

CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM NIMRUD

I

WINE LISTS

A study of
the wine and administration at
the Assyrian capital in the
Ninth Century, B.C.

By
JENNIFER WILSON

With a foreword by
Sir Max Mallowan

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THE NIMRUD WINE LISTS

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DEDICATED TO
C.H.K.W. AND A.M.
WHO HELPED ME

FOREWORD

by MAX MALLOWAN

The Nimrud wine lists, to which J. V. Kinnier Wilson has devoted many years of assiduous study, were compiled in the course of the first quarter of the eighth century B.C., during the last years of Adad-nirāri III and the first four years of his successor Shalmaneser IV, at a time when Assyria was about to be eclipsed for three decades by the growing power of the northern kingdom of Urartu.

This collection of tablets, not more than thirty in all, is unique of its kind, and has yielded invaluable information, all the more remarkable because it is but the pitiful remnant of a once vast Palace archive concerned with the administration of the wine-ration to the royal household. This household, estimated at a strength of some 6,000 persons, included employees who ranged from the highest to the lowest in the land—nobles, and the humblest of menials such as shepherd boys and assistant cooks, in addition to the king and queen. The author has drawn not only on this particular collection but on other administrative documents, from Calah,¹ Nineveh and Aššur in order to present a picture of Assyrian methods of administration and the complex nature of its bureaucracy, and has thus played a notable part in reanimating for us the archaeological evidence which had already been presented in successive numbers of the *Journal Iraq*, and in 1966 in the two volumes entitled *Nimrud and its Remains* which were supplemented by a compendium of maps and plans of the buildings in which these documents were discovered. It is hoped that the reader will consult this recent addition to the evidence in conjunction with those other publications which combine to form a comprehensive picture of Calah-Nimrud and its place as a principal component of the neo-Assyrian empire. Kinnier Wilson has wisely warned the reader that his interpretations of the evidence are sometimes provisional, often an improvement on previous conclusions, but sometimes also resting on ground which is still subject to debate. However that may be, our gratitude is due to one who has had the courage to terminate for the time being an arduous task which has entailed an excursus into topics which go far beyond the scope of the wine lists and include discussions geographical, historical and on the subject of iron that provoke reconsideration of many problems. In this introduction I have attempted briefly to point to a few signposts provided by the archaeology and have ventured to discuss a few of the problems which deserve debate.

Before embarking on the text we may advise the reader to consult the volume of Folding Maps, Plans and Sections which accompany *Nimrud and its Remains*, particularly Plan III showing the Northern Administrative Extensions and Chancery, ZT. 4-5 and other offices of the *ša pān ekalli*, keeper of the archives of the N.W. Palace, wherein chamber ZT.30 is also clearly marked with its range of great wine jars near to which some wine tablets were found. Magazines such as ZT.30 were invariably situated with direct access to the great, open courtyards from which the

¹ Notably the important archive from the Governor's Palace.

wine, oil or flour could conveniently be distributed to the various quarters of the Palace in which they were required: ² chamber EB illustrated on the same map, (outside Gate E), which also contained the remnants of measured jars, was correspondingly well situated for access to the State Apartments. Plan VIII in the same folder illustrates the lay-out of Fort Shalmaneser, the *ekal māšarti*, including chamber SW.6 a wine-cellar stacked with the remnants of great wine jars ranged in orderly rows and separated by gangways: here a small but important collection of wine-tablets was found in the debris, in association with the wine. I have estimated that originally this magazine may have contained not less than 4,000 gallons, thus capable of providing a daily ration for many thousands of persons at 0.1 *qū* per head.³ There can be little doubt that this magazine was in fact a cellar and that the tablets associated with it had fallen from a collapsed upper floor, together with part of the ivory leg of a Palace chair which must once have been an item in the furniture of the overlying apartments. It is interesting that this wine-magazine was situated in close proximity to the corner suite of the *rab ekalli* a master of the king's household—chambers SE.1–12.⁴ Other wine magazines in the same building were NW.18–19,⁵ roughly similar to SW.6 in dimensions and layout; in another wine or grain store, SW.1., an inscribed ostrakon was found bearing the names of workers, including foreigners, on the ration strength; ⁶ NE.48–50 were chambers under the jurisdiction of the *barakku*⁷ the royal treasurer, who held stocks of copper and distributed various 'dues' in kind: unequivocal evidence for the nature of that office is for the first time presented by this archive.

In general it appears that the tablets discovered at Nimrud, although usually lying in a secondary context were discovered either in or near the rooms in which they had originally been stored: such rooms were as a rule relatively small offices, approximately square such as NE.49, or situated in a corner—the archive chamber, in the Governor's Palace; ⁸ well paved and placed immediately opposite the god's sanctuary in Ezida, the Temple of Nabu,—NT.12 on Folding Plan VI. These archive chambers were never built on the vast scale of the great magazine-halls: all of them had one feature in common, namely direct access to the open courtyards where the scribe could consult his reading matter in the light.

We thus have much practical information concerning the clerkly offices and are left in no doubt about the importance of the *tupšar ekalli*; "the scribe of the Palace" perhaps the keeper of the Palace archives—indeed in the highest echelons of the State, as the author informs us, the chief scribe came third in the administrative order of precedence after the king himself and the commander-in-chief. This triangular pattern is a curious feature of the Assyrian administration, even "the third man"

² Note however an exception, magazines 11, 13 for the storage of oil in the Temple of Ninurta. In room 11 there were three rows of oil jars and two stone storage tanks. See Mallowan, *N & R* I plan on p. 84.

³ Mallowan, *N & R* II 408.

⁴ Mallowan, *op. cit.* II, 420 and references to the texts on 421.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 405: note that NW.10 thereon is a misprint and should read 19.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 407.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 397–401.

⁸ Mallowan, *op. cit.* I pl. 140 opposite p. 205 illustrates the plan of the Governor's Palace: the archive chamber is the square room on the west side of the building, approached from a long hall through a narrow doorway which is marked on the plan; see also 38–51.

in the chariot team conforms with it, and appears to have drawn his rations in the company of other "third men". This triarchy is no unusual feature of ancient administration, and takes its place alongside an occasional diarchy wherein the interests of the state were both checked and safeguarded by a dual spy-control system such as was notorious in Achaemenian Iran.

The method of rendering ancient terminology into modern or comparatively modern parlance is not without its difficulties, and the author has frequently opted for the title Minister and Emir, in spite of their political and medieval overtones which may to some critics appear not to be strictly justifiable. But it is fair to stress the extraordinary continuity of certain Oriental practices from the earliest, even the Sumerian periods through the Babylonian and Assyrian into the world of Byzantium and Islam, and herein perhaps lies the merit of this terminology. The fact is, however, that it is not possible to provide satisfactory translations of obsolete offices from one age to another, for sometimes where we may find an equivalent grade in the hierarchy between one bureaucracy and another the nature of the respective function is different. As an example we may quote the office of the *rab ālāni* for which in *Nimrud and its Remains* I offered a rendering of *mudir nahiya*⁹ where the author prefers *kaimakam* on grounds of seniority. The *mudir nahiya* appeared preferable to me because of the direct nature of the executive which appeared to correspond with the responsibility of officials of a relatively low grade in Arab administration for the levying of taxes in the countryside. But it is obvious that neither rendering is satisfactory and the problem of finding exact equivalences is insuperable.¹⁰ What matters is that this collection of texts has added to the evidence for arriving at a more precise definition of the various offices of State from the top to the bottom of the hierarchy.

Within this hierarchy at various levels we find a class of man, now fortunately rare or non-existent,—the eunuch, *ša rēši*, who played an important part in the functions of State in many capacities. Kinnier Wilson has well demonstrated the nature of these services, which were often of a high order as well as menial, and has explained how closely the *rabāni*, the nobles and the *ša rēši*, the eunuchs, marched together. In this connection the two most interesting of the high officers are the *šaknu*, the provincial governor and the *bēl piḫati* the court eunuch, or eunuch governor, perhaps only slightly inferior in rank to the former who was also a military man, but the holder of one of the highest offices in the land. Our appreciation of the latter character inclines us to speculate on the style of carving which represents one named Bēl-tarši-iluma who in 798 B.C. dedicated a pair of statues to the temple of Nabu and faced across the courtyard in Ezida.¹¹ These limestone statues were, as the inscription records, presented to the god for the life of the king, Adad-nirāri III, for the queen mother Sammuramat and for the life of the governor himself. It is true that the donor was apparently in this case a *šaknu*, but one wonders if in the rendering of this unusual, indeed abnormal carving we may discern the character of the established court favourites of the time—a rotund figure with fleshy flabby cheeks and hands,

⁹ *Op. cit.* 46.

¹⁰ For example the office of a high-ranking magistrate—the *ḥazannu* who, as Kinnier Wilson has stated, among his many duties was responsible

for recording arrivals and departures and in some capacities acted as a kind of town-major.

¹¹ *ASBM* (1938) pls. III, IV.

and beard which we may guess concealed a heavy jowl, the kind of figure which within living memory still played a prominent part at the marriage ceremonies in the royal house at Baghdad.

Within the same sanctuary at Calah there were other figures of the god and his servitors who stood elsewhere within the precincts and carried the tablets of destiny(?). The very model of a eunuch disguised as a god is represented in a drawing by Boutcher.¹²

However that may be, it is interesting in this connection that on the inscribed statue of the *šaknu* representing Bēl-tarši-iluma we find among the provinces subject to his jurisdiction Ialuna,¹³ a district known to be one of the sources of wine imported to Calah. The vines doubtless grew on more than one hillside including Ba'shīqa, not far distant from Nineveh, where there were vineyards in recent times, as well as in the district of Zamua (Sulaimaniya) named in the texts. The identification of Ialuna is still, unfortunately, uncertain.

Among the Assyrian eunuchs we may also recall another high officer, the *rab šaqi* the king's cupbearer, familiar from the Old Testament in Sennacherib's army at the siege of Jerusalem, as well as the little eunuchs, the boy servants of the king. These castrated gentlemen thus formed part of the intimate royal entourage and enjoyed positions of proximity and authority which persisted for 2,000 years in the courts of Byzantium, in the Sultan's house and in that of the Shahs of Persia. This strange sociological phenomenon is only to be understood by reference to the jealous segregation of the women folk in the royal harems, whose honour had to be safeguarded in this way during the absence of the man, especially the king, so often obliged to be abroad on military campaigns. It is difficult for the occidental mind to appreciate the extent to which this concept affected the organization and stratification of ancient Assyria and more modern Oriental societies.

Thus the eunuchs, in their various capacities as officers of state drew heavily on the wine ration as well as other food supplies—the bread ration for example, and inevitably the author of this book has had to consider how and where such rations were allocated and has concluded that the various different categories of society, minutely and in detail classified in the ration list, fed in messes according to profession or calling. This arrangement would obviously have been a practical convenience in a society where money was not yet current and the issue of foodstuffs had to be in kind, and that perhaps was one of the reasons which induced an elaborate stratification for every form of office; but common sense suggests that feeding in messes cannot have been an invariable practice, for men employed in similar avocations must often have been widely scattered, nor would it have been a practical proposition, for example, for the shepherds to be fed in a mess, ranging as they did far and wide over the countryside. But as a practical convenience there must have been many distribution posts for the issue of rations to the various classes of persons entitled to them and it is probable that the great Assyrian courtyards, for the most part open, but frequently sheltered by awnings in the immediate proximity of the walls, served precisely that purpose.

¹² C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, opp. p. 30 and *op. cit.* 150–151.

¹³ Inscription in *L.A.R.* I para 745. See also Mallowan, *op. cit.* 260.

Where the various messes fed is another matter for consideration. It is often alleged that the concept of a dining-room is occidental and alien to the Oriental who allocates no particular room for the purpose of feeding, and in the Assyrian texts does not name one. I am not altogether in agreement with this view which does not allow for the fact that kitchen apparatus when housed in a building is likely to discard its nomadic habits—particularly the bread-oven, and indeed we found evidence of a kitchen in the great hall ZZ in the domestic wing of the NW Palace,¹⁴ which at one time was obviously used as a dining room, like the adjacent room MM which was perhaps a dual purpose room allocated to the harem. It was also my opinion that the great hall G¹⁵ of the state apartments, at one end of which the king was apparently represented as if presiding at a ritual-feast, might well have been used as a ceremonial banqueting hall. In passing it may be remembered that the well-known relief of the courtiers at Khorsabad celebrating at a victory banquet¹⁶ commemorating the triumph at Muṣaṣir in 714 B.C. is interpreted by Kinnier Wilson as evidence of the King's mess. No doubt only the privileged were admitted, but I am inclined to see in this relief the traditional manner of celebrating the king's military triumphs—a practice which was of a hoary antiquity and was represented in third millennium B.C. in the so called "Royal Standard" of Ur.

Another feature vividly illustrated by the wine lists at Calah is the large and varied element of foreigners who ever since the new foundation by Ashurnasirpal formed a preponderant part in the society of the city which was built and maintained by displaced persons from distant parts of the Assyrian empire. It is generally believed that these aliens must eventually have been one of the prime causes of the disintegration of the Assyrian empire however much they may have contributed to its urban and agricultural development. The author has done well to compile from these ration lists a count of no less than twenty-six such groups which range from Palestine, through Syria, Anatolia and Iran: Gutians, Elamites, Arameans, men of Samaria, Egyptians and Kushites, Medes and Mannaeans figure among them and it is hardly surprising that amid this babel of tongues we find the presence, in the wine list of a man whose office is interpreter,—*targumānu*.

Among the avocations pursued by foreigners it is also of particular interest to find the names of those who were concerned with the king's music, in five different groups, including females who played their part in an orchestra composed of Babylonians, Neo-Hittites, and Arameans in addition to Assyrian musicians: their wine ration, doubtless sufficient, was on a modest scale. The picture of the royal music has been amplified at Nimrud by the discovery of ivory *pyxides*, or ointment boxes, whereon both sexes are represented; one of these illustrates a musical feast perhaps presided over by a queen, some of the musicians appear to be dressed in the Phoenician style.¹⁷ In general the tablets show that skilled craftsmen and professionals

¹⁴ Mallowan, *N & R I*, 120 and folding Plan III. On the analogy of modern practice in Oriental society it seems probable that a reception-hall would also be used as a dining-room: conversation and social intercourse precedes the feast and thereafter the guests disperse as soon as possible.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* I, 102.

¹⁶ Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*, pl. 64, 76.

¹⁷ Mallowan, *N & R I* pl. 168 on p. 218, found in the Burnt Palace illustrates a procession of musicians playing lyre, drum and flute: date probably last quarter of the ninth century B.C. R. D. Barnett, *C.N.I.* pls XVI–XVII.

were drawn from distant fields: augurs for example from Kummuh (Commagene) and diviners from Babylonia; Philistines for cutting bricks with the mattock,—the latter mentioned in seventh century documents, but not in the wine-lists. Some Phoenicians were doubtless employed for glass-making, for building, as well as for ivory carving, but there can be little doubt that both Syrians and Assyrians were also engaged on the latter task, and mention of a Phoenician craftsman does not necessarily refer to an ivory-worker.

Some foreigners were also no doubt engaged in the task of metal working and in this connection we must consider a possible reference to iron-smiths seen by the author under the name *šēlap(p)ājū*, which he equates with Chalybes—iron-smiths originating in the Pontus—a bold suggestion, for even the proposed etymological connection between the two words depends on medieval Arab and Syriac equations. So distant a connection seems unlikely: there was a nearer repository, if not a source of iron, in the Hurrian province of Kizzuwatna,¹⁸ a kingdom coterminal with Cilicia and N.W. Syria. This problem has been well discussed by the late A. Goetze, and it is by no means improbable that Iranian sources of iron were also used.¹⁹

Moreover it seems to have been forgotten by most authorities that A. H. Layard observed iron mines, doubtless used in antiquity, on the very threshold of ancient Assyria, at Berwari, in the mountains of Kurdistan. I take leave to quote Layard again.²⁰ "In the Tiyari mountains, particularly in the heights above Lizan, and in the valley of Berwari, mines of iron, lead, copper and other materials abound." It is remarkable that Berwari can with little doubt be considered to be an ancient Hurrian name and may well reflect the one time presence of ancient Hurrian smiths. Hurrians it may be recalled were an important element of the population in the iron producing province of Kizzuwatna and may well have played a part as iron-workers in the Taurus and Anti-Taurus where iron is also found.²¹ Layard was convinced that the mines at Hurrian (?) Berwari in Kurdistan had been worked in antiquity and that they were also the source of the "Egyptian blue" so extensively used for the incrustation of the Nimrud ivories. A sufficiency of iron-masters and iron-workers was therefore no doubt available from the confines of Assyria itself. We may recall a magnificent specimen of an iron or steel (?) sword found by us in Fort Shalmaneser.²²

¹⁸ Although this province came within the Hittite orbit, it was at times an independent kingdom and its boundaries varied considerably. For its importance as a centre for the production of iron see A. Goetze, "Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography" in *Tale Oriental Series and Researches*, Vol. XXII (1940) p. 27f and especially p. 33. The evidence and arguments there marshalled prove that this province was located in Cilicia, in S.E. Asia Minor, and was in close touch with Carchemish in N. Syria. Goetze has thus decisively refuted the older theories of Winckler and Forrer who believed that Kizzuwatna was to be sought in Pontus.

¹⁹ *Iran* X (1972) R. M. Savory, "British and French Diplomacy in Persia 1800–1810" refers to iron-ore from the mines at Amul and Nur, 140 kms from Tehran. There were also Anatolian

sources near Marash: F. R. Chesney, *The Euphrates Expedition* (1868) p. 135 with Appendix by W. F. Ainsworth.

²⁰ Mallowan, *N & R* II. 560 quoting from Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* I. p. 223. See map at end of volume: the mines now lie in Turkey, a few miles north of the frontier with Iraq.

²¹ Gowland *J.A.I.* (1912) 281 according to R. Cambell-Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* O.U.P. (1936) which contains a useful summary of the ancient sources of iron on pp. 80, 81, including various islands in the Persian Gulf. Note also W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor* 215 for reference to iron in the Tiyari mountains and notes 19, 20, above.

²² Mallowan, *op. cit.* II, p. 441 with illustration from Chamber S.67.

Another controversial issue which has arisen incidentally out of the general discussion concerns the identification of the Ziggurat on the grounds that in two inscriptions Ashurnasirpal II refers to the temple complex of Enlil and Ninurta—an area thus dedicated to both of these gods. The author while admitting that the Ninurta temple was, as we have demonstrated through our excavations, the largest temple at Nimrud, believes that it is appropriate to associate the Ziggurat with the senior god, partly because there are grounds for so doing in a tablet from Nineveh K.252, and also because at Aššur a ziggurat was dedicated to Enlil: moreover Ninurta's although the largest was not the oldest of the temples at Calah and it is indeed possible that the Ziggurat is older than Ashurnasirpal. The solution to this problem depends on further excavation which, as I reckoned in *Nimrud and its Remains* would be a very arduous and expensive undertaking, but one well worth the effort. But it also has to be said that we discovered in the area of the temple inscribed bricks of Shalmaneser III who refers to the constructional work on the casing, *risiptu* of the Ziggurat, and expressly mentions Ninurta in this context.²³ It is moreover abundantly clear that this god was paramount in Nimrud, as we may see from the extensive remains of the temple at the foot of the Ziggurat and the martial character of a city primarily concerned with hunting and war. I am therefore disposed to believe that the great temple at the base of the Ziggurat, as well as the Ziggurat itself was, at all events in the time of Shalmaneser III who completed the whole undertaking, dedicated not to Enlil but to Ninurta, and that tower and principal temple at the foot of it were the property of one and the same god, as had been the case for example in the Sumerian city of Ur where Nanna, the Moon, claimed the overlordship of both buildings. The problem is an interesting one, and should be capable of solution. Perhaps excavation will one day substantiate Enlil's claim to the Ziggurat either in the time of Ashurnasirpal II or earlier, perhaps not.

Many other topics of interest abound from a study of all this documentary evidence—the continuity of ancient Assyrian practice continues to exercise an endless fascination, for example the granting of robes of honour for the *rabāni* would be well understood in many Islamic societies, as would the several activities performed at the gate known as the *bāb ekalli*, now identified by the author as the chancery.

The ration lists also give us an insight into the postal stations, *kalliu*, under the command of a *rab kallie*, the post station commander. Kinnier Wilson has also adduced much important evidence concerning escort riders recruited from the Corps of eunuchs and retainers, and the *kallāpāni* or troop-carriers operating with the postal wagons, as well as the organization of the chariot teams. The Assyrians developed these services, which must have been very ancient, in accordance with the needs of their expanding empire, and we may recall that arrangements for postal stations were elaborated and brought to a high degree of efficiency by their successors, the Achaemenians, who achieved an express post over a far greater mileage between terminals that extended from the seaboard of western Asia-Minor to the Oxus and Jaxartes. The Assyrian achievement lies behind yet another notable stage in the

²³ Brick inscription ND 1128 in *Iraq* XIV, p. 67,—other bricks refer to the casing. Modification of plan by Shalmaneser III and orientation of the Ziggurat appropriate to Ninurta, is discussed by Mallowan, in *op. cit.* 86–87.

history of the Post Office which under the Sāhib al-barīd became one of the most important functions of the Abbasid regime. In this way the Nimrud wine lists have provided cogent evidence in the progressive development of the postal services in which the *raksūti* escort riders played the part of the modern Securicor. The topography of the caravan tracks from Assyrian through to Roman times has been discussed by David Oates in his *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*.²⁴

On the subject of topography Kinnier Wilson has discussed two interesting problems of identification, namely the location of the ancient cities named Kasappa and Ūbasie. It is certain that Kasappa is represented by the mound of Tell Keshaf which on a clear day can be seen standing up boldly from the top of the mound of Nimrud, on the sky-line, on the mouth of the upper Zab at the point where it joins its waters with the Tigris. An Assyrian tablet implies that anyone falling into the river while filling water jars downstream from Nineveh would eventually be washed up there. Anyone who cares to dig into that flat topped table and into the strata underlying what once appears to have been a police post of the Ottoman Empire will find an identifiable Assyrian city. The location of ancient Ūbasie proposed by David Oates who has good arguments for identifying it with Huwaish is no less interesting.

We conclude where we began—with the wine tablets themselves and we may usefully ask what information the archaeological evidence can provide about the measures of the wine ration. In *Nimrud and its Remains* we noted the presence in the magazines of large jars, marked in homers, often capable of holding over 300 litres of wine; but it is more interesting to discover how much was drunk by one person at a sitting. As we have already remarked, the ordinary ration was a modest one. Kinnier Wilson has briefly examined the evidence and concluded that normally 1 *qū*, the equivalent of 1.84 litres was the ration for 10 men, for the skilled the same measure was allotted to 6 men; the nobility was understandably entitled to a considerable amount more, perhaps the equivalent of what was distributed to 5 men. In terms of the old English measures I reckon that one man was entitled to about one-third of a pint of wine, or 0.184 of a litre, the equivalent of two small claret glass or one big one, a very modest ration in terms of beer, but reasonably generous in terms of wine, which however was doubtless immature and light. There would seem to have been little opportunity for drunkenness on this ration which no doubt compensated for a sugar deficiency in a society to which sugar cane and sugar beet were unknown. I would suggest that the cup measures provided for this purpose were the goblets or cups of palace-ware of the type found in a niche in the administrative wing of the Chancery, in a cupboard found in a recess in room ZT.12: possibly two of these cups made one measure; a better equivalent might be seen in the fine goblets of the type found in the Governor's Palace and elsewhere which when filled to the bottom of the neck would have comfortably contained about one-third of a pint.²⁵ A striking illustration in *Nimrud and its Remains* illustrates a table stacked

²⁴ Published for the British Academy by the O.U.P. (1968)

²⁵ Mallowan, *N & R* I, 178, 179 with illustrations of the goblets thereon, and pl. 14. Pl. 100 shows the position of the niched room 12. See also P. S. Rawson in *Iraq* XVI, 168 "Palace wares from Nimrud": goblets of a rather larger

capacity which appear capable of containing an individual unit for one person based on the *qū* measure are illustrated thereon on pl. XL opposite page 168 and see also pl. XLII No. 1. Other palace ware goblets perhaps associated with the *qū* ration were found in the Governor's Palace, see *N & R* I pls. 13-17.

with the Governor's dinner service; some of these pots undoubtedly contained the measures for the wine ration. More doubtful is the identification of the *šappu* jar which appears to have been a measure of 5 *qū*, 9.2 litres or about 2 gallons, vessels should be easily identifiable in the Nimrud pottery series; but there may be more difficulty for the present in identifying the *kāsu* cup measure to which the author makes reference.

It is thus evident that much interesting work remains to be done by any student of ceramics who is prepared to go through the extensive Nimrud pot series, most easily available in Baghdad, and make the attempt to relate certain types with known capacity measures. Indeed the purpose of this introduction has been to show how Kinnier Wilson's work on the wine lists and related documents has helped to amplify the picture presented by the archaeological evidence obtained from Nimrud. An examination of the Assyrian bureaucracy begins to be fully intelligible when seen against the setting of the city and its buildings. This field of study, to which J. N. Postgate's²⁶ consideration of land tenure and Assyrian taxation makes a welcome supplement, provides us with the basis for an understanding of Assyrian sociology. The first halting steps have now been taken towards this larger enquiry and we owe a debt of gratitude to J. V. Kinnier Wilson not only for making a positive advance in these studies, but for proposing solutions, often inevitably tentative, to problems on which many other scholars will now readily apply themselves, thanks to new evidence and to the discussions which appear on the ensuing pages.

²⁶ J. N. Postgate—Land tenure—the Middle Assyrian Period: a reconstruction—in B.S.O.A.S. XXXIV Pt. 3 (1971), pp. 496-520 and *Neo-Assyrian Royal Grants and Decrees*, in Studia Pohl: Vol. I Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute (1969).

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The majority of the texts presented in this volume were copied on the mound of Calah, Nimrud, during the 1961 season of excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, a smaller part also at Baghdad during the early summer of the same year, and some others at the British Museum in London at various times thereafter. For the most part they represent a type of document which has not hitherto been seen in Assyriological collections, and it was my hope from an early period that an edition of them in book form would eventually be possible. In the present study that hope has now been realized, and my first expression of gratitude must therefore be to the British School of Archaeology in Iraq for their acceptance of the volume for publication and for their generosity in meeting in full the considerable production costs.

Amongst persons to whom I owe an especial debt of gratitude are two of the School's officers who will ever be associated with Nimrud, and who have themselves written at length of its manners and its men. They are Professor Sir Max Mallowan, to whom I owe my privilege of association with the Nimrud team and the Foreword to this account, which it is obvious that none other than he should write; and, secondly, Professor David Oates, who followed the fortunes of the new tablets from their first appearing, and at the end spared valuable time to read through the completed manuscript, contributing a number of important suggestions. The final draft was read also by Dr. Edmond Sollberger and Professor D. J. Wiseman, to both of whom I am much indebted for helpful counsel and comment.

With regard to the new documents, and as will be made clearer in the first chapter, tablets from two collections are involved, and for those discovered during the 1957 season I have had the advantage of being able to consult the catalogue prepared by Dr. Jørgen Laessøe who was the epigraphist to the Nimrud expedition in that year. In Mr. Alan Millard, who was present during my own time as epigraphist to the expedition, I found an assistant whose help with the cleaning, recording and reading of the tablets was invaluable. To the present work Mr. Millard contributes plates 49-52, and my copies of two rebaked tablets, ND 10026 and ND 10009, have been done with the help of field copies prepared by him. To Mr. J. N. Postgate I owe the copies of the six texts which are presented on plates 8, 43 and 44, thus completing the documentation of the 1957 archive. I am grateful to him additionally for his careful collation of a text found in earlier years in a room of the "chancery" and which is of much comparative importance to the central theme of the book.

To the Managers of the C. H. W. Johns Memorial Fund in Cambridge I should like to express my indebtedness for assistance with travel and research expenses. This help I acknowledge with the greater pleasure in the belief that Johns himself would have found it easy to approve the furthering of research in the field of Assyrian administration where his own work so largely lay.

Acknowledgment is made finally to the Trustees of the British Museum who have kindly permitted the reproduction from their collections of the four photographs which appear on plates 1, 3, and 4.

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THE TABLETS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

CHAPTER I

In 1957, when work on the *ekal māšarti* at Calah first began, there was discovered in the wine magazine SW 6 a small group of tablets, actually eleven in number, which were seen to be concerned with the issue of wine to persons and professional groups on the ration strength of the city.¹ Four years later, in 1961, when the focus of excavation had moved to the north-east courtyard, the clearing of rooms NE 48-49 revealed "at various levels in the packed debris between the original and later floors" a further and much larger group of tablets, the vast majority of which were also concerned with issues of wine to city personnel.² These wine lists, here published as a virtually complete set (Pls. 5 to 43) will provide the material for the greater part of the discussion to be found in the following pages. A few other texts, mainly discovered during the 1961 excavations and presented in copy in Pls. 44 to 54, will be introduced into the argument where either expediency or opportunity permits.

The wine lists are a new type of document for the history of Neo-Assyrian times. Their like has not yet been discovered at Nineveh (for the probable reason that the *ekal māšarti* of that city lies undug beneath the mound of Nebi Yūnus) and nothing equivalent was found during the excavations at Assur or Khorsabad. Indeed, our ignorance has been such that not hitherto have we had any concept at all of the numerous bodies of men and women entitled by virtue of their employment in the king's service to receive wine as a daily ration from the central magazines. There is now, however, almost an embarrassment of evidence to support this theme, and although the full presentation of it will inevitably mean that one must be prepared to accept a certain element of repetition in many of the entries, there are no exact duplicates anywhere in the collection and almost every piece has something of its own to add to the total of information. What in particular may be learnt from an examination of the texts is that, in the medieval sense of the term, their concern is exclusively with the king's "household" (an analysis first suggested by Oates, *Iraq* 24, 21), and much of the study which follows is devoted to the proper development of this idea. According to a calculation explained in Chapter III such members of the household as were normally resident at Calah may be estimated to have been in the order of 6,000 men strong.

The two groups of tablets are readily distinguishable by the different numbering, those of the 1957 excavation being assigned numbers in the 6200's, and the larger group found in 1961 bearing numbers higher than 10001. That they belong together as the records of a single administrative department under the *rab karāni* or his deputy, both of whom are mentioned in the texts, will be clear from a first glance at the end plates. Their concern with wine may be seen from the first line of ND 6218 (Pl. 9) which reads GEŠTIN.MEŠ 'KÚ' r[ik]-su ša u₄-me. A variant on this initial line is provided by ND 6212 (Pl. 11) and ND 10031 (Pl. 27) which may be mutually restored to read GEŠTIN.MEŠ rik-su pi₄ u₄-mi, and in either case the translation

¹ For a brief report on the find see M. E. L. (hereafter cited as *Nimrud*), II, 384 and 386. Mallowan, *Iraq* 20, 107; *Nimrud and its Remains*

² Cf. David Oates, *Iraq* 24, 20 ff.

is probably "the wine ration—daily schedule". It may be noticed here that the word *riksu* can only otherwise be supported in the meaning "schedule", "table", from ADD 1014, 6,³ but a reason may be sought in the fact that no exact parallel to our documents, which are not records of issue, has yet been found. Other technical terms employed by the wine department are discussed in Chapter III. Two independent tablets—ND 2371 and ND 2489—which were found at Nimrud in earlier years⁴ and which may now be seen to be concerned with the daily bread ration, are similar in type if of somewhat later date, and have been added to the transliterations in Chapter IV for comparative purposes. They are referred to in discussions as the "(Sargon) bread lists".

The date of the new wine lists can be established with near precision. Two clear *limmu*-dates are carried by the headings of ND 6218 (Pl. 9) and 6214 (Pl. 13) from the 1957 collection, the names being respectively Marduk-šar-ušur (784 B.C.) and Bēl-lišir (779 B.C.). Two further names are provided by tablets of the second collection, the more certain being that of Nabû-šar-ušur⁵ on ND 10048 (Pl. 19) who was eponym in 786.⁶ The second is given by the first line of Pl. 17 and ends in *-a-ni*. Accordingly the name of Marduk-rēmanni (780) has been considered, but the traces rather favour the reading [mēn-]BA-šā⁷-a-ni or Bēl-iqīšāni, eponym in 791, and certain intrinsic arguments also suggest that the earlier date should be preferred. It will thus be seen that the tablets form a compact and largely contemporaneous group. As far as the dated evidence goes they span the last nine years of the reign of Adad-nirari III and the first four of Shalmaneser IV, a total of thirteen years (791–779 B.C.).⁶ Of interest, although of only general relevance, in the matter of date is ND 6212 (Pl. 11). This tablet is not itself dated but carries as recipients of wine the names of Šilli-Ishtar (obv. 12), Adad-uballiṭ (rev. 7), Mannu-ki-Adad (rev. 10) and Ninurta-mukīn-niši (rev. 11). Men with these names were eponyms in the years 787, 785, 773 and 765 respectively, and certainly the first three are likely to have been identical with those mentioned on the new text. Similarly the Ishtar-dūri mentioned in line 18 of ND 6219 (Pl. 14) was doubtless the man of this name who became eponym for the year 774.

A rather exceptional entry having at least a general bearing on date is ND 6212 (Pl. 11), obv. 16, which records the ration issue of 1 šappu-jar (of wine) to the harem of Arpadajāte or "women from Arpad" (SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ^{kur}Ar-pa-da-aj[a-t]e). Reference to the eponym lists shows that Adad-nirari III made Arpad the chief military objective for the campaign of 806 B.C.,⁷ and, unless there is a reason why some other date should be considered, one might reasonably conclude that the women concerned had been in Calah since that time.⁸

³ Cf. also J. N. Postgate, *Neo-Assyrian Royal Grants and Decrees*, 97.

⁴ They are published by Barbara Parker in *Iraq* 23, pp. 21 and 32–33 with Pls. XII and XVI.

⁵ On the problems of the 786–783 eponym names cf. particularly O. R. Gurney, *AS* 3, 21, and W. W. Hallo, *Bib. Arch.* 23, 40.

⁶ It should be mentioned that this statement supersedes that given in *Iraq* 24, 21, which was based on suggestions made by me in the Field Catalogue for 1961 and before tablets of the

1957 excavations had become available for comparative study.

⁷ Cf. A. Ungnad in *RLA* II, 429 (under the year 805), together with A. Poebel, *JNES* II, 78, for the need to increase dates of the period by one year.

⁸ On the location of Arpad as modern Tell Rifa'at, 35 km. north of Aleppo, see V. Seton Williams, *Iraq* 23, 68 ff. For a later example of *Arpadajāte* in a Harem list, cf. B. Landsberger, *Baumgartner Festschrift*, 202.

As to the months indicated on the new lists, these, where a date is given at all, are not well preserved. Three month names—Addar, intercalary Addar and Nisan—are to be found in the dates given on Pls. 17, 9, and 8 and 13 respectively, but in that there does not seem to be a sufficient reason why tablets of the collection should derive only, or even mainly, from the last and first months of the Assyrian year the sample is probably to be regarded as too small for purposes of accurate interpretation. There are, however, two tablets in the collection which bear, if for different reasons, on the question of date and these may be briefly noticed here.

The first is ND 6229 (Pls. 5–7). This is a large two-column tablet unfortunately broken down the left side, and it has lost all but the day (12th or [2]2nd) of the date it once carried in obv. i, 1. But the text in what is preserved contains a number of entries not found in the single-column texts, and the conclusion is justified that it bears witness to some special occasion at Calah. Thus professional groups who appear on this text and not elsewhere include leather-workers from Assur (¹ušāšappāni^{uru} Libbi-āl-aju, iii, 22), a similar group under "Abdā, the Aramean leather-worker" (^mAb-da-^ra⁷ ¹ušāšāpu^{kur} Ara-ma-aj[u],⁹ ii, 1–2, cf. iii, 14), Suhian and Aramean šaknus (iii, 20–21), a Chaldean šaknu and a Chaldean "cook" (iii, 11–12), two kinds of fowler (LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ = (u)š/sandū, iii, 24–25), a group of weavers under "Mušallim-Marduk, the weaver" (ii, 6, and edge, below col. iii), and one or two others. This is a curious assemblage of persons to be found issued with wine-rations at Calah, and it is reasonable to think that they were members of the king's household who normally worked away from Calah. Moreover, if we correctly identify the occasion which brought them together as that of the reappointment ceremonies at the New Year, so accordingly are we informed as to the date of the tablet.

By contrast the second of the two tablets is considerably smaller in size. In reality it consists of two separate pieces of which I copied one (Pl. 41) in Baghdad and the other (Pl. 42) in London before realizing that they must, in fact, join.¹⁰ When reconstructed—and for the full text the transliteration given on p. 154 may be consulted—it is quickly seen that the total number of entries is far less than on the other wine lists of the collection. Correspondingly one notices also that the summary line gives the total expenditure of wine for the day as only 2 homers, 1 sūtu and 8 qū, which, to obtain the actual issue to personnel, must even be further reduced by the 1 homer and 2 sāti of obv. ii, 2, assigned a-na nap-te-ni, or approximately, "for the royal family".¹¹ Such data could not have been confidently interpreted without other help, but by good fortune the date of the record, the 22nd of Ab, is preserved on its second line. Since at that time, corresponding to about late August in the Western calendar, the annual campaign would have been in progress it will follow that groups entered on the tablet must have belonged to the garrison staff left behind in Calah.

⁹ On the value *ara* for the sign AR in the writing of *ara-ma-aju* see K. Deller, *Or.* NS 31, pp. 187–188.

¹⁰ The two pieces, from the 1957 collection, have not been brought together at the present time.

¹¹ On *naptanu* in household rationing schemes with the special meaning of "the master's table" or the like, see further below in Chapter II, p. 33.

We shall need to return to this tablet at a later time (p. 112) in connection with the ending *ša pa-[n]i niš pu-ḫi* of its first line. For the present, however, discussion may return to the main body of the collection and to some further general considerations.

The first question which we may take up concerns the affinities of the new documents with administrative records coming from other periods and places in Mesopotamia. It is quite certain that the collection provides the first examples of Akkadian texts dealing exclusively with wine as a daily ration (not that these would in any case be expected from Babylonia) and the receivers of the wine must represent the largest group of persons which we have yet seen in any early rationing scheme. But the texts stand in the tradition of ration accounting none the less, and so belong in the company of such other ration texts as those of Ur, Uruk, Larsa, Tello, Umma, Lagaba, Sippar, Mari, Nuzi, Chagar Bazar and Alalakh, from various periods. The nearest direct parallels, however, are not Mesopotamian but Elamite and Ugaritic, and are thus firstly to be found in 21 texts from the Persepolis treasury published by Cameron and in 54 others from the fortification published by Hallock.¹² In these texts the rations are exclusively of wine, although they differ from the Nimrud texts in that the amount distributed is to a much smaller total group and is calculated on a monthly and not a daily basis. The dates for the treasury tablets run from the 16th year of Xerxes to the 7th year of Artaxerxes I; those from the fortification are dated between the 15th and 27th years of Darius I. For the Ugaritic material reference may be made to wine-ration texts published in Virolleaud's *PRU* II and C. H. Gordon's *Ugaritic Textbook*, particularly the four texts Virolleaud 89-92 = Gordon, 1089-1092. These texts have a particular relevance for the present study in that they mention the queen (*mlkt*, 90, 15, and 92, 3), craftsmen (*ḫr[šm]*, 91, 2), *maryannu*-charioteers (*mrynm*, 89, 1, etc.), and certain foreign groups such as Egyptians (*mšrym*, 89, 7 and 10) and perhaps Assyrians (*atr[y]m*, *ibid.*, 3), and would thus seem concerned with part of the royal household.¹³ The texts are not, however, records of issue. Since each tablet carries only a few entries and is not dated, it would be appropriate to suggest that they represent periodic amendments to the household's permanent ration schedule.

Another point that may be mentioned has to do with the actual amounts of wine placed in the left-hand column of the tablets against the corresponding name or professional group. Amid the mass of such entries this amount stands in only a few instances at a lower figure than 1 *qū*, and from more than one line of argument it may be determined that 1 *qū* was the daily ration of wine for a unit of ten men at basic rates (as suggested in Chapter III some senior groups seem to have been allotted higher rates). It is quite revealing to see from the texts the extent to which the unit of ten ran through the whole structure of Assyrian administration; and our information is also important in that, where the measure of the ration is preserved, we are permitted to visualize many of the Household units in terms of their probable or approximate size.

¹² See G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago, 1948), with *JNES* 17, 172-176, and 24, 170-182, and R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, OIP No. 92.

¹³ The mention in four other texts of the collection of *bnš mlk* or "personnel of the king" discussed in Gordon's Glossary, pp. 373-374) would appear to point in the same direction.

We now turn to the concept of messes at Calah. Thus far archaeology has not been able to throw any strong light on eating arrangements in a large rationing establishment, and indeed it is difficult to think what specifically might be discovered. But the new texts, as also certain other sources, bear witness in unmistakable terms to the idea that men of a given calling, and even of a small sub-unit such as a section of ten men, ate together in some place reserved for them, and it will be worth while to examine the suggestion in some detail.

In the first place it seems clear that the factor which determined where a man of the royal household should go for his evening meal was his profession. If it may have been thought reasonable to assume that chariot teams, for instance, will often have messed together, the wine lists declare that this was not so. From the separate allocations of wine it must have been that the drivers or charioteers went to one place, the bowmen to a second, the "third men" to yet another. Again, and for the same reason, it is likely that decurions ate with their men, but captains-of-fifty did not. It will already have been noticed that we have spoken of the "evening meal", and it cannot be proved that normally this alone would have provided the occasion for eating together. But in many parts of Iraq even to-day, the morning meal is only a light repast taken as opportunity permits and wherever one should happen to be. Equally in antiquity it is not likely to have been a formal occasion in any sense.

As to the premises which one might expect to have been in use as messes, it may be stressed that there is no obvious term for this either in Assyrian or in Akkadian as a whole, and in fact the concept of a room serving no other purpose than a place of eating is probably erroneous for Mesopotamian antiquity at any level. It may therefore be suggested that, at least below a certain seniority, places of eating were normally indistinguishable from places of work or sleep. Thus the *rab ušurte* and his men at the city gates¹⁴ will reasonably have eaten in their own guard rooms, much as their modern equivalents. Similarly, personnel in charge of animals will probably have lived and messed somewhere close at hand, the *ša bīt kudini*¹⁵ near their mules, the *ša kalbi*¹⁶ near their dogs, the shepherd¹⁷ near his sheep. The outer wall of the *ekal māšarti*, unexcavated but "obviously covering a considerable range of buildings" (Oates, *Iraq* 24, 21, note 28) may well have provided combined sleeping and eating quarters for units whose activities lay in this area.

By comparison senior members of staff such as the *qurubūti* (emirs) or the *ša rēši* (court eunuchs),¹⁸ both of whom are well documented in the new lists, are not difficult to fit into the general picture. They will have quartered in and around the palace itself, not infrequently in residences such as surely stood on the *qabāsi* (Bab. *qabalti*) *āli* or "citadel" (cf. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 115) and which

¹⁴ Cf. in Chapter II, p. 90.

¹⁵ Pl. 10, i, 24; 14, 11; and *passim*.

¹⁶ Pl. 23, ND 10050/2, 6 and 34, 6.

¹⁷ Pl. 36, 13, cf. also Chapter II, p. 87.

¹⁸ For the reading of LÚ.SAG.MEŠ in NA cf. B. Landsberger, *Baumgartner Festschrift*, 199, and the revealing sequence of city names in Parpola, *Toponyms*, 332:

URU LÚ.SAG.MEŠ
URU *ša-ra-āš-šū*
URU *ša-ri-šū*
URU *ša-riš*

On the form, and meaning, of *rēšāni/rāšāni* as a reading of LÚ.SAG.MEŠ, cf. J. A. Brinkman, *A political history of post-Kassite Babylonia*, 265, note 1,705.

may even be seen at Calah in area S of the *ekal māšarti*.¹⁹ For the general idea it may be noted that at Ugarit wine rations were issued *lmrynm bytb mlk*, "to the *maryannū* in the royal residence",²⁰ and point to the comparison is provided by the fact that the *maryannu*-charioteers are likely to have been household personnel; they were certainly of senior status. A Sumerian reference to an *é sagi šà é-gal(a)*²¹ reveals that cupbearers also "were housed in a special part of the palace" (W. F. Leemans, *JCS* 20, 42).

The king's mess will have known the best of accommodation; and since it is recorded in the sixth Tablet of the Epic of Creation that the king of the gods himself, after the building of Esagila, dined his family and the father-gods in his own *paramahhu*, so some at least of the several "throne-room" suites discovered at Calah will reasonably have found a partial use as messes.²² The king, however, does not feature in the wine lists, the obvious reason being that he and his table were served from a royal cellar situated in another part of the city (see further in Chapter III). It is thus the queen, entered as *SAL É.GAL* or *ša ekalli*,²³ who is the first to be mentioned in the lists (see Pls. 11, 7; 13, 3; 14, 4; etc.)—and the point is interesting because it proves that the queen did not normally dine with the king. Exceptions to this rule in contemporary times obviously include the victory banquet celebrated by Ashurbanipal and his queen after the final defeat of Elam, and the splendid occasion described in the Old Testament when Ahasuerus and Esther dined together (Est. vii, 1 ff.). These, however, were but the exceptions of festivity; and if, in the everyday event, the queen did not eat with the king, so also is it likely that wives of the household personnel did not eat with their husbands. With this finding we in fact return to the concept of messes as the only workable alternative.²⁴

In the above pages we may hope to have introduced in some way, and as it existed at Calah, that organization, hitherto known only from the tentative reconstructions of Johns in *ADD* II, § 238, which we believe it is correct to describe as the king's household. The full parade of its many individual groups is presented in the transliterations of Chapter IV. It will be discussed in the following chapter, but in association with other groups of the urban community and not as an independent unit. Our point in this connection is that information supplied by the new texts not only throws light on the organization of the king's household: it also, in its way, illuminates the several other organizations within the city as a whole. These may usefully be first examined; indeed, the household will be seen the more clearly if one is first sure of its limitations.

¹⁹ Cf. generally Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad* II, pl. 70—although there is perhaps some doubt as to which of the buildings shown might specifically apply—and for the "area S" residency at Calah Oates, *Iraq* 23, 5 ff., and Mallowan, *Nimrud* II, 378 ff.

²⁰ Gordon, *UT* 90, 10–12, cf. A. F. Rainey in *JNES* 24, 19.

²¹ *BLN* IX, 360, 3 (cf. 398, 11).

²² The relevant lines (VI, 70–71) read:
be-lum i-na paramahhi ša ib-nu-u šu-bat-su
ilānu abbū-šu qé-re-ta-šu uš-te-šib.

²³ For this reading cf. *CAD* E 61 and *AHW* 193,

also B. Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon* (hereafter cited as *Ist[anbuler] Brief*), 47, note 78.

²⁴ Attention may also be drawn to a standard phrase of the Chagar Bazar texts concerning the issue of rations to *DAM.ANI ÌR LUGAL DUMU-šu-nu ù DUMU.SAL-šu-nu*, "wives of the king's servants, their sons and daughters" (cf. C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* 7, 47 ff., under Nos. 982, 987 and 993, also for the last two texts O. Loretz, *AOAT* I, 199 ff., Nos. 41, 75 and 44, 76–77). Clearly only one conclusion can be drawn from the fact that there is no mention of the husbands.

THE BUREAUCRACY OF AN ASSYRIAN CAPITAL CITY

CHAPTER II

In the present chapter an attempt is made to place the men of the wine lists into a wider setting. The bureaucracy at Calah embraced several individual bodies, and we may in fact propose a fivefold division consisting of the king's mess, the king's household, the municipal authority, the provincial authority, and the priesthood. That the king's household which forms our principal interest may legitimately take its place within a "bureaucracy" is to be admitted because, as in the equivalent medieval organization, it included officials of the central government. With our fivefold scheme of division for a capital city in the Neo-Assyrian period it is profitable to compare the scheme of four authorities—military, municipal, religious and the civil service—proposed by Landsberger for a small village organization in the Old Babylonian period.¹

There follows a brief account of each of the suggested groups. They are presented in a slightly different order to that given in the previous paragraph and to keep the subject within proper bounds references are essentially selective. The experimental nature of some of the arguments should also be recognized.

THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY

We begin with the group of town officials which will have known a long tradition at Calah, extending back to the first foundation of the city. For the eighth century it seems likely that it consisted principally of the magistrates (*ḥazannāte*), the traditional council of elders or aldermen (*šibūti*), the *ša muḫḫi āli* or *rab āli*, the *ṭupšar āli*, the *dajālē*, and the official gate-keepers of the gates and law courts (*pētiūte*?)²

With regard, firstly, to the *ḥazannāte*, much relevant information will be found in the dictionaries, *CAD* H 163 ff. and *AHW* 338–339. Like his sometime counterpart the *raḫiānum*, the *ḥazannu* normally had single-handed charge of a city, but it would seem that in the Assyrian capitals and certain provincial capitals the number was usually three, as was also the case in Rome in the days of the *triumviri*. The best evidence for this statement comes from a text from Assur³ which refers to *ḥazannus* of the Ashur Gate, the Shamash Gate and the Tigris Gate. At the same time it is to be realized that this form of designation for city magistrates is not found outside of Assur, and elsewhere texts speak of the (*ḥazannu*) *šaniu* and (*ḥazannu*) *šalšu*. If there should be doubt as to whether it is correct to see an ellipse of *ḥazannu* in these terms attention may be directed to *ADD* 160, 8–9, where one reads of a case which was brought for trial before *ma Nabū-zēr-kitti-lišir* *laḥa-za-nu* *lašani-ū ša Ninua*^{k1}. It is in

¹ In *JCS* 9, 122.

² In the difficult problem of the reading of *LÚ.NI.DUḪ.MEŠ* in NA, the *laḥab piti-ū-te* of *ABL* 1042, obv. 7, is clearly relevant.

³ Ebeling, *Parfümrezepte*, pl. 30, rev. 27 f., and *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel*, 5, quoted below, p. 9.

fact independently known from *ADD I* 261, rev. 5–6, that at least two *ḥazannus* might hold office contemporaneously at Nineveh. Indeed, the *šalšu* (III-ŠÚ) *ša uruNi-nu-a* of rev. 12 of the same text would seem to speak again for a probable total of three. The *šalšu*, not to be confused with the *tašlišu* who was a member of the king's household, is attested also in NA texts for Lahiru, Kar-Nergal, Assur and Maganuba.⁴

There will be no need to mention here the magistrate's familiar work in courts of law of which information may be found in many places. Outside of the courts, and following arguments adduced by H. Lewy for the Nuzi period,⁵ it seems likely that the *ḥazannu* had a major responsibility to record any arrival or departure that occurred among members of his community, and to witness relevant documents accordingly.

The *šibūti*, or “(council of) elders”, at Calah are not directly attested; a presumed witness “Imari(?) of the elders” (*Iraq* 13, 114, under ND 474) is suspect for more than one reason and the text stands in need of collation. Nevertheless, comparative evidence is strong, and from the Harper letters one learns that, in nearly equivalent periods, there were elders at Babylon,⁶ Nippur(?),⁷ Uruk,⁸ and Assur,⁹ and also among the Bit-Amukānu;¹⁰ to these names may be added Guzāna on the basis of Weidner, *Tell Halaf*, No. 20.¹¹ Apart from the eleven persons named in the latter text the numbers and composition of city elders in Neo-Assyrian times is not known, but they are likely to have been heads of upper-class families and this was certainly the case with the Hebrew *zēqēnīm*.¹² The *qaqqadāti ša urulibbi āli* of Assur (*ABL* 1238, obv. 3–4), and the *qaqqadāti* (sc. *ša Ninua*) of Nineveh (*ABL* 2, rev. 8), may also be mentioned in this connection. They appear to have been a city's “most important persons”¹³ and will consequently have been closely associated with the elders in some way.

It may be emphasized that the above paragraph refers only to city elders. They should not be confused with such larger bodies as the elders of Assyria, Elam, the Sealands, and the like, whose membership was evidently secured from many cities and who do not fall within the purview of the present account.

As to the *ša muḥḥi āli* (for references see *CAD A*, 390) the place of this official as second, and junior in rank, to the *ḥazannu* will become abundantly clear from the comparative tables given on p. 95. Thus the suggestion promoted by Saggs who would see the office as “deliberately created by the kings of Assyria in the hope that the appointee would counterbalance the *ḥazannu* and be able to safeguard the royal interests within the city”¹⁴ is not easily acceptable. In fact the essential relationship of the two offices is clear from the letter *ABL* 150, which was sent to the king by Sin-na'id, *ḥa-za-nu ša urulibbi āli ša šarru be-lī ip-qid-u-ni*, “*ḥazannu* of Assur whom the king, my lord, has appointed”, and is concerned with the

⁴ For references see Johns, *ADD II*, pp. 114–

115.

⁵ In *Or. NS* 33, pp. 185 ff.

⁶ *ABL* 202, rev. 15.

⁷ *ABL* 287, obv. 12.

⁸ *ABL* 753, obv. 6.

⁹ *ABL* 91, obv. 13.

¹⁰ *ABL* 517, obv. 8.

¹¹ *AfO*, Beiheft 6, 23.

¹² See J. L. McKenzie, “The Elders in the Old Testament”, in *Biblica XL*, 522–550 (= *Biblica et Orientalia I*, 388–406); also R. de Vaux, *RA* 58, 171.

¹³ A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 112.

¹⁴ *The Greatness that was Babylon*, 253.

reappointment of a certain Nabû-ahhē-šallim as *ša muḥḥi āli* in the city. We read (rev. 9 ff.): (9) *sa-ru-te ša uru[x x ni]* (10) *ina pa-ni-ja m Nabû-ahhē-šallim* (11–12) *ú-šab-bit an-ni-u ša-ni-um-ma šu-ú* (13–14) *m Nabû-ahhē-šallim lil-li-ka* (15–16) *li-iš-al uruAš-šur pá-šu šabit* (KA.NI DIB) <lib>-**bu i-ḥap-pi-u* (17) *ḥa muḥḥi āli šarru be-lī lip-qidi*, “(Moreover) *sarrūte*¹⁵ who . . . (in court) before me Nabû-ahhē-šallim has even arrested—even this man, a *šaniu*, if you please!—so if he comes here (again) the city of Assur will become (increasingly) apprehensive, and apathetic and neurotic.¹⁶ I hope, therefore, that my lord, the king, will appoint a(nother) *ša muḥḥi āli*.” Like the *ḥazannu* the *ša muḥḥi āli* might hold his own court, as appears from ND 3433 (Wiseman, *Iraq* 15, 142) reading **ḥa muḥḥi āli ša dīnu emidūni*, “the *š.* who imposed the penalty”, and a further association with municipal affairs is provided by ND 2437, 31–33 (Saggs, *Iraq* 17, 139), reading *la-a ḥa muḥḥi āli la-a ḥapētiute* “*kur*” *Aššur-aja ina uruŠu-pi-te <ú-si-ri-bu>*, “Neither the *ša muḥḥi āli* nor the gatekeepers are allowing Assyrians to enter Šūpatu (Šōba).” In the second of these passages we restore a suitable main verb probably lost by homoioteleuton (*te/bu*). What may further be said of the office will appear from the comparative tables just mentioned, and the argument that the place of a *ša muḥḥi āli* in the city was equivalent to that of the majordomo (*ša muḥḥi bīti*, *rab bīti*) in other organizations.

We turn next to the *ṭupšar āli*, or “city scribe”, third official of the city and a man who would have enjoyed the full confidence of the *ḥazannu* in the conduct of his affairs. His close association with the magistrates is clear from *ABL* 530, 13 f., where there is mention as a group of a *ṭupšar āli*, *ša muḥḥi āli* and *ḥazan[nu]*. The association is clear equally from rev. 26*–29* of VAT 9656 (references as in note 3, above) where witnesses to the Sennacherib bequest of temple servants to the Bit akīti *ša šēri* at Assur are given in order as:

Abī-ramu, *ḥa muḥḥi āli*
[. . .]-eṭiranni, *ṭupšar bīt ili*
Šamaš-ilāja, *ḥazānu* (sic) *bāb Aššur*
[. . .] . . . , *ḥazānu bāb Šamaš*
Mannu-kī-Ištar, MIN(= *ḥazānu*) *bāb Idiglat*
Nabû-mudammīq, *ṭupšar āli*.

The senior status of a *ṭupšar āli* is also beyond doubt. Impressive evidence for this assertion comes from ND 1120 (copy Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, Pl. XXIII), although an edition by van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, 198 ff., we find difficult to accept in many particulars. In personal belief it was part of an invitation with elaborate instructions for an important dinner to be held at Assur, and attended by Sargon, during the month of Tebet(?), 713 B.C. Rev. 16–21, here tabulated for greater clarity read as follows:

¹⁵ “Busschuldner” in the translation of K. Deller, *Or. NS* 30, 255 ff., that is to say, persons upon whom a magistrate's or higher court has imposed the compensatory indemnity payment of *sartu*.

¹⁶ In defence of this translation it may be

observed that the verbs *liš'al*, *pá-šu šabit* and *libbu iḥappiu* (lines 15–16) all belong, in their more serious applications, to the language of the ancient psychiatry, cf. my study in *AS* 16, 289 ff., under respectively *ša'alu/mašaltu*, *šibit pī* and *ḥepi libbi*.

- 16a [m] ¹⁴tupšar āli
 b mār m^dBa'u-aḥ-iddina KIMIN
 c mār m^dEšrā-aju ¹⁷ KIMIN
 d mār m^dIšdī-^dNabū KIMIN
 17a [mār KIMIN]
 b [mār] KIMIN
 c mār m^dNabū-be-el-ili KIMIN
 d mār m^dAḥi(?) -ri-ba ¹⁴tupšar āli KIMIN
 18a [mār KIMIN]
 b [mār] A-šur KIMIN
 c mār m^dAja-šar-ki-ba-ni KIMIN
 d mār m^dSin-apal-iddina KIMIN
 19a [mār KIMIN]
 b [mār m^dx (x)]-šá-kin-šu-mi KIMIN
 c mār m^dMES-*kab-tu-aḥḥē-šú KIMIN
 d *mār m^dAš-šur-bēl-ilāni KIMIN
 20a [mār KIMIN]
 b [mār] x KIMIN
 c mār m^dA-šur-id-na-ni ¹⁴tupšar āli KIMIN
 21a [mār]
 b [šA.BAL.B]AL ša m^dE-tel-pi-Mar-duk
 c ¹⁴tupšar bit tup-pa-a-ti

Thus presented, the above text permits of only one interpretation. It is a broken but once proud genealogy, most probably that of the host whose name would have been given in line 16a. On the supposition that a final name is missing in line 21a the reconstruction allows for a total of twenty-one generations covering some seven centuries of time; the name of the Babylonian founder of the line, Etel-pi-Marduk, who will surely have been the same as the famous scribe of Cassite times best known from Lambert's researches on "ancestors" (cf. *JCS* 11, 12, Appendix 4, line 6), brings interesting support to the suggestion. In association with such a name the three *tupšar ālis* of lines 16a, 17d and 20c stand in honoured company, and it is only a pity that the reading of KIMIN throughout the list is not known. It might, however, be added that the birth of a male heir to the youngest of the descendants and our presumed host would explain both the point of the genealogy—and the celebration.

By comparison much uncertainty attends the difficult *dajālu* and *rab dajāli/u* whose duties appear to be nowhere defined in relevant documents. In military contexts a meaning "scout", "Kundschafter" (thus Klauber, *Beamtentum*, 39, note 5; *CAD* D 27 f.; *AHW* 150) seems assured—exceptionally (*Iraq* 18, 45–46) such a scout appears to have been entrusted with the regular "security" report to the king from a snowbound frontier outpost—but the "inspector" which *CAD* advance as a meaning for *dajālu* in other contexts should be regarded as no more

¹⁷ Written mUD.20.KĀM—aju ("Born on the 20th day"). On the analogy of UD.4.KAM—aju and Ri-ba-aju (see *APN* 186) the UD has not been separately represented.

than provisional as a translation. Some of the examples supporting this conclusion belong in any case under *etinnu* (see K. Deller and S. Parpola in *RA* 60, 59 ff.).

Two things may perhaps be said. The first is that there are several reasons why the *dajālu* officials may confidently be placed in the municipal authority. On the one hand the ¹⁴dajālu ša uruKalḥa of *ABL* 52, rev. 6, and the ¹⁴rab dajālu ša uruKalḥa of *ADD* 612, rev. 7–8, look very much like municipal appointments. Secondly, a *rab dajāli* is closely associated with a *ḥazannu ša āli* in *ABL* 573, obv. 9. And thirdly, it would be attractive if the series *dajālu*, *rab dajālu*, *tupšar āli*, *ša muḥḥi āli* and *ḥazan[nu]* of *ABL* 530, 12–14, already partly alluded to above in the discussion of *tupšar āli*, could be thought to represent a homogeneous group of town officials placed in ascending order of seniority.

The second point returns to *ABL* 52. This letter from a certain Nabû-nādin-šūmi, *āšipu* to Esarhaddon(?), appears alone, at the present time, to show the city-based *dajālu* in action. We read (obv. 6 ff.): (6) *ina muḥḥi tak-pi-ir-ti* (7) *ša ṭe-e-mu šak-na-ku-ni* (8) *at-ta-lak tak-pi-ir-tu* (9) *da-at-t[u] ṭu-sa-aš-bit* (10) *issu uruNi-nu-a* (11) *ḥu-lu ša uruZi-* [] (12) *uk-te-li* (Rev. 1) *a-du uruSa-si-qa-ṭi* (2) *at-ta-lak ṭe-e-mu* (3) *a-na ṭu-da-aja-li* (4) *ša issu uruNinua^{kl}* (5) *is-si-ja ṭu-ša-an-ni* (6) *ṭu-da-aja-li* (7) *ša uruKal-ḥa a-sa-kan-šū-nu* (8) *mu-uk tu-ba-la* (9) *ina lib-bi uruKa-sap-pa* (10) *tu-ša-*ba-a*.

In this passage I should first like to identify the *uruKa-sap-pa* of rev. 9 with Tell Keshaf (see most easily Felix Jones' third map of Assyria, *JRAS*, 1855, Supplement, and Billerbeck and Jeremias, *BA* III, facing page 188), which lies 12 km. south of Calah on the south bank of the Upper Zab at its junction with the Tigris; two villages, Kishf al-Fouqāni and Kishf at-Tahtāni, lie close by to the east. In such a position one might expect that Kasappa belonged to the Kalzu province, and this situation, as already recognized by S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 203, would seem to be confirmed by ND 2640, 34 (copy B. Parker, *Iraq* 23, Pl. XXI), reading *uruKa-ṭsap-pi bēl piḥati Kāl-zi*. We may then translate: "With regard to the lustration on which I am engaged, I went off. . . . From Nineveh I took the road via Zi[. . .]. I went on to Sasiqani [(probably on the Upper Zab)]. The *dajālu* who came out with me from Nineveh, and the *dajālu* of Calah, I then put to work (on filling the jars) to cries of 'You will be carried away by the stream! Do you want to live in Kasappa?'"

The last remark is taken to be the writer's way of telling the king that the lustral water was taken from a point as far out in the river as a man might reach without being swept away by the strong current: such water doubtless had a reputation for especial purity. But the scene as a whole, although it tells something of the distances that might have to be covered, will hardly be thought to typify the life of a *dajālu*, and this is still to seek.

In conclusion we return to the gates, and specifically to the gate-keepers, or *pētiūte*(?). Men of this title were employed by a number of different organizations in the city, palace and temple included. Nevertheless, those of the municipal authority were perhaps as important as any. The association of *pētiūte* with a *ša muḥḥi āli* in a passage already mentioned (ND 2437, 31, see above, p. 9) is good evidence for the high seniority of the position. It may be noted also that texts from Dūr-Kurigalzu edited by O. R. Gurney include a contract of some kind in

which the two parties were respectively an *atû* (the Babylonian word) and a *hazanmu*.¹⁸ However, the main importance of these associations is that, although we must allow that the *nāgīru* (later *nāgīr ekalli*) of the king's mess had a military association with the gates as city defence officer—for such may be thought to have been at least one of his functions—it would seem that at all other times the gates would have been under municipal control. From Calah in the seventh century one hears also of a *rab abullāte* (ABL 493, rev. 17), or some kind of "Gates officer", which may or may not have been a municipal appointment. The title is not, however, found elsewhere, and, if not a late development, may possibly have been specially created to meet some local need.

What the town officials may have levied in the way of tolls is not, I think, at present known. The collecting of what we must properly call taxes belongs in large measure to the following section.

THE PROVINCIAL AUTHORITY

From the point of view of the recovery of Assyrian administration in its more material aspects, one may think that second in importance only to the excavation of the *ekal māšarti* was the discovery on the tell of Nimrud of the Governor's Palace.¹⁹ This was the headquarters of the provincial authority.

The importance of the building lies in the tablets that were found there, the officials mentioned upon them, and the fact that they were lifted in days of controlled excavation—for it is impossible to know which, if any, of the Kuyunjik tablets belong to the provincial archives of Nineveh. Discounting the smaller fragments, 156 tablets appear to have been discovered in the offices of the building, 76 during the 1949 season and 80(?) in the year following.²⁰ Catalogues of the two groups were published by D. J. Wiseman in Part 2 of issues of *Iraq* for 1950 and 1951 (the latter including also some personal contributions), and K. Deller subsequently incorporated the texts within the scheme of his useful section on "NA texts from Nimrud: provisional arrangement by contents".²¹ In the matter of date it may be recalled that the documents, which do not form a connected archive, belong to various periods between 808 and 710 B.C.

In the following account of the provincial authority the "GP" collection serves as an important control. Nevertheless many problems beset the path of enquiry, and even the governorship, which may be discussed first, cannot properly be declared free of obscurity.

The main difficulty lies in the fact that at Calah, as elsewhere, there was both a *bēl pihāti* (or *paḫāti*)²² and a *šaknu* in charge of provincial affairs. When the GP texts first appeared these titles were translated "district governor" and "town

¹⁸ See *Iraq* 11, 133, text No. 3.

¹⁹ For the full account see Mallowan, *Nimrud*, Chapter II.

²⁰ No official figures for the tablets found in 1950 have been given out, and the number stated is a calculation based on catalogue entries for the year.

²¹ In "The Neo-Assyrian epigraphical remains of Nimrud", *Or.* NS 35, 179–194.

²² Because of some uncertainty the vowels of this word are not indicated as to their possible or probable length; see further B. Landsberger, *ana ittišu*, 126, and J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of post-Kassite Babylonia*, 296, note 1,940.

governor" respectively²³; but while one may sympathize with this attempt to simplify the problem, it is virtually certain that the title *šaknu* was originally *šakin māti*,²⁴ so that justice must somehow be done to the element *mātu* = "province". How close is the meaning of the two terms was in fact already seen by C. H. W. Johns, who pointed out that, on certainly two occasions in his texts, an eponym might be called in one place a *bēl pihāti* and in another a *šaknu*.²⁵ The essentially provincial character of the two offices was clear to Meissner: "Nicht Zentral-, sondern Provinzialbeamte waren die «Statthalter» der Provinzen (*šaknu*; *bēl pihāti*) . . .";²⁶ relevant also is Manitius, *ZA* 24, 109.

To explain the Johns' evidence which we have just alluded to, it seems necessary to assume that only in distant parts of the empire might one and the same person be both *bēl pihāti* and *šaknu*. Generally the two offices were kept distinct, and this was certainly the case in Calah while it was the royal capital. The evidence for this statement are the two letters ND 417 and 436 from the GP collection; these were written by the *šaknu* who was evidently absent at the time on some mission, and are addressed by name to Šarru-dūri who is several times mentioned in the texts (although admittedly not in the two letters) as the *bēl pihāti*. The *šaknu's* greeting of *lū šulmu ana aḫija*, "I hope it is well with my brother", would suggest that their relationship was at least that of close colleagues. The two officials also occur together some centuries earlier in Babylonia, where, following a careful study by Brinkman,²⁷ it would seem that the *šaknu* was then the senior in rank; by contrast "the *bēl pihāti* in this period never figures actively in an important action of the provincial government".²⁸ We in fact believe that this essential relationship remained constant throughout the Neo-Assyrian period, and that the *šaknu* whom we accordingly elevate to first position should properly be regarded as a military governor of the class of emirs.

This conclusion will not be immediately obvious. But the point is that, in Assyria, all governors were appointed by the king from one or other of two orders of men, the *rabāni* and the *ša rēši*. The first of these words we translate as "emirs" (cf. fully below on pp. 38 ff.), although for the moment "princes" will serve; the *ša rēši* (Bab. *šūt rēši*) were "court eunuchs". That it was the order of *rabāni* who provided the *šaknus* is an assertion that can be made in the light of a new text (pp. 39 ff.) which gives the names of 22 provincial or military centres under the command of *rabāni*, and the argument is completed by the eponym lists which indicate that the governor in these same centres had the title of *šaknu*. The opposite conclusion, namely that the *bēl pihāti* was commonly a *ša rēši*, has the support of the standard phrase of the royal annals: *lūšūt rēšija bēl pihāti elišunu aškun*.²⁹ A useful translation is therefore "eunuch governor" (Diakonoff, *Landsberger Festschrift*, 347 and 349).

²³ D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 13, 103.

²⁴ See, for example, J. A. Brinkman, *JESHO* VI, 235, note 6, and *History of post-Kassite Babylonia*, notes 1,945 and 1,965; R. Borger, *AFO* 23, 9 f.

²⁵ *ADD* II, 137 f. (cf. E. G. Klauber, *Beamtentum*, 100), referring to the governors of Lahira and Kullania in the seventh century.

²⁶ *Babylonien und Assyrien* I, 132.

²⁷ "Provincial administration in Babylonia under the Second Dynasty of Isin", *JESHO* VI, 233–242.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 237, note 2.

²⁹ An apparent exception is (*ša*) *lūšū-ut rēši-šu lūšak-nu-ti eli-šu-nu iš-tak-ka-nu-ma*, Sargon, Cylinder Inscription, line 16, where the meaning may not be entirely similar.

On the philology of the two terms it may be noted firstly that *šaknu* had a long history in Mesopotamia,³⁰ while *piḫatu* may have changed its meaning. For the earlier periods and the meaning "officium (Dienst)", "Haftung", reference may be made to Landsberger, *MSL* I, pp. 127 ff.; whereas following Brinkman (*JESHO* VI, 236), who interprets the Bab. *ana piḫati turru* as "to restore (land privately held) to the public domain", we find it attractive to explain the *bēl piḫati* of later times as properly the "owner of the public domain". This included waterways (*ABL* 89), grazing land (Saggs, *Iraq* 28, 182), and foreign territory annexed after a campaign (Wiseman, *Iraq* 26, 121, lines 13 and 16).

For a moment we may look at the northern provinces of Assyria. Here, firstly, was the province of the *turtānu*, or "commander-in-chief", whose traditional capital was in the Til-Barsip or Harran areas of the north-west. Further to the east lay the provincial capital of the *rab šāqi*, probably to be identified with the city of Ša-birēšu.³¹ As we learn from new texts of Tiglath-pileser III³² eastwards again lay the province of the (*a*)*barakku*, and lines 5-7 of the security report ND 2798,³³ *a-na māti ša lūbarakki šul-mu ina māti lūrab šāqi šul-mu*, "It is well with the province of the (*a*)*barakku*: all is well in the province of the *rab šāqi*", further suggest that these two territories are adjacent. Perhaps also in the north was the *māt lūnāgir ekalli*, or "province of the *nāgir ekalli*",³⁴ while in two closely related texts Abi-rāmu, eponym for the fifth year of the reign of Esarhaddon, is described on the one hand as *sukallu rabū*³⁵ and on the other as *šakin māt Ha_x(HAL)-ni-gal-bat*, "governor of the province of Hanigalbat".³⁶ This list may suggest two things, firstly, that *šaknu* was not a title commonly used of the top-ranking military officers,³⁷ and, secondly, that Assyria at this time had no mean respect for the military strength of Urartu.

At this point we should not neglect to mention the evidence of the ninth century stelæ found at Assur which bear such titles as those of Bēl-lū-baliṭ who was *turtānu*, *nāgiru rabū*, *šatam ekurrāte*, *rab ummāni rapšu*, and *šakin māti* of six places in the Harran area.³⁸ The example may serve to show that the senior military officers were *šaknus* and not *bēl piḫatis* of their provinces, and of course the first of *šaknus* was the king himself who appears in the texts as *šakin Enlil*, *šakkanak ilāni rabūti*, or the like.³⁹ Here is thus a further argument for regarding the *šaknu*, "emirate governor", as senior to the *bēl piḫati*, "eunuch governor", and indeed the latter office was

³⁰ Cf. *int. al.*, A. Falkenstein, *An. Or.* XXVIII, 19, and note 3; *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 160; W. W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, Chapter V; A. Goetze, *JCS* 17, 7 ff.; E. Sollberger, *TCS* I, 172 f.; A. Alt, *Pedersen Festschrift*, 1-11; M.-J. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, 447 f.; J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of post-Kassite Babylonia* (see Index).

³¹ Cf. E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 107; D. Opitz, *RLA* I, 460; and for the etymology, A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET* 278, note 8.

³² D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 18, 117 ff., and 26, 121.

³³ Edited by H. W. F. Saggs in *Iraq* 21, 165 f.

³⁴ Cf. E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 117, also

ND 2335, 10 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 16, 44).

³⁵ On this official see further below, p. 36.

³⁶ See particularly R. Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* I, 21. For the suggested value *ha_x* in the reading of the city name, cf. *ur_uha_x(HAL)-al-ši*, *STT* II, 372, 3.

³⁷ We stress the word "commonly": that *šaknu* was indeed their title as governors is argued in the following paragraph.

³⁸ W. Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, No. 44, cf. A. Ungnad, *RLA* II, 439.

³⁹ Cf. especially J.-R. Kupper, "Rois et šakkanakku", *JCS* 21, 123-125; and J. A. Brinkman, *op. cit.*, 301, note 1,976.

probably subservient in any case to the *rab rēši* (p. 47). The earliest datable reference to a *bēl piḫati* appears at the present time to be provided by a *kudurru* belonging to the fifth year of Nazimaruttaš (cf. Taha Baqir, *Iraq*, Supplement, 1944, Pl. XVIII, right column, 7, and J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of post-Kassite Babylonia*, 304). On the MA *ḥasiḫlu* (ex *ḥalzuḫlu*), who at least in the Tell Billa documents appears as a military governor comparable to the later *šaknu*, reference may be made to Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 116 f.⁴⁰

Although other details might be mentioned we may take our leave of the governor with a brief reference to the grain tax and the distribution of rations. So far as rationing was concerned the governor, in this case the *bēl piḫati*, had two major responsibilities: to supply his own household (several clues suggest that this may often have been sizeable), and to make available the supply to the king's household. The first of these duties is obvious; the second follows indirectly from a familiar passage (line 53) of Sargon's eighth campaign: *ki-ma lūšu-ut rēši-meš-ja lūbēl piḫati-meš ša māt Aššur⁴¹ qēmu(ZID.DA.MEŠ) karānu(GEŠTIN.MEŠ) ā-na ta-kul-ti um-ma-ni-ja ka-ri-e iš-pu-uk-ma*, "As my officers, the governors of Assyria, would have done, he (Ullusunū) had laid up stores of flour and wine for the feeding of my army." From this line it is seen that the provision of food supplies along the route of the Assyrian army on its annual campaign was a recognized commitment on the part of the provincial (eunuch)-governor; that he should have the same responsibility for household personnel of the capital city may be seen as no more than an extension of this practice. As is well known the grain tax levied yearly at harvest time was called *nusāḫū*, NA *nusāḫē*, evidently a plural word as Postgate points out in *Royal Grants*, p. 14. And if one would be sure of the *bēl piḫati*'s concern with it this may be seen in lines 8-10 of ND 413 (catalogue entry in *Iraq* 13, 107) which read: *šenu-sa-ḫe-meš ša lūbēl piḫati ša ur_uKal-ḫi ū-su-ḫu*. These words are said to have been spoken by a certain Banī and they look very much like the statutory order which was sent out each year to the responsible officials: "Collect in the grain tax for the governor of Calah!"⁴¹

A provincial second-in-command, or vice-governor, is mentioned only rarely in NA texts (e.g. *ADD* 59, 15; 1141, 55), but several examples may lie behind the simple term *šaniu*, which commonly stands without qualification especially in the Harper letters. This use is seen most clearly in connection with vice-governors of foreign territories (as Hamban, *ABL* 884, 11, and [a province of] Urartu, *ABL* 1295, rev. 6). In the latter text, however, as also in *ADD* 59 just mentioned, governor, vice-governor and *rab ālāni* occur together, and it is now important that this third official should be given his proper place in the provincial hierarchy.

The close association of the office of *rab ālāni* with the governorship has been known for some time (cf. *CAD* A 389-390). Weidner⁴² argued convincingly that a certain Ilīma-lē'ū, described in a document (*KAV* 94, obv. 8) from the time of Adad-nirari III as a *rab ālāni*, was doubtless identical with a man of the same name who became governor of Nisibin. In *Afo* 16, 42, Weidner also edited a NB contract

⁴⁰ Cf. also *CAD* H 57, and P. Garelli, *Semitica* XVII, 16.

⁴¹ Cf. further *AHw* 805.

⁴² *Tell Halaf* (*Afo* Beiheft 6), 10, note 32, cf. also *Afo* 10, 15 and 21, 35.

copied by Pinches where one of the witnesses, Ša-Nabû-šū, has the title ^{lū}*rab ālāni*^{meš} ša ^{lū}*šakin māti*, that is, “*rab ālāni* to the (Assyrian) governor”. Documents discovered at Nimrud fully bear out this relationship. Thus several tablets which concern a *rab ālāni* in one way or another were found in various rooms of the Governor’s Palace; they include ND 264, 427, 430, 495—and perhaps 474, for the reason that it mentions the name of Bēl-ittiya who is known to have been a *rab ālāni* of the period. On ND 427 (see *Iraq* 13, 109) two governors are specifically mentioned in the text, and it is consequently necessary to read as a minimum [PN₁] PN₂ ^{lū}*rab ālāni-šū-nu* in order to explain the final suffix.

With regard to the duties of the office it is clear from the name that the *rab ālāni* had charge of certain townships within the province. Mallowan⁴³ in fact suggests that his post may have been the equivalent to that of the *mudir nahiya* in the country districts of modern Iraq (although, as Oates informs me, it is the *qaimaqām*, or “district commissioner” who follows next after the *mutesarraf*), and Saggs⁴⁴ would assign one *rab ālāni* to each of the sub-districts within a province known as *qannu*. This proposal has the support of *ADD* 612, obv. 1, and also of *ABL* 252, 7 ff., which mentions a certain Yata’, ^{lū}*rab ālāni*^{meš}-šū ša qa-ni ta-ḥu-me ša māti *Uratia-aja*, “the *rab ālāni* of a *qannu* on the boundary of Urartian territory”; an indication of the land unit involved is furnished by such a phrase as ND 2728, obv. 7: *naphar* 7 *ālāni*^{meš}.ni ša qa-an-ni ^{uru}*Arba-il*, “total of 7 towns/villages in the *qannu* of Arba’il” (B. Parker, *Iraq* 23, 46, and Pl. XXIV). In fact, however, there does not appear to be any direct information as to the number of *rab ālānis*—or more correctly *rab ālānāte*⁴⁵—that might be appointed to a province. *ABL* 767, obv. 10 ff., names two from the province of Rašapa, two from the province of Bar-halša, three from the city of Tillē and three others, but from the context one is not encouraged to think that the text is necessarily concerned with total numbers. A reference in *ABL* 506, rev. 5, to ^{lū}*rab ālāni*^{meš} *gab-bu*, “all the *rab ālānis* (of the province?)”, should be taken in conjunction with the new reading for the passage proposed by Saggs in *Iraq* 21, 167.

As the governor was concerned with taxes so also were his *rab ālāni*, and it is likely that one of their essential functions was the actual collecting and forwarding of taxes in kind “to the depot of the central government”.⁴⁶ As we have seen, the “central government” means the responsible officials of the king’s household (in this instance probably including the (*a*)*barakku* who appears to have belonged to the king’s mess), and transfers of taxable items will consequently have taken place between the provincial and government authorities at appointed times. Concerning the whole of this procedure there is as yet much uncertainty as to details on the government side; much basic material may in fact have been lost owing to the use by accounts of writing boards. But one may be reasonably certain of the *rab ālāni*’s responsibility in the matter from the single letter ND 2452 (edited by Saggs, *Iraq* 18, 50 f.) which was written to the Assyrian king—possibly Sargon—from the Sippar area. We read (obv. 3–9): (3) 6 *lim* ŠE.KUR₆.MEŠ (4) ša ^m*Šilli-Bēl*

⁴³ *Nimrud* I, 46.

⁴⁴ *Iraq* 18, 50, cf. *The Greatness that was Babylon*, 248.

⁴⁵ For this plural cf. references in *CAD* A 390, and subsequently ND 2437, obv. 4 (*Iraq* 17, 139).

⁴⁶ Cf. Saggs, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

(5) ^{lū}*rab ālāni*^{meš}.ni (6) [*t*]a-ba-at ri-iḥ-ti (7) ŠE.KUR₆.MEŠ la ú-du-^ṛuk^ṛ-ku-^u (8) 2 *lim* 70 GUR *etir*(KAR-ir) (9) 3 *lim* ŠE.KUR₆.MEŠ ina ^{uru}*Si-par*, “the 6,000 *gur* of grain provided by Šilli-Bēl, the *rab ālāni*, is all correct; ⁴⁷ 3,000 *gur* is already in Sippar, 2,070 *gur* has been taken away (and is in transit), the rest of the grain has not yet been taken away”. It is of interest in this passage to see the figure of 6,000 *gur* associated with a *rab ālāni*. It should represent the total of tax required for the year from his sector of the Sippar province.

We may now turn to consider another official much concerned with grain, namely, the *rab karmāni*. A first indication of the *rab karmāni*’s control over grain supplies, as also of his senior status, is provided by *ABL* 43, obv. 18, where a ^{lū}*rab kar-mana*(MAN) ^m*Dajjān-Adad* is included among certain governors, who, at the time of the letter, have failed to send the regular *ginū*-dues of grain to the city of Assur. To this information two Nimrud texts bring additional support. Firstly, ND 3469, 14–15 (text Wiseman, *Iraq* 15, Pl. XIII) records an entry of 4,000 homers of grain against the name of Esaggil-šar-ušur, ^{lū}*rab kar-ma-ni*; and secondly, ND 2791, 15–18 (text Parker, *Iraq* 23, Pl. XXVIII) carries a summary statement the phrase, *naphar*⁴⁸ 12,800 ŠE.KUR₆.MEŠ na-kam-tū ^{lū}*rab kar-me* ^{kur}*Hal-zu*, “Total of 12,800 (homers) of grain (being) stores of the *rab karmāni* of Halzu”.⁴⁹ (In passing, it may be noted that line 7 of this latter text is far more likely to read URU.ŠE ^a[x] than the suggested ^{uru}*Arba-il*, particularly since only 80 homers are contributed from this source; in this case the towns and villages listed will all have belonged to the province of “Halzu”).

From such evidence one may suppose that the *rab karmāni* was primarily a governor’s official concerned with grain supplies, and particularly since there appears to be no other claimant for the position we are encouraged to name him as the “granary officer” of the province. With regard to the phrase ^{lū}*rab karmāni* ^m*Dajjān-Adad* of the cited letter *ABL* 43, an at least possible way to take this—and despite the different translations of Waterman, Pfeiffer and Tallqvist (*APN* 68)—is as a genitive relationship, “the granary officer of Dayyān-Adad”, the latter being probably either *turtānu*, *rab šaqi*, (*a*)*barakku* or *nāgir ekalli* of the day since apparently only these might have their provinces referred to in terms of their own names or titles (cf. eponym lists and p. 39, below). A further indication of the *rab karmāni*’s association with governors may be seen in VAT 9635, rev. 12 (cf. now Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 98, rev. 27 ff.) where ^{lū}*rab kar-ma-ni* ša ^{uru}*Ninua* appears to be in some sense parallel to the ^{lū}*bēl pihati* ša ^{kur}*Si-’me-e* of the following line. For *karmāni* as “(Getreide-)Haufen”, and despite the difficulty of finding the correct point of association with *karmu* as “ruined mound”, reference may be made to Weidner, *Mélanges Dussaud*, 924, note 5, and *Afo* 21, 41.

We conclude this statement with a note on the word *mākisu*, “tax-collector”. It is firstly of interest to find that the same root exists also in Arabic (cf. *AHw* 588

⁴⁷ It may be noted that the reading [*t*]a-ba-at is thought to improve upon the [*š*]a-na-at of the original edition, and that, in the translation, the order of the following lines 6 to 9 has been rearranged to accord with modern usage.

⁴⁸ Written PAP, for which *naphar* may be

provisionally adopted in the absence of direct evidence.

⁴⁹ Possibly an abbreviation for Halziatbar, the whole sentence being itself written in an abbreviated style in which even the unit of measure is omitted.

and 652), and Oates draws my attention to the remarkable survival of Ar. *mākis*, still as tax-collector, into the life of the present day. But the fact is that the *mākis* is an altogether elusive figure in Neo-Assyrian times. Indeed F. R. Kraus, to whom is owed a long study of both the verb (as "eine öffentliche Abgabe erheben") and its derivatives *mākisu* and *miksu*,⁵⁰ could quote only one example of this occupation occurring in texts of the NA period, namely, in the passage ND 2715, 10–13 (edited Saggs, *Iraq* 17, 127). This reads: (10) *ša PA.MEŠ*⁵¹ *ú-še-ra-da-a-ni* (11) *mi-ik-si-šú a-ma-kis* ¹*ma-ki-sa-ni*^{meš} (12) *ina muḫḫi ka-ra-a-ni*^{meš} *ša māt Lab-na-na gab-bi* (13) *up-ta-q[i]-d[i(?)]*, "On the felled trees which they send downstream I am exacting a percentage tax,⁵² having appointed tax-collectors at all the quaysides in Lebanon."

The *mākisu* is mentioned on two other occasions in the letter (lines 14 and 21), and with the exception of ADD 993, iii, 21, PN *ma-ki-su ša paḫat Qu-e*, it does seem to appear that they are not further represented in first millennium documents. Kraus, however, has occasion in his study to speak of "der Berufs- (oder Funktions-) Titel *mākisum*",⁵³ and it may be that we should accept the words in brackets and conceive of the post as one that might be held, perhaps for a limited tenure, by any official with the necessary qualifications. In the Nimrud text the *mākisāni* were clearly the servants of the governor in Lebanon who wrote the letter, and as such are to be regarded as officers of the provincial authority. In the Johns text the reference to a "tax-collector of the province ('public domain') of Cilicia" is quite explicit.

THE PRIESTHOOD AND TEMPLE PERSONNEL

As the municipal authority at Calah was situated at the city gates, and the provincial authority in offices of the Governor's Palace, so principal seats of the priestly community in the city will have been senior temples situated on the citadel. Before proceeding it may be useful to set the scene.

It will be recalled that the chief temples of the citadel were the Ninurta-temple at the foot of the ziggurat, the Ishtar-temple *Bit kidmuri*, and the great Nabû-temple Ezida. The massive structure of the ziggurat itself I feel inclined to associate with the name of Enlil, for although the temple of Ninurta lay close enough to suggest that the ziggurat might (exceptionally) have been Ninurta's also, Ashurnasirpal refers in two inscriptions to *bit* ^a*Enlil*(^aBAD) *u* ^a*Ninurta*, "the temple-complex of Enlil and Ninurta",⁵⁴ and if the area was thus dedicated to both of them it would obviously be appropriate to give the ziggurat to the senior god. The same conclusion follows from K.252, col. vi, 11 ff. (cf. Frankena, *Tākultu*, p. 7) where the list of the gods of Calah attending the *tākultu* festival reads initially: *Aššur-Aššur*

⁵⁰ In *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-Šaduqa*, 133 ff.

⁵¹ On the difficulty here see Saggs, *ibid.*, p. 129, but read probably *SĪG-MEŠ* = *maḫṣūti*, "felled (trees)".

⁵² For the justification of this translation

cf. especially M. Birot, *JESHO* V, 91, note 4, and 92, note 1.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁵⁴ Lion inscription, ed. Budge and King, *AKA* I, 208, note 2, line 7; and the new stela, ed. D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, 24 ff., line 54.

*Aššur-a*Enlil ^a*Ninurta*. Ziggurats were associated with Enlil both at Nippur and in the great Enlil/Ashur ziggurat at Assur⁵⁵; a secondary connection with Ashur would have existed also at Calah.⁵⁶

The name of the Ninurta temple is not known and none is given on Ashurnasirpal's dedicatory inscription (*AKA* I, 209 ff.) or on the Shamshi-Adad V obelisk (IR 29; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records* I, 253) which was found by Rassam out of position in the inner gate-chamber (NT 1) of Ezida. In the ninth century the Ninurta temple may have been the largest in Calah (for the archaeological account see Mallowan, *Nimrud* I, Chapter VI), but it was not the oldest for Ashurnasirpal restored the *Bit Ištar* (*bēlat*) *kidmuri*, also called *Bit Ištar* and *Bit kid(i)muri*, "which had existed in former days under the kings, my fathers" (*AKA* I, 164, 20). The word *kidmuri* or *kidimuri* is as yet unexplained, but from several allusions in the Harper letters⁵⁷ one may certainly think that both the site and its goddess had some reputation, not of the highest order, in the religious world. It should be mentioned that a second Ishtar temple, *Bit bēlat māti*, is known and has been identified from the Lion inscription, *AKA* I, 206 ff., which in fact begins with the words *ana bēlat māti*. The twin lion, found at Nimrud during the recent excavations, was reburied *in situ* (Mallowan, *Nimrud* I, 92).

Finally, a few brief remarks may serve to recall something of Ezida, whose archaeological story has been fully presented by Mallowan in *Iraq* 19, 5 ff., and *Nimrud* I, Chapter XIV; by David Oates in *Iraq* 19, 26 ff.; and by Oates and J. H. Reid in *Iraq* 18, 22 ff. According to the eponym chronicle Nabû entered the *bītu eššu*, or "New Temple", in 788,⁵⁸ which must then represent the completion date of Adad-nirari's extensive work on Ezida, but Ashurnasirpal before him also records the building, or restoring, of a Nabû temple,⁵⁹ and it would be surprising if this did not underlie part of the later structure. On a point of nomenclature it may be suggested that the "raised podium" which was so prominent a feature of the Ezida shrines was called in Assyria the *kigallu*; thus *ABL* 257, rev. 4–6, although perhaps not referring to Calah, may be read: (4) *ina muḫḫi ki-gal-li ša aTaš-me-tum a-sa-a-kan*⁶⁰ (5) *ša-lam-a-ni ša šarri bēli-ja ina muḫḫi ki-gal-li* (6) *i-mit-tú šu-me-li ú-sa-za-a-a-zi*, "On the Tashmetum podium I have placed the statues of the king, my lord—I have positioned them on the podium to right and left." Epigraphical materials discovered in Ezida include tablets of the temple library from the NT 12 area,⁶¹ *nīš pūhi* contracts of the seventh century exposed in a trench dug in post-Assyrian times through rooms NT 14 and 16,⁶² and vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon

⁵⁵ For the latter cf. simply W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, 88 ff., etc., also entries in R. Frankena, *Tākultu*, 126, line 176 and note 74.

⁵⁶ On the Enlil-Ashur syncretism dating, it would seem, from the times of Shalmaneser I, see basically F. Nötscher, *Ellil in Sumer und Akkad* (Hanover, 1927).

⁵⁷ Cf. L. Waterman, *RCAE* IV, 159 (Index).

⁵⁸ Cf. simply *RLA* II, 429, under the entry for 787, the authority for the additional year

being indicated in Chapter I, note 7.

⁵⁹ "New stela" inscription, Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, pl. IX, line 57.

⁶⁰ Suggested, in place of *a-sa-a-tar*, Waterman, *RCAE* I, 172, which does not accord with the traces.

⁶¹ Further information is summarized in *Nimrud* I, 271–277.

⁶² Published by Barbara Parker in *Iraq* 19, 125 ff.

found dramatically smashed in the throne-room of the north-west courtyard, amongst ash and debris of the final conflagration.⁶³

It is against this background, briefly sketched as it has been, that the Calah priesthood must be placed. Necessarily the account begins with the king, for the king was the first of priests and his sacral throne, the *kussî šangûti*, was doubtless reserved solely for priestly occasions. About the time of our new documents Adad-nirari III could call himself *šangû elli za-nin é-šár-ra la mu-par-ku-ú*, "sanctified priest and tireless provider of the needs of Esharra",⁶⁴ and indeed the most important of religious events will undoubtedly have taken place in the old and revered city of Assur. Contrary to a long-held opinion it seems likely that the title *SANGA Aššur* (= *iššak(ki) Aššur*) of Assyrian kings is not as priestly as it sounds, and that Seux is right to assume the existence of a form **iššangu* beside *iššakku*, comparable to the *šá-an-ga-na-ku* of KAR 98, obv. 5, for *šakkanakku*.⁶⁵ But in any case the priestly function of the Assyrian king was almost inseparable from the royal. A good example of how close the two offices became⁶⁶ may be seen in the fact that, in contrast to Hittite custom and such a study as Goetze's "The priestly dress of the Hittite king" (*JCS* I, 176 ff.), the Assyrian king appears not to have had an especial priestly dress. Rather, his fringed *kusûtu* with its golden disks and rosettes⁶⁷ seems to have been used indifferently, on all public occasions, as an expression of *šarrûtu* and *šangûtu*.

From the king we turn to the next senior post in the Assyrian temple hierarchy, and here the problem must be faced that no single term for the office was in use—as it would seem—in the Neo-Assyrian period, nor was the holder of it always a "priest" in the proper sense of the term. The complex situation is at its simplest in the times of Ashurnasirpal II when there is mention of a *šangamahhu*, a term we may confidently translate as "high priest". The evidence for it comes from ND 5545, a hemerology for the beginning days of the month of Tashrit, found in Room NT 12 of Ezida and published by P. Hulin in *Iraq* 21, 42 ff. The colophon reads:

ú-tuk-ku ša ^{1ti}tašrīti
qāt ^aAja-mu-dammiq ^{1ú}šan_x(SAG)-ga-mah-hu ša
^mAššur-nāšir-apli šar māt ^aAš-šur
mār Tap-pu-ja ^{1ú}šatammu(šā.TAM) ša uruDēri^{ki}
mār Hu-za-li ^{1ú}šatammi-ma

From these lines it is learnt that the tablet was written by "Aja-mudammiq, *šangamahhu* to Ashurnasirpal, king of Assyria, son of Tappuya, *šatammu* of Dēr, son of Huzālu, the *šatammu*". It is interesting also that ancestors of this *šangamahhu*

⁶³ D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 20, Part 1 (1958); R. Borger, *ZA* NF 20, 173–196, and *ibid.* NF 22, 261; Erica Reiner, *ANET*, 3rd edition with supplement, 534 ff.

⁶⁴ Line 3 of a broken slab found in Adad-nirari's palace at Calah during the first excavations, and published in *IR* 35, No. 1.

⁶⁵ M.-J. Seux, "Remarques sur le titre royal assyrien *iššakki Aššur*", *RA* 59, 101 ff., particularly p. 104 and note 1; cf. also G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, 172.

⁶⁶ Cf. in general R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne*, *passim*; and C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of divine rule*, 39.

⁶⁷ Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *JNES* 8, 179.

should have been *šatammus*, a term which, after Landsberger,⁶⁸ is not doubtful in the meaning "Bischof", "Hohepriester", and which was common in the south in such titles as *šatam Esagila*, *šatam Kiš*, *šatam Sippar*, and the like. Professions commonly ran in families and there may have been little essential difference between the writer's profession and his father's.

Yet not after this time does there appear to be any mention at all of *šangamahhus* in the Neo-Assyrian texts, and evidently its use was discontinued. The next claimant for an equivalent post seems in fact to have been Bēl-lū-baliṭ about the times of Shamshi-Adad V, whom his stela at Assur pronounces to have been a *šatam ekurrāte*. This title is difficult to translate since there is no obvious way of determining which and where were the temples implied by the term *ekurrāte*. But it is important to note that the holder of it, being also a *turtānu* and *šaknu* (p. 14) was an emir and not of priestly descent.

There was to come a time also when a (*ša*) *rēšu šarri*,⁶⁹ or court eunuch, might hold a similar appointment, and the term "high priest" is then hardly admissible at all. Indeed, there is perhaps more than a touch of sarcasm in lines 55–56 of the *Fürstenspiegel*:⁷⁰

55 lu ^{1ú}rē'ú lu ^{1ú}šā-tam ekurri lu šu-ut rēšu šarri
56 šā ina Sippar^{ki} Nippur^{ki} u Bābil^{ki} a-na ^{1ú}šā-tam ekurri izzazzū,

"If either a religious leader, or a high priest, or the king's eunuchs who in Sippar, Nippur and Babylon 'stand for' high priests". Some further evidence on the part such *ša rēši* came to take in temple affairs is presented below pp. 47 f.

In a perhaps special category is to be placed Aqqulānu in the times of Esarhaddon. This familiar figure, a sometime *ērib biti* ^aAššur according to *ABL* 539, rev. 14, was the author of eight letters to be found in Thompson's *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, whence Landsberger⁷¹ has described him as "der assyrische Hof-Astrologe" of the period. Additionally, however, in *ABL* 47, Aqqulānu writes to the king about an impending religious ceremony at Tarbašu, which is the kind of thing one might expect of a high priest (or the like) whose responsibilities would not be confined to his own city or temple. In *ABL* 48 and 49 he writes also about *šangús* as if they were his juniors. But unfortunately there is no record of his title at this time.

It is appropriate now to consider the *šangû*, who, with the earlier Sum. *sanga* and Hurr. *šankunni*-, was the priest *par excellence* of the Mesopotamian world. In the broad picture *šangús* might be associated by title with either cities, sanctuaries or deities, and as a statement of such association the recent summary of Landsberger,⁷² "Es gibt *šangû* von Städten . . ., von Haupttempeln kleinerer Städte, von Nebentempeln in den Großstädten, von Kapellen in den Haupttempeln", will probably never be improved. Much information on the *šangû* in earlier periods is presented

⁶⁸ *Ist.-Brief*, 30, 36, and especially 58 ff., "Das Amt des *šatammu*".

⁶⁹ The form given is that provided by the short version of *igituh* (ed. Landsberger and Gurney, *Afo* 18, 83), lines 232–233:

LU.SAG *šā re-šu*

LU.SAG.LUGAL MIN *šar-ri*
⁷⁰ Cf. W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 110 ff. (with previous references), and I. M. Diakonoff, *AS* 16, 343 ff.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, 38.

⁷² *Op. cit.*, 61, note 115.

in the second part of J. Renger's "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit".⁷³ So far as Assyria is concerned Deller's attractive study on "The ruling class of Nimrud, circa 640 B.C." ⁷⁴ has revealed that the names of the *šangûs* of Calah's three main temples are actually known for this period. They are Nabû-šum-ušur and ⁴MES-šar-ušur ⁷⁵ for Ezida, Iddināja for the Ninurta temple, and Arad-Ishtar for *Bit kidimuri*; the fact of there being two *šangûs* in office in Ezida at the same time may be noted. As the first of the deity's servants the *šangû* participated in major events of the cultic calendar which need not be our concern here. Some illustrations of the part he might play in Assyrian ceremony will be found in Köcher's "Ein mittelassyrisches Ritualfragment zum Neujahrsfest", ZA NF 16, 194 (lines 10, 11, 17 and 19 f.), in van Driel, *The Cult of Assur*, 175 ff., and in Frankena, *Tākultu*, 41 and 129. Attention may also be drawn to A. L. Oppenheim, "Analysis of an Assyrian ritual (KAR 139)",⁷⁶ where the *šangû's* part in an unusual intercession ritual with Ishtar is described, and which is of additional interest in that it is Assyrian, and not Babylonian, in its conception and inspiration.

Unexpectedly, perhaps, we may insert here a brief note on the *sartennu*. This senior official, a "Gerichtspräsident" according to Delitzsch, *HWB* 512, or "Oberrichter" (Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I, 132), is now often called the "chief justice". Landsberger, *Ist.-Brief*, 70, refers to him as an independent, professional judge. Known from numerous legal texts in both NB and NA, the *sartennu* in the latter periods is particularly associated with the *sukallu* (cf. below, p. 36), thus in *ABL* 716, rev. 11, in the recently published BM 123360, obv. 8 (J. N. Postgate, *Iraq* 32, 132), in *ADD* 470, rev. 9-10 (sale of a village), and in Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, 4, rev. 16, where the two officials were the first signatories, and probably therefore joint presidents, to the deed which embodied Sennacherib's bequest of personnel to the *bit akitu* at Assur. One may refer also in this connection to Deller's "Die Rolle des Richters im neuassyrischen Prozessrecht", *Festschrift Edoardo Volterra*, 1972. There is one new text, however, which may particularly be referred to here. This is BT 118 from Balawat (ed. Parker, *Iraq* 25, 95, and Pl. XXIII) which reads initially: (1) [dīnu(DI) ša] ^mšum-mu-il ¹šangû (2) ¹šar-tini a-na ^mDi-i-d[u] (3) e-me-du-u-ni, "Penalty which Šummu-il, the *šangû*-priest and *sartennu*, has imposed upon Didu." In these lines the word ¹šangû is partially restored, but from Johns, *ADD* 374, rev. 11, a *šangû*-priest by the name of Šummu-il is known to have been living within nine years of the Balawat document (the respective dates are 686 and 678) so that good support for the restoration can be provided. The text would thus appear to provide a first reference to the possible priestly background of the office.

We should here pass to a consideration of the *šangû šaniu*, or "second priest", a term uniquely Assyrian.⁷⁷ But it is assumed below, and the point is defended in the first section of Chapter III, that it was the same post as that of the *ša muhhi biti* (*ša bit ili*) and since the latter is particularly associated with the temple's "household staff" (p. 26) it will be more convenient to discuss the office in that connection.

⁷³ ZA NF 25, 104 ff.

⁷⁴ Or. NS 35, 190-192.

⁷⁵ The reading of ⁴MES in NA seems not yet

to be established.

⁷⁶ *History of Religions*, 5 (1966), 250-265.

⁷⁷ B. Landsberger, *Ist.-Brief*, 60, sub para. (c).

At this point the first group of Assyrian priests—*šarru*, *šangamahhu* (for a time), *sartennu* (in a special category), *šangû*, *šangû šaniu*—gives way to another, the group of *ērib biti*. This class of priests was as much Babylonian as Assyrian, and fulfilled, it would seem, the same role in both countries. Possibly indicating "a person admitted to all parts of the temple" (*CAD* E 290), or simply "der, der das Haus (Gottes) betreten darf" (Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, 112), the *ērib biti* perhaps suffers most from not having an acceptable designation in modern studies. In an attempt to supply this deficiency they will here be called "household priests". The suggested term is a simple one, and would be even more suitable if it should ever be clear that a technical meaning of *bita erēbu* is "to belong to a household".

In so far as it is possible to judge on present evidence, the senior member of this group appears to have been the *tušsar bit ili*, or "temple scribe". Evidence which at least suggests that his position followed closely after that of the *šangû's* comes from Assur, and specifically from VAT 11114, one of the texts edited by Ebeling in his *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel*. This text concerns funerary issues of meat for priests of the *Bit kimahhi* at Assur, the first five to be mentioned being the *šangû rabû*, *šangû šaniu*, *šangû Ea-šarru*, the *kalû* (who may be allowed some measure of precedence in a house of lamentation) and the *tušsar bit ili*. As a more general, and indeed less trustworthy, indication of seniority it may be noted that, in a list of witnesses, the *tušsar bit ili* is found in the company of magistrates (*hazannus*) of the municipal authority.⁷⁸ The senior status of the *tušsar Eanna*, etc., in Neo-Babylonian times is not in doubt (cf. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten*, 28, note 65, and Index).

By good fortune something of the duties of at least one *tušsar bit ili* is known. The information comes from the reverse, col. iii, of VAT 13718 (ed. Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, 23 ff.), where lines 9-13 read: (9) *kušāpumeš šikārumēš ka-aja-ma-nu* (10) *a-ma-ru še-lu-a-ti* (11) *šā ilānimeš gab-bu ma-ḥa-ru* (12) ¹*tušsar bit* ⁴*Aššur* (AN.ŠAR) (13) *pu-tu-ḥu na-ši*, "The scribe of the temple of Ashur bears responsibility for regularly inspecting the food and drink, and for receiving the ex-voto offerings, of all the gods." From such considerations it could be supposed that the temple scribe was the temple's chief administrator.

The household priests below this rank may be considered under two headings. They appear, firstly, to have been personal servants to the deity, responsible for his washing, clothing, feeding and other needs. In fact, little is recorded which directly associates the household priests with these tasks; as in the corresponding Hittite scene the daily routine "was taken for granted, and allusions to it are rare".⁷⁹ However, two passages do bring some support to the proposal. The first is KAR 132, i, 23,⁸⁰ where, as part of the instructions for a New Year ceremony, it is said, [¹*ēr*] *ib biti mē qātē¹¹ a-na ⁴Ištar inašši*, "the household priest will lift up to Ishtar the water(-basin) for (washing) the hands". Secondly, a line from a wall inscription of Tiglath-pileser III records that [*ina u₄-mi-šu?*] ¹*ērib biti šā É-sag-ila É-zi-da* [.] *ri-ḥat Bēl ⁴Nabû ⁴Nergal a-di maḥ-ri-ja [ú-bil-u-ni]*, "[At that time(?)]

⁷⁸ See Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, 5, 27 f. (also this volume, above, p. 9).

⁷⁹ O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 150.

⁸⁰ See, in context, F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel accadiens*, 100, line 24.

household priests of Esagila, Ezida [and] brought before me food left over from (the tables of) Bēl, Nabû and Nergal.”⁸¹ It should be recognized, although the point need not be of importance, that both these passages refer to the practice of Babylonia.

In the second place the *ērib bitī* were craftsmen. Thus ABL 475, 5 ff., although not well understood by either Waterman or Pfeiffer (No. 114), reads: (5) *a-na muḫḫi mNādin-aḫi* (6) *ū mIna-qabē-Bēl aḫi-šu* (7) *lūērib bitī ki-*lal-li-e* (8) *ša šarru bēl-a tē-e-mu* (9) *iš-kun-an-ni* (10) *um-ma LÚ.NAGAR.MEŠ šu-nu* (11) *šup-ra-aš-šu-nu-ti* (12) *a-du-ū a-na šarri* (13) *bēli-ja al-tap-ra-šu-nu-ti*, “With regard to the two household priests, Nādin-aḫi and his brother Ina-qabē-Bēl, about whom the king, my lord, has instructed me, saying, ‘If they are carpenters, send them to me’—I am now sending them to the king, my lord.” Again, in the Babylonia of the late period a number of skilled craftsmen including the *kab/pšarru*, *purkullu*, *gurgurru* and *kutimmu* (names for specialist metal- and stone-workers of different kinds) are summarized as *naphar 21 KÁM lūērib bitīmeš*, “total of 21 household priests”.⁸² Historically these craftsmen are to be seen as descendents of the old *giš-kin-ti* craftsmen,⁸³ and numerous illustrations will come quickly to mind of the part they have taken in temple industry down the centuries. The making of the divine image itself will have been their work—and herein may be found the necessary link with the purely domestic side of the priesthood which has just been mentioned. Many of their more ambitious pieces, such as ornate thrones for deities or divine emblems of various kinds, are mentioned in the year formulae and will often have required the combined skills of several men. A technique developed late—the earliest reference is from the reign of Tiglathpileser III—involved the coating (*litbušu*) of temple daises with a silver compound known as *zaḫalū* (it seems impossible, with CAD, to think that this was a silver alloy and that either copper *šedu*-deities (Sennacherib, OIP 2, 109, vii, 21) or Egyptian obelisks (Ashurbanipal, Annals, ii, 41) might have been “plated” with it), and gold leaf may have been usual as an adornment of the roof-beams (cf. below, p. 26). Such work, however, was not wholly dedicated to the needs of the deity, and at least one of the production lines which the temples ran successfully for a long time was cylinder seals.

We may next turn to a discussion of the *kalū*. His also was a profession of great antiquity, and full accounts of his work may be found in Henrike Hartmann, *Die Musik der sumerischen Kultur*,⁸⁴ J. Krecher, *Sumerische Kulturyrik*,⁸⁵ and J. Renger, “Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit, 2. Teil”.⁸⁶ Krecher’s remarks (pp. 37 f.) on the corresponding Sum. *gal*, *gala*, *lú/la-gal(a)*, may particularly be noted. It is probable that no single term can completely express to-day all that the office meant in ancient times, but “Kultsänger”⁸⁷ and “cantor”⁸⁸ are useful renderings if one should seek a term which is universally appropriate;

⁸¹ Cf. P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pileasers III*, 2, 6 f.; B. Landsberger, *Ist.-Brief*, 14, note 8; A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 189.

⁸² VAS 15 1, ii, 11.

⁸³ See further below, under the King’s Household, Sections 17 and 18.

⁸⁴ (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), pp. 129–146.

⁸⁵ (Wiesbaden, 1966), *passim*.

⁸⁶ ZA NF 25, 187–199.

⁸⁷ A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichts-urkunden III*, 110; von Soden, AHW 427; cf. Hartmann, 121, note 1.

⁸⁸ E. Sollberger, TCS I, 119, under *gala*.

“Klagepriester”⁸⁹ is very often appropriate. A sometime target of Sumerian satire,⁹⁰ the *kalū* probably followed a tradition which still prevails in the Oriental world in making his own instruments.⁹¹ While reference must necessarily be made to the elaborate drumhead and temple rituals associated particularly with the priesthood of Uruk,⁹² it is difficult to know how far these should be considered typical of *kalūtu* within the country as a whole.

On the subject of texts, categories associated or associable with *kalūtu* as given by Hartmann (pp. 143–144, with references) are Tempelklage, Stadtklage, eršahunga, eršem(ma), šuilla, *tagribtu* (if this is the preferable spelling) and širnamšub; in addition (p. 143 and n. 3) it is recognized that, at least in Babylonia, the *kalū* might co-operate in important temple ceremonies with the *nāru*-singers. Krecher’s study (pp. 18 ff.) goes into greater detail on a number of specific *kalū*-texts, draws attention to the special category of *eršemakku kidudē*, “Riten-Eršemema”, and explains the term *balag/balaggu*, “harp(-song)”, as the embrative name for emesal compositions which might be either *tagribtu* or *eršemakku*. The present survey does not call for a re-examination of this literature, although a personal interest in the eršahunga texts may be claimed in the light of AS 16, 296. However, it is possible that, in the future, a more realistic attitude may have to be taken over the “storm”- and *enem*-texts of *kalūtu*, difficult though they may always be. In personal belief, based on the record itself, these texts commemorate a massive land upheaval of probably seismic origin which occurred in the so-called “rebel lands” (*ki-bal-a*) of the Zagros mountains in perhaps neolithic times.⁹³ It is thus suggested that they find their beginnings in mytho-historical tradition.

The above remarks have been somewhat panoramic in scope since little that is fundamental to the study of *kalūtu* derives from the NA period alone. One new detail, however, is provided in connection with the *tuḫḫar āli*’s celebration in Assur in Sargon’s time to which reference has already been made.⁹⁴ On this obviously private occasion a *kalū* was required to intone a lament at the moment the sheep was killed for the meal—and in fact the first line of his lament is actually recorded (ND 1120, rev. 10). It runs:

[i-na na-]a-di ḫa-āš-ḫa-la-ti-ši-na immeru na-ak-su ša UGU maš-ki-it-te.
“[As the trees of the forest when] they cast their green leaves, (so) is the slain sheep on the maškittu.”⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien II*, 66; von Soden, AHW 427, et al.

⁹⁰ Cf. E. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, Nos. 2.97 to 2.106, with Th. Jacobsen, *ibid.*, pp. 482 ff.

⁹¹ For a list of such instruments cf. Hartmann, pp. 138 and 146; after Sollberger, JCS 10, 21, No. 9, it may now be said to include for Ur III times the little-known (and short-lived?) *sabūtum*, or “(instrument) from Sabum”.

⁹² Cf. E. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel accadiens*, 10 ff.; A. Sachs in ANET², 336 ff.; A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 178 f.

⁹³ The above explanation is based on Jacobsen’s identification of the Sum. *kur* as the

mountains of the Iraq-Iran frontier (see JNES V, 143 ff., and especially 146).

⁹⁴ Cf. above, pp. 9 f.

⁹⁵ A *maškittu*, if not, perhaps, an offering table (van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, 201 f.) appears to have been something like the Iraqi *kuzi* (-dish) on which a whole sheep is presented for eating before a large, and usually festive, group. Unlike its modern counterpart, however, the *maškittu* had a stand and probably wheels since it might be pulled (*šadādu*) and pushed (*da’āpu*) into position (cf. obv. 4 of the cited text, ND 1120).

Otherwise it is relevant to quote some lines from ABL 493 (= Pfeiffer, *State Letters*, 246), a letter to the king delivered shortly after his accession to the throne from a certain Ashur-rišūa, priest (*šangū*) to Ninurta in Calah. The lines (obv. 11 ff.) read: (11) *ina *u₄-me* (copy: *šā*) *abi-šū ša šarri bēli-jā* (12) *lūērib bīti ša bīt dNinurta* (13) *issu libbi* *g¹⁸gušūre^{meš} ša hurāši* (14) *ša pūt(sag) dNinurta* 3 *šU.SI* (15) *mu-še-si-i'* *hurāšu ib-ta-at-qu*. . . (rev. 10) *mdNabū-eriba lūkalū* (11) *mGa-lulu* ⁹⁶ *lūmaššār bīt ili* (12) *šu-nu bēl ba-ta-qi* (13) *u [q]a-lu<-lu> šu-nu ERIN.MEŠ* (14) *ša is-si-šu-nu*. We may translate: "It was (still) in the days of the father of the king, my lord, that household priests of the Ninurta temple stripped off a 3 fingers' wide *mušēšū* of gold from the gold-plated beams in front of Ninurta. . . Nabū-eriba, the *kalū*-priest, and Galulu, the temple guard, were the planners of the stripping, but it was craftsmen collaborating with them who (actually) committed the crime." ⁹⁷

The above passage is interesting for several reasons, and if it has been correctly understood, that is to say, if the *ērib bīti* of obv. 12 refers alike to the planners and the executors of the crime, it would seem to indicate that both *kalū* and *maššār bīt ili* could rank as senior household priests in the temple hierarchy of the period. The master of *kalūtu*, *lūgala[mahhu ša dNabū]*, who is mentioned as a witness on ND 5463, 28, ⁹⁸ and the following *lūnargallu ša dNabū*, Nabū's master-singer in the *nāru*-tradition, are similarly to be regarded as members of the household priesthood. ⁹⁹

At this point the problem must be faced that there are no texts whereby we may confidently reconstruct the full community of household priests in an Assyrian temple; consequently it is difficult to decide at what point their ranks should be declared complete or whom we should thereafter exclude from them. Nevertheless, it may not be an artificial distinction to suppose that household priests were also *ummānus*, that is, masters of arts, crafts or letters. The idea has the probable support of a line from the annals of Sargon, ¹⁰⁰ *lūērib^{meš} bīti lūummāni mu-di-e šip-ri*, "Household priests, (even) craftsmen of specialized skills." A priesthood of this conception will also fit in well with the group of temple personnel to be next described.

The group in question may be called the "household staff". On the evidence of other households their ancient name will have been *nīš bīti*, ¹⁰¹ and this term may be confidently used despite the fact that, up to the present time, it does not appear to have been found in connection with a temple organization. By *nīš bīti*, "the people (or staff) of the house", is meant the domestic servants, and as a unit it may be compared to the *familia* of Roman times. It is clear from a number of texts that the term was commonly abbreviated to the simple *nīšē/nīšu*.

The overseer of the household staff in the temple organization was undoubtedly

⁹⁶ For this reading cf. Deller, *Or. NS* 31, 19, and *ibid.*, NS 35, 191.

⁹⁷ The reading *[q]a-lu<-lu>* is uncertain, but would seem to make good sense in the context. For *ša is-si-šu-nu* in the meaning suggested cf. PN *ša i-si-ja* translated "PN, der mit mir ist (= mein Mitarbeiter)", Deller, *Or. NS* 30, 251.

⁹⁸ For the text cf. B. Parker, *Iraq* 19, pl. XXXII. K. Deller, *Or. NS* 35, 192, restores as *lūkalū [ša dNabū]*.

⁹⁹ It may be mentioned that these same two professions are recorded for Assur, *galamahhu* on

K.340/1, i, 11, and iv, 13 (cf. *Stiftungen*, pp. 30-31), and *nargallu* on K.482/3, obv. 20 (cf. *Stiftungen*, p. 13). For the Old Babylonian picture cf. J. Renger, *ZA NF* 25, 172 ff. and 195 ff.

¹⁰⁰ A. G. Lie, *Sargon*, 371.

¹⁰¹ The form *nīš bīti* is found in documents from Nuzi written *ni-iš bīti*—thus HSS 13, 124, 4; Nimrud provides UN.MEŠ *bīti* as in ND 2631, 18 (cf. Saggs, *Iraq* 28, 186), but such orthography is not against *nīš bīti* being the proper designation of the group in NA also.

the *šangū šaniu* = *lūša muhhi bīti ša bīt ili*, this new association having the support of comparative evidence discussed in Chapter III under "Triangles of administration". In its second form his was a title of typically Assyrian character which will normally have been reduced in speech to the *ša muhhi bīti* of other households (cf. CAD B 296). A passage from the Harper letters providing useful information on the office is ABL 577, obv. 6 ff., which reads: (6) *ina muhhi lūša muhhi bīti ša bīt 'ili'* (7) *ša me-e-tu-ni*. . . (12) *an-nu-rig lūmār-šu* (13) *mār ahi-šu* (14) *ū mSimān-aju* (15) *mār mdNabū-bal-liṭ* (rev. 1) *mār ahi abi-šu* (2) *ša mdAššur-na'id lūšangū šani-u* (3) *i-si-šu-nu* (4) *ina pa-an šarri bēli-ja* (5) *i-tal-ku-ni* (6) *man-nu ša ina pa-an šarri bēli-ja* (7) *ma-ḥi-ir-u-ni* (8) *šarru be-lī lip-qi-di*, "With regard to the *ša muhhi bīti ša bīt ili* who has died . . ., there will straightway be coming into the presence of the king, my lord, his son and his nephew, together with Simānāyu, son of Nabū-balliṭ and cousin of Ashur-na'id, the second priest. It is for the king, my lord, to appoint whoever is the most acceptable to him." With regard to possible duties of the office the instructions of VAT 13718 ii, 14-19 (*Stiftungen*, 24, cf. Deller, *Or. NS* 31, 227) seem to be generally clear: (14) *issu šēp parakki a-di ildi bīti* (15) *g¹⁸sa-a-ri še-tu-qu* (16) *a-nu-ut bīti na-ša-ru* (17) *a-nu-tū pa-su-ku* (18) *ra-ṭa-a-ti ša-an-mu-ri* (19) *lūšā muhhi bīti pu-tu-ḥu na-ši*, "The *ša muhhi bīti* bears responsibility for the fanning (of the throne-room) from the lower edge of the throne-dais to the foundation walls, for the safe-keeping of the temple utensils, for the clearing away(?) ¹⁰² of such utensils, and for the thorough cleaning(?) of the drinking-tubes." ¹⁰³ From this passage it is evident that the *ša muhhi bīti* was in control of servants (references to the holding of *g¹⁸sārē* "fans", by servants in various rituals are collected in Salonen, *Hausgeräte* I, 127-128), and, in passing, the relevance of the passage for the concept of throne-room messing may also be noted (cf. above, in Chapter I, p. 6). As for Nimrud evidence, one of the witnesses recorded on ND 5448, a tablet found in room NT 16 of Ezida, ¹⁰⁴ is *mdNabū-šar₄-u₅ur lūša muhhi bīti*, and it cannot be doubtful that the reference is to a *ša muhhi bīti* of the Nabū temple itself. The same name and title may be restored in ND 5463, 25. ¹⁰⁵ A further reference to the office is perhaps to be seen in the *lūrab bīti* *mdNabū* (?) of ND 5550, 40; it is in any case known that the titles *rab bīti* and *ša muhhi bīti* may interchange. ¹⁰⁶

We may turn now to the *nīš bīti* as a group, it being allowed that our information will not initially be taken from temple documents. A first definition—actually from a provincial centre (Zamua)—is provided by lines 15-18 of the letter ND 2631, ¹⁰⁷ which, tabulated for clarity, read as follows:

¹⁰² From extant passages NA *pussuk/qu* would seem to mean either "to clear away" (as Ebeling and Deller) or "to repair", and in a choice of difficulty I slightly prefer the former on present evidence.

¹⁰³ For this meaning of *rāṭati* cf. ND 1120, rev. 8 (copy Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, pl. XXIII): *ina lib-bi ra-ṭa-a-ti ša (a)garinni(*AMA.SIM-ni) inaqqi(BAL-qi)*, "(Beer) of the mother-brew he will libate through the drinking-tubes". Cf.

further A. Salonen, *Hausgeräte* II, 201 f. (*rātu* as "Rohr, pipe").

¹⁰⁴ Published B. Parker, *Iraq* 19, 128, and pl. XXVIII.

¹⁰⁵ So also Deller, *Or. NS* 35, 191.

¹⁰⁶ On this point cf. E. Klauber, *Beamtentum*, 35 f., and E. Weidner, *AJO* 17, 263.

¹⁰⁷ Details of publication are given in note 101. On the text as a whole notes by Deller in *Or. NS* 36, p. 81, may be consulted.

8¹ lúšá bīti šeni-e
 12 lú¹raksu(KA.SIR)
 20 lúšāqiu(BI.LUL)
 12 lúkar-ka-di-ni
 7 lúlahhināni(NINDA.MEŠ)¹⁰⁸
 10 lúnuhatimmu(MU)

—
 nap̄har 69 UN.MEŠ bīti
 —

The lines may be translated :

8 men of the "second house"
 12 ghulams(?) (cf. p. 60)
 20 cupbearers
 12 preparers of fruit and confectionery
 7 bakers
 10 master-bakers

—
 Total 69 household staff
 —

A second Nimrud text, ND 2498, is also relevant in this connection.¹⁰⁹ The tablet forms part of the ZT 4 collection of administrative texts, and what is preserved consists of a number of proper names, summarized at lines 7, 17, 23 and 32 as :

6 lú ¹ raksūti(KA-ŠIR(sic).MEŠ)	6 ghulams(?)
10 ša bīti šeni-e	10 men of the "second house"
5 lú ¹ nuhatimmē	5 master-bakers
6 lú[šāq]iu([BI.L]UL)	6 cupbearers

In the light of the previous text the men concerned in these entries may safely be classified as *nīš bīti* personnel. Since the first and fourth groups contained both *arad ekalli* and *ša ziqni* personnel (on these terms see further in this chapter, p. 49) the staff in question will have formed part of a royal household, most probably that of Sargon.

A third source for determining the nature of *nīš bīti* personnel in Assyria is the Sultantepe "Assyrian list of professions". This document is represented by STT II, 385, together with the second part of 382-384, and it differs from the companion list of K.4395 first published by Langdon in *Babyloniaca*, VII, in that its professions are arranged in properly systematic groups. The following professions (see in general Deller, *Or.* NS 34, 470 ff., and *MSL* XII, 233 ff.) are selected in the order of the text from the groups beginning at 383 vii, 5 = 385 iii, 5 :

lú ¹ nuhatimmu	"master-baker"
lú ¹ tābiḫu(GIRI.LAL)	"butcher" and "meat-cook"

¹⁰⁸ On this reading see further below, pp. 80 f. and note 324.

¹⁰⁹ See B. Parker, *Iraq* 23, 35, and pl. XVIII.

lú ¹ lahhinu(NINDA)	"baker"
lú ¹ ŠIM x A ¹¹¹	"maltster" and "brewer"
lú ¹ šāqiu	"cupbearer"
lú ¹ ša muḫḫi kanni ¹¹²	?
lú ¹ karkadinnu	"preparer of fruit and confectionery"

It is to be recognized that the above list has only general application in connection with household staffs and in some respects the equivalent temple organization may well have followed its own traditions. Nevertheless many of the above professions may be independently confirmed for temple staffs from archives found in the temples themselves. In such sources the brewer is well represented, and specifically on ND 5457 (*Iraq* 19, Pl. XXVII), a tablet found in the Nabû temple at Calah, amounts of grain are issued *issu kar-me ša Nabû*, "from the grain-heaps of Nabû", to a brewer (line 3) and a *lahhinu* (line 6) of the temple. The same texts mention also a *lahhini Nabû*,¹¹³ a *nuhatimmi bīt ili ša Nabû*¹¹⁴ and a *šāqiu*.¹¹⁵ For the *tābiḫu* personal research has not disclosed any source closer than Uruk in the Neo-Babylonian period,¹¹⁶ and it is in any case possible that in Assyria of the eighth and seventh centuries he was called rather the *nākisu*.¹¹⁷ From such references, which need not be further multiplied here, the *nīš bīti* of the temples may be reconstructed. In the over-all picture a good deal of variety must be envisaged.

Since the above professions belong also to the king's household, and are more appropriately discussed under that heading, we may turn directly to the consideration of a further group of temple personnel. The group in question may appropriately be called the extramural staff. This term does not correspond to any word or words of the original language, and is merely a label of convenience. But it may usefully serve as a means of bringing together for observation certain members of the temple community whose work was normally performed at some distance from the temple itself. Following the clue of the *lú¹muḫil appāti ša Aššur* and *lú¹tašlišu ša Aššur* who occur as witnesses on VAT 9656, 30,¹¹⁸ we may first think that the deity's chariot team formed an essential part of the extramural staff. A second group will have consisted of persons in charge of temple animals, including shepherds and herdsmen.¹¹⁹ In a third group are to be placed the various merchants and agents (*tamkāru* and *šamallū*) who will have served the temple's financial interests at home and abroad.¹²⁰ In an especial category belongs the "firewood-man"

¹¹¹ Bab. *sirašū*, but the reading in NA is not established. For the possibility that *barrāqu* (a new word) is to be read, see below, p. 81.

¹¹² For further discussion on this difficult term see in Chapter III, p. 113.

¹¹³ ND 5550, 41 and 42.

¹¹⁴ ND 5463, 30, and 5550, 48 (see also Deller, *Or.* NS 35, 192).

¹¹⁵ ND 5453, 7.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Pohl, *AnOr* 8, 48, rev. 15 and 22; *ROS* VI, 10, 3, etc.

¹¹⁷ *Nākisu* occurs in this volume, pl. 46, 18; in *ADD* 857, ii, 47; and the *lú¹GIRI.LAL*

ta-bi-ḫu of STT II, 383, vii, 6, compares with the *lú¹GIRI.LAL* and following *lú¹na-ki-su* of K 4395 v, 29-30 (*Babyloniaca* VII, pl. VI = *MSL* XII, 240).

¹¹⁸ See Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, 5, cf. also van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, 185.

¹¹⁹ Cf. in general B. Landsberger, *Afo* X, 149 ff.

¹²⁰ For *tamkāre* of the Nabû temple at Calah important references are ND 5463, 26, and ND 5550, 44 and 45 (texts in *Iraq* 19, pls. XXXII and XXXIII). For the temple *šamallū* cf. presently (p. 31).

(ša gaššātešu), of whom more will be said below.¹²¹ The gardener (*nukarribu*) must also be given his place.

The above groups of personnel are not well documented in Assyrian temple records. However, an annual event took place at Calah in which many of them participated, and in place of a more intimate account of their work a reconstruction of the scene may be attempted here.

The event referred to occurred on that day (and night?) of the New Year Festival when a vast congress of men, women and children set foot in procession to the *Bit akītu*. It was, as Oppenheim has described it, "a collective outing of the city and its god to an out-of-town sanctuary",¹²² and from a number of well-known Babylonian texts concerning Marduk, as also from the excavation of the building and extensive gardens of Sennacherib's *Bit akītu* outside Assur,¹²³ a certain amount is known of the occasion in specific places. Much ignorance attends our understanding of the scenes in local details and with regard to the participation of the people.

There is one source, however, which has not yet been fully utilized in this connection. It is *ABL* 65, a letter from a certain Nabû-šum-iddin to the crown prince Ashurbanipal, and we give below a long extract (obv. 7 to rev. 9): (7) UD.3.KAM ša ¹¹¹ajari <ina> ^{uru}Kal-ḫi (8) ^{giš}eršu ša ^aNabû tak-kar-ra-ar (9) ^aNabû ina bit ^{giš}erši ir-rab (10) UD.4.KAM GUR-šú ša ^aNabû (11) mār šarri be-lí ú-da (12) ¹¹ḫa-za-nu ša bit ^aNabû (13) ili-ka a-na-ku (14) la-al-lik ina ^{uru}Kal-ḫi (15) ilu ina libbi ad-ri ekalli (16) uš-ša ša libbi ad-ri ekalli (17) a-na ^{giš}kirī il-la-ka (18) nīqu/nīqu (UDU.SISKUR) ina lib-bi (19) [in?]-ni-ip-āš (20) [G]UR-ru-u ša ilāni (21) [1]ūmu-kil ^{kuš}appāti (rev. 1) ša ilāni-ma il-lak (2) ilu u-še-ša-a (3) ú-ú-sa-aḫ-ḫar (4) ú-še-rab šu-ú (5) e-te-qa il-la-ka (6) ¹¹šamallē ša nīqi-šú (7) i-ba-aš-šú-u-ni ip-pa-āš (8) ša 1 qa ak-li-šú ú-še-el-la-a (9) ina bit ^aNabû e-kal.

We may translate as follows: "On the 3rd of Ayaru the bed of Nabû will be prepared in Calah and Nabû will enter the bed chamber. On the 4th is (held) the parade of Nabû. This the crown prince, my lord, already knows. Being the *hazannu* (responsible) for the temple of Nabû, your god, I shall be walking in the procession.¹²⁴ From Calah the deity goes out to the threshing floor of the palace (*sc.* where the procession assembles?), and from the threshing floor of the palace he proceeds to the gardens (*sc.* of the *Bit akītu*) where the sacrifices are carried out. As for the parade of the gods (the procedure is that) the Groomsman to the gods moves forward. He leads the god out and takes him round on parade: then as he brings him back (another) participant in the review moves forward.¹²⁵ (Temple) agents and vendors selling animals for personal sacrifices¹²⁶ will be present and

¹²¹ References are *Bab.* VII, pl. 6, v, 32; *Stiftungen*, 26, 20, reading ¹¹šá ga-ša-*te-*šú; ND 5550, 43, ¹¹šá ga-[ša]-te-šú; ND 5463, 32, ¹¹šá ^{giš}gaš-ša-te-šú MIN (= ša ^aNabû).

¹²² *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 187.

¹²³ Cf. most easily *RLA* I, 188, with Tf. 26, and for the original account, *MDOG* 33, 24 ff.

¹²⁴ According to the context *alāku* in line 14 presumably stands for *arki ili alāku*, the technical phrase for walking behind a deity in procession

(thus used in the processional hymn, *LKA* 29d, 8).

¹²⁵ The translation supposes that *ú-še-rab šu-ú e-te-qa il-la-ka* is to be interpreted chiasmatically, and that *e-te-qa* is harmonized from a theoretical *e-te-qu* (present participle) under the influence of the *a*-vowels of *illaka*.

¹²⁶ Literally, "the *ša nīqi-šú* officials", if the text has been correctly understood.

a person may then offer such sacrifice, while anyone who places on the altar his 1 *qū* of bread flour is permitted to eat in the compound of Nabû."

Before proceeding some brief notes on the passage may be offered. In view of the whole context of the passage it is not, I think, doubtful that the "gardens" of line 17 were indeed those of the *Bit akītu* outside Calah.¹²⁷ An embarrassment here, however, has been the old association of *adru* (lines 15 and 16) with Heb. *heder*, "chamber"; the correct cognate is Aram. *iddar*, *idrā*, "threshing floor". In line 10 a difficulty is GUR-šú, but despite the equation GUR = *tāru*, "to return", this seems unlikely with Waterman,¹²⁸ Pfeiffer¹²⁹ and Oppenheim¹³⁰ to mean "his (Nabû's) return" if only because the furthest point of the god's journey has not yet been mentioned. It is thus preferable to work with GUR = *saḫāru*, "to go round", and encouraged by the *usaḫḫar* of rev. 3 and the possibility of reading [G]UR-ru-u in obv. 20, I have thought to reconstruct a word *suḫurrū*, "parade (of the gods)" on the model of *purussū*, *rugummū*, and the like. In the last line of the passage *e-kal* must be retained with the scholars mentioned and against the misread *e-rab* of CAD E 130; *bītu* in the same line is thought to refer to some specific part of the *Bit akītu* gardens.

It is now time to return to our starting-point and the extramural staff of a temple community. In the above scene many of them come together. There is firstly the god's chariot- or wagon-driver, although his essential place with each vehicle has been largely eclipsed in the description by the *mukil appāti ša ilāni*, translated "Groomsman to the gods", who evidently had the honour of leading the procession.¹³¹ The shepherds and herdsmen may be visualized, the one with a flock of fattened sheep, the other with a few choice specimens of *gumaḫḫu*-bulls, ready for the sacrifices.¹³² The agents, *šamallē*, are in attendance to sell the animals, and must surely bring into the temple by the end of the day a sizeable income from this source. Finally the firewood-man, and one may think particularly of the *ša gaššātešu ša Nabû* mentioned in note 121, must be assigned his necessary place *en suite*. It takes three hours or more to roast a sheep, the number of fires required both for this purpose and for the bread ovens (cf. rev. 8) will have been considerable, and perhaps a very forest of wood will have been gathered and stored up in advance of the festival to meet the need of the day. With this reconstruction the *akītu* becomes at last the people's festival it must always have been, presenting to us the picture of a day's fun and feasting in the open air, presumably in cleared space adjacent to the temple. Before leaving the scene we should note that Sennacherib's bequest of personnel to the *Bit akītu* at Assur (VAT 9656) suggests that probably all such temples had their own housekeeping staff. Like that of the *Bit kimahhi* this staff was presumably quite independent of other temples and answerable directly to the king.

A final group discernible in the temple organization is that of the votaries, *šēlātu*. Deller¹³³ has already described this group as "similar in nature to the *širkūtu*

¹²⁷ Thus also Oates, *Iraq* 19, 34.

¹²⁸ *RCAE* I, 65.

¹²⁹ *State Letters*, No. 217.

¹³⁰ *Letters from Mesopotamia*, No. 113.

¹³¹ On the *mukil appāti*, lit. "holder of the reins" (but not a "driver"), see further below

under the King's Household, Section 7.

¹³² Sargon sacrificed such bulls and sheep on the occasion of an *akītu*-festival at Babylon, cf. Lie, *Sargon*, 386.

¹³³ *Or.* NS 35, 192.

of the Neo-Babylonian period",¹³⁴ and he elsewhere draws attention to the point that, amongst others, the Old Babylonian *naditu* belongs in the votary tradition.¹³⁵ From Nimrud texts Šumma-Nabû, a weaver of coloured cloth (*išpar birme*), and Nabû-pi-aḥi-ušur, a *qatinnu*,¹³⁶ are singled out for mention. However, a more detailed examination of the temple votary in Assyria has been promised by Deller for some future time and we shall not here anticipate the results of that enquiry.

In summarizing the conclusions of the above section we propose that, with regard to its personnel, an Assyrian temple of sufficient wealth and dignity may be divided into five major groups: the *šangû*-priests, the household priests, the household staff, the extramural staff and the votaries.

THE KING'S MESS

It is at least partly due to the accidents of archaeological discovery that little appears to be known (although much may be inferred) of the king's mess at Calah while it was still the royal capital. Two new tablets represented by the three texts ND 10009, 10012 and 10013 (Pls. 39-43) do something to fill the gap, and these will come up for discussion in Chapter III. Otherwise from post-Sargonid times attention may be directed to ND 2331¹³⁷ which records the issue of 10 imēr šē.kur₆.MEŠ LUGAL a-du il-ka-ka-ti-šá, "10 homers of king's barley (i.e. from royal estates), together with its *ilkaḫāte*".¹³⁸ The text is dated to the 10th of Kislev, 678 B.C., and may accordingly refer to an occasion when Esarhaddon and his court visited Calah.

We may proceed by firstly giving some consideration to the purely lexical side of our subject. It has already been suggested in Chapter I that there was no word in antiquity for a mess as a room or building, for all such places of eating had other functions. However, as the designation of a group of persons who might eat together, two words appear to be involved—*naptanu* and *puḫru*. It is probable that only the first of these terms might be used of the king's mess, but some observations on the second may be included here as relevant to the general theme.

Puḫru is an old friend in a new guise, although it is Syriac which supplies the only real evidence for the special meaning of "mess". In Syriac the cognate word is *puḫrā*, for which Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 3086, has "convivium, commissatio . . . συμπόσιον", and the smaller *Syriac Dictionary*, 436, "a banquet; a mess, company". Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 268, was aware of the correct etymology of the word and writes: "*puḫrā* (ex. ass. *puḫru*), convivium". A good example of this use may be found in the Syriac *Acta Sancti Maris*, § 19,¹³⁹ which is concerned with the saint's endeavours to turn the townspeople of Seleucia in Christian times from their preoccupations with eating and drinking, and where it is recorded (after J. B. Abbeloos, 1885), "Erant . . . Seleuciæ tria convivia [Syr. *puḫrē*], unum senum,

¹³⁴ The standard work on this subject is that of R. P. Dougherty, *The Širkātu of Babylonian Deities*, YOS V/2.

¹³⁵ Or. NS 34, 75.

¹³⁶ This term is discussed at length by Deller in Or. NS 34, 476-477.

¹³⁷ Text published by B. Parker, *Iraq* 16, 43, and pl. VIII.

¹³⁸ For the latter term, see below, p. 106.

¹³⁹ A reference I owe to a colleague, Dr. Sebastian Brock.

aliud adolescentium, tertium denique puerorum." This allusion to three *puḫrē* according to age recalls the groups of *rabiūtu* and *šeḫrūtu* in the Old Assyrian assembly, and at least some authority for supposing that the concepts of "mess" and "assembly" were associated in Mesopotamian thought may be found in the account of the enthronement of Marduk given in *En. el.*, IV. In this ceremony the preceding festive meal (III, 131 ff.) has all the features that one would expect of the gods' mess, and yet the scene is in no way changed for the subsequent conferring of kingship by the gods' assembly.

If further information on *puḫru*, "mess", must be awaited, one may happily speak with greater certainty on the subject of *naptanu*. In fact it is likely that the Akk. for "king's mess" was *naptan šarri*. This meaning comes through forcibly from texts of four Mari volumes edited by Bottéro, Birot and Burke¹⁴⁰; in these texts records of issue a-na *naptan šarrim*, or summarized as *naptan šarrim* (ù *ša-bi-im*), are the main concern, and Mari here provides a sort of complement to the new Nimrud material which relates only to the king's household and not to the king himself. Basically of course *naptanu* signifies a "meal" and the special sense of "mess" may be thought to arise from an extension of meaning to "persons of the meal". But, in fact, there appears to have been only one *naptanu* in any one household. It was, as we have suggested above, p. 3, the master's table, and for this meaning attention may be directed to the following texts,¹⁴¹ here set down adjacently.

6 qa	na-ap-*ta-nu	2 (sāt) 3½ (qa)	na-ap-ta-nu
1 qa	A-mi-ir-tum	3 (qa)	Ši-lī- ^a Amurru
1 qa	Be-li-zu-[nu]	6 (qa)	A-pil- ^a Ištar
1 qa	Ba-zu-tum	2 (qa)	Li-iš-ta-lī-im-ili
	etc.		etc.

In these lines *naptanu* can no longer mean "meal", and yet the suggested "victuals" of Leemans seems hardly appropriate either. Accordingly we may follow the clue of the proper names in lines 2 ff. to suggest that *naptanu* also indicates a group of persons, and, as the first item given on the tablets, it will reasonably refer to the most senior group of the household, that is, "the members of the family owning the household".¹⁴² At this point we may look again at the entry

1 imēr 2 sāt a-na nap-te-ni

provided by ND 6213, ii, 1 (this volume, Pl. 36). The line refers to an issue of wine of an amount suitable for a large number of persons,¹⁴³ but being a daily issue the reference can scarcely be to the *naptanu*-festival.¹⁴⁴ More appropriately,

¹⁴⁰ These are J. Bottéro, *Textes économiques et administratifs* (= ARM VII, 1957), of especial importance being p. 218 for text numbers and pp. 270 ff. for discussion; M. Birot, *Textes administratifs de la salle 5 du palais* (= ARM IX, 1960, and Part II, ARM XII, 1964); and Mme. Lurton Burke, *Textes administratifs de la salle 111 du palais* (= ARM XI, 1963).

¹⁴¹ Lines 1-4 of SLB I (2) [= W. F. Leemans,

Legal and Economic Records from the Kingdom of Larsa, Nos. 50 and 52, iv-v.

¹⁴² The phrase is lifted from I. J. Gelb, "Approaches to the study of ancient society", *JAOS* 87, 6.

¹⁴³ For problems of calculation see below in Chapter III, p. 117.

¹⁴⁴ As most clearly defined by R. Frankena, *Takultu*, pp. 54 f. and 130 f.

therefore, we may think of the several units which made up the royal family (the "family owning the household"), and the fact that there is no independent mention on the tablet to the queen, the harems, and others who occur prominently in the parallel texts, goes some way in support of the proposal. It may be noted that the following entry (col. ii, 2) is concerned with the court eunuchs, or *ša rēši*, which would also be appropriate to the idea.

At this point we should perhaps not overlook the *paššūr šarri*, or "king's table" (references may be found in A. Salonen, *Möbel*, 187), which compares with the *המלך שלחן* of II Sam. ix, 13, etc., and *τα ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης ἐδεσμάτα*, "the dishes from the king's table" mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* x, 190, in his account of Daniel. By implication all these passages refer to the king's mess, but the actual meaning of the phrase appears to be confined to "table" as an article of furniture and no figurative use is obvious.

From the philological we may turn to the visual. In Pl. 2 two scenes from the Khorsabad reliefs originally presented in Botta and Flandin's *Monument de Ninive* I, Pls. 76 and 64, are reproduced. Both reliefs have been damaged by fire and other elements but may be confidently restored in all major details¹⁴⁵ although the original drawings are clearer. That which is given first depicts the royal cup-bearers filling and distributing lion-headed rhytons from a standing urn, and in the lower scene Assyrian officers, sitting on high chairs before a food(?) - laden table, are holding the rhyta aloft in some obviously symbolic gesture. In fact, in the context of associated reliefs it seems likely that the occasion represented was Sargon's victory over Mušasir in 714 B.C.; in this case the officers depicted may confidently be identified as members of the king's mess at the time, an interpretation made the more attractive by the presence of the eunuchs. It may be added that the scene has gained much in realism from the discovery in 1951 of a ram-headed rhyton, now beautifully illustrated in *Nimrud* I, 191, which is closely similar to those shown on the reliefs. It is further of importance to note the obvious affinity of the scene with that depicted in Mallowan and Davies, *Ivories from Nimrud* II, Pl. V, No. 7.

It is now time to turn to the question of the membership of the king's mess, in so far as it is possible to determine it from barely sufficient sources. Perhaps the first thing to be said is that, to the extent that the king's mess was also his privy council or the like (a concept that is inferred rather than known), so accordingly every member will have been a man in whom the king had implicit trust. He will also have been a man possessed with high qualities of leadership.

The following reconstruction is to some extent controlled by the new wine lists,¹⁴⁷ and owes something also to inspiration provided by the eponym lists. Initially we have to allow that, depending upon his age, some place in the mess would normally have been taken by the crown prince. Such a privilege, not necessarily permanent, may be claimed on the grounds that it would form a natural

¹⁴⁵ Cf. particularly G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies* I, 580; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I, Abb. 136.

¹⁴⁶ Before leaving the reliefs the two details may be noticed from Pl. 46 (b) that the tables are

shown as placed across, rather than down, the axis of the room, and that only the servants wear sandals.

¹⁴⁷ Where references to the most senior officers of the king's staff are not found.

part of his training as a future king; he may often, however, have been absent from the capital on specific assignments. Thereafter our reconstruction is entirely concerned with *rabāni*. This order of men evidently included both princes and persons closely related to the king, and we shall presently suggest that they corresponded exactly to the "emirs" of Arabic times. Evidence for their presence in the king's mess may be seen in a line from the Aramaic Ahiqar story (iii, 33) which tells of an occasion when Esarhaddon commanded that there be brought to him *נבוסמסכן חד מן רבי אבי זי לחם אבי אכל* "Nabû-šum-iškun, one of my father's *rabāni* who dined with my father" (lit. "ate my father's bread").

In detail one may usefully think of the king's mess as being composed of two individual groups, and that, firstly, four or possibly five named officers or officials, all them undoubtedly *rabāni*, had a more or less permanent entitlement to membership. They are the *turtānu/tartānu*, the *rab šāqi*, the *nāgir ekalli*, the (a) *barakku (rabiū)*, and the *sukallu (rabiū)*. For the first three or four of these titles some help with the reconstruction is provided by the opening lines of a new Nimrud text, ND 10005,¹⁴⁸ and also by KAV 135 and 167, which, in an obscure context, mention certain senior officers of (presumably) the king's mess in Middle Assyrian times.¹⁴⁹ The eponym lists are very consistent in their indication of the order of precedence after the king.

Few additional words will be necessary to explain the work of the majority of the officers mentioned, or to say why each is an obvious choice in our reconstruction of the membership of the king's mess. As a general rule it seems probable that the *turtānu*, or "commander-in-chief",¹⁵⁰ was normally absent from the Assyrian capital, exercising his traditional command in the Western provinces (cf. above, p. 14). The *rab šāqi* (not to be confused, as in earlier studies, with the *rab rēši* who was an officer of the Household), may be identified with the "grand eunuch" (Parrot, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 105) who is depicted in royal audience scenes behind the bearded figure of the *turtānu*; it is difficult to know the significance of ND 10027, 16 (this volume, Pl. 20), which concerns his messenger,¹⁵¹ but, like the *turtānu*, the *rab šāqi* will often have been absent from the capital on a military assignment. The *nāgir ekalli* appears usually to rank fourth in the palace hierarchy according to the eponym lists. Long known as the court "herald" whose proclamation (*šisītu*) might call forth a royal levy or assemble a city for war or otherwise command public hearing,¹⁵² the *nāgīru* of the NA period appears additionally as a military officer

¹⁴⁸ Discussed below, p. 39.

¹⁴⁹ Thus KAV 135, 1 ff., has in order *rab šāqi*, *mār šarri*, *tartānu* and *abarakku*, followed by proper names; KAV 167 lists [*rab šāqi*?], *mār šarri*, *tartānu* and *nāgir ekallim* before a break.

¹⁵⁰ But originally *terdennu*, "celui qui suit, donc: héritier du trône... ou: second par le rang", J. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV, 39, or "second son", Sum. *ús-sa*, A. W. Sjöberg, *Heidelberger Studien*, 217, a meaning confirmed by the *Babylonian Theodicy*, line 250 (cited after Lambert, *BWL*, Chapter III). Cf. further M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *WO* 3, 239; A. Salonen, *Hippologica*, 228-229, etc., also earlier studies as

given by E. F. Weidner, *Tell Halaf*, 12, note 44.

¹⁵¹ The line reads [X q] *a mār šipri* (A.KIN) *ša lūrab šāqi* (LÜ.GAL.BI.LUL), it being possible that the entry 1 *qa mār šipri* (DUMU.KIN) *ša mār šamaš-ibni* of pl. 31, 12, is related.

¹⁵² Cf. particularly E. Klauber, *Beamtentum*, 64-69; *ABL* 1063, 13 ff.; E. Weidner, *Afo* 17, 263 (and references); G. R. Driver, *Babylonian Laws* II, 156; Fadhil A. Ali, "Blowing the horn for official announcement", *Sumer* 20, 66-68; *Ahw* 711 (also 710, under *nagāru* II); I. M. Diakonoff, *AS* No. 16, 345; J. N. Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 12-13.

associated with home defence.¹⁵³ From *ABL* 112 and 409 the single instance is known of a *nāgir ekalli* having a field command south of Muṣaṣir in the time of Sargon—if he was not in fact simply operating in his own province. On the *abarakku*, or *barakku* as he is preferably to be called for our period,¹⁵⁴ more will be said in the following chapter. Now often called a “steward” or the like (thus *CAD* A 32 ff. and *AHw* 3 f.), although the word chosen for this volume will be “Treasurer”, the *barakku rabiū* will be seen to have had responsibilities in connection with *ilku*-tax and *nāmurtu*, and qualifies to be regarded as the chief minister of the commissariat situated in the *ekal māšarti*. One well-known holder of the office was Ṭab-šār-Ashur, architect of the city of Dūr-Šarrukēn.

The *sukallu rabiū*, or *sukallu dannu* or *sukalmahhu*, a title commonly abbreviated to the simple *sukallu*, has lastly to be considered. This official would easily require a statement of inordinate length if the *sukallu* of mythology, of the Ur III empire, of Elam, of the *kudurrus*, of the series *lú = ša*, and of many places elsewhere, had all to be taken into account together with the many comments that have been made concerning them. We can but give the personal opinion that if the term “vizier” be thought appropriate for the *sukallu*—it is based principally upon the observation that in many periods he ranked second after the king although this was not always the case—then the term must be qualified. In the world of Islam the familiar picture of a vizier in charge of seven divans (those of revenue, expenditure, the chancery, the “great seal”, war, court of appeal, and postal services) had no parallel in Mesopotamia. More originally the viziers were evidently large land-owners whose estates might produce a sufficient revenue to support the needs of the Caliph’s armies, and this again was something alien to the Mesopotamian scene where the ingathering of taxes was a charge upon governors. One would thus have to say that the use of the term vizier for *sukallu* does not imply an identification of duties: each in his own land was of his own kind. There may yet, however, emerge a school of thought which recognizes that, in historical times, the main associations of the *sukallu* were with judges and the work of judges—and thus also with the king as the first of judges—in which case he becomes rather the king’s attorney, his representative in law and the executor of his legal affairs. Such, at all events, is the conception I have of the *sukallu* for first millennium times.¹⁵⁵

There is, however, one thing to be said about the *sukallu* as compared with the *turtānu*, *rab šaqi*, *nāgir ekalli* and *barakku* previously mentioned. The last four of this group form a unity in that they were the most senior officers in the land, were usually the first four eponyms after the king in a new reign, and were the military governors of four very large provinces (cf. above, p. 14) which extended across the whole of the northern frontiers of Assyria. In this respect they bring to mind the four *vakils* of Safavid Persia—the term is evidently borrowed through Arabic

¹⁵³ Cf. firstly such passages as Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 45, 82 ff., and Streck, *Assurbanipal* II, 324, 6 ff., which speak for the military and psychological importance of capturing the enemy’s *nāgiru* in city warfare; and, secondly, *KAR* 71, rev. 20–22, with the explanation given in *AS* 16, 290.

¹⁵⁴ After K. Deller, *Or.* NS 34, 261, who cites

a spelling ¹⁵*bará-ku* from an unpublished K.-tablet.

¹⁵⁵ The idea is also worth promoting that, in private life, the *sukallu* may have had legal-protective duties equivalent to those of the Heb. *gō’el* and Arab. *walī*, in which case the appropriate word is “kinsman”.

from the Akk. (*w*)*aklu(m)*—who, as Minorsky tells in the work cited on p. 44, were military governors of the “frontier marches” (or border territories) of Persia during the period. But it is not, I think, until the reign of Esarhaddon that a *sukallu* became an eponym (676: *Abī-rāmu*), and it is not until the same time, and significantly in connection with the same person, that we hear of a *sukallu* being a military governor of a northern province (cf. above, p. 14, *Abī-rāmu* ¹⁶*šakin māt Hanigalbat*). The artificiality of the title in this late period will be apparent: Borger in his *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* I, 21, remarks quite properly, “bei Esarhaddon handelt es sich offensichtlich um einen Archaismus”. But the evidence would seem also to suggest that not at any earlier time was the *sukallu* a regular member of the king’s mess, and thus is our first group composed of “four or possibly five” named officers or officials (p. 35).¹⁵⁶

The proposed second group of officials who made up the membership of the king’s mess is less obvious and less certain in detail. But a place may be claimed firstly for the *ṭupšar šarri*, or “king’s scribe”, on the consideration that he was the leading scribe of the land and that only the presumably different, and lower, title of *ṭupšar ekalli* is mentioned in the wine lists. It is in any case likely that, in Sargon’s time, his scribe, Nabû-šallimšunu, was a guest with the king to the *ṭupšar āli*’s dinner at Assur to which some reference has already been made (pp. 9 f.); in this document the name ^{md}*Nabû-šal-lim-šū-nu* ¹⁶*ṭupšar šarri* occurs in obv. 6, and the instruction (such and such part of the sheep) ¹⁶*ṭupšar šarri e-kal* “the king’s scribe shall eat”, in rev. 12. We may include also the *rab urāti* although mainly for comparative reasons which are explained below. The title may be rendered as “stablemaster” (thus following Salonen, *Hippologica*, 239), although we take the view that the literal meaning is “emir of the horse” and that the phrase is properly to be analysed as **rab ša urāti* (see p. 53). It is all but certain that there were two royal stables at Calah, one situated on the citadel and the other in the *bābānu kisallu*, or “outer bailey” (cf. Oates, *Iraq* 24, 21, note 28), of the *ekal māšarti*; it may thus be supposed that the *rab urāti* and his *šaniu* together supervised the work of these two establishments. Of other possible applicants we may think of the (presumably) two *rab ekallis*, the *rab ekalli* of the king’s palace on the citadel and the *rab ekalli* of the *ekal māšarti* (cf. further on p. 78). A place may also be reserved for the *rab nuḫtimmi* or “king’s baker”, and with him no doubt for the king’s *nākisu*, whom we see as both his butcher and meat cook. In this regard it is to be noted that, for the *ṭupšar āli*’s dinner (ND 1120, rev. 14), it was specified that the *nuḫ(a)timmu* should eat the *unūt libbi* of the sheep so that one may infer that cooks normally partook of the meal which they helped to prepare. But more will be said of their work on pp. 78 ff., in the company of other officials concerned in the provisioning of the king’s table.

¹⁵⁶ In fact important evidence for the conclusion just given obtains from the threshold inscriptions of residence “L” at Khorsabad which belonged to Sin-ah-ušur, ¹⁶*sukalmahhu ta-lim* ^{md}*Šarru-kēn šar*, *kiš-šata šar*, *māt Aššur*¹⁶, etc., “*sukalmahhu* and full brother of Sargon, king of the world, king of Assyria” (Jacobsen *apud*

Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad* II, 104), and which itself is so impressive a building as to suggest that its owner must usually have dined within it. Moreover, although it is not known how often a king’s *sukallu* was his brother, one feels that such may not easily have eaten in each other’s company as a daily event.

In this reconstruction help is provided by the wine lists in that none of the titles or professions so far mentioned occur there. But also of relevance is the list of *mašennus* given for Nebuchadnezzar's court by Unger, *Babylon*, 284, lines 35 ff., for both the *rab biti* and the *rab nuhtimmu* are to be found in the list, and thus also the *rab rēdi kibsi* as "prefect of police(?)", the *rab zammāri* or "chief singer", and perhaps others, may suitably be accepted with them for membership of the king's mess in Assyria. It would be anticipating too much in the present argument to suggest here that the *mašennu* was "an emir of the second class" (cf. further on p. 80). But we may now turn to the promised consideration of the term *rabāni*, which appears in Assyria to have included the Babylonian *mašennu*. It is one of the pillars of our reconstruction of the king's mess as also of the Household that the *rabāni*, possibly more accurately referred to as the *rabīāni* and corresponding to the *rabūti* (as probably) of the literary language, were emirs.

At this point we have to introduce a source of information which has proved invaluable in the writing and research of many parts of the present volume. It is William Popper's *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A.D.*, being Volumes 15 and 16 of the University of California Publications in Semitic Philology (University of California Press, 1955 and 1957).¹⁵⁷ Based on Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *Chronicles of Egypt*, these studies describe in great detail the military, citadel-based organizations in Cairo and the Syrian provinces of the period, and in view of its Near Eastern background, the information, judiciously used, is of much service in illuminating the corresponding organization of Assyria. In particular Popper lists and describes with their Arabic titles the various groups of the Sultan's government, military and other officials, and part of his description of the emirs runs as follows (I, 85 ff.):

— "The emirs, i.e. princes, nobles or knights, were of three (occasionally four) grades or ranks. . . . They were appointed and promoted by the Sultan at his pleasure; to each was assigned the income, in coin or kind or both, of one or more specified towns or districts, which may be called a 'fief' (in Arabic *iqṭā'*). . . . He had a palace and various storehouses in the city where he resided. His distinguishing garment was an overcloak (*fauḡānīya*). . . .

"Emirs of all three grades . . . were either "intimate", "favourite", emirs (*umarā' khaṣṣakīya*, *khawāṣṣ al-umarā'*) or "outside" emirs (*khārījīya*, or *barrānīya*); the intimate emirs were those whose official duties brought them into daily attendance on the Sultan and whose residence was therefore within the Citadel. . . .

"On the appointment of an emir to a military office, his fief was enlarged; usually, but not always, a definite fief was attached to a certain office. . . . A gift of a robe or set of robes also accompanied an appointment to office (as to the emirate itself); generally also a horse or horses, and sometimes a sword. . . ."

On other pages Popper records the numerous titles of which emir is an element, including the "Head of the guard of emirs" (*ra's naubat al-umarā'*), "Emir of the

¹⁵⁷ I am much indebted to Dr. J. F. P. Hopkins of Cambridge for bringing this work to my attention.

council chamber" (*amīr majlis*), "Emir of the horse" (*amīr akhūr*), "Emir of the armour bearers" (*amīr jāndār*), and many others. He also notes that "to an emir appointed from Cairo as viceroy at a provincial capital there was generally assigned an official escort (*musaffir*) from the lower ranks of emirs . . .". (*Egypt and Syria* I, 104.)

With this definition before us our task is to show to what extent it will suit also the *rabāni*; and here we may first bring forward a new text, ND 10005, presented on Pls. 51 and 52 in the copies of A. R. Millard, and interpreted below in a manner rather more convincing than the writer's first attempt in *Iraq* 24, 98. The obverse reads as follows:

	^m Nabū-ina-libbi(?) -ilāni	IGI lútar-tana
	^m Bēl-Harrān-tak-lak	IGI uruRa-ša-pa
	^m Sin- ^d Aja	IGI lú ^{nā} gir ekalli
	^m Da-aja-na-nu	IGI lú ^{rab} šāqi
5	^m Bēl-Harrān-itti-ja	IGI uruNa-šibi-na ¹⁵⁸
	^m Šarru-emur-a-ni	IGI uruSi- [*] me-e ¹⁵⁹
	^m Nabū-šar-ušur	IGI uruTil-lí-e
	^m Bēl-iddin	IGI uruGu-za-na
	^m Bu-u-lu	IGI uruAr-zu-ḥi-na
10	^m Nūr-aja	IGI kurKūr-ru-ri
	^m Ninurta- ^d Aja	IGI uruAr-pad-da uruKur-ba-il
	^m Šili(šIL)- ^r Bēl ^r	IGI uruK[u-un]-na-li-a ¹⁶⁰
	^m Bēl-Harrān-itti-ja	IGI urux [x] x uruKāl-zi ¹⁶¹
	^m Nergal-eṭir	IGI uru*La-ḥi-*ru ¹⁶²
15	^m Ib-ni-e-a	IGI uruHal-zi-at-bar
	^m Nabū-qe-pi-ilāni	IGI uruUD-nun[u](ḥ[A]) ¹⁶³
	^m Nabū-eriba	IGI uruRi-mu-sa
	^m Bēl-emur-a-ni	IGI uruI-sa[-na]
	uruŠá-ḥu-pa ¹⁶⁴	uruArba-il
20	naphar 18 ša EN.NUN	IGI 22 rabāni(GAL.MEŠ)

The reverse of the tablet repeats the right half of the first twelve entries of the obverse (although with the substitution of the name Ashur-réme-ni ¹⁶⁵ for the appropriate "city" in line 12), and it will be seen that before each there is inserted a somewhat cryptic number, totalled in rev. 13 as 364. In this connection the possible comparison of the numbers given on *KAV* 135 and 167 (cf. above, p. 35)

¹⁵⁸ For the reading *šibi* of the sign ZIB in this name see K. Deller, *Or.* NS 31, p. 21.

¹⁵⁹ For the given reading rather than *Si-im-me-e* of the copy cf. the extensive evidence of Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 308.

¹⁶⁰ For parallels, cf. Parpola, *op. cit.*, under *Kinalua*.

¹⁶¹ Reading as proposed in Parpola, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

¹⁶² Suggested reading (cf. copy).

¹⁶³ A reading owed to J. N. Postgate and supported by II R 53, No. 1, line 38; elsewhere written UD-nu-na, cf. Parpola, *Toponyms*, under Parnuna.

¹⁶⁴ Also found as Šu-ḥu-pa, e.g. *ABL* 649, rev. 5.

¹⁶⁵ Thus K. Deller, *Or.* NS 31, 22.

may be noted, and Pl. 52 includes also copies of the fragments ND 10018/1 and 10018/2 which may likewise be relevant to this problem.

To interpret the obverse we would refer firstly to the summary line 20: *naphar 18 ša EN.NUN IGI 22 rabāni*, and secondly to Popper's statement regarding the assignment of a *musaffir* as official escort "to an emir appointed from Cairo as viceroy at a provincial capital". The *ša EN.NUN*—or *ša EN.NUN.IGI* after the *LÚ.EN.NUN.IGI.MEŠ* of Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 87, 31—were by the definition of their title personal guards of some kind, and if we may see them as *musaffirūn* then the *rabāni* of their charge easily become emirs. Accordingly the cities mentioned will have been their fiefs or provincial capitals—in actual fact they were probably all military centres since the emirate was above all a military office—and in this connection attention may be drawn to the important letter *ABL* 43 which informs the king (Esarhaddon) of those *rabāni*, identified by very largely the same cities, who for unstated reasons have defaulted in sending to Assur their regular *ginū*-dues of barley and emmer. That they had this obligation at all is a strong indication that these senior groups were "viceroys" (thus again borrowing from Popper's account), for the provision of *ginū*-offerings was a responsibility of kings. From this argument their close relationship with the king cannot be in doubt, and one may well think that they would have been members of the king's mess when in the royal capital.¹⁶⁶ From the heading *karānu*(*GEŠTIN.MEŠ*) *ša 1^urabāni*(*GAL.MEŠ*) of *KAV* 79 which now becomes understandable, one learns that the *ginū*-responsibilities of these senior *rabāni* might also include wine.

As a further indication of the relationship between *rabāni* and emirs we may refer again to their association with the Assyrian or other king. Texts which specifically mention *rabāni* in connection with a king's name include the docket ND 3413 (cf. Wiseman, *Iraq* 15, 139, and Pl. XI) which concerns *ku-zi-p-pe^{meš} ša muḫḫi LÚ.GAL.MEŠ¹⁶⁷ ša m^ašul-ma-nu-ašerid mār m^aAššur-nāšir-apal šar, māt Aššur*, "Kuzippu-robres for the emirs of Shalmaneser, son of Ashurnasirpal, king of Assyria". The term is found equally in association with Amme-ba'al, one of the Nairi kings in the time of Ashurnasirpal (*AKA* 341, 118), with Ullusun, king of the Mannaeans in the time of Sargon (Eighth campaign, line 33), and with the king of Elam in the time of Sennacherib (Luckenbill, *Annals*, 45, 84). Elsewhere, and in a text which we shall refer to again,¹⁶⁸ Esarhaddon makes allusion to *LÚ.GAL.MEŠ* (= *rabūti*?) *niš māti-ja*, "my emirs and (all) the *niš māti*", and *ABL* 1163, obv. 1, reads *tuppi LÚ.GAL.MEŠ* (= *rabāni*) *ša m^aAššur-ban-[apli]*, "letter of the emirs of Ashurbanipal". In the Old Testament, Jeremiah xxxix, 13, mentions *רַבִּי מַלְכֵּ-בָבֶל*, "the emirs of the king of Babylon (Nebuchadnezzar)". Doubtless other examples of these combinations occur, but sufficient will have been given to show how appropriate is the comparison with emirs who, after Popper's definition, were "princes, nobles or knights". In fact one may reasonably think that a proportion of the *rabāni* were princes borne to the king by the ladies of his harem.

Before leaving these texts we may refer briefly again to ND 3413 and the phrase

¹⁶⁶ In fact the best explanation of ND 10005 as a whole is that it relates to the annual audit and muster at Calah at the time of the New Year (cf. D. Oates, *Iraq* 24, 24).

¹⁶⁷ The sign *MEŠ* is taken from the previous "line".

¹⁶⁸ Cf. below, note 178.

ku-zi-p-pe^{meš} ša muḫḫi 1^urabāni ša m^ašul-ma-nu-ašerid. This does not mean with Wiseman that the clothing was "due from the nobles of Shalmaneser", since, in the clerical terminology of the period, the phrase *ša muḫḫi PN* is probably an ellipse of the *MA ša muḫḫi PN šaṭrūni*, "recorded as charged against so-and-so" (J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 127, text 18, etc.). The document will then indicate that an issue of official robes might be made to Assyrian *rabāni* even as was later done to the emirs of Egypt and Syria. As to the "horse or horses" which might also be given in this later period, we may recall the interesting comment of *The Poor Man of Nippur*, line 81: *iddinu-šum-ma 1^ušnarkabtu eš-šú s[i-mat r]a-bu-te*, "they gave him a new chariot, insignia of the emirs". Moreover, that comparisons extend even to the swords mentioned by Popper is shown by the four lines of the docket, *ADD* 764:

2 *lišānāt*(?) *hurāši* (*EME.MEŠ GUŠKIN*)
ša m^aNabū-eṭir 1^utur-tana
 1 *lišān hurāši ša m^aAb-da-a'*
1^ubēl piḫati uruRa-šap-pa,

"2 gold sword-blades. . . Nabu-eṭir, the *turtānu*;
 1 gold sword-blade. . . Abdā, governor of Rašappa".

In passing it may be noted that these lines confirm the high military status of Rašappa and its commanding officer as documented by Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, 55, note 1, and as suggested also for the Sargonid(?) period by lines 1–2 of the Nimrud text discussed above. Perhaps already the times were pregnant with the later *turtānus* of the (king's) Right and Left.

We are now in a position to suggest that the obviously very senior *rabāni* of our text had a group designation of their own, namely, *1^urabāni ša māt Aššur^{k1}*, "the emirs of Assyria". This title, or *rabūti ša māt Aššur* in the literary language, is attested in L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, 98, iv, 10; in Weidner, *AfO* 10, 5, B, 6; in Borger's *Asarhaddon*, p. 121, under Ab: BChr.; in the Babylonian Chronicle text, obv. 11, published by A. R. Millard, *Iraq* 26, 15; and in *ABL* 1013, rev. 2. It is directly complementary to the *rabāni/rabūti ša māt Akkadī*, "the emirs of Babylonia", to which reference is made below, p. 80. At the same time it is clear that, apart from emirs of this kind who held office in key military cities, there were also emirs who were more or less permanently resident at the king's palace within his capital city. Such are evidenced by the phrase *[i]-su-ri 1^urabāni ina ekalli [i]-qa-bi-u* of *ABL* 955, 11–12, "perhaps (some of) the *rabāni* have been talking in the palace", and also relevant is the phrase *1^urabūti-já li-bit* (var. *[li]-me-et*) *ekalli-já*, "my emirs, the entourage of my palace", used by Esarhaddon (cf. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 106, line 21 and note, and *AHW* under *liwītum*). One point is not fully certain, that is, whether such emirs of the palace consisted only of resident members of the king's mess such as we have already thought to have formed a group of emirs of the second class, or whether they included also the *qurubūti* whom (p. 48) we see as the king's "guard of emirs". But in any event Assyria, like later Egypt, seems equally to have had its "outside" and "intimate" emirs.

On the obvious affinity of the Arabic *amīr*- and Akk. *rab(i)*-titles little need be said. The comparison is closest where military titles are concerned. What is

important about it is that, if it may be supposed that such officers as the *rab kišri* or *rab ḫaššu* were not simply the senior members of their groups but were actually recruited from the ranks of emirs, it is easy to see how the Assyrian king may have kept a tight and even intimate control over his whole military organization. While differences abound one title, that of *rab urāti*, finds an exact equivalent in the later *amīr akhūr*, or "emir of the horse". The latter, according to Popper,¹⁶⁹ ranked fourth, or sometimes fifth or sixth, in the military establishment of the day, and it is this degree of seniority which has suggested that the *rab urāti* should probably be placed in the king's mess (cf. above, p. 37). Where the element *rabiū* is suffixed as in the title *ṭupšar šarri rabiū* (Sargon, Eighth campaign, 428), we would propose that the meaning "emir" is still appropriate. As evidenced also by the titles (*a*)*barakku rabiū*, *sukallu rabiū* and *nāgīru rabiū*,¹⁷⁰ its use appears to be with nouns found in the singular only.

Three allusions to *rabāni* found in historical texts merit attention and may be noted here.

We see, firstly, the *rabāni* in battle in terms of the passage Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 50, 22: *lūrabūti-ja kit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi lūnakri eli-šu-un id-nin-ma ul i-li-ú ma-ḫa-ar-šu lūmār šip-ri-šu-un ša ḫa-maṭ i-na qī-rib ta-mir-ti Kutū^{k1} ši-ru-u-a iš-pu-ru-u-ni*, "As for my emirs, the enemy's battle array was stronger than theirs, and (realizing) that they would not be able to stand before it they sent their messengers to me for help (while I was) in the outfields of Kutha."

It seems, secondly, to have been in a somewhat similar emergency that Shalmaneser III, entering Urartu from the west in the campaign of his third year, *i-ta-na-am-mar a-na lūrabūti-šu šip-ṭu ana du-[un-nu]-*un-nu*, "went in turn to see his emirs to tighten up discipline".¹⁷¹

The third text of our interest is obtained by adding ND 814 from Nimrud to TM 1931-2, 26 (now BM 134436) from Nineveh¹⁷² which provides the following detail to Ashurbanipal's account of his defeat of Shamash-shum-ukin:

mīsek-re-ti-šu rabūti-šu lūšu-ut rēši-šu ū nīšē li-bit (var. [*li*]-me-et) *ekalli-šu*
 *āš-lu-la [ū-ra-a a-na māt Aššur^{k1}]*

"His harem, his emirs, his eunuchs (and ghulams), together with the staff and entourage of his palace,, I led away as booty to Assyria."

The importance of this passage is that it reveals in all simplicity the five(?)fold division of an Oriental court of the times, in which the emirs had their prominent and essential place. It is a pattern which can be traced for different periods from Turkestan¹⁷³ and Persepolis in the East to Cairo and Constantinople in the West, and which we may suitably characterize as Near Eastern in some distinction from the more political and democratic organizations of Greece and Rome.

¹⁶⁹ *Egypt and Syria* I, 92.

¹⁷⁰ For the last named cf. references in *AHw* 711, under g, β.

¹⁷¹ Text and substantially the translation after W. G. Lambert, "Shalmaneser in Ararat", *AS* XI, 150, 17.

¹⁷² Published respectively by D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 13, 24 f. and pl. XII, and R. Campbell

Thompson, *Iraq* 7, 108 and Fig. 19 (cf. further R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 106, Kommentar).

¹⁷³ As best seen in W. Barthold's *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (= E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, New Series, V, third edition, 1968), with particular regard to the organization of the Sāmānid state, c. A.D. 850-1000 (reference from Dr. G. Martin Hinds).

Fittingly, our last picture of the *rabāni* is in the king's mess. It has been suggested above (p. 35) that certain senior *rabāni* probably had a more or less permanent entitlement to membership of the king's mess, and that the 22 *rabāni* of ND 10005 are likely to have been members of the mess when in the royal capital, particularly perhaps at the New Year (p. 40 and note 166). But a gathering of a different kind is suggested by the second of the two major texts published by K. F. Müller in *Das assyrische Ritual* (MVAG 41/3, 59 ff.). Beginning *u₄-mu ša nap-te-ni ša š[ar]ru mārē šarri (u) lūrabāni(?) a-na nap-te-ni e-ra-bu-[ni]*, "On the occasion of the (king's)-meal when the king, the king's sons and the emirs (together) enter for the meal", the text does not in fact carry the word *rabāni* in what is preserved of the opening lines, and this has to be restored. But the restoration seems altogether likely since the *rabāni* are frequently mentioned in the text,¹⁷⁴ and if we follow also the argument of p. 84 that the document is concerned with a festive meal held in the month of Tebet, we may even think of a "feast of the emirs", perhaps celebrated to mark the end of the campaign season. We may recall part of the scene (iii, 41-46):¹⁷⁵

ina bir-ti ḡiš^r paššūrē^r ša mārē šarri ū ša lūrabāni lūšā bitī šenī iz-za-a-zu ḡiš^r zi-qa-a-te ū-kal-lu kīma nap-tu-nu ma³a-da qar-ru-ub ina bir-ti ḡiš^r paššūrē ša mārē šarri ū ša lūrabāni riqqē ma³a-du-u-te i-šar-ru-pu du^u ḡkāsāti dan-na-a-te i-kar-r[u-r]u lūšā pān ekalli iz-za-az šī-qī lūšāqiu i-qab-bi.

"Men of the 'second house' [cf. p. 85] will stand holding torches between the (individual) tables of the king's sons and the emirs; and when the meal has been generously served, incense in good quantity will be burnt around the tables of the king's sons and of the emirs, the large drinking-cups will be set down, and the *šā pān ekalli* will take his stand, saying, 'Give to drink, O cup-bearer!' "¹⁷⁶

The evident participation of the *rabāni* in the *tākultu*-meal preceding the coronation ceremony at Assur,¹⁷⁷ and the statement of Esarhaddon¹⁷⁸ that, on the occasion of his reinauguration of the *ekal māšarti* at Nineveh, *lūrabūti* (GAL.MEŠ) *nīš māti-ja ka-li-šu-nu ina ta-kul-ti u qī-re-e-ti ina ḡiš^r paššūr ta-ši-la-a-ti qē-reb-šā ū-še-ši-ib*, "My emirs and all the *nīš māti* (concerned in the building) I seated therein at the banqueting tables for a feast and celebration", add further support for the interpretation proposed.¹⁷⁹

THE KING'S HOUSEHOLD

A first distinction that must be made between the king's household and the several other groups so far mentioned in this chapter is that it was incomparably larger in terms of its overall numbers. Consequently, the present section must

¹⁷⁴ Müller himself restores *š[ar]ru a-di lūrabāni*, "der K[önig] samt den Großen", indicating the uncertainty of the suggested restoration.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. also A. Salonen, *Möbel*, 186, and David Oates, *Iraq* 25, 34-35.

¹⁷⁶ For the *šā pān ekalli* see further in this chapter, p. 63.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. K. F. Müller, *Das assyrische Ritual*,

53 ff., and R. Frankena, *Tākultu*, Chapter V (with summary, pp. 132-133).

¹⁷⁸ See R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, NIN. A, vi, 49 ff., also A. Heidel and A. L. Oppenheim, *Sumer* 12, 34, lines 18 ff.

¹⁷⁹ The text cited is taken from the Heidel-Oppenheim edition (cf. previous note); on the *nīš māti* (or *mātāti*) see further below, pp. 90 ff.

inevitably describe the household with some economy of reference and with particular emphasis on the contribution of the new texts. We adopt a system of division which is partly natural and partly convenient, in the latter case to allow for proper discussion of deserving problems.

In this connection it may be said that no significance attaches to the order of presentation, and the grouping should in any case be regarded as representing no more than a provisional analysis of the organization. In general, understanding has been sought from the records of Mesopotamia itself and from the writings of many scholars who have worked on various aspects of its administration in different periods. But two other sources of information have been constantly in use. The first, Popper's *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, has already been named. The second is V. Minorsky's *Tadhkirat al-mulūk: a Manual of Safavid administration (circa 1137/1725)*, (Gibb Memorial Series, NS XVI, Cambridge, 1943),¹⁸⁰ which describes the organization of officials in Persia in the time of the Šafavī dynasties. Despite many problems which others may solve there is nevertheless much that may be already understood and properly classified, and we give below the scheme of a structural analysis of the household involving thirty individual groups.

1. The Royal family

It has already been stated (p. 6) that the queen and her household appears as the first entry on a majority of the wine lists. The daily allocation of wine for this group was considerable (3 *sāti*) and consequently only a proportion of it will have been destined to go specifically to the queen's mess. How many individual messes were thus served cannot be known; it is presumed that the queen's steward, or some equivalent official on her staff, broke the total amount down according to an established and well-known ratio, and that it was distributed accordingly. Two queens, those of Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV, are represented by the lists, but the name of neither of them is given or appears otherwise to be known. Both received the same issue of 3 *sātu*, which by the standard of 1 *qū* for ten men will indicate a ration of 300 units. However, as argued in Chapter III, a privilege factor has probably to be allowed for senior messes so that we are not entitled to think that the total ration was for 300 persons. By way of comparison it is worth noting that, in the following century, one of the Ninevite queens received for her household 5 *UDU* 5 *DUG.ŠAB*, "five sheep and five *šappu*-jars (of wine)" (*ADD* II, 1036, ii, 28). Taken to be an issue for the day, and calculated on the basis of 1 *šappu* = 5 *qū* (cf. below, p. 115), the stated quantity of wine will have represented a ration of 250 units.

Of other members of the royal family there is mention on the lists of "the king's younger brother" (ŠEŠ.TUR-ŠÚ [*ša šarri*], ND 10061, 13, on Pl. 37), and certain entries may be thought to concern *šakintus*, most obviously perhaps on Pl. 32, 21 ff., although the title is nowhere mentioned in the section. Such persons I have long regarded as the "princess *šakintus* of vacated palaces", but this may be an oversimplification of the matter; Johns, *ADD* II, § 180, considered that they were "very likely princesses".

¹⁸⁰ A study brought to my notice by Professor Sir Harold Bailey.

2. The Emirs

The *rabāni*, or "emirs", have been discussed at some length on earlier pages although we may conveniently add here a few details not previously mentioned. Thus apart from Popper's work on this subject attention may also be directed to Minorsky's chapter "On the Great Amirs"¹⁸¹—the *a*-vowel is more etymologically correct—and it is of interest to read that the order was of two kinds also in Persia, the "border amirs" who were in charge of the outer provinces and the "amirs residing at the Court". Of the term itself it may be said that the form *rabāni* is based on the phonetic *lūra-ban-ni* of Sargon's Eighth Campaign, line 58, the authority used also by K. F. Müller for "*Das assyrische Ritual*"; if it should be regarded as a curious departure from the presumed *rabūti* of literary texts an explanation may be sought in Oppenheim's penetrating analysis of the document as presented in *JNES* 19, 133 ff. That *rabūti* was also normal in OB is not doubtful; thus in *ARM* IV, 22, 18, mention is made of three named persons *ū lū.meš-*ra*-ab-bu-tim-ma*, "and the (other) emirs". For an equivalent term in Sumerian attention may be drawn to the formula for year 34 of Samsuiluna:

*mu é-gal nam-nun-na é-hé-du, ki-tuš nam-*lugal*-la-na mu-un-[dū-a],*

"Year in which (Samsuiluna) built the emirs' palace *E-hedu kituš namlugalana* ('The palace which could worthily have been the seat of his own kingship')." And in this regard important also is *ABL* 633, obv. 16, *ardāni ša ša(SAL) ekalli ša mār šarri ša bit lūrabāni*(*GAL.MEŠ*), "servants of the queen and of the king's son and of the *bit rabāni*", for it indicates that an emirs' residence might be a feature even of the Neo-Assyrian scene.

As to the emirs of the wine lists several individual groups are probably to be recognized. Firstly, the *GAL.MEŠ* or *LÚ.GAL.MEŠ* of Pls. 5, ii, 15 and 13, obv. 5, and probably also the *LÚ.NUNⁿⁱ.*[meš]** of Pl. 37, ND 10061, 5, must be considered, the mess being evidently served with a ration of 2 *šappāte* of wine (= 100 units). Secondly, persons with such names as Šilli-Ishtar, Adad-uballit, Mannu-ki-Adad (Pls. 11, 12, and 12, 7 and 10) who are known to have become eponyms in later years (cf. on p. 2) are likely to have been junior *rabāni* in the time of the wine lists, although their precise relationship to our first group of *rabāni* is not clear. Thirdly, there is mention on Pl. 7 of a Chaldean *šaknu* (line 12) and probably also of 5 Assyrian, 3 Suhian and 3 Aramean *šaknus* (lines 19–21), and, in accordance with our earlier findings on the *šaknu* (p. 13), these must likewise have been of the emirate order although evidently not of the most senior grade. It is important to add in this connection that the evidence just cited derives from what we have termed "the New Year reappointments tablet", so that the presence of such *šaknus* in Calah will have been of a temporary nature only.

For a proposal that two further groups of emirs are to be included within the scheme of the king's household in Assyria, reference may be made to the discussions of Sections 5 and 19 below.

¹⁸¹ *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 112 ff.

3. *The Harems*

The evidence of the wine lists is confined to the reign of Adad-nirari III. From ND 6218, dated to 784 B.C., which reads (Pl. 9, i, 10-11):

2 sāt 1 qa SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ ša qabāsi(MURUB) āli
8 qa KIMIN ša ekal ma-šar-ti

it is seen that this king had in fact two harems, one situated on the citadel of Calah (*qabāsi āli*) and the other in the *ekal māšarti*. The same situation is reflected by the two entries of Pl. 11, 16-17, the first of which mentions the Arpadajāte already briefly discussed on p. 2. It may be added that the second of the lines quoted directly confirms the original finding of Oates (*Iraq* 21, 126, and 23, 6), namely, that suites in the vicinity of courtyard S 73 in the *ekal māšarti* were likely to have been harem quarters.

Also well represented in the lists is an entry concerning *mārti*(DUMU.SAL) ^mIGI+DU-ah-iddin, "the daughter of Palil-ah-iddin"—thus found on Pls. 5, i, 6 (in part); 8, obv. 4; 9, i, 9; and 32, 20. The style of address was appropriate for princesses, and her comparatively large wine ration of 1 *sūtu* and 2 *qū*, as well as the fact that, on Pl. 9, she is listed directly after the queen and before the two harems, further testify to her obviously high estate. Unfortunately her father, Palil-ah-iddin, is unknown to history, and in ignorance also of her vocation (either singing or dancing might be suggested) one can but record the bare statement of the lists in what would seem to be an appropriate place.

4. *The Court Eunuchs*

On present evidence (and cf. specifically Oates, *Iraq* 25, 35), it appears that all senior eunuchs in the king's service belonged essentially to one or other of two closely related courts, namely, the *bītānu*, that is, the inner court which included also the king's private apartments, and the *bābānu*, or outer court, which included also the council chambers. This important division of the eunuch body existed also at the Persian court and in the Imperial households of the Ottoman Sultāns where the equivalent terms were *anderūn*, Turk. *enderūn*, which represented the "inner" palace, and *birūn* which was the corresponding "outer" palace (cf. in general *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., II, pp. 697 and 1089).

In Assyria the two groups may be readily distinguished in terms of their senior officials and different functions. Thus the *bītānu* were evidently responsible in the first instance to the *ša muḫḫi bītāni* (Pl. 12, 8, etc.), and secondly to the *rab ekalli* (E. Weidner, *AfO* 17, 262 ff.), being essentially "chamberlains" or *cubicularii*. In the light of the witnesses given on ADD 575 it seems likely that many of them had individual titles such as *ša rēšu ša pān bītāni*, *ša rēšu ša bīt šarri*, and the like. It is proposed to include in their number the *ša GIŠ.TAḪ.KAL* of Pl. 29, 19, etc., which is a new term possibly meaning "keeper of the wardrobe"; the term recalls the *GIŠ.TAḪ.KAL* recorded in the Muṣaṣir booty list of Sargon's Eighth Campaign, line 356, and it occurs also on ND 2311, 8 (see B. Parker, *Iraq* 23, Pl. X) in a context involving both cloth and garments. By contrast the men of the *bābānu* are perhaps better known.

They served under the *rab rēši* (Bab. *rab ša rēši*) who may be regarded as the First Eunuch of this organization. They are familiar as the "courtiers" of many commentaries, as the "officers" of the campaigns and the "eunuch-governors" of internal or annexed provinces. They may be seen on the palace reliefs as bearers of the royal throne which was no menial task but a charge of high honour; indeed, these were the men who in throne-room audiences stood in attendance upon the king, being then styled the *manzaz pān šarri*.

It would take us too far afield to explore the extensive territories of this section in more than a general way. But it may be said firstly of the *rab rēši* that he was, by the definition of his title, the senior eunuch of the *ša rēši*—and thus also, by implication, of the many *bēl piḫati* who were of this order—so the extent of his authority may be determined accordingly. The wine lists assign him his own mess (Pl. 11, 9, etc.), and this is sometimes listed immediately after the queen (Pls. 17, 7, and 19, 6). As for the *ša rēši* themselves much general information is provided by a body of regulations drawn up by the Hittite king Tuthaliyas IV and edited by von Schuler under the title *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte*.¹⁸² From these instructions, and the summary of the section on "Die LÜ.MEŠSAG und ihr Amt", it is learnt that the first of the courtiers' duties was the protection of the king and his family. They had in particular to direct their attentions to everything which might be going on around them in the land or amongst the emirs or at court, and they had immediately to report to the king on the planning or execution of any revolution or crime or plot against his life of which they became aware. The obvious application of these instructions to almost any court of the times will be apparent; and as Otten (*op. cit.*, 390) also remarks the instructions which such LÜ.MEŠSAG received specifically on "women's affairs" brings forcibly to mind the Court and Harem edicts published by E. Weidner in *AfO* 17, 257 ff.

One further point concerning the court eunuchs may be mentioned here, namely, that at a comparatively late period, and under as yet unknown circumstances, senior *ša rēši* in Mesopotamia became also involved in temple administration. It would perhaps not be surprising to learn that this new association formed part of the administrative reforms of Tiglath-pileser III—and history does not record how popular the move was—but the first wind we have of it appears to be in the reign of Sargon (cf. Winckler, *Sargon* 146, line 41) where a *šatam ekurri* and *šūt rēši* are mentioned together. We have referred above (p. 21) to a line from the *Fürstenspiel*, "If either a religious leader, or a high priest, or the king's eunuchs (*šūt rēšu šarri*) who in Sippar, Nippur and Babylon 'stand for' high priests." On ND 5550 (ed. Parker, *Iraq* 19, 135 f.) the first of many temple and some other officials witnessing the donation of a private land-holding to Nabû of Ezida was a *ša rēšu šarri* (line 34), and from the temple archives of Eanna in Uruk there is frequent mention also of two *ša rēšu šarris*, one being the *bēl piḫitti Eanna* and the other the *ša muḫḫi quppi ša šarri* (discussed *int. al.* by San Nicolò, *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie*

¹⁸² The monograph is published as *AfO*, Beiheft 10, and should be consulted with the observations of H. Otten in *AfO* 18, 387 ff., and of von Schuler himself (as O. R. Gurney

kindly informs me) in his later study "Staatsverträge und Dokumente hethitischen Rechts", *Historia* 7, 34 ff., and especially p. 47.

neubabylonischer Beamten, notes 37, 72 and 91). The reason for this new source of control is not known but may have been that the temples were seen to be growing too rich or too powerful, or were in some way encroaching upon royal preserves. The court eunuch, one could argue, became thus a spy in the camp, ready to protect the king according to the first of his duties.

We have been speaking about court eunuchs, but additionally the wine lists recognize a second, and presumably junior, group of eunuchs—or perhaps rather of ghulāms and eunuchs—who seem equally to have been called *ša rēši* but were known specifically as the *raksūti ša rab rēši*. They appear to have been royal escort riders or horse boys of a kind, but being *nīš ekalli* rather than *bābānu* personnel they are accorded discussion under a separate heading (Section 14). Other eunuch groups in the king's service such as the cupbearers (*šāqiu*) belong similarly to the order of *nīš ekalli* and are discussed in Sections 23–24.

5. The Guard of Emirs

Two separate but related groups belong in this section, the *qurubūti* of Pl. 9, i, 14, etc., and the equally common *ša šēpē* as found, for example, in Pl. 15, 35. That both were guard units was first suggested by Manitius in his study “Das stehende Heer der Assyrikerkönige” (Section IVb, “die Leibwachen”),¹⁸³ and the truth of this assertion is not in doubt. However, it is to be recognized that both groups belong equally to *qurubūtu* (if this is the correct abstract terminology), and that we must separate the guard into the two divisions of *qurubūti ša šēpē*, that is “*qurubūti* of the (king's) column” or “household chariotry”, and *qurubūti ša pithalli* (more generally known as the *ša pithallāte*), that is “*qurubūti* of the (king's) horse” or “household cavalry”. Evidence for this division may be seen in a text of Esarhaddon's¹⁸⁴ which makes allusion to *narkabti qurubūte* and *pithal qurubūte*; it may be seen again in Sargon's *narkabti šēpē* and *pithallu*¹⁸⁵ which describes in a different way the same two units of household chariotry and cavalry. In Johns' texts we may notice the *lūquru-bu-u-ti ša šēpē* of ADD 177, obv. 7, and the *pit-hal ša lūquru-bu-ti* of ADD 1036, iv, 10. It is also of relevance, if not altogether compelling in argument, that of the eight witnesses listed on ADD 400, six were *ša šēpē* and two were *qurubūti*.

As to our heading “The Guard of Emirs”, this title has been inspired by the *naubat al-umarā'* of Popper's *Egypt and Syria*,¹⁸⁶ and seems sufficiently justifiable in view of the high military standing of the *qurubūti*-officers and their close association with the king. It is perhaps also significant that no such rank as a **rab qurubūti* was at any time in existence in Mesopotamia, a suitable explanation being that, since all the *qurubūti* were emirs, such a title could have had no meaning. On the word itself attention may be drawn to the later discussion of p. 122. While in theory *qurubūti* may be regarded with Ungnad (cf. note 183) as derivative from *qarubūtu*, “die Nahheit”, there is much evidence to show that even a single member of the

¹⁸³ ZA 24 (1910), 142 ff., cf. especially also A. Ungnad, *Tell Halaf*, No. 115, under line 8, and A. Salonen, *Hippologica*, 229 f.

¹⁸⁴ R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 106, iii, 16.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. generally A. Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge*, 52 f.

¹⁸⁶ Vol. I, 91 (under 2a).

guard came subsequently to be called a *qurubūtu*. In this meaning, therefore, the formation is secondary.

For something of the variety of duties that might befall a guards officer on special assignment reference may be made to Saggs, *Iraq* 21, 165. The new information that he might assist in the judgment of a court of law obtains from a text published by Postgate, *Iraq* 32, 132. And in so far as at least the *pithal* (*ša*) *qurubūti* were a cavalry unit, being perhaps the *sisē a-li-kut i-di-ja ša a-šar nak-ri ū sa-al-mi la ip-pa-rak-ku-ū* of Sargon's Eighth Campaign, line 132, Oates refers me to the parallel of the Companions, or Companion cavalry, in Alexander's time who served as his constant bodyguard.¹⁸⁷

6. The Chariot Crews of the Court Eunuchs and Guard of Emirs

Two lines from a late Babylonian text (D. J. Wiseman, *BSOAS* 30, 497, ii, 16–17):

5 *lim lubūšu* (^{tū}gNÍG.MU₄) *ša rēši*
5 *lim lubūšu* (^{tū}gNÍG.MU₄) ^{lū}*qur-ru-bu-ti*

“5,000 garments (as worn by) the *ša rēši*
5,000 garments (as worn by) the *qurubūtu*”,

may usefully support the case, and despite the evident *folie de grandeur* of the statement, for supposing that there was an essential dualism of *ša rēši* and *qurubūti*, “the Court” and “the Guard”, in the time of our documents. What has next to be said is that, in the wine lists, two alternative terms were in common use to describe the same groups. They are respectively *arad ekalli*, lit. “servants of the palace”, and *ša ziqni*, lit. “(men) of the beard”. The opposition of these terms has already been briefly mentioned (cf. above, p. 28). It may be seen again in ABL 566, rev. 9, *lu-u lūša* [*ziq*]-*ni* [*lu-u*] ^{lū}*arad ekalli*, the first term being wrongly restored as ^{lū}*ša*-[*ak*]-*ni* in Oppenheim's study of the *arad ekalli*, *Ar. Or.* 17/2, 229. Another good example occurs in Pl. 10 of this volume where *bēl* GÍŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *arad ekalli* in col. i, 25, is contrasted with the *bēl* GÍŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša zi-iq-ni* of col. i, 27. As to the further association of these terms with *ša rēši*/*qurubūti* the following mixed examples may be submitted:

- (1) The above-mentioned *bēl* GÍŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *arad ekalli* is to be equated with the LÚ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša rēši* (SAG.MEŠ) of the Sargon bread lists (text in Chapter IV, p. 156).
- (2) The above-mentioned *bēl* GÍŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *ša zi-iq-ni* is to be equated with the *bēl* GIGIR.MEŠ *qur-ru*[-*ubu-tu*] of the Sargon bread lists (cf. text in Chapter IV, p. 155).
- (3) Pl. 14, 12–13, of this volume reads:

bēl GÍŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *quru-bu-ti*
KIMIN *arad ekalli*

where the first line is to be contrasted with the second.

¹⁸⁷ A standard source is W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* II, 154 ff.

- (4) In line 78 of the Vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon (Wiseman, *Iraq* 20, 35), ¹⁴ša ziq-ni is contrasted with ša rēši(LÚ.SAG.MEŠ).

On the basis of the above evidence we propose that the *bēl* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša ziqni and the *bēl* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ arad ekalli were respectively the drivers of the *qurubūti*-emirs and the court eunuchs. The argument that the *bēl* GIŠ.GIGIR was a chariot-driver has been well stated by Salonen, *Hippologica*, 209. The only other point that then has to be made is that, on the authority of a syllabic writing quoted shortly below, the NA reading of GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ is likely to have been *mugirrāte* rather than *narkabāte*. Nothing can be said on the basis of the wine lists of other crew members such as are met in the following section.

7. The Chariot Crews of the Standing Army Unit

A statement on this organization may usefully be introduced by part of the Nimrud letter No. 89 (Saggs, *Iraq* 28, 186). In this text lines 9–12 read as follows (here tabulated for greater clarity):

9	II	lūmu-kil	kušappāti
10a	12	lūtašlišāni	(III.U ₅ .MEŠ)
10b	[3]	o	lūmāru damqu(A.SIG ₅)
11	53	LÚ.	g ¹ šmugirrāte(GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ) . . .
12	naphar	106	šābumē[š ša g ¹]šmugirrāti

In some anticipation of conclusions we translate:

“ 11 grooms (or equerries)
12 third men
30 bowmen
53 drivers . . .
Total 106 chariot personnel.”

This passage appears to provide a first insight into the detailed organization of a chariot (*kišru*)-unit in Assyria, and as Saggs well remarks, the total of 106 men breaks down into two groups of 53 involving 53 chariots (suitably 50 chariots plus the three command-chariots of the *rab kišri* and two *rab haššāni*). A suggested scheme for the whole unit is set forth in Fig. 1. Its importance in the present context is that the three main categories of *mukil appāti*, *tašlišu* and *māru damqu* all occur together in the wine lists (Pl. 23, ND 10050/1, 5 ff.), and we are bound, therefore, to think of a comparable organization. The drivers are listed separately.

In fact the drivers (if we may take the groups in reverse order) are the most difficult to find in the new documents. One of the most likely allusions to them is the entry

1 sūt bēl GIŠ.GIGIR.[MEŠ ša ekalli(?)]

as found on Pl. 21, ND 10049, obv. 4; the main argument here is that the regular chariot unit at Calah is likely to have been two *kišrus* strong and the conclusions of Chapter III make 1 sūt the wine ration for 100 men at basic rates. Otherwise certain proper names in the lists may possibly have represented senior charioteers of individual messes, a suggestion in some part supported by the entry [m^x x]x-pi

				<i>rab kišri</i> driver groom (or equerry)	
		<i>rab haššā</i> driver third man		<i>rab haššā</i> driver third man	
driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman
driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman
driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman
driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman
driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman	driver bowman
driver third man	driver groom	driver third man	driver groom	driver third man	driver groom
driver third man	driver groom	driver third man	driver groom	driver third man	driver groom
driver third man	driver groom	driver third man	driver groom	driver third man	driver groom

FIG. 1

bēl GIŠ.GI[GIR] of ND 10057, Pl. 21, Edge, 1.

The bowmen (or “Wagenkämpfer”) appear in the lists under the ideograms A/DUMU.SIG and A/DUMU.SIG₅, with or without MEŠ in either first or second position. That the reading is probably *mārē dammaqūte* (sing. *māru damqu*) has been suggested to me by Oppenheim on the basis of such writings as 23 LÚ.BAN dam-ma-qu-te, ABL 1009, 11; ¹⁴SIG₅-qū-ti, KUB 34, 1, 6; ¹⁴māru dam-qa, Strassmaier, *Darius*, 351, 8 (cf. CAD D 67; AHw 157), and indeed a full account of the reading and many

pertinent references are now given by Oppenheim in Pritchard, *ANET* (3rd edition with supplement), 567, note 7. The group is not concerned with "messengers" (*mār šipri*) despite a recent proposal to read A.SIG₅ as A *ši-pir*.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, even Oppenheim may have misinterpreted the evidence cited in his note in supposing that, in Seleucid times, Antiochus (III) "was killed in the midst of his nobles called, respectively, LÚ.GAL.MEŠ and A.SIG"—and in fact it may be doubted that the A.SIG were emirs (LÚ.GAL.MEŠ). But that essentially their main employment was as bowmen seems clear both from the LÚ.BAN *dam-ma-qu-te* mentioned above, and also from the new term LÚ.A.SIG *ša* ^{g18}[*mu-še*]-*zib-a-te* (Pl. 29, 12, restored from 14, 15, etc.), where the second element is doubtless the same as that found on ND 2612: 700 G18.BAN.MEŠ *100 sa mu-še-zib-a-te ina lib-bi* (see *Iraq* 23, 37). For further discussion see below in Section 15.

Little need be said of the third man of the chariot, Ass. *tašlišu*. Indeed, despite a detailed study by Salonen, *Hippologica*, 213 f. and 216 f., surprisingly little is actually known about the office and its function. It is, however, clear that Landsberger's original suggestion to read *tašlišu* must at last prevail even for Assyria, the syllabic ¹⁴*taš-li-šu* of Pl. 37, 3, being of much importance in this regard.

Finally there were the *mukil appāti* or "holders of the reins". The wine lists speak of two groups, but the men of immediate concern are the *mukil appāti ša mu-^ggir-a-te* of Pl. 29, 15—whence also, as suggested above, the reading of G18.GIGIR.MEŠ may be posited as *mugirrāte*. With little doubt these men were not drivers as still widely supposed, but rather grooms or equerries. Thus also, if somewhat differently, "[Persian] *jilaudār*, "Holder of the Rein", is the groom riding before his master, as if leading his horse" (V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 120), and of final authority in the matter is the quoted Nimrud letter where only 11 *mukil appāti* are included in a unit of 53 chariots. It is likely that *kartappu*, from Sum. *kir₄-dib/dab₅*, was the equivalent term in Babylonia.

8. The King's Transport

Under this heading we must obviously first consider the men of the king's own chariots. In later times a familiar figure at Nineveh was Rēmāni-Adad, ¹⁴*mu-kil kuš₄-pa-ti dan-nu ša* ^m*Aššur-ban-apli šar₄ māt Aššur^{k1}* (*ADD* 417, 11–12, etc.), and one could think that a man with such a title was a senior emir and should be placed accordingly in one of the messes of the emirs. In fact, this was probably not so, for our definition of the difficult term *dannu* is that it denotes a person of senior status who was not, however, an emir (*rabiū*). But in any event the phrase in question now recurs in the lines of ND 10057 (Pl. 21), obv. 3–6:

[¹⁴*mu-kil* k]uš^u*appāti*^{meš} *dannu*(KAL)
[KIMIN *šani*]-*ú*
[¹⁴*taš*]*lišu* *dannu*(KAL)
[KIMIN *ša*]*ni-ú*

Here it must surely be that we have the titles of at least four men of the king's chariots (two equerries and two third men), a team sufficient in fact to man two

¹⁸⁸ K. Deller, *Or.* NS 36, 81.

chariots, presumably one for the king and one in reserve or for an honoured guest. The rest of the story of the king's transport is told by the *mukil appāti labbašūte* of Pl. 29, 14, and the *ša* DUH.MEŠ of *ibid.*, 17, although both terms are well represented in other parts of the collection. With regard to the first of these the qualification *labbašūte* is a term shared also by a group of the king's musicians, and, since the etymology is clear (cf. in Chapter IV, p. 122), *mukil appāti* of this order may suitably be called 'grooms of the royal cloth'. There is some evidence for supposing that such grooms were in charge of the king's riding horses; that such existed may be inferred from the *rukub šarrūti* of the historical texts, and in later Egypt there was "a set of horses which were stationed in turn before the palace ready for the Sultan to mount at his pleasure".¹⁸⁹ Less obvious is the meaning of *ša* DUH.MEŠ; but in the light of the variant š[a g]18.DUH.MEŠ of ND 10052, 6 (Pl. 30), and then following Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge*, 51 f., rather than Salonen, *Hippologica*, 207, it may be suggested that the reading is *ša* (^{g18})*pattūte*, "the men of the open(?) chariots" (used especially in hunting).

9. The King's Stables

The first group to be considered in this section are the *ša urāte* of Pl. 5, ii, 11, or *ša pān urāte* as they appear also to have been called (Pl. 9, 1, 7). Both terms are new, and it is to be mentioned that the meaning of *urāte* in this context is not quite certain. However, I have long felt (without being able to prove) that the reading of KUR.MEŠ or ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ in NA may be either *sīsē* or *urāte*, and that this latter word means "horses" in general as well as "mares". Thus also Arab. *faras* is both "mare" and a collective name for horse,¹⁹⁰ and further authority may be sought in Akk. plurals such as *enzāti* meaning both "goats" and "she-goats". So interpreted the *ša urāte* may be regarded as horse officials of some kind, and the most likely conclusion is in fact that *ša urāte* formed the staff of the *rab urāte*. For the ellipse of *ša* in the latter term comparison may be made to the pair *ša rēši* and *rab rēši*, as commonly, although a form *rab ša rēši* was perhaps also known. There is also an argument for suggesting that, like the *rab urāte*, the four or six(?) men comprising the *ša urāte* may themselves be legitimately called "emirs of the horse". In this connection appeal is again made to Popper¹⁹¹ who lists in fourth position under his Regular Officials of the Military-Executive:

"Emir of the horse (*amīr akhūr*), in general charge of the Sultan's stables and horses; his residence was in the compound of stable buildings, and there was under him . . . second, third [and] fourth . . . "emirs of the horse", whose rank varied; at times one was of the second emirate grade and one of the third; at other times three were of the second grade."

Additionally it may be noted that, in the light of *ADD* 172, obv. 1 ff.: ^m*Mu-še-zib-Mar-duk* ¹⁴*šaknu*(GAR-nu) *šā urāte*(ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ) *šā bīti ešši*, "Muše-zib-Marduk, officer-in-charge of the horses of the New Stables",¹⁹² the possibility must be

¹⁸⁹ W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria* I, 85.

¹⁹¹ *Egypt and Syria* I, 92.

¹⁹⁰ C. R. Raswan, "Vocabulary of Bedouin words concerning horses", *JNES* 4, 115, under No. 220.

¹⁹² For *bītu* as "stables", cf. also the *ša bīt kudini* mentioned shortly below.

considered that our *ša urâte* later developed into a phrase **šaknūte ša urâte*, comparable to the *šaknūte ša ma'assi* known from Sargonid times.

As to other groups that had to do with the stabling of horses, the *mukil appāti* have been classified under a separate heading since their main task appears to have been that of riding in support of chariot teams and sometimes even on the chariot itself (p. 50). But a place may be given here to the *susānus* or *ša susāni* (Pls. 16, ND 10046/1, 8, and 24, ND 10055, 8) being the well-known term for "horse-trainers" of Hurrian, and ultimately of Indo-Aryan, origin, and also to the *ša bit kudini* (Pl. 17, 16, and *passim*) or "men of the mule stables". As to the first of these—and the statement given owes much to the assistance of Sir Harold Bailey—the standard reference used to be M. Mayrhofer, *Die Sprache* V (1959), 87, where the Hittite writing ¹⁴*a-aš-šu-uš-ša-an-ni* was interpreted as "Pferdetrainer" on the basis of Old Indian *aśva-*, "horse", and *śam-*, "to look after", the latter corresponding to the element *κομ-* in the equivalent Greek term ἵπποκόμος. More recently, however, Mayrhofer has contributed a new account of the profession in his *Die Indo-Arier im Alten Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1966), although still pertinent is A. Kammenhuber, *Hippologia hethitica* (Wiesbaden, 1961), 6 ff. The latter's *Die Arier im Vordern Orient* (1968) contains in fact the latest statement on a long-lived profession which is represented also by NB *šušānu* and Syriac *šūšānā*. With regard to the *ša bit kudini* the phrase is attested a few times in NA texts, but more will be learnt from H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, Pl. LIV, (2), with its reproduction of "The sumpter-mules of the royal train" and its unique pictorial record of the mule equipment of the times. An indication as to the composition of the unit is provided by the two eunuchs who accompany the animals.

10. The Standard-bearers

Discussion in this section is devoted to the term *ša gišdunāni* which occurs no less than eleven times in the wine lists (and once also in the bread lists) being thus more often attested than any other single entry. In the suggested interpretation two clues are important. The first is that, on *ADD* 260, rev. 10, there occurs as the name of a witness ^m*Rem-a-ni-dAdad* ¹⁴*mu-kil* ^{kuš}*appāti ša du-na-na-te*, "Rēmāni-Adad, equerry to the *ša dunānis*", in fact probably the same officer, in earlier years, as the Rēmāni-Adad, *mukil appāti dannu ša Aššur-ban-apli* mentioned in Section 7.¹⁹³ The second clue concerns the etymology of the term *gišdunānu*, which, as already indicated by von Soden, *AHW* 176, must be related to *andunānu*, "Stellvertretung" (representation), as is *durāru* to *andurāru*. This association is pertinent because, through the Sum. equivalent *nīg-sag-il-la*, and thence from the series *alam nīg-sag-il-la im-ma-ke*, of *CT* 17, Pl. 29 ff., the "representations" which are most fully understood were those of winds and pestilences (the "im" of the series title), and we believe it was not by chance that, at the head of Sargon's army on his eighth campaign, went the chariots of Nergal and Adad, the very gods of the same evils. In these chariots, according to Sargon's account, there was not an image of the two deities but rather

¹⁹³ For relevant bibliography cf. now M. Dietrich, *WO* 4, 207.

their *urigallū* or "standards",¹⁹⁴ and if *gišdunānu* may then be considered to have been the non-literary word for a standard—with the determinative *giš* indicating the pole of its mounting—the *ša dunāni* was a standard-bearer.

As a comparative detail of interest it may be noted that the "standard-bearer" belonged also to the Egyptian army, being there associated with both chariots and ships.¹⁹⁵

11. The Military Scribes

This section is concerned with the difficult term *mušarkisu* (Pl. 15, 30, etc.), which has proved to be one of the most elusive of the Neo-Assyrian professions. I believe that Saggs was feeling in the right direction when he wrote in a commentary to one of the Nimrud letters,¹⁹⁶ "On the basis of the circumstances in which the title occurs in the Harper letters . . . it is suggested that a *mušarkisu* was a kind of secretary or adjutant on the staff of governors and other high officials." There is some merit also in von Soden's definition of the term¹⁹⁷ as "ein Beauftragter für Beschaffungen und Requisitionen?" But expression is given here to a somewhat more specific proposal.

In fact, as von Soden himself observes, the ¹⁴*mu-šar-kis* in the professional list of *Bab.* 7, Pl. VI, v, 3 f., is entered before the scribes. The two professions occur together in *ABL* 153, rev. 2-3, and it is sufficiently arresting also to meet in *ABL* 127, 4 ff., the sentence ¹⁴*quru-bu-ti pa-an* ¹⁴*tupšarri pa-an* ¹⁴*mu-šar-kis-meš* **pa-qid-du*,¹⁹⁸ where, despite the uncertainty of meaning, it seems clear that *pān tupšarri* and *pān mušarkisi* are parallel phrases. Again much encouragement for a belief in military scribes is to be obtained from Egyptian parallels, where many specific titles are known. Thus A. R. Schulman¹⁹⁹ mentions the "scribe of the elite troops", the "army scribe" and "scribe of the company", and, in connection with chariot units, the "scribe of the stable", "scribe of horses" and "scribe of chariotry". He adds (p. 65): "From the existence of these ranks it seems clear that the chariotry had its own internal organization which was administered through its own scribal officers"—and despite differences of many kinds this is basically the picture which one may propose for Babylonia and Assyria.

The military side to the *mušarkisu*'s work is especially well seen in two texts from Nimrud, namely, ND 2386, ii, 15-16,²⁰⁰ which reads: *naphar 14* ¹⁴*mu-šar-kis ša pit-ḫal* "ekalli", "total of 14 *mušarkisāni* of the palace cavalry", and ND 10001, v, 4-6,²⁰¹ which reads: *naphar 370* [+ x] *KUR.MEŠ* ¹⁴*mu-šar-kis-meš* *ša giš.GIGIR ekalli*, "total of 370 [plus x] horses (issued as *šalluntu* ²⁰² to) the *mušarkisāni* of the palace chariotry". From the lines preceding the first of these passages it is learnt

¹⁹⁴ Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne*, 4, note 8; H. W. F. Saggs, "Assyrian Warfare in the Sargonid Period", *Iraq* 25, 148; B. Hrouda, "Der assyrische Streitwagen", *Iraq* 25, 158.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. R. O. Faulkner, "Egyptian Military Standards", *JEA* 27, 12 ff.; A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 69-71 and 164 ff.

¹⁹⁶ *Iraq* 21, 167 (note to line 23').

¹⁹⁷ *AHW* 681.

¹⁹⁸ The sign *pa* is established after Waterman's collation, *RCAE* III, 58.

¹⁹⁹ *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, pp. 62-66.

²⁰⁰ Text in *Iraq* 23, Pl. XI.

²⁰¹ This volume, Pl. 53.

²⁰² Col. vi, 6, i.e. to complete (*šullumu*) the establishment.

that the "14 *mušarkisāni* of the palace cavalry" were stationed (or to be stationed) at seven military cities of Assyria, the first two being lost and the remaining five being Halziatbar, Urzuhina, Lahiru, Arrapha and Kullania. In column i of the same text it is seen that similar pairs of *mušarkisāni* were associated with Si'mê, Til-Barsip, Halziatbar, Kurba'il, [Kirr]uri, etc., and from the parallels of our second passage it is evident that this group will have been summarized as ["Total of x *mušarkisāni*"²⁰³ of the palace chariotry"]. In fact both passages leave little doubt that "palace" cavalry and chariotry was the name given to horsed units of the Assyrian standing army, an army deployed across the country and largely centred at the command posts of the *rabāni*-emirs of the first class.²⁰⁴ It is, however, the ND 10001 (Pl. 53) text which more particularly reveals the additional administrative side to the post. That this text has similarly to do with *mušarkisus* of Assyria (and not simply of Calah) is established by the happy circumstance that two of them chanced to have the same name, Bābilājū (iv, 8 and 14), so that they were distinguished by their command centres, namely, "Nineveh road" (*ur-sila-Ninua*) and Arrapha. But each is shown as the recipient of horses, varying from 6 to 35, to make up the required number for the units they served; they may consequently have been a kind of "headquarter staff" which effected the necessary distribution at lower levels.

With regard to the etymology it may be said that this is in one sense transparent and in another sense obscure. Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 61, refers to the parallel formation *mušaddinu(m)*, but one may doubt that *mušarkisu* relates to *rakāsu* in the sense of to "offer", or to "make an offering", as there suggested. Possibly AKA I (Tiglath-pileser I), 92, 28 ff., is relevant: *ḡiṣnarkabāte ṣi-im-da-at ni-i-ri . . . eli ṣa pa-na ū-tir ū-ṣar-ki-is*, "I maintained(?) a larger number of chariots and draught teams than (ever) previously"; there seems, in fact, to be little doubt that one of the *mušarkisu*'s first tasks was that of maintaining horse strengths in the various mounted units of the country. A difficulty which may be mentioned concerns the entry [*lū*] *mu-ṣar-ki-su* EN of Pl. 20, 15, and obviously also of Pl. 40, ND 10042/3, 2, which, although sufficiently clarified in one sense by the line [*lū*] *mu-ṣar-k* [*i*]-*su* EN ḡiṣ.GIGIR (= *bēl ḡiṣmugirri*) of Pl. 21, ND 10057, obv. 13, still leaves much uncertainty as to meaning. A combined mess is possibly indicated.

12. Other Officers' Messes

There are four groups of officers to be considered in this section. The first are the *rab kiṣris* (Pl. 16, 48),²⁰⁵ or *rab kiṣirūtu*,²⁰⁶ the commanders of *kiṣru*-units which seem normally to have consisted of 100 men.²⁰⁷ Immediately junior in rank were the *rab ḥaššāni* or "captains of fifty" (Pl. 13, rev. 8, etc.), this new form of the plural being indicated by the writing LÚ.GAL.50.MEŠ-ni. A third group of officers consisted of the *ša ḥuṭāri* or "men of the sceptre(s)", the entry being written [ṣa ḡi]ṣ.PA.MEŠ on Pl. 35, rev. 2, as *ša ḡiṣ.PA-ri* on Pl. 30, 25, and once outside the wine lists as

²⁰³ The number on ND 10001 is 22.

²⁰⁴ Cf. above, pp. 38 ff.

²⁰⁵ Written *lūrab ki-ṣir*, on which cf. K. Deller, *Or. NS* 31, 194.

²⁰⁶ *ABL* 85, obv. 9.

²⁰⁷ Cf. H. W. F. Saggs, *Iraq* 25, 145, and Winckler, *Sargon*, Pl. 30, No. 64, 24: *50 narkabāti ina libbiṣunu akṣurma*, "I formed from their number a *kiṣru*-unit of 50 chariots (i.e. of 100 men)".

ša LÚ.PA.MEŠ, Pl. 54, rev. 2. As suggested in the caption to Pl. 4 (b), which reproduces a detail from one of the Sennacherib reliefs, the *ša ḥuṭāri* may have had charge of the royal levy (*ṣāb ṣarri*). The fourth group are the *ša EN.NUN*, or *ša maṣṣāri*,²⁰⁸ (pl. of *maṣṣāru*) whom we have already proposed (p. 40) to see as personal guards of the senior emirs, being themselves probably emirs of junior rank. It is interesting that, in the form *lū-en-nu-un*, they have Sumerian antecedents stretching at least as far back as the time of Šū-Sin (cf. Edzard, *AfO* 19, 12, Beischrift 8, 12). At the same time it may be noted that in addition to the king's levy there was also an emirs' levy (thus *ABL* 467, rev. 13-14: *ina pān lūṣābu^{meš} ṣa lūrabāni ṣu-u a-da-gal*, "I am still waiting for that emirs' levy to arrive"), and it would be reasonable to think that the *ša maṣṣāri* had additional responsibility as officers of this force. One might then explain why the *ša ḥuṭāri* and *ša maṣṣāri* are listed together (Pl. 30, 24-25; 35, rev. 2-3; also *PRT* 44, 8, and Ki. 1904-10-9, 99, 4 = T. Bauer, *Asb.*, Tf. 63).

Two brief observations may be added to the above statement. The first is that Pl. 16, 48, represents the only occurrence of *rab kiṣris* in the collection, and it is not easy to decide why they are not found more commonly. Secondly, the unique entry *pān lūrabāni* (written IGI LÚ.GAL.MEŠ) of Pl. 36, 16, may possibly have been another way of indicating the *ša maṣṣāri*, a suggestion based on the summary line 18 *ša EN.NUN IGI 22 GAL.MEŠ* of Pl. 51, and the previous discussion of p. 40.

13. The Road Service

At the beginning of his chapter on "Routes and Post Stations"²⁰⁹ Popper writes:

"The postal service (*al-barīd*), a system of stations . . . along the principal highways of Egypt and Syria, at irregular intervals depending upon the difficulty of the road; with stables, attendants, post horses (also called *barīd*) and post-boys or couriers (sing. *barīdī*), for sending official dispatches as well as for the journeys of individual officials."

Similarly Assyria also had its post stations (*kalliu*, *kalliju*),²¹⁰ which were under the command of a *rab kallie*,²¹¹ as also a secondary system of *bit mardīāte*, which may have served primarily as police posts.²¹² There is some reason for thinking that the Assyrian equivalent of the Abbāsid *Ṣāḥib al-barīd*, or "master of the post", was the *rab rēši*.

The king's messengers are not mentioned in the wine lists, a possible reason being that they were either *qurubūti*,²¹³ or else *ša rēši* and specifically that officer of the *rab rēši*'s staff known as a *rab kiṣri ṣa rab rēši* (*ABL* 173, 4 ff.). This section, therefore, has firstly to consider the *kallāpāni* and *rab kallābi* of Pl. 15, 29, etc., and secondly the little-known group of *rādi kibsiāni*. We need not pursue here the old idea that the *kallāpāni* were either "sappers" or "pioneers". That they were

²⁰⁸ That the reading ends in -ri and not -ti (thus not *ša maṣṣarti*) is shown by the writing *ša EN.NUN-ri* of Pl. 35, rev. 3; cf. also Landsberger et al., *MSL* XII, 116, line 14 (with note, p. 144), and 117, lines 15 ff.

²⁰⁹ *Egypt and Syria* I, 45 ff.

²¹⁰ Cf. generally H. W. F. Saggs, *Iraq* 21

173-174; *AHw* 426; *CAD* K 83-84; also classical references under *mansiones*.

²¹¹ *ABL* 414, 6.

²¹² *ABL* 414, 4; 1021, rev. 4; *AHw* 611 ("Wegwachhaus"); *CAD* H 88 ("road stations").

²¹³ Cf. Saggs, *Iraq* 21, 177 f.

rather "couriers" or "despatch riders" is based on the known association of the *kallāb/pu* with horses,²¹⁴ the combination *kallāb/pu šipirti*,²¹⁵ and the probability based on a Tell Halaf text, that they used post stations along the *ḥarran šarri*.²¹⁶ Yet, for my part, I believe that the *kallāpāni* were not so much "couriers" as "carriers"—in fact principally troop-carriers and load-carriers—and that their transports were not horses but wagons. Passages which suggest this interpretation include, firstly, *ABL* 322, 12 ff. [*naphar?* 4] *ša rēši an-nu-rig ina qāt* [PN] *lūkal-lab šī-pir-tū ina ekalli ú-si-bi-la-šu-nu*, "These four *ša rēši* (court eunuchs) I am sending at once to the palace under the command of PN, the *kallāb šipirtu*." Similar is *ABL* 1104, 3 ff.: *an-nu-rig lūrab kal-la-pa-ni lūkab/pšarru ù lūšaknūte ša na-askuppāti i-za-bi-lu-ni-ni ina muḥḥi šarri bēli-ja ú-si-bi-la*, "A *rab kallāpāni*, the engraver, and the men who have been detailed to bring the door-sills, I am sending at once to the king, my lord." Thirdly, the kind of reading and restoration which one may suggest for Sargon's Eighth Campaign, line 258, is *ša-ab ḥup-ši kal-la-bu na[-šu-u-ti i-na na-bal-kāt-ti(?)]* *dūrāni*^{meš}-*šū-nu ú-še-li-ma*, "the peasant-soldiery,²¹⁷ carried forward by the *kallāpāni*, I ordered to climb their walls by means of ladders".²¹⁸

The *rādi*(*uš*) *kibsi* (Pl. 15, 32; 27, 24, etc.) has been little discussed in previous work. We take as initial clues the fact that this profession is three times associated in the texts with the *kallābu* (*ABL* 526, rev. 1-2; *PRT* No. 44, 8; Unger, *Babylon*, 285, iv, 8-9), and the fact that such references as we have, as also the literal analysis of the term itself, point to activities performed beyond the city walls. Specifically the *rādi kibsi* is met in a letter from Nimrud,²¹⁹ being also there described simply as a *rādiu*,²²⁰ and although consideration must be given to Deller's rendering of "guide" the whole letter seems rather concerned with a police investigation in which the *rādi kibsi* takes an active part. From Tell Billa in the MA period we read also of the result of some similar investigation: *kib-su a-na uruGi-ra-ad ra-a-di . . . ù šābu*^{meš} *ša kib-sa ir-di-ú-ni ir-ta-ap-su*, literally, "the tracks have been traced to Girad . . . but the men who followed the tracks have been beaten up".²²¹ On such evidence a meaning "officer of the king's police" would seem appropriate—and such an idea has already been advanced for the OB *rēdūm* and the Sum. *aga-uš* which it represents.²²² It has also to be recognized that the *rēdū* of all periods was probably an emir.²²³

²¹⁴ Cf. also in this volume Pl. 54, rev. 3-11.

²¹⁵ For references see K. Deller, *Or.* NS 31, 17.

²¹⁶ Cf. E. Weidner, *Afo* Beih. 6, 12; A. Salonen, *Hippologica*, 221; W. von Soden, *Iraq* 25, 141; *AHw* 425.

²¹⁷ Cf. *CAD* H 241 f.; *AHw* 357; A. F. Rainey, *JNES* 24, 25; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *WO* 5/1, 57 ff.; and for much basic material also F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne de Sargon*, 7, note 10.

²¹⁸ Cf. also below, Section 15.

²¹⁹ ND 2070, lines 17 and 25 (ed. H. W. F. Saggs, *Iraq* 28, 178 ff.).

²²⁰ Reading **ra-di-ú ir-ti-da-ni* in line 14 after K. Deller, *Or.* NS 36, 81.

²²¹ Text and substantially the translation after J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, text 63 (p. 135), lines 12-17.

²²² Cf. *int. al.*, Sidney Smith, *JRAS* 1926, 436 (*rēdūm* seen as "police officer"); C.-F. Jean, *ARM* II, No. 6, 20 (*rēdūm* translated "gendarme"); A. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* III, 172 (*aga-uš* rendered "Gendarm"). E. Sollberger, *TCS* I, 96 (*aga-uš* given as "constable (a military official with occasional(?) police duties)").

²²³ Thus *ARM* II, 6, 20, brings together *rēdū* and *girseqqū*, "emirs and eunuchs(?)", and to be noted also are the associations of *JCS* 22, 1, line 33; *JAOS* 88, 126, line 12; Sargon, Eighth Campaign, lines 33 and 367; "Legend of Naram-Sin", *AS* V, 100 ff., lines 63 and 69; Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, notes 905 and 1334. Landsberger's "private (soldier)", *JCS* 9, 122, seems rather too junior a rank to suit the majority of contexts.

14. Escort Riders of the Corps of Eunuchs and Ghulāms

By this designation an attempt is made to render the difficult term *raksūti* of Pl. 15, 33, etc. On the authority of ND 2631 (cf. above, p. 28) men of the profession should properly be classified with *niš ekalli* personnel, but they may conveniently be discussed here in view of their associations with the post road.

The *raksu*, plur. *raksūti*, with *raksu* used also as a collective term²²⁴ and the ideographic writing probably *lūKA.SIR/KEŠ*,²²⁵ had much to do with horses, particularly with the leading of horses from one place to another. For this idea familiar passages are *ABL* 1159, 3 ff., 24 *urâte*(*ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ*) *itti lūrak-su-te it-tal-ku-u-ni*, and *ABL* 64, 8 ff., 3 *urâte* *kurKu-sa-aja ša lūrak-su-meš ša bīt lūrab rēši* [*na-šu-u-ni(?)*].²²⁶ Relevant also is ND 2780, 4 ff.,²²⁷ where we read: (4-5) *mdNabû-eṭir*¹²-*an-ni lūsusānu* 228 (6-7) [*m*] *Ištar-šum-ereš* [*l*] *lūrak-su ša lūrab u-rata* (8-9) *ú-ru-u ša urâte*(*ANŠE KUR.RA.MEŠ*) *kurmu-[š]ur-aja* (10-12) *ina m[uḥ-]ḥ[i-]ja na-ša ma-a* *a⁷-bat šarri šī-i*, "Nabû-eṭiranni, the horse trainer, (and with him) Ištar-šum-ereš, *raksu* to the Emir of the horse, has taken from me a team of Egyptian horses, saying, 'It is an order of the king'." One may also note the evidence of *ABL* 1009, rev. 16-17: *naphar* 209 *ša mdZa-ba-ba* *ba₄-[x x]* *lūrak-su ša rab bīti n[a-šu-u-ni]*, "Total of 209 (men) whom Zababa[. . .], *raksu* of the *rab bīti*, has brought (back?)", the precise significance of the statement being uncertain.²²⁹

As to the associations of the *raksu* with the postal service it may first be noticed that *raksus* (*lūrak-su-meš*) and *mār-šipriāni* occur together in *ABL* 242, 12-13, and we may suggest that reference is thus made to messengers and their "escorts". Exceptionally it would seem that a *raksu* himself could bear a message, thus *ABL* 396, 6 ff., PN *lūrak-su ša e-gir-tū ina muḥḥi kurBi-ra-ta-aja ú-bi-lu-ni*. Important also is *ABL* 414, 4 ff.: (4) *uruHe-e-sa bīt mar-di-ti-e* (5) *nišu*^{meš} *ina lib-bi la-aš-šu* (6) *lūrab kal-li-e lūrab rak-si* (7) *ú-di-*i-nu ina lib-bi la-a i-ḥa-re-du*, "Hesa is (only) a police post. No *niš bīti* personnel are stationed there, and post station and escort officers are not yet²³⁰ on watch there." From this passage it may be inferred that *raksus* formed a major part of the staff of post stations, and in terms of escort duty it is not difficult to suggest what their main function must have been. When a messenger reported to the station officer and changed his horse ready for the next leg of his journey, his escort, we believe, will also have been changed, the new group moving off at speed on fresh horses, the old returning in due course whence they came and taking with them the horse that the messenger had left behind. By this means, at any rate, unit strengths of men and animals could be constantly maintained, and

²²⁴ But cf. also Chapter III, note 28.

²²⁵ Or, erroneously, *KA.SIR*, as above, p. 28.

²²⁶ Both passages are quoted by A. Salonen, *Hippologica*, 230.

²²⁷ Published by H. W. F. Saggs, *Iraq* 21, 168 f. and Pl. XLVI.

²²⁸ Proposed reading of *lūSU⁷.EN.SA* (the copy suggests that *SU* was written over the traces of a partly erased *ŠU*) which may be thought to stand for *SU.SA.EN* on the model of such writings as *EN.ZU* for *Su'en* and *MAŠ.EN.KA(K)* for *maška'en*.

²²⁹ It may, however, be noted that, while there was a *rab bīti* in a governor's household (which qualifies for consideration here) the equivalent official in the king's household was in theory the *rab ekalli*, and in practice—so far as *raksus* were concerned—evidently the *rab rēši* (cf. shortly below).

²³⁰ The correction to *ú-di-*i-nu* in this line is preferred to the reading *ú-di-šu-nu*, "I know them (well)", *CAD* H 88.

the system would have remained effective even if messenger traffic should have been heavier in one direction than another.

However, we have not yet reached the heart of the matter with regard to the group as a whole, and here the wine lists have a peculiar contribution to make. Normally the men concerned appear high up on the list—thus the order on Pl. 25 is the queen, the *qurubūti*-emirs, and the *raksūti*—and although this does not mean that they were of third seniority in the king's household, it does imply that they are to be regarded as court personnel since the initial entries of the lists seem invariably to have been of this kind. Moreover, the growing number of references in NA texts which attest the phrase *raksūti ša (bīt) rab rēši* are well upheld by the wine lists, the phrase ¹*urak-su-tū ša rab rēši* occurring on Pl. 5, ii, 7, and ¹*urak-su-te l¹rab rēši* on Pl. 11, 14. It has already been suggested (cf. above, in Section 4) that the *rab rēši* was the chief eunuch of the *bābānu*, so it would be sensible to think that the *raksūti* included eunuchs also. In fact the preferable analysis is to suppose that they were ghulāms.

This Arabic term is the subject of a long discussion in the New Edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* II, 1079–1091. Ghulāms were not eunuchs—although some evidently were made so (cf. also in Section 23) to fit them for certain aspects of palace work—but their origins were the same, that is, a majority were selected prisoners of war who were educated under strict discipline in such arts as physical training, horsemanship and the management of arms, being then often elevated to high estate in their master's households. Moreover, that the royal entourage in Near Eastern courts was often composed of such foreign elements is not difficult to understand in the light of the argument that loyalties must necessarily be strong when a servant owes all that he has, and even his very position, to his master's pleasure and providence. It should be made clear that it is only in theory that one may suggest that the *raksūti* in Assyria contained a ghulām element. But it would be sensible on comparative grounds, and while it will be obvious that the *bītānu* must have been a purely eunuch body and one may reasonably presume that the same was true also for the *bābānu*, there would seem to be no compelling reason why the same severity of restriction should apply amongst the *nīš ekalli*.

A special category of *raksūti* who were associated with, and supported, the *kallāpāni* is discussed in the following section.

15. Units associated with the *kallāpāni*

This section attempts the reconstruction of a picture which cannot be fully supported as yet in all of its aspects, but which is necessary in order to introduce two important, if little-known, groups of personnel occurring in the new lists.

It will be recalled that, in Section 13, certain arguments were brought forward to suggest that the *kallāpāni* were “carriers”, and in the main “troop-carriers”, operating with wagons. In this connection we may firstly introduce additional information concerning the *kallāpāni* from a new Nimrud text. The document is ND 10076 (Pl. 54) and has to do with horses. It lists in rev. 3 ff. a number of proper names, evidently fifteen, which are then followed by the summary *naphar 32 ū-ru-ū*, “total of 32 three-horse teams”; this in turn is followed by a dash-stroke (one

must often beware of reading this incorrectly as “*ina*” in NA accountancy texts) and the phrase *rab kal-la-pa-ni*. The whole looks very much like the record of a *kallāpāni* unit of sixteen men (fifteen and the *rab kallāpāni* himself) who will then have had charge of two teams, or six horses, each. (For *urū* as a unit of three animals reference is most easily made to Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 137, No. 72.)

It seems likely (and the chariots of Pl. 1 offer comparison) that a *kallāpu*'s transport was pulled by three horses—specifically two and a δεξιόσιππος; but in fact there is little doubt who will have tended the other three horses. They were a special category of *raksūti* known as the *rak-su^{meš} ša kal-laba* according to the bread lists (cf. text No. 35, ii, 8), and they seem to be represented also by the [¹*ur*] *ab kal-la[-bi]* with following LÚ.MIN KEŠDA.BI (= *rakassu*?) of Pl. 20, 14–15, of the wine lists. At least one of the reasons why such a reserve provision of horses should have been made for the *kallāpāni*-units would seem to be that, in city warfare and when operating close to the enemy, casualties will have been frequently sustained both by the men and their horses so that replacement will have been necessary accordingly. Evidence for such casualties is available in the familiar phrase *išten(1-en) l¹ubēl narkabti 2 l¹ūša pit-ḫal-lim 3 l¹ūkal-la-ba-a-ni de-e-ku* found in the later annals (cf. *CAD* K 77) and evidently also in the most probable interpretation of ND 2706 (cf. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23, 45).

The second part of the section is concerned with one of the groups of *mārē dammaqūte*. The latter were introduced in Section 7 where they were thought to have been chariot bowmen in the light of three lines of evidence: (1) the phrase LÚ.BAN *dam-ma-qu-te* as provided by a Nineveh letter, (2) the certainty that the profession LÚ.A.SIG₅ (= *māru damqu*) belonged in a chariot team as indicated by a Nimrud letter, and (3) the probability that the new term LÚ.A.SIG *ša g¹šmušēzibāte* of the wine lists is to be related to a line from a Nimrud docket concerning bows.

In fact three kinds of *māru damqu* are mentioned in the wine lists as may be seen firstly from Pl. 25, lines 8, 9 and 15:

6 qa	LÚ.A.SI[G.M]EŠ ša ilāni
6 qa	ša g ¹ šmu-še-zib ^{meš}
9 qa	LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ š[a]

and secondly from Pl. 23, ND 10050/1, 5–7:

x qa	LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ ša []
x [qa]	LÚ.MIN ša g ¹ šm[u-še-zib ^{meš} /-a-ti]
[x qa]	LÚ.MIN ša ilāni

Attention should also be drawn to Pl. 10, i, 16:

2 sāt 1 qa LÚ.DUMU.SIG₅.MEŠ

where the stated ration equals that provided by the three entries from Pl. 25, and also to the corresponding entries in the bread lists (ND 2489, i, 4–5) which present a peculiar problem. After Postgate's collation the lines read:

[]	mu-gu ^{meš} -te
[]	LÚ.MIN ša ilāni(DINGIR.MEŠ)

whence the possibility of seeing *mugūte*(?) as a late abbreviation of *dammaqūte* has perhaps to be entertained.

Of the three terms in the wine lists it will be noticed that the final element of one of them is lost,²³¹ and no obvious explanation is forthcoming for the *mārē dammaqūte ša ilāni*, "the bowmen(?) of the gods". But whereas these groups may well have belonged in the complements of chariot units, the *ša mušēzibāti* are likely to have operated from the ground and suggestively from behind those portable wooden screens (*ḡḡmušēzibāti*?) which are shown on many Assyrian reliefs in scenes depicting siege warfare. As may be seen from our Pl. 3(a) (reproduced from Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* II, Pl. 99) the screens were about the height of a man and of the width of two, so that their carriage forward to the walls of a besieged city would almost certainly have required wagon transport. Thus may one infer the involvement of the *kallāpāni*.

As an additional comment it is worth noting the possible relevance of Weidner, *Tell Halaf*, No. 51, which begins (lines 1-4): *ḡḡa-ri-a-te ša mŠil-li-ḡḡIštar issu pān rab kal-la-ba-ni iš-šu-ū-ni*, "Shields which Šilli-Ishtar has drawn from the *rab kallābāni*." To explain the item one may propose that, on the line of march, the *kallāpāni* carried forward much heavy equipment including shields and screens, and that, on their return to base they still had charge of such *impedimenta*.

16. The Chancery

From the Story of Ahiqar, i, 6 ff., which tells how this wise old king's scribe, without sons to succeed him, took his nephew Nadinu and set him in "the gate of the palace" (בב הכלא), it seems clear that this term, and thus the Akk. *bāb ekalli*, was the ancient name for the chancery in Mesopotamian cities. At Calah the site of the chancery is known from excavation, and is here thought to have comprised a majority of the "ZT" rooms (and specifically perhaps ZT 2-8 and 11-27) which formed the northern wing of the North West Palace (cf. Mallowan, *Nimrud* I, Chapter XI, and maps, folder III). To confine the chancery to the tablet rooms ZT 4 and 5²³² is to restrict too narrowly the manifold activities of this vast organization.

In fact a twofold division of interests and personnel must be recognized, both groups being doubtless responsible in the first instance to the *ṭupšar ekalli*, or "(chief) scribe of the palace" (Pl. 33, 22, etc.), and ultimately to the *ṭupšar šarri*, or "king's scribe". In the first of these groups were the *ummānus*. They consisted of specialist scribes, teachers and master craftsmen, and in this connection one may note the evidence of KAR 71, obv. 3-4, *a-na ri-ik-si ša bāb ekalli a-na pu-ḡur ša um-ma-ni*, "to the community of the Palace Gate, to the assembly of the masters", which specifically associates such *ummānu* with the chancery. As to the scribes (we leave the craftsmen to the following section), Pl. 20, 18-20, provides the first reference of history to the three groups of Assyrian, Egyptian and Aramean scribes known

²³¹ Unless the difficult LÚ.A.SIG *ša ekalli* of ABL 154, obv. 12, may point to a possible reconstruction. ²³² Mallowan, *op. cit.*, 172; Deller, *Or.* NS 35, 189.

otherwise from documents of the seventh century, and we are bound therefore to believe in a King's Library of Akkadian, Late Egyptian and Aramaic texts, a library removed in its time to Khorsabad and thence to Nineveh, and of which the one surviving fragment from Calah may be recognized in ND 3416, a piece of the Epic of Creation found in ZT 25. With regard to the Assyrian scribes who are only mentioned once in the collection, the question may be asked whether they are not in fact identical with the *mašmaššu*²³³ or *āšipūti* of Pl. 26, 9, etc., for these specialists in the late periods, and even from Kassite times, appear particularly to have been men of letters and "scholarly advisors".²³⁴ With regard to the Egyptian scribes, it will be evident that they also were scholars and not secretaries. Their number probably included *ḡarṭibi*, or "dream interpreters"²³⁵; it is not likely that anything but the name, *kerkē niāri*, remains of their papyrus rolls.²³⁶

The second group of scribes working in the chancery were evidently responsible to the *ša pān ekalli* (Pl. 12, 6, etc.) whom we see as a sort of controller of administration, comparable to the βιβλιοφύλαξ, or "keeper of the archives", of Seleucid times,²³⁷ and the *nāzir diwān al-inshā*, "controller of the bureau of documents", of fifteenth-century Egypt.²³⁸ The plural *ša pān ekallāte* is established from two sources.²³⁹ From an analysis of the documents found in and around ZT 4, as also from other considerations, it seems clear that they had three major duties: to keep a written record, in the manner of all civil servants, of sundry daily events relevant to the royal administration or royal business²⁴⁰; to write and duplicate the royal correspondence and file all incoming correspondence after use²⁴¹; and to copy out in quantity the year's edition of the royal annals (we shall not in this context call them historical texts), composed one may imagine by the *ṭupšar šarri* and destined for the principal temples of the land.²⁴² On the basis of such work the department may not improperly be designated as "the Secretariat".

While additional information may be found in Klauber, *Beamtentum*, 23-36, we may call attention here to two Nimrud texts which are of importance in connection with the "business" side of the department's work. The first is ND 255 (catalogue entry by Wiseman in *Iraq* 12, 194), a contract in which two of the witnesses are said to be merchants (*tamkāre*) and *ša bit* *ḡḡša pān ekalli*. The second is ND 2451 (cf. *Iraq* 23, 29) which in obv. 21 concerns a LÚ.LUL *ḡḡša pān ekalli mār šarri*, evidently a "money-lender(?) of the *ša pān ekalli* to the crown prince" as one may think in the light of Deller, *Or.* NF 30, 249 ff. In fact both of the above examples would appear to indicate that the *ša pān ekalli* was something of an *oeconomus*. In ADD 204,

²³³ The existence of a collective singular is presumed on the model of *šābu*, *ummānu*, etc., but remains unconfirmed.

²³⁴ Cf. R. I. Caplice, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 29/3, 45; Edith K. Ritter, *AS* 16, 303, note 14; W. G. Lambert, *JCS* 16, 66, VI, lines 2, 6, 8, 10 and 14; also literary texts found at Assur in the "Haus des Beschwörungspriesters".

²³⁵ Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *Dream-book*, 238.

²³⁶ Taken from ABL 568, rev. 19.

²³⁷ Cf. R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and inscribed objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (1935), 128 and 130; N. Pigulevskaja, *Les villes de l'état Iranien*

aux époques Parthe et Sassanide (1963), p. 84.

²³⁸ W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria* I, 97.

²³⁹ R. F. Harper, *ABL* 377, obv. 14, and E. Klauber, *PRT*, No. 44.

²⁴⁰ Cf. B. Parker, "Administrative tablets from the North-West palace, Nimrud", *Iraq* 23, 15 ff.; K. Deller, *Or.* NS 35, 179 ff.

²⁴¹ Cf. H. W. F. Saggs, "The Nimrud letters", *Iraq* 17, 21 ff., and subsequent issues.

²⁴² Fragments of such annals from Ezida at Calah—but not to be seen as the work of the temple scribes—are published by D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 26, 118 ff.

rev. 1-2, where the *rab nikāsi*, or "chief accountant", is mentioned alongside the *ša pān ekalli*, a further connection of this kind is possibly to be seen.

17. The Craftsmen

For the earlier history of the craftsmen in Mesopotamia one has to go back to the Sumerian *giš-kin-ti* (Akk. *kiškattū*) organization, a feature of the ancient society well documented by various scholars in recently published work.²⁴³ For the equivalent picture in late Babylonia the most recent statement is that of D. B. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia*.²⁴⁴ At Calah, the king, the queen, the governor, the temple, and doubtless also many households "dedicated to the production of finished goods rather than to agriculture",²⁴⁵ employed craftsmen of many kinds. As to the king's craftsmen—our only concern in this section—it may one day be possible to distinguish accurately between those who were *ummānus* and those who were not.²⁴⁶ In the meantime we may best distinguish the craftsmen who were normally resident at Calah and those working away from Calah in other cities.

If we may take these groups in reverse order, and for the moment excluding workers in textiles, it may first be recalled that the two-column tablet ND 6229, presented in Pls. 5-7, appears to include extramural personnel awaiting reappointment at the New Year ceremony (cf. above, p. 3). Whether or not this is the correct interpretation it is obviously significant that the "leather-workers from Assur" (¹*ušappāni* ^{uru}*Libbi-āl-aju*) of col. iii, 22, and the further group under "Abdā, the Aramean leather-worker" (^m*Ab-da-a* ¹*ušappāni* ^{kur}*Ara-ma-aj[u]*) mentioned in cols. ii, 1-2, and iii, 14, do not otherwise occur on tablets of the collection. Similarly, two groups of goldsmiths are mentioned on the tablet, one entered as ¹*ušappāni* *hurāšāni* (written LÚ.SIMUG.GUŠKIN.MEŠ-*ni*) in iii, 15, and the other described as a group under ^mx x x MIN(= ^{uru}*Libbi-āl-aju*) *nappāh* *hurāši* in iii, 23.

Of the craftsmen normally resident at Calah the first of the two groups of goldsmiths just mentioned belong probably in this category, and they are perhaps found again in the ¹*ušappāni* *hurāši* of Pl. 21, ND 10057, rev. 1. A group of *sasīnāte*(?) (LÚ.ZADIM.MEŠ), or lapidaries, occur in the bread lists (cf. in Chapter IV, text No. 35, ii, 19), although with CAD Z 10, and following the evidence now clearly set forth in MSL XII, 234, 23 ff., and *ibid.*, 239, iv, 6 ff., there were evidently specialists within the profession who made bows and arrows.²⁴⁷ The leather-workers

²⁴³ H. Limet, *Le travail du métal au pays de Sumer* (Paris, 1960), 174 ff.; I. J. Gelb, "The Ancient Mesopotamian ration system", *JNES* 24, 242; J. Krecher, *Sumerische Kulturyrik*, 140.

²⁴⁴ Published as *Yale Near Eastern Researches*, Vol. 1.

²⁴⁵ The phrase is taken from Gelb, *op. cit.*, 242.

²⁴⁶ Thus from lines 10-15 of the Antagal fragment K 5433a (RA 17, 148), which read in the right-hand column:

[*kiš*]-*kāt-tu-u*
[*p*]-*a-ḥa-ri*

[¹]*ušangāri*
[¹]*ušappāni*
[¹]*ušnāri*
[*um*]-*ma-ni*

one could infer that potters, carpenters and leather-workers were not generally of *ummānu* status.

²⁴⁷ The entries involve the LÚ.ZADIM.GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ, LÚ.ZADIM.GIŠ.KAK.TAG.GA.MEŠ and LÚ.ZADIM.GIŠ.KAK.TI.MEŠ respectively.

of Pls. 15, 39, and 22, 11, were evidently a resident group, and there is mention also of ironsmiths. The references to this profession are Pls. 5, ii, 5; 7, iii, 18; and 12, 12. From new evidence discussed in Chapter III we find also that the ¹*ušelap(p)āju* of Pl. 12, 9, and other documents were likewise ironsmiths, in fact suitably Chalybes (Χάλυβες) in the Classical term, originating from the iron-rich Pontus area of the Black Sea coast. Amongst proper names the entry [^m*A-du*]*n-La-bi-u-ut* of Pl. 35, 17, is particularly interesting. This man was a Phoenician (for the divine element *Lb't* reference may be made to Milik and Cross, *BASOR* 134, 5 ff., and Donner and Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* II, 29) and he will thus reasonably have been in charge of a unit of ivory- or glass-workers. The name ^m*Za-ku-ru*, listed after the *rab nappāh* *hurāši* on Pl. 21, is also West Semitic, recalling the OT Zakkūr²⁴⁸; it may similarly have belonged to some specialist craftsman.

From the above account it will be seen that there are some notable omissions in the record and probably more than one reason is needed to explain these deficiencies. We are not too concerned about the carpenters (*nangārāni*) or chariot makers and repairers (*nangār mugerri*) who probably worked in the workshops of the *ekal māšarti* and may be placed in a mess described in Section 19. But more difficult to fit into the picture are the three specialists in stone and metal work listed in STT II, 385, ii, 14-16, namely the *gurgurru* (written URUDU.NAGAR), the *pa/urkullu* and the *kabšarru*. With them also may be considered the *lu-urraku*.

To reduce the long note on *gurgurru* in CAD G, 138-139, to a simple statement relevant to the Neo-Assyrian period it may be suggested that the famous bronze gates of Balawat, now beautifully reproduced in Barnett and Forman, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, Pls. 137-173, was the work of this craftsman. No other term seems as suitable. The *gurgurru*, with a carpenter's background, is known to have worked both in copper and bronze and might be issued also with wax for moulding or *cire perdue* techniques (CAD, *ibid.*). Moreover, the *ká-gal-tibira*(URUDU.NAGAR) at Assur, more appropriately perhaps called the "Gate of the bronze smiths" than the "Gate of the metal workers", brings much confidence to the proposal. In fact we are content to think that such *gurgurru*s as there were in the times of the wine lists resided still at Balawat (12 miles from Calah) or at Assur. They need not necessarily have been present at Calah also.

The *parkullu* or *purkullu*, and at Alalakh also *purkullu-huli*,²⁴⁹ appears possibly to have had a fourfold range of activity as a craftsman. Traditionally he was a "seal-cutter" and we allow that he will often have prepared these in solid cylindrical or other form for the engraver (cf. below). From his professional name, Sum. *bur-gul*, it is particularly likely that he was a maker of stone bowls and vases, Sum. *bur*, which again required a smooth finish to the stone.²⁵⁰ In yet another speciality he appears to have been a sculptor, the word used by Oppenheim for *parkullu* in his

²⁴⁸ Cf. the standard dictionaries, s.v. (eight occurrences).

²⁴⁹ Cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *WO* 3, 193.

²⁵⁰ For both terms cf. *int. al.* A. Salonen, *Hausgeräte* II, 79 ff.; D. O. Edzard, *Afo* 19, 24;

R. D. Biggs, *JCS* 20, 87, note 98; and for the probable technology involved A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th edition, 1962), Chapter XVII.

study of Nuzi professions, *RES* 1939, 61, and which is suggested also by the equation *lú-alam-gu-ú* = *pur-kul-lu* provided by lexical texts.²⁵¹ Finally, and in late periods, the *purkullu* appears as a dresser of stone slabs for royal buildings. As yet this conclusion is based rather narrowly on the related Aram. ארנובלא, who is mentioned in connection with the building of Solomon's temple in the Targum to I Kings v, 32.²⁵² But in any case we would think to exclude from the *purkullu*'s work the rough limestone slabs such as were used in quantity for the Fort Shalmaneser pavements,²⁵³ and perhaps even the large stone-cutter's saw found during excavation in room NE 50.²⁵⁴ More realistically as we believe, stone-cutting in its initial stages or involving rough work will have been largely in the hands of foreign captives (cf. Section 29).

With regard to the *kabšarru*, we accept that this term denoted the "engraver".²⁵⁵ As with the *purkullu* the size of the material worked is of no importance; his name is associated with cylinder seals,²⁵⁶ statues,²⁵⁷ and door-sills or orthostats (*askuppātu*).²⁵⁸ However, certain door-sills, as those of Khorsabad, carry rosette designs cut above and below the inscription, and it is difficult to detect any change of hand or skill in the execution of the two parts of the work. It may thus be that we should allow the *kabšarru* a major part in relief-work also. But essentially the *kabšarru* was a scribe, and for the cutting of his inscriptions he must often have used the same tablet originals as those scribes of the *ša pān ekalli* who might "copy out in quantity the year's edition of the royal annals" (p. 63). For the evening meal we would thus think to place him in the large mess of the *ša pān ekalli* along with others of his kind.

In a group apart may be placed the *lú-ūr-ra-ku*²⁵⁹ or *ká-ūr-ra-ku*,²⁶⁰ whose work, *lú-ur-ra-ku-tu*, was a feature of the palaces at Khorsabad in the time of Sargon and of the *ekal māšarti* at Nineveh in the time of Esarhaddon.²⁶¹ In this volume he is understood as a "painter" or "gate-painter"—literally, "man of the (gate-)painting" in terms of the underlying Sumerian—and thus, in the latter sense, the creator of glazed-brick panels such as are known for Assyria from walls and palace entrances at Assur, Calah and Khorsabad.²⁶² Even the synonym

²⁵¹ References in *CAD* A/1, under *alamgú*, and in *AHW*, 834.

²⁵² Cf. further in G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* II, 277, also for Syriac, Brockelmann, *Lexicon*², 46 (*argublā* cited ex Akk. *bargulu* on the basis of Jensen, *ZA* 7, 218), and R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus* I, 367, who offers a different etymology.

²⁵³ Cf. David Oates, *Iraq* 24, 5, etc.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Oates, *ibid.*, 17.

²⁵⁵ Reverting (against Weisberg, *Guild Structure*, 58 ff.) to the idea that the element *-šarru* in this term derives from Sum. *šar*, "to write" (B. Landsberger, *Afo* 10, 151). Cf. also *MSL* IX, 209 (Sum. *kabsar*, "engraver"), and *CAD* K 23-24.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Weisberg, *op. cit.*, 60.

²⁵⁷ Thus in connection with the statue of Enkidu commissioned by Gilgamesh, see O. R. Gurney, *JCS* 8, 94, line 18.

²⁵⁸ Cf. above, Section 13, p. 58.

²⁵⁹ = *e-ši-rum*, *CT* 18, 9, ii, 28.

²⁶⁰ Var. *ka-ur-r[a-ku]* = *e-[ši-rū]*, *Malku* IV, 24.

²⁶¹ For the texts cf. respectively A. G. Lie, *Sargon*, 78, line 6 (as re-edited below), and R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 62, line 29 (also Heidel-Oppenheim, *Sumer* 12, 32, line 52).

²⁶² Cf. particularly J. E. Reade, "A glazed-brick panel from Nimrud", *Iraq* 25, 38 ff., and authorities cited; David Oates, *ibid.*, 30-31 and Pl. IX; W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Aššur*; G. Loud and C. B. Altman, *Khorsabad* II (*OIP* 40), 14 ff.

ēširu has probably the meaning of "painter",²⁶³ while an argument against seeing *lu-urrukūtu* in the Esarhaddon passage as "relief work" (Oppenheim) or "Steinschneidekunst" (Borger) is that such work has not been found in the *ekal māšarti* (Fort Shalmaneser at Calah and Palace F at Khorsabad, following Oates, *Iraq* 25, 36-37). Nevertheless, the *lu-urruku* in another aspect of his craft did have some association with relief-work for a necessary rearrangement of Lie, *Sargon*, 78, lines 4-7, together with the corresponding passage of the Display Inscription, produces the following illuminating text:

(4) *as-kup-pi* ^{na4} *pi-li rabāti da-ād-me ki-šit-ti qātē-ja*

(5) *te-ne-še-ti* (var. *da-ād-me*) *ma-ti-tan šá ul-tú ši-taš a-di šil-la-an*

(6) *i-na e-mu-uq* ^a *Aš-šur bēli-ja ak-šud-du-ma*

(4-5) *ši-ru-uš-šin ab-šim-ma a-sur-ru-šin ú-šá-as-ši-ra a-na tab-ra-a-te ú-šá-lik*

(6) *i-na ši-pir lú-ūr-ra-ku-tú i-na qí-rib ekallāti šá-ti-na aš-tak-ka-na* (7) *si-ma-a-te*

"On full-size orthostats of limestone I portrayed in relief the dwelling-places of my captive peoples, even of the peoples (var. even the dwellings) of every country that from furthest east to furthest west I had conquered through the might of Ashur, my lord, and I placed them round the lower courses of the walls. I made them ready for exhibition(?), placing the appropriate (colours) upon them, throughout the palaces, in the craft of the colour artist."

However, Adad-nirāri III is not known to have encouraged painting of either kind, nor were his times noted for eminence in the decorative arts. We thus feel that, in his household as in that of his successor, the *lu/ka-urruku* was possibly not represented at all.

18. The Craftsmen: (2) Workers in Textiles

A list of the patron deities of certain crafts provided basically by the texts of *CT* 24, 42 and 43, and recently edited with additions by D. B. Weisberg, *Guild Structure*, 96, includes both the *išparu*, "weaver", and *ašlāku*, "fuller". There is thus no doubt that these men, as probably all workers in textiles, were considered to be craftsmen in the ancient sense of the term.

The fullers, *ašlākāni*, occur in the bread lists (p. 156, ii, 17), and are probably also to be seen in the wine lists (Pl. 22, 12, restored). Tailors, cf. presently, are mentioned in the bread lists (p. 155, No. 34, 5). There appears not, however, to have been a regular weavers' mess at Calah. Such work as needed to be done to supply the king and his household with the clothing of their entitlement seems largely, at the time of our documents, to have been in the hands of ^m*Mu-šallim*(DI)-^a*Marduk* ¹⁰*išparu*, "Mušallim-Marduk, the weaver", whose name occurs only on the New Year Reappointments tablet (Pls. 5, ii, 6, and 7, iii, 26-27). There is no clue as to his place of residence.

²⁶³ Thus figurines might be painted (*ēšeru*) with a black wash (IM.MI, *KAR* 298, 15) or partly in yellow with *kalū* (*ibid.*, 27, cf. Gurney, *AAA* 22, 64 ff.), or a person might paint his house with mural designs (*bit-su ú-šir-tú i-šir*, *CT* 38, 13, 101), suggesting that *ēšeru* means properly "to draw or paint" and not simply

"to draw" (*CAD* E 346 ff., *AHW* 252). Important also is line 31 of the new stela of Ashurnasirpal II (D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, 33): *ina za-gi-in-du-ri-e ina igārāte-ši-na e-šir*, translated by A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*³, 559, "[my exploits] I painted on their (the palaces') walls with vivid blue paint".

However, Mušallim-Marduk's establishment was a large one—it was perhaps fifty strong to judge from his wine ration of 5 *qú* (p. 117)—and something of the various specialities that could have made up such an establishment may usefully be assembled here in the light of the two texts from Sultantepe which comprise the “Assyrian list of professions”. The sources are *STT* II 383, vi, 7–12, followed by vii, 1–4 (“A”), and *ibid.*, 385, iii, 1–4 (“B”). For previous editions reference may be made to Deller, *Or. NS* 34, 471—although the lines knit even closer together than was there seen—and *MSL* XII, 233 f. We read and translate:

A	LÚ.TÚG.KA.*KÉŠ ^a <i>ka-š[i-ru]</i>	“tailor”
A	LÚ.TÚG.KAL.KAL <i>mu-ga-bu-u</i>	“sewer”
A	LÚ.AZALAG	“fuller”
A	LÚ.UŠ.BAR	“weaver”
A	LÚ.ṽDUN [†]	“warp-setter(?)”
AB	LÚ.UŠ.BAR <i>túg-ši-ip-ra-le</i>	“weaver of <i>šipirtu</i> ”
AB	[ša] ṽna [†] -kas-si-šú ^b	“pin-maker”
B	š[a nu].K[ú]š.MEŠ-šú	“pin-maker”
A	LÚ.TÚG.DU ₈ .DU ₈ <i>ka-mi-*du</i>	“felt-maker”; “carpet-maker”
A	LÚ.MUG <i>si-bu-u</i> ^c	.....
A	LÚ.GAL.TÚG.KA.KÉŠ	“overseer of tailors”
B	ṽLÚ.GAL [†] .UŠ.BAR	“overseer of weavers”

^a Text erroneously KA ^b Clear on B; A evidently [x x] x x *nu-*kas-si-šú* ^c Perhaps, with Deller, associate with 385, ii, 27.

Some notes on deserving entries in the above list may include the following.

We may begin with the *kāširu*, or “tailor”, one who would turn the woven cloth into a garment. References to the profession abound (cf. *AHw* 458, *CAD*, K s.v.) although not one, so far as we are aware, precisely determines the exact nature of the *kāširu*'s work. Admittedly there are those (cf. particularly A. Salonen, *Fussbekleidung*, 18) who believe in a craft of knotting and it is not doubtful that *kašāru* means “to knot” and is what the *kāširu* mainly did. But the best of the ancient Mesopotamian outer garments were fringed; they were fringed at the bottom and commonly down the whole length of one side, occasionally also on both sides. To this end the tailor had to remove the weft or warp threads of his cloth until the desired length was exposed, and then carefully group these ends together and knot them into individual tassels; by knotting them he would both secure the tassel and also prevent the threads of the garment itself from ravelling out. According to this picture cutting was not the first of the tailor's concerns so that an etymology different from that of the modern word could be appropriate. Moreover, in support of the identification is the fact that there would appear to be no other word in sight which could more appropriately mean a maker of garments. Something of his status is determined by the existence of a *rab kāširi*.

The term *mu-ga-bu-u* is almost certainly dialectic for *mukabbú*, “sewer”, from *kubbú*, “to sew”. On this word see *AHw* 497, also Lambert, *JSS* 4, 15, who writes, “in Late Babylonian economic texts and in lexical series the *mukabbú* is well known as a tailor for mending garments”. In fact the *mukabbú* does not appear to be so well known as all that, and thus does not qualify to be considered the real tailor of

the Mesopotamian world. But as a sewer his work may well have included the sewing on to garments of panels, metal and other decorations, and linings. In particular (cf. the reliefs) the tasselled fringe along the lower edge—but not the sides—of an outer garment was protected on the inside by a cloth lining which normally extended just below it, and the attachment of this will suitably have been included in the *mukabbú*'s tasks. Presumably it had to be replaced from time to time as it became worn.

The fullers, *ašlākāni*, require only a brief notice here. Using that combination of (plant-)alkali and oils or fats (*nanga/uḫūlu* and *i/šamnu*) which together make soap, the fuller used to “walk on clothes” (Sum. *túg-ga du/gin*) to clean them, but his presence was also required in weaving establishments before the manufacture of a garment to pre-shrink the cloth and to remove the cholesterol fats from the sheep's wool. For further details cf. Th. Jacobsen, *Studia Pedersen*, 184–185 and note 36; Moshe Held, *JAOs* 79, 175; and C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* 25, 181 ff.

The reading LÚ.ṽDUN[†], which is also suggested in *MSL* XII, 234, II A, 11, is uncertain, but may be thought to accord better with the traces and spacing than the ¹⁰*húp!-pu!* suggested by Deller (*op. cit.*, 471). In lines 17, 22, 27 and 32 of the Sumerian *Shepherd and Farmer* composition the sequences in the production of a linen fabric and its thread are: a-ba-a ma-ab-ser₅-ser₅ / ma-ab-tab-bé / ma-ab-zé-zé / ma-ab-TAG.TAG, “who will spin it for me?”, “who will twist it for me?”, “who will set it on the warp for me?”, and “who will weave it for me?” (on zé-zé as the eme-sal of dun-dun, cf. van Dijk, *Sagesse*, 80), which suggests that warp-setting was not necessarily a task for the weaver. If correct, the reading of LÚ.DUN should be *šātiu*, the Akk. *šatú*, “to set the warp” (also “to string a bow”) having its cognates with the same meaning in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic (cf. *Lexica*).

Regarding the *ša nakassī-šu*—the following line indicates that this term was the Assyrian equivalent of the Bab. *ša nukuššī-šu*—it is interesting to meet the “pin-maker” in the company of textile workers. No doubt attaches to the identification. As the pin of a door, *nukuššū*, ex Sum. *nu-kúš-ù*, “not resting”, “never stationary”, is discussed by Salonen, *Türen*, 69. An extension of meaning to “pin” of another kind would be easily acceptable. If one should guess as to the material of which it was made wood seems most likely, although bone and ivory(?) could be considered; it was doubtless not so elaborate as the *kirissu*, Sum. *kirid*, evidently a “hairpin” (cf. dictionaries, Goetze, *JCS* 10, 37; Castellino, *ZA* NF 18, 45, line 27, *et al.*). The man who would need pins most was surely the *mukabbú*.

The *kāmidu*, Sum. (*lú*).*túg-du₈*(-du₈), has proved difficult, but at least two crafts have to be assigned to this specialist. The easier of the two is “carpet-maker”, an identification made by Landsberger, *The Date Palm and its By-products*, *AfO* Beih. 17, 47, note 162. In this note Landsberger discusses the Akk. *šugurru*, “carpet” (ex Sum. *šu-gur*, “to roll”), and refers to an unpublished OB letter where such a carpet is stated as made of 40 manas of wool by the profession LÚ.TÚG.DU₈.A (= *kāmidu*). The details are altogether instructive: 30 manas were expended on the warp, 10 manas on the woof, and the measurements were 12 cubits by 7 cubits.

The Sum. *túg-du₈*, however, is a term of great antiquity and appears to pre-date the invention of weaving, or at least the general introduction of weaving. It occurs in pre-Sargonic texts (Gelb, *JNES* 24, 242) and also in the Abū Šalābikh texts

(Biggs, *JCS* 20, 73 ff.) of the Fāra period. Other translations have been offered, but three lines of evidence suggest here that the *túg-du₈* was probably a felt-maker. For the first we quote from *Harmsworth's Universal Encyclopedia* IV, 3109:

"Felting is probably older than weaving, the cloth having been used for tents, clothing, and other purposes from the remotest times. The invention is sometimes ascribed to Oriental shepherds, and stories are extant of kings, monks, and others putting wool into their shoes or sandals and finding it turned by walking into a new fabric."

Secondly a term *túg-du₈-a*, more appropriately a past participle, "felted", than a noun "Schnur", "Strick", occurs many times in Salonen's *Fussbekleidung* from texts of the Ur III period, thus (p. 89) 1 *kuš₈-sír túg-du₈-a*, "1 pair of felted sandals", 1 *kuššuhúb túg-du₈-a*, "1 pair of felted shoes". Thirdly, Biggs (*op. cit.*, 87, note 99), on the authority of Civil, states that "the *TÚG.DU₈* worked principally with goat hair and low quality wool to make . . . shoes, scabbards, etc., and occurs in contexts with leather workers . . .". That scabbards should have been lined with felt would seem appropriate, and an important clue is the "low quality wool" which is still often used in felt-making.

Of the *išpar šiprāti* we say only that he appears to have been a weaver of certain cloth accessories or "trimmings(?)" of a kind suitable to the verb *šepēru*, "to trim" (*CAD* § 132 f.). The difficult *LÚ.MUG* (=) *si-bu-u* occurs again, although unhelpfully, in a presumed text of Hh XXV, *CT* 37, 24, 22 (see now M. Civil, *MSL* XII, 229, iv, 23). No suggestion as to meaning can be made at the present time.

19. Ministries of the Commisariat

As the philologist looks at the *ekal māšarti* at Calah a word which comes constantly before him is *paqādu*. Historically concerned with non-property transfer (Leemans, *SLB* I (1), 18), it means, we believe, "to manage or administer a department by the ingathering and distributing of its supplies", and how it is related to *paqādu*, "to appoint", is not clear. Thus the name of the *ekal māšarti* at Nineveh was *ekal pa-qi-da-at ka-la-ma/u*, "the encampment which administers all (supplies)",²⁶⁴ and *paqidat kalāma* was the name also of its main gate.²⁶⁵ In a familiar passage Esarhaddon writes that one of its functions was *pa-qa-di anš₈emur-ni-is-qi anš₈eparē giš₈narkabāti . . .*, "the administration of horses, mules, chariots", etc.,²⁶⁶ and in the same text (Borger's Episode 24) the king assures Aššur and the gods of Assyria that "if I may long live within it (*qi-rib-šá da-riš lu-ur-mi(i)-ma*) then therein will I myself administer the horses (etc.) (*anš₈emur-ni-is-qi . . . lu-up-qi-da qi-rib-šá*) during the month of the New Year".²⁶⁷ The Aram. פקיד was evidently a "minister",²⁶⁸ and the NA *piqittu*^{268a}

²⁶⁴ Cf. A. Heidel (and A. L. Oppenheim), *Sumer* 12, 34, line 8; R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 62, Nin. A, VI, 43.

²⁶⁵ Cf. simply *CT* 26, 32, viii, 2 (cylinder of Sennacherib).

²⁶⁶ *Sumer* 12, 26, lines 36 ff.; Borger, *op. cit.*, p. 64, lines 42 ff.

²⁶⁷ The construction is undoubtedly a double precativ condition, providing the typical

"contract" between king and god whereby the former offers a service in return for good health and long life.

²⁶⁸ Preferred to "officer", G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.*, pp. 7-8.

^{268a} Although taken rather to mean "team (of officials)" by Oppenheim, *Centaurus* 14, 117.

may be rendered as "ministry" referring both to the personnel and to the stores. This latter term occurs frequently in the Adad-šum-ušur correspondence (cf. K. Deller in the von Soden Festschrift, *lišān mithurti*, 55) in such passages as *ABL* 970, 8-9, *šul-mu a-dan-niš a-na lú₁pi-qi-ta-a-ti gab-bu*, "It goes very well with all the ministries", or *ibid.*, 9, 5-6, *šul-mu a-na pi-qi-ti ša bīt ku-tal-li*, "All is well with the ministry of the *bīt kutalli* (a part of the *ekal māšarti*)". Similarly the profession [1^u] *tuššarru* (A.BA) *šá pān pi-qi-ta-te* of *ADD* 922, iv, 11, may be interpreted as "accountant to the office of the ministries", even as the *dub-sar-kuru₇-ak* = *MIN* (i.e. *tuššar*) *pi-qi-ti* of *MSL* XII, 99, 141c, was evidently an "accountant to a ministry".

In attempting to give some account of these ministries at Calah we begin with the idea that each department was in the charge of an emir, *rabiū*, and that if any department was represented on the Citadel as well as in the *ekal māšarti*—as in the case of wine—then the *rabiū* took charge of both offices. He was assisted in his work by a *šaniū* and in this connection an important text is Pl. 36, 10,

[1 *sūt* 5 *qa*] [1^u] *rab karāni* 1 *sūt* 1^u *šani-u-šú*²⁶⁹

which indicates firstly that the wine minister and his deputy belonged to different messes. Additionally it may be noted that the wine lists carry no mention at all of the bread minister or his deputy, or indeed of any other minister with one exception, although many are known. Thus for the evening meal we place all the ministers together under the *rab karāni* as the senior member and all the deputies together under the *šaniū ša rab karāni*. It seems probable that both messes were on the Citadel, and this is particularly likely in the case of the ministers. From the evidence of Pl. 16, 46-47:

[1 *sūt*] 1^u 5^u *qa* 1^u *rab karāni*
[2 *qa*] 1^u *šāqiu* (BI.LUL)

as compared with Pl. 33, 22-23:

[] [1^u] *tuššar ekalli*
[2 *qa*] [1^u] *šāqiu* (BI.LUL)

one may in fact suggest that, in the time of our documents, ministers (*rabāni*) under the *rab karāni* united with emirs (*rabāni*) under the *tuššar ekalli* to form an amalgamated mess, most suitably identified on the ground as room ZT 25 of the chancery.²⁷⁰ The idea is further substantiated by the association, probably geographical, of the *šá pān ekalli* (Pls. 16, 45, and 33, 24), but finds its best support from the fact that seven documents relating to the issue of oil and wine, most probably accounting records of the *rab šamni* and *rab karāni*, were found during excavation in the nearby ZT 30.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Restored from Pl. 16, 46, and Pl. 17, 10.

²⁷⁰ For this area see M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud*, Maps, Folder III. Much encouragement for the idea that the *tuššar ekalli*'s mess companions were "princes" or emirs may be found in the OT from Jer. xxxvi, 12.

²⁷¹ The documents, ND 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3488 and 3489 were catalogued by D. J. Wiseman in *Iraq* 15, 148, and are in some part further discussed in Chapter III, pp. 110 f.

We have next to introduce the *rab šekisite*, or "fodder minister", of Pl. 24, ND 10028, 3, etc.²⁷² At first sight this entry might suggest that the fodder minister had his own mess, but such a concept is probably illusory. For one thing it cannot be allowed that a senior minister dined with his men (supposing that he had any), and on his own it is difficult to find suitable company for him. Furthermore no corresponding entry is found in the wine lists for his *šaniu*. However, reference again to ND 10028, 3, of Pl. 24—and now adding its following line—provides the text:

3 qa 1^urab šeki-si-te
2 qa 1^ušāqiu(BI.LUL)

From these lines it is seen that, relative to the entry for the cupbearers (*šāqiu*), the position of the *rab kisite* corresponds to that of the *rab karāni* and *tušsar ekalli* in the lines cited above from Pls. 16 and 33. We thus think that the *rab kisite* belonged also to the ministers' mess and was in fact its senior member at a time when the *rab karāni* (and some others?) were absent from the city. It is in any event on this explanation that the Section recognizes only two categories amongst the *chefs de cabinet*: "the ministers" and "the deputy ministers".

In the ministerial teams we have finally to consider the accountant, *tuššarru*. To judge, for example, from *ABL* 42, rev. 11–12, *la-a* 1^urab karāni *la-a* 1^ušani-u-šū *la-a* 1^utuššarru-šū, "neither the wine minister nor his deputy nor his accountant", or from *ABL* 43, rev. 1–2, 1^utuššar bīt 1^unuḫatimmi 1^utuššar karkadinni(SUM.NINDA) 1^urab NINDA.MEŠ, "the accountant to the (royal) kitchens, and the accountants to the minister of fruit and confections²⁷³ and to the bread minister",²⁷⁴ it is almost certain that a minister's accountant was permanently attached to him. Apart from accounting he would doubtless have had to write departmental letters from time to time, and another side to his work appears to have been the drawing up of *nīš pūhi* loan contracts, an activity certainly undertaken by the wine department (cf. pp. 111 f.) although under little known circumstances. In fact his actual accountancy role may not have been excessive. It was noted at the beginning of this volume that the wine lists are not records of issue but *riksus*, that is, "tables" or "schedules", and since they will have remained in operation for a number of days, perhaps generally about ten,²⁷⁵ daily accounting was thus rendered unnecessary, although checking may have taken its place. It should be emphasized that, despite the probable duplicity of some of the departments, we are arguing for single ministerial teams (*rabiū*, *šaniū* and *tuššarru*) with chariot(?) travel between offices as necessary and the sealing of magazines when not in use. Accordingly only one mess need be sought for the accountants, and significantly there is no entry in the wine lists for accountants of the *ekal māšarti*. It is thus proposed that, for the evening meal, they retired with many of their kind to the mess of the *ša pān ekalli* on the Citadel.

To complete this statement on the ministries and turning again to the ministers

²⁷² For this official cf. A. Salonen, *Hippologica*, 238, and *AHW* 487, under *rab kissati*.

²⁷³ Not fully certain but cf. in Section 23.

²⁷⁴ Cf. further below and in Section 23.

²⁷⁵ Thus the tablets of Pls. 17 and 19 are dated to the 1st of the month; those of Pls. 8 and 13 to the 11th; and those of Pls. 41, 9(?) and 5(?) to the 22nd.

themselves, the following list is thought to contain the more important of the extant titles:

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>rab karmāni</i> | "grain minister" |
| 2 | <i>rab barrāqu(?)</i> | "beer minister, and minister for malted cereals" |
| 3 | <i>rab NINDA.MEŠ</i> | "bread minister" |
| 4 | <i>rab karkadinni</i> | "minister for fruit and confections" |
| 5 | <i>rab karāni</i> | "wine minister" |
| 6 | <i>rab dišbi</i> | "minister for honey and date syrup" |
| 7 | <i>rab kisiti</i> | "fodder minister" |
| 8 | <i>rab šamni</i> | "minister for vegetable and mineral oils" |

With regard to the above list it may be said firstly of (1) that the title occurs in the provincial organization (cf. above, p. 17), although officials associated with the office in *ADD* 464 and ND 3469²⁷⁶ suggest that it was represented in the king's household also. The entry under (2) would be more familiar if written as LÚ.ŠIM, LÚ.ŠIM x A/NINDA, or LÚ.GAL ŠIM x A (*STT* II, 385, iii, 16); the reading *barrāqu(?)* is based uncertainly on new evidence from the wine lists discussed on p. 81. In (3) if the reading of GAL NINDA(.MEŠ) should prove to be *rab laḫḫini* rather than *rab kusāpi* it must in any case be recognized that the difficult term *laḫḫinu* has probably two distinct divisions of meaning, discussed respectively in Sections 23 and 24 below. It may be noted in this connection that the *rab nuḫatimmi* (Section 23) is not thought to have been a minister in the proper sense of the term. The *rab karkadinnu* of (4) is difficult to translate; it is suggested in the discussion of pp. 81 f. that his kind had much to do with the preparation of special foods involving fruit. As to (6), "date-honey" or "date-syrup" is probably the meaning everywhere of LĀL.MEŠ = *dišbu*, and accordingly the *rab dišbi* of *ADD* 1036, i, 15, will have been concerned with date confectionery. For the *rab kisiti* an important basic text is ND 2803 (*Iraq* 23, Pls. XXIX and XXX). It indicates that the department provided not only feed for horses but also meal for birds (cf. also in Section 27). Finally, the three tablets, ND 3482, 3485 and 3489 (some details in *Iraq* 15, 148), are a poor witness to the work of the *rab šamni*'s department in Assyria, but a better idea of what his records may once have been obtains from Mari in the large four-columned tablet "C" published by M. Birot, *RA* 50, 57 ff.

It would remain in this Section to draw attention to the group of *ša bīt kutalli* mentioned on Pl. 29, 10. This is a new term, occurring only in the text cited, but comparisons with other texts (as Pl. 10, i, 15) show that the group was known also as the *ša bīt mQiqi* (written (^m)*Qi-qi-i*). The unit was a large one—it was either fifty or thirty men strong according to two of the estimates of Chapter III for a 5 *qū* ration—and as "the men of the *bīt kutalli*" it is certain that they worked in the *ekal māšarti*.²⁷⁷ In ignorance of the exact limits of the *bīt kutalli*, my feeling is that the group included carpenters (*nangārāni*) and armourers (*ša ḫallupti-šunu*) of the north-western and south-western sectors of the site, who will have worked with others on the collections of weapons and armaments, tribute and war booty, known to have

²⁷⁶ *Iraq* 15, Pl. XIII, lines 13 ff.

²⁷⁷ Since Sennacherib (cf. Luckenbill, *Annals*, 128, 39, and 131, 55) uses the term *ekal kutalli*

in a way that compels its identification with *ekal māšarti*.

been stored in this general area.²⁷⁸ But the interesting point does emerge that the official in charge—we may interpret *Qiqi* as a harmonized form either of *Quqi*, ADD 860, iii, 20, or of *Ququ*, KA⁷ 214, 8, in the genitive—was probably a *bēl tēmi*. This conclusion derives from a direct comparison of wine lists and bread lists, the former in Pls. 19, 9–11, and 29, 8–10, providing the sequence

ša bīti II-e
ša bīt ku-din-ni
ša bīt ku-tal-li/^m*Qi-qi-i*

and the latter (cf. Chapter IV, p. 155, 1–3)

[*ša bi-*]^r*ti* *šeni*(ŠEN)-^r*i*^r
 [*ša bī*]^t*ku-dini*
 [*ša bīt*] *be-el tēmi*(DÍM)

As yet little appears to be known about the *bēl tēmi* although in the light of the corresponding *בעל טעם* of Ezra iv, 8, 9 and 17 (cf. also G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 9) he was clearly an official of high seniority in the royal households of the times.²⁷⁹

20. The Medical Services

The men of this section are represented in the wine lists by principally two groups, the LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ, perhaps *āšipūti*, of Pl. 28, ND 10056, 13, etc., and the LÚ.A.ZU.MEŠ, perhaps *asū'e*, of *ibid.*, 14, etc. Both groups are represented also in the bread lists (col. ii, 10 and 12, on p. 156).

The latest statement on these professions is that of Edith Ritter in AS 16, 299 ff., and only footnotes need be added in the present contribution. We follow Landsberger²⁸⁰ and others in believing that the *āšipu* was in no sense a priest at this time, if he was ever one at all. As to his work, he was a man of letters as well as science (cf. already on p. 63 with note 234 under “the Chancery”), and thus to conceive of him as both a scholar and a “diagnostician” is at least to appreciate that there were two sides to the profession. As scholar his researches may even have included the alchemy now in some part presented by Oppenheim, RA 60, 29 ff. The term diagnostician recognizes his ability to read the symptoms of physical and mental diseases with which he is particularly associated (cf. further in Section 21).

Little need be said of the *asū*, traditionally “physician” and perhaps mainly concerned with disorders of function, the healing of wounds and minor surgery. It may be noted that on Pl. 14, 20, and also in the bread lists, p. 156, ii, 10, the more usual entry of LÚ.A.ZU.MEŠ is replaced by LÚ.GAL A.ZU (¹*rab asī*). It is difficult

²⁷⁸ For the archaeological recovery in these categories from the areas stated, cf. the original reports in *Iraq*, and Mallowan, *Nimrud II*, 403 ff.

²⁷⁹ It may, however, be noted that, although probably connected with “reports” (one of the meanings of *tēmu*) the office is clearly to be

differentiated from that of the *bēl tēmi* who was concerned with extispicy reports (cf. J. Aro in *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne*, 111; J. A. Brinkman, *Or.* NS 38, 342, note 1).

²⁸⁰ *Ist.-Brief*, 14.

to see how this second entry can differ from the first, and if it should therefore mean that the *rab asī* dined with his men a comparatively low status for this emirate would seem to be indicated.²⁸¹

21. The Augurs and Diviners

Already in *Iraq* 23, 27, in a comment on the phrase ¹*da-gil iššūrē* ¹*Ku-muḥ-aju* which occurs in a somewhat damaged context on ND 2442, i, 7 (a tablet from the archives of ZT 4), Miss Parker has drawn attention to the ¹*da-gil iššūrē* ^{kur}*Ku-muḥ-aju* of ND 6218, i, 4–5 (this volume, Pl. 9). They were the “augurs from Commagene” according to the now familiar identification of Kummuhi (cf. originally L. W. King, *Manchester Egypt. and Oriental Soc.* II (1913), 47 ff.; B. Landsberger, *Sam'al I*, 21, note 41; also now S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 215–216), and indeed bird augury had little or no tradition in Mesopotamia. It was a science of the West, and is known principally from Hittite texts published in KBo. There occurs also in ABL 1346, 2–3, a reference to ¹*da-gil i*[*ššūrē* ¹*Ḫa-mat-aja*], “the augurs from Hamath” (in the Orontes valley).²⁸²

In fact, through the window of the wine lists, even the divination of *bārūte*, “seers”, “diviners”, may be seen at the Assyrian court as a service largely entrusted to non-Assyrian specialists. Admittedly the *bārūte* (LÚ.ḪAL.MEŠ) of Pl. 30, 32, etc., were most probably an Assyrian group. But numerically larger were the ranks of the “Babylonian diviners”, a group which appears several times in the lists written as LÚ.ḪAL.MEŠ ^{kur}*Kaš-šá-aju* (thus on ND 10038, Pl. 40, 5). I owe verbally to Oppenheim the suggestion that, throughout the texts of the collection, *Kaššāju*, literally “Cassite”, means actually “Babylonian”—and in fact the point is proved by the bread lists (cf. p. 156, ii, 13) where men of the same profession are referred to as *bārūte mār Bābili* (ḪAL.MEŠ DUMU KÁ.DINGIR). Since these Babylonian diviners were thus present at Calah in the 780's, while their descendants were still there in the time of Sargon some 60 or 70 years later, it must follow that theirs was no short-lived appointment. Indeed, to judge from the “questions to Shamash” and extispicy reports which derive from the period of the later Assyrian kings, and were largely written in the Neo-Babylonian script, their followers remained close to the Assyrian throne until almost the last years of Ashurbanipal.²⁸³

If any other group should be mentioned in this section it must once again be the *āšipus* (or *mašmaššu*). Already presented as a littérateur (Section 16) and a man of medicine (Section 20), the *āšipu* was concerned also with certain omen texts, specifically *enūma Anu Enlil* and *šumma ālu*,²⁸⁴ and in the latter case also with the related *namburbi* texts.²⁸⁵ To explain this connection we may either number the

²⁸¹ Cf. also on this point A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 304.

²⁸² I owe both points to D. Kennedy whose paper “Note sur l'auspex hittite”, read in 1965 at the XIV RAI at Strasbourg, has not yet been published at the time of writing.

²⁸³ Cf. further J. Aro, “Remarks on the practice of extispicy in the time of Esarhaddon

and Assurbanipal”, published in *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne*, pp. 109 ff.

²⁸⁴ As indicated, in the light of its heading, by KAR 44, rev. 16.

²⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, rev. 6, and particularly the evidence from colophons, etc., collected by R. I. Caplice, “Participants in the namburbi rituals”, *Cath. Bib. Quart.*, 29, 42 ff.

āšipu with the diviners (Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 206 ff.) or else argue, as is personally preferred, that he is still the great “diagnostician”, the reader of the signs of suffering whether physical, mental or of everyday life.

22. The King's Music

In his statement on the *ṭabalkhāna* (lit. “the drums” or “drummary” but including other instruments) under the sultans of Cairo, Popper, *Egypt and Syria* I, 84, writes: “It played every night in the Citadel after the prayer of sundown, and was also taken along on royal journeys and in battle.”

With little change this statement would also serve well for the *ṭabalkhāna* of other days. *It-ti lūnārē gīšammī ū ta-ba-li*, wrote Sargon's scribe in his Eighth Campaign, line 159, “To the accompaniment of the musicians, both harps and drums”²⁸⁶ (I re-entered my camp). Similarly Ashurbanipal returned to Nineveh *it-ti lūnārē e-piš nin-gu-ti*, “with the musicians who play (my) music”, after his second campaign against Elam.²⁸⁷ A fragmentary but once splendid relief of “musicians in procession” in Sennacherib's time will be quickly brought to mind.²⁸⁸

Other references abound, the most recent statement being that of Wilhelm Stauder, “Die Musik der Sumerer, Babylonier und Assyrer”, in Hickmann and Stauder, *Orientalische Musik* (1970), Chapter III. We may thus pass swiftly to the scene in Calah in the times of Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV. In contrast to *nāru* as the presumed literary word for a singer or musician of the period, we are concerned rather with *zammāru*, attested for the vernacular through the writings *lūrab za-ma-ri* of *ADD* 537, 5, and *lūrab za-am-ma-ri*, *ibid.*, 284, rev. 6.²⁸⁹

It is illuminating that as many as five different groups of musicians are recorded in the wine lists, and the number advances even to seven with the inclusion of two female groups. A text which mentions three is *ND* 6219 on Pl. 15, 40 ff., the entries being

lūzammārē Kaš-šá-aju
lūzammārē Áš-šu-ra-aju
lūzammārē Ha-ta-aju

There were thus Babylonian, Assyrian and Neo-Hittite musicians in the king's household at the time of our documents, the third group providing an antecedent for the later *Hattajāte* (see below). A fourth group known as the *zammārē lab-ba-šú-te* is found with the others on Pl. 21, *ND* 10057, obv. 8, following an entry which concerned the *mukil appāti la-ba-šú-te*. In line with an explanation of the latter term given in Section 8 they were “musicians of the royal cloth”. A fifth entry amongst the male groups is damaged in the two places in which it occurs (Pl. 28, 9,

²⁸⁶ We would understand the second phrase as standing in apposition to the first.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal* II, 124, vi, 46; Meissner, *Bab. und Ass.* I, 331 f.

²⁸⁸ Cf. H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum XXXVIII*, 1, and C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, Pl. 22;

also P. Calmeyer, “Federkränze und Musik”, *RAI* XVII, 184–195.

²⁸⁹ In *ARU*, No. 462, Kohler and Ungnad read the latter phrase as *rab za-am-ma-ri*?, but collation reveals that traces after *-ri* are part of an erasure.

and 30, 29), but the traces are best compatible with a reading *lūzammārē kurA[r]a-m[a]-a[ju]*, “the Aramean musicians”.²⁹⁰ Two further entries should be mentioned. The first is provided by Pl. 25, 11, and reads:

9 qa lūzammārē mātātī(NAR.MEŠ KUR.ME[Š]TA.[AM])

The line may be understood as an inclusive entry for “the musicians of the several countries”. Secondly, Pl. 43, *ND* 10058, 5, reads:

2 do.(= DUG.ŠAB) lūzammārē ina kummi(É.NUN)

It seems probable, since the concern of the wine lists is with the king's household, that *kummu* in this context refers to some part of a royal palace (cf. *AHW* 506, under *kummu*, 4 (b)). So far as temples are concerned one *zammār kummi*, “*kummu*-song”, is known, now edited by W. H. Ph. Römer, *Heidelberger Studien*, 185 ff.

For the female singers-and-musicians there are two references, Pls. 18, 6–7, and 36, 5–6. Both are damaged, although from Pls. 18, 6, and 36, 6, a reading *mi zammārēte kur[Ar-p]a-da-aju* is reasonably certain despite the apparent lack of grammatical agreement; the identity of the second group cannot be ascertained. A further reference to the two groups is perhaps to be seen in the again fragmentary text of Pl. 31, 28–29. The point has, however, to be made that these singers are undoubtedly to be included in the two harems mentioned in Section 3, although their numbers were not such that they composed the total complement of either. Precisely this picture is obtained also from the two *Haremlisten* of Ashurbanipal's(?) time presented by Landsberger in the *Baumgartner Festschrift*, pp. 202–203. The second list includes “Obersängerinnen” (*SAL.NAR.GAL*) and also Aramean, Neo-Hittite and Tyrian singers (*mi Ára-ma-aja-te*, *mi Hat-ta-aja-te*, *mi Sur-ra-[aja-te]*), but many other women are listed to make up the two totals of 140 and 156.

Amongst other points that may be mentioned here it is of interest that the name of at least one of the senior male musicians is known. Although the meaning is not fully certain, he was Ša-^aNabû-izzazza, the relevant line being Pl. 40, *ND* 10038, 2:

4 qa l[ūz]ammārē [x (x) mš]a-^aNabû-[G]UB-za

The name has been restored initially after the *mšá-^aNabû-GUB-az* of *ADD* 961, rev. 4 (cf. Tallqvist, *APN* 215). As for the foreign groups mentioned in the texts, an earlier parallel is found in a Cassite text from Dūr-Kurigalzu,²⁹¹ which mentions Elamite and Subarean musicians (*lūnārū lūE-la-mu-ú*, *lūnārū lūSu-ba-ru-ú*). Finally a word may be said about numbers. The amount of the wine ration recorded in the lists was 12 *qa* in the case of the female musicians and probably a figure of the same order in respect of the men (cf. the 6½ and 5½ *qa* of Pl. 18, 6–7, and the 6½ *qa* + 1½ + x + x + x of Pl. 28, *ND* 10056, 7–11). In accordance with later calculations (pp. 117 ff.) these figures may indicate totals respectively of 120 women and 120(?) men, and although uncertain, a pointer towards the concept of large choral groups of this size is the 90 *miNAR iš-^{*}še-tum*, “90 chanteuses nouvelle(ment engagée)s”, recorded on a tablet from Mari.²⁹² Further confirmation comes also

²⁹⁰ In the second of the texts cited the horizontal stroke before *-m[a]* is probably the remains of a partially erased *me*.

²⁹¹ Published by O. R. Gurney, *Iraq* 11, 137 No. 7.

²⁹² Cited after J. Bottéro, *ARM* VII, No. 206, rev. 3.

from the bread lists. In those texts and specifically in the entry of ND 2489, ii, 4,²⁹³ it is seen that the musicians of Sargon's time collectively received the daily ration of 2 homers and 5(?) *qû*, the highest total by far for any profession recorded in this class of text. At the presumed standard rate for bread of 1 *qû* per person per day²⁹⁴ which is suggested both by *ABL* 65, rev. 8 (cf. above, p. 30) and the low quantities of 4, 5 and 6 *qa* found in the lists (evidently for 4, 5 and 6 persons), the ration of 2.05 homers may have served over 200 persons—or at least a number of this order.

It is in any case quite certain that the history of the court musicians of Assyria is not to be written *pianissimo*.

23. The *nîš ekalli*: (1) the King's Table

In an earlier part of this chapter, concerned with "the Priesthood and temple personnel", an attempt was made to analyse a typical *nîš bîti* organization, translated "household staff" (cf. above, pp. 26 ff.). The equivalent organization in the king's household was the *nîš ekalli*, thus the "palace staff".

With little hesitation one may declare the man in charge of this staff, under the king, to have been the *rab ekalli*. In an earlier period he was known also as the *ša muhhi ekalli* (Weidner, *AfO* 17, 263), he was thought in Section 4 to have been in ultimate charge of the king's chamberlains of the *bîtānu*, and he is mentioned in connection with the royal harem(s).²⁹⁵ His work as the official in charge of the *nîš ekalli* will thus have formed a third part of his many responsibilities. In general we find it difficult to improve on "major-domo" as an appropriate rendering of his title. We may refer again to a trusted source (Popper, *Egypt and Syria* I, 93):

"Major-domo (*ustādār, ustādh dār*; with the addition sometimes of '*aliya*', i.e. 'grand master of the house' or supreme major-domo...); in general charge of all the buildings connected with the palace, e.g. the kitchens, buttry, etc., and all their servitors (*al-hāshiya wal-ghilmān*), including the table attendants (*jashnikiriya*...). He was an emir of the first class; he had the entire administration of all supplies for the Sultan's household...."

More will be learnt of the office with the publication of the "*rab ekalli*'s archive" (seventh century) discovered in rooms SE 1, 2, 10 and 11 of the *ekal māšarti* at Calah.²⁹⁶ However, his duties were perhaps dissimilar in many respects from those of a *rab ekalli* of the Citadel.²⁹⁷

In the palace staff we recognize three major divisions, the first, which is treated here, being concerned with the king's table.

The personnel of this division may be given as the butcher and meat cook (*nākisu*),²⁹⁸ the master baker (*nuḫatimmi*), the bakers for the king's household who appear to have been LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ in the time of the wine lists but *nuḫatimmē* from

²⁹³ Cf. below in Chapter IV, p. 155.

²⁹⁴ After Landsberger, *AfO* 18, 338, bread in Assyria was normally accounted in terms of the flour.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Weidner, *ibid.*, pp. 262 ff.

²⁹⁶ See David Oates, *Iraq* 21, 109–110.

²⁹⁷ On the possibility that more than one

rab ekalli may have been in office at a given time, cf. already Oates, *ibid.*, 110, and below in Chapter III, p. 96.

²⁹⁸ Not mentioned in the wine lists, but to be placed in one of the emirate messes on the authority of the text cited on p. 103, line 47.

some later period,²⁹⁹ the brewers and malsters whom we see as the *lūbar-ra-qu* of the wine lists and the LÚ.KAŠ.MEŠ of the bread lists,³⁰⁰ the fruit and confectionery staff (*karkadīnāte*),³⁰¹ and the cupbearers (evidently *ša šāqi*).³⁰² Additionally the bread lists mention two groups of millers(?), the MU.MEŠ KUM.A and the SUM.NINDA KUM.A,³⁰³ neither of which seems previously to have occurred in Neo-Assyrian texts. Men of these professions were undoubtedly divided into *bītus*, or "houses", of which at least the *bīt nuḫatimmi*³⁰⁴ and the *bīt karkadinni*³⁰⁵ are known. But the probability is that there were four.³⁰⁶

Some notes may now be given on the professions mentioned. Firstly, the *nākisu* (cf. above, note 117) will have come to the fore whenever a sheep was required for the king's meal. He will have slaughtered it, skinned and prepared it, and, as we believe, also cooked and carved it. Important evidence here is Pl. 46, 18, which records an issue to the *nākisu* of *karšu*, evidently a condiment of some kind.³⁰⁷ The record is something of a missing link, for so long as every clue pointed to the fact that baking was the real métier of the *nuḫatimmi*, it was never clear what name we should give to the meat cook.³⁰⁸ In all probability, however, the cooking, or specifically roasting, of the sheep or other animal will not have taken place in the kitchens, at least during winter months. Antiquity knew no such refinement as a roasting-oven, and the *kanūnu* or *kinūnu*, a charcoal-burner or brazier used also for room heating,³⁰⁹ is quite certainly the only source of heat that the *nākisu* could have used. We in fact invite the picture of this brazier wheeled into position on or between the stone "tram-lines"³¹⁰ of the appropriate throne-room (the throne, however, being doubtless absent since the king would be now sitting with his guests and emirs), with the sheep suspended over it on some form of spit(?). For some archaeological details on the wheeled *kanūnu* reference may be made to R. D. Barnett, *Iraq* 16, 10, and footnotes.

²⁹⁹ For the LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ, who may, however, have included the housekeeping staff (Section 24), cf. Pl. 15, 38, and (bread lists) ND 2489, i, 13, and ii, 6; *nuḫatimmē* occur on the Sargonid(?) texts indicated on pp. 27 and 28, in the bread lists (ND 2371, 2), but not in the wine lists.

³⁰⁰ For the former cf. Pls. 15, 37; 19, 30; 23, ND 10050/2, 5; 24, ND 10055, 5; 34, 5; 39, unnumbered fragment, 2; and for the LÚ.KAŠ.MEŠ see p. 155, i, 12.

³⁰¹ Cf. Pl. 7, 17, and *passim*.

³⁰² Cf. Pl. 9, ii, 6. Elsewhere (Pl. 16, 47, etc.) the writing LÚ.BI.LUL, LÚ.ŠU.SĪLA.DU, and LÚ.ŠU.DĪLIM.DU, is found but in no case with following MEŠ, so that the (collective) singular *lūšāqiu* must thus be indicated.

³⁰³ ND 2489 (pp. 155 f.), lines iii, 3, and ii, 5, respectively.

³⁰⁴ Cf. *ABL* 43, rev. 1; *AHW* 801; and this volume, Pl. 46, 20.

³⁰⁵ Cf. *ABL* 43, rev. 12, and this volume, Pl. 47, 28.

³⁰⁶ Attention is here directed to Pl. 3(b) which, in reproducing part of a familiar relief of Ashurnasirpal's (original publication by Layard, *Monuments*, I, Pl. 30) shows four separate activities, each clearly concerned with some provision for the king's table, being performed within a conventionalized Citadel presented in plan. The dividing walls may support the contention that the work of individual *bītus* are thus portrayed.

³⁰⁷ Cf. in this regard the valuable evidence of Sargon, Eighth Campaign, line 28.

³⁰⁸ Outside perhaps of the circumstantial evidence found in the *Myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal*, lines ii, 42, and iii, 57 (cited after O. R. Gurney's edition, *AS* X, 114 and 116), and, in the OT, in I Sam. ix, 23–24.

³⁰⁹ Discussed by A. Salonen, "Die Öfen der alten Mesopotamier", *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 3, 106 ff.

³¹⁰ As illustrated, for example, in *Iraq* 21, Pl. XXVIII (a), and discussed at some length by Geoffrey Turner, *Iraq* 32, 186.

Of the *nuḫatimmu*, Sum. *nu-ḫatim*³¹¹ and secondarily *muḫalḫim*,³¹² Aram. נַחְתוּמָא³¹³ and Talmudic נַחְתוּמָא,³¹⁴ much has been written. Many details are known of his baking oven, the *tinūru* or *tunūru*,³¹⁵ an able summary of *nuḫatimmūtu* in Babylonia, and an edition of a new "baker's tablet" from the time of Nabopolassar, have been presented by D. B. Weisberg,³¹⁶ and much also will be learnt of the craft with the appearance of H. A. Hoffner's *The baking industry of Hittite Anatolia*.³¹⁷ As indicated by the bread lists (ND 2489, iii, 9) the king's baker at Calah was the *nuḫtimmi šarri*, and since the *rab nuḫ(a)timmu* of Nebuchadnezzar's court was a *mašennu* (Unger, *Babylon*, 284, line 36) we may judge that he was an emir of the second class. This assertion is based firstly on Oppenheim, *ANET* 307¹, note 1, who refers to the obvious connection of *mašennu* with Heb. *mišneh* and thus the numeral "two", and secondly on the point that, in Unger's text, the list of *mašennus* is followed by a list of *rabūti ša ma-at Ak-ka-di-im* or "emirs of Babylonia" (cf. also E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 10, 5, B, 7, L. W. King, *Tukulti-Ninib I*, 98, iv, 8, and the corresponding *rabāni ša māt Aššur*³¹⁸, "the emirs of Assyria", discussed on p. 41) who were undoubtedly emirs of the first class. The further point has to be made that Nebuchadnezzar's baker, *mdNabū-zer-i-din-na(m)* *rab nu-uh-tim-mu* to give the full text, is clearly the same person as the נַחְתוּמָאן רַב־טַבָּחִים of Jer. xxxix, vs. 9, 10 and 13, and something is thus learnt of the military responsibilities of the office.³¹⁸ In NB also such an extension of duties is clear from *ABL* 274 whose (elderly?) writer, recently cured in Uruk of an illness by a physician of Ashurbanipal's, was turned back from the road to Assyria by a *rab nuḫtimmu*.³¹⁹ Moreover, mention was made on p. 3 of the fact that a Chaldean *šaknu* and a Chaldean "cook" occur together in the wine lists (Pls. 7, 12, and 6, 11). Most probably the latter made the long journey to Assyria as a military escort to the *šaknu*.³²⁰

The LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ are difficult. The chief difficulty lies in the fact that the reading of LÚ.NINDA is almost certainly (*a*)*lahḫinu* (*CAD* A/1 296, cf. Deller, *Or.* NS 34, 477) and yet if we are to include them here as bakers there are references enough which show that *alahḫinus* had duties of a totally different kind. In fact we are led to the conclusion that the profession as a whole must be divided into two separate groups of which baking, and also milling, was the activity of one part only. The second group forms the subject of discussion of the section which follows.

Fortunately, there is some authority for proposing such a division in that the bread lists (cf. note 299) refer to two bodies of *lahḫinus*, one not further specified

³¹¹ Following E. Sollberger, *TCS* I, 159–160.

³¹² Cf. originally B. Landsberger, *Kult. Kal.* 30, note 1.

³¹³ Cf. H. Zimmern, *ZDMG* 53 (1899), 115–119, and *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, s.v.

³¹⁴ See standard dictionaries; the equivalent term is not represented in the OT.

³¹⁵ Cf. A. Salonen, *op. cit.*, 101 ff.

³¹⁶ *Guild Structure*, pp. 66–76.

³¹⁷ Announced in *RHA* 25 (1967), 27.

³¹⁸ Important here is J. A. Brinkman, *Or.* NS 34, 249, note 1, who points out that "the common translation "(body)guard" [for *rab*

tabbāhim] is not borne out by the textual evidence in the Bible, but rests on Josephus' equivalent *sōmatophulakes* in *Antiquities of the Jews* X, 10, 3". In fact I suspect that *sōmatophulax* was Josephus' word for "emir".

³¹⁹ Thus obv. 19–20: *rab nuḫtimmu ul-tu harrāni a-na Uruk*³²⁰ *ut-tir-ra-an-ni*.

³²⁰ The tablet in question, as already suggested in Section 17 and earlier, p. 45, appears to include extramural personnel awaiting re-appointment at the New Year; it is presumed that only the *šaknu* belonged to this category.

but the other carrying the additional qualification of *arad ekalli*. We would surmise that the first group who were presumably not eunuchs—and therefore of the intimate entourage of the king—provided the milling and baking staff. For the concept of LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ as "bakers" reference may be made to Weidner, *AfO* 21, 40, Oppenheim, *ANET*¹ 293 (quoted also by Borger, *Asarhaddon*, § 80, i, 12, note), and Postgate, *Royal Grants*, pp. 67 and 68. Earlier, in a familiar study, Landsberger, *AfO*, 10, 150 f., showed that milling might be included within the activities of the (*a*)*lahḫinu*, and independently, in *AfO* 18, 338 f., contributed also an important note on NINDA.MEŠ = *kusāpu*, "bread". The matter seems now firmly established from Postgate, *op. cit.*, Nos. 42–44, obv. 10–12: 2 *imēr 8 sāt* ŠE.KUR₆.MEŠ *a-na* NINDA.MEŠ... 2 *imēr 8 sāt* ŠE.GIG.MEŠ *a-na* NINDA *qa-du-a-ti*...¹ *lahḫināni* (NINDA.MEŠ) *i-na-ši-ū*, "the bakers (of the temple) will draw... 2 homers and 8 seahs of barley for making barley-bread... and 2 homers and 8 seahs of wheat for making wheatmeal(?) bread".

It may be added that this same text, which dates like the wine lists from the times of Adad-nirari III, provides valuable evidence on the difference at this time between *lahḫinu* and *nuḫatimmu* from the baking point of view. The lines cited suggest that the *lahḫinu* was concerned only with barley and wheat, and thus baked ordinary bread. The *nuḫatimmu*, on the other hand (obv. 8–10), might, under the terms of the grant, draw a 4 *sāti* ration of barley (ŠE.KUR₆.MEŠ), date-honey (LĀL.MEŠ = *dišbu*), real honey (LĀL.MEŠ *BABBAR-u* = *dišbu pišū*—the same is also called *dišib šadē pišū*, "white mountain honey" in *AfO* 329, 115), vegetable oils (Ī.MEŠ = *šamnu*, and *šamnu ḫalšu*) and *abšu*-seeds (unidentified, but evidently of the cummin or coriander variety, for flavouring). From such evidence which points to the making of honey-cakes by the *nuḫatimmu* the proposed rendering of "master baker" will not be thought extravagant. Since the singular *nuḫatimmu* (LÚ.MU) could suggest that it was normal for households of the period to employ no more than a single member of the profession, the absence of a group of LÚ.MU.MEŠ in the wine lists need not be thought remarkable.

As for the brewers or maltsters of the king's household it has already been intimated that the new term *rab-ra-qu*, which occurs six times in the wine lists (references under note 300), is now proposed as the reading in NA of the ideograms LÚ.ŠIM or LÚ.ŠIM x A/NINDA (Babylonian *sirašū*). No certainty is claimed in the matter: the main argument is that the long historical association between the (*a*)*lahḫinu* and the *sirašū* (cf. *CAD* A/1 296) would seem to be upheld by the bread lists where LÚ.KAŠ.MEŠ and LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ occur together (ND 2489, i, 12–13, after Postgate's collation) and could be further substantiated by Pl. 15, 37–38, of the wine lists where *rab-ra-qu* and LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ are found together. Additionally it seems possible that the word *barrāqu*, "maltster(?)", may be a metathesized *nomen professionis* formation from the same root as that which provides the well-known *buqlu*, "malt". But despite these uncertainties there is no shortage of evidence from NA sources that beer still had its prominent part to play in the wine-drinking times of our documents. Even Calah's wine magazine, SW 6, had some association with beer as may be seen from ND 6223 (this volume, Pl. 44) with its brief reference to 1 *imēr 5 sāt* KAŠ.M[EŠ]. . . . *ina bit* ¹*rab rēši*.

As for the *karkadinnu*, ex *kakardinnu*, LB *kaškadi/annu*, standard references are

Weidner, *AfO* 10, 18, and Landsberger, *ibid.*, 151. Additional information will be found in *AHw* 421 and *CAD* K, s.v. Landsberger was the first to see that the responsibilities of this official included the preparation of special foods, and the assertion is confirmed, firstly, from a Tell Billa text (Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, No. 29), where wheat and emmer are issued to a *karkadinnu*, and secondly from temple documents of the reign of Adad-nirari III (Weidner, *AfO* 21, 36 ff.; Postgate, *Royal Grants*, Nos. 42–45), which names the *karkadinnu* in connection with honey, fats, linseed(?) oil, *šu'u* and *abšu*. Additionally, it is to be noted that Pl. 48, lines 44–46, of this volume record the issue of pistachio nuts, grapes, and other items to a *karkadinnatu*³²¹ of the queen's household. The lines read:

2 qa *úkar-šu* 2 qa *úti-ti-bu* 2 qa *gišbu-tu-n[a-te]*
 4 qa *úbur-ši-na-te* 4 qa *GIŠ.KIN.GEŠTIN.MEŠ*
 SAL.SUM.NINDA-tú ša SAL É.GAL.³²²

It is particularly the two latter texts which suggest that the *karkadinnu* was concerned with fruits and fruit confectionery, whence some phrase which incorporates this idea may be put forward as a translation. A secondary duty appears from ND 1120, rev. 5, *úkar-ka-di-nu nap-ta-an-šu i-šak-kan* (text in *Iraq* 14, Pl. XXIII, directions for the *tupšar āli*'s dinner). The phrase perhaps means "the *karkadinnu* shall serve (that part of) the meal which he has prepared".

Of the cupbearers (*šāqiu*, Sum. *sagi*) much is to be learnt from the familiar Khorsabad relief reproduced on Pl. 2 (b). Attention may be drawn to the writing LÚ.ŠU.DÍLIM.DU₈ (cf. note 302) which, as a variant to the common LÚ.ŠU.SÍLA.DU₈, is thus found three times in the wine lists (Pls. 9, ii, 6; 38, 4; cf. 7, iii, 16). A further example occurs in *STT* II, 385, iii, 18 = *MSL* XII, 235, 18. It is also important to note that the plural of *šāqiu* is not *šāqiūti* as might have been expected, but *ša šāqi* (Pl. 9, ii, 6). Comparable terms are *maššāru*, pl. *ša maššāri* (Pl. 51, 20, etc.; *ABL* 99, rev. 17), *susānu*, pl. *ša susā[ni]* (Pl. 16, ND 10046/1, 8), and *pithallu*, pls. *ša pithallu* and *ša pithallāte* (*passim* in royal inscriptions).

The section may be concluded with some account of a group as yet little known. They are the *mār šāqi* or *mārē šāqi*, literally, "sons of the cupbearer(s)". It seems altogether likely that this explanation must also now serve for the otherwise interpreted *mārū ša-qi-i* of Mari (references in J. Bottéro, *ARM* VII, 230 ff., cf. *ARM* XV, 265).

Relevant entries occur in the wine lists as LÚ.DUMU.MEŠ ŠU.DÍLIM.DU₈ (Pl. 7, 16 and DUMU LÚ.BILUL (Pls. 17, 27; 26, 10; and 30, 23). The latter writing also occurs on a seventh-century contract from the Ezida temple, ND 5463, 33.³²³ In two of the four references from the wine lists the "sons" are listed after the cupbearers, but at most they were adopted sons for the royal cupbearers were eunuchs. Here, in fact, lies an essential clue, and following Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 127, the view is taken that the *mār(ē) šāqi* were boy-eunuchs or "ghulams". In a note

³²¹ The feminine form occurs here for the first time.

³²² For further discussion see in Chapter III, pp. 107 f.

³²³ Ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 19, 133 and Pl. XXXII, cf. also K. Deller, *Or.* NS 35, 192 ff.

on these boys Minorsky quotes interestingly from *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin* (ed. Langlès, Paris, 1811), V, 470:

"Derrière [le roi] sont rangés neuf ou dix petits eunuques de dix à quatorze ans, les plus beaux enfants qu'on puisse voir, richement vêtus, qui font un demi-cercle derrière lui, et qui semblent de vraies statues de marbre, tant ils sont immobiles, tenant les mains sur l'estomac, la tête droite et les yeux arrêtés."

Minorsky adds that "these pages knelt down as they served meals to the king".

It may be argued that the ghulams of this kind—they are to be distinguished from the probable ghulam element of the *raksūti* (Section 14)—are to be seen in the "youths bringing in the provision for a royal banquet" of Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, Pl. 46b, and Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, Pl. 106. From the amount of their wine ration (cf. p. 117) it is likely that their number was ten as in Chardin's day, but certainly by accident. And we accept that they may well have served certain dishes to the king; in this they would have acted in some degree as the counterpart of their "fathers" who served the wine.

24. The *nīš ekalli*: (2) the Housekeeping Staff

This section is concerned with *lahhinūtu* in the second of its two aspects to which attention has been called above (Section 23). For the probability that LÚ.NINDA is to be read *lahhinu* in NA documents and for the evidence that, at least in Sargon's time, *lahhinus* were recruited from two separate orders of personnel, reference may again be made to the previous discussion. It seems likely that the present section is specifically concerned with a eunuch body known as *lahhināni arad ekalli*.³²⁴

In attempting to assess the work of the (a) *lahhinu* in various periods, *CAD* A/1 294 ff., saw the office as an administrative appointment with complex duties, although "in . . . NA temples the *alahhinu* seems to have been a kind of steward". About the same time P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, 218–220, concluded for the OA period: "L'*alahhinum* d'un prince était en quelque sorte son economiste. Il assurait les fournitures en étoffes et en métaux divers. Il recevait de l'argent ou des marchandises en dépôt. . . ." Subsequently, under the heading "akk. *lahinmatu* = bibl. aram. *l'hen(t)ā*, 'Verwalterin der Hofhaltung'", Landsberger, *Baumgartner Festschrift*, 198–204, advanced the claims of "Haushälter" and "Haushälterin" for respectively the male and female holders of the office, and noted that *abrakkūtu* in the Annals was probably the literary term for the vernacular *lahhinūtu*. In fact there is perhaps less divergence in the above conclusions than may at first sight appear; at all events it is as keepers or custodians of their master's properties and effects, or more generally perhaps as "house stewards" or "house-keepers", that the eunuch *lahhinus* are presented in this account.

Passages which throw light on the nature of their work are not numerous, but

³²⁴ P. 155, ii, 6, written LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ-ni ÌR KUR whence also the plural *lahhināni* appears for the first time.

it is obviously necessary to include Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, 24, 8 ff., a passage discussed also by Deller, *Or. NS* 31, 226–227, and paraphrased in *CAD* A/1 295. We read:

uppē hurāšu ḡšsikkāt ḡšdalāte pa-tu-ú
 ṭūḡlu-bu-su šu-kut-tu šá ilāni gab-bu
 a-ma-ru mu-dam-mi-qa-a-ti
 ḡššil-ta-ḡe nadānu (SUM.nu)
 a-nu-ut bīti gab-bu na-ša-ru
 ṭūlāḡ-ḡi-nu pu-tu-ḡu na-ši

Despite a few uncertainties this is thought to mean: “The *lahḡinu* is responsible for the good repair(?)³²⁵ of the door thongs,³²⁶ goldwork and nails of the doors, for attending to the whole of the gods’ clothing and jewelry, for presenting to the gods the *mudammiqāte* and arrows (for their decisions by lot),^{326a} and for the safe-keeping of all the utensils of the temple.” The passage relates to temple responsibilities, but it would not be difficult to think that *lahḡinus* of a royal staff had keeper-ship duties of a similar kind.

A further aspect of their work is illustrated by *KAV* 114, edited by Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, 29. In this letter the king writes (8–9) *i-na muḡḡi na⁴muḡgarrē šá ina bīt ṭūlāḡ-ḡi-ni*, “concerning the *muḡgaru* stones which are in the (store)house of the *lahḡinus*”, and concludes (18–20), *am-mar ša a-na dul-li na-da-a-nu ṭābu-ú-ni id-du-nu*, “they may issue as much as it is proper to give out for the work in hand”.

There are at least two texts also which associate *lahḡinu* and *šakintu*. For the first of these, ND 2309, 5–7, reference may be made to *Iraq* 16, Pl. VII. But more instructive with regard to duties is the letter ND 2703 (ed. Saggs, *Iraq* 27, 28–29), which, with the necessary alteration of ṭūšaknu to ṭūlahḡinu in line 5, reads after the address: (5) ṭūlahḡinu(NINDA) ša mišā-kín-te (6) i-tal-ka: iq-ṭi-bi-a (7) ma-a ḡšḡutāru(GIŠ.PA) (8) ḡšḡup-ni-nu (9) ka-nu-nu ṭa-sa-lu erī (10) ša ekalli: ša-ar-qu, “A house steward of the *šakintu* (-princess) has just come to me, saying, ‘a mace, chest, charcoal-burner and copper bath(?) belonging to the palace have been stolen’.” The passage is thought to be relevant to the point at issue in that no official could more appropriately report on the theft of missing items than one responsible for their safe-keeping.

25. The niš ekalli: (3) Men of the “Second House”

As with the eunuch *lahḡinus* this section is likewise devoted to a single entry, that of the *ša bīti šenē* (or, *šenē*). The group are found on Pls. 14, 9; 9, i, 13; and commonly, the writing being *ša é ii-e* in all occurrences; authority for the vowel-

³²⁵ Thus suitably, but without real defence.

³²⁶ A word *uppū* meaning a small metal tube(?) used in medicine has been known since the publication of Thompson’s *AMT* (see *CAD* H 195, and Salonen, *Hausgeräte* 46), whence Deller’s “der goldenen Schlüsselochkanäle” is understandable but not convincing. For *uppū* (2), ex Sum. *ūb*, as a small leather strap or thong associable with doors cf. W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 248–249.

^{326a} The reference is thought to be to a practice evidently familiar at Nuzi (H. Lewy, *Or. NS* 11, 210) and known among Arabs as *istiḡsām*, whereby “various answers to a question to be decided by the gods were inscribed on arrows; these arrows were shaken in a quiver, and the answer inscribed on the arrow falling out of the quiver was considered the decision rendered by the gods”.

harmonized *šenē* (from *šanē*) comes from the bread lists (cf. p. 155) where the corresponding entry is written [*ša bi-*]⁷ *šenē*(ŠEN)-⁷*i*. For the inference that such men are to be placed in the *niš ekalli* of royal households reference may again be made to ND 2631 (p. 28) where *ša bīti šenē* are included amongst *niš bīti* personnel.

What little is known of the group is derived mainly from procedural instructions for the feast of emirs (cf. Müller, *MVAG* 41/3, 75 ff., and above, p. 43) where they had the tasks of standing about the tables of the king’s sons and the emirs holding either torches or fans—in the latter case presumably to dispel smoke and fumes since the event itself took place in winter (Ṭebet). From this evidence the *CAD* (B 296) use “footmen” as a translation and elsewhere “servants” (Z 133), and von Soden, *AHW* 134, has “Lakai” (Eng. *lackey*).

However, it can now be said that these translations underrate the seniority of the *ša bīti šenē*. Thus Pl. 11, 7 ff., for example, provides the sequence

ša ekalli(SAL.É.GAL)
 quru-bu-ti
 ṭūrab rēši(GAL.SAG)
 [ša bīt]i šenē-e

that is, they follow the queen, the guard of emirs and the Grand Chamberlain of the household, groups of the highest standing at the Assyrian court. Other tablets in the collection give them an equally high place; thus on Pl. 9, i, 8 ff., the order is the queen, the harems, the court eunuchs, the *ša bīti šenē*, and the guard of emirs. The further point has to be made that, since the *ša bīti šenē* are mentioned on ND 6213 (Pl. 41), which is dated to the mid-summer month of Ab (cf. in Chapter I, p. 3), men so designated were under no obligation to go on the annual campaigns.

From the above considerations it becomes attractive to think that the *ša bīti šenē* were *emeriti* (to use the Latin term)—old soldiers, probably emirs, whose days of campaigning were over. On this explanation their presence at the feast of emirs would be altogether understandable, although if we know what they might do on this day there is yet nothing to say of what they might have done on any other.

As to their name, “the men of the Second House”, little can be said. A term *bītu šaniu* is twice attested in Johns’ texts (cf. dictionaries) as forming part of a large dwelling-house, but it is not known what its main function was. A possibility that the *bītu šaniu* of the wine lists is to be identified with the North-East courtyard of the Calah *ekal māšarti* adjacent to the workshops derives from a text noticed by Oates, *Iraq* 24, 22.

26. The Cook-boys and their kind

At the end of what is preserved of obv. col. ii of ND 2489, the larger of the two tablets which comprise the Sargon bread lists, there occur the following entries:

[x] qa ṭūšá GA-⁷šú⁷-nu
 [] [ṭū]šá billi-šú-nu

The first of these entries evidently concerned the “milk boys”, the capitalized GA probably reading *zizibi-* in the light of the equation GA.MEŠ = *zizibu* of *AfO* 18,

329, 117, and the writing *ša zi-z[i]-bi[-šú]* of this volume, Pl. 49, 14. With regard to the second line my feeling is that *billu* was "barley-water",³²⁷ although it evidently could have a flavouring(?) of *ūkaršu*.³²⁸ In any event the *ša billi-šunu* were those who concocted it.³²⁹

The general pattern of such names, *šá x-šú*, is now well established and many examples are known.³³⁰ Reference has already been made in this chapter to the *ša gaššāte-šu*, "firewood man" (p. 30), to the Bab. *ša nukušši-šu* and Ass. *ša nakassī-šu*, "pin-maker" (p. 69),³³¹ and to the *ša halluṣti-šunu* thought to mean "armourers" (p. 73). In *ABL* 167, 17, there is mention of a *ša sāgāte-šu* who evidently made sacking or sackcloth (A. Salonen, *Hausgeräte* I, 189, under *sāgu*). Additionally, the *ša kurri-šu* (uncertain) and the *ša šalli-šunu* who worked on a leather product are recorded in *ADD* 953, iv, 3 and 5, as recipients of wool from the [(a) *barakku*'s?] stores at Nineveh; and from ND 10009 (this volume, Pls. 46 ff.) it is seen that the *ša me-de-li-šú*, or "bolt-maker?" (line 19), the *ša a-ku-si-šú*³³² (line 22), the *ša bil-li-šú* (line 23) and the *ša hu-s[i]ni^{meš}-šú* (line 24), were issued with appropriate items from the (a) *barakku*'s stores at Calah.

All of the above examples occur in NA texts, and the majority represent persons who found employment in royal households. The type itself has many parallels in NB, which include *ša tābtī-šu*, "salt boy", *ša mutāqi-šu*, "the sweetmeat boy",³³³ and *ša nāši-šu* whose "beers" involved dates, dried figs and raisins.^{333a} To the still enigmatic place names typified by *ša imēri-šu* for Damascus and *ša bēri-šu* for the provincial capital of the *rab šaqi*, there are now to be added from new texts *uruša hābi-šu* and *uruša rāṭāti-šu*, both evidently lying in the province of Kurba'il.³³⁴

Amid such a conglomerate of names—which do not claim to be exhaustive—it may never be possible to reconstruct anything but a general picture for the household of our interest. Whatever their numbers or their trades there is no case for supposing that the *ša x-šú* personnel of a royal household messed together as a group; indeed, we have seen that there is already evidence to the contrary. But within the wine lists a group of "cook-boys" can be isolated, and they seem sufficiently of a kind with the class as a whole to warrant a statement here.

The term in question is *šá pa-ḥi-za-ni* (as it is written), which occurs in the wine lists on Pls. 26, 12, and 39, ND 10064, edge 3. As far as personally known the profession *pāḥizu* occurs otherwise only in *ABL* 166, 3—a reference kindly brought

³²⁷ Based principally on the same evidence as was presented by Mme. Cassin in *RA* 52, 21 f., who, however, saw *billu* as a kind of beer.

³²⁸ See Pl. 47, 23.

³²⁹ A note on *billu* will also be found against line 25 of Gadd's "At the Cleaner's" (*Iraq* 25, 187), but the *bi-lam* which inspired it seems probably to mean, "bring (the washing) back to me".

³³⁰ Cf., *int. al.*, A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*¹, 278, note 8; *JAOS*, Supp. 10, note 29; *JCS* 21, 244; and Landsberger, *Baumgartner Festschrift*, 186 f.

³³¹ For a further example cf. *ADD* 619, 8, emending the copy, and *ARU*, No. 47, 8, accordingly.

³³² It is difficult to pronounce judgment on the merits of A.TÜG.SI, Salonen, *Hausgeräte* II, 176 f., but the traditional reading of *akusi* is adopted in this volume.

³³³ Sum. LÜ.*ninda-ku,-ku*, *Afo* 18, 83, 240, and translated "Konditor", Landsberger, *Baumgartner Festschrift*, 187; cf. also *MSL* XII, 101, 159 and 239, iv, 12.

^{333a} Cf. authorities mentioned in note 330, and *AHw* 761.

³³⁴ J. N. Postgate, *Royal Grants*, No. 27, 11 and 10. For the *ša rāṭāti-šu* in a text from Assur, see A. Salonen, *Hausgeräte* II, 201.

to my attention by S. Parpola—and the obverse of the letter, as here newly interpreted, reads as follows:

- (1) *a-na šarri be-lī-ja*
- (2-3) *arad-ka mIbašši-il šá pa-ḥi-za-ni*
- (4) *ka-*baba^{meš} 335 ša a-ḥer-u-ni*
- (5) *a-na abi-ka aka(AK)-bu-u-ni*
- (6-7) *aḥu(ŠEŠ)-u-a ina muḥ-ḥi de-e-ki*
- (8-9) *mar(DUMU)-a-a ina pi-i-šú ta-bi-iḥ,*

"To the king, my lord, your servant Ibašši-il, the *pāḥizu*. The kebab-(goats?) meat which I prepare for you and which I used to grill for your father goes *ah! u'a!* at the killing, is slaughtered with bitterness and woe in its mouth."

This passage, which the writer evidently sees as a fitting overture to the subsequent recital of his own griefs, already tells much about the verb *pāḥāzu*, and relevant also is *ABL* 49, rev. 13-16: (13) *ūmāte* (UD.MEŠ-te) *an-na-a-te ša ka-nu-ni* (14) *immeru la ū-šap-ḥu-za* UD.X.KÁM (15) *ina nu-bat-ti ka-nu-nu* UD.XI.KÁM UD.XII.KÁM (16) *siskur.meš dan-na-a-te*, " (But) the grilling of sheep is not performed throughout the days of the *kanūnu*-festival. The *kanūnu*-feast is (scheduled) (only) for the evening meal of the tenth day; on the eleventh and twelfth days there are the *dannāte* sacrifices."

We conclude that *pāḥāzu* in NA probably means "to grill meat (over a charcoal fire)", possibly on skewers in the traditional *kabābu* technique, and that the *pāḥizāni* were "cook-boys" in this sense. Their craft still flourishes in many parts of the Eastern world.

27. Some Men and their Animals

A number of individual entries, found separated from each other in the wine lists and referring to groups not administratively related, may conveniently be brought together in this section.

There is, firstly, in Pl. 36, 13, a reference to "Il-erība, the shepherd" (*mDINGIR.SU LÚ.SI[P]A*). He was doubtless the same person as "Erība-il, the shepherd" (*msu.DINGIR LÚ.SIPA*) who is mentioned on a tablet from the Governor's Palace (ND 471, *Iraq* 13, 113). It is only known of him otherwise that his "mess" received the daily wine ration of 1 *qū*—while he was in Calah. The fact that he is not mentioned elsewhere in the collection, and even on Pl. 36 finds company, between rule-lines, with a messenger, may suggest that he was very much a man of the road.

A new entry concerns the *ša kalbi^{meš}* or *ša kalbāte(?)*, written *ša UR.KU.MEŠ*. The relevant lines are Pl. 23, ND 10050/2, 6, and Pl. 34, rev. 6. By the definition of the term itself they were the "keepers of the (king's) hunting dogs", and some further details of the occupation, as on the dogs, may be obtained from one of the familiar palace reliefs of Ashurbanipal's reproduced on Pl. 4(a). The entry *mMa-ši-i[l š]a kalbi* of Pl. 40, ND 10038, 3, evidently preserves the name of a senior keeper in the time of our documents.

Concerned also with hunting, although of a different kind, were the *ušandūs*, or

³³⁵ The text has KA.KA.MEŠ which is here emended to KA.*KÁ.MEŠ in the light of the corresponding verb of line 5.

"bird-catchers". They occur in the texts on Pls. 8, ii, 8; 12, 5; and 7, lines 24-25. The latter reference is of importance, reading

3 qa LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ.MEŠ
2 qa ^mAḫi-damiq LÚ.MUŠEN.DU

and from it one learns that, at the time of the New Year appointments—the opinion has already been expressed that the text concerned relates to this period—there were two groups of bird-catchers in the city. In fact the probability is that Aḫi-damiq and his men were not regularly domiciled at Calah; like "Abdā, the Aramean leather-worker", and "Mušallim-Marduk, the weaver", it seems to have been the practice to describe certain external or extramural groups in terms of the name and profession of the senior man. But in any case the bird-catcher cannot normally have been a man of the city. He had to be far afield in the out-country before dawn, perhaps even before city gates were opened. In the Shamash Hymn, line 142, he is mentioned along with other hunters: *ina pu-un-zir-ri lūušandū i-maḫ-ḫar-ka*, "With his bird net the fowler stands before you, (O Shamash)"—and indeed by sunrise the best part of his day may have been over.

Mr. D. Kennedy of Paris kindly permits me to quote from the manuscript of his "Note sur l'auspex hittite":

"Le MUŠEN.DÙ n'a rien à faire avec les auspices. . . . Tous les contextes conviennent à la traduction "oiseleur": il jette un filet, il attrape des oiseaux, il a des oiseaux chez lui, il se trouve avec des pêcheurs et des chasseurs,³³⁶ il a toutes sortes de filets et pièges pour exercer son métier et il a très souvent affaire aux volailles dans les textes économiques. Il est plutôt oiseleur que nourrisseur ou garde d'oiseaux/volailles puisqu'on dispose d'autres mots pour désigner ceux-ci."

Our next group is in fact concerned with one of the "other words" just mentioned, namely, the *mušākil iššūrē* or "bird feeders". Whatever the reason they do not appear as such in extant portions of the lists: perhaps they were included in the resident group of bird catchers mentioned above.

From Nimrud texts three points can be made concerning bird feeders at Calah in different periods. Firstly, from ND 2803,³³⁷ evidently an accounting summary of issues from the *rab kisite* or fodder minister, and which mentions *mušākil iššūrē* (in some part restored) in lines 6, 16 and 26 of obv. col. 1, it is learnt that meal for the king's birds was obtained from that source. In fact the same situation is deducible from the Alalakh ration texts where ŠA.GAL MUŠEN.ḪÁ for birds or ŠA.GAL UZ.MUŠEN for geese is frequently associated with fodder entries for horse or oxen.³³⁸ Secondly, the reverse of ND 3476³³⁹ evidently reads:

*naphar 8 *mu-ša-kil iššūrē*³⁴⁰
naphar 2 sāt 8 qa x x
ka-aja-(t[u], erased)-te

³³⁶ That is, in lexical texts, not here cited.

³³⁷ B. Parker, *Iraq* 23, Pl. XXIX.

³³⁸ As in D. J. Wiseman, *JCS* 13, Nos. 243, 7 ff. and 10 ff.; 246, 26-27; 251, 5-6, etc.

³³⁹ Wiseman, *Iraq* 15, Pl. XIV.

³⁴⁰ Read otherwise by E. Reiner, *JNES* 19, 25.

whence it would seem that *g/kajātu*, probably "farina", was in use as a bird feed.³⁴¹ Finally, and important for the location of the birds at Calah in at least the seventh century, is a phrase from the *rab ekalli's* archive, "fodder for the birds of the *ekal māšarti*" (reported by Oates, *Iraq* 21, 110). A standard source for the domestic and certain wild fowl of ancient Mesopotamia is Landsberger's study in *WO* III, 246-268.

In connection with larger animals it may be noted that a specialist group of "donkey-boys of the (royal) stud", *lūrādi imērē ša ma'assi*, occur only in the bread lists (p. 156, ND 2489, ii, 15), while one of the witnesses mentioned on the seventh century ND 2326³⁴² may serve to draw attention to the point that, whatever the reason, the *mušākil alpē* does not appear in extant portions of the wine lists. It may be recalled that "100 oxen and 1,000 calves" were provided by Ashurnāširpal on the occasion of the inaugural festivities at Calah in (probably) 879-878 B.C.³⁴³ Esarhaddon³⁴⁴ wrote: *alpē immerē ana nīqēti belī-jā u nap-tan šarru-ti-jā ina māt Aš-šur ri-i-tū ta-ab-tū ú-šá-aš-b[it]*, "the captured herds of) oxen and sheep I placed in the best pastures of Assyria for the sacrificial meals of my lords (the gods) and of my own royal mess". A *mušākil alpē ša šarri* was represented in Nebuchadnezzar's household.³⁴⁵

28. Proper Names

Commonly in the wine lists, although only once in what is preserved of the bread lists, a number of individual groups are referred to by the proper name of a senior man (or woman) and not by a designation of rank or profession. With regard to the men whom they represent it is possible to make some progress towards a simple classification in general terms.

Of assistance in the matter is the amount of the wine ration indicated against a given name. In a majority of cases the amount is either 1 *sūtu* or 1 *qū*: thus one is permitted to think that persons so represented had either a high, or a relatively low, standing within the household. Section 2 has already considered the names of Šilli-Ishtar, Adad-uballit and Mannu-ki-Adad who are presumed to have been emirs. But not previously mentioned are Nabû-šarḫu-ilāni (Pls. 17, 13; 20, 6; and 36, 9) who lived in the times of Adad-nirari III, and Shamash-nāšir (Pls. 13, 11, and 16, 50) whose references extend also to the reign of Shalmaneser IV. Both received a ration of 1 *sūtu*—although in the case of Nabû-šarḫu-ilāni [x] *qa* is also recorded—and 1 *sūtu* was likewise the ration of ^mGab-bu[-] who is mentioned on Pl. 22, 20. It is reasonably certain, however, that this person was a deputy minister or specifically the deputy to the *rab karāni* whose title may be restored in the preceding line.

By comparison proper names listed against a daily ration of 1 *qū* are far more in

³⁴¹ Cf. H. Otten, *MDOG* 94, 15, note 51; *AHw* 466, under *kātu*, "etwa 'Graupen'"; also L. A. Moritz, *Grain-mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity*, 164-165 (farina fed to pheasants in Roman times).

³⁴² Published B. Parker, *Iraq* 16, 42.

³⁴³ Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, 43, 106.

³⁴⁴ Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 106, iii, 35-36.

³⁴⁵ E. W. Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection*, No. 89, 18.

evidence. Of these entries it may be said that, if it is right to assume that 1 *qû* was the standard ration for a unit of ten men (cf. especially on pp. 117 f.), then the proper names in many cases were those of "decurions" or *rab ušurte*. This term probably even occurs in the lists on Pl. 10, ii, 14, where 1 *q[a]* ^{ma}*Nabu-u-aja* *r[ab 10-t]*^e may suitably be restored; it is followed by five lines which have KIMIN in the equivalent end position, the measure of wine indicated being similarly 1 *qû*. The *rab ušurte*, and Babylonian *wakil ušurte*, is discussed by E. Salonen, *BiOr* XXV 3/4, 160 (cf. also *CAD* A/1 279), and the appointment has important associations with city gates, and presumably therefore with guard duties, as indicated by Borger, *OLZ* 63, 32, and Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 87, rev. 37. Nevertheless, not all the 1 *qû* entries can be regarded as referring to military personnel of this kind. Even if the senior man was still called a *rab ušurte* there are non-military aspects of the use of this term (Weidner, *Tell Halaf*, 33, note 54; *CAD* E, 365; Oppenheim, *Centaurus* 14, 106 f.); and small groups of craftsmen, etc., are probably to be allowed their place.

For the most part the proper names of the wine lists are of a normal kind, as may be seen from the transliterations of Chapter IV. A few which seem worthy of comment are the following:

^m*La-im-ba-ma-la*, Pl. 32, 9, probably harmonized from *Lā-imbī-māla*, and evidently meaning "He did not call once". It is likely that "he" meant the as yet unborn child.

^m*Ilī-iz-qûp-kēni* (GUB-n[i]), Pl. 32, 13, a new name but composed of familiar elements and recalling the later Nabû-zuqup-kēni, *APN* 164 f.

^m*Man-nu-ki-Di-iš-diš*, Pl. 6, iii, 3, "Who is like Dišdiš?" The reading appears to be correct but no trace of a deity(?) Dišdiš has been found in the pertinent literature.

^m*Am-ba-ḥi*, Pl. 24, 9, is probably a foreign name and of non-Semitic origin.

^m*Bur-zi-n[a-n]*ⁱ, Pl. 8, rev. 12, recalls the *Burzināni* of Postgate's *Royal Grants*, 87, rev. 34, and could even refer to the same man since both texts belong to the Adad-nirari III period. The name seems to be otherwise unknown.

ⁱ*Qa-nu-un-tum*, Pl. 11, 19, is paralleled by the *Qanuntu* which occurs twice on a late MA harem-list(?) from the reign of Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur published by Weidner, *AfO* 10, 42-43.

[ⁱ*P*]*a-pa-[d]u-du*, Pl. 35, 13, appears to be new; although possibly masculine, the name has been indicated as feminine for reasons of spacing.

29. The *nīš mātāti*

It is the task of this section to give some account of the principal foreign groups on the ration strength of the king's household at Calah during the period of the documents. The writing *nī-iš ma-a-ti* which translates Sum. *un-kur-ra-ke*₄ in an unpublished fragment from Kuyunjik, K 5215, line 6, has determined the form of the first element in the phrase under discussion.

The list tabled below is panoramic in the sense that the names cover portions of two reigns and some thirteen years of time. Where the figure is preserved numbers may be determined from the wine ration which varies from 2 *qû* in the case of the Gutians (*Qūtiāju*) to 30 *qû* (3 *sāti*) in respect of the Elamites. A few broken entries are omitted, but with otherwise complete references the list is as follows:

[^{kur} <i>A</i>] <i>n²-di-aju</i>	7, iv, 3
^{kur} <i>Āra-ma-aju</i>	6, iii, 10
^{uru} <i>Arap-ḥa-aju</i>	6, iii, 2
[^{uru}] <i>A-rap-ḥa-aju</i>	31, 25
^{kur} <i>Bār-sip-a[ju]</i>	38, 12
[^{ku}] <i>Dan-ni-aju</i>	31, 23
[^{ur} <i>D</i>] <i>a²-ni-i ša bit-a-nim</i>	12, 16
^{kur} <i>Elam-m[a-aju]</i> ^(u)	18, 8; 36, 2
^{kur} <i>Gar-ga-mes⁷-aju^u</i>	18, 17
^{kur} [<i>H</i>] <i>a⁷-za⁷-za-aju</i>	12, 18
^{kur} <i>Kaš-šá-aju</i>	6, iii, 9
^{kur} <i>Ku-mu-ḥa-aju</i>	6, iii, 7
^{kur} <i>Ku-sa-a-e</i>	20, 21
^{kur} <i>Ma-da-aju</i>	26, 7
^{kur} <i>Ma-di-ra-aju</i>	6, iii, 9; 31, 22
^{kur} <i>Ma-na-aju</i> ^(u)	16, 51; 18, 16; 38, 9
^{kur} <i>Me-li-d[a]-aju</i>	16, 52
^{kur} <i>Mu-šir/*šur-aju</i>	12, 14
[^{kur} <i>Q</i>] <i>u-ti-[a]ju</i>	31, 24
^{kur} <i>Qû-ti-a[ju]</i>	40, ND 10038, 4
^{kur} <i>Sa-ma-al-aju^u</i>	18, 18
^{kur} <i>Sa-me-ri-na-aju</i> ^(u)	7, iv, 4; 18, 15
^{kur} <i>Sa-meri-na-aju</i>	12, 15
^{kur} <i>Si-in-g[i-ir-aju]</i> ^(?)	26, 7
^{kur} <i>Su-ḥa-aju</i>	28, ND 10031, 4
^{kur} * <i>Ur-ár-ṭa-aju</i>	13, 13

It may never be possible to determine all the circumstances which lay behind the presence of the above groups at Calah in early eighth-century times. The list contains many problems and not all of them are resolved in the arguments which follow. But in general it would seem that the majority of the groups mentioned were selected prisoners of war—and as such they possibly had two main functions. In the first place, being as foreign as the trees of the gardens and the animals of the zoological collections, as the musicians of the *ṭabalkhanas* and the princesses of the harems, their very presence was probably a necessary part of the exoticism of an Oriental court and the vanity of kings. In the second place they will have provided a force of skilled labour for royal building projects.

With regard to the latter point it will be recalled from the several Esarhaddon cylinders ³⁴⁶ that the restoration of the walls, gates and palaces of Calah in 676,

³⁴⁶ D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 24, 54 ff. = R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, pp. 32 ff.; P. Hulin, *Iraq* 24, 116 ff.; A. R. Millard, *Iraq* 23, 176 ff.

and of the *ekal māšarti* in 672, was undertaken *ina niš ki-šit-ti mātāti ša ina tu-kul-ti* ^d*Aššur bēli-ja ik-šu-da qa-ta-aja*, “by the peoples of the conquered territories that, under the weapons of my lord Ashur, my own arms had conquered”. About the same time Esarhaddon repaired also the *ekal māšarti* at Nineveh, employing *niš mātāti hu-bu-ut* ^g*qāšti-ja*, “peoples of the (conquered) territories, captives of my personal staff”.³⁴⁷ Sennacherib was even more explicit, recording,³⁴⁸

te-ne-šet kurKal-di ^l*A-ra-me kurMan-na-aja kurQu-e* ^ù *kurHi-lak-ku kurPi-lis-ti* ^ù *kurŠur-ri šá a-na ni-ri-ja la ik-nu-šú as-su-ḥa-am-ma* ^g*al-lu* *tup-šik-ku ú-ša-aš-ši-šu-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu libittu*,

“I deported (from their lands) Chaldeans, Arameans, Manneans, (men of) Cilicia and Hilakku, of Philistia and Tyre, who had not submitted to my yoke; I made them to bear <mattock> and *tupšikku* and they made bricks.”

In the light of such passages it would seem that the *niš (kišitti) mātāti* were used principally as a labour force with tasks which included brick-making, building and perhaps stone-cutting.³⁴⁹ A special assignment was the digging of the Patti-hegal canal in the ninth century: *niš kišitti(kur-ti) qāti-ja šaknat(GAR-nat) mātāti ša a-pi-lu-ši-na-ni* ³⁵⁰ . . . *al-qa-a ina lib-bi ú-šá-aš-bit ḥirītu ištu* ^{1d} *Za-ba elīti(AN.TA) aḥ-ra-a*, “My captive peoples and (other) personnel appointed by the countries that I rule . . . did I take; with them (*ina libbi*) I set to work (and) dug a canal from the Upper Zab . . .”.³⁵¹ Similarly Mesha, king of Moab, employed prisoners from Israel on the task of digging water channels for the city of “Qrchh”.³⁵²

We may now turn to a brief discussion of some of the names provided by the list. It seems firstly appropriate to think that the Manneans, who are three times mentioned, were captives from Adad-nirari's campaigns of either 808 or 807.³⁵³ The Medes may have been brought to the city after any of seven dates in the same reign³⁵⁴ when Media was the objective of the annual campaigns; on present evidence it does not seem possible to be more precise. During the Syrian campaigns of 806–804 stated objectives were respectively Arpad, which may be identified with Tell Rifa'at (cf. Chapter I, note 8), Hazaza (not identified), and Ba'li which has been identified with Baalbek (Honigmann, *RLA* I, 327–328), although this site has not produced any recognizable remains of pre-Roman date. Since *kur[H]a-za-za-aju* looks a good restoration in Pl. 12, 18, it is likely that prisoners were at least taken from the campaign of 805.

Attention may next be directed to the entries which concern the *Samerināju*, or “Samaritans”. There is some doubt, raised by an apparent reference to *mJa-a-su* *kurSa-me-ri-na-aja*, “Joash, king of Samaria”, in the new Rimah stela,³⁵⁵ as to

³⁴⁷ Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 59, 47–49, cf. Heidel-Oppenheim, *Sumer* 12, 28, 44–46.

³⁴⁸ Text of D. D. Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, 104, lines 52 ff.

³⁴⁹ As suggested above in Section 16.

³⁵⁰ In a literary text probably to be regarded as a “desonant” form for *apilūšināti*.

³⁵¹ Text of the Ashurnasirpal Stela, ed. Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, 24 ff., lines 33–37; cf. also Oppen-

heim, *ANET*³, 559, in some part re-interpreted.

³⁵² Moabite stone, line 25.

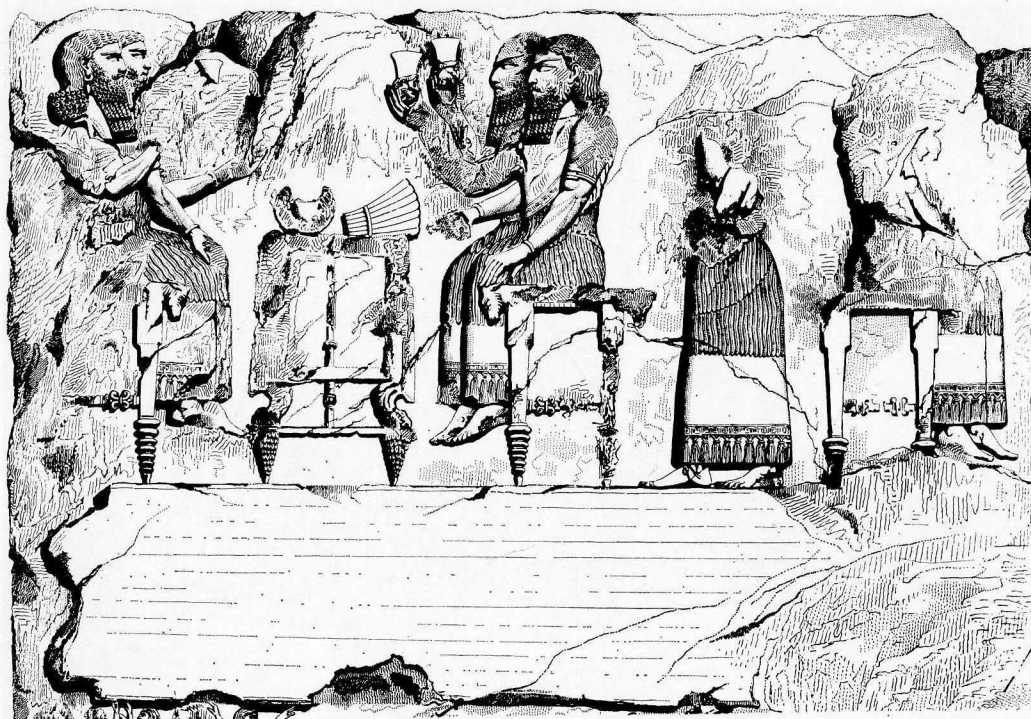
³⁵³ Information from the eponym chronicle, cf. most readily *RLA* II, 428 (increasing dates by one year).

³⁵⁴ 810, 801, 800, 794, 793, 790, 789.

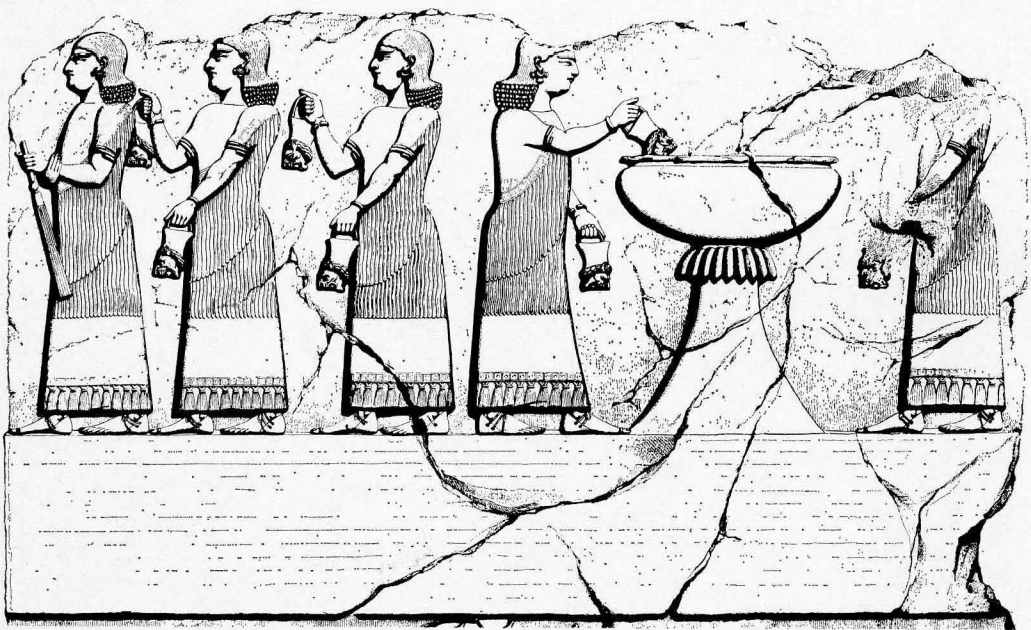
³⁵⁵ Ed. Stephanie Page, *Iraq* 30, 139 ff., and discussed further *Or.* NS 38, 457 f.



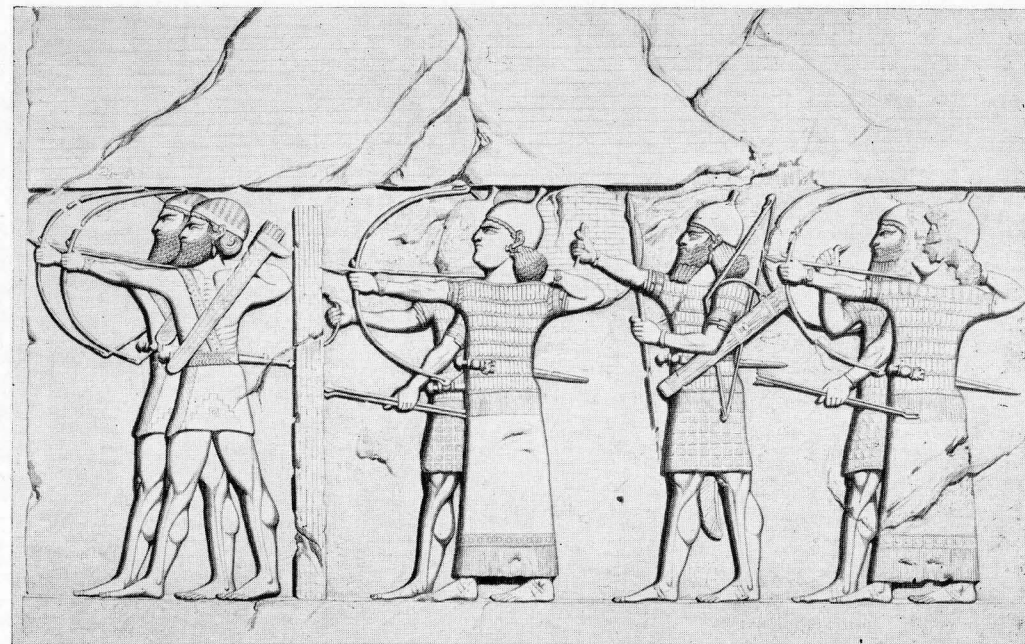
A scene probably depicting leading units of Ashurnasirpal's *qurubūti*, or Guard of emirs. [From the North West Palace at Nimrud.]



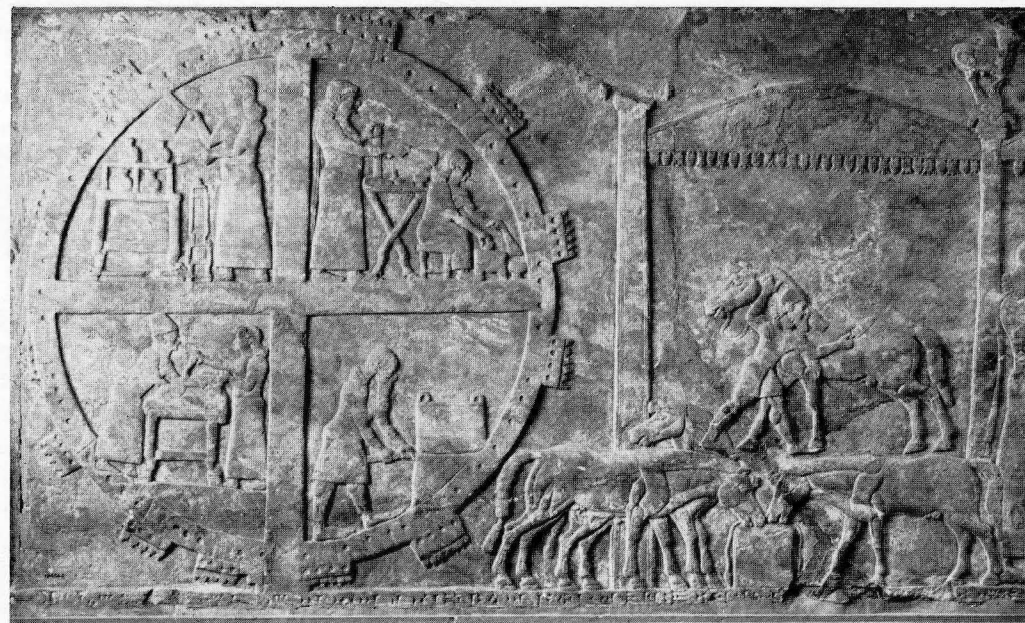
(a) Emirs, *rabâni*, of the king's mess in the time of Sargon, probably celebrating the sack of Mušašir. [From Khorsabad.]



(b) Sargon's cupbearers, *ša šāqi*, on the same occasion. [From Khorsabad.]



(a) The *ša mušēzibāti* (?) in action, shooting from behind portable screens from which they may have taken their name. [From Khorsabad.]



(b) Men of Ashurnasirpal's *niš ekalli*, in various activities. [From the North West Palace at Nimrud.]



(b) Officers, probably *ša luḫāri*, urging to their tasks the *šāb šāri*, or men of the king's levy. [From the Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh.]



(a) A *ša kalbi* with dogs. [From the Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh.]

whether Adad-nirari III made one or two expeditions to Samaria. The problem of the presumed second expedition is complex, and there appears to be some conflict of evidence. However, there is little doubt that the king was in Samaria in 803 (*sic*). In this connection the stela records (line 4-5), *ina ištēt šatti kurAmurru itti kurHati-te . . . ina šēpē-ja lu ú-šak-niš*, "in one and the same year I made Amurru and the Hatti land . . . to kneel at my feet", and the phrase *ana muḫḫi tam-tim*, "to the (Mediterranean) sea", which the eponym chronicle enters for the year 803 would be a suitable embrasive designation for a western campaign in two parts. On this explanation the *Samerināju* would have reached Calah in that year, and with them may have come also the men of Carchemish (*Gargamisāju*) and the Cilicians (*Samalāju*) who are mentioned with the Samaritans in one of the texts (Pl. 18). The Neo-Hittite states are represented also by men of Commagene (6, iii, 7) and Melidia (Pl. 16, 52), but there is some uncertainty as to the proper interpretation of these entries.

One further point has to be made regarding the captives of the Samarian campaign(s). If it is clear that Israelites had once drunk Calah's wine, one may wonder if men of Dan are also to be included in their number. The authority for this suggestion are the two entries *[ku]rDan-ni-aju* and *k[urD]a-ni-i ša bit-a-nim*, the latter occurring on Pl. 12, 16, immediately after an entry for the *Samerināju* (12, 15). Whatever may be thought of the proposal the following points are relevant. Firstly, it seems difficult to read *[ku]rDan-ni-aju* in any other way and the signs *k[ur] x ni-i ša bit-a-nim* in any case represent a people not elsewhere recorded in cuneiform sources. Secondly, in the OT the Danites occur as *had-Dāni* (five times) and *[D]a-ni-i* if correctly restored would correspond exactly to this form. Thirdly, it is not known how far Adad-nirari penetrated into Samaria—receipt of tribute is hardly the same thing as geographical conquest—but it is easy to imagine that captives should at least have been taken from the northernmost territory. No comment is offered on the phrase *ša bitāni*, literally "of the interior".

Of the remaining names *Madirāju* deserves the comment that it seems probably to be identical with the *Mandirāju* of ABL 168, rev. 23, while groups of *Mušurāju* and *Kūsā(j)e*, as Egyptians and Kushites, can only be regarded as captives if they should have come from representative communities of their countries living at the time in Western Asia. It may be noticed that the proper name *Kūsi* (written *mKu-si-i*) of Pls. 14, 21, and 33, 25, is doubtless to be regarded as a West Semitic form of the word "Kushite", comparable to the OT *Kūš*.

I turn finally to the last entry of the list, concerning the *kur*Ur-ār-ṭa-aju* (Pl. 13, 13). In this connection the date of the tablet, 779, is important. This date represents the fourth year of Shalmaneser IV, and since, according to the eponym chronicle, campaigns in the first four years of this reign were directed against Urartu, it is not greatly surprising that Urartean prisoners should have been taken on one of these occasions. However, an additional importance of the document is that the *Urartāju* are entered at the end of the tablet after a rule-line and no other foreign group is mentioned with them: Manneans, Medes, Samaritans, all appear to have vanished from the scene. The evidence is not quite conclusive since the central portion of the tablet is missing. But it seems probable nevertheless that, at the beginning of the new reign, a general release of prisoners had been proclaimed in

accordance with long-established tradition, and that the Urartians were first prisoners of the new administration.³⁵⁶

It is noteworthy that the Elamites, or ¹⁴*Elam-ma-aju*, are the one people apart from Babylonians who are mentioned on the bread lists (cf. p. 156, ND 2489, iii, 10).

30. *The Interpreters*

The preceding section will have made abundantly clear how many were the languages which were once spoken within the walls of Calah. Consequently it comes as no surprise to learn that, in the time of the wine lists, there existed a group of interpreters under "Nanī, the interpreter" (^m*Na-ni-i ta[r]-gu-^rma^r[-nu]*) as indicated by Pl. 32, line 8. In a recent study, I. J. Gelb³⁵⁷ has drawn attention to the numerous references which attest the existence of the profession in Mesopotamia in all periods, and shows that one of their activities was in large households which employed foreign personnel (pp. 95 and 103). On the evidence of his name Nanī himself will have been an Aramean.³⁵⁸

Thus is concluded the present statement on the king's household in which one group only, namely, the *ša ki-iš-ri ša* ^a*Šamaš* of Pl. 10, i, 26, and the *ki-šir* (= *kiširi*) *ša* ^a*Šamaš* of Pl. 14, 14, and three other occasions, has proved resistant to enquiry.

³⁵⁶ Cf. dictionaries under *andurāru* (*šakānu*), and specifically E. Weidner, *ZA* 43, 120 ff.; F. R. Kraus, *Edikt*, 195; and A. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* III, 91, under *ama-ar-gi*.

³⁵⁷ "The word for Dragoman in the Ancient Near East", *Glossa* 2:1, 93 ff.

³⁵⁸ Cf. K. Deller, *Or.* NS 34, 475, under para. 4).

CHAPTER III

ENLARGEMENTS OF THE PICTURE

The five independent studies which follow arise more or less directly from the findings of the previous chapter. The first is an attempt to integrate into a single scheme the three most senior officials of certain households and departments, thus adding a new dimension in the proposed stratification of the Assyrian capital city. The second contributes a note on the *Šelap(p)āju*. The third returns again to the all-important emirs, and as a probable guide for all periods lists the names and titles of many of the emirs in the service of Esarhaddon(?) based on as yet unedited texts from Nineveh. The fourth concerns the (*a*)*ḫarakku* and his establishment, based on new texts from Nimrud. The fifth is devoted to wine texts, the wine ration and other relevant details concerning wine at Calah, and will bring the thread of argument directly back to the wine lists before the transliterations of Chapter IV.

I. TRIANGLES OF ADMINISTRATION

To inaugurate the discussion of this section we may first refer back to the account given of the municipal authority early in Chapter II. In that account the first three officials of the organization were presented as:

- (1) the *ḫazannu*
- (2) the *ša muḫḫi āli*
- (3) the *tupšar āli*

On the authority of *ABL* 150 (pp. 8 f.) the *ša muḫḫi āli* was seen also to have been a *šaniu*, that is, a second-in-command, or deputy (to the city magistrate, *ḫazannu*).

Comparison with the temple organization as given in Chapter II, pp. 21 ff., reveals further that the three senior officials of a large temple may be listed in order as:

- (1) the *šangû*
- (2) the *ša muḫḫi bīti* (*ša bīt ili*)
- (3) the *tupšar bīti*

In this instance also we believe that the second official of the three might equally be referred to as the *šangû šaniu*, one argument being that only the latter official—and not the *ša muḫḫi bīti*—is mentioned among the senior priests of the *bīt kimahḫi* at Assur, as recorded in Chapter II, p. 23.

From the above examples a pattern is already beginning to form, and it finds support even in the king's household where the equivalent persons may be given as:

- (1) *šarru*
- (2) *ša muḫḫi ekalli* = *rab ekalli*
- (3) *tupšar ekalli*

Moreover, this table is additionally important because of its second line. The equation of MA *ša muḫḫi ekalli* and NA *rab ekalli* is already known (cf. E. Weidner, *AfO* 17, 263); it is paralleled also by *ša muḫḫi bitī* = *rab bitī* as indicated in Chapter II, p. 27 and note 106, and one may further propose the identity of *ša muḫḫi āli* and late NA *rab āli*, which means that the latter official was a member of the municipal authority. It seems less satisfactory to take *rab āli* as a variant of *rab alāni* (CAD A/1 389 f.) which indicated an official of the provincial authority.

Accordingly a team of three persons consisting of, firstly, the man in command, secondly, his lieutenant or overseer or whatever an appropriate term should be, and, thirdly, his scribe, may be thought to have been in charge of town, temple and Household affairs in Neo-Assyrian times. The following tables may now suggest that a large number of other institutions had the same structure.

The *ekal māšarti*:

- (1) *šarru*
- (2) *rab ekalli*
- (3) *ṭupšarru ša ekal māšarti*

In support of (2) one may refer to the Nimrud evidence outlined above, p. 78, with notes 296 and 297. For (3), cf. *ADD* 1141 (= *TCL* IX, 58), 57: *ṁQur-di-Adad* ¹*ṭupšarru ša ekal ma-šar-te ša uruKal-ḫi*, "Qurdi-Adad, Scribe of the *ekal māšarti* of Calah".

The *bītānu*:

- (1) *rab ekalli*
- (2) *ša muḫḫi bītāni*
- (3) *ṭupšar bītāni*

The relationship of (1) and (2) has been alluded to in Section 4 of *The King's Household* (Chapter II, p. 46). The office of *ṭupšar bītāni* is known to me only from *ADD* 575, 7, reading PN ¹*A.BA bit-an-[ni]*.

The *bābānu*:

- (1) *rab rēši*
- (2) *rab bitī ša rab rēši*
- (3) *ṭupšarru ša rab rēši*

ND 496 (copy Wiseman, *Iraq* 13, Pl. XVII), lines 35 and 37, provides authority for (2) and (3) and the latter occurs independently in *ADD* 1141 (= *TCL* IX, 58), 47.

The Queen's household:

- (1) *ša ekalli*
- (2) [*rab bitī ša ša ekalli*]
- (3) *ṭupšarru ša ša ekalli*

As far as is known, (2) is not yet established. For (3) cf. *ADD* 185, edge 1, and *ibid.* 1141 (= *TCL* IX, 58), 45.

The provincial authority:

- (1) *bēl piḫati ša GN*
- (2) *šaniu(-šu) = rab bitī ša GN*
- (3) *ṭupšarru ša bēl piḫati ša GN*

For (2) relevant passages are *ADD* 59, 14; 1141, 55; and *ABL* 746, 8-9, etc. The entry under (3) is attested by *ADD* 1141, 43, *ṁKab-ti-i* ¹*ṭupšarru ša* ¹*bēl piḫati ša uruKal-ḫi*, and it is to be noted that the *ṭupšar āli* of the municipal authority might have a title of similar pattern, e.g. *Ḫl-zal-bad-da ṭupšarru ša* ¹*ḫazāni* ¹*uruNinua*, *ADD* 814, 14. The scribe of the military governor is represented by the ¹*ṭupšarru ša* ¹*šakin māti* of a late NB text, Weidner, *AfO* 16, 42, No. 8, 15.

The *bit sukalli* ¹:

- (1) *sukallu (dannu/rabiu)*
- (2) *sukallu šaniu*
- (3) *ṭupšarru ša sukalli*

(1) and (2) require no comment. For (3) one may note the evidence of *ADD* 161, 13, where a certain Nabû-etir is seen to have had the title stated (written LÚ.A.BA *ša SUKKAL*).

The royal stables:

- (1) *rab urâte*
- (2) *šaniu ša rab urâte*
- (3) *ṭupšarru-šu*

(1) has been discussed in connection with the king's mess and in Section 9 of the King's Household.² (2) is of common occurrence in *ADD*: in particular a certain Nabû-eriba who was a *šaniu ša rab urâte* at Nineveh between at least 671 and 660 B.C. is found as a witness on no less than 18 documents of the period.³ For (3) cf. *ADD* 1030, iii, 10.

The ministries:

- (1) *rab karāni* (etc.)
- (2) *šaniu-šu*
- (3) *ṭupšarru-šu*

For the scheme as a whole reference may be made to *ABL* 42, rev. 11-12, already quoted above, p. 72, *la-a* ¹*rab karāni la-a* ¹*šani-u-šu la-a* *ṭupšarru-šu*, "neither the wine minister nor his deputy nor his accountant". It is presumed that other ministries were formed on similar lines but documentation at the present time is far from complete.

With the above schemes three further tables may be cited for comparison, the first being Old Sumerian. This table is taken from Salonen, *Agricultura*, 290, where the three senior officials of land administration in the Sargonic and Pre-Sargonic periods are given as:

- (1) *šabra-é*
- (2) *nu-banda*
- (3) *dub-sar-maḫ*

In this scheme (1) is translated "Superintendent" and (2) "Inspektor", although it is the plural form, *nu-banda-me*, which is actually presented. Attention may

¹ An invented term.

³ Further details may be found in K. L.

² Cf. above in Chapter II, respectively pp. 37 and 53. Tallqvist, *APN*, 149.

also be directed to the two schemes for the Ur III period present in Salonen, *ibid.*, p. 291.

We turn secondly to the royal household in ancient Israel where the three senior members may be given as:

- | | |
|-----|-------------|
| (1) | המלך |
| (2) | אשר על הבית |
| (3) | הספר |

The list corresponds closely to that given for the Assyrian king's household, presented in the third of the tables given above. For many details concerning (2) and (3) reference may be made to R. de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament* (= *Ancient Israel: its Life and Institutions*), Chapter VII. From the comparison it will be seen that when Hezekiah (II Kings xix, 2) "sent Eliakim, the majordomo, and Shebna, the scribe . . . unto the prophet Isaiah", he was in fact sending the second and third officials of his household. It seems likely, however, that the Heb. 'ašer 'al hab-bayit represents the Ass. *ša muḫḫi ekalli* = *rab ekalli* rather than the *ša pān ekalli* as de Vaux suggests. Similarly the title 'ašer 'al hā-'ir⁴ which occurs once only in II Kings x, 5, was probably the same appointment as the Ass. *ša muḫḫi āli*.

A final point of comparison is found within the divans of certain Arabic and Persian administrations, the officials concerned being:

- | | |
|-----|--------------|
| (1) | the w/vazīr |
| (2) | the mushrif |
| (3) | the mustaufī |

In the above scheme (1) represents the "minister" of the department, (2) was an assistant minister commonly translated either "inspector" (as Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 134) or "overseer" (*ibid.*, p. 140), and (3), as still to-day, was the "accountant".

It may be noticed, as a concluding thought, that the scribe or accountant appears as "third man" in all of the quoted schemes. One may wonder therefore if it is simply by coincidence that the "third men (of the chariot)" and a group of scribes occur together in Pl. 19, Edge, 1-2.

2. THE *Šelap(p)ājū*

The second enlargement of the chapter concerns the proposal made briefly above in Chapter II,⁵ that representatives of a foreign people called in Akkadian the *Šelap(p)ājū* were iron-smiths originating from the land of the Chalybes (Greek *Χάλυβες*) in the Pontus area south of the Black Sea.

In fact, one of the main problems of the word has been that, while it is obviously a gentilic formation and will thus indicate a people, its use in a majority of contexts is clearly to indicate the members of a specialized craft. Evidence in support of the latter point is provided by the entry of K.4395, ii, 2,⁶ where *lūŠelappājū* is followed

⁴ Cf. de Vaux in Chapter VIII, Section 5, "Local administration".

⁵ P. 65, in Section 17.

⁶ *Babyloniaca* 7, Pl. 5 = *MSL* XII, 238.

in a list of the NA professions by the *lūkutimmu*, "silversmith", and *lūpurkullu*, "stone-cutter". The point is also upheld by ND 2728 (ed. Parker, *Iraq* 23, Pl. XXIV and p. 46) where *Šelappājū* are listed between two kinds of carpenter (NAGAR = *nagāru*, *nan/mgāru*). Further, on ND 10009, 34 (this volume, Pl. 47), occurs the line [*lūŠ*]e-lap-pa-aju [L]Ú.SIMUG.URUDU LÚ.NAGAR.MEŠ . . ., i.e. the *Šelappājū* are placed in the company of bronze-smiths and carpenters.

Additionally we may turn to new evidence from the wine lists. On Pl. 12, the two entries of lines 9 and 12 read:

[] a-na *lūŠe-la-pa-aju ti-ša-bu*
[I ? DUG.Š]AB a-na LÚ.SIMUG AN.BAR ti-ša-bu

and in this connection it is also important to note the entry of Pl. 5, ii, 4-5:

[I] DUG.ŠAB *mŠul-m[a-l]a-mur*
a-na *mX x AN.BAR^{z11} te-ša-bi-^ršu[?]*

It is unfortunate that both *ti-ša-bu* and *te-ša-bi* in these passages remain to be explained.⁷ But in that the term is once associated with iron-smiths, once with the *Šelappājū*, and once—which may be saying the same thing—with a proper name which appears to contain the element *b/parzil*, "iron", the theory has obviously to be tried that the *Šelappājū* were iron-smiths also.

To think of a people of such a name who had a knowledge of iron is at once to remember the Chalybes who were famous in their day for this skill. Aeschylus in his *Prometheus*, 715, mentions οἱ σιδηροτέκτονες Χάλυβες "the iron-working Chalybes", and speaks of their iron as *χάλυψ*, *ibid.*, 133. In Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, v. 1, one reads of "the Chalybes, a people few in number and subject to the Mossynoecians, most of whom earned their livelihood from working in iron". Strabo, in his *Geography*, 12, 3, 19, explains that the mines in the (Pontus) region are situated in the wooded mountains immediately above the narrow seaboard. As a further classical source Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* VIII, 78, and IX, 202, mentions Pseudo-Aristotle, *de Mirab. ausc.* 25-26, and supplies many references to works of modern research in his chapter on "The early story of iron" in the latter volume. One general conclusion (IX, 216) is, "It would seem from the archaeological evidence that the earlier stage of iron-working, the production of wrought iron from the bloom obtained from ores, was an achievement of the mountain region of Armenia (between Taurus and Caucasus)". This general statement is repeated on p. 219, where the possibility of the Chalybes being the original developers of iron is considered—and left open.

In suggesting an identification with the Chalybes it has necessarily to be supposed that the initial *š* of *Šelappājū* anciently represented a sound whose exact nature it would be difficult to define, but which was foreign to Akkadian.⁸ With this proviso the correspondence of root letters is obviously close. It is relevant also that examples of the term in Akkadian do not appear to antedate the iron age: the earliest

⁷ So far as the form goes, *tišabu* appears to be the Assyrian infin. I/2 of *ašābu*, "to add, be or become additional", etc., but it is difficult to take the suggestion further.

⁸ Conceivably it was 'ks' or x, and one may

note that, while Gk. *chi* normally corresponds to Semitic *kaph*, in medieval Arabic and Syriac MSS. of the Melkite (Byzantine rite) community this letter was regularly transliterated as *š* (information of Dr. Sebastian Brock).

reference in time is possibly the entry ¹⁴*Še-lap-pa-ja-u* of *KAJ* 188, 22 (cf. E. Ebeling, *MAOG* VII 1/2, 29), which formed part of the Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur archive of the mid-twelfth century B.C.⁹ Furthermore it seems clear from the Xenophon passage that iron-working was a central industry of the country and this may explain the problem of why the single term *Šelappāju* came to indicate both a people and a profession.

But a final argument for the identification derives from an examination of certain "Chalybic" proper names. Actually the names of those indicated in documents as being *Šelappāju* are for the most part Assyrian, and it is perfectly understandable that many such families who found employment in Assyria were destined in time to become fully integrated into their adoptive country. A few names, however, seem undoubtedly to be foreign. They include:

^m*Ba-ti-i-ti* ¹⁴*Še-la-pa-aju*, *ADD* 125, rev. 2

^m*BE-a-šu* ¹⁴*Še-lap-pa-aju*, *ADD* 50, rev. 4

^m*BE-ki ?-ja* ¹⁴*Ši-lap-pa-ja*, *KAJ* 300, 5-6

^m*Ha-ḥa-a* ¹⁴*Še-lap-pa-aju*, *BT* 106, 18 (Parker, *Iraq* 25, 86 ff.)

^m*UR-ni-i* ¹⁴*rab Še-lap-pa-aju*, *BT* 106, 16 (Parker, *Iraq* 25, 86 ff.)

The above names—and it is to be noted that the last two stem from Balawat—provide too inadequate a sample for accurate linguistic analysis, but nothing would seem to prevent their being "Chalybic" which, on general considerations, one might expect to have been a Caucasian language.

Of the interesting proper name ^m*x x* AN.BAR²¹ of Pl. 5, ii, 5, we are content to say that the very unusual complement *zil* to AN.BAR may well indicate that the reading is the foreign word *b/parzil*, "iron", and not the Akk. loanword *parzillu*; and that since both the Hittite and Hurrian languages have known words for iron of other etymologies one could easily advance the hypothesis that *b/parzil* was a word native to Chalybic.

3. THE EMIRS OF AN ASSYRIAN KING

In Bezold's *Catalogue*, Vol. I, 274, the tablet K.1359 is described as "Part of a list of names of officials accompanied by their titles. The purpose is not yet known". Earlier Bezold published a type-set copy of the text in *PSBA* XI (1889), Pls. IV-V, describing it on p. 287 as "another list of 'names and titles of Officers' . . . in which the names of the officers occurring seem to be neither arranged according to a geographical, nor to a chronological, nor to an etymological order of enumeration, nor according to their rank". With the addition of K.13197 subsequently joined, the text was republished by Johns in *ADD* II, 857.

As far as we are aware no edition of the text has yet been given. But a sufficient reason for doing so here is provided by the heading of the section, and we may consequently hope to gain new insight into the variety of the offices which might be held by emirs in Assyrian times. In the light of the emirate theory it will be possible also to make a suggestion concerning the real purpose of the text.

The following transliteration may thus be given. It has been made directly

⁹ Other references are usefully collected in S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 333.

from the original and logograms have been rendered into Assyrian so as to assist the quick identification of the professions. For convenience the reconstruction follows the line numbering of Bezold and Johns, although this is not ideal in all respects.¹⁰

Col. i

[]-ni
[] x^a

Some 11 or 12 lines are missing here

	^m <i>D[a-</i>	
	^m <i>Šēpē-</i>	
5	^m <i>Aš-šur-</i>	] "ditto"
	^m <i>dNabū x x</i> []	¹⁴ <i>šaknu</i> (GAR-nu)
	^m <i>dNabū-zēr-</i> []	¹⁴ <i>quru-butu</i>
	^m <i>Mu-še-zib-Aš-šur</i>	¹⁴ <i>mukil appāti</i>
	^m <i>Rēm-a-ni-Bēl</i> (BE)	[¹⁴] ditto
10	^m <i>U U iq-bi</i> ^b	[¹⁴ <i>ša</i>] <i>rēši</i> (LÚ.SAG) ^c
	^m <i>Dan-nu-Nergal</i> (UGUR)	[¹⁴ <i>ša</i>] <i>šēpē</i> II
	^m <i>PI-la-an-za-zu</i>	[¹⁴ <i>x x</i>] ^d
	^m <i>MES x</i> [<i>x</i>]	[¹⁴ <i>šak</i>] <i>nu</i> ([GAR]-nu)
	^m <i>Šamaš-x</i> [(<i>x</i>)]	¹⁴ [<i>x x</i>]
15	^m <i>Bēl-nāšir</i>	¹⁴ <i>bēl</i> ^g <i>mugirri</i> (GIGIR)
	^m [<i>x</i>] <i>x</i> [<i>x x</i>]	¹⁴ <i>sukallu</i>
	^m <i>x</i> [<i>x x</i>] <i>a/za</i>	¹⁴ <i>šaknu</i>
	^m [<i>x x</i>] <i>x</i>	¹⁴ ditto <i>I-tu-'a</i>
	^m [<i>x x</i>] <i>x</i>	¹⁴ <i>quru-butu</i>
20	^m <i>Aš-šur-</i> []	¹⁴ <i>ša rēšu ummi šarri</i> ^e
	^m <i>Dū x</i> [<i>x</i>] <i>x</i>	¹⁴ <i>šaknu mār šarri</i>
	^m <i>Rēm-[a-ni-i]lu</i>	¹⁴ ditto ditto
	^m <i>PAP</i> [<i>x</i> (<i>x</i>)] <i>x</i>	¹⁴ <i>barakku</i> (AGRIG) <i>ummi šarri</i>
	^m <i>dNabū x</i> [<i>x</i>] <i>x</i>	¹⁴ <i>ša pān ekalli</i> (KUR) ditto
25	^m <i>Bāb[ilā]jūt</i>	¹⁴ <i>quru-butu</i>
	^m <i>Mu-še-[zib-Aš-š]ur</i>	¹⁴ <i>ša rēši</i> (LÚ.SAG) ^c
	^m <i>Šā-la-x</i> [(<i>x</i>)]-ru	¹⁴ <i>šaknu</i>
	^m <i>x x</i> [(<i>x</i>)] <i>x</i>	[¹⁴] <i>tašlišu</i> (III-šū)
	^m [<i>x x x</i> (<i>x</i>)]	¹⁴ GUR.A[B].BA
30	^m [<i>x x x</i> (<i>x</i>)]	¹⁴ ditto <i>ummi šarri</i>
	^m <i>Ištar-na'dat</i> (xv 1)	[¹⁴ <i>rab ki-šir</i>] ditto
	^m <i>Ab-di-Li-mu</i>	¹⁴ <i>ša r[ēši]</i> (LÚ.SAG) ^c
	^m <i>Bēl-ab-ušur</i>	¹⁴ <i>taš[lišu]</i> (III-šū)
	^m <i>dNabū-dūr-ušur</i>	¹⁴ <i>ša rēšu u[mmi šarri(?)]</i> ^e
35	^m <i>dNabū-aḥ-iddin</i>	¹⁴ <i>tašlišu mār[r šar]ri</i>
	^m <i>Išdi-Nergal</i>	¹⁴ <i>rab ki-šir rab r[ēši]</i>
	^m <i>Si-lim-ili</i>	¹⁴ ditto <i>mār šarri</i>

¹⁰ It is to be noted that, in col. 1, where there systems, the numbering of Bezold has been is a difference of one line between the two followed.

	^m Nabú-mu-še-ši	^l šani-u rab ʔupšarri(A.BA)
	^m Arad- ^a Ē-a	^l kalú
	Col. ii	
	^m x x DÙ	^l quru-butu
	^m x x	^l tašlišu mār šarri
	[^m x (x)] x	^l quru[-but]u
	[^m x]-nu	^l šaknu x x ^g MEŠ
5	[^m x x] PAP	^l quru-butu
	[^m d x (x)]-bēl-šumāti ^h	^l ša bit GÜB ¹
	[^m] x e	^l [rab ki-š]ir rab rēši
	[^m Iš]di-Ištar(xv)	^l ša [b]it šaknūti
	[^m]Arad-Na-na-a	^l quru-butu
10	[^m]Ha-nu-nu	^l rab ki-šir rab rēši
	[^m]Gu-lu-su	^l šaknu I-tu-'a
	[^m]Rém-a-ni-Ištar(xv)	^l bēl ^g šmugirri(GIGIR)
	[^m]Šēpē ^{II} -Adad(x)	^l tašlišu(III-šú)
	[^m Ka]b ?-ti-ili	^l ditto
15	[^m x] x iq-bi	(blank)
	^m x [x x x]	[ša rēš]u ? um[mi šarri]
	^m d [x x x]	^l quru-butu mār šarri
	^m x [x x (x)]	^l ditto ditto
	^m Nun [x x]	^l quru-butu
20	^m d x [x x]	^l šaknu Gu[r-r]i
	^m d Na[bú ? x x]	^l rab ki-šir mār šarri
	^m Gur ?[x x] ¹	^l quru-butu
	^m Ha-am x su	^l bēl ^g šmugirri
	[^m]x x [x] x	^l pētiu(NI.DUH) ^k
25	[^m]x x [x (x)]	^l mār *šipri ? ¹ ša rab rēši
	[^m r A ¹ -da- ^r a ¹	^l ša šēpē ^{II}
	[^m d ¹]Nabú-šar-ušur	[^l r]ab ki-šir rab rēši
	[^m]Iš]di-aḥḥē	[^l ú] ^r šarri ¹
	^m d ^r Aššur ? ¹ -nāšir	[^l ú x] x x
30	^m d Nabú-sa-lim	[^l ú q]uru-butu
	^m Sa-lam-a-nu	[^l ú rab] ki-šir ummi šarri
	^m [A]š-šur-šar-ušur	[^l ú (x)] x mār šarri
	^m Mu-tak-kil-Aš-šur	[^l ú (x)] x ummi šarri
	^m Ga- ^r da ¹ - ² i	[^l u]quru-butu
35	^m Man-nu-ki-aḥḥē	^l šaknu
	^m Išdi- ^a Sin	(no entry)
	^m Šul-mu-Bēl-la-āš-me	^l nuḥatimmu(MU)
	^m d Sin-šar-ilāni ^{meš}	(no entry)
	^m Tar-ḥu-un-da-pi-i	^l šaknu — uru ^x (x) ^m
40	^m Da-ni-i	[^l ú] ¹ šarri(A.BA)
	^m Mu-še-zib-Aš-š[ur]	[^l ú] x
	^m Arba-il[-aju]	[^l ú] x

	^m x [z]I.ZI.GA	(no entry)
	^m [^d]Nabú-šar-ušur	^l rab karāni
45	^m [La-]qi-pu	^l quru-butu
	^m [^d]MES-šar-ušur	^l ditto mār šarri
	^m [Mu]-še-zib-il	^l na-ki-su
	^m Ha-di-du	^l quru-butu
	^m Bu-lu-zak/q-ru	ša rēši(LÚ.SAG) ^c
50	^m Ar-ba-aju	^l bēl piḥati(EN.NAM)
	^m Aḥi-dūri(PAP.BAD)	^l gal-da-ni-ba-te ¹¹
	^m Aḥi-dūri(PAP.BAD)	^l rab ki-šir mār šarri
	Col. iii	
	^m x [x x (x)]	[^l ú]rab ki-šir rab rēši
	^m d Adad[x x]	[^l ú]quru-butu mār šarri
	^m Zi-z[i-i(?)]	[^l ú]pētiu(NI.DUH) ^k
	^m U-pa-qa[]	[^l ú]šaknu
5	^m Šēpē ^{II} -x [()]	[^l ú]nuḥatimmu
	^m Ša-bu-lu	[^l ú]pētiu(NI.DUH)
	^m x MEŠ šú	[^l ú]tašlišu ummi šarri
	[^m] []	^l [q]uru-butu mār šarri
	[^m] []	^l šak-nu
10	^m [^d x (x) mu-dam ?-]mī-iq	ditto
	[^m x x x]-gi	^l šaknu Elam-ma-aju
	[^m x x x]-šir	ditto ditto
	5 lines are here missing or fragmentary	
	^m d Nabú-šar-ušur	[^l ú x (x) umm]i šarri
	^m d Nabú-kil- ^r a ¹ [-ni]	[^l ú]mukil ¹ [ap]pāti
20	^m Bu di x [(x)]	[^l ú]nuḥatimmu Elam-ma-aju ¹²
	^m d Ištar-dū[ri]	[^l ú]quru-butu
	^m A-ta[-]	^l pētiu(NI.DUH) ^k
	[^m]x [x x]	[^l ú]rab ^r ki ¹ -šir
	[^m]x u x	[L]Ú.GIŠ.GIGIR DUH.MEŠ
25	[^m]x abu(AD)-u- ^r a ¹	LÚ ditto ditto
	[^m A]-da-la-a	LÚ ditto ditto
	[^m Bē]l-īpuš(DÙ-uš)	LÚ [x]
	[^m x]-šum-ukin(GEN-in)	^l pētiu(NI.DUH) ^k
	[^m Mu]-še-zib-il	^l šani-u rab rādi kib-si
30	[^m dM]ES-eriba(SU)	^l quru-butu
	[^m Qur]-di-Aš-šur ¹³	^l šaknu [m]ār šarri

¹¹ For this reading cf. CAD D 87 and G 20, but noting that *gal-da-ni-be must be read as gal-da-ni-bat/bata in the light of the several syllabic spellings now attested for the ending -ba-te. The profession had possibly to do with the large-scale husking of barley by a roasting process (discussed by L. A. Moritz, *Grain-mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, 1958,

xxi-xxii)—like the ša muḥḥi qalāte?

¹² The restoration has been largely inspired by the ^lnuḥatimmu kurKal-da-aju of the wine lists, Pl. 6, iii, 11.

¹³ In theory a restoration [^mMu]-šallim-Aš-šur would seem equally possible, but both Bezold and Johns restore in the form stated.

	^m [Šù]l-mu-Bēl	¹ ú ¹ ša ¹ šēpē ¹¹
	^m Ma[n]-nu-ki-Ištar-le'i	¹ ú ditto
	^m [I]l-dūri	¹ úša bīt GÜB ¹
35	[^m]	[¹]úbēl ^g š ¹ mugirri
	[^m (x x)] x Aš-šur	¹ ura[b] ¹ SIPA ? ¹ .MEŠ
	[^m x (x)]- ^a Adad(IM)	¹ ubēl ^g š ¹ mugir[ri]
	^m Kin(GEN)-a-ni-Ištar	¹ urab ki-šir mār šarri
	^m Ma[n]-n[u-k]i-Aš-šur	¹ umukil appāti
40	^m Šarru(LUGAL)-nu-ri	¹ ubēl ^g š ¹ mugirri
	^m Pap-pu-u	¹ ú ditto
	^m Ninurta(MAŠ)-DING[IR ?]	¹ uguru-butu ummi šarri
	^m Mar-du[k x (x)]	¹ ubēl ^g š ¹ mugirri
	^m A ši []	[¹ ú]x x šā ⁿ
45	[^m]	[¹ ú]] ummi šarri
	[^m]	[š]a rēšu ummi šarri ^e
	[^m]x x [x] x	¹ urab nikassī mār šarri

Col. iv

	^m Man-nu-ki-šarri(LUGAL)	¹ umukil appāti
	^m Nabū-šum-iddina	LÚ.GIŠ.GIGIR DUḪ.MEŠ
	^m Šarru(XX)-lu-dā-ri	¹ umukil appāti
	^m Nabū-dajjān(DI.KUD)	¹ urab ki-šir
5	^m Biri(BIR)-ja-ma-a	¹ umukil appāti ummi šarri
	^m Pal-ḫu-ú-še-zib	¹ ú [x x].MEŠ
	^m Arad- ^a Nabū	¹ urab ki-šir mār šarri
	^m Ḫa-a-si-ku	¹ ušašlīšu mār šarri
	^m Nabū-šar ₄ -uṣur	¹ urab ki-šir mār šarri
10	^m Il-ta-da-aḫ	¹ umukil appāti ummi šarri
	^m Marduk-eriba	¹ urab ki-šir rab r[ēšī]
	^m Ub-bu-ku	¹ ditto mār [šarri]
	^m Mar-di-i	¹ ditto [ditto]
	^m Šamaš-šal ¹ -lim	¹ ušani-u rab x [(x)]
15	[^m x []]	¹ urab ¹ é ? ¹ []
	^m Nergal-ú-ba[l-liḫ]	[¹ ú]
	^m Bēl-šar ₄ -uṣur	[¹ ú]
	^m Abi-līšir(AD.GIŠ)	[¹ ú]

^a dū or n]i ^b read possibly Šarru-iqbi although the two initial signs are indeed spaced out as properly indicated by Bezold ^c for reading cf. Chapter I, note 18 ^d traces resemble kak/dū (Bezold) rather than ni (Johns) ^e unless ša rēš ummi šarri should be read ^f written ^mKÁ.DI[NGIR.RA]-aḫ ^g possibly ¹DU¹ ^h cf. Johns and Bezold: the tablet is now less well preserved at this point ⁱ the profession concerned seems only to be attested by ii, 6 and iii, 34, of the present text; on the evidence of ii, 6 alone ¹ša-bit šumēli could have been read and interpreted as a guard "stationed on the (king's) left", but iii, 34 is against the suggestion ^j a sign šē appears to have been written interlinearly(?) above and to the right of this name ^k for the reading cf. in Chapter II, note 2 ^l uncertain: the text has šu¹¹ which does not seem to be appropriate ^m the dash represents a short horizontal stroke, not thought to be appropriately conveyed as ina ⁿ restoration difficult, but final šā seems to be clear.

An opinion as to the identity of the persons mentioned in the above list has already been expressed. Our approach is that, although there is much variety amongst the

professions, yet none is of a low or even of an intermediate status. There are, for instance, no professions which concern *nīš ekalli* personnel and none also involving craftsmen, musicians or accountants. Additionally it will be observed that priests find no place in the list, there is no mention of the various members of the municipal authority, and the only representatives to be included of the provincial authority are the governors. Indeed, since at least the *šaknus* of the text, and the several *qurubūti*, and doubtless all the *rab kišri* officers, and such ministers as the *barakku ummi šarri* (i, 23) and the *rab karāni* (ii, 44) were emirs, there would seem to be a good chance that the list was largely concerned with men of this order—although we think the preferable analysis must allow a division into the two groups of emirs and court eunuchs. Thus interpreted one may suitably suggest that the occasion which the text celebrates is the feast of emirs to which attention has been drawn on pp. 43 and 85 above. In terms of this theory the apparent lack of systematic order in the text could also be explained. It would obviously be appropriate that the participants of such a feast should mainly sit with men of other professions.

It is not known whether our tablet is complete in itself or whether it is not rather the second tablet in a series of two(?).¹⁴ In either case the number of the emirs of an Assyrian king is seen to have been considerable, and at Calah perhaps only rooms B and F of the north-west palace, which once housed Ashurnasirpal's famous reliefs,¹⁵ could easily have accommodated for a meal during a winter month any gathering of such a size. It may be noted also that although many emirs of the text belonged to the households of either the queen mother (*ummi šarri*) or the crown prince (*mār šarri*), curiously the queen herself is not mentioned. It seems at least permissible as an interpretation to suppose that she was no longer alive at the time of the document.

4. THE TREASURER AND HIS DEPARTMENT

The position is taken that behind all the ministries of such a city as Calah, and in the position of first administrative official to the king, stood the powerful figure of the (*a*)*barakku* (*rabi*u), or "the Treasurer".

As yet the above translation is not in general use—but three reasons may be advanced in support of it. The first is that, from the new texts presented on Pls. 46 to 50, it is now clear that the *barakku* was responsible for the receipt and disposal of *ilku*-tax and *nāmurtu* gifts so that the rendering of "Treasurer" would be suitable to this responsibility. Secondly, one of the same texts (cf. below) indicates that the *barakku* held stocks of copper, URUDU, and on the reverse of ND 10010 on Pl. 43 the *barakku* is mentioned, if obscurely, in connection with several kinds of metals or metal ores. Thirdly, the new texts all come from the *ekal māšarti* at Calah (room NE 50), which has many affinities with the so-called "Treasury" of Persepolis¹⁶; accordingly the designation of Treasurer would suitably recognize the association.

¹⁴ Of published pieces ADD II, Nos. 833, 839 and 840 appear to belong to an associated text.

¹⁵ For the location cf. most easily Mallowan, *Nimrud*, Maps, Plans and Sections, No. III.

¹⁶ The latter site consists of "a block of buildings which are identified by their contents

as royal storehouses and armories. The character and value of many finds justify the term 'Treasury'. Architectural features support the identification". (E. F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, OIC 21, 17.)

We conceive it to be the task of this section to describe the new texts concerning the *barakku*, without, however, entering into a discussion of every point which they raise. Initially, therefore, we take the three texts of Pls. 46 to 50, which in fact are probably two in that the obverse and reverse of ND 10012 (Pl. 50) are likely to provide the beginning and end of ND 10013 (Pls. 49 and 50). As thus reconstructed this tablet is much more fragmentary than ND 10009 (Pls. 46–48), which is the second tablet of our concern, but it may usefully be described first.

The heading (line 1) is quite explicit. It reads:

il-ka-ka-a-ti¹⁷ ša¹⁸ barakku ina ekalli su[M-u-ni], “*ilkakāti* which the Treasurer has issued from the palace (stores)”.

The *ilkakāti*, if not *alaktu*, were *ilku*-dues (on this term see particularly the material in CAD I/J 73 ff.), and we learn that such dues were called *ilkakāti* when they came into the *barakku*'s stores and were still called *ilkakāti* when they were subsequently distributed. The stores in question most probably involved a number of separate magazines. Those centrally situated in the south-west courtyard perhaps qualify for consideration in connection with the more valuable items of the Treasurer's charge.

The text then continues with the record of outgoing amounts of grain indicated as ŠE.KUR₆.MEŠ, which for several lines after line 8 of ND 10013 concern special issues for (the king's) animals. Thus line 9 specifies an amount *a-na* 22 SAL.ANŠE. KUR.RA.MEŠ x [], “for 22 [pregnant?] mares”, while in line 12 a total of 742 homers, divided into two quantities of apparently 372 and 370 homers (lines 10–11),¹⁷ are shown as made over to *urādi mūru* (UŠ DÜR) *ša ma-a-si¹⁸*, “the keepers of the foals of the (royal) stud”.¹⁸ It is of interest that special issues of grain are now seen to have come from the *barakku*. Evidently the bread minister had no authority to issue anything but bread, and the fodder minister was perhaps not concerned with whole grain cereals.

The special issues are followed by a rule-line, and then at line 20 a new situation is presented: the entries concerning *ilkakāte* come to an end and are replaced by items concerning *nāmurtu*.

It will not be necessary to introduce the latter term, already much discussed. Suffice it to say that, like the literary *tāmartu*, the *nāmurtu* appears—at least originally—to have been an unsolicited gift bestowed by or upon kings (cf. *En. el.* V, 70 and 81–83). As such it could be found from a wide range of goods including livestock and manufactured articles of many kinds¹⁹; it is thus the more striking that the entries of lines 20 to 23 are all concerned with wine. This word, written GIŠ.GEŠTIN, occurs six or possibly seven times in the fragmentary lines of the passage; it is twice associated with amounts expressed in terms of *šappāti* (DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ) or “*šappu*-jars”,

¹⁷ In line 10 (Pl. 49) the sign after the numeral resembling *5 sāti* is presumed to be an error for *imēr* (ANŠE).

¹⁸ On NA *ma'assu* = Bab. *majjaltu* see especially von Soden, *ZA* NF 16, 171, note 3. For further examples in this volume cf. line 10 of the

text under discussion (reading *ša *ma-a[-si]*) and Pl. 53, v, lines 13 and 15.

¹⁹ In this connection cf. particularly the interesting details provided by ND 2461 (ed. B. Parker, *Iraq* 23, 30).

and wineskins are mentioned either as *zi-[q]a-a-t[i]* (line 21) or as KUŠ.SAL.MEŠ, literally “thin skins” (lines 23 and 26) which must now be seen as the ideogram for *zīgāti*.²⁰ Moreover, it is quite evident that the passage is concerned with the distribution (and not the receipt) of this *nāmurtu* wine, both in the light of the context of the whole tablet and also because line 33 mentions as a receiver one or more LÚ.BI.LUL, or “cupbearers” (*sc.*, of the king's mess). For an independent witness to the concept of royal *nāmurtu*-wine attention may be directed to ABL 86 (cf. Pfeiffer, *State Letters*, 139), where the winter month of Tebet appears to be involved and suggesting a possible association with the feast of emirs.

The tablet is concluded with a final short section which appears to have been of a somewhat miscellaneous character. Thus one entry (ND 10012, Pl. 50, 1) is concerned with refined oil, *šamnu* (i.MEŠ) *hal-šu*, whereas line 4 has to do with two issues of copper (URUDU) in favour respectively of the *bīt nuḥatimmi* and the *bīt karkadinni*. The summary on the edge of the tablet records a total of 1,484 h[omers of barley], and fragmentary details concerning wine, wineskins and *za-mu-u-a-te* (skins of Zamua wine).

We pass accordingly to the description of ND 10009 (Pls. 46–48). There is some doubt as to how the words *ša uruArba-il* at the end of line 1 fit into the heading: it seems equally difficult to interpret them either as part of a proper name or as part of a title. However, it is clear that the tablet must begin as before *il-ka-[ka-ti]e ša¹⁸ [barakki]*, although the items distributed are different. They are fruits and nuts of various kinds, with at least one entry involving a type of seed spice, *šu-u ha-se-ū-te*, if the text (line 26) is correct, and a damaged section, lines 33–36, concerned with some kind of cereal(?) issued in large quantities (80 homers, line 36). As was the case with ND 10012 copper, URUDU, is also mentioned.

Much about the text is revealed by the summary written down the left-hand edge of the tablet (Pl. 48). It reads:

49a *naphar 5 sāt 4 qa ti-ti-b/pu [x sāt] t 1 qa¹⁸ kar-šu*
 49b *1 imēr 1? sūt 4 [GI]Š.KIN.GEŠTIN 2 sāt 7 bu-t[u]-nata*
 50a *3 sāt 6 qa bur-si-na-t[e] x [] ŠIM.LI¹⁷*
 50b *[x GUN x ma-n]a URUDU*

Of the terms mentioned *titibu* (no determinative) recalls the *ti-ti-ib/p* of the new stela of Ashurnasirpal (ed. Wiseman, *Iraq* 14, 32 ff.), lines 47 and 135, which appear to be the only known references outside the present text. In the latter passage it follows a mention of dates and will doubtless have been a tree fruit also. For *karšu* see now CAD K 212;²¹ GIŠ.KIN.GEŠTIN is the well-known ideogram for *išḫunnatu*, “(bunch of) grapes”, and *bu-tu-NAT* answers to the *bu-tu-na-te* of elsewhere in the text, long known as “pistachio nuts”.²² This leaves *buršimāte* and *burāšu* (ŠIM.LI) of which the former appears to be a new word. Some years ago, however, C. J. Gadd referred me to the term *buršimtu* applied to doors (A. Salonen, *Türen*, 60)

²⁰ The word is recorded in CAD Z 129 as *zīgqu* (one example).

²¹ Also AHW 448, under *karašu*, “Porree” (leek).

²² Following Deller's well-known principle we

read *bu-tu-NAT* as *bu-tu-nata* (presuming that *bu-tu-na-te*, despite the spelling, was at this period pronounced *buṭunāta* also). Cf. further below, p. 122.

and probably meaning "door socket". Accordingly one could think that *buršīnāte* were nuts like the *butūnāte*, perhaps having shells of the socket shape. The *burāšu* was measured by weight in quantities amounting to as much as a talent; they appear to have been juniper sticks used for burning as incense (cf. further below).

With regard to the recipients of these items essential information has been summarized in the table presented as Fig. 2. This indicates the several beneficiaries, which are listed in order of occurrence, and also quantities issued in each case in accordance with the items marked along the top. In this connection it is to be noted that the numbers of the first five columns represent a unit of volume based on the standard of 1 homer = 100, while those of the final two columns represent a unit of weight based on the standard of 1 talent = 60. The figures at the extreme left of the table indicate line numbers of the tablet.

Yet despite the semblance of simplicity which is thus achieved many problems remain. Thus the first profession, ¹⁴ŠIM x A ²³ša *hūli*(KASKAL) could perhaps indicate a maltster specializing in malted cereals for journeys,²⁴ although it is perhaps properly as a brewer that he would need juniper (for making incense). The point here is that in the namburbi texts²⁵ one finds the instruction: NFG.NA

	<i>titibu</i>	<i>karšu</i>	grapes	pistachio	<i>buršīnāte</i>	juniper	copper
11	¹⁴ ŠIMXA ša <i>hūli</i>					20	
12	" " "					100	
14	" " "		3			3	
15	¹⁴ karkadinnu ša <i>pān duganāte</i>	40 ?					6
17	x [x] x a a x	27	27				5
18	¹⁴ nākisu	6					
19	¹⁴ ša me-di-li-šú						4
21	?	27	27				5
22	¹⁴ ša a-ku-si-šú		10				
23	¹⁴ ša billi-šú	5					
24	¹⁴ ša hu- ¹⁴ sini ¹⁴ -šú	5 ¹⁴					
25	¹⁴ ša se e qu x [šú]		[5]	5			
29	¹⁴ ša huṭāri	1½	[x]	1½			
40	¹⁴ nuḥatimmu ša ša ekalli		[x]	[x]	[x]		
42	¹⁴ karkadinnatu ša ša ekalli	10	10 ¹⁴	16	20	16	
43	¹⁴ ša a-ku-si-šú		5				
43	¹⁴ ša billi-šú	3					
46	¹⁴ karkadinnatu ša ša ekalli	2	2	4	2	4	
48	¹⁴ nuḥatimmu (and)						
	¹⁴ karkadinnu ša ekalli	[x]	1½	1½			

FIG. 2

²³ Possibly to be read *barrāqu* as indicated above, p. 81.

²⁴ Relevant here is Oppenheim, *On Beer and*

Brewing, p. 13.

²⁵ Cf. e.g. R. Caplice, *Or. NS* 39, 113-114, lines 16-17, and 125, line 28.

ŠIM.LI GAR-an KAŠ.SAG BAL, "You set out a censer of juniper; you libate fine beer", and it seems well possible that the two acts were closely related in the custom of the times. The *karkadinnu ša pān duganāte* (written ¹⁴SUM.NINDA ša IGI ^{kuš}DUG.GAN.MEŠ) is also difficult. It recalls the *ša pān/pa-an du-ga-ni* of Postgate, *Royal Grants*, Nos. 42-44, 7, 15 and 16, and actually it is possible that DUG.GAN.MEŠ should be read as the singular *dugāni*. On the basis of the introductory *karkadinnu* and the determinative *kuš* our proposal is that the official concerned used leather "bags" for the transport of soft fruits(?), etc.²⁶ It will be noticed also that several professions of the *ša x-šu* pattern occur in the text. These have for the most part been discussed in Section 26 of the King's Household (pp. 85 f.), but attention may here be drawn to the curious ¹⁴ša se e qu x [] of line 27 which has been collated several times and found to be as copied. The ¹⁴ša hu-¹⁴sini¹⁴-šú of line 24 may also be singled out as of importance for the problem raised in CAD H under *hupānu*.

Of unrelated matters the difficulties of line 37 I have been unable to solve completely. It appears to be a subheading referring to [the contents of] two magazines or storehouses (2 *i-si-ta-¹⁴a¹⁴[-ti]*), the remainder of the line having to do with the proper name of some associated wall (*dūru*) or walled area.²⁷ One may notice also the writing ^{g18}bur-ši-na-MEŠ (or ^{g18}bur-ši-na^{meš}) in line 42 which replaces the ^{g18}bur-ši-na-te found elsewhere in the text. How this may best be read is suggested on another page.²⁸

We may conclude this statement with a transliteration of ND 10010 (Pl. 43) to which reference has been made:

Obv. 19 GÚ hu-la[h-hi/hu]
16 GÚ N[E.E]N.ZU *naphar* 35

4 GÚ 10 MA.*NA ? AN.NA

3 GÚ A.BÁR

1 ME 55 ? GÚ URUDU.MEŠ

Rev. x [x] x x *ina pa-ni-šú-nu*
[]¹⁴ša¹⁴ *ina pa-an¹⁴ barakki*
[]¹⁴GÚ¹⁴ 52 MA ša¹⁴ *pa-[n]i-šú-nu ?*

Two lines fragmentary

naphar 48 GÚ 26 MA.NA —

²⁶ One may note also Postgate, p. 85, line 17: *ina u₄-me ilu a-na pa-an du-ga-ni TU-ni [a]-na 2 u₄-me i-da-a[n]*, which permits the issuing of two days' rations if a demon (*ilu*) has entered into the bags—presumably recognized by some adverse feature of the food. Cf. also *SL* 7/151.

²⁷ The line appears to end [ME]Š(?) ša *dūru¹⁴um-ma-ni i-ra-qa-ša*, where *ummāni* evidently

stands for the nominative *ummānu* under the influence of the vowel following (for this principle in NA cf. already in Chapter II, note 125). The difficulty of *iraqaša* is recognized but the signs, although much cramped, appear to be correctly copied.

²⁸ In Chapter IV, p. 123.

For the present purpose the main interest rests on rev. 2 (somehow contrasted with rev. 1) with its mention of the *barakku* in a context involving metals.

Thus by the chance find of three rather ill-preserved tablets in a room of the *ekal māšarti* at Calah does the office of the *barakku* in a capital city begin slowly to emerge within the ancient economic scene. It is possible that there was also amongst the king's officials a treasurer of privy funds or the like, whose presence one could plead for both on general considerations and also in the light of Popper's statement on the *nāzir al-khaṣṣ* (*Egypt and Syria* I, 97). There does not, however, seem to be any obvious claimant for such a post at the present time—unless possibly the *rab sikkiti* whose (sometime) association with metals is shown by Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, 217.

5. OF WINE AND ACCOUNTANTS

The concern of the section is to discuss, firstly, the several new texts from Nimrud which deal with wine but are not related to the wine lists, secondly, the technical vocabulary of wine accounting as it may be learnt from the lists, and thirdly, the scale of measures. The latter discussion will lead us finally to some assessment of the number of persons in individual sub-units of the king's household.

1. The New Wine Texts

These fall naturally into two groups corresponding to the two centres for the distribution of wine at Calah—SW 6 in the *ekal māšarti* which dispensed wine for the king's household, and ZT 30 on the citadel which (at least in certain periods) dispensed wine and oil for the king's mess.

The latter centre can be reasonably identified as such from the archaeological evidence of the large storage jars found in the room, as also from the epigraphical evidence in that seven out of the eight tablets found in the room had to do with either oil or wine. The tablet numbers and details of publication have been given in Chapter II, note 271. Of the four (ND 3483, 3484, 3486 and 3488) which are concerned with wine, the first, second and fourth are available in copy (*Iraq* 15, Pl. XV). The third requires further cleaning, but I am grateful to A. R. Millard for showing me a copy made by him, and this reveals that, from obv. ii, 2, onwards, and following a double rule-line, the text is a wine record with unusual features best seen in the following transliteration of one of the sections:

1 sūt mīšá-kín-tú ša ekalli [x x] ²⁹
 5 qa mNinurta-šum-ušur 1 sūt m[]
 5 qa lūšangū(SANGA) ša u[ru] []
 1 sūt mārē^{meš} šarri(MAN) 2 sāt []
 1 sūt mAdad(x)-nāšir 2 sāt m[]
 1 sūt m^rIli ?^r-erība 2 sāt []
 napḥar 1 ^rimēr 2 sāt —[— UD.14.KAM] ³⁰

²⁹ Restore probably either *labirti* or *eššeti*.

³⁰ Each section represents the collected entries for a particular day, the restoration of 14 in the

present instance being derived from other sections where the day-figure is preserved.

In the above section, which is one of approximately fifteen in the text as a whole, three points seem to be of importance. Firstly, the quantities of wine mentioned are generally high. Secondly, they are commonly a factor of 5 *qú*—and amounts of 5 *qú*, 1 *sūtu*, 1 *sūtu* 5 *qú*, 2 *sāti*, 2 *sāti* 5 *qú*, 3 *sāti*, 4 *sāti* and 5 *sāti* are all specifically recorded. Thirdly, no person or group appears to be recorded more than once throughout the three columns of the text. There is accordingly every justification for thinking that the distribution of rations is not the concern of the text. Rather it may well be that the document is a record of *nīš pu-ḥi* loans so that the wine will have been ultimately destined to provide rations for harvest labourers (cf. further below). The term **nīš pu-ḥi* ³¹ occurs also on a text from the same archive, ND 3484, *Iraq* 15, Pl. XV, line 11.

The wine texts which come from the *ekal māšarti* are four in number. They are ND 6210 and ND 6211 (Pl. 44), which were found in the wine magazine SW 6, and ND 10025 (Pl. 40) and ND 10026 (Pl. 45), found out of context in room NE 50. ³² Of these texts the two first mentioned both refer to fairly large quantities of wine *ša uruJa-lu-na*, "from Yaluna", which seems, therefore, to have been a source of Calah's wine. ³³ ND 10025 on Pl. 40 mentions in a broken context *kurSa-ma-[al-aju]*, *kurSa-me-ri-n[a-aju]*, and two, or possibly three, similar names, ³⁴ but these references are presumably to groups of *nīš mātāti*; in this case the quantity of at least 1 homer of wine referred to in rev. 2 may suggest that the tablet was concerned with a ration of wine to cover several days (e.g. for work to be performed outside of Calah). Geographical terms appear also in ND 10026 (Pl. 45). The tablet, written in a very large script, was evidently a statement of wine distribution at the time of its date—perhaps either 787 or 785 if either [Nabû]-šar-ušur or [Marduk]-šar-ušur should be restored in obv. 1. But of the three places whose names are fully preserved [ur]^uKar-TAR-ru (line 7) appears to be otherwise unknown, while the *uruPān sūqi* of the following line must throw doubt on the interpretation of this name advanced in *Iraq* 13, 108 and 110 (under respectively ND 418 and 440). Only the more familiar name of *uruU-ba-si-e* (line 13) offers a landmark. Long known to be a city situated somewhere on the Tigris and within Assyria, Oates allows me to put forward his own suggestion that it is to be identified with the modern Tell Huwaish, about 15 km. north of Assur on the West bank. The Harper letter *ABL* 626, which mentions in rev. 6–7 a reed-filled wady (*naḥlu*) at Ubasê can also be brought into the argument since at Tell Huwaish there terminates the only wady to be seen for many miles around.

2. Technical Terms of Wine Accounting

In the first summary of the text just described (line 16) there is a reference to wine characterized as *ša nīš pu-ḥi*. The term has been already referred to above and may suitably introduce the discussions of this section.

³¹ The first sign is evidently not *u* as copied.

³² Attention should also be directed to ND 10035 presented on Pl. 44, although it is only the measure supplied by line 3 which may possibly suggest a connection with wine.

³³ Yaluna has not yet been identified, but a useful note is contributed by Mallowan, *Nimrud*

II, 640, note 20, and Oates has suggested verbally that it should perhaps be sought in the region of Aqra, due east of Nineveh. For references one may consult S. Parpola, *Toponyms*, 184.

³⁴ Cf. obv. 1, 2, 4, 5, and rev. 2.

As far as I am aware the phrase *nīš pūhi* is new to the texts presented or referred to in this volume, although it obviously connects with the phrase *ina pūhi ittiši* (the literal meaning is not clear) which has now been recorded in some quantity on a certain class of loan contract. In general I can add nothing to the idea that, just as it was incumbent upon any employer to provide rations for the workers he employed, so also the system allowed that wine (as of course also grain, silver, etc.) might be borrowed against return by a stated date to provide rations for casual labour required by the borrower (mainly at harvest time).³⁵ However, if wine so lent was termed *ša nīš pūhi* it is likely that wine returned in fulfilment of the obligation had also this name—and indeed, the term evidently remained if such wine was subsequently issued for rations. At least such is the explanation which we adopt for the phrase [x (x)] x *ša pa-ni nīš pu-ḥi* of Pl. 41, 1.³⁶ It will have meant wine returned to the wine department following a *nīš pūhi* agreement and now available for consumption in the normal way.

According to the concluding summaries found on the reverse of the tablet of Pl. 45 *ša nīš pūhi* wine stood in some way opposed to *GEŠTIN.MEŠ KÚ* (= *karānu aklu*?), but it is not known precisely what this means. The same phrase probably occurs also on Pl. 9, i, 1.

Less doubt, however, attaches to the meaning of the wine termed *ṣurāri*. This word occurs on Pl. 9, i, 6, which reads:

2 qa ṣu-ra-ri ina pān ^aAdad(1M)

and probably also on Pl. 14, 3:

[x qa] SUR pān MUL []

where SUR may be seen as the ideogram for *ṣurāri* in the light of the equation *su r* = *ṣarāru* given by lexical texts. After CAD S 256, *ṣurāru* means “libation offering” and *karān ṣurāri*, for which the *ṣurāri* cited is probably elliptical, “libation wine”. In the event which accompanied both occurrences in the new texts it is presumed that the wine was poured on to the ground in front of the deity concerned (in the first instance Adad, in the second a star, or the stars); and Ishtar and Marduk seem similarly concerned in a difficult entry, Pl. 11, 3–4.³⁷

We may consider here also the familiar term *ginū* (cf. dictionaries), and the closely associated *rab ginē*, written LÚ.GAL SAG.MEŠ, whose title can be restored from the traces in Pls. 17, 3; 19, 3; and 29, 2. The reading is certain from the equation SAG.MEŠ = *ginū* determined by Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 55–56. The offering concerned seems clearly to have been of a daily character. An entry for it occurs on every

³⁵ Cf. (int. al.) Kohler and Ungnad, *ARU* 459; J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 7, 120; D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 15, 135 f.; B. Parker, *Iraq* 19, 126; and for earlier periods Rivkah Harris, *JCS* 9, 36 ff., and F. R. Kraus, *Edikt*, 60 ff.

³⁶ Cf. in Chapter I, p. 4. On the point that there appears to be no recognizable difference between *ša* and *ša pān(i)* one may cite the evident identity of *ša urāte* and *ša pān urāte* (for references

see in Chapter II, p. 53). With the phrase *ša pāni nīš pūhi* the parallel of *pa-an-at nīš pu-ḥi* (Pl. 45, 12 and 14) should also be mentioned.

³⁷ The lines concerned appear to read:

1 sūt [x qa] [p]ān ^aIshtar ^apān ^aMarduk
[] [x] x ma-qa-lu-ti pān ^aMarduk-ma
but no suggestion is offered as to their precise meaning and significance.

tablet of the collection, usually within the first few lines, although it may be noted that the quantity of wine allocated is curiously unstable. Figures recorded are 1.4 seahs (or *sūtu*),³⁸ 1.45,³⁹ 1.5?,⁴⁰ 1.55,⁴¹ 1.6⁴² and 1.7 seahs.⁴³ However, the stated order is not to be taken as historically correct and even a descending order could be regarded as possibly more accurate. It is not known how the individual amounts were allocated between temples, or whether any contribution was made from the wine store which served the king's mess.

Attention may now be directed to a group of technical terms which occur together on Pl. 9, ii, 1–5. The full text is:

2⁷ DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ
muḥḥi ^{giš}kan-ni
5⁷? qa ṣa GIŠ.ḠÚ.ZI.MEŠ
6 qa a-na ri-ḥa-a-te
3 qa ṣa qaq-qi-ri

We may translate:

“2 šappu-jars
(allocated to/for) . . .
5? qú (allowed) for issues by cup-measure
6 qú (allowed) for remainders
3 qú (allowed) for the libation(?)”

Of these terms the first could possibly relate to the profession *ša muḥḥi kanni* which occurs in the “Assyrian list of professions”, STT II, 385, iii, 20 (cf. *MSL* XII, 235). However, Pl. 22, 21, upholds the reading *muḥḥi kanni* without initial *ša*, and until further evidence is produced, it seems preferable to think that they are perhaps distinct; in this case it is worth the suggestion that the *muḥḥi kanni* was the “top (wine) of the jar” which may normally in fact have gone to the emirs whose entry seems not to be found on texts where *muḥḥi kanni* occurs, and vice versa.⁴⁴ The term *ša GIŠ.ḠÚ.ZI.MEŠ*, or *ša kāsāte*, will receive further discussion in the following section on measures. Actually we take the view that the phrase properly means “they of the cup-measures” and thus again indicates a group of persons who form an individual mess. As for *riḥāte*, this term is often translated “remainders” or “left overs”, and in the present context seems probably to refer to the liquid sediments of the jars. It is to be noted that, exceptionally, small amounts of *riḥāte* could be assigned to named persons (thus on Pl. 32, lines 16 and 17, the quantity being $\frac{1}{2}$ qú in each case). That, finally, *ša qaqqari* (or *qaqqiri*), literally “it of the ground” or “the ration(?) for the ground”, was the ancient way of describing spillage is probably not acceptable despite appearances. The suggestion has to contend with Pl. 5, ii, 12, DUG ṣa ṣa-mu-ú ṣa qaq-qi-ri, for it is difficult to see how a “jar of Zamuan (wine)”

³⁸ Pl. 13, obv. 2.

³⁹ Pl. 9, i, 3.

⁴⁰ Pl. 11, 2.

⁴¹ Pl. 8, i, 2, reading 1 sūt 5 + $\frac{1}{2}$ qa.

⁴² Pl. 19, 2.

⁴³ Pl. 37, ND 10061, 7.

⁴⁴ It is perhaps also relevant that 2 šappu jars

appears to be the associated measure of wine in both instances, and that, while Pl. 36, 14–15, provides entries involving the emirs (LÚ.NUN. [ME]Š) and *mušarkisu*, the adjacent lines of Pls. 10, i, 29, and 9, ii, 1–2, concern *mušarkisu* and *muḥḥi kanni*.

could qualify to be regarded as spillage in texts of the *riksu* character which remained in force for a number of days. Consequently it may be that the *ša qaqqiri* was a kind of central libation, poured out by the wine department on behalf of the individual messes who were thus excused from their moral obligation in this regard. The phrase *ša qaqqiri* occurs also on ND 1120 (the *tupšar āli*'s dinner), rev. 13,⁴⁵ but in a broken context not immediately understandable.

Additionally *ina nu-bat-ti*, which commonly occurs far down the reverse of individual tablets (e.g. on Pls. 22, 22; 36, 17; 38, 6; and 39, ND 10063, 5), seems probably to indicate wine set aside for the use of personnel or staffs who for any reason had to spend the night at Calah. Relevant here is Ebeling, *NBU* 40, 40-41: *lūmār šip-ri-ja nu-bat-tum ina pāni-ka la i-ba-a-tú*, "my messenger will not be staying overnight with you", which means that messengers often did stay the night at their destinations; and virtually the same phrase is used, *ibid.*, 28, 12-14, of an official accompanying a delivery of grain.

It would remain to mention the term *me-du-tú* or *mī-du-tú* occurring on Pls. 12, Edge 1; 13, 12; 18, 12; 22, 23; and 28, ND 10031, rev. 3. A particularly important reference is that of Pl. 12 where a total of 4·24 homers of wine is indicated as *mēdutu* in opposition to a further amount delivered in *šappu*-jars. It would seem, therefore, that wine given out by measure was so described, whence the term will have been the NA vernacular of *middatu/mindatu*, "Maß" (von Soden, *AHw*, 650).

3. The Scale of Measures

In some continuation of the theme introduced by the item just mentioned, the following section summarizes knowledge on the specific liquid measures in use in the wine magazines of Calah.

The basic units are as expected: 100 *qū* = 10 *sāti* = 1 *imēru*, or in translation, 100 *qū*⁴⁶ = 10 seahs = 1 homer. Additionally the system made use of the *šappu*-jar as a measure for 5 *qū*—the proposal is defended below—although it is perhaps surprising to find a reference to wine-skins, *KUŠ.SAL.MEŠ* = *ziqāti*, Pl. 15, 44.⁴⁷ For small amounts there was a cup measure, *kāsu* (written *giš.gú.zi*), pl. *kāsāte*, and use was also made of *iii-su*, to be read *šallusu*,⁴⁸ indicating $\frac{1}{3}$ *qū*. The latter occurs on Pl. 26, 12, and possibly also on Pl. 12, 13, reading [*x qa iii-s*]u followed by a proper name.⁴⁹ A measure *vi-su*, proposed as *šadussu*? by von Soden, *GAG* 70k, occurs uniquely on Pl. 16, ND 10062, line 8.

In this account we omit reference to the actual measuring instruments in use for which much information will be found in Salonen's chapter on "Masse und Messgefäße", *Hausgeräte* II, 270 ff. For the quantities in modern terms, and the provisional conclusion that, in the NA period, 1 *qū* was the equivalent of about 1·842 or 1·83 litres, reference may be made to Salonen's summary in the same

⁴⁵ Cf. *Iraq* 14, Pl. XXIII, also van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, 202.

⁴⁶ In the company of homers and seahs the Hebrew קב (II Kings vi, 25), properly "qab", could be thought appropriate but has not received support.

⁴⁷ Cf. also above, p. 107.

⁴⁸ After J. N. Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 89, note to line 23.

⁴⁹ For the full reading proposed cf. the transliteration of Chapter IV, p. 133.

chapter, pp. 270-271.⁵⁰ There are two matters, however, which seem to call for a fuller statement, firstly the place of the *šappu*-jar within the metric scale of the period.

The term itself has been discussed by Salonen, *op. cit.*, 124 ff., although so far there appears to be no certain indication as to the volume thereby expressed. The suggestion made above that as a unit of measure 1 *šappu* represented 5 *qū* may be supported from the new texts as follows:

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| (1) 5 <i>qa</i> | lūšā pān ekalli, Pls. 9, ii, 8; 25, 14; 28, ND 10056, 3 |
| (2) DUG.ŠAB | lūšā pān e[kalli], Pl. 37, ND 10061, 8 |
| (1) 5 <i>qa</i> | LÚ.SIMUG AN.BAR.MEŠ, Pl. 7, 18 |
| (2) [DUG.Š]AB | a-na LÚ.SIMUG AN.BAR.MEŠ ti-ša-pu, Pl. 12, 12 |
| (1) 1 <i>sūt</i> | SAL.ERIM É.GAL.MEŠ, Pl. 18, 4 |
| (2) 2 DUG.ŠAB | SAL.ERIM É.GAL.MEŠ, Pl. 32, 19 |

As a further general indication it is to be noted that *rihāti* is estimated at 3 *qū* on Pl. 8, iii, 1, at 1 *šappu* (supposedly 5 *qū*) on Pl. 18, 14, and at 6 *qū* on Pl. 9, ii, 4.⁵¹ If the ideal may provide an argument one could also point to the suitability of having a "half-*sūtu*" measure within the system.

The second point for discussion concerns the *kāsu*, a term which may now be seen to have had two meanings. Firstly, it meant a "cup", the common writing being *duš.gú.zi*, and as such the word has been fully discussed by Salonen, *Hausgeräte* II, 114 ff. Secondly, it meant a "cup-measure", the writing in this case being *giš.gú.zi* which is the form met in the wine lists. For further information one may consult the dictionaries, also below, p. 117.

But the chief problem which arises in connection with the cup-measure is this: for whom, and under what circumstances, was it used? In attempting an answer to this question reference may again be made to ND 3486, discussed recently above under "The new wine texts".

The text was considered to be a record of *nīš pūhi* loans undertaken by the king's wine store on the Citadel, and it may now be indicated that included amongst the entries to named persons, etc., are eight entries involving various amounts of *gú.zi.meš*. To explain them we suggest that amounts of wine loaned to owners of small land holdings at harvest time were simply accepted as debit items by the issuing authority, it being doubtless considered that the quantities involved⁵² hardly justified the effort of drawing up the contracts. Accordingly, the *ša kāsāte* of the wine-lists may be explained as a unit of small groups of persons strong enough only collectively to justify the establishment of a separate "mess". And, despite their name, the wine for their ration was doubtless dispensed with the *qū*-measure—and not by cupfuls.

⁵⁰ Additionally, Mallowan, *Nimrud* II, 408, is now to be added to the documentation—and the opportunity may also be taken to strike a note of caution. With little doubt—and despite the mention in contracts of *sūtus* of lower amounts—the accountants of the royal household in the first millennium all worked with a *sūtu* of 10 *qū*,

but it is not clear if this figure was used in the calculations.

⁵¹ The same amount is probably to be restored on Pl. 13, rev. 10.

⁵² E.g., of a few *qū* only, and perhaps specifically less than 3 *qū*.

There remains one further matter to consider in this chapter, namely, the size of the king's household and its sub-units in Assyria at the time of our documents, based on the day's ration of wine.

There is one clue in this regard which is helpful in general terms, and which may first be mentioned. In his *Urartskiye pisma i dokumenty* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1964), I. M. Diakonoff publishes as his text No. 12 a tablet from Toprak-Kale which has appeared also in the standard editions.⁵³ The text is a record of the royal household of Rushanili (? = Toprak-Kale) in the time of Rusa II, that is, in the middle of the seventh century B.C. The entries are much abbreviated, and contain many new or little-known terms which it is not profitable to discuss here. But it may be said that of five major sections the first summarizes two lines as 1113 *mari-* which almost certainly provides the Urartian word for "emirs" (Diakonoff, "nobles" ?), while the second section summarizes four lines as 3784 *lúša.rēšimeš* or eunuchs, a high figure made rather more acceptable by the inclusion of 2409 *lúub-še*⁵⁴ who were doubtless "ghulams" (Diakonoff, "youths"). In any event the final total on the tablet gives the single and important figure of "5507 persons".

As Diakonoff himself argues this total seems undoubtedly to indicate the size of the Urartian royal household at Toprak-Kale at the time of the document. For Assyria there is but a single line of evidence in the totals provided by the individual tablets of the wine lists. The collected data is as follows:

Pl. 8, rev. 14:	9.31	homers	⁵⁵
Pl. 12, Edge:	4.75	homers	⁵⁶
Pl. 13, 14:	5.85	homers	⁵⁷
Pl. 18, 19:	5.255	homers	⁵⁸
Pl. 22, 27:	4.83	homers	⁵⁹
Pl. 28, Edge:	4.93	homers	⁶⁰

It will be noticed that, of these six totals, the last five given a figure which is either slightly more or less than 5 homers, whereas the first is significantly higher at 9.3 homers. The latter text is, however, a two-column tablet which may suitably explain the divergence, it being likely that two single-column tablets were normally required to set down fully the daily schedule of wine for the king's household. One may perhaps think that the typical "second tablet" concerned mainly decurions and 1 *qa* items such as a "first tablet" like ND 10051⁶¹ or 10027 + 10028⁶² completely disregard.

⁵³ C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, No. 36, p. 105; G. A. Melikishvili, *Urartskiye klino-obrazniye nadpisi*, 2nd edition, 1960, fig. 77; F. W. König, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften* I-II, 131. I am grateful to Professor Diakonoff himself for drawing my attention to the text in question.

⁵⁴ Or possibly *lúár-še*.

⁵⁵ Written 9 *imēr* 3 *sūt* 1 *q[a]*.

⁵⁶ Consisting of 4.25 homers written 4 *imēr* 2 *sūt* 5 *q*, and 0.5 homers written as 10 DUG. ŠAB.MEŠ.

⁵⁷ Written 5 *imēr* 8 *sūt* 5 *qa*.

⁵⁸ Written 5 *imēr* 2 *sūt* 5 *qa*, although also possible would be the reading 8 *sūt* yielding a total of 5.855 homers.

⁵⁹ Written 4 *imēr* 8 *sūt* 3 *qa*, with a reading 2 *sūt* also possible.

⁶⁰ Written 4 IG[I] 9 *sūt* 3 [*qa*], where the use of IGI instead of ANŠE for *imēru* seems probably to be an accountancy shorthand.

⁶¹ Pls. 33-34.

⁶² Pls. 24-26.

The point of setting forth the above evidence is essentially this: that if we may correctly ascertain the amount of the daily wine ration of one man, then accordingly we may translate homers into numbers of persons. Here, therefore, we have to consider the proposition that 1 *qú* was the daily ration for ten men of the household at basic rates, and the ration of six men at a rate which may be termed skilled or professional. We allow also for a rate of special privilege.

With the first of these propositions we return to the cup measure, *giškāsu*,⁶³ and may refer to an article by Langdon, *OLZ* 1913, 533 f., in which he studied the Neo-Babylonian cup measure on the basis of a text published by Waterman, *AJSL* 29, 153. He concluded: "The calculation which can be based upon this text appears to point to the value 10 *gú-zi*⁶⁴ = 1 *ka*." This finding may still be accepted, with the first result that all the 1 *qa* rations indicated by the wine lists may confidently be assigned to decurions and their men, or else other leaders of a group of ten. With this conclusion it is to be noted that the table for liquid measures becomes one of much simplicity and symmetry:

10 cups	= 1 <i>qú</i>
10 <i>qú</i>	= 1 seah (<i>sūtu</i>)
10 seahs	= 1 homer

For want of a better place it may be suggested here also that the ½ *qú* of wine which was the ration of *mārē šāqi*⁶⁵ served equally a mess of ten but according to a "boys' ration" (as evidenced, in different periods, at Nuzi, Persepolis and in Sargonic Babylonia).⁶⁶

With regard to the presumed rate of six men to the *qú* we may refer to the measures ½ *qú* and ⅓ *qú*, written III-*su* and VI-*su*, to which allusion has been made above.

Beyond this again it may be surmised that, for emirs and the most senior messes, there was a rate of special privilege. The suggestion is based uncertainly on what, in a number of cases, appears to be a very liberal allocation of wine, at least if one should translate the quantity given into numbers of personnel at either of the two rates mentioned above. An example that may be cited concerns the ministers' mess—or possibly, as suggested on p. 71, the combined mess of ministers and emirs under the *tupšar ekalli*—whose daily ration stood normally at 1 *sūtu* and 5 *qú*. At the rate of ten or six men to the *qú* this figure would indicate a mess of either 150 or 90 men, which in either case is surely too high. More realistic would be a rate of two men to the *qú*, yielding a mess of 30 men, and some authority for the suggestion may be seen in the entry

½ *qa* *lúšaknu*(GAR) *kurKal-da-aḫu*

of Pl. 7, iii, 12, where the rate in question is accorded the "Chaldean *šaknu*". If a reason for the privilege should be sought it may perhaps be found in the hypothesis that it enabled senior staff to employ various mess servants from among

⁶³ Cf. above, p. 115.

⁶⁴ At that time considered to be a phonetic rather than an ideographic writing.

⁶⁵ On this term cf. above, pp. 82 f.

⁶⁶ For the latter cf. especially I. J. Gelb, *JNES* 24, 233.

the townspeople including probably a *šāqiu*, *nuḫatimmu* and *karkadinnu* which appears from *ABL* 322 to have constituted the standard messing unit of the times. Possibly the rate also included an allowance for personal servants.

It would thus seem that the recorded quantities of wine—as also of bread in the corresponding bread lists—can be of service only in a general way to determine numbers of personnel. The totals are similarly affected, and even the 9 homers mentioned as we have seen on Pl. 8 may possibly indicate a ration strength of about 6,000(?), or in fact not greatly different from the 5,507 persons of the Urartian king's household mentioned above.⁶⁷

For the most part we prefer to leave the transliterations of Chapter IV to convey necessary information in detail concerning the units of the household and the wine ration allocated. The following table, however, distils some of this information into a more concentrated, and perhaps simpler, form. The purpose of it is to show at a glance both the range of the wine ration and the place within it of the more important of its groups. To this end they are listed according to the amount of their ration—1 *šappu* being reckoned as the equivalent of 5 *qū*—but proper names, the several units of the *nīš mātāti* and entries from the “reappointments tablet” are omitted. The section is concluded with a few observations on the entries.

Ration	Profession	Notes
$\frac{1}{2}$ qa	<i>rab kallabi</i> <i>mārē šāqi</i>	
1 qa	decurions <i>ša TAḪ.KAL</i> <i>mār šipri ša Šamaš-bāni</i> <i>Il-erība, rē'ū</i> <i>ša šēpē</i>	
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ qa	<i>rab ḥaššāni</i> <i>ša dunāni</i> <i>zammārē labbašūte</i>	Also 3 qa, Pl. 30, 6
2 qa	<i>šāqiu/ša šāqi</i> <i>ša pān urāte</i> <i>aškappāni</i> <i>ša muḫḫi bitāni</i> <i>karkadīnāte</i> <i>bārūti</i> <i>āšipūti</i> <i>asū'e</i> <i>zammārē [Aramājū]</i> <i>tuḫšarrē Aššurājū</i>	Also 5 qa, Pl. 9, ii, 6 Also 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ qa, Pl. 26, 8 Also 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ qa, Pl. 26, 9

⁶⁷ It is to be noted that the total of 35 · 1 homers provided by the bread lists (ND 2489, iii, 15) does not, at the presumed basic rate of 1 *qū* per person per day, yield a comparable figure,

nor in general do the bread and wine lists work in well together, but possibly the picture is being distorted by the move to Dūr-Šarrukēn.

Ration	Profession	Notes
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ qa	<i>rādi kibsiāni</i>	
3 qa	<i>ša kišri ša Šamaš</i> <i>tuḫšarrē Aramājū</i> <i>tuḫšarrē Mušurājū</i> <i>mukil appāti ša mugirrāte</i> <i>ša GIŠ.DUḪ.MEŠ</i> <i>bārūte Kaššājū</i>	Also 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ qa, Pl. 10, i, 26 Also 2 ? qa, Pl. 25, 12 Also 6 qa, Pl. 40, ND 10038, 5
4 qa	<i>bēl mugirrāte arad ekalli</i> <i>dāgil iššūrē Kumuhājū</i>	Also 3 qa, Pl. 26, 6
5 qa	<i>rab kisite</i> <i>ša pān ekalli</i> <i>ša bīt Qīqī</i> SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ <i>Arpadajāte</i> <i>ša rēši</i>	Also 3 qa, Pl. 24, ND 10028, 3 From Pl. 11, 15, but also 14 qa, Pl. 9, i, 12
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ qa	<i>zammārāte</i> ^{kur} []	From Pl. 18, 7
6 qa	<i>mārē dammaqūte ša ilāni</i> <i>ša mušeziḫbāti</i>	Also 12 qa, Pls. 27, 14, and 30, 5 Also 12 qa, Pl. 30, 4
6 $\frac{1}{2}$ qa	<i>zammārāte</i> [.] <i>zammārē [Ḫattājū]</i>	Cf. p. 77 From Pl. 28, 7
8 qa	SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ <i>ša ekal</i> <i>māšarti</i>	Cf. also Pl. 11, 17 (9 qa) and Pl. 18, 4 (10 qa)
9 qa	<i>ša bīt kudini</i> <i>mārē dammaqūte ša</i> [] <i>tašlišāni</i>	
10 qa	<i>rabāni</i> <i>tuḫšar ekalli</i> <i>rab rēši</i> <i>šaniū ša rab karāni</i> (deputy ministers) <i>bēl mugirrāte</i> <i>ša bīti šenē</i>	
15 qa	<i>rab karāni</i> (senior ministers and emirs)	

Additionally, amounts of 14 *qa*, 20 *qa* and 24 *qa* are recorded for the *raksūti*; 21 *qa* represents the ration on one occasion (Pl. 9, i, 10) for the harem of the Citadel; 30 *qa* (3 *sāti*) is the regular ration for the queen's household; and the *qurubūti* are listed at different times against the amounts of 31 *qa*, 35 *qa* and even 40 *qa* (respectively, Pls. 17, 8; 25, 3; and 9, i, 14).

Of two matters arising out of these figures I mention first a detail regarding the numbers of the king's musicians. The daily ration of wine allotted the female musicians is recorded only on Pl. 18, 6-7, the two amounts being 6½ *qa* and 5½ *qa* respectively. These figures lack the symmetry which would have been provided by a double ration of 6 *qa* (for 60 persons each), but the curious thing is that a group of male musicians, probably the Neo-Hittite group, also received a daily ration of 6½ *qa* (Pl. 28, ND 10056, 7). In ignorance, it may be presumed that these similar entries are somehow significant but it would be difficult to suggest a convincing reason at the present time.

The second point concerns varying amounts of the wine ration and a problem connected therewith which will be quickly appreciated in the light of the following details:

6 <i>qa</i>	lúmārē ṛdammaqūte ṣa ilāni (Pl. 25, 8)
12 <i>qa</i>	lúmārē ṛdammaqūte ṣa ilāni (Pls. 30, 5, and 27, 14)
6 <i>qa</i>	ṣa ḡlšmu-še-zib ^{meš} (Pls. 25, 9, and 35, 7)
12 <i>qa</i>	ṣa ḡlšmu-še-zib-a-ti (Pl. 30, 4)
1½ <i>qa</i>	ṣa ḡlšdu-na-ni (Pls. 21, ND 10049, 8; 25, 16; 28, ND 10056, 6)
3 <i>qa</i>	ṣa ḡlšdu-na-ni (Pl. 30, 6)

With regard to these divergencies where the one amount is exactly double the other no certain solution is in sight. There can be no question of two days' rations being involved in the case of the larger amount; it is difficult also to think either that there has been an upgrading of status, or that the figures reflect a possible change in the rate of the ration for the groups indicated. Nevertheless, since many of our texts appear to date from close to harvest time (to-day in northern Iraq the harvest is usually lifted about the first week of May) the suggestion could be made that certain unit strengths might be depleted by 50 per cent at this time—in which case the larger amount of wine will more truly represent the establishment of the group. In a few instances amounts differ by a factor other than 50 per cent and it is then difficult to think of a convincing reason for the divergence.

It will thus be seen that the wine lists have many problems to offer the analyst. Many factors must have been constantly at work influencing the measure of wine, and even the personnel, to be entered in the lists at any one time. Perhaps, in the end, one must be humble enough to recognize that the wine lists are a splendid guide to the Assyrian king's household in a number of important ways, but like much else in the world of science they cannot be pressed to supply information beyond their natural limits.

CHAPTER IV

TEXTS IN TRANSLITERATION

The chapter aims to provide all the necessary documentary information in connection with the texts used in the preparation of this volume, and, initially, information on some other matters which relate directly to the texts themselves.

1. PALAEOGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The decision to contribute here a few notes on palaeography has been largely prompted by the fact that, in the wine lists, we have before us a substantial body of epigraphical material, accurately dated to an unusually narrow compass of time, and displaying certain characteristics of the period which it may be useful to have recorded.

Thus firstly it is to be noted that in the 780s B.C. the signs *ba*, *su* and *zu* could still be written in very much the same way as in the times of Tiglath-pileser I (on this point compare the table given by Weidner, *AfO* 16, 201) and show no trace of the later development so characteristic of seventh-century Nineveh. A feature which the script shares with VAT texts of the late MA period is that the sign *ud* might still be written with the same four strokes as for *šab*, as in the writing of Marduk, Pl. 5, 6 and 16, or independently, Pl. 35, 17. The writing of *bu* with all strokes completely horizontal (Pls. 10, i, 20, and 14, 7 and 12) appears particularly to be an association with the stone-cutter's tradition.

In three respects the signs of the wine lists appear to have developed along individual lines. Firstly, as may be seen from a large number of examples the initial strokes of *ša* are normally slanted downwards in a characteristic way, and it is perhaps significant that two of the exceptions—ND 6214, Pl. 13, rev. 5 and 7—occur on the youngest known tablet of the collection. Secondly, the sign *nun* could be written with only two verticals; clear examples are Pl. 35, rev. 3, and Pl. 37, ND 10061, 5, and probably also Pl. 5, ii, 5, where the reading AN.BAR-*zīl* is suggested. Thirdly, the sign *kin* is distinctive. This was first pointed out in *Iraq* 24, 57, note 24, where the Nimrud sign was described as "often written with exactly the same strokes as for the sign *en*, when it is only to be distinguished from it by the fact that the two verticals are placed slightly further apart, and the two oblique strokes are placed centrally between them rather than at the bottom of the verticals". There are many examples of this sign in the new texts, thus Pls. 9, ii, 5; 14, 10; 30, ND 10052, 7, etc., and it was in use also in Sargon's time at Calah, thus *Iraq* 23, Pl. XXIX, ii, 5.

A note may also be given on the common determinative *lú*. As in the Nimrud letters this sign is written in both the Babylonian and the Assyrian forms although the former certainly predominates. Mixed writings, that is, where the two forms occur in one and the same text, are also found, and although there is nothing new

in this, attention may be drawn to two rather different examples of the phenomenon which our material provides. The first is on ND 6219 (Pls. 14–16) where the sign *lú* is found twenty times, being written nineteen times in the Babylonian form and once in the Assyrian (line 5, the first occurrence). The second example is col. iii of ND 6229 (Pls. 6–7) where *lú* is written fourteen times, seven times in the Babylonian form (lines 11, 12, 15, 19, 22, 24 and 25) and seven times also in the Assyrian form (lines 6, 8, 13, 14, 16, 17 and 18). In the latter case the mixture is such as to suggest that the two forms were deliberately being used as a device to inhibit dittography.

Of the sign itself it may be observed that the two terminal strokes of the Babylonian form invariably end at a point. This is not the case in the open-ended Sargonid form, or even—to judge from the early Nimrud letters—in the form which was current in the times of Tiglath-pileser III.¹ The distinction could thus become a valuable criterion for dating.

On the subject of orthography there are two matters in particular which may command attention. The first relates to Deller's penetrating studies of Neo-Assyrian writing as presented in *Or. NS* 31, pp. 7 ff. and 186 ff., many of the sign values there discussed being represented in the new texts. Thus examples of two-syllable values of the "KVKV" type include *dini*(DIN) as met in the *ša bit ku-dini* of Pl. 10, i, 24, and in contrast to the *ša bit ku-din-ni* of Pl. 29, 9, etc.; they include *miri*(MIR) as in *kurSa-miri-na-aju* (Pl. 12, 15) and as contrasted with *kurSa-me/mi-ri-na-aju* of Pl. 18, 15; and from one of the *barakku* texts *nata*(NAT) is found in the spelling *bu-t[u]-nata* of Pl. 48, 49b, which contrasts with the *bu-tu-na-te* employed more commonly in the same text.

A few other examples of the same or a similar type occur in the texts and have in some part been already indicated as such by the transliteration adopted. But attention may be directed to the new value *quru* proposed for GUR to produce *quru-bu-ti* as "the guard of emirs" (whence also Dietrich, *WO* IV, 83, note 42, writes *qurrubūtu*). The argument may be set forth as follows:

- (1) *lúqur-ru-bu-ú-tu* occurs on VAT 170 (*VAS* V, No. 2), obv. 9, 11, as cited also by Salonen, *Hippologica*, 229.
- (2) *lúqur-ru-bu-tú* occurs on a NB text published by Wiseman and referred to above in Chapter II, p. 49.
- (3) *ša qur-ru-ubu*(UB)-*tú*, possibly a plural of the *ša šāqi* type, is found on the bread lists, ND 2371 (originally *Iraq* 23, Pl. XII), line 7.
- (4) *šišnarkabti qur-ubu*(UB)-*te* occurs in Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 106, iii, 16.

Additionally, if *damqu* should make a plural *dammaqūte* (p. 51), *qabsu qabasūte* (cf. Deller, *Or. NS* 31, 20) and *labšu lab(b)ašūte* (such would be our etymology of this term in the wine lists), then it is easy to see why *qurbu* or **qarbu*² should have developed somewhat similarly in the case of an abstract noun.

¹ Cf. for example the six occurrences of the sign found in *Iraq* 17, Pl. VIII, text No. VIII, obv. 3, 6 and 12, and No. X, 5, 10 and 12.

² A. Ungnad, *Tell Halaf*, No. 115, 8, and note, may be consulted on *qarbutu* as the oldest form of the word.

Our second concern is with certain plurals of the type *pit-ḫal^{meš}*,³ and the relationship of this manner of writing to plurals of the type *pit-ḫal-la-te*. If we should first increase the documentation new evidence may be found in the following interesting pairs:

lúrak-su^{meš}, e.g. p. 155, ii, 8 (bread lists), and *ABL* 64, 9, etc.

lúrak-su-te/ti, wine lists, *passim*.

ša šišmu-še-zib^{meš}, e.g. Pl. 25, 9.

ša šišmu-še-zib-a-te, Pl. 14, 15.

lúradi kib-si^{meš}, e.g. Pls. 15, 32, and 25, 17.

lúradi kib-si-a-ni, Pl. 27, 24.

From these examples, and in general, it seems clear that we have to do with an orthographic problem and not a morphological one; and what is here proposed is that, in the above terms, the function of *meš* is to express the plural ending *ūte*, *āte* or *āni*, the writing being hybrid and logographic in this final element. Accordingly, we suggest the readings *pit-ḫal-āte*, *rak-su-ūte*, *ša šišmu-še-zib-āte*, and *radi kib-si-āni*. The beauty of this proposal is that it seems to work well everywhere and including the most difficult instances. Thus the curious *šišbur-ši-na^{meš}* (Pl. 48, 42) mentioned on p. 109 will become *šišbur-ši-na-āte*, the difficult *ú-ra^{meš}* meaning "horses" of Tell Halaf No. 10, 3 (cf. Salonen, *Hippologica*, 44), will become *ú-ra-āte*, and the difference between the *mu-šar-kis^{meš}* of Pl. 43, ND 10058, 4, etc., and the unexpected *mu-šar-ki-su^{meš}* of Pl. 36, 15, is of no concern: the one will become *mu-šar-kis-ūte* and the other *mu-šar-ki-su-ūte*. It has only to be indicated further that while this scheme is adopted as necessary in the following transliterations, it has not proved feasible to employ it in earlier arguments where the traditional writing has been retained. In particular the *lúša ḫu-^rsinⁱ^{meš}-šú* of p. 109, etc., above should probably give way to the more convincing reading of *lúša ḫu-^rsinⁱ-āte-šú*.

In conclusion the single instance may be recorded under the heading of abbreviations of the sign "PA" being used to stand for *šAB* = *šappu* (Pl. 12, 17–18). A few examples of this use occur also in *ADD*.

2. TEXT NUMBERS

Groups. The catalogue numbers of the Nimrud texts given below are presented for convenience in three groups consisting of: (1) Wine lists, (2) Bread lists, and (3) Other texts. The transliterations which follow concern the first two of these groups.

Provenance. This is indicated according to the following scheme:

A = ZT 4 (Bread lists)

B = SW 6 (Wine lists and other tablets of the 1957 collection)

C = NE 48–49 (Wine lists of the 1961 collection)

D = NE 50 (Other tablets discovered in 1961).

³ Here chosen to indicate the type after Deller and Parpola, *RA* 60, 70 (first example).

Location. Tablets were divided at the end of the two seasons of excavation. Those whose number is preceded by an asterisk are now located in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad; the remainder are, by arrangement, at present located in the British Museum, London.

Uncopied pieces. These mainly consist of small or badly damaged fragments of the wine list tablets. The majority carry so little information—in some instances only a succession of *qa* signs or *lú* determinatives are preserved—that little purpose would be served by the production of copies. It is, however, true that the time available at the end of the 1961 season of excavation was hardly sufficient in any case for this to be done. It has also to be recorded that ND 6228 (from the 1967 collection) was not available for copying in 1961 and could still not be found in the Iraq Museum when a further search was made for it in 1969. It is presumed lost. One London tablet, ND 10032, may be placed in a special category. It is smaller than the majority of tablets, is written with a peculiar sloping ductus, and begins with the entry $2\frac{1}{2}$ *qa rādi kib-si-āni* (MEŠ). Beyond this, however, the tablet is so lacerated with lines and cracks that, despite two attempts, the writer's eyes have stubbornly refused to copy it.

Six-figure numbers. As will already have been noticed certain fragments of the wine lists found in 1961 are assigned numbers such as ND 10042/4, that is, with a terminal sub-unit classification. This procedure, adopted for fragments which seemed, from the general appearance of script and clay, to belong together as parts of a single tablet, assists in the conclusion that some twenty-eight or thirty tablets, possibly more, make up the probable total of the two wine list collections.

Text	Copy	Transliteration
(1) <i>Wine Lists</i>		
ND 6212 (B)	Pls. 11–12	Text No. 4
*ND 6213 (B)	Pl. 41	Text No. 33
*ND 6214 (B)	Pl. 13	Text No. 5
*ND 6218 (B)	Pls. 9–10	Text No. 3
ND 6219 (B)	Pls. 14–16	Text No. 6
ND 6227 (B)	Pl. 42	Text No. 33
ND 6229 (B)	Pls. 5–7	Text No. 1
*ND 6230 (B)	Pl. 8	Text No. 2
*ND 10027 + 10028 (C)	Pls. 24–26	Text No. 13
*ND 10029 (C)	—	—
*ND 10030 (C)	—	—
*ND 10031 (C)	Pls. 27–28	Text No. 14
ND 10032 (C)	—	—
*ND 10033 (C)	Pls. 29–30	Text No. 16
*ND 10034 (C)	—	—
*ND 10037 (C)	—	—
ND 10038 (C)	Pl. 40	Text No. 30
*ND 10040 (C)	—	—
ND 10041 (C)	—	—

Text	Copy	Transliteration
*ND 10042/1 (C)	—	—
ND 10042/2 (C)	—	—
ND 10042/3 (C)	Pl. 40	Text No. 31
*ND 10042/4 (C)	Pl. 39	Text No. 24
*ND 10043 (C)	—	—
*ND 10046/1 (C)	Pl. 16	Text No. 7
ND 10046/2 (C)	—	—
*ND 10046/3 (C)	Pl. 37	—
*ND 10047 (C)	Pls. 17–18	Text No. 8
ND 10048 (C)	Pls. 19–20	Text No. 9
*ND 10049 (C)	Pls. 21–22	Text No. 11
*ND 10050/1 (C)	Pl. 23	Text No. 16
*ND 10050/2 (C)	Pl. 23	Text No. 17
ND 10051 (C)	Pls. 33–34	Text No. 19
*ND 10052 (C)	Pls. 30–32	Text No. 18
ND 10053 (C)	Pl. 35	Text No. 20
ND 10054 (C)	Pl. 36	Text No. 21
ND 10055 (C)	Pl. 24	Text No. 12
*ND 10056 (C)	Pl. 28	Text No. 15
ND 10057 (C)	Pl. 21	Text No. 10
ND 10058 (C)	Pl. 43	Text No. 32
*ND 10059 (C)	Pl. 38	Text No. 23
ND 10060 (C)	—	—
*ND 10061 (C)	Pl. 37	Text No. 22
*ND 10062 (C)	Pl. 16	Text No. 11
*ND 10063 (C)	Pl. 39	Text No. 29
ND 10064 (C)	Pl. 39	Text Nos. 25, 28
*ND 10065 (C)	—	—
ND 10066 (C)	—	—
ND 10067 (C)	—	—
ND 10068 (C)	—	—
ND 10069 (C)	Pl. 39	Text No. 26
*ND 10070 (C)	—	—
ND 10071 (C)	Pl. 39	Text No. 28

(2) *Bread Lists*

ND 2371 (A)	Iraq 23, Pl. XII	Text No. 34
*ND 2489 (A)	Iraq 23, Pl. XVI	Text No. 35

(3) *Other Texts*

		For discussion
*ND 6210 (B)	Pl. 45	Cf. p. 111
*ND 6211 (B)	Pl. 45	Cf. p. 111
*ND 6223 (B)	Pl. 45	Cf. p. 81

		For discussion
ND 10001 (D)	Pl. 53	Cf. pp. 55 f.
*ND 10005 (D)	Pls. 51-52	Cf. pp. 39 ff.
ND 10009 (D)	Pls. 46-48	Cf. pp. 107 ff.
ND 10010 (D)	Pl. 43	Cf. p. 109
*ND 10012 (D)	Pl. 50	Cf. pp. 106 f.
*ND 10013 (D)	Pls. 49-50	Cf. pp. 106 f.
*ND 10018/1 (D)	Pl. 52	Cf. p. 40
*ND 10018/2 (D)	Pl. 52	Cf. p. 40
ND 10025 (D)	Pl. 40	Cf. p. 111
ND 10026 (C)	Pl. 45	Cf. p. 111
ND 10035 (D)	Pl. 44	Cf. p. 111, note 32
ND 10076 (D)	Pl. 54	Cf. pp. 60 f.

Concordance of Nimrud and Iraq Museum Numbers

Note.—In the following list, which provides the latest available information, tablets in some instances are shown as “allocated”. This indication describes pieces either allocated to another institution or else to the Iraq Museum Study Collections, in which group objects bear only the Expedition Field Numbers.

Nimrud No.	Iraq Museum No.	Nimrud No.	Iraq Museum No.
2489	64063	10034	64230
6210	60586	10037	Allocated
6211	Allocated	10040	Allocated
6213	60587	10042/1	Allocated
6214	60588	10042/4	Allocated
6218	60589	10043	Allocated
6223	Allocated	10046/1	Allocated
6230	60593	10047	Allocated
10005	64212	10049	64231
10012	64216	10050/1 }	64232
10013	64217	10050/2 }	
10018/1 }	64221	10052	64233
10018/2 }		10056	64234
10027 }	64225	10059	64235
10028 }		10061	64236
10029	64226	10062	Allocated
10030	64227	10063	Allocated
10031	64228	10065	Allocated
10033	64229	10070	Allocated

3. TRANSLITERATED TEXTS

Note.—The system of transliteration adopted in the following pages is that which conveys the text exactly as it is written and without resolving the logograms into their known or inferred Neo-Assyrian equivalents. It is hoped that the obviously

scientific value of this procedure will also be thought to be a gain for clarity and simplicity. Exceptions to this principle involve certain prepositions, the standard measures which are conveyed as *imēr*, *sūt/sāt* and *qa*, and the proper names which look altogether artificial in logographic form. In this connection it is to be noted that, with probably some exceptions, unqualified singular nouns forming part of Akkadian names seem not to have been inflected—thus *šum*, *šar*, *aḫ*, etc., is written and not *šūmu*, *šarru*, *aḫu*. With regard to the difficult problem of reading the signs *a* + *a* it would seem likely that both *aja* and *aju* is permissible, although in view of the additional sign *u* found on Pl. 18, 16 ff. (cf. also Pl. 40, ND 10025, rev. 2), and also occasionally outside the wine lists, the second reading has been consistently adopted. The symbol ,, has been used to represent the mark of repetition consisting of three, occasionally two, oblique strokes in line; it is rendered by a colon where its function is clearly that of a word-divider.

In conclusion it may be noted that, since the wine ration was in many cases subject to change—indeed, the wine lists were essentially documents recording change—restorations in this part of the text have not normally been made where the ration amount is preserved in one source only.

1. THE WINE LISTS

No. 1
(ND 6229, Pls. 5-7)

Col. i

[	UD.] 12 ? KÁM
[	[gi-nu-] ʿuʾ
[3 sāt]	[(bit) SAL].É.GAL
[	[ ] É.GAL
5 [	[ ] MEŠ
[1 sūt 2 qa]	[DUMU.SAL m d IGI + D]U-ah-iddin
[	[LÚ.GAL.SA]G
[	[(1u) quru-b]u-te

7 lines fragmentary and remainder lost

Col. ii

DUG.ŠAB	mAb-da-ʿaʾ
	LÚ.AŠGAB kur Ara-ma-a[ju] a
	Uninscribed space
4 ? ½ qa	a-na ri-ḫa-te
DUG.ŠAB	mŠul-m[a-nu(?) -l]a-mur
5	a-na mX x AN.BAR-zil te-ša-bi-šu ? b
5 qa	mMu-šalim-d Marduk LÚ.UŠ.BAR
2 sāt	lurak-su-tú ša GAL.SAG
½ qa	LÚ.GAL kal-la-bi
1 ½ qa	GAL 50.MEŠ-ni
10 2 DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ	mIq-bi-Bēl LÚ.SAG

	1 qa	^{md} Šamaš-bē[l-ki-ni] ^f
5	1 qa	^{md} Šamaš x []
	1 qa	^m Šarru-emu[r-an-ni] ^g
	2 qa	^m maš/bar x []
	[] q]a	[L]Ú.MUŠEN.DÙ[.MEŠ]
	^r 1 ? ^r [q]a	^r m ^r [Iš]di-aḥi- ^r šū ^r ^h

Four lines fragmentary

	[] q]a ?	^m Is-sa-me- ^r e ? ^r ¹
15	[]	[L]Ú.AŠGAB.ME[Š]

Remainder missing

Col. iii, below rule-line

	3 qa	ri-ḥa-a-t[i]
	[]	[]
	[]	a- ^r na ^r []

Col. iv (idealized spacing)

		[^m ?] x x x [(x x)]
		Line deleted
		Line deleted
		^{md} Bē[l ?-]na'id
5		^{md} Nab[ú-a]ḥ-iddin(
		^m Išdi-aḥḥē
		^{me} tar ? ra aju ¹
		^m Bēl-āli
		^m Šul-mu-šarri
10	「2 ?」 qa	ri-ḥa-「a」-ti
		^m Mar-duku(*DUG)
		^m Bur-zi-n[a-n]i

^r1 sūt 5 qa^r and six signs deleted

^a Restored from Pl. 9, i, 9 and 32, 20 ^b Cf. Pl. 9, i, 14 ^c Uncertain but suitable restoration in part determined by the wine ration ^d Unless ^ra^r-ki, with the copy, should be preferred ^e Restored from Pl. 6, 20 ^f Restored from Pl. 6, 19 ^g Reading ^mxx.IGLL[AL-an-ni] ^h Restored as ^rm^r[SU]HUŠ.PAP-^ršū^r, cf. nearly identical names listed in Tallqvist, *APN*, 103 ⁱ Uncertain, but cf. Pl. 31, 27 ^j Difficult, cf. perhaps Pl. 10, i, 20

No. 3

(ND 6218, Pls. 9-10)

Col. i

GEŠTIN.MEŠ ^rKÚ^r ^a r[ik]-su ša u₄-me
ITI DIRIG.ŠE UD ^r22^r.KÁM lim-mi ^{md}Marduk-šar-ušur

	1 sūt 4½ qa	gi-nu-ú
	4 qa	^{lú} da-gil MUŠEN.MEŠ
5		^{kur} Ku-mu-ḥa-aju

	2 qa šu-ra-ri	ina pān ^d IM
	2 qa	a-na šá pa-an ú-ra-a-te
	3 sāt	SAL.É.GAL
	1 sūt 2 qa	DUMU.SAL ^{md} IGI + DU-aḥ-iddin
10	2 sāt 1 qa	SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ ša MÚRUB URU
	8 qa	KIMIN ša É.GAL ma-šar-ti
	1 sūt 4 qa	LÚ.SAG.MEŠ
	1 sūt	ša biti II-e
	4 sāt	^{lú} quru-bu-ti
15	^r *5 ? ^r qa	ša bit ^m Q _i -q _i -i
	2 sāt ^r 1 qa ^r	LÚ.DUMU.SIG ₅ .MEŠ
	1 qa	^m Šēpē-ilāni
	1 qa	^m Bēl-āli : 1 qa ^m []
	1 qa	^m Šu ug x x aju
20	1 qa	^m Ja bu ra aju
	1 qa	^m Bēl-emur-a-ni
	1 qa	^m Aḥi-šam-ši
	1 qa	^m Bēl-āli-lišir
	9 qa	ša bit ku-dini
25	4 qa	EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ LÚ.İR É.GAL
	2½ qa	ša ki-iš-ri ša ^d UTU
	x qa	[E]N GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša zi-iq-ni
	[] ^r qa ^r	[LÚ]. ^r DUMU.SIG ^r .MEŠ ša DINGIR.MEŠ-ni
	[]	[^m x x x (?) ^{lú} mu-š]ar-ki-su

Col. ii

1-2	^r 2 ^r DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ	UGU ^{giš} kan-ni ^b
	^r 5 ? ^r qa	ša GIŠ. ^r GÚ ^r .ZI.MEŠ
	6 qa	a-na ri-ḥa-a-te
5	3 qa	ša qaq-q _i -ri
	5 qa	ša ^r LÚ ^r .ŠU.DÍLIM.DU ₈
	1 sūt	GAL LÚ.SAG
	5 qa	^{lú} šá pān É.GAL
		Uninscribed space
	1 qa	^m Bēl-i-qa- ^r šá-a-ni ^r ^c
10	1 qa	^{md} Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē
	1 qa	^{md} MAŠ.MAŠ-šum-iddin
	1 qa	^{md} Marduk-apil-iddin
	½ qa	^m Ki-q _i -la-a-nu
	1 q[a]	^{md} Nābu-u-aju G[AL 10-t]e(?)
15	[1 ? q]a	^m [x (x)] x ^E -a KIMIN
	1 qa	^{md} [x]- ^r šū ^r -mu-a ^d KIMIN
	1 qa	^m Mu/Gab ^r x ^r il ^r KIMIN
	1 qa	^m Ili ^r - ^d Aja KIMIN
	1 qa	^m [] x [] KIMIN

Two lines deleted

20	1 qa	m ^d x ri-mu ⁷ -ú-a
	1 qa	LÚ [(x)] x MEŠ
	2 qa	m[<i>Il</i> u]-*mukin-nu-mār-šú ^e
	1 qa	m ^d Marduk-nāšir
	1 ½ qa	m ^d Marduk-uballit (TI.LA)
25	½ qa	m ^d Nābū-šum-iddina (SUM-na)
	1 qa	mŠilli- ^d Marduk

* For this identification of the sign (and not NAG) cf. Pl. 45, 17. ^b Idealized presentation of the text. ^c Uncertain but probable reading, cf. APN under *Bel-iqtšanni*. ^d Possibly restore as m^d[*Šamaš*]-^ršú⁷-mu-a after ND 496, 7 (*Iraq* 13, Pl. XVI). ^e Reading m[DINGIR]-*GI.NA-nu-DUMU-šú

No. 4
(ND 6212, Pls. 11-12)

Obverse

GEŠTIN.MEŠ	rik-su p[i ₄ u ₄ -m]i ^a
1 sūt 5 ⁷ qa	[g]i-nu[-ú]
1 sūt []	[p]ān ^d Ištar pān ^d Marduk ⁷
[]	[x] x ma-qa-lu-ti pān ^d Marduk-ma
5 []	[a-na/ša] ^b GIŠ.GÚ.ZI.MEŠ
[]	[ša U]GU qaq-qi-ri
[3 sāt]	[bit] SAL.É.GAL
[]	[¹ u]quru-bu-ti
[1 sūt ⁷]	[bit] LÚ.GAL.SAG ^c
10 [1 sūt]	[ša bi]ti II-e
[]	[L]Ú.DUMU.SIG ₅ .MEŠ
[]	mŠilli- ^d Ištar
x []	LÚ.GAL.GEŠTIN.MEŠ
2 sāt	¹ urak-su-te LÚ.GAL.SAG
15 DUG.ŠAB	LÚ.SAG.MEŠ
1 KIMIN	SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ ^{kur} Ar-pa-da-aj[a-t]e
9 qa	SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ
1 qa	^r A-ḥa-tú-ú
1 qa	^r Qa-nu-un-tum
20 9 qa	ša bit ku-din-ni
[]	[LÚ.ŠU.SILA ⁷ .DU ₈

Rest of column missing

Reverse

1 qa	[]
1 qa	[]
1 qa	LÚ.GA[L?]]
3 qa	¹ u ^a ma ^d []
5 2 qa	LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ.ME[š]
5 ⁷ qa	¹ u ^a ša pān É.GAL

	[]	m ^d Adad-uballit
	[]	ša UGU bit-a-ni
	[]	a-na ¹ u ^a Še-la-pa-aju ti-ša-bu
10 []	[]	m ^d Man-nu-ki-Adad
[]	[]	m ^d Ninurta-mukin-niši
[DUG.Š]AB		a-na LÚ.SIMUG.AN.BAR ti-ša-bu
[qa III-s]u		mUDU.SAL + ÁŠ + QAR.MEŠ-bit-a-ni ^c
<hr/>		
	[DUG.ŠA]B	kur ⁷ Mu-šir-aju ^t
15 [DUG.ŠA]B		kur ⁷ Sa-meri-na-aju
[DUG.Š]AB		k[urD]a [?] ni-i ša bit-a-nim
DUG.Š(AB) ^g		kur[x(x)] ri ⁷ aju
DUG.Š(AB) ^g		kur[⁷ u]a- ^r za ⁷ -za-aju
DUG.ŠAB		LÚ.x kur ⁷ x [x] x

Lower edge

naḫḫar 4 imēr 2 sāt 5⁷ qa mī-du-^rtú⁷
10 DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ

* For restoration cf. Pl. 27, 1. ^b For the choice of restoration cf. respectively Pl. 5, ii, 13 and Pl. 9, ii, 3. ^c Restoration based uncertainly on Pl. 15, 28. ^d So, and not GAL (marginal note). ^e Interpreted *faute de mieux* as a proper name (not understood), possibly of one of the *pāhizāni* who in Pl. 26, 12, may have received the same wine ration. ^f Sic; it is difficult to know whether the writing given, which finds no support in Parpola, *Toponyms*, 250-252, should be regarded as erroneous for kur⁷Mu-šur-aju. ^g ŠAB abbreviated to PA.

No. 5
(ND 6214, Pl. 13)

Obverse

ITI.BARAG UD II.KÁM lim-me m^dBēl-lišir(SI.SÁ)

	[1 sū]t 4 qa	gi-nu-ú
	[blank?]	SAL.É.GAL
	[1 sū]t	LÚ.S[AG.]MÉŠ
5 []	[D]UG.ŠAB	LÚ.GAL.MÉŠ
[]	[]	LÚ.[IG]I.MIN.MÉŠ ^a
[]	[q]a	[x] ^b na x x
[]	[]	[¹ u]quru-bu ⁷ [-ti] ^c

Remainder missing

Reverse

	[]	[] x
	[]	[LÚ].GAL.GEŠTIN
	[2] ½ ⁷ qa ⁷	LÚ.UŠ kib-si
	[] qa	GIŠ. ^r GÚ ⁷ .ZI.MEŠ
5 [] qa		ša qaq-qi-ri
[] qa		m ^r A-bi-il ⁷ d

	[q] a	ša g ¹ šdu-na-ni
	1 ½ qa	LÚ.GAL.50.MEŠ-ni
	1 qa	m ^d Ninurta-apil-iddin
10	8 ? qa	ri-ḥa-te
	1 sūt	m ^d Šamaš-nāšir
	<hr/>	
	1 ? DUG.ŠAB	*GIŠ. *GEŠTIN ? m ⁱ -du ¹ -tú
		kur*Ur-ár ¹ -ta-aju
		naphar 5 imēr 8 sāt 5 qa

* I.e., ¹ūpān rabāni which compares with the pān ¹ūrabāni of Pl. 36, 16 or the masculine determinative before a proper name, may be restored
^dFirst sign supposedly written to the right of an erasure (original A[D] ?)

No. 6
 (ND 6219, Pls. 14-16)

Obverse

	[ITI.BARA]G? UD.10[+ x.KÁM lim-mi m]	
	[1 sūt x] ½ qa	gi-n[u-ú]
	[] SUR	pān MUL []
	[3 s]āt	SAL.É.GAL
5	[1 s]ūt	LÚ.GAL.SAG
	[q]a	SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ
	[q]a	¹ ūquru-bu-ti
	[]	LÚ.[D]UMU.SIG ₅
	[1 sūt]	[š]a bit ⁱ II-e
10	[5 qa] ^a	ša bit m ^r Qi ¹ -qi-i
	[9 qa]	ša bit ku-dini
	[]	EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ quru-bu-ti
	[]	KIMIN ÌR É.GAL
	[3 ? qa]	ki-šir ša ^d UTU
15	[]	ša g ¹ šmu-še-zib-a-ti
	[]	ša g ¹ šdu-na-ni
	[]	DUMU.MEŠ SIG ša DINGIR.MEŠ
	[]	m ^d Ištar-dūri
	[]	m ^d Nabú-kabti-ahḥē-šú
20	[2 ? qa]	LÚ.GAL A.ZU
	[]	m ^r Ku-si-i
	[2 ? qa]	LÚ ¹ .HAL.MEŠ
	[2 ? qa]	[LÚ].MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
	[]	[m ^x x]-di-i
25	[]	[m ^x (x)] x u PAP
	[]	[m ^d]-apil-iddin
	[]	[m] x x

Edge	[	]	[	]	bit LÚ.GAL.SA[G]
Reverse					
	[	]			[LÚ].GAL kal-la-bi
30	[	]			¹ ūmu-šar-ki-su
	[	]			「LÚ」.GAL.50.MEŠ-ni
	[2 ½ ? q]a				LÚ.UŠ kib-si-ani(MEŠ)
	[	]			¹ ūrak-su-te
	[2 ? q]a ^b				ša DUḪ.MEŠ
35	[q]a ^c				ša GÌR ^{II}
	[1 ? qa] ^d				ša GIŠ.TAḪ.KAL ^e
	[q]a				¹ ūbar-ra-qu
	[q]a				LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
	[] qa				LÚ.AŠGAB.MEŠ
40		(blank)			LÚ.NAR.MEŠ Kaš-šá-aju
		(blank)			LÚ.NAR.MEŠ Aš-šu-ra-aju
	1 qa				LÚ.NAR.MEŠ Ḥa-ta-aju
	2 qa				¹ ūkar-ka-di-na-te
	3 DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ 2 ? KUŠ.SAL.MEŠ a-na BUR				
45	「5」 qa				¹ ūšā pān É.GAL
	[1 s]ūt 5 ? qa				LÚ.GAL.GEŠTIN.MEŠ
	[q]a				LÚ.BI.LUL
	[q]a				LÚ.GAL ki-šir ^f
49a	「5」 ? qa				a-na GIŠ.GÚ.Z[I.MEŠ]
49b	[] qa				ša qaq-qa-ri ^g
50	1 sūt				m ^r ^d Šamaš ¹ -nāšir
	2 ? ^h DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ				kur Ma-na-aju
	[] DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ				kur Me-li-d[a]-aju
	[	]			mSi i[b ?] x [(x)] ⁱ
	[	]			ša bit x [

Top edge

Fragmentary remains of two lines including the beginning of a total are preserved.

^a Restored after Pl. 25, 5 and Text No. 16, 10, note c ^b Restoration based uncertainly on Pl. 29, 17 ^c For possible restoration cf. Pl. 29, 18 ^d Restoration suggested by Pl. 29, 19 ^e The ideal reading of the final sign in this group will depend upon the Akk. equivalent (not yet established) ^f Deller's researches, *Or.* NS 31, 194, show that this writing stands for *ki-sri* ^g Idealized presentation ^h In accordance with the traces the uncertain figure of 2 may be accepted despite the clear 3 of Pl. 18, 16, since the two texts are not of the same date ⁱ The initial sign may be interpreted as the masculine determinative written beside the beginning of a partially erased *ša* (cf. following line)

No. 7
 (ND 10046/1, Pl. 16)

Beginning lost

[q]a	GAL []
[q]a	ša g ¹ š[mu-še-zib-a-ti(?)]

	[q]a	ša GIŠ.DU[^h MEŠ] ^a
	[q]a	ša ^g lš ^{du} -n[a-ni]
5	[1 ? qa]	ša GIŠ.TA ^h .K[AL]
	[2 ? sāt]t	l ^u rak-su[-ti]
	[q]a	] LÚ.DUMU.SIG.[MEŠ ()]
	[q]a	] ša l ^u su-sa[-ni ša] ^b
	[ ]	] LÚ.GAL.GEŠ[TIN]
10	[ ]	] m ^d Marduk-[]

Remainder fragmentary or missing

^a For the permissible determinative GIŠ in this term cf. Pl. 30, ND 10052, 6 ^b Partial restoration after Pl. 24, ND 10055, 8

No. 8
(ND 10047, Pls. 17-18)

Obverse

ITI.ŠE UD.I.KÁM [lim-]mu [mBēl-]i^qiš⁷-a-ni ^a

	[1 sūt] [qa]	[gi-nu-ú] ^b
	[]	[LÚ] [GAL SAG].MEŠ ^c
	[5 ? qa]	a-na x [x] x x x
5	3 qa	a-na G[^l Š.GÚ.ZI.MEŠ] ^d
	3 sāt	SAL. ⁷ É. ⁷ GAL
	1 sūt	[L]Ú.GAL [SA]G
	3 sāt 1 qa	quru-bu-[t]i {MEŠ}
	[1 sūt 5 ?] qa	l ^u rak-su-ti LÚ.[GA]L [SAG] ⁷
10	1 sūt 5 qa	LÚ.GAL [GEŠT]IN
	1 sūt	l ^u š ^a -ni ⁷ [-u-š ^u]
	1 sūt	ša [b]iti [II-e]
	[1 s]ūt	m ^d Nabú-šar- ^h u-[il]āni
	[] qa ^e	LÚ.III.U ₆ . [ME]š
15	[] qa ^f	LÚ.A.SIG ša [DINGIR.ME]š- ⁷ *ni ⁷
	[9] qa	ša bit ku-din-ni
	[5 ?] qa	ša bit Qi- ⁷ qi ⁷ -i
	x [qa]	ša ^g lš ^{du} -na-ni
	[3 ? qa]	ki-šir ^a UTU
20	[]	ša qaq-qa-[r]i
	[]	LÚ.A.[SIG ša ^g lš ^{mu} -še]-zib-a[-te] ^g
	[3 ? qa]	l ^u mu-k[il KUŠ.PA.MEŠ š]a mu[-gir-a-te] ^h
	[]	l ^u „ [lab-ba-]šú-te ⁱ
	[]	LÚ.GAL.5[O.MEŠ-ni]
25	[5 qa]	l ^u š ^a pān É.GAL
	2 qa	LÚ.BI.LUL
	½ qa	[D]UMU LÚ.BI.LUL

28a	2 qa	[LÚ.]A.ZU.MEŠ
28b	2 qa	LÚ. ^h AL.MEŠ
29a	2 qa	[LÚ.MA]š.MAŠ.MEŠ
29b	2 qa	[L]Ú.NINDA.GAR.MEŠ
30a	2 qa	[LÚ. x M]EŠ
30b	2 qa	LÚ. ⁷ NINDA ? ⁷ .ME[š]

Remainder missing

Reverse (beginning not preserved)

	[q]a	EN GIŠ.[GIGIR.MEŠ	] ^j
	x qa	E[N] GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ [	] ^j
	1 qa	m ^u Ku ni ja 1 qa [m] x [	] ^k
	1 sūt	SAL.ERIM.É.GAL. ⁷ MEŠ ⁷ x [x x] ^k	
5	[4 ?] qa	[Har]rān-aju SA[L	] ^l
	6½ qa	SAL.NAR.MEŠ kur[] x [	] ^l
	5½ qa	SAL.NAR.MEŠ ku[r ^x x] x x	
	3 sāt	kur ^x [x (x)aju] ^u	
	7½ qa	[] x x	
10	1 DU[G.ŠAB]	[]	
	2 [KIMIN]	[l ^u š ^a ? G]ir ^{II}	
	1 [KIMIN]	L[Ú	] ^l
	[1 ?]	ina [nu-bat]- ⁷ ti ⁷	
	1	ri[- ^h]a-ti	
15	3	kurSa-me-ri-na-[a]ju ^r u ⁷	
	3	kurMa-na- ⁷ aju ⁷ u	
	2	kurGar-ga- ⁷ mis ⁷ -aju ^u	
	4 qa	kurSa-ma-al-aju ^u	

napḫar 5 imēr 2 sāt ^m 5½ qa

^a Reading [mEN-]⁷BA-š^a-a-ni as suggested in Chapter I, p. 2 ^b Probable restoration according to pattern, cf. especially Pl. 19, 2 ^c For the restoration cf. Pls. 19, 3 and 29, 2 ^d Probable restoration modelled on Pl. 19, 4 ^e Possibly read [9] qa after Pl. 25, 7 ^f Possibly read [6] qa after Pl. 25, 8, which provides authority for the end of the restoration ^g Restored according to Pl. 29, 12, etc. ^h Restored according to Pl. 29, 15 ⁱ Restored according to Pl. 29, 14 ^j From parallel texts ir É.GAL and ša zi-iq-ni/su₆ are to be supplied at the end of the line in one or other position ^k If space allows read perhaps 'ša' [MURUB URU] after Pl. 9, i, 10 ^l Line supported initially by Pls. 26, 11 and 36, 4, but the further restoration after SAL is not established ^m So, or possibly '8' sāt as indicated in Chapter III, note 58

No. 9
(ND 10048, Pls. 19-20)

Obverse

[ITI.]BARAG ?⁷ UD [I ? .KÁM] lim[-m]i⁷ m^dNabú-ša[r-uš]u^r

[1] sūt 6 qa gi-nu-ú

Nabu-bel-usur a/c

x qa		L[Ú.]G[AL] "SAG.MEŠ"
5	[] qa	a-"na" G[Ú].Z[I].MEŠ
	[3 s] āt	SAL.É.GAL
	[1 sūt ?]	"LÚ.GAL".SAG
	[]	1[ūquru-]bu[-ti]
	[] qa	1[ūrak-]su-ti
10	[1 sūt ?]	ša biti II-e
	[9 ? qa]	ša "bit" ku-[d]in-ni
	[5 ? qa]	[ša bi]t "Qi-qi-i" ^a
		17 lines fragmentary
30	[]	LÚ.SUM.NINDA.MEŠ
	[]	1[ūbar-r[a-qu]
Remainder again fragmentary		
Edge		
	[]	LÚ.III-š[u]
	[]	LÚ.A.BA []
Reverse (beginning not preserved)		
	[]	L[Ú]
	[] qa	LÚ.GI[š ?]
	[] qa	EN GIŠ.GIGIR[R.MEŠ]
	x ^b qa	EN GIŠ.GIGIR.[MEŠ]
5	x qa	L[Ú] x x []
	[] qa	m ^d Nabû-šar-[hu-ilāni] ^d
Six lines fragmentary		
15	[]	[m ^x] x x ^e dNinurta
	[]	[m ^x] x x ku ti ^f
	[]	1[ū]mu-šar-"ki"-su EN
	[] qa	[LÚ.G]AL kal-l[a-b/pa-] "ni"
	[] qa	LÚ ,, KEŠD[A].BI
20	2 qa	LÚ.A.BA.MEŠ kurAš-šur-aju
	3 qa	LÚ ,, kurMu-su-ra-aju
	3 qa	LÚ.A.BA.MEŠ kurAra-ma-aju
	6 qa	kurKu-sa-a-e
	1 sūt "4" qa	kur[x x] aju
Remainder fragmentary		

^a Qiqi is written in the lists both with and without the male determinative, but damage to the previous sign makes it difficult to ascertain the correct reading in the present instance ^b Probably either 2 or 3 ^c The same observation applies as that made in text No. 8, note j ^d For references which suggest this restoration cf. in Chapter III, p. 89 ^e Signs resemble igi and ad which may indicate that some miscopying is involved ^f Slight help towards the reading is afforded by Pl. 40, ND 10042/3, 1, particularly in the light of the fact that the mušarkisu entry has the same relative position in each case

No. 10
(ND 10057, Pl. 21)

Obverse (beginning not preserved)

5	[]	[] x
	[]	[] MEŠ
	[]	1[ūmu-kil K]UŠ.PA.MEŠ KAL
	[]	[KIMIN II]-ú
	[]	[LÚ.III.] "U ₅ " KAL
10	[]	[KIMIN] "II"-ú
	[]	1[ūm]u-[kil] KUŠ.PA.MEŠ la-ba-šú-te
	[]	[LÚ.N]AR.MEŠ lab-ba-šú-te
	[]	^a [KIMIN] kurAš-šur-ra-aju
	[]	^a [KIMIN] kurKaš-"šá"-aju
	[]	^a [KIMIN] kurHa-ta-aju
	[]	[ša qa]q]-qi-ri
	[]	1[ūmu-šar-k]i-su EN GIŠ.GIGIR

Lower edge

	[]	[m ^x (x)] x pi EN GIŠ.GI[GIR]
	[]	1[ū ?] ša GÌR ^{II}
	[]	[LÚ.UŠ k]ib-si

Reverse

5	[]	[L]Ú.GAL SIMUG "GUŠKIN"
	[]	m ^z a-ku-ru m ^z Tab-u-"ni" ?
	[]	^b [E]N GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÌR KUR
	[1 ? qa]	[m]x ni x x 1 qa m ^d Nabû-na-mer
	[]	1[ū]bar-r[a-]qu
10	[]	[m ^d]Ištar-šarrāni
	[]	[LÚ.] "A".BA.MEŠ kurAra-ma-aju
	[2 1/2 / 3 qa]	[ki-š]ir ša ^d UTU
	[]	[x (x)] x MEŠ ^c
	[]	[EN GIŠ.GIGIR.M]EŠ ša SU ₆ ^d
	[]	[] MEŠ

Remainder lost

^a A notification of ration to the order of 2 qa is probably to be restored in these lines, cf. Pl. 22, 7-9 ^b For the probable ration cf. Pl. 26, 6 (3 qa) and Pl. 10, i, 25 (4 qa) ^c Possibly [GIŠ GÚ.*Z]I.MEŠ is to be read ^d The sign is actually KAXNUN

No. 11
(ND 10049, Pls. 21-22)

For the obverse, which is not well preserved, the copy on Pl. 21 may be consulted

Reverse

[] qa	[]
2 1/2 qa	L[Ú]
1 1/2 qa	LÚ[]

	3 qa	ša [DUH.MEŠ(?)] ^a
5	1 qa ¹	ša [GIR ^{II} (?)] ^a
	1/2 qa ¹	ša [GIŠ.TAH.KAL(?)] ^a
	2 qa	LÚ.NA[R.MEŠ ^{kur} Kaš-ša-aju] ^b
	2 ? qa ¹	KIMIN ^{kur} A[š-sur/šu-ra-aju]
	2 ? qa ^{1c}	KIMIN ^{kur} Ha- ¹ ta ¹ [-aju]
10	2 qa	¹ kar-ka-di[n-a-te]
	2 qa	[LÚ].AŠGAB.MEŠ
	2 qa	[LÚ.TÚG.BABB]AR.MEŠ-ni ^d
	1 qa	[] x x
	5 [q]a	[] ME]š
15	3 q[a]	[] x

Uninscribed space

From this point for some 9 lines the reconstruction is assisted by ND 10062, Pl. 16, which is thus used as an additional source

	5 qa	[¹ š[á pān] ¹ É ¹ .GAL] ^e
	5 qa	LÚ[] x
	5 qa	LÚ x []
	1 sūt 4 qa	[L]Ú.GAL.[GEŠTIN]
20	1 sūt	mGab-bu[-]
20a	1 sūt	[] ^f
20b	VI-su	[] ^f
	2 DUG.ŠAB	UGU ^{giš} kan[-ni]
	2	ina nu-bat-[ti]
	1 imēr mi- ¹ du ¹ [-tú x]	DUG.ŠA[B.MEŠ ^{kur} ba a[ju ?]
	DUG.ŠAB	
25	x [q]a	a-na ri-[ha-(a)-ti]
	1 sūt 2 qa SUR	x x x x []

nap̄har 4 imēr 2 ? sāt 3 qa []

^a Restoration based partly on Pl. 15, 35-37, partly on the relative position of these entries to the group of musicians (Pl. 15, 40-42 = Pl. 22, 4-6), and also on the consideration that the wine rations of the reconstructed lines 4 and 5 can be independently confirmed (respectively Pl. 30, ND 10052, 6, and Pl. 29, 18) ^b Restored from Pl. 15, 40, etc. ^c The figure of 2 rather than perhaps 3 (cf. copy) is suggested in the light of the relative position of qa at this point ^d Restoration based on comparative entries in the bread lists, cf. ND 2489, ii, 16-18 (text No. 35, below) ^e Uncertain but probable restoration based on the (apparently stable) wine ration of 5 qa associated with the ša pān ekalli, the suitability of the traces, and the unsuitability of the traces in lines 17 and 18 which might otherwise claim the same restoration ^f Lines recorded on ND 10062 only

No. 12
(ND 10055, Pl. 24)

Fragment (beginning and end missing)

[]	LÚ.NAR.M[EŠ
[1 sūt]t	mMan-nu-ki[]

	1 sūt ¹	LÚ.A.BA ¹ É ¹ .GAL]
	[q]a	L[Ú.H]AL.MEŠ ^{kur} Kaš-š[á-aju]
5	[q]a	¹ bar-ra-qu
	[q]a	LÚ.GAL EN[.NUN].MEŠ
	[]	LÚ.DUMU.SI[G ša D]INGIR.MEŠ-ni
	[]	¹ su-s[a]- ¹ ni ¹ ša []
	[]	mAm- ¹ ba ¹ -hi
10	[]	[L]Ú.ŠU.SÌLA.DU ₈
	[]	[LÚ].GAL.50.MEŠ-ni
	[]	[LÚ] x x x x []
	[]	[] x BUR

No. 13
(ND 10027 + 10028, Pls. 24-26)

Obverse (some lines missing)

	[]	x x []
	[3 s]āt	SAL.É.GAL
	3 sāt 5 qa	¹ quru-[bu-ti]
	2 sāt 4 qa	¹ rak-s[u-ti]
5	5 qa	ša bit Qi-q[i-i]
	9 qa	ša bit ku-[di]n-ni
	9 qa	LÚ.III ¹ U ₅ .MEŠ ¹
	6 qa	LÚ.A.S[IG.M]EŠ ša DINGIR.MEŠ-ni
	6 qa	ša ^{giš} mu-še-zib-ati(MEŠ)
10	1 sūt	LÚ.GAL.SAG
	9 qa	LÚ.NAR.MEŠ KUR.ME[š.T]A.[AM ?]
	2 qa	LÚ.A.BA.MEŠ ^{kur} Ara-[ma-aju]
	3 qa	ki-šir ša ^d UTU
	5 qa	¹ šá pān KUR
15	9 qa	LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ š[a]
	1 1/2 qa	ša ^{giš} du-na-[n]i
	1 1/2 ? qa ¹	LÚ.UŠ kib-s[i]-ani(MEŠ)
	[]	EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša ziq[-ni]
	[q]a	L[Ú].GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša DU[H.MEŠ]
20	x qa ^a	LÚ.[HAL.M]EŠ ^{kur} Kaš-šá-aj[u]
	3 qa	LÚ.GAL ^{še} ki-si-te
	2 qa	LÚ.BI.LUL
	2 qa	mNabú š[u ? (x)] ku ^b

One line fragmentary and
remainder missing

Reverse (beginning not preserved)

[]	[] x []
[]	[m(x)] x ka x []

	[	]	ṛm ⁷ x ša di [
	½ qa		mKa-nun-aju
5	3 qa		ṛGIŠ ⁷ .GÚ.ZI.MEŠ
	3 qa		EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ i[R KUR/É.GAL]
	2 sāt 1 ṛqa ⁷	kur	Ma-da-aju kurSi-in-g[i-ir-aju] c
	1 ½ qa		LÚ.ḪAL.MEŠ
	1 ½ qa		LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
10	½ qa		DUMU LÚ.BI.LUL
	3 qa		ṛHarran-aju
	[] qa III-su		lūpa-ḫi-za-ni
	[] qa		m[x x]-na-aju mNa-si-ḫu
	[] qa		ša qaq-qa-ri
15	[] qa		mKu-ni-ja
	[] qa		A.KIN ša LÚ.GAL.BI.LUL
	[]		mNūri-ja EN r[a ?]

Two lines fragmentary and
remainder missing

^a Probably either 3 or 6 qa is to be restored, for the latter figure cf. Pl. 40, ND 10038, 5 ^b Reading not resolved ^c Uncertain; cf. perhaps *Singāra* (Parpola, *Toponyms*, 310) which appears to be the only known locality which provides a suitable comparison

No. 14
(ND 10031, Pls. 27-28)

Obverse

	[GEŠTIN.MEŠ] a	ṛrik ⁷ -su pi ₄ u ₄ -m[i ?]
	[] me b	ṛa-na ⁷ c GIŠ.[G]Ú.[ZI.MEŠ]
	[] qa	gi-nu-ú
	[]	[ina pān] ṛdIM ⁷ ? d
5	[] SUR	[] x []
	[DU]G.ŠAB	LÚ [x] x [(?)]
	2	a-na []
	x	a-na [] e
	3 sāt	bit [LÚ.GAL.S]AG f
10	1 sūt	bit šu [ša x] ti g
	[]	LÚ []
	1 sūt 3 q[a]	[] x
	1 sūt	*š[a ? biti II]-e
	1 sūt 2 qa	L[Ú.A.SIG.MEŠ ša] ṛDINGIR.MEŠ-ni ⁷

Six lines missing

[] qa	ša UGU qaq-q[i-ri]
[] qa	ṛša ⁷ DUḪ- {ni}.MEŠ h
[]	ṛLÚ ⁷ .GAL.50.MEŠ-ni h
2 ½ qa	L[Ú.Ú]š kib-si-a-ni

25	ṛ6 ? ⁷ qa	LÚ.GAL.ṛKI ⁷ .NUN.MEŠ i
	ṛ5 ? ⁷ qa	EN GIŠ.GIGIR.M[EŠ š]a SU ₆ -n[i]

Reverse (only terminal lines preserved)

[x DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ]	[()] KUR x [] j
-----------------	-------------------

One line fragmentary

[()] 5 sāt mi-du-tú [(x)] x []	
[(?)] i	kurSu-ḫa-aj[u]
[()]	kur _x (x) ni s[a aju ?]
[naḫar ?] ṛ4 ⁷ IG[1] k 9 sāt[t] 3 [qa]	

^a There does not appear to be sufficient space for the additional restoration of kú, as on Pl. 9, i, 1
^b Reasonably clear on the tablet and perhaps to be considered an abbreviation for *midūtu*(?)
^c The following sign appears to be preceded by an erasure, possibly the beginning of an anticipatory GÚ ^d Uncertain restoration, cf. Pl. 9, i, 6 ^e As was already noted at the time of copying, the queen's household appears not to be mentioned in the introductory lines of this text ^f The ration indicated may be thought in this instance to include an amount for the *raksūti* ša bit rab rēši
^g The restoration has been partly assisted by Pl. 37, ND 10061, 12, but the entry remains difficult
^h Suggested reading ⁱ Or possibly to be read 'EN'.NUN.MEŠ with Pl. 36, 14, as against the KI.NUN.MEŠ of Pls. 30, 24 and 35, rev. 3 ^j Restoration inspired by Pl. 34, 17 ^k For the probable explanation of this sign, cf. in Chapter III, p. 116, note 60.

No. 15
(ND 10056, Pl. 28)

Fragment (only one side preserved)

	[]	1[ú]ṛša GÌR ^{II}
	[] qa	lūša mu-še-[zib-a-te]
	5 qa	lūša pān É.GA[L]
	5 qa	LÚ.GAL šek[i-si-te]
5	5 qa	ša bit Qi[-qi-i]
	1 ½ qa	ša š ⁱ šd[u-na-ni]
	6 ½ qa	LÚ.NAR.MEŠ [kurHa-ta-aju ?] a
	ṛ1 ½ qa ⁷ b	LÚ ,, la[b-ba-šú-te]
	[] qa	LÚ ,, kurAr[a-]m[a-aju]
10	[] qa	LÚ ,, kurKaš-ša-a[ju]
	[] qa	LÚ ,, kurAš-šur-ra-a[ju]
	[2 ? qa]	LÚ.ḪAL.MEŠ
	[2 ? qa]	LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
	[2 ? qa]	LÚ.A.ZU.MEŠ
15		traces

^a For lines 7 to 14 cf. the parallel entries of Pl. 30, 27-34 ^b The likely figure of 1 ½ is confirmed also by Pl. 30, 28

No. 16

A = ND 10033, Pls. 29-30
B = ND 10050/1, Pl. 23

Obverse (heading of tablet not preserved)

Uninscribed space

	[1 sūt x q]a		g[i-nu-ú] ^a
	[]		LÚ.GA[L SAG.MEŠ] ^b
			Uninscribed space
	[q]a		a-na GÚ.Z[L.MEŠ]
	[3 s]āt		SAL.É.GAL
5	[1 s]ūt		LÚ.GAL.SAG
	[]		lúquru-bu-t[ú]
	[]		lúrak- ^r su-t[i]
	[1 sūt]		[ša] biti II-e
	^r 9 qa		ša bit ku-din-ni
10	5 qa		ša bit ku-tal-li ^c
	x qa ^d		LÚ.A.SIG.MEŠ ^e ša x (x)
	x [qa]		LÚ „ ša ^g lšm[u-še-]zib-a-te
	[]		LÚ „ ša DINGIR.MEŠ-ni
13a	[]		LÚ.III.U ₅ .MEŠ ^f
	[]		lúmu-kil KUŠ.PA.MEŠ lab-ba-šú-te ^g
15	3 [qa]		lú „ ša mu- ^r gir-a-te ^g
	1 ½ q[a]		ša ^g lšdu-na-ni
	2 ? ^r qa		[ša DU]H.M[EŠ] ^h
	1 qa		ša GÌR ^{II}
	1 q[a]		ša TAḪ.KAL
20	[5 qa]		lúšá ^r pān ^r É.GAL
	[]		LÚ.[A.BA.É.]G[AL] ⁱ
	[]		LÚ.BI.LUL
	[½ qa]		DUMU LÚ.BI.LUL
	[]		ša ^r KI ^r .NUN
25	[]		ša GÌŠ. ^r PA- ^r i
	[]		ša ^r SU ₆
	x [qa]		LÚ.NAR.MEŠ [kurH]a[-ta-aju] ^k
	[1 ½ q[a]		LÚ „ la[b-]b[a-šu-te]
	1 [+ ? qa]		LÚ „ ^r kurAra-ma ^r -[aju] ^l
30	[]		LÚ „ ^{kur} Aš-šur-ra-aju
	[]		LÚ „ ^{kur} Kaš-šá-aju
	[2 ? qa]		LÚ.ḪAL.MEŠ
	[2 ? qa]		[L]Ú.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
	[2 ? qa]		[L]Ú.A.[Z]U.MEŠ

Remainder not preserved

^a Restored according to the standard entry ^b Restored with the help of Pls. 17, 3 and 19, 3 and in the light of line 1 above ^c The closely parallel text of Pl. 19, 11, has in this position the important variant [ša b]it ^rQi-qi-i^r; the reading of B, ša bit [] is actually ambiguous at this point ^d For possible restoration of the ration figures in lines 11-13 cf. Pl. 25, 8, 9 and 15 ^e A omits MEŠ ^f The entry only occurs in B ^g Following A; the line order is inverted in B which also has the spelling la-ba-š[^ru-te] in line 14 ^h Certain restoration, cf. Pl. 33, 20 ⁱ Restoration according to Pl. 33, 24; alternatively restore LÚ.GAL GEŠTIN(.MEŠ) after Pl. 16, 46, which amounts to the same thing according to the combined mess theory proposed in Chapter II, p. 71 ^j Possibly restore 2 qa after Pl. 24, ND 10028, 4 ^k Fairly certain restoration, cf. also ND 10069, 3, on Pl. 39 in the context of the preceding [ša s]u₆ ^l The stroke preceding ^rma^r in this word seems probably to be the remains of a partly erased -me

No. 17

(ND 10050/2, Pl. 23)

Note: This fragment is almost certainly part of the same tablet as ND 10050/1. The text may thus be regarded as in some sense a continuation of the preceding text No. 16.

	[]	[]	kur
	[]	[]	[LÚ.A.B]A.MEŠ [^{kur} Ara-ma-aju] ^a
	[2 ? qa]	[]	[^m Ištar-šar]rāni ^a 2 [qa ^m x x x]
	[]	[]	[LÚ].SUM.NIN[DA.MEŠ]
5	[q]a	[]	lúbar-ra[-qu]
	[q]a	[]	ša UR.KU.ME[š]
	[]	[]	[^{md}]Nabú- ^r iqiša ? ^r ^b
			traces

^a Lines restored from Pl. 21, ND 10057, rev. 6-7 ^b Interpreting the signs as [B]A-š[a]

No. 18

(ND 10052, Pls. 30-32)

Obverse (beginning not preserved)

		traces
	[1 ? qa]	[^m Bēl-āli]-lišir ^a
	9 qa	ša bit ku-din-ni
	1 sūt 2 qa	š[a] ^g lšmu-še-zib-a-[t]i
5	1 sūt 2 qa	LÚ.DUMU.MEŠ [s]IG ₅ ša DINGIR.MEŠ-ni
	3 qa	š[a G]IŠ.DUḪ.MEŠ :
6a	3 qa	ša ^g lšdu-na-ni
	^r 3 qa	G[IŠ.G]Ú.ZI.MEŠ :
7a	3 qa	ša qaq-qi-ri
	[1] qa	^m Mar-du-ki ^b [:]
8a	[1 qa]	[^m]
	^r 1 qa	^m x x za ? [m]ur ? :
9a	1 qa	^m Šumu-TUK.*TUK ?
10	1 qa	^m Išdi-[ah]b[ē] ^c :
10a	1 qa	^m Aḫi-š[am-] ^r šī ^d
	1 qa	^m Kab _x (DUGUD)-ta-a[ja] :
11a	1 qa	^m Šēpe ^r II[-ilā]ni ? ^e
	1 qa	^{md} Na[bú ?]- ^r apil-iddin ^r :
12a	1 qa	^m Bēl-āli ^f
	^r 1 qa	^m x [x x] x ^r aju ^r ^g :
13a	1 qa	^m Bēl-em[ur-a-n]i ^h
	[1 q]a	^m Ta _x (DÀ)-bi-ḫu ⁱ [:]
14a	[1 ? q]a	^m Šul-m[u-šarri] ^j

Two full lines fragmentary

	x ^k qa	[L]Ú.A.BA.M[EŠ
	[	LÚ.GAL kal-la-bi ¹
	[	lúmu-šar-ki-su [EN.GIŠ.*G]IGIR.M[EŠ] ^m
20	[	[L]Ú.GIŠ.TAḤ.KAL :
20a	2½ ? ⁿ [qa]	LÚ.UŠ kib-s[i]
	[	[^m x] x nu am qa ⁿ
	[	[DUG.Š]AB.MEŠ ^{kur} M[a]-di-[r]a-aju
	[	[, ?^{ku}] rDan-ni-aju
	[	[, ?^{kur}] Q[u-ti]-[a]ju
25	[	[, ?^{uru}] A ^r -rap-ḥa-aj[u]
	[	[^m] r ^d Nabú ^r -mukin- ^r nu-šūmu ? ⁿ o
	[	[^m] Is-sa-[me-] r ^e ? ^p
	[	[^{kur}] A ^r -pa-[da]-aju

Remainder fragmentary

Reverse (six lines missing or fragmentary)

[	[	^m x x [
[	[	^m Na-a-ni ta[r]-gu- ^r ma ^r [-nu]

10	[1 ? q]a	^m La ^r -im- ^r ba ^r -ma-la
	[1 ? q]a	^m Il-tuklats[u] ^a
	1 qa	^m Pān-Aš-šur-la-mur
	1 qa	^m Aš-šur-eriba
	1 qa	^m Il-i-iz-qūp-kēni(GUB-n[i])
	2 qa	ša ¹ UGU bit-a-ni
15	x qa	ri-ḥa-ti
	½ qa	ri-ḥa-ti ^m Mar-du-ki
	½ qa	KIMIN a-na ^m Aš-šur-ZI-na ^r
	½ ? ⁿ qa	a-na GUB ^r KÉŠ ^r s
	2 DUG.ŠAB	SAL.ERIM.É.GAL.MEŠ
20	1 sūt 2 qa	DUMU.SAL ^m IGI + DU-aḥ-iddin

	1 [qa]	x [x x] x
	1 q[a]	[x x] x ti i
	1 qa	DUMU.SAL ^m Šūmu-li[b-š]i
	1 qa	^r Ha-ni-i :
24a	x q[a]	[^r Har]r[an]-aju ^t
25	x ^r qa ^r	[x] x [] a-na É.[G]AL SUMUN-te
	[	[ ] šu ? :
26a	1 qa	^r Nun ^r a ^r ni
	[	[ ] x PAP 3 qa É.GAL.GIBIL

[] [] UG]U GIŠ.KAN
trace

^a Restored according to Pl. 10, i, 23 ^b Cf. also rev. 16 for this name ^c Suggested reading after Pl. 8, iv, 6 ^d Restored from Pl. 10, i, 22 ^e Restored from Pl. 10, i, 17 ^f Same entry on Pl. 10,

i, 18 ^g For probable restoration cf. Pl. 10, i, 19 or 20 ^h Evidently = Pl. 10, i, 21 ⁱ Interpreted according to Pl. 7, iv (vertical entries), 2, where the writing is *Ta-bi-hu* ^j Restored according to Pl. 7, iv (vertical entries), 1 ^k 2 or 3 ^l It is thought probable that no second entry is written on this line ^m For this restoration cf. particularly Pl. 21, ND 10057, obv. 13, and also in Chapter II, p. 56 ⁿ Possibly part of a foreign name ^o Text somewhat uncertain: *mukin* is written after traces of an erasure (? first stroke of *mu*), and it is possible also that the last sign is NUMUN, yielding *zēru* ^p Cf. Pl. 8 (= text No. 2), ii, 14, and possibly the ¹⁰ *I-sa-am-me-e* recorded in Parpola, *Toponyms*, 176 ^q Reading the second element of the name as GIŠ.TUKUL.B[1] ^r Interpretation uncertain, possibly correct to *GI.NA ^s No certain interpretation can be offered for these signs ^t Restored from Pls. 18, 5 and 36, 4

No. 19
(ND 10051, Pls. 33-34)

Obverse

Note: In the reconstruction of this side of the tablet the line numbering has been reduced by one since "line 2" is now thought to have been filled, as may be seen especially on Pl. 14, by the rule-line which follows the heading.

[	[	x x [
	[1 sūt x qa]	[gi]-nu-ú
	[3 sāt]	[SAL.É.G]AL ^a
	[1 sūt]	[LÚ.GAL.SA]G ^a
5	[	[ ] ME[š]
	[	[SAL.ERIM.É].GA[L.MEŠ] ^a
	[	[1] quru-b[u-ti]
	[	LÚ.DUMU[.SIG ₅]
	[1 sūt]	[š]a bit ⁱ [II-e] ^b
10	[5 ? q]a	[š]a bit ⁱ [mQi-qi-i] ^b
	[9 ? q]a	[ša] bit ⁱ [ku-dini] ^b
	[	[ša ^g] sm[u-še-zib-a-ti]
	[3 qa ^r c	[ša ^g] š[du-na-ni] ^d
	[5 ? ⁿ qa	EN G[IS.GIGIR] ^e r ^r [KUR ?] ^f
15	[q]a	KIMIN quru-b[u]-t[i]
	[3 ? q]a	ki-šir ša ^d UTU
	[2 sāt x q]a ^g	¹⁰ rak-su-te
	[q]a	ša GÌR ^{II}
	[q]a	ša DUḤ.MEŠ
20	[q]a	ša GIŠ.TAḤ.KAL
	[	[L]Ú.A.BA.É.GAL
	[	[L]Ú.BI.LUL
	[5 qa]	[1] q[ša] pān É.GAL
	[	^m [Ku]-si-i ^h

Reverse

[2 ? qa]	[LÚ.ḤAL].MEŠ ⁱ
[	[LÚ.G[AL.50[.MEŠ-ni]

	[		[L]Ú.UŠ ki[b-si-ani(MEŠ)]
	[2 qa]		1 ^u kar-k[a-di-na-te]
5	[		1 ^u bar-ra-q[u]
	[		ša UR.KU.MEŠ
	[q]a		LÚ.GAL šek[i-si-te]
	[2 ? q]a		LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ.[MEŠ]
	[q]a		a-na GIŠ G[Ú].Z[I.MEŠ]
10	[		[ša] 1 ^u qaq-*qi ¹ -r[i] ¹
	[2 ? qa]		LÚ.GAL A.Z[U] ^k
	[		LÚ.GAL ka[l-la-bi] ¹
	[		LÚ.GAL []
	[x DUG.ŠA]B.MEŠ	x []	
15	[		ri-ḥa-[(a)-ti]
			Uninscribed space
	[		a-na x []
	[x DUG.Š]AB.MEŠ	kur[]	

Remainder fragmentary

^a Restorations in lines 3, 4 and 6 are based particularly on Pl. 14, 4, 5 and 6 ^b Restorations and the order of entries in lines 9-11 are based on Pl. 14, 9-11 ^c The ration of 3 qa for the unit of this line is paralleled by Pl. 30, ND 10052, 6 ^d Restoration based on Pl. 14, 16, etc. ^e If the copy is accurate it seems possible that MEŠ was not written at this point ^f Exact restoration uncertain: but É.GAL seems to be contra-indicated by the shading if this is accurate ^g Modelled with some hesitation on Pl. 25, 4 ^h Restored from Pl. 14, 21 ⁱ Probable restoration, cf. Pl. 14, 22 ^j For the restoration of the line which is based on its relationship with the preceding entry cf. Pls. 13, rev. 4 and 5; 16, 49; and 30, ND 10052, 7 ^k For the entry in this form cf. Pl. 14, 20 ^l Probable but unsupported restoration

No. 20
(ND 10053, Pl. 35)

Obverse (beginning lost)

	[		[x (x)] x []
	[		[qu]ru-bu-[ti]
	[		x ^a []
	[5 ? qa]		ša bit 1 ^m Qi-qi ¹ -[i]
5	1 sūt ¹		1 ^u ša ¹ biti II-[e]
	9 ¹ q[a]		[š]a bit [ku-din-ni]
	6 qa		[š]a mu-še-1 ^u zib-a ¹ -[ti]
	[1] 1/2 q[a] ^b		1 ^u ša ¹ 1 ^u šdu-na-[ni]
	x 1 ^u qa ¹		[š]a []
10	3 qa		LÚ.HAL.MEŠ-ni ^c
	x ^d qa		[M]IN kur[Kaš-šá-aju]
	1 qa		1 ^m 1 ^u Réme-ni-[D]INGIR [(x)]
	1 qa		1 ^u 1 ^u P[a-pa-du-du]
	1 qa		1 ^m 1 ^u Nabú-ú-kìn-[()]

15	1 qa	[^m x x] x x x ?
	1 ^u 1 ^u [qa]	[^m d(x)] x réme-n[i]
	[]	[^m A-du]n-La-bi-u-ut ^e
	[]	[LÚ.NI]NDA.MEŠ-ni
	[]	[^m x x x T]I.1 ^u LA ¹ f
		Remainder fragmentary or missing
Reverse (detail)		
	[]	[x x] x x x ^g
	[]	[ša GI]š.PA.MEŠ
	[]	[ša] KI.NUN-ri
	[]	LÚ.EN GIŠ.1 ^u GIGIR ¹ .MEŠ
		Remaining entries beyond recovery

^a Difficult, but only one sign appears to be missing in this position ^b The figure 2 was evidently first written at the beginning of this line ^c Probable restoration, assisted by the line which follows ^d Uncertain: the stroke cutting into the following qa suggests that the figure is not impossibly 6, as on Pl. 40, ND 10038, 5 ^e Free restoration, cf. further in Chapter II, Section 17 of the King's Household ^f Suggested text ^g The two final signs seem most likely to be 1^ua-ni¹

No. 21
(ND 10054, Pl. 36)

Reverse (beginning not preserved)

	[		[a-n]a ? ^m x x []
	[		a kurElam-m[a-aju ?]
	[		SAL.ERIM.[É.GAL.MEŠ ()] ^b
	[		1 ^u Harran-[aju ()] ^c
5	[x] 1/2 qa ^d		SAL.[NAR.MEŠ]š ¹ kur ¹ x [x a]ju
	6 ? 1/2 qa ^e		SAL ,, kur[Ar-]1 ^u pa-da ¹ -aju
	1 ^u 1 ^u 1/2 qa		ša 1 ^u šdu-na-ni
	[x] qa ^f		LÚ.A.BA.MEŠ kurAra-ma-aju
	[1 s]ūt		^m dNabú-šar-ḥu-ilāni
10	[1 sūt 5 ? qa] ^g		[L]Ú.GAL GEŠT[IN]
10a	1 sūt		LÚ II-u-šú
	7 ¹ 1/2 qa		ša-(erasure ?)[mu-]1 ^u KI.1 ^u GA.ŠÈ ? ^h
	1 qa		DUMU KIN ša ^m dŠamaš-ibni
	1 qa		^m 1 ^u 1 ^u -eriba LÚ.1 ^u SIPA ¹
	2 ŠAB.MEŠ		LÚ.(erasure)NUN.[ME]š
15	2 ? ¹		1 ^u mu-[š]ar-ki-su-ute(MEŠ)
	[]		pān LÚ.GAL.MEŠ
	[2 ?] ⁱ		[ina] nu-bat-ti
	[]		[] ki ? i
			Remainder not preserved

^a Perhaps restore 3 sūt after Pl. 18, 8 ^b For possible further restoration cf. Pl. 18, 4 ^c The line possibly contained two proper names (or else a further description of Harranāju) as in the case of

Pl. 18, 5 ^a Possibly restore [5]½ qa after Pl. 18, 7 ^e Restoration suggested by Pl. 18, 6 ^f Possibly restore 3 qa according to Pl. 20, 20 ^g The amount suggested is based on Pl. 17, 10, with the correspondence also of the following line in each case ^h The suggested reading of this difficult line is based on the supposedly parallel entry of Pl. 5, ii, 12 ⁱ Authority for this figure is found in Pl. 22, 22

No. 22
(ND 10061, Pl. 37)

Fragment (beginning and end missing)

DU[G.ŠAB]	ba ? an x [] ^a
DUG.[ŠAB]	mu ? iq x []
	1ú taš-li-šú ^b
napḥar 3 imēr 1 sūt ina	É ? []
5 2 DUG.ŠAB	LÚ.NUN- ^c ni ⁷ [.MEŠ]
1½	a-na MUL [] ^c
1 sūt 7 qa	[g]i-nu-ú
DUG.ŠAB	1ú šá pān ^c É ⁷ .GAL]
2 ?	md Ninurta-dūri
10 2 ?	LÚ.GAL.S[AG]
3 ?	1ú quru-bu[-ti]
2 ?	bit šu ša [ti ?] ^d
[]	šEŠ ⁷ .TUR-šú [ša LUGAL]
	trace

^a Not understood; there is no trace of a male determinative, and positioning also is against the probability that a proper name is involved ^b Idealized spacing ^c The entry is paralleled by Pl. 14, 3 ^d The line would seem to connect with Pl. 27, 10, and appears to incorporate either a new term or a proper name

No. 23
(ND 10059, Pl. 38)

Reverse (beginning and end not preserved)

Two lines fragmentary

5 []	[ša U]GU [b]it-a- ^c ni ⁷
[]	[LÚ].ŠU.DÍLIM.DU ₈
[]	bit a ni ^a
[]	[š]a ^b *nu-bat-te
[X D]UG.Š[AB]	kur ^c Su- ^c ú ⁷ [-ha]-aj[u]
[X DU]G.[ŠA]B	kur ^c X X X aju
[X ^c D]UG.[ŠA]B	[kur] ^c Ma ⁷ -na-aju
10 [X] DUG.Š[AB]	[kur ^c X] X X aju ^d

[]	DUMU. ^c MEŠ ? *KÁ ⁷ .DINGI[R.(RA) ^{KI}]
[]	kur ^c Bár-síp-a[ju]
[]	ri-ha-ti
[X DUG.ŠA]B.MÉŠ	5 ? ^c *kuš ^c zi-qa- ^c te ⁷ [a-na BUR] ^e
	traces

^a Clear on the tablet, but the entry has no parallel and the genitive case would also be difficult to explain; an error of some kind may be supposed ^b Suggested reading, not fully certain ^c The number is possibly 3 after Pl. 18, 16 ^d Possibly restore [^cMe-l]i-[d]a-aju as given by Pl. 16, 52 in the corresponding position ^e Before zi-qa-te the tablet has BUR which is thought to be a false anticipation; the correction to kuš is modelled on the text of Pl. 15, 44

No. 24
(ND 10042/4, Pl. 39)

Fragment

[x q]a	1ú mu-kil [KUŠ.PA.MEŠ]
[]	ša ^c 1š mu-še-[zib-a-te/MEŠ]	

Two lines fragmentary

No. 25
(ND 10064, Pl. 39)

Fragment of a side edge

The fragment carries the words ^au^cma-si-*tú, [LÚ ?].NAR.MEŠ and [1]úpa-ḥi-za-^cni⁷ in a broken context. The difficulty of the first item will be apparent, and a reference to "musicians" in the second is also uncertain in the absence of a further qualification. For the obverse of this fragment see below under text No. 28.

No. 26
(ND 10069, Pl. 39)

Fragment

[]	[1ú ?]ša GİR ^{II}
[]	[ša s]U ₆ ^a
[]	[LÚ.NAR.]MEŠ kur ^c Ha-ta-aju
[]	[LÚ.A/DUMU SIG.MEŠ] ša DINGIR.MEŠ-ni
5 []	[LÚ.A.BA.ME]š kur ^c [Ára-] ^c ma ⁷ -aju ^b
[]	[] D]UḤ/MU.MEŠ- ^c te ⁷ ^c

^a Restored from Pl. 30, 26, which is supported by the correspondence of line 3 and Pl. 30, 27 ^b Probable restoration supported by Pls. 25, 12 and 21, ND 10057, rev. 7, where the entry also occurs in an independent position ^c Possibly, but uncertainly, part of a proper name of the type DN-bēl-šumâte

No. 27
(Unnumbered fragment, Pl. 39)^a

[2 qa] ^b		¹ kar-[ka-di-na-te]
[	]	[¹ bar-r[a-qu]
[	]	[ša U]R.KU.[MEŠ]

^a The fragment duplicates Pl. 34, 4-6 and Pl. 23, ND 10050/2, 4-6, from which the restorations have been made ^b Restored from Pls. 17, 29 and 22, 10

No. 28

A = ND 10064, obv., Pl. 39
B = ND 10071, Pl. 39

Fragment

Note: The two sources mentioned have been brought together since the resulting entries can be individually checked from other texts in the collection. The two pieces may possibly have been parts of the same tablet. For the "side edge" of A, cf. above under text No. 25.

3 ? sāt[	]	^a [¹ quru-bu-[ti]
2 sāt [	]	^b [¹ rak-su[-te (LÚ.GAL.SAG)]
1 sūt		[š]a bitī II-[e]
9 q[a]		[L]Ú.III.Ú ⁵ [.MEŠ] ^c
5 9 q[a]		[š]a [b]i[t ku-din-ni] ^c

^a The varying amounts of the ration for the group in question are recorded in Chapter III, p. 120
^b Since both 2 sāt alone (Pl. 11, 14) and 2 sāt 4 qa (Pl. 25, 4) are recorded for the raksūti the question of whether the ration included an amount of qū in the present instance must be left open ^c For lines 4 and 5 cf. most clearly the parallel entries of Pl. 25, 6 and 7

No. 29
(ND 10063, Pl. 39)

Fragment (near beginning of obverse)

[1 sūt	]	[g]i-nu-[ú]
[	]	[¹ *d]a-gil MUŠEN.[MEŠ] ^a
[	]	[x] x ba sa a ? an/t[i]] ^b
<hr/>		
[	]	[GIŠ.GÚ].ZI.MEŠ
5 [	]	[ina] nu-bat-ti
[3 sāt]		[SAL].É.GAL ^c
[1 sūt]		[LÚ.]GAL ⁷ .SAG

^a Restored after Pl. 9, i, 4, whence also the wine ration should possibly be indicated as 4 qa
^b Not understood; a foreign name relevant to the preceding entry is perhaps involved ^c The possibility, suggested by the copy, that an additional sign occurs at this point seems doubtful in the light of the parallel texts

No. 30
(ND 10038, Pl. 40)

Fragment (lower half of obverse)

1 qa		[^m MAŠ.MAŠ ?]-šum-iddin ^a
4 qa		L[Ú.N]AR.MEŠ [x ^m š]a- ^d Nabú-[iz]zazza ^b
[	]	^m Ma ⁷ -ši-il [š]a UR.KU
2 qa		kur[Q]ú-ti-aj[u]
5 6 qa		LÚ.[H]AL.MEŠ ^{kur} Kaš-šá- ^r aju ⁷
1 qa		^m Šilli- ^a Šamaš

^a Restoration suggested by Pl. 9, ii, 11, but not certain ^b Written GUB⁷-za

No. 31
(ND 10042/3, Pl. 40)

Fragment

[	]	[^m] x ku ⁷ te ^a
[	]	[¹ mu-šar]-ki-su EN
[	]	[^m] xaju LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR ? ^b
[	]	[LÚ.EN.GIŠ.GIGIR.]MEŠ ⁷ IR ⁷ KUR
5 [	]	[^m Ku ni] ja ^c

^a For this line cf. Pl. 20, 14, and the note on text No. 9, f ^b The shaded portion of this line has been slightly underestimated on the copy ^c For the restoration suggested cf. Pl. 18, 3 in the light of the corresponding entries of the previous lines

No. 32
(ND 10058, Pl. 43)

Fragment (from obverse, col. i)

1 DUG.[ŠAB]		[LÚ ?] x x [(x)] x
		ša uru ⁷ Dūr- ^m Man-nu ^a
at-bal ^b		
4 ? DUG.ŠAB		¹ mu-šar-kis-ute(MEŠ) ^c
5 2 ,,		LÚ.NAR.MEŠ ina ^d É.NUN
		traces

^a Idealized spacing; the village(?) mentioned in this line seems not otherwise to be known
^b Evidently "I have removed", the signs being written in Glossenschrift ^c The indicated form of the plural is suggested by the writing of Pl. 36, 15 ^d Unless rather to be interpreted as a "dash-stroke", cf. especially p. 102, ii, 39 and the following note m (p. 104)

No. 33
(ND 6213 + ? 6227, Pls. 41-42)

Col. i

[GEŠTIN.K]Ú ? ^a	ša pa-[n]i niš pu- ^{hi}
[ITI.I]ZI	UD.22.KÁM

[1 sūt x q]a^b

Uninscribed space

	1 sūt	lúquru-bu-te
5	[] x [qa]	ša biñ II-e
	[q]a	EN [GIŠ.] ^c GIGIR ^c .MEŠ ÌR É.GAL
	[]	x ^c [x x (x)] x x ^d
	[q]a	šā ^c biñ m ^c Qi-qi-i ^c
	3 ^c qa	DUMU SIG ša DINGIR.MEŠ-ni

Uninscribed space

10	1 qa	mBēl-āli
----	------	----------

Col. ii

	1 imēr 2 sāt	a-na nap-te-ni
	2 DUG.ŠAB.MEŠ	LÚ.SAG.MEŠ

Uninscribed space

	5 qa	lúšā pān É.GAL
	1 sūt	mŠilli- ^d Ištar

Uninscribed space

5	x ^e qa	LÚ.NAR.MEŠ kur ^c Ha-ta ^c -aju
	1 ^c 2 ^c qa	m ^c 2 ^c []
	2 *qa ^f	š[a]

Uninscribed space

	1 qa	ša DUH.[MEŠ]
	1 qa	LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ
10	1 qa	lúkar-ka-di-na-t[e]

Col. iii (beginning and end not inscribed)

	DUG.ŠAB	a-na [U]N [KUR.MEŠ?]
	napḫar 2 imēr 1 sūt 8 qa	

^a Uncertain restoration ^b The restoration of 1 sūt, as indicated for parallel texts, is suggested also by the relative position of [q]a ^c Possibly [L]ú ^d The reconstruction supposes that the two texts come closely together at this point along the line of the break ^e A low figure, even 1^c, is to be restored ^f The clearly written ú at this point in the text is considered to be a scribal error (false anticipation?)

2. THE BREAD LISTS

No. 34
(ND 2371, Iraq 23, Pl. XII) ^a

Obverse (beginning and end not preserved) ^b

	8 sāt 8 qa ^c	[x (x)] x tú ^c
	1 imēr 2 sāt x ^d [qa]	LÚ.MU.MEŠ

	8 sāt 6 qa ^e	LÚ.SUM.NINDA
	1 imēr x [qa]	LÚ.BI.LUL
5	[x sāt] x qa	TÚG.KA.KÉŠ.MEŠ
	1 imēr 1 sūt 9 qa	LÚ.IIL.U ₅ .MEŠ
	1 sūt 5 ^c qa ^c	ša qur-ru-ubu-tú ^f
	8 ^c 2 ^c qa	EN GIGIR.MEŠ qur-ru-ubu-tú ^f
	6 sāt ^c g	lúkal-la-[bi/pa-ni]

^a Collated by the writer ^b For the reverse which contains matter not relevant to the present purpose cf. the original publication ^c No certain restoration can be suggested ^d The number seems evidently to be 4, 6^c or 8^c ^e An angled stroke, resembling u, is written after this sign as shown in the copy ^f An attempt to justify the initial ša of this compound is made on p. 122 ^g Written [1] ŠE, on which cf. J. N. Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 79-80

No. 35
(ND 2489, Iraq 23, Pl. XVI) ^a

Col. i (beginning not preserved)

	[]	[ša bi-] ^c ti ^c šeni(šEN)-i ^c ^b
	[]	[ša bi]t ku-dini
	[]	[ša biñ] be-el DÍM ^c
	[]	mu-gu ^c meš-te ^d
5	[]	LÚ „ ša DINGIR.MEŠ
	[x sāt x] qa	lúmu-kil KUŠ.PA
	2 ^c 2 ^c sāt	LÚ.EN GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ
	1 sūt 3 qa	qur-ubu-tú
	1 sūt	LÚ.U[š] ki[b-si(MEŠ)]
10	1 imēr 5 sāt	[] te ^e
	1 sūt 5 qa	x x x
	1 imēr	LÚ.KAŠ.MEŠ
	1 imēr 4 sāt	LÚ.NINDA ^c .MEŠ
	4 ^c 2 ^c qa	[ša giš] du-na-ni
15	x [qa]	[ša GIŠ.] ^c TÁH.KAL ^c

Remainder of column lost

Col. ii (beginning not preserved)

	x qa	LÚ.GA[L]
	6 qa	ki-šir [ša ^d UTU(?)] ^f
	5 sāt 6 qa	A.BA.MEŠ-ni KUR
	2 imēr 5 ^c 2 ^c qa	LÚ.NAR.MEŠ
5	1 sūt	SUM.NINDA KUM.A
	5 qa	LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ-ni ÌR KUR
	3 sāt	GAL.SAG
	1 s[ūt? x] qa	rak-su-uti(MEŠ) ša kal-laba
	[q]a	A.BA.KUR

10	x qa	GAL A.*ZU ^g
	1 sūt	LÚ.ĤAL.MEŠ
	1 sūt	LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ
	[] qa	ĤAL.MEŠ DUMU KÁ.DINGIR
	3 sāt 6 qa	DUMU KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ
15	2 ? sāt	LÚ.UŠ ANŠE ša NÁ
	8 sāt	SUM.NINDA.MEŠ
	2 sāt	LÚ.TÚG.BABBAR.MEŠ
	1 sūt	LÚ.AŠGAB.MEŠ
	1 sūt	LÚ.ZADIM.MEŠ
20	4 sāt	LÚ.NINDA.MEŠ-ni
	[x] qa	1 ^u šá GA-šú-nu
	[]	[1 ^u]šá BIL/bili ?-šú-nu

Remainder of column lost

Col. iii (beginning not preserved)

	1 sūt 2 ? [qa]	[]
	4 qa	mas su []
	6 qa	MU.MEŠ 'KUM'.A
4-5	5 sāt	LÚ.GIGIR.MEŠ ša SAG.MEŠ
	1 sūt 2 qa	[DU]MU.MEŠ ^m Kab-t[i-i ?]
	3 qa	um NUMUN
	5 qa	^{md} Nabú-zēr-ibni
	6 sāt	LÚ.MU šAR ₄
10	1 sūt	1 ^u Elam-ma-aju

Uninscribed space

	[]	[]	'ša' BUR.MEŠ
	1 sūt 1 qa	BANŠUR šAR ₄	
	8 qa	„	SAL KUR
	4 qa	„	GAL SAG
15	naphar 30 imēr 1 sūt ša É.GAL		
	5 imēr	SAL KUR	
	naphar 35 imēr 1 sūt x x ^h		
	a-šu-du ša UD/š[Á] ¹		

Remainder of column lost¹

* Collated by J. N. Postgate (1969) from an obviously improved text ^b Probable if somewhat unexpected reading, confirmed by the comparative position of the entry in the wine lists ^c Initial restoration suggested by the corresponding ša bit ^mQi-qi-i entry of the wine lists ^d On the problem of this term (if correctly understood) cf. in Chapter II, p. 62 ^e Uncertain, and the collation in fact suggests -bu ^f Restored uncertainly in accordance with the wine lists, Pl. 14, 14, etc. ^g With the copy and collation the final sign is BA, but comparative evidence from the wine lists strongly favours the reading offered ^h Difficult; according to the collation the signs are kur aš ⁱ Idealized spacing ^j Col. iv, of which only ends of lines remain, is considered too fragmentary for accurate presentation.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following simplified list excludes standard abbreviations for periodicals, dictionaries and other works of reference in general use.

ABL	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum</i> . Chicago, 1892-1914. ¹
ADD	C. H. W. Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i> . Cambridge, 1898-1923.
Agricultura	Armas Salonen, <i>Agricultura Mesopotamica nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen</i> . Helsinki, 1968.
AKA I	E. A. Wallis Budge and L. W. King, <i>Annals of the kings of Assyria</i> . Vol. I (No second volume published), London, 1902.
ANET	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament</i> . Third edition with Supplement, Princeton, 1969.
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> .
AOAT 6	See under <i>Toponyms</i> .
APN	K. L. Tallqvist, <i>Assyrian Personal Names</i> (= <i>Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae</i> , 43/1). Helsingfors, 1914.
ARU	J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, <i>Assyrische Rechtsurkunden</i> . Leipzig, 1913.
AS	<i>Assyriological Studies</i> , The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago, 1931 ff.
AS No. 16	<i>Studies in honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth birthday</i> . Chicago, 1965.
Asarhaddon	R. Borger, <i>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien</i> (= <i>AfO</i> , Beih. 9). Graz, 1956.
Beamtentum	E. G. Klauber, <i>Assyrisches Beamtentum nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit</i> (= <i>LSS</i> , V/3). Leipzig, 1910.
BWL	W. G. Lambert, <i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i> . Oxford, 1960.
Egypt and Syria	William Popper, <i>Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A.D.</i> (= <i>Univ. of California Pub. in Sem. Phil.</i> , Vols. 15 and 16). Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955-1957.
Hausgeräte	Armas Salonen, <i>Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen</i> . 2 Vols., Helsinki, 1965-1966.
Hippologica	Armas Salonen, <i>Hippologica Accadica</i> . Helsinki, 1956.
Ist.-Brief	B. Landsberger, <i>Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon</i> . Amsterdam, 1965.
Landfahrzeuge	Armas Salonen, <i>Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen</i> . Helsinki, 1951.
MSL	B. Landsberger, <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon</i> .
MSL XII	M. Civil (ed.) and E. Reiner, <i>The Series lú = ša and related texts</i> . Rome, 1969.
Nimrud	M. E. L. Mallowan, <i>Nimrud and its remains</i> . 2 Vols. and folder of maps. London, 1966.
PRT	E. G. Klauber, <i>Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit</i> . Leipzig, 1913.
PRU	(<i>Mission de Ras Shamra</i>) <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit</i> .
PRU II	Ch. Virolleaud, <i>Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives est, ouest et centrales</i> . Paris, 1957.
PRU IV	J. Nougayrol, <i>Textes accadiens des archives sud</i> . Paris, 1956.
RCAE	Leroy Waterman, <i>Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian empire</i> . 4 Vols., Ann Arbor, 1930-1936.
Royal Grants	J. N. Postgate, <i>Neo-Assyrian royal grants and decrees</i> (= <i>Studia Pohl: Series Maior</i> , 1). Rome, 1969.
Royal Titles	W. W. Hallo, <i>Early Mesopotamian royal titles</i> (= <i>AOS</i> , 43). New Haven, 1957.
Sargon	A. G. Lie, <i>The inscriptions of Sargon II, king of Assyria</i> . Part I, Paris, 1929.
SLB	<i>Studia ad tabulas cuneiformas collectas ab/a F.M.Th./ de Laigre Böhl pertinentia</i> .
SLB I(1)	W. F. Leemans, <i>Ishtar of Lagaba and her dress</i> . Leiden, 1952.
SLB I(3)	W. F. Leemans, <i>Legal and administrative documents of the time of Hammurabi and Samsuiluna</i> . Leiden, 1960.
State Letters	R. H. Pfeiffer, <i>State letters of Assyria</i> (= <i>AOS</i> 6). New Haven, 1935.

- Stiftungen* E. Ebeling, *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel* (= VIO, 23). Berlin, 1954.
- STT II* O. R. Gurney and P. Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets II* (= Occasional publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, No. 7). London, 1964.
- Tākultu* R. Frankena, *Tākultu, De sacrale Maaltijd in het assyrische Ritueel*. Leiden, 1954.
- TCL* *Textes cunéiformes*, Musée du Louvre.
- TCL IX* G. Contenau, *Contrats et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie*. Paris, 1926.
- TCS* *Texts from Cuneiform Sources*, edited by A. Leo Oppenheim, et al.
- TCS I* Edmond Sollberger, *The business and administrative correspondence under the kings of Ur*. New York, 1966.
- Tell Halaf* E. F. Weidner or A. Ungnad in J. Friedrich, et al., *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf* (= AfO Beih. 6). Berlin, 1940.
- Toponyms* S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (= AOAT 6). Neukirchen, 1970.
- Türen* Armas Salonen, *Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien*. Helsinki, 1961.
- UT* C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (= Analecta Orientalia, 38). Rome, 1965.
- VAS* *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Leipzig, 1907 ff.²

¹ To be used in conjunction with the new edition of these letters now begun with the appearance of S. Parpola's *Letters from Assyrian scholars to the kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. Part I, Texts (=AOAT 5/1). Neukirchen, 1970.

² Future work will need also to take account of the recent publication by E. Salonen, *Über das Erwerbsleben im alten Mesopotamien: Untersuchungen zu den akkadischen Berufsamen I* (Helsinki, 1971), which unfortunately did not appear in time to be used in the present study.

WORD INDEX

PN = Personal name, although the index lists only those names from the wine lists which are new or of uncommon formation. GN = Geographical name. Bab. = Babylonian. References are to page numbers.

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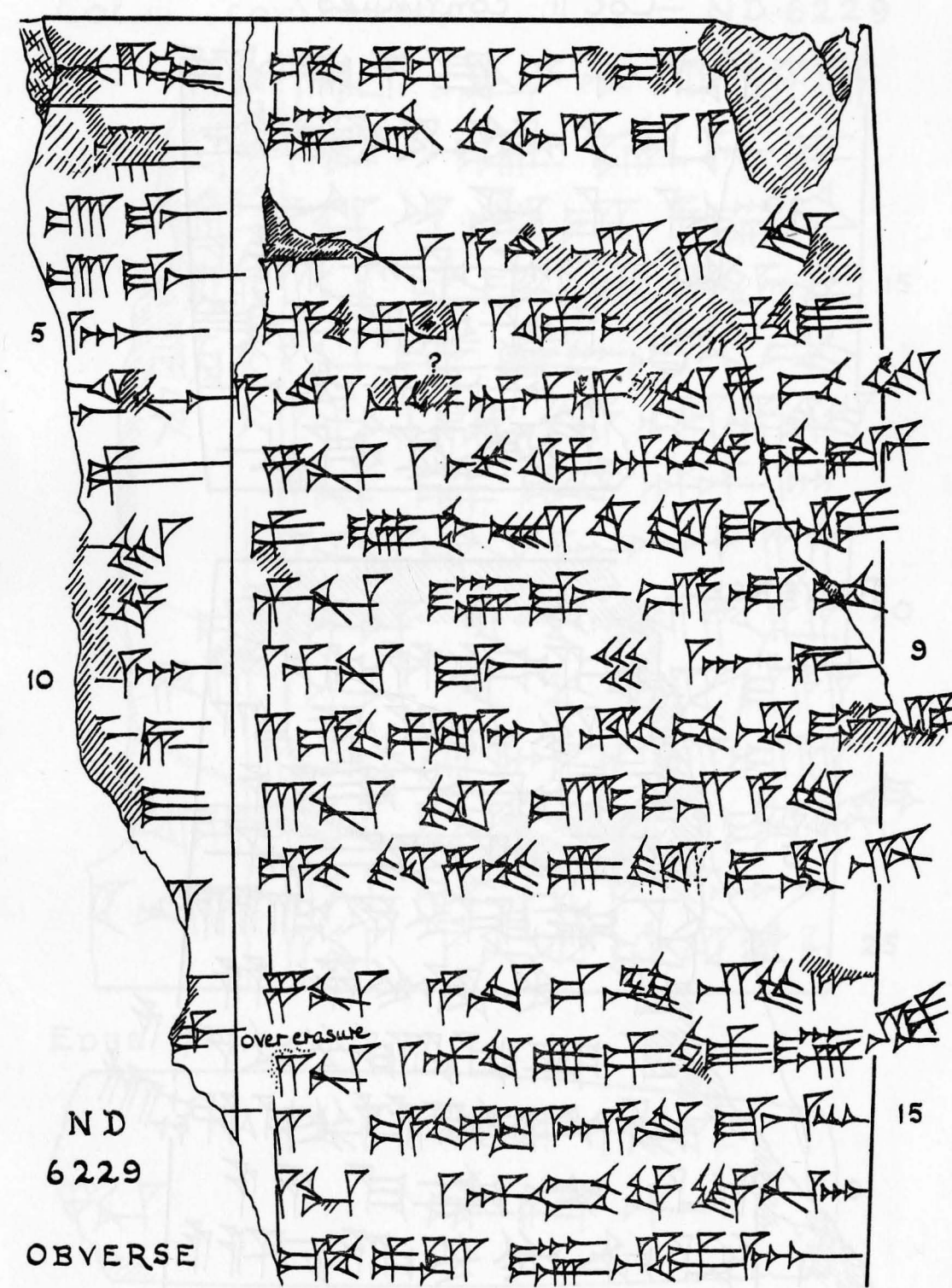
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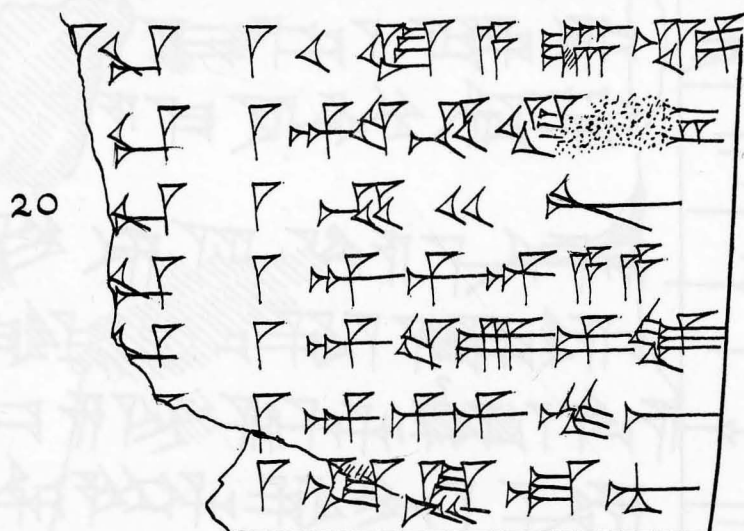
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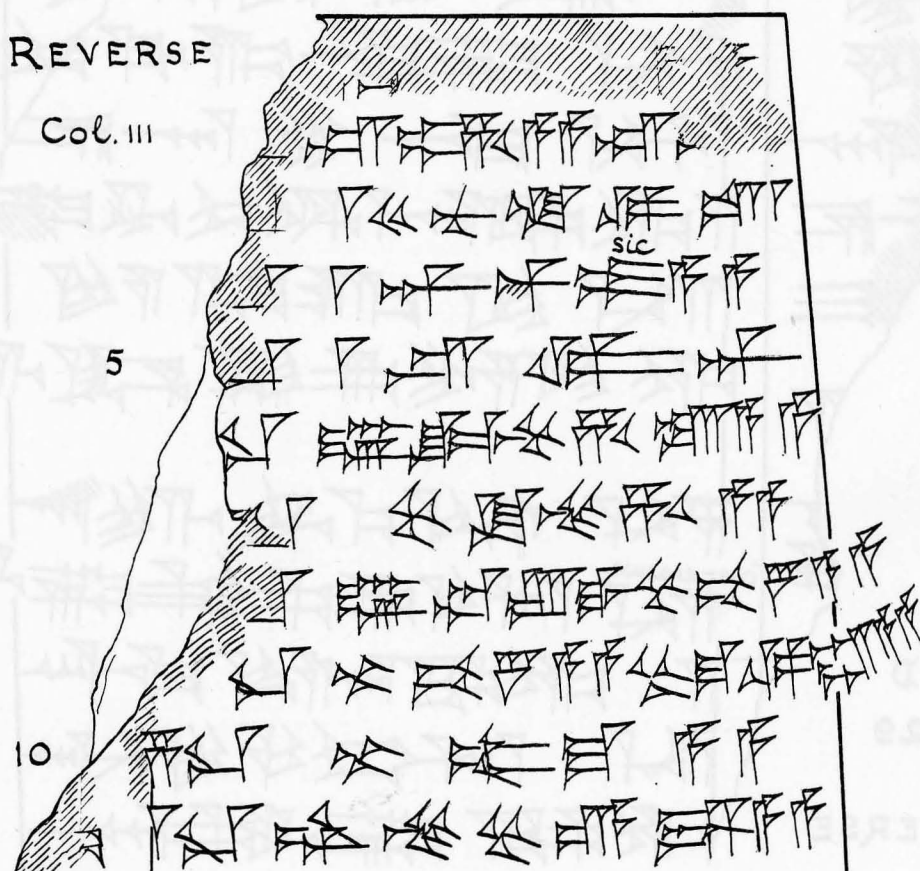


Col II, continued



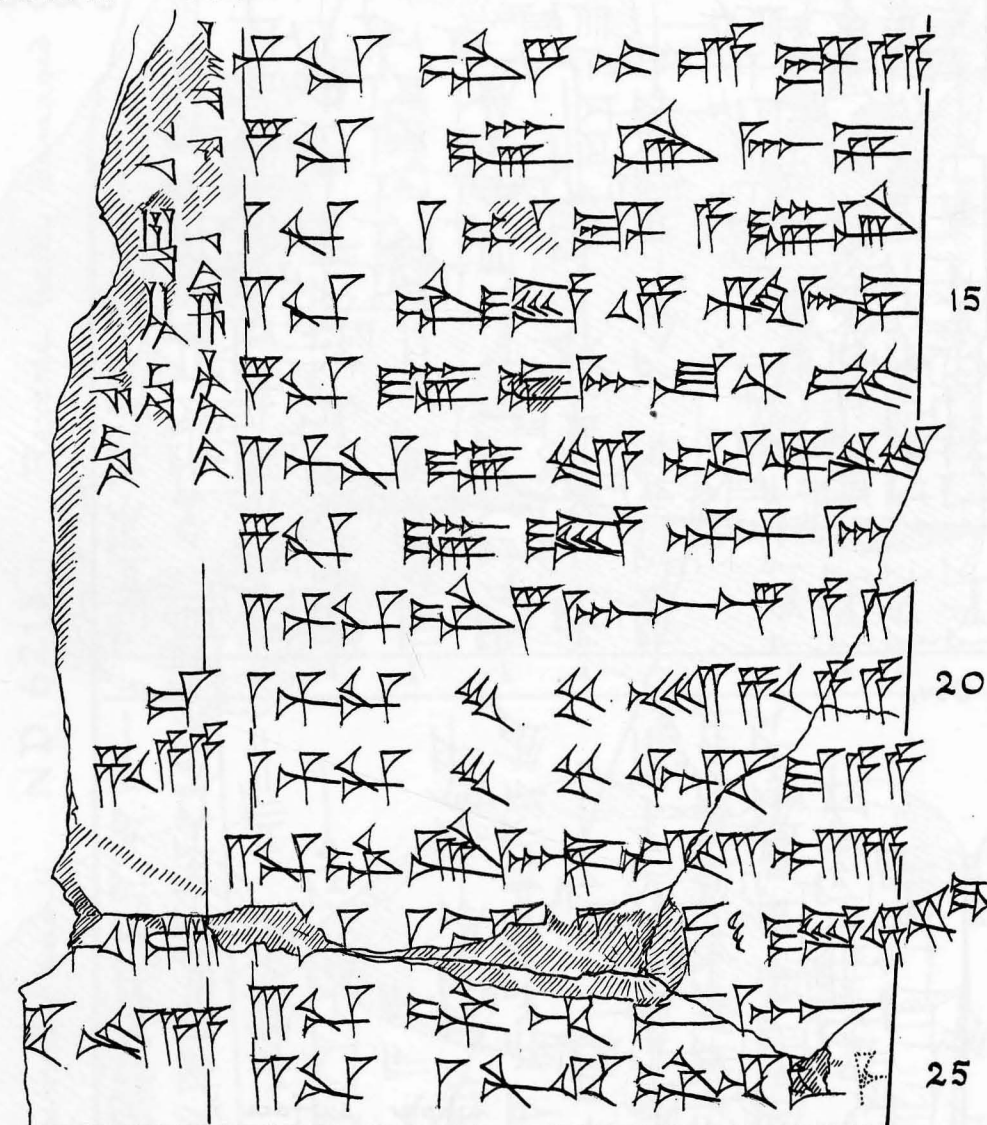
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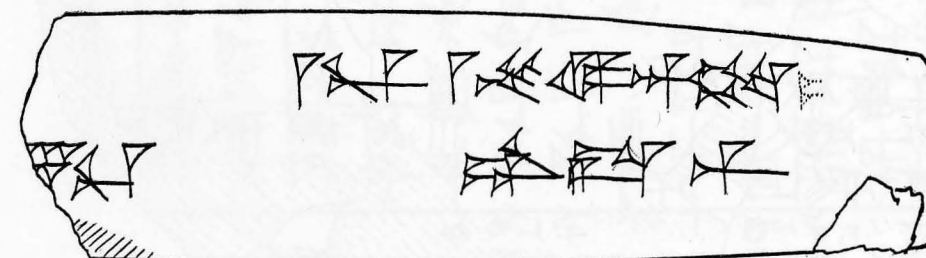


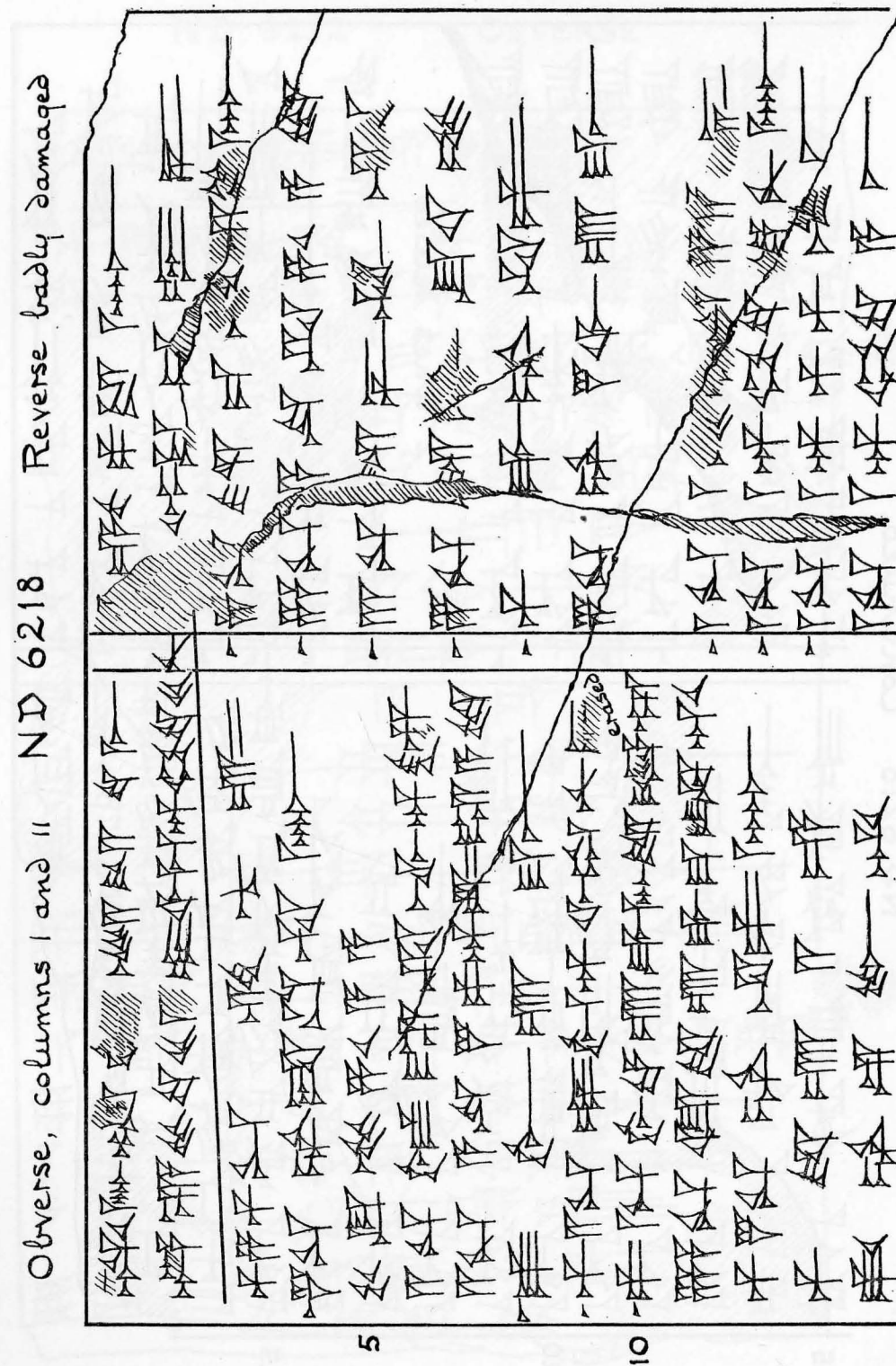
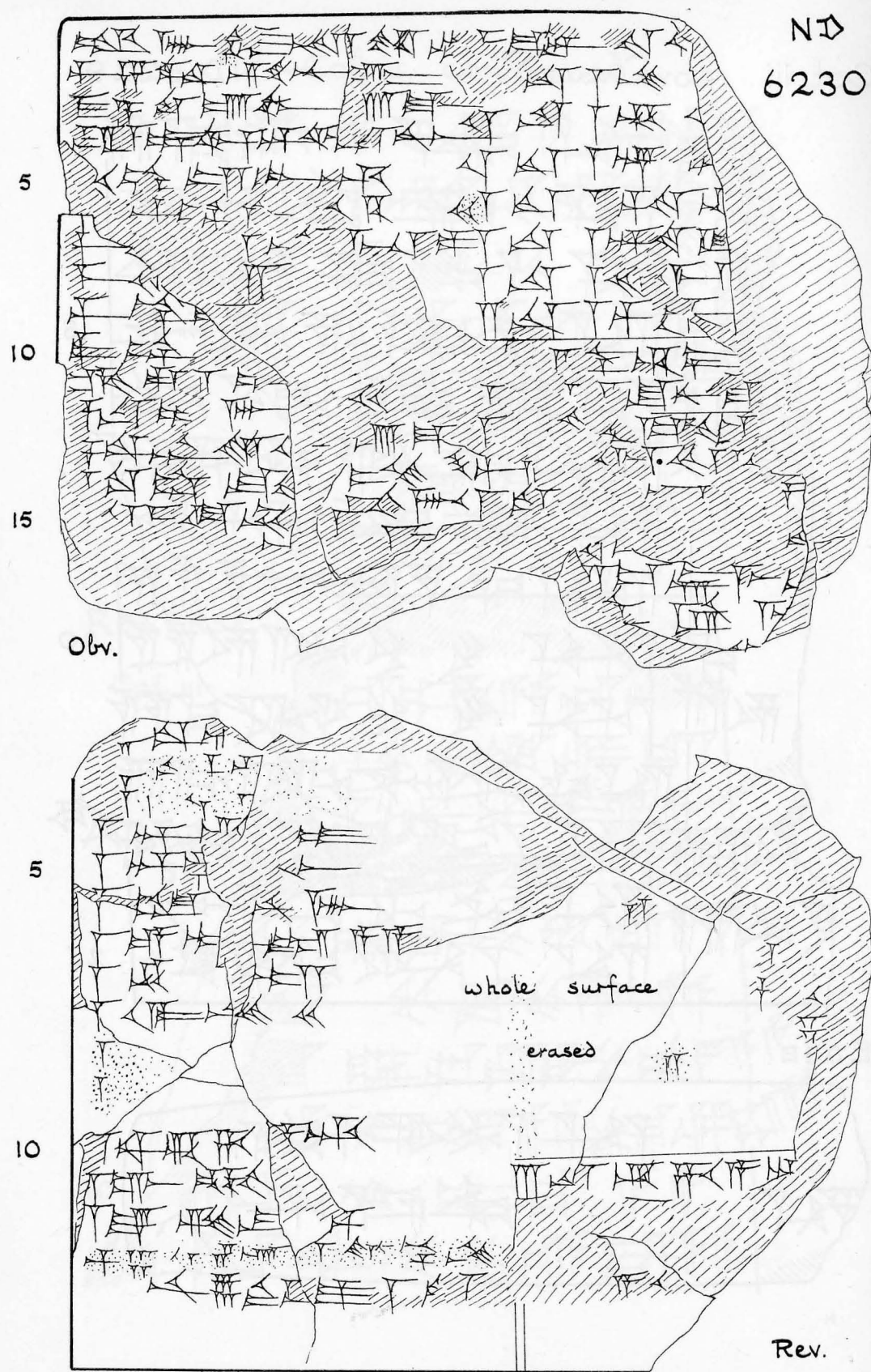
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- ND 6229

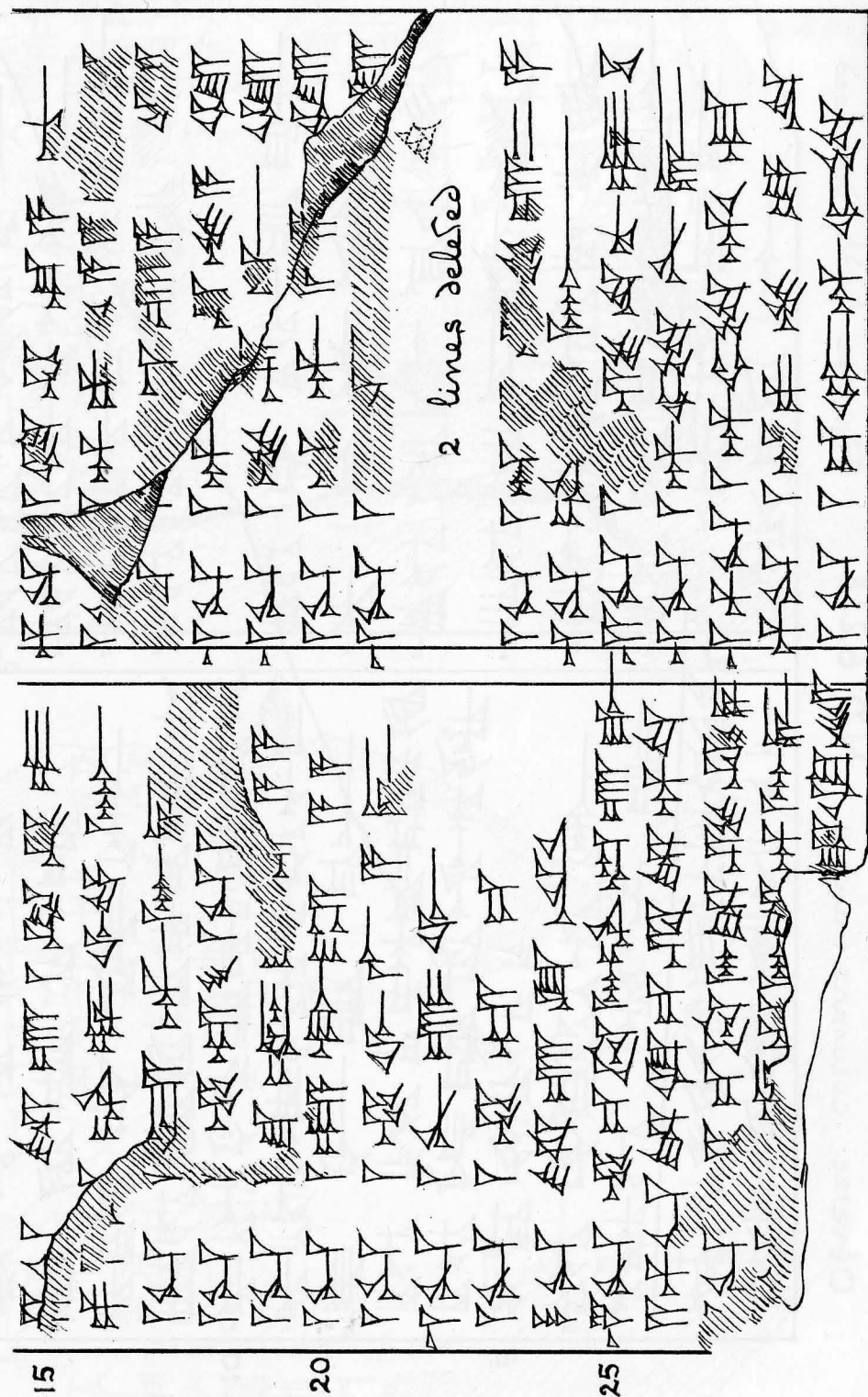


EDGE



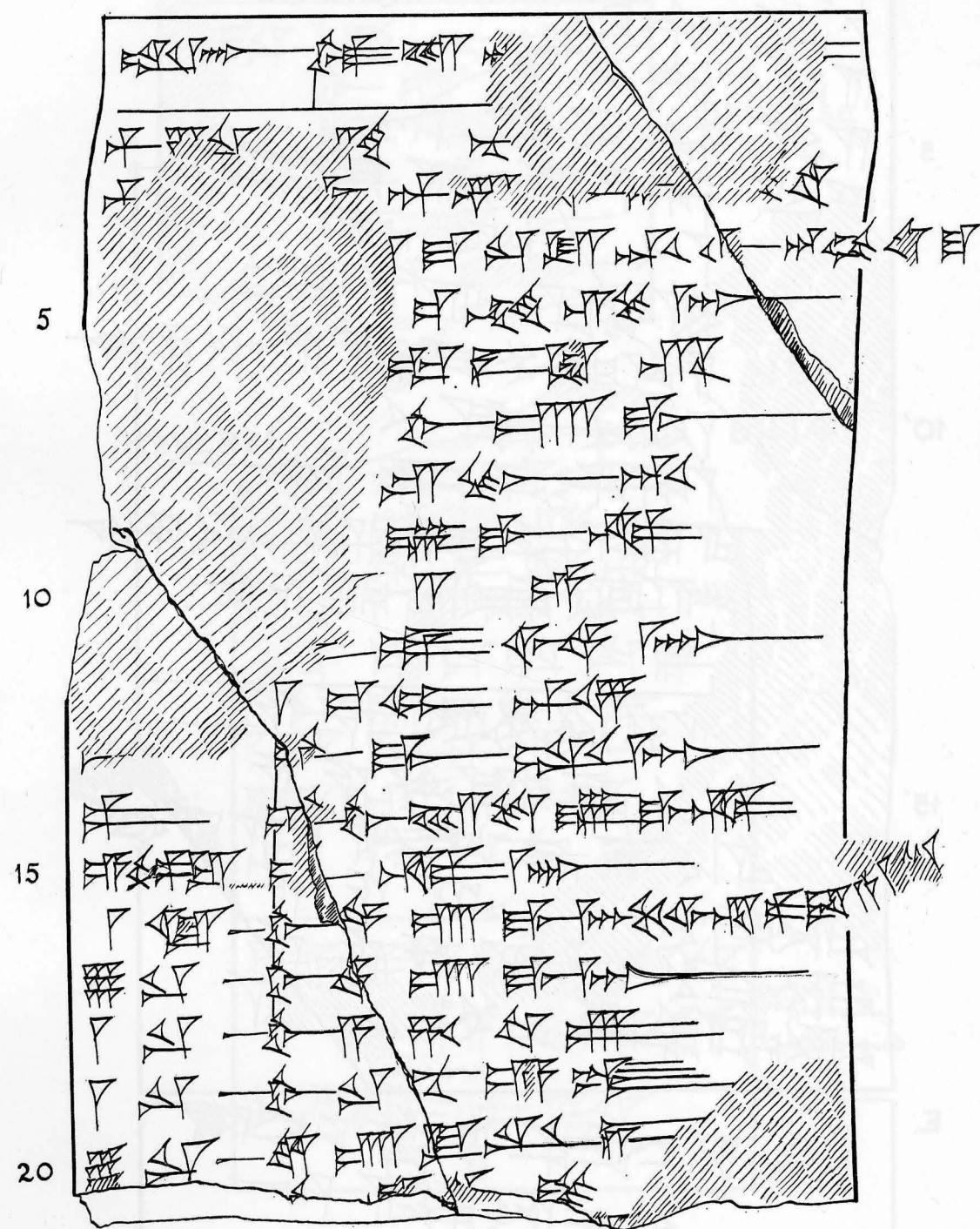


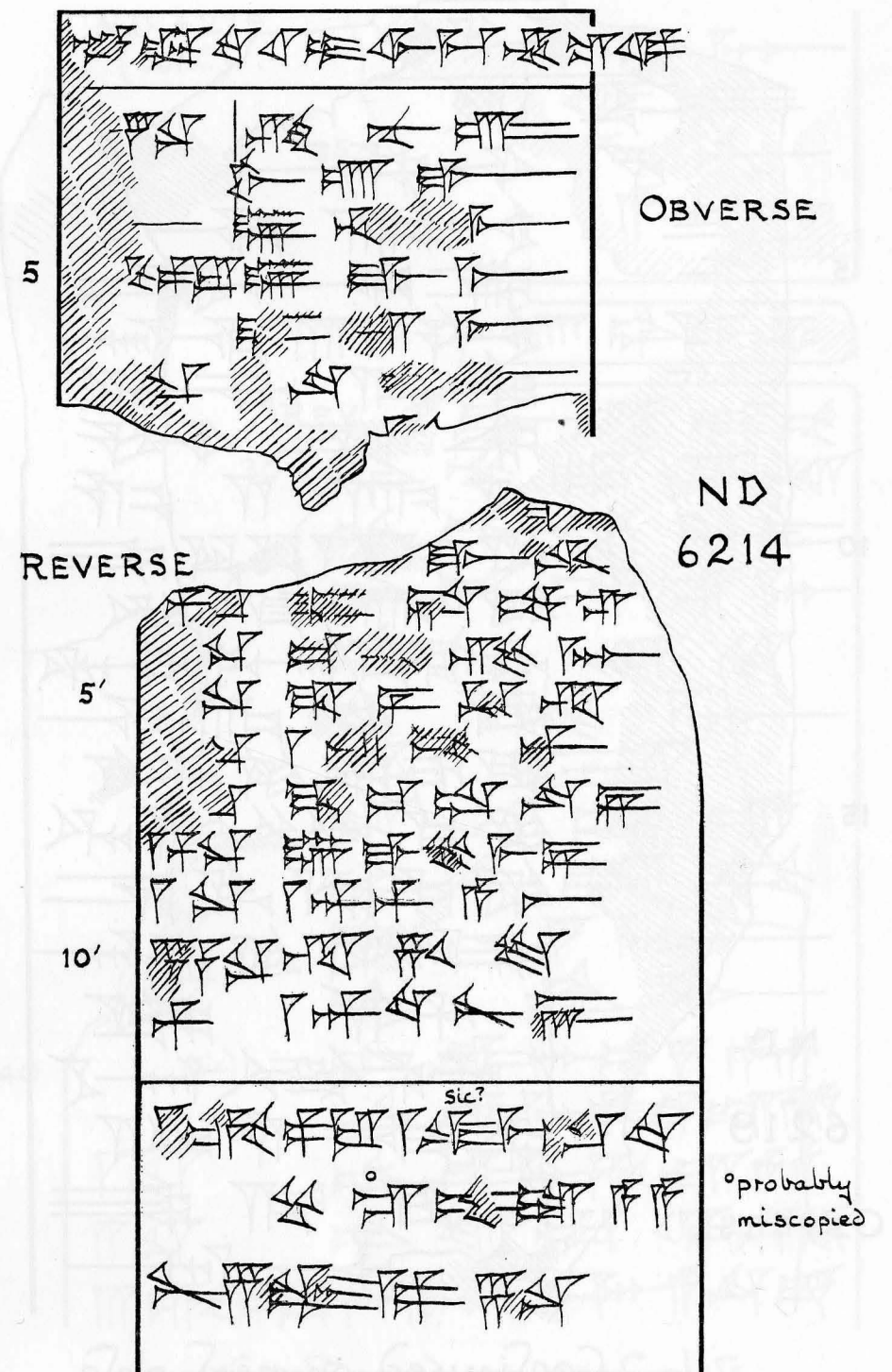
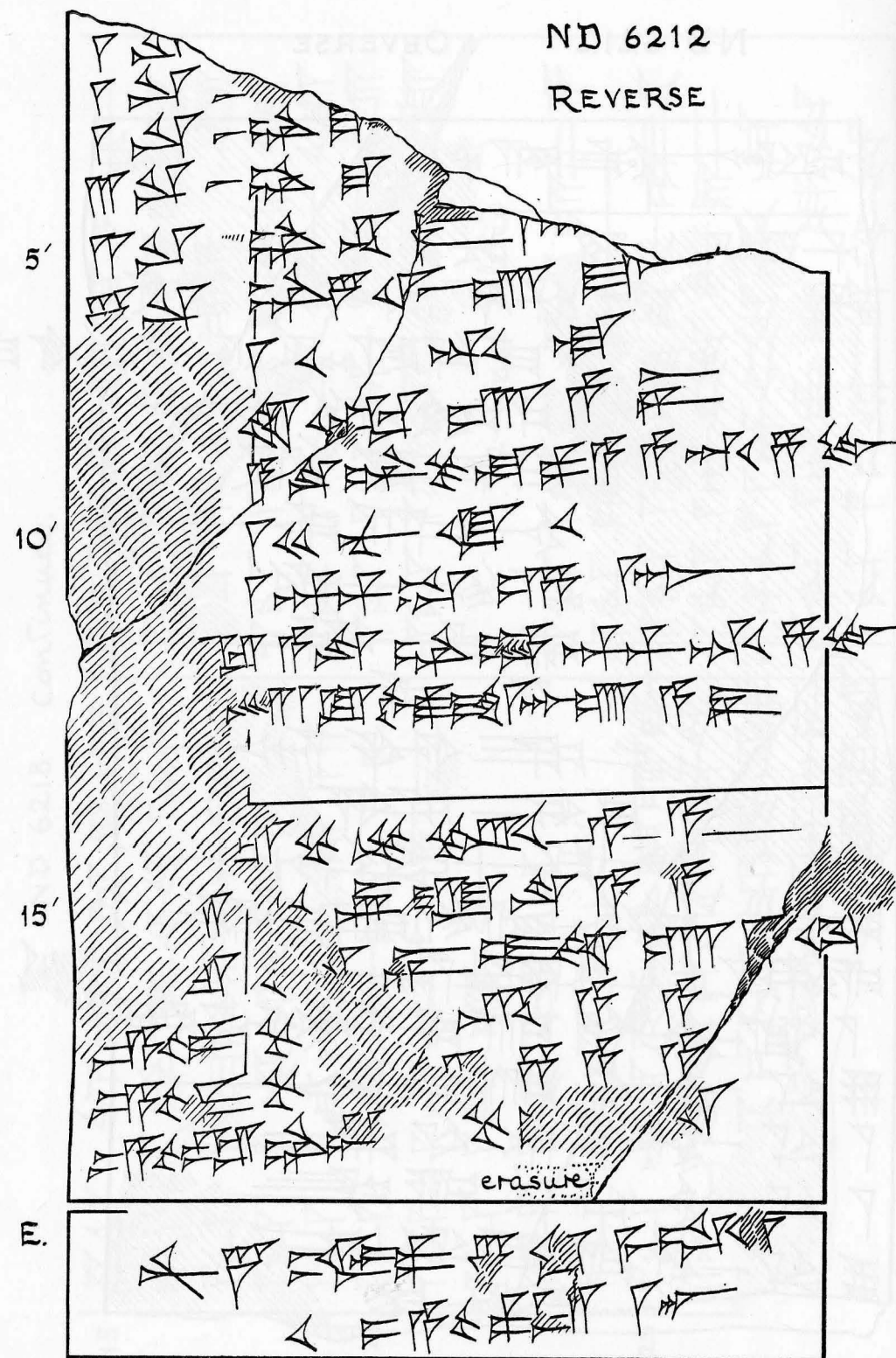
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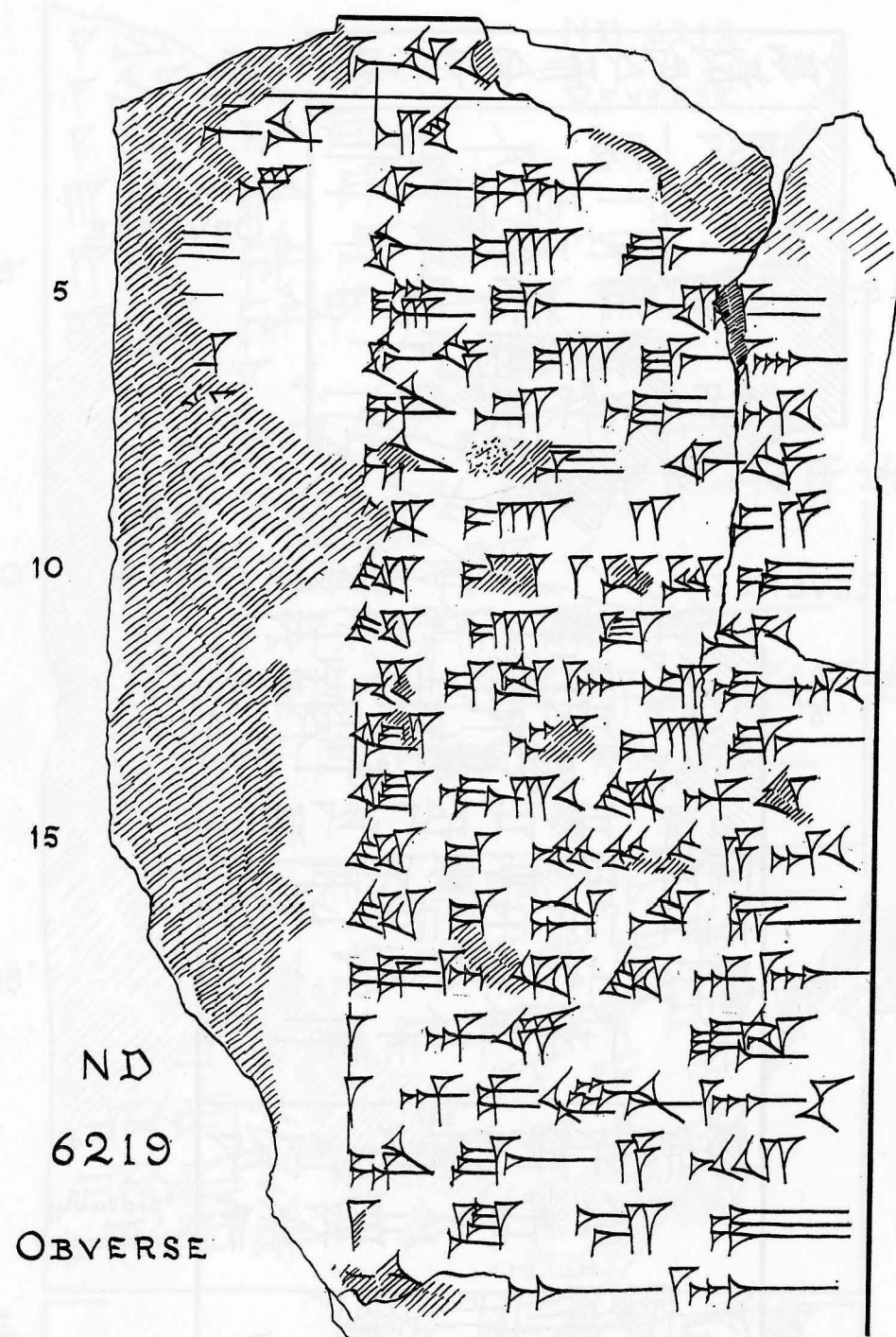


ND 6212

OBVERSE

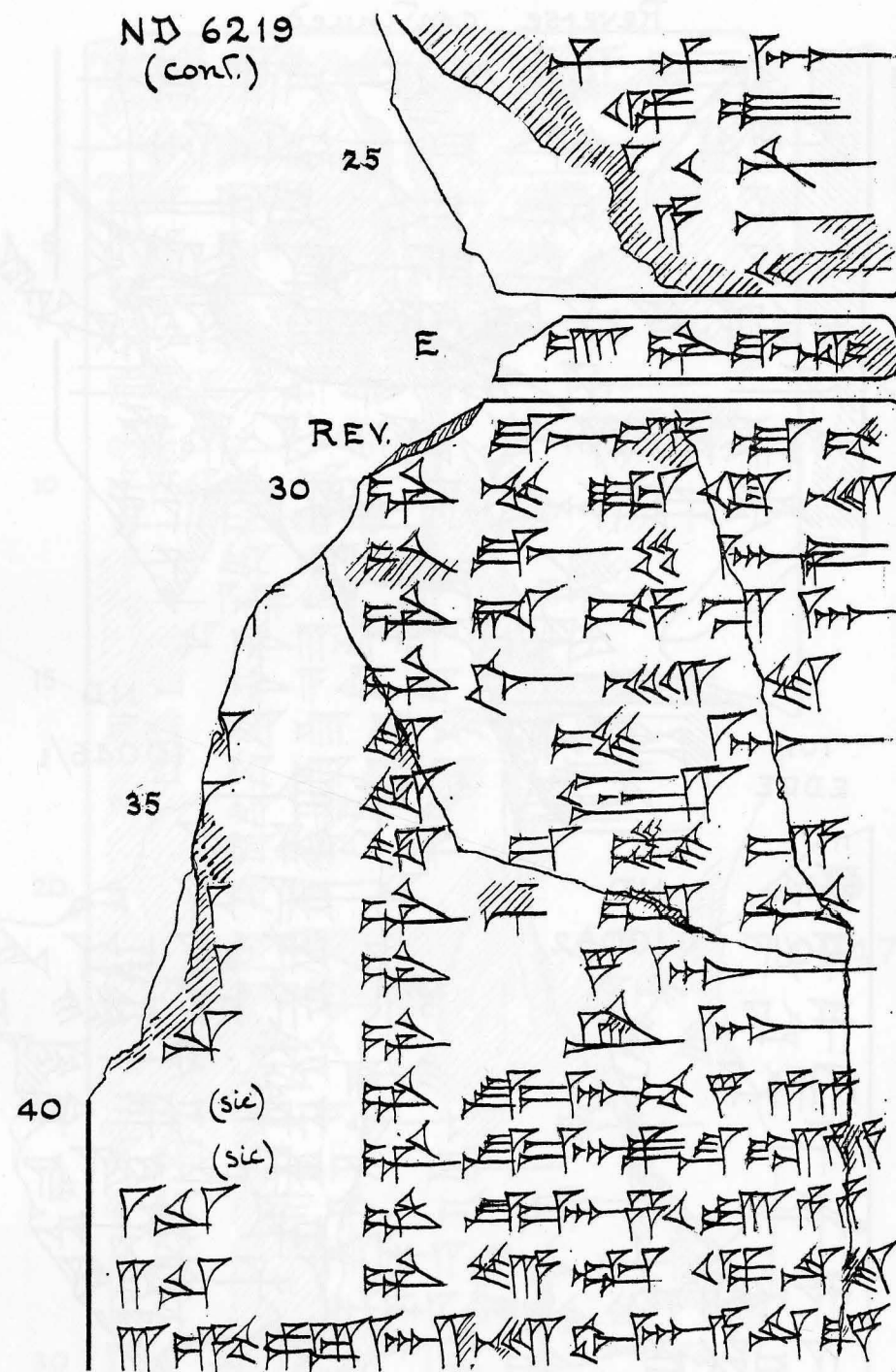






ND
6219
OBYERSE

Continued on next plate



ND 6219
(cont.)

REV.

30

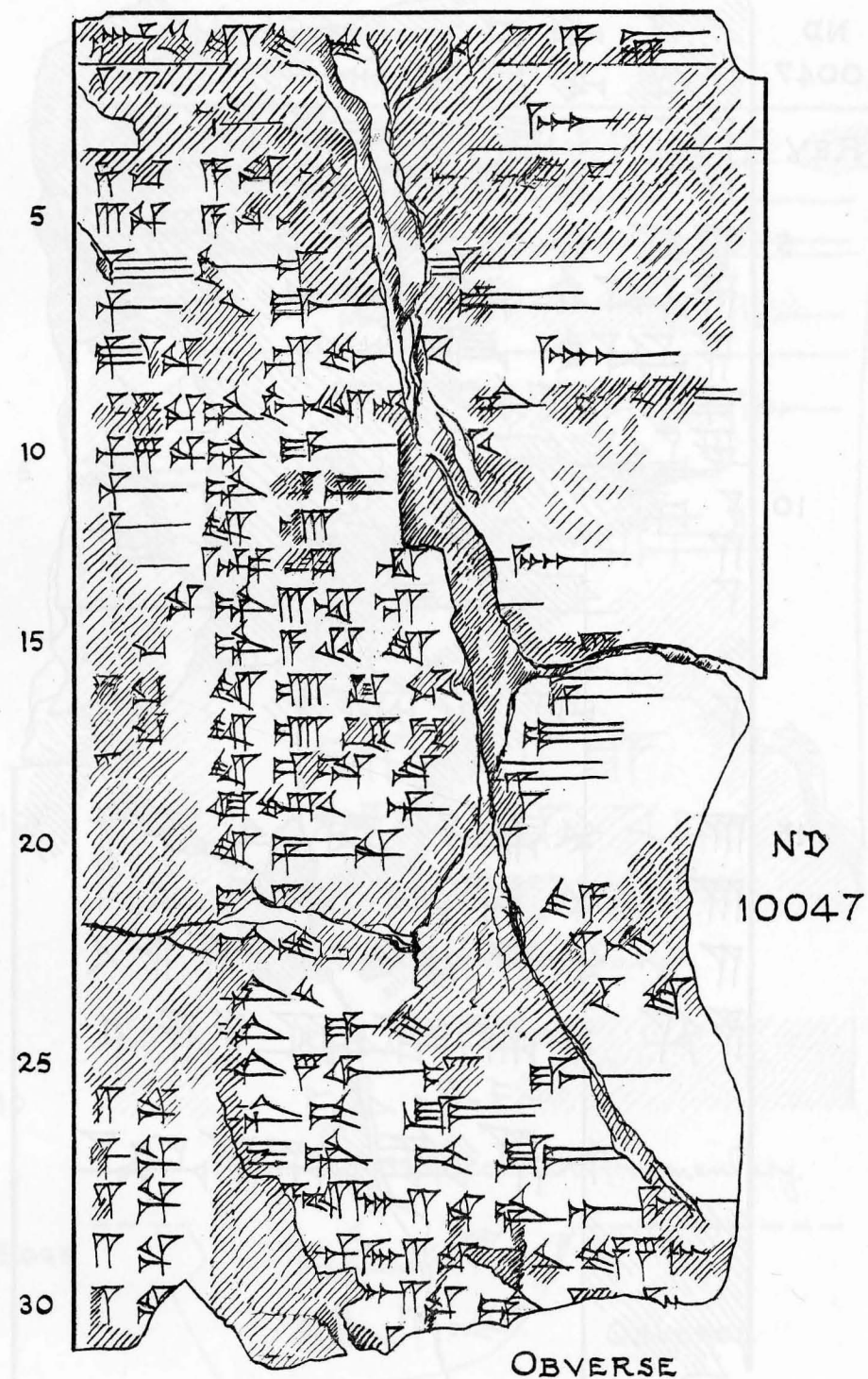
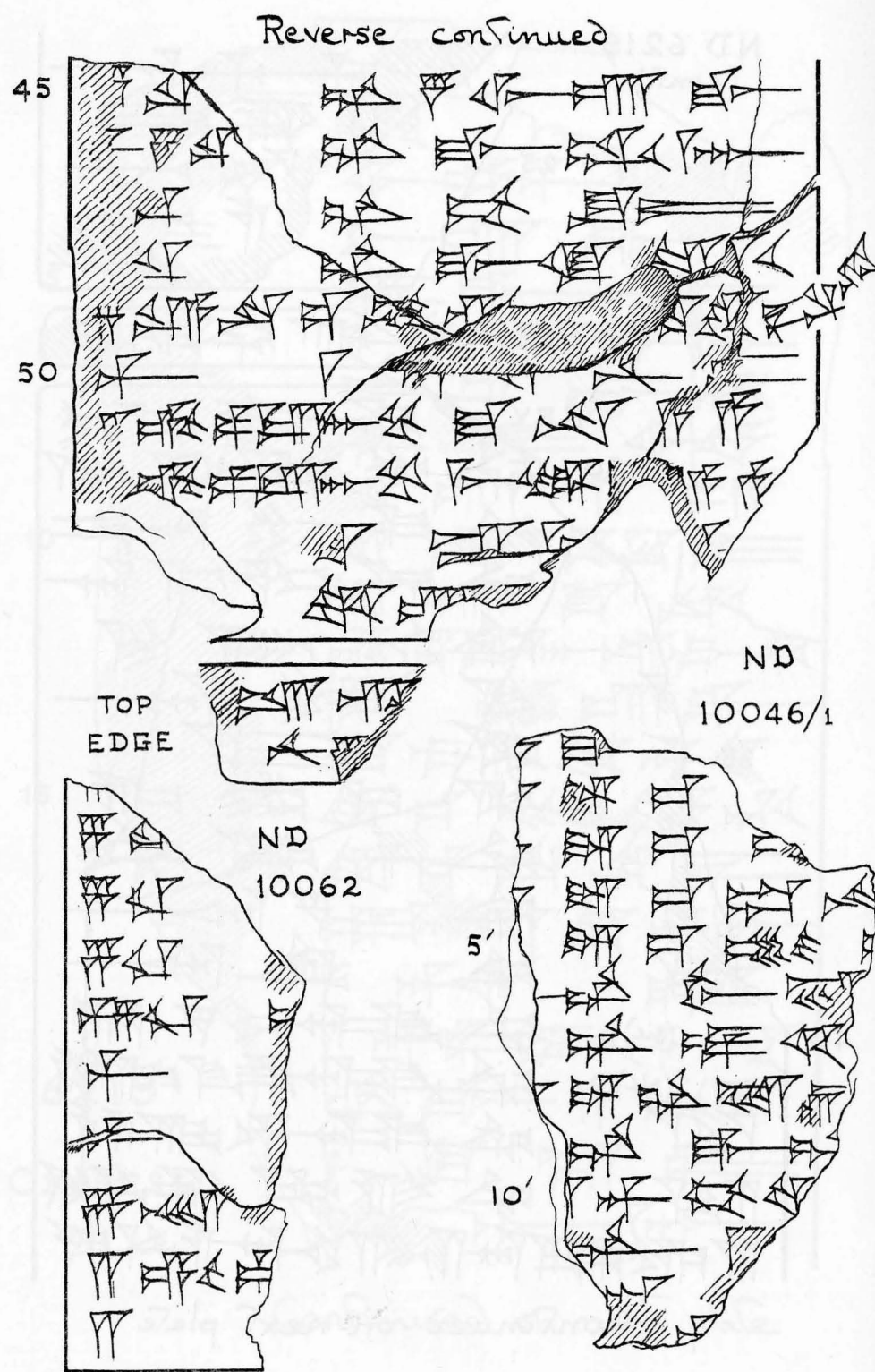
35

40

(sic)

(sic)

Continued on next plate



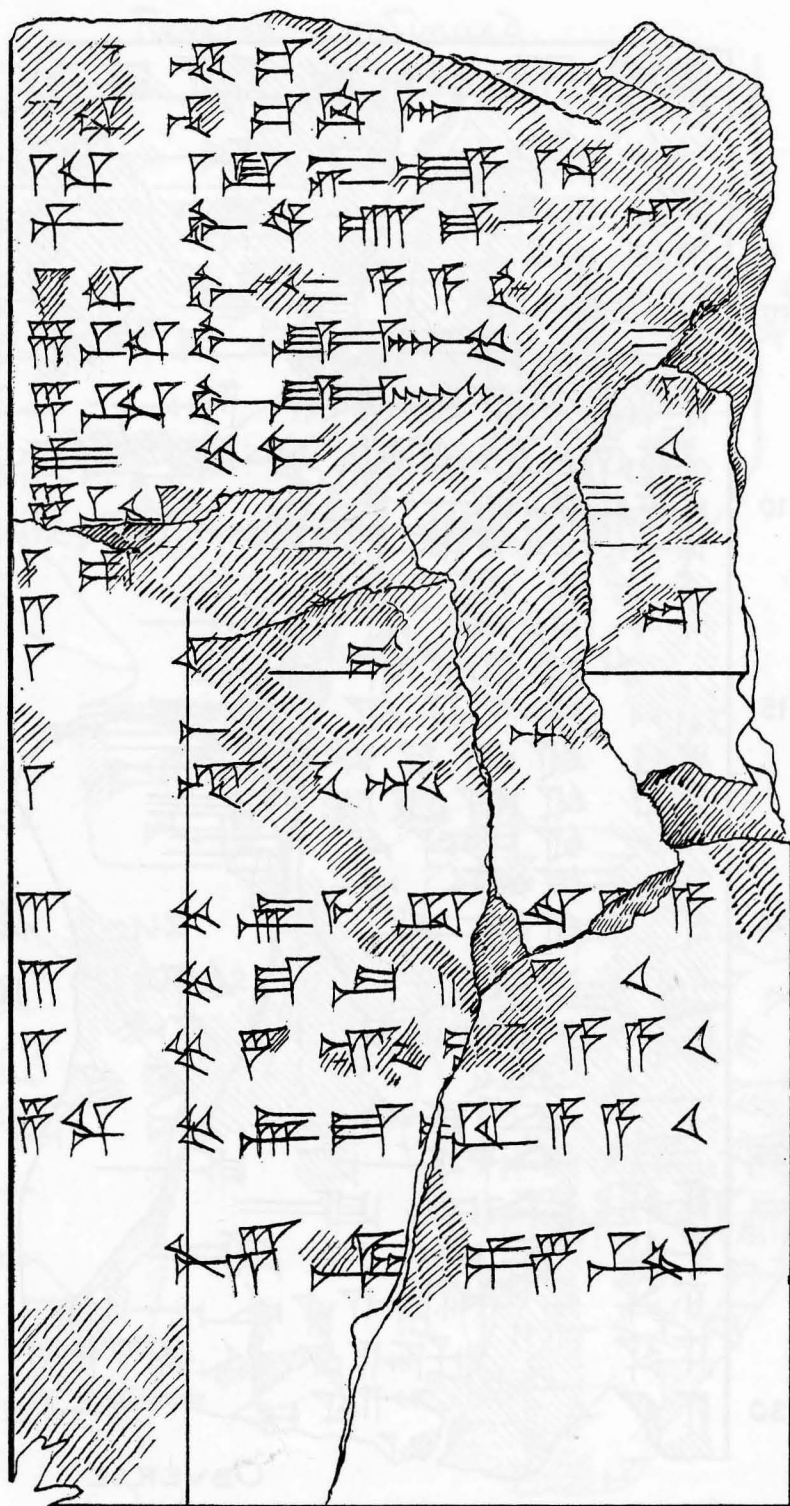
ND
10047

REV.

5

10

15

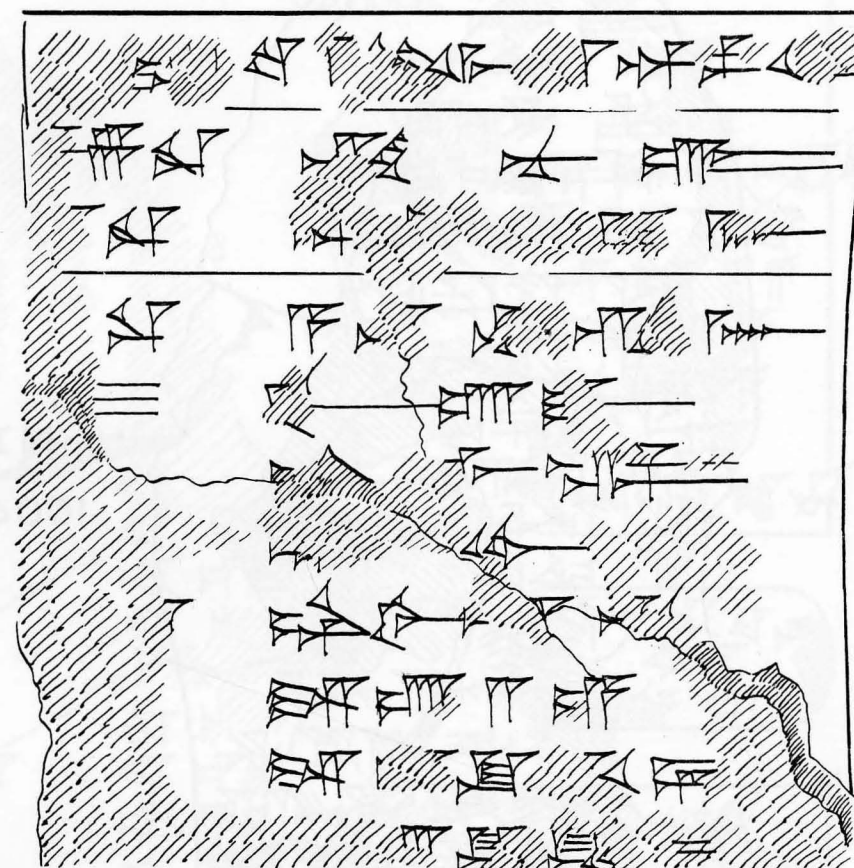


ND 10048

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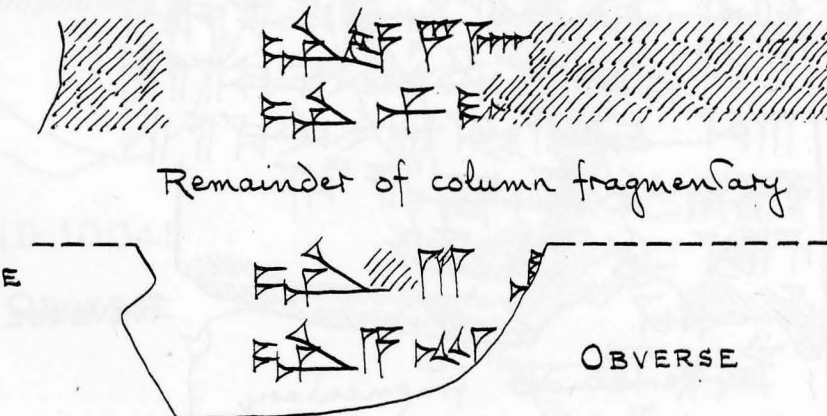


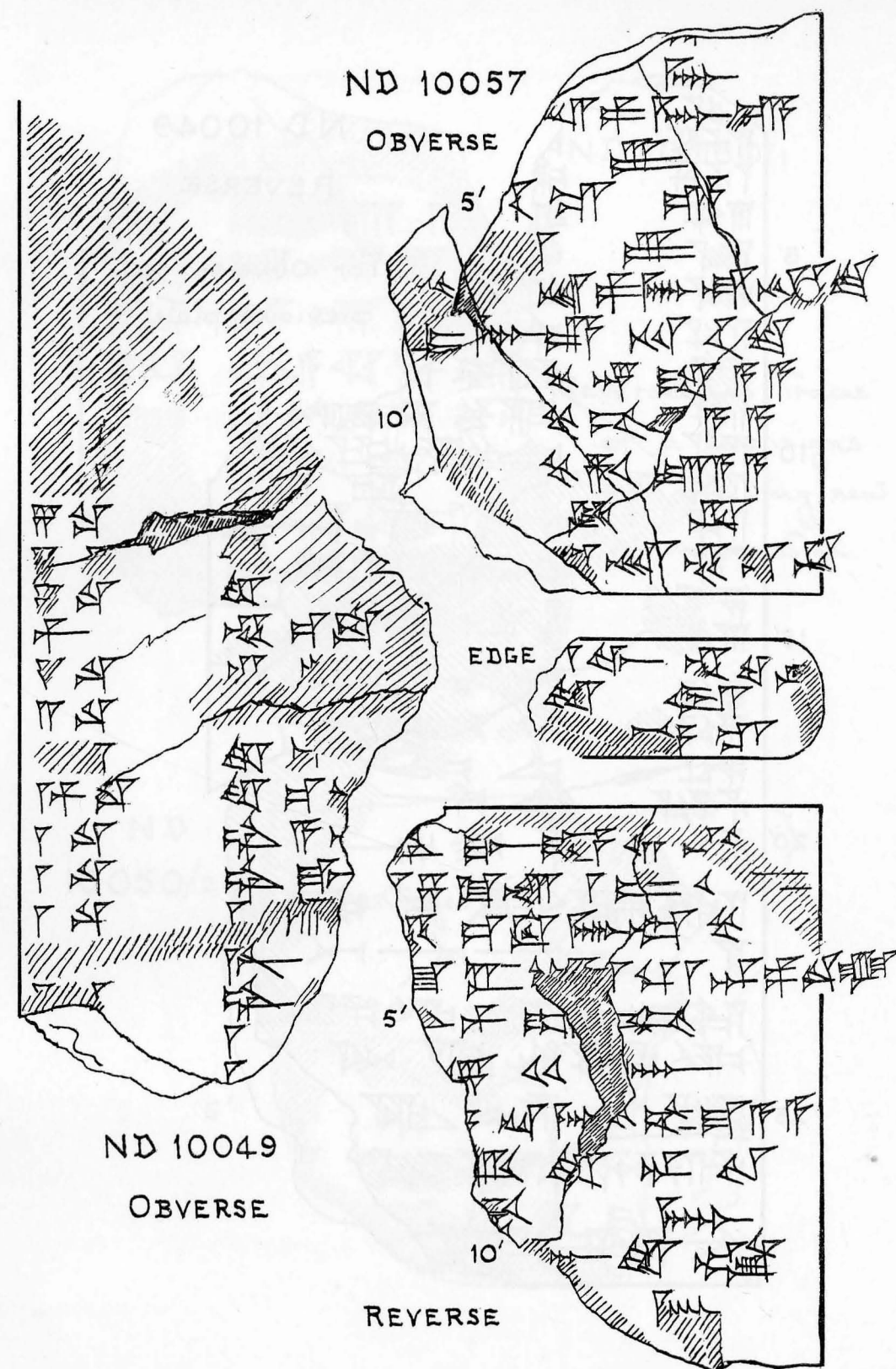
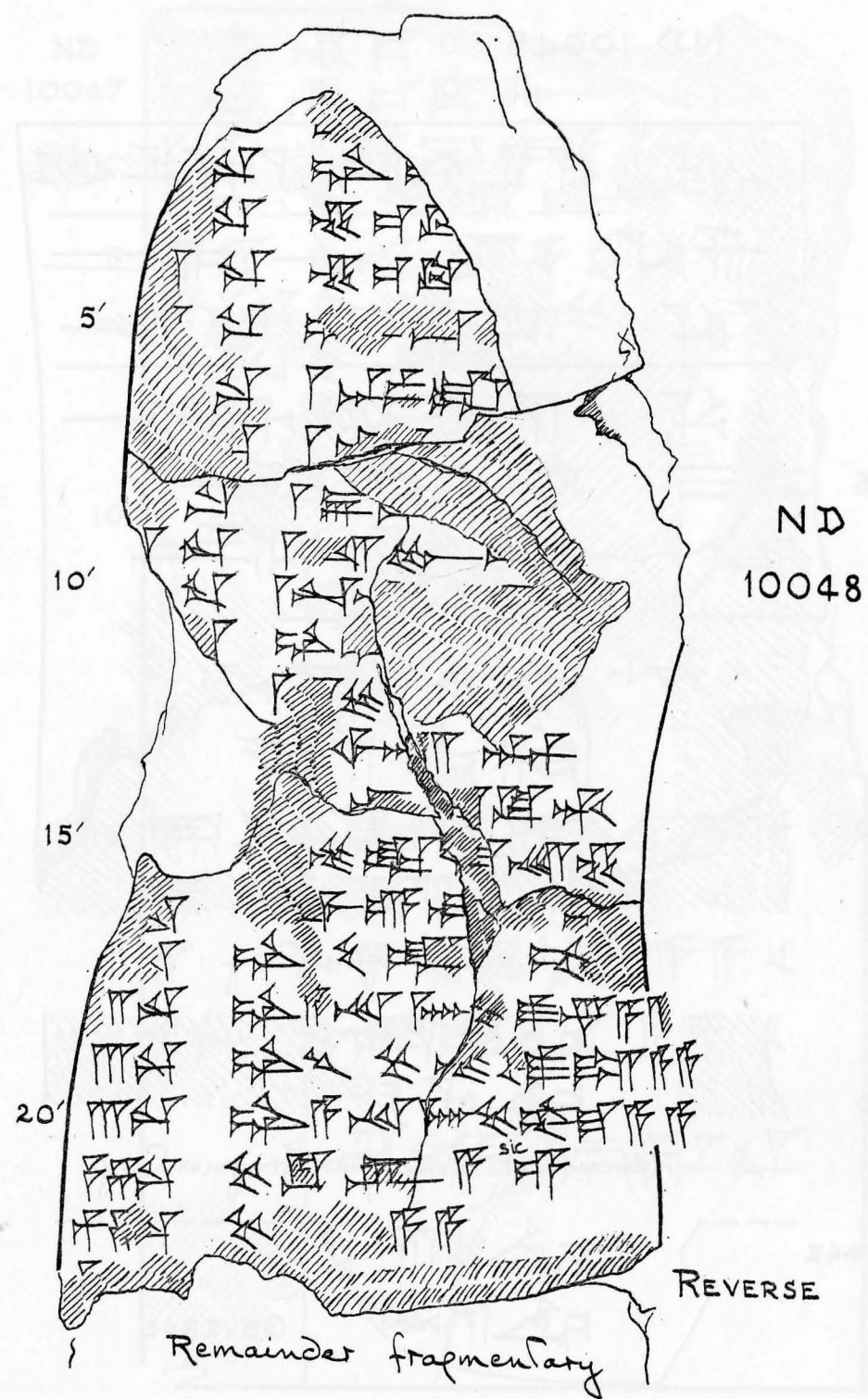
17 lines fragmentary

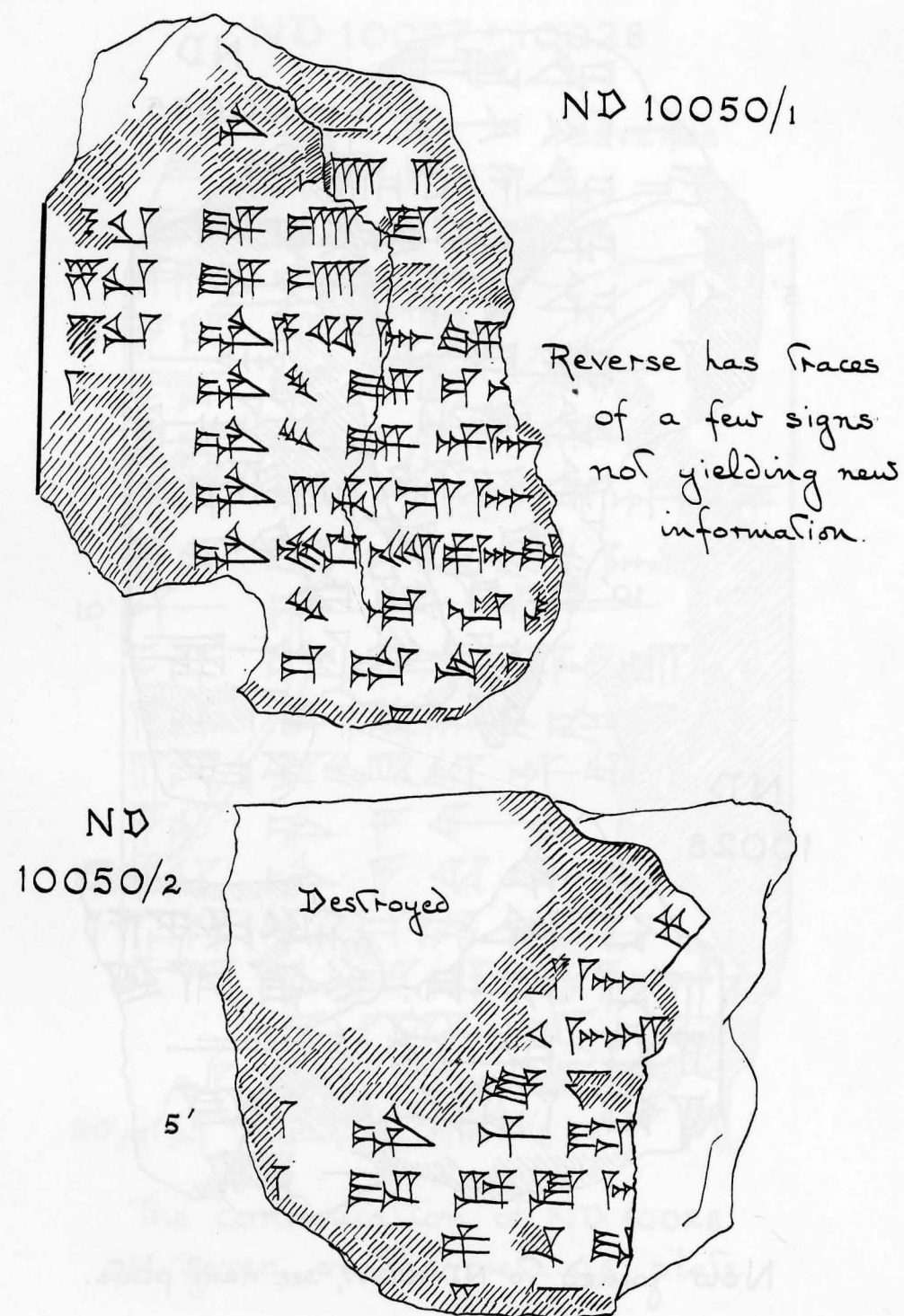
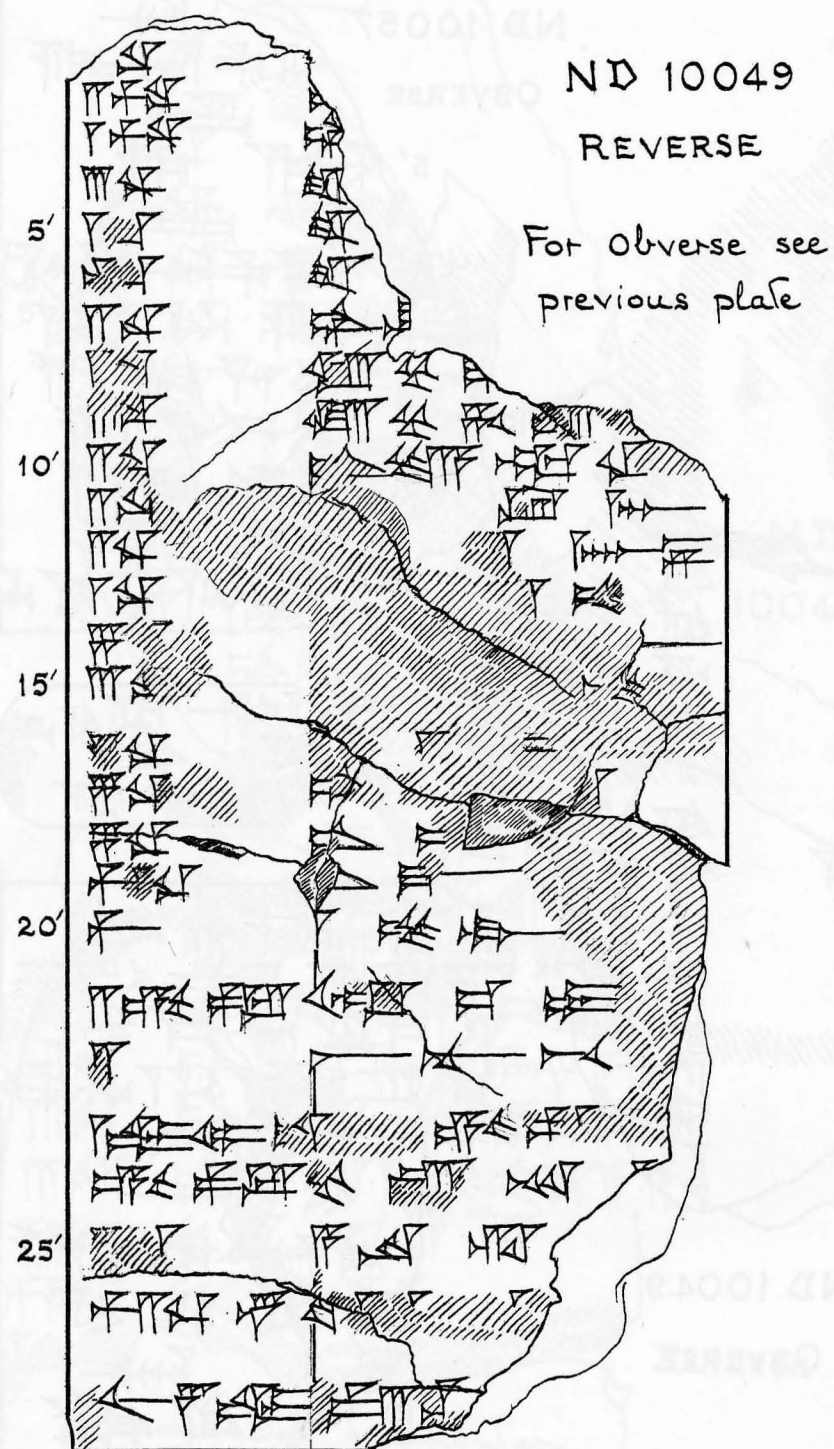
Remainder of column fragmentary

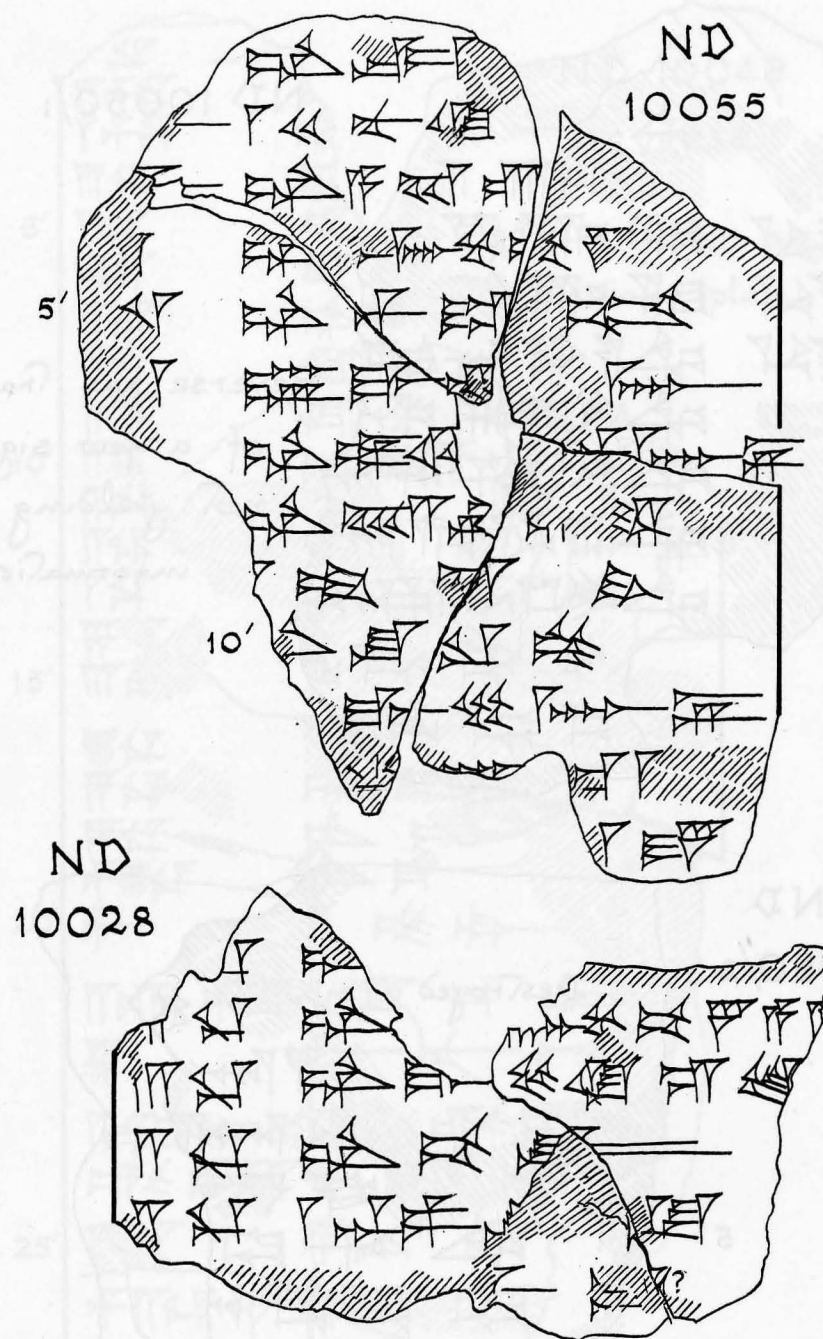
EDGE

OBVERSE



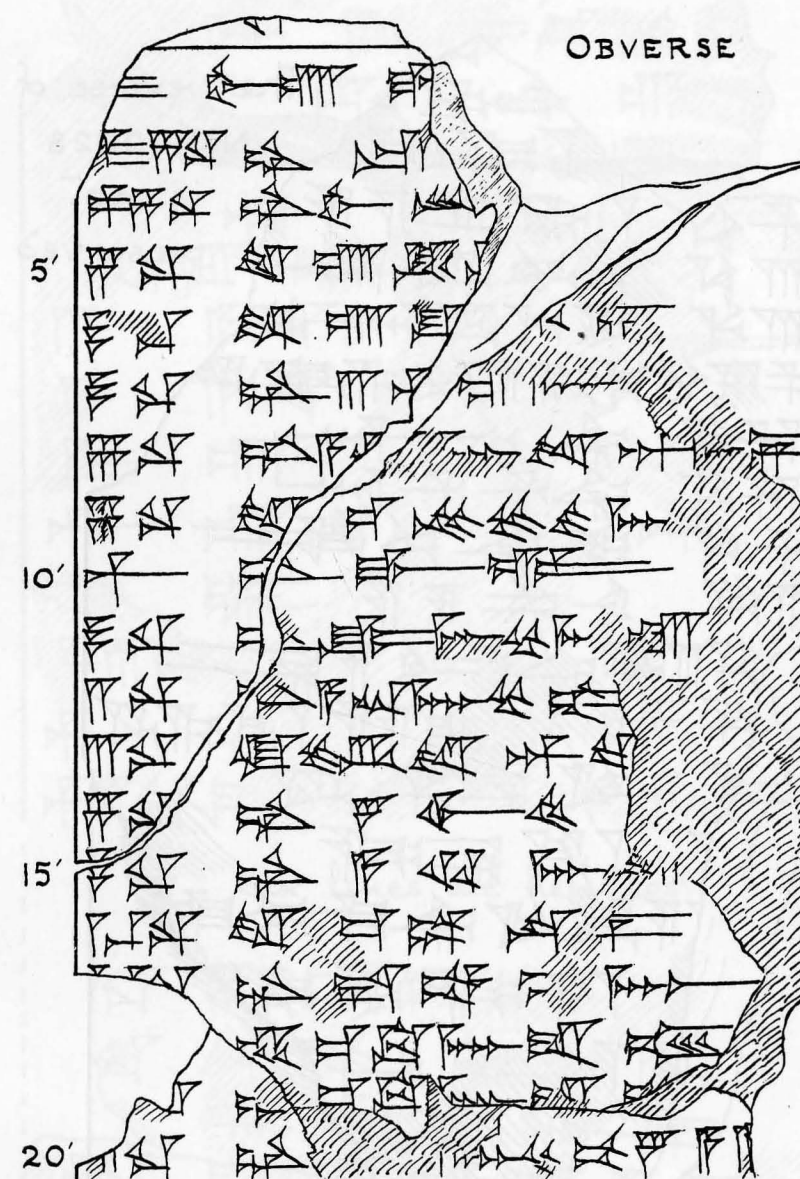






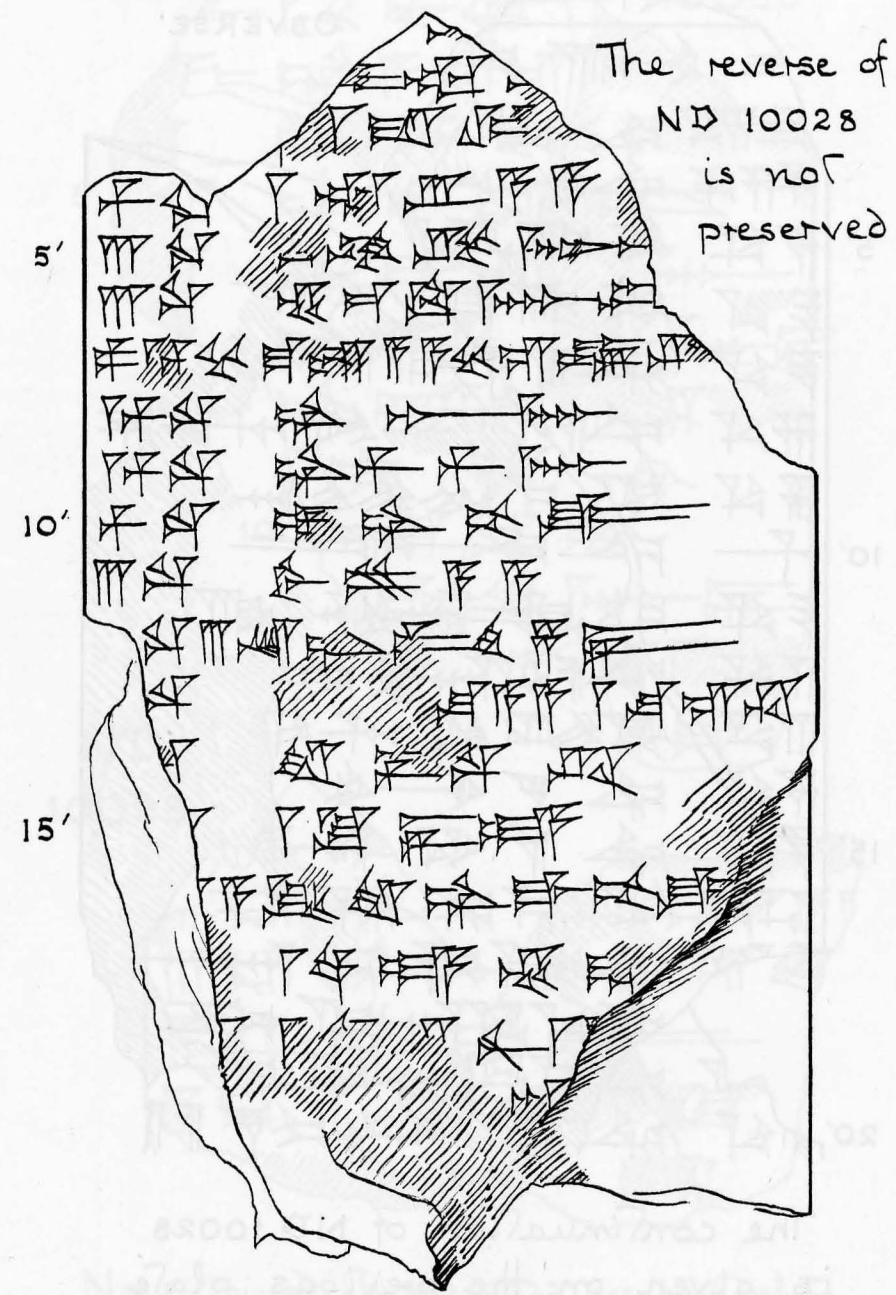
Now joined to ND 10027, see next plate.

ND 10027 + 10028



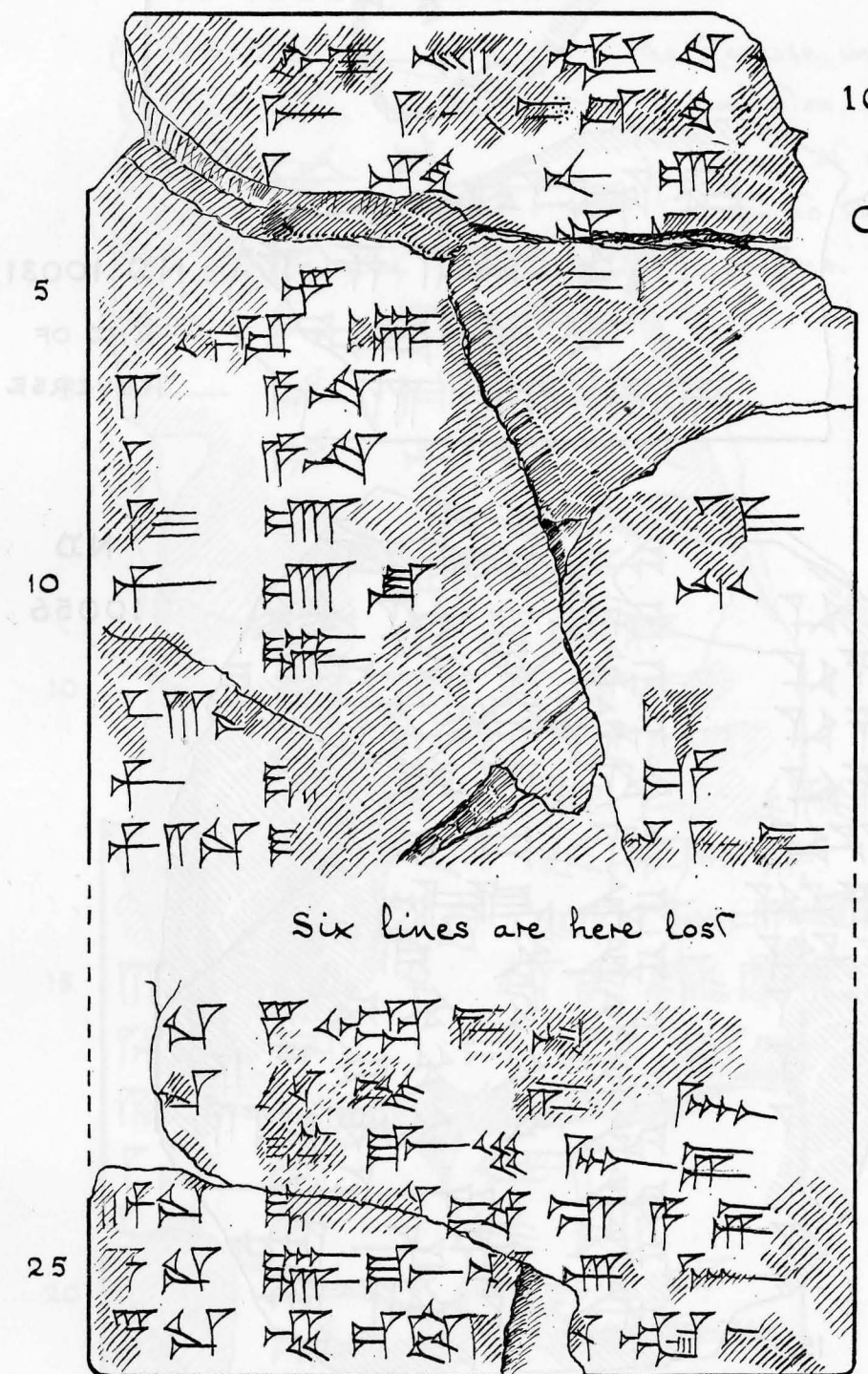
The continuation of ND 10028
is given on the previous plate

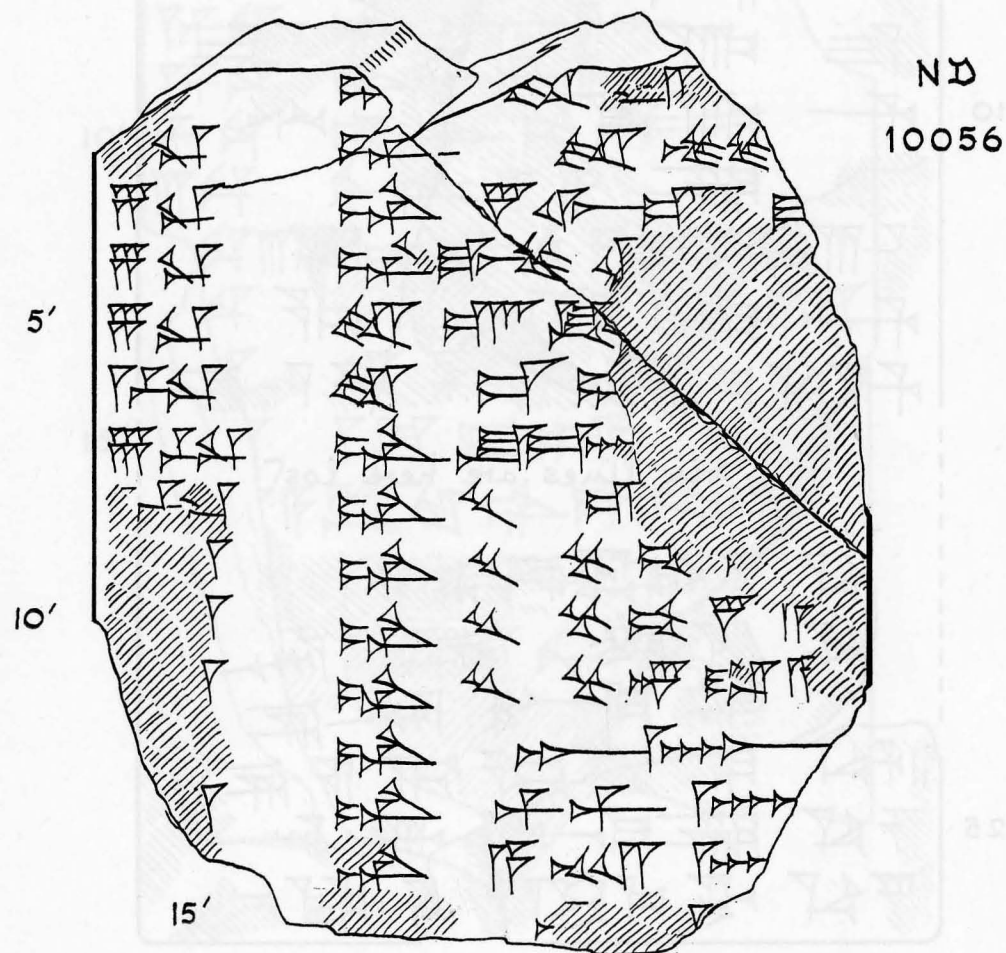
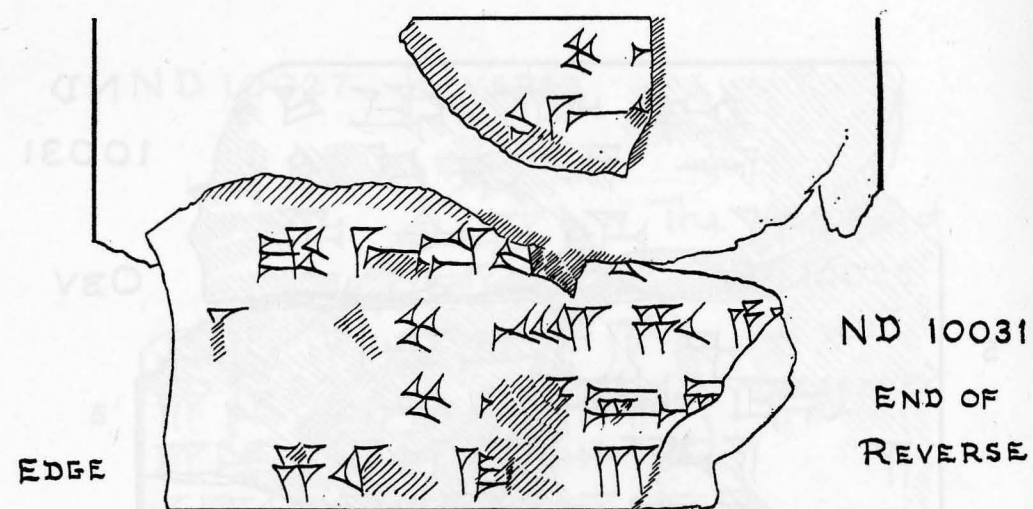
ND 10027 REVERSE



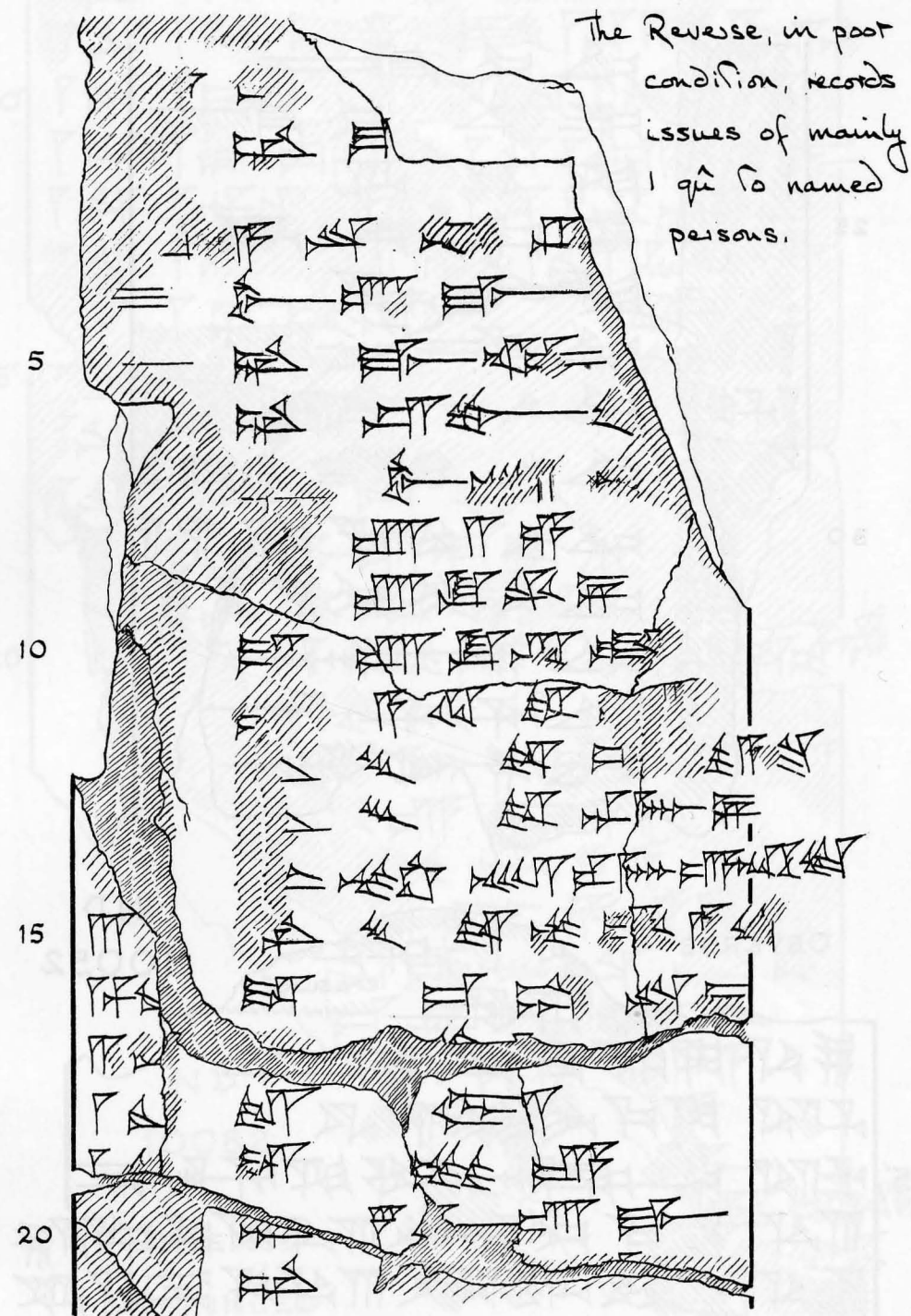
ND 10031

OBV

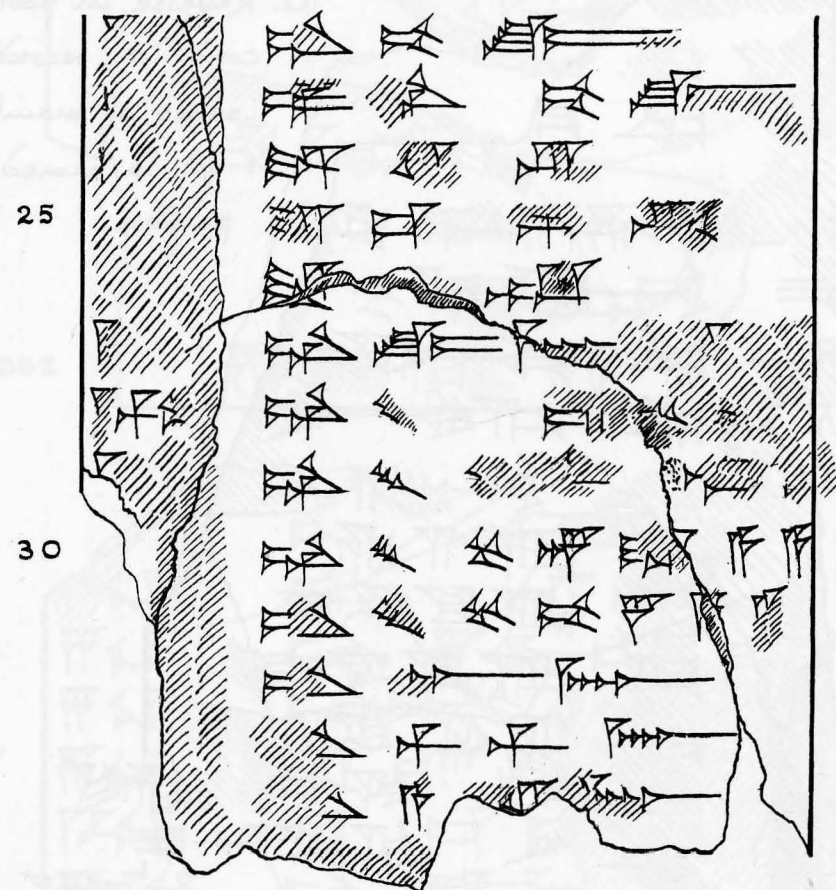




ND 10033 OBVERSE



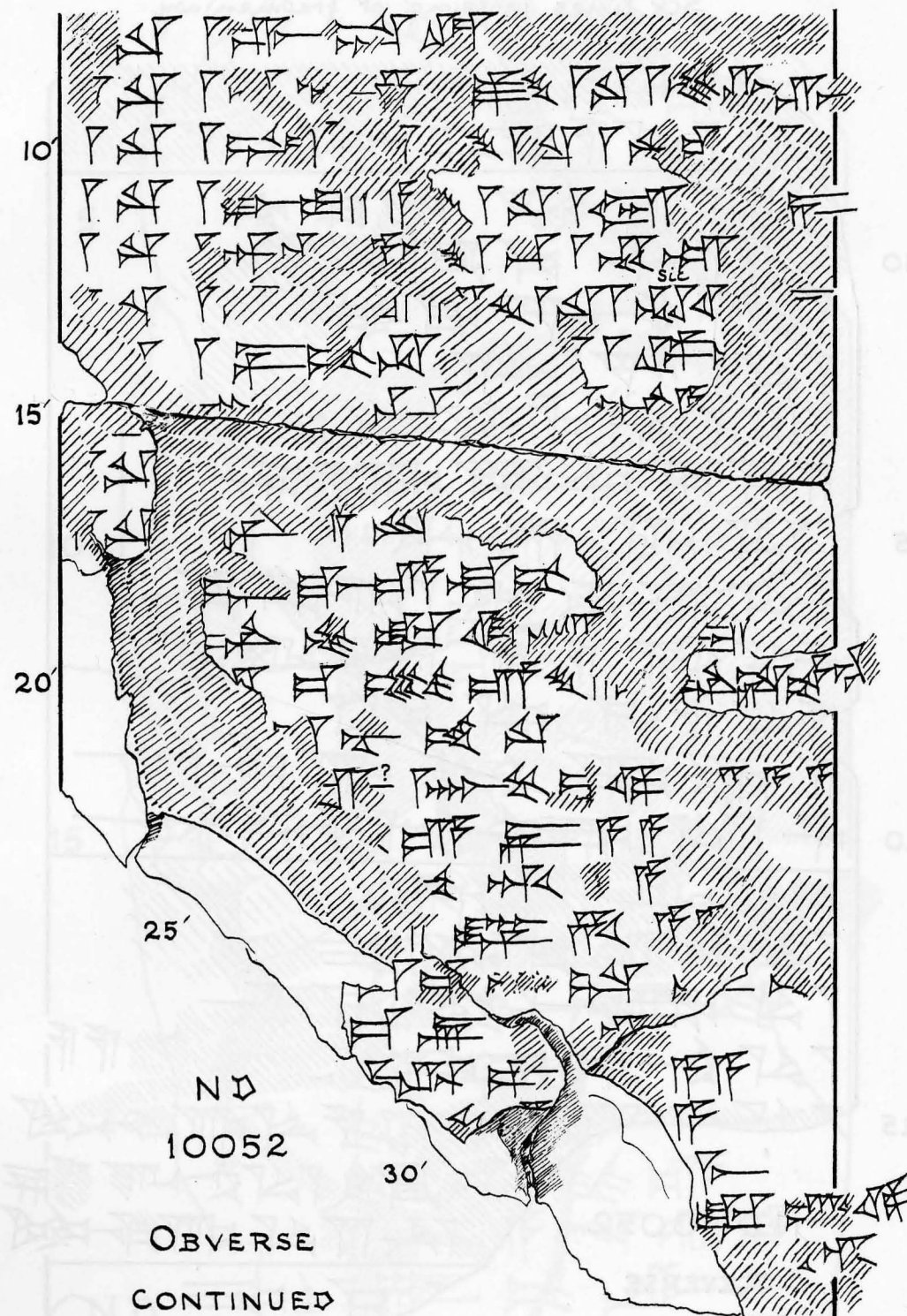
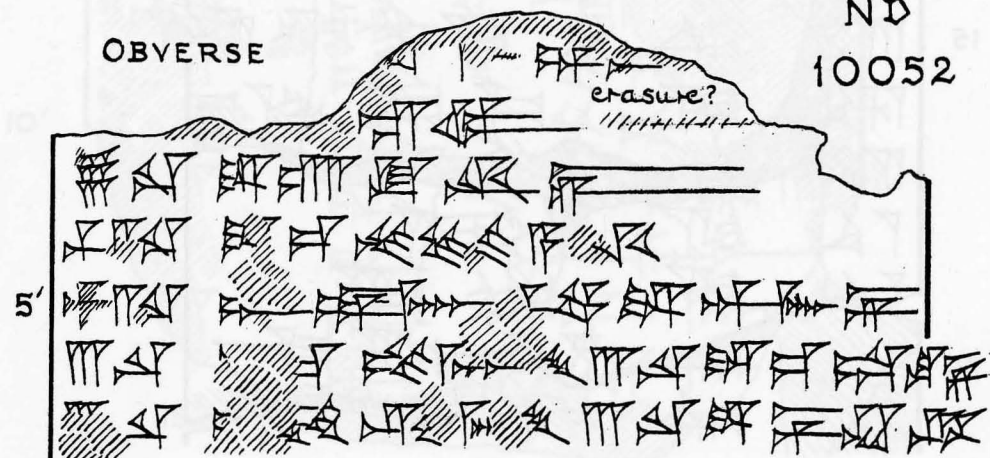
Continuation of ND 10033



OBVERSE

ND

10052

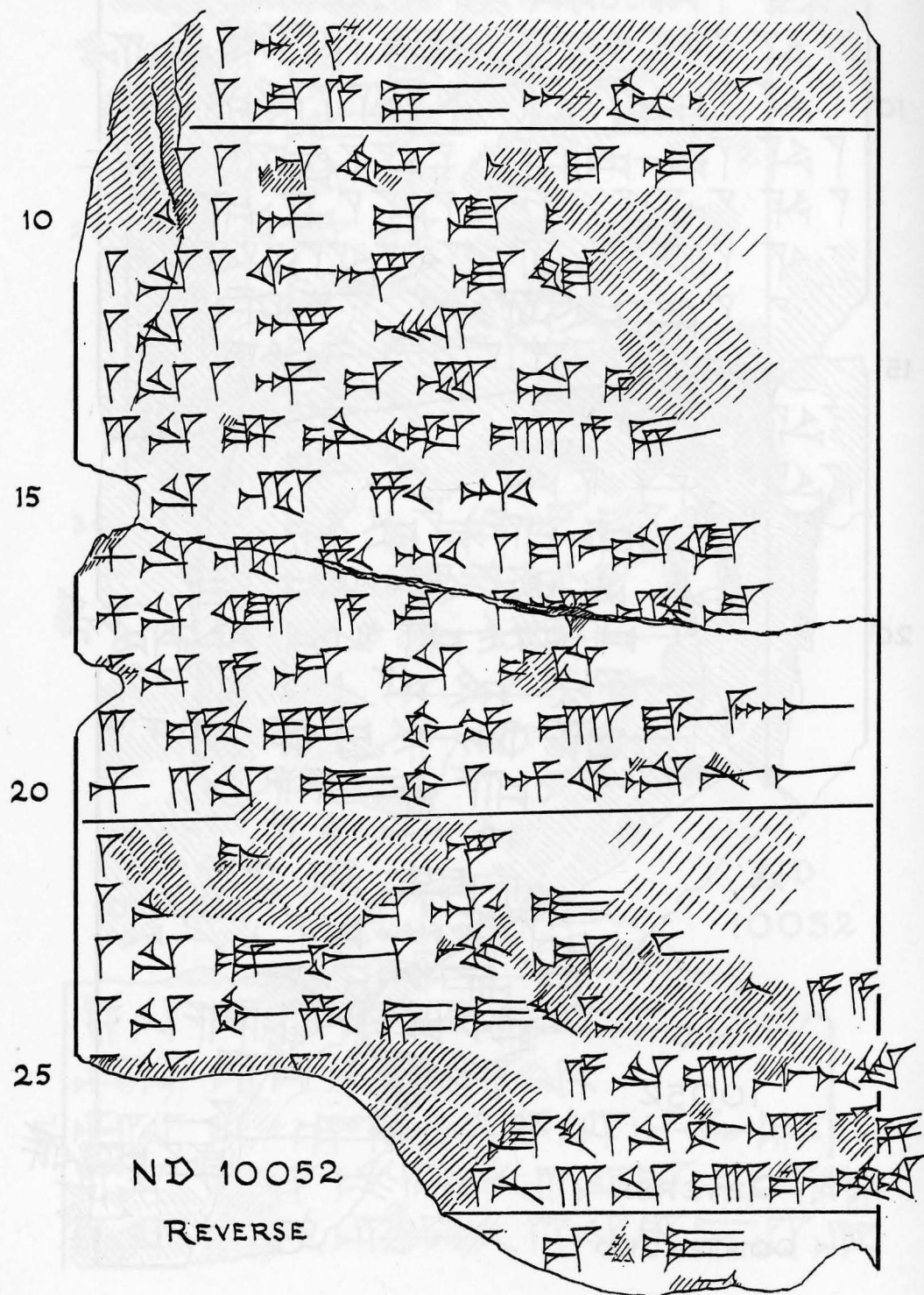


ND

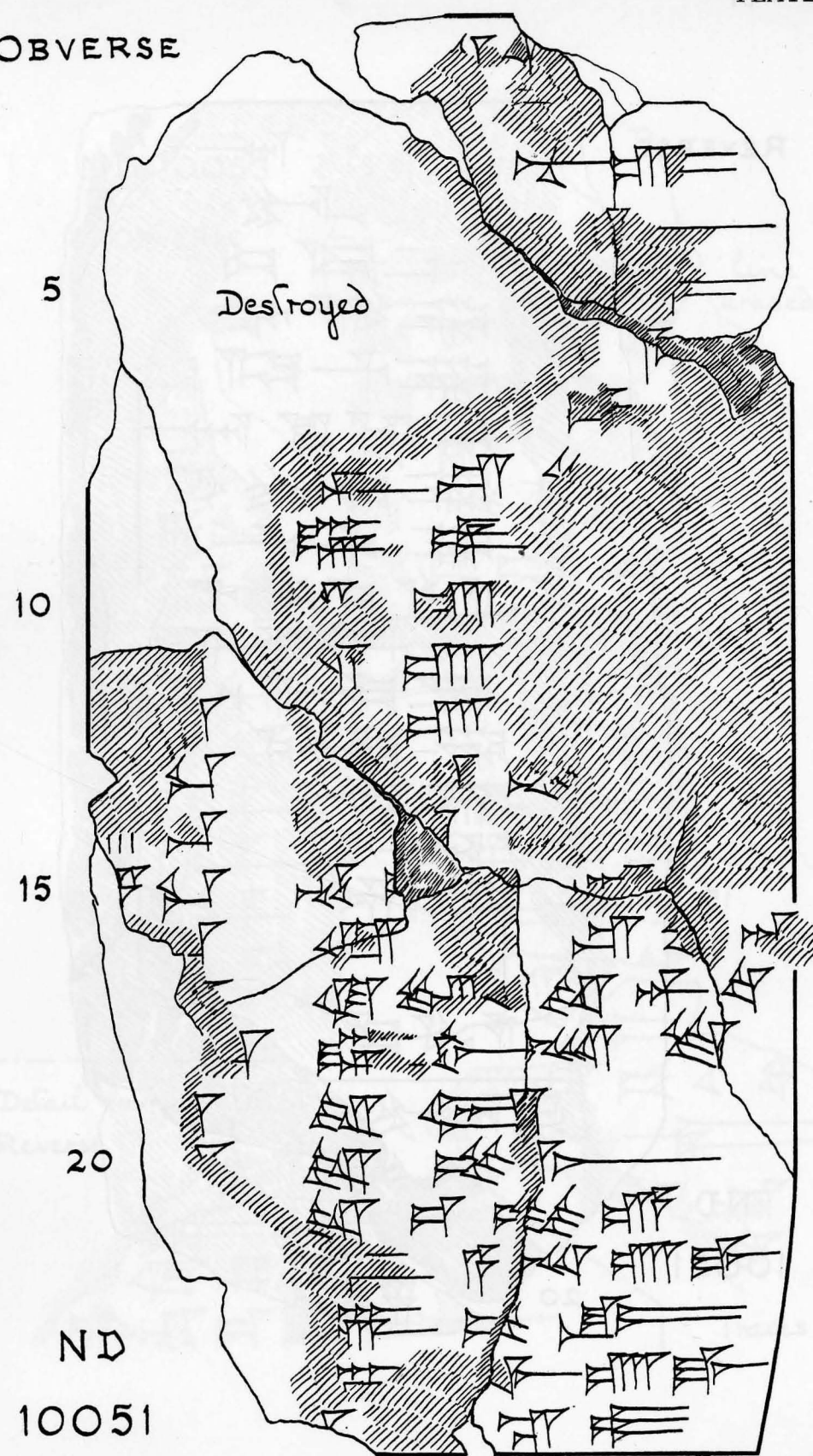
10052

OBVERSE
CONTINUED

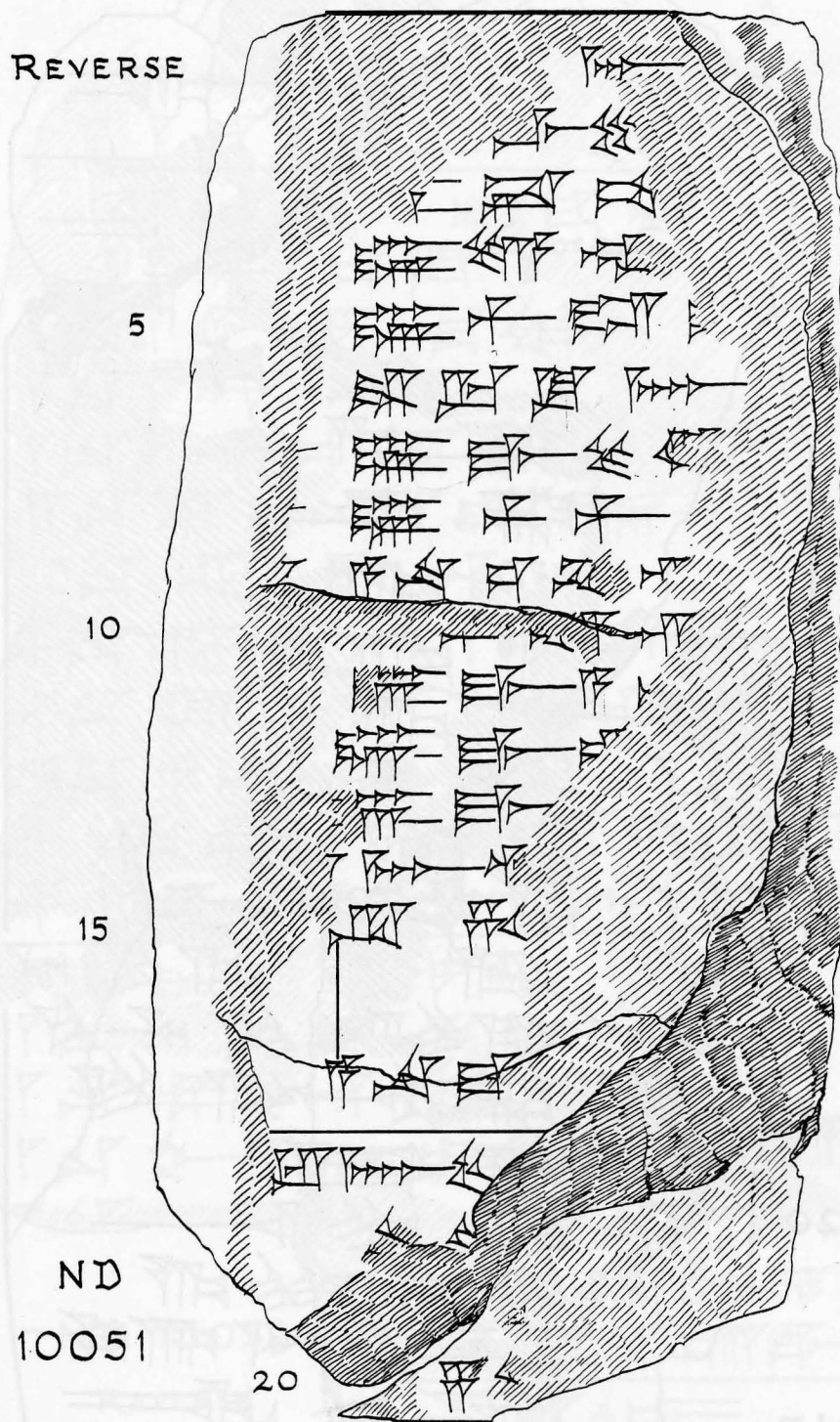
Six lines missing or fragmentary



OBVERSE

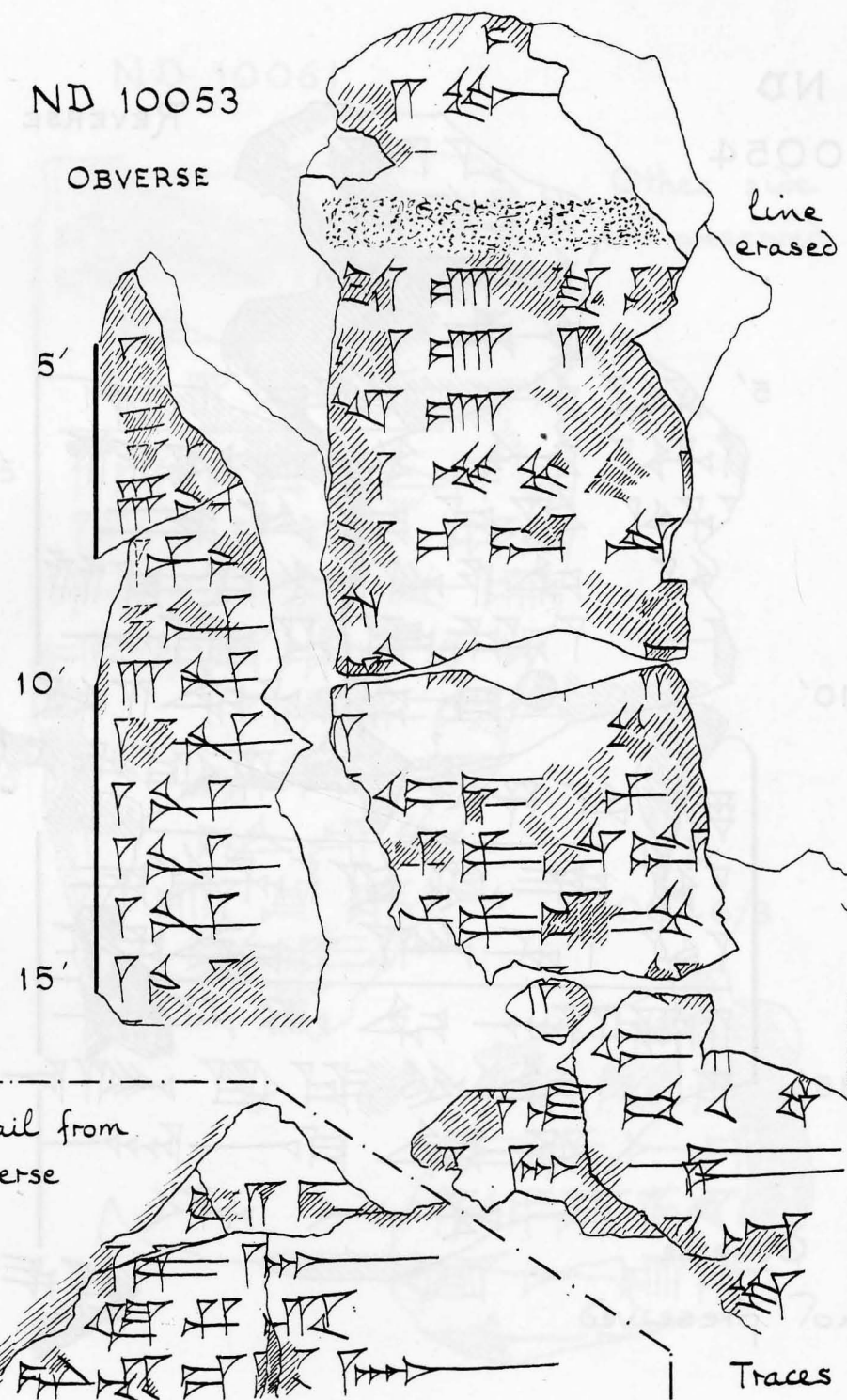


REVERSE



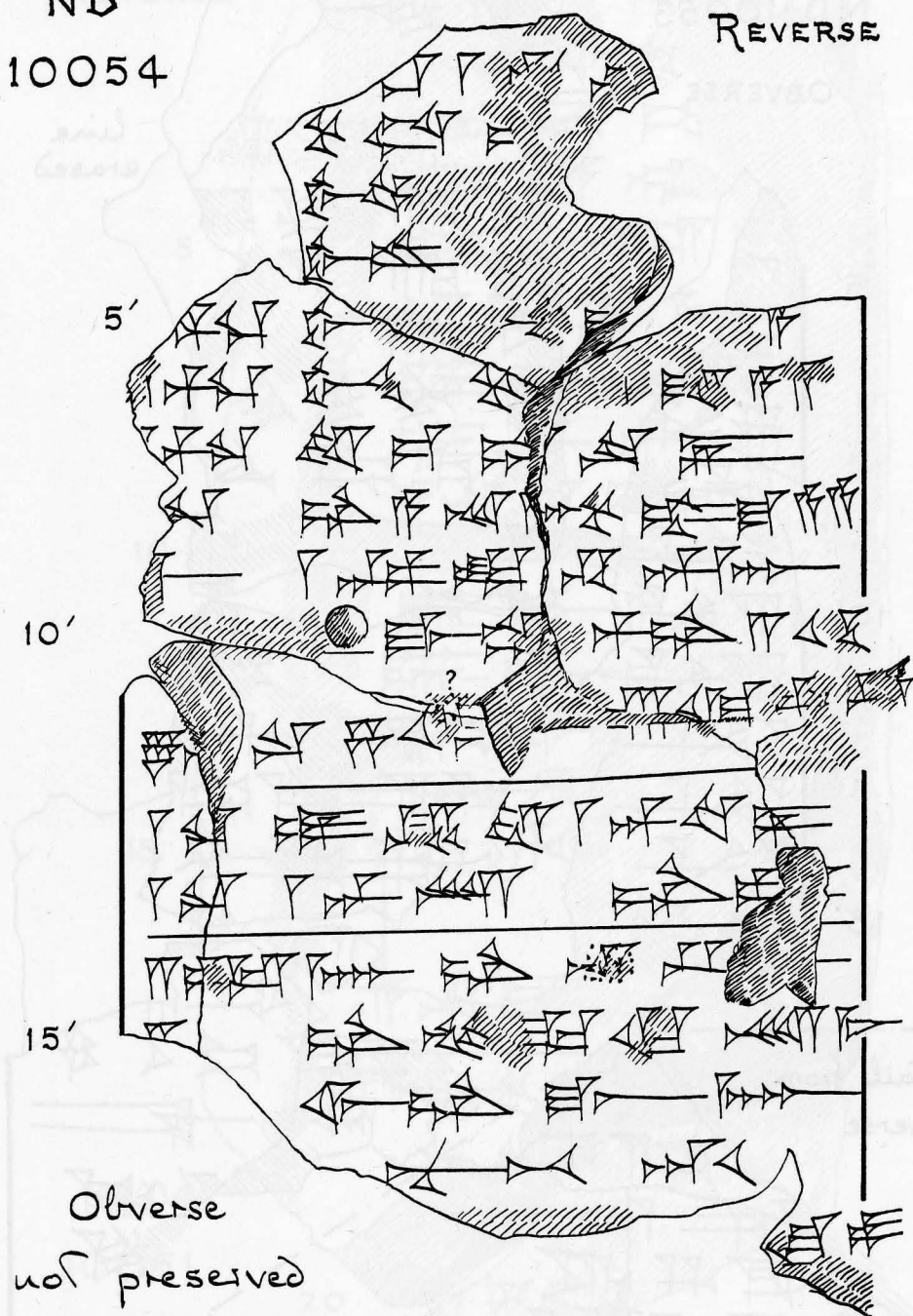
ND 10053

OBVERSE



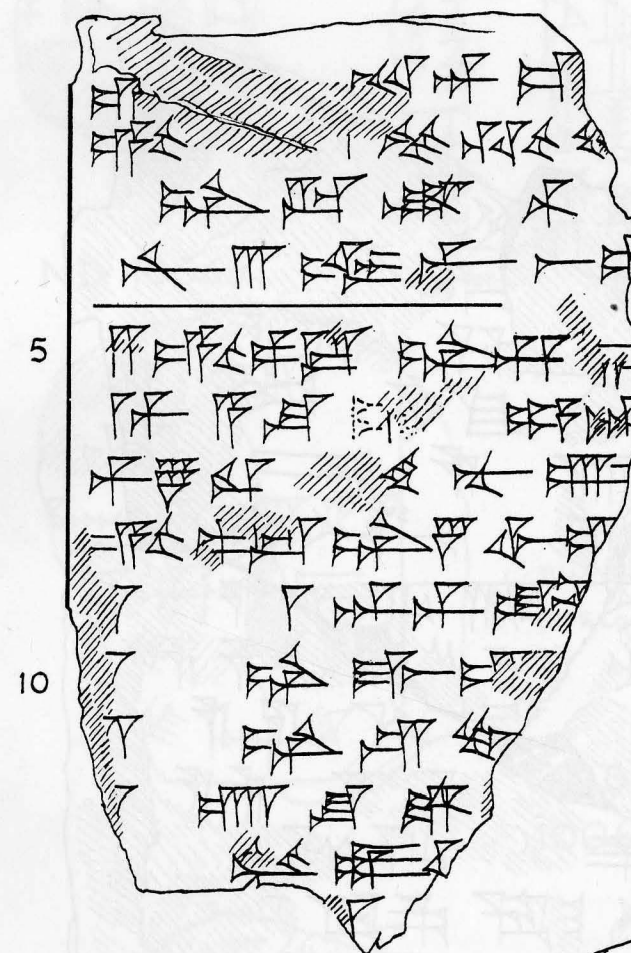
ND
10054

REVERSE

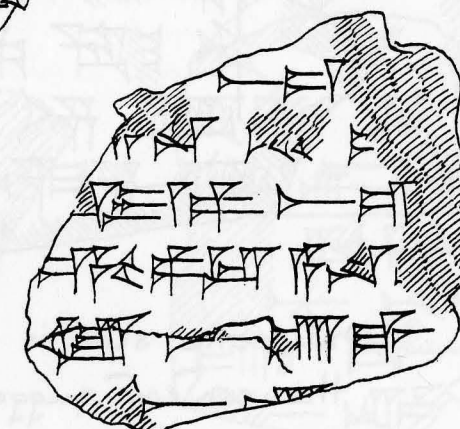


ND 10061

Other side
not preserved

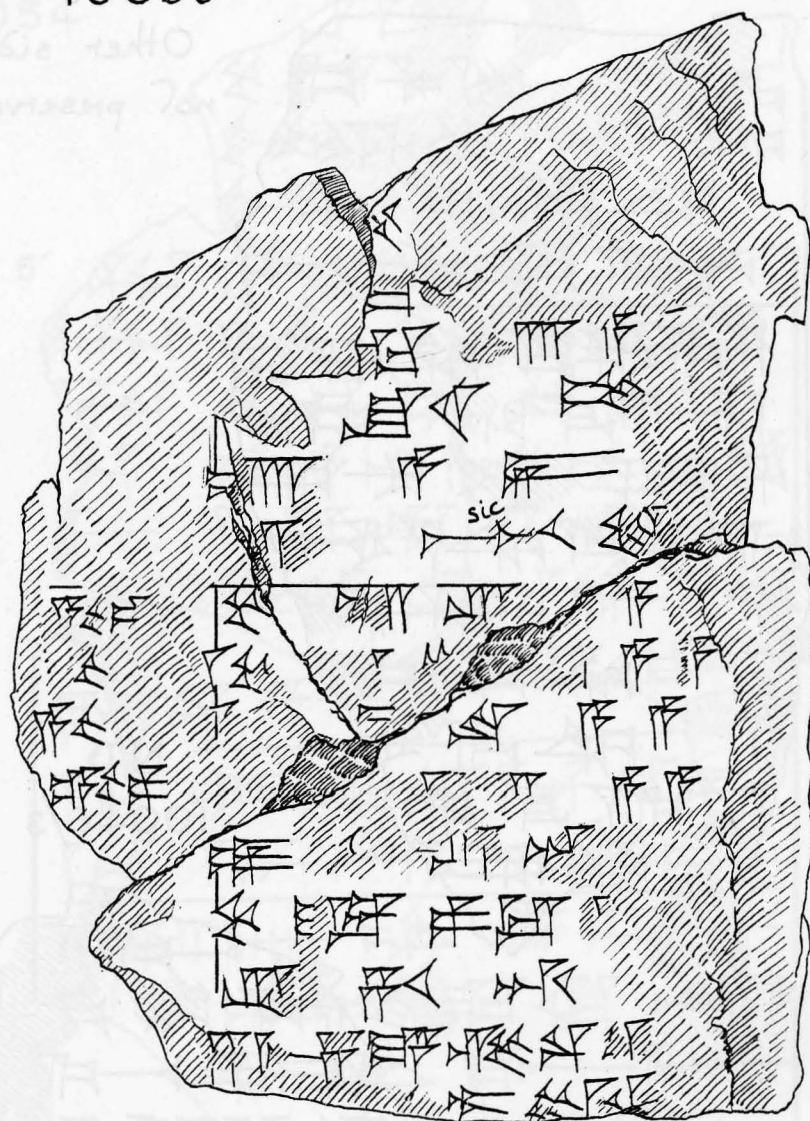


ND
10046/3



ND
10059

In poor condition



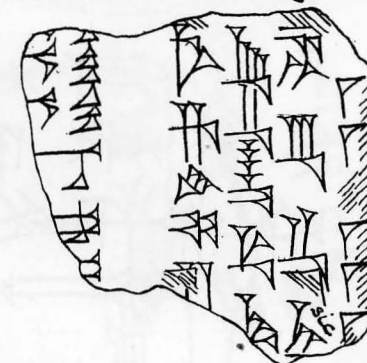
Only one side is preserved which
the content suggests is a reverse

ND 10042/4



Side Edge

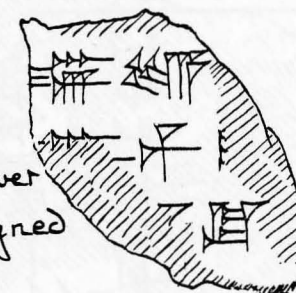
ND
10064



ND 10069



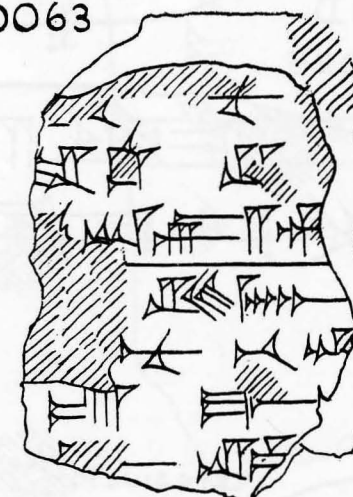
No
number
assigned

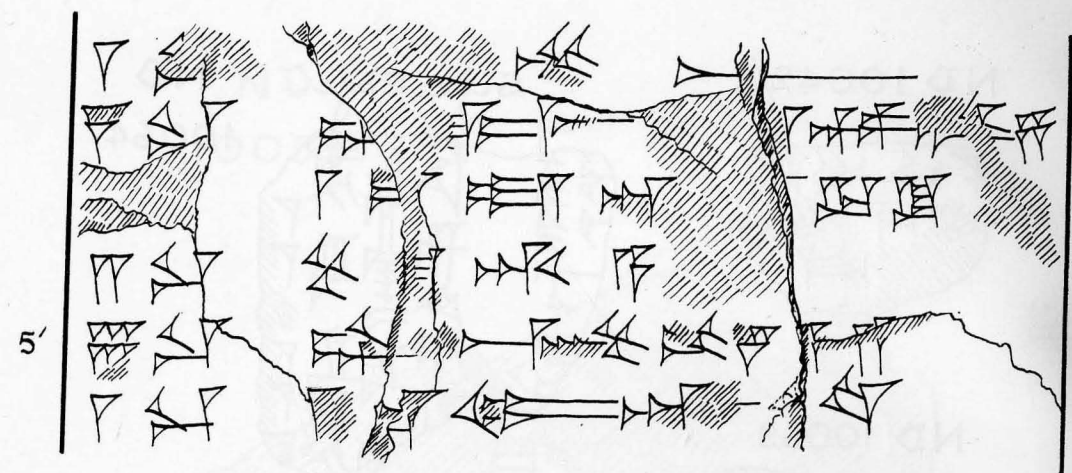


ND
10063



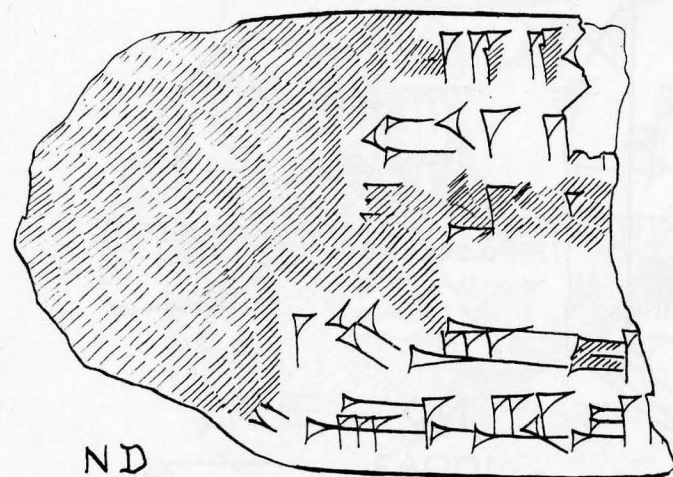
ND 10071



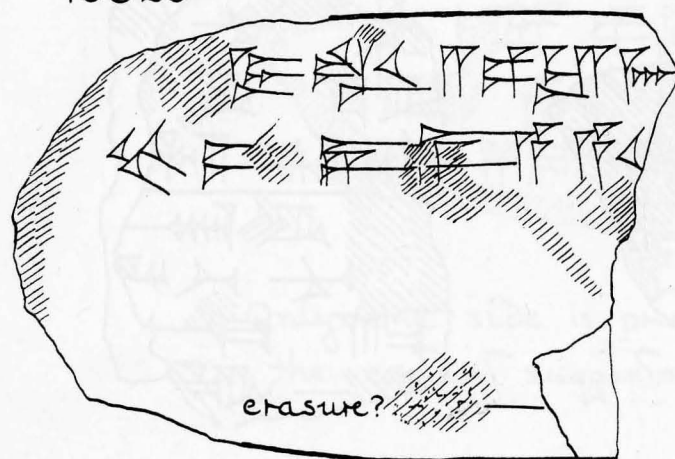


ND 10038

Detail from Obverse

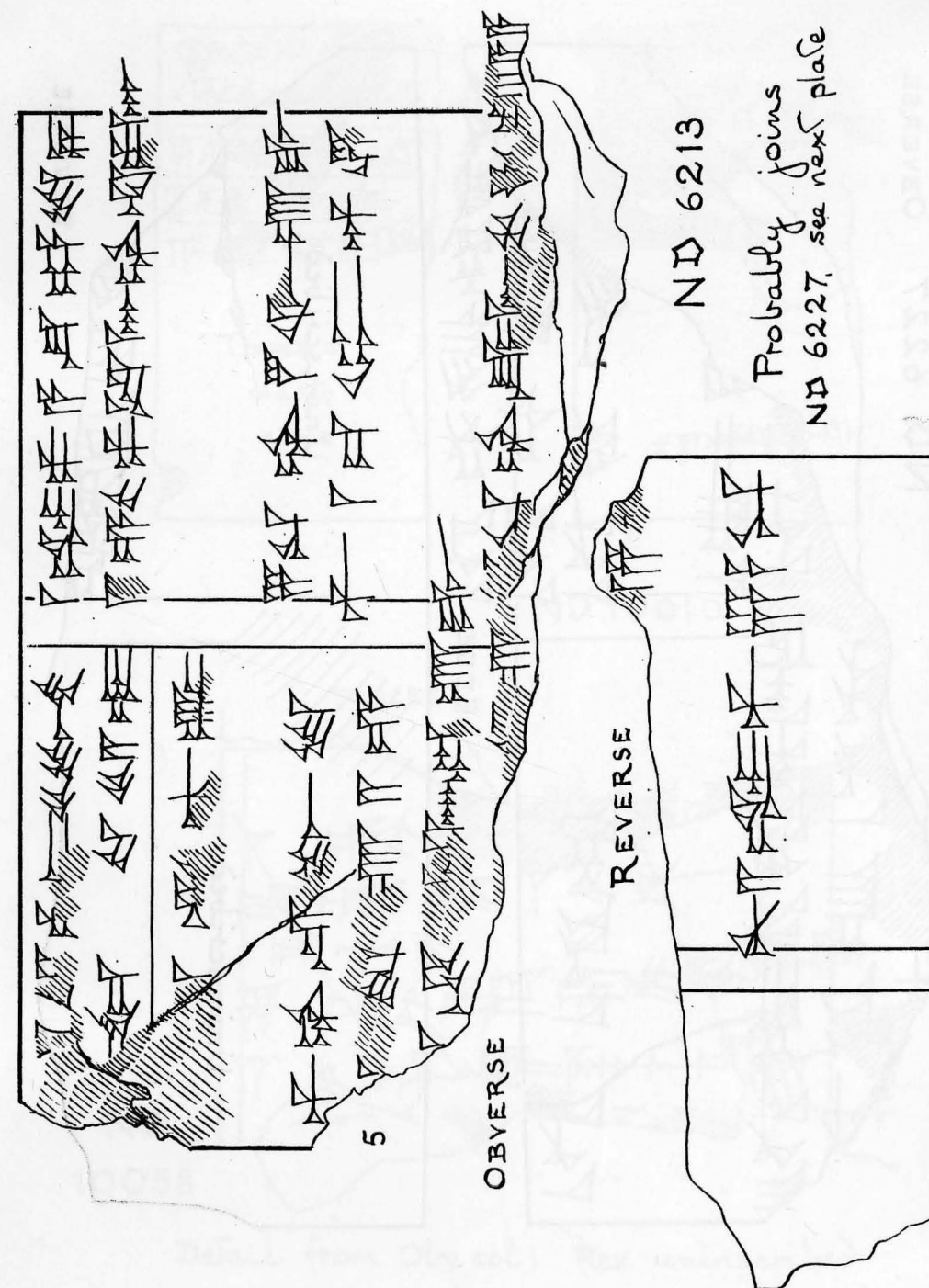


ND
10025



erasure?

ND
10042/3



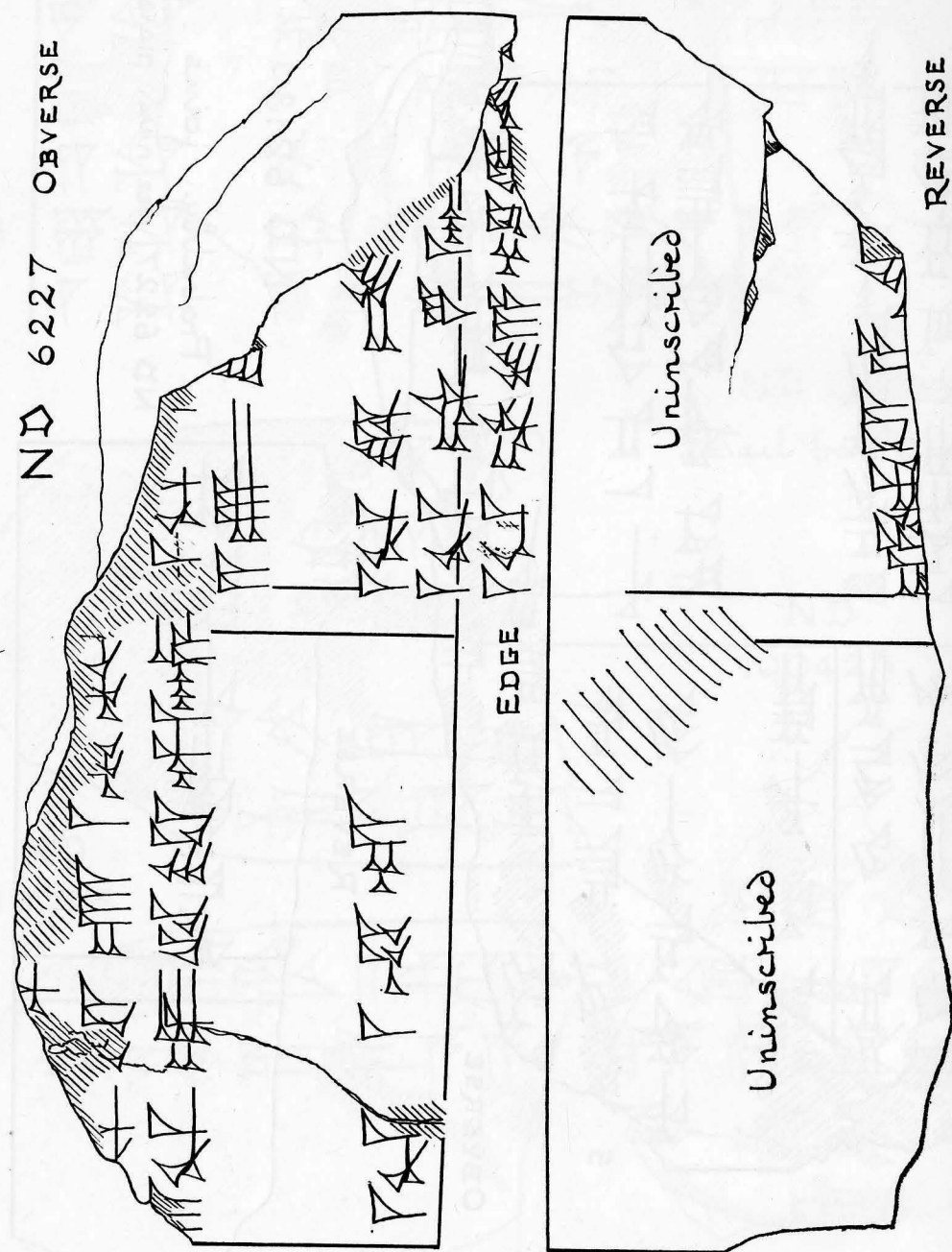
ND 6213

Probably joins
ND 6227, see next plate

REVERSE

OBVERSE

ND 6227 OVERSE

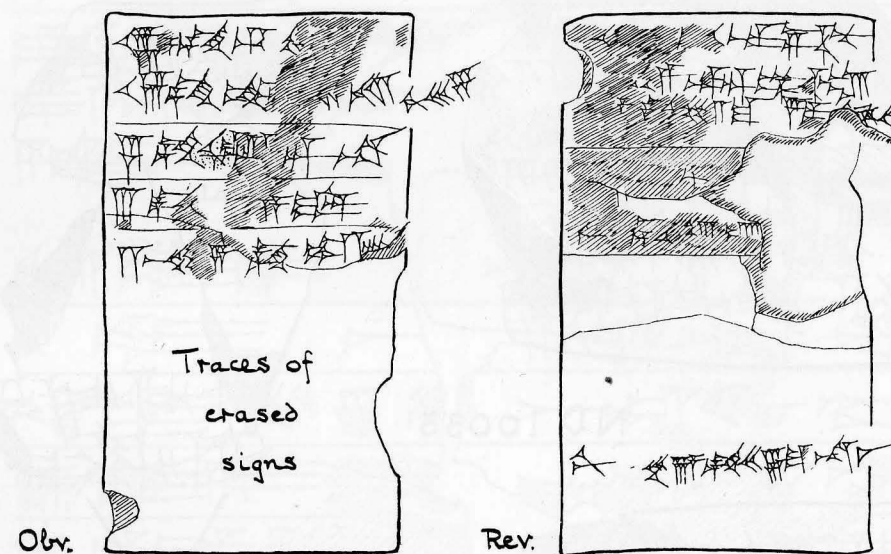


REVERSE

Uninscribed

Uninscribed

EDGE

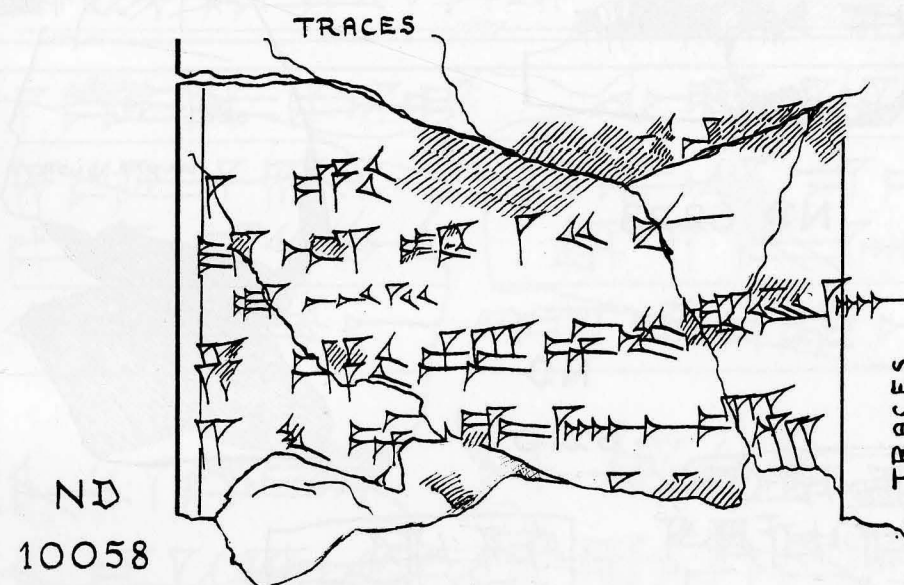


Obv.

Rev.

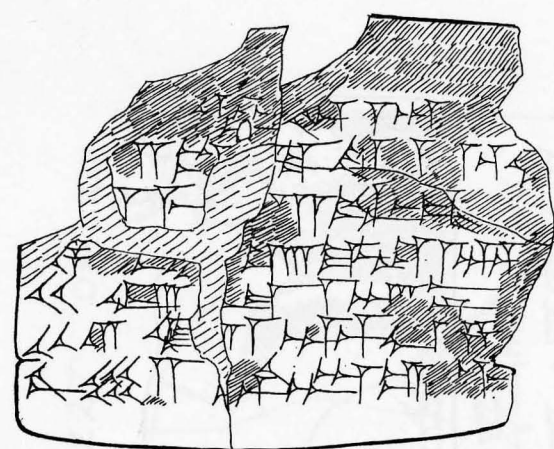
Traces of
erased
signs

ND 10010



ND
10058

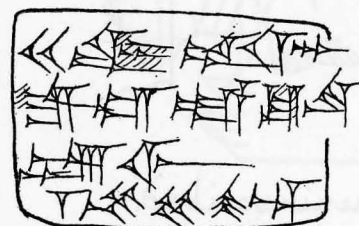
Detail from Obv. col. i. Rev. uninscribed.



ND 10035

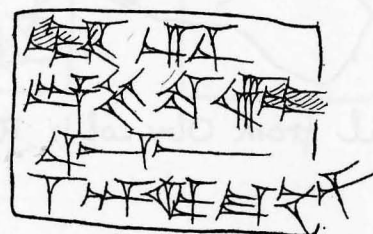


ND 6223



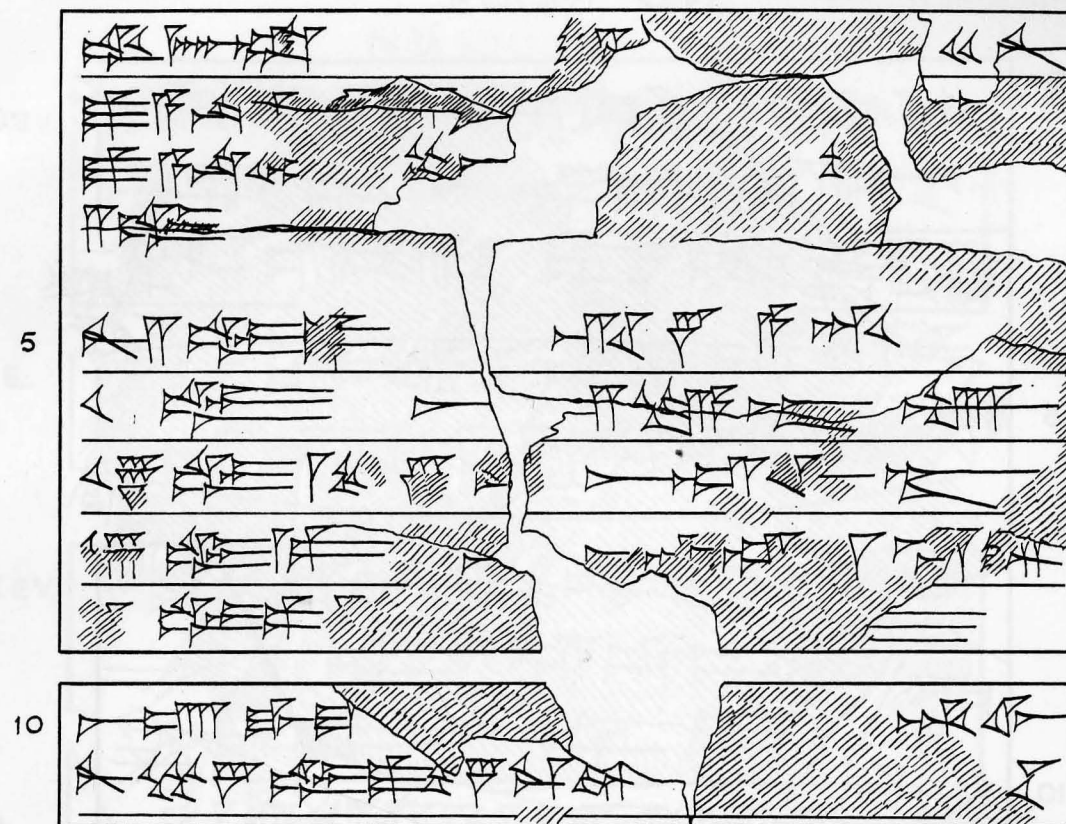
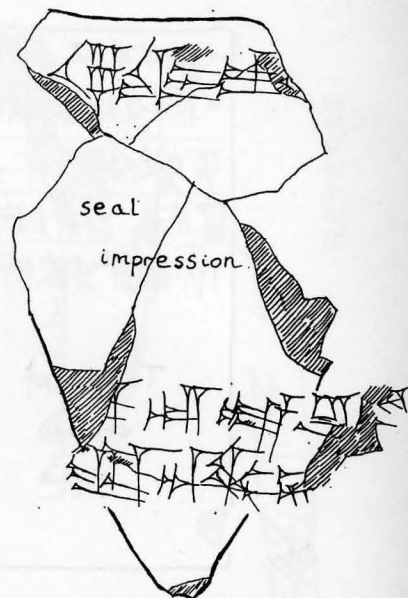
Obv.

ND
6210

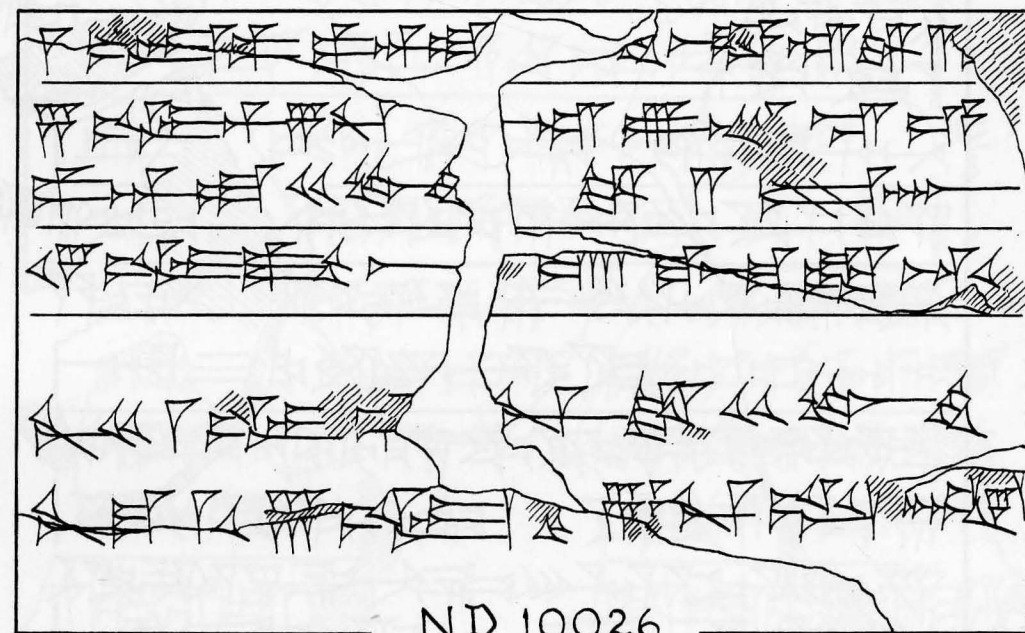


Rev.

ND 6211

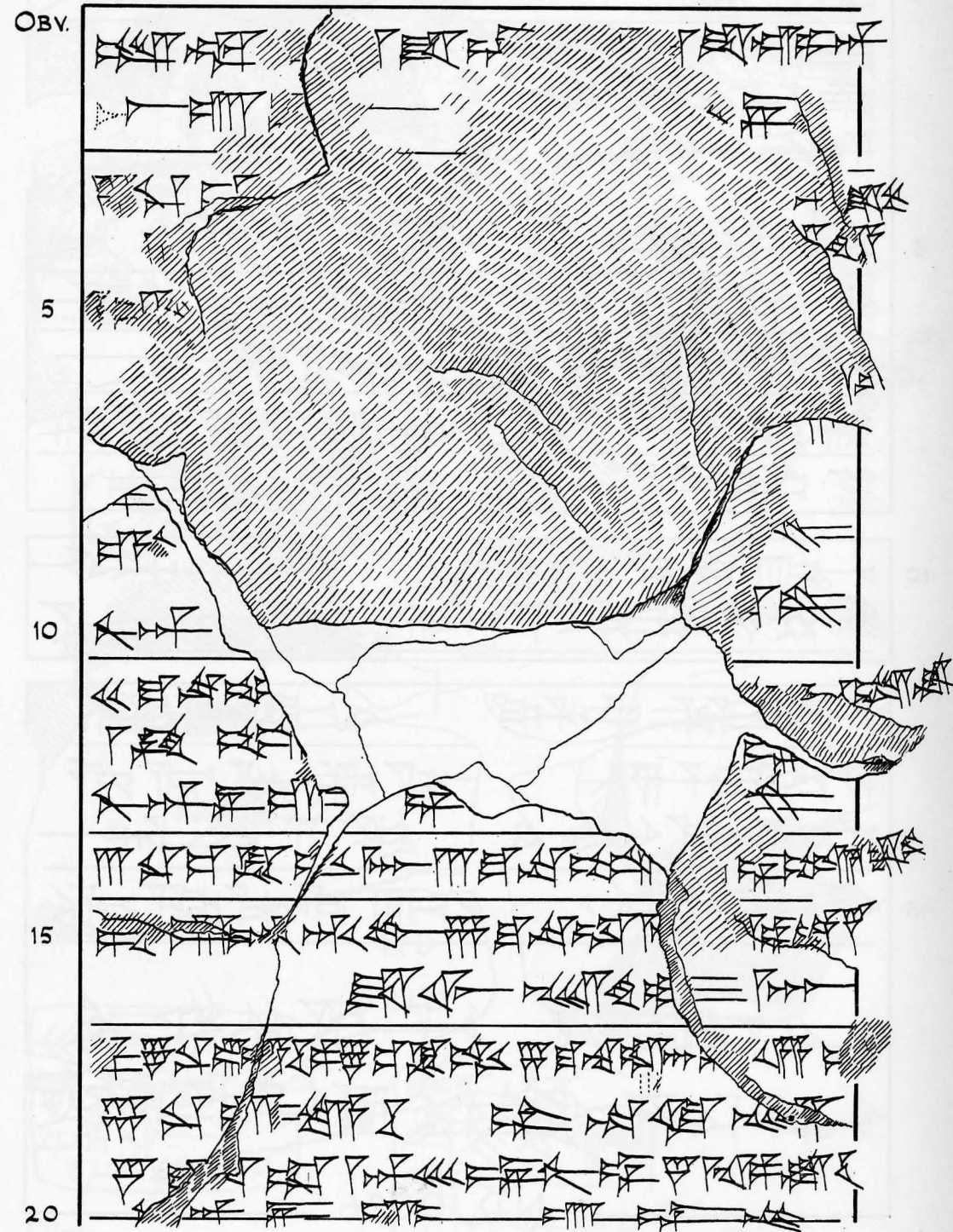


15

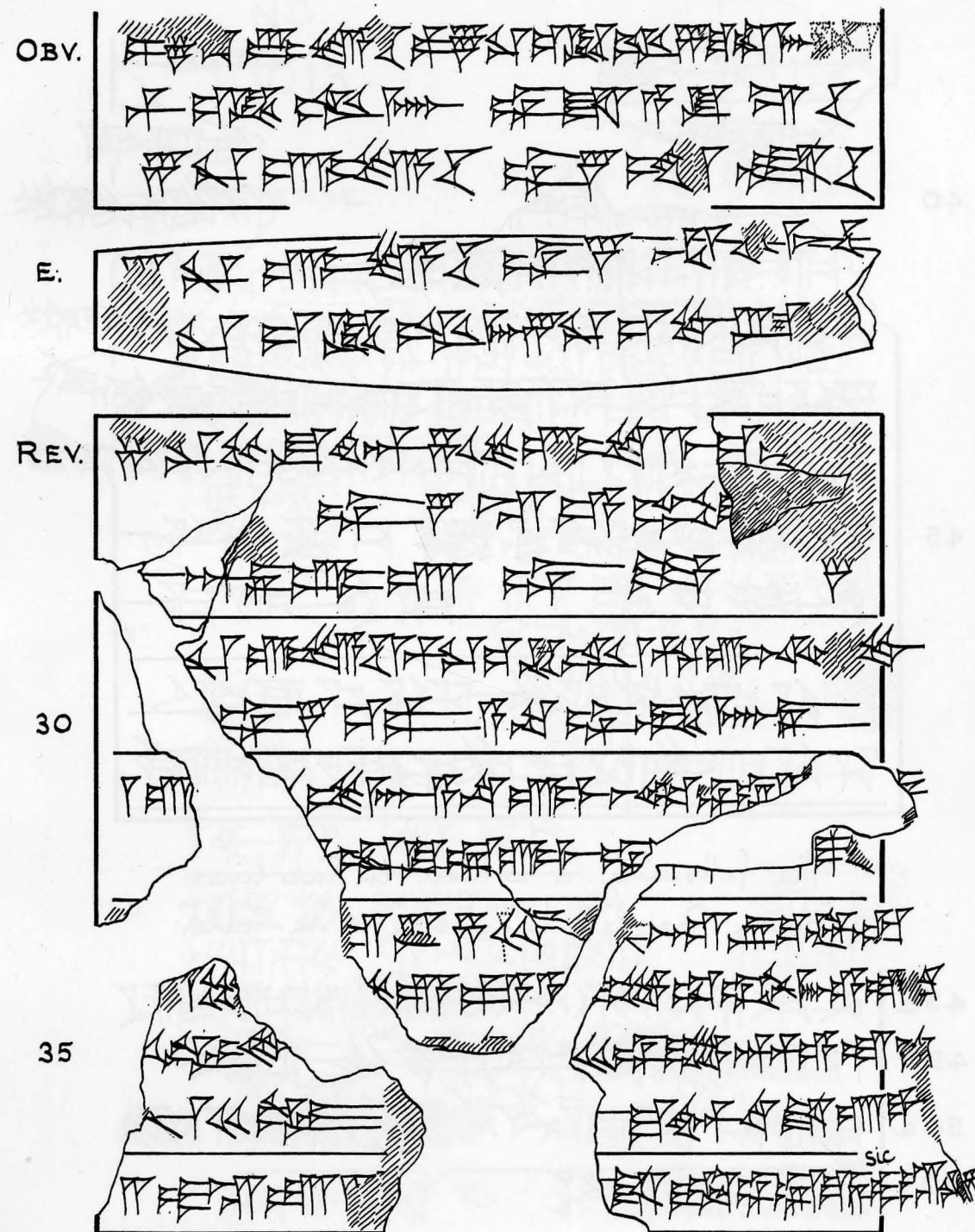


ND 10026

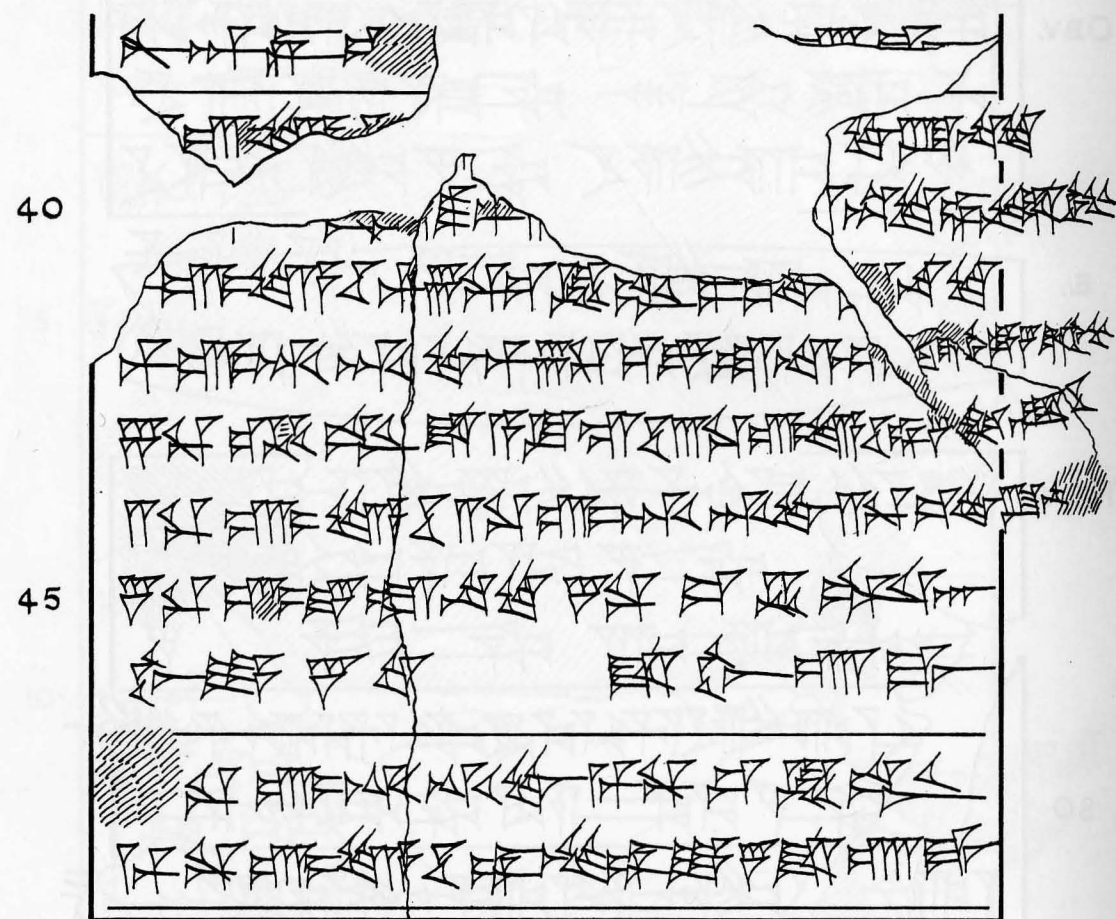
ND 10009



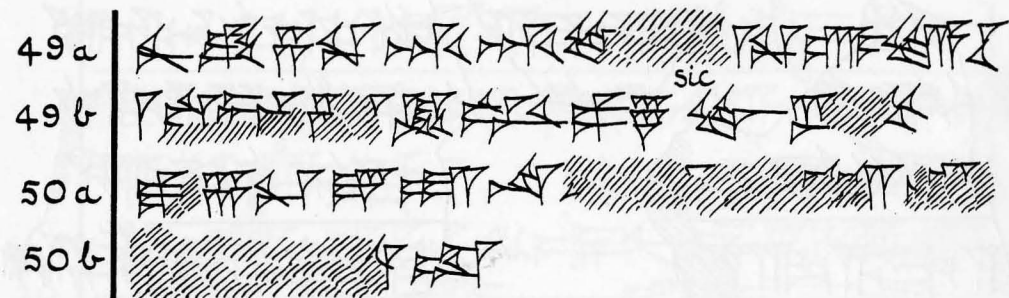
ND 10009 - continued



ND 10009 continued

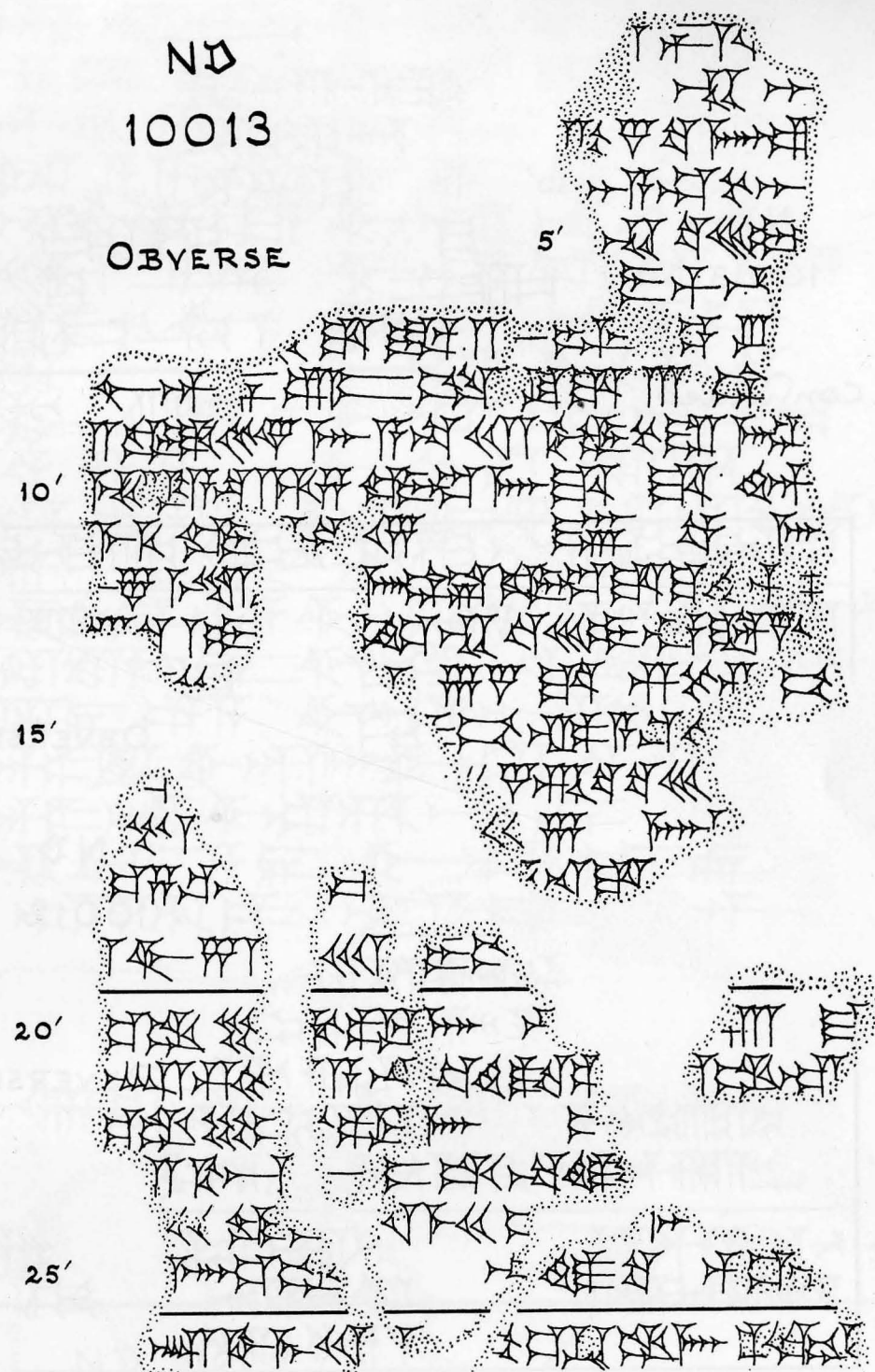


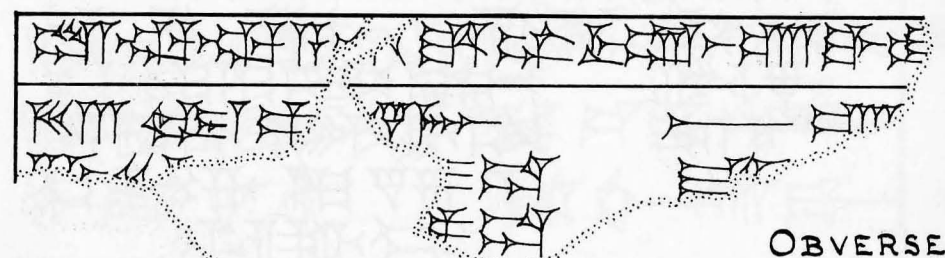
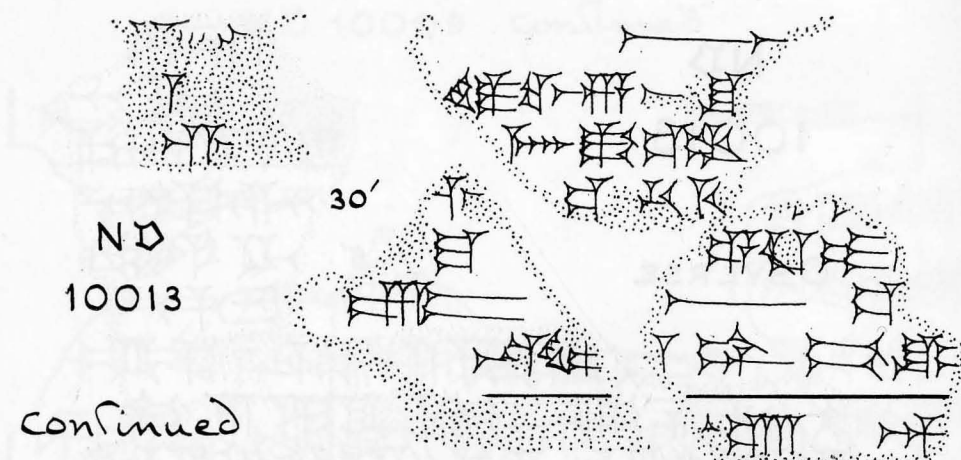
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down the left hand side of the tablet:



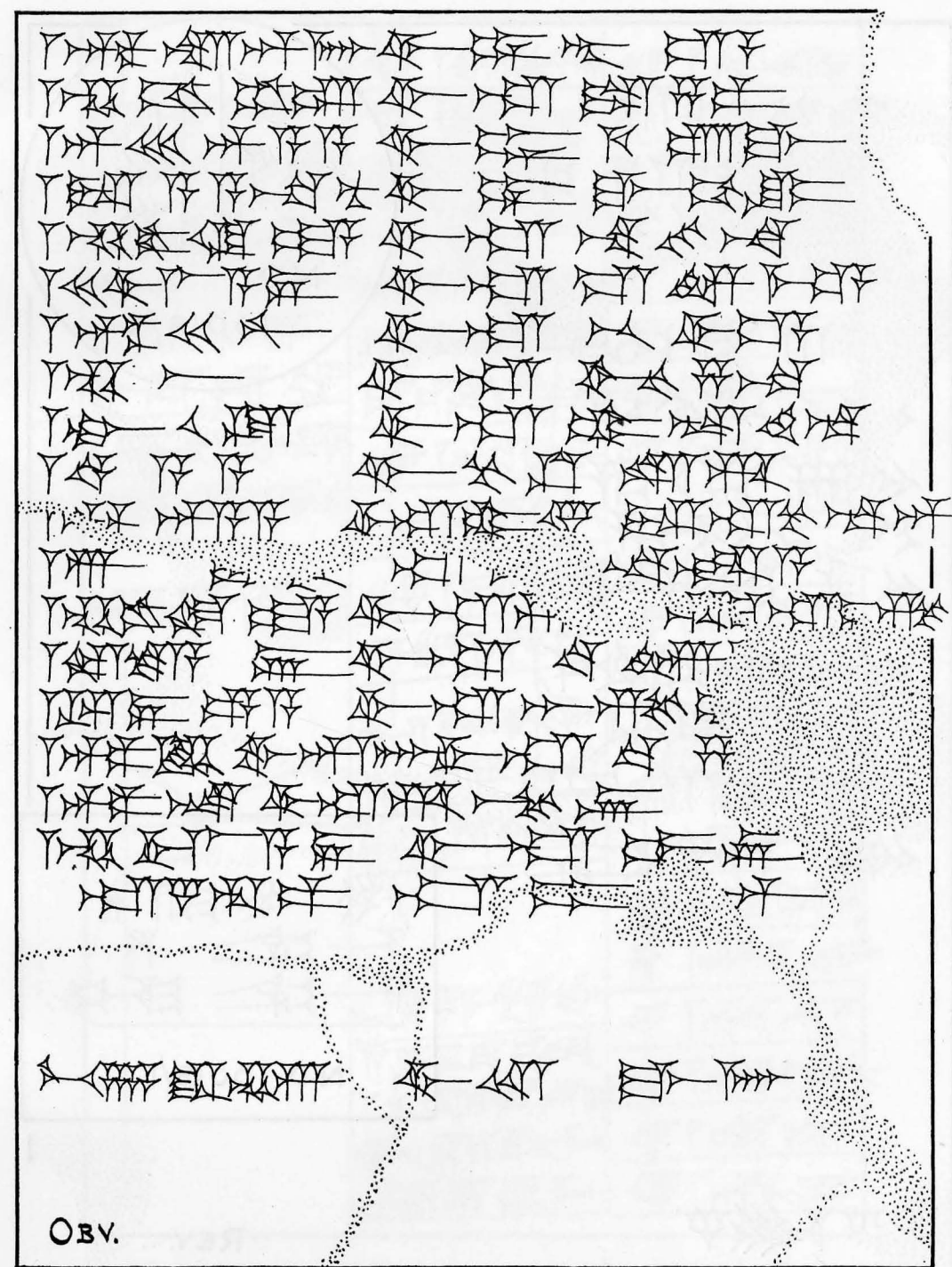
ND
10013

OBVERSE

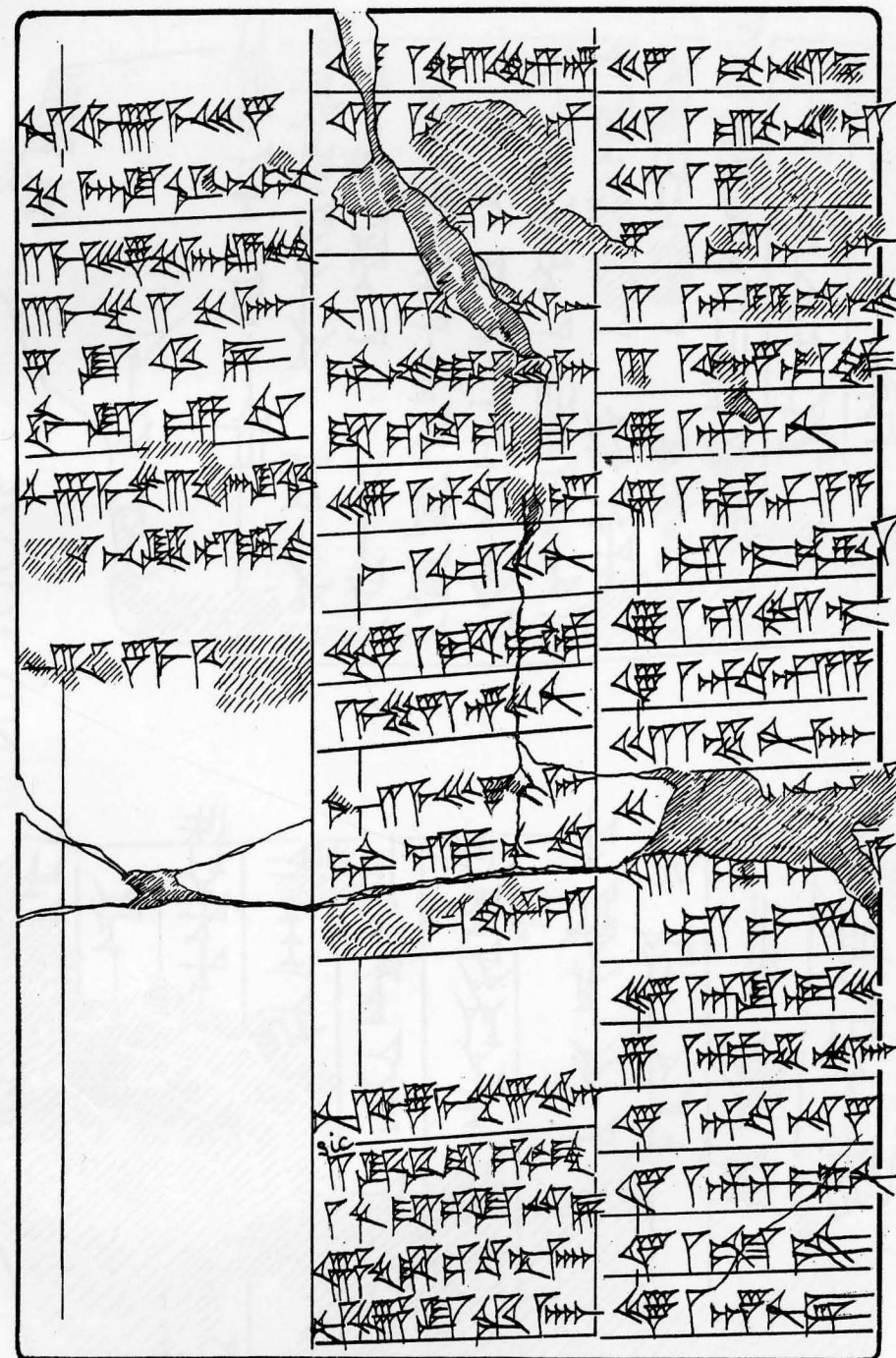
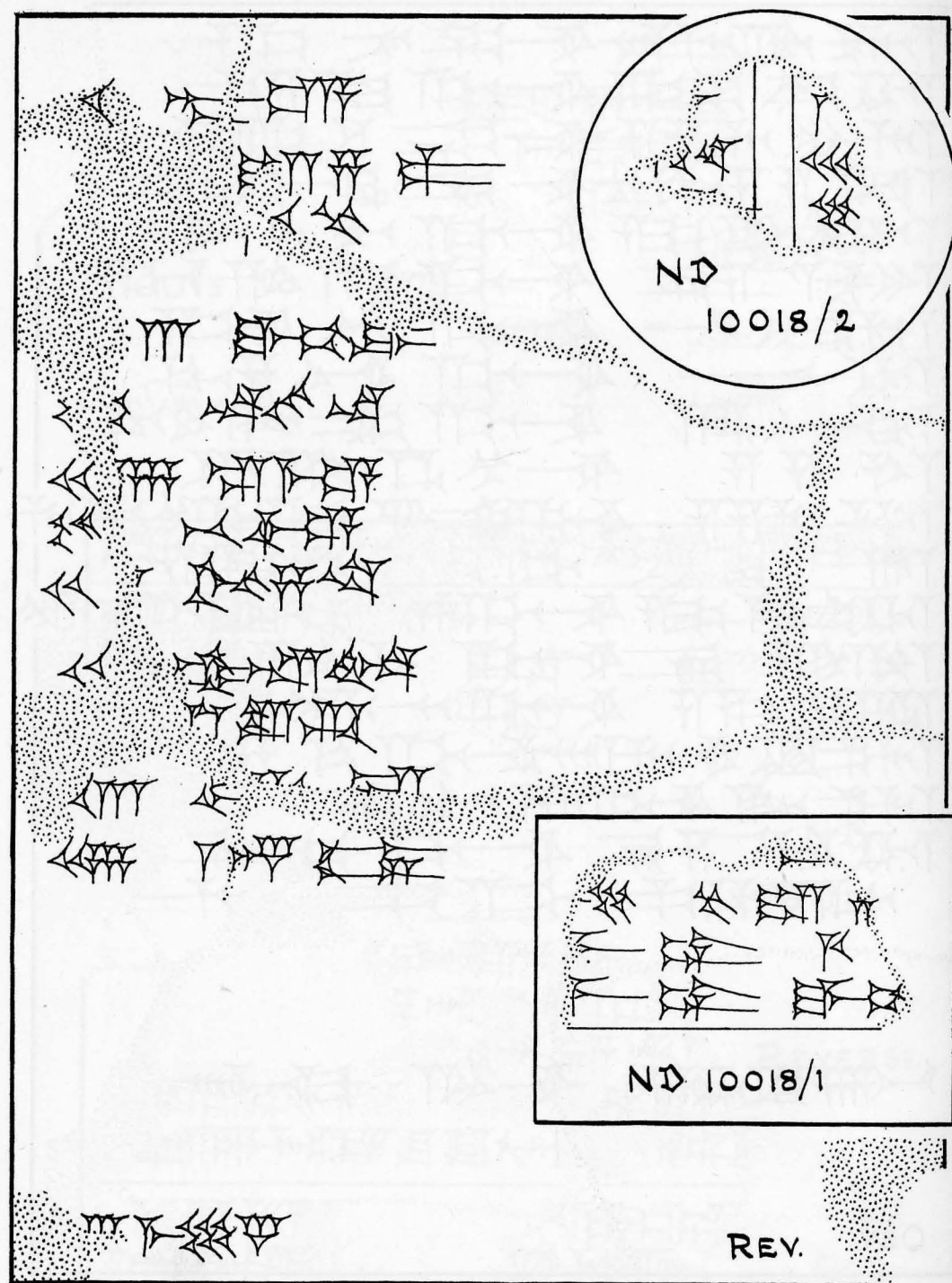




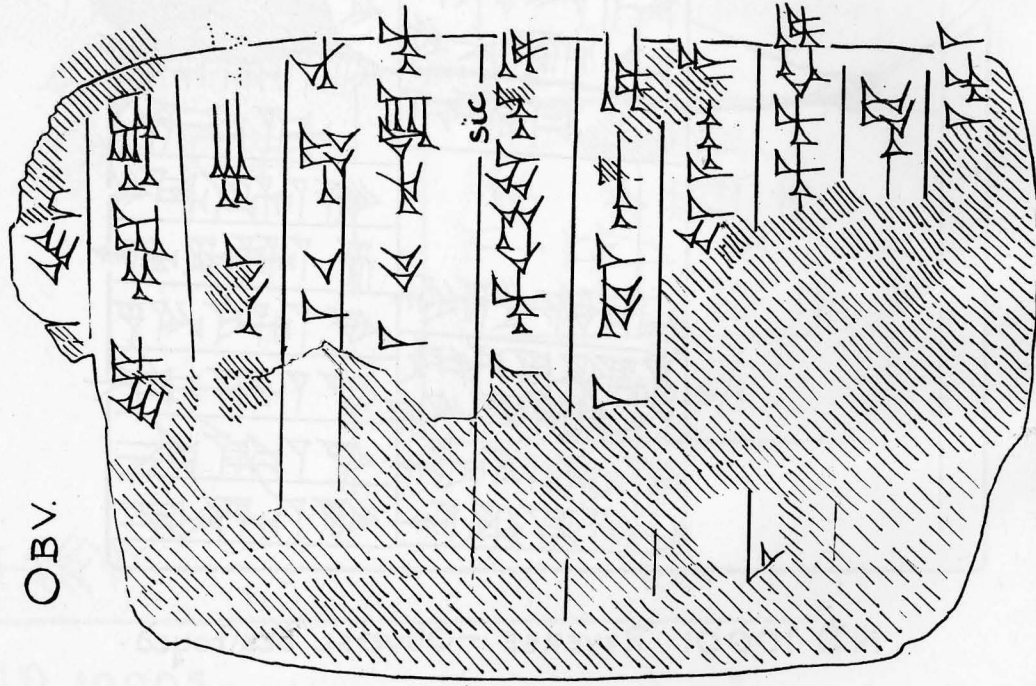
ND
10012



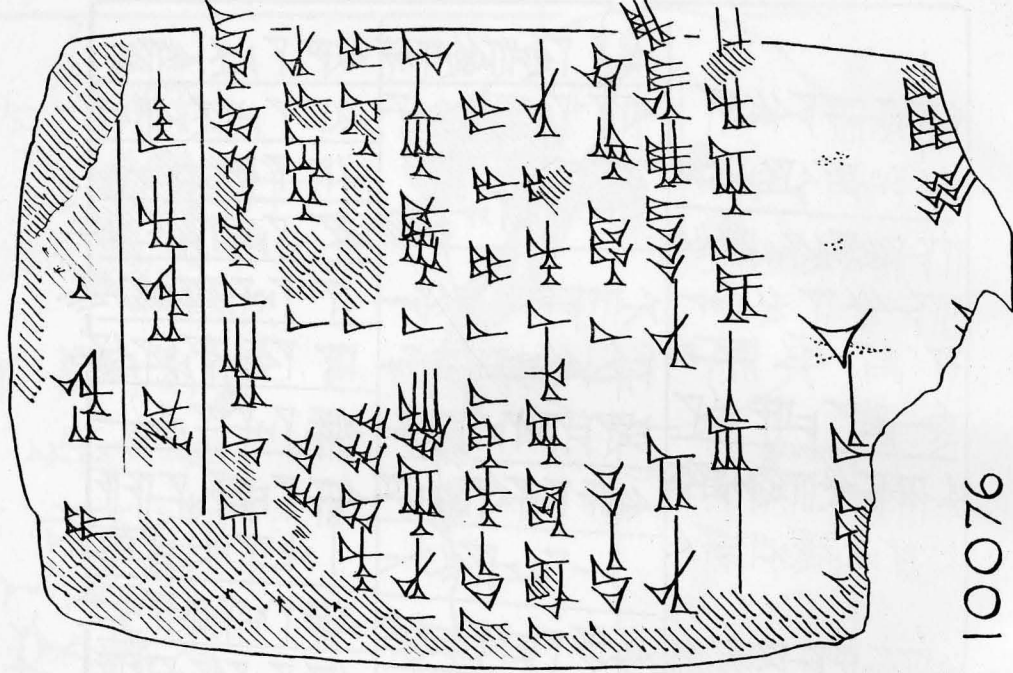
ND 10005



OBV.



REV.



ND 10076