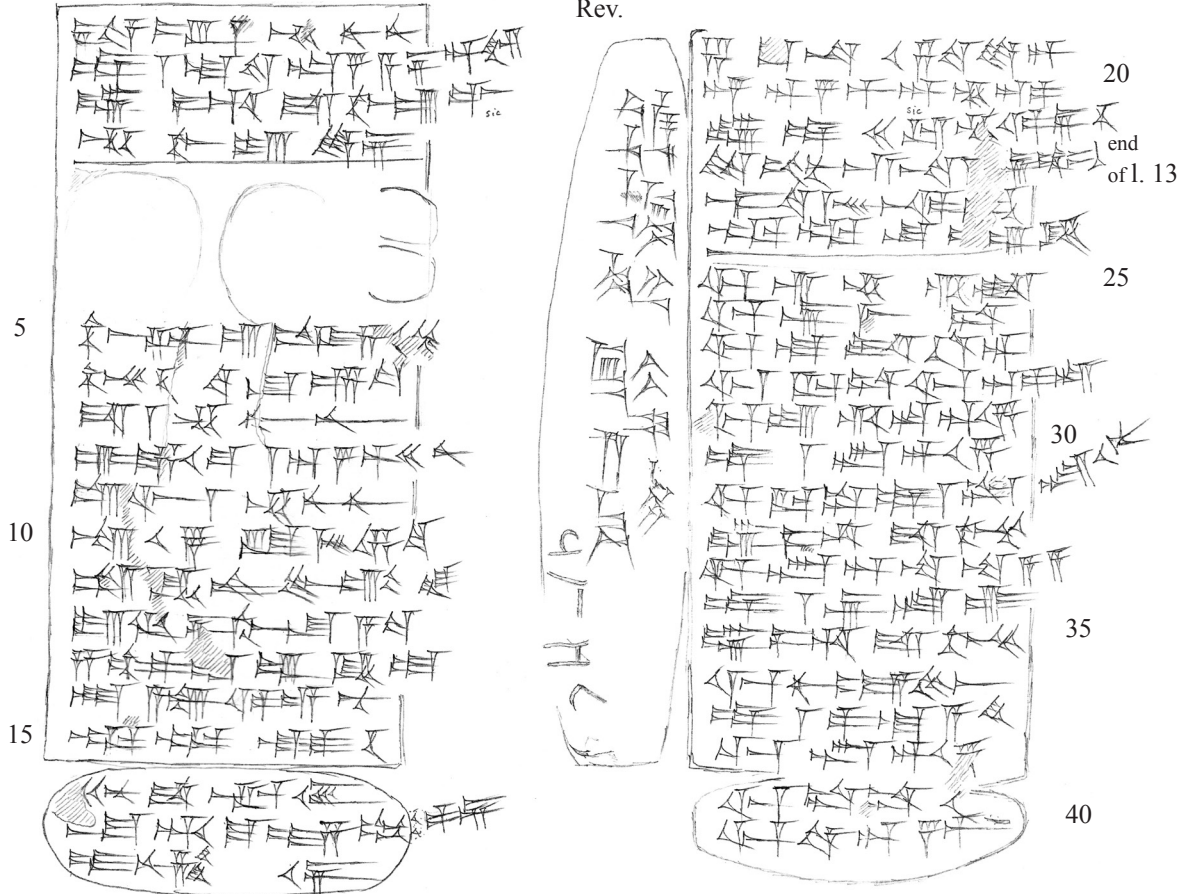
Rev.



Obv.

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Rev.

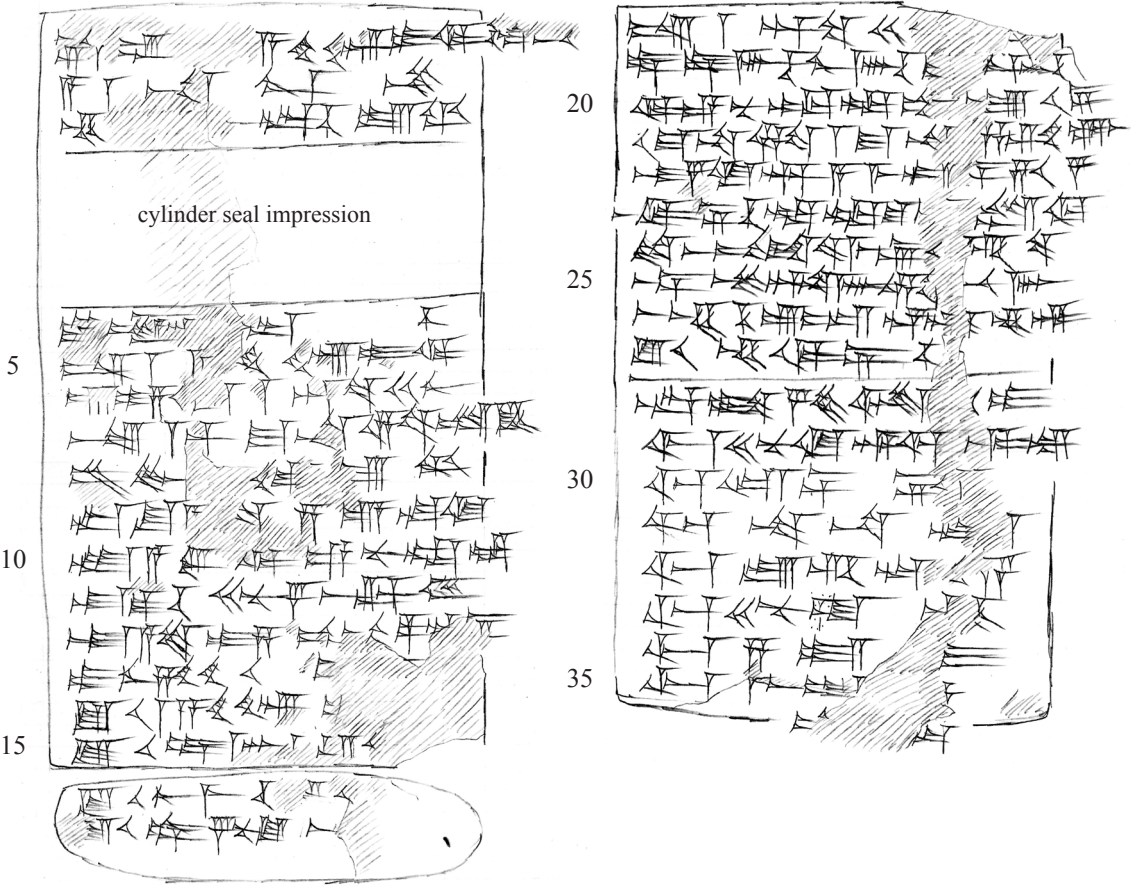




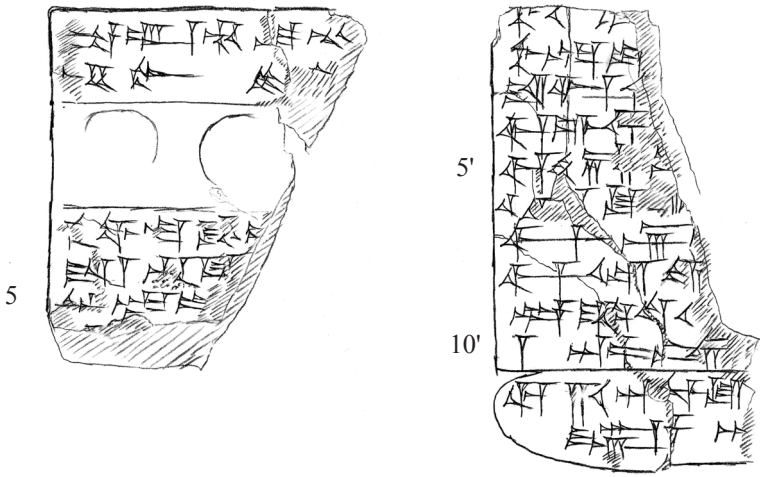
72

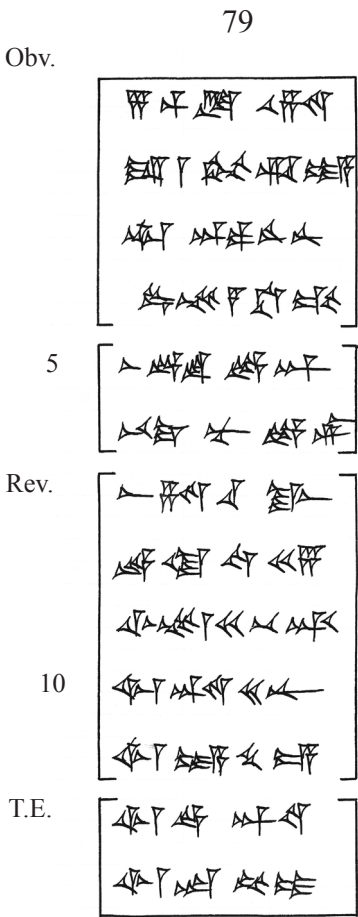
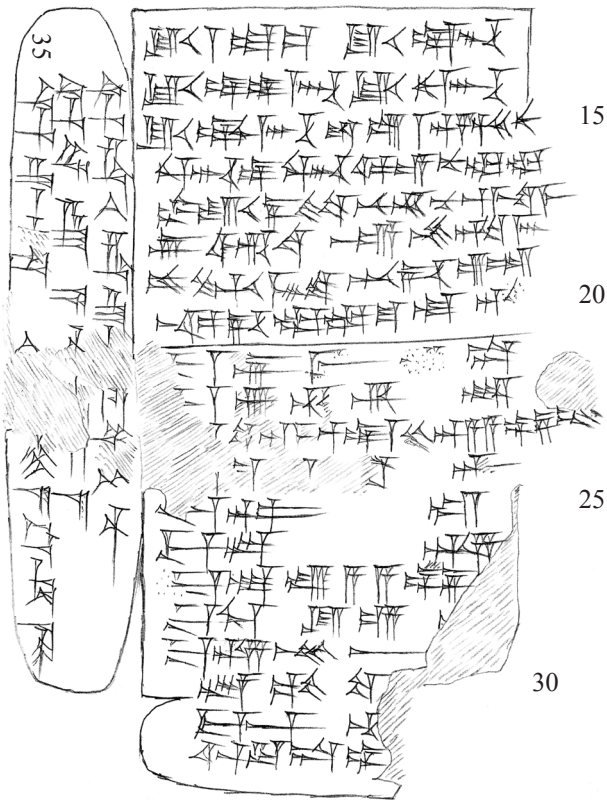
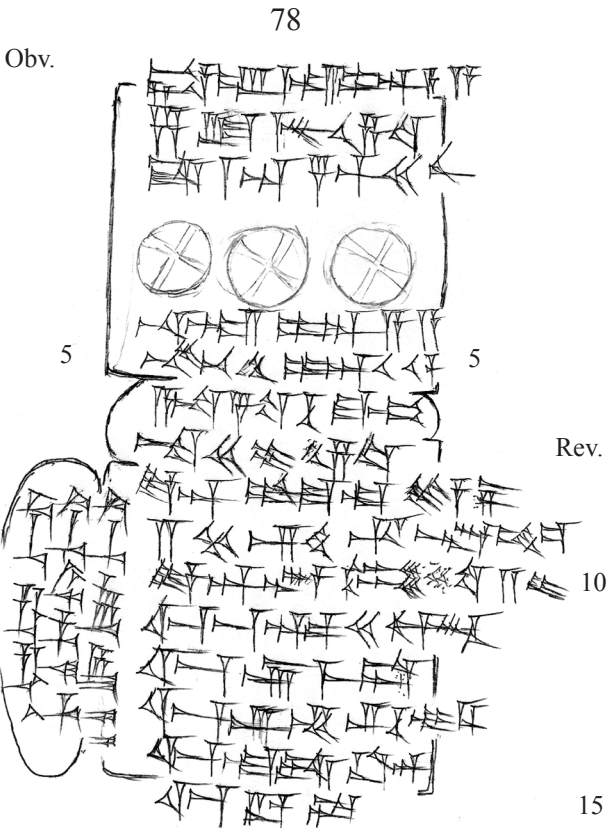
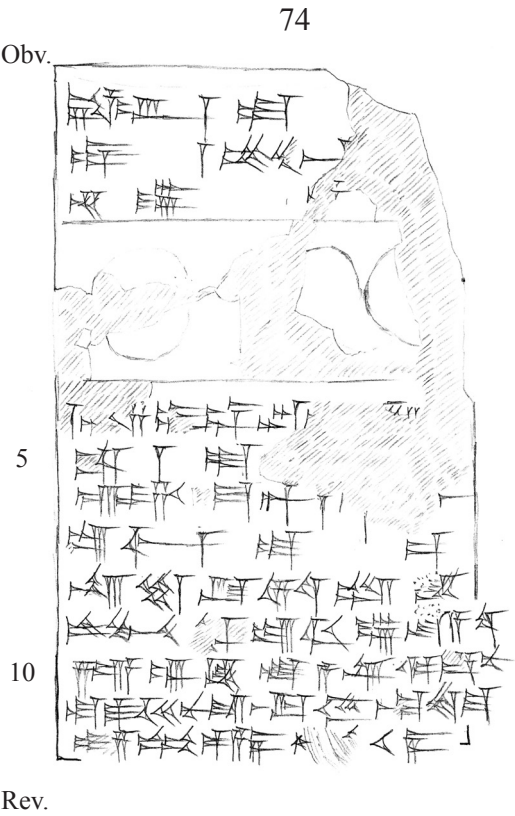
Obv.

Rev.



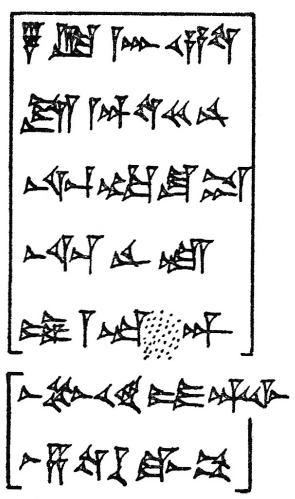
73





Obv.

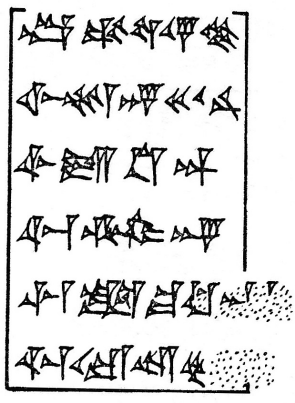
5



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Envelope

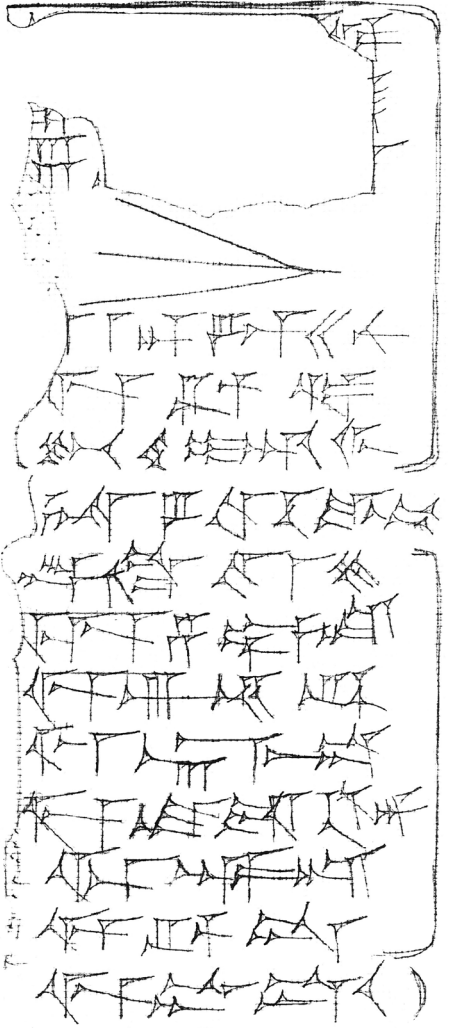
Obv.

5

Rev.

10

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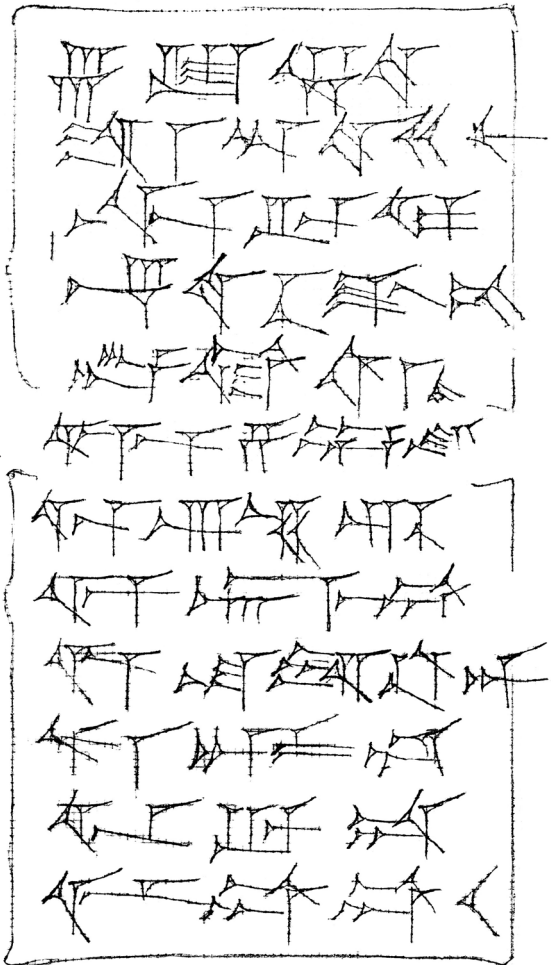
Tablet

Obv.

5

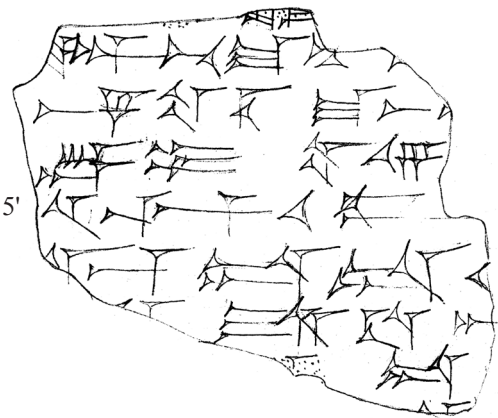
Rev.

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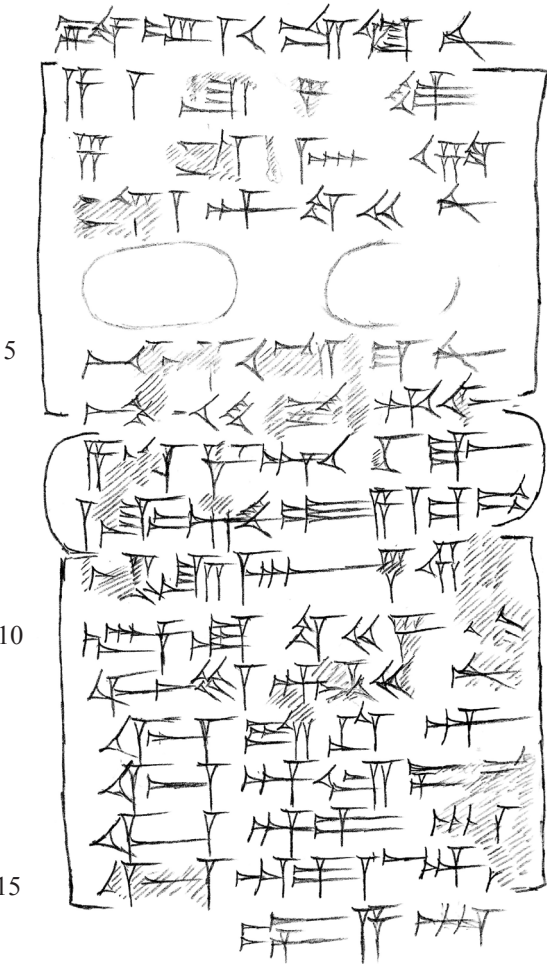
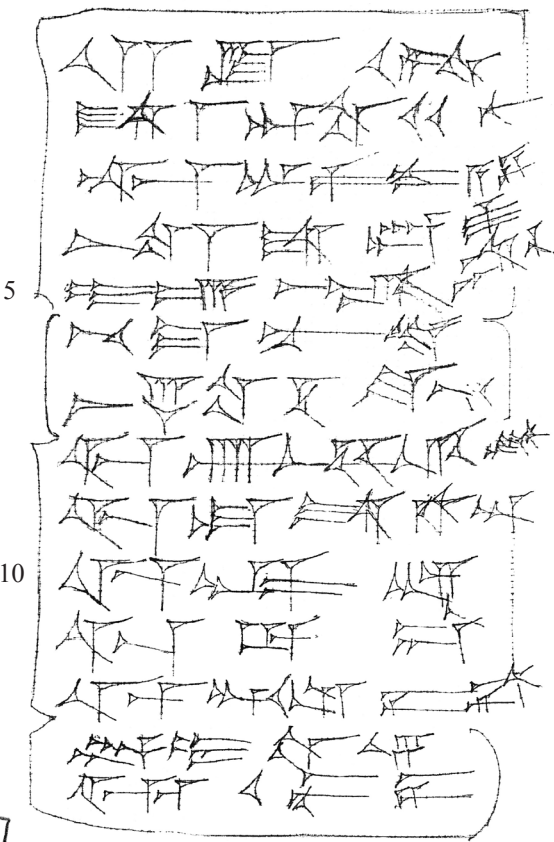


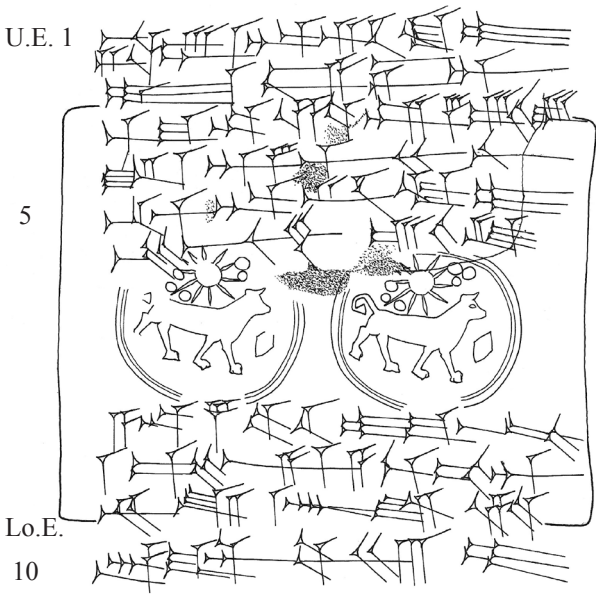


Envelope



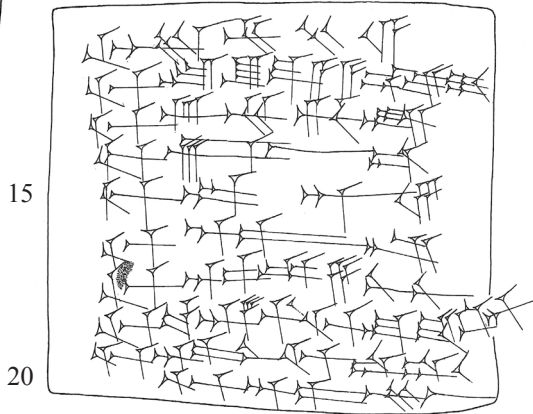
Tablet





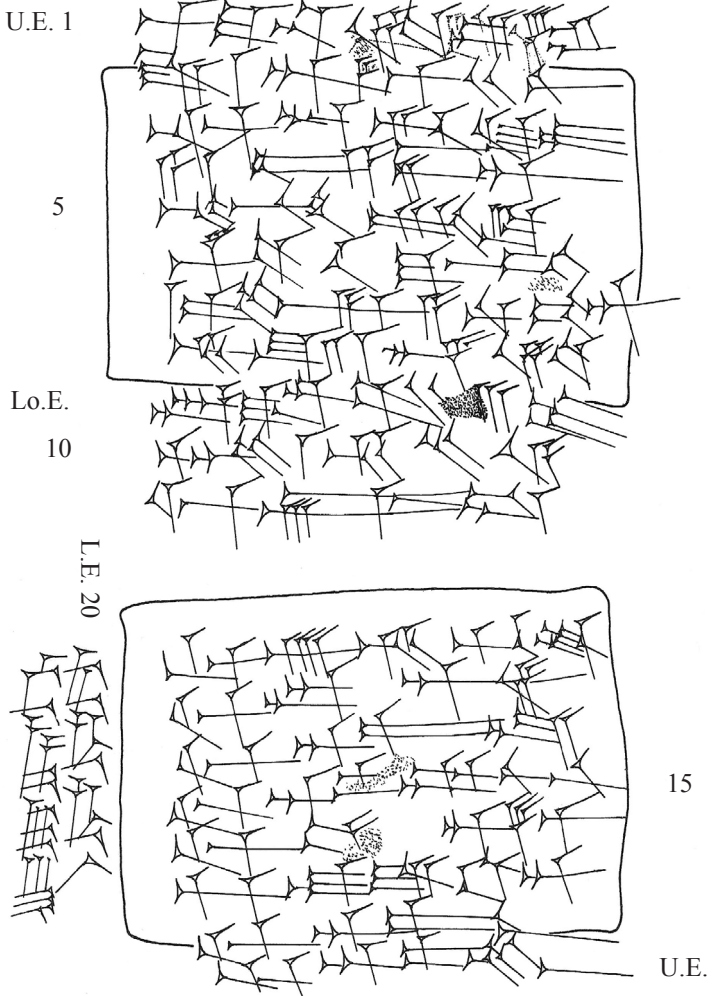
86

Envelope



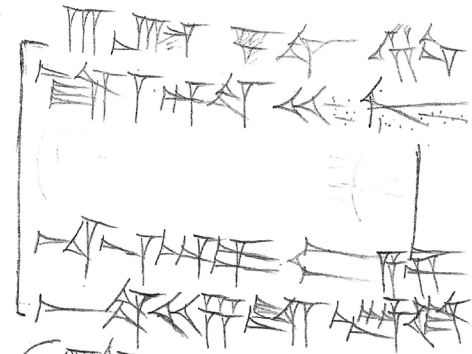
86

Tablet



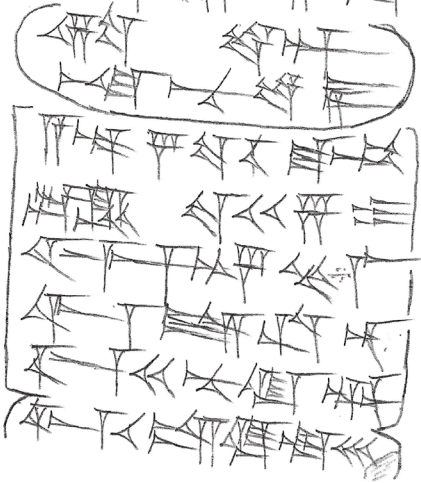
90

Obv.



5

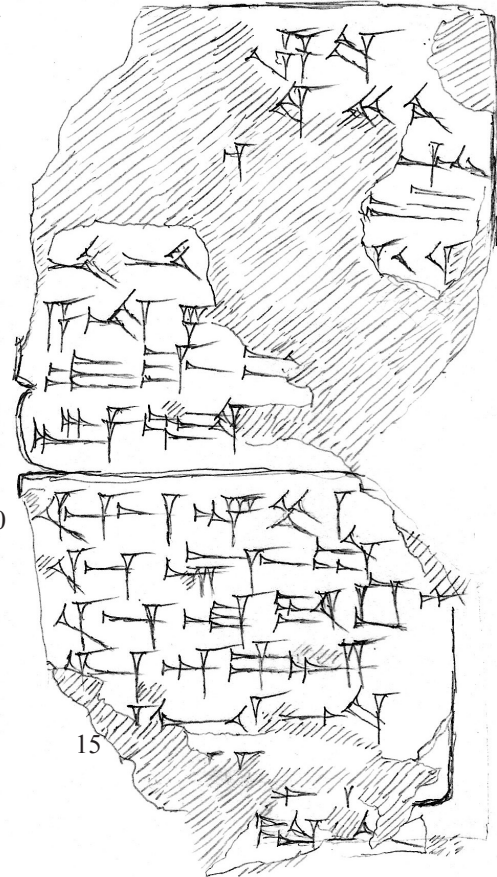
Rev.



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91

Obv.



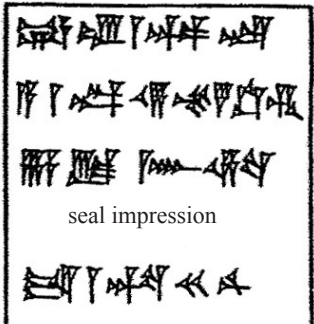
5

10

15

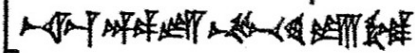
92

Obv.

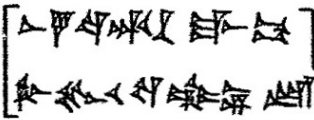


seal impression

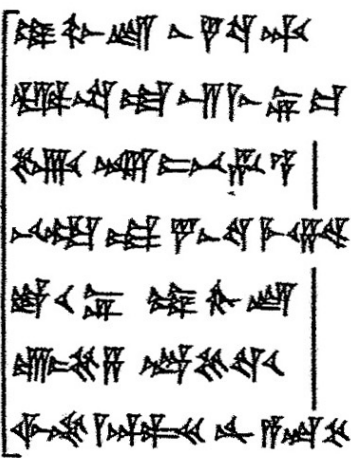
5



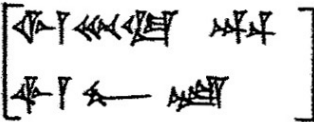
Rev.



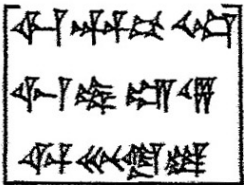
10



15



Left edge



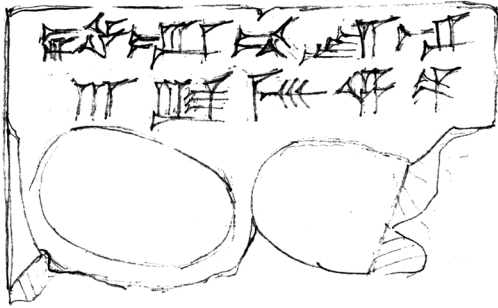


94

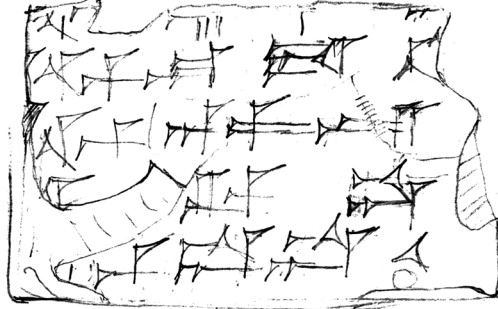
Envelope

Tablet

Obv.

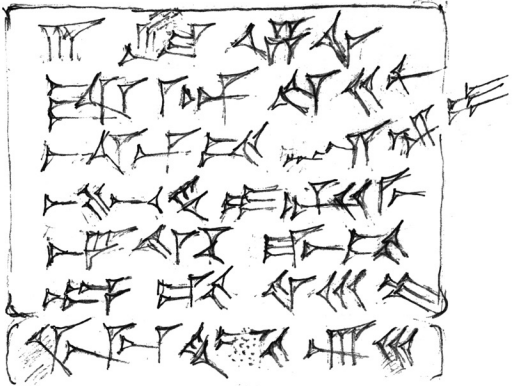


Rev.



5'

Obv.



5

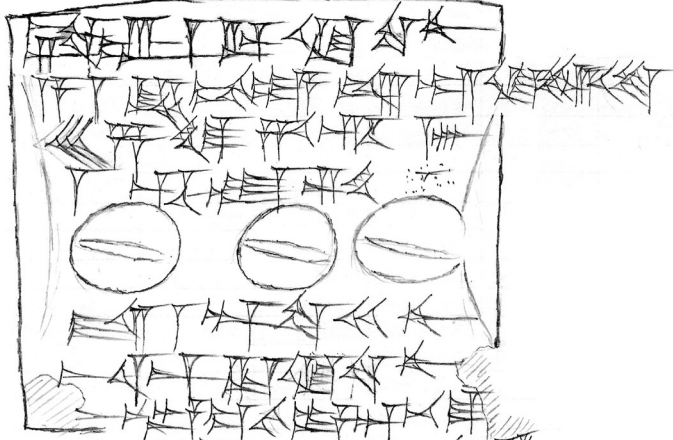
Rev.



10

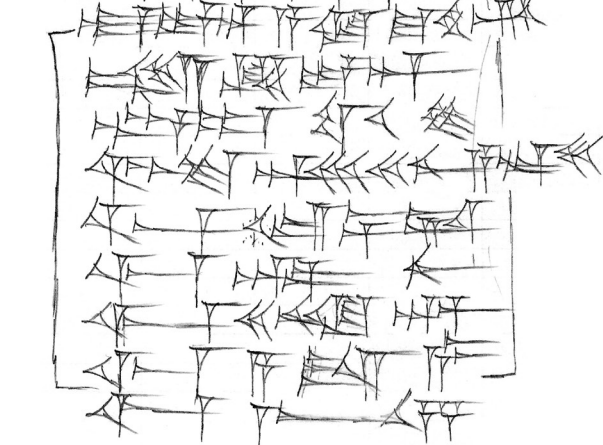
97

Obv.



5

Rev.

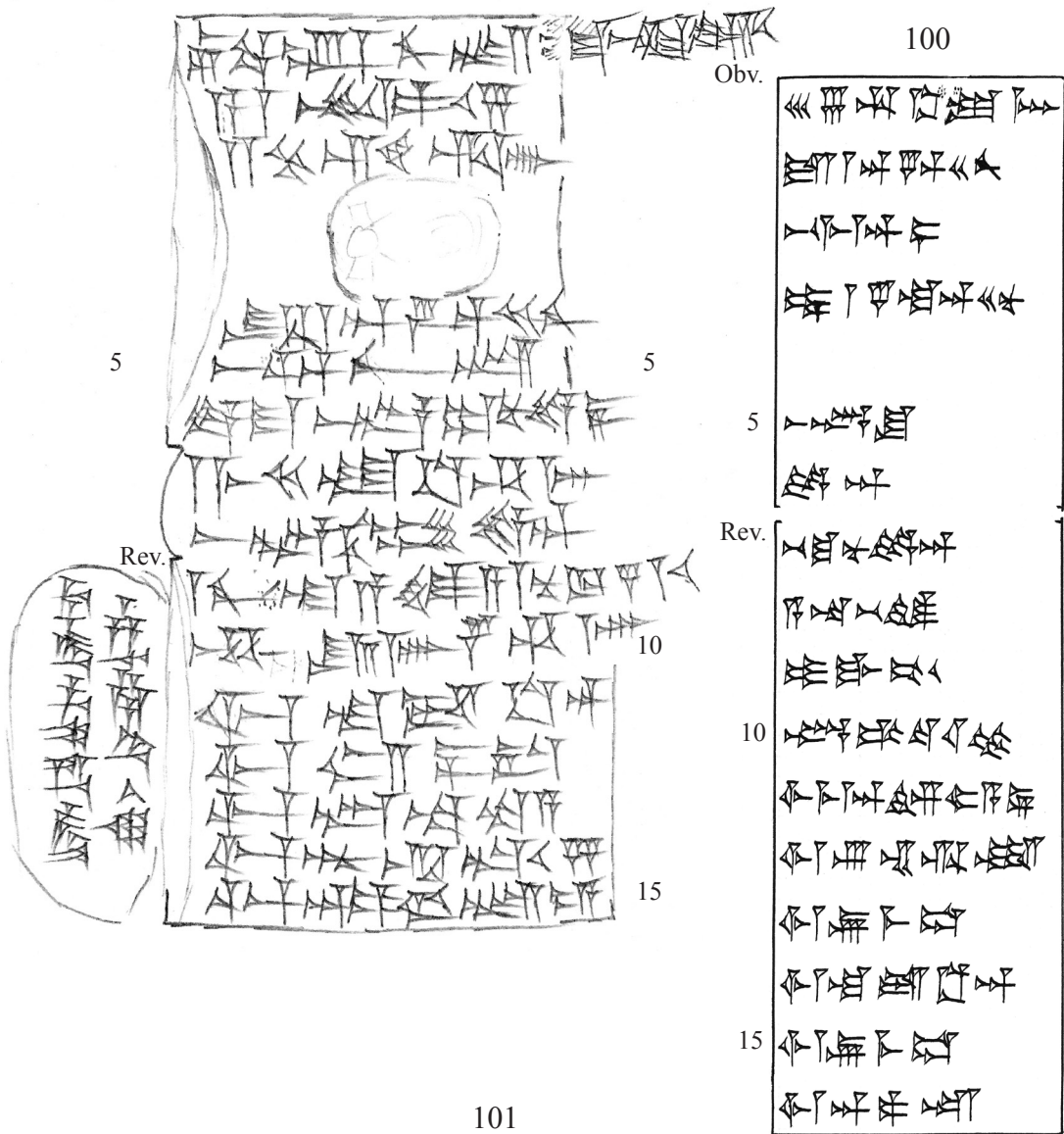


10

15



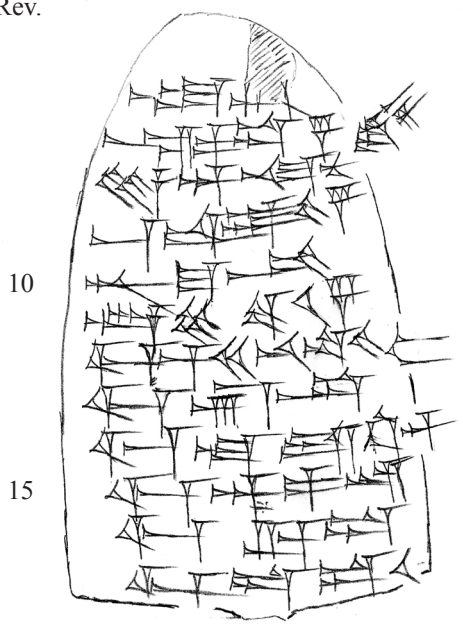
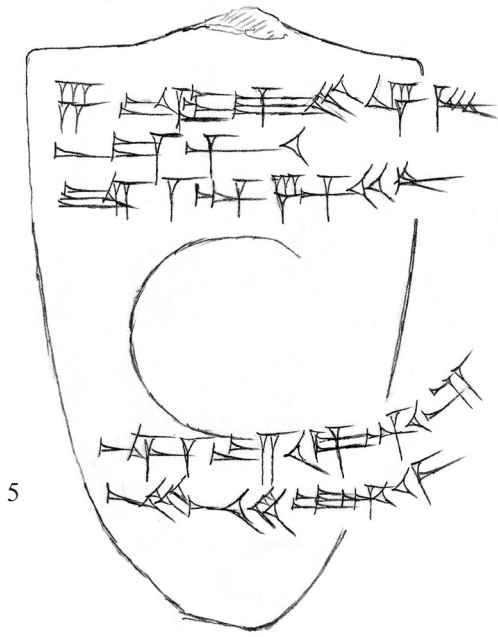
Obv.



102

Obv.

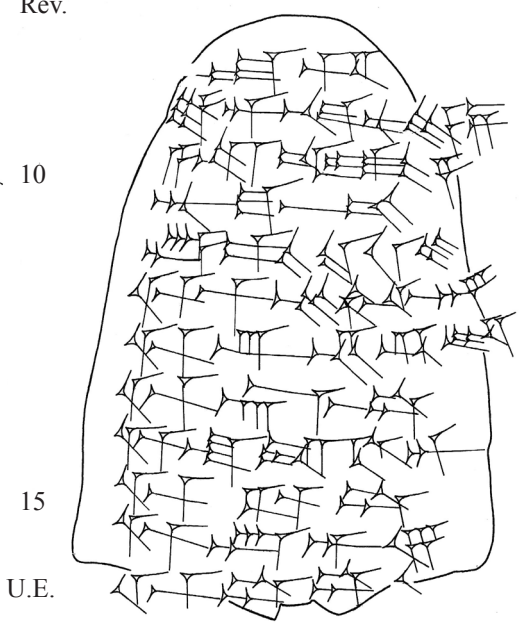
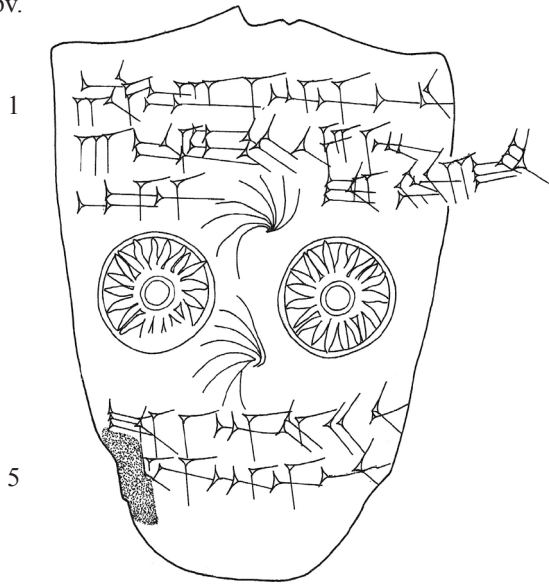
Rev.

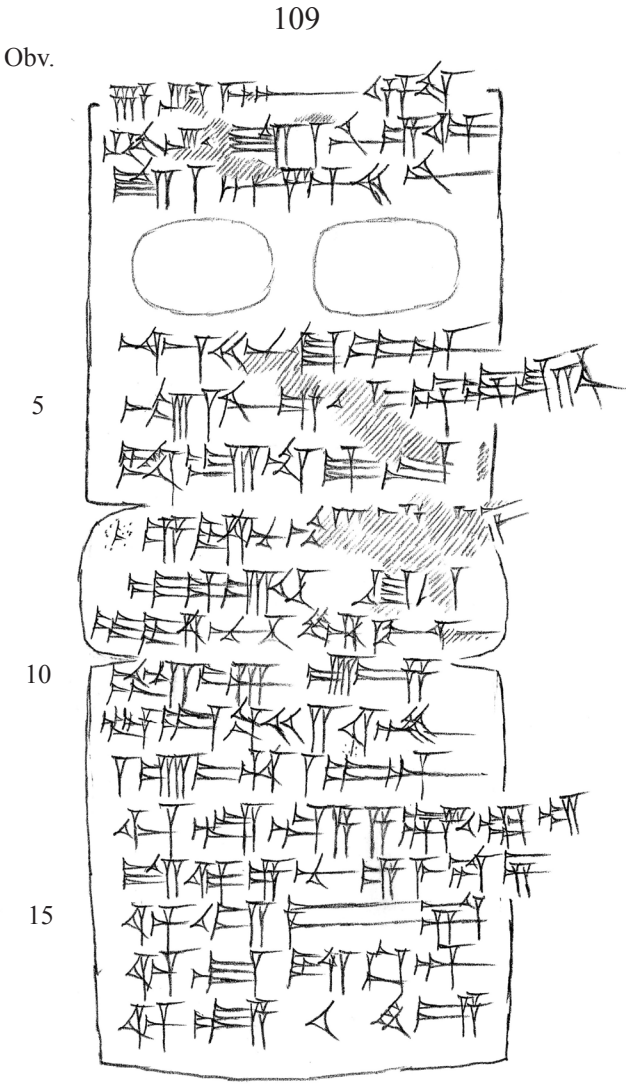
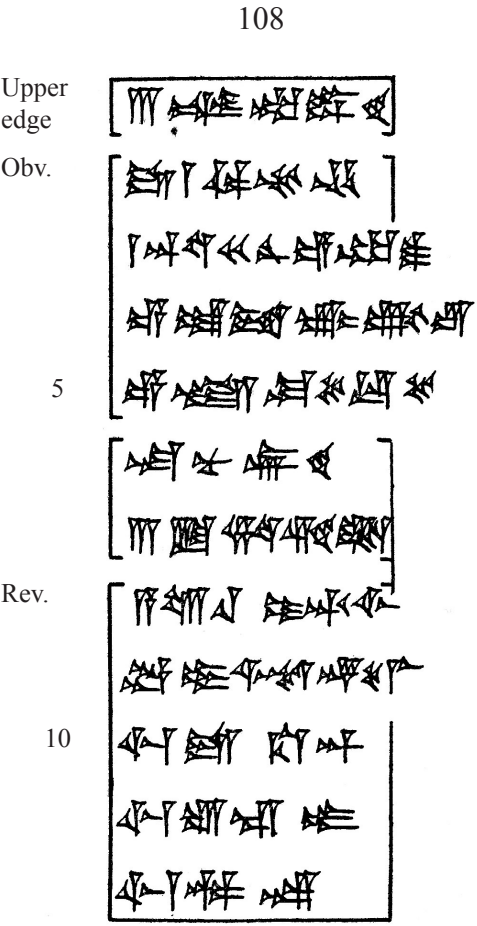
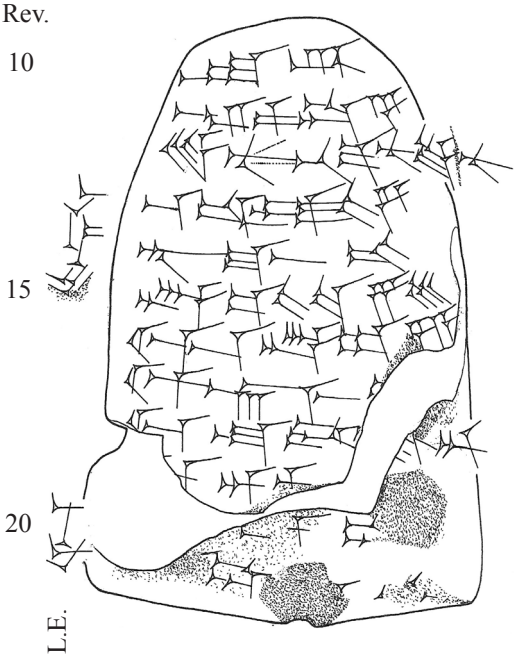
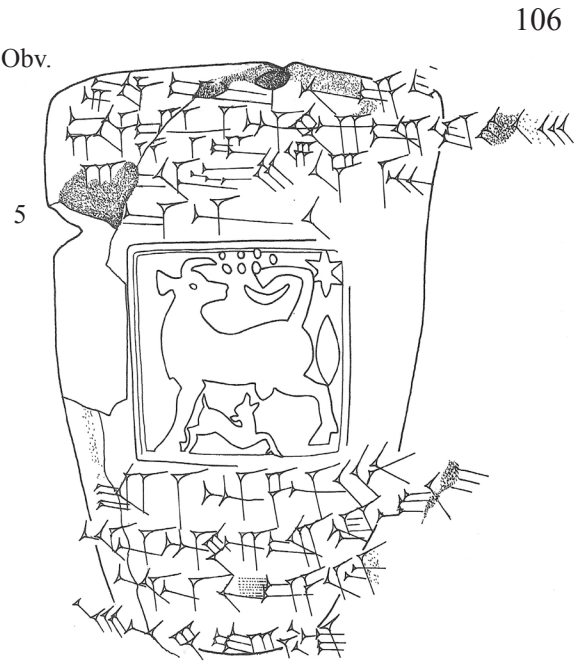


103

Obv.

Rev.

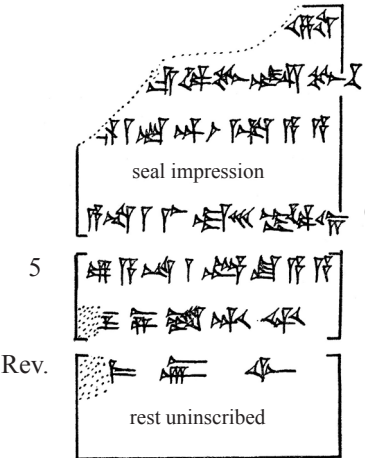






110

Obv.

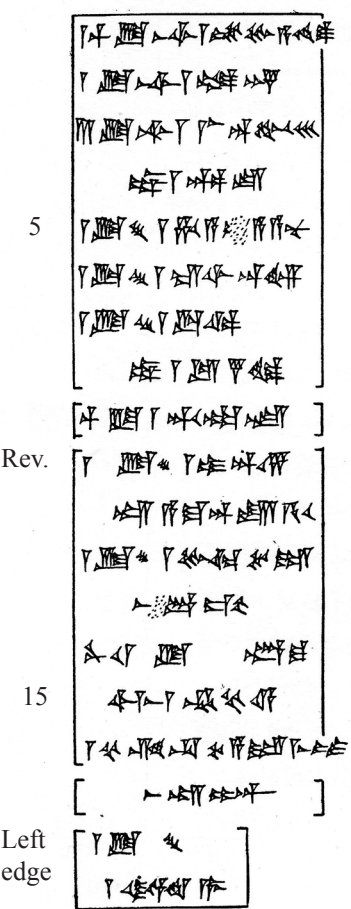


5

Rev.

112

Obv.



5

Rev.

15

Left edge

111

Obv.

5

Rev.

10

15

