

# CUNEIFORM TEXTS

IN

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

III

PRIVATE ARCHIVE TEXTS

FROM

THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.

IRA SPAR

AND

EVA VON DASSOW

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BREPOLS PUBLISHERS

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IRA SPAR and EVA VON DASSOW  
With contributions by J. N. Postgate and Linda B. Bregstein

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# Contents

Director's Foreword <i>Philippe de Montebello</i>	VII
Acknowledgments	IX
Introduction	
History of Research on the Collection <i>Ira Spar</i>	XI
Documents and Archives <i>Eva von Dassow</i>	XIV
Seal Impressions <i>Linda B. Bregstein</i>	XXVIII
Guide to the Use of the Volume	XXX
Abbreviations	
Bibliographical Abbreviations	XXXIII
Other Abbreviations	XLII
Symbols	XLIV
Catalogue of Tablets	XLV
Concordance of Tablets	LV
Shemtob Concordance	LXI
Moldenke Concordance	LXIII
Indexes	
Personal Names	LXV
Place Names	XCVI
Divine Names	XCVII
Temple Names	XCVII
Tables	
Chronology	XCIX
Month Names and the Agricultural Year	CI
Weights and Measures	CIII
Tablets	
Neo-Assyrian Private Archive Texts from the Seventh Century B.C. Primarily from Nimrud <i>J. N. Postgate</i> The Archive of Šamaš-šarru-ušur Texts (Nos. 1–4)	3
Neo-Babylonian Private Archive Texts from the Seventh Century B.C. from Babylon and Other Towns Texts (Nos. 5–8)	15

Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Private Archive Texts from the Seventh  
Century to the Fourth Century B.C. from Babylon and Other Towns

Introduction to Archives A and B	<i>Eva von Dassow</i>	24
Genealogical Chart		29
Archive A: The Archive of Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Marduk-eriba, descendant of Esagilaya		
Texts (Nos. 9–21)		30
Archive B: The Archive of Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya		
Texts (Nos. 22–44)		49
Introduction to Archives C and D	<i>Eva von Dassow</i>	83
Genealogical Chart		91
Archive C: The Archive of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi		
Texts (Nos. 45–73)		93
Archive D: The Archive of Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn		
Texts (Nos. 74–83)		147
Introduction to Archive E	<i>Eva von Dassow</i>	166
Genealogical Chart		166
Archive E: Archive of Lābāši, son of Kurbanni-Marduk, descendant of Arad-Nergal		
Texts (Nos. 84–88)		168
Introduction to Archive F	<i>Eva von Dassow</i>	176
Genealogical Chart		181
Archive F: Archive of Bēl-rēmāni, son of Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš		
Texts (Nos. 89–94)		182
Introduction to Archive G	<i>Eva von Dassow</i>	195
Genealogical Chart		196
Archive G: Archive of Iddin-Nabû, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, descendant of Šellebi		
Texts (Nos. 95–98)		197
Miscellaneous Texts		
Texts (Nos. 99–164)		205

Plates

Hand Copies of Texts	<i>Ira Spar</i>	
(with drawings of the seal impressions by <i>Jo Ann Wood</i> )		Plates 1–117
Photographs		
Selected Tablets		Plates 118–121
Seal Impressions, Incised Design and Drawing, and Selected Fingernail Impressions		Plates 122–126

## Director's Foreword

The Metropolitan Museum's first exhibition of cuneiform tablets, prominently displayed in the Great Hall during the last decade of the nineteenth century, exemplified the public interest in archaeological discovery in the Near East. In 1893 the Reverend Alfred Moldenke prepared the first publication of selected tablets from the Museum's holdings. For most of the next fifty years, however, there was little further research on the collection. In 1941 Father Louis F. Hartman began making preliminary copies of tablets with the intent of publishing a catalogue of the collection. Hartman was not able to complete his task, and in 1977 Dr. Ira Spar began work on a new catalogue of all cuneiform tablets, bricks, cones, and inscribed objects. The first volume of the series *Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* was published in 1988. The present publication, the third volume in the series, is the result of a joint effort by Dr. Spar and Dr. Eva von Dassow. Their work admits us to the private worlds of several of the leading financial families of Babylon during the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods of Mesopotamian history and illuminates the management and investment practices of family-run Babylonian enterprises. Four Assyrian tablets included in the volume illustrate business practices during Neo-Assyrian times.

Initial research to support Professor Spar's preparation of a catalogue and preliminary edition of the Museum's first-millennium economic texts included in this volume was made possible by a generous grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Further research on Babylonian archives and family enterprise undertaken by Professor von Dassow has been supported by fellowships from The Hagop Kevorkian Fund and the Norbert Schimmel Foundation. This publication has been supported by The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families.

*Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Volume 3, contains all of the Museum's cuneiform texts from private family archives written during the first millennium B.C. Volume 4 (now in preparation) will contain an edition of cuneiform tablets from Babylonian temples written during the first millennium B.C., along with royal records of the kings of Babylon and Assyria inscribed on bricks, cylinders, and prisms. The Museum's holdings of literary and scholastic texts written in Babylonian and Sumerian is forthcoming as Volume 2 of this series.

We are pleased to publish this volume in a format that includes copies, transliterations, translations, and commentary together with drawings, photographs, and commentary on stamp, cylinder, and ring impressions. Our aim has been to make this corpus of cuneiform documents available to both the public and scholarly communities.

Philippe de Montebello  
Director  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



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Following the untimely passing of Vaughn E. Crawford in September 1981, Prudence Oliver Harper, Curator of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, encouraged the continuation of research on the Museum's cuneiform tablet collection. Without her support this volume would not have been possible. Our gratitude is further extended to Dr. Robert A. Scott, President of Ramapo College of New Jersey, for granting Ira Spar release time from teaching at the college in order to pursue work on the collection. The continuing influence of our teachers also deserves mention: thanks to the late Tom B. Jones and to Erle V. Leichty for introducing Ira Spar to the importance of economic texts for the study of ancient history and to W. Donald Bowles for his stimulating teaching of economics. Dr. Baruch A. Levine, Skirball Professor of Bible and Near Eastern Studies, New York University, is acknowledged for his tireless support of Eva von Dassow and his inspiring instruction.

Many staff members of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art merit recognition for their assistance: Cynthia Wilder and Geoff Emberling coordinated the project and kept the files; the late Stuart Edelson, along with John Morariu and Shawn Osborne-Campbell, cared for and maintained the collection. Laurie Tedesco and Melanie Hatz helped order the plates.

The tedious task of preparing indexes was ably accomplished by Stephanie Ende and Linda B. Bregstein. Linda B. Bregstein also provided descriptions of the seal impressions. Jo Ann Wood carefully drew and redrew every visible detail on the seal impressions.

J. A. Brinkman, Mohammed Dandamayev, Michael Jursa, Erle V. Leichty, Karen Nemet-Nejat, Marvin Powell, Martha Roth, Cornelia Wunsch, and W. G. Lambert graciously contributed their insight, criticism, and critical reading of parts of the manuscript, and J. N. Postgate prepared the edition of the Museum's Neo-Assyrian texts. A special note of appreciation is due Erle V. Leichty for his encouragement and wisdom. We are particularly indebted to Ronald Wallenfels for his critique, assistance in editing, and painstaking reference checking. Joan Aruz, Prue Harper, and Holly Pittman offered suggestions regarding interpretation of the seal impressions.

The trustees of the British Museum granted permission to temporarily join for the purpose of photography BM 77856 with MMA 86.11.167 (text No. 102) in March 1993 and to publish the resulting photograph of the joined tablet in this volume.

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Oi-Cheong Lee, Joe Coscia Jr., and Paul Lachenauer produced the photographs of tablets and seal impressions; Barbara Bridges coordinated the photography. Jean-François de Lapérouse handled the conservation of the tablets and painstakingly joined and glued together text fragments.



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Ira Spar  
Eva von Dassow

# Introduction

## History of Research on the Collection

The Museum obtained its first holdings of fifty-one cuneiform tablets and two Nebuchadnezzar cylinders from the London antiquities dealer Joseph Mordecai Shemtob in 1879.<sup>1</sup> Over four hundred and fifty additional tablets, cylinders, and fragments were acquired for the Museum in 1886<sup>2</sup> by the Reverend William Hayes Ward.<sup>3</sup> As no Museum accession numbers were assigned to either the 1879 or 1886 tablets until the 1930s, questions remain, as will be seen below, concerning the identification of individual tablets. The 1879 collection, then called the Egibi Collection (named after the Babylonian Egibi family, see Archive C), and the 1886 or Ward Collection were first studied in December 1886 by Dr. D. G. Lyon of Harvard University, who on the recommendation of Reverend Ward was contracted by the Museum in May of the following year to prepare a catalogue of both collections. Lyon began copying tablets and planned to complete work in September 1887. However, an invitation to deliver six Lowell lectures in Cambridge, Massachusetts, during the winter-spring of 1887–88 led Lyon to write to Dr. Isaac H. Hall, Curator of the Department of Sculpture at the Museum. In his letter Lyon indicated that his new commitment would not allow him the time to continue work on the tablets. Rather than postpone the project he recommended that Theophilus J. Pinches of the British Museum be asked to copy the tablets and prepare the catalogue.<sup>4</sup> Lyon's recommendation was not accepted by either Ward or Hall.

Professor Lyon never completed the catalogue, and some time afterward Reverend Ward asked Dr. H. V. Hilprecht of the University of Pennsylvania to undertake the project. No Museum record exists to indicate if Hilprecht accepted or rejected the offer. In April 1893 Reverend Ward corresponded with Professor R. H. Harper of the University of Chicago. Harper agreed to undertake the project and work for ten weeks at the Museum beginning in July 1893. His plans, however, changed at the last moment, and he spent the summer in London at the British Museum continuing his work on Neo-Assyrian letters.

At the same time that Reverend Ward was exchanging correspondence with Professor Harper, Reverend Alfred B. Moldenke, then a student of Semitic languages at Columbia College (later Columbia University) under Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, was studying the tablet collection. In May 1893 Moldenke completed a Ph.D. thesis based on his edition of twenty-one of the Museum's Egibi tablets dated to the reign of Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.). The thesis was published by Moldenke in June 1893 as *Babylonian Contract Tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1893). Four months later Moldenke, with funding from the Museum, republished the volume with corrections under the title *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. In his revised edition Moldenke added a second part to the volume that included thirty-five texts from the Ward Collection. Fifteen of the texts dated from the accession year of Sîn-šumu-lišir (626 B.C.) to the nineteenth year of the reign of Nabopolassar (607 B.C.). Twenty of the texts were dated to the reign of Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.). Moldenke's publication included typeset copies, transliterations, translations, and notes.<sup>5</sup> In the introduction to the revised edition Moldenke indicated that he planned to publish the remaining tablets in the Museum's collection. No

record of a subsequent manuscript exists. In October 1896 Moldenke replaced his brother, Reverend Charles E. Moldenke, as associate pastor to their father, the Reverend Edward F. Moldenke, in the Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische St. Petri-Kirche (later Saint Peter's Lutheran Church of Manhattan), where he remained until his death on April 5, 1943.<sup>6</sup>

In 1907 the collection was examined by Professor Albert T. Clay, then at the University of Pennsylvania. Several years later while he was preparing for publication Neo-Babylonian tablets in the collection of the library of J. Pierpont Morgan in New York, Clay thought that the Museum's collection would be of greater interest if it contained a wider range of texts and arranged in 1911 an exchange of twenty-nine Sumerian and Old Babylonian tablets in Mr. Morgan's library for an equal number of Neo-Babylonian tablets in the Metropolitan Museum's collection.<sup>7</sup> Precise records identifying the tablets sent to the library of J. Pierpont Morgan do not exist in either The Metropolitan Museum of Art or Pierpont Morgan Library archives.<sup>8</sup> The tablets received in exchange from Mr. Morgan's library were later accessioned as MMA 11.217.1-29.<sup>9</sup>

In the period from 1917 to 1919, a Neo-Babylonian grammatical text (MMA 86.11.61) was studied and published by Stephen Langdon, and a hymn to the goddess Aruru (MMA 86.11.62) was published by John A. Maynard.<sup>10</sup> As far as is known, no further work was done on the collection until 1941-42, when Father Louis F. Hartman, Professor of Sacred Scripture at Redemptorist Seminary in Esopus, New York, copied all texts shown to him with the intent of publishing a complete catalogue of the collection. Hartman's catalogue was to include his copies together with short descriptions of the contents and date of each tablet. Hartman completed preliminary copies of three hundred seventy-three texts, made many important joins in literary and lexical tablets, and published two tablets, MMA 86.11.121<sup>11</sup> and MMA 86.11.368<sup>12</sup> in collaboration with A. Leo Oppenheim. Hartman also identified several mathematical texts and sent preliminary hand copies to Professor Otto Neugebauer.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, other commitments made it impossible for Hartman to collate his rough copies, prepare the catalogue, or make additional copies of texts not seen during his 1941-42 visits to the Museum. Hartman's copies of MMA 86.11.307 (text No. 26) and MMA 86.11.306 (text No. 41) are published in this volume, as the tablets were lost or destroyed in conservation between 1942 and 1956.

In January 1962 Professor Abraham J. Sachs of Brown University spent several days at the Museum. Sachs collated a number of Moldenke tablets as well as the lexical tablets published by Oppenheim and Hartman and sent his collations to Benno Landsberger for inclusion in the files of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. Sachs also made joins in astronomical tablets and compiled a brief catalogue of selected economic, literary, and scholastic texts in the collection.<sup>14</sup>

This volume is based on a catalogue, new autograph copies, and preliminary edition of the Museum's Neo- and Late Babylonian economic tablets made by Ira Spar from 1977 to 1979 with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Eva von Dassow, Hagop Kevorkian Curatorial Fellow, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990-1991, and Norbert Schimmel Fellow for Mediterranean Art and Archaeology, 1992, reconstructed the archival groups published in this volume. The present edition, completed in 1995, is a joint effort of both authors. Commentary on stamp seal impressions, cylinder seal impressions, and ring impressions was written by Linda B. Bregstein; copies of the seal impressions were drawn by Jo Ann Wood. Professor J. N. Postgate, Trinity College, Cambridge, England, prepared the edition of Neo-Assyrian texts (Nos. 1-4) presented here.

1. Moldenke erroneously stated in *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1893), p. iii, that the collection was purchased from the British Museum in 1878. J. M. Shemtob issued a receipt, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art archives, listing payment for fifty-one tablets and two cylinders on May 21, 1879. For further discussion, see CTMMA 1, p. xiii.

Copies of fifty (texts Nos. 1–40, 42–51) of the fifty-one texts and one of the two cylinders were prepared by T. J. Pinches of the British Museum (see chart, pp. lxi–lxii) prior to their shipment to New York. J. N. Strassmaier, who had also made copies in London of the Shemtob texts, cited these tablets in *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter der Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia 2* (Leipzig, 1886). References in Strassmaier’s volume to “N.Y.” tablets refer to numbers (1–51) in J. M. Shemtob’s inventory provided to the Museum in May 1879 (see p. lxiv n. 1). Not all of the tablets in Shemtob’s list can presently be accounted for. At least fourteen of the twenty-nine tablets sent to the library of J. Pierpont Morgan as part of a 1911 exchange were from the Shemtob purchase (see chart, pp. lxi–lxii). The tablets are now in the Yale Babylonian Collection (see n. 7 below). As the nineteenth-century numbers assigned to the Museum’s tablets were based in part on the cases in which they were displayed and as the cuneiform tablet collection did not begin to receive acquisition numbers until the 1930s, a complete list of the tablets sent to the library of J. Pierpont Morgan cannot be determined. Fourteen of the fifty-one Shemtob tablets can be identified as being part of the exchange based on duplicate copies made by Pinches in London and by A. T. Clay in New York. Clay’s copies were published in the first volume of *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (BRM 1). Shemtob nos. 41, 43, and 51, which were never accessioned at the Museum and were no longer in the collection during the 1930s and 1940s when the tablets were photographed and catalogued, may have also been included in the 1911 exchange. While Pinches made copies of Shemtob nos. 41 and 51, he made no copy of Shemtob no. 43. Strassmaier, however, must have copied Shemtob no. 43 in London prior to its being sent to New York. Excerpts from this tablet are published in *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss* nos. 603 and 651, where Strassmaier refers to the text as “N.Y. 43.” The location of this tablet is presently unknown.

Nineteen of the tablets included in the Museum’s 1879 Shemtob purchase have Arabic numerals incised or painted on the edges of the tablets. These numbers, according to a Museum inventory dated February 1893, refer to casts of the tablets made by Charles Balliard, a Museum photographer (see chart, pp. lxi–lxii).

In 1894 the Museum contracted for the purchase of seven tablets from Murad J. Shemtob in London. It is not known if the tablets were ever received; no record of their presence in the Museum exists.

2. At least one of the tablets in the 1886 collection (Moldenke I, 20, not accessioned) was included in the exchange of tablets made with the library of J. Pierpont Morgan in 1911 (see n. 1 above and Concordance of Moldenke I and Moldenke II Tablets, p. lxiii). Other tablets from this collection must have also been included in the exchange.

In 1884 a Nebuchadnezzar cylinder was acquired from Mr. Bernard Maimon and published by J. F. X. O’Connor, “The Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar at New York,” *Hebraica* 1 (1885), pp. 201–8. This object is no longer in the collection and was presumably included in a group of cylinders sold to the library of J. Pierpont Morgan in 1908 (see CTMMA 1, p. xiv).

3. For further discussion, see CTMMA 1, pp. xiii–xiv. In 1896 Moldenke published an article, “A Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar,” *JAOS* 16 (1896), pp. 71–78, in which he erroneously stated that the cylinder was “purchased in 1878 by Gen. L. (*sic*) P. di Cesnola for the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City from the British Museum.” Moldenke here confused this cylinder in the Ward Collection obtained in 1886 with the Nebuchadnezzar cylinders purchased from J. M. Shemtob in 1879. In the introduction to his Ph.D. thesis, *Babylonian Contract Tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Moldenke made a similar error when he stated that the Museum’s Egibi tablets were “taken from the Ward Collection of Babylonian Antiquities.” (The Museum’s Egibi tablets were part of the 1879 Shemtob purchase.) The cylinder published by Moldenke was later accessioned as 86.11.60, part of the Ward Collection.

4. D. G. Lyon, letter to I. H. Hall, July 6, 1887.

5. A new edition of the Moldenke texts was published by J. A. Delaunay in 1977, *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New-York): Nouvelle Édition*, Publication du Centre des droits cunéiformes, Université de Droit Paris, 2 (Paris, 1977). Delaunay did not collate any of the Museum’s tablets; his edition was based entirely on Moldenke’s typeset copies.

6. Born in New York City on December 15, 1871, Alfred B. Moldenke received his Ph.D. from Columbia College, New York, in 1893 and his B.Th. from the University of Halle in Germany. For the history of the Moldenke family, see *History of St. Peter’s Lutheran Church of Manhattan 1862–1970* (New York, n.d.).

7. See further CTMMA 1, pp. xiv–xv, and chart, pp. lxi–lxii. The majority of the Morgan Library texts were acquired by Yale University in 1966 and are now in the Yale Babylonian Collection (see P. A. Beaulieu, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection* [New Haven, 1994], p. viii).

8. At this time the Metropolitan’s tablets still had no accession numbers, which further complicates their identification (see n. 1 above).

9. Published in CTMMA 1; see there Concordance of Texts and Seal Impressions, p. xxxi.
10. S. Langdon, "Syllabar in the Metropolitan Museum," *JSOR* 1 (1917), pp. 19–23; J. A. Maynard, "A Lamentation to Aruru," *JSOR* 3 (1919), pp. 14–20. Langdon provided no tablet number in his publication. Maynard in his article referred to the tablet as Metropolitan Museum No. 112; it was later accessioned as MMA 86.11.62.
11. A. L. Oppenheim and L. F. Hartman, "The Domestic Animals of Ancient Mesopotamia According to the XIIIth Tablet of the Series 𒊕AR.ra = *hubullû*," *JNES* 4 (1945), pp. 152–77.
12. A. L. Oppenheim and L. F. Hartman, "On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia According to the XXIIIrd Tablet of the Series 𒊕AR.ra = *hubullu*," *JAOS* suppl. 10 (Baltimore, 1950).
13. MMA 86.11.404, MMA 86.11.406, MMA 86.11.407, MMA 86.11.408, MMA 86.11.409, and MMA 86.11.410 were later published in O. Neugebauer and A. J. Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, AOS 29 (New Haven, 1945). Neugebauer also published MMA 86.11.345 and MMA 86.11.405 in O. Neugebauer, *Astronomical Cuneiform Texts* (London, 1955).
14. Sachs's list of tablets with marginal notes was recorded in his notebook, currently in the collection of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, courtesy of Janet Sachs. In cataloguing the Museum's tablets, Professor Sachs identified MMA 86.11.354 as an astronomical almanac, which he later dated to A.D. 31/32. See A. J. Sachs, "The Latest Datable Cuneiform Tablets," *Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, pp. 379–99 (AOAT 25) (Neukirchener-Vluyn, 1976).

## Documents and Archives

The tablets and fragments published in this volume, excluding the four Neo-Assyrian tablets (Nos. 1–4), come from the private archives of individuals and families living in Babylonia during the seventh through fifth centuries B.C. This time frame spans the successive periods of hegemony over Babylonia by Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian ("Chaldean"), and Achaemenid rulers.<sup>1</sup> Gradual developments in contract forms and in legal or documentary practice are observable during this period—as well as a certain amount of regional variation—until the reign of Xerxes (486–465 B.C.), itself characterized by scarcity of (published) documentation. Thereafter, cuneiform economic and legal documents exhibit significant differences in format and formulary.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, for present purposes all of these tablets, and the language in which they were written, a late form of the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian, will be described by the umbrella term Neo-Babylonian.

The Neo-Babylonian tablets in the Museum's collection were acquired through the antiquities market, principally in the late 1870s and 1880s, when large numbers of tablets from clandestine digs were being dispersed in this way to various collections. Thus the archaeological provenance of none of these tablets is known.<sup>3</sup> Despite the lack of archaeological context to indicate where and how they were deposited in antiquity, internal evidence does allow many unprovenanced Neo-Babylonian economic and legal tablets to be assembled into coherent "archival" groups, each consisting of the documents and records pertaining to an individual, family, or institution.

The archival coherence of distinct document groups among the large numbers of Neo-Babylonian economic and legal tablets known in the late nineteenth century was perceived in the early years of scholarship on these tablets; it was recognized that understanding the tablets' content depended on establishing their archival context.<sup>4</sup> However, an archival approach was overshadowed for several decades by a juristic, or legal-historical, approach, which focused on analyzing the meaning of the legal formulary employed in the tablets and defining the types of transactions, contracts, and procedures reflected by them. In recent years several scholars have renewed the emphasis on archival context and have refined the methodology of reconstituting original archival groups from tablets without archaeological prove-

nance.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, archives, or parts thereof, have occasionally been discovered in situ in archaeological excavations, supplying some data, rather than conjecture, on storage and deposition in antiquity.<sup>6</sup> A comparison of the contents of tablet groups archaeologically definable as archives with the contents of the archives “reconstituted” from illicit excavations could serve as a useful check on our inferences regarding practices of archival assemblage; such a comparative analysis is wanting.

The term “archive” ideally denotes an intentionally collected and preserved assemblage of documents and records.<sup>7</sup> A “private” archive is a collection of documents and records relating to the affairs of an individual acting in his or her own interest, or, similarly, to the affairs of a group of individuals such as a family or a business association. “Public” or “official” institutions such as temples and the royal administration likewise collected and preserved such documents and records as pertained to their respective interests.<sup>8</sup> In the Neo-Babylonian period, the extant documents consist exclusively of clay tablets inscribed in cuneiform; parchment documents inscribed in alphabetic script and waxed folding writing-boards were also used, but they have not survived, and their role in archival practice is unknown.<sup>9</sup> Further, since it cannot always be determined if any given group of documents, whether excavated in situ or reconstituted from unprovenanced material, represents an active file rather than a “dead-letter” file or, especially in the case of unprovenanced tablets, accidentally preserved refuse, the term “archive” will be used herein in its most general and inclusive sense.<sup>10</sup>

More than half of the tablets in this volume have been identified as belonging to seven different archival groups, here labeled Archives A through G. Among those not representing parts of discrete private archives, Archive D may be characterized as a “dossier” or “file” within another private archive (see the Introduction to Archives C and D, p. 83), while Archive F (and possibly Archives A and B) may be a “private dossier” within the archive of an institution (see the Introduction to Archive F, p. 176). In the case of all seven archives, the tablets found in the Museum’s collection constitute only a fraction of the original assemblage.<sup>11</sup>

Documents archived by private individuals and families are predominantly contracts, promissory notes, receipts, and quittances; bookkeeping records associated with various transactions, protocols of legal proceedings, as well as letters, also occur. Primarily, these documents are those that establish rights to property and claims for goods and services, or that prove clearance of obligation. They were retained by families, often for generations, and could be referred to in case of dispute or litigation over property or services.<sup>12</sup>

Types of property transfer recorded on cuneiform tablets and stored in family archives include sales, exchanges, leases, and rentals. Contracts recording the sale of real estate, prebends, or slaves (rarely other types of property) were drawn up in the interest of and kept by the purchaser in order to establish title.<sup>13</sup> If the purchaser later alienated the property through sale, gift, or exchange, the original purchase contract was transferred to the new owner when title was relinquished and became a background document (*Retroakt*) in the new owner’s archive.<sup>14</sup> Any documentation relating to the clearing of liens or claims affecting the property was transferred to the new owner as well. Thus, possession of records establishing a chain of title to property accompanied ownership of property.<sup>15</sup> In theory, the archive of a person who sold or otherwise alienated real property would not contain the original purchase contract nor one recording the alienation of that property.<sup>16</sup>

Contracts for the lease of cultivable land and for the rental of buildings (sometimes other objects, e.g., ships) provide a contrasting situation.<sup>17</sup> These contracts, in which not ownership but right of use was transferred,<sup>18</sup> were issued in the interest of both parties, because they involved obligations incumbent on

both. Lease and rental contracts were issued in duplicate, one copy for the lessor and one for the lessee, or one for the landlord and one for the tenant. Such tablets might have been destroyed when the contractual relationship was terminated, but in practice they seem to have often been retained in archives for generations.<sup>19</sup>

The transfer of goods in satisfaction of claims for payment could be evidenced by quittances and receipts. A quittance, recording the discharge of an obligation to deliver goods or perform services, was issued in favor of the person who had discharged the obligation;<sup>20</sup> a receipt, as an acknowledgment of payment or delivery, also established quittance of obligation.<sup>21</sup> The document of quittance was required primarily by the party whose performance of an obligation or duty it recorded and was retained in that person's archive to prove that the obligation or duty was no longer incumbent on him. Often, however, quittances or receipts were issued in duplicate, one copy being retained by the party who was quit of obligation, the other by the party to whom the obligation was owed and had been satisfied.<sup>22</sup> No clear formal distinction can be drawn between quittances and receipts in the Neo-Babylonian period, though there were Akkadian words in use such as *eširtu*, *apiltu*, and *gištu* that may be translated by those terms. For purposes of classification it may be convenient to identify as quittances those documents that, like contracts, give the full names (with filiation) of each party, introduce the witnesses with the term *mukinnu*, name the scribe, and append a full date formula; records that lack these formalities, and are therefore to be understood as internal records kept in the archive of either party for bookkeeping purposes, may be identified as receipts.

Not all transfers of every type of property were recorded. Sales of fungible goods (commodities classified by weight, measure, or number, such as silver and naturalia) and of mobilia (including animals, furnishings, and garments) other than slaves were usually not recorded. If payment was completed at the time of the sale of the object, no contract or receipt was necessary; if payment was either advanced or deferred, that is, if the transaction was a credit sale or a delivery sale, it was recorded in the form of a promissory note. Inheritance of family property probably took place without documentation unless the division of the patrimony was complicated by such factors as size and variety of the assets, likelihood of contention among the heirs, liens, or competing claims by other relatives. In these instances property transfer, especially through bequest and testamentary disposition, was recorded and the tablet kept in the archive of the heir or his or her offspring (see text No. 102). Likewise, the transfer of dower property with a betrothed woman, if it was completed at once rather than promised for future delivery, may not have required documentation unless the dowry included real estate or slaves.<sup>23</sup> In other words—although it is difficult to prove the nonexistence of tablets based only on their absence from extant corpora—it would appear that neither property transfer that followed customary channels of transmission through the family nor cash sale of fungibles and mobilia, the rights to which would not be contested, required documentation.<sup>24</sup>

Every type of debt relationship, whether arising from a loan or from another transaction, was cast in the form of a promissory note, the type of document most characteristic of the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>25</sup> The promissory note recorded the existence of an obligation without necessarily indicating how that obligation was incurred. It stated that one party, the creditor, was owed something (usually an amount of one or more commodities) by a second party, the debtor; its main clause did not—though a subsidiary clause might—indicate that the object of the obligation had been transferred from the creditor to the debtor. Thus it did not record an act of lending—loans, as such, were not documented in this period. If the debt was incurred as a result of a loan by the creditor to the debtor, this is usually not discernible from

the promissory note itself, although it may be possible to deduce the existence of a loan within the context of other documents relating to transactions between the same parties.<sup>26</sup>

A less common form of promissory note is known as an “*ina pāni* credit document” or “*ina pāni* promissory note.” Instead of being formulated “X (the debt object) belonging to A (the creditor) is owed by (*ina muḥḥi*) B (the debtor),”<sup>27</sup> as in a normal promissory note, the *ina pāni* note was formulated “X, belonging to A, is at the disposal of (*ina pāni*) B”; this phraseology implies the transfer of X from A to B, yet the act of transfer was not in fact recorded.<sup>28</sup>

Although most promissory notes contain no indication of why one party owed the other, some notes contain clauses or key words that identify the cause of debt. For example, a lessee’s annual obligation to deliver an amount of produce to the lessor gave rise to the issuance of a promissory note each year at the time of assessing the lease payment.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, a tenant’s semiannual obligation to pay rent could result in the issuance of promissory notes on a regular basis. In cases of credit sales, where a seller advanced a sum of commodities to a purchaser, but allowed the purchaser to defer payment until a future date, a promissory note was issued recording the seller’s credit claim to the debit of the purchaser.<sup>30</sup> Conversely, if a purchaser paid in advance for goods to be delivered at a future date (a delivery sale), a promissory note was issued recording the purchaser’s credit claim against the seller. This is the only form, besides quittances for the satisfaction of such credit claims, in which sales of fungible goods are attested in Neo-Babylonian tablets, since, as noted above, sale contracts were not issued for this purpose. Work contracts for the production of goods, like delivery sales, also took the form of promissory notes. The debt object was either identified as the goods to be produced (for example, so many vats of beer) or as the value of those goods in some other commodity (usually silver) and was stated to be owed to the party commissioning the work, as the creditor, by the party hired to do the work, as the debtor; the payment clause stated the debtor/producer’s obligation to deliver the finished goods to the creditor.<sup>31</sup>

The financing and incorporation of a business partnership, termed *ḥarrānu*, was also formulated as a promissory note or, more often, by a cluster or series of promissory notes. In the simplest form of *ḥarrānu*-partnership, one partner provided the investment capital, in the form of an amount of silver or other commodities, to the other partner, who was to use this capital to finance or carry out the partnership’s business. The financing of the partnership was recorded in a promissory note stating that the capital amount was owed to the investor by the other partner; the debt was stated to be “for a business partnership” (*ana ḥarrāni*). Subsidiary clauses stipulated how profits were to be shared and liability borne.<sup>32</sup>

Lastly, sale transactions could entail the issuance of promissory notes. In principle, the purchase of real property and slaves was a cash sale for which the purchase contract invariably stated that payment had been completed. In practice, however, payment was usually made in installments, so that a promissory note was drawn up against the purchaser for the unpaid portion of the property’s purchase price, which normally bore interest. As payments were made and interest accrued, quittances were issued for the payments while the novation of the debt was evidenced in the form of a new promissory note that canceled the old one.<sup>33</sup>

What was done with all these promissory notes? A promissory note is, by definition, issued in favor of the creditor, who might need it to document his or her claim and to secure payment by the other party. Once the claim is satisfied, the promissory note is invalid. A tablet was invalidated by physically breaking it or by declaring it, in a separate document, to be broken (whether it was physically broken or not). Thus, one way to document the satisfaction of the creditor’s claim was to issue a quittance in favor of



the debtor and, within the quittance, to state that the promissory note for the now-discharged obligation “is broken.” A copy of the quittance could be contained in both the creditor’s and the debtor’s archives. Meanwhile, since the credit claim no longer exists, the creditor should no longer have the document wherewith to enforce it, so the promissory note and, in theory, all duplicates should be handed over to the debtor after payment is completed. The document’s meaning changed when it changed hands, as its legal force depended upon in whose archive it was located. The transfer of the promissory note could supplement the issuance of a quittance.<sup>34</sup>

The procedure of handing over the promissory note upon quittance of the debt was common practice and was referred to in the documents themselves. However, it is not clear how to understand the attested distribution of promissory notes in the extant archives, for an archive could contain as many (or more) tablets evidencing debts owed to the archive owner as tablets evidencing debts owed by him or her. The latter tablets would have entered the archive by reason of the debts having been paid off; but do the former tablets all represent debts still outstanding? Most likely some represented uncollected debts; others were simply tablets not located by the creditor/archive owner at the time the debt was paid and a quittance issued; and yet others were probably archival copies retained by the creditor after satisfaction of his claim, without risk to the debtor, who either received a quittance, the original promissory note, or both.<sup>35</sup>

Tablets containing records of legal proceedings followed the same lines of transmission as contracts: they were preserved in the archives of the parties whose ownership of property and whose claims they supported.<sup>36</sup> Two examples from this volume illustrate this process. Text No. 127, although it does not record a legal proceeding, contains one party’s renunciation of “any lawsuit or claim” against another party concerning the purchase price of sold land. The tablet was drawn up for the party who had acquired title to the property and would have been kept in that person’s archive to defend against future monetary claims. This tablet was sealed by the witnesses; the other parties may have kept unsealed duplicates.<sup>37</sup> Text No. 96 records a witnessed declaration concerning the performance of guard duty; the archive in which this tablet may have been kept was that of the person making the declaration, who was in some way responsible for performing the duty.

In summary, documents were retained in private archives for the purpose of establishing rights, such as title to property and claims for goods or services, and the documents were transferable along with those rights. Consequently, it may be conjectured, when these rights or claims ceased to exist, these no-longer-needed supporting documents, such as lease or rental contracts long since terminated, quittances for obligations satisfied in years gone by, or archival duplicates of previous generations’ contracts for the alienation of property, should have been periodically discarded. In no case, however, do we possess both the discarded and retained lots of tablets.<sup>38</sup>

It is difficult to know where private archives were stored, since the majority of extant Neo-Babylonian tablets are of unknown provenance. Some of the tablet groups were found in private dwellings,<sup>39</sup> while others may have been stored within an institution, such as a temple, with which the archive owner was affiliated and in which he might have had access to storerooms.<sup>40</sup> The latter seems most probable in the case of single-generation archives pertaining to individuals who held prebends (allotments connected with the provision of comestibles for cultic service and other duties; see discussion below) with one of the major temples. One such example is the case of Bēl-rēmāni, who worked as a scribe, among other jobs, at the Ebabbar temple in Sippar and held a prebend there (see Archive F). Two other archival groups in this volume are virtually limited to one generation: Archive A, which per-

tains to the brothers Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir of the Esagilaya family, and Archive B, which pertains to Lābāši, also of the Esagilaya family. All three of these individuals held prebends with one of the temples in Babylon.

Despite the irregularities in archival practices observable in our sources, there is enough evidence to indicate that the movement of documentation did generally proceed according to the principles enunciated above, and these inform the reconstitution of original archival groups. Certain key features of Neo-Babylonian documents provide information that allows us to identify which tablets might have been stored together in antiquity.

It was standard practice during the Neo-Babylonian period to identify contracting parties, witnesses, and the scribe of the document not only by their personal names but by their full filiation: “A, son (or daughter) of B, descendant of C (A/B//C),” where “A” is the personal name, “B” is the father’s name (patronymic), and “C” is the name of an eponymous ancestor or ancestral profession, used more or less as a surname.<sup>41</sup> It should be noted that not all individuals had family names. Also, the practice just described did not become standard in economic and commercial texts until the late seventh century and went out of vogue after the reign of Darius I (to be revived during the latter half of the fourth century B.C. and continue in use throughout the Hellenistic period). During the eighth and most of the seventh centuries, when persons are identified as “A, son of B,” where “B” may be either the patronymic or the family name of “A,”<sup>42</sup> other evidence may be needed to establish that “A, son of B” is the same person in two different tablets. Throughout most of the time period concerned in this volume, however, the practice of referring to persons by personal name, patronymic, and family name (A/B//C) not only makes it possible to identify the same person appearing in a cluster of tablets but also makes it possible to discern family relationships when family members appear in the tablets. Thus prosopography and genealogical reconstruction are the most important tools for identifying family archives.

The date formula, which consists of the name of the place where the document was issued and the exact date, specifying the month, day, and year and titulary of the reigning king, can serve as both a geographical and chronological check on the identification of prosopographically linked tablet groups. Tablets attesting the activity of a specific individual, for example, should cluster within a time frame not out of range of a normal lifespan, and sons should not ordinarily be attested earlier than their fathers (though they may be active contemporaneously). On the other hand, the date of a given tablet can sometimes be correctly read or interpreted only after the prosopography of the individuals attested therein has been established on the basis of other tablets; this helps us to determine, for example, whether the document was dated in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, III, or IV. Each type of data should be used as a control on the other. The geographical information supplied in the date formula can also be used as a cross-check to determine the identity of specific individuals within an archive, as most tablets of a given archive were usually (but not exclusively) written within a closely delimited geographical area.

Finally, the accession or registration numbers assigned to tablets at the time of their entry into museum collections can often be used to determine the existence of clusters of related tablets. Even in the case of groups of tablets unearthed by clandestine diggers and dispersed through the antiquities market, resulting in the dismemberment and mixing of archives, it is often possible to identify discrete assemblages on the basis of the museum acquisition dates and other data, such as the identity of the dealers through whom the lots of tablets were sold.<sup>43</sup> One can even trace the dispersal of specific assemblages into various collections; the existence of joins and duplicate tablets in separate collections dramatically confirms the original coherence of such clusters.

## Economic Practices

In the mid- to later part of the first millennium, temples continued to play a major role in the economy and political life of Babylonia. Cultivation and, secondarily, livestock, remained the basis of the economy despite flourishing private entrepreneurial activity independent of royal or religious institutions and a high volume of transactions evidencing trade in goods and services not related to basic subsistence. Although a comprehensive account of the economy and the institutions of the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods cannot be offered here, economic practices relating to agriculture and to the varied activities of private individuals in the operation of the temples (most important in terms of both their weight in the available documentation and their actual economic significance) require some description.

### Cultivation and Land Lease

It may be assumed that a certain proportion of the cultivable land was in the possession of small farmers who tilled the soil themselves, neither leasing out their land, nor pledging it as security for debt, nor (usually as a result of insolvency) selling it. This land would never appear in written records except as a source of tax revenue.<sup>44</sup> The land that is attested is that which was subject to alienation or change in status or tenure and that which was managed through bureaucratic mechanisms.

Among the temples' dependent personnel was the *ikkaru* (pl. *ikkarātu*), "farmer," assigned to work temple lands. The entire harvest of lands cultivated by the *ikkarātu* was collected by the temple administration, which furnished the necessary seed, oxen, feed, and equipment, and compensated the workers in the form of rations, or a wage in naturalia. An affluent private household also had the option of managing the cultivation of its lands in this way, using slaves or other dependents as workers. However, it was equally common practice for the temples, and apparently more common for private households, to lease parcels of land to individuals who undertook the responsibility for cultivating the land and delivering a certain proportion of the crop to the landowner.<sup>45</sup> Land belonging to the crown could likewise be leased to private individuals, though this is poorly attested in the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>46</sup> Depending on the nature of the lease contract, expenses for seed, oxen, extra labor, feed, and tools might be borne either by the lessor or by the lessee/cultivator or shared between them; many contracts, however, contain no stipulations regarding these expenses.<sup>47</sup>

There were numerous types of leases, which were differentiated in the terminology of the documents either according to the type of cultivation to be performed by the lessee or according to the type of lease payment owed to the lessor. The principal types of leases were:

1. *ana errēšūti*, "for agricultural cultivation" (more literally, "for the work of ploughing"), meaning cultivation of grain and also of any other crops that do not grow on trees, such as sesame and garlic;
2. *ana nukarribūti*, "for orchard cultivation" (literally, "for the work of gardening"), meaning cultivation of any orchard crops, usually date palms but also other types of fruit-bearing trees as well as grapevines;
3. *ana sūti*, "for fixed rent"; the annual lease payment termed *sūtu* was payable in naturalia or silver. Leases *ana mandatti*, which may be translated simply "for payment" in this context, were essentially identical to *ana sūti* leases.

Leases *ana dulli*, “for labor”; *ana taptû*, “for breaking new ground”; and *ana zāqipānūti*, “for planting trees” (meaning starting an orchard in a plot without trees), can be considered subtypes of *ana errēšūti* and *ana nukarribūti*. All lease contracts of these types contained clauses detailing the work obligations incumbent on the lessee<sup>48</sup> and clauses specifying the rate at which the lessee was to be compensated for this work as well as (often) stipulating the penalty for not performing the work; such documents are in essence labor contracts. By contrast, leases of the third type, *ana sūti* (and *ana mandatti*), focused solely on the lease payment and contained no clauses obliging the lessee to work the land or obliging the lessor to compensate for such work.

Leases *ana sūti* were distinguished in that the amount of payment due annually to the lessor was fixed by contract, which was not the case in the leases characterized by the type of work to be performed. In leases of types 1 and 2, rather, the proportion of the harvest payable to the lessor could be fixed by contract, making the lease a sharecropping contract; alternatively, neither the amount nor the proportion was fixed, with the payment due to the lessor determined each year on the basis of estimating the crop in advance of the harvest.

In sharecropping contracts the proportion of the harvest that the cultivator, the lessee, paid to the lessor was usually specified as either one-third or one-fourth;<sup>49</sup> this lease payment could be denoted by the specialized term *šibšu* or simply by the word *zittu*, “share.”<sup>50</sup> The proportion constituting the lease payment varied according to the condition of the land and the amount of work required to cultivate it. One contract, for example, required the lessee to deliver to the lessor only one-fifth of the yield of a plot where he had to break new ground (*taptû*, land “to be opened”), while he was required to deliver two-thirds of the yield from the land that was already under cultivation.<sup>51</sup> In another contract, no *šibšu*-payment was required for five years on as much of the plot as the lessee newly opened, but thereafter he was to pay *šibšu* at the usual rate of one-third of the crop.<sup>52</sup> In yet a third contract, the lessee of a plot already under cultivation was required to deliver one-half of the harvest as the lessor’s share (*zittu*) of the yield, as well as the tithe; the lessor in this case was the temple of Shamash.<sup>53</sup>

The most common procedure in leases of types 1 and 2, especially in the case of date-palm orchards, was to estimate the yield in advance of the harvest and to assess the lease payment on the basis of this estimate. The term for lease payments determined in this way was *imittu*, derived from the verb *emēdu*, which in this usage means “impose, assess,” and denotes the procedure of assessing the lease payment through estimating the yield. The lease contract could contain a payment clause referring to this procedure, such as “The dates, however many grow there, will be assessed by the Eanna temple, and he shall deliver (the assessed *imittu*-payment) to the stores of Ishtar of Uruk”;<sup>54</sup> institutions such as the temples employed a commission of assessors for this purpose, whereas the private owner/lessor might perform the assessment himself.<sup>55</sup> In leases subject to *imittu*-assessment, the lessee/cultivator was compensated for the work of cultivation at a specified rate that varied according to the labor required and was defined in relationship to the land area worked. This compensation was termed *sissinnu* (the word originally meant the male efflorescence of the date palm) and was always expressed as a quantity of dates regardless of whether date palms were cultivated on the land leased. The rate at which *sissinnu* was calculated varied between 3 and 6 *kur* dates per *kur* of land cultivated by the lessee; working the ground with a spade brought higher compensation than did working it with a plough, and a still higher rate was stipulated if the ground was to be newly broken (*taptû*).<sup>56</sup>

It is not absolutely clear how much of the harvest the *imittu*-payment comprised. According to some scholars, the entire harvest, minus the lessee/cultivator’s *sissinnu*-compensation, various taxes, and other

mandatory expenditures, constituted the *imittu*. It has also been argued, however, that only a certain proportion of the harvest was due as *imittu* and that the lessee/cultivator was able to keep whatever remained, after taxes and expenses, over and above his *sissinnu*-compensation.<sup>57</sup> In the latter case, *sissinnu* is understood as a “guaranteed minimum compensation”<sup>58</sup> that the lessee would get so long as he performed his work obligations as specified in the contract. He would thus be protected from penalty if adverse weather and flood conditions spoiled the harvest, while he would benefit if his work and fortuitous conditions produced a good harvest. The relationship between the *imittu* paid to the lessor and the total harvest may in fact have been different under the respective conditions of private and institutional landownership.

In documents issued by the administration of the temples the term *sūtu* was generalized to refer to all the revenue due on leased land, even when the amount to be delivered was determined through the *imittu*-estimation procedure;<sup>59</sup> indeed, *sūtu* came to denote lease or leasehold.<sup>60</sup> There was a certain degree of overlap between *imittu* and *šibšu*, as terms for the payment owed on leases of types 1 and 2, and it stands to reason that the amount of the *šibšu*-payment, like the amount of the *imittu*-payment, would have to be determined annually on the basis of inspecting the standing crop. Under whatever terms land was leased, and however its revenue was denoted, the schedule of collecting revenue from leased land naturally followed the cultivation cycle applicable to the crops grown thereon—and so the documentation concerning that revenue also followed the cultivation calendar.

Barley was sown from the month Araḥsamnu (October/November) to Kislīmu (November/December) and harvested in late Nisannu (March/April) or in Ayyāru (April/May), depending on the weather and when in the solar calendar the lunar months occurred in a given year. Date palms were pollinated and harvested on the reverse schedule (see p. ci). Thus the procedure of estimating the yield in order to assess lease payments took place in early Nisannu for barley and in Abu (July/August) or Ulūlu (August/September) for date palms.<sup>61</sup> Other crops could be more or less fitted into the schedule applicable to one of these two main crops; garlic, for example, was harvested in early spring at approximately the same time as barley,<sup>62</sup> and sesame was harvested in early fall at approximately the same time as dates.<sup>63</sup>

Upon assessing the amount of the crop(s) due as the lease payment, a promissory note for that amount would be issued to the debit of the lessee/cultivator, and delivery of payment was required at harvest time. Such promissory notes are distinguished from other types of promissory notes for debts of naturalia by the use of the key words *imittu*, *šibšu*, or *sūtu* (which are sometimes supplemented or replaced by the terms *zittu*, “share,” or *ebūru*, “harvest”) to identify the debt object as a lease payment. Moreover, even if none of these terms is present in a promissory note for a debt of naturalia, the debt can sometimes be identified as a lease payment if the date of issue of the promissory note and the date specified for delivery of payment fall respectively at the time of assessment and the time of harvest for the commodity owed.

Since they were issued annually, promissory notes for lease payments are much more common in the documentary record than the lease contracts underlying them,<sup>64</sup> as may be observed by surveying the archives treated in this volume. There are only eight lease contracts or fragments of lease contracts among these texts, and half of those have not been identified as belonging to a specific archive.<sup>65</sup> Yet it is quite clear that the management of land through leases for cultivation was an essential feature of the economic activity of the families whose documents are assembled under the headings Archives A, B, and E, since a significant number of those documents are promissory notes for *imittu*- or *šibšu*-payments of barley, dates, and other crops.<sup>66</sup> Leases of land are also attested in text Nos. 66 and 67 of Archive C and Nos. 92 and 93 of Archive F, to cite only the tablets from those archives that are found

in this collection. Another example of a family archive in which documents relating to the lease of land for cultivation are an important element is that of the Ea-ilūta-bani family (not represented in this collection).<sup>67</sup> For most land-owning families of the Neo-Babylonian period cultivable land remained the basis of both subsistence and prosperity. Members of those families distinguished by exceptional wealth or enterprise, such as the Egibi family and the family of Iddin-Marduk, typically had other occupations besides managing their land and sufficient means so that they did not have to cultivate it themselves. Instead, they could contract out the work of cultivation by leasing the land yet still retain a good share of its usufruct.

### Prebends

The operation of Babylonian temples entailed a broad range of tasks, from food service to crafts production as well as priestly and ritual functions. To assure the maintenance of the cult, the temples granted entitlements to shares of income in exchange for the performance of specific duties. These entitlements were denoted *isqu* (“lot” or “share”), which is usually translated by the term “prebend.”<sup>68</sup> Every prebend pertained to a particular temple and was granted for service before the deity (or deities) worshiped in that temple. The holder of a prebend performed his duties during a specified term of service and received a stipend corresponding to the nature and duration of his service. These duties included baking bread and cakes, brewing beer, butchering sacrificial animals, and carrying out other tasks of food preparation; performing craft-related functions such as that of goldsmith; holding cultic offices; and performing various other services such as that of doorkeeper.<sup>69</sup>

A prebend was thus defined by the type of service rendered, the deity for whom (or the temple in which) it was performed, the term of service (*manzaltu*), and, in the case of prebends for the provision of food or drink for the cultic meals, the quantity and type of food or drink to be furnished. In most texts it sufficed to refer to a prebend by two or three of these features (including identification of the deity or temple), without necessarily using the term *isqu*, “prebend.” Thus a prebend, for example, could be referred to as “the service of baker before Ishtar,” or “x days service of baker before Ishtar” (with the added specification of which month the days of service pertained to, or with the specification “throughout the year”); or “x quantity bread, (for) the meal of Ishtar.”<sup>70</sup> In the Neo-Babylonian period, the term of service was typically one day or several days of a particular month, though prebends for several months are also attested.<sup>71</sup>

The supplies needed for prebendary duties were furnished by the temple. The bakers and brewers, for example, received allocations of barley and dates for the production of bread and beer from the temple’s stores (*maššartu*).<sup>72</sup> Depending on the nature of their service, prebendaries were compensated with a fixed stipend (*pappasu*) as well as a share from the cultic meals presented before the deities. The total income from a prebend could be quite significant in some cases, so that the holding of such an entitlement represented a potentially lucrative asset.<sup>73</sup>

Although prebends were inheritable, they were also subject to alienation through sale or pledge. The temples evidently maintained oversight over the disposition of prebends, when they were transferred through testamentary disposition or alienated to new owners, to ensure that only members of families that traditionally held the right and privilege to perform cultic service actually did so.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, the duties of a given prebendary occupation could be performed only by those individuals with the necessary qualifications and capabilities. An individual who purchased a prebend but did not possess the required

qualifications or the traditional privilege would have to contract out his prebendary duties to someone who did.<sup>75</sup>

Such an agreement customarily has been termed a “prebend lease,”<sup>76</sup> and the formulae typically used in these contracts are exactly parallel to those used in contracts for the lease of cultivable land: the prebend-owner transferred his prebend to the contractor *ana ēpišānūti*, literally “for the duty of doing” (or “for the work of preparation,” just as the lessor of land transferred a field to a lessee *ana errēšūti* “for cultivation.” What the prebend-owner really transferred, in exchange for compensation, was the duty of performing the services connected with the prebend, so the term “prebend service contract” proposed by Kessler is more accurate than the traditional “prebend lease.”<sup>77</sup> The contractor received the supplies necessary for providing the service, as well as compensation for his work, and the prebendary received the share of income accruing from the prebend.

Among the families whose archives are represented by texts published in this volume, members of at least four owned prebends: the brothers Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir, descendants of Esagilaya (Archive A); Lābāši, descendant of Esagilaya (Archive B); Bēl-rēmāni, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš (Archive F); and Iddin-Nabû and his son Šellebi, descendants of Nappāḫu (Archive G). Note also Bēl-kāšir, descendant of Esagilaya, a relative of the families represented by Archives A and B, whose father owned prebends (text No. 102). For these families, their prebendary entitlements must have represented not only an income-producing but also a socially valuable asset, an articulation of their position and importance in society. On the other hand, the Egibi family as well as the family of Iddin-Marduk, descendant of Nūr-Sîn (Archives C and D), both among the upper echelon of society and both members of prestigious lineages, apparently did not hold any prebends. Although participation in temple functions and income through prebendary entitlements was correlated with, and in part contingent on, social and economic status, status evidently did not depend on prebend ownership.

1. The Neo-Babylonian dynasty founded by Nabopolassar (626–605 B.C.) is often termed “Chaldean,” based on citations from biblical and classical writers who used the term as a synonym for Babylonian. The designation Chaldean for the Neo-Babylonian period is, however, a misnomer, for according to J. A. Brinkman, “there is no unambiguous evidence that either Nabopolassar himself or any of his successors was in fact Chaldean” (see J. A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire*, Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7 [Philadelphia, 1984], pp. 110–11 n. 551).
2. Such changes are remarked upon in the notes on the four tablets in this volume that are dated to the late fifth century, text Nos. 125–28.
3. The sole exception is the Murašû tablet, text No. 126 (bequest of Edith Aggiman, 1982). The Murašû archive was excavated from one room of a house in Nippur in 1893 by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania; all Murašû tablets that entered collections other than those of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Istanbul (now part of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums), the Semitic Museum in the University of Pennsylvania (now University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), and the excavator, H. Hilprecht (now the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection at the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena), are assumed to have originated from the same room. See Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 1, 11–14, 157–68.
4. This approach is evident in F. E. Peiser, “Die Zugehörigkeit der unter Nr. 84.2–11 im British Museum registrierten Thontafelsammlung zu den Thontafelsammlung des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 38 (1889), pp. 813–23, and in J. Kohler and F. E. Peiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*, I–IV (Leipzig, 1890–98).
5. The most succinct statement of methodology is to be found in Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk I*, pp. 7–9; see also AUWE 8/1, pp. 3–8, and G. van Driel, “Neo-Babylonian Texts from Borsippa,” *BiOr* 49 (1992), cols. 28–50.
6. The earliest Neo-Babylonian archive to be excavated in situ is that of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar, excavated by H. Rassam in the early 1880s. Excavated private archives, or parts of archives, have been found at Babylon (see L. Jakob-Rost, “Ein Neubabylonisches Tontafelarchiv aus dem 7. Jahrhundert v. u. Z.,” *FuB* 10 [1968], pp. 39–62; idem, “Urkunden

des 7. Jahrhunderts v. u. Z. aus Babylon," *FuB* 12 [1970], pp. 49–60; L. Jakob-Rost and H. Freydank, "Spätbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Babylon mit aramäischen Beischriften," *FuB* 14 [1972], pp. 7–35; and M. W. Stolper, "The Kasr Archive," in *Achaemenid History 4: Center and Periphery*, eds. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt [Leiden, 1990], pp. 195–205; Neirab (see J. Oelsner, "Weitere Bemerkungen zu den Neirab-Urkunden," *AoF* 16 [1989], pp. 68–77); Nippur (the Murašû archive, see n. 3 above); Ur (see UET 4, pp. 1–2; G. van Driel, "Continuity and Decay," in *Achaemenid History 1: Sources, Structures and Synthesis*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg [Leiden, 1987], pp. 156–68); and Uruk (see AUWE 8/1). For a summary of archeological finds of archives and libraries with cuneiform texts dating to the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, see O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* (Bethesda, 1998), pp. 181–214.

7. This or similar definitions of an archive are offered by J. Oelsner, "Die neu- und spätbabylonische Zeit," in *Circulation of Goods in Non-Palatial Context in the Ancient Near East*, ed. A. Archi (Rome, 1984), p. 221 n. 1; K. Kessler (see AUWE 8/1, p. 3), and C. Wunsch (see *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 7 n. 24). See also K. R. Veenhof's discussion of the term, in "Cuneiform Archives. An Introduction," in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Papers read at the 30<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Leiden, 4–8 July 1983, ed. K. R. Veenhof (Leiden, 1986), pp. 7–9; M. P. Maidman, "Some Late Bronze Age Legal Tablets from the British Museum: Problems of Context and Meaning," in *Law, Politics and Society in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, eds. B. Halpern and D. W. Hobson (Sheffield, 1993), p. 48; and Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, pp. 2–4. Compare R. Zadok, who notes that only those assemblages found in situ "are archives in the true sense," as opposed to "documentation groups" identified through the use of modern methods of prosopography and "termed 'archives' for convenience's sake" (R. Zadok, "Archives from Nippur in the First Millennium B.C.," in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, ed. K. R. Veenhof, p. 281).

8. Inasmuch as individuals and institutions interact with each other, these interactions may be documented in the archives of both; moreover, where there is a certain amount of overlap between a person's private affairs and that same person's activities on behalf of a public institution, this might be reflected in the documentation. For example, a private archive may include records pertaining to affairs in which the archive owner is involved for reasons other than private interest; and, conversely, documents of a person's private affairs may be contained in an institutional archive, within a "file" of documentation pertaining to that person's activities as a representative or associate of that institution. For the first alternative, see the Introduction to Archives C and D, p. 84, on the inference regarding Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's preservation of records of court proceedings in the Egibi archive; for the second, see the Introduction to Archive F, p. 178, where it is suggested that Bēl-rēmanni stored his tablets in the archive of the Ebabbar temple, where he worked. In the absence of archaeological context such situations are to some extent matters of conjecture.

9. Sealed clay bullae believed to have been originally attached to parchment documents were found in the Murašû archive from Nippur; see Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 159–60.

10. For the interpretation of the excavated Murašû archive as representing tablets assembled for discard, see G. van Driel, "The Murašûs in Context," *JESHO* 32 (1989), pp. 223–26; for the assessment of the reconstituted Egibi archive as a "dead archive," see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 8–9, 85.

11. Numerous other published and unpublished tablets from the same archives are found in other collections; not infrequently, duplicate copies of a tablet are found in two different collections (as in the case of text Nos. 10 and 89), or pieces of one tablet are found in different collections (for instance, text Nos. 94 and 102). The introductions prefacing each archive provide details regarding that archive's representation in other collections and its (inferred) situation in antiquity. Of the remaining tablets not assigned to Archives A–G, some may belong to one of these seven archival groups without the connection being recognized; others belong to no hitherto identified archive; and one (No. 126, the Murašû tablet) belongs to an archive otherwise unrepresented in the Museum's collection.

12. Tablets recording transactions and legal proceedings were issued for and kept by the party whose rights they supported. This principle determined how many copies of a document might be issued, in whose archive(s) a document might be found, and under what circumstances a document might be transferred out of that archive, as well as determining when documents would not be issued.

13. For the formulary of Neo-Babylonian *Kaufverträge*, literally "purchase contracts," see H. Petschow, *Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare*, Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien 118 (Leipzig, 1939); and *NRV*, pp. 49–52 (purchase of immobilia), pp. 98–101 (purchase of slaves), and remarks on the texts published therein (nos. 33–106).

14. A Neo-Babylonian term for one such type of background document may be *ummu eqli*, literally "mother of the (sold) field": see C. Wunsch, "Zur Entwicklung und Nutzung privaten Grossgrundbesitzes in Babylonien während des 6. Jh. v. u. Z. nach dem Archiv des Ṭābija," *ŠULMU* 3/1, p. 364. On retroacta in Neo-Babylonian archives, see also G. van Driel, "Neo-Babylonian Texts from the Louvre," *BiOr* 43 (1986), col. 6 n. 6, and idem, *BiOr* 49 (1992), col. 30. The same practice in the Nuzi archives is discussed by M. P. Maidman, "A Nuzi Private Archive: Morphological Considerations," *Assur* 1/9 (1979), pp. 182–83, with nn. 14–15.



15. See, for example, van Driel, "De opkomst," p. 34, and idem, *BiOr* 49 (1992), col. 35.
16. In Borsippa during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods duplicates of purchase contracts, lacking the fingernail marks of the seller that were used to authenticate contracts for the transfer of real property, were preserved in the seller's archive. A number of (unsealed) purchase contracts documenting the alienation of land by the family owning the archive, for example, seem to be contained in the archival group studied by F. Joannès (see Joannès, *Archives*).
17. Neo-Babylonian lease contracts are analyzed by Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*; rental contracts by Oppenheim, "Mietrecht," pp. 14–19, 59–80, 84–88; contracts for the hire of labor, *ibid.*, pp. 20–25, 94–96.
18. Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 132–33.
19. This is discussed in the case of the Egibi archive by Krecher, Egibi, pp. 105–7.
20. Examples include the *ilku* and *urāšu* quittances in both Iddin-Marduk's and Aḥuṣunu's dossiers. For Iddin-Marduk, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 53–55; for Aḥuṣunu, see Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 151–59.
21. Two examples in Archive A are text No. 13, a receipt for a delivery received by the archive-owner, and text No. 21, a receipt for a delivery received from(?) the archive-owner.
- The definitions used here are in accord with *Black's Law Dictionary*, 6th ed. (St. Paul, 1990), p. 25, s.v. "acquittance," and p. 1268, s.v. "receipt."
22. See, for example, texts Nos. 37, 60, and 65, which include the clause *ištēnā (šaṭāru) ilteqû*, "they have taken one (copy of the document) each."
23. The promise to transfer a dowry consisting of certain properties is contained in the marriage agreement, which may be better termed "dowry agreement" in accord with the Neo-Babylonian term *kunuk nudunnî*, as discussed by Roth, *Marriage Agreements*, pp. 26–27. The dowry was in many cases not transferred at the time of concluding the agreement; see *ibid.*, p. 8 n. 40. On transactions concerning marriage and dowry negotiations, see also M. Roth, "The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry," *Afo* 36–37 (1989–90), pp. 1–55, and Roth "Dowries," pp. 19–37.
24. On cash sale of fungibles and mobilia, see J. Oelsner, "Circulation," pp. 224–25; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, p. 36.
25. The uses and formulary of Neo-Babylonian promissory notes are described by Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, pp. 44–61, and Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, pp. 10–24.
26. See P. Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht* (Berlin, 1911), pp. 34–35; *NRV*, pp. 192–93.
27. The clause *X ša A ina muḥḥi B* can equally be translated "X, belonging to A, is charged against B." Both renderings of this clause are used in the translation of the documents in this volume; the choice of one or the other depends on the resulting syntax, as well as which best suits a literal translation of a given text.
28. See Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, p. 88 n. 75; Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, pp. 50–51.
29. See, for example, text Nos. 9, 28, and 32. Leases against fixed rent, versus annually assessed rent, need not have generated a series of yearly promissory notes if payment was completed on time.
30. See Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, pp. 46–48.
31. An example is, probably, text No. 75; see also prebendary work contracts such as text No. 38.
32. This and the *ḥarrānu* financed by more than one partner are analyzed by Lanz (see Lanz, *ḥarrānu*); see also the Introduction to *Archives C and D*, pp. 84–87, and text Nos. 49–51, 60, and 79.
33. In cases of foreclosure, when the property owner was unable to pay debts secured by his or her property, a chain of promissory notes ensued evidencing the attempt to liquidate property held as security. See, for example, *Cyr.* 160/161, edited by Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 292; see idem, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 59. Another illustration of this process is the bankruptcy of Nabû-apla-iddin, discussed by Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, pp. 41–43, and van Driel, "De opkomst," pp. 42–43.
34. See, for example, text No. 17.
35. See Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 7 n. 25, who supplies examples of duplicate promissory notes from the corpus of Iddin-Marduk's documents. On the question of issuing duplicates of various kinds of documents, see also M. W. Stolper, "Tobits in Reverse: More Babylonians in Ecbatana," *AMI* 23 (1990), pp. 169–70.
36. One exception is Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin of the Egibi family (Archive C), who wrote documents of legal proceedings as a "court scribe" and who seems to have kept copies of some of these documents in his family archive—for what purpose is not known.
37. The interpretation of the document is somewhat tentative, especially since it is not part of a known archive (except for its prosopographic connection to text No. 128), so the litigation that led up to the writing of this particular tablet must be surmised.
38. See n. 10 above.
39. See the references in n. 6 above, for the private archives found at Nippur, Ur, and Uruk.
40. This suggestion has been proposed for the longest-lasting family archive yet identified, that of the Ea-ilūta-bani family, by Joannès (see Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 121–26); see also G. van Driel's criticisms concerning whether the reassembled corpus can really be defined as a family archive, *BiOr* 49 (1992), cols. 40–42, and E. von Dassow, "Archival Documents of Borsippa Families," *Aula Orientalis* 12 (1994), pp. 105–20. Note also YOS 17, p. 49 n. 81.

41. In the few instances known where two different individuals bear the same personal name, patronymic, and family name, they are attested during different chronological periods or in different parts of Babylonia.

42. See texts Nos. 5–8 (seventh century) and Nos. 126–28 (late fifth century).

43. See J. E. Reade, “Introduction. Rassam’s Babylonian Collection: The Excavations and the Archives,” in E. V. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 6, Tablets from Sippar 1*, especially pp. xxv–xxviii. Also see G. van Driel, “The British Museum ‘Sippar’ Collection: Babylonia 1882–1893,” *ZA* 79 (1989), pp. 102–17; idem, *BiOr* 43 (1986), cols. 5–20; and idem, *BiOr* 49 (1992), cols. 28–50; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 3; and Introduction to Archives A and B, n. 3).

44. Compare J. N. Postgate, “The Ownership and Exploitation of Land in Assyria in the 1st Millennium B.C.,” in *Reflets des deux fleuves. Volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet*, eds. Marc Lebeau and Philippe Talon, *Akkadica*, Supplementum 6 (Leuven, Belgium, 1989), p. 143.

Since no palace archive for the Neo-Babylonian period is yet known, a significant portion of the documentation relating to land tenure—especially as regards taxation of land—is entirely missing.

45. For the summary given here see: Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, especially pp. 26–36; Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 584–625; Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*; Joannès, *Textes économiques*, pp. 126–72; idem, *Archives*, pp. 145–49; van Driel, *BSA* 4, pp. 121–59; idem, *BSA* 5, pp. 219–66; and Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 85–116. Jursa’s book was received after completion of this manuscript; his findings and conclusions have not been utilized here.

46. The lease of royal land to a private individual is attested by *Nbk*. 115.

47. Text No. 67, a contract for the loan of tools by the lessor to the lessee, is a “side agreement” relating to the performance of work obligations under the terms of a land lease.

48. On the lessee’s work obligations, see Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 117–21; van Driel, *BSA* 5, especially pp. 238–41; and Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 145–49. In this volume the only example of any length detailing the lessee/cultivator’s duties is found in the fragmentary text No. 144:8’–10’.

49. See van Driel, *BSA* 5, p. 247; Ellis, *Agriculture and the State*, pp. 132–38; Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 82–83.

50. For example: “However much grows in that field, PN (the lessee) will deliver one-third, the share (*zittu*) of the field (i.e., crop), to PN<sub>2</sub> (the lessor)” (PBS 2/1, 124:6–8); “From the harvest, he shall deliver one-third, the *šibšu*, to the owner of the field” (VS 5, 33:8–9).

51. VS 5, 55:7–12; the second part of the clause is actually expressed the other way round, i.e., “from the worked(?) plot PN (the lessee) shall enjoy a one-third share,” *ina bīt dulli šalšu zitti PN ikkal*, ll. 11–12; see Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 83.

52. Text No. 132.

53. Text No. 92; as was standard for sharecropping leases, this contract required the lessee to deliver the *šibšu*-payment whether he cultivated the field or not, the amount of the payment to be determined according to the assessment of the neighboring fields (ll. 13–15). See also text Nos. 144:12’–13’ and 146:8’–10’.

54. YOS 7, 51:11–12, *suluppū mala ina libbi illūnu ultu Eanna innemmidma ana makkūr DN inamdin*; Ries lists examples of this kind of clause (which occurs in both active and passive formulations) in chronological order. See Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 91–94.

The procedure of assessing the yield is referred to in text No. 91:4–7; see Remarks there.

55. Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 90, 96–97; for the Eanna temple’s commission of assessors (<sup>14</sup>*ēmidē*), see Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 51–53; Joannès, *Textes économiques*, pp. 149, 154; for the Ebabbar temple, see M. Jursa’s paper, “Organisation der Landwirtschaft des Shamastempels in Sippar,” read before the 41<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Berlin, 4–8 July, 1994. Special thanks are due to M. Jursa for providing a copy of this paper in advance of the publication of the conference proceedings.

56. Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, p. 56; Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 104–9.

The only texts in this volume that mention *sissinnu*-payment are Nos. 161:8’, a fragment of a lease contract probably for cultivation of a date-palm orchard, and 67:10–11, a “side agreement” relating to the performance of work obligations under the terms of a land lease (see n. 47 above).

57. The question is addressed by Cocquerillat (*Palmeraies*, pp. 63–64) specifically in relation to the texts from the Eanna temple: the term *imittu*, denoting the process of estimation as well as the impost assessed on the cultivator as a result of that process, in principle applies to the total yield; from the total yield are deducted various charges including the cultivator’s compensation, and the *imittu* actually owed to the landowner (in this case the temple) is the remainder. Ries (*Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 99–104) proceeds from the evidence of a different set of texts, and, using estimates of the productivity of date palms as a support, comes to the conclusion that the *imittu* comprised only a certain part of the yield—though no criteria are available to determine what proportion that was, and, indeed, the ratio between *imittu* and yield may

- not have been fixed. See also Joannès, *Textes économiques*, pp. 142–45, 146 n. 1, 151–53; Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 97–99, where the assumption that the *imittu* equals the total harvest is employed; and Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*.
58. Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 106.
59. Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*; Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 64–65.
60. For example, in text No. 93:2.
61. Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 28–29, 33–34, 62–63.
62. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 1*, pp. 21–22 n. 91.
63. See M. A. Powell, “Epistemology and Sumerian Agriculture: The Strange Case of Sesame and Linseed,” *Aula Orientalis* 9 (1991), pp. 155–64, for the identification of *šamaššamū* = sesame, and p. 159, for times of planting and harvest (with references).
64. The question of the numerical relationship between *imittu*-promissory notes and lease contracts requiring *imittu*-payments is addressed by Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 109–10.
65. Text Nos. 36, 43, 92, 93, 132, 144, 146, and 161.
66. For details, see Introduction to Archives A and B, pp. 24–28, and text Nos. 83–85 in Archive E. The evidence regarding Archive E would be strengthened if it were certain that the fragment text No. 154 belonged to it.
67. Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 65–91.
68. This term is adapted from Roman and later ecclesiastical law; compare *Black’s Law Dictionary*, 6th ed. (St. Paul, 1990), p. 1175, “the stipend granted to an ecclesiastic in consideration of his officiating and serving in the church.”
69. For the summary presented here, the reader is referred to the discussions in *NRV*, pp. 494ff.; M. San Nicolò, “Parerga Babylonica XII,” *ArOr* 6 (1934), pp. 179–202; AUWE 5/1, pp. 61–62; AUWE 8/1, pp. 71–124; and J. MacGinnis, “Neo-Babylonian Prebend Texts from the British Museum,” *AfO* 38/39 (1991–92), pp. 74–78. See also p. 26 below.
70. In text No. 38 of Archive B, Lābāši’s prebend is referred to as “2 *pān* 3 *sūt* bread (for) the meal of Nabū ša ḫarē,” and text No. 90 of Archive F refers to Bēl-rēmāni’s prebend as “3 *sūt* bread (and) 3 *sūt* beer, his prebend before Bunene.”
71. For example, YOS 7, 79, concerns prebends with terms of eight months, of three months, and of one month (see M. San Nicolò, *ArOr* 6 [1934], pp. 186–90).
72. See text Nos. 13, 19, and 21 of Archive A, with discussion in Introduction to Archives A and B, p. 26.
73. See J. MacGinnis, *AfO* 38/39 (1991–92), pp. 75–78.
74. The evidence comes principally from two texts, AnOr 8, 48, and YOS 7, 167. The issue has been discussed afresh by Kessler in AUWE 8/1, pp. 72–75.
75. AUWE 8/1, pp. 74–75.
76. *NRV*, pp. 494–96.
77. AUWE 8/1, p. 74.

## Seal Impressions

In the ancient Near East participants in legal transactions could include contracting parties, overseeing officials, a scribe, and witnesses. During the first millennium B.C. one or more of the relevant parties might impress a seal onto the obverse, reverse, or edges of the clay tablet. The seal impression conveyed various information: it demonstrated that the tablet was authentic, that the principal parties acted of their own volition, and that the witnesses named were actually present at the drawing up of the tablet and thus were eligible to give testimony should the transaction be contested.<sup>1</sup> The impressions on three Neo-Assyrian documents presented here (text Nos. 1–3) also attest to an administrative use of seals (see Introduction to Neo-Assyrian Texts, p. 3).

The sealed documents included in this volume were impressed by three types of sealing devices with engraved designs: stone cylinder and stamp seals and metal finger-rings. Cylinder seals were the primary seal shape used in Mesopotamia from the late fourth millennium through the early first millennium B.C. Such seals typically were two to four centimeters in height and one to two centimeters in diameter; their

entire surface could be engraved so that rolling the cylinder across the surface of the tablet created a rectangular band of design in three-dimensional relief.

First used in prehistoric Mesopotamia, stamp seals gained new popularity throughout the entire Near East when Assyrian contacts with Syria and Anatolia intensified in the eighth century B.C. The majority of stamp seals used in first millennium B.C. Mesopotamia had round bases and cone-shaped tops that were about two to three centimeters in height. Many surviving stamp seals are in other shapes, such as scaraboids, pyramids, and disks, shapes that were favored in western Mesopotamia and the Levantine coast. The majority of cylinder and stamp seals were made of colored stones, although other materials, such as bone, ivory, and faience, were also used. Seals were usually pierced for suspension from a cord.

Metal finger-rings with decorated bezels gained wide popularity in Mesopotamia in the fifth century B.C. By the end of the fourth century B.C. they almost completely replaced stone cylinder and stamp seals. Typical finger-rings were composed of oval or round bezels attached to simple hoops. The most popular metal used for rings was bronze, although gold, silver, and iron rings are attested as well.

The type of seal used to make the impressions on the tablets can often be determined by the shape of the seal impression. Whereas a cylinder seal when rolled created a horizontal band of decoration, stamp seal impressions were generally round and usually concave. Finger-rings were impressed more deeply and left an oval imprint. In addition, during the Achaemenid period, the cuneiform captions that scribes wrote next to the seal impression also gave information about the seal type. In these captions scribes identified the sealing devices as either cylinder or stamp seals of stone (<sup>na</sup>4KIŠIB = *kunukku*) or metal seal-rings (*unqu*). Furthermore, the nature of the carving on the seal provides clues about the material from which it was made. The complete repertoire of Mesopotamian glyptic is vast; to each period, however, belongs a distinctive group of image types, preferred stones, and cutting styles.

The majority of cuneiform tablets from ancient Mesopotamia are not sealed, and, indeed, the practice of impressing seals on tablets varies in different regions and time periods.<sup>2</sup> Only 11 (6.7 percent) of the 164 tablets and fragments in this volume bear seal impressions (text Nos. 1–3, 21, 100, 113, 121, 125–28). In the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods the practice of sealing tablets was comparatively rare. The majority of sealed legal (as opposed to administrative) tablets belong to the Achaemenid period, for it was not until the fifth century B.C. that it became common for contracting parties, in addition to witnesses and sometimes also authorizing officials, to seal private documents.

Seals of the first millennium B.C. were rarely inscribed. Thus, on the tablets in this volume it is either the context of the document or the seal caption written by the scribe that allows us to connect the seal impression with its owner. When the tablet bears only a single unidentified seal impression, it is commonly assumed that the seal belongs to the party bearing obligation or to the party ceding rights (the seller or the debtor, for example). Beginning in the Achaemenid period witnesses and contracting parties sealed the tablets, and scribes began regularly to write captions beside the impressions that identified the personal names and patronymics of the sealers.

### Fingernail and Other Impressions

Four of the documents in this volume attest to an alternate sealing practice: the use of seal substitutes (text Nos. 7, 99, 109, 131). In the Neo-Babylonian period sellers sometimes marked contracts that recorded the transfer of real estate with sets of fingernail marks (*šuprū*) impressed on the edges of the tablet.<sup>3</sup> The irregularity of these marks and indentations in the tablet left by fingertips demonstrates that

they were made by actual fingernails. In the Achaemenid period a wider variety of texts bear the impression of fingernails of the contracting parties.<sup>4</sup> In many cases the contracting parties may have impressed their fingernails because they did not own seals, and legal necessity demanded that they affix their personal mark to the tablets. These marks may also have been used to distinguish later (unmarked) archival copies from the original tablet.

One Neo-Assyrian tablet (text No. 3) contains two incised whorls probably made with a thumbnail or fingernail. This may have served as either a type of countermark or perhaps a “signature” added by the scribe of the tablet. Similarly, the incised designs of a spade (?) on text No. 91 and of a bird figure on text No. 100 may also have been added as a scribal signature.

In addition, three tablets in this volume (text Nos. 64, 76, 78) bear a series of fingernail markings but no captions; the function of these marks is unknown. Five tablets (text Nos. 13, 17, 41, 68, 124) bear designs incised by a stylus or other tool: text Nos. 13 and 17 have crosshatchings, text No. 68 has a zigzag, text No. 41 has two small drawings, and text No. 124 a half-moon-shaped mark. The function of these marks is unknown.

The authors wish to thank Linda B. Bregstein for her description of and remarks on seal impressions and incised drawings throughout this volume.

1. In this volume the expression “seal impression” refers to the ancient imprint of a cylinder seal, stamp seal, or ring seal on a tablet. The term “seal” is used only for the actual object.
  2. For an introduction to the range of sealing practices in both private legal contexts and official administrative documents and sealings, see McG. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu: 1977).
  3. See p. xxvi, n. 16.
  4. It is possible that in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian practice some marks were artificially produced by a tool. M. Mallowan suggested that the small terracotta tools he excavated at Nimrud in association with Neo-Assyrian tablets were used to create the artificial crescent-shaped “nail marks” (M. E. L. Mallowan, “Excavations at Nimrud. 1949–1950,” *Iraq* 12 [1950], p. 173). See also J. Brinkman, “A Legal Text from the Reign of Erība-Marduk,” *Studes Sjöberg*, pp. 37–47. For further discussion of the practice of sealing with the fingernail, see G. Boyer, “šupur X kima kunukkišu,” in *Symbolae Koschaker*, pp. 208–18; M. Malul, *Studies in Mesopotamian Legal Symbolism*, AOAT 221 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1989), p. 301 n. 54.
- Other seal substitutes were sometimes used; these included garment hems, shells, and beads (see M. Malul, *Studies in Mesopotamian Legal Symbolism*, AOAT 221 [Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1989], and Herboldt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik*, pp. 41–51). For comparison with modern Near Eastern practices, see W. Eilers, “Keilschriftcuriosa und entstehung neuer Schriftarten,” *Miscellanea Orientalia dedicata Antonia Deimel annos LXX complenti*, AnOr 12 (Rome, 1935), p. 77 n. 1.

## Guide to the Use of the Volume

### *Texts and Drawings*

All tablets published in this volume that were obtained prior to 1970 were baked and cleaned at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. This process, while providing a more legible text for the reader, altered the composition of the clay and slightly changed the color of the tablet. Therefore, in most cases no indication of color or description of the clay is given.

Tablets were copied with the aid of a photographic-projection system and are reproduced at a ratio of approximately 3:2.<sup>1</sup> Drawings of all visible cylinder, stamp, and ring seal impressions are published both in hand copy and in photographs. A hand copy of each impression is reproduced at a ratio of approximately 3:2 and is included on the copies of the texts upon which they were impressed. When a seal was impressed twice on a tablet, it is drawn twice; each of the two drawings represents the impression as preserved. In some cases when the seal design on the tablet is distorted, obscured due to a faint impression or as a result of the uneven surface of the clay tablet, the drawing attempts to compensate for this distortion in order to capture the actual seal design. The drawings of seals on text No. 126 are based on a composite of multiple impressions of the seals that are preserved on tablets of the Murašû archive from Nippur in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Photographs of the seal impressions are reproduced at 3:2. These photographs are oriented for the seal design and not for the cuneiform captions. Photographs of selected tablets are reproduced at 1:1.<sup>2</sup>

The descriptions of the images on each impression begin with the primary figure and usually proceed from left to right. The descriptions of motifs “in the field” (usually minor images distributed across the seal surface) generally proceed from top to bottom and from right to left.

A heading for each text and seal impression is presented. For tablets the text number in this volume is listed first at left, followed by the Museum accession number. A lowercase letter following the accession number indicates a fragment, except in cases where the lowercase letter is used to distinguish a tablet from its case (e.g., MMA 54.117.27a, case; MMA 54.117.27b, tablet). While the designation “a” in the first volume of this series was used to refer to tablets and “b” to cases, the order is here reversed in the publication of MMA 54.117.27, as this tablet and case were previously published with excavation numbers labeled “a” for case and “b” for tablet. Below the accession number are listed the plate numbers for tablet drawings and photographs. Size for tablets and seal impressions is given in millimeters, based on the measurement of the largest preserved part of each side of the tablet or seal design. If the seal impression is incomplete, the measurement is enclosed in parentheses.

On the right side of each heading a short description of the contents of the text is followed by the historical period in which the document was written, the provenance (if known), the name of the king in whose reign the text was written (if known), and the month, day, and year of that king.

For seal impressions the heading in the left column lists the plate number, with measurements of the seal impression below. The right side of the heading begins with an identification of the type of seal used to make the impression. A translation of the seal caption is given in the next line.

When a text or seal impression has previously been published this information is listed below the heading. Published editions of the text or seal impression are given in the following line.

The texts published in this volume are arranged in chronological order within private family archives that have been identified in the Museum’s collection. Four Neo-Assyrian tablets from Nimrud are presented first (text Nos. 1–4), followed by four tablets written in Babylonia during the period of Neo-Assyrian rule (text Nos. 5–8). There follow seven groups of private archival tablets (text Nos. 9–98) to which the letter labels A–G have been assigned. These archival groups are presented roughly in chronological order, based on the time span of each archive, although the chronological ranges of some archives overlap. Miscellaneous texts (text Nos. 99–164), wherein the ancient archive is unknown or where no other documents from their respective archives are part of the Museum’s collection, are given in chronological order as far as their dates are preserved (texts Nos. 99–128). Texts without any preserved date follow in order of their Museum accession numbers (text Nos. 129–164).

*Transliterations and Translations*

Akkadian words are given in italics, with logograms set in small capitals. Throughout the volume, personal names, place names, and divine names are indicated by the capitalization of the first letter of the name. In general personal names are transcribed with case endings on nouns despite the fact that case endings in the Neo- and Late Babylonian period were neither written nor pronounced.

Texts in this volume are not presented in literal translation. To make the text easier for the reader to comprehend, Akkadian line order has often been modified in the translation.

1. See CTMMA 1, p. xv.
2. Variations to this ratio are noted in the Plates.

# Abbreviations

## ***Bibliographical Abbreviations***

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	Wolfram von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965–81)
AJSL	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia AnOr 8: P. Alfred Pohl, <i>Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen I</i> (Rome, 1933) AnOr 9: Alfred Pohl, <i>Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen II</i> (Rome, 1934) AnOr 12 (see <i>Miscellanea Deimel</i> ) AnOr 33 (see <i>GAG</i> ) AnOr 43 (see Brinkman, <i>PKB</i> )
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientální: Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASSF	Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae
Assur	Monographic Journals of the Near East (Udenu)
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte AUWE 5/1: Erlend Gheilen, <i>Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv</i> , pt. 1, Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte, 5 (Mainz am Rhein, 1990) AUWE 8/1: Karlheinz Kessler, <i>Uruk. Urkunden aus Privathäusern: Die Wohnhäuser westlich des Eanna-Tempelbereichs</i> , pt. 1, Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte, 8 (Mainz am Rhein, 1991) AUWE 19: Ronald Wallenfels, <i>Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection I. Cuneiform Tablets</i> , 19 (Mainz am Rhein, 1994)
BagM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts



- BE 8/1: Albert T. Clay, *Legal and Commercial Transactions, Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian Periods, Chiefly from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1908)
- BE 9: A[lbert] T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I. (464–424 B.C.)* (Philadelphia, 1898)
- BE 10: Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius II. (424–404 B.C.)* (Philadelphia, 1904)
- BE 15: Albert T. Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur, Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers* (Philadelphia, 1906)
- BiMes *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*
- BIN Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies
- BIN 1: Clarence E. Kaiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (New Haven, 1917)
- BIN 2: James B. Nies and Clarence E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities* (New Haven, 1920)
- BiOr *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
- Borger, *Zeichenliste* Rykle Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (AOAT 33/33A)(Neukirchen-Vluyn, Germany, 1988)
- BR *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden*
- BR 6: Mariano San Nicolò and Herbert Petschow, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, new series, 51 (Munich, 1960)
- BR 8/7: Mariano San Nicolò, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden des ausgehenden 8. und des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, new series, 34 (Munich, 1951)
- Bregstein, Seal Use Linda B. Bregstein, *Seal Use in Fifth Century B.C. Nippur, Iraq: A Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murashû Archive*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1993)
- Brinkman, *PKB* J[ohn] A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158–722 B.C.* (AnOr 43) (Rome, 1968)
- BRM *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*
- BRM 1: Albert T. Clay, *Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1912)
- BSA *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture*
- CAD A. Leo Oppenheim et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago and Glückstadt, 1956–)
- Camb. (with text number) J[ohann] N. Strassmaier, S.J., *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon (529–521 v. Chr.)*, *Babylonische Texte*, 8–9 (Leipzig, 1890)
- Cardascia, *Murašû* Guillaume Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû, une famille d'hommes d'affaires babyloniens à l'époque perse (455–403 av. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1951)

- CIS II [Charles J.] M[elchior] de Vogüé, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum, pars secunda, inscriptiones aramaicas continens, tomus I* (Paris, 1889)
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- C.S.M.S. Bulletin* *Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin*
- CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum  
 CT 2: [Theophilus G. Pinches] (London, 1896)  
 CT 4: [Theophilus G. Pinches] (London, 1898)  
 CT 22: [Reginald Campbell Thompson] (London, 1906)  
 CT 39: Cyril J[ohn] Gadd (London, 1926)  
 CT 55: T[heophilus] G. Pinches, *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts* (London, 1982)  
 CT 56: T[heophilus] G. Pinches, *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts* (London, 1982)  
 CT 57: T[heophilus] G. Pinches, *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts* (London, 1982)
- CTMMA Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
 CTMMA 1: Ira Spar, ed., *Tablets, Cones, and Bricks of the Third and Second Millennia B.C.* (New York, 1988)
- CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud  
 CTN 3: S[tephanie] M. Dalley, N[icholas] Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser* (Oxford, 1984)
- Cyr. (with text number) J[ohann] N. Strassmaier, S.J., *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538–529 v. Chr.)*, Babylonische Texte, 7 (Leipzig, 1890)
- Dandamaev, *Slavery* Muhammad A. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia from Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (626–331 B.C.)*, trans. Victoria A. Powell, rev. ed. (DeKalb, Illinois, 1984)
- Dar. (with text number) J[ohann] N. Strassmaier, S.J., *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (521–485 v. Chr.)*, Babylonische Texte, 10–12 (Leipzig, 1892–97)
- Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition* J[acques] A. Delaunay, A. B. Moldenke, *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New-York): Nouvelle Édition*, Publication du Centre des droits cunéiformes, Université de Droit Paris, 2 (Paris, 1977)
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- Ebeling, *NbB* Erich Ebeling, *Neubabylonische Briefe*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, new series, 30; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Erschliessung von Keilschriften, series B, fasc. 1 (Munich, 1949)
- Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen* Wilhelm Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung*, pt. 1, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 25/5 (Leipzig, 1940)
- Ev.-M.* (with text number) B[asil] T. A. Evetts, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach (B.C. 562–559), Neriglissar (B.C. 559–555) and Laborosoarchod (B.C. 555)*, pt. 1, *Babylonische Texte*, 6B (Leipzig, 1892)
- FuB* *Forschungen und Berichte* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)
- GAG* Wolfram von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (AnOr 33) (Rome, 1952)
- GCCI Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions  
 GCCI 1: Raymond Philip Dougherty, *Archives from Erech: Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus* (New Haven, 1923)  
 GCCI 2: Raymond Philip Dougherty, *Archives from Erech: Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods* (New Haven, 1933)
- George, *BTT* A[ndrew] R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 40 (Leuven, Belgium, 1992)
- Gordon, *Smith College Tablets* Cyrus H. Gordon, *Smith College Tablets: 110 Cuneiform Texts Selected from the College Collection*, *Smith College Studies in History*, 38 (Northampton, Massachusetts, 1952)
- Herbordt, *Neu-assyrische Glyptik* (see SAAS 1)
- IOS* *Israel Oriental Studies*
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
- JEOL* *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*
- JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- Joannès, *Archives* Francis Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa, la famille Ea-ilûta-bâni: Étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIII<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.*, *École Pratique des Hautes Études, section 6, Sciences historiques et philologiques*, 2, *Hautes Études Orientales*, 25 (Geneva, 1989)
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- JSOR* *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*
- JTVI* *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*
- Jursa, *Landwirtschaft* Michael Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*, *AfO suppl.* 25 (Vienna, 1995)
- KAI* H[erbert] Donner, W[olfgang] Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, rev. ed. 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1969–73)

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- Moldenke II Alfred B. Moldenke, *Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pt. 2 (New York, 1893)
- NABU* *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*
- Nbk.* (with text number) J[ohann] N. Strassmaier, S.J., *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon (604–561 v. Chr.)*, Babylonische Texte, 5–6 (Leipzig, 1889)
- Nbn.* (with text number) J[ohann] N. Strassmaier, S.J., *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555–538 v. Chr.)*, Babylonische Texte, 1–4 (Leipzig, 1889)
- Nemet-Nejat, *Field Plans* Karen Rhea Nemet-Nejat, *Late Babylonian Field Plans in the British Museum*, Studia Pohl, Series Maior, 11 (Rome, 1982)
- Ner.* (with text number) B[asil] T. A. Evetts, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach (B.C. 562–559), Neriglissar (B.C. 559–555) and Laborosarchod (B.C. 555)*, pt. 2, Babylonische Texte, 6B (Leipzig, 1892)
- NRV* M[ariano] San Nicolò and A[rthur] Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden Übersetzt und erläutert*, vol. 1, *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Berliner Museen aus vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1935)
- NRV Glossar* A[rthur] Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, suppl. to vol. 1, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden Glossar* (Leipzig, 1937)
- OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts  
 OECT 10: Gilbert J. P. McEwan, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1984)  
 OECT 12: Francis Joannès, *Les tablettes néo-babyloniennes de la Bodleian Library conservées à l’Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1990)
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- PBS Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
- PBS 2/1: Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II* (Philadelphia, 1912)
- Petschow, *Pfandrecht* Herbert Petschow, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht*, Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 48/1 (Berlin, 1956)
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- Pinches, *Peek* Theo[philus] G. Pinches, *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets in the Possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart* (London, 1888)
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- PSBA* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- RA* *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
- RGTC* *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*
- RGTC 8: Ran Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, B7 (Wiesbaden, 1985)
- RIDA* *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
- Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare* Gerhard Ries, *Die Neubabylonischen Bodenpachtformulare*, Münchener Universitätsschriften, Juristische Fakultät, Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung, 16 (Berlin, 1976)
- RLA* *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. Erich Ebeling et al. (Leipzig, 1932–)
- Roth, "Dowries" Martha T. Roth, "The Dowries of the Women of the Itti-Marduk-balātu Family," *JAOS* 111 (1991), pp. 19–37
- Roth, *Marriage Agreements* Martha T. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements, 7th–3rd Centuries B.C.* (AOAT 222) (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Germany, 1989)
- Roth, "Material Composition" Martha T. Roth, "The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry," *AfO* 36/37 (1989–1990), pp. 1–55
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- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies
- SAAS 1: Suzanne Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.–7. Jh. v. Chr.: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siegelungen auf Tafeln and Tonverschlüssen* (Helsinki, 1992)

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- SPAW Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
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- TCL 12: G[eorges] Contenau, *Contrats néo-babyloniens, I: De Téglath-phalasar III à Nabonide* (Paris, 1927)  
 TCL 13: G[eorges] Contenau, *Contrats néo-babyloniens, II: Achéménides et Séleucides* (Paris, 1929)
- TIM Texts in the Iraq Museum  
 TIM 11: [J.] N[icholas] Postgate and Bahija Khalil Ismail, *Texts from Nineveh* (Baghdad, n.d.)
- TLB Tabulae cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae, leidae conservatae  
 TLB 1: W[ilhelmus] F[rançois] Leemans, *Old Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents* (Leiden, 1954–1964)
- TSBA *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- TuM Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena  
 TuM 2/3: Oluf Krückmann, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte* (Leipzig, 1933)
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 VS 3: [Arthur Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Kontrakte*] (Leipzig, 1907)  
 VS 4: [Arthur Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Kontrakte*] (Leipzig, 1907)  
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- WO *Die Welt des Orients*
- Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* Cornelia Wunsch, *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk: Zum Handel mit Naturalien im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, 2 vols., Cuneiform Monographs, 3a and 3b (Groningen, The Netherlands, 1993)
- WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
- YOS Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts  
 YOS 2: Henry Frederick Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa* (New Haven, 1917)  
 YOS 3: Albert Tobias Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech* (New Haven, 1919)  
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ZA

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Zadok, WSB

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***Other Abbreviations***

a.	Ancestor
AH	Cuneiform tablets excavated at Abu Habba (Sippar), in the collections of the British Museum, London
aka	Also known as (other name)
Akk.	Akkadian
AO	Cuneiform tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre, Paris
Ass.	Assyrian
B	See PN <sub>2</sub>
BM	British Museum
br.	Brother
Bu	Cuneiform tablets in the collections of the British Museum
cou.	Cousin
Cyr.	Cyrus
d.	Descendant
Dar.	Darius
dau.	Daughter
DN	Divine name
D-stem	Akkadian verbal D(opplungstamm) stem
dupl.	Duplicate
f.	Father
f	Female personal name
FPN	Female personal name
GN	Geographical name
h.	Husband
L	Cuneiform tablets from Lagash in the collections of the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul (now part of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums)
LB	Late Babylonian
L.E.	Left edge
Lo.E.	Lower edge
m.	Mother
MLC	Cuneiform tablets in the collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library, now in the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
N	(see PN)
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NB	Neo-Babylonian
NBC	Cuneiform tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University
Nbk.	Nebuchadnezzar
Nbn.	Nabonidus

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ND	Field number for cuneiform tablets from Nimrud excavated by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq
Ni.	Cuneiform tablets from Nippur in the collections of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (now part of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums)
No.	Number of text in this volume
OB	Old Babylonian
Obv.	Obverse
pl.	Plate
PN <sub>1</sub> , PN <sub>2</sub>	Personal name 1, personal name 2
Publ.	Published
RCT	Cuneiform tablets in the R. Campbell Thompson Collection, University of Chicago
R.E.	Right edge
Rev.	Reverse
Rm.	Room
RN	Royal name
s.	Son
sis.	Sister
sl.	Slave
ŠŠI	Šîn-šarra-iškun
ŠŠU	Šamaš-šuma-ukīn
TW 53	Town Wall House(s) 1953 (see M. Mallowan, <i>Iraq</i> 16 [1954], pp. 68–69)
U.E.	Upper edge
w.	Wife
wr.	Written
WS	West Semitic
YBC	Cuneiform tablets in the Babylonian Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University
3ms	Third person masculine singular

***Symbols***

- + Join
- \* Preceding a word, an asterisk indicates a hypothetical linguistic form
- x Illegible sign or reading uncertain
- ( ) In the transliteration, the existence of the enclosed sign(s) is uncertain
- ( ) In the translation, the enclosed word(s) are added to provide a clearer meaning
- / In the transliteration or in the translation, the slash indicates an alternative reading  
After a personal name a single slash indicates filiation, to be read “son of” or “daughter of” preceding the name of a father or mother  
After the publication number of a tablet a slash indicates that the texts on the tablets are duplicates
- // After a personal name a double slash indicates filiation, to be read “descendant of” preceding the name of an ancestor
- (?) Transliteration or translation of the sign or word is uncertain
- (!) Text is emended; sign on the document is corrected in the transliteration
- < > Text is emended; enclosed sign(s) are added to the transliteration and translation
- << >> Text is emended; in the transliteration enclosed sign(s) are deleted
- [ ] Document damaged or broken; enclosed text is restored
- [x x] Document damaged or broken; space exists for x number of signs in brackets
- [. . .] Document damaged or broken; text is not restored, space exists for an unknown number of signs
- ┌ ┐ Document damaged or broken; text is partially preserved
-  Erasure
-  Text is damaged or broken
-  Partial erasure of sign or scribal error
-  Text inscribed with a frayed or broken stylus

## Catalogue of Tablets

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
1a	54.117.27a (ND 3435)	Kalḫu	līmu Bēl-šadūa	1	23	Neo-Assyrian period; case for loan of silver
1b	54.117.27b (ND 3435)	Kalḫu	līmu Bēl-šadūa	1	23	Neo-Assyrian period; loan of silver
2	54.117.28 (ND 3464)	Kalḫu	līmu Kanūnāya	2	5	Neo-Assyrian period; triangular label for grain loan
3	57.27.23 (ND 3447)	Kalḫu	līmu Mušallim-Aššur	2	11	Neo-Assyrian period; triangular label for grain loan
4	86.11.443					Neo-Assyrian period; sale of real estate
5	86.11.211	Ḫimeri	Šamaš-šumukīn 12	11	25	Neo-Assyrian period; promissory note for silver
6	86.11.155	Babylon	Šamaš-šumukīn 16	4	9	Neo-Assyrian period; promissory note for silver
7	86.11.217	Uruk	Kandalānu 16	9	20	Neo-Assyrian period; purchase of date-palm orchard
8	86.11.181	Babylon	Kandalānu 21	1	27	Neo-Assyrian period; promissory note for silver
9	86.11.488	Babylon	Nebuchadnezzar II 36	6(?)	[x]+4	Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of a promissory note for dates
10	86.11.381	Babylon	Nebuchadnezzar II 37	10	22	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for barley
11	86.11.231		Neriglissar 2	6	27	Neo-Babylonian period; declaration before witnesses(?)
12	86.11.390	Babylon	Neriglissar 2	8	14	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for barley
13	86.11.207	(Babylon)	Neriglissar 3	2		Neo-Babylonian; receipt for barley
14	86.11.295	Baḫē	Neriglissar 4	1	25	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for cress and barley

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
15	86.11.401					Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for [barley(?)]
16	86.11.196	Babylon	Nabonidus 5	2	22	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for [dates(?)]
17	86.11.308	Babylon	Nabonidus 6	6	10	Neo-Babylonian period; quittance
18	86.11.333	Babylon	Nabonidus [x]	7	13	Neo-Babylonian period; quittance(?)
19	86.11.230	[Babylon]	Nabonidus [x]	11	25	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for barley
20	86.11.340	[Babylon]	[Nabonidus(?)]			Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for barley
21	86.11.380	[Babylon]	[RN] x(?) +2	1	12	Neo-Babylonian period; receipt
22	86.11.148	Babylon	Nebuchadnezzar II 4	9	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
23	86.11.154	Babylon	Nebuchadnezzar II 14	9	17	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
24	86.11.386		Nebuchadnezzar II [x]	1	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for barley and wheat
25	86.11.387a,b	Babylon(?)				Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of a contract
26	86.11.307	Babylon	Amēl-Marduk 1	4	21	Neo-Babylonian period; slave sale
27	86.11.168	Babylon	Nabonidus 9	5	11	Neo-Babylonian period; quittance(?)
28	86.11.341	Ba-milkīšu	Nabonidus 13	6	1	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for dates
29	86.11.156	Babylon	[Nabonidus] 13	[x]	8	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
30	86.11.343	Ālu-ša-BAD-MAḤ-AN <sup>ki</sup> (?)	[Nabonidus] 16	[x]	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; quittance for dates
31	86.11.191	Babylon	Nabonidus [x]	9	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; cession of promissory note(?)
32	86.11.391	Baḥē	Nabonidus [x]	2	1	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for barley and other produce

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
33	86.11.163	Babylon	Cyrus 2	7	24	Achaemenid period; promissory note for dates
34	86.11.425		Cyrus 3	11	25	Achaemenid period; fragment of document concerning land disposition
35	86.11.162	Babylon	Cyrus [x]	12	11	Achaemenid period; quittance for dates
36	86.11.384 a,b	Ālu-eššu	Cyrus [x]	5	[x]	Achaemenid period; field lease
37	86.11.323	Babylon	Cambyzes 2	1	18	Achaemenid period; quittance for rent
38	86.11.151	Babylon	Cambyzes 7	8(?)	[1(?)]	Achaemenid period; prebend service contract
39	86.11.190	Babylon	Cambyzes 7	[x]	[x]	Achaemenid period; quittance for rent
40	86.11.393 a,b	[Babylon(?)]	Cambyzes [x]	2	[x]+5	Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
41	86.11.306	[Babylon(?)]	Darius I [accession year]	9	[x]	Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
42	86.11.115	[Babylon]	Darius I [x]	7	16	Achaemenid period; house rental contract
43	86.11.394 a,b					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; field lease
44	86.11.465 a,b	Babylon				Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
45	79.7.31		Nebuchadnezzar II 4	11	27	Neo-Babylonian period; account of silver disbursements
46	79.7.37	Babylon	Neriglissar 2	8	8	Neo-Babylonian period; quittance
47	79.7.13	Babylon	Nabonidus 2	12	5	Neo-Babylonian period; slave sale
48	79.7.11	Babylon	Nabonidus 2	12	19	Neo-Babylonian period; proxy contract for purchase of a slave
49	79.7.14	Babylon	Nabonidus 4	7	22	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver for a <i>harrānu</i> -partnership

**XLVIII CUNEIFORM TEXTS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, III**

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
50	79.7.18	Babylon	Nabonidus 6	2	23	Neo-Babylonian period; credit document including statement of partnership assets
51	79.7.17	Babylon	Nabonidus 6	8	11	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver for establishment of a <i>ḥarrānu</i> -partnership
52	79.7.15	Babylon	Nabonidus 6	12	6	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
53	79.7.4	Babylon	Nabonidus 10	8	4	Neo-Babylonian period; adoption declaration
54	79.7.7	Babylon	Nabonidus 10	12	10	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
55	79.7.16	Babylon	Nabonidus 11	11	2	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
56	79.7.33	Babylon	Nabonidus 13	1	14	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
57	79.7.8	Babylon	Nabonidus 13	6	16	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
58	79.7.9	Babylon	Nabonidus 14	1	14	Neo-Babylonian period; receipt for rent payment
59	79.7.10	Babylon	Nabonidus 16	1	20	Neo-Babylonian period; agreement regarding disposition of slaves
60	79.7.29	Bīt-šar-Bābili	Nabonidus 16	4	23	Neo-Babylonian period; account settlement
61	86.11.161	Babylon	Cambyses 5	9	13	Achaemenid period; certification of presence of interested party
62	79.7.25	Babylon	Cambyses 6	9	23	Achaemenid period; slave sale
63	86.11.200	Babylon	Cambyses 7	3	13	Achaemenid period; slave sale
64	79.7.21					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; account statement
65	79.7.30	Ḥursag-kamma	Darius I 2	9	25	Achaemenid period; receipt for dates
66	79.7.27	Babylon	Darius I 3	6	16	Achaemenid period; promissory note for dates
67	79.7.24	[Babylon]	Darius I 10	11	10	Achaemenid period; loan with work agreement

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
68	86.11.183	Laḫīr	Darius I 25	12	12	Achaemenid period; quittance
69	86.11.173	Babylon	Darius I 28	5	1	Achaemenid period; slave hire contract
70	86.11.335					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of promissory note
71	79.7.26		[RN] 9			Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; account of silver disbursements
72	79.7.34		[RN] 5	7	26	Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; account record: inventory
73	79.7.36					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; account of silver disbursements
74	79.7.40	Bit-Ṭab-Bēl	Nebuchadnezzar II 40	1	15	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
75	79.7.12	Babylon	Nabonidus 8	6	29	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
76	79.7.35	Borsippa	Nabonidus 8	12	16	Neo-Babylonian period; memorandum of receipt for silver
77	86.11.145	Babylon	Nabonidus 9	7	10	Neo-Babylonian period; slave purchase
78	79.7.3		Nabonidus 9	11	17	Neo-Babylonian period; receipt for silver
79	79.7.19	Babylon	Nabonidus 11	4	24	Neo-Babylonian period; statement of liabilities
80	79.7.5	Babylon	Nabonidus 11	11	12	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
81	79.7.20	Babylon	Nabonidus 14	3	18	Neo-Babylonian period; receipt by proxy for silver
82	79.7.28	Babylon	Cyrus 7	6	10	Achaemenid period; promissory oath
83	79.7.32					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; declaration before witnesses
84	86.11.240	[Ālu-ša-Šumukīn(?)]	Nabonidus 6	12 <sup>II</sup>	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for barley



L CUNEIFORM TEXTS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, III

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
85	86.11.389 a,b	Ālu-[ša-Šuma-ukīn(?)]	Nabonidus	8	28	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for barley
86	86.11.208	Ālu-ša-Šuma-ukīn	Nabonidus 12	8	5	Neo-Babylonian period; payment agreement
87	86.11.330	Babylon	Cyrus 2	6	14	Achaemenid period; receipt for silver
88	86.11.164	Babylon	Cyrus 4	2	8	Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
89	86.11.201	Sippar	Darius I 7	12	6	Achaemenid period; receipt for silver
90	86.11.175	Babylon	Darius I 13	1	17	Achaemenid period; assumption of debt by guarantor
91	86.11.176	Sippar	Darius I 10+[7]	3	14	Achaemenid period; promissory note for dates
92	86.11.98	Sippar	Darius I 21	1(?)	30	Achaemenid period; field lease
93	86.11.99	Sippar	Darius I 35	6	27	Achaemenid period; contract release
94	86.11.180 + VAT 591	Babylon	Darius I [26]	5	13	Achaemenid period; promissory note for dates
95	86.11.77	Babylon	Nebuchadnezzar II 43	2	29	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
96	86.11.147	Babylon	Darius I 6	6	10	Achaemenid period; declaration before witnesses
97	86.11.153	Babylon	Darius I 8	2	28	Achaemenid period; house rental contract
98	86.11.159	Babylon	Darius I 27	4	21	Achaemenid period; assignment of note
99	86.11.174	Kār-Bēl-mātāti	Nebuchadnezzar II 9	4	18	Neo-Babylonian period; purchase of a field
100	86.11.160	Babylon	Amēl-Marduk 2	3	4	Neo-Babylonian period; receipt for gold
101	86.11.150	Babylon	Nabonidus 4	6	15	Neo-Babylonian period; record of sale
102	86.11.167 + BM 77856	Babylon	Nabonidus 9	11	15	Neo-Babylonian period; dialogue document concerning succession and inheritance
103	1973.25.3	Uruk	Nabonidus 11	5	13	Neo-Babylonian period; hire contract

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
104	86.11.487	Babylon	Nabonidus 12	7	22	Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of a contract
105	86.11.480	Baḥē	Nabonidus 12	[x]	22	Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of a hire contract
106	86.11.195	Babylon	Nabonidus 16	8	21	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver
107	86.11.422a-f	Babylon	Nabonidus			Neo-Babylonian period; record of a judicial decision
108	86.11.543a,b	Babylon	Cyrus[x]+2	12 <sup>II</sup>	10	Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
109	86.11.290	Bīt-āli- . . .	Cambyses 2	10	11	Achaemenid period; purchase of a field
110	86.11.477	[Babylon(?)]	Darius I			Achaemenid period; fragment of a receipt for silver
111	86.11.403	Borsippa	Darius I 5	9	1	Achaemenid period; receipt for dates
112	86.11.310	Babylon	Darius I 6	3	25	Achaemenid period; promissory note(?) for silver
113	86.11.188	Sippar	Darius I 7	1	27	Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
114	86.11.166	Babylon(?)	Darius I 11+[x]	1	15	Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
115	86.11.186	Babylon	Darius I 22	10	16	Achaemenid period; partnership agreement
116	86.11.177	Babylon	Darius I 22	[x]	4	Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
117	86.11.352		Darius I 23	2	26	Achaemenid period; field survey
118	86.11.146	Babylon	Darius I 24	[x]	24	Achaemenid period; promissory note for silver
119	86.11.170	Babylon	Darius I 24	[x]	[x]+1	Achaemenid period; receipt for garments
120	86.11.149	Babylon	Darius I 25	2	24	Achaemenid period; house rental contract
121	86.11.185	Sippar	Darius I 26	9	16	Achaemenid period; stipulations regarding potential claims on a sold prebend
122	86.11.171	Babylon	Darius I 27	12	8	Achaemenid period; record of return of dowry

## LII CUNEIFORM TEXTS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, III

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
123	86.11.179	Babylon	Darius I [32(?)]	1	[x]	Achaemenid period; fragment
124	86.11.324	Babylon	Darius I [x]	8	5	Achaemenid period; deposition/record of oath
125	86.11.372b		Artaxerxes I/II(?) [x]+12		[x]	Achaemenid period; fragment
126	1983.135.3	Nippur	Darius II [1(?)]	7	[x]	Achaemenid period; promissory note for dates
127	86.11.133		Darius II 2	6(?)	11	Achaemenid period; renunciation of claim
128	86.11.152	Nār-Madānu	Darius II 5	1	26	Achaemenid period; promissory note for barley
129	86.11.142					Neo-Babylonian period: side A, clay cast of text No. 77 rev.; side B, clay cast of promissory note
130	86.11.293	Babylon	[RN] [x]	12 <sup>II</sup>	[x]	Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; agreement regarding division of property
131	86.11.296	Babylon	[RN] [x]	9	16	Neo-Babylonian period; purchase of a house
132	86.11.322					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a field lease
133	86.11.326					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a dialogue document concerning a dowry conversion
134	86.11.339					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of an accounting record
135	86.11.344		[RN] [x]	6	10	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for dates
136	86.11.385	Šaḥrinu(?)				Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of a contract
137	86.11.397					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of an <i>imittu</i> -promissory note
138	86.11.398	Babylon	Nabû-[. . .] 12	5	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; promissory note for silver

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
139	86.11.400	[Babylon(?)]	[RN] accession year	9	1	Achaemenid(?) period; receipt for silver
140	86.11.420	Babylon	[RN] 7	6	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of a contract
141	86.11.421					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a contract for the purchase of a house
142	86.11.427a,b	Babylon	[RN] [x]	9	5	Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a contract
143	86.11.437					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a document
144	86.11.442					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a field lease
145	86.11.445a-c	Babylon	[RN] [x]	4	2	Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a witness list and date formula
146	86.11.450					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a field lease
147	86.11.454		[RN] [x]	1	[x]	Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a contract
148	86.11.456					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a contract
149	86.11.458					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a contract(?)
150	86.11.464a,b					Achaemenid(?) period; fragment of an agreement concerning a dowry(?)
151	86.11.466	Hursag-kamma	Nabopolassar/Nebuchadrezzar II 2	1	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of a quittance(?)
152	86.11.467		Nebuchadrezzar II [x]+6	1	16	Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of an account record (?)
153	86.11.469					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a contract involving a house
154	86.11.475		Nabû-[. . .] [x]	7	[x]	Neo-Babylonian period; fragment of a promissory note for dates
155	86.11.481					Neo-Babylonian(?) period; fragment of a contract

Text No.	Museum No.	Location	Year	Month	Day	Period and Description
156	86.11.482					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of an accounting record(?)
157	86.11.504					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment
158	86.11.505					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment
159	86.11.507					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a promissory note
160	86.11.508					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a witness list of a contract(?)
161	86.11.522a,b					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a lease
162	86.11.536					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a contract
163	86.11.556					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; fragment of a promissory note for silver
164	07.154.5					Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period; letter

## Concordance of Tablets

Museum No.	Text No.	Credit Line
79.7.3	78	Purchase, 1879
79.7.4	53	Purchase, 1879
79.7.5	80	Purchase, 1879
79.7.7	54	Purchase, 1879
79.7.8	57	Purchase, 1879
79.7.9	58	Purchase, 1879
79.7.10	59	Purchase, 1879
79.7.11	48	Purchase, 1879
79.7.12	75	Purchase, 1879
79.7.13	47	Purchase, 1879
79.7.14	49	Purchase, 1879
79.7.15	52	Purchase, 1879
79.7.16	55	Purchase, 1879
79.7.17	51	Purchase, 1879
79.7.18	50	Purchase, 1879
79.7.19	79	Purchase, 1879
79.7.20	81	Purchase, 1879
79.7.21	64	Purchase, 1879
79.7.24	67	Purchase, 1879
79.7.25	62	Purchase, 1879
79.7.26	71	Purchase, 1879
79.7.27	66	Purchase, 1879
79.7.28	82	Purchase, 1879
79.7.29	60	Purchase, 1879
79.7.30	65	Purchase, 1879
79.7.31	45	Purchase, 1879
79.7.32	83	Purchase, 1879
79.7.33	56	Purchase, 1879
79.7.34	72	Purchase, 1879
79.7.35	76	Purchase, 1879
79.7.36	73	Purchase, 1879
79.7.37	46	Purchase, 1879
79.7.40	74	Purchase, 1886
86.11.77	95	Purchase, 1886
86.11.98	92	Purchase, 1886

Museum No.	Text No.	Credit Line
86.11.99	93	Purchase, 1886
86.11.115	42	Purchase, 1886
86.11.133	127	Purchase, 1886
86.11.142	129	Purchase, 1886
86.11.145	77	Purchase, 1886
86.11.146	118	Purchase, 1886
86.11.147	96	Purchase, 1886
86.11.148	22	Purchase, 1886
86.11.149	120	Purchase, 1886
86.11.150	101	Purchase, 1886
86.11.151	38	Purchase, 1886
86.11.152	128	Purchase, 1886
86.11.153	97	Purchase, 1886
86.11.154	23	Purchase, 1886
86.11.155	6	Purchase, 1886
86.11.156	29	Purchase, 1886
86.11.159	98	Purchase, 1886
86.11.160	100	Purchase, 1886
86.11.161	61	Purchase, 1886
86.11.162	35	Purchase, 1886
86.11.163	33	Purchase, 1886
86.11.164	88	Purchase, 1886
86.11.166	114	Purchase, 1886
86.11.167	102	Purchase, 1886
86.11.168	27	Purchase, 1886
86.11.170	119	Purchase, 1886
86.11.171	122	Purchase, 1886
86.11.173	69	Purchase, 1886
86.11.174	99	Purchase, 1886
86.11.175	90	Purchase, 1886
86.11.176	91	Purchase, 1886
86.11.177	116	Purchase, 1886
86.11.179	123	Purchase, 1886
86.11.180	94	Purchase, 1886
86.11.181	8	Purchase, 1886
86.11.183	68	Purchase, 1886
86.11.185	121	Purchase, 1886
86.11.186	115	Purchase, 1886
86.11.188	113	Purchase, 1886
86.11.190	39	Purchase, 1886
86.11.191	31	Purchase, 1886

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Museum No.	Text No.	Credit Line
86.11.195	106	Purchase, 1886
86.11.196	16	Purchase, 1886
86.11.200	63	Purchase, 1886
86.11.201	89	Purchase, 1886
86.11.207	13	Purchase, 1886
86.11.208	86	Purchase, 1886
86.11.211	5	Purchase, 1886
86.11.217	7	Purchase, 1886
86.11.230	19	Purchase, 1886
86.11.231	11	Purchase, 1886
86.11.240	84	Purchase, 1886
86.11.290	109	Purchase, 1886
86.11.293	130	Purchase, 1886
86.11.295	14	Purchase, 1886
86.11.296	131	Purchase, 1886
86.11.306	41	Purchase, 1886
86.11.307	26	Purchase, 1886
86.11.308	17	Purchase, 1886
86.11.310	112	Purchase, 1886
86.11.322	132	Purchase, 1886
86.11.323	37	Purchase, 1886
86.11.324	124	Purchase, 1886
86.11.326	133	Purchase, 1886
86.11.330	87	Purchase, 1886
86.11.333	18	Purchase, 1886
86.11.335	70	Purchase, 1886
86.11.339	134	Purchase, 1886
86.11.340	20	Purchase, 1886
86.11.341	28	Purchase, 1886
86.11.343	30	Purchase, 1886
86.11.344	135	Purchase, 1886
86.11.352	117	Purchase, 1886
86.11.380	21	Purchase, 1886
86.11.381	10	Purchase, 1886
86.11.384a,b	36	Purchase, 1886
86.11.385	136	Purchase, 1886
86.11.386	24	Purchase, 1886
86.11.387a,b	25	Purchase, 1886
86.11.389a,b	85	Purchase, 1886
86.11.390	12	Purchase, 1886
86.11.391	32	Purchase, 1886



LVIII CUNEIFORM TEXTS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, III

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Museum No.	Text No.	Credit Line
86.11.393a,b	40	Purchase, 1886
86.11.394a,b	43	Purchase, 1886
86.11.397	137	Purchase, 1886
86.11.398	138	Purchase, 1886
86.11.400	139	Purchase, 1886
86.11.401	15	Purchase, 1886
86.11.403	111	Purchase, 1886
86.11.420	140	Purchase, 1886
86.11.421	141	Purchase, 1886
86.11.422a-f	107	Purchase, 1886
86.11.425	34	Purchase, 1886
86.11.427a,b	142	Purchase, 1886
86.11.437	143	Purchase, 1886
86.11.442	144	Purchase, 1886
86.11.443	4	Purchase, 1886
86.11.445a-c	145	Purchase, 1886
86.11.450	146	Purchase, 1886
86.11.454	147	Purchase, 1886
86.11.456	148	Purchase, 1886
86.11.458	149	Purchase, 1886
86.11.464a,b	150	Purchase, 1886
86.11.465a,b	44	Purchase, 1886
86.11.466	151	Purchase, 1886
86.11.467	152	Purchase, 1886
86.11.469	153	Purchase, 1886
86.11.475	154	Purchase, 1886
86.11.477	110	Purchase, 1886
86.11.480	105	Purchase, 1886
86.11.481	155	Purchase, 1886
86.11.482	156	Purchase, 1886
86.11.487	104	Purchase, 1886
86.11.488	9	Purchase, 1886
86.11.504	157	Purchase, 1886
86.11.505	158	Purchase, 1886
86.11.507	159	Purchase, 1886
86.11.508	160	Purchase, 1886
86.11.522a,b	161	Purchase, 1886
86.11.536	162	Purchase, 1886
86.11.543a,b	108	Purchase, 1886
86.11.556	163	Purchase, 1886
86.11.559	125	Purchase, 1886

Museum No.	Text No.	Credit Line
07.154.5	164	Gift of Matilda W. Bruce, 1907
54.117.27a	1a	Rogers Fund, 1954
54.117.27b	1b	Rogers Fund, 1954
54.117.28	2	Rogers Fund, 1954
57.27.23	3	Rogers Fund, 1957
1973.25.3	103	Gift of Mrs. Francis T. P. Plimpton, 1973
1983.135.3	126	Bequest of Edith Aggiman, 1982

### Concordance of Tablets with Seal Impressions

Museum No.	Text No.
54.117.27a	1a
54.117.28	2
57.27.23	3
86.11.380	21
86.11.160	100
86.11.188	113
86.11.185	121
86.11.559	125
1983.135.3	126
86.11.133	127
86.11.152	128

### Concordance of Tablets with Fingernail Impressions

Museum No.	Text No.
86.11.217	7
79.7.21	64
79.7.35	76
79.7.3	78
86.11.174	99
86.11.290	109
86.11.296	131

### Concordance of Tablets with Incised Marks

Museum No.	Text No.
86.11.207	13
86.11.308	17
86.11.306	41
86.11.183	68
86.11.324	124

### Concordance of Tablets with Incised Drawings

Museum No.	Text No.
86.11.306	41
86.11.176	91
86.11.160	100

### Concordance of Tablets with Incised Design

Museum No.	Text No.
57.27.23	3

# Concordance of The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1879

## J. M. Shemtob Purchase<sup>1</sup>

Shemtob No. <sup>2</sup>	MMA Acc. No.	Text No.	Pierpont Morgan Library Acc. No.	Publication in BRM I	Balliard No. <sup>3</sup>	Pinches Copy <sup>4</sup>
1	not accessioned		MLC 1762	BRM I 45	16	copied
2	not accessioned		MLC 1765	BRM I 46	12	copied
3	not accessioned		MLC 901	BRM I 48		copied
4	not accessioned		MLC 1764	BRM I 49		copied
5	not accessioned		MLC 1760	BRM I 50		copied
6	not accessioned		MLC 1784	BRM I 51	8	copied
7	79.7.37	46			10	copied
8	not accessioned		MLC 790	BRM I 57	17	copied
9	79.7.31	45				copied
10	79.7.11	48			1	copied
11	79.7.13	47				copied
12	79.7.14	49			9	copied
13	79.7.17	51				copied
14	79.7.18	50			2	copied
15	79.7.15	52			4	copied
16	79.7.9	58				copied
17	79.7.35	76			19	copied
18	79.7.12	75				copied
19	not accessioned		MLC 1763	BRM I 59		copied
20	79.7.3	78				copied
21	79.7.7	54			13	copied
22	79.7.4	53				copied
23	79.7.16	55			15	copied
24	79.7.5	80				copied
25	79.7.19	79				copied
26	79.7.33	56			6	copied
27	79.7.8	57			14	copied
28	79.7.20	81				copied
29	79.7.29	60				copied
30	79.7.10	59				copied
31	not accessioned		MLC 1761	BRM I 62		copied
32	79.7.28	82				copied
33	not accessioned		MLC 1779	BRM I 65	21	copied

Shemtob No. <sup>2</sup>	MMA Acc. No.	Text No.	Pierpont Morgan Library Acc. No.	Publication in BRM I	Balliard No. <sup>3</sup>	Pinches Copy <sup>4</sup>
34	not accessioned		MLC 1769	BRM I 67		copied
35	79.7.25	62			18	copied
36	79.7.30	65				copied
37	79.7.24	67				copied
38	79.7.27	66				copied
39	not accessioned		MLC 1768	BRM I 72		copied
40	not accessioned		MLC 1767	BRM I 74	20	copied
41	not accessioned				5	copied
42	not accessioned		MLC 689	BRM I 79		copied
43	not accessioned					not copied
44	79.7.40	74				copied
45	79.7.32	83				copied
46	79.7.36	73				copied
47	79.7.34	72				copied
48	79.7.38 <sup>5</sup>					copied
49	79.7.21	64				copied
50	79.7.26	71				copied
51	not accessioned				3	copied
	79.7.1 (cylinder) <sup>6</sup>					copied
	79.7.2					
	(dupl. 79.7.1) <sup>7</sup>					not copied

N.B. Four of the tablets in the Museum's collection were miscatalogued in the 1930s and assigned 1879 numbers. MMA 79.7.6, MMA 79.7.22, and MMA 79.7.23, all to be published in CTMMA 4, pertain to the administrative archives of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar; MMA 79.7.39, published in CTMMA 1, text No. 70, is a late Old Babylonian letter. None of these documents were included in the copies made by Pinches. The four tablets are most likely part of the 1886 Ward collection and were mistakenly accessioned as part of the 1879 Egibi collection (see further, History of Research on the Collection, n. 3). Another tablet, now numbered 79.7.40 (text No. 74), acquired by the Museum in 1879 and copied by T. Pinches, was originally miscatalogued as part of the Ward collection.

1. For a concordance of the tablets published in this volume, see p. lv. A complete concordance of the Metropolitan Museum's collection of tablets, cylinders, inscribed bricks, and cones will be published in CTMMA 4.

2. The May 21, 1879, J. M. Shemtob receipt for payment includes a list of fifty-one tablets and two cylinders sent to The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The tablets are organized in this list under the reigns of the kings of Babylon from text no. 1 (Nebuchadnezzar year 4) to text no. 46 (Darius II year 26). Tablet nos. 47–51 are not dated. J. N. Strassmaier, who had also copied the Shemtob tablets in London prior to their sale to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, cited thirty-five of these tablets as "N.Y." followed by the number found in the Shemtob list in *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter der Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia 2* (Leipzig, 1886). For an index to the Shemtob "N.Y." tablets with Strassmaier's page numbers in *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, see R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1967), p. 508, and vol. 2 (Berlin, 1975), p. 273.

3. Tablets for which casts were produced by C. Balliard of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca. 1893 (see History of Research on the Collections, n. 1).

4. Photocopy of unpublished T. J. Pinches copies in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art. The original copies were sent by E. Sollberger of the British Museum to A. Leo Oppenheim, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, in November 1977 (information courtesy of I. Finkel).

5. To be published in CTMMA 4.

6. To be published in *ibid.*

7. To be published in *ibid.*

## Concordance of Moldenke I and Moldenke II Tablets

Moldenke No.	MMA Acc. No.	Text No.	Pierpont Morgan Library Acc. No.	Publication in BRM I	Publication in BE 8/1
I 11	79.7.13	47			
I 12	79.7.11	48			
I 13	79.7.14	49			
I 14	79.7.18	50			
I 15	79.7.17	51			
I 16	79.7.15	52			
I 17	79.7.12	75			
I 18	79.7.35	76			
I 19	79.7.3	78			
I 20	not accessioned		MLC 1763	BRM I 59	
I 21	79.7.4	53			
I 22	79.7.7	54			
I 23	79.7.16	55			
I 24	79.7.5	80			
I 25	79.7.19	79			
I 26	79.7.33	56			
I 27	79.7.8	57			
I 28	79.7.9	58			
I 29	79.7.10	59			
I 30	79.7.20	81			
I 31	79.7.29	60			
II 1	86.11.76	*			BE 8/1, 141 <sup>1</sup>
II 2	86.11.211	5			
II 3	86.11.155	6			
II 4	not accessioned		MLC 490	BRM I 37	
II 5	86.11.203	*			
II 6	86.11.423	*			
II 7	86.11.69	*			
II 8	86.11.220	*			
II 9	86.11.212	*			
II 10	not accessioned <sup>2</sup>				
II 11	86.11.184	*			
II 12	86.11.66	*			

LXIV CUNEIFORM TEXTS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, III

Moldenke No.	MMA Acc. No.	Text No.	Pierpont Morgan Library Acc. No.	Publication in BRM I	Publication in BE 8/1
II 13	86.11.210	*			
II 14	86.11.215	*			
II 15	86.11.229	*			
II 46	86.11.202	*			
II 47	86.11.150	101			
II 48	86.11.199	*			
II 49	86.11.193	*			
II 50	86.11.196	16			
II 51	86.11.232	*			
II 52	86.11.168	27			
II 53	86.11.145	77			
II 54	86.11.167	102			
II 55	86.11.238	*			
II 56	86.11.208	86			
II 57	86.11.341	*			
II 58	86.11.156	29			
II 59	86.11.213	*			
II 60	86.11.195	106			
II 61	86.11.240	84			
II 62	86.11.391	32			
II 63	86.11.389	85			
II 64	86.11.191	31			
II 65	86.11.230	19			

\*To be published in CTMMA 4.

1. A. T. Clay copied Moldenke II 1 (a Nippur tablet) during his visit to the Museum in 1907 and republished it in BE 8/1, a volume of texts chiefly from Nippur. (See further, BE 8/1, pp. 1-2.)
2. The location of this tablet is unknown.

## Indexes

In this index personal names are listed with the names (when given in the text) of their fathers, mothers, and ancestors. Fathers are listed with the names of their sons, daughters, and ancestors. Listings under ancestor names include only the descendants who appear in the texts (as parties, witnesses, and so forth), and not the fathers of those descendants, except in cases where the descendant's father's name is preserved but the descendant's name is not. Personal names without filiation (either because filiation is not stated in the text or the text is broken) are listed after the names with filiation. Professions (when given in the text) are listed following filiation. For abbreviations used in this index, see Other Abbreviations.

### Personal Names

#### Neo-Assyrian

*Aḫu-ēdi*, (PAB-*e-di*), 2:1, 8  
*Adad-milki-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>IM-mil-ki-KÁM<sup>eš</sup>), s. of *Šangû-Issar*, 2:2, 7  
*Aqabbi-ilī*, (A-*qa-bi*-DINGIR), f. of *Izbu*, 1a:8; 1b:7  
*Barīkī*, (Ba-ri-ki-i), s. of *Rēmanni-ilī*, 1a:1, 5; 1b:3  
*Bēl-šadūa*, (EN-KUR-*u-a*), 1a:11; 1b:10  
*Dūdū*, (Du-du-u), 1a:19; 1b:20; 2:21; 3:17  
*Izbu*, (Iz-bu), s. of *Aqabbi-ilī*, 1a:8; 1b:7  
*Kanūnāya*, (ITI.AB-*a-a*), 2:16  
*Lādāgil-ilī*, (La-da-gil-DINGIR), 1a:18; 1b:17; 2:18; 3:14  
*Mušallim-Aššur*, (Mu-šal-lim-Aš-šur), 3:11  
*Nabû(?)*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>PA(?)-[x (x x)]), 2:19  
*Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i*, (<sup>d</sup>PA-ZU), 1a:16; 1b:14  
*Nabû-nāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>PA-PAP), 1a:19; 1b:18  
*Nabû-pî-aḫi-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>PA-KA-*ia*-PAB-PAP, <sup>d</sup>PA-KA-PAB-PAP\*), 1a:17; 1b:15\*  
*Nabû-šumu-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>PA-MU-AŠ), 1a:20; 1b:19  
*Nergal(?)*-ēpuš, ([x x]-*e-pu-uš*), 2:22  
*Ninurta-nādin-aḫi*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-AŠ-PAB), 3:1, 5

*Nūr-Šamaš*, (ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>Šá-*maš*), 1a:18; 1b:16  
*Rēmanni-ilī*, (Rém-a-ni-DINGIR), f. of *Barīkī*, 1a:2; 1b:4  
*Sāmedu*, (Sa-me-du), 1a:14; 1b:11; 2:17; 3:13  
*Sulumāya*, (Su-lu-ma-a-a), <sup>lú</sup>*qurbut*, 1a:12; 1b:21  
*Šil-bēl-dalli*, (Šil-EN-dal-li), 1a:13; 1b:12; 3:12  
*Šamaš-šarru-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>Šá-*maš*-MAN-PAP, <sup>d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAP\*), 1a:4; 1b:2; 2:6; 3:4\*  
*Šangû-Issar*, (SANGA-15), f. of *Adad-milki-ēreš*, 2:3  
*Urad-Issar*, (iR-<sup>d</sup>15), 1a:15; 1b:13; 3:16  
*Urdu*, (Ur-du), 3:15

#### Neo-Babylonian

A-[. . .], (A-[x]), f. of *Bēl-iddin*, 11:9  
A-[. . .]-*Bēl*, (A-x-[x]-<sup>d</sup>EN), <sup>lú</sup>DI.KUD, 107:Lo.E. 2  
Seal caption  
*Adad*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>I[M-x]), s. of *Dummuq*, 159:Rev. 3'  
*Adad-aḫḫē-bullit*, (<sup>d</sup>IM-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-TIN), s. of *Aqaraya*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 47:13  
*Adad-lu*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>IM-lu(?)*-x*-[x]), f. of [. . .], 143:Rev. 7'  
*Adad-nūri*, (<sup>d</sup>IM-nu-úr), f. of *Eriḫaya*, 120:16  
*Adad-šamê*, (<sup>d</sup>IM-šam-me-e),



- a. of [ . . . ], 42:1'  
a. of *Bēlšunu*, 98:15  
a. of *Kidinnu*, 48:19  
a. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, 41:4  
*Adad-šuma-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>IM-MU-KÁM),  
a. of *Arad-Marduk*, 40:4'  
a. of *Bēl-apla-iddin*, 80:10  
a. of *Bēl-ētir*, 57:10  
*Adad(!)-šuma-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>IM(!)-<<x-x>>-MU-ÛRU),  
a. of *Bēlšunu*, 106:14  
*Adad-šūrî*, (<sup>d</sup>IM-šu-ri), f. of *Adad-zēra-ibni*,  
106:15  
*Adad-zēra-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>IM-NUMUN-DÛ), s. of *Adad-šūrî*,  
106:15  
*Addu-šēssu*, (<sup>d</sup>Ad-du-še-su), s. of *Ḥaggiya*, 112:12  
*Adōn*, (*Ad-du-nu*), f. of *Šāmi*<sup>c</sup>, 6:11  
*Agru*, (<sup>lu</sup>ḤUN.GÁ),  
a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 90:8  
a. of *Šamaš-iddin*, 26:14  
*Aḥḥē-iddin*, (ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU), f. of *Ea-iddin*, d. of  
*Šigūa*, 118:17  
*Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk*, (ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU),  
s. of *Itti-Marduk-balātu*, d. of *Šigūa*, 61:8  
127:R.E. 4–5 Seal caption  
*Aḥi*-[ . . . ], (ŠEŠ-x), f. of [ . . . ], 143:Rev. 3'  
*Aḥilīya*, (ŠEŠ-li-ia), f. of *Nabû-iqīša*, 26:1  
*Aḥu-atbû*, (ŠEŠ-at-bu-[ú]), s. of *Nergal-iddin*,  
94:11  
*Aḥu-bani*, (ŠEŠ-ba-ni),  
a. of *Ea-iddin*, 122:24  
a. of *Marduk-ušallim*, 75:14  
a. of *Nabû-ēreš*, 79:16  
*Aḥulapia*, (*A-ḥu-lap-ia*), f. of *Iqīšaya*, d. of *Egibi*,  
56:20  
*Aḥušunu*, (ŠEŠ-šú-nu), s. of *Nabû-šuma-ukīn*,  
120:14  
*Āla-lūmur*, (URU-lu-mur), f. of *Bēl-iddin*, 93:16  
<sup>f</sup>*Amat*-[ . . . ], (<sup>f</sup>GÉME-[x]), dau. of *Kalbaya*, d. of  
*Egibi*, w. of *Nergal-ušēzib*, 129:3  
<sup>f</sup>*Amat-Bēltiya*, (<sup>f</sup>GÉME-<sup>d</sup>GASAN-ia), dau. of  
*Mušēzib-Bēl*, 127:6, 12  
<sup>f</sup>*Amat-Nanaya*, (<sup>f</sup>GÉME-<sup>d</sup>Na-na-a, <sup>f</sup>GÉME-  
<sup>d</sup>Na-na\*),  
dau. of *Itti-Marduk-balātu*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*,  
109:18, 28  
dau. of *Marduk-šuma-ušur*, 58:2  
111:3, 6\*  
<sup>f</sup>*Amat-Ummaya*, (<sup>f</sup>GÉME-<sup>d</sup>Um-ma-a), m. of  
*Nanaya-iddin*, 128:16  
*Amēl-Ea*, (LÚ-<sup>d</sup>IDIM),  
a. of *Bēl-ētir*, 89:18  
a. of *Šulaya*, 55:9  
a. of *Zēriya*, 17:4  
a. of [ . . . ], 31:3'  
*Amēl-Isin*, (LÚ-PA.ŠE<sup>ki</sup>),  
a. of *Lūši-ana-nūri*, 121:16  
a. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, 51:12  
*Amēl-Marduk*, (LÚ-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU), RN, 26:18; 100:12  
*Amēlū*, (LÚ-ú), a. of *Tukulti-Marduk*, 61:12  
*Ammīni-ilī*, (*Am-mi-ni-DINGIR*), f. of *Zērūtu*, 23:8  
<sup>c</sup>*Amm-raḥama*, (*Am-ra-ḥa-ma*), f. of *Eribaya*,  
6:10  
<sup>f</sup>*Amtiya*, (<sup>f</sup>GÉME-ia), dau. of *Nabû-ittannu*, d. of  
*Mandidi*, 122:5, 13, 15  
*Amurru-nāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>KUR.G[AL-nāšir]), f. of *Iddin-  
Amurru*, 94:14  
*Amurru-aḥa-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL-ŠEŠ-ÛRU), s. of  
*Šuma-iddin*, 68:1, 7  
*Anu-aḥa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>A-num-ŠEŠ-MU), f. of *Nādin-aḥi*,  
10:3  
*Apladdu-natan*, (*Ap-la-da-na-ta-nu*), h. of  
<sup>f</sup>*Bunānītu*, 76:5  
*Aplaya*, (*A-a, Ap-la-a\**, *IBILA-a\*\**),  
s. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Egibi*, 83:2  
s. of *Gimillu*, 83:7  
s. of *Ninurta-iddin*, 126:15  
s. of *Ḥašd[aya]*, 91:21  
f. of *Ḥašdaya*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 96:7  
f. of *Iqīša-Marduk* (aka *Iqīšaya*), d. of *Bēl-  
ētir*, 39:3  
f. of *Iqīšaya* (aka *Iqīša-Marduk*), d. of [*Bēl-  
ētir*], 42:1  
f. of *Madānu-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 81:11\*  
f. of *Mukīn-zēri*, d. of *Munnabitti*, 84:10,  
148:8'  
f. of *Nūrea*, 108:4

- f. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 54:12  
 f. of *Šamaš-uballiṭ*, d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 47:4  
 f. of [ . . . ], d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 141:Obv. 16'\*\*\*  
 141:Rev. 5'\*\*\*, Rev. 9'\*\*\*
- Aqar-ana-Nabû*, ([A-qar]-a-na-<sup>d</sup>AG), a. of  
*Nabû-šuma-ukîn*, 10:10
- Aqaraya*, (KAL-a),  
 f. of *Adad-aḥḥē-bulliṭ*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 47:14
- Arad*-[ . . . ], (İR-<sup>d</sup>X),  
 f. of *Bēl-zēri*, 109:40  
 a. of *Bāni-zēri*, 36:4
- Arad-Bāba*, (İR-<sup>d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>, İR-<sup>d</sup>KÁ\*), f. of *Daḥḥūa*,  
 127:5, 128:5\*
- Arad-Bēl*, (İR-<sup>d</sup>EN),  
 s. of *Dummuq*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 49:14  
 s. of *Šaddinnu*, d. of *Itinnu*, 91:20  
 s. of [ . . . ]-né-e, 14:5  
 s. of *Marduk-ibni*, d. of *Sîn-nāšir*, 94:10  
 s. of *Šulaya*, 94:15  
 f. of *Arad-Gula*, 83:6  
 f. of *Bēl-kāšir*, d. of *Sippē*, 96:13  
 f. of *Itti-Marduk-balātu*, 54:15  
 f. of *Nergal-uballiṭ*, d. of *Dābibi*, 90:7  
 f. of <sup>f</sup>*Nidintu*, d. of *Egibi*, 59:6
- Arad-Ea*, (İR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM, <sup>lú</sup>İR-<sup>d</sup>E-a\*),  
 s. of *Sîn-ilī*, d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 89:15  
 a. of *Arad-Bēl*, 49:15  
 a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 34:6'; 87:14  
 a. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, 85:19  
 a. of *Išsur*, 118:20\*  
 a. of *Marduk-aḥa-iddin*, 84:4  
 a. of *Nergal-šuma-ibni*, 16:8  
 a. of <sup>f</sup>*Nūptaya*, 86:2  
 a. of *Šāpik-zēri*, 86:17  
 a. of *Šuma-ukîn*, 84:2; 85:3, 11; 86:5; 154:4  
 a. of [ . . . ], 9:2'
- Arad-Gula*, (İR-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME, İR-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la\*),  
 s. of *Arad-Bēl*, 83:5  
 s. of *Balāssu*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 95:13  
 d. of *Bā<sup>2</sup>iru*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 8:5\*, 14\*  
 f. of *Nergal-uballiṭ*, d. of *Iranni*, 98:16\*
- Arad-Marduk*, (İR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU, İR-<sup>d</sup>ŠÚ\*),  
 s. of *Kabtiya*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 53:18
- s. of *Kittiya*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 79:17  
 s. of *Marduk-ēṭir*, d. of *Ša-ṭābtišu*, 54:3  
 s. of [ . . . ], d. of *Adad-šuma-ēreš*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 40:3'  
 f. of *Marduk-bēlšunu*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*,  
 67:16\*  
<sup>lú</sup>DI.KUD, 107:L.E. 2
- Arad-Nabû*, (İR-<sup>d</sup>AG),  
 s. of *Marduk-nāšir*, 83:6  
 f. of *Šāpik-zēri*, d. of *Egibi*, 18:15  
 f. of *Zababa-šuma-iddin*, 142:3'
- Arad-Nergal*, (İR-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÜ, İR-<sup>d</sup>U+GUR\*),  
 s. of *Rīmūt*, 90:24\*  
 a. of *Kurbanni-Marduk*, 86:8  
 a. of *Lābāši*, 87:4; 88:4, 9; 104:3'  
 a. of *Marduk-ēṭir*, 79:15  
 a. of *Marduk-šuma*-. . . , 19:17  
 a. of *Rīmūt*, 54:12  
 a. of *Šulum-Bābili*, 97:23  
 a. of [ . . . ]-uballiṭ, 140:4  
 a. of [ . . . ]-Marduk, 9:4'  
 96:4\*
- Ardiya*, (İR-ia, İR-ia\*),  
 s. of *Gimillu*, d. of *Itinnu*, 59:24  
 f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 135:3\*  
 f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Šumu-libši*, 26:15  
 f. of *Bēl-ittannu*, d. of *Kutimmu*, 122:16  
 f. of *Bēl-ittannu*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 121:20  
 f. of *Nabû-nādin*, 91:21\*  
 f. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, d. of *Itinnu*, 67:19\*  
 f. of *Šamaš-iddin*, 91:18  
 f. of <sup>f</sup>*Tabluṭu*, d. of *Ea-epeš-ilī*, 114:4
- Arrabi*, (A-ra-bi, Ar-ra-bi\*),  
 sl. of *Iddin-Marduk*, 75:3  
 f. of *Kalbaya*, 30:10\*
- Arrabtu*, (Ar-rab-tu<sub>4</sub>),  
 a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 59:4, 7  
 a. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, 59:14
- Artahšassu*, (Ar-tak-šat-su), RN, 125:2'
- Ašarēdu*, (A-šá-re-du),  
 s. of *Bulluṭaya*, d. of *Ēṭir*, 122:17  
 d. of <sup>lú</sup>[ . . . ], 8:2
- Aškāpu*, (<sup>lú</sup>AŠGAB), a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 49:4  
*Aššur-dannu*, (<sup>d</sup>ŠAR-dan-nu), 6:2

- Ata*-[. . .], (*A-ta-a*-[x]), 152:4  
*Ātamar-Sîn*-[. . .], (*A-ta-mar*-<sup>d</sup>⟨A⟩ŠEŠ.KI), a. of  
 [. . .]-*ušallim*, 151:2'  
*Atkal-ana*-[. . .], (*At-kal-ana*-<sup>d</sup>[. . .]), 123:1'  
*Atkuppū*, (<sup>lú</sup>AD.KID),  
 f. of [. . .], 143:Rev. 5'  
 a. of *Lābāši*, 135:10  
 a. of *Nabû-iqīša*, 61:4  
 a. of [. . .], 43:8'  
*Atû*, (<sup>lú</sup>i.DUG),  
 a. of *Iddin-Marduk*, 55:11  
 a. of <sup>f</sup>*Tašmētu-damqat*, 54:10  
*Ayabu*, (*A-a-bu-û*), 6:3  
  
*Bāba-aḥa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>*Ba-ba*<sub>6</sub>-ŠEŠ-MU), s. of *Ninurta-šuma-ukīn* (?), d. of *Šangû-Ninurta*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 103:13  
<sup>f</sup>*Bāba-ibši*, (<sup>f</sup>*Ba-ba*<sub>6</sub>-*ib-ši*), 133:8', 10'  
<sup>f</sup>*Bāba-iš*-. . ., (<sup>f</sup>*Ba-ba*<sub>6</sub>-*iš-x-x*), 130:8  
*Bābūtu*, (*Ba-bu-tu*, <sup>d</sup>KĀ-*û-tu*\*),  
 a. of *Bēl-kāšir*, 48:20  
 a. of *Nādin*, 56:4, 22  
 a. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, 33:11  
 a. of *Sūqaya*, 57:11\*  
 a. of *Šamaš-aḥa-iddin*, 90:26  
*Bagapānu*, (*Ba-ga-pa-nu-u*), 117:Rev. 3  
*Bā<sup>3</sup>iru*, (<sup>lú</sup>ŠU.ĤA),  
 a. of *Arad-Gula*, 8:5, 15  
 a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 94:16  
 a. of *Šumaya*, 6:12  
 a. of *Zēriya*, 10:9  
 a. of [. . .], s. of . . .-*ušur*(?), 22:12  
*Balāssu*, (*Ba-la<sup>3</sup>-su*, TIN-*su*\*),  
 s. of *Banītušu*, 7:4'  
 s. of *Šamaš-iddin*, 99:40  
 f. of *Arad-Gula*, 95:13  
 f. of *Nabû-šāpik-zēri*, d. of *Sippē*, 77:22  
 87:2\*; 152:2\*  
*Balātu*, (*Ba-la<sup>3</sup>-tu*, TIN\*),  
 s. of *Bēl-ušallim*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 112:13  
 s. of *Ina-tēšê-eḫir*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 22:3;  
 23:5\*; 24:3  
 s. of *Mitraya*, 89:3  
  
 s. of *Nādin-aḥi*, d. of *Maštuk*, 96:12\*  
 s. of *Šullumu*, d. of *Nabaya*, 135:7  
 f. of *Iqīša-Marduk*, d. of *Bēl-ēḫir*, 62:16  
 f. of *Lābāši*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 20:11; 26:5;  
 27:3\*; 28:2\*; 29:3; 30:4; 31:5; 32:4; 33:5;  
 34:1; 35:5\*; 36:5; 37:6\*; 38:3; 39:4; 40:4;  
 41:5; 42:2, 6; 43:2'; 44:3  
 f. of *Marduk-šākin-šumi*, 85:17\*  
 f. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, d. of *Ša-nāšišu*, 47:1;  
 48:5\*  
 f. of *Nabû-ušuršu*, d. of *Miṣiraya*, 56:19  
 f. of [. . .], 119:14\*  
 a. of *Nabû-šuma-iškun*, 92:21\*  
 25:9', 11', 12'; 78:4; 107:3  
<sup>f</sup>*Banāt-Esagil*, (<sup>f</sup>DÜ-*a-tú-É-sag-il*), dau. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, 52:1, 10  
*Bāni-zēri*, (DÜ-*NUMUN*), d. of *Arad*-[<sup>d</sup>x], 36:3  
<sup>f</sup>*Banītu-ēḫirtu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Ba*-⟨*ni*⟩-*tu*<sub>4</sub>-*e-ḫir-tu*<sub>4</sub>), dau. of  
*Marduk-šuma-ušur*, 58:2  
<sup>f</sup>*Banītu-ittiya*, (<sup>fd</sup>DÜ<sup>tu</sup>-KI-*ia*), sl. of *Nabû-ittannu*,  
 122:2, 10  
*Banītušu*, (DÜ<sup>tu</sup>-*šu*),  
 f. of *Balāssu*, 7:4'  
 f. of *Iddinaya*, 7:6'  
 f. of *Šillaya*, 7:5'  
<sup>f</sup>*Banītu-šummaḥūa*, (<sup>f</sup>DÜ<sup>tu</sup>-*šu-ma-ḫu-ú-a*), 106:7  
<sup>f</sup>*Banītu-šuzibinni*, (<sup>fd</sup>DÜ<sup>tu</sup>-*šu-zib-in-ni*), sl. of  
*Nabû-ittannu*, 122:2, 10  
*Bāniya*, (*Ba-ni-ia*, *Ba-ni-ía*\*, DÜ-*ia*\*\*\*, DÜ-*ía*\*\*\*),  
 s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Ninurta*,  
 h. of *Ramūa*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 52:3, 16  
 f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Arrabtu*: 59:4, 7\*  
 f. of *Marduk-iqīšanni*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 47:8;  
 48:2  
 f. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, d. of *Arrabtu*, 59:14  
 f. of *Nabû-ittannu*, d. of *Itinnu*, 115:16\*\*  
 f. of *Nergal-iddin*, d. of [*Šumu-libši*],  
 140:15\*\*\*  
 130:25  
*Banūnu*, (*Ba-nu-nu*),  
 s. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*, d. of *Dābibi*, 121:16  
 s. of *Šillaya*, d. of *Rab-banê*, 46:13  
*Batūl*, (*Ba-tu-ul*), 6:3

- Bēl*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>EN-. . .], <sup>d</sup>EN-X-[X]\*, <sup>d</sup>EN-X-X-X\*\*,  
<sup>d</sup>EN-[X X]\*\*\*, <sup>d</sup>EN-X\*\*\*\*, <sup>d</sup>EN-[X (X)]\*\*\*\*\*,  
<sup>d</sup>EN-X-[. . .]\*\*\*\*\*),  
s. of *Lābāši*, 18:11  
s. of *Nabû-šuma-ušur*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 51:8\*  
s. of *Nabû-zēra-ibni*, 87:10  
s. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, d. of *Dannēa*, <sup>lú</sup>šID,  
115:17\*\*  
s. of *Šāpik-zēri*, 124:1\*\*\*  
f. of *Iddin-Bēl*, 117:Rev. 3\*\*\*\*  
f. of *Marduk-nāšir*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 127:20\*\*\*\*\*,  
<sup>lú</sup>šID, 123:8\*\*\*  
7:2'; 111:1'\*\*\*\*; 127:21\*\*\*\*\*, U.E. 2 Seal  
caption\*\*\*\*\*, 155:3'\*\*\*\*\*)
- Bēl-aba-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>E]N-AD-ÛRU), 125:1'
- Bēl-aḫa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU),  
f. of *Bulluṭ*, 45:4  
f. of *Marduk-šākin-šumi*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*,  
106:4
- Bēl-aḫḫē*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-X, <sup>d</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-[. . .]\*),  
f. of [. . .], d. of *Marduka*, 148:9'  
107:14\*
- Bēl-aḫḫē-erība*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SU, <sup>d</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-*eri*-  
*ba*\*, <sup>d</sup>EN-PAB<sup>me</sup>-SU\*\*),  
f. of *Bēl-šuma-iškun*, 7:8'  
f. of *Mušallim-Marduk*, d. of *Sîn-šadûnu*,  
74:12  
f. of *Nabû-zēru-līšir*, d. of *Dannēa*, 37:4, 15  
f. of *Šamaš-erība*, 99:36\*\*  
5:2\*
- Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU, <sup>d</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-  
SUM.NA\*),  
s. of *E*-. . .], d. of *Šangû-Parakku*, 34:4'  
f. of *Dummuq*, d. of *Egibi*, 57:12\*  
f. of [. . .]-*ēṭir-napšāti*, d. of *Šangû-Adad*,  
30:2  
<sup>lú</sup>šID, 36:5'
- Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-BA<sup>šá</sup>), s. of *Bēlšunu*,  
78:6
- Bēl-ana-mērehtu*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ana-mé-ré-*eḫ-tu*<sub>4</sub>,  
<sup>d</sup>EN-a-na-mé-ré-*eḫ-tu*<sub>4</sub>\*),  
s. of *Nabû*-. . .], 115:14  
s. of *Ubār*, 118:19\*
- Bēl-apla-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-A-MU),  
s. of *Etellu*, 78:8  
s. of *Ina-tēšī-eṭir*, d. of *Nabû-līssu*, <sup>lú</sup>šID,  
80:12  
s. of *Nabû-nāšir*, d. of *Adad-šuma-ēreš*, 80:9  
s. of *Nabû-šuma-iškun*, d. of *Šangû-Ninurta*,  
<sup>lú</sup>šID, 74:15
- Bēl-apla-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-A-ÛRU),  
s. of *Šulaya*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 14:14  
25:3'
- Bēl-asūa*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-a-su-ú-a), s. of *Bēl-kāšir*, 115:4,  
9, 11, 13
- Bēl-bullissu*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-TIN-su),  
s. of [. . .], d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 121:20  
f. of *Bēl-rē<sup>u</sup>šunu*, 128:13
- Bēl-ēpuš*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-DÛ<sup>uš</sup>), s. of *Zēriya*, 45:5
- Bēl-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-KAM, <sup>d</sup>EN-KÁM\*),  
s. of *Ibri*(?)-. . ., 127:14, L.E. 2 Seal caption  
s. of *Nidinti-Bēl*, 149:2\*  
f. of *Lābāši*, 127:10
- <sup>f</sup>*Bēlessunu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Be-let-su-nu*), m. of *Nādin*, 56:25
- Bēl-ēṭir*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-KAR<sup>ir</sup>, <sup>d</sup>EN-e-*ṭi*<sub>5</sub>-ru\*, EN-e-*ṭi*<sub>5</sub>-ru\*\*,  
<sup>d</sup>EN-SUR\*\*\*, <sup>d</sup>EN-e-*ṭir*\*\*\*\*, <sup>d</sup>EN-SUR<sup>ru</sup>\*\*\*\*\*),  
s. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, d. of *Amēl-Ea*, <sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR,  
89:17  
s. of *Dummuq*, 61:10  
s. of *Ina-šilli-šarri*, <sup>lú</sup>s[epīri ša qēmītu ša  
*Bābili*], 94:3\*\*\*  
s. of *Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti*, d. of *Paḫḫāru*,  
66:12\*\*\*  
s. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, d. of *Qaštu*, 47:12\*\*\*  
s. of *Nabû-šuma-ēreš*, d. of *Adad-šuma-ēreš*,  
57:9\*\*\*  
f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 113:9\*\*\*  
f. of *Kalbaya*, d. of *Suḫaya*, 62:15\*\*\*  
f. of *Marduk-nāšir*, 127:2\*\*\*\*\*, 4\*\*\*\*\*)  
f. of *Zababa-nādin-aḫi*, d. of *Nādin-še<sup>u</sup>i*,  
140:14  
f. of [. . .], 141:Obv. 6'  
a. of *Aplaya*, 141:Obv. 17', Rev. 6'  
a. of *Arad-Ea*, 89:16\*\*  
a. of *Bēl-iḫsur*, 121:19\*\*  
a. of <sup>f</sup>*Belilēti*, 116:4\*

- a. of *Bēl-le<sup>o</sup>i*, 12:11\*
- a. of *Bēl-šuma-iškun*, 12:14\*
- a. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, 14:12\*
- a. of *Bēl-zēri*, 12:9\*
- a. of *Ḥašdaya*, 96:7\*
- a. of *Iqīša-Marduk* (aka *Iqīšaya*), 39:3\*; 62:16\*
- a. of *Iqīšaya* (aka *Iqīša-Marduk*), 42:1\*
- a. of *Itti-Marduk-balātu*, s. *Rīmūt-Bēl*, 114:17\*\*
- a. of *Itti-Marduk-balātu*, s. *Tabnêa*, 114:14\*\*
- a. of *Itti-Nabû-balātu*, 59:27\*; 60:11\*\*\*\*
- a. of *Marduk-iddin*, 22:13\*\*\*\*
- a. of *Nādin-aḥi*, 141:Obv. 6'
- a. of *Nabû-itti-šarri*, 38:5\*\*
- a. of *Rīmūt*, 89:15\*\*
- a. of *Šamaš-uballiṭ*, 47:4\* 130:31
- Bēl-ēṭir*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>EN-SUR(?)-x), s. of [. . .], d. of *Libluṭ*, 150:4'
- Bēl-ēṭir-napšāti*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-SUR-ZI<sup>meš</sup>), s. of *Nabû-zēra-ibni*, 28:3
- Bēl-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-DÙ, <sup>d</sup>EN-ib-ni\*), s. of *Iddin-Nergal*, 7:7'\*
- s. of [. . .], d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 22:10
- s. of [. . .], d. of *Gaḥal*, DUB.SAR, 121:23
- f. of *Marduk-šuma-ušur*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 17:13
- Bēl-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-MU, <sup>d</sup>EN-SUM.NA\*, <sup>d</sup>EN-id-di-na\*\*), s. of A-[. . .], 11:9
- s. of *Āla-lūmur*, 93:16
- s. of *Ardiya*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 135:3
- s. of *Ardiya*, d. of *Šumu-libši*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 26:15
- s. of *Bāniya* and <sup>f</sup>*Nidintu*, d. of *Arrabtu*, 59:4, 7, 20
- s. of *Bēlšunu*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 118:2\*\*, 10\*\*, 12\*, 14\*\*, 16\*
- s. of *Iddin-Nabû*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 94:16
- s. of *Isinnunaya*, 128:6\*, 15, L.E. 2 Seal caption
- s. of *Kabtiya*, d. of *Iranni*, 122:22
- s. of *Kiṣir-Nabû*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 16:11
- s. of *Līšir*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 16:4; 19:14
- s. of *Marduk-erība*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 139:4'
- s. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 34:5'; 87:13
- s. of *Nergal-uballiṭ*, d. of *Aškāpu*, 49:3, 6, 10, 11; 50:7
- s. of *Šikkû*, 126:2
- f. of *Aplaya*, d. of *Egibi*, 83:2
- f. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 85:18
- f. of *Nabû-ittannu*, d. of *Iranni*, 96:11
- f. of *Rīmūt-Šamaš*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 93:15
- f. of *Ubār*, d. of *Pappaya*, 120:3, 8
- d. of *Dābibi*, DUB.SAR, 116:3'
- d. of *Iranni*, 5:6 <sup>lú</sup>šID, 92:7 101:2; 140:8
- Bēl-ikṣur*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ik-ṣur), s. of *Ubār*, d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 121:19
- <sup>f</sup>*Belilēti*, (<sup>f</sup>Bé-li-le-e-ti), dau. of [. . .], d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 116:3
- Bēl-iqīša*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-BA<sup>šá</sup>), s. of *Lābāši*, 67:17
- s. of *Nabû-bāni-zēri*, 31:4, 9
- s. of *Nergal*-[. . .], 101:4
- f. of *Bēlšunu*, d. of *Šangû-Nanaya*, 81:5
- f. of *Marduk-šarrāni*, d. of *Ša-ṭābtīšu*, 52:12
- f. of *Nabû-nāšir*, 91:12, 15
- f. of *Nūrea*, d. of *Šangû-Nanaya*, 81:2
- Bēl-ittannu*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-it-tan-nu), s. of *Ardiya*, d. of *Kutimmu*, 122:16
- s. of *Ardiya*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 121:19
- s. of *Ea-iddin*, d. of *Iranni*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 68:15
- s. of *Nabû-le<sup>o</sup>i*, d. of *Nūr-Papsukkal*, DUB.SAR, 111:2'
- s. of *Šamaš-uballiṭ*, 91:18
- s. of *Ṭābiya*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 93:2, 5, 11, 12, 14, 17, 22
- Bēl-kāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-KÁD, <sup>d</sup>EN-ka-šir\*), s. of *Arad-Bēl*, d. of *Sippē*, 96:13
- s. of *Bēl-rēmāni*, d. of *Bābūtu*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 48:19
- s. of *Nādin*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 35:6; 102:1\*, 12\*, 15, 17\*, 20\*, 23\*, 27\*; 139:1
- f. of *Bēl-asūa*, 115:4, 13
- f. of *Nabû-nāšir*, d. of *Egibi*, 97:22

- f. of *Nabû-aḥḫē-ušallim*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 139:1  
 lúšID, 38:17  
 5:8\*
- Bēl-kēšir*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ke-šir),  
 s. of *Nūr-Šamaš*, d. of *Egibi*, 59:23  
 s. of *Šulaya*, d. of *Egibi*, 61:4  
 d. of *Egibi*, 5:7  
 137:4'
- Bēl-kušuršu*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ku-šur-šú), s. of *Nidintu-Bēl*, 128:13
- Bēl-le<sup>2</sup>i*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-DA),  
 f. of [. . .], d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 12:10  
 f. of *Bēl-usāti*, d. of *Ur-Nanna*, 142:5'  
 f. of *Nabû-ēreš*, d. of *Šāḫit-ginê*, 58:12  
 f. of *Nergal-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Rab-banê*, 34:2';  
 87:2
- Bēl-lūmur*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-lu-mur),  
 s. of *Iddin-Marduk*, d. of *Šigūa*, 65:7  
 s. of *Madānu-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Ea-lūmur*, 114:10
- Bēl-mudammīq*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>iq</sup>), f. of *Iddin-Bēl*, d. of *Egibi*, 69:13
- Bēl-n[a-. . .]*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-n[a-. . .]), 36:3'
- Bēl-nādin-apli*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-na-din-IBILA, <sup>d</sup>EN-MU-A\*),  
 s. of *Nārgiya*, 117:Obv.  
 f. of *Nidintu*, 67:18\*  
 133:5', 9'
- Bēl-na<sup>2</sup>id*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-I), s. of *Nergal-ušallim*, d. of *Kānik-bābi*, lúšID, 97:14
- Bēl-pitnanni*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-pi-it-na-an-ni), sl. of *Nergal-ētir*, 63:3
- Bēl-rēmanni*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-re-man-ni, <sup>d</sup>EN-re-man<sup>an</sup>-ni\*),  
 s. of *Mušibši-Marduk*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, lúšID, 89:9; 90:4, 5, 7; 91:2, 5, 16; 92:27\*;  
 93:7\*, 12\*, 24\*; 94:4  
 s. of MU-[. . .], d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 118:20  
 s. of *Sūqaya*, d. of *Šangû-Nabû*, 97:21  
 f. of *Bēl-kāšir*, d. of *Bābūtu*, 48:20
- Bēl-rē<sup>2</sup>ušunu*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-SIPA-šú-nu), s. of *Bēl-bullissu*, 128:12
- Bēl-suppê-muḫur*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-su-pe-e-mu-ḫur), 71:10;  
 72:3
- Bēl-šullê-šeme*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-šu(!)-li-e-ši-me), 134:13
- Bēl-šur*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>EN-šur(?)-x-[. . .]), 160:5'
- Bēl-šākin-šumi*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-GAR-MU), s. of *Iddin-Nabû*,  
 d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, lúšID, 65:10
- Bēl-šuma-iškun*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup>),  
 s. of *Bēl-aḥḫē-erība*, lúšID, 7:8'  
 s. of *Nabû-zēru-līšir*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, lúšID, 12:12  
 f. of *Iddin-Marduk*, d. of *Atû*, 55:10
- Bēlšunu*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-šú-nu),  
 s. of *Bēl-iqīša*, d. of *Šangû-Nanaya*, 81:5  
 s. of *Kinūnaya*, d. of *Adad-šamê*, 98:14  
 s. of *Nabû-ušallim*, 7:12, 11'  
 s. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Adad(!)-šuma-ušur*, 106:13  
 s. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Šangû-A[kkad]*, 121:22  
 f. of *Bēl-aḥḫē-iqīša*, 78:7  
 f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 118:2  
 f. of *Mukīn-zēri*, 128:18  
 f. of *Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i*, d. of *Egibi*, 17:14  
 f. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddê*, d. of *Ea-pattanu*, 48:17  
 lúDI.KUD ša íD-d<sup>30</sup>, 126:11, L.E. 2 Seal caption
- Bēl-uballiṭ*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup>, <sup>d</sup>EN-ú-bal-lit\*),  
 s. of [*Bēl-iddin*], d. of *Arad-Ea*, lúšID, 85:18  
 s. of *Iqīša-Marduk*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 121:4, 9, 12  
 s. of *Marduk-ušallim*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 14:11  
 s. of *Nadna*, d. of *Ētir*, 27:2  
 s. of *Šellebi*, d. of *Ea-eppeš-ilī*, 118:7\*, 15\*  
 s. of [. . .-Bāb]ili, d. of *Ušur-amāt-Ea*, 88:1  
 f. of *Bēl-ētir*, d. of *Amēl-Ea*, 89:18  
 f. of *Libluṭ*, d. of *Šāḫit-ginê*, 92:26  
 f. of *Marduk-mukīn-apli*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili*, 92:23  
 f. of *Marduk-rēmanni*, d. of *Šāḫit-ginê*, 113:4  
 f. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, d. of *Amēl-Isin*, 51:12  
 f. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Sagdidi*, 74:4  
 148:3'
- Bēl-upaḫḫir*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-NIGIN<sup>ir</sup>),  
 f. of *Marduk-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 24:2  
 70:10'

- Bēl-usāti*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ú-sat, <sup>d</sup>EN-ú-sa-tu\*),  
 s. of *Bēl-le<sup>2</sup>i*, d. of Ur-Nanna, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 142:4\*  
 s. of *Niqūdu* and <sup>f</sup>*Zunnaya*, 102:4  
 s. (adopted) of *Bēl-kāšir*, 102:4
- Bēl-ušallim*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-GI),  
 s. of *Bulluṭ*, 95:12  
 s. of *Nabû-aḥa/aḥḥē*-[. . .], 109:39  
 s. of *Zēriya*, d. of *Nabaya*, 77:21  
 f. of *Balātu*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 112:14  
 f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 112:12  
 f. of *Marduk-šarra-ušur*, 145:2'  
 f. of *Sūqaya*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 35:10
- Bēl-ušēzib*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-ú-še-zib),  
 f. of *Sūqaya*, 135:2  
 f. of [. . .], 138:2
- Bēl-zēra-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-NUMUN-DÙ),  
 f. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili*, 38:14  
 f. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddē*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 56:16  
 f. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, d. of *Bābūtu*, 33:10  
 f. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, d. of *Šambā*, 57:8
- Bēl-zēri*, (<sup>d</sup>EN-NUMUN),  
 s. of *Arad*-[. . .], 109:40  
 s. of [. . .], d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 12:8  
 f. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, d. of *Būšu*, 10:13
- Bi*- . . ., (*Bi*(?)-x), s. of *Libluṭ*, d. of *Gallābu*, 20:12
- Bibanu*, (*Bi-ba-nu*), f. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit*, 109:5
- Bulluṭ*, (*Bul-luṭ*, *Bul-lu-tu\**, *Bul-lu-tú\*\**),  
 s. of *Bēl-aḥa-iddin*, 45:3  
 s. of *Per<sup>2</sup>u*, d. of *Šumu-libši*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 29:2'\*  
 f. of *Bēl-ušallim*, 95:12\*\*  
 f. of *Na<sup>2</sup>id-Marduk*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 41:9\*
- Bulluṭaya*, (*Bul-lu-ṭa-a*), f. of *Ašarēdu*, d. of *Ētir*, 122:17
- Bulluṭūa*, (*Bul-lu-ṭu-a*), s. of *Šamaš-mukīn-apli*, d. of *Naggāru*, 90:22
- Bulṭaya*, (*Bul-ta-a*),  
 f. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, d. of *Pahḥāru*, 114:2  
 f. of [. . .], d. of *Atkuppu*, 43:8'
- <sup>f</sup>*Bunānītu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Bu-na-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>*), w. of *Apladdu-natan*, 76:3
- Bunene*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>*Bu-ne*-[*ne*- . . .]), d. of *Šangu*-[. . .], 152:Rev. 1'
- Bunene-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>*Bu-ne-ne-Dù*), s. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 90:21  
<sup>f</sup>*Būr-sāḥištu*, (<sup>f</sup>AMAR-sa-ḥi-iš-tu<sub>4</sub>), 71:2  
*Būr-ušallim*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR-GI), f. of *Nabû-rēmāni*, 80:6  
*Būšu*, (*Bu-ú-šu*), a. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, 10:13
- Dābibi*, (*Da-bi-bi*),  
 a. of *Banūnu*, 121:17  
 a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 53:17; 59:25  
 a. of *Nabû-zēra-iddin*, 23:10  
 a. of *Nergal-uballit*, 90:8  
 a. of *Rīmūt*, 33:9  
 a. of [*Bēl*]-*iddin*, 116:4'
- Dādiya*, (*Da-di-ia*), s. of *Minaššē*, 46:15  
*Dahḥūa*, (*Da-aḥ-ḥu-ú-a*), s. of *Arad-Bāba*, 127:5; 128:5
- Damqa*, (*Dam-qa*),  
 a. of *Nergal-ēreš*, 47:15  
 a. of *Zērūtu*, 145:3'
- Damqiya*, (*SIG<sub>5</sub>-ia*, *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ía\**),  
 d. of *Gaḥal*, 6:13\*  
 6:4
- Dannēa*, (*Dan-né*-[*e-a*]),  
 a. of *Bēl*-[. . .], 115:18  
 a. of *Nabû-zēru-līšir*, 37:4, 16  
 a. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, 46:5
- Dāriāmūš*, (*Da-ri-muš*, *Da-ri-<sup>2</sup>-muš\**, *Da-ri-<sup>2</sup>-uš\*\**, *Da-ri-ia-muš\*\*\**, *Da-ri-ía-muš\*\*\*\**, *Da-ri-ia-a-muš\*\*\*\*\**, *Da-ri-mu-šu\*\*\*\*\**, *Da-ri-muš\*\*\*\*\**, *Da-a-ri-ia-muš\*\*\*\*\**, *Da-a-ri-ia-a-muš\*\*\*\*\**, *Da-a-ri-ía-muš\*\*\*\*\**), RN, 41:16\*\*\*; 42:4; 65:13; 66:18\*\*; 67:22\*; 68:4\*, 19\*; 69:20\*; 89:20\*; 90:1\*\*\*\*, 28\*\*\*\*; 91:24\*\*\*\*\*; 92:29; 93:19\*; 94:18\*\*\*\*; 96:15\*\*\*\*\*; 97:26\*\*\*; 98:19\*\*\*\*\*; 110:3\*\*\*\*; 111:5\*\*\*\*; 112:18\*\*\*\*; 113:16\*; 114:18\*\*\*\*\*; 115:19\*\*\*\*\*; 116:5\*\*\*\*; 117:6\*\*\*\*\*; 118:23\*\*\*\*\*; 119:5\*\*\*, 15\*\*\*; 120:19\*\*\*\*\*; 121:24\*\*\*; 122:26\*\*\*\*\*; 123:5\*\*\*, 10\*\*\*; 124:2\*\*\*, 16\*\*\*\*\*; 126:3\*\*\*\*\*,

- 19\*\*\*\*; 127:22\*\*\*; 128:7\*\*\*,  
20\*\*\*\*\*
- Dayyānu-idrī*, ([Da]-a-nu-id-ri), f. of *Sîn-[iddin]*,  
91:17
- Dihummu*, (Di-ḥu-um-mu), f. of *Nidintu*, d. of  
*Pahḥāru*, 118:19
- Dummuq*, (Du-muq, Du-um-muq\*, Dū-um(!)-  
mu<sub>4</sub>-qū\*\*),  
s. of *Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin*, d. of *Egibi*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 57:12\*\*  
s. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 14:13  
f. of *Adad*-[. . .], 159:Rev. 2'  
f. of *Arad-Bēl*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 49:15\*  
f. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 61:10  
f. of *Lābāši*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 77:19; 102:8'  
f. of *Ninurta-gāmil*, 126:18\*  
146:5'\*; 8'\*
- Dumqu*, (Du-um-qu),  
s. of *Qāṭin*, 6:10  
161:2'
- E*-[. . .], (*E*-[. . .]), f. of *Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin*, d. of  
*Šangû-Parakku*, 34:Rev. 4'
- Ea*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>É-a-[. . .], <sup>d</sup>IDIM-[. . .]\*),  
s. of *Ina-tēšē-eṭir*, 138:3  
a. of *Madānu-šuma-iddin*, 19:2\*; 20:2\*  
123:2; 127:17\*
- Ea-eppeš-ilī*, (<sup>d</sup>É-a-DÙ<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR, <sup>d</sup>IDIM-DÙ<sup>eš</sup>-  
DINGIR\*),  
a. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, 118:8  
a. of *Kušurraya*, 98:14\*  
a. of *Marduk-nāšir*, 118:4  
a. of *Murašû*, 114:8\*  
a. of <sup>f</sup>*Tabluṭu*, 114:4\*
- Ea-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>IDIM-DÙ), a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 60:9
- Ea-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>IDIM-MU\*, <sup>d</sup>É-a-MU\*),  
s. of *Aḥḥē-iddin*, d. of *Šigūa*, 118:16; 119:9\*  
(written s. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin*)  
s. of *Uballissu-Marduk*, d. of *Aḥu-bani*,  
<sup>lú</sup>šID, 122:23\*  
s. of [. . .]-*bullissu*, 127:15, L.E. 4 Seal  
caption  
f. of *Bēl-ittannu*, d. of *Iranni*, 68:16  
17:8\*
- Ea-ilūta-bani*, (<sup>d</sup>IDIM-DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>-DÙ), a. of *Nabû-  
kāšir*, 68:12
- Ea-kāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>É-a-ka-šir), 123:7
- Ea-lūmur*, (<sup>d</sup>IDIM-lu-mur, <sup>d</sup>É-a-lu-mur\*),  
s. of [. . .], d. of *Ur-Nanna*, 144:14'  
f. of *Ubār*, 123:6\*  
f. of [. . .], 123:6'\*  
a. of *Bēl-lūmur*, 114:11  
a. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 114:13
- Ea-nāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>É-a-na-šir, <sup>d</sup>IDIM-ÛRU\*, <sup>d</sup>IDIM-PAP\*\*),  
s. of *Mušallimu*, d. of *Šangû-Nanaya*, 75:9\*;  
79:6, 22\*\*
- Ea-pattanu*, (<sup>d</sup>IDIM-pat-ta-nu), a. of *Nabû-  
mušētiq-uddē*, 48:17
- Ea-šuma-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>É-a-MU-ÛRU), 144:4'
- Ea-uballiṭ*, (<sup>d</sup>IDIM-TIN<sup>it</sup>), s. of *Nādin*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 51:13
- Ea-zēra-iqīša*, (<sup>d</sup>É-a-NUMUN-BA<sup>šá</sup>), f. of *Itti-Nabû-  
balātu*, 118:18
- Ēda-eṭir*, (DILI-SUR), a. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 94:13
- Egibi*, (*E-gi-bi*, *E-gì-bi*\*, *E*<sub>10</sub>-gì-bi<sub>x</sub>\*\*\*, <sup>d</sup>E<sub>4</sub>-ge<sub>7</sub>-  
BA.TI.LA\*\*\*),  
a. of <sup>f</sup>*Amat*-[. . .], 129:4  
a. of *Aplaya*, 83:2  
a. of *Bēl-kēšir*, 5:7; 59:24; 61:5  
a. of *Dummuq*, 57:13\*\*  
a. of *Ḥabašīru*, 123:4  
a. of *Iddin-Bēl*, 69:14\*  
a. of *Iqīšaya*, 56:20\*  
a. of *Itti-Marduk-balātu*, 54:2; 56:2\*;  
57:2\*\*\*; 58:6; 59:3; 60:2\*; 61:3; 62:6; 63:6  
a. of *Itti-Nabû-balātu*, 61:6  
a. of *Kalbaya*, 60:4\*  
a. of *Lūši-ana-nūri*, 53:12  
a. of *Marduk-nāšir-apli*, 66:4; 67:3\*; 69:1;  
129:6  
a. of *Mūrānu*, 6:14  
a. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin*, 46:18; 48:8; 50:18;  
53:7; 55:6  
a. of *Nabû-le<sup>></sup>i*, 17:15  
a. of *Nabû-nāšir*, 97:22  
a. of *Nergal-ēṭir*, 63:2  
a. of <sup>f</sup>*Nidintu*, 59:6  
a. of *Rīmūt*, 85:5\*



- a. of *Šāpik-zēri*, 18:16  
a. of *Širku*, 68:6  
a. of [. . .], 123:7'  
*Enlil-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL-MA.AN.<SUM>), f. of *Ninurta-ahhē-iddin*, 99:38  
*Enlil-mukīn-apli*, (<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL-GIN-A), s. of *Kāšir*, 126:14  
*Enlil-šuma-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL-MU-MU), s. of *Murašû*, 126:1, 4, 7, 9  
*Eppeš-ilī*, (<sup>D</sup>Û<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR, <sup>D</sup>Û-DINGIR\*),  
a. of *Balātu*, 112:14  
a. of *Bēl*-[. . .], 51:9  
a. of *Bēl-ibni*, 22:11  
a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 139:5'  
a. of *Bēl-šākin-šumi*, 65:11  
a. of *Bēl-uballit*, 121:4  
a. of *Itti-Nabû*-[*balātu*], 110:7'  
a. of *Kāšir*, 35:9  
a. of *Iqīša-Marduk*, 121:4, L.E. 3 Seal caption  
a. of *Madānu-zēra-ibni*, 81:11  
a. of *Marduk-zēra-ibni*, 24:3  
a. of *Murašû*, 122:22  
a. of *Mušibši*, 109:42  
a. of *Nabû*-[. . .], 39:7  
a. of *Na'id-Marduk*, 41:9  
a. of *Rīmūt*, 49:2; 50:19  
a. of *Rīmūt-Šamaš*, 54:14  
a. of *Silim-Bēl*, 124:11\*  
a. of *Sūqaya*, 35:11  
a. of *Šadūnu*, 153:3'  
a. of <sup>f</sup>*Šidati*, 46:3  
a. of [. . .], 108:2'; 111:1'\*  
*Eriḫaya*, (<sup>SU</sup><sup>a</sup>, *Eri-ba-a\**, *Eri-ba\*\**),  
s. of *Adad-nūri*, 120:16  
s. of <sup>c</sup>*Amm-raḫama*, 6:9\*\*  
s. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Nappāḫu*, 98:6\*, 8, 11\*  
f. of *Ḫašdaya*, 120:17  
f. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, 7:3'\*\*  
*Eriḫa-Marduk*, (*Eri-ba*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU),  
s. of *Marduk-iqīšanni*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 50:24  
s. of *Šamaš-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Ur-Nanna*, DUB.SAR, 69:18  
*Eriḫšu*, (*E-riḫ-šú*), f. of *Kalbaya*, 103:11  
*Ērišu*, (*E-ri-šú*), f. of *Nabû-ušuršu* (aka *Nabû-šuma-ušur*), d. of *Rab-banē*, 84:12; 85:15  
*Esagilaya*, (*É-sag-gil-a-a*, *É-sag-íl-a-a\**, *É-sag-gil-ia\*\**, *Sag-gil-a-a\*\*\**, *Sag-gil-la-a\*\*\*\**, *Sag-gil-la-a-a\*\*\*\*\**, <sup>lú</sup>*Sag-gil-a-a\*\*\*\*\**, *Sag-íl-la-a-a\*\*\*\*\**),  
a. of *Balātu*, 22:4\*\*\*; 23:4\*\*\*; 24:4\*\*\*; 26:6\*\*\*  
a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 16:5\*\*\*; 19:15; 135:4  
a. of *Bēl-kāšir*, 102:1\*\*\*\*\*; 139:2\*\*\*  
a. of *Dummuq*, 14:13\*\*\*  
a. of *Iddinaya*, 28:13  
a. of *Ina-tēšī-eḫir*, 23:4\*\*\*\*  
a. of *Lābāši*, s. of *Balātu*, 20:11\*; 26:6\*\*\*; 27:4\*\*\*; 28:2; 29:3\*\*\*; 30:5; 31:6\*\*\*; 32:4\*\*\*\*\*; 33:5\*\*\*; 34:2; 36:5\*\*\*\*\*; 37:6\*\*\*; 38:3\*\*\*; 39:5\*\*\*; 40:5\*\*\*; 41:5\*; 42:3\*; 6\*; 43:2'\*\*\*\*\*; 44:4\*\*\*  
a. of *Lābāši*, s. of *Dummuq*, 77:19\*\*\*\*\*; 102:8'\*\*\*\*\*  
a. of *Līšir*, 10:3\*\*\*; 11:11\*\*\*; 14:4\*\*\*; 15:3  
a. of *Marduk-rēmāni*, 36:3\*\*\*\*\*  
a. of *Marduk-šuma-ušur*, 15:13\*\*\*  
a. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, 9:3\*\*\*; 12:4\*; 14:4\*\*\*; 15:3; 17:5; 18:8\*\*\*\*\*; 19:3; 20:4\*  
a. of *Nabû-gāmil*, 56:6, 16  
a. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 97:3\*\*  
a. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddē*, 56:6, 16  
a. of *Nabû-nādin-šumi*, 11:8\*\*\*  
a. of *Nabû-šuma-iškun*, 124:10\*  
a. of *Nādin*, 102:2\*\*\*\*\*  
a. of *Nergal-nāšir*, 95:11\*\*\*\*\*; 102:7'\*\*\*\*\*  
a. of <sup>f</sup>*Nūptaya*, 56:6, 16  
a. of *Zababa-ēreš*, 35:13  
a. of [. . .]-*a*, 141:Obv. 3'  
a. of [. . .], 102:6'\*\*\*\*\*; 112:5; 162:5'  
*Etellu*, (*E-tel-lu*),  
f. of *Bēl-apla-iddin*, 78:9

- f. of *Kurbanni-Marduk*, d. of *Ētir*, 62:13  
*Ētir*, (*E-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru*, *E-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ri\**),  
 f. of *Nabû-kāšir*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 33:3  
 a. of *Ašarēdu*, 122:18\*  
 a. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, 27:2\*  
 a. of *Ibnaya*, 89:13  
 a. of *Kurbanni-Marduk*, 62:13  
*Ētir*-[. . .], (*E-ṭir<sup>d</sup>x*), 143:Rev. 2'
- Gabri-Adad*, (*Gab-ri<sup>d</sup>IM*), f. of [. . .], 93:4  
*Gaḫal*, (*Ga-ḫal*),  
 a. of *Bēl-ibni*, 121:23  
 a. of *Damqiya*, 6:13  
 a. of *Iddin-Marduk*, 39:9  
 a. of *Nabû-kušuršu*, 98:13  
 a. of *Ṭābiya*, 130:2
- Gallābu*, (<sup>lú</sup>ŠU.I),  
 a. of *Bi*-. . ., 20:12  
 a. of *Marduk-erība*, 109:41  
 a. of *Šamaš-ētir*, 109:43
- Gilūa*, (*Gi-lu-ū-a*), d. of *Pahḫāru*, 131:3', 10', 19'  
*Gimillu*, (*Gi-mil-lu*),  
 s. of *Marduk-šuma-ibni*, d. of *Nappāhu*,  
 95:2  
 s. of *Šamaš-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Sîn-šadūnu*,  
<sup>lú</sup>GAL *kāri ša LUGAL*, 74:2  
 f. of *Aplaya*, 83:7  
 f. of *Ardiya*, d. of *Itinnu*, 59:24  
 f. of *Nidintu*, d. of *Šangû-Nergal*, 115:5  
 138:3'
- <sup>f</sup>*Gula-rēmenni*, (<sup>fd</sup>*Gu-la-re-min<sub>4</sub>-ni*), sl. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, 47:2; 48:1, 10, 13  
*Gūzānu*, (*Gu-za-nu*, *Gu-za-nu-u\**),  
 s. of *Nabû-šuma-ukīn*, d. of *Ša-nāšišu*,  
<sup>lú</sup>SANGA-UD.[KIB].NUN<sup>ki</sup>, 92:5\*  
 s. of *Šamaš-iddin*, 120:12  
 f. of *Rīmūt-Nabû*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 90:26  
 64:3
- Ḫabaširu*, (*Ḫa-ba-šir*), f. of [. . .], d. of *Egibi*,  
 123:4  
*Ḫaddaya*, (*Ḫa-ad-da-a*), f. of *Nergal-iddin*, d. of  
*Sîn-dārī*, 90:24
- Ḫaggiya*, (*Ḫa-gi-a*), f. of *Addu-šēssu*, 112:13  
<sup>f</sup>*Ḫannā*, (<sup>f</sup>*Ḫa-an-na<sup>o</sup>*), sl. of *Bāniya* and <sup>f</sup>*Ramūa*,  
 52:9  
*Ḫardakka*, (*Ḫar-da-ak-ka*), 83:14  
*Ḫašdaya*, (*Ḫaš-šá-da-a-a*, *Ḫaš-da-a-a\**, *Ḫaš-da-a\*\**,  
*Ḫa-áš-da-a-a\*\*\**, *Ḫa-áš-da-a\*\*\*\**,  
*Ḫaš-d[a-a]\*\*\*\*\**),  
 s. of *Aplaya*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 96:6  
 s. of *Erībaya*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 120:17\*  
 s. of *Itti-Nabû-gūzu*, 115:2\*\*\*, 8\*\*\*\*  
 f. of *Aplaya*, 91:21\*\*\*\*\*  
 f. of *Ninurta-īpuš*, 99:10\*\*
- Ḫaṭṭaya*, (*Ḫa-aṭ-ṭá-a-a*), a. of *Iqīšaya*, 74:14  
<sup>f</sup>*Ḫiptaya*, (<sup>f</sup>*Ḫi-ip-ta-a*), sl. of *Nabû-iqīša*, 26:2, 8  
*Ḫullunu*, (*Ḫul-lu-nu*), a. of *Nergal-aḫa-iddin*,  
 90:20  
*Ḫunzû*, (*Ḫu-un-zu-ú*), a. of *Šamaš-ukīn*, 103:12
- Ibnaya*, (*Ib-na-a*, *DÜ-a\**),  
 s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Rē<sup>o</sup>i-sīsē*, 22:1  
 s. of *Šuma-ukin*, d. of *Ētir*, 89:12  
 f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Dābibi*, 53:16;  
 59:25\*  
 f. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Adad-šamē*,  
 41:3\*  
 a. of *Niqūdu*, 100:7\*  
 d. of *Rē<sup>o</sup>i-sīsē*, 141:Obv. 11'
- Ibri*-[. . .], (*Ib(?)ri-[x-x]*), f. of *Bēl-ēreš*, 127:14  
*Iddaya*, (*Id-da-a*), f. of [. . .], 79:2  
*Iddin*-. . ., (SUM.NA-[. . .], SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>x\*, MU-<sup>d</sup>x\*\*),  
 f. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, 141:Obv. 8'  
 f. of [. . .], 149:5'\*  
 a. of [. . .], 156:4'\*\*\*  
 44:7
- Iddin-Amurru*, (MU-<sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL), s. of *Amu[rru-nāšir]*, 94:14  
*Iddinaya*, (MU-a, SUM.NA-a\*),  
 s. of *Banītušu*, 7:6'\*  
 s. of *Nabû-mukīn*-[. . .], 123:3  
 s. of *Nāšir*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili*,  
 121:17  
 s. of [. . .]-*Marduk*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 28:12\*  
 f. of *Nabû-iddin*, 66:14

- f. of *Širku*, d. of *Egibi*, 68:5\*  
 f. of [ . . . ], 30:14\*  
 a. of *Itti-Nabû-balātu*, 105:3'  
 a. of *Nabû-aḥ[hē(?)*-. . . ], 105:3  
*Iddin-Bēl*, (MU-<sup>d</sup>EN, SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>EN\*),  
 s. of *Bēl*-[ . . . ], lú[ . . . ], 117:Rev. 3  
 s. of *Bēl-mudammiq*, d. of *Egibi*, 69:13\*  
 127:15, U.E. 4 Seal caption  
*Iddin-Marduk*, (MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU, MU-<sup>d</sup>ŠÚ\*,  
 SUM-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU\*\*),  
 s. of *Bēl-šuma-iškun*, d. of *Atû*, 55:10  
 s. of *Iqīšaya*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 58:10; 74:5;  
 75:1, 3; 76:1\*\*; 77:3, 8, 15; 78:3; 79:3, 9,  
 20; 80:1; 82:4; 83:15  
 s. of *Nabû-šumu-lībūr*, d. of *Gaḥal*, 39:8  
 f. of *Bēl-lūmur*, d. of *Šigūa*, 65:8  
 a. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, 16:10  
 a. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 114:15\*  
 136:2'  
*Iddin-Nabû*, (MU-<sup>d</sup>AG, SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AG\*),  
 s. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 113:8  
 s. of *Bēl-ušallim*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 112:11  
 s. of *Ibnaya*, d. of *Dābibi*, 53:15\*; 59:25  
 s. of *Iqīšaya*, d. of *Ea-ibni*, 60:8  
 s. of *Marduk-bēl-zēri*, d. of *Ušur-amāt-Ea*,  
 lú<sup>š</sup>ID, 17:16  
 s. of *Marduk-nāšir*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-*  
*Bābili*, 91:19  
 s. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*, 62:1, 8, 11, 20  
 s. of *Nabû-bāni-zēri*, d. of *Nappāḥu*, 96:2;  
 97:1, 12, 14, 15, 29  
 s. of *Nūrēa*, d. of *Agru*, 90:8, 11, 13, 18  
 s. of *Sūqaya*, 68:14  
 s. of *Šāpik-zēri*, d. of *Pahḥāru*, 88:7  
 s. of *Šūzubu*, d. of *Kānik-bābi*, 97:19  
 f. of *Bēl-šākin-šumi*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 65:11  
 f. of *Bēl-iddin*, 94:16  
 f. of *Eribaya*, d. of *Nappāḥu*, 98:6  
 f. of *Nabû-iddin*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 112:15  
 f. of *Nabû-iddin*, d. of *Sîn-karābi-išme*,  
 113:11  
 f. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 94:12  
 f. of *Šellebi*, d. of *Nappāḥu*, 98:3  
*Iddin-Nergal*, (MU-<sup>d</sup>U+GUR, SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>U+GUR\*),  
 s. of *Šamaš-ēreš*, 99:12, 17  
 f. of *Bēl-ibni*, 7:7\*  
*Iddin-Papsukkal*, (MU-<sup>d</sup>Pap-sukkal), a. of *Nabû-*  
*le>i*, 140:11  
*Iddin-Šamaš*, (MU-<sup>d</sup>UTU), a. of *Šamaš-aḥa-iddin*,  
 103:7  
*Idiya*, (*I-di-a*), f. of *Murašû*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 33:12  
*Igigi*, (*I-gi-gi*), 6:4  
*Ile>i-šūzubu-Marduk*, (DA-šu-zu-bu-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU),  
 s. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 69:14  
*Illaya*, (*Il-la-a*), f. of *Nuska-iddin*, 99:6  
*Ili-tillatī*, (lú<sup>š</sup>DINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>i</sup>, DINGIR-  
 KASKAL×KUR<sup>i</sup>\*, DINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>u</sup>\*\*\*,  
 DINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>u</sup>\*\*\*),  
 a. of *Bunene-ibni*, 90:21  
 a. of *Eriḫa-Marduk*, 50:25\*\*  
 a. of *Marduk-iqīšanni*, 47:9\*\*\*; 48:3\*\*\*  
 a. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, 86:15\*  
 a. of *Šamaš-apla-iddin*, 92:22\*  
 a. of [ . . . ], s. of *Nergal-utēr*, 16:3\*\*\*  
*Ili-ušuršu*, (DINGIR-ú-š[ur-šú]), a. of [ . . . ], 31:4'  
*Ilu-īpuš*, (*I-lu-i-pu-[uš]*), s. of *Rīmūt*, 101:7  
*Imbiya*, (*Im-bi-ia*), s. of *Kidin*, 126:14  
*Imbu-īnāya*, (*Im-bu-IGI-ia*), a. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-šul-*  
*lim*, 5:5  
*Ina-Esagil*-[ . . . ], (*Ina-É-sag-ila*-[ . . . ]),  
 f. of [ . . . ], d. of *Sîn*-[ . . . ], 37:10  
*Ina-Esagil-libur*, (*Ina-É-sag-il-li-bur*), sl. of  
*Marduk-nāšir*, 118:9  
<sup>f</sup>*Ina-Esagil-ramât*, (<sup>f</sup>*É-sag*(!)-*il-ra-mat*), 81:7  
*Ina-šilli-Bēl*, (*Ina-GIŠ.MI-<sup>d</sup>EN*), f. of *Rīmūt-Nabû*,  
 d. of *Nuḥāšu*, 98:4  
*(Ina)-šilli-Ninurta*, (*GIŠ.MI-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ*), f. of *Nādin*, 126:16  
*Ina-šilli-šarri*, (*Ina-GIŠ.MI-LUGAL*), f. of *Bēl-ēṭir*,  
 94:3  
*Ina-tēšī-eṭir*, (*Ina-SUḫ-SUR*, *Ina-SUḫ-KAR<sup>i</sup>r\**),  
 s. of *Rīmūt*, 7:3, 7  
 s. of *Zēriya*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 113:2  
 s. of [ . . . ], d. of *Sîn-šadūnu*, 153:Rev. 4\*  
 f. of *Balātu*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 22:3; 24:4  
 f. of *Bēl-apla-iddin*, d. of *Nabû-līssu*, 80:13  
 f. of *Ea*-[ . . . ], 138:4

- f. of *Marduk-apla-ušur*, 7:11  
 f. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Nabû-līssu*, 40:2  
 f. of [. . .], d. of *Esagilaya*, 23:3  
 f. of [. . .], 144:6'  
<sup>f</sup>*Inbaya*, (<sup>f</sup>*In-ba-a*), 43:3'  
*Iqīša-Marduk*, (BA<sup>šá</sup>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU),  
 s. of *Aplaya*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 39:2 (aka *Iqīšaya*)  
 s. of *Balātu*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 62:15  
 f. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 121:4, 11,  
 15, L.E.:2  
*Iqīšaya*, (BA<sup>šá</sup>-*a*, BA<sup>šá</sup>\*, *I-qī-šá-a*\*\*\*,  
 NÍG.BA<sup>šá</sup>\*\*\*),  
 s. of *Aḫulapia*, d. of *Egibi*, 56:19\*\*\*  
 s. of *Aplaya*, d. of [*Bēl-ētir*], 42:1 (aka *Iqīša-*  
*Marduk*)  
 s. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ*, d. of *Ḥaṭṭaya*, 74:13  
 s. of *Ninurta-aḫa-iddin*, 99:35\*  
 f. of *Iddin-Marduk*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 58:11\*\*;  
 74:6; 75:2; 76:2; 77:3, 15; 79:4; 80:2  
 f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Ea-ibni*, 60:8  
 f. of *Marduk-erība*, d. of *Sîn-karābi-išme*,  
 82:12  
 f. of *Nabû-bāni-aḫi*, d. of *Nādin-še<sup>2</sup>i*, 80:3  
 f. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 25:4';  
 26:11; 155:10'  
 f. of [*Šad*]dinnu, 151:3  
 f. of *Šulaya*, d. of *Amēl-Ea*, 55:9  
 a. of *Nūrea*, 108:3'  
 of <sup>uru</sup>*Dūr-rēḫi*, s. of *Nūr-Šamaš*, 83:9\*  
 73:8\*; 130:3, 5, 15  
*Iqūpu*, (*I-qu-pu*), f. of *Šellebi*, 119:7  
*Iranni*, (*Ir-a-ni*, *Ir-a-nu*\*),  
 f. of [. . .], 160:2'  
 a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 5:6\*; 122:23  
 a. of *Bēl-ittannu*, 68:16  
 a. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 96:12  
 a. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, 63:11  
 a. of *Nergal-uballiṭ*, 98:16  
 a. of *Nidintu*, 122:20  
<sup>f</sup>*Išunnatu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Is-ḫu-un-na-tu*<sub>4</sub>), sl. of *Širku*, 65:2  
*Isinnunaya*, (*I-sin-nu-na-a-a*, *I-sin-nu-na-a*\*),  
 f. of *Bēl-iddin*, 128:6  
 f. of *Nanaya-iddin*, 128:15\*
- Iššur*, (*Iš-šur*), s. of *Nādin*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 118:20  
*Ištābūzanu*, (*Iš-ta-bu-za-nu*), <sup>lú</sup>DI.KUD ša <sup>íd</sup>-<sup>d</sup>30,  
 126:11, U.E. 2 Seal caption  
*Išum-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>*I-šum-MU*), s. of *Šulaya*, 83:4  
*Itinnu*, (<sup>lú</sup>DÍM),  
 a. of *Arad-Bēl*, 91:21  
 a. of *Ardiya*, 59:25  
 a. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, 51:11  
 a. of *Nabû-bullissu*, 69:16  
 a. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 115:16  
 a. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, 67:19  
*Itti*-. . .], (*It-ti*-. . .)], 79:21  
*Itti-Bēl-balātu*, (*I[t]-ti*-<sup>d</sup>EN-TIN), s. of *Nergal-*  
*šuma-iddin*, 82:6  
*Itti-ēdi-Bēl*, (KI-DILI-<sup>d</sup>EN), sl. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ*,  
 69:4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 24  
*Itti-Marduk-balātu*, (KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN, KI-<sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-  
 TIN\*, *It-ti*-AMAR.UTU-TIN\*\*),  
 s. of *Arad-Bēl*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 54:15  
 s. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin*, d. of *Egibi*, 54:1\*,  
 7\*; 56:1; 57:1; 58:5; 59:2, 9, 11, 15, 19;  
 60:1, 5, 6; 61:2; 62:5, 8, 19\*; 63:5, 8  
 s. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, DUB.SAR, 114:16  
 s. of *Tabnêa*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 114:13  
 f. of *Aḫḫē-iddin-Marduk*, d. of *Šigūa*, 61:9  
 f. of <sup>f</sup>*Amat-Nanaya*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 109:19, 29  
 f. of *Marduk-nāšir-apli*, d. of *Egibi*, 66:4;  
 67:3; 69:1; 129:6  
 64:9, 10; 107:4\*\*; 130:32; 140:12  
*Itti-Nabû-balātu*, (KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN),  
 s. of *Ea-zēra-iqīša*, 118:18  
 s. of *Marduk-bāni-zēri*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID,  
 59:26; 60:10  
 s. of *Marduk-šuma-ušur*, d. of *Nappāḫu*,  
 DUB.SAR, 63:15  
 s. of *Nabû-zēra-iqīša*, d. of [*Eppeš-ilī*],  
 110:6'  
 s. of *Šulaya*, d. of *Egibi*, 61:6  
 s. of [. . .], d. of *Iddinaya*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 105:2', 6'  
 f. of *Nabû-aḫ[ḫē(?)*-. . .], d. of *Iddinaya*,  
 105:3  
<sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 28:14  
 71:5, 7

- Itti-Nabû-gūzu*, (KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-gu-ú-[zu]), f. of *Hašdaya*, 115:3
- Itti-Nabû-īnāya*, (KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-IGI-a-ía), 148:2'
- Itti-Šamaš-balātu*, (KI-<sup>d</sup>UTU-TIN),  
s. of *Nabû-šumu-līšir*, 95:4  
f. of *Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i*, d. of *Šāhitu*, 109:20, 28
- Kabtiya*, (*Kab-ti-ia*, DUGUD-ia\*),  
s. of *Marduk-nāšir*, d. of *Naggāru*, 12:1  
f. of *Arad-Marduk*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 53:19  
f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Iranni*, 122:23\*  
f. of *Nidintu*, d. of *Iranni*, 122:20\*
- <sup>f</sup>*Kalbatu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Kal-ba-tu*<sub>4</sub>), dau. of *Marduk-šuma-ibni*, d. of *Šu*-. . .], w. of *Nidintu*, 77:25
- Kalbaya*, (*Kal-ba-a*),  
s. of *Arrabi*, 30:9  
s. of *Bēl-ētir*, d. of *Suḥaya*, 62:14  
s. of *Eriḫšu*, 103:10  
s. of *Nabû-aḥa-iddin*, 83:8  
s. of *Šillaya*, d. of *Nabaya*, 62:12  
s. of *Šuma-ukīn*, (adopted) s. of *Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin*, 53:2, 9; 60:3, 4, 6  
f. of <sup>f</sup>*Amat*-. . .], d. of *Egibi*, 129:4  
f. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 109:12, 17  
f. of *Sūqaya*, d. of *Bābūtu*, 57:11  
f. of *Šamšaya*, 94:13  
f. of *Šāpik-zēri*, d. of *Maštuk*, 108:2  
f. of [. . .], 149:4'  
a. of *Nabû-kēšir*, 38:13  
*ša Kiššu<sup>ki</sup>*, 73:5, 11
- Kambuzia*, (*Kām-bu-zi-ia*, *Kām-bu-zi-ía\**, *Kam-bu-zi-ia\*\**), RN, 37:19; 38:19; 39:12\*\*;  
40:7\*; 61:13; 62:17; 63:17\*; 109:47\*
- Kandalānu*, (*Kan-da-la-nu*, *Kan-dal-a-nu\**), RN,  
7:10'; 8:17\*
- Kānik-bābi*, (*Ka-ník-KA*),  
a. of *Bēl-na<sup>2</sup>id*, 97:24  
a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 97:19  
a. of *Mušallim-Marduk*, 97:20  
a. of *Qīšti-Marduk*, 96:10
- Kāšir*, (*Ka-šir*, *Ka-ši-ru\**),  
s. of *Kudurru*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 35:8  
f. of *Enlil-mukīn-apli*, 126:14
- d. of *Rē<sup>2</sup>û*, 5:4\*
- Kaššidakku*, (<sup>lu</sup>GAZ.ZÌ.DA), a. of *Ubār*, 100:9
- Kidin*, (*Ki-din*), f. of *Imbiya*, 126:15
- Kidin-Marduk*, (*Ki-din-dšÚ*), f. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, d. of *Maštuk*, 139:4'
- Kidinnu*, (*Ki-dī-nu*),  
s. of *Marduk-ētir*, d. of *Adad-šamê*, 48:18  
f. of *Nabû-ittannu*, d. of *Iddin-Marduk*, 114:15  
f. of [. . .], d. of *Sîn-nāšir*, 40:2'  
cf. *Šadinnu*, 151:3
- Kīnaya*, (*Ki-na-a*),  
f. of *Lāqīp*, 81:12  
117:Rev. 4
- Kinūnaya*, (KI.NE-na-a-a), f. of *Bēlšunu*, d. of *Adad-šamê*, 98:14
- Kiribti*, *Kiribtu*, (*Ki-rib-ti*, *Ki-rib-tu\**),  
f. of *Lūši-ana-nūri*, d. of *Egibi*, 53:12  
f. of *Nabû-zēra-iddin*, 62:14\*
- Kišir-Nabû*, (*Ki-šir-dAG*), f. of *Bēl-iddin*, 16:11
- Kittiya*, (*Kit-ti-ia*, *Kit-ti-ía\**),  
f. of *Arad-Marduk*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 79:17\*  
f. of *Nabû-tabtani-ušur*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 63:12
- <sup>f</sup>*Kubbuttu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Ku-ub-bu-ut-tu*<sub>4</sub>), sl. of *Bēl-iddin*, 59:1, 8, 16, 18, 22
- Kudurru*, (NÍG.DU)  
f. of *Kāšir*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 35:9  
45:14
- Kuraš*, (*Ku-raš*, *Ku-ra-áš\**, *Kur-ra-áš\*\**, *Kur-raš\*\*\**), RN, 33:14; 34:7\*\*\*; 35:15; 36:7\*;  
82:1\*\*, 15\*\*\*; 87:16\*; 88:11\*\*\*; 108:5'\*\*\*\*
- Kurbanni*, (*Kur-ban-ni*), f. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 89:14
- Kurbanni-Marduk*, (*Kur-ban-ni-dAMAR.UTU*, *Kur-ban-ni-dšÚ\**, *Kur-ban-dAMAR.UTU\*\**),  
s. of *Etellu*, d. of *Ētir*, 62:13  
s. of *Marduk-šuma-ibni*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*,  
h. of <sup>f</sup>*Nūptaya*, 86:7  
f. of *Lābāši*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 87:4; 88:3, 9\*; 104:2'  
f. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 49:2; 50:19\*\*  
85:13\*; 132:6'

- Kuṣurraya*, (*Ku-ṣur-a*, *Ku-ṣu-ur-ra-a\**, *Ku-ṣur-ra-a-a\*\**, *Ku-ṣur-a\*\*\**, *Ku-ṣur-a-a\*\*\*\**),  
s. of *Šaddinnu*, d. of *Ea-eppeš-ilī*, 98:13  
s. of *Ta*-[. . .], 119:11  
13:4\*\*\*\*, 6\*\*\*, 8\*\*\*; 64:2\*, 4\*\*
- Kutimmu*, (<sup>LU</sup>KÙ.DIM), a. of *Bēl-ittannu*, 122:17
- Lābāši*, (*La-ba-a-ši*, *La-a-ba-ši\**, *La-ba-ši\*\**),  
s. of *Balātu*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 20:10\*; 27:3\*;  
28:1\*; 29:2\*; 30:4; 31:5\*, 7\*; 32:3;  
33:4\*; 34:1; 35:5; 36:4\*; 37:5; 38:2, 11,  
23\*; 39:4; 40:4\*\*; 41:4\*; 42:2\*, 5\*, 6\*;  
43:1', 7'; 44:3\*  
s. of *Bēl-ēreš*, 127:8\*\*, 10\*\*  
s. of *Dummuq*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 77:19\*;  
102:8\*  
s. of *Kurbanni-Marduk*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*,  
<sup>LU</sup>ŠID, 87:3\*; 88:3\*, 8\*; 104:1'  
s. of *Nabû-mudammiq*, d. of *Šumu-libši*,  
86:15\* (see *Lābāši-Marduk*, below)  
s. of *Nabû-nāšir*, d. of *Nanna-ūtu*, 92:24\*  
s. of *Šullumu*, d. of *Mudammiq-Adad*, <sup>LU</sup>ŠID,  
145:4\*  
s. of *Zēriya*, d. of *Nabaya*, 57:3\*  
s. of [. . .]-*aḥḥē-eriba*, d. of *Atkuppū*, <sup>LU</sup>ŠID,  
135:9\*  
f. of *Bēl*-[. . .], d. of 18:12\*  
f. of *Bēl-iqīša*, 67:18  
f. of *Tukulti-Marduk*, d. of *Amēlû*, 61:12  
f. of, 44:13\*  
h.(?) of *Na<sup>2</sup>ittu*, 29:2  
71:8\*; 93:2\*; 100:3, 5; 107:8\*, 13\*; 110:5\*;  
155:7'
- Lābāši-Marduk*, (*La-ba-ši-dšÚ*, *La-ba-a-ši-dšÚ\**),  
s. of *Nabû-mudammiq*, d. of *Šumu-libši*,  
<sup>LU</sup>ŠID, 84:13; 148:10\* (see *Lābāši*, above)
- La-ku*-[. . .], (*La-ku-x-x*), a. of *Nabû-šuma-ibni*,  
82:11
- Lāqīp*, (*La-qī-pi*, *La-qīp\**),  
s. of *Kīnaya*, 81:12  
s. of *Libluṭ*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 122:20\*
- Lē<sup>2</sup>ēa*, (Á.GÁL-*e-a*), a. of *Nabû-ēfir*, 51:3
- Libluṭ*, (*Lib-luṭ*),  
s. of *Bēl-uballit*, d. of *Šāḥit-ginê*, 92:26  
s. of *Nabû-šuma-ukīn*, 103:4, 8  
sl. of *Nabû-iqīša*, 61:1  
f. of *Bi*-[. . .], d. of *Gallābu*, 20:12  
f. of *Lāqīp*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 122:21  
f. of *Nabû-bullissu*, d. of *Itinnu*, 69:16  
f. of *Zababa-ēreš*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 35:13  
a. of *Bēl-ētir*-[. . .], 150:5'
- Līšir*, (*Li-ši-ru*, *Li-šir-ru\**, [*Li-š*]ir\*\*),  
s. of *Marduk-erība*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 10:1, 5,  
16; 11:10; 14:2; 15:2  
f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 16:4\*\*; 19:15  
f. of *Niqūdu*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 27:3'  
f. of [. . .], 151:5'  
146:6\*
- Lūši-ana-nūri*, (*Lu-è-a-na-ZÁLAG*, *Lu-uš-ana-ZÁLAG\**, *Lu-š[u-ana-ZÁLAG]\*\**),  
s. of *Kiribti*, d. of *Egibi*, 53:11  
s. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, d. of *Amēl-Isin*, 121:15  
s. of *Šuma-ukīn*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili*, 92:25  
f. of *Nabû-bullissu*, 121:21  
87:8\*; 153:4\*\*
- Lū-idiya*, (*Lu-ú-[i-d]i-ía*), 111:3
- Madānu*-[. . .], (DI.KUD-X-[. . .]), f. of *Nādin-aḥi*,  
d. of *Bēl-ēfir*, 141:Obv. 5'
- Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>DI.KUD-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU), f. of  
[. . .], 124:12
- Madānu-bēla-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>DI.KUD-EN-ŪRU), sl. of  
*Marduk-nāšir-apli*, 70:8'
- Madānu-šuma-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>DI.KUD-MU-MU),  
s. of *Šillaya*, d. of *Ea*-[. . .], 19:1, 6, 7, 10;  
20:1  
f. of *Bēl-lūmur*, d. of *Ea-lūmur*, 114:11
- Madānu-zēra-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>DI.KUD-NUMUN-DÙ), s. of  
*Aplaya*, d. of *eppeš-ilī*, 81:10
- Mandidi*, (*Man-di-di*, <sup>LU</sup>*Man-di-di\**),  
a. of *Nabû-ēreš*, 81:4, 14  
a. of *Nabû-ittannu*, 122:4  
a. of *Rīmūt*, 49:14
- Mannu-gērī*, (*Man-nu-ge-ri*), a. of *Rīmūt*, 19:14
- Mār-šipri*, (<sup>LU</sup>A.KIN), a. of *Arad-Bēl*, 91:21

- Marduk*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-. . ., <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-[x-x]\*),  
 f. of *Nabû-bāni-zēri*, d. of *Uballissu-Marduk*, 44:11  
 f. of *Nabû-ittannu*, d. of *Mandidi*, 122:4\*  
<sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 147:14\*
- Marduka*, (*Mar-duk*, *Mar-duk-a\**), (variant: *Maštuk*),  
 f. of *Nabû*-[. . .], 11:6  
 f. of *Šulaya*, d. of *Šāhītu*, 109:18  
 d. of *Pahḫāru*, 131:4', 11'  
 a. of *Bēl-aḫḫē*-[. . .], 148:9a\*
- Marduk(?)-aḫa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>[AMAR.UTU(?)]-ŠEŠ-MU),  
 s. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 84:3
- Marduk-apla-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-A-PAP, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-IBILA-ú-š[ur]\*),  
 s. of *Ina-tēšī-eṭir*, 7:11  
 44:1\*, 8\*, 9\*
- Marduk-balāssu-iqbi*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN-su-E), s. of *Nergal-ušēzib*, 122:5, 8, 14
- Marduk-bāni-zēri*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-DÜ-NUMUN),  
 f. of *Itti-Nabû-balātu*, d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 59:26;  
 60:10
- Marduk-bēlšunu*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-šú-nu),  
 s. of *Arad-Marduk*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 67:15  
 s. of *Per<sup>u</sup>*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 66:15
- Marduk-bēl-zēri*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-NUMUN),  
 s. of *Šulaya*, d. of *Ušur-amāt-Ea*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 102:9'  
 f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Ušur-amāt-Ea*, 17:16
- Marduk-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-APIN<sup>eš</sup>),  
 f. of *Marduk-šuma-ibni*, d. of *Zēraya*, 53:14  
 d. of *Šāhītu*, 8:10
- Marduk-erība*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR-UTU-SU, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-eri-ba\*),  
 s. of *Iqīšaya*, d. of *Sîn-karābi-išme*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 82:12  
 f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 139:5'  
 f. of *Līšir*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 10:2; 11:10;  
 14:3; 15:3  
 f. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit*, d. of *Suḫaya*, 50:21  
 f. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 9:3;  
 12:4; 14:3; 15:3; 17:5; 18:7; 19:3; 20:4; 21:6  
 f. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, d. of *Iddin-Marduk*,  
 16:10
- f. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, 94:9  
 f. of [. . .], d. of *Gallābu*, 109:41  
 130:29\*
- Marduk-ēṭir*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-KAR<sup>ir</sup>, <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-KAR<sup>ir\*</sup>, <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-SUR\*\*, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-r[u]\*\*\*),  
 s. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 79:14  
 f. of *Arad-Marduk*, d. of *Ša-ṭābtišu*, 54:3\*  
 f. of *Kidinnu*, d. of *Adad-šamê*, 48:18  
 f. of *Nergal-iddin*, d. of *Zēraya*, 83:3\*\*  
 143:10\*\*\*\*
- Marduk-ēṭir*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-KAR-[. . .]), 130:14
- Marduk-ibni*, ([<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU.DÜ]),  
 f. of *Arad-Bēl*, 94:10
- Marduk-iddin*, ([<sup>d</sup>ŠÚ(?)]-MU, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-MA.AN.SUM\*),  
 f. of [. . .], d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 22:13  
 f. of [. . .], 143:Rev. 6'\*
- Marduk-iqīšanni*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-BA<sup>šá</sup>-an-ni, <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-BA<sup>šá</sup>-a-ni\*),  
 s. of *Bāniya*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 47:8; 48:2, 14  
 f. of *Eriḫa-Marduk*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 50:24\*
- Marduk-mukīn-apli*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-GIN-A), s. of *Bēl-uballit*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili*, 92:22
- Marduk-nāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-na<sup>ū</sup>RU\*, <sup>d</sup>AMAR-UTU-na-šir\*\*, <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-PAP\*\*\*),  
 s. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 127:1, 4, 8, 13  
 s. of *Nabû-zēra-ibni*, 28:3, 10\*\*\*  
 s. of *Šaddinnu*, d. of *Ea-eppeš-ilī*, 118:3\*\*, 10\*\*  
<sup>lú</sup>ŠID, s. of *Bēl*-[. . .], 127:20  
 f. of *Arad-Nabû*, d. of, 83:6\*\*\*\*  
 f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili*, 91:19  
 f. of *Kabtiya*, d. of *Naggāru*, 12:2  
 82:1\*
- Marduk-nāšir-apli*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP-A, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-na-šir-IBILA\*, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-na-šir-A\*\*, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-na-šir-EDURU\*\*\*), s. of *Itti-Marduk-balātu*, d. of *Egibi*, 66:3\*; 67:2\*, 9\*, 10\*\*, 12\*\*, 14\*\*;  
 69:1\*\*\*, 6, 23; 70:1', 3', 8', 10', 11'; 129:5\*
- Marduk-rēmāni*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-re-man-ni, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-re-man<sup>an</sup>-ni\*),

- s. of *Bēl-uballiṣ*, d. of *Šaḫit-ginê*, <sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR, 113:4, 13
- s. of *Šamaš-ēṭir*, d. of *Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sīsê*, DUB.SAR, 109:44
- s. of *Tukulti*(?)-[. . .], d. of *Esagilaya*, 36:2 <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 92:7\*
- Marduk-šākin-šumi*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-GAR-MU, <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-GAR-MU\*),
- s. of *Balātu*, d. of [. . .], 85:17\*
- s. of *Bēl-aḫa-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 106:3
- f. of *Nabû-šuma-iškun*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 106:17\*
- Marduk-šarrāni*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-LUGAL<sup>ni</sup>), s. of *Bēl-iqīša*, d. of *Ša-tābtišu*, 52:11
- Marduk-šarra-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-LUGAL-ÛRU),
- s. of *Bēl-ušallim*, 145:1'
- Marduk-šuma*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-[X]),
- s. of [. . .], d. of *Arad-Nergal*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 19:16 155:11'
- Marduk-šuma-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÛ, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-*ib-ni*\*),
- s. of *Marduk-ēreš*, d. of *Zēraya*, 53:13\*
- f. of *Gimillu*, d. of *Nappāḫu*, 95:3
- f. of <sup>f</sup>*Kalbatu*, d. of *Šu*-[. . .], 77:26
- f. of *Kurbanni-Marduk*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 86:8
- f. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, d. of *Mudammiq-Nabû*, 76:10
- f. of *Niqūdu*, d. of *Ibnaya*, 100:7
- f. of *Tabnêa*, d. of *Ša-nāšišu*, 66:6; 67:6
- Marduk-šuma-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÛRU, <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-MU-ÛRU\*),
- s. of *Bēl-ibni*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 17:12
- s. of [. . .], d. of *Esagilaya*, 15:12
- f. of <sup>f</sup>*Amat-Nanaya*, 58:3
- f. of <sup>f</sup>*Banītu-ēṭirtu*, 58:3
- f. of *Itti-Nabû-balātu*, d. of *Nappāḫu*, 63:15
- f. of [. . .], 22:14\*; 123:5'
- Marduk-ušallim*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-GI),
- s. of *Nabû-bāni-aḫi*, d. of *Aḫu-bani*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 75:13
- f. of *Bēl-uballiṣ*, d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 14:12
- Marduk-zākir-šumi*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-*za-kir*-MU), f. of *Zababa-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 122:19
- Marduk-zēra-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-NUMUN-DÛ, <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-NUMUN-DÛ\*, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-NUMUN-*ib-ni*),
- s. of *Bēl-upaḫḫir*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 24:2
- s. of *Šulaya*, d. of *Pappaya*, 50:22\*
- f. of *Nabû-ittannu*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 97:2
- f. of *Šamaš-iddin*, d. of *Šarru-teslītu*, 86:3
- d. of *Pappaya*, 8:13\*\*
- Maštuk*, (*Maš-tuk*, *Maš-tuk-ku*\*), (variant: *Marduka*),
- a. of *Balātu*, 96:13
- a. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, 139:4'
- a. of *Šāpik-zēri*, 43:5'\*; 108:2
- Minaššē*, (*Mi-na-áš-še-e*), f. of *Dādiya*, 46:15
- <sup>f</sup>*Mīšatu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Mi-ša-tu*<sub>4</sub>), sl. of *Arad-Marduk*, 54:6
- Miṣiraya*, (*Mi-ṣir-a-a*),
- a. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, 42:2'
- a. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddê*, 97:7
- a. of *Nabû-ušuršu*, 56:19
- Mitraya*, (*Mi-it-ra-a-a*), f. of *Balātu*, 89:4
- MU-[. . .], (MU-x-[x-x], MU-x-x\*, MU-x-[. . .])\*\*, MU-x\*\*\*),
- f. of *Bēl-rēmāni*, d. of *Nūr-Sin*\*\*\*, 118:20
- f. of *Nidintu*, d. of *Sippēa*, 119:12 127:18\*, 19\*\*
- Mudammiq-Adad*, (SIG<sub>15</sub>-<sup>d</sup>I[M]), a. of *Lābāši*, 145:5'
- Mudammiq-Nabû*, (SIG<sub>15</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AG), a. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, 76:10
- Mukīn-zēri*, (GIN-NUMUN),
- s. of *Aplaya*, d. of *Munnabittu*, 84:10; 148:7'
- s. of *Bēlšunu*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 128:18
- Munnabittu*, (*Mun-na-bit-ti*, *Mu-na-bit-t[ú]*\*),
- a. of *Mukīn-zēri*, 84:11; 148:8'\*
- Munaḫḫiš-Marduk*, (*Mu-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU),
- s. of *Nabû-nāšir*, d. of *Šaḫit-ginê*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 58:13
- Mūrānu*, (*Mu-ra-nu*),
- s. of *Nabû-mukīn-zēri*, d. of *Šangû-Zāriqu*, 10:11
- s. of [. . .], 15:5, 8
- d. of *Egibi*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 6:14
- Murašû*, (*Mu-ra-šu-ú*, *Mu-ra-šu-u\**),
- s. of *Idiya*, d. of *Mušēzib*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 33:12\*



- s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Ea-epeš-ilī*, 114:7  
s. of *Šaddinnu*, d. of *Epeš-ilī*, 122:21  
f. of *Enlil-šuma-iddin*, 126:1  
*Mušallim-Marduk*, (GI<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU),  
s. of *Bēl-aḥḥē-erība*, d. of *Sîn-šadûnu*, 74:11  
s. of *Šūzubu*, d. of *Kānik-bābi*, 97:20  
s. of *Tabnêa*, d. of *Sîn-šadûnu*, 63:13  
*Mušallimu*, (*Mu-šal-li-mu*, *Mu-šal-lim-mu\**),  
f. of *Ea-nāšir*, d. of *Šangû-Nanaya*, 75:10\*; 79:7  
f. of *Šuma-ukīn*, 53:1  
*Mušēzib*, (*Mu-še-zib*, *Mu-še-zi-bi\**),  
a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 118:3\*  
a. of *Marduk-šuma-ušur*, 17:13  
a. of *Rīmūt-Šamaš*, 93:16  
a. of *Šamaš-zēra-ibni*, 90:19  
a. of *Murašû*, 33:13  
35:4; 136:4', 5'  
*Mušēzib-Bēl*, (*Mu-še-zib*-<sup>d</sup>EN, KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN\*),  
s. of *Šamaš-zēra-ibni*, 90:23\*  
f. of <sup>f</sup>*Amat-Bēltiya*, 127:7\*  
f. of *Banūnu*, d. of *Dābibi*, 121:16\*  
f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 34:6'; 87:14  
f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 62:1  
f. of *Marduk-aḥa-iddin*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 84:4\*  
f. of <sup>f</sup>*Nūptaya*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 86:2  
f. of *Šāpik-zēri*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 86:17\*  
<sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR, 124:14\*  
*Mušēzib-Marduk*, (*Mu-še-zib*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU, KAR-<sup>d</sup>ŠŪ\*, KAR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU\*\*),  
s. of *Erībaya*, 7:3'  
s. of *Iddin*-. . .], 141:Obv. 8'  
s. of *Šillaya*, d. of *Suḥaya*, 113:9  
s. of *Šuma-ukīn*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 86:14\*  
f. of *Bunene-ibni*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 90:21  
f. of *Ile<sup>></sup>i-šūzubu-Marduk*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 69:15\*\*  
f. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, d. of *Dannêa*, 46:5\*\*  
f. of *Rīmūt-Šamaš*, d. of *Epeš-ilī*, 53:13\*\*  
f. of *Šamaš-apla-iddin*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 92:22  
f. of [. . .], d. of *Miširaya*, 41:2\*  
*Mušēzib-Nabû*, (*Mu-še-zib*-<sup>d</sup>AG), 77:1, 10, 14, 17  
*Mušibši*, (*Mu-šib-ši*), f. of [. . .], d. of *Epeš-ilī*, 109:42  
*Mušibši-Marduk*, (*Mu-šib-ši*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU, GÁL<sup>š</sup>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU\*),  
f. of *Bēl-rēmanni*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 89:10; 90:5\*; 91:3; 92:27; 93:8; 94:4  
f. of *Šamaš-nāšir*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 89:6; 90:4\*; 92:19  
*Na*-. . .], (*Na*-. . .]), a. of [. . .], s. of *Nabû-šuma-ukīn*, 133:11'  
*Nabaya*, (*Na-ba-a-a*),  
a. of *Balātu*, 135:8  
a. of *Bēl-ušallim*, 77:21  
a. of *Kalbaya*, 62:12  
a. of *Lābāši*, 57:4  
*Nabû*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-[X]),  
s. of *Marduk*, 11:5  
s. of *Nabû-nādin*, d. of *Epeš-ilī*, 39:6  
s. of *Nabû-zēra-ušabši*, d. of *Šumu-libši*, 147:11'  
s. of *Tati*-. . .], 117:Obv.  
f. of [. . .]-iddin, 140:2  
f. of *Nabû-ēreš*, 130:1  
d. of *Ša*-. . .]-šu, 161:10'  
sl. of *Marduk-nāšir*, 118:8  
38:15; 118:8; 153:Rev. 5'  
*Nabû*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-[X]),  
s. of *Nergal-ušallim*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 44:14  
f. of *Ubār*, 67:20  
*Nabû*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-[X-X]-mu-[X]), f. of *Bēl-ana-mēreḥtu*, 115:15  
*Nabû*-. . .]-na, (<sup>d</sup>AG-[X-X]-na), f. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Rab-banê*, 26:12  
*Nabû*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-[. . .]), RN, 138:7'; 154:8'  
*Nabû*-. . .]-ušur, ([<sup>d</sup>AG-X]-PAP), RN, 151:8'  
*Nabû-aḥa/aḥḥē*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-[X], <sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-[. . .]\*),  
s. (?) of [. . .]-b/maya, 36:6  
f. of *Bēl-ušallim*, 109:39\*  
*Nabû-aḥa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-MU), f. of *Kalbaya*, 83:8  
*Nabû-aḥu-rēmanni*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-re-man-ni),  
s. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Rab-šušši*, 65:9  
43:8'

- Nabû-aḥa-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-PAB-ÛRU), 143:9'  
*Nabû-aḥ[hē(?)]-. . .*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-[š]EŠ<sup>m[eš]</sup>-[X]), s. of  
*Itti-Nabû-balāṭu*, d. of *Iddinaya*, 105:2, 6'  
*Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-bul-liṭ, <sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-  
TIN\*, <sup>d</sup>A[G-PAB<sup>me(?)</sup>-TIN(?)]\*\*),  
s. of *Bibanu*, 109:4\*\*  
s. of *Marduk-erība*, d. of *Suḥaya*, 50:20  
s. of *Nabû-gāmil*, d. of *Suḥaya*, 67:16  
f. of *Iqīšaya*, d. of *Ḥaṭṭaya*, 74:14\*  
f. of *Nabû-itti-šarri*, d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 38:4  
d. of *Šigūa*, 69:4  
151:3'
- Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU, <sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-  
SUM.NA\*, <sup>d</sup>AG-PAP<sup>meš</sup>-MU\*\*),  
s. of *Šulaya*, d. of *Egibi*, (adoptive) f. of  
*Kalbaya*, lúšID, 46:17; 48:7, 9, 15; 50:17\*;  
53:3\*, 4\*, 6\*, 9\*; 55:4 (lúDI.KUD); 60:4  
f. of *Ea-iddin*, d. of *Šigūa*, 119:10  
f. of *Itti-Marduk-balāṭu*, d. of *Egibi*, 54:2;  
56:2; 57:2; 58:5, 8; 59:3; 60:2; 61:2;  
62:6; 63:6  
f. of *Nergal-ēṭir*, d. of *Egibi*, 63:2  
f. of *Tabnêa*, d. of *Šangû-Zāriqu*, 75:11; 76:8  
49:12
- Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-šul-lim), d. of  
*Imbu-ināya*, 5:5
- Nabû-aḥḥē-ušallim*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-GI), s. of *Bēl-  
kāšir*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 139:3
- Nabû-alsi-ul-abâšši*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-al-si-ul-a-ba-áš-ši),  
71:3
- Nabû-apla-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-A-MU, <sup>d</sup>AG-IBILA-MU\*),  
s. of *Balāṭu*, d. of *Ša-nāšišu*, 47:1, 11; 48:4,  
11  
s. of *Bēl-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-  
Bābili*, 38:13  
s. of *Marduk-erība*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 9:2;  
12:3; 14:2; 15:2; 17:4\*, 7\*, 10; 18:7; 19:3,  
10; 20:3; 21:5  
s. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, d. of *Rabâšû-ša-  
Ninurta*, 92:17  
s. of *Nabû-nādin-aḥi*, 11:16  
s. of *Ṭābiya*, d. of *Suḥaya*, lúšID, 49:16  
13:6; 109:6; 147:4'
- Nabû-apla-ušur*, ([<sup>d</sup>A]G-A-ÛRU), lúšID, 15:14  
*Nabû-ayyalu*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-a-a-lu), 71:6; 73:3  
*Nabû-BAD-MAḤ*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-BAD-MAḤ-[X](?)),  
sl. of *Mūrānu*, 15:4  
*Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN-su-E, <sup>d</sup>AG-TIN-su-  
iq-bi\*),  
s. of *Bāniya*, d. of *Arrabtu*, 59:13  
s. of *Kidin-Marduk*, d. of *Maštuk*, 139:3'\*  
s. of *Marduk-erība*, d. of *Iddin-Marduk*,  
16:9\*  
s. of *Nabû-šuma-ukīn*, d. of *Ša-nāšišu*, 89:7  
s. of *Zēriya*, d. of *Itinnu*, 51:10  
s. of [. . .]-qaya, 121:6, 10\*, 13  
f. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, d. of *Rabâšû-ša-  
Ninurta*, 92:17  
f. of *Nergal-aḥa-iddin*, d. of *Hullunu*, 90:20  
41:9; 132:11'\*  
*Nabû-bāni-aḥi*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-DÛ-ŠEŠ),  
s. of *Iqīšaya*, d. of *Nādin-še<sup>o</sup>i*, 80:3  
f. of *Marduk-ušallim*, d. of *Aḥu-bani*, 75:13  
*Nabû-bāni-zēri*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-DÛ-NUMUN),  
s. of *Marduk*-[. . .], d. of *Uballissu-Marduk*,  
44:11  
f. of *Bēl-iqīša* and *Nabû-ēṭir*, 31:3, 4, 8  
f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Nappāḥu*, 96:2; 97:1  
f. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Mannu-gērī*, 19:13  
*Nabû-bullissu*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-bul-liṭ-su),  
s. of *Libluṭ*, d. of *Itinnu*, 69:16  
s. of *Lūši-[ana-nūri]*, 121:21  
111:2, 4  
*Nabû-dayyānu*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-da-a-a-nu), f. of *Šiṭā*,  
lúšID, 126:17  
*Nabû-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-KÁM, <sup>d</sup>AG-APIN<sup>es\*</sup>),  
s. of *Bēl-le<sup>o</sup>i*, d. of *Šāḥit-ginê*, 58:12  
s. of *Nabû*-[. . .], 130:1\*  
s. of *Šillaya*, d. of *Mandidi*, lúšID, 81:3, 13  
s. of *Tabnêa*, d. of *Aḥu-bani*, 79:15  
*Nabû-erība*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-SU<sup>a</sup>), f. of *Niqūdu*, 135:7  
*Nabû-etel-ilāni*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-e-til-li-DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>), 130:26  
*Nabû-ēṭir*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-SUR),  
s. of *Nabû-bāni-zēri*, 31:3, 8  
s. of *Nabû-iddin*, 120:5  
s. of *Šillaya*, d. of *Lē<sup>o</sup>ēa*, 51:2, 5, 7

- f. of *Nabû-rē<sup>2</sup>ûšunu*, d. of *Sîn-tabni*, 65:5  
 f. of *Per<sup>2</sup>u*, d. of *Šumu-libši*, 27:5;  
 153:Rev. 4'  
 f. of *Zēriya*, d. of *Bā<sup>2</sup>iru*, 10:8  
*Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-KAR-ZI<sup>meš</sup>, <sup>d</sup>AG-SUR-ZI<sup>meš\*</sup>),  
 s. of *Nabû-šuma-ukīn*, 45:7\*  
 s. of *Nabû-zēra-ušabši*, 30:6  
 s. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Tābiḫu*, 18:13  
 s. of [. . .], d. of *Šangû-Ninurta*, 109:14  
 f. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, d. of *Pahḫāru*, 66:12  
 f. of *Nabû-kāšir*, d. of *Ea-ilūta-bani*, 68:11  
 f. of *Nidintu*, d. of *Nādin(?)-aḫi(?)*, 91:22\*  
*Nabû-gāmil*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ga-mil),  
 s. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddē*, d. of *Esagilaya*,  
 56:17  
 f. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit*, d. of *Suḫaya*, 67:17  
 f. of *Šamaš-iddin*, 99:4  
 6:2  
*Nabû-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU, <sup>d</sup>AG-SUM.NA\*),  
 s. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 112:15  
 s. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Sîn-karābi-išme*,  
 113:11  
 s. of *Iddinaya*, 66:13\*  
 f. of *Nabû-ēṭir*, 120:5  
 f. of *Nidintu*, 120:14  
 f. of *Ubār*, 120:8  
*Nabû-iqbi*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-iq-bi), f. of [. . .], d. of <sup>lú</sup>[. . .],  
 85:16  
*Nabû-iqīša*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-BA<sup>šá</sup>),  
 s. of *Aḫilīya*, 26:1, 9  
 s. of *Šellebi*, d. of *Atkuppū*, 61:3  
 f. of [. . .], 30:11  
*Nabû-ittannu*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-it-tan-nu),  
 s. of *Bāniya*, d. of *Itinnu*, 115:15  
 s. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Iranni*, 96:11  
 s. of *Kalbaya*, 109:12, 16  
 s. of *Kidinnu*, d. of *Iddin-Marduk*, 114:15  
 s. of *Marduk*-. . .], d. of *Mandidi*, f. of  
<sup>f</sup>*Amtiya*, 122:3, 12  
 s. of *Marduk-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 97:2  
 s. of *Nabû-taqbi-līšir*, d. of *Ea-lūmur*, 114:12  
 s. of [*Iddin-Nabû*], d. of *Ēda-eṭir*, 94:12  
 sl. of *Nabû-iqīša*, 61:1  
 109:7  
*Nabû-itti-šarri*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-KI-LUGAL), s. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-  
 bullit*, d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 38:4, 11, 24  
*Nabû-kāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-KÁD),  
 s. of *Ēṭir*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 33:3  
 s. of *Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti*, d. of *Ea-ilūta-bani*,  
 68:10  
 s. of *Šāpik-zēri*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 92:19  
*Nabû-kēšir*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ke-šir),  
 f. of *Qīšti-Marduk*, d. of *Šangû-Parakku*, 58:4  
 d. of *Kalbaya*, 38:12  
*Nabû-kudurrī-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-ÜRURU, <sup>d</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-  
 ú-šur\*, <sup>d</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-PAP\*\*, <sup>d</sup>MUATI-NÍG.DU-  
 PAP\*\*\*), RN, 9:5'; 10:15; 22:17; 23:13;  
 24:4'; 45:17; 74:20; 95:17\*; 99:32\*\*\*, 43\*\*;  
 152:5'  
*Nabû-kušuršu*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ku-šur-šu), s. of *Nādinu*,  
 d. of *Gaḫal*, 98:12  
*Nabû-kuzub-ilāni*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ḫILI-DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>), f. of  
*Šulaya*, 45:2  
*Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-DA),  
 s. of *Bēlšunu*, d. of *Egibi*, 17:14  
 s. of *Itti-Šamaš-balātu*, d. of *Šāḫitu*, 109:16,  
 20, 27, 52  
 s. of [. . .], d. of *Iddin-Papsukkal*, 140:10  
 f. of *Bēl-ittannu*, d. of *Nūr-Papsukkal*, 111:3'  
*Nabû-līssu*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-lit-su),  
 a. of *Bēl-apla-iddin*, 80:13  
 a. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, 40:3  
*Nabû-lū-salim*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-lu-ú-sa-lim), <sup>lú</sup>sepīru ša  
 LUGAL, 46:16  
*Nabû-māku-nādin*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ma-a-ku-na-din), sl. of  
*Nabû-šuma-ibni*, 82:9  
*Nabû*-MU-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-[X]), s. of  
*Nergal-ušallim*, d. of [. . .], <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 44:14  
*Nabû-mudammīq*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-SIG<sub>15</sub>, <sup>d</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>iq\*</sup>,  
<sup>d</sup>AG-<sup>mu</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>iq\*\*</sup>),  
 f. of *Lābāši-Marduk* (aka *Lābāši*), d. of  
*Šumu-libši*, 84:14; 86:16; 148:11'  
 42:7'\*\*\*; 100:4\*  
*Nabû-mukīn*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-GIN-[X]), f. of *Iddinaya*,  
 123:3

- Nabû-mukîn-apli*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-GIN-A, <sup>d</sup>AG-GIN-IBILA\*),  
 s. of *Bêl-uballit*, d. of *Amêl-Isin*, 51:11\*  
 s. of *Bêl-zêri*, d. of *Bûšu*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 10:13  
 s. of *Bulṭaya*, d. of *Pahḫāru*, 114:2\*  
 s. of *Marduk-šuma-ibni*, d. of *Mudammīq-Nabû*, 76:9  
 s. of *Nūrea*, d. of *Iranni*, 63:10  
 f. of *Bêl-ēfir*, d. of *Qaštu*, 47:12  
 f. of *Rīmūt*, 79:6\*  
 f. of *Šamaš-kāšir*, 91:11, 14
- Nabû-mukîn-zêri*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-GIN-NUMUN), f. of *Mūrānu*,  
 d. of *Šangû-Zāriqu*, 10:11
- Nabû-mušētiq-uddê*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-mu-še-tiq-UD.DA,  
<sup>d</sup>AG-DIB-UD.DA\*, <sup>d</sup>AG-mu-še-DIB-UD.DA\*\*),  
 s. of *Bêlšunu*, d. of *Ea-pattanu*, 48:16  
 s. of *Bêl-zêra-ibni*, d. of *Esagilaya*, f. of  
*Nabû-gāmil*, 56:17  
 s. of *Bêl-zêra-ibni*, d. of *Esagilaya*, f. of  
<sup>f</sup>*Nūptaya*, 56:5  
 s. of *Nabû-zêru-līšir*, d. of *Ušur-amāssu*,  
 37:12\*\*  
 s. of *Šāpik-zêri*, d. of *Miširaya*, 97:6, 16, 17,  
 28\*  
 f. of [. . .]-M[U], 121:18
- Nabû-na*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>AG-na-x-[. . .]), f. of *Šuma-ukîn*,  
 d. of *Sippēa*, 28:11
- Nabû-na*<sup>2</sup>*id*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-I, <sup>d</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK\*), RN, 16:13;  
 17:19; 18:18; 19:19; 23:13; 24:4'; 27:6';  
 28:16; 29:4'; 30:17; 31:7'; 32:3'; 47:20;  
 48:22\*; 49:18; 50:26; 51:15\*; 52:18; 53:22\*;  
 54:17; 55:14\*; 56:23; 57:14\*; 58:16; 59:29;  
 60:13; 75:5, 15\*; 76:12; 77:4, 24; 78:11;  
 79:19; 80:15; 81:17; 84:16; 85:21; 86:19;  
 101:11; 102:11'\*; 103:3\*, 16; 104:5'; 105:5';  
 106:19; 107:22
- Nabû-nādin*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU, <sup>d</sup>AG-na-din\*),  
 s. of *Ardiya*, 91:21  
 f. of *Nabû*-[. . .], d. of *Epeš-ilī*, 39:7\*  
 91:8
- Nabû-nādin-aḫi*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-na-di-in-ŠEŠ, <sup>d</sup>AG-na-din-ŠEŠ\*),  
 s. of [. . .], d. of *Qībi-Adad*, DUB.SAR, 118:22  
 f.(?) of [*Nabû*(?)]-*apla-iddin*, 11:17\*  
 11:3\*
- Nabû-nādin-šumi*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-MU), s. of [. . .], d. of  
*Esagilaya*, 11:7
- Nabû-nāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-PAP, <sup>d</sup>AG-na-šir\*),  
 s. of *Bêl-iqīša*, 91:12, 15  
 s. of *Bêl-kāšir*, d. of *Egibi*, 97:22  
 f. of *Bêl-apla-iddin*, d. of *Adad-šuma-ēreš*,  
 80:10  
 f. of *Lābāši*, d. of *Nanna-utu*, 92:24  
 f. of *Munahḫiš-Marduk*, d. of *Šāhit-ginê*,  
 58:14  
 f. of *Šulaya*, 99:8\*  
 f. of *Šulum-Bābili*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 97:23\*  
 100:2
- Nabû-pāniya*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-pa-ni-ia), f. of *Sūqaya*, 83:13
- Nabû-rēmanni*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-re-man-ni),  
 s. of *Būr-ušallim*, 80:5  
 s. of *Naniya*, 106:2, 10, 12  
 79:11
- Nabû-rēma-šukun*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ARḪUŠ-šu-kun), <sup>lú</sup>GAL  
*kāri ša* LUGAL, s. of *Šūzubu*, 55:1
- Nabû-rē*<sup>2</sup>*ūšunu*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-SIPA-šú-nu), s. of *Nabû-ēfir*,  
 d. of *Sîn-tabni*, 65:4
- Nabû-šābit-qātê*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ša-bit-šU<sup>II</sup>), <sup>lú</sup>SAG LUGAL,  
 46:1, 5, 7, 9
- Nabû-šākin-šumi*, ([<sup>d</sup>AG-GAR-MU]), f. of *Nabû-šuma-ukîn*,  
 d. of *Aqar-ana-Nabû*,  
 10:10
- Nabû-šāpik-zêri*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-DUB-NUMUN), s. of *Balāssu*,  
 d. of *Sippē*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 77:22
- Nabû-šarra-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-LUGAL-ŪRU), f. of *Nidintu*,  
 77:2, 12
- Nabû-šimānni*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ši-man-ni), sl. of *Tabnêa*,  
 14:4
- Nabû-šuma-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-KÁM), f. of *Bêl-ēfir*,  
 d. of *Adad-šuma-ēreš*, 57:10
- Nabû-šuma-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-DÙ), d. of *La-ku*-[. . .],  
 82:10
- Nabû-šuma-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-MU),  
 s. of *Bêl-uballit*, d. of *Sagdidi*, 74:4  
 s. of [*Ibnaya*(?)], d. of *Adad-šamê*, 41:3  
 s. of *Ina-tēšī-eḫir*, d. of *Nabû-līssu*, 40:2  
 s. of *Iqīšaya*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 25:4', 6', 8', 11';  
 26:10; 155:10'

- f. of <sup>f</sup>*Banât-Esagil*, 52:2  
 f. of *Bāniya*, d. of *Šangû-Ninurta*, 52:3, 16  
 f. of *Ibnaya*, d. of *Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sīsê*, 22:2  
 f. of *Murašû*, d. of *Ea-eppeš-ilī*, 114:8  
 f. of *Nabû-šuma-iškun*, d. of *Balātu*, 92:21  
 f. of *Nabû-zēru-līšir*, d. of *Sagdidi*, 50:22  
 f. of *Nergal-ēreš*, d. of *Damqa*, 47:15  
 f. of *Nergal-šuma-ibni*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 16:8  
 f. of *Šamaš-iddin*, d. of *Agru*, 26:14  
 f. of *Šāpik-zēri*, d. of *Nādin-še<sup>2</sup>i*, 51:1  
*Nabû-šuma-iškun*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup>),  
 s. of *Marduk-šākin-šumi*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*,  
 lúšID, 106:16  
 s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Balātu*, 92:20  
 s. of [ . . ], d. of *Esagilaya*, 124:9  
 f. of *Bēl-apla-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Ninurta*, 74:16  
 151:5, 6  
*Nabû-šuma-ukīn*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-ú-kin, <sup>d</sup>AG-MU-GIN\*),  
 s. of *Nabû-šākin-šumi*, d. of *Aqar-ana-Nabû*,  
 10:9  
 f. of *Aḫušunu*, 120:15  
 f. of *Gūzānu*, d. of *Ša-nāšišu*, 92:6  
 f. of *Libluṭ*, 103:4\*  
 f. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, d. of *Ša-nāšišu*, 89:8  
 f. of *Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti*, 45:8  
 f. of *Tabnêa*, d. of *Nūpu*, 47:18  
 f. of [ . . ], d. of *Na*-[ . . ], 133:11'\*  
 f. of [ . . ], 115:16  
*Nabû-šuma-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-URU, <sup>d</sup>AG-MU-ú-ṣ[ur]\*),  
 s. of *Ērišu*, d. of *Rab-banê*, 85:14\* (aka  
*Nabû-ušuršu*)  
 f. of *Bēl*-[ . . ], d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 51:9  
*Nabû-šumu-lībūr*, (<sup>d</sup>[AG]-MU-li-bur), f. of *Iddin-  
 Marduk*, d. of *Gaḫal*, 39:8  
*Nabû-šumu-līšir*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-MU-SI.SÁ),  
 s. of *Šāḫit-ginê*, 8:4  
 f. of *Itti-Šamaš-balātu*, 95:5  
*Nabû-šūzibanni*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-šu-zib-an-ni), 147:6'  
*Nabû-ta*-[ . . ], (<sup>d</sup>AG-ta-[ . . ]), 132:3'  
*Nabû-tabtani-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-tab-ta-na-ú-šur,  
<sup>d</sup>AG-tab-ta-ni-URU\*),  
 s. of *Kittiya*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 63:12  
 130:30\*  
*Nabû-taqbi-līšir*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-taq-bi-SI.SÁ), f. of *Nabû-  
 ittannu*, d. of *Ea-lūmur*, 114:12  
*Nabû-uballit*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN<sup>it</sup>), s. of *Ṭābiya*, 92:10, 12,  
 16  
*Nabû-ultarriḫ*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ul-⟨ū⟩-ta-ri-iḫ), f. of  
<sup>f</sup>*Nūptaya*, 119:2  
*Nabû-ušuršu*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-ú-šur-šú),  
 s. of *Balātu*, d. of *Miširaya*, 56:18  
 s. of *Ērišu* d. of *Rab-banê*, 84:11 (aka *Nabû-  
 šuma-ušur*)  
*Nabû-ušabši*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-GÁL<sup>š</sup>),  
 f. of *Uzbu-Erra*, 99:34  
 f. of [ . . ], 144:7'  
*Nabû-ušallim*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-GI),  
 f. of *Bēlšunu*, 7:12, 11'  
 f. of *Nabû-zēra-iddin*, d. of *Sîn-tabni*, 47:16  
 f. of *Ubār*, d. of *Kaššidakku*, 100:8  
*Nabû-zēra*-[ . . ], (<sup>d</sup>AG-NUMUN-[X]), s. of . . . ,  
 d. of . . . -*Ninurta*, 142:1'  
*Nabû-zēra-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-NUMUN-DÜ),  
 f. of *Bēl*(?)-[ . . ], 87:11  
 f. of *Bēl-ēṭir-napšāti*, 28:4  
 f. of *Marduk-nāšir*, 28:4  
 67:5  
*Nabû-zēra-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU),  
 d. of *Dābibi*, lúšID, 23:9  
 s. of *Kiribtu*, 62:14  
 s. of *Nabû-ušallim*, d. of *Sîn-tabni*, 47:16  
 f. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Dābibi*, 33:9  
 f. of *Zērūtu*, 54:14  
 lúA.KIN ša DI.KUD<sup>meš</sup>, 52:13  
 101:1  
*Nabû-zēra-iqīša*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-NUMUN-BA<sup>šá</sup>-a,  
<sup>d</sup>[AG]-NUMUN-BA<sup>šá</sup>\*),  
 s. of *Šākin-šumi*, 79:3  
 f. of *Itti-Nabû*-[*balātu*], d. of [*Eppeš-ilī*], 110:7'  
*Nabû-zēra-ušabši*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-NUMUN-GÁL<sup>š</sup>),  
 s. of *Tu*-[ . . ], d. of *Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sīsê*, 147:13'  
 f. of *Nabû*-[ . . ], d. of *Šumu-libši*, 147:12'  
 f. of *Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti*, 30:7  
 f. of *Zirqu*, 30:7  
*Nabû-zēru-līšir*, (<sup>d</sup>AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ, <sup>d</sup>AG-NUMUN-  
 GIŠ\*),

- s. of *Bēl-aḥḥē-erība*, d. of *Dannēa*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 37:3\*, 11\*, 14\*
- s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Sagdidi*, 50:21
- f. of *Bēl-šuma-iškun*, d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 12:13
- f. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddē*, d. of *Ušur-amāssu*, 37:13\*  
110:4'
- <sup>f</sup>*Nadaya*, (<sup>f</sup>*Na-da-a*), 134:12
- Nādin*, (*Na-din*, *Na-di-nu\**, *Na-di-ni\*\**),  
s. of (*Ina*)-*šilli-Ninurta*, 126:16
- s. of *Nergal-ēṭir*, d. of *Bābūtu*, h. of <sup>f</sup>*Nūptaya*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 56:3, 21, 26
- s. of *Zēriya*, d. of *Esagilaya*, f. of *Bēl-kāšir*, 102:2\*, 11\*, 12\*, 16\*, 19\*, 22\*, 26\*
- f. of *Bēl-kāšir*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 35:7; 102:1\*; 139:2
- f. of *Ea-uballiṭ*, 51:13\*
- f. of *Iššur*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 118:20\*\*
- f. of *Nabû-kušuršu*, d. of *Gaḥal*, 98:12\*
- f. of *Ninurta-iddin*, 126:15
- d. of *Pahḥāru*, DUB.SAR, 55:11
- Nādin-aḥi*, (SUM.NA-ŠEŠ, MU-ŠEŠ\*, SUM-PAP\*\*),  
s. of *Anu-aḥa-iddin*, 10:3, 6
- s. of *Madānu*-. . .], d. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 141:Obv. 5'
- s. of *Ubār*, 99:11, 12, 16\*, 22, 44\*
- f. of *Balātu*, d. of *Maštuk*, 96:12\*
- f. of *Rīmūt*, h. of *Rišāt*, 164:1
- f. of [. . .]-*Bēl*, 137:12'  
71:12\*\*
- Nādin-še<sup>2</sup>i*, (*Na-din-še.BAR*, *Na-din-še-im\**),  
a. of *Nabû-bāni-aḥi*, 80:3\*
- a. of *Šamaš-ēṭir*, 34:4'
- a. of *Šāpik-zēri*, 51:2
- a. of *Zababa-nādin-aḥi*, 140:14\*
- Nadna*, (*Nad(?)na*), f. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, d. of *Ēṭir*, 27:2
- Naggāru*, (<sup>lú</sup>NAGAR),  
a. of *Bulluṭūa*, 90:22
- a. of *Kabtiya*, 12:2
- Na<sup>2</sup>id-Marduk*, (1-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU),  
s. of *Bulluṭ*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 41:8
- d. of [. . .]-*ati*, 8:3
- <sup>f</sup>*Na<sup>2</sup>ittu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Na-<sup>2</sup>-it-tu<sub>4</sub>*), w(?) of [*Lābāši*], 29:4
- Nanaya-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>*Na-na-a-MU*),  
s. of *Isinnunaya*, 128:14, 17  
97:3
- <sup>f</sup>*Nanaya-ittiya*, (<sup>f</sup>*Na-na-it-ti-ia*, <sup>d</sup>*Na-na-a-KI-ia\**),  
sl. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 62:2, 7, 10
- sl. of <sup>f</sup>*Amtiya*, 122:13\*
- Naniya*, (*Na-ni-ia*), f. of *Nabû-rēmanni*, 106:3
- Nanna-utu*, (<sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI-ú.tu), a. of *Lābāši*, 92:24
- Nappāḥu*, (<sup>lú</sup>SIMUG),  
a. of *Erībaya*, 98:6
- a. of *Gimillu*, 95:3
- a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 96:2; 97:1
- a. of *Itti-Nabû-balātu*, 63:16
- a. of *Šamaš-erība*, 8:12
- a. of *Šellebi*, 98:3
- Nārgiya*, (*Na-ar-gi-ia*), f. of *Bēl-nādin-apli*, 117:Obv.
- Nāšir*, (*Na-šir*),  
f. of *Iddinaya*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili*, 121:17
- f. of *Šuma-ukīn*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 84:2; 85:2, 11; 86:5; 154:4
- f. of [. . .], 29:1'
- Nēmequ*, (*Né-me-qu*), f. of *Rīmūt*, d. of *Mandidi*, 49:13
- Nergal*-. . .], (<sup>d</sup>[U]+GUR-i-. . .], <sup>d</sup>U+G[UR-. . .]\*),  
f. of *Bēl-iqīša*, 101:5
- f. of [. . .]-*a*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 141:Obv. 2\*  
17:9\*; 130:19\*
- Nergal-aḥa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-ŠEŠ-MU),  
s. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, d. of *Ḥullunu*, 90:20
- f. of *Nergal-uballiṭ*, 82:8
- Nergalaya*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-a-a), 6:4
- Nergal-dannu*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-da-nu, <sup>d</sup>U+GUR-dan-na\*),  
f. of *Šamaš-aḥa-iddin*, d. of *Iddin-Šamaš*, 103:6\*  
sl. of *Šumaya*, 45:9
- Nergal-ēda-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-AŠ-PAP), sl. of *Itti-Šamaš-balātu*, 95:22
- Nergal-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-KĀM), s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Damqa*, 47:14
- Nergal-ēṭir*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-KAR<sup>ir</sup>, <sup>d</sup>U+GUR-SUR\*),  
s. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin*, d. of *Egibi*, 63:1, 8
- f. of *Nādin*, d. of *Bābūtu*, 56:3\*, 21\*

- f. of *Tabnêa*, 99:37\*
- Nergal-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-MU),  
 s. of *Bāniya*, d. of [*Šumu-libši*], <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 140:15  
 s. of *Ḥaddaya*, d. of *Sîn-dārî*, 90:23  
 s. of *Marduk-ēfir*, d. of *Zēraya*, 83:3  
 f. of *Aḫu-atbû*, 94:12  
 50:5
- Nergal-ina-tēšî-ētir*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-ina-SÛH-SUR,  
<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-SÛH-SUR\*),  
 s. of *Šeru<sup>a</sup>-aḫa-iddin*, 90:3  
 94:8\*
- Nergal-nāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-na-šir),  
 s. of *Zākir*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 95:10  
 s. of [ . . . ], d. of *Esagilaya*, 102:7'
- Nergal-šarra-ušur*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-LUGAL-ÛRU), RN,  
 11:13; 12:16; 13:2; 14:16; 46:19
- Nergal-šuma-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-MU-DÛ), s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 16:7
- Nergal-šuma-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-MU-MU), f. of *Itti-Bēl-balāṭu*, 82:6
- Nergal-uballiṭ*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup>),  
 s. of *Arad-Bēl*, d. of *Dābibi*, 90:7, 10, 13, 18  
 s. of *Arad-Gula*, d. of *Iranni*, 98:15  
 s. of *Nergal-aḫa-iddin*, 82:7  
 s. of [*Tābiya*], 93:13  
 s. of [ . . . ]-*ēfir*, 132:10'  
 f. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Aškāpu*, 49:3; 50:7  
 [<sup>lú</sup>ŠID], 130:33
- Nergal-ušallim*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-GI),  
<sup>lú</sup>DI.KUD, 107:L.E. 5–6 Seal caption  
 f. of *Bēl-na<sup>a</sup>id*, d. of *Kānik-bābi*, 97:14  
 f. of *Nabû-MU*-[ . . . ], 44:15  
 f. of *Šāpik-zēri*, d. of *Sîn-karābi-išme*, 52:14
- Nergal-ušēzib*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-ú-še-zib),  
 f. of *Marduk-balāssu-iqbi*, 122:6, 7, 11  
 h. of <sup>f</sup>*Amat*-[ . . . ], 129:5
- Nergal-utēr*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-ú-ter), f. of [ . . . ], d. of  
*Ilī-tillatī*, 16:2
- Nergal-zēra-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-NUMUN-DÛ), s. of  
*Bēl-le<sup>a</sup>i*, d. of *Rab-banê*, 34:2'; 87:1
- Nidinti-Bēl*, (*Ni-din-ti*-<sup>d</sup>EN, *Ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>-[<sup>d</sup>EN]\*),  
 f. of *Bēl-ēreš*, 149:2'  
 f. of *Bēl-kušuršu*, 128:14\*
- Nidinti-Marduk*, (*Ni-din-ti*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU), d. of  
*Rab-banê*, DUB.SAR, 98:17
- Nidintu*, (*Ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>, *Ni-din-ti*\*, *Ni-din-it*\*),  
 s. of *Bēl-nādin-apli*, 67:18  
 s. of *Diḫummu*, d. of *Paḫḫāru*, 118:18\*  
 s. of *Gimillu*, d. of *Šangû-Nergal*, 115:5, 9,  
 11, 13a  
 s. of *Kabtiya*, d. of *Iranni*, 122:19  
 s. of MU-[ . . . ], d. of *Sippēa*, 119:12  
 s. of *Nabû-ēfir-napšāti*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 91:22  
 s. of *Nabû-iddin*, 120:13  
 s. of *Nabû-šarra-ušur*, h. of <sup>f</sup>*Kalbatu*, 77:2,  
 8, 12, 18, 25  
 s. of [ . . . ], d. of *Rab-banê*, 68:13  
<sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 31:5'  
<sup>lú</sup>*sepīru*, 92:9\*\*  
 118:17\*
- <sup>f</sup>*Nidintu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>), dau. of *Arad-Bēl*, d. of  
*Egibi*, m. of *Bēl-iddin*, 59:6, 20, 21
- Ninurta-aḫa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU), f. of *Iqīšaya*,  
 99:35
- Ninurta-aḫḫē-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU), s. of  
*Enlil-iddin*, 99:38
- Ninurta-ašarēdu*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-SAG.KAL), s. of *Šamaš-ēreš*, 99:39
- Ninurta-gāmīl*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-ga-mil), s. of *Dummuq*,  
<sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 126:18
- Ninurta-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-MU),  
 s. of *Nādin*, 126:15  
 f. of *Aplaya*, 126:15
- Ninurta-īpuš*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-DÛ<sup>uš</sup>), s. of *Ḥašdaya*, 99:10
- Ninurta-šuma-ukīn*(?), (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-MU-GIN(?)), f. of  
*Bāba-aḫa-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Ninurta*, 103:14
- Ninurta-zākir-šumi*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-za-kir-MU), s. of . . . ,  
<sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 99:41
- Niqūdu*, (*Ni-qu-du*),  
 s. of *Līšir*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 27:2'  
 s. of *Marduk-šuma-ibni*, d. of *Ibnaya*,  
 100:6  
 s. of *Nabû-erība*, 135:6  
 f. of *Bēl-usāti*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, h. of <sup>f</sup>*Zunnaya*,  
 102:6
- Nišur-illī*, (*Ni-is-ḫur*-DINGIR), 155:8'

- Nuhāšu*, (*Nu-ḥa-šú*),  
 a. of *Rīmūt-Nabû*, 98:5  
 a. of [. . .], 123:4'  
<sup>f</sup>*Nūptaya*, (<sup>f</sup>*Nu-up-ta-a*),  
 dau. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, w. of  
*Kurbanni-Marduk*, 86:1, 9, 10, 13  
 dau. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddē*, d. of *Esagilaya*,  
 w. of *Nādin*, 56:4  
 dau. of *Nabû-ultarriḥ*, *širiktu ša* <sup>d</sup>*Ninlil*,  
 119:2, 8  
*Nūpu*, (*Nu-ú-pu*), a. of *Tabnêa*, 47:18  
*Nūrea*, (*ZÁLAG-e-a*),  
 s. of *Aplaya*, 108:3  
 s. of *Bēl-iqīša*, d. of *Šangû-Nanaya*, 81:2  
 f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Agru*, 90:8  
 f. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, d. of *Iranni*, 63:11  
 f. of . . ., 65:3  
 f. of [. . .], 164:3'  
 d. of *Iqīšaya*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 108:3'  
 a. of [. . .], 39:10  
*Nūr-Papsukkal*, (*ZÁLAG-dPap-sukkal*),  
 a. of *Bēl-ittannu*, 111:3'  
 a. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, 94:10  
*Nūr-Sîn*, (*ZÁLAG-d30*),  
 a. of *Adad-aḥḥē-bullit*, 47:14  
 a. of <sup>f</sup>*Amat-Nanaya*, 109:19, 29  
 a. of *Bēl-apla-ušur*, 14:15  
 a. of *Bēl-rēmanni*, 118:21  
 a. of *Iddin-Marduk*, 58:11; 74:6; 75:2, 4;  
 76:2; 77:3, 15; 80:2  
 a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 112:12  
 a. of *Nabû-iddin*, 112:16  
 a. of *Nabû-kāšir*, 33:4  
 a. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, 25:4'; 26:11; 155:11'  
 a. of *Niqūdu*, 102:6  
 a. of *Rīmūt-Nabû*, 90:27  
*Nūr-Šamaš*, (*ZÁLAG-dUTU*, *Nu-úr-dUTU\**),  
 f. of *Bēl-kēšir*, d. of *Egibi*, 59:23  
 f. of *Iqīšaya* of <sup>uru</sup>*Dūr-rēḥi*, 83:10  
 77:1\*, 10, 13\*, 17; 83:11  
*Nuska-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>*Nuska-SUM.NA*), s. of *Illaya*, 99:6  
*Paḥḥāru*, (<sup>lú</sup>*DUG.SILA.BUR*),  
 a. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 66:13  
 a. of *Gilūa*, 131:3', 11', 19'  
 a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 88:7  
 a. of *Marduk*, 131:4', 12'  
 a. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, 114:3  
 a. of *Nādin*, 55:12  
 a. of *Nidintu*, 118:19  
<sup>f</sup>*Pān-Banītu-lūmur*, (<sup>f</sup>*IGI-dDÜ<sup>4</sup>lu-mur*), sl. of  
<sup>f</sup>*Nabû-ittannu*, 122:1, 9  
*Pappaya*, (*Pap-pa-a-a*),  
 a. of *Marduk-zēra-ibni*, 8:13; 50:23  
 a. of *Ubār*, 120:3  
*Per<sup>u</sup>*, (*Per<sup>u</sup>*, *Per-ḥu\**),  
 s. of *Nabû-ēṭir*, d. of *Šumu-libši*, 27:4;  
 153:Rev. 3'  
 f. of *Bulluṭ*, d. of *Šumu-libši*, 29:2'  
 f. of *Marduk-bēšunu*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*,  
 66:15\*  
 6:1  
*Qaštu*, (<sup>lú</sup>PAN), a. of *Bēl-ēṭir*, 47:13  
*Qāṭin*, (*Qa-ṭi-nu*), f. of *Dumqu*, 6:11  
*Qībi-Adad*, (*E-dIM*), a. of *Nabû-nādin-aḥi*, 118:20  
*Qīšti-Marduk*, (*NĪG.BA-dAMAR.UTU*),  
 s. of *Nabû-kēšir*, d. of *Šangû-Parakku*, 58:3  
 s. of *Šūzubu*, d. of *Kānik-bābi*, 96:9  
*Qu*-[. . .], (*Qu-x*-[. . .]), f. of [. . .], 161:12'  
*Rabāšu-ša-Ninurta*, (*GAL<sup>a</sup>-šú-šá-dMAŠ*),  
 a. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, 92:18  
 160:6'  
*Rab-banê*, (<sup>lú</sup>GAL.DÜ]),  
 f. of [. . .], 143:Rev. 4'  
 a. of *Banūnu*, 46:14  
 a. of *Nabû-ušuršu* (aka *Nabû-šuma-ušur*),  
 84:12; 85:15  
 a. of *Nergal-zēra-ibni*, 34:3'; 87:2  
 a. of *Nidinti-Marduk*, 98:17  
 a. of *Nidintu*, 68:13  
 a. of *Rīmūt*, 26:13  
*Rab-šušši*, (<sup>lú</sup>GAL-60<sup>š</sup>i), a. of *Nabû-aḥu-rēmanni*,  
 65:10  
<sup>f</sup>*Ramūa*, (<sup>f</sup>*Ra-mu-ú-a*), w. of *Bāniya*, 52:4



- Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sīsē*, (<sup>lú</sup>SIPA-ANŠE.KUR.RA),  
a. of *Ibnaya*, 22:2; 141:Obv. 12'  
a. of *Marduk-rēmāni*, 109:45  
a. of *Nabû-zēra-ušabši*, 147:13a'  
141:Obv. 15', Rev. 8'
- Rē<sup>2</sup>û*, (<sup>lú</sup>SIPA), a. of *Kāšir*, 5:4
- Rihīt*, (*Ri-ḥit*), 119:7
- Rikis-kalāma-Bēl*, (*Ri-kis-ka-la-mu*-[<sup>d</sup>EN]), sl. of  
*Nabû-apla-iddin*, 19:6
- Rīmūt*, (*Ri-mut*, *Ri-mu-tu\**),  
s. of *Aplaya*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 54:11  
s. of *Kurbanni*, d. of *Bēl-ēfir*, 89:14  
s. of *Kurbanni-Marduk*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 49:1,  
6; 50:18, 19  
s. of *Nabû*-[. . .]-*na*, d. of *Rab-banê*, 26:12  
s. of *Nabû-bāni-zēri*, d. of *Mannu-gērī*,  
19:13  
s. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*, 79:5  
s. of *Nabû-zēra-iddin*, d. of *Dābibi*, 33:8\*  
s. of *Nādīn-aḥi* and <sup>f</sup>*Rīšat*, 164:2, 21  
s. of *Nēmequ*, d. of *Mandidi*, 49:13  
s. of *Šamaš-zēra-ibni*, 91:1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16  
s. of [. . .], d. of *Egibi*, 85:4  
f. of *Arad-Nergal*, 90:25  
f. of *Bēlšunu*, d. of *Adad*(!)-*šuma-ušur*,  
106:14  
f. of *Bēlšunu*, d. of *Šangû-Ak[kad]*, 121:22  
f. of *Dummuq*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 14:13  
f. of *Ilu-īpuš*, 101:8  
f. of *Ina-tēšī-ēfir*, 7:3, 7  
f. of *Marduk-ēfir*, d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 79:15  
f. of *Nabû-aḥa-rēmāni*, d. of *Rab-šušši*, 65:9  
f. of *Nabû-ēfir-napšāti*, d. of *Ṭābiḥu*, 18:13  
d. of *Mannu-gērī*, 19:13  
40:3; 147:2', 5', 10'
- Rīmūt-Bēl*, (*Ri-mut*-<sup>d</sup>EN),  
s. of *Ardiya*, d. of *Itinnu*, 67:19  
s. of *Bēl-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Bābūtu*, 33:10  
s. of *Bēl-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Šambā*, 57:8  
s. of *Mušēzib-Marduk* and <sup>f</sup>*Šidati*, d. of  
*Dannēa*, 46:4, 8, 11, 12  
s. of [*Marduk-erība*], d. of *Nūr-Papsukkal*,  
94:9
- f. of *Bēl*-[. . .], d. of *Dannēa*, 115:17  
f. of *Itti-Marduk-balāṭu*, d. of *Bēl-ēfir*,  
114:16  
f. of *Lūši-ana-nūri*, d. of *Amēl-Isin*, 121:16  
f. of *Šamaš-aḥa-iddin*, d. of *Bābūtu*, 90:25  
152:5
- Rīmūt-Nabû*, (*Ri-mut*-<sup>d</sup>AG),  
s. of *Gūzānu*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, <sup>lú</sup>šID, 90:26  
s. of *Ina-šilli-Bēl*, d. of *Nuḥāšū*, 98:4, 10
- Rīmūt-Šamaš*, (*Ri-mut*-<sup>d</sup>UTU),  
s. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 93:15  
s. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 54:13
- Rīš-ana-Akītu*, (*SUD-ana-A-ki-tu*<sub>4</sub>), a. of [. . .],  
144:16'
- <sup>f</sup>*Rīšāt*, (*Ri-šat*), w. of *Nādīn-aḥi*, m. of *Rīmūt*, 164:19
- Sagdidi*, (*Sag-di-di*),  
a. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, 74:5  
a. of *Nabû-zēru-līšir*, 50:22  
87:13
- Samakku*, (*Sa-ma-ak-ku*), <sup>lú</sup>DUMU É, 128:4
- Si<sup>2</sup>ātu*, (*Si*-<sup>2</sup>-*a-tu*<sub>4</sub>), a. of [. . .], 109:11
- Silim-Bēl*, (*Si-lim*-<sup>d</sup>EN),  
sl. of *Nabû-rēmāni*, 79:10  
f. of [. . .], d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 124:11
- Sîn*-[. . .], (<sup>d</sup>30-x, <sup>d</sup>30-x-[. . .]\*, <sup>d</sup>30-x-x-x\*\*),  
a. of [. . .]-*uballit*, 133:12\*\*  
a. of [. . .], 37:11\*\*
- Sîn-dārī*, (<sup>d</sup>30-*da-a-ri*), a. of *Nergal-iddin*, 90:24
- Sîn*-[*iddin*], (<sup>d</sup>30-MU), s. of *Dayyānu-idrī*, 91:17
- Sîn-ilī*, (<sup>d</sup>30-DINGIR), f. of *Arad-Ea*, d. of *Bēl-ēfir*,  
89:16
- Sîn-karābi-išme*, (<sup>d</sup>30-SISKUR-*iš-me*, <sup>d</sup>30-SISKUR-  
ŠE.GA\*, <sup>d</sup>30-*ka-ra-bi-ši-mu*\*\*),  
a. of *Marduk-erība*, 82:13\*  
a. of *Nabû-iddin*, 113:12\*\*  
a. of *Šāpik-zēri*, 52:15
- Sîn-kēšir*, (<sup>d</sup>30-*ke-šir*), 134:10
- Sîn-nāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>30-*na-šir*),  
a. of *Arad-Bēl*, 94:11  
a. of [. . .], 40:3'
- Sîn-šadūnu*, (<sup>d</sup>30-KUR-*nu*, <sup>d</sup>30-*šad-ú-ni*\*,  
<sup>d</sup>30-*šá-du-nu*\*\*),

- a. of *Gimillu*, 74:3  
a. of *Ina-tēši-eṭir*, 153:Rev. 5'\*\*\*  
a. of *Mušallim-Marduk*, 63:14\*; 74:13  
*Sîn-tabni*, (<sup>d</sup>30-tab-ni),  
a. of *Nabû-rē<sup>2</sup>ûsunu*, 65:5  
a. of *Nabû-zēra-iddin*, 47:17  
*Sînîa*, (<sup>d</sup>30-ia), 123:4'  
<sup>f</sup>*Sinūnu*, (<sup>f</sup>Si-nu-nu), 52:6  
*Sippē*, *Sippēa*, (*Sip-pe-e*, *Sip-pe-e-a\**),  
a. of *Bēl-kāšir*, 96:14  
a. of *Nabû-šāpik-zēri*, 77:23  
a. of *Nidintu*, 119:13\*  
a. of *Šuma-ukīn*, 28:12  
*Suḥaya*, (*Su-ḥa-a-a*),  
a. of *Kalbaya*, 62:15  
a. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, 113:10  
a. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit*, 50:21; 67:17  
a. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, 49:17  
a. of [ . . ]-ia, 139:7'  
a. of [ . . ]-MU-[ . . ], 31:2'  
*Sūqaya*, (*Su-qa-a-a*),  
s. of *Bēl-ušallim*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 35:10  
s. of *Bēl-ušēzib*, 135:1  
s. of *Kalbaya*, d. of *Bābūtu*, 57:11  
s. of *Nabû-pāniya*, 83:12  
f. of *Bēl-rēmāni*, d. of *Šangû-Nabû*, 97:21  
f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 68:14  
  
*Šāhit-ginē*, (<sup>lú</sup>Ī.ŠUR-GI.NA),  
a. of *Libluṭ*, 92:26  
a. of *Marduk-rēmāni*, 113:4, 14  
a. of *Munaḥḥiš-Marduk*, 58:14  
a. of *Nabû-ēreš*, 58:12  
a. of *Nabû-šumu-lišir*, 8:4  
*Šāhitu*, (<sup>lú</sup>Ī.ŠUR),  
a. of *Marduk-ēreš*, 8:11  
a. of *Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i*, 109:21, 28  
a. of *Šulaya*, 109:18  
a. of [ . . ], 111:5  
*Šillaya*, (*Šil-la-a*),  
s. of *Banītušu*, 7:5'  
f. of *Banūnu*, d. of *Rab-banē*, 46:14  
f. of *Kalbaya*, d. of *Nabaya*, 62:12  
  
f. of *Madānu-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Ea*-[ . . ],  
19:2; 20:2  
f. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, d. of *Suḥaya*, 113:10  
f. of *Nabû-ēreš*, d. of *Mandidi*, 81:4, 14  
f. of *Nabû-eṭir*, d. of *Lē<sup>2</sup>ēa*, 51:2  
f. of <sup>f</sup>*Šidati*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 46:3  
130:27  
  
*Ša*- . . -šū, (*Šá*-<sup>d</sup>x-šú), a. of *Nabû*-[ . . ], 161:11'  
*Ša-Nabû-šū*, (*Šá*-<sup>d</sup>AG-šu-ú), 151:2  
*Ša-nāšišu*, (*Šá*-na-ši-šú, *Šá*-na-ši-i-šu\*, *Šá*-kaš<sup>na</sup>-  
*ši-šú\*\**),  
a. of *Gūzānu*, 92:7\*  
a. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, 47:1; 48:5  
a. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, 89:8\*\*  
a. of *Tabnêa*, 66:6; 67:6  
*Ša-ṭābtišu*, (*Šá*-MUN-šú, <sup>lú</sup>*Šá*-MUN<sup>bá</sup>-šú\*),  
a. of *Arad-Marduk*, 54:4\*  
a. of *Marduk-šarrāni*, 52:12  
*Šaddinnu*, (*Šad*-din-nu, *Šad*-din-ni\*),  
s. of *Iqīšaya*, 151:3  
f. of *Arad-Bēl*, d. of *Mār-šipri*, 91:20  
f. of *Kušurraja*, d. of *Ea-eppeš-ilī*, 98:13  
f. of *Marduk-nāšir*, d. of *Ea-eppeš-ilī*,  
118:4\*  
f. of *Murašû*, d. of *Eppeš-ilī*, 122:22  
72:13  
*Šadānu*, (*Šá*-du-nu), s. of [ . . ], d. of *Eppeš-ilī*,  
153:2'  
*Šākin-šumi*, (GAR-MU),  
s. of *Šuma-ušur*, d. of *Šigūa*, 77:20  
f. of *Nabû-zēra-iqīša*, 79:3  
*Šamaš-aḥa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠEŠ-MU),  
s. of *Nergal-dannu*, d. of *Iddin-Šamaš*,  
103:5, 9  
s. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, d. of *Bābūtu*, 90:25  
*Šamaš-aḥḥē-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU), f. of  
*Šamaš-ukīn*, d. of *Hunzû*, 103:12  
*Šamaš-apla-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-A-MU), s. of *Mušēzib-*  
*Marduk*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 92:21  
*Šamaš-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-KÁM, <sup>d</sup>UTU-APIN<sup>eš</sup>\*),  
f. of *Iddin-Nergal*, 99:12, 17\*  
f. of *Ninurta-ašarēdu*, 99:39

- Šamaš-erība*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-SU),  
 s. of *Bēl-aḫḫē-erība*, 99:36  
 f. of [ . . . ]-*napšāti*, 141:Obv. 9'  
 d. of *Nappāḫu*, 8:12  
*Šamaš-ēfir*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-SUR, <sup>d</sup>UTU-KAR<sup>ir\*</sup>),  
 s. of *Šāpik-zēri*, d. of [*Nādin*]-*še<sup>2</sup>im*, 34:3'  
 f. of *Marduk-rēmāni*, d. of *Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sīsē*, 109:44\*  
 f. of [ . . . ], d. of *Gallābu*, 109:43  
*Šamaš-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-DÜ), f. of *Šuma-iddin*, 121:18  
*Šamaš-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-MU),  
 s. of *Ardiya*, 91:18  
 s. of *Marduk-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Šarru-teslītu*,  
 86:3, 12  
 s. of *Nabû-gāmil*, 99:4  
 s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Agru*, 26:13  
 f. of *Balāssu*, 99:40  
 f. of *Gūzānu*, 120:13  
 d. of *Šangû-Bābili*, 6:12  
*Šamaš-kāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-KÁD), s. of *Nabû-mukīn-apli*,  
 91:11, 14  
*Šamaš-mukīn-apli*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-GIN-A), f. of *Bulluṭūa*,  
 d. of *Naggāru*, 90:22  
*Šamaš-napšāti*-[ . . . ], (<sup>d</sup>UTU-ZI<sup>ti</sup>-[X]), 121:3  
*Šamaš-nāšir*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-PAP, <sup>d</sup>UTU-na-šir\*), s. of  
*Mušibši-Marduk*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*,  
 89:5\*; 90:3; 92:18\*  
*Šamaš-šuma-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-MU-MU), f. of *Erība-  
 Marduk*, d. of *Ur-Nanna*, 69:18  
*Šamaš-šuma-ukīn*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-MU-ú-kin), 130:28  
*Šamaš-šuma-ukīn*, (<sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA), RN,  
 5:10; 6:16  
*Šamaš-uballit*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-TIN, <sup>d</sup>UTU-TIN<sup>it\*</sup>),  
 s. of *Aplaya*, d. of *Bēl-ēfir*, 47:3  
 f. of *Bēl-ittannu*, 91:19  
*Šamaš-ukīn*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-GIN), s. of *Šamaš-aḫḫē-iddin*,  
 d. of *Ḫunzû*, 103:11  
*Šamaš-zēra-ibni*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-NUMUN-DÜ),  
 s. of *Taqiš-Gula*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 90:19  
 f. of *Gimillu*, d. of *Sîn-šadānu*, 74:2  
 f. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*, 90:23  
 f. of *Rīmūt*, 91:2  
*Šambā*, (*Šá-am-ba<sup>2</sup>*), a. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*, 57:9  
*Šāmi<sup>c</sup>*, (*Šá-mi-i*), s. of *Adōn*, 6:11  
*Šamšaya*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU-a-a), s. of *Kalbaya*, 94:13  
*Šangû*-[ . . . ], (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>[ . . . ]),  
 a. of *Bunene*-[ . . . ], 152:2'  
 a. of [ . . . ], 132:R.E. 1'; 160:4'  
*Šangû-Adad*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>IM),  
 a. of [ . . . ]-*ēfir-napšāti*, 30:3  
 a. of [ . . . ], 32:2'  
*Šangû-A[kkad]*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>uru</sup>A-[*ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*]), a. of  
*Bēlšunu*, 121:22  
*Šangû-Bābili*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>), a. of *Šamaš-  
 iddin*, 6:13  
*Šangû-Ea*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>IDIM, <sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>É-a\*,  
<sup>lu</sup>É.MAŠ-<sup>d</sup>IDIM\*\*),  
 a. of *Arad-Marduk*, 53:19\*\*; 79:18  
 a. of *Ile<sup>2</sup>i-šūzubu-Marduk*, 69:15\*  
 a. of *Lāqīp*, 122:21\*  
 a. of *Marduk-bēlšunu*, 66:16; 67:16  
 a. of *Marduk-šākin-šumi*, 106:4  
 a. of *Nabû-šuma-iškun*, 106:17  
 a. of *Nabû-tabtani-ušur*, 63:13\*  
 a. of *Niqūdu*, 27:3'  
 a. of *Zababa-šuma-iddin*, 122:19\*  
*Šangû-Gula*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la), a. of *Šuma-iddin*,  
 80:12  
*Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>INNIN-  
 TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>, <sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>INNIN-GAŠAN-E<sup>ki\*</sup>),  
 a. of *Iddinaya*, 121:17  
 a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 91:20  
 a. of *Lūši-ana-nūri*, 92:25\*  
 a. of *Marduk-mukīn-apli*, 92:23\*  
 a. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, 38:14  
*Šangû-Nabû*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>AG), a. of *Bēl-rēmāni*,  
 97:21  
*Šangû-Nanaya*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Na-na, <sup>lu</sup>SANGA-  
<sup>d</sup>Na-na-a\*),  
 a. of *Bēlšunu*, 81:6  
 a. of *Nūrea*, 81:3  
 a. of *Ea-nāšir*, 75:10\*  
*Šangû-Nergal*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>U+GUR), a. of *Nidintu*,  
 115:5  
*Šangû-Ninurta*, (<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ),  
 a. of *Bāniya*, 52:4, 17  
 a. of *Bāba-aḫa-iddin*, 103:14

- a. of *Bēl-apla-iddin*, 74:16  
a. of *Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti*, 109:14  
*Šangû-Parakku*, (<sup>lú</sup>SANGA-BÁRA),  
a. of *Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin*, 34:5'  
a. of *Qīšti-Marduk*, 58:4  
*Šangû-Šamaš*, (<sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU),  
a. of *Bēl-bullissu*, 121:21  
a. of *Bēl-ittannu*, 121:20  
a. of *Bēl-rēmanni*, 89:11; 90:5; 91:3; 92:27;  
93:8; 94:5  
a. of *Ina-tēšī-eṭir*, 113:3  
a. of *Nabû-kāšir*, 92:20  
a. of *Šamaš-nāšir*, 89:6; 90:4; 92:19  
*Šangû-Zāriqu*, (<sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Za-ri-qu),  
a. of *Mūrānu*, 10:12  
a. of *Tabnēa*, 75:12; 76:9; 79:13  
<sup>f</sup>*Šannā*, (<sup>f</sup>Šá-an-na-a), sl. of *Bēl-iddin*, m. of  
<sup>f</sup>*Tabluṭu*, 59:1, 8, 10, 16, 18, 21  
*Šāpik-zēri*, (DUB-NUMUN),  
s. of *Arad-Nabû*, d. of *Egibi*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 18:15  
s. of *Kalbaya*, d. of *Maštuk*, 108:1  
s. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 86:16  
s. of *Nabû-šuma-iddin*, d. of *Nādin-še<sup>2</sup>i*, 51:1, 6  
s. of *Nergal-ušallim*, d. of *Sîn-karābi-išme*,  
52:14  
s. of [ . . . ], d. of *Maštuk*, 43:4'  
f. of *Bēl*-[ . . . ], 124:1  
f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Paḥḥāru*, 88:7  
f. of *Nabû-kāšir*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 92:20  
f. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddē*, d. of *Miširaya*,  
97:7  
f. of *Šamaš-ēṭir*, d. of *Nādin-še<sup>2</sup>i*, 34:3'  
f. of [<sup>f</sup>. . .], 29:2  
<sup>Š</sup>*arru-teslītu*, (LUGAL-A.RA.ZU<sup>ú</sup>), a. of *Šamaš-*  
*iddin*, 86:4  
*Šellebi*, (<sup>Š</sup>e-el-le-bi),  
s. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Nappāḥu*, 98:3, 7, 9  
s. of *Iqūpu*, <sup>lú</sup>(<sup>!</sup>)ŠIM <sup>d</sup>Zababa, 119:6  
s. of *Šumu-libši*, 7:9  
f. of *Bēl-uballit*, d. of *Ea-eppeš-ilī*, 118:7  
f. of *Nabû-iqīša*, d. of *Atkuppu*, 61:3  
<sup>Š</sup>*eru<sup>2</sup>a-aḥa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>EDIN-ŠEŠ-MU), f. of *Nergal-*  
*ina-tēšī-eṭir*, 90:3  
<sup>f</sup>*Šidati*, (<sup>f</sup>Ši-da-ti), dau. of *Sillaya*, d. of *eppeš-ilī*,  
w. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, m. of *Rīmūt-Bēl*,  
46:2, 7, 10, 12  
*Šigūa*, (<sup>Š</sup>i-gu-ú-a),  
a. of *Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk*, 61:9  
a. of *Bēl-lūmur*, 65:8  
a. of *Ea-iddin*, 118:17; 119:10  
a. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit*, 69:5  
a. of *Šākin-šumi*, 77:20  
*Šikkū*, (<sup>Š</sup>ik-ku-ú),  
f. of *Bēl-iddin*, 126:2  
<sup>f</sup>*Šikkū*, (<sup>f</sup>Šik-ku-ú),  
sl. of *Nabû-iqīša*, 61:1  
<sup>Š</sup>*irku*, (<sup>Š</sup>i-rik, <sup>Š</sup>i-iš-ki\*),  
s. of *Iddinaya*, d. of *Egibi*, 68:5  
65:2\* (aka *Marduk-nāšir-apli*)  
<sup>Š</sup>*itā*, (<sup>Š</sup>i-ṭa-<sup>2</sup>), s. of *Nabû-dayyānu*, 126:16  
<sup>Š</sup>u-[ . . . ], (<sup>Š</sup>u-[x-x]), a. of <sup>f</sup>*Kalbatu*, 77:26  
<sup>Š</sup>*ulaya*, (<sup>Š</sup>u-la-a),  
s. of *Iqīšaya*, d. of *Amēl-Ea*, 55:8  
s. of *Marduk*, d. of *Šāḥitu*, 109:17  
s. of *Nabû-kuzub-ilāni*, 45:1  
s. of *Nabû-nāšir*, 99:8  
f. of *Arad-Bēl*, 94:15  
f. of *Bēl-apla-ušur*, d. of *Nūr-Sîn*, 14:14  
f. of *Bēl-kēšir*, d. of *Egibi*, 61:4  
f. of *Išum-iddin*, 83:5  
f. of *Itti-Nabû-balātu*, d. of *Egibi*, 61:6  
f. of *Marduk-bēl-zēri*, d. of *Ušur-amāt-Ea*,  
102:9'  
f. of *Marduk-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Pappaya*,  
50:23  
f. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin*, d. of *Egibi*, 46:17;  
48:8; 50:18; 53:7; 55:5  
<sup>Š</sup>*ullumu*, (<sup>Š</sup>ul-lu-mu),  
f. of *Balātu*, d. of *Nabaya*, 135:8  
f. of *Lābāši*, d. of *Mudammiq-Adad*, 145:5'  
<sup>Š</sup>*ulum-Bābili*, (<sup>Š</sup>u-lum-E<sup>ki</sup>), s. of *Nabû-nāšir*,  
d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 97:23  
<sup>Š</sup>*umaya*, (<sup>Š</sup>u-ma-a),  
d. of *Bā<sup>2</sup>iru*, 6:12  
5:1; 6:1; 45:10  
<sup>Š</sup>*uma-iddin*, (MU-MU),

- s. of *Šamaš-ibni*, 121:18  
s. of *Tattannu*, 126:13  
s. of *Zēriya*, d. of *Šangû-Gula*, 80:11  
f. of *Amurru-aḥa-ušur*, 68:2  
*Šuma-ukîn*, (MU-GIN, MU-GI.NA\*),  
s. of *Mu[šallimu(?)]*, 53:1\*  
s. of *Nabû-na-[. . .]*, d. of *Sippēa*, 28:11  
s. of *Nāšir*, d. of *Arad-Ea*, 84:1, 15; 85:2,  
10, 19; 86:4, 7, 18; 154:3  
f. of *Ibnaya*, d. of *Ētir*, 89:13  
f. of *Lūši-ana-nūri*, d. of *Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-  
Bābili*, 92:25  
f. of *Mušēzib-Marduk*, d. of *Ilī-tillatī*, 86:15  
f. of [. . .], 105:1'  
<sup>lú</sup>GA[L *a-mil-tu<sub>4</sub>*<sup>meš</sup>], 94:2  
*Šuma-ušur*, (MU-ÜR), f. of *Šākin-šumi*, d. of  
*Šigūa*, 77:20  
*Šumu-libši*, (MU-līb-ši, MU-lib-ši\*, MU-TUK<sup>š</sup>\*\*\*,  
(MU)-GÁL-ši\*\*\*),  
f. of *Šellebi*, 7:9\*\*  
a. of *Bēl-iddin*, 26:16  
a. of *Bulluṭ*, 29:3\*\*  
a. of *Lābāši-Marduk* (aka *Lābāši*), 84:14;  
86:16; 148:11'  
a. of *Nabû-[. . .]*, 147:12'  
a. of *Nergal-iddin*, 140:16  
a. of *Per<sup>2</sup>u*, 27:5\*\*\*, 153:Rev. 4'  
*Šūzubu*, (*Šu-zu-bu*),  
f. of *Iddin-Nabû*, d. of *Kānik-bābi*, 97:19  
f. of *Mušallim-Marduk*, d. of *Kānik-bābi*,  
97:20  
f. of *Nabû-rēma-šukun*, 55:2  
f. of *Qīšti-Marduk*, d. of *Kānik-bābi*, 96:9
- Ta-[. . .]*, (*Ta-x-[x]-x*), f. of *Kušurra*, 119:11  
<sup>f</sup>*Tabluṭu*, (<sup>f</sup>*Tab-lu-ṭu*),  
dau. of *Ardiya*, d. of *Ea-epeš-ilī*, 114:3  
sl. of *Bēl-iddin*, dau. of <sup>f</sup>*Šannā*, 59:1, 10  
*Tabnêa*, (*Tab-né-e-a*),  
s. of *Marduk-šuma-ibni*, d. of *Ša-nāšišu*,  
66:5; 67:5, 7, 11, 13  
s. of *Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Zāriqu*,  
75:11; 76:7; 79:12
- s. of *Nabû-šuma-ukîn*, d. of *Nūpu*, <sup>lú</sup>šID,  
47:17  
s. of *Nergal-ētir*, 99:37  
f. of *Itti-Marduk-balātu*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*,  
114:14  
f. of *Mušallim-Marduk*, d. of *Sîn-šadānu*,  
63:14  
f. of *Nabû-ēreš*, d. of *Aḥu-bani*, 79:16  
25:14'  
*Taqiš-Gula*, (*Ta-qiš-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME*, *Ta-qiš-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la\**),  
f. of *Šamaš-zēra-ibni*, d. of *Mušēzib*, 90:19  
f. of <sup>f</sup>*Tašmētu-damqat*, d. of *Atû*, 54:9\*  
<sup>f</sup>*Tašmētu-damqat*, (<sup>f</sup>*Taš-me-tu<sub>4</sub>-dam-qát*), dau. of  
*Taqiš-Gula*, d. of *Atû*, 54:8  
*Tati-[. . .]*, (*Ta-ti(?)-[. . .]*), f. of *Nabû-[. . .]*,  
117:Obv.  
*Tattannu*, (*Tat-tan-nu*),  
f. of *Šuma-iddin*, 126:13  
127:R.E. 2 Seal caption  
*Tu-[. . .]*, (*Tu-[. . .]*), f. of *Nabû-zēra-ušabši*, d. of  
<sup>Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sīsē</sup>, 147:13'  
*Tuku[liti(?)-. . .]*, (*Tu-ku<sub>8</sub>-u[l(?)-ti(?)-(<sup>d</sup>. . .)]*), f.  
of *Marduk-rēmāni*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 36:2  
*Tukulti-Marduk*, (*Tu-kul-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU*), s. of  
*Lābāši*, d. of *Amēlu*, DUB.SAR, 61:11
- Ṭābiḥu*, (<sup>lú</sup>GÍR.LÁ), a. of *Nabû-ētir-napšāti*, 18:14  
*Ṭābiya*, (*Ṭa-bi-ia*, *Ta-bi-ía\**, DÜG.GA-ia\*\*),  
f. of *Bēl-ittannu*, 93:3\*\*, 18\*\*  
f. of *Nabû-apla-iddin*, d. of *Suḥaya*, 49:16\*  
f. of *Nabû-uballiṭ*, 92:10\*\*  
f. of [. . .], d. of *Gaḥal*, 130:2  
f. of [. . .], 138:5'
- Uballissu-Gula*, (*Ú-bal-liṭ-su-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la*), <sup>lú</sup>šID, 92:8  
*Uballissu-Marduk*, (*Ú-bal-liṭ-su-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU*,  
*Ú-bala-su-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU\**),  
f. of *Ea-iddin*, d. of *Aḥu-bani*, 122:24  
a. of *Nabû-bāni-zēri*, 44:12\*  
*Ubār*, (*U-bar*, *Ú-bar\**, *Ú-ba-ri\*\**),  
s. of *Bēl-iddin*, d. of *Pappaya*, 120:2  
s. of *Ea-lūmur*, 123:6\*, 3\*  
s. of *Nabû-[. . .]*, 67:19

- s. of *Nabû-iddin*, 120:7  
s. of *Nabû-ušallim*, d. of *Kašsidakku*, 100:8  
f. of *Bēl-ana-mērehtu*, 118:19a  
f. of *Bēl-ikšur*, d. of *Bēl-ētir*, 121:19\*  
f. of *Nādin-aḫi*, 99:11\*, 13\*, 16\*, 22\*, 44\*  
Ur-Nanna, (Ur-<sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI),  
a. of *Bēl-usāti*, 142:5'  
a. of *Ea(?)-lūmur*, 144:15'  
a. of *Erība-Marduk*, 69:19  
a. of [. . .]-*nāšir*, 144:17'  
*Ušur-amāssu*, (*Ú-šur(!)-a-mat-su*), a. of *Nabû-mušētiq-uddē*, 37:13  
*Ušur-amāt-Ea*, (*Ú-šur-a-mat-<sup>d</sup>IDIM, U-šur-a-mat-<sup>d</sup>É-a\**),  
a. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, 88:2  
a. of *Iddin-Nabû*, 17:17\*  
a. of *Marduk-bēl-zēri*, 102:10'  
a. of *Zababa-aḫa-iddin*, 88:6  
*Uzbu-Erra*, (*Uz-bu-<sup>d</sup>Ēr-ra*), s. of *Nabû-ušabši*, 99:34
- Zababa-aḫa-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>*Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-ŠEŠ-MU*), s. of [. . .], d. of *Ušur-amāt-Ea*, 88:5  
*Zababa-ēreš*, (<sup>d</sup>*Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-KĀM*), s. of *Libluṭ*, d. of *Esagilaya*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 35:12  
*Zababa-nādin-aḫi*, (<sup>d</sup>*Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-na-din-ŠEŠ*), s. of [*Bēl-ēti*]r, d. of *Nādin-še<sup>2</sup>i*, 140:13  
*Zababa-šuma-iddin*, (<sup>d</sup>*Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-MU-MU*), s. of *Arad-Nabû*, 142:3'  
s. of *Marduk-zākir-šumi*, d. of *Šangû-Ea*, 122:18  
*Zabûnu*, (*Za-bu-ú-nu*), 7:2, 10  
*Zākir*, (*Za-kir*),  
f. of *Nergal-nāšir*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 95:11  
f. of [. . .], 27:1'  
*Zēraya*, (NUMUN-a-a),  
a. of *Marduk-šuma-ibni*, 53:15  
a. of *Nergal-iddin*, 83:4  
*Zēriya*, (NUMUN-ia, NUMUN-ía\*, *Ze-ri-ia\*\**),  
s. of *Nabû-ētir*, d. of *Bā<sup>2</sup>iru*, 10:8  
f. of *Bēl-ēpuš*, 45:6  
f. of *Bēl-ušallim*, d. of *Nabaya*, 77:21\*  
f. of *Ina-tēšî-ētir*, d. of *Šangû-Šamaš*, 113:3
- f. of *Lābāši*, d. of *Nabaya*, 57:3\*\*  
f. of *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*, d. of *Itinnu*, 51:11  
f. of *Nādin*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 102:2  
f. of *Šuma-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Gula*, 80:11  
d. of *Amēl-Ea*, 17:3, 6, 10  
64:11  
*Zērūtu*, (NUMUN-tú, NUMUN-ú-tu\*, NUMUN-utu\*\*),  
s. of *Ammīni-ilī*, 23:7  
s. of *Nabû-zēra-iddin*, 54:14  
s. of [. . .], d. of *Damqa*, 145:2\*  
45:15\*\*  
*Zirqu*, (*Zir-qu*), s. of *Nabû-zēra-ušabši*, 30:6  
<sup>f</sup>*Zunnaya*, (<sup>f</sup>*Zu-un-na-a*), w. of *Bēl-kāšir*, m. of *Bēl-usāti*, 102:3, 5
- <sup>lú</sup>. . ., (LÚ-[. . .]),  
a. of [. . .], s. of *Ašarēdu*, 8:2  
a. of [. . .], s. of *Nabû-[. . .]*, 85:16  
a. of [. . .], s. of [<sup>d</sup>. . .]-*šuma-iddin*, 133:13'  
[. . .]-*a*, ([. . .]-x-a), s. of *Nergal-. . .*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 141:Obv. 2'  
[. . .]-*aḫḫē-erība*, ([<sup>d</sup>x]-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SU), f. of *Lābāši*, d. of *Atkuppu*, 135:10  
[. . .]-*ati*, ([. . .]-a-ti), a. of *Na<sup>2</sup>id-Marduk*, 8:3  
[. . .]-*Bāb*]ili, ([x-TIN.TI]R<sup>ki</sup>), f. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, d. of *Ušur-amāt-Ea*, 88:2  
[. . .]-*balās*]su-iqbi, ([<sup>d</sup>x-(x)-TIN]-su-iq-bi), f. of [..]-*ia*, d. of *Suḫaya*, 139:Rev. 7'  
[. . .]-*bāni-apli*, ([<sup>d</sup>x]-DÛ-A), 25:5'  
[. . .]-*b/maya*, (x-x-x-<sup>2</sup>-ba/ma-a-a), f(?). of *Nabû-aḫa/aḫḫē-[. . .]*, 36:7  
[. . .]-*Bēl*, ([x]-x-<sup>d</sup>EN, [. . .]-<sup>d</sup>EN\*),  
s. of *Nādin-aḫi*, 137:12'  
116:5\*  
[. . .]-*bullissu*, ([<sup>d</sup>x]-TIN-su), f. of *Ea-iddin-[. . .]*, 127:15  
[. . .]-*ētir*, (<sup>d</sup>x-SUR), f. of *Nergal-uballiṭ*, 132:Rev. 11'  
[. . .]-*ētir*, ([. . .]-x-KAR), 158:2'  
[. . .]-*ētir-napšāti*, ([<sup>d</sup>x]-KAR-ZI<sup>meš</sup>), s. of *Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin*, d. of *Šangû-Adad*, 30:2  
[. . .]-*ia*, ([x x]-ia), s. of [. . .]-*balāssu-iqbi*, d. of *Suḫaya*, <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, 139:Rev. 6'

- [. . .]-*iqbi*, ([. . .]-*iq-bi*), 157:2'  
 [. . .]-*Marduk*, ([x x]-<sup>d</sup>ŠÚ, x-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU\*,  
 [. . .]-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU\*\*),  
 s. of [. . .], d. of *Arad-Nergal*(?), <sup>lú</sup>šID, 9:3'  
 f. of *Iddinaya*, d. of *Esagilaya*, 28:13\*  
 143:Obv. 9'\*\*\*
- [. . .]-*me*, ([x x]-*me*), 125:U.E. 5 Seal caption  
 [. . .]-MU, ([x-x]-MU, [. . .-M]U\*),  
 s. of *Nabû*-[. . .], 140:2  
 s. of *Nabû-mušeṭtiq-uddê*, 121:18\*
- [. . .]-MU-[. . .], (x-MU-x), s. of [. . .], d. of *Suḫaya*,  
 31:1'
- [. . .]-*na-Marduk*, ([. . .]-x-na-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU), 148:4'  
 [. . .]-*napšāti*, ([<sup>d</sup>x-x]-ZI<sup>meš</sup>), s. of *Šamaš-erība*,  
 141:Obv. 9'
- [. . .]-*nāšir*, ([<sup>d</sup>x]-ÛRU<sup>ir</sup>), f. of [. . .], d. of  
 Ur-Nanna, 144:17'
- [. . .]-*nê*, (x-x-*né-e*(?)), f. of *Arad-Bêl*, 14:6  
 [. . .]-*Ninurta*, (x-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta), a. of *Nabû-zêra*-  
 [. . .], 142:2'
- [. . .]-*qaya*, ([. . .]-qa(?)-a-a), f. of *Nabû-balāssu-  
 iqbi*, 121:6
- [. . .]-*šuma-iddin*, ([<sup>d</sup>x]-MU-MU), f. of [. . .],  
 d. of <sup>lú</sup>[. . .], 133:13'
- [. . .]-*tuŠamaš*, (x-[x-x]-*tú*/UTU), 156:6'  
 [. . .]-*û*, ([x]-x-<sup>o</sup>-*û*), 83:11  
 [. . .]-*uballit*, ([<sup>d</sup>x]-TIN<sup>it</sup>),  
 s. of [. . .], d. of *Arad-Nergal*, 140:4  
 f. of [. . .], 112:2  
 f. of [. . .], d. of *Sîn*-[. . .], 133:12'
- [. . .]-*ušur*(?), ([<sup>d</sup>(x)-x]-ÛRU(?)), f. of [. . .],  
 d. of *Bā<sup>o</sup>iru*, 22:12
- [. . .]-*ušallim*, ([<sup>d</sup>]<sub>x</sub> x-GI), s. of [. . .], d. of  
*Ātamar-Sîn*, 151:1'
- Ālu-ša*-BAD-MAḪ-AN<sup>ki</sup>, (URU(?)-*ša*-<sup>l</sup>BAD-  
 MAḪ-AN<sup>ki</sup>),  
 in date formula: 30:15
- Ālu-ša-Šuma-ukīn*, (URU-*ša*-<sup>l</sup>MU-GIN),  
 in date formula: [84:15; 85:19]; 86:18
- Akkad, (*A-ga-dè*<sup>ki</sup>, *A-kad*<sup>ki\*</sup>), 13:3\*; 19:5; 20:6; 21:3
- Ba*(?)-*milkišu*, (<sup>ur</sup>Ba-mil-ki-*šu*),  
 in date formula: 28:15
- Bāb-nēsē*, (KÁ UR.⟨MAḪ⟩<sup>meš</sup>), 92:2, 4
- Babylon, (TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>, E<sup>ki\*</sup>, KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki\*\*</sup>,  
 KÁ.DINGIR<sup>meš.ki\*\*\*</sup>), 21:4; 94:2, 4; 103:3;  
 117:Rev. 2\*\*; 119:5\*  
 in date formula: 6:15; 8:15; 9:4'; 10:14;  
 12:15; 16:12; 17:18; 18:16; 19:17; 21:4;  
 22:15; 23:10; 26:16; 27:4'; 29:3'; 31:6';  
 33:13\*; 35:14\*; 37:16; 38:18; 39:11; 44:16;  
 46:18; 47:19; 48:21; 49:17; 50:25; 51:14;  
 52:17; 53:20; 54:16; 55:12; 56:22; 57:13;  
 58:15; 59:28\*; 61:12; 62:16; 63:16; 66:16\*;  
 67:22\*; 69:19; 75:14; 77:23; 79:18; 80:14\*;  
 81:15; 82:14; 87:15; 88:10; 90:27; 94:17;  
 95:15; 96:14; 97:25\*; 98:18; 100:10; 101:9;  
 102:10'; 104:3'; 106:18\*; 107:21; 108:3\*;  
 112:16; 114:17; 115:18; 116:4'; 118:22\*\*;  
 119:14\*; 120:18\*; 122:25; 123:9'; 124:15;  
 130:34; 131:1'; 138:6'; 139:8'; 140:16;  
 142:6'; 145:6'  
 in royal title: 6:17; 7:10'; 8:17\*; 9:6'; 10:15;  
 11:14; 12:17; 13:3; 14:17; 16:14; 17:20;  
 18:18; 19:19; 22:17; 23:14\*; 24:5'; 25:15';  
 26:19; 27:6'\*; 28:17\*; 29:5'; 30:17; 31:7';  
 32:4'; 33:15\*; 34:8'; 35:15\*; 36:7'; 37:20\*;  
 38:20; 39:13; 40:7'\*; 41:16; 42:4'\*; 45:18;  
 46:20; 47:21; 48:22; 49:19; 50:27\*; 51:15;  
 52:19\*; 53:22; 54:17; 55:14; 56:24; 57:14;  
 58:17; 59:30; 60:13; 61:14\*; 62:18; 63:18;  
 65:14\*; 66:18\*; 67:23; 68:20; 69:21\*;  
 74:20\*; 75:16\*; 76:12; 77:24; 78:11\*; 79:20;  
 80:16; 81:17; 82:16\*; 84:17; 85:21\*;  
 86:19\*;  
 87:16\*;  
 88:11\*;  
 89:20\*;  
 90:28; 91:24; 92:30;  
 93:20; 94:18; 95:18; 96:16; 97:26\*;  
 98:19\*;  
 99:43; 100:13\*;  
 101:12\*\*;  
 102:11'; 103:16;  
 104:5'; 105:5'; 106:19\*;  
 107:22; 108:5\*;

## Place Names

### Neo-Babylonian

- Ālu-eššu*, (<sup>ur</sup>GIBIL<sup>ki</sup>, URU *eš-šu*\*), 141:14'  
 in date formula: 36:6'\*

109:47\*; 111:6\*; 112:18; 113:16\*; 114:19\*;  
 115:20\*; 116:6\*; 118:24\*\*\*; 119:16\*;  
 120:20\*; 121:25; 122:26; 123:10'; 124:16';  
 131:2'; 138:8'; 140:18; 151:8'  
*Bahē*, (<sup>uru</sup>*Ba-ḥe-e*, <sup>uru.garim</sup>*Ba-ḥe-e\**, <sup>garim</sup>*Ba-ḥe-*  
*e\*\**), 10:4; 32:3\*\*  
 in date formula: 14:15\*\*; 32:2'\*\*; 105:3'  
*Bir<sup>2</sup>ilu*, (<sup>edin</sup>*Bi-ru-il*), 92:2; 93:1  
*Bīt-āli-[x]*, (É URU *sa-⟨x⟩a-ba-tik-bu-[x]*),  
 in date formula: 109:45  
*Bīt-šar-Bābili*, (<sup>uru</sup>É-LUGAL-E<sup>ki</sup>),  
 in date formula: 60:11  
*Bīt-Ṭāb-Bēl*, (<sup>uru</sup>É-*ta-bi-d*EN),  
 in date formula: 74:17  
*Bīt Zabūnu*, (É *Za-bu-ú-nu*), 7:2, 10  
*Bitqu-ša-Ile<sup>2</sup>i-Bēl*, (*Bi-it-qu šá* DA-<sup>d</sup>EN, *Bi-it-qu*  
*šá* UGU-<sup>d</sup>EN\*), 66:2; 67:4\*  
 Borsippa, (*Bar-sip<sup>ki</sup>*, *Bār-sipa<sup>ki\*</sup>*), 73:3; 109:3;  
 133:6'\*  
 in date formula: 76:11; 111:4'\*  
*Dūr-reḥi*, (<sup>uru</sup>*Du-ur-re-ḥi*), 83:9  
*Ḥaṭallua*, (<sup>uru</sup>*Ḥa-ṭal-lu-ú-a*), 126:4, 6  
*Ḥimeri*, (<sup>uru</sup>*Ḥi-me-ri*),  
 in date formula: 5:8  
*Hursagkamma*, (*Hur-sag-kalam-ma<sup>ki</sup>*, <sup>uru</sup>*Hur-*  
*sa-kalam-ma\**),  
 in date formula: 65:12, 151:6'\*  
*Kār-Bēl-mātāti*, (KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN-KUR.KUR),  
 in date formula: 99:42  
*Kiš*, (*Kiš-šu<sup>ki</sup>*), 73:6, 11  
*Laḥīr*, (<sup>uru</sup>*La-ḥi-ir*),  
 in date formula: 68:17  
*Nār-Madānu*, (<sup>uru</sup>ID-<sup>d</sup>DL.KUD),  
 in date formula: 128:19  
*Nippur*, (EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup>), 99:2  
 in date formula: 126:18  
*Sippar*, (*Sip-par<sup>ki</sup>*, UD.KIB.NUN<sup>ki\*</sup>), 91:23, 92:2,  
 6\*; 93:1  
 in date formula: 89:19; 92:28\*; 93:18\*;  
 113:14\*; 121:23\*  
*Šaḥrinu*, (<sup>uru</sup>*Šaḥ-ri-nu*), 136:4  
*Uruk*, (UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), 7:2  
 in date formula: 7:9'; 103:15

## Canals and Watercourses

*Bitqu-ša-ile<sup>2</sup>i-Bēl*, (*Bi-it-qu šá* DA-<sup>d</sup>EN, *Bi-it-qu*  
*šá* UGU-<sup>d</sup>EN\*), 66:2; 67:4\*  
*Nār-Bēlet-[. . .]*, (ID-<sup>d</sup>Nin-[x]), 117:obv  
*Nār-Bunene*, (ID-<sup>d</sup>Bu-ne-ne), 93:5  
*Nāru-ša-Gubarru*, (ID-*ša-Gu-[bar]-ru*), 92:3  
*Ḥarru-ša-nēri*, (ID-*Ḥar-ri šá* GÍŠ+U<sup>am</sup>), 7:5  
*Nār-Kutû*, (ID-GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A), 126:6  
*Nār-Madānu*, (ID-<sup>d</sup>DL.KUD), 117:Rev. 1; 128:2  
*Nār-Sîn*, (ID-<sup>d</sup>30), 126:12, Lo.E., U.E.  
 [. . .], (ID-x), 130:12, 18

## Divine Names

### Neo-Babylonian

*Bēl*, (<sup>d</sup>EN), 82:1; 120:1; 124:2; 165:17  
*Bēlet Akkad*, (<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *A-kad<sup>ki</sup>*, <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *A-ga-*  
*dē<sup>ki\*</sup>*, GAŠAN *A-ga-dē<sup>ki\*\*</sup>*), 13:3;  
 19:5\*; 20:6\*\*  
*Bunene*, (<sup>d</sup>Bu-ne-ne, <sup>d</sup>ḤAR\*), 90:10\*, 17  
*Enlil*, (<sup>d</sup>50), 99:29  
*Išhara*, (<sup>d</sup>Iš-ḥa-ri), 96:3  
*Ištar*, (<sup>d</sup>INNIN), 20:6; 21:3  
*Marduk*, (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU, <sup>d</sup>ŠÚ\*), 99:2; 165:3\*  
*Nabû*, (<sup>d</sup>AG, <sup>d</sup>PA\*), 38:1\*; 82:1; 124:2; 165:17\*  
*Ninlil*, (<sup>d</sup>Nin-líl), 99:29; 119:3  
*Ninurta(?)*, (<sup>d</sup>MAŠ(?)), 99:31  
*Šamaš*, (<sup>d</sup>UTU), 92:3, 13  
*Uraš*, (<sup>d</sup>URAŠ), 117:Rev. 2; 120:2; 128:3  
*Zababa*, (<sup>d</sup>Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>), 119:6

## Temple Names

### Neo-Babylonian

*Bīt Bēlet Akkad*, (É <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *Ak-kad<sup>ki</sup>*), 13:3





# Tables

## Chronology

During the first millennium in Assyria, tablets were dated by day, month, and year. The year was designated according to the name of the royal official (or king) who held the office of *limu* (*limmu*) or “eponym.” This official served for a year and on occasion could serve a second term. The Assyrians drew up registers of those who served as annual eponyms. Chronological lists of these officials are preserved from the end of the tenth century (from the second year, 910 B.C., of the reign of Adad-nārāri II [911–891 B.C.]) to 649 B.C. The sequence of eponyms after 648 B.C. is uncertain.<sup>1</sup>

Neo-Babylonian contract tablets are also dated by day, month, and year. In Babylon from the middle of the Kassite dynasty, ca. 1360 B.C., the year was numbered in accordance with the regnal year of the king.<sup>2</sup> When the king died, scribes recorded the year of his death as his last full regnal year. Beginning about 1264 B.C., when a new monarch (in this case Kadašman-Enlil I) ascended the throne, his reign was regarded as beginning in an accession year (wr. MU SAG NAM.LUGAL.LA).<sup>3</sup> This year was the same as the last year of his predecessor and included the remaining months of the calendrical year. The first full regnal year (year 1) began in the spring. From the beginning of the rule in Babylon of the Macedonian monarch Alexander III (330–323 B.C.), the accession-year formula to date the beginning of a king’s reign was rarely used. Because the year ran from Nisannu (March/April) to Addaru (February/March) in the following spring, the Babylonian or Assyrian year overlaps two years in the Julian calendar. In the chart below, for the sake of simplicity, each Babylonian or Assyrian year is designated by only the first of such Julian years, e.g., as “731” rather than the more cumbersome “731/730” (the accession year of the king, when known, is placed in parentheses).

Table of Mesopotamian Rulers from the Seventh to the Fourth Centuries B.C.<sup>4</sup>

### Neo-Assyrian Period

#### Rulers of Assyria

Sennacherib (705) 704–681  
 Esarhaddon (681) 680–669  
 Ashurbanipal (669) 668–ca. 631

#### Rulers of Babylon

Aššur-nādin-šumi (700) 699–694  
 Nergal-ušēzib (694) 693  
 Mušēzib-Marduk (693) 692–689  
 Sennacherib (689) 688–681  
 Esarhaddon (681) 680–669  
 Ashurbanipal (669)  
 Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (668) 667–648  
 Kandalānu 647–627

<p>Aššur-etelli-ilāni          Sîn-šarra-iškun          Sîn-šumu-līšir          Aššur-uballiṭ II</p>	}	<p>ca. 631–609<sup>5</sup></p>
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Neo-Babylonian Period Rulers

Nabopolassar	(626) 625–605
Nebuchadnezzar II	(605) 604–562
Amēl-Marduk	(562) 561–560
Neriglissar	(560) 559–556
Lābāši-Marduk	(556)
Nabonidus	(556) 555–539

Achaemenid (Persian) Period Rulers of Babylon

Cyrus II	(539) 538–530
Cambyses II	(530) 529–522
Bardiya	(522) 522
Nebuchadnezzar III	522
Nebuchadnezzar IV	521
Darius I	(522) 521–486
Xerxes I	(486) 485–465
Bēl-šimānni	(484)
Šamaš-erība	(482)
Artaxerxes I	464–424
Xerxes II	424
Darius II	(424) 423–405
Artaxerxes II	404–359
Artaxerxes III	358–338
Arses	337–336
Darius III	335–331

Control of Mesopotamia  
by Alexander the Great

(331)

## Month Names and the Agricultural Year

In Babylonia the year began in late March to early April, around the time of the spring equinox, and was divided into twelve lunar months containing either twenty-nine or thirty days depending on the visibility of the moon. The days (*ūmū*), the time between consecutive sunsets, had no special names and were simply numbered from one to thirty in date formulae. Months (*arhū*) began just after sunset with the appearance of the thin crescent of the new moon. As the Babylonians calculated the year based both on the seasons and on their observation of twelve successive new moons, the lunar year was about eleven days shorter than the solar year, which is based on the actual time the earth takes to revolve around the sun. In order to reconcile the solar and lunar years, intercalary months—either a second Ulūlu (sixth month) or a second Addaru (twelfth month)—were inserted into the calendar so that seasonal activities such as planting and harvest times associated with certain months would correspond to the proper time of the year. By inserting this extra month when needed every few years the Babylonians also ensured that specific seasonal days and events such as the celebration of the New Year's day (Nisannu day 1) did not fall too far behind the beginning of spring. Sometime after 500 B.C. a nineteen-year intercalary cycle was introduced in which the intercalary months were regularly added to the year at fixed intervals.

### The Agricultural Year

The Babylonian year was based on the agricultural cycle of spring floods, fall planting, and spring harvesting of cereal crops.<sup>6</sup> Barley planting began in the fall during the month of the (seed) plowing (Araḥsamnu) and was harvested in the early spring in the months of Nisannu and Ayyāru.<sup>7</sup> Date palms were pollinated in the early spring and harvested during the seventh and eighth months (Tašritu and Araḥsamnu). The garlic harvest took place during the first and second months of the year.

Neo-Babylonian month names were adopted from the Ur III calendar used at Nippur, which had become standard for all Babylonian cities during the Old Babylonian period. Short forms of the logographic writings of month names were used in the date formula of most economic and administrative texts. Longer forms indicated in parentheses in the chart below were written less often.<sup>8</sup>

Neo-Babylonian Month Names and the Agricultural Cycle<sup>9</sup>

Month No.	Month Name							
1	i <sup>ti</sup> BÁR.(ZAG.GAR)	Nisannu	March/April	estimation of barley yield	barley harvest	date pollination	garlic harvest	sesame planting
2	i <sup>ti</sup> GU <sub>4</sub> .(SI.SÁ)	Ayyāru	April/May	barley harvest	date pollination	sesame planting	Euphrates flood	
3	i <sup>ti</sup> ŠIG <sub>4</sub> .(GA)	Simānu	May/June					
4	i <sup>ti</sup> ŠU.(NUMUN.NA)	Du <sup>2</sup> ūzu	June/July					
5	i <sup>ti</sup> NE.(NE.GAR)	Abu	July/August	estimation of date palm yield				
6	i <sup>ti</sup> KIN.( <sup>d</sup> INNIN.NA)	Ulūlu	August/September	estimation of date palm yield				
6 <sup>II</sup>	i <sup>ti</sup> KIN <sup>II</sup> .(KÁM.MA)/ i <sup>ti</sup> KIN <sup>II</sup> .(NA.KÁM)	Intercalary Ulūlu		<i>kasīya</i> -spice harvest				
7	i <sup>ti</sup> DUG <sub>6</sub> .(KŪ)	Tašritu	September/October	date harvest	<i>kasīya</i> -spice harvest	sesame harvest		
8	i <sup>ti</sup> APIN <sub>6</sub> .(DUG <sub>6</sub> .A)	Araššamnu	October/November	barley planting	date harvest			
9	i <sup>ti</sup> GAN <sub>6</sub> .(GAN.NA)	Kislimu	November/December	barley planting				
10	i <sup>ti</sup> AB <sub>6</sub> .(BA.È)	Ṭebētu	December/January					
11	i <sup>ti</sup> ZÍZ <sub>6</sub> .(A.AN)	Šabaṭu	January/February					
12	i <sup>ti</sup> ŠE <sub>6</sub> .(KIN.KUD)	Addaru	February/March					
12 <sup>II</sup>	i <sup>ti</sup> DIRI ŠE <sub>6</sub> .(KIN.KUD)/ i <sup>ti</sup> ŠE <sub>6</sub> DIRI ŠE <sub>6</sub> .(KIN.KUD)	Intercalary Addaru						

## Weights and Measures

## Neo-Babylonian Weight Measures

Babylonian weight measures were based on the talent or load, termed *biltu* (GÚN), which weighed approximately 30 kg. Smaller units were calculated in accordance with the Sumerian sexagesimal counting system.<sup>10</sup>

1 <i>biltu</i> (GÚN), “talent”	= 60 <i>manû</i> (MA.NA)	= 3,600 <i>šiqu</i> (GÍN)	= ca. 30 kg.
1 <i>manû</i> , “mina”	= 60 <i>šiqu</i> (GÍN)		= ca. 500 gr.
1 <i>šiqu</i> (GÍN), “shekel”	= 180 <i>uṭtetu</i> (ŠE)		= ca. 8.3 gr.
1 <i>uṭtetu</i>			= ca. 50 mg.

Capacity Measures in Neo-Assyrian Texts<sup>11</sup>

The “ass(load),” or homer (Ass. *emāru*), the most common Assyrian large capacity measure, is first attested in northern Mesopotamia in the early second millennium. The standard ratio between *sūtu* and *emāru* seems to have been 10:1; however, the number of *qû* per *sūtu* seems to have varied. During the Neo-Assyrian period the size of the *qû* may have varied from around one to two liters, but precise metric values cannot be assigned with certitude at present.<sup>12</sup>






1 <i>emāru</i> (ANŠE), “homer”	= 10 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)
1 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)	= 10 <i>qû</i> (SILA)

## Capacity Measures in Neo-Babylonian Texts

There exists no definitive evidence for the actual size of capacity measures in the Neo-Babylonian period. The smallest measure, the *akalu*, was probably based “on an approximation of the customary amount of grain (or flour?) used for one flatcake.”<sup>13</sup> The *qû* (SILA) was probably a bit under a liter.

1 <i>kurru</i> (GUR)	= 5 <i>pānu</i> (PI)	= 180 <i>qû</i> (SILA)	
1 <i>pānu</i> (PI)	= 6 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)	= 36 <i>qû</i> (SILA)	
1 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)	= 6 <i>qû</i> (SILA)		
1 <i>qû</i> (SILA)	= 10 <i>akalu</i> (NINDA)		= ca. 1 liter

In Neo-Babylonian writing systems the following signs are used to indicate units of one to five *sūtu*:

	1 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)	= 6 <i>qû</i> (SILA)	
	2 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)	= 12 <i>qû</i> (SILA)	
	3 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)	= 18 <i>qû</i> (SILA)	= 1 <i>šimdu</i>
	4 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)	= 24 <i>qû</i> (SILA)	
	5 <i>sūtu</i> (BÁN)	= 30 <i>qû</i> (SILA)	

In this writing system the number of *kurru* from one to nine are normally written with horizontal wedges, while the number of *pānu* from one to nine are written with vertical wedges. Scribes generally did not write the logogram PI (*pānu*) following a numeral if the amount of the commodity was followed by additional units written with the BÀN sign. PI was written following a numeral when a specified amount of a com-

modity in *pānu* was indicated. PI was also written when the amount followed units of *kurru* or when amounts were followed by units given in *qû* (SĪLA).

#### Neo-Babylonian Length and Area Measures

In the Neo-Babylonian period area for houses and lots was expressed in linear terms in measures of rods (*nindanu*), reeds (*qanû*), cubits (*ammatu*), and fingers (*ubānu*). These terms refer to a “side” of variable length drawn at a right angle to a standard base line or “width” of an imaginary rectangle whose base always remained the same (i.e., one reed, or seven cubits) and whose area increased as the “side” increased.

1 <i>nindanu</i> (NINDA), “rod”	= 2 <i>qanû</i> (GI)	= ca. 7 m.
1 <i>qanû</i> (GI), “reed”	= 7 <i>ammatu</i> (KÛŠ)	= ca. 3.5 m.
1 <i>ammatu</i> (KÛŠ), “cubit”	= 24 <i>ubānu</i> (ŠU.SI), “fingers”	= ca. 50 cm.

#### Neo-Babylonian Seed Measures

Beginning in the seventh (or possibly eighth) century B.C. area (arable land) was expressed in Babylon and Ur by a new system of seed measure.<sup>14</sup> In this system a given area was equated with a specific “seed” capacity. When specific amounts of seed were given, the amount referred to measurement of area. Thus a square area of 100 × 100 cubits was referred to as equivalent to 33 1/3 SĪLA. According to M. Powell, “the capacity equivalents were probably defined by the amount of seed needed to plant the area plus an equal amount to feed the oxen.”<sup>15</sup>

1 <i>qû</i> (SĪLA)	= 300 sq. cubits	= ca. 75 sq. m.
1 <i>sūtu</i> (BĀN)	= 1800 sq. cubits	= ca. 450 sq. m.
1 <i>pānu</i> (PI)	= 10800 sq. cubits	= ca. 2700 sq. m.
1 <i>kurru</i> (GUR)	= 54000 sq. cubits	= ca. 13500 sq. m.

1. See further A. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612 BC*, SAAS 2 (Helsinki, 1994).
2. See further J. A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1976), pp. 397–417.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
4. For Babylonian chronology in the seventh century, see G. Frame, *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.: A Political History* (Istanbul, 1992), chap. 3.
5. The chronology of the collapse of the Assyrian empire following the death of Ashurbanipal in ca. 631 is not certain. See, most recently, N. Na’aman, “Chronology and History in the Late Assyrian Empire (631–619 B.C.),” *ZA* 81 (1991), pp. 243–67.
6. On the climate and flood cycle of Mesopotamia, see R. McCormick Adams, *Heartland of Cities* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 3–14, and for land and water use in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, see *ibid.*, pp. 186–88.
7. See further B. Landsberger, “Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen,” *JNES* 8 (1949), pp. 248–97.
8. See J. A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History* 1, pp. 398–401.
9. Neo-Assyrian months, with the exception of Kanūnu (month 10), and the rare intercalary sixth month (wr.<sup>iti</sup>KIN *ur-ki-i*), correspond to their Babylonian counterparts. See J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents* (Warminster, 1976), p. 72. For the cycle of planting and harvesting of agricultural products, see Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 27–35.
10. See Powell, “Masse und Gewichte,” pp. 508–14.
11. For Neo-Assyrian weights and measures, see J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents*, pp. 63–72, and Powell, “Masse und Gewichte,” pp. 471–77, 492, 501–2, 515–17.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 500–502.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 498.
14. For the Neo-Babylonian system of seed measure used at Uruk and possibly at Sippar, see *ibid.*, pp. 483–84.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS  
IN  
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART





Neo-Assyrian Private Archive Texts  
from the Seventh Century B.C.  
Primarily from Nimrud (Text Nos. 1–4)

The Archive of Šamaš-šarru-ušur  
*J. N. Postgate*

### Introduction

With the exception of the unprovenanced fragment No. 4, all of the Neo-Assyrian tablets presented here derive from Sir Max Mallowan's fifth season of excavation at Nimrud in 1953. They form part of the archive of a certain Šamas-šarru-ušur, a high official who was active during the reign of Ashurbanipal in the mid- to late seventh century B.C., and were found in what presumably was his residence on the north-east corner of the acropolis mound of Kalḫu.<sup>1</sup> These pieces, which will be edited as part of the entire archive in a volume of the series *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud* currently in preparation by J. N. Postgate and Dr. R. Mattila, include one silver loan and two triangular labels of the type used for grain loans, probably sealing an Aramaic version of the same text written on a scroll of parchment or papyrus.

The sealed tablets (Nos. 1–3) represent two types of administrative documents. The standard seventh-century B.C. Neo-Assyrian contract consisted of a rectangular-shaped tablet enclosed in a clay envelope or case. The case tablet (No. 1a) was impressed with a seal impression and inscribed with a copy of the text of the inner tablet (No. 1b). The use of the envelope protected the inner tablet from intentional alteration or unintentional damage. Normally the debtor impressed his seal on the envelope, and the creditor retained this document. If there was a disagreement, the creditor could produce the tablet in court, break the envelope, and reveal the intact tablet within.

Another document type, the triangular-shaped label with a hole in the top (text Nos. 2 and 3), served a purpose different from that of the tablet-and-envelope contract. Such triangular “dockets” were used to record loans of grain or other commodities such as wine. It is likely that these labels, which were formed around a knotted string, were attached to a scroll containing a record written in Aramaic. Just as envelopes carried seal impressions and a copy of the text on the inner tablet, the triangular “dockets” bore seal impressions and probably a cuneiform version of the text on the Aramaic documents to which they were attached. Similarly, just as the clay envelopes protected the inner tablet, the triangular dockets prevented the untying of the string used to secure the scroll. Unfortunately, documents written on parchment and papyrus have not survived from Neo-Assyrian times, although the numerous textual references to documents recorded in Aramaic make it certain that they were used as early as the seventh century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The tablets are dated by the Assyrian system of *līmu* (*limmu*), or “eponym,” dating in which each year was named after an official (see Tables, p. xcix). Chronological lists of these eponym officials survive from 910 to 649 B.C., so that the precise order of the years is known. However, an eponym canon is not preserved after 648 B.C., with the result that the year of the tablets dated to the so-called post-

canonical *līmus* (648–612 B.C.) is uncertain. Text Nos. 1–3 treated here probably all date to the post-canonical *līmus*.<sup>3</sup>

Although text Nos. 1–3 were written years apart, they share at least three of the same witnesses.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, several of the witnesses in these texts are attested in other documents from the Šamaš-šarru-ušur archive.<sup>5</sup> Here they are likely to have been relatives, business associates, or men in the service of Šamaš-šarru-ušur, the creditor/seller, who was the “owner” of the archive.<sup>6</sup>

1. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains*, vol. 1 (New York, 1966), pp. 184–97. Kalḫu, the modern Nimrud, is located in Iraq some forty kilometers south of the city of Mosul.
2. J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents* (Warminster, 1976), pp. 4–6.
3. For the eponym Bēl-šadūa, see R. Whiting, “The Post-Canonical and Extra-Canonical Eponyms,” in A. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612 B.C.*, SAAS 2, p. 74 n. 14.
4. Sāmedu, Lādāgil-ilī, and Dūdū appear in all three texts. In addition, Šil-bēl-dalli and Urad-Issar appear in both text Nos. 1 and 2. It is possible that either or both of the two witnesses whose names are not preserved on text No. 3 also appear on other witness lists in the archive.
5. Forty-seven tablets of the archive were previously published with translations and partial transliterations in Wiseman, “Nimrud Tablets,” pp. 135–60. Lādāgil-ilī and Šil-bēl-dalli, two high officials of the same title as Šamaš-šarru-ušur and Dūdū (a scribe of the Ninurta temple), are among the most frequently occurring witnesses in these tablets.
6. Witnesses in contract texts may be associates of one or both of the principal parties. However, one cannot assume that that is the case for every witness.

**1a.**

MMA 54.117.27a (case) = ND 3435

Plates 1, 122

Excavated TW 53, Rm. 19

H. 37 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 29 mm.

Publ. Wiseman, "Nimrud Tablets," p. 142

Loan of silver

Neo-Assyrian period, Kalḫu

Year, eponymate of Bēl-šadūa

month 1 day 23

- U.E. 1. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>Ba-ri-ki-i  
 2. DUMU <sup>1</sup>Rém-a-ni-DINGIR
- Obv. 3. ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ina(?) ša(?) gar-ga-miš  
 4. ša <sup>1.d</sup>Šá-maš-MAN-PAB  
 5. ina IGI <sup>1</sup>Ba-ri-ki-i  
 6. ina pu-u-ḫi ÍL  
 (2 stamp seal impressions)  
 7. a-na 4-tú-šú i-GAL-bi  
 8. <sup>1</sup>Iz-bu A <sup>1</sup>A-qa-bi-DINGIR
- Lo.E. 9. EN ŠU.2.MEŠ ša KÙ.BABBAR  
 10. ITI.BARAG UD.23.KÁM
- Rev. 11. lim-mu <sup>1</sup>EN-KUR-u-a  
 12. IGI <sup>1</sup>Su-lu-ma-a-a LÚ qur-but  
 13. IGI <sup>1</sup>Šil-EN-dal-li  
 14. IGI <sup>1</sup>Sa-me-du  
 15. IGI <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>15  
 16. IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-ZU  
 17. IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-KA-ía-PAB-PAB  
 18. IGI <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>Šá-maš IGI <sup>1</sup>La-da-gíl-DINGIR  
 19. IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-PAB IGI <sup>1</sup>Du-du-u  
 20. IGI <sup>1.d</sup>PA-MU-AŠ

**Translation**

- 1–2. Seal of Barikī, son of Rēmāni-ilī  
 3–7. Half a mina of silver (weighed) by the Carchemish (mina), belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Barikī.  
 He took it in exchange (i.e., as a loan). (The silver) will increase at 25 percent.  
 8–9. Izbu, son of Aqabbi-ilī, (is) the guarantor of the silver.  
 10–11. Month of Nisannu, 23rd day, eponym year of Bēl-šadūa  
 12–20. (Witnesses):  
 Before Sulumāya, bodyguard  
 Before Šil-bēl-dalli  
 Before Sāmedu

Before Urad-Issar  
 Before Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i  
 Before Nabû-pî-aḥi-uṣur  
 Before Nūr-Šamaš; before Lādāgil-ilī  
 Before Nabû-nāšir  
 Before Dūdū  
 Before Nabû-šumu-iddin

### *Seal Impressions (Obverse)*

Plates 1, 122

Oval stamp seal, impressed twice

H. 19 mm. W. 15 mm.

Seal of Barīkī, son of Rēmāni-ilī

Publ. B. Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–1953: Seals and Seal Impressions," *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 118, text fig. 11, pl. XXV:3

Edition: Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik*, pl. 16:31

A dog with raised and curled tail strides to the right. In contrast to the graceful line of the dog's head and body, his paws are summarily rendered. A large eleven-pointed star or sun is above his back. The clusters of three dots above the dog's head and back represent six of the seven dots of the *sibittu* (the seventh dot was probably omitted due to the small space). There is an oval lozenge in front of the dog. The image is surrounded by a thin linear border.

### *Seal Impression Remarks*

Dogs were not a typical subject of Neo-Assyrian seals, although they were often rendered in the earlier Kassite period and again later in the Neo-Babylonian through Achaemenid periods. In Mesopotamian mythology the dog was associated with Gula, the goddess of healing. As the defender of the house from evil spirits, the dog was a logical emblem for the goddess of healing. Gula's dog, however, was typically shown in a seated pose rather than in the striding pose depicted here. The use of animals for the central motif on Mesopotamian seals was an innovation of the Neo-Assyrian period that may have been inspired by glyptic from Syria and the West.

Seven dots would represent the emblem of the *sibittu* (Akk. for "seven"), seven lesser, beneficent gods associated with the star group Pleiades who were referred to as the "Group of Seven." Astral symbols such as the star, moon crescent, and seven dots commonly appeared together on Neo-Assyrian seals. There were temples to the Seven (Gods) at the Assyrian capital cities of Kalḫu (Nimrud), Dur-Sarrukēn (Khorsabad), and Nineveh.<sup>1</sup>

According to the caption on the envelope, the seal impression belonged to Barīkī, son of Rēmāni-ilī, the recipient of the silver in this contract.

It was not uncommon for stamp seals to be impressed more than once on Neo-Assyrian contracts, although the reasons for this practice are not clear. It is possible that the double impression conveyed a legal significance, but it was more likely intended to fill the empty space at the top of the tablet. The fact

that some of the cuneiform signs overlap the impressions indicates that the seal was stamped two times on the obverse of the tablet before the text was written out. The usual practice, however, was for the seal impressions to be affixed after the scribe wrote out the text. This process underlies the spacing of text No. 4, where the scribe intentionally left room for seal impressions above the text; on that tablet, however, the seal(s) were never impressed.

1. U. Seidl, *Die Babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs: Symbole Mesopotamischer Gottheiten*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 87 (Freiburg, 1989), pp. 101–3.

### 1b.

MMA 54.117.27b (tablet) = ND 3435

Loan of silver

Plate 2

Neo-Assyrian period, Kalḫu

Excavated TW 53, Rm. 19

Year, eponymate of Bēl-šadūa

H. 25 mm. W. 38 mm. Th. 18 mm.

month 1 day 23

Publ. Wiseman, “Nimrud Tablets,” p. 142

U.E. 1. ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ina(?) ša gar-⟨ga⟩-miš*

2. *ša* I.dŠá-maš-MAN-PAB

Obv. 3. *ina* IGI I<sup>1</sup>Ba-ri-ki-i

4. A I<sup>1</sup>Rém-a-ni-DINGIR

5. *ina pu-u-ḫi* ÍL

6. *ina 4-tú-šú* GAL-bi

7. I<sup>1</sup>Iz-bu A I<sup>1</sup>A-qa-bi-DINGIR

8. EN ŠU.2.MEŠ šá KÙ.BABBAR

Lo.E. 9. ITL.BARAG UD.23.KÁM

10. *lim-mu* I<sup>1</sup>EN-KUR-u-a

11. IGI I<sup>1</sup>Sa-me-du

Rev. 12. IGI I<sup>1</sup>Šil-EN-dal-li

13. IGI I<sup>1</sup>IR-d15

14. IGI I<sup>1</sup>dPA-ZU

15. IGI I<sup>1</sup>dPA-KA-PAB-PAB

16. IGI I<sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-dŠá-maš

17. IGI I<sup>1</sup>La-da-gíl-DINGIR

18. IGI I<sup>1</sup>dPA-PAB

U.E. 19. IGI I<sup>1</sup>dPA-MU-AŠ

L.E. 20. IGI I<sup>1</sup>Du-du-u

21. IGI I<sup>1</sup>Su-lu-ma-a-(a)

*Translation*

- 1–6. Half a mina of silver (weighed) by the Carchemish (mina), belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur at the disposal of Barīkī, son of Rēmāni-ilī. He took it in exchange (i.e., as a loan). (The silver) will increase at 25 percent.
- 7–8. Izbu, son of Aqabbi-ilī, (is) the guarantor of the silver.
- 9–10. Month of Nisannu, 23rd day, eponym year of Bēl-šadūa
- 11–21. (Witnesses):
- Before Sāmedu
  - Before Šil-bēl-dalli
  - Before Urad-Issar
  - Before Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i
  - Before Nabû-pî-aḫi-ušur
  - Before Nūr-Šamaš
  - Before Lādāgil-ilī
  - Before Nabû-nāšir
  - Before Dūdū
  - Before Sulumāya

*Notes*

- 1: The last part of the line is written over an erasure. The final wedges written on the line may be a *g[a]*, with *miš* being lost around the edge of the tablet.
- 21: The final *-a* was probably lost on the corner of the tablet.

**2.**

MMA 54.117.28 = ND 3464  
 Plates 2, 122  
 Excavated TW 53, Rm. 19  
 H. 53 mm. W. 34 mm. Th. 19 mm.  
 Publ. Wiseman, "Nimrud Tablets," p. 146

Triangular label for grain loan  
 Neo-Assyrian period, Kalḫu  
 Year, eponymate of Kanūnāya  
 month 2 day 5

- Obv. 1. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB<sup>1</sup> PAB-e-di<sup>1</sup>  
 2. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB I.dIM-mil-ki-KAM<sup>1</sup>-eš  
 3. A SANGA-15  
 4. 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 5. [ina] GIŠ.BÁN 10  
 (seal impression)  
 6. ša I.dŠá-maš-MAN-PAB

7. *ina* IGI I<sup>d</sup>IM-mil-ki-KAM-eš  
 8. *ina* IGI I<sup>PAB(!)</sup>(erasure)-e-di  
 9. *ina pu-u-ḫi i-ta(?)*-šu  
 Rev. 10. *ina ad-ri*  
 11. *ina* SAG.DU-šá  
 12. SUM-nu BE-ma NU SUM-nu  
 13. *ina* 1 ANŠE 5-BÁN-šá  
 14. *tar-GAL-bi*  
 15. ITI.GUD UD.5.KÁM  
 16. *lim-me* I<sup>ITI</sup>AB-a-a  
 17. IGI I<sup>Sa-me</sup>-d[u]  
 18. IGI I<sup>La-da</sup>-[g]íl-DINGIR  
 19. [IG]I I<sup>d</sup>PA(?)<sup>1</sup>-[x (x x)]  
 20. [IG]I I<sup>1</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>  
 21. [IG]I I<sup>1</sup>Du-[d]u(?)<sup>1</sup>-u(?)  
 L.E. 22. IGI I<sup>1</sup>[(x x)-e]-pu-uš

### Translation

- 1–3. Seal of Aḫu-ēdi, seal of Adad-milki-ēreš, son of Šangû-Issar  
 4–9. 3 homers of barley [(measured) by] the seah of 10 *qû*, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Adad-milki-ēreš, at the disposal of Aḫu-ēdi. They took it in exchange.  
 10–14. They shall (re)pay it at the threshing-floor at its capital (amount). If they do not pay (it), it will increase at 5 seahs per homer.  
 15–16. Month of Ayyāru, 5th day, eponym year of Kanūnāya  
 17–22. (Witnesses):  
     Before Sāmedu  
     Before Lādāgil-ilī  
     Before Nabû(?)-[. . .]  
     Before . . .  
     Before Dūdū(?)  
     Before [Nergal(?)-ē]puš

### Notes

- 3: The father's name was apparently added in small script as an afterthought.  
 8: PAB, written over an erasure.  
 9: Possibly rather *ina pu-u-ḫi-ta-šu*, a sandhi writing?  
 22: For Nergal-ēpuš, cf. the index in Wiseman, "Nimrud Tablets," p. 157.



*Seal Impression (Obverse)*

Plates 2, 122

H. 20 mm. W. 20 mm.

Square stamp seal

Seal of Aḥu-ēdi or Adad-milki-ēreš,

son of Šangû-Issar

Publ. B. Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–1953: Seals and Seal Impressions," *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 120 and pl. XXVI:3

Edition: Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik*, pl. 16:1

A cow faces left with her head reversed. Beneath her body a calf faces right, its mouth opened to suckle from its mother's udder. Secondary elements include the seven dots of the *sibittu* (see No. 1a), the crescent moon, a six-pointed star, and an oval lozenge. The image is framed by a linear border.

*Remarks*

The motif of the cow and suckling calf was popular on stamp seals and ivories of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup> The orientation of the calf's head is difficult to establish with certainty. The original publication of the seal interpreted the calf's head as reversed and understood the two projections as two ears rather than an open mouth. Because two ears were rarely depicted on profile animals, it is preferable to interpret the calf as facing right with its mouth open, ready to suckle.

Square stamp seals, although not common, are fairly well attested in the Neo-Assyrian period. A rectangular stamp seal depicting a cow with a calf below, for example, is on a Nimrud tablet dating to the reign of King Sargon II.<sup>2</sup>

There is only one seal on this label, yet two men, Aḥu-ēdi and Adad-milki-ēreš, son of Šangû-Issar, are mentioned as sealers of the document. The seal could have belonged to either of them.

1. An oval stamp seal from Nimrud features a similar cow with a feeding calf and secondary elements that include a star, a crescent moon, an ear of wheat, and a rhomb. See B. Parker, "Seals and Seal Impressions from the Nimrud Excavations, 1955–58," *Iraq* 24 (1962), p. 31; ND 5327, pl. XII:2.

2. See B. Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–1953: Seals and Seal Impressions," *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 108; ND 772, pl. XVIII:5.

**3.**

MMA 57.27.23 = ND 3447

Plates 3, 122

Excavated TW 53, Rm. 19

H. 51 mm. W. 35 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Publ. Wiseman, "Nimrud Tablets," p. 144

Triangular label for grain loan

Neo-Assyrian period, Kalḥu

Year, eponymate of Mušallim-Aššur

month 2 day 11

- Obv. 1. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB I<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-AŠ-PAB  
 2. 3 ANŠE ŠE.PAD.MEŠ  
 3. *ina* GIŠ.BÁN *ša iš*-GĀR  
 (2 seal impressions, 2 incised scribal marks)  
 4. *ša* I<sup>d</sup>UTU-MAN-PAB  
 5. [*ina*] IGI I<sup>d</sup>MAŠ-AŠ-PAB(!)
- Rev. 6. *ina ad-ri*  
 7. SUM-*an* BE-*ma* NU SUM-*ni*  
 8. *a-na* 1 ANŠE 5-BÁN-*šá*  
 9. *tar-GAL-bi*  
 10. ITI.GUD UD.11.KÁM  
 11. *lim-me* I<sup>1</sup>Mu-*šal-lim-Aš-šur*  
 12. IGI I<sup>1</sup>Šil-EN-*dal-li*  
 13. IGI I<sup>1</sup>Sa-*me-du*  
 14. IGI I<sup>1</sup>La-*da-gíl-DINGIR*  
 15. IGI I<sup>1</sup>Ur-*du*  
 16. IGI I<sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>15
- U.E. 17. IGI I<sup>1</sup>Du-*du-u*

### Translation

1. Seal of Ninurta-nādin-aḫi
- 2–5. 3 homers of barley, (measured) by the work-quota seah, belonging to Šamaš-šarru-ušur, at the disposal of Ninurta-nādin-aḫi.
- 6–9. He shall (re)pay at the threshing-floor. If he does not pay, it will increase at 5 seahs per homer.
- 10–11. Month of Ayyāru, 11th day, eponym of Mušallim-Aššur
- 12–17. (Witnesses):
  - Before Šil-bēl-dalli
  - Before Sāmedu
  - Before Lādāgil-ili
  - Before Urdu
  - Before Urad-Issar
  - Before Dūdū

### Note

- 3: The end of this line should give a definition of the kind of seah measure in use; although the *sūtu* of the *iškāru*, “(materials for) work (quota),” is not elsewhere attested to my knowledge and the sign *iš* appears to be written over an erasure, this is a typically hybrid Neo-Assyrian combination of syllabic and pseudo-logographic writing and is attested at least twice in other Neo-Assyrian texts; see *AHW*, p. 396, s.v. *iškāru(m)*.

**Seal Impressions (Obverse)**

Plates 3, 122

Stamp seal, impressed twice

H. 11 mm. W. 11 mm.

Seal of Ninurta-nādin-aḫi

Publ. B. Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–1953: Seals and Seal Impressions," *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 123 and pl. XXIX:4

Edition: Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik*, pl. 29:7

A rosette composed of twenty pointed petals radiates from a central circle. The rosette is surrounded by a thin linear border.

**Remarks**

Rosettes were characteristic Mesopotamian motifs, appearing on seals from as early as the fourth millennium B.C. Some scholars connect the rosette motif with the goddess Ishtar, one of the patron deities of the Assyrians, for many rosettes were found in her temple in the city of Ashur. Although in earlier periods the star was Ishtar's typical emblem, by the Neo-Assyrian period the rosette, in essence an elaborate star, may have replaced it. During the Neo-Assyrian period rosettes were a common decoration on the wrist straps and clothing of humans and on supernatural figures in monumental art.<sup>1</sup>

According to the caption the seal belonged to Ninurta-nādin-aḫi, the man who received an advance of grain from Šamaš-šarru-ušur.

**Incised Design (Obverse)**

Plates 3, 122

Incised design, produced twice

H. 9 mm. W. 13 mm.

Publ. B. Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–1953: Seals and Seal Impressions," *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 123 and pl. XXIX:4

Edition: Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik*, pl. 29:7

Two nearly identical counterclockwise whorls are incised between the stamped rosettes. Each whorl is composed of eight incised, curved lines radiating from a central point.

**Remarks**

The stamp seal with rosette must have been used by the single seal owner named in the text, Ninurta-nādin-aḫi. The whorl marks may represent either a type of countermark produced by Ninurta-nādin-aḫi or perhaps a "signature" added by the scribe of the tablet.

The tablet surface is slightly concave under the whorls, which were incised with either a sharp implement or, more likely, a thumbnail or fingernail. It is not clear whether the whorls or rosettes were impressed first, but all impressions were made before the text was written, as the lines were spaced so as not to interfere with them.

1. J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin, 1992), p. 156.

#### 4.

MMA 86.11.443

Plate 3

H. 44 mm. W. 35 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Sale of real estate

Neo-Assyrian period, GN not preserved

Eponymate year formula not preserved

Obv. 1'. [EN. . . SUM-*ni*]

(space for seal impressions)

2'. [É X ANŠE A].ŠÀ É *ep-šú*

3'. [. . . ] ᵀᵀ 2-BÁN *tab-ri-u*

4'. [. . . ] ᵀᵀ GIŠ *pa-ri-ru(?)*

5'. [. . . -] ᵀᵀ *li-šú*

6'. [. . . ] ᵀᵀ *a-li-i*

7'. [. . . ] ᵀᵀ<sup>3</sup>-BÁN A.ŠÀ.GA

8'. [. . . ]-MU(?)<sup>d</sup>KUR.A

9'. [. . . ]-ᵀᵀ<sup>a</sup>-*bu-u*

(rest of obverse broken)

Rev. (traces of 13 lines)

#### Note

8': For the god <sup>d</sup>KUR.A, see TIM 11, p. 18, also CTN 3, p. 100 on no. 44:21.

#### Remarks

This text, too fragmentary for translation, records the sale of real estate including land, a house, and other items.



Neo-Babylonian Private Archive Texts  
from the Seventh Century B.C.  
from Babylon and Other Towns (Text Nos. 5–8)

**5.**

MMA 86.11.211

Plate 4

H. 37 mm. W. 63 mm. Th. 25 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 2

Editions: *BR 8/7*, 52; Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, p. 87

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Assyrian period, Ḫimeri

Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, year 12 month 11 day 25

- Obv. 1. 1 MA.NA 1/3 GÍN 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>1</sup> Šu-ma-a  
2. ina UGU Id<sub>EN</sub>-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-eri-ba  
3. hu-bu-tu-ut-tu<sub>4</sub>
- 
4. lú<sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu<sup>1</sup> Ka-ši-ru DUMU lú<sup>1</sup>SIPA  
5. Id<sub>AG</sub>-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-šul-lim DUMU Im-bu-IGI-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>
- Lo.E. 6. Id<sub>EN</sub>-MU DUMU Ir-a-nu
- Rev. 7. Id<sub>EN</sub>-ke-šir DUMU E-gi-bi  
8. ù Id<sub>EN</sub>-ka-šir<sup>uru</sup> Ḫi-me-ri  
9. iti<sup>ziz</sup> <UD> 25.KÁM MU 12(!).KÁM  
10. <<MU 12.KÁM>> (erasure) d<sup>GIŠ</sup>.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
11. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

1–3. 1 1/3 mina 6 shekels silver, owed to Šumaya by Bēl-aḫḫē-erība, without (future) interest.

4–7. Witnesses:

Kāšir, descendant of Rē<sup>3</sup>û

Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, descendant of Imbu-ināya

Bēl-iddin, descendant of Iranni

Bēl-kēšir, descendant of Egibi

8. And Bēl-kāšir (scribe)

8–11. Ḫimeri, Šabaṭu day 25 year 12, Šamaš-šuma-ukīn king of Babylon

*Notes*

1–3: The writing  $\frac{1}{3}$  GÍN for “ $\frac{1}{3}$  mina” is a convention of the Neo-Babylonian period. See, for example, *BR* 8/7, p. 111, n. on no. 52:1 (this document); the reading  $\frac{1}{3}$  GÍN as “ $\frac{1}{3}$  mina” is confirmed by documents such as *Nbn.* 529, where 10 shekels (l. 1) plus 10 shekels (l. 2) is totaled as  $\frac{1}{3}$  GÍN (l. 4), and by inscribed weights such as MMA 74.51.4426, which is labeled as a weight of  $\frac{1}{3}$  GÍN and actually weighs approximately 165 g. or about  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina (Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 215, n. 1338).

The term *hubuttulhubuttūtu*-loan denotes a debt amount into which interest or other compensation for the creditor has already been incorporated, so that no further interest charges are to accrue against the debtor; see L. Shiff, “Neo-Babylonian ‘Interest-Free’ Promissory Notes,” *JCS* 40 (1988), pp. 187–94.

8: For other seventh-century examples of the scribe omitting his filiation, see *BR* 8/7, 47, 56, and 66. On the toponym Ḫimeri, see *RGTC* 8, p. 160, and R. Zadok, “West Semitic Toponyms in Assyrian and Babylonian Sources,” *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 170.

*Remarks*

On the possibility that this tablet and the next one both come from an archive of the creditor Šumaya, see the Remarks on text No. 6.

**6.**

MMA 86.11.155

Promissory note for silver

Plate 5

Neo-Assyrian period, Babylon

H. 44 mm. W. 58 mm. Th. 25 mm.

Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, year 16 month 4 day 9

Publ. Moldenke II, 3

Editions: *BR* 8/7, 55; Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 88–91

- Obv. 1. 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>1</sup>Per-<sup>2</sup>u <sup>1</sup>Šu-ma-a  
 2. u <sup>1d</sup>AG-ga-mil ina UGU <sup>1d</sup>ŠAR-dan-nu  
 3. <sup>1</sup>A-a-bu-ú <sup>1</sup>Ba-tu-ul  
 4. <sup>1</sup>I-gi-gi <sup>1d</sup>U+GUR-a-a u <sup>1</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub>-ia  
 5. ul-tu UD 1.KÁM šá <sup>1i</sup>ŠU šá <sup>1</sup>ITI 5<sup>1</sup> GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 6. ina muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu i-rab-bi <sup>1en</sup>pu-ut  
 7. šá-ni-i na-šu-ú šá im-mar-ru  
 8. KÙ.BABBAR i-maḫ-ḫar

Lo.E. 9. <sup>1u</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>Eri-ba10. DUMU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Am-ra-ḫa-ma <sup>1</sup>Du-um-qu

- Rev. 11. DUMU-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Qa-ti-nu <sup>I</sup>Šá-mi-i A-šú šá Ad-du-nu  
 12. <sup>I</sup>Šu-ma-a DUMU <sup>lú</sup>ŠU.ĤA <sup>Id</sup>UTU-MU  
 13. DUMU <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>I</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub>-ía A <sup>I</sup>Ga-ḫal  
 14. u <sup>lú</sup>ŠID <sup>I</sup>Mu-ra-nu DUMU <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi  
 15. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> itiŠU UD 9.KÁM  
 16. MU 16.KÁM <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA  
 17. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–4. 3 minas silver, owed to Per<sup>u</sup>, Šumaya, and Nabû-gāmil, by Aššur-dannu, Ayabu, Batûl, Igigi, Nergalaya, and Damqiya.  
 5–6. From day 1 of the month of Du<sup>u</sup>zu, (interest) shall accrue against them (at the rate of) 5 shekels silver per month.  
 6–7. Each (debtor) guarantees for the other(s).  
 7–8. Whoever should locate (the debtors) may receive the silver.
- 
- 9–13. Witnesses:  
 Eribaya, son of <sup>c</sup>Amm-raḫama  
 Dumqu, son of Qāṭin  
 Šāmi<sup>c</sup>, son of Adōn  
 Šumaya, descendant of Bā<sup>u</sup>iru  
 Šamaš-iddin, descendant of Šangû-Bābili  
 Damqiya, descendant of Gaḫal  
 14. And the scribe: Mūrānu, descendant of Egibi  
 15–17. Babylon, Du<sup>u</sup>zu day 9 year 16, Šamaš-šuma-ukin king of Babylon

### Notes

- 2: On the reading of <sup>d</sup>ŠĀR in personal names, see R. Zadok, “Assyrians in Chaldean and Achaemenian Babylonia,” *Assur* 4/3 (1984), pp. 3–8.  
 3: On the meaning of the Akkadian/West Semitic PN Ayabu, see R. Zadok, “Historical and Onomastic Notes,” *WO* 9 (1977), pp. 50–53, and R. S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, ASOR Dissertation Series, 9 (Winona Lake, 1993), pp. 23–25.  
 5–6: “5 shekels per month” in l. 5 indicates the amount by which the entire debt of 3 minas will increase each month, yielding an interest rate of 33 percent per year. VS 4, 3, possibly from the same Šumaya “archive” (see Remarks below), has an interest clause that similarly calculates monthly interest according to the debt amount.  
 7–8: San Nicolò interpreted this clause as a unique expression of “joint creditorship” (*BR* 8/7, p. 114, n. on l. 7).



- 9: The first witness's patronymic is composed of the theophoric element <sup>c</sup>*amm*, "paternal uncle," and the 3ms. perfect of the verb *r-ḥ-m*, "to love, be merciful" (the *qatala* pattern may indicate to which dialect the name pertains); see Zadok, *WSB*, pp. 55–56, 81. Moldenke miscopied the first sign as *tik*, which led San Nicolò to read <sup>l</sup>*Gú-ra-ḥa-ma* and Delaunay to read <sup>l</sup>*Tir-ra-ḥa-ma*.
- 11: The second witness's patronymic may be derived from the root *q-t-n*, "small," and compared to <sup>l</sup>*Ka-ti-nu* in BE 9, 28a:14 (reign of Artaxerxes), which Zadok (*WSB*, p. 124) lists under the heading of the *qatīl* pattern (Aramaic passive participle) and relates to Aramaic *qatīn*. The third witness's personal name may be understood as a West Semitic active participle of *š-m-ṣ*, "to hear"; Zadok, *WSB*, p. 121, cites another example from the same root, in the same form but with the sibilant spelled *š*. His patronymic, *Ad-du-nu*, may be the noun <sup>ʔ</sup>*ādōn*, "lord" (Hebrew and Phoenician).
- 13: The last witness may be identified with Damqīya, descendant of Gaḥal, the third witness to NBC 4977 (M. deJ. Ellis, "Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection," *JCS* 36 [1984], no. 3:15), dated at Babylon in year 19 of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.
- 14: The scribe also appears as the ninth witness to BM 118973:33, a tablet dated to the eponymy of Aqaraya, *bēl pīḥati* of Babylon, to be placed in the latter part of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's reign according to G. Frame ("Another Babylonian Eponym," *RA* 76 [1982], pp. 157–66). He may also be identical to Mūrānu, son of Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Egibi, the third witness to YBC 11378 (M. deJ. Ellis, "Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection," *JCS* 36 [1984], no. 24:38), dated at Babylon in the accession year of Šīn-šarra-iškun (626 B.C.).

### Remarks

In his commentary on this document and the preceding one, Delaunay (*Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 90–91) assembled a small dossier of promissory notes naming Šumaya as a creditor for silver (VS 4, 3, 4, 6, and CT 4, 31c). All of these tablets are dated in the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, and all but text No. 5 were written in Babylon. Another characteristic that these tablets share is the absence of filiations for the contracting parties; it is therefore hazardous to attempt to trace the individuals prosopographically and to establish the existence of an "archive."

Another tablet dated at Babylon in the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, VS 4, 2, lists five individuals, beginning with Per<sup>ʔ</sup>u, Šumaya, and Nabû-gāmil—the same names, listed in the same order, as those of the three joint creditors in text No. 6—as joint creditors for silver that Per<sup>ʔ</sup>u has apparently "withdrawn"; see *NRV* no. 656, p. 568 n. 2. Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 90–91, interprets VS 4, 2, and text No. 6 as documents pertaining to a joint account held by the five (later, three) creditors in partnership.<sup>1</sup>



- 8'. *u* lúšID IdEN-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup> A-šú šá IdEN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SU  
 9'. UNUG<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>GAN</sup> UD 20.KÁM  
 10'. [MU] 16.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Kan-da-la-nu LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 11'. [UM]BIN IEN-šú-nu A-šú šá IdAG- GI  
 12'. [GIM] <sup>na4</sup> KIŠIB-šú<sup>I</sup> tu-ud-da-a-ti
- L.E. (fingernail marks)  
 R.E. (fingernail marks)  
 U.E. (fingernail marks)

*Translation*

- 1–2. [Tablet of the or]chard [plot], planted with date palms and cultivated, (located) in the area of Bīt Zabūnu in the district of Uruk.
- 
- 3–8. The upper long side on the east is adjacent to (the property of) Ina-tēšī-eṭir, son of Rīmūt; he shall measure (it) according to (its) borders. The lower long side on the west (is on the) bank of the Ḫarru-ša-nēri watercourse; he shall measure (it) according to (its) borders. The upper short side on the north is adjacent to (the property of) Ina-tēšī-eṭir, son of Rīmūt. The lower short side (is) on the south.
- 9–10. Field of Šellebi, son of Šumu-libši, which (is located) in Bīt Zabūnu, in its full extent.
- 
- 11–13. Marduk-apla-ušur, son of ⟨Ina⟩-tēšī-eṭir, [named the] price (of the field) as [x (minas) x (shekels) silver, and purchased the field for its total price from Bēlšunu, son of Nabû-ušallim].  
 (break)
- Rev. [Witnesses]:  
 [. . .]  
 2'–7'. Bēl-[. . ., son of . . .]  
 Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Eribaya  
 Balāssu, son of Banītušu  
 Šillaya, son of Banītušu  
 Iddinaya, son of Banītušu  
 Bēl-ibni, son of Iddin-Nergal
- 8'. And the scribe: Bēl-šuma-iškun, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-erība  
 9'–10'. Uruk, Kislimu day 20 year 16, Kandalānu king of Babylon  
 11'–12'. [Finge]r nail of Bēlšunu, son of Nabû-ušallim, impressed [as] his se[al].

*Notes*

- 2: For other attestations of Bīt Zabūnu in the district (*pīḫātu*) of Uruk, see RGTC 8, pp. 110–11.
- 4, 6: This clause makes it clear that the land being sold has not yet been surveyed. The fact that only the measurement of the two long sides is given suggests that the two short sides were of a standard length (cf. J. A. Peat, “*Ḥanšu* Land and the *rab ḫanšī*,” *Iraq* 45/1 [1983], pp. 124–27).
- 8: The identification of the property adjacent to the lower short side has been omitted.
- 11: A toponym termed Šīḫu-ša-Marduk-apla-ušur (Durand, *Textes babyloniens*, pl. 31 [top], see Joannès, *Textes économiques*, p. 121, no. 36:16) or Qaqqaru-ša-Marduk-apla-ušur (TCL 12, 73:8), located on the Ḫiltu canal in the Bīt-Amukāni region north of Uruk (see Joannès, *Textes économiques*, p. 123) is attested during the reign of Nabonidus. Quite possibly this toponym takes its name from the Marduk-apla-ušur whose acquisition of property is documented by text No. 7. Marduk-apla-ušur in the present text may also be identified with Marduk-apla-ušur/Ina-tēšī-eṭir//Ḫunzû, the second witness to TCL 12, 17, dated at Uruk in the first year of Nabopolassar.
- 12: The name of the seller is restored based on the fingernail caption (rev. 11'–12'), although ll. 9–10 indicate that the owner of the field is Šellebi, son of Šumu-libši.
- Rev. 4'–6': For the patronymic Banītušu, see YOS 17, index p. 32, and AnOr 8, index p. 15. The name seems to be peculiar to Uruk.
- 11'–12': For discussion of the practice of sealing with a fingernail, see Introduction: Seal Impressions, pp. xxix–xxx.

*Remarks*

The purchaser of the date-palm orchard is named Marduk-apla-ušur, son of Ina-tēšī-eṭir, and the owner of the neighboring property on two sides of the plot is identified as Ina-tēšī-eṭir, son of Rīmūt. If the purchaser's father is identical to the neighboring property owner, Marduk-apla-ušur's acquisition represents the expansion of family real estate holdings through buying up contiguous properties.

Five sets of three fingernail marks each are preserved impressed on the left edge (one set), right edge (two sets), and upper edge (two sets) of the tablet. The marks are regularly spaced (cf. text No. 99) and appear to have been made by a thumbnail.

## 8.

MMA 86.11.181

Plate 7

H. 33 mm. W. 44 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Assyrian period, Babylon

Kandalānu, year 21 month 1 day 27

- Obv. 1. 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR [. . . šá]  
 2. <sup>1</sup>A-šá-re-du DUMU <sup>1</sup>ú[. . . ]  
 3. ina UGU <sup>1</sup>I-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>1</sup>I[. . . ]-a-ti  
 4. <sup>1</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-MU-SI.SÁ A <sup>1</sup>ú.ŠUR-GI.NA  
 5. <sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la A <sup>1</sup>ú.ŠU.ĤA  
 6. UD 5.KÁM šá <sup>1</sup>GU<sup>4</sup> <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-nam-din-nu  
 7. <sup>1</sup>en<sup>1</sup> pu-⟨ut⟩ MAN<sup>i</sup> na-šu-ú
- Lo.E. 8. [ki]-i la it-tan-nu  
 9. [šá] UD ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR i-rab-bi
- Rev. 10. <sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>dAMAR.UTU-APIN<sup>es</sup>  
 11. A <sup>1</sup>ú.ŠUR (erasure) ⟨⟨a⟩⟩  
 12. <sup>1</sup>dUTU-SU A <sup>1</sup>úSIMUG  
 13. <sup>1</sup>dAMAR.UTU-NUMUN-ib-ni A <sup>1</sup>Pap-pa-a-a  
 14. u <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>ŠID <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la  
 15. <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ú.ŠU.ĤA TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 16. <sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>BÁR UD 27.KÁM MU 21.[KÁM]
- U.E. 17. <sup>1</sup>Kan<sup>1</sup>-dal-a-nu LUGAL E<sup>(ki)</sup>  
 18. ⟨⟨x⟩⟩
- L.E. (erasure)  
 R.E. (erasure)

*Translation*

- 1–5. 2 minas silver [. . . owed to] Ašarēdu, descendant of [. . .], by Na'id-Marduk, descendant of [. . .]-ati, Nabû-šumu-lišir, descendant of Šāhit-ginê, and Arad-Gula, descendant of Bā'iru.
6. They shall pay on day 5 of the month of Ayyāru.
7. Each (debtor) guarantees for the other(s).
- 8–9. [Sho]uld they not pay (on time), ½ shekel silver shall accrue (against them) [per] day.
- 10–13. Witnesses:  
 Marduk-ēreš, descendant of Šāhitu  
 Šamaš-erība, descendant of Nappāḫu  
 Marduk-zēra-ibni, descendant of Pappaya
- 14–15. And the scribe: Arad-Gula, descendant of Bā'iru
- 16–17. Nisannu day 27 year 21, Kandalānu king of Babylon

**Notes**

- 1: A qualification of the debt object—e.g., *hubuttūtu* (text No. 5 and CT 4, 31c) or *nishu* (cf. Moldenke II, 4)—would have followed in the break.
- 8–9: The wording here is not that of a standard interest clause, and should be understood as stipulating a late-payment charge (cf. text No. 6:5–6).

**Remarks**

A considerable debt of silver is charged against three men, one of whom, Arad-Gula, is the scribe of the tablet; the co-debtors have only a week to pay off their debt before late payment charges of one-half shekel of silver per day begin to accrue.

# Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Private Archive Texts from the Seventh Century to the Fourth Century B.C. from Babylon and Other Towns (Text Nos. 9–164)

## Introduction to Archives A and B

The first two of the seven groups of private archive tablets presented in this volume pertain to two families descended from the Esagilaya lineage. Archive A consists of tablets belonging to Līšir and Nabû-apla-iddin, sons of Marduk-erība, and Archive B consists of tablets belonging to Lābāši, son of Balāṭu. These two families interacted with each other and may have been closely related.

Thirteen tablets in the Museum's collection (text Nos. 9–21) have been identified as belonging to Archive A, as have ten published tablets in other collections.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-three tablets in the Museum's collection (text Nos. 22–44) have been identified as belonging to Archive B, as have five published tablets in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> Lābāši or his father Balāṭu appear in six additional tablets,<sup>3</sup> three of which (*Nbk.* 71 and 210, and text No. 20 in this volume) belong to Archive A. What follows is a sketch of each of the two families and their activities, based on the tablets now published.

### The Families and Their Documents

The earliest tablet that may be attributed to the archive of Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir is Strassmaier, ZA 4, no. 3, dated to the last month of Nabopolassar's sixth year (620 B.C.). This tablet is a promissory note naming their father, Marduk-erība, as debtor, and it would have been retained by Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir to attest quittance of his debt. The amount of the paid-off debt, five minas of silver, is quite high, and suggests that the family was reasonably well off. Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir themselves appear in transactions from Nebuchadnezzar's reign through the early part of Nabonidus's reign; in other words, their activity spanned roughly the first half of the sixth century B.C. They evidently conducted business together since they are often named as co-debtors.<sup>4</sup> Text No. 16, dated to year 5 of Nabonidus, is a promissory note for a debt owed by Līšir's son Bēl-iddin, which probably represents Bēl-iddin's assumption of his father's obligations after the latter's death.<sup>5</sup> No son of Nabû-apla-iddin can be securely identified in the extant documentation.<sup>6</sup> It appears that, with the exception of text No. 16, no tablets belonging to offspring of Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir have been preserved along with Nabû-apla-iddin's and Līšir's own tablets.

The transactions of Lābāši's father, Balāṭu, are attested by four tablets of Archive B (text Nos. 22–25), mostly promissory notes for silver and grain, which Lābāši would have preserved among his own tablets to attest quittance of his father's obligations. These transactions are all dated during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.), so Balāṭu would have been an approximate contemporary of Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir.<sup>7</sup>

The time span of Lābāši's activity extended from the accession year of Nabonidus through the early years of Darius I, roughly the second half of the sixth century B.C.<sup>8</sup> Text 26, dated to year 1 of Amēl-Marduk, documents the purchase of a slave woman by Lābāši's brother (whose name is not preserved); this tablet could have entered into Lābāši's possession as a result of the slave woman being transferred to Lābāši. Lābāši's wife was <sup>f</sup>Na<sup>3</sup>ittu, and she was the daughter of Per<sup>2</sup>u, son of Nabû-ēṭir, descendant of Šumu-libši; Per<sup>2</sup>u was Lābāši's co-debtor in text No. 27. <sup>f</sup>Na<sup>3</sup>ittu and Lābāši appear as co-debtors for a small sum of silver in text No. 29.<sup>9</sup> As in the case of Nabû-apla-iddin of Archive A, no son of Lābāši can be securely identified,<sup>10</sup> indicating that the tablets of Lābāši's offspring were not preserved in the same place as his own tablets.

Archives A and B can thus both be described as "single-generation archives," that is, each consists essentially of tablets documenting the affairs of one or more members of a single generation within a family.<sup>11</sup> These two archival groups, besides being linked through the interactions between the two families, are chronologically complementary: Lābāši's documentation picks up where Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir's documentation leaves off, at the beginning of the reign of Nabonidus. Examination of the types of transactions documented by the tablets of each archive also reveals features shared by both families: their chief economic activity is the management of cultivable land; they both possess land in a rural district near Babylon called Baḥē;<sup>12</sup> each family holds a prebend (at least one) at a temple in Babylon; neither family engages heavily in financial transactions using silver.

## Cultivation of Landed Property

The majority of the tablets pertaining to Archive A are promissory notes for quantities of barley, dates, or other produce, either owed to or owed by Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir. Some of these debts are identified by the terms *šibšu* or *imittu* as payments owed on land leased for cultivation.<sup>13</sup> In these cases Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir are the creditors to whom the payments are due, indicating that they are the lessors of the land on which the produce owed as *imittu* or *šibšu* is grown. Of the promissory notes for barley and dates owed by the two brothers, most are associated with their prebendary service,<sup>14</sup> but others probably reflect debts incurred in connection with cultivation, such as taxes, *sissinnu*-compensation owed to the lessee/cultivator,<sup>15</sup> or perhaps loans of seed-grain (see Remarks on text No. 12).

A similar pattern emerges in Archive B, though in contrast to Archive A promissory notes for naturalia do not predominate among the more numerous tablets of Archive B. Lābāši too leased out land for cultivation; two fragmentary tablets (text Nos. 36 and 43) document his lease of land for the cultivation of barley and date palms, and three promissory notes (*Nbn.* 405, text Nos. 28 and 32) name him as the creditor for *imittu*- and *šibšu*-payments of barley, dates, and other crops—meaning that he was the lessor of the land on which these crops were grown. A few tablets concern debts of grain or dates owed by Lābāši (text Nos. 27 and 33) or by his father, Balāṭu (text No. 24).

In the texts of both Archives A and B that have to do with land and the crops grown thereon, the otherwise rarely attested place name Baḥē occurs rather frequently. Among the tablets of Archive A, three (*Nbk.* 210, text No. 14, and *Nbn.* 105) are dated at Baḥē, and in one of these documents (*Nbk.* 210:15), Baḥē is termed "village (*ālu*) of Nabû-apla-iddin," possibly referring to our archive-owner Nabû-apla-iddin; another tablet, text No. 10, specifies that barley owed to Līšir as *šibšu* is to be delivered at Baḥē.



Among the tablets of Archive B, two promissory notes for *šibšu*-payments owed to Lābāši are dated at Baḥē (*Nbn.* 405 and text No. 32), one of which (No. 32) specifies that the debt is the *šibšu* of property located in Baḥē. These fields in Baḥē, from which the brothers Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir, and Lābāši after them, collected *imittu*- and *šibšu*-payments, were probably the family property of their branch of the Esagilaya lineage. Lābāši's holdings of cultivable land also included a date-palm orchard in a place called Ba-milkīšu and arable land in the quarter of Babylon called "New Town" (see text Nos. 28 and 36).

## Temple Prebends

Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir both held temple prebends (see pp. xxiii–xxiv). Nabû-apla-iddin held a brewer's prebend at Emašdari, the temple of Ishtar of Akkad in Babylon.<sup>16</sup> Five tablets refer to this prebend: text No. 13, which records Nabû-apla-iddin's receipt of barley from the temple stores (*maššartu*); GCCI 1, 417, a promissory note for a debt of silver owed by Nabû-apla-iddin, for which he pledged his prebend as security; text Nos. 19 and 20, two promissory notes for barley owed by Nabû-apla-iddin to the contractor whom he had hired to perform his prebendary duties; and text No. 21, apparently Nabû-apla-iddin's receipt for a delivery he made to the temple.<sup>17</sup> Nabû-apla-iddin's prebendary duty was to supply beer for Ishtar's meals (see text No. 20:5–7); none of the texts indicates the term of his service.<sup>18</sup> Text No. 19 includes a remark recording his receipt of his prebendary stipend (*pappasu*; ll. 9–10). Līšir's involvement in prebendary service is attested only indirectly.<sup>19</sup> Lābāši held a baker's prebend at the temple of Nabû ša ḥarê in Babylon.<sup>20</sup> The only document that refers to this prebend is text No. 38, a contract whereby Lābāši hired another party to perform his prebendary duty to provide bread for Nabû's meals.<sup>21</sup>

## Other Activities

Very few of the extant tablets of Archive A deal with activities other than the management of land and prebendary service. There are just four documents concerning silver (Strassmaier, ZA 4, no. 3; BE 8/1, 24; GCCI 1, 417; and text No. 18). Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir each owned at least one slave, as we learn from two promissory notes wherein those slaves are pledged as security for debt (BE 8/1, 24 and text No. 19). Text no. 17, a quittance for "any promissory notes" owed by Nabû-apla-iddin to one Zēriya, descendant of Amēl-Ea, who is otherwise unattested, serves as a reminder that this archive originally contained many more documents than are now known.

Archive B offers a greater variety of transactions. The contract for the purchase of a slave woman (text No. 26) has been mentioned above. The extant tablets include several promissory notes for various quantities of silver owed by Lābāši to different creditors:<sup>22</sup> for one debt he pledged a slave as security (*Nbn.* 1116, see above); and for another debt he pledged a house (text No. 44). Late in his career Lābāši rented houses from two different landlords (text Nos. 37, 39, and 42).

There is evidence for Lābāši's association with another family descended from the Esagilaya lineage: text No. 35 records his payment of a debt on behalf of Bēl-kāšir, son of Nādin, descendant of

Esagilaya, who is also represented in this volume by text Nos. 102 and 139. Commercial contact with a member of the Nūr-Sîn family is documented by the fragmentary text No. 25, which records a contract between Balātu (presumably Lābāši's father; his filiation is not preserved) and Nabû-šuma-iddin (an otherwise unknown brother of Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn; see Archive D).

The prosopographic connections between Archives A and B, as well as the fact that both families owned property in the same rural district, indicate that Lābāši's family operated in the same milieu as did Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir's family. These connections and the chronological continuity from Archive A to Archive B combine to suggest a relationship between the two groups of tablets, which are distinguished here according to which family's transactions are documented.<sup>23</sup>

The similarities between the two families' economic activities have been emphasized. They both owned arable land, which they managed by leasing to cultivators; the families' share of the produce grown on these lands constituted their main sustenance and income. Both held temple prebends, from which they also drew income. Neither family was as wealthy or as well connected as the Egibi family, and their relatively modest transactions involving silver do not reflect the "venture capitalism" of an entrepreneur like Iddin-Marduk (see Archives C and D).<sup>24</sup>

1. These ten tablets are: Strassmaier, ZA 4, no. 3; *Nbk.* 71, 210, and 273 (duplicate of text No. 10 in this volume); BE 8/1, 24; GCCI 1, 417; *Nbn.* 105, 111, 149, and 1070. In addition text Nos. 107, 146, and 161 may belong to Archive A.
2. These five are *Nbn.* 3, 405, 849, 1116, and *Cyr.* 115. At least three additional fragmentary tablets published in this volume, Nos. 105, 110, and 155, may also belong to Archive B.
3. *Nbk.* 71, 105, and 210; text No. 20 in this volume; and *Dar.* 73 and 219. Note that most of the tablets in the British Museum that may be assigned to Archives A and B were part of the consignment registered under the date 84-2-11. See G. van Driel, "The British Museum 'Sippar' Collection: Babylonia 1882-1893," ZA 79 (1989), pp. 112 and 114, on the tablet clusters identifiable in the 84-2-11 collection and the links between these clusters and collections in other museums.
4. *Nbk.* 210, text Nos. 14 and 15 in this volume, and *Nbn.* 149; Nabû-apla-iddin guarantees a debt owed by Līšir in *Nbk.* 71.
5. Bēl-iddin is also attested as a witness to text No. 19, one of his uncle Nabû-apla-iddin's contracts.
6. Three individuals with the patronymic Nabû-apla-iddin and the family name Esagilaya are attested: Nidintu, the second witness of *Dar.* 302 (from the Egibi archive, represented in this volume by text Nos. 45-73); Kāšir, the second witness of VS 3, 135 (from the archive of Iddin-Nabû//Nappāhu and his son Šellebi, represented in this volume by text Nos. 95-98, Archive G); and Bēl-bullissu, the scribe of VS 5, 78 (also from Iddin-Nabû//Nappāhu's archive). There is no compelling reason to identify any of these three as the son of our Nabû-apla-iddin/Marduk-eriba//Esagilaya. Bēl-bullissu in VS 5, 78, is probably the son of Nabû-apla-iddin/Marduk-[...]//Esagilaya, the first witness of the same tablet, who cannot be identified with our Nabû-apla-iddin because VS 5, 78, is dated much later than the latter's lifetime, to year 15 of Darius I (507 B.C.).
7. Balātu witnessed two tablets of Nabû-apla-iddin and Līšir (*Nbk.* 71 and 210), and Lābāši witnessed a tablet of Nabû-apla-iddin (text No. 20).
8. At least one other individual with the personal name Lābāši and the family name Esagilaya is attested within the same time frame at Babylon: Lābāši, son of Dummuq (see text Nos. 77:19 and 102: rev. 8'). (Additionally, a Lābāši//Esagilaya appears with his slave Madānu-bēla-ušur in BE 8/1, 144, a tablet written in the reign of Darius I, and a Lābāši/Nādin-aḥi//Esagilaya is attested as a witness to VS 5, 161, dated at Dilbat in year 11 of Darius I). The existence of a contemporaneous namesake may cast doubt on the restoration of the patronymic [Balātu] in, for instance, text No. 31; likewise, the fact that a brother of our Lābāši is attested (text No. 26) may cast doubt on the restoration of the personal name [Lābāši] in text No. 28. Only Lābāši/Balātu//Esagilaya, however, is attested as a contracting party in a cluster of archival documents (see n. 3 above); therefore the attribution of a document to this individual (instead of to others named Lābāši//Esagilaya or to other sons of Balātu//Esagilaya) is highly probable in cases where either the personal name or the patronymic is missing.
9. <sup>f</sup>Na<sup>3</sup>ittu's presence was recorded in *Nbn.* 1116 (ll. 17-18; see note to text No. 27:4-5) when Lābāši pledged a slave to secure a debt of 50 shekels of silver. The pledged slave would have been <sup>f</sup>Na<sup>3</sup>ittu's dower property. Her father is named as the first witness to this tablet.

10. Four individuals with the patronymic Lābāši and the family name Esagilaya are attested. Two of them appear as witnesses to tablets belonging to the archive of Iddin-Nabû/Nappāhu and his son Šellebi (see n. 6 above): Bulluṭ or Bulṭaya in VS 4, 142 (duplicate *Dar.* 399), and Šullumaya in VS 4, 121+122. The other two are Nabû-kāšir, whose debt of dates and barley is documented by *Camb.* 14, and Nūrēa, a witness to *Dar.* 568. As in the case of the possible sons of Nabû-apla-iddin/Marduk-erība/Esagilaya mentioned above (n. 6), there is no proof that any of these four individuals is the son of our Lābāši, son of Balātu/Esagilaya—especially since other individuals named Lābāši and descended from Esagilaya are attested (see n. 8 above).

11. Of the archival groups distinguished among the tablets published in this volume, two others could be termed “single-generation archives”: Archive F consists of the tablets belonging to one member of a single generation; and Archive E seems to be the remnant of a dossier structured like A or B, wherein the tablets belonging to one generation include some documents kept from the preceding generation.

12. The toponym is always preceded by the logogram GARIM = *tāmirtu*, evidently a term for an easily irrigated low-lying area of land; van Driel (*BSA* 4 [1988], pp. 142-43) interprets *tāmirtu* as meaning “rural district based on a common hydrological feature” and suggests the translation “basin.” Compare Cocquerillat, *Palmeriaies*, p. 27; H. Weiss, “Kish, Akkad and Agade,” *JAOS* 95 (1975), p. 449 n. 62; Joannès, *Textes économiques*, p. 118; and RGTC 8, p. xii with n. 12.

Outside of this pair of archives, the toponym Baḥē is attested only in TCL 12, 11, dated at Babylon in year 14 of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn (654 B.C.); this document concerns the purchase of land, including a plot located in Baḥē, by Bēl-le<sup>2</sup>-ikalāma *šākin tēmi* of Babylon, a descendant of the Esagilaya lineage.

13. *Nbk.* 210, text Nos. 9 [restored] and 10. Though not so identified in the text, the debt of cress and barley owed to Nabû-apla-iddin and Lišir in text No. 14 is also certainly part of a *šibšu*-payment. Regarding the terminology of cultivation leases, see Introduction: Documents and Archives, pp. xx–xxiii.

14. *Nbn.* 111 and 1070, text Nos. 19 and 20, and possibly *Nbk.* 71 and *Nbn.* 149.

15. The obligation to pay taxes or *sissinnu* could be the background of text No. 16, a promissory note, probably for dates, owed by Lišir’s son Bēl-iddin. *Nbn.* 105 (collated), apparently a promissory note for dates owed by Lišir, is too poorly preserved for us to be certain what its object is; however, the supplementary clause of ll. 15–17 concerning the “harvest of the field” and dates (to be assessed?), along with the fact that the tablet is dated at Baḥē, indicate that this text concerns payments of crops grown on land in that location leased for cultivation by Lišir and his brother.

16. The Emašdari was located in a residential area a couple of blocks east of the processional way, Ay-ibūr-šabū, that led into the city from the Ishtar Gate to the north. See the maps in George, *BTT*, pp. 17 and 24 with discussion p. 312 n. 16, and idem, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Winona Lake, Indiana: 1993), p. 122, s.v. no. 743. The Emašdari was excavated by R. Koldewey’s expedition in 1910–11; see O. Reuther, “Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes),” *WVDOG* 47/3, pp. 123–47, pls. 17, 28–40; R. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. v, 287–92; Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 143–44 with pl. 12.

17. The prebend is identified by the phrase “before Ishtar of Akkad, of Babylon” in text No. 21:3-4 and GCCI 1, 417:5 (emend the URU of the copy to <sup>d</sup>INNIN, with San Nicolò and Petschow, *BR* 6, 98, n. 2 on l. 5). Each of the other three texts (text Nos. 13, 19, and 20) refers to (*bīt*) *bēlet Akkad* or to *Ištar bēlet Akkad*, so it is clear that they all concern the same prebend.

18. The prebend is defined in terms of the comestibles to be supplied in GCCI 1, 417:4, but the end of the line is damaged. The other texts appear to indicate various months of service: Nisannu (text No. 21:7), Ayyāru (text No. 13:[2], 7), and Tašritu (text No. 19:5).

19. For instance, the payment clause in *Nbn.* 111, a promissory note for barley and dates owed by Lišir, reads “he shall pay the barley from the *maššartu*-stores of the month Tašritu and the dates from the *maššartu*-stores [from which] the *papasu*-allowance is measured out” (ll. 5–8), which suggests that Lišir’s creditor was in fact the contractor whom Lišir hired to perform his prebendary duties. *Nbn.* 1070, a promissory note for barley owed by Lišir to the same creditor as in *Nbn.* 111, would also be related to Lišir’s prebendary service.

20. This temple, named E-niggidar-kalamma-summa, was located on the other side of the processional way, Ay-ibūr-šabū, from the Emašdari temple where Nabû-apla-iddin was a prebendary. For the location and discussion of the temple of Nabû *ša ḥarē* in Babylon, which has recently been excavated by an Iraqi team, see George, *BTT*, pp. 24–25, 310–12 n.15, and idem, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Winona Lake, Indiana: 1993), pp. 132–33, s.v. no. 878.

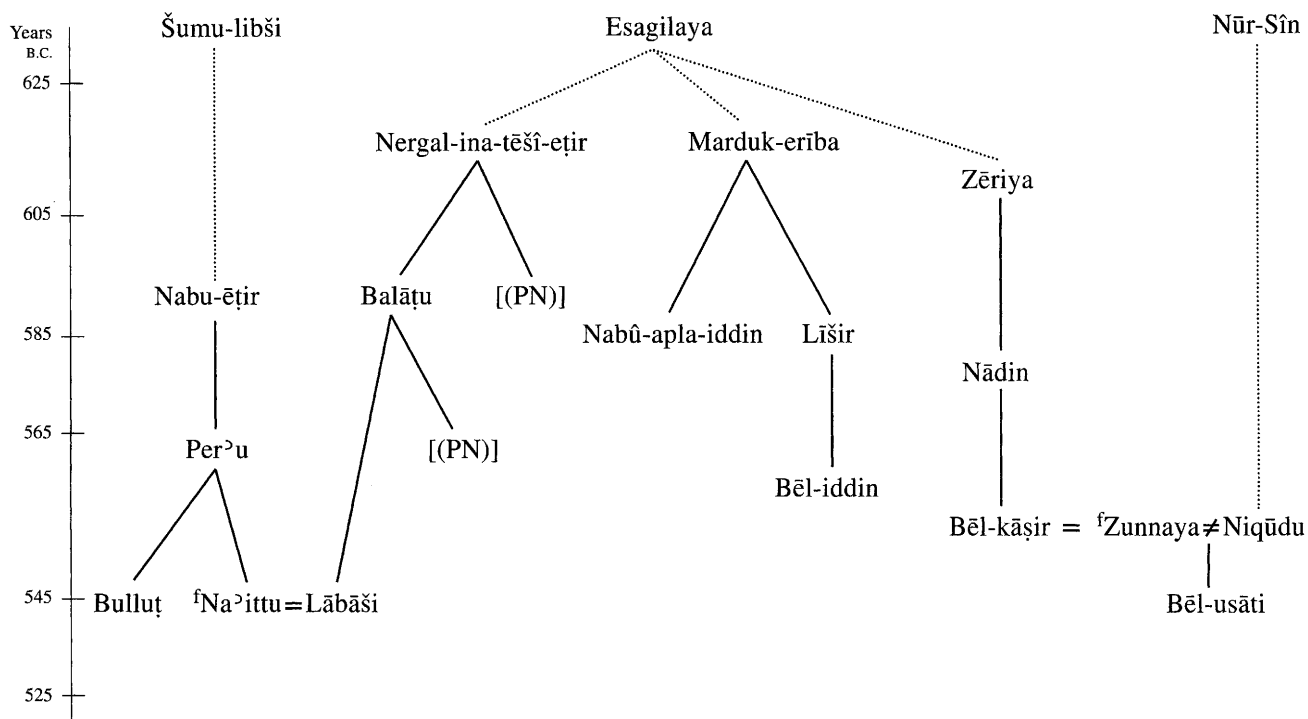
21. Text No. 31, which concerns a transaction involving cultic garments, may be related to Lābāši’s service at the temple.

22. Text Nos. 29, 40, 41, 44, and *Nbn.* 1116. Lābāši must have paid these debts, inasmuch as the promissory notes ended up in his archive (see Introduction: Documents and Archives, pp. xvi–xviii).

23. Further research would reveal more about the original context of these tablets and the original composition of the assemblage from which they come. The tablets in the British Museum that pertain to this branch of the Esagilaya family are mostly registered in that museum’s 84-2-11 collection (see n. 3 above).

24. In terms of their social status and their economic activities, these two families are roughly comparable to the Borsippa families studied by Joannès (see Joannès, *Archives*, and in particular his summary on pp. 119–21).

Genealogical Chart: Archives A and B



Code for genealogical chart:

- ..... Ancestral lineage
- Direct filiation
- ==== Marriage
- ≠ Previous marriage

Archive A  
(Text Nos. 9–21)

**9.**

MMA 86.11.488

Plate 7

H. 21 mm. W. 44 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Fragment of a promissory note for dates

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nebuchadnezzar II, year 36 month 6(?) day [x]+4

- Obv. 1. [x] ᵀGUR<sup>1</sup> 1 PI ZÚ.LUM.MA  
 2. [i-mit-tu] ᵀšá<sup>1</sup> ᵀ<sup>d</sup>AG-A-MU  
 3. [A-šú šá ᵀ<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-S]U A ᵀ<sup>d</sup>Sag-gi[l-a-a]  
 4. [ina muḫ-ḫi ᵀ<sup>1</sup>x]-ᵀ<sup>1</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [. . .]  
 (rest of obverse broken)  
 (beginning of reverse broken)
- Rev. 1'. [. . .] ᵀ<sup>1</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup> [. . . A-šú šá]  
 2'. [ᵀ<sup>1</sup>. . . ] A ᵀ<sup>d</sup>IR(?)<sup>-d</sup>IDIM  
 3'. u ᵀ<sup>1</sup>úᵀ<sup>d</sup>ŠID<sup>1</sup> [ᵀ<sup>1</sup>x x]-ᵀ<sup>d</sup>šú ᵀ<sup>1</sup>A-šú<sup>1</sup> šá ᵀ<sup>1</sup>x-x<sup>1</sup>-[. . .]  
 4'. [A ᵀ<sup>1</sup>] ᵀ<sup>d</sup>IR(?)<sup>-d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>(?)<sup>-KÙ</sup>(?)<sup>1</sup> TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ití<sup>1</sup>KIN(?)<sup>1</sup>  
 5'. [UD x]+4.KÁM MU 3ᵀ<sup>1</sup>6<sup>1</sup>.ᵀ<sup>1</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup> ᵀ<sup>d</sup>AG-NÍG<sup>1</sup>.[DU-ÜR]  
 6'. [LUGA]L [TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

**Translation**

- 1–4. [x] *kur* 1 *pān* dates [are the *imittu*-payment owed] to Nabû-apla-iddin, [son of Marduk]-erība, descendant of Esagi[laya by] . . . [. . .]

(break)

Rev. [Witnesses]:

[. . .]

- 1'–2'. [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of Arad(?)<sup>-Ea</sup>  
 3'–4'. And the scribe: [. . .]-Marduk, son of [. . ., descendant of] Arad-Nergal(?)  
 4'–5'. Babylon, Ulūlu(?) [day x]+4 year 36, Nebuchad[nezzar king of Babylon]

**Notes**

- 4': The month in which the document was drawn up may be Ulūlu, since *imittu* in dates was often assessed in that month. Compare text Nos. 28 and 66, two promissory notes for *imittu* in dates that were drawn up in Ulūlu, and text No. 91:4–6, which refers specifically to assessing the *imittu* in Ulūlu.  
 5': The year “36” excludes every king but Nebuchadnezzar II, within the time frame of Archive A.

**Remarks**

In this fragmentary promissory note, Nabû-apla-iddin is the creditor to whom the dates constituting an *imittu*-payment are owed, and thus the lessor of a date-palm orchard; the name of the debtor, to whom he would have leased the orchard, is missing.

**10.**

MMA 86.11.381

Plate 8

H. 34 mm. W. 47 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Dupl. *Nbk.* 273 (collated E. von Dassow)

Promissory note for barley

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nebuchadnezzar II, year 37 month 10 day 22

- Obv. 1. [25 GUR ŠE.BAR] Ṛšá<sup>1</sup> ṚLi-ši-ru A-šú šá  
 2. [IdAMAR.UTU-S]U A ṚSag-Ṛgil<sup>1</sup>-a-a ina muḫ-ḫi  
 3. [ṚSUM.NA-ŠE]Š A-šú šá ṚA-num-ŠEŠ-MU  
 4. [ina<sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> ina] SAG.DU-šú ina(!) URU<sup>u</sup>Ba-ḫe-e  
 5. [i-nam-din šal(?)-š]u(?) ši-ib-šú šá ṚLi-ši-ru  
 6. [šá ina UGU . . . ] Ṛšá<sup>1</sup> ṚSUM.NA-ŠEŠ  
 7. [pu-ut na-šu-u<sup>lu</sup>mu-kin]-nu  
 8. [ṚNUMUN-ia A-šú šá ṚAG]-ṚSUR<sup>1</sup>
- Lo.E. 9. [A<sup>lu</sup>ŠU.ḪA ṚAG-MU-ú-ki]n
- Rev. 10. [A-šú šá ṚAG-GAR-MU A ṚA-qar]-a-na-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 11. [ṚMu-ra-nu A-šú š]á ṚAG-GIN-NUMUN  
 12. [A<sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Za]-ri-qu u<sup>lu</sup>ŠID  
 13. [ṚAG-GIN-A] ṚA<sup>1</sup>-šú šá ṚEN-NUMUN A ṚBu-ú-šu  
 14. [TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>] Ṛiti<sup>1</sup> AB UD.22.KÁM MU.Ṛ37<sup>1</sup>.KÁM  
 15. [<sup>d</sup>AG]-ṚNÍG<sup>1</sup>.DU-ÛRU LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 16. [ina UGU] maš-kát-tu<sub>4</sub> šá ṚLi-ši-ru  
 17. [ina ma-š]i-ḫu šá 1 PI šá LUGAL i-nam-din

**Translation**

- 1–3. [25 kur barley], owed to Līšir, son of [Marduk-erī]ba, descendant of Esagilaya by [Nādin-aḫ]i, son of Anu-aḫa-iddin.  
 4–5. [In the month of Ayyāru he shall deliver (the barley) in] its principal amount in (the town) Baḫē.  
 5–7. [(This barley is) the one-third] *šibšu*-payment owed to Līšir, [which is (assessed) against . . .], for which Nādin-aḫi [bears responsibility].  
 7–12. [Witness]es:  
 [Zēriya, son of Nabû]-ēṭir, [descendant of Bā<sup>2</sup>iru]

- [Nabû-šuma-ukī]n, [son of Nabû-šākin-šumi, descendant of Aqar]-ana-Nabû  
 [Mūrānu, son of] Nabû-mukīn-zēri, [descendant of Šangû-Zā]riqu  
 12–13. And the scribe: [Nabû-mukīn-apli], son of Bēl-zēri, descendant of Būšu  
 14–15. [Babylon], Ṭebētu day 22 year 37, [Nebu]chadnezzar king of Babylon  
 16–17. He shall deliver (the barley), [mea]sured by the royal *pān*-measure, [in front of] the store-  
 house of Līšir.

### Notes

- 1ff.: The restorations given above are based on collation of the duplicate *Nbk. 273*.  
 4: Strassmaier copied *ina* UGU-*hi* ID (with hatched lines) at this point in *Nbk. 273*, but collation suggests *ina* [<sup>uru</sup>B]a-*h*[e-e].  
 5–6: These lines are partly damaged in *Nbk. 273*. Collation suggests the reading <sup>1</sup>šal-šu<sup>1</sup> ši-ib-šu<sup>1</sup> in l. 5, which suits the frequent apposition of a fraction (1/3 or 1/4) to define the proportion of the yield constituting the *šibšu*-payment (see M. deJ. Ellis, *Agriculture and the State in Ancient Mesopotamia: An Introduction to the Problems of Land Tenure*, Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund, 1 [Philadelphia, 1976], pp. 132–38). The first half of l. 6 might read *šá ina mu[h-hi PN]*, “which is (assessed) against PN,” although a reading *ina mu[h-hi šE.NUMUN]*, “which is (assessed) against the field,” is possible.  
 14–15: Collation of *Nbk. 273* shows that the year-date is “37” on both tablets.

### Remarks

This promissory note documents a debt of barley owed to Līšir. The debt object, 25 *kur* barley, is defined as *šibšu*, the proportion of the harvest payable to the lessor on a lease of agricultural land. Payment is due in the month of Ayyāru, the time of the barley harvest, and delivery is to be made in the town Baḡē, where the brothers Līšir and Nabû-apla-iddin possessed land.

## 11.

MMA 86.11.231

Plate 9

H. 31 mm. W. 51 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Declaration before witnesses(?)

Neo-Babylonian period, no GN

Neriglissar, year 2 month 6 day 27

- Obv. 1. [. . . x *dan-nu-tu*(?)] KAŠ SAG  
 2. [x *dan-nu*]-*tu re-qu*-[t]u  
 3. <sup>1</sup>[x x x x] <sup>1d</sup>AG-na-din-šEŠ  
 4. *šá* x x x x <sup>1a</sup>ha-za-nu *šá* <sup>1</sup>KA  
 5. *ip-tu-ú* <sup>1d</sup>AG-<sup>1</sup>x [ . . . ]

6. A(!)-šú šá<sup>1</sup> *Mar-duk* A<sup>1</sup> [x]-[. . . ]  
 7. <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU A-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [šá<sup>1</sup> . . . ]  
 Lo.E. 8. A<sup>1</sup> *Sag(!)-gil-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a]*  
 Rev. 9. <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> A-<sup>1</sup>[x]-[. . . ]  
 10. <sup>[1]</sup>*Li-ši-ru* A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>Id</sup>[AMAR.UTU-SU]  
 11. A<sup>1</sup> *Sag(!)-gil-a-a*  
 12. <sup>iti</sup>KIN UD 27.KÁM  
 13. MU 2.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-LUGAL-ÛRU  
 14. [LU]GAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 15. [. . . ] <sup>1</sup>ip<sup>1</sup>-tu-ú  
 U.E. 16. [. . . <sup>Id</sup>AG(?)]-A-MU  
 L.E. 17. A<sup>1</sup> *AG-na-din-š*[EŠ]  
 18. KÁ a(!)-na UG[U . . . ]

### Translation

- 1–5. [. . . x vats(?)] full-strength beer, [x] empty [va]ts . . . Nabû-nādin-aḫi, . . . the mayor of the city quarter, . . . which he opened.  
 5–11. Nabû-[. . .], son of Marduka, descendant of [. . .], Nabû-nādin-šumi, son [of . . .], descendant of Esagilaya, Bēl-iddin, son of A-[. . .], Līšir, son of [Marduk-erība], descendant of Esagilaya  
 12–14. Ulūlu day 27 year 2, Neriglissar king of Babylon  
 15–18. [. . .] opened [. . . Nabû(?)]-apla-iddin, son(?) of Nabû-nādin-a[ḫi], the gate . . . [. . .].

### Notes

- 1: Beer in Mesopotamia was graded according to its strength. The strongest beer was termed KAŠ SAG, “full-strength beer.” See M. Civil, commentary on MMA 86.11.368, col. ii, l. 11' ff., in CTMMA 2, 56 (forthcoming).  
 16–17: Nabû-nādin-aḫi is not known as an ancestor name, so the A-sign at the beginning of l. 17 is here translated “son (of).” An alternative reading is a-⟨na⟩.

### Remarks

The format of this text may be that of a text documenting a declaration, or the performance of an action, before witnesses. The individuals listed in ll. 5–11 appear to be the witnesses, though no designation identifies them as such; the action performed may have been an inspection(?) for the purpose of determining how many full vats of beer and how many empty vats were in storage (ll. 1–5).

This tablet is assigned to Archive A on the basis of the appearance of Līšir/(Marduk-erība)//Esagilaya (ll. 10–11), although the presence of an individual among the witnesses of a tablet is not ordinarily a proper criterion for assigning that tablet to the archive associated with that individual.



## 12.

MMA 86.11.390

Plate 10

H. 33 mm. W. 42 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Promissory note for barley

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Neriglissar, year 2 month 8 day 14

- Obv. 1. 3 GUR 2 PI ŠE.BAR šá <sup>1</sup>Kab-t[i-i]a  
 2. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP A <sup>IIú</sup>NAGAR  
 3. ina muḫ-ḫi <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU A-šú šá  
 4. [I] <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A <sup>1</sup>É-sag-íl-a-a  
 5. [ina <sup>iti</sup>S]IG<sub>4</sub> ŠE.BAR ù UR<sub>5</sub>.RA-šú  
 6. [ina KÁ ka-la]k-<sup>Γ</sup>ki<sup>Γ</sup> ina ma-ši-ḫu  
 7. [šá 1 PI šá LUGAL i-n]am-di-<sup>Γ</sup>in<sup>Γ</sup>
- Rev. 8. [<sup>IIú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>E]N-NUMUN A-šú šá  
 9. [I. . . A <sup>I</sup>d]EN-e-ti<sub>5</sub>-ru  
 10. [I. . . ] <sup>Γ</sup>A-šú<sup>Γ</sup> šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-DA  
 11. [A <sup>Id</sup>EN]-e-ti<sub>5</sub>-ru ù  
 12. [<sup>IIú</sup>šID] <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup>  
 13. [A-šú šá] [<sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ  
 14. [A] <sup>Γ</sup>Id<sup>Γ</sup>EN-e-ti<sub>5</sub>-ru  
 15. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>ki</sup> APIN UD 14.KÁM
- U.E. 16. MU 2.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-LUGAL-ÛRU  
 17. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–4. 3 kur 2 pān barley, owed to Kabt[iy]a, son of Marduk-nāšir, descendant of Naggāru by Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Marduk-erība, descendant of Esagilaya.  
 5–7. [In the month of S]imānu [he shall d]eliver the barley and its interest, measured by [the royal pān-measure, at the store]house [gate].  
 8–11. [Witnesses]:  
     [B]ēl-zēri, son of [. . ., descendant of] Bēl-ēṭir  
     [. . .], son of Bēl-le<sup>3</sup>i, [descendant of Bēl]-ēṭir  
 11–14. And [the scribe]: Bēl-šuma-iškun, [son of] Nabû-zēru-lišir, descendant of Bēl-ēṭir  
 15–17. Babylon, Araḫsamnu day 14 year 2, Neriglissar king of Babylon

**Notes**

- 5: In Neriglissar's third year the month Simānu, when delivery of the barley is required, fell relatively early (starting on May 21 of our calendar; Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 29). The barley harvest could thus have been expected to take place in Simānu (May/June) rather than Nisannu (March/April) or Ayyāru (April/May), so the delivery of the barley is still linked to the harvest; cf. text No. 10:4, where delivery is required in Ayyāru (which, in year 37 of Nebuchadnezzar, began on May 23; Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 28).
- 6: Promissory notes for debts of barley often stipulate that delivery be made *ina bāb kalakki*, ("at the storehouse gate"). See text Nos. 84:6 and 85:6; and see M. Stolper, "Three Iranian Loanwords in Late Babylonian Texts," *BiMes* 7 (Malibu, 1977), p. 253. Līšir and Nabû-apla-iddin require that barley owed to them be delivered *ina muḥḥi maškatti* in *Nbk.* 210:8 and text Nos. 10:16-17 and 14:7.
- 7: Debts of agricultural commodities may be delivered "in the royal (*pān*)-measure" (*ina mašīḫu ša šarri*) or "in the measure of PN (= the creditor)"; *ša šarri* is restored here because text No. 10:17 requires delivery in the royal *pān*-measure.

**Remarks**

Nabû-apla-iddin's debt of barley is payable at the time of the barley harvest, in this case in the month of Simānu. But, unlike the debt of barley owed to his brother Līšir in text No. 10, this debt does not arise from the obligation to deliver a portion of the harvest as payment on a lease of agricultural land, since it bears interest, and since this promissory note was drawn up in Araḥsamnu—six months before harvest (promissory notes for *šibšu*-payments were normally issued just prior to harvest). Also, when Līšir and Nabû-apla-iddin are the creditors for barley owed as a lease payment, and thus the lessors of the land on which it is grown, the amounts owed to them are usually much larger (65 *kur* as *imittu* in *Nbk.* 210, 25 *kur* as *šibšu* in text No. 10) than the 3 *kur* 2 *pān* that Nabû-apla-iddin owes to Kabtiya. This debt may instead arise from a loan of seed-grain, for barley is usually sown in Araḥsamnu.

**13.**

MMA 86.11.207

Plate 10

H. 35 mm. W. 53 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Receipt for barley

Neo-Babylonian period, (Babylon)

Neriglissar, year 3 month 2

- Obv. 1. 10 (GUR) 2 <sup>Γ</sup>PI<sup>Γ</sup> [X BĀN ŠE.BAR (*ina*)] *maš-šar-tu*<sub>4</sub>  
(erasure)
2. *šá* [<sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub>] MU 3.KĀM <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-LUGAL-ÛRU
3. <sup>Γ</sup>LUGAL TIN<sup>Γ</sup>.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *šá* É <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN A-*kad*<sup>ki</sup>
4. *šá* <sup>I</sup>Ku-šur-a-a *im-du-du*
5. *ina lib-bi* 3 GUR 3(?) PI ŠE.BAR

6. <sup>1</sup>d<sub>AG-A-MU</sub> ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ku-šur-a ma-ḫi-ir  
 7. 2 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.BAR ṽšá<sup>1</sup> maš-šar-tu<sub>4</sub> šá<sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 Lo.E. 8. ina IGI <sup>1</sup>Ku-šur<sup>1</sup>-a ri-ḫi  
 Rev. (uninscribed; incised crosshatch mark)

### Translation

- 1–4. 10 (*kur*) 2 *pān* [x *sūt* barley from] the *maššartu*-stores of [the month of Ayyāru] year 3 of Neriglissar king of Babylon, belonging to the temple of the Lady of Akkad, which Kušurraya measured out;  
 5–6. out of (this quantity) Nabû-apla-iddin received 3 *kur* 3(?) *pān* barley from Kušurraya.  
 7–8. 2 *pān* 2 *sūt* barley of the *maššartu*-stores of the month of Ayyāru remain at the disposal of Kušurraya.

### Notes

- 1: The quantity of barley recorded in l. 1 is not the sum of the quantities recorded in ll. 5 and 7. Kušurraya must have made other disbursements that were not recorded on this tablet (which concerned only Nabû-apla-iddin).  
 2: The month indicated here was most likely the same as the month indicated in l. 7.  
 3: Bēlet Akkad denotes Ishtar, Lady of Akkad, whose temple in Babylon was Emašdari; see Introduction to Archives A and B, p. 26.  
 Rev: The reverse of this tablet bears an incised crosshatch mark apparently made with a stylus; the function of such markings is unknown.

### Remarks

Nabû-apla-iddin held a prebend at the Emašdari temple in Babylon (see GCCI 1, 417, 19 and 200).<sup>1</sup> As a prebendary, he would have received regular disbursements from that temple's *maššartu*, the stores of foodstuffs set aside for the use of the prebendaries who were responsible for providing the cultic meals. Text No. 13 is an administrative record—lacking witnesses, identification of the scribe, and a date formula—of Nabû-apla-iddin's receipt of one month's delivery of barley from Kušurraya, evidently a temple employee whose job it was to measure out these disbursements from the *maššartu*-stores.<sup>2</sup>

1. See Introduction to Archives A and B, p. 28 n. 17.  
 2. Comparable records are common in temple administrative archives (see YOS 17, 183, discussed by Kessler in AUWE 8/1, pp. 52–53; and in AUWE 5/1, 83, 85, and 86 with Gehlken's comments).

## 14.

MMA 86.11.295

Plate 11

H. 47 mm. W. 61 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Promissory note for cress and barley

Neo-Babylonian period, Baḫē

Neriglissar, year 4 month 1 day 25

- Obv. 1. 6 GUR *saḫ-le-e* 1 GUR 4 PI ŠE.BAR  
 2. *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU *ù* <sup>Li</sup>šī-ru  
 3. <sup>lú</sup>DUMU<sup>meš</sup> *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU DUMU  
 4. <sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-a-a *ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>Id</sup>AG-šī-man-ni  
 5. <sup>lú</sup>qal-la *šá* <sup>I</sup>Tab-né-e<sup>1</sup>-a *u* <sup>I</sup>IR-d<sup>EN</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 6. [A-š]ú *šá* <sup>I</sup>X-<sup>1</sup>X-né-e(?)<sup>1</sup> *ina* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub>  
 7. [*ina muḫ-ḫi*] *maš-kát-ti* *ina* <sup>1</sup>muḫ<sup>1</sup>-ḫi  
 8. [<sup>1et</sup> *ri*] *t-ti i-nam-din* X <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>
- Lo.E. 9. [ . . . ] <sup>1</sup>X X X X X<sup>1</sup> *u*
- Rev. 10. [<sup>1</sup> . . . *p*] *u-ut e-ṭir na-ši*  
 11. [<sup>lú</sup>mu-ki] *n-nu* <sup>Id</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> A-šú  
 12. [*šá* <sup>Id</sup>A] <sup>I</sup>MAR.UTU-GI A <sup>Id</sup>EN-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru  
 13. [<sup>1</sup>D] *u-muq* A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut A <sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-a-a  
 14. *u* <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>EN-A-ÜRÜ A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Šu-la-a  
 15. A <sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-d<sup>30</sup> <sup>garim</sup>Ba-ḫe-e <sup>iti</sup>BÁR  
 16. UD 25.KÁM MU 4.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-LUGAL-<sup>1</sup>ÜRÜ<sup>1</sup>  
 17. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–6. 6 *kur* cress (and) 1 *kur* 4 *pān* barley, owed to Nabû-apla-iddin and Lišir, sons of Marduk-erība, descendant of Esagilaya by Nabû-šimānī, slave of Tabnêa, and Arad-Bêl [son] of. . . .
- 6–8. In the month of Ayyāru they shall deliver (the cress and barley), [in front of the] storehouse, [in a single] delivery.
- 8–10. [ . . . (PN) and PN g]uarantee payment.
- 11–13. [Witnes]ses:  
 Bêl-uballiṭ, son [of M]arduk-ušallim, descendant of Bêl-ētir  
 [D]ummuq, son of Rīmūt, descendant of Esagilaya
- 14–15. And the scribe: Bêl-apla-ušur, son of Šulaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn
- 15–17. Baḫē, Nisannu day 25 year 4, Neriglissar king of Babylon

*Notes*

- 1: *saḥlû*, “cress” (see M. Stol, “Cress and Its Mustard,” *JEOL* 28 [1983/4], pp. 24–32), is a component of the *šibšû*-revenue from Baḥē that is owed to Nabû-apla-iddin and Lišir’s “cousin,” Lābāši/Balāṭu/Esagilaya, in text No. 32; *saḥlû* also appears in VS 3, 73 and 115, and VS 5, 110, as part of the *šibšû*, and in PBS 2/1, 1:1 and 150:12 as part of the *sūtu* (fixed rent). The ratio of cress to barley is usually the opposite of what it is here.
- 16: The date Nisannu 25 (May 5), 556 B.C., is two days later than the accession of Lābāši-Marduk at Uruk (Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 13).

*Remarks*

Based on the form and content of this promissory note, it is clear that the debt object is a lease payment on agricultural land, even though the term *šibšû* or *imittu* is not employed to define the debt owed. The debt recorded by this tablet arises from Nabû-apla-iddin and Lišir’s lease of a plot of land to the debtors, Nabû-šimānni and Arad-Bēl. Another such document from Archive A is *Nbk.* 210, a promissory note for “65 *kur* barley, *imittu*” owed to Nabû-apla-iddin and Lišir, due at the storehouse in the month of Ayyāru and, like text No. 14, written in Baḥē.

**15.**

MMA 86.11.401

Plate 12

H. 37 mm. W. 43 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Promissory note for [barley(?)]

Neo-Babylonian period, GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

- Obv. 1. [. . . ] Ṛx x x Ṛ [. . . ]  
 2. [šá<sup>Id</sup>A]G-A-MU u<sup>I</sup>Li-[ši-ru A<sup>meš</sup>]  
 3. Ṛšá<sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A<sup>I</sup>É-[sag-gil-a-a]  
 4. ina muḥ-ḥi<sup>Id</sup>AG-BAD-MAḤ-[x(?)<sup>lú</sup>qal-la(?)]  
 5. šá<sup>I</sup>Mu-ra-nu ina<sup>iti</sup>[x ina muḥ-ḥi]  
 6. [maš]-Ṛkát<sup>I</sup>-ti ina ma-ši-ḥu [šá<sup>I</sup> 1 PI šá LUGAL]  
 7. [ina muḥ-ḥi] 1<sup>et</sup>rit-ti [i-nam-din]
- Lo.E. 8. [<sup>I</sup>Mu-r]a-nu A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Ṛx<sup>I</sup>-[. . . ]
- Rev. 9. [pu-ut e-ṭe]-ru(?) šá(?) ŠE.BAR [na-ši(?)]  
 10. [<sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu<sup>I</sup>. . . ] Ṛx<sup>I</sup>-ra-[. . . ]  
 11. [. . . ] Ṛx x x Ṛ [. . . ]  
 12. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÛRU A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>[. . . ]  
 13. ṚDUMU<sup>I</sup> Sag-gil-a-a u<sup>I</sup>Ṛšá<sup>I</sup>[šID]  
 14. [<sup>Id</sup>A]G-A-ÛRU ṚDUMU<sup>I</sup> I[. . . ]  
 15. [x x] x x [. . . ]  
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**

- 1–5. [x (quantity) barley(?), owed to N]abû-apla-iddin and Li[šir, sons] of Marduk-erība, descendant of E[sagilaya], by Nabû-BAD-MAḤ-[. . ., slave(?)] of Mūrānu.
- 5–7. In the month of [. . ., he shall deliver (the barley?) in front of the store]house, in the [royal (*pān*)]-measure, in a single delivery.
- 8–10. [Mūr]ānu, son of [. . ., guarantees pay]ment(?) of(?) the barley.
- 10–13. [Witnesses]:  
[. . .]  
Marduk-šuma-ušur, son of [. . .], descendant of Esagilaya
- 13–14. And the [scribe: N]abû-apla-ušur, [son of . . .]  
(break)

**Note**

- 4: The reading of the debtor's name is uncertain. Compare the place name Ālu(?) -ša-BAD-MAḤ-AN<sup>ki</sup> in text No. 30:15.

**Remarks**

As in the case of text No. 14, the object of this promissory note is produce, most likely grain or another non-orchard crop, which constitutes a *šibšu*- or *imittu*-payment on land leased by Nabû-apla-iddin and Lišir to the debtor. The produce owed here is probably barley.

The latest attestation of Lišir is in the fourth year of Nabonidus (*Nbn.* 149:4); his son Bēl-iddin takes his place in text No. 16, dated to Nabonidus year 5. Thus, although the date formula is missing from this text, it most likely predates text No. 16.

**16.**

MMA 86.11.196

Plate 12

H. 34 mm. W. 47 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 50

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 144–45

Promissory note for [dates(?)]

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 5 month 2 day 22

- Obv. 1. [x] ᵀxᵀ [ZÚ.LUM.MA(?) šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
2. [A]-ᵀšú šá<sup>Id</sup>ᵀU+GUR-ú-ter  
3. A<sup>I</sup>DINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>ú</sup> [ina UGU]  
4. <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A-[šú šá<sup>I</sup>Li-š]ir

5. A <sup>1</sup>Sag-<sup>r</sup>gil<sup>1</sup>-a-a  
 6. ina <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> i-nam-din  
 Rev. 7. [<sup>lu</sup>mu-ki]n-nu <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-MU-DÙ  
 8. [A-šú šá] [<sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU A <sup>Ir</sup>-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 9. <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN-su-iq-bi A-šú šá  
 10. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A <sup>Id</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 11. u <sup>lu</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>Ki-šir-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 12. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> UD 22.KÁM  
 13. MU 5.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I  
 U.E. 14. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–5. [x] . . . [dates(?) owed to . . .], [son] of Nergal-utēr, descendant of Ilī-tillatī, [by] Bēl-iddin, son [of Līš]ir, descendant of Esagilaya.  
 6. In the month of Tašrītu he will deliver (the goods).  
 7–10. [Witness]es:  
     Nergal-šuma-ibni, [son of] Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Arad-Ea  
     Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Marduk-erība, descendant of Iddin-Marduk  
 11. And the scribe: Bēl-iddin, son of Kišir-Nabû  
 12–14. Babylon, Ayyāru day 22 year 5, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 1: The debt object is more likely to be some type of produce than silver, in the absence of the usual reiteration of the amount in the payment clause. Since delivery is due in Tašrītu (l. 6), roughly the time of the date harvest, the commodity owed may be dates. But if so the debt object is definitely not an *imittu*-payment, since this promissory note was drawn up in Ayyāru and lacks the accessory clauses normal in *imittu*-promissory notes (cf. text No. 28).  
 3: The reading of the PN <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>u</sup> as Ilī-tillatī, “My-God-Is-My-Aid,” is confirmed by the writing <sup>1</sup>EN-KASKAL×KUR<sup>u</sup> in Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 107, no. 244:9. See also Stamm, *Namengebung*, p. 312, and Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 274, s.v. <sup>d</sup>Sîn.

### Remarks

The debtor named in this tablet is Bēl-iddin, son of Līšir, descendant of Esagilaya. Probably Līšir had died by the time this tablet was drawn up (see Remarks on text No. 15), and Bēl-iddin assumed the debt documented here as legal successor to his father’s affairs.

## 17.

MMA 86.11.308

Plate 13

H. 37 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Quittance

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 6 month 6 day 10

- Obv. 1.  $\acute{u}$ - $\dot{i}$ l- $\Gamma$  $\dot{t}$ <sup>meš</sup>  $lu$ - $\acute{u}$   $\acute{s}$ á KÙ.BABBAR  $lu$ -[ $\acute{u}$ ]  
 2.  $\acute{s}$ á  $\Gamma$ ŠE.BAR  $lu$ - $\acute{u}$ <sup>1</sup> [ $\acute{s}$ á]  $\Gamma$ ZÚ<sup>1</sup>.LUM.MA  
 3.  $ra$ - $\Gamma$ š $\acute{u}$ - $\acute{u}$ <sup>1</sup>  $\acute{s}$ á <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-*ia* (erasure)  
 4. DUMU LÚ-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  $\acute{s}$ á *ina* UGU <sup>Id</sup>AG-IBILA- $\Gamma$ MU<sup>1</sup>  
 5. A-š $\acute{u}$   $\acute{s}$ á <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UT]U-SU DUMU <sup>Id</sup>É-sag- $\Gamma$ gil- $a$ <sup>1</sup>-*a*  
 6.  $\acute{s}$ á *ina* É  $\Gamma$ <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-*ia*  $\dot{u}$  ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-š $\acute{u}$   
 7. *il-la-nu*  $\acute{s}$ á <sup>Id</sup>AG-IBILA-MU  
 8. *ši-ni*  $\Gamma$ <sup>d</sup> $\Gamma$ É<sup>1</sup>-*a*-MU  $\dot{u}$
- Lo.E. 9.  $\Gamma$ <sup>1</sup><sup>d</sup>U+G[UR-. . . KÙ(?).BABB]AR(?) *ra*-[š $\acute{u}$ ]-*tu*  
 10.  $\acute{s}$ á <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-*i*[*a*] *ina* UGU <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-M[U]  
 11. *mah*- $\Gamma$ ru- $\dot{u}$ <sup>1</sup>
- Rev. 12. <sup>lú</sup>*mu-kin-nu* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU- $\dot{u}$ RU  
 13.  $\Gamma$ A-š $\acute{u}$ <sup>1</sup>  $\acute{s}$ á <sup>Id</sup>EN-DÙ DUMU <sup>Id</sup>Mu-še-*zib*  
 14.  $\Gamma$ <sup>Id</sup>AG-DA<sup>1</sup> A-š $\acute{u}$   $\acute{s}$ á <sup>Id</sup>EN-š $\acute{u}$ -*nu*  
 15. DUMU <sup>Id</sup>E-gi-*bi* *u* <sup>lú</sup>šID  
 16. <sup>Id</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-š $\acute{u}$   $\acute{s}$ á <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-NUMUN  
 17. [A] <sup>Id</sup>Ú-šur-*a-mat*-<sup>d</sup>É-*a*  
 18. [TIN].TIR<sup>ki</sup>  $\dot{u}$ <sup>ki</sup> KIN UD 10.KÁM  
 19. [M]U 6.KÁM <sup>d</sup>AG-I
- U.E. 20. LUGAL T[IN.TI]R<sup>ki</sup>  
 L.E. (incised crosshatch mark)

**Translation**

- 1–8. Any promissory notes whether for silver or for barley or [for] dates owed to Zēriya, descendant of Amēl-Ea, which are charged against Nabû-apla-iddin, son of [Mardu]k-erība, descendant of Esagilaya, which appear in the house of Zēriya or his brothers—they belong to Nabû-apla-iddin.
- 8–11. Ea-iddin and Ner[gal-. . .] have received [the silver(?) (which constitutes)] the credit claim of Zēriy[a] on the account of Nabû-apla-iddi[n].
- 12–15. Witnesses:  
 Marduk-šuma-ušur, [son] of Bēl-ibni, descendant of Mušēzib  
 Nabû-le<sup>ḡ</sup>i, son of Bēlšunu, descendant of Egibi
- 15–17. And the scribe: Iddin-Nabû, son of Marduk-bēl-zēri, [descendant of] Ušur-amāt-Ea
- 18–20. [Bab]ylon, Ulūlu day 10 [ye]ar 6, Nabonidus king of Ba[byl]on



*Notes*

- 7: For the ventive suffix *-nu*, see N. R. Woodington, *A Grammar of the Neo-Babylonian Letters of the Kuyunjik Collection*, Ph.D. diss., Yale University (New Haven, 1982), pp. 103–9; other examples with *elû* are found in YOS 6, 177:9; YOS 7, 51:11; and TCL 12, 78:7.

L.E: The L.E. of this tablet bears an incised crosshatch mark apparently made with a stylus.

*Remarks*

This quittance establishes that Nabû-apla-iddin has cleared all of his debts owed to Zēriya, of any commodity whatsoever. It is the type of tablet that would have been drawn up for the debtor, once he had paid off his debts, in order to cancel any promissory notes or copies thereof that the creditor may not have located and returned to him in the course of receiving payment of those debts (see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xviii). Nabû-apla-iddin would have kept the present tablet in his archive as proof that he was quit. The nature of the transactions between Zēriya and Nabû-apla-iddin that would have given rise to Nabû-apla-iddin's debt obligations cannot be determined from this quittance.

**18.**

MMA 86.11.333

Plate 14

H. 40 mm. W. 53 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Quittance(?)

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year [x] month 7 day 13

- Obv. 1. [. . . ]  
 2. [. . . ] ʽxʽ [. . . ]  
 3. [. . . ] ʽxʽ KA(?) [. . . ]  
 4. [. . . ] ʽx x xʽ KÛ.BABBAR  
 5. [. . . ] ʽx xʽ [. . . DU]MU.SAL-*su*  
 6. [šá ʽxʽ] ʽx xʽ [x] ʽxʽ *ina* ʽšUʽ<sup>[III]</sup>  
 7. [ʽAGʽ]-A-ʽMUʽ [A-šú] ʽšáʽ [ʽšUʽ-*SU*]  
 8. [A] ʽSagʽ-gil-ʽlaʽ-*a-a*  
 9. ʽmahʽ-*rat*  
 Lo.E. 10. [. . . ] ʽxʽ

- 
- Rev. 11. ʽmuʽ-*kin-nu* ʽENʽ-[. . . ]  
 12. A-šú šá ʽLaʽ-ʽaʽ-*ba-ši* A ʽ[. . . ]  
 13. ʽAGʽ-KAR-ZI<sup>meš</sup> A-šú šá  
 14. ʽRi-muʽ-ʽtúʽ A ʽGÍR.LÁʽ  
 15. ʽuʽ ʽšIDʽ ʽDUB-*NUMUN* A-šú šá ʽIRʽ-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 16. A ʽE-gi-biʽ TIN.ʽTIRʽ<sup>ki</sup>  
 17. ʽDUʽ<sub>6</sub> UD 13.K[ʽÁM MU X.KÁMʽ]  
 18. ʽAGʽ-I LUGAL [TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

**Translation**

- 1–4. [. . .]  
 4–9. [. . .] silver [f. . . , dau]ghter of [. . .], received from [Nabû]-apla-iddin, [son] of [Marduk-erība, descendant of] Esagilaya.  
 10. [. . .]

11–14. Witnesses:

Bēl-[. . .], son of Lābāši, descendant of [. . .]

Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti, son of Rīmūt, descendant of Ṭābiḫu

15–16. And the scribe: Šāpik-zēri, son of Arad-Nabû, descendant of Egibi

16–18. Babylon, Tašritu day 13 [year x], Nabonidus king of [Babylon]

**Notes**

- 1: Part of the blank upper edge is preserved, making it possible to determine that only one line is entirely missing above the first line in which a fragment of a sign is visible.  
 7: This line is gouged by a diagonal groove (shown on the copy) and not a ruling line.

**Remarks**

This tablet may be either a quittance or a promissory note containing a supplementary clause recording the receipt of partial payment of a debt obligation.

**19.**

MMA 86.11.230

Plate 15

H. 41 mm. W. 52 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 65

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 188–89

Promissory note for barley

Neo-Babylonian period, [Babylon]

Nabonidus, year [x] month 11 day 25

- Obv. 1. 18 GUR ŠE.BAR [. . . šá<sup>Id</sup>DI.KUD-MU-MU]  
 2. A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Šil-la-a [A<sup>Id</sup>IDIM-. . . ina UGU]  
 3. <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A<sup>Γ1</sup>[É-sag-gil-a-a]  
 4. ina<sup>iti</sup>ŠU in[a S]AG.DU-šú i-nam-din 25 (GUR) Z[Ú.LUM.MA(?)]  
 5. šá<sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> BUR<sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> IGI<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN A-ga-d[è<sup>ki</sup>]  
 6. šá<sup>Id</sup>DI.KUD-MU-MU ší-i<sup>I</sup>Ri-kis-ka-la-mu-<sup>Γd</sup>EN<sup>Γ</sup>  
 7. qal-la-šú maš-ka-nu šá<sup>Id</sup>DI.KUD-MU-MU

8. <sup>lú</sup>TUK<sup>ú</sup> *šá-nam-ma ina UGU ul i-šal-laṭ*  
 9. *pap-pa-su-šú* <sup>Γ</sup>*šá maš<sup>1</sup>-šar-tu<sub>4</sub> šá* <sup>iti</sup>AB  
 10. <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-M[U *ina šU<sup>II</sup>*] <sup>Id</sup>DI.KUD-MU-MU *e-tir*  
 Lo.E. 11. *ú-ìl-[tì<sup>meš</sup> m]aḥ-re-e-ti*  
 Rev. 12. *gab-b[i ḥ]u-up-<sup>Γ</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-<sup>2</sup>*
- 
13. <sup>lú</sup>mu-<sup>Γ</sup>kin-nu<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut A-šú <sup>Γ</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>II</sup>IdAG-DÙ-NUMUN  
 14. A-⟨⟨šú⟩⟩ (erasure) <sup>1</sup>Man-nu-ge-ri <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU  
 15. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Li-ši-ru A <sup>1</sup>É-sag-gil-[a-a]  
 16. *u* <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>Γ</sup>IdAMAR.UTU-MU<sup>1</sup>-[. . . A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 17. A <sup>1</sup>R-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÙ [TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]  
 18. <sup>iti</sup>ZÍZ UD 25.KÁM [MU x.KÁM]  
 19. <sup>Id</sup>AG-I L[UGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

### Translation

- 1–3. 18 *kur* barley [. . ., owed to Madānu-šuma-iddin], son of Šillaya, [descendant of Ea-. . ., by] Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Marduk-erība, descendant of [Esagilaya].  
 4. In the month of Du<sup>2</sup>ūzu he shall deliver (the barley) in it[s p]rincipal amount.  
 4–6. 25 (*kur*) d[ates(?)] from the orchard, (for) the meal(s) of the month of Tašritu for the Lady of Akkad, belong to Madānu-šuma-iddin.  
 6–8. Rikis-kalāma-Bēl, his slave, is (pledged as) the security of Madānu-šuma-iddin. No other creditor shall exercise any rights over (the slave, until Madānu-šuma-iddin is paid).  
 9–10. Nabû-apla-idd[in] has been paid his *pappasu*-allowance [from] the *maššartu*-stores of the month Ṭebētu by Madānu-šuma-iddin.  
 11–12. All previous promissory not[es] are cancelled.
- 
- 13–15. Witnesses:  
 Rīmūt, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, descendant of Mannu-gērī  
 Bēl-iddin, son of Līšir, descendant of Esagilay[a]  
 16–17. And the scribe: Marduk-šuma-[. . ., son of . . .], descendant of Arad-Nergal  
 17–19. [Babylon], Šabātu day 25 [year x], Nabonidus k[ing of Babylon]

### Notes

- 1: There is space in the missing part of l. 1, before the name of the creditor, for a term defining the debt object.  
 2: The creditor's family name is partly restored from text No. 20.  
 4–6: The syntax of the sequence *s[uluppē] ša kiri naptan MN* is not clear.

- 9–10: *pappasu* denotes the prebendary’s “allowance” or “salary in naturalia,” i.e., the income appertaining to a prebend, which is withdrawn from the temple’s *maššartu*-stores (see Remarks on text No. 13).
- 14–15: The second witness, Bēl-iddin, is Nabû-apla-iddin’s nephew, on whom see text No. 16 with Remarks.
- 17: Since the transaction concerns a prebend at the temple of Ishtar of Akkad in Babylon (see text No. 13 n. 3), the tablet was almost certainly written in Babylon.

### Remarks

This promissory note and the following one, text No. 20, arise from Nabû-apla-iddin’s lease of his prebend at the temple of Ishtar Lady of Akkad, in Babylon, to Madānu-šuma-iddin. The lease would have obliged Madānu-šuma-iddin to perform the prebendary duties, in exchange for compensation, while Nabû-apla-iddin still drew his prebendary income. The present document establishes Nabû-apla-iddin’s obligation to provide Madānu-šuma-iddin with a certain quantity of barley, either as supplies to be used in producing beer for the cultic meals or as compensation for doing this work. Nabû-apla-iddin’s debt to Madānu-šuma-iddin is secured by the pledge of Nabû-apla-iddin’s slave (ll. 6–8). A supplementary remark (ll. 4–6) notes that a quantity of dates, designated for the goddess’s meals, “belongs to” Madānu-šuma-iddin; that is, he is to use this supply of dates, as well as the barley owed him, for the purpose of provisioning the goddess. Another supplementary remark records Nabû-apla-iddin’s receipt of his prebendary income allowance (ll. 9–10).

Text No. 19 is a novation of outstanding obligations—in other words the obligation documented here encompasses (portions of) previously incurred debts—as indicated by the clause “all previous promissory notes are cancelled” (literally “broken,” ll. 11–12). Those “previous promissory notes” might include text No. 20, which is in fact broken; if so, text No. 19 would postdate text No. 20.

## 20.

MMA 86.11.340

Plate 16

H. 35 mm. W. 48 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Promissory note for barley

Neo-Babylonian period, [Babylon]

[Nabonidus(?)], date formula not preserved

- Obv. 1. [x ŠE.BAR šá<sup>Id</sup>DI.KUD]-<sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>-M[U A-šú šá]
2. [<sup>1</sup>Ši]l-la-a A<sup>Id</sup>IDIM-<sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-[. . .]
3. ina UGU<sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU A-šú<sup>r</sup> šá<sup>1</sup>
4. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A<sup>1</sup>É-sag-í[l-a-a]
5. ŠE.BAR ŠÁM KAŠ ÚS.SA <<DU>><sup>r</sup>SIG<sup>5</sup><sup>1</sup>
6. šá a-na nap-ta-nu šá<sup>d</sup>INNIN GAŠAN A-g[a-dè<sup>ki</sup>]
7. SUM.NA ina maš-šar-tu<sub>4</sub> šá<sup>r</sup>iti<sup>1</sup>[SIG<sub>4</sub>]
- Lo.E. 8. u<sup>iti</sup>ŠU

- Rev. 9. *ina* SAG.DU-šú *i-nam-din*  
 10. <sup>lú</sup>*mu-kin-nu* <sup>I</sup>*La-a*<sup>1</sup>-*ba-ši* A-šú šá  
 11. <sup>I</sup>*Ba-la-tu* A <sup>I</sup>*É-sag-í*[*l-a-a*]  
 12. <sup>I</sup>*Bi(?)*-x A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>*Lib*<sup>1</sup>-*luṭ* A <sup>lú</sup>šU.<sup>I</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 (blank line)  
 13. *u* <sup>lú</sup>šID<sup>1</sup> <sup>I</sup>*XXXXX*<sup>1</sup>  
 (remainder broken)

### Translation

- 1–4. [x barley, owed to Madānu]-šuma-id[din, son of Ši]llaya, descendant of Ea-[. . .], by Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Marduk-erība, descendant of Esagi[laya].  
 5–8. The barley, disbursed as the price of fine *billatu*-beer for the meal of Ishtar Lady of Ak[kad], is from the *maššartu*-stores of the months [Simānu] and Du<sup>7</sup>ūzu.  
 9. He shall deliver (the barley) in its principal amount.  
 10–12. Witnesses:  
     Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagi[laya]  
     Bi(?)-. . ., son of Libluṭ, descendant of Gallābu  
 13. And the scribe: [. . .]  
 (break)

### Notes

- 1–2: The creditor's name is restored based on text No. 19:6.  
 5: *šīmu*, "price," refers to the value, in barley, of the beer produced by Madānu-šuma-iddin.  
 10–11: The first witness, Lābāši, is Nabû-apla-iddin's near or distant "cousin" and the principal figure in Archive B.  
 17–19: Regarding the date and provenance of this text, see note to text No. 19:17 and Remarks thereon.

### Remarks

For the contractual background of this promissory note, see Remarks on text No. 19. Lines 5–7 of the present text indicate that Nabû-apla-iddin's prebendary duties, which Madānu-šuma-iddin was contracted to perform, consisted of supplying beer for the meals of Ishtar Lady of Akkad; his was therefore a brewer's (*širāšūtu*) prebend. The amount of barley owed him by Nabû-apla-iddin might include compensation for labor as well as supplies.

**21.**

MMA 86.11.380

Plates 16, 123

H. 28 mm. W. 37 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Receipt

Neo-Babylonian period, (Babylon)

No RN, year x(?) + 2 month 1 day 12

- Obv. 1. [x x] ᵀx x x ᵀmeš  
 2. šá lúŠU PA A PI(?)  
 (blank line)  
 3. IGI ᵀINNIN A-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. šá TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
- Lo.E. 5. [ᵀ]ᵀ<sup>d</sup>AG-A-MU  
 6. ᵀA ᵀ-šú šá ᵀ<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU
- Rev. (seal impression)  
 7. [ᵀ<sup>iti</sup>B]ÁR UD 12 ᵀMU x(?) + 2 ᵀ.(KÁM)

**Translation**

- 1–2. [. . .] which the . . . official . . .  
 3–4. Before Ishtar of Akkad of Babylon,  
 5–6. (received from?) Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Marduk-erība.  
 (seal impression)  
 7. [Ni]sannu day 12, year x(?) + 2

**Notes**

- 4: The specification “of Babylon” following the divine name indicates that the temple is the Emašdari, the sanctuary of Ishtar Lady of Akkad in Babylon.  
 5: The direction of movement of the goods has to be inferred from circumstantial evidence. Administrative records not infrequently lack verbs; see YOS 17, 183 (discussed by Kessler in AUWE 8/1, pp. 52–53), and AUWE 5/1, 86 (which is also sealed).

**Seal Impression (Reverse)**

Plates 16, 123

Stamp seal

H. 17 mm. W. preserved to 13 mm.

The preserved portion of the impression shows a bearded male figure facing right with long hair in a bun at the nape of his neck. He wears a long belted robe. His pose, with bent and upraised right arm, identifies him as a worshiper. Behind his head is a partially preserved, vertically oriented cuneiform sign, possibly the beginning of the DINGIR sign that precedes divine names. The awkward angle of the

worshiper's head may be due to the way the stamp was impressed on the convex tablet surface. The right half of the impression is damaged.

*Remarks*

This tablet served as Nabû-apla-iddin's receipt for his delivery of goods to the temple of Ishtar of Akkad in Babylon. The commodity presented "before Ishtar" was probably beer or the supplies used to produce beer, as other texts (see Introduction to Archives A and B, p. 26) indicate that Nabû-apla-iddin's prebend obligated him to provide beer for the goddess.

Archive B  
(Text Nos. 22–44)

22.

MMA 86.11.148

Plate 17

H. 39 mm. W. 57 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nebuchadnezzar II, year 4 month 9 day [x]

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{1}{3}$  7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá* <sup>1</sup>*Ib-na-a* A-*šú šá*  
 2. <sup>1d</sup>AG-MU-MU A <sup>1ú</sup>SIPA-ANŠE.KUR.RA  
 3. *ina* UGU <sup>1</sup>*Ba-la-tu* A-*šú šá* <sup>1</sup>*Ina*-SÙH-SUR  
 4. A <sup>1</sup>*Sag-gil-a-a* <sup>1</sup>*šá* MU<sup>1</sup>.AN.NA  
 5. *ina* UGU 1 *ma-né-e* <sup>1</sup>12 GÍN<sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR  
 6. *ina muh-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi*  
 7. *ú-il-tì šá* 14 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ḫe-pa-a-tú*
- Lo.E. 8. *šá la* <sup>1</sup>*ú*<sup>1</sup>-*il-tì šá* GI<sup>mes</sup>  
 9. *maš-ka-nu šab-tú*
- Rev. 10. <sup>1</sup>*mu*<sup>1</sup>-[*kin*]-<sup>1</sup>*nu*<sup>1</sup> <sup>1d</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-DÙ A-*šú šá*  
 11. [<sup>1</sup>. . . A <sup>1</sup>]DÙ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR  
 12. [<sup>1</sup>. . . A-*šú šá* <sup>1d</sup>(x)-x]-<sup>1</sup>ÜRÜ(?)<sup>1</sup> A <sup>1ú</sup>ŠU.ḪA  
 13. [<sup>1</sup>. . . A-*šú šá* <sup>1d</sup>]ŠÚ(?)<sup>1</sup>-MU A <sup>1d</sup>EN-*e-tir*  
 14. *u* [<sup>1ú</sup>ŠID <sup>1</sup>. . .]-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> A-*šú šá* <sup>1d</sup>ŠÚ-MU-ÜRÜ  
 15. A [<sup>1</sup>. . .] <sup>1</sup>TIN<sup>1</sup>.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ití<sup>1</sup>GAN  
 16. [UD x.KÁ]M <sup>1</sup>MU<sup>1</sup> 4.KÁM
- U.E. 17. [<sup>1d</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-<sup>1</sup>ÜRÜ<sup>1</sup> LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–4.  $\frac{1}{3}$  (mina) 7 shekels silver, owed to Ibnaya, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Rē<sup>3</sup>i-sīsê, by Balātu, son of Ina-tēsî-ētir, descendant of Esagilaya.
- 4–6. (Interest) shall accrue against him (at the rate of) 12 shekels silver per mina per year.
- 7–9. The obligation for 14 shekels silver is cancelled—for which, in the absence of a promissory note, real estate was taken as security.
- 10–13. Wit[nes]ses:  
 Bēl-ibni, son of [. . ., descendant of] Eppeš-ilī  
 [. . ., son of . . .]-uṣur(?), descendant of Bā<sup>3</sup>iru  
 [. . ., son of] Marduk(?)<sup>3</sup>-iddin, descendant of Bēl-ētir
- 14–15. And [the scribe: . . .], son of Marduk-šuma-uṣur, descendant of [. . .]
- 15–17. Babylon, Kislīmu [day x] year 4, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon



*Notes*

- 5: The numeral “12” is restored in accord with the formula stipulating a standard interest rate of 20 percent per year, which may be expressed as “12 shekels per mina per year” as in this text and text No. 106:5–6, or “1 shekel per mina per month,” as in texts Nos. 56:6–7 and 79:4–5.
- 7–9: The formula in l. 7 signifies that the debt obligation documented by a previous tablet is cancelled. When this clause appears in a promissory note, it indicates that the debt amount still owed from the previous promissory note is incorporated (together with interest or other charges) into the debt amount documented by the current promissory note; the current tablet is a “novation” of the old debt, or documents the consolidation of the debtor’s obligations to the creditor.
- qanû*, “reeds” (l. 8), refer to a piece of urban real estate in terms of the unit in which it was measured (real reeds, being fungible goods, could not be pledged as security).

*Remarks*

This promissory note documents the consolidation of Balātu’s debt obligations to Ibnaya, a creditor who does not reappear in the extant tablets of Balātu’s son Lābāši (Archive B). Balātu had previously owed Ibnaya 14 shekels silver, a debt which was secured by the pledge of a small plot of urban real estate (ll. 7–9). The sum of 27 shekels that Balātu owed Ibnaya at the time text No. 22 was drawn up may represent the debt of 14 shekels plus accumulated interest charges, or it may result from adding that debt and separate debt obligations that are not identified in this text.

**23.**

MMA 86.11.154

Plate 18

H. 32 mm. W. 35 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nebuchadnezzar II, year 14 month 9 day 17

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{1}{3}$  8 ᵀGÍN KÙᵀ. [BABBAR]  
 2. šá ᵀX Xᵀ [ . . . ]  
 3. A-šú šá ᵀIna-SÙH-ᵀSURᵀ  
 4. A ᵀSag-gil-la-a
- Lo.E. 5. ina UGU ᵀTIN ŠEŠ-šú  
 6. hu-bu-ut-tú
- 
- Rev. 7. lúmu-kin-nu ᵀNUMUN-ᵀtúᵀ  
 8. A-šú šá ᵀAm-mì-ni-DINGIR  
 9. u lúšID ᵀAG-NUMUN-MU  
 10. A ᵀDa-bi-bi TIN.TIRᵀ<sup>ki</sup>
- U.E. 11. itiᵀGAN UD 17. [KÁM]

12. MU 14.KÁM  
 L.E. 13. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-ÛRU  
 14. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

1–6. ⅓ (mina) 8 shekels si[Iver], owed to [. . .], son of Ina-tēšî-eṭir, descendant of Esagilaya, by Balātu, his brother, without (future) interest.

7–8. Witness:

Zērūtu, son of Ammīni-ilī

9–10. And the scribe: Nabû-zēra-iddin, descendant of Dābibi

10–14. Babylon, Kislīmu day 17 year 14, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon

### Notes

- 5: Because the debtor can be most efficiently identified as the creditor's brother, the scribe has dispensed with Balātu's filiation.  
 6: On *hubuttu*-debts, see n. to text No. 5:3.

## 24.

MMA 86.11.386

Plate 18

H. 25 mm. W. 47 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Promissory note for barley and wheat

Neo-Babylonian period, GN not preserved

Nebuchadnezzar II, year [x] month 1 day [x]

- Obv. 1. 4 GUR 2 (PI) 4 (BÁN) ŠE.BAR 3 (PI) 2 (BÁN) <sup>še</sup>GIG.BA  
 2. šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-NUMUN-DÙ A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-NIGIN<sup>ir</sup>  
 3. A <sup>Id</sup>DÙ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR ina UGU <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu  
 4. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Ina-SÙH-SUR A <sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-a-a  
 5. [ina] <sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub> ina UGU [x x] [. . .]  
 6. [. . .] [x] [. . .]  
 (rest of obverse broken)  
 (beginning of reverse broken)
- Rev. 1'. [. . .] [x] [. . .]  
 (blank line)  
 2'. [u <sup>I</sup>šID <sup>I</sup>. . . A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>x]-[x]-ki  
 3'. [A <sup>I</sup>. . .] <sup>iti</sup>BÁR  
 4'. [UD x.KÁM MU x.KÁM] <sup>Id</sup>[<sup>I</sup>AG-NÍG<sup>I</sup>.DU-ÛRU  
 5'. [LUGAL E<sup>I</sup>ki<sup>I</sup>

**Translation**

1–4. 4 *kur* 2 (*pān*) 4 (*sūt*) barley (and) 3 (*pān*) 2 (*sūt*) wheat, owed to Marduk-zēra-ibni, son of Bēl-upaḥḥir, descendant of Eppeš-ilī, by Balātu, son of Ina-tēšî-eṭir, descendant of Esagilaya.

5ff. [In] the month of Simānu [he shall deliver the barley and wheat] in front of [. . .]  
(break)

Rev. [Witnesses]:

1'. [. . .]

2'–3'. [And the scribe: . . ., son of . . ., descendant of] . . .

3'–5'. [(GN)], Nisannu [day x year x], Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon

**Note**

2–3: Marduk-zēra-ibni/Bēl-upaḥḥir//Eppeš-ilī is known from at least one other text: in VS 4, 18, written in Babylon and dated to Nebuchadnezzar year 25, he appears as the junior partner of a *ḥarrānu*-enterprise, with Iqīšaya/Bēl-nāšir//Kutimmu as the financier.

**Remarks**

Although a term such as *šibšu* is not found in the preserved half of this tablet, it is probable that the barley and wheat owed to Marduk-zēra-ibni by Balātu constitute a lease payment on agricultural land. The date of the tablet and the month specified for delivery fit this possibility: the promissory note was issued in the month Nisannu (March/April), the time when the upcoming grain harvest would be estimated to determine the amount due as *šibšu* or *imittu*, and delivery is due in Simānu (May/June), which is harvest time (see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xxii). If the debt documented by text No. 24 was indeed payment due on a lease, Balātu here appears as the party to whom cultivable land was leased; his son Lābāši more typically appears as the lessor of such land (*Nbn.* 405 and texts Nos. 27, 31, 35[?], and 42).

**25.**

MMA 86.11.387a,b

Plate 18

H. 32 mm. W. 56 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Fragment of a contract

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon(?)

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

1'. 1 MA. ᵀNA KÛ.BABBAR ᵀ [. . . ]

2'. *ia-a-nu ina* IGI ᵀX ᵀ- [. . . A-šú šá ᵀ. . . ]

3'. A ᵀ<sup>d</sup>EN-A-ÛRU ᵀ*a-na* X X X ᵀ [. . . ]

4'. ᵀ<sup>d</sup>AG-MU ᵀ-MU A-šú šá ᵀBA<sup>šá</sup>-a A ᵀZÁLAG-ᵀ30(!) ᵀ [*a-na*]

- 5'. [<sup>ld</sup>x]-DÙ-A *iṭ-ṭir-ma* ŠE.NUMUN  
 6'. [*ina* IG]I(?) <sup>ld</sup>AG-MU-MU *a-di* 5<sup>ta</sup> MU<sup>meš</sup>  
 Lo.E. 7'. [BURU<sub>14</sub>(?)] A.ŠÀ *ia-a-nu u* UR<sub>5</sub>.RA <KÙ.BABBAR> *ia-a-nu*  
 Rev. 8'. [šá MU].AN.NA 2 GUR ŠE.BAR <sup>ld</sup>AG-MU-MU *a-na*  
 9'. [<sup>l</sup>B]*a-la-ṭu i-nam-din* 1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN [x]  
 10'. <sup>r</sup>x-tu(?)<sup>l</sup>-ú *a-di* 5<sup>ta</sup> MU<sup>meš</sup> *šá la* <sup>l</sup>[. . . ]  
 11'. <sup>l</sup>B*a-la-ṭu a-na* <sup>ld</sup>AG-MU-MU <sup>r</sup>ú(?)<sup>l</sup>-[. . . ]  
 12'. *a-šar pa-ni* <sup>l</sup>B[*a(?)*-*la(?)*-*ṭu(?)*] . . . ]  
 13'. *i-šab-bat ak* <sup>r</sup>x<sup>l</sup> [. . . ]
- 
- 14'. <sup>ld</sup>*mu-kin-nu* <sup>l</sup>Tab-[*né-e-a* A-šú *šá* <sup>l</sup>[. . . ]  
 (rest of reverse broken)  
 L.E. 15'. [LUG]AL TIN.TIR<sup>k[i]</sup>

### Translation

- 1'-2'. 1 mina silver [. . .] there is no [. . .];  
 2'-3'. at the disposal of [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur, to . . . [. . .]  
 3'-5'. [. . .] Nabû-šuma-iddin, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, shall pay [to . . .]-bāni-apli,  
 5'-6'. and the field [is at the disposal(?)] of Nabû-šuma-iddin.  
 6'-7'. For 5 years there is no [(share of the) harvest (for the creditor)], and there is no interest on the  
 silver (for the debtor).  
 8'-9'. [Per ye]ar, Nabû-šuma-iddin shall deliver 2 *kur* barley to [B]alāṭu.  
 9'-11'. (The) 1-*kur* field [. . .] . . . for 5 years, without [. . .], Balāṭu [. . .] to Nabû-šuma-iddin.  
 11'-13'. . . B[alāṭu(?)] pleases [. . .] he shall take [. . .]

14'. Witnesses:

Tab[nêa, son of . . .]

(break)

L.E. [. . . ki]ng of Babylon

### Notes

- 1'-2': What remains is probably part of an antichresis formula referring to the same property that is the object of the clause in ll. 5'-7' in which the creditor occupies land pledged as security on a rent-free basis. The antichresis formula in lines 1'-2' would have followed upon a statement, presumably a debt clause, of the cause for which the property was originally pledged as security.  
 2': Here and also in ll. 7' and 14' the sign *nu* appears to have been written over an unerased NI.  
 4': Nabû-šuma-iddin's family name is restored from text No. 26:10-11. The scribe appears to have omitted the DINGIR sign in the family name, Nūr-Sîn, and wrote 30 over an unerased sign.

- 7': This line is restored and emended according to the antichresis formula applied to cultivable land pledged as security, *ebūr eqli iānu ḫubul kaspi iānu* (Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, p. 113, with examples cited n. 349).

### Remarks

The reasons for assigning this fragment to Archive B are as follows. First, one of the contracting parties is Nabû-šuma-iddin, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, who is elsewhere attested only in another tablet pertaining to Archive B, text No. 26, and in a fragment that probably pertains to Archive B, text No. 155. Second, one of the other contracting parties is Balātu, who is likely to be Balātu, son of Ina-tēšî-eṭir, descendant of Esagilaya. Nabû-šuma-iddin is evidently an otherwise unknown brother of Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn (see Archive D). If the identification of Balātu and the attribution to Archive B are correct, then text No. 25, together with text No. 26 and possibly text No. 155, indicates a connection between Balātu and his son Lābāši and at least one member of the family of Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn.

Since half the tablet is missing, it is difficult to follow the logic of the preserved clauses of the present text; the scribe may also have made more errors than are readily apparent (several signs are written over unerased underlying signs—see copy, ll. 2', 4', 5', 7', 8', and 14'). It seems that Nabû-šuma-iddin is paying off a debt owed by Balātu to a creditor named (DN)-bāni-apli, for which Balātu had pledged a field as antichretic security. Nabû-šuma-iddin therefore acquires possession of the field, and the right to its usufruct, for five years, though during that time Balātu is prevented from transferring ownership of the field to Nabû-šuma-iddin. If the fragmentary text No. 155 is also to be attributed to Archive B, then that text indicates that Lābāši continued his father's business relationship with Nabû-šuma-iddin.

Based on the identification of Balātu as Balātu/Ina-tēšî-eṭir//Esagilaya, text No. 25 most probably dates to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, on the basis of the dates of the other tablets attesting Balātu's activity.

### 26.

MMA 86.11.307

Plate 19

Dimensions unknown

Tablet missing; copy by Father Louis F. Hartmann\*

Slave sale

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Amēl-Marduk, year 1 month 4 day 21

- Obv. 1. [Id<sup>AG-BA</sup>šá] A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>šEš-li-ia  
 2. [ina ḫu-ud li]b-bi-šú <sup>f</sup>Hi-ip-ta-a  
 3. [qal-lat-s]u a-na 1/3 MA.NA 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 4. [a-na šÁ]M gam-ru-tu<sub>4</sub> a-na  
 5. <sup>1</sup>[. . . ]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ba-la-tu  
 6. A <sup>1</sup>Sag-<sup>r</sup>il(!)-a-a id-din  
 7. pu-ut <sup>r</sup>se<sup>1</sup>-ḫi-i [pa]-qí-ra-nu

8. DUMU.DÙ(!)-[ú-tu] sá <sup>f</sup>Hi-ip-ta-a  
 9. <sup>Id</sup>AG-BA<sup>šá</sup> na-áš-ši  
 Rev. 10. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU  
 11. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a A <sup>Id</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30  
 12. <sup>Id</sup>Ri-mut <sup>Id</sup>A<sup>šú</sup> šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-<sup>Id</sup>X-X<sup>na</sup>  
 13. A <sup>lú</sup>GAL-DÙ <sup>Id</sup>UTU-MU  
 14. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU A <sup>lú</sup>HUN.GÁ  
 15. u <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>IR-ia  
 16. A <sup>Id</sup>MU-lib-ši TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 17. <sup>Id</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>ŠU UD 21.KÁM MU 1.KÁM  
 18. [<sup>Id</sup>LÚ]-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU LUGAL  
 19. TIN, <sup>Id</sup>TIR<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–6. [Nabû-iqīša], son of Aḫīliya, [volun]tarily sold <sup>f</sup>Hiptaya, [hi]s [slavewoman], to [. . .], son of Balāṭu, descendant of Esagilaya, for 1/3 mina 3 shekels silver [as the] full [pri]ce.  
 7–9. Nabû-iqīša guarantees against any challenger (of the legality of the sale), any [cl]aimant (to a right of ownership), (and any claim of) *mār banî*-[status], regarding <sup>f</sup>Hiptaya.  
 10–14. Witnesses:  
     Nabû-šuma-iddin, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn  
     Rīmūt, son of Nabû-. . ., descendant of Rab-banê  
     Šamaš-iddin, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Agru  
 15–16. And the scribe: Bēl-iddin, son of Ardiya, descendant of Šumu-libši  
 16–19. Babylon, Du<sup>2</sup>ūzu day 21 year 1, [Amēl]-Marduk king of Babylon

### Notes

\* MMA 86.11.307 is missing from the collection. The text is based on the copy prepared by Father Louis F. Hartmann in 1941–42 (see Introduction: History of Research on the Collection, p. xii).

- 7–9: On the formula guaranteeing against claims that may render the purchase invalid or illegal, see Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, p. 7 n. 14 and p. 114 n. 356, and Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 182–85.  
 10–11: On Nabû-šuma-iddin/Iqīšaya//Nūr-Sîn, apparently a brother of the well-known Iddin-Marduk, see Archive D and Remarks on text No. 25, as well as text No. 155:10'–11', a fragment that probably belongs to Archive B.

### Remarks

This tablet records the purchase of a slavewoman for 23 shekels of silver. The purchaser, whose name is damaged, is evidently the brother of Lābāši, son of Balāṭu, descendant of Esagilaya.

## 27.

MMA 86.11.168

Not copied

Dimensions unknown\*

Publ. Moldenke II, 52

Tablet missing; text based on Moldenke's copy

Quittance(?)

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 9 month 5 day 11

- Obv. 1. *ina ú-il-ti<sup>meš</sup> šá ŠE.BAR*  
 2. *šá<sup>Id</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Nad(?)<sup>-na</sup> A<sup>I</sup>E-ti<sub>5</sub>-ru*  
 3. *šá ina UGU<sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>TIN*  
 4. *A<sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-a-a u<sup>I</sup>Per-<sup>u</sup>*  
 5. *A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-SUR A<sup>I</sup>{MU}-GÁL<sup>ršit(!)</sup>*  
 (rest of obverse broken)  
 (beginning of reverse broken)
- Rev. 1'. *<sup>I</sup>Za-kir A [ . . . ]*  
 2'. *lúšID<sup>I</sup>Ni-qu-du A-šú šá*  
 3'. *<sup>I</sup>Li-ši-ru A<sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>IDIM*  
 4'. *TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ití<sup>NE</sup>*  
 5'. *UD 11.KÁM MU 9.KÁM*  
 6'. *<sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>*

**Translation**

- 1–5. From the promissory notes for barley owed to Bēl-uballit, son of Nadna(?), descendant of Ētir, which are charged against Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya and Per<sup>u</sup>, son of Nabû-ētir, descendant of Šumu-libši[, . . . (. . . has received amount x from . . .?)]  
 (break)

Rev. [Witnesses]:

[ . . . ]

- 1'. [ . . ., son of] Zākir, descendant of [ . . . ]  
 2'–3'. Scribe: Niqūdu, son of Līšir, descendant of Šangû-Ea  
 4'–6'. Babylon, Abu day 11 year 9, Nabonidus king of Babylon

**Notes**

\* Moldenke gave the measurement 1 × 1.75 inches for the preserved part of the tablet. His estimate of “two, possibly more” lines missing in the break is too low, as the remainder of the clause recording the transaction and the introduction of even one witness would require more than two lines, and there probably were more witnesses than one.

- 2: The reading <sup>1</sup>*Nad-na* was proposed by Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 46; Moldenke misread KUR as DIN.  
 4–5: The reading of Lābāši co-debtor’s family name as <sup>1</sup>(MU)-GÁL <sup>šī(1)</sup> is based on the identification of this co-debtor with Per<sup>2</sup>u/Nabû-ēṭir//Šumu-libši, the first witness to a promissory note in which Lābāši/Balātu//Esagilaya is the debtor, *Nbn.* 1116:15–16. The scribe of text No. 29 is Per<sup>2</sup>u’s son Bulluṭu (see n. to text No. 29:rev. 2’–3’). Per<sup>2</sup>u/[Nabû-ēṭir]//Šumu-libši also appears as the first witness in the fragment text No. 153.

**Remarks**

This now-missing tablet appears, based on the preserved top portion, to have been a quittance for a payment of barley. The debtors are Lābāši and a man who is probably his father-in-law, Per<sup>2</sup>u, son of Nabû-ēṭir, descendant of Šumu-libši.<sup>1</sup>

1. If *Nbn.* 1116:17–18 (coll. E. von Dassow) are to be read <sup>(17)</sup> *ina a-šá-ba šá <sup>1</sup>Na-<sup>2</sup>-in(?)<sub>4</sub> <sup>(18)</sup> [DAM <sup>1</sup>La-a-ba]-šī DUMU.SAL-su šá <sup>1</sup>Per-<sup>2</sup>u A <sup>1</sup>MU-lib-šī, “in the presence of <sup>1</sup>Na<sup>2</sup>ittu, wife of Lābāši, daughter of Per<sup>2</sup>u, descendant of Šumu-libši,” then Lābāši married the daughter of this Per<sup>2</sup>u—and she would be identical to <sup>1</sup>Na<sup>2</sup>ittu who appears as (Lābāši’s?) co-debtor in text No. 29.*

**28.**

MMA 86.11.341

Plate 19

H. 33 mm. W. 41 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 57

Promissory note for dates

Neo-Babylonian period, Ba-milkīšu

Nabonidus, year 13 month 6 day 1

- Obv. 1. 1<sup>šú</sup> 6 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA ZAG šá [<sup>1</sup>*La-a-ba-šī*]  
 2. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>TIN A <sup>1</sup>É-sag-gil-a-a ina [*muḥ-ḥi*]  
 3. <sup>1</sup>EN-SUR-ZI<sup>meš</sup> u <sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU-[PAP A<sup>meš</sup> šá]  
 4. <sup>1</sup>AG-NUMUN-DÙ <sup>ii</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> Z[Ú.LUM.MA-a<sub>4</sub> 1<sup>šú</sup> 6 GUR]  
 5. *gam-ru-tú ina ḥa-ša-ri* U[GU(?) 1<sup>et</sup> rit-tu<sub>4</sub> KI 1 GUR]  
 6. *tu-ḥal-la lib-bi-lib-b[i man-ga-ga da-ri-ku]*  
 7. *bil-tu<sub>4</sub> šá ḥu-ša-bi* [*gi-pu-ú šá ú-ḥi-nu*]  
 Lo.E. 8. *i-nam-din-nu* 1<sup>en</sup> p[*u-ut* 2<sup>i</sup>]  
 9. *na-šú-u e-lat ra-[šú-tú maḥ-ri-tú]*



- Rev. 10. *šá muḥ-ḫi* <sup>Id</sup>ŠÚ-PAP <sup>lú</sup>m[u-kin-nu]  
 11. <sup>I</sup>MU-GIN A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-na-<sup>Γ</sup>X<sup>Γ</sup>-[. . .]  
 12. A <sup>I</sup>Sip-pi-e <sup>I</sup>SUM.NA-a [A-šú *šá*]  
 13. <sup>I</sup>X-tu<sup>d</sup>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>I</sup>É-sa[g-gil-a-a]  
 14. <sup>lú</sup>ŠID <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]  
 15. <sup>uru</sup>Ba-mil-ki-šú <sup>iṭi</sup>KIN  
 16. UD 1.KÁM MU 13. <sup>Γ</sup>KÁM<sup>Γ</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AG<sup>Γ</sup>-[I]  
 U.E. 17. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–4. 66 *kur* dates are the *imittu*-payment owed to [Lābāši], son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya, b[y] Bēl-ēṭir-napšāti and Marduk-[nāšir, sons of] Nabû-zēra-ibni.  
 4–8. In the month of Tašrītu they shall deliver the full amount of [66 *kur* dates] in the courtyard, in a single delivery, (as well as delivering) [per *kur*] the spathe(s), the offshoot(s), [the bast, a *darīku*-container,] a load of rachides, [(and) the date spadices].  
 8–9. Each (debtor) guarantees f[or the other].  
 9–10. (This obligation is) separate from a [previous credit] claim charged against Marduk-nāšir.  
 10–13. Wi[tnesses]:  
     Šuma-ukīn, son of Nabû-na-[. . .], descendant of Sippēa  
     Iddīnaya, [son of] . . .-Marduk, descendant of Esa[gilaya]  
 14. Scribe: Itti-Nabû-balātu, son of [. . .]  
 15–17. Ba-milkīšu, Ulūlu day 1 year 13, Nabo[nidus] king of Babylon

### Notes

- 1: The PI that Moldenke copied following ZAG does not exist.  
 For the contractual stipulations typical of *imittu*-promissory notes, see *NRV*, pp. 366–68 and nos. 395–523, *passim*; concerning promissory notes for *imittu* from date palm orchards in particular, see Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 55–59.  
 3: The name of the second debtor is restored based on l. 10.  
 6–7: The number and type of accessory products that the cultivator is required to supply, and the order in which these products are listed, are quite variable; close parallels to the sequence of products stipulated in this text are found in BIN 1, 99:11–12, and GCCI 2, 116:9–12. On the accessory products of the date palm, see Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, esp. pp. 31–32; idem, “Compléments aux ‘Palmeraies et cultures de l’Eanna d’Uruk’ III,” *RA* 78 (1984), p. 65 n. 27, and idem, “Compléments aux ‘Palmeraies et cultures de l’Eanna d’Uruk’ IV,” *RA* 79 (1985), pp. 51–55; see also B. Landsberger, *The Date Palm and Its By-Products According to the Cuneiform Sources*, *AfO* suppl. 17 (Graz, 1967).  
 15: Moldenke read the town name as “Mamilkišu.” Ba-milkīšu, a toponym not attested elsewhere, may be understood as “House-of-his-counsel/command,” in which the Aramaic element *ba-* is an



*Translation*

1–4. 5⅛ shekels silver, owed to [f. . .], daughter of Šāpik-zēr, by [Lābāši], son of Balātu, descendant of Esa[gilaya], and by fNa<sup>2</sup>ittu [his wife(?)].

5. (traces)

(break)

Rev. [Witnesses]:

[. . .]

1'. [. . ., son] of Nāšir(?), descendant of [. . .]

2'–3'. Bulluṭ, scribe, son of [Per<sup>2</sup>u], descendant of Šumu-libši

3'–5'. Babylon, [month x] day 8 year 13, [Nabonidus] king of Babylon

*Notes*

1–2: The creditor's father, Šāpik-zēri, may be the same as Šāpik-zēri, descendant of Maštuk, who is mentioned in another text of Archive B, text No. 43:4'–5', as the owner of property adjacent to a field that Lābāši leases, and in text No. 108:1–2, as the creditor for a debt of silver.

4: For the identification of fNa<sup>2</sup>ittu as Lābāši's wife, see text No. 27 n. to Remarks.

Rev. 2'–3': The scribe's patronymic is restored here on the basis of his appearance in several other texts from the reign of Nabonidus: he appears as the scribe in *Nbn.* 46:11, 802:14, and 946:11, and he is the first witness to *Nbn.* 807:14.

Rev. 4': For the restoration of the royal name as Nabonidus, see text No. 28 n. to l. 16.

*Remarks*

According to this tablet, Lābāši and his wife fNa<sup>2</sup>ittu owe five shekels of silver to the daughter of one of Lābāši's neighbors, Šāpik-zēri, descendant of Maštuk. fNa<sup>2</sup>ittu is the daughter of Lābāši's co-debtor in text No. 27, Per<sup>2</sup>u, whose son Bulluṭ wrote this promissory note.

**30.**

MMA 86.11.343

Plate 20

H. 35 mm. W. 45 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Quittance for dates

Neo-Babylonian period,

Ālu-ša-BAD-MAḤ-AN<sup>ki</sup>(?)

[Nabonidus], year 16 month [x] day [x]

Obv. 1. [x GUR . . . ZÚ.]LUM.MA

2. [Id<sub>x</sub>]-KAR-ZI<sup>meš</sup> A-šú šá Id<sub>EN</sub>-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU

3. Ṛ<sub>A</sub> lúSANGA<sup>1</sup>-d<sub>IM</sub> ina na-áš-par-tu<sub>4</sub>

4. *šá*<sup>I</sup>*La-ba-a-ši* A-šú *šá*<sup>I</sup>*Ba-la-tu*  
 5. A *É-sag-gil-a-a* *ina* šU<sup>II</sup>  
 6. Id<sub>AG-KAR-ZI</sub><sup>meš</sup> *u* *Zir-qu*  
 7. A<sup>meš</sup> *šá* Id<sub>AG-NUMUN-GÁL</sub><sup>ši</sup>  
 8. *ma-ḫir*  
 Rev. 9. lú<sup>I</sup>*mu-kin-nu* *Kal-ba-a*  
 10. [A-šú *šá*<sup>I</sup>A] *r-ra-bi*  
 11. [<sup>I</sup>. . . ] [<sup>I</sup>A<sup>I</sup>-šú *šá* Id<sub>AG-BA</sub>⟨x⟩]<sup>šá</sup>  
 12. [A . . . <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 13. [. . . *u*] <sup>I</sup>lú<sup>I</sup>šID  
 14. [<sup>I</sup>. . . A-šú *šá*<sup>I</sup>] *SUM.NA-a*  
 15. [A <sup>I</sup>. . . ] [<sup>I</sup>URU(?)]-šá<sup>I</sup>-<sup>I</sup>BAD-MAḪ-AN<sup>ki</sup>  
 16. [<sup>I</sup>iti . . . UD x.KÁM] MU 16.KÁM  
 U.E. 17. [Id<sub>AG-I</sub> LUGAL TIN.TI]R<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–8. [. . .]-ēṭir-napšāti, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Šangû-Adad, (acting) as proxy for Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya, received [x *kur* . . . d]ates from Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti and Zirqu, sons of Nabû-zēra-ušabši.  
 9–13. Witnesses:  
     Kalbaya, [son of A]rrabi  
     [. . .], son of Nabû-iqīša, [descendant of . . .]  
     [. . .]  
 13–15. [And] the scribe: [. . ., son of] Iddinaya, [descendant of . . .]  
 15–17. Ālu(?)]-ša-BAD-MAḪ-AN<sup>ki</sup>, [month x day x] year 16, [Nabonidus king of Baby]lon

### Note

- 17: For the restoration of the royal name as Nabonidus, see text No. 28 n. to l. 16.

### Remarks

Although the word *imittu* is absent, this quittance for a delivery of dates probably represents payment on a lease of a date-palm orchard. Lābāši, as the recipient of payment, would be the lessor of the orchard; Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti and Zirqu, who deliver the payment, would be the lessees who cultivate the orchard. An otherwise unattested individual, [. . .]-ēṭir-napšāti, takes delivery of the dates on Lābāši's behalf.

## 31.

MMA 86.11.191

Plate 21

H. 43 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 64

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 186–87

Cession of promissory note(?)

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year [x] month 9 day [x]

- Obv. 1. *ú-il-tì šá ú-nu-tu* <sup>lú</sup>Γ<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 2. *ku-lu<sub>4</sub>-lu<sub>4</sub> ù mu-še-zib* S[AG(?).DU(?) . . . ]  
 3. *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-SUR A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-DÛ-NUMUN Γ<sub>A</sub><sup>1</sup>[. . . ]  
 4. *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-BA <sup>šá</sup> A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-DÛ-NUMUN [A <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 5. *a-na muḫ-ḫi* <sup>1</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-š[ú *šá* <sup>1</sup>Ba-la-tu]  
 6. A <sup>1</sup>Sag-gil-a-a iš-šá-<sup>2</sup> [. . . ]  
 7. *ina lib-bi a-na* <sup>1</sup>La-a-b[a-ši id(?)-din(?) . . . ]  
 8. *ú-il-tì šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-SU[R A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-DÛ-NUMUN *a-na*(?)]  
 9. <sup>Id</sup>EN-BA <sup>šá</sup> i-[*nam-din*(?)]  
 (rest of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. Γ<sub>x</sub>-MU-x<sup>1</sup> [A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 2'. A <sup>1</sup>Su-ḫa-a-Γ<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup> [. . . A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 3'. A <sup>1</sup>LÚ-<sup>d</sup>IDIM [. . . A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 4'. A <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-ú-ṣ[ur-šú]  
 (blank line)  
 5'. u <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-t[u<sub>4</sub> A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>. . . A <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 6'. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ití<sup>G</sup>[AN UD X.KÁM MU X.KÁM]  
 7'. <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL TIN.[TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

*Translation*

- 1–6. (Regarding) the promissory note for the equipment of the [. . .]-(personnel), [. . . (namely)] a *kulūlu*-headband and a *mušēzib*-head cover(?) [. . .], owed to Nabû-ēṭir, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, [descendant of . . .], which Bēl-iqīša, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, [descendant of . . .], charged against Lābāši, son of [Balātu], descendant of Esagilaya:
- 6–7. [he has given(?) . . .] out of this (equipment) to Lābāši;
- 8–9. (Lābāši) sha[ll give(?)] the promissory note owed to Nabû-ēṭi[r, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, to(?)] Bēl-iqīša.

(break)

[Witnesses]:

- [. . .]  
 1'–4'. [. . .]-MU-[. . .], [son of . . .], descendant of Suḫaya  
 [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of Amēl-Ea  
 [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of Ilī-uš[uršu]  
 5'. And the scribe: Nidint[u, son of . . ., descendant of . . .]  
 6'–7'. Babylon, Ki[slīmu day x year x], Nabonidus king of Baby[lon]

### Notes

- 2: *kulūlu* denotes a headband or diadem worn by statues of deities and by the king (see citations in CAD K, pp. 527–28, s.v. *kulūlu* [1b]). The last, partly preserved, sign in l. 2 may be SAG, but not *tu* as read in CAD M/2, p. 269, s.v. *mušēzibu*, where *mu-še-zib-t[u qāti]* is restored and cited s.v. [2] *mušēzib qāti*, “cover, protector (on furniture).” *mušēzib qaqqadi*(?) if correctly restored might refer to a head cloth or head cover, which would go well with *kulūlu* “headband” (cf. CAD Q, p. 113, s.v. *qaqqadu* in *ša qaqqadi*, “head covering”).
- 5–6: *ana muḫḫi . . . našū* meaning “to charge against” (more literally “to bring to the debit of”), with *u'iltu* as the object, also occurs in *Nbn.* 68:2–5 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 104).
- 7: Moldenke’s copy includes the signs *-ba-ši* and two horizontals of the following sign, which are no longer preserved.
- 8: In Moldenke’s copy the line is preserved through A-šú šá.
- 8–9: These lines apparently refer not to handing the promissory note to the obligated party upon satisfaction of the obligation but to ceding the promissory note to a new creditor.
- Rev. 4': In Moldenke’s copy the signs *-sur-šú* are completely preserved. The remainder of the line probably was blank, since it would not have afforded the space for the full name of another witness.
- Rev. 6': GAN is completely preserved in Moldenke’s copy.

### Remarks

At least a third of the text of this document is lost. From the portions that remain it appears that Lābāši was obliged to provide certain items to Nabû-ēṭir, and Nabû-ēṭir’s claim on these items was ceded to his brother Bēl-iqīša. The items in question, a *kulūlu*-headband and another article, possibly also of headgear, were probably intended for cultic use (perhaps by the personnel whose designation is broken at the end of l. 1). They would most likely have been the object of a transaction between Lābāši and Nabû-ēṭir in the context of their affiliation with a temple as prebendaries; Lābāši had a prebend with the temple of Nabû *ša ḫarē* (see text No. 38).

## 32.

MMA 86.11.391

Plate 21

H. 21 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 62

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 182–83

Promissory note for barley and other produce

Neo-Babylonian period, Baḫē

Nabonidus, year [x] month 2 day 1

- Obv. 1. [x] GUR ŠE.BAR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN *a-ba-aḫ-ši-in-nu*  
 2. [x] *saḫ-le-e* 5 BÁN (erasure) *qa-a-a-tú šib-šú*  
 3. [BURU<sub>14</sub>(?) A.Š]À(?) ᵀgarimᵀ Baᵀ-ḫe-e šá ᵀLa-ba-a-ᵀšiᵀ  
 4. [A-šú šá ᵀBa-la]-ᵀtuᵀ A ᵀSag-gil-ᵀlaᵀ-a-a  
 5. [*ina muḫ-ḫi* ᵀ. . .]-ᵀx-x-x A-šú šáᵀ [ᵀ. . . ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. [ . . . ] ᵀx x x x xᵀ  
 2'. ᵀgarimᵀ Baᵀ-ḫe-eᵀ ᵀitiᵀ GU<sub>4</sub> UD 1.KÁM  
 3'. [MU] ᵀxᵀ.KÁM ᵀId<sub>AG-1</sub>ᵀ LUGAL  
 4'. ᵀTIN.TIRᵀ<sup>ki</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–5. [x] *kur* barley, 2 (*pān*) 3 *sūt abaḫšinnu*-grain, [ . . . ] cress, 5 *sūt qayyātu* (are) the *šibšu* of [the harvest of the fie]ld(?) of Baḫē, owed to Lābāši, [son of Balā]tu, descendant of Esagilaya, [by . . .]

(break)

[Witnesses]:

[ . . . ]

Rev. 1'. [ . . . ]

2'–4'. Baḫē, Ayyāru day 1 [year x], Nabonidus king of Babylon

*Notes*

- 1–2: *abaḫšinnu*, which is attested during the Neo-Babylonian period among the crops to be delivered to the lessor from the produce of arable land, is defined as “cereal harvested when green” (*CAD* A/1, p. 3, s.v. *abaḫšinnu*); but see M. Powell, “Sumerian Cereal Crops,” *BSA* 1 (1984), p. 64, who suggests that *abaḫšinnu* “refers to grain harvested at an early stage (for roasting, soups, and the like).” The amount of *abaḫšinnu* to be delivered to the lessor is always small relative to the amount of barley, e.g., 3 *pān* 3 *sūt abaḫšinnu* with 45 *kur* 2(?) *pān* barley in *Nbn.* 138, or 1 *pān abaḫšinnu* with 8 *kur* barley in VS 3, 116.

*saḫlū* is also a component of what is probably a *šibšu*-payment in text No. 14:1.

*qayyātu* is mentioned among the crops payable to the lessor of a field in OECT 12, C-1:17 (see Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 296–97) and in Gordon, *Smith College Tablets*, 85:13; in the latter text *qayyātu* and *abaḥšinnu* are measured as one item. From the crop *qayyātu*, perhaps, comes *qayyātu*-flour, mentioned in Weissbach, *Miscellen*, pl. 15 no. 3:4 (*qimē qa-a-ta*), to which Cyr. 80:9 probably refers as well (cited CAD K, p. 1, s.v. *ka<sup>2</sup>ātu*); and the *qayyātu* that J. Bottéro defines as “roasted cereals” (*Textes culinaires mésopotamiennes*, Mesopotamian Civilizations 6 [Winona Lake, 1995], p. 47, and Lexique, p. 213, s.v. *qaiiātu*).

- 3: For the restoration, compare *imittu ebūr eqli*, followed by the location of the field, in text No. 66:1–2.
- 5: Since the second half of the document’s main clause is missing, it is possible that this fragment comes from a quittance instead of a promissory note. However, the precise definition of the type of lease payment and the location of the field on which it was due is more typical of promissory notes; therefore *ina muḥḥi* is restored in l. 5.

### Remarks

This fragment is part of a promissory note for the payment of *šibšu* on a field that Lābāši leased for cultivation of barley and three minor crops. The field is located in Baḥē, which is apparently the location of much of the arable land in the possession of both Lābāši’s family and the family of Nabû-apla-iddin of Archive A (see Introduction to Archives A and B, pp. 25–26). *Nbn.* 405, another promissory note for a *šibšu*-payment owed to Lābāši, was also drawn up at Baḥē, and probably concerned the harvest of the same field. The date of promissory notes for lease payments corresponds to the date of assessing the yield in order to determine the quantity due to the lessor at harvest time (see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xx).

### 33.

MMA 86.11.163

Plate 21

H. 37 mm. W. 44 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Promissory note for dates

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cyrus, year 2 month 7 day 24

- Obv. 1. 10 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÁN ZÚ.LUM.MA  
 2. ŠAB-*nu-tu* šá É.GUR<sub>7</sub><sup>meš</sup>  
 3. šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-KÁD A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>E-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru  
 4. A<sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30 *ina* UGU<sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-ši  
 5. A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Ba-la-ṭu A<sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-a-a  
 6. *ina*<sup>iti</sup>APIN *ina* KÁ E.GUR<sub>7</sub><sup>meš</sup>  
 7. *i-nam-din*
- Rev. 8. <sup>lu</sup>*mu-kin-nu* <sup>I</sup>Ri-mu-tu  
 9. A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU A<sup>I</sup>Da-<sup>Γ</sup>bi<sup>Γ</sup>-bi



10. <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>Γ</sup>d<sub>EN</sub><sup>1</sup> A-šú <sup>Γ</sup>šá <sup>1</sup>d<sub>EN</sub><sup>1</sup>-NUMUN-DÙ  
 11. A <sup>1</sup>Ba-bu-tu u <sup>1</sup>úšID  
 12. <sup>1</sup>Mu(!)-ra-šu-u A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>I-di-a  
 13. A <sup>1</sup>Mu-še-zib E<sup>ki</sup> it<sub>i</sub>DU<sub>6</sub>  
 U.E. 14. UD 24.KÁM MU 2.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Ku-raš  
 15. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

### Translation

- 1–5. 10 *kur* 3 (*pān*) 2 *sūt* dates . . . , for the storehouse, owed to Nabû-kāšir, son of Ētir, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, by Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya.  
 6–7. In the month of Araḥsamnu he shall deliver (the dates) at the gate of the storehouse.  
 8–11. Witnesses:  
     Rīmūt, son of Nabû-zēra-iddin, descendant of Dābibi  
     Rīmūt-Bēl, son of Bēl-zēra-ibni, descendant of Bābūtu  
 11–13. And the scribe: Murašû, son of Idiya, descendant of Mušēzib  
 13–15. Babylon, Tašrītu day 24 year 2, Cyrus king of Babylon (and) king of the lands

### Notes

- 2: The reading and meaning of the term ŠAB-*nu-tu* are not clear.  
 7: The lower-right corner of the obverse is damaged. It is not clear if this damage resulted from an erasure or if the traces that remain are scratches.  
 12–13: For a possible etymology of the scribe's patronymic, Idiya, see Zadok, *WSB*, p. 109.

### Remarks

The debt of dates documented by this tablet may or may not be related to a lease of a date-palm orchard. The text is dated in the month of Tašrītu (September/October), somewhat after the usual time of the *imittu*-assessment procedure, and delivery is required in the month of Araḥsamnu (October/November), the normal time of the date harvest; this schedule is similar to that of promissory notes for payment of *imittu* (see text No. 28). In promissory notes pertaining to Archive B where a debt of dates or other produce is specifically identified as a lease payment, Lābāši is the creditor, and therefore the lessor of the land on which the produce was grown (*Nbn.* 405; text Nos. 28 and 32), yet in this document Lābāši is the debtor. Text No. 33 may concern another kind of payment that is due at the time of the date harvest, such as *sissinnu*-compensation for the cultivator to whom Lābāši leased a date-palm orchard, or one of the imposts associated with such leases (see *NRV*, p. 368).

## 34.

MMA 86.11.425

Plate 22

H. 38 mm. W. 65 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Fragment of document concerning land  
dispositionAchaemenid period, GN not preserved  
Cyrus, year 3 month 11 day 25

- Obv. 1. <sup>1</sup>La-ba-a-ši A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ba-la-ṭ[u]  
 2. A <sup>1</sup>É<sup>1</sup>-sag-gi[l-a-a . . . ]  
 3. 2 (PI) 2 BÁN ṚŠE.NUMUN<sup>1</sup> zaq-[pu . . . ]  
 (remainder of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. [. . . ]ṚX<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>ṚX<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 2'. [A <sup>1</sup>X]-ṚX-X<sup>1</sup> [Id]U+GUR-ṚNUMUN<sup>1</sup>-DÙ A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>IdṚEN<sup>1</sup>-[DA]  
 3'. [A <sup>1</sup>úG]AL-DÙ <sup>1</sup>IdUTU-SUR A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>DUB-NUMUN [A]  
 4'. [<sup>1</sup>Na-din-š]E.BAR <sup>1</sup>IdEN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>E-[. . . ]  
 5'. ṚA<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>úSANGA-BÁRA <sup>1</sup>úšID <sup>1</sup>IdEN-MU  
 6'. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN A <sup>1</sup>Ṛ-<sup>d</sup>IDIM [. . . ]  
 7'. <sup>iú</sup>ZÍZ UD 25.KÁM MU 3.KÁM <sup>1</sup>K[ur-raš]  
 8'. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

**Translation**

1–3. Lābāši, son of Balāṭ[u], descendant of Esagilaya, [. . .] 2 (*pān*) 2 *sūt* arable land, planted (with trees) [. . .]

(break)

Rev. [In the presence of]:

[. . .]

- 1'–5'. [. . .], son of [. . .], descendant of . . . ]  
 Nergal-zēra-ibni, son of Bēl-[le<sup>ᶜ</sup>i, descendant of R]ab-banê  
 Šamaš-ēṭir, son of Šāpik-zēri, [descendant of Nādin]-še<sup>ᶜ</sup>i  
 Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, son of E-[. . .], descendant of Šangū-Parakku
- 5'–6'. Scribe: Bēl-iddin, son of Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of Arad-Ea
- 6'–8'. [(GN)], Šabātu day 25 year 3, C[yrus] king of Babylon, king of the lands

**Notes**

2'–3': Nergal-zēra-ibni/Bēl-le<sup>ᶜ</sup>i//Rab-banê is one of the two recipients of a payment in text No. 87.

5'–6': Bēl-iddin/Mušēzib-Bēl//Arad-Ea is also the scribe of text No. 87.

**Remarks**

Though this tablet has to do with Lābāši's disposition of a plot of land, it is difficult to determine what sort of transaction is involved; what remains does not exhibit the normal formula of either a lease contract or a sale contract.

Two individuals appear in this tablet who also appear in text No. 87 (of Archive E): Nergal-zēra-ibni, a transacting party in text No. 87, is a witness to the present document, and Bēl-iddin, a member of the family to which Archive E belonged, is the scribe of both documents.

**35.**

MMA 86.11.162

Plate 23

H. 29 mm. W. 36 mm. Th. 14 mm.

Quittance for dates

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cyrus, year [x] month 12 day 11

- Obv. 1. [x] [ . . . ] ZÚ.LUM.MA  
 2. [ . . . ]-ba  
 3. A [x-x] ina na-aš-par-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 4. šá Mu-še-zib ina šU<sup>II</sup>  
 5. La-ba-a-ši A-šú šá TIN  
 6. a-na muḥ-ḥi EN-KÁD  
 7. [A]-šú šá Na-din IGI
- Rev. 8. [ú]mu-kin-nu <<NÍG>> Ka-šir  
 9. A-šú šá NÍG.DU A DÙ<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR  
 10. Su-qa-a-a A-šú šá EN-GI  
 11. A DÙ<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR u lúšID  
 12. Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-KÁM A-šú  
 13. <<[x]>> šá Lib-luṭ A É-(sag)-gil<sup>1</sup>-a-a  
 14. E<sup>ki</sup> itiŠE UD 11.KÁM
- U.E. 15. MU [x].KÁM [I]Ku<sup>1</sup>-raš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>  
 16. u KUR.KUR<sup>1</sup>
- L.E. 17. [1<sup>e</sup>]<sup>n</sup>-a-TA.ÀM  
 18. il-qu-ú

**Translation**

- 1–7. [. . .], descendant of [. . .], (acting) as proxy for Mušēzib, received [x (amount of)] dates from Lābāši, son of Balātu, for the account of Bēl-kāšir, [son] of Nādin.
- 8–11. Witnesses:  
     Kāšir, son of Kudurru, descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
     Sūqaya, son of Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Eppeš-ilī
- 11–13. And the scribe: Zababa-ēreš, son of Libluṭ, descendant of Esagilaya
- 14–15. Babylon, Addaru day 11 year [x], Cyrus king of Babylon and the lands
- 16–17. They have taken [one] (copy) each.

**Notes**

- 8: After writing <sup>lú</sup>*mukinnu*, the scribe began writing the first witness's patronymic; realizing his error, he proceeded to write the man's personal name, but without erasing the erroneous signs.
- 13: The scribe again wrote an incorrect sign and simply went on without erasing it.

**Remarks**

This quittance is Lābāši's receipt for a payment of dates that he made on behalf of his "cousin" Bēl-kāšir, son of Nādin, descendant of Esagilaya (see text Nos. 102 and 139). The other copy would have been taken by the party who received the payment, and should eventually have been deposited in the archive of Mušēzib, on whose behalf the recipient took delivery (on issuing quittances in duplicate, see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xvi). The dates were delivered in Addaru (February/March), four months after the date harvest.

Bēl-kāšir's appearance in a document pertaining to Lābāši's archive, and Lābāši's cooperation in a transaction involving Bēl-kāšir, indicates a relationship between their respective branches of the Esagilaya lineage.

## 36.

MMA 86.11.384a,b

Plate 23

H. 38 mm. W. 52 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Field lease

Achaemenid period, Ālu-eššu

Cyrus, year [x] month 5 day [x]

- Obv. 1. šE.NUMUN É *me-re*-<sup>Γ</sup>šú<sup>Γ</sup> UŠ AN.T[A] Ú[S.SA.DU . . . ]  
 SAG KI.TA ÚS.S[A.DU . . . ]
- 1a.
2. šá<sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*re-man-ni* A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Tu-ku<sub>g</sub>-u[l(?)<sup>-</sup>ti(?<sup>-</sup>)(<sup>d</sup>. . .)]
3. A<sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-la-a-a u<sup>Id</sup>NUMUN A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>X<sup>Γ</sup>-[. . . ]
4. [A<sup>I</sup>]IR-<sup>d</sup>X<sup>Γ</sup> qu-<sup>Γ</sup>ta<sup>Γ</sup>-nu<sup>Γ</sup> šá<sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-[šú šá]
5. [Ba-la-tu A<sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-la-a-a<sup>Γ</sup> šá X<sup>Γ</sup> [. . . ]
6. [a]-<sup>Γ</sup>na<sup>Γ</sup> er-r[e-š]u-tu a-na<sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>Γ</sup>-[. . . ]
7. [A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>]X<sup>Γ</sup> X<sup>Γ</sup>-<sup>Γ</sup>ba/ma-a-a<sup>Γ</sup> X<sup>Γ</sup> [id-din]
8. [gišGIŠIMMAR(?)]<sup>Γ</sup>meš(?)<sup>Γ</sup> i-zaq<sup>Γ</sup>-qáp [. . . ]
- (rest of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. [. . . ] X<sup>Γ</sup> X<sup>Γ</sup> [. . . ]
- 2'. [. . . ] i-*har-r*[i . . . ]
- (blank line)
- 3'. [lúmu-kin]-nu<sup>Id</sup>EN-n[a-. . . A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>. . . (. . .)]
- 4'. [X<sup>Γ</sup> X<sup>Γ</sup> A-šú šá<sup>I</sup> X<sup>Γ</sup>-X<sup>Γ</sup>-NUMUN(?)-X<sup>Γ</sup> [. . . ]
- 5'. u<sup>lú</sup>ŠID<sup>Id</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU [A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ]
- 6'. URU eš-šú<sup>iti</sup>NE UD [X.KÁM MU X.KÁM]
- 7'. Ku-ra-áš LUGAL TIN.TI[R<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR]

*Translation*

- 1–1a. The cultivated field, the upper long side ad[jacent to . . .], the lower short side adja[cent to . . .]
- 2–4. of Marduk-rēmanni, son of Tuku[lti(?)-. . .], descendant of Esagilaya, and Bāni-zēri, son of . . ., [descendant of] Arad-[. . .],
- 4–7. a *qutānu*-plot which Lābāši, son [of] Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya, . . . [. . . leased f]or cul[tiv]ation to Nabû-aḥa/aḥḥē-[. . ., son of . . ., (descendant of)] . . .-b/maya.
8. He shall plant [date palms(?) . . .]

(break)

- Rev. 2'. [. . .] he shall dig [. . .]
- 3'–4'. [Witnes]ses:  
 Bēl-n[a-. . ., son of . . ., (descendant of) . . .]  
 [. . .], son of . . ., [. . .]
- 5'. And the scribe: Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, [son of . . ., (descendant of) . . .]
- 6'–7'. Ālu-eššu, Abu day [x year x], Cyrus king of Babyl[on, king of the lands]

## Notes

- 1–5: Given the breaks in the text, it is not clear whether Marduk-rēmanni and Bāni-zēri are in possession of the field that is the object of this lease, or of the property bordering it. The phrases *šiddu elû t[āh . . .]* and *pūtu šaplītu t[ā[h . . .]*, squeezed atop each other in l. 1, may identify the leased field as adjacent to property owned by Marduk-rēmanni and Bāni-zēri. Alternatively, if the missing ends of ll. 1 and 1a contained other terms identifying the field's borders, presumably the leased field belongs to Marduk-rēmanni and Bāni-zēri, and Lābāši's right to lease the field (if he is correctly understood as the lessor) may derive from holding it as antichretic security, or perhaps from some relationship to the two owners.
- 4: Citations of *qutānu* as a designation for plots of land are listed in *CAD Q*, p. 321, s.v. *qutānu A*.
- 8: Several leases stipulate that the lessee/cultivator is to plant (*zaqāpu*) trees, most often date palms or other fruit-bearing trees. Some examples are cited by Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 69 nn. 465–68; *Dar.* 193, for instance, requires the planting of 30 fig trees, 20 pomegranate trees, and 3 apple trees.
- Rev. 2': The lessee/cultivator is normally obliged to (“dig”) *herû* the soil of the leased plot (examples in Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 69–70 nn. 470–72 and pp. 118–19 nn. 793–94) as well as—especially in the case of date palm orchards—to dig (or clear) irrigation ditches and drainage channels (Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 145–46; van Driel, *BSA* 4, p. 141).
- Rev. 6': This Ālu-eššu is probably the northeastern quarter of Babylon (George, *BTT*, pp. 375–76 and map p. 24; see also index p. 486, s.v. “Newtown”), given that the rest of Lābāši's archive attests to his activity and property in and near Babylon. This toponym should be distinguished from a town of the same name located near Sippar (RGTC 8, p. 6, and Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 208).

## Remarks

This fragmentary tablet is Lābāši's contract for the lease of an arable field to a cultivator; it is not certain that Lābāši himself had title to this field (see n. to ll. 1–5 above). Although the contract specifies that the field is leased *ana errešūtu*, literally “for the work of ploughing,” indicating that the lessee/cultivator is expected to grow grain in the leased field, the lessee's duties also include planting trees, probably date palms (l. 8). Lābāši would have collected income in the form of *imittu*- and *šibšu*-payments from such land (see, e.g., *Nbn.* 405 and texts Nos. 28 and 32).

## 37.

MMA 86.11.323

Plate 24

H. 37 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Quittance for rent

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cambyses, year 2 month 1 day 18

- Obv. 1. 3 GÍN [ . . . ] ᵀᵀ KÙ.BABBAR šá x ᵀᵀ x x x x  
 2. ul-t[u UD 1].KÁM šá <sup>iti</sup>AB  
 3. a-di qí-[it] šá <sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub> <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-GIŠ  
 4. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>ᵀEN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SU A <sup>Id</sup>Dan<sup>1</sup>-né-ᵀe-a<sup>1</sup>  
 5. ina ᵀŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>Id</sup>La-ba-a-ši A<sup>1</sup>-[šú] šá  
 6. <sup>Id</sup>TIN A <sup>Id</sup>Sag-gi[l-a-a]  
 7. ma-ḫir <sup>Id</sup>en-n[a-AM]
- Lo.E. 8. TI-ú
- Rev. 9. <sup>Id</sup>mu-ᵀkin<sup>1</sup>-nu <sup>Id</sup>x-x<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 10. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>Ina-É-sag-íl-[. . . ]  
 11. A <sup>Id</sup>30-ᵀx-x-x<sup>1</sup> <<<sup>Id</sup>AG-NU[MUN-. . . ]>>  
 12. <sup>Id</sup>AG-mu-še-ᵀDIB<sup>1</sup>-UD, ᵀDA<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá  
 13. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-GIŠ A <sup>Id</sup>U-ṣur(!)-a-mat-su  
 14. u <sup>Id</sup>šID<sup>1</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-GIŠ  
 15. A-š[ú šá] <sup>Id</sup>ᵀEN<sup>1</sup>-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SU  
 16. A <sup>Id</sup>Dan-né-[e]-a TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
- U.E. 17. <sup>iti</sup>BÁR.Z[AG.GAR UD] 18.KÁM  
 18. MU 2.[KÁM]
- L.E. 19. <sup>Id</sup>Kám-bu-zi-ia  
 20. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR

*Translation*

- 1–7. Nabû-zêru-lišir, son of Bêl-aḫḫê-eriba, descendant of Dannêa, received from Lābāši, son of Balāṭu, descendant of Esagilaya, three shekels [. . .] silver . . . (for the period) from [day one] of the month of Ṭebētu until the en[d] of the month of Simānu.
- 7–8. They have taken one [(copy) each].
- 9–13. Witnesses:  
 [. . .], son of Ina-Esagil-[. . .], descendant of Sîn-. . .  
 Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, son of Nabû-zêru-lišir, descendant of Uṣur-amāssu
- 14–16. And the scribe: Nabû-zêru-lišir, son [of] Bêl-aḫḫê-eriba, descendant of Dannêa
- 16–20. Babylon, Nisan[nu day] 18 year 2, Cambyses king of Babylon and the lands

## Notes

- 1: The signs following KÙ.BABBAR ought either to identify the quality of the silver or to specify the purpose of the payment (e.g., *idi bīti*).
- 2: The specification of the time period covered by the payment makes it most likely that the silver constitutes rent. Contracts for the rental of built structures normally require payment of one year's rent in two installments, half being due at the beginning of the rental period and half being due six months later (see *NRV*, p. 154, and Oppenheim, "Mietrecht," pp. 16–17). Lābāši paid in the month of Nisannu (l. 17), halfway through the payment period.
- 3–4: The recipient of the rent payment, Nabû-zēru-lišir/Bēl-aḥḥē-erība//Dannēa, is also the scribe of the tablet (ll. 14–16). He may be the party receiving another payment of silver from a Lābāši (perhaps Lābāši/Balātu/Esagilaya) in text No. 110.

## Remarks

This tablet is Lābāši's copy of a quittance for payment of three shekels as half a year's rent, probably for the rental of a house or a room, to Nabû-zēru-lišir. The annual rent would be six shekels, which is identical to the rent charged for a house or room (*bītu*) in text No. 42.

## 38.

MMA 86.11.151

Plate 24

H. 37 mm. W. 47 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Prebend service contract

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cambyses, year 7 month 8(?) day [1(?)]

- Obv. 1. 2 (PI) 3 BĀN NINDA<sup>h4</sup> *nap-tan-nu šá* <sup>d</sup>PA  
 2. *šá ḥa-re-e šá* <sup>I</sup>La-ba-a-š[i]  
 3. A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu A <sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-a-[a]  
 4. a-na <sup>Id</sup>AG-KI-LUGAL A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-bul-liṭ  
 5. A <sup>I</sup>EN-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru a-na e-pi-šá-nu-tu id-din  
 6. pu-ut ba-ṭal u bu-nu-ú *šá nap-ta-[nu]*  
 7. na-ši ul-tu UD 1.KĀM
- Lo.E. 8. ina <sup>iti</sup>APIN a-di qí-it *šá* <sup>iti</sup>AB  
 9. i-qam-am-ma ú-qa-ra-ab(!)
- Rev. 10. 1 (PI) 4 BĀN ŠE.BAR ina *lib-bi* (erasure)  
 11. ina ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>I</sup>La-<sup>r</sup>a-ba-š<sup>i</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AG-KI-LUGAL  
 12. ma-ḥi-ir <sup>r</sup>lú<sup>1</sup>[mu-ki]n-nu <sup>Id</sup>AG<sup>r</sup>-ke-šír  
 13. A <sup>I</sup>Kal-<sup>r</sup>ba-a<sup>r</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AG<sup>r</sup>-A-<sup>r</sup>MU<sup>r</sup> A-šú *šá*  
 14. <sup>Id</sup>EN-<sup>r</sup>NUMUN<sup>r</sup>-DÙ A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>INNIN-TIN. <sup>r</sup>TIR<sup>ki</sup><sup>r</sup>  
 15. <sup>r</sup>Id<sup>AG</sup><sup>r</sup>-[. . . ]



16. [. . . ]  
 17. [lúšID] IdEN-ΓKÁD<sup>1</sup> A-šú [šá<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 U.E. 18. [TIN].TIR<sup>ki</sup> rítí<sup>1</sup>ΓAPIN(?) UD<sup>1</sup> [1(?).KÁM]  
 19. ΓMU 7<sup>1</sup>.KÁM<sup>1</sup> Kám-[bu]-Γzi-ia<sup>1</sup>  
 20. LUGAL TIN.ΓTIR<sup>1</sup>[k]i  
 21. LUGAL KUR.KUR  
 L.E. 22. *re-eh-ḫi* 3 (PI) 5 BÁN ŠE.BAR  
 23. <sup>1</sup>*La-a-ba-ši a-na*  
 24. IdAG-KI-LUGAL *ina-ad-din*

### Translation

- 1–5. 2 (*pān*) 3 *sūt* bread, the meal of Nabû ša ḫarê, which Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya, entrusted for preparation to Nabû-itti-šarri, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit, descendant of Bēl-ētir:  
 6–7. (Nabû-itti-šarri) bears responsibility for any interruption and for (assuring) the good quality of the mea[<sup>1</sup>].  
 7–9. From day one of the month of Araḫsamnu until the end of the month of Ṭebētu he shall grind (the flour) and present (the bread).  
 10–12. Nabû-itti-šarri has received 1 (*pān*) 4 *sūt* barley out of (the required amount) from Lābāši.  
 12–16. [Witness]es:  
     Nabû-kēšir, descendant of Kalbaya  
     Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Bēl-zēra-ibni, descendant of Šangû-Ištar-Bābili  
     Nabû-[. . .]  
 17. [Scribe]: Bēl-kāšir, son [of . . .]  
 18–21. [Bab]ylon, Araḫsamnu(?) day [1(?)] year 7, Cam[by]ses king of Babylon, king of the lands  
 22–24. Lābāši shall give the remaining 3 (*pān*) 5 *sūt* barley to Nabû-itti-šarri.

### Notes

- 6: In prebend leases the stipulation of the contractor/lessee's duties typically takes the form of a clause guaranteeing performance and quality; the elements and the phrasing of this guarantee clause vary (*NRV*, p. 495, and nos. 583–616, *passim*). This text's version of the clause, *pūt baṭal u bunnû ša naptanu naši*, contains a guarantee against interruption, abbreviated from *pūt lā šakan baṭla . . . PN naši* (see *NRV*, p. 177, no. 143 n. 4), "PN bears the responsibility of not causing an interruption" (in supplying the meal or foodstuffs), and a guarantee of quality. The guarantee of quality often employs the verb *ṭubbu*, e.g., VS 4, 200:10–11; 5, 109:7–8; 6, 115:9, and *Dar.* 543:10; *bunnû* occurs in VS 6, 173:15, and VS 5, 97:9–10, and in prebend lease contracts from Uruk (see Kessler, *AUWE* 8/1, nos. 6, 7, 32, 37, and *passim*).
- 10, 22: These figures for amounts of barley, totaling 5 *pān* 3 *sūt*, have no direct relationship to the figure 2 *pān* 3 *sūt* for the amount of bread Lābāši's prebend obliges him to supply (l. 1); the barley that the contractor receives from the prebendary probably includes his compensation for performing the work.

**Remarks**

Lābāši held a prebend with the temple of Nabû *ša harê* in Babylon, the E-niggidar-kamma-summa. Like many if not most prebendaries, he contracted out the duty connected with his prebend (see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xxiv), which was to supply bread for Nabû's meal. This tablet records the lease of his prebend for three months to Nabû-itti-šarri.

**39.**

MMA 86.11.190

Plate 25

H. 36 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Quittance for rent

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cambyses, year 7 month [x] day [x]

- Obv. 1.  $\lceil i-di \rceil \acute{e}-\acute{s}\acute{u} \acute{s}\acute{a} a-di$  UD  $\lceil 1.KAM \acute{s}\acute{a} iti \rceil [x]$   
 2. MU 7.KAM  $\lceil BA^{\acute{s}\acute{a}-d} AMAR.UTU DUMU-\lceil \acute{s}\acute{u} \rceil$   
 3.  $\acute{s}\acute{a} \lceil A-a A \lceil EN-e-ti_5-ru$   
 4.  $i-na \acute{s}U^{\lceil \lceil La-ba-a-ši A-\acute{s}\acute{u} \acute{s}\acute{a} \lceil Ba-la-tu$   
 5. A  $\lceil Sag-gil-a-a e-ti-ir$
- Rev. 6.  $\lceil mu-[kin-nu] \lceil \lceil AG-\lceil x x \rceil$   
 7. A- $\acute{s}\acute{u} \acute{s}\acute{a} \lceil AG-na-din A \lceil D\acute{U}^{e\acute{s}}-DINGIR$   
 8.  $\lceil MU-d AMAR.UTU DUMU-\acute{s}\acute{u} \acute{s}\acute{a} \lceil \lceil AG-MU-li-bur \rceil$   
 9. A  $\lceil Ga-hal \lceil [ . . . ] a \lceil x x x \rceil$   
 10. DUMU  $\lceil Z\acute{A}LAG-e-\lceil a \rceil \lceil \lceil \acute{s}\acute{I}D \lceil . . . \rceil \lceil x \rceil [ . . . ]$   
 11. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  $\lceil \lceil \lceil x$  UD x.KAM  
 12. MU 7.KAM  $\lceil Kam-[bu-zi-ia]$
- U.E. 13. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  $\lceil u$  KUR.KUR]

**Translation**

- 1–5. Iqīša-Marduk, son of Aplaya, descendant of Bēl-ēṭir, has been paid the rent of his house through day one, month [x], year 7, by Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya.
- 6–10. Wit[nesses]:  
 Nabû- . . ., son of Nabû-nādin, descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
 Iddin-Marduk, son of Nabû-šumu-libūr, descendant of Gaḫal  
 [ . . ., son of . . . ], descendant of Nūrea
10. [Scribe: . . .]
- 11–13. Babylon, [month x day x] year 7, Cam[byses] king of Babylon [and the lands]

*Notes*

- 1: In contrast to text No. 37, the amount of rent paid is unspecified and the payment period is incompletely specified; this is not unusual for quittances issued in the course of an ongoing contractual relationship.
- 2–3: Iqīša-Marduk/Aplaya//Bēl-ētir, the owner of the house that Lābāši rents, is doubtless the same man who rents a house to Lābāši several years later in text No. 42, where his name is written in the hypocoristic form Iqīšaya. He is also the scribe of three tablets pertaining to the Egibi archive, *Camb.* 305, 325, and 429.

**40.**

MMA 86.11.393a,b

Plate 25

H. 34 mm. W. 53 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Achaemenid period, [Babylon(?)]

Cambyses, year [x] month 2 day [x]+5

- Obv. 1. 8 GÍN *bit-qa* KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina* 1 GÍN *b[it-qa]*  
 2. *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-<sup>r</sup>MU<sup>r</sup> A-*šú šá* <sup>I</sup>Ina-SÙH-S[UR]  
 3. A <sup>I</sup>dAG<sup>r</sup>-*lit-su šá* KASKAL<sup>II</sup> *šá* <sup>I</sup>Ri-m[ut]  
 4. *ina muḥ-ḥi* <sup>I</sup>La-ba-*ši* A-*šú šá* <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-[tu]  
 5. A <sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-a-a *i-na qí-i[t]*  
 6. [*šá* <sup>iti</sup>x] <sup>r</sup>KÙ.BABBAR<sup>r</sup>-a<sub>4</sub> 8 GÍN *bi[t-qa]*  
 (rest of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. [<sup>I</sup>. . . A-*šú šá* <sup>I</sup>. . . ] <sup>r</sup>A <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]  
 2'. [<sup>I</sup>. . . ] <sup>r</sup>A-*šú*<sup>r</sup> [*šá*] <sup>r</sup>Ki-din-nu  
 3'. [A] <sup>r</sup>Id<sup>r</sup>30-na-*šir* u <sup>lu</sup>šID  
 4'. <sup>I</sup>r-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-*šú šá* <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 5'. A <sup>Id</sup>IM-MU-<sup>r</sup>KÁM<sup>r</sup> [TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>(?)]  
 6'. <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> U[D x]+5.KÁM [MU x.KÁM]  
 7'. <sup>I</sup>Kám-bu-zi-*ía* LU[GAL E<sup>ki</sup>]  
 8'. LUGAL KUR.KUR

*Translation*

- 1–5. 8½ shekels silver of ⅓ a[lloy] per shekel, owed to Nabû-šuma-iddin, son of Ina-tēšî-e[ṭir], descendant of Nabû-lissu, belonging to the *ḥarrānu*-account of Rīm[ūt], are charged against Lābāši, son of Balā[ṭu], descendant of Esagilaya.

5–6. At the en[d] of the month of . . . he shall pay] that 8½ shekels silver [. . . ]

(break)

## [Witnesses]:

- 1'. [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of [. . .]  
 2'-3'. [. . .], son [of] Kidinnu, [descendant] of Sîn-nāšir  
 3'-5'. And the scribe: Arad-Marduk, son [of . . .], descendant of Adad-šuma-ēreš  
 5'-8'. [Babylon(?)], Ayyāru da[y x]+5 [year x], Cambyses ki[ng of Babylon], king of the lands

**Notes**

- 2-3: Lābāši's creditor, Nabû-šuma-iddin, is the brother of Bēl-apla-iddin/Ina-tēšî-eṭir//Nabû-lissu, the scribe of text No. 80.

**Remarks**

This is the only document that suggests Lābāši's involvement in a *ḥarrānu*-partnership (on this type of business partnership, see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xvii). He may not be an actual participant in this *ḥarrānu*-partnership, which is financed by Rīmūt and managed by Nabû-šuma-iddin; the promissory note merely documents his debt to their *ḥarrānu*-account.

**41.**

MMA 86.11.306

Promissory note for silver

Plate 26

Achaemenid period, [Babylon(?)]

Measurements unknown

Darius I, [accession year(?)] month 9 day [x]

Tablet missing; copy by Father Louis F. Hartmann

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{2}{3}$  MA.NA 𒀭KÙ.BABBAR 𒀭 [šá ina 1 GÍN bit-qa]  
 2. nu-uh-ḥu-t[ú . . . ]  
 3. ia-a-nu šá <sup>I[d]</sup>[AG]-𒀭MU<sup>1</sup>-MU A-𒀭šú<sup>1</sup> [šá <sup>I</sup>DÛ-a(?)]  
 4. A <sup>I</sup>dIM-š[am-me]-e ina muḥ-ḥi <sup>I</sup>La-a-[ba-ši]  
 5. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-[tu A] <sup>I</sup>É-sag-íl-a-[a]  
 6. šá ITI ina muḥ-ḥi 1 𒀭ma-né-e 1 GÍN KÙ<sup>1</sup>. [BABBAR]  
 7. ina muḥ-ḥi-šú 𒀭i<sup>1</sup>-rab-bi  
 (2 incised marks)
- Rev. 8. <sup>I</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>I-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú  
 9. šá <sup>I</sup>Bul-lu-tu A <sup>I</sup>[DÛ]<sup>es</sup>-𒀭DINGIR<sup>1</sup> <sup>I</sup>d𒀭AG(?)<sup>1</sup>-TIN-su-E  
 10. [A-šú] šá <sup>[I]</sup>𒀭x<sup>1</sup>-[. . . x x . . . ]  
 11. <sup>I</sup>[. . . ] 𒀭x<sup>1</sup>  
 12. 𒀭x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 13. <sup>I</sup>šID <sup>I</sup>[. . . A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>. . . ]-𒀭x<sup>1</sup>

14. A [l. . . TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>(?)] [it]iGAN  
 15. UD [x.KÁM MU SAG NAM.LUGAL.LA(?)]  
 16. <sup>1</sup>Da-ri-ia-Γ<sup>muš</sup> [LUGAL] TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 17. u KUR.KUR

### Translation

- 1–5. 2/3 mina average-quality silver [of 1/8 alloy per shekel], (for which) there is no [. . .], owed to [Nabû]-šuma-iddin, son [of Ibnaya(?)], descendant of Adad-š[am]ê, by Lā[bāši], son of Balā[ṭu, descendant of] Esagilay[a].  
 6–7. (Interest) shall accrue against him (at the rate of) 1 shekel sil[ver] per mina per month.  
 8–12. Witnesses:  
     Na<sup>2</sup>id-Marduk, son of Bulluṭ, descendant of [Epp]eš-ilī  
     Nabû(?) -balāssu-iqbi, [son] of . . ., [descendant of . . .]  
     [. . ., son of . . ., descendant of . . .]  
 13–14. Scribe: [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of [. . .]  
 14–17. [Babylon(?)], Kislīmu day [x, accession(?)] year, Darius [king] of Babylon and the lands

### Notes

- 2–3: The word *iānu* suggests the phrase *u ḥubul kaspi iānu*, “and there is no interest on the silver” (normally the second half of an antichresis formula), but this phrase can hardly be restored here, since ll. 6–7 stipulate interest on the debt.  
 3–4: The restoration of the creditor’s name is based on the attestation of a Nabû-šuma-iddin/Ibnaya//Adad-šamê as a witness in *Nbn.* 1068:9–10. Several personal names contain *šamê*, “heaven,” as a theophoric element (see Zadok, *WSB*, p. 39).  
 7bis: Two little drawings appear in the blank space following the text of the contract, according to Hartmann’s copy; they do not look like seal impressions, and promissory notes were virtually never sealed during this period. Their function is unknown.  
 15: The large space available following UD [x.KÁM . . .] suggests the restoration *šanat rēš šarrūti* rather than MU x.KÁM.

## 42.

MMA 86.11.115

Plate 26

H. 34 mm. W. 51 mm. Th. 22 mm.

House rental contract

Achaemenid period, [Babylon]

Darius I, year [x] month 7 day 16

- Obv. 1. É šá<sup>I</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a DUMU šá<sup>I</sup>A-a 𐎠DUMU<sup>I</sup> [Id<sup>EN</sup>-e-ti<sub>5</sub>-ru]  
 2. šá(!)(text:DIŠ) ina IGI<sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Ba-la-𐎠tu<sup>I</sup>  
 3. A<sup>I</sup>É-sag-íl-a-a a-na i-d[i É]  
 4. a-na MU.AN.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 𐎠ù(?)<sup>I</sup>  
 5. mu-[š]u-ú šá<sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-ši [A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>]  
 6. [𐎠Ba-la]-𐎠tu<sup>I</sup> A<sup>I</sup>É-𐎠sag-íl<sup>I</sup>-[a-a]  
 7. [. . . ] 𐎠x x<sup>I</sup> [. . . ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)

- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)  
 1'. A<sup>Id</sup>IM-ŠAM-ME-E 𐎠ú<sup>I</sup>š[ID<sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 2'. A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>KAR-dšú A<sup>I</sup>Mi-šir-[a-a E<sup>ki</sup>]  
 3'. iti<sup>DU</sup><sub>6</sub> UD 16.KÁM MU 𐎠x<sup>I</sup>.[KÁM]  
 4'. 𐎠Da-ri-muš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup><sup>I</sup>L[UGAL KUR.KUR]  
 5'. 1<sup>en</sup>-na-TA.A il-qu-ú 6 G[ÍN KÙ.BABBAR]  
 6'. 𐎠La-a-ba-ši ina i-di 𐎠É<sup>I</sup> [ina šU<sup>II</sup>]  
 7'. 𐎠AG-muSIG<sup>iq</sup> ma-[h<sup>ir</sup>]  
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**

- 1–4. The house belonging to Iqīšaya, son of Aplaya, descendant of [Bēl-ētir], which is at the disposal of Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya, for a yearly rent of 6 shekels silver,  
 5–6. and(?) the right-of-way, which Lābāši, [son of Balātu], descendant of Esagilaya, [. . . ]  
 (break)

- Rev. [Witnesses]:  
 [. . . ]  
 1'. [. . . ], descendant of Adad-šamê  
 1'–2'. Sc[ribe: . . . ], son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Mišir[aya]  
 2'–4'. [Babylon], Tašrītu day 16 year [x], Darius king of Babylon, k[ing of the lands]  
 5'. They have taken one (copy) each.  
 5'–7'. Lābāši re[ceived] 6 sh[ekels silver] for the rent of the house [from] Nabû-mudammiq.  
 [. . . ]

*Notes*

- 1: The family name of the house's owner, Iqīšaya, is restored from text No. 39:2–3, where his personal name is written Iqīša-Marduk (see also n. to text No. 39:2–3).
- 5–6ff.: Because the supplementary remark at the end of the text (rev. 5'–7') states that Lābāši, not Iqīšaya, received payment of rent from a third party named Nabû-mudammiq, these lines probably are the beginning of a second rental clause stating that Lābāši sublet the rented house to Nabû-mudammiq.

*Remarks*

The house that Lābāši is renting from Iqīšaya in the reign of Darius I, according to this text, is probably the same as the house he was renting from Iqīša-Marduk in year 7 of Cambyses according to text No. 39 (Iqīšaya is short for Iqīša-Marduk). It appears that Lābāši now sublets this property to Nabû-mudammiq, for the same rent—six shekels silver per year—that he pays to Iqīša-Marduk.

**43.**

MMA 86.11.394a,b

Field lease

Plate 27

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

H. 46 mm. W. 57 mm. Th. 18 mm.

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse missing)

- 1'. [. . .] ᵀX X X UŠ<sup>1</sup> KI.T[A ÚS.SA.DU <sup>1</sup>*La-a-ba-ši*]
- 2'. [A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>*Ba-l*]a-tu A <sup>1ú</sup>*Sag-gil-a*-ᵀa<sup>1</sup> [SAG AN.TA]
- 3'. [ÚS.S]A.DU <sup>1</sup>*In-ba-a* DUMU.SAL-su šá<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]
- 4'. [SAG] KI.TA ÚS.SA.DU <sup>1</sup>DUB-NUMUN A-š[ú šá<sup>1</sup>. . . ]
- 5'. [A]<sup>1</sup>*Maš-tuk-ku ul-tu muḥ-ḥi ak(?)*-[. . . ]
- 6'. <<x>> ÚS.SA.DU KASKAL<sup>II</sup> LUGAL *a-di* UG[U . . . ]
- 7'. šá<sup>1</sup>*La-ba-a-ši a-na er-re*-ᵀš<sup>u-tú</sup><sup>1</sup> *a-na* <sup>1</sup>ᵀX<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]
- 8'. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>*Bul*-ᵀta-a A<sup>1</sup> <sup>1ú</sup>AD.KID u <sup>1d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-*re-man-n*[i . . . ]
- 9'. [*id-din* ŠE.NUMUN] *i-de-ek-ku-ú i-zaq-qáp-pu*
- 10'. [. . . ]ᵀX<sup>1</sup> *a-ki ina* ŠE.BAR X-nu ù <sup>1</sup>š<sup>u</sup> 40 ᵀGUR<sup>1</sup>
- 11'. [. . . ] ù <sup>3</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> ᵀX X<sup>1</sup> *er-re-š*[u]
- Lo.E.12'. [. . . ] ᵀX X X X<sup>1</sup>
- Rev. 13'. [. . . ] ᵀX<sup>1</sup> [X] ᵀX<sup>1</sup> *pu-ut(!) ru-ub-bu-u*
- 14'. [šá<sup>giš</sup> <sup>meš</sup>GIŠIMMAR<sup>meš</sup>(?)] ù šá-q[*u-tú šá*] *me*(?)*-e na*-ᵀš<sup>u-ú</sup><sup>1</sup>
- 15'. [. . . ] ᵀX X X X<sup>1</sup> X ᵀX<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]
- (remainder broken)

**Translation**

- 1'–6'. [. . .] the lower long side [adjacent to (the property of) Lābāši, son of Bal]ātu, descendant of Esagilaya, [the upper short side adja]cent to (the property of) <sup>f</sup>Inbaya, daughter of [. . .], the lower [short side] adjacent to (the property of) Šāpik-zēri, son [of . . ., descendant of] Maštuk, from [. . .] adjacent to the King's Road up to [. . .],
- 7'–8'. which Lābāši [leased] for culti[vation] to [. . .], son of Buļaya, descendant of Atkuppū and Nabû-aḥu-rēmāni [. . .].
- 9'. They will prepare and plant [the field . . .]
- 10'–13'. [. . . (as much of the field?)] as in barley . . . and 100 *kur* [. . .] and three . . . they will sow(?) [. . .] . . .
- 13'–14'. They are responsible for raising the [date palms(?)] and for irri[gation].
- 15'. (illegible)

**Notes**

- 4'–5': On Šāpik-zēri//Maštuk, see n. to text No. 29:1–2.
- 9': *dekû* denotes an activity necessary to prepare the ground for planting. Van Driel suggests that “*dekû* is probably what is done to the field . . . with the *majāru*” (a non-seeder plough?) (*BSA* 5, p. 239; see p. 231 for *majāru*), and he translates “work up” (*ibid.*, pp. 231, 238).
- 14': For *rubbû* “to make grow up” in leases that include the duty of planting trees, see *NRV Glossar*, p. 131, and Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 120 n. 808.

**Remarks**

This contract documents Lābāši's lease of a field for cultivation to two co-lessees. The lessees are to plant trees, most likely date palms, as well as to cultivate barley.

**44.**

MMA 86.11.465a,b

Plate 28

H. 33 mm. W. 39 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, Babylon

Date formula not preserved

- Obv. 1. [x KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-IBILA-ú-šur]
2. ṚA-šú šá<sup>1</sup> [I. . . A<sup>1</sup>. . . ]
3. ina UGU<sup>1</sup>La-a<sup>1</sup>-[ba-ši A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>Ba-la-tu]
4. A<sup>1</sup>Sag-gil-a-a [šá ITI ina muḥ-ḥi 1 MA.NA]
5. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina muḥ-ḥ[i-šú i-rab-bi]



6. ITI-*a*<sub>4</sub> UR<sub>5</sub>.R[A *i-nam-din*]  
 7. É šá<sup>1</sup> DA(?) É<sup>1</sup>SUM<sup>1</sup>. [NA-X . . . *maš-ka-nu*]  
 8. [šá<sup>1d</sup> ]<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup>-IBILA-ú-š[*ur a-di*]  
 9. [UGU šá<sup>1</sup> ]<sup>1d</sup>AMAR.UTU-IBILA-ú<sup>1</sup>-[*sur*]  
 Rev. 10. [KÙ.BABBAR-šú<sup>1</sup> *i*]-šal-li-im<sup>1</sup> *mu-k[in-nu]*  
 11. [<sup>1d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-DÙ(?)]-NUMUN A-šú šá<sup>1d</sup>AM[AR.UTU-. . . ]  
 12. A<sup>1</sup>Ú-bala-su-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UT[U<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 13. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>La-a-ba-ši A [<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 14. u<sup>1</sup>šID<sup>1d</sup>AG-MU-[X A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>]  
 15. <sup>1d</sup>U+GUR-GI A [<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 16. [TI]N.TI[R<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>X UD X.KÁM]  
 17. [MU X.KÁM<sup>1</sup>. . . LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>. . . ]  
 (remainder broken)

### Translation

- 1–4. [x (amount of) silver, owed to Marduk-apla-ušur], son of [. . . , descendant of . . . ], by Lā[bāši, son of Balātu], descendant of Esagilaya.  
 4–5. [(Interest) shall accrue] again[st him] (at the rate of) 1 shekel silver [per mina per month].  
 6. [He shall pay] interest each month.  
 7–10. The house which is adjacent to(?) the house of Iddin/Nād[in-. . . is the security of] Marduk-apla-uš[ur until] Marduk-apla-u[šur] is repaid [his silver].  
 10–13. Witnes[ses]:  
     Nabû-[bāni(?)]-zēri, son of Mar[duk-. . . ], descendant of Uballissu-Marduk  
     [. . . ], son of Lābāši, descendant of [. . . ]  
 14–15. And the scribe: Nabû-MU-[. . . , son of] Nergal-ušallim, descendant of [. . . ]  
 16–17. [Bab]yl[on, month x day x year x, RN king of Babylon . . . ]

### Notes

- 1: The creditor's name, Marduk-apla-ušur, is restored from the security clause (ll. 7–10).  
 8–9: The placement of the restoration [*a-di* UGU šá] (ll. 8–9) is not absolutely certain; alternatively l. 8 could end with the creditor's name and l. 9 could begin with [*a-di* UGU].

### Remarks

Text No. 44 preserves about half the text of a promissory note for Lābāši's debt to one Marduk-apla-ušur. The debt bears interest, and Lābāši pledges real estate as security for it.

## Introduction to Archives C and D

The twenty-nine tablets presented here as Archive C (text Nos. 45–73) and the eleven tablets presented as Archive D (text Nos. 74–83) come from the corpus known as the “Egibi archive.” Though the ancestor name Egibi was borne by numerous families in Babylonia, the term “Egibi family” is commonly used to refer to one branch of the Egibi lineage, a branch whose principal members were Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, his son Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, and Itti-Marduk-balāṭu’s son Marduk-nāṣir-apli (see Genealogical Chart, p. 91). The corpus of tablets pertaining to this family is referred to as the “Egibi archive.” Included in this corpus is the “dossier” of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu’s father-in-law, Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn. A significant group of Iddin-Marduk’s tablets are presumed to have entered the Egibi archive through the marriage of his daughter <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu.

Both the Egibi family and the family of Iddin-Marduk dwelt in Babylon. The members of these two interrelated families were active principally as successful private entrepreneurs, and several of them were involved in various ways with the royal administration. They engaged in the same types of economic activities as many other families of the Neo-Babylonian period, but the scope and scale of their activities seem to have been much greater than the norm. Conspicuous by its absence from the documentation of both Iddin-Marduk’s and the Egibi family’s transactions is any mention of prebends, i.e., allotments of shares in temple income based on the performance of cultic or other services. In this respect they differ from most other Babylonian families whose archives are known to us (compare, for instance, the biographies of the principals of Archives A, B, F, and G).

### Provenance of the Tablets and History of Research

Virtually the entire corpus is said to derive from a single find, made by local villagers digging in the southern area of Babylon in 1876. According to the communication presented by W. St. Chad Boscawen two years later at the Society of Biblical Archaeology in London, the villagers reportedly found several sealed jars containing “three or four thousand tablets,” which they sold to a dealer in Baghdad; George Smith acquired most of these tablets for the British Museum later in 1876.<sup>1</sup> Smaller groups of tablets from the same find were acquired by various museums and private collections. Boscawen referred to the family from whom this corpus of tablets originated as “Egibi and Sons” and the “Egibi firm,” and such terms—as well as “Egibi tablets” and “Egibi archive”—soon became standard. The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired some Egibi tablets from the London dealer J. M. Shemtob in 1879; the “Ward collection,” which the Reverend William Hayes Ward purchased from dealers in London in 1885 and sold to the Museum in 1886, also included Egibi tablets.<sup>2</sup>

A large proportion of the Egibi tablets acquired by the British Museum were published before the end of the nineteenth century in J. N. Strassmaier’s *Babylonische Texte* volumes. These documents therefore provided an early stimulus to Neo-Babylonian legal, economic, and archival studies. Despite the extensive literature on the Egibi tablets, however, there exists as yet no thorough reconstruction of the archive nor a complete investigation of the family and its activities.<sup>3</sup> The lack of such a synthesis is part-

ly due to the enormous size of the corpus. In contrast, the Iddin-Marduk “dossier” within the Egibi archive has been the object of two comprehensive studies in recent years.<sup>4</sup> The present essay is limited to a brief treatment of the history of the Egibi family and its businesses, the relationship of the Egibis to Iddin-Marduk and his businesses, and the constitution of the archive.

## The Egibi Family and Iddin-Marduk

Five generations of the Egibi family are represented in the archive, beginning with Šulaya, son of Nabû-zēra-ukīn, in the late seventh century B.C. and ending with Nidinti-Bēl, son of Marduk-nāšir-apli, in the early fifth century B.C. (see Genealogical Chart, p. 91).<sup>5</sup> According to the relatively few documents of his that were preserved in the archive, Šulaya carried on trade in agricultural products, sometimes in partnership with other businessmen; he also engaged in transactions such as slave purchases and house rentals. Šulaya was evidently deceased by year 24 of Nebuchadnezzar, at which time his son Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin is attested settling his father’s affairs.<sup>6</sup>

Šulaya’s son Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin appears in the extant sources as an energetic businessman, with a many-faceted career. His documents include purchases of sizable tracts of real estate and numerous slaves (one slave purchase is documented by text Nos. 47 and 48), as well as leases and credit transactions in produce that indicate that he continued his father’s agricultural trade. He entered into several *ḥarrānu*-partnerships, a type of limited partnership formed for the purpose of carrying out a business venture with investment capital provided by one or more of the partners; some of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s *ḥarrānu*-partnerships were formed for the purpose of operating a brewery (see Remarks on text Nos. 49, 50, and 51).<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s scribal training both facilitated his involvement in several other aspects of civic and political life and resulted in his leaving records of such involvement in his own archive: he evidently made copies for his own records of documents he wrote for other people and even kept copies of documents of proceedings he oversaw.<sup>8</sup> This category of tablets, of which text No. 46 is an example, includes records of the business activities of Neriglissar before and during his reign as king (560–556 B.C.) and records of court proceedings in which Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin appears among the presiding judges. Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin served as Neriglissar’s financial agent, a political connection that not only profited him up until Neriglissar’s death (e.g., in the case of managing the bankruptcy of Nabû-apla-iddin/Balātu/Ša-nāšīšu) but also failed to hurt his career after the murder of Neriglissar’s son Lābāši-Marduk and the accession of the usurper Nabonidus.<sup>9</sup> He served as a judge during Nabonidus’s reign, having previously had experience writing documents of court proceedings;<sup>10</sup> he is identified as judge in text No. 55, a promissory note documenting his debt of silver payable to the royal harbor manager.

Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin had two brothers (see text No. 61 and Remarks on text No. 53) and at least one sister, but none of his siblings nor his wife <sup>f</sup>Qudāšu play a significant role in the archive as transmitted. He had three sons, Itti-Marduk-balātu, Nergal-ēṭir, and Iddin-Nabû, and one daughter, <sup>f</sup>Qibî-dumqi-ilat. Late in life, in year 10 of Nabonidus, he formalized the adoption of his nephew Kalbaya, the son of his brother-in-law Šuma-ukīn, as his son (text No. 53). In the document of adoption it is stated that Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin had trained Kalbaya as a scribe. His own sons, and their sons, were also trained as scribes.<sup>11</sup>

The last appearance of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin in an active capacity is dated to the beginning of year 13 of Nabonidus (543 B.C.; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 209); he must have died soon thereafter, for his eldest son Itti-Marduk-balāṭu acts as his legal successor from that point on.<sup>12</sup> Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's own business activity began at least ten years earlier, however, with a promissory note dated to year 2 of Nabonidus (*Nbn.* 77) and a document relating to a *ḥarrānu*-enterprise dated to year 5 of Nabonidus (*Nbn.* 199). The latter document is the earliest extant evidence of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's investment partnership with Marduk-šāpik-zēri (see text No. 51), a partnership that probably financed the brewery operation begun by Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin. Itti-Marduk-balāṭu engaged in business partnerships with several other individuals, including his adoptive brother Kalbaya (text No. 60). It should be noted that Itti-Marduk-balāṭu sometimes appears under the alternate name Iddinaya in both private letters and legal documents; many of his contemporaries, and all three of his sons, similarly used alternate names that were evidently as legally valid as, and interchangeable with, their full-length personal names.<sup>13</sup>

Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's marriage to <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya, the daughter of Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, and his wife <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât, daughter of Zēriya, descendant of Nabaya, probably took place in year 5 of Nabonidus or shortly before.<sup>14</sup> Though no document refers to a formal partnership between the two, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and his father-in-law Iddin-Marduk became involved in each other's transactions beginning in year 9 of Nabonidus. The close relationship between the Egibi family and Iddin-Marduk is attested in letters as well: writing to his son Marduk-rēmāni and two slaves, Iddin-Marduk instructs them to "take care of and respect" Itti-Marduk-balāṭu,<sup>15</sup> and in a letter to his mother, <sup>f</sup>Qudāšu, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu sends greetings to "Iddin-Marduk his father and <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât his mother";<sup>16</sup> Itti-Marduk-balāṭu addresses his father-in-law as "my father," in writing to him on various business matters (CT 22, 110). Itti-Marduk-balāṭu also participated in transactions with his mother-in-law, <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât, and with her brother Lābāši (also called Bēl-ušallim; see text No. 57). Iddin-Marduk's landed property was subject to an impost of labor service owed to the state, and Iddin-Marduk's wife, his son-in-law, and his son are all attested paying out silver to cover these service obligations (see text No. 81).

Iddin-Marduk's career extended from the last third of Nebuchadnezzar's reign through the early years of Darius I (i.e., ca. 577–517 B.C.). He made his fortune as an intermediary between the rural producers of basic commodities, primarily barley, dates, and garlic, and the urban consumers of these commodities.<sup>17</sup> He obtained large quantities of produce by means of delivery sales, i.e., transactions whereby the purchaser (Iddin-Marduk or one of his agents) paid in advance for the future delivery of goods; by granting loans to cultivators, to be repaid in naturalia at harvest time; and by purchasing, either from the officials responsible for collecting taxes or from the taxpayers, goods collected as tax (see text No. 74). These activities were concentrated in locations along the Borsippa Canal south of Babylon, and we can assume that Iddin-Marduk sold most of the produce in big-city markets, principally in Babylon itself.<sup>18</sup> His costs were for storage and transport of the produce, and his profits came from price differentials, for example, price fluctuations between sowing and harvest time or the difference in price between wholesale and retail, as well as from interest on loans. During the early part of his career, Iddin-Marduk conducted these trading enterprises through several *ḥarrānu*-partnerships (see text No. 79), beginning with a partnership with his elder brother Kāšir; one of his subsequent long-term business partners was his wife <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât's brother Madānu-šuma-iddin.<sup>19</sup> In the later part of his career Iddin-Marduk relied on agents, including slaves whom he had presumably trained in his business, rather than on partners. Two slaves, Nergal-rēšūa and Madānu-bēla-ušur, are particularly prominent among the agents who carried out Iddin-Marduk's business. Their duties included assisting in the commodities trade centered on the

Borsippa canal; not only does Madānu-bēla-ušur appear in documents naming him as a transacting party, but several letters from Madānu-bēla-ušur to Iddin-Marduk attest to the responsibilities exercised by the former in this department.<sup>20</sup> It is noteworthy that, in writing to Madānu-bēla-ušur about delivering tithes in garlic, Iddin-Marduk addresses his slave as “my brother” (CT 22, 8:3,4).

Little is known of Iddin-Marduk’s father, Iqīšaya, son of Kudurru, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, but the evidence suggests that Iddin-Marduk came from a background of relatively modest wealth. He entered his early *ḥarrānu*-partnerships as the “junior” partner, with the other partner providing the investment capital. Moreover, Iddin-Marduk evidently had used his wife’s dower silver to settle his father’s debts, according to a complaint brought by her father, Zēriya.<sup>21</sup> It was not long, however, before Iddin-Marduk was able to invest his own capital in *ḥarrānu*-enterprises as the “senior” partner. In addition to profiting from commerce in agricultural commodities, he increased his wealth by providing interest-bearing financing for other people’s transactions (see text Nos. 76 and 77). Iddin-Marduk became rich enough to provide his daughter <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya with a dowry worth 24 minas silver, about twice the value of his own wife’s dowry.

The marriage of <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya to Itti-Marduk-balātu can be seen as an exchange of money for influence: the Egibis provided political and business connections that were no doubt quite useful to Iddin-Marduk, while they acquired from him not only wealth but, eventually, a piece of his business.<sup>22</sup> This transfer of wealth accounts for the presence of such a large quantity of Iddin-Marduk’s tablets in the Egibi family’s archive, for it is axiomatic that documentation accompanies rights to property (see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xv). Since <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya’s dowry included numerous slaves, documents relating to the acquisition of these slaves were transferred to the archive of the Egibi household to which they now belonged. The silver component of her dowry was paid out by her father over the course of many years, and part of the silver was evidently transferred in the form of credit claims ceded by Iddin-Marduk to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin or to Itti-Marduk-balātu—that is, promissory notes were transferred, not cash. Furthermore, Iddin-Marduk willed one-third of his total assets to his daughter in addition to her dowry; some of that property, too, may have consisted of business interests and credit claims. Among the slaves transferred from Iddin-Marduk’s to Itti-Marduk-balātu’s household, either as part of <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya’s dowry or as part of her inheritance, were Nergal-rēšūa and Madānu-bēla-ušur (for the latter in the Egibi archive, see text No. 70 and Remarks on text Nos. 71–73). As mentioned above, these two slaves exercised significant responsibility in running Iddin-Marduk’s business. Since they continued to perform the same duties under Itti-Marduk-balātu, documents pertaining to their activities as agents of Iddin-Marduk would have entered the Egibi household along with them.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>f</sup>Nūptaya bore six children, three daughters and three sons, to Itti-Marduk-balātu. The enormous properties inherited from Itti-Marduk-balātu by his sons remained undivided until year 14 of Darius I (508 B.C.; *Dar.* 379), while the dowries of the daughters, which were relatively small in consideration of the family’s total assets, had been assigned during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. Itti-Marduk-balātu married his daughters off “fast and cheap,”<sup>24</sup> betrothing each of them to men with whom he did business and who sometimes appear as witnesses or scribes of his documents (see text Nos. 59, 60, and 62). The eldest daughter, <sup>f</sup>Tašmētu-tabni, apparently died before the consummation of her marriage, so that her dowry reverted to the Egibi family, and she was replaced by the next eldest, <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-bēlet, to whom a dowry only half as valuable as that of her sister had been assigned: one *kur* arable land, three slaves, and household goods. The dowry of the youngest daughter, <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ēṭirat, was presumably no larger, but the grandmother <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât added to it 14 minas silver and three slaves, perhaps—as C. Wunsch

suggests—feeling that her granddaughters deserved a greater share of the wealth of the family whose assets her own daughter’s dowry had augmented considerably. <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya evidently died not long after the birth of the youngest of her three children during the reign of Cyrus; she is last attested in year 6 of Cyrus (533 B.C.).<sup>25</sup> <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya’s mother, <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât, on the other hand, lived to be an octogenarian, and is last attested in year 15 of Darius I, in litigation with her grandson Marduk-nāšir-apli.<sup>26</sup>

Itti-Marduk-balātu is not known to have fulfilled functions such as court scribe, judge, or financial agent to other businessmen, as his father had done. He appears to have been politically active nonetheless, for—having taken the precaution of drawing up his will first<sup>27</sup>—he spent the first two years of Cyrus’s reign in Iran. There he visited Ecbatana, among other places, probably for the purpose of establishing contacts in the Achaemenid court and ingratiating himself with the new rulers of Babylonia.<sup>28</sup> During the reign of Cambyses (530–522 B.C.) he again went to Persia, and found himself there at the time of the attempted usurpation of the throne by one of the false Smerdises.<sup>29</sup> He died soon afterward, at the beginning of the reign of Darius I, possibly predeceasing his father-in-law Iddin-Marduk. The letter CT 22, 6 (see n. 16, below) must date to the end of Cyrus’s reign or the beginning of Cambyses’s reign, for as well as greeting Iddin-Marduk and <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât, Itti-Marduk-balātu addresses greetings to all six of his children, but omits his wife <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya; his eldest child <sup>f</sup>Tašmētu-tabni died by year 3 Cambyses, while his wife had died by the end of Cyrus’s reign (see above). It is tempting to speculate that Itti-Marduk-balātu may have sent this letter, in which he urges his mother not to worry about him (ll. 5–8), to Babylon from Iran during another visit, perhaps at the time of Cambyses’s accession.

Of all <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya’s and Itti-Marduk-balātu’s offspring, only their eldest son Marduk-nāšir-apli, also called Širku, appears in the tablets of the Museum’s collection. Many of the tablets from this phase of the Egibi archive pertain to Marduk-nāšir-apli’s management of his family’s properties (such as text Nos. 66 and 67). The family, or its land, then fell under the obligation to provide military or labor service to the Persian crown, and several tablets document Marduk-nāšir-apli’s hiring of substitutes to perform such service.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, as his father and father-in-law had occasionally done, he provided credit and financing for fief-holders who were called up to do military and labor service;<sup>31</sup> one century later, the Murašû firm made this kind of operation its specialty.<sup>32</sup> A more official relationship with the government may be indicated by such documents as the letter CT 22, 74, sent by Guzānu, the *šangû* of Sippar, to Marduk-nāšir-apli, having to do with the organization of troops.<sup>33</sup>

Among his numerous business activities, Marduk-nāšir-apli continued his father’s involvement in the commodities trade “inherited” from his grandfather Iddin-Marduk; he still employed the slave Madānu-bēla-ušur in this business, and Madānu-bēla-ušur corresponded with his new master as he had with Iddin-Marduk (CT 22, 82 and 83). Following in Iddin-Marduk’s footsteps, Marduk-nāšir-apli and his brother Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit purchased from the temple its share of the garlic grown on temple land leased out for cultivation (*Dar.* 315), i.e., they converted the income in produce to silver, then presumably marketed the produce at a profit. Marduk-nāšir-apli also continued the beer production business, through *ḥarrānu*-partnerships and through commissioning capable male and female slaves to operate the breweries or taverns. One brewery “franchise” was located in Ḥursagkalamma, and the ongoing *ḥarrānu*-partnership with Kalbaya, Marduk-nāšir-apli’s adoptive uncle, probably concerned this business (see text No. 65 and Remarks on text Nos. 71–73).<sup>34</sup>

Like both his father and his father-in-law, Marduk-nāšir-apli married a rich woman whose exceptionally large dowry he depleted. His wife, <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bāba, daughter of Kalbaya, descendant of Nabaya, brought 30 minas of silver, two minas of gold, jewelry, a field, and two slaves into her marriage; her husband’s utilization of these properties caused contention in later years.<sup>35</sup> The marriage produced a daughter,

<sup>f</sup>Erištu, and a son, Nidinti-Bēl. <sup>f</sup>Erištu's dowry consisted of five minas of silver, an orchard, an arable field, two slaves (silver was later substituted for one of them), and household goods; her sister-in-law <sup>f</sup>Šušanni, who married Nidinti-Bēl, brought into her marriage a dowry of similar composition (silver, land, slaves, household goods) whose total value was approximately equal to that of <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bāba and double that of <sup>f</sup>Erištu. Thus, as demonstrated by M. Roth, the family continued the pattern of acquiring more wealth with women who married in than it expended on the dowries of women who married out.<sup>36</sup>

Both <sup>f</sup>Erištu and Nidinti-Bēl were grown up and married during the later part of Darius I's reign; since it is Nidinti-Bēl who completed the delivery of his sister's dowry in year 34 of Darius I, it may be assumed that Marduk-nāšir-apli had died by then.<sup>37</sup> Very few documents pertaining to Nidinti-Bēl are extant. The latest one published thus far is a tablet dated to the accession year of the unsuccessful usurper Šamaš-erība, 482 B.C.<sup>38</sup> The archive thereby comes to an end at the time of the second rebellion against Xerxes during his fourth year of reign.

### Structure of the Archive

How was the Egibi archive constituted and transmitted?<sup>39</sup> Regardless of whether the report about the Egibi tablets being discovered in sealed jars is credible, there is no reason to doubt that the extant corpus represents an intentionally assembled and preserved archive, or part thereof. As observed by C. Wunsch, the Egibi archive consists of the tablets accumulated and transmitted through a line of first-born sons:<sup>40</sup> it is the "core archive" of the family, containing the tablets recording the affairs and property of the family's principal line in the person of each generation's eldest son. Following the inheritance divisions in each successive generation, the next-eldest brothers would have taken the tablets pertaining to their own affairs and property, transferring them out of their paternal household's archive and into their own "splinter" archives. Therefore, the extant corpus contains relatively little documentation of the activities of the brothers of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, of Itti-Marduk-balātu, and of Marduk-nāšir-apli.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile, women marrying into a family—in particular, women marrying eldest sons—might contribute groups of tablets pertaining to their dower property. This occurred in the case of <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya, as described above: the marital link between the family of Iddin-Marduk and the family of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin resulted in the Egibi archive absorbing a large "file" or "dossier" of documents pertaining to the affairs of Iddin-Marduk and his relatives, agents, and slaves.<sup>42</sup>

It has been conjectured that not long after the death of his father Marduk-nāšir-apli, Nidinti-Bēl decided to sort through the several thousands of tablets he had inherited. The extant corpus of Egibi tablets is what he placed in an inactive file. Tablets concerning his own current accounts, as well as documentation establishing title to his own property and his wife <sup>f</sup>Šušanni's dower property were presumably kept separately. These tablets have not been discovered.<sup>43</sup>

1. W. St. Chad Boscawen, "Babylonian Dated Tablets, and the Canon of Ptolemy," *TSBA* 6 (1878), pp. 1–78, with the subsequent "Discussion on the Babylonian Dated Tablets," pp. 79–133. See also Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 6 and 9 n. 36. The findspot of the tablets has never been determined, nor can the story about the tablets being found in sealed jars be confirmed. Smith's purchase was accessioned by the British Museum as the 76-11-17 collection, and—excluding a group of Seleucid and Arsacid tablets that were added to the lot—it appears that all the tablets bearing this accession number come from the same find, the "Egibi archive"; see J. E. Reade, "Introduction. Rassam's Babylonian Collection: The Excavations and the Archives," in E. V. Leitchy, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vol. 6, *Tablets from Sippar* 1, p. xiv; G. van Driel, "The British Museum 'Sippar' Collection: Babylonia 1882–1893," *ZA* 79 (1989), p. 108; and Krecher, Egibi, p. 102.
2. See Introduction: History of Research on the Collection; also A. B. Moldenke's preface to the re-publication of his dissertation, *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pp. iii–iv, although there was evidently some confusion between the two "collections" (see Introduction: History of Research on the Collection, p. xiii n. 3). In the dissertation itself, *Babylonian Contract Tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, he erroneously referred to the twenty-one tablets in Part 1 as coming from the "Ward collection."
3. The most comprehensive study available is that of Krecher, Egibi, which includes a catalogue of all the published documents in which one of the successive "principal representatives" (p. 17) of the family appears or in which one of their slaves is a contracting party; the catalogued documents total about eight hundred (p. 102). This number would be augmented considerably by taking into account documents in which one of the "principal representatives" does not appear but one of their family members or business partners does (see, for example, text Nos. 47 and 51); and furthermore by including the numerous retroacta that came into the archive (such as text No. 52). Since Krecher's study, more tablets of the Egibi archive have been published, as in OECT 10 and in Durand, *Textes babyloniens*.  
Older, but still essential, studies of the Egibi family include S. Weingort, *Das Haus Egibi* (Berlin, 1939), and Ungnad, "Egibi," pp. 57–64. G. van Driel has recently written about the family and its archive, in "De opkomst," pp. 33–47, and "Egibi," pp. 50–67. In addition to the business documents there are several letters that may be assigned to the archive, but no systematic attempt has been made to integrate their contents into the study of the family (see Krecher, Egibi, p. 12). For a partial list of such "Egibi letters," see H. Petschow, review of Ebeling, *NbB*, and idem, *Glossar zu den neubabylonischen Briefen*, *BiOr* 11 (1954), p. 201.
4. Shiff, Nūr-Sîn, and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1 and 2.
5. For the genealogies of the pertinent families, see most recently Roth, "Dowries," pp. 19–37, with genealogical table pp. 20–21; and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. xii–xiii. It is here accepted that <sup>f</sup>Qudāšu was the daughter of a Šulaya/Egibi distinct from the Šulaya/Egibi who was Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's father, and that she was the wife of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, in preference to the proposal that she was his sister (as cogently refuted by van Driel, "Egibi," p. 66) and to Roth's proposal that she was not his wife ("Dowries," p. 25).
6. For text citations and further details of Šulaya's career, see Krecher, Egibi, pp. 24–26 and 120–26; van Driel, "Egibi," pp. 50–53. None of Šulaya's own tablets are found in the Museum's collection, though text No. 45 pertains to his period of activity.
7. On the business partnerships termed *harrānu*, see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xvii. Lanz, *harrānu*, pp. 148–65, discusses the *harrānu*-enterprises of members of the Egibi family (including branches other than that concerned here).
8. This point is made by van Driel, "De opkomst," p. 37, and "Egibi," pp. 53 and 55.
9. On Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's involvement with the affairs of Neriglissar, see Krecher, Egibi, pp. 34–35 and 113; R. Sack, "Nergal-šarra-ušur, King of Babylon as seen in the Cuneiform, Greek, Latin and Hebrew Sources," *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 130–31 and 141–49; idem, *Neriglissar—King of Babylon*, AOAT 236 (1994), p. 24; van Driel, "De opkomst," p. 40; and idem, "Egibi," pp. 57–62. See also Wunsch's summary of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's career, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 81.
10. Van Driel, "Egibi," p. 55.
11. Several tablets in the archive were written by Itti-Marduk-balātu or by his son Marduk-nāšir-apli (see Krecher, Egibi, pp. 62 and 96).
12. See Krecher, Egibi, pp. 58–59; van Driel, "De opkomst," p. 45.
13. See Genealogical Chart, p. 91; on the identification of Egibi family members by their alternate names, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 82–83 with n. 311. The use of alternate names is not to be confused with the use of hypocoristica, i.e., short forms of full-length names. Both alternate names and hypocoristica were considered to be legally valid.
14. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 78–79.
15. CT 22, 9:19–22; Iddin-Marduk refers to Itti-Marduk-balātu by his alternate name Iddinaya (see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, p. 318), as does a correspondent of Iddin-Marduk's in CT 22, 195:11.
16. CT 22, 6:12–14; in ll. 14–16 Itti-Marduk-balātu also addresses greetings to two other people whom he refers to as his father and mother, Šullumu and <sup>f</sup>Damqaya. He writes this letter under the name Iddinaya.



17. The summary of Iddin-Marduk's career given here follows the interpretation of Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, esp. pp. 86–88 (note that Wunsch prefers to translate *šūmu* as “onions,” instead of garlic, *ibid.*, p. 21 n. 91). See also Oelsner, “Circulation,” pp. 233–35; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, chap. 3; and M. Jursa, review of Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk*, in *AfO* 42–43 (1995–96), pp. 255–62.
18. Documentation for this stage of the business is virtually nonexistent because most sales of fungible goods would have been cash transactions and as such did not require documentation; on this issue in relation to Iddin-Marduk's business, see Oelsner, “Circulation,” pp. 234–35; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, pp. 36 and 43; and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 37–38. (See also Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xvi.)
19. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 28–29.
20. CT 22, 78, 79, 80, and 81; Madānu-bēla-ušur is also mentioned in another correspondent's letter to Iddin-Marduk, CT 22, 148:20, and in a letter of Bīt-ir<sup>2</sup>anni-šarra-ušur the (*bēl*) *piḫāti*, CT 22, 243:16. On the careers of Madānu-bēla-ušur and Nergal-rēšūa, and on the letters and documents relating to their activities, see Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 345–71; and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 43–49.
21. *Nbk.* 265; see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 67.
22. For the statements made in this paragraph, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 9–11, 23, 45, 48–49, 70, and 80–82. That Iddin-Marduk's documents entered the Egibi archive as a result of the marriage between <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya and Itti-Marduk-balātu is asserted by (among others) Ungnad, “Egibi,” pp. 61–62; Oelsner, “Circulation,” pp. 232–33 n. 37; and van Driel, “De opkomst,” p. 34; Wunsch describes the mechanics and the logic of this transfer of documentation.
23. Relatively few extant documents attest to the activities of Iddin-Marduk's son Marduk-rēmanni, though he was also involved in his father's business. Marduk-rēmanni would have kept the documents of his own transactions, and of those in which he acted as his father's successor, in his own household (not in the Egibi family's household); Marduk-rēmanni's archive has not been found (see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 77–78).
24. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 84. For the daughters' marriages and dowries, see the detailed study of Roth, “Dowries,” pp. 26–27; and Wunsch's reanalysis, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 71–72 and 83–84, which includes newly published documents, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 260 and 355.
25. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 304; see *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 10 n. 43, p. 80 with n. 305, and p. 83.
26. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 71.
27. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 260; see *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 80 n. 306.
28. M. W. Stolper, “Tobits in Reverse: More Babylonians in Ecbatana,” *AMI* 23 (1990), pp. 170–71.
29. See R. Zadok, “On the Connections between Iran and Babylonia in the Sixth Century B.C.,” *Iran* 14 (1976), pp. 67–76.
30. *Dar.* 411, 572, and 577(?); see Krecher, Egibi, pp. 96–97, 113, 314, and 344–46.
31. Text No. 68 seems to represent such a transaction. See also *Dar.* 156, 208, 308, 430, and 452; Krecher, Egibi, pp. 96–97, 113, 265, 273, 290, 317, and 323.
32. See van Driel, *JESHO* 32 (1989), pp. 203–29, esp. pp. 207–12; in this volume, see text No. 126 from the Murašû archive.
33. See Ebeling, *NbB*, p. 45, and Petschow, *BiOr* 11 (1954), p. 202. Gūzānu also appears in the archive of Bēl-rēmanni/Mušibši-Marduk/Šangū-Šamaš, designated Archive F in this volume; see text No. 92 and Introduction to Archive F, p. 176.
34. See Lanz, *harrānu*, pp. 158–62.
35. Roth, “Dowries,” pp. 27–29; for the marriages and dowries of the succeeding generation, including previously unpublished documents, see *ibid.*, pp. 29–35.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 8 n. 33.
38. J. Strassmaier, “Arsaciden-Inschriften,” *ZA* 3 (1888), pp. 157–58.
39. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 7–11, provides a lucid description of the management of archives in general and of the constitution of the Egibi archive in particular.
40. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 8. Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin may not have been the eldest son (though perhaps he was the eldest surviving) since, as pointed out by van Driel, “De opkomst,” p. 36, his personal name means “Nabû-Has-Given-Brothers.”
41. The younger brothers of Marduk-nāšir-apli are better known to us because the family property remained undivided under his management for many years after Itti-Marduk-balātu's death.
42. On the other hand, based on the extant corpus, <sup>f</sup>Qudāšu and <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bāba do not seem to have brought any tablets to speak of into their marriages to, respectively, Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin and Marduk-nāšir-apli.
43. See Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 9 and 85.



This diagram of the Egibi family and the family of Iddin-Marduk includes all members and affines of these families (with their filiations) who appear in the Metropolitan Museum tablets, as well as all significant known family members whether they appear in the Museum's tablets or not. Some family members who are known from other tablets are represented by "PN" or "FPN" (instead of by their names) to conserve space.

Code for genealogical chart:

.....	Ancestral lineage
————	Direct filiation
-----	Filial relationship through adoption
==	Marriage
<del>==</del>	Previous marriage

Archive C  
(Text Nos. 45–73)

**45.**

MMA 79.7.31

Plate 29

H. 35 mm. W. 52 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Account of silver disbursements

Neo-Babylonian period, no GN

Nebuchadnezzar II, year 4 month 11 day 27

- Obv. 1. 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina IGI* <sup>1</sup>*Šu-la-a*  
 2. A-*šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ḪILI-DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>  
 3. 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ina IGI* <sup>1</sup>*Bul-luṭ* A-*šú šá*  
 4. <sup>Id</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU ½ MA.NA  
 5. *ina IGI* <sup>Id</sup>EN-DÙ<sup>uš</sup> A-*šú šá*
- Lo.E. 6. <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-*ia* 5 GÍN  
 7. <sup>Id</sup>AG-SUR-ZI<sup>meš</sup>
- Rev. 8. A-*šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GIN  
 9. 5 GÍN *ina IGI* <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-*da-nu*  
 10. <sup>lú</sup>*qal-la šá Šu-ma-a*  
 11. (erasure)  
 12. (erasure)  
 13. PAB 3 MA.NA 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 14. *šá* <sup>1</sup>NÍG.DU *a-na* KUR AT(?) IN(?)
- U.E. 15. <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-*utu is-su-ḫu(!)*(text:ri) <sup>i</sup>ti-zíZ  
 16. UD 27.KÁM MU 5.KÁM
- L.E. 17. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-ÛRU  
 18. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–2. 1 mina silver which is at the disposal of Šulaya, son of Nabû-kuzub-ilāni  
 3–4. 1 mina silver at the disposal of Bulluṭ, son of Bēl-aḫa-iddin  
 4–6. ½ mina (silver) at the disposal of Bēl-ēpuš, son of Zēriya  
 6–8. 5 shekels (silver at the disposal of) Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti, son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn  
 9–10. 5 shekels (silver) at the disposal of Nergal-dannu, slave of Šumaya;  
 11–12. (erased)  
 13–15. Total 3 minas 4 shekels silver belonging to Kudurru (which) Zērūtu withdrew for . . .  
 15–18. Šabaṭu day 27 year 5, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon

*Notes*

- 1–2, 14: Šulaya/Nabû-kuzub-ilāni appears in at least three promissory notes, all written in the town of Šaḥrītu, involving Kudurru/Iqīšaya//Egibi: *Nbk.* 38 documents Šulaya’s debt of 3 minas “Akkadian” silver and 21½ shekels refined (*qalû*) silver to Kudurru; in *Nbk.* 46 Šulaya and Kudurru are co-creditors for a debt of ⅓ mina silver; and in *Nbk.* 47 Šulaya and Kudurru are co-debtors for 3⅔ minas silver owed to (the same) Kudurru. In addition, *Nbk.* 94 documents Šulaya’s purchase of a slave from Kudurru; Šulaya and Kudurru also appear together, without patronymics, in *Nbk.* 24, a receipt drawn up in Šaḥrītu. The Kudurru mentioned in 1. 14 of the present text is doubtless Kudurru/Iqīšaya//Egibi; moreover, the mina of silver said to be at Šulaya’s disposal in this text may well be part of the debt on which interest accrues according to *Nbk.* 47:5–8, written a month and a half earlier.
- 5–6: Bēl-ēpuš/Zēriya//Epeš-ilī, see *Nbk.* 76:10) is the scribe of *Nbk.* 57, wherein Kudurru is one of four co-debtors (all without patronymics); and he is the second witness in *Nbk.* 76, a promissory note for 1 mina 53 shekels silver owed as the price of oxen and sheep by Kudurru, whose full name is there given as Kudurru/Iqīšaya//Egibi.
- 13: The amounts listed (1 mina + 1 mina + ½ mina + 5 shekels + 5 shekels) do not add up to 3 minas 4 shekels. The erased entry in ll. 11–12 evidently was ⅓ (mina) 4 shekels—the remaining traces conform to such a reading—which produces the correct sum; for some reason the total was not corrected after the last entry was erased.

*Remarks*

The owner of this document, and the owner or manager of the silver disbursed, was Kudurru, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Egibi.<sup>1</sup> Kudurru was a contemporary of Šulaya, son of Nabû-zēra-ukīn, descendant of Egibi, the earliest attested member of the branch of the Egibi family to which the “Egibi archive” belongs (see Introduction to Archives C and D).<sup>2</sup> Kudurru and Šulaya conducted business in the same town, Šaḥrītu, later to remain a prominent locus of the Egibi family’s business activity. Although it is not clear how, Kudurru’s extant tablets evidently became part of the Egibi archive.<sup>3</sup>

1. Kudurru’s business activity is discussed by Lanz, *ḥarrānu*, pp. 162–63.

2. For the relationship between the families, see Ungnad, “Egibi,” p. 58.

3. Some of Kudurru’s tablets (*Nbk.* 46, 55, 57, and one duplicate each of *Nbk.* 38 and *Nbk.* 94) were accessioned in the British Museum’s 76-11-17 collection. See van Driel, “Egibi,” p. 50 with n. 7.

## 46.

MMA 79.7.37

Plate 30

H. 41 mm. W. 57 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Quittance

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Neriglissar, year 2 month 8 day 8

- Obv. 1. *ra-šu-ti šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ša-bit-šu<sup>II</sup>  
 2. <sup>lú</sup>SAG LUGAL *šá* UGU <sup>f</sup>Ši-da-ti  
 3. DUMU.SAL-su *šá* <sup>I</sup>Šil-la-a DUMU <sup>I</sup>Dù<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR  
 4. *ù* <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU-šú DUMU-šú *šá*  
 5. <sup>I</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>I</sup>Dan-né-e-a <sup>Id</sup>AG-ša-bit-šu<sup>II</sup>  
 6. *e-tir ra-šu-ti ma-la ba-šu-ú*  
 7. *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ša-bit-šu<sup>II</sup> *ina* UGU <sup>f</sup>Ši-da-ti  
 8. *ù* <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU-šú *ia-a-nu*  
 9. <sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-il-tì *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ša-bit-šu<sup>II</sup>
- Rev. 10. *šá* UGU <sup>f</sup>Ši-da-ti *ù*  
 11. <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN *a-šar te-el-la-<sup>3</sup>*  
 12. *šá* <sup>f</sup>Ši-da-ti *ù* <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU-šú *ši-i*  
 13. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>Ba-nu-nu DUMU-šú *šá*  
 14. <sup>I</sup>Šil-la-a DUMU <sup>lú</sup>GAL-DÙ  
 15. <sup>I</sup>Da-di-ia DUMU-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Mi-na-áš-še-e  
 16. <sup>Id</sup>AG-lu-ú-sa-lim <sup>lú</sup>se-pir *šá* LUGAL  
 17. *u* <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU DUMU-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Šu-la-a  
 18. DUMU <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>APIN</sup>  
 19. UD 8.KÁM MU 2.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-LUGAL-ÛRU  
 U.E. 20. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–6. The credit claim owed to Nabû-šābit-qātē the *ša rēš šarri* official by <sup>f</sup>Šidati, daughter of Šillaya, descendant of Eppeš-ilī, and her son Rīmūt-Bēl, son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Dannēa, Nabû-šābit-qātē has been paid.
- 6–8. There is no outstanding credit claim owed to Nabû-šābit-qātē by <sup>f</sup>Šidati and her son Rīmūt-Bēl.
- 9–12. The promissory note credited to Nabû-šābit-qātē which is charged against <sup>f</sup>Šidati and Rīmūt-Bēl, wherever it may turn up, belongs to <sup>f</sup>Šidati and her son Rīmūt-Bēl.
- 13–16. Witnesses:  
 Banūnu, son of Šillaya, descendant of Rab-banē  
 Dādiya, son of Minaššē  
 Nabû-lū-salim, the Aramaic scribe of the king
- 17–18. And the scribe: Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi
- 18–20. Babylon, Araḥsamnu day 8 year 2, Neriglissar king of Babylon

**Notes**

- 2: In Babylon the *ša rēš šarri* was not necessarily a eunuch; see G. Frame, “Nabonidus, Nabû-šarra-ušur, and the Eanna Temple,” *ZA* 81 (1991), pp. 41–42, 60, and 66 n. 65.
- 13–14: Banūnu, the first witness, is attested in several other texts in which Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin is involved: as the first witness in *Ngl.* 42:11–12, 55:14–15, 58:10–11 (wherein Nabû-šābit-qātē the *ša rēš šarri* also appears), and *Liv.* 12:15–16; and as a party to the contract together with Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin in *Nbn.* 132:8, 251:2–3, and 536:3–4. As suggested by van Driel, “Egibi,” p. 65, he is probably identical with Nergal-banūnu//Rab-banê, who serves as a judge together with Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin.
- 15: Dādiya and his father Minašše both bear West Semitic names; see Zadok, *WSB*, pp. 57 and 140.
- 16: See M. W. Stolper, “The Governor of Babylon and Across-The-River in 486 B.C.,” *JNES* 48 (1989), pp. 298–99, for a description of the *sepīru*’s function.

**Remarks**

The creditor in this tablet, Nabû-šābit-qātē, appears in six other Egibi tablets as well as in documents outside this archive.<sup>1</sup> He first appears in *Nbk.* 266 as a slave of Neriglissar, the future king, in charge of shepherds and sheep.<sup>2</sup> Soon after Neriglissar’s accession, he is a *ša rēš šarri* official (*Ner.* 7:8–9), a position that he maintains until the end of Neriglissar’s reign.<sup>3</sup> In one text, *Ner.* 39:2–3, he is identified as the “estate manager of the son of the king” (<sup>lú</sup>*rāb bīti ša mār šarri*, ll. 2–3), i.e., of the future king Lābāši-Marduk. He is again “estate manager of the son of the king” several years later, when the son of the king is Bēl-šarra-ušur (Belshazzar), son of Nabonidus (*Nbn.* 270:3–4, 581:2–3, and 688:2–3).<sup>4</sup>

In most of these texts, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, the scribe of the present document, also acted in various capacities. He wrote *Nbk.* 266 and *Ner.* 58. He paid the price of a slave purchased by Nabû-šābit-qātē in *Ner.* 7, and in *Nbn.* 270 he paid to Nabû-šābit-qātē the amount of silver, borrowed from the tithes, that was owed by one slave—an Aramaic scribe—for the purchase of another. He guaranteed payment of 12 minas of silver, owed to the king’s son, charged by Nabû-šābit-qātē against Šuma-ukīn, son of Mušallim-(DN?) in *Ner.* 39.<sup>5</sup> In the latest text, *Nbn.* 688, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s son Itti-Marduk-balātu paid a credit claim owed by one Bēl-iddin to Nabû-šābit-qātē. The activities of the royal official Nabû-šābit-qātē are thus known to us primarily through the records of one private archive.<sup>6</sup>

1. He also appears in *Nbn.* 581 (Iddin-Marduk “dossier”), YOS 6, 115, and YOS 19, 287, the latter two from Uruk, cited by P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556–539 B.C.*, Yale Near Eastern Researches, 10 (New Haven and London, 1989), p. 93 n. 20; the similarly named individual in YOS 6, 143, also cited by Beaulieu, is not the same man. See additionally van Driel, “Egibi,” pp. 58–59.

2. Our thanks to Irving Finkel for collating *Nbk.* 266:5 and confirming the reading <sup>lú</sup>*qal-la*.

3. *Ner.* 58:6 (dated 21 Abu, year 3).

4. His appearance in the two Uruk tablets (YOS 6:115 and 19:287) reflects the same function. The fact that his career survived the coup d’état against Lābāši-Marduk, son of his former master, is attributed by P.-A. Beaulieu (*The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556–539 B.C.*, Yale Near Eastern Researches, 10 [New Haven and London, 1989], pp. 92–93) to Bēl-šarra-ušur’s takeover of Neriglissar’s estates.

5. The debtor is probably the same individual whose son Kalbaya would be formally adopted by Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin a decade later (text No. 53).

6. Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's role as scribe is also of interest. Many Neo-Babylonian contracts were written by one of the contracting parties; evidently, those who could write would commonly write their own documents or documents of transactions in which they had an interest (but generally not documents naming themselves as creditors; see Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, pp. 11–15 n. 28). In the present case, there is no evidence that Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin had a personal or financial interest in the transaction between Šidati and Nabû-šābit-qātē. Since the latter was in the king's employ, text No. 46 doubtless had to do with "royal" business, and it may be assumed that Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin wrote tablets of this sort within the framework of his business relationship to Neriglissar (see further van Driel, "Egibi," pp. 53–57, and G. van Driel, "Neo-Babylonian Texts from the Louvre," *BiOr* 43 [1986], col. 6 with n. 4).

## 47.

MMA 79.7.13

Slave sale

Plate 31

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

H. 46 mm. W. 56 mm. Th. 24 mm.

Nabonidus, year 2 month 12 day 5

Publ. Moldenke I, 11

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 2–3

- Obv. 1. <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ba-la-tu A <sup>1</sup>Šá-na-ši-šú  
 2. *ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú* <sup>fd</sup>Gu-la-re-min<sub>4</sub>-ni  
 3. <sup>lú</sup>qal-lat-su šá (erasure) <<ina IGI(!)>> *ina IGI* <sup>Id</sup>UTU-TIN  
 4. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>A-a A <sup>Id</sup>EN-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru ku-um  
 5. ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *maš-ka-nu šak-na-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
 6. ù DUMU-šú šá *ina lib-bi tu-li-di*  
 7. *a-na* ⅓ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *a-(na)* šÁM *gam-ru-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
 8. *a-na* <sup>Id</sup>AM[AR.UT]U-BA <sup>šá</sup>-an-ni A-šú šá DÙ-ia  
 9. A <sup>Id</sup>KASKAL×KUR<sup>ú</sup> *id-din pu-ut se-ḫi-i*  
 10. *pa-qí-ra-nu* ÌR-LUGAL-tú DUMU-DÙ-tú  
 Lo.E. 11. <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU *na-ši*  
 Rev. 12. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>EN-SUR A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-「GIN」-A  
 13. A <sup>llú</sup>PAN <sup>Id</sup>IM-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-TIN A-šú  
 14. šá <sup>1</sup>KAL-a A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-d<sup>30</sup> <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-KÁM  
 15. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU A <sup>1</sup>Dam-qa  
 16. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-GI  
 17. A <sup>Id</sup>30-tab-ni <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>1</sup>Tab-né-e-a  
 18. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-ú-kin A <sup>1</sup>Nu-ú-pu  
 19. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> itiŠE UD 5.KÁM  
 20. MU 2.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I  
 21. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>



*Translation*

- 1–9. Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Balātu, descendant of Ša-nāšišu, voluntarily sold Gula-rēmenni, his female slave who had been placed at the disposal of Šamaš-uballit, son of Aplaya, descendant of Bēl-ētir, as security for (a debt of)  $\frac{1}{3}$  (mina) silver, and her son whom she bore, for  $\frac{5}{6}$  mina silver, as the full price, to Ma[rdu]k-iqīšanni, son of Bāniya, descendant of Ilī-tillatī.
- 9–11. Nabû-apla-iddin guarantees against any challenger (of the legality of the sale), any claimant (to a right of ownership), (and any claim of) royal slave-status or *mār banî*-status (regarding Gula-rēmenni and her son).
- 12–17. Witnesses:  
     Bēl-ētir, son of Nabû-mukīn-apli, descendant of Qaštu  
     Adad-aḥḥē-bullit, son of Aqaraya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn  
     Nergal-ēreš, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Damqa  
     Nabû-zēra-iddin, son of Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Sîn-tabni
- 17–18. Scribe: Tabnêa, son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, descendant of Nūpu
- 19–21. Babylon, Addaru day 5 year 2, Nabonidus king of Babylon

*Notes*

- 7: Moldenke, who read the tablet before it was baked and cleaned, read the numeral as “ $\frac{1}{3}$ .”
- 13: For the reading *bullit* (TIN) in the second witness’s name, see the writing *bul-liṭ* in *Dar.* 265:31, 418:13, and 474:19 (also Egibi texts).

*Remarks*

This text, together with text No. 48, records a slave sale in which Marduk-iqīšanni, acting as agent of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, purchased the slave <sup>f</sup>Gula-rēmenni and her infant son from Nabû-apla-iddin. In text No. 48:11–12 it is stated that any document regarding this sale belongs to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin; text Nos. 47 and 48 therefore, belonged to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s archive.

The seller, Nabû-apla-iddin/Balātu//Ša-nāšišu, had gone bankrupt during the reign of Amēl-Marduk. His debt obligations were assumed by Neriglissar, the future king, who bought up his property—and that of his daughter (*Liv.* 10)—to pay off his creditors.<sup>1</sup> The creditors were paid off through Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, who acted as Neriglissar’s agent. Nabû-apla-iddin’s sale of Gula-rēmenni and her son to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, thereby resolving an outstanding obligation toward a creditor named Šamaš-uballit, continues this process of property liquidation.

1. For citations of the relevant documents and a summary of their contents, see van Driel, “Egibi,” pp. 59–62; Sack, *Amēl-Marduk*, pp. 35ff.; a brief discussion appears in Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, pp. 41–42. See also D. J. Wiseman in *The Cambridge Ancient History* 3/2 (Cambridge, 1991), p. 241.

## 48.

MMA 79.7.11

Plates 32, 118, 119

H. 44 mm. W. 56 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 12

Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 4–9; Petschow, “Surrogationsgedanke,” pp. 130–31

Proxy contract for purchase of a slave

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 2 month 12 day 19

- Obv. 1. <sup>fd</sup>Gu-la-re-min<sub>4</sub>-ni ù DUMU-šú  
 2. šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-BA<sup>šá</sup>-an-ni A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Ba-ni-ia  
 3. A <sup>I</sup>DINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>ú</sup> a-na <sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR  
 4. a-na ŠÁM gam-ru-tu ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU  
 5. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>TIN A <sup>I</sup>Šá-na-ši-šú i-bu-ku  
 6. u ú-ìl-tì a-na MU-šú i-<sup>3</sup>-i-li  
 7. ina na-áš-par-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU  
 8. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Šu-la-a A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi  
 9. KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> <sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> MA.NA (erasure) šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU  
 10. a-na ŠÁM <sup>fd</sup>Gu-la-re-min<sub>4</sub>-ni u DUMU-šú
- Lo.E. 11. a-na <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU na-dìn ina u<sub>4</sub>-mu  
 12. ú-ìl-tì gab-ri ú-ìl-tì
- Rev. 13. lu-ú ri-ik-su šá <sup>fd</sup>Gu-la-re-min<sub>4</sub>-ni u DUMU-šú  
 14. šá ina É <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-BA<sup>šá</sup>-an-ni il-la-<sup>3</sup>  
 15. šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU šu-ú  
 16. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>AG-mu-še-tíq-UD.DA A-šú šá  
 17. <sup>I</sup>EN-šú-nu A <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-pat-ta-nu  
 18. <sup>I</sup>Ki-di-nu A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-KAR<sup>ir</sup>  
 19. A <sup>Id</sup>IM-šam-me-e u <sup>lú</sup>ŠID <sup>Id</sup>EN-KÁD A-šú  
 20. šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-re-man-ni A <sup>I</sup>Ba-bu-tu  
 21. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ití<sup>še</sup> UD 20 1-LÁ KÁM MU 2.KÁM  
 22. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–5. (Concerning) Gula-rēmenni and her son, whom Marduk-iqīšanni, son of Bāniya, descendant of Ilī-tillatī, purchased for <sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> mina silver, as the full price, from Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Balāṭu, descendant of Ša-nāšīšu,  
 6. and he made out a document in his own name,  
 7–8. (he purchased them) acting as proxy for Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi.  
 9–11. The <sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> mina silver, belonging to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, was given to Nabû-apla-iddin as the price of Gula-rēmenni and her son.  
 11–15. If ever a document, a copy of a document, or a contract for Gula-rēmenni and her son should turn up in Marduk-iqīšanni’s house, it belongs to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin.

16–19. Witnesses:

Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, son of Bēlšunu, descendant of Ea-pattanu

Kidinnu, son of Marduk-ētir, descendant of Adad-šamê

19–20. And the scribe: Bēl-kāšir, son of Bēl-rēmāni, descendant of Bābūtu

21–22. Babylon, Addaru day 19 year 2, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

3: As in text No. 47, Moldenke misread the numeral, in this case as “ $\frac{2}{3}$ ”; it is actually identical to the price in the former document, i.e.,  $\frac{5}{6}$  mina, negating Petschow’s remarks in “Surrogationsgedanke,” p. 130 n. 18; idem, *Pfandrecht*, p. 94.

6: *u<sup>2</sup>iltu* here refers to the sale contract—specifically to text No. 47.

6–8: Cf. Petschow, “Surrogationsgedanke,” p. 131.

### Remarks

This tablet establishes that the slave sale documented by text No. 47 was undertaken on behalf of, and with the funds of, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, although the purchaser named in the sale document was Marduk-iqīšanni. Text No. 48 is one of a rather small class of Neo-Babylonian documents that were drawn up solely in order to establish an individual’s rights of ownership over a purchased object, when the purchase itself had been carried out by that individual’s proxy in his own name. The documents pertaining to this class, most of which belong to the Egibi archive, appear to represent a novel legal form.<sup>1</sup>

1. See Petschow, “Surrogationsgedanke,” pp. 133 and 145.

## 49.

MMA 79.7.14

Plate 33

H. 43 mm. W. 58 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 13

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 10–13

Promissory note for silver for a

*ḥarrānu*-partnership

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 4 month 7 day 22

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{1}{3}$  GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut A-šú šá  
 2. <sup>I</sup>Kur-ban-ni-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>I</sup>DÙ<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR  
 3. ina muḥ-ḥi <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup>  
 4. A <sup>II</sup>ú<sup>á</sup>ŠGAB a-na KASKAL<sup>II</sup> mim-ma ma-la  
 5. ina URU u EDIN ip-pu-uš-šu a-ḥi (erasure)

6. *ina ú-tur* <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU *it-ti* <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut  
7. *ik-kal ul-tu muḫ-ḫi* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
8. *šá a-na* <<*a-na*>> <*e-te-qu*> *ul i-ti-iq*  
9. *šá it-ti-iq a-na muḫ-ḫi il-li*  
Lo.E. 10. <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU *na-áš-par-ti šá* KASKAL<sup>II</sup>  
Rev. 11. *il-lak mim-ma e-lat šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU  
12. *ia-a-nu* KÙ.BABBAR *šá* KASKAL<sup>II</sup> *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU  
13. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Né-me-qu  
14. A <sup>I</sup>Man-di-di <sup>I</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šú *šá*  
15. <sup>I</sup>Du-um-muq (erasure) A <sup>I</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
16. <sup>lú</sup>ŠID <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Ṭa-bi-ía  
17. A <sup>I</sup>Su-ḫa-a-a TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>DU</sup><sub>6</sub>  
18. UD 22.KÁM MU 4.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I  
19. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–4. 20 shekels silver owed to Rīmūt, son of Kurbanni-Marduk, descendant of Eppeš-ili, by Bēl-iddin, son of Nergal-uballiṭ, descendant of Aškāpu, for a *ḫarrānu*-enterprise.  
4–7. From all of what he may earn, in or out of town, Bēl-iddin will share equally with Rīmūt in the profit.  
7–9. He shall not exceed one shekel silver for <expenses>; what he spends in excess (of one shekel) will go on his own account.  
10–11. Bēl-iddin will run the business of the *ḫarrānu*-enterprise.  
11–12. Besides (the above) Bēl-iddin has no (share in the partnership).  
12. The silver belongs to the *ḫarrānu* investment of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin.  
13–15. Witnesses:  
Rīmūt, son of Nēmequ, descendant of Mandidi  
Arad-Bēl, son of Dummuq, descendant of Arad-Ea  
16–17. Scribe: Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Ṭābiya, descendant of Suḫaya  
17–19. Babylon, Tašritu day 22 year 4, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 7–9: For *etēqu*, “travel (expenses),” see Lanz, *ḫarrānu*, pp. 35–38.  
11–12: *mimma elat ša PN iānu* indicates that Bēl-iddin is not entitled to profit from any other investments of the *ḫarrānu*-partnership between Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin and Rīmūt, only from the enterprise for which he is commissioned. Cf. Lanz, *ḫarrānu*, p. 42.

**Remarks**

The object of this promissory note is an investment of silver in a *ḥarrānu*-partnership between Rīmūt, the investor, and Bēl-iddin, the contractor who is commissioned to carry out the partnership's business (which is unspecified). This is a subsidiary enterprise financed by assets drawn from the parent *ḥarrānu*-partnership between Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin and Rīmūt (l. 12); the subsidiary *ḥarrānu* contracted by Rīmūt with Bēl-iddin reappears in text No. 50:7–9.

**50.**

MMA 79.7.18

Plates 34, 118, 119

H. 50 mm. W. 64 mm. Th. 25 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 14

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 14–19

Credit document including statement of partnership assets

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 6 month 2 day 23

- Obv. 1. 40<sup>du</sup> *dan-nu-tu re-qu-tu a-di*  
 2. 2<sup>ta</sup> *nam-za-a-ta* à 2<sup>ta</sup> *nam-ḥa-ra-a-ta*  
 3. *ina lib-bi* 10 *dan-nu šá* KAŠ DÜG.GA *a-na*  
 4. 1/3 3 GÍN 3<sup>tu</sup> 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ma-nu-ú*  
 5. 40 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá ina* UGU<sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-MU  
 6. *šá a-na* 1/3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ma-nu-ú*  
 7. 18 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ú-il-ti šá ina* UGU<sup>Id</sup>EN-MU  
 8. A-šú *šá* IdU+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup> *šá na-áš-par-tu*<sub>4</sub>  
 9. *šá* KASKAL<sup>II</sup> *il-la-* *ku*  
 10. ZABAR *mu-šaḥ-ḥi-nu šá ta-lam-mu a-na* 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 11. 2<sup>ta</sup> ZABAR *ka-sa-a-ta a-na* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
- Lo.E. 12. AN.BAR *mar-ri* AN.BAR *na-áš-ḥi-ip-ti*  
 13. AN.BAR *qul-mu-ú* AN.BAR *in-gu-ri-nu*
- Rev. 14. *a-na* 2 GÍN 4<sup>ta</sup> giš<sup>GU.ZA</sup>meš  
 15. à 3<sup>ta</sup> giš<sup>NA</sup>meš *a-na* 2 GÍN  
 16. 1 GÍN 2<sup>ta</sup> šU<sup>II</sup>meš KÙ.BABBAR *qal-la-⟨⟨qal⟩⟩-la*  
 17. PAB 1 MA.NA 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá* KASKAL<sup>II</sup> *šá* IdAG-PAP<sup>meš</sup>-MU  
 18. A-šú *šá* IŠu-la-a A IE-gi-bi à IRi-mut  
 19. A-šú *šá* IKur-ban-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A IdU<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR *ina* IGI IRi-mut  
 20. lú *mu-kin-nu* IdAG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-bul-luṭ A-šú *šá*  
 21. IdAMAR.UTU-SU A ISu-ḥa-a-a IdAG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ  
 22. A-šú *šá* IdAG-MU-MU A ISag-di-di IdŠÚ-NUMUN-DÙ  
 23. A-šú *šá* IŠu-la-a A IPap-pa-a-a  
 24. u lúšID IERI-ba-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú *šá* IdŠÚ-BA<sup>šá</sup>-[a]<sup>1</sup>-ni

- U.E. 25. 𒀭<sup>1</sup> 𒀭<sup>1</sup> DINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>u</sup> TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>GU</sup><sub>4</sub>  
 26. UD 23.KÁM MU 6.KÁM<sup>Id</sup>AG-I  
 27. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–4. 40 empty vats including 2 fermenting vats and 2 collecting vats, from among which 10 vats of full-strength beer, valued (altogether) at 23½ shekels silver;  
 5–6. 40 *kur* dates, owed by Nergal-iddin, which are valued at 20 shekels silver;  
 7–9. 18 shekels silver, the debt which is owed by Bēl-iddin, son of Nergal-uballit, who is running the business of the *ḥarrānu*-enterprise;  
 10. a bronze kettle *ša talammu* (valued) at 2 shekels silver;  
 11. two bronze cups (valued) at 1 shekel silver;  
 12–14. an iron hoe, an iron trowel, an iron axe, an iron lamp stand (valued) at 2 shekels;  
 14–15. 4 chairs, 3 beds (valued) at 2 shekels;  
 16. 1⅔ shekels inferior(?) silver;  
 17. Total 1 mina 10 shekels silver, belonging to the *ḥarrānu*-partnership of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi, and Rīmūt, son of Kurbanni-Marduk, descendant of Eppeš-ilī, are at the disposal of Rīmūt.  
 20–23. Witnesses:  
     Nabû-aḥḥē-bulluṭ, son of Marduk-erība, descendant of Suḥaya  
     Nabû-zēru-līšir, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Sagdidi  
     Marduk-zēra-ibni, son of Šulaya, descendant of Pappaya  
 24–25. And the scribe: Erība-Marduk, son of Marduk-iqīšanni, descendant of Ili-tillatī  
 25–27. Babylon, Ayyāru day 23 year 6, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 2: For the function of the vessels termed *namzītu* and *namḥaru*, see M. Civil, “A Hymn to the Beer Goddess,” *Studies Oppenheim*, pp. 82–89.  
 3: Whether the 10 vats of full-strength beer (see text No. 11 n. 1) are included in the 40 empty vats, as *ina libbi* would indicate, or are a separate item, as Lanz, *ḥarrānu*, p. 100 n. 663 assumes, is not clear; the valuation in silver may apply only to the vats of full-strength beer, or to all the vats together. The price may be compared to 50 vats full-strength beer valued at 1 mina silver in *Camb.* 331:1; 1 vat fine beer at 1 shekel silver, in TuM 2/3, 232:9; and 3 vats beer at 10½ shekels in VS 6, 223:9.  
 10: *mušahḥīnu* means literally “heating vessel.” The weight 7½ minas is given for 2 bronze *mušahḥīnānu* in *Camb.* 331:3–4. What feature *ša talammu* (also attested with *mušahḥīnu* in *Nbn.* 258:11 and VS 6, 246:5) describes is not known.  
 12: For *našḥiptu*, see van Driel, *BSA* 5, p. 232; Dandamayev, “Textual Evidence for Iron in Babylonia,” *ŠULMU* 4, p. 70.

- 13: For an illustration of an *ingurīnu*, a type of lamp stand, see E. Leichty, “angurinnu,” *Festschrift für Hans Hirsch*, WZKM 86 (Vienna, 1966), pp. 233–34, figs. 1–3.  
 16: Reading follows CAD Q, p. 60, s.v. *qallalu* [2] “of inferior quality.”

### Remarks

This tablet functions as a statement of the assets of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin and Rīmūt’s *ḥarrānu*-partnership.<sup>1</sup> The object of the document is the partnership’s total assets, valued in silver, placed at the disposal of the partner who is responsible for carrying out the partnership’s business. Among the partnership’s assets is a debt for 18 shekels owed by Bēl-iddin, the contractor with whom Rīmūt invested 20 shekels in a subsidiary partnership documented by text No. 49 a year and a half earlier.

As is evident from the types of items listed as assets, this partnership’s business is beer production. The operation of breweries was the focus of a series of *ḥarrānu*-partnerships, as well as other types of contracts, established with a succession of partners by Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, then by his son Itti-Marduk-balātu, and then by his grandson Marduk-nāšir-apli.<sup>2</sup> Some of the documents pertaining to this business include an inventory similar to that of the present text. For example, *Nbn.* 787 records the division of the assets of a long-standing *ḥarrānu*-partnership between Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin (represented by his heirs), Bēlšunu/Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin//Sîn-imitti,<sup>3</sup> and other partners; assets that are to remain the property of the partnership include 200 vats full-strength beer, 20 empty vats, 10 fermenting vats and collecting vats, and large quantities of dates and *kasīya* (ll. 12–14).

Most closely comparable to text No. 50 is the pair *Camb.* 330 and *Camb.* 331. These two tablets document the operation of a branch of the beer production business in Ḥursagkalamma, through commissioning Itti-Marduk-balātu’s slavewoman <sup>f</sup>Išunnatu. The inventory for which <sup>f</sup>Išunnatu is responsible includes 50 vats full-strength beer, 60 *kur* dates, 2 bronze *mušahḥinānu*, 7 cups, 3 platters, and 4 *kur* of *kasīya*, altogether valued at 122 shekels silver (*Camb.* 331:1–6); in addition, 5 beds, 10 chairs, 3 tables, a lamp stand (*ingurīnu*), an axe, 2 fermenting vats and 2 collecting vats, several more utensils (*Camb.* 331:10–14 and 330:3–7), and a property on which she pays rent (*Camb.* 330:10–12) are at her disposal. Dandamaev understands <sup>f</sup>Išunnatu’s task to be the operation of a tavern,<sup>4</sup> and indeed the composition of the inventory in this pair of texts, as well as in the present text, suggests furnishings for an inn as well as for a brewery.

<sup>f</sup>Išunnatu reappears a few years later as the slave of Marduk-nāšir-apli (here under his alternate name Širku) in text No. 65; that document, her receipt for a delivery of dates, was written in Ḥursagkalamma and may have to do with her continued work at the brewery there. Marduk-nāšir-apli later commissioned his slave Nabû-ayyalu, alongside other business partners, to run the brewery (*Dar.* 97, 269, and 395/396, among other texts); the internal account documents, texts Nos. 71 and 73, in which (probably the same) Nabû-ayyalu appears, may also be connected with this business.

1. Formally it is an *ina pāni* credit document (see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xvii), contracted between the partnership and one of the partners; see Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, pp. 50–51. This text and text No. 49 are analyzed in *ibid.*, p. 31 n. 71, and by Lanz, *ḥarrānu*, pp. 100, 112, 122, and 151.

2. Lanz, *ḥarrānu*, pp. 155–62; Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 18–19.

3. The copy has <sup>ld</sup>AG- in his patronymic in *Nbn.* 787:5, but the same individual appears in many other documents as son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin (see citations in Tallqvist, *NBN*, pp. 43–44, nos. 9 and 25).

4. Dandamaev, *Slavery*, p. 337.

## 51.

MMA 79.7.17

Plate 35

H. 42 mm. W. 54 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 15

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 20–23Promissory note for silver for establishment of a  
*ḥarrānu*-partnership

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 6 month 8 day 11

- Obv. 1.  $9\frac{1}{3}$  MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR *šá* <sup>1</sup>DUB-NUMUN A-*šú šá* <sup>1</sup>AG-MU-MU  
 2. A <sup>1</sup>Na-din-ŠE.BAR *ina* UGU <sup>1</sup>AG-SUR A-*šú šá* <sup>1</sup>Šil-la-a  
 3. A <sup>1</sup>Á.GÁL-e-a a-na KASKAL<sup>II</sup> *mim-ma ma-la*  
 4. *ina* URU *u* EDIN *ina muḥ-ḥi ip-pu-uš*  
 5. *ina ú-tur a-ḥu* ḤA.LA <sup>1</sup>AG-SUR *it-ti-i*  
 6. <sup>1</sup>DUB-NUMUN *ik-kal ina* MU.AN.NA 2 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR  
 7. <sup>1</sup>AG-SUR TA KASKAL<sup>II</sup> a-na <sup>túg</sup>mu-šip-tu<sub>4</sub> i-na-<sup>1</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-š[i]  
 8. *pu-ú-tu* SAG.DU KÛ.BABBAR <sup>1</sup>EN-X-[X]  
 9. A-*šú šá* <sup>1</sup>AG-MU-ÛRU A <sup>1</sup>DÛ<sup>es<sup>1</sup></sup>-[DINGIR *na-ši-i*]
- Rev. 10. <sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>AG-TIN-su-<sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup> [A-*šú šá*]  
 11. <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-*ia* A <sup>1</sup>DÍM <sup>1</sup>AG-GIN-IB[ILA]  
 12. A-*šú šá* <sup>1</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> A <sup>1</sup>LÚ-PA.ŠE<sup>ki</sup>  
 (blank line)  
 13. <sup>1</sup>šID <sup>1</sup>IDIM-TIN<sup>it</sup> A-*šú šá* <sup>1</sup>Na-di-nu  
 14. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>APIN UD 11.KÁM MU 6.KÁM  
 15. <sup>1</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–3.  $9\frac{1}{3}$  minas silver owed to Šāpik-zēri, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Nādin-še<sup>2</sup>i, by Nabû-ēṭir, son of Šillaya, descendant of Lē<sup>2</sup>ēa, for a *ḥarrānu*-enterprise.  
 3–6. As much as he makes on it, in or out of town, Nabû-ēṭir shall enjoy an equal share in the profit with Šāpik-zēri.  
 6–7. Nabû-ēṭir may withdraw 2 shekels silver annually from the *ḥarrānu*-account for clothing (expenses).  
 8–9. Bēl-[. . .], son of Nabû-šuma-ušur, descendant of Eppeš-[ilī], guaran[tees] for the principal of the silver.  
 10–12. Witnesses:  
     Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, [son of] Zēriya, descendant of Itinnu  
     Nabû-mukīn-ap[li], son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Amēl-Isin  
 13. Scribe: Ea-uballiṭ, son of Nādin  
 14–15. Babylon, Araḥsamnu day 11 year 6, Nabonidus king of Babylon



*Note*

2–3: The contractor Nabû-ēṭir appears as a witness in two tablets of the Egibi archive, *Dar.* 95:14–15 and *Liv.* 24:17–18.

*Remarks*

Marduk-šāpik-zēri (here referred to as Šāpik-zēri) was one of Itti-Marduk-balātu's most stable investment partners,<sup>1</sup> beginning in year 5 of Nabonidus, when, according to *Nbn.* 199, they jointly invest 1 mina silver in a *ḥarrānu*-enterprise. Six years later (*Nbn.* 572) they jointly invest 5 minas silver and 130 empty vats, wherewith their slaves (one from each partner) are commissioned to do the business of the *ḥarrānu*-enterprise; in year 12 of Nabonidus (*Nbn.* 652) their business partner is a woman named 𒀭Nūptaya, with whom they invest  $\frac{2}{3}$  mina silver; in the same year (*Nbn.* 653) Marduk-šāpik-zēri's slave, one of the two appearing in *Nbn.* 572, is again entrusted with 1 mina silver in order to run the business, for which purpose Itti-Marduk-balātu is to provide him with a slave. Marduk-šāpik-zēri was the scribe of *Nbn.* 787 (see Remarks on text No. 50), where he also seems to have a share in the enterprise (l. 11). He wrote several other documents for Itti-Marduk-balātu between year 2 of Nabonidus (*Nbn.* 77:12) and the accession year of Cambyses (*Camb.* 3:16) and witnessed others (e.g., *Liv.* 1:15–16); his earliest appearance is as a witness to a promissory note documenting a credit claim of Iddin-Marduk's slave (*Nbn.* 71:13–14).

Most of the tablets in which Marduk-šāpik-zēri appears, including those where no member of the Egibi family appears (e.g., *Nbn.* 335), pertain to the 76-11-17 accession group in the collection of the British Museum (see Introduction to Archives C and D, p. 89 n. 1). This indicates that the extant Marduk-šāpik-zēri "dossier" was entirely comprised within the Egibi archive. The present text, similarly accessioned within a group of the Museum's 1879 "Egibi tablets," is therefore considered to belong in the Egibi archive, although no member of the Egibi family is named in the text, nor can it be shown that Itti-Marduk-balātu had a financial interest in this partnership.

1. See Lanz, *ḥarrānu*, pp. 152ff., esp. n. 1047; Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 22–23.

## 52.

MMA 79.7.15

Plate 35

H. 41 mm. W. 52 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 16

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 24–26

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 6 month 12 day 6

- Obv. 1. ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>f</sup> DÙ-a-tú-É-sag-íl  
 2. DUMU.SAL-su šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU  
 3. ina muh-ḫi<sup>1</sup> Ba-ni-ia A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU  
 4. A<sup>lú</sup>ŠANGA-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ ù<sup>f</sup> Ra-mu-ú-a  
 5. DAM-šú KÙ.BABBAR man-da-at-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 6. šá<sup>f</sup> Si-nu-nu ina šat-ti 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 7. i-nam-di-nu a-di 3<sup>šú</sup> MU.AN.NA<sup>meš</sup>  
 8. uṭ-ṭar-ru 1<sup>en</sup> pu-ut 2<sup>i</sup> na-šú-ú  
 9. <sup>f</sup>Ha-an-na-<sup>ḡ</sup> qal-lat-su-nu
- Lo.E. 10. maš-ka-nu šá<sup>f</sup> DÙ-a-tú-É-sag-íl
- Rev. 11. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu<sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-LUGAL-ni  
 12. A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>EN-BA<sup>šá</sup> A<sup>l</sup>Šá-MUN-šú  
 13. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU<sup>lú</sup>A.KIN šá<sup>Id</sup>DI.KUD<sup>meš</sup>  
 14. <sup>Id</sup>DUB-NUMUN A-<sup>(šú šá)</sup> <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-GI  
 15. A<sup>Id</sup>30-SÍSKUR-iš-me u<sup>lú</sup>ŠID  
 16. <sup>Id</sup>Ba-ni-ia A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU  
 17. A<sup>lú</sup>ŠANGA-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ití<sup>še</sup>  
 18. UD 6.KÁM MU 6.KÁM<sup>Id</sup>AG-I  
 19. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–5. ½ mina silver owed to <sup>f</sup>Banât-Esagil, daughter of Nabû-šuma-iddin by Bāniya, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Šangû-Ninurta, and <sup>f</sup>Ramūa his wife.
- 5–8. The silver is the hire of <sup>f</sup>Sinūnu. They shall pay 10 shekels per year; they shall pay for three years.
- 8–10. Each (debtor) guarantees for the other. <sup>f</sup>Ḫannā, their slave, is the security of <sup>f</sup>Banât-Esagil.
- 11–15. Witnesses:  
 Marduk-šarrāni, son of Bēl-iqīša, descendant of Ša-ṭābtišu  
 Nabû-zēra-iddin, the messenger of the judges  
 Šāpik-zēri, son of Nergal-ušallim, descendant of Sîn-karābi-išme
- 15–17. And the scribe: Bāniya, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Šangû-Ninurta
- 17–19. Babylon, Addaru day 6 year 6, Nabonidus king of Babylon

**Remarks**

<sup>f</sup>Banât-Esagil has hired out her slavewoman <sup>f</sup>Sinūnu to Bāniya (her brother) and his wife <sup>f</sup>Ramūa for three years at a rate of 10 shekels annually. Bāniya is also the scribe of this text.

Five years later, *Nbn.* 400 and the duplicate *Nbn.* 509 record the sale of three slaves, Lūmur-dumqi-Bēl, his wife <sup>f</sup>Sinūnu, and their daughter <sup>f</sup>Ina-bāb-magāri-alsiš. The seller is Nabû-ēreš/Tabnêa//Aḫubani;<sup>1</sup> the buyer is Itti-Marduk-balātu/Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin//Egibi. <sup>f</sup>Sinūnu, her husband, and her daughter are also among the six slaves sold to Itti-Marduk-balātu by Nabû-ēreš according to *Nbn.* 508, a record of the presence of certain individuals at the sales of these slaves, dated twenty-four days after the sale (see Remarks on text No. 57).

Though not all the stages in <sup>f</sup>Sinūnu's movement from household to household can be followed, it is probable that the slavewoman hired out by <sup>f</sup>Banât-Esagil in year 6 of Nabonidus according to the present text is identical to the slavewoman <sup>f</sup>Sinūnu who is sold five years later to Itti-Marduk-balātu. At the time of the sale, Nabû-ēreš would have been obliged to transfer to Itti-Marduk-balātu any documents in his possession concerning the prior ownership of the slaves, and in this way text No. 52 would have ended up in the Egibi archive.

1 . Nabû-ēreš is known from other documents pertaining to the Egibi archive, including documents of Iddin-Marduk. He deals with Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin and Itti-Marduk-balātu in *Nbn.* 340, 367, 605, and *Cyr.* 337; he is a witness to *Nbn.* 501, a quittance pertaining to Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin. Among Iddin-Marduk's documents, he appears as a witness to text No. 79, and to Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 366.

**53.**

MMA 79.7.4

Plates 36, 118, 119

H. 68 mm. W. 48 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 21

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 42–46

Adoption declaration

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 10 month 8 day 4

- Obv. 1. <sup>1</sup>MU-GI.NA DUMU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Mu-[šal-li-mu(?)]  
 2. [in]a ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú <sup>1</sup>Kal-ba-a <sup>1</sup>DUMU-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 3. [DUM]U a-ḫa-ta šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SUM.NA  
 4. [šá] <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SUM.NA ul-tu še-ḫi-ri  
 5. ú-rab-bu-šú u li-gìn-nu  
 6. ú-šá-aq-bu-šú a-na <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SUM.NA  
 7. DUMU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Šu-la-a A <sup>1</sup>E-gi-bi  
 8. a-na DUMU-ú-tu id-di-in  
 9. <sup>1</sup>Kal-ba-a DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SUM.N[A(!)]  
 10. šu-ú  
 (blank line)

11. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>l</sup>Lu-è-a-na-ZÁLAG  
 12. DUMU-šú šá <sup>l</sup>Ki-rib-ti A <sup>l</sup>E-gi-bi  
 13. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-(erasure)-ib-ni(!)(text:DÙ)  
 Rev. 14. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-APIN<sup>es</sup>  
 15. A <sup>l</sup>NUMUN-a-a <sup>l</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 16. DUMU-šú šá <sup>l</sup>Ib-na-a  
 17. A <sup>l</sup>Da-bi-bi  
 18. u <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>l</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá  
 19. <sup>l</sup>Kab-ti-ia A <sup>lú</sup>É.MAŠ-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 20. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>ki</sup>APIN.DU<sub>8</sub>.A  
 21. UD 4.KÁM MU 10.KÁM  
 22. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–8. Šuma-ukīn, son of Mu[šallimu(?), willingly gave his son Kalbaya—son of the sister of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, [whom] Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin had raised from childhood and taught to read and write—in adoption to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi.  
 9–10. Kalbaya is the son of Nabû-aḥḥē-idd[in].  
 11–17. Witnesses:  
     Lūši-ana-nūri, son of Kiribti, descendant of Egibi  
     Marduk-šuma-ibni, son of Marduk-ēreš, descendant of Zēraya  
     Iddin-Nabû, son of Ibnaya, descendant of Dābibi  
 18–19. And the scribe: Arad-Marduk, son of Kabtiya, descendant of Šangû-Ea  
 20–21. Babylon, Araḥsamnu day 4 year 10, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 1: Šuma-ukīn/Mušallimu appears in *Nbn.* 243, where he agrees to give his daughter in marriage to Uballissu-Gula/Nabû-nādin-aḥi//Arad-Nergal (edition in Roth, *Marriage Agreements*, pp. 58–60). The first witness in that document is Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin. Šuma-ukīn/ Mušallim-ilī, almost certainly the same individual as the Šuma-ukīn of *Nbn.* 243, owes 12 minas silver to the prince according to *Ner.* 39 (see Remarks to text No. 46), the payment of which debt is guaranteed by Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin.  
 5–6: On *liginnu šuqbû*, and its usage in this tablet, see P-A. Beaulieu, “New Light on Secret Knowledge in Late Babylonian Culture,” *ZA* 82 (1992), pp. 103–5.  
 15: The witness Iddin-Nabû is also a witness in the marriage agreement *Nbn.* 243:24 mentioned above.

**Remarks**

In this tablet, written in year 10 of Nabonidus, Kalbaya is declared to be the adopted son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin. In *Nbn.* 90, 289, and 393, written from year 3 to year 9 of Nabonidus, he is identified as the son of Šuma-ukīn. But Kalbaya's earliest appearance is in *Nbn.* 71, where he identifies himself as the son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin; that tablet is dated to year 2 of Nabonidus,<sup>1</sup> eight years prior to the adoption documented by the present text. Since he is the scribe of *Nbn.* 71, he must have been already an adult. The text presented here therefore appears to formalize a state of affairs that had existed in practice for many years. After this point, Kalbaya is always identified as Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's son.

Šuma-ukīn, Kalbaya's biological father, was married to the sister of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin.<sup>2</sup> Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin has therefore adopted his nephew. However, Kalbaya apparently did not inherit together with Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's three biological sons, for he appears neither in the unpublished tablet wherein Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's property is divided among his sons Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, Nergal-ēṭir, and Iddin-Nabû, nor in other tablets concerning the shares of the latter three in their father's property.<sup>3</sup>

Kalbaya's later activities include a *ḥarrānu*-partnership with Iddin-Marduk (*Nbn.* 966) and business dealings with his adoptive brother Itti-Marduk-balāṭu (*Nbn.* 967; see Remarks on text No. 60); he writes (*Cyr.* 315; *Dar.* 35, 123, 129, 171, and 353) and witnesses (*Camb.* 184, 214, and 217; *Nbk.* 13; *Dar.* 266, 305, 310, 319, 336, 488, and 492) documents in the Egibi archive through at least year 24 of Darius I (TCL 13, 195). *Dar.* 114, a promissory note for dates owed as *imittu* to Kalbaya, is one of the few extant tablets concerning Kalbaya's own transactions. In text No. 83 Kalbaya is named in the list of *mār banê*, before whom a statement was made concerning Iddin-Marduk.

1. See edition (based on collation) in Wunsch, *Iddin Marduk 2*, 107.

2. First suggested by Ungnad, "Egibi," p. 62. Kalbaya's wife must have been deceased at the writing of this document, otherwise she would be named in the text, and her consent to the cession for adoption recorded.

3. Kalbaya does divide two house plots with Marduk-nāṣir-apli, son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, and his brothers, according to BM 31652 (information courtesy of Cornelia Wunsch). The unpublished tablet is BM 31959 + 32047 with duplicate 41551 (courtesy of C. Wunsch).

**54.**

MMA 79.7.7

Plate 37

H. 43 mm. W. 60 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 22; Dupl. *Nbn.* 479Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 48–49

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 10 month 12 day 10

Obv. 1.  $\frac{1}{3}$  MA.NA 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>I</sup> KI-dŠÚ<sup>1</sup>-[TIN]

2. A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup> AG-šEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A<sup>I</sup> E-g[i-bi]

3. ina muh-ḥi<sup>I</sup> IR-d<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup> ŠÚ-KAR<sup>ir</sup>

4. A<sup>lú</sup> ŠÁ-MUN<sup>há(!)</sup> (text:A.ḤI)-šú ina<sup>iti</sup> GU<sub>4</sub> KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub>

5.  $\frac{1}{3}$  MA.NA 5 GÍN u UR<sub>5</sub>.RA-šú *i-nam-din*  
 6. <sup>f</sup>Mi-ša-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>f</sup>qal-lat-su maš-ka-nu  
 7. šá <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-TIN a-di muḥ-ḥi šá <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>ŠÚ-TIN  
 8. KÙ.BABBAR-šú *i-šal-li-mu* <sup>fd</sup>Taš-me-tu<sub>4</sub>-dam-qát  
 Lo.E. 9. DUMU.SAL-su šá <sup>I</sup>Ta-qiš-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la  
 Rev. 10. A <sup>lú</sup>DU<sub>8</sub> pu-ut e-ṭè-ru šá KÙ.BABBAR  
 11. na-šá-a-ta <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut  
 12. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>A-a A <sup>I</sup>IR-GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÙ (erasure)  
 13. <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut(!)(text:ri)-<sup>d</sup>UTU A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 14. A <sup>I</sup>DÙ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR <sup>I</sup>NUMUN-tú A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU  
 15. u <sup>lú</sup>ŠID <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 16. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> itiše UD 10.KÁM  
 17. MU 10.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>[ki]</sup>

### Translation

- 1–4.  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina 5 shekels silver owed to Itti-Mar[duk-balāṭu], son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Eg[ibi] by Arad-Marduk, son of Marduk-ēṭir, descendant of Ša-ṭābtišu.  
 4–5. He shall pay that  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina 5 shekels silver, with its interest, in the month of Ayyāru.  
 6–8. <sup>f</sup>Miṣātu, his slavewoman, is the security of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, until Itti-Marduk-balāṭu has been paid his silver in full.  
 8–10. <sup>f</sup>Tašmētu-damqat, daughter of Taqiš-Gula, descendant of Atû, guarantees payment of the silver.  
 11–14. Witnesses:  
     Rīmût, son of Aplaya, descendant of Arad-Nergal  
     Rīmût-Šamaš, son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Eppeš-ili  
     Zērūtu, son of Nabû-zēra-iddin  
 15. And the scribe: Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Arad-Bēl  
 16–17. Babylon, Addaru day 10 year 10, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 4: <sup>lú</sup>Šá-MUN<sup>h</sup>á-šú is written in the duplicate *Nbn.* 479:4.  
 7: The creditor's PN is written <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN in *Nbn.* 479:7.  
 13: The second witness's name is written <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>UTU in *Nbn.* 479:13.

**Remarks**

This tablet records a debt of 25 shekels of silver, owed to Itti-Marduk-balātu, for which the slavewoman <sup>f</sup>Miṣatu was pledged as security. The debtor, Arad-Marduk, may have defaulted on his debt, for the slave-woman <sup>f</sup>Miṣatu came into the possession of the creditor only two months later. <sup>f</sup>Miṣatu is one of six slaves listed in *Nbn.* 508, dated month 2, day 26, year 11 of Nabonidus, that were sold by Nabû-ēreš/Tabnêa//Aḥu-bani to Itti-Marduk-balātu (see also Remarks on both text No. 52 and text No. 57). No extant contract, however, documents Nabû-ēreš's acquisition of <sup>f</sup>Miṣatu from Arad-Marduk. Arad-Marduk appears elsewhere in the Egibi archive, as the scribe of *Nbn.* 605, a promissory note for silver owed by Nabû-ēreš to Itti-Marduk-balātu's slave Nabû-uterri.

At some point <sup>f</sup>Miṣatu married Nabû-uterri, for she is identified as his wife in *Nbn.* 815:18, dated year 14 of Nabonidus, and in *Nbn.* 838:12, dated year 15 of Nabonidus; these two documents regulate the accounts of the business Nabû-uterri managed on Itti-Marduk-balātu's behalf (evidently a brewery, see *Nbn.* 815:1), and among the items accounted is the *mandattu* (slave's hire) of Nabû-uterri and <sup>f</sup>Miṣatu, which they must pay to Itti-Marduk-balātu. Also in year 15, *Nbn.* 858 documents Nabû-uterri's debt of 12 shekels silver to Nabû-rēšūa, the slave of Iddin-Marduk/Iqīšaya//Nūr-Sîn (see Archive D in this volume), who has paid the *mandattu* of <sup>f</sup>Miṣatu to Itti-Marduk-balātu. Fourteen years later Itti-Marduk-balātu's brother Iddin-Nabû secretly sold <sup>f</sup>Miṣatu, using Itti-Marduk-balātu's name, in the city of Opis; the fraud was discovered and the sale annulled. *Camb.* 143 is the invalidated sale tablet; *Camb.* 144 is a promissory note for part of the sale price; and *Liv.* 19 is the document annulling the sale.<sup>1</sup>

1. Krecher, Egibi, pp. 62 and 222–24, with previous bibliography.

**55.**

MMA 79.7.16

Plate 38

H. 32 mm. W. 42 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 23

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 50–51

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 11 month 11 day 2

Obv. 1. ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ARḤUŠ-šū-<sup>r</sup>kun<sup>r</sup>

2. DUMU-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Šu-zu-bu

3. <sup>lú</sup>GAL ka-a-ri šá LUGAL

4. ina UGU <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU

5. <sup>lú</sup>DI.KUD DUMU-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Šu-la-a

6. A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi ina <sup>iti</sup>ŠE

Lo.E. 7. i-nam-din

Rev. 8. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>Šu-la-a

9. DUMU-šú šá<sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a A LÚ-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 10. <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>EN-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup>  
 11. A <sup>lú</sup>i.DU<sub>8</sub> <sup>1</sup>Na-din DUB.SAR  
 12. DUMU <sup>lú</sup>DUG.SÎLA.BUR TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 13. <sup>iti</sup>ZÍZ UD 2.KÁM MU 11.KÁM  
 U.E. 14. <sup>1</sup>dAG-NÍ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 L.E. 15. *ri-ḥi-it* 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR  
 16. *ina ḥu-šá-e šá* LUGAL

### Translation

1–6. ½ mina silver owed to Nabû-rēma-šukun, son of Šūzubu, the royal harbor manager, by Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, the judge, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi.

6–7. He will pay in the month of Addaru.

8–11. Witnesses:

Šulaya, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Amēl-Ea

Iddin-Marduk, son of Bēl-šuma-iškun, descendant of Atû

11–12. Nādin, scribe, descendant of Paḥḥāru

12–14. Babylon, Šabātu day 2 year 11, Nabonidus king of Babylon

15–16. (This debt is) the remainder of (a debt of) 2½ minas silver in scraps, owed to the king.

### Notes

- 1: The creditor Nabû-rēma-šukun *rab kāri ša šarri* appears in Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 251, a quittance for his subordinate's receipt of the "tax (*miksu*) on the garlic boat(s)"; and a payment of garlic is owed to him according to Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 219:8–10, a promissory note credited to Nergal-rēšūa, slave of Iddin-Marduk/Iqīšaya/Nūr-Sîn, arising from Nergal-rēšūa's *ḥarrānu*-partnership. He may also be the same as the Nabû-rēma-šukun to whom dates are paid according to *Nbn.* 701:16–18, a receipt belonging to Itti-Marduk-balātu.
- 5: For other citations of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin as judge, see Krecher, Egibi, p. 35, and van Driel, "Egibi," pp. 55–57.

### Remarks

The *rab kāri* official (harbor manager) was normally responsible for collecting tax or toll on the use of the quays and canals. Though the debt recorded in this tablet is not identified as a tax obligation, it is possible that the silver owed by Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin to Nabû-rēma-šukun, the *rab kāri* official, is owed for tax.<sup>1</sup>

1. See above, n. to l. 1, and see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 35ff.



## 56.

MMA 79.7.33

Plate 39

H. 47 mm. W. 60 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 26

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 58–61

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 13 month 1 day 14

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{1}{2}$  MA.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá I<sub>KI</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR. <sup>r</sup>⟨⟨AMAR⟩⟩<sup>1</sup>.UTU-TIN  
 2. A-šú šá I<sup>d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A I<sup>E</sup>-gì-bi  
 3. ina UGU I<sup>Na</sup>-din A-šú šá I<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-SUR  
 4. A I<sup>Ba</sup>-bu-tu u I<sup>Nu</sup>-up-ta-a DAM-šú  
 5. DUMU.SAL-su šá I<sup>d</sup>AG-mu-še-tíq-UD.DA  
 6. A I<sup>É</sup>-sag-gil-a-a ina lib-bi (erasure)  
 7. šá  $\frac{1}{3}$  MA.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ITI ina UGU  
 8. 1 ma-né-e 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu  
 9. i-rab-bi ù šá 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR IGI<sup>ú</sup>  
 10. šá É IM.KUR.RA i-di É ia-a-[nu]
- LO.E. 11. u UR<sub>5</sub>.RA KÙ.BABBAR ia-⟨a-nu⟩ maš-ka-n[u]  
 12. ṣab-ta UR<sub>5</sub>.RA-šú ia-[a-nu]
- Rev. 13. É-su-nu gab-bi maš-k[a-nu]  
 14. a-di UGU šá KÙ.BABBAR-šú i-šal-l[im-mu]  
 15. I<sup>ú</sup>mu-kin-nu I<sup>d</sup>AG-mu-še-tíq-UD. <sup>r</sup>DA<sup>1</sup>  
 16. A-šú šá I<sup>d</sup>EN-NUMUN-DÙ A I<sup>É</sup>-sag-gil-a-a  
 17. I<sup>d</sup>AG-ga-mil A-šú šá I<sup>d</sup>AG-mu-še-tíq-UD.DA  
 18. A I<sup>É</sup>-sag-gil-a-a I<sup>d</sup>AG-ú-šur-šú A-šú šá  
 19. I<sup>Ba</sup>-la-tu A I<sup>Mi</sup>-šir-a-a I<sup>NÍG</sup>.BA<sup>šá</sup>  
 20. A-šú šá I<sup>A</sup>-ḫu-lap-ia A I<sup>E</sup>-gì-bi  
 21. u I<sup>ú</sup>šID I<sup>Na</sup>-din A-šú šá I<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-SUR  
 22. A I<sup>Ba</sup>-bu-tu TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti BĀ[R]
- U.E. 23. [U]D 14.KÁM MU 13.KÁM I<sup>d</sup>AG-[I]  
 24. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
- L.E. 25. ina a-šá-bi šá I<sup>B</sup>e-let-su-nu  
 26. AMA šá I<sup>Na</sup>-din

*Translation*

- 1–6.  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina 6 shekels silver owed to Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Egibi, by Nādin, son of Nergal-ētir, descendant of Bābūtu, and I<sup>N</sup>ūptaya, his wife, daughter of Nabû-mušētiq-uddē, descendant of Esagilaya.
- 6–9. Out of this amount, on  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina 6 shekels silver (interest) will accrue against them (at the rate of) 1 shekel silver per mina per month,
- 9–12. and on the prior (amount of) 10 shekels silver, for which the east part of their house is being held as security with no rent on the house and no interest on the silver, there [is n]o interest.

- 13–14. Their entire house is (pledged as) secu[rity] until (the creditor) has been paid his silver in fu[ll].
- 15–20. Witnesses:  
 Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, son of Bēl-zēra-ibni, descendant of Esagilaya  
 Nabû-gāmil, son of Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, descendant of Esagilaya  
 Nabû-ušuršu, son of Balātu, descendant of Miširaya  
 Iqīšaya, son of Aḫulapia, descendant of Egibi
- 21–22. And the scribe: Nādin, son of Nergal-ēṭir, descendant of Bābūtu
- 22–24. Babylon, Nisan[nu da]y 14 year 13, Nabo[nidus] king of Babylon
- 25–26. In the presence of <sup>f</sup>Bēlessunu, mother of Nādin.

### Notes

- 3–4: Nādin, the debtor and scribe of this text, wrote several documents in the Egibi archive (*Nbn.* 66, 204, 216, and 224; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 305), including one promissory note obligating him to deliver dates to Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin as the “price” of full-strength beer (*Nbn.* 254); he is named as the first witness in *Nbn.* 572, one of Itti-Marduk-balātu’s *ḫarrānu* documents (see Remarks on text No. 51). He and his wife <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya are also co-debtors in the promissory note TCL 12, 103 (see below).
- 15–18: The debtor’s wife’s father and brother are the first and second witnesses.
- 23: The RN is restored as Nabonidus because Itti-Marduk-balātu’s activity begins in Nabonidus’s reign, and the debtor, Nādin, is only attested from that reign (with the exception of Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 305, dated year 7 of Cyrus).

### Remarks

The debt of 36 shekels silver documented in this promissory note represents a consolidation of previous debts. According to ll. 6–12, 10 shekels of the outstanding debt is secured by the pledge in antichresis of part of the debtors’ house, now already at the creditor’s disposal; the remainder of the debt, secured by a lien on the entire house (which remains at the debtors’ disposal), bears interest at the usual rate of 20 percent per year. The same rate of interest is stipulated in TCL 12, 103, a promissory note for 5 shekels of silver owed to Itti-Marduk-balātu by the same Nādin and <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya, dated one or two months earlier than text No. 56.<sup>1</sup> TCL 12, 103, refers to “previous promissory notes owed to Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin and Itti-Marduk-balātu, for which a house is held as security” (ll. 8–11), and adds that “their house is security” for the new debt of 5 shekels (l. 11). That debt was no doubt part of the consolidated sum documented in text No. 56, written by Nādin himself.<sup>2</sup>

1. There was an intercalary Addaru in year 12 of Nabonidus (Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 29), and TCL 12, 103, is dated month 12, day 20, year 12 of Nabonidus; whether that date precedes month 1, day 14, year 13 of Nabonidus (the date of the present text) by approximately one month or by two depends on whether the intercalary month was inserted into the calendar preceding or following the regular month of the same name.

2. The risk of losing the house to the creditor accounts for the presence of Nādin’s mother <sup>f</sup>Bēlessunu at the drawing up of this document (ll. 25–26)—one may infer that the pledged house, or at least the eastern part held by the creditor in antichresis, was <sup>f</sup>Bēlessunu’s dower property—and perhaps that risk also accounts for the participation of <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya’s father Nabû-mušētiq-uddê and her brother Nabû-gāmil as first and second witnesses, respectively. <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya’s father is also named as the first witness in TCL 12, 103.

## 57.

MMA 79.7.8

Plate 40

H. 43 mm. W. 60 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 27

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 62–65

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 13 month 6 day 16

- Obv. 1. ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>1</sup>KI-AMAR.UTU-TIN A-šú šá  
 2. <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A <sup>Id</sup>E<sub>4</sub>-ge<sub>7</sub>-BA.TI.LA  
 3. *ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>1</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ze-ri-ia  
 4. A <sup>1</sup>Na-ba-a-a *ina* <sup>iti</sup>APIN *ina-ad-din*  
 5. *ki-i ina* <sup>iti</sup>APIN *la it-tan-nu*  
 6. šá ITI *ina muḫ-ḫi* 1 *ma-né-e* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 7. *ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i- rab-bi*
- 
- Rev. 8. <sup>lu</sup>mu-kin<sub>7</sub> <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-NUMUN-DÙ  
 9. A <sup>1</sup>Šá-am-ba-<sup>3</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-SUR A-šú šá  
 10. <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-KÁM A <sup>Id</sup>IM-MU-KÁM  
 11. <sup>1</sup>Su-qa-a-a A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Kal-ba-a A <sup>Id</sup>KÁ-ù-tu  
 12. u <sup>lu</sup>šID <sup>1</sup>Dù-um(!)-mu<sub>4</sub>-qù DUMU-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SUM.NA  
 13. A <sup>1</sup>E<sub>10</sub>-gì-bi<sub>x</sub> TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>KIN UD 16.KÁM  
 14. MU 13.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
- 

*Translation*

- 1–4. ½ mina silver owed to Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Egibi, by Lābāši, son of Zēriya, descendant of Nabaya.  
 4. He shall pay in the month of Araḫsamnu.  
 5–7. If he does not pay in the month of Araḫsamnu, (interest) will accrue against him (at the rate of) 1 shekel silver per mina per month.
- 
- 8–11. Witnesses:  
 Rīmūt-Bēl, son of Bēl-zēra-ibni, descendant of Šambā  
 Bēl-ēṭir, son of Nabû-šuma-ēreš, descendant of Adad-šuma-ēreš  
 Sūqaya, son of Kalbaya, descendant of Bābūtu  
 12–13. And the scribe: Dummuq, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Egibi  
 13–14. Babylon, Ulūlu day 16 year 13, Nabonidus king of Babylon
-

## Notes

- 2: S. Weingort, *Das Haus Egibi* (Berlin, 1939), p. 7, interprets this writing of the name Egibi as corresponding in meaning to Sîn-uballit. Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 64–65, explores the relationship between the writing <sup>Id</sup>A.KU.BA.TI.LA and the “translation” thereof, Sîn-taqiša-lubluṭ. Borger (*Zeichenliste*, p. 200) gives the reading A-ŠÈ-BA-TI-LA; he cites W. G. Lambert, “Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity,” *JCS* 11 (1957), p. 4, who (n. 18) supports the reading E<sub>4</sub>-GE<sub>7</sub>/GU<sub>5</sub> for A.KU.
- 3: Lābāši is the other name of Bēl-ušallim/Zēriya//Nabaya (see further below). One cannot accept Wunsch’s proposal (*Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 17) that Lābāši sold a slave for 35 shekels silver (*Nbn.* 648; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 203) in year 12 Nabonidus in order to pay off the debt of 30 shekels documented nine months later in the present text, since this debt to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu may not yet have been incurred at the time the slave was sold, and presumably would not have been incurred if Lābāši had received the silver from the sale precisely in order to forestall indebtedness.
- 9: On Rīmūt-(Bēl), one of the business partners of Iddin-Marduk/Iqīšaya//Nūr-Sîn, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 41 with n. 155.
- 12–13: This reading of the scribe’s peculiarly learned way of writing his personal name and family name is courtesy of Irving Finkel, with É = *bi*<sub>x</sub> on the basis of É = *bīt*. Dummuq/Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin//Egibi is known from other documents of the Egibi archive as a scribe (*Cyr.* 64, 129, and 130), and as a participant in transactions (*Nbn.* 760, *Cyr.* 362, and *Camb.* 2).

## Remarks

The debtor, Lābāši, also known as Bēl-ušallim (see text No. 77:21), was a brother of <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât, the wife of Iddin-Marduk (see Archive D). He is attested frequently as a witness, scribe, or debtor—apparently in financial difficulties despite his wealthy background—in documents of Iddin-Marduk or of the Egibi archive; his biography and the prosopography of his family may be found in Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 15–17.

Lābāši’s father-in-law, wife, and daughters are recorded in *Nbn.* 508, dated to year 11 of Nabonidus, as having been present at the sale of six slaves by Nabû-ēreš/Tabnêa//Aḥu-bani to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, and Lābāši himself is the first witness to *Nbn.* 508. Wunsch infers (*Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 16) that Lābāši, having used his wife’s money, had credit claims against Nabû-ēreš secured by liens on these slaves; these were resolved by the sales to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, who would have paid off Nabû-ēreš’s debts and thereby acquired rights over the pledged slaves. Two of the slaves thus transferred were <sup>f</sup>Sinūnu, who had belonged to <sup>f</sup>Banât-Esagil five years earlier according to text No. 52, and <sup>f</sup>Mīšatu, who had been pledged to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu by Arad-Marduk only two months earlier according to text No. 54. No connection is immediately apparent between the former owners of <sup>f</sup>Sinūnu and <sup>f</sup>Mīšatu and either Nabû-ēreš, the seller, or Lābāši, the (inferred) lien-holder.

## 58.

MMA 79.7.9

Plate 41

H. 30 mm. W. 40 mm. Th. 15 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 28

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 66–68; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 221

Receipt for rent payment

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 14 month 1 day 14

- Obv. 1. 9 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *i-di É šá*  
 2. <sup>f</sup>dBa-⟨ni⟩-tu<sub>4</sub>-e-tir-tu<sub>4</sub> u <sup>f</sup>GÉME-<sup>d</sup>Na-na-a  
 3. DUMU.SAL <sup>r</sup>meš<sup>1</sup>-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÛRU <sup>I</sup>NÍG.BA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 4. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ke-šîr A <sup>II</sup>úSANGA-BÁRA  
 5. ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-šEŠ⟨meš⟩-MU  
 6. A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi ma-ħir  
 7. e-pu-uš NÍG.ŠID šá dul-lu SIG<sub>4</sub> GI<sup>nu</sup>-ú u GIŠ.ÛR
- Lo.E. 8. a-ki ú-il-tì šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-šEŠ⟨meš⟩-<sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup>
- Rev. 9. <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ti a-ħa-meš ul qa-t[u-ú]  
 10. <sup>I</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá  
 11. <sup>I</sup>I-qí-šá-a A <sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30  
 12. <sup>Id</sup>AG-KÁM A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-DA A <sup>I</sup>ú<sub>1</sub>.ŠUR-GI.NA  
 13. u <sup>I</sup>ú<sub>1</sub>ŠID <sup>I</sup>Mu-na-aħ-ħi-iš-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 14. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-PAP A <sup>II</sup>ú<sub>1</sub>.ŠUR-GI.NA  
 15. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>i</sup>ti<sup>BÁR</sup> UD 14.KÁM
- U.E. 16. MU <sup>r</sup>14(?)<sup>1</sup>.KÁM<sup>1</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AG-I  
 17. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>[ki]</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–6. 9 shekels silver, the rent of the house of <sup>f</sup>Banītu-ēṭirtu and <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya, daughters of Marduk-šuma-ušur, Qīšti-Marduk, son of Nabû-kēšir, descendant of Šangû-Parakku, received from Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Egibi.
- 7–9. They have not sett[led] accounts with each other regarding the work in brick, reeds, and beams, (agreed upon) according to the contract of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin.
- 10–12. Witnesses:  
 Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn  
 Nabû-ēreš, son of Bēl-le<sup>ʿ</sup>i, descendant of Šāḥit-ginê
- 13–14. And the scribe: Munahḥiš-Marduk, son of Nabû-nāšir, descendant of Šāḥit-ginê
- 15–17. Babylon, Nisannu day 14 year 14(?), Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 7–8: “Work in brick, reeds, and beams” is stipulated in the original rent contract *Nbn.* 597:12–14 (see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, pp. 184–85). In contrast to the usual maintenance required of the tenant, the expense of this work is charged to the owner (Oppenheim, “Mietrecht,” p. 78).
- 9: The last two signs of l. 9 are present on both Pinches’s and Moldenke’s copies (see Introduction: History of Research on the Collection, pp. xi and xiii n. 1).
- 10–11: Iddin-Marduk, father-in-law to Itti-Marduk-balātu, is attested as a witness in only twelve tablets according to Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 76. His presence as the first witness here accounts for Wunsch’s re-edition of this document as *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 221. However, this tablet belongs to the Egibi archive proper, rather than to the Iddin-Marduk dossier therein.
- 16: Year 14 is the most likely reading of the regnal year, assuming that Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin died in year 13 of Nabonidus (S. Weingort, *Das Haus Egibi* [Berlin, 1939], p. 10; Ungnad, “Egibi,” p. 60; but see Roth, “Dowries,” p. 22 n. 7); see Remarks below.

### Remarks

Following Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s death in year 13 of Nabonidus, his son Itti-Marduk-balātu here fulfills Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s contractual obligation to pay rent, and to perform the required renovations (at the owners’ expense), on <sup>f</sup>Banītu-ēṭirtu’s and <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya’s house. The rental contract referred to in the present text (l. 8) is *Nbn.* 597, according to which Nabû-ēreš/Bēl-le<sup>ḫ</sup>i//Šāḥit-ginê and the sisters <sup>f</sup>Banītu-ēṭirtu and <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya rented their house to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin for two years at 12 shekels per year, starting in month 3 of year 12 of Nabonidus. The family name of the two sisters is also Šāḥit-ginê, according to *Nbn.* 597:3, so Nabû-ēreš is their cousin—presumably a close cousin, since they share title to the rented house. It is for this reason that Nabû-ēreš is present as a witness to this document (l. 12): his consent is required for the receipt of the rent by a third party, Qīšti-Marduk.

Itti-Marduk-balātu continued to have a use for this house: according to *Nbn.* 845, dated year 15 Nabonidus, it is rented by the same three owners to Itti-Marduk-balātu’s slave Nabû-uterri (see Remarks on text No. 54) who pays a very low annual rent in exchange for carrying out further renovations on the house.

## 59.

MMA 79.7.10

Plate 42

H. 41 mm. W. 54 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 29; Dupl. *Nbn.* 953Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 70–74

Agreement regarding disposition of slaves

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 16 month 1 day 20

- Obv. 1. <sup>f</sup>Šá-an-na-a <sup>f</sup>Ku-ub-bu-ut-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 2. u <sup>f</sup>Tab-lu-tu a-me-lut-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN  
 3. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠES<sup>meš</sup>-MU A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi  
 4. ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Ba-ni-ia A <sup>I</sup>Ar-rab-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 5. a-na KÙ.BABBAR i-bu-(erasure)-ku ù ar-<sup>f</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>  
 6. <sup>f</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> DUMU.SAL-su šá <sup>I</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN A <sup>I</sup>E-<sup>f</sup>gi-bi<sup>1</sup>  
 7. u <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Ba-ni-ia A <sup>I</sup>Ar-rab-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 8. KÙ.BABBAR ŠÁM <sup>f</sup>Šá-an-na-a u <sup>f</sup>Ku-ub-bu-ut-<sup>f</sup>tu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 9. a-na <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN id-di-nu ù  
 10. <sup>f</sup>Tab-lu-tu DUMU.SAL-su <šá> <sup>f</sup>Šá-an-na-[a]
- Lo.E. 11. a-ki-i KÙ.BABBAR-šú ina IGI <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-[TIN]  
 12. ú-maš-ši-ru a-di muḥ-ḥi u<sub>4</sub>-m[u]
- Rev. 13. šá rik-su šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN-su-E A-šú šá  
 14. <sup>I</sup>DÙ-ia A <sup>I</sup>Ar-rab-tu<sub>4</sub> it-ti  
 15. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN ir-ku-su i-qát-tu-ú  
 16. <sup>f</sup>Šá-an-na-a u <sup>f</sup>Ku-ub-bu-ut-tu<sub>4</sub> a-na  
 17. ši-rik-tu<sub>4</sub> ul i-šar-ra-ku a-na KÙ.BABBAR  
 18. ul i-nam-di-nu <sup>f</sup>Šá-an-na-a u <sup>f</sup>Ku-ub-bu-ut-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 19. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN ki-i ú-ter-ri a-na  
 20. <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU u <sup>f</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> AMA-šú it-ta-din  
 21. <sup>f</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> pu-ut <sup>f</sup>Šá-an-na-a ù  
 22. <sup>f</sup>Ku-ub-bu-ut-tu<sub>4</sub> na-šá-a-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 23. <sup>f</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>EN-ke-šir A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>UTU
- U.E. 24. A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi <sup>I</sup>IR-ia A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Gi-mil-<sup>f</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>  
 25. A <sup>I</sup>úDÍM <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>DÙ(!)(text:ni)-a A <sup>I</sup>Da-bi-bi<sup>1</sup>  
 26. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN <sup>I</sup>úŠID A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-DÙ-NUMUN
- L.E. 27. A <sup>Id</sup>EN-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru  
 28. E<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>BÁR UD 20.KÁM  
 29. MU 16.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I  
 30. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–5. (Concerning) <sup>f</sup>Šannā, <sup>f</sup>Kubbuttu, and <sup>f</sup>Tabluṭu, the slavewomen that Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Egibi, purchased from Bēl-iddin, son of Bāniya, descendant of Arrabtu,
- 5–12. and afterward <sup>f</sup>Nidintu, daughter of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Egibi, and Bēl-iddin, son of Bāniya, descendant of Arrabtu, paid Itti-Marduk-balāṭu the price of <sup>f</sup>Šannā and <sup>f</sup>Kubbuttu (in silver, and ceded <sup>f</sup>Tabluṭu, daughter of <sup>f</sup>Šannā, to Itti-Marduk-[balāṭu] in consideration of his silver (i.e., outstanding monetary claim),
- 12–18. until the contract that Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Bāniya, descendant of Arrabtu, made with Itti-Marduk-balāṭu is settled, they shall not bequeath <sup>f</sup>Šannā or <sup>f</sup>Kubbuttu as a gift nor sell them for money.
- 18–20. Itti-Marduk-balāṭu has restored <sup>f</sup>Šannā and <sup>f</sup>Kubbuttu to Bēl-iddin and his mother <sup>f</sup>Nidintu.
- 21–22. <sup>f</sup>Nidintu guarantees (the presence of) <sup>f</sup>Šannā and <sup>f</sup>Kubbuttu.
- 23–25. Witnesses:
- Bēl-kēšir, son of Nūr-Šamaš, descendant of Egibi  
Ardiya, son of Gimillu, descendant of Itinnu  
Iddin-Nabû, son of Ibnaya, descendant of Dābibī
- 26–27. Itti-Nabû-balāṭu, scribe, son of Marduk-bāni-zēri, descendant of Bēl-ēṭir
- 28–30. Babylon, Nisannu day 20 year 16, Nabonidus king of Babylon

**Notes**

- 4: Bēl-iddin/Bāniya//Arrabtu appears as a witness in some Egibi tablets (*Nbn.* 508, 832, and 838; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 210), and as the scribe of others (*Nbn.* 671), including some wherein he was a party to the transaction (*Nbn.* 529, 585, 602, and *Liv.* 104).
- 26–27: Itti-Nabû-balāṭu, the scribe (also of text No. 60), will become Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's son-in-law, marrying his daughter <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-bēlet (having originally been betrothed to the elder daughter <sup>f</sup>Tašmētu-tabni); see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 83, and Roth, "Dowries," p. 26.

**Remarks**

Bēl-iddin, having been unable to pay off debts for which <sup>f</sup>Šannā, <sup>f</sup>Kubbuttu, and <sup>f</sup>Tabluṭu were pledged as security, had to relinquish his rights of ownership over these three slavewomen. Some of the debts constituting the background of this forfeiture are documented by *Nbn.* 585 and 602, two promissory notes dated to year 12 of Nabonidus. According to these promissory notes, Bēl-iddin pledged <sup>f</sup>Kubbuttu for an interest-bearing debt of 20 shekels silver owed to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu; *Nbn.* 602 documents an additional debt of 2 shekels<sup>1</sup> and mentions two promissory notes for the 20-shekel debt, for which the pledged <sup>f</sup>Kubbuttu has been seized. No extant promissory note documents the pledging of the other two slavewomen as security, but Bēl-iddin's total debt must have reached at least 1 mina in order for all three women to have been seized. Evidently, after his default and forfeiture of the pledged slaves, Bēl-iddin's



mother ʿNidintu provided the funds necessary to redeem two of the three slaves. However, the family's ownership rights are not fully restored inasmuch as they are prohibited from alienating these two slaves; this restriction is linked to a separate contract between Bēl-iddin's brother, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, and Itti-Marduk-balāṭu.

1. The incredible 240 percent annual interest stipulated in ll. 4–6 should be revised to the usual 20 percent by emending *šá* ITI in l. 4 to *šá* MU.AN.NA.

## 60.

MMA 79.7.29

Account settlement

Plate 43

Neo-Babylonian period, Bit-šar-Bābili

H. 35 mm. W. 52 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Nabonidus, year 16 month 4 day 23

Publ. Moldenke I, 31

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 80–81

- Obv. 1. *ú-íl-tì šá e-peš* NÍG.ŠID *šá* <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.[UTU-TIN]  
 2. *A-šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A <sup>1</sup>E-gì-bi u <sup>1</sup>Kal-b[a-a]  
 3. *A-šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A <sup>1</sup>E-gì-bi i-pu-šu  
 4. <sup>1</sup>Kal-ba-a MU DINGIR a-na UGU 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR a-na  
 5. <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN ul-te-lu ù 4½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 6. *ri-iḫ-tu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>Kal-ba-a a-na <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN  
 7. *it-ta-din* <sup>1en</sup>-TA.ÀM *šá-ṭa-ru* <sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup>-te-qu-u
- Rev. 8. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a  
 9. A <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-DÙ  
 (blank line)  
 (blank line)  
 10. <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN <sup>lú</sup>šID A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-DÙ-NUMUN  
 11. A <sup>Id</sup>EN-e-ṭir <sup>uru</sup>É-LUGAL-E<sup>ki</sup>  
 12. *itišU* UD 23.KÁM MU 16.KÁM  
 13. (erasure) <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–3. Document of the account settlement that Itti-Mar[duk-balāṭu], son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Egibi, and Kalb[aya], son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Egibi made:  
 4–7. Kalbaya has sworn an oath to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu regarding 10 shekels silver, and Kalbaya has paid the remaining 4½ shekels silver to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu.  
 7. They have taken one copy each.

8–9. Witness(es):

Iddin-Nabû, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Ea-ibni

10–11. Itti-Nabû-balāṭu, scribe, son of Marduk-bāni-zēri, descendant of Bēl-ēṭir

11–13. Bīt-šar-Bābili, Du<sup>3</sup>ūzu day 23 year 16, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Remarks

On the day prior to writing text No. 60, and in the same town, the scribe Itti-Nabû-balāṭu wrote *Nbn.* 967, a receipt for Kalbaya's<sup>1</sup> payment to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu of 26 shekels silver, comprising the rent of a house in Ḫursagkalamma and the hire of a slave named Silim-Bēl. In text No. 60, he recorded both Kalbaya's oath regarding part of a monetary obligation and his payment of the rest of it to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu. A statement of the accounts of Kalbaya's *ḫarrānu*-partnership with Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sīn, *Nbn.* 966 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 242), was also written on the same day as *Nbn.* 967, in the same town, by the same scribe. All three documents have a common background: Kalbaya was operating a *ḫarrānu*-enterprise in Ḫursagkalamma, with personnel hired from Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and on property rented from him, and with financing provided by Iddin-Marduk.

1. The career of Kalbaya, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's adoptive brother, is outlined in the Remarks on text No. 53.

## 61.

MMA 86.11.161

Plate 43

H. 41 mm. W. 53 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Certification of presence of interested party

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cambyeses, year 5 month 9 day 13

- Obv. 1. <sup>f</sup>Šik-ku-ú<sup>Id</sup>AG-it-tan-nu u<sup>I</sup>Lib-luṭ  
 2. <sup>lú</sup>a-me-lut-tu<sub>4</sub> šá<sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU  
 3. A<sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AG-BA<sup>šá</sup> A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Še-el-le-bi  
 4. A<sup>lú</sup>AD.KID u<sup>Id</sup>EN-ke-šīr A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Šu-la-a  
 5. A<sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi a-na KÙ.BABBAR i-bu-ku  
 6. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Šu-la-a A<sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi  
 7. a-na <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu-tu ina lib-bi a-ši-ib  
 Rev. 8. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá  
 9. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN A<sup>I</sup>Ši-gu-ú-a  
 10. <sup>Id</sup>EN-KAR<sup>ir</sup> A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Du-muq A (erasure)  
 (blank line)  
 11. <sup>I</sup>Tu-kul-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUB.SAR A-šú šá  
 12. <sup>I</sup>La-ba-a-ši A LÚ-ú TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>GAN</sup>  
 13. UD 13.KÁM MU 5.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Kám-bu-zi-ia  
 14. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

*Translation*

- 1–5. (Concerning) <sup>f</sup>Šikkû, Nabû-ittannu, and Libluṭ, the slave personnel whom Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Egibi, purchased from Nabû-iqīša, son of Šellebi, descendant of Atkuppū, and Bēl-kēšir, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi,
- 6–7. Itti-Nabû-balāṭu, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi, was present at the witnessing (of the sale contract).
- 8–10. Witnesses:  
     Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk, son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, descendant of Šigūa  
     Bēl-ēṭir, son of Dummuq, descendant of (erasure)
- 11–12. Tukulti-Marduk, scribe, son of Lābāši, descendant of Amēlû
- 12–14. Babylon, Kislīmu day 13 year 5, Cambyses king of Babylon (and) king of the lands

*Notes*

- 3–4: In addition to the citations mentioned below in the Remarks, Nabû-iqīša appears as the third witness to the contract of exchange *Camb.* 362 (on which see Remarks to text No. 62).
- 11–12: Tukulti-Marduk, the scribe, is attested later as a witness to a document pertaining to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's son Marduk-nāšir-apli, in *Dar.* 440:12.

*Remarks*

This tablet was written for the purpose of certifying, two years after the fact, Itti-Nabû-balāṭu's presence at the sale of three slaves to his nephew Itti-Marduk-balāṭu by his brother Bēl-kēšir and his other nephew Nabû-iqīša. The sale contract itself is *Camb.* 189, according to which Nabû-iqīša and Bēl-kēšir sold <sup>f</sup>Šikkû, Libluṭ, and Nabû-ittannu to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu for 3½ minas silver. Bēl-kēšir, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's paternal uncle, is identified as the maternal uncle of Nabû-iqīša and his sister <sup>f</sup>Šîn-banâ in *Cyr.* 284, a promissory note for ⅔ mina silver owed by Nabû-iqīša and <sup>f</sup>Šîn-banâ to <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât, wife of Iddin-Marduk (Archive D) and mother-in-law of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu; payment is guaranteed by Bēl-kēšir, while the interest-bearing debt is further secured by the pledge of five slaves—including <sup>f</sup>Šikkû and Nabû-ittannu—and a house plot. Three more promissory notes drawn up during the following year,<sup>1</sup> in the latest of which the slaves and real estate are said to be “taken in pledge” (*Cyr.* 321:8, 10), evidence Nabû-iqīša's and his sister's increasing debts to <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât. Itti-Marduk-balāṭu may actually have acquired the three slaves sold to him according to *Camb.* 189 through paying off his mother-in-law's credit claims against his cousins.<sup>2</sup> The fact that, two years later, text No. 61 had to be drawn up in order to ascertain that Itti-Nabû-balāṭu had been present at the sale,<sup>3</sup> and therefore tacitly consented to it, suggests that it may have been contested by him or another relative claiming a right in the sold family property.

An addendum to this transaction is provided by RCT 22, extant in eight modern cast reproductions from an unidentified original.<sup>4</sup> The text of this document, after recapitulating the terms of the sale, adds that the division of the price agreed upon between Nabû-iqīša and Bēl-kēšir had been contested by the latter; nonetheless Nabû-iqīša has taken his share.<sup>5</sup> There follow witnesses, scribe—the same scribe who

had written the sale contract *Camb.* 189—date formula, absent the royal name and titulary, and captioned seal impressions.

1. BM 31265, *Cyr.* 303, and *Cyr.* 321, respectively published and re-edited as Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 307–9. Wunsch (*Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 70–71 with n. 271) proposes that the background of *Cyr.* 284 was <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât's loan to Nabû-iqīša and <sup>f</sup>Šîn-banâ of silver toward the purchase of the pledged slaves from their uncle Bēl-kēšir (to whom the slaves are said to belong in the pledge clause, ll. 8–10).

For the WS deity Šîn (Akk. <sup>d</sup>Šîn) in the name <sup>f</sup>Šîn-banâ, see Zadok, *WSB*, p. 43.

2. In *Camb.* 165 (month 4, day 8, year 3 Cambyses; translation in Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 194–95), which predates the sale contract *Camb.* 189 by about three months, Nabû-iqīša promises to either pay for, or return, slaves that he purchased from Itti-Marduk-balāṭu. Possibly these unnamed slaves were in fact the ones pledged to <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât in *Cyr.* 284, in which case *Camb.* 165 would reflect Nabû-iqīša's attempt to redeem them from his new creditor, and *Camb.* 189 would reflect his failure to do so.

3. Itti-Nabû-balāṭu/Šulaya/Egibi was not among the witnesses (*mukinnū*) to *Camb.* 189. His having been “present at the witnessing” (text No. 61:7) must have a legal meaning different from “witnessing,” and in effect signifies his consent to the transaction witnessed; see E. von Dassow, “Introducing the Witnesses in Neo-Babylonian Documents,” in *Ki Baruch Hu. Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine*, ed. R. Chazan, W. W. Hallo, and L. Schiffman (Winona Lake, 1998), pp. 16–18.

4. I. L. Holt, “Tablets from the R. Campbell Thompson Collection in Haskell Oriental Museum, The University of Chicago,” *AJSL* 27 (1911), p. 226. For the identification of the duplicates of this document as modern cast reproductions, see E. Leichty, “A Remarkable Forger,” *Expedition*, Spring 1970, pp. 17–21.

5. See also the summary of Krecher, Egibi, p. 234.

## 62.

MMA 79.7.25

Plate 44

H. 44 mm. W. 57 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Dupl. *Camb.* 334, Pinches, *Peek* 17

Slave sale

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cambyses, year 6 month 9 day 23

- Obv. 1. <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN i-na ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú  
 2. <sup>fd</sup>Na-na-a-it-ti-ia <sup>lú</sup>qal-lat-su  
 3. ù DUMU.SAL-šú DUMU 3 ITI<sup>meš</sup> kurMi-šir-i-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 4. ḥu-bu-ut <sup>giš</sup>PAN-šú a-na 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR a-na  
 5. ŠÁM gam-ru-tu a-na <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN A-šú šá (erasure)  
 6. <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi id-din  
 7. KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> 2 MA.NA ŠÁM <sup>fd</sup>Na-na-a-it-ti-ia  
 8. ù DUMU.SAL-šú <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG(!)(text:EN) ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN e-ṭir  
 9. pu-ut <sup>lú</sup>se-ḥu-ú <sup>lú</sup>pa-qir-ra-nu <sup>lú</sup>IR-LUGAL-ú-tu  
 10. u DUMU-DÙ-ú-tu šá ina UGU <sup>fd</sup>Na-na(!)-a-it-ti-ia  
 Lo.E. 11. u DUMU.SAL-šú il-la-a <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG na-ši  
 Rev. 12. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>Kal-ba-a A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Šil-la-a A <sup>I</sup>Na-ba-a-a  
 13. <sup>I</sup>Kur-ban-ni-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>E-til-lu A <sup>I</sup>E-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru  
 14. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Ki-rib-tu <sup>I</sup>Kal-ba-a A-šú šá

15. <sup>d</sup>EN-SUR A <sup>1</sup>Su-*ha-a-a* lúšID <sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá-d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 16. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ba-la-tu A <sup>d</sup>EN-e-*ti<sub>5</sub>-ru* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 17. <sup>iti</sup>GAN UD 23.KÁM MU 6.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Kám-bu-zi-ia  
 18. [LUG]AL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR *e-lat ú-íl-tì*  
 19. šá 2 ME 50 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá <sup>1</sup>KI-dšÚ-<sup>1</sup>TIN<sup>1</sup>  
 20. šá *ina* UGU <sup>1</sup>MU-dAG

### Translation

- 1–6. Iddin-Nabû, son of Mušēzib-Bēl, voluntarily sold <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ittiya, his slavewoman—an Egyptian woman, the booty of his bow—and her three-month-old daughter, for 2 minas silver as the full price, to Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Egibi.  
 7–8. Iddin-Nabû has been paid the 2 minas silver, the price of <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ittiya and her daughter, by Itti-Marduk-balātu.  
 9–11. Iddin-Nabû guarantees against any challenger (of the legality of the sale), any claimant (to a right of ownership in the slaves), (and any claim of) royal slave-status or *mār banî*-status, that may arise regarding <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ittiya and her daughter.  
 12–15. Witnesses:  
     Kalbaya, son of Šillaya, descendant of Nabaya  
     Kurbanni-Marduk, son of Etellu, descendant of Ēṭir  
     Nabû-zēra-iddin, son of Kiribtu  
     Kalbaya, son of Bēl-ēṭir, descendant of Suḥaya  
 15–16. Scribe: Iqīša-Marduk, son of Balātu, descendant of Bēl-ēṭir  
 16–18. Babylon, Kislīmu day 23 year 6, Cambyses [ki]ng of Babylon (and) king of the lands  
 18–20. (This transaction is) separate from the debt of 250 *kur* dates owed to Itti-Marduk-balātu by Iddin-Nabû.

### Notes

- 8: A poorly written <sup>d</sup>EN is erroneously inscribed for <sup>d</sup>AG in this text and in the duplicate *Camb.* 334:26.  
 12: Kalbaya, the first witness, later became Itti-Marduk-balātu's brother-in-law, when his daughter <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bāba was married to Itti-Marduk-balātu's son Marduk-nāšīr-apli (see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 85; Roth, "Dowries," pp. 27–29).  
 13: Kurbanni-Marduk, the second witness, later became Itti-Marduk-balātu's son-in-law, marrying his youngest daughter, <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ēṭirat (see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 84; Roth, "Dowries," p. 26).

### Remarks

Iddin-Nabû here sells to Itti-Marduk-balātu a slavewoman, together with her infant daughter, whom he evidently acquired as booty while serving on Cambyses's campaign to Egypt in 525 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Itti-Marduk-

balātu did not keep his new acquisition long: three months later, *Camb.* 349 documents his exchange of a 1-*kur* field and three slavewomen, including <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ittiya, for a house plot in Ḫursagkalamma (see Remarks on text No. 65). Nādin and his wife <sup>f</sup>Inšabtu, the couple who acquired the three slavewomen in the exchange, sold them the following month (*Camb.* 362) for nearly 8 minas silver.

The supplementary clause at the end of text No. 62 mentions Iddin-Nabû's separate obligation for 250 *kur* dates owed to Itti-Marduk-balātu. The promissory note documenting that debt is *Camb.* 335, written on the same day as text No. 62; the scribe of *Camb.* 335 is Kurbanni-Marduk, the second witness of text No. 62, while the scribe of text No. 62, Iqīša-Marduk, is the second witness of *Camb.* 335, and Kalbaya, son of Šillaya, descendant of Nabaya, is the first witness in both texts.

1. See Pinches's commentary on *Peek* 17, p. 76. The sale price of 2 minas silver for the slavewoman and her infant daughter is relatively high, and the resale price of <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ittiya seems to have been even higher, based on *Camb.* 362.

### 63.

MMA 86.11.200

Plate 45

H. 39 mm. W. 52 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Slave sale

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cambyses, year 7 month 3 day 13

- Obv. 1. <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-KAR<sup>ir</sup> DUMU-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU  
 2. DUMU <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú  
 3. <sup>Id</sup>EN-pi-it-na-an-ni <sup>lú</sup>qal-la-šú  
 4. a-na 1<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR a-na ši-mi  
 5. gam-ru-tú a-na <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN  
 6. DUMU-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi  
 7. id-din KÙ.BABBAR ši-mi-šú ina šU<sup>II</sup>
- Lo.E. 8. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-KAR<sup>ir</sup>  
 9. e-ti-ir
- Rev. 10. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>AG-GIN-A A-šú  
 11. šá <sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-e-a A <sup>I</sup>Ir-a-ni  
 12. <sup>Id</sup>AG-tab-ta-na-ú-šur A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Kit-ti-ia  
 13. A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>É-a <sup>I</sup>GI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU-šú  
 14. šá <sup>I</sup>Tab-né-e-a A <sup>Id</sup>30-šad-ú-ni  
 (blank line)  
 15. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN DUB.SAR DUMU-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÛRU  
 16. DUMU <sup>lú</sup>SIMUG TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>
- U.E. 17. UD 13.KÁM MU 7.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Kám-bu-zi-ía  
 18. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

*Translation*

- 1–7. Nergal-ēṭir, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Egibi, voluntarily sold Bēl-pitnanni, his slave, for  $1\frac{2}{3}$  minas silver as the full price, to Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Egibi.
- 7–9. Nergal-ēṭir has been paid the silver, his (the slave's) price, by Itti-Marduk-balātu.
- 10–14. Witnesses:  
 Nabû-mukîn-apli, son of Nūrea, descendant of Iranni  
 Nabû-tabtani-ušur, son of Kittiya, descendant of Šangû-Ea  
 Mušallim-Marduk, son of Tabnêa, descendant of Sîn-šadûnu
- 15–16. Itti-Nabû-balātu, scribe, son of Marduk-šuma-ušur, descendant of Nappāḥu
- 16–18. Babylon, Simānu day 13 year 7, Cambyses king of Babylon (and) king of the lands

*Notes*

- 10–14: The first witness, Nabû-mukîn-apli, witnesses many Egibi archive documents in this period, and appears once (*Camb.* 348) as a contracting party. He is often identified by the hypocoristic name-forms Mukîn-apli or Kīnaya (see Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 90, s.v. Kīn-aplu no. 28, and p. 135, s.v. Nabû-kīn-aplu no. 34). Nabû-tabtani-ušur, the second witness, is attested as a scribe and witness in several other Egibi documents (see Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 149); the third witness, Mušallim-Marduk, appears as a witness more rarely (*Camb.* 285 and *Dar.* 82).
- 15–16: The scribe Itti-Nabû-balātu also wrote *Camb.* 365, which involves the slave sold here; he is attested several other times as scribe or witness in texts of the Egibi archive (see Tallqvist, *NBN* p. 84), and exhibits a preference for writing the name of his profession DUB.SAR, as here, rather than <sup>lú</sup>ŠID, as is more usual.

*Remarks*

Ostensibly this tablet documents Nergal-ēṭir's sale of a slave, at a relatively high price, to his brother Itti-Marduk-balātu; the transaction thus formulated, however, is actually a stage in the process of regulating the division of inherited property between the brothers. The division between Nergal-ēṭir and Itti-Marduk-balātu of six slaves, including Bēl-pitnanni, his parents, his infant sister, and two others, is the subject of *Camb.* 365. According to *Camb.* 365:6–7, Nergal-ēṭir inherited Bēl-pitnanni and half a mina silver “as his quarter-share.” Text No. 63 was drawn up one month and one week later.<sup>1</sup> Bēl-pitnanni himself reappears only once in the published documents of the Egibi archive, in Strassmaier, *ZA* 4, Smerdis 9, wherein he owes Itti-Marduk-balātu 12 *kur* dates as the *imittu*-payment on a particular field.

1. A series of transactions written twenty-five years prior to text No. 63, in years 8 and 9 of Nabonidus, also involve a slave named Bēl-pitnanni (cf. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 159; OECT 10, 105; and *Nbn.* 392). However, this Bēl-pitnanni is not to be identified with the one sold in text No. 63 because, in addition to the time lapse between the attestations and the presence of Bēl-pitnanni's parents in *Camb.* 365, property acquired by Itti-Marduk-balātu through purchase would hardly enter into the patrimonial property to be divided between him and his brothers.

## 64.

MMA 79.7.21

Plate 46

H. 36 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Account statement

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, no GN

No date formula

- Obv. 1. ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ŠÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA *ina pa-ni*  
 2. <sup>1</sup>Ku-ṣu-ur-ra-a  
 3. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>1</sup>Gu-za-nu áš-šá-bi  
 4. *ina pa-ni* <sup>1</sup>Ku-ṣur-ra-a-a  
 5. 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠÁM UDU.NÍTA (erasure)  
 6. šá DUMU <sup>1</sup>úSIPA kal-bi KI.MIN  
 7. 8½ GÍN ŠÁM <sup>du</sup>gkan-du KI.MIN
- Lo.E. 8. 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ma-ḥu-ru KI.MIN
- Rev. 9. 1 UDU.NÍTA šá ku-um <sup>1</sup>KÙ<sup>1</sup>.BABBAR šá <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN  
 10. šá *ina* IGI KI.MIN a-na <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN nad-[n]u KI.MIN  
 11. 1 UDU.NÍTA GAL<sup>ú</sup> šá <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-ia  
 12. šá a-na pa-aq-du *ina* IGI KI.MIN  
 13. 1 UDU.NÍTA šá mi-i-mi *ina* IGI KI.MIN  
 14. ⅓ MA.NA 8 GÍN ZABAR
- U.E. 15. *ina* IGI KI.MIN  
 (fingernail marks)
- L.E. 16. 1<sup>en</sup> <sup>tú</sup>ggu-le-nu GAL  
 17. *ina* IGI KI.MIN

*Translation*

- 1–2. ½ mina silver, the price of dates, at the disposal of Kuṣurraya;  
 3–4. 10 shekels silver, belonging to Gūzānu the resident alien(?), at the disposal of Kuṣurraya;  
 5–6. 7 shekels silver, the price of a male sheep belonging to the “son of the dog-keeper,” ditto;  
 7. 8½ shekels silver, the price of a *kandu*-jar, ditto;  
 8. 2 shekels silver, received, ditto;  
 9–10. 1 male sheep which was given to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu in place of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu’s silver, at the disposal of ditto;  
 11–12. 1 large male sheep belonging to Zēriya which is in custody at the disposal of ditto;  
 13. 1 male sheep which . . . at the disposal of ditto;  
 14–15. ⅓ mina 8 shekels bronze, at the disposal of ditto;  
 16–17. 1 large *gulēnu*-coat, at the disposal of ditto



*Note*

U.E.: There are six parallel fingernail marks on the upper-right corner of the obverse above l. 1. Similar marks appear on two of Iddin-Marduk's tablets, text Nos. 76 and 78.

*Remarks*

This document is a statement of the business expenses and assets of an account a certain Kušurraya has with Itti-Marduk-balātu. A total of 57½ shekels of silver, as well as three sheep, a small quantity of bronze, and a coat, were made available to Kušurraya, who may be Itti-Marduk-balātu's partner in a *ḥarrānu*-enterprise. The lack of patronymics and a date makes it difficult to determine the context of this document; it is assigned to the Egibi archive based on Itti-Marduk-balātu's presence and based on the accession of this tablet as part of the Museum's 1879 acquisition.

**65.**

MMA 79.7.30

Plate 46

H. 37 mm. W. 52 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Receipt for dates

Achaemenid period, Ḥursagkalamma

Darius I, year 2 month 9 day 25

- Obv. 1. 10 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *gam-ru-tu*  
 2. <sup>f</sup>Is-ḥu-un-na-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>lú</sup>qal-lat šá <sup>l</sup>Ši-iš-ki  
 3. <ina> na-áš-par-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>l</sup>x-x-nu(?) -tú(?) A-šú šá <sup>l</sup>ZÁLAG-e-a  
 4. ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AG-SIPA-šú-nu A-šú šá  
 5. <sup>Id</sup>AG-SUR A <sup>Id</sup>30-tab-ni  
 6. [maḥ(?)]-rat(?)
- Rev. 7. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>EN-lu-mur A-šú šá  
 8. <sup>l</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>l</sup>Ši-gu-ú-a  
 9. <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-re-man-ni A-šú šá <sup>l</sup>Ri-mut  
 10. A <sup>lú</sup>GAL-60<sup>š</sup>i <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>EN-GAR-MU  
 11. A-šú šá <sup>l</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A <sup>l</sup>DÙ<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR  
 12. Ḥur-sag-kalam-ma<sup>ki</sup> ití<sup>GAN</sup> UD 25.KÁM  
 13. MU 2.KÁM <sup>l</sup>Da-ri-muš
- U.E. 14. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR  
 15. 1<sup>en</sup>-TA.ÀM TI
- L.E. 16. ZÚ.LUM.MA šá a-na ma(?) -ḥar GI  
 17. [x] x x x SUM<sup>nu.ᶜ</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–6. <sup>f</sup>Iṣḥunnatu, slave woman of Širku, acting as proxy for . . . , son of Nūrea, received 10 *kur* dates in full (payment) from Nabû-rē<sup>2</sup>ūšunu, son of Nabû-ēṭir, descendant of Sîn-tabni.
- 7–10. Witnesses:  
     Bēl-lūmur, son of Iddin-Marduk, descendant of Šigūa  
     Nabû-aḥu-rēmanni, son of Rīmūt, descendant of Rab-šušši
- 10–11. Scribe: Bēl-šākin-šumi, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Eppeš-ili
- 12–14. Ḥursagkalamma, Kislīmu day 25 year 2, Darius king of Babylon and the lands
15. They have taken one (copy) each.
- 16–17. Dates which in exchange for reeds . . . were given.

**Note**

- 2: For Marduk-nāšir-apli's use of the name Širku, and for other names of his father Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and of his two brothers, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. xiii, 15 n. 64, and pp. 82–83 with n. 311; also see Introduction to Archives C and D, p. 85 with nn. 14–17.

**Remarks**

Itti-Marduk-balāṭu had entrusted his slave woman <sup>f</sup>Iṣḥunnatu with the management of his brewery and tavern in Ḥursagkalamma a few years earlier, according to *Camb.* 330 and 331; see Remarks on text No. 50. She is now, following Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's death,<sup>1</sup> identified as the slave woman of his son Marduk-nāšir-apli (aka Širku). The tablet presented here documents her receipt, as proxy for another party, of a delivery of dates. This transaction suggests that she continued managing the brewery under Marduk-nāšir-apli.

A building located in Ḥursagkalamma—modern Ingharra, the easternmost of two settlement areas constituting the city of Kish<sup>2</sup>—is attested as Egibi family property in several texts. Itti-Marduk-balāṭu rented it, along with a slave, to his adoptive brother Kalbaya, according to *Nbn.* 967 (see Remarks on text No. 60); much later, at the time of the division of inherited property between Marduk-nāšir-apli and his brothers in year 14 of Darius, it was still at Kalbaya's disposal (*Dar.* 379), but four years later it was sold (*Dar.* 465 and 467) and Kalbaya was obliged to return its furnishings to his nephews (*Dar.* 468).<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu had acquired a second property in Ḥursagkalamma.<sup>4</sup> This second property, fronting “the wide street, the thoroughfare of gods and the king” (*Camb.* 349:12–13) must have been an ideal location for a tavern. It may be there that <sup>f</sup>Iṣḥunnatu—and the others, slaves and non-slaves, to whom Itti-Marduk-balāṭu and his son contracted the operation of their brewery and tavern—set up shop.

1. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 10 n. 43, places Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's death at the latest in year 3 of Darius; Ungnad, “Egibi,” p. 61, likewise gives year 3 of Darius as a *terminus ante quem*, but, based on *Dar.* 26:30, considers it likely that his death already occurred before the end of year 1 of Darius.

2. See M. Gibson, *The City and Area of Kish*, Field Research Projects (Miami, 1972), pp. 4ff., 111–13, 118–22 with fig. 45.

3. See Krecher, Egibi, pp. 326–27.

4. *Camb.* 349. The newly acquired property was not adjacent to the first (*Camb.* 349); none of the neighboring houses belongs to the Egibi family (on this document, see Remarks to text No. 62).

## 66.

MMA 79.7.27

Plate 47

H. 35 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Promissory note for dates

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 3 month 6 day 16

- Obv. 1. 16 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA ZAG.LU  
 2. BURU<sub>14</sub> A.ŠÀ šá UGU *Bi-(it)-qu-šá-DA*-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 3. šá<sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-na-šir-IBILA A-šú šá  
 4. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi  
 5. ina UGU <sup>I</sup>Tab-né-e-a A-šú šá  
 6. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ A <sup>I</sup>Šá-na-ši(!)(text:ni)-šú  
 7. [ina] <sup>I</sup>iti<sup>1</sup>APIN ina ḥa-ma-ri
- Lo.E. 8. [ina] <sup>I</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ši-ḥu šá <sup>I</sup>ḫ<sup>1</sup> [x] x x
- Rev. 9. [ina UGU 1<sup>et</sup> rit-tu<sub>4</sub> i-na]m-<sup>I</sup>din<sup>1</sup> KI 1 GUR  
 10. [tu-ḥal-la gi]-pu-u man-ga-ga  
 11. bi[l-tu<sub>4</sub> šá ḥu-ša-bi] 2 da-ri-ku ina-ad-din  
 12. [<sup>lú</sup>ḡmu-kin<sup>1</sup>-nu <sup>Id</sup>EN-SUR A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-KAR-ZI<sup>meš</sup>  
 13. A <sup>I</sup>lú<sup>1</sup>DUG.ŠILA.BUR <sup>Id</sup>AG-SUM.NA  
 14. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>MU-a  
 15. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-šú-nu <sup>lú</sup>šID A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Per-ḥu  
 16. A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>IDIM E<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>KIN  
 17. UD 16.KÁM MU 3.KÁM
- U.E. 18. <sup>I</sup>Da-ri-<sup>2</sup>-uš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>
- L.E. 19. LUGAL KUR.KUR

*Translation*

- 1–6. 16 *kur* dates, the *imittu*-payment of the harvest of the field which is (located) on the Bitqu-ša-Ile<sup>2</sup>i-Bēl canal, owed to Marduk-nāšir-apli, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, descendant of Egibi, by Tabnêa, son of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Ša-nāšišu.
- 7–9. [In] the month of Araḥsamnu [he shall deli]ver (the dates) in the storage area, according to the measure of . . . , [in a single delivery].
- 9–11. Per *kur*, he shall deliver [spathes, spa]ldices, bast, a lo[ad of rachides], (and) 2 *darīku*-containers.
- 12–14. Witnesses:  
 Bēl-ēṭir, son of Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti, descendant of Paḥḥāru  
 Nabû-iddin, son of Iddinaya
- 15–16. Marduk-bēlšunu, scribe, son of Per<sup>2</sup>u, descendant of Šangû-Ea
- 16–19. Babylon, Ulūlu day 16 year 3, Darius king of Babylon (and) king of the lands

## Notes

- 1–2: For the problem of whether the *imittu*-payment owed is a fraction of the harvest (Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 99ff.) or the entire harvest (Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, p. 64), see Introduction: Documents and Archives, pp. xxi–xxii with n. 57.
- 2: The toponym Bitqu-ša-Ile<sup>2</sup>i-Bēl denotes both a town and a watercourse near the Zababa Gate of Babylon (see RGTC 8, pp. 100–101, 348).
- 7: The place of delivery of dates is usually specified as the *ḥašāru*, “enclosure.” Rather than assuming that *ḥa-ma-ri* is written in error for *ḥa-ša-ri*, this writing may represent Old Persian \**hampāra*, “storehouse,” which is used in precisely this context in BE 9, 19:7; see M. Stolper, “Three Iranian Loanwords in Late Babylonian Texts,” *BiMes* 7, pp. 252–54.
- 12–13: The first witness, Bēl-ēṭir, appears as a witness in several other Egibi documents from the early part of Darius’s reign; see Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 30.

## Remarks

Tabnêa’s obligation to pay Marduk-nāšir-apli 16 *kur* dates results from his lease of Marduk-nāšir-apli’s field on the Bitqu-ša-Ile<sup>2</sup>i-Bēl watercourse. Text No. 67, dated to year 10 of Darius, documents Marduk-nāšir-apli’s loan to Tabnêa of spades with which to cultivate the same property. *Dar.* 331 is a promissory note dated to year 12 of Darius, documenting Tabnêa’s obligation to pay 14 *kur* dates as *imittu* of the same field to Marduk-nāšir-apli and his brothers. It may be assumed that another debt of 16 *kur* dates owed as *imittu* by Tabnêa to Marduk-nāšir-apli and his brothers, documented by *Dar.* 237 and dated to year 8 of Darius, derives from the lease of the same field; likewise, the oath documented by *Dar.* 357, whereby Tabnêa swears to pay Marduk-nāšir-apli 3 *pān* 2 *sūt* dates by Araḥsamnu day 12 or else to pay 4 shekels silver, no doubt refers to an outstanding obligation resulting from a continuation of the same lease on the same field. Thus, for the duration of ten years at least, Marduk-nāšir-apli leased part of the land constituting his and his brothers’ patrimonial property to Tabnêa for cultivation of date palms.

## 67.

MMA 79.7.24

Plate 48

H. 41 mm. W. 57 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Loan with work agreement

Achaemenid period, [Babylon]

Darius I, year 10 month 11 day 10

- Obv. 1. <sup>2</sup>1<sup>ta</sup> *mar-ra-a-ta* AN.BAR šá 2 MA.NA KILÁ  
 2. PA(?) KI.TA<sup>tu4</sup> šá MU šī-in-da-<sup>2</sup> šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-na-šir-IBILA  
 3. DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN DUMU <sup>Id</sup>E-gi-bi a-na ḥe-ru-ú  
 4. šá ŠE.NUMUN šá ina muḥ-ḥi Bi-it-qu-šá-UGU-<sup>d</sup>EN (erasure)  
 5. šá ÚS.SA.DU šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-DÙ ina IGI <sup>Id</sup>Tab-né-e-a  
 6. DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ DUMU <sup>Id</sup>Šá-na-ši-šú

7. [a]-<sup>Γ</sup>di<sup>1</sup> TIL <sup>iti</sup>ŠE šá MU 10.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Tab-né-e-a
- Lo.E. 8. ŠE.NUMUN *i-ḥar-ri-ma i-gam-mar*
- Rev. 9. *a-na* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*na-šir*-IBILA *i-nam-din*
10. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*na-šir*-A *sis(!)*(text:eš)-*sin(!)*(text:šes)-*na-šú(!)* *a-na*
11. <sup>1</sup>Tab-né-e-a *i-nam-din e-lat* 4 PI ZÚ.LUM.MA
12. *u* <sup>1en</sup> *da-ri-ka šá* 3 BÁN šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*na-šir*-A
13. šá *ina* UGU <sup>1</sup>Tab-né-e-a šá <sup>1</sup>Tab-né-e-a *ú-ka-nu-ma*
14. *ina* UGU <sup>lú</sup>GÚ(!)(text:KÙ).⟨⟨GÁL(!)⟩⟩.GAL *a-na* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*na-šir*-A
15. *i-nam-din* <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-šú-nu
16. A-šú šá <sup>l</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>šú A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>IDIM <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-b[ul-liṭ]
17. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-*ga-mil* A <sup>1</sup>Su-ḥa-a-a <sup>Id</sup>EN-BA <sup>šá</sup><sup>1</sup>
- U.E. 18. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>La-ba-a-ši <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU-A
19. <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>IR-ía A <sup>lú</sup>DÍM <sup>1</sup>Ú-bar
20. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-X-X <sup>lú</sup>X ù <sup>Γ</sup>šID<sup>1</sup>
- L.E. 21. <sup>Γ</sup>[X]-X-X-X A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>X-X
22. [E]<sup>[k]</sup>i <sup>iti</sup>ZÍZ UD 10.KÁM <sup>Γ</sup>MU<sup>1</sup> 10.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Da-[ri-<sup>3</sup>-mu]š(?)
23. [LUGAL] <sup>Γ</sup>E<sup>ki</sup><sup>1</sup> *u* <sup>Γ</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>.KUR

### Translation

- 1–6. Two iron spades, whose weight is 2 minas . . . , marked with (the owner's) name on the lower part, belonging to Marduk-nāšir-apli, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, descendant of Egibi, are at the disposal of Tabnêa, son of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Ša-nāšišu, for (the purpose of) digging the field which is (located) on the Bitqu-ša-Ile<sup>3</sup>-i-Bēl canal, adjacent to (the property of) Nabû-zēra-ibni.
- 7–9. [By] the end of the month of Addaru of year 10, Tabnêa will finish digging the field and return (the spades) to Marduk-nāšir-apli.
- 10–11. Marduk-nāšir-apli will give Tabnêa his *sisinnu*-compensation.
- 11–15. (This contract is) separate from 4 *pān* dates and one 3-*sūt darīku*-container owed to Marduk-nāšir-apli by Tabnêa, (and) which Tabnêa shall confirm against the canal manager and deliver to Marduk-nāšir-apli.
- 15–20. Witnesses:  
 Marduk-bēlšunu, son of Arad-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Ea  
 Nabû-aḥḥē-b[ullit], son of Nabû-gāmil, descendant of Suḥaya  
 Bēl-iqīša, son of Lābāši  
 Nidintu, son of Bēl-nādin-apli  
 Rīmūt-Bēl, son of Ardiya, descendant of Itinnu  
 Ubār, son of Nabû-. . . , descendant of . . .
- 20–21. And the scribe: . . . , son of . . .
23. [Babylon], Šabātu day 10 year 10, Da[rius]s [king] of Babylon and the lands

### Notes

- 1: *Dar.* 270 documents Marduk-nāšir-apli's loan of an iron spade of the same weight to another cultivator/lessee (see the remarks of Krecher, Egibi, p. 327). Two minas, approximately, was the standard weight for an iron spade (Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, p. 56; Salonen, *Agricultura*, pp. 126ff.; and van Driel, *BSA* 5, p. 231).
- 7: Digging the soil of a date-palm orchard with a spade was done in Abu (July/August) in preparation for irrigation at the time that the dates were ripening (Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, p. 56; van Driel, *BSA* 4, p. 136; and idem, *BSA* 5, p. 238); Tabnêa, however, is supposed to do his digging in Addaru (February/March), in advance of the principal irrigation.
- 15–16: Marduk-bēlšunu/Arad-Marduk also appears, without his family name, as the first witness to *Dar.* 331, one of Marduk-nāšir-apli's *imittu* promissory notes debiting Tabnêa (see Remarks on text No. 66).
- 16–17: The same Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit is the scribe of *Dar.* 173 and 256, two other documents belonging to Marduk-nāšir-apli.
- 19: This Rīmūt-Bēl appears frequently as a witness to Egibi documents in this period; for citations, see Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 177, s.v. Rīmūt-Bēl/Ardiya//amêl<sup>h</sup>bânî.

### Remarks

The background of this document is Marduk-nāšir-apli's lease of a date-palm orchard for cultivation to Tabnêa, for which see the Remarks on text No. 66. This tablet documents the lessor's loan of spades to the lessee, the lessee's obligation to perform the work for the purpose of which the spades have been lent to him, and the lessor's obligation to pay compensation (termed *sissinnu*) for that work. The amount of compensation was based on the area of soil worked and on whether a plough (*epinnu*) or, as here, a spade (*marru*) was used; working the soil with a spade brought higher compensation.<sup>1</sup> In addition to delivering the lessor his *imittu*-payment, the lessee was normally obliged to pay a fee, termed *gugallūtu*, to the canal inspector (*gugallu*).<sup>2</sup> The separate obligation referred to by ll. 11–15 could be this fee.

1. In antiquity as today, a spade was the preferred tool for working the soil of date-palm orchards (cf. Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, p. 56; and E. Wirth, *Agrargeographie des Irak*, Hamburger Geographischer Studien 13 [1962], p. 186).

2. Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 67–68; Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 103 n. 686; Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 97–98; and van Driel, *BSA* 4, p. 136.

## 68.

MMA 86.11.183

Plate 49

H. 44 mm. W. 56 mm. Th. 24 mm.

Quittance

Achaemenid period, Laḫīr

Darius I, year 25 month 12 day 12

- Obv. 1. *il-ki šá* <sup>Id</sup>KUR.GAL-ŠEŠ-ÛRU  
 2. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>MU-MU šá *a-di qí-it*  
 3. <sup>iti</sup>ŠE šá MU 25.KÁM  
 4. <sup>I</sup>Da-ri-<sup>ḡ</sup>-[*muš* L]UGAL  
 5. <sup>I</sup>Ši-rik [A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>SUM.NA-a  
 6. A <sup>I</sup>E-g[*i-bi ina ŠU*]<sup>Π</sup>  
 (incised mark)  
 7. <sup>Id</sup>KUR.GAL-[ŠEŠ-Û]RU  
 8. <sup>Γ</sup>e<sup>Γ</sup>-*ḫir* 1<sup>en</sup>-ÀM
- Lo.E. 9. [*šá-t*]a-ri *il-qu-ú*
- Rev. 10. <sup>Γ</sup>á<sup>Γ</sup>*mu-kin-nu* <sup>Id</sup>AG-KÁD  
 11. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-KAR-ZI<sup>meš</sup>  
 12. A <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>-DÛ (erasure)  
 13. <sup>I</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>BA-⟨x-x⟩ A <sup>II</sup>úGAL-DÛ  
 14. <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Su-qa-a-a  
 15. <sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu <sup>Id</sup>ŠID  
 16. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-MU A <sup>I</sup>Ir-a-ni  
 17. <sup>uru</sup>La-ḫi-ir <sup>iti</sup>ŠE
- U.E. 18. UD 12.KÁM(!) MU 25.KÁM
- L.E. 19. <sup>I</sup>Da-ri-<sup>ḡ</sup>-*muš* LUGAL  
 20. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR<sup>meš</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–8. Širku, [son of] Iddinaya, descendant of Eg[ibi], has been paid the *ilku* of Amurru-aḫa-ušur, son of Šuma-iddin, through the end of the month of Addaru of year 25 of Dari[us the k]ing, [by] Amurru-[aḫa-u]šur.
- 8–9. They have taken one [co]py each.
- 10–14. Witnesses:  
 Nabû-kāšir, son of Nabû-ēḫir-napšāti, descendant of Ea-ilūta-bani  
 Nidintu, son of . . . , descendant of Rab-banê  
 Iddin-Nabû, son of Sūqaya
- 15–16. Bēl-ittannu, scribe, son of Ea-iddin, descendant of Iranni
- 17–20. Laḫīr, Addaru day 12 year 25, Darius king of Babylon and the lands

**Notes**

- 6–7: In the space left at the ends of ll. 6 and 7, there is an incised mark in the form of a zigzag apparently made with a stylus.
- 13: Either <sup>1</sup>BA⟨<sup>šá</sup>(-a)⟩ or <sup>1</sup>Ba-⟨la-tu⟩ might be restored as the partly written patronymic.
- 17: Laḥīr is in eastern Babylonia (RGTC 8, p. 208), “towards the Babylonian-Elamite frontier” (Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 178 n. 1093); no other hitherto-published documents of the Egibi archive were drawn up there (see lists of place-names in Krecher, *Egibi*, pp. 24, 27, 40, and 66-68).
- 18: The signs look like UD 10 1-LÁ KÁM, which would indicate day 9, but such a spelling is normally used only for day 19 (see *CAD I/J*, pp. 1–2, s.v. *ibbû*).

**Remarks**

Two other tablets of Marduk-nāšir-apli document payments of *ilku*: TCL 13, 197, records his receipt from a third party of the *ilku* of a certain Mūrānu; and TCL 13, 198, records the receipt by a third party, from Marduk-nāšir-apli, of the *ilku* of one Gūzānu.<sup>1</sup> The former text concerns the *ilku* of the period “from the month of Nisannu year 25 until the end of the month of Addaru year 26, Darius king” (ll. 1–3), and the latter concerns the *ilku* of the same two-year period starting one year later. Neither text specifies in what medium the *ilku* was paid and received, nor does the tablet presented here. It is impossible to reconstruct the background of text No. 68 and determine why Marduk-nāšir-apli received payment of (or for) Amurru-aḥa-ušur’s *ilku*, since Amurru-aḥa-ušur is otherwise unattested in the Egibi archive; but it may be suggested that, in the cases of all three men—Mūrānu, Gūzānu, and Amurru-aḥa-ušur—Marduk-nāšir-apli financed their hiring of a substitute to do their *ilku*. Three other texts, *Dar.* 154, 156, and 572, document Marduk-nāšir-apli’s hiring of men to do his own military service (though the duty is not termed *ilku*).<sup>2</sup>

1. On the nature of *ilku*-payments or obligations during the Achaemenid period, see G. van Driel, “The Murašûs in Context,” *JESHO* 32 (1989), pp. 209–11, and Remarks on text No. 81.
2. Discussed by Krecher, *Egibi*, pp. 78 and 96–98; and G. van Driel, “The Murašûs in Context,” *JESHO* 32 (1989), p. 210.



## 69.

MMA 86.11.173

Plate 50

H. 47 mm. W. 64 mm. Th. 25 mm.

Slave hire contract

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 28 month 5 day 1

- Obv. 1. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-na-šir-EDURU DUMU šá <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi  
 2. ina ha-de-e lib-bi-šú <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu <sup>lú</sup>qal-la-šú  
 3. <sup>lú</sup>TÚG.KAL(!)(text:e).KAL a-na man-dat-tu<sub>4</sub> a-na u<sub>4</sub>-<sup>Γ</sup>mu x x<sup>1</sup> ŠE.BAR  
 4. a-na <sup>I</sup>KI-DILI-<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>lú</sup>qal-la šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-bul-liṭ  
 5. DUMU <sup>I</sup>Ši-gu-ú-a id-din ITI-TA.ÀM man-dat-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 6. šá <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu <sup>I</sup>KI-DILI-<sup>d</sup>EN a-na <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP-A  
 7. i-nam-din <sup>I</sup>KI-DILI-<sup>d</sup>EN šar-ri gar-re-e  
 8. a-na <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu ul i-paṭ-tár  
 9. pu-ut la ha-la-qu šá <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu
- Lo.E. 10. <sup>I</sup>KI-DILI-<sup>d</sup>EN na-ši ki-i <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu
- Rev. 11. a-na a-šar šá-nam-ma it-tal-ku  
 12. baṭ-la šá man-dat-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>I</sup>KI-DILI-<sup>d</sup>EN ul i-šak-kan  
 13. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>iq</sup>  
 14. DUMU <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi <sup>I</sup>DA-šu-zu-bu-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU šá  
 15. <<DUMU šá>> <sup>I</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>lú</sup>ŠANGA-<sup>d</sup>É-a  
 16. <sup>Id</sup>AG-bul-liṭ-su DUMU šá <sup>I</sup>Lib-luṭ A <sup>lú</sup>DÍM  
 (blank line)  
 17. TA(!) UD 1.KÁM šá <sup>iti</sup>NE <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu ina IGI-šú  
 18. <sup>I</sup>Eri-ba-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUB.SAR DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>UTU-MU-MU  
 19. DUMU <sup>I</sup>Ur-<sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>NE
- U.E. 20. UD 1(!).KÁM MU 28.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Da-ri-<sup>3</sup>-muš  
 21. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR<sup>meš</sup> 1<sup>en</sup>-TA.ÀM  
 22. TI<sup>ú</sup>
- L.E. 23. dul-lu šá É <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP-A  
 24. <sup>I</sup>KI-DILI-<sup>d</sup>EN ip-pu-uš

**Translation**

- 1–5. Marduk-nāšir-apli, son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, descendant of Egibi, voluntarily hired out Balāṭu, his slave, the tailor, at (the rate of) . . . barley per day, to Itti-ēdi-Bēl, slave of Nabû-aḫḫē-bullīṭ, descendant of Šigūa.
- 5–7. Itti-ēdi-Bēl shall pay Balāṭu's hire to Marduk-nāšir-apli each month.
- 7–8. Itti-ēdi-Bēl shall not release Balāṭu . . .
- 9–12. Itti-ēdi-Bēl guarantees that Balāṭu shall not flee. Should Balāṭu go someplace else, Itti-ēdi-Bēl shall not cause an interruption in the (payment of his) hire.

13–16. Witnesses:

Iddin-Bēl, son of Bēl-mudammiq, descendant of Egibi

Ile<sup>2</sup>i-šūzubu-Marduk, son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Šangū-Ea

Nabû-bullissu, son of Libluṭ, descendant of Itinnu

17. From day 1 of the month of Abu, Balātu is at his disposal.

18–19. Erība-Marduk, scribe, son of Šamaš-šuma-iddin, descendant of Ur-Nanna

19–21. Babylon, Abu day 1(!) year 28, Darius king of Babylon and the lands

21–22. They took one (copy) each.

23–24. Itti-ēdi-Bēl will do the work of Marduk-nāšir-apli's house.

### Notes

- 3: One *sūt* barley daily was the standard compensation (*mandattu*) paid to the owner who hired out his or her slave (Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 379ff.; and San Nicolò, *Der neubabylonische Lehrvertrag in rechtsvergleichender Betrachtung*, SBAW 1950/3 [Munich, 1950], pp. 14–15), but that does not appear to be what the scribe wrote here.
- 4: The reading Itti-ēdi-Bēl was suggested by Cornelia Wunsch (personal communication). Comparable names include Aḫi-ēdi-Šamaš in BE 15, 62:3 (MB), and Nabû-itti-ēdi-alik in *Nbk.* 175:4.
- 7–8: The meaning of the clause *šarri garrê . . . ipaṭṭar* is not clear.
- 20: There is a very small Winckelhaken before the “1”; its size suggests that it was inscribed accidentally.

### Remarks

Marduk-nāšir-apli has hired out his slave Balātu to Itti-ēdi-Bēl, a slave belonging to another party, Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit. According to the supplementary clause on the left edge, Itti-ēdi-Bēl is obliged to perform work for Marduk-nāšir-apli. The nature of the work Itti-ēdi-Bēl is expected to do is not specified. The work he has hired Balātu to do is not specified either, though Balātu's qualification as a tailor (l. 3) is suggestive. In the absence of other documents illuminating the relationship between Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit, Itti-ēdi-Bēl's owner, and Marduk-nāšir-apli, the exact background of this transaction remains unknown.

## 70.

MMA 86.11.335

Plate 51

H. 28 mm. W. 72 mm. Th. 24 mm.

Fragment of a promissory note

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

(beginning of obverse broken)

- Obv. 1'. [x] <sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>Γ</sup> Id<sup>AMAR</sup>.UTU-PAP-<sup>Γ</sup>A<sup>Γ</sup> [. . . ]  
 2'. [š]E.NUMUN-šú *zaq-pi šá i-<sup>Γ</sup>x-x<sup>Γ</sup>* [. . . ]  
 3'. [ma]š-ka-nu šá Id<sup>AMAR</sup>.UTU-PAP-A <sup>lú</sup>r[a-šú-ú šá-nam-ma]  
 4'. [in]a muḫ-ḫi <ul> i-šal-laṭ ina BURU<sub>14</sub> A.ŠÀ-šú i-šal-l[im e-lat]  
 5'. ú-ìl-tì IGI<sup>tu</sup>4 šá 5 MA.NA 16 GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR a(?) -di(?)]  
 6'. 1½ MA.NA 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup> 1 ME GUR ZÚ.LU[M.MA]  
 Lo.E. 7'. 7 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.BAR ù 1<sup>et</sup> GU<sub>4</sub> sa-ḫir-tu<sub>4</sub> 2-[. . . ]  
 Rev. 8'. <sup>Γ</sup>šá<sup>Γ</sup> Id<sup>DI</sup>.KUD-EN-ÛRU <sup>lú</sup>qal-la šá Id<sup>AMAR</sup>.UTU-PAP-<sup>Γ</sup>A<sup>Γ</sup> [ù(?)]  
 9'. [a]-di ú-ìl-tì šá 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup> ù x x [. . . ]  
 10'. [x x] x šá Id<sup>AMAR</sup>.UTU-<sup>Γ</sup>PAP-A šá<sup>Γ</sup> [ina] muḫ-ḫi Id<sup>EN</sup>-NIGIN<sup>ir</sup>  
 11'. [. . . e]t(?) -ra-nu [. . . ] Id<sup>AMAR</sup>.UTU-PAP-A ki(!)(text:di)-i  
 12'. [UD x.KÁM(?) šá(?)] <sup>lú</sup>i(?)<sup>Γ</sup>x(?)<sup>Γ</sup> [la(?) i]t(?) -ta-din  
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**

- [. . . ]  
 1'. [. . . ] Marduk-nāšir-apli [. . . ]  
 2'–4'. His arable field, planted (with trees), which [. . . ], is the [se]curity of Marduk-nāšir-apli. <No>  
 [other credi]tor shall exercise any right [ov]er it.  
 4'. He shall pay out of the harvest of his field.  
 4'–5'. [(This obligation is) separate from] the previous debt of 5 minas 16 shekels [silver, including(?)]  
 6'–8'. 1½ minas 5 shekels white silver, 100 *kur* da[tes], 7 *kur* 2 *pān* 3 *sūt* barley, and one 2-[year-  
 old] heifer owed to Madānu-bēla-ušur, slave of Marduk-nāšir-apli, [and(?)]  
 9'–10'. [in]cluding the debt of 1 mina white silver and . . . owed to Marduk-nāšir-apli which are  
 charged [a]gainst Bēl-upaḫḫir.  
 11'–12'. [. . . p]aid (bills) (?) [. . . ] Marduk-nāšir-apli; if [(by) day x of mon]th x (?) he has [not g]iven  
 (?) [. . . ]

(break)

**Note**

- 11': *eṭrānu* is suggested based on *mimmu eṭrēssu* and *mimmu e-ṭè-ru* in *Dar.* 509:2, 7 (for this document, see below).

**Remarks**

This fragment is the lower part of a promissory note documenting a debt owed to Marduk-nāšir-apli by one Bēl-upaḥḥir (l. 10'), who has pledged his field as security. Because of the remark in l. 4' that the debt is to be paid out of the harvest of the debtor's pledged field, it may be assumed that the commodity owed was barley, dates, or other produce. The debtor may be identified with Bēl-upaḥḥir, son of Nergal-iddin, who was obliged to deliver 140 *pītu* garlic and 1 mina silver to Marduk-nāšir-apli's brother Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ, according to *Dar.* 345, and whose payment of debts owed to Marduk-nāšir-apli's slave Madānu-bēla-ušur is at issue in *Dar.* 509. In the present document a supplementary clause (ll. 4'–10') describes a separate obligation comprising a debt of 1 mina silver owed to Marduk-nāšir-apli (ll. 9'–10'), and debts of silver, dates, barley, and one heifer owed to his slave Madānu-bēla-ušur (ll. 6'–8').<sup>1</sup> This list of items owed to Madānu-bēla-ušur is almost identical to the list of Bēl-upaḥḥir's debts to Madānu-bēla-ušur in *Dar.* 509:3, 8. Since *Dar.* 509 requires Bēl-upaḥḥir to provide Marduk-nāšir-apli with proof of payment of these debts (or else to pay their full amount to Marduk-nāšir-apli), text No. 70 probably predates *Dar.* 509, which is dated to year 20 of Darius I.<sup>2</sup>

1. On Madānu-bēla-ušur, see Introduction to Archives C and D, pp. 85–87. His activities as Iddin-Marduk's slave are described by Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 45–49; the documentation of his activities as slave of Itti-Marduk-balātu and later of Marduk-nāšir-apli is summarized in Krecher, Egibi, pp. 64 and 98. On the inheritance division of Madānu-bēla-ušur, his family, and his property by Itti-Marduk-balātu's sons (documented by *Dar.* 379), and his transfer in a dowry conversion to Marduk-nāšir-apli's wife, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 48 n. 190, and Roth, "Material Composition," pp. 12–15 with nn. 55 and 56.

2. At this time, according to Wunsch (*Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 48 n. 189), Madānu-bēla-ušur must be dead and his owner, on whom his assets have devolved, is collecting his outstanding credit claims.

**71.**

MMA 79.7.26

Plate 51

H. 31 mm. W. 48 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Account of silver disbursements

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, no GN

No RN, year 9

- Obv. 1. 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina* <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> MU 9.KÁM  
 2. *šá a-na* <sup>f</sup>AMAR-sa-*ḥi-iš-tu*<sub>4</sub> SUM<sup>nu</sup>  
 3. *ina man-da-tu*<sub>4</sub> *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-al-si-ul-a-ba-*áš-ši*  
 4. 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina* <sup>iti</sup>NE  
 5. *a-na* <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN SUM<sup>nu</sup>  
 6. *ina* GUB<sup>zu</sup> *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-a-a-lu
- Rev. 7. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá a-na* <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN  
 8. SUM<sup>nu</sup> *ina* GUB<sup>zu</sup> *šá* <sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-*ši*  
 9. 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá a-na*  
 10. <sup>Id</sup>EN-su-pe-e-mu-*ḥur* SUM<sup>nu</sup>  
 11. <sup>iti</sup>KIN<sup>II</sup>.KÁM 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 12. *šá a-na* SUM-PAP *a-na* É SUM<sup>nu</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–3. 3 shekels silver which were given to <sup>f</sup>Būr-sāḫištu in the month of Tašritu year 9, from the hire of Nabû-alsi-ul-abâšši.
- 4–6. 12 shekels silver which were given to Itti-Nabû-balātu in the month of Abu, in the presence of Nabû-ayyalu.
- 7–8. 10 shekels silver which were given to Itti-Nabû-balātu in the presence of Lābāši.
- 9–11. 4 shekels silver which were given to Bēl-suppê-muḫur, (in) the month of intercalary Ulūlu.
- 11–12. 1 shekel silver which was given to Nādin-aḫi for the house.

*Notes*

- 3: A slave named Nabû-alsi-ul-abâšši was sold by <sup>f</sup>Bāba-bēl-bīti/Arad-Bēl//Egibi to Itti-Nabû-balātu/Bēl-iddin//Egibi, according to *Nbn.* 533. Nabû-alsi-ul-abâšši is among the nearly one hundred slaves listed in *Dar.* 379, the document of the inheritance division of Marduk-nāšir-apli and his two brothers (l. 25, in Marduk-nāšir-apli's portion).
- 5, 7: Most likely the recipient of these two disbursements is Itti-Nabû-balātu/Marduk-bāni-zēri//Bēl-ēṭir, son-in-law to Itti-Marduk-balātu (see text No. 59, n. to ll. 26–27).
- 8: This Lābāši may be the other name of Bēl-ušallim/Zēriya//Nabaya (see text No. 57, n. to l. 3).
- 10: On Bēl-suppê-muḫur, see text No. 72.

*Remarks*

See Remarks on text No. 73.

**72.**

MMA 79.7.34

Plate 52

H. 34 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Account record: inventory

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, no GN

No RN, year 5 month 7 day 26

- Obv. 1. 1 ME 72 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÁN ZÚ.LUM.MA  
 2. *re-ḫe-et e-pi-šú NÍG.ŠID ina pa-ni*  
 3. <sup>Id</sup>EN-su-pe-e-mu-ḫur a-na ŠUB<sup>ú</sup> šá KAŠ ṚSAG Ṛ
- 
4. 44 dan-nu 1<sup>en</sup> KÁ ma-nu-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 5. 56 dan-nu ma-nu-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 6. 2 dan-nu 1 (GUR) du-ub-qa  
 7. 10 dan-nu šá 1 GUR 1 PI.ĀM

- Rev. 8. 16(!) *dan-nu šá ina* DA ŠÚ GAR 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫<sup>1</sup>  
 9. 2 *dan-nu šá* 4 GUR ŠUB<sup>ú</sup>  
 10. 11 *dan-nu ina bi-rit* KÁ  
 11. 8 *dan-nu šá ina* DI RI x x x  
 12. 5 *dan-nu šá at-tu<sub>4</sub> a-di dan-nu šá a-na*  
 13. <sup>1</sup>Šad-din-nu na-ad-nu  
 (blank half line)  
 14. PAB 1 ME 54 *dan-nu ma-nu-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
 15. <sup>ú</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> UD 26.KÁM MU 5.KÁM  
 U.E. 16. NÍG.ŠID *ép-šu re-eḫ-ḫi* 18 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÁN  
 17. 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 *dan-nu* SUM<sup>nu</sup><sup>1</sup>

### Translation

- 1–3. 172 *kur* 3 *pān* 2 *sūt* dates, the remainder (from) settling the accounts, are at the disposal of Bēl-suppê-muḫur for brewing full-strength beer.
- 
4. 44 vats, one item, counted;  
 5. 56 vats, counted;  
 6. 2 vats (of) 1 (*kur* capacity), repaired;  
 7. 10 vats of 1 *kur* 1 *pān* (capacity) each;  
 8. [1]6 vats which . . . ;  
 9. 2 vats (into) which 4 *kur* was poured(?);  
 10. 11 vats inside the door;  
 11. 8 vats which . . . ;  
 12–13. 5 vats which . . . including the vats which were given to Šaddinnu;  
 14. Total 154 vats, counted.  
 15. Tašritu day 26, year 5  
 16–17. The accounts are done; remainder 18 *kur* 3 *pān* 2 *sūt*; . . . vats, given (?).

### Notes

- 3: According to *Nbn.* 1044 (year 17 of Nabonidus), Bēl-suppê-muḫur, who appears here and in text No. 71, was sold by Nabû-ušallim/Kinaya//Ile<sup>3</sup>i-Marduk to Itti-Nabû-balāṭu/Marduk-bāni-zēri//Bēl-ēṭir, son-in-law to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu. *Nbk.* 250 identifies Bēl-suppê-muḫur as the slave of one Tukultu-Marduk, in year 32 Nebuchadnezzar. (Since both of the tablets just cited belong to the British Museum's 76-11-17 collection, thus to the Egibi archive, the likelihood that each refers to the same individual is quite strong.)

For KAŠ SAG, see text No. 11, n. to l. 1.

- 6: *dubqu* is an Aramaic loanword, from the root *dbq*; see M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (London, 1903), p. 278, s.v. דבֿק, דבֿק.

**Remarks**

See Remarks on text No. 73.

**73.**

MMA 79.7.36

Plate 52

H. 31 mm. W. 39 mm. Th. 14 mm.

Account of silver disbursements

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, no GN

No date formula

- Obv. 1. 5 MA.NA 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 2. *ša*(!)  $\Gamma a^1$ -*na re-ḥe-tu*<sub>4</sub> x x KÙ.BABBAR  
 3. *ša Bar-sip*<sup>ki</sup> 1½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR  
 4. *ina* IGI I<sup>d</sup>AG-a- $\Gamma a$ -*lu*<sup>1</sup> *a-na*  
 5. *e-ṭè-ru ša* I<sup>1</sup>Kal-*ba-a*  
 6. *ša Kiš-šu*<sup>ki</sup>  
 7. 1 MA.NA 3 GÍN(!) *ša a-na*
- Rev. 8. I<sup>1</sup>BA<sup>ša</sup> SUM<sup>nu</sup>  
 9. PAB 7½ MA.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 10. 2 MA.NA 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ša*  $\Gamma gi^1$ -*in-nu*  
 11. *ša* I<sup>1</sup>Kal-*ba-a ša Kiš-šu*<sup>ki</sup>  
 12. SUM<sup>nu</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–3. 5 minas 3 shekels silver, including the remainder . . . silver of Borsippa.  
 3–6. 1½ minas silver at the disposal of Nabû-ayyalu for paying Kalbaya of Kish.  
 7–8. 1 mina 3 shekels (silver) which was given to Iqīšaya.  
 9. Total 7½ minas 6 shekels silver.  
 10–12. 2 minas 4 shekels silver bearing the *ginnu*-stamp, owed to Kalbaya of Kish, was given.

**Notes**

- 2: The total in l. 9 excludes the possibility that an additional entry of silver is meant here.  
 3: *ša Barsip*, “of Borsippa,” probably refers to a business association, as does “of Kish” below (ll. 6 and 11).  
 5–6, 11: Kalbaya “of Kish” is probably Kalbaya, the adopted son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin (see text No. 53); his business dealings with his adoptive brother Itti-Marduk-balāṭu involved renting a building in Ḥursagkamma, the eastern part of Kish (see Remarks on text Nos. 60 and 65), and his designation “of Kish” presumably relates to this business association.

10–12: This separate amount, not included in the total (l. 9), is of silver *ša ginnu*, “bearing a *ginnu*-stamp” (i.e., guaranteed). What this silver was stamped with is not known, but apparently the *ginnu*-stamp guaranteed a certain quality in contrast to either unrefined or very pure silver; see F. Joannès, *RLA* 8 1/2, pp. 108–9, s.v. *Metalle und Metallurgie*.

### Remarks

#### *Texts 71, 72, and 73*

None of these three undated account records includes mention of Itti-Marduk-balātu, his son Marduk-nāšir-apli, or any descendant—excepting the adopted Kalbaya—of the Egibi lineage. However, of the eight individuals named in these three documents, five can be plausibly identified with individuals appearing elsewhere in the Egibi archive, providing sufficient evidence for attributing these tablets to the Egibi archive. Kalbaya (text No. 73:5, 11) is probably Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin’s adoptive son; Itti-Nabû-balātu (text No. 71:5, 7) is Itti-Marduk-balātu’s son-in-law; Bēl-suppê-muḥur (text No. 72:3) is Itti-Nabû-balātu’s slave; Nabû-alsi-ul-abâšši (text No. 71:3) is Itti-Marduk-balātu’s slave, inherited by Marduk-nāšir-apli.

Nabû-ayyalu, who is responsible for paying out funds in text No. 73 and who oversees the distribution of funds in text No. 71, first appears during the reign of Cambyses as the slave of Iddin-Marduk (Archive D), for whom he carries out business having to do with the transport of naturalia, in association with the slave Madānu-bēla-ušur who is mentioned in text No. 70.<sup>1</sup> Like Madānu-bēla-ušur and several other slaves, he became the property of Itti-Marduk-balātu (presumably as part of the dower property transferred to the Egibi family with Iddin-Marduk’s daughter <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya, who was married to Itti-Marduk-balātu). Nabû-ayyalu continued to have a position of responsibility under Itti-Marduk-balātu<sup>2</sup> and under his son Marduk-nāšir-apli, by whom he was inherited.<sup>3</sup> In *Dar. 97* Nabû-ayyalu invests in a *ḥarrānu*-partnership with one Bēl-kāšir, who also was a *ḥarrānu*-partner with Marduk-nāšir-apli himself (*Dar. 134* and *TCL 13, 184*). Nabû-ayyalu and a new business partner, Ubār, are co-creditors for barley owed to the *ḥarrānu*-account of Marduk-nāšir-apli in *Dar. 269*; Marduk-nāšir-apli’s (continued) financing of the *ḥarrānu*-partnership of Nabû-ayyalu and Ubār is documented by the duplicates *Dar. 395* and *396*.<sup>4</sup> The text of these duplicates reveals that the business of the partnership was beer production: it is formulated as a promissory note for 100 *kur* dates, 50 *kur* barley, and 60 empty vats, owed by Nabû-ayyalu and Ubār to Marduk-nāšir-apli. The two debtors share the profits and pay the financier a fixed annual fee of 2 minas silver, while they have the use of a building rent-free for the three-year duration of the partnership. Most likely Nabû-ayyalu’s earlier partnership with Ubār, as well as some of his other transactions (see n. 3, above), also relates to his operation of a brewery, as an agent using Marduk-nāšir-apli’s capital.

Of the three accounting records presented here, only text No. 72, which includes an inventory of vats of beer, manifestly pertains to the Egibi family’s brewery enterprise, and Nabû-ayyalu is absent from that document. The purpose of the expenditures of silver itemized in the other two texts is left unspecified (except for the hire of Nabû-alsi-ul-abâšši, text No. 71:3), so it is impossible to know whether they relate to beer production or not. Nonetheless, Bēl-suppê-muḥur’s presence in both text No. 71 and text No. 72, combined with Nabû-ayyalu’s presence in both text No. 71 and text No. 73, forms a tenuous connection between all three texts. Considering the dates attested for these two individuals as well as for Kalbaya,



Itti-Nabû-balāṭu, and the slave Nabû-alsi-ul-abâšši, and considering that Nabû-ayyalu's career reached its height while he worked as Marduk-nāšir-apli's agent, it is most likely that texts Nos. 71, 72, and 73 pertain to Marduk-nāšir-apli's time rather than to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu's, and thus to the early years of Darius I's reign.

1. Nabû-ayyalu's brief career under Iddin-Marduk is represented by *Camb.* 125 and 279 (see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 327 and 340) as well as Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 339, 359, and 376; also see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 50 with n. 193.
2. In *Camb.* 308 he is creditor for silver and a quantity of garlic, and in *Camb.* 351 he receives the rent on a house; he appears in *Camb.* 361, a list of amounts of barley due from (or disbursed to?) various people (l. 4). *Camb.* 369 records the settlement of accounts arising from the trade in garlic, involving 27½ minas silver, between Nabû-ayyalu and Madānu-bēla-ušur.  
See Krecher, Egibi, p. 65, for Nabû-ayyalu's work as an agent of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, and p. 99, for his work under Marduk-nāšir-apli.
3. *Dar.* 379:21. In addition to those mentioned in the following discussion, the documents in which Nabû-ayyalu is identified as Marduk-nāšir-apli's slave include *Nbk.* 17 (year 1 of Nebuchadnezzar IV), wherein Nabû-ayyalu owes his owner a quantity of silver; *Dar.* 243, wherein he receives a payment as proxy of his owner's brother Libluṭ (= Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit); *Dar.* 349, a promissory note for the price of a jenny owed to Nabû-ayyalu; *Dar.* 361, a receipt for dates delivered by Nabû-ayyalu; and *Dar.* 413, a promissory note for barley owed to Marduk-nāšir-apli, which is to be paid to Nabû-ayyalu.
4. For these texts, see Lanz, *ḥarrānu*, pp. 159–60.

Archive D  
(Text Nos. 74–83)

**74.**

MMA 79.7.40

Plate 53

H. 31 mm. W. 39 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Bīt-Ṭāb-Bēl

Nebuchadnezzar II, year 40 month 1 day 15

- Obv. 1. 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ka-a-ri šá* KU<sub>6</sub><sup>há</sup>  
 2. *šá* <sup>1</sup>GI-mil-lu A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>UTU-NUMUN-DÙ  
 3. A <sup>Id</sup>30-KUR-nu <sup>lú</sup>GAL *ka-a-ri šá* LUGAL  
 4. <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup>  
 5. A <sup>1</sup>Sag-di-di u <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 6. A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30  
 7. [i]na *qí-it šá* <sup>iti</sup>BÁR
- Lo.E. 8. [KÙ.BABB]AR *šá ina* 1 GÍN 5<sup>šú</sup>
- Rev. 9. <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-nam-din-nu 1<sup>en</sup> pu-ut  
 10. 2<sup>i</sup> na-šu-ú  
 11. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>GI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 12. A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-SU  
 13. A <sup>Id</sup>30-KUR-nu <sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a (erasure)  
 14. A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-TIN A <sup>1</sup>Ḫa-aṭ-ṭá-a-a  
 15. u <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>EN-A-MU  
 16. A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup> A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ
- U.E. 17. <sup>uru</sup>É-ṭa-bi-<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>iti</sup>BÁR  
 18. UD 15.KÁM
- L.E. 19. MU 40.KÁM  
 20. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-ÛRU LUGAL E<sup>[ki]</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–3. 7 shekels silver, harbor dues on fish, owed to Gimillu, son of Šamaš-zēra-ibni, descendant of Sîn-šadûnu, the royal harbor manager.
- 4–9. Nabû-šuma-iddin, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of Sagdidi, and Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, will pay [silver] of 1/3 (alloy) per shekel [a]t the end of the month of Nisannu.
- 9–10. Each one guarantees for the other.
- 11–14. Witnesses:  
 Mušallim-Marduk, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-erība, descendant of Sîn-šadûnu  
 Iqīšaya, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit, descendant of Ḫaṭṭaya

- 15–16. And the scribe: Bēl-apla-iddin, son of Nabû-šuma-iškun, descendant of Šangû-Ninurta  
 17–20. Bīt-Ṭāb-Bēl, Nisannu day 15 year 40, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon

### Notes

- 1: For *kāru*, “harbor dues,” see *CAD K*, p. 236, s.v. *kāru* [3d]; cf. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 34 and 35. The qualification *ša* + (commodity) must designate the commodity on which the fee was owed—or in which it was calculated, as a proportion of the quantity being transported—thus, here, “harbor dues on (= owed for the transport of) fish.”
- 2–3: Gimillu, the creditor, is known from eleven other texts (including Sack, *Amēl-Marduk*, 29, wherein his slave appears as the debtor; the other ten are listed in Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 1*, p. 36 nn. 137 and 138), all of which belong to Iddin-Marduk’s archive or dossier.
- 4: The absence of *ina muḥḥi* from the formulary, unless a *lapsus calami*, is unusual inasmuch as the debtor is not identified explicitly as such.
- 8: Other promissory notes for *kāru*-dues dated to the latter years of Nebuchadnezzar also specify silver of ⅓ alloy, e.g., *Nbk.* 357:6 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 34), *Nbk.* 358:9 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 35), and *Nbk.* 389:5 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 43). In two later documents the silver quality required for payment of this tax is of ⅓ alloy: Sack, *Amēl-Marduk*, 62:5 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 52), and *Ev.-M.* 8:7 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 53).
- 15–17: Bīt-Ṭāb-Bēl is the location at which three other promissory notes for *kāru*-dues, *Nbk.* 357, 384, and 397 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 34, 41, and 45), are drawn up, all three written by the same scribe Bēl-apla-iddin; Sack, *Amēl-Marduk*, 29 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk*, 54), a promissory note for barley, garlic, and silver owed by Gimillu’s slave Lābāši to two partners of Iddin-Marduk, was also written by the same scribe at the same place. For further attestations of Bīt-Ṭāb-Bēl, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 1*, index p. 155, and *RGTC 8*, p. 108.

### Remarks

Text No. 74 pertains to a series of tablets, identified by C. Wunsch within Iddin-Marduk’s dossier, which concern the payment to the harbor authority of fees, termed *kāru*, “harbor dues,” for the use of the canal and/or its harbor or quays.<sup>1</sup> These tablets were drawn up in two locations, Tīl-Gula and Bīt-Ṭāb-Bēl, and most pertain to the last years of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign, during which time Gimillu held the office of “royal harbor manager” for this region. Wunsch distinguishes two groups: tablets documenting the debts in silver or naturalia owed by Iddin-Marduk’s partners and tablets documenting the debts owed by other individuals unassociated with Iddin-Marduk. From the presence of the latter group among Iddin-Marduk’s tablets, Wunsch infers that Gimillu’s claims for the harbor fees were ceded to Iddin-Marduk—that is, Iddin-Marduk purchased the debts of other individuals by paying their fees to Gimillu in silver, while receiving from them the corresponding amount in naturalia, in a conversion that benefited all parties involved. The tablet presented here may represent such a transaction. Fish is not attested as a commodity in which Iddin-Marduk normally did business, and his partner in payment, Nabû-šuma-iddin, was not one of his business associates.

1. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 1*, pp. 36–37.

## 75.

MMA 79.7.12

Plate 54

H. 37 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 17

Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 28–31; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, pp. 401–2; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 156

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 8 month 6 day 29

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{1}{3}$  4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá  
 2. <sup>1</sup>BA-šá-a A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30 ina muḫ-ḫi  
 3. <sup>1</sup>A-ra-bi lú<sup>1</sup>gal-la <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 4. A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30 u[l-t]u UD 1.KÁM šá <sup>iti</sup>KIN  
 5. šá MU 8.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>  
 6. KÙ.BABBAR ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi  
 7. KÙ.BABBAR šá a-na du-ú-da-nu-tú [x x]
- Lo.E. 8. SUM<sup>nu</sup>
- Rev. 9. lú<sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-ÛRU(!) A-šú šá  
 10. <sup>1</sup>Mu-šal-lim-mu A lú<sup>1</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Na-na-a  
 11. <sup>1</sup>Tab-né-e-a A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU  
 12. A lú<sup>1</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Za-ri-qu u lú<sup>1</sup>ŠID  
 (blank half line)  
 13. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-GI A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-DÛ-ŠEŠ  
 14. A <sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ-ba-ni TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>KIN
- U.E. 15. UD 29.KÁM MU 8.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK  
 L.E. 16. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–4.  $\frac{1}{3}$  (mina) 4 shekels silver, owed to Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn by Arrabi, slave of Iddin-Marduk, descendant of Nūr-Sîn.
- 4–6. F[ro]m day 1 of the month of Ulūlu of year 8, Nabonidus king of Babylon, silver shall accrue against him.
- 7–8. The silver (is that) which has been given for [ . . . ] work on kettles (?).
- 9–12. Witnesses:  
 Ea-nāšir, son of Mušallimu, descendant of Šangû-Nanaya  
 Tabnêa, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Šangû-Zāriqu
- 12–14. And the scribe: Marduk-ušallim, son of Nabû-bāni-aḫi, descendant of Aḫu-bani
- 14–16. Babylon, Ulūlu day 29 year 8, Nabonidus king of Babylon

*Notes*

- 6: The interest rate is missing from the clause, usually written *ša ITI ina UGU 1 MA.NA 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina muḥ-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi* (see, e.g., text Nos. 56:7–9 and 57:6–7).
- 7: Schiff translates *dūdānūtu* as “kettles,” interpreting the line to mean that the silver was given for purchasing or renting the *dūdānūtu* (Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, pp. 401–2); Wunsch analyzes this word as an abstract substantive and translates “Kesselschmiedearbeiten,” “smith’s work on kettles” (*Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 66 n. 255; *Iddin-Marduk* 2, p. 129). See Remarks below.
- 9: KÁD is written over erased ÛRU, but Ea-nāšir is well known as a business associate of Iddin-Marduk (see text No. 79).
- 11: The second witness, Tabnêa, also witnesses Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 157, and text No. 76 and is party to a transaction with Ea-nāšir and Iddin-Marduk in text No. 79.

*Remarks*

Arrabi, an otherwise unknown slave of Iddin-Marduk, owes his owner 24 shekels silver. Although the document is written at the end of the month, interest is charged beginning with the first day of the same month. The contractual relationship must therefore have been established previously, and this promissory note represents a novation of Arrabi’s obligation.

According to Wunsch’s interpretation, the silver was given by Iddin-Marduk to Arrabi for the manufacture or repair of kettles (see n. on ll. 7–8, above). The original transaction would then have been a work contract, and the silver said to be owed by Arrabi in text No. 75 would represent the valuation in silver of materials and labor, to be delivered in the form of finished products to his creditor and owner, Iddin-Marduk.

**76.**

MMA 79.7.35

Plate 55

H. 36 mm. W. 44 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 18

Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 32–35; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, p. 405; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 160

Memorandum of receipt for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Borsippa

Nabonidus, year 8 month 12 day 16

- Obv. 1. 9 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <sup>I</sup>SUM-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá  
 2. <sup>I</sup>BA-šá-a A <sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30 ina šU<sup>II</sup>  
 3. <sup>f</sup>Bu-na-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> a-di te-lit-tu<sub>4</sub> IG<sup>I</sup>ú<sup>ú</sup>  
 4. šá ul-tu UGU mi-tu-tu  
 5. šá <sup>I</sup>Ap-la-da-na-ta-nu DAM-šú  
 6. ina UR<sub>5</sub>.RA KÙ.BABBAR-šú maḥ-ḫir
- Lo.E. (fingernail marks)

- Rev. 7. *ina* GUB<sup>zu</sup> *šá* <sup>1</sup>*Tab-né-e-a*  
 8. A-*šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU  
 9. A <sup>Ilú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Za(!)-ri(!)-⟨*qu*⟩ <sup>Id</sup>AG-GIN-A  
 10. A-*šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ A <sup>1</sup>SIG<sub>15</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 11. *Bar-sip*<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>ŠE UD 16.KÁM  
 12. MU 8.KÁM <sup>d</sup>AG-I LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 13. *taḥ-si-tu*<sub>4</sub> *la ma-še-e*

### Translation

- 1–6. 9 shekels silver, from the interest on his silver—including the previous yield which (has accrued on the debt) since the death of her husband Apladdu-natan—Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, received from <sup>f</sup>Bunānītu.  
 7–10. In the presence of:  
     Tabnêa, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šangû-Zāriqu  
     Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Mudammiq-Nabû  
 11–12. Borsippa, Addaru day 16 year 8, Nabonidus king of Babylon  
 13. Memorandum in order not to forget.

### Notes

- 3: *tēlittu*, “increase” or “yield,” is used here in the same sense as we use the word “yield” to denote the interest earned from capital invested in a loan. Here *tēlittu* denotes Iddin-Marduk’s profit, in the form of interest accrued (cf. Roth, “Widow,” p. 19 n. 79).  
 5: On the components of the West Semitic (Aramaic) name Apladdu-natan, see Zadok, *WSB*, pp. 48 and 84.  
 Lo.E.: There are two rows of sixteen parallel fingernail marks each (see text Nos. 64 and 78).  
 7: As is common in the case of tablets recording transactions without documenting further contractual obligations, the witnesses are here introduced by the phrase “in the presence of” rather than the term “witnesses” (*mukinnū*); so also in the receipt, text No. 78.  
 9: For Tabnêa’s family name, Šangû-Zāriqu, see text No. 75:11–12 and citations there in n. to l. 11.

### Remarks

Apladdu-natan and his wife <sup>f</sup>Bunānītu had purchased an expensive house in Borsippa, with partial financing from Iddin-Marduk in year 2 of Nabonidus (*Nbn.* 85). Apladdu-natan died before paying off the loan on this house, but not before deeding the house to his wife in consideration of the use of her dower silver for its purchase (*Nbn.* 356:10–18).<sup>1</sup> This did not prevent his brother from trying to claim the property, and *Nbn.* 356, dated year 9 of Nabonidus, records the judicial decision in <sup>f</sup>Bunānītu’s favor following litigation with her brother-in-law over ownership of the house and other property.<sup>2</sup> Responsibility for

paying off the remainder of Iddin-Marduk's loan and accumulated interest rested with <sup>f</sup>Bunānītu and her adoptive son Apladdu-amara (*Nbn.* 1104).<sup>3</sup> Text No. 76 records Iddin-Marduk's receipt of an interest payment from <sup>f</sup>Bunānītu, which she made after her husband's death but prior to the judicial proceeding detailed in *Nbn.* 356.

1. Apladdu-natan's death is to be dated after year 5 of Nabonidus, when he is named as co-debtor with <sup>f</sup>Bunānītu in a promissory note for part of the original loan, *Nbn.* 187.

2. Nabū-aḥḥē-iddin/Šulaya/Egibi was one of six judges who decided this case.

3. *Nbn.* 1104 may, however, date from before the lawsuit.

Recent treatments of the group of documents concerning Iddin-Marduk's financing of this house purchase, and concerning <sup>f</sup>Bunānītu's recourse to the court to secure her title, may be found in Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, pp. 151–55; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 60–61; and Roth, "Widow," pp. 17–19. These tablets (*Nbn.* 85, 187, 356, 1104, and text No. 76) were stored with the rest of Iddin-Marduk's dossier among the Egibi archives. As long as his loan remained outstanding Iddin-Marduk would have preserved all documents pertaining to it; although Iddin-Marduk's financial interest in the house is not the main concern of *Nbn.* 356, that document—of which he obtained only unsealed copies (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, p. 139, and Roth, "Widow," p. 17 n. 78)—also reaffirms his claim.

## 77.

MMA 86.11.145

Slave sale

Plates 56, 118, 119

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

H. 51 mm. W. 68 mm. Th. 24 mm.

Nabonidus, year 9 month 7 day 10

Publ. Moldenke II, 53

Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 150–53; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, pp. 415–17; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 168; see also text No. 129 (side A is a cast of the reverse of this tablet)

- Obv. 1. <sup>1</sup>Nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>1</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AG <sup>lú</sup>la-mu-ta-nu  
 2. <sup>šá</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> A-šú <sup>šá</sup> <sup>1d</sup>AG-LUGAL-ÛRU a-na 2 MA.NA 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 3. a-na <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú <sup>šá</sup> <sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30  
 4. ul-tu <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> <sup>šá</sup> MU 8.KÁM <sup>1d</sup>AG-I LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>  
 5. id-di-nu-ma a-da-an-nu a-di qí-it <sup>šá</sup> <sup>iti</sup>KIN  
 6. <sup>šá</sup> MU 9.KÁM a-na muḥ-ḥi iš-ku-nu-ma  
 7. a-da-an-šú i-ti-iq-ma KÙ.BABBAR <sup>šá</sup> e-ṭè-ru  
 8. la i-ši <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> a-na <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 9. iq-bi um-ma KÙ.BABBAR a-na e-ṭè-ri-ka  
 10. la i-ši <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>1</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 Lo.E. 11. ku-um <sup>šÁM</sup> gam-ru-tú a-bu-uk  
 Rev. 12. <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> A-šú <sup>šá</sup> <sup>1d</sup>AG-LUGAL-ÛRU  
 13. ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú <sup>1</sup>Nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>UTU  
 14. u <sup>1</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AG a-na 2 MA.NA 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 15. a-na <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú <sup>šá</sup> <sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30  
 16. id-din pu-ut se-ḥu-ú pa-qí-⟨ra⟩-nu ìR-LUGAL-ú-tú

17. *u* DUMU-DÙ<sup>tu</sup> *šá* UGU <sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>UTU *u* <sup>I</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 18. *šá* E<sub>11</sub><sup>a</sup> <sup>I</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> *na-ši* <sup>I</sup>mu-kin-nu  
 19. <sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Du-muq A <sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-la-a-a  
 20. <sup>I</sup>GAR-MU A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>MU-ÛRU A <sup>I</sup>Ši-gu(!)(text:GÉME)-ú-a  
 21. <sup>Id</sup>EN-GI A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>NUMUN-ía A <sup>I</sup>Na-ba(!)(text:šu)-a-a  
 22. *ù* <sup>I</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>AG-DUB-NUMUN A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Ba-laṭ-su  
 U.E. 23. A <sup>I</sup>Sip(!)-pe-e TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>it</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> UD 10.KÁM  
 24. MU 9.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 L.E. 25. *ina a-šá-bi šá* <sup>f</sup>Kal-ba-tu<sub>4</sub> DAM <sup>I</sup>[Ni]-d[in-t]u<sub>4</sub>  
 26. DUMU.SAL-su *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ A <sup>I</sup>Šu-[x-x]

### Translation

- 1–5. (Concerning) Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû, the *lamutānu*-slaves which, since the month of Tašritu of year 8 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Nidintu, son of Nabû-šarra-ušur, gave to Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, (as security) for 2 minas 10 shekels silver;
- 5–6. and regarding which (debt) they set the deadline (for repayment) at the end of the month of Ulūlu of year 9;
- 7–8. and his deadline has passed, and silver for payment is not available:
- 8–11. Nidintu said the following to Iddin-Marduk:  
 “Silver for paying you is not available. Lead away Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû for the(ir) full price.”
- 12–16. Nidintu, son of Nabû-šarra-ušur, voluntarily sold Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû to Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, for 2 minas 10 shekels silver.
- 16–18. Nidintu guarantees against any challenger (of the legality of the sale), any claimant (to a right of ownership), (and any claim of) royal slave-status or *mār banî*-status that may arise regarding Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû.
- 19–21. Witnesses:  
 Lābāši, son of Dummuq, descendant of Esagilaya  
 Šākin-šumi, son of Šuma-ušur, descendant of Šigūa  
 Bēl-ušallim, son of Zēriya, descendant of Nabaya
- 22–23. And the scribe: Nabû-šāpik-zēri, son of Balāssu, descendant of Sippē
- 23–24. Babylon, Tašritu day 10 year 9, Nabonidus king of Babylon
- 25–26. In the presence of <sup>f</sup>Kalbatu, wife of [Ni]d[int]u, daughter of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Šu-[. . .].



*Notes*

- 1: On slaves termed *lamūtānu*, see Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 95–96.
- 2: Besides the promissory note *Nbn.* 305 (see Remarks below), Nidintu, the debtor and vendor, is also attested as a witness in *Nbn.* 838 (from the Egibi archive).
- 5: *iddin*, “he gave” should be understood to mean “he assigned as security” in this clause; the verb does not imply possession of the security by the creditor. For the absence of the specific designation *maškanu*, see Petschow, *Pfandrecht*, pp. 118–19.
- 11: Petschow suggests the reading *ku-um šám* (*Pfandrecht*, p. 118; “Zwiegesprächsurkunde,” p. 109). The normal expression in slave sale contracts is *ana šimi gamrūtu/hariš nadānu*; this scribe’s choice to use *kūm* may be predicated on the fact that the forfeiture of the slaves occurs in lieu of repayment of the debt.
- 12ff.: N.B.: the text of the reverse of this tablet appears on the cast MMA 86.11.142, text No. 129.
- 19: Lābāši/Dummuq/Esagilaya appears as the last witness of text No. 102 (rev. 13’), and *Nbn.* 308 documents his debt of 10 shekels silver to Itti-Marduk-balātu/Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/Egibi.
- 20: The second witness, Šākin-šumi/Šuma-ušur, is attested (under his full name and full patronymic, Marduk-šākin-šumi/Marduk-šuma-ušur) in *Ev.-M.* 14, as the vendor of a parcel of land purchased by Neriglissar through the agency of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/Šulaya/Egibi. For the ambiguous writing MU-URU/ŠEŠ, which can be read as either Šuma-ušur or Nādin-aḥi, see J. Brinkman, “The Names of the Last Eight Kings of the Kassite Dynasty,” *ZA* 59 (1969), pp. 233–38.
- 21: Bēl-ušallim (i.e., Lābāši), Iddin-Marduk’s brother-in-law (see Remarks on text No. 57), is the third witness of both this document and the original debt document, *Nbn.* 305.

*Remarks*

Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû were among the numerous slaves that Iddin-Marduk obtained as forfeited pledges from insolvent debtors; this was his principal means of acquiring slaves, as observed by Wunsch.<sup>1</sup> She also notes that—like Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû—the slaves so acquired generally do not reappear in his archive, and some may have been resold.

The process of forfeiture of slaves assigned as security for debt is detailed fairly closely in text No. 77.<sup>2</sup> Wunsch observes that one of the obligations underlying Nidintu’s forced sale of the slaves Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû is documented by *Nbn.* 305 and its duplicate OECT 10, 102, dated Ulūlu (month 6) day 14, year 8 of Nabonidus.<sup>3</sup> According to these promissory notes, Nidintu owed Iddin-Marduk 1 mina 12 shekels silver, for which he had pledged (his slaves) <sup>f</sup>Alākšu-lūmur and Mušēzib-Nabû; the debt was payable in its principal amount eleven months later. According to text No. 77, Nidintu had incurred a debt of 2 minas 10 shekels silver, for which Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû were pledged to Iddin-Marduk, in Tašritu (month 7) of Nabonidus year 8, that is, one month later than the date of *Nbn.* 305/OECT 10, 102; and the deadline for payment of that debt of 2 minas 10 shekels had been set at the end of Ulūlu of year 9, that is, one month later than the deadline stipulated in *Nbn.* 305/OECT 10, 102. Thus, between the sixth and seventh months of year 8, Nidintu had not only substituted Nūr-Šamaš for <sup>f</sup>Alākšu-lūmur as his creditor’s security,<sup>4</sup> but his debt obligation had mounted by nearly a mina. The promissory note documenting the increase in his indebtedness appears not to be extant.

The presence of Nidintu's wife <sup>f</sup>Kalbatu at the drawing up of the contract whereby Nūr-Šamaš and Mušēzib-Nabû were alienated suggests that one or both of these slaves may have been either her dower property or were property that her children could otherwise have expected to inherit.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 66; Iddin-Marduk's acquisition and use of slaves are discussed on pp. 62–66.
2. See Petschow, "Zwiegesprächsurkunde," p. 109; idem, *Pfandrecht*, p. 118; Shiff, Nūr-Sîn, p. 143; and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 64.
3. *Nbn.* 305 and OECT 10, 102, are edited as Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 154.
4. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 64, and *Iddin-Marduk* 2, p. 128.
5. See Roth, *Marriage Agreements*, pp. 21–22.

## 78.

MMA 79.7.3

Receipt for silver

Plate 57

Neo-Babylonian period, no GN

H. 33 mm. W. 43 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Nabonidus, year 9 month 11 day 17

Publ. Moldenke I, 19

Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 36–37; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 174

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{1}{3}$  MA.NA 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR UR<sub>5</sub>.RA  
 2. KÙ.BABBAR-šú šá 2<sup>ta</sup> MU<sup>meš</sup>  
 3. <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ina šU<sup>II</sup>  
 4. <sup>I</sup>Ba-la-tu ma-ḫi-ir  
 5. ina GUB<sup>zu</sup> šá
- Lo.E. 6. <sup>Id</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-BA šá  
 7. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>EN-šú-nu  
 8. u <sup>Id</sup>EN-A-MU A-šú šá  
 9. <sup>I</sup>E-tel-lu <sup>iti</sup>ZÍZ  
 10. UD 17.KÁM MU 9.KÁM  
 11. <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL <sup>Γ</sup>E<sup>ki</sup> 7
- U.E. (fingernail marks)

### Translation

1–4. Iddin-Marduk received  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina 4 shekels silver, two years' interest on his silver, from Balāṭu.

5–9. In the presence of:

Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša, son of Bēlšunu and Bēl-apla-iddin, son of Etellu

9–11. Šabāṭu day 17 year 9 Nabonidus king of Baby[lon]

*Notes*

- 8–9: Bēl-apla-iddin/Etellu//Adad-šuma-ēreš is known from at least three other documents: *Nbn.* 15 documents his debt of 16 shekels of silver, owed to Iddin-Marduk's wife <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât (see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 89); he was the scribe of *Nbn.* 508 (on which see Remarks on text Nos. 52, 54, and 57); and according to *Nbn.* 524, dated in year 11 of Nabonidus, he paid Iddin-Marduk 1 mina of a debt of 2 minas and 2 shekels.
- U.E: There are two rows of, originally, at least thirteen parallel fingernail marks each, similar in appearance and execution to those found on text Nos. 64 and 76.

*Remarks*

Text No. 78 records Iddin-Marduk's receipt of an interest payment from a certain Balāṭu. Given that the payment of 24 shekels of silver represents two years' interest, the debt on which this interest was charged would have been about 2 minas.

**79.**

MMA 79.7.19

Statement of liabilities

Plate 58

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

H. 47 mm. W. 57 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Nabonidus, year 11 month 4 day 24

Publ. Moldenke I, 25

Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 54–56; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 187

- Obv. 1. 11 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ina IGI I<sub>x</sub>-. . . A-šú]  
 2. šá I<sub>Id-da-a</sub> 9 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ina I[GI]  
 3. I<sub>d</sub>AG-NUMUN-BA<sup>šá</sup> A-šú šá I<sub>GAR-MU</sub> I<sub>MU-d</sub>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup>  
 4. A-šú šá I<sub>BA</sub><sup>šá</sup>-a a-na UGU i-te-li  
 5. 1/3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá ina IGI I<sub>Ri-mut</sub> A-šú šá  
 6. I<sub>d</sub>AG-GIN-IBILA I<sub>d</sub>E<sup>šá</sup>-a-na-šir A-šú šá  
 7. I<sub>Mu-šal-li-mu</sub> a-na UGU i-te-li  
 8. ka-ru-ú šá ka x x šá a-na SILA 4<sup>ta(?)</sup>  
 9. I<sub>MU(!)</sub>(text:ir)-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU šá ka-ri-šú-nu x x x x  
 10. x ina EDIN 15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ina IGI I<sub>Si-lim</sub>-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 Lo.E. 11. I<sub>lu</sub><sup>1</sup> qal-la šá I<sub>d</sub>AG-re-man-ni  
 Rev. 12. 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ina IGI I<sub>Tab-né-e-a</sub>  
 13. A I<sub>lu</sub>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Za-ri-qu a-ḥa-a-ta-šú-nu  
 14. I<sub>lu</sub>mu-kin-nu I<sub>d</sub>AMAR.UTU-KAR<sup>ir</sup> A-šú šá  
 15. I<sub>Ri-mut</sub> A I<sub>IR-d</sub>GIR<sub>4</sub>-KÙ I<sub>d</sub>AG-KÁM  
 16. A-šú šá I<sub>Tab-né-e-a</sub> A I<sub>Šeš-ba-ni</sub>

17. *u* lúšID I<sub>IR</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>*Kit-ti-ía*  
 18. A lúSANGA-<sup>d</sup>IDIM TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> itišU  
 19. UD 24.KÁM MU 11.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL  
 20. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> 10 GUR ŠE.BAR šá <sup>1</sup>M[U(?)-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU(?)]  
 21. *la-pa-ni* <sup>1</sup>*It-ti*-[. . . ]  
 U.E. 22. <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-PAP *a-na* UG[U *i-te-li*]

### Translation

- 1–4. Iddin-Mar[duk], son of Iqīšaya, has assumed liability for 11 shekels silver which is at the disposal of [. . . , son of] Iddaya, (and) 9 shekels silver which is at the dis[posal] of Nabû-zēra-iqīša, son of Šākin-šumi.  
 5–7. Ea-nāšir, son of Mušallimu, has assumed liability for 1/3 mina silver which is at the disposal of Rīmūt, son of Nabû-mukīn-apli.  
 8–10. (On) the joint account of . . . which is for the outstanding assets . . . Iddin-Marduk of their joint account . . . out of town,  
 10–13. (i.e.,) 15 shekels silver which is at the disposal of Silim-Bēl, slave of Nabû-rēmāni, (and) 5 shekels silver which is at the disposal of Tabnêa, descendant of Šangû-Zāriqu, their shares are equal.  
 14–16. Witnesses:  
     Marduk-ēṭir, son of Rīmūt, descendant of Arad-Nergal  
     Nabû-ēreš, son of Tabnêa, descendant of Aḫu-bani  
 17–18. And the scribe: Arad-Marduk, son of Kittiya, descendant of Šangû-Ea  
 18–20. Babylon, Du<sup>2</sup>ūzu day 24 year 11, Nabonidus king of Babylon  
 20–22. Ea-nāšir [has assumed] liability for 10 *kur* barley which Id[din-Marduk(?)] placed(?) at the disposal of Itti-[. . .].

### Notes

- 2, 3: Moldenke's copy indicates IGI at the end of l. 2 and AMAR.UTU at the end of l. 3.  
 4, 7: The amounts of silver specified in ll. 1–7 have been allocated to certain individuals, out of the assets of Ea-nāšir's and Iddin-Marduk's partnership, to carry out certain business activities. Iddin-Marduk and Ea-nāšir each assumed the responsibility for recovering an equal share (20 shekels total) of those outstanding assets; each had exclusive rights to his share, and correspondingly, each was liable for any loss from the outlay(s) of silver he was charged with recovering.  
 5–6: It cannot be determined whether Rīmūt/Nabû-mukīn-apli is Rīmūt/Nabû-mukīn-apli/Balāṭu, a witness to Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 99, and *Nbn.* 42 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 100), or Rīmūt/Nabû-mukīn-apli//Amēl-Isin (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 251), the *bēl piqitti* of Nabû-rēma-šukun (on whom see text No. 55, n. to l. 1).

- 8–9: The reading of these two lines is not apparent. Wunsch (*Iddin-Marduk* 2, p. 156) emends <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU to <sup>1</sup>MU(!)-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU; evidently the scribe erred and wrote his own personal name instead of that of his employer.
- 12–13: On Tabnêa/(Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin)//Šangû-Zāriqu, see text No. 75, n. to l. 11.
- 14–15: Marduk-ēṭir/Rīmūt//Arad-Nergal, the first witness, is the scribe of three of Iddin-Marduk's documents: *Nbn.* 515 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 186, on which see Remarks below) and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 196 and 254; see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 73–74 n. 279.
- 15–16: On the second witness, Nabû-ēreš/Tabnêa//Aḥu-bani, see Remarks on text Nos. 52 and 57 as well as Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 16.
- 17–18: On the scribe Arad-Marduk/Kittiya//Šangû-Ea, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 73–74 n. 279.

### Remarks

Ea-nāšir's participation in Iddin-Marduk's business is known from half a dozen documents, summarized by Wunsch.<sup>1</sup> In *Nbn.* 466 (year 10 of Nabonidus) and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 219 (year 13 of Nabonidus), Ea-nāšir and Rīmūt-Bēl, son of Bēl-zēra-ibni, descendant of Šambā,<sup>2</sup> work together as the active partners in a *ḥarrānu*-partnership for which the capital was provided by Iddin-Marduk's slave Nergal-rēšūa. In *Nbn.* 515, text No. 79, and Durand, *Textes babyloniens*, pl. 82 (top) (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 186, 187, and 255), all of which are documents concerning the settlement of accounts, Ea-nāšir works directly with Iddin-Marduk.<sup>3</sup> According to *Nbn.* 515 (year 11 of Nabonidus), Iddin-Marduk, Ea-nāšir, and Marduk-ēṭir get one mina silver apiece as their shares. In text No. 79, written 23 days later than *Nbn.* 515, Iddin-Marduk and Ea-nāšir apportion between themselves the shares of their jointly held assets (*karû*, ll. 8 and 9) and the responsibilities for outstanding assets.<sup>4</sup> Durand, *Textes babyloniens*, pl. 82 (top), from which the year-date is lost, concerns the settlement of accounts between Iddin-Marduk and Ea-nāšir. Though the term *ḥarrānu* appears in none of the three texts documenting Ea-nāšir's business with Iddin-Marduk, the existence of "common assets" or a "joint account" (*karû*) coupled with the apportioning of responsibilities and profits strongly suggests a *ḥarrānu*-type partnership.

The partners' income, according to *Nbn.* 515:1–2 and Durand, *Textes babyloniens*, pl. 82 (top), was derived in part from the sale of garlic; the silver invested in the *ḥarrānu* documented by *Nbn.* 466 and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 219, was evidently used for the purchase of naturalia. Wunsch concludes that Ea-nāšir and Rīmūt, descendant of Šambā, were among the many agents employed or commissioned by Iddin-Marduk to manage the trade in naturalia, whereby produce was purchased from rural cultivators for resale in the big cities (*Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 41–42).

1. *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 41–42 with n. 154, which lists the documents of this archive in which Ea-nāšir appears as a witness, including Moldenke I, 17 (text No. 75).

2. See text No. 57, n. to l. 9.

3. Neither Ea-nāšir's nor Marduk-ēṭir's filiation is given in the record of the transaction, but it may be assumed that Marduk-ēṭir, the transacting party, is identical to Marduk-ēṭir/Rīmūt//Arad-Nergal, the scribe of *Nbn.* 515; on Ea-nāšir, see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 41 n. 154.

4. If this settlement concerns the accounts of the same business partnership as *Nbn.* 515, a partnership that had included Marduk-ēṭir, the latter's presence as the first witness to text No. 79 probably was required in order to indicate that he would not contest his exclusion from the apportionment of shares agreed to therein.

**80.**

MMA 79.7.5

Promissory note for silver

Plate 59

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

H. 42 mm. W. 55 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Nabonidus, year 11 month 11 day 12

Publ. Moldenke I, 24

Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 52–53; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, p. 438; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk 2*, 192

- Obv. 1. 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>1</sup> MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá  
 2. <sup>1</sup>BA-šá-a A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30 ina muḫ-ḫi  
 3. <sup>Id</sup>AG-DÙ-ŠEŠ A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>BA-šá-a A <sup>1</sup>Na-din-še(!)-im(!)  
 4. šá ITI ina muḫ-ḫi 1 ma-né-e 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 5. ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi <sup>Id</sup>AG-re-man-ni  
 6. A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AMAR-GI pu-ut  
 7. e-ṭè-ru na-ši(!)(text:din) ITI-TA.ÀM  
 8. UR<sub>5</sub>.RA i-nam-din
- Rev. 9. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>EN-A-MU A-šú šá  
 10. <sup>Id</sup>AG-PAP A <sup>Id</sup>IM-MU-KÁM  
 11. <sup>1</sup>MU-MU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-ia  
 12. A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la <sup>Id</sup>EN-A-MU  
 13. <sup>lú</sup>ŠID A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ina-SÙH-SUR A <sup>Id</sup>AG-lit-su  
 14. E<sup>ki</sup> iti zíz UD 12.KÁM  
 15. MU 11.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I  
 16. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–3. 3 minas silver, owed to Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, by Nabû-bāni-aḫi, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nādin-še<sup>2</sup>i.
- 4–5. (Interest) shall accrue against him (at the rate of) 1 shekel silver per mina per month.
- 5–7. Nabû-rēmāni, son of Būr-ušallim, guarantees payment.
- 7–8. He shall pay interest each month.
- 9–12. Witnesses:  
 Bēl-apla-iddin, son of Nabû-nāšir, descendant of Adad-šuma-ēreš  
 Šuma-iddin, son of Zēriya, descendant of Šangû-Gula
- 12–13. Bēl-apla-iddin, scribe, son of Ina-tēšê-eṭir, descendant of Nabû-lissu
- 14–16. Babylon, Šabātu day 12 year 11, Nabonidus king of Babylon

## Notes

- 3: Moldenke miscopied the last two signs of the line as AMAR.UTU and read the debtor's family name as Nādin-Marduk. The reading Nādin-še'ī is based on the appearance of Nabû-bāni-aḫi/Iqīšaya//Nādin-še'ī as the third witness in another of Iddin-Marduk's documents, *Nbn.* 260 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 143).
- 6: Nabû-rēmanni/Būr-ušallim appears as a witness in three other documents in Iddin-Marduk's dossier: *Nbn.* 280 and 534 and TCL 12, 88 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 149, 189, and 155). For the reading <sup>d</sup>AMAR = Būr, see Zadok, *WSB*, p. 62.
- 9–10: Bēl-apla-iddin is to be identified with Bēl-apla-iddin/Nabû-nāšir//Adad-šuma-ēreš, the first witness of another of Iddin-Marduk's documents, *Camb.* 272 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 347).
- 11–12: Šuma-iddin, the second witness, is co-debtor for 12 minas silver owed to Iddin-Marduk, according to *Liv.* 2 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 158; see *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 57 with n. 224), and witnesses other documents of Iddin-Marduk's (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 356 and 366, and *Nbn.* 611; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 198); he owes 1 mina 35 shekels silver to Iddin-Marduk's slave Nergal-rēšūa in *Nbn.* 613 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 199); and his purchase of a six-year-old slave girl is documented by *Nbn.* 693 (edited in Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 192, 680).
- 12–13: For the scribe's family name, see Stamm, *Namengebung*, p. 212, and *CAD* L, p. 223, s.v. *lītu* [b-2'], against the readings <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN-su (Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, p. 438) and <sup>Id</sup>AG-(*bul*)-lit-su (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, p. 160).

## 81.

MMA 79.7.20

Plate 60

H. 36 mm. W. 48 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Publ. Moldenke I, 30

Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 76–79; Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, p. 477; Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 225

Receipt by proxy for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 14 month 3 day 18

- Obv. 1. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina na*(!)(text:UTU)-*áš-par-ti*  
 2. *šá* <sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-e(!)(text:kal)-a A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-BA<sup>šá</sup>  
 3. A <sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Na-na <sup>Id</sup>AG-KÁM  
 4. A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>Šil-la-a A <sup>I</sup>Man-di-di  
 5. <sup>u</sup> <sup>I</sup>EN-šú-nu A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-BA<sup>šá</sup>  
 6. A <sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>Na-na *ina* šU<sup>II</sup>  
 7. <sup>f</sup>É-sag(!)-il-ra-mat  
 8. *ma-ḫi-ir e-lat*
- Lo.E. 9.  $\frac{1}{3}$  5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *maḫ-ru-ú*

- Rev. 10. lú<sup>1</sup>*mu-kin-nu* <sup>Id</sup>DI.KUD-NUMUN-DÙ  
 11. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>*Ap-la-a* A <sup>1</sup>DÙ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR  
 12. <sup>1</sup>*La-qi-pi* A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>*Ki-na-a*  
 13. u <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>AG-KÁM  
 14. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>*Šil-la-a* A <sup>1</sup>*Man-di-di*  
 15. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>  
 16. UD 18.KÁM MU 14.KÁM  
 U.E. 17. <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–8. Nabû-ēreš, son of Šillaya, descendant of Mandidi, and Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-iqīša, descendant of Šangû-Nanaya, (acting) on behalf of Nūrea, son of Bēl-iqīša, descendant of Šangû-Nanaya, received 10 shekels silver from Ina-Esagil-ramât.  
 8–9. Separate from the previous ⅓ (mina) 5 shekels silver.  
 10–12. Witnesses:  
     Madānu-zēra-ibni, son of Aplaya, descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
     Lāqīp, son of Kīnaya  
 13–14. And the scribe: Nabû-ēreš, son of Šillaya, descendant of Mandidi  
 15–17. Babylon, Simānu day 18 year 14, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 3–4: Nabû-ēreš/Šillaya//Mandidi also appears as the recipient of payment on Nūrea’s behalf and as the scribe in *Nbn.* 757 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 224).  
 5–6: Bēlšunu/Bēl-iqīša//Šangû-Nanaya, together with an unrelated person, also receives payment on behalf of his brother Nūrea in *Nbn.* 713.  
 8–9: It is not clear whether the *elat*-clause refers to a sum that is still owed or to a previously received payment.

### Remarks

This document is one of seven extant receipts for payments of silver made to Nūrea, son of Bēl-iqīša, descendant of Šangû-Nanaya, or to his representatives by either <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât, Itti-Marduk-balātu, or Marduk-rēmanni, respectively wife, son-in-law, and son of Iddin-Marduk.<sup>1</sup> Five out of these seven texts indicate that the silver is payment for *urāšu*, *ilku*, or *dullu*, that is, service obligations owed to the crown.<sup>2</sup> It may be assumed that the two texts that do not specify the reason for payment, text No. 81 and *Nbn.* 757, also concern compensation for Nūrea’s performance of Iddin-Marduk’s service obligations. Wunsch has identified and assembled twenty documents that record the payment of compensation to various individuals for performing *urāšu*-service (or other work obligations) on Iddin-Marduk’s behalf.<sup>3</sup> She con-



jectures that Iddin-Marduk was subject to the imposition of these service obligations on the grounds that he had leased temple or crown land, and remarks on the fact that none of the Egibi family members seems to have been subject to any such obligations.<sup>4</sup>

1. The other six documents are *Nbn.* 713, 727, and 741 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 213, 216, and 218), all dated in year 13 Nabonidus; *Nbn.* 757 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 224), dated two months earlier than text No. 81 in year 14 Nabonidus; *Cyr.* 10 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 262); and Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 387 (date not preserved).
2. *Nbn.* 727 merely states that the silver is for *dullu ša Iddin-Marduk* (l. 2); *Cyr.* 10 specifies that the service performed is two months' work on the wall of the Enlil Gate (*dullu ša dūri ša abul Enlil*, ll. 1–2); Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 387— from which the first few lines, which might have indicated the reason for payment, are missing—mentions “the hired men who will do the work.”
3. Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 54 n. 211. Some of these texts, including text No. 81, are discussed by Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, p. 78, and Shiff, *Nūr-Sîn*, p. 156. Three tablets are newly published by Wunsch (*Iddin-Marduk* 2, 296, 346, and 387).
4. *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 55 with n. 214.

## 82.

MMA 79.7.28

Plate 61

H. 41 mm. W. 54 mm. Th. 27 mm.

Promissory oath

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cyrus, year 7 month 6 day 10

- Obv. 1. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-<sup>na</sup>URU ina <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>I</sup>Kur-<sup>r</sup>ra-<sup>á</sup>š<sup>1</sup>  
 2. *it-ti-mu ki-i a-di-i*  
 3. <UD X>.KÁM šá <sup>iti</sup>KIN X X *su a-na*  
 4. <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *e-tir-<sup>o</sup>*  
 (blank line)  
 5. (erasure) <sup>lu</sup>*mu-kin-nu*  
 6. <sup>I</sup>r<sup>It</sup><sup>1</sup>-<sup>ti</sup><sup>d</sup>EN-TIN <<<sup>it</sup>>> A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-MU-MU  
 7. <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup> A-šú šá
- Lo.E. 8. <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-ŠEŠ-MU
- Rev. 9. <sup>Id</sup>AG-*ma-a-ku-na-din*  
 10. <sup>lu</sup>*qal-la šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-DÙ  
 11. A <sup>I</sup>La-ku-x x u <sup>lu</sup>ŠID  
 12. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a  
 13. A <sup>Id</sup>30-SÍSKUR-ŠE.GA  
 14. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>KIN UD 10.KÁM  
 15. MU 7.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Kur-raš
- U.E. 16. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

**Translation**

- 1–4. Marduk-nāšir swears by Bēl, Nabû, and Cyrus, “I shall pay . . . to Iddin-Marduk by ⟨day x⟩ of the month of Ulûlu.”
- 5–11. Witnesses:  
 Itti-Bēl-balātu, son of Nergal-šuma-iddin  
 Nergal-uballit, son of Nergal-aḥa-iddin  
 Nabû-makû-nādin, slave of Nabû-šuma-ibni, descendant of La-ku. . .
- 11–13. And the scribe: Marduk-erība, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Sîn-karābi-išme
- 14–16. Babylon, Ulûlu day 10 year 7, Cyrus king of Babylon, king of the lands

**Notes**

- 2: For *kî* plus the preterite as a negative asseverative oath, see *GAG*, §185k.  
 The formula of this document, which presupposes a promissory note or a contractual obligation, may be compared to VS 6, 126, as well as to promissory oaths appended to promissory notes, e.g., VS 4, 13. VS 6, 126, records one Arad-Nergal’s oath, expressed in the first person, that he would come and pay a certain amount of dates to his creditor Iddin-Nabû by day 10 of the month of Araḥsamnu. VS 4, 13, a promissory note, contains the debtor’s oath (ll. 6–8)—phrased much like text No. 82:1–4—that he will pay his debt by a certain month.
- 10: Examples of slaves functioning as witnesses to contracts are collected by Dandamaev, *Slavery*, pp. 91 and 398–400.
- 12–13: The scribe, Marduk-erība, appears in several other tablets of Iddin-Marduk’s archive (*Nbn.* 508 and 534, *Liv.* 16, *Camb.* 81, and *Dar.* 187; these are edited as Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 184, 189, 284, 269, and 352. He also appears as the fourth witness in *Nbn.* 1032, the archival context of which is unclear.

**Remarks**

This document contains a promissory oath in which Marduk-nāšir swears to repay a debt owed to Iddin-Marduk. Despite the absence of filiations, there is no reason to doubt that Iddin-Marduk is Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšaya, descendant of Nūr-Sîn; unfortunately, we have no idea who Marduk-nāšir might be, or what he owes, and on what basis, to Iddin-Marduk.

## 83.

MMA 79.7.32

Plate 62

H. 34 mm. W. 45 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Declaration before witnesses

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, no GN

No date formula

- U.E. 1. lúDUMU.DÙ<sup>meš</sup> šá ina IGI-šú-nu  
 2. <sup>1</sup>A-a A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>EN-MU A <sup>1</sup>E-gi-bi  
 3. <sup>1d</sup>U+GUR-MU A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>ŠÚ-SUR  
 4. A <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-a-a <sup>1d</sup>I-šum-MU A-šú šá  
 5. <sup>1</sup>Šu-la-a <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME A-šú šá  
 6. <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>ŠÚ-PAP  
 7. <sup>1</sup>A-a A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Gi-mil-lu  
 8. <sup>1</sup>Kal-ba-a A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-MU  
 9. <sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup> šá <sup>uru</sup>Du-ur-re-ḫi  
 Rev. 10. <A-šú>-šá <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>UTU ina GUB<sup>zu</sup>-šú-nu  
 R.E. 11. [X]-x-<sup>3</sup>-ú  
 Rev. 12. a-na <sup>1</sup>Su-qa-a-a A-šú šá  
 13. <sup>1d</sup>AG-pa-ni-ia iq-bi-ú  
 14. um-ma <sup>1</sup>Ḫar-da-ak-ka  
 15. šá ina É <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU (erasure)  
 16. a ri tu ka la/šu ki-il-li

*Translation*

1–9. These are the citizens:

Aplaya, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Egibi

Nergal-iddin, son of Marduk-ēṭir, descendant of Zēraya

Išum-iddin, son of Šulaya

Arad-Gula, son of Arad-Bēl

Arad-Nabû, son of Marduk-nāšir

Aplaya, son of Gimillu

Kalbaya, son of Nabû-aḫa-iddin

Iqīšaya of Dūr-rēḫi, &lt;son&gt; of Nūr-Šamaš

10–14. in their presence . . .-ū said to Sūqaya, son of Nabû-pāniya as follows:

14–16. “Detain Hardakka who (did) . . . in the house of Iddin-Marduk.”

### Notes

- 2: Aplaya/Bēl-iddin//Egibi may be identified with the first witness in *Dar.* 349 and possibly with Nabû-apla-iddin/Bēl-iddin//Egibi, the scribe of *Dar.* 541.
- 3–4: Nergal-iddin/Marduk-ēṭir//Zēraya is the scribe of *Dar.* 349 and witnesses *Dar.* 308, 309, and 360.
- 6: An Arad-Nabû/Marduk-nāšir//Ea-ilūta-bani is the first witness of *Camb.* 120.
- 7: Aplaya/Gimillu witnesses two documents pertaining to Marduk-nāšir-apli, *Dar.* 309 and 349, and appears as debtor of Marduk-nāšir-apli's slave Madānu-bēla-ušur in *Dar.* 405.
- 8: The seventh individual named may be identical to Kalbaya/Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin//Egibi, despite the lack of pluralization on the second element of his patronymic.
- 11: The interpretation of this line is problematic. The signs written on the reverse right edge of the tablet are here understood to be the personal name of the person whose declaration is recorded in this text. The line was previously read with l. 9 as <sup>uru</sup>*Du-ur-re-ḥi-tu-i-ú* by J. N. Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter der Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia 2* (Leipzig, 1886), 45:14 (see RGTC 8, p. 123).
- 14: To this name one may compare Avestan Harzakka, M. Mayrhofer, et. al, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 286; Veröffentlichungender Iranischen Kommission, 1 (Vienna, 1973), p. 157.

### Remarks

This text has the format used for documents recording declarations made, or actions undertaken, before witnesses—either *mukinnū* “witnesses” or *mār banê* “citizens” (see *NRV*, pp. 607ff.). Such texts may begin with the words, “These are the witnesses/citizens before whom,” followed by the record of the declaration or action, then by the list of individuals in whose presence the declaration was made or the action accomplished; the list of names may, as in the tablet published here, precede the record of the declaration or action, and the scribe's name and the date formula are often omitted.<sup>1</sup>

Text No. 83 may be approximately dated in the reign of Darius I based on the presence in this text of witnesses who are mainly attested during his reign.

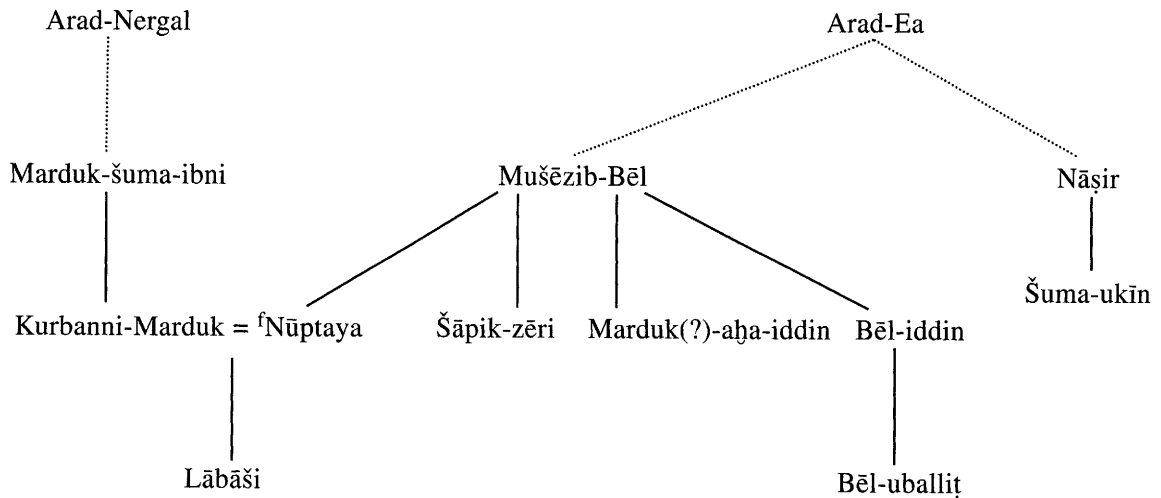
1. Five other documents with this format are included in Iddin-Marduk's dossier by Wunsch: *Nbk.* 342 and 344 and *Nbn.* 5, 68, and 69 (*Iddin-Marduk* 2, 29, 30, 87, 104, and 105). *Nbk.* 344 and *Nbn.* 69 record declarations before witnesses (*mukinnū*); the other three record actions.

## Introduction to Archive E

By comparison to Archives A, B, C, D, and F—in each of which, whether the number of extant tablets is large or small, the documentation clusters coherently around a single (individual or family) entity—the documents grouped here under the rubric “Archive E” hardly represent a true archive. It is not immediately clear to whose archive they belonged, legally or physically. The first three tablets, dated year 6 of Nabonidus through year 12 of Nabonidus (text Nos. 84–86), all name Šuma-ukīn, son of Nāšir, descendant of Arad-Ea, as the creditor, and at least text No. 86 was written in the “city of Šuma-ukīn,” so it would seem logical to assume that they belonged in that individual’s archive. However, each of these transactions also involved the participation of Kurbanni-Marduk, son of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Arad-Nergal, or members of the family he married into, that of Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of Arad-Ea. Therefore, it is equally likely that these three tablets belonged in the archive of the latter family, namely that of Kurbanni-Marduk, his wife <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya, and her brothers, having been transferred there once the credit claims were paid. The presence of two tablets pertaining to Kurbanni-Marduk’s son Lābāši (text Nos. 87 and 88) dating to years 2 and 4 of Cyrus supports the latter alternative; Lābāši would have kept tablets belonging to both his parents.<sup>1</sup>

The genealogical chart below depicts the known individuals and relationships within the families to which the tablets of Archive E belonged. Šuma-ukīn was at least distantly related to the family of Mušēzib-Bēl, for he too was descended from the Arad-Ea lineage.<sup>2</sup>

Genealogical Chart: Archive E



Code for genealogical chart:

- ..... Ancestral lineage
- Direct filiation

The economic activities attested by the tablets presented here are entirely mundane, and among the individuals shown in the Genealogical Chart for Archive E only Šuma-ukīn, on the basis of the available evidence, appears to have enjoyed a relatively significant socioeconomic position. That Kurbanni-Marduk and his brother-in-law Marduk(?)-aḫa-iddin lease land for cultivation from Šuma-ukīn may be inferred from the type of promissory notes for naturalia debited against them (text Nos. 84–86).<sup>3</sup>

1. In the absence of other published tablets pertaining either to these individuals or to Šuma-ukīn, it is hardly possible to test the proposition that these five tablets derive from the archive inherited by Lābāši from his parents Kurbanni-Marduk and ʿNūptaya.
2. A few other Arad-Nergal descendants and Arad-Ea descendants not necessarily directly related to the individuals found in Archive E appear among the tablets published in this volume (see Index of Personal Names).
3. See W. G. Lambert, “Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity,” *JCS* 11 (1957), pp. 2–3, 6, and Appendix 1, pp. 9–10, for Arad-Ea descendants attested in *kudurru* texts as holders of various offices.

Archive E  
(Text Nos. 84–88)

**84.**

MMA 86.11.240

Plate 62

H. 30 mm. W. 43 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 61

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 178–80

Promissory note for barley

Neo-Babylonian period, [Ālu-ša-Šuma-ukīn(?)]

Nabonidus, year 6 month 12<sup>II</sup> day [x]

- Obv. 1. [x GUR x (PI) x BÁN Š]E.BAR šá <sup>1</sup>MU-GIN  
 2. [A-šú šá] <sup>1</sup>Na<sup>1</sup>-šir A <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 3. *ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>ld</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup>-šEŠ-MU A-šú šá  
 4. <sup>1</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN A <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 5. *ina* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> *ina* SAG.DU-šú *ina* <sup>1</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup>  
 6. *1<sup>et</sup> rit-tu<sub>4</sub> ina* KÁ *ka-lak-ku*  
 7. *i-nam-din e-lat ú-il-tì*
- Rev. 8. IGI<sup>ti</sup> šu(?)-ú *i-gar*  
 9. <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> *ip-pu-uš*  
 10. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>GIN-NUMUN A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>A-a  
 11. A <sup>lú</sup>Mun-na-bit-ti <sup>ld</sup>AG-ú-šur-šú  
 12. [A-šú šá] <sup>1</sup>E-ri-šú<sup>1</sup> A <sup>lú</sup>GAL-DÙ  
 13. [<sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>1</sup>L]a-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-ší-<sup>d</sup>šÚ A-šú  
 14. [šá <sup>ld</sup>AG-SIG<sub>15</sub> A] <sup>1</sup>MU-líb-ši  
 15. [URU šá <sup>1</sup>MU-GIN(?) <sup>iti</sup>šE DIRI ŠE.KIN.KUD  
 U.E. 16. [UD x.KÁM MU] <sup>1</sup>Ḫ.KÁM <sup>ld</sup>AG-I  
 17. [LUGAL TIN.T]IR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–4. [x kur x pān x sūt ba]rley, owed to Šuma-ukīn, [son of] Nāšir, descendant of Arad-Ea, by Marduk-aḫa-iddin, son of Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of Arad-Ea.  
 5–7. In the month of Ayyāru he shall deliver the principal (amount) in a single delivery at the storehouse gate.  
 7–9. (This obligation is) separate from (any) previous promissory note. He (the lessee/debtor) shall build an orchard wall.  
 10–12. Witnesses:  
     Mukīn-zēri, son of Aplaya, descendant of Munnabittu  
     Nabû-ušuršu, [son of] Ērišu(?), descendant of Rab-banê

- 13–14. [Scribe: L]ābāši-Marduk, son [of Nabû-mudammiq, descendant of] Šumu-libši  
 15–17. [City of Šuma-ukīn(?)], intercalary Addaru [day x year] 6, Nabonidus [king of Baby]lon

**Notes**

- 3–4: Šuma-ukīn's debtor, Marduk-aḥa-iddin, is the brother of the debtor, <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya, and of the scribe, Šāpik-zēri, of text No. 86.  
 8–9: *igar kirī ippuš* is an example of the clause requiring the lessee of an orchard plot to build a wall around the plot (for citations, see Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 119 n. 794, as well as VS 5, 49:9).  
 13–14: The name of the scribe is reconstructed based on the name of the last witness in text No. 86:15–16. He is also attested in text No. 148:10'-11'.  
 16: Years 1, 3, 6, 12, and 15 of Nabonidus's reign had an intercalary Addaru (Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, p. 29). Here the traces indicate the reading 6.

**Remarks**

Although the barley owed by Marduk-aḥa-iddin to Šuma-ukīn is not identified as a lease payment (*imittu, šibšu, or sūtu*), the clause requiring Marduk-aḥa-iddin to build an orchard wall indicates that this debt arose from Šuma-ukīn's lease of an orchard plot to Marduk-aḥa-iddin. Barley and other field or garden crops were often grown under the trees of an orchard, and the lessor could require payment of a portion of these crops as well as the orchard produce. Since the document specifies that the principal of the debt of barley is to be paid (l. 5), a specification that is not ordinarily necessary in *imittu* promissory notes, this text may concern rent overdue from the previous harvest.

Marduk-aḥa-iddin, the debtor/lessee, is a member of the family to whom Archive E belonged (see Genealogical Chart, p. 166).

**85.**

MMA 86.11.389a,b

Plate 62

H. 36 mm. W. 43 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 63

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 184–85

Promissory note for barley

Neo-Babylonian period, Ālu-[ša-Šuma-ukīn(?)]

Nabonidus, year [x] month 8 day 28

Obv. 1. 31 GUR 4 PI ŠE.BAR ZA[G.LU . . . ]

2. šá <sup>I</sup>MU-GIN A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Na-[šir]

3. <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup> <sup>I</sup>R-<sup>d</sup>IDIM ina m[uḥ-hi]

4. <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]



5. A <sup>1</sup>E-gì-bi ina <sup>iti</sup>G[U<sub>4</sub> ina SAG.DU-šú(?)]  
 6. ina KÁ ka-lak-ku ina muḫ-[hi]  
 7. <sup>1et</sup> rit-tu<sub>4</sub> i-nam-[din]  
 8. ina lib-bi 1 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.BAR šá PAD ka-[. . . ]
- Lo.E. 9. ŠE.NUMUN-šú zaq-pu u pi-i
- Rev. 10. Ṛšul<sup>1</sup>-pu maš-ka-nu šá <sup>1</sup>MU-GIN  
 11. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Na-šir A <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM a-d[i UGU]  
 12. šá ŠE.BAR-Ṛšú <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-šal-lim-mu ŠE.N[UMUN]  
 13. šá ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>1</sup>Kur-ban-ni-<sup>d</sup>SÚ m[a-hi]r  
 14. <sup>1</sup>mu-Ṛkin<sup>1</sup>-nu [<sup>1d</sup>]AG-MU-ú-ṣ[ur A-šú šá]  
 15. <sup>1</sup>E-ri-šú A <sup>1</sup>úGAL-DÙ [<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 16. A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>AG-iq-bi A <sup>1</sup>ú[. . . ]  
 17. <sup>1d</sup>šÚ-GAR-MU A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>TIN [. . . ]  
 18. <sup>1</sup>úšID <sup>1d</sup>EN-TIN<sup>i</sup>[<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>EN-MU(?)]  
 19. A <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM URU [šá <sup>1</sup>MU-GIN(?)]  
 20. <sup>iti</sup>APIN UD 28.[KÁM MU x.KÁM]  
 U.E. 21. <sup>1d</sup>AG-I LUG[AL E<sup>ki</sup>]

### Translation

- 1–5. 31 kur 4 pān barley, the imi[ttu-payment . . .] owed to Šuma-ukīn, son of Nāšir, descendant of Arad-Ea, b[y] Rīmūt, son of [. . .], descendant of Egibi.
- 5–7. In the month of Ay[yāru] he shall de[liver the principal(?)] at the storehouse gate, in a single delivery.
8. Out of this amount, 1 pān 2 sūt barley which . . . (?) [. . .]
- 9–12. His (Rīmūt's) arable field, planted with trees and cul[ti]vated, is the security of Šuma-ukīn, son of Nāšir, descendant of Arad-Ea, un[til] he is paid his barley.
- 12–13. (The pledged field is) the ara[ble field (?)] which he re[ceiv]ed from Kurbanni-Marduk.
- 14–17. Witnesses:  
 Nabû-šuma-ušur, [son of] Ērišu, descendant of Rab-banê  
 [. . .], son of Nabû-iqbi, descendant of [. . .]  
 Marduk-šākin-šumi, son of Balātu, [descendant of . . .]
- 18–19. Scribe: Bēl-uballiṭ, [son of Bēl-iddin], descendant of Arad-Ea
- 18–21. City [of Šuma-ukīn(?)], Araḥsamnu day 28 [year x], Nabonidus king [of Babylon]

### Notes

- 4–5: [ina qaqqadišu] is restored based on text No. 84:5.
- 13: Kurbanni-Marduk is assumed to be Kurbanni-Marduk/Marduk-šuma-ibni//Arad-Nergal, who appears as Šuma-ukīn's debtor in text No. 86 as well as, probably, the scribe of texts Nos. 10 and 104, and whose son Lābāši appears in text Nos. 87 and 88.

- 18–19: The patronymic Bēl-iddin is restored based on the attestation of a Bēl-uballiṭ/Bēl-iddin//Arad-Ea as the scribe of *Camb.* 173:17–18, drawn up in Babylon in year 3 of Cambyses. It is thence inferred that Bēl-uballiṭ/Bēl-iddin//Arad-Ea, the scribe of text No. 85, was the son of Bēl-iddin/Mušēzib-Bēl//Arad-Ea, the scribe of text No. 87 in year 2 of Cyrus; the time span involved is short enough to permit the appearance of the son during Nabonidus's reign and the father in the second year of Cyrus.
- 20: The placement of text No. 85 as the second document in Archive E, despite the missing year-date, rests on the assumptions that this tablet relates to Kurbanni-Marduk's activity while alive, and that he was no longer alive by the eighth month of year 12 Nabonidus, when text No. 86 was drawn up to record his wife <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya's assumption of responsibility for paying his outstanding debts. Although it is not certain that the present text postdated text No. 84 (Nabonidus year 6), it certainly predated text No. 86.

### Remarks

This tablet is formulated as a standard promissory note for barley due as an *imittu*-payment on a leased field. Šuma-ukīn is the creditor/lessor, as in text No. 84, and Rīmūt is the debtor/lessee. However, the document was drawn up in Araḥsamnu (October-November), at the time of sowing barley, whereas promissory notes for barley-*imittu* or *šibšu* are normally drawn up in Nisannu or Ayyāru, soon before the harvest. The debt amount may therefore represent the lease payment still owed from the preceding spring's harvest; this would explain why the creditor required the pledge of the arable field as security for payment (ll. 9–12).

The last clause (ll. 12–13) states that the field Rīmūt pledged as security was received from Kurbanni-Marduk, presumably the same Kurbanni-Marduk who was a member of the family to whom Archive E belonged (see n. to l. 13 above, and Genealogical Chart, p. 166). The assignment of this promissory note to Archive E depends on the assumption that Kurbanni-Marduk, retaining rights to the field Rīmūt pledged to Šuma-ukīn, acquired this tablet in the course of subsequent transactions (not documented by extant tablets) between himself and Rīmūt and Šuma-ukīn.

### 86.

MMA 86.11.208

Plate 63

H. 38 mm. W. 49 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 56

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 162-64

Payment agreement

Neo-Babylonian period, Ālu-ša-Šuma-ukīn

Nabonidus, year 12 month 8 day 5

- Obv. 1. [a-d]i qí-it šá<sup>iti</sup>APIN<sup>f</sup>Nu-up-ta-[a]  
 2. [DUM]U.S[AL-s]u šá<sup>I</sup>[M]u-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN A<sup>I</sup>ḫR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 3. [x M]A.NA KÙ.BABBAR a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>Id<sup>d</sup>UTU-M[U] A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-NUMUN-DÙ

4. A LUGAL-A.RA.ZU<sup>ú</sup> lú<sup>A</sup> šip-ri šá<sup>I</sup>MU-GIN  
 5. [A]-šú<sup>meš</sup> šá<sup>I</sup>Na-šir A ĪR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM ta-nam-din-ma  
 6. ú-íl-ti<sup>meš</sup> šá ŠE.BAR u ZÚ.LUM.MA  
 7. šá<sup>I</sup>MU-GIN šá ina UGU ĪKur-ban-ni-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 8. A-šú<sup>meš</sup> šá<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UT[U-M]U-D[Û A Ī]R-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÙ  
 9. mu-tu<sub>4</sub> šá<sup>f</sup>Nu-up-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-a <sup>r</sup>e-li<sup>1</sup>-at-<sup>2</sup>  
 10. i-na-áš-šam-m[a a]-na<sup>f</sup>Nu-up-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-a  
 Lo.E. 11. ú-kal-lam-ma ri-iḫ-tu<sub>4</sub> KÙ.BABBAR  
 Rev. 12. a-na<sup>d</sup>UTU-MU ta-nam-din-ma  
 13. ú-íl-ti<sup>meš</sup> a-na<sup>f</sup>Nu-up-ta-a  
 14. i-nam-din lú<sup>mu</sup>-kin<sub>7</sub> ĪKAR-<sup>d</sup>šú A-šú  
 15. šá<sup>I</sup>MU-GIN A ĪDINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>i</sup> ĪLa-a-ba-ši  
 16. A-šú<sup>meš</sup> šá<sup>d</sup>AG-SIG<sub>15</sub> A ĪMU-līb-ši ĪDUB-NUMUN  
 17. lú<sup>š</sup>ID A-šú<sup>meš</sup> šá<sup>I</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN A ĪR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 18. [U]RU šá<sup>I</sup>MU-GIN it<sup>i</sup>APIN UD 5.KÁM  
 19. [MU] <sup>r</sup>12<sup>1</sup>.KÁM ĪdAG-I LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–5. [By] the end of the month of Araḥsamnu, <sup>f</sup>Nūptay[a, dau]gh[ter] of Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of Arad-Ea, will pay [x] minas silver to Šamaš-id[di]n, son of Marduk-zēra-ibni, descendant of Šarru-teslītu, the messenger of Šuma-ukīn, [son] of Nāšir, descendant of Arad-Ea, and  
 6–11. he (Šamas-iddin) shall bring and show [t]o <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya any extant promissory notes for barley or dates owed to Šuma-ukīn by Kurbanni-Marduk, son of Mard[uk-š]uma-ib[ni, descendant of Ar]jad-Nergal, husband of <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya, and  
 11–12. she will pay the remainder in silver to Šamaš-iddin, and  
 13–14. he will give the promissory notes to <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya.  
 14–16. Witnesses:  
     Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Šuma-ukīn, descendant of Ili-tillatī  
     Lābāši, son of Nabû-mudammiq, descendant of Šumu-libši  
 16–17. Šāpik-zēri, scribe, son of Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of Arad-Ea  
 18–19. [C]ity of Šuma-ukīn, Araḥsamnu day 5 [year] 12, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 15–16: Lābāši, son of Nabû-mudammiq, descendant of Šumu-libši, the second witness, also appears as the scribe of text No. 84 (restored on the basis of this line).  
 18–19: The city of Šuma-ukīn does not appear to be attested in other texts outside this group. M. Dandamayev (personal communication) suggests that it may have been a settlement located near Babylon.

**Remarks**

The purpose of this document, written by <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya's brother, Šāpik-zēri, was to establish <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya's responsibility for paying off debts on behalf of her husband, Kurbanni-Marduk. Kurbanni-Marduk's death may be inferred from his wife's assumption of this responsibility, and if it was indeed the same Kurbanni-Marduk who wrote text No. 104 on day 22 of the month of Tašrītu, year 12 of Nabonidus (see text No. 85, n. to l. 13), then his death barely preceded the writing of the present tablet. Evidently <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya and Kurbanni-Marduk's creditor Šuma-ukīn agreed upon an amount of silver to cover Kurbanni-Marduk's outstanding obligations; she must pay that amount to Šuma-ukīn's agent Šamaš-iddin. Šamaš-iddin must produce any promissory notes for debts owed to Šuma-ukīn by <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya's husband (ll. 6–11), so that they may adjust the difference between the sum of silver already agreed upon (l. 3) and the silver value of the commodities owed according to Šuma-ukīn's documents. Once <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya pays the difference, Šamaš-iddin must turn over to her the promissory notes charged against Kurbanni-Marduk.<sup>1</sup>

1. See Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xviii; for another instance of this legal and archival practice, see *NRV*, p. 216, remark on nos. 193 and 194.

**87.**

MMA 86.11.330

Plate 63

H. 40 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Receipt for silver

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cyrus, year 2 month 6 day 14

- Obv. 1. 11 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-NUMUN-DÙ  
 2. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-DA A <sup>lú</sup>GAL.DÙ u <sup>I</sup>TIN-su A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>X-X  
 3. [in]a šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-šú  
 4. šá <sup>I</sup>Kur-<sup>r</sup>ban<sup>r</sup>-ni-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>I</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>-KÙ  
 5. ina ra-šu-ti <sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup>-x-šEŠ(?) X-a<sub>4</sub>  
 6. šá-<sup>r</sup>ta-ri <sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup> [. . . ]  
 7. <sup>dug</sup>šap-pa-tu<sub>4</sub> šá x x <sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup> [. . . ]
- Lo.E. 8. šá ina IGI <sup>I</sup>Lu-uš-ana-ZÁLAG šá <sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup>-[. . . ]  
 9. ší-i
- Rev. 10. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>E[N(?)]-. . . ]  
 11. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-<sup>r</sup>DÙ A<sup>r</sup> <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]  
 12. <sup>I</sup>X-<sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup>-[X A-š]ú šá <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]  
 13. <sup>r</sup>A <sup>r</sup>I<sup>r</sup>Sag-di-di <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU <<A-šú <sup>r</sup>šá<sup>r</sup>>>  
 14. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN A <sup>I</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 15. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>ti</sup>KIN UD 14.KÁM MU 2.KÁM  
 16. <sup>I</sup>Ku-ra-áš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>
- U.E. 17. u KUR.KUR

*Translation*

- 1–4. Nergal-zēra-ibni, son of Bēl-le<sup>3</sup>i, descendant of Rab-banê, and Balāssu, son of . . . , (received)  
 11 shekels silver [fro]m Lābāši, son of Kurbanni-Marduk, descendant of Arad-Nergal,  
 5–6. on the credit claim of . . .  
 7–9. The *šappatu*-vessel . . . [. . .], which is at the disposal of Lūši-ana-nūri, belongs to [. . .].  
 10–13. Witnesses:  
     Bēl(?)-[. . .], son of Nabû-zēra-ibni, descendant of [. . .]  
     [. . .], son of [. . . , descendant of] Sagdidi  
 13–14. Scribe: Bēl-iddin, son of Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of Arad-Ea  
 15–17. Babylon, Ulūlu day 14 year 2, Cyrus king of Babylon and the lands

*Notes*

- 3–4: Lābāši/Kurbanni-Marduk//Arad-Nergal is also the scribe of a promissory note, *Nbn.* 307, written in year 8 of Nabonidus in *Šu(?)-bur-tú*, an otherwise unknown GN.  
 15–17: The scribe who wrote this receipt for Lābāši's payment of silver, Bēl-iddin, was one of Lābāši's maternal uncles. Bēl-iddin also wrote text No. 34, and the scribe who wrote text No. 85, Bēl-uballit, may have been his son (see text No. 85, n. to ll. 18–19).

**88.**

MMA 86.11.164

Plate 64

H. 40 mm. W. 54 mm. Th. 24 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cyrus, year 4 month 2 day 8

- Obv. 1. [X M]A.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>I</sup>d<sup>EN</sup>-TIN<sup>it</sup>  
 2. [A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>X-TIN.TI]R<sup>ki</sup> A<sup>I</sup>Ú-šur-a-mat<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 3. [ina muḫ-ḫi<sup>I</sup>]La-a-ba-ši A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>Kur-ban-ni<sup>d</sup>šÚ  
 4. [A<sup>I</sup>IR<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÙ a-di] qí-it šá<sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub>  
 5. [i-nam-din<sup>lú</sup>m]u-kin-nu<sup>I</sup>d<sup>Za</sup>-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-šEŠ-MU  
 6. [A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ] A<sup>I</sup>Ú-šur-a-mat<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 Rev. 7. [I]M<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>DUB-NUMUN A<sup>lú</sup>DUG.SÌLA.BUR  
 (blank line)  
 (blank line)  
 8. <sup>lú</sup>šID<sup>I</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-šú  
 9. šá<sup>I</sup>Kur-ban-ni-Γ<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A<sup>l</sup>I<sup>IR</sup><sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÙ  
 10. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> UD 8.KÁM MU 4.KÁM  
 11. <sup>I</sup>Kur-raš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR<sup>meš</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–4. [x] minas and 6 shekels silver, owed to Bēl-uballiṭ, [son of . . .-Bāb]ili, descendant of Uṣur-amāt-Ea, [by] Lābāši, son of Kurbanni-Marduk, [descendant of Arad-Nergal].
- 4–5. [He shall pay by] the end of the month of Ayyāru.
- 5–7. [Wi]tnesses:  
     Zababa-aḥa-iddin, [son of . . .], descendant of Uṣur-amāt-Ea  
     [Id]din-Nabû, son of Šāpik-zēri, descendant of Paḥḥāru
- 8–9. Scribe: Lābāši, son of Kurbanni-Marduk, descendant of Arad-Nergal
- 10–11. Babylon, Ayyāru day 8 year 4, Cyrus king of Babylon and the lands

*Note*

- 8–9: The debtor, Lābāši, wrote this promissory note, which he most likely received from his creditor when he was quit of the debt.

## Introduction to Archive F

Bēl-rēmāni, son of Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš, had a fairly long and varied career, attested by six tablets in the Museum's collection and numerous tablets in other collections.<sup>1</sup> His activities can be followed for forty-six years, from year 7 of Cyrus (*Cyr.* 260; 532 B.C.) through year 35 of Darius I (VS 5, 109; 486 B.C.). He lived in Sippar, where he worked as a scribe, both privately and for the Ebabbar temple, but he also did business in Babylon (text Nos. 90 and 94; VS 3, 138/139). He held a prebend with the temple of Bunene (text No. 90:9–10). Sometimes he worked together with his brother Šamaš-nāšir; their other brother, Erībaya, appears only seldom. The activities of their father Mušibši-Marduk are unattested, and no extant documents concern Šamaš-nāšir or Erībaya that do not also concern Bēl-rēmāni. Thus it would appear that the tablets of Archive F represent an archive spanning a single generation and belonging solely to Bēl-rēmāni. It is most probable that Bēl-rēmāni stored his own tablets in the Ebabbar temple archive, and in that case we should refer not to an “archive” of Bēl-rēmāni but to a “dossier” or “file” within the Ebabbar archive. Some tablets in which Bēl-rēmāni is mentioned clearly come from the temple archive, and in some cases it is hard to say whether a tablet in which he appears as a transacting party belongs to him or to the temple.<sup>2</sup>

As would be typical of a private archive, most of Bēl-rēmāni's tablets document transactions between (apparently) private individuals.<sup>3</sup> VS 3, 89, records Bēl-rēmāni's debt of 3 *kur* dates to a man and his mother; VS 3, 99, records his payment of 40 *kur* barley in partial satisfaction of a debt; text No. 89 (dupl. VS 4, 113) records his payment of silver against an obligation incurred by his brother Šamaš-nāšir. According to VS 6, 121, Bēl-rēmāni was due to receive a delivery of “fine Suhian wine.” VS 4, 135, records Bēl-rēmāni's obligation to pay 1 mina and 28 shekels stamped silver currency,<sup>4</sup> with interest, as the “remainder of the rations” of Esagil-mukīn-apli, son of Nabû-ētir, descendant of Arad-Marduk; this is the only occasion when Erībaya, who is named as a witness (ll. 17–18), appears in his brother's own documents. VS 3, 135a and 208, are promissory notes for barley owed by Bēl-rēmāni, and VS 3, 154, is a receipt for his payment of a quantity of barley. Presumably at an advanced age in year 35 of Darius, Bēl-rēmāni leased a brewer's prebend from one Ubār, according to VS 5, 109, a contract that required him to perform the duties incumbent on the holder of the prebend; VS 4, 200 (date formula broken), is a promissory note arising from Bēl-rēmāni's lease of another person's brewer's prebend. Both prebends were held with the Ebabbar temple.

Several tablets, on the other hand, document transactions in which Bēl-rēmāni acted in an official capacity on behalf of the Ebabbar. *Cyr.* 260, written by Bēl-rēmāni, records Bēl-rēmāni's receipt of barley delivered as the tithe (*ešrû*, l. 5) of the leasehold (*sūtu*) of two individuals; some barley has further been turned over to a certain Taqīš-Gula for *sattukku*-offerings (ll. 11–12). The fact that the barley is defined as a tithe indicates that Bēl-rēmāni was booking its receipt by the temple, not receiving it personally; that it is designated for providing offerings confirms that the temple is the actual recipient. Although no temple or deity is specified, this would surely be the Ebabbar temple, since the text was written in Sippar and Bēl-rēmāni is otherwise associated with the Ebabbar. Thus it appears that Bēl-rēmāni had a job as an accountant or clerk in the Ebabbar storehouses. The records of disbursements of barley or silver paid to Bēl-rēmāni (*Camb.* 288 and CT 56, 194, see n. 2 below) point in the same direction. It was surely in the capacity of a clerk employed by the temple that he wrote text No. 92, a contract whereby Gūzānu, the *šangû*-priest of Sippar, and four scribes (that is, the Ebabbar administration) leased

a sizable plot of land to Nabû-uballit, son of Ṭābiya, for cultivation.<sup>5</sup> Bēl-rēmāni later (text No. 93) sublet an adjacent plot from Bēl-ittannu, son of Ṭābiya, probably the brother of the lessee named in the previous tablet.

The tablets drawn up in Babylon reveal a different facet of Bēl-rēmāni's activity. The duplicates VS 3, 138 and 139, dated year 26 of Darius I, record Bēl-rēmāni's obligation to supply 86 *kur* dates for the provisions of "the *gardu*-men, the magi, and the courtiers of the *bīt harê*." He must deliver the dates within three days to Bēl-ētir, the Aramaic scribe (*sepīru*), son of Nabû-aḥḥe-bullit, the official responsible for provisioning the personnel. The document records Bēl-rēmāni's oath that he will deliver on time. The other two contracts dated at Babylon record similar transactions. Text No. 90, dated year 13 of Darius I, records Bēl-rēmāni's assumption of his brother Šamaš-nāšir's obligation to provide 84 *kur* dates; he must deliver the dates within one month and three days, and he pledges his prebend as security for the obligation. The creditor in text No. 90 is Nergal-ina-tēšī-eṭir, and the individuals who are to collect the dates (and who will collect Bēl-rēmāni's prebend if he does not deliver on time, ll. 15–18) are Nergal-uballit and Iddin-Nabû; none of these individuals is identified by an official title. According to text No. 94, dated like VS 3, 138/139, to year 26 of Darius I, Bēl-rēmāni must deliver 86 *kur* dates (the same amount as in VS 3, 138/139) as the provisions for female flour-grinders for whom an official named Šuma-ukīn is responsible; he has seven days to deliver, and no oath or security is mentioned. Text No. 94 also mentions (ll. 7–8) one Nergal-(ina)-tēšī-eṭir, probably the same person as the Nergal-ina-tēšī-eṭir in text No. 90. From these three texts it is evident that Šamaš-nāšir and Bēl-rēmāni together, and later Bēl-rēmāni alone, had the task of regularly supplying provisions for royal personnel. They may have undertaken the task in an official capacity (in Bēl-rēmāni's case, as an Ebabbar accountant) or as independent contractors; the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

Two other texts may be related to this group. Text No. 91 is a promissory note for Bēl-rēmāni's debt of 18 *kur* dates to Rīmūt, son of Šamaš-zēra-ibni, who leases a date-palm orchard on which Bēl-rēmāni assesses rent; in the Remarks on that tablet it is suggested that Bēl-rēmāni may have required these dates in order to satisfy his obligations to supply provisions in Babylon. VS 4, 145, dated year 17 of Darius I, is Šamaš-nāšir's and Bēl-rēmāni's receipt for 12½ shekels silver, which they have paid to Gūzānu, the *šangû*-priest of Sippar, via his proxy Rīmūt-Šamaš, for the rental of a ship.<sup>6</sup> It may be inferred that they rented the ship in order to transport dates from Sippar to Babylon.

Lastly, as mentioned above, Bēl-rēmāni and his brothers all appear in CT 2, 2, the record of a court investigation into the disappearance of linen from the Ebabbar tailor's supplies, conducted by Gūzānu and the *ērib bīti* (temple enterers) of Šamaš in the presence of *mār banê*.<sup>7</sup> During the investigation suspicion focuses on a linen undergarment (*šupallītu*) found in the possession of one Uballissu-Gula, a member of the temple assembly (*kiništu*). Uballissu-Gula succeeds in clearing up the suspicion by calling four witnesses to testify that he purchased the linen undergarment from "an Egyptian" two years previously; one of his witnesses is Eribaya, son of Mušibši-Marduk (l. 17), the brother of Bēl-rēmāni. Bēl-rēmāni and Šamaš-nāšir<sup>8</sup> are themselves among the *mār banê* who witness the proceedings (ll. 26 and 30). The fifth, sixth, and seventh *mār banê* named in CT 2, 2 (ll. 27–30), also witness text No. 92, the lease contract written by Bēl-rēmāni wherein the lessors are Gūzānu and four scribes—one of whom is named Uballissu-Gula and may be the very individual who is investigated in CT 2, 2.

Gūzānu himself is one of the main links between the documents pertaining to Bēl-rēmāni's affairs and those pertaining to the affairs of the Ebabbar temple. Gūzānu holds the office of *šangû*-priest of Sippar during years 15–22 Darius I.<sup>9</sup> Only in text No. 92 is his filiation given: he is the son of Nabû-



šuma-ukīn, descendant of Ša-nāšišu. Based on the filiation, it is possible to observe that the *šangû*-priest's brother also appears in Bēl-rēmāni's archive—Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, descendant of Ša-nāšišu, receives payment from Bēl-rēmāni in text No. 89 and witnesses his receipt of barley in VS 3, 99:11–12.

By reason of its content, it can be assumed that CT 2, 2, would have been physically stored in the Ebabbar court's archive. Three of the other documents described above, *Cyr.* 260, *Camb.* 288, and CT 56, 194, were accessioned among the British Museum's "AH" collections, indicating that they came from Rassam's excavations at Sippar (Abu Habba).<sup>10</sup> More specifically, their provenience very likely was Room 55 or 53 of the Ebabbar temple complex, where most of the AH tablets are supposed to have been found.<sup>11</sup> CT 2, 2, most likely came from the same place. As for the VS tablets and the six tablets here presented as Archive F, we may be fairly certain that they all came from Sippar—including those that were written in Babylon—considering the evidence of the date formulas naming Sippar as the place of issue, the frequent references to the Ebabbar or its personnel, and the coherence of the documents as an archival group. The plenitude of connections to the Ebabbar that occur in Bēl-rēmāni's tablets suggests the possibility that his personal archive was physically located in the same place as the tablets belonging to the temple archive itself (e.g., *Cyr.* 260; *Camb.* 288; CT 2, 2; and CT 56, 194); in other words, that Bēl-rēmāni's "private archive" was stored in a "file" in the temple archive.

#### Addendum (by M. Jursa)

Recent research permits the addition of some refinements to the picture drawn above. By using evidence from the temple archive, A. C. V. M. Bongenaar was able to clarify Bēl-rēmāni's position with the temple's hierarchy.<sup>12</sup> As the offspring of a well-known family,<sup>13</sup> Bēl-rēmāni held the important office of overseer of the prebendary bakers between the fifth year of Cambyses and the accession of Darius I, and he is attested throughout the entire reign of Darius I as owner of various prebends, most importantly in the temple of Adad and Šala.

Bēl-rēmāni's private archive will be the subject of a forthcoming study by M. Jursa. Close to two hundred fifty numbered, as well as a few unnumbered, pieces of the British Museum's 81-7-1 collection could be identified as belonging to this group. After some joining of broken pieces, the archives now consist of about one hundred eighty-five tablets (including the related tablets in other collections). Fifty texts (see text No. 89) have one or more duplicates.

Two subgroups can be distinguished. The majority of the tablets belongs to the archive of Bēl-rēmāni; a far smaller part consists of documents belonging to Nidinti-Marduk, son of Šamaš-šumu-līšir of the Ile<sup>3</sup>i-Marduk family, and his mother Inbāya. Business connections between these two are evident. Since the tablets clearly constitute a single lot, one may suspect that there must also have been some relation by marriage, which would have caused the merging of the two groups into a single archive; however, there is no direct evidence to support this so far.

The published texts discussed above give a good impression of the range of Bēl-rēmāni's business activities. He owned and dealt with temple prebends; he had some interest in agriculture; and he appears in numerous promissory notes, mostly as debtor. In addition, he had some not entirely clear connections to Babylon and the palace administration, of which text No. 94 is an example. The primary new aspect that emerges from the study of the unpublished material concerns the nature of the archive as a whole.

The archive exhibits all the common text categories: title deeds, field rentals, tablets related to the administration of prebendary income, promissory notes, et cetera. Nevertheless, it is not the core archive; the material within it must instead be considered to be “dead,” that is, a group of tablets discarded because they had no further importance. All of the title deeds and some of the other tablets are ostensibly (later) copies; the same is probably true for a considerable part of the archive. Those texts that are clearly “originals” (because they are sealed) are without exception of only temporal value.

Duplicate copies exist for twenty-four (of one hundred fifty) contracts. In the majority of cases, the duplicates are written in different hands. There is no marked preference for any text category; not only title deeds but also quite ordinary promissory notes were copied. There are cases of three, and in one instance even six, duplicates of a text. This exceptionally high number of copies cannot be explained exclusively by archival practices. It must be considered evidence for scribal training, probably within Bēl-rēmāni’s and/or Nidinti-Marduk’s family.<sup>14</sup>

Although this is in itself a significant addition to what is known about the teaching of cuneiform writing in the first millennium, the argument can be carried further still. It seems that the Bēl-rēmāni archive is part of a larger group of tablets, the other part of which is the medical-school archive discovered by Irving Finkel of the British Museum.<sup>15</sup> This archive too is characterized by a high percentage of duplicates and often badly written texts on occasionally rather carelessly formed tablets.

One of the medical archive’s tablets is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 86.11.130; edited by I. L. Finkel in CTMMA 2, 29 [forthcoming]). It came to the Museum in the same 1886 lot as the Bēl-rēmāni texts edited here. Moreover, the collections in London, Berlin, and Montserrat (Barcelona) in which Bēl-rēmāni tablets have been found also include medical texts. Even more significantly, the distribution of the medical and the economic archive within the British Museum’s 81-7-1 collection<sup>16</sup> is identical; the numbers are grouped together in the same parts of the collection, which exhibits a clear internal “stratigraphy.” The material is such that this cannot have been the result of a conscious effort on the part of the registrar; the texts must have been found together. The physical appearance of the tablets—their size, shape, and color—is very similar, as are the hands in which they are written.

Unequivocal textual evidence connecting any of the economic archive’s principals with medicine is—not surprisingly—absent. However, Nidinti-Marduk probably owned a conjurer’s prebend and may therefore very well have been a conjurer himself, which would have made him a practitioner of medicine, too.

Taken together, the two archives document the activities of a specialized scribal school that was family based. Nothing comparable has ever been observed in first-millennium Mesopotamia.

1. This essay was written in 1995, at which time only nineteen tablets pertaining to Bēl-rēmāni’s archive had been published: *Cyr.* 260; CT 56, 194; *Camb.* 288; VS 3, 89; VS 3, 143 (join to text No. 94); VS 6, 121; BRM 1, 70; VS 3, 99; VS 4, 113 (duplicate of text No. 89); VS 4, 135; VS 4, 145; CT 2, 2; VS 3, 135a; VS 3, 138/139; VS 3, 154; VS 5, 109; VS 4, 200; VS 3, 208. See the Addendum by M. Jursa, above.

2. In most of the tablets mentioning him, Bēl-rēmāni acts as a principal party (as does Šamaš-nāšir in some cases). VS 5, 60, and BRM 1, 70, two documents wherein Bēl-rēmāni was not a contracting party but rather the scribe, may be assigned to his archive if one assumes that a scribe customarily made and kept for himself copies of documents that he wrote for other people; Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin of the Egibi family apparently did so (see Introduction to Archives C and D, pp. 84 and 89 n. 8). Text No. 92, written by Bēl-rēmāni, may either be a copy that he made for himself or it may be the lessee’s copy that came into his hands through a subsequent transaction (see the Remarks on text Nos. 92 and 93)—or it may even be the copy deposited in the Ebabbar temple archive. CT 2, 2, wherein all three brothers appear as witnesses,

presumably belonged in the archive of the Ebabbar court (on this document, see below). *Camb.* 288 (AH 82-9-18, 462), a record of barley allocations in which the last entry mentions barley delivered to Bēl-rēmāni, would have belonged in the administrative archive of the Ebabbar; likewise CT 56, 194, a record of diverse disbursements of dates and silver in which one entry records amounts of silver given to Bēl-rēmāni, son of Mušibši-Marduk, for purchasing Dilmun dates and for ceremonial vessels (ll. 14–19).

See M. Dandamaev, “The Ebabbar Temple and Iranian Magi,” *Afo* 22 (1995), pp. 34–36, for a survey of Bēl-rēmāni’s career. We thank Muhammad Dandamaev for discussing the tablets of this group with us.

3. That is, individuals conducting transactions in their own interest, not acting on behalf of the temple or any organ of government; see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xv, on “private” versus “public” documents.

4. *kaspu ša ginnu ša [nad]āni u [maḥā]ri*; regarding the *ginnu*-stamp, see text No. 73, n. to ll. 10–12.

5. There was, presumably, a difference in status and in the responsibilities of office between scribes like Bēl-rēmāni, whose job was to write tablets for the Ebabbar, and the “scribes (<sup>lu</sup>šID<sup>meš</sup>) of the Ebabbar,” who with the *šangû* and *qīpu* represented the temple as a party in contracts (cf. J. MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbara in the Late-Babylonian Period* [Poznań, 1995], p. 121, and R. Sack, “The Scribe Nabû-bāni-aḫi, son of Ibnâ, and the Hierarchy of Eanna as seen in the Erech Contracts,” *ZA* 67 [1977], pp. 42–52, especially n. 17). The *šangû* of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar was the chief administrative officer of the temple, while in other Neo-Babylonian temples the same administrator bore the title *šatammu* (see J. MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar*, pp. 114–16).

6. The sign is broken, but <sup>giš</sup>M[A] is probable, as suggested in *NRV*, p. 180.

7. A partial translation is given by A. L. Oppenheim, “Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.,” *JCS* 21 (1967), p. 250 n. 17.

8. In <sup>lu</sup>UTU-MU in l. 26, the MU, to which Pinches appended a question mark, should be emended to URU or PAP.

9. He is identified by this title in *Dar.* 408:12, 516:8, and 557:3; CT 55, 192:2; VS 4, 145; CT 2, 2; and text No. 92, mentioned above; see San Nicolò, *Prosopographie*, p. 36; G. Frame, “Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts from the Sippar Collection of the British Museum,” *JAOS* 104 (1984), p. 750; Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 112. In subsequent years, a (different?) Güzānu held the office of *šākin ṭēmi*, “Governor of Babylon” (BRM 1, 81:5; TCL 13, 196:2–3; and CT 56, 411:3–4).

10. *Cyr.* 260 is AH 83-1-18, 113; *Camb.* 288 is AH 82-9-18, 462; and CT 56, 194 is 82-7-14, 114. On these collections and their proveniences, see Reade, “Rassam’s Babylonian Collection,” pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

11. See H. Rassam’s Plan B, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod* (Cincinnati, 1897); also reproduced in *Tell ed-Dēr III*, ed. Léon de Meyer (Leuven, 1980), Plan 3.

12. See the references collected in A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 517–18.

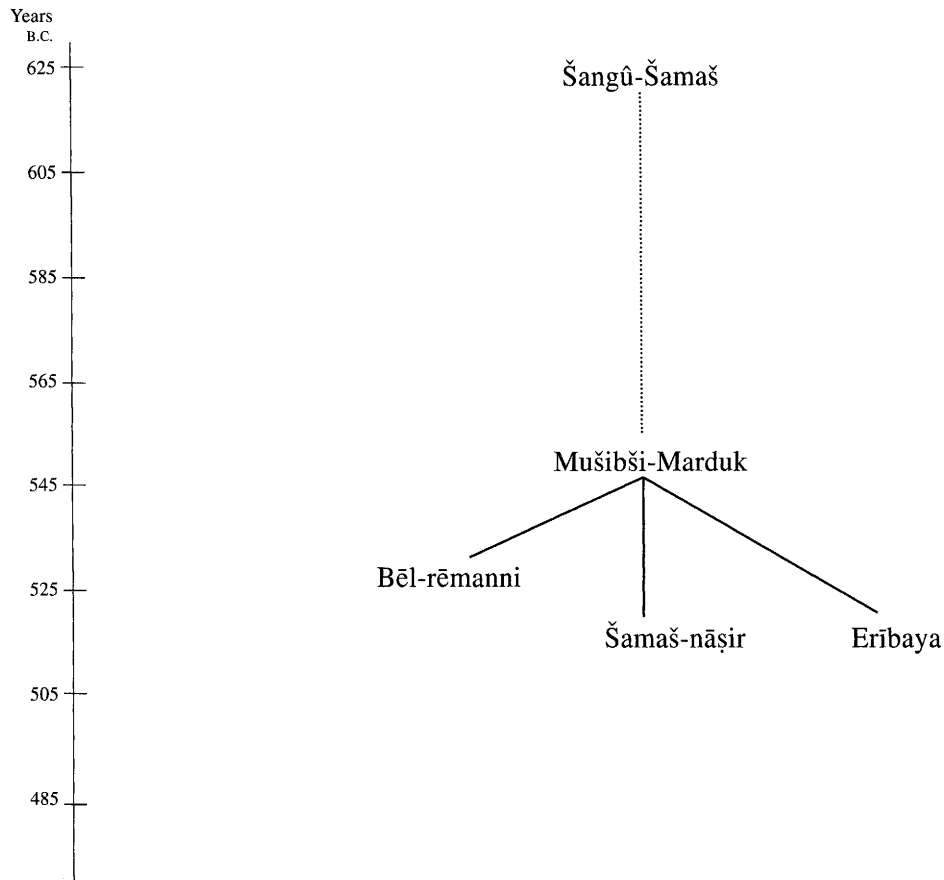
13. See *ibid.*, p. 460, for a genealogical chart.

14. Other observations support this hypothesis: the tablets exhibit many mistakes, rather odd handwritings, multiple erasures, and so forth.

15. See I. L. Finkel, *On A Late Babylonian Medical School* (forthcoming).

16. The collection is large; it consists of more than three thousand pieces found by H. Rassam in Babylon, Borsippa, Geraineih, Kutha, and Sippar.

Genealogical Chart: Archive F<sup>1</sup>



Code for genealogical chart:

- ..... Ancestral lineage
- Direct filiation

1. The above chart includes only the principals noted on the Metropolitan Museum's texts. For a more complete chart of the descendants of Šangû-Šamaš, see A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography* (Leiden, 1997), p. 460.

Archive F  
(Text Nos. 89–94)

**89.**

MMA 86.11.201

Plate 64

H. 43 mm. W. 51 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Dupl. VS 4, 113

Receipt for silver

Achaemenid period, Sippar

Darius I, year 7 month 12 day 6

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{1}{3}$  GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ina 1 GÍN [bit-q]a  
 2. nu-uh-*hu-tu* šá ú-*il-[tì]*  
 3. šá <sup>1</sup>Ba-la-tu DUMU šá  
 4. <sup>1</sup>Mi-it-ra-a-a šá ina muh-*hi*  
 5. <sup>Id</sup>UTU-na-*šir* A-šú šá  
 6. <sup>1</sup>Mu-šib-ši-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU  
 7. <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN-s[u-E] A-šú šá  
 8. [<sup>Id</sup>A]G-[MU-GI]N A <sup>1</sup>Šá-<sup>kaš</sup>na-ši-šú
- Lo.E. 9. ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-re-man-n[i]
- Rev. 10. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Mu-šib-ši-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 11. A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU ma-*hir*  
 12. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>DÙ-a A-šú šá  
 13. <sup>1</sup>MU-GIN A <sup>1</sup>E-*ti<sub>5</sub>-ru*  
 14. <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Kur-ban-ni  
 15. A <sup>1</sup>EN-e-*ti<sub>5</sub>-ru* <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 16. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>30-DINGIR A <sup>1</sup>EN-e-<sup>1</sup>ti<sub>5</sub>-ru  
 17. <sup>Id</sup>EN-KAR<sup>ir</sup> <sup>lú</sup>DUB.[SAR]  
 18. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> A LÚ-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 19. *Sip-par*<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>še</sup> UD 6.KÁM <MU> 7.<sup>1</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup>
- U.E. 20. <sup>1</sup>Da-ri-<sup>2</sup>-muš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>  
 21. u KUR.KUR

**Translation**

- 1–6.  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina average-quality silver of [ $\frac{1}{8}$ ] alloy per shekel, from the promis[sory] note of Balātu, son of Mitraya, which is charged against Šamaš-nāšir, son of Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš,  
 7–11. Nabû-balāss[u-iqbi], son of [Na]bû-[šuma-uk]in, descendant of Ša-nāšišu received (that silver) from Bēl-rēmān[i], son of Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš.

12–16. Witnesses:

Ibnaya, son of Šuma-ukīn, descendant of Ētir  
 Rīmūt, son of Kurbanni, descendant of Bēl-ētir  
 Arad-Ea, son of Sîn-ilī, descendant of Bēl-ētir

17–18. Bēl-ētir, scr[ibe], son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Amēl-Ea

19–21. Sippar, Addaru day 6 year 7, Darius king of Babylon and the lands

### Notes

3–4: Balātu's patronymic Mitraya is a hypocoristic based on the theophoric element Mithra, for which see M. Mayrhofer et al., *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 286; Veröffentlichungender Iranischen Kommission, 1 (Vienna, 1973), pp. 206, 285, and 289–90; M. A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6 (Costa Mesa, California, and New York, 1992), pp. 100–102; R. Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals Bearing Iranian Names in Achaemenian Babylonia," *IOS 7* (1977), p. 131. In the duplicate VS 4, 113:3, read <sup>1</sup>*Mi-tà-ra-a-a*.

7–8: Nabû-balāssu-iqbi's name and patronymic are restored from the duplicate VS 4, 113:6–7; he also appears as the first witness in VS 3, 99, Bēl-rēmāni's receipt for a payment of barley. Nabû-balāssu-iqbi is the brother of Gūzānu, the *šangû*-priest of Sippar; see text No. 92:5–7.

14: In the duplicate, ll. 12–13, the same witness appears as Rīmūt-Bēl/Kurbanni-Marduk//Bēl-ētir.

### Remarks

This tablet records Bēl-rēmāni's payment of silver on behalf of his brother Šamaš-nāšir. Presumably Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, to whom he pays it, is acting on behalf of the creditor Balātu.

Of the two copies extant, namely the tablet presented here and VS 4, 113, one copy may have been for Bēl-rēmāni to keep as documentation that he paid his brother's debt and the other may have been for Šamaš-nāšir (the debtor), as evidence that Balātu's claim was satisfied.

## 90.

86.11.175

Plates 65, 118, 119

H. 60 mm. W. 80 mm. Th. 27 mm.

Assumption of debt by guarantor

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 13 month 1 day 17

Obv. 1. *a-di-i* UD 20.KÁM *šá* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> *šá* MU 13.KÁM <sup>1</sup>*Da-ri-ia-muš*

2. LUGAL *a-ki-i ú-íl-tì šá* 84 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *ra-šu-tu*

3. *šá* <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-*ina-SÙH-SUR A-šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>EDIN-ŠEŠ-MU *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>Id</sup>UTU-PAP

4. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>GÁL<sup>š</sup><sub>i</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>II</sup>úSANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU ŠEŠ šá <sup>1</sup>dEN-re-man-ni  
5. ù <sup>1</sup>dEN-re-man-ni A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>GÁL<sup>š</sup><sub>i</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU  
6. [p]u-ut e-ṭè-ru na-šu-ú šá ki-i ú-ìl-tì šá ZÚ.LUM.MA-<sup>3</sup>  
7. 84 GUR <sup>1</sup>dEN-r[e-ma]n-ni a-na <sup>1</sup>dU+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup> A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN  
8. A <sup>1</sup>Da-bi-bi ù <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-e-a A <sup>lú</sup>HUN.GÁ  
9. i-nam-din i-ṭi-ir 3 SÌLA NINDA<sup>bá</sup> 3 SÌLA KAŠ SAG is-qu-šú  
10. pa-ni <sup>d</sup>Bu-ne-ne maš-ka-nu šá <sup>1</sup>dU+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup>  
11. ù <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG <sup>lú</sup>TUK<sup>ú</sup> šá-nam-ma a-na muḥ-ḥi  
12. ul i-šal-tu (erasure) a-di-i muḥ-ḥi  
13. <sup>1</sup>dU+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup> ù <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG ZÚ.LUM.MA-<sup>3</sup> 8[4 GUR]  
Lo.E. 14. [i<sup>1</sup>-šal-lim-mu-<sup>3</sup> ZÚ.LUM.MA šá a-na NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>[. . . ]  
15. SUM.NA-<sup>3</sup> ki-i a-na-dan-nu-šú ZÚ.LUM.MA-<sup>3</sup> 8[4 GUR]  
16. [la] it-tan-nu 3 SÌLA NINDA<sup>bá</sup> 3 SÌLA KAŠ SAG is-[qu-šú]  
Rev. 17. pa-ni <sup>d</sup>HAR <<x>> ki-i <sup>na</sup>4KIŠIB a-pil-t[u<sub>4</sub>]  
18. pa-ni <sup>1</sup>dU+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup> ù <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG id-dag-gal  
19. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>dUTU-NUMUN-DÙ A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ta-qiš-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME A <sup>1</sup>Mu-še-zib  
20. <sup>1</sup>dU+GUR-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>dAG-TIN-su-E A <sup>1</sup>Hul-lu-nu  
21. <sup>1</sup>dBu-ne-ne-DÙ A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>II</sup>úDINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>i</sup>  
22. <sup>1</sup>Bul-lu-ṭu-a A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>dUTU-GIN-A A <sup>lú</sup>NAGAR  
23. <sup>1</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>dUTU-NUMUN-DÙ <sup>1</sup>dU+GUR-MU A-šú šá  
24. <sup>1</sup>Ha-ad-da-a A <sup>1</sup>d30-da-a-ri <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>U+GUR  
25. A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut <sup>1</sup>dUTU-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>  
26. A <sup>1</sup>Ba-bu-tu <sup>lú</sup>šID <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Gu-<sup>1</sup>za<sup>1</sup>-nu  
27. A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30 TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>b</sup>ÁR <<UD>> UD 17.KÁM  
(erasure)  
28. MU 13.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

### Translation

- 1–6. By day 20 of the month of Ayyāru of year 13 of Darius the king, according to the promissory note for 84 *kur* dates, the credit claim of Nergal-ina-tēšī-eṭir, son of Šeru<sup>a</sup>-aḥa-iddin, which is charged against Šamaš-nāšir, son of Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš, brother of Bēl-rēmāni, and (for which) Bēl-rēmāni, son of Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš, guarantees payment,  
6–9. in accord with the promissory note for those 84 *kur* dates, Bēl-rēmāni shall deliver (the dates) to Nergal-uballiṭ, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Dābibi, and Iddin-Nabû, son of Nūrēa, descendant of Agru.  
9–11. His (Bēl-rēmāni's) prebend before Bunene, (namely) 3 *sūt* bread (and) 3 *sūt* full-strength beer, is the security of Nergal-uballiṭ and Iddin-Nabû.  
11–14. No other creditor shall exercise any right over (the security) until Nergal-uballiṭ and Iddin-Nabû are paid the 8[4] *kur* dates.  
14–15. The (other) dates which are for the estate of [DN] are paid.

- 16–18. Should he not deliver the 8[4] *kur* dates by his due date, his prebend before Bunene, (name-ly) 3 *sūt* bread (and) 3 *sūt* full-strength beer, will be placed at the disposal of Nergal-uballit and Iddin-Nabû, by means of a sealed document (showing) full payment.
- 19–26. Witnesses:  
 Šamaš-zēra-ibni, son of Taqīš-Gula, descendant of Mušēzib  
 Nergal-aḥa-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Ḥullunu  
 Bunene-ibni, son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Ilī-tillatī  
 Bulluṭūa, son of Šamaš-mukīn-apli, descendant of Naggāru  
 Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Šamaš-zēra-ibni  
 Nergal-iddin, son of Ḥaddaya, descendant of Sīn-dārī  
 Arad-Nergal, son of Rīmūt  
 Šamaš-aḥa-iddin, son of Rīmūt-Bēl, descendant of Bābūtu
- 26–27. Scribe: Rīmūt-Nabû, son of Gūzānu, descendant of Nūr-Sīn
- 27–28. Babylon, Nisannu day 17 year 13, Darius king of Babylon, king of the lands

### Notes

- 9: *inamdin iṭtir* is a hendiadys.
- 9–10: For KAŠ SAG, “full-strength beer,” see text No. 11, n. to l. 1.
- 14–15: The clause concerning dates for the estate of [DN] seems to refer to a different, already accomplished delivery; if it referred to the current obligation, the dates would be specified as *suluppū-ā 84 kur*, as in the following clause.
- 15: *a-na-dan-nu* is sandhi for *ana adannu*.

### Remarks

Šamaš-nāšir had previously contracted with Nergal-ina-tēšī-eṭir to deliver 84 *kur* dates to two other individuals, Nergal-uballit and Iddin-Nabû; his brother Bēl-rēmāni guaranteed fulfillment of this obligation. The present document obliges Bēl-rēmāni himself to deliver the 84 *kur* dates by a certain date (one month and three days from the date of this tablet), obliges him to pledge his prebend as security, and moreover requires him to forfeit the security if he fails to deliver by the date specified. Thus, this tablet documents Bēl-rēmāni’s assumption of his brother Šamaš-nāšir’s debt.

This tablet and the other two tablets of the published archive that were written at Babylon, text No. 94 and VS 3, 138/139, all appear to deal with the same type of operation: supplying dates to personnel in Babylon under the aegis of the palace administration. In VS 3, 138/139, the dates are described as rations for the workmen (*gardu*), magi, and personnel of the *bīt ḥarê*; the official to whom Bēl-rēmāni is to deliver the dates is Bēl-ēṭir, the Aramaic scribe (*sepīru*), son of Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ (see also text No. 94:3–4). Therefore this tablet’s creditor, Nergal-ina-tēšī-eṭir, was presumably a palace (or temple?) official, while Nergal-uballit and Iddin-Nabû would have been his subordinates. The creditor is most likely the same Nergal-(ina)-tēšī-eṭir whose receipt of a delivery of dates from Bēl-rēmāni is noted in text No. 94:7–8.



## 91.

MMA 86.11.176

Plate 66

H. 52 mm. W. 66 mm. Th. 25 mm.

Dupl. BM 42329 (courtesy M. Jursa)

Promissory note for dates

Achaemenid period, no GN

Darius I, year 17 month 3 day 14

- Obv. 1. 18 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá<sup>1</sup>Ri-m[ut]  
 2. DUMU šá<sup>Id</sup>UTU-NUMUN-DÙ ina muḥ-ḫi<sup>Id</sup>EN-r[e-man-ni]  
 3. DUMU šá<sup>1</sup>Mu-šib-ši-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A<sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU  
 4. ina<sup>iti</sup>KIN ZÚ.LUM.MA-a<sub>4</sub> 18 GUR  
 5. ina muḥ-ḫi<sup>giš</sup>GIŠIMMAR<sup>Id</sup>EN-re-man-ni a-na<sup>1</sup>Ri-mut  
 6. im-mi-di-ma<sup>1</sup>Ri-mut ZÚ.LUM.MA-šú ina lib-bi  
 7. i-šal-lim e-lat<sup>lú</sup>TUK(!)<sup>1</sup>-ú-tu IGI<sup>tu</sup> [šá<sup>1</sup>] <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut ina muḥ-ḫi-šú  
 8. ù e-<sup>1</sup>lat ú<sup>1</sup>-il-tì šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-MU [šá<sup>1</sup>] <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut  
 9. pu-ut e-ṭè-ru na(!)-šú-ú(!) (erasure)  
 10. pu-ut e-ṭè-<sup>1</sup>ru šá<sup>1</sup> ZÚ.LUM.MA-[a<sub>4</sub>]  
 11. [1]8 GUR<sup>Id</sup>UTU-KÁD A šá<sup>Id</sup>A[G-GIN-A]
- Rev. 12. u<sup>Id</sup>AG-PAP A šá<sup>Id</sup>EN-BA<sup>šá</sup>n[a-šú-ú]  
 13. e-lat<sup>lú</sup>TUK-ú-tu šá<sup>1</sup>Ri-mut [. . . ]  
 14. ina muḥ-ḫi<sup>Id</sup>UTU-KÁD A šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-GIN-A<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>  
 15. <sup>Id</sup>AG-PAP A šá<sup>Id</sup>EN-BA<sup>šá</sup>tu-ḫal-la ḫu-šab  
 16. <sup>1</sup>ma-la<sup>1</sup> ZAG.LU-šú<sup>Id</sup>EN-re<sup>1</sup>-man-ni ina šU<sup>II</sup><sup>1</sup>Ri-mut ma-ḫ[i-ir]  
 17. [<sup>4</sup>mu]-<sup>1</sup>kin-nu<sup>1</sup> I[d]30-<sup>1</sup>MU<sup>1</sup> [A šá<sup>Id</sup>] <sup>1</sup>Da<sup>1</sup>-a-nu-id-ri  
 18. [<sup>d</sup>UTU-MU A šá<sup>1</sup>] <sup>1</sup>IR<sup>1</sup>-ia<sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu  
 19. A šá<sup>Id</sup>UTU-TIN<sup>it</sup> <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup> A šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP  
 20. A<sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>INNIN-TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN A šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Šad-din-nu  
 21. A<sup>II</sup><sup>1</sup>DÍM<sup>Id</sup>AG-MU A šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>IR-ía<sup>1</sup>A-a A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Haš-d[a-a]  
 22. <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>lú</sup>ŠID A šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-SUR-ZI<sup>meš</sup>  
 23. Sip-par<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub> UD 14.KÁM MU 1[7.KÁM]
- U.E. 24. <sup>1</sup>Da-ri-mu-šú LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.[KUR]  
 L.E. (incised drawing)

*Translation*

- 1–3. 18 *kur* dates, owed to Rīm[ūt], son of Šamaš-zēra-ibni, by Bēl-r[ēmanni], son of Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš.  
 4–7. In the month of Ulūlu, Bēl-rēmanni will assess those 18 *kur* dates (as *imittu*) upon the date palm(s) for Rīmūt; and Rīmūt will be paid his dates out of that (*imittu*-assessment).  
 7. (This obligation is) separate from a previous credit claim [owed to] Rīmūt (which is) charged against him (i.e., Bēl-rēmanni);  
 8–9. and separate from the promissory note owed to Nabû-nādin (for) [which] Rīmūt guarantees payment.

- 10–12. Šamaš-kāšir, son of Nabû-mukîn-apli, and Nabû-nāšir, son of Bēl-iqīša, guarantee payment of those 18 *kur* dates.
- 13–15. (That responsibility is also) separate from the credit claim of Rīmūt [. . .] charged against Šamaš-kāšir, son of Nabû-mukîn-apli, and Nabû-nāšir, son of Bēl-iqīša.
- 15–16. The spathes (and) rachides, as much as (pertain to) his *imittu*-payment, Bēl-rēmāni has recei[ved] from Rīmūt.
- 17–21. Witnesses:
- Sîn-[iddin, son of] Dayyānu-idrī  
[Šamaš-iddin, son of] Ardiya  
Bēl-ittānu, son of Šamaš-uballit  
Iddin-Nabû, son of Marduk-nāšir, descendant of Šangû-Ištar-Bābili  
Arad-Bēl, son of Šaddinnu, descendant of Itinnu  
Nabû-nādin, son of Ardiya  
Aplaya, son of Ḫašd[aya]
- 22–23. Nidintu, scribe, son of Nabû-ētir-našāti, [descendant of] Nādin(?)-aḫi(?)
- 23–24. Sippar, Simānu, day 14 year 1[7], Darius king of Babylon and the lan[ds]

### Notes

- 1–2: The creditor, Rīmūt, son of Šamaš-zēra-ibni, is attested in at least one other text, CT 4, 21a, written in Sippar in year 19 Darius; there he rents containers. A tablet in the collection of the Montserrat Monastery, Barcelona, written by Bēl-rēmāni, documents his debt of 20 *kur* dates to a Rīmūt whose patronymic is broken (information courtesy C. Wunsch; see Introduction to Archive F, n. 1); this creditor could well be the same Rīmūt as in text No. 91.
- 15–16: This clause indicates that Rīmūt still pays the normal accessory products to Bēl-rēmāni—it is only the main component of his *imittu*-payment, the dates, that will be covered by Bēl-rēmāni's debt.
- 17: For names of the type DN-idrī (“DN-Is-My-Help”) and for the elements *dayyān* and <sup>c</sup>*e/idr*, see Zadok, *WSB*, pp. 97 and 133, and indexes pp. 365 and 402.
- 19: The fourth witness, Iddin-Nabû/Marduk-nāšir//Šangû-Ištar-Bābili, is the scribe of another of Bēl-rēmāni's promissory notes, VS 3, 89:12–13.

### Remarks

The transactions that form the background of this agreement were a lease of land to Rīmūt and a loan of dates to Bēl-rēmāni. Rīmūt leased a date-palm orchard, on which Bēl-rēmāni assessed the annual *imittu*-payment. Secondly, Bēl-rēmāni obtained an advance delivery of dates from Rīmūt. Since Bēl-rēmāni would normally assess the *imittu*-payment in dates on the date-palm orchard leased by Rīmūt, then inasmuch as Bēl-rēmāni owes Rīmūt a certain quantity of dates, he and Rīmūt have agreed that the *imittu* and the debt shall cancel each other out to the extent of Bēl-rēmāni's indebtedness. They concluded this agreement in Simānu, the third month, in anticipation of the assessment which would take place in Ulūlu, the sixth month. This contract only affects the component of *imittu* payable in dates, for, as indicated in ll. 15–16, Rīmūt has delivered to Bēl-rēmāni the accessory products of the date palm, which were also due as part of the *imittu*.

The remainder of the text consists of a guarantee clause whereby two other individuals assume responsibility for payment of the dates, and three *elat*-clauses, which serve notice that satisfaction of this particular obligation does not affect three separate outstanding obligations.

*Incised Design (Left Edge)*

Plate 66

H. 11 mm. W. 6 mm.

An incised drawing or doodle of a spade (?) was made with a stylus or tool.

**92.**

MMA 86.11.98

Field lease

Plates 67, 68

Achaemenid period, Sippar

H. 64 mm. W. 85 mm. Th. 31 mm.

Darius I, year 21 month 1(?) day 30

- Obv. 1. 8 GUR ŠE.NUMUN *pi-i šul-pi É m[e-re-šú]*  
 2. *ina* KÁ UR.(MAḪ)<sup>rmeš<sup>1</sup></sup> *šá ina* [garim][Bi]-ru-il N[AM Sip-par<sup>ki</sup>]  
 3. NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>UTU TA *muḫ-ḫi* ÍD-šá-<sup>1</sup>Gu-<sup>r</sup>bar<sup>1</sup>-ru [*a-di muḫ-ḫi*]  
 4. KÁ UR.(MAḪ)<sup>rmeš<sup>1</sup></sup> *šá ḫar<sup>ra</sup>-bi* lú<sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>meš</sup> *a-di-i muḫ-ḫi*  
 5. *šá* 8 GUR ŠE.NUMUN *i-šal-lim-mu* <sup>1</sup>Gu-za-nu-u  
 6. lú<sup>1</sup>SANGA-UD.[KIB].NUN<sup>rki<sup>1</sup></sup> DUMU *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GIN (erasure)  
 7. A lú<sup>1</sup>šá-kaš<sup>na</sup>-ši-šú <sup>r<sup>1</sup>d</sup>EN-MU <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*re-man<sup>an</sup>-ni*  
 8. <sup>1</sup>Ú-bal-liṭ-su-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la lú<sup>1</sup>šID<sup>meš</sup>  
 9. <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-it lú<sup>1</sup>se-pi-ri a-na lú<sup>1</sup>er-re-šu-tu  
 10. a-na <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN<sup>it</sup> DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>DÙG.GA-ia  
 11. *id-din-nu-<sup>o</sup> mim-ma ina lib-bi il-la-<sup>o</sup> mi-šil*  
 12. *ù eš-ru-e* ḪA.LA A.ŠÀ <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN<sup>it</sup>  
 13. <sup>r<sup>1</sup></sup>a-na NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>UTU *i-nam-din ki-i* ŠE.NUMUN
- Lo.E. 14. [l]a *i-te-pu-uš a-ki-i* lú<sup>1</sup>ÚS.SA.DU  
 15. [šib-š]ú *i-nam-din* TA <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> MU 21.KÁM  
 16. [A.ŠÀ] *ina pa-ni* <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN<sup>it</sup>
- Rev. 17. [lú<sup>1</sup>mu-k]in-nu <sup>Id</sup>AG-A-MU DUMU *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN-su-E  
 18. [A <sup>1</sup>]GAL<sup>a</sup>-šú-šá-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>Id</sup>UTU-na-šir DUMU *šá*  
 19. [<sup>1</sup>M]u-šib-ši-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A lú<sup>1</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>Id</sup>AG-KÁD  
 20. A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>DUB-NUMUN A lú<sup>1</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup>(!)(text:šU<sup>un</sup>)  
 21. A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-MU A <sup>1</sup>TIN <sup>Id</sup>UTU-A-MU A-šú *šá*  
 22. <sup>1</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>1</sup>DINGIR-KASKAL×KUR<sup>i</sup> <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-GIN-A  
 23. A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> A lú<sup>1</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>INNIN-GAŠAN-E<sup>ki</sup>

24. <sup>1</sup>*La-a-ba-ši* A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-PAP A <sup>Id</sup>ŠEŠ.KI-ú-tu  
 25. <sup>1</sup>*Lu-è-a-na-ZÁLAG* A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>MU-GIN A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>INNIN-GAŠAN-E<sup>ki</sup>  
 26. <sup>1</sup>*Lib-luṭ* A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> A <sup>lú</sup>ŠUR-GL.NA  
 27. <sup>Id</sup>EN-re-man<sup>an-ni</sup> <sup>lú</sup>ŠID A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>*Mu-šib-ši*-[<sup>d</sup>AMA]R.[UTU]  
 28. A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU-UD.KIB.NUN<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>B</sup>[ÁR(?)]  
 29. UD 30.KÁM MU 21.KÁM <sup>1</sup>*Da-ri-m*[uš]  
 U.E. 30. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR 1<sup>en</sup>-<sup>Γ</sup>AM<sup>Γ</sup> [*šá-ṭa-ri*]  
 31. *il-ta-qu-ú*

### Translation

- 1–5. An 8-*kur* arable field, a [cultiva]ted plot, (located) in the Bāb-nēšē (area) which is in Bīr<sup>2</sup>ilu, Dis[trict of Sippar], property of Šamaš, (extending) from the Gubarru canal [up to (?)] Bāb-nēšē, which (is in) the wasteland of the “Grandees,” until the area amounts to 8 *kur*.
- 5–11. Gūzānu, the *šangû* of Si[pp]ar, son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, descendant of Ša-nāšīšu; Bēl-iddin, Marduk-rēmāni, Uballissu-Gula, the scribes; (and) Nidintu, the Aramaic scribe, leased (the field) to Nabû-uballiṭ, son of Tābiya, for cultivation.
- 11–13. Whatever grows in it, Nabû-uballiṭ shall deliver one-half plus the tithe (as) the share of the field to the estate of Šamaš.
- 13–15. If he does [n]ot cultivate the field, he shall pay [*šibš*]u according to the (yield of) the adjacent (fields).
- 15–16. (Starting) from the month of Ayyāru, year 21, [the field] is at the disposal of Nabû-uballiṭ.
- 17–26. [Witn]esses:  
 Nabû-apla-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, [descendant of] Rabāšu-ša-Ninurta  
 Šamaš-nāšir, son of [M]ušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš  
 Nabû-kāšir, son of Šāpik-zēri, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš  
 Nabû-šuma-iškun, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Balātu  
 Šamaš-apla-iddin, son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant of Ilī-tillatī  
 Marduk-mukīn-apli, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili  
 Lābāši, son of Nabû-nāšir, descendant of Nanna-ūtu  
 Lūši-ana-nūri, son of Šuma-ukīn, descendant of Šangû-Ištar-Bēlet-Bābili  
 Libluṭ, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Šāḫit-ginē
- 27–28. Bēl-rēmāni, scribe, son of Mušibši-[Ma]r[duk], descendant of Šangû-Šamaš  
 28–30. Sippar, Ni[sannu(?)] day 30 year 21, Dari[us] king of Babylon, king of the lands  
 30–31. They have taken one [copy of the document] each.

### Notes

- 2: For attestations of the locale <sup>garim</sup>Bīr<sup>2</sup>ilu, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 212–13; see also text No. 93:1, which concerns a property under the same jurisdiction as text No. 92. N[AM Sip-par<sup>ki</sup>] is restored based on text No. 93:1; Cyr. 26:3ff. also locates the Bīr<sup>2</sup>ilu plain in *pīḫāt Sippar*. For the toponym Bāb-nēšē, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 208, and p. 145 n. to l. 7.
- 3: Nāru-ša-Gubarri is known from another text written in Sippar, Durand, *Textes babyloniens*, pl. 1 (bottom left); see Joannès, *Textes économiques*, pp. 325–27, no. 89; and RGTC 8, p. 391.

- 4–5: The reading and translation of these lines are based on M. Jursa’s suggestions. For *ḥarbu*, “wasteland,” see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft* 30:35 (courtesy M. Jursa). The term *rabûtu*, “Grantees,” refers to the officials who are identified in the following lines. They represent the temple as creditor and lessor of the land. The lessee is Nabû-uballiṭ, son of Ṭābiya, to whom the land is now leased for cultivation.
- 10: Nabû-uballiṭ/Ṭābiya, the lessee in this text, and Bēl-ittannu, son of Ṭābiya, the lessor in text No. 93, are assumed to be brothers.
- 11–13: Since the proportion of the harvest payable as rent is fixed—though the amount is not—this contract falls into the category of “sharecropping” leases; see Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 78ff.
- 13–15: *šibšu* is restored based on comparable clauses requiring that the lessee pay rent regardless of whether he cultivates the property: examples include TuM 2/3, 140:9–12; VS 5, 106:11–13; 89:9–12; 49:18–19; and 33:11–13. The last-cited passage reads *zēra mala ultaddû akî itê šibšu [ana bēl eqli] inamdin*, “for as much of the field as he leaves fallow, he shall pay *šibšu*-rent [to the field’s owner] according to the (yield of the) adjacent (fields).” Compare also text Nos. 144 and 146.
- 17–18: The first witness in this tablet, Nabû-apla-iddin, is most likely the second witness in another document written by our Bēl-rēmāni, VS 5, 60:26 ([x-x]-MU A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-[TIN-su-E] A<sup>lú</sup>GAL-a-šú-šá-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ). The second witness, Šamaš-nāšir/Mušibši-Marduk//Šangû-Šamaš, is Bēl-rēmāni’s brother and appears in fourth place on the list of *mār banê* in CT 2, 2:26.
- 19–21: The fourth witness, Nabû-šuma-iškun/Nabû-šuma-iddin//Balātu, is the fifth of the *mār banê* in CT 2, 2:27.
- 21–22: The fifth witness, Šamaš-apla-iddin/Mušēzib-Marduk//Ilī-tillatī, appears sixth on the list of *mār banê* in CT 2, 2:28. His brother Bunene-ibni is the third witness in text No. 90:21.
- 24: The seventh witness, Lābāši/Nabû-nāšir//Nanna-ūtu, is the eighth *mār banê* in CT 2, 2:29–30; he witnesses one contract of Bēl-rēmāni’s (VS 5, 109:18) and appears once as his creditor (VS 3, 135a:2–4); his son (probably), Kiribtu/Lābāši//Nanna-ūtu, also witnesses one text of Bēl-rēmāni’s archive, VS 4, 145:14–15.
- 28: Nisannu would be the most logical month to restore in the date formula, since in that case the document would have been drawn up immediately before the month in which the lease becomes effective (ll. 15–16). However, as pointed out by Ries (*Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 59), a lease contract may be dated after as well as before the lease actually becomes effective.

### Remarks

Structurally this tablet is a standard lease contract: the field is identified and described; the lessor, type of lease, and lessee are identified; and the lessee’s obligations for rent payment and work on the field are set forth. The lessor is the Ebabbar temple administration, represented by the *šangû* of Sippar, its chief administrator, and four scribes.<sup>1</sup> The portion of the harvest due as rent is defined as *šibšu* in the case that the lessee fails to work the land (see notes on ll. 11–13, 13–15), while if he does work the land the Ebabbar’s share of the harvest is “half and a tenth”—which is almost twice the normal rate at which *šibšu* was assessed.

Bēl-rēmāni, the scribe of this tablet, drew up at least two copies (ll. 30–31), one for the temple and one for the lessee. It is possible that the extant copy is the tablet that was deposited in the temple archive, where Bēl-rēmāni’s tablets probably were stored.

1. Other contracts wherein the Ebabbar leases land variously name the *qīpu*-official and the *šangû* of Sippar (Cyr. 26), the *šangû* of Sippar and the “scribes of the Ebabbar” (Cyr. 200, BM 60454 [Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 145–46]), or the *šangû* of Sippar alone (Camb. 42) as the lessor. Of the three texts just cited, two (Cyr. 26 and Camb. 42) are leases against fixed rent, i.e., *sūtu*. In Cyr. 26, one Šulaya leases 60 *kur* land in Bir<sup>2</sup>ilu, the same place as the location of the field in text No. 92, and promises a yearly *sūtu*-rent of 300 *kur* barley. This *sūtu*-lease is a concession or grant of a leasehold by the temple, like those from the Eanna temple in Uruk (see Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, pp. 53ff.). Additional clauses reveal that Šulaya is also supposed to deliver *šibšu* and *imittu* payments on (adjacent?) plots of land, which he will sublease to sharecroppers (ll. 10–12, rev. 4’–5’). A sublease of that sort is represented by Dar. 427, wherein the land leased is identified as “(part) of the *sūtu*- (leasehold) of Bułtaya,” and Bułtaya proceeds to lease the plot “for horticulture,” *ana nukarribūtu*, against rent payment in the form of *imittu* (l. 13); text No. 93 has to do with a similar sublease.

## 93.

MMA 86.11.99

Lease renewal

Plate 69

Achaemenid period, Sippar

H. 51 mm. W. 59 mm. Th. 24 mm.

Darius I, year 35 month 6 day 27

- Obv. 1. ŠE.NUMUN šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>edin</sup>Bi-ru-il NAM Sip-par<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. ina <sup>giš</sup>BÁN šá<sup>1</sup> La-a-ba-ši šá ina IGI <sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu  
 3. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> DÜG.GA-ia É rit-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <<sup>1</sup>. . .>  
 4. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> Gab-ri-<sup>d</sup>IM ÚS.SA.DU  
 5. ÍD-<sup>d</sup>Bu-ne-ne šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu  
 6. [a]-na <sup>lú</sup>er-ra-šu-tu a-na  
 7. [<sup>Id</sup>EN-re-man<sup>an</sup>-ni <<i>i-din</i>>] A-šú šá  
 8. [<sup>l</sup>Mu-šib-ši-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-[<sup>d</sup>UTU]  
 9. [i]-din-nu (erasure)
- Lo.E. 10. [a-di(?)] <sup>r</sup>20(?)<sup>1</sup> MU<sup>meš</sup> a-ki-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>
- Rev. 11. [šá-~~f~~]a-ru IGI<sup>ú</sup> šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[tan-nu]  
 12. [ina IGI <sup>Id</sup>EN-r]e-man<sup>an</sup>-ni ŠE.NUMUN šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[EN-it-tan-nu(?)]  
 13. [a-na] <sup>r</sup>Id<sup>1</sup><sup>r</sup>U+GUR<sup>1</sup>-TIN<sup>it</sup> ŠEŠ-šú i-din-nu  
 14. <sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu a-šar še-bu-u i-<sup>r</sup>nam-din<sup>1</sup>  
 15. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>r</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>UTU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU  
 16. A <sup>r</sup>Mu<sup>1</sup>-še-zib <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>URU-lu-mur  
 17. <sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu <sup>lú</sup>šID A-šú šá  
 18. <sup>r</sup>DÜG.GA-ia UD.KIB.NUN<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>KIN  
 19. UD 27 MU 35.KÁM <sup>r</sup>Da-ri-<sup>2</sup>-muš  
 20. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR
- U.E. 21. u<sub>4</sub>-mu ma-la ŠE.NUMUN šá ina ħar<sup>ra</sup>-bi  
 22. <sup>lú</sup>GAL<sup>meš</sup> ina IGI <sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu
- L.E. 23. [. . . ]-x-ri-šú  
 24. [. . . ]<sup>Id</sup>E]N-re-man<sup>an</sup>-ni

*Translation*

- 1–3. The arable field which is (located) in Bīr<sup>2</sup>ilu, District of Sippar, in the leasehold of Lābāši, which is at the disposal of Bēl-ittannu, son of Ṭābiya,  
 3–9. the *bīt ritti* plot of ⟨PN⟩, son of Gabri-Adad, adjacent to the Bunene canal, which Bēl-ittannu (sub)leased to Bēl-rēmanni, son of Mušibši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-[Šamaš], for cultivation,  
 10–12. (this field is) [at the disposal of Bēl-r]ēmanni [for] 20(?) years, in accord with the previous document of Bēl-ittannu.  
 12–14. Bēl-ittannu may give the arable field which [Bēl-ittannu(?)] had given [to] his brother Nergal-uballit to whomever he pleases.  
 15–16. Witnesses:  
     Rīmūt-Šamaš, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Mušēzib  
     Bēl-iddin, son of Āla-lūmur  
 17–18. Bēl-ittannu, scribe, son of Ṭābiya  
 18–20. Sippar, Ulūlu day 27 year 35, Darius king of Babylon, king of the lands  
 21–24. When the arable field that is in the wasteland of the “Grandeess” is at the disposal of Bēl-ittannu [according to (?)] his document(?) [(it is) at the disposal of(?)] Bēl-rēmanni.

*Notes*

- 1–2: The GN Bīr<sup>2</sup>ilu is often written with the determinative GARIM (see text No. 92, n. to l. 2). This tablet probably concerns a field under the same jurisdiction as text No. 92. Here the field is part of a leasehold-concession managed by Lābāši, as a *ša muḫḫi sūti* official, on behalf of the temple of Šamaš (see text No. 92:3).  
 2–3: It is assumed that Bēl-ittannu, the sublessor in this document, is the brother of Nabû-uballit, son of Ṭābiya, the lessee in text No. 92.  
 3–4: A comparable instance of a property that is simultaneously the *bīt ritti* (“fief”) of one person and part of the *sūtu* (“leasehold”) of another person is the lease contract *Dar.* 427, wherein it is the *sūtu*-holder who leases the plot to two other individuals.  
 11: The *šaṭāru maḫrû* referred to here may have been the original contract (not extant) whereby Bēl-ittannu leased the field to Bēl-rēmanni.  
 12: The missing name at the end of l. 12 is restored based on the assumption that the transaction alluded to in ll. 12–13 was entered into by one of the principal parties of the lease referred to in the preceding lines; two brothers of Bēl-rēmanni are attested (see Introduction to Archive F, p. 176), and neither of them is named Nergal-uballit; and since Bēl-ittannu is the subject of the verb *nadānu* in the other clauses (ll. 9, 14), he is most likely the subject of the verb here.  
 21–24: The field that is the subject of this supplementary clause is evidently identical to the field that is the object of lease in text No. 92. The term *rabātu*, “Grandeess,” denotes the same officials as in text No. 92, although by this time the actual officeholders had changed (the *šangû* of Sippar, for instance, was no longer Gūzānu but <sup>I</sup>MU-ŠEŠ; see San Nicolò, *Prosopographie*, p. 36, Šumu-ušur; see also BM 60454 ll. 2–6 [Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 145–46] for a list of Ebabbar temple officials in year 33 of Darius).

**Remarks**

This document records terms of a contract in which Bēl-ittannu renews for twenty years (?) the lease of an arable field to Bēl-rēmāni. The property had been granted as a “fief” (*bīt ritti*) to an unrelated person, and at the same time it was part of the *sūtu*-land, or leasehold, of one Lābāši, which he no doubt managed on behalf of the Ebabbar temple (see n. to ll. 1–2).<sup>1</sup> In order for it to have been at Bēl-ittannu’s disposal, it must have been leased to him by Lābāši as the *ša muḫḫi sūti*, the official in charge of the leasehold in Bīr<sup>2</sup>ilu. Bēl-ittannu preferred to sublease it to Bēl-rēmāni, rather than cultivating it himself or supervising its cultivation. According to M. Jursa (private communication), BM 42547+ and BM 43554+ are lease contracts whereby Bēl-rēmāni subleases Bēl-ittannu’s land to sub-tenants.

It is noteworthy that this document exhibits no link with the temple administration, such as is evident from the number of witnesses in text No. 92 who appear in CT 2, 2 (see text No. 92, n. to ll. 17–24). Notwithstanding that the field, which is the object of text No. 93, was under the jurisdiction of the temple, the transactions between Bēl-ittannu, Nergal-uballit, and Bēl-rēmāni were entirely private.

1. On the term fief as used here, see Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 24–27 and n. 97 on *bīt ritti* land.

**94.**

MMA 86.11.180+VAT 591 (VS 3, 143)  
Plate 70  
H. 52 mm. W. 54 mm. Th. 26 mm.  
Dupl. BM 42353

Promissory note for dates  
Achaemenid period, Babylon  
Darius I, year 26 month 5 day 13

- Obv. 1. ʾ86<sup>1</sup> GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA PAD<sup>bá</sup> [šá qé-me-tu<sub>4</sub>]  
2. šá TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> šá ŠU<sup>II</sup> I<sup>1</sup>MU-GIN lúGA[L a-mil-tu<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup>]  
3. šá I<sup>d</sup>EN-SUR A-šú šá I<sup>1</sup>Ina-GIŠ.MI-LUGAL lúS[i-pi-ri ša qé-me-tu<sub>4</sub>]  
4. šá TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ina muḫ-ḫi I<sup>d</sup>EN-re-man-ni A-[šú šá I<sup>1</sup>Mu-šib-ši-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU]  
5. A lúSANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU UD 20.KÁM šá it<sup>i</sup>NE [MU 26.KÁM]  
6. I<sup>1</sup>Da-ri-ia-a-muš ZÚ.LUM.MA-<sup>2</sup> [86 GUR ina NUN<sup>ki</sup>]  
7. i-nam-din ZÚ.LUM.MA šá a-na [muḫ-ḫi GIŠ.BÁN]  
8. šá I<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-SÛH-SUR S[UM.NA-<sup>2</sup>]
- Rev. 9. lú<sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu I<sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU šá I<sup>d</sup>[AMAR.UTU-SU]  
10. A I<sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>Pap-sukkal I<sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN DUMU šá [I<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-DÛ]  
11. A I<sup>d</sup>30-na-šir I<sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ-at-bu-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [A-šú šá]  
12. I<sup>d</sup>U+GUR-MU I<sup>d</sup>AG-it-tan-nu A-šú šá I<sup>1</sup>[MU-<sup>d</sup>AG]  
13. A I<sup>1</sup>DILI-SUR I<sup>d</sup>UTU-a-a DUMU šá I<sup>1</sup>Kal-b[a-a]  
14. I<sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL A-šú šá I<sup>d</sup>KUR.G[AL-na-šir]  
15. I<sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN A I<sup>1</sup>Šu-la-a  
16. lú<sup>1</sup>ŠID I<sup>d</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá I<sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG [A lú<sup>1</sup>ŠU.ḪA]



17. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>NE</sup> UD 13.KÁM M[U 26.KÁM]  
 18. <sup>I</sup>Da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR<sup>meš</sup>

### Translation

- 1–5. 86 *kur* dates, the rations of [the female flour-grinders] of Babylon under the supervision of Šuma-ukīn the [women's overse]er, are owed to Bēl-ētir, son of Ina-šilli-šarri, the Ara[maic scribe of the female flour-grinders] of Babylon, by Bēl-rēmanni, son [of Mušibši-Marduk], descendant of Šangû-Šamaš.
- 5–7. He shall deliver those [86 *kur*] dates [in Babylon] on day 20 of the month of Abu, [year 26 of] Darius.
- 7–8. The dates which are charged [against the rent] of Nergal-(ina)-tēšî-eṭir [have been pa]id.
- 9–15. Witnesses:  
 Rīmût-Bēl, son of [Marduk-erība], descendant of Nūr-Papsukkal  
 Arad-Bēl, son of [Marduk-ibni], descendant of Sîn-nāšir  
 Aḫu-atbû, [son of] Nergal-iddin  
 Nabû-ittannu, son of [Iddin-Nabû], descendant of Ēda-eṭir  
 Šamšaya, son of Kalb[aya]  
 Iddin-Amurru, son of Amu[rru-nāšir]  
 Arad-Bēl, son of Šulaya
16. Scribe: Bēl-iddin, son of Iddin-Nabû, [descendant of Bā<sup>2</sup>iru]
- 17–18. Babylon, Abu day 13 ye[ar 26], Darius king of Babylon [(and) king of the lands].

### Notes

- 1: We thank M. Jursa for pointing out the join between MMA 86.11.180 and VAT 591 (VS 3, 143), and for the observation that the unpublished tablet BM 42353 is a duplicate of this tablet. The restorations given here are based on VS 3, 143.
- 1, 3: Whereas the join VS 3, 143 reads *qé-me-tu*<sub>4</sub> “(female) flour-grinders,” at the end of ll. 1 and 3 the duplicate BM 42353 reads *te-me-tu*<sub>4</sub> (information courtesy M. Jursa).
- 3: The “*sepīru* of the female flour-grinders of Babylon,” while being an “Aramaic scribe” like any other *sepīru*, was perhaps the official responsible for keeping the accounts having to do with the female flour-grinders.

### Remarks

This tablet is related to text No. 90 and to VS 3, 138/139, as discussed in the Introduction to Archive F (pp. 176–77). In the present tablet, Bēl-rēmanni is obliged to deliver 86 *kur* dates for provisioning certain female workers in Babylon to an official identified as an Aramaic scribe (*sepīru*); he must deliver the dates within a week from the date of the tablet. A supplementary clause (ll. 7–8) mentions the payment of dates from the rent of Nergal(-ina)-tēšî-eṭir, probably identical to Bēl-rēmanni’s creditor in text No. 90.

## Introduction to Archive G

Four tablets in the Museum's collection come from the archive of Iddin-Nabû, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, descendant of Nappāḫu, and Iddin-Nabû's son Šellebi. This archive included a small group of tablets pertaining to Iddin-Nabû's adoptive parents, Gimillu, son of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Nappāḫu, and Gimillu's wife <sup>f</sup>Tappašar. Text Nos. 95-98 are part of an archive whose tablets—like those of Archive F—are found in both the British Museum's collections and the collections of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.

In the course of his work on the tablets acquired by the Königliches Museum of Berlin (now the Vorderasiatisches Museum) in 1886 and 1888, F. E. Peiser was afforded the opportunity to examine the British Museum's tablet collections. He discovered that several tablets of the British Museum's 84-2-11 collection pertained to the same family archive as did a large group of the Vorderasiatisches Museum's tablets; there were, indeed, duplicate tablets whereof one copy had found its way to London and the other to Berlin. In the article announcing his discovery, Peiser presented a catalogue of all the documents in Berlin and in London that he could positively assign to this archive, appending a genealogical diagram of the family to which it belonged, with their affinal and adoptive relatives.<sup>1</sup>

In a recent study M. Roth discusses the adoption of Iddin-Nabû by Gimillu and <sup>f</sup>Tappašar, the resulting transfer of property, and, after Gimillu's death, the settlement between Iddin-Nabû and <sup>f</sup>Tappašar of her claims to her husband's estate.<sup>2</sup> The assets transferred to Iddin-Nabû, as Gimillu's heir, consisted primarily of outstanding credit claims owed to Gimillu or to <sup>f</sup>Tappašar; this accounts for the inclusion of the adoptive parents' promissory notes in Iddin-Nabû's archive. Unlike Kalbaya, son of Šuma-ukīn, who was adopted by Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin of the Egibi family and thereafter called himself "son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin" (see text No. 53), Iddin-Nabû did not take his adoptive father's name, i.e., he never called himself "son of Gimillu, descendant of Nappāḫu." Gimillu's and <sup>f</sup>Tappašar's adoption of Iddin-Nabû was essentially a financial arrangement, whereby the adoptee would receive an "inheritance" in exchange for supporting his adoptive parents through the remainder of their lifetimes.

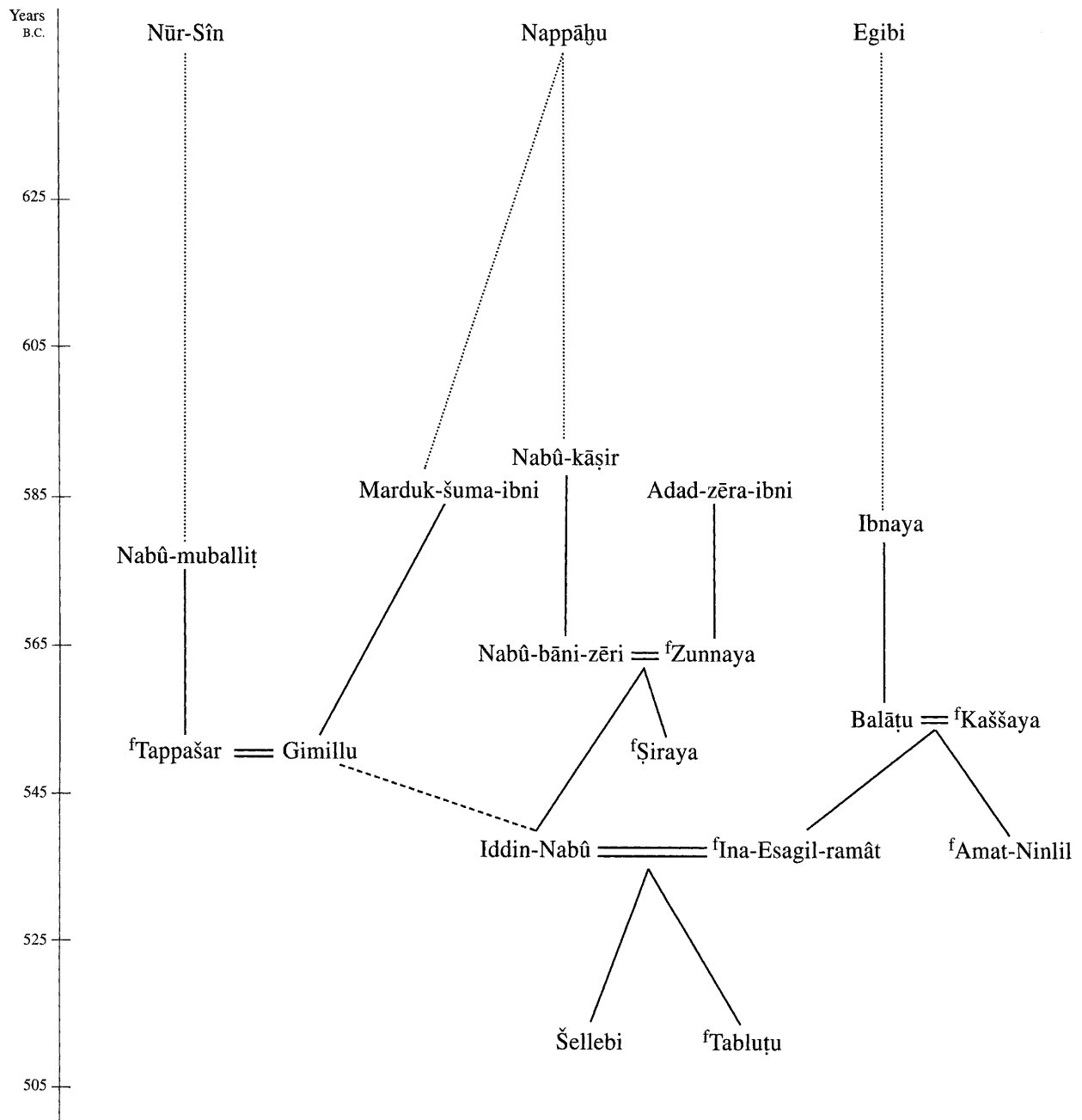
No comprehensive study of this archive, which consists of approximately 250 tablets total, has been published.

1. F. E. Peiser, "Die Zugehörigkeit der unter Nr. 84.2-11 im British Museum registrierten Thontafelsammlung zu den Thontafelsammlung des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin," *SPAW*, 38 (1889), pp. 813-23.

Peiser published editions of these documents soon afterward in *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums* (Berlin, 1890). Some of the items from the British Museum's share of this archive were published in Strassmaier's volumes of Neo-Babylonian tablets; those in Berlin are among the tablets published by A. Ungnad in VS 3-6.

2. Roth, "Widow," pp. 11-13. Roth has also studied the dowries of some of the women associated with this family: <sup>f</sup>Ina-Esagil-ramât, the wife of Iddin-Nabû; her mother <sup>f</sup>Kaššaya and sister <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bēlti; and her daughter <sup>f</sup>Tabluṭu (Šellebi's sister). See Roth, "Dowries," pp. 36-37.

Genealogical Chart: Archive G



Code for genealogical chart:

- ..... Ancestral lineage
- Direct filiation
- Filial relationship through adoption
- = Marriage

Archive G  
(Text Nos. 95–98)

**95.**

MMA 86.11.77

Plate 71

H. 36 mm. W. 45 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nebuchadnezzar II, year 43 month 2 day 29

- Obv. 1. 7½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina* 1 GÍN *bit-qa*  
 2. *šá* <sup>1</sup>G<sup>i</sup>-m<sup>i</sup>l-lu A-šú *šá*  
 3. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ A <sup>lú</sup>SIMUG  
 4. *ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>UTU-TIN  
 5. A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-SI.SÁ  
 6. *ina qí-it šá* <sup>iti</sup>ŠU  
 7. *ina* SAG.DU-šú *i-nam-din*
- Rev. 8. *e-lat* 3 GUR 3 PI  
 9. ŠE.BAR *šá maḫ(!)-ra-ta(?)*  
 10. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-na-šir  
 11. A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>Za-kir A <sup>1</sup>Sag-íl-la-a-a  
 12. <sup>Id</sup>EN-GI A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>Bul-lu-tú  
 (blank line)  
 13. <sup>lú</sup>ŠID <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME <<ki>>  
 14. A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>Ba-laṭ-su  
 15. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> UD 29.KÁM  
 16. MU 43.KÁM
- U.E. 17. <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-ú-šur  
 18. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
- L.E. 19. *ki-i la it-tan-nu*  
 20. ITI 4-tú KÙ.BABBAR *ina* UGU  
 21. *i-nam-din*
- R.E. 22. <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-AŠ-PAP  
 23. <sup>lú</sup>qal-la-šú *maš-ka-nu*

**Translation**

- 1–5. 7½ shekels silver of ⅛ alloy per shekel owed to Gimillu, son of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Nappāḫu, by Itti-Šamaš-balātu, son of Nabû-šumu-līšir.  
 6–7. He shall pay (the debt) in its principal amount at the end of the month of Du<sup>3</sup>ūzu.  
 8–9. Separate from 3 *kur* 3 *pān* barley which is a previous (obligation).

10–12. Witnesses:

Nergal-nāšir, son of Zākir, descendant of Esagilaya

Bēl-ušallim, son of Bulluṭ

13–14. Scribe: Arad-Gula, son of Balāssu

15–18. Babylon, Ayyāru day 29 year 43, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon

19–21. If he does not pay (on time), he shall pay  $\frac{1}{4}$  (shekel) silver per month on top (of the debt).

22–23. Nergal-ēda-ušur, his slave, is (pledged as) security.

### Note

19–21: The scribe omitted these two clauses from the body of the contract and required not only the left edge but the right edge as well, in order to find room for them; moreover, he abbreviated both clauses. For the usual interest clause, plus a supplementary clause requiring monthly interest payments, see text No. 80:4–5 and 7–8; for the standard clause assigning property as security, cf. text Nos. 52:9–10 and 54:6–7.

The interest rate stipulated in ll. 19–21 is 40 percent per annum, twice the usual rate.

### Remarks

Iddin-Nabû was adopted as heir by Gimillu, son of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Nappāḫu, and thereby acquired, as his inheritance, six outstanding promissory notes credited to Gimillu, and one credited to Gimillu's wife <sup>f</sup>Tappašar (see Introduction to Archive G, p. 195). VS 5, 47, dated year 3 Cambyses, records Gimillu's bequest of property to his adopted son and itemizes the seven promissory notes in descending order of value (ll. 2–11).<sup>1</sup>

Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu, son of Nabû-šumu-lišir, the debtor named in the present text—the earliest tablet of Gimillu's archive so far published—is not one of the debtors named in VS 5, 47, nor is he found in other documents of Gimillu's archive.

1. 70 shekels silver owed by Bēl-apla-iddin, 50 shekels owed by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, 20 shekels owed by Lābāši, 15 shekels owed by Kalbaya the weaver, 15 shekels owed by Nabû-ušallim, 10 shekels owed by Iddin-Nabû, descendant of "the Borsippean," and 35 shekels owed by Nabû-šuma-iddin on a promissory note drawn up in the name of <sup>f</sup>Tappašar. Gimillu's credit claims against the second person listed, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, are documented by VS 4, 53 (a quittance for interest paid), 54, and 73 (promissory notes for 30 shekels and 1 mina, respectively). <sup>f</sup>Tappašar's debtor Nabû-šuma-iddin owed Gimillu a total of 37 shekels silver in year 10 of Nabonidus (see E. and V. Revillout, "Les Dépôts et les Confiements en Droit Égyptien et en Droit Babylonien," *PSBA* 9 [1887], p. 288).

The other five debtors mentioned in VS 5, 47, are not traceable in the published documents. This is not surprising since the promissory notes acquired by Iddin-Nabû from Gimillu would have been handed over to the debtors once he had collected the outstanding debts.

## 96.

MMA 86.11.147

Plate 71

H. 31 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Declaration before witnesses

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 6 month 6 day 10

- Obv. 1. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu<sup>meš</sup> šá ina <sup>Γ</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu  
 2. <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-DÙ-NUMUN A <sup>lú</sup>SIMUG  
 3. ina ití<sup>Γ</sup>KIN<sup>1</sup> UD 10.KÁM ina KÁ É-<sup>d</sup>Iš-ḥa-ri  
 4. <sup>1</sup>IR-U+GUR qul-lu-ul  
 5. ù a-di UGU pa-ṭa-ri šá x-x-šú bé-ri u<sub>4</sub>-mu  
 6. ma-šar-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>1</sup>Ḥa-šá-da-a-a
- Lo.E. 7. <sup>Γ</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> šá <sup>1</sup>A-a A <sup>Id</sup>EN-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru
- Rev. 8. iṣ-šur-ru-ma la il-li-nim(?)  
 9. <sup>1</sup>NÍG.BA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU šá <sup>1</sup>Šu-zu-bu  
 10. A <sup>1</sup>Ka-ník-KÁ  
 11. <sup>Id</sup>AG-it-tan-nu DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU  
 12. A <sup>1</sup>Ir-a-ni <sup>1</sup>TIN DUMU šá <sup>1</sup>MU-ŠEŠ  
 13. A <sup>1</sup>Maš-tuk <sup>Id</sup>EN-KÁD DUMU šá <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN
- U.E. 14. A <sup>1</sup>Sip-pe-e TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> itíKIN  
 15. UD 10.KÁM MU 6.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Da-a-ri-muš
- L.E. 16. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 17. LUGAL KUR<sup>meš</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–8. The witnesses before whom Iddin-Nabû, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, descendant of Nappāḫu, in the month of Ulūlu (on) day 10 at the gate of the temple of Išḫara, (declared as follows):
- 4–8. “Arad-Nergal has been maligned, and until the releasing of . . . midday he did the guard duty of Ḥašdaya, son of Aplaya, descendant of Bēl-ēṭir, and he did not desert(?)”
- 9–14. (Witnesses):  
 Qīšti-Marduk, son of Šūzubu, descendant of Kānik-bābi  
 Nabû-ittannu, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Iranni  
 Balāṭu, son of Nādin-aḫi, descendant of Maštuk  
 Bēl-kāšir, son of Arad-Bēl, descendant of Sippē
- 14–17. Babylon, Ulūlu day 10 year 6, Darius king of Babylon, king of the lands

**Notes**

- 1: Compare the format of text No. 83.
- 3: Since the date given here is identical to the date of the document, the date and location probably refer to when and where Iddin-Nabû’s declaration took place.

Iddin-Nabû held a prebend from the temple of Išhara (VS 6, 96, and VS 5, 72; on Išhara's temple E-šasurra in Šuanna, the southern quarter of Babylon, see George, *BTT*, pp. 314–16). The reason he is making a declaration before witnesses at the gate of that temple may be connected with his prebendary duties.

- 5: Compare *adi muḫḫi tūru ša bābi*, “until the closing of the gate,” at a comparable point in VS 6, 247:3, a similar document recording Iddin-Nabû's declaration before *mār banê* that he has done the guard duty of two men.

## 97.

MMA 86.11.153

House rental contract

Plates 72, 118, 119

Achaemenid period, Babylon

H. 52 mm. W. 65 mm. Th. 25 mm.

Darius I, year 8 month 2 day 28

- Obv. 1. É šá<sup>1</sup> MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> IdAG-DÙ-NUMUN A Ilú<sup>1</sup>SIMUG  
 2. šá DA É IdAG-it-tan-nu A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> IdAMAR.UTU-NUMUN-DÙ  
 3. A IÉ-sag-gil-ia u DA É IdNa-na-a-MU  
 4. a-na i-di É a-di-i 2<sup>ta</sup> MU.AN.NA<sup>meš</sup>  
 5. a-na MU.AN.NA 18 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup> šá ina 1 GÍN bit-qa  
 6. nu-uḫ-ḫu-tú šá la gìn-nu a-na IdAG-mu-še-ti-iq-UD.DA  
 7. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> DUB-NUMUN A I<sup>1</sup>Mi-šir-a-a id-di-in  
 8. ur-ru i-šá-an bat-qa šá a-sur-ru-ú i-šab-bat  
 9. it<sup>i</sup>BÁR it<sup>i</sup>ŠU u it<sup>i</sup>GAN nu-up-tu<sub>4</sub> ina-ad-din  
 10. ul-tu UD 1.KÁM šá<sup>1</sup> it<sup>i</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub> É ina IGI-šú dul-lu  
 11. SIG<sub>4</sub><sup>há</sup> GI u GIŠ.ÛR ma-la ina lib-bi ip-pu-uš  
 12. a-na KÙ.BABBAR a-na muḫ-ḫi I<sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG i-man-ni
- Lo.E. 13. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup> šá ina 1 GÍN bit-qa nu-uḫ-ḫu-<sup>1</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>  
 14. ina re-eš šat-ti-šú I<sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG ma-ḫi-ir
- Rev. 15. SIG<sub>4</sub><sup>há</sup> GI GIŠ.ÛR I<sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG a-na  
 16. IdAG-mu-še-ti-iq-UD.DA i-nam-din-ma  
 17. IdAG-mu-še-ti-iq-UD.DA bat-qa i-šab-bat  
 18. 1<sup>en</sup>-TA.ÀM ša-ṭa-ri il-qu-ú  
 19. lú<sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu I<sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> IŠu-zu-bu A I<sup>1</sup>Ka-ník-KÁ  
 20. IdGI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> IŠu-zu-bu A I<sup>1</sup>Ka-ník-KÁ  
 21. IdEN-re-man-ni A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> ISu-qa-a-a A Ilú<sup>1</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 22. IdAG-PAP A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> IdEN-KÁD A I<sup>1</sup>E-gi-bi  
 23. IŠu-lum-E<sup>ki</sup> A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> IdAG-na-šir A I<sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÙ  
 24. IdEN-I lú<sup>1</sup>ŠID A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> IdU+GUR-GI A I<sup>1</sup>Ka-ník-KÁ  
 25. E<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> UD 28.KÁM MU 8.KÁM  
 26. I<sup>1</sup>Da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR
- L.E. 27. ki i-di in-nu-u i-di (erasure)  
 28. šá<sup>1</sup> lú<sup>1</sup>IR-É.GAL IdAG-DIB-UD.DA  
 29. a-na muḫ-ḫi I<sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG ul i-man-ni

**Translation**

- 1–7. A house belonging to Iddin-Nabû, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, descendant of Nappāhu, which is adjacent to the house of Nabû-ittannu, son of Marduk-zēra-ibni, descendant of Esagilaya, and adjacent to the house of Nanaya-iddin, (which Iddin-Nabû) rented for two years, for an annual (rent of) 18 shekels average-quality white silver of  $\frac{1}{8}$  alloy per shekel, without the *ginnu*-stamp, to Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, son of Šāpik-zēri, descendant of Miširaya.
8. He (the renter) shall seal the roof and maintain the foundation-walls in (good) repair.
9. He shall pay a surcharge in the months of Nisannu, Du<sup>2</sup>ūzu, and Kislimu.
10. From day 1 of the month of Simānu the house is at his disposal.
- 10–12. Any work in bricks, reeds, and beams that he does, he shall reckon in silver on the account of Iddin-Nabû (the landlord).
- 13–14. Iddin-Nabû has received 10 shekels average-quality white silver of  $\frac{1}{8}$  alloy, for the beginning of his year.
- 15–17. Iddin-Nabû shall give Nabû-mušētiq-uddê bricks, reeds, and beams, and Nabû-mušētiq-uddê shall make repairs.
18. They have taken one (copy of) the document each.
- 19–23. Witnesses:
- Iddin-Nabû, son of Šūzubu, descendant of Kānik-bābi  
 Mušallim-Marduk, son of Šūzubu, descendant of Kānik-bābi  
 Bēl-rēmāni, son of Sūqaya, descendant of Šangû-Nabû  
 Nabû-nāšir, son of Bēl-kāšir, descendant of Egibi  
 Šulum-Bābili, son of Nabû-nāšir, descendant of Arad-Nergal
24. Bēl-na<sup>2</sup>id, scribe, son of Nergal-ušallim, descendant of Kānik-bābi
- 25–26. Babylon, Ayyāru day 28 year 8, Darius king of Babylon, king of the lands
- 27–29. Because they changed the rent, Nabû-mušētiq-uddê shall not charge the wages of the builder against (the account of) Iddin-Nabû.

**Notes**

- 8: On the requirement that the renter maintain the roof and foundation, see *NRV*, pp. 155–56 nn. 6–7, and Oppenheim, “Mietrecht,” pp. 71–78.
- 9: The surcharge (*nūptu*) is sometimes linked to cultic dates; Oppenheim, “Mietrecht,” pp. 84–87, and *NRV*, p. 156 n. 8. In Iddin-Nabû’s rent contracts (see Remarks, n. 1, below) it is usually—as here—stipulated for the first, fourth, and ninth months.
- 10–12, 27–29: The clause whereby the landlord is made responsible for the cost of building materials, should repair work beyond the usual maintenance (l. 8) be required (see Oppenheim, “Mietrecht,” pp. 78–79), occurs in most other rent contracts of Iddin-Nabû (see those cited in Remarks, n. 1, below, plus VS 5, 78:8–10). The supplementary clause in this text, ll. 27–29, qualifies this obligation by stipulating that the renter cannot charge the landlord for the labor involved.



13–14: Normally the renter is required to pay half the annual rent at the beginning of the year and half in the middle (*NRV*, p. 154; Oppenheim, “Mietrecht,” pp. 16–17). The sum of 10 shekels received by Iddin-Nabû for the first half of the year may include one of the triennial *nūptu* surcharges, the amount of which is not specified.

20: Mušallim-Marduk/Šūzubu//Kānik-bābi is the scribe of the associated quittance VS 4, 129.

### Remarks

Iddin-Nabû rented out three different houses in Babylon at various annual rates.<sup>1</sup> In this text Iddin-Nabû rents a house for two years to Nabû-mušētiq-uddê; the rental is to begin on the first of the month of Simānu (l. 10), i.e., two days after the date on which the tablet is drawn up, and the renter has prepaid half his rent. The quittance VS 4, 129, dated Abu day 28, Darius I year 10, records Iddin-Nabû’s receipt from Nabû-mušētiq-uddê of the rent from Simānu through Araḥsamnu of year 10—that is, the third rent payment owed by Nabû-mušētiq-uddê according to the present contract. VS 4, 129, also includes the renter’s oath promising to maintain the house as he is required to do by the contract.

1. See the rent contracts VS 5, 61, 64, 81, 82, 84, and 151; and the quittances for rent payment VS 4, 106, 110, 129, 138, 146, and 151; in VS 4, 151, the recipient of rent payment is Iddin-Nabû’s son Šellebi.

## 98.

MMA 86.11.159

Plate 73

H. 39 mm. W. 52 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Assignment of note

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 27 month 4 day 21

- Obv. 1. *ú-íl-tì šá* 5/6 MA.NA 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup>  
 2. *šá ina* 1 GÍN *bit-qa nu-uḫ-ḫu-tu šá a-na* MU  
 3. *šá* <sup>1</sup>Še-el-le-bi DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG DUMU <sup>lú</sup>SIMUG  
 4. *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>AG DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>Ina-GIŠ.MI-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 5. DUMU <sup>1</sup>Nu-ḫa-šú *e<sup>3</sup>-li-tu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.BABBAR *šu-a-tì*  
 6. *šá* <sup>1</sup>Eri-ba-a DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG DUMU <sup>lú</sup>SIMUG *šu-ú*  
 7. *mim-ma šá* <sup>1</sup>Še-el-le-bi *ina lib-bi ia-a-nu*  
 8. *ú-íl-tì šá a-na ši-bu-tu šá* <sup>1</sup>SU<sup>a</sup> <<RA LÚ>> <e<sup>3</sup>-lit(?)>  
 9. *ú-íl-tì* KÙ.BABBAR-<sup>3</sup> 5/6 MA.NA 5 GÍN <sup>1</sup>Še-el-le-bi  
 Lo.E. 10. *it-ti* <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>AG *ú-šá-az-za-az-ma*  
 11. *a-na* <sup>1</sup>Eri-ba-a *i-nam-din*  
 Rev. 12. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>dAG-ku-ṣur-šú DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>Na-di-nu  
 13. DUMU <sup>1</sup>Ga-ḫal <sup>1</sup>Ku-ṣur-a DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>Šad-din-nu  
 14. DUMU <sup>1</sup>dIDIM-DÙ<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR <sup>1</sup>EN-šú-nu DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>KI.NE-na-a-a

15. DUMU <sup>Id</sup>IM-šam-me-e <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup> DUMU šá  
 16. <sup>I</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>Gu-la DUMU <sup>I</sup>Ir-a-ni  
 (blank line)  
 17. <sup>I</sup>Ni-din-ti-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUB.SAR DUMU <sup>lú</sup>GAL.DÙ  
 18. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> itišU UD 21.KÁM MU 27.KÁM  
 19. <sup>Γ</sup>Da-a-ri-ia-muš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR

### Translation

- 1–5. (Concerning) the promissory note for  $\frac{5}{6}$  minas 5 shekels average-quality white silver of  $\frac{1}{6}$  alloy per shekel, which was contracted in the name of Šellebi, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Nappāhu, to the debit of Rīmût-Nabû, son of Ina-šilli-Bēl, descendant of Nuḫāšu,  
 5–6. that silver belongs to Erībaya, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Nappāhu;  
 7. Šellebi has no share in it.  
 8. The document (was drawn up) on the request of Erībaya.  
 9–11. Šellebi shall register the promissory note for that  $\frac{5}{6}$  mina 5 shekels silver with Rīmût-Nabû and give (it) to Erībaya.  
 12–16. Witnesses:  
     Nabû-kušuršu, son of Nādin, descendant of Gaḫal  
     Kušurraya, son of Šaddinnu, descendant of Ea-eppeš-ilī  
     Bēlšunu, son of Kinūnaya, descendant of Adad-šamê  
     Nergal-uballiṭ, son of Arad-Gula, descendant of Iranni  
 17. Nidinti-Marduk, scribe, descendant of Rab-banê  
 18–19. Babylon, Du<sup>7</sup>ūzu day 21 year 27, Darius king of Babylon and the lands

### Notes

- 8: At the end of the line the scribe ought to have written a feminine stative of *e<sup>7</sup>ēlu*, as in *Dar.* 531:6–7, another example of the same formula in this type of document (H. Petschow, “Der Surrogationsgedanke im neubabylonischen Recht,” *RIDA* 3/1 [1954], pp. 145–46); cf. *Nbn.* 260: rev. 2' (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 143) and *Nbn.* 244:8–9.  
 9–11: On *šuzzuzu . . . nadānu*, see M. Stolper, “Registration and Taxation of Slave Sales,” *ZA* 79 (1989), n. 12, pp. 86–87; G. Ries, “Bemerkungen zur neubabylonischen Rechtspraxis der Stellvertretung,” *WO* 8 (1976), pp. 296–309. Two other documents from Iddin-Nabû's and Šellebi's archive employ the formula *ušazzazma . . . inamdin*: in VS 3, 127:4–8, it refers to entering the transaction in the temple registry, and in VS 3, 210:7–14, to entering it in the records of the crown prince's household.

**Remarks**

Text No. 98 is a document of the same type as text No. 48, in the Egibi archive. This type of document contains a statement that a) a transaction has taken place, or a contract has been drawn up, between two parties, one of whom is acting on behalf of and with the funds of a third party, though in his own name, and b) rights over the object purchased or the funds credited through that transaction or contract, and the documentation thereof, belong exclusively to that third party and not to the contracting party who has acted as his proxy. Such a statement invariably makes reference to—indeed, depends substantively upon—the document of the transaction concluded by the proxy. There must exist, therefore, a promissory note documenting the contract to which text No. 98 refers, dated on or just before the same date and naming Šellebi as the creditor and Rīmūt-Nabû as the debtor. However, that promissory note would have entered the archive of the actual creditor Erībaya, not that of the nominal creditor, Erībaya's brother Šellebi, and we possess only Šellebi's archive. Indeed, Erībaya, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Nappāhu, is not attested in any other published tablet from this archive.<sup>1</sup>

1. He was unknown to F. E. Peiser ("Die Zugehörigkeit der unter Nr. 84.2-11 im British Museum registrierten Thontafelsammlung zu den Thontafelsammlungen des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin," *SPAW* 38 [1889], genealogical diagram on p. 822) and appears to be absent from the documents of Iddin-Nabû's and Šellebi's archive in VS 3-6.

Miscellaneous Texts  
(Text Nos. 99–164)

99.

MMA 86.11.174

Plates 74, 75

H. 78 mm. W. 56 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Purchase of a field

Neo-Babylonian period, Kār-Bēl-mātāti

Nebuchadnezzar II, year 9 month 4 day 18

- Obv. 1.  $\lceil$ tup<sup>1</sup>-pi A.ŠÀ ki-šub-bu-ú a-di x x u x [x]  
 2. KI<sup>ti</sup> KÁ.GAL-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU šá qé-reb <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup>
- 
3. 30 ina 1 KÙŠ UŠ AN.TA IM.SI.SÁ ÚS.SA.DU  
 4. <sup>Id</sup>UTU-MU DUMU <sup>Id</sup>AG-ga-mil  
 5. 30 ina 1 KÙŠ UŠ KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU ÚS.SA.DU  
 6. <sup>Id</sup>Nuska-SUM.NA DUMU <sup>I</sup>Il-la- $\lceil$ a $\lceil$   
 7. 30 ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI AN.TA IM.KUR.RA ÚS.[SA.DU]  
 8. <sup>I</sup>Šu-la-a DUMU <sup>Id</sup>AG-na-šir  
 9. 30 ina 1 KÙŠ SAG.KI KI.TA IM.MAR.TU ÚS.SA.DU  
 10. <sup>Id</sup>MAŠ-DŪ<sup>uš</sup> DUMU <sup>I</sup>Haš-da-a  
 11. PAB A.ŠÀ šá <sup>I</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ A <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar ana gi-mir- $\lceil$ ti $\lceil$
- 
12. <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>U+GUR A <sup>Id</sup>UTU-KÁM it-ti <sup>I</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ  
 13. A <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar ki-i 52 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR KI.LAM im-bé-e-ma  
 14. i-šam ši-mi-šú a-di 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá UMBIN-šú  
 15. a-ki-i KA DIRI na-ad-nu PAB 53 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 16. KÙ.PAD.DU TIL<sup>ti</sup> <sup>I</sup>MU-ŠEŠ A <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar ina šu<sup>II</sup>  
 17. [<sup>I</sup>M]U-<sup>d</sup>U+GUR A <sup>Id</sup>UTU-APIN<sup>eš</sup> ŠÀM É-šú  
 18. [SUM.N]A ma-ħir a-pil za-ka ru-gúm-ma-a  
 19. [ul i-ši u]l  $\lceil$ i $\lceil$ -tur-ru-ma a-na a-ha-me[š]  
 20. [ul i-rag-gu-mu ma-ti-ma ina ar-kát u<sub>4</sub>-mu]  
 21. [ina ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup> DUMU<sup>meš</sup> kim-tu<sub>4</sub> ne-su-tu<sub>4</sub> u sa-lat]  
 22. [šá É <sup>I</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ A <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar šá E<sub>11</sub>]  
 23. [a-na UGU A.ŠÀ šu-a-ti i-dab-bu-bu ú-šad-ba-bu]  
 24. [BAL<sup>ú</sup> ú-pa-qa-ru u pa-qir-a-nu ú-šar-šu-ú um-ma]
- Rev. 25. [A.ŠÀ MU<sup>meš</sup> ul na-din-ma kàs-pi]  $\lceil$ ul ma-ħir $\lceil$   
 26. [i-qa]b- $\lceil$ bu $\lceil$ -ú kàs-pi im-ħu-ru <sup>lú</sup>pa-qir-a-nu  
 27. A.ŠÀ ki-i šá ub-ba-lu a-di 12-TA.ÀM  
 28. i-ta-*nap-pal*
- 
29. a-na la-né-e u la si-ħu šá <DIŠ> niš <sup>d</sup>50 u <sup>d</sup>Nin-líl

30. DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> *u ba-ni-šú-nu zak-ru*  
 31. *niš*<sup>d</sup>MAŠ(?) *u*<sup>d</sup>X-X MAŠKIM *šá šul-mi-šú-nu zak-ru*  
 32. *niš*<sup>Id</sup>MUATI-NÍG.DU-PAP LUGAL *be-lí-šú-nu zak-ru*

---

33. *ina ka-nak kan-gi šu-a-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>*

---

34. IGI <sup>I</sup>Uz-bu-<sup>d</sup>Èr-ra DUMU <sup>Id</sup>AG-GÁL<sup>š</sup>  
 35. IGI <sup>I</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup> DUMU <sup>Id</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU  
 36. IGI <sup>Id</sup>UTU-SU DUMU <sup>Id</sup>EN-PAP<sup>me</sup>-SU  
 37. IGI <sup>I</sup>Tab-né-e-a DUMU <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-SUR  
 38. IGI <sup>Id</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ<sup>me</sup>-MU DUMU <sup>Id</sup>En-líl-MA.AN.(SUM)  
 39. IGI <sup>Id</sup>MAŠ-SAG.KAL DUMU <sup>Id</sup>UTU-KÁM  
 40. IGI <sup>I</sup>Ba-laṭ-su DUMU <sup>Id</sup>UTU-MU  
 41. *ù*<sup>lú</sup>ŠID <sup>Id</sup>MAŠ-za-kir-MU A <sup>Id</sup>X X X  
 42. KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN-KUR.KUR <sup>iti</sup>ŠU.NUMUN.NA UD 18.KÁM  
 43. MU 9.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-PAP LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 44. [UMBI]N <sup>I</sup>MU-ŠEŠ A <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar ku-um IM.KIŠIB-ŠÚ  
 45. *ud-da-a-tú*

U.E. (fingernail marks)  
 L.E. (fingernail marks)  
 R.E. (fingernail marks)

### Translation

- 1–2. Tablet of the uncultivated field, up to . . . , (in) the Marduk Gate district which is within Nippur.
- 
- 3–11. 30 cubits, the upper long side on the north, adjacent to (the property of) Šamaš-iddin, son of Nabû-gāmil; 30 cubits, the lower long side on the south, adjacent to (the property of) Nuska-iddin, son of Illaya; 30 cubits, the upper short side on the east, ad[jacent] to (the property of) Šulaya, son of Nabû-nāšir; 30 cubits, the lower short side on the west, adjacent to (the property of) Ninurta-īpuš, son of Ḥašdaya: total field of Nādin-aḫi, son of Ubār, in its entirety.
- 
- 12–15. Iddin-Nergal, son of Šamaš-ēreš, named the price (of the field) as 52 shekels silver, and purchased (it) from Nādin-aḫi, son of Ubār, for its (full) price, including 1 shekel given as an extra payment for his fingernail (mark).
- 15–18. Total 53 shekels piece-silver (which) Nādin-aḫi, son of Ubār, has received from [Id]din-Nergal, son of Šamaš-ēreš, as the price of his property, [pa]id in full.
- 18–20. He is paid, he is quit; [there shall be no] contesting (the sale); they shall not turn back [nor contest (the sale)] with each other.
- 20–28. [If ever in future days any of the brothers, sons, family, relatives, or kin by marriage of the house of Nādin-aḫi, son of Ubār, should come up and bring suit regarding this field, cause (anyone else) to bring suit, alter (the contract), raise a claim, or produce a claimant, say]ing

["That field was not sold and the silver was] not received," the claimant of the field, as much as it is worth, shall repay up to 12 times the silver that (the seller) received.

29–32. In order that there be no change and no litigation, they (the contracting parties) have taken an oath by Enlil and Ninlil, their gods and creators; they have taken an oath by Ninurta(?) and DN, guardians of their health; they have taken an oath by King Nebuchadnezzar, their lord.

33. At the sealing of this tablet (the following witnesses were present):

34–40. Before Uzbu-Erra, son of Nabû-ušabši  
 Before Iqīšaya, son of Ninurta-aḥa-iddin  
 Before Šamaš-erība, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-erība  
 Before Tabnêa, son of Nergal-ēṭir  
 Before Nergal-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Enlil-iddin  
 Before Ninurta-ašarēdu, son of Šamaš-ēreš  
 Before Balāssu, son of Šamaš-iddin

41. And the scribe: Ninurta-zākir-šumi, son of . . .

42–43. Kār-Bēl-mātāti, Du<sup>3</sup>ūzu day 18 year 9, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon

44–45. [Fingern]ail of Nādin-aḥi, son of Ubār, impressed as his seal.

### Notes

- 2, 42: The GN Kār-Bēl-mātāti appears to have been located in the vicinity of Nippur and should be distinguished from a small town of the same name situated near Babylon (for Kār-Bēl-mātāti located near Babylon, see RGTC 8, p. 195).
- 13–14: *maḥīru imbêma išām*, “named the price and bought,” summarizes the result of successful negotiation between the purchaser and seller, whereby agreement to the sale and agreement on the price were achieved. Compare two land transfer documents that are cast in “dialogue” form, *BR* 8/7, 26 and 43, and see Petschow, “Zwiegesprächs-surkunde”; cf. San Nicolò, “Zum *atru* und anderen Nebenleistungen des Käufers beim neubabylonischen Immobiliarkauf,” *OrNS* 16 (1947), p. 275, n. 1.
- 14–15: The function of the *atru*-payment for the seller’s fingernail mark is defined by San Nicolò, *OrNS* 16 (1947), p. 283, as that of “a bonus to the seller for his sealing, which secures the purchaser’s acquisition, of the purchase document.” On the practice of sealing with fingernails, see Introduction: Documents and Archives, p. xxvi n. 16, and Introduction: Seal Impressions, pp. xxix–xxx.
- 20–26: For the restored lines, cf. *BR* 6, 10 and 11. Other, shorter variants are also common.
- 27: *kî ša ubbalu*, “as much as it is worth,” is not customarily used in this penalty clause.
- 29–32: *a-na la-né-e* is sandhi for *ana la enê*; see *CAD* E, pp. 174–75, s.v. *enû* [1d-1]. For oaths in Neo-Babylonian land-sale transactions, cf. *BR* 8/7, nos. 3, 5, 19, 32, and 44, and *VS* 5, 3, and 4.

**Remarks**

Seven sets of three fingernail marks each are impressed on the left upper edge (three sets), right edge (two sets), and left edge (two sets) of the tablet. The width of all the crescentic marks is the same. The marks are irregularly spaced and appear to have been made by a thumbnail.

**100.**

MMA 86.11.160

Plates 76, 123

H. 25 mm. W. 33 mm. Th. 14 mm.

Receipt for gold

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Amēl-Marduk, year 2 month 3 day 4

- Obv. 1. 𒀭<sup>19</sup> GÍN *a-ta-zu*<sup>meš</sup> KÙ.GI  
 2. *ša*<sup>Id</sup>AG-PAP *a-na man-di-ti*  
 3. *ša* GÍR *ša ina* IGI <sup>I</sup>*La-ba-a-ši*  
 4. <sup>Id</sup>AG-SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>iq</sup> *ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup>  
 5. <sup>I</sup>*La-ba-a-ši ma-ḥir*
- Lo.E. (seal impression and incised drawing)
- Rev. 6. *ina* GUB<sup>zu</sup> *ša*<sup>I</sup>*Ni-qu-du*  
 7. A-šú *ša*<sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ A <sup>I</sup>DÙ-*a*  
 8. <sup>I</sup>Ú-*bar* A-šú *ša*<sup>Id</sup>AG-GI  
 9. A <sup>Iú</sup>GAZ.ZÌ.DA  
 10. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *iti*<sup>SIG<sub>4</sub></sup>  
 11. UD 4.KÁM MU 2.K[ÁM]
- U.E. 12. <sup>I</sup>LÚ-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 L.E. 13. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–5. 19 shekels, (the weight) of . . . gold, which Nabû-nāšir (placed) at the disposal of Lābāši for the mounting of a dagger, Nabû-mudammīq received from Lābāši.
- 6–9. In the presence of:  
 Niqūdu, son of Marduk-šuma-ibni, descendant of Ibnaya  
 Ubār, son of Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Kaššidakku
- 10–13. Babylon, Simānu day 4 year 2, Amēl-Marduk king of Babylon

**Notes**

- 1: The term *a-ta-zu*<sup>meš</sup> is not previously attested. M. Dandamayev (personal communication) suggests that it may refer to the shape of the gold. Compare 1<sup>et</sup> *li-šá-nu* KÙ.GI 1 MA.NA KÙ.GI KI.LAL-šú, “1 ingot (literally ‘tongue’) of gold, its weight is 1 mina” (*Nbn.* 331:1 and BM 67003 l. 1 [J. MacGinnis, “The Royal Establishment at Sippar in the 6th Century BC,” *ZA* 84 (1994), p. 217]).
- 2–3: See T. G. Pinches, “The Influence of Heathenism upon the Hebrews,” *JTVI* 60 (1928), p. 132, l. 14: 3 GÍR<sup>meš</sup> *man-di-ti* KÙ.GI 2 GÍR<sup>meš</sup> *man-di-[ti . . .]*.

The syntax of ll. 2–3 is not free of ambiguity: *ša* Nabû-nāšir may mean “belonging to Nabû-nāšir”; the second *ša* in l. 3 may refer to *patru*, thus, “the dagger which is at the disposal of Lābāši.”

**Remarks**

This text records an amount (ca. 158 grams) of gold provided to Nabû-mudammiq. The fact that all three principals in this document are listed without any filiations, which is usually characteristic of temple documents and not of private archives, suggests that this tablet pertains to a temple archive. We should note, however, that in the context of performing prebendary duties, transactions involving temple materials could be documented in private archives,<sup>1</sup> especially when the prebendary hired a craftsman to accomplish skilled work.<sup>2</sup>

**Seal Impression (Lower Edge, left)**

Plates 76, 123  
H. 10 mm. W. 6.5 mm.

(Scaraboid?) ring seal

A sphinx with extended foreleg facing right. The sphinx has a bearded male head, wings, and the body of a lion. The scene is surrounded by a linear border.

**Remarks**

Due to the manner in which the seal was impressed and the uneven surface of the tablet’s edge, the seal image does not appear the same in the photograph and drawing plates. In the photograph an inclusion in the clay tablet not otherwise apparent results in the sphinx seemingly having a rounded, beardless, female face.

It is not possible to determine to whom the seal belonged. Perhaps it was the seal of the agent, Lābāši, who was entrusted to hand Nabû-nāšir’s gold over to the craftsman Nabû-mudammiq; or, less likely, it may have belonged to one of the two witnesses.



***Incised Design (Lower Edge, right)***

Plates 76, 123

Incised figure of a bird

H. 8 mm. W. 14 mm.

An incised bird facing left. The bird's body is an oval comprised of curved incisions made from a delicate implement or a fingernail. The bird's head and beak are composed of thickened, curved lines, similarly produced.

***Remarks***

The overlap of the bird's beak and the outline of the oval seal to its left indicates that the bird was incised after the seal was impressed.

The incised marks most typical of first-millennium B.C. contracts were those made by the impressions of fingernails (*šuprū*). A principal party who did not own a seal but who was required to impress his personal mark on the clay tablet sometimes impressed his fingernail, usually a thumbnail (see Introduction: Seal Impressions, pp. xxix–xxx, and text No. 99, ll. 44–45). This practice resulted in a mark quite unlike the incised bird on this tablet as well as the whorl design on Neo-Assyrian text No. 3. Yet drawings of birds or bird parts (such as claws) are not unknown on other Neo-Assyrian tablets. The presence of two incised bird heads on a seventh-century B.C. tablet from Sultantepe prompted J. J. Finkelstein to suggest that the bird was etched by an Aramaic scribe who confused the Akkadian term *šupru*, “fingernail,” with the Aramaic *šipar* or *šipra*, “bird.”<sup>3</sup> It is more likely that the image of the bird produced with a tool or fingernail relates not to scribal confusion but to a deliberate, clever pun on the words *šupru/šipar*; the doodle may even have been added as a scribal “signature,” as perhaps was the whorl design in text No. 3. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine whether the mark was indeed made by the scribe or by one of the two principal parties.

1. Cf. text Nos. 13 and 21 in this volume.

2. Cf. the comments on L 1662 in Joannès, *Archives*, p. 36.

3. J. J. Finkelstein, “Assyrian Contracts from Sultantepe,” *AnSt* 7 (1957), p. 144, fig. 2.

**101.**

MMA 86.11.150

Plate 76

H. 34 mm. W. 42 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 47

Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 132–33

Record of sale

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 4 month 6 day 15

- Obv. 1. <sup>tú</sup>gKUR.RA šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-NUMUN-MU  
 2. *i-bu-ru-ma a-na* <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU  
 3. *a-na* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *id-din-nu*  
 4. *ina* GUB<sup>zu</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-BA šá  
 5. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>(U)+GUR-i-[. . . ]  
 6. A <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]  
 7. <sup>I</sup>I-lu-i-pu-[uš A-šú šá]
- Lo.E. 8. <sup>I</sup>Ri-mut (erasure)
- Rev. 9. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> itiKIN  
 10. UD 15.KÁM MU 4.KÁM  
 11. <sup>d</sup>AG-I LUGAL  
 12. KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

1–3. KUR.RA-garment that Nabû-zēra-iddin . . . and sold for 1 shekel silver to Bēl-iddin.

4–8. In the presence of:

Bēl-iqīša, son of Nergal-i-[. . .], descendant of [. . .]

Ilu-īpu[š, son of] Rīmūt

9–12. Babylon, Ulūlu day 15 year 4, Nabonidus king of Babylon

**Note**2: The writing of the signs is clear, but without emendation the meaning of *i-bu-ru* is uncertain.**Remarks**

This tablet records the sale of inanimate movable property, which would have been a cash transaction and therefore would usually not have been recorded and formally witnessed. In this text the witnesses are introduced by the phrase *ina ušuzzu*, “in the presence of,” which was generally used in documents that simply record the facts of a transaction; contracts that document obligations undertaken by the parties were drawn up before witnesses termed *mukinnū*. The reason for recording this transaction in the presence of witnesses is obscure.

## 102.

MMA 86.11.167 + BM 77856

Plates 77, 78, 120, 121

H. 116 mm. W. 70 mm. Th. 30 mm.

Dialogue document concerning succession  
and inheritance

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 9 month 11 day 15

Publ. Moldenke II, 54; *Nbn.* 380 (BM 77856)Editions: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 154–60; F. E. Peiser, “Eine babylonische Verfügung von Todes wegen,” *ZA* 3 (1888), pp. 365–71; T. G. Pinches, “The Law of Inheritance in Ancient Babylonia,” *Hebraica* 3 (1886/87), pp. 13–21; Roth, “Widow,” pp. 23–24

- Obv. 1. <sup>Id</sup>EN-ka-šir A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Na-di-<sup>Γ</sup>nu A <sup>1</sup>Sag-gil-la-a-a  
 2. a-na <sup>1</sup>Na-di-nu AD-šú A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-ia A <sup>1</sup>Sag-gil-la-a-a  
 3. iq-bi um-ma a-na É DUMU.DÙ<sup>i</sup> taš-pur-an-ni-ma <sup>f</sup>Zu-un-na-a  
 4. áš-šá-ti a-<sup>h</sup>u-uz-ma DUMU u DUMU.SAL la tul-du <sup>Id</sup>EN-ú-sat  
 5. DUMU-šú šá <sup>f</sup>Zu-un-na-a DUMU DAM-ia šá la-pa-ni  
 6. <sup>1</sup>Ni-qu-du A <sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30 mu-ti-šú ma<sup>h</sup>-ru-ú  
 7. tu-li-du a-na DUMU-ú-tu lu-ul-qé-e-ma  
 8. lu-ú DUMU-ú-a šu-ú ina IM.DUB ma-ru-ti-šú  
 9. ti-šá-ab-ma GIŠ.ŠUB.BA<sup>meš</sup>-ni ù mim-mu-ni  
 10. ma-la ba-šú-ú ku-nu-uk-ma pa-ni-šú šu-ud-gil-ma  
 11. [l]u-ú DUMU ša-bit šu<sup>II</sup>-i-ni šu-ú <sup>1</sup>Na-di-nu a-mat  
 12. <sup>Id</sup>EN-ka-šir DUMU-šú iq-bu-šú la im-gur <sup>1</sup>Na-di-nu  
 13. a-na u<sub>4</sub>-mu ru-qu-tu man-ma šá-nam-ma a-na la la-qé-e  
 14. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA<sup>meš</sup> ù NÍG.ŠID šu-nu-tu <sup>ṭ</sup>up-pi iš-<sup>ṭ</sup>ur-ma  
 15. šu<sup>II</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-KÁD DUMU-šú ir-ku-us-ma ina lib-bi ú-še-<sup>Γ</sup>di<sup>1</sup>  
 16. um-ma u<sub>4</sub>-mu <sup>1</sup>Na-di-nu a-na šim-tu<sub>4</sub> it-tal-ku-ma  
 17. ár-ki-šú DUMU ši-it lib-bi šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-ka-šir DUMU-[šú]  
 18. it-tam-la-du GIŠ.ŠUB.BA<sup>meš</sup> ù NÍG.ŠID<sup>meš</sup>  
 19. šá <sup>1</sup>Na-di-nu AD-šú i-leq-qé ki-i DUMU ši-it lib-[bi]  
 20. šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-ka-šir la it-tam-la-du <sup>Id</sup>EN-ka-šir  
 21. ŠEŠ-šú ù EN ḪA.LA-šú a-na DUMU-ú-tu i-leq-qé-e  
 22. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA<sup>meš</sup>-šú ù NÍG.ŠID<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>1</sup>Na-di-nu AD-[šú]  
 23. pa-ni-šú id-da-gal <sup>Id</sup>EN-ka-šir man-ma šá-nam-[ma]  
 24. a-na DUMU-ú-tu ul i-leq-qa-<sup>3</sup> al-la(!)(text:lik) ŠEŠ-[šú]  
 25. [ù] <sup>Γ</sup>EN<sup>1</sup> ḪA.LA-šú a-na DUMU-ú-tu a-na mu<sup>h</sup>-[<sup>h</sup>i]  
 26. [GIŠ.ŠUB.BA<sup>meš</sup>] ù NÍG.ŠID<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>1</sup>Na-di-[nu AD-šú]  
 27. [la i-leq-qé(?) <sup>Id</sup>EN-k]a-<sup>Γ</sup>šir<sup>1</sup> mim-[ma . . . ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)  
 (beginning of reverse broken)
- Rev. 1'. <sup>Γ</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 2'. <sup>Γ</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 3'. <sup>Γ</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]

- 4'. [ . . . ]  
 5'. [ . . . ]  
 6'. <sup>1</sup>[. . . A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . A <sup>1</sup>Sag-gil]-<sup>1</sup>la-a-a<sup>1</sup>  
 7'. <sup>1</sup>Id<sup>1</sup>U+GUR-na(?) -šir(?)<sup>1</sup> [A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . A <sup>1</sup>Sag-g]il-la-a-a  
 8'. <sup>1</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Du-<sup>1</sup>muq A <sup>1</sup>Sag-gil-la-a-a  
 (blank line)  
 9'. <sup>1</sup>lúšID <sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-NUMUN A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Šu-la- a  
 10'. A <sup>1</sup>Ú-šur-a-mat-<sup>d</sup>IDIM TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>ZÍZ UD 15.KÁM  
 11'. MU 9.KÁM <sup>1</sup>AG-NÍ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

### Translation

- 1–3. Bēl-kāšir, son of Nādin, descendant of Esagilaya, said to his father, Nādin, son of Zēriya, descendant of Esagilaya, as follows:  
 3–11. “You sent me to a *bīt mār banī*, and I married my wife <sup>f</sup>Zunnaya, but she has borne (me) neither son nor daughter. [L]et me adopt Bēl-usāti, son of <sup>f</sup>Zunnaya—my wife’s son whom she bore to her previous husband, Niqūdu, descendant of Nūr-Sîn—let him be my son. Be present at (the drawing up of) the tablet of his adoption; transfer to him under seal our prebends and our property, as much as exists, and let him be the son who supports us.”  
 11–12. Nādin did not consent to what Bēl-kāšir, his son, proposed to him.  
 12–16. In order that no one else in the future should take away those prebends and property, Nādin wrote a tablet, whereby he “tied his son’s hands,” and in it he proclaimed as follows:  
 16–27. “When Nādin dies, after him, if a biological child of Bēl-kāšir, [his] (Nādin’s) son, is born, he may take the prebends and property of Nādin, his (Bēl-kāšir’s) father. If no biological child is born to Bēl-kāšir, Bēl-kāšir shall adopt his brother and co-heritor; the prebends and property of Nādin, [his] father, shall belong to him. Bēl-kāšir shall not adopt anyone else. Other than [his] brother [and] co-heritor, [he shall not] adopt [anyone(?)] with respect to [the prebends] and property of Nādi[n, his father. Bēl-k]āšir, what[ever . . .]”

(break)

[Before]:

- 1’–5’. [ . . . ]  
 6’–8’. [ . . . , son of . . . , descendant of Esagil]aya  
 Nergal-nāšir(?), [son of . . . , descendant of Esag]ilaya  
 Lābāši, son of Dummuq, descendant of Esagilaya  
 9’–10’. Scribe: Marduk-bēl-zēri, son of Šulaya, descendant of Ušur-amāt-Ea  
 10’–11’. Babylon, Šabātu day 15 year 9, Nabonidus king of Babylon

*Notes*

- 3: The institution (or physical structure?) *bīt mār banî* has been investigated by M. T. Roth, “Women in Transition and the *bīt mār banî*,” *RA* 82 (1988), pp. 131–38; text No. 102 is discussed on pp. 136–37. See further Roth, “Widow,” pp. 23–24 and nn. 99–101; idem, “The Neo-Babylonian Family and Household,” *C.S.M.S. Bulletin* 28 (1994), pp. 26–27 and n. 28; D. B. Weisberg, “A *Mār Banūtu* Text from the Town of Ḥubat,” *NABU* 1993/3 pp. 68–69; and P.-A. Beaulieu, “The *bīt mār banî* of the Goddess Nanaya at Uruk,” unpublished paper presented at the 200th meeting of the American Oriental Society (March 1990), in which he discussed NBC 4913, a tablet belonging to the Yale Babylonian Collections that lists *mār banê* living on estates belonging to the goddess Nanaya.
- 9: *tišab*: Nādin’s presence is required to signify his consent to the (proposed) adoption, as pointed out by F. E. Peiser, “Eine babylonische Verfügung von Todes wegen,” *ZA* 3 (1888), p. 369.
- 15: The expression *qātē . . . irkus*, literally, “tied (his) hands,” refers to Nādin’s restriction of his son’s rights to dispose of his patrimony, which entailed restricting his right to adopt an heir.
- Rev. 7’: The second-to-last witness may be the same as the first witness in text No. 95, Nergal-nāšir/Zākīr/Esagilaya.
- Rev. 8’: The last witness, Lābāši/Dummuq/Esagilaya, appears as the first witness in text No. 77, and as debtor to Itti-Marduk-balātu/Egibi in *Nbn.* 308.

*Remarks*

This text, a dialogue document,<sup>1</sup> concerns Nādin’s refusal of his son Bēl-kāšir’s request for permission to adopt his wife’s son by her previous marriage, and thus make her son heir to the family’s property. Nādin stipulates further that only the biological offspring of Bēl-kāšir or of Nādin himself may inherit Bēl-kāšir’s patrimony.

Bēl-kāšir’s father, Nādin, is unattested outside of this text. At present, it is impossible to identify his wife, <sup>f</sup>Zunnaya, in any other documents, since her filiation is not given and her name was not uncommon in this period; neither her previous husband Niqūdu nor her son Bēl-usāti are otherwise known. Bēl-kāšir himself also appears in text No. 35, a receipt for the delivery of dates by his “cousin” Lābāši/Balātu/Esagilaya, and in text No. 139, Bēl-kāšir’s receipt for silver. These two tablets together with the present text may have originally belonged to the archive of Bēl-kāšir’s paternal household, and all three tablets may have become associated with the archive of another branch of the Esagilaya family (such as the two branches represented by Archives A and B in this volume) due to the outcome of Nādin’s stipulations regarding the inheritance of the family’s property.

In March 1993, MMA 86.11.167 (the present tablet) and BM 77856 were joined temporarily for the purpose of photography (see Plates 120, 121).

1. For a discussion of dialogue documents, see Petschow, “Zwiesgesprächsurkunde,” pp. 103–20.

## 103.

MMA 1973.25.3

Plate 79

H. 39 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Hire contract

Neo-Babylonian period, Uruk

Nabonidus, year 11 month 5 day 13

- Obv. 1. [ul]-tu (erasure) šá<sup>iti</sup>KIN šá MU(!) 11.KÁM  
 2. [a-di] (erasure) šá<sup>iti</sup>KIN šá MU 12.KÁM  
 3. [Id]A]G-NÍ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. [I]Lib-luṭ A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GIN  
 5. [d]ul-lu<sup>lú</sup>TUG.BABBAR-ú-tu šá<sup>Id</sup>UTU-ŠEŠ-MU  
 6. A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-dan-na (erasure)  
 7. A<sup>I</sup>MU-d<sup>UTU</sup> 11 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ip-pu-uš
- Lo.E. 8. ILib-luṭ i-di-šú a-di MU 12.KÁM  
 9. ina šU<sup>II</sup> Id<sup>UTU</sup>-ŠEŠ-MU e-ti[r]
- Rev. 10. lú<sup>mu</sup>kin-ni I<sup>Kal</sup>ba-a A-šú šá  
 11. I<sup>E</sup>rib-šú<sup>Id</sup>UTU-GIN A-šú šá  
 12. Id<sup>UTU</sup>-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A I<sup>Hu</sup>un-zu-ú  
 (blank line)  
 13. lú<sup>š</sup>ID Id<sup>Ba</sup>ba<sub>6</sub>-r<sup>ŠEŠ</sup>-MU<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá  
 14. r<sup>Id</sup>MAŠ-MU-GIN(?)<sup>1</sup> A<sup>II</sup>ú<sup>SANGA</sup>-d<sup>MAŠ</sup>  
 15. r<sup>UNUG</sup><sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>NE UD 13.KÁM  
 16. MU 11.KÁM d<sup>AG</sup>-I LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–7. [Fr]om (day x [erased]) of the month of Ulūlu of year 11 [until] (day x [erased]) of the month of Ulūlu of year 12, [Na]bonidus king of Babylon, Libluṭ, son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, will do the laundry-[w]ork of Šamaš-aḫa-iddin, son of Nergal-dannu, descendant of Iddin-Šamaš, (for?) 11 shekels silver.
- 8–9. Libluṭ has been pai[d] his hire by Šamaš-aḫa-iddin, through year 12.
- 10–12. Witnesses:  
 Kalbaya, son of Eribšu  
 Šamaš-ukīn(?), son of Šamaš-aḫhē-iddin, descendant of Hunzû
- 13–14. Scribe: Bāba-aḫa-iddin, son of Ninurta-šuma-ukīn(?), descendant of Šangû-Ninurta
- 15–16. Uruk, Abu day 13 year 11, Nabonidus king of Babylon

*Notes*

- 1, 2: Traces of UD x.KÁM are visible in the erasures.  
 5–7: Šamaš-aḫa-iddin, son of Nergal-dannu, without family name, appears in BIN 2, 123:2, and in several other documents from Uruk during the time of Nabonidus (see YOS 6, p. 35, index).  
 7: The phrase 11 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR has probably been displaced; it may belong in l. 8, thus <sup>1</sup>Lib-luṭ 11 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *i-di-šú . . . e-tir*.

**104.**

MMA 86.11.487

Fragment of a contract

Plate 79

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

H. 25 mm. W. 39 mm. Th. 15 mm.

Nabonidus, year 12 month 7 day 22

Obv. (not preserved)

Rev. (beginning of reverse not preserved)

1'. [lúšID(?)] [La(?)<sup>1</sup>]-[ba(?)]-[šī(?)] A<sup>1</sup>-[šú šá]2'. [K]ur-ban-ni-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU3'. A <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÙ TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>4'. <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> UD 22.KÁM5'. MU 12.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I [LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]*Translation*

Rev.

1'–3'. [Scribe(?): Lā[bā]šī(?), s[on of K]urbanni-Marduk, descendant of Arad-Nergal

3'–5'. Babylon, Tašrītu day 22 year 12, Nabonidus [king of Babylon]

*Note*

- 1'–3': The preserved name Kurbanni-Marduk, descendant of Arad-Nergal, suggests either Kurbanni-Marduk/Marduk-šuma-ibni//Arad-Nergal, or his son Lābāšī, to whom Archive E belonged (see text Nos. 85–88).

**105.**

MMA 86.11.480

Plate 80

H. 23 mm. W. 43 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Fragment of a hire contract

Neo-Babylonian period, Baḫē

Nabonidus, year 12 month [x] day 22

- Obv. 1. *ul-tu* UD 23.KÁM *šá* <sup>iti</sup>Γ<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> [*a-di*]  
 2. UD 1.KÁM *šá* <sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> <sup>Id</sup>AG-[Š]EŠ<sup>m</sup>[eš(?)-x A-šú *šá*]  
 3. [K]I-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN A <sup>I</sup>MU-*a a-na i-d*[*i*(?) . . . ]  
 4. [. . . ] Γ<sub>x x x</sub><sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. [x x] Γ<sub>x x A</sub>(?)-šú(?) *šá*(?) <sup>I</sup>MU(?)<sup>1</sup>-GIN [A <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 2'. <sup>I</sup>úŠID <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN A-šú *šá* [<sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 3'. Γ<sub>A</sub><sup>1</sup> <sup>I</sup>MU-*a* <sup>garim</sup><sup>1</sup> *Ba-ḫe-e* [<sup>iti</sup>x]  
 4'. Γ<sub>UD</sub><sup>1</sup> 22.KÁM MU 12.KÁM
- U.E. 5'. <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL T[IN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]  
 6'. Γ<sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-TIN *pu-ut* Γ<sup>Id</sup>(?)<sup>1</sup>[AG(?)-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>(?)-x]  
 7'. *i*-[. . . ]

**Translation**

- 1–4. From day 23 of (the month of) [x until] day 1 of the month of Ayyāru, Nabû-aḫ[hē(?)]- . . . , son(?) of] It[ti-Nabû-balāṭu, descendant of Iddinaya, [will work(?) for PN(?)] for hire [. . . ]  
 (break)

[Witnesses]:

[. . . ]

- 1'. [. . . , son] of Šuma(?) -ukīn, [descendant of . . . ]  
 2'–3'. Scribe: Itti-Nabû-balāṭu, son of [. . . ], descendant of Iddinaya  
 3'–5'. Baḫē, [month x] day 22 year 12, Nabonidus king of B[abylon]  
 6'–7'. Itti-Nabû-balāṭu [guarantees the presence(?) of PN(?)].

**Note**

- 2–3: On the formulary for work contracts, see Oppenheim, “Mietrecht,” pp. 21ff., and cf. VS 5, 15.



**Remarks**

Since all other documents written in Baḫē pertain to the archives of Nabû-apla-iddin/Lišir//Esagilaya and Lābāši/Balātu//Esagilaya (Archives A and B in this volume), it is likely that the present text also comes from one of those two archives. Judging by what remains of the formulary, text No. 105 may have documented a contract whereby Nabû-aḫ[ḫē(?)-. . .]/Itti-Nabû-balātu//Iddinaya hired himself out. The scribe of the contract was his father.

**106.**

MMA 86.11.195

Plate 80

H. 37 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Publ. Moldenke II, 60; dupl. *Nbn.* 992Edition: Delaunay, *Nouvelle Édition*, pp. 174–77

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, year 16 month 8 day 21

- Obv. 1.  $\frac{2}{3}$  MA.NA 4½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá  
 2. *ina* 1 GÍN *bit-qa šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-*re-man-ni*  
 3. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Na-*ni-ía ina* UGU <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-GAR-MU  
 4. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-ŠEŠ-MU A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>IDIM  
 5. šá MU.AN.NA *ina* UGU 1 MA.NA 12 GÍN  
 6. KÙ.BABBAR *ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi*  
 7. <sup>fd</sup>DÙ<sup>tú</sup>-šu-*ma-ḫu-ú-a*
- LO.E. 8. *u* DUMU<sup>meš</sup>-šú <sup>lú</sup>UN<sup>meš</sup> É-šú  
 9. *maš-ka-nu*
- Rev. 10. šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-*re-man-ni*(!) <<šú a>> <sup>lú</sup>TUK<sup>ú</sup>  
 11. šá-*nam-ma ina* UGU *ul i-šal-laṭ*  
 12. *a-di* <sup>Id</sup>AG-*re-man-ni*(!)(text:*din*) KÙ.BABBAR-šú  
 13. *i-šal-lim-mu* <sup>lú</sup>mu-*kin-nu* <sup>I</sup>EN-šú-*nu*  
 14. A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>Ri-*mut* A <sup>I</sup>(<sup>d</sup>)IM(!)-<<x x>>-MU-ÙRU  
 15. <sup>Id</sup>IM-*NUMUN-DÙ* A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>IM<sup>1</sup>-šu-*ri*  
 16. <sup>lú</sup>ŠID <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GAR<sup>um</sup> A-šú šá  
 17. <sup>Id</sup>ŠÚ-GAR-MU A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>IDIM
- U.E. 18. E<sup>ki</sup> *iti* APIN UD 21.KÁM  
 19. MU 16.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-I LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>

**Translation**

- 1–4.  $\frac{2}{3}$  mina 4½ shekels silver of  $\frac{1}{8}$  alloy per shekel, owed to Nabû-rēmāni, son of Naniya, by Marduk-šākin-šumi, son of Bēl-aḫa-iddin, descendant of Šangû-Ea.

- 5–6. (Interest) will accrue against him (at the rate of) 12 shekels silver per mina per year.
- 7–13. <sup>f</sup>Banītu-šummaḥūa and her sons, personnel of his household, are the security of Nabû-rēmanni. No other creditor shall exercise any rights over (the security) until Nabû-rēmanni is repaid his silver.
- 13–15. Witnesses:  
     Bēlšunu, son of Rīmūt, descendant of Adad(!)-šuma-ušur  
     Adad-zēra-ibni, son of Adad-šūrī
- 16–17. Scribe: Nabû-šuma-iškun, son of Marduk-šākin-šumi, descendant of Šangû-Ea
- 18–19. Babylon, Araḥsamnu day 21 year 16, Nabonidus king of Babylon

### Notes

- 14: According to Strassmaier's copy of the duplicate, the first witness's family name begins with <sup>d</sup>IM, though the rest of the name is not preserved (*Nbn.* 992:11). Here the scribe appears to have begun by writing the sign MUT (having just written *mut* in the patronymic) and continued without fixing his error, squeezing in -MU-ÜRÜ above the line on the right edge.
- 16–17: Strassmaier copied the scribe's name as <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup> A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>šÚ-A-MU (*Nbn.* 992:13).

### Remarks

The scribe of this promissory note, Nabû-šuma-iškun, was the son of the debtor, Marduk-šākin-šumi. Although in principle only one copy of a promissory note is needed, two copies of this document were made.

## 107.

MMA 86.11.422a–f

Plate 81

Fragments a–b, d–f:

H. 62 mm. W. 45 mm. Th. 26 mm.

Fragment c:

H. 22 mm. W. 22 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Record of a judicial decision

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabonidus, date formula not preserved

Fragments a–b, d–f:

- |      |    |  |   |
|------|----|--|---|
| Obv. | 1. | ᵏx x x <sup>l</sup> [. . .   | ] |
|      | 2. | DUMU ᵏúTIN.TIR <sup>ki</sup> [. . .  | ] |
|      | 3. | šá ᵏBa-la-tu x x <sup>l</sup> [. . .                                       | ] |
|      | 4. | šá ᵏIt-ti <sup>l</sup> -d <sup>l</sup> AMAR.UTU-TIN <sup>l</sup> šá [. . . | ] |
|      | 5. | iš-šu-ᵏú(?) x x x <sup>l</sup> [. . .                                      | ] |

6. KÙ.BABBAR ᵐx x x x ᵐ [ . . . ]  
 7. šá ᵐᵈᵈ [ . . . ]  
 8. ᵐLa-a-[ba-ši . . . ]  
 9. lu-ú-še-ᵐx ᵐ [ . . . ]  
 10. lú<sub>DI.KUD</sub><sup>meš</sup> ú-ᵐx ᵐ-[ . . . ]  
 11. ᵐiᵐ-ᵐ-i-il [ . . . ]  
 Rev. 12. [x] ᵐša(?) ᵐ É ni [ . . . ]  
 13. [x] ᵐx ᵐ ᵐLa-ᵐaᵐ-ba-[ši . . . ]  
 14. [šá] ᵐᵈᵈEN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup> ᵐ-[ . . . ]  
 15. ᵐx ᵐ ru šu [ . . . ]  
 16. ᵐqíᵐ-it [ . . . ]  
 17. ina ma-[har(?) . . . ]  
 18. ᵐx ᵐ [ . . . ]  
 19. ᵐx ᵐ [ . . . ]  
 20. tup-ᵐpi ᵐx ᵐ-[ . . . ]  
 21. ᵐTINᵐ.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti[x UD x.KÁM MU x.KÁM]  
 22. ᵐ<sub>AG</sub>-ᵐNÍᵐ.T[UK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

## Fragment c:

- Obv/Rev.(?) 1'. [ . . . ] ᵐx ᵐ-ᵐ<sub>AMAR.UTU</sub> ᵐDUMU(?) Aᵐ  
 2'. [ . . . ] la [x] ᵐx x ᵐ  
 3'. [ . . . ] ᵐx ᵐ [ . . . ]

- L.E. 1. ᵐ<sub>na4</sub>ᵐKIŠIB  
 2. ᵐᵐᵐ-ᵐ<sub>AMAR.UTU</sub>  
 3. lú<sub>DI.KUD</sub>  
 (seal not impressed)

4. ᵐ<sub>na4</sub>ᵐKIŠIB  
 5. ᵐ<sub>U+GUR</sub>-ᵐGI  
 6. ᵐᵐᵐ<sub>DI.KUD</sub>  
 (seal not impressed)

- Lo.E 1. [ᵐ<sub>na4</sub>ᵐKIŠIB]  
 2. ᵐA-x ᵐ-[x]-ᵐᵈᵈᵐ  
 3. lúᵐ<sub>DI</sub>.KUD  
 (seal not impressed)

- U.E 1. ᵐ<sub>na4</sub>ᵐKIŠIB ᵐ  
 2. [ᵐx-x]-ᵐx ᵐ  
 3. [lú]ᵐ<sub>DI.KUD</sub>  
 (seal not impressed)

**Translation**

This text, with the exception of the seal captions, is too fragmentary for translation.

L.E.

1–3. Seal of Arad-Marduk, judge

4–6. Seal of Nergal-ušallim, judge

Lo.E.

1–3. [Seal of] A-[. . .]-Bēl, judge

U.E.

1–3. Seal of [. . .], judge

**Notes**

17–19: At this point in a document one expects a phrase to introduce the list of witnesses, or in this case the judges. Judges are sometimes introduced with the formula *ina purussê dīni šuāti* (see, for example, *Nbn.* 13, 64, and 356) and sometimes by *ina maḥar* (see, for example, Joannès, *Archives*, L 1663:16, p. 251).

19–20: Restore perhaps [. . . u <sup>lú</sup>šID ša-tir] <sup>(20)</sup> *tup-pi* <sup>1</sup>[PN<sub>1</sub> DUMU PN<sub>2</sub>].

Fragment c: This square-edged fragment is most likely a part of the same tablet as the fragments constituting text No. 107, though there is no physical join. The fragment preserves the upper-right corner of either the obverse or reverse of the tablet.

**Remarks**

This text recorded the outcome of a case brought before judges. Too little is preserved to identify the litigants or discern what issue was litigated. Since the names Lābāši and Balātu appear in the text (ll. 3 and 8), it is possible that the tablet belongs to Archive B, the archive of Lābāši, son of Balātu, descendant of Esagilaya.

Seal captions of four judges appear on the extant portions of the tablet. What appear to be intentional gouge marks can be seen on the left and lower edges, but the small area of the gouges and the lack of any preserved seal edges make it unlikely that these marks were made to obscure an underlying impression. The absence of seal impressions on the tablet indicates that the tablet was an archival copy of a sealed original.<sup>1</sup>

1. See the remarks of Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, pp. 139–40, on *Nbn.* 356.

**108.**

MMA 86.11.543a,b

Plate 81

H. 16 mm. W. 27 mm. Th. 14 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Cyrus, year [x]+2 month 12<sup>II</sup> day 10

- Obv. 1. [x GÍ]N KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>I</sup>DUB-NUMUN  
 2. A-šú<sup>I</sup> šá<sup>I</sup>Kal(?)<sup>I</sup>-ba(?)<sup>I</sup>-a A<sup>I</sup>Maš-tuk  
 3. ina UGU<sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>I</sup>e-a<sup>I</sup> A-šú šá  
 4. [I]A-a A<sup>I</sup>ú<sup>I</sup>x<sup>I</sup>-. . . ]  
 5. [ina] <sup>I</sup>ti<sup>I</sup>še i(?)<sup>I</sup>-[nam(?)<sup>I</sup>-din(?)]  
 (rest of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. [x] <sup>I</sup>x<sup>I</sup> x<sup>I</sup> [x] <sup>I</sup>x<sup>I</sup> x<sup>I</sup> [. . . ]  
 2'. A<sup>I</sup>DÚ<sup>I</sup>eš-DINGIR<sup>I</sup> <sup>I</sup>ú<sup>I</sup>šID  
 3'. <sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-e-a<sup>I</sup> <sup>I</sup>A<sup>I</sup> [<sup>I</sup>BA(?)<sup>I</sup>]šá-a E<sup>ki</sup>  
 4'. [<sup>I</sup>DI]RI ŠE.KIN.KUD UD 10.KÁM  
 5'. [MU x]+<sup>I</sup>2<sup>I</sup>.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Kur-raš<sup>I</sup> LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>
- U.E. 6'. [LUGA]L KUR.KUR

**Translation**

- 1–4. [x sheke]ls silver owed to Šāpik-zēri, son of Kalbaya(?), descendant of Maštuk, by Nūrēa, son of Aplaya, descendant of [. . .].  
 5. [In] the month of Addaru h[e shall pay(?)]  
 (break)

Rev. [Witnesses]:

[. . .]

- 1'–2'. [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
 2'–3'. Scribe: Nūrēa, desc[endant of Iqī]šaya(?)  
 2'–5'. Babylon, [in]tercalary Addaru day 10 [year x]+2, Cyrus king of Babylon, [kin]g of the lands

**Notes**

- 1–2: Šāpik-zēri, descendant of Maštuk, appears in text No. 43, a lease contract pertaining to the archive of Lābāši/Balāṭu//Esagilaya, as the owner of property adjacent to the leased field. He may be identical to the Šāpik-zēri whose daughter is the creditor in text No. 29.

## 109.

MMA 86.11.290

Plates 82, 83, 126

H. 88 mm. W. 61 mm. Th. 30 mm.

Purchase of a field

Achaemenid period, Bīt-āli-. . .

Cambyses, year 2 month 10 day 11

- Obv. 1. 1 PI ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pi* A.ŠÀ [GIŠ.SAR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR]  
 2. *iṣ-ṣi bil-tu*<sub>4</sub> A.GÀR É [. . . ]  
 3. NAM *Bar-sip*<sup>ki</sup> UŠ AN.TA IM.ŠI<sup>1</sup>.[SÁ]  
 4. ŠI<sup>1</sup>.SA.DU *ka-am-ri šá* LUGAL É Id<sub>A</sub>[G-PAB<sup>me(?)</sup>-TIN(?)]  
 5. [A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>] *Bi-ba-nu* UŠ KI.TA IM.U<sub>18</sub>.LU Ú[S.SA.DU]  
 6. [É<sup>1</sup>]d<sub>AG</sub>-A-MU SAG AN.TA IM.KUR.RA  
 7. [ÚS.SA].ŠI<sup>1</sup> LUGAL ŠI<sup>1</sup> Id<sub>AG</sub>-*it-tan-nu* SAG(!) [KI.TA]  
 8. [IM.M]AR.TU Ú[S.SA.D]U [. . . ]
- 
9. UŠ A[N].TA IM.SI.S[Á ÚS.SA.DU . . . ]  
 10. UŠ K[I.T]A IM.U<sub>18</sub>.ŠI<sup>1</sup> LU<sup>1</sup> [ÚS.SA.DU . . . ]  
 11. A ŠI<sup>1</sup>-ŠI<sup>1</sup>-*a-tu*<sub>4</sub> [SAG AN.TA IM.KU]R.RA  
 12. ÚS.SA.DU Id<sub>AG</sub><sup>1</sup>-*i-t-tan-nu* [A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>] *Kal-ba-a*  
 13. SAG KI.TA IM.MAR.T[U ÚS.S]A.DU  
 14. Id<sub>AG</sub>-ŠI<sup>1</sup>KAR-ZI<sup>1</sup>meš A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> [X X]-ŠI<sup>1</sup> A lú<sub>SANGA</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>*Nin-urta*<sup>1</sup>
- 
15. ŠI<sup>1</sup>PAB<sup>1</sup> 1 ŠI<sup>1</sup>PI ŠE.NUMUN 3 ŠI<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-[X]-ŠI<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-*nu*<sup>meš</sup>  
 16. [HA].LA šá<sup>1</sup> Id<sub>AG</sub>-DA šá<sup>1</sup> [*it-ti*] Id<sub>AG</sub>-*it-tan-nu*  
 17. [A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>] I<sup>(1)</sup>*Kal*-ŠI<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-*a* ù I<sup>(1)</sup>ŠI<sup>1</sup>ŠI<sup>1</sup>-*la-a* A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>  
 18. ŠI<sup>1</sup>*Mar-duk* A lú<sub>1</sub>.ŠI<sup>1</sup>ŠUR<sup>1</sup> f<sub>GÉME</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>*Na-na-a*  
 19. DUMU.SAL-*su* šá<sup>1</sup> I<sub>KI</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>AMAR.UTU-ŠI<sup>1</sup>TIN<sup>1</sup> A I<sub>ZÁLAG</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>30  
 20. *it-ti* Id<sub>AG</sub>-DA A-šú ŠI<sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> I<sup>(1)</sup>ŠI<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>-d<sub>1</sub>UTU-TIN  
 21. A lú<sub>1</sub>.ŠI<sup>1</sup>ŠUR *ki-i pi*-ŠI<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> 1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN  
 22. *a-na* 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ŠI<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>.LAM *ta-am-bé-e-ma*  
 23. 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (erasure) *ta-šá-am*
- Lo.E. 24. *a-na ši-mi-šu gam*-ŠI<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-*tu*  
 25. ù 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ki-i pi*-ŠI<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> at-ŠI<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>
- Rev. 26. *ta-ad-din-šú* PAB 1 MA.NA 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 27. BABBAR<sup>ú</sup> KÙ.PAD.DU Id<sub>AG</sub><sup>1</sup>-DA A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <<*na-a*>>  
 28. I<sub>KI</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>UTU-TIN A lú<sub>1</sub>.ŠI<sup>1</sup>ŠUR<sup>1</sup> *ina* ŠI<sup>1</sup>ŠI<sup>1</sup> f<sub>GÉME</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>*Na-na-a*  
 29. DUMU.SAL-*su* šá<sup>1</sup> I<sub>KI</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>AM[AR.UTU]-TIN A I<sub>ZÁLAG</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>30  
 30. ŠÁM A.ŠÀ-šú *ka-s[ap g]a-mir-tu*<sub>4</sub>  
 31. *ma-ḥir a-pil za-ki r[u-gú]m-ma-a*  
 32. *ul i-ši ul i-tur-ru-m[a] a-na a-[ḥa-meš]*  
 33. *ul i-rag-gu-um*-ŠI<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>-*t[i-ma ina ar-kát u*<sub>4</sub>-*mu]*  
 34. *ina* ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup> DU[MU<sup>meš</sup> *kim-tu* . . . ] ŠI<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>  
 35. DUMU(!) X X [. . . ] ŠI<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-*ma*

36. *i-rag-g[u-mu . . . ]*<sup>Γx</sup>  
 36a(?). <sup>Γx</sup>ŠE.NUMU[N *šu-a-ti ul*] *na-din-ma*  
 37. [KÛ.BABBAR *u*] *l ma-ḥir pa-qi-r[a-nu ka-sap im]-ḥu-ru*  
 38. [*a-d*]i 12-ÀM *i-ta-[na-pal x x x ] x-x*  
 39. <sup>ΓIGI</sup> <sup>Id</sup>EN-GI A-*šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-[X A <sup>I</sup>X]-<sup>Γx</sup>*i*  
 40. <sup>Id</sup>EN-NUMUN A-*šú šá* <sup>I</sup>IR-<sup>Γd</sup>X<sup>Γ</sup> [A <sup>I</sup>. . . <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 41. A-*šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A <sup>lú</sup>ŠU.I [<sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 42. A-*šú šá* <sup>I</sup>Mu-*šib-ši* A <sup>Id</sup>Ü<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR [<sup>I</sup>X]-<sup>Γx</sup>A<sup>Γ</sup>-*šú šá*<sup>Γ</sup> <<[<sup>I</sup>X(?)>>  
 43. <sup>Id</sup>UTU-ŠUR A <sup>lú</sup>ŠU.I  
 44. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*re-man-ni* DUB.SAR A-<sup>Γ</sup>*šú šá*<sup>Γ</sup> <sup>Id</sup>UTU-KAR<sup>Γir</sup>  
 45. A <sup>lú</sup>SIPA-ANŠE.KUR.<RA> É URU *Sa-<<x>>-a-ba-tik-bu-Γx  
 46. <sup>iti</sup>AB UD 11.KÁM MU 2.KÁM  
 47. <sup>I</sup>*Kám-bu-zi-ia* LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR  
 U.E. 48. ŠE.NUMUN <sup>Γ</sup>*ma*<sup>Γ</sup>-*la ina lib-bi it-ti-ru*  
 49. *i-maṭ-ṭu-ú a-ki-i* <sup>na4</sup>ΓKIŠIB<sup>Γ</sup>  
 50. *a-ḥa-meš ip-pal-lu*  
 L.E. 51. *šu-pur*  
 52. <sup>Id</sup>AG-DA  
 53. GIM <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB  
 (fingernail marks)  
 R.E. (fingernail marks)*

### Translation

- 1–3. 1 *pān* arable field, planted (with trees), a [garden] plot of fully mature [date palms], (in the) acreage of Bīt [ . . . ] (in the) Borsippa district,  
 3–8. The upper long side on the nor[th] is adjacent to the king's levée(?) (and to) the property of Na[bû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ(?), son of] Bibānu; the lower long side on the south is ad[jacent to the prop-erty of] Nabû-apla-iddin; the upper short side on the east [is adjac]ent to the (property of the) king and (the property of) Nabû-ittannu; the <lower> [short side] on the [w]est is ad[jacen]t to [ . . . ].
- 
- 9–14. The u[p]per long side on the nort[h] is adjacent to . . . ; the l[ow]er long side on the south [is adjacent to (the property of) . . . ], descendant of Si<sup>3</sup>ātu; [the upper short side on the ea]st is adjacent to (the property of) Nabû-i[ttannu], son of Kalbaya; the lower short side on the wes[t] is adja]cent to (the property of) Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti, son of [ . . . ], descendant of Šangû-Ninurta.
- 
- 15–18. Total 1 *pān* arable field (and/with) 3 [ . . . ], the [sha]re of Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i (in property jointly held) [wit]h Nabû-ittannu, [son of] Kalbaya, and Šulaya, son of Marduka, descendant of Šāḥitu.  
 18–26. <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya, daughter of Itti-Marduk-balātu, descendant of Nūr-Sîn, named the price (of the field), at the rate of 1 *kur* (area) per 5 minas silver, and purchased (it) from Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i, son of Itti-Šamaš-balātu, descendant of Šāḥitu, for 1 mina silver, its full price; and she gave him 1 shekel silver as an extra payment.

- 26–31. Total 1 mina 1 shekel white piece-silver; Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i, son of Itti-Šamaš-balātu, descendant of Šāḥ[itu], has received the price of his field in full from <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya, daughter of Itti-Ma[rduk]-balātu, descendant of Nūr-Sîn.
- 31–33. He is paid, he is quit; there shall be no c[ont]esting (the sale); they shall not turn back nor contest (the sale) with each o[ther].
- 33–38. [If ever in future days] any of the brothers, son[s, family . . .] contests (the sale) [. . .], (claiming): [“That] field was [not] sold and [the silver was n]ot received,” the claim[ant] shall re[pay up] to twelvefold [the silver] that (the seller) received.
- 39–43. Before:  
 Bēl-ušallim, son of Nabû-aḥa/aḥḥē-[. . .], descendant of . . .]-i  
 Bēl-zēri, son of Arad-[. . .], descendant of . . .]  
 [. . .], son of Marduk-erība, descendant of Gallābu  
 [. . .], son of Mušibši, descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
 [. . .], son of Šamaš-ēṭir, descendant of Gallābu
- 44–45. Marduk-rēmāni, scribe, son of Šamaš-ēṭir, descendant of Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sīsē
- 45–47. Bīt-āli-. . . , Ṭebētu day 11 year 2, Cambyses king of Babylon, king of the lands
- 48–50. Inasmuch as the field may exceed or fall short of (1 *pān* area), (the contracting parties) shall compensate each other according to (the rate specified in) the contract.
- 51–53. Fingernail (mark) of Nabû-le<sup>2</sup>i, as (his) seal.

### Notes

- 1–3: For the restoration of l. 1, cf. AnOr 9, 7 (*BR* 6, 8); BIN 2, 131 (*BR* 6, 9); and the lease *Cyr.* 200 (edition in Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 150). On the terms defining the type and quality of land, see Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 27–34.
- The meaning of *iššī bilti*, “fully mature trees,” i.e., trees capable of bearing their maximum yield of fruit, was first noted by San Nicolò (see *BR* 6, pp. 15–17).
- The description of the location of the land as *ugāru . . . pīḥāt* Borsippa is found in another land-sale document from Borsippa, NBC 8395, edited in Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 350–51. Land in the Borsippa area is otherwise often defined as located in *tāmirtu* GN and *ḥanšē (bīt)* PN; see Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 170–71, 174, 270–71, 284–85, and 299–300. In text No. 109:2 a personal or divine name may have followed *ugār bīt* [. . .].
- 4: *kamru*, “wall, ramp, or similar earth construction” (*CAD* K, p. 111, s.v. *kamaru* A), might be a levée or perhaps a berm. See the remarks of Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 146–47.
- The owner of the neighboring property may be identical to Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit/Bibānu, the third witness in *Camb.* 257 (an Egibi document).
- 9–14: This section appears to describe a second strip of land adjacent to the first; if so, the two plots together must add up to 1 *pān* (l. 15), since, according to the price calculation in ll. 21–23, the total surface area of the sold land is 1 *pān*. The supplementary clause in ll. 48–50 allows for adjustment of the transaction in case surveying shows the 1 *pān* figure to be inexact.
- 34–36a: The preserved text does not conform to the usual stipulations against bringing suit or asserting a claim to the property (see text No. 99, n. to ll. 20–26) but rather to a briefer formula, such as



*matima ina aḥḥē . . . iraggumu umma* in *Cyr.* 161:46 (Wunsch, *Iddin Marduk* 2, 292). Lines 34–35 refer to the seller’s relatives, who are prohibited from contesting the sale. The distribution of the lines, which tend to slant upwards toward the right in this section of the tablet, is somewhat unclear because of the joining of several fragments at this point. What is labelled “36a” might be an independent line, but the spacing and slant suggest that it is interlinear.

39–43: The witness section in land-sale transactions is usually introduced by the phrase *ina kanāk kanki šuāti*, “at the sealing of this tablet,” set off by ruled lines from the rest of the document, and written much more tidily; cf. text No. 99:33–40.

### **Remarks**

Text No. 109 documents the sale of two small plots of land, planted with a mature date-palm orchard, which have been separated from a plot held jointly by two cousins, Nabû-leḫi and Šulaya, and a third party (perhaps related by marriage), Nabû-ittannu. Nabû-ittannu’s share(s) in the original plot border the sold land (the gaps in the text prevent knowing whether Šulaya’s share also bordered it). At present neither Nabû-leḫi, the owner who is selling his share, nor the other two shareholders, Nabû-ittannu and Šulaya, is known from other documents. The purchaser, <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya, is known from *Camb.* 145 and 193. In *Camb.* 145, drawn up in Akšak, <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya is the creditor for 17 shekels of silver; *Camb.* 193 records the dowry promise made by her father, Itti-Marduk-balātu/Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin//Nūr-Sîn, to her groom, Marduk-šuma-ibni/Bēl-ušallim//Epeš-ilī. In addition, the <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya who receives a delivery of dates in text No. 111 may be the same person as the woman recorded here. <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya’s documents would probably have entered her husband’s archive, which has not hitherto been identified.

### **Remarks on Fingernail Impressions**

This text has eight sets of three to six large fingernail marks impressed on the left, right, and upper edges of the tablet. The marks, which are here more regular than those found on text No. 99, appear to have been made with a thumbnail (see Plate 126).

**110.**

MMA 86.11.477

Plate 84

H. 18 mm. W. 27 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Fragment of a receipt for silver

Achaemenid period, [Babylon(?)]

Darius I, date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

1'. [. . . *ina*] ᵀlib-bi<sup>1</sup> 11 G[IN KÙ.BABBAR]2'. [. . . U]R<sub>5</sub>.RA KÙ.BABBAR-šú šá u[l-tu]3'. [iti<sup>x</sup>] MU 4.KÁM ᵀDa-ri-[ia-muš LUGAL]4'. [Id<sup>AG</sup>(?)-NUMUN(?)]-GIŠ *ina* šU<sup>II</sup>

Lo.E. 5'. [ᵀLa-a]-ba-ši ma-ḫi[r]

Rev. 6'. [lúmu-GIN]ᵀmeš<sup>1</sup> ᵀKI-d<sup>AG</sup>-[TIN A-šú šá]7'. [Id<sup>AG</sup>]-NUMUN-BA<sup>šá</sup> [A ᵀDù<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR]8'. [. . . ] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> šá ᵀx x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]

(remainder broken)

**Translation**

1'–5'. Out of ([the debt obligation/credit claim of . . .]), [Nabû(?)-zēru(?)]-līšir receiv[ed] 11 sh[ekels silver, the in]terest on his silver f[rom month x], year 4, Dar[ius the king], from [Lā]bāši.

6'–8'. [Witness]es:

Itti-Nabû-[balāṭu, son of Nabû]-zēra-iqīša, [descendant of Eppeš-ilī]

[. . . ] x x x [. . . ]

(break)

**Notes**

1': The text probably began with (*ina*) *u<sup>2</sup>ilti* (or *rašūti*) *ša Nabû(?)-zēru-līšir* (*ša*) *ina muḫḫi Lābāši* (*i<sup>2</sup>ilu*); cf. *Nbn.* 524 and 722 (Wunsch, *Iddin Marduk* 2, 188 and 215).

6–7': Itti-Nabû-balāṭu/Nabû-zēra-iqīša//Eppeš-ilī appears as a witness in two Egibi texts, *Nbn.* 1013:16 and *Dar.* 472:8.

**Remarks**

The name of the payee is restored as [Nabû-zēru]-līšir, based on the appearance of a person by that name who received partial payment in silver from Lābāši/Balāṭu//Esagilaya in text No. 37; the latter document is dated at Babylon in year 2 of Cambyses. If the restoration is correct, this text almost certainly belongs in Archive B.

## 111.

MMA 86.11.403

Plate 84

H. 33 mm. W. 49 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Receipt for dates

Achaemenid period, Borsippa

Darius I, year 5 month 9 day 1

- Obv. 1. [x GUR] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> (PI) 3 BĀN ZÚ.LUM.MA *ina* <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 2. *ina na-áš-par-tu*<sub>4</sub> *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-bul-liṭ-su [. . . ]  
 3. <sup>f</sup>GÉME-<sup>d</sup>Na-na-a *ina* <sup>šU</sup>II <sup>I</sup>Lu-ú-[i-d]i-ía  
 4. *u* <sup>Id</sup>AG-bul-liṭ-su DUMU<sup>meš</sup> *qal-lat* [. . . <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 5. A <sup>I</sup>šUR  
 6. <sup>r</sup>GÉME-<sup>d</sup>Na-na (erasure) KI(?)  
 7. [m]a-aḥ-ra-at  
 (rest of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup> <sup>Id</sup>DÜ-DINGIR <sup>r</sup>IdEN(?)<sup>-x</sup><sup>1</sup> [A-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 (blank line)  
 (blank line)  
 2'. DUB.SAR <sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu A-šú *šá*  
 3'. <sup>Id</sup>rAG<sup>1</sup>-DA A <sup>I</sup>ZĀLAG-<sup>d</sup>Pap-sukkal  
 4'. [B]ár-sipa<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>GAN UD 1.KÁM  
 5'. <sup>r</sup>MU<sup>1</sup> 5.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Da-ri-i[a-muš]  
 U.E. 6'. [LUG]AL E<sup>ki</sup> *u* KUR.[KUR]

*Translation*

- 1–7. <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya, (acting) on behalf of Nabû-bullissu [. . .] [r]eceived [x *kur*] x (*pān*) 3 *sūt* dates from Lū-[id]iṣya and Nabû-bullissu, sons of the slave-woman(?) [. . .], descendant of Šāḥitu.  
 (break)

Rev. [Witnesses]:

- [. . .]  
 1'. [. . .], descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
 Bēl(?)-[. . ., son of . . .]  
 2'–3'. Scribe: Bēl-ittannu, son of Nabû-leṣi, descendant of Nūr-Papsukkal  
 4'–6'. [B]orsippa, Kislimu day 1 year 5, Dari[us ki]ng of Babylon and the lan[ds]

*Note*

- 2–4: Nabû-bullissu in l. 2 cannot be the same as the Nabû-bullissu who appears as a party to the opposite side of the transaction in l. 4.

**Remarks**

The recipient of payment in the transaction recorded in this text is named <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya, while two descendants of Šāhītu constitute the other party. These data suggest a connection to text No. 109, which recorded <sup>f</sup>Amat-Nanaya's purchase of a field from a descendant of Šāhītu and was drawn up several years before this text, in year 2 of Cambyses.

**112.**

MMA 86.11.310

Promissory note(?) for silver

Plate 85

Achaemenid period, Babylon

H. 51 mm. W. 57 mm. Th. unknown

Darius I, year 6 month 3 day 25

Copy by Father Lewis F. Hartman (see Introduction: History of Research on the Collection, p. xii)

- Obv. 1. [x] MA.NA 𒀭KÙ<sup>1</sup>. [BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup>(?) . . . šá]  
 2. [Id<sup>x</sup>]-TIN<sup>it</sup> A-[šú šá<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 3. [A<sup>1</sup>. . . ]-MU  
 4. [ina muḥ-ḫi(?)<sup>1</sup>. . . ]-a  
 5. [A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>x x A<sup>1</sup>É-s]ag-gil-a-a  
 6. [šá ITI ina UGU 1 ma]-𒀭né<sup>1</sup>-e 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup>  
 7. [ina UGU-šú i-rab-bi] e-lat  
 8. [. . . ] x x  
 9. [. . . ] 𒀭x x<sup>1</sup> UD 1.KÁM  
 10. [UR<sub>5</sub>.RA KÙ.BABBAR(?)] i-nam-din
- Rev. 11. 𒀭lu<sup>1</sup>mu-kin<sup>1</sup>-nu I<sup>1</sup>MU-d<sup>AG</sup> A-šú šá  
 12. Id<sup>EN</sup>-GI A I<sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-d<sup>30</sup> Id<sup>1</sup>Ad-du-še-su  
 13. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> 𒀭Ha<sup>1</sup>-gi-a<sup>1</sup> Ba-la-tu  
 14. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> Id<sup>EN</sup>-GI A I<sup>1</sup>DÜ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR  
 15. 𒀭u<sup>1</sup> 𒀭lu<sup>1</sup>šID Id<sup>AG</sup>-MU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> I<sup>1</sup>MU-d<sup>AG</sup>  
 16. A I<sup>1</sup>ZÁLAG-d<sup>30</sup> TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>SIG</sup><sub>4</sub>  
 17. UD 25.[KÁM M]U 6.KÁM  
 18. I<sup>1</sup>Da-r[i-ia-mu]š LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 19. LU[GAL KUR.KUR]

**Translation**

- 1–5. [x] minas [white(?)] sil[ver . . . owed to . . .]-uballit, son [of . . ., descendant of . . ., by . . ., son of . . ., descendant of Es]agilaya.  
 6–7. [(Interest) shall accrue against him (at the rate of)] 1 shekel white silver [per mi]na [per month(?)].  
 7–9. Separate from [. . .]

- 9–10. He shall pay [interest on the silver(?)] . . . on the first day (of the month).  
 11–14. Witnesses:  
     Iddin-Nabû, son of Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Nūr-Sîn  
     Addu-šēssu, son of Ḫaggiya  
     Balātu, son of Bēl-ušallim, descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
 15–16. And the scribe: Nabû-iddin, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Nūr-Sîn  
 17–19. Babylon, Simānu day 25 year 6, Darius king of Babylon, ki[ng of the lands]

**Note**

- 12–13: According to R. Zadok (personal communication), the personal name written <sup>Id</sup>*Ad-du-še-su* may mean “Addu-Is-His-Šēdu” (protective deity). Cf. *Še-e-su-ḫa-de-e* “His-Šēdu-Is-Joyous,” P. Dhorme, “Les tablettes babyloniennes de Neirab,” *RA* 25 (1928), p. 72. The patronymic Ḫaggiya may be compared to Aramaic Ḫaggay and Hebrew Ḫaggî (Zadok, *Jews in Babylonia*, pp. 23–24).

**113.**

MMA 86.11.188

Plates 86, 123

H. 37 mm. W. 49 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Achaemenid period, Sippar

Darius I, year 7 month 1 day 27

- Obv. 1. 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina* 1 GÍN *bit-qa*  
 2. *šá gi-in-nu šá* <sup>I</sup>SÙH-SUR  
 3. DUMU-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>NUMUN-ia A <sup>lú</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU  
 4. *ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*re-man<sup>an</sup>-ni*  
 5. DUMU-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> A <sup>lú</sup>ŠUR-GI.NA  
 6. *šá ITI ina muḫ-ḫi* 1 *ma-né-e*  
 7. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi*
- Lo.E. (seal impression)
- Rev. 8. <sup>lú</sup>*mu-kin-nu* <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG DUMU-šú *šá*  
 9. <sup>Id</sup>EN-SUR <sup>I</sup>*Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>*AMAR.UTU DUMU-šú  
 10. *šá* <sup>I</sup>Šil-la-a A <sup>I</sup>ḪSu-ḫa<sup>1</sup>-a-a  
 11. <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU DUMU-šú *šá* <sup>I</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG <<A LÚ(!) x>>  
 12. A <sup>Id</sup>30-ka-ra-bi-ši-mu <<x>>  
 13. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*re-man-ni* <sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR  
 14. A <sup>lú</sup>ŠUR-GI.NA UD.KIB.NUN<sup>ki</sup>
- U.E. 15. <sup>iti</sup>BÁR UD 27.KÁM MU 7.KÁM  
 16. <sup>I</sup>*Da-ri-<sup>2</sup>-muš* LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>  
 17. *u* KUR.KUR
- L.E. (seal impression)

**Translation**

- 1–5. 1 mina silver of  $\frac{1}{8}$  alloy per shekel bearing the *ginnu*-stamp, owed to (Ina)-tēšî-eṭir, son of Zēriya, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš, by Marduk-rēmāni, son of Bēl-uballit, descendant of Šāhit-ginê.
- 6–7. (Interest) will accrue against him (at the rate of) 1 shekel silver per mina per month.
- 8–12. Witnesses:  
     Iddin-Nabû, son of Bēl-eṭir  
     Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Šillaya, descendant of Suḥaya  
     Nabû-iddin, son of Iddin-Nabû, descendant of Sîn-karābi-išme
- 13–14. Marduk-rēmāni, scribe, descendant of Šāhit-ginê
- 14–17. Sippar, Nisannu day 27 year 7, Darius king of Babylon and the lands

**Note**

9–10: The second witness appears as the first witness in *Dar.* 50:11–12, a quittance issued in Sippar.

**Remarks**

At least six published texts name Marduk-rēmāni/Bēl-uballit/Šāhit-ginê, the debtor in the present text, in various capacities.<sup>1</sup> These tablets together constitute the remains of an “archive” pertaining to Marduk-rēmāni. Marduk-rēmāni would have received the promissory notes (CIS II, 68; text No. 113; and *Dar.* 297) back from his creditors once he had fulfilled the obligations documented thereby.

**Seal Impressions (Left Edge, Lower Edge)**

Plates 86, 123

Cylinder seal

H. 33 mm. W. 10 mm.

A bearded worshiper faces right with his right arm bent upward at the elbow. His thumb is distinct from the rest of his fingers. He wears a long robe that is belted at the waist. His feet are not depicted.

**Remarks**

Seals decorated with worshipers alone or opposite altars or divine symbols were ubiquitous in the Neo-Babylonian period. The gesture of the worshiper, with a cupped hand held in front of the mouth, was one of solemn greeting or supplication.

The indentation above the seal impression of the left edge was made from a metal setting or cap atop the seal. The faint stippling above the indentation was likely made from the granulation that decorated the cap. Although such metal caps are well attested in the second and early first millennia B.C., they are rare in the Neo-Babylonian period.

The seal impressions on this tablet are not labeled, but it is likely, following usual Late Babylonian legal praxis, that they belonged to the debtor of the tablet (who here also happened to be the scribe). The impression of the seal twice is not typical; in general the debtor impressed his seal once, unless the first impression was poorly executed or damaged. Here the sealer impressed his cylinder on the left edge, the most common edge for sealing in the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods, as well on the lower edge.

1. Strassmaier, *ZA* 4, Smerdis no. 7, issued in the town Zazannu; CIS II, 68 (Stevenson, *ABC*, 33), Sippar, year 3 of Darius I; text No. 113, Sippar, year 7 Darius I; *Dar.* 297, Babylon, year 11 Darius I; E. A. W. Budge, "On Some Recently Acquired Babylonian Tablets," *ZA* 3 (1888), Darius no. 2, Babylon, year 25 Darius I; Pinches *Peek*, 12, Sippar, year 34 Darius I.

## 114.

MMA 86.11.166

Plate 87

H. 40 mm. W. 55 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Achaemenid period, Babylon(?)

Darius I, year 11+[x] month 1 day 15

- Obv. 1. 𒀭3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá ina 1 GÍN bit-qa nu-uḫ-ḫu-tu  
 2. šá Id<sub>AG</sub>-GIN-IBILA DUMU šá <sup>1</sup>Bul-ṭa-a  
 3. DUMU <sup>1</sup>DUG.SĪLA.BUR ina muḫ-ḫi <sup>1</sup>Tab-lu-tu  
 4. DUMU.SAL šá <sup>1</sup>IR-ia DUMU Id<sub>IDIM</sub>-DÙ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR  
 5. šá ITI ina UGU 1 ma-né-e 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 6. ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi KÙ.BABBAR šá a-na še-im(?)  
 7. <sup>1</sup>IR<sup>mes</sup> šá <sup>1</sup>Mu(!)-ra-šu-ú 𒀭DUMU šá<sup>1</sup>  
 8. Id<sub>AG</sub>-MU(!)-MU DUMU Id<sub>IDIM</sub>-DÙ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR
- Lo.E. 9. SUM.NA
- Rev. 10. <sup>1</sup>mu(!)-kin-nu Id<sub>EN</sub>-lu-mur DUMU šá  
 11. Id<sub>DI</sub>.KUD-MU-MU DUMU Id<sub>IDIM</sub>-lu-mur  
 12. Id<sub>AG</sub>-it-tan-nu DUMU šá Id<sub>AG</sub>-taq-bi-SI.SÁ  
 13. DUMU <<šá>> Id<sub>IDIM</sub>-lu-mur <sup>1</sup>KI-d<sub>AMAR</sub>.UTU-TIN  
 14. DUMU šá <sup>1</sup>Tab-né-e-a 𒀭DUMU<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>EN-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru  
 15. Id<sub>AG</sub>-it-tan-nu DUMU šá <sup>1</sup>Ki-di-nu DUMU <sup>1</sup>MU-d<sub>ŠU</sub>  
 16. <sup>1</sup>KI-d<sub>AMAR</sub>.UTU-TIN DU[B.SAR D]UMU šá <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-d<sub>EN</sub>  
 17. [DUMU] <sup>1</sup>EN-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-[ru TIN(?).TI]R(?)<sup>ki</sup> <sup>1</sup>iti<sub>BÁR</sub><sup>1</sup>
- U.E. 18. [UD] 15.KÁM MU 𒀭11<sup>1</sup> + [x.KÁM <sup>1</sup>D]a-a-ri-ia-𒀭muš<sup>1</sup>  
 19. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LU[GAL KUR.KUR]

**Translation**

- 1–4. 3½ minas average-quality silver of ⅛ alloy per shekel, owed to Nabû-mukîn-apli, son of Buļtaya, descendant of Paḥḥāru, by ʿTabluṭu, daughter of Ardiya, descendant of Ea-eppeš-ilī.  
 5–6. (Interest) shall accrue against her (at the rate of) 1 shekel silver per mina per month.  
 6–9. The silver (is that) which has been paid for the price(?) of the slaves of Murašû, son of Nabû-šuma-iddin, descendant of Ea-eppeš-ilī.  
 10–15. Witnesses:  
     Bēl-lūmur, son of Madānu-šuma-iddin, descendant of Ea-lūmur  
     Nabû-ittannu, son of Nabû-taqbi-līšir, descendant of Ea-lūmur  
     Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Tabnêa, descendant of Bēl-ēṭir  
     Nabû-ittannu, son of Kidinnu, descendant of Iddin-Marduk  
 16–17. Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, sc[ribe, s]on of Rīmūt-Bēl, [descendant o]f Bēl-ēṭi[r]  
 17–19. [Babylo]n(?), Nisannu [day] 15 year 11+[x, D]arius king of Babylon, ki[ng of the lands]

**Notes**

- 7–8: Murašû/Nabû-šuma-iddin//Ea-eppeš-ilī does not appear elsewhere, but his father may; see Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 144, s.v. Nabû-šum-iddin 34.  
 11–12: The first witness, Bēl-lūmur/Madānu-šuma-iddin//Ea-lūmur, also appears as a witness in VS 5, 72:14, and in an Egibi text, *Dar.* 490:12–13.  
 12–13: The second witness, Nabû-ittannu/Nabû-taqbi-līšir//Ea-lūmur, is the first witness of *Dar.* 377, dated at Ḥarrān-Kiš in year 14 Darius I. Nabû-ittannu also appears as a witness in an Egibi text, *Dar.* 498:17.  
 13–14: The third witness, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu/Tabnêa//Bēl-ēṭir, is the scribe of *Dar.* 38, a promissory note for dates owed as *imittu*, dated at Ḥarrān-Kiš in year 2 of Darius I.

**115.**

MMA 86.11.186

Plate 88

H. 42 mm. W. 60 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Partnership agreement

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 22 month 10 day 16

- Obv. 1. ⅓ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup> nu-<sup>Γ</sup>uḥ<sup>1</sup>-ḥu-tú šá ina 1 GÍN <sup>Γ</sup>bit<sup>1</sup>-[qa]  
 2. <<A-šú<sup>Γ</sup> X<sup>1</sup> NÍG.DU X>> šá<sup>1</sup> Ḥa-áš-da-a-a  
 3. <sup>Γ</sup>A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>Γ</sup>dAG-gu-ú<sup>1</sup>-[zu] <<x 1 ma-né-e>>  
 4. [ina] muḥ-ḥi <sup>1</sup>dEN-<sup>Γ</sup>a-su<sup>1</sup>-ú-a A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>dEN-KÁD  
 5. [u] <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>Γ</sup>A-šú<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Gi-mil-lu A <sup>1</sup>úSANGA-dU+GUR  
 6. <sup>Γ</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na ḤA.LA mim-ma ma-la ina muḥ-ḥi  
 7. KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> ⅓ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup> ip-pu-<sup>Γ</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-šu X



8. *ina ú-tur a-ḫi* 𐎲.𐎠.𐎡 <sup>1</sup>Ḫa-áš-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-a  
 Lo.E 9. KI <sup>1</sup>EN-a-su-ú-a u <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> ik-kal  
 Rev. 10. [p]u-ut SAG.DU KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> 1/3 MA.NA  
 11. <sup>1</sup>BABBAR<sup>1</sup>ú <sup>1</sup>EN-a-su-ú-a u <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 12. na-šú-ú e-lat ú-ìl-tì x x x <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> x  
 12a. tu<sub>4</sub>  
 13. <sup>1</sup>muḫ-ḫi<sup>1</sup>-šú šá <sup>1</sup>EN-KÁD ina muḫ-ḫi <sup>1</sup>EN-a-su-ú-a  
 13a. u <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-<sup>1</sup>tu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> <<<sup>1</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> tu<sub>4</sub>>>  
 14. [<sup>1</sup>ú]mu-kîn-nu <sup>1</sup>EN-ana-mé-ré-eh-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 15. [A-šú] šá <sup>1</sup>AG-x-x-x<sup>1</sup>-mu-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>AG-it<sup>1</sup>-tan-nu  
 16. <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-šú šá <sup>1</sup>DÛ-ia A <sup>1</sup>DÍM<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>x-x<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>AG-MU-GIN  
 17. <sup>1</sup>šID <sup>1</sup>EN-x-x-x<sup>1</sup> [A]-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 18. A <sup>1</sup>Dan-<sup>1</sup>né(?)<sup>1</sup>-[e(?)<sup>1</sup>-a(?)<sup>1</sup>] <sup>1</sup>TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>1</sup> AB  
 U.E. 19. UD 16.KÁM MU 22.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Da-ri-ia-a-<sup>1</sup>muš<sup>1</sup>  
 20. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR  
 L.E. 21. (traces)  
 22. (traces)

### Translation

- 1–6. 1/3 mina average-quality white silver of 1/8 all[o]y per shekel, owed to Ḫašdaya, son of Itti-Nabû-gû[zu, b]y Bēl-asūa, son of Bēl-kāšir, [and] Nidintu, son of Gimillu, descendant of Šangû-Nergal, for a “share.”  
 6–9. From all of what they may earn on that 1/3 mina white silver, Ḫašdaya shall share half the profit with Bēl-asūa and Nidintu.  
 10–12. Bēl-asūa and Nidintu are [l]iable for the principal, (namely) that 1/3 mina white silver.  
 12–13a. Separate from a . . . (previous?) obligation charged against Bēl-kāšir, (now?) charged against Bēl-asūa and Nidintu.  
 14–16. Witnesses:  
     Bēl-ana-mēreḫtu, [son of] Nabû-. . .  
     Nabû-ittannu, son of Bāniya, descendant of Itinnu  
     . . ., son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn  
 17–18. Scribe: Bēl-. . ., [son] of Rīmūt-Bēl, descendant of Dan[nēa(?)]  
 18–20. Babylon, Ṭebētu day 16 year 22, Darius king of Babylon and the lands  
 21–22. (illegible traces)

### Notes

- 6: *ana zitti* takes the place of *ana ḫarrāni* in the formula; see Lanz, *ḫarrānu*, p. 9.  
 12–13a: If the Bēl-kāšir named in l. 13 is the father of Bēl-asūa, the co-debtor of the current transaction, then the *elat* clause probably refers to a debt incurred by Bēl-kāšir and inherited by Bēl-asūa and his partner Nidintu.

**Remarks**

This poorly written tablet records the financing of a partnership on the same terms as a *ḥarrānu*, but using the phrase *ana zitti*, literally, “for a share” (l. 6), instead of *ana ḥarrāni*. The party providing the financing, Ḥašdaya, is to get half the profit on his investment, and the other half goes to the parties Bēl-asūa and Nidintu, who will use Ḥašdaya’s capital to carry on their business. Ḥašdaya is protected from exposure to risk by Bēl-asūa and Nidintu’s assumption of liability for the investment capital.

**116.**

MMA 86.11.177

Promissory note for silver

Plate 89

Achaemenid period, Babylon

H. 27 mm. W. 45 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Darius I, year 22 month [x] day 4

Obv. 1. 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>u</sup> šá ina 1 [GÍN bit-qa]

2. nu-uh-ḥu-tu ri-ḥi-it ᵀX ᵀ [ . . . ]

3. šá <sup>f</sup>Bé-li-le-e-ti [DUMU.SAL(?) šá<sup>I</sup>. . . A]4. [<sup>Id</sup>E]N-e-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ru ina muḥ-ḥi<sup>I</sup> [ . . . ]5. [A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>. . . A<sup>I</sup>. . . ]-<sup>d</sup>EN ᵀX ᵀ [ . . . ]

(rest of obverse broken)

Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)

1'. [ . . . ] ᵀX ᵀ [ . . . ]

2'. [ . . . ] ᵀX X X ᵀ [ . . . ]

3'. [<sup>Id</sup>E]N(?)-ᵀMU ᵀ DUB.SAR [A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ]4'. ᵀA ᵀ [<sup>I</sup>D]a-bi-bi ᵀTIN ᵀ.TIR<sup>k[i]</sup> [<sup>ti</sup>X]5'. UD 4.KÁM MU 22.KÁM <sup>I</sup>D[a-ri-ia-muš]6'. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KU[R]**Translation**

1–5. 1 mina of average-quality white silver of [ $\frac{1}{8}$  alloy] per [shekel], the remainder of [ . . . ], owed to <sup>f</sup>Belilētu [daughter(?) of [ . . . ], descendant of B]ēl-ēṭir, by [ . . . ], son of . . . , descendant of . . .]-Bēl.

(break)

Rev.

3'–4'. [Bē]l(?)-iddin, scribe, [son of . . . ], descendant of [D]ābibi

4'–6'. Babylon, [month . . . ] day 4 year 22, D[arius] king of Babylon and the land[s]

## Note

- 2: The silver owed to <sup>f</sup>Belilētu is defined as *riḫit*, “remainder of (something),” thereby referring to an outstanding credit claim.

## 117.

MMA 86.11.352

Field survey

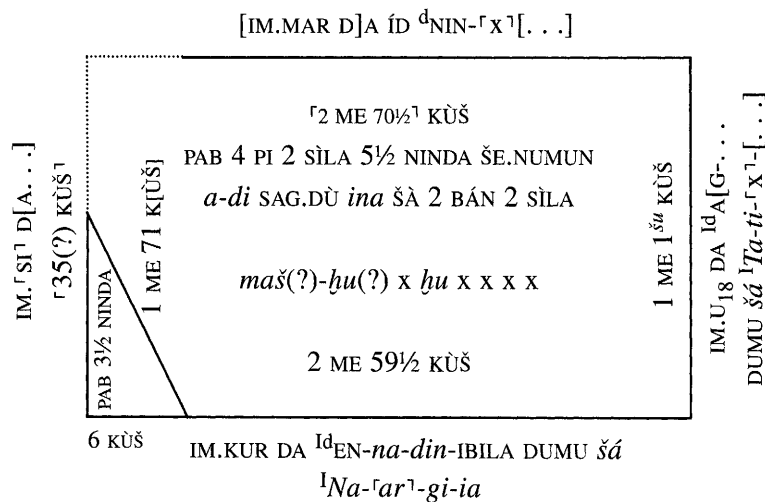
Plate 90

Achaemenid period, no GN

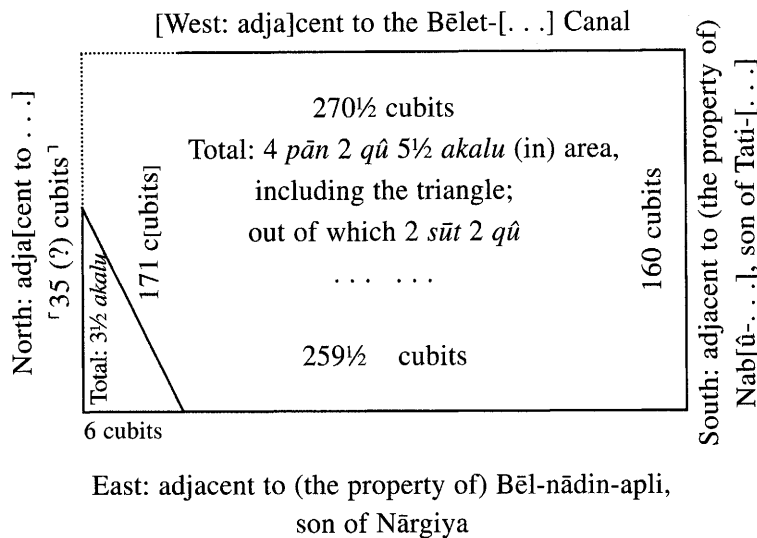
H. 61 mm. W. 84 mm. Th. 26 mm.

Darius I, year 23 month 2 day 26

Oby.



- Rev. 1. <sup>r</sup>ŠE.NUMUN<sup>r</sup> *ša šap-la-nu* ÍD-<sup>d</sup>DI.KUD <sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup> [. . . ]  
 2. KÁ.GAL KÁ.GAL <sup>d</sup>URAŠ NAM KÁ.<sup>r</sup>DINGIR.RA<sup>r</sup>[ki]  
 3. *ša* <sup>r</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>lú</sup>X x É <sup>r</sup>Ba-ga-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>nu-u <sup>r</sup>DUMU *ša* <sup>r</sup>EN-<sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup>  
 4. <sup>r</sup>X x<sup>r</sup> x <sup>r</sup>X x<sup>r</sup> *a-na* <sup>r</sup>X x <sup>r</sup>Ki<sup>r</sup>-*na-a*  
 4a. <sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup> *a* SAG [X] <sup>r</sup>X<sup>r</sup> *ta a-*  
 5. *im-ḫu-ru na* <sup>it(i)</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> UD 24.KÁM  
 6. MU 23.KÁM <sup>r</sup>Da-<sup>r</sup>a-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>r</sup>-*ia-muš* LUGAL
- U.E. 1. [. . .] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR É x *si ša* ŠE.NUMUN <sup>r</sup>A.ŠÀ<sup>r</sup> [. . .]  
 2. [. . .] <sup>r</sup>X x<sup>r</sup> *ma-a-tú* x *ḫi si* [. . . ]

**Translation**

- Rev. 1–5. The arable field which (is located) below the Madānu Canal [. . .] gate, Uraš Gate, district of Babylon, which Iddin-Bēl, the . . .-official of the house of Bagapānu, son of Bēl-[. . .], . . . received . . . Kinaya . . .
- 5–6. Ayyāru day 26 year 23, Darius king
- U.E. 1–2. [x] shekels silver, property . . . of the arable field [. . .] . . .

**Notes**

- Obv: The signs for the cardinal directions are abbreviated, as is characteristic of field-survey documents. In this case the plan is oriented so that west is at top and east at bottom, but north and south are reversed from their proper position in relation to west and east; other such cases are listed in Nemet-Nejat, *Field Plans*, p. 374, Table IVC.
- A quadrilateral's approximate surface area is typically computed from the linear measures of its sides by multiplying half the sums of the opposite sides (see M. A. Powell, "Late Babylonian Surface Mensuration," *AfO* 31 [1984], p. 37, and Nemet-Nejat, *Field Plans*, pp. 3 and 283). In this case multiplying the average lengths (half their sums) of the top and bottom sides (265 KÜŠ) and of the right and left sides (165.5 KÜŠ) yields an area of 43,857.5 square cubits. Using the equivalence 1 šILA = 300 square cubits, the surface area given in the total, 146.55 šILA, equals 43,965 square cubits. The difference between these two figures, 107.5 square cubits, is approximately the area of the triangular section (SAG.DÛ) marked off on the left: the triangle's area is included in the total area, but not in the area computable from the measure of the field's sides. Given the area measure 3.5 NINDA = 105 square cubits, the long side of the triangle must be 35 cubits, which fits the traces; the triangle is not drawn to scale. For other examples of large quadrilateral fields drawn with the addition of one or more triangles of insignificant area (in comparison with the main plots), see Nemet-Nejat, *Field*

- Plans*, nos. 45, 59, 60, 69, and 70. Following the statement of the total field area including the triangle (*adi* SAG.DÙ), there is a phrase distinguishing an area of 2 BÀN 2 SÌLA in some way (the signs following this area measure are unclear).
- Rev. 1–2: The Uraš Gate was the southern gate in Imgur-Enlil, the inner fortification wall surrounding the city of Babylon in the Neo-Babylonian period; the Madānu Canal flowed near this gate (RGTC 8, p. 376; George, *BTT*, pp. 137–39). Two other documents in this corpus concern property in the same area: text No. 128 is a promissory note for the lease payment due on a field located “on the Madānu Canal which is in front of the Uraš Gate,” and text No. 120 is a rent contract for another property located near the Uraš Gate.
- 3: The Iranian name Bagapānu is also attested in BE 9, 54:2; *Camb.* 316:3, 7, and 11; H. G. Stigers, “Neo- and Late Babylonian Business Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection,” *JCS* 28 (1976), 22:7 and 14; and BM 47516 (read *Ba-ga-pa[n-nu]*), Nemet-Nejat, *Field Plans*, p. 47. See M. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6 (New York, 1992), pp. 58–59.
- 4–4a: The order in which the signs are to be read following the PN Kīnaya in l. 4 is not clear. It appears that the *na* inserted into l. 5 following *imḥuru* is a continuation of the last part of l. 4a and was intended to be read Kīnaya *a-na*.
- U.E. 1–2: The meaning and relationship of these two lines to the rest of the text is not clear.

### Remarks

This tablet is a record of a real-estate survey. On the obverse is a diagram of the field, and the reverse summarizes the transaction whereby the property changed hands.

The dimensions given include linear measurements of the sides of the field and the computed surface area. The borders are labeled by the cardinal directions and by the neighboring properties or topographical features, as in contracts for the sale of land (see text Nos. 99 and 109).

## 118.

MMA 86.11.146

Plate 91

H. 53 mm. W. 67 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 24 month [x] day 24

- Obv. 1. 3 MA.NA 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pi-šu-ú šá ina* 1 GÍN *bit-qa*  
 2. *nu-uḥ-ḥu-ṛtu*<sup>1</sup> šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-*id-di-na* DUMU šá <sup>I</sup>EN-šú-*nu*  
 3. DUMU <sup>I</sup>Mu-še-zi-*bi ina muḥ-ḥi* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-*na-ši-ir*  
 4. DUMU šá <sup>I</sup>Šad-din-*ni* DUMU <sup>Id</sup>É-a-DÙ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR šá ITI *ina muḥ-ḥi* <<x>>  
 5. 1 *ma-né-e* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR UR<sub>5</sub>.RA *ina muḥ-ḥi-šú i-rab-bi*  
 6. *pu-ut e-ṭè-ru* šá KÙ.BABBAR-*a*<sub>4</sub> 3 MA.NA 12 GÍN  
 7. *u* UR<sub>5</sub>.RA-šú <sup>Id</sup>EN-ú-bal-*liṭ* DUMU šá <sup>I</sup>Še-el-*le-bi*

8. DUMU šá<sup>IdÉ-a-DÜ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR na-ši<sup>IdAG-ΓX<sup>1</sup>-[X]-ΓX<sup>1</sup></sup></sup>
9. ù<sup>IIna-É-sag-il-li-bur<sup>lú</sup>[R<sup>meš</sup>]</sup>
- Lo.E. 10. šá<sup>IdAMAR.UTU-na-ši-ir maš-ka-Γnu<sup>1</sup> šá<sup>I[dEN-SUM.NA]</sup></sup>
11. <sup>lú</sup>TUK<sup>ú</sup> šá-nam-ma ina muḫ-ḫi ul i-ša[l-laṭ]
- Rev. 12. a-di muḫ-ḫi šá<sup>IdEN-SUM.NA KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> Γ3<sup>1</sup> [MA.NA 12 GÍN]</sup>
13. u UR<sub>5</sub>.RA-šú in-neṭ-ṭe-ru e-lat<sup>Γú<sup>1</sup>-[il-tì šá x GÍN]</sup>
14. KÙ.BABBAR pi-ṣu-ú šá ina 1 GÍN bit-qa šá<sup>IdEN-i[d-di-na ina muḫ-ḫi]</sup>
15. <sup>IdEN-ú-bal-liṭ ù 1 ZABAR nam-šú-Γú(?)<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]</sup>
16. ina IGI<sup>IdEN-SUM.NA pa-aq-da<sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu [IdIDIM-MU]</sup>
17. DUMU šá<sup>IšEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU DUMU IŠi-gu-ú-a<sup>I</sup>Ni-din-t[i DUMU šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ]</sup>
18. <sup>I</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AG-TIN DUMU šá<sup>IdÉ-a-NUMUN-BA<sup>šá</sup>I</sup>Ni-din-Γti<sup>1</sup>
19. DUMU šá<sup>IDi-ḫu-um-mu DUMU<sup>lú</sup>BÁḪAR<sup>IdEN-a-na-mé-r[e-eḫ-tú]</sup></sup>
- 19a. DUMU šá<sup>IÚ-ba-ri</sup>
20. <sup>I</sup>Iṣ-sur DUMU (šá)<sup>I</sup>Na-di-ni DUMU<sup>lú</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>E-a<sup>IdEN-re-man-ni DUMU šá<sup>I</sup>MU-ΓX<sup>1</sup></sup>
- 20a. DUMU<sup>I</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>30
21. <sup>IdAG-na-di-in-šEŠ DUB.SAR DUMU šá<sup>I</sup>ΓX<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]</sup>
- U.E. 22. DUMU<sup>I</sup>E-<sup>d</sup>IM KÁ.DINGIR.ΓRA<sup>Γki</sup> [itiX]
23. UD 24.KÁM MU 24.KÁM<sup>I</sup>Da-a-ri-ia-a-mu[š]
24. LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR<sup>meš.ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

### Translation

- 1–4. 3 minas 12 shekels average-quality white silver of 1/8 alloy per shekel, owed to Bēl-iddin, son of Bēlšunu, descendant of Mušēzib, by Marduk-nāšir, son of Šaddinnu, descendant of Ea-eppeš-ilī.
- 4–5. Interest shall accrue against him (at the rate of) 1 shekel silver per mina per month.
- 6–8. Bēl-uballit, son of Šellebi, descendant of Ea-eppeš-ilī, guarantees payment of that 3 minas 12 shekels of silver and its interest.
- 8–13. Nabû-[ . . . ] and Ina-Esagil-libur, sl[aves] of Marduk-nāšir, are the security of [Bēl-iddin]. No other creditor shall exercise any rig[hts] over (the security) until Bēl-iddin is paid that 3 [minas 12 shekels] silver and its interest.
- 13–16. Separate from a d[e]bt of x shekels] of white silver of 1/8 alloy per shekel, owed to Bēl-id[di]n by] Bēl-uballit, and one bronze washbowl(?) . . . deposited with Bēl-iddin.
- 16–20a. Witnesses:
- [Ea-iddin], son of Aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa  
Nidint[u, son of . . . ]  
Itti-Nabû-balātu, son of Ea-zēra-iqīša  
Nidintu, son of Diḫummu, descendant of Paḫḫāru  
Bēl-ana-mēr[eḫtu], son of Ubār  
Iṣṣur, son of Nādin, descendant of Arad-Ea  
Bēl-rēmāni, son of MU-[ . . . ], descendant of Nūr-Sîn
- 21–22. Nabû-nādin-aḫi, scribe, son of [ . . . ], descendant of Qībi-Adad
- 22–24. Babylon, [month x] day 24 year 24, Dariu[s] king of Babylon, king of the lands

*Notes*

- 7–8: The guarantor, Bēl-uballiṭ, appears as debtor in *Dar.* 520, dated at Babylon in year 21 Darius, and *Dar.* 556, dated at Babylon in the following year.
- 15–16: The term written *nam-šú-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>* is either a previously unknown word or an erroneous writing of *namsû*, “washbowl.”
- 16–17: The personal name of the first witness is restored on the basis of the appearance of Ea-iddin/Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/Šigūa as a witness in text No. 119:9–10; VS 4, 159 and 165; VS 5, 90; VS 6, 215; and as scribe in *Dar.* 522.

**119.**

MMA 86.11.170

Plate 92

H. 40 mm. W. 51 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Receipt for garments

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 24 month [x] day [x]+1

- Obv. 1. [x TÚG š]ir-a-am iš-ka-ri  
 2. [šá<sup>f</sup>N]u-up-ta-a DUMU.SAL IdAG-ul-⟨ú⟩-ta-ri-iḥ  
 3. [š<sup>f</sup>i-ri]-ik-tu<sub>4</sub> šá<sup>d</sup>Nin-líl šá ul-tu<sup>iti</sup>KIN  
 4. <sup>f</sup>MU<sup>1</sup> 23.KÁM a-di qí-it<sup>iti</sup>NE  
 5. MU 24.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL E<sup>fki</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 6. u KUR.KUR <sup>1</sup>Še-el-le-bi<sup>lú(!)</sup>ŠIM<sup>d</sup>Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>  
 7. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>I-qu-pu ina šU<sup>II</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ri-ḥi-it  
 8. a-na <sup>f</sup>Nu-up-ta-a DAM-áš-šú ma-ḥir
- Rev. 9. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu IdÉ-a-MU  
 10. A-šú šá IdAG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A <sup>1</sup>Ši-gu-ú-a  
 11. <sup>1</sup>Ku-šur-a A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Ta-<sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[x]-<sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 12. <sup>1</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>Mu-<sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[x-x]  
 13. A <sup>1</sup>Sip-pe-e-a <sup>lú</sup>š[ID<sup>I</sup>. . . ]-<sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup>  
 14. <sup>f</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-šú šá <sup>1</sup>TIN E<sup>fki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>[x UD x]+1.KÁM  
 15. [M]U <sup>f</sup>24<sup>1</sup>.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Da-r[i-i]a-muš  
 16. [LUGAL] E<sup>fki</sup> u KUR.KUR

*Translation*

- 1–6. [x] *siriam*-garments, the delivery quota (required) [of <sup>f</sup>N]ūptaya, daughter of Nabû-ultarriḥ, the [ob]late of Ninlil, from the month of Ulūlu year 23 through the end of the month of Abu year 24 of Darius king of Babylon and the lands—
- 6–8. Šellebi, the brewer of Zababa, son of Iqūpu, received (the garments) from Riḥit on behalf of his wife <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya.

9–13. Witnesses:

Ea-iddin, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Šigūa

Kuṣurraya, son of Ta-[. . .]

Nidintu, son of Mu-[. . .], descendant of Sippēa

13–14. Scribe: [. . .], son of Balātu

14–16. Babylon, month [x day x]+1 [y]ear 24, Dar[i]us [king] of Babylon and the lands

### Note

9: The first witness, Ea-iddin, also appears as the first witness in text No. 118 (for his other attestations, see text No. 118, n. to ll. 16–17).

### Remarks

This tablet is a receipt for delivery of <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya's annual quota of *siriam*-garments, which, as an oblate of the goddess Ninlil, she was obliged to produce for temple use. Šellebi, who worked for the temple of Zababa, received the delivery from <sup>f</sup>Nūptaya's husband Riḫit.

## 120.

MMA 86.11.149

Plate 92

H. 39 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 19 mm.

House rental contract

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 25 month 2 day 24

- Obv. 1.  $\Gamma^{\text{E}} \Gamma$  GIŠ.SAR ḫal-lat šá <sup>d</sup>EN  
 2.  $\Gamma^{\text{DA}} \Gamma$  É KÁ.GAL(!)(text:DINGIR) <sup>d</sup>URAS šá <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar  
 3. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A <sup>I</sup>Pap-pa-a-[a]  
 4. šá a-na e-piš-šá(!)(text:šú)-nu-tu  
 5. ina IGI <sup>Id</sup>AG-SUR A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU  
 6. É dul-ba-nu u  $\Gamma^{\text{E}} \Gamma$  tar-ba-šú(!)(text:su)  
 7. a-na i-di  $\Gamma^{\text{E}} \Gamma$  a<sup>1</sup>-na <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar  
 8. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU id-din (erasure)  
 9. MU 3 <<GÍN>> ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR<sup>ú</sup>  
 10. i-di É i-nam-din  
 Lo.E. 11.  $\Gamma^{\text{I}} \Gamma^{\text{en}}$ -TA.ÀM TI<sup>meš</sup>  
 Rev. 12. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>Gu-za-nu  
 13. DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>UTU-MU <sup>I</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 14. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU <sup>I</sup>ŠEŠ-šú-nu  
 15. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GIN



16. <sup>1</sup>SU<sup>a</sup> A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>IM-nu-úr  
 17. <sup>1ú</sup>šID <sup>1</sup>Ḥaš-da-a-a A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>SU<sup>a</sup>  
 18. E<sup>ki</sup> iti<sup>GU</sup><sub>4</sub> UD 24.KÁM  
 19. MU 25.KÁM <sup>1</sup>Da-a-ri-ía-mu-u[š]  
 U.E 20. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR  
 L.E. 21. a-di *tup-pi* *tup-pi*  
 22. É *ina* IGI-šú *ul-tu*  
 23. UD 1.KÁM iti<sup>SIG</sup><sub>4</sub>  
 24. É(!) *ina* IGI-šú

### Translation

- 1–5. The house (in the) *ḥallat*-garden of Bēl, adjacent to the Uraš Gate property, belonging to Ubār, son of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Pappay[a], which is at the disposal of Nabû-ētir, son of Nabû-iddin, for repair:  
 6–8. He (Ubār, son of Bēl-iddin) rented the passageway and courtyard to Ubār, son of Nabû-iddin.  
 9–10. He (Ubār, son of Nabû-iddin) shall pay 3½ shekels of white silver annually as rent on the property.  
 11. They have taken one (copy of the document) each.  
 12–16. Witnesses:  
     Gūzānu, son of Šamaš-iddin  
     Nidintu, son of Nabû-iddin  
     Aḥušunu, son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn  
     Eribaya, son of Adad-nūri  
 17. Scribe: Ḥašdaya, son of Eribaya  
 18–20. Babylon, Ayyāru day 24 year 25, Dariu[s] king of Babylon and the lands  
 21–24. For an indeterminate time the house is at his disposal; from day 1 of the month of Simānu the house is at his disposal.

### Notes

- 1–4: The property described in l. 1 is apparently a house, not a garden property, in view of *ēpišānūtu*, “repair,” in l. 4, which in rental contracts denotes the job of house repair and rebuilding (for citations, see *CAD* E, p. 240, s.v. *ēpišānūtu*); cf. the *bītu ša ina eqli kirū ḥallat ša Bēl*, which PN<sub>1</sub> gives *ana ēpišānūtu* to PN<sub>2</sub> in Wunsch, *Iddin Marduk* 2, 326:1, and see also 311:1.

On the Uraš Gate, see text No. 117 rev.:1–2 with note, and text No. 128:2–3 with note. In addition to the reference given above, the *kirū ḥallat(u) ša Bēl* occurs in VS 5, 65:1–2; see also D. Cocquerillat, “Recherches sur le verger du temple campagnard de l’Akītu (KIRI<sub>6</sub> ḥallat),” *WO* 7 (1973), p. 131.

- 7–8: Ubār/Nabû-iddin, to whom the passageway and courtyard are rented, is evidently a brother of Nabû-ētir/Nabû-iddin (l. 5).

21–24: On *adi tuppi tuppi*, see B. Landsberger, “Bemerkungen zu San Nicolò und Ungrad, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, Bd. I I. 2.,” ZA 39 (1930), p. 291. Lines 22–24 state the starting date of the rental period, namely the first day of the month following the month in which this tablet is dated.

### Remarks

This tablet documents the rental of a passageway and courtyard by Ubār, son of Bēl-iddin, to Ubār, son of Nabû-iddin. The rental property pertains to a building that the landlord has previously assigned for repair to the renter’s brother, Nabû-ēṭir. That property was located near the Uraš Gate and thus in the south of Babylon on the left bank of the river, probably between the city’s inner and outer walls.

## 121.

MMA 86.11.185

Plates 93, 94, 123

H. 63 mm. W. 79 mm. Th. 31 mm.

Stipulations regarding potential claims on sold prebend

Achaemenid period, Sippar

Darius I, year 26 month 9 day 16

- Obv. 1. UD 13.KÁM UD 14.KÁM UD<sup>1</sup> [1]5.KÁM šá<sup>1</sup>iti<sup>1</sup>[x]  
 2. UD 10.KÁM šá<sup>1</sup>iti<sup>1</sup>[x PAB 4 u<sub>4</sub>]-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>meš GIŠ.Š[UB.BA]  
 3. <sup>1</sup>lú<sup>1</sup>šIM×GAR-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[t]u šá ina <sup>1</sup>É.<sup>1</sup>[BABBAR.RA] <sup>1</sup>É<sup>1</sup> dUTU EN U[D(!).KIB.NUN<sup>ki</sup>]  
 4. <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Id<sup>1</sup>EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-šú <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>B[A<sup>šá</sup>-dAMAR.UTU A] <sup>1</sup>Dù<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR  
 5. a-na 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR[<sup>ú</sup> ŠÀ]M gam-r[u-t]u  
 6. a-na <sup>1</sup>IdAG-TIN-su-E [A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>. . . ]-<sup>1</sup>qa(?)<sup>1</sup>-a-a <sup>1</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>  
 7. id-din-nu u<sub>4</sub>-mu ra-g[a-mu] a-na muḫ-ḫi  
 8. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA šu-a-tì [it]-tab-šu-ú-<sup>2</sup>-ma  
 9. <sup>1</sup>Id<sup>1</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-TIN<sup>it</sup> GIŠ.ŠUB.BA la un-da-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-iq-am-ma  
 10. a-na <sup>1</sup>IdAG-TIN-su-iq-bi la it-tan-nu  
 Lo.E. 11. KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> 1 MA.NA BABBAR<sup>ú</sup> ina SAG.DU <sup>1</sup>Ba<sup>šá</sup>-d<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup>  
 Rev. 12. AD šá <sup>1</sup>IdEN-TIN<sup>it</sup> ú-tur-ra-<sup>2</sup>(!)(text:im)-ma a-na  
 13. <sup>1</sup>IdAG-TIN-su-E i-nam-din-ma <sup>1</sup>IdAG-TIN-su-E u<sub>4</sub>-mu<sup>meš</sup>  
 14. ina pa-ni-šú ú-maš-šar ù IM.DUB KI.LAM ú-tur-ru-<sup>2</sup>-ma  
 15. a-na <sup>1</sup>Ba<sup>šá</sup>-d<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU i-nam-din <sup>1</sup>lúmu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>LU-È-ana-ZÁLAG  
 16. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN A LÚ-PA.ŠE<sup>ki</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ba-nu-nu A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 17. A <sup>1</sup>D[a-b]i-bi <sup>1</sup>MU-a A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Na-šir A <sup>1</sup>lúSANGA-<sup>d</sup>INNIN-TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>[i]  
 18. [<sup>1</sup>. . .-M]U A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>IdAG-mu-<sup>1</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-tíq-UD.DA <sup>1</sup>MU-MU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>IdUTU-DÙ  
 19. <sup>1</sup>IdEN-ik-šur A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ú-bar A <sup>1</sup>EN-e-ti<sub>5</sub>-ru <sup>1</sup>IdEN-<sup>1</sup>it-tan<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 20. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> A <sup>1</sup>lúSANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>1</sup>Id<sup>1</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-TIN-su A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>IR<sup>1</sup>[. . . ]  
 21. A <sup>1</sup>lúSANGA-<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>1</sup>IdAG-bul-liṭ-<sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Lu-<sup>1</sup>È<sup>1</sup>-[ana-ZÁLAG]  
 22. <sup>1</sup>EN-šú-nu A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Ri-mut A <sup>1</sup>lúSANGA-<sup>uru</sup>A-g[a-dè<sup>ki</sup>]

- U.E. 23. <sup>Id</sup>EN-DÙ DUB.SAR A <sup>I</sup>Ga-*ḫal* UD.KIB.N[UN<sup>ki</sup>]  
 24. <sup>iti</sup>GAN UD 16<sup>7</sup>.KÁM MU 26.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Da-r[*i-ia-muš*]  
 25. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KU[R]

- L.E. 1. [n]<sup>a4</sup>KIŠIB  
 2. [I<sub>B</sub>]A<sup>šá-d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 3. [A <sup>I</sup>DÙ]<sup>7eš7</sup>-DINGIR  
 (seal impression)

### Translation

- 1–7. Day 13, day 14, day [1]5 of (month) [x]; day 10 of (month) [y]: [total 4 day]s' brewer's preb[end] in the E[*babbar*, temp]le of Šamaš lord of S[*ippar*], which Bēl-uballiṭ, son of I[*qīša*-Marduk, descendant of] Eppēš-ilī, sold to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, [son of . . .]-qaya(?), for 1 mina white silver (as its) fu[ll pric]e—
- 7–10. Should a cla[im a]rise regarding that prebend, and Bēl-uballiṭ does not clear the prebend and does not give it to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi,
- 11–15. Iqīša-Marduk, the father of Bēl-uballiṭ, shall return that 1 mina white silver in its principal amount and give it to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi; and Nabû-balāssu-iqbi shall release the (prebend) days at his disposal, and he shall return the tablet of sale and give it to Iqīša-Marduk.
- 15–22. Witnesses:  
 Lūši-ana-nūri, son of Rīmūt-Bēl, descendant of Amēl-Isin  
 Banūnu, son of Mušēzib-Bēl, descendant of D[āb]jibi  
 Iddinaya, son of Nāšir, descendant of Šangû-Ištar-Bābili  
 [. . .-M]U, son of Nabû-mušētiq-uddē  
 Šuma-iddin, son of Šamaš-ibni  
 Bēl-ikšur, son of Ubār, descendant of Bēl-ēṭir  
 Bēl-ittannu, son of Ardiya, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš  
 Bēl-bullissu, son of [. . .], descendant of Šangû-Šamaš  
 Nabû-bullissu, son of Lūši-[ana-nūri]  
 Bēlšunu, son of Rīmūt, descendant of Šangû-A[*kkad*]
23. Bēl-ibni, scribe, descendant of Gaḫal
- 23–25. Sippa[r], Kislīmu day 16 year 26, Dar[*ius*] king of Babylon, king of the land[s]
- L.E. 1–3. Seal of [Iq]īša-Marduk, [descendant of Epp]ēš-ilī.

**Notes**

- 3: The restoration of *ina Ebabbar bīt Šamaš bēl Sippar* is based on other documents of transactions concerning prebends of Šamaš in Sippar; see MacGinnis, “Neo-Babylonian Prebend Texts,” nos. 1:4, 2:5, and 10:3–4.
- 7: *ragāmu* may be understood in this instance to cover both an appeal against the sale arising from a lien held by a third party and an appeal arising from a claim based on familial property rights (usually denoted by *paqāru*).
- 11: Iqīša-Marduk’s patronymic is not mentioned in this text, but he is doubtless identical to Iqīša-Marduk/Gimil-Šamaš//Epeš-ilī, who appears as a witness in CT 2, 2, and as a transacting party in MacGinnis, “Neo-Babylonian Prebend Texts,” no. 10. CT 2, 2, is the record of a hearing, conducted in year 19 Darius I by the priest and prebendaries of Šamaš of Sippar, concerning the disappearance of a linen undergarment from the god’s wardrobe; Iqīša-Marduk, along with Bēl-rēmāni and Šamaš-našir (of Archive F in this volume), is among the *mār banê* in whose presence the hearing took place (see Introduction to Archive F, p. 177). MacGinnis, “Neo-Babylonian Prebend Texts,” no. 10, dated at Babylon in the reign of Darius I, documents both the adoption of Iqīša-Marduk’s son Bēl-bullissu by Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Rabāšu-ša-Ninurta, and the adopter’s transfer to the adoptee of a prebend in the Ebabbar temple of Šamaš in Sippar.

**Remarks**

This tablet contains supplementary stipulations regarding a transaction that has already taken place: Bēl-uballiṭ’s sale of a prebend to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi. The object of this document is to establish the mutual obligations, on the part of Bēl-uballiṭ’s father, Iqīša-Marduk, and on the part of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, to reverse the sale should Bēl-uballiṭ be unable to clear future claims on the sold prebend or to resolve potential appeals against its sale. The document was sealed by Iqīša-Marduk, the seller’s father, and was probably written at the behest of the buyer, who may have suspected the prebend to be encumbered and may have doubted Bēl-uballiṭ’s financial solvency—and therefore required some guarantee that he would not lose both his money and his purchase.

**Seal Impression (Left Edge)**

Plates 94, 123  
H. 12 mm. W. 14 mm.

Cylinder(?) seal  
Seal of Iqīša-Marduk, descendant of  
Epeš-ilī

Only the upper half of the seal was impressed on the left edge of the tablet. Preserved from the head to just below the waist is a male with bare torso. The head is in left profile; his torso is frontal. He is bearded and his hair is gathered in a chignon at the back of his neck. With both hands he holds to his chest a vessel from which issue two streams of water that flow over his shoulders and down his arms.

*Remarks*

The complete figure on the seal was probably a merman, a creature composed of the upper torso, arms, and head of a man grafted at the waist onto the lower body and tail of a fish: this figure typically holds the vase with streams (see text No. 127 for a complete merman). The motif of the flowing vase is associated with the water god Ea and symbolizes fertility and abundance.

The seal belonged to Iqīša-Marduk, the father of Bēl-uballiṭ, whose sale of a prebend is at issue in this document. As the party with a financial and legal obligation to return the sale price to the buyer should the sale be contested, Iqīša-Marduk impressed his seal on the tablet.

Isolated dark surface deposits are found on the tablet (seen in Plate 123), which partially obscure parts of the seal impression. A sample of this deposit was taken and analyzed by Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy. The results indicate that the deposits consist principally of manganese.

**122.**

MMA 86.11.171

Plate 95

H. 57 mm. W. 78 mm. Th. 30 mm.

Record of return of dowry

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year 27 month 12 day 8

- Obv. 1. 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR <sup>f</sup>IGI-<sup>d</sup>DÙ<sup>tu4</sup>-lu-mur  
 2. <sup>fd</sup>DÙ<sup>tu4</sup>-šū-zib-in-ni <sup>fd</sup>DÙ<sup>tu4</sup>-KI-ia  
 3. PAB 3<sup>ta</sup> LÚ<sup>tu4</sup> u <sup>r</sup>ú(!)<sup>1</sup>-na-a-ta É šá <sup>Id</sup>AG-it-tan-nu  
 4. DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>r<sup>AMAR</sup>.UTU-X<sup>1</sup>-[X] A <sup>lu</sup>Man-di-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>1</sup> a-na nu-dun-né-e  
 5. it-ti <sup>f</sup>GÉME-ia DUMU.SAL-šú a-na <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN-su-E  
 6. DUMU šá <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-ú-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-zib <sup>r</sup>DUMU X-X<sup>1</sup> iq(!)-bu-<sup>2</sup>-i-ma  
 7. ina l[ib-bi] 7 MA.N[A] K[Ù.BABBAR a-n]a <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-ú-še-zib  
 8. AD šá <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.[UTU]-TIN-su-E id-di-nu  
 9. KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> <sup>r</sup>7 MA<sup>1</sup>.NA <sup>r</sup>f<sup>IGI</sup><sup>1</sup>-[<sup>d</sup>DÙ]<sup>tu4</sup><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>lu-mur<sup>1</sup>  
 10. <sup>fd</sup>DÙ<sup>tu4</sup>-šū-zib-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-ni <sup>r</sup>fd<sup>DÙ</sup><sup>1</sup>[<sup>tu4</sup>-KI-ia]
- Lo.E. 11. <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-ú-še-zib ki-i ú-tir
- Rev. 12. a-na <sup>Id</sup>AG-it-tan-nu it-ta-din  
 13. <sup>fd</sup>Na-na-a-KI-ia GÉME šá <sup>f</sup>GÉME-ia  
 14. šá TA É <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN-su-E ta-<sup>r</sup>ah<sup>1</sup>-li-qu  
 15. a-šar ta-an-na-am-ma-ru šá <sup>f</sup>(!)GÉME-ia ši-i  
 16. <sup>lu</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>EN-it-tan-nu DUMU šá <sup>l</sup>IR-ia  
 17. DUMU <sup>lu</sup>KÙ.DIM <sup>l</sup>A-šá-re-du DUMU šá <sup>l</sup>Bul-lu-ṭa-a  
 18. DUMU <sup>l</sup>E-ṭi<sub>5</sub>-ri <sup>Id</sup>Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-MU-MU DUMU šá  
 19. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-za-kir-MU A <sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>É-a <sup>l</sup>Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 20. DUMU šá <sup>l</sup>DUGUD-ia DUMU <sup>l</sup>Ir-a-ni <sup>l</sup>La-qip DUMU šá  
 21. <sup>l</sup>Lib-luṭ DUMU <sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>É-a <sup>l</sup>Mu-ra-šū-ú  
 22. DUMU šá <sup>l</sup>Šad-din-nu DUMU <sup>l</sup>DÙ<sup>es</sup>-DINGIR <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU DUMU šá

- U.E. 23. <sup>1</sup>DUGUD-*ia* DUMU <sup>1</sup>*Ir-a-ni* <sup>1d</sup>*É-a*-MU <sup>1ú</sup>ŠID <<x>>  
 24. DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>*Ú-bal-liṭ-su*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ-*ba-ni*  
 25. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *iti*ŠE UD 8.KÁM MU 27.KÁM <<x>>  
 L.E. 26. <sup>1</sup>*Da-a-ri-ia-muš* LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>  
 27. LUGAL KUR.KUR

### Translation

- 1–6. 10 minas silver, <sup>f</sup>Pān-Banītu-lūmur, <sup>f</sup>Banītu-šūzibinni, <sup>f</sup>Banītu-ittiya—total 3 slaves—and household utensils, which Nabû-ittannu, son of Marduk-[. . .], descendant of Mandidi, promised as dowry with his daughter <sup>f</sup>Amtiya to Marduk-balāssu-iqbi, son of Nergal-ušēzib, descendant of . . . ,  
 6–8. and o[ut of that (amount)], (Nabû-ittannu) had given 7 minas s[ilver t]o Nergal-ušēzib, father of Mar[duk]-balāssu-iqbi,  
 9–12. Nergal-ušēzib has returned that 7 minas silver, <sup>f</sup>Pān-[Banītu]-lūmur, <sup>f</sup>Banītu-šūzibinni, (and) <sup>f</sup>Banī[tu-ittiya] to Nabû-ittannu.  
 13–15. (As for) <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ittiya, the slavewoman of <sup>f</sup>Amtiya who fled from the house of Marduk-balāssu-iqbi, wherever she is found, she belongs to <sup>f</sup>Amtiya.  
 16–23. Witnesses:  
     Bēl-ittannu, son of Ardiya, descendant of Kutimmu  
     Ašarēdu, son of Bulluṭaya, descendant of Ēṭir  
     Zababa-šuma-iddin, son of Marduk-zākir-šumi, descendant of Šangû-Ea  
     Nidintu, son of Kabtiya, descendant of Iranni  
     Lāqīp, son of Libluṭ, descendant of Šangû-Ea  
     Murašû, son of Šaddinnu, descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
     Bēl-iddin, son of Kabtiya, descendant of Iranni  
 23–24. Ea-iddin, scribe, son of Uballissu-Marduk, descendant of Aḫu-bani  
 25–27. Babylon, Addaru day 8 year 27, Darius king of Babylon, king of the lands

### Notes

- 6: Because of the scribe's unusual writing of *iqbû*, the sign sequence *iq-bu-<sup>2</sup>i-ma* was previously read as part of the father of the bride's family name, yielding \*Aḫi-bu<sup>2</sup>i(ma); see Roth, "Widow," p. 21 n. 88.  
 13: <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ittiya is a fourth slavewoman, not part of the dowry, who belongs to <sup>f</sup>Amtiya and whom the latter probably brought with her from her father's household to her husband's household (see *ibid.*, p. 21 and n. 90).

**Remarks**

This tablet documents the return of a woman's dowry from her groom's family to her own family. Nabû-ittannu, the bride's father, had originally promised to give 10 minas silver, three slavewomen, and household utensils as his daughter <sup>f</sup>Amtiya's dowry—quite an ample dowry, it may be noted.<sup>1</sup> All but 3 minas silver had been delivered to the family of the groom, Marduk-balāssu-iqbi. <sup>f</sup>Amtiya's dowry, along with <sup>f</sup>Amtiya herself, now reverts to her paternal household. Since <sup>f</sup>Amtiya's slavewoman <sup>f</sup>Nanaya-ittiya (l. 13) fled from Marduk-balāssu-iqbi's house, <sup>f</sup>Amtiya must have been living with her husband, indicating that the bride and groom had not merely been betrothed to each other but had already established their marriage in a conjugal household. M. Roth conjectures further that the marriage ended due to the death of the husband, because it is his father, Nergal-ušēzib, who returns the dowry, and that the marriage ended childless, otherwise the disposition of the dowry would have been made in favor of <sup>f</sup>Amtiya's and Marduk-balāssu-iqbi's children.<sup>2</sup>

1. Compare the dowries discussed in Roth, "Dowries," and the silver component of several dowries in M. T. Roth, "The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry," *AfO* 36–37 (1989–90), pp. 3–6.
2. See Roth, "Widow," pp. 21–22.

**123.**

MMA 86.11.179

Fragment

Plate 96

Achaemenid period, Babylon

H. 40 mm. W. 43 mm. Th. 30 mm.

Darius I, year [32(?)] month 1 day [x]

- Obv. 1. *ka-a-ri šá* <sup>uru</sup>ΓKa<sup>1</sup>-[a-ri-<sup>d</sup>Taš-me-tu<sub>4</sub>(?) . . . ]  
 2. *šá* šU<sup>II</sup> Id<sup>Γ</sup>É<sup>1</sup>-[a- . . . ]  
 3. *šá* <sup>I</sup>MU-a DUMU *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AG-ΓGIN<sup>1</sup>-[x DUMU <sup>I</sup>. . . ina(?) UGU(?) <sup>I</sup>. . . DUMU *šá*]  
 4. <sup>I</sup>Ha-ba-šir A <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi Γx<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 5. *ina* <sup>iti</sup>ŠE UD 15.KÁM MU 31.KÁM <sup>Γ</sup>I<sup>1</sup>[Da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR . . . ]  
 6. <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar DUMU *šá* <sup>Id</sup>É-a-lu-mur [. . . ]  
 7. <sup>II</sup>Γ<sup>d</sup>É-a-ka<sup>1</sup>-šir a-Γna<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)
- Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)
- 1'. *šá* <sup>I</sup>At-Γkal-ana-<sup>d</sup>Γ[. . . ]  
 2'. *šá* ul-tu UD 1.KÁM *šá* <sup>iti</sup>ŠE a-di UD 10+[x.KÁM *šá* <sup>iti</sup>x . . . pu-ut(?) *šá*(?)]  
 3'. *la i-rag-gu-mu* <sup>I</sup>Ú-bar na-ši <sup>Γ</sup>Iá<sup>1</sup>[mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>. . . DUMU *šá* <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 4'. DUMU <sup>I</sup>Nu-ħa-šú <sup>Id</sup>30-ia DUMU *šá* <sup>I</sup>[. . . DUMU <sup>I</sup>. . . <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 5'. DUMU *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÛRU DUMU(!) Γx<sup>1</sup> [. . . <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 6'. DUMU *šá* <sup>Id</sup>É-a-lu-mur [DUMU <sup>I</sup>. . . <sup>I</sup>. . . DUMU *šá* <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 7'. DUMU <sup>I</sup>E-gi-bi <sup>I</sup>[. . . DUMU *šá* <sup>I</sup>. . . DUMU <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 8'. <sup>Id</sup>EN-Γx-x-x<sup>1</sup> [<sup>I</sup>úšID DUMU *šá* <sup>I</sup>. . . DUMU <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 U.E. 9'. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>BÁR [UD x.KÁM MU 32(?)KÁM]  
 10'. <sup>I</sup>Da-ri-ia-[muš LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR]

**Translation**

- 1–4. The harbor dues of Kār-Tašmētu(?) . . .], which is under the authority of E[a- . . ., . . .] which/owed to Iddinaya, son of Nabû-mukîn-[. . ., descendant of . . ., charged against(?) . . ., son of] Ḫabašīru, descendant of Egibi. [. . .]
- 5–7. In the month of Addaru on day 15 year 31, [Darius king of Babylon and the lands . . .] Ubār, son of Ea-lūmur, [descendant of . . .] Ea-kāšir t[o . . .]  
(break)

Rev.

- 1'–3'. which/belonging to Atkal-ana-[. . .] which from day 1 of the month of Addāru until day 10+[x . . .] Ubār [guar]antees that he shall not lodge a complaint.
- 3'–7'. [Witnesses]:  
 [. . .], son of . . .], descendant of Nuḫašu  
 Sīnia, son of [. . ., descendant of . . .]  
 [. . .], son of Marduk-šuma-ušur, descendant of [. . .]  
 [. . .], son of Ea-lūmur, [descendant of . . .]  
 [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of Egibi  
 [. . ., son of . . ., descendant of . . .]
- 8'. Bēl-. . ., [scribe, son of . . ., descendant of . . .]
- 9'–10'. Babylon, Nisannu [day x year 32(?)], Dari[us king of Babylon and the lands]

**Notes**

- 1: On *kāru* in the meaning “harbor dues,” see text No. 74.

Kār-Tašmētu is restored based on this text’s prosopographic connection to VS 5, 66 (see Remarks).

- Rev. 9': The month in the date formula is Nisannu, the first month of the year, and the dates mentioned in the text (ll. 5 and rev. 2') are in Addaru, the last month of the year. It is likely that the document is dated in the first month of the year following year 31 mentioned in l. 5; the year date of the tablet is thus restored as 32.

**Remarks**

This fragment is the upper-left corner of a rather large tablet of fine clay. At least three-quarters of the tablet is missing, and it is not clear what type of document it was.

In VS 5, 66, dated at Babylon in year 5 of Darius I, Ḫabašīru, son of Bēl-rēmāni, descendant of Egibi, leased a field located in Kār-Tašmētu from Iddin-Nabû, son of Nabû-bāni-zēri, descendant of Nappāḫu. The lessee in VS 5, 66, is probably the father of the debtor in the present text, which is dated approximately one generation later. If this identification is correct, text No. 123 is to be connected to the archive of Iddin-Nabû//Nappāḫu and his son Šellebi (Archive G).



## 124.

MMA 86.11.324

Plate 96

H. 43 mm. W. 40 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Deposition/record of oath

Achaemenid period, Babylon

Darius I, year [x] month 8 day 5

- Obv. 1. <sup>Id</sup>EN-[x x] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>DUB-NUMUN [A<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 2. *ina* <sup>d</sup>EN [<sup>d</sup>AG *u* <sup>Id</sup>D]a-ri-ia-m[uš LUGAL . . . ]  
 3. a-na <sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-[x x DUM]U-šú šá <sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-[. . . *it-te-me ki-i*]  
 4. KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR <sup>r</sup>ú(?)<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 5. *il-qí-i* <sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 6. <sup>lú</sup>PAN a-ki-[i . . . TA(?) UD x.KÁM šá]  
 7. [<sup>iti</sup>GU<sub>4</sub> MU 7.KÁM EN <sup>r</sup>UD(?)<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 8. [x] <sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup> *nam(?) ták-k*[a . . . ]  
 Rev. 9. [<sup>lú</sup>mu]-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup> [DUMU-šú šá<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 10. [A<sup>1</sup>]<sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>-sag-íl-a-a <sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 11. [DUM]U-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>Si-lim-<sup>d</sup>EN A <sup>Id</sup>DÙ-DINGIR [<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 12. DUMU-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>DI.KUD-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-<sup>r</sup>MU A<sup>1</sup> [<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 13. <sup>r</sup>X-x-x-x<sup>1</sup> DUMU-šú šá <sup>r</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-[. . . A<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 14. <sup>Id</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR DUMU-[šú šá<sup>1</sup>. . . A<sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 15. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>APIN UD <sup>r</sup>5<sup>1</sup>. [KÁM MU x.KÁM]  
 16. <sup>Id</sup>Da-a-ri-ia-muš L[UGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *u* KUR.KUR]  
 L.E. (incised mark)

**Translation**

1–8. Bēl-[. . .], son of Šāpik-zēri, [descendant of . . ., swore] by Bēl, [Nabû, and D]ari[us king . . .] to [. . ., son of [. . ., . . . that] white silver [. . .] he took [. . .] the archer, according to(?) [. . . from day x of] the month of Araḥsamnu year 7 until day [x . . .] . . .

9–13. [Wit]nesses:

Nabû-šuma-iškun, [son of . . ., descendant of] Esagilaya  
 [. . ., s]on of Silim-Bēl, descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
 [. . .], son of Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin [descendant of . . .]  
 . . ., son of [. . ., descendant of . . .]

14. Mušēzib-Bēl, scribe, son [of . . ., descendant of . . .]

15–16. Babylon, Araḥsamnu day 5 [year x,] Darius k[ing of Babylon and the lands]

**Notes**

3: For the restoration of *itteme kī*, cf. text No. 82:2–3.

L.E.: The tablet has a half-moon-shaped mark incised on its left edge.



**Seal Impression (Upper Edge, bottom)**

Plates 97, 124

Cylinder seal

H. 4 mm. W. 7 mm.

Seal of [ . . . ]

All that is preserved of the impression is the top of a male head facing right.

**Remarks**

Text No. 125 is dated to the reign of Artaxerxes. The fact that at least one of the three seal impressions was made from a cylinder may point to a date in the reign of Artaxerxes I rather than Artaxerxes II. During the time of Artaxerxes I, cylinder seals, stamp seals, and metal rings were all used, although rings were less common than stone cylinder and stamp seals. By the time of Artaxerxes II, rings were used almost to the exclusion of cylinder and stamp seals.<sup>1</sup> Thus the presence of the cylinder seal on this tablet may support a date in the reign of the earlier Artaxerxes.

1. Bregstein, *Seal Use*, pp. 294–95.

**126.**

MMA 1983.135.3

Promissory note for dates

Plates 97, 98, 124

Achaemenid period, Nippur

H. 62 mm. W. 77 mm. Th. 30 mm.

Darius II, year [1(?)] month 7 day [x]

- Obv. 1. 90 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá <sup>Id</sup>En-líl-MU-MU DUMU šá <sup>I</sup>Mu-ra-šú-ú  
 2. ina muḥ-ḫi <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU A šá <<(f)>> <sup>I</sup>Šik-ku-ú ina <sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub>  
 3. MU 1.KÁM <sup>I</sup>Da-ri-ia-a-muš LUGAL ZÚ.LUM.MA-<sup>3</sup>  
 4. 90 GUR ina <sup>giš</sup>ma-ši-ḫu šá <sup>Id</sup>En-líl-MU-MU ina <sup>uru</sup>Ha-ṭal-lu-ú-a  
 5. i-nam-din A.ŠÀ-šú zaq-pu u KA šul-pu  
 6. É <sup>giš</sup>PAN-šú šá GÚ ÍD-GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A šá ina <sup>uru</sup>Ha-tal-lu-ú-a  
 7. maš-kan ZÚ.LUM.MA-<sup>3</sup> 90 GUR ina IGI <sup>Id</sup>En-líl-MU-MU  
 8. <sup>lú</sup>TUK<sup>ú</sup> šá-nam-ma a-na muḥ-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ  
 9. a-di UGU šá <sup>Id</sup>En-líl-MU-MU ra-šu-us-su  
 10. in-neṭ-ṭi-ru
- Rev. 11. ina IGI <sup>I</sup>EN-šú-nu u <sup>I</sup>Iš-ta-bu-za-nu <sup>lú</sup>DI.KUD<sup>meš</sup>  
 12. šá ÍD-<sup>d</sup>30  
 13. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I</sup>MU-MU DUMU šá <sup>I</sup>Tat-tan-nu  
 14. <sup>Id</sup>En-líl-GIN-A A šá <sup>I</sup>Ka-šir <sup>I</sup>Im-bi-ía  
 15. A šá <sup>I</sup>Ki-din <sup>Id</sup>MAŠ-MU A šá <sup>I</sup>Na-din <sup>I</sup>A-a A šá <sup>Id</sup>MAŠ-MU

16. <sup>1</sup>Na-din A šá <sup>1</sup>GIŠ.MI-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>1</sup>Ši-*ta*-<sup>2</sup> A šá  
 17. <sup>1</sup>d<sub>AG</sub>-*da-a-nu*  
 (blank line)  
 18. <sup>1</sup>[<sup>ú</sup>ŠID I] <sup>1</sup>d<sub>MAŠ</sub>-*ga-mil* <sup>1</sup>A šá <sup>1</sup>Du-*um-muq* EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup><sub>DU</sub><sub>6</sub>  
 19. UD [X.KÁM MU 1(?).KÁM] <sup>1</sup>D<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup>-*ri-ia-a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR

- U.E. 1. <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>KIŠIB  
 (seal impression)  
 2. <sup>1</sup>Iš-*ta-bu-za-nu*  
 3. <sup>1</sup>ú<sub>DI.KUD</sub> šá ÍD-<sup>d</sup>30

- L.E. 1. <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>KIŠIB  
 (seal impression)  
 2. <sup>1</sup>EN-šú-*nu* <sup>1</sup>ú<sub>DI.KUD</sub>  
 3. šá ÍD-<sup>d</sup>30

### Translation

- 1–2. 90 *kur* dates, owed to Enlil-šuma-iddin, son of Murašû, by Bêl-iddin, son of Šikkû.  
 2–5. He shall deliver that 90 *kur* dates, in the measure of Enlil-šuma-iddin, in the month of Tašrîtu year 1, Darius the king, in (the town) Ḫaṭallûa.  
 5–7. His planted and cultivated field, (which is) his bow-fief on the bank of the Kutha Canal in Ḫaṭallûa, is the security for that 90 *kur* dates, at the disposal of Enlil-šuma-iddin.  
 8–10. No other creditor shall exercise any rights over (the security) until Enlil-šuma-iddin is paid his credit claim.  
 11–12. In the presence of: Bêlšunu and Ištabūzanu, judges of the Sîn Canal.  
 13–17. Witnesses:  
     Šuma-iddin, son of Tattannu  
     Enlil-mukîn-apli, son of Kāšir  
     Imbiya, son of Kidin  
     Ninurta-iddin, son of Nādin  
     Aplaya, son of Ninurta-iddin  
     Nādin, son of (Ina)-šilli-Ninurta  
     Šiṭā, son of Nabû-dayyānu  
 18. S[cribe]: Ninurta-gāmil, son of Dummuq  
 18–19. Nippur, Tašrîtu day [x year 1(?)], Darius king of the lands  
 U.E. Seal of Ištabūzanu, judge of the Sîn Canal  
 L.E. Seal of Bêlšunu, judge of the Sîn Canal

*Notes*

- 2: The gender of the person named Šikkû is uncertain. The scribe began writing the creditor's patronymic with the feminine determinative and then added the masculine determinative before the name. The word *šikkû*, "mongoose," can be either masculine or feminine (see *NBN*, p. 180, and *CAD Š/2*, pp. 433–35, s.v. *šikkû*); although descent from a woman is on occasion attested from the Neo-Babylonian through the Hellenistic period (see E. von Dassow, "Archival Documents of Borsippa Families," *Aula Orientalis* 12 (1994), pp. 119–20 and n. 69, and R. Wallenfels, *Hellenistic Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection I. Cuneiform Tablets*, AUWE 19, p. 6 n. 28), there are no known examples in the Murašû archive of tracing descent from a woman.
- 4: The transliteration of Ḥaṭallûa with a *ṭ* is based on numerous spellings of the place name with DA (see RGTC 8, p. 157, and the writing <sup>uru</sup>Ḥa-DA-la-<sup>3</sup>, Ni. 498:2 [Veysel Donbaz and Matthew W. Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû Texts* (Istanbul, 1997), no. 58] and <sup>uru</sup>Ḥa-DA-al-lu-ú-a, Ni. 507:20 [Donbaz and Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, no. 16]). Reading and references courtesy of M. Stolper.
- 5: The land referred to in this text was a long, narrow plot with a short side fronting on the Kutha Canal. The qualification *zaqpu*, "planted," denotes planting with date palms on the short side of the property, and *pî šulpi*, "cultivated," refers to cultivation of barley in the long downslope part of the field. See van Driel, *BSA* 4, p. 131, and text Nos. 7, 85, and 92.
- 6: The Kutha Canal flowed to Nippur from the Euphrates, north of Babylon; see Cardascia, *Murašû*, p. 2 n. 1 and p. 18, and RGTC 8, pp. 374–75.
- 13–18: All of the witnesses and the scribe are well attested in the Murašû archive; see the personal name indexes in BE 9 and 10 and in Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*.
- 19: The activity of Enlil-šuma-iddin, the creditor, is attested from year 20 of Artaxerxes I through year 2 of Darius II (Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*, p. 19); this chronological range and the attested dates for the judges Ištābūzanu and Bēlšunu (see Remarks on the seal impressions) indicates that the tablet's missing year date was most likely year 1 of Darius II.

*Remarks*

This tablet pertains to the archive of the Murašû "business firm," the largest known private archive from the Neo- to Late Babylonian period after that of the Egibis. The Murašû firm did business in Nippur and its environs during the second half of the fifth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The present document is a promissory note for dates owed by an otherwise unattested debtor, Bēl-iddin, son of Šikkû, to Enlil-šuma-iddin, son of Murašû, one of the two most prominent members of the Murašû family. Delivery of the dates was due in Tašrītu, the same month in which the promissory note was issued, and the debtor was required to pledge his bow-fief as security for payment.

***Seal Impression (Upper Edge)***

Plates 98, 124  
H. 11 mm. W. 14 mm.

Stamp seal  
Seal of Ištābūzanu, judge of the Sîn Canal

A sphinx approaching from the left attacks a quadruped, possibly a horse or goat. Crushed under the extended left foreleg of the sphinx, the quadruped crumples to the ground with its legs folded beneath its body.

***Remarks***

The canal judge Ištābūzanu appeared in thirty-three texts in the Murašû archive of Nippur. He applied his seal to thirty-one of the texts dating between the first and second year of Darius II (thirty of these texts date to the first year of Darius II, and one dates to his second year).<sup>2</sup> As here, Ištābūzanu appeared in those texts with other canal judges, usually with both Bēlšunu (see below) and a judge named Umardātu. Although the presence of the canal judges during a transaction must have had a solemn legal function, the exact nature of their role is not clear.<sup>3</sup>

***Seal Impression (Left Edge)***

Plates 97, 124  
H. 11 mm. W. 12 mm.

Stamp seal  
Seal of Bēlšunu, judge of the Sîn Canal

A hero in typical Babylonian costume faces right, holding a short sword downward in his right hand and clasping a goat to his breast with his left hand. The hero wears a short kilt underneath a long skirt that bares his forward knee. The hero's left arm is wrapped around the neck of the goat. The goat's body faces the hero, but its head is turned away. The crescent moon is behind the hero's shoulder.

***Remarks***

The canal judge Bēlšunu appeared in thirty-four extant texts from the Murašû archive of Nippur. He applied this seal to thirty-two of the texts that date between the accession and the fourth year of Darius II (thirty of these texts date to the first year of Darius II, one dates to his accession year, and one dates to his fourth year).<sup>4</sup> As here, Bēlšunu appeared in those texts with other canal judges, usually with both Ištābūzanu (see above) and a judge named Umardātu.

1. The archive has been analyzed by Cardascia, *Murašû*, and Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*; see also G. van Driel's review of Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*, in "The Murašûs in Context," *JESHO* 32 (1989), pp. 203–29.

2. Bregstein, *Seal Use*, pp. 122–30 and cat. no. 543.

3. See Cardascia, *Murašû*, pp. 20–22.

4. Bregstein, *Seal Use*, pp. 122–30 and cat. no. 120.

## 127.

MMA 86.11.133

Plates 99, 100, 125

H. 72 mm. W. 87 mm. Th. 29 mm.

Renunciation of claim

Achaemenid period, GN not preserved

Darius II, year 2 month 6(?) day 11

- Obv. 1. *mim-ma di-i-ni ù ra-ga-mu šá* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP  
 2. DUMU *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-SUR<sup>ru</sup> *a-na muḫ-ḫi* 1½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR  
 3. *ku-um ši-mi si-im-ma-nu-ú šá* 3 <sup>GI</sup>meš  
 4. *šá* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP *A-šú šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-SUR<sup>ru</sup> *a-na*  
 5. <sup>1</sup>*Da-aḫ-ḫu-ú-a* DUMU *šá* <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>*Ba-ba*<sub>6</sub>  
 6. <sup>Γ</sup>*id<sup>1</sup>-din-nu it-ti* <sup>f</sup>GÉME-<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-*ia* DUMU.SAL  
 7. *šá* <sup>1</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>EN *šá ina pa-na-ma* <sup>Γ</sup>*si-im<sup>1</sup>-ma-nu-ú*  
 8. *šá* <sup>Γ</sup>GI<sup>1</sup>meš 3 <sup>1</sup>*La-ba-ši a-na* <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP  
 9. *id-din-nu ia-a-nu pu-ut di-i-ni u ra-ga-mu*  
 10. *šá* <sup>1</sup>*La-ba-ši* A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-KAM *šá ana muḫ-ḫi* KÙ.BABBAR-*a*<sub>4</sub>  
 11. 1½ MA.NA *ši-i-m[u]* *si-im-ma-nu-ú šá* <sup>GI</sup>meš  
 12. 3 <sup>Γ</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-*ti* <sup>f</sup>GÉME-<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-*ia* *la i-rag-gu-mu*  
 13. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP *na-ši*
- Rev. 14. <sup>1</sup>*mu-Γkin-nu* <sup>Id</sup>EN-KAM<sup>1</sup> A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>*Ib(?)*-<sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-x  
 15. <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-<sup>Γ</sup>MU<sup>1</sup> [A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>x]-<sup>TIN</sup>-*su* <sup>Γ</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>1</sup> [A]-šú *šá*  
 16. <sup>Id</sup>Γ<sub>x</sub> x<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 17. <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-<sup>Γ</sup>x-x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ] <sup>Γ</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 18. <sup>1</sup>*Mu-Γ*x x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ] <sup>Γ</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup> [x]  
 19. <sup>1</sup>*Mu-Γ*x<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ] <sup>Γ</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 (blank line)  
 (blank line)  
 20. <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-PAP <sup>1</sup>šID DUMU *šá* <sup>Id</sup>Γ<sup>EN</sup><sup>1</sup>-[x (x)] <sup>Γ</sup>x x x x<sup>1</sup>  
 21. *šá-tir ṭup-pi* A-šú *šá* <sup>Id</sup>EN-<sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[. . .]-<sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>KIN(?)<sup>1</sup>  
 22. UD 11.KÁ[M] MU 2.KÁM [<sup>1</sup>*Da-ri-ia-muš* LUGAL KUR.KU]R
- U.E. 1. <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>KIŠIB  
 (seal impression)  
 2. <sup>Id</sup>EN-<sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 3. <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>KIŠIB  
 (seal impression)  
 4. <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN
- L.E. 1. <sup>Γ</sup><sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>KIŠIB<sup>1</sup>  
 (seal impression)  
 2. <sup>Id</sup>EN-KAM

3. <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>KIŠIB  
(seal impression)
4. <sup>Id</sup>IDIM-MU
- R.E. 1. <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>ΓKIŠIB<sup>1</sup>  
(seal impression)
2. <sup>I</sup>Tat-tan-nu
3. <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>KIŠIB  
(seal impression)
4. <sup>I</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU-
5. <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU

### Translation

- 1–9. Marduk-nāšir, son of Bēl-ētir, has no lawsuit or claim against <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bēltiya, daughter of Mušēzib-Bēl, concerning 1½ minas silver, as the price of *simmānû* of the 3-reed plot that Marduk-nāšir, son of Bēl-ētir, sold to Daḥḥūa, son of Arad-Bāba, which *simmānû* of the 3-reed plot Lābāši had previously sold to Marduk-nāšir.
- 9–13. Marduk-nāšir assumes responsibility for any lawsuit or claim on the part of Lābāši, son of Bēl-ēreš, concerning that 1½ minas silver, the price of *simmānû* of the 3-reed plot, (namely that Lābāši) shall not raise a claim against <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bēltiya.
- 14–19. Witnesses:  
 Bēl-ēreš, son of Ibri(?)-. . .  
 Ea-iddin, [son of . . .]-bullissu  
 Iddin-Bēl, [son] of [. . .]  
 (rest fragmentary)
- 20–21. Marduk-nāšir, scribe, son of Bēl-. . .; . . ., the writer of the tablet, son of Bēl-[. . .]
- 21–22. [GN], Ulūlu(?) day 11 year 2, [Darius king of the land]s

- U.E. Seal of Bēl-[. . .]  
 Seal of Iddin-Bēl
- L.E. Seal of Bēl-ēreš  
 Seal of Ea-iddin
- R.E. Seal of Tattannu  
 Seal of Aḥḥē-iddin-Marduk



*Notes*

- 3, 7, 11: In the Neo-Babylonian period the term *simṣānū* came to be used for all types of working or raw materials (see *CAD* I, p. 194, s.v. *isimṣānu* [2b]); this usage does not suggest a suitable meaning. In the present text as well as in an Old Babylonian document, TLB 1/1, 60:8 (cited in *CAD* I, p. 194, s.v. *isimṣānu* [2a] ), a small plot is noted in connection with *isimṣānu*.
- 4ff.: In the late fifth century, the writing DUMU/A *šá* supplanted DUMU/A-*šú šá* as the customary way to express filiation from the father; with few exceptions, the use of family names ceased during this period (see text No. 126; cf. text No. 128). In ll. 2, 5, and 20 the scribe wrote DUMU *šá*, whereas in ll. 4, 10, 14–15, and 21 he used the older writing A-*šú šá*.
- 14–19: Six individuals sealed the tablet; more than six witnesses seem to be recorded in the witness list (see Remarks on seal impressions). After the beginning of l. 16 it is impossible to know which signs belong to personal names and which to patronymics. Bēl-ēreš, the first witness, may be the father of Lābāši, the previous owner of the sold land at issue and a potential plaintiff (ll. 8 and 10).
- 20–21: Other tablets in which more than one person is named as scribe include *Nbn.* 356, which has two *tupšarrus*, and *Cyr.* 160/161, which has four; see also text No. 130, n. to ll. 31–33.
- 22: On the dating of text Nos. 127 and 128 to the reign of Darius II instead of Darius I, see the Remarks on the seal impressions in text No. 128.

*Remarks*

This document resulted from the settlement of a claim raised against the sale of a small piece of urban real estate. A previous owner, Lābāši, had sold the plot of land to Marduk-nāšir, who later sold it to Daḥḥūa. Subsequent to Marduk-nāšir's resale of the land, <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bēltiya apparently contested the transfer of the property. In this text Marduk-nāšir and <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bēltiya have reached an agreement that required Marduk-nāšir to settle any potential claim raised by the previous owner Lābāši against <sup>f</sup>Amat-Bēltiya on account of the silver described as the property's price.

Daḥḥūa, son of Arad-Bāba, also appears in the next document, text No. 128, as the creditor for rent due on a field lease.

*Seal Impression (Upper Edge, top)*

Plates 100, 125

H. 20 mm. W. 9 mm.

Stamp seal

Seal of Bēl-ittannu(?)

A counterclockwise whirl of bull protomes radiate from a central node.

**Remarks**

Only two of the original three bulls are preserved. The whirl motif of three animal protomes, a compositional scheme known from the second millennium, was revived in Achaemenid glyptic; it was used almost exclusively in the Nippur area. The design may have been influenced by a similar device, the triskeles, that was commonly used on the reverse of some Greek coinage from Achaemenid Anatolia.<sup>1</sup>

**Seal Impression (Upper Edge, bottom)**

Plates 100, 125  
H. 21 mm. W. 19 mm.

Cylinder seal  
Seal of Iddin-Bēl

A hero in typical Babylonian costume faces right, holding a short sword downward in his right hand and grasping a rampant bull by the horn with his raised left hand. The hero wears a short kilt underneath a long skirt that bares his forward knee. The bull is rampant to the right with his head reversed to face the hero.

**Remarks**

The most popular motif in the Achaemenid-period glyptic of Mesopotamia was that of the hero in contest with a single or paired animal(s) or a fantastic winged creature.

**Seal Impression (Left Edge, top)**

Plates 99, 125  
H. 19 mm. W. 21 mm.

Stamp seal  
Seal of Bēl-ēreš

A winged, human-headed scorpion monster wearing a peaked cap faces a merman. The scorpion monster is composed of the head of a bearded man; the body, wing, and long, straight legs of an ostrich-like bird; and a curving, knobby scorpion tail. He stands on a short ground line. The merman has the upper torso of a man and the lower body, fins, and tail of a fish. The merman, whose hands are clasped together in front of his chest, hovers above a ground line composed of three slightly wavy lines, evocative of water. The crescent moon is above and between the two composite figures.

**Seal Impression (Left Edge, bottom)**

Plates 99, 125

H. 15 mm. W. 16 mm.

Stamp seal

Seal of Ea-iddin

A bearded worshiper with his right arm raised faces an altar or platform surmounted by divine symbols. The worshiper wears an ankle-length robe that is belted at the waist and holds his open hand before his mouth in a gesture of supplication. The altar is shaped like a brick building facade with buttresses and recesses. It is surmounted by a snake-dragon from whose back issues an agricultural spade. There is a stylized winged disk in between the figures.

**Remarks**

Scenes depicting a worshiper opposite an altar or monster were very common in the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid periods.<sup>2</sup> A magically protective monster, the snake-dragon (Akk. *mušḫuššu*, or “furious snake”) has horns, a snake’s body and neck, and the forelegs of a lion. Both the snake-dragon and the spade (Akk. *marru*) that issues from its back are attributes of Marduk, the city god of Babylon. The motif of the winged disk—a circle or sun from which issue a pair of wings and pendant tail feathers—was borrowed from Egypt in the second millennium B.C. and was a popular secondary element on Assyrian and Babylonian seals.

**Seal Impression (Right Edge, top)**

Plates 99, 125

H. 23 mm. W. 15 mm.

Cylinder seal

Seal of Tattannu

A worshiper faces a stele with a rounded top surmounted by a moon crescent. The right part of the scene was rolled twice, with the result that the figure of the worshiper is blurred and his raised arm appears doubled.

**Remarks**

The cylinder seal was very large; the narrow tablet edge accommodated only the top half of the design.

***Seal Impression (Right Edge, bottom)***

Plates 99, 125  
H. 21 mm. W. 15 mm.

Cylinder seal  
Seal of Aḫḫē-iddin-Marduk

A bearded worshiper offers a cup in his raised right hand to a scorpion monster. The worshiper wears a belted robe and a variant of the peaked cap not typically worn by humans.

***Remarks***

The complete scene on the cylinder was too tall and wide for the space available on the tablet edge. The bottom of the seal and the back half of the scorpion monster were not rolled on the tablet.

***General Remarks***

As was typical of Achaemenid sealing practices, the six seal impressions on this tablet all belonged to witnesses. Not all of these people, however, were named in the text's list of witnesses. Bēl-ēreš, Ea-iddin, and Iddin-Bēl appear on the list, but at least two of the other three sealers do not (one personal name, however, is broken and may have been one of these three sealers). The general trend in the Achaemenid and succeeding Seleucid periods was for an increasing number of witnesses to be present at the drawing up and sealing of a contract. Frequently there was insufficient space on the tablet to list all of them, and the scribe would identify some of the men present by naming them on the seal captions rather than including them in the witness list.

1. Bregstein, *Seal Use*, pp. 86–87.
2. See R. Zettler, "On the Chronological Range of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Seals," *JNES* 38 (1979), pp. 257–70; E. Klengel-Brandt, "Siegelabrollungen aus dem Babylon der Spätzeit," *Oriens Antiquus* 8 (1969), pp. 329–36. If the dating of the present text to year 2 of Darius II is correct (see n. to l. 22, above), then this tablet may contain the latest dated example of this type of seal impression.

## 128.

MMA 86.11.152

Plates 101, 125

H. 65 mm. W. 80 mm. Th. 30 mm.

Promissory note for barley

Achaemenid period, Nār-Madānu

Darius II, year 5 month 1 day 26

- Obv. 1. [5 GUR ŠE.BAR *ba*] *b-ba-ni-tu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>giš</sup>BÁN A.ŠÀ  
 2. ʾšá ŠE<sup>1</sup>.NU[MUN *šá ina mu*] *h-ḫi* ʾD-<sup>d</sup>DI.KUD *šá ina pa-na-at*  
 3. KÁ.GAL ʾdURAŠ<sup>1</sup> *šá* ÚS.SA.DU ŠE.NUMUN  
 4. *šá* <sup>1</sup>*Sa-ma-ak-ku* <sup>lú</sup>DUMU É  
 5. *šá* <sup>1</sup>*Da-ʾah*<sup>1</sup>-*ḫu-ú-a* DUMU ʾIR-<sup>d</sup>KÁ  
 6. *ina muḫ-ḫi* ʾI<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-SUM.NA DUMU <sup>1</sup>*I-sin-nu-na-a-a*  
 7. *ina* ʾiti<sup>1</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> MU 5.KÁM <sup>1</sup>*Da-ri-ia-muš* ʾLUGAL(!)<sup>1</sup>  
 8. ʾŠE<sup>1</sup>.BAR-*a*<sub>4</sub> 5 GUR *ga-mir-tu*<sub>4</sub>  
 9. *ina-an-din e-lat* 2 GUR ŠE.BAR IGI<sup>tu</sup><sub>4</sub>  
 10. *šá ni-is-ḫu šá ina* IGI-šú ù 20 *ka-ša-ri*
- Lo.E. 11. *šá ti-ib-nu šá ina* IGI-šú
- Rev. 12. <sup>lú</sup>*mu-kin-nu* ʾdEN-SIPA-šú-*nu* A-šú *šá*  
 13. ʾdEN-TIN-*su* ʾdEN-ku-šur-šú A-šú *šá*  
 14. <sup>1</sup>*Ni-din-tu*<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>EN ʾd*Na-na-a*-MU  
 15. A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>*I-sin-nu-na-a* ŠEŠ *šá* ʾdEN-MU  
 16. *ina a-šá-bi šá* ʾGÉME-<sup>d</sup>*Um-ma-a*  
 17. AMA *šá* ʾd*Na-na-a*-MU  
 18. ʾGIN<sup>1</sup>-NUMUN <sup>lú</sup>šID A-šú ʾšá<sup>1</sup> ʾI<sup>1</sup>EN-šú-*nu*  
 19. uruʾID-<sup>d</sup>DI.KUD ʾiti<sup>1</sup>BÁR UD 26.KÁM  
 20. MU 5.[KÁM <sup>1</sup>*Da-a-r*] *i-ia-a-muš* LUGAL
- 20a. KUR.KUR
- L.E. 1. ʾna<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>KIŠIB  
 2. ʾdEN-MU  
 (seal impression)

**Translation**

- 1–6. [5 *kur*] good quality [barley], the fixed lease payment for the arable fie[ld that is o]n the Madānu Canal which is in front of the Uraš Gate, (and) that is adjacent to the arable field of Samakku the prince(?), owed to Daḫḫūa, son of Arad-Bāba, by Bēl-iddin, son of Isinnunaya.
- 7–9. In the month of Simānu year 5, Darius the king, he shall deliver that 5 *kur* barley in full.
- 9–11. Separate from the previous 2 *kur* barley, which is at his (Bēl-iddin's) disposal for expenses(?), and 20 bundles of straw, which are at his disposal.
- 12–15. Witnesses:  
 Bēl-rēʾūšunu, son of Bēl-bullissu  
 Bēl-kušuršu, son of Nidinti-Bēl  
 Nanaya-iddin, son of Isinnunaya, brother of Bēl-iddin

- 16–17. In the presence of <sup>f</sup>Amat-Ummaya, mother of Nanaya-iddin.  
 18. Mukīn-zēri, scribe, son of Bēlšunu  
 19–20a. Nār-Madānu, Nisannu day 26 year 5, [Dar]ius king of the lands

### Notes

- 2–3: On the proximity of the Madānu Canal to the Uraš Gate in the south of Babylon, see text No. 117, n. to ll. Rev. 1–2. Part of this canal apparently lay east of Babylon, since a “Gate of the Madānu Canal” existed in the eastern section of the outer wall built by Nebuchadnezzar II (George, *BTT*, pp. 137–39). However, here the description of the field specifies that it was located on the part of the Madānu Canal flowing near the Uraš Gate, placing it south of Babylon on the east bank of the Euphrates branch that bisected the city.
- 4: The term *mār bīti* had two separate usages in Babylonian Achaemenid documents: “prince” and “agent” (Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*, p. 304; Cardascia, *Murašû*, pp. 11–12; Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen*, p. 60 n. 5 and p. 90). Since an “agent” would usually be identified as an agent of someone, *mār bīti* (*ša*) PN, Samakku *mār bīti* is more likely to be a prince.  
 No Achaemenid prince by this name is attested elsewhere so far; several Iranian etymologies are possible for the name Samakku, which would appear to be a hypocoristic in *-ka* (M. Stolper, personal communication).
- 10: *nishu* here may mean “expenses” or “withdrawal” (*CAD* N/2, p. 268, s.v. *nishu* A [5b]). See, for example, *Nbk.* 402:4 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 47; cf. *Nbn.* 276:5 [Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 148]).

### Remarks

This tablet documents Bēl-iddin’s debt of barley as the fixed payment on a field lease. Dahhūa, son of Arad-Bāba, who appears in text No. 127 as the purchaser of real estate, is the creditor for the payment and thus the lessor of the field.

### Seal Impression (Left Edge)

Plates 101, 125  
 H. 19 mm. W. 11 mm.

Ring seal  
 Seal of Bēl-iddin, descendant of Isinunnaya

A mounted horseman strides toward a horned quadruped. The rider’s weapon is unclear, but his raised right arm indicates that he is preparing to strike his quarry with a spear (probably similar to the one behind his body). The horned quadruped, perhaps an antelope, strides right but turns its head left to face the horse. The scene is poorly executed, and the rider’s legs, which should dangle clearly below the belly of his mount, are indistinct.

**Remarks**

The seal impression is inverted with respect to the seal caption. Although the pointed-oval shape of the impression clearly identifies the seal as a ring (*unqu*), the scribe wrote the caption <sup>na</sup>4KIŠIB, which was more typically used with stone cylinder or stamp seals.

Above the seal impression is seen the imprint of woven linen. Such fabric impressions probably resulted when the soft clay tablet came into contact, intentionally or accidentally, with a garment.

The fact that the debtor sealed this tablet supports the attribution of this text (and text No. 127) to the reign of Darius II rather than Darius I. Whereas contracting parties and witnesses rarely sealed tablets during the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid periods, by the time of Artaxerxes I and Darius II debtors regularly sealed promissory notes.<sup>1</sup>

1. See M. San Nicolò, "Zum *atru* und anderen Nebenleistungen des Käufers beim neubabylonischen Immobilarkauf," *OrNS* 16 (1947), p. 283 with n. 4; J. Oelsner, "Zur neu- und spätbabylonische Siegelpraxis," *Festschrift Lubor Matouš zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 2, eds. B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (*Assyriologia* 5) (Budapest, 1978); Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik*, p. 51.

**129.**

MMA 86.11.142

Not copied

H. 45 mm. W. 57 mm. Th. 25 mm.

Clay Cast: Side A, clay cast of text No. 77 Rev.;

Side B, clay cast of promissory note

**"Side B"**

1. 1 MA.NA 14 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina* 1 GÍN *bit-qa*
2. *nu-uḫ-ḫu-tú ri-ḫi-it ú-ìl-tì*
3. *šá* 3(?) ½ MA.NA 3½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá* <sup>f</sup>GÉME-X-X-X
4. DUMU(?).SAL(?) *šá* <sup>1</sup>Kal-ba-a A <sup>1</sup>E-gi-bi DAM(?)
5. <sup>Id</sup>U+GUR-ú-še-zib *ina* UGU <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-na-šir-IBILA
6. A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN A <sup>1</sup>E-gi-bi *šá* ITI
7. *ina muḫ-ḫi* 1 *ma-né-e* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR UR<sub>5</sub>.RA
8. *ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-rab-bi*

**Translation**

- 1–6. 1 mina 14 shekels average-quality silver, of ⅓ alloy per shekel, the remainder of a debt of 3(?)½ minas 3½ shekels silver owed to <sup>f</sup>Amat-. . . , daughter(?) of Kalbaya, descendant of Egibi, wife(?) of Nergal-ušēzib, by Marduk-nāšir-apli, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, descendant of Egibi.
- 6–8. Interest shall accrue against him (at the rate of) 1 shekel silver per mina per month.

**Note**

3–5: The existence of a woman named <sup>f</sup>Amat- . . . who was the daughter of Kalbaya, the adoptive son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, descendant of Egibi (see Archive C, especially text No. 53), and who was the wife of Nergal-ušēzib, son of (the same) Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, is previously unattested.

**Remarks**

This is a late nineteenth-century A.D. clay cast made from at least two tablets.<sup>1</sup> One side, not transliterated here, was cast from the reverse of text No. 77. The second side, here termed “Side B,” was cast from the obverse of a tablet belonging to the Egibi archive (Archive C in this volume); we have not succeeded in identifying from which of the Egibi tablets Side B comes. Given that the transacting parties are Marduk-nāšir-apli and the wife(?) of his brother Nergal-ušēzib, we can date the original tablet to the reign of Darius I. The cast turns from Side A to Side B on its horizontal axis, as would an authentic tablet, and the seams on its edges have been smoothed over. Its lower edge, left edge, and right edge are repeatedly impressed with the sign sequence *i-na-ad*, while the upper edge is blank.

1. This type of modern cast tablet was first identified and described by E. Leichty, “A Remarkable Forger,” *Expedition*, Spring 1970, pp. 17–21. See also Remarks on text No. 61.

**130.**

MMA 86.11.293

Plate 102

H. 77 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 27 mm.

Agreement regarding division of property

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, Babylon

[RN], year [x] month 12<sup>II</sup> day [x]

- Obv. 1. [Id]AG-APIN<sup>es</sup> DUMU-šú šá IdAG-ΓX<sup>1</sup>-[. . . a-na<sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 2. ΓDUMU<sup>1</sup>-šú šá IṬa-bi-ia DUMU IGa-[ḥal iq-bi]  
 3. um-ma A.ŠÀ šá ina šU<sup>II</sup> IBA<sup>šá</sup>-a D[UMU-šú šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 4. ta-am-ḥu-ru a-na-ku ΓX<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 5. at-ta u IBA<sup>šá</sup>-a HA.LA<sup>[meš(?)]</sup> [tú-za-<sup>3</sup>-a-za it-ti a-ḥa-meš]  
 6. il-tim-mu-ú-ma Id[. . . u<sup>I</sup>. . . HA.LA<sup>meš(?)</sup>]  
 7. ú-za-<sup>3</sup>-i-zu-ma A.ŠÀ ΓX<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 8. šá fdBa-ba<sub>6</sub>-iš-ΓX-X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 9. a-na a-ḥa-a-ti DA ΓX<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 10. e-lu-ú a-di qu-[. . . ]  
 11. it-ti mi-šir ΓX<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 12. a-di UGU ÍD ΓX<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 13. šá a-na HA.LA šá [. . . ]  
 14. šá IdAMAR.UTU-KAR-[. . . ]



15. 2 BĀN ŠE.NUMUN <sup>1</sup>BA[šá-a . . . ]  
 16. a-na uš-<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-. . . ]  
 17. ina NUMUN-šú <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 18. íD <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 Lo.E. 19. <sup>1</sup>D<sup>U</sup>+GU[R-. . . ]  
 20. A.ŠÀ [. . . ]  
 Rev. 21. i-na HA.[LA(?) . . . ]  
 22. maḥ-ri <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ] ki-i(?) pi-i(?)  
 23. a-mat-su-nu <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]
- 
24. i-na ša-[ṭa-ri ṭup-pi šu-a-tì]
- 
25. <sup>1</sup>Ba-ni-ia DU[MU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 26. <sup>1</sup>D<sup>AG</sup>-e-til-li(!)-DINGIR<sup>m[ēš]</sup> DUMU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 27. <sup>1</sup>Šil-la-a DUMU-š[ú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 28. <sup>1</sup>D<sup>UTU</sup>-MU-ú-kin DUMU-[šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 29. <sup>1</sup>D<sup>AMAR</sup>.UTU-eri-ba DUMU-[šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 30. <sup>1</sup>D<sup>AG</sup>-tab-ta-ni-ùRU(!)(text:tu<sub>4</sub>) [DUMU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 31. <sup>1</sup>D<sup>EN</sup>-KAR<sup>ir</sup> [DUMU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 32. <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>1</sup>D<sup>AMAR</sup>.UTU-TIN [DUMU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 33. <sup>1</sup>D<sup>U</sup>+GUR-TIN<sup>it</sup> [<sup>1</sup>úšID DUMU-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 34. TIN.<sup>1</sup>TIR<sup>ki ití</sup>DIRI ŠE.KIN.KUD [UD X.KÁM MU X.KÁM <sup>1</sup>. . . ]  
 35. <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]

### Translation

- 1–3. Nabû-ēreš, son of Nabû-[. . . , said to . . .], son of Tābiya, descendant of Ga[ḫal], as follows:  
 3–5. “I [. . .] the field that you purchased from Iqīšaya, s[on of . . .]; you and Iqīšaya [shall divide(?)] the share[s(?)].”  
 5–7. They agreed [with each other] and [. . . and (PN) . . .] divided [shares(?)] and the field [. . .]  
 8. belonging to <sup>1</sup>Bāba-iš-. . . [. . .]  
 9. . . . adjacent to [. . .]  
 10. the upper [. . .] up to the [. . .]  
 11. with the border of [. . .]  
 12. up to the river [. . .]  
 13. which for the share of [. . .]  
 14. belonging to Marduk-ēṭir-[. . .]  
 15. 2 *sūt* arable field Iqī[šaya . . .]  
 16–23. (too fragmentary for translation)
- 
24. At the wri[ting of this tablet (were present)]:
-

25–31. (Witnesses):

Bāniya, so[n of . . .]  
 Nabû-etel-ilāni, [son of . . .]  
 Šillaya, son [of . . .]  
 Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, son [of . . .]  
 Marduk-erība, son [of . . .]  
 Nabû-tabtani-ušur, [son of . . .]  
 Bēl-ētir, [son of . . .]  
 Itti-Marduk-balātu, [son of . . .]

33. Nergal-uballiṭ, [scribe, son of . . .]

34–35. Babylon, intercalary Addaru [day x year x, RN] ki[ng . . .]

### Note

31–33: More space was left between the personal name and the (missing) filiation of the last three or four individuals listed (possibly including Nabû-tabtani-ušur in l. 30) than in the case of the first five witnesses' names. There may have been a formal reason for the different spacing. The title *tuṣšarru* has been restored following the name of the last individual only, Nergal-uballiṭ (l. 33), but perhaps it should be restored following the last two or even four names, since tablets documenting transfers of land, and other particularly solemn transactions, sometimes had two or more scribes present (see, for example, *Nbk.* 164; *Nbn.* 85, 116, 178, 203, and 356; and *Cyr.* 160/161; see also text No. 127, ll. 20–21 with note).

### Remarks

This is a fragment of a tablet recording an agreement over the division of real estate, written in the form of a dialogue document (see text No. 102 and Remarks on text No. 133); too much is missing to give a more precise idea of the text's content. The fragment is of fine clay and inscribed in a clear hand.

## 131.

MMA 86.11.296

Plate 103

H. 45 mm. W. 49 mm. Th. 30 mm.

Purchase of a house

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

[RN], year [x] month 9 day 16

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

1'. [x x] ṚxṚ [. . . ]

2'. PAB 5 ṚGI<sup>meš</sup> mi-Ṛših-tú<sup>Ṛ</sup> [É šu-a-ti]

- 3'. KI <sup>I</sup>*Gi-lu-ú-a* DUMU <sup>lú</sup>DUG.SÌLA.BUR  
 4'. <sup>I</sup>*Mar-duk* DUMU <sup>lú</sup>DUG.SÌLA.BUR *ki-i*  
 5'. 17½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.PAD.DA KI.LAM  
 6'. *im-bé-e-ma i-šam a-na ši-mi-šú*  
 7'. *gam-ru-tu<sub>4</sub> šá ½ NINDA 3½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR*  
 8'. [x x] <sup>I</sup>½ GÍN <sup>I</sup> KÙ.BABBAR *šá a-ki-i pi-i*  
 9'. [. . . ]-šu- nu
- 
- Lo.E. (fingernail marks)  
 Rev. 10'. [PAB 1] <sup>I</sup>7<sup>I</sup> GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR <sup>I</sup>ú<sup>I</sup> <sup>I</sup>*Gi-lu-ú-a*<sup>I</sup>  
 11'. [DUMU <sup>lú</sup>]DUG.SÌLA.BUR *ina šu<sup>II</sup> <sup>I</sup>Mar-duk*  
 12'. DUMU <sup>lú</sup>DUG.SÌLA.BUR *ši-mi É-šú*  
 13'. *ki-i ka-sap gam-mir-ti(!)(text:be)*  
 14'. *ma-ħir a-pil za-ki ru-gu-um-mu*  
 15'. *ul i-ši ul i-tur-ru-ma*  
 16'. *a-na a-ħa-meš [u]l i-rag-gu-mu*  
 17'. *ma-ti-ma ina a[r]-kát u<sub>4</sub>-mu ina šeš<sup>meš</sup> <<[x<sup>I</sup>] >>*  
 18'. DUMU<sup>meš</sup> *ki[m-ti] [ni-su<sup>I</sup>-t[ú u sa-lat]*  
 19'. *šá É <sup>I</sup>G[i-lu-ú-a DUMU <sup>lú</sup>]DUG.SÌLA.BUR*  
 (rest of reverse broken)  
 L.E. 1'. [TIN.T]IR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>GAN UD 16.KÁM [MU x.KÁM <sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
 2'. [LUGAL] TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *šu-pur [<sup>I</sup>Gi-lu-ú-a . . . ]*  
 R.E. (fingernail marks)

### Translation

[. . . ]

---

- 2'–9'. Total 5 reeds, the measu[red surface area of that property]; Marduka, descendant of Paḥḥāru, named the price and bought (the property) from Gilūa, descendant of Paḥḥāru, for 17½ shekels piece silver, for its full price (at the rate) of 3½ shekels per ½ *akalu*, [(minus)] ½ shekel silver according to their [. . . ]
- 
- 10'–14'. [Total 1]7 shekels white silver (that) Gilūa, [descendant of] Paḥḥāru, has received, as the full price of his property, from Marduka, descendant of Paḥḥāru.  
 14'–16'. He is paid; he is quit; there shall be no contesting (the sale); they shall [n]ot turn back nor contest (the sale agreement) with each other.  
 17'–19'. If ever in f[ut]ure days any of the brothers, sons, fa[mily], re[latives, or kin by marriage] of the house of Gi[lūa, descendant of Paḥḥāru, (should come up and bring suit . . .)]  
 (break)  
 L.E.  
 1'–2'. [Ba]bylon, Kislīmu day 16 [year x, (RN) king of] Babylon  
 2'. Fingernail of [Gilūa, . . . ]

*Notes*

- 7': In order to multiply the unit price by 5 (reeds), the scribe has defined the unit price in terms of a half-*akalu*, rather than as 7 shekels per *akalu*, because 1 reed approximately equals  $\frac{1}{2}$  *akalu* surface area (M. Powell, "Late Babylonian Surface Mensuration," *AfO* 31 (1984), p. 37; idem, "Masse und Gewichte," pp. 457–91).
- 8'–9': These two lines record the subtraction of  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel from the purchase price by agreement of the parties to the sale, as is clear from the price paid, stated in l. 10.
- 19'ff.: For the remainder of the formulary, see texts Nos. 99 and 109.
- L.E. 2': The use of the title "king of Babylon" by itself (without the accompanying title king of the lands) indicates a date no later than the Neo-Babylonian period; the use of ancestor names without patronymics (ll. 3'–4' and 10'–12') suggests the seventh century.

*Remarks*

This text has three sets of three fingernail marks impressed on the lower edge (two sets) and right edge (one set) of the tablet. The marks are regularly spaced and appear to have been made with a thumbnail.

**132.**

MMA 86.11.322

Fragment of a field lease

Plate 104

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, GN not preserved

H. 38 mm. W. 60 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'.  $\lceil x \rceil$  [. . . ]
- 2'.  $\acute{s}á \lceil x x \rceil$  [. . . ]
- 3'.  $\acute{s}á \text{Id}_{AG-ta}$ -. . . ]

Rev. 4'.  $\dot{u}$  *tap-tu-ú ma-l[a ina lib-bi]*5'.  $\dot{u}$ -*pat-tu-u ina UGU 1 GUR*  $\lceil \acute{s}é \rceil$ .N[UMUN *a-di*(?)]6'. 5 MU<sup>meš</sup> *ši-ib-šú*  $\text{Id}_{Kur-ban-ni}$ - $\lceil d \rceil$ [ $\acute{s}ú$ (?) *ul*(?)]7'. *i-nam-din ár-ki* 5 MU.AN.NA<sup>meš</sup>  $\lceil x x \rceil$ 8'. *gab-bi šal-šú ši-ib-šú i-nam-din*9'. *na-bal-kát-nu* 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam-din*10'.  $\text{lú}_{mu-kin-ni}$   $\text{Id}_{U+GUR-TIN}$ <sup>#</sup>11'. [A-( $\acute{s}ú$ )  $\acute{s}á$ ]  $\lceil d_x \rceil$ -SUR  $\text{Id}_{AG-TIN-su-iq-b}$ [*i*]12'. [A-( $\acute{s}ú$ )  $\acute{s}á$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$  ]  $\lceil x x \rceil$  [*x x*]

(rest of reverse broken)

R.E. 1'. [. . . ]  $\lceil x \rceil$   $\text{lú}_{SANGA-d}$ [. . . ]

*Translation*

- 1'-3'. [ . . . ] . . .  
 4'-7'. and the ground to be opened, as [much of it as] he reclaims, per 1-*kur* f[ield, for] 5 years  
 Kurbanni-[Marduk(?)] shall [(not?)] pay *šibšu*-rent.  
 7'-8'. After five years, . . . (for) the entire (field) he shall pay  $\frac{1}{3}$  (of the crop as) the *šibšu*-rent.  
 9'. Whoever breaks the contract shall pay 10 shekels silver.  
 10'-12'. Witnesses:  
     Nergal-uballiṭ, [son of] . . .-ēṭir  
     Nabû-balāssu-iqb[i, son of . . .]  
     [ . . . ]  
 R.E. 1'. [ . . . ] descendant of Šangû-[ . . . ]

*Notes*

- 4'-5': The conjunction *u* indicates that the preceding clauses concerned a different, non-*taptû* plot of land. On *taptû* land, i.e., land to be newly (re)-opened to cultivation, and lease stipulations regarding *taptû* land, see Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies*, p. 28; Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 69 with n. 469; Joannès, *Archives*, p. 148; and van Driel, *BSA* 5, pp. 220-23.
- 6': The restoration of the name as Kurbanni-Marduk is based on the appearance of this person in Archive E.  
 Following the name, *ul* is restored because the lessee's payment through the first five years of the lease, defined in ll. 5'-7', is evidently distinguished from his payment subsequent to those five years, ll. 7'-8'. Compare YOS 6, 33 and 67, two leases wherein payment is waived for the first ten years in consideration of the extra work the lessee must do to reclaim the land as well as the time he must wait for the palms he will plant to mature; after ten years the lease becomes a share-cropping contract, and the lessee gets one third of the crop as his share (see the remarks of Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, p. 111).
- 7': *gabbi* in l. 8' should modify *eqlu* or *zēru*, thus "the entire field"; the traces at the end of l. 7', however, do not conform to any word for "field."

## 133.

MMA 86.11.326

Plate 105

H. 40 mm. W. 75 mm. Th. 27 mm.

Fragment of a dialogue document concerning  
a dowry conversion

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [ . . . ]<sup>d</sup>É<sup>1</sup>-[a . . . ]  
 2'. [ . . . ] ᵏka<sup>1</sup> iq-ᵏta(?)<sup>1</sup>-[bu . . . ]  
 3'. [ . . . ] ᵏx<sup>1</sup>-ra-a i-na NÍG.ŠÍD-ka ta-šak-ᵏkan<sup>1</sup>  
 4'. [ . . . ] ᵏx<sup>1</sup> šu-ᵏtur-ma ma-la nu-du-un-né-e-šú i-din-su  
 5'. [<sup>1d</sup>EN-na-din-IBI]LA iš-me-šú-nu-ti-ma ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú  
 6'. [ . . . ] ᵏx<sup>1</sup> gu ra i-lik 5 G<sup>1</sup>meš-šú ᵏÉ<sup>1</sup>-su šá ina Bār-sipa<sup>ki</sup>  
 7'. [ . . . ] ᵏù(?)<sup>1</sup> mim-mu-šú ma-la ba - šu - u  
 Rev. 8'. [ku-um(?) nu-dun-n]u(?)-u šá <sup>fd</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-ib-ši pa-ni <sup>fd</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-ib-ši ú-šad-gil
- 
- 9'. [u<sub>4</sub>-mu(?) ma-la(?)] ᵏ<sup>1d</sup>EN-na-din-IBILA bal-ᵏtu<sup>1</sup>  
 10'. [ . . . it-ti(?) ] ᵏ<sup>1d</sup>Ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-ib-ši ina lib-bi i[k-kal(?)]  
 11'. [(ina) IGI<sup>1d</sup>mu-kin-nu<sup>1</sup> . . . ]-ᵏx<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>AG-MU-ú-kin A<sup>1</sup>Na-[ . . . ]  
 12'. [<sup>1</sup> . . . A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>X-TI]N<sup>it</sup> A<sup>1d</sup>30-ᵏx<sup>1</sup>-[ . . . ]  
 13'. [<sup>1</sup> . . . A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>X]-ᵏMU<sup>1</sup>-MU A<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>[ . . . ]  
 14'. [ . . . ] ᵏx x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**[(PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub>) said to Bēl-nādin-apli as follows:]

- 3'-4'. [" . . . ] you shall place (the) . . . among your assets. Write [a . . . ] and give her as much as (the worth of) her dowry."  
 5'-8'. [Bēl-nādin-ap]li accepted their proposal, and voluntarily [ . . . ] . . . transferred to <sup>f</sup>Bāba-ibši his 5-reed house plot which is in Borsippa [ . . . an]d(?) as much of his property as exists, [in place of the dowr]y(?) of <sup>f</sup>Bāba-ibši.

9'-10'. [As long as] Bēl-nādin-apli lives, he shall sh[are the usufruct of . . . with(?)] <sup>f</sup>Bāba-ibši.

11'ff. [Before/Witnesses]:

- [ . . . ], son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, descendant of Na-[ . . . ]  
 [ . . . ], son of . . . -ubal]liṭ, descendant of Sîn-[ . . . ]  
 [ . . . ], son of . . . -šū]ma-iddin, descendant of [ . . . ]  
 [ . . . ]

*Notes*

- 5': Because the object of *išme* is plural, the proposal put before Bēl-nādin-apli must have been made by more than one person.
- 8': *kām nudunnû* is restored based on the interpretation of this text as the document of a dowry conversion; see VS 6, 91:5; *Nbk.* 265:10 and 14–15 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 13); and Roth, “Widow,” p. 15 with n. 71.
- VS 6, 90/91, formulated in objective style rather than as a dialogue document, records a dowry conversion whereby the husband awards a field to his wife in exchange for gold he had taken from her *quppu*. *Nbk.* 265 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 13), which was formulated as a dialogue between Iddin-Marduk (see Archive D) and his father Zēriya, records Iddin-Marduk’s transfer of seven slaves and “all his assets in town and country” to his wife ʿIna-Esagil-ramât, to replace the silver of her dowry that he had used to pay his father’s debts. On these two documents and on dowry conversion in general, see M. T. Roth, “The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry,” *AfO* 36–37 (1989–90), pp. 5–9, 11.
- 9'–10': For the restoration of these lines, cf. TuM 2/3, 6:11–13; VS 5, 21:23–24 and 43/44:12–13; VS 6, 90:9–10 (= 91:8–9); and *Nbn.* 65:16–18.
- 11': In documents concerning the disposition of family property, witnesses may be introduced by either *mukinnu* or (*ina*) *maḥar*.

*Remarks*

This fragment appears to come from an agreement concerning the exchange of a woman’s dower property (perhaps silver or gold) for real estate of equivalent value.

Like text No. 130, this tablet is made of fine clay and inscribed in a clear hand, and its original width was close to 100 millimeters. Both texts are styled as dialogue documents and both concern the property of a woman whose name begins with Bāba. Moreover, text No. 130 is the upper-left half of a tablet, while this text is the lower-right corner of a tablet. Nonetheless, the two fragments do not join, nor do they come from the same tablet, as text No. 130 bears writing on its lower edge while the present text does not.

**134.**

MMA 86.11.339

Plate 106

H. 40 mm. W. 56 mm. Th. 15 mm.

Fragment of an accounting record  
 Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,  
 GN not preserved  
 Date formula not preserved

Obv.	1.	⌈x x⌋ [ . . .	]
	2.	[ . . .	] 30/eš ⌈x x⌋
	3.	[ . . .	] x
	4.	[ . . .	] ⌈x⌋ 2 GUR 2 PI ŠE.BAR-su
	5.	[ . . .	] ⌈x x⌋ gu
	6.	[ . . .	] ⌈x⌋
	7.	[ . . .	]
	8.	[ . . .	]
	9.	[ . . . ] ⌈x x x x⌋	
Rev.	10.	[ . . . ] <sup>d</sup> 30-ke-šir	
	11.	[ . . . ] ⌈x⌋ 2 GUR 2 PI	
	12.	[ . . . ] ⌈x⌋-a 1 (PI) 4 BÁN <sup>f</sup> Na-da-a	
	13.	[x x ] <sup>d</sup> EN-šu(!)-le-e-ši-me	
	14.	⌈PAB⌋ 7 GUR 1 PI ŠE.BAR te-lit	

**Translation**

1–11. (too fragmentary for translation)

12–13. [ . . . ] . . . 1 *pān* 4 *sūt* (for) <sup>f</sup>Nadaya; [x (amount)] (for) Bēl-šullê-šeme.

14. Total: 7 *kur* 1 *pān* barley, (as) expenses(?).

**Notes**

12: For <sup>f</sup>Nadaya as a short form of <sup>fd</sup>Nanaya-nadinat, see L. T. Doty, “The Archive of the Nanâ-iddin Family from Uruk,” *JCS* 30 (1978), p. 68.

13: The name Bēl-šullê-šeme is seldom attested. It is borne by two slaves known from the Egibi archive: one belonging to Nergal-ušallim, who appears as co-debtor in *Liv.* 12 (year 3 Neriglissar), and one who was purchased by Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin (see Archive C), according to *Nbn.* 274/*Nbn.* 126 (see the related promissory note, *Nbn.* 182). The latter slave also appears, as the renter of storage space, in *Nbn.* 499. A slave named Bēl-šullê-šeme was pledged as security to Iddin-Marduk (see Archive D) in *Nbk.* 301 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 22).



**Remarks**

This fragment is most likely a record of rations disbursed to the dependents, including slaves, of a private household. It may belong to the Egibi archive (see n. to l. 13, above).

**135.**

MMA 86.11.344

Plate 107

H. 36 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Promissory note for dates

Neo-Babylonian period, GN not preserved

[RN], year [x] month 6 day 10

- Obv. 1. [x x ZÚ.LUM.M]A ṣá<sup>1</sup> Su-qa-a-a<sup>1</sup>  
 2. [A-šú šá I]<sup>d</sup> EN-ú-še-zib  
 3. ina m[uh-ḫi]<sup>d</sup> EN-MU A-šú šá IR-ía  
 4. A Ḫ<sup>1</sup> É<sup>1</sup>-[sag-g]il-a-a ina<sup>iti</sup> GAN  
 5. ZÚ.LUM.MA ṣ<sup>1</sup> X GUR(?) x PI(?) i<sup>1</sup>-nam-din
- Rev. 6. lú<sup>1</sup> mu-kin-nu Ni-qu-du  
 7. A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup> AG-SU<sup>a</sup> Ba-la-ṭu  
 8. A-šú šá<sup>1</sup> Šul-ṣ<sup>1</sup> lu-mu<sup>1</sup> A<sup>1</sup> Na-ba-a-a  
 (blank line)  
 9. [(u)] ṣ<sup>1</sup> ID ṣ<sup>1</sup> ID<sup>1</sup> La-a-ba-ši A-šú  
 10. [šá<sup>Id</sup> X]-ṣ<sup>1</sup> ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup> meš<sup>1</sup>-SU A lú<sup>1</sup> AD.KID  
 11. [x-x<sup>k</sup>]<sup>i</sup> it<sup>i</sup> KIN UD 10.KÁM
- U.E. 12. [MU x.KÁM<sup>Id</sup>. . . ]  
 13. [LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

**Translation**

- 1–4. [x (amount) date]s, owed to Sūqaya, [son of] Bēl-ušēzib, b[y] Bēl-iddin, son of Ardiya, descendant of E[sag]ilaya.  
 4–5. He shall deliver (those) x (*kur*) x (*pān*)(?) dates in the month of Kislīmu.  
 6–8. Witnesses:  
     Niqūdu, son of Nabū-erība  
     Balāṭu, son of Šullumu, descendant of Nabaya  
 9–10. [(And)] the scribe: Lābāši, son [of . . .]-aḫḫē-erība, descendant of Atkuppū  
 11ff. [GN], Ulūlu day 10 [year x, RN king of Babylon]

**Note**

- 11ff.: The cursory style of this promissory note and the small number of witnesses suggest a date no later than the mid-sixth century B.C.

## 136.

MMA 86.11.385

Plate 107

H. 27 mm. W. 42 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Fragment of a contract

Neo-Babylonian period, Šaḫrīnu(?)

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

1'. [. . . ] 𒀭KASKAL<sup>II</sup>(?) 𒄀 [. . . ]2'. [. . . ] 𒀭MU(?)<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ina(!) 𒀭tiZÍZ 𒀭KÙ.BABBAR-ŠÚ SAG.DU-ŠÚ3'. [i-nam-din(?) . . . ] 𒀭x 𒀭šá mé-riš-tu<sub>4</sub> 𒀭šá

4'. [. . . ] i-]ru-bu 𒀭Mu-še-zib i-na-áš-ši

5'. [. . . ] 𒀭Mu-še-zib ú-še-ti-iq

Rev. 6'. [. . . ] a-di(?) m]uḫ-ḫi 𒀭šá ul-tu

7'. [. . . ] 𒀭x a ri ur-ra-du-nu ina ú-tur

8'. [. . . ] 𒀭x nu ZÚ.LUM.MA 𒀭šá KASKAL<sup>II</sup>

9'. [. . . ] ZÚ.LUM.MA ina 𒀭uŠaḫ-ri-nu

10'. [. . . ] 𒀭x i-nam-da-áš-šú

11'. [e-lat(?) ú-il-ti<sup>meš</sup>(?) ma]ḫ-𒀭ru-tu<sub>4</sub> ina 𒀭ka<sup>1</sup>-(erasure)-𒀭x [. . . ]

(remainder broken)

*Translation*

1'. [. . . ] ḫarrānu-partnership(?) [. . . ]

2'–3'. [. . . ] Iddin(?)–Marduk. In the month of Šabātu [he shall (re)pay(?)] his silver (in) its(?) principal.

3'–4'. [. . . ] of the requisition which [. . . ] comes in(?), Mušēzib shall take.

5'. [. . . ] Mušēzib shall pay the toll.

6'–7'. [Un]til(?) they come down from [. . . ], from the profit

8'. [. . . ] the dates pertaining to the ḫarrānu-partnership

9'. [. . . ] the dates from Šaḫrīnu

10'. [. . . ] he shall pay him.

11'. [Separate from(?)] (any) previous [promissory notes(?)] . . . [. . . ]

*Notes*4': Mušēzib may be Iddin-Marduk's brother-in-law Mušēzib-Bēl, who is associated with Iddin-Marduk's business in Šaḫrīnu; see Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 17–18.5': Literally, “cause to pass through”; in this usage the verb often takes the direct object “ship” (for transport of produce) or the indirect object “harbor” (*kāru*). See *Cyr.* 12:7–8 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 263), *Camb.* 272:6–7 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 347), BM 31965 (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 2, 377:10'), and remarks in Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, pp. 36–37; compare the documents concerning harbor dues (*kāru*) from Iddin-Marduk's archive (see text No. 74 and citations there).

- 9': The town Šaḫrīnu is almost exclusively attested in the Egibi archive, predominantly in documents concerning Iddin-Marduk's garlic business and in those pertaining to the continuation of Iddin-Marduk's commodities trade by Itti-Marduk-balātu and his son (Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk* 1, p. 3 with n. 6, pp. 22–23 with nn. 92–95).

### Remarks

This fragment of a contract concerns a *ḥarrānu*-partnership, the business of which is trade in naturalia (cf. text Nos. 49, 50, 51, and Remarks on text No. 79). The tentative restoration of the name Iddin-Marduk in l. 2', the possibility that the Mušēzib named in ll. 4'–5' may have been Iddin-Marduk's brother-in-law, and the fact that the business was localized in the town Šaḫrīnu (l. 9'; see n. to l. 9', above) make it likely that this document pertains to Iddin-Marduk's archive (see Archive D). The clay of the tablet, after baking, is green.

## 137.

MMA 86.11.397

Plate 108

H. 31 mm. W. 36 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Fragment of an *imittu*-promissory note

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

- Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)
- 1'. [. . . ] ṚŠEŠ(?)<sup>1</sup>-X<sup>1</sup>
- 2'. [. . . ] ṚX<sup>1</sup> li mu
- 3'. [ina <sup>iti</sup>DUG/APIN ina ḥ]a-ša-ri
- 4'. [ina ma-ši-ḥu] Ṛšá 1<sup>1</sup> PI <sup>Id</sup>EN-ke-šir
- 5'. [u<sup>1</sup>. . . ina UGU 1<sup>et</sup> ri]t-tu<sub>4</sub> i-nam-di-nu-<sup>2</sup>
- 6'. [it-ti 1 GUR Z]Ú.LUM.MA bil-tu<sub>4</sub>
- 7'. [šá ḥu-ša-bi tu]-ḥal-la gi-pu-ú
- Lo.E. 8'. [šá ú-ḥi-nu(?) man-g]a-ga 3 da-ri-ku
- 9'. [i-nam-di-nu]-<sup>2</sup>
- Rev. 10'. [1<sup>en</sup> pu-ut 2<sup>i</sup>] na-šu-ú šá qer-bi ZÚ.LUM.MA
- 11'. [i-nam-din]
- (blank line)
- 12'. [<sup>lu</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>I(x)</sup>]-ṚX<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ
- 13'. [. . . ]-ṚX<sup>1</sup>
- (remainder broken)

**Translation**

- 1'-2'. [(x dates are the *imittu*-payment owed to PN by Bēl-kēšir . . . and PN<sub>2</sub>)] . . .  
 3'-5'. [In the month of Tašrītu/Araḥsamnu], Bēl-kēšir [and PN<sub>2</sub>] shall deliver (the dates) [in the courtyard, [in the] 1-*pān* [measure, in a single deli]very.  
 6'-9'. [Per *kur* d]ates, they [shall deliver] a load [of rachides, s]pathes, [date] spadices, [ba]st, (and) 3 *darīku*-containers.  
 10'-11'. [Each debtor] guarantees for [the other]. Whoever is at hand [shall deliver] the dates.  
 12'. [Witnesses]:  
     [. . .]-Bēl, son of Nādin-aḫi [. . .]  
     [. . .]

**Notes**

3': The month of date delivery can be Tašrītu (as in text No. 28) or Araḥsamnu (as in text No. 66).  
 Rev. R.E.: The right edge of the tablet bears an incised "doodle" apparently made with a stylus.

**Remarks**

What remains of this contract is part of a delivery clause, containing a list of accessory products of date palms, and a mutual guarantee clause. The preserved portion of the text indicates that this fragment is part of a promissory note for the *imittu*-payment due on the lease of a date-palm orchard, a payment owed by two lessees.

**138.**

MMA 86.11.398

Plate 108

H. 27 mm. W. 31 mm. Th. 18 mm.

Promissory note for silver

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

Nabu-[. . .], year 12 month 5 day [x]

- Obv. 1. 1½ MA. ᵀNA ᵀ [KÙ]. ᵀBABBAR ᵀ S[AG.DU šá ᵀ. . . ]  
 2. A-šú šá ᵀ<sup>Id</sup>EN-ᵀ<sup>l</sup>še-zib [A ᵀ. . . ]  
 3. ina UGU ᵀ<sup>Id</sup>É. ᵀ<sup>l</sup>a ᵀ-[. . . ]  
 4. A-šú šá ᵀIna-SÜH-SUR [A ᵀ. . . ]  
 5. ᵀšá ᵀ MU.AN.NA a-na [UGU 1 ma-né-e]  
 6. [12(?)] ᵀGÍN KÙ.BABBAR ᵀ<sup>l</sup>-[rab-bi]  
 (rest of obverse broken)  
 (beginning of reverse broken)  
 Rev. 1'. ᵀ<sup>l</sup>x ᵀ-[. . . A-šú šá ᵀ. . . ]

- 2'. DUMU <sup>I</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 3'. <sup>I</sup>Gi-mil-lu A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>d[. . . ]  
 4'. u <sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR <sup>I</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup> [. . . A-šú šá]  
 5'. <sup>I</sup>Ṭa-bi-ia A <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]  
 6'. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>NE U[D X.KÁM]  
 7'. MU 12.KÁM <sup>Id</sup>AG-[. . . ]  
 8'. LUGAL TIN.TI[R<sup>ki</sup>]

**Translation**

- 1–4. 1½ minas [sil]ver, the prin[cipal owed to . . .], son of Bēl-ušēzib, [descendant of . . .], by Ea-[. . .],  
 son of Ina-tēšî-eṭir, [descendant of . . .].  
 5–6. (Interest) [shall accrue] (at the rate of) [12(?)] shekels pe[r mina] per year.  
 (break)

Rev. [Witnesses]:

- [. . . ]  
 1'–3'. [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of [. . .]  
 Gimillu, son of [. . .]  
 4'–5'. And the scribe: . . ., [son of] Ṭābiya, descendant of [. . .]  
 6'–8'. Babylon, Abu d[ay x] year 12, Nabû-[. . .] king of Babyl[on]

**Note**

- 6: 12 is restored based on the standard interest rate of 20 percent annually.

**139.**

MMA 86.11.400

Plate 108

H. 33 mm. W. 42 mm. Th. 19 mm.

Receipt for silver

Achaemenid(?) period, [Babylon(?)]

[RN], accession year month 9 day 1

- Obv. 1. [X MA.NA X G]ÍN KÙ.BABBAR <sup>Id</sup>EN-KÁD  
 2. [A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>]Na-din A <sup>I</sup>Sag-gil-a-a  
 3. [ina š]U<sup>II</sup> <sup>I</sup>dAG<sup>1</sup>-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-GI DUMU-šú  
 4. <sup>I</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> ku <sup>I</sup>mu x<sup>1</sup> pi ti šú a-di-i  
 5. [X]+2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR IGI<sup>ú</sup> e-ṭir(!)(text:e)  
 6. <sup>I</sup>x<sup>1</sup> GUR 3 PI ŠE.BAR <sup>I</sup>e-lat<sup>1</sup>  
 7. [. . . ] <sup>I</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)

- (beginning of reverse broken)
- Rev. 1'. [. . . ] <sup>Γ</sup>X X X <sup>Γ</sup>[X]  
 2'. [a]-di-i qí-it MU.AN.NA-šú  
 3'. [r]e-e-ḥu <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>AG-TIN-<sup>Γ</sup>su<sup>Γ</sup>-iq-bi  
 4'. [A]-<sup>Γ</sup>šú<sup>Γ</sup> šá <sup>Id</sup>Ki-din-<sup>d</sup>šú A <sup>Id</sup>Maš-tuk <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU  
 5'. [A-šú šá] <sup>Γ</sup><sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-SU A <sup>Id</sup>Dù<sup>eš</sup>-DINGIR  
 6'. [<sup>Γ</sup>X X]-ia <sup>lú</sup>šID A-šú šá  
 7'. [<sup>Id</sup>X-(X)-TIN]-<sup>Γ</sup>su<sup>Γ</sup>-iq-bi A <sup>Id</sup>Su-ḥa-a-a  
 U.E. 8'. [TIN.TIR(?)] <sup>Γ</sup>ki(?)<sup>Γ</sup> iti <sup>Id</sup>GAN UD I.KÁM  
 9'. [M]U SAG NAM.LUGAL.LA  
 L.E. 10'. [<sup>Γ</sup>. . . LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> (u KUR.KUR)(?)]

### Translation

- 1–5. Bēl-kāšir, [son of] Nādin, descendant of Esagilaya, received in payment [x minas x sh]ekels silver [fr]om Nabû-aḥḥē-ušallim, his son, which . . ., including the previous [x]+2 shekels of silver.  
 6. [x] kur 3 pān barley, separate from [. . .]  
 (break)

Rev.

- 1'–3'. [. . .] until the end of his year, the remainder(?).  
 3'–5'. Witnesses:  
     Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, [son] of Kidin-Marduk, descendant of Maštuk  
     Bēl-iddin, [son of] Marduk-erība, descendant of Eppeš-ilī  
 6'–7'. [. . .]-ia, scribe, son of [. . .]-balās[su]-iqbi, descendant of Suḥaya  
 8'–10'. [Babylon(?)], Kislīmu day 1, accession year of [RN king of Babylon (and the lands)(?)]

### Notes

- 4: The tablet is preserved nearly to the left edge at this point, so there is no room for a sign preceding the traces read as šá, nor does there appear to be a DIŠ, making it difficult to read the signs following šá as a personal name. Therefore, although at the time text No. 102 was written Bēl-kāšir/Nādin// Esagilaya had no son and was forbidden to adopt one, the end of l. 3 is tentatively translated “Nabû-aḥḥē-ušallim, his son.”
- Rev. 8'–10': A date in the Achaemenid period seems probable, especially if the person by whom Bēl-kāšir is paid a sum of silver is indeed his son (see preceding note), since Bēl-kāšir was childless in year 9 of Nabonidus, according to text No. 102. Bēl-kāšir also appears in text No. 35, dated in the reign of Cyrus. Since both of those tablets were written in Babylon, the place name in the date formula of the present tablet is restored as Babylon.

## 140.

MMA 86.11.420

Plate 109

H. 50 mm. W. 44 mm. Th. 24 mm.

Fragment of a contract

Neo-Babylonian period, Babylon

[RN], year 7 month 6 day [x]

- Obv. 1. [a-di-i(?) UD] 15.KÁM ṣá<sup>iti</sup>DU<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 2. [X-X]-<sup>1</sup>MU<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>AG-<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-X  
 3. [. . . ] <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> i <sup>1</sup>X X X<sup>1</sup> lat  
 4. [<sup>Id</sup>(X)-TIN(?)<sup>i</sup>] A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>X-<sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup>-X A <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>GIR<sub>4</sub>.KÙ  
 5. [. . . ] ma <sup>1</sup>X X X X X na<sup>1</sup>  
 6. [. . . ] ki(?)<sup>i</sup>-<sup>1</sup>X X X X<sup>1</sup> ma  
 7. [. . . ] <sup>1</sup>X 15<sup>1</sup> GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <sup>1</sup>X X<sup>1</sup>  
 8. [. . . ] <sup>Id</sup>EN-MU a-na(?) X  
 9. [. . . ] <sup>1</sup>i-nam<sup>1</sup>-din
- Rev. 10. [<sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu] <sup>Id</sup>AG-DA A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>  
 11. [<sup>1</sup>. . . A] <sup>1</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>Pap-sukkal  
 12. [<sup>1</sup>. . . ] <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>It-ti-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN  
 13. [A <sup>1</sup>. . . ] <sup>Id</sup>Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-na-din-šEŠ  
 14. [A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>EN(?)<sup>i</sup>-e-<sup>5</sup>ti<sup>r</sup>]u A <sup>1</sup>Na-din-še-im  
 15. [u <sup>1</sup>šID <sup>Id</sup>] <sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup>+GUR-MU A-šú šá<sup>1</sup>DÙ-ía  
 16. [A <sup>1</sup>MU-lib-ši] TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>KIN  
 17. [UD X.KÁ]M MU 7.KÁM  
 18. [<sup>1</sup>. . . LUGA]L TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

*Translation*

- 1–4. [By(?) day] 15 of the month of Tašrītu, [. . .]-MU, son of Nabû-. . . . . [. . .-uballi]t(?), son of . . . , descendant of Arad-Nergal
- 5–7. (too fragmentary for translation)
- 8–9. [. . .] Bēl-iddin to [. . . wi]ll give.
- 10–14. [Witnesses]:  
 Nabû-le<sup>3</sup>i, son of [. . . , descendant of] Iddin-Papsukkal  
 [. . .], son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, [descendant of . . .]  
 Zababa-nādin-aḫi, [son of (Bēl(?))-ēti]r, descendant of Nādin-še<sup>3</sup>i
- 15–16. [(And) the scribe: N]ergal-iddin, son of Bāniya, [descendant of Šumu-libši]
- 16–18. Babylon, Ulūlu [day x] year 7, [RN kin]g of Babylon

## Note

- 16: The scribe's family name is restored based on VS 3, 50:16–17, belonging to the archive of Ṭābiya/Nabû-apla-iddin//Sîn-ilī (see C. Wunsch, "Zur Entwicklung und Nutzung privaten Großgrundbesitzes in Babylonien während des 6. Jh. v. u. Z. nach dem Archiv des Ṭābiya," ŠULMU 3/1 [1988], pp. 361–78).

## 141.

MMA 86.11.421

Plate 109

H. 50 mm. W. 49 mm. Th. 24 mm.

Fragment of a contract for the purchase of a house  
Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,  
GN not preserved  
Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [X KÚŠ X ŠU.SI U]Š AN.<sup>TA</sup> I[M.MAR.TU]  
2'. [DA É<sup>I</sup>. . . ]-<sup>TA</sup>A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>U+G[UR-. . . ]  
3'. [A<sup>I</sup>É-sag-gil-a<sup>I</sup>-a na-di-na-nu [É]  
4'. [X]+3 KÚŠ 6 ŠU.SI UŠ KI.TA IM.<sup>TA</sup>KUR<sup>I</sup>.R[A]  
5'. [DA] É<sup>I</sup>SUM.NA-ŠEŠ A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>DI.KUD-<sup>TA</sup>X<sup>I</sup>-[. . . ]  
6'. [DUM]U<sup>I</sup>EN - e - ti<sub>5</sub>-<sup>TA</sup>ru<sup>I</sup>  
7'. [X]+2<sup>TA</sup>KÚŠ 21 ŠU<sup>I</sup>.SI SAG.KI AN.TA I[M.X.X]  
8'. [DA] É<sup>I</sup><sup>TA</sup>Mu-še-zib<sup>I</sup>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>SUM.N[A-. . . ]  
9'. [ù(?)<sup>I</sup>X-X]-<sup>TA</sup>ZI<sup>meš</sup><sup>TA</sup>A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>UTU-SU A<sup>I</sup>X<sup>I</sup>-[. . . ]  
10'. [X]+1 KÚŠ 21 ŠU.SI SAG.KI KI.TA I[M.X.X]  
11'. [DA] É<sup>I</sup><sup>TA</sup>Ib-na-a A - šú šá<sup>I</sup>X<sup>I</sup>-[. . . ]  
12'. [A] <sup>I</sup>ú<sup>I</sup>SIPA- ANŠE. KUR.R[A]

- 13'. [PAB X GI<sup>meš</sup>]<sup>TA</sup>X<sup>I</sup> KÚŠ É ab-tu šá(?) X [. . . ]  
14'. [. . . ]<sup>TA</sup>X<sup>I</sup> URU GIBIL<sup>ki</sup> [<sup>I</sup>. . . ]  
15'. [A<sup>I</sup>úSIPA-ANŠE.KUR(?).RA  
16'. [ù(?)<sup>I</sup>. . . A]-<sup>TA</sup>šú<sup>I</sup> šá<sup>I</sup>IBILA-[a]  
17'. [DUMU<sup>I</sup>EN] - <sup>TA</sup>e<sup>I</sup> - ti<sub>5</sub> - [ru]  
18'. [KI<sup>I</sup>. . .]-<sup>TA</sup>ta-din<sup>I</sup> [. . . ]

(rest of obverse broken)

(beginning of reverse broken)

- Rev. 1'. [. . . ]<sup>TA</sup>X X X<sup>I</sup> [. . . ]  
2'. [. . . ]<sup>TA</sup>X<sup>I</sup>meš<sup>TA</sup>X<sup>I</sup> [. . . ]  
3'. [. . . ]<sup>TA</sup>X X X<sup>I</sup> AN<sup>TA</sup>X<sup>I</sup> šú [. . . ]  
4'. [. . . ]<sup>TA</sup>X<sup>I</sup> KI(?) X<sup>I</sup> IGI<sup>TA</sup>



- 5'. [... ] 𒄠 [x] 𒄠 𒄠 𒄠IBILA<sup>1</sup>-a A-šú šá 𒄠 [x]-[...] ]  
 6'. 𒄠DUMU<sup>1</sup> 𒄠<sup>d</sup>EN - e - 𒄠[<sub>5</sub>-ru ... ]  
 7'. [x] 𒄠 [x] 𒄠 𒄠 šá 𒄠 [x]-[...] ]  
 8'. [x] 𒄠 [A] 𒄠<sup>u</sup>SIPA(?) - ANŠE(?)<sup>1</sup>. [KUR.RA(?)]
- 
- 9'. [IGI] ... [...] 𒄠šá 𒄠IBILA<sup>1</sup>-[a ... ]  
 10'. [...] 𒄠 x x<sup>1</sup> [...] ]  
 11'. [...] 𒄠 x x<sup>1</sup> [...] ]  
 (remainder broken)

### Translation

- 1'–3'. [x cubits x fingers, the] upper long [si]de on [the east, adjacent to the property of . . .]-a, son of Ner[gal-. . . , descendant of] Esagilaya, the seller [of the property];  
 4'–6'. [x]+3 cubits 6 fingers, the lower long side on the we[st, adjacent to] the property of Nādin-aḫi, son of Madānu-[ . . . , so]n of Bēl-ēṭir;  
 7'–9'. [x]+2 cubits 21 fingers, the upper short side on the [ . . . , adjacent to the pro]perty of Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Iddin-[ . . . and . . .]-napšāti, son of Šamaš-erība, descendant of [ . . .];  
 10'–12'. [x]+1 cubits 21 fingers, the lower short side on the [ . . . , adjacent to the pro]perty of Ibnaya, son of [ . . . , descendant] of Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sisê.
- 
- 13'–18'. [Total x reeds] x cubits, a ruined house [ . . . (in)] Ālu-eššu, [( . . . ), . . . , descendant of Rē<sup>2</sup>i-sis]ê(?), and(?) . . . , son] of Aplaya, [descendant of Bēl]-ēṭir, [(named the price as x and bought the property) from ( . . . ) . . . ]  
 (break)
- Rev. (too fragmentary for translation)

### Note

- 14'–18': Lines 14'–17' name two buyers. The seller is known from ll. 2'–3' to be a son of Nergal-[ . . . ], descendant of Esagilaya. The seller's full name, the price, and the purchase clause should follow in ll. 18'ff. (cf. text No. 99:12–14).

**142.**

MMA 84.11.427a,b

Plate 110

H. 35 mm. W. 62 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Fragment of a contract

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, Babylon

[RN], year [x] month 9 day 5

Obv. (traces)

Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)

- 1'. [. . . ]<sup>I</sup>Γ<sup>d</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-NUMUN-[x]  
 2'. [A]-Γ<sup>šú šá</sup> <sup>1</sup>X X A <sup>1</sup>X-<sup>d</sup>Nin<sup>1</sup>-urta  
 3'. <sup>Id</sup>Za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-MU-MU A-šú šá <sup>I</sup>IR(!)-<sup>d</sup>AG  
 4'. A [I]Γ<sup>X</sup> X<sup>1</sup> u <sup>lúš</sup>ID <sup>Id</sup>EN-ú-sa-tu  
 5'. A-šú šá <sup>Id</sup>EN-DA A <sup>I</sup>UR-<sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI  
 6'. [TI]N.TIR<sup>Γ</sup>ki iti<sup>Γ</sup>GAN<sup>1</sup> UD 5.KÁM  
 7'. [MU X.KÁM <sup>I</sup>. . . ] Γ<sup>X</sup> X X<sup>1</sup>  
 8'. [LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> . . . ]

**Translation**

(obverse destroyed)

Rev. [Witnesses]:

[. . .]

- 1'–4'. Nabû-zēra-[. . . , son] of . . . , descendant of . . . -Ninurta  
 Zababa-šuma-iddin, son of Arad-Nabû, descendant of [. . .]  
 4'–5'. And the scribe: Bēl-usāti, son of Bēl-le<sup>2</sup>i, descendant of Ur-Nanna  
 6'–8'. [Bab]ylon, Kislīmu day 5 [year x, RN king of Babylon . . .]

**143.**

MMA 86.11.437

Plate 111

H. 45 mm. W. 30 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Fragment of a litigation settlement

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [. . . ] Γ<sup>X</sup> X X X X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]
- 
- 2'. [. . . šú]-a-ti i-na šA [. . . ]  
 3'. [. . . ] ki-i 6<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> NINDA<sup>bá</sup> Γ<sup>X</sup> [. . . ]  
 4'. [. . . ] Γ<sup>X</sup> 11 GUR 2 (PI) 1 BÁN 4 ŠILA Γ<sup>X</sup> [. . . ]

- 5'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>-na 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBA[R . . . ]  
 6'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> 20 ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> 4 BÁN 2 SÌLA ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> x ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> [... ]  
 7'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> gu a-na 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [... ]  
 8'. [... ] x KI.LAL TIL [... ]  
 9'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> AMAR.UTU ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> AG-PAB(!)(text:nu)-ÛRU [... ]  
 10'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> AMAR.UTU - ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> e - ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> 5<sup>1</sup>-r[u . . . ]  
 11'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> A ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> x ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> [... ]  
 12'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> x ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> [... ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)  
 Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)  
 1'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> x ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> šu [... ]
- 
- 2'. [... ] ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> x ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> E-tir-dᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> [... ]  
 3'. [ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> . . . ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>]DI.KUD DUMU ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> ŠEŠ-ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 4'. [ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> . . . ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>DI]I.KUD DUMU ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> GAL.D[Û]  
 5'. [ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> . . . ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>DI]I.KUD DUMU ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> AD.KID  
 6'. [ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> . . . ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>DI]I.KUD DUMU ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> AMAR-DÛ-MA.AN.S[UM]  
 7'. [ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> . . . ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>DI]I.KUD DUMU ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> IM-ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> lu(?) -xᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]  
 8'. [ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> . . . ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup>DI]I.KUD DUMU ᵀᵀ<sup>1</sup> KU[. . . ]  
 (remainder broken)

### Translation

This text is too fragmentary for translation.

### Remarks

This fragment may come from a document recording the settlement of litigation, since it concludes with a list of judges who oversaw whatever disposition was recorded on the tablet. The remnants of the text on the obverse, which concern measures of land (or commodities) and amounts of money (or prices per unit), are too discontinuous to supply any clear idea of the content of that disposition. The tablet is of rather fine clay and inscribed in a relatively small, orthogonal hand.

## 144.

MMA 86.11.442

Plate 111

H. 31 mm. W. 48 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Fragment of a field lease

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [. . . ]  $\Gamma_X^1$   
 2'. [. . . ]  $\Gamma_X^1-tu_4$   
 3'. [. . . ]  $\Gamma_X X^1 har-ri$   
 4'. [. . . ]  $\Gamma_d^1 \acute{E}-a-MU-\ddot{U}RU$   
 5'. [A<sup>I</sup>. . . a-na] er-re-šu-tu  
 6'. [a-na<sup>I</sup>. . . A-šú šá] <sup>I</sup>Ina-SÜH-SUR  
 7'. [A<sup>I</sup>. . . u<sup>I</sup>. . . A-šú šá] <sup>Id</sup>AG-GÁL<sup>š</sup>  
 8'. [id-din . . . ]  $\Gamma_X X^1$  ŠE.NUMUN(?) dul-lu  
 9'. [ip-pu-šú i-de-e]k(?) -  $\Gamma_{ku}^1$  - u i-pa-áš-šá-ru  
 Lo.E.10'. [<sup>giš</sup>. . . ]  $\Gamma_X^1$  i-zaq-qa-pu-u SÜR i-ḫir-ru-ú  
 11'.  $\Gamma_{ki}^1$  - i i-te-e ši-ib-šú i-na-ad-di-nu  
 Rev. 12'. [ŠE.NU]MUN ma-la ú-šad-du-ú  
 13'. [ki]-i ÚS.SA.DU ši-ib-šú ú-šal-la-mu
- 
- 14'. [<sup>lu</sup>mu-kin] -  $\Gamma_{nu}$  <sup>Id</sup>IDIM(?)<sup>1</sup> - lu-mur A-šú  
 15'. [šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ] A<sup>I</sup>UR - <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI  
 16'. [<sup>I</sup>. . . A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ]  $\Gamma_A^1$  <sup>I</sup>SUD-ana-A-ki-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 17'. [<sup>I</sup>. . . A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>  $\Gamma_X^1$ ] -  $\Gamma_{\ddot{U}RU}^{ir}$  A<sup>I</sup>UR - <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI  
 18'. [. . . ]  $\Gamma_X^1$   
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**

- 1'–4'. (too fragmentary for translation)  
 4'–8'. [. . ., son of] Ea-šuma-ušur, [descendant of . . ., leased for] cultivation [to . . ., son of] Ina-tēšī-eṭir, [descendant of . . ., and . . ., son of] Nabû-ušabši.  
 8'–11'. [(For) as much of(?)] the field as(?) they do the work (of cultivation), hoe and loosen (the soil), plant [. . .-trees], (and) dig irrigation ditches, they shall pay *šibšu*-rent at the rate of the adjacent fields.  
 12'–13'. (For) as much of the [fie]ld as they neglect, they shall pay *šibšu*-rent [accor]ding to (the yield of) the adjacent (fields).

14'–18'. [Witness]es:

Ea(?)-lūmur, son [of . . .], descendant of Ur-Nanna  
 [. . ., son of . . ., descend]ant of Riš-ana-Akītu  
 [. . ., son of . . .]-nāšir(?), descendant of Ur-Nanna  
 [. . .]

### Notes

- 1'–4': The first two or three lines of the obverse are completely missing. The description of the location and condition, and perhaps the status, of the field occupied the text through the beginning of l. 4'.
- 9'–10': Compare the sequence *dekû - pašāru - zaqāpu* in VS 5, 33:7–8, and in *Camb.* 102:6, and the sequence *dekû - pašāru* in *Dar.* 273:15–16.
- 11'–13': Aside from the use of different terms—*nadānu* in l. 11' versus *šullumu* in l. 13', both of which mean “pay”—these two payment stipulations appear to be identical. The first clause, however, concerns the payment required if the lessees accomplish the work expected of them (described in ll. 8'–11'), while the second clause requires that the lessees pay for the lease whether or not they work the land and generate a harvest. The lease payment required when the work of cultivation was accomplished was more customarily defined as a proportion of the harvest (e.g., VS 5, 33:8–9 and YOS 17, 8:6–8) or in terms of the lessee's *sissinnu*-compensation (e.g., YOS 7, 51:13–14; cf. A 116:4–8 in Joannès, *Archives*, pp. 278–79, with translation p. 75, remarks p. 148).

## 145.

MMA 86.11.445a,b,c

Plate 112

H. 30 mm. W. 50 mm. Th. 21 mm.

Fragment of a witness list and date formula

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, Babylon

[RN], year [x] month 4 day 2

Obv. (obverse destroyed)

Rev. 1'. <sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> mu-kin-nu <sup>1</sup>1<sup>d</sup>Γ<sup>1</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup>-LUGAL-ÛRU

2'. <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-šú šá <sup>1</sup>dEN-<sup>1</sup>GI<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-ú-tú

3'. <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-šú <sup>1</sup>šá<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Γ<sup>1</sup>x x x x A<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>Dam-<sup>1</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>

(blank line)

4'. u <sup>1</sup>lušID <sup>1</sup>La-a-ba-ši A-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> [šá]

5'. <sup>1</sup>Šul-lu-mu A <sup>1</sup>SIG<sub>15</sub>-<sup>d</sup>I[M]

6'. [TIN.TI]R<sup>ki</sup> <sup>1</sup>iti<sup>1</sup> ŠU UD 2.KÁM

7'. [MU x.KÁM <sup>1</sup>. . . ] <sup>1</sup>Γ<sup>1</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup>

8'. [LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> (. . . )]

**Translation**

(obverse destroyed)

1'–3'. Witnesses:

Marduk-šarra-ušur, son of Bēl-ušallim

Zērūtu, son of . . . , descendant of Damqa

4'–5'. And the scribe: Lābāši, son [of] Šullumu, descendant of Mudammiq-Ad[ad]

6'–8'. [Bab]ylon, Du<sup>2</sup>ūzu day 2 [year x, RN king of Babylon (. . .)]**146.**

MMA 86.11.450

Plate 112

H. 26 mm. W. 42 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Fragment of a field lease

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

1'. [. . . ] ᵀxᵀ [. . . ]

2'. [. . . ] ᵀxᵀ [x] ᵀx xᵀ [. . . ]

3'. [. . . ] ᵀx x x x x xᵀ [x] ᵀxᵀ

4'. [. . . ] ᵀx x a<sup>1</sup>-di ᵀx<sup>1</sup>ta MU.ᵀAN(?).ᵀNA(?)5'. [id-din(?)] ᵀdul(?)-lu(?)<sup>1</sup> ᵀDu-ᵀum-muq<sup>1</sup>

Lo.E. 6'. [. . . ] ᵀxᵀ mu x ᵀLi-šir-r[u]

7'. [. . . i-na]m-din pu-ut e-peš šá ŠE.NUM[UN]

Rev. 8'. [ᵀDu-u]m-muq na-ši ŠE.NUMUN ma-la

9'. [ina lib-bi u]l-ta-du-ú a-ki-i

10'. [i-te-e šib-š]ú i-nam-din it-ti 1 GUR

11'. [. . . ] i-nam-din na-ᵀxᵀ [. . . ]

12'. [. . . ] ᵀx x xᵀ [. . . ]

(remainder broken)

**Translation**

1'–4'. (too fragmentary for translation)

4'–5'. . . . leased for x years(?).

5'–7'. Dummuq [(will do)] the work (of cultivation) . . . Lišir . . . [will g]ive.

7'–8'. [Du]mmuq guarantees the cultivation of the fiel[d].

8'–10'. (For) as much [of the] field as [he n]eglects, he shall pay [šibš]u-rent according to (the yield of) [the adjacent (fields)].

10'–11'. Per *kur* (dates), he shall pay [. . .]

11'–12'. (too fragmentary for translation)

*Notes*

- 1'–5': These lines are the remnants of the clause granting the lease, which—following the description of the field—may have read *Līšir . . . ana errēšūtu ana Dummuq . . . adi (x) šanāti iddin*, “Līšir . . . leased for cultivation to Dummuq for x years” (cf. *Camb.* 102; see Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 57–58).
- 7'–8': The contractual stipulations regarding the lessee's duties were sometimes expressed in the form of a guarantee; Ries, *Bodenpachtformulare*, pp. 118–19.
- 8'–10': Compare the clauses in text No. 92:13–15 and text No. 144:12'–13'.
- 10'–11': Read perhaps *itti 1 GUR [biltu ša hušābi] inamdin*, “per kur (dates) he shall pay [one load of rachides].”

*Remarks*

In this fragment of a lease for cultivation of a field, the lessor is named Līšir and the lessee is named Dummuq. The lease may pertain to Archive A, the archive of Līšir, son of Marduk-erība, descendant of Esagilaya, and his brother Nabû-apla-iddin; an individual named Dummuq/Rīmūt//Esagilaya witnessed one document of that archive, text No. 14 (see Introduction to Archives A and B).

**147.**

MMA 86.11.454

Plate 112

H. 33 mm. W. 37 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Fragment of a contract

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

[RN], year [x] month 1 day [x]

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [x] ᵀxᵀ [x] ᵀx xᵀ [. . . ]  
 2'. a-na ᵀRi-ᵀmut x xᵀ [. . . ]  
 3'. SUM.NA *tilina* IGI(?) ᵀx x xᵀ [. . . ]  
 4'. ᵀAG-A-MU A-šú ᵀšáᵀ ᵀ[. . . ]  
 5'. [x] ᵀxᵀ ᵀRi-ᵀmutᵀ ᵀlú[. . . ]  
 6'. [šá] ᵀAG-šú-zib-an-ni ᵀxᵀ [. . . ]  
 Lo.E. 7'. [. . . ] ᵀx xᵀ UD 4.KÁ[M]  
 Rev. 8'. [x x] ᵀxᵀ maš še ᵀe(?)ᵀ ni šú qa-t[i . . . ]  
 9'. ᵀxᵀ li ip ti la ap-[. . . ]  
 10'. ᵀiᵀ-nam-din ᵀRi-mut i-il-[. . . ]  
 11'. ᵀlúᵀ mu-kin-nu ᵀAG-ᵀx x xᵀ [x]  
 12'. A-šú šá ᵀAG-NUMUN-GÁL<sup>š</sup> A ᵀMU-lí[b-ši]  
 13'. ᵀAG-NUMUN-GÁL<sup>š</sup> A-šú šá ᵀTu-[. . . ]

- 13a'. A lúSIPA-ᵀANŠEᵀ.KUR.[RA]  
 14'. [u lúšID ᵀ]ᵀAMAR.UTU-X-ᵀXᵀ [A-šú šá]  
 15'. [. . . ki] ᵀitiBÁRᵀ U[D X.KÁM]  
 16'. [MU X.KÁM ᵀ. . . LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> . . . ]  
 (rest of reverse broken)

**Translation**

- 1'–10'. (too fragmentary for translation)  
 11'–13a'. Witnesses:  
     Nabû-. . ., son of Nabû-zēra-ušabši, descendant of Šumu-li[bši]  
     Nabû-zēra-ušabši, son of Tu-[. . .], descendant of Rē<sup>ᵀ</sup>i-sīs[ê]  
 14'–15'. [And the scribe]: Marduk-. . ., [son of . . .]  
 15'–16'. [(GN)], Nisannu d[ay x year x, RN king of Babylon . . .]

**148.**

MMA 86.11.456

Plate 113

H. 30 mm. W. 38 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Fragment of a contract

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

- Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)  
 1'. [. . . ] ᵀXᵀ [X] ᵀXᵀ [X] ᵀX X Xᵀ  
 2'. [. . . ] ᵀXᵀ-tu<sub>4</sub> ᵀKI-ᵀAG-IGI-a-ía  
 3'. [. . . t]u<sub>4</sub> šá ᵀEN-TIN<sup>it</sup>  
 4'. [. . . ᵀ]-ᵀXᵀ-na-ᵀAMAR.UTU  
 5'. [. . . ] ᵀXᵀ-ir ina ᵀma-ši-ᵀhiᵀ  
 6'. [šá ᵀ. . . ]-ᵀXᵀ-a A-šú šá ᵀ[. . . ]  
 Rev. 7'. [ᵀmu-kin]-ni ᵀGINᵀ-NU[MUN]  
 8'. [A-šú šá ᵀA-a] ᵀAᵀ ᵀMuᵀ-na-bit-t[ú]  
 9'. [ᵀ. . . A-šú] šá ᵀ[ᵀE]N-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-ᵀXᵀ  
 9a'. [A ᵀ]ᵀMar-duk-aᵀ  
 10'. [u lúšID ᵀL]a-ba-a-ši-ᵀšú  
 11'. [A-šú šá ᵀA]G-SIG<sub>15</sub> A ᵀMU-líb-ši  
 12'. [. . . ] ᵀX X Xᵀ  
 (remainder broken)



*Translation*

- 1'-6'. (too fragmentary for translation)  
 7'-11'. [Witnes]ses:  
     Mukīn-zē[ri, son of Aplaya], descendant of Munnabitt[u]  
     [. . ., son] of [Bē]l-aḥḥē-. . ., [descendant of] Marduka  
 10'-11'. [And the scribe: L]ābāši-Marduk, [son of Na]bû-mudammiq, descendant of Šumu-libši  
 [. . .]

*Notes*

- 7'-8': The first witness's name is restored from text No. 84:10-11.  
 10'-11': Lābāši-Marduk/Nabû-mudammiq/Šumu-libši is the scribe of text No. 84 and the second witness of text No. 86.

*Remarks*

Since the scribe of this contract and one of the witnesses are attested in tablets of Archive E, the present text may also pertain to Archive E.

**149.**

MMA 86.11.458

Plate 113

H. 37 mm. W. 37 mm. Th. 25 mm.

Fragment of a contract(?)

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv./Rev.(?)

(beginning broken)

- 1'. [. . .<sup>I</sup>. . . ] ᵀA-šú šá ᵀX<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]  
 2'. [. . . ] ᵀd<sup>d</sup>EN-KÁM A-šú šá ᵀNi-din-ᵀtu<sub>4</sub>-ᵀd<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>  
 3'. [. . .<sup>I</sup>. . . ] ᵀqal-la ᵀšá<sup>1</sup> ᵀX X X<sup>1</sup> šá a ri [. . .]  
 4'. [. . .<sup>I</sup>. . . ]-ᵀX<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá ᵀKal-ba-a  
 5'. [. . .<sup>I</sup>. . . ] A-šú šá ᵀSUM.NA-ᵀd<sup>d</sup>X<sup>1</sup>  
 6'. [A<sup>I</sup>. . . ] ᵀX X<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]

(remainder broken)

*Translation*

This text is too fragmentary for translation.

**150.**

MMA 86.11.464a,b

Plate 113

H. 26 mm. W. 46 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Fragment of an agreement concerning a dowry(?)

Achaemenid(?) period, GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [x x] [ . . . ]  
 2'. a-na nu-d[un(?)-né-e šá<sup>f</sup>. . . ]  
 3'. DUMU.SAL-šú [x x] šá [x x x] [ . . . ]  
 4'. ana<sup>Id</sup>EN-[SUR(?)-x] A šá<sup>Id</sup>[x]-[ . . . ]  
 5'. A<sup>1</sup>Lib-[luṭ] DAM-šú [x] [ . . . ]

Rev. 6'. KÙ.BABBAR a-n[a . . . ]

- 7'. [x] [ . . . ]

(remainder broken)

**Translation**

This text is too fragmentary for translation.

**Note**

- 4': The use of
- māru*
- (A)
- šá*
- instead of
- māršu ša*
- to express filiation suggests a date in the late fifth century B.C. (see text No. 127, n. to ll. 4ff.).

**Remarks**

This fragment is the lower-left corner of a relatively large tablet with square edges.

## 151.

MMA 86.11.466

Plate 114

H. 31 mm. W. 31 mm. Th. 16 mm.

Fragment of a quittance(?)

Neo-Babylonian period, Ҳursagkamma

Nabopolassar/Nebuchadnezzar II,

year 2 month 1 day [x]

- Obv. 1. [u-il-ti(?) šá 10] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ra-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>r</sup>-tu  
 2. [šá<sup>I</sup>. . . ] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> <sup>I</sup>šá<sup>d</sup>-AG-šú-ú  
 3. [. . . <sup>I</sup>šad/Ki(?)]-din-nu A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-a  
 4. [. . . ]-a KÙ.BABBAR a-na šU<sup>II</sup>  
 5. [<sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GAR]<sup>r</sup>un<sup>r</sup> i-qàt(!)-tu  
 6. [. . . ] <sup>Id</sup>AG-MU-GAR<sup>un</sup>  
 7. [. . . KÙ].BABBAR-<sup>p</sup> 10 GÍN  
 8. [. . . ] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>
- Lo.E. (destroyed)
- Rev. 1'. [<sup>I</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>Id</sup>]<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup>-GI  
 2'. [A-šú šá<sup>I</sup>. . . A<sup>I</sup>]A-ta-mar-<sup>d</sup>⟨⟨A⟩⟩šEŠ.KI  
 3'. [<sup>I</sup>. . . A-šú šá<sup>Id</sup>]AG-šEŠ(!)(text: BAL)<sup>meš</sup>-bul-liṭ  
 4'. [A<sup>I</sup>. . . ]<sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> ù(!)(text: SIPA) <sup>I</sup>šID  
 5'. [<sup>I</sup>. . . ]-<sup>r</sup>x A-šú<sup>r</sup> šá<sup>I</sup>Li-ši-ru  
 6'. [A<sup>I</sup>. . . ] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> uru<sup>r</sup> Ҳur<sup>r</sup>-sa-kalam-ma<sup>iti</sup>BÁR  
 7'. [UD X.KÁM M]U 2.KÁM  
 U.E. 8'. [<sup>Id</sup>AG-X-(X)]-PAP LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

*Translation*

1–4(?). [The promissory note(?) for 10] shekels silver, the credit claim [of (. . .), descendant of] Ša-Nabû-šû [. . . Šad/(Ki?)dinnu, son of Iqīšaya [. . .]

4–5. [. . .] silver in the hands of [Nabû-šuma-išk]un, he shall complete(?)

6–7. [. . .] Nabû-šuma-iškun [. . .] that 10 shekels [sil]ver [. . .]

(break)

Rev.

1'–4'. [Witnesses]:

[. . .]-ušallim, [son of . . ., descendant of] Ātamar-Sîn

[. . ., son of] Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, [descendant of . . .]

4'–6'. And the scribe: [. . .], son of Līšir, [descendant of . . .]

6'–8'. Ҳursagkamma, Nisannu [day x ye]ar 2, [Nabopola]ssar/[Nebuchadne]zzar king of Babylon

**Notes**

- 1: Compare text No. 17:1–3 for the opening of a quittance.  
 Rev. 2': It appears that the scribe began to write <sup>d</sup>A-nu-(us)-su for Ātamar-Anūssu and then switched to writing <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.KI.  
 Rev. 8': The royal name might be restored as either <sup>Id</sup>AG-IBILA-PAP (Nabopolassar) or <sup>Id</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-PAP (Nebuchadnezzar).

**152.**

MMA 86.11.467

Plate 114

H. 26 mm. W. 40 mm. Th. 23 mm.

Fragment of an account record(?)

Neo-Babylonian period, GN not preserved

Nebuchadnezzar II, year [x]+6 month 1 day 16

- Obv. 1. [x] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR a-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>r</sup> [. . . ]  
 2. [a(?)]-<sup>r</sup>na(?)<sup>r</sup> <sup>l</sup>TIN-su <sup>lú</sup><sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> [. . . ]  
 3. [x] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>r</sup> GÍN a-na <sup>r</sup>na<sup>r</sup>-[. . . ]  
 4. [a]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>r</sup> <sup>l</sup>A-ta-a-[. . . ]  
 5. <sup>r</sup>Ri-mut-<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>r</sup> [. . . ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)  
 (beginning of reverse broken)
- Rev. 1'. [<sup>l</sup>x]-<sup>r</sup>x <sup>Id</sup>Bu-ne<sup>r</sup>-[ne-. . . A <sup>l</sup>. . . A]  
 2'. <sup>lú</sup><sup>r</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup><sup>r</sup>[. . . ]  
 3'. <sup>r</sup>iti<sup>r</sup>BÁR<sup>r</sup> UD 16.[KÁM]  
 4'. [MU x]+<sup>r</sup>6<sup>r</sup>.KÁM <<<sup>l</sup>>>  
 5'. [<sup>l</sup>AG-NÍG].DU-[ÛRU/PAP]  
 6'. [LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

**Translation**

- 1–2. [x] shekels silver fo[r . . . (disbursed) t]o(?) Balāssu, the [. . .]-official.  
 3–5. [x] shekels (silver) for [. . . (disbursed) to Ata-[. . .] Rīmūt-Bēl, [. . .]  
 (break)

Rev.

- 1'–2'. [. . .] Bune[ne-. . ., son of . . ., descendant of] Šangû-[. . .]  
 3'–6'. Nisannu, day 16 [year x]+6, [Nebucha]dn[ezzar king of Babylon]

**Remarks**

The preserved lines suggest that this thick fragment is part of a record of silver disbursements, comparable to text No. 71 in format but, like text No. 45, bearing a complete date.

**153.**

MMA 86.11.469

Plate 115

H. 21 mm. W. 44 mm. Th. 22 mm.

Fragment of a contract involving a house

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [. . . ] ᵀX X É ᵀX-X-ᵀXᵀ [. . . ]  
 2'. [. . . ] ᵀXᵀ šá DA É ᵀŠá-du-nu [A-šú šá]  
 3'. [ᵀ. . . A ᵀDÙ]ᵀᵀᵀ-DINGIR ù DA É ᵀ[. . . A-šú šá]  
 4'. [ᵀ. . . ] ᵀᵀᵀ DA É ᵀLu-ᵀ[u-ana-ZÁLAG]  
 5'. [A-šú šá ᵀ. . . ] ᵀX Xᵀ [. . . ]  
 (rest of obverse broken)

Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)

- 1'. [. . . ] ᵀX X Xᵀ i-ᵀnam-dinᵀ [. . . ]  
 2'. [. . . É I]M.SI.SÁ É IM.KUR.RA ù [. . . ]  
 3'. [. . . ] ᵀX Xᵀ ᵀᵀᵀmu-kin-nu ᵀPer-ᵀu A-šú [šá]  
 4'. [ᵀᵀᵀAG-SUR A] ᵀᵀᵀMU-líbᵀ-ši ᵀIna-SÛH-KARᵀᵀᵀ A-šú [šá]  
 5'. [ᵀ. . . A] ᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀ30-šá-du-nu ᵀᵀᵀAG-ᵀX-X-Xᵀ [A-šú šá]  
 6'. [ᵀ. . . ] ᵀX X X Xᵀ [. . . ]  
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**

Obv.

- 1'–4'. [. . .] house of . . . , [. . .], which is adjacent to the property of Šadûnu, [. . . , descendant of Eppleš-ilī, and adjacent to the property of [. . . , son of . . . , a]nd adjacent to the property of Lūši-[ana-nūri, son of . . .]

(break)

Rev.

- 1'. [. . .] . . . he will give.  
 2'–3'. [. . .] the north [room/wing], the west room/wing, and [. . .] . . .

3'-6'. Witnesses:

Per<sup>o</sup>u, son [of Nabû-ēṭir, descendant of] Šumu-libši  
 Ina-tēšî-eṭir, son [of . . . , descendant of] Sîn-šadûnu  
 Nabû-. . . , [son of . . . ]  
 [. . . ]

### Notes

Obv. 2'-3': Compare Šadûnu/Balāssu/Eppeš-ilī in *Nbn.* 70:3-4.

Rev. 3'-4': The first witness's patronymic is restored based on text No. 27:4-5 and *Nbn.* 1116:15-16.

4'-5': An Ina-tēšî-eṭir//Sîn-šadûnu also appears in *Nbn.* 534:5-6, as the owner of property adjacent to a house pledged to Iddin-Marduk (see Archive D) as security for debt.

## 154.

MMA 86.11.475

Plate 115

H. 32 mm. W. 27 mm. Th. 14 mm.

Fragment of a promissory note for dates

Neo-Babylonian period, GN not preserved

Nabû-[. . .], year [x] month 7 day [x]

Obv. 1. 5 GUR Z[Ú.LUM.MA ZAG.LU(?) ŠE.NUMUN(?) . . . ]

2. *i-na qu-ta-[nu . . . ]*

3. É *maš-ka-nu šá* <sup>Γ1</sup>[MU(?)-GIN(?)] A-šú šá

4. <sup>Γ1</sup>Na<sup>1</sup>-šir A <sup>Γ1</sup>R<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>d</sup>IDIM(?) . . . ]

5. [. . . ] <sup>Γx</sup>Id<sup>EN/AG</sup><sup>1</sup>-[. . . ]

(rest of obverse destroyed)

Rev. (beginning of reverse destroyed)

1'. [x] <sup>Γx</sup>[. . . ]

2'. <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]

3'. <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]

4'. <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]

5'. <sup>I</sup>[. . . ]

6'. A <sup>Γx</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [. . . ]

U.E. 7'. <sup>id</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> [UD x.KÁM MU x.KÁM]

8'. <sup>Γd</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-[. . . LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

**Translation**

Obv.

- 1–2. 5 kur d[ates, the *imittu*(?)-payment of the field . . .] in the *qutānu*-(area) [. . .]  
 3–4. the property pledged as security to [Šuma-ukīn(?), son of] Nāšir, descendant of Ar[ad-Ea(?) . . .]  
 (break)

Rev.

- 6'–8'. [(GN)], Tašrītu [day x year x], Nabû-[. . . king of Babylon]

**Note**

- 1: For the restoration of l. 1, cf. text No. 66:1–2. The date of the tablet (month of Tašrītu) supports the assumption that this fragment is a promissory note for dates owed as *imittu*.

**Remarks**

The creditor's name (ll. 3–4) is restored as Šuma-ukīn/Nāšir//Arad-Ea based on text Nos. 84:1, 15; 85:2, 10, 19; and 86:4, 7, 18. If this restoration is correct, this fragment almost certainly belongs to Archive E.

**155.**

MMA 86.11.481

Plate 115

H. 22 mm. W. 35 mm. Th. 14 mm.

Fragment of contract

Neo-Babylonian(?) period, GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [. . . ] ṽx x xṽ [. . . ]  
 2'. [. . . ] ṽxṽ-e ina IGI ka ṽxṽ [. . . ]  
 3'. [. . . ] ṽxṽ ma <sup>Id</sup>EN-ṽxṽ-[. . . ]  
 4'. [. . . ] ṽxṽ-e na ka [. . . ]  
 5'. [x m]u(?) É ṽli xṽ [. . . ]  
 Lo.E. 6'. ú-íl-tì šá 5 G[UR . . . ]  
 7'. <sup>1</sup>La-ba-a-ši u-kal-ṽlimṽ [<sup>1</sup>. . . u(?)]  
 Rev. 8'. <sup>[1]</sup>Ni-is-ḫur-DINGIR iq-bu-u ṽumṽ-[ma]  
 9'. ṽxṽ ep-še-e-ti IGI [. . . ]  
 10'. [<sup>Id</sup>A]G-MU-MU A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>BA<sup>šá</sup>-[a A]  
 11'. [<sup>Id</sup>ZÁLAG]-ṽd<sup>1</sup>30 <sup>Id</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-[x A-šú šá]  
 12'. [<sup>1</sup>. . . ] ṽxṽ [. . . ]  
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**

- 1'-5'. (too fragmentary for translation)  
 6'-7'. Lābāši will present the promissory note for 5 *kur* [. . .]  
 8'-9'. [. . ., and(?)] Nishur-ilī said as foll[ows: . . .] deeds(?) before [. . .]  
 10'-11'. [Nab]û-šuma-iddin, son of Iqīša[ya, descendant of Nūr]-Sîn; Marduk-šuma-[. . .]

**Note**

- 10': The name and filiation are restored based on text Nos. 25 and 26 (Archive B), where Nabû-šuma-iddin/Iqīšaya/Nūr-Sîn is, respectively, a contracting party and the first witness.

**156.**

MMA 86.11.482

Plate 116

H. 26 mm. W. 47 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Fragment of an accounting record(?)

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'.  $\lceil x x x \rceil$  [. . . ]  
 2'. *a-di* UR<sub>5</sub>.RA  $\lceil KÙ \rceil$ .BABBAR  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil x \rceil$   $\lceil x x \rceil$  [. . . ]  
 3'. *iz-zi-zu ina* GUB<sup>zu</sup>  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$   
 4'. [A-šú]  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$  A  $\lceil MU-d \rceil$   $\lceil x \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$   
 Lo.E. 5'.  $\lceil \dots \rceil$   $\lceil A \rceil$ -šú  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$   
 Rev. 6'. A  $\lceil x \rceil$   $\lceil x-x \rceil$ -*tu*/UTU  $\lceil x \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$   
 7'. A-šú  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil x x \rceil$   $\lceil x \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$   
 8'.  $\lceil x \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$   $\lceil A \rceil$ -šú  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$  A  $\lceil \dots \rceil$   
 9'.  $\lceil \dots \rceil$  A-šú  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$  A  $\lceil \dots \rceil$   
 10'. *u*  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$  A-šú  $\lceil šá \rceil$   $\lceil \dots \rceil$  A  $\lceil \dots \rceil$   
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**

- 2'-3'. [. . .] including the interest on the silver of [(PN) . . .] it/they “stand(s)”  
 3'-9'. In the presence of:  
 [. . ., son of . . .], descendant of Iddin-[. . .]  
 [. . .], son of [. . .], descendant of [. . .]-tu/Šamaš  
 [. . .], son of [. . .], descendant of [. . .]



- [. . .], son of [. . ., descendant of . . .]  
 [. . ., son of . . ., descendant of . . .]  
 10'. And the [scribe: . . ., son of . . ., descendant of . . .]

**Note**

- 3': Since the witnesses are introduced by *ina ušuzzu*, this document is probably an internal accounting record or memorandum of a transaction (cf. text Nos. 71, 76, and 78).

**157.**

MMA 86.11.504

Not copied

H. 11 mm. W. 28 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Fragment

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv.(?)1'. [. . . ] <sup>1</sup> *mit-ti šá* <sup>x</sup> [. . . ]2'. [. . . ] <sup>1</sup> *-iq-bi* x [. . . ]

(rest of obverse broken)

Rev.(?)1'. (illegible traces)

**Translation**

This text is too fragmentary for translation.

**158.**

MMA 86.11.505

Not copied

H. 20 mm. W. 24 mm. Th. 20 mm.

Fragment

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv/Rev.(?) (beginning of obverse broken)

1'. [. . . ] ṽx x x ṽ [. . . ]

2'. [. . . ṽ. . .]-ṽx ṽ-KAR ṽṽx ṽ-[. . . ]

U.E./L.E. (blank)

(remainder broken)

**Translation**

This text is too fragmentary for translation.

**159.**

MMA 86.11.507

Plate 116

H. 12 mm. W. 33 mm. Th. 15 mm.

Fragment of a promissory note

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

1'. [. . . ] ṽx ṽ [. . . ]

2'. 1<sup>et</sup> rit-tu<sub>4</sub> i-n[am-din]Rev. 3'. ṽ<sup>1</sup>mu-kin-nu ṽ<sup>d</sup>I[M-. . . ]4'. [A]-ṽšú ṽ šá ṽ<sup>1</sup>Du-muq ṽ<sup>A</sup> ṽ<sup>1</sup>[. . . ]

(remainder broken)

**Translation**

1'-2'. [. . . ] he shall del[iver [. . . ] in a single delivery.

3'-4'. Witnesses:

Ad[ad-. . . , son] of Dummuq, descendant of [. . . ]

*Note*

2': The clause *ina ištêt rittu inamdin* indicates that this is a fragment of a promissory note for produce owed as a lease payment, probably *imittu*.

**160.**

MMA 86.11.508

Plate 116

H. 29 mm. W. 23 mm. Th. 5 mm.

Fragment of the witness list of a contract(?)

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (obverse destroyed)

Rev. (beginning of reverse broken)

- 1'. [... ] 𒄠 [ . . . ]  
 2'. [... ]-𒄠 DUMU <sup>1</sup>Ir-[a-ni . . . ]  
 3'. [... ]-𒄠 DUMU <sup>1</sup>𒄠-[ . . . ]  
 4'. [... ] 𒄠 <sup>lu</sup>SANGA-<sup>d</sup>[ . . . ]  
 5'. [... ] <sup>d</sup>EN-*sur*(?)-𒄠-[ . . . ]  
 6'. [... ] <sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>a-š</sup>ú-šá-<sup>d</sup>𒄠MAS<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 (remainder broken)

*Translation*

This text is too fragmentary for translation.

**161.**

MMA 86.11.522a,b

Plate 117

H. 22 mm. W. 23 mm. Th. 15 mm.

Fragment of a lease

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. 𒄠 x x x 𒄠 [ . . . ]  
 2'. <sup>1</sup>Du-𒄠um-qu(?)<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 3'. *i-ḫe*-𒄠re-e x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 4'. [x] 𒄠 [ <sup>1</sup>. . . A-šú šá <sup>1</sup>. . . ]

- 5'.  $\Gamma_A^1 \dot{E}^1$ -sag-g[il-a-a . . . ]  
 Lo.E. 6'. i-nam-din  $\Gamma_X^1$  [. . . ]  
 7'. e-lat  $\Gamma_X^1$ -. . . ]  
 Rev. 8'. sis-sin-nu  $\Gamma_e^1$ -[tir(?) . . . ]  
 9'.  $\dot{l}u$ - $\Gamma_{kin}^1$ -nu  $\Gamma$  [. . . ]  
 10'.  $\Gamma_A$ - $\dot{s}u^1$  [ $\dot{s}a$ ] [ $\dot{I}d$ ] $\Gamma_{AG}^1$ -. . . ]  
 11'.  $\Gamma_A^1$   $\Gamma_{\dot{s}a-d_X-\dot{s}u^1}^1$   $\Gamma$  [. . . ]  
 12'. A- $\dot{s}u$   $\dot{s}a$   $\dot{I}Qu$ - $\Gamma_X^1$ -. . . ]  
 (rest of reverse broken)  
 L.E. 1'.  $uru$ [x]  $\Gamma_X$  x  $\Gamma$  [ $\dot{I}tix$  UD x.KÁM . . . ]  
 2'.  $\Gamma_X^1$  x x [. . . ]

### Translation

- [. . .]  
 2'–3'. Dumqu [. . .] will dig [. . .]  
 4'–6'. [to . . ., son of . . .], descendant of Esag[ilaya, . . .] he will give.  
 7'. Separate from [. . .]  
 8'. *sissinnu*-compensation . . . [. . .].  
 9'–12'. Witnesses:  
     [. . .], son [of] Nabû-[. . .], descendant of Ša-. . .-šû  
     [. . .], son of Qu-. . .-[. . .]  
 (break)  
 L.E.  
 1'–2'. (City of) . . . [month x day x year x . . .]

### Note

- 2'–3': Compare the clause in text No. 67 requiring that the lessee work the field by digging and give it back to the lessor (ŠE.NUMUN *iḫarrīma* . . . *inamdin*, ll. 8–9).

### Remarks

The name of the lessee in this lease is Dumqu, and the lessor is a descendant of Esagilaya. These facts suggest comparison with text No. 146, another fragment of a lease, in which the lessee is Dummuq and the lessor is Līšir, possibly identical to Līšir, son of Marduk-erība, descendant of Esagilaya, of Archive A (the two fragments do not join, however). Text No. 161, like text No. 146, may pertain to Archive A.

**162.**

MMA 86.11.536

Plate 117

H. 36 mm. W. 54 mm. Th. 26 mm.

Fragment of a contract

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period,

GN not preserved

Date formula not preserved

Obv.(?) (beginning of obverse broken)

- 1'. [ . . . ] ṣx<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 2'. [1]ṣx-x šEš<sup>1</sup>-šú A-šú ṣá<sup>1</sup> I[ . . . KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub>]  
 3'. ½ MA.NA qa-lu-ú [ . . . ]  
 4'. mu-šip-tu<sub>4</sub>-a<sub>4</sub> 15 MA.[NA . . . ]  
 5'. ṣ<sup>1 et</sup> giš<sup>1</sup> NA-a<sub>4</sub> ṣ<sup>1 et</sup> [ . . . ]  
 6'. [ . . . ] ṣx x<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ]  
 (remainder broken)

**Translation**

2'–5'. . . ., his/her brother, son of [ . . . , that] ½ mina refined [silver . . .], that *mušiptu*-cloth/clothing (weighing) 15 mi[nas . . .], that one bed, [that] one [ . . .]

**Note**

4': The use of the demonstrative *-ā* (see *CAD A/1*, p. 1, s.v. *a*) indicates that the list of items (silver, cloth, furniture) is being recapitulated, having been enumerated earlier in the document.

**Remarks**

The preserved text on this fragment of a large tablet resembles the itemization of a dowry, possibly in the context of a marriage agreement. Compare, for example, the dowries given in Roth, *Marriage Agreements*, nos. 19, 23, 24a, 25, and 29, which consist of silver and household furnishings (among other things). Itemizations of dowries occur in documents other than marriage agreements; see M. T. Roth, "The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry," *AfO* 36–37 (1989–90), pp. 1–55.

**163.**

MMA 86.11.556

Not copied

H. 10 mm. W. 14 mm. Th. 2 mm.

Fragment of a promissory note for silver  
 Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, GN not  
 preserved  
 Date formula not preserved

Obv. (beginning of obverse broken)

1'. [šá MU.AN.N]A(?) ᵀa-na(?)ᵀ U[GU(?)]

2'. [1 MA.NA] ᵀ1ᵀ2 GÍN ᵀKÙ.ᵀ[BABBAR *ina* UGU-šú(?)]3'. [*i-rab-b*]i(?) ᵀxᵀ [ . . . ]

(rest of obverse broken)

Rev. (reverse destroyed)

**Translation**

1'–3'. [(Interest) shall accr]ue(?) [against him(?)] (at the rate of) 12 shekels sil[ver] per(?) [mina per  
 yea]r(?). [ . . . ]

**Remarks**

The numeral 12 (l. 2') is the basis for restoring the text of this thin surface fragment as the interest clause of a promissory note for silver, with interest calculated at the usual rate of 20 percent annually (see, for example, text Nos. 22:5–6 and 106:5–6).

**164.**

MMA 07.154.5

Plate 117

H. 49 mm. W. 30 mm. Th. 17 mm.

Letter

Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid period, no GN

No date formula

- Obv. 1. [I]M ᵀSUM.NA-ŠEŠ  
 2. [*a-na*] ᵀRi-mut DUMU-šú  
 3. ᵀAGᵀ u ᵀEN ᵀšu-lum u TIN  
 4. šá DUMU-ía ᵀliqᵀ-bu-ú  
 5. šu-ú DUMU-ú-a *i-de*  
 6. *ki-i* ŠE.BAR *ina* É *ia-a-nu*  
 7. 2 GUR 3 GUR ŠE.BAR *ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup>  
 8. lú<MÁ>.LAH<sub>4</sub> šá *ti-i-du-ú*

9. DUMU-ú-a lu-še-bi-la  
 10. ia-a-nu-ú ina šU<sup>II</sup>  
 11. <sup>lú</sup>MÁ.LAH<sub>4</sub> šá ti-i-du-u  
 12. ʿšú-bi<sup>1</sup>-la  
 Rev. 13. ʿšú<sup>1</sup>-ú ʿEN<sup>1</sup> [x]-ʿx<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
 14. ina muḥ-ḫi-ia  
 15. ma-da at-ru ud-de-e  
 16. a-na ap-pu šu-ú-šu  
 17. u<sub>4</sub>-ʿmu<sup>1</sup>-us-su EN u <sup>d</sup>PA  
 18. a-ʿna TIN<sup>1</sup> ZI<sup>meš</sup> šá DUMU-ía  
 19. ú-[šal]-la ʿRi-šat  
 20. šu-lum šá ʿRi<sup>1</sup>-mut DUMU-šú  
 21. ta-šá-la

### Translation

- 1–4. [Let]ter of Nādin-aḫi [to] Rīmūt his son. May Nabû and Bēl ordain the well-being and life of my son.  
 5–12. My son knows that there is no barley in the house. Let my son send me two or three *kur* barley in the care of a sailor whom you know. There is none; send me (some) in the care of a sailor whom you know.  
 13–16. I am very much in debt . . . send out (word of) my distress.  
 17–21. Daily I pray to Bēl and Nabû for the health of my son. Rīšāt asks after the well-being of her son Rīmūt.

### Note

- 16: For the idiom *ana appi šūšû*, here interpreted to mean “to make (information) known,” see references cited in *CAD* A/2, p. 187, s.v. *appu* A [1d].

### Remarks

This tablet was accessioned in 1907 as part of a small lot of six tablets, the other five of which are connected with the archive of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar and are to be published in CTMMA 4. The fact that this letter was part of a group of tablets pertaining to the temple archive of Sippar suggests that city as its provenance, but there is no other indication of where the letter was written or when. It is a private letter, with no connection to official business, from Nādin-aḫi to his son Rīmūt; besides the expressions of well-wishing and concern that are typical of letters between family members, the content of the message is Nādin-aḫi’s request that his son send barley to his family because there is “none” in the house, and that Rīmūt make known his father’s plight.

## Plates 1–117

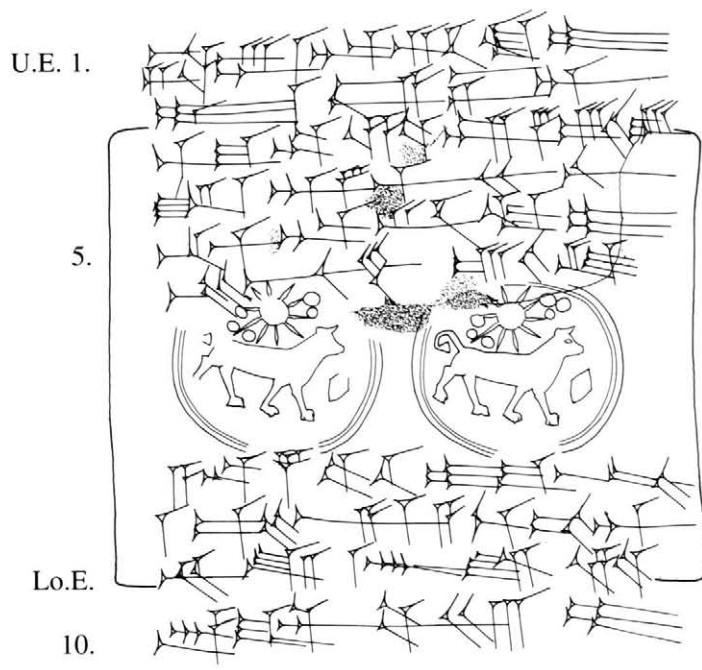
### Drawings

All drawings are reproduced at a scale  
of 3:2 unless otherwise indicated.





Text la Obverse



Text la Reverse

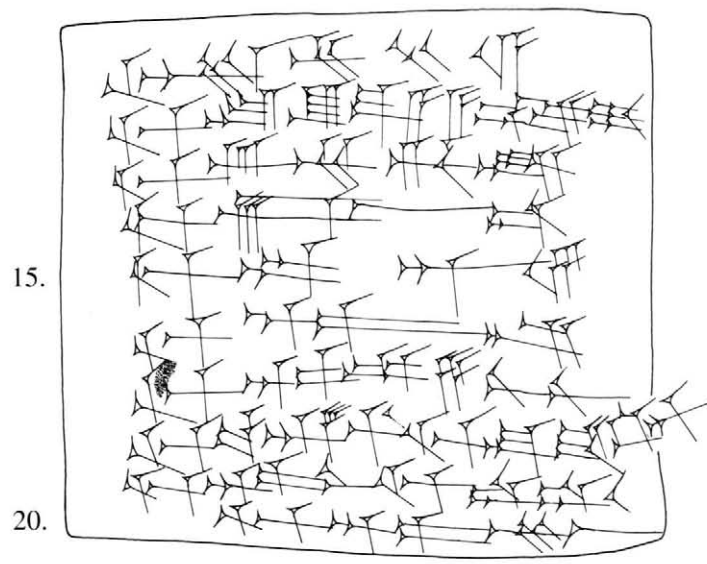
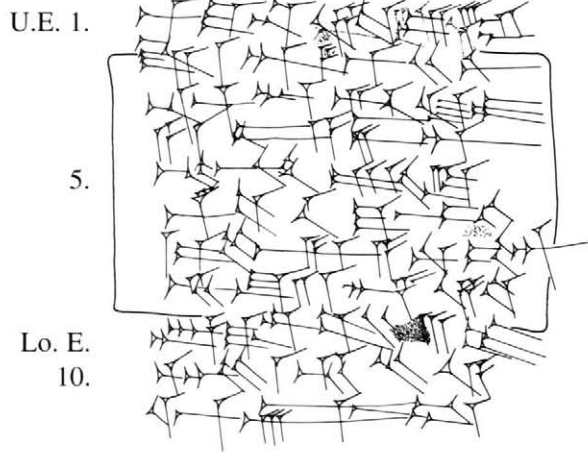
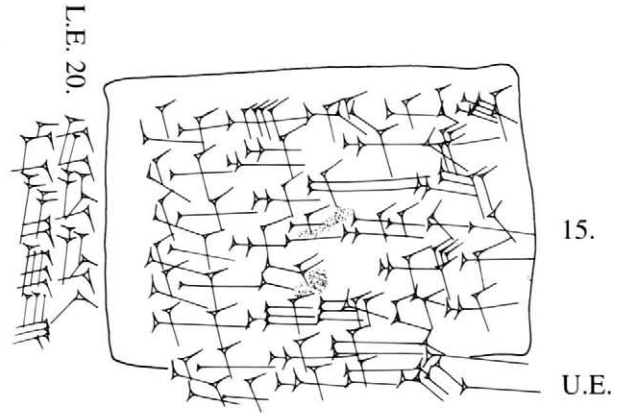


PLATE 2

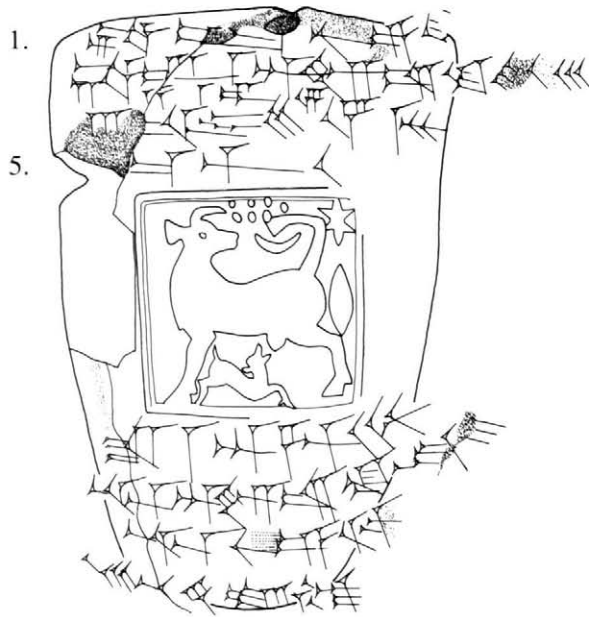
Text 1b Obverse



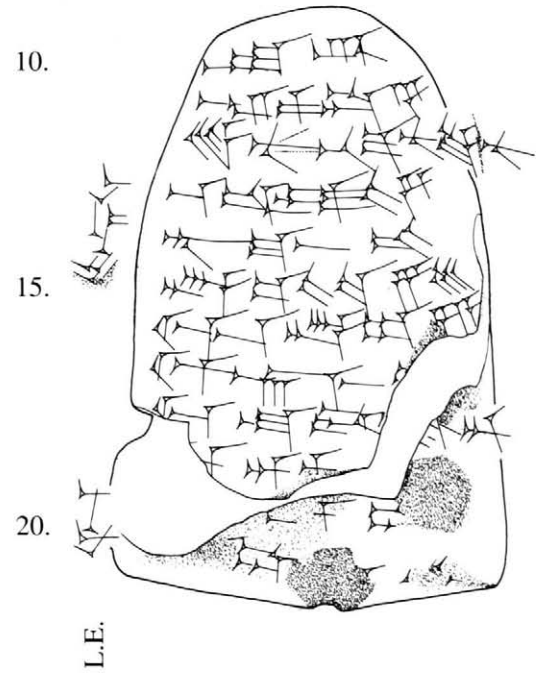
Text 1b Reverse



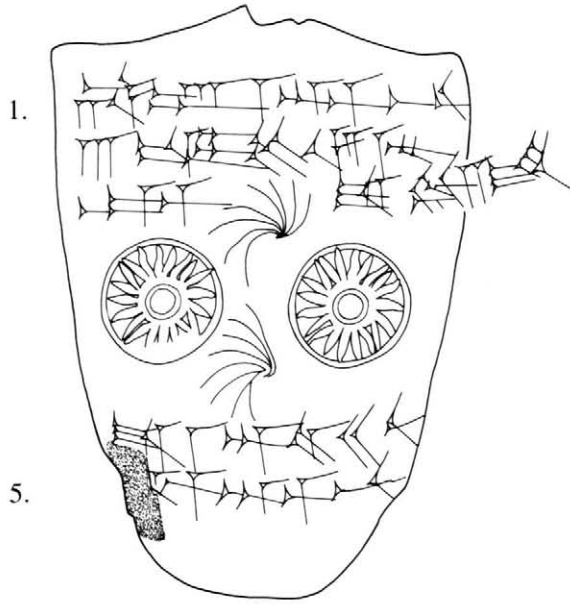
Text 2 Obverse



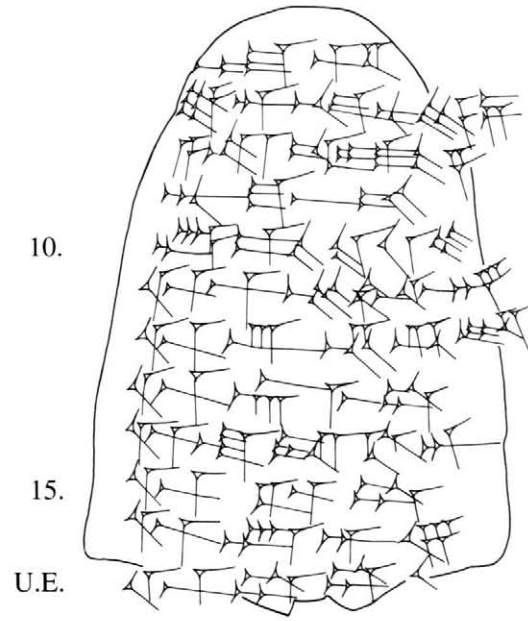
Text 2 Reverse



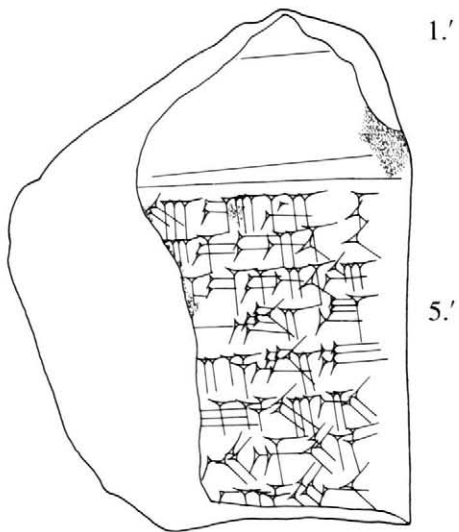
Text 3 Obverse



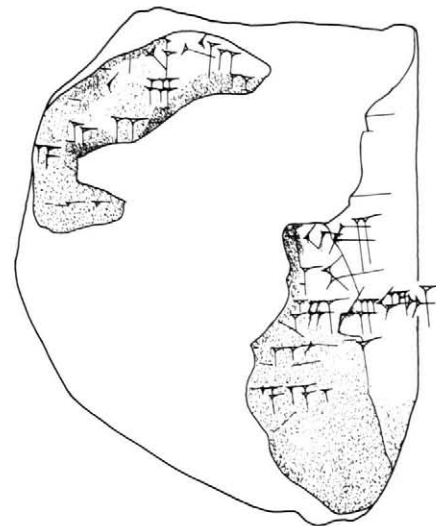
Text 3 Reverse



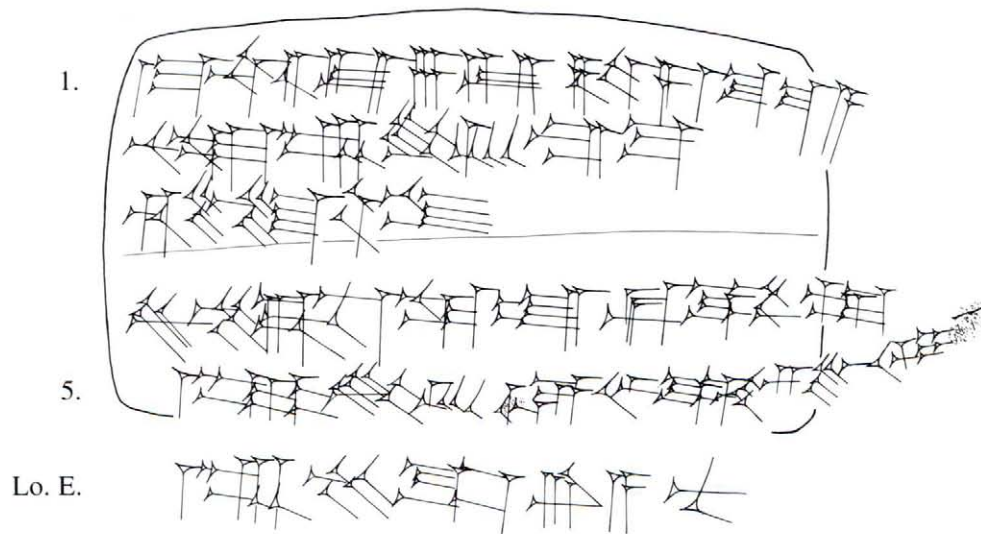
Text 4 Obverse



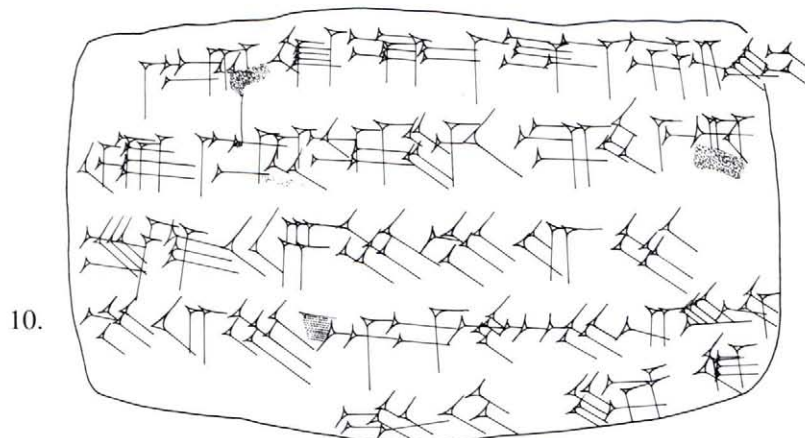
Text 4 Reverse



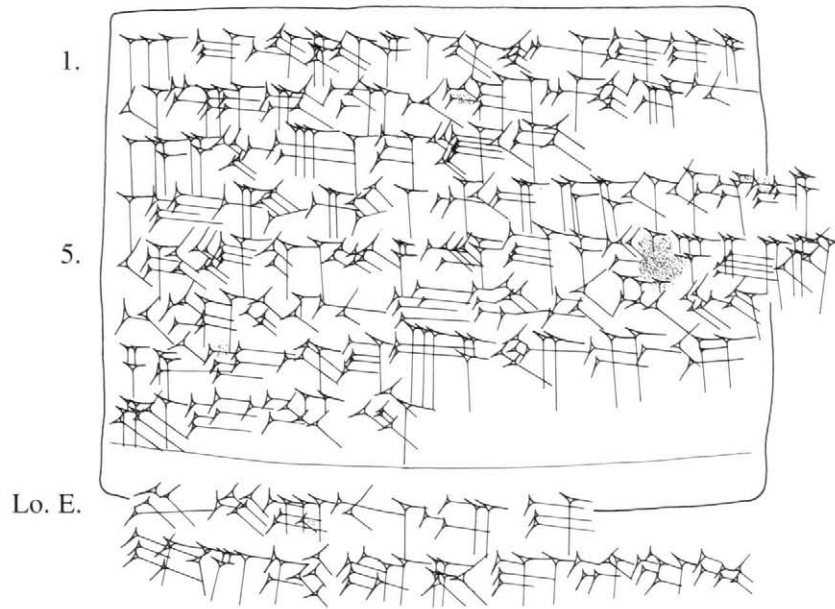
Text 5 Obverse



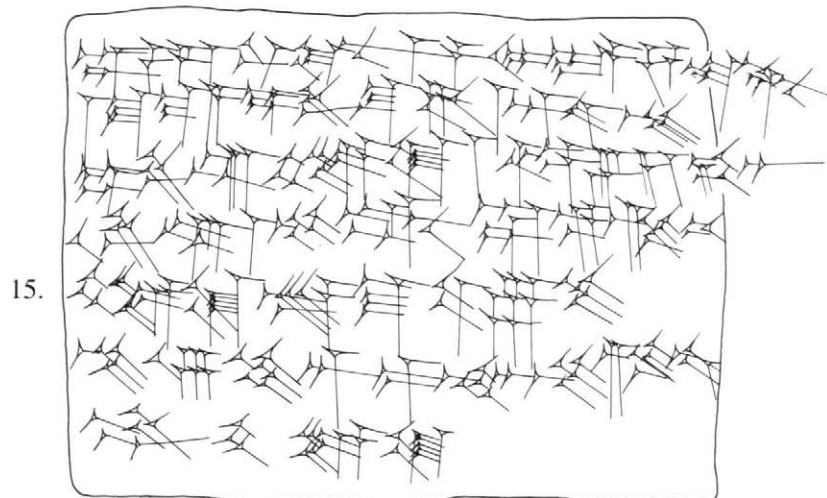
Text 5 Reverse



Text 6 Obverse



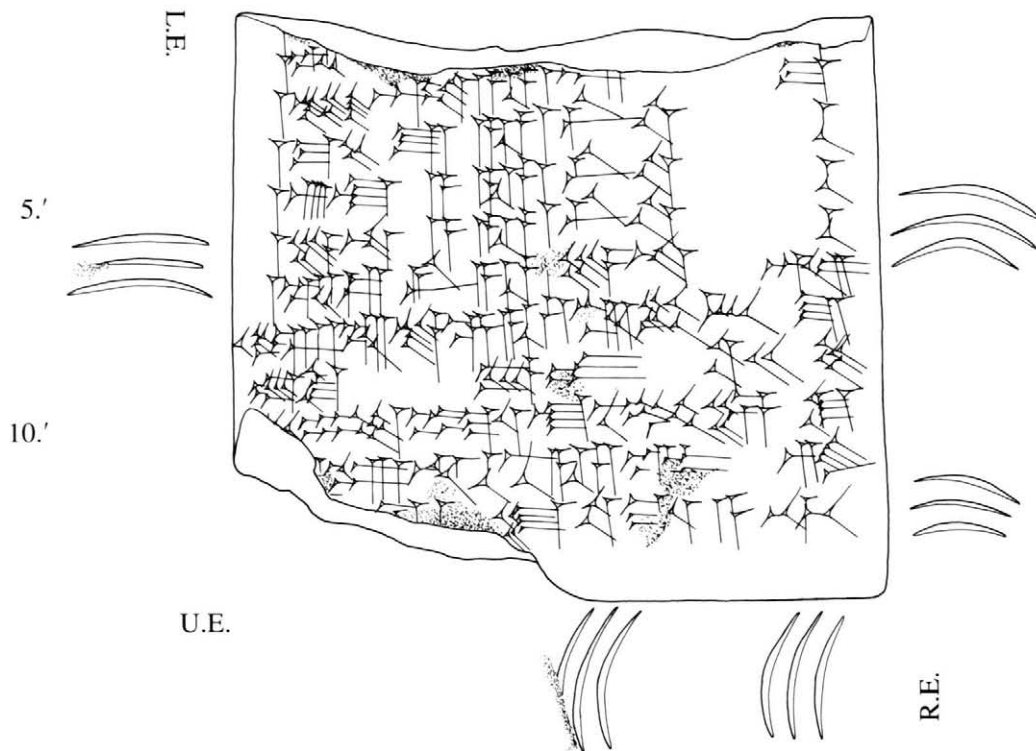
Text 6 Reverse



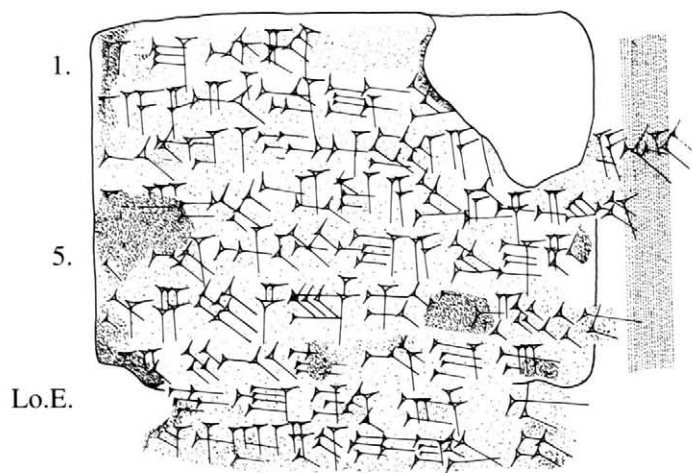
Text 7 Obverse



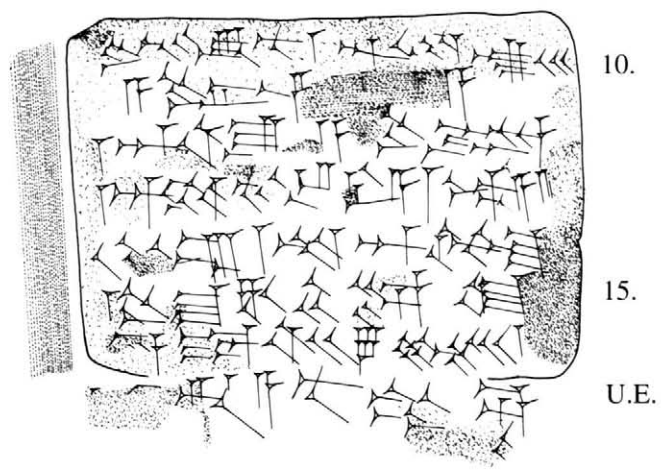
Text 7 Reverse



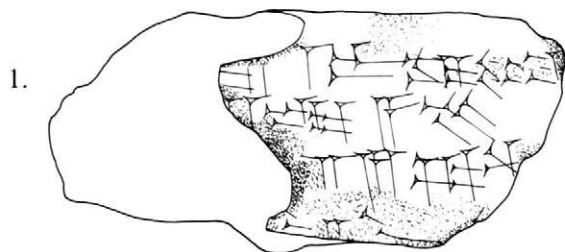
Text 8 Obverse



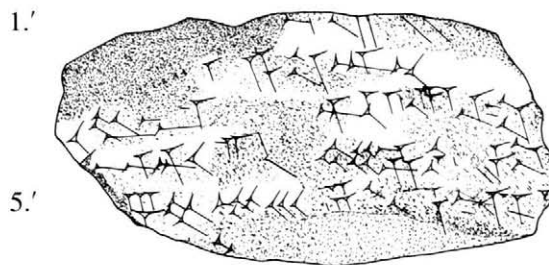
Text 8 Reverse



Text 9 Obverse

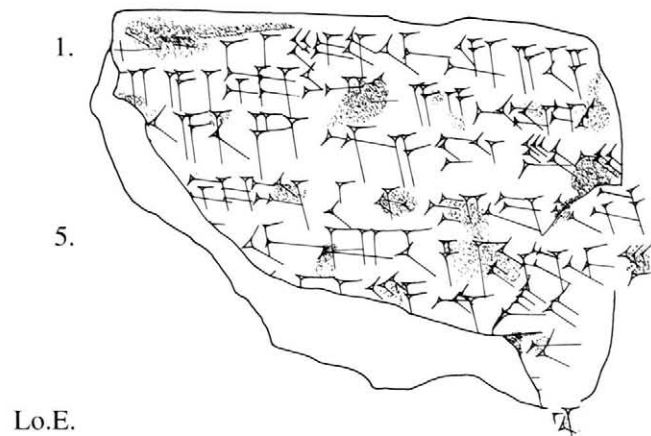


Text 9 Reverse

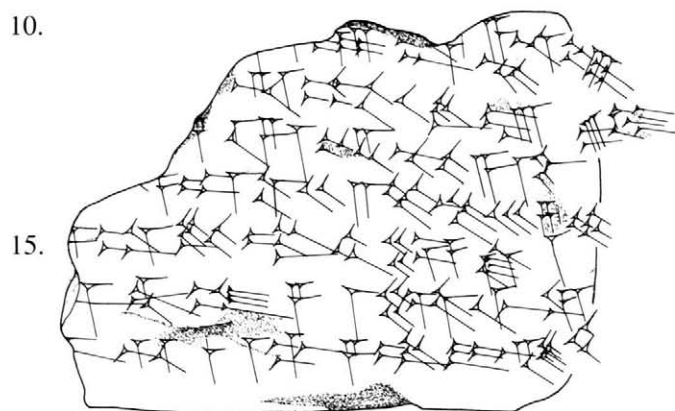




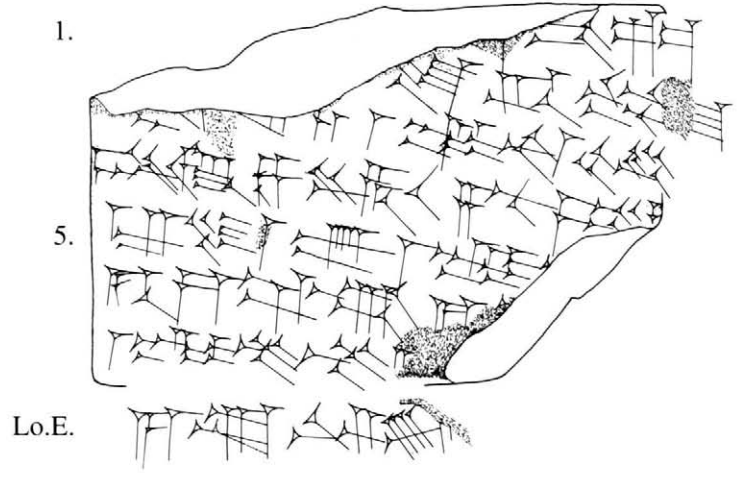
Text 10 Obverse



Text 10 Reverse



Text 11 Obverse



Text 11 Reverse

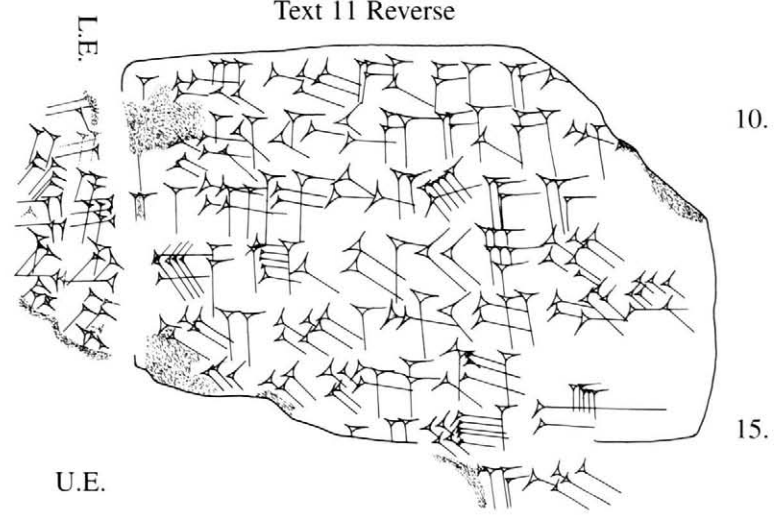
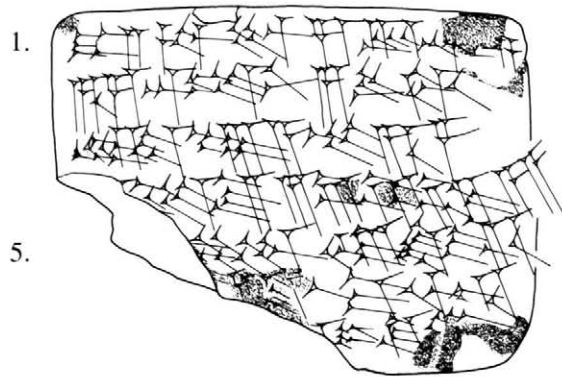


PLATE 10

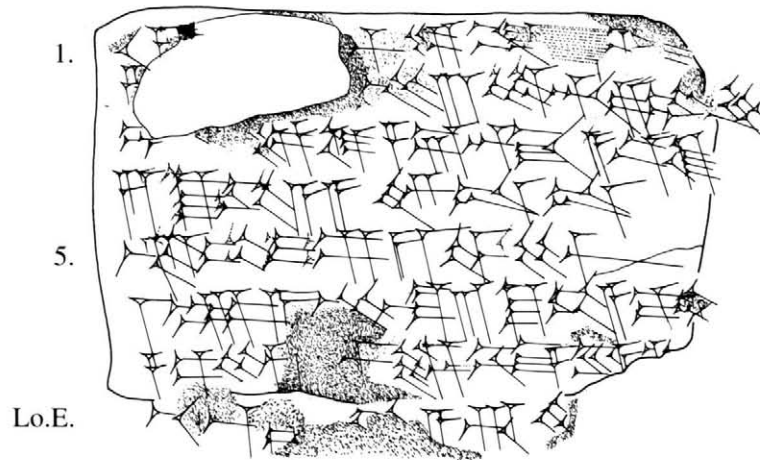
Text 12 Obverse



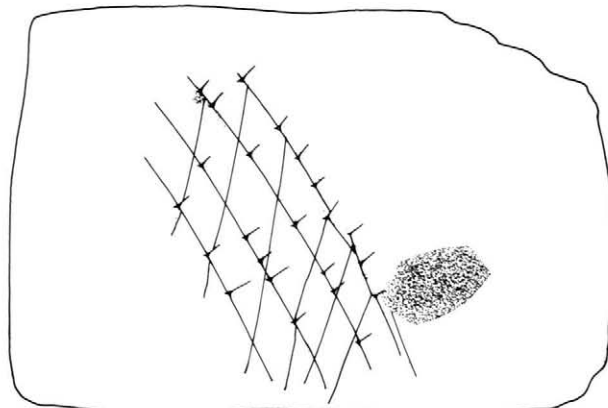
Text 12 Reverse



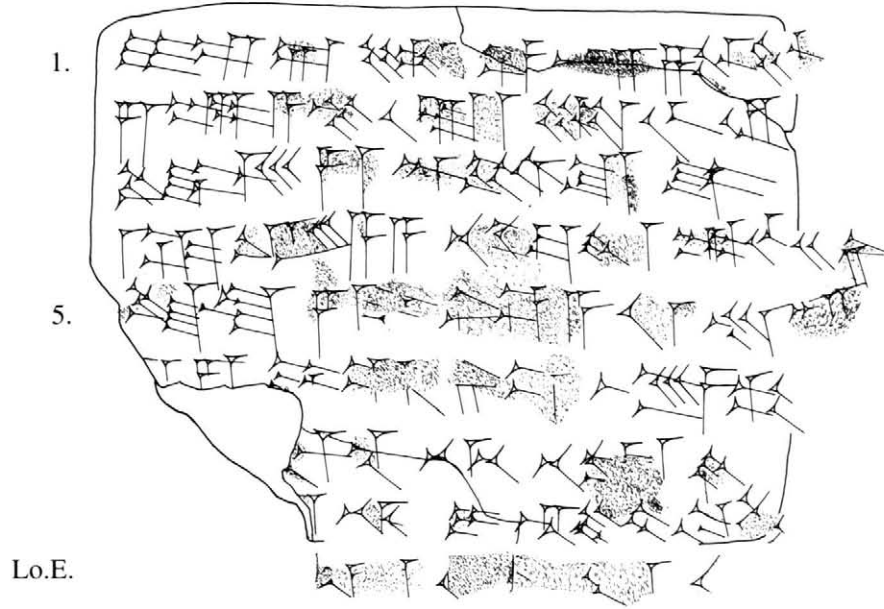
Text 13 Obverse



Text 13 Reverse



Text 14 Obverse



Text 14 Reverse

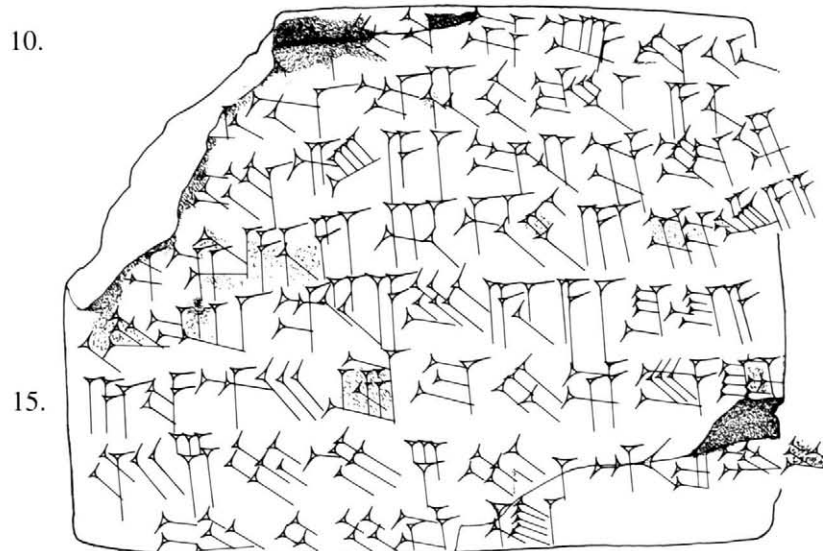
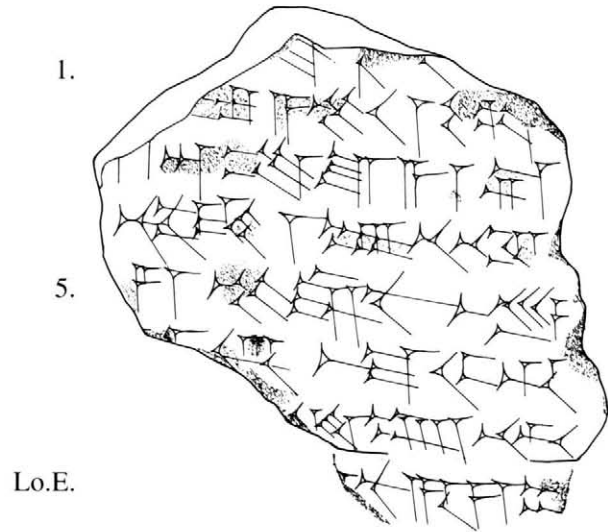


PLATE 12

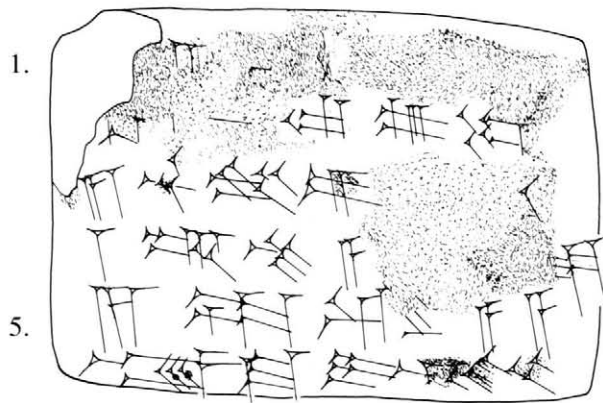
Text 15 Obverse



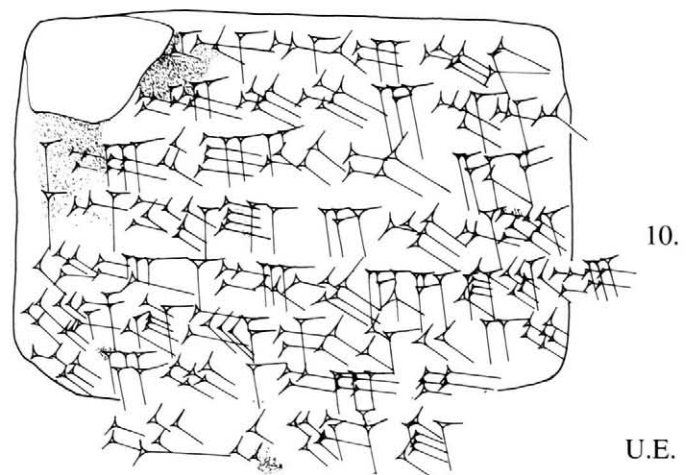
Text 15 Reverse



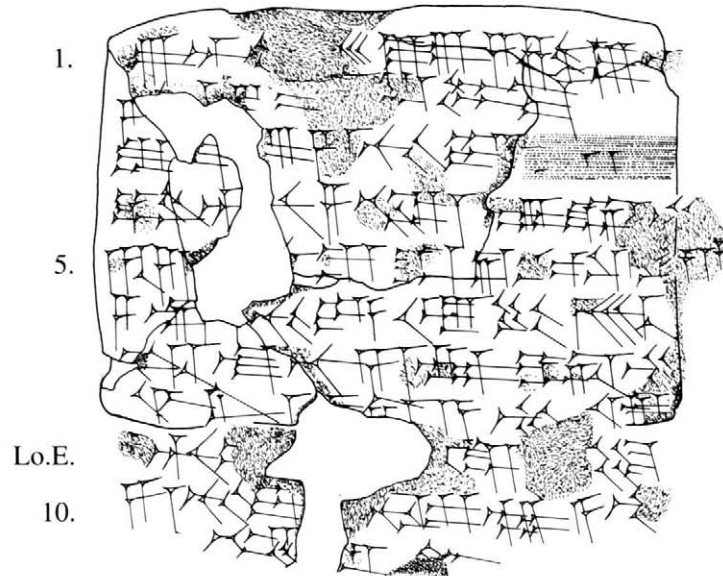
Text 16 Obverse



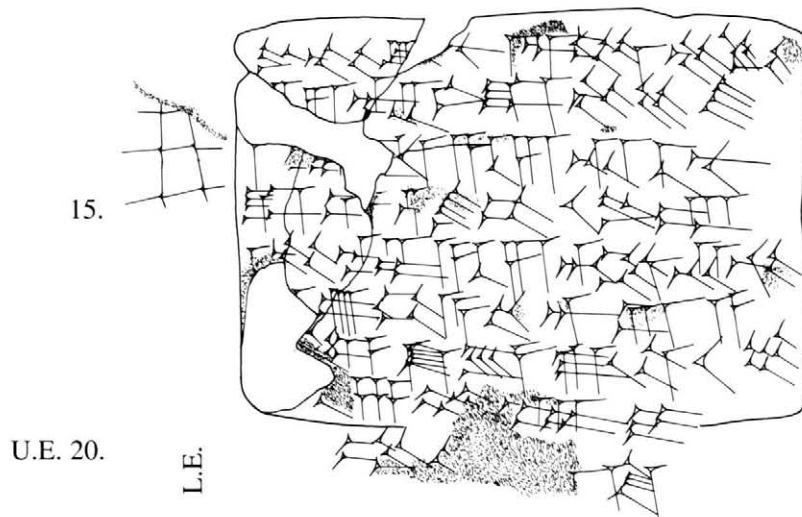
Text 16 Reverse



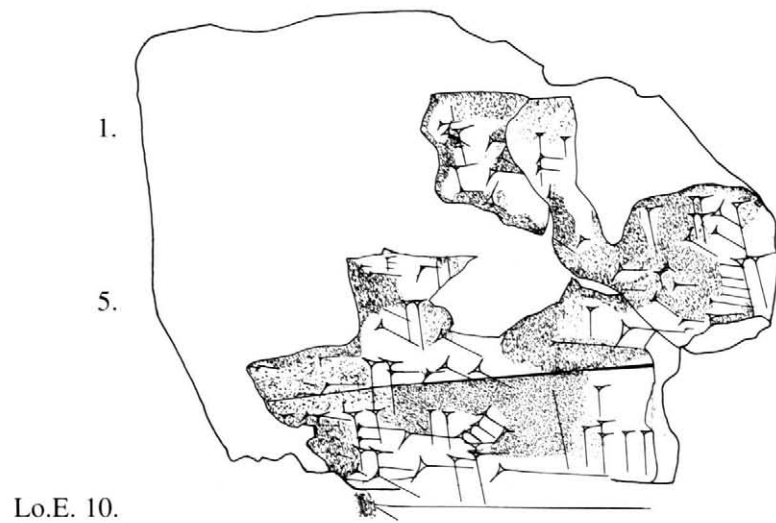
Text 17 Obverse



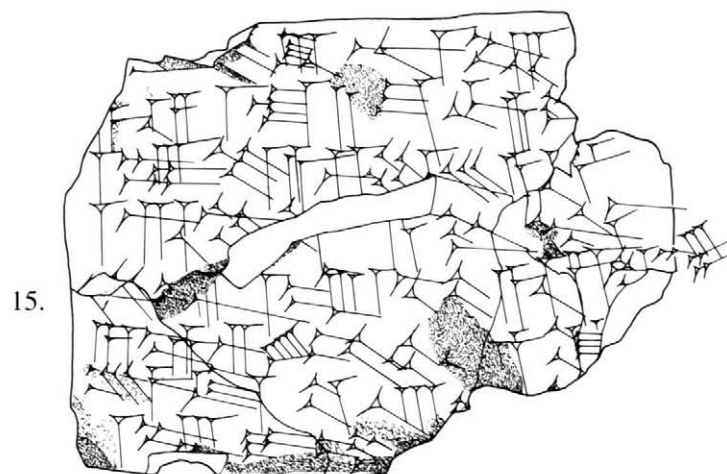
Text 17 Reverse



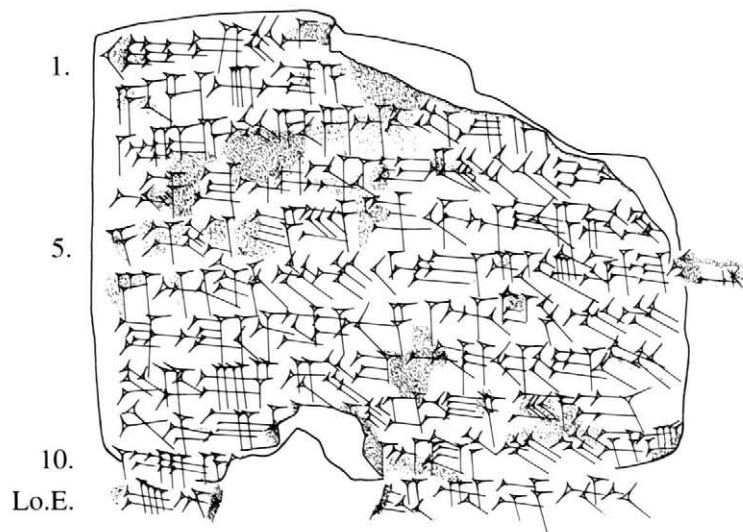
Text 18 Obverse



Text 18 Reverse



Text 19 Obverse

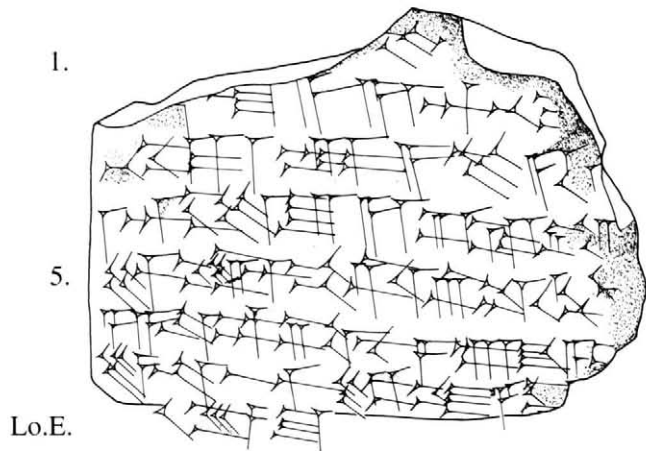


Text 19 Reverse

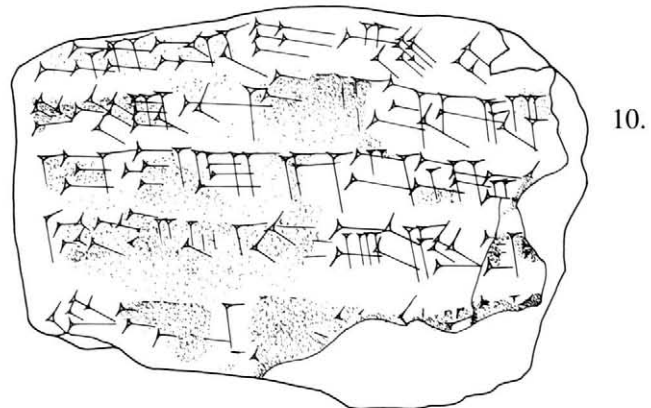




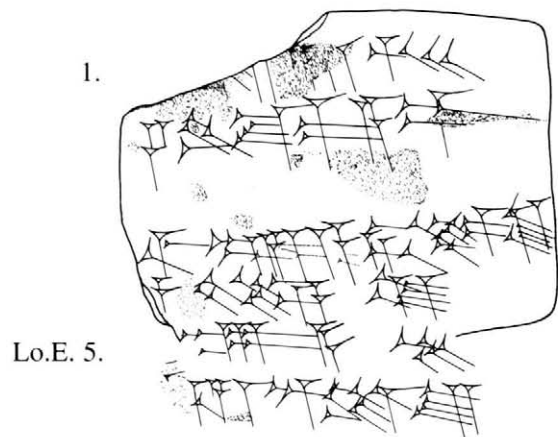
Text 20 Obverse



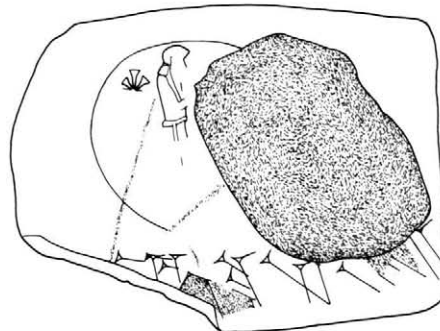
Text 20 Reverse



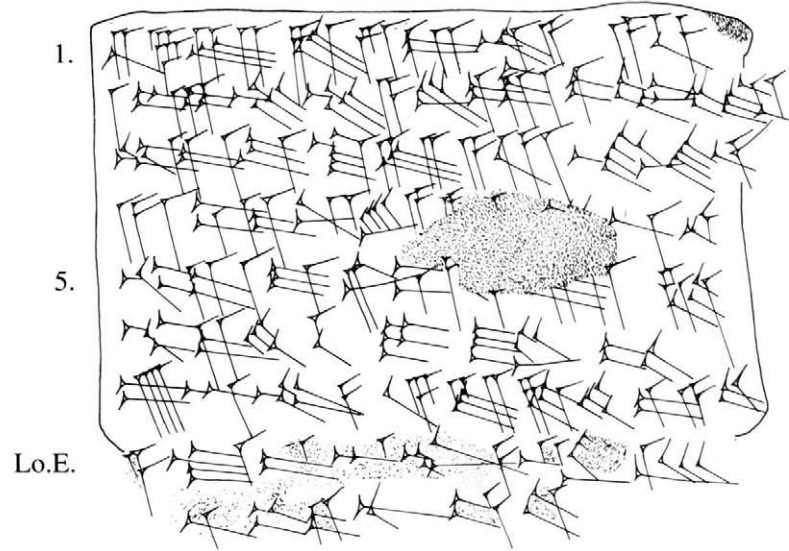
Text 21 Obverse



Text 21 Reverse



Text 22 Obverse



Text 22 Reverse

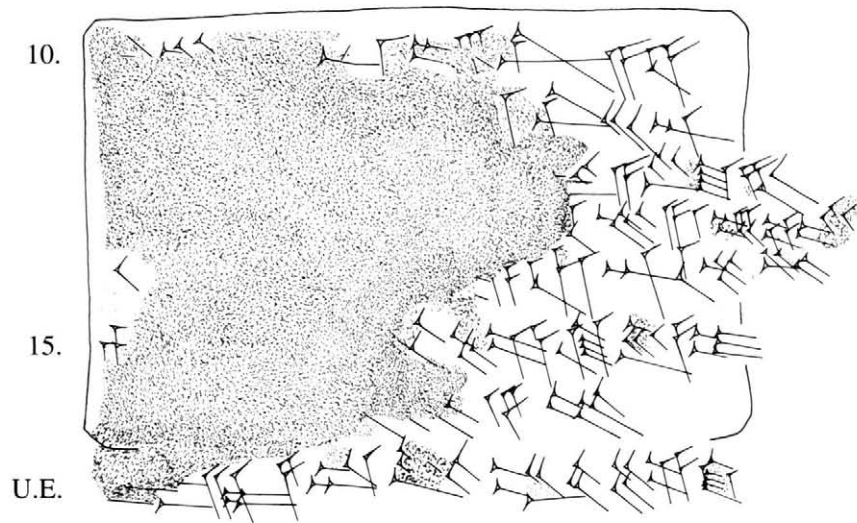
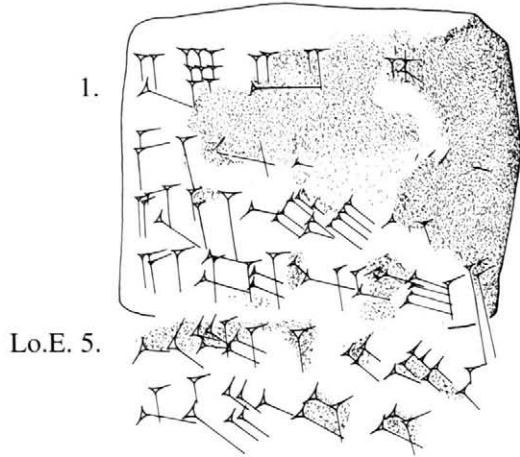
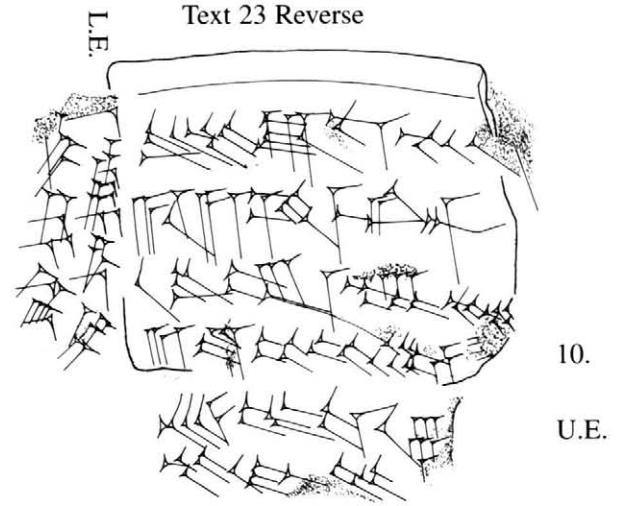


PLATE 18

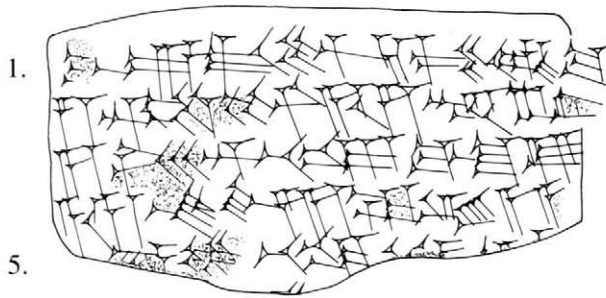
Text 23 Obverse



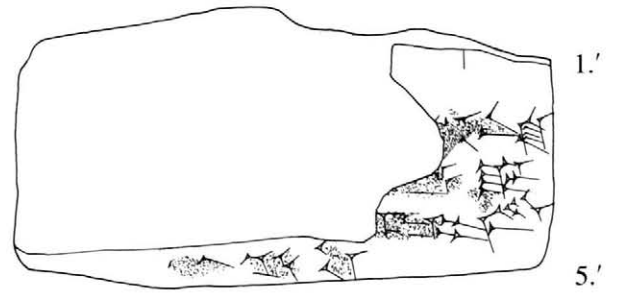
Text 23 Reverse



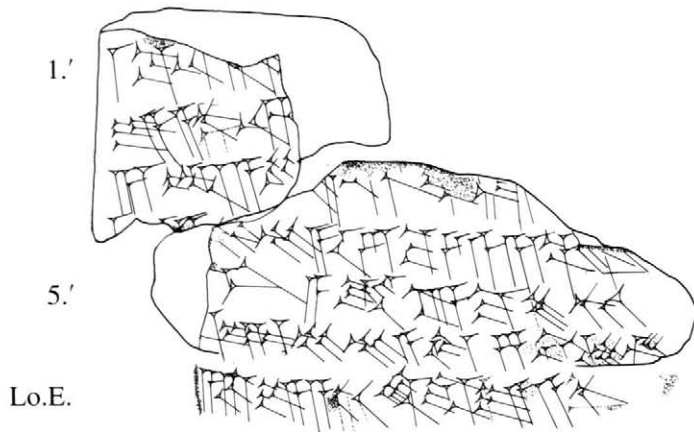
Text 24 Obverse



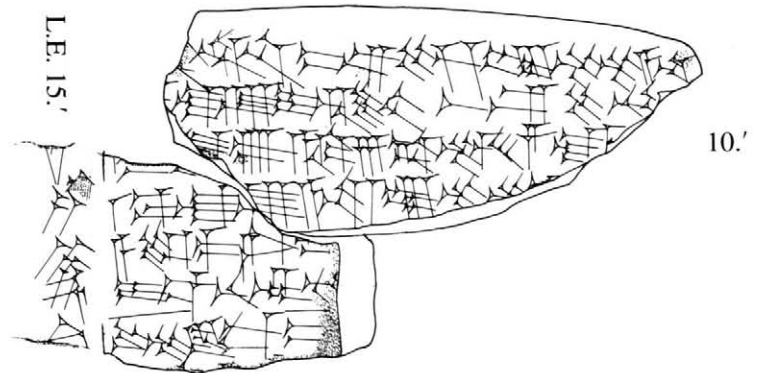
Text 24 Reverse



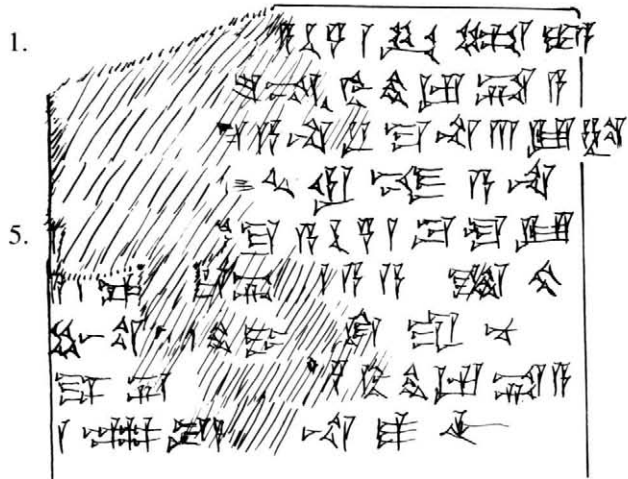
Text 25 Obverse



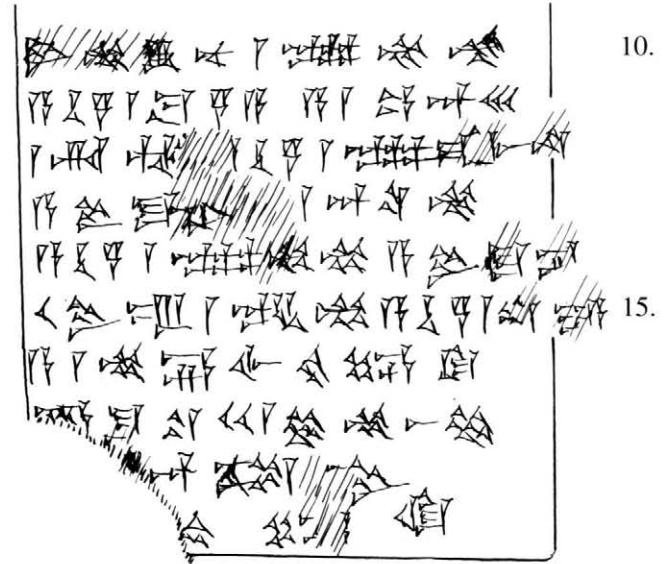
Text 25 Reverse



Text 26 Obverse

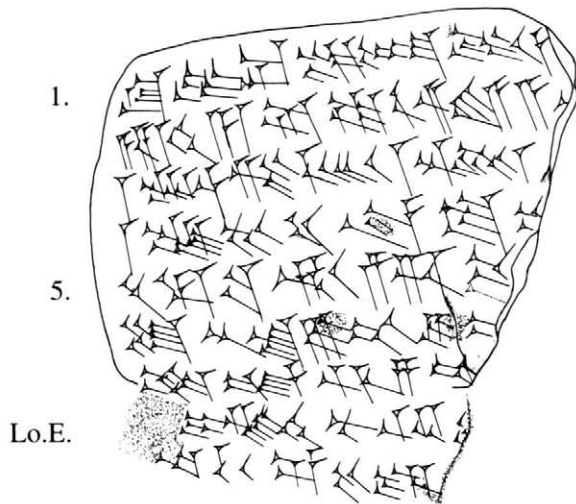


Text 26 Reverse

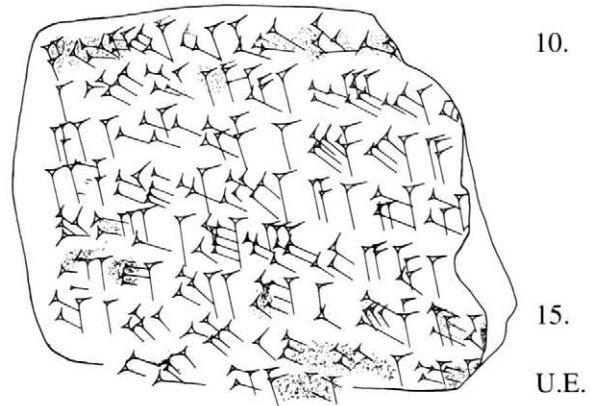


Scale 1:1

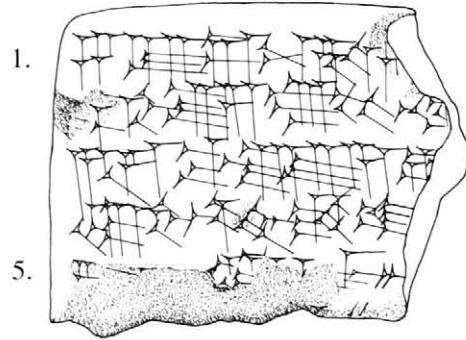
Text 28 Obverse



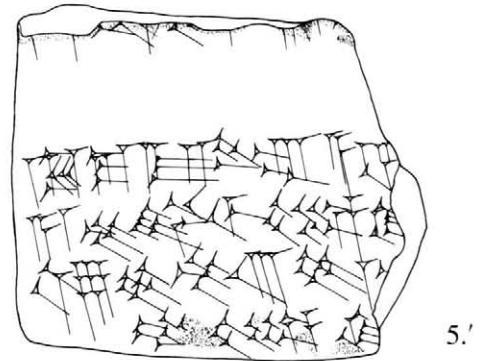
Text 28 Reverse



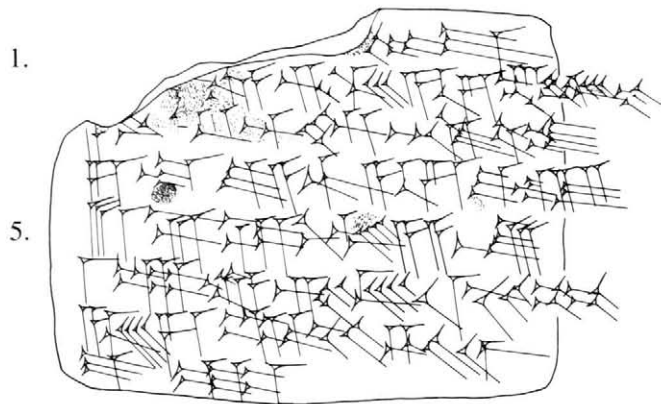
Text 29 Obverse



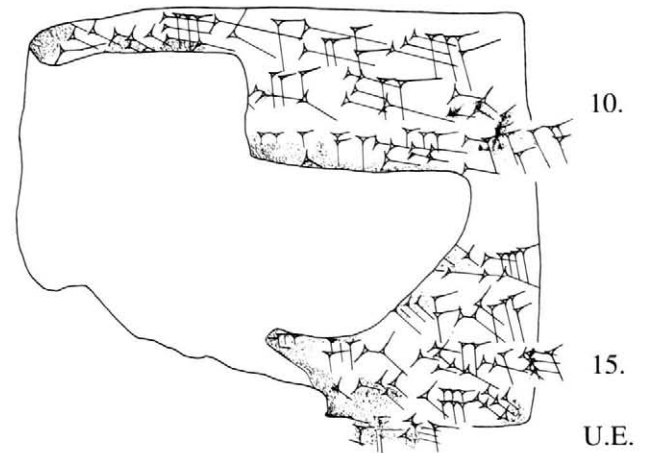
Text 29 Reverse



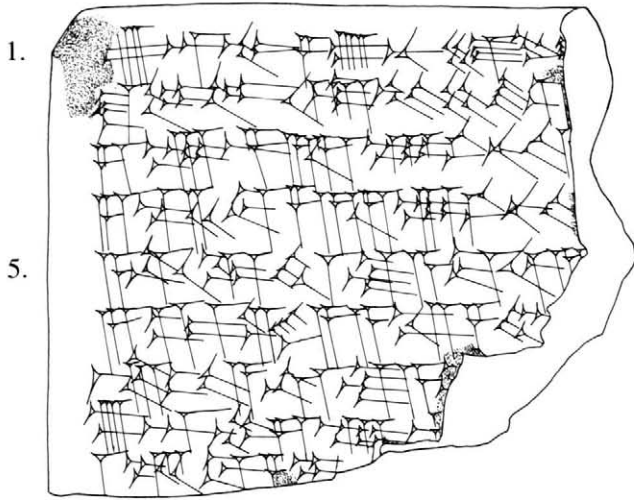
Text 30 Obverse



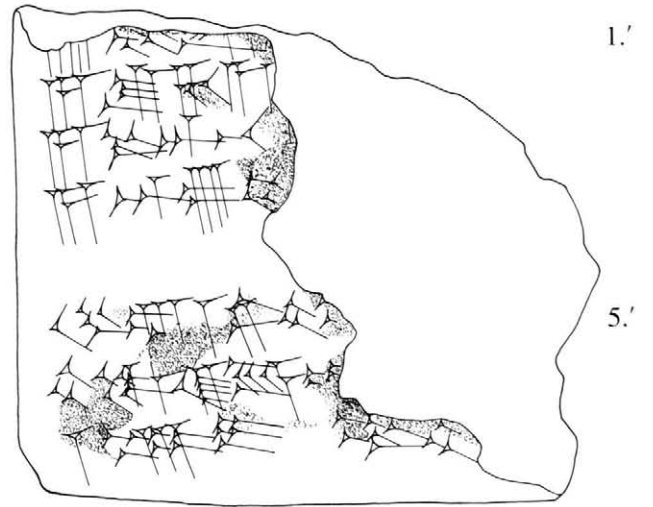
Text 30 Reverse



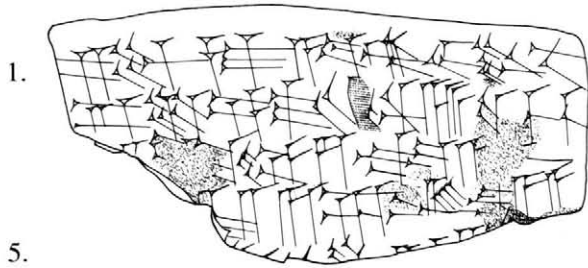
Text 31 Obverse



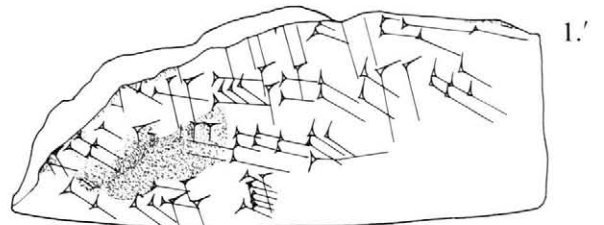
Text 31 Reverse



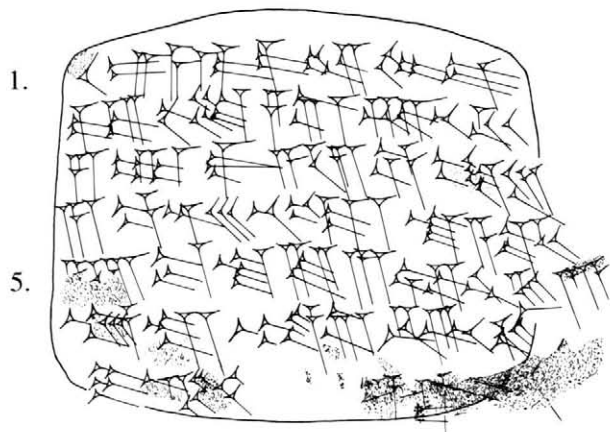
Text 32 Obverse



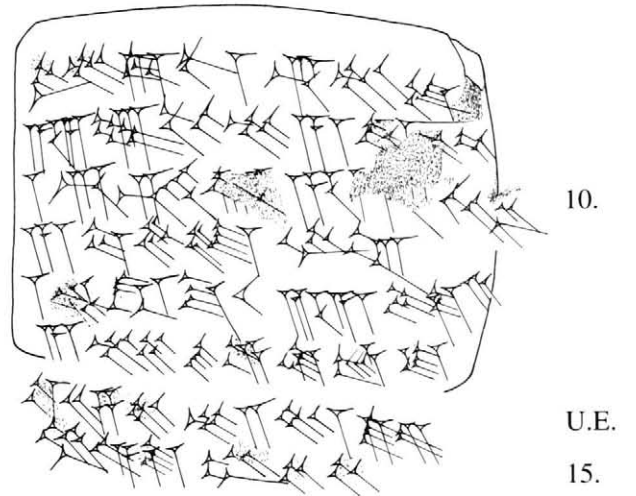
Text 32 Reverse



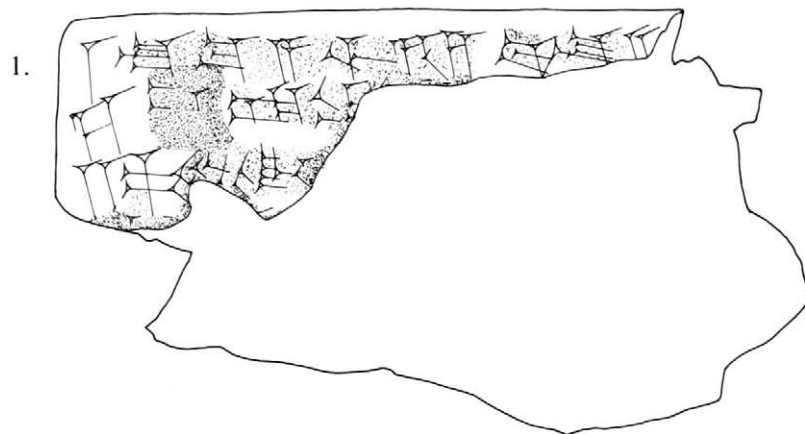
Text 33 Obverse



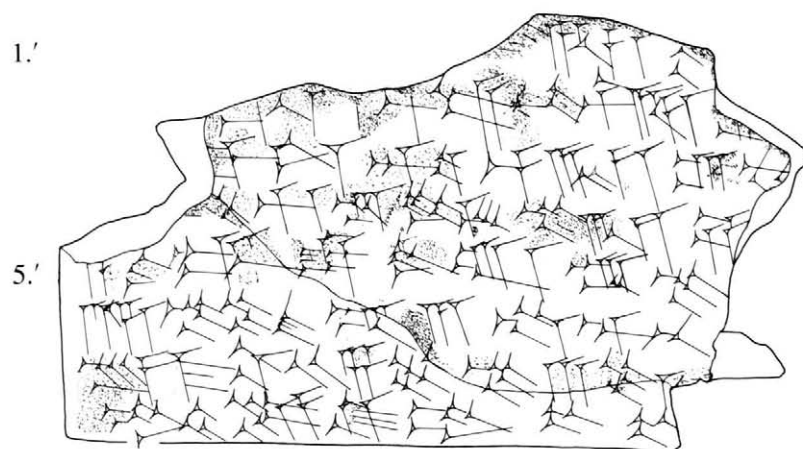
Text 33 Reverse



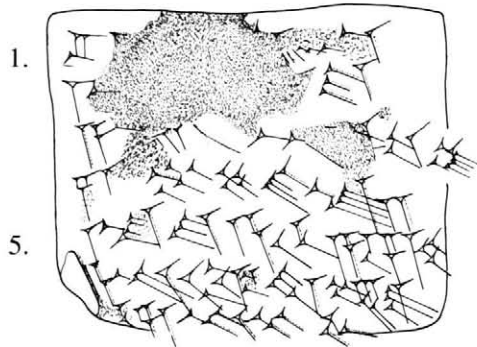
Text 34 Obverse



Text 34 Reverse

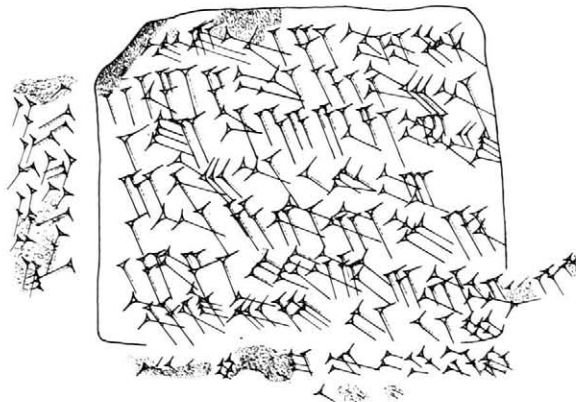


Text 35 Obverse

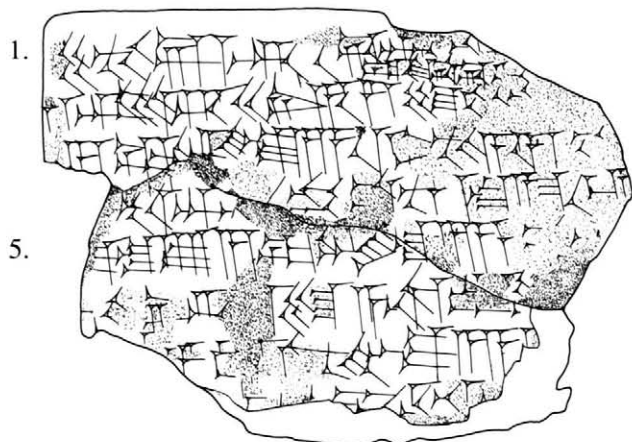


L.E.

Text 35 Reverse



Text 36 Obverse



Text 36 Reverse

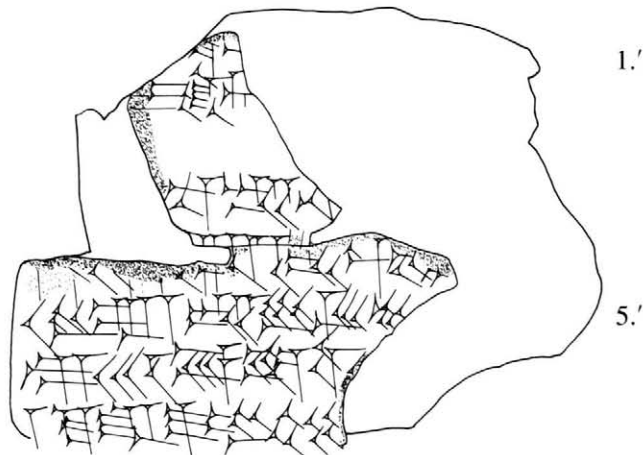
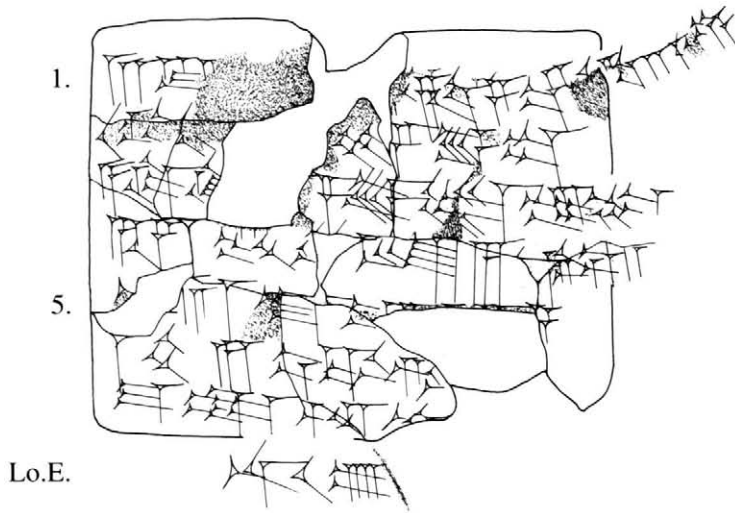


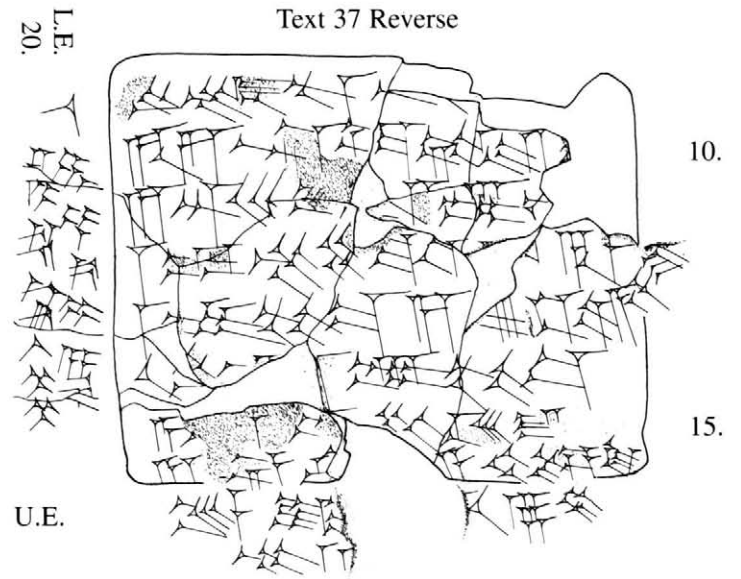


PLATE 24

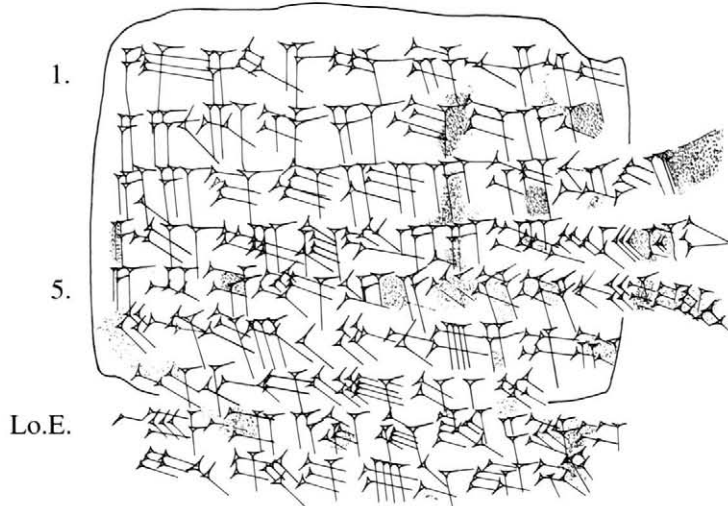
Text 37 Obverse



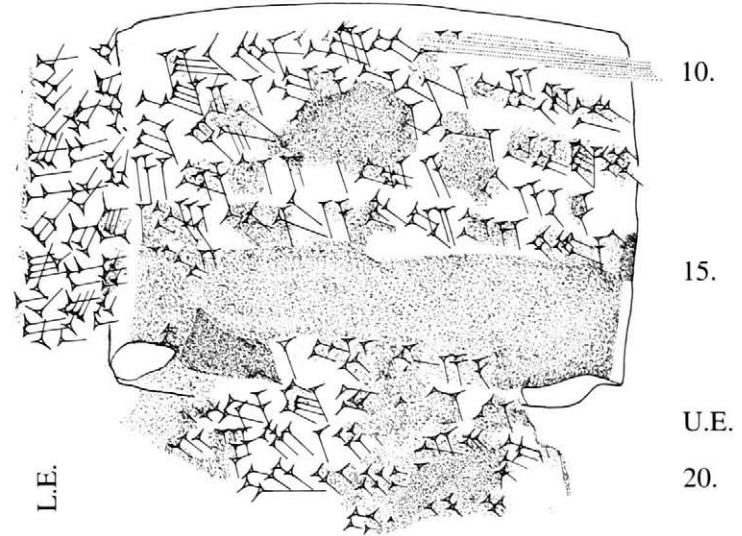
Text 37 Reverse



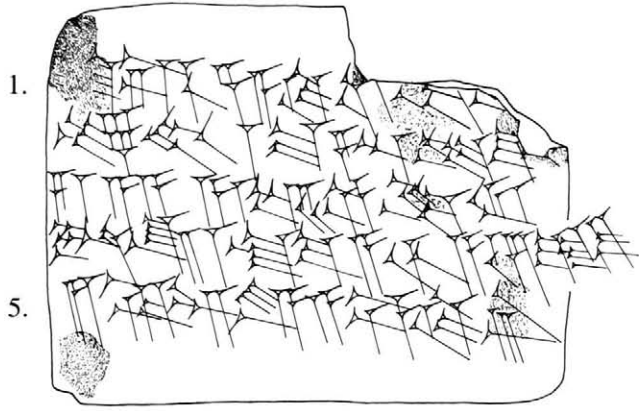
Text 38 Obverse



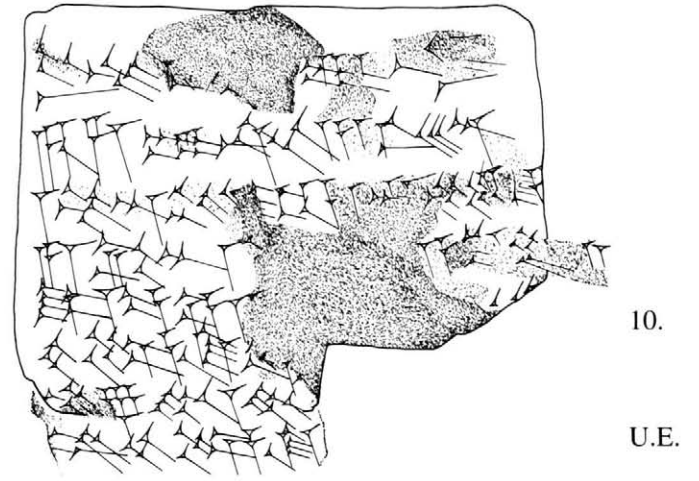
Text 38 Reverse



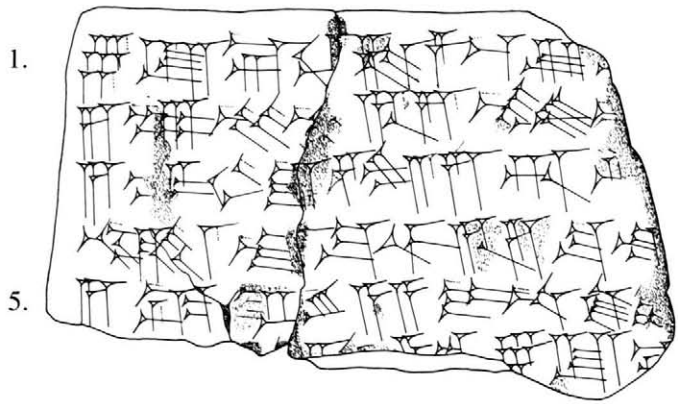
Text 39 Obverse



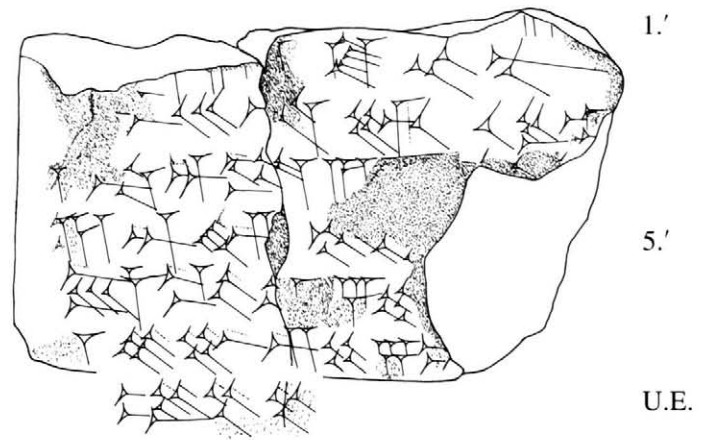
Text 39 Reverse



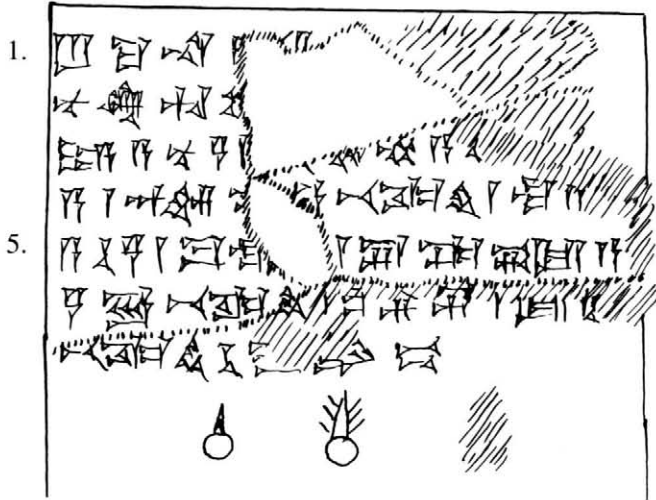
Text 40 Obverse



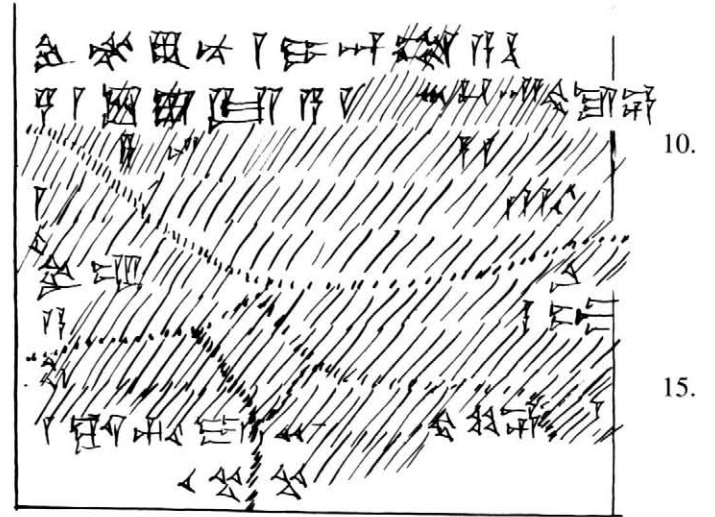
Text 40 Reverse



Text 41 Obverse

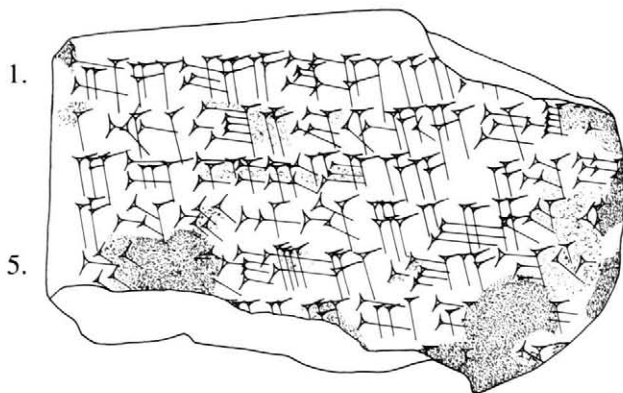


Text 41 Reverse

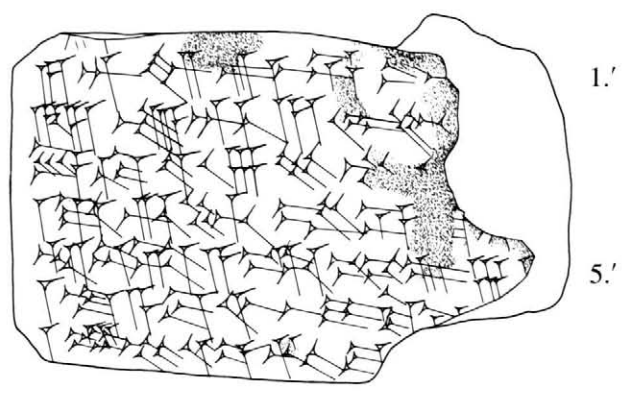


Scale 1:1

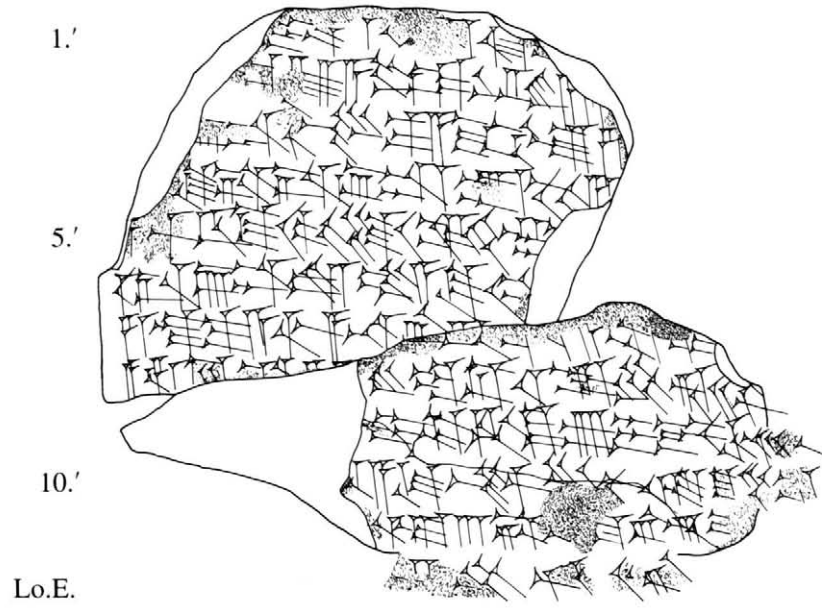
Text 42 Obverse



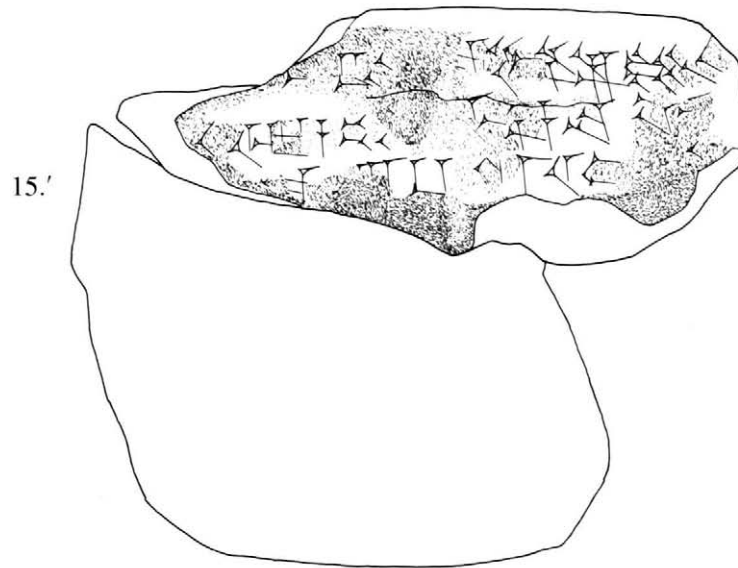
Text 42 Reverse



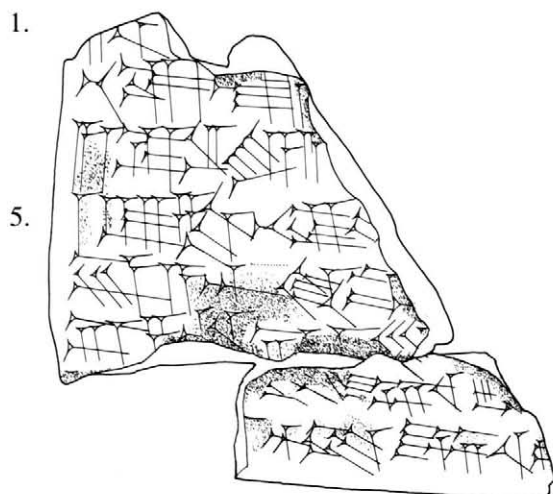
Text 43 Obverse



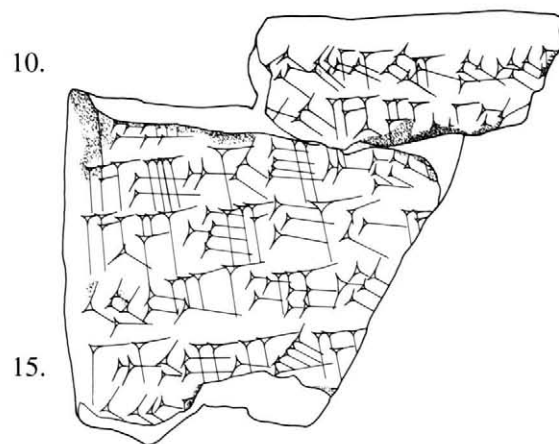
Text 43 Reverse



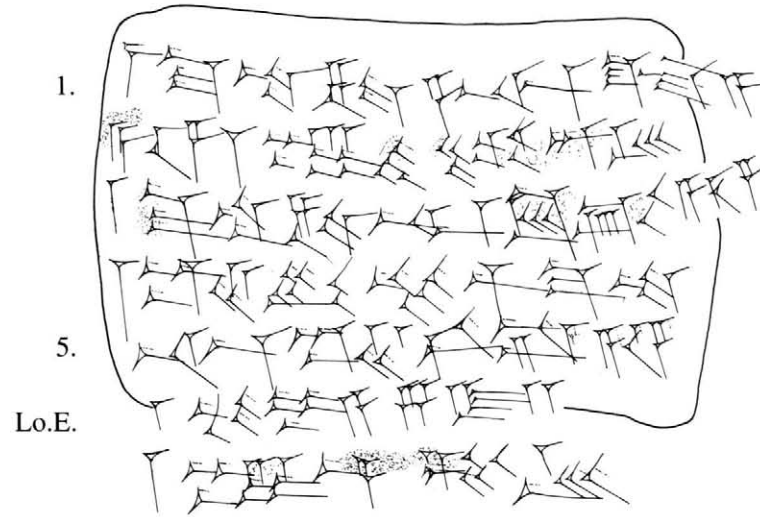
Text 44 Obverse



Text 44 Reverse

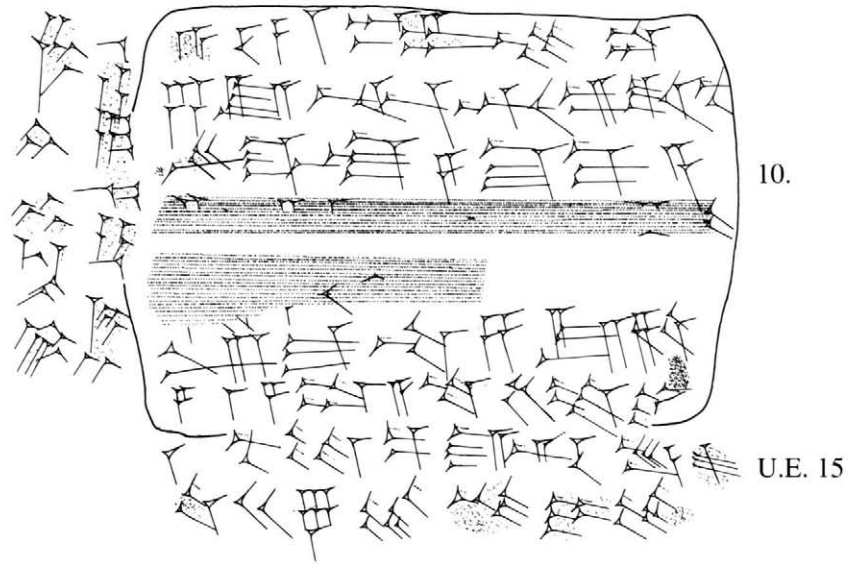


Text 45 Obverse

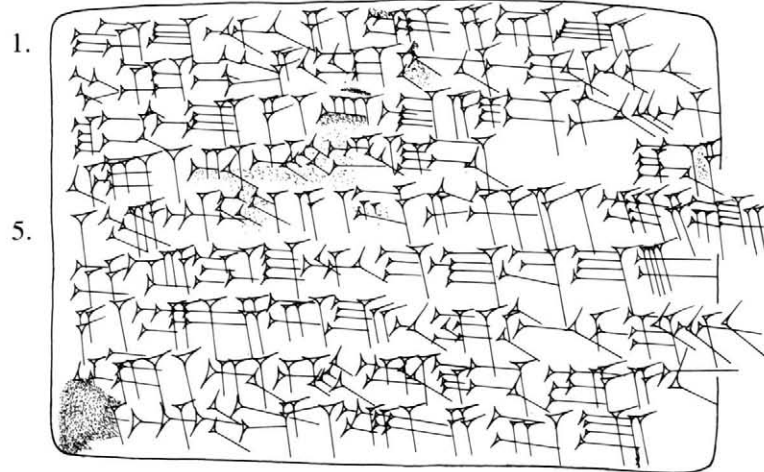


L.E.

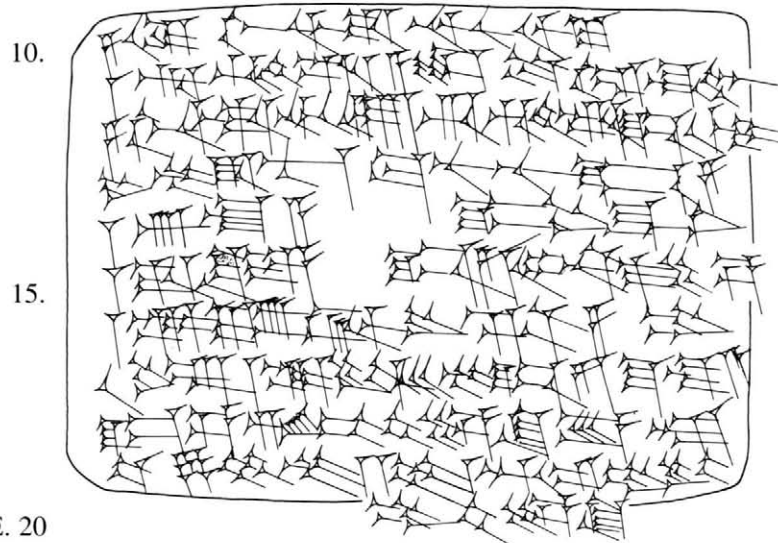
Text 45 Reverse



Text 46 Obverse

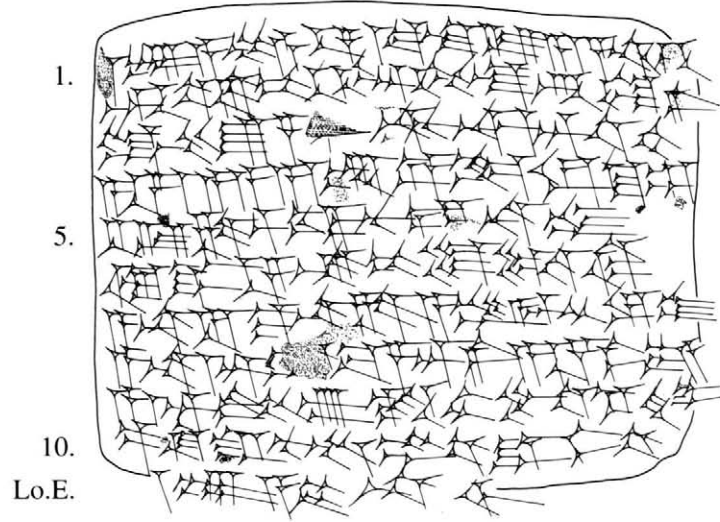


Text 46 Reverse

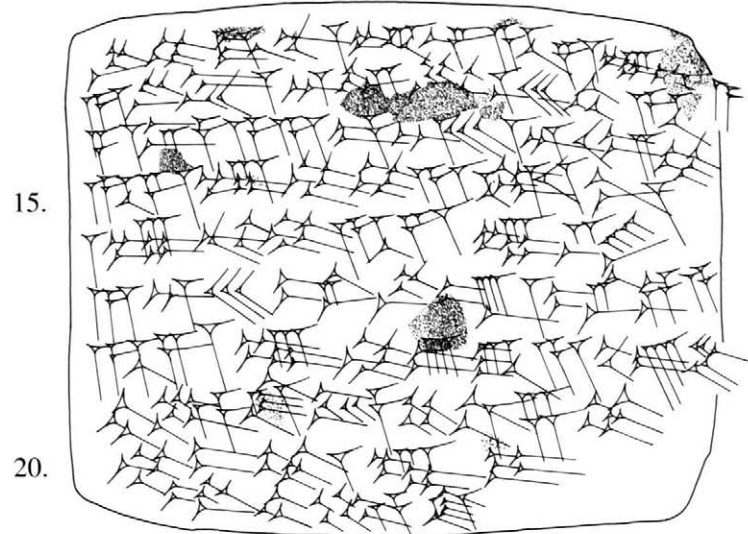


U.E. 20

Text 47 Obverse

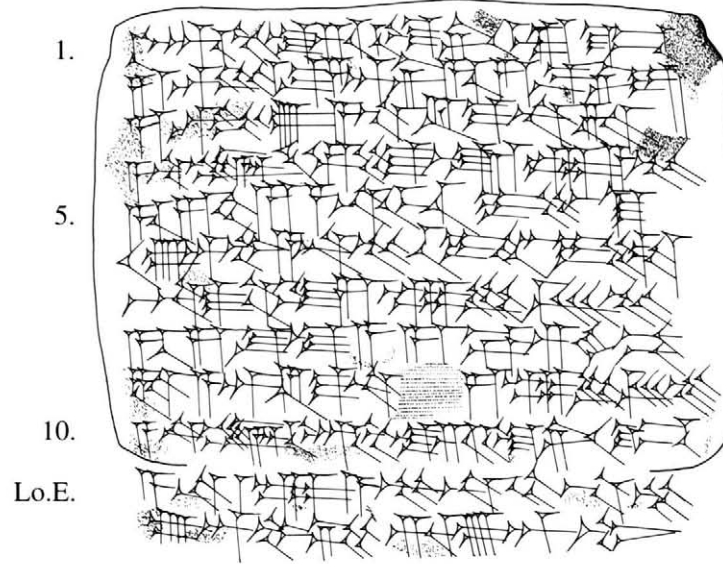


Text 47 Reverse

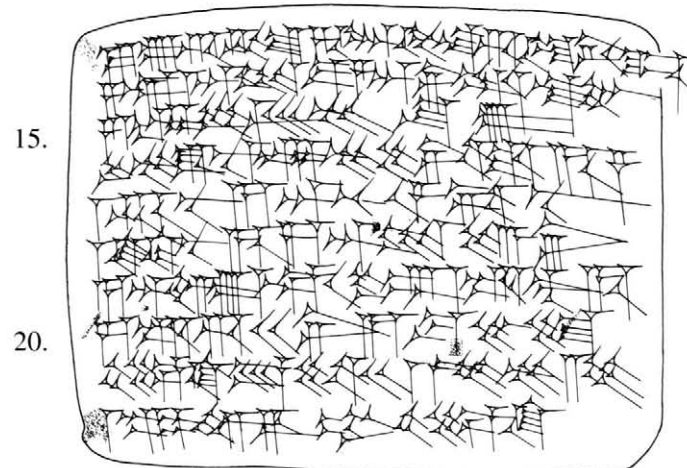




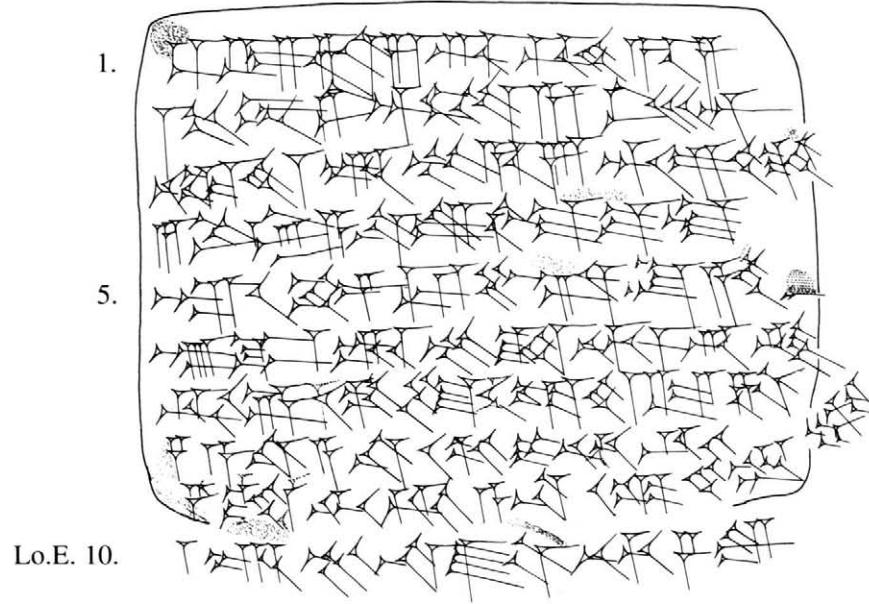
Text 48 Obverse



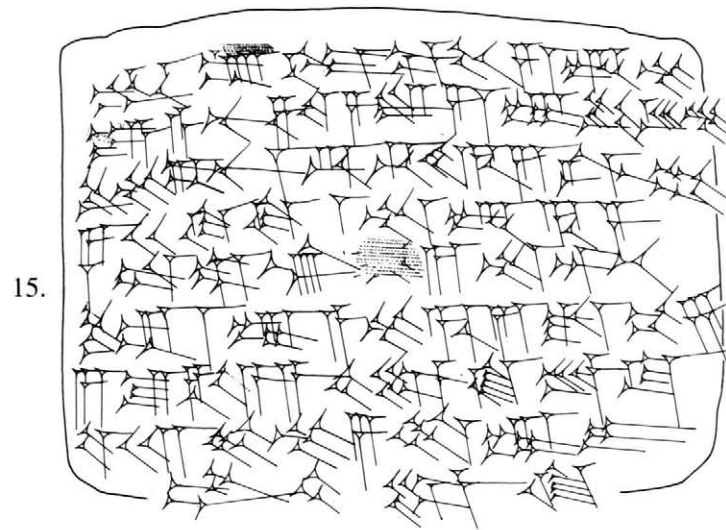
Text 48 Reverse



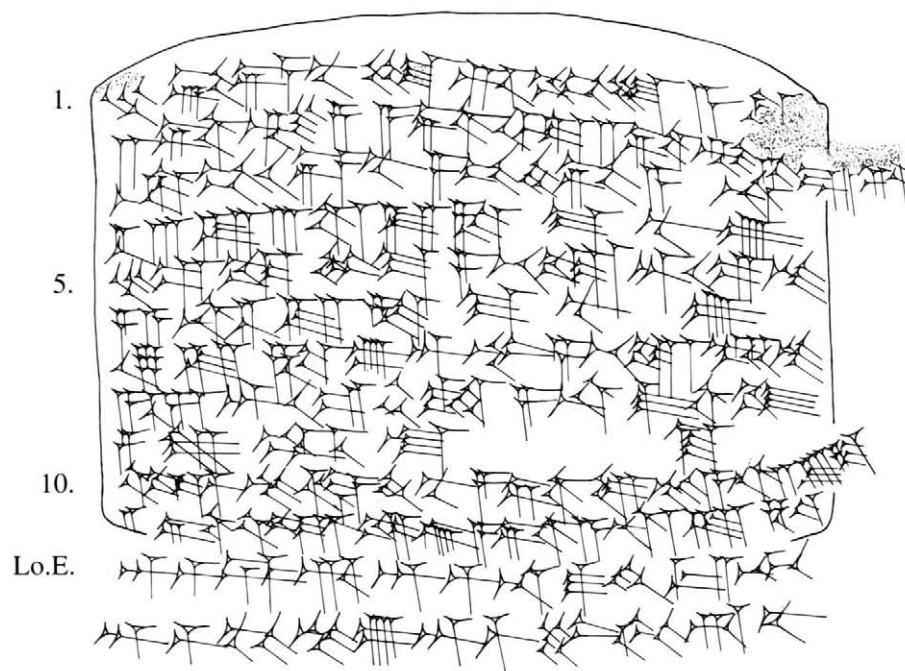
Text 49 Obverse



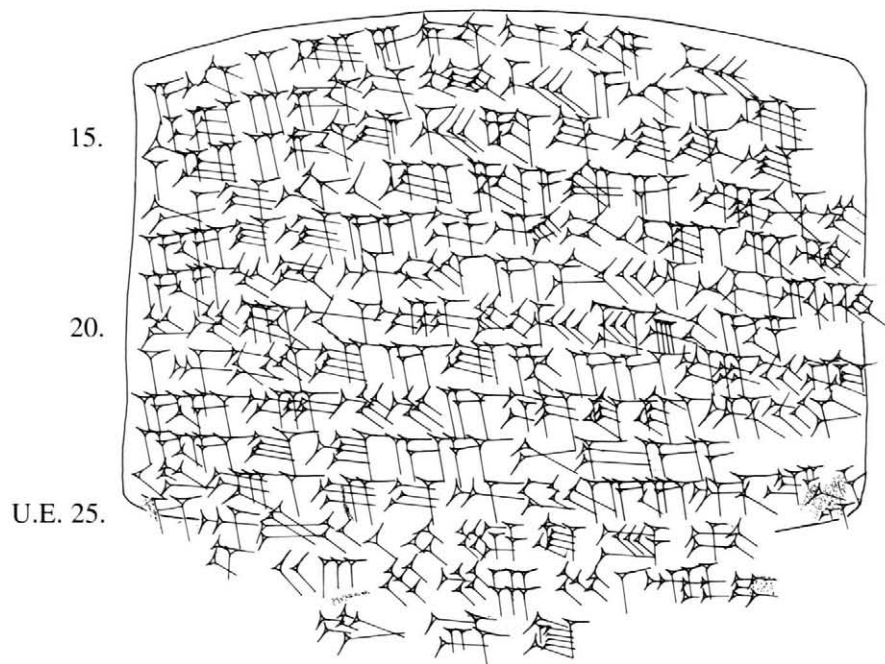
Text 49 Reverse



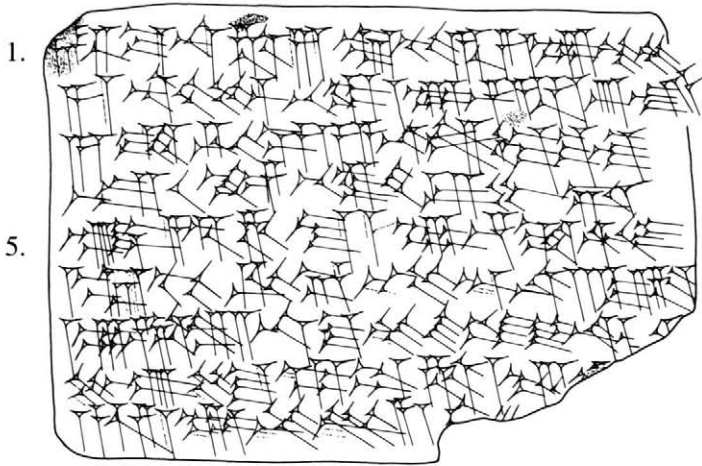
Text 50 Obverse



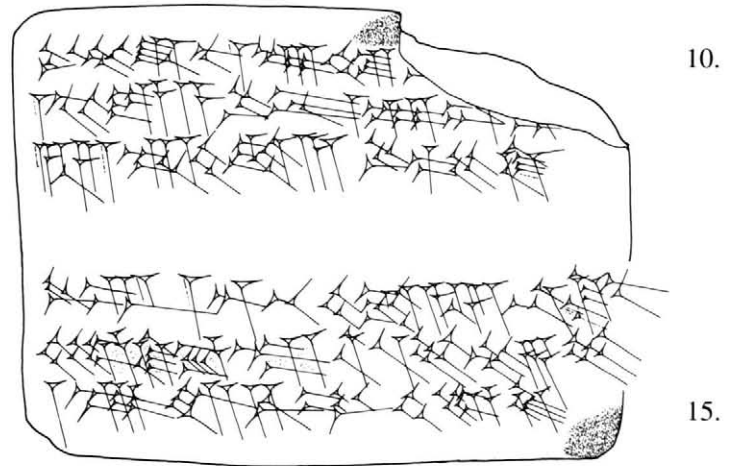
Text 50 Reverse



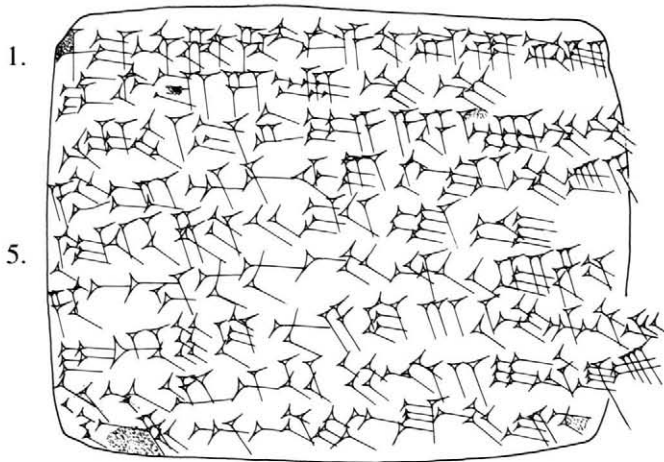
Text 51 Obverse



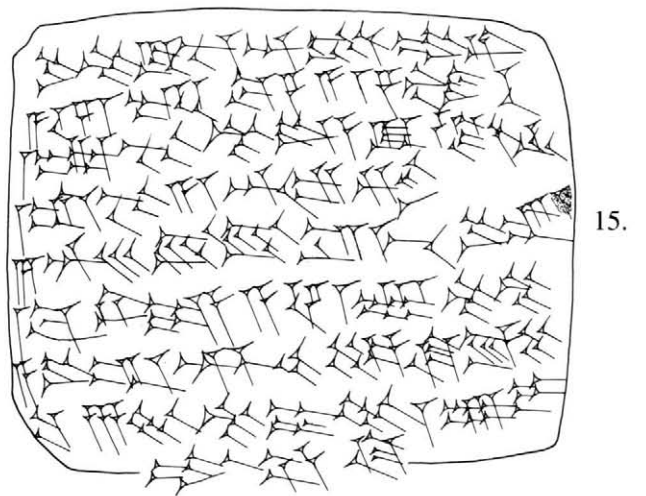
Text 51 Reverse



Text 52 Obverse



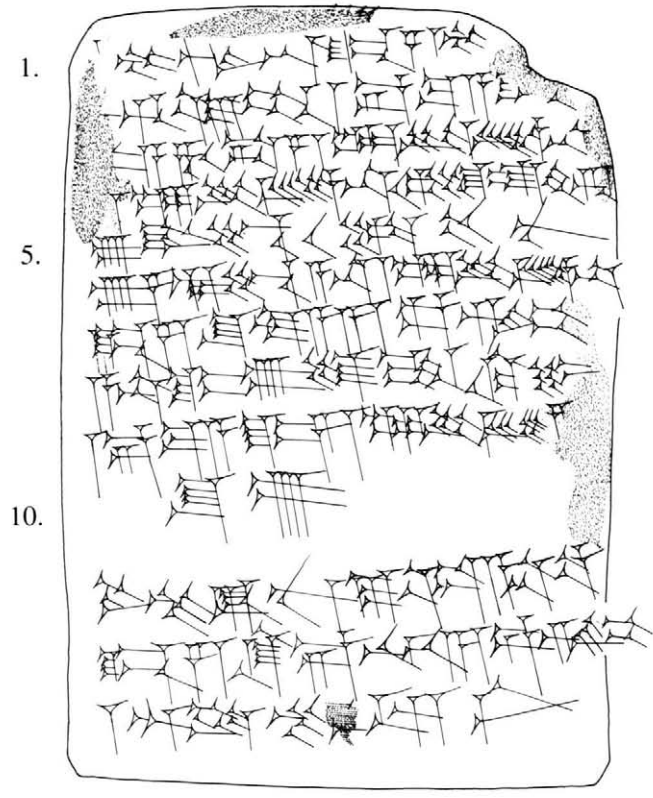
Text 52 Reverse



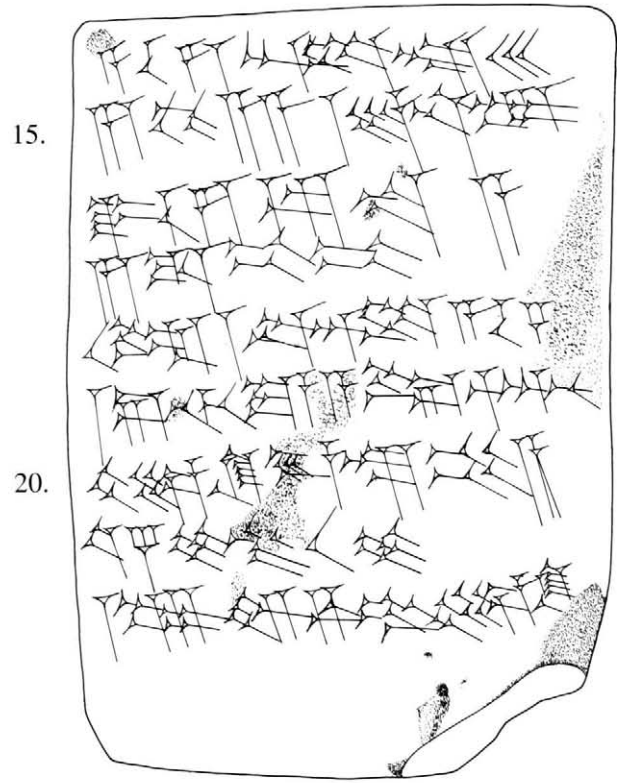
Lo.E. 10.



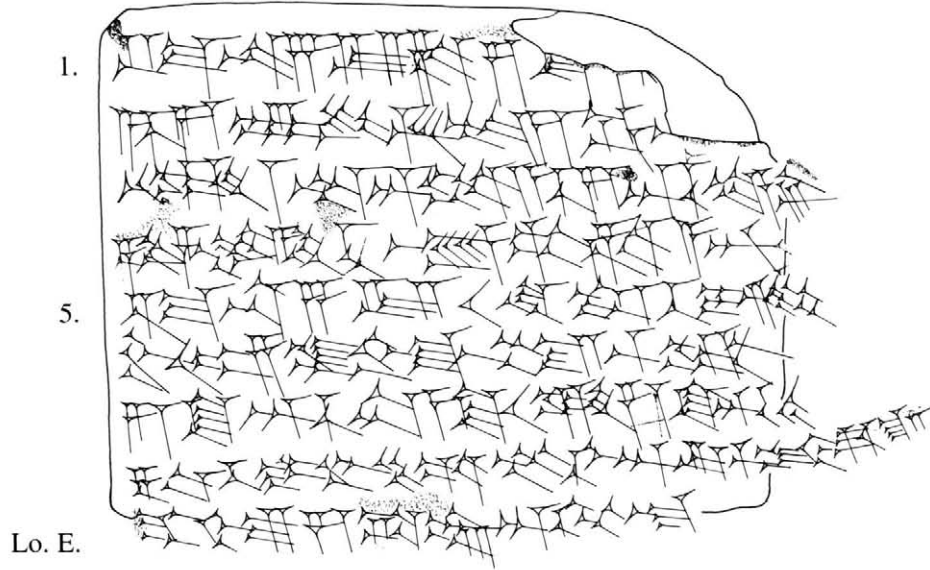
Text 53 Obverse



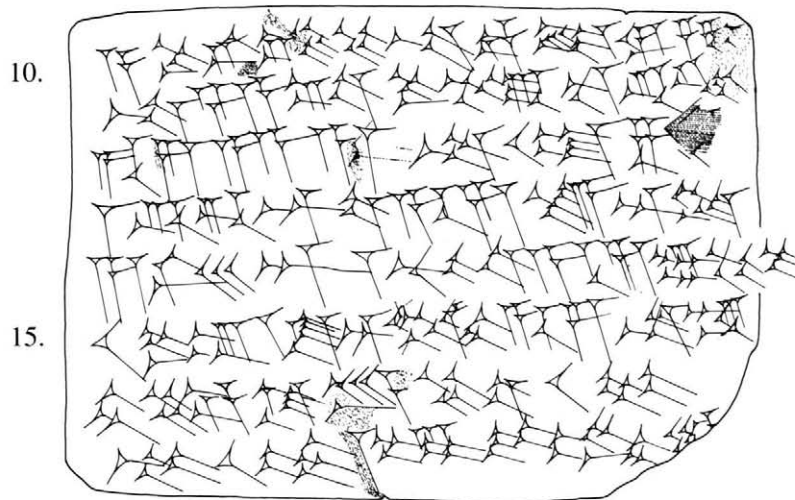
Text 53 Reverse



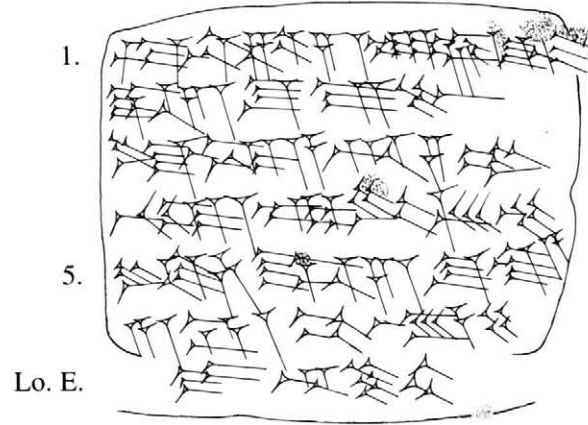
Text 54 Obverse



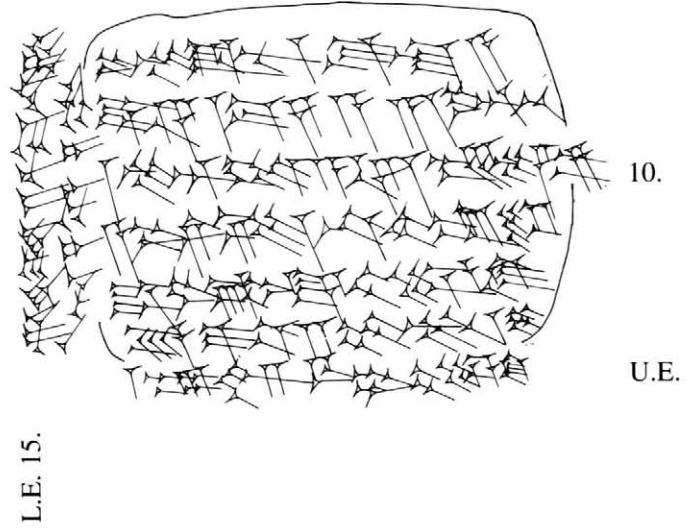
Text 54 Reverse



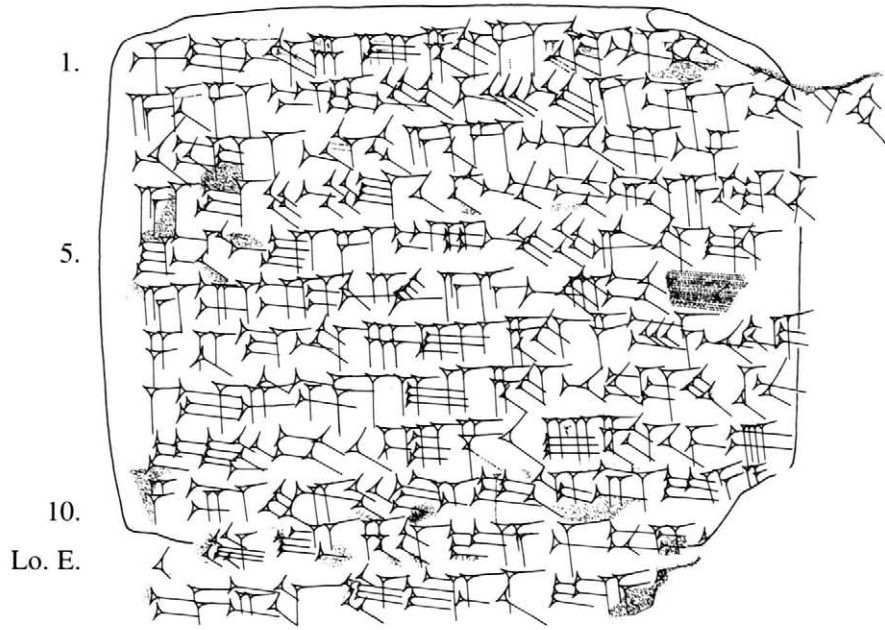
Text 55 Obverse



Text 55 Reverse

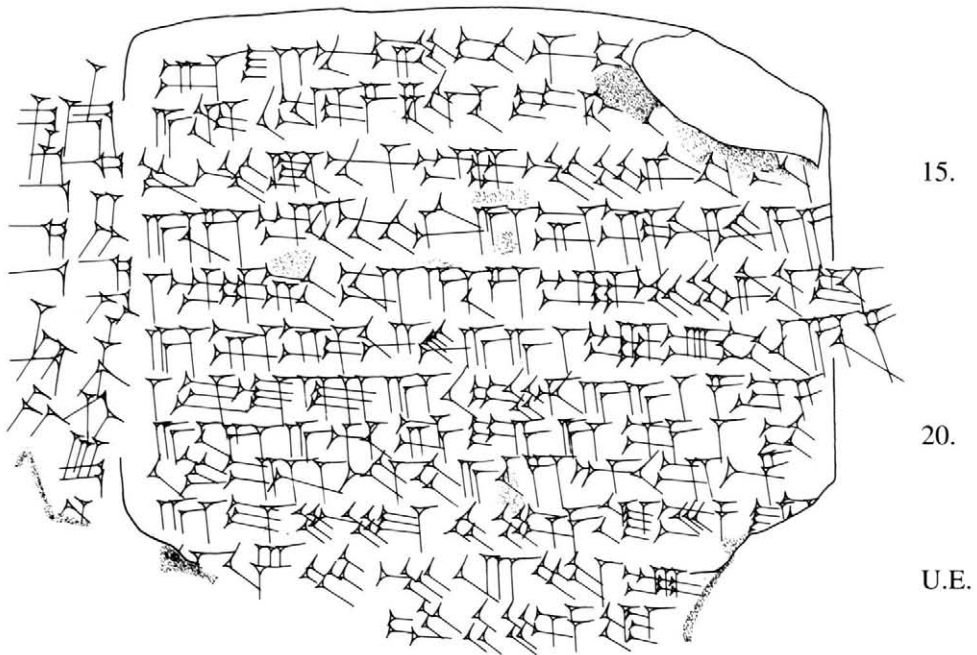


Text 56 Obverse



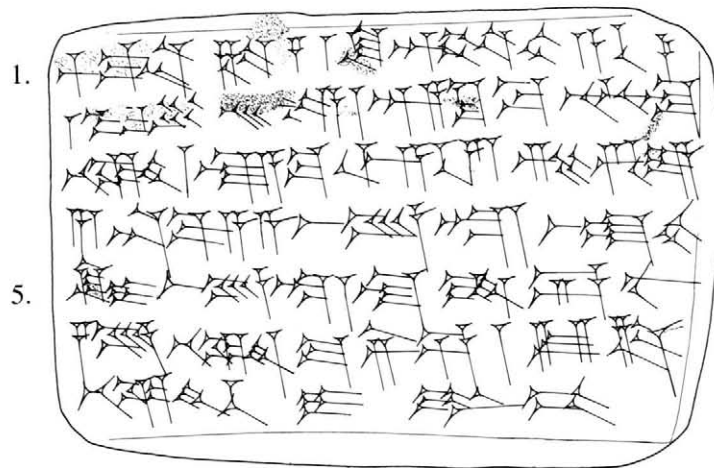
L.E. 25.

Text 56 Reverse

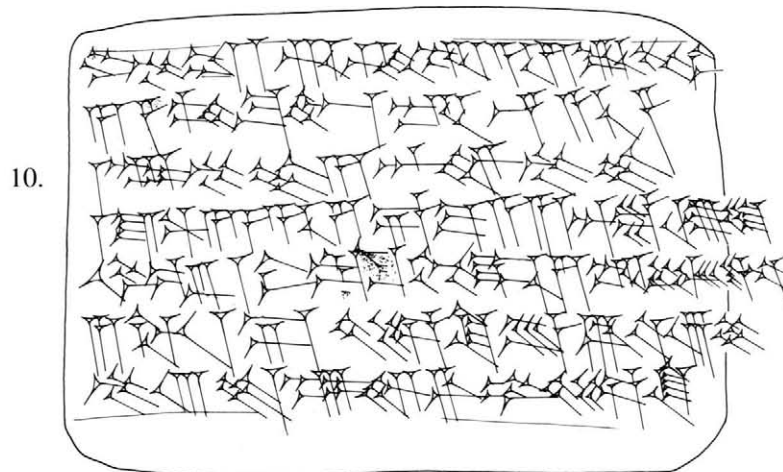




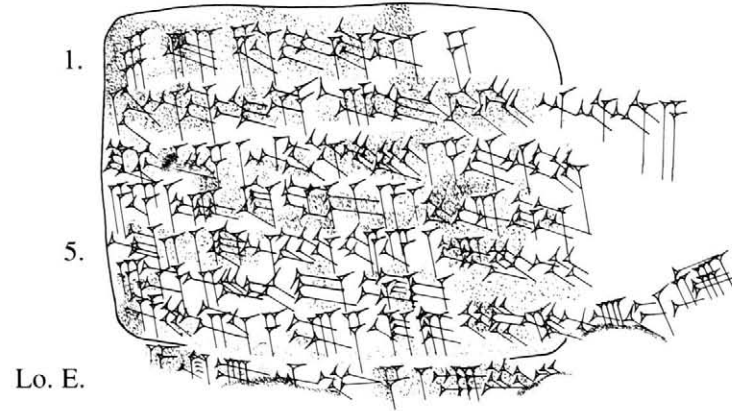
Text 57 Obverse



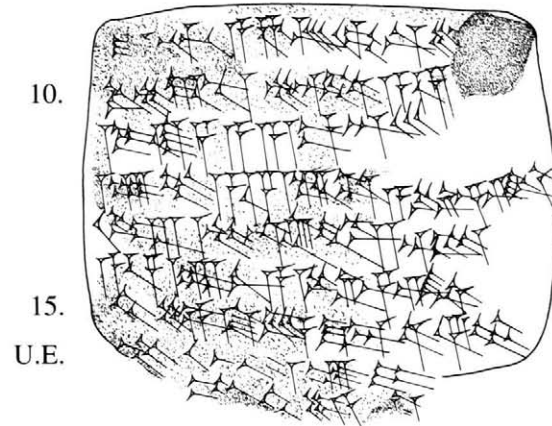
Text 57 Reverse



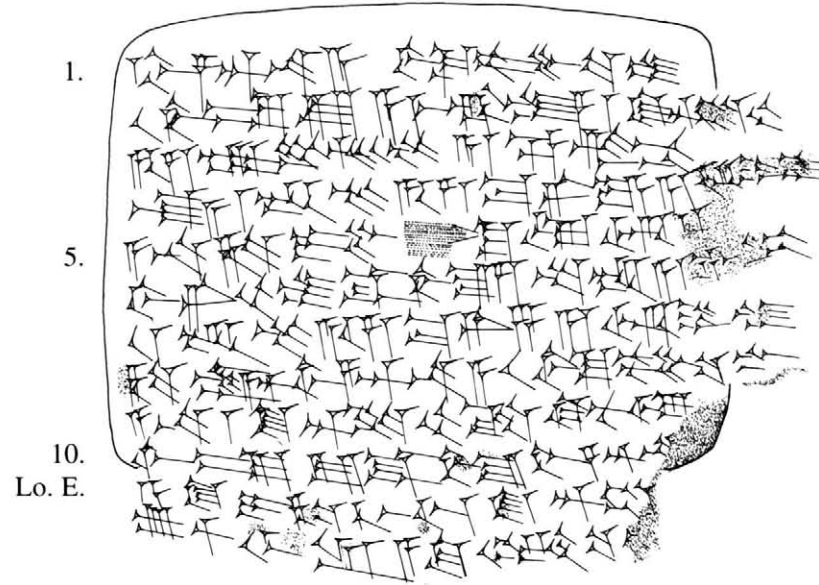
Text 58 Obverse



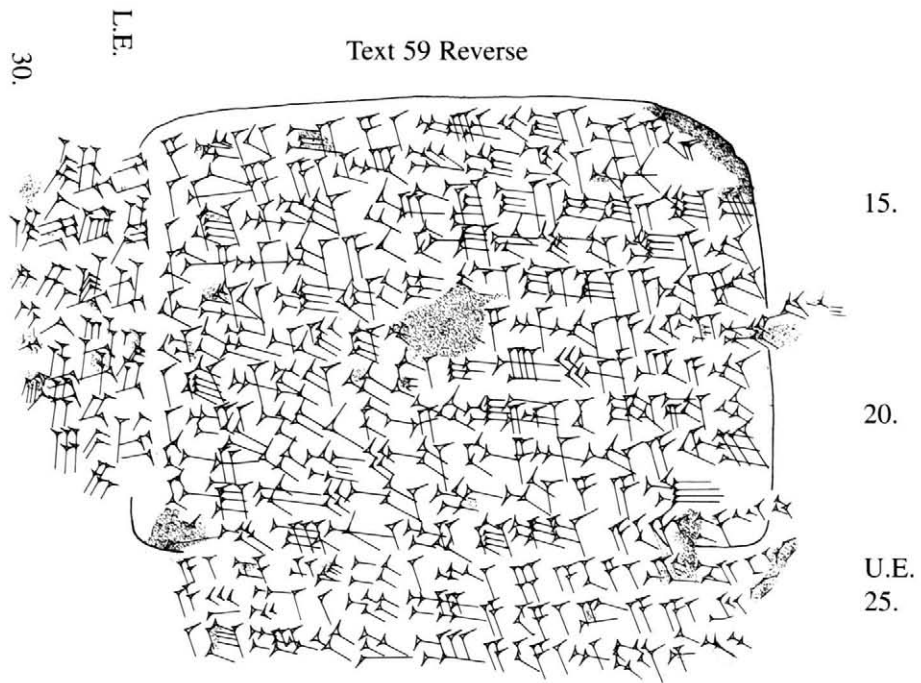
Text 58 Reverse



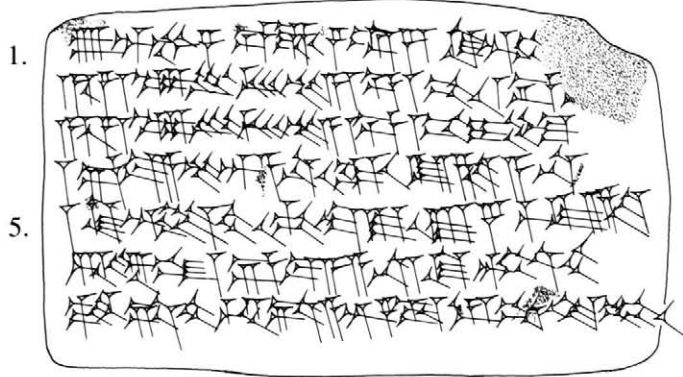
Text 59 Obverse



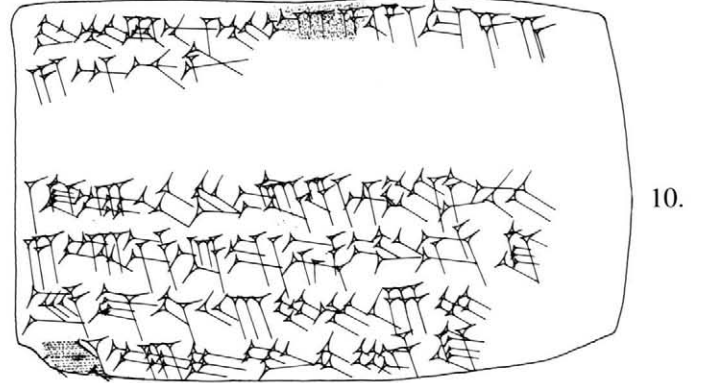
Text 59 Reverse



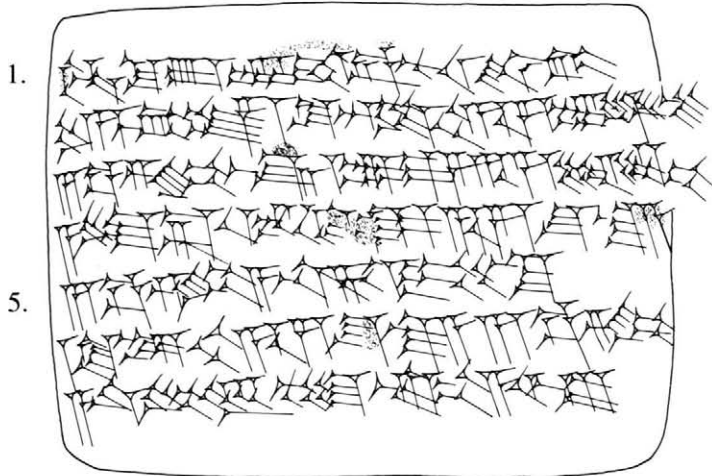
Text 60 Obverse



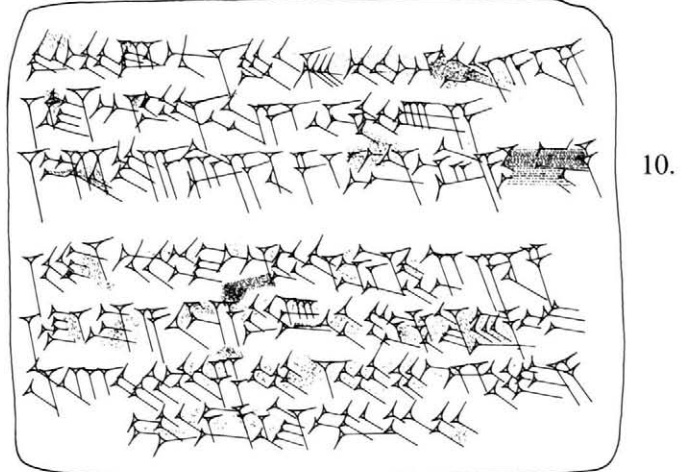
Text 60 Reverse



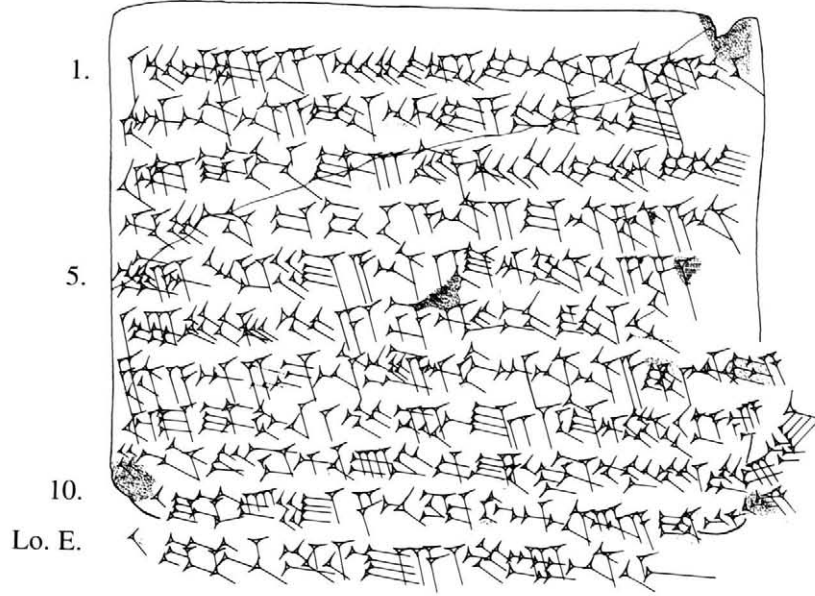
Text 61 Obverse



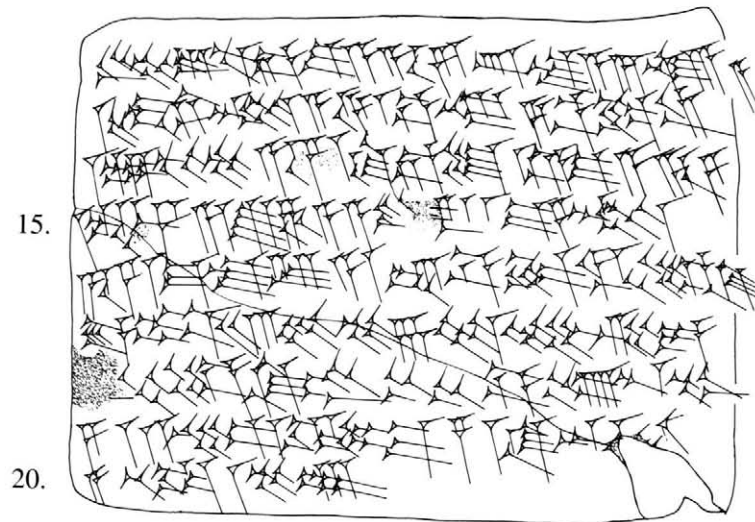
Text 61 Reverse



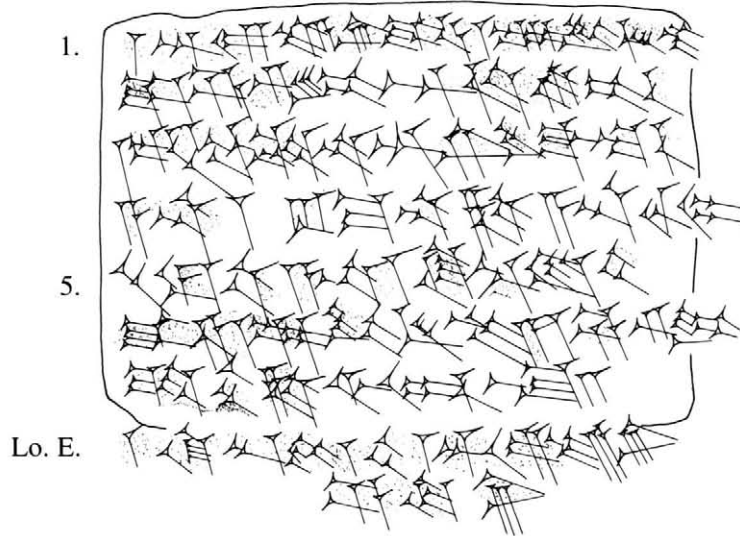
Text 62 Obverse



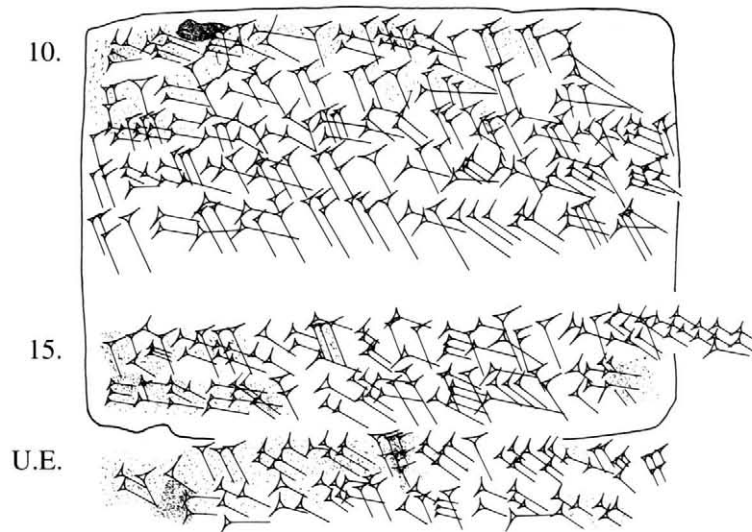
Text 62 Reverse



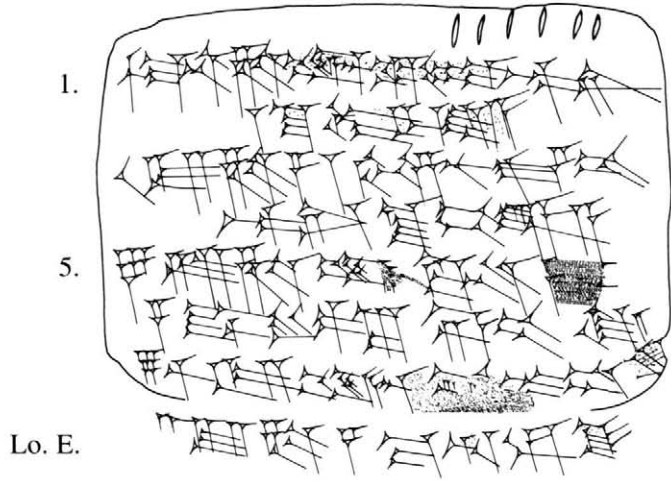
Text 63 Obverse



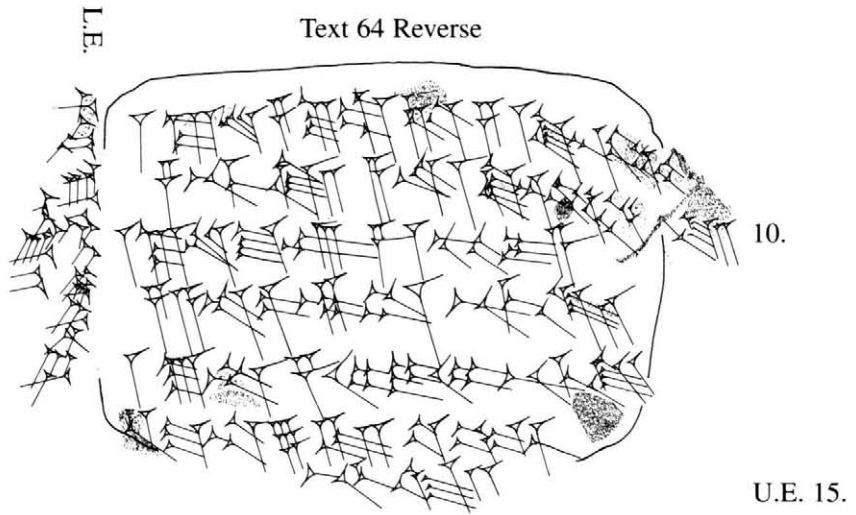
Text 63 Reverse



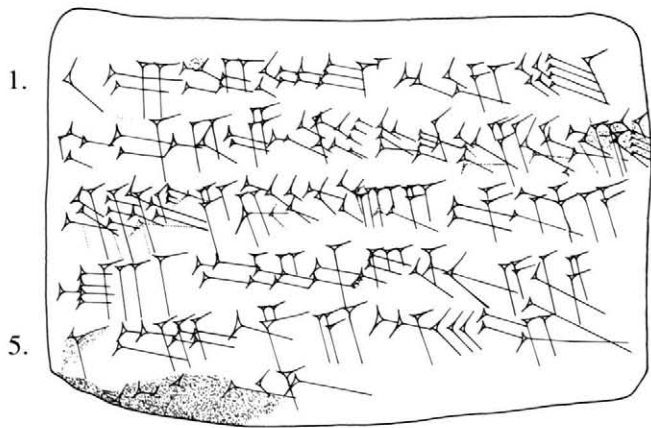
Text 64 Obverse



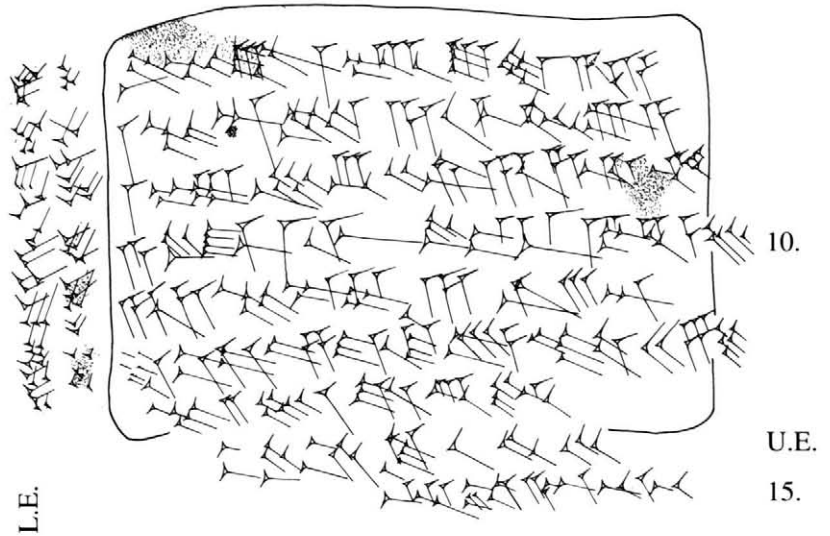
Text 64 Reverse



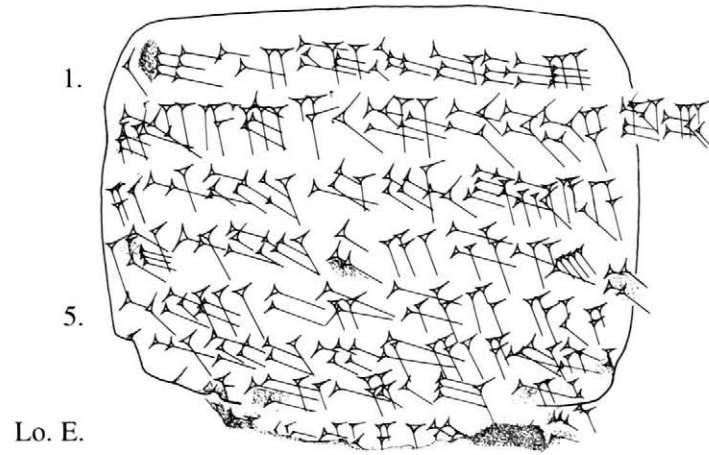
Text 65 Obverse



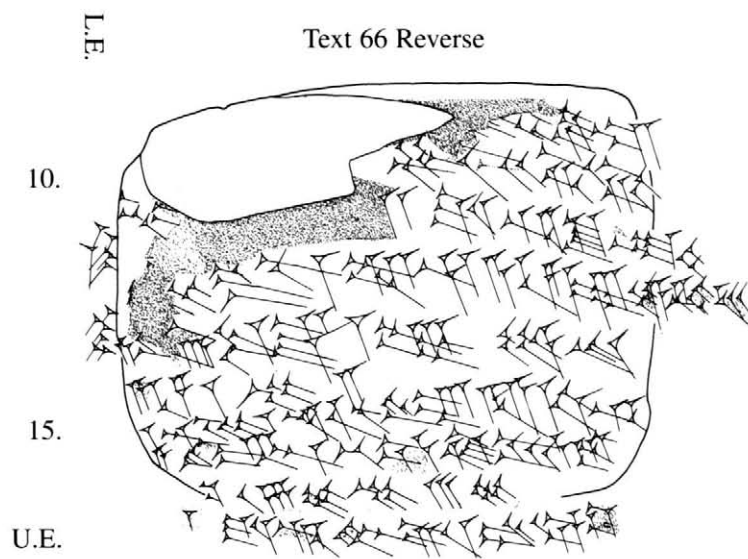
Text 65 Reverse



Text 66 Obverse

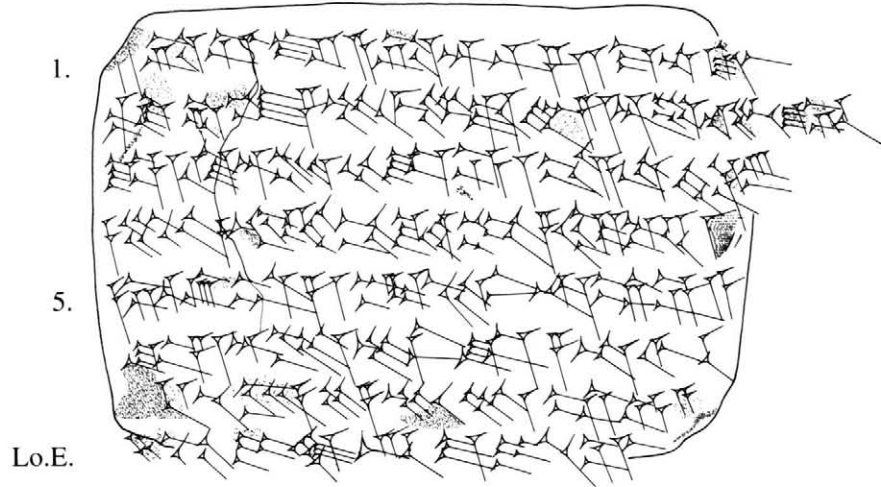


Text 66 Reverse



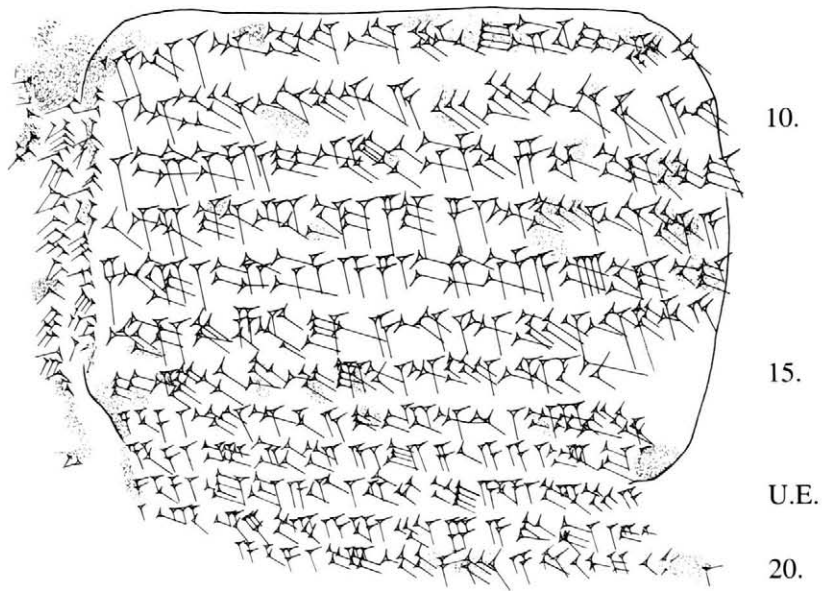


Text 67 Obverse

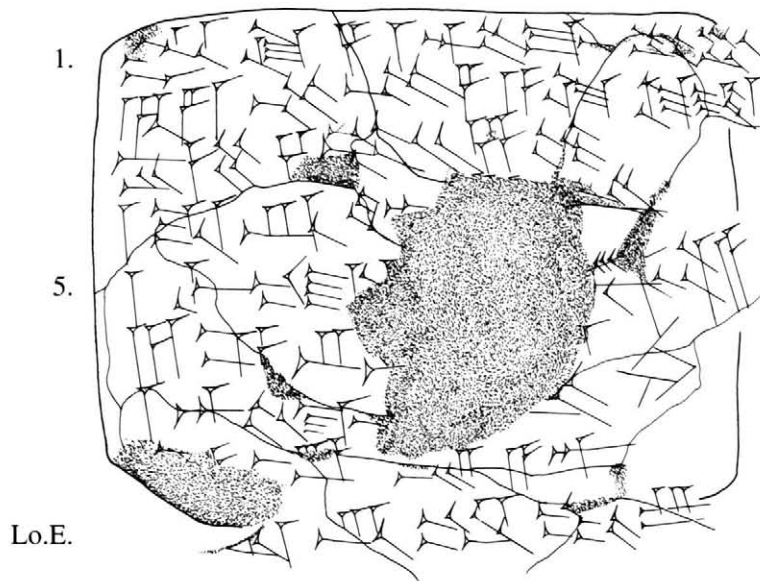


L.E.

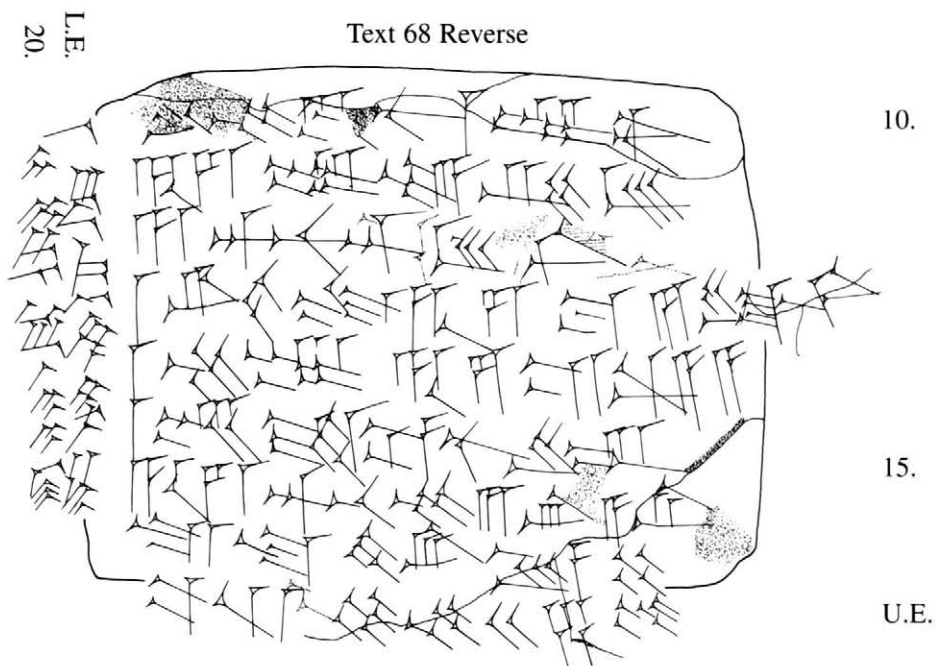
Text 67 Reverse



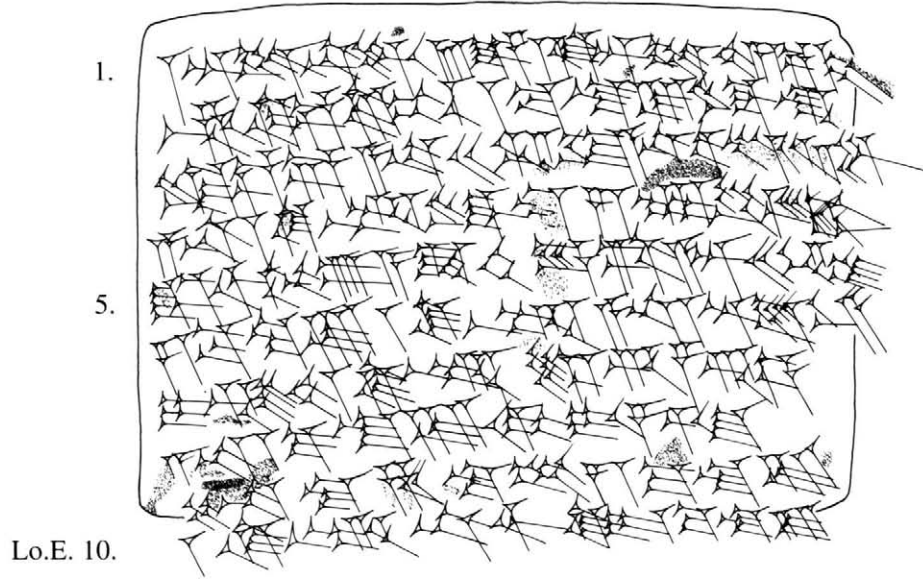
Text 68 Obverse



Text 68 Reverse

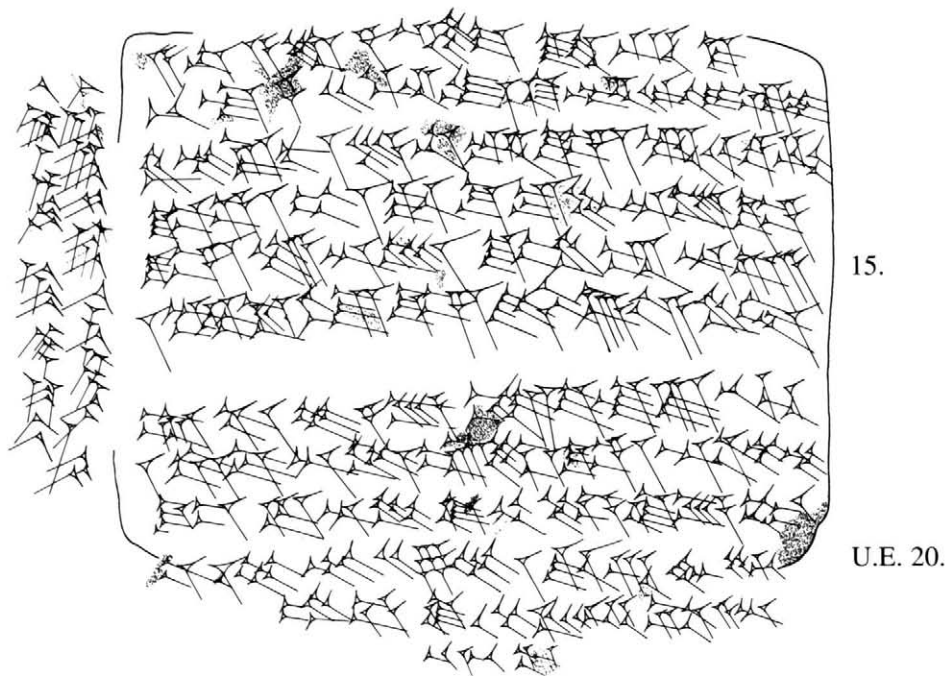


Text 69 Obverse

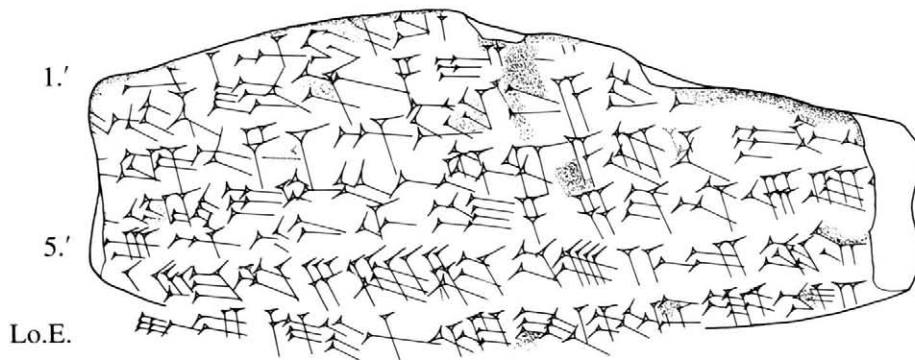


L.E.

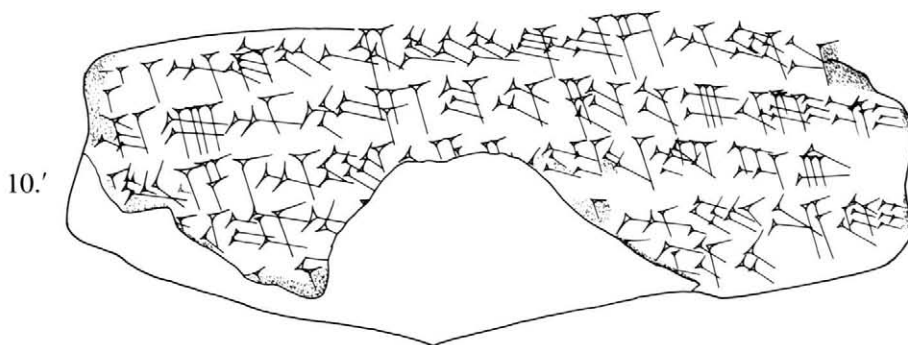
Text 69 Reverse



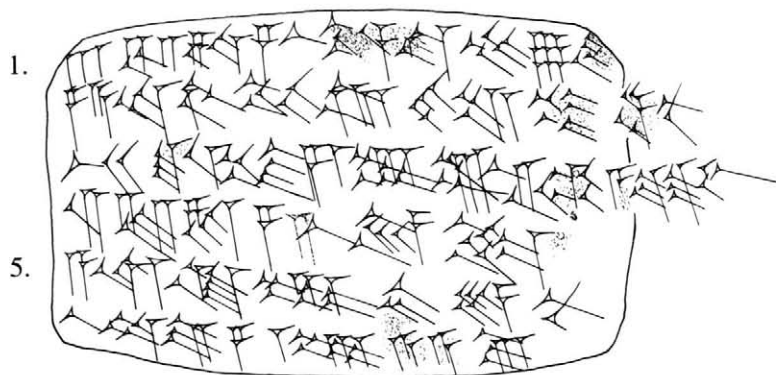
Text 70 Obverse



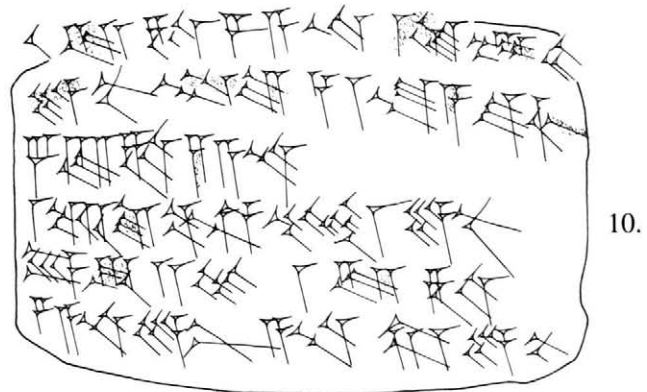
Text 70 Reverse



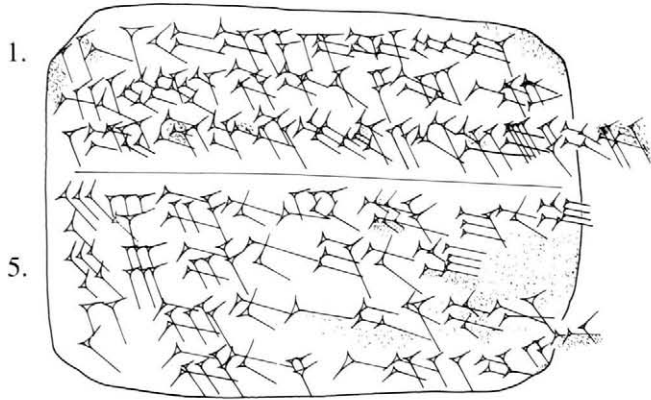
Text 71 Obverse



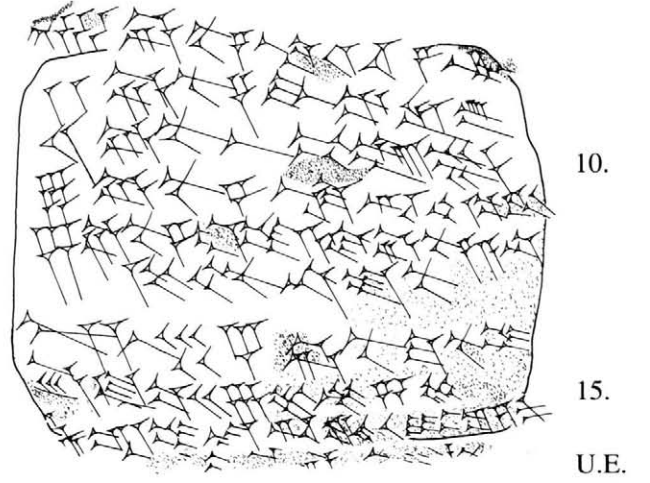
Text 71 Reverse



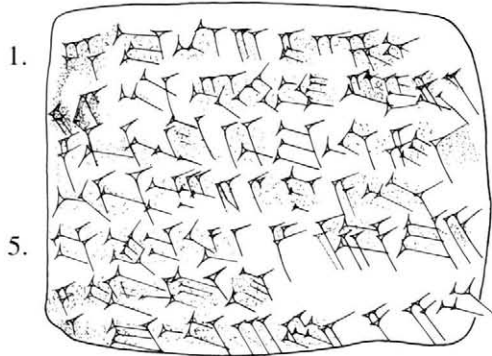
Text 72 Obverse



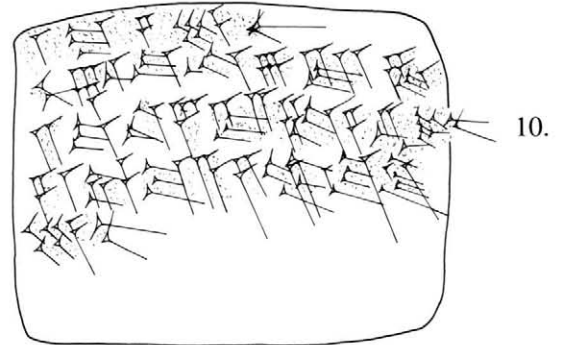
Text 72 Reverse



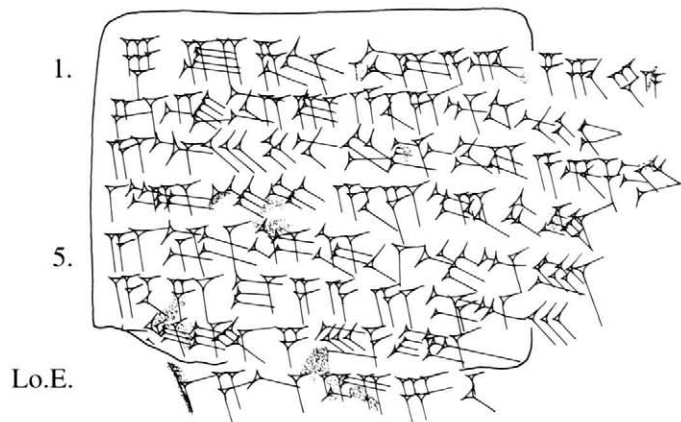
Text 73 Obverse



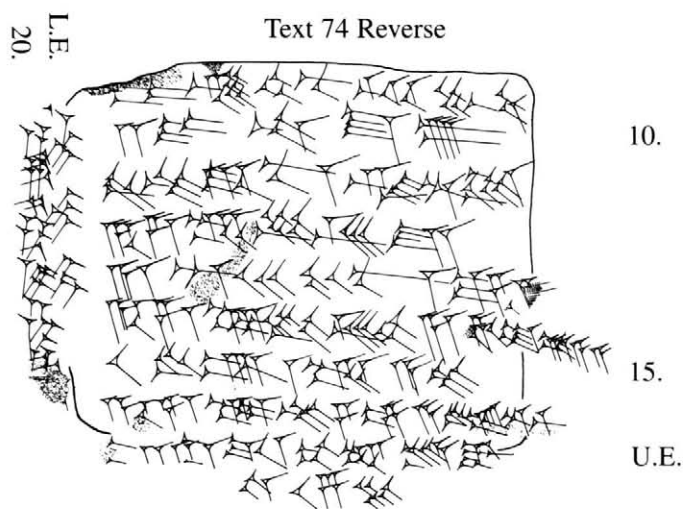
Text 73 Reverse



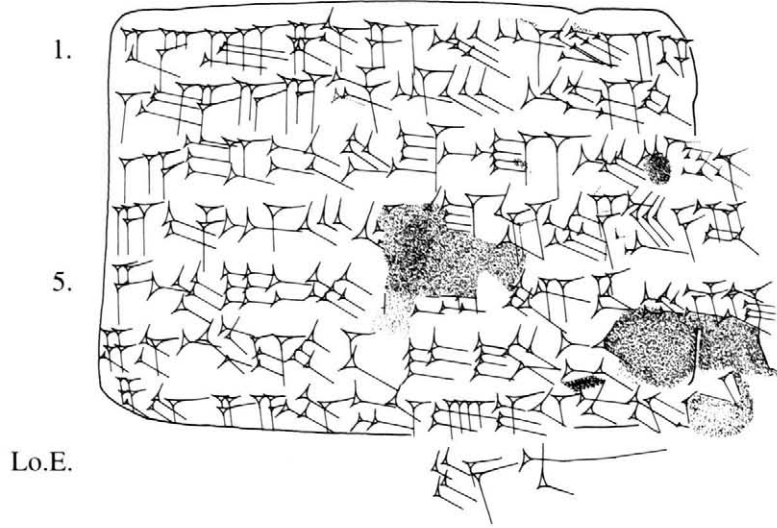
Text 74 Obverse



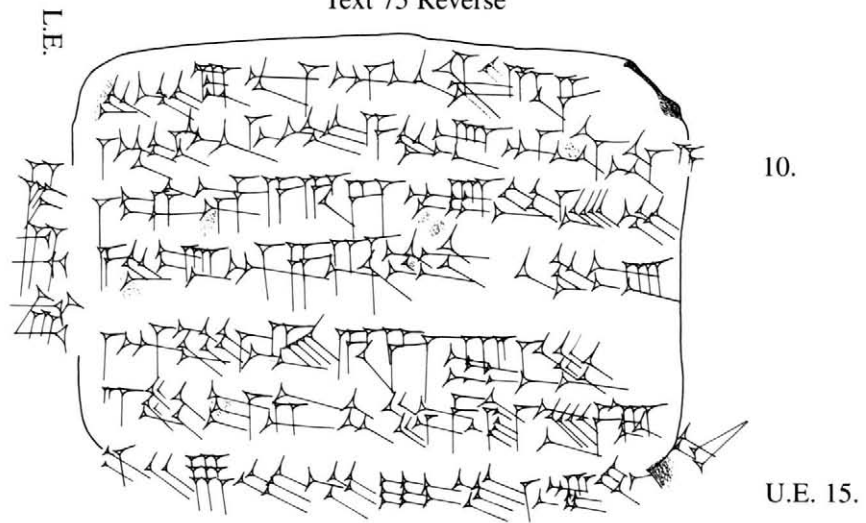
Text 74 Reverse



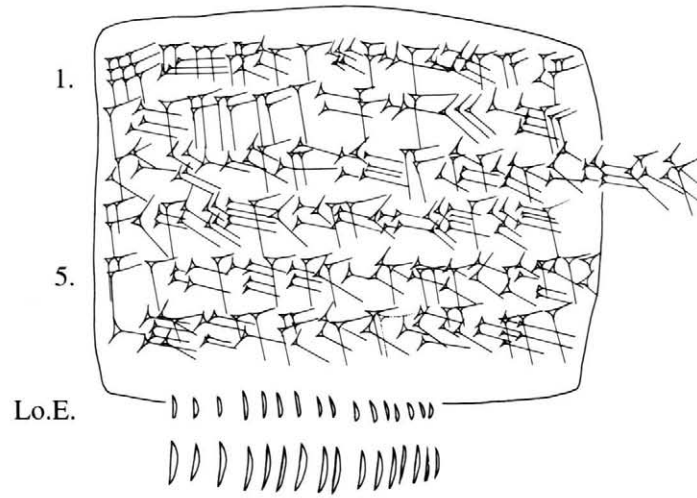
Text 75 Obverse



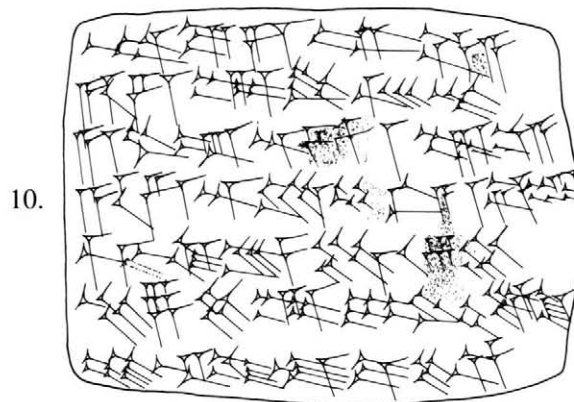
Text 75 Reverse



Text 76 Obverse

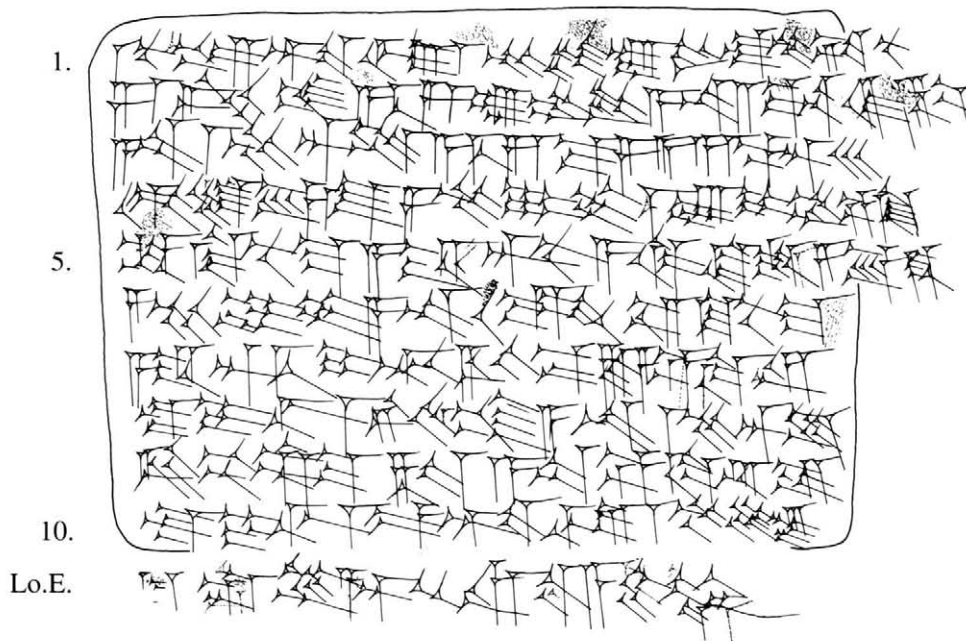


Text 76 Reverse



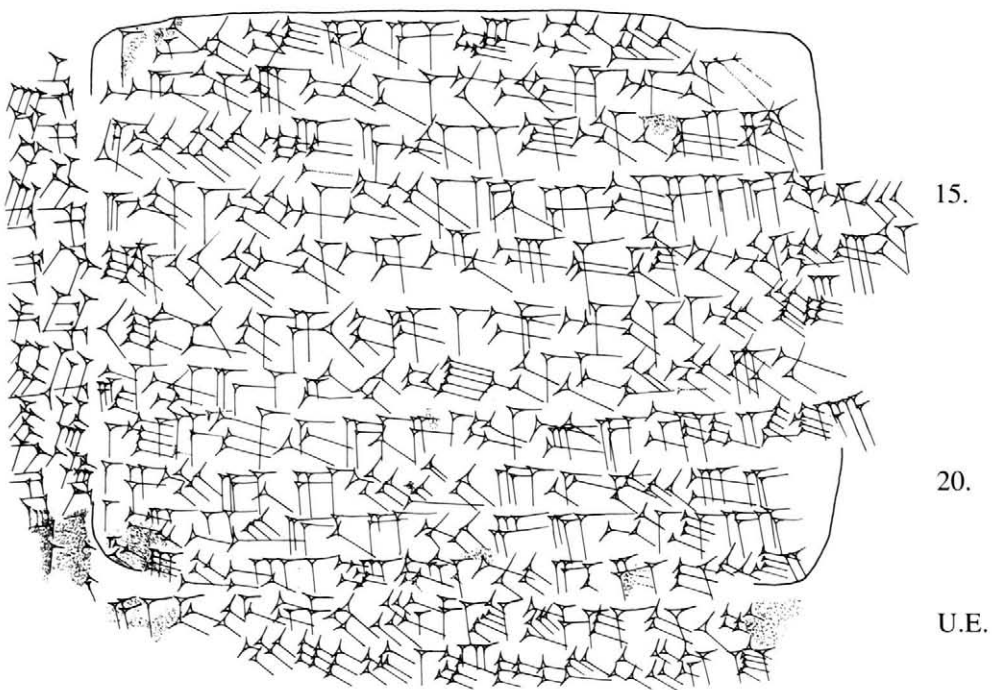


Text 77 Obverse

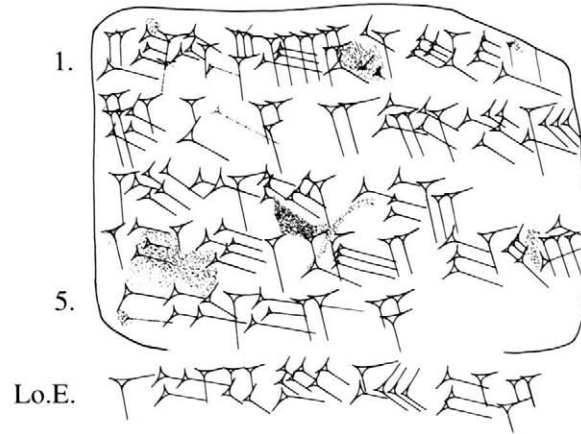


L.E. 25.

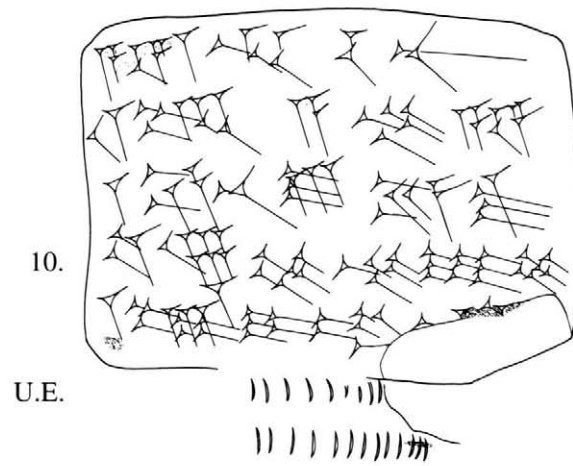
Text 77 Reverse



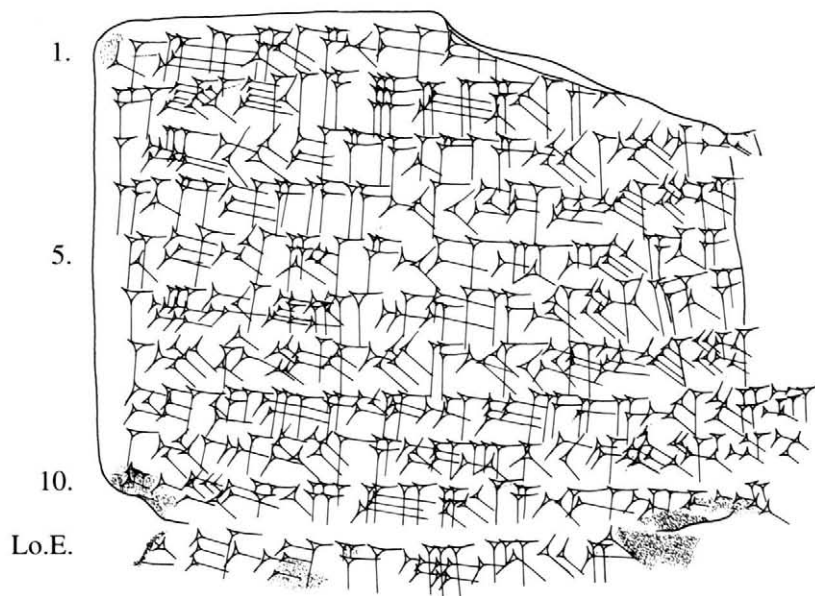
Text 78 Obverse



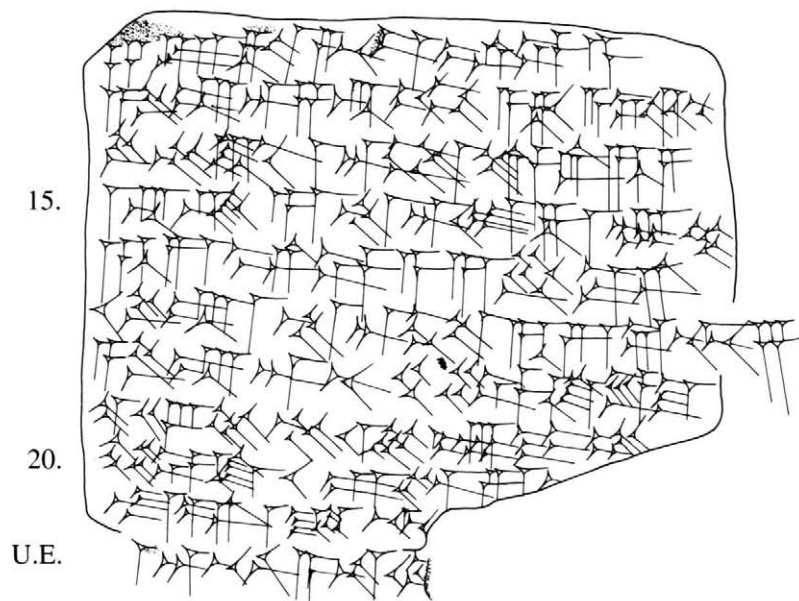
Text 78 Reverse



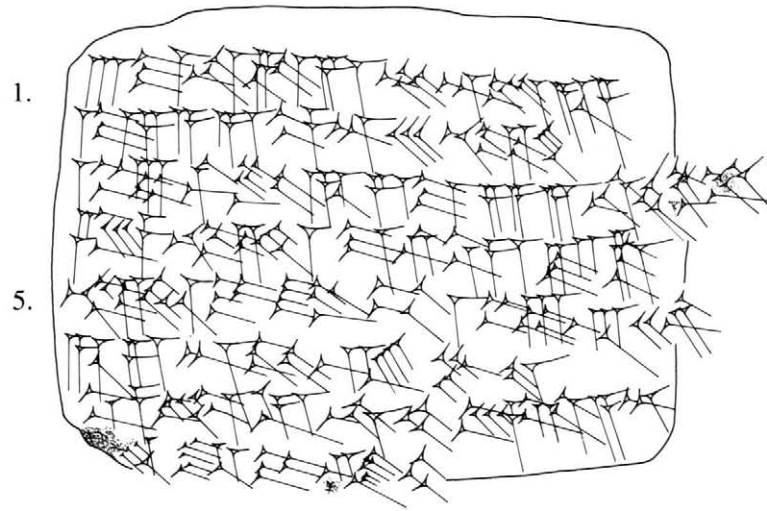
Text 79 Obverse



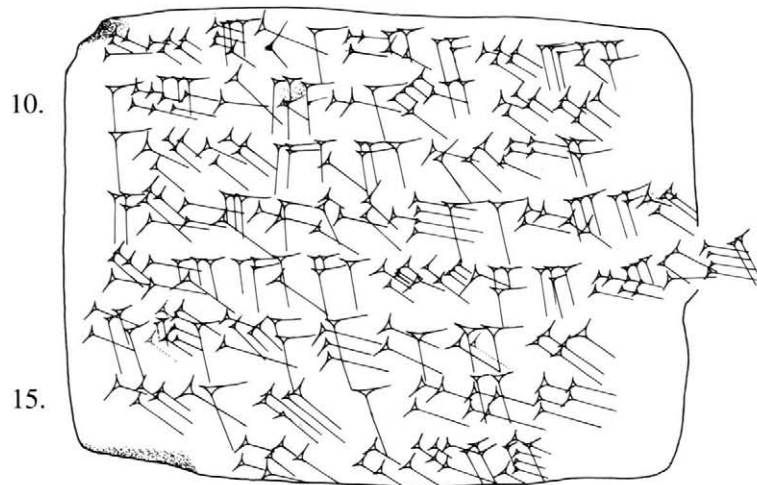
Text 79 Reverse



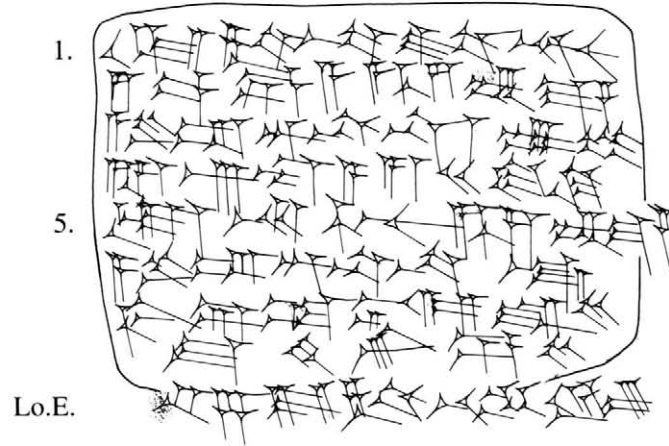
Text 80 Obverse



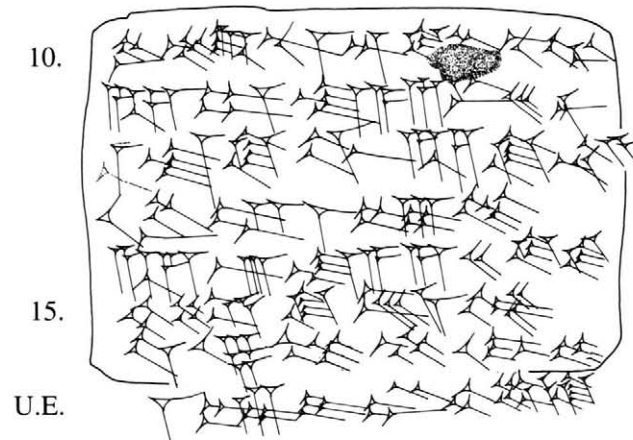
Text 80 Reverse



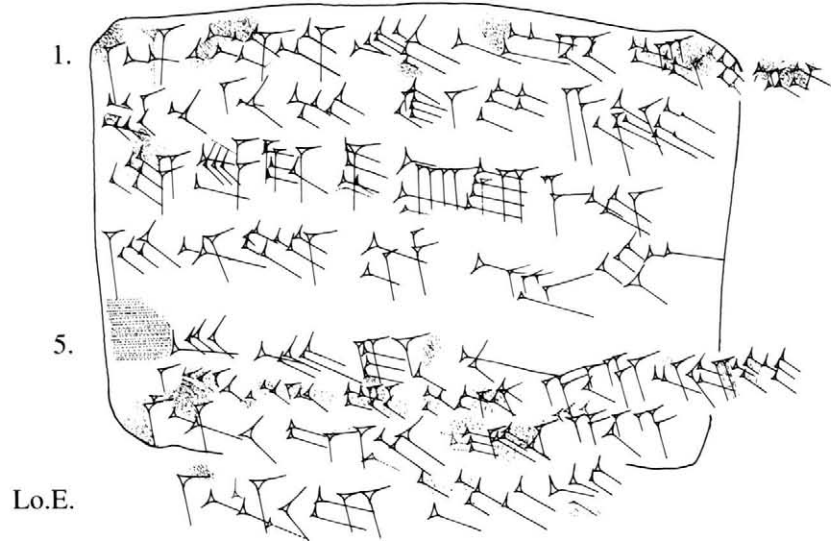
Text 81 Obverse



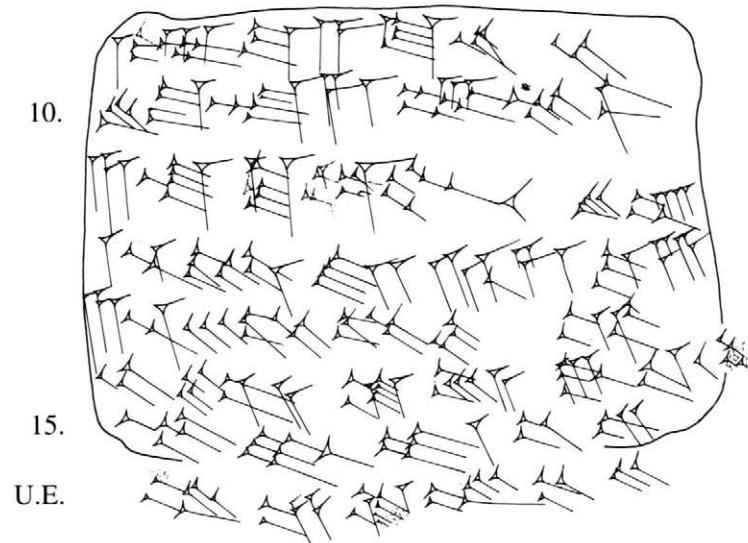
Text 81 Reverse



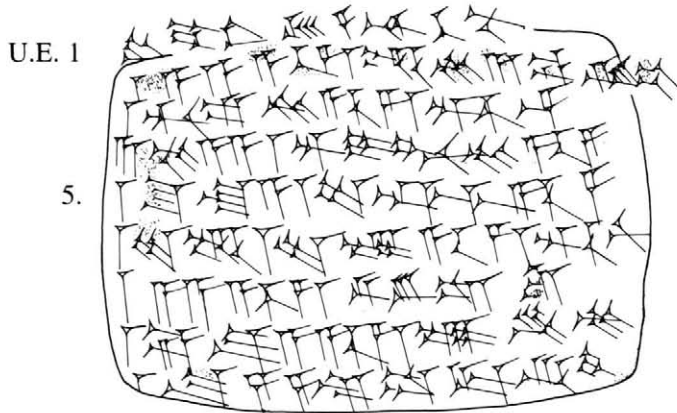
Text 82 Obverse



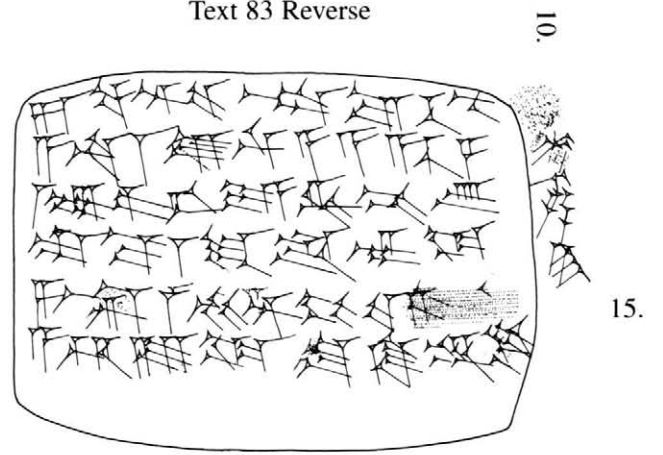
Text 82 Reverse



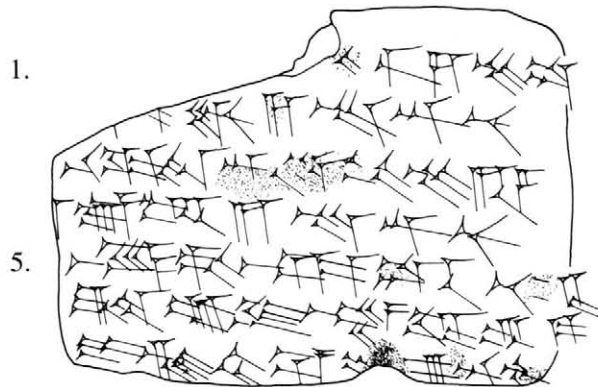
Text 83 Obverse



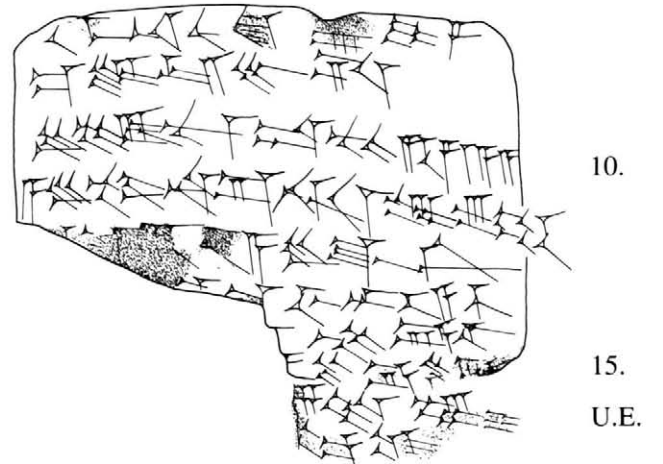
Text 83 Reverse



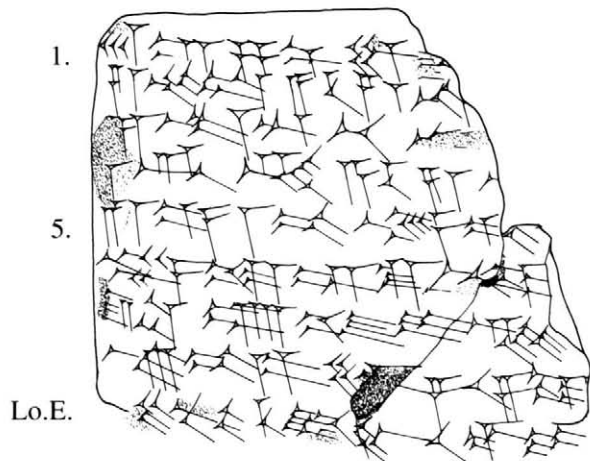
Text 84 Obverse



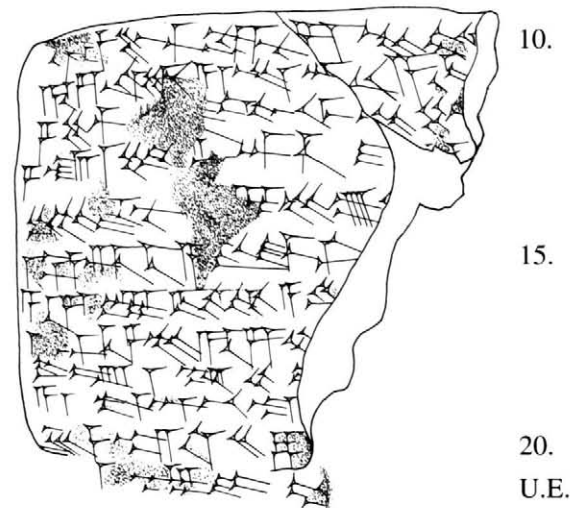
Text 84 Reverse



Text 85 Obverse

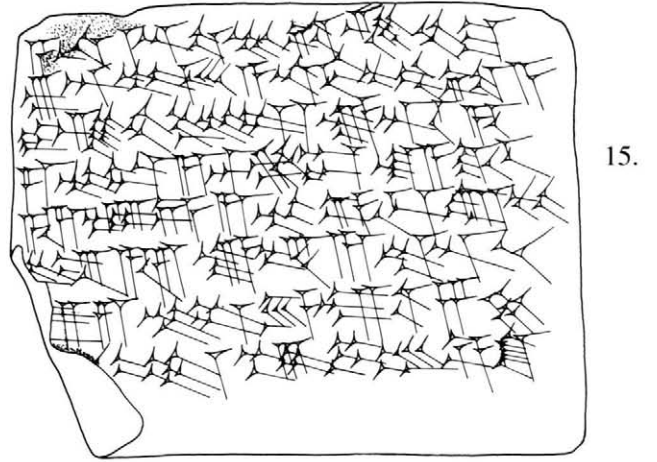
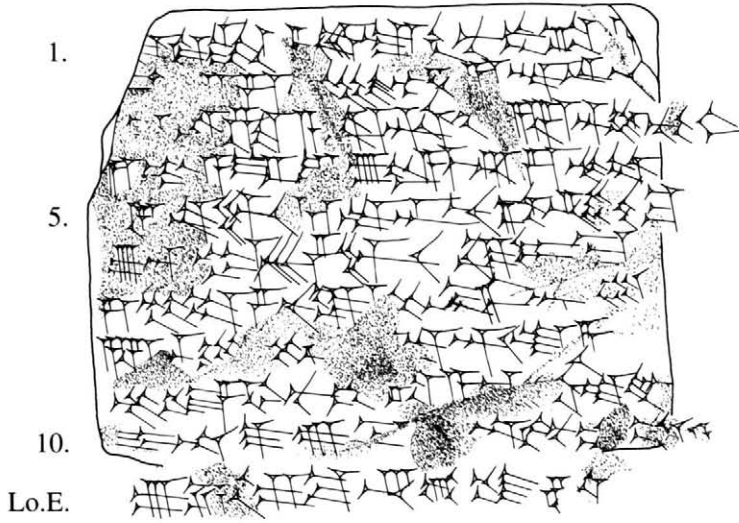


Text 85 Reverse



Text 86 Obverse

Text 86 Reverse



Text 87 Obverse

Text 87 Reverse

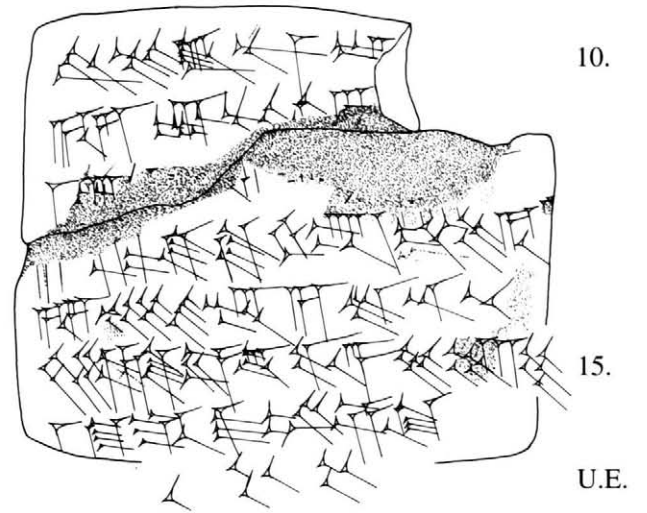
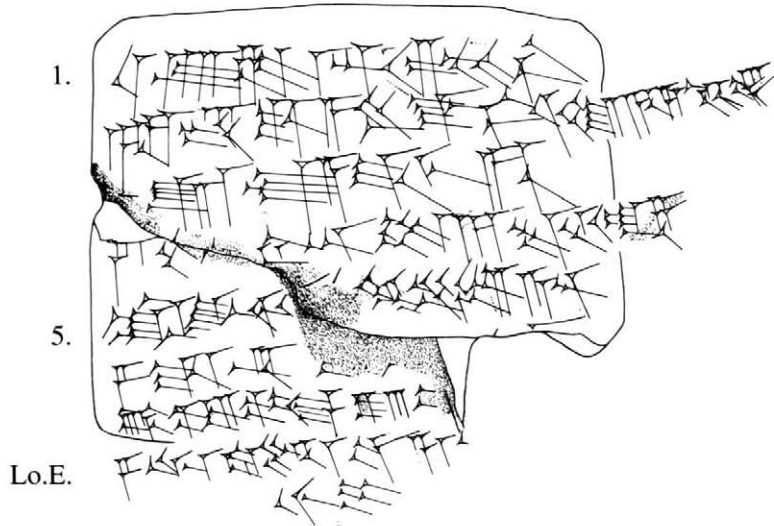


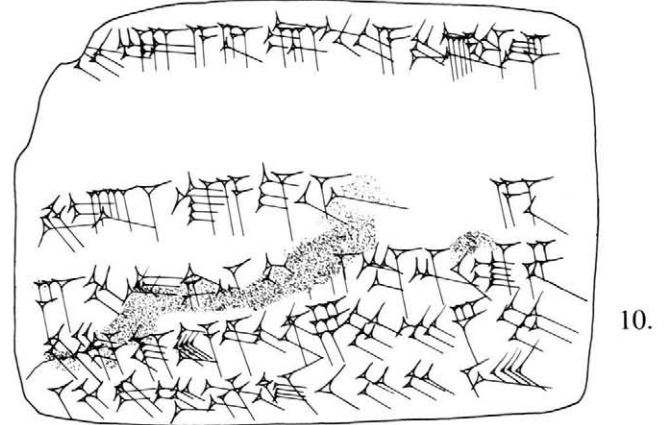


PLATE 64

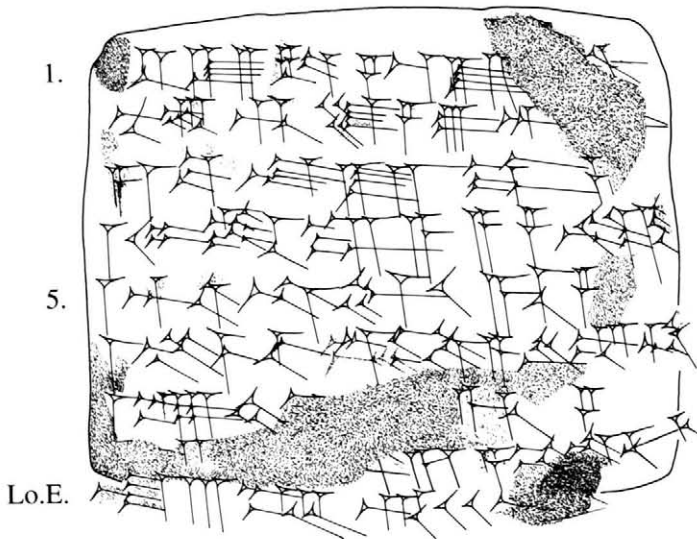
Text 88 Obverse



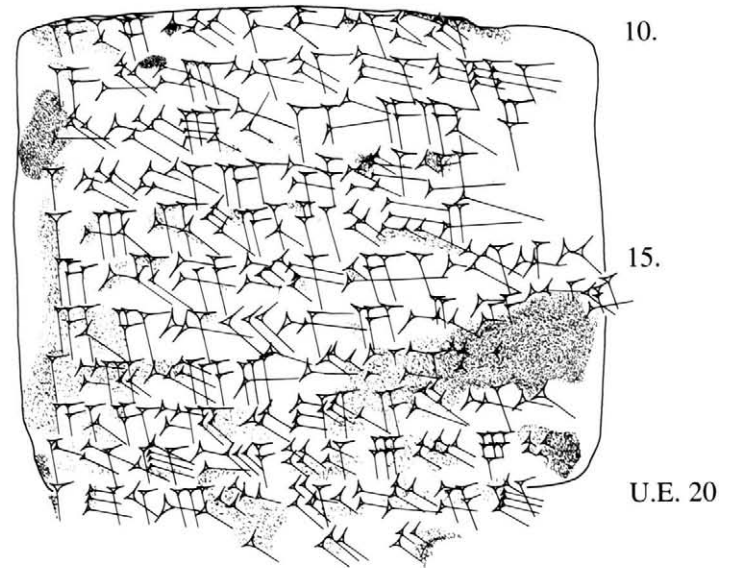
Text 88 Reverse



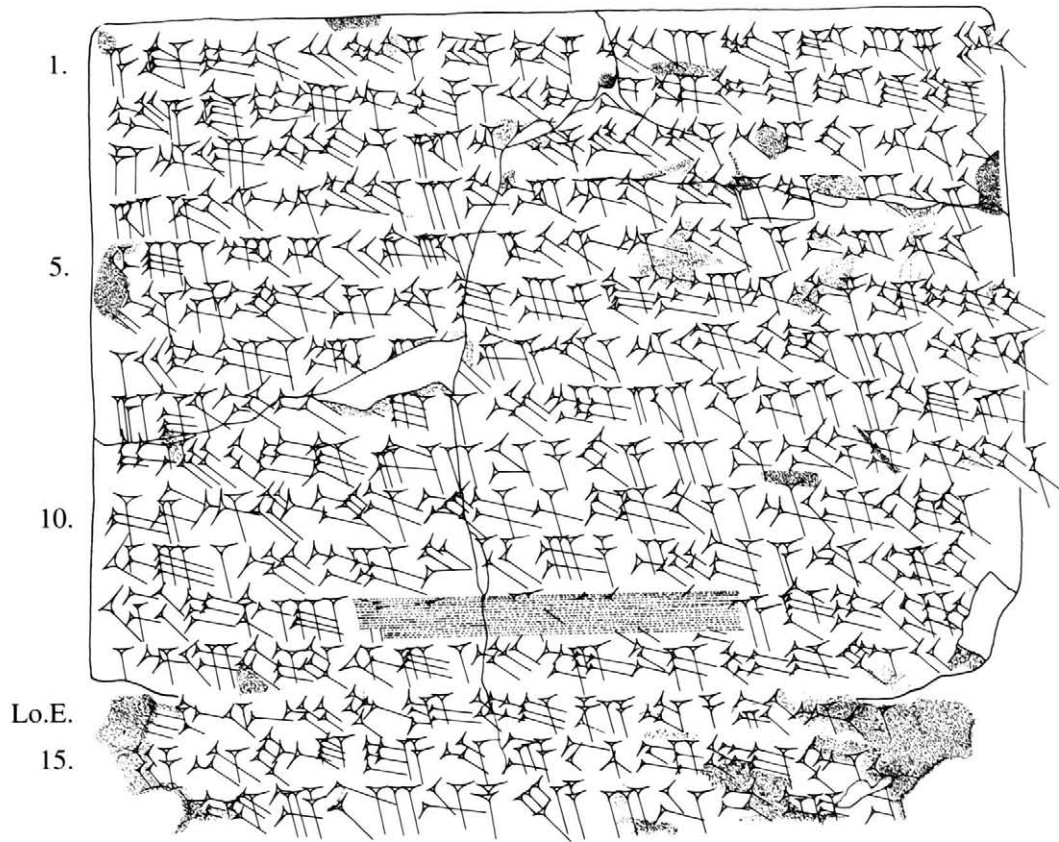
Text 89 Obverse



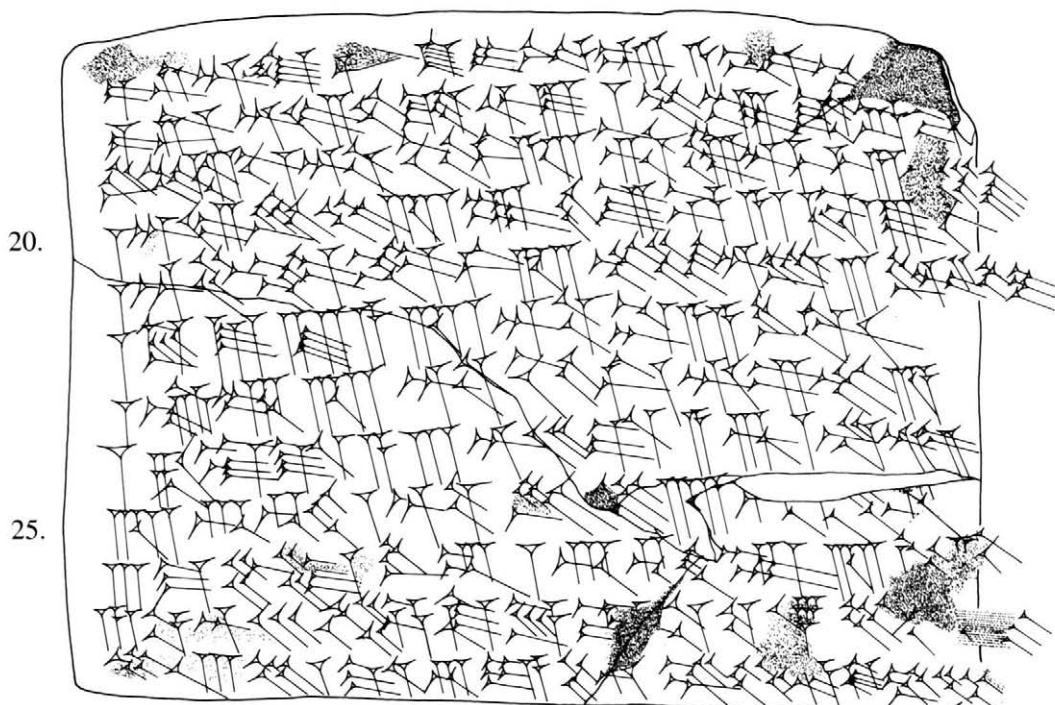
Text 89 Reverse



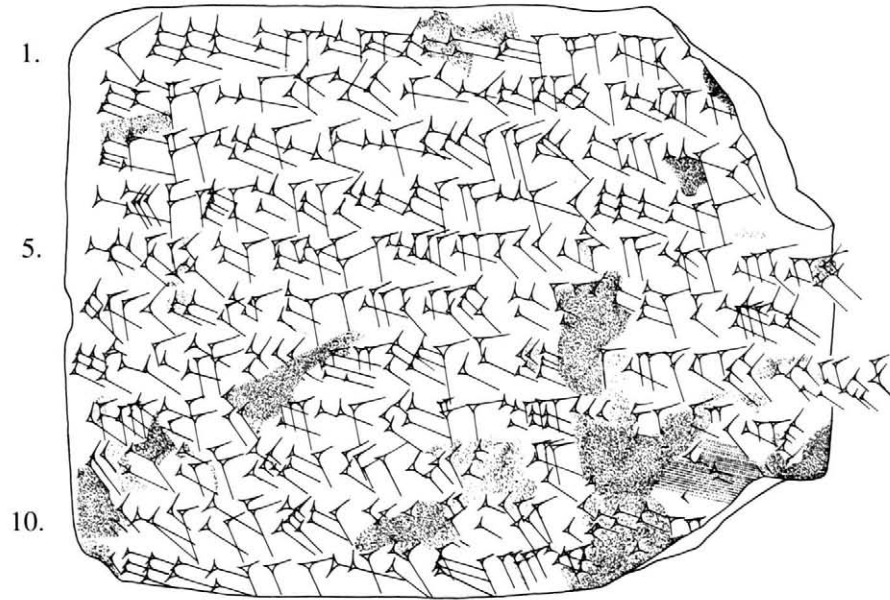
Text 90 Obverse



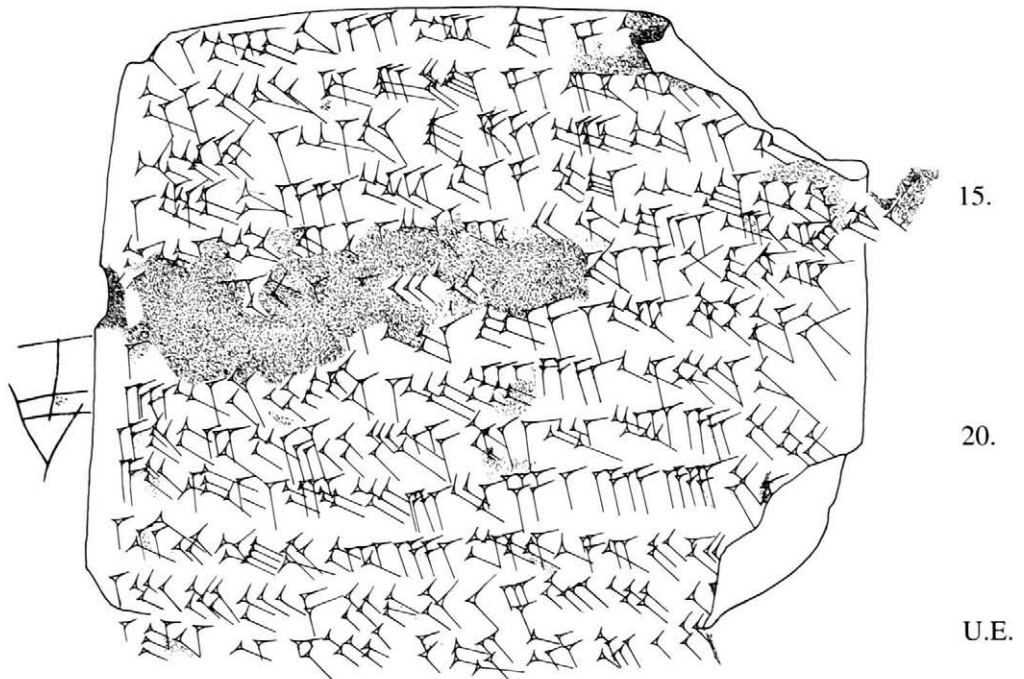
Text 90 Reverse



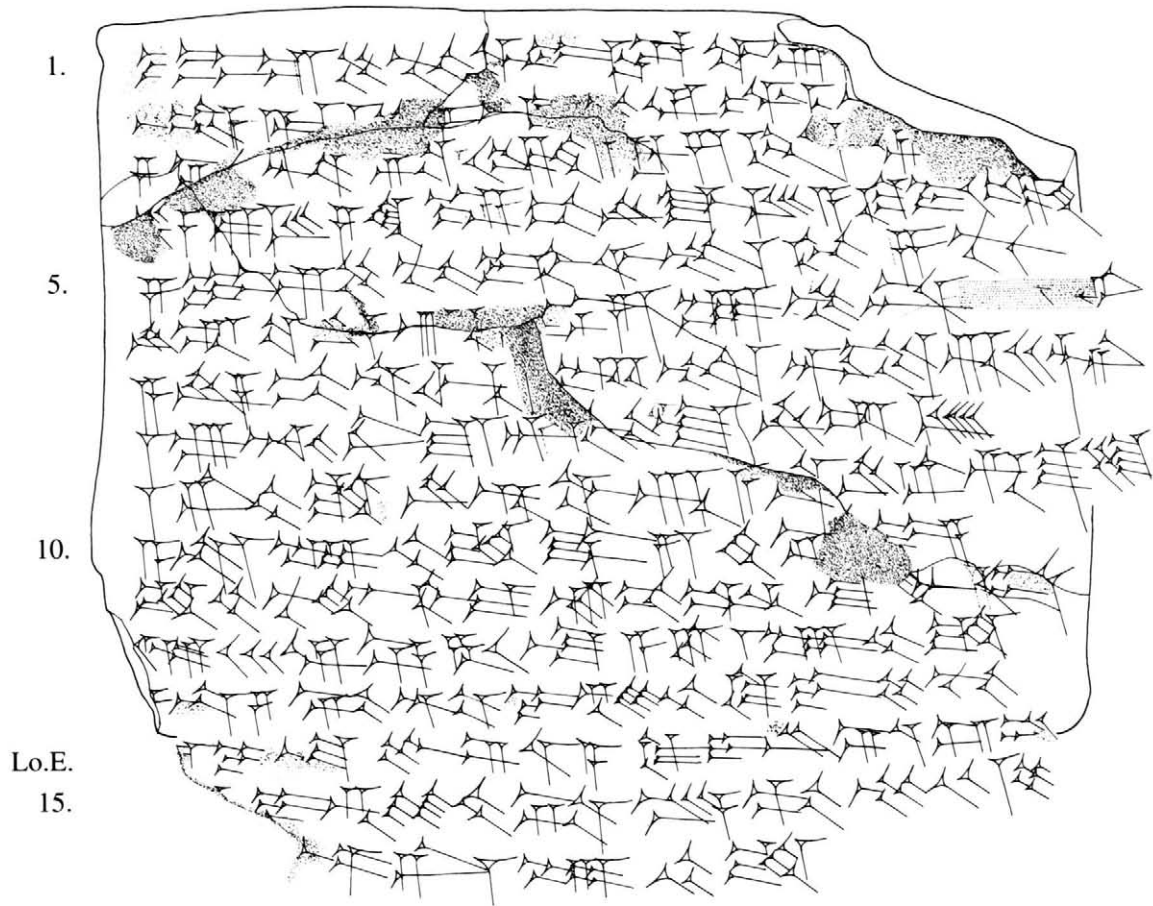
Text 91 Obverse



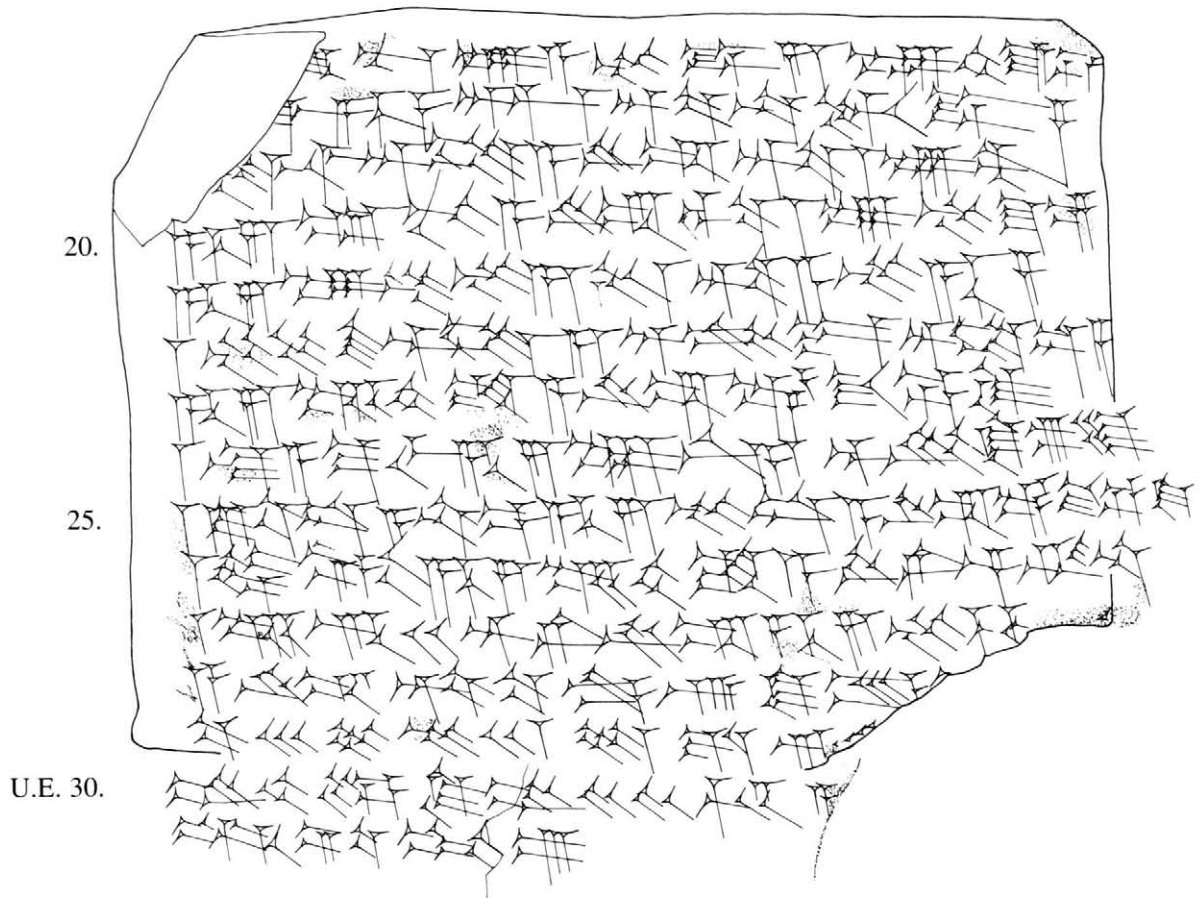
Text 91 Reverse



Text 92 Obverse



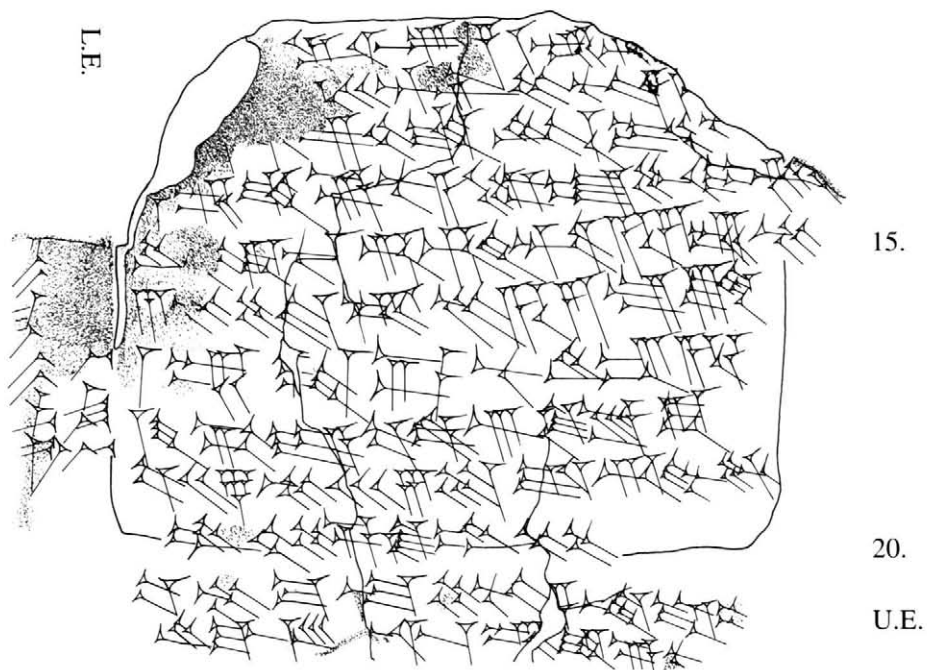
Text 92 Reverse



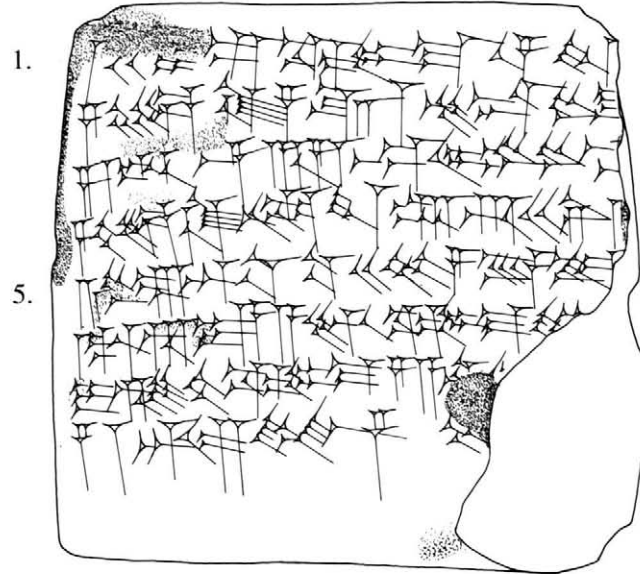
Text 93 Obverse



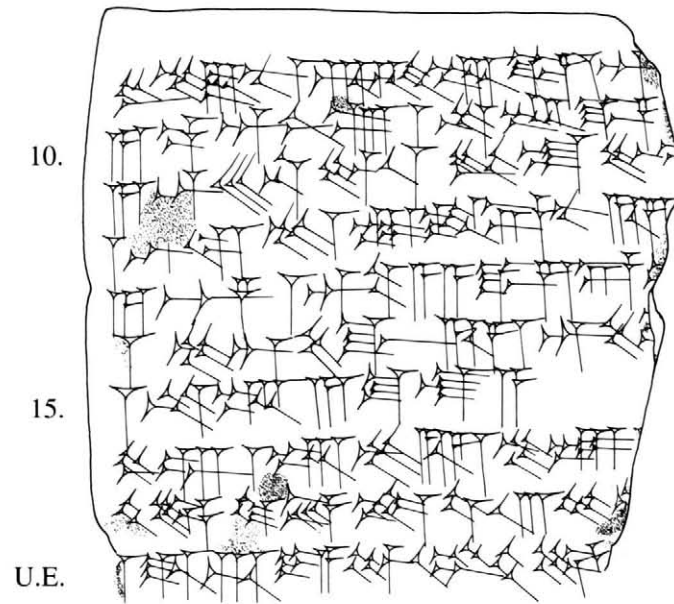
Text 93 Reverse



Text 94 Obverse

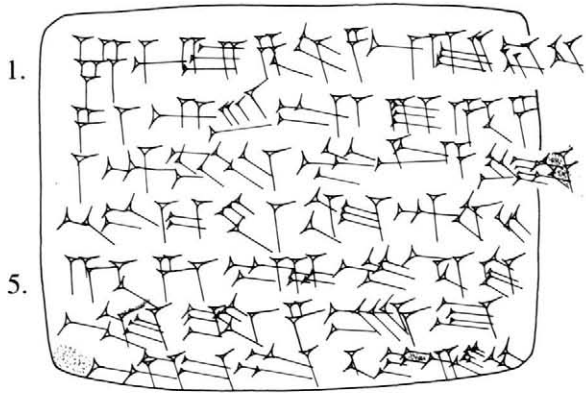


Text 94 Reverse

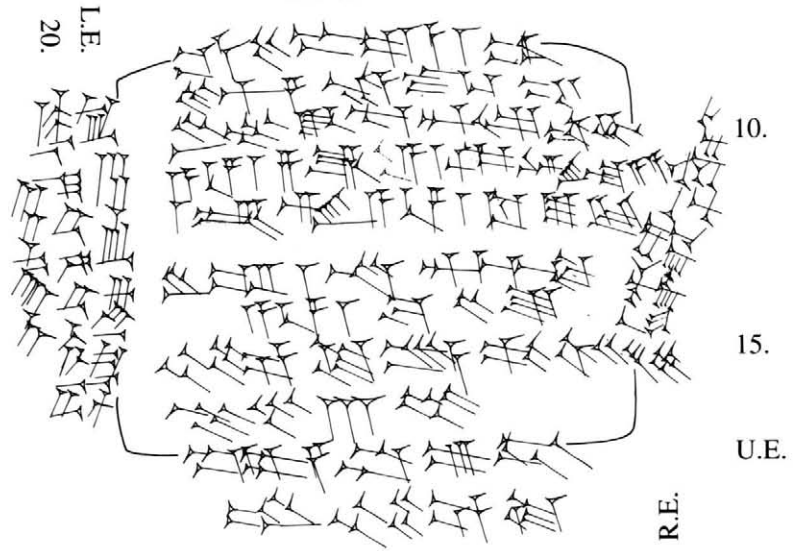




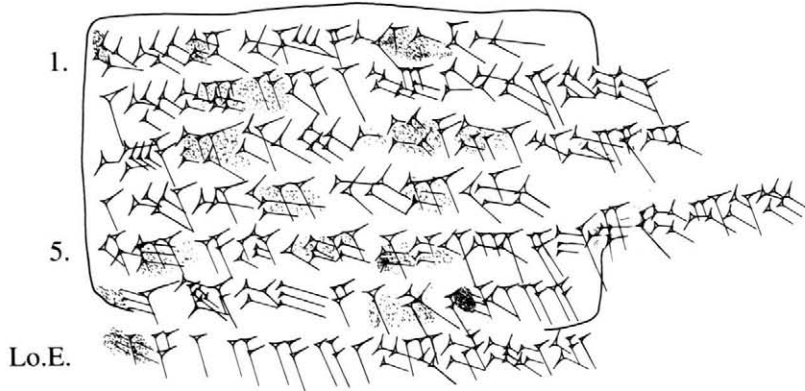
Text 95 Obverse



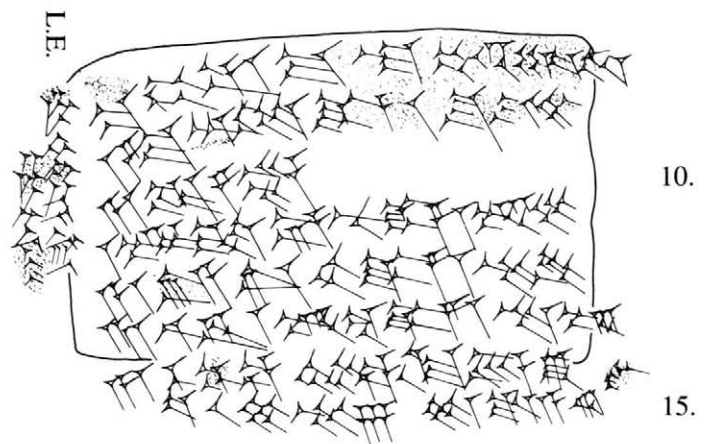
Text 95 Reverse



Text 96 Obverse

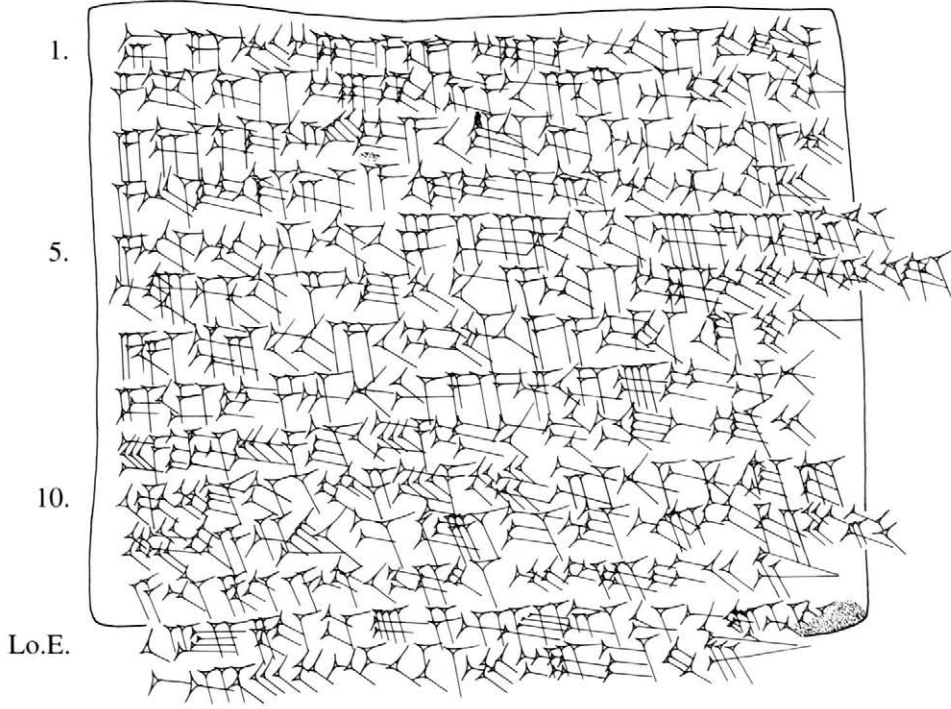


Text 96 Reverse

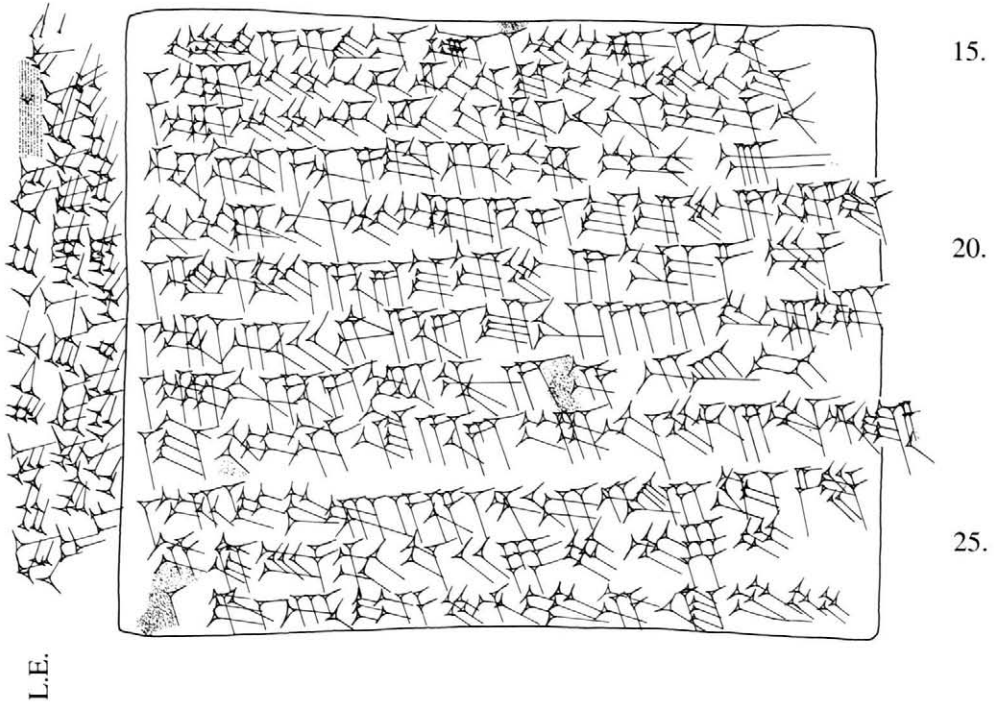




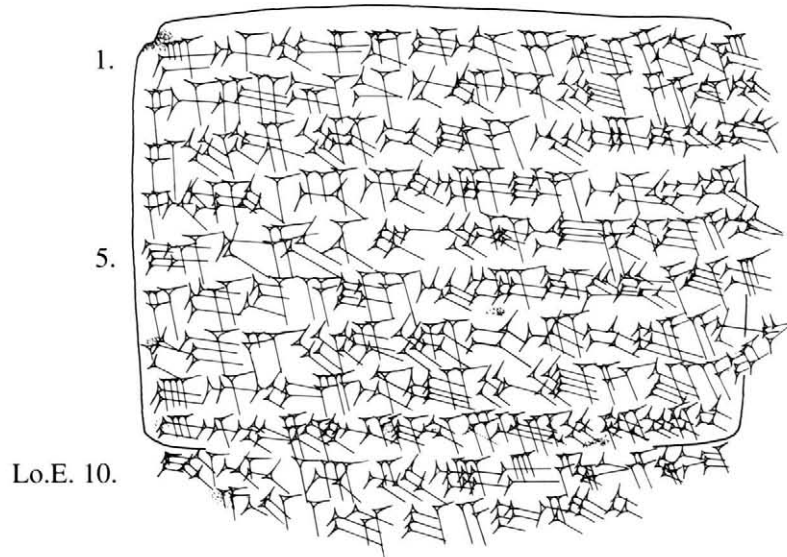
Text 97 Obverse



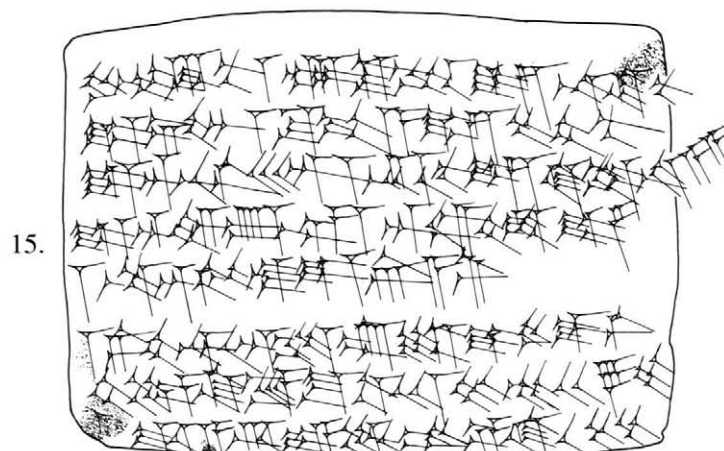
Text 97 Reverse



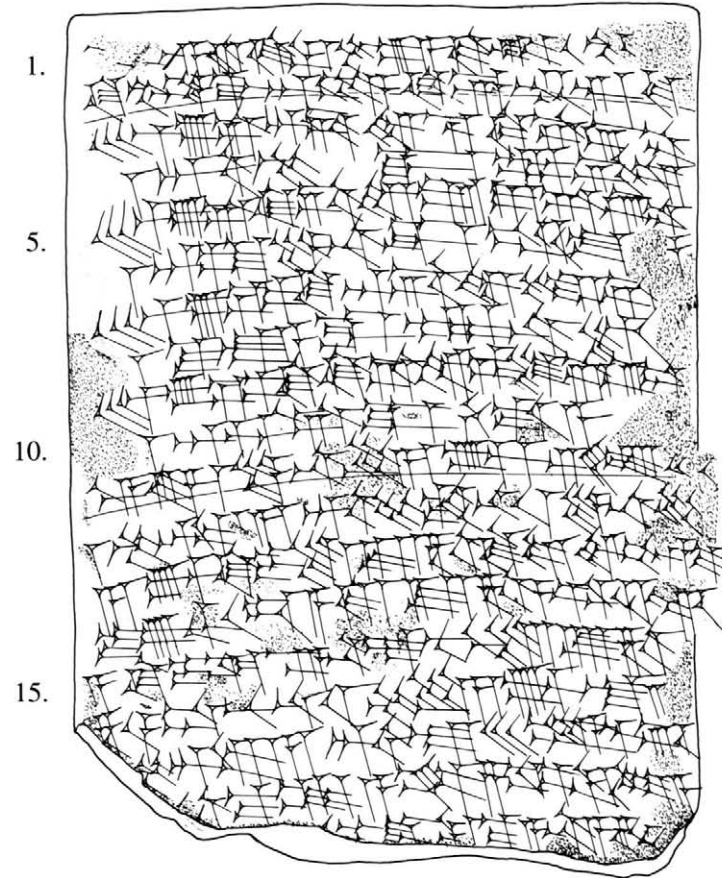
Text 98 Obverse



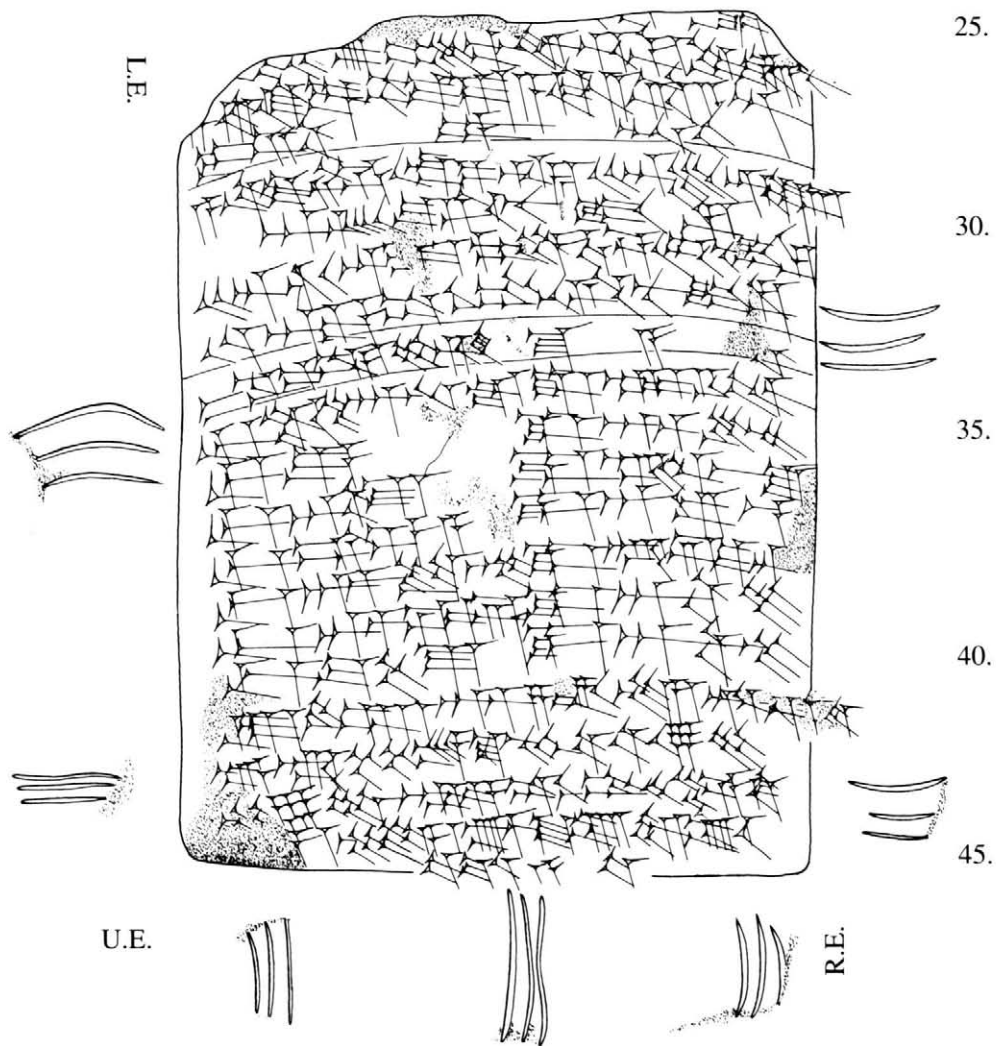
Text 98 Reverse



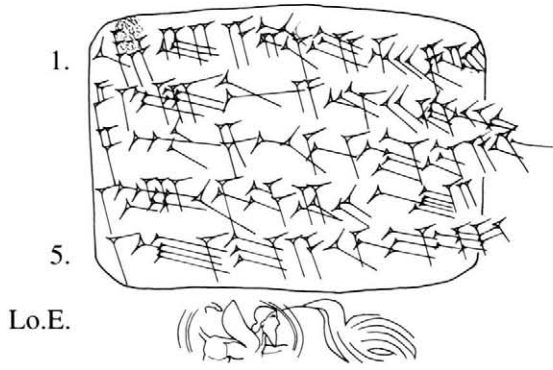
Text 99 Obverse



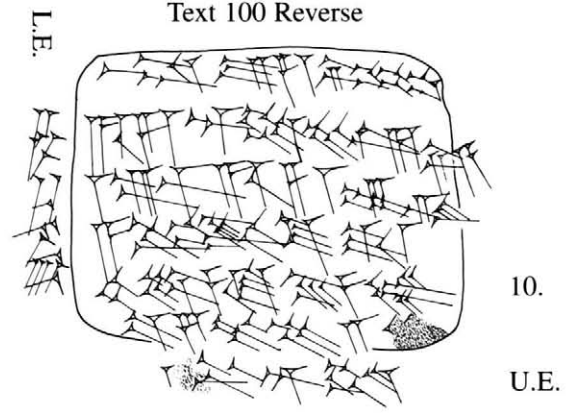
Text 99 Reverse



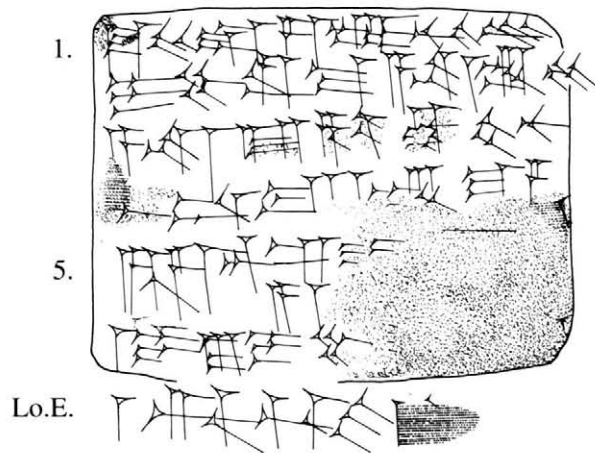
Text 100 Obverse



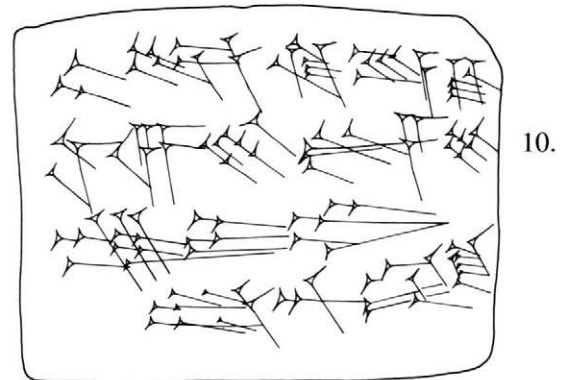
Text 100 Reverse



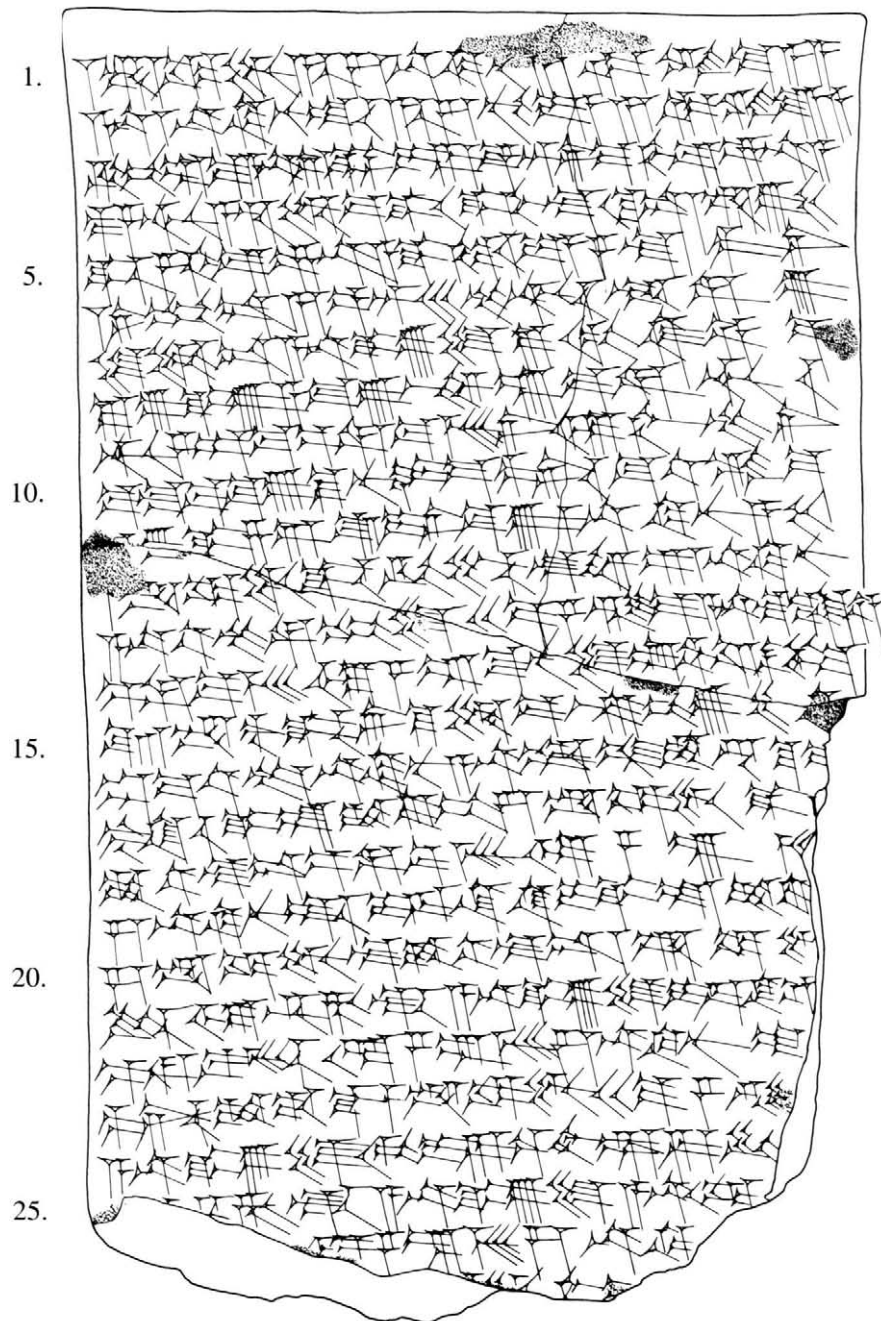
Text 101 Obverse



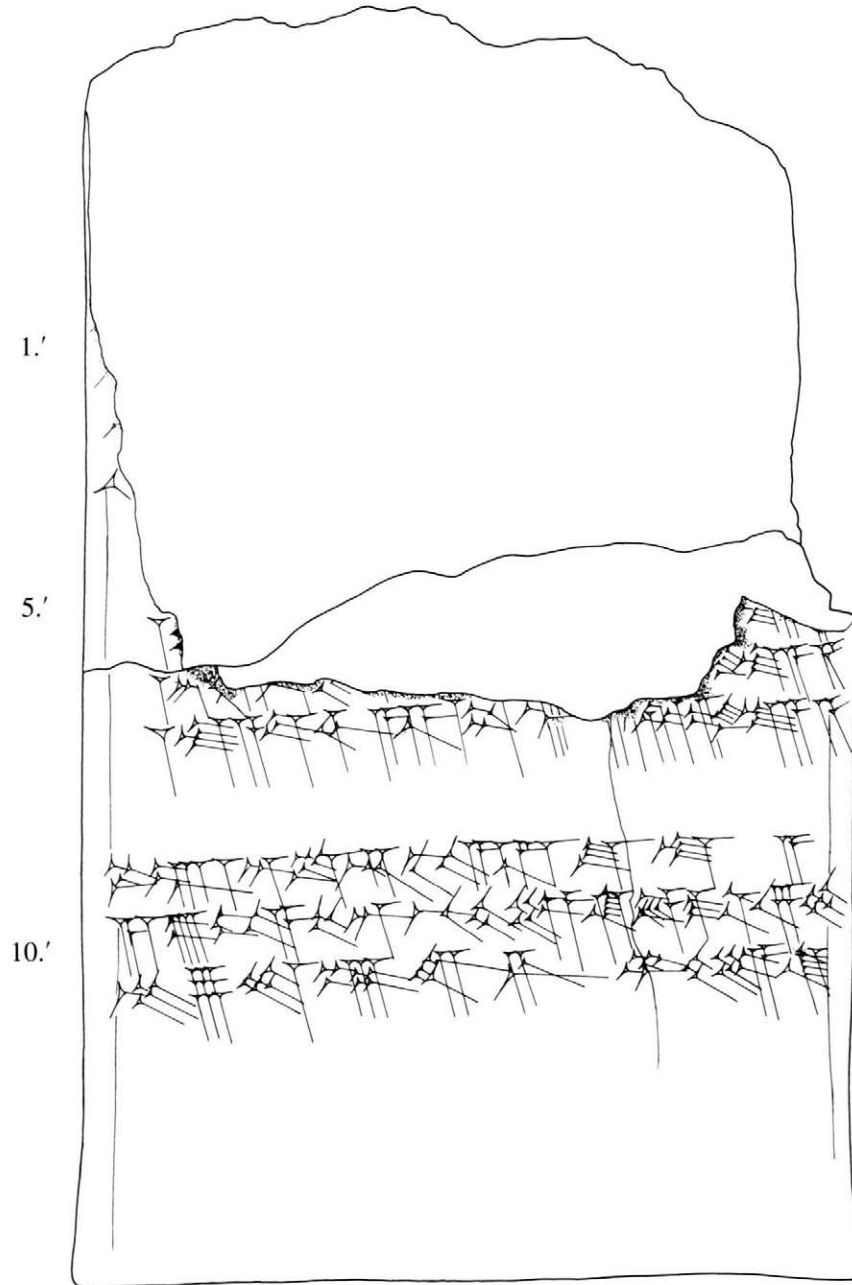
Text 101 Reverse



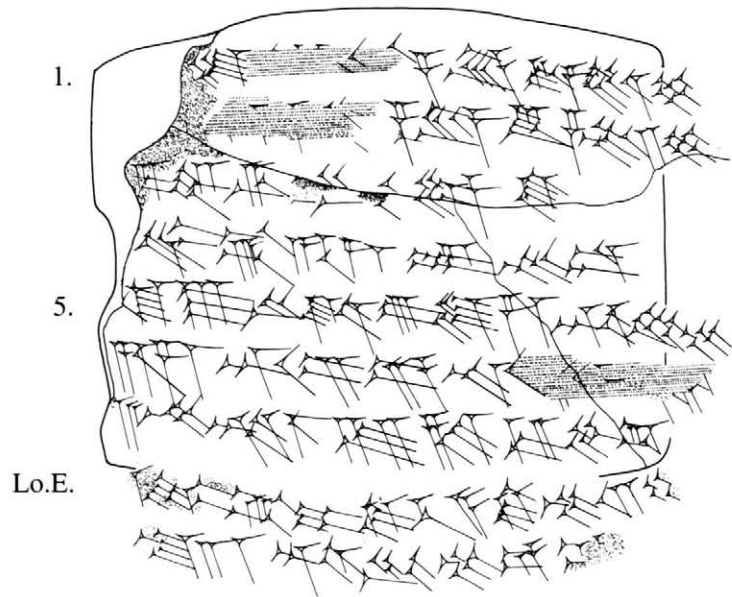
Text 102 Obverse



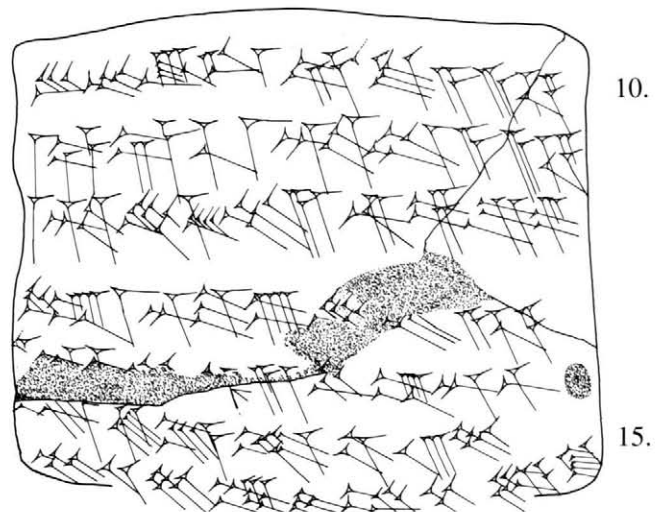
Text 102 Reverse



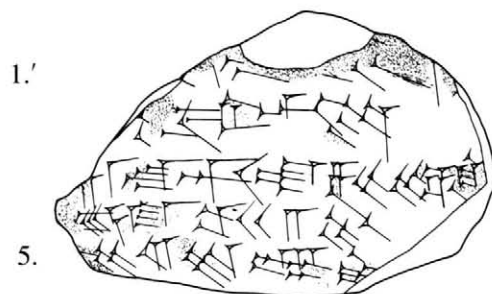
Text 103 Obverse



Text 103 Reverse

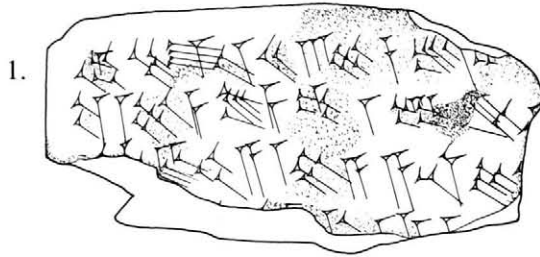


Text 104

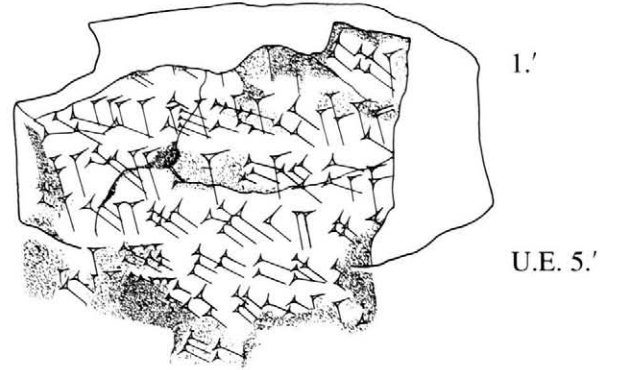




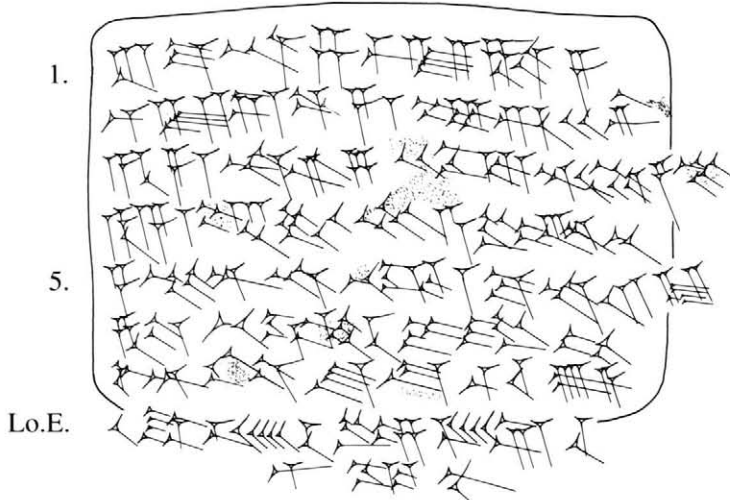
Text 105 Obverse



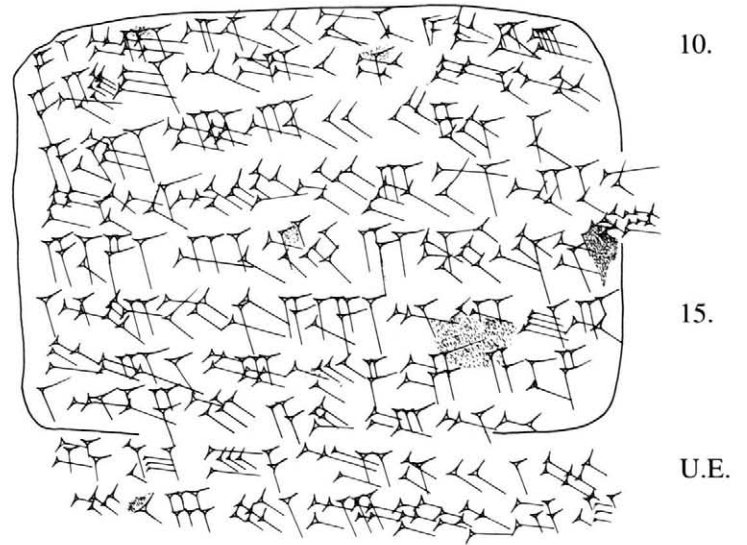
Text 105 Reverse



Text 106 Obverse

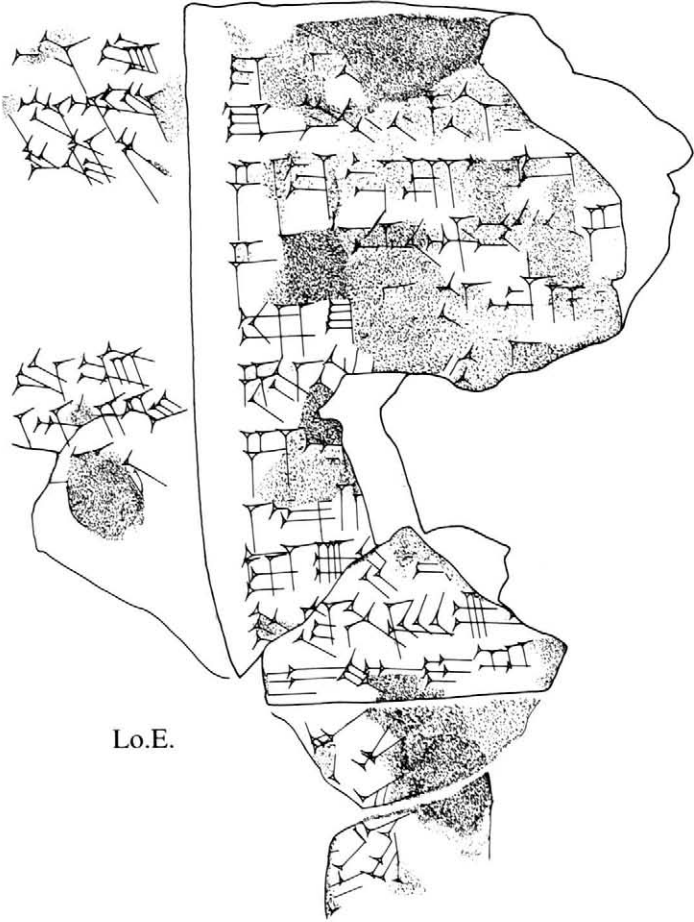


Text 106 Reverse



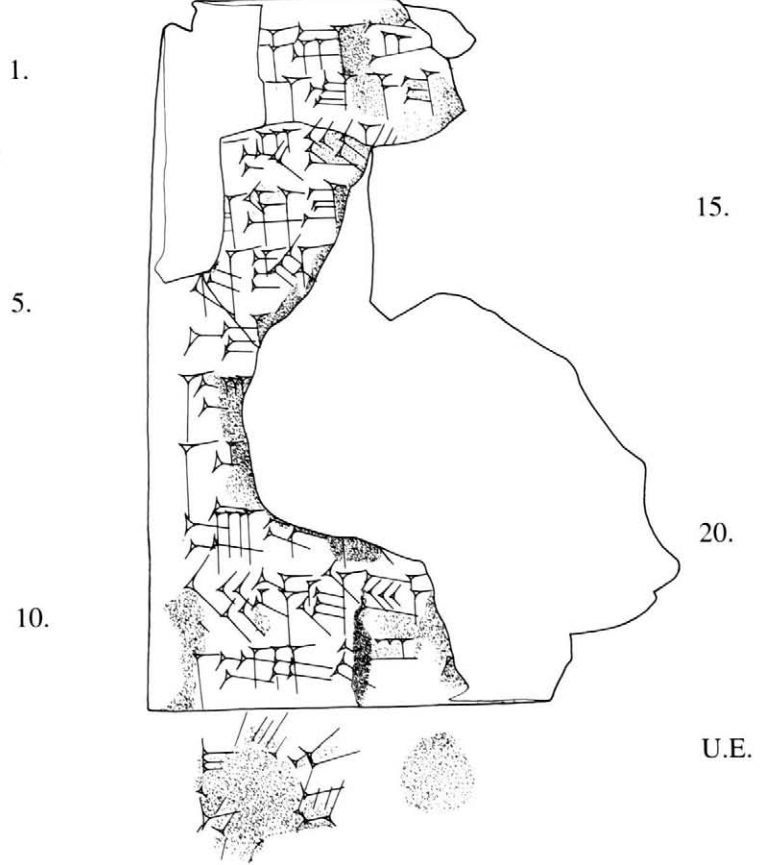
L.E.

Text 107 Obverse



Lo.E.

Text 107 Reverse



1.

5.

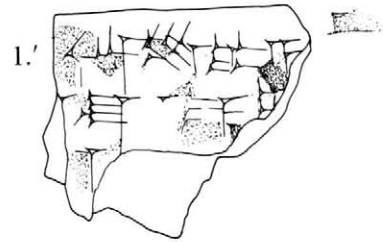
10.

15.

20.

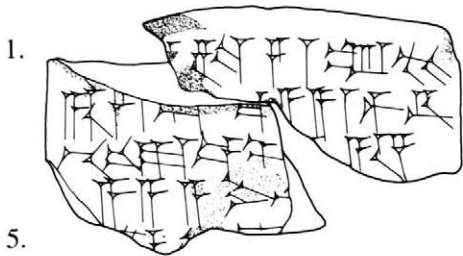
U.E.

Frag. c



1.

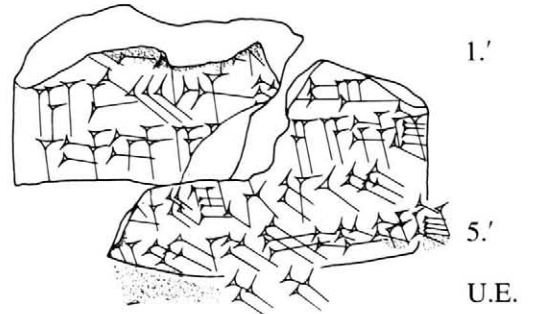
Text 108 Obverse



1.

5.

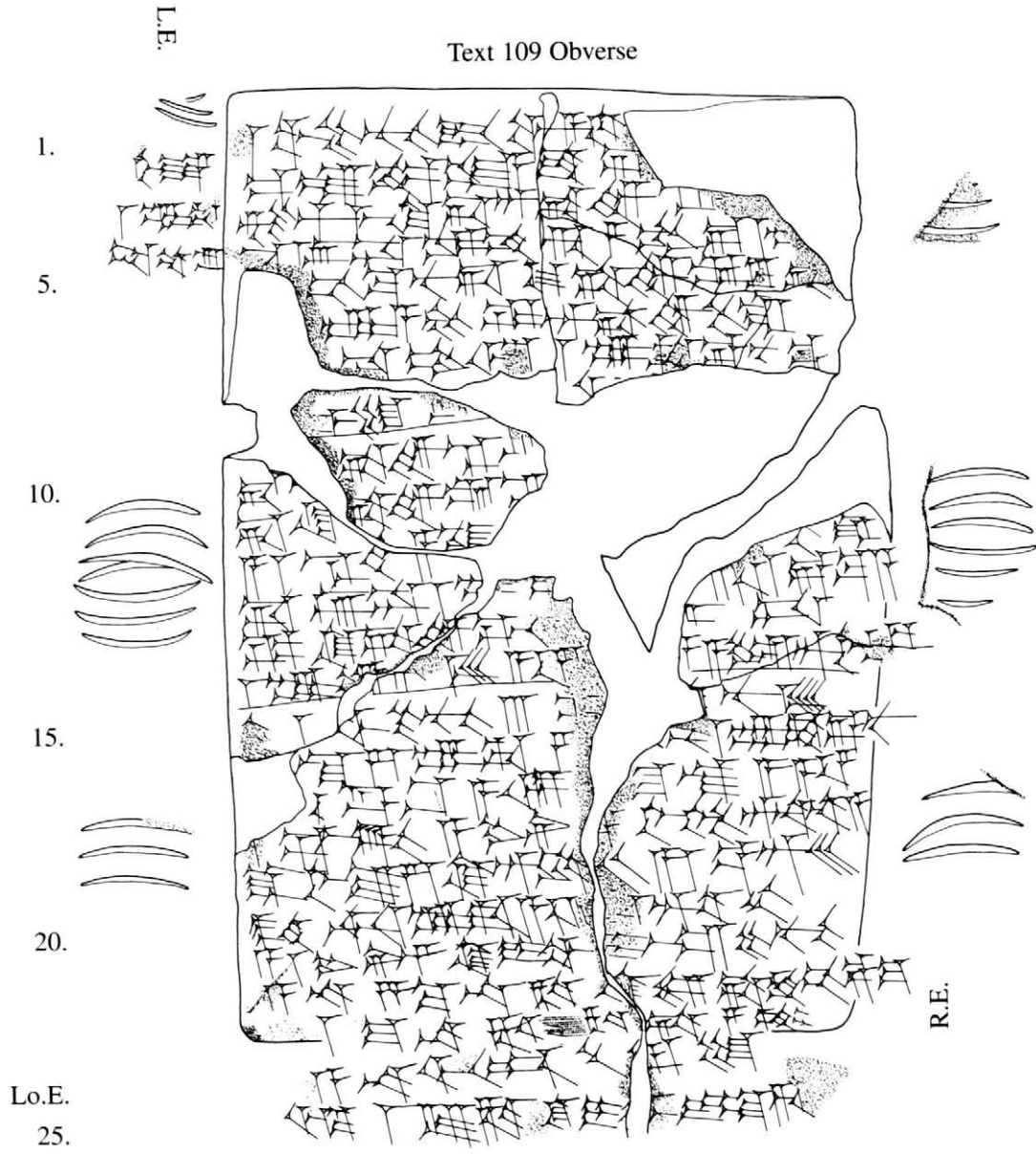
Text 108 Reverse



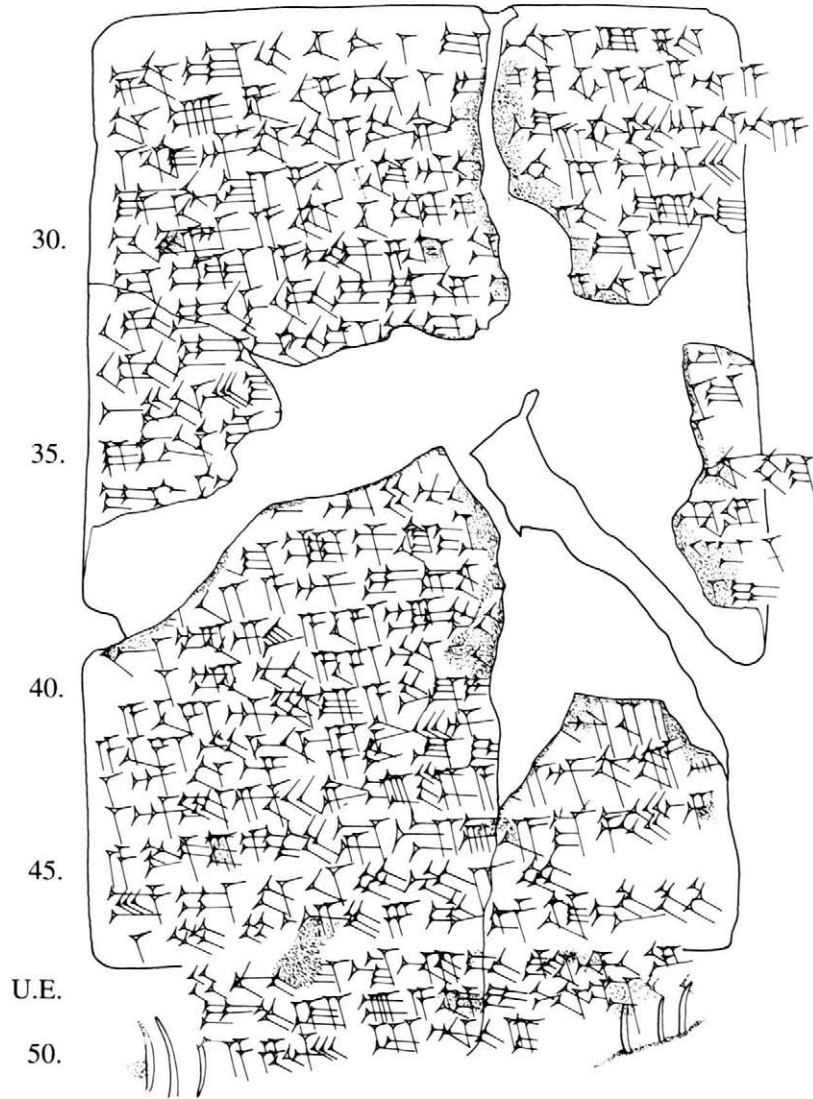
1.

5.

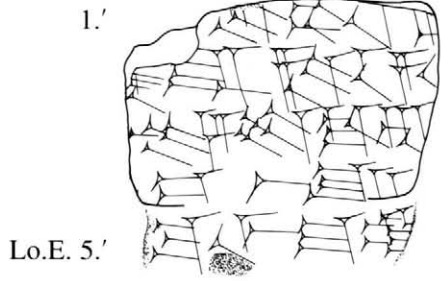
U.E.



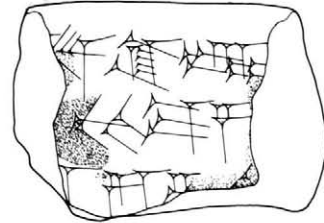
Text 109 Reverse



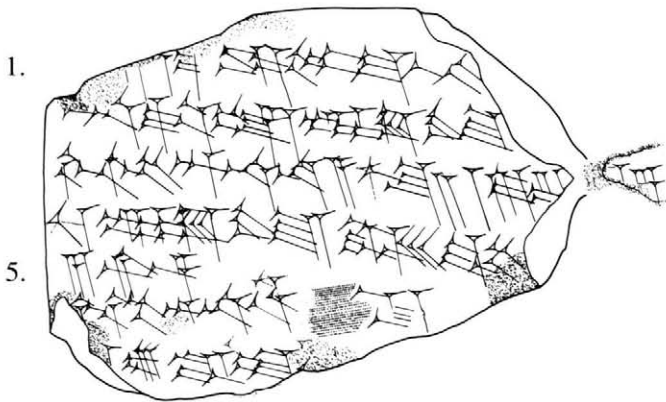
Text 110 Obverse



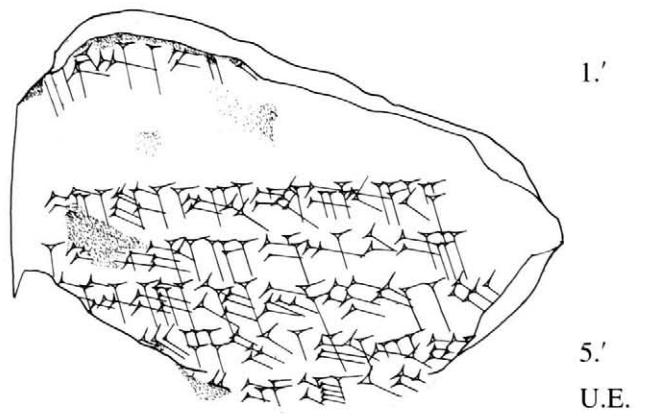
Text 110 Reverse



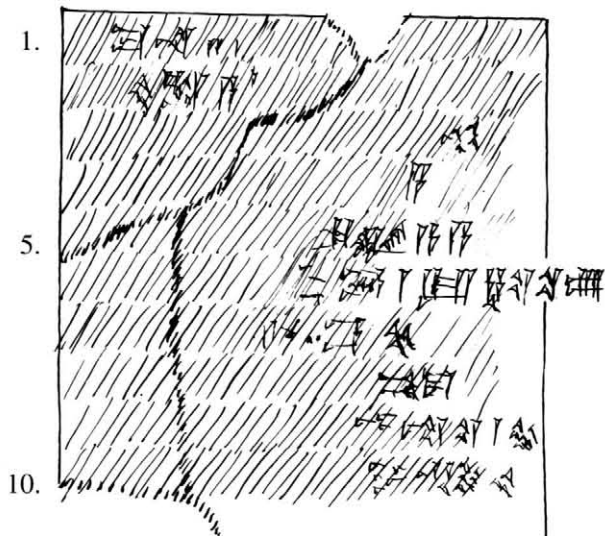
Text 111 Obverse



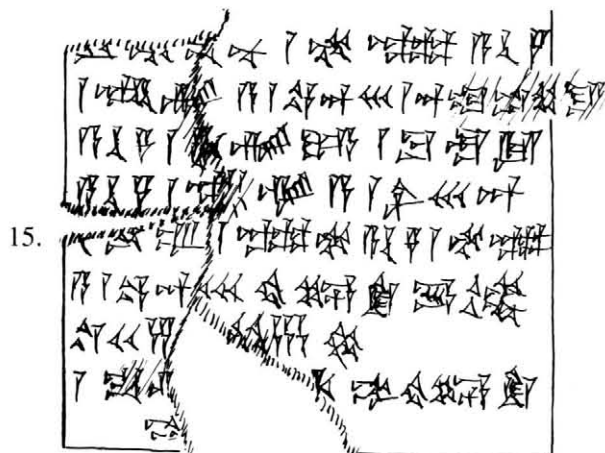
Text 111 Reverse



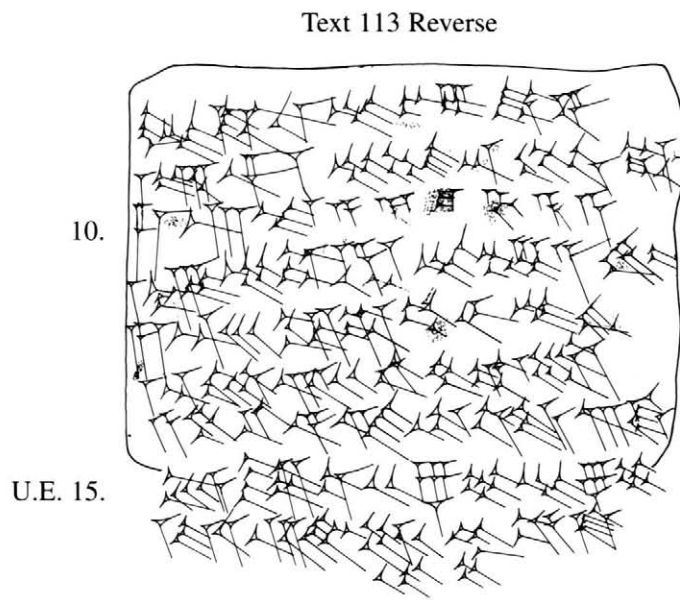
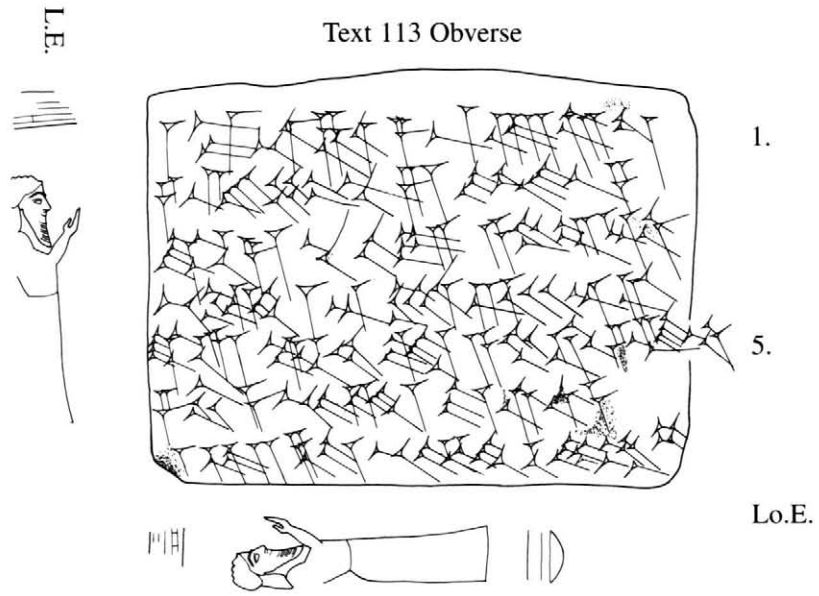
Text 112 Obverse



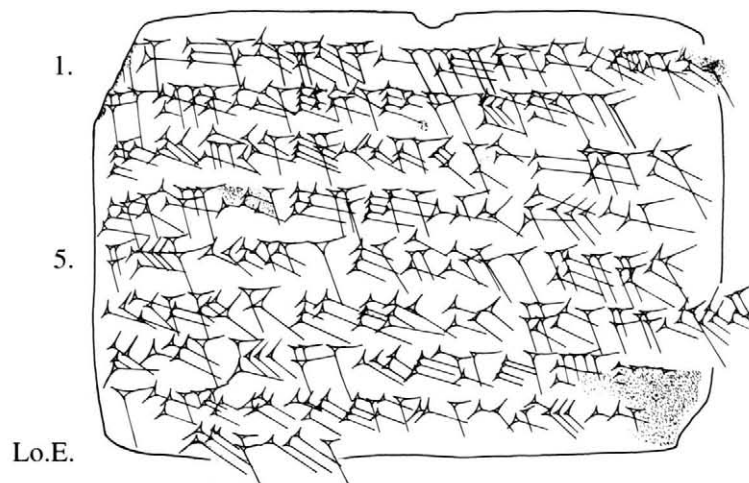
Text 112 Reverse



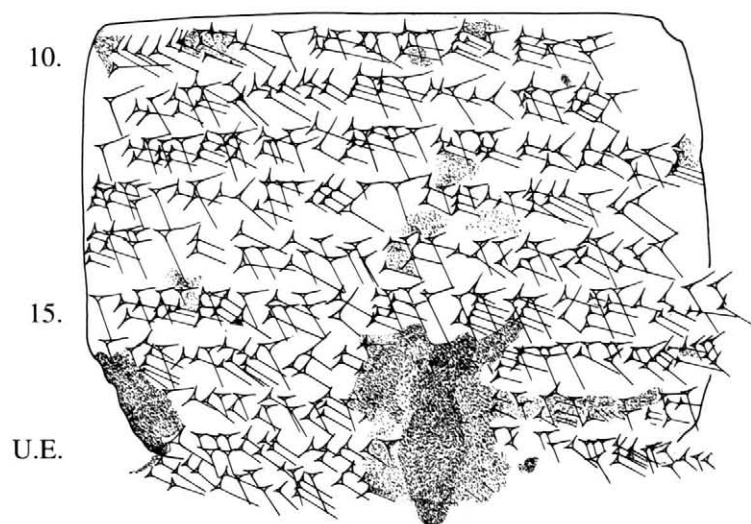
Scale 1:1



Text 114 Obverse

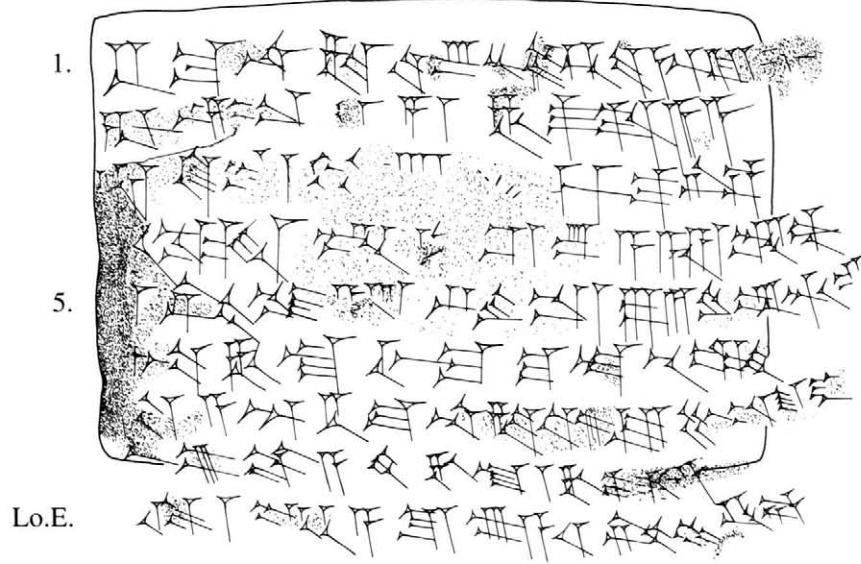


Text 114 Reverse

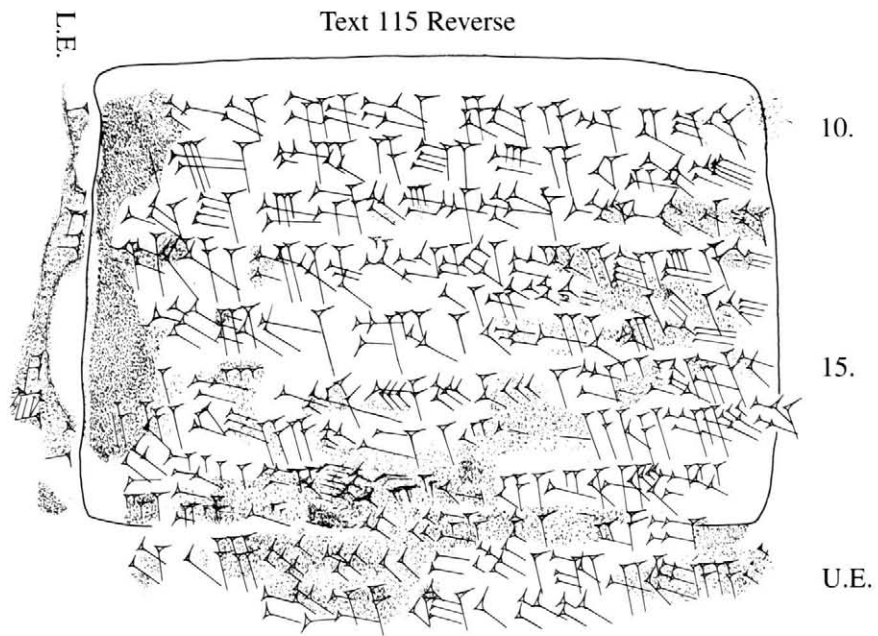




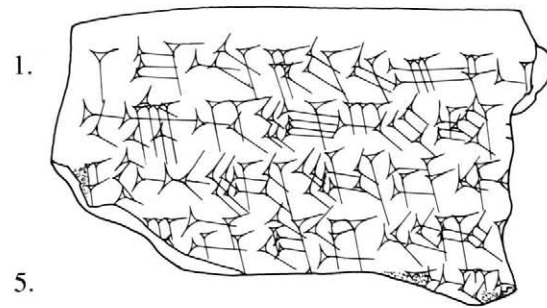
Text 115 Obverse



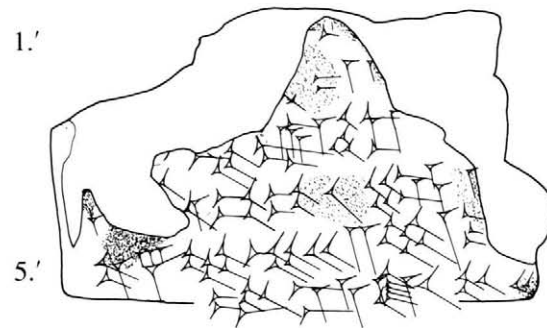
Text 115 Reverse



Text 116 Obverse

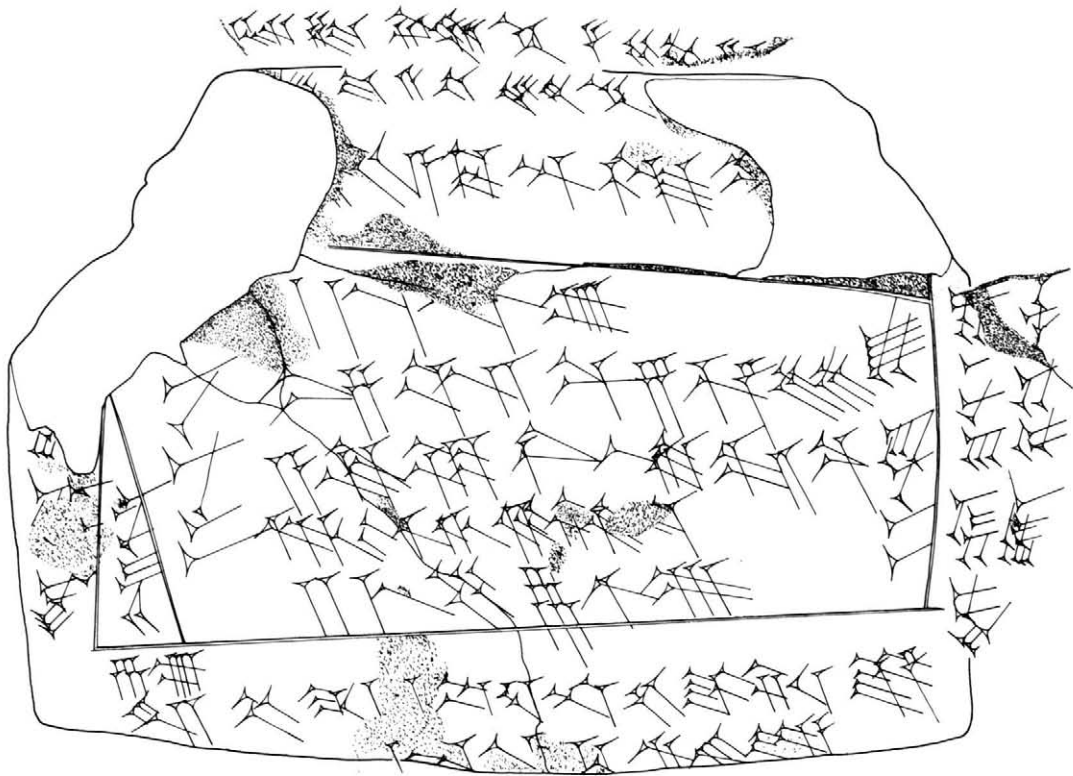


Text 116 Reverse



Text 117 Obverse

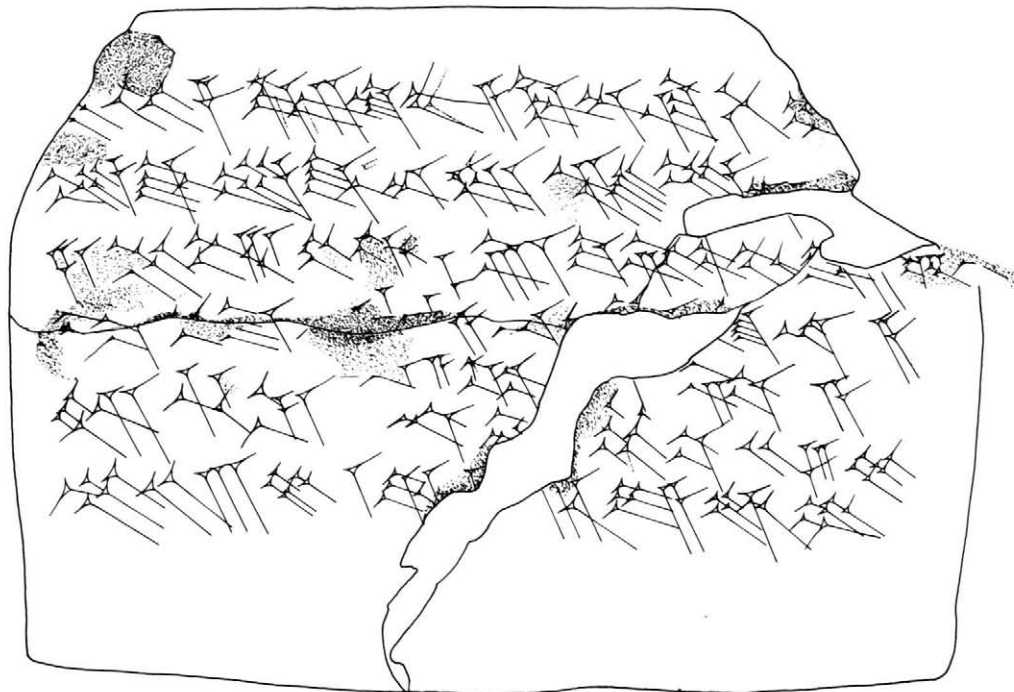
U.E.



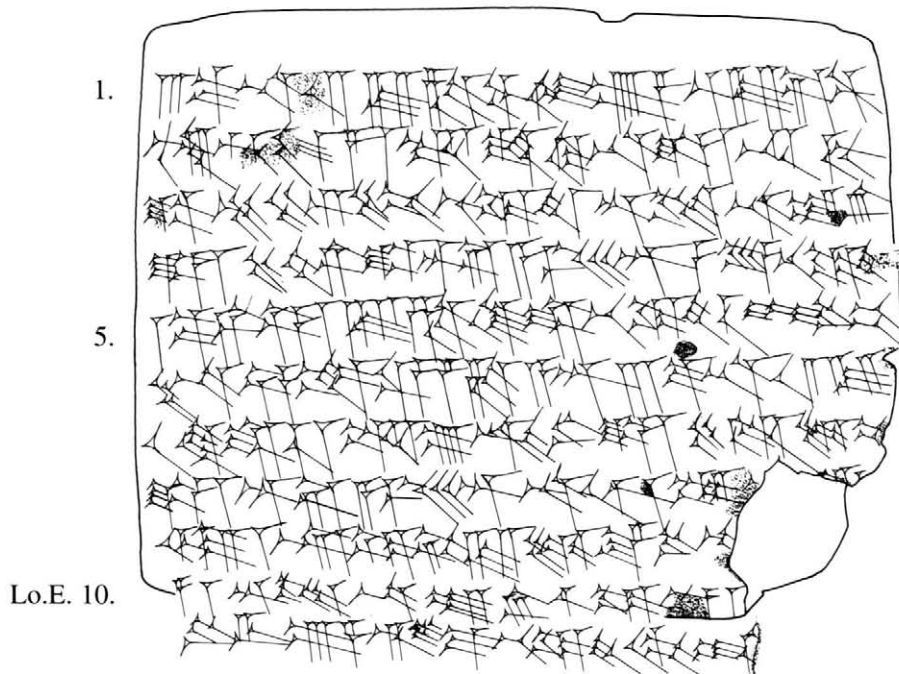
Text 117 Reverse

1.

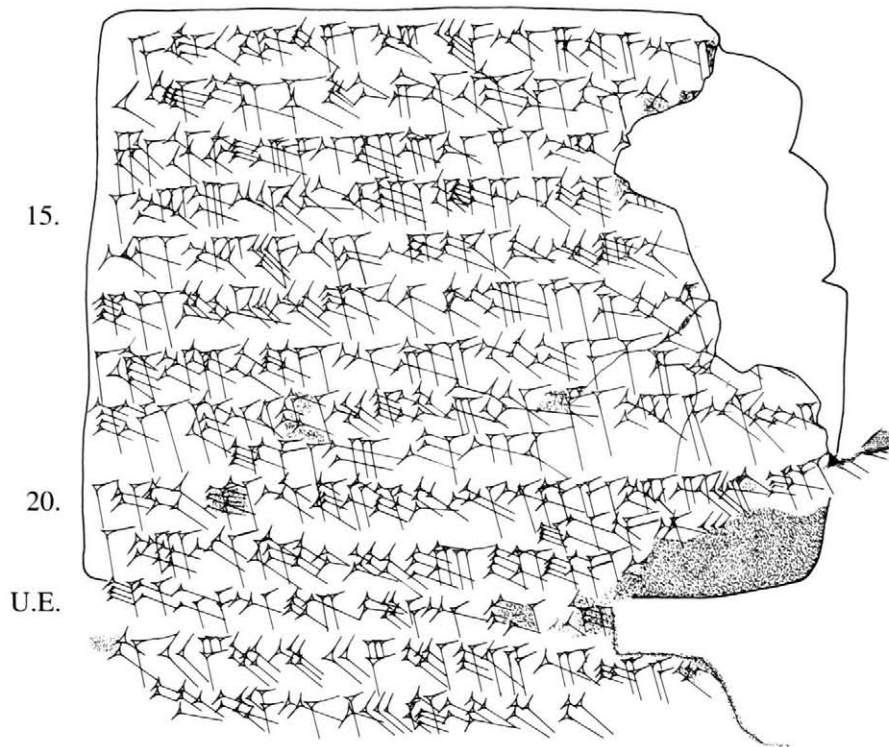
5.



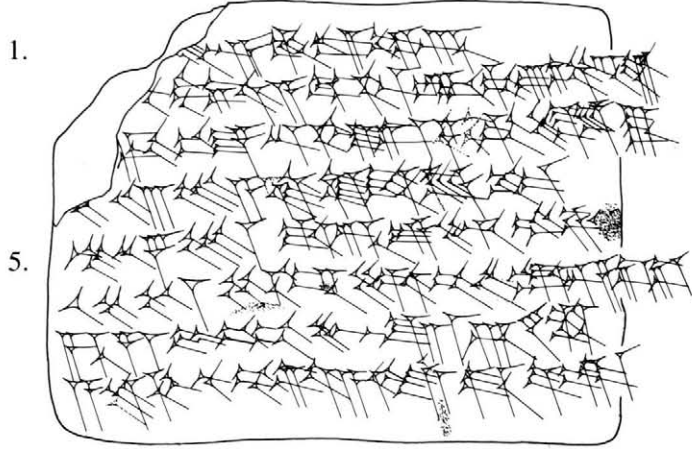
Text 118 Obverse



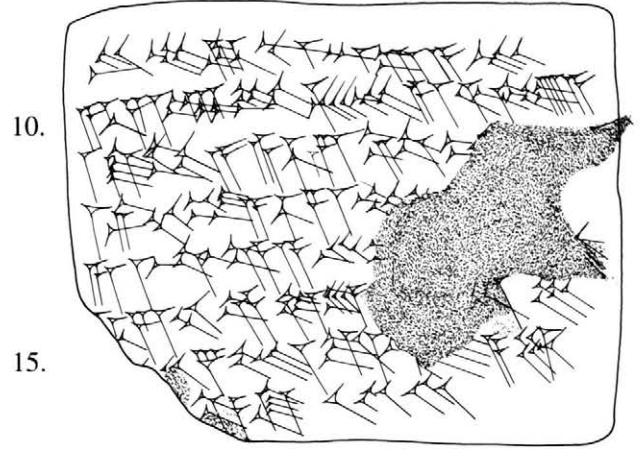
Text 118 Reverse



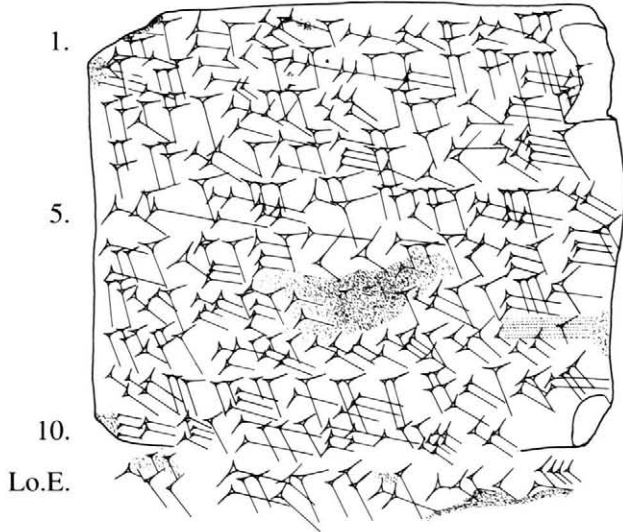
Text 119 Obverse



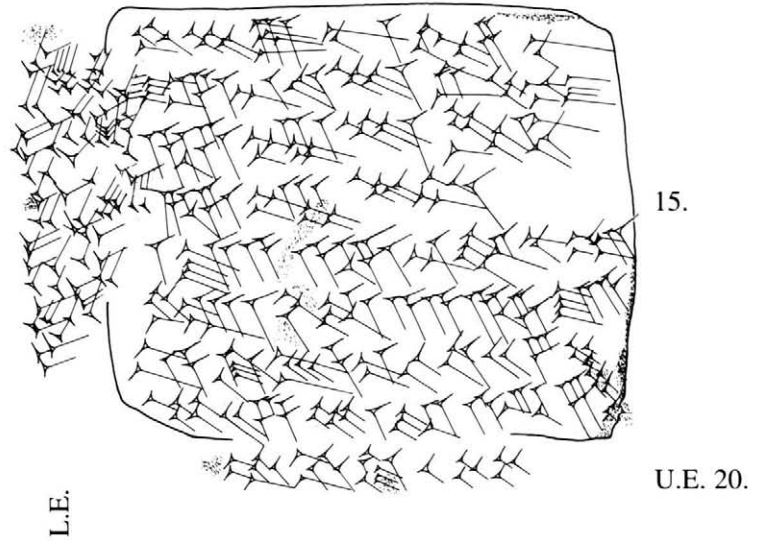
Text 119 Reverse



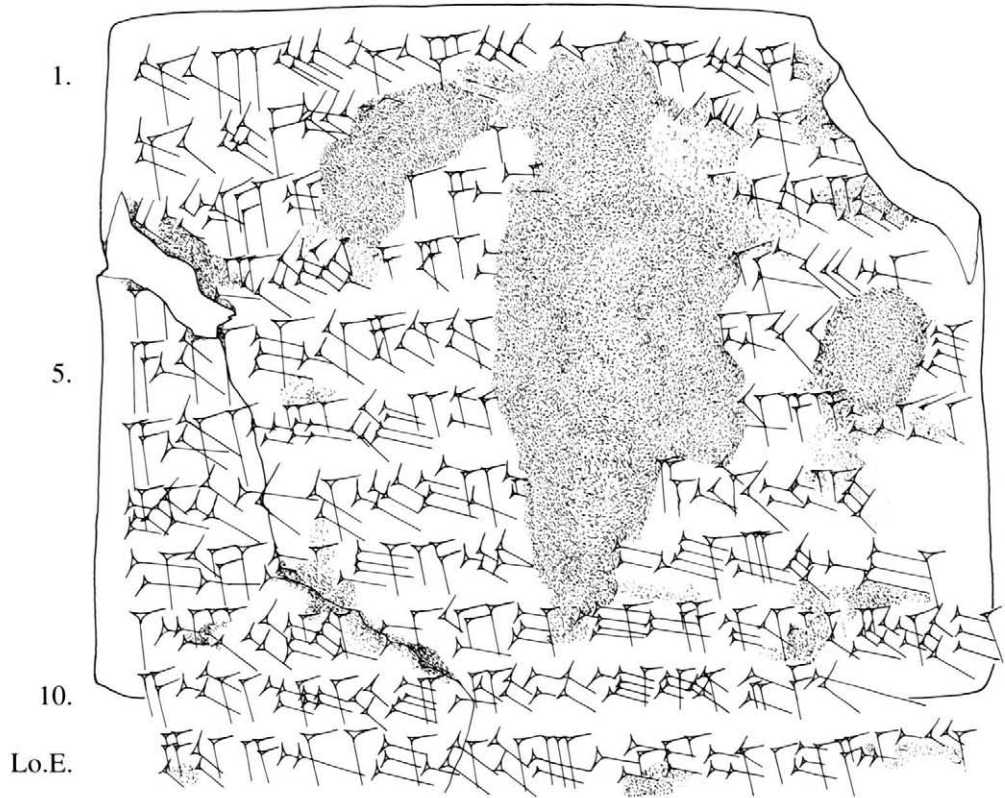
Text 120 Obverse



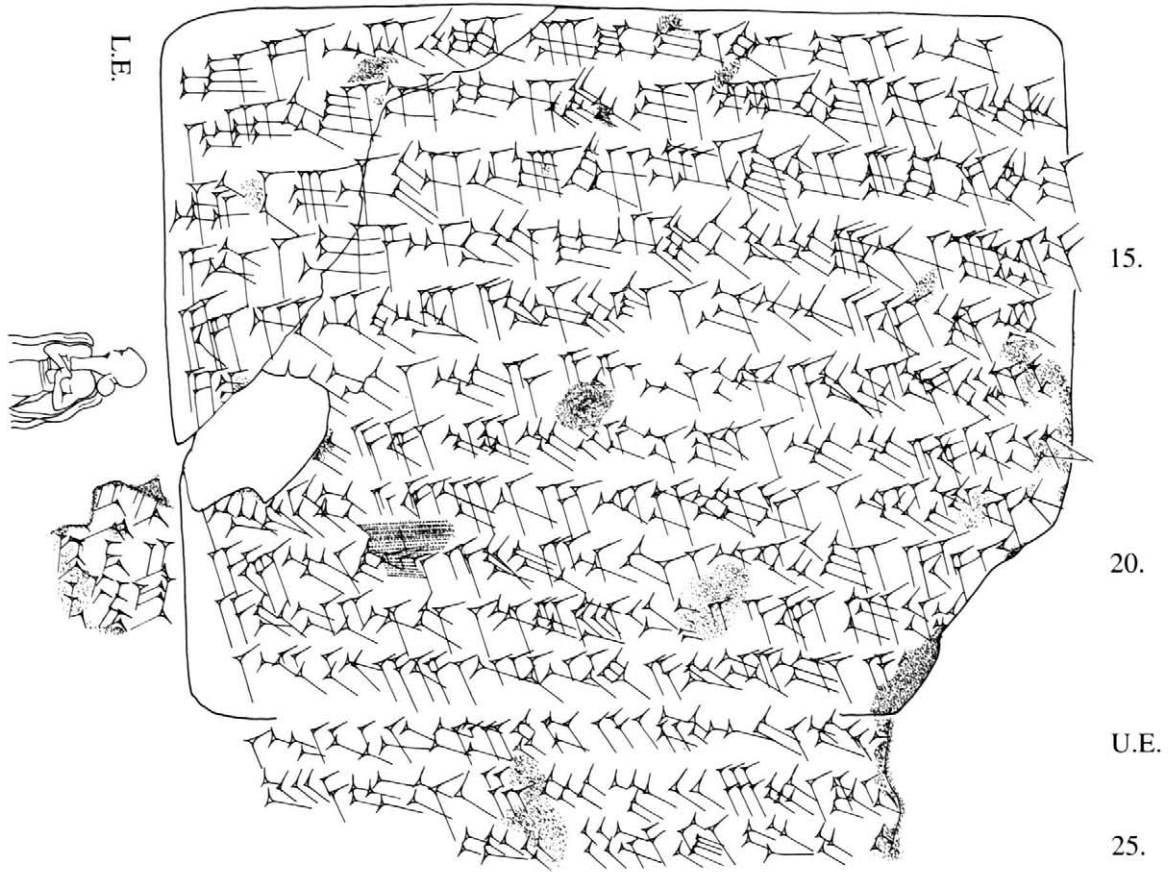
Text 120 Reverse



Text 121 Obverse

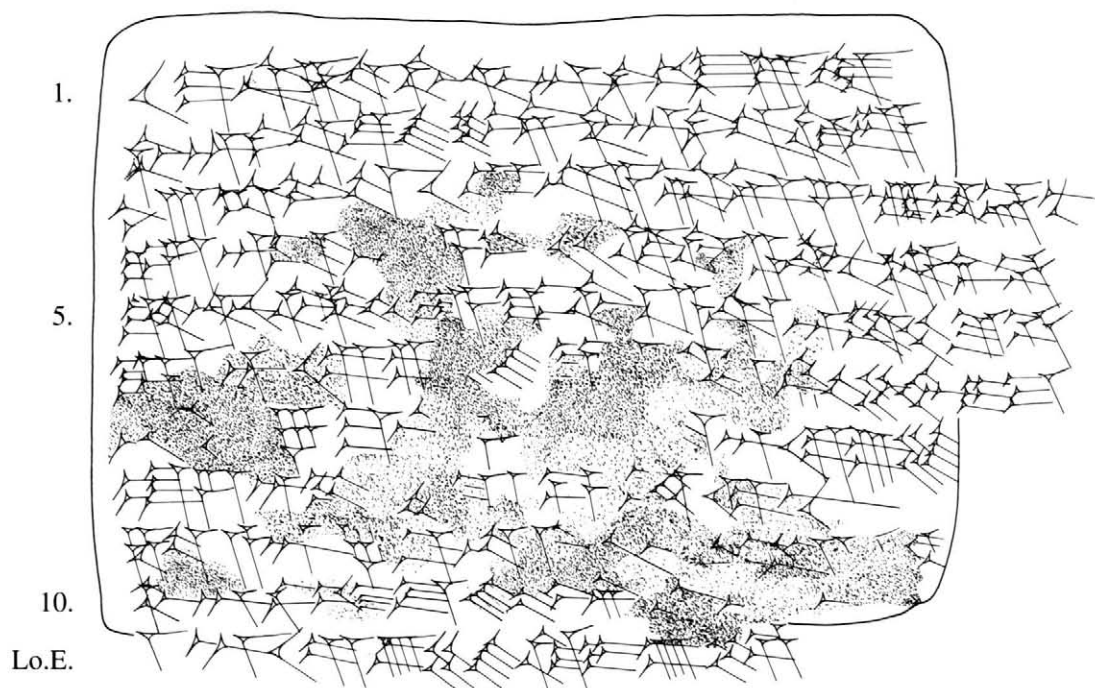


Text 121 Reverse





Text 122 Obverse

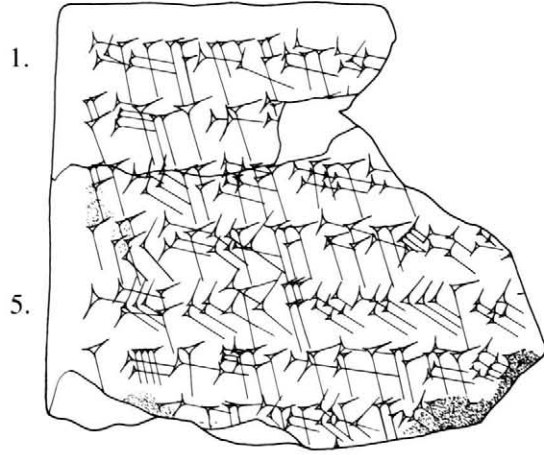


Text 122 Reverse

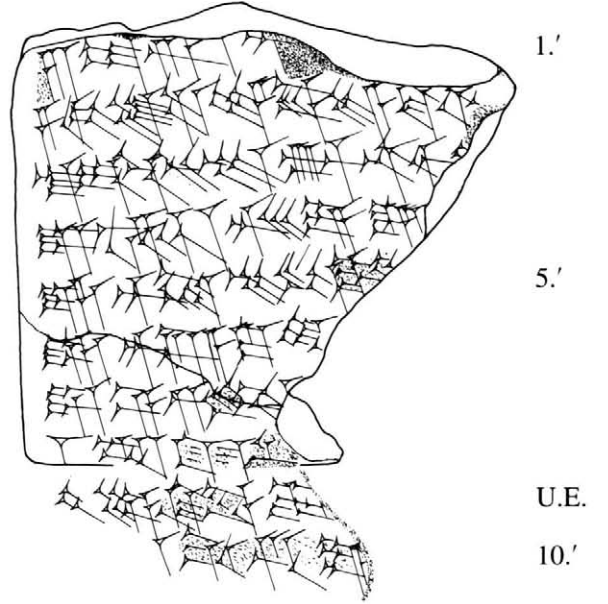




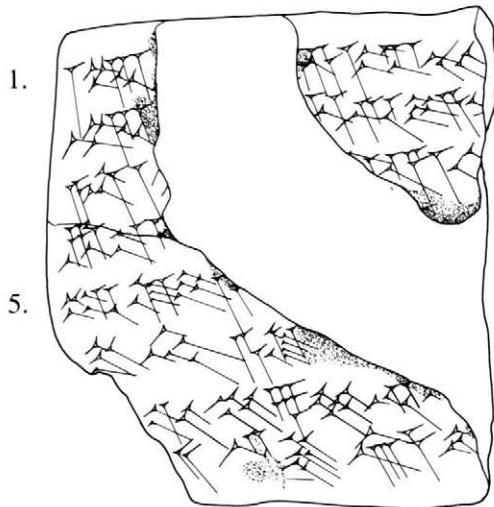
Text 123 Obverse



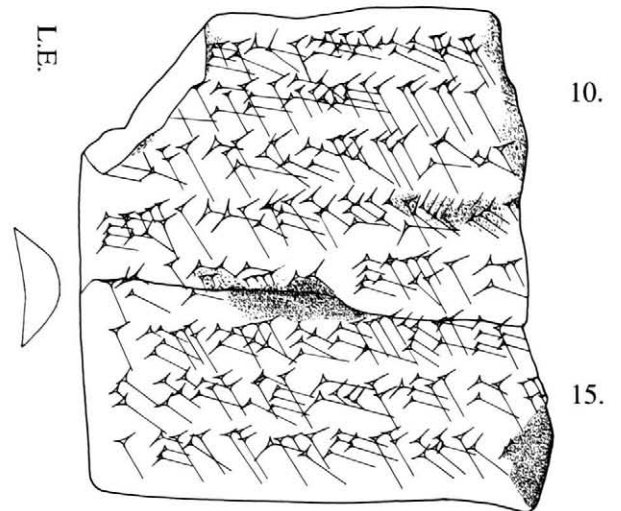
Text 123 Reverse



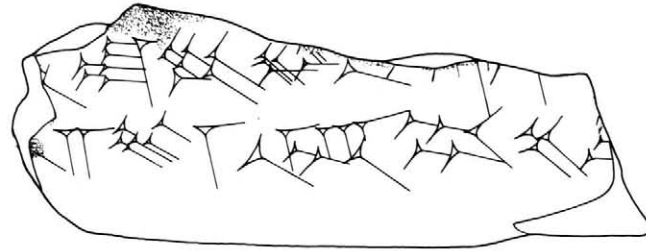
Text 124 Obverse



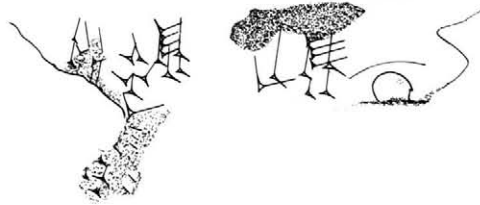
Text 124 Reverse



Text 125 Reverse



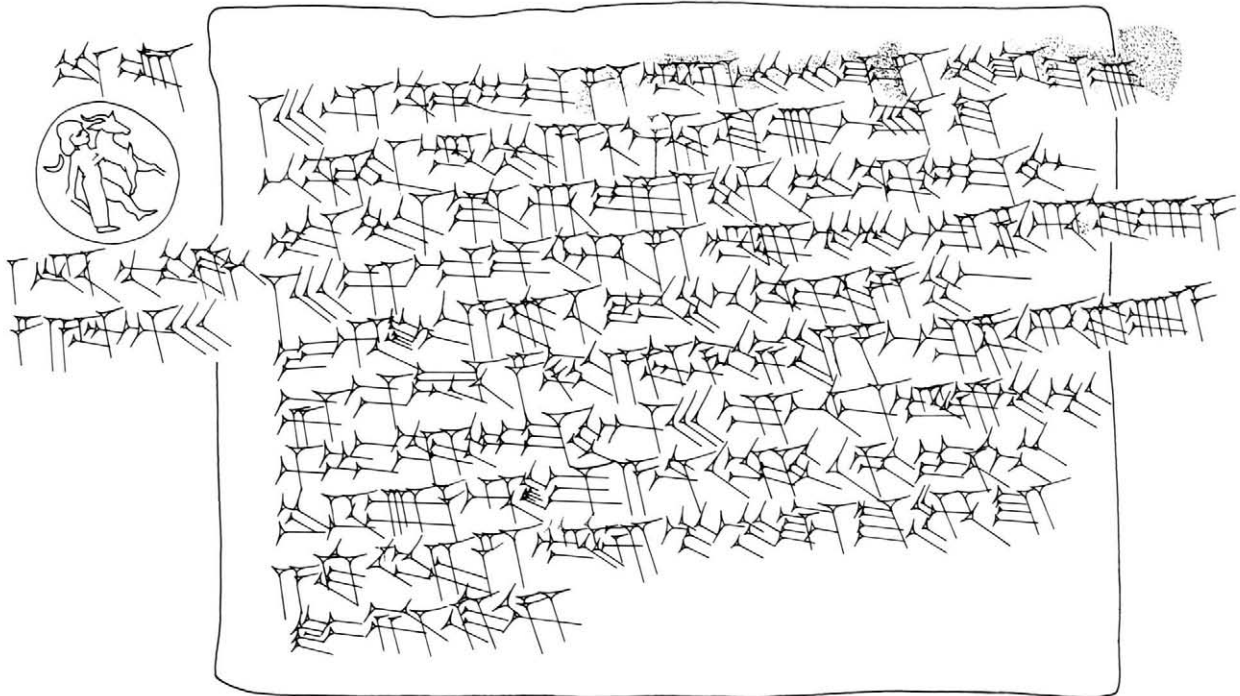
1.



U.E.

Text 126 Obverse

L.E.

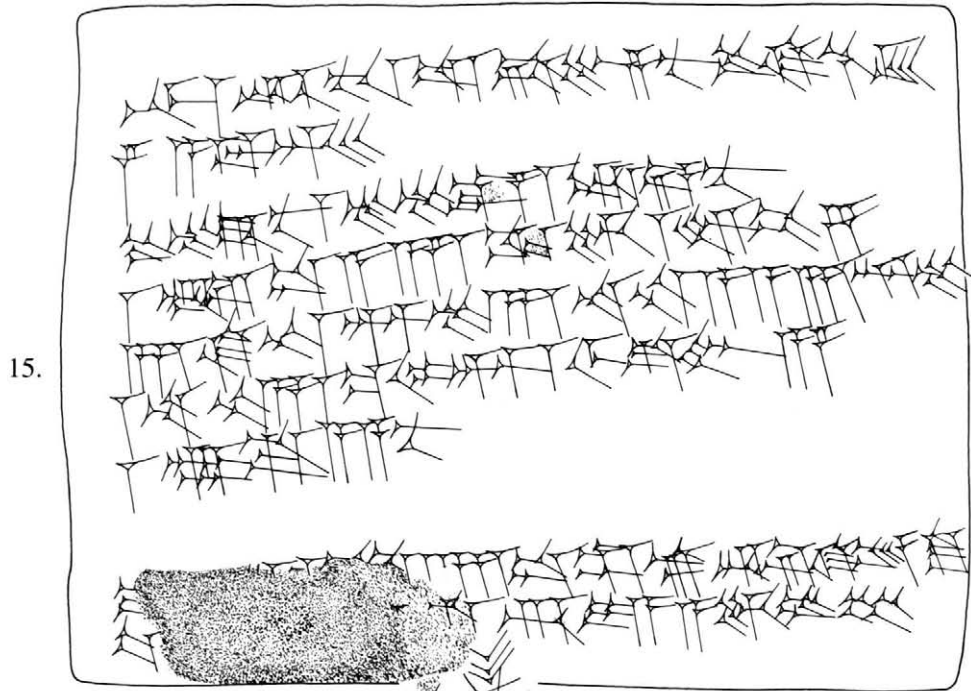


1.

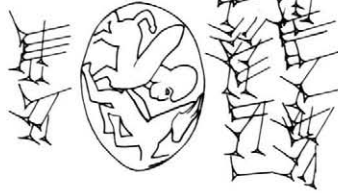
5.

10.

Text 126 Reverse

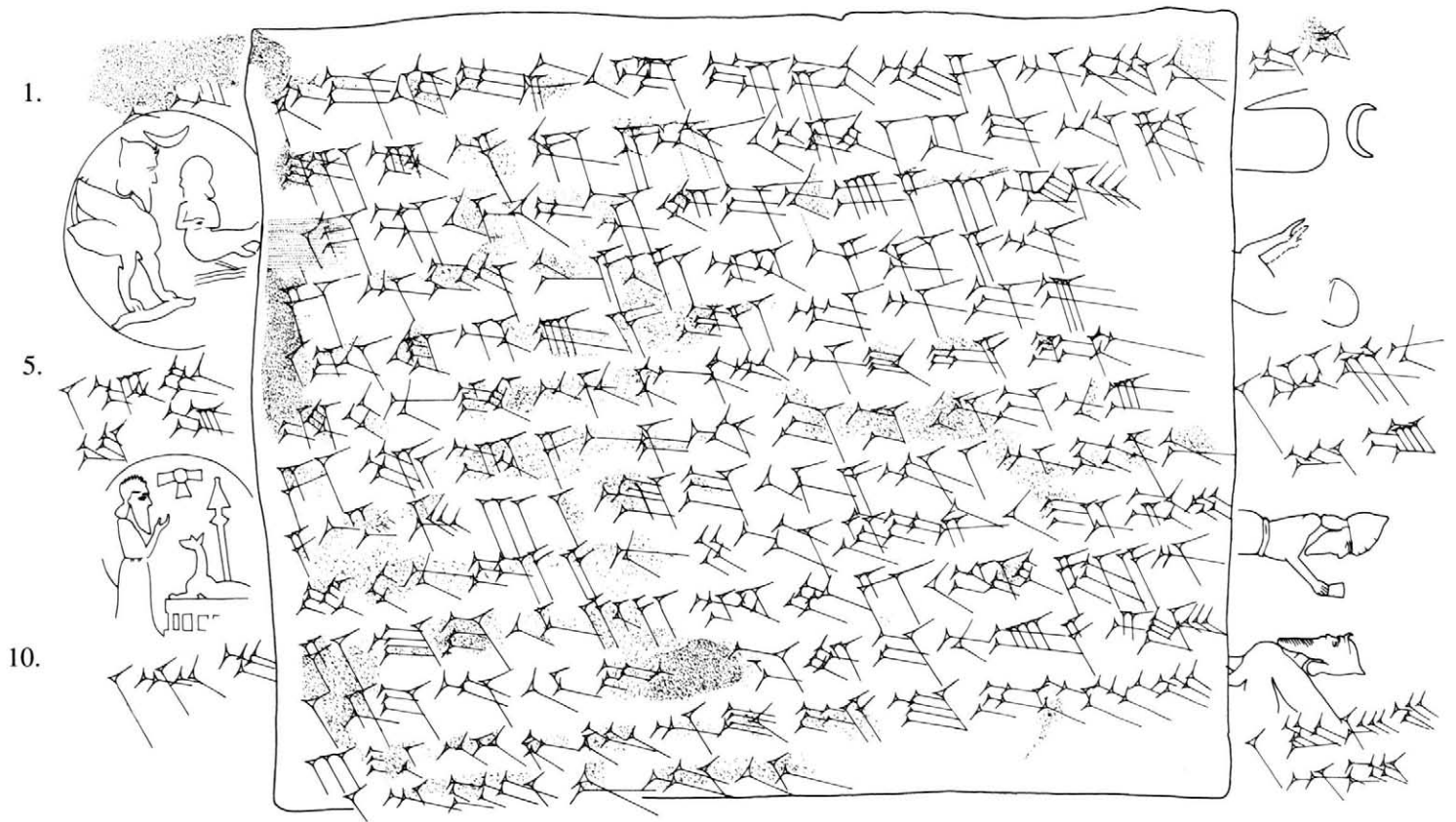


U.E.



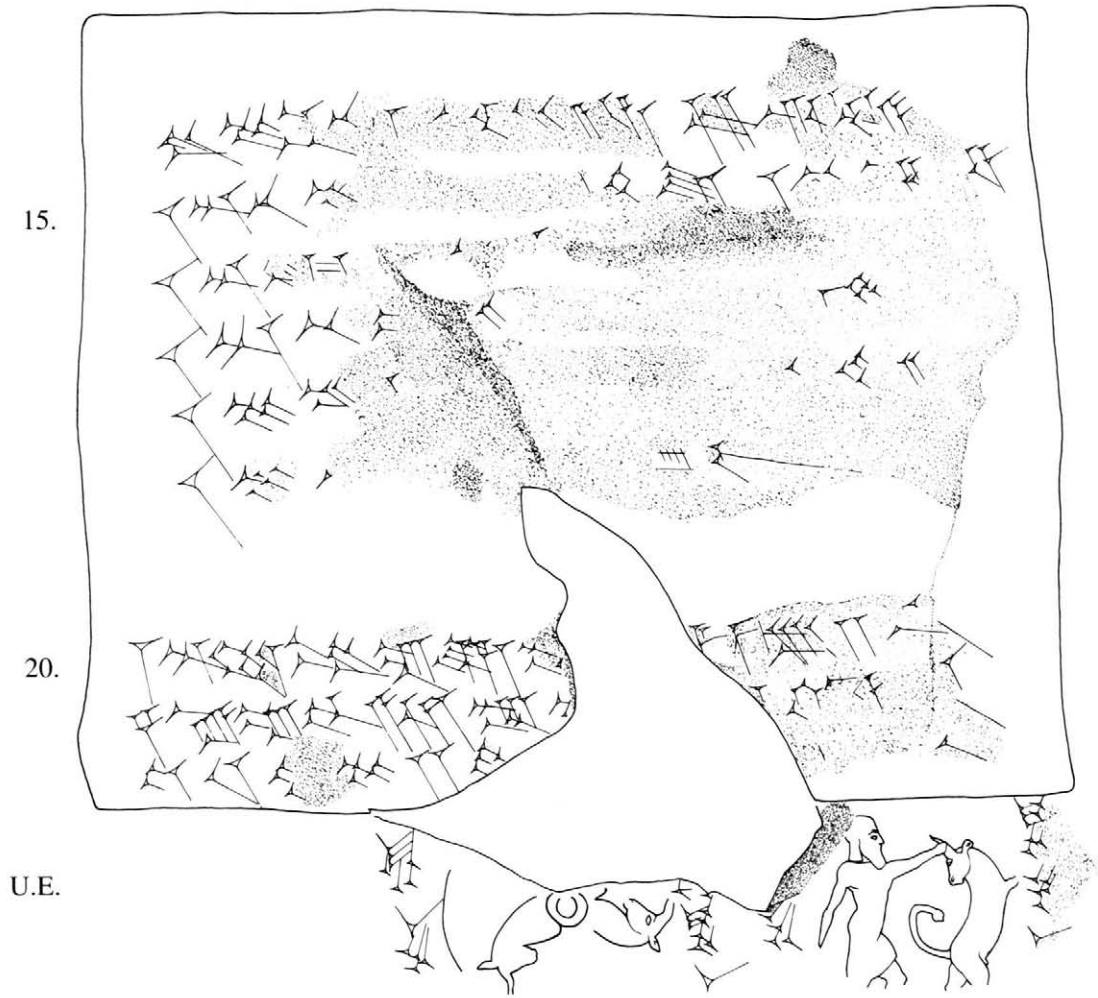
L.E.

Text 127 Obverse

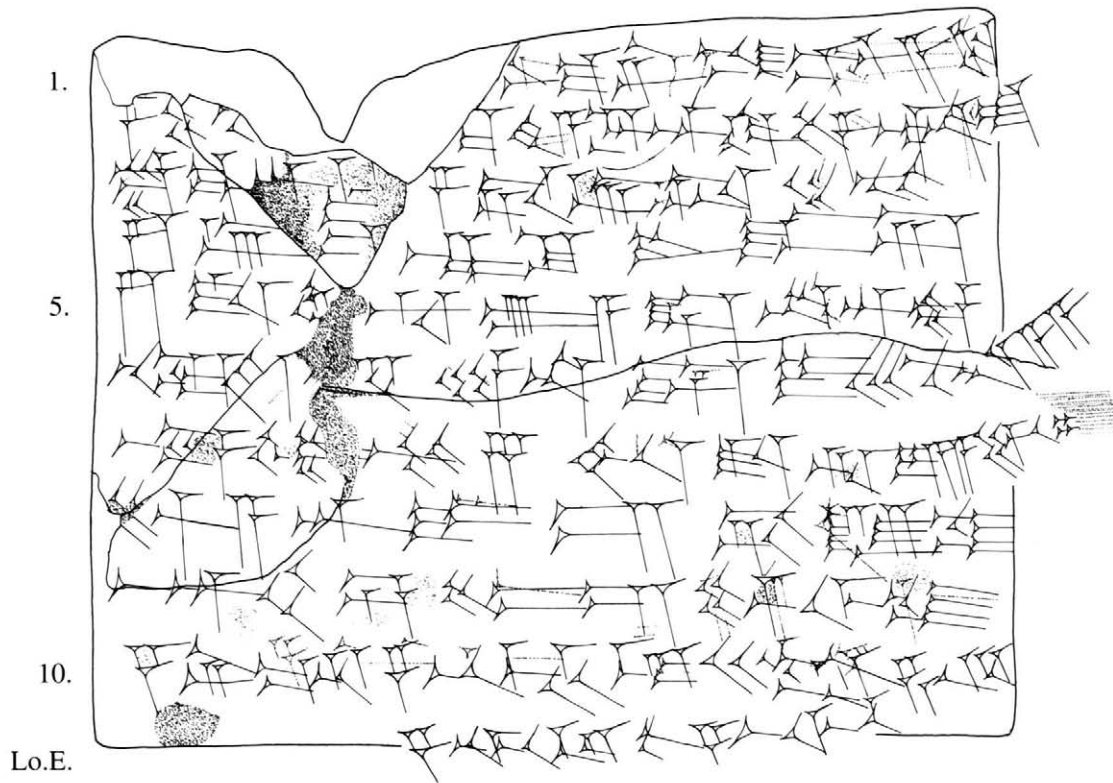


R.E.

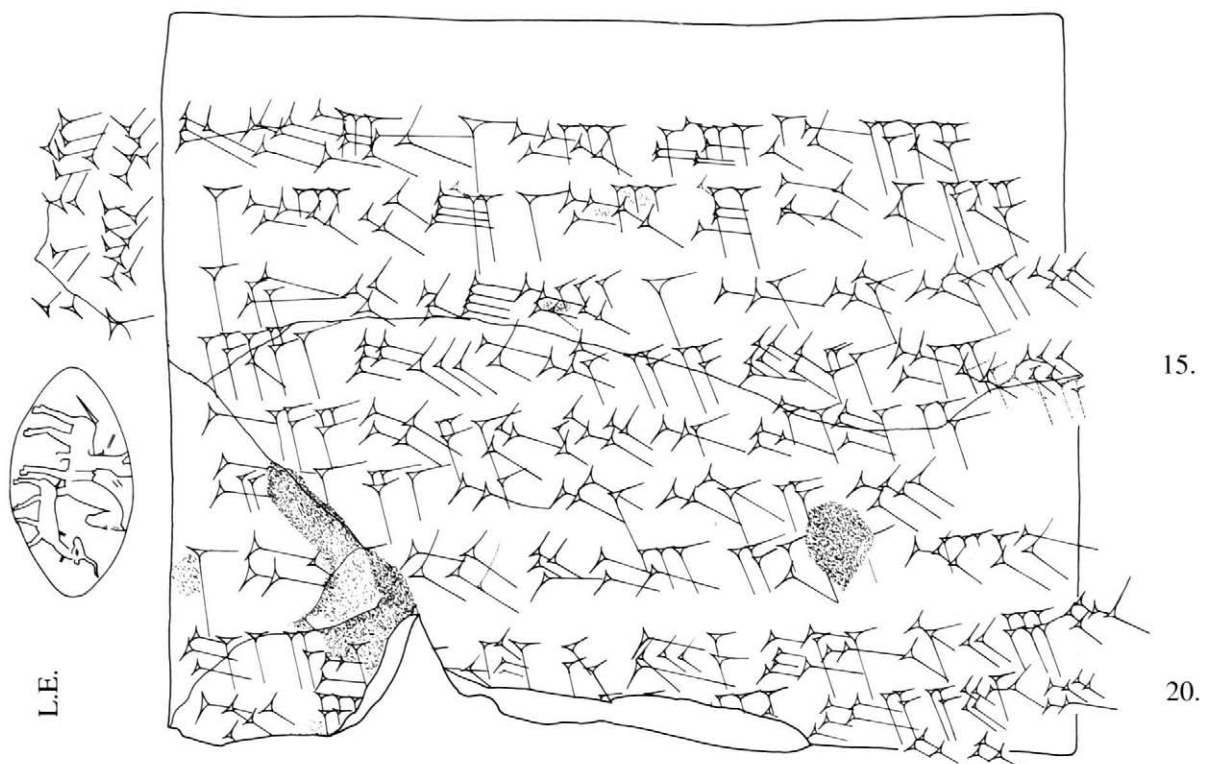
Text 127 Reverse



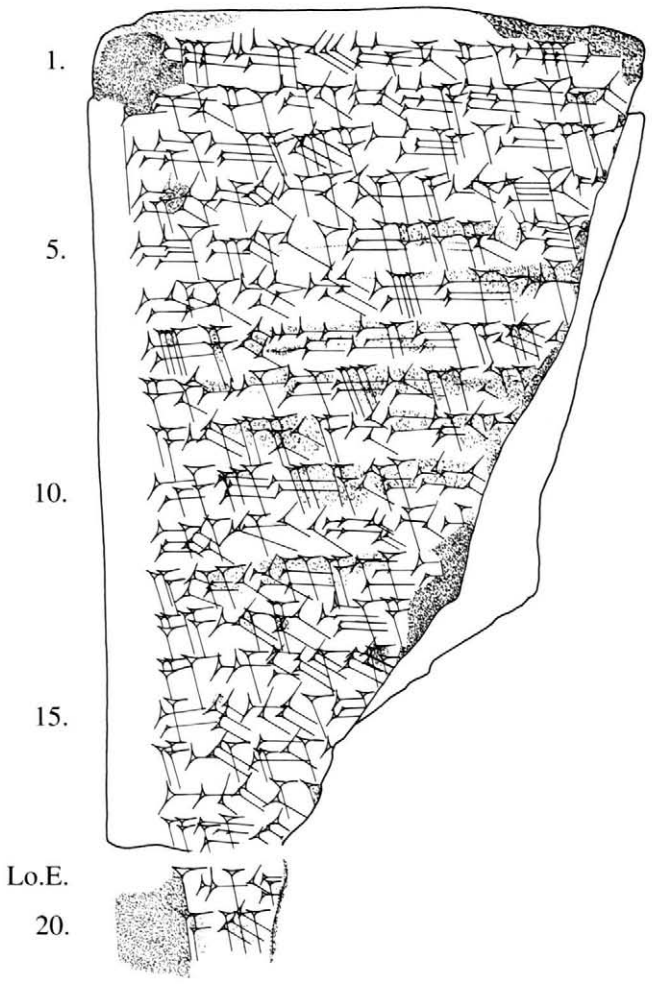
Text 128 Obverse



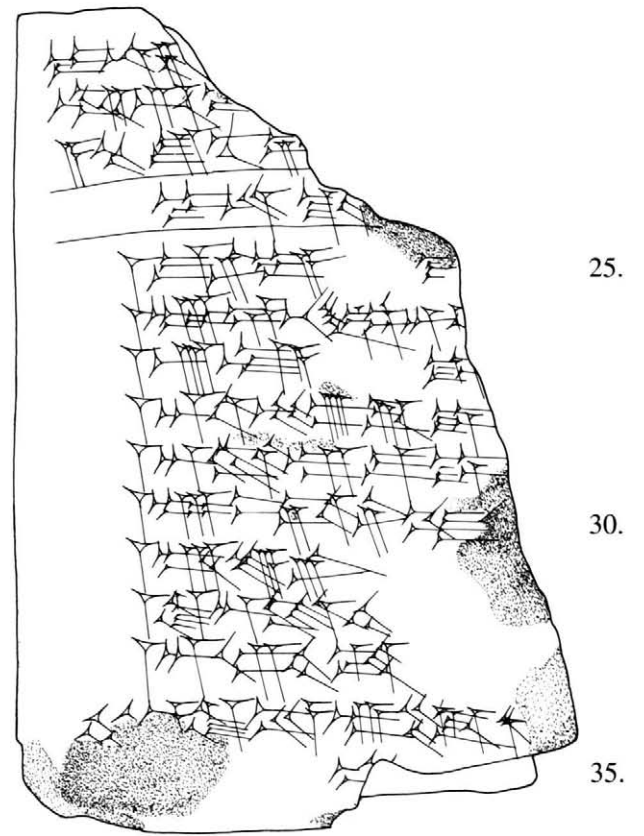
Text 128 Reverse



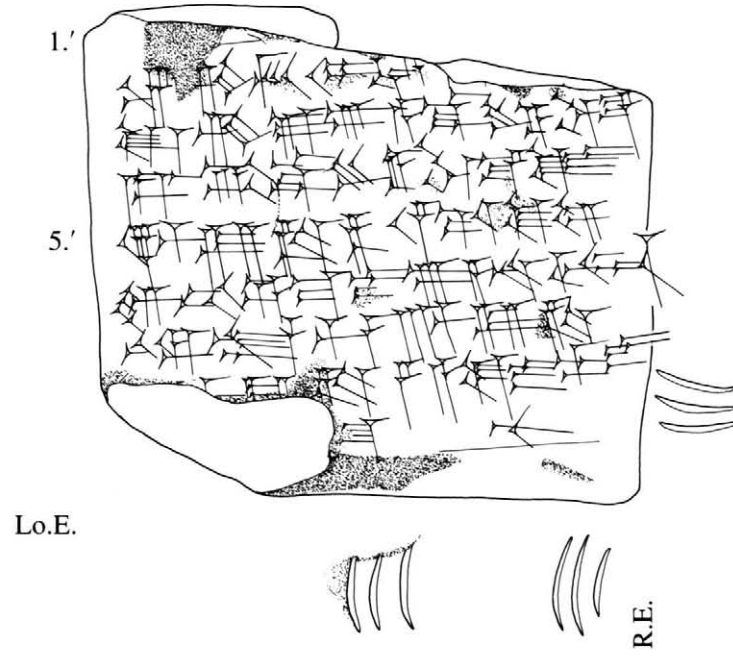
Text 130 Obverse



Text 130 Reverse

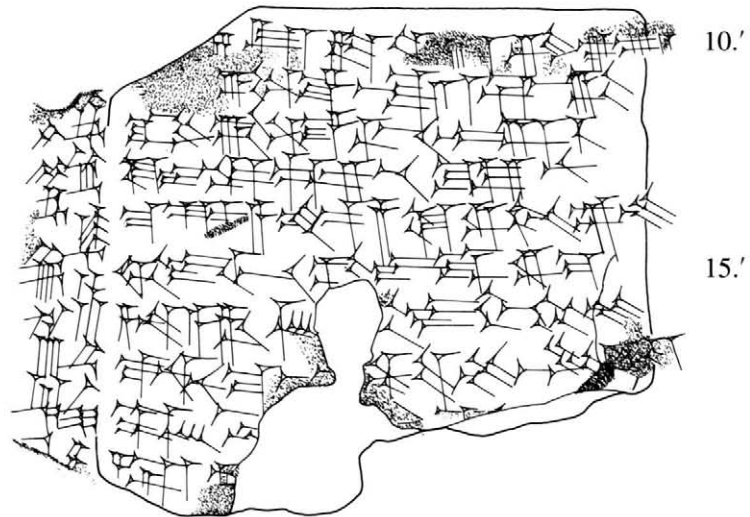


Text 131 Obverse



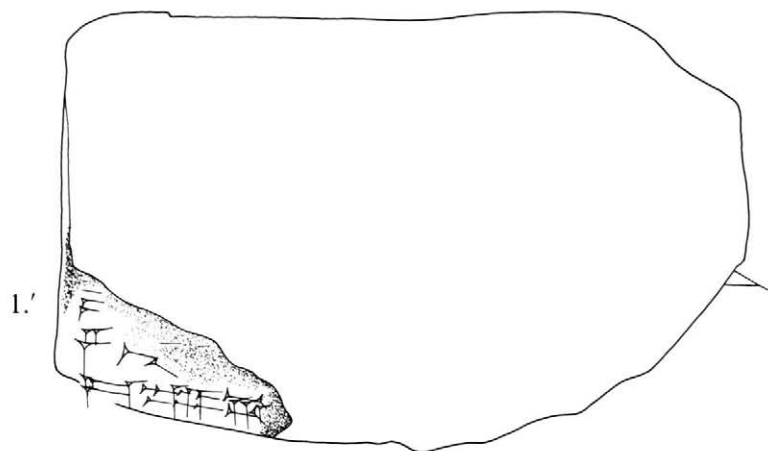
L.E. 1'

Text 131 Reverse

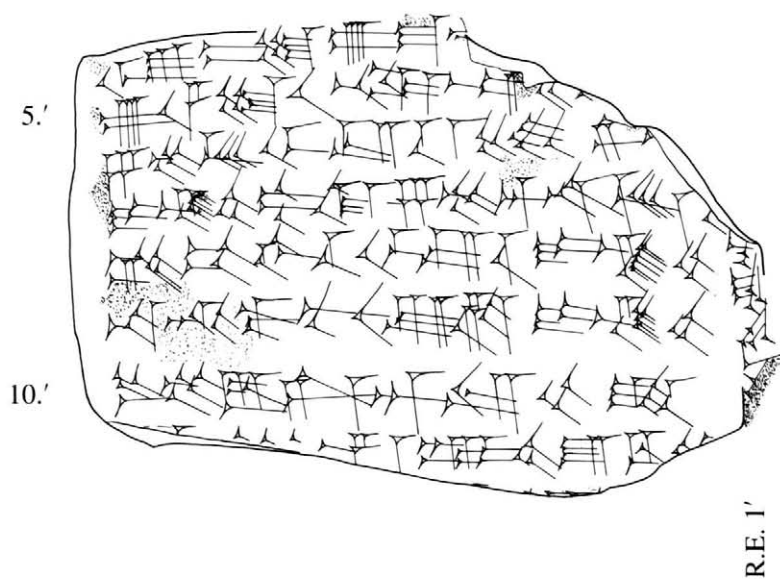




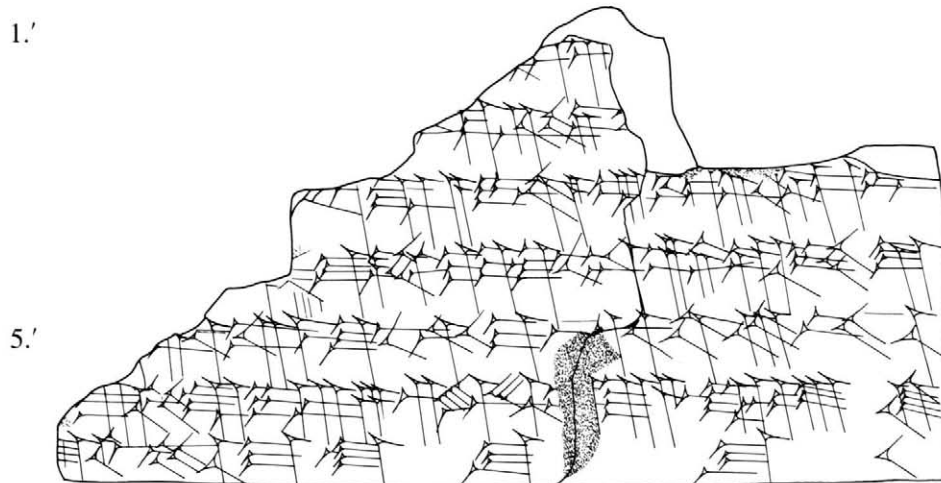
Text 132 Obverse



Text 132 Reverse



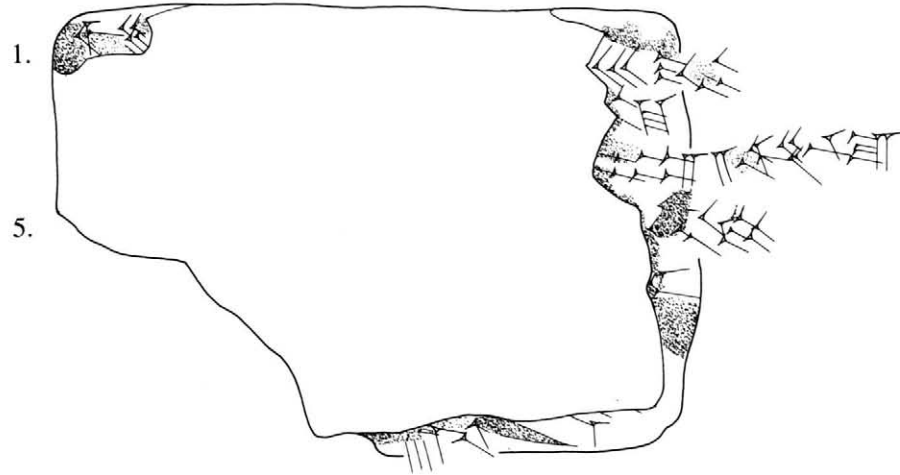
Text 133 Obverse



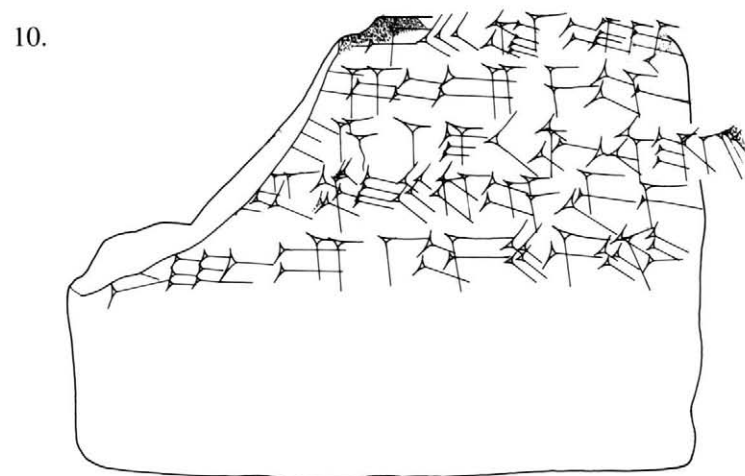
Text 133 Reverse



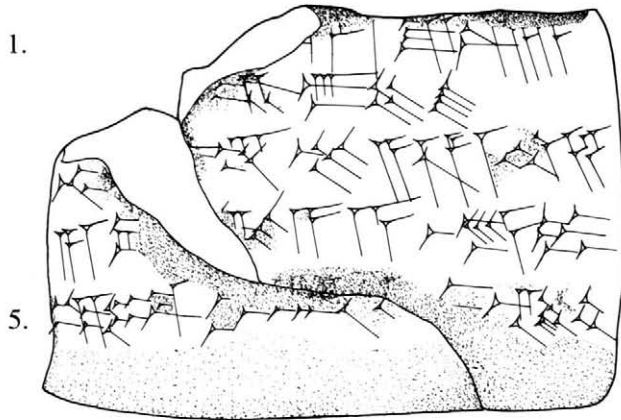
Text 134 Obverse



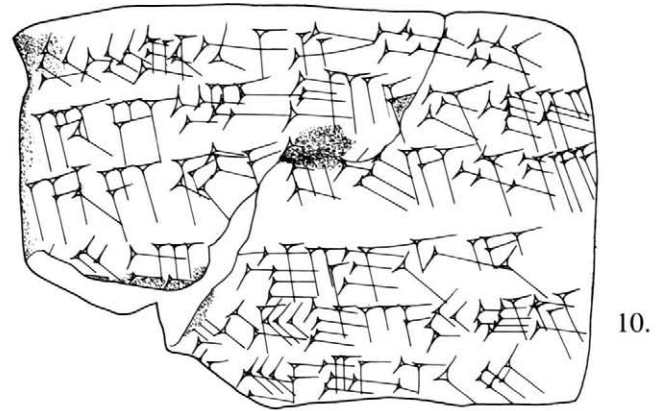
Text 134 Reverse



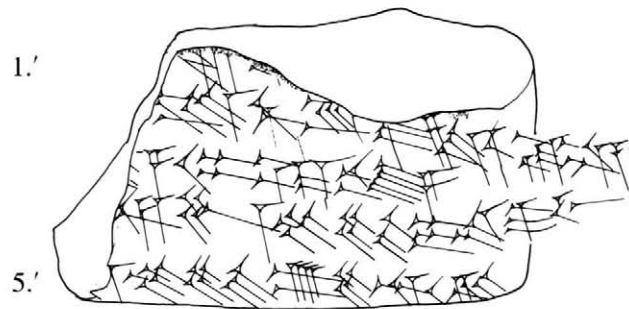
Text 135 Obverse



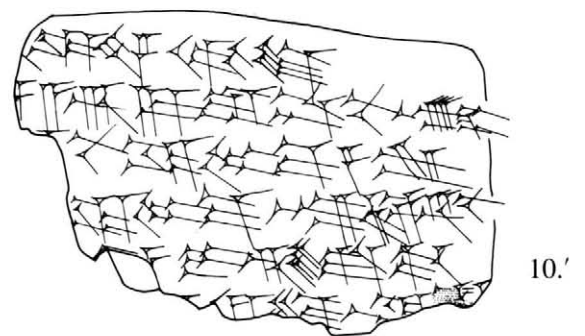
Text 135 Reverse



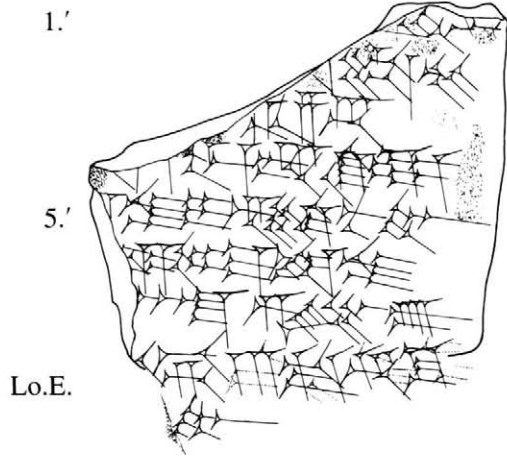
Text 136 Obverse



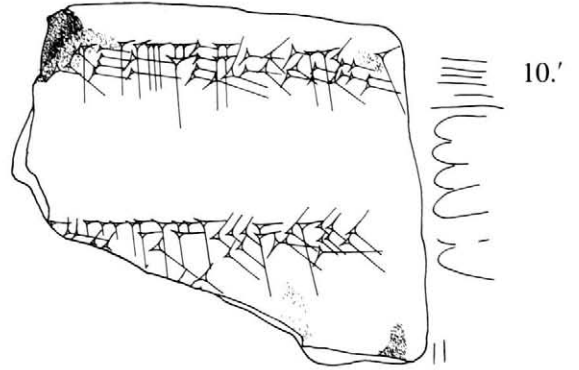
Text 136 Reverse



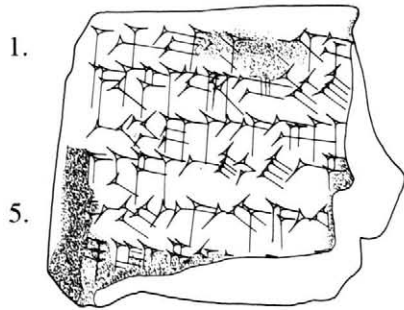
Text 137 Obverse



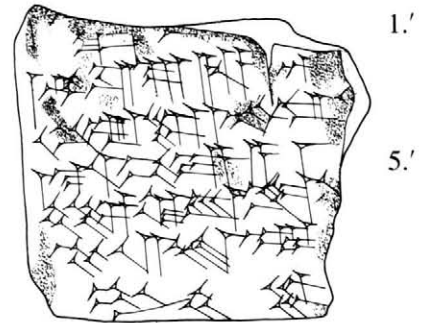
Text 137 Reverse



Text 138 Obverse



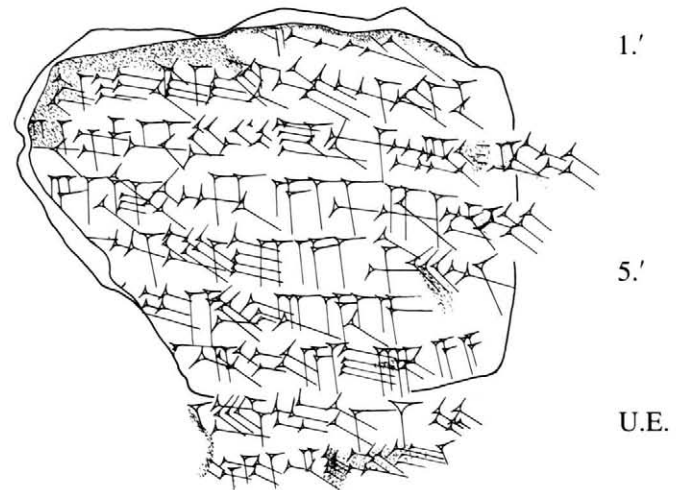
Text 138 Reverse



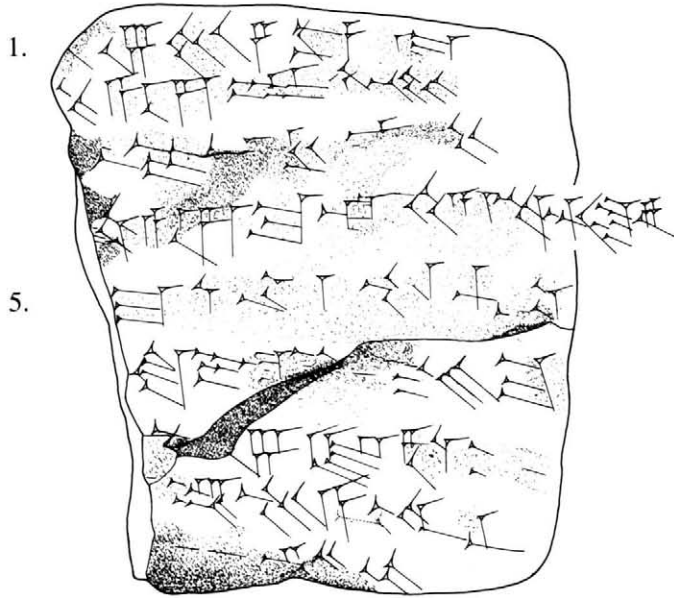
Text 139 Obverse



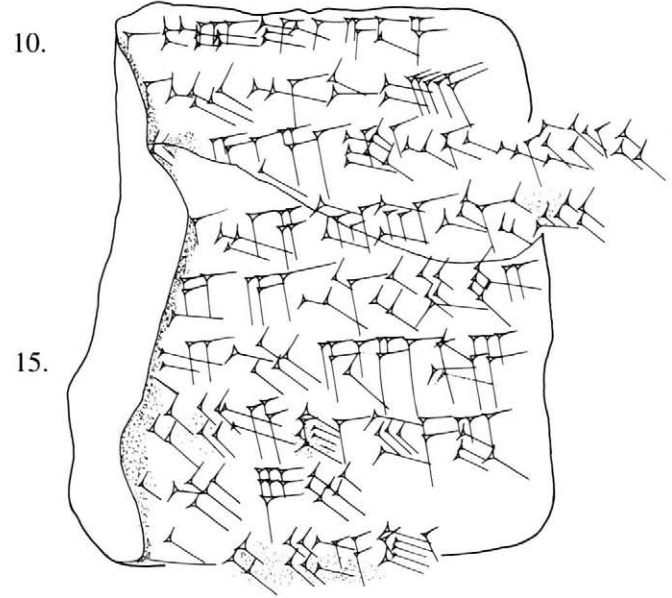
Text 139 Reverse



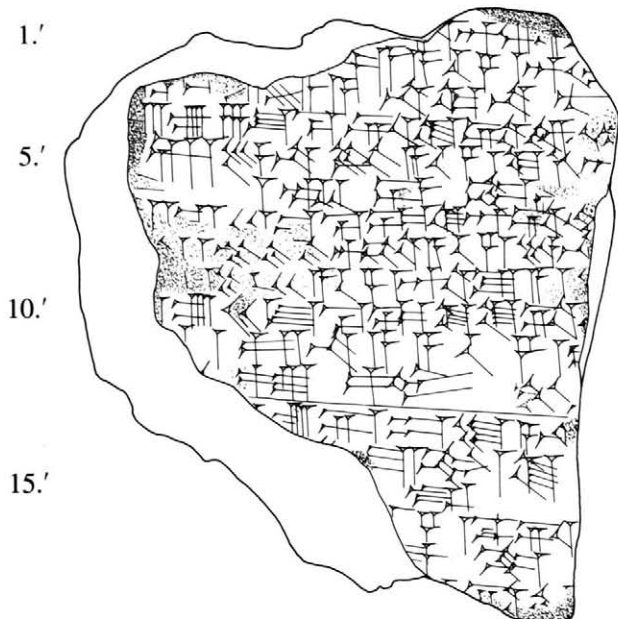
Text 140 Obverse



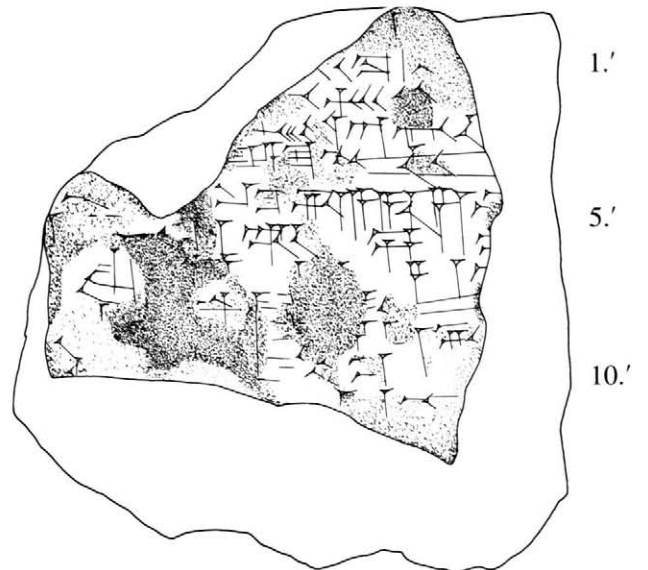
Text 140 Reverse



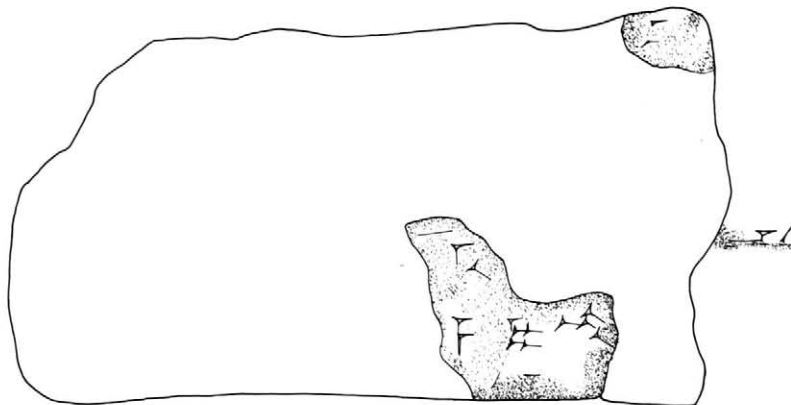
Text 141 Obverse



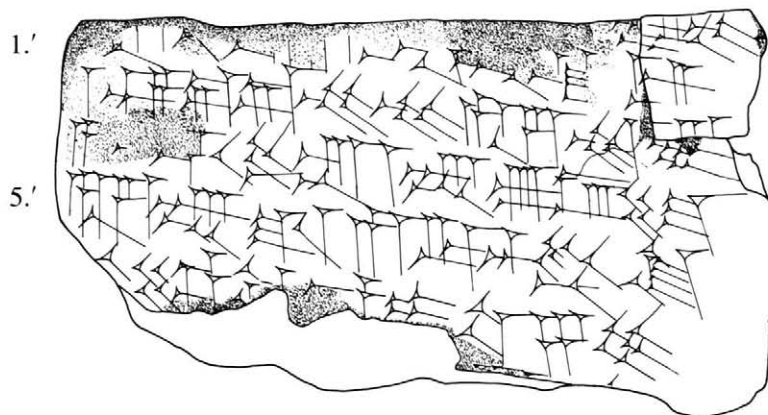
Text 141 Reverse



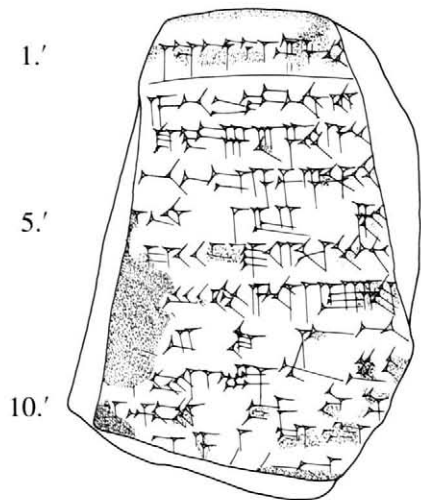
Text 142 Obverse



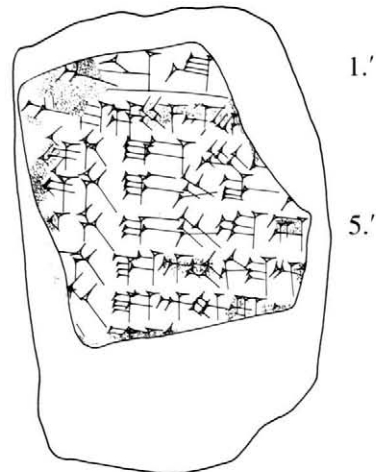
Text 142 Reverse



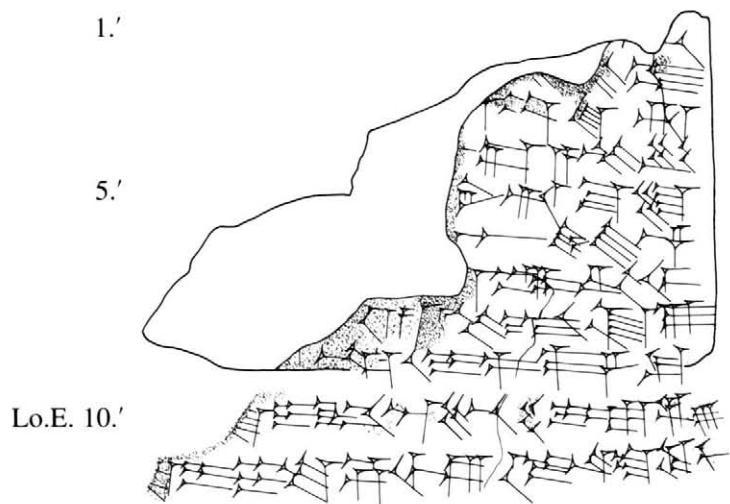
Text 143 Obverse



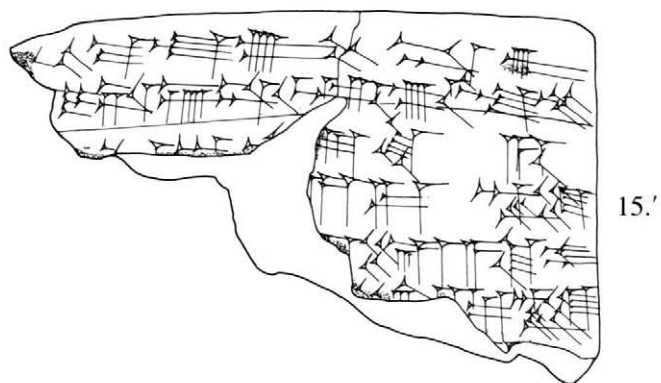
Text 143 Reverse



Text 144 Obverse

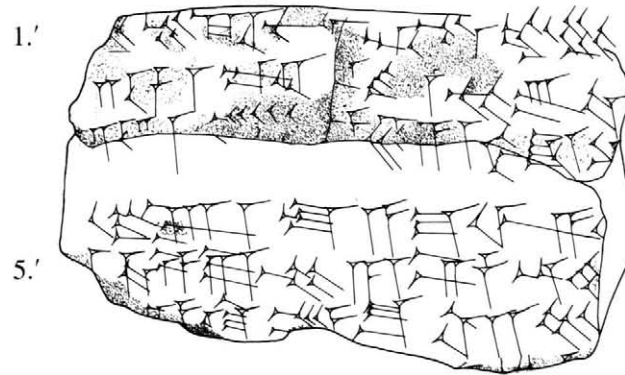


Text 144 Reverse

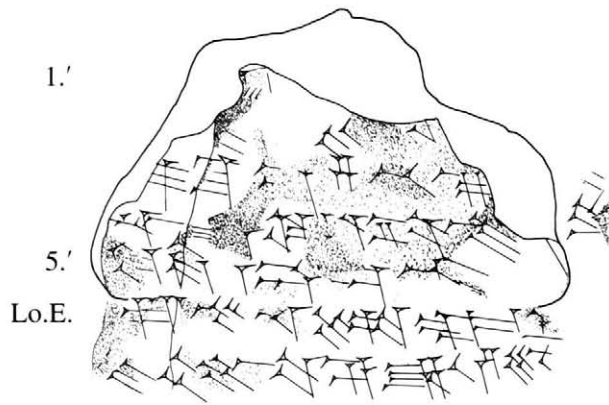




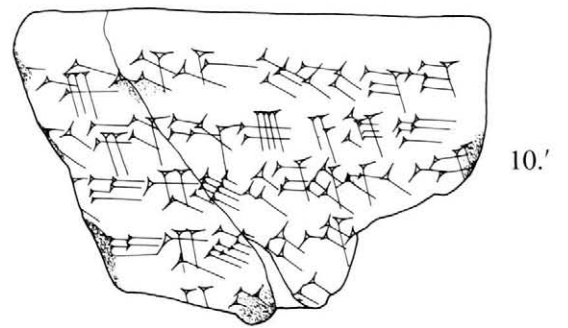
Text 145 Reverse



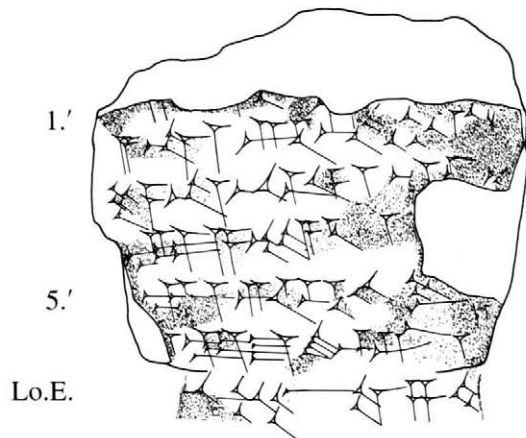
Text 146 Obverse



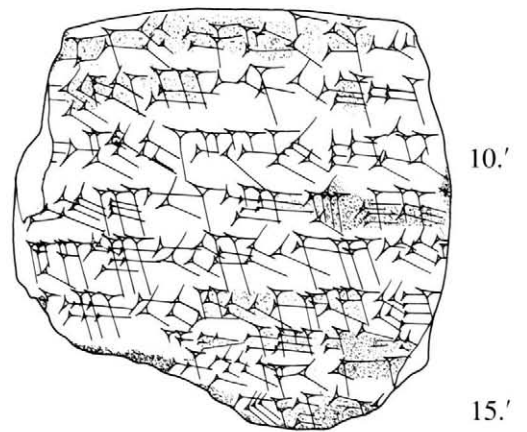
Text 146 Reverse



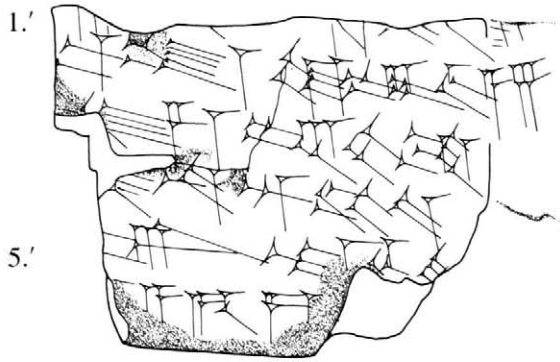
Text 147 Obverse



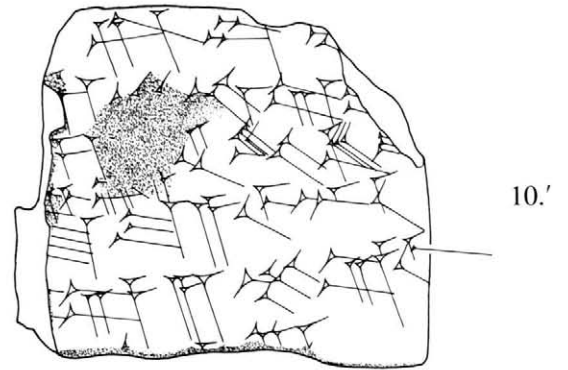
Text 147 Reverse



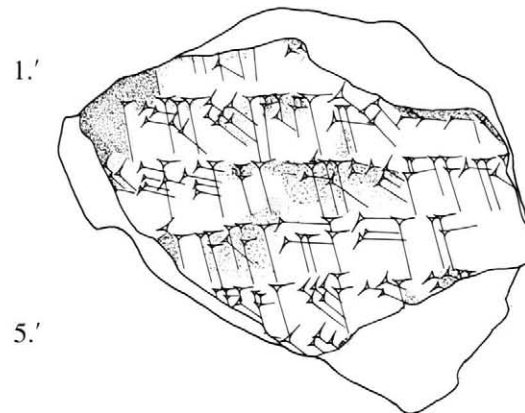
Text 148 Obverse



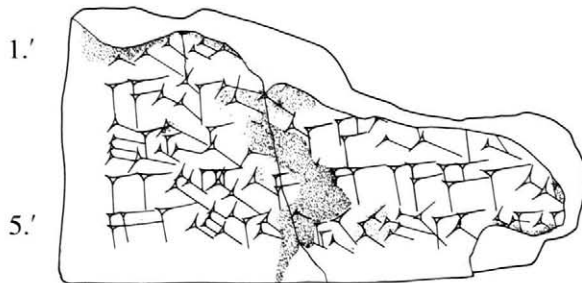
Text 148 Reverse



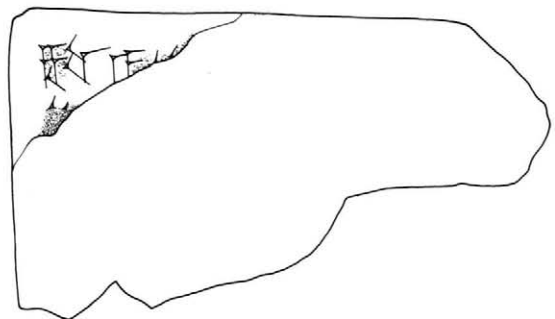
Text 149



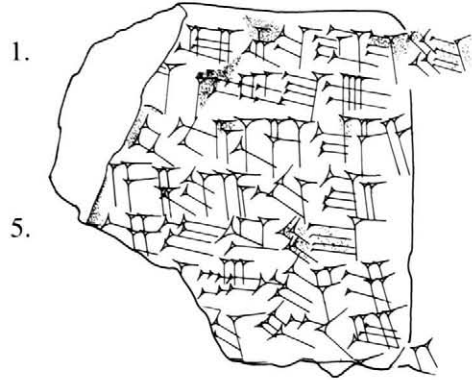
Text 150 Obverse



Text 150 Reverse



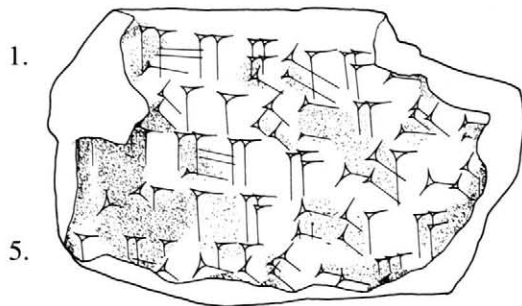
Text 151 Obverse



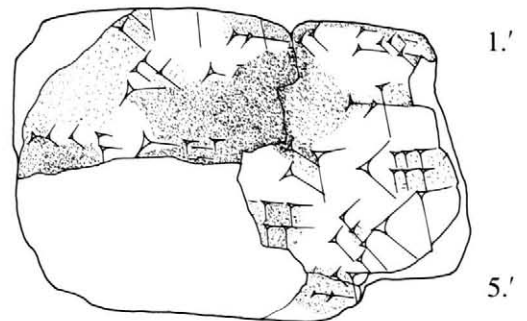
Text 151 Reverse



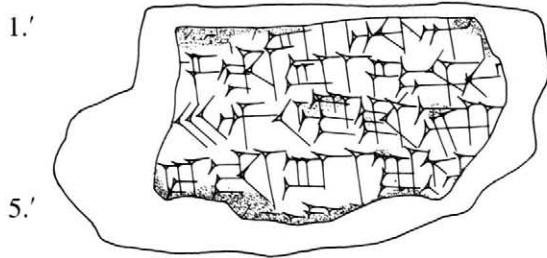
Text 152 Obverse



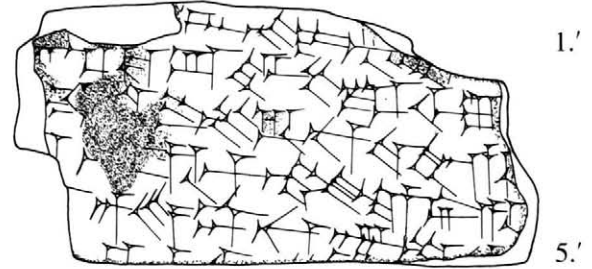
Text 152 Reverse



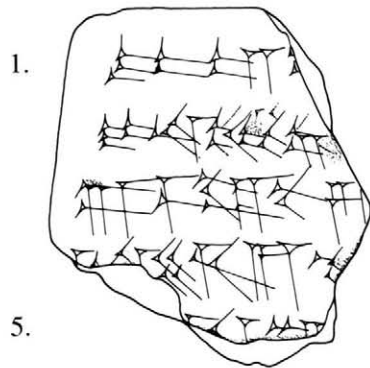
Text 153 Obverse



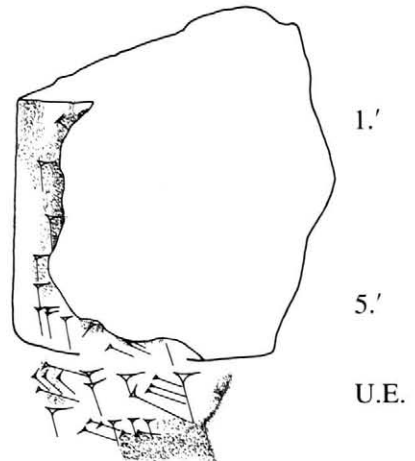
Text 153 Reverse



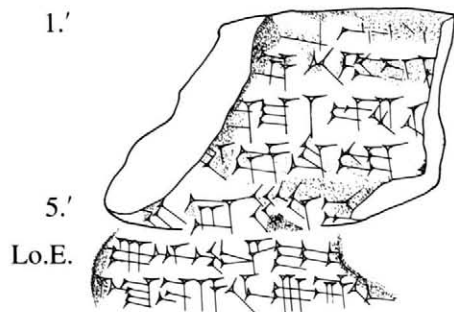
Text 154 Obverse



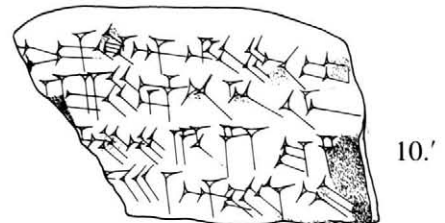
Text 154 Reverse



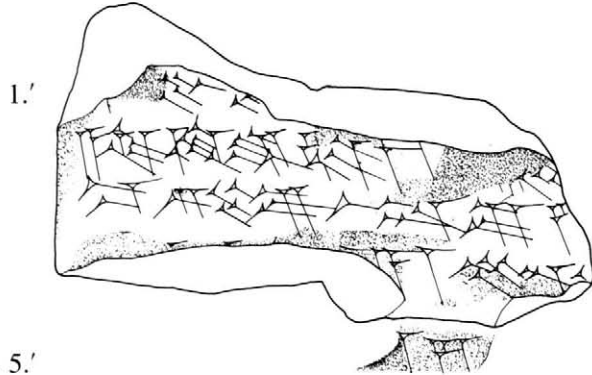
Text 155 Obverse



Text 155 Reverse

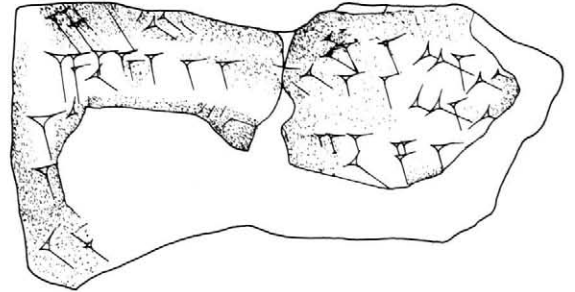


Text 156 Obverse



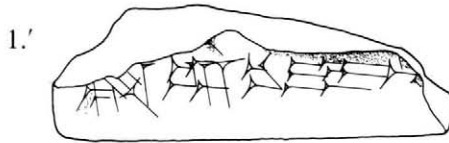
Lo.E. 5.'

Text 156 Reverse

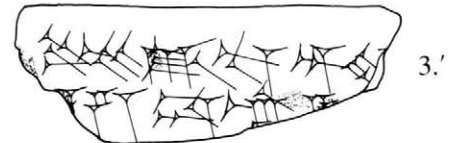


10.'

Text 159 Obverse

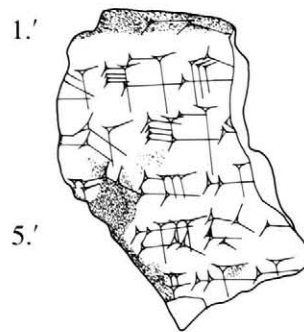


Text 159 Reverse



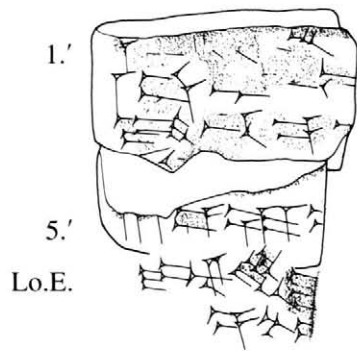
3.'

Text 160 reverse

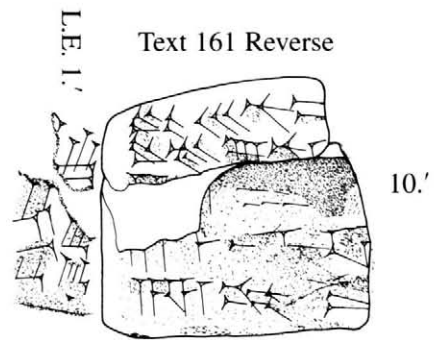


5.'

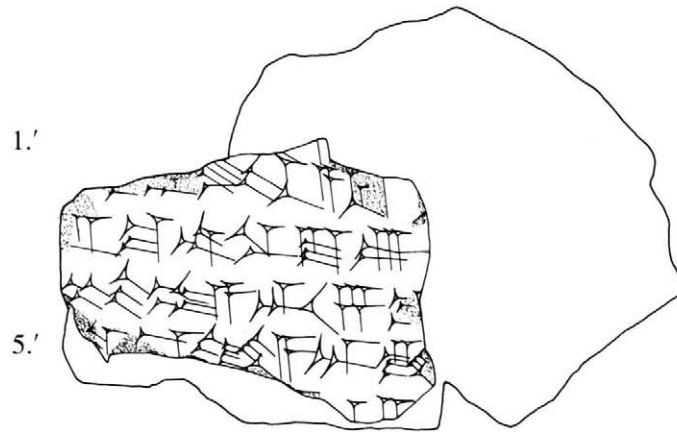
Text 161 Obverse



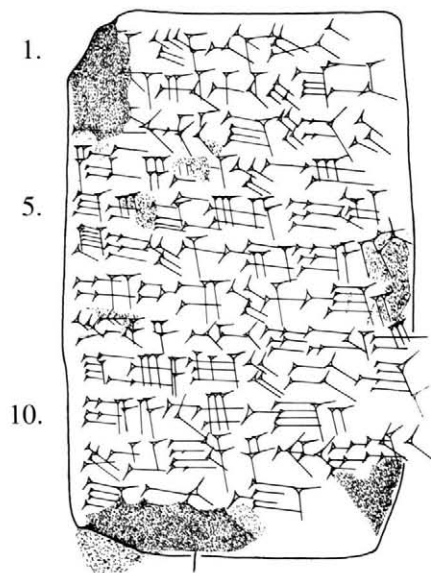
Text 161 Reverse



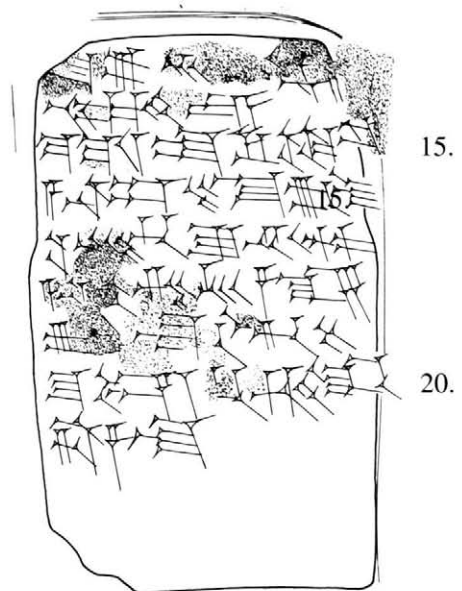
Text 162 Obverse (?)



Text 164 Obverse



Text 164 Reverse





Plates 118–126

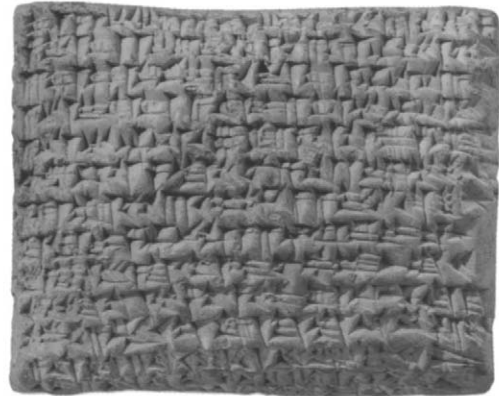
Photographs







Text No. 50 Obverse



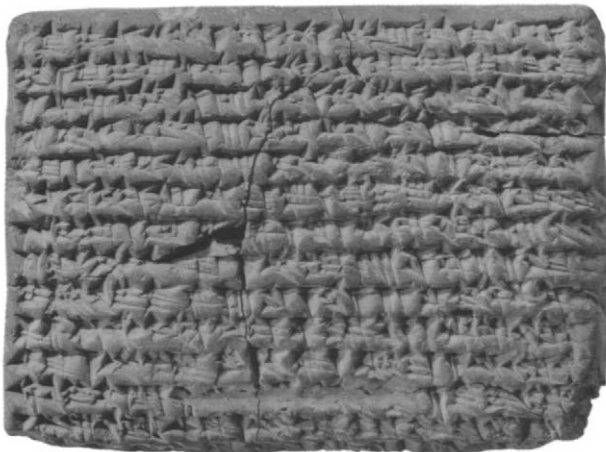
Text No. 97 Obverse



Text No. 48 Obverse



Text No. 77 Obverse



Text No. 90 Obverse



Text No. 53 Obverse



Text No. 50 Reverse



Text No. 97 Reverse



Text No. 48 Reverse



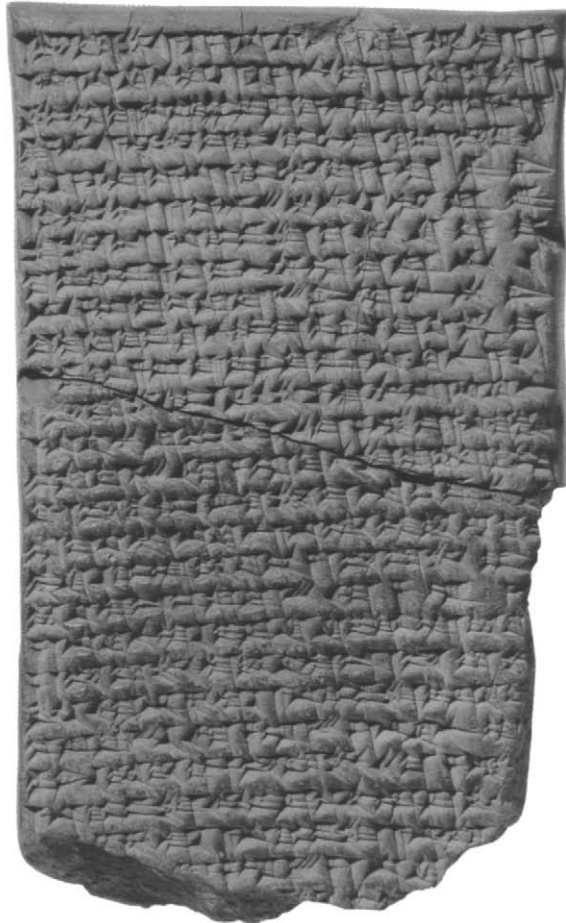
Text No. 77 Reverse



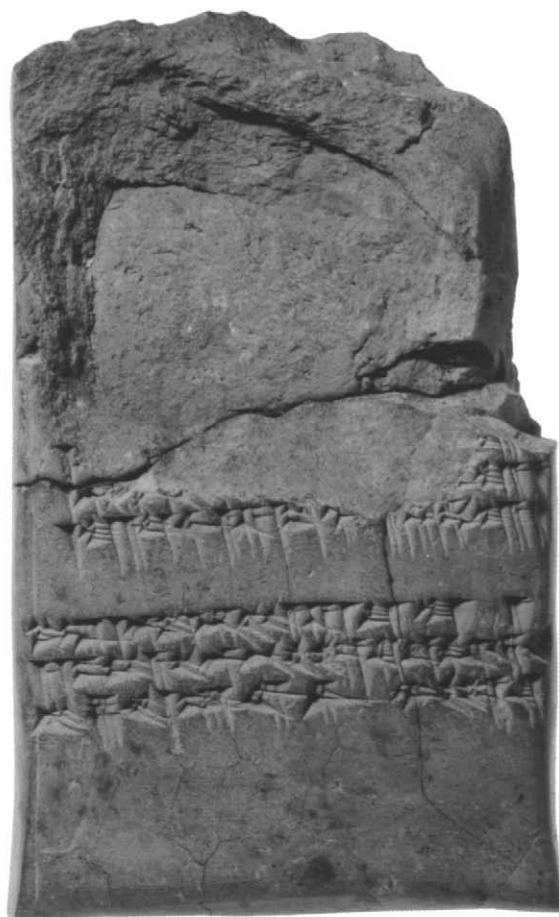
Text No. 90 Reverse



Text No. 53 Reverse



Text No. 102 Obverse



Text No. 102 Reverse



Text No. 1a Obverse



Text No. 2 Obverse



Text No. 3 Obverse

PLATE 123



Text No. 21 Reverse  
Scale 1.35:1



Text No. 100 Lower Edge



Text No. 113 Lower Edge



Text No. 113 Left Edge



Text No. 121 Left Edge



Text No. 125 Upper Edge  
Scale 3:2



Text No. 126 Left Edge



Text No. 126 Upper Edge

Scale 3:1





Text No. 127 Right Edge



Text No. 127 Upper Edge



Text No. 127 Left Edge



Text No. 128 Left Edge



Text No. 109 Left Edge



Text No. 109 Right Edge



Text No. 109 Upper Edge

Scale 3:1

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