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“Fifth-Century Nippur:  
Texts of the Murašûs and from their Surroundings”

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FIFTH-CENTURY NIPPUR:  
TEXTS OF THE MURAŠŪS AND FROM THEIR SURROUNDINGS

MATTHEW W. STOLPER\*

The Murašû archive dominates the published textual record of late Achaemenid Babylonia. The 740 published Murašû texts and fragments come from a short span of time, 454-404 B.C., with most of them concentrated between 440 and 416 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Most are products of a narrow range of operations, agricultural contracting and related short-term credits. Evidence of other sorts of enterprise and activity are present, but scarce and scattered.<sup>2</sup> In comparison, published legal and administrative texts and fragments of all kinds from all other sources in the interval between the reigns of Xerxes and Alexander, 486-330 B.C., amount to only about 500 items. No other known late Achaemenid archive, whether excavated or reconstructed, includes more than a hundred

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Abbreviations are those of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago (CAD)*, with the following exceptions and additions: Bongenaar *Ebabbar* = A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 80 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997); 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 Murašû Archive," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993 (University Microfilms International Order No. 9413807); CBCY 1 = Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection*, Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale 1 (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1994); Driver *Aramaic Documents* = G.R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 2nd, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); *Entrepreneurs and Empire* = Matthew W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 54 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985); *Istanbul Murašû Texts* = Veysel Donbaz and Matthew W. Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 79 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997); Jursa *Bēl-rēmāni* = Michael Jursa, *Das Archiv des Bēl-rēmāni*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 86 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1999); Jursa *Landwirtschaft* = Michael Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*, AfO Beih. 25 (1995); Wunsch *Iddin-Marduk* = Cornelia Wunsch, *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk*, Cuneiform Monographs 3 (Groningen: Styx, 1993); Zadok *West Semites* = Ran Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonian During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods, an Onomastic Study* (Jerusalem: Wanaarta, 1977).

Babylonian dates are cited in this form: day (in Arabic numerals)/month (in Roman numerals)/regnal year (in Arabic numerals) king's name. Conversion to Julian dates follows Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75*, Brown University Studies, 19 (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1956). Personal names are sometimes cited in this form: name/patronym(//ancestor's name).

<sup>1</sup> BE 8/1 124, 126, 127; BE 9; BE 10; PBS 2/1; UCP 9/3; TuM 2-3; *Entrepreneurs and Empire*; F. Joannès, "Fragments de Nippur d'époque néo-babylonienne," *Anatolica* 14 (1987) 107-130, Nos. 40-42, 63-70, 72-88; *Istanbul Murašû Texts*. On the chronological distribution, see *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, 23 and 107-08 and *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> G. van Driel, "The Murašûs in Context," *JESHO* 32 (1989) 224-26.

published pieces, so no single source compares in density or range with the Murašû texts.<sup>3</sup> The Murašû archive is a rich philological and historical source of historical and philological. It is an indispensable term of comparison for synchronic study of other late Babylonian evidence and for diachronic study of late Babylonian conditions and trends. But its exceptional place in the preserved and published record forces one to ask whether its evidence is representative, and whether inferences drawn from it are historically specific or broad.<sup>4</sup>

The texts published here, all from Nippur, add to the Murašû archive in two ways. Nos. 1-6 supplement it, adding to the archive's contents. Their principals are members of the Murašû family or the agents of family members. Nos. 7-13 complement it, adding to the archive's setting. They have prosopographic, circumstantial, or formal connections to the archive or to other texts connected with the archive.

In the first group, Nos. 1-3 belong to a formal category that is all but unattested and all but unrecognized in the Murašû archive, representing an unnoticed part of the Murašûs' business, investment in small joint ventures. No. 4, a bailment of cattle with no formal parallel among known Murašû texts, bears on a crucial part of the Murašûs' capital, livestock. Nos. 5-6 add to well-represented formal categories. In the second group, Nos. 7-8 bear on the status of the men entitled *šaknu* of Nippur and the city-governors entitled *šandabakku* under Achaemenid rule.<sup>5</sup> Nos. 9-12 have prosopographic connections to the Murašû texts (uncertain in No. 10). No. 13 is older than the Murašû texts but it is linked to them by its use of an odd clause whose only parallels are in Murašû texts.

Much of these texts' interest lies in matters of detail treated at length in the accompanying commentaries. Some of these details are pertinent to broader interpretive questions: the range and rise of the Murašûs' business (Nos. 1-4); competition or stress among contractors at Nippur (Nos. 7, 12); the organization of local government (No. 7-8); and the recruitment and recording of service for the crown (No. 13). Others have to do with uncommon or problematic items of late Babylonian lexicon (Nos. 9:1, 3 etc., 12:2, 3, 6) or poorly understood legal phrases (Nos. 8:10ff., 9:5, 13:9ff.).

Nos. 7 and 9 have seal impressions in common with Murašû texts. Comments on the two extraordinary seal impressions on No. 9 are excerpted from notes generously supplied by Linda B. Bregstein.

#### A. Murašû Texts

The four texts edited here as Nos. 1-4<sup>6</sup> are among the few Murašû tablets that do not belong to the main groups that can be traced from the excavations of 1893 to the collections at Istanbul, Jena and Philadelphia. Other published isolates are *UCP 9/3 275ff.* (given to the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley by Phoebe Hearst), *Entrepreneurs and*

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<sup>3</sup> The Kasr texts found at Babylon form the largest group, both published (about 65 items) and unpublished (about 900 items). See M. W. Stolper, "Achaemenid Legal Texts from the Kasr: Interim Observations," in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*, ed. J. Renger, Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 2 (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), 365-69.

<sup>4</sup> See especially van Driel, *JESHO* 32 203-229.

<sup>5</sup> Stolper, "The *šaknu* of Nippur," *JCS* 40 (1988) 127-55.

<sup>6</sup> Identified by Beaulieu, *CBCY* 1, 90.

*Empire* Nos. 34, 40, 44 and 94 (bought by the British Museum in 1894), and a promissory note to be published in a forthcoming volume of *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* accessioned in 1983. Clay mentioned “a number [of Murašû texts dated in the reign of Darius II] which are in private possession,”<sup>7</sup> so more isolates may still appear.

Nos. 1-4 belong to types of contracts that are well known in Neo-Babylonian private archives, but they are extraordinary in the Murašû archive. In this respect, the Nies texts resemble the Berkeley text, a document with unique contents and purpose, but they differ from the British Museum texts, all examples of common types.

If the Nies and Berkeley texts were accidentally or surreptitiously lost to the excavators, their extraordinary character is a surprising coincidence. If they were knowingly set aside by the excavators or the curators of the excavated tablets, it is a surprising oversight. The irregular character of the texts takes on importance in the light of van Driel’s observation that the excavated group of Murašû texts represents a narrow range of business, affording only glimpses of other concerns, and his related surmise that the excavated group was a “dead archive” of stale documents set aside from current files and from records of durable legal value.<sup>8</sup> Are these isolates, then, the traces of some livelier segment of the firm’s records? Perhaps they do not belong to the Murašû archive in the narrowest sense, that is, to the group of texts excavated in 1893. Perhaps they belong rather to other sub-archives, recording other segments of the firm’s operations, kept by the Murašûs or their successors apart from the excavated archive, or else kept separately by servants of the family and subordinates of the firm.

On a closer look, that conjecture does not account for the Nies tablets. Nos. 1-4 have no more durable legal value than the promissory notes, receipts and short-term leases that make up the bulk of the excavated archive. They come from the early years represented in the archive, so they were not useful records for current operations decades later, in the time of the latest texts of the archive. Their early dates explain, at least in part, why there are not many prosopographic links between them and the few contemporary texts from the excavated group. Why they were kept at all remains a question, but they were surely not in a file of current operations at the time of the closing of the archive. On the contrary, if the known archive was a dead file, these long-stale records of outstanding claims would have belonged in it.

Nos. 5 and 6, on the other hand, can be confidently assigned to the group excavated in 1893. The herd inventory No. 5,<sup>9</sup> has close parallels among known Murašû texts. It belongs to the “Hilprecht Bequest” of tablets on permanent loan to the University of Pennsylvania Museum. No. 6<sup>10</sup> is a sublease of familiar type. It was catalogued with the main group of the Murašû tablets in the Collection of the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum but overlooked by other publications of texts from the Murašû archive.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *PBS* 2/1, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *JESHO* 32 203 and 226; “Continuity or Decay in the Late Achaemenid Period, Evidence from Southern Mesopotamia,” in *Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures and Synthesis*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), 168.

<sup>9</sup> Identified by Bregstein “Seal Use,” 334 n. 46.

<sup>10</sup> Identified by “Geographical Notes,” *NABU* 1996/79.

<sup>11</sup> No. 6 = CBS 5316, in numerical series with similar texts that were published in *BE* 9 and 10 (CBS 5313 = *BE* 9 28a, CBS 5314 = *BE* 9 54, CBS 5315 = *BE* 9 40; and CBS 5317 = *BE* 9 95, CBS 5318 = *BE* 10 17, etc.).

Promissory Notes Arising from *ḥarrānu* Enterprises

1. NBC 6148  
CBCY 1 55

Bīt Arzā<sup>3</sup>

26<sup>2</sup>/VI/18 Artaxerxes I  
26 September 447 B.C.

- (1) 12 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá KASKAL<sup>II</sup>  
 (2) šá <sup>m</sup>Mu-ra-šu-ú A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>Ḥa-tin  
 (3) šá ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>En-líl A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>MU-a  
 (4) ina muḥ-ḥi <sup>md</sup>EN-<sup>l</sup>GI<sup>2</sup> A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>Ba-[as]-si-ia  
 (5) u <sup>m</sup>Ḥa-an-ni-ia A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 (6) u <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-šú-nu LÚ qal-la šá <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN  
 (7) ina ITI.APIN ZÚ.LUM.MA a<sup>3</sup> 12 GUR  
 (8) ina GIŠ <sup>l</sup>ma-ši<sup>1</sup>-ḥu šá 1 PI <sup>l</sup>šá<sup>2</sup> <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN<sup>2</sup>  
 (lower edge)  
 (9) ina U[RU ... ] x [ina-an-di]-nu  
 (10) [1-en pu-ut 2-i na-šu]-ú  
 (reverse)  
 (11) [... G]UR ZÚ.LUM.MA  
 (12) [...]-tan-nu [... ] <sup>l</sup>x x x x<sup>l</sup>  
 (13) [... ] ina ITI.<sup>l</sup>ZÍZ<sup>l</sup> [... ]  
 (14) [... ] <sup>l</sup>mMU-<sup>d</sup>EN A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>x x x<sup>l</sup>-im<sup>2</sup>  
 (15) [... ] <sup>l</sup>x x<sup>l</sup>  
 (16) [... ] x x x-<sup>l</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-tan-nu  
 (17) <sup>l</sup>LÚ.ŠID ... <sup>1</sup> A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>UTU-SU  
 (18) URU É <sup>m</sup>Ar-za-<sup>3</sup> ITI.KIN UD.26<sup>2</sup>.[KÁM]  
 (19) MU.18.KÁM <sup>m</sup>Ar-taḥ-sa-su  
 (20) LUGAL KUR.KUR  
 (left edge) <sup>l</sup>ṣu-pur<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>EN-G[I<sup>2</sup>]

(1-6) 12 gur of dates invested in a business venture by Murašû, son of Ḥātin, by the agency of Arad-Enlil, son of Iddinâ, is owed by Bēl-ušallim<sup>2</sup>, son of Bassija, and Ḥanniya, son of Iddin-Bēl, and Aḥušunu, servant of Iddin-Bēl. (7-9) In month VIII they [will pay] those 12 gur of dates, (measured) [by] the 1-*pānu* measure of<sup>2</sup> Iddin-Bēl<sup>2</sup>, at the village [...]. (10) [They assume warranty for one another.]

(11-13) (Fragmentary.)

(14-16) (Witnesses).

(17-20) Scribe: [...], son of Šamaš-erība. Bīt Arzā<sup>3</sup>. Month VI, day 25[+x], year 18, Artaxerxes, King of Lands.

(Left Edge) Fingernail mark of Bēl-ušallim<sup>2</sup>

2f. Arad-Enlil/Iddinâ, here the agent of Murašû/Ḥātin, recurs in No. 2 as the agent of Enlil-šum-iddin/Murašû. His principals can only be the like-named members of the Murašû family. If so, this is the latest known appearance of the family's namesake as an active party to a transaction. Arad-Enlil/Iddinâ does not recur in other known texts from the Murašû archive.

5. A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>MU- over erasures.

5-6. Ḥanniya/Iddin-Bēl recurs as debtor in No. 2. Neither he nor the other debtors recur in other known texts from the Murašû archive.

- (1) 10 GUR ŠE.BAR šá mARAD-dEn-líl A šá  
(2) mSUM.NA-a šá KASKAL<sup>II</sup> šá mdEn-líl-MU-MU  
(3) A šá mMu-ra-šu-ú ina muḫ-ḫi  
(4) mḪa-an-ni-ia A šá mMU-dEN<sup>I</sup>  
(5) ina ITL.GU<sub>4</sub> šá MU.29.KÁM ŠE.BAR a<sup>3</sup>  
(6) 10 GUR ina EN.LÍL.KI ina GIŠ.BAR  
(7) šá mARAD-dEn-líl ina ʾKÁ ka-lak-ki<sup>1</sup>  
(8) i-nam-din e-lat ú-ʾil-tim<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
(lower edge)  
(9) IGI.MEŠ šá ina muḫ-ḫi-šú ʾù<sup>2</sup> [ina muḫ-ḫi]  
(10) mMU-dEN<sup>I</sup> AD-šú  
(reverse)  
(11) LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub> mSi-lim-DINGIR A šá mKa-šir  
(12) mEN-šú-nu A šá mARAD-dMAŠ mdMAŠ-MU?  
(13) A šá mARAD-dMAŠ mRi-bat A šá mKa-šir  
(14) mdMAŠ-PAP A šá mdAG-it-tan-nu  
(15) mMU-dEn-líl A šá mBA-šá-a  
  
(16) LÚ.ŠID mNi-is-ḫur-dEn-líl A šá mEN-šú-nu  
(17) EN.LÍL.KI ITL.BÁR UD.2.KÁM  
(18) MU.29.KÁM mAr-taḫ-šá-as  
(19) LUGAL KUR.KUR

(right edge) ṣu-pur / mḪa-ʾan-ni-ia<sup>1</sup>

(1-4) 10 gur of barley, invested in a business venture by Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, is owed to Arad-Enlil, son of Iddinâ, by Ḫannija, son of Iddin-Bēl. (5-8) In month II of year 29 he will pay that 10 gur of barley, (measured) by the measure of Arad-Enlil, at the granary gate in Nippur.

(8-10) (This obligation is) in addition to previous promissory notes debited against him or [against] Iddin-Bēl, his father.

(11-15) Witnesses: Silim-ili, son of Kāšir; Bēlšunu, son of Arad-Ninurta; Ninurta-iddin<sup>2</sup>, son of Arad-Ninurta; Rībat, son of Kāšir; Ninurta-nāšir, son of Nabû-ittannu; Iddin-Enlil, son of Iqīšâ.

(16-19) Scribe: Nišur-Enlil, son of Bēlšunu. Nippur. Month I, day 2, year 29, Artaxerxes, King of Lands.

(Right Edge) Fingernail mark of Ḫannija.

4. Ḫannija: see No. 1:5.

13. Rībat/Kāšir: a witness in two texts from the Murašû archive (*BE* 8/1 126, 6/XII/37 Artaxerxes I; *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 103, 21/II/38 Artaxerxes I). The other witnesses do not recur in known texts from the Murašû archive.

16. Cf. *Ni-is-sa-ḫar-Enlil*/Bēlšunu, a witness in three texts from the Murašû archive, all written at Nippur on the same day, 18/X/27 Artaxerxes I (*BE* 9 9, *Istanbul Murašû Texts* Nos. 66 and 67).

- (1) 4 (PI) 1 (BÁN<sup>1</sup>) ŠE.BAR *šá* <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ A *šá*  
(2) <sup>md</sup>AG-*ki-šir šá* KASKAL<sup>II</sup> *šá* <sup>md</sup>En-*líl*-MU-MU  
(3) A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Mu-*ra-šu-ú ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>m</sup>Ri-*bat*  
(4) A *šá* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ ina* ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> MU.31.KÁM  
(5) ŠE.BAR *a*<sub>4</sub> 4 (PI) 1 (BÁN) *ina* GIŠ.BAR *šá* <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
(6) *ina* EN.LÍL.KI *i-nam-din pu-ut e-ṭer*  
(7) *šá* ŠE.BAR *a*<sub>4</sub> 4 (PI) 1 (BÁN) <sup>md</sup>En-*líl*-MU-MU  
(8) A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Lib-*luṭ na-ši*  
(lower edge)  
(9) *e-lat ú-ìl-tim šá* KÙ.BABBAR *šá* *ina* IGI <sup>md</sup>En-*líl*-MU-MU  
(reverse)  
(10) LÚ *mu-kin-nu* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-*mu-tir-ri-šU*  
(11) A *šá* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* <sup>m</sup>EN-*šú-nu*  
(12) A *šá* <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GUR A *šá*  
(13) <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* <sup>md</sup>En-*líl*-MU <A *šá*> <sup>md</sup>En-*líl*-*ki-šir*  
(14) LÚ.ŠID <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-*mu-še-tiq*-UD.DA  
(15) A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Ri-*ba-a-tú* E[N.L]ÍL.KI ITI.BÁR  
(16) UD.10.KÁM *šá* MU.31.KÁM <sup>m</sup>A-*r-taḫ-šá-as-su*  
(17) LUGAL KUR.KUR

(1-4)  $\frac{5}{6}$  gur of barley, invested in a business venture by Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, is owed to Arad-Ninurta, son of Nabû-kišir, by Rībat, son of Ninurta-uballit. (4-6) In month II of year 31 he will pay that  $\frac{5}{6}$  gur of barley, (measured) by the measure of Arad-Ninurta, in Nippur.

(6-8) Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Libluṭ, assumes warranty for the full payment of  $\frac{5}{6}$  gur of barley. (9) (This obligation) is in addition to a previous promissory note for silver held by Enlil-šum-iddin. (10-13) Witnesses: Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli, son of Ninurta-uballit; Bēlšunu, son of Aḫušunu; Aḫḫē-utīr, son of Ninurta-uballit; Enlil-iddin, <son of> Enlil-kišir.

(14-17) Scribe: Ninurta-mušētiq-uddē, son of Rībatu. Nippur. Month I, day 10, year 31, Artaxerxes, King of Lands.

The creditor, the debtor, the guarantor, and the scribe do not appear in other known texts from the Murašû archive. Of the witnesses, Bēlšunu/Aḫušunu appears in seventeen Murašû texts, always as a witness (earliest: *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, No. 72: 17/VI/41 Artaxerxes I; latest: *PBS* 2/1 161, --/IX/[1] Darius II); the others do not appear in other texts from the Murašû archive.

One of the ways in which the Murašû archive differs from the largest early Achaemenid private legal archives is in its dearth of records arising from *ḥarrānu* enterprises. There are no agreements creating the partnerships, no receipts, and no records of the division of income or assets arising from the enterprises. This dearth is probably why the only other example of a promissory note for assets invested in a *ḥarrānu* enterprise, *BE* 9 61 (dated 19/I/38 Artaxerxes I), has been overlooked.<sup>12</sup> Like Nos. 1-3, *BE* 9 61 implies a situation in which the Murašûs were the source of capital but were not directly involved in the investments made by their subordinates or

<sup>12</sup> I owe the characterization of *BE* 9 61 to A. Leo Oppenheim's marginalia on *Cardascia Murašû*, 63-64 (see p. 56 n. 6c). The text begins: (1) 3 GUR 1 PI 3 QA ŠE.BAR (2) *šá* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>En-*líl* A *šá* <sup>m</sup>EN-*šú-nu* (3) *šá* KASKAL<sup>II</sup> (not: *qib*) <sup>m</sup>Ri-*mut* A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Mu-*ra-šu-ú* (5) *ina muḫ-ḫi* <sup>md</sup>AG-MU A *šá* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-SUR, "3 gur 1 *pānu* 3 *qū* of barley, invested in a business venture by Rīmūt-*<*Ninurta*>*, son of Murašû, is owed to Iddin-Enlil, son of Bēlšunu by Nabû-iddin, son of Ninurta-eṭir."

in the conduct of the enterprise by the recipients, and did not profit directly from the eventual return.

Bailment of Livestock *ana zitti*

4. NBC 6147  
CBCY 1 55

Nippur

3/I/28 Artaxerxes  
16 April 437 B.C.

- (1) GU<sub>4</sub>.ÁB.GAL *sa-an-du* MU.6-*i-tum* *šá ši-in-du*  
(2) *šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-*bul-liṭ-su* A *šá* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG *a-na tik-ki<sup>1</sup>?-š[ú]*  
(3) *na-šá-a-tú* <sup>md</sup>EN-*bul-liṭ-su* GU<sub>4</sub>.ÁB.GAL MU.MEŠ  
(4) *a-na* ḪA.LA *a-na* ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú*  
(5) *a-di-i* 3-*ta* MU.AN.NA.ṚMEŠ<sup>1</sup> *a-na* <sup>m</sup>Ḫ-tam-meš-di-Ṛi<sup>1</sup>-[*ni*]  
(6) LÚ *qal-la šá* <sup>md</sup>En-*líl-ḫa-tin id-din* KÙ.BABBAR *a'*  
(7) 15 GÍN *qa-lu-ú a-na ma-la* ḪA.LA-*šú*  
(8) <sup>md</sup>EN-*bul-liṭ-su* A *šá* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AG *ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup>  
(9) <sup>m</sup>Ḫ-tam-meš-di-i-*ni ma-ḫi-ir e-ṭir ina iš<sup>?</sup>-ku-[ra-tum]*  
(10) *u tam-lit-tum a-ḫa-a-tú šú-nu pu-ut re* -Ṛ<sup>1</sup> *i-tum*<sup>1</sup>  
(11) *su-ud-du-du u* EN.NUN *šá* GU<sub>4</sub>.ÁB.[GAL MU.MEŠ]  
(lower edge)  
(12) <sup>m</sup>Ḫ-tam-meš-di-i-Ṛ<sup>1</sup> *ni*<sup>1</sup> [*na-ši* 1-*en*.TA.ÀM]  
(reverse)  
(13) Ṛ<sup>1</sup> *šá-ta-ri* TI<sup>1</sup>-[*ú* ... ]  
(14) GU<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup> [ ... ]  
(15) <sup>m</sup>Ši<sup>?</sup>-Ṛ<sup>1</sup> *ka*-[ ... ]  
(16) <sup>m</sup>x-*a-lu*<sup>?</sup> [ ... ]  
(17) A *šá* Ṛ<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>En-Ṛ<sup>1</sup> *líl*<sup>?</sup> [ ... ]  
(18) <sup>m</sup>ARAD-*ia* Ṛ<sup>1</sup> A *šá*<sup>1</sup> [ ... ]
- (19) LÚ.ŠID <sup>md</sup>EN-GI<sup>?</sup> A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Ṛ<sup>1</sup> *Tab*<sup>?</sup>-*ni-e-a* EN.L[ÍL.KI]  
(20) ITI.BÁR UD.3.KÁM MU.28.KÁM  
(21) [<sup>m</sup>A]Ṛ-*taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(reverse) *šur-pur* [ ... ]

(1-3) A red six-year-old cow which bears the mark of Bēl-bullissu, son of Iddin-Nabû, on its neck?<sup>2</sup>—(3-6) Bēl-bullissu turned over that cow to Iltammeš-dīnī, servant of Enlil-ḫātin, for shared ownership in (a total value of) a half mina of refined silver for three years. (6-9) Bēl-bullissu, son of Iddin-Nabû, has received that 15 shekels of silver from Iltammeš-dīnī for his share; he is paid. (9-10) They are to have equal shares in the .... and offspring. (11-12) Iltammeš-dīnī assumes (sole) responsibility for pasturage, care, and protection of [that] cow. (12-13) [Each has taken] one (copy of this) document.

(14-18) (Fragmentary).

(19-21) Scribe: Bēl-ušallim<sup>?</sup>, son of [Tab]nēa<sup>?</sup>. Nippur. Month I, day 3, year 28, Artaxerxes, King of Lands.

(Reverse) Fingernail of [...].

The bailor, the bailee, and the scribe do not occur in other texts from the Murašû archive. It is not certain that the Enlil-ḫātin named in line 6 is the like-named member of the Murašû family, who apparently died within six months of the date of this text; see *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, p. 118.

CAD's rendering of *ana zitti nadānu* as "to give in bailment" (*zittumng.* 2e 3') reflects the opinion that



[w]here animals are delivered to be taken care of for a certain time, and at the expiration of that time the same number of animals is to be returned, and any increase is to be enjoyed by both parties, there is a bailment, not a partnership.<sup>13</sup>

the conditions noted in this remark being exactly those ordinarily found in Neo-Babylonian contracts for transmission of livestock *ana zitti* (see von Bolla-Kotek, *Untersuchungen zur Tiermiete und Viehpacht im Altertum*, 2nd rev. ed., Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte 30 [Munich: C.H. Beck, 1969], 129ff., Lanz *Harrānu*, 183ff.).

No other contract of this kind is found among the known texts from the Murašû archive. This appears to be the latest known text of the type. Other late Achaemenid documents arising from the same contractual relationship are *OECT* 10 181+ (Xerxes, year 17), pursuant to a division of assets in a bailment of a heifer and a female calf (*ana zitti iddinu arki ... itti <a>hāmeš ú-za-zi-<sup>2</sup>*), and *OECT* 10 209 (Hursagkalama, Artaxerxes, year 34), an agreement in which two partners provide two oxen each on mutual bailment (*itti aḫāmeš ana zitti iškunu*).

1-3. Cf. *BE* 9 20:1-3 (1/VIII/30 Artaxerxes I), using similar terms to describe a cow leased for fixed annual rental (*ana sūti*).

3, 7. The first amount is the entire value of the animal, the basis on which the half shares are calculated, and the second amount is the cost of the bailee's half share, *mala zittišu*. The same relationships appear in Wunsch *Iddin-Marduk* No. 151, in which 60 sheep and goats are given *ana zitti ana 1 mana*  $\frac{1}{3}$  *šiqil kaspi*, "for shares in  $1\frac{1}{3}$  mina of silver," the first instalment (*pūt zitti*) of  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina being paid at the time of the contract, the balance (*rēhet*),  $\frac{1}{3}$  mina, to be paid after two months; see Wunsch *Iddin-Marduk*, p. 55.

9. Or: *ik<sup>2</sup>-ku[ra-tum]*: cf. *CAD* s.v. *iškurātu*, *AHW* s.v. *iš/kkurratu*.

#### Animal Inventory

5. L-29-554

10/III/6 [Darius II]  
22 June 418 B.C.

- (1) 14 UDU *pu-ḫal* 46 SILA<sub>4</sub>
- (2) 2 ME 31 U<sub>8</sub> GAL-*ti a-lit-tum*
- (3) 75 UDU *par-rat* DUMU.SAL MU.AN.NA
- (4) 18 MÁŠ GAL 10 MÁŠ MU 2-ú
- (5) 28 MÁŠ TUR 1 ME 5 ÛZ GAL-*ti a-lit-tú<sup>1</sup>*
- (6) 48 SAL.ÁŠ.GÀR DUMU.SAL MU.AN.NA
- (7) PAP <sup>1</sup>PAP 5 ME 75<sup>1</sup> *še-en* BABBAR-*ti*
- (8) MI-*in-du* GAL-*ti u qal-lat šá* <sup>m</sup>Ri-*bat*
- (9) A *šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-SU LÚ.ARAD *šá* <sup>m</sup>Ri-*mut*-<sup>d</sup>MÁŠ  
(lower edge)
- (10) *ana* GIŠ.BAR *ina* IGI <sup>m</sup>A *b-da-<sup>2</sup>* LÚ.SIPA(reverse)
- (11) LÚ.ARAD *šá* <sup>m</sup>Ri-*bat* UD.10.KÁM *šá* ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub>
- (12) *šá* MU.6.KÁM *e-piš nik-ka-su*
- (13) *e-pu-uš* KI-*šú a-mi-ir ma-nu*
- (14) *u paq-da-áš-šú*  
(reverse) *un-qu* / <sup>m</sup>A *b-da-<sup>2</sup>* // NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>m</sup>A *b-da-<sup>2</sup>*

(1-3) 14 rams; 46 (male) lambs; 231 full-grown ewes fit to bear young; 75 yearling female sheep. (4-6) 18 full-grown he-goats; 10 two-year-old he-goats; 28 male kids; 105<sup>2</sup> full-grown she-goats fit to bear young; 48 yearling she-goats.

(7-11) Grand total: 575 head of livestock, sheep and goats (lit. white and black), adult and young, belonging to Rībat, son of Bēl-erība, servant of Rīmūt-Ninurta, are held on lease by the

<sup>13</sup> *Black's Law Dictionary*, 4th rev. ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West, 1968), 180.

shepherd Abdāʾ, servant of Rībat. (11-14) On day 10, month III, year 6 accounts were settled with him; (the herd) was inspected, counted, and turned over to him.

(Reverse) Ring of Abdāʾ. Seal of Abdāʾ.

Formally identical texts from the Murašû archive are *BE* 10 105f. and *PBS* 2/1 118, all written on 10/III/6 Darius II, all recording herds of sheep and goats committed by Rībat/Bēl-erība to men called “shepherd of Rībat.” See Cardascia *Murašû*, 187; Joannès *Texts économiques* 68 n. 2; van Driel, *JESHO* 32 225; Bregstein “Seal Use,” 334 n. 46.

1. *BE* 10 105f. and *PBS* 2/1 118 enter *parru* lambs between *puḫālu* and *puḫādu* (UDU.SILA<sub>4</sub>).

10. Of several individuals called Abdāʾ in Murašû texts, the most plausible candidate for identification with the man in this text is the Abdāʾ who is named with Bēl-ittannu (both without patronyms) as an agent of Rīmūt-Ninurta/Murašû in promissory notes for barley issued in outlying settlements during the first regnal year of Darius I (*BE* 10 119 and 120, *PBS* 2/1 221 [all drawn up in Āl Bašam]; *PBS* 2/1 222 [drawn up in Āl Enlil-ašābšū-iqbi]).

Reverse. There is no visible Aramaic epigraph (as on the animal inventories *BE* 10 105f. and *PBS* 2/1 118) or fingernail mark (as on *BE* 10 105). *PBS* 2/1 118 has a single impression of the shepherd’s ring. *BE* 10 105 and 106 have no seal impressions.

6. CBS 5316 Sublease 30/III/31 Artaxerxes I  
<Nippur> 9 July 434 B.C.

- (1) <sup>m</sup>Qár<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-an-ni LÚ.ARAD šá <sup>md</sup>En-líl-MU-MU ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú
- (2) ḫa-na<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>En-líl-MU-MU A šá <sup>m</sup>Mu-ra-šu-ú ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma
- (3) ŠE.NUMUN KA šul-pu šá A.ŠÀ šá <sup>md</sup>EN-DIN-iṭ u <sup>m</sup>Ú-kit-ti ŠE.NUMUN šá LUGAL
- (4) u šá LÚ ga-ar-du šá ina muḫ-ḫi ÍD ka-sal e-lat da-lu .MEŠ
- (5) šá GÚ ÍD<sup>?</sup> ka-sal ŠE.NUMUN šá LUGAL ŠE.NUMUN šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU u ŠE.NUMUN
- (6) šá <sup>m</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-DIN šá ina muḫ-ḫi ÍD Sa-ḫi- ʾ-du u 1-en GIŠ.APIN
- (7) ḫ34<sup>1</sup> GUR ŠE.BAR a-na ŠE.NUMUN 1 GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 7 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM a-4 BÁN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì<sup>a</sup>
- (8) [...] GÚ.GAL 1 (PI) 4 (BÁN) GÚ.TUR 1 PI duḫ-nu a-na GIŠ.BAR
- (9) [bi-i]n-nam-ma ina MU.AN.NA 2 ME 80 GUR ŠE.BAR
- (10) ḫ7<sup>?</sup> GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 70 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM 12 GUR GÚ.GAL
- (11) 1 GUR GÚ.TUR 20 GUR ŠE duḫ-nu 10 GUR ka-as-si-ia a-2 GUR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì<sup>a</sup>
- (12) PAP 4 ME GUR EBUR lu-ud-dak-ka ár-ki <sup>md</sup>En-líl-MU-MU
- (13) iš-me-šu-ma ŠE.NUMUN MU.MEŠ GIŠ.APIN a<sub>4</sub> 1-en u EBUR šá a-na ŠE.NUMUN
- (14) a-na MU.AN.NA 4 ME GUR EBUR id-daš-šú
- (lower edge)
- (15) ina ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> ŠE.BAR a<sub>4</sub> 2 ME 80 GUR GIG.BA a<sub>4</sub>
- (16) 7 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM a<sub>4</sub> 70 GUR GÚ.GAL a<sub>4</sub> 12 GUR(reverse)
- (17) GÚ.[TUR] ḫa<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> 1 GUR duḫ-nu a<sub>4</sub> 20 GUR ka-as-si-ía <a<sub>4</sub>> 10 GUR <ŠE.GIŠ.Ì a<sub>4</sub> 2 GUR>
- (18) PAP ḫ4 ME GUR<sup>1</sup> i-nam-din ul-tu ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> šá MU.31.KÁM
- (19) GIŠ.BAR MU.MEŠ ḫEN<sup>?</sup> 3<sup>1</sup>-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ ina IGI-šú GU<sub>4</sub>.ḫI.A šá ina lib-bi
- (20) i-mut-tu<sub>4</sub> i-zaq-qap
- (21) LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub> <sup>m</sup>Ba-ni-ia DUMU šá <sup>m</sup>Ba-rik-DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>Ri-bat A šá <sup>m</sup>Ni-qud
- (22) <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-na-din-MU A šá <sup>m</sup>Ú-bal-liṭ-su-<sup>d</sup>ŠÚ <sup>md</sup>UTU-ŠEŠ-MU
- (23) A šá <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-SUR <sup>m</sup>MU-MU A šá <sup>m</sup>Ka-sir <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>50 A šá
- (24) <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>En-líl <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ A šá <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DIN-iṭ
- (25) MU.AN.NA šá [qí-bi (...)] <sup>m</sup>dE[n-líl]-MU-MU im-mid
- (26) [<sup>m</sup>dENŠADA-MU L[Ú.ŠID A šá <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>]ME.ME ITI.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD.30.KÁM
- (27) [MU].ḫ31.K[ÁM <sup>m</sup>A r-taḫ-ša-as-su] LUGAL KUR.KUR
- (upper edge) ḫšu-pur <sup>m</sup>x-x-ḫu<sup>1</sup>-lu-ú-nu

(left edge) [su-pur] mQár-ḥa-nu

(1-2) Qarḥānu, servant of Enlil-šum-iddin, voluntarily addressed Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, as follows:(3-9) “Lease to me arable land for cereal cultivation, the field of Bēl-uballit and Ukittu, arable land of the king and the *gardu*-workers, located on the drainage ditch—but excluding properties irrigated from wells that are located on the drainage ditch—(as well as) arable land of king, arable land of Aḥḥē-iddin and arable land of Itti-Enlil-balātu that are (all) located on the Saḥīdu canal, along with one plow, 34 gur of barley for seed, 1 gur of wheat, 7 gur of emmer, 4 *sūtu* of sesame, [x] chickpeas, 1 $\frac{2}{3}$  *pānu* of lentils, 1 *pānu* of millet, and (9-12) each year I will pay you 280 gur of barley, 7 gur of wheat, 70 gur of emmer, 12 gur of chickpeas, 1 gur of lentils, 20 gur of millet, 10 gur of *kasû*, 2 gur of sesame, altogether 400 gur of crops.” (12-14) Then Enlil-šum-iddin acceded to his request and gave him that arable land, the aforesaid one plow, and crops for seed, for 400 gur of crops (as rent) per year. (15-18) In month II he will pay the barley, namely 280 gur, the wheat, namely 7 gur, the emmer, namely 70 gur, the chickpeas, namely 12 gur, the lentils, namely 1 gur, the millet, namely 20 gur, the *kasû*, <namely 10 gur>, the sesame, namely 2 gur, altogether 400 gur. (18-19) That rental (is effective) as of month VII of year 31, for three years. (19-20+25) He (the tenant) will pay, in whatever year Enlil-šum-iddin’s order may require it, an indemnity for any of the oxen that die.

(21-24) Witnesses: Banija, son of Barīk-II; Rībat, son of Niqūd; Ninurta-nādin-šumi, son of Uballissu-Marduk; Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, son of Ninurta-ētir; Šum-iddin, son of Kāšir; Arad-Enlil, son of Iddin-Enlil; Arad-Ninurta, son of Ninurta-uballit.(26-27) Nusku-iddin, scribe, son of Arad-Gula. <Nippur.> Month III, day 30, year 31, [Artaxerxes], King of Lands.(Upper Edge) Fingernail mark of x-x-x-ḥulūnu.

(Left Edge) [Fingernail mark] of Qarḥānu.

1, Left Edge. Qarḥānu: see Zadok *NABU*1996/79. The tenant does not appear in other known texts from the Murašû archive.

3. Cf. m<sup>U</sup>-kit-tū, one of several proprietors of land for which Naqqītu, daughter of Murašû, paid rent on 9/V/29 Artaxerxes I in *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 46:3 (= *JCS* 28 196).3f. Despite occasional mention of royal property characterized with an Iranian loanword in the phrase *uzbara ša šarri* (e.g., *BE* 9 67:4, 8, 10 and 12 and 73:1), property characterized simply as arable land (ŠE.NUMUN) of the king is surprisingly absent from other known texts from the Murašû archive. Arable land (ŠE.NUMUN) of *gardu* workers: *BE* 9 101:3, *BE* 10 92:4 (and *ḥaṭru ša LÚ gardu* *ibid.* 7); fields (A.ŠÀ.MEŠ) of *gardu* workers: *PBS* 2/1 2:1 and 13 and 204:8.

5. Or: Nār Kasal, a proper name: so Zadok *NABU*1996/79.6. The canal (Nār)-Saḥīdu does not appear in other known texts from the Murašû archive. Collation excludes a reading Saḥīru, suggested by the canal named in the phrase *Nār Bēl ša ÍD Sa-ḥi-ri šumšū*, “the Bēl Canal, also known as the Saḥīru canal,” *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 2:3 and 8 and No. 30:3. Zadok (personal communication) suggests: ÍD *Sa-ḥi-ri-du* can render a *qatīl* formation of West Semitic *s’d* “support, aid,” with <-Ci-’-> = /i/ as in *Ḥi-ri-du-ri-’* = Aram. *Hydwry* (*BE* 10 99:4, 9, up.ed.; cf. Zadok *West Semites*, 51, 100, 250, 252).

7, 11. <sup>a</sup>...<sup>a</sup> written on the right edge in small, shallow script.19-20+25. Cf. *BE* 9 29:22f. and 30:26f., both leases drawn up by the same scribe as this text on 12/V/32 Artaxerxes I, hence about fourteen months later than this text, but before some of the same witnesses; *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 17, a near-duplicate of *BE* 9 30, and *BE* 9 26, both drawn up by a different scribe on the same day as this text and before the same witnesses. The second part of the clause, in line 25, echoing *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 17 r. 4 and *BE* 9 26:12ff., was a belated addition, distributed on the tablet where space was available.

B. The *šaknu* and the *šandabakku* of Nippur

7. YBC 11564 Lease Nippur 22+/-/4 Darius II 420/19 B.C.
- (1) ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ LÚ *pa-<sup>2</sup>-i-še*.MEŠ *ša* EN.LÍL.†KI<sup>1</sup>  
(2) *ša ina* URU ÍD *eš-še-tum u* URU É<sup>f</sup>†*Ta-bat-gab<sup>2</sup>-bi<sup>2</sup>-[x]*  
(3) <sup>md</sup>EN-KÁM LÚ *šak-nu ša* EN.LÍL.KI A *ša* <sup>m</sup>Si-lim-DINGIR  
(4) *a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-di 10-ta* MU.AN.NA.MEŠ  
(5) *a-na* MU.AN.NA 5 GUR ŠE.BAR *a-na* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
(6) A *ša* <sup>md</sup>DIN-<sup>su</sup>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *id-din ina* MU.AN.NA  
(7) *ina* ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> ŠE.BAR *a<sup>3</sup> 5 GUR* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
(8) †*a<sup>1</sup>-na* <sup>md</sup>EN-KÁM *ina-an-din* TA ITI.BÁR  
(9) MU.4.KÁM *a-di 10-ta* MU.AN.NA.MEŠ  
(10) ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ †MU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *ana* GIŠ.BAR *ina* IGI <sup>m</sup>†MU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup>  
(reverse)  
(11) <sup>md</sup>En-líl-MU-lil-bir A *ša* <sup>m</sup>Na-[*din*]  
(12) LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub> <sup>m</sup>KAL-*a* A *ša* <sup>m</sup>Na-din A <sup>m</sup>A.BA-<sup>d</sup>50-*da-ri*  
(13) <sup>md</sup>En-líl-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu* A *ša* <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu <sup>m</sup>La-ba-ši A *ša*  
(14) <sup>m</sup>Ki-din <sup>m</sup>SÜH-SUR A *ša* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DA <sup>md</sup>KÁ-SUR A *ša*  
(15) <sup>m</sup>[K]*a-šir* <sup>md</sup>DIN A *ša* <sup>md</sup>En-líl-KÁD <sup>md</sup>ŠÚ-MU A *ša* [x]  
(16) <sup>m</sup>Tat-tan-nu A *ša* <sup>m</sup>Ú-bar  
(17) <sup>md</sup>DU-A A *ša* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-PAP <sup>md</sup>IM-MU A *ša*  
(18) <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-*na-din*  
(19) LÚ.ŠID <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ A *ša* <sup>m</sup>NIGÍN-<sup>d</sup>En-líl EN.LÍL.KI ITI. [x]  
(20) UD.22.[x.KÁM] MU.4.KÁM <sup>m</sup>Dar-*a-muš* L[UGAL KUR.KUR]  
(reverse) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>md</sup>50-MU-lil-bir A *ša* / <sup>m</sup>Na-din // NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>m</sup>La-ba-ši / A *ša* <sup>m</sup>Ki-din  
(left edge) *un-qu* AN.BAR / <sup>md</sup>50-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu* / A *ša* <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu  
(upper edge) *un-qu* AN.BAR / *ša* <sup>md</sup>EN-KÁM LÚ *šak-[nu ša* EN.LÍL.KI] / A *ša* <sup>m</sup>Si-[*lim-DINGIR*]  
(lower edge) [ ... ] / <sup>md</sup>†MAŠ<sup>2</sup>-*ana<sup>2</sup>-É<sup>2</sup>†-šú<sup>1</sup>* / A *ša* <sup>m</sup>Lu-[*i-di-ia*]

(1-6) Bēl-ēreš, the *šaknu* of Nippur, son of Silim-II, leased fields of unassigned<sup>2</sup> holdings of people of Nippur that are in the village of Nāru-eššetu and the village of Bit Ṭābat-gabbi<sup>2</sup>-x to Iddin-Marduk, son of Uballissu-Marduk, for ten years, for 5 gur of barley per year. (6-8) Each year in month II Iddin-Marduk will pay that 5 gur of barley to Bēl-ēreš. (8-10) Those fields are under Iddin-Marduk's control, on lease, for ten years as of month I, year 4.

(11-18) Witnesses: Aqara, son of Nādin, descendant of Mannu-Enlil-dāri; Enlil-šum-lilbir, son of Nādin; Enlil-aḥ-ittannu, son of Bēlšunu; Lābāši, son of Kidin; Ina-tēšē-ēṭir, son of Ninurta-lē<sup>2</sup>i; Bābu-ēṭiret, son of Kāšir; Balātu, son of Enlil-kāšir; Marduk-iddin, son of [...]; Tattannu, son of Ubār; Mukīn-apli, son of Ninurta-nāšir; Addu-iddin, son of Ninurta-nādin.

(19-20) Scribe: Arad-Ninurta, son of Upaḥḥir-Enlil. Nippur. Month V, day 22[+x], Year 4, Darius, K[ing of Lands].

(Reverse) Seal of Enlil-šum-lilbir, son of Nadin. Seal of Lābāši, son of Kidin. (Left Edge) Iron ring of Enlil-aḥ-ittannu, son of Bēlšunu. (Upper Edge) Iron ring of Bēl-ēreš, the *šak* [nu of Nippur], son of Si[lim-II]. (Lower Edge) [...] Ninurta-ana-bītišu, son of Lu-[idija].

1. Cf. ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *ša* LÚ *pa-<sup>2</sup>-še-e-tú ša* LÚ.EN.LÍL.KI.MEŠ *TuM 2-3 145+Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 27:2, and ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ LÚ *pa-<sup>2</sup>-še-e-ti ša ina muḥḥi* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *ša* LÚ.EN.LÍL.KI.ME *BE 9 65:3*. For the extraordinary masculine form cf. GIŠ.BAN *ša* PN *pa-<sup>2</sup>-i-ši* (listed after fractional shares of bow lands of named individuals and before unqualified bow lands of named individuals) *BE 9 8:7, 8, and 9, and ana muḥḥi 4-ú pa-<sup>2</sup>-i-ši* [ša PN<sup>2</sup>] (listed after unqualified bow lands of named individuals,

GIŠ.BAN *ša* PN *pa-ʿi-ti* [line 6], and quarter-shares of named individuals) *BE* 9 23:11. Otherwise, the adjective is regularly feminine, even with determinative LÚ (apparently not = *ša*, to judge by *ša* LÚ *p.* in *TuM* 2-3 145+, above). It is usually plural (but GIŠ.BAN [*pa*]-ʿi-*tu*<sub>4</sub> *ša* PN *ša ḥaṭri ša* NN *BE* 10 90:3, 2-*ta* GIŠ.BAN *pa-ʿi-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ša* PN *u* PN<sub>2</sub> *PBS* 2/1 76:9). It appears most often in the phrase *ušuzzāʿēti* (*ušuzzājēti*) *u* (LÚ) *pa ʿi-šēti* (*paḫi-šēti*). The phrase describes bow lands constituting a named *ḥaṭru* organization (*BE* 9 60:6 and 14 and dupl. *Istanbul Murašû Texts* No. 33; *BE* 10 15:2; *PBS* 2/1 114:4, 117:4, 120:4f., 188:3, 205:2, 217:5). In *Murašû* texts, the adjective *ušuzzāju* occurs only in this phrase, but *p.* appears occasionally without *u.* (GIŠ.BAN PN *ša <ina>* GN 2-*ta pa-ʿi-še-e-ti* [after fractional bow lands, before unqualified bow lands] *BE* 9 44:10, GIŠ.BAN PN [...] *pa-ʿi-še-e-ti* *Istanbul Murašû Texts* No. 52:12). Elsewhere, *u.* appears once without *p.*, at the head of a fragmentary list of bow lands constituting a *ḥaṭru* (*VAS* 6 302:1).

In sum, *u.* and *p.* appear in complementary parallelism. Together, they have comprehensive meaning, to describe all bow lands belonging to *ḥaṭru* s. Like the term “bow land” itself and some terms for fractional holdings, *p.* appears with determinative LÚ and sometimes even construed with a masculine form, but *u.* does not. The word *u.* indicates a usual, general condition, the word *p.* a special, marked condition.

Given the limited contexts, proposed translations have rested on etymological connection with *ušuzzu*, “stand” (rather than *šuzzu* “register”) and *paʿāšu*, “crush,” and on suppositions about socio-economic conditions and administrative practices. Pognon’s suggestion that *u.* described land conferred on archers in military service, and *p.* lands granted to other sorts of beneficiaries (“Notes lexicographiques et textes assyriens inédits,” *JA* 1917 387 n. 1) has been generally ignored and forgotten. Poebel’s similar proposals “Dienst- und Zinslehen, socages and copyhold fiefs” (*Studies in Akkadian Grammar*, AS 9 [1939] 80 n. 1), were cited with apparent approval by Falkenstein (review of Cardascia *Murašû*, *ZSS* 70 [1953] 410) and von Soden (review of Cardascia *Murašû*, *BiOr* 11 [1954] 206f., suggesting as an alternative “intact and not intact,” leaving open the question of what those qualifications might really mean as applied to land holdings). More convincingly, Joannès (*Textes économiques* 35) proposed that characterizations of bow lands as “existing and dissolved” resulted from the practical need for foremen (*šaknu*) of *ḥaṭru* s to maintain current records of the status of constituent bow lands. The records would indicate whether the bow lands were assigned and to whom, whether they were leased or pledged, and whether they were producing required revenues. With a different emphasis, van Driel (*JESHO* 32 219) saw the occasional mentions of “unoccupied” bow lands (GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *pa ʿi-šēti*) beside occupied ones as a sign that foremen had difficulty finding suitable tenants to hold and exploit the properties, a special case of a more general shortage of rural labor.

If *p.* has an administrative sense such as “vacant” or “unassigned,” such phrases as GIŠ.BAN *ša* PN *pa ʿi-šēti* etc. must refer to currently unassigned properties that were still identified by the names of past occupants. In a similar vein, Aršam, the satrap of Egypt, referred to “property of PN, his (deceased) father ... that was abandoned and not made over [to my estate] and not given by me to another servant” that was to be granted to PN’s son (Driver *Aramaic Documents* No. 8, see Porten, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt 1: Letters* [Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1986] No. A6.11).

3 and Upper Edge. Bēl-ēreš/Silim-II, *šaknu* of Nippur: witness, with the same title, in *TuM* 2-3 204 (7/VI/5 Darius II).

5f. Iddin-Marduk/Uballissu-Marduk: thirty-five times in *Murašû* texts dated between 436/5 and 413 B.C., four times with the title *šaknu* of Nippur (see *JCS* 40 131 n. 20 and 135); and, without title, as the tenant of bow lands supervised by another *šaknu* of Nippur, in *JCS* 40 132, dated about ten months before this text (15/VII/3 Darius II).

11. Enlil-šum-lilbir/Nādin: see *JCS* 40 136 comment to line 11.

12. Aqara/Nādin/Mannu-Enlil-dāri: with ancestor’s name, as a witness in six *Murašû* texts dated between 29/III/1 Darius II (*PBS* 2/1 175) and 19/X/4 Darius (*PBS* 2/1 202); without ancestor’s name, as a witness in eight *Murašû* texts dated between 8/VI/35 Artaxerxes I (*BE* 9 41) and 8/IV/3 Darius II (*PBS* 2/1 62); once as a scribe (*BE* 9 7a, 19/X/26 Artaxerxes I); seal = *PBS* 14 No. 962, *TuM* 2-3 pl. 99 No. 68, Bregstein “Seal Use” No. 254.

13. Enlil-aḫ-ittannu/Bēlšunu: witness in *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 36 (6/--/40 Artaxerxes I).

14f. Ina-tēšē-ēṭir/Ninurta-lēʿi: six times in *Murašû* texts dated between 436/5 and 425/4 B.C., and as one of three collectors (*dēkū*) of rent paid for bow lands under the supervision of the *šaknu* of Nippur in *JCS* 40 132; see *JCS* 40 135. Bābu<sup>1</sup>-ēṭiret/Kāšir and Balātu/Enlil-kāšir are the other two collectors.

Bābu-ēṭiret/Kāšir: likewise (i.e., <sup>d</sup>KÁ, not <sup>d</sup>AMAR.ÚTU) in *JCS* 40 132:4 and obv. (coll.); see below No. 11:16.

15. Tattannu/Ubār: scribe in *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 97+*Istanbul Murašû Texts* No. 96 (9/--/34 Artaxerxes I) and thirteen other *Murašû* texts dated between 7/VII/41 Artaxerxes I (*BE* 9 100,

*Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 78, *Istanbul Murašû Texts* Nos. 77 and 78) and 2/XI/1 Darius II (*PBS* 2/1 23).

19. Arad-Ninurta/Upaḥḥir-Enlil: scribe in *BE* 9 78 (29/VII/40 Artaxerxes I).

Reverse. Seal of Enlil-šum-lilbir/Nādin apparently = *TuM* 2-3 pl. 99 No. 38, Bregstein “Seal Use” No. 436; see *JCS* 40 136.

Upper Edge. Ring of Bēl-ēreš/Silim-II, *šaknu* of Nippur = *TuM* 2-3 pl. 100 No. 80, Bregstein “Seal Use” No. 605.

Lower Edge. Poorly preserved impression of stamp seal with two scorpion-men, face to face, with censer between them, similar to *PBS* 14 Nos. 893-6.

No. 7 comes from the same ancient source as *JCS* 40 132 (= YBC 11551), that is, from the records of Iddin-Marduk/Uballissu-Marduk. On the basis of *JCS* 40 132, a receipt for Iddin-Marduk’s payment of rent in silver to agents of a man entitled *šaknu* of Nippur, I proposed that the *šaknu* of Nippur occupied the same functional role as the foremen (*šaknus*) of *ḥaṭru*-organizations. He was not a civil “city governor” with wide administrative powers. He was the short-term foreman of an organization that included some townsmen of Nippur who held properties assigned by the crown, an organization that had all the attributes of a *ḥaṭru*. No. 7 supports this proposition. It documents explicitly what was implicit in *JCS* 40 132, that *šaknus* of Nippur leased farmland to Iddin-Marduk (himself a former *šaknu* of Nippur). Furthermore, here the leased property is qualified with a term, *pa’iṣē*, that is otherwise specific to bow lands organized in *ḥaṭru*s. All the elements of a “*ḥaṭru* of people of Nippur” are attested except the actual phrase naming the association.

“*Šaknu* of Nippur,” then, was not a replacement for the traditional title held by earlier civil governors of Nippur, *šandabakku*. As Ran Zadok has observed (review of Frame, *Babylonia 689-627 B.C.*, *WO* 25 [1994]152 and “Notes on Babylonian Geography and Prosopography, 2. Central Babylonia,” *NABU* 1997/6 No. 2), the title *šandabakku* survived under late Achaemenid rule and probably even under Parthian rule, although the contexts in which the title appear give no useful information on the political or administrative powers associated with it. Zadok points to Sachs-Hunger *Diaries* No. -72:10’, from 73 B.C., presumably composed at Babylon, and to the following text, drawn up at Nippur not long after the compilation of the Murašû archive.

#### Date-Gardening Contract

8. CBS 7961

[Nippur]

--/V/--

- (1) ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pi u KA šul-pu* A.UD 150 GÚ ÍD Šap-<sup>d</sup>UTU
- (2) É ANŠE.KUR.RA «KUR» UŠ.SA.DU ŠE.NUMUN *šá* <sup>md</sup>*En-líl*-NUMUN-DÙ «LÚ» *šu-šá-an-nu*
- (3) UŠ.SA.DU ŠE.NUMUN *šá* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-*ga-mil* LÚ *šá-na*-[*da*]-*ba*-[*ka*]
- (4) *u* <sup>m</sup>SUM.NA-*a šá* É *qa-bu-ut-tum*
- (5) ŠE.NUMUN *šá* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU A <sup>m</sup>Mu-*t*[*ir*?-*x*]-*x*-ŠEŠ-MU ŠE.NUMUN MU.MEŠ
- (6) *a-na* LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR-*ú-tú a-di* 3?-[*ta*] MU.AN.NA.MEŠ
- (7) *a-na* <sup>md</sup>*En-líl*-SIG?-ÛRU A *šá* <sup>m</sup>ŠES-MU *u* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-KÁM? A *šá* <sup>m</sup>[*d*][*x*]-*x id-d*[*in dul-lu ina šu-pal* GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR]
- (8) *ip-pu-uš*-<sup>ᶜ</sup> *lib-bi ḥa-ru-ut-tum i-nam-šar*-<sup>ᶜ</sup> *a-š* [*a-a-tú*]
- (9) [šá<sup>ᶜ</sup>] *ina lib-bi i-ḥar-ri mim-ma ma-la ina šu-pal* GIŠ.GIŠ[IMMAR *ip-pu*]-*uš*-[<sup>ᶜ</sup>]
- (10) [*a-na*] *ram-ni-šú-nu ik-kal*-<sup>ᶜ</sup> ZÚ.LUM.MA *ina muḥ-ḥi man-g*[*a-ga*]
- (11) [*im*]-*mi*-<*du*>-*šú-nu-tú*<sup>ᶜ</sup> *i-nam-din-ú*-<sup>ᶜ</sup> *ki-i* ZAG.LU *la i*[*t-ta-ši*]-[*zu*]-[<sup>ᶜ</sup>]
- (12) [*ana* 1 GUR] ŠE.NUMUN *ri-ip-qí* 5 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *sis*-[*sin-ni*]
- (13) [*i-nam-daš*]-*šú-nu u*<sub>4</sub>-*mu a-di la*-<sup>ᶜ</sup> MU.AN.NA.MEŠ [a<sup>ᶜ</sup>]
- (14) [3?-*ta*] [*i*]-*šal-lim*-<sup>ᶜ</sup> ŠE.NUMUN MU.MEŠ *un-daš*-[*šir*-<sup>ᶜ</sup>]

(lower edge)

(15) [dul-lu ina] lib-bi la <i>-te-ép-šur<sup>1</sup> 2

(16) [...] 1x x1 [x] 1ITI1 2 u4-mu [...]

(17) [...] x x

(reverse)

(1) 1ITI.NE1 [...]

(upper edge) 1un-qa1 / mARĤUŠ-GAR / A šá mMu-r[a<sup>2</sup>-...] // un-qa mx-[...] / A šá mŠEŠ-[...] // un-qa mdMAŠ-na-[din?] / A mdMAŠ-x [...]

(left edge) (traces of captions accompanying partial impressions of two rings)

(1-5) Arable land, both orchard and grain field, ... on the left bank of the Šapputtu canal, a horse-property adjoining arable land of Enlil-zēr-ibni the šušānu, adjoining arable land of Ninurta-gāmil the šandabakku and Iddinā the person in charge of the livestock pen, arable land belonging to Ninurta-aḥ-iddin, son of ...-aḥ-iddin—

(5-7) He (the proprietor) turned that property over to Enlil-uppultu<sup>2</sup>-uṣur, son of Aḥ-iddin, and to Ninurta-ēriš<sup>2</sup>, son of ..., for three years, for growing dates.

(7-10) They will do [work under the palms.] They will protect the fronds and flowers. He<sup>2</sup> will clean the drainage canals that flow out of (the property). They may take for their own consumption whatever they raise beneath the palms. (10-13) An assessment of the date crop will be made<sup>2</sup> (while it is still) on the spathes, (and) they will pay it. If they do not concur in<sup>2</sup> the assessment, he will pay them 5 gur of dates as sissinnu payment for each gur of ground that has been broken and cultivated.

(13-15) If they abandon that property before those three<sup>2</sup> years are complete, (or if) they do not do the work on it ...

(Remainder fragmentary.)

(Upper Edge) Ring of Rēme-šukun, son of Mura[...]. Ring of ..., son of Aḥi-.... Ring of Ninurta-nādin<sup>2</sup>, son of Ninurta-x. (Left Edge) (Traces of captions.)

1. See Zadok *Rép. géogr.* 8, 384 s.v. Nār-Šapputtu and 393 s.v. Nār-Ušappi-Šamaš.

3. Zadok *WO* 25 152 and *NABU*1997/6 No. 2 (p. 5), identifies Ninurta-gāmil the šandabakku with Ninurta-gāmil LÚ.GÚ[...] in a text from the reign of Artaxerxes II, Durand, *Textes babyloniens* pl. 50 AO 17637:1 (= Joannès *Textes économiques*, 31 No. 1). He restores the latter's title as LÚ.GÚ.[EN.NA] = šandabakku, despite the reservations of Joannès *Textes économiques*, 32 and 35 (reading LÚ.GÚ.[GÁL] = gugallu). If this identification (the plainest and most parsimonious reading of the texts) is correct, then it points to a date for this text in the reign of Darius II or Artaxerxes II.

7f. The restoration, on the model of *BE* 8/1 132:9, assumes that the line continued around the edge to the reverse of the tablet.

10f. Restored and emended after *mimma mala ina šupālu gišimmari ippuš ana ramnišu ikkal zitti eqli jānu suluppī ina muḥḥi mangaga immisuma inakkis* "he (the tenant) will take for his own consumption whatever he raises beneath the palm(s), there will be no share of the yield (paid to the landlord), he (the landlord) will make an assessment against him (the tenant) on the dates while they are still on the spathes, and he (the tenant) will cut (them)" *BE* 9 99:8ff. and near-duplicate *Istanbul Murašû Texts* No. 31:8ff.; ZÚ.LUM.MA ina muḥḥi man[gaga] 1im-mid-da-nu inakkisma inandin *BE* 8/1 132:11f.; [ZÚ.LUM.MA ina muḥḥi m]angaga 1im1-mid-su-ma ina[kkis] *PBS* 2/1 215:8f.; see Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 63 with n. 143, Landsberger *Date-Palm*, 46 with n. 158, and Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 93f.

11f. Cf. *ina ū[mu] imittu [la it-ta]-ši-iz a-na 1 GUR1 ŠE.NUMUN É ri-ip-qí [x GUR ZÚ.LU]M.MA sis-si-in inandaššu* *PBS* 2/1 215:9-12; *ina ūmu ZAG.LU1 la it-ta-ši-iz sis-si-in akî* LÚ.UŠ.SA.DU.MEŠ *inandaššu* *BE* 9 99:10f. and near-duplicate *Istanbul Murašû Texts* No. 31:10f.; *ina ūmu ina imitti la it-[ta-*

ši-iz<sup>2</sup>] a-na 1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN IÉ<sup>2</sup> x<sup>1</sup>4<sup>2</sup> GUR *suluppī sissinni inandaššu* BE 8/1 132:12f.; and *ina ūmu imittu' la it-ta<sup>2</sup> >-zi<sup>1</sup>-zu<sup>2</sup>* 3<sup>1</sup> GUR *suluppī [sis]sinni ... inandinūšunūtu* PBS 2/1 81:11ff. The translation and interpretation of these clauses have been a matter of disagreement. Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 107ff. provides a review and critique of the discussion, to which may be added Cardascia's partial rebuttal (review of Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger* 55 [1977] 645f. There has been little serious disagreement, however, over how the passages are to be read. Editors and commentators have read perfect forms of *našū* in PBS 2/1 215:10 ([it-ta]-ši-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup> a-na ...; Augapfel 79 ignores the sign between -ši and a-na), in BE 9 99:10 and *Istanbul Murašū Texts* No. 31:10 (it-ta-ši GIŠ sis-si-in ...), and in BE 8/1 132:12 (it-[ta-ši] a-na ...). These readings underlie interpretations of the phrase as *ina ūmu imittu la ittaši* "if he has not delivered the assessed rent." In PBS 2/1 81:11 editors have read a problematic form *id-nam-ma*, perhaps a scribal lapse for a form of *nadānu*, not open to convincing translation.

The alternative proposed here, reading perfect forms of *ušuzzu* (not of *našū*), draws on extraordinary clauses in two earlier leases of date-orchards: *šābī ina šēti Šamaš i-mit immidušu ina libbi i-za-az* "the team (of assessors) will establish his assessment openly (lit. in full daylight) and with his concurrence (lit. he will be there)" VAS 5 11:12ff.; and [šā]bū ina še-e<sup>1</sup>-ti Šamaš [imit]tu immidušu ina libbi iz-za-zu VAS 5 26 left edge; see San Nicolò-Ungnad *NRV*, Nos. 374 and 377, *CAD* s.v. *šētu* meaning 1f, Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 91. On this interpretation, the clauses in the late Achaemenid leases were written to the advantage of the tenant, although it is a minimal advantage. They anticipate the possibility that the assessment of the crop is made without the presence and concurrence of the tenant, so that the tenant is not assured of receiving a share of the crop he produced, the amount left after the assessed rent has been deducted. They assure the tenant instead that he will have a minimal compensation for his work on the palm grove, called as usual *sissinnu* and specified not as a share but as a flat rate based on the area under cultivation. (The rate specified here, 5 gur per gur, conforms to a long-established norm, endorsed by the "Edict of Belshazzar" with respect to temple properties, though not often obtained by date gardeners of the Ebabbar at Sippar; see Jursa *Landwirtschaft*, 126, 148f., and 194). Hence, clauses beginning *ina ūmu (ina) imittu la ittašiz*, may be translated "if he (the tenant) does not concur in<sup>2</sup> (lit. is not present at<sup>2</sup>) the assessment, he (the landlord) will pay him (the tenant) x gur of dates for each gur of arable land as *sissinnu*" or "will pay him *sissinnu* at the same rate as applies to the adjoining properties."

This reading has the paleographic advantage of accommodating the traces found in the published copies better than proposed readings of forms of *našū*. It has the orthographic advantage of obviating the determinative GIŠ before *sissinnu* in BE 9 99 and *Istanbul Murašū Texts* No. 31, a determinative that otherwise is absent when *sissinnu* refers to a payment. It has the advantage of eliminating the implausible writing DIŠ+3 in PBS 2/1 81:12 for the implausible quantity 63 (gur), where the expected writing of the numeral would be KU(1+šu)+3 (see also Cardascia *Murašū*, 139 n. 1 and Ries *Bodenpachtformulare* 94 n. 628). It has the advantage of logical economy, finding the same verb in PBS 2/1 81 as in comparable contexts in the other passages, eliminating an "inexplicable" form *idnamma* at the cost of an emendation that does less violence to the passage than other proposed interpretations do. It has the semantic advantage of avoiding the false translation of *imittu* as "yield," or "payment," with concrete reference to the dates themselves rather than with juridical reference to the act of assessment or the assessed amount. It has the further semantic advantage of avoiding an anomalous use of *našū* without *nadānu* to indicate "deliver, give," rather than "get, take" (indeed, *našū* is the verb ordinarily used for the gardener's "taking, drawing" his *sissinnu* payment, not for "giving, delivering" his assessed rent).

On the other hand, this reading has the disadvantage of translating a preposition that is absent before *imittu* in all the texts but BE 8/1 132. This problem could be evaded by taking *imittu* as the subject of *ušuzzu*, but then *imittu ušuzzu* in late Achaemenid Nippur texts cannot be associated with *ina libbi* (scil. *imitti*) *ušuzzu* in VAS 5 11 and 26, and the meaning of the phrase is harder to guess: "in the event that no assessment takes place" is unlikely, since forms of *imittu nenmu* would be expected; "in the event that the assessed amount is not available (to be paid at harvest time)" is possible but unverifiable. In any event, *imittu* ought to be construed with feminine verb forms, *tattašiz* etc.

13f. In other late Achaemenid texts from Nippur similar clauses express sanctions against the lessor in case of abrogation of the terms of the lease (*ina ūmu adi lā šanāte 5-ta išallimu u* PN ŠE.NUMUN *ana* PN<sub>2</sub> *itekim* "in the event that PN [the lessor] takes the property away from PN<sub>2</sub> [the tenant] before the five years [of the lease] are complete [the lessor will pay 5 minas of silver]" PBS 2/1 182:9ff. and parallel passages PBS 2/1 30:21f.; 96:9ff.; BE 10 99:11f., and BE 9 48 = *TuM* 2-3 144:16, see Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 139 with n. 897). Here the clause instead expresses a sanction against the tenant in case of abandonment.

Edges. The number of seal impressions, the fact that all the impressions were made by rings, and the preference for the spelling *un-qa* in the accompanying captions all agree with the likely appearance of the



governor Ninurta-gāmil in a text from the reign of Artaxerxes in suggesting that this tablet was written in or after the reign of Artaxerxes II. See J. Oelsner, “Zur neu- und spätbabylonischen Siegelpraxis,” in *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*, ed. B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (Budapest, 1978), II, 172, and Bregstein “Seal Use,” 359-363.

### C. Texts with Prosopographic Connections to the Murašû Texts

#### Sale of Slaves

9. CBS 1594  
(Kh2 594)

Bīt Mīnû-ana-Bēl-dānu

22/XII/9 Darius II  
24 March 414 B.C.

- (1) <sup>md</sup>AG-*di-li-ni-* ʾ LÚ *qal-la* <sup>m</sup>Mi-*nu-ú-a-na-*<sup>d</sup>EN-*da-nu*  
(2) *ina* *ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú* <sup>f</sup>A-*tar-dan-na-at* GEMÉ-*su šá* RIT  
(3) UZU ZAG.LU-*šú a-na* MU *šá* <sup>m</sup>Taḥ-*ḥu-ú-a* LÚ *si-pir* DUMU *šá* «m»  
(4) <sup>md</sup>EN-GI EN-*šú šaṭ-ra-tum* ù <sup>f</sup>dNa-*na-a-DIN-iṭ-nin-ni*  
(5) DUMU.SAL-*su e-ni-iq-tum ši-iz-bi šá* *ṭup-pi-i-šú a-na*  
(6) 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú a-na ši-mi gam-ru-tu*  
(7) *a-na* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÛ DUMU *šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-SU *id-din* KÙ.BABBAR *a* ʾ 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  MA.NA  
(8) *ši-mi* <sup>f</sup>A-*tar-dan-na-tum u* <sup>f</sup>dNa-*na-a-DIN-iṭ-nin-ni*  
(9) LÚ-*ut-ti-šú kas-pi ga-mir-tum* <sup>md</sup>AG-*di-li-ni-* ʾ *ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup>  
(10) <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÛ *ma-ḥi-ir e-ṭir u* <sub>4</sub>-*mu pa-qa-ri a-na muḥ-ḥi*  
(11) <sup>f</sup>A-*tar-dan-na-at* ù <sup>f</sup>dNa-*na-a-DIN-iṭ-nin-ni* GEMÉ.MEŠ  
(12) *šu-a-tim it-tab-[šu-ú ...] ú-mar-ra-qa-am-ma*  
(13) *a-na* <sup>md</sup>[AMAR.UTU-MU-DÛ *i-nam-din*]  
(14) LÚ *x-[...]*

(reverse)

- (1ʼ) *x* [... <sup>md</sup>Mi-*nu-ana-Bēl-dānu* A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Taḥ-*ḥu-a*?]  
(2ʼ) EN *šá* <sup>m</sup>[<sup>d</sup>AG-*di-li-ni-* ʾ? *na-din* LÚ-*ut-tim*]  
(3ʼ) <sup>m</sup>A-*na*<sup>d</sup>EN-<sup>f</sup>KÁM<sup>1</sup> A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>[...]  
(4ʼ) <sup>md</sup>AG-*na-din-ŠEŠ* A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-*x-MU*  
(5ʼ) <sup>md</sup>BE-MU A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-DIN-*su* <sup>m</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-DIN A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>[...]  
(6ʼ) <sup>md</sup>EN-NUMUN-GIŠ A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-*ú-ṣur* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>[...]  
(7ʼ) <sup>m</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>EN-BA-*šá* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>EN A-*šú šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-*ŠEŠ-[...]*  
(8ʼ) <sup>m</sup>A-*ḥu-ši-ia-x-x* [...]-*ṣu*? <sup>m</sup>ŠIL-*a-a* A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>[...]  
(9ʼ) [<sup>md</sup>E]N-MU A-*šú šá* <sup>m</sup>EN-*šú-nu* <sup>m</sup>Lib-*luṭ* DUMU-*šú*? <sup>m</sup>x-*at* [...]  
(10ʼ) <sup>md</sup>AG-*ÛRU-šú* [LÚ.DUB.SAR] <sup>f</sup>DUMU *šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-*ú-še-zib*<sup>1</sup>  
(11ʼ) URU É <sup>m</sup>Mi-*nu-[ú-a-na]*-<sup>d</sup>E[N-*da-nu* ITI].ŠE UD.22.KÁM  
(12ʼ) MU.9.KÁM <sup>m</sup>Da-*ri-[ia]*-*a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR MEŠ

(reverse) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>m</sup>A-*na*<sup>d</sup>EN-/APIN-*eš* // N[A<sub>4</sub>].<sup>f</sup>KIŠIB<sup>1</sup> <sup>md</sup>AG-*di-li-[ni-* ʾ] / *na-[din* LÚ-*ut-tum]*

(upper edge) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>m</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU // NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>m</sup>ŠIL-*a-a* // NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>md</sup>AG-*ÛRU-šú* LÚ.<sup>f</sup>DUB.SAR<sup>1</sup>

(left edge) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>m</sup>Mi-*nu-ú-ana*<sup>d</sup>EN-*da-nu* / EN *šá* <sup>md</sup>AG-*[di-li]-ni-* ʾ / *na-din* / LÚ-*ut-tum* // NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>md</sup>BE-MU

(right edge) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / <sup>m</sup>A-*ḥu-š[i-ia-x ...]*

(1-7) Nabû-dilīnī, servant of Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu, voluntarily sold Attar-dannat, his slave woman, whose right hand is inscribed with the name of her master, Ṭaḥḥūa, the scribe, son of Bēl-ušallim, and (he also sold) Nanâ-bullīṭininni, her (Attar-dannat's) suckling daughter ..., for 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  minas of pure silver as the entire price, to Marduk-šum-ukīn, son of Bēl-erība.

(7-10) Nabû-dilīnī has received the silver, namely 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  minas, the price of his slaves Attar-dannat and Nanâ-bullīṭininni, all the money, from Marduk-šum-ukīn; he is paid in full.

(10-13) Should a claim to those slave women, Attar-dannat and Nanâ-bullīṭininni, arise, [...] will clear it in favor of [Marduk-šum-ukīn]. [...]

(Reverse 1'-9') [Witnesses: (...) Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu, son of Ṭaḥḥūa<sup>?</sup>], master of [Nabû-dilīnī<sup>?</sup>, the seller of the slaves]; Ana-Bēl-ēreš<sup>?</sup>, son of [...]; Nabû-nādin-aḥi, son of Marduk-x-iddin/šumi; Ea-iddin, son of Bēl-bullissu; Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of ...; Bēl-zēr-līšir, son of Bēl-ušur; Iddin-Bēl, son of ...; Eṭir-Marduk, son of Bēl-iqīša; Iddin-Bēl, son of Nabû-aḥ-[...]; Aḥuša-x-x, [son of ...]-šu<sup>?</sup>, Sūqaja, son of [...]; Bēl-iddin, son of Bēlšunu; Libluṭ, son of<sup>?</sup> ...

(10'-12') Nabû-ušuršu, [scribe], son of Nabû-ušēzib. Bīt Minû-[ana]-Bēl[dānu]. Month XII, day 22, year 9, Darius, King of Lands.

(Reverse) Seal of Ana-Bēl-ēreš. Seal of Nabû-dilī[nī], seller of [the slaves]. (Upper Edge) Seal of Eṭir-Marduk. Seal of Sūqaja. Seal of Nabû-ušuršu, scribe. (Left Edge) Seal of Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu, master of Nabû-[dilī]nī<sup>?</sup>, seller of the slaves. Seal of Ea-iddin. (Right Edge) Seal of Aḥuš[ia-x ...]

1, 3, r. 1 etc.: Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu/Ṭaḥḥūa recurs as a witness to *BE* 10 101 (18/VII/5 Darius II): on the lower edge, in the caption accompanying a poorly preserved impression of the same seal that is impressed on the left edge of this text<sup>14</sup>; and in line 23, with his name abbreviated to Minû; both passages give him the title LÚ.GAL *um-mu*. He is named again as the superior of one of the witnesses to *PBS* 2/1 207 (10/VI/5 Darius II), in line 13 and in a seal caption on the upper edge; both passages omit his patronym but give him the title LÚ.GAL UM. BM 61513 (--/--/18 Artaxerxes, place not preserved), a fragmentary promissory note for silver at interest, also names a Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu, but it is perhaps rather to be connected with the archive of Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu/Bēl-bullissu (Zadok, review of Sigrist, Figulla and Walker, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* 2, *AfO* 44-45 [1997-98] 294), despite witnesses including Ana-Bēl-ēreš (name or patronym?) and [...] / Murašû.

Versions of the title LÚ.GAL UM recur in other Murašû texts. *PBS* 2/1 196 (29/VI/3 Darius II), is a receipt for taxes paid to Lābāši/Mušēzib-Bēl, entitled *šaknu ša sepīrī ša bīt* LÚ.GAL *um-ma*, “foreman of scribes of the *rab ummu*'s estate” (lines 7, 13, and left edge), for bow lands under his control. It implies that *rab ummu* labeled an office that was supported by landed property. Clerks under the control of the office were supported by holdings organized as a *ḥaṭru*. *BE* 9 72 (15/VI/40 Artaxerxes I) refers to land of “priests<sup>?</sup> of Larak,” under the control of the LÚ.GAL *um-ma* (line 2). It implies that the holder of the office also controlled property-holding groups that were not nominally associated with the office, as did holders of some other offices found in the Murašû texts (*Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 44 n. 30). Otherwise, the title appears in texts dated as early as the reign of Nabonidus and as late as the reign of Artaxerxes III (MacGinnis, “BM 64707 and *rikis qabli* in the Ebabbara,” *WZKM* 88 [1998] 180).

Translation of the title is elusive. Augapfel 114 proposed “Vorsteher der Leute<sup>?</sup>” (similarly Ebeling *Glossar*, 39, taking LÚ.GAL *um-mu* in *Y OS* 3 171:9 as “offenbar = *ummāni*”; MacGinnis, *WZKM* 88 180 n. 7 also attributes to Jursa the suggestion that *ummu* is derived from *ummānu*). Cardascia *Murašû*, 12 n. 5 suggested “chancelier<sup>?</sup>.” Bongenaar *Ebabbar* 139 refrains from translation. MacGinnis, *WZKM* 88 180 characterizes the *rab ummu* as “a senior military official, though whether army commander or chief of army personnel is not clear”; the basis of this characterization is not stated.

The fact that the *rab ummu* controlled *ḥaṭru* and an administrative estate, the mention in this text of the village named for his own estate, and the characteristics of Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu's seal all point to a figure of high status. The fact that all holders of the title have Babylonian names (Nabû-kibsu-šarri-ušur BM 63871 [17/II/14 Nabonidus], Bēl-ušallim/Bēl-eṭir BM 74502 [Sippar, 24/V/5 Cyrus, see Bongenaar *Ebabbar*, 139], Lābāši/Balāṭu *OECT* 10 197 [Kish<sup>?</sup>, 16/VI/13 Artaxerxes], Tattannu Sachs-Hunger *Diaries*

<sup>14</sup> Bregstein “Seal Use” No. 189.

No. -366 A ii 9 [Babylon, 25/II/38 Artaxerxes III]) and none have Iranian names suggests that the status was provincial, not imperial.

If MacGinnis is right to see *rab ummu* as a military title, it may be connected not with *ummānu* (otherwise in Late Babylonian “craftsmen,” not “troops” = *uqu*) but with *ummu* “quiver or bowcase” (only in GIŠ.É.BAN = É.MIN (*qàl-tu*), *um-mu*, *iš-pa-t[u]* Hh. VII A 49ff., see *MSL* 6 87:50. Then the title may belong in the same semantic range as *rab qašti*, “chief of bowmen.” There is no obvious basis for making or excluding an identification with the LÚ.GAL UD in *PBS* 2/1 84:11.

1 etc. Cf. <sup>md</sup>AG-*di-li-in-ni*- *ʔNinurta-ētir*, one of several debtors in *Istanbul Murašû Texts* No. 94:5, 23/XII/40 Artaxerxes I)—the same name, but presumably not the same man. For *di-li(i)-ni*, from West Semitic *dly*, in Neo-Assyrian personal names, see Zadok *West Semites* 96, etc.

5. *ša tuppišu* is without parallel in comparable contexts. The signs on the tablet are clear, excluding emendation to *ša tulīšu*, “(suckling) at her breast” (cf. <sup>f</sup>PN *u* LÚ.DUMU-*šú šá* UGU *tu-lu-ú Nbk.* 67:3; <sup>f</sup>PN<sub>2</sub> *mārassu u māršu šá muḥḥi ti-lu-ú Nbn.* 832:2 and 9), or to *ša ap<sup>1</sup>-pi-i-šú* for *appi tulīšu*, “tip of her breast, her nipple” (cf. *TDP* 222:40). Postulating a meaning “nipple” for *tuppu* (*AHw.tuppu* II), “wart?” (see *CAD* s.v. *sissu*) a word known otherwise only from Izbu (and meriting ancient commentary there), would be adventurous.

This phrase may be formed with the same element as the chronological expressions *tuppi tuppi*, *tuppi ana tuppi*, *tuppi u tuppi*, *adi tuppi(šu)*, *adi tuppi(u) tuppi*, (*ina*) *tuppi ana tuppi*, etc., found in Neo-Babylonian legal texts in clauses that state the duration of leases, promissory notes, apprenticeships, and warranties (see M. Rowton, “*Tuppu* and the Date of Hammurabi,” *JNES* 10 [1951] 184ff.; B. Landsberger “Assyrische Königsliste und ‘Dunkles Zeitalter,’” *JCS* 8 [1954] 111ff.; J. Boese and G. Wilhelm, “Aššur-dān I., Ninurta-apil-ekur und die mittelassyrische Chronologie,” *WZKM* 71 [1979] 21ff.; Wunsch *Iddin-Marduk*, II, p. 4; Gwyneth Hueter, “Grammatical Studies in the Akkadian Dialects of Babylon and Uruk, 556-500 B.C.,” Ph. D. Dissertation, Oxford University, 1996, 96f.). In that case, the usage *ša tuppišu*, rare in Neo-Assyrian (*KAV* 79 r. 4 [despite *SAA* 12, 80], Postgate *Royal Grants* Nos. 42-44 r. 28, 30, 31), would be unique in Neo-Babylonian, and an appropriate translation would be hard to find. It would add nothing to describe a suckling child as “of appropriate age” or “of uncertain age.”

To hazard a more elaborate conjecture, perhaps this *tuppu* is just a “tablet,” and this phrase refers to an earlier bill of sale for the slaves. That document is now handed over to the new owner along with the slaves. The child is described as “Nanâ-bulliṭininni, (who was not named, but described only as) her suckling daughter on the tablet (recording) her (previous sale).” Unweaned children sold with their mothers are sometimes unnamed in bills of sale (e.g., *Nbk.* 67:3 and *Nbn.* 832:2 and 9; cf. *Nbn.* 772:5, referring to a pledged slave woman, her three unnamed daughters, and an unnamed six-month-old son), but more often named (e.g., *AnOr* 8 19:4, *Camb.* 365:3 and 388:2f. with dupl. *OECT* 10 131, and *PBS* 2/1 65:5f. (LÚ.DUMU *e-niq* GA <<x>>).

Two of the eight seal impressions—the impression from the Greco-Persian gem of the witness Ētir-Marduk, and the military image from the Achaemenid cylinder of the seller Minû-Bēl-dānu—are exceptional and striking.<sup>15</sup>

The impression of Ētir-Marduk was produced by a large oval gem, probably a scaraboid, like other Greco-Persian seals.<sup>16</sup> It shows a Persian woman facing proper left, leaning on a pillar, with her left arm

<sup>15</sup> Full discussion and illustration of the eight impressions on this tablet is to come from Linda Bregstein, to whose efforts I owe these comments.

<sup>16</sup> The designation “Greco-Persian,” coined by A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, III: *Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig and Berlin: Biersack and Devrient, 1903), 116-123, refers to a group or style of seals that exhibit a combination of iconographic and stylistic elements of both Greek and Achaemenid Persian origin. This group includes a large number of chiefly unprovenienced seals, as well as some relief sculptures and painted tombs (e.g., at Elmali). A full treatment is in J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1970), 303-357 with further thoughts by Boardman in *Persia and the West* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 156-58. An evaluation of the “Greco-Persian problem” from the perspective of the Achaemenid specialist is M. Root, “From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire,” in *Achaemenid History VI: Asia Minor and Egypt*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991) 1-29, especially 13-15. See also C. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, *Historia*

extended to hold something. The image is well attested in the Greco-Persian corpus.<sup>17</sup> Greco-Persian seals, thought to have been produced and used in Western Anatolia, are rare in Mesopotamia. There are only two certain examples in the Murašû corpus of 657 seal impressions.<sup>18</sup>

The cylinder seal impression of Minû-ana-Bêl-dānu shows a man wearing the dentate crown and folded robe of the Persian king facing three enemies who wear Scythian headgear.<sup>19</sup> He holds a kneeling bowman by the hair or headgear in his left hand while stabbing him with the sword held in his right hand. The Scythian raises his right arm toward the king in supplication and holds his bow and arrows<sup>20</sup> behind him in his left hand. Behind the kneeling figure are two prisoners whose hands are bound or shackled behind them. An oversized bee or wasp hovers above the kneeling bowman.

Minû-ana-Bêl-dānu's seal is comparable to Achaemenid seals with military scenes featuring Persian warriors leading prisoners and killing enemies.<sup>21</sup> Unlike other types of contemporary glyptic, such as contest or worship scenes, which exist in dozens of nearly identical copies, the Achaemenid military seals are unique and particular. Their specificity suggests that they were individually commissioned and may commemorate historic events. Furthermore, the fact that some seals and seal impressions of this category bear royal name inscriptions and the fact that most of the seals were large and expensive suggest that their owners were wealthy or powerful.

Elements of Minû-ana-Bêl-dānu's seal are also to be seen in other Achaemenid seals. *OIP* 22 No. 453, from the Newell Collection, shows Scythian bowmen with the same costumes. It shows a Persian soldier stabbing a Scythian bowman with his short sword, while a Persian spearman attacks a kneeling Scythian from behind, and a large, carefully formed winged disk hovers above the four figures. An Old Persian inscription of Artaxerxes accompanies the scene.<sup>22</sup> The inscription is contained in a cartouche topped by addorsed falcons wearing the Egyptian Double Crown. Similar Scythian soldiers appear on other cylinder seals in private collections.<sup>23</sup>

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Einzelschrift 99 (1996), 48-50. and other works cited by P. Briant, "Bulletin d'histoire achéménide I," *Topoi* Suppl. 1 (1997), 100.

<sup>17</sup> Compare J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, No. 857, see also Nos. 686, 854, 879. E. Brandt, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen I Staatliche Münzsammlung München* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1968) No. 349.

<sup>18</sup> Bregstein "Seal Use" Nos. 612-613. Others, mostly unpublished, appear on roughly contemporary tablets from the Kasr at Babylon (M. Stolper, "The Kasr Archive," in *Achaemenid History IV: Centre and Periphery*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990], 198).

<sup>19</sup> The cap with a point at the front—shown either as pointing straight up or flopping forward—has been identified with Scythians (called Cimmerians in Babylonian and Saka in Old Persian) in Achaemenid art: G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, Teheraner Forschungen 2 (Berlin: Mann, 1966), 84-86.

<sup>20</sup> Elsewhere, Scythians are shown wearing bowcases (Walser, *Die Völkerschaften*, pl. 18, 56; compare the Scythian with pointed headgear and bowcase shown in the act of being speared by a Mede with round headgear and bowcase on a sealing from Egypt illustrated by Boardman, *Persia and the West*, 164 fig. 5.21).

<sup>21</sup> Scenes of this type are known from seals as well as from seal impressions. Impressions: E. Schmidt, *Persepolis II. Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, *OIP* 69 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957) Seal Nos. 28-31. Seals: the Hermitage/Zvenigorodsky seal and Moscow Artaxerxes Cylinder; see A. S. Strelkov, "The Moscow Artaxerxes Cylinder Seal," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* 5 (1937), 17-21; W. A. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, D.C., 1910) Nos. 1048, 1051-1053; *OIP* 22 No. 453; E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, Bollingen Series 14 (New York: Pantheon, 1948), No. 833. None of these seals is from an excavated context.

<sup>22</sup> Attributed to Artaxerxes III: R. Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften*, *SÖAW* 381(1981) 34 and fig. 4, SA<sup>3</sup>a.

<sup>23</sup> E. Porada, "Achaemenid Art, Monumental and Minute." in *Highlights of Persian Art*, eds. R. Ettinghausen and E. Yarshater, *Persian Art Series 1* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), Fig. 45. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* No. 1051. Akbar Tadjvidi ("Survey of Excavations: Persepolis," *Iran* 8 [1970] 187) describes an impression excavated at Persepolis in which, "one sees a fight between a Persian officer and a Scythian general. The Persian grasps his enemy by both hands and forces him to the ground in hand to hand combat."

A seal impression from the Persepolis Treasury archive and two seals in Russian museum collections offer parallels for the composition featuring the Persian king and bound prisoners. Persepolis Treasury Seal no. 28, known from three sealing fragments, depicts three prisoners with bound wrists and a neck rope, walking behind a figure dressed in the kandys. The captor thrusts a spear into the neck of a kneeling enemy.<sup>24</sup> The two cylinders in Russian collections similarly feature three to four prisoners with wrists bound behind them and tied together at the neck with a rope held by the Persian king.<sup>25</sup> In the Persepolis seal impression and the two Russian cylinders, in contrast to the seal of Minû-ana-Bêl-dānu, all of the figures face right (proper left) and the Persian king is shown on a scale larger than the prisoners. Both Russian cylinders are decorated with the palm tree terminals characteristic of the Achaemenid Court Style.

The obvious compositional referent for these military scenes is the Bisitun relief, which features nine enemies of Darius I with their hands bound behind them and their necks tied together by a rope, while a tenth enemy, Gaumata, lies prostrate beneath the left foot of the Great King and raises his arms in supplication. As on the seals, the king is depicted on a larger scale than the prisoners. If the rock relief itself was not the inspiration for the seal scenes, monuments that echoed the Bisitun relief, such as the one at Babylon, may have been the means through which Achaemenid iconography was transmitted to local artisans.<sup>26</sup>

The feature of Minû-ana-Bêl-dānu's seal that is without artistic parallel is the insect flying above the scene. Any fifth-century artisan—Persian or Babylonian—would have known that the winged disk normally occupies the field where the insect appears. There can be no doubt that the substitution was deliberate, but the reason for the bee(?), a motif unattested in the Achaemenid glyptic repertoire, is not apparent. Perhaps the seal cutter or seal owner was making an irreverent comment about his Persian overlords or Persian religion by replacing the hovering disk of Ahuramazda with a flying insect.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps the representation of the insect was a reference to Egypt, for the honey bee was a symbol of Lower Egypt,<sup>28</sup> but a political occasion that would connect Scythian captives and an Egyptian motif is unknown.

If the military seals are commemorative, the historic event recorded is seldom clear. In the case of Minû-ana-Bêl-dānu's seal, the inspiration might have been Darius II's troubled accession, and the bound

<sup>24</sup> Schmidt, *OIP* 69, Plate 9.

<sup>25</sup> The Moscow Artaxerxes seal: Strelkov, *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* 5 (1937) 17-21 see Fig. 2. The seal bears the Old Persian inscription, "I am Artaxerxes the Great King." Strelkov, M. Root (*The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art* Acta Iranica 19 [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979], 122) and R. Schmitt (SÖAW 381[1981] 36 and fig. 5, SA<sup>3</sup>b) attribute this seal to Artaxerxes III. The Zvenigorodsky seal in the Hermitage: Strelkov, *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* 5 (1937) 17-21, and fig. 3. This seal was acquired in Kerch in the late nineteenth century. On the basis of iconography, Strelkov dates it to Artaxerxes I.

<sup>26</sup> On the Babylon monument of Darius I, see U. Seidl, "Ein Relief Dareios' I. in Babylon," *AMIN* 9 (1976) 125-130 and "Ein Monument Dareios' I. aus Babylon," *ZA* 89 (1999) 101-114, and U. Calmeyer-Seidl, "Eine Triumphstele Darius' I. aus Babylon," in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*, ed. J. Renger, Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 2 (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), 297-306, suggesting that clay models of the Bisitun scene were sent to provinces of the empire as sketches for larger monuments adapted to local political iconography (*ZA* 89 113).

<sup>27</sup> But would the Babylonian audience have identified the winged disc (with or without the inscribed figure), a Mesopotamian image that predates the Achaemenids, as a symbol of Ahuramazda or as a symbol of a native Mesopotamian god? See S. Dalley, "The God Šalmu and the Winged Disc," *Iraq* 48 (1986) 85-101.

<sup>28</sup> One of the titles of the king of Lower Egypt was "He-of-the-bee." E. Neufeld, "Insects as Warfare Agents in the Ancient Near East," *Or.* NS 49 (1980) 39. Babylonians in the Achaemenid period (and the people of Nippur in particular) were familiar with Egyptian motifs, in glyptic and other arts. At Nippur, the image of the Egyptian dwarf god Bes appears frequently in seals (e.g., Bregstein "Seal Use," Nos. 206-210, see K. Abdi, "Bes in the Achaemenid Empire," *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999) 116 and fig. 3) and on an unpublished terracotta plaque (University Museum UM B 9454, excavated in the third campaign at Nippur, like the Murašû archive). Another plaque that shows the Egyptian god Horus/Harpocrates and the head of Bes was uncovered in an Achaemenid context by later excavations at Nippur: M. Gibson, *Excavations at Nippur. Eleventh Season*, *OIC* 22 (1975), 40 sub 11N 61, 51 fig. 3, and Johnson, *OIC* 22 143-50. Egyptian and Egyptianizing finds dating to the Achaemenid period are also known from Ur: C. L. Woolley, *UE* 9 103.

prisoners, so reminiscent of the defeated enemies on the Bisitun relief, perhaps mimic the great Darius I's portrayal of his troubled accession.

This is the first known military scene to appear in a seal impression on a dated tablet. The similarity in iconography between the seal of Minû-ana-Bêl-dānu, the Newell Collection seal and the Moscow Artaxerxes seal suggests that they are all close in date, hence that the latter two date to the reign of Artaxerxes I, not Artaxerxes III.

### Receipt for Rent

10. UM 29-13-729

Nippur

3/IX/24 Artaxerxes I or II

23 November 441 B.C. or

21 November 381 B.C.

- (1) GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ TIL-*tim* šá MU.24.KÁM <sup>m</sup>A*r-taḥ-šá-as-su* LUGAL  
 (2) šá ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pu* ù KA *šul-pu* UŠ.SA.DU ŠE.NUMUN  
 (3) šá <sup>m</sup>BA-šá-<sup>d</sup>KÁ *u* ŠEŠ-šú DUMU.MEŠ šá <sup>m</sup>La-ba-ši  
 (4) *u* UŠ.SA.DU ŠE.NUMUN šá <sup>m</sup>RU-*tim*-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ A šá <sup>md</sup>ME.ME-MU-GIŠ  
 (5) *u* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú É A.KAL šá <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-*na-din* LÚ.ARAD  
 (6) šá <sup>md</sup>Ba-ga-<sup>ʾ</sup>UD-*da-a-tú* šá *ina* IGI <sup>md</sup>Na-na-a-*id-ri-<sup>ʾ</sup>*  
 (7) LÚ *šir<sup>ʾ</sup>-ki<sup>ʾ</sup>*? A šá <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-*nu* GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ MU.MEŠ TIL-*tim* šá MU.24.KÁM  
 (8) [<sup>m</sup>Ma-a]-*ri-i<sup>1</sup>-li-ti-<sup>ʾ</sup>* LÚ.ARAD šá <sup>md</sup>Ba-ga-<sup>ʾ</sup>UD-*da-a-tú*  
 (9) [*ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>md</sup>]Na-na-a-*id-ri-<sup>ʾ</sup>* A šá <sup>md</sup>EN-šú-*nu*  
 (10) [*ma-ḥir e-t*]ir  
 (reverse)  
 (11) LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub>  
 (12) <sup>md</sup>En-*líl-na-din*-MU A šá <sup>m</sup>KAL-*a* <sup>m</sup>Na-*din* A šá <sup>md</sup>En-*líl*-DÙ-*uš*  
 (13) <sup>m</sup>Tat-*tan-nu* A šá <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-*nu* <sup>m</sup>ARḤUŠ-GAR A šá <sup>md</sup>DIN-*su*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
 (14) <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>En-*líl* A šá <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* <sup>m</sup>Ta-*qiš*-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME A šá <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 (15) LÚ.ŠID <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-MU A šá <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-*nu* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.GAN UD.3.KÁM  
 (16) MU.24.KÁM <sup>m</sup>A*r-taḥ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

- (reverse) *šur-pur* <sup>m</sup>Ma-a-*ri-li-ti-<sup>ʾ</sup>*  
 (left edge) *un-qa* <sup>m</sup>Ta[*qiš*-<sup>d</sup>ME-ME] / A šá <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 (lower edge) [*un-qa* <sup>md</sup>50-MU-MU] / [A šá <sup>m</sup>KAL]-*a* // [*un-qa*] <sup>m</sup>Tat-*tan-nu* / A šá <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-*nu*  
 (upper edge) *un-qa* <sup>m</sup>Na-*din* / A šá <sup>md</sup>50-DÙ-*uš* // *un-qa* <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>50 / A šá <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* // *un*-[*qa*  
<sup>m</sup>A]RḤUŠ-GAR / A šá <sup>m</sup>[DIN-*s*]*u*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU

(1-7) The entire rental for a field that is due for year 24 of King Artaxerxes on arable land, including grain field and orchard, adjoining the arable land of Iqīša-Bābu and his brother, sons of Lābāši, and adjoining the arable land of Širikti-Ninurta, son of Gula-šum-lišir, and his brothers, the .... of Ninurta-nādin, servant of Bagādātu<sup>ʾ</sup>, that is in the possession of Nanâ-idrī<sup>ʾ</sup>, the oblate<sup>ʾ</sup>, son of Bēšunu—

(7-10) Māri-lītī, servant of Bagādātu<sup>ʾ</sup>, [has received] that entire rental for the field for year 24 from Nanâ-idrī, son of Bēšunu. It is paid in full.

(11-14) Witnesses: Enlil-nādin-šumi, son of Aqara; Nādin, son of Enlil-ēpuš; Tattannu, son of Bēšunu; Rēme-šukun, son of Uballissu-Marduk; Iddin-Enlil, son of Ninurta-uballit; Taqīš-Gula, son of Arad-Ninurta.

(15-16) Scribe: Ninurta-iddin, son of Bēšunu. Nippur. Month IX, day 3, year 24, Artaxerxes, King of Lands.

(Reverse) Fingernail mark of Māri-lītī.

(Left Edge) Ring of Ta[qīš-Gula], son of Arad-Ninurta. (Lower Edge) [Ring of Enlil-nādin-šumi, son of Aqar]a. [Ring] of Tattannu / son of Bēlšunu. (Upper Edge) Ring of Nādin, son of Enlil-ēpuš. Ring of Iddin-Enlil, son of Enlil-uballit. Ring of Rēme-šukun, son of [Uballissu]-Marduk.

5. É A.KAL : perhaps *bīt mīlī* for É A.MEŠ = *bīt mē*, “waterlogged land” or “flooded land” (Cocquerillat *Palmeriaies*, 27).

6 etc. Cf. *Nanā-id-ri / Saḥ-ma-ʾ* BE 9 20:5, 7, 10, 12, left edge (1/VIII/30 Artaxerxes I).

6, 8. <sup>md</sup>*Ba-ga-ʾ-UD-da-a-tú* : despite the repetition, probably an erroneous spelling of the common Bagādātu. A reading <sup>md</sup>*Ba-ga-ʾ-pir-da-a-tú*, transcribing an otherwise unattested Iranian \**Baga-fradāta*, “commanded by the god,” is improbable, though Iranian \**fradāta* is attested in Babyl. *Ip-ra-da-a-ta/tú* (see M. A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6 [Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1992], 86 and Walther Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, III. Reihe, 3 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975], 96, both with earlier literature. (But in VAT 15609, cited by Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, 114 s.v. Piridātu, read *Iš(!)-pi(!)-ri-da-a-ta* [coll.]).

8. Cf. *Mar-li-ti-ʾ* (patronym) UET 4 42:33 (Zadok West Semites, 65).

12. Enlil-nādin-šumi/Aqara: *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 47:12 (scribe).

13 and lower edge. Tattannu/Bēlšunu: witness in BE 9 46f. (15/VI/36 Artaxerxes I) and 86a (---/4a Artaxerxes I). The seal impression, showing a grotesque composed of human and animal heads, closely resembles UE 10 No. 720, from the “coffin” hoard of clay impressions, deposited in or after the early fourth century; cf. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 322; Boardman in *Ancient Art in Seals*, ed. E. Porada (Princeton, 1980) 114; Boardman, *Persia and the West*, 157 fig. 54c, 158; Bregstein “Seal Use,” 65-69.

The exclusive use of signet rings rather than stamp or cylinder seals, and the spelling *unqa* rather than *unqu* are surprising if the text is to be dated to the reign of Artaxerxes I, as the prosopographic links would otherwise imply; cf. *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 51, and see Bregstein “Seal Use,” 362.

	Lease	
11. UM 29-15-511	Nippur	23/V/2 Darius II 19 July 422 B.C.

- (1) ʾŠE.NUMUN<sup>1</sup> *zaq-pi u KA šul-pu GÚ ÍD Šal-la*
- (2) GIŠ.BAN *ma-la ḪA.LA šá* <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-MU <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-AD-ÛRU
- (3) *u* <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ib<sup>?</sup>-ni A. <MEŠ> šá* <sup>md</sup>MU-*a šá it-ti*
- (4) LÚ.EN BAN-šú-nu *a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-na* MU.ʾAN.NA<sup>1</sup>
- (5) 7 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *a-na* <sup>m</sup>ARAD<sup>?</sup>-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ A *šá*<sup>1</sup>
- (6) <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>*En-líl id-din ina* ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> ZÚ.LUM.MA *a<sup>ʾ</sup>*
- (7) 7 GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ku-ʾru-up<sup>1</sup>-pu*
- (8) *ina ḫa-ša-ri ina-an-din lib-bi u ḫ [a-ru-ut-tum]*
- (9) *i-nam-šar ʾdul-lum šu-pal<sup>1</sup> [GIŠ.] ʾGIŠIMMAR<sup>?</sup> ip-pu-uš<sup>1</sup>*
- (10) *ku-um dul-lum ina lib-ʾbi<sup>1</sup>-[šú] ʾi<sup>1</sup>-te-ep-šú*
- (11) 1 MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR *i-[ ... ]* (lower edge)
- (12) *x x x [ ... ]-tum<sup>?</sup> i<sup>?</sup>-x-[ ... ]*
- (13) [x+]3 QA ZÚ.LU[M.MA ... <sup>m</sup>AR]AD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ *a-na É-kur ina-an-din* (reverse)
- (14) [n]a-bal-kát-ta -[nu] <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>? MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR *ina-an-din*
- (15) KI 1 GUR *tu-ḫal-la ʾlib<sup>1</sup>-bi man-ga-ga u GUN šá ḫu-ša-bi ina-an-din*
- (16) LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub> <sup>md</sup>KÁ-SUR A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Ka-šir
- (17) <sup>m</sup>SU-<sup>d</sup>*En-líl A šá* <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu <sup>md</sup>EN-e-ṭè-ru A *šá*
- (18) <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu <sup>m</sup>Ri-bat A *šá* <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-šú-nu <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A *šá*
- (19) <sup>m</sup>Na-šir <sup>m</sup>Ri-bat A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Tad-din-nu
- (20) LÚ.ŠID <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ga-mil A *šá* <sup>m</sup>Du-um-muq EN.LÍL.KI

- (21) ITI.NE UD.23.KÁM MU.2.KÁM  
 (22) <sup>m</sup>Da-ri-<sup>2</sup>-a-muš LUGAL KUR.KUR  
 (left edge) ʿṣu-pur<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-MU<sup>2</sup> u <sup>md</sup>MAS-[AD]/-ÛRU

(1-4) Arable land, including orchard and grain field, on the bank of the Šalla canal, a bow land, the whole of the share that Aḥ-iddin, Ninurta-ab-ušur and Ninurta-aḥḥē-ibni<sup>2</sup>, sons<sup>1</sup> of Iddina, hold with their co-proprietors—(4-6) he<sup>2</sup> gave that property to Arad-Ninurta, son of Arad-Enlil, for an annual rent of 7 gur of dates. (6-8) He will pay that 7 gur of dates, measured by the *kuruppu* measure, in month month VII, at the storage enclosure. (8-11) He will protect the fronds and offshoots (of the palm trees). He will perform the (necessary) work under the palm trees, (and) (9-12) in compensation for the work he has done on it (the orchard), he will [receive?] one mina of silver. (13) Arad-Ninurta will pay ... to (the temple) Ekur ... x+3 *qû* of dates ....(14) Anyone who violates (these terms) will pay ½ mina of silver. (15) With each gur (of dates) he (the tenant) will give *tuhallu*-baskets, fronds, fibers, and a load of wood.

(16-19) Witnesses: Bābu-ēṭiret, son of Kāšir; Erīb-Enlil, son of Bēlšunu; Bēl-ēṭēru, son of Bēlšunu; Rībat, son of Aḥušunu; Aḥḥē-iddin, son of Nāšir; Rībat, son of Taddinu.

(20-22) Scribe: Ninurta-gāmil, son of Dummuq. Nippur, month V, day 23, year 2, Darius, King of Lands.

(Left Edge) Fingernail mark(s) of Aḥ-iddin and Ninurta-ab-ušur.

2. Cf. <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-MU/<sup>m</sup>SUM-na-a *Istanbul Murašû Texts* No. 20:21 (15/VII/-- Artaxerxes I).

16. Bābu-ēṭiret/Kāšir: above No. 7:16 and *JCS* 40 132:4 and obv.

17. Erība-Enlil/Bēlšunu: Durand *Textes babyloniennes* pl. 49 AO 17636:18 (= Joannès *Textes économiques*, 64 No. 18) (witness, 13/III/10 Darius II).

20. Ninurta-gāmil/Dummuq: witness in *BRM* 1 86:13; scribe in *JCS* 40 147 and seven *Murašû* texts (*BE* 10 24 and 38; *PBS* 2/1 14, 26, and 153; *Entrepreneurs and Empire* Nos. 64 and 69).

#### Mandate of Fields

12. YBC 11668 Nippur --/--/[31] Artaxerxes I (434-33 B.C.)

- (1) [... -du]<sup>k2</sup>-a ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú a-na <sup>m</sup>Tat-ta[n-nu LÚ.IGI+DUB]  
 (2) [... ki-a-am iq]-bi um-ma GIŠ.BAR šá ra-qa-ra-qa-nu i -[...]  
 (3) [... in]-du šá MU.31.KÁM <sup>m</sup>Ár-tak-šat-su LUGAL ma-l[a<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 (4) [... u]<sup>l2</sup> id-di-nu x un di x en-na-<sup>2</sup> u si<sup>2</sup>-i[t<sup>2</sup>-ti<sup>2</sup> (...)]  
 (5) [...] in-du a-na É LUGAL ú-šal-lam 1 LIM 6 ME 40 [GUR ŠE.BAR]  
 (6) [... ŠE].GIŠ.Ì 1 ME ʿ50 GUR GÍG.BA<sup>1</sup> 76 GUR bu-tu-ut-tum  
 (7) [...] 3 (BÁN) saḥ-lí-e 34<sup>2</sup> ar-da-bi šá su-um-mi-de-tum  
 (8) [...] x Ì.GIŠ 33 GUR 3 (PI) 3 (BÁN) 3 QA ka-si-ia  
 (9) ʿre-ḥi šá MU.30.KÁM<sup>1</sup> mi-šil ina ITI.GAN u ITI.AB a-nam-din u mi-šil  
 (10) ʿina ITI.SIG<sup>4</sup> MU.32.KÁM it-ti in-di-ia a-nam-din <sup>m</sup>Tat-tan-nu  
 (11) ʿLÚ.IGI+DUB<sup>1</sup> iš-me-e-šu-ma GIŠ.BAR a<sub>4</sub> lib-bu-ú in-di-šú id<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>2</sup>-šú<sup>2</sup>  
 (12) [EBUR] u ṣa-aḥ-ḥa-ri in-du šá MU.31.KÁM re-eḥ-tum EBUR  
 (13) [šá MU.30].KÁM ina a-dan-ni-šú ina-an-din 1-en TA.ÀM TI-ú šá

(reverse)

(1') [... E]N.LÍL.[KI]

(2') [...] KUR.KUR

(upper edge) [N]A<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB / [<sup>md</sup>E]N-ÛRU-šú / [...] x Bar-sip.KI // [...] / [...] x / A x [...]



(1-5) [PN, son of Mardu]ka<sup>2</sup>, spoke of his own free will to Tatta[nnu, the *mašennu* official, ... ], as follows: “(Turn over to me) the rented property of ....., (for which) the [assessment]<sup>2</sup> for year 31 of King Artaxerxes has not<sup>2</sup> been paid in the full(?) [...] and I will make full payment of the balance<sup>2</sup> of the assessment to the royal estate. (5-9) Of 1,640 [gur of barley], [x gur of] sesame, 150 gur of wheat, 76 gur of spelt<sup>2</sup>, [x]+3 *sūtu* of cress-seed, 34<sup>2</sup> artabe of groats<sup>2</sup>, x oil, 33 gur 3 *pānu* 3 *sūtu* 3 *qû* of *kasû*, (and<sup>2</sup>) the unpaid balance<sup>2</sup> for year 30<sup>2</sup>, (9-10) I will pay half in months IX and X (scil. of the current year, 31), and I will pay (the other) half in month III of year 32, along with the assessment made on me.

(10-11) Tattannu, the *mašennu* official, heard him and gave him the leased property on terms of an assessment (to be) made against him. (11-13) He (the tenant) will pay the cereals and the lesser crops, (including) the assessment for year thirty-one and the unpaid balance of the assessment for [year 30], at the time specified for him.

(13) Each took one copy (of this document).

(Reverse 1'-2') [...] Nippur, [month x, day y, year z, Artaxerxes, King of] Lands.  
(Upper Edge) Seal of Bēl-ušuršu, the [...] of Borsippa. [Seal of ...,] son [ of ...].

1 and 10f. Tattannu, *mašennu* in years 24-37 of Artaxerxes I: see Stolper *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 47.

2. *raqaraqānu* : perhaps a topographic term, seemingly a plural; perhaps a synonym or partial synonym of *raqqu* (indicating a field of low quality in *Cyr.* 99:5f., *CT* 56 77:6 and 697:8f., see Jursa *Landwirtschaft*, 165); or a place name connected with *laqlaqqu*, *raqraqqu*, “stork”?

3, 5, 10, 12: *indu*, referring to an annual payment assessed in dates or cereal, as the word does here, is otherwise found only in NB texts from Uruk, and only in the spelling NIN-du. See *CAD* and *AHW* s.v. *imdu*.

4. For *un-di-x*, perhaps *e<sup>1</sup>-te-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>*; *en-na<sup>2</sup>* perhaps for *inna* < *idnam*? But if so, syntax is unclear.

6f. *buṭuttu*: see Butz apud Stol *On Trees*, 22-24. Here, given the amount, probably the cereal (*CAD* B s.v. *buṭuttu* B) rather than the cereal product (“Grünkernmehl,” cf. *CAD* B s.v. *buṭuttu* C), and surely not pistachio nuts (*AHW* 145 s.v. *buṭumtu/buṭuttu* meaning 3). The words *buṭuttu* and *summiḏētu* are otherwise known from comparable contexts only in texts from the Murašû archive.

In *BE* 10 9, groats are measured in conventional Babylonian units. On the Iranian loanword *ardabu* (< Ir. \**rd* *Ca-*, corresponding to Aram. *ʾrdb*, Demotic *ʾrdb*, Greek *ῥάβ*, Achaemenid Elamite *irtiba* etc.) see R. Schmitt, “‘Méconnaissance’ altiranischen Sprachgutes im Griechischen,” *Glotta* 49 (1971) 100-102; Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, 204. The word appears early in Achaemenid Babylonian, but it is surprisingly rare considering its common use in Achaemenid Elamite administrative texts from Persepolis: *Camb.* 316 lists payments, apparently of flour (cf. [*elat*] 1 GUR 4 PI *qé-me* line 17, cf. line 15), in amounts between 12 and 231 *a.*, totalling 424 *a.* In Achaemenid Elamite texts 1 *irtiba* = 30 QA<sup>29</sup>; if the same ratio holds for Babylonian *ardabu*, the amount here is 34 × 30 = 1,020 *qû* = 5  $\frac{2}{3}$  gur (5 GUR 3 PI 2 BÂN).

The proposed translation of lines 5-9 tries to account for the mention in line 9 of an unpaid “balance for year 30” and in line 10 of “my assessment” distinct from the specified payment that the tenant offers to make, and for the use in line 5, in the offer of payment, of the verb *šullumu*, “make good,” rather than *nadānu*, “give, pay.” If the translation is correct, this text is a tantalizing indication of competition and stress in contract agriculture at Nippur. A previous contractor for the use of royal land was unable to meet the terms of his contract and the *mašennu*-official had to obtain a bid from a competitor to make up the deficit and keep the land under production.

<sup>29</sup> Otherwise Herodotus 1.192 giving one *ῥάβ* = 1 *medimnos* 3 *choinikes*, about 55 liters; see V. A. Livshits, “New Parthian Documents from South Turkmenistan,” *Acta Antiqua* 25 (1977) 173.

Similar conditions seem to lie behind a Murašû text from the same year. *BE* 9 28 (= *TuM* 2-3 179) is a receipt for rent paid on properties attached to the Queen's Estate, written at Nippur on 18/VII/31 Artaxerxes I. The rented lands are said to be "under the control" (*ina qātē*) of an *ustarbar*-official, Zababa-iddin, acting for the estate; they are "in the possession" (*ina pāni*) of Ninurta-nādin-šumi/Uballissu-Marduk; but the rent is actually paid by Enlil-šum-iddin/Murašû. Ninurta-nādin-šumi appears in texts from the early attested years of the Murašû archive, but otherwise always as a witness, never as an active party.<sup>30</sup> His brothers, Aḫi-nūri, Iddin-Marduk, and Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli also appear as frequent witnesses throughout the recorded life of the archive.<sup>31</sup> One of the brothers, Iddin-Marduk, served for a time as *šaknu* of Nippur. He also rented bow lands from another *šaknu* of Nippur.<sup>32</sup> The clearly documented role of the younger brother, Iddin-Marduk, as an agricultural contractor supports Cardascia's interpretation of *BE* 9 28, that the older brother, Ninurta-nādin-šumi, was also a contractor who had turned to the Murašûs to pay rent for him. That some trouble lay behind this arrangement emerges from *BE* 9 50, drawn up five years later, in which Enlil-šum-iddin again pays rent for the same properties, now said to be in his own hands.<sup>33</sup> On this view, *Istanbul Murašû Texts* No. 2 need not be supposed to antedate year 31 of Artaxerxes I (as I suggested, *ibid.* p. 79). Instead, it may be the contract that reassigned to the Murašûs properties of the Queen's Estate that had formerly been leased to another contractor, Ninurta-nādin-šumi. Perhaps Ninurta-nādin-šumi's default arose from the same stress that required the reassignment of properties treated in No. 12. But if his default was the occasion for reassigning the lease, it was not fatal to the contracting business of the sons of Uballissu-Marduk, still operating in the hands of his brother Iddin-Marduk in the early years of Darius II.<sup>34</sup>

Of particular interest in No. 12 is the collocation of the royal estate (*bīt šarri*) as the apparent destination of payments and the *mašennu* as the controlling authority. In the Murašû texts, officials entitled *mašennu* held authority over the operations of men entitled *ša muḫḫi sūti ša ID NN*, "in charge of rents of such-and-such a canal (district)," who in turn leased crown land, temple land and other assets to the Murašûs. A still vexing matter is the status and domain of these men "in charge of rents" of named canals. I have treated them in terms of power relationships, as "agents of the crown," because of the assets they controlled and the authorities to whom they were responsible. Van Driel has treated them as contractors, like the General Contractors (*fermiers généraux*, *Generalpächter*) with similar titles in texts from the Uruk and Sippar temple archives.<sup>35</sup> In the titles of the General Contractors of sixth-century Uruk and Sippar, "in charge of rents/revenues of Ištār" or "of Šamaš," the divine name plainly refers to a corporate economic person, the temple estate (*makkūr Ištār*, *makkūr Šamaš*), and the controlling institution is the temple, Eanna or Ebabbar. The titles from fifth-century Nippur, however, do not

<sup>30</sup> Earliest: *Entrepreneurs and Empire* 106:34 (6/IV/20 Artaxerxes I) (restored), *BE* 9 7a:7 (19/X/[26] Artaxerxes I). Latest: *BE* 9 33:6 (9/X/33 Artaxerxes I); and fifteen other texts, including No. 6, above.

<sup>31</sup> Fraternity of Aḫi-nūri and Iddin-Marduk: *PBS* 2/1 144:25, 146:24, left edge (18-21/VI/11 Darius II). Fraternity of Iddin-Marduk and Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli: *PBS* 2/1 173:19, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 107:2. Fraternity of Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli and Ninurta-nādin-šumi: *BE* 9 32:15 (28/XIIb/32 Artaxerxes I).

<sup>32</sup> *JCS* 40 132 and No. 7, above.

<sup>33</sup> Cardascia *Murašû* 77-78 and 194 n. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *BRM* 1 101, drawn up at Sippar in the early reign of Darius I, reflects a generally comparable problem and solution. A General Contractor (*fermier général*) who held land of the temple Ebabbar under the authority of the satrap of Babylon and Across-the-River, was unable to make his payment. He brought in a secondary contractor to assume part of his overdue payment and take over half of his holding. See Jursa *Landwirtschaft*, 103-106.

<sup>35</sup> *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, pp. 40-45; van Driel, *JESHO* 32 215-16 etc.



- (5) *ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>BA-šá-a u <sup>m</sup>Tar-bi-ti-ia A.MEŠ  
(6) šá <sup>m</sup>Pa-qid-su-nu ma-ḥi-ir LÚ.ERÍN LUGAL <sup>md</sup>50-SIPA-ú-a  
(7) ú-šá-az-za-sú-nu- <ti>-ma it-ti <sup>m</sup>EN-šú-nu  
(8) a-na <sup>m</sup>BA-šá-a u <sup>m</sup>Tar-bi-ti-ia  
(9) i-nam-din pu-ut la šá-ka-nu  
(lower edge)  
(10) šá DÌM(LUGAL+KÁM).ME <sup>md</sup>50-SIPA-ú-a  
(11) na-ši  
(reverse)  
(12) LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub> <sup>m</sup>Mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>EN A šá <sup>m</sup>ARAD-ía  
(13) <sup>md</sup>En-líl-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A šá <sup>m</sup>ARAD-ía  
(14) <sup>md</sup>MAŠ<sup>1</sup>-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-KÁM A šá <sup>m</sup>Ri-mut  
(15) <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A šá <sup>m</sup>Ki-na-a  
(16) <sup>md</sup>DINGIR-ka-ba<sup>?</sup>-ni-ZI-DÙ A šá [<sup>m</sup>La-ba-ši<sup>1</sup>  
(17) <sup>md</sup>En-líl-EN-a-ni LÚ.ŠID A šá<sup>1</sup>  
(18) <sup>md</sup>En-líl-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU EN.ŠID.KI<sup>1</sup>  
(19) ITI.BÁR UD.10.KÁM MU.13.KÁM  
(upper edge)  
(20) <sup>m</sup>Ḥi-ši<sup>1</sup>-<sup>2</sup>-ar-šá-<sup>2</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR  
(left edge) *ṣu-pur ša* <sup>md</sup>50-SIPA-ú-a

(1-3) The King's Man for two months, (namely,) for months II and III, (an obligation) of Iqīšâ and Tarbitija, sons of Pāqissunu—(3-6) Enlil-rē'ûa, servant of Bēlšunu, the ... of Nippur, has received (it) from Iqīšâ and Tarbitija, sons of Pāqissunu. (6-9) Enlil-rē'ûa will register them, (that is, their) King's Man (service), with Bēlšunu to the credit of Iqīšâ and Tarbitija. (9-11) Enlil-rē'ûa guarantees that no shortfall(?) will be caused.

(12-16) Witnesses: Mušēzib-Bēl, son of Ardija; Enlil-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Ardija; Ninurta<sup>2</sup>-aḥḥē-eriš, son of Rīmūt; Ninurta-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Kīnâ; Ilka-bāni-napišti-ibni, son of Lābāši.

(17-19) Enlil-bēlāni, scribe, son of Enlil-aḥḥē-erība. Nippur. Month I, day 10, year 13, Xerxes, King of Lands. (Left Edge) Fingernail of Enlil-rē'ûa.

3-7. Written over erasures.

4. Perhaps LÚ.ŠAM<sup>1</sup> = *pīḥātu*, “governor,” over erasure, or LÚ.ŠAR<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>, “foreman,” over erasure?

4f. The name Tarbitija, literally “My Foster Child,” and the patronym Pāqissunu, literally “Their Caretaker,” are extraordinary. I am not aware of other Neo- or Late Babylonian personal names compounded with *tarbitu*, “fosterling,” even though “foundling” names like Sūqaja, “From the Street,” Abī-ul-idi, “Don't Know my Father,” or Ša-pī-kalbi, “From a Dog's Mouth,” are frequent. Names compounded with *paqādu* are also surprisingly rare, to judge from entries in Stamm *Namengebung* (none), Tallqvist *NBN* (only the uncertain *Pa<sup>2</sup>-qud-da-nu Dar.* 500:2), and Tallqvist *APN* (only *Adad-ip-qid* and *Ninurta-pa-qī-da-at*, the latter not a person's name but a scholarly gloss, both also cited in Tallqvist *NBN* 328; *Ap-qid-Esu Stolper Records of Deposit* No. 7:16, is perhaps an error for *Ab-dī-*). The nearest comparable items are <sup>m</sup>Tar-PA-ti-bi A-[šú šá] <sup>m</sup>Pa-qid<sup>1</sup>-su-nu IM 55085:4f. (= 1N285, Nippur, 2/I/21 Xerxes; not year 13 as in OIP 78 76; recollated from cast), perhaps referring to the same people mentioned in this text. If so, *Tar-bi-ti-ia* and *Tar-PA-ti-bi* may both be erroneous spellings of a hypocoristic name containing *tarībī* “you (fem.) replaced.”

6-9. M. Weszeli, “Eseleien, II” *WZKM*87 (1997), 233-36 reviews discussion and disagreements over the interpretation of *šuzzuzu-manadānu*. She rejects the interpretation of Ries, “Bemerkungen zur neubabylonischen Rechtspraxis der Stellvertretung,” *WO*8 (1976) 308, according to which the clause requires an agent to produce his principal in person so that the principal can confirm the transaction recorded in the document at hand, on the grounds that it calls for an implausible, even self-defeating procedure. She also rejects my interpretation that the clause gives the agent responsibility for entering the transaction in his principal's records (*Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 33 n. 119 and elsewhere), on the grounds that it does not account for cases in which the payment is said to be entered in favor of the agent,

not in favor of the principal (citing *BE* 10 127 and *CT* 49 46 as examples). She recurs to the interpretation proposed by San Nicolò-Ungnad *NRV*, 255-56 and followed by Cardascia *Murašû*, 70, according to which the clause requires the recipient (whether principal or agent) to record the payment and give the payer (whether principal or agent) confirmation that it has been recorded. She adds that confirmation of the act of registering the payment need not be in written form.

But if this interpretation implies that every receipt containing the clause is provisional and conditional, not valid except with further confirmation, it still seems implausible. It would mean that we are left with an incomplete record of an incomplete transaction, a receipt whose legal value in case of a dispute is unreliable. The payer or his agent (in my view) do not require certain knowledge that the transaction has actually been properly recorded. They require only immunity from whatever trouble may arise if it is not properly recorded. I continue to suppose that the purpose of the clause is to assure that the transaction is final from the point of view of the principals. It places responsibility for any lapse in transmission or recording on the agents. I continue to interpret the verb-phrase *šuzzuzu-ma nadānu* as a semantic unit, following Landsberger's suggestion on this and similar verb-phrases compounded with *nadānu* ("Bemerkungen zu San Nicolò und Ungnad, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, Bd. I 1.2.," *ZA* 39 [1930] 288).

17. The same scribe wrote *BE* 8/1 120 (3/X/12 Xerxes).

This document is twenty years older than the oldest of the *Murašû* texts. Its connection with the *Murašû* archive is not prosopographic but formal. The peculiar clause in lines 9-10 has only one exact parallel, in a *Murašû* text (*pūt la šakānu ša DÌM.ME šá LÚ.ERÍN LUGAL ā' 2 PN u PN<sub>2</sub> našû TuM* 2-3 183:15-16, collated by Joachim Oelsner) and a near-parallel in another *Murašû* text written by the same scribe (*pūt la šakānu ša me-KU-tú PN naši UCP* 9/3 276:17-18, collated by Benno Landsberger). The reading and interpretation of both passages are matters of conjecture and disagreement. *TuM* 2-3 183 (edited by Cardascia *Murašû*, 117-18) is a receipt for silver and flour paid as provisions for King's Man service due from two bow lands (*idī u šidītu [ša 2 LÚ.ERÍN LUGAL]*, line 1; cf. *idī u šidītu ša 2 LÚ.ERÍN LUGAL ... ša ina muḫḫi qašāti šuāti*, lines 11-12). The payer is Rīmūt-Ninurta/*Murašû*, who was in control of the properties on which the obligation lay. The payment was made in response to a written order (*šipištu u kunukku*, line 9) from the foreman of the *ḫaṭru*-organization to which the properties belonged. The recipients of the silver and flour were the two proprietors of the bow lands. The receipt requires them to register the payment (*šuzzuzu-ma nadānu*, lines 14-15) with their foreman. As in No. 13, the clause *pūt la šakānu ša DÌM.ME ... našû* follows this requirement and concludes the body of the receipt. The subjects of the clause are the recipients, that is, the proprietors of the bow lands who were subject to the service obligation.<sup>41</sup> Here, Cardascia (*Murašû*, 117-18) read *pūt la šakānu ša ṭim-me ... našû*. He understood *ṭim-me* as a spelling of the substantive *ṭēmu*. He translated "la responsabilité de ne pas rendre compte des 'soldats du roi' en question, (savoir) 2, [ils] portent." He commented that the reading and translation were open to some question, but the intent was certain. He also commented that the negative phrasing *la šakānu* was tantamount in meaning and effect to an affirmative phrasing. *UCP* 9/3 276, the Berkeley text (above), is an extraordinary "dialogue" document. A man named Gadāl-Jāma proposes to perform the royal service (*ana šebūtu ša šarri ... alāku*, lines 11-12, cf. lines 15-16). The service was due from a share of a horse property that the *Murašû* family held by adoption (*ana muḫḫi bīt sīsī mala zittika*, line 13,

<sup>41</sup> *PBS* 2/1 114 is a receipt of the same kind (see Augapfel 18 [collated], cf. *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 61 [incorrectly characterizing the text as the record of a loan]). The payer is Rīmūt-Ninurta. The recipient is the foreman of the *ḫaṭru*-organization to which the bow lands required to provide the King's Men belong. The fact that the payer and recipient are the principals, not agents, accounts for the absence of the registration clause (*šuzzuzu-ma nadānu*). The fact that the proprietors of the bow lands are not actually named perhaps accounts for the absence of the clause at issue here, *pūt la šakānu ... našû*. On *PBS* 2/1 114 and *TuM* 2-3 183, see also C. Tuplin, "The Administration of the Persian Empire," in *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires*, ed. Ian Carradice, BAR International Series 343 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1987), 156 n. 153.

cf. *zittu ... ša ana marūti ... ilqū u kullāta*, lines 4-5). Gadāl-Jāma asks for a horse, clothing, arms and silver for provisions (*kaspu ana šidītu*, lines 10-11, 15-16) for service at a royal call-up at Uruk. The text requires him to register something with the foreman of the *ḥaṭru*-association in favor of Rīmūt-Ninurta/Murašū (*šuzzuzu-ma nadānu*, lines 18-19), but what he is to register—whether receipt of the items or performance of the required service—is not explicit. The clause at issue, *pūt la šakānu ... našū*, precedes the registration clause. The subject of the clause is Gadāl-Jāma, the recipient of the supplies, who is to perform the service. Here, Cardascia (*Murašū*, 180-81) read *pūt la šakānu ša pi-qū-ud Gadāl-Jāma naši*. He translated “la responsabilité de ne pas présenter ce qui (lui) a été confié, Gadāl-Jāma porte.” He commented that *ša piqūd* refers to the horse, equipment and arms detailed earlier in the text. Ebeling (*ZA* 50 209-11) also read *ša pi-qū-ud*, but translated “Garantie dafür, dass er den Auftrag nicht (einem andren) gibt, trägt Gadāl-Jāma.” He commented that the parallel *dim-me(sic) = tēme* in *TuM* 2-3 183:15 shows that *pi-qū-ud* is to be interpreted as Aram. *piqqūdā*, “Gebot.” The most recent translation by Joannès and Beaulieu has “Gadaliama bears responsibility for presenting the equipment given to him,”<sup>42</sup> evidently following Cardascia’s interpretation, but replacing the negative rendering of *la šakānu* with an affirmative counterpart. Von Soden rejected both the reading *ša tēme* in *TuM* 2-3 183 and the reading *ša piqūd* in *UCP* 9/3 276. He offered alternative readings and translations that are nonsensical.<sup>43</sup> The *CAD* rejected von Soden’s reading of *UCP* 9/3 276 and cited but emended Landsberger’s collation, reading *pūt la šakānu ša me-ṭi* (text KU)-*tú* PN *naši*, and translating “PN guarantees that no shortage will occur.”<sup>44</sup> The *CAD*’s translation of the phrase as a negative guarantee is proper. The phrase *pūt la šakānu ša DÌM.ME našū* in No. 13 and *TuM* 2-3 183 and *pūt la šakānu ša me-KU-tú* in *UCP* 9/3 276 must express guarantees that something undesirable will not happen. They do not assign responsibility for the possibility that something desirable will not happen, amounting to a guarantee that something desirable will happen. Interpretations of the kind that Cardascia suggested, resting on the assumption that negative and affirmative formulations of the guarantee are interchangeable, with equivalent meaning and effect, are untenable.<sup>45</sup> No. 13 now shows that the phrase *pūt la šakānu ša DÌM.ME*

<sup>42</sup> Francis Joannès, “Private Commerce and Banking in Achaemenid Babylonia,” trans. Paul-Alain Beaulieu, in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, eds. Jack M. Sasson (New York: Macmillan, 1995), III, 1481.

<sup>43</sup> In *TuM* 2-3 183:15-16 *pūt la šakānu NINDA.DÌM.ME ša šāb-šarra-ā*, “(they guarantee) that *pannigu* (-bread) will not be put away for the royal personnel” (“Seltene akkadische Wörter”, *StOr* 46 [Festschrift A. Salonen] [1975] 328). In *UCP* 9/3 276:17 *la šakānu ša-pi-ku-tú*, “(he guarantees that) depositing (of grain?) will not be done” (*AHw*.1172 s.v. *šapikūtu*, cf. “Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. II (n-z und Nachträge),” *Or*. NS 37 [1966] 263).

<sup>44</sup> *CAD* Š/I 451 s.v. \*\**šapikūtu*. The entry points to occurrences of the phrase *miṭtu šakānu* cited under *miṭtu* mng 1g. In normal Neo-Babylonian usage, *miṭtu* refers to shortages in measurable items (herds, crops, produce, materials, irrigation water, or accomplishment of measured work quotas), not to deficient behavior.

<sup>45</sup> The example that Cardascia gave to show the equivalence of negative and affirmative guarantees (*Murašū* 35) is erroneous. The guarantee in *BE* 10 77:8 is not *pūt la-a ŠE.BAR ... naši*, “porte la responsabilité, (si) l’orge n’(est) pas (payé),” but *pūt eṭēr(KAR!) uṭṭati ... naši*, “guarantees payment of the barley.” It is true that negative guarantees may take either negative form (*pūt la x našū*, “guarantee that x will not occur”) or non-negative form (*pūt x našū*, “guarantee against x”): e.g., *pūt la sēḫi la pāqirāni našū* “guarantee that there will be no legitimate or illegitimate claimant (to the slave)” = *pūt sēḫi pāqirāni našū* “guarantee against legitimate or illegitimate claimants” (examples in *CAD* s.vv. *arad-šarrūtu*, *mārbanūtu*, *sēḫū*); *pūt la epēšu ša pišku našū* “guarantee that no p. will be done” *YBC* 11560:5 = *pūt piški našū* “guarantee against p.” *PBS* 2/1 28:3-4 and 8, *PBS* 2/1 107:5 and 8, *BE* 10 43:10-12 and 16, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* No. 112:3-4 and 6 (see Stolper, *Festschrift Oelsner* [forthcoming].) The converse, however, is not true, that positive guarantees may take either positive form (*pūt x našū*, “guarantee x”) or non-positive form (*pūt la x našū* “take responsibility in case x does not occur”). The

was an established usage. Its occurrence in *TuM* 2-3 183 is not a scribal idiosyncrasy or an error to be emended. Despite the formal differences among No. 13, *TuM* 2-3 183 and *UCP* 9/3 276, the close functional correspondence among them indicates that *šakānu ša me-KU-tú* and *šakānu ša DÌM.ME* (*ša šāb šarri*) are synonymous. Hence, *DÌM.ME* and *me-KU-tú* are writings of the same word, from the hand of the same scribe. Then if the *CAD*'s suggested emendation, *šakānu ša miṭītu*, is correct, *TuM* 2-3 183 implies that the phrase envisions a "shortfall" in the length of service, not a loss of the equipment or supplies issued. But in that case the equivalence between *DÌM.ME* and *miṭītu* is unexplained. The signs *DÌM.ME* also occur in one other Murašû text, but in an entirely different context. In *BE* 9 45 (= *TuM* 2-3 143), a lease in dialogue form, the rented items include the whole length of a canal and arable land on it. The land is described by juridical status (*bīt ešrû*, *bīt ritti*, lines 9-10 and 19-20). The rented items also include *zēru ša šumēli ša ÍD GN u 3-ta DÌM.ME.MEŠ ša ina imni ša ÍD GN elat zēru ša mē ultu ÍD GN<sub>2</sub> išattû* "arable land on the left side of the Milidu Canal and 3 ....-s on the right side of the Milidu Canal, but not including arable land that draws water from the Enlil Canal" (lines 11-13 and 21-23, collated by Joachim Oelsner). The dictionaries, following a conjecture of Meissner, cite this passage under *makūtu*, "pole, beam (of a waterlift)." But in the context a topographic feature, something in contrasting parallel to *zēru*, "arable land," is expected, as Cardascia observed.<sup>46</sup> This passage probably refers to "plots irrigated by waterlift," with *makūtu* (*DÌM.ME*) for \**bīt makūti*, like *dālu*, "bucket," above No. 6:4, for *bīt dāli*, "plot irrigated with drawn water" (*BE* 9 7:10).<sup>47</sup> The uncertain reading of *DÌM.ME* as *makūtu* in *BE* 9 45 suggests a way to account for the likely equivalence between *DÌM.ME* in No. 13 and *TuM* 2-3 183 and *me-KU-tú* in *UCP* 9/3 276: perhaps the equivalence *DÌM.ME* = *me-KU-tú* arises from near-homophony between *makūtu* (*DÌM.ME*), "pole," and *mēkūtu*, "lack, deficiency." In that case, *šakānu ša mēkūtu* would mean something close to the *CAD*'s suggestion, "cause a deficiency (i.e., in the number of men or length of service)."<sup>48</sup> Since this explanation requires the supposition that two scribes working a generation apart used a rare logogram to write a rare word on the basis of homophony with a still rarer word, it is open to doubt.<sup>49</sup> Even so, however the writing is to be explained, the form and

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negative formulation *pūt la ḫalāqu ša amēlutti našû*, e.g. *Dar.* 431:11ff., *BRM* 2 2:17-18 cf. 10:16-17 cannot mean "assume responsibility if the slaves do not flee," but can only mean "guarantee against the flight of the slaves," like the non-negative formulation *pūt ḫelēqu ... našû Nbk.* 346:8-11, explicitly clarified in *pūt ḫalāqišu ša ana ašar šanāmma la iḫalliqu niššû* "we guarantee against his flight, that he will not flee to another place" *PBS* 2/1 23:4-5 (cf. *püssunu ana la ḫalāqu našāku YOS* 7 70:17). In short, positive and negative guarantees are not symmetrical; positive and negative formulations are not interchangeable. The negative guarantee can be expressed in either negative or non-negative form; the affirmative guarantee can only be expressed in affirmative form, not in negative form.

<sup>46</sup> Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Kulturgeschichtliches Bibliothek I.3 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1920), I, 192. *AHw.* 591 s.v. *makūtu* mng 3, with query, cf. von Soden, *BiOr* 11 207; *CAD* M/I 143; Cardascia *Murašû* 130.

<sup>47</sup> The same meaning would suit the Old Babylonian reference to a field *ina makāti iki* DN Gautier Dilbat 5:1, cited *CAD* s.v. *makūtu* mng. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Thus *mi-ku-ti ša šābē* "lack of soldiers," *PRT* 10:8 (see *SAA* 4 No. 31).

<sup>49</sup> Equating *DÌM.ME* with a postulated substantive \**mēkūtu*, "negligence, idleness" is attractive, but less plausible. The Neo-Assyrian form of the cognate adjective *mēkū* carries not only the moral nuance of laziness (*la ašarēdumma ša libbišunu anāku la mākiū anāku* "(I do my job like my fellows), I am not a champion among them, but I am not a slacker, either" *ABL* 455:19, see Parpola *LAS* 2 175), but also the technical nuance of non-performance of service (*LAL-e ummāni mītūti[u] mākiūte ša ana ḫarrāni isseni la illikūni* "the shortfall (arising from) the dead and idle troops who did not come with us on campaign" *ABL* 1180 r. 8). But neither the adjective nor the cognate verb *mēkū*, "be negligent, idle," occurs in Neo-Babylonian. The meaning is ordinarily conveyed by the verb *šēlū* (common in letters, but rare in legal texts). And if the guarantee were against "commission of negligence," referring to the guarantor's behavior, rather than to "causing a shortfall," referring to the measurable effect of his behavior, it could be

meaning of the word in question are corroborated by an earlier Achaemenid text that refers specifically to a deficiency in man-months of compulsory service: (promissory note for 7½ minas of silver,) *kaspu ša ma-ku-tu ša É LÚ.GAL.MEŠ ša 50 šābī ša 3 arhī ša ekalli ša GN itti qīpī la īpušū* “silver for the deficit owed to the office of the overseers(?), for fifty men who did not work with the *qīpu* officials for three months at the palace at GN” *Y OS 7 166:5* (Uruk, 18/XII/4 Cambyses).<sup>50</sup>

No. 13 is not explicit about what was actually received, that is, whether *šāb šarri*, the King’s Man, refers here to the actual performance of required service or to a payment in lieu of service. The fact that the receipt does not mention an amount or commodity is not decisive in itself. The dictionaries and recent discussions are not entirely clear on this point. Although *šāb šarri* may refer in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid texts either to men performing compulsory service for the crown or to money payments, the two nuances are unevenly distributed. In the Murašû texts, *šāb šarri* refers mostly to payments.<sup>51</sup> The wording of some receipts implies that the payments were understood to replace service,<sup>52</sup> but only two texts use the term for the men serving.<sup>53</sup> In other texts from the period between Xerxes and Alexander, the term *šāb šarri* itself is scarce, perhaps absent.<sup>54</sup> In Neo-Babylonian and earlier Achaemenid texts, *šāb šarri* regularly refers to men performing the service. In texts where money was paid or owed to or for a *šāb šarri*, it was not a “tax” paid to an official in place of service. The obligation to provide a King’s Man lay on the proprietor of a holding granted by the crown, and perhaps on others.<sup>55</sup> Proprietors

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expressed with a simple infinitive, (*la*) *mekû/šelû*, rather than with a cumbersome phrase, (*la*) *šakānu ša mekûtu*.

<sup>50</sup> One of the two debtors in the note is named Šamaš-erība/Nabû-mudammiq. Cf. *Y OS 7 154*, requiring two men to provide fifty temple slaves to serve as archers at fortified outposts, adding *ITI.TA.ĀM širkī ā’ 50 ... ina kadānu isseniqqūma ana Šamaš-erība rab kadānu ... inamdinū* “every month they will inspect those fifty temple slaves in the outposts and turn them over to Šamaš-erība, chief of the outposts” (lines 7-12).

<sup>51</sup> In about fifty receipts in the Murašû archive, *šāb šarri* indicates one of the obligations included under the general heading *ilkū* (usually plural), paid mostly in silver. The usual phrase is *ilkū gamrūtu šāb šarri qēme ša šarri bāru u mimma nadanātu ša bīt šarri*, “taxes in full, the King’s Man, the King’s Flour, the *bāru* tax, and any gifts to the royal estate.” In one, the relationship between the heading and the components is explicit: *ilkū gamrūtu ša šāb šarri*, etc., “taxes in full, consisting of the King’s Man, etc.” *BE 10 64:1*). Only one Murašû text refers to the *šāb šarri* as something separate from the other components: *zēru šuātu ana qēme ša šarri u barri ša la šāb [šarri] ... iddin*, “he turned over that arable land on (condition of payment of) the King’s Flour and the *bāru* tax, but not the King’s Man,” *PBS 2/1 34:5*, see *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, p. 77. In general, see Cardascia *Murašû*, 99, Joannès *Textes économiques* 21-25, and van Driel, *JESHO* 32 210-12.

<sup>52</sup> Silver is sometimes described as *kūm šāb šarri ... ilkī gamrūtu*, “in lieu of the King’s Man, etc., taxes in full” (*PBS 2/1 76:17*, 188:1, cf. [*sūtu*] *gamri kūm šāb šarri ...*, “(silver as) full payment, in lieu of the King’s Man, etc.” *PBS 2/1 66:1*).

<sup>53</sup> In addition to the two King’s Men provided for in *TuM 2-3 183*, only *BE 9 50:4*, where the twenty-five *šābī šarri* tendered with rent are probably men, not unspecified units of an unspecified commodity (despite *CAD* Š s.v. *šāb šarri* mng. 2 and *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 62). Other Murašû texts that refer to active service do not use the term *šāb šarri* (e.g., the promissory notes for the expense of equipping men to serve at Uruk in the second year of Darius II; see Cardascia *Murašû*, 40, 99, 174-75; *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, p. 123; Joannès *Textes économiques*, 19; and add *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, No. 83).

<sup>54</sup> I know only VAT 15848, a fragment of uncertain date from the Kasr of Babylon, perhaps from a lease, referring in broken context to 5 LÚ.ERÍN LUGAL *ina Barsipa*.

<sup>55</sup> On the existence of pre-Achaemenid tenancies of this kind, see Jursa, *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien*, AOAT 254 (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchener Verlag, 1998), 13-18; “Bogenland schon unter Nebukadnezar II.,” *NABU* 1998/124; *Bēl-rēmāni* 105. Jursa (*ibid.*, 103-04, 109-10) corroborates and amplifies other observations (e.g., van Driel, *JESHO* 32 207; Stolper, “Late Achaemenid Legal Texts from Uruk and Larsa,” *Bagh. Mitt.* 21 [1990] 583; Beaulieu and Stolper, “Two



sometimes turned to suppliers of credit to underwrite the cost of service. The money was the cost of equipment (*rikis qabli*) or provisions (*idī u šidītu*) for a man who served. It was paid to the man who served or to members of his family. It was paid by the man who was obliged to provide the worker or soldier, or else paid by his creditor, that is, paid on his behalf and recorded in a promissory note to his debit. In promissory notes, the relationships among proprietor (P), King's Man (KM), and creditor (C) are expressed *x kaspu ša C ina muḥḥi P... kaspu ša ana KM nadnu* "x silver owed to C by P, silver that was given to KM." In receipts, the relationships are expressed *x kaspu KM šāb šarri ša P ina qāt C maḥir ana muḥḥi P* "KM, the King's Man of P, received from C x silver debited against P." From the payer's point of view, the general term *ilkū* included the money paid for outfitting a man, but from the crown's point of view the money did not replace the man.<sup>56</sup> The relationship between the proprietor and his King's Man, whether it was only contractual or a relationship of kinship or of patronage and clientage, could endure for many years.<sup>57</sup> In the uses of the term *šāb šarri*, the nuance of active service is constant throughout Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid texts, but the nuance of payment instead of service is isolated in the Murašû texts, perhaps because the practice of commuting service to payment became common only in late Achaemenid reigns.<sup>58</sup> In this respect the King's Man seems to differ from the obligation and service that Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid texts label as "bow" (*qaltu*, GIŠ.BAN) or "bowman" (*ša qalti*, LÚ.BAN), terms that indicate both payment and

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More Late Achaemenid Texts from Uruk," *NABU*1995/77) that obligations to pay and serve fell not only on farmland, but also on urban property; and not only on new segments of the population created by the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid empires—e.g., members of ethnic or professional groups settled on their allotments by the crown—but also on social groups within cities, without explicit reference to allotments of land.

<sup>56</sup> Despite Oppenheim, "Studies in Akkadian Lexicography, II," *Or.* NS 14 [1945] 239-40, reflected in *CAD* Š s.v. *šāb šarri* mng 2. The text *Iraq* 59 128 No. 47 is a receipt for silver paid as part of a man's fiscal obligations (*kaspu ša ilkī ša PN*, lines 1-2), for outfitting a King's Man to serve for him (*kaspu riksu qabli ša PN<sub>2</sub> šāb šarri*, lines 5-6), to the wife and (probably) the father of the King's Man. Other texts refer explicitly to silver paid for outfitting King's Men (*kaspu ša ana rikissi qabli ša šābī šarri nadnu*, "(promissory note for) silver that was given (i.e., by the creditor) for outfitting King's Men," *Nbn.* 103:15, see Wunsch *Iddin-Marduk* No. 112, *kaspu riksu qablu ša PN šāb šarri ša PN<sub>2</sub>*, "(receipt for) silver (for) outfitting PN, the King's Man of (i.e., serving for) PN<sub>2</sub>" *Dar.* 481:3). Others refer elliptically to silver paid to the King's Man (*kaspu ša ana šābī šarrišu ina muḥḥišu iddinu* "(promissory note for) silver that he (the creditor) paid to his (the debtor's) King's Men on his (the debtor's) behalf" *AnOr* 9 14:13-15, see Beaulieu, "A Finger in Every Pie: The Institutional Connections of a Family of Entrepreneurs in Neo-Babylonian Larsa," in *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs*, ed. A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *MOS Studies* 2 = *Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul* 87 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 2000), 51-52 with similar texts from the same archive. Other texts cited *CAD* Š s.v. *šāb šarri* mng. 2, do not support the interpretation "tax." For *Strassmaier 8e Congrès International* No. 13, see van Driel, *JESHO* 32 210 and Wunsch *Iddin-Marduk* No. 85; for the problematic Camb. 13, see Joannès *Textes économiques* 19, M. Streck, *Zahl und Zeit*, *Cuneiform Monographs* 5 (Groningen: Styx, 1995), 139, Weszeli, "Eseleien," *WZKM* 86 (1996) 473. For *TCL* 9 125 and *TuM* 2-3 242, see below.

<sup>57</sup> Van Driel, *JESHO* 32 212, on *Dar.* 220 and 481, two contracts involving the same payer and the same man serving, separated by twelve years. In *UCP* 9/3 276, the man proposing to do the service, Gadāl-Jāma, was the son of the nominal proprietor of the holding from which the service was due, Barīk-Jāma; he was also the brother by adoption of one of the Murašûs, Enlil-šum-iddin, and therefore the uncle by adoption of the man who provided the equipment, supplies and money for his service, Rīmūt-Ninurta/Murašû. (Despite R. Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* [Haifa: University of Haifa, 1979], 55.) An unpublished text in a private collection dated in the reign of Cambyses records the hiring (*ana idīšu ušuzzu*) of a man to perform royal service (*palāḥ šarri*) as if he were a co-proprietor (*akī kinattatu*), the term of the contract being indefinite (for the full year from 15/VI/5 to 15/VI/6 *tuppi u tuppi* "[and] until further notice").

<sup>58</sup> Joannès *Textes économiques*, 26.

service.<sup>59</sup> But the extraordinary clause in No. 13:9-11 recurs only in later Achaemenid texts that deal explicitly with underwriting active service. Hence, No. 13 must also be a receipt for completed service. Iqīšā and Tarbītija completed two months of compulsory service under an official of Nippur. A subordinate of the official, Enlil-rēšūa, gave them this acknowledgment of their service, a sort of record of discharge. He also assumed responsibility for having their service accurately recorded in the official's records, protecting them against additional claims either to their service or to their compensation for it. The final clauses of No. 13 reflect these circumstances. In most receipts, the object of the verb-phrase *šuzzuzu-ma nadānu* is the item and amount paid. In No. 13:7-9, however, the phrase has two objects: not only *šāb šarri*, “the King's Man,” but also *-šunūti*, “them,” the obliged parties. In most cases, a tangible object would be entered (*šuzzuzu*) in the principal's record, an item like “½ mina of silver” (corresponding to a phrase like *kaspu ā' ½ mana* in a matching receipt). Here, what was received was an intangible, service, so what was entered in the principal's record was the names of the men who performed the service (corresponding to *-šunūti* in this receipt), perhaps in a column headed *šāb šarri* or a list summarized as *šābī šarri*. In fact, there is an example of such a list from Achaemenid Nippur. *TuM 2-3 242* concludes with the summary PAP 14.KÁM LÚ.ERÍN LUGAL ša ITI.BÁR u ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> (r. 6-7), “a total of 14 King's Men for months I and II.” The entries at the beginning, in the form BAN ša PN PN<sub>2</sub> u PN<sub>3</sub>, appear to mean “(For) the bow land of PN, (the men doing royal service are) PN<sub>2</sub> and PN<sub>3</sub>.” The names of Tarbītija and Iqīšā were to be recorded in entries like this.

Another interpretation of *TuM 2-3 242* is also possible. Jursa describes fragmentary administrative texts from Sippar that array comparable information in different form. They list groups of ten names, summarized as “total 10 men (LÚ.ERÍN.(MEŠ)) for one bowman (LÚ.BAN) of PN” or “for the bow (GIŠ.BAN) of PN.” The name of the summary is also the first name in the group of ten. It indicates the man responsible for the whole group, and the group is identified by his name.<sup>60</sup> It is possible that in the entries of *TuM 2-3 242*, the unit labeled “bow of PN” refers to a similar group under a similar kind of organization, that is to a social unit rather than to a parcel of land and its proprietors.

But the Sippar texts are lists of men who were obligated to serve (or to pay instead of serving). They are the elements of muster rolls, indicating the prospect of service. *TuM 2-3 242*, however, specifying a two-month period, is a record of completed service. It is the administrative counterpart of No. 13, a receipt for two King's Men—more accurately, for four King's Men—Months.<sup>61</sup>

Finally, the objects of the verb-phrase *šuzzuzu-ma nadānu* in No. 13 express the equivalent of the commodity received, but not the amount. That is, service by “them” corresponds to silver, *kaspu ā'*, in the hypothetical example. But the explicit objects of the verb-phrase do not completely express the amount received, that is, in place of “a half mina” in the hypothetical example, the

<sup>59</sup> Jursa *Bēl-rēmāni*, 104.

<sup>60</sup> Jursa *Bēl-rēmāni*, 101.

<sup>61</sup> Michael Kozuh draws my attention to comparable administrative texts from the Ebabbar archive. *CT 56 566* lists groups of four or five men, identified as agnates, each group ending “total x bowmen”; these are perhaps family units which were to provide a single bowman each. *CT 56 481* + (Jursa *Landwirtschaft* 8) is a list of temple farmhands, organized in families identified as working parties, each under a “plow master” (*rab epinni*); the summary, in addition to totals by age category includes an entry for seventeen “bowmen,” evidently indicating men on active service. Wunsch describes comparable “Musterungslisten” in the Babylon collections, perhaps connected with the Egibi archive (Wunsch, in *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs*, 113).

number of man-months served. The usual syntax of the verb-phrase does not permit crediting Iqīšâ and Tarbītija specifically with the two months of service mentioned in lines 1-2. Instead, the extraordinary clause in No. 13:9-11 confers on the recipient specific responsibility for any “deficiency” in man-months recorded to their credit.<sup>62</sup>

No. 13, then, represents the final step in the process of recording service obligations assessed and discharged. First, groups that were required to supply a man to serve were registered in lists of the kind represented by the fragments from Sippar discussed by Jursa (n. 60); similar texts are what is meant by a reference in an often-cited letter, probably from the Egibi archive, to troops who are “written down with you”.<sup>63</sup> Second, men who performed the service were registered in lists of the kind represented by *TuM* 2-3 242; similar texts may be what is meant by the clause requiring intermediaries to enter the service (*šuzzuzu-ma nadānu*) in the records of their superiors, as in, e.g., *UCP* 9/3 276:18-20. Third, the obliged men received confirmation that the obligation was discharged with receipts of the kind represented by No. 13.

No. 13 also indicates that compulsory service of this kind was organized city-by-city. The “.... of Nippur” named in line 4 has the same place in this regard as the *šakin tēmi* of Babylon in texts from earlier reigns.<sup>64</sup>

In an environment where manpower was an object of competition, the people on whom the King’s Man obligation lay and the people who discharged it were bound to be anxious about anything that would expose them to greater liability. A letter from Uruk expresses this concern:

*ina šatti ½ mana ina qāt PN išima ana PN<sub>2</sub> u [PN<sub>3</sub>] LÚ.ERÍN LUGAL-šú ša izzizzū idin  
ina qātēšunu la tumaššar mamma<sup>1</sup> pirku ittišu la idabbub u mimmušu ana pirkī la inašši  
amur ½ mana kaspu ana LÚ.ERÍN LUGAL-šú [i]din*

(PN and the people of his household are under your charge,) get a half mina (of silver) per year from PN and give it to PN<sub>2</sub> and [PN<sub>3</sub>], the King’s Man who served for him, do not let it get away<sup>7</sup> from them, no one<sup>1</sup> must raise improper claims against him (PN) or take any illicit appropriation from him, see here, you are to pay the half mina of silver (only) for his (PN’s) King’s Man.<sup>65</sup>

An often-cited letter from Babylon expresses similar concerns in the similar terms:

*u mārī sīsī tašlīšāni u LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ LUGAL!<sup>7</sup> (copy: DUMU DÙ.MEŠ) ina qātēšu  
la tumaššar pirkī ana rab dūri itti šābīja la idabbub*

<sup>62</sup> In each of the three uses of this clause, the subject, that is, the person who assumes the responsibility that the clause mentions, plays a different role in bringing about the performance of service for the king. In *TuM* 2-3 183, it is the proprietors who were to supply King’s Men for service. In *UCP* 9/3 276, it is the prospective King’s Man. In No. 13, it is an agent of the man under whose command the King’s Men served. But in all three, the subject plays the same role in the contract itself, as the recipient of what was paid, loaned, or done. In all three the purpose of the clause is to protect the payer against specific liability, and if so, the clause is at least partially redundant with the preceding *šuzzuzu-ma nadānu* clause.

<sup>63</sup> *PN mār sīsī u tašlīšānika ittika šatru* CT 22 74:7; see, most recently, Wunsch, in *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs*, 114.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>65</sup> *TCL* 9 125:10-24, from Šum-ukīn, perhaps the General Contractor (*ša muḥḥi sūti*) of that name, to Nabū-šar-ušur, perhaps the Royal Commissioner in Eanna (*ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti*) of that name; if so, from the reign of Nabonidus.

Do not discharge the charioteers, the chariot-fighters and the King's? Men from his command, he must not raise improper claims against my men with the fortress commander.<sup>66</sup>

The same anxiety motivated the final clauses of No. 13, fastidious to the point of being redundant or cumbersome in an effort to assure that Iqīšā and Tarbitija were credited with the time they served and that someone else was liable if they were not credited.

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<sup>66</sup> CT 22 74:18-22, from Gūzānu, perhaps the governor (*šakin tēmi*) of Babylon of that name, to Širku, perhaps the homonymous member of the Egibi family, otherwise called Marduk-nāšir-apli (Wunsch, in *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs*, 114); see Ebeling *Neubab. Briefe* No. 74, A. Leo Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 143; Joannès *Textes économiques*, 24.

PERSONAL NAMES

Abbreviations: br. = brother; dau. = daughter; f. = father; gf. = grandfather; GN = geographical name; gs. = grandson; mas. = master; s. = son; svt. = servant.

- Abdā'* (*Ab-da-* ') , *rē'û* svt. of *Rībat*: 5:10, rev.
- Addu-iddin* (<sup>d</sup>IM-MU) s. of *Ninurta-nādin*: 7:17
- Aḥḥē-iddin* (ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU)  
1) s. of *Nāšir*: 11:18  
2) 6:5
- Aḥḥē-utir* (ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GUR) s. of *Ninurta-uballit*: 3:12
- Aḥ-iddin* (ŠEŠ-MU)  
1) f. of *Enlil-uppultu*<sup>2</sup>-ušur: 8:7  
2) 11:2
- A-ḥu-ši-ia-x-x*: 9:8', ri. ed.
- Aḥušunu* (ŠEŠ-šú-nu)  
1) svt. of *Iddin-Bēl*: 1:6  
2) f. of *Bēlšunu*: 3:12  
3) f. of *Rībat*: 11:18
- Ana-Bēl-ēreš* (*A-na*<sup>d</sup>EN-<sup>l</sup>KÁM<sup>l</sup>, *Ana*<sup>d</sup>EN-APIN-*eš*) s. of [ ... ]: 9:3', rev.
- Aqara* (KAL-*a*)  
1) s. of *Nādin*, gs. of *Mannu-Enlil-dāri*: 7:12  
2) f. of *Enlil-nādin-šumi*: 10:12, lo. ed.
- Arad-Enlil* (ARAD-<sup>d</sup>En-<sup>l</sup>lil)  
1) s. of *Iddina*: 1:3, 2:1, 7  
2) s. of *Iddin-Enlil*: 6:23  
3) f. of *Arad*<sup>2</sup>-*Ninurta*: 11:6
- Arad-Gula* (ARAD-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME) f. of *Nusku-iddin*: 6:26
- Arad-Ninurta* (ARAD-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ)  
1) s. of *Arad-Enlil*: 11:5, 13  
2) s. of *Nabû-kišir*: 3:1, 5  
3) s. of *Ninurta-uballit*: 6:24  
4) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Upaḥḥir-Enlil*: 7:19  
5) f. of *Bēlšunu*: 2:12  
6) f. of *Ninurta-iddin*<sup>2</sup>: 2:13  
7) f. of *Taqiš-Gula*: 10:14, le. ed.
- Ardija* (ARAD-*ia*, ARAD-*ia*)  
1) s. of [ ... ]: 4:18  
2) f. of *Enlil-aḥḥē-iddin*: 13:13  
3) f. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*: 13:12
- Artaḥšassu* (*Ar-taḥ-šá-as-su*, *Ar-taḥ-sa-su*, *Ár-tak-šat-su*): 1:19, 2:18, 3:16, 10:1, 16; 12:3
- Arzā'* (*Ar-za-* ') in GN *Bīt Arzā* 1:18
- Attar-dannat* (<sup>f</sup>*At-tar-dan-na-at*, <sup>f</sup>*At-tar-dan-na-tum*) svt. of *Nabû-dilīnī*<sup>2</sup>: 9:2, 8, 11
- Bābu-ētir* (<sup>d</sup>KÁ-SUR) s. of *Kāšir*: 7:14, 11:14
- Bagādātu*<sup>2</sup> (<sup>d</sup>*Ba-ga-* '-UD-*da-a-tú*): 10:6, 8
- Balāṭu* (DIN) s. of *Enlil-kāšir*: 7:15
- Banija* (*Ba-ni-ia*) s. of *Barīk-Il*: 6:21
- Barīk-Il* (*Ba-rik*-DINGIR.MEŠ) f. of *Banija*: 6:21
- Bassija* (*Ba-[as]-si-ia*) f. of *Bēl-ušallim*<sup>2</sup>: 1:4
- Bēl-bullissu* (<sup>d</sup>EN-*bul-liṭ-su*, <sup>d</sup>EN-DIN-*su*)  
1) s. of *Iddin-Nabû*: 4:2, 3, 82) f. of *Ea-iddin*: 9:5'
- Bēl-ēreš* (<sup>d</sup>EN-KÁM), *šaknu* of Nippur, s. of *Silim-Il*: 7:2, 8, up. ed.
- Bēl-erība* (<sup>d</sup>EN-SU) f. of *Marduk-šum-ibni*: 9:7
- Bēl-eṭeru* (<sup>d</sup>EN-*e-ṭe-ru*) s. of *Bēlšunu*: 11:17
- Bēl-iddin* (<sup>d</sup>EN-MU) s. of *Bēlšunu*: 9:9'
- Bēl-iqīša* (<sup>d</sup>EN-BA-šá) f. of *Étir-Marduk*: 9:7'
- Bēlšunu* (EN-šú-nu)  
1) LÚ.x of Nippur: 13:4, 7  
2) s. of *Aḥušunu*: 3:11  
3) s. of *Arad-Ninurta*: 2:12  
4) f. of *Bēl-eṭeru*: 11:18  
5) f. of *Bēl-iddin*: 9:9'  
6) f. of *Enlil-aḥ-ittannu*: 7:13, le. ed  
7) f. of *Erība-Enlil*: 11:17  
8) f. of *Nanâ-idrī*<sup>2</sup>: 10:7, 9  
9) f. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 10:15  
10) f. of *Nišur-Enlil*: 2:16  
11) f. of *Tattannu*: 10:13, lo. ed.
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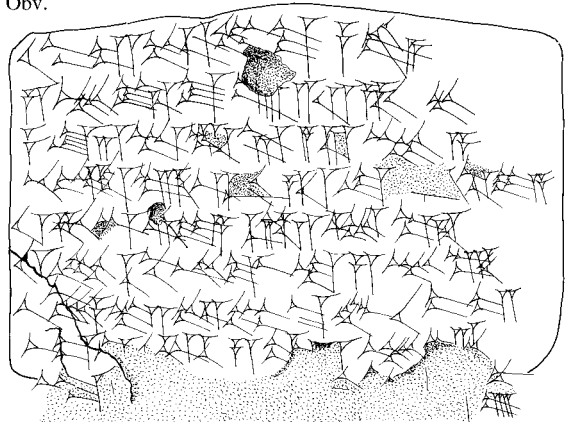
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	No. 9 to No. 12, n. 38	No. 151	to No. 4:3

<i>YOS7</i>	70	to No. 13, n. 45
	154	to No. 13, n. 50
	166	to No. 13

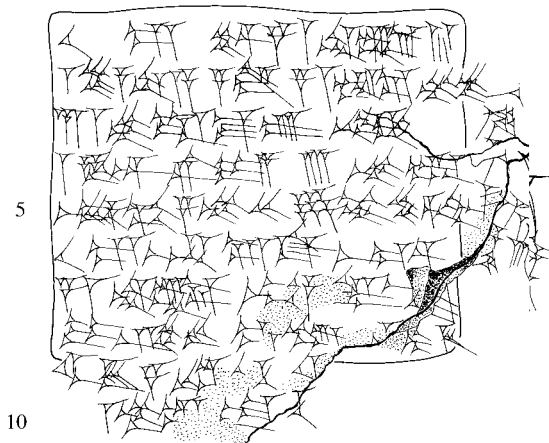
Obv.



5

10

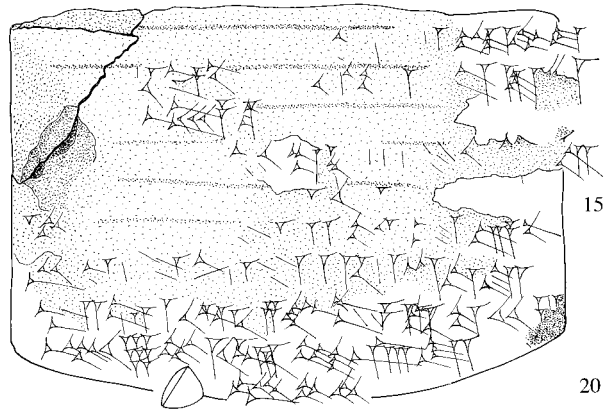
Obv.



5

10

Rev.



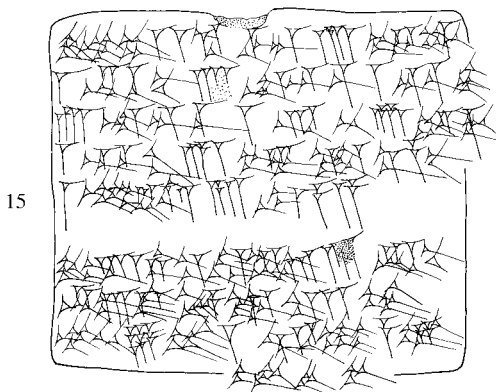
15

20

1 cm  
NBC 6148

1

Rev.

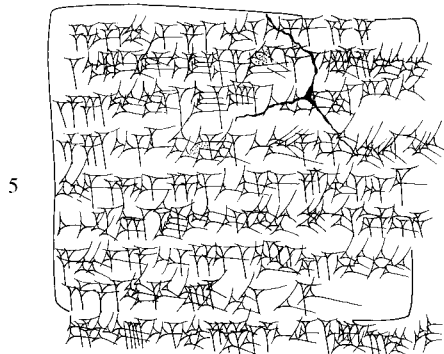


15

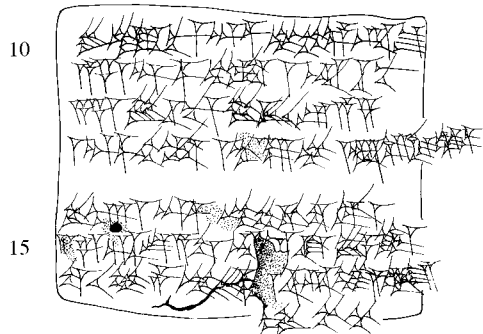
1 cm  
NBC 6206

2

Obv.



Rev.

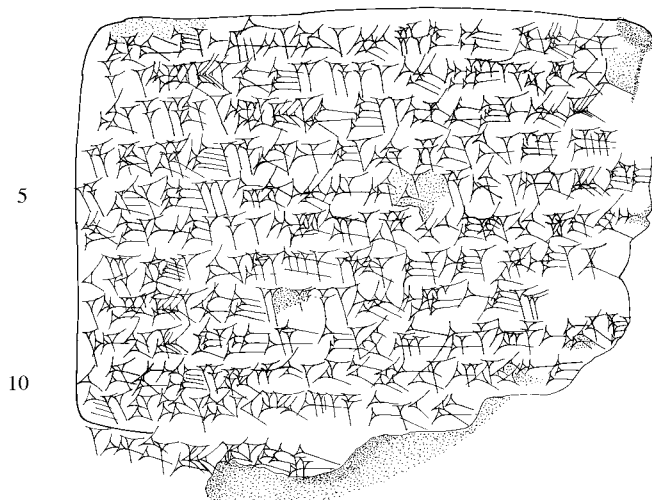


1 cm

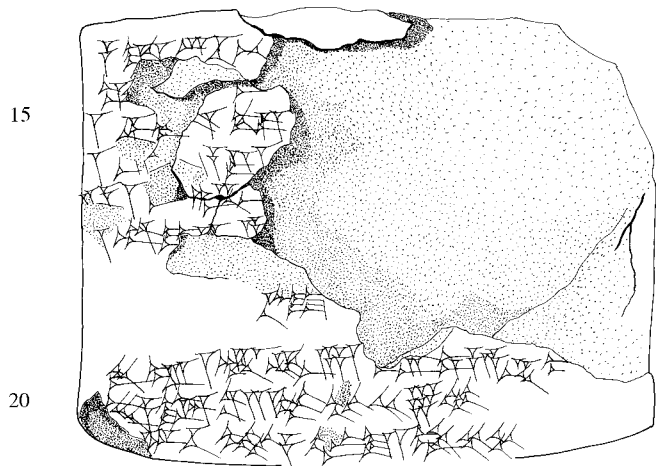
NBC 6122

3

Obv.



Rev.



1 cm

NBC 6147

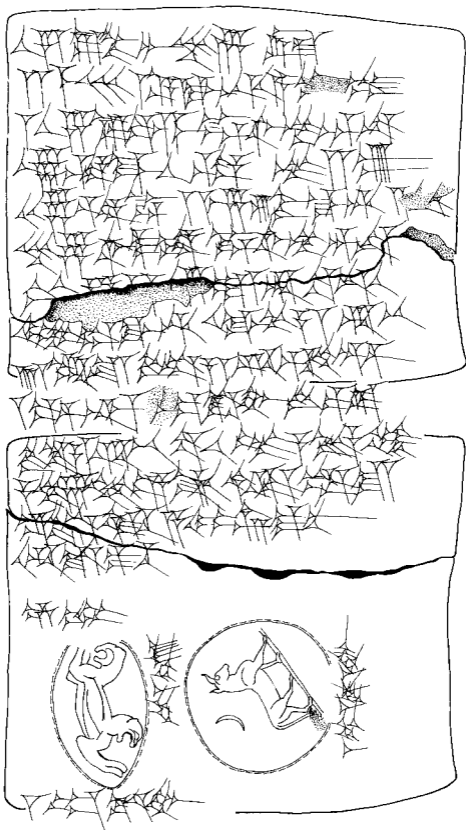
4

Obv.

5

10

Rev.

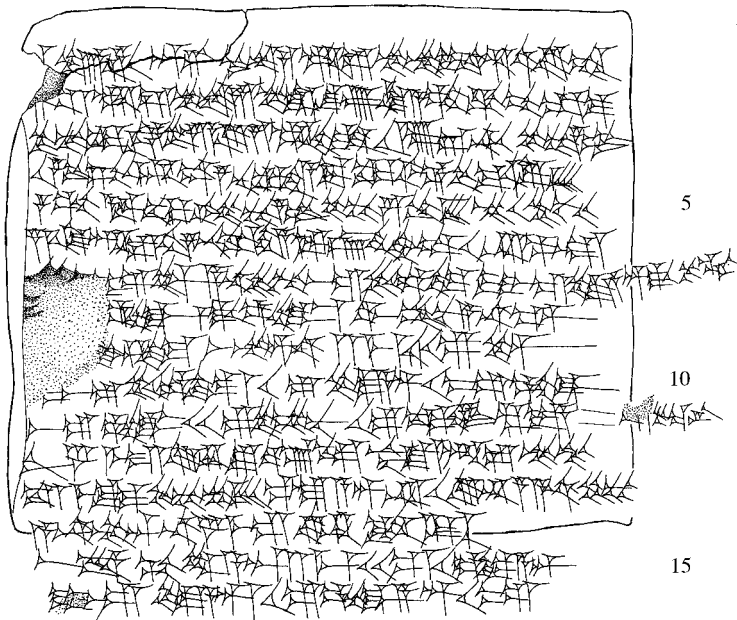


1 cm

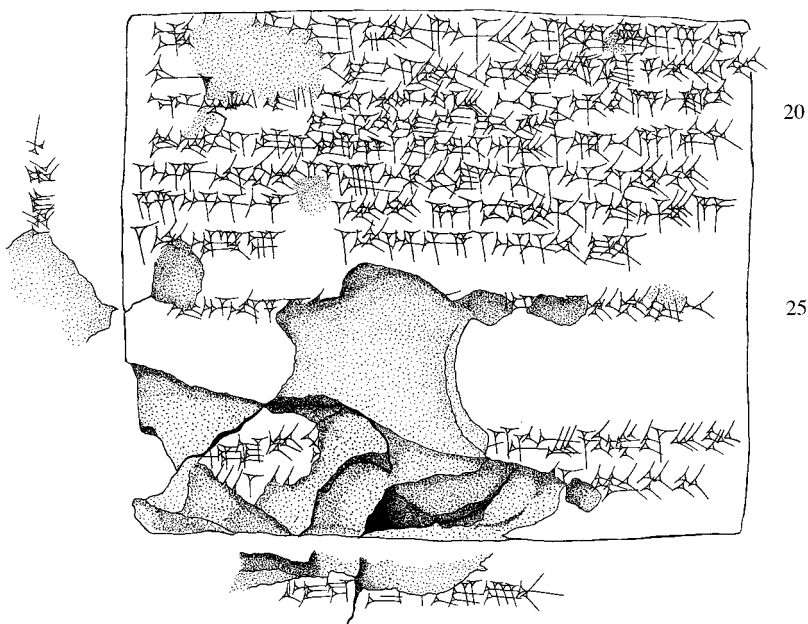
L-29-554

5

Obv.



Rev.

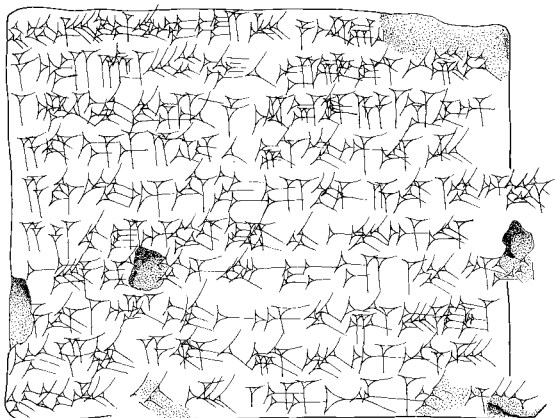


CBS 5316

6



Obv.

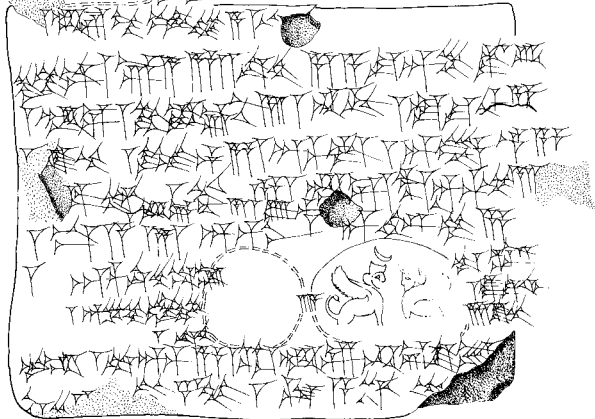


5

10



Rev.



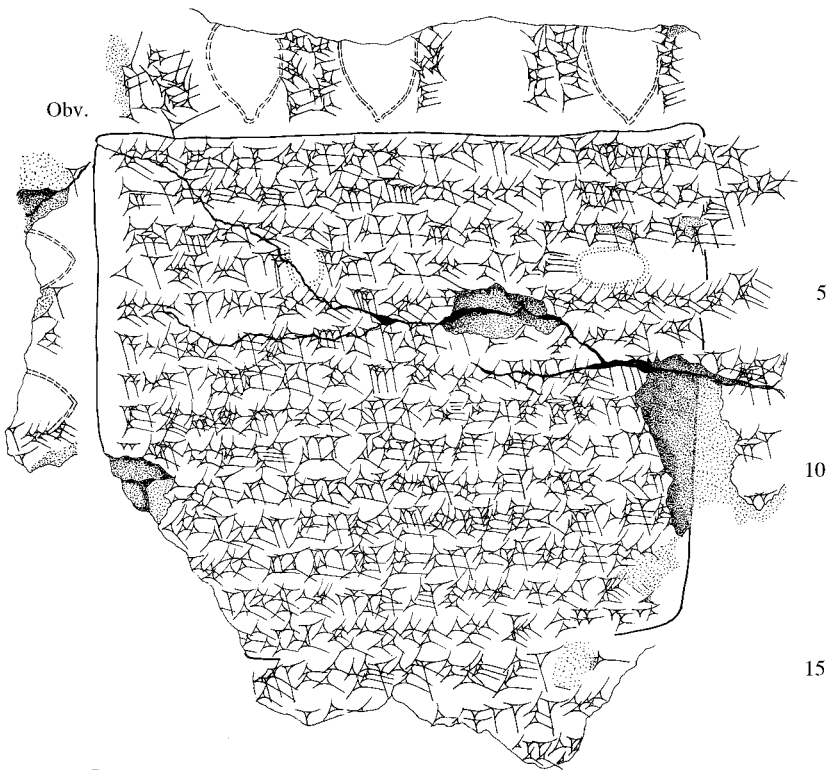
15

20

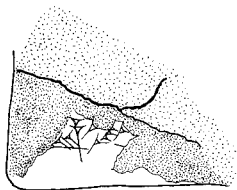


YBC 11564

Obv.



Rev.



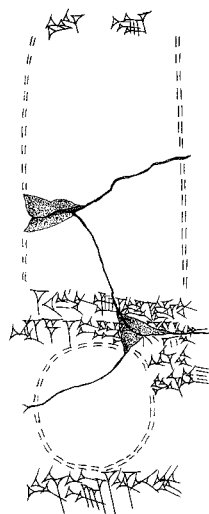
8



CBS 7961

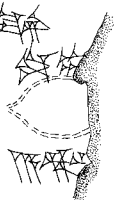
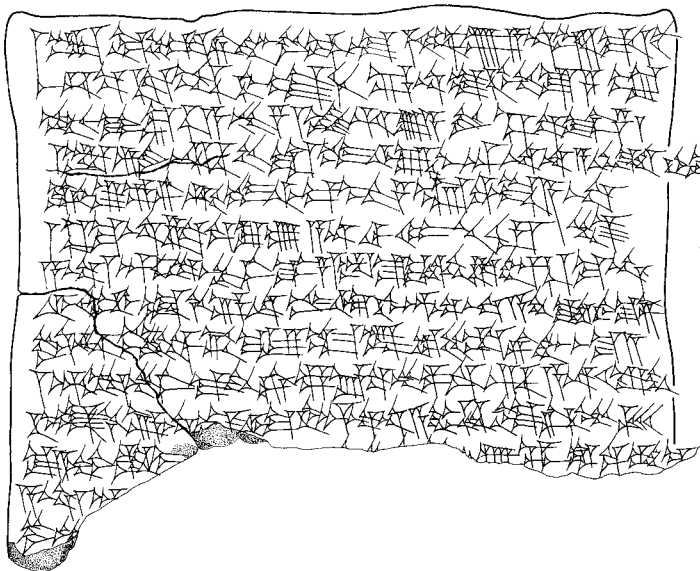


Obv.

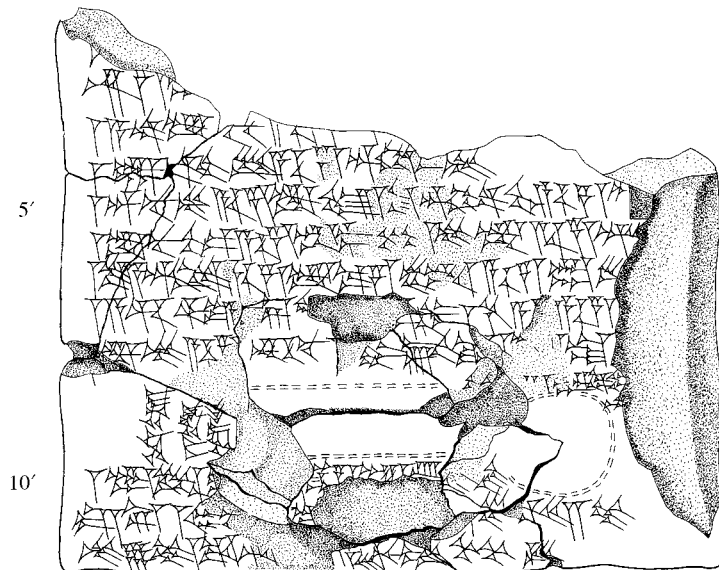


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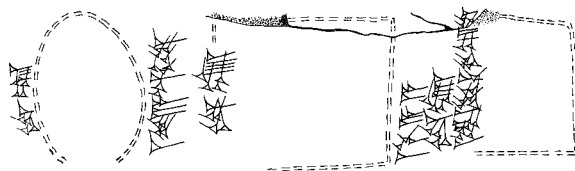


Rev.

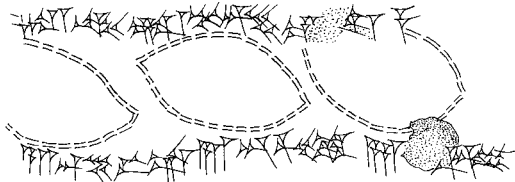


5

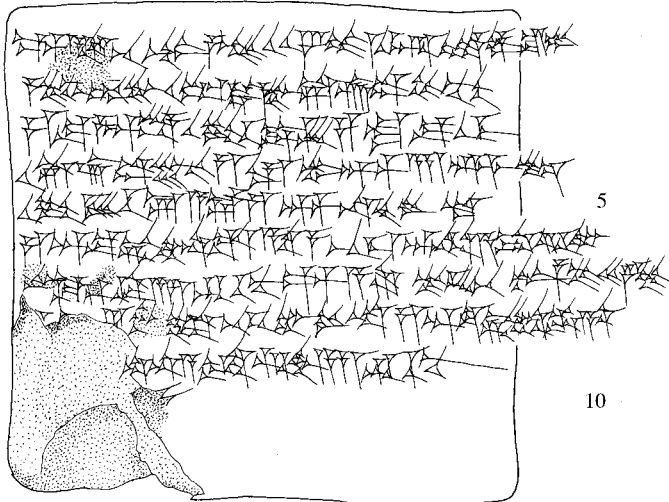
10



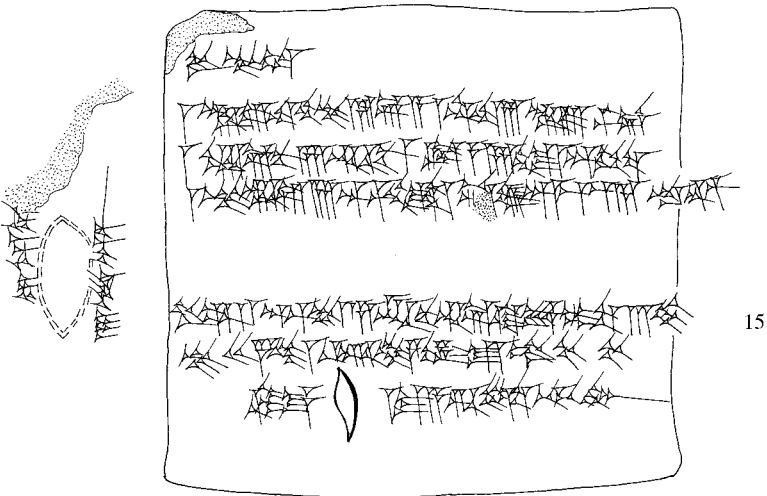
1 cm  
CBS 1594



Obv.

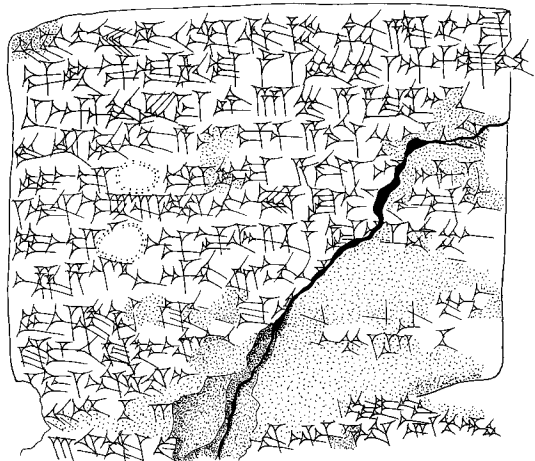


Rev.

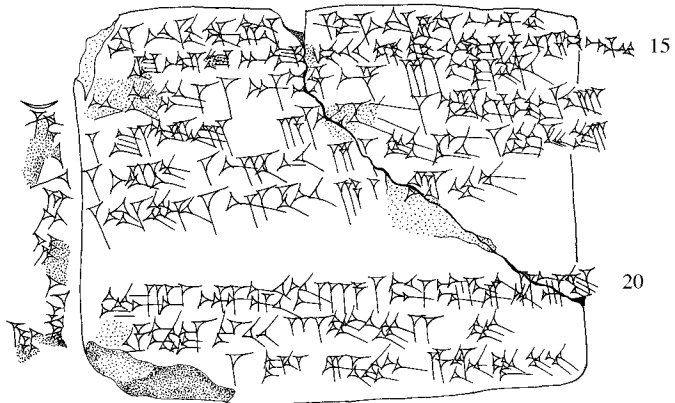


UM 29-13-729

Obv.



Rev.



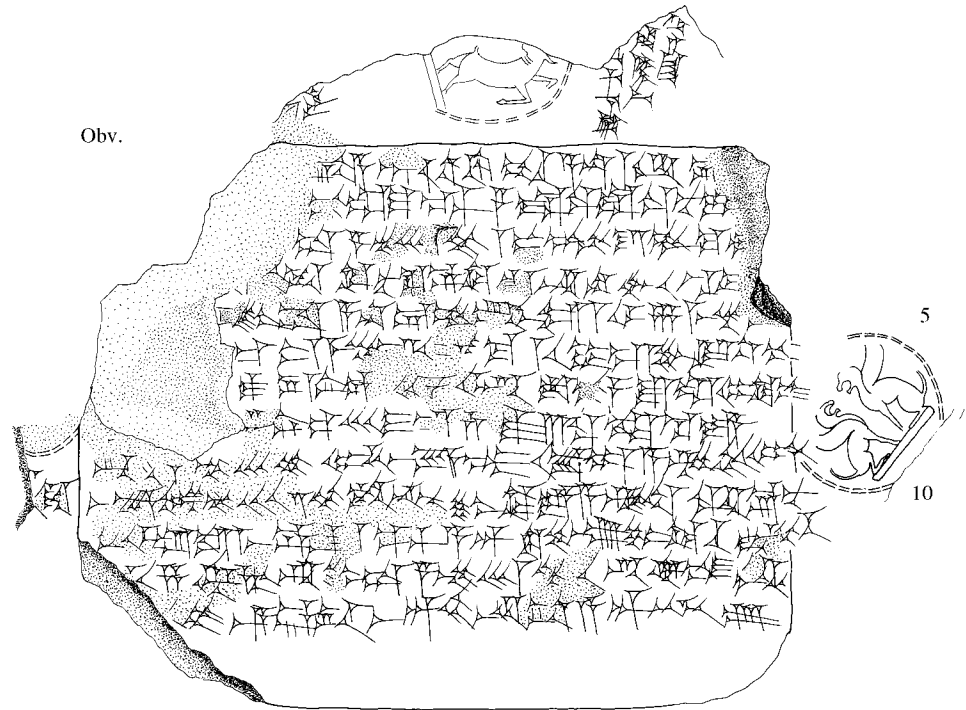
UM 29-15-511

11

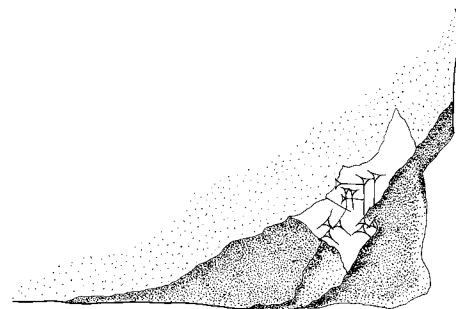
Obv.

5

10



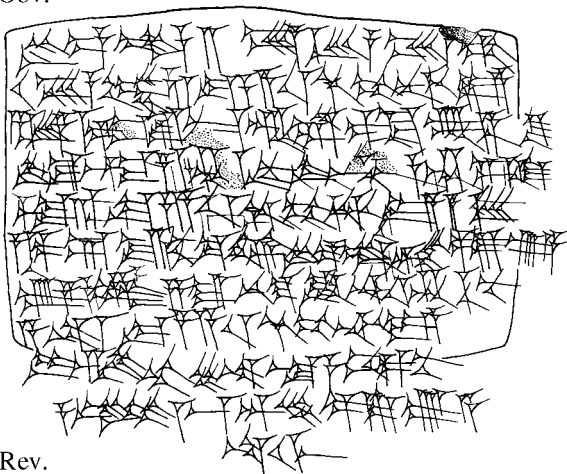
Rev.



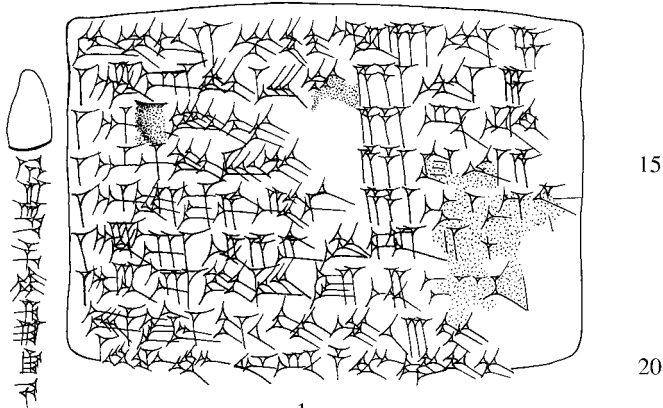
YBC 11668

12

Obv.



Rev.



1 cm

A. 34117  
IN284

13



CBS 1594 Upper Edge  
Seal of Eṭir-Marduk



CBS 1594 Left Edge  
Seal of Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu



CBS 1594 Upper Edge  
Seal of Eṭir-Marduk



CBS 1594 Left Edge  
Seal of Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu