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## **Studies in the aklu documents of the Middle Babylonian period**

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**Studies in the *aklu* Documents of the Middle  
Babylonian Period**

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Note: In this study, seal numbers follow Matthews 1992 and are written in boldface.

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## List of Abbreviations

BE	<i>The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts.</i>
CBS	Tablets in the collection of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia.
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.</i>
HS	Tablets in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena.
MBTU	O. R. Gurney, <i>The Middle Babylonian Legal and Economic Texts from Ur.</i>
MRWH	H. P. H. Petschow, <i>Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena.</i>
MSKH	J. A. Brinkman, <i>Materials and Studies for Kassite History.</i>
MUN	Mittelbabylonische Urkunden aus Nippur. The texts from Nippur published in L. Sassmannshausen, <i>Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit.</i>
N	Tablets in the collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia.
Ni	Tablets from Nippur in the collection of the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri.
PBS	University of Pennsylvania, the Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section.
TBER	J. M. Durand, <i>Textes babyloniens d'époque récente.</i>
UM	Tablets in the collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia.

The abbreviations of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (available at [http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=abbreviations\\_for\\_assyriology](http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=abbreviations_for_assyriology)).

## List of Rulers of Kassite Babylonia, with Abbreviations

Below I reproduce the list of Brinkman 1976a, 30–31. All dates in this study are B.C.

1.	Gandaš		(1729–1704)
2.	Agum I ( <i>maḥrû</i> )		(1703–1682)
3.	Kaštiliyašu I		(1681–1660)
4-5.	(uncertain)		(1659– )
6.	Urzigurumaš		
7.	Ḫarba-x		
8-9.	(Uncertain)		
10.	Burna-Buriyaš I		
11–14.	(Uncertain)		
15.?	Kara-indaš		ca. 1413?
16.?	Kadašman-Ḫarbe I		
17.?	Kurigalzu I		
18.?	Kadašman-Enlil I		(1374)–1360
19.?	Burna-Buriyaš II	BB	1359–1333
20.?	Kara-ḫardaš		1333
21.?	Nazi-Bugaš		1333
22.	Kurigalzu II	KG	1332–1308
23.	Nazi-Maruttaš	NM	1307–1282
24.	Kadašman-Turgu	KT	1281–1264
25.	Kadašman-Enlil II	KaE	1263–1255
26.	Kudur-Enlil	KuE	1254–1246
27.	Šagarakti-Šuriyaš	ŠŠ	1245–1233
28.	Kaštiliyašu (IV)	Kšt	1232–1225
28a.	Tukulti-Ninurta		1225
29.	Enlil-nādin-šumi		1224
30.	Kadašman-Ḫarbe II		1223
31.	Adad-šuma-iddina		1222–1217
32.	Adad-šuma-ušur	Ašu	1216–1187
33.	Meli-Šipak		1186–1172
34.	Marduk-apla-iddina I		1171–1159
35.	Zababa-šuma-iddina		1158
36.	Enlil-nādin-aḫi		1157–1155



## Governor of Nippur (*šandabakku*)

The list below is based on Sassmannshausen 2001, 16–17.

Amīlātu	Before or in the reign of Kurigalzu I <sup>(1)</sup>
Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē	In the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1337) <sup>(2)</sup>
Enlil-kidinnī	In the 24 <sup>th</sup> year of Burna-Buriyaš II (1336) <sup>(3)</sup>
Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub>	In the 8 <sup>th</sup> year of Nazi-Maruttaš (1300) <sup>(4)</sup>
Uzi-Šugab	After the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282) <sup>(5)</sup>
Amīl-Marduk	At a minimum, between the 9 <sup>th</sup> year of Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (1237) <sup>(6)</sup> and the 4 <sup>th</sup> year of Kaštiliyašu IV (1229) <sup>(7)</sup>
Enlil-nādin-šumi <sup>(8)</sup>	In the reign of Adad-šuma-iddina (1222–1217) <sup>(9)</sup>
Enlil-šuma-imbi	In the reign of Adad-šuma-ušur (1216–1187) <sup>(10)</sup>

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(<sup>1</sup>) Sollberger 1968, 191–192.

(<sup>2</sup>) Sassmannshausen 2001, p. 16. But it is not certain how long his tenure was.

(<sup>3</sup>) PBS 8/2 no. 162 obv. 8. In this study, I use “no.” (e.g., for PBS 8/2, BE 14, BE 15) to specify the text number. It does not refer to page numbers.

(<sup>4</sup>) MUN 434 obv. 4.

(<sup>5</sup>) BE 14 no. 39 obv. 1.

(<sup>6</sup>) BE 14 no. 136 u. e. 1.

(<sup>7</sup>) MUN 193 rev. 16.

(<sup>8</sup>) Sassmannshausen 2001, 17 (Enlil-zākir-šumi), Paulus 2014, 403 I 18 (<sup>m.d</sup>*en-lil-ŠÚM.MU*: Enlil-nādin-šumi).

(<sup>9</sup>) It is unknown how long his tenure was.

(<sup>10</sup>) Paulus 2014, 405 III 6–7. It is unknown how long his tenure was.

## High Priests of Enlil (*nêšakku*)

This list is based on Sassmannshausen 2001, 62.

Banâ-ša-Marduk	Son of Iddin-Ninurta <sup>(11)</sup>
[Bē]lānu	Son of Kadašman-Enlil, grandson of Kurigalzu <sup>(12)</sup>
Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub>	Son of Enlil-kidinnī and governor ( <i>šandabakku</i> ) of Nippur <sup>(13)</sup>
Enlil-bāni	In the reign of Kurigalzu I (before 1374) <sup>(14)</sup>
Enlil-kidinnī	Son of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and governor ( <i>šandabakku</i> ) of Nippur <sup>(15)</sup>
Enlil-šuma-imbi	Son of Dayyān-Marduk and governor ( <i>šandabakku</i> ) of Nippur in the reign of Adad-šuma-ušur (1216–1187) <sup>(16)</sup>
Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē	Governor ( <i>šandabakku</i> ) of Nippur in the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1337) <sup>(17)</sup>
Ninurta-rēšūšu	Son of Nūr-Dilbat <sup>(18)</sup>
Nūr-Dilbat	Father of Ninurta-rēšūšu, son of Enlil-bāni who was mayor of Dūr-Kurigalzu, descendant of Amīlātu. <sup>(19)</sup>
Nūr-Enlil	Son of Kurigalzu. <sup>(20)</sup>

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<sup>(11)</sup> Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 175 no. 5. Cf. Biggs 1965, 96.

<sup>(12)</sup> Matthews 1992, 87. For the legend of Matthews no. **61**, see Matthews and Brinkman 1990, 83–84 no. 103; Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 66 (n. 32), 202 (no. 193), Fototafel 7 (no. 193); van Soldt 1997, 97–104; Sassmannshausen 2001, 14 n. 158 and 62 n. 965; and Boese 2009, 86–88.

<sup>(13)</sup> Matthews 1992, 136.

<sup>(14)</sup> Paulus 2014, 315.

<sup>(15)</sup> PBS 13 no. 64 obv. 11'.

<sup>(16)</sup> Paulus 2014, 404 I 46–47. But the length of his tenure is unknown.

<sup>(17)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 62. But it is unknown how long his tenure was.

<sup>(18)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 62.

<sup>(19)</sup> Sollberger 1968, 191–192.

<sup>(20)</sup> Limet 1971, 95 (7.7).

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Introduction to the Kassites

The Middle Babylonian period (ca. 1595–1155)<sup>(21)</sup> is one of the less documented periods in Mesopotamian history. In the Middle Babylonian period Babylonia was under the rule of Kassite kings whose origin is still unknown. From their language, which is completely different from the surrounding Semitic languages, we can easily identify them through proper names. These include personal names (Kadašman-Saḥ, Dimahdi-Uraš, Burra-Ḥarbe, etc.), place names (Dūr-Kurigalzu, Karduniyaš, Karê-Karzi-ban, etc.), and divine names (Šuqamuna, Šumaliya). The Kassite people are known to have been enthusiastic breeders of horses, about which we have several documents and specific Kassite words such as *sirpe*, *alzibadar*, *pirmaḥ*, etc. These words seem to specify characteristics of a horse, but their exact meaning is still debatable. Also, at least two lists of Kassite words with Akkadian translations are known. For example, <sup>1</sup>*ku-ur-gal-zu* = <sup>1</sup>*re-'e-i-kaš-ši-i*, <sup>1</sup>*nim-gi-ra-bi* = <sup>1</sup>*e-té-ru*, *ka-mul-la* = <sup>dé</sup>*-a*, *ya-an-zi* = *šar-ru*, etc.<sup>(22)</sup> It is obvious that the ancient scribes felt an interest in this foreign language. But no sentences written in the Kassite language have yet been found.

The Kassites were already known in the Old Babylonian period, as the year names of the kings (Samsu-iluna, Abi-ešuh) in which the Kassite troops can be seen indicate. The early attestations of the Kassite people in and around Babylonia are in the 18<sup>th</sup> century B. C. The homeland of the Kassites has not been identified. But Sippar and its tribal environs had a clear link with the Kassite settlers. There they appear as seasonal agricultural workers and work troops for public works and military service. Gradually the Kassites penetrated a broad area that included Nuzi, Khana, Terqa, and Alalakh. A Kassite dynasty first gained control of northern Babylonia in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century and then conquered southern Babylonia by the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>(23)</sup>

Kassite society was organized into tribal units called “the House of So-and-So.” Examples are Bīt-Ḥašmar, Bīt-Abirattaš, and Bīt-Sirišaš. The personal name connected with the house is believed to be an eponymous ancestor. The members of the house are called sons of the eponymous ancestor.<sup>(24)</sup> In the texts excavated at the city of Nippur, a number of Kassites are mentioned. Some accounts of domestic animals reveal the social status of the Kassites.<sup>(25)</sup> They supervised the mayors (*ḥazannu*). The mayors in turn supervised the herdsman (*nāqīdu*). It is clear from this that the Kassites occupied the

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<sup>(21)</sup> Brinkman 1976a, 3.

<sup>(22)</sup> Delitzsch 1884, 20; Pinches, T. G. 1917, 106; and Balkan 1954, 2–4.

<sup>(23)</sup> Brinkman 1976–80 “Kassiten,” 464–465 and Sommerfeld 1995, 917–918.

<sup>(24)</sup> Brinkman 1976–80 “Kassiten,” 465.

<sup>(25)</sup> For example BE 14 no. 99a, 137, MUN 329, etc.

top position in the social structure. But also Kassite names can be seen in various professions such as miller, weaver, scribe, etc.<sup>(26)</sup>

## 1.2. Overview of the Kassite dynasty

According to a famous king list (King List A: BM 33332), the Kassite dynasty lasted 576 (years) and 9 months, with 36 kings.<sup>(27)</sup> It is the longest dynasty in the history of Mesopotamia. But the earlier kings' history has not been revealed sufficiently due to a lack of sources. Starting with the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (perhaps the 19<sup>th</sup> Kassite king; 1359–1333), the documents excavated at Nippur, which are the main source for the history of the Middle Babylonian period, are available.

Here I will give a brief overview of Middle Babylonian history.<sup>(28)</sup> As mentioned above, in the Old Babylonian period, before the Kassites established a dynasty, they were simply foreigners to the Babylonians. After the Hittite capture of Babylon (ca. 1595), the Kassites progressively gained control over Babylonia. The contemporary sources of this time are scarce.<sup>(29)</sup> Chronological sources and a few narrative sources are the main sources for reconstructing the history of this time. The first king who is thought to have ruled Babylon is Agum II (Agum-kakrime). He is said in an inscription (the Agum-kakrime inscription) to have returned the statue of Marduk after its capture by Muṣṣili I. But the authenticity of this inscription has been challenged.<sup>(30)</sup> If Agum-kakrime was a real king in the early period, he gained control over the northern part of Babylonia. The southern part was still ruled by the first dynasty of the Sealand. In the succeeding generations Burna-Buriyaš I concluded a treaty with Puzur-Aššur III concerning the boundary between the northern part of Babylonia and Assyria.<sup>(31)</sup> Afterwards the descendants of Burna-Buriyaš I (Kaštiliyašu III, Ulam-Buriyaš, and Agum III) conquered the southern part, namely the first dynasty of the Sealand, in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>(32)</sup> After the establishment of Kassite rule, Babylonia began to expand its foreign relations and constructed large structures as domestic projects. Kurigalzu I is the founder of the settlement of Dūr-Kurigalzu and was the Kassites' greatest builder. Many bricks on which his name can be seen are

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<sup>(26)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 143.

<sup>(27)</sup> Brinkman 1976a, 8.

<sup>(28)</sup> Brinkman 1972, 274–278.

<sup>(29)</sup> Recently published Boese 2008 sheds light on this time. But the texts from Tell Muḥammad have not been published. We need to wait for the edition of the texts. See also van Koppen 2010. He discusses sources from the Sealand, Tell Muḥammad, and Bahrain and reads the names of the kings of Tell Muḥammad as Ḥurbaḥ and Šipta-ulzi.

<sup>(30)</sup> Brinkman 1976a, 95.

<sup>(31)</sup> Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 102–105.

<sup>(32)</sup> Cf. André-Salvini and Lombard 1997 and Abraham and Gabbay 2013.

attested elsewhere in Babylonia. The next kings (Kadašman-Enlil I (1374)–1360 and Burna-Buriyaš II 1359–1333) are well known from the references in the Amarna letters. They were in correspondence with the Egyptian kings. The Babylonian kings mainly requested gold. The Egyptian kings received horses, chariots, lapis lazuli, etc. But a regular messenger service between Babylonia and Egypt had already been established in the time of Kara-indaš (ca. 1413). At the time of the Amarna letters, the relationship between them was declining. After Kadašman-Enlil I, the contemporary administrative texts excavated at Nippur become available. In the time of the next king, Kara-ḫardaš (1333), the Kassites revolted, killed him, and put Nazi-Bugaš (1333),<sup>(33)</sup> a Kassite, on the throne. Kara-ḫardaš was a son of Muballīṭat-Šerū'a, daughter of Aššur-uballit, king of Assyria. Thus, Aššur-uballit went to Babylonia to avenge Kara-ḫardaš. He killed Nazi-Bugaš and enthroned Kurigalzu the younger, son of Burna-Buriyaš II.<sup>(34)</sup> Kurigalzu II's reign continued for 25 years (1332–1308). At the time of the next king, Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282), the relationship between Babylonia and Assyria remained almost the same. The next two kings (Kadašman-Turgu [1281–1264] and Kadašman-Enlil II [1263–1255]) had corresponded with the Hittite king Hattušili III.<sup>(35)</sup> Kadašman-Turgu offered to send troops to Hattušili III against Egypt.<sup>(36)</sup> In the time of his successor, Kadašman-Enlil II, good relationships with the Hittites were maintained. As for the following generations, we have a recently published letter sent by Ini-Tešub, king of Karkemiš, to Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (1245–1233), king of Babylonia.<sup>(37)</sup> This letter was found in Ugarit, but it is still unclear why it was stored there.<sup>(38)</sup> In any case, we can learn that there was communication between Karkemiš and Babylonia. The next king, Kaštiliyašu IV (1232–1225), was decisively defeated by Tukultī-Ninurta I, king of Assyria, who invaded Babylonia and captured the statue of the god Marduk.<sup>(39)</sup> Afterwards Assyria ruled Babylonia for approximately seven years.<sup>(40)</sup> The next three kings (Enlil-nādin-šumi, Kadašman-Ḫarbe II, and Adad-šuma-iddina) are

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<sup>(33)</sup> Or Šuzigaš (see Grayson 1975, 172).

<sup>(34)</sup> Grayson 1975, 159, Brinkman 1976a, 418–419, and Glassner 2004, 178–179. Regarding a Babylonian scholar in Aššur at the time of Aššur-uballit, see Wiggermann 2008.

<sup>(35)</sup> Cf. Pedersén 2005, 93–97 text no. 4 and Boese 2009.

<sup>(36)</sup> Brinkman 1972, 276.

<sup>(37)</sup> Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016, 78–79 (notification courtesy of W. H. van Soldt).

<sup>(38)</sup> *Ibid.*, 79, note lines 1–5 “On note la déférence du roi de Karkemiš à l’égard du roi de Babylone. La mention de ces deux noms royaux situe la lettre entre 1255 et 1243. La présence à Ugarit de cette tablette, qui est d’une époque antérieure aux éléments datables de ce corpus, est difficile à expliquer.”

<sup>(39)</sup> Cf. Bartelmus and Schmitt 2014. They discussed the fragments of the inscription as plunder from Babylonia by Tukultī-Ninurta I.

<sup>(40)</sup> Grayson 1975, 161 and 175–176. A contemporary administrative text dated with the name of

thought to have been puppets of Assyria.<sup>(41)</sup> Adad-šuma-ušur (1216–1187), son of Kaštiliyašu IV, was able to terminate this Assyrian rule over Babylonia. His reign continued for 30 years. In the days of the next kings (Meli-ši-ĪU [1186–1172] and Marduk-apla-iddina I [1171–1159]), the so-called boundary stones (*kudurru*) are comparatively numerous.<sup>(42)</sup> The final phase of the Kassite dynasty came to end through Assyrian aggression by Aššur-dan I and an attack by Šutruk-Nahhunte, an Elamite king. Zababa-šuma-iddina (1158) was deposed. Then, at the time of Enlil-nādin-aḫi (1157–1155), Elamite troops invaded Babylonia and took the statue of Marduk.

### 1.3. Introduction to the sources

In this dissertation, administrative documents and letters are the main sources. In addition, a few documents excavated at private archives are treated. The four sources for the Middle Babylonian period used here are described below.

#### 1.3.1. Nippur

The most important source is the documents excavated at Nippur. Approximately 12,000 documents are thought to be from the Middle Babylonian period. But so far only a little over 10 percent of them have been published. There is a problem of provenance with this source. The documents were excavated at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the archaeological records are insufficient.<sup>(43)</sup> Among the documents excavated at Nippur, there are two main provenances. According to Pedersén 1998, one is called **Nippur 1**, which is located in area WB, from which about 10,000 Kassite clay tablets were excavated. Some of them have date formulae between the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Burna-Buriyaš II (1356) and the reign of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (1223). But it should be stressed that it cannot be determined whether all the tablets come from one archive, from several palace archives, or even from houses nearby. A large number of the texts may have belonged to the governor (*šandabakku*)<sup>(44)</sup> of Nippur. These documents include lists of disbursements of several commodities (such as barley, beer, flour, oil, and emmer),

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Tukultī-Ninurta I is attested (Brinkman 1976a, 386 no. 13 and plate 7).

<sup>(41)</sup> A new reference to Kadašman-Ḫarbe II can be seen in a recently published letter (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016, 156–157). He was enthroned, went to Babylon, Sippar, and Šadulna<sup>2</sup>, discussed matters with them, and returned to Lubdu, which is a settlement around the border between Babylonia and Assyria. This passage may support the supposition that Kadašman-Ḫarbe II was a puppet of Assyria.

<sup>(42)</sup> See Slanski 2003 and Paulus 2014.

<sup>(43)</sup> See Clay 1906a, 1–2; Pedersén 1998, 112–116; Sassmannshausen 2001, 186–187; Tenney 2011, 1–2.

<sup>(44)</sup> For governor (*šandabakku*), see Landsberger 1965, 373–375 and Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 and 186–187.

receipts of barley, collection of letters, etc.<sup>(45)</sup>

The other main provenance is **Nippur 2**, located in area WA near the temple of the goddess Gula, from which about 300 clay tablets of the Middle Babylonian period were excavated. The dates of these documents are between the 25<sup>th</sup> year of Burna-Buriyaš II (1335) and the accession year of Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (1246). A number of frequently mentioned persons in the Middle Babylonian documents such as Innannu, Martuku, and others belong to this archive. These documents are mostly receipts or concern the delivery of barley.

The documents excavated at Nippur are stored mainly in the Arkeoloji Müzeleri in Istanbul and in the University Museum in Philadelphia.<sup>(46)</sup> The main publications of the Nippur documents are Clay 1906a and 1906b; Radau 1908; Clay 1912a; Lutz 1919; Aro and Bernhardt 1958/59; Petschow 1974; and Sassmannshausen 2001.

### 1.3.2. Dūr-Enlilē

In 2015 W. H. van Soldt published over 450 Middle Babylonian documents dated to the later kings (from the 24<sup>th</sup> year of Nazi-Maruttaš [1284] to the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Meli-ši-ĪU [1181]). The provenance of these documents has not been determined, but Dūr-Enlilē is the best candidate.<sup>(47)</sup> The edition covers several genres such as juridical texts, letters, records of revenue and collected payments, expenditures, miscellaneous administrative texts, practice texts, and religious and lexical texts. Ninurta-zākir-šumi (l<sup>d</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu), son of Enlil-kidinnī<sup>(48)</sup> and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, son of Ninurta-zākir-šumi (i.e., a grandson of Enlil-kidinnī) are important officials in these documents. Van Soldt has already pointed out that both of these persons, Ninurta-zākir-šumi and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, can be seen in the texts excavated at Nippur.<sup>(49)</sup> These documents are on loan to Cornell University from the Rosen Collection in New York City.<sup>(50)</sup>

### 1.3.3. Ur

In 1983 O. R. Gurney edited 83 Middle Babylonian documents. Among them, 72 (nos. 1–47, 49–

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<sup>(45)</sup> Pedersén 1998, 113–115; Sassmannshausen 2001, 186–187.

<sup>(46)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 42.

<sup>(47)</sup> See van Soldt 2015, 29.

<sup>(48)</sup> It is quite likely that this Enlil-kidinnī was the famous governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur. But this has not been confirmed.

<sup>(49)</sup> See van Soldt 2015, 24 and 29–30.

<sup>(50)</sup> See the preface by D. I. Owen in van Soldt 2015, vii. The edition of the texts of the early kings from the Rosen collection is to be published by E. Devecchi in the near future.

73, field numbers U. 7787–9) were excavated by Leonard Woolley in 1926–1927 at the EM site.<sup>(51)</sup> Judging from the contents of the documents, they are private archival records of the family of brewers of the god Sîn.<sup>(52)</sup> The texts date from the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Kadašman-Turgu (1267) to the reign of Enlil-nādin-aḫi (1157–1155). These documents cover miscellaneous genres such as the redemption of a girl, trial by ordeal, purchase of a young boy, loan of grain, etc. Almost all are records from the daily life of the brewers. But since the brewers worked for the temple of Sîn, some records have an administrative character.

No. 48 has the field number U. 203 because it was found in 1922–1923 in a trial trench by the E-nun-makh (inside the temenos). It is dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Kaštiliyašu IV (1229). It deals with the loan of barley.

Nos. 74–83 were unnumbered tablets in the British Museum. Their provenance is unknown. No. 76 is dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> year of Nazi-Maruttaš (1292), no. 79 in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Kadašman-Turgu (1277), and no. 78 in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Kudur-Enlil (1249). These texts are of miscellaneous genres (purchase of a slave, stocktaking of textiles, dispute arising from a theft, etc.).

The former documents (nos. 1-72) have IM numbers.<sup>(53)</sup> Therefore they may be stored in the Iraq Museum. The later ones (nos. 74-83) are stored in the British Museum.

The main sources are Gurney 1974 and 1983.

### **1.3.4. The archive of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ**

In 1905, F. E. Peiser published 50 Middle Babylonian documents, and 10 more were published in 1926 by G. Contenau (his numbers 47–56). The documents are stored in Leiden and at the Louvre. Most of them are dated between the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Kadašman-Enlil II (1257) and the accession year of Kaštiliyašu IV (1233). But a few texts are dated much earlier (UDBD no. 120: 13<sup>th</sup> year of Burna-Buriyaš II [1347]; TCL 9 no. 47: 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Nazi-Maruttaš [1306]). These documents are records of the daily activities of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ. The provenance of these documents is still unclear. We find records (e.g., concerning the loan of barley, delivery of clothes, rations of barley, purchase of a calf), letters, etc., among them. We do not know the profession(s) of the family, but some of the documents seem to be concerned with a temple.

## **1.4. Introduction to the *aklu* documents**

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<sup>(51)</sup> Gurney 1983, 1 “a domestic quarter just outside the south-west wall of the temenos.”

<sup>(52)</sup> No. 13 has the field number U 7787x, which means that it was excavated at the EM site. But it has a much later date (the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Marduk-šāpik-zēri [1079]). The reason why it is mixed in with this group is not clear.

<sup>(53)</sup> No. 73 is mentioned without an IM number.



Among the above-mentioned sources, we have over 240 *aklu* documents<sup>(54)</sup> excavated at Nippur. In the texts from the Rosen collection, which may come from Dūr-Enlilē, at least 41 *aklu* documents are attested. Also, a few *aklu* documents can be found in documents from Ur and from the archive of the sons of Nabû-šarraḥ. The *aklu* documents are a distinctive feature of the Middle Babylonian period. They are administrative documents. Usually agricultural products (barley, flour, beer, oil, etc.) and products of domestic animals (sheep, goats, etc.) are treated. So far approximately 300 *aklu* documents are known. They are attested from the time of Burna-Buriyaš II (ca. 1350) to the time of Adad-šuma-ušur (ca. 1216–1187). This means that *aklu* activity lasted for a considerable period of time, approximately 130 years. As for the geographical distribution of the *aklu* texts, one *aklu* document mentions Dūr-Kurigalzu (in the north of Babylonia). Two *aklu* documents have been attested from Ur (in the south of Babylonia). Therefore, *aklu* activity prevailed in a wide area of Babylonia.

In *aklu* documents, several pieces of basic information such as the amount of commodities, the names of the commodities, the period of *aklu* activity (from the ...<sup>th</sup> day of the month ... to the ...<sup>th</sup> day of the month ...), the date with a royal name (...<sup>th</sup> year of ... king [a royal name]). Sometimes several personal names and the purpose of the expenditure are stated.<sup>(55)</sup> In addition to those items, a place name, and several technical terms (*šītu*<sup>(56)</sup>; *arād šarri*, *elē šarri*<sup>(57)</sup>; *ašābu*, *lā ašābu*<sup>(58)</sup>) may be added. The *aklu* documents themselves have been known to the scholars since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the exact function of the *aklu* documents remains to be determined. One reason for the difficulty in understanding them is the simplicity of the content. The text MUN 244 is an example:

Obv.

1	22 1/2	kaš sag	1	22 1/2	fine beer
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<sup>(54)</sup> Almost all the *aklu* documents treated in this study are sealed. Among the unsealed documents, those which are possibly *aklu* documents but which do not contain the term *aklu* are also treated. M. Stol kindly suggests the later Assyrian parallel *akiltu* “expended goods” (CAD A 1, 266; AHw 29).

<sup>(55)</sup> Usually the purpose of the expenditure is specified in a column format.

<sup>(56)</sup> The meaning of the term *šītu* is “expenditure.” Sometimes *šītu* and *aklu* are attested together such as *ak-lu<sub>4</sub> ù zi-ga*. The term *šītu* is discussed below.

<sup>(57)</sup> The commodities (beer, flour, sheep, etc.) were expended for the coming/going down (*arād šarri*) and coming/going up (*elē šarri*) of the king. Probably the king went to Nippur around the date of the new year (between months XI and I) for the new year festival. See section 19.6.1.

<sup>(58)</sup> The exact meaning of these expressions is still debatable. Probably the verb *ašābu* is concerned with the presence of a person. However, it is still unclear whose presence it is concerned with. I discuss these phrases in the section on *ašābu* in the overview of each category below (19.6.2.).

2	35 1/2	kaš UŠ	2	35 1/2	ordinary beer
3	1	dug <sup>(59)</sup>	3	1	clay pot
4	0,0.2. <sup>(60)</sup>	báppir	4	0,0.2.	beer bread
5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> šu <sup>1</sup> en-š <u>u-nu</u>		5	<i>aklu</i>	under the responsibility of Bēlšunu
Rev.					
6	ta u <sub>4</sub> -18- <sup>1</sup> kam <sup>1</sup> ša <sup>iti</sup> ziz		6		from the 18 <sup>th</sup> day of Šabātu (XI)
7	en u <sub>4</sub> -5-kam ša <sup>iti</sup> še		7		to the 5 <sup>th</sup> day of Addaru (XII)
8	mu-3-kam <sup>d</sup> ku-dūr-ri-L		8		3 <sup>rd</sup> year (of) Kudurri-Enlil
9	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum-aḫ-ḫe		9		sealed (by) Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē

Here several beer and beer products are mentioned.<sup>61</sup> However, it is unclear from this whether the statement is a receipt for the beer or a record of delivery of the beer, because no verbs like *imḫur* “he received” or *iddin* “he gave” are stated. Usually no verbs appear in the *aklu* documents. Probably the persons concerned with the *aklu* documents did not feel the necessity to write the verbs because the *aklu* was an ordinary matter for them. In obv. 5, a certain Bēlšunu is mentioned but without identification of his profession. Before his name we can recognize šu (hand). But this word can be interpreted in several ways such as “Bēlšunu received the beer and beer products as *aklu*” or “Bēlšunu delivered the beer and beer products as *aklu*” or “Bēlšunu supervised the receipt/delivery of the beer and beer products of *aklu*,” etc. In the next part of the text, the period of *aklu* activity and the date are given. In rev. 9, it is stated that (the tablet is) sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē. He is also mentioned without identification of his profession. He seems to have supervised this *aklu* activity because he sealed the document, but it is unclear what his role in *aklu* activity was and what his relationship with Bēlšunu was.

Previously the term *aklu* has been translated as salary, salary and expense, Ausgabe, distribution officielle de biens. These translations are compatible with the fact that sometimes the term *aklu* is mentioned together with *šītu* “expenditure” (*ak-lu<sub>4</sub> u zi-ga*). The word *šītu* is amply attested in several periods of Mesopotamian history, so we do not need to discuss its meaning. But the author of CAD A 1 hesitated regarding the definition of *aklu*, writing “expenditure(?)” The reason for the question mark is not clearly stated, but it means that the background of *aklu* activity has still not been sufficiently revealed. I believe it is necessary to study the persons mentioned in the *aklu* documents to understand

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(<sup>59</sup>) Possibly dug is a kind of beer. See del Monte 1994 and Deheselle 1994. M. Stol suggests dug can be comparable with the Old Babylonian beer-vessel *pīḫu*.

(<sup>60</sup>) Solid capacity measures are expressed, for example as “1,2.3.4.” which means 1 *kurru*, 2 *pānu*, 3 *sūtu*, 4 *qū*.

(<sup>61</sup>) Regarding beer and beer products, see Deheselle 1994.

the background. For that reason this study collects information on each person in the approximately 300 *aklu* documents and in the approximately 1300 non-*aklu* documents to make a profile of them.

By examining the profile, we can gain a better understanding of the *aklu* activity. Typically some artisans (brewers, millers<sup>(62)</sup>, oil-pressers) and shepherds were required to deliver commodities and/or to prepare commodities for the *aklu* expenditure. Sometimes a certain person supervised these artisans. Then, an official sealed the document. In one case (MUN 244), for example, Bēlšunu (a brewer) was the artisan and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē was the official. The tablet records that Bēlšunu prepared beer for the *aklu* expenditure under the supervision of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. Sometimes in other cases, however, the term *aklu* was used for a disbursal of barley for several purposes, including allotments for artisans (e.g., a brewer and miller).<sup>(63)</sup> Regarding institutional context, *aklu* expenditure not only for a secular institution (Nippur, local areas) but also for a temple is attested.<sup>(64)</sup> It is likely that the personnel of the institutions (secular and religious) received the commodities. However, around the new year (months XI–I), the commodities were consumed by the king and his people.<sup>(65)</sup>

## 1.5. Prior work on the *aklu* documents

### 1.5.1. F. E. Peiser

Peiser 1905 includes over 50 Middle Babylonian documents which seem to derive from the archive of the sons of Nabû-šarraḥ. These documents cover miscellaneous genres. The profession(s) of the sons of Nabû-šarraḥ is not attested, but may be related to a temple because one member received barley from the priest of the temple.<sup>(66)</sup> Among these texts there are two *aklu* documents.<sup>(67)</sup>

### 1.5.2. A. T. Clay

Clay (1906a, 14) translated the term *aklu* as “the salaries of the head officials” and pointed out that the seal does not belong to the person who received the salaries, but to another person. He referred to the seal impression of Rīmūtu, whom he understood to be an agent of the storehouse. He also mentioned a certain Rīmūtu of BE 14 no. 87a and interpreted him as *rab riqqu*. He commented that it

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<sup>(62)</sup> Here the miller is *kaššidakku*. Cf. Deheselle 2004, 274 n. 6 (*kaššidakku, ararru*).

<sup>(63)</sup> See 15.4.

<sup>(64)</sup> Regarding the religious purposes, see 4.5.2.

<sup>(65)</sup> See 19.6.1.

<sup>(66)</sup> The text is P 100.

<sup>(67)</sup> Peiser read the terms as *ak-zu* (P 105) and *ak-lu* (P 106) and translated it as “Speise” with a question mark. The references read as *aklu* can be found in CAD A 1, 280.

is hard to determine who sealed the documents due to lack of the names of the sealers in many cases.

In the series of tablets which are regarded as payments of the salaries (*aklum* cf. p. 29) of the head officials, the impression has been made with the seal of another; *i. e.* it does not belong to the man who received the salary mentioned in the inscription, but to another officer. In the documents of this class, there are no less than six tablets which contain the seal impression of *Rîmûtu*. They are records of salary paid to different individuals. This suggests the idea that he was an agent of the storehouse, and on taking out for delivery the articles mentioned for the officials, a record was not only made of the payments, but he was required to leave his seal impression upon the documents held by the bursar. In XIV, 87a, a certain *Rîmûtu* is called *rab riqqu*, which may be his title. On a number of the tablets of this class, names do not accompany the seal impressions. In most instances it is impossible at the present to determine to whom they belonged. It was doubtless unnecessary to write the name of the delivering agent, inasmuch as the impression of his seal was familiar to the official of the storehouse.

He translated the term *aklu* as “salary” but also pointed out that the term had a wider usage (p. 29, annotation on tablet 10, line 2).

*Aklum*, literally “food” is the term used for the salary of the head officials of the storehouse, such as *Innannu*, and *Martuku*. A great many small tablets record the payment of these salaries. On quite a number of these records, the seal impression of another is found, see p. 14. There is also a wider usage of the term cf. XIV, 133, where *ginû* “offering” and *niqû* “sacrifice” are summed up as *aklum*. In XIV 167: 1, *aklum* is given to an individual to make offerings to shrines (*e. g. parakku Bêl*); to pay wages (*ipru*); to give *kurmatu* to the temple, for oxen, sheep, etc., and to pay for *ḥargalû*, and for the making of ships (*a-na e-pish<sup>isu</sup> elippê*).

#### 1.5.3. D. D. Luckenbill

Luckenbill (1907, 311–313) translated the term *aklu* as “salary and expenses” and discussed the receipts of *Innannu*, *Martuku*, and others. He interpreted *Innannu* and *Martuku* as officials who received the salaries. In the section on other receipts, he referred to the seal impression of *Rîmûtu*, who he understood to be an agent. Then, he pointed out several references to small accounts of *aklu* and remarked on the difficulty of understanding the position of the persons mentioned in the accounts: “In many of the shorter tablets it is impossible to tell whether the amounts mentioned are paid to or by the persons mentioned. When town-names take the place of those of persons, there is still more uncertainty.” He also pointed out that the *aklu* of barley was issued not for salary but for several purposes such as horse-fodder.

#### 1.5.4. H. Torczyner

Torczyner (1913, 91) translated the *aklu* of barley as “verbrauchte Getreide” and pointed out that the *aklu* can be issued for several purposes, such as banquets (*naptanu*), rations for personnel (*kurummatu*), and rentals for wagons. He did not accept the translations of Clay and Luckenbill.

Diese Urkunde ist ein Beispiel der in B. E. XV besonders häufigen, aber inhaltlich wenige

wichtigen Inschriften über *ak-lum*. Die *dupšarrê*, die das Tempelvermögen verwalten, legen in ihnen Rechenschaft über das von ihnen verbrauchte Getreide ab. Der Natur der Sache entsprechend sind die hier bezeichneten Beträge nicht fix, sondern wechseln mit den Bedürfnissen der *dupšarrê*. Ferner sind unter diesem Titel natürlich Ausgaben aller Art angeführt, in XIV 81 z. B. *naptânu* (*KIN.SIG*), *kurmatu* für einen Mann, in XIV 144 Wagenmiete etc., etc. Die Clay-Luckenbillsche Auffassung von *aklum*, das einfach part. pass. von *akalu* = ‚verzehrt, verbraucht‘ ist, als ‚salary‘, ist deshalb entschieden abzulehnen.

On p. 109, he collected the references to *aklu* in BE 14 and 15 (Clay 1906a and 1906b).

### 1.5.5. W. von Soden

In *AHW* (1959, 27), von Soden interpreted *aklu* as a stative form of the verb *akālu*, „aufbrauchen,“ referring to BE 14, 27, 3 and Torczyner’s index for *aklu*.

### 1.5.6. CAD

CAD A 1 (1964, 280–281, on *aklu* B) translated *aklu* as “expenditure(?)” The references for *aklu* are collected in two categories (those where *aklu* is listed along with other expenditures, and other occasions). The author states that the *aklu* was an expenditure due to the parallelism with *šītu* and *ribbātu*.

Barley and barley products (beer, malt) are referred to as *aklu* received by a person (in some instances specified as the beer-brewer) while another person seals the receipt. The parallelism with *šītu* and *ribbātu* in the refs. cited sub usage indicates that *aklu* was an expenditure, perhaps only when edibles are summarized, and thus may be related to *akālu*. The term is attested only in MB administrative records from Nippur and Ur.

CAD A 1 also referred to the index of Torczyner.

### 1.5.7. H. P. H. Petschow

Petschow (1974, 62–79) published over 60 Middle Babylonian documents from the Hilprecht collection in Jena and translated the term *aklu* as “Ausgabe (Verbrauch).” Fourteen *aklu* documents are published in this volume. He pointed out that some documents have a seal reference to Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and that they have a close relationship one another and that a certain person who was not the receiver sealed them.

Die in Nrn. 18 bis 24 und 28 wiedergegebenen *aklu*-Texte über Mehl und Gerste (HS 137, 125, 119, 127, 126) oder Brauereiprodukte (HS 138, 118, 120) tragen ebenso wie UM II/2, 43, 45 und XIII 74 den Siegelungsvermerk des Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, entstammen also demselben Verwaltungsressort. In HS 137, 119 und 127 werden außerdem die Naturalien übereinstimmend als *aklu* (*lā a-ša-bu*) SU (= *qāt*) <sup>1</sup>LÚ-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU „(in der) Hand des (= empfangen durch) Amīl-Marduk“ bezeichnet. Obige elf Tafeln bilden zusammen eine neue zusammengehörige Gruppe solcher *aklu*-Texte, bei denen im Kontext ein Empfänger ((*qāt*) PN) genannt wird, während eine andere im Text nicht erwähnte Person

ihr Siegel beifügt.<sup>(68)</sup>

Regarding Matthews no. 164, he stated that the seal was used for MRWH 14 and for MRWH 31 and PBS 2/2 no. 20. Then, he pointed out (p. 49) that the former is dated at the end of the Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1333), but the latter two are dated in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282).

#### 1.5.8. J. A. Brinkman

Brinkman discussed the *elē šarri arād šarri* “coming/going up of the king, coming/going down of the king” dates and pointed out that “Many of these texts are *aklu* documents (B.6-8, B.11, C.4, C.6) or similar to *aklu* documents (A.1, B.1, B.9, C.1, C.2); and almost all of them deal with provisions” (1976, 411–414). He referred to the work of Petschow.

#### 1.5.9. O. R. Gurney

Gurney (1983) published 83 texts from the Middle Babylonian period. These documents came from the archive(s) of the family of the brewers of the god Sîn. Among them, we can find two *aklu* documents. He translated *aklu* in no. 68 as “amount consumed” and suggested that šu before the personal name should be interpreted as “on charge to” instead of “received by PN.”

“Amount consumed: on charge to Sîn-liqi-unninni.” The precise meaning of *aklu* in these accounts remains to be determined, but as similar accounts are often entitled ZI.GA and the two terms are sometimes combined (cf. no. 70), it is evidently a form of expenditure, and it is assumed to be derived from *akālu*. According to the CAD (‘A’ p. 280) and Petschow, *MRWH* 62ff., “hand” (*qāt*) of PN means “received by PN,” but a more accurate rendering would seem to be “on charge to.”<sup>(69)</sup>

#### 1.5.10. D. M. Matthews

In his 1992 publication, Matthews reconstructed, represented and numbered the seal impressions on the Middle Babylonian documents from Nippur, and arranged the references of the documents according to their seal impression. He translated *aklu* as “expenditure” and discussed BE 14 no. 87a, especially its seal impression and its seal reference. Also he states that a particular category of seal (Second Kassite seals) were most likely official seals and that the study of *aklu* documents must take into account their seal impressions. I follow his work in this dissertation.

The term “salary” used here and in the Catalogue is taken from Clay but may not now be considered appropriate for the particular administrative transaction involved. The word is *aklum*, which according to CAD A/1 is used for beer products received by a person, perhaps better described as an ‘expenditure’. The archive of Rimutu (148) is especially illuminating here. Rimutu is described as the *sirāšu* or brewer in the *aklum* text BE XIV 87a. Although the impression on this tablet was made with the same seal which is used

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<sup>(68)</sup> P. 62.

<sup>(69)</sup> Pp. 170-171.

elsewhere by Rimutu, it is here described as the seal of Ninurta-KI-pišu. Dr. Dalley tells me that this could be the same name as that of the owner of **155**, who was also authorising *aklum*-expenditures at this time. Why he borrowed Rimutu's seal is obscure, but Dr. Oelsner informs me that he did bear the same title (EAH 194 l. 4). The Rimutu seal is attested between year 5 of Nazi-Maruttaš (CBS 13352) and Kadašman-Turgu year 15, and is known to have been used by Rimutu at least between Nazi-Maruttaš year 15 (Ni 7835, 12216) and Kadašman-Turgu year 13 (Ni 2253). BE XIV 87a is dated to Nazi-Maruttaš, year unknown. Seal **155** existed by Nazi-Maruttaš year 11 (BE XIV 53), though use by Ninurta-ken-pišu is first attested in year 24. But as this is in the middle of the spread of Rimutu dates, one cannot assume that one official had inherited seal **148** (either personally or with the office) from the other.

It seems most likely that the seals—and by extension perhaps all Second Kassite seals—were official seals used only in the course of special official business. Since Second Kassite seals often give an owner's name in the inscription, and since the annotations on the tablets known to me almost always give the same owner's name for the same seal, it is probable that they were personal seals owned by the individual for use in his official capacity; but this does not seem to have precluded some use by other people. So in BE XIV 87a the *aklum*-expenditure of Rimutu is sealed (using Rimutu's seal!) by Ninurta-KI-pišu, while in BE XIV 87 the *aklum*-expenditure of Ba'erum is sealed by Rimutu. It should be clear from this that a full archival study of the *aklum*-texts, taking the sealings into account, is required; but we may now expect such a study to illuminate our knowledge of the sealing practices which were specifically associated with the Second Kassite style.<sup>(70)</sup>

#### 1.5. 11. G. F. Del Monte

Del Monte (1994, 187–208) discussed the term *dug gal* “large jar” and interpreted it as containing a kind of beverage. Then, he discussed the term *iškaru* “work assignment” and the term *aklu*. He translated the *aklu* as “consumo.” But he said its meaning is still unclear. He also appended the transliterations of 21 documents from Nippur.

#### 1.5.12. D. Deheselle

Deheselle discussed beer and beer products found in the documents from Nippur, especially with regard to the composition of the documents, the receivers of the beer, the measures/units used for beer, beer for religious purposes, and the term *dug* (1994, 24–38). She said that in most cases the receivers are stated without professions. She concluded that beer can be distributed as *aklu* for meals: “Il ne faut pas oublier qu'elle est généralement distribuée comme *aklu*, c'est-à-dire comme paiement ou allocation à vocation alimentaire.”<sup>(71)</sup>

In a review of Matthews 1992, Deheselle (1995, 1–32) published an index of Matthews' work with the categories *cote musée*, OBO 116, *date*, MSKH, *édit. sceau*, *édit. texte*, *édit. légende*,

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<sup>(70)</sup> Pp. 58-59.

<sup>(71)</sup> P. 38.

nom dans légende, sujet texte, signataire, role signataire, and remarques. She pointed out that Matthews no. **148** and no. **189** are frequently used and that the dates of no. **189** continued those of no. **148**. She also said the users of these seals were officials who were responsible for several issues.

Certains sceaux *Second Kassite* et *Second Kassite derivative* ont été beaucoup utilisés: le n° 148 (43 empreintes dont 20 datées) et le n° 189 (114 empreintes dont 91 datées) semblent se succéder directement, selon la documentation. Leurs utilisateurs sont des fonctionnaires chargés de veiller aux mêmes genres de contrats.<sup>(72)</sup>

She commented on the users of Matthews no. **148** and pointed out that Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, Rīmūtu, and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used this seal.

Pour les deux premières attestations du sceau n° 148 (Nazi-Maruttaš 5), l'utilisateur reste inconnu, les textes étant inédits. Ensuite, il a été utilisé par trois personnes: 1) <sup>d</sup>En.lil-al.sag<sub>6</sub> (= <sup>d</sup>Enlil-*mudammīq*, Nazi-Maruttaš 6, 2e année de l'attestation de l'empreinte); 2) Rimutu (de Nazi-Maruttaš 15 à Kadašman-Turgu 13, soit pendant 25 ans); il faut noter que la dernière occurrence datée de l'empreinte (le signataire m'est inconnu, le texte étant inédit) est postérieure de deux ans seulement; 3) ce sceau a servi une fois à Ninurta-kin-pīšu (sans date, mais en présence de Rimutu, cité dans le même texte).<sup>(73)</sup>

In 1996 (pp. 215–221) Deheselle discussed the 173 *aklu* documents from Nippur according to several categories (le support, la présentation, les denrées, les localités, la durée, la redistribution, transcription et lecture). She interpreted *aklu* as a one-way distribution from the administration to beneficiaries under the responsibility of the official. She observed that the commodities can be distributed directly to the beneficiaries, including individuals, temples, cities, and villages. Also, the commodities can be assigned to an individual who does not seem to be an official or a beneficiary, but who is responsible for redistribution to the beneficiaries. These redistributions are called as kur<sub>6</sub>/šuk (*kurummatu*) or še-ba (*ipru*). She concluded that *aklu* was a “distribution officielle de biens d'origine agricole ou pastorale à des individus ou des collectivités pour des usages alimentaires et pratiques non liés à l'exercice d'une profession.”

### 1.5.13. G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado

Delgado 1996 reconstructs, represents, and numbers the seal impressions of the Middle Babylonian documents. She deals with the seal impressions of Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Isin/Isan Bahriyat, Nippur, Peiser-Archiv, Tell Imlihiye, Tell Subeidi, and Ur. She mentioned MRWH 25 (HS 2887) as an example of the use of an envelope for an *aklu* document (p. 45). She also referred to several *aklu* documents in her discussions of seal impressions (p. 51) and seal references (p. 56). She pointed out that MRWH 29 was sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (p. 56) and that Stiehler no. 233 was used by

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<sup>(72)</sup> P. 4.

<sup>(73)</sup> Ibid.



Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and another person (p. 61 n. 9).<sup>(74)</sup>

#### 1.5.14. M. Hölscher

In her 1996 work, Hölscher collected the personal names from the several publications of the Middle Babylonian documents from Nippur (administrative documents, letters) and arranged them in alphabetical order. She made excellent indexes of Akkadian words, god names, place names, temple names, Elamite names, Hurrian names, Kassite names, West Semitic names, and Sumerograms. She pointed out (p. 155) that BE 14 no. 53 was sealed with the seal (Matthews no. **155**) that was usually used by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, but in BE 14 no. 53, its seal reference is his father, Enlil-nīšu.

#### 1.5.15. L. Sassmannshausen

Sassmannshausen (2001) published over 110 *aklu* documents (mainly of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, and some of Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu) arranged according to the commodities. He interpreted the term *aklu* as the artisans' delivery of the commodities to a facility, such as the storehouse of the palace. Then, the commodities are disbursed to the beneficiaries.

Aus dem oben gesagten wie auch aus den bei MUN 164 festgehaltenen Beobachtungen läßt sich entnehmen, daß der Begriff *aklu* für Lebensmittellieferungen der Produzenten an eine Verwaltungseinrichtung wie z. B. das Siegelhaus des Palastes steht, welche die Lebensmittel dann an die Endverbraucher weitergibt.<sup>(75)</sup>

He pointed out (p. 318) that MUN 156 was sealed by Rīmūtu but its seal impression is not the usual Matthews no. **148**, but rather no. **55**, and that Matthews no. **148** was used by Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, Rīmūtu, and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Also, he noticed that the seal references for MUN 219 and 241 are to Iqīša-Ninimma, although they were sealed with Matthews no. **189**, which was usually used by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. He observed (p. 335) that the persons (šu PN) in the flour *aklu* documents do not appear in the *aklu* documents related to beer: "Man beachte, daß es bei den Personen, "zu Händen" derer die Materialien sind, keine personellen Überschneidungen zwischen den Texten über Ausgabe von Gerste und Mehl (siehe oben zu MUN 164) einerseits und den Texten über Ausgabe von Bier andererseits gibt."

#### 1.5.16. J. S. Tenney

In Tenney 2011, the family of Dayyānī-Šamaš (his Household 1) may be connected with the *aklu* document MRWH 25, although this is still uncertain.

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<sup>(74)</sup> Matthews 1992, 135 does not refer to MRWH 29 (HS 131) as a document of Matthews no. **189**.

<sup>(75)</sup> P. 318.

### 1.5.17. W. H. van Soldt

Van Soldt (2015) published over 450 Middle Babylonian documents, including approximately 40 *aklu* documents, probably from Dūr-Enlilē. Among them we can find the several *aklu* documents pertaining to sheep or other livestock, which are not common in the documents from Nippur.

### 1.6. Current Approach

As we have seen, the *aklu* documents are not yet sufficiently understood.<sup>(76)</sup> To elucidate the background of *aklu* activity is the purpose of this study. As mentioned above, I think it is necessary to study the persons who appear in the *aklu* documents and to make a profile of them. However, the records of the provenance of the documents excavated at Nippur are not sufficient. Therefore, I have decided to study the persons of the *aklu* documents according to their seal impressions. Fortunately over one hundred fifty of the *aklu* documents have seal impressions. Also, we now have studies of the seal impressions (Matthews 1992 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996).

Matthews arranged the documents according to their seal impressions. In the present study I examine each group according to several categories such as *aklu*, seal reference, seal impression, year, month, day, key persons, professions, commodities, place names, and notes. These categories are described below.

***aklu***: Most cases of sealing in the major groups of seal impressions (Matthews nos. 148, 155, 189) are for *aklu* documents. The term *aklu* is sometimes stated along with *šītu* “expenditure” (e.g., MUN 162). But the term *aklu* is sometimes not stated in the documents treated in this study. Some documents are clearly not *aklu* documents. For example, MRWH 14 (with Matthews no. 164 as the seal) is a record of the activities of Enlil-kidinnī, governor (*šandabakku*).<sup>(77)</sup> CBS 8872 (Matthews no. 61) is an account document for sheep. It contains a clause about the obligations of the shepherd and the mayor, and the penalties for non-performance of their duties.<sup>(78)</sup> Also UM 29-15-691 (Matthews no. 61) may state the parallel clauses for duties related to cows. Yet I discuss these non-*aklu* documents here because they are examples of sealing practices with implications for the *aklu* documents.

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<sup>(76)</sup> Deheselle (1996) discussed the 173 *aklu* documents from Nippur according to the several categories and greatly contributed to better understanding of *aklu*. Yet she describes her approach as preliminary: “La distribution AKLU à Nippur à l’époque Kassite, approche préliminaire.”

Sassmannshausen (2001) published over 110 *aklu* documents. He pointed out several sealing practices connected with the *aklu* documents, and a relationship between brewers and millers. His publications and remarks are very helpful for understanding the *aklu*. Yet, the background of *aklu* activity and the identifications of the persons are still debatable.

<sup>(77)</sup> About the Enlil-kidinnī’s activity, see Petschow 1974, 45–49; Petschow 1983; Sassmannshausen 2001, 20, 202–208; Tenney 2011, 31–33.

<sup>(78)</sup> Regarding the duties of a shepherd, see Brinkman 2004, 290 n. 36.

**Seal reference:** This is an expression that specifies the sealer of a document. Usually the sealer is mentioned as follows: <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-ah-ḥe “Sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.” Regarding the sealing practice, the seal reference and the seal impression should be discussed separately because sometimes one person used several seals<sup>(79)</sup> and because one seal was used by several persons.<sup>(80)</sup>

**Seal impression:** This study follows Matthews 1992 with regard to seal impressions. Usually I refer to Matthews’ numbering (e.g., “Matthews no. **148**”). Additionally, I have checked the seal impressions in the photos available on the CDLI website.<sup>(81)</sup> In cases where the seal impression is very faint, I put a question mark next to the reference. The seal impressions attested in the *aklu* documents are as follows: Central First Kassite style<sup>(82)</sup>: nos. **26, 55, 61**; Second Kassite style<sup>(83)</sup> or Second Kassite derivatives<sup>(84)</sup>: nos. **142,**<sup>(85)</sup> **146, 148, 155, 156, 157, 161, 162, 164, 187, 188, and 189.**

**Year, month, name:** Some documents are dated with a royal name. In this study the earliest date is year 10 of Burna-Buriyaš II (1350).<sup>(86)</sup> The latest date is the reign of Adad-šuma-ušur (1216–1187).<sup>(87)</sup> The period is therefore at least 135 years. The month is expressed in this study by roman numerals (I, II, III, etc.). Some *aklu* documents have a term for a period of days, such as from the first day to the tenth day of the month Nisannu (I). In this case the period is expressed as follows: I, days 1–10. Basically the period is inclusive.

**Key persons:** The key persons are mainly artisans (professions such as brewer, miller, oil-presser) and shepherds who prepared the commodities and some persons who supervised the artisans (e.g., Innannu, Martuku, Nippurītu). The officials who sealed the *aklu* documents are already mentioned in the section on seal reference. In addition to those, some persons (Enlil-nīšu, Enlil-aḥulap, etc.) who play an important role in our discussion are noted.

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<sup>(79)</sup> Rīmūtu used at least two seals (Matthews no. **55** and no. **148**). Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used at least two seals (Matthews no. **148** and no. **155**).

<sup>(80)</sup> Matthews no. **148** was used by Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, Rīmūtu, and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Matthews no. **155** was used by Enlil-nīšu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Matthews no. **189** was used by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and Iqīša-Ninimma.

<sup>(81)</sup> In the rest of the dissertation I will give only the photo number (e.g., P259192.jpg) instead of the whole URL (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P259192.jpg>).

<sup>(82)</sup> For this style see Matthews 1990, 55ff., and Matthews 1992, 10ff.

<sup>(83)</sup> For Second Kassite style see Matthews 1990, 60ff., and Matthews 1992, 33ff. Also see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 136–137 (Zweite Gruppe).

<sup>(84)</sup> On Second Kassite derivatives, see Matthews 1992, 49.

<sup>(85)</sup> CBS 3091 looks like an *aklu* document, but the term *aklu* is not mentioned.

<sup>(86)</sup> MUN 269.

<sup>(87)</sup> MBTU 62.

**Occupations:** Here the term occupation is used in a wide sense, including profession, position, and status. Included are cases such as king (*šarru*), messenger (*mār šipri*), and daughter of boatman (*mārat malāḫi*).

**Commodities:** In *aklu* documents many commodities (beer, barley, flour, oil, sheep, etc.) are dealt with. They are mainly agricultural foods or products of domestic animals. So far fish or fruit like dates are not attested as *aklu*.

**Place names:** This category includes mainly geographical names mentioned in the documents. But sometimes the name of an institution or facility, such as a storehouse (*bīt kunukki*), palace (*ekal šarri*), or inner part of the palace (*bītānu*), are also noted.

**Notes:** In this category I note particularly remarkable characteristics. For example, sometimes the phrases *arād šarri* “the coming/going down of the king,” *elē šarri* “the coming/going up of the king” are mentioned in *aklu* documents. These expressions are clearly concerned with the activities of the king and therefore they should be noted. Another such matter is the expression *ašābu* or its negative *lā ašābu*, the meaning of which is still debatable. These expressions are attested in the *aklu* documents and probably concerned the presence or absence of a person. Also, I mention cases of enveloped *aklu* documents. These are documents that were sent from a location other than Nippur, and therefore are noteworthy.

By examining each seal impression group from the perspective of these categories, it becomes apparent that we can find mainly two geographical areas. One is Nippur and the settlements around it, i.e. Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, Kār-Nusku, and Āl-Irrē. Among these settlements Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, and Kār-Nusku are attested on an ancient map which is shown below.<sup>(88)</sup> The other area is that of “Das Archiv des Speichers.”<sup>(89)</sup>

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<sup>(88)</sup> W. H. van Soldt kindly called my attention to this map (Clay 1905, 223–225).

<sup>(89)</sup> For Das Archiv des Speichers, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 187–194.

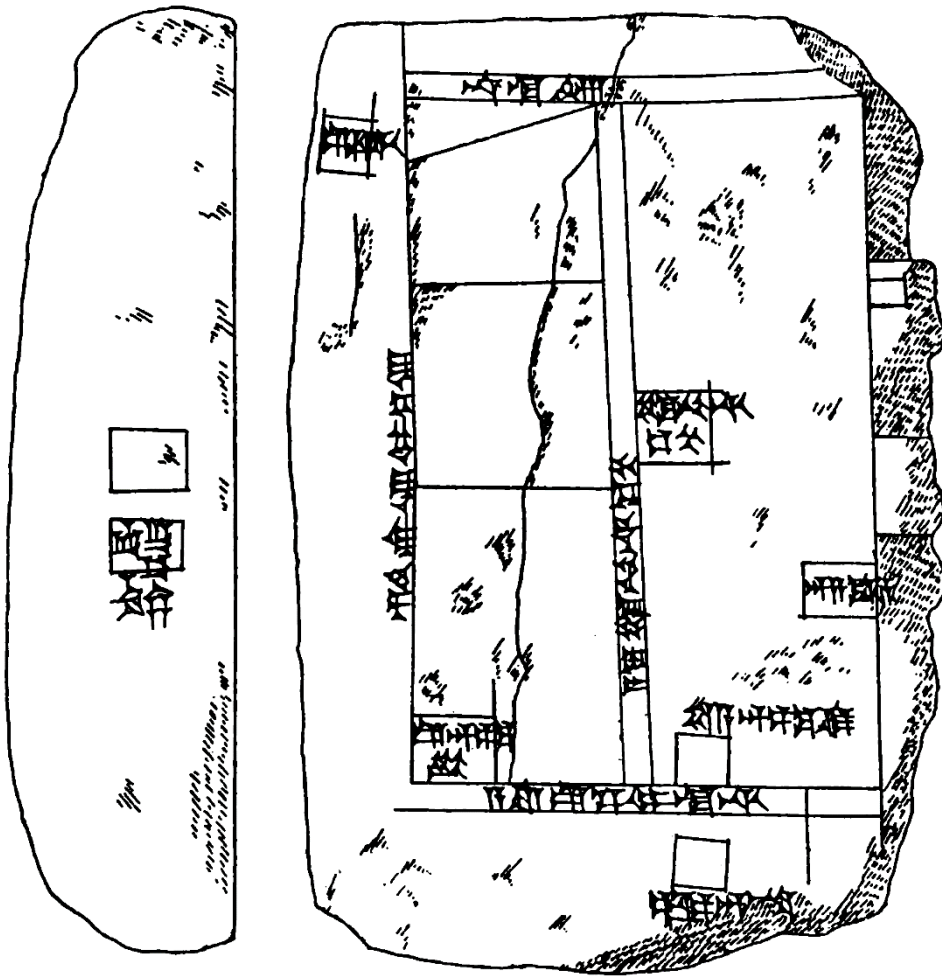
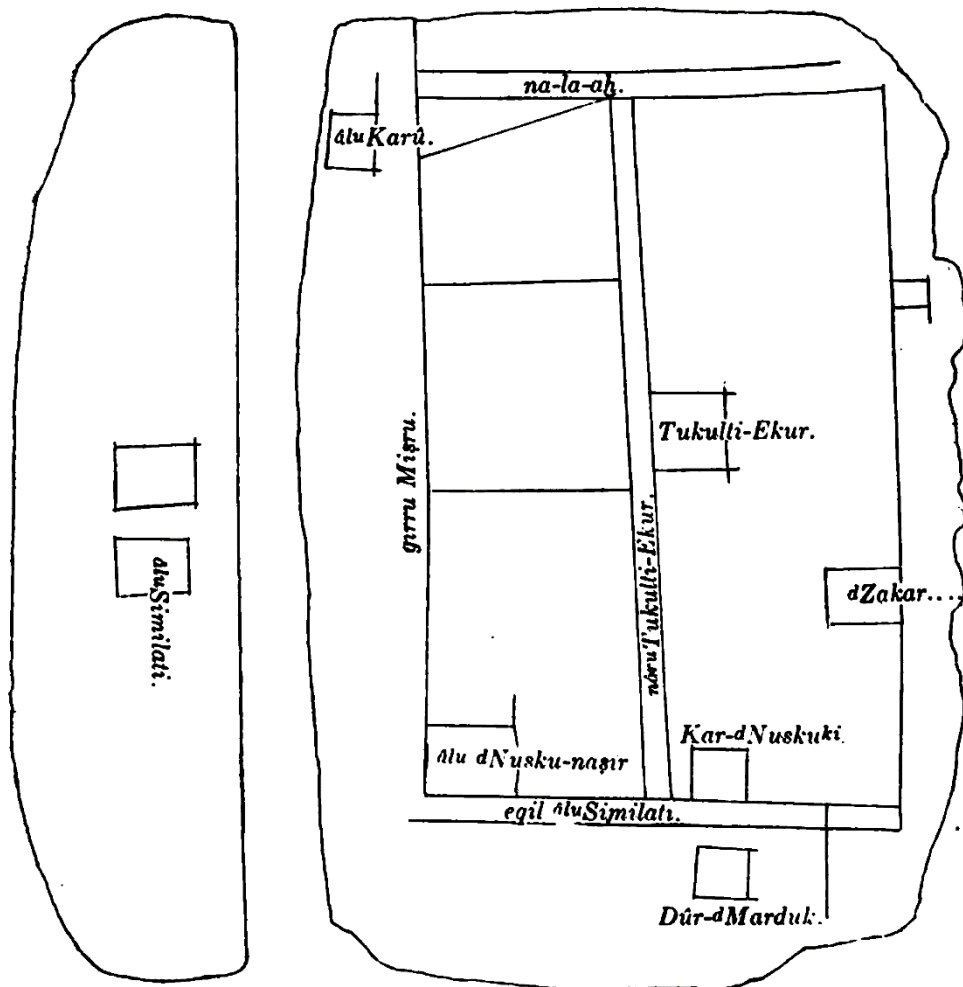


Fig. 1. Topographical Map Found at Nippur.



Fjg. 2. Topographical Map Found at Nippur, With Transliteration of Place Names.

In this map, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, and Kār-Nusku are located near each other. This combination is also attested in the documents from Nippur.<sup>(90)</sup> Also, in a document probably from Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30 no. 229), these three settlements are mentioned with Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē.<sup>(91)</sup> Below, I reproduce its transliteration.

<sup>(90)</sup> BE 15 no. 102 obv. 8–10, PBS 1/2 no. 61 obv. 9–10.

<sup>(91)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 302. Cf. no. 66.

O. 1' še<sup>giš</sup>bán 10 sila ša<sup>mèr</sup>-gašan-*tim* dumu<sup>mur</sup>-<sup>d</sup>ba.ú

*mi-taḥ-ḥu-ru*

še                      zíz.an.na                      mu.bi.im

5.	0,1.1.5 sila		<b>en.líl<sup>ki</sup></b> <i>i-na maš-ši-tim</i> ša <sup>mdùg</sup> - <i>ab-im-d</i> iškur iti <sup>ab</sup> .è mu.11.kam
	1,0		<b>tukul-ti-é.kur<sup>ki</sup></b> iti <sup>š</sup> še.kin.kud mu.11.kam
10.	1,0 še.muš <sub>5</sub>		<b>bàd-<sup>d</sup>en.líl.ḥi.a</b> ṛš <sup>a</sup> ?ṛ iti <sup>gan</sup> .gan.è mu.12.kam

R.

	1,0		<b>an.z[a.g]àr<sup>k</sup>[i ša<sup>iti</sup>...]</b> mu.1[2 <sup>?</sup> .kam
		1,0	<b>kar-<sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>nuska<sup>ki</sup></b> š[a <sup>iti</sup> ...] mu.ṛ12 <sup>?</sup> .kam
15.	PAP 3,1.1.ṛ5 <sup>ṛ</sup>	1,0.	ša <sup>mèr</sup> -gašan- <i>tim</i> <i>mi-taḥ-ḥu-ṛru<sup>ṛ</sup></i>

Here, Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē are mentioned with Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, and Kar-Nuska. Also, van Soldt states that Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ekur, and Āl-Irrē frequently occur in his publication.<sup>(92)</sup> It is most likely from this that Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, Kār-Nuska, and Āl-Irrē were located in the vicinity of Nippur and that van Soldt's recent documents came from this area, probably from Dūr-Enlilē.

In the Nippur area, some persons worked as officials. An early official is Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> (1321–1292). He is attested as high priest (*nēšakku*) of Enlil, anointed priest (*pašīšu*) of Ninlil, governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur, son of Enlil-kidinnī, and official of Nintinluba(?).<sup>(93)</sup> He sealed a document (for barley disbursement) in Tukultī-Ekur with Matthews no. **148**.<sup>(94)</sup> After him, Rīmūtu (1296–1267) and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (1287–1278) worked in the area. They were contemporaries and sealed several *aklu* documents (for beer and flour). Rīmūtu sealed an *aklu* document (for flour) in Āl-Irrē and an *aklu* document (flour) in Tukultī-Ekur with Matthews no. **148**. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu usually used Matthews no.

<sup>(92)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 29. He says that Bābili is also often mentioned. For Āl-Irrē, see CUSAS 30, p. 304 no. 231, col. III obv. 13 in which Tukultī-Ekur and Āl-Irrē are mentioned together (*i-na tukul-ti-é.kur<sup>ki</sup>* en I gur uru-*i-re-e<sup>ki</sup>*).

<sup>(93)</sup> Matthews 1992, 136.

<sup>(94)</sup> BE 14 no. 48a.

**155** as a seal. He sealed four *aklu* documents in Dūr-Enlilē<sup>(95)</sup> and one *aklu* document in Tukultī-Ekur with it. But he once used Matthews no. **148** for an *aklu* document.<sup>(96)</sup> It should be noted that Ninurta-kīn-pīšu had some connections with Dūr-Enlilē and with a certain Ninurta-zākir-šumi who was perhaps a high official of Dūr-Enlilē.<sup>(97)</sup> It is clear from this that Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu worked in nearby areas. Probably they were colleagues though their professions were not stated. After them, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (1263–1250) and Iqīša-Ninimma (1252) worked in these areas. They were contemporaries. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed many *aklu* documents (over 100) with Matthews no. **189**. The legend of this seal refers to Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, governor of Nippur.<sup>(98)</sup> Therefore, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē had some relationship with Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>. Iqīša-Ninimma also used Matthews no. **189** three times for *aklu* documents, one of which refers to Dūr-Enlilē and Ḥursagkamma.<sup>(99)</sup> We can learn from the sealing practice of the officials that one seal could be used by several officials<sup>(100)</sup> and that one official can use at least two seals.<sup>(101)</sup> Also it may be a significant sealing practice that Ninurta-kīn-pīšu inherited his seal (Matthews no. **155**) from his father, Enlil-nīšu.<sup>(102)</sup> The majority of documents from this area (Nippur and the settlements around it) may come from the part of the Nippur excavation known as **Nippur 1**.<sup>(103)</sup>

In 2015, van Soldt published over 450 Middle Babylonian documents which came probably from Dūr-Enlilē. As stated above, Nippur, Dūr-Enlilē, Tukultī-Ekur, and Āl-Irrē are often mentioned in the texts from the Rosen collection. For that reason the documents seem to come from the vicinity of Nippur. In these sources, Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu) and his son Ninurta-kišsat-ilāni are important officials. Van Soldt points out that some persons in the Dūr-Enlilē texts (i.e., the texts from the Rosen collection) can be closely linked to persons in the documents from Nippur. For example,

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<sup>(95)</sup> BE 14 no. 78, MUN 99, 159 ([*ak-lu<sub>4</sub>/lu*]), 160.

<sup>(96)</sup> BE 14 no. 87a.

<sup>(97)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 24. He has already pointed out a connection between the high official Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu) of CUSAS 30 texts and the Ninurta-zākir-šumi in BE 14 no. 78, which refers to Dūr-Enlilē.

<sup>(98)</sup> Matthews 1992, 136.

<sup>(99)</sup> MUN 219.

<sup>(100)</sup> Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used Matthews no. **148**. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and Iqīša-Ninimma used Matthews no. **189**.

<sup>(101)</sup> Rīmūtu used Matthews nos. **55** and **148**. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used Matthews nos. **148** and **155**.

<sup>(102)</sup> See 3.8.1. (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu).

<sup>(103)</sup> See the section on Nippur above (1.3.1.); Pedersén 1998, 115; and Sassmannshausen 2001, 186–187.



Ninurta-zākir-šumi in the texts from the Rosen collection can be linked with Ninurta-zākir-šumi who is mentioned with Dūr-Enlilē in BE 14 no. 78, 3 and in MUN 159, 5, Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni in the texts from the Rosen collection can be linked with the Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni found with Dūr-Enlilē in BE 14 no. 118, col. ii 12–15. Also other personal names in BE 14 no. 118 can be seen in the texts from the Rosen collection.<sup>(104)</sup> Therefore it is practicable to do comparative prosopographical research on Dūr-Enlilē and Nippur. In this dissertation, I discuss the relation between Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (who used Matthews no. **155**) with Ninurta-zākir-šumi (mentioned with Dūr-Enlilē) and the relationship between Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (who used Matthews no. **189**), Iqīša-Ninimma (who used Matthews no. **189**) and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni (mentioned with Dūr-Enlilē).

The second geographical area that we can identify is that of Das Archiv des Speichers. Sassmannshausen collected the documents from the provenance known as **Nippur 2** based on prosopographical studies.<sup>(105)</sup> He named the documents “Das Archiv des Speichers” because in some instances the barley was issued at a granary (*karū*). In these texts, some persons (such as Innannu, Martuku, and Enlil-mukīn-apli) and some place names (like Zarat-Karkara, Āl-Šēlebi, and Dunni-aḥi) occur frequently. In this dissertation, at least one seal impression group (Matthews no. **162**), and probably another (Matthews no. **61**) also belonged to this archive or archives. Some of the documents in both of these groups were enveloped. Judging from the place names,<sup>(106)</sup> these documents were sent to Nippur from settlements south of it.

Additionally, the CDLI website<sup>(107)</sup> allows us to see photographs of published and unpublished documents and their seal impressions. I have not yet checked documents from locations other than Nippur.

The present research, then, proceeds by taking into account the seal impressions, prosopography, and photographs of the documents.

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<sup>(104)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 29–30. See also CUSAS 30 no. 233 in which J. A. Brinkman points out a link between a document from Nippur (MUN 10) and two documents of the Rosen collection (CUSAS 30 no. 64, 233).

<sup>(105)</sup> See the references cited in n. 89.

<sup>(106)</sup> See the map in Nashef 1982, 342. Karkara is located to the south of Nippur. Zarat-Karkara (“tent of Karkara”) is probably located near Karkara. Also Deheselle 2004, 278-281.

<sup>(107)</sup> <http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/search.php>

## 2. Rīmūtu Data

Underlining in the Seal Impression column marks new documents belonging to the Rīmūtu group. In the Year column NM refers to Nazi-Maruttaš and KT to Kadašman-Turgu.

Publication	aklu	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place Names	Notes
BE 14 no. 64	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-ti	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1294, NM year 14? (+)	II, days broken	Ēriš-Ea	---	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
BE 14 no. 70	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-tu <sub>4</sub>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1292, NM year 16	IX, days 19– 30	Sîn-muballiṭ	---	flour	Āl-Irrē	
BE 14 no. 71	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-ti	Matthews no. <b>148</b> <sup>(108)</sup>	1292, NM year 16	IX, days 19– 30	Enlil-aḫulap	---	flour	---	
BE 14 no. 80	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-tu <sub>4</sub>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1286, NM year 22	IX–XII	Bā’eru	---	beer	---	
BE 14 no. 81	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-tu <sub>4</sub>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1285, NM year 23	III	<i>mār</i> Ṭāb-nupāršu	<i>šaknu</i>	flour	Tukultī-Ekur	<i>lā ašābu</i>
BE 14 no. 82	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-tu <sub>4</sub>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1285, NM year 23	IV, days ṛ6ṽ– 8	Šamaš-mušēzib	---	beer	---	
BE 14 no. 87	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-ti	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	NM year x	I	Bā’eru	---	beer	---	
MUN 100	[ak]- ṛlu <sub>4</sub> ṽ	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib] <sup>l</sup> ri-mu- ti	<u>Matthews no. 148</u>	1284, NM year 24	V	Several persons	<i>rē’i sīsī</i> <i>āšipu</i>	rations for horse	Arad-bēlti māt Raši	

<sup>(108)</sup> For BE 14 no. 71, no photograph is available at CDLI (CDLI no. P 264437).

								keepers		
MUN 123	---		Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1303, NM year 5	XII	Enlil-aḫulap	---	horse fodder, provisions	---	<i>arād šarri</i>
MUN 156	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu- t[i]	Matthews no. <b>55</b>	1293, NM year 15	I	Lā-qīpu Dimahdi-[Uraš]	<i>kašsidakku</i>	flour	---	
MUN 157	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>		Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1292, NM year 16(+)	V, days 2–11?	Lā-qīpu	---	flour	---	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>
MUN 158	[ak]- <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>rna4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu- <i>tu<sub>4</sub></i>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1290, NM year 18	III	Sîn-muballiṭ	<i>kašsidakku</i>	[flour]	---	
MUN 162	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> ù zi-ga	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ]rīl- <i>mu-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	<u>Matthews no. 148</u>	1296, NM year 12(+)	IX [-] X	---	---	flour, barley	---	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>
MUN 200	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-m[u- <i>tu<sub>4</sub>/ti]</i>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1284, NM year 24	II, days 6–8	Bā'eru	<i>sirāšū</i>	beer	---	
MUN 201	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib] <sup>l</sup> ri-mu- <i>tu<sub>4</sub></i>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1276, KT year 6	II-24 to III-28	Amīl-Isin	---	beer	---	
MUN 202	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> ki]šib <sup>l</sup> ri-m[u- <i>tu<sub>4</sub>]</i>	<u>Matthews no. 148</u>	1267, KT year 15	I to 4(+)- [MN]	Several persons	---	beer	Nippur	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>
MUN 223	[a]k- <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib] <sup>l</sup> ri-mu- <i>ti</i>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1285, NM year 23	IV	Šamaš-mušēzib	---	beer	---	
MUN 224	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>n</sup> [ <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu- <i>ti]</i>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1284, NM year 24	I–XII	Bā'eru	<i>sirāšū</i>	beer	---	<i>lā a[šābu]</i>
MUN 225	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-ti	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1267, KT year 15	VI days 11–14?	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr- Adad	---	beer	---	

MUN 442	---	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>1</sup> ri-m[ <i>u-ti</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1289, NM year 19	XII, 30	Ḫa[nnabu]	---	[metal or wool]	<i>būt kunukki</i>	
CBS 9514: cast of Ni 7968	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>1</sup> ri- <i>mu-tu<sub>4</sub></i> ]	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1292, NM year 16	III, days 1?– 14	Sîn-muballiṭ	---	flour	<sup>uru</sup> x-x-x	
CBS 10981	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	--- <sup>(109)</sup>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1303, NM year 5	XI, days ṛ10ṛ–19	Several persons	<i>āpil bābi,</i> <i>ṣuḫurtu</i>	cereals	Isin, māt Tām̄ti	
CBS 13370	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1294, NM year 14	days 17–21	Several persons	---	beer	---	
N 2872	---	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	---	---	---	---	---	Tukultī-Ekur	
N 2907	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>1</sup> ri-[ <i>mu-tu<sub>4</sub></i> ]	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	---	I	Ninurta-M[U]-x	---	cereals	---	
N 3410	[ <i>a</i> ]k <sup>2</sup> - <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	---	---	Several persons	<i>ša rēš šarri</i>	---	<i>ekal šarri</i>	
UM 29-13-946	<i>ak-</i> [ <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i> ]	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	year 15	V	ṛŠaṛ mu-x	---	beer	---	
UM 29-15-54	---	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	NM year x	IV-[ ] to IX-[ ]	Several persons	<i>mār šipri</i>	barley	---	
UM 29-15-154 +UM 29-16-178	---	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	---	---	Several persons	<i>rē'û</i>	---	<i>būt Enlil-</i> <i>nādin-aḫḫē</i>	
UM 29-15-713	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> <i>û</i> [zi-	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	---	IX days 7–ṛ17ṛ	Several persons	<i>mār šipri</i>	flour, beer, barley	---	

<sup>(109)</sup> A certain Rīmūtu is mentioned in rev. 9: <sup>1</sup>ri-ṛmuṛ-tu<sub>4</sub> ṛ<sup>lu<sub>4</sub></sup>giš<sup>2</sup>[]. It is not known if he sealed it or not.

	ga]									
UM 29-16-378	---	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	---	22 <sup>nd</sup> day is mentioned	Several persons	<i>dālû</i>	fodder for sheep, vinegar	---	
UM 29-16-593	---	---(110)	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	---	days 28 <sup>7</sup> –29 are mentioned	Several persons	<i>kutimmu, sirāšû<sup>??</sup></i>	cereals	---	
UM 29-16-698	[ <i>aklu<sup>?</sup></i> ]	<sup>na4</sup> kišib I[ ]	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	year 23	I	---	---	beer	---	
Ni 158 <sup>(111)</sup>		Seal of Rīmūtu	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1285, NM year 23	VI (+)					
Ni 295 <sup>(112)</sup>		Seal of Rīmūtu	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1284, NM year 24	28 <sup>7</sup> MN <sup>7</sup> (+?) to XII-25?					
Ni 2253 <sup>(113)</sup>		Seal of Rīmūtu	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1269, KT year 13	XII, 13					
Ni 6052 <sup>(114)</sup>			Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1303, NM year 5	XII, days 2–15					

<sup>(110)</sup> A certain Rīmūtu is mentioned in rev. 18': <sup>1</sup>*ri-mu-tu*<sub>4</sub>. It is uncertain if he sealed it or not.

<sup>(111)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 280 (date), 285 (royal name).

<sup>(112)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 280 (date), 408–409 (type E. 1: from month A--to day B of month C, year D--(RN, etc.)).

<sup>(113)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 160 (date) and Matthews 1992, 58 (seal of Rīmūtu), 112 (seal of Rīmūtu).

<sup>(114)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 269 (date), 402 n. 20 (the doubling of U<sub>4</sub>), Tenney 2011, 143 n. 28 (Nippur craftsmen [*ummânî*] were sent to Dūr-Kurigalzu).

Ni 7835 <sup>(115)</sup>		Seal of Rīmūtu	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1293, NM year 15	III, days 10– 11					
Ni 7948 <sup>(116)</sup>		Seal of Rīm[ ]	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1289, NM year 19	days x–26. First term of date (TA... EN...) almost completely missing					
Ni 8847 <sup>(117)</sup>		Seal of Rīmūtu	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1284, NM year ʾ24ʾ	ʾXIIʾ-year 23 to I-year ʾ24ʾ					
Ni 12216 <sup>(118)</sup>		Seal of Rīmūtu	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1293, NM year 15	IV, days 22– 26(+)					

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<sup>(115)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 274 (date), 406 n. 39 (doubled days) and Matthews 1992, 58 (seal of Rīmūtu).

<sup>(116)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 278 (date).

<sup>(117)</sup> Ibid., 280 (date).

<sup>(118)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 275 (date) and Matthews 1992, 58 (seal of Rīmūtu).

## Discussion

My discussion of the documents pertaining to Rīmūtu basically follows Matthews 1992, no. 148, where the documents sealed by Rīmūtu are collected.<sup>(119)</sup> Since its publication, new documents have become available and photographs of the documents have become available online, therefore my discussion includes some additional documents.

Among the texts in Sassmannshausen 2001, nos. 100, 162, 202 can be added to the group of Rīmūtu because all three documents have similarities (in seal impressions, year, prosopography, etc.) to other of Rīmūtu's *aklu* documents. I will also discuss MUN 156 here as a part of the group of Rīmūtu texts. It is a typical *aklu* document of Rīmūtu, but it is sealed with another seal (not Matthews no. 148, but rather no. 55).<sup>(120)</sup>

Six documents that mention Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub><sup>(121)</sup> are not discussed here, but rather in the section on Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>. BE 14 no. 87a has a seal reference to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-ki-pi-šu), but its seal impression seems like that of Rīmūtu. It is discussed in the section on Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.

### 2.1. *Aklu* documents

The term *aklu* is found in the following documents related to Rīmūtu: BE 14 nos. 64, 70, 71, 80, 81, 82, 87, MUN 100?, 156, 157, 158, 162, 200, 201, 202, 223, 224, 225, CBS 9514, 10981, 13370, N 2907, 3410, UM 29-13-946, UM 29-15-713. It was not mentioned or was erased or broken off in: MUN 123, 442, N 2872, UM 29-15-54, UM 29-15-154 + 29-16-178, UM 29-16-378, UM 29-16-593, UM 29-16-698. But UM 29-16-698 may be an *aklu* document because beer products, which are well known in the *aklu* documents, are found. Additionally, Matthews (1992, 113) refers to 8 Ni-number documents, some or all of which are probably *aklu* documents.

### 2.2. Rīmūtu's seal

Some *aklu* documents have a seal reference like <sup>na4</sup>kišib PN ("sealed by PN"). The following documents have a seal reference to Rīmūtu: BE 14 nos. 64, 70, 71, 80, 81, 82, 87, MUN 100, 156, 158, 162, 200, 201, 202, 223, 224?, 225, 442, CBS 9514?, N 2907, Ni 158, 295, 2253, 7835, 7948, 8847, 12216. UM 29-16-698 also has a seal reference but its PN is broken off: (<sup>na4</sup>kišib l[ ]).

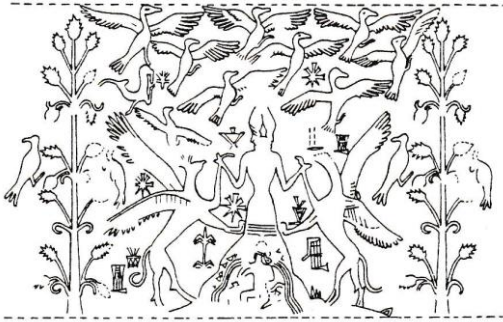
Among the Rīmūtu texts we find two kinds of seal impression. One is Matthews no. 148.<sup>(122)</sup>

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<sup>(119)</sup> However, some documents have no seal reference. They are dealt with here even though it is not certain who sealed them.

<sup>(120)</sup> This discrepancy is already noted by Sassmannshausen 2001, 317. Matthews (1992, 85) mentions another document (CBS 6646) as no. 55. Unfortunately, it is not possible to see a photo of it on the CDLI website, and therefore CBS 6646 is not discussed here.

<sup>(121)</sup> BE 14 no 48a, CBS 7788, CBS 9517, CBS 10250, N 2432, UM 29-15-685.

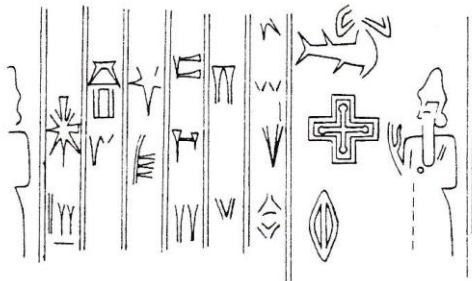


148. Porada 1952, no. 2; Seal of Rimutu

Inscription:

“the present writer has not succeeded in making sense from the inscription, which is scattered about in the design. The signs on the right of the mountain deity (AN É? X x LÍL) seem to make no sense, and those on the left can be read: *ir dingir.mu 4nin.líl* “servant of my god, Ninlil”, but this is not fully convincing.”<sup>(123)</sup>

The other is Matthews no. 55.<sup>(124)</sup>



55.

Matthews no. 148 is in the Second Kassite style.<sup>(125)</sup> According to Matthews (1992, 59), “It seems most likely that the seals – and by extension perhaps all Second Kassite seals – were official seals used only in the course of special official business.” Seal impressions of the triangles on the cap can be found in the following documents: BE 14 nos. 64, 70, 71,<sup>(126)</sup> 80, 81, 87, MUN 100, 123,

<sup>(122)</sup> References to no. 148 in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 43, 45, 48, 49, 58, 59, 115. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 216 (no. 283). Stiehler-Alegria Delgado also refers to no. 283 on the following pages: 34 n. 35, 39, 51, 56, 61 n. 6, 64, 66, 131, 132, 169 n. 44, and 170. This seal impression was published as no. 2 of Porada 1952.

<sup>(123)</sup> Matthews 1992, 114.

<sup>(124)</sup> References to no. 55 in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 3, 8, 9, 11, 33, 49. See also D. Deheselle (1995) and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 182 (no. 60). In the latter, no. 60 is also referred to on pp. 87 (n. 2), 96, 126, and 127.

<sup>(125)</sup> For the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff. and Matthews 1992, 33ff. Also see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 131–33 (Zweite Gruppe).

<sup>(126)</sup> According to Matthews 1992, p. 111, BE 14 no. 71 has the no. 148 seal impression, but there is no photo at the CDLI site. BE 14 no. 70 and no. 71 have the same date (1292, NM 30-IX-year 16, days 19–30), and both are *aklu* documents sealed by Rīmūtu.



158, 162, 200, 201, 202, 223, 224, 225, 442, CBS 9514, 13370, N 2907, 3410, UM 29-13-946, UM 29-15-54, UM 29-15-154 + 29-16-178. Seal impressions of its birds can be found in the following documents: BE 14 no. 82, MUN 157, UM 29-16-593?. The seal impressions on the following documents are unclear: CBS 10981, N 2872, UM 29-15-713, UM 29-16-378, UM 29-16-698.

Matthews no. 55 is in the Central First Kassite style.<sup>(127)</sup> A seal impression of its cross can be found clearly in MUN 156.

### 2.3. Year, month, day in Rīmūtu texts

The earliest document is CBS 10981 (1303, NM 19-XI-year 5, days 10<sup>1</sup>-19).<sup>(128)</sup> The latest is MUN 225 (1267, KT 14<sup>2</sup>-VI-year 15, days 11-14?).<sup>(129)</sup> The period is therefore about 37 years. The list of dates is as follows:

CBS 10981	1303	NM	19 - XI - year 5	days 10 <sup>1</sup> -19
Ni 6052	1303	NM	15 - XII - year 5	days 2-15
MUN 123	1303	NM	XII - year 5	
MUN 162	1296	NM	X - year 12(+)	IX [to] X
BE 14 no. 64	1294	NM	? - II - year 14 <sup>2</sup> (+)	days broken
CBS 13370	1294	NM	21 - ? - year 14	days 17-21
MUN 156	1293	NM	I - year 15	
Ni 7835	1293	NM	11 - III - year 15	days 10-11
Ni 12216	1293	NM	26(+)-IV - year 15	days 22-26(+)
CBS 9514	1292	NM	14 - III - year 16	days 1 <sup>2</sup> -14
MUN 157	1292	NM	11 <sup>2</sup> - V - year 16(+)	days 2-11 <sup>2</sup>
BE 14 no. 70	1292	NM	30 - IX - year 16	days 19-30
BE 14 no. 71	1292	NM	30 - IX - year 16	days 19-30
MUN 158	1290	NM	III - year 18	
Ni 7948	1289	NM	26 - [ ] - year 19	first term of date (TA... EN...) almost completely missing
MUN 442	1289	NM	30 - XII - year 19	
BE 14 no. 80	1286	NM	XII - year 22	IX to XII

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<sup>(127)</sup> For the Central First Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 55ff. and Matthews 1992, 10ff. See also Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 94-97 (Erste Gruppe).

<sup>(128)</sup> But in the three documents dated 1303, NM year 5 (i.e., CBS 10981, Ni 6052, and MUN 123), there is no seal reference to Rīmūtu. If they do not belong with the Rīmūtu texts, the oldest is MUN 162 (1296, NM X-year 12(+), IX [-] X). In that case the period is about 30 years.

<sup>(129)</sup> MUN 202 (1267, KT 4(+)-[MN]-year 15, I to 4(+)-[MN]) could be the latest. But its last month is not preserved.

BE 14 no. 81	1285	NM		III - year 23	
BE 14 no. 82	1285	NM	8 -	IV - year 23	days ʿ6ʿ-8
MUN 223	1285	NM		IV - year 23	
Ni 158	1285	NM		VI(+)-year 23	
Ni 8847	1284	NM		I - year ʿ24ʿ	ʿXIIʿ year 23 to I year ʿ24ʿ
MUN 200	1284	NM	8 -	II - year 24	days 6-8
MUN 100	1284	NM		V - year 24	
Ni 295	1284	NM	25 <sup>2</sup> -	XII - year 24	ʿMNʿ(+?) to 25 <sup>2</sup> -XII
MUN 224	1284	NM		XII - year 24	I to XII
MUN 201	1276	KT	28 -	III - year 6	24-II to 28-III
Ni 2253	1269	KT	13 -	XII - year 13	
MUN 225	1267	KT	14 <sup>2</sup> -	VI - year 15	days 11-14 <sup>2</sup>
MUN 202	1267	KT	4(+)-	[MN]-year 15	I to 4(+)-[MN]

### 2.3.1. Months mentioned in the Rīmūtu texts

- I: 7 times: BE 14 no. 89, MUN 156, MUN 202, MUN 224, N 2907, UM 29-16-698, Ni 8847
- II: 4 times: BE 14 no. 64, MUN 200, MUN 201, MUN 224
- III: 6 times: BE 14 no. 81, MUN 158, MUN 201, MUN 224, CBS 9514, Ni 7835
- IV: 4 times: BE 14 no. 82, MUN 224, UM 29-15-54, Ni 12216
- V: 5 times: MUN 100, MUN 157, MUN 223, MUN 224, UM 29-13-946
- VI: 3 times: MUN 224, MUN 225, Ni 158
- VII: 1 time: MUN 224
- VIII: 1 time: MUN 224
- IX: 7 times: BE 14 no. 70, BE 14 no. 71, BE 14 no. 80, MUN 162, MUN 224, UM 29-15-54, UM 29-15-713
- X: 3 times: BE 14 no. 80, MUN 162, MUN 224
- XI: 3 times: BE 14 no. 80, CBS 10981, MUN 224
- XII: 8 times: BE 14 no. 80, MUN 123, MUN 224, MUN 442, Ni 295, Ni 2253, Ni 6052, Ni 8847

There are fewer attestations in VII and VIII. At the end and the beginning of the year *aklu* documents are attested more frequently.

### 2.3.2. Time spans mentioned in the Rīmūtu texts

- 1 day: MUN 442 (30-XII), Ni 295 (25<sup>2</sup>-XII), Ni 2253 (13-XII)
- 2 days: Ni 7835 (days 10-11: III)
- 3 days: MUN 200 (days 6-8: II), BE 14 no. 82 (days ʿ6ʿ-8: IV)

- 4 days: MUN 225 (days 11–14?: VI)  
 5 days: Ni 12216 (days 22–26(+): IV), CBS 13370 (days 17–21: x)  
 10 days: MUN 157 (days 2–11?: V), CBS 10981 (days 10<sup>1</sup>–19: XI)  
 12 days: BE 14 no. 70 (days 19–30: IX), BE 14 no. 71 (days 19–30: IX)  
 14 days: Ni 6052 (days 2–15: XII)  
 35 days: MUN 201 (24-II to 28-III)  
 2 months: MUN 162 (IX [to] X), Ni 8847 (12<sup>1</sup>XII<sup>1</sup> to I)  
 4 months: BE 14 no. 80 (IX to XII)  
 12 months: MUN 224 (I to XII)

In the category of minor remarks regarding the dates in the Rīmūtu texts, BE 14 no. 70 and no. 71 have the same date (1292, NM 30-IX-year 16, days 19–30). The period of N 8847 (1284, NM 12<sup>1</sup>XII<sup>1</sup>-year 23 to I-year 12<sup>1</sup>) includes the new year.

#### 2.4. Occupations

In BE 14 no. 81, a governor (obv. 3: *šaknu*) received flour. In MUN 100 obv. 2, rations for 5 keepers of horses is found. Also an exorcist is mentioned as probably a receiver of grain. In CBS 10981, an official (obv. 2: *āpil bābi*) of *Isin* and a young female servant (obv. 5: *šuḫurtu*), who was going to leave for the Sea Land, received grain. In N 3410, an official (obv. 3: *ša rēš šarri*) is found. In UM 29-15-54 obv. 11'–12', two messengers (*mār šipri*) are mentioned. In UM 29-15-154 + UM 29-16-178, a shepherd (obv. 21': *rē'ū*) is attested. In UM 29-15-713, a messenger (rev. 16': *mār šipri*) received flour, beer, and barley. In UM 29-16-378, a water drawer (obv. 5', rev. 13': *dālū*) is mentioned twice. In UM 29-16-593, a smith (obv. 7': *kutimmu*) received cereals for horses (?). Also a brewer (?) (rev. 20': <sup>16</sup>lunga<sup>??</sup>) is mentioned.

#### 2.5. Commodities

Several products are attested in the Rīmūtu texts. Among them, beer and flour are prominent. Beer products are attested in the following documents: BE 14 nos. 64, 80, 82, 87, MUN 200, 201, 202, 223, 224, 225, CBS 13370, UM 29-13-946, UM 29-15-713, UM 29-16-698. Flour is attested in BE 14 nos. 70, 71, 81, MUN 156, 157, 158 ([zi-da]), 162, CBS 9514, and UM 29-15-713.

Beer is usually expressed as *kaš* with *sag* or *UŠ*. The terms (*sag*, *UŠ*) seem to specify a quality. Also, *sag* seems to specify a higher quality than *UŠ* because *sag* is always mentioned first. Beer (*kaš*) is usually counted with a cardinal number. Sometimes a fraction (½) is used.<sup>(130)</sup> But in UM 29-15-713, *kaš sag* and *kaš UŠ* are expressed with a solid capacity measure. “Clay pot” (*dug*, *dug gal*) is

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<sup>(130)</sup> MUN 223 ([ 12<sup>1</sup> ] 12<sup>1</sup> *kaš UŠ*), MUN 225 (15½ *kaš UŠ*), UM 29-16-698 (22½ [ka]š *UŠ*).

usually mentioned after *kaš*. It can be also specified with the term *sag* or *UŠ* and counted with a cardinal number and fraction (½).<sup>(131)</sup> Some by-products, such as beerbread (*báppir*), a kind of flour (*níg-àr-ra*), and lumps of malt (*LAGAB×U munu<sub>5</sub>*, *lagab munu<sub>5</sub>*) are attested. They are measured with a solid capacity measures.

<i>kaš</i> :	BE 14 nos. 64 ( <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), 80 ( <i>kaš sag</i> , <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), 82 ( <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), 87 ( <i>kaš sag</i> , <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), MUN 200 ( <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), 201 ( <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), 202 ([ <i>kaš sag</i> ], [ <i>kaš</i> ] <i>ʾUŠ</i> ), 223 ([ <i>kaš</i> ] <i>sag</i> , <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), 225 ( <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), CBS 13370 ( <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), UM 29-15-713 ( <i>kaš sag</i> , <i>kaš UŠ</i> ), UM 29-16-698 ([ <i>kaš</i> ] <i>UŠ</i> )
<i>dug</i> :	BE 14 nos. 80 ( <i>dug sag</i> , <i>dug UŠ</i> ), 82 ( <i>dug gal</i> ), 87 ( <i>dug UŠ</i> ), MUN 200 ( <i>dug gal</i> ), 201 ( <i>dug gal</i> ), 223 ( <i>dug gal</i> ), CBS 13370 ( <i>dug</i> ), UM 29-15-713 ( <i>dug</i> ), UM 29-16-698 ( <i>dug</i> )
<i>báppir</i> :	BE 14 nos. 64, 80, 87, MUN 202 ( <i>ʾbáppir</i> ), 223, 224, 225 ( <i>báppir</i> <i>ʾta</i> <i>báppir</i> ), CBS 13370, UM 29-15-713 ( <i>ša?</i> <i>báppir</i> )
<i>níg-àr-ra</i> :	UM 29-13-946 ( <i>níg-àr-ʾra</i> ), UM 29-15-713, UM 29-16-698
<i>lagab munu<sub>5</sub></i> :	UM 29-13-946 ( <i>LAGAB×U munu<sub>5</sub></i> ), UM 29-16-698 ( <i>lagab munu<sub>5</sub></i> )

Flour is expressed as *zì-da* and is measured with a solid capacity measure.

<i>zì-da</i> :	BE 14 nos. 70, 71, 81, MUN 156 ( <i>zì-d[a]</i> ), 157, 158 ([ <i>zì-da</i> ]), 162 ( <i>ʾzì-da</i> ), CBS 9514, UM 29-15-713
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In MUN 100, rations for horse keepers are stated (obv. 2: *šuk 5 sipa anše-kur-ra*; obv. 5: [*šuk*] 3 *ʾsipa* *anše-kur-ra*). In MUN 123, fodder for horses and provisions are issued (obv. 3: *šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup> ninda-kaskal<sup>meš</sup> ša x meš*). In MUN 202, beer is issued for the storage/pot stand (obv. 2, 4: *kan-ga-an-nu* [ ]). In UM 29-16-378, fodder for sheep (lo. e. 9': *šuk udu-níta*) and vinegar (rev. 15': *ageštin-na*) are mentioned. In MUN 162, flour (obv. 1: *ʾzì-da*) and barley (obv. 2: *še*) are stated as *aklu* and *šitu*. In UM 29-15-713 obv. 1-2, flour (*zì-da*), beer and its (by)-products (*kaš sag*, *kaš UŠ*, *dug*, *ša?* *báppir*, *níg-àr-ra*) and barley (*še*) are found as *aklu* and [*šitu*]. In UM 29-15-54, barley (rev. 24': *še*) is issued. In MUN 442 obv. 1, wool or metal is carried out from the storehouse. In CBS 10981, N 2907, and UM 29-16-593 cereals are issued. But the details are unclear due to the deteriorated condition of the tablets.

## 2.6. Place names

In the Rīmūtu group of texts, several place names are attested. Tukultī-Ekur is mentioned twice.<sup>(132)</sup> It

<sup>(131)</sup> BE 14 no. 80 (7½ *dug UŠ*), MUN 201 (2½ *dug gal*).

<sup>(132)</sup> BE 14 no. 81 rev. 9, N 2872 obv. 4.

is known as a settlement around Nippur. Often it is mentioned with Kār-Nuska and Dīmtu.<sup>(133)</sup> In BE 14 no. 70 obv. 3, Āl-Irrē is found. I think Āl-Irrē is located not so far from Nippur.<sup>(134)</sup> It is discussed in the prosopographical studies below. In MUN 100, the cities of Arad-bēlti and Raši are found as destinations (obv. 7: *a-na* <sup>ur</sup>arad-gašan; obv. 10: *a-na* kur *ra-ši*). In MUN 202, Nippur is mentioned as a destination for beer (obv. 5: *a-na* nibru<sup>[ki]</sup>). This suggests that Rīmūtu sealed this document in a location other than Nippur. In MUN 442, a storehouse (obv. 2: *é* <sup>na4</sup>rkišib<sup>1</sup>) is stated. Wool or metal is carried out from the storehouse. In CBS 9514, a place name (obv. 3: <sup>ur</sup>x-x-x) is found. But unfortunately it is too blurred to read. In CBS 10981, an official (obv. 2: *āpil bābi*) of Isin and a young female servant (obv. 5: *ṣuḫurtu*), who is going to leave for Sea Land, received grain. In N 3410, a palace is mentioned as a destination (obv. 1: *a-na* *é-gal lugal*<sup>1</sup>). In UM 29-15-154 + UM 29-16-178, the house of Enlil-nādin-aḫḫē (obv. 20: *é* <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-sum-šeš<sup>meš</sup>) is mentioned.

## 2.7. Notes

In the Rīmūtu documents we find some phrases which are well attested in *aklu* documents. In MUN 123 lo. e. 5, the phrase *a-rad lugal* “coming/going down of the king” is stated.<sup>(135)</sup> There, a large amount of barley (obv. 1: 35,0.0. *še* <sup>gš</sup>bán 6 *šila*) and cereals (?) (obv. 2: 75,0.2. *x* <sup>gš</sup>bán 5 *šila*) were issued for horse fodder and provisions (obv. 3: *šuk anše-kur-ra*<sup>meš</sup> *ninda-kaskal*<sup>meš</sup>). This document is dated in the 12<sup>th</sup> month. Therefore probably these items were issued for the king’s attendants for the new year festival.

In the *aklu* documents, sometimes the phrase *ašābu* is found. It can also appear in a negated form: *lā ašābu*. Also, the positive and negative forms can be mentioned together: *ašābu u lā ašābu*. The exact meaning of *ašābu* is still unclear. The phrases can be used for both beer and flour. In MUN 224, *aklu* for a year (I–XII) is said to be *lā ašābu*. Therefore the choice of positive, negative, or both forms is not related to the months. In the Rīmūtu texts, the positive form alone (*ašābu*) is not attested.

<i>ašābu</i> :	---
<i>lā ašābu</i> :	BE 14 nos. 64, 81, MUN 224 ( <i>la</i> <sup>ra</sup> [ša-bu])
<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i> :	MUN 157, 162, 202

## 2.8. Prosopography

Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

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<sup>(133)</sup> See Clay 1905, pl. XXXVI; van Soldt 1988, 104; and van Soldt 2015, 116 (no. 66), 302 (no. 229).

<sup>(134)</sup> Tukultī-Ekur and Āl-Irrē are mentioned together (*i-na tukul-ti-é.kur*<sup>ki</sup> en I gur uru-*i-re-e*<sup>ki</sup>) in CUSAS 30, p. 304 no. 231, col. III obv. 13.

<sup>(135)</sup> See Biggs 1965, 96 n. 11 and Brinkman 1976a, 411–414.

Rīmūtu	(Sealed a number of <i>aklu</i> documents.)
Bā'eru	(A brewer)
Šamaš-mušēzib <sup>(136)</sup>	(Probably a brewer)
Ēriš-Ea	(Probably a brewer)
Amīl-Isin	(Probably a brewer)
Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	(Probably a brewer)
Sîn-muballiṭ	(A miller)
Lā-qīpu	(A miller)
The son of Ṭāb-nupāršu	(Possibly a miller)
Enlil-aḥulap	(May be responsible for horse fodder.)
Erība-Šuqamuna and Kidin-Gula	(They appear in the two <i>aklu</i> documents.)
Enlil-šulūlī	(Mentioned in several documents dated in the reign of Kadašman-Turgu.)

**2.8.1. Rīmūtu** — Mentioned in the following documents: BE 14 nos. 64 (*aklu*, beer), 70 (*aklu*, flour), 71 (*aklu*, flour), 80 (*aklu*, beer), 81 (*aklu*, flour), 82 (*aklu*, beer), 87 (*aklu*, beer), MUN 100 (ʾakluʾ, issue of cereals), 156 (*aklu*, flour), 158 (ʾakluʾ, [flour]), 162 (*aklu* and *šītu*, flour and barley), 200 (*aklu*, beer), 201 (*aklu*, beer), 202 (*aklu*, beer), 223 (ʾakluʾ, beer), 224? (*aklu*, beer), 225 (*aklu*, beer), 442 (metal or wool), CBS 9514? (*aklu*, flour), N 2907 (*aklu*, cereals), Ni 158, 295, 2253, 7835, 7948, 8847, 12216. It is possible that almost all of these documents are *aklu* documents.<sup>(137)</sup> Only MUN 442 is clearly not an *aklu* document, but rather a receipt for wool or metal. The earliest attestation of Rīmūtu is MUN 162 (1296, NM X-year 12(+), IX [to] X). The latest is MUN 225 (1267, KT 14?-VI-year 15, days 11–14?). The period is about 30 years. He sealed not only beer documents but also flour documents. He also sealed a document for the issue of cereals (MUN 100) and a document for wool or metal (MUN 442). In BE 14 no. 81 rev. 9, Tukultī-Ekur is found. Therefore Rīmūtu's area of activity may include the settlements around Nippur. In BE 14 no. 70 obv. 3, Āl-Irrē is mentioned. I reproduce the transliterations here to facilitate discussion.<sup>(138)</sup>

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<sup>(136)</sup> The reading *-mu-še-zib* was suggested by W. H. van Soldt. The sign in the CDLI photo of MUN 223 (P255236.jpg) looks like GU<sub>4</sub> (i.e., *zib*) rather than GÚ (i.e., *tiq*).

<sup>(137)</sup> MUN 157 may be added here because it is similar to MUN 156. Documents with Ni numbers are not taken into consideration here.

<sup>(138)</sup> In this study, basically the transliteration of the texts from Nippur are based on the van Soldt's transliterations (published and unpublished CBS 2000–4000). For unpublished documents which have CBS numbers (over 4000), N numbers, and UM numbers, I made transliterations from the photo of the CDLI.

BE 14 no. 70

Obv.

- 1 3,0.2.5 sila zì-da<sup>gis</sup>bán 6 sila
- 2 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>Id</sup>XXX-mu-bal-liṭ
- 3 **uru-ir-ri-ṭ**<sup>ki</sup>
- 4 <sup>iti</sup>gan-gan-è
- 5 ta u<sub>4</sub>-19-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-30-kam

Rev.

- 6 mu-16-kam *na-zi-ma-ru-ut-taš*
- 7 lugal-e
- 8 <sup>na</sup>4kišib <sup>I</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>

The place name Āl-Irrē is also referred to in BE 14 no. 39 (obv. 5: *uru ša ir-re-e*<sup>2ki</sup>). Here a certain Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, son of Enlil-nīšu (obv. 11: <sup>Id</sup>nin-urta-GI-ka-šu <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-*ni-š*u) is mentioned.

BE 14 no. 39<sup>(139)</sup>

Obv.

- 1 *di-nu ša* <sup>I</sup>ú-zi-šu-[*gab*<sup>(140)</sup>] gú-en-na nibru<sup>ki</sup> (1–3) The judgment that Uzi-Šu[gab], governor
- 2 <sup>Id</sup>nin-urta-n[*a*<sup>(141)</sup>-*din-aḥḥē*]<sup>(142)</sup> dumu (of) Nippur, gave (to) Ninurta-n[ādin-aḥḥē], son of
- <sup>Id</sup>nin-urta-GI-ka-šu Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Ekur-ṛzākir-šumi<sup>ṛ</sup>, [son] of
- 3 *ù* <sup>I</sup>é-kur-ṛmu-mu<sup>ṛ</sup> [dumu Izkur-Ninurta.
- <sup>I</sup>iz-kūr-<sup>d</sup>nin-urta<sup>(143)</sup> *i-di-nu*

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<sup>(139)</sup> For this document, see Luckenbill 1907, 292; Aro 1955, 82–83; Aro 1957, 19; Brinkman 1976, 147, 240–244, 281; Ellis 1976, 128–130; Oelsner 1982, 281; Sassmannshausen 2001, 16–17, 230 n. 3304; Brinkman 2003/2004, 399–400; Paulus 2014, 85 n. 68, 167–168.

It should be noted that in BE 14 no. 39, two people named Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē appear. One is a son of Etel-pū (obv. 6). The other is a son of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (obv. 2, 13, 14). The former is maybe a governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur. See Brinkman 2003/2004, 399–400 (a review of Hölscher 1996).

<sup>(140)</sup> For this individual, see K. Balkan 1954, 89; H. Limet 1971, 104 no. 8. 5; M. Hölscher 1996, 233; L. Sassmannshausen 2001, 16.

<sup>(141)</sup> The reading *n[a-* was collated by W. H. van Soldt.

<sup>(142)</sup> For the reconstruction, see also Brinkman 2003/2004, 399 (a review of Hölscher 1996).

<sup>(143)</sup> I would like to draw attention to a document (CUSAS 30 no. 40) probably from Dūr-Enlilē. It deals with the available assets (*re-eš níg-ga*) from Āl-Irrē. In rev. 32, a certain Izkur-Ninurta is mentioned in a section about tax exemption (*zakātu*). In BE 14 no. 39 obv. 10, Ekur-zākir-šumi, son of Izkur-Ninurta, stated that no one collected tax on the field in Āl-Irrē. If the Izkur-Ninurta of CUSAS 30 no. 40 were the same person as the Izkur-Ninurta of BE 14 no. 39, the term *zakātu* of CUSAS 30 no. 40 would support the argument of Ekur-zākir-šumi in BE 14 no. 39.

- 4 <sup>1</sup>é-kur-mu-mu a-na di-ku<sub>5</sub> ki-a-am iq-bi (4–13) Ekur-zākir-šumi spoke thus to the judge,  
5 30,0.0. ŠE-NUMUN i-na a-gàr **uru ša** “Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, son of Etel-pû had given the  
**ir-re-e**<sup>2ki</sup> field requiring 30,0.0. seeds in the land of the city  
6 <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-na-din-aḥ-ḥe dumu <sup>1e</sup>tel-pu of Irrē to Ilī-rabi, my father, his (Ninurta-nādin-  
7 a-na a-bi-ia <sup>1</sup>dingir-ra-bi šeš-šu i-ta-din aḥḥē’s) brother. My forefathers had cultivated (the  
8 iš-tu ku-ri-gal-zu dumu field) from (the time of) Kurigalzu I, son of  
<sup>4</sup>ka-da-aš-man-ḥar-be Kadašman-Ḥarbe I to (the time of) Nazi-Maruttaš,  
9 a-di <sup>4</sup>na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš dumu son of Kurigalzu II. And nobody collected (taxes).  
<sup>4</sup>ku-ri-gal-zu Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, son of Enlil-nīšu took away that  
10 ab-bu-ú-a i-te-ter-ri-šu ù ma-am-ma ul field in the time of Nazi-Maruttaš.”  
iš-bu-uš  
11 <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-GI-ka-šu dumu <sup>1d</sup>en-lil-ni-šu  
12 i-na <sup>4</sup>na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš a-šà ša-a-šu  
13 i-ta-bal di-ku<sub>5</sub> <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe (13–20) The judge asked Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.  
i-šal-ma Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē spoke thus to the judge,  
14 <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-na-din-aḥ-ḥe a-na di-ku<sub>5</sub> “Ninurta-nīšu, brother of his (Ekur-zākir-šumi’s)  
ki-a-am iq-bi father (Ilī-rabi), cultivated the field under contract  
15 a-šà ki er-re-šu-ti <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-ni-šu to cultivate with his (Ninurta-nīšu’s) brothers. (The  
16 a-ḥi a-bi-šu it-ti aḥ-ḥe-e-šu i-ri-iš field) was not given to him (Ninurta-nīšu) as the  
17 ul ki a-šà b/pur-ku-ti<sup>(144)</sup> na-ad-na-aš-šu field of b/purkūtu. Dimahḍi-Uraš, my father’s  
18 <sup>1</sup>di-maḥ-di-<sup>4</sup>uraš<sup>(145)</sup> a-ḥi a-bi-ia brother, collected (taxes) on that field during (the  
19 ša i-na <sup>4</sup>na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš a-šà ša-a-šu time of) Nazi-Maruttaš. They should ask ‘him’  
20 iš-bu-šu li-ša-lu-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> (Dimahḍi-Uraš).”  
21 di-ku<sub>5</sub> <sup>1</sup>di-maḥ-di-<sup>4</sup>uraš i-šal-ma (21–22) The judge asked Dimahḍi-Uraš. Then  
22 <sup>1</sup>di-maḥ-di-<sup>4</sup>uraš a-na di-ku<sub>5</sub> ki-a-am iq-bi Dimahḍi-Uraš spoke thus to the judge.

(<sup>144</sup>) The meaning of this word (b/pur-ku-ti) remains to be determined. See Aro 1957, 19 (eqlu burkūtu “erbliches? Feld”); AHw 1959, 140 (b/purkū/itu: “Erbteil”); CAD B 1965, 330 (burkūtu (burkūtu): mng. uncert.); Ellis 1976, 129 (“Burkūtu-holding might be explained as being based on long term lease with right of inheritance, or the term might refer to the elusive allodial holding. The matter cannot be decided at present”); Oelsner 1982, 281 (“erbliches” Feld); Paulus 2014 167–168 n. 192 (nicht bur-ku-ti, sondern zak-ku-ti “Freistellung”). Paulus’s emendation fits the context exactly. Yet the sign on the photo (P267516.jpg) looks like pur/bur rather than zak.

(<sup>145</sup>) I also would like to draw attention to another document (CUSAS 30 no. 35: 1267 KT year 15). It deals with the tax (šibšu) on the revenues (tēlītu) from Āl-Irrē. In obv. 12–16, a certain Dimahḍi-Uraš is found with a certain Rīmūtu (obv. 10–11). In BE 14 no. 39 obv. 18–20, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, nephew of Dimahḍi-Uraš argued that Dimahḍi-Uraš collected tax from the land (of Āl-Irrē) at the time of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282). If the Dimahḍi-Uraš of CUSAS 30 no. 35 were the same person as the Dimahḍi-Uraš in BE 14 no. 39, the attestation of šibšu with the Dimahḍi-Uraš of CUSAS 30 no. 35 would support Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē’s claim in BE 14 no. 39.



(remainder not inscribed)<sup>(146)</sup>

Hölscher (1996, 155) made an important remark about Ninurta-kīn-pīšu: “Das Siegel des *Ninurta-kīn-pīšu* findet sich auch auf BE 14, 53, jedoch mit der Beischrift seines Vaters *Enlil-nīšu*.”<sup>(147)</sup> BE 14 no. 53 was sealed with Matthews no. **155** which was usually used by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. But the seal reference of BE 14 no. 53 is not to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu but to Enlil-nīšu.

BE 14 no. 53

obv.

1 3 sila<sub>4</sub> *ba-ru-tu<sub>4</sub>/ba-ru-<um>-tu<sub>4</sub>*

2 <sup>Id</sup>*en-līl-ni-šu*

3 šu <sup>Id</sup>*utu-šeš-sum-na*

4 dumu <sup>l</sup>*nap-ši-ri-gašan*

rev.

5 <sup>iti</sup>*apin-du<sub>8</sub>-a*

6 u<sub>4</sub>-r<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-kam

7 mu-11-kam *na-zi-ma-ru-taš* lugal

8 <sup>r<sup>na</sup>4<sub>1</sub></sup> **kišib** <sup>Id</sup>*en-līl-ni-šu*

Enlil-nīšu is attested as the father of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu in BE 14 no. 39 obv. 11. Therefore Ninurta-kīn-pīšu in BE 14 no. 39 is the same person as the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu who used Matthews no. **155**.

BE 14 no. 70 Āl-Irrē Rīmūtu

BE 14 no. 39 Āl-Irrē Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, son of Enlil-nīšu

BE 14 no. 53 Seal reference to Enlil-nīšu Matthews no. **155**

Passim Seal reference to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu Matthews no. **155**

This link between Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu reminds us of BE 14 no. 87a, whose seal reference is to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, but whose seal impression is like that of Rīmūtu. We can find other indirect links between them.

Rīmūtu	Link	Ninurta-kīn-pīšu
1296, NM year 12 to 1267, KT year 15 (almost 30 years)	Period	1287, NM year 21 to 1278, KT year 4 (almost 10 years)

<sup>(146)</sup> Probably BE 14 no. 39 is a duplicate.

<sup>(147)</sup> See Matthews 1992, 118 (no. **155**).

Rīmūtu	Link	Ninurta-kīn-pīšu
BE 14 nos. 64, 70, 71, 80, 81, 82, 87, MUN 100, 156, 158, 162, 200, 201, 202, 223, 224?, 225, CBS 9514?, N 2907	Sealing of <i>aklu</i> documents	BE 14 nos. 78, 80a, 83, 85, MUN 99, 159, 160, 199?
BE 14 no. 70 (details about Āl-Irrē here are unknown)	Āl-Irrē	BE 14 no. 39 (lawsuit about the land of Āl-Irrē)
Seal impression is like that of Rīmūtu (i. e. Matthews no. <b>148</b> ).	BE 14 no. 87a	Seal reference is to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu ( <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-ki-pi-šu)
BE 14 nos. 80 (beer), 87 (beer), MUN 200 (beer, <i>sirāšū</i> ), 224 (beer, <i>sirāšū</i> )	Bā'eru (brewer)	BE 14 no. 83 (beer)
BE 14 no. 70 (flour), MUN 158 ([flour], <i>kaššidakku</i> ), CBS 9514 (flour)	Sîn-muballiṭ (miller)	MUN 160 (flour, <sup>ld</sup> XXX-[muballiṭ])
BE 14 no. 81 (Tukultī-Ekur)	Nippur and the settlements around Nippur (Nippur, Tukultī-Ekur, Dūr-Enlilē, Dīmtu, and Kār-Nuska) <sup>(148)</sup>	CBS 9543 (Tukultī-Ekur), BE 14 no. 78 (Dūr-Enlilē), MUN 99 (Dūr-Enlilē), 159 (Dūr-Enlilē), 160 (Dūr-Enlilē)
MUN 156 ( <sup>ld</sup> di-maḥ-di- <sup>d</sup> [uraš]). Details about him are unknown.)	Dimahḍi-Uraš	BE 14 no. 39 obv. 18 (Dimahḍi-Uraš is a brother of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu <sup>(149)</sup> )
Bā'eru: BE 14 nos. 80 (beer), 87 (beer), MUN 200 (beer, <i>sirāšū</i> ), 224 (beer, <i>sirāšū</i> ) Šamaš-mušēzib:	CUSAS 30 no. 136 col. iii: obv. 5 éš-gàr <sup>m</sup> ba-aḥ-ḥu-tum obv. 6 [ki].min <sup>m</sup> ba-e-ṛri <sup>2</sup> obv. 7 [ki].min <sup>md</sup> utu-mu-še-z[ib <sup>2</sup> ] obv. 8 [ki].min ṛm <sup>x</sup> x x- <sup>d</sup> nin-urta	Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu <sup>(150)</sup> : BE 14 no. 80a (beer) Bā'eru: BE 14 no. 83 (beer) Erība-Ninurta:

<sup>(148)</sup> Regarding these place names, see CUSAS 30, 302 (no. 229).

<sup>(149)</sup> Dimahḍi-Uraš is said to be a brother of “my” (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē’s) father (i.e., Ninurta-kīn-pīšu).

<sup>(150)</sup> Cf. Hölscher 1996, 43 (Baḥḥūtu) and 197 (Šuḥḥutu). M. Stol said in the Old Babylonian period the name Šuḥḥutu is known, Baḥḥūtu is not.

Rīmūtu	Link	Ninurta-kīn-pīšu
BE 14 no. 82 (beer), MUN 223 (beer)	bàd- <sup>d</sup> en-l[fl.ḫi.a <sup>2</sup> ] ... rev. 2' <sup>uru</sup> tukul]-ti-é.kur <sup>ki</sup>	MUN 99 (beer, <sup>1</sup> eri-ba- <sup>d</sup> ni[n-urta]) with Dūr-Enlilē (bàd- <sup>d</sup> en-líl-ḫi-a <sup>ki</sup> )
Bā'eru: BE 14 nos. 80 (beer), 87 (beer), MUN 200 (beer, <i>sirāšū</i> ), 224 (beer, <i>sirāšū</i> ) Amīl-Isin: MUN 201 (beer)	CUSAS 30 no. 141 col. iii: obv. 6 ṛéš-gàr <sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup> ba-aḫ-ḫu-tum obv. 7 ṛéš-gàr <sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup> ba-'e-rum obv. 8 éš-gàr <sup>m</sup> lú-ì-si-in <sup>ki</sup>	Baḫḫūtu/Šuḫḫutu: BE 14 no. 80a (beer) Bā'eru: BE 14 no. 83 (beer)

With regard to the chart above, Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu were contemporaries. They worked at the time of Nazi-Maruttaš and Kadašman-Turgu. They sealed a good number of *aklu* documents. Both persons sealed not only documents for beer but also documents for flour. In BE 14 no. 87a, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu sealed with Matthews no. **148**, which was usually used by Rīmūtu. The text is reproduced below.

#### BE 14 no. 87a

Obv.

- 1 7 kaš UŠ
- 2 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>ri-m<sup>1</sup>ru-<sup>1</sup>u<sub>4</sub> <sup>lú</sup>lunga
- 3 <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>
- 4 u<sub>4</sub>-30-kam

Lo. e.

- 5 m[u-x-k]am

Rev.

- 6 *na-zi*-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ru-táš
- 7 lugal-e
- 8 <sup>na</sup><sup>4</sup>kišib <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-ki-pi-šu

Here a brewer named Rīmūtu (obv. 2) is mentioned. He may not be the Rīmūtu who used Matthews no. **148**, because the latter sealed not only the *aklu* documents of beer but also the *aklu* documents of flour. The reason why Ninurta-kīn-pīšu sealed this *aklu* document with Matthews no. **148** is still unclear. But Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (a sealer who used Matthews no. **155**) and Rīmūtu (who used Matthews no. **148**) worked in areas that were near each other. A brewer Bā'eru appears in the *aklu* documents sealed with Matthews no. **148** by Rīmūtu and in an *aklu* document sealed with Matthews no. **155** by

Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. A miller Sīn-muballit is also found among the *aklu* documents sealed by both men. These examples would support the idea that Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu worked in nearby locations. As mentioned above, the area of activity of both persons was Nippur and its surroundings.

A certain Dimahdi-Uraš is attested in an *aklu* document sealed by Rīmūtu but sealed with Matthews no. **55**, not with the usual Matthews no. **148**. The reason for this difference is unclear.

#### MUN 156

Obv.

- 1' [ x],3.2.4 sila zì-d[a]  
 2' ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>di-mah-di-<sup>d</sup>[uraš]  
 3' <sup>1</sup>la-qí-pu <sup>1u</sup>ka-zì-d[a]  
 4' <sup>iti</sup>bár/bára-zag-gar mu-15-<sup>1</sup>kam<sup>1</sup>  
 5' na-zi-ma-ru-ut-taš l[ugal]  
 6' <sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>kišib <sup>1</sup>ri-mu-t[i]

As mentioned above, in BE 14 no. 39 obv. 18, Dimahdi-Uraš is known as a brother of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē's father (i.e., a brother of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu). Some brewers are attested in the *aklu* documents sealed by Rīmūtu (Matthews no. **148**) and/or in those sealed by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (Matthews no. **155**). They can be seen in the two texts from the Rosen collection (CUSAS 30 no. 136 and no. 141). It should be noted that the place name Tukultī-Ekur is found in CUSAS 30 no. 136 col. iii rev. 2'. This suggests that CUSAS 30 no. 136 is a document from the area of Nippur and the settlements around it.

Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu is attested in BE 14 no. 80a (sealed by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu with Matthews no. **155**). He can be seen in CUSAS 30 no. 136 col. iii, obv. 5 and no. 141 col. iii, obv. 6.

#### BE 14 no. 80a

Obv.

- 1 39 1/2 kaš sag  
 2 93 1/2 kaš UŠ  
 3 𒀭2𒀭[ ] dug sag  
 4 2 [dug] UŠ  
 5 0,0.1.2 sila[ ] báppir  
 6 3 sila? [níg-àr-]ra

Rev.

- 7 ak-lu<sub>4</sub>  
 8 <sup>1</sup>ba/šú-a/uḥ-ḥu-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 9 <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-[sá]

10 mu-24<sup>1</sup>-kam ṛna-zi-múru-taš<sup>7</sup>  
 11 lugal-e  
 12 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>Id</sup>nin-urta-ki-in-  
 13 -ka-šu

Bā'eru is attested in BE 14 no. 80 (Rīmūtu, Matthews no. **148**), no. 83 (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, Matthews no. **155**), no. 87 (Rīmūtu, Matthews no. **148**), MUN 200 (Rīmūtu, Matthews no. **148**), and 224 (Rīmūtu?, Matthews no. **148**). He is found in CUSAS 30 no. 136 col. iii, obv. 6 and no. 141 col. iii, obv. 7.<sup>(151)</sup>

BE 14 no. 80

Obv.  
 1 19 kaš sag  
 2 1 me 94 kaš UŠ  
 3 12 dug sag  
 4 7 1/2 dug UŠ  
 5 0,0.2. báppir  
 rev.  
 6 ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>ba-i-ru  
 7 ta <sup>iti</sup>gan-gan-è  
 8 en <sup>iti</sup><<iti>>še-kin-ku<sub>5</sub>  
 9 mu-22-kam  
 10 na-zi-múru-taš  
 u. e.  
 11 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>

BE 14 no. 83

Obv.  
 1 13 kaš sag  
 2 70 kaš UŠ  
 3 0,0.1. báppir  
 4 ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>ba-e-rù  
 5 <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun-na  
 lo. e.  
 6 mu-24-kam  
 7 na-zi-ma-ru-taš  
 8 lugal-e  
 rev.  
 9 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>Id</sup>nin-urta-ki-pi-šu

BE 14 no. 87

Obv.  
 1 6 kaš sag  
 2 40 kaš UŠ  
 3 1 dug UŠ  
 4 2 síla báppir  
 lo. e.  
 5 ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>ba-e-rù  
 6 <sup>iti</sup>bár-zag-gar  
 rev.  
 7 mu-[ ]-kam  
 8 <sup>d</sup>na-zi-ma-ru-taš  
 9 lugal-e  
 10 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1</sup>ri-mu-ti

MUN 200

Obv.  
 1 8 kaš UŠ en ṛu<sub>4</sub><sup>7</sup>[-8-kam]  
 2 3 dug gal  
 3 pap ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 4 [t]a u<sub>4</sub>-6-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-8-kam  
 5 [š]a <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá

MUN 224

Obv.  
 1' [ +]2 1/2[ ]  
 2' [2]3 1/2[ ]  
 3' 1/2 báppir[ ]  
 4' pap ak-lu<sub>4</sub> la ṛa-<sup>7</sup>[ša-bu]  
 lo. e.

<sup>(151)</sup> I discuss Bā'eru below (2.8.2.). Though some information is duplicated, the introduction to the relationship between the artisans and the official is important to understand the *aklu* activity. Therefore, I reproduce the transliteration here.

rev.  
 6 mu-24-kam *na-zi-ma-ru-taš*  
 7 **<sup>l</sup>ba-i-ru<sup>l</sup>lunga**  
 8 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>l</sup>ri-m[u-tu<sub>4</sub>]

5' ta <sup>iti</sup>bára-zag-g[ar]  
 6' en <sup>itiš</sup>e-KIN-[ku<sub>5</sub>]  
 rev.  
 7' mu-24-kam *na-zi-ma*-[ ]  
 8' **<sup>l</sup>ba-i-ru<sup>l</sup>lun[ga]**  
 9' <sup>n</sup>[<sup>a4</sup>kišib <sup>l</sup>ri-mu-ti?]

Šamaš-mušēzib is known from BE 14 no. 82 (Rīmūtu, Matthews no. **148**) and MUN 223 (Rīmūtu, Matthews no. **148**). He is mentioned in CUSAS 30 no. 136 col. iii, obv. 7.

BE 14 no. 82

Obv.

1 7 kaš UŠ  
 2 1 dug gal  
 3 *ak-lu<sub>4</sub>* **<sup>l</sup>utu-mu-š[e-zìb]**  
 4 ta u<sub>4</sub>-r<sup>6</sup>-kam  
 5 en u<sub>4</sub>-8-kam

lo. E.

6 *ša* <sup>itiš</sup>u-numun-na  
 rev.  
 7 mu-23-kam  
 8 <sup>d</sup>na-zi-ma-ru-taš  
 9 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>l</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>

MUN 223

Obv.

1 [ ]kaš sag  
 2 [ ]r<sup>1</sup>/2<sup>1</sup> kaš UŠ  
 3 [ ]dug gal  
 4 [ ]báppir  
 5 [a]k-lu<sub>4</sub> **<sup>l</sup>utu-mu-še-zìb**

rev.

6 [it]išu-numun-na  
 7 [m]u-23-kam  
 8 [na-z]i-ma-ru-taš  
 9 [lugal]-e  
 10 [<sup>na4</sup>kišib] <sup>l</sup>ri-mu-ti

Erība-Ninurta is attested with Dūr-Enlilē in MUN 99 (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, Matthews no. **155**). He can be seen with Dūr-Enlilē in CUSAS 30 no. 136 col. iii, obv. 8.

MUN 99

Obv.

1 14 kaš sag[ ]  
 2 56 3 sila kaš [UŠ]  
 3 3 dug gal kaš[ ]  
 4 5 dug gal kaš r<sup>x</sup>[ ]  
 5 0,0.2.1 sila báppir ù A-[ ]  
 6 *ak-lu<sub>4</sub>* **<sup>l</sup>eri-ba-<sup>d</sup>ni[n-urta]**

Rev.

- 7 ta u<sub>4</sub>-5-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-16-kam  
 8 <sup>iti</sup>gan-gan-è  
 9 **bàd-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-ḫi-a<sup>ki</sup>**  
 10 mu-22-kam  
 11 na-zi-múru-ut-ta[š]  
 12 <sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>kišib <sup>Id</sup>ṛnin<sup>ṛ</sup>-u[rta-kīn-pīšu<sup>?</sup>]

Amīl-Isin is found in MUN 201 (Rīmūtu, Matthews no. **148**). He is also mentioned in CUSAS 30 no. 141 col. iii, obv. 8.

### MUN 201

Obv.

- 1 10 kaš UŠ  
 2 2 1/2 dug gal  
 3 pap ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>l</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 4 ta u<sub>4</sub>-24-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-s[i-sá]  
 5 en u<sub>4</sub>-28-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>

lo. E.

- 6 mu-6-kam

rev.

- 7 <sup>d</sup>ka-dáš-man-túr-gu  
 8 **<sup>l</sup>ú-i-si-in<sup>ki</sup>**  
 9 [<sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>kišib] <sup>l</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>

These indirect links may suggest a relationship like that of colleagues between Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. They were contemporaries and worked in Nippur and the settlements around Nippur. But their professions are still unclear.<sup>(152)</sup>

**2.8.2. Bā’eru** (a brewer) — Mentioned in BE 14 nos. 80 (*aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu), 83 (*aklu*, beer, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu), 87 (*aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu), MUN 200 (*aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu), 224 (*aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu), CUSAS 30 nos. 136 (obv. 6: *iškaru*, barley), and 141 (obv. 7: *iškaru*, barley). He is attested as a brewer (MUN 200, 224), mentioned in the five above-listed *aklu* documents, and received barley for the work assignment (*iškaru*) in the two listed documents. The earliest attestation is possibly CUSAS 30 no.

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<sup>(152)</sup> In BE 14 no. 39, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu took away agricultural land, and his brother, Dimahḫi-Uraš, had collected tax from the land. His family seems to be concerned with land administration.

136 (1287 [NM], year 21+) or BE 14 no. 80 (1286, NM XII-year 22, XI-XII). The last one is MUN 224 (1284, NM XII-year 24, I-XII). The period is 4 or 3 years. He received barley for the work assignment (*iškaru*) in [Tukul]tī-Ekur.<sup>(153)</sup> Interestingly he appears not only in four *aklu* documents sealed by Rīmūtu, but also in one sealed by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. The term *la* ʾaʾ-[ša-bu] can be found in MUN 224. Bā'eru is mentioned with other brewers (Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu, Šamaš-mušēzib, and Erība-Ninurta in CUSAS 30 no. 136 and Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu and Amīl-Isin in CUSAS 30 no. 141).

**2.8.3. Šamaš-mušēzib** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 82 (*aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu), MUN 223 (ʾaklu, beer, Rīmūtu), and CUSAS 30 no. 136 (obv. 7: *iškaru*, barley). These documents date to around the end of Nazi-Maruttaš: 1287, [NM] year 21+ (CUSAS 30 no. 136); 1285, NM 8-IV-year 23, days ʾ6-8 (BE 14 no. 82); 1285, NM IV-year 23 (MUN 223). This brewer received barley for the work assignment (*iškaru*) in [Tukul]tī-Ekur.<sup>(154)</sup> He is mentioned with the other brewers Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu, Bā'eru, and Erība-Ninurta (CUSAS 30 no. 136).

**2.8.4. Ēriš-Ea** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in BE 14 nos. 64 (*aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu), 75<sup>(155)</sup> (ʾaklu, beer), CUSAS 30 no. 143 (obv. 14: *iškaru*). These documents' dates are around the middle of Nazi-Maruttaš: 1294, NM ?-II-year 14? (+), days broken (BE 14 no. 64); 1290, NM 10-VI-2-kam<sup>(156)</sup>-year 18, days 6–10 (no. 75). Ēriš-Ea received [barley] for *iškaru* in *bīt karê ša Nippur* (CUSAS 30 no. 143). The term *la a-ša-bu* can be found in BE 14 no. 64. Ēriš-Ea is mentioned with the millers Sīn-muballit and Lā-qīpu (CUSAS 30 no. 143).

**2.8.5. Amīl-Isin** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in MUN 201 (*aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu) and CUSAS 30 no. 141 (obv. 8: *iškaru*). MUN 201's date is 1276, KT 28-III-year 6, 24-II to 28-III. CUSAS 30 no. 141 has no date except month XI. Amīl-Isin is mentioned with the other brewers Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu and Bā'eru (CUSAS 30 no. 141).

**2.8.6. Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in MUN 225 (*aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu). The date of the text is 1267, KT 14?-VI-year 15, days 11–14?.

**2.8.7. Sīn-muballit** (a miller) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 70 (*aklu*, flour, Rīmūtu), MUN 158 (ʾaklu,

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(153) CUSAS 30 no. 136 rev. 2'; Āl-Šēlebi is also found in obv. 2.

(154) Ibid.

(155) There is no seal impression on the preserved part of the tablet.

(156) A leap month (<sup>ii</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>innin-2-kam).



[flour], Rīmūtu), 160 (<sup>1d</sup>XXX-[*muballiṭ*], *aklu*, flour, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu), CBS 9514 (*aklu*, flour, [Rīmūtu]), PBS 2/2 nos. 70 (flour), 71 (flour), 115 (*iškaru*, barley); CUSAS 30 nos. 143 (obv. 12: *iškaru*, [barley]), 144 (obv. 7: *iškaru*, [barley]), and 147 (obv. 4: <sup>1d</sup>XXX-[*muballiṭ*], *iškaru*, barley). He is attested as a miller (MUN 158, CUSAS 30 nos. 144, 147) and mentioned in the *aklu* documents and as receiving barley for the work assignment (*iškaru*). The earliest attestation is CBS 9514 (1292, NM 14-III-year 16, days 1?–14). The latest is MUN 160 (1284, NM 30-II-year 24; 1-I to 30-II). The period is about 9 years. Interestingly, he appears not only in the two or possibly three *aklu* documents sealed by Rīmūtu, but also in one sealed by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (MUN 160). In the *aklu* documents, he is mentioned with several place names: Āl-Irrē (BE 14 no. 70 obv. 3), <sup>uru</sup>x-x-x (CBS 9514 obv. 3), and Dūr-Enlilē (MUN 160 obv. 7). In the *iškaru* documents, he is mentioned with a storehouse,<sup>(157)</sup> and with the granary of Nippur.<sup>(158)</sup> He is often mentioned with the miller Lā-qīpu,<sup>(159)</sup> mentioned twice with Ninurta-ašarēd, probably a miller (PBS 2/2 no. 115, CUSAS 30 no. 144), and once with Ēriš-Ea, probably a brewer (CUSAS 30 no. 143).

**2.8.8. Lā-qīpu** (miller) — Mentioned in the following documents: MUN 156 (*aklu*, flour, Rīmūtu but Matthews no. 55), 157 (*aklu*, flour), PBS 2/2 nos. 70 (flour), 71 (flour), 115 (*iškaru*, barley), CUSAS 30 nos. 143 obv. 13 (*iškaru*, [barley]), and 144 obv. 6 (*iškaru*, [barley]). He is attested as a miller (MUN 156, CUSAS 30 nos. 143,<sup>(160)</sup> 144) and is mentioned in *aklu* documents, and received barley for the work assignment (*iškaru*). These above document dates to around the middle of Nazi-Maruttaš: 1293, NM I-year 15 (MUN 156); 1292, NM 11?-V-year 16(+), days 2–11? (MUN 157).<sup>(161)</sup> In the *iškaru* documents, he is mentioned with a storehouse<sup>(162)</sup> and with the granary of Nippur.<sup>(163)</sup> The term <sup>ra</sup>a-ša<sup>ra</sup>-bu ù la a-ša-bu can be found in MUN 157. Lā-qīpu is often mentioned with Sīn-muballiṭ, a miller,<sup>(164)</sup> with Ninurta-ašarēd, probably a miller (PBS 2/2 no. 115, CUSAS 30 no. 144), and once with Ēriš-Ea, probably a brewer (CUSAS 30 no. 143).

CBS 2109 u. e. 29' (*aklu*, flour) and CBS 3738 rev. 20 (*aklu*, flour, 21-XI-year 16, days 14–21)

<sup>(157)</sup> *bīt kunukki*: PBS 2/2 no. 115 rev. 7 (é n<sup>[a42]</sup>kišib), CUSAS 30 no. 147 obv. 1.

<sup>(158)</sup> *bīt karē ša Nippur*: CUSAS 30 no. 143 obv. 1.

<sup>(159)</sup> PBS 2/2 nos. 70, 71, 115, CUSAS 30 nos. 143, 144.

<sup>(160)</sup> Because the tablet is broken, the tentative reading uš.[bar] may instead be a part of the sign KA (k[a-zì-da]).

<sup>(161)</sup> PBS 2/2 nos. 70, 71, and 115 are dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> year of an unknown king.

<sup>(162)</sup> *bīt kunukki*: PBS 2/2 no. 115 obv. 7: é n<sup>[a42]</sup>kišib].

<sup>(163)</sup> *bīt karē ša Nippur*: CUSAS 30 no. 143 obv. 1.

<sup>(164)</sup> PBS 2/2 nos. 70, 71, 115, CUSAS 30 nos. 143, 144.

also mention a Lā-qīpu.<sup>(165)</sup>

**2.8.9. The son of Ṭāb-nupāršu** (possibly a miller) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 81 (*aklu*, flour). Its date is 1285, NM III-year 23. This *aklu* is issued for the banquet of Rīmūtu (obv. 1: kin-sig <sup>l</sup>*ri-mu-tu*<sub>4</sub>). Tukultī-Ekur is mentioned. The term *lā ašābu* (rev. 9) occurs.

CBS 3529 obv. 11, rev. 18 (*aklu*, flour, 14-XI of an unknown king) also refers to a certain son of Ṭāb-nupāršu.

The above brewers and millers who appear in the Rīmūtu texts may be members of a team or teams, because some of them are often mentioned together.<sup>(166)</sup>

**2.8.10. Enlil-aḫulap** — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 71 (*aklu*, flour, Rīmūtu), BE 15 no. 157, MRWH 31, MUN 123, 134, and UM 29-15-685. The PN Enlil-aḫulap appears in the following Nippur documents:

1. BE 14 no. 71, obv. 2      <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-MÚŠ <sup>uru</sup>ša-bi      (Matthews no. **148**: Rīmūtu)
2. BE 15 no. 157, obv. 15      <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-MÚŠ <sup>uru</sup>ša-bil-tu<sub>4</sub>
3. MRWH 31, rev. 38      <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-MÚŠ <sup>uru</sup>ša-bil-tu<sub>4</sub>      (Matthews no. **164**)
4. MUN 123, rev. 9      <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-MÚŠ <sup>uru</sup>ša-bil<sup>l(167)</sup>      (Matthews no. **148**)
5. MUN 134, obv. 5<sup>(168)</sup>      <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-MÚŠ <sup>uru</sup>ša-bil-tu<sub>4</sub>
6. UM 29-15-685, rev. 27      <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-MÚŠ <sup>uru</sup>ša-bi      (Matthews no. **148**: *Enlil-AL-SA*<sub>6</sub>)

The earliest attestation of Enlil-aḫulap is 1319, KG II, XI-year 14 (MUN 134). The latest is 1292, NM 30-IX-year 16, days 19–30 (BE 14 no. 71). The period is about 28 years, but it is uncertain if all of the cases refer to the same person. However, the name is always mentioned with Šabiltu. In the above list of Enlil-aḫulap's Nippur occurrences, we find two different seal impressions, Matthews nos. **148** and **164**.

No. <b>148</b> : MUN 123	1303 NM	XII - year 5	
No. <b>148</b> : UM 29-15-685	1300 NM 3	- I - year 8	days 1–3 <i>Enlil-AL-SA</i> <sub>6</sub>
No. <b>164</b> : MRWH 31	1300 NM	VII - year 8	
No. <b>148</b> : BE 14 no. 71	<i>aklu</i> 1292 NM 30	- IX - year 16	days 19–30    Rīmūtu

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<sup>(165)</sup> Noted by Sassmannshausen (2001, 318) in connection with MUN 156.

<sup>(166)</sup> On brewer and miller teams, see Deheselle 2004.

<sup>(167)</sup> Or *bi*<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>(168)</sup> For the name, see Brinkman 2004, 300.

It is chronologically possible that Enlil-aḫulap in these four documents refers to the same person. But the reason for using the different seals remains unclear. In MRWH 31, MUN 123, UM 29-15-685, barley is issued for several purposes (fodder of horses, provisions, etc.) and Enlil-aḫulap is found around the end. Probably, then, he was responsible for the issue of barley for caravans. In BE 15 no. 157, he is stated as one of the beneficiaries. In MUN 134, he is mentioned in connection with a matter of barley.

**2.8.11. Erība-Šuqamuna and Kidin-Gula** — As noted by Sassmannshausen (2001, 333) on MUN 198, “Die Namen Irība-Šuqamuna und Kidin-Gula kommen auch in BE 14, 81 vor, einem Text aus dem 23. Jahr des Nazi-Maruttaš.”

BE 14 no. 81: 1285, NM III-year 23, *aklu*, flour, Rīmūtu, Tukultī-Ekur

MUN 198: 1306, NM 13-VIII-year 2, *aklu*, beer, Dūr-Nuska

Erība-Šuqamuna received flour in BE 14 no. 81 and received beer in MUN 198. Kidin-Gula’s role is not clear in either case.

**2.8.12. Enlil-šulūlī** — Sassmannshausen (2001, 334) points out regarding MUN 202 that Enlil-šulūlī appear also in BE 14 nos. 106, 111; MRWH 25; and CT 51 no. 28. All five documents are dated in Kadašman-Turgu.

MUN 202, 6 1267, KT 4(+)-[MN]-year 15, I to 4(+)-[MN], *aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu  
(Matthews no. **148**)

MRWH 25, 3 1272, KT 20-VIII-year 10, 25-II to 20-VIII, *aklu*, beer, with envelope, seal  
(Matthews no. **187**)

BE 14 no. 106, 3 1268, KT VI-year 14, loan document (as creditor), *dumu* <sup>1</sup>*be-la-ni*

BE 14 no. 111, 2 1268, KT XII-year 14, loan document (as creditor), *i-na é gur<sub>7</sub> ša nibru<sup>ki</sup>*

CT 51, 28, 8 1272, KT 7-XII-year 10, loan document (as witness), *dumu* <sup>1</sup>*be-la-ni, i-na taḫ-la-aš<sup>ki(169)</sup>*

As noted, Enlil-šulūlī appears in two *aklu* documents, but the details are unclear. He is also mentioned in three loan documents. Further evidence is required to determine if these are all references to the same person.

## 2.9. Summary of the Rīmūtu texts

This group of texts consists mainly but not entirely of *aklu* documents. Rīmūtu usually sealed with the

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<sup>(169)</sup> See Nashef 1982, 256 (*Taḫlaš*). Notification courtesy of M. Stol.

same seal (Matthews no. **148**), but at least once with another one (Matthews no. **55**). Rīmūtu's period of activity is from the middle of Nazi-Maruttaš to the end of Kadašman-Turgu. He is contemporary with Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. In these texts, *aklu* products are issued for several purposes, for ration of horse keepers (šuk 5 sipa anše-kur-ra),<sup>(170)</sup> for banquet (kin-sig),<sup>(171)</sup> for offering (*ki-is-pu*)<sup>(172)</sup> and to several persons, to a governor (<sup>l</sup>arad-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu gar-*nu*),<sup>(173)</sup> to a young female servant (*šú-ḥur-tu<sub>4</sub>*),<sup>(174)</sup> to a messenger (dumu *šip-ri*).<sup>(175)</sup> Here *aklu* does not seem to be assignment of raw materials for brewers and millers. Rather the brewers and millers' role in the *aklu* may be preparation of the products for the *aklu* expenditure.<sup>(176)</sup> In other words, the brewers and millers prepared the *aklu* products, which were issued for a variety of purposes. Then a record of the issue was sealed by Rīmūtu.

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<sup>(170)</sup> MUN 100 obv. 2.

<sup>(171)</sup> BE 14 no. 81 obv. 1.

<sup>(172)</sup> UM 29-13-946 obv. 1'. For the discussion of *kispu*, see the commodities section of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (4.5.2.).

<sup>(173)</sup> BE 14 no. 81 obv. 3.

<sup>(174)</sup> CBS 10981 obv. 5.

<sup>(175)</sup> UM 29-15-713 rev. 16'.

<sup>(176)</sup> In MRWH 34, Iqīša-Adad (probably an oil-presser) prepared the oil. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē received it and brought it to the storehouse, and then Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed the document (<sup>l</sup> 3,1 PI.0.1 sila ḫ-giš<sup>giš</sup> bān 5 sila <sup>2</sup> i-na šu <sup>l</sup>i-qi-ša-<sup>d</sup>iškur <sup>3</sup> <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe <sup>4</sup> im-ḥur-ma <sup>5</sup> a-na é<sup>na4</sup>kišib ú-še-rib <sup>6</sup> <sup>iii</sup>ab u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam <sup>7</sup> mu-6-kam <sup>d</sup>ka-dáš-man-<sup>d</sup>en-líl <sup>8</sup> <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe). In MRWH 34 the term *aklu* is not mentioned, but it is clear that the artisan prepared the commodity and that Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē received it and sealed the document. Two *aklu* documents of Iqīša-Adad (MUN 278, 279) are attested. They were also sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. See Sassmannshausen 2001, 320 (comments on text no. 164).

### 3. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu

#### Data

Underlining in the Seal Impression column marks new documents belonging to the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu group of texts.

Publication	aklu	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place Names	Notes
BE 14 no. 53	---	𒀭 <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> en-líl- <i>ni-šu</i>	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1297, NM year 11	VIII- 𒀭2𒀭	Enlil-nīšu	---	sheep, etc.	---	
BE 14 no. 78	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta- <i>ki-in-ka-šu</i>	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1286, NM year 22	II days 16–23	Ninurta-zākir-šumi	---	flour, barley	Dūr-Enlilē	
BE 14 no. 80a	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta- <i>ki-in-ka-šu</i>	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1284, NM year 24?	II	Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu	---	beer	---	
BE 14 no. 83	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta- <i>ki-pi-šu</i>	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1284, NM year 24	IV	Bā'eru	---	beer	---	
BE 14 no. 85	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-GI-<ka>- <i>šu</i>	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1284, NM year 24	IX days 1–6	Tarību	<i>kašsidakku</i>	flour (?)	---	<i>ašābu</i>
BE 14 no. 87a	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta- <i>ki-pi-šu</i>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	NM year x	XII-30	Rīmūtu	<i>sirāšū</i>	beer	---	
MUN 99	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> 𒀭nīn <sup>𒀭</sup> -u[ <i>rta-kīn-pīšu</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1286, NM year 22	IX, days 5–16	Erība-Ninurta	---	beer	Dūr-Enlilē	
MUN 159	[ <i>aklu</i> ]	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib <i>Ninurta-ki-i</i> ]n-ka- <i>šu</i>	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1306(-), NM year 2(+)	𒀭XI𒀭, days x–30	Ninurta-zākir-šumi	---	flour	Dūr-Enlilē	[ ] <i>a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 160	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-G[I-k]a- 𒀭 <sup>𒀭</sup> <i>šu</i>	<u>Matthews no. 155</u>	1284, NM year 24	I-1 to II-30	Sīn-[muballiṭ]	---	flour	Dūr-Enlilē	

Publication	aklu	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place Names	Notes
MUN 199	[aklu]	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> maš-ki-pi-šu	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1287, NM year 21	XII, days broken	---	---	beer	---	
MUN 446	[aklu]	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-gi-in-pi-šu	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1278, KT year 4	XII-18	---	---	---	[x-abzu <sup>rki7</sup> []]	
CBS 9511	Γak <sup>7</sup> -lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-GI-x	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1286, NM year 22	IX-23 to X- 8	Ninurta-zākir-šumi	---	flour	---	ašābu u lā a[šāb]u
CBS 9528	ak-lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-ΓGI <sup>7</sup> -[pīšu]	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1284, NM year 24	days broken	Erība-Ninurta	---	beer	---	ašābu
CBS 9543	ak-lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-ki-in-pi-šu	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1286, NM year 22	III-13 to IV- 2	Rīmūtu	sirāšū	beer	Tukultī- Ekur <sup>(177)</sup>	---
CBS 9781	ak-lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-ki-pi-šu	Matthews no. <b>155</b>	1286, NM year 22	I-19 to II-6	Erība-Ninurta	---	beer	---	
N 2982	---	---	Matthews no. <b>155</b> <sup>(178)</sup>	---	---	---	---	---	---	

<sup>(177)</sup> The reading *tukul-ti-é-kur* is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

<sup>(178)</sup> However, a seal impression is not visible in the CDLI photo.

## Discussion

Here I will discuss the documents of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. His seal impressions are collected as Matthews no. **155**.<sup>(179)</sup> Since the publication of Matthews 1992, new documents have become available and it has also become possible to see the photos of the documents online. I have two additions to the documents in Matthews. MUN 160 can be added to the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts because of its similarities (seal impression, year, prosopography, etc.) to other Ninurta-kīn-pīšu *aklu* documents. Also I will discuss BE 14 no. 87a, whose seal reference is to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-ki-pi-šu), but whose seal impression is like that of Rīmūtu (Matthews no. **148**).

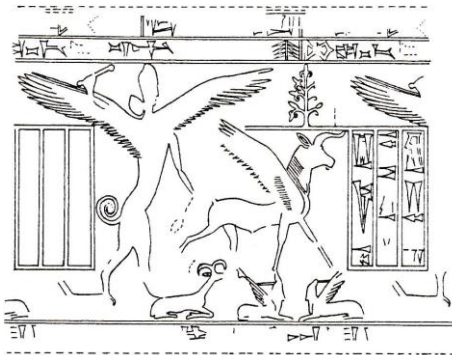
### 3.1. *Aklu* documents

The term *aklu* is found in BE 14 nos. 78, 80a, 83, 85, 87a, MUN 99, 160, CBS 9511, 9528, 9543, and 9781. In the following documents, the term *aklu* is not mentioned or was erased or broken off: BE 14 no. 53 MUN 159, 199, and 446.

### 3.2. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu's seal

The following documents have Ninurta-kīn-pīšu's seal reference: BE 14 nos. 78, 80a, 83, 85, 87a, MUN 99, 159, 160, 199, 446, CBS 9511, 9528, 9543, and 9781. BE 14 no. 53 has Enlil-nīšu's seal reference.

Matthews no. **155**<sup>(180)</sup> is the Second Kassite style.<sup>(181)</sup>



**155.** Seal of Ninurta-ken-pīšu

Inscription:

“only the vertical inscription has been read

*at-kal-ku*

*a-a-ba-aš*

arḫuš tuku.a

I trust in you,

May I not be put to shame,

Show mercy.”<sup>(182)</sup>

<sup>(179)</sup> N 2982 is included with no. **155**, but it is a fragment, and I cannot find a clear seal impression ([P278046.jpg](#)).

<sup>(180)</sup> References to Matthews no. **155** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 46, 49, 51, 58, 59, 120. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 218 (no. 299) and Fototafel 12 (no. 299). References to no. 299 Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996 are on pp. 34 n. 35, 40, 56, 61 n. 6, 64, 103 n. 70, 132 n. 294, 134 n. 313, 135, 136, 138 n. 356, 152, 169 n. 44, and 218.

<sup>(181)</sup> Concerning the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff. and Matthews 1992, 33ff. Also see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 136–137 (Zweite Gruppe).

<sup>(182)</sup> Matthews 1992, 119.

As mentioned above,<sup>(183)</sup> it seems the seal was used for official business. Seal impressions of the diamond on the cap can be found in the following documents: BE 14 nos. 53, 78, 85, 87a, MUN 159, 160, 199, 446, CBS 9511, 9528, 9543, and 9781. Seal impressions of its winged human headed demon and the winged bull can be found in BE 14 no. 83. The seal impressions are very faint in BE 14 no. 80a and MUN 99.

### 3.3. Year, month, day of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu group

The earliest document is BE 14 no. 53 (1297, NM 𒂗-VIII-year 11).<sup>(184)</sup> The latest one is MUN 446 (1278, KT 18-XII-year 4). The period is almost 20 years.<sup>(185)</sup> The dates are as follows:

BE 14 no. 53	1297	NM	𒂗	-	VIII	-	year 11	
MUN 199	1287	NM	[ ( ) ]	-	XII	-	year 21	days broken
CBS 9781	1286	NM	6	-	II	-	year 22	19-I to 6-II
BE 14 no. 78	1286	NM	23	-	II	-	year 22	days 16–23
CBS 9543	1286	NM	2	-	IV	-	year 22	13-III to 2-IV
MUN 99	1286	NM	16	-	IX	-	year 22	days 5–16
CBS 9511	1286	NM	8	-	X	-	year 22	23-IX to 8-X
BE 14 no. 80a	1284	NM			II	-	year 24?	
MUN 160	1284	NM	30	-	II	-	year 24	1-I to 30-II
BE 14 no. 83	1284	NM			IV	-	year 24	
BE 14 no. 85	1284	NM	6	-	IX	-	year 24	days 1–6
CBS 9528	1284	NM				-	year 24	days broken
MUN 159	1306(-)	NM	30	-	𒂗I	-	year 2(+)	days x–30
BE 14 no. 87a		NM	30	-	XII	-	[ ]	
MUN 446	1278	KT	18	-	XII	-	year 4	

#### 3.3.1. Months mentioned in the texts of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu:

- I: 2 times: MUN 160, CBS 9781  
 II: 4 times: BE 14 no. 78, BE 14 no. 80a, MUN 160, CBS 9781

<sup>(183)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

<sup>(184)</sup> BE 14 no. 53 has a seal reference to Enlil-nīšu, father of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. The first seal reference to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu himself is MUN 199 (1287, NM XII-[ ( ) ]-year 21, days broken). The period of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu himself is about 20 years.

<sup>(185)</sup> There are almost 10 years between the oldest document (BE 14 no. 53) and the second oldest one (MUN 199). The oldest one is sealed by Enlil-nīšu, and the second oldest by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Within this 10 years Ninurta-kīn-pīšu inherited the seal from his father, Enlil-nīšu.



III:	1 time:	CBS 9543
IV:	2 times:	BE 14 no. 83, CBS 9543
V:	0 times:	
VI:	0 times:	
VII:	0 times:	
VIII:	0 times:	BE 14 no. 53
IX:	3 times:	BE 14 no. 85, MUN 99, CBS 9511
X:	1 time:	CBS 9511
XI:	1 time:	MUN 159
XII:	3 times:	BE 14 no. 87a, MUN 199, MUN 446

There are fewer attestations in V, VI, and VII.

### 3.3.2. Days mentioned in the texts of *Ninurta-kīn-pīšu*:

1 day:	BE 14 no. 53 (r27-VIII), BE 14 no. 87a (30-XII), MUN 446 (18-XII)
6 days:	BE 14 no. 85 (days 1–6: IX)
8 days:	BE 14 no. 78 (days 16–23: II)
12 days:	MUN 99 (days 5–16: IX)
16 days:	CBS 9511 (23-IX to 8-X)
18 days:	CBS 9781 (19-I to 6-II)
20 days:	CBS 9543 (13-III to 2-IV)
1 month:	BE 14 no. 80a (II), BE 14 no. 83 (IV)
60 days:	MUN 160 (1-I to 30-II)

Within the texts of *Ninurta-kīn-pīšu*, the period of *aklu* is not so long. It is interesting that MUN 160 (1-I to 30-II) is dated from the beginning of the year (24<sup>th</sup> NM). BE 14 no. 87a (30: XII) is dated at the end of the year ([x]<sup>th</sup> NM).

### 3.4. Occupations

In the texts of *Ninurta-kīn-pīšu*, a *Rīmūtu* is attested as a brewer (BE 14 no. 87a obv. 2, CBS 9543 obv. 6), and *Tarību* is attested as a miller (BE 14 no. 85 obv. 3).

### 3.5. Commodities

In the *Ninurta-kīn-pīšu* texts, beer and flour are prominent commodities. Beer products are mentioned in the following documents: BE 14 nos. 80a, 83, 87a, MUN 99, 199, CBS 9528, 9543, 9781. Flour is mentioned in BE 14 no. 78 (flour, barley), MUN 159, 160, and CBS 9511. As to beer in *aklu*, see the discussion at the section of *Rīmūtu* (2.5.). Beer (*kaš*) is usually counted with a

cardinal number. Sometimes a fraction (½) is used.<sup>(186)</sup> But in MUN 99, kaš [UŠ] is expressed with a cardinal number and a solid capacity measure (56 3 sila kaš [UŠ]).

- kaš: BE 14 nos. 80a (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 83 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 87a (kaš UŠ), MUN 99 (kaš sag, kaš [UŠ]), 199 (kaš sag), CBS 9528 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), CBS 9543 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), CBS 9781 (kaš UŠ)
- dug: BE 14 no. 80a (dug sag, [dug] UŠ), MUN 99 (dug gal kaš [ ], dug gal kaš ṛxṛ [ ]), CBS 9528 (dug gal), CBS 9543 (dug sag), CBS 9781 (dug gal)
- báppir: BE 14 nos. 80a, 83, MUN 99 (báppir ù A-[ ]), CBS 9528, CBS 9543, CBS 9781
- níg-àr-ra: BE 14 no. 80a ([níg-àr-]ra), CBS 9781

Flour is expressed as zì-da and is measured with a solid capacity measure.

- zì-da: BE 14 no. 78, MUN 159, 160, CBS 9511 (ṛzì<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>ṛ)

We can find three lambs (sila<sub>4</sub>) in BE 14 no. 53 and barley (še) with flour in BE 14 no. 78.

### 3.6. Place names

In the texts of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, Dūr-Enlilē is mentioned 4 times.<sup>(187)</sup> In CBS 9543 obv. 6, Tukultī-Ekur<sup>(188)</sup> is referred to. Dūr-Enlilē and Tukultī-Ekur are known as settlements around Nippur.<sup>(189)</sup> Therefore Ninurta-kīn-pīšu worked in Nippur and the surrounding settlements. In MUN 446, a place name ...-Apsû ([ ]x-abzu<sup>ṛkīṛ</sup>) is referred to.

### 3.7. Notes

As mentioned above,<sup>(190)</sup> *ašābu* and related phrases occur in the *aklu* documents. In the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts, the following are attested.

- ašābu*: BE 14 no. 85, MUN 159 ([ ] *a-ša-bu*<sup>(191)</sup>), CBS 9528

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<sup>(186)</sup> BE 14 no. 80a (39½ kaš sag, 93½ kaš UŠ), CBS 9528 (31½ kaš UŠ), CBS 9543 (96½ kaš UŠ), CBS 9781 (99½ kaš UŠ).

<sup>(187)</sup> BE 14 no. 78 obv. 3, MUN 99 rev. 9, 159 obv. 6, and 160 obv. 7.

<sup>(188)</sup> The reading *tukul-ti-é-kur* is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

<sup>(189)</sup> See CUSAS 30, p. 302 (no. 229).

<sup>(190)</sup> See Rīmūtu's section of note (*ašābu*).

<sup>(191)</sup> Or [*la*] *a-ša-bu*.

*lā ašābu:* ---  
*ašābu u lā ašābu:* CBS 9511 (*a-ša-bu ù la a-[ša-b]u*)

### 3.8. Prosopography

Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

Ninurta-kīn-pīšu	(Sealed a number of <i>aklu</i> documents.)
Ninurta-zākir-šumi	(Worked in association with Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.)
Enlil-nīšu	(The father of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.)
Bā'eru	(A brewer)
Erība-Ninurta	(Probably a brewer)
Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu	(Probably a brewer)
Rīmūtu	(A brewer)
Sīn-muballīṭ	(A miller)
Tarību	(A miller)

**3.8.1. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu** — Mentioned in the following documents: BE 14 nos. 39 (obv. 2, 11: lawsuit about the land of Āl-Irrē), 78 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 80a (*aklu*, beer), 83 (*aklu*, beer), 85 (*aklu*, flour?<sup>(192)</sup>), 87a (*aklu*, beer), MUN 99 (*aklu*, beer), 159 ([*aklu*], flour), 160 (*aklu*, flour), 199 ([*aklu*], beer), 446 ([*aklu*]), CBS 9511 (*aklu*, flour), CBS 9528 (*aklu*, beer), CBS 9543 (*aklu*, beer), CBS 9781 (*aklu*, beer). The first attestation is MUN 199 (1287, NM [( )]-XII-year 21, days broken). The last one is MUN 446 (1278, KT 18-XII-year 4). The period is about 10 years. From BE 14 no. 39 we can learn about his family to some extent. The family members are Enlil-nīšu (father), Dimaḥdi-Uraš (brother), and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (son). Ninurta-kīn-pīšu took away the agricultural land of Āl-Irrē, and his brother Dimaḥdi-Uraš had collected tax from the land. In brief his family seems to have been involved in land administration. Probably Ninurta-kīn-pīšu inherited the seal from his father, Enlil-nīšu.<sup>(193)</sup> In the section on Rīmūtu (2.8.1.), I discussed the relationship between Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Rīmūtu. It is likely that there is a relationship like that of colleagues. They are contemporaries. Dūr-Enlilē is mentioned 4 times.<sup>(194)</sup> Therefore Ninurta-kīn-pīšu worked in Nippur and the settlements around Nippur.

It may be significant that a certain Ninurta-kīn-pīšu sealed CUSAS 30 no. 336 obv. 3 ([<sup>md</sup>nin].urta-ki-in<sup>2</sup>-ka-šu ka-nik).

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<sup>(192)</sup> In BE 14 no. 85, something is measured by 5 *qa* measures (1,1.3.4 sila <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 sila). Because a miller is mentioned, probably flour is measured here.

<sup>(193)</sup> See Hölscher 1996, 155.

<sup>(194)</sup> BE 14 no. 78 obv. 4, MUN 99 rev. 9, 159 obv. 6, 160 obv. 7.

**3.8.2. Ninurta-zākir-šumi** — Mentioned three times in the texts of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu: BE 14 no. 78 (*aklu*, flour and barley, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, Dūr-Enlilē), MUN 159 ([*aklu*], flour, [Ninurta-kī]n-pīšu, [Dūr-E]nlilē), CBS 9511 (*aklu*, 'flour'<sup>195</sup>, Ninurta-kīn-[pīšu]). These texts are dated in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš.<sup>(195)</sup> Dūr-Enlilē is referred to twice (BE 14 no. 78 obv. 4, MUN 159 obv. 6). The phrase *ašābu* is found in MUN 159 (obv. 3: [ ]*a-ša-bu*), and CBS 9511 (rev. 7: *a-ša-bu ù la a-[ša-b]u*).

In Nippur documents other than the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts, Ninurta-zākir-šumi is also mentioned, but it is not certain if they refer to the same person or not. I think that the following references are noteworthy. In MRWH 38 (1289, NM X-year 19), Ninurta-zākir-šumi (obv. 2) received barley in Tukultī-Ekur.<sup>(196)</sup> In MUN 405 (1289, NM 10-I-year 19), Ninurta-zākir-šumi (obv. 5) receiving 10 sickles (*niggallu*) and Āl-Irrē (obv. 7: *uru-ir-re-e*)<sup>(197)</sup> is mentioned. This MUN 405 may have a relationship to CUSAS 30 no. 231 (no date), because two persons (Arad-Marduk and Ṭāb-šār-Adad) and Āl-Irrē appear in both documents.

MUN 405

7 *ana* Āl-Irrē  
8 Arad-Marduk  
9 Ṭāb-šār-Adad

CUSAS 30 no. 231

6 Ṭāb-šār-Adad  
7 Arad-Marduk  
9 *ina* Āl-Irrē

In the documents of CUSAS 30, Ninurta-zākir-šumi is also often mentioned. The earliest attestation is no. 17 (1285 [NM], 12-I-year 23?).<sup>(198)</sup> The latest attestation may be no. 56 (KuE 16-II- [ ]).<sup>(199)</sup> The period is about 32 years or more. Ninurta-zākir-šumi's father is possibly Enlil-kidinnī, and his son is Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, who seems to play an important role in the administration.<sup>(200)</sup> Ninurta-zākir-šumi appears in *aklu* documents.<sup>(201)</sup> In no. 234 (no date, flour and barley), Ninurta-zākir-šumi is mentioned with *aklu* (obv. 4: *ak-lum*<sup>md</sup>maš-mu-[mu]). But another person seems to have sealed the document. In no. 275 (no date, flour), Ninurta-zākir-šumi is mentioned with *aklu* (obv. 12: *ak-lum*<sup>md</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu). The *aklu* expenditure is said to have been

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<sup>(195)</sup> 1286, NM 23-II-year 22, days 16–23 (BE 14 no. 78); 1306(-), NM 30-rXI<sup>1</sup>-year 2(+), days x–30 (MUN 159); and 1286, NM 8-X-year 22, 23-IX to 8-X (CBS 9511).

<sup>(196)</sup> Tukultī-Ekur is known as a settlement in the area of Nippur. See CUSAS 30, p. 302 no. 229.

<sup>(197)</sup> Āl-Irrē may be a settlement in the area of Nippur. See CUSAS 30, p. 304 no. 231, obv. 13.

<sup>(198)</sup> If the year is 13?, the date is 1295 [NM], 12-I-13?. The period then would be about 42 years or more. See CUSAS 30, p. 24.

<sup>(199)</sup> Kudur-Enlil's first year is 1254. See Brinkman 1976a, 31.

<sup>(200)</sup> See CUSAS 30, p. 24.

<sup>(201)</sup> Nos. 234, 275, 287?, 289.

put under seal for Mudammiq-Adad (obv. 13: *a-na* <sup>m</sup>*mu-sig*<sub>5</sub>-<sup>d</sup>*iškur ka-nik*). The phrase *ašābu* can be found (obv. 5: *la a-ša-bu*). In no. 287 (unknown king, 2-X-year 21), beer and a clay pot are mentioned (obv. 1: *kaš* <sup>uš</sup> *dug mu-bi-im*). They are amply attested in *aklu* documents. Probably the term *aklu* had been in the broken part. Ninurta-zākir-šumi is referred to in the last line. But his role is not clear. In no. 289 (no date, beer), Ninurta-zākir-šumi sealed the *aklu* document (rev. 4': *na*<sup>4</sup>*kišib* <sup>md</sup>*nin-urta-mu-mu*). The phrase *ašābu* can be found (obv. 3: *a-ša* <sup>bu</sup> *ù la a-ša-bu*). Van Soldt said that there are seal impressions on the edges.

**3.8.3. Enlil-nīšu** — Mentioned in BE 14 nos. 39 (obv. 11: lawsuit about the land of *Āl-Irrē*) and 53 (lambs). In BE 14 no. 39, he is known as the father of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Dimah̄di-Uraš, and the grandfather of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu took away the agricultural land of *Āl-Irrē*, and his brother, Dimah̄di-Uraš had collected tax from the land, so the family seems to have been involved in land administration. In BE 14 no. 53 (1297, NM *2* <sup>VIII</sup>-year 11), three lambs are mentioned. Enlil-nīšu sealed this document. Probably the seal was inherited by his son Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Here I would like to draw attention to the fact that an Enlil-nīšu is mentioned in TBER 5 AO 2507 obv. 8. In the preceding lines (obv. 4–7), persons whose names are attested as governor (*šandabakku*)<sup>(202)</sup> can be found. I reproduce the transliteration below to facilitate discussion.

TBER 5 AO 2507 (No date):

3 *<sup>1</sup>e-til-pu*  
 4 *<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-na-din-šeš-šeš*  
 5 *<sup>1</sup>a-mi-la'-a-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
 6 *<sup>ld</sup>en-lil-ki-di-ni*  
 7 *<sup>ld</sup>en-lil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>*  
 8 *<sup>ld</sup>en-lil-ni-šu*

It is intriguing that Enlil-nīšu is mentioned after the persons whose names are attested as governor (but without title here). However the identity of the Enlil-nīšu of TBER 5 AO 2507 remains unclear due to lack of evidence.

In this text Etel-pû and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē are referred to consecutively, which may be compared with Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, son of Etel-pû, mentioned in BE 14 no. 39 obv. 6. Probably Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, the son of Etel-pû was a governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur in the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1333), and the father of Enlil-kidinnī who is also known as a governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur

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<sup>(202)</sup> See Sollberger 1968 and Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (I.2.4: *šandabakku*). Also it may be significant that in TBER 5 AO 2507 rev. 22, a certain Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>*nin-urta-mu-mu*) is mentioned.

in the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (24<sup>th</sup> year: 1336).<sup>(203)</sup> Amīlātu is known as a governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur before or in the reign of Kurigalzu I.<sup>(204)</sup> As stated above, Enlil-kidinnī is a well-known governor of Nippur. At least two of his descendants, Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (8<sup>th</sup> year, 1300) and Amīl-Marduk, from the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (1237) to the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Kaštiliyašu IV (1229), are known as governors (*šandabakku*) of Nippur. As van Soldt has already pointed out, the well-known officials Ninurta-zākir-šumi and his son Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni in the texts from the Rosen collection are perhaps Enlil-kidinnī's descendants.<sup>(205)</sup> In this study, I discuss Enlil-kidinnī in the section on Matthews no. 164, Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> in the section on Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, and Amīl-Marduk in the section on Matthews no. 146.

**3.8.4. Bā'eru** (a brewer) — Regarding Bā'eru, see the previous section 2.8.2.

**3.8.5. Erība-Ninurta** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in the following documents: MUN 99 (*aklu*, beer, Ninu[rta-kīn-pīšu]), CBS 9528 (*aklu*, beer, Ninurta-ṛkīn[-pīšu]), CBS 9781 (*aklu*, beer, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu), CUSAS 30 no. 136 (obv. 8: *iškaru*, barley). The dates are around the end of Nazi-Maruttaš.<sup>(206)</sup> He received the barley in [Tukul]tī-Ekur as material for his work.<sup>(207)</sup> Twice he is mentioned with Dūr-Enlilē (MUN 99 rev. 9 and CUSAS 30 no. 136 obv. 8). In CBS 9528, the phrase *ašābu* can be found (obv. 7: *a-ša-bu*). Erība-Ninurta is mentioned with other brewers in CUSAS 30 no. 136 (Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu, Bā'eru, and Šamaš-mušēzib).

It should be noted that a certain Erība-Ninurta is mentioned as brewer (*sirāšū*) in CUSAS 30 no. 142 obv. 8.

**3.8.6. Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 80a (*aklu*, beer, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu), CUSAS 30 nos. 136 (obv. 5: *iškaru*, barley), and 141 (obv. 6: *iškaru*, barley). The dates are as follows: 1284, NM II-year 24? (BE 14 no. 80a), unknown king, ?-I-year 21+ (CUSAS 30 no. 136), and unknown king, ?-XI-? (no. 141). He received the barley for the work assignment in

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<sup>(203)</sup> See also Brinkman 2003/2004, 399–400.

<sup>(204)</sup> Sollberger 1968, 191–192.

<sup>(205)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 24.

<sup>(206)</sup> MUN 99 (1286, NM 16-IX-year 22, days 5–16), CBS 9528 (1284, NM year 24, days broken), CBS 9781 (1286, NM 6-II-year 22, 19-I to 6-II), CUSAS 30 no. 136 (unknown king, ?-I-year 21+).

<sup>(207)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 136 rev. 2'; Āl-Šēlebi is also found in obv. 2.

[Tukul]tī-Ekur.<sup>(208)</sup> Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu is mentioned with other brewers (in CUSAS 30 no. 136 with Bā'eru, Šamaš-mušēzib, and Erība-Ninurta; and in CUSAS 30 no. 141 with Bā'eru and Amīl-Isin).

**3.8.7. Rīmūtu** (a brewer) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 87a (*aklu*, beer, seal reference to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, with seal impression like that of Rīmūtu, i.e., Matthews no. **148**) and CBS 9543 (*aklu*, beer, seal reference and seal impression of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu). The texts are dated as follows: BE 14 no. 87a (NM 30-XII-[ ]), CBS 9543 (1286, NM 2-IV-year 22, 13-III to 2-IV). Rīmūtu is attested as a brewer (BE 14 no. 87a, CBS 9543). He may be a different person from the Rīmūtu of Matthews no. 148, because the Rīmūtu of Matthews no. **148** sealed not only the beer documents but also the flour documents. In CBS 9543 obv. 6, Tukultī-Ekur is found.

**3.8.8. Šīn-muballiṭ** (a miller) — Regarding Šīn-muballiṭ, see the previous section **2.8.7**.

**3.8.9. Tarību** (a miller) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 85 (*aklu*, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu). The date is 1284, NM 6-IX-year 24, days 1–6. He is attested as a miller. The phrase *ašābu* can be found (obv. 2: *a-ša-bu*).

These brewers and millers who appear in Ninurta-kīn-pīšu's group of texts may be members of a team or teams because some of them are often mentioned together.<sup>(209)</sup>

### 3.9. Summary of the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts

Almost all the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu documents are *aklu* documents, but BE 14 no. 53 is a record of lambs. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu usually sealed them with the same seal (Matthews no. **155**), but in the case of BE 14 no. 87a, there is a discrepancy between the seal reference (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu) and the seal impression (like that of Rīmūtu, Matthews no. **148**). Ninurta-kīn-pīšu's father Enlil-nīšu used the seal (Matthews no. **155**), and then probably Ninurta-kīn-pīšu inherited it. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu's active period is from the end of Nazi-Maruttaš to the beginning of Kadašman-Turgu. He is contemporary with Rīmūtu. It is noteworthy that Dūr-Enlilē is mentioned 4 times.<sup>(210)</sup> Therefore Ninurta-kīn-pīšu's active area includes Nippur and the settlements around it. In the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts, the purposes of the *aklu* are not specified clearly. However, as with the Rīmūtu texts, the *aklu* expenditures are prepared by the brewers and the millers, and are issued for various purposes. Then a record of the expenditure was sealed by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.

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<sup>(208)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 136 rev. 2'; Āl-Šēlebi is also found in obv. 2.

<sup>(209)</sup> See Deheselle 2004.

<sup>(210)</sup> BE 14 no. 78 obv. 4, MUN 99 rev. 9, 159 obv. 6, 160 obv. 7.

## 4. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē

### Data

Underlining in the Seal Impression column marks new documents in the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē group. In the Year column, KaE means Kadašman-Enlil II and KuE means Kudur-Enlil.

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
BE 14 no. 116	---	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-na-din- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i> <sup>(211)</sup>	--- (None)	1258, KaE year 6	XI	Kidin-Adad Šuqamuna-ē/īriš Ilī-rišâ-rēma	<i>šarru</i>	replace- ments (?) <sup>(212)</sup> / alloy	---	
PBS 2/2 no. 43	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1257, KaE year 7	III-21 to IV-24(+)	Izkur-Adad	---	beer	---	
PBS 2/2 no. 45	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	XI-7 to *XIIa- 29 <sup>(213)</sup>	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
PBS 13 no. 71	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum-	Matthews no.	1252, KuE	XII	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	---	flour	Larsa	

<sup>(211)</sup> For the reading *-aḥ-ḥe*, see the CDLI photo ([P264434.jpg](#)).

<sup>(212)</sup> *pillātu*. See van Soldt 2015, 47 comment to line 7.

<sup>(213)</sup> Regarding \*XIIa and XIIa, I follow Brinkman 1976a, 193 n. 7: “\*XIIa is used here to designate texts that have a date ITI.ŠE MU.1.KAM.DIRI (or the equivalent); and it has been presumed that the expression means the same as ITI.DIRI.ŠE(.KIN.KUD) MU.1.KAM elsewhere (the latter expression is represented simply as XIIa in these tables).”



Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
		<i>ah-ḥe</i>	<b>189</b>	year 3		Tarību				
PBS 13 no. 74	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	VI?-28 to IX?-10	Uzibu	---	beer	---	
MRWH 18	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>rna4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	<u>Matthews no.</u> <b>189</b> <sup>(214)</sup>	1258, KaE year 6	XI days 2– 15/16/17	Amīl-Marduk	---	flour barley	---	
MRWH 19	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>a[h]-ḥe</i>	?	1253, KuE year 2	I-28 to II-12	Zēr-kīni-līšir	---	flour barley	---	
MRWH 20	<i>ak-l[u<sub>4</sub>]</i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-na-din- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	?	1253, KuE year 2	XI-20 to XII-7	Amīl-Marduk	---	flour barley	---	
MRWH 21	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	*XIIa	Amīl-Marduk	<i>ikkaru</i>	flour barley	---	<i>lā aṣṣābu</i>
MRWH 22	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-na-din- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	<u>Matthews no.</u> <b>189</b>	1258, KaE year 6	VI-25 to VII-2	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	
MRWH 23	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	XI-7 to *XIIa-30	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
MRWH 24	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-na-din- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	*XIIa days 1–17	Uzibu	---	beer	---	

<sup>(214)</sup> Underlining in this column indicates a new document that should be included with Matthews no. **189**. See also MRWH, p. 62.

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
MRWH 28	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> k]išib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- šeš <sup>meš</sup>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	IV	Tarību	<i>ṭābiḫu</i> <i>ikkaru</i> <i>mār šipri</i>	flour barley	<i>bītu ša</i> <i>ḫarrāni/girri</i>	<i>lā a[š]ābu</i>
MRWH 29 <sup>(215)</sup>	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	<u>Matthews no.</u> <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	I-VI	Several persons	<i>šāqū</i> <i>ṭābiḫu</i> <i>nuḫatimmu</i> <i>rē'ū</i> <i>šandabakku</i> <i>itinnu</i> x x x ( <sup>lu</sup> []) <i>tamkāru</i> <i>mār šarri</i> <i>ša rēši mār</i> <i>šarri</i> <i>sāliḫu</i>	flour barley	Raši Dūr-ilu (?)	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MRWH 34	---	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>	<u>Matthews no.</u> <b>189</b>	1258, KaE year 6	X-15	Iqīša-Adad	---	oil	<i>bīt kunukki</i>	
MUN 164	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum-	Matthews no.	1257, KaE	V, days 7–	Amīl-Marduk	---	flour	---	

<sup>(215)</sup> See Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 56 (HS 131), 207–208 (no. 233). She says that MRWH 29 is sealed with Matthews no. **189** (i.e., Stiehler no. 233). H. Petschow 1974, 75 pointed out the faint seal impressions: “Auf Vs and Rs schwach erkennbare Siegelabdrücke. Zwischen den Zeilen 1 bis nach 36 im Original jeweils ein Querstrich.”

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
		<i>ah-ḥe</i>	<b>189</b>	year 7	23					
MUN 165	ṛak <sup>1</sup> -lu <sub>4</sub>	ṛ <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>1</sup> [ṽ <sup>1d</sup> nin-urt]a- ṛsum <sup>1</sup> -[ <i>ahḥē</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1256, KaE year 8	I	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr- [Adad]	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	
MUN 166	ṛak <sup>1</sup> -lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib ṽ <sup>1d</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	III, days 8(+)-26	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 167	ṛak <sup>1</sup> -lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib ṽ <sup>1d</sup> [Ninurta-nādin]- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	III-27 to V-5	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 168	ṛak-lu <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib ṽ <sup>1d</sup> nin <sup>1</sup> -urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	VI-4? to VII-1	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 169	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib ṽ <sup>1d</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	X, days 3–7	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 170	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib ṽ <sup>1d</sup> nin-urta-na-din- [ <i>ah-h</i> ]e	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	XII-29 (days 18– 28) <sup>(216)</sup>	Amīl-Marduk	<i>mār šipri</i>	flour barley	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 171	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib ṽ <sup>1d</sup> n[in-urt]a-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	XI-7? to *XIIa-30	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 172	[a]k-lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib ṽ <sup>1d</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	I, days 2–4	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 173	<i>ak-ṛlu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup></i>	ṛ <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>1</sup> ṽ <sup>1d</sup> ṛn <sup>1</sup> in-urta <sup>1</sup> -	Matthews no.	1253, KuE	III-16 to	Several persons	<i>ša kitī</i>	flour	Āl-Athē	[ <i>ā<sup>?</sup> aš</i> ]ābu

<sup>(216)</sup> MUN 170 is dated to the 29<sup>th</sup> day. But obv. 2–3 mentions days 18–28.

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
		sum-[ <i>ah-ḥ</i> ]e	<b>189</b>	year 2	IV-6 and III-15 to IV-7			barley	<i>bīt</i> Nimgirab -Marduk	
MUN 174	--- <sup>(217)</sup>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	III-16 to IV-5	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 175	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥ[e]</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	IV-6 to VI-29	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 176	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	IX to XI-19	Amīl-Marduk	<i>māḥiṣu</i> <i>ṣuḥurtu</i> <i>ša rēš šarri</i>	flour barley	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 177	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- šeš-šeš	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	XII-6 to I-6	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 178	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-[ <i>nādin- ah</i> ]- <i>ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	IV-28	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	<i>arād mār šarri</i>
MUN 179	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum-	Matthews no.	1252, KuE	V, days 19–	Tarību	---	flour	---	

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<sup>(217)</sup> But probably *aklu*.

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
		<i>a[h-ḥe]</i>	<b>189</b>	year 3	27?			barley		
MUN 180	<i>ak-lu?</i> , <i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-u[rta-nādin- <i>aḥḥē</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	V-28 to VII-10	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	---	flour barley	---	<i>la</i> [a-ša- <i>bu?</i> ] <i>la kan-</i> [gu]
MUN 182	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	VI-11(+) to VII-5	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 183	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- [ <i>aḥ-ḥe</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	VII, days 26–30	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 184	[ <i>a</i> ] <i>k-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> ]kišib <sup>7</sup> <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	VII xth day	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
MUN 185	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-na-din- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	XII	Tarību	<i>šarru</i>	flour barley	---	<i>arād šarri</i>
MUN 186	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1251, KuE year 4	XII-20 to II-13	Amīl-Marduk	---	flour barley	---	

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
MUN 204	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta <sup>ṽ</sup> -sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1258, KaE year 6	X	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	
MUN 205	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta <sup>ṽ</sup> - sum-urta <sup>ṽ</sup> - <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1257, KaE year 7	VII-4	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 206	[ <i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub>?</i> ]	[ <sup>n</sup> a <sup>4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- a[ <i>ḥ-ḥe</i> ]	? (broken)	1254, KuE year 1	I	Bēlšunu	---	[beer]	---	[ <i>lā?</i> ] urta <sup>ṽ</sup> šābu
MUN 207	[ <i>a</i> ] <i>k-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	I	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 208	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1?	I	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu<sup>ṽ</sup></i>
MUN 209	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib] [ <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	XIIa	Bābilāyu	---	[beer]	é x [ ] urta <sup>ṽ</sup> šābu	
MUN 210	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	--- (broken?)	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	*XIIa	Bābilāyu	<i>šarru</i>	beer	---	<i>arād šarri</i>
MUN 211	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> ki]šib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	*XIIa	Nāḥirānu	<i>šarru</i>	beer	---	<i>arād šarri</i>

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
MUN 212	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	XIIa ( <sup>iti</sup> diri) days 18–24	Izkur-Adad	---	beer	---	
MUN 213	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	II	Uzibu	<i>šandabakku</i>	beer	---	ṛlā aṛ šā ṛbuṛ
MUN 214	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	III	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 215	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	V to VI	Bēlšunu	<i>mār malāḥi</i>	ṛbeerṛ	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 216	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	VII	Nāḥirānu	<i>mārat malāḥi</i>	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 217	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	IV	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 218	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib] [ <sup>lb</sup> ]a-šá- <sup>d</sup> nin- ìmma	<u>Matthews no.</u> <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	VII-1 to VIII?-30	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 219	[ <i>a</i> ]k-lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>lb</sup> a-šá- <sup>d</sup> nin-ìmma	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	IX-22	---	<i>mār šarri išparu ḥazannu sakrumaš ša rēš šarri</i>	beer	Dūr-Enlilē, Ḥursagkalam a	
MUN 220	[ <i>ak-l</i> ]u <sub>4</sub>	[ <i>ka</i> ]n <sup>2</sup> -gu <sup>2</sup> <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥ</i> [ <i>e</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	xth KuE	VI, days 10–21	Bābilāyu	---	beer	<i>bītānu</i>	<i>lā</i> ṛaṛ [šābu]

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
MUN 226	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-na-din- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1258, KaE year 6	VI-25 to VII-2	Izkur-Adad	---	beer	---	
MUN 227	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>rna4</sup> kišib <sup>7</sup> <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	xth KaE	XI-20 to XII-23	Uzibu	---	beer	---	
MUN 228	<i>ak-<sup>r</sup>lu<sub>4</sub><sup>7</sup></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	--- (None)	1254, KuE year 1	VI-3(+) to VII-1?	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 229	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	X-29 to XII-3	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 230	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	XII, days 18–22(+)	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	
MUN 231	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum-a[ <i>ḥ-ḥe</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1?	[ ]-14 to [ ]-1	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 232	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	I-28 to II-12	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 233	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib] [ <i>Ninurta-s</i> ]um- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	I-28 to II-12	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 234	<sup>r</sup> ak <sup>7</sup> - [ <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i> ]	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	II	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 235	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib] <sup>Id</sup> <sup>r</sup> nin-urta <sup>7</sup> -sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	III days 9–14	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 236	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> ki]šib	Matthews no.	1253, KuE	III	Izkur-Adad	---	beer	---	



Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
		<sup>Id</sup> 𒊩nīn-urta <sup>1</sup> -sum-[ <i>ah-he</i> ]	<b>189</b>	year 2(+)	days 13-[ ]					
MUN 237	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> 𒊩nīn-urta-sum- <i>ah-he</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	III-16 to IV 5(+)	Uzibu	---	beer	---	
MUN 238	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> 𒊩nīn-urta-sum- <i>ah-he</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	XI days 13–20	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	
MUN 239	<sup>1</sup> ak <sup>1</sup> - <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> 𒊩nīn-urta-sum- <i>ah-he</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	VIII?-28 to XII?-12	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	
MUN 240	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> 𒀭kišib <sup>1</sup> [ <sup>1</sup> ]𒀭 <sup>d</sup> 𒊩nīn-urta-s[um- <i>ah-he</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	XIIa to 𒀭MN <sup>1</sup> -2	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 241	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>1</sup> ba-šá- <sup>d</sup> nīn-ìmma	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	I to III	Bābilāyu	<i>aškapu</i>	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 242	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>1</sup> na <sup>4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> 𒊩nīn <sup>1</sup> -urta-sum- <i>ah-[he]</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	VII	Bābilāyu	<i>mārat</i> <i>malāḫi</i>	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 243	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib	Matthews no.	1252, KuE	XI?-18 to	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
		<sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	<b>189</b>	year 3	XII-5					
MUN 244	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	XI-18 to XII-5	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 245	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin'-<urta>-sum- <i>ah'-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189?</b> <sup>(218)</sup>	1252, KuE year 3	VII?	Bēlšunu	<i>iššákk</i>	beer	Raši	<i>lā aṛšāṭ bu</i>
MUN 246	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1251, KuE year 4	from XII-6- year 3 to [ ]-6-year 4	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 247	--- (broken)	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib] <sup>Id</sup> ṛnin-urtaṭ -sum- <i>a[h-ḥe]</i>	?	1250, KuE year 5 <sup>(219)</sup>	ṛMNṭ-26 to ṛMNṭ <sup>1</sup> -12	--- (broken)	---	beer	---	
MUN 248	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> k]išib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1? (diri)	*XIIa, days 3(+)-27	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 249	ṛaṭk-lu <sub>4</sub>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1258, KaE year 6(+)	IV-20(+) to V-ṛ15(+) <sup>1</sup>	Damqu	---	beer	---	

<sup>(218)</sup> The seal impression is very faint. Matthews 1992, 135 mentions MUN 245 (UM 29-15-984) with a question mark.

<sup>(219)</sup> Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 197 (ṛMNṭ<sup>1</sup>-12-year 4; \*CBS 8706 B; ṛMNṭ-26 to ṛMNṭ<sup>1</sup>-12; reading of MN's uncertain; collation courtesy of Erle Leichty; P.2.6.148)

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
MUN 250	<i>ṛak<sup>1</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib [ <sup>1</sup> ] <i>ṛ<sup>d1</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1258, KaE year 6	<i>ṛMN<sup>1</sup>-24</i> to VI-24	Uzibu?	---	beer	---	
MUN 251	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> <i>ṛn<sup>1</sup>nin-urta<sup>1</sup>-sum-aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	V-6 to VI-29	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 252	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> <i>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	V-6 to VI-29	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 253	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> <i>nin-[urta-nādin-aḥḥē]</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	II-5 to IV-9	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 254	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> <i>ṛkišib<sup>1</sup></i> <sup>ld</sup> <i>n<sup>1</sup>n-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥ[e]</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	V, days 4– 18	Izkur-Adad	---	beer	---	
MUN 255	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> <i>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1257, KaE year 7	X-14 to XI-1	Izkur-Adad	---	beer	---	
MUN 259	<i>ak-ṛlu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup></i>	[ <sup>n</sup> ]a <sup>4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> <i>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	V	Tarību	<i>iššákku</i> <i>ša rēši</i> <i>šarru</i>	[flour barley]	<i>bītu</i> [ša] <i>ḥarrāni/girri</i>	<i>ṛlā a<sup>1</sup>šābu</i>

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
							<i>malāḫu</i>			
MUN 260	[ <i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> ]	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	V?, days 19–24	Nāḫirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 261	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	V, days 19? –27	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	
MUN 262 <sup>(220)</sup>	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	V, days 19– [ ]	Bēlišunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 263	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	VII?, days 26–30	Nāḫirānu	---	beer	---	
MUN 264	ṛ <i>ak<sup>l</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	III-27(+) to V?-5	Bēlišunu	---	beer	---	
MUN 265	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	XII days 18–29	Nāḫirānu	---	beer	---	

<sup>(220)</sup> Matthews 1992, 133 cites this document as CBS 13371, but it is CBS 13377. For this correction, see Brinkman 2004, 301 (MUN 262) and CDLI's photo ([P268456.jpg](#)).

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
MUN 266	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	V	Bābilāyu	<i>mārat</i> <i>malāḥi</i>	beer	<i>pīḥatu</i> <sup>2</sup> ( <i>pi-ḥa</i> -[ ])	
MUN 267	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta- <i>na-din-šeš-šeš</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1	VI, days 1– 20(+)	Nāḥirānu	<i>āšipu</i>	beer	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 268	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	1254, KuE year 1	V	--- (r <sup>š</sup> u <sup>l</sup> [ ])	<i>mārat</i> <i>malāḥi</i>	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 278	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1263, KaE year 1	IV-12 to V-23	Iqīša-Adad	---	oil	Dūr-Enlilē	
MUN 279	<i>a[k- lu/lu<sub>4</sub>]</i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1257, KaE year 7	I-3	Iqīša-Adad	---	oil	<i>būt udē</i>	
MUN 325	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> ]kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-u[rta- <i>nādin-aḥ</i> ]- <i>ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1258, KaE year 6	XI-29	Sîn-aḥa-iddina	---	sheep	---	
MUN 449	--- (broken)	[ <sup>na4</sup> ]kišib <sup>Id</sup> ni[n-urta- <i>nādin-aḥḥē</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	KaE?/KaT?	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	
MUN 450	---	[ <sup>na4</sup> ]kišib]	Matthews no.	1254, KuE	[ ] 11 <sup>th</sup>	--- (broken)	--- (broken)	---	--- (broken)	

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
	(broken)	<sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	<b>189</b>	year 1	day			(broken)		
CBS 3818 <sup>(221)</sup>	---	---	Matthews no. <b>189?</b>	---	---	---	---	---	---	
CBS 7160	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4?</sup> <kišib> <L> <sup>d</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1257, KaE year 7	X to XII?	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	<i>rē'û</i>	flour barley	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
CBS 7262	---	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	IX is mentioned	Several persons	<sup>lu</sup> x [] obv. 9 <sup>lu</sup> x obv. 15	flour [barley]	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>
CBS 7694	ṛ <i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> ṛ	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> maš-sum-ṛ <i>ah</i> ṛ-[ <i>ḥe</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1251, KuE year 4	[MN]-6? (+) to [MN]-6	Bēlšunu	---	beer	---	
CBS 7698	ṛ <i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> ṛ	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum-x[]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	---	Several persons	<i>šāḥitu</i> <i>ušandû</i> <i>šābu</i>	flour barley	<i>bītānu</i>	envelope
CBS 7713	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-ṛsumṛ-[ <i>ah</i> ]- <i>ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	VII to XIIa	Several persons	<i>šarru</i> <i>arad šarri</i>	[flour barley]	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>

<sup>(221)</sup> Cf. the comment of Brinkman (2004, 297) about p. 185: CBS 3818 (Kaštiliyašu IV, accession year). The CDLI photo of CBS 3818 ([P260188.jpg](https://cdli.org/P260188.jpg)) is a bulla which does not have a date.

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
CBS 7714	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>ah-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	XII	Several persons	<i>šābu</i> <i>mār šipri</i> <i>iššákkū</i> <i>nāru</i>	flour barley	Dūr- Kurigalzu <i>bītu ša</i> <i>ḥarrāni/girri</i>	<i>lā ašābu</i>
CBS 7721 <sup>(222)</sup>	𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-𐎠sum𐎠-[ <i>ahḥē</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	---	Several persons	<i>šāḥitu ??</i>	flour barley	<i>bīt Jātu</i>	
CBS 7868	---	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	I??	Several persons	<i>šarru</i> <i>ša rēši</i> <i>iššákkū</i>	[flour barley]	---	
CBS 8573	𐎠𐎢𐎽- <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-[urta- <i>nādin-ahḥē</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> year of [ ]	II, days 12– 26(+)	Tarību	---	flour barley	---	
CBS 8741	𐎠𐎢𐎽- <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-su[m- <i>ahḥē</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	XI, days 20–30	Several persons	<i>kutimmu</i>	[flour] barley	---	
CBS 13362	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <sup>na4</sup> ]kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>a[h<sup>2</sup>-ḥe</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	mu-[ ]	days 12–x	Bābilāyu	---	beer	---	

<sup>(222)</sup> The document listed as CBS 7721 in Brinkman 1976a, 239 (Q.2.115.151, *Kurigalzu*, MUN 369) is now CBS 7722. For the change of CBS number, see Brinkman 2004, 302 n. 78.

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
CBS 13375	---	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	---	Several persons	<sup>lu</sup> x obv. 4 <i>nāru</i>	beer	<i>bītu ša</i> <i>ḥarrāni/girri</i>	
CBS 15016	ṛak <sup>1</sup> - [ <i>lu<sub>4</sub>/lu</i> ]	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	IV? days 7–20	Nāḥirānu	---	beer	---	
UM 29-13-907	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	[ <i>kunuk</i> ] <sup>[I]d</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḥ-ḥe</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	VIII 6(+) to IX-x	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	---	flour barley	---	
UM 29-16-154	---	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	---	---	---	garment	---	
UM 29-16-158	---	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	VII and I are mentioned.	Several persons	---	---	---	
N 2023	---	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	---	---	---	garment	---	
N 2036	---	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> nin-u[ <i>rta-nādin-aḥḥē</i> ]	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	---	---	---	[cereals]	---	
N 2645	---	---	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	---	---	Sîn-[ <i>aḥa-iddina</i> ]	---	butter	---	



Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
Ni 2240 <sup>(223)</sup>	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>			1254, KuE year 1	XII	Uzibu	<i>šarru</i>			<i>elē šarri</i>
Ni 7947		<i>kunuk ninurta-nādin-ahhē</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1254, KuE year 1 (diri)	XIIa days 1–17					
Ni 7959		<i>kunuk ninurta-nādin-ahhē</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1252, KuE year 3	I?-6 to II-7					
Ni 8013		<i>kunuk ninurta-nādin-ahhē</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	VII-21 to rMN <sup>1</sup> -5, rMN <sup>1</sup> possibly V					
Ni 8027		<i>kunuk ninurta-nādin-ahhē</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>							
Ni 8375		<i>kunuk ninurta-nādin-ahhē</i>	Matthews no. <b>189</b>	1253, KuE year 2	rMN <sup>1</sup> -5(+)					

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<sup>(223)</sup> For Ni 2240, see Brinkman 1976a, 413 C. 6 (*elē šarri*).

## Discussion

In this chapter I will discuss the documents related to Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. I follow Matthews' (1992) study of his no. 189. Since then, new documents have become available and it is possible to see the photos of the documents online. As a result, I have some additions. MRWH 18, 19, 20, 22, 29, 34, MUN 165, 206, 218, 228, 247, 268, and Ni 2240<sup>(224)</sup> can be added to this group, because these documents have some similarities (in seal impression, year, prosopography, etc.) with other documents of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. I also deal with BE 14 no. 116 here, because it refers to a document sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē<sup>(225)</sup> (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-na-din-aḥ-ḥe) and its date (1258, KaE XI-year 6) fits with the dates of other of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē's documents.

### 4.1. *Aklu* documents

The term *aklu* is mentioned in the following documents: PBS 2/2 nos. 43, 45, PBS 13 nos. 71, 74, MRWH 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, MUN 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220? ([ak-l]u<sub>4</sub>), 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234 (ṛak<sup>1</sup>-[lu<sub>4</sub>]), 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 278, 279? (a[k-lu/lu<sub>4</sub>]), 325, CBS 7160, 7694, 7698, 7713, 7714, 7721? (ṛak<sup>22</sup>-x<sup>1</sup>), 8573, 8741, 13362, 15016? (ṛak<sup>1</sup>-[lu<sub>4</sub>/lu]), UM 29-13-907, and Ni 2240. In the following documents, the term *aklu* is not mentioned or was erased or broken off: BE 14 no. 116, MRWH 34, MUN 174, 206, 247, 260, 449, 450, CBS 7262, 7868, 13375, UM 29-16-154, UM 29-16-158, N 2023, 2036, and 2645. Matthews 1992, 135 mentions 5 Ni-number documents. Probably some or all of them are *aklu* documents.

### 4.2. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē's seal

Some documents have a seal reference like <sup>na4</sup>kišib PN (sealed by PN). The following documents have Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē's seal reference: BE 14 no. 116, PBS 2/2 nos. 43, 45, PBS 13 nos. 71, 74, MRWH 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 34, MUN 164, 165? (ṛ<sup>na4</sup>kišib<sup>1</sup> [<sup>ld</sup>nin-urt]a-ṛsum<sup>1</sup>-[aḥḥē]), 166, 167? (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>[Ninurta-nādin]-aḥ-ḥe), 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180? (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-u[rta-nādin-aḥḥē]), 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 220 ([ka]n<sup>2</sup>-gu<sup>2</sup> <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥ[e]), 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233? ([<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-s]um-aḥ-ḥe), 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240? (<sup>na4</sup>ṛkišib<sup>1</sup> [<sup>1</sup>]ṛ<sup>d</sup>nin-urta-s[um-aḥḥē]), 242, 243, 244, 245? (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin<sup>1</sup>-<urta>-sum-aḥ<sup>1</sup>-ḥe), 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251,

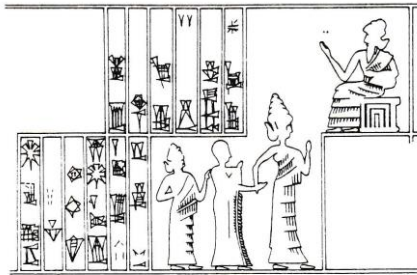
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<sup>(224)</sup> For Ni 2240, see Brinkman 1976a, 413 C. 6 (*elē šarri*).

<sup>(225)</sup> Regarding the reading *-aḥ-ḥe*, see CDLI's photo ([P264434.jpg](#)).

252, 253? (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-[urta-nādin-ahhē]), 254, 255, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 278, 279, 325? (<sup>lna4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-u[rta-nādin-ah]-he), 449? (<sup>na4</sup>kiš]ib <sup>ld</sup>ni[n-urta-nādin-ahhē]), 450, CBS 7160, 7694, 7698, 7713, 7714, 7721, 8573? (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-[urta-nādin-ahhē]), 8741, 13362, 15016, UM 29-13-907, and N 2036? (<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-u[rta-nādin-ahhē]). In MUN 218, 219, and 241, Iqīša-Ninimma's seal reference can be found.

Matthews no. **189** is a Second Kassite derivative.<sup>(226)</sup>



**189.** TuM NF V, seals I-IV;  
Seal of Enlil-alša, used by Ninurta-nadin-ahhe

Inscription:

“ <sup>d</sup> en.líl. / al.ša <sub>6</sub>	Enlil-alša,
[n]u!-èš / [ <sup>d</sup> ]en.líl	Prelate of Enlil,
gudu <sub>4</sub> / [ <sup>d</sup> ]nin.líl	Gudu-priest of Ninlil,
gá.dub.ba / nibru <sup>ki</sup>	Governor of Nippur,
dumu <sup>d</sup> en-líl- / ki-di-ni	Son of Enlil-kidinni,
[l]ú?.mug? / [ <sup>d</sup> ]in?.[tin].lu.ba	(Official) of Nintinluba(?). <sup>(227)</sup>

We can see the seal impression (Matthews no. **189**) in the following documents<sup>(228)</sup>: PBS 2/2 no. 43, 45, PBS 13 no. 71, 74, MRWH 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, MUN 164, 166, 168, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 226, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 278, 279, 325, 450, CBS 7160, 7262, 7694, 7698, 7713, 7714, 7721, 7868, 8573, 8741, 13362, 13375, 15016, UM 29-13-907, UM 29-16-154, UM 29-16-158, N 2023, 2036, and 2645.

<sup>(226)</sup> On Second Kassite derivatives, see Matthews 1992, 49. References to no. **189** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 38, 45, 51, 56, 58. See also Deheselle 1995 and G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996), pp. 118–121 (Erste Gruppe), 207–208 (no. 233), Fototafel 7 (no. 233). For references to Stiehler's no. 233, see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 39, 40, 44 n. 14, 45, 46 (nn. 28, 29), 51, 55, 56, 61 (nn. 4, 6, 7 and 9), 63, 64, 65, 66 n. 27, 71 (nn. 58, 59, 60), 94 n. 2, 95, 96, 107, 108 n. 114, 111 n. 143, 117 n. 186, 118, 119, 120, 121, 166 n. 12, 169, 170 n. 49, 207, and 208.

Regarding Matthews no. **189**, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 17 n. 215 (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 18 n. 230 (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 66 n. 1052 (*pašišu*); Brinkman 2004, 287 n. 25 (*nēšakku*); CAD P, p. 255 (*pašišu*).

<sup>(227)</sup> Matthews 1992, 136.

<sup>(228)</sup> With regard to the MRWH documents (18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, and 34), there are photographs of the seal impression for MRWH 21 (HS 127), 23 (HS 118), 24 (HS 120) and 28 (HS 126) in Bernhardt 1976, Tafel CXXIV (MRWH 21), Tafeln CXIII–CXV (MRWH 23), Tafeln CXVI–CXVIII (MRWH 24) and Tafeln CXXII–CXXIII (MRWH 28). Petschow (1974, 62 n. 3) says that MRWH 18 (HS 137), 22 (HS 138), 23 (HS 118), 24 (HS 120), 28 (HS 126) and probably 34 (HS 140) have a seal impression. Matthews 1992, 135 says that MRWH 21 (HS 127), 23 (HS 118), 24 (HS 120), and 28 (HS 126) have a seal impression. For MRWH 29, see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 56 (HS 131), 207–208 (no. 233) and Petschow 1974, 75.

The seal impressions on the following documents are unclear: MUN 167, 173, 218, 220, 239, 245. There does not seem to be a seal impression on MUN 228.<sup>(229)</sup> Some documents (MUN 165, 206, 268, 449) are so fragmentary that it is difficult to see the seal impression. CDLI photos for the following documents are not available: MUN 169, 229, 235, 247, 260.

### 4.3. Year, month, day in the Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē texts

The earliest document is MUN 278 (1263, KaE 23-V-year 1, 12-IV to 23-V). The latest one is MUN 247 (1250, KuE 12-𐎠𐎢𐎣<sup>1</sup>-year 5, 26-𐎠𐎢𐎣 to 12-𐎠𐎢𐎣<sup>1</sup>),<sup>(230)</sup> so the period is about 14 years. The list of dates is as follows:

MUN 278	1263	KaE	23 - V	- year 1	12-IV to 23-V
MUN 249	1258	KaE	𐎠15(+) <sup>1</sup> - V	- year 6(+)	20(+)-IV to 𐎠15(+) <sup>1</sup> -V
MUN 250	1258	KaE	24 - VI	- year 6	24-𐎠𐎢𐎣 to 24-VI
MRWH 22	1258	KaE	2 - VII	- year 6	25-VI to 2-VII
MUN 226	1258	KaE	2 - VII	- year 6	25-VI to 2-VII
MRWH 34	1258	KaE	15 - X	- year 6	
MUN 204	1258	KaE	X	- year 6	
MRWH 18	1258	KaE	15/16/17- XI	- year 6	days 2–15/16/17
MUN 325	1258	KaE	29 - XI	- year 6	
BE 14 no. 116	1258	KaE	XI	- year 6	
MUN 279	1257	KaE	3 - I	- year 7	
PBS 2/2 no. 43	1257	KaE	24(+)- IV	- year 7	21-III to 24(+)-IV
MUN 164	1257	KaE	23 - V	- year 7	days 7–23
MUN 205	1257	KaE	4 - VII	- year 7	
MUN 255	1257	KaE	1 - XI	- year 7	14-X to 1-XI
CBS 7160	1257	KaE	XII?	- year 7	X to XII?
MUN 165	1256	KaE	I	- year 8	
MUN 206	1254	KuE	I	- year 1	
MUN 207	1254	KuE	I	- year 1	
MUN 208	1254	KuE	I	- year 1?	
CBS 7868	1254	KuE	[ ] - I??	- year 1 (diri)	
MUN 166	1254	KuE	26 - III	- year 1	days 8(+)-26
MUN 167	1254	KuE	5 - V	- year 1	27-III to 5-V
MUN 264	1254	KuE	5 - V?	- year 1	27(+)-III to 5-V?

<sup>(229)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 341 (MUN 228: Kein Siegelabdruck).

<sup>(230)</sup> Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 197 (P.2.6.148: 𐎠𐎢𐎣<sup>1</sup>-12-year 4).

MUN 266	1254	KuE		V	-	year 1	
MUN 268	1254	KuE		V	-	year 1	
MUN 267	1254	KuE	20(+)	VI	-	year 1	days 1–20(+)
MUN 168	1254	KuE	1	VII	-	year 1	4?-VI to 1-VII
MUN 228	1254	KuE	1?	VII	-	year 1	3(+)-VI to 1?-VII
MUN 169	1254	KuE	7	X	-	year 1	days 3–7
CBS 8741	1254	KuE	30	XI	-	year 1 (diri)	days 20–30
MUN 229	1254	KuE	3	XII	-	year 1	29-X to 3-XII
MUN 230	1254	KuE	22(+)	XII	-	year 1	days 18–22(+)
MUN 170	1254	KuE	29	XII	-	year 1	(days 18–28) <sup>(231)</sup>
MUN 265	1254	KuE	29	XII	-	year 1	days 18–29
Ni 2240	1254	KuE		XII	-	year 1	
MRWH 24	1254	KuE	17	*XIIa	-	year 1 (diri) <sup>(232)</sup>	days 1–17
Ni 7947	1254	KuE	17	XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	days 1–17
MUN 212	1254	KuE	24	XIIa <sup>(233)</sup>	-	year 1 (diri)	days 18–24
MUN 248	1254	KuE	27	*XIIa	-	year 1? (diri)	days 3(+)-27
PBS 2/2 no. 45	1254	KuE	29	*XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	7-XI to 29-*XIIa
MRWH 23	1254	KuE	30	*XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	7-XI to 30-*XIIa
MUN 171	1254	KuE	30	*XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	7?-XI to 30-*XIIa
MRWH 21	1254	KuE		*XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	
MUN 209	1254	KuE		XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	
MUN 210	1254	KuE		*XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	
MUN 211	1254	KuE		*XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	
CBS 7713	1254	KuE		XIIa	-	year 1 (diri)	VII to XIIa
MUN 231	1254	KuE	1	[ ]	-	year 1?	14-[ ] to 1-[ ]
MUN 450	1254	KuE	11	[ ]	-	year 1	
MUN 172	1253	KuE	4	I	-	year 2	days 2–4
MRWH 19	1253	KuE	12	II	-	year 2	28-I to 12-II
MUN 232	1253	KuE	12	II	-	year 2	28-I to 12-II
MUN 233	1253	KuE	12	II	-	year 2	28-I to 12-II
MUN 239	1253	KuE	12	II	-	year 2	28-I to 12-II <sup>(234)</sup>

<sup>(231)</sup> MUN 170 is dated to the 29<sup>th</sup> day but obv. 2–3 mentions days 18–28.

<sup>(232)</sup> Regarding \*XIIa and XIIa, Brinkman 1976a, 193 n. 7.

<sup>(233)</sup> The month is written as <sup>iii</sup>diri. Probably it is <sup>iii</sup>diri-<še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>>.

MUN 213	1253	KuE		II	-	year 2		
MUN 234	1253	KuE		II	-	year 2		
MUN 235	1253	KuE	14	-	III	-	year 2	days 9–14
MUN 236	1253	KuE	[ ]	-	III	-	year 2(+)	days 13– [ ]
MUN 214	1253	KuE			III	-	year 2	
MUN 174	1253	KuE	5	-	IV	-	year 2	16-III to 5-IV
MUN 237	1253	KuE	5(+)	-	IV	-	year 2	16-III to 5(+)-IV
MUN 173	1253	KuE	7	-	IV	-	year 2	15-III to 7-IV <sup>(235)</sup>
CBS 15016	1253	KuE	20	-	IV?	-	year 2	days 7–20
MRWH 28	1253	KuE			IV	-	year 2	
Ni 8013	1253	KuE	5	-	𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠	-	year 2	21-VII to 5-𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠, 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 possibly V
MUN 175	1253	KuE	29	-	VI	-	year 2	6-𐎠𐎡𐎠 to 29-VI
MUN 251	1253	KuE	29	-	VI	-	year 2	6-V to 29-VI
MUN 252	1253	KuE	29	-	VI	-	year 2	6-V to 29-VI
MUN 215	1253	KuE			VI	-	year 2	V to VI
MUN 216	1253	KuE			VII	-	year 2	VII
MUN 176	1253	KuE	19	-	XI	-	year 2	IX to 19-XI
MUN 238	1253	KuE	20	-	XI	-	year 2	days 13–20
MRWH 20	1253	KuE	7	-	XII	-	year 2	20-XI to 7-XII
MUN 240	1253	KuE	2	-	𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠	-	year 2	XIIa to 2-𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠
Ni 8375	1253	KuE	5(+)	-	𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠	-	year 2	
MUN 177	1252	KuE	6	-	I	-	year 3	6-XII to 6-I
Ni 7959	1252	KuE	7	-	II	-	year 3	6-I? to 7-II
MUN 241	1252	KuE			III	-	year 3	I to III
MUN 253	1252	KuE	9	-	IV	-	year 3	5-II to 9-IV
MUN 178	1252	KuE	28	-	IV	-	year 3	
MUN 217	1252	KuE			IV	-	year 3	
MUN 254	1252	KuE	18	-	V	-	year 3	days 4–18
MUN 260	1252	KuE	24	-	V?	-	year 3	days 19–24
MUN 179	1252	KuE	27?	-	V	-	year 3	days 19–27?
MUN 261	1252	KuE	27	-	V	-	year 3	days 19? –27

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<sup>(234)</sup> For the month name readings, see the photo at [P256846.jpg](#).

<sup>(235)</sup> MUN 173 is dated in III (*Simanu*). See Brinkman 1976a, 194 (III- -year 2: P.2.6.67). But in obv. 11 (16-III to 6-IV) and obv. 12 (15-III to 7-IV), the periods of the *aklu* expenditure are mentioned.

MUN 262	1252	KuE	[ ] -	V	-	year 3	days 19-[ ]
MUN 259	1252	KuE		V	-	year 3	
MRWH 29	1252	KuE		VI	-	year 3	I-VI
MUN 182	1252	KuE	5 -	VII	-	year 3	11(+)-VI to 5-VII
PBS 13 no. 74	1252	KuE	10 -	VII?	-	year 3	28- $\Gamma$ V $\Gamma$ ? to 10- $\Gamma$ VII $\Gamma$ ? <sup>(236)</sup>
MUN 180	1252	KuE	10 -	VII	-	year 3	28-V to 10-VII
MUN 183	1252	KuE	30 -	VII	-	year 3	days 26-30
MUN 263	1252	KuE	30 -	VII?	-	year 3	days 26-30
MUN 184	1252	KuE	[ ] -	VII	-	year 3	
MUN 242	1252	KuE		VII	-	year 3	
MUN 245	1252	KuE		VII?	-	year 3	
MUN 218	1252	KuE	30 -	VIII?	-	year 3	1-VII? to 30-VIII?
MUN 219	1252	KuE	22 -	IX	-	year 3	
CBS 7262	1252	KuE		IX <sup>(237)</sup>	-	year 3	
MUN 243	1252	KuE	5 -	XII	-	year 3	18-XI? to 5-XII
MUN 244	1252	KuE	5 -	XII	-	year 3	18-XI to 5-XII
PBS 13 no. 71	1252	KuE		XII	-	year 3	
MUN 185	1252	KuE		XII	-	year 3	
CBS 7714	1252	KuE		XII	-	year 3	
MUN 186	1251	KuE	13 -	II	-	year 4	20-XII to 13-II
MUN 246	1251	KuE	6 -	[ ]	-	year 4	from 6-XII-year 3 to 6-[ ]- year 4
CBS 7694	1251	KuE	6 -	[ ]	-	year 4	6? (+)-[MN] to 6-[MN]
MUN 247	1250	KuE	12 -	$\Gamma$ MN $\Gamma$	-		year 5 <sup>(238)</sup> 26- $\Gamma$ MN $\Gamma$ to 12- $\Gamma$ MN $\Gamma$
MUN 227		KaE	23 -	XII	-	[ ]	20-XI to 23-XII
MUN 220		KuE	21 -	VI	-	[ ]	days 10-21
MUN 449		KaE?/KaT?					
CBS 8573		[ ]	26(+)-	II	-	year 7	days 12-26(+)
CBS 13362		[ ]	x -	[ ]	-	[ ]	days 12-x

<sup>(236)</sup> For the month name readings, see the photo at [P269168.jpg](https://www.orientalinscriptions.com/P269168.jpg).

<sup>(237)</sup> In obv. 18, IX (<sup>iii</sup>gan- $\Gamma$ e $\Gamma$ ) is mentioned.

<sup>(238)</sup> Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 197 ( $\Gamma$ MN $\Gamma$ -12-year 4; \*CBS 8706 B;  $\Gamma$ MN $\Gamma$ -26 to  $\Gamma$ MN $\Gamma$ -12; reading of MN's uncertain; collation courtesy of Erle Leichty; P.2.6.148)

UM 29-13-907	[ ]	x	-	IX	-	[ ]	6(+)-VIII to x-IX
UM 29-16-158	[ ]	[ ]					A 2': VII ( <sup>ti</sup> du <sub>6</sub> -kù) is mentioned B 18': I ( <sup>ti</sup> bára) is mentioned.

#### 4.3.1. The same date or almost the same date

Interestingly, we see that there are texts with the same date or almost the same date, as shown in the examples below.

##### Example 1:

MRWH 22 1258	KaE	2-VII-year 6	25-VI to 2-VII	Bābilāyu	beer
MUN 226 1258	KaE	2-VII-year 6	25-VI to 2-VII	Izkur-Adad	beer

These two documents deal with beer. Bābilāyu<sup>(239)</sup> and Izkur-Adad<sup>(240)</sup> are mentioned with beer. Therefore probably they are brewers. I reproduce the transliterations to compare the amounts of beer for the same period.

##### MRWH 22

Obv.

1	17	kaš sag
2	1-š <sub>u</sub>	kaš UŠ
3	11 1/2(?)	dug
4	0,0.3.	báppir
5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> šu <sup>1</sup> <i>ba-bi-la-a-a-ú</i>	

##### MUN 226

Obv.

1	18	ṛkaš sag <sup>ṛ</sup>
2	50 1/2	ṛkaš UŠ <sup>ṛ</sup>
3	2 1/2	dug
4	ṛ3 <sup>ṛ</sup> sila	báppir
5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> šu <sup>1</sup> <i>iz-[G]UR/[k]ùr-<sup>d</sup>iškur</i>	

With regard to kaš sag, the two brewers deal with almost the same amount. As to kaš UŠ, dug, and báppir, Bābilāyu's amounts are larger than those of Izkur-Adad.

##### Example 2:

MUN 167 1254	KuE	5-V-year 1	27-III to 5-V	Tarību	flour, barley
MUN 264 1254	KuE	5-V?-year 1	27(+)-III to 5-V?	Bēlšunu	beer
Ni 6083 <sup>(241)</sup> 1254	KuE	5-V-year 1	27-III to 5-V	?	?

<sup>(239)</sup> MRWH 22, MUN 204, 207, 209 ([beer]), 210, 214, 220, 230, 238, 239, 241 rev. 16, 242, 243, 261, 266, CBS 13362.

<sup>(240)</sup> PBS 2/2 no. 43, MUN 212, 226, 236, 254, 255.

<sup>(241)</sup> Ni 6083 may be relevant here, because it may have the same date as MUN 167 and 264. But it is uncertain if Ni 6083 is an *aklu* document. See Brinkman 1976a, 192 (P.2.6.14).



Tarību<sup>(242)</sup> is mentioned with flour and barley,<sup>(243)</sup> so probably he is a miller. He is mentioned with Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a miller) in CBS 13 no. 71 and MUN 177. Bēlšunu<sup>(244)</sup> is mentioned with beer. Therefore probably he is a brewer.

**Example 3:**

MUN 168	1254	KuE	1-VII-year 1	4?-VI to 1-VII	Tarību	flour, barley
MUN 228	1254	KuE	1?-VII-year 1	3(+)-VI to 1?-VII	Bēlšunu	beer

As mentioned above (example 2), Tarību may have been a miller. Bēlšunu may have been a brewer.

**Example 4:**

MUN 230	1254	KuE	22(+)-XII-year 1	days 18–22(+)	Bābilāyu	beer
MUN 170	1254	KuE	29-XII-year 1	(days 18–28) <sup>(245)</sup>	Amīl-Marduk	flour, barley
MUN 265	1254	KuE	29-XII-year 1	days 18–29	Nāḫirānu	beer

As mentioned above (example 1), Bābilāyu may have been a brewer. Amīl-Marduk<sup>(246)</sup> is mentioned with flour and barley,<sup>(247)</sup> so he may have been a miller. Nāḫirānu<sup>(248)</sup> is mentioned with beer and therefore probably was a brewer. I reproduce the transliterations for the two brewers for comparison.

MUN 230

Obv.

1	[ ]1/2	kaš ṛsagṛ
2	ṛ32ṛ	kaš UŠ
3	5 1/2	dug
4	2 sila	báppir
5	ak-lu <sub>4</sub> šu	<sup>1</sup> ba-bi-li-i

MUN 265

Obv.

1	13 1/2	kaš sag
2	39 1/2	kaš UŠ
3	5 1/2	dug
4	0,0.1.	munu <sub>5</sub>
5	0,0.1.4 sila	b ṛáppirṛ
6	ak-lu <sub>4</sub> šu	<sup>1</sup> na-ḫi-ra-nuṛ

Bābilāyu's amount for kaš sag is partly broken. For kaš UŠ, Nāḫirānu's amount is larger. For dug, the

<sup>(242)</sup> PBS 13 no. 71 obv 4, MRWH 28 rev. 38, MUN 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 175, 177 obv. 5, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 259 rev. 36 ([flour, barley]), CBS 8573.

<sup>(243)</sup> But in PBS 13 no. 71, only flour is mentioned.

<sup>(244)</sup> PBS 2/2 no. 45, MUN 205, 206, 215, 217, 228, 233, 235, 240, 244, 245 rev. 10, 251, 253, 262, 264, CBS 7694.

<sup>(245)</sup> MUN 170 is dated to the 29<sup>th</sup> day but obv. 2–3 mentions days 18–28.

<sup>(246)</sup> MRWH 18, 20, 21 lo. e. 8, MUN 164, 170 rev. 13, 176, 186.

<sup>(247)</sup> But in MUN 164, only flour is mentioned.

<sup>(248)</sup> MRWH 23, MUN 208, 211, 216, 218 rev. 11, 229, 231, 232, 234, 246, 248, 252, 260, 263, 265, 267 rev. 10, CBS 15016.

two brewers dealt with the same amount. For báppir, Nāḥirānu's amount is larger. Only Nāḥirānu dealt with munu<sub>5</sub> here.

**Example 5:**

MRWH 24	1254	KuE	17-*XIIa-year 1 (diri)	days 1–17	Uzibu	beer
Ni 7947	1254	KuE	17-XIIa-year 1 (diri)	days 1–17	?	?

Uzibu<sup>(249)</sup> is mentioned with beer and therefore may have been a brewer.

**Example 6:**

PBS 2/2 no. 451254	KuE	29-*XIIa-year 1 (diri)	7-XI to 29-*XIIa	Bēlšunu	beer	
MRWH 23	1254	KuE	30-*XIIa-year 1 (diri)	7-XI to 30-*XIIa	Nāḥirānu	beer
MUN 171	1254	KuE	30-*XIIa-year 1 (diri)	7?-XI to 30-*XIIa	Tarību	flour, barley

As mentioned above (example 2), Bēlšunu may have been a brewer, and Nāḥirānu was probably a brewer (example 4). Also, as mentioned in example 2, Tarību may have been a miller. I reproduce the transliterations for comparison.

PBS 2/2 no. 45

MRWH 23

Obv.

Obv.

1	14 1/2	kaš sag	1	7 x	kaš sag
2	39	kaš UŠ	2	26	kaš UŠ
3	1/2	dug	3	1 1/2	dug
4	0,0.1.	báppir	4	0,0.1.1.	báppir
5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu<sup>1</sup>en-šu-nu</i>		5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu<sup>1</sup>na-ḥi-ra-nu</i>	

Regarding kaš sag, Bēlšunu's amount is probably larger. As to kaš UŠ, Bēlšunu's amount is larger. For dug and báppir, Nāḥirānu's amounts are larger.

**Example 7:**

MRWH 19	1253	KuE	12-II-year 2	28-I to 12-II	Zēr-kīni-līšir	flour, barley
MUN 232	1253	KuE	12-II-year 2	28-I to 12-II	Nāḥirānu	beer
MUN 233	1253	KuE	12-II-year 2	28-I to 12-II	Bēlšunu	beer
MUN 239	1253	KuE	12-II-year 2	28-I to 12-II	Bābilāyu	beer

Zēr-kīni-līšir (MRWH 19) is attested only once with flour and barley. He may have been a miller, but that is uncertain. As mentioned above, Nāḥirānu may have been a brewer (example 4), Bēlšunu

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<sup>(249)</sup> PBS 13 no. 74, MRWH 24, MUN 213 rev. 12, 227, 237, 250? (obv. 6: <sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-[zi]-ru<sup>1</sup>), Ni 2240. About Ni 2240, see Brinkman 1976a, 413 C. 6 (*elē šarri*). Probably Uzibu of Ni 2240 can be included here.

probably was a brewer (example 2), and Bābilāyu may have been a brewer (example 1). I reproduce the transliterations for the three brewers below:

<u>MUN 232</u>			<u>MUN 233</u>			<u>MUN 239</u>		
Obv.			Obv.			Obv.		
1	10 1/2	kaš sag	1	9 1/2	kaš sag	1	[ ]	kaš sag
2	29 1/2	kaš UŠ	2	19 1/2	kaš UŠ	2	[+] <sup>1</sup> 1/2	kaš UŠ
3	4	dug	3	2	dug	3	1	dug
4	0,0.1.	báppir	4	0,0.1.	báppir	4	2 síla	b[áppir]
5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu<sup>1</sup>na-ḫi-ra-nu</i>		5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu<sup>1</sup>en-šu-nu</i>		5	<i>ak<sup>1</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub> šu<sup>1</sup>ba-bi-[li]r-r<sup>1</sup></i>	

Nāḫirānu's amounts for kaš sag, kaš UŠ, and dug are larger than those of Bēlšunu. Bābilāyu's amounts of kaš sag and kaš UŠ are broken. For báppir, Nāḫirānu and Bēlšunu dealt with the same amount.

#### Example 8:

MUN 174	1253	KuE	5-IV-year 2	16-III to 5-IV	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	flour, barley
MUN 237	1253	KuE	5(+)-IV-year 2	16-III to 5(+)-IV	Uzibu	beer
MUN 173	1253	KuE	7-IV-year 2	15-III to 7-IV <sup>(250)</sup>	Several persons	flour, barley

Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad<sup>(251)</sup> is mentioned with flour and barley. Therefore probably he was a miller. He is referred to with Tarību (probably a miller) in CBS 13 no. 71 and MUN 177.<sup>(252)</sup> As mentioned above (example 5), Uzibu may have been a brewer.

#### Example 9:

MUN 175	1253	KuE	29-VI-year 2	6-r <sup>1</sup> to 29-VI	Tarību	flour, barley
MUN 251	1253	KuE	29-VI-year 2	6-V to 29-VI	Bēlšunu	beer
MUN 252	1253	KuE	29-VI-year 2	6-V to 29-VI	Nāḫirānu	beer

As mentioned above, Tarību may have been a miller (example 2), Bēlšunu was probably a brewer (example 2), and Nāḫirānu may have been a brewer (example 4). I reproduce the transliterations for the two brewers.

<u>MUN 251</u>			<u>MUN 252</u>		
Obv.			Obv.		
1	43	kaš sag	1	43	kaš sag
2	1 me 30	kaš UŠ	2	1 me 20	kaš UŠ
3	14	dug gal	3	6	dug gal

<sup>(250)</sup> MUN 173 is dated on III (*Simanu*). See Brinkman 1976a, 194 (III- -year 2: P.2.6.67). But in obv. 11 (16-III to 6-IV) and obv. 12 (15-III to 7-IV), the periods of the *aklu* expenditure is mentioned.

<sup>(251)</sup> PBS 13 no. 71, MUN 166, 174, 177, 180 obv. 8, CBS 7160 rev. 18, UM 29-13-907.

<sup>(252)</sup> But in PBS 13 no. 17, only flour is mentioned.

4	0,0.3.	báppir	4	0,0.3.	báppir
5	0,0.3.	níg-àr-ra	5	0,0.3.	níg-àr-ra
6	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>		6	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum- <i>aḫ-ḫe</i>	
7	šu <sup>l</sup> en- <i>šu-nu</i>		7	šu <sup>l</sup> <i>na-ḫi-ra-ni</i>	

Interestingly, both brewers dealt with the same amounts for *kaš sag*, *báppir* and *níg-àr-ra*. As to *kaš UŠ*, the amount of *Bēlšunu* is a bit larger. For dug gal, *Bēlšunu*'s amount is larger. Probably these beer products were delivered for *Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē*.

**Example 10:**

MUN 260	1252	KuE	24-V?-year 3	days 19–24	Nāḫirānu	beer
MUN 179	1252	KuE	27?-V-year 3	days 19–27?	Tarību	flour, barley
MUN 261	1252	KuE	27-V-year 3	days 19?–27	Bābilāyu	beer
MUN 262	1252	KuE	[ ]-V-year 3	days 19–[ ]	Bēlšunu	beer

As mentioned above, *Nāḫirānu* may have been a brewer (example 4), *Tarību* was probably a miller (example 2), *Bābilāyu* may have been a brewer (example 1), and *Bēlšunu* was possibly a brewer (example 2). I reproduce the transliterations for the brewers.

<u>MUN 260</u>			<u>MUN 261</u>			<u>MUN 262</u>		
Obv.			Obv.			Obv.		
1	18	<i>kaš sag</i>	1	14	<i>kaš sag</i>	1	4 1/2	<i>kaš sag</i>
2	24 1/2	<i>kaš UŠ</i>	2	40 1/2	<i>kaš UŠ</i>	2	10	<i>kaš UŠ</i>
3	3 1/2	<i>dug</i>	3	8	<i>dug gal</i>	3	1	<i>dug</i>
4	3 sīla	<i>báppir</i>	4	0,0.0.5.	<i>báppir</i>	4	2 sīla	<i>báppir</i>
5	3 sīla	<i>níg-àr-ra</i>	5	0,0.3.	<i>níg-àr-ra</i>	5	4 sīla	<i>níg-àr-ra</i>
6	[ ]	<i>lagab munu<sub>5</sub></i>	6	2 sīla	<i>lagab munu<sub>5</sub></i>	6		<i>lagab munu<sub>5</sub></i>
7	[ <i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> š]u <sup>l</sup> <i>na-ḫi-ra-nu</i>		7	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> šu <sup>l</sup> <i>ba-bi-li-i</i>		7	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> šu <sup>l</sup> <i>en-šu-nu</i> [ ]	

*Nāḫirānu* has the largest amount for *kaš sag*, and *Bābilāyu* has the largest amount for *kaš UŠ*, *dug* (gal), *báppir*, and *níg-àr-ra*. For *lagab munu<sub>5</sub>*, the amount of *Nāḫirānu* is broken, and that of *Bēlšunu* is not stated. I have the impression that the amounts of *Bēlšunu* are not so large.

**Example 11:**

PBS 13 no. 74	1252	KuE	10-VII?-year 3	28- <sup>r</sup> V <sup>r</sup> ? to 10- <sup>r</sup> VII <sup>r</sup> ?	Uzibu	beer
MUN 180	1252	KuE	10-VII-year 3	28-V to 10-VII	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	flour, barley

Uzibu, as mentioned above (example 4), may have been a brewer, and *Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad* a miller (example 8).

**Example 12:**

MUN 183	1252	KuE	30-VII-year 3	days 26–30	Tarību	flour, barley
MUN 263	1252	KuE	30-VII?-year 3	days 26–30	Nāḥirānu	beer
Ni 179 <sup>(253)</sup>	1252	KuE	30-VII-year 3	days 26–30	?	?

These documents deal with flour, barley and beer. As mentioned above (example 2), Tarību was possibly a miller, and (example 4) Nāḥirānu may have been a brewer.

**Example 13:**

MUN 243	1252	KuE	5-XII-year 3	18-XI? to 5-XII	<i>Bābilāyu</i>	beer
MUN 244	1252	KuE	5-XII-year 3	18-XI to 5-XII	<i>Bēlšunu</i>	beer

As stated above, Bābilāyu was probably a brewer (example 1), and Bēlšunu may have been a brewer (example 2). I reproduce the transliterations for comparison.

MUN 243

MUN 244

Obv.

Obv.

1	[ ]r1/2 <sup>1</sup>	kaš sag
2	r2 <sup>1</sup> 6	kaš UŠ
3	13 1/2	dug
4	5 sila	báppir
5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu<sup>1</sup>ba-bi-lu-u</i>	

1	22 1/2	kaš sag
2	35 1/2	kaš UŠ
3	1	dug
4	0,0.2.	báppir
5	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu<sup>1</sup>en-šu-nu</i>	

For kaš sag, the amount of Bābilāyu is partly broken. The amounts of Bēlšunu are larger for kaš UŠ and báppir. For dug, Bābilāyu's amount is larger.

The list of the millers (M) and the brewers (B) in the above-mentioned examples is as follows:

Example 1: Bābilāyu (B), Izkur-Adad (B)

Example 2: Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), ? (Ni 6083)

Example 3: Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B)

Example 4: Amīl-Marduk (M), Nāḥirānu (B), Bābilāyu (B)

Example 5: Uzibu (B), ? (Ni 7947)

Example 6: Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḥirānu (B)

Example 7: Zēr-kīni-līšir (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḥirānu (B), Bābilāyu (B)

Example 8: Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (M), several persons (flour, barley), Uzibu (B)

Example 9: Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḥirānu (B)

Example 10: Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḥirānu (B), Bābilāyu (B)

Example 11: Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (M), Uzibu (B)

Example 12: Tarību (M), Nāḥirānu (B), ? (Ni 179)

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<sup>(253)</sup> Ni 179 may have the same date as MUN 183 and 263, but it is uncertain if it is an *aklu* document. See Brinkman 1976a, 196 (P.2.6.119).

Example 13: Bēlšunu (B), Bābilāyu (B)

Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḫirānu (B), and Bābilāyu (B) can be found in several combinations. We can find the combination of Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (M) and Uzibu (B) in examples 8 and 11. D. Deheselle has discussed the combination of brewers and millers in the case of *iškaru* (work assignment). She says:

Les registres dans leur ensemble mettent en évidence le regroupement de ces artisans par deux ou trois. Ceux-ci constituent ainsi des sortes d'équipes organisées selon diverses combinaisons, généralement 2 brasseurs et 1 meunier ou 1 brasseur et 1 meunier, rarement 2 brasseurs sans meunier. Dans l'état actuel de la documentation, on ne trouve jamais 2 meuniers seuls, ce qui semble logique puisque les brasseurs sont, au total, au moins trois fois plus nombreux que les meuniers.<sup>(254)</sup>

It is interesting that her remark on the *iškaru* documents seem to be fairly applicable to these *aklu* documents.

#### 4.3.2. *iškaru* (“work assignment”)

The term *iškaru* is amply attested in almost all the periods of ancient Mesopotamian literature. In the Middle Babylonian period, it is used to specify the raw materials to be used. The most popular material was barley (še).<sup>(255)</sup> We also find other cereals such as wheat (gig)<sup>(256)</sup> and emmer (ÁŠ-AN-NA),<sup>(257)</sup> as well as peas (gú-gal),<sup>(258)</sup> malt (munu<sub>5</sub>),<sup>(259)</sup> beer bread (báppir),<sup>(260)</sup> and sesame (še-giš-i).<sup>(261)</sup> In

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<sup>(254)</sup> Deheselle 2004, 276.

<sup>(255)</sup> Amply attested. For examples, see BE 14 no. 29, 1; BE 15 no. 3, 1; BE 15 no. 48, 7, etc.

<sup>(256)</sup> BE 14 no. 91, 4; CBS 3149, 2; MUN 77, 1, etc.

<sup>(257)</sup> BE 14 no. 92, 4; BE 14 no. 114a, 3; BE 15 no. 41, 5, etc.

<sup>(258)</sup> CBS 3296, 5.

<sup>(259)</sup> MUN 78, 3. A certain Sîn-uballit received barley and malt. His profession is not stated.

<sup>(260)</sup> MUN 269, 5. But it is not clear if this *iškaru* specifies the beer bread or the preceding measure (šu-nigin 1,1.4. báppir <sup>giš</sup>bán 6 sila ša éš-gàr ša šu <sup>1</sup>na-as-ḫi-ra-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu). Cf. MUN 257, 3–7:

3    ša 0,3.5. x x ta 10<sup>2</sup> ša še ezen  
4        <sup>giš</sup>bán r10<sup>2</sup> sila ša<sup>1</sup> éš-gàr      
5        a-na é [    ] x [    -b]a-a      
6        ta <sup>ld</sup>[    ]x      
7    <sup>1</sup>na-as-ḫi-[ra-<sup>d</sup>ama]r-utu

Here also the measure preceded the *iškaru* and Našhira-Marduk is also mentioned.

<sup>(261)</sup> MRWH 33, 3; CT 51 no. 21, 1.

addition, several materials, such as wool (sík-ĥi-a),<sup>(262)</sup> paint (kušše-gín),<sup>(263)</sup> and copper (urudu)<sup>(264)</sup> were disbursed. Also we can find various materials for carriers (gíšgigir).<sup>(265)</sup> Usually the brewers (lunga) and the millers (ka-zì-da) received barley (še) as their raw material. Sometimes the millers received other cereals, etc. (wheat, emmer, peas) along with barley.<sup>(266)</sup> As Deheselle already pointed out, they received these materials together in several locations.<sup>(267)</sup> Oil-pressers (lú-i-s/šur<sup>meš</sup>) received sesame (še-giš-ì) for their work.<sup>(268)</sup> Knotters (lútúg-KA-kešda<sup>meš</sup>) and weavers (lúuš-bar tu<sup>?</sup>-mu) received wool as their raw materials<sup>(269)</sup> Carpenters (lúnagar<sup>meš</sup>) received lumber as for making carriers.<sup>(270)</sup> A scribe (dub-sar) Ninurta-nāšir received barley and emmer as *iškaru*.<sup>(271)</sup>

Regarding the *iškaru* of barley, some persons such as Innannu and Martuku in the documents of Das Archiv des Speichers,<sup>(272)</sup> and Nippurītu, Rīšatu, Sugir-bunni in the documents thought to be from Dūr-Enlilē were responsible for disbursing it to the brewers and millers.<sup>(273)</sup> Some of the *iškaru* documents have seal impressions, and the seal references are to the artisan (the brewer or miller who

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<sup>(262)</sup> MUN 349, 7; MUN 355, 5 and 9 (the name of the commodities is broken.); MUN 357, 1 and 7 (the name of the commodities is broken.).

<sup>(263)</sup> MUN 382, 6.

<sup>(264)</sup> BE 14 no. 123a, 4; BE 15 no. 108, 2.

<sup>(265)</sup> BE 15 no. 21 (oil: ì), BE 15 no. 172 (oil: ì-giš; paint: kušše-gín; sinew: uzu<sup>u</sup>sa; flesh of sheep: uzu udu; copper: urudu; skin of male goat: kuš máš; skin of ox: kuš gu<sub>4</sub>), PBS 2/2 no. 81 (lumber: giš<sup>meš</sup>), and MUN 349, 5 (wool: sík-ĥi-a).

<sup>(266)</sup> BE 15 no. 62, 5; PBS 2/2 no. 137, 6; CBS 3296, 5.

<sup>(267)</sup> Deheselle 2004, 283.

<sup>(268)</sup> MRWH 33, 3.

<sup>(269)</sup> MUN 355, 5 and 9. But the names of the commodities are partly broken.

<sup>(270)</sup> PBS 2/2 no. 81, 1.

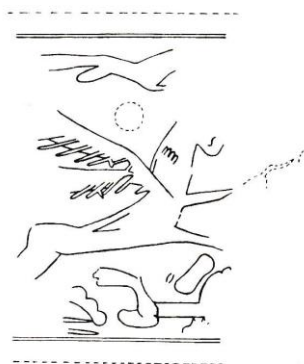
<sup>(271)</sup> In CT 51 no. 30 (1274 KT year 8(+)) obv. 5, he received barley. In BE 14 no. 92 (1278 KT year 4) obv. 4, he received emmer. The reason why the scribe received them as *iškaru* is still unclear.

<sup>(272)</sup> For Das Archiv des Speichers, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 187–194. The *iškaru* texts from Innannu are BE 14 no. 29, 3; BE 15 no. 3, 4; BE 15 no. 86, 3, etc. From Martuku we have CBS 3149, 4.

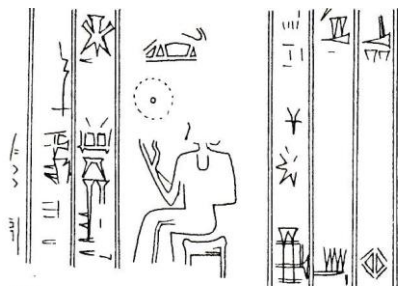
<sup>(273)</sup> References to *iškaru* under the responsibility of Nippurītu are no. 68, 6; no. 71, 5; no. 73, 6 etc. Those for Rīšatu are no. 69, 17–18; no. 70, 9; no. 71, 7, etc. For Sugir-bunni we have no. 76, 8; no. 101, 10; no. 111, 16 etc.

received the barley).<sup>(274)</sup> The *iškaru* documents sealed by the brewer are listed below.<sup>(275)</sup> The abbreviations used here and in following lists are S. ref. (Seal reference), Matt. (Matthews), and No seal impres. (No seal impression).

BE 15 no. 98	24- VIII- year 19	S. ref. to Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu	Kandurū	No seal impression
BE 15 no. 114	21-VI-year 21	S. ref. to Eulmaš-bītu	Zarat-Dūr-Gula	Matt. no. <b>160</b>
BE 15 no. 129	25-XII-year 22	S. ref. to Eulmaš-bītu	Kandurū	Matt. no. <b>33</b>
BE 15 no. 138	1-I-year 24	S. ref. to Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu	Bīt Ekur-zākir-šumi	Matt. no. <b>59</b>
CBS 3128	16-I-year 21	S. ref. to Eulmaš-bītu	Kandurū	No seal impression
CBS 3131	26-XII-year 21	S. ref. to Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu	Zarat-Dūr-Gula	No seal impres.



160.



33.



59.

No documents are dated with a royal name, but all the brewers received the barley from Innannu, so these documents are part of Das Archiv des Speichers. The place names also support this identification. All the documents are account texts for small amounts. Some of them<sup>(276)</sup> still have envelopes and are sealed on the envelopes. The others<sup>(277)</sup> do not have an envelope any longer. The inside tablet was not

<sup>(274)</sup> There are several documents in which we can find the term *iškaru*. They have a seal reference or a seal impression, but the profession of the sealer is not identified. MUN 77 (wheat) is sealed with a fringe by a certain Simut-aḫa-iddina. MUN 79 (for barley) is sealed by a certain Ninurta-mutēr-gimilli. Sassmannshausen 2001, 261 has pointed out that MUN 81 (for barley) was sealed. Probably Ninurta-mutēr-gimilli is the sealer because he received the barley. MUN 83 (for grain) is sealed with the fingernail of a certain Agi... In BE 14 no. 123a (for copper), an entry of the *iškaru* for the carrier can be found. This document is sealed by a certain Amīl-Marduk. N 2645 has the seal impression of Matthews no. **189**. It deals with the skin of a male goat, but no seal reference has been preserved for it.

<sup>(275)</sup> In BE 15 no. 129, 5, Eulmaš-bītu is not specified as a brewer. But based on the parallels with BE 15 no. 114, CBS 3128, he was a brewer.

<sup>(276)</sup> BE 15 nos. 114, 129, 138.

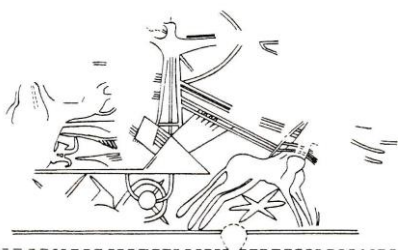
<sup>(277)</sup> BE 15 no. 98, CBS 3128, CBS 3131.



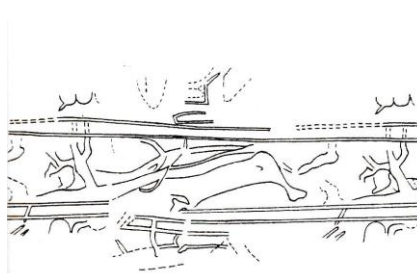
sealed. In these texts two brewers, Eulmaš-bītu and Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu, are attested. They received barley in the same locations (Kandurû and Zarat-Dūr-Gula), but on different days. In other sources, they are mentioned as receiving barley together for work assignments in Kandurû<sup>(278)</sup> and Zarat-Dūr-Gula.<sup>(279)</sup> Eulmaš-bītu used two different seals (Matthews no. **33** and no. **160**). The reason for this difference is unclear.

As for the *iškaru* documents sealed by a miller, the attestations are as follows.

BE 15 no. 86	13-XI-year 18	S. ref. to Arad-u <sub>4</sub> -19-kam	Zarat-Karkara	Matt. no. <b>131</b>
BE 15 no. 116	2-IX-year 21	S. ref. to Rēš-ašûšu	Kandurû	Matt. no. <b>139</b>
BE 15 no. 118	25-XII-year 22	No Seal reference (Rēš-ašûšu)	Kandurû	Matt. no. <b>33</b>



131.



139. (a)



(b)

These documents also are not dated with a royal name. The millers also received barley from Innannu, and therefore the tablets are part of Das Archiv des Speichers. All three documents are account documents for small sums, enveloped and sealed on the envelope. Deheselle has already pointed out that Eulmaš-bītu (a brewer) and Rēš-ašûšu (a miller) received *iškaru* barley on the same date (25-XII-year 22) and in the same location (Kandurû).<sup>(280)</sup> To her observations we can add that the seal impression (Matthews no. **33**) is the same.

BE 15 no. 129	25-XII-year 22	S. ref. to Eulmaš-bītu	Kandurû	Matt. no. <b>33</b>
BE 15 no. 118	25-XII-year 22	No Seal reference (Rēš-ašûšu)	Kandurû	Matt. no. <b>33</b>

In BE 15 no. 118 there is no seal reference. Therefore it is likely that Eulmaš-bītu received the barley with Rēš-ašûšu and sealed his own document and Rēš-ašûšu's document. Elsewhere Eulmaš-bītu and Rēš-ašûšu appear together in *iškaru* documents.<sup>(281)</sup> Deheselle identified a similar situation with

<sup>(278)</sup> See Deheselle 2004, 284 and BE 15 no. 127 (1-VII-year 22), 2–3.

<sup>(279)</sup> PBS 2/2 no. 137 (VIII-year 21), 4–5.

<sup>(280)</sup> Deheselle 2004, 277.

<sup>(281)</sup> See Deheselle 2004, 284, PBS 2/2 no. 137, 5–6 and BE 15 no. 127, 3–4.

another pair. Aḥu-illikam/Aḥēdūtu (a brewer) and Rēš-ašūšu (a miller) received *iškaru* barley on the same date (1-I-year 24) in the same location (Bīt Ekur-zākir-šumi).<sup>(282)</sup> In this case, however, the document of Rēš-ašūšu (BE 15 no. 139) no longer has an envelope, so we cannot examine the seal impression.

BE 15 no. 138	1-I-year 24	S. ref. to Aḥu-illikam/Aḥēdūtu	Bīt Ekur-zākir-šumi	Matt. no. <b>59</b>
BE 15 no. 139	1-I-year 24	No Seal reference (Rēš-ašūšu)	Bīt Ekur-zākir-šumi	

Consequently, we do not know whether Matthews no. **59** was used to seal the envelope of BE 15 no. 139.

The relationship between *iškaru* and *aklu* is still difficult to understand. Some artisans appear in both *iškaru* and *aklu* documents,<sup>(283)</sup> a fact that can be explained in several ways. For example, the artisans received the barley as *iškaru*, and then used all the barley to process beer and flour for the *aklu* expenditure. Or, the artisans received the barley as *iškaru*, and then used only part of it for the *aklu*. Alternatively, they received the barley as *iškaru*, but used it for purposes other than the *aklu*. Thus far there is not conclusive evidence that would allow us to narrow down the possibilities.

#### 4.3.3. Months mentioned in the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē group of texts

- I: 18 times: MRWH 19, 29, MUN 165, 172, 177, 186, 206, 207, 208, 232, 233, 239, 241, 279, CBS 7868??., UM 29-16-158, Ni 7959?, Ni 8013?
- II: 13 times: MRWH 19, 29, MUN 186, 213, 232, 233, 234, 239, 241, 253, CBS 8573, Ni 7959, 8013?
- III: 14 times: PBS 2/2 no. 43, MRWH 29, MUN 166, 167, 173, 174, 214, 235, 236, 237, 241, 253, 264, Ni 8013?
- IV: 15 times: PBS 2/2 no. 43, MRWH 28, 29, MUN 167, 173, 174, 178, 217, 237, 249, 253, 264?, 278, CBS 15016?, Ni 8013?
- V: 21 times: PBS 13 no. 74?, MRWH 29, MUN 164, 167, 175, 179, 180, 215, 249, 251, 252, 254, 259, 260?, 261, 262, 264?, 266, 268, 278, Ni 8013?
- VI: 15 times: PBS 13 no. 74?, MRWH 22, 29, MUN 168, 175, 180, 182, 215, 220, 226, 228, 250, 251, 252, 267

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<sup>(282)</sup> Deheselle 2004, 277.

<sup>(283)</sup> Bā'eru (brewer): in the *aklu* documents (BE 14 no. 14, 6; no. 83, 4; no. 87, 5; MUN 200, 7; 224, 8'), in the *iškaru* documents (CUSAS no. 136, 6; no. 141, 7). Sin-muballit (miller): in the *aklu* documents (BE 14 no. 70, 2; MUN 158, 3; 160, 6 (<sup>ld</sup>XXX-[*mu-ba-liṭ*])); CBS 9514, 2), in the *iškaru* documents (PBS 2/2 no. 115, 3; CUSAS 30 no. 143, 12; no. 144, 7; no. 147, 4?). Lā-qīpu (miller): in the *aklu* documents (MUN 156, 3'; 157, 2), in the *iškaru* documents (PBS 2/2 no. 115, 2; CUSAS 30 no. 143, 13; no. 144, 6).

- VII: 18 times: PBS 13 no. 74?, MRWH 22, MUN 168, 180, 182, 183, 184, 205, 216, 218?, 226, 228, 242, 245?, 263?, CBS 7713, UM 29-16-158, Ni 8013?
- VIII: 4 times: MUN 218?, CBS 7713, UM 29-13-907, Ni 8013?
- IX: 6 times: MUN 176, 219, CBS 7262, CBS 7713, UM 29-13-907, Ni 8013?
- X: 9 times: MRWH 34, MUN 169, 176, 204, 229, 255, CBS 7160, CBS 7713, Ni 8013?
- XI: 18 times: BE 14 no. 116, PBS 2/2 no. 45, MRWH 18, 20, 23, MUN 171, 176, 227, 229, 238, 243?, 244, 255, 325, CBS 7160?, 7713, 8741, Ni 8013?
- XII: 21 times: PBS 2/2 no. 45, PBS 13 no. 71, MRWH 20, 23, MUN 170, 171, 177, 185, 186, 227, 229, 230, 243, 244, 246, 265, CBS 7160?, CBS 7713, 7714, Ni 2240, 8013?
- XIIa: 13 times: PBS 2/2 no. 45, MRWH 21, 23, 24, MUN 171, 209, 210, 211, 212,<sup>(284)</sup> 240, 248, CBS 7713, Ni 7947

It is evident that there are fewer attestations of VIII and IX than other months.<sup>(285)</sup> The 8<sup>th</sup> month (VIII) is “the month the seed-plow is let go,” an agricultural turning point. Is this why there are fewer attestations of *aklu* in VIII?<sup>(286)</sup> However, we can find some *aklu* documents from VIII and IX in other sources.<sup>(287)</sup> As a result, it is still difficult to explain the scarcity of attestations of *aklu* in VIII and IX in the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē group.

It seems likely that most of the *aklu* transactions occurred at the end of a year and the beginning of a year.

#### 4.3.4. Days mentioned in the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē group of texts

- 1 day: MRWH 34 (15-X), 178 (28-IV), 205 (4-VII), 219 (22-IX), 279 (3-I), 325 (29-XI)
- 3 days: MUN 172 (days 2–4: I)
- 5 days: MUN 169 (days 3–7: X), 183 (days 26–30: VII), 230 (days 18–22(+): XII), 263 (days 26–30: VII?)
- 6 days: MUN 235 (days 9–14: III), 260 (days 19–24: V?)
- 7 days: MUN 212 (days 18–24: XIIa (<sup>iti</sup>diri))
- 8 days: MRWH 22 (25-VI to 2-VII), MUN 226 (25-VI to 2-VII), 238 (days 13–20: XI)

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<sup>(284)</sup> The month is written as <sup>iti</sup>diri. Probably it is <sup>iti</sup>diri-<še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>>.

<sup>(285)</sup> I would like to draw attention to the *aklu* document BE 15 no. 46, in which VI-2-kam, VII, X and XI are mentioned, but VIII and IX are not referred to.

<sup>(286)</sup> See Cohen 1993, 330–33.

<sup>(287)</sup> As examples, see BE 14 no. 27 (*aklu*, 5-VIII, Matthews no. 188), BE 14 no. 55 (*aklu*, 20-VIII to 5-IX, Matthews no. 162), BE 14 no. 70 and 71 (*aklu*, days 19–30 IX, Matthews no. 148), etc.

- 9 days: MUN 179 (days 19–27?: V), 261 (days 19?–27: V)
- 11 days: MUN 170 (days 18–28: XII), CBS 8741 (days 20–30: XI)
- 12 days: MUN 220 (days 10–21: VI), 265 (days 18–29: XII)
- 14 days: PBS 2/2 no. 43 (21-III to 24(+)-IV), CBS 15016 (days 7–20: IV?)
- 14/15/16 days: MRWH 18 (days 2–15/16/17: XI)
- 15 days: MRWH 19 (28-I to 12-II), MUN 232 (28-I to 12-II), 233 (28-I to 12-II), 239 (28-I to 12-II), 254 (days 4–18: V), CBS 8573 (days 12–26(+): II)
- 17 days: MRWH 24 (days 1–17: \*XIIa), MUN 164 (days 7–23: V), Ni 7947 (days 1–17: XIIa)
- 18 days: MRWH 20 (20-XI to 7-XII), MUN 243 (18-XI? to 5-XII), 244 (18-XI to 5-XII), 255 (14-X to 1-XI)
- 19 days: MUN 166 (days 8(+)-26: III)
- 20 days: MUN 174 (16-III to 5-IV), 237 (16-III to 5(+)-IV), 267 (days 1–20(+): VI)
- 21/23 days: MUN 173 (16-III to 6-IV and 15-III to 7-IV)
- 25 days: MUN 182 (11(+)-VI to 5-VII), 248 (days 3(+)-27: \*XIIa)
- 26 days: MUN 249 (20(+)-IV to 15(+)-V)
- 28 days: MUN 168 (4?-VI to 1-VII)
- 29 days: MUN 228 (3(+)-VI to 1?-VII)
- 1 month<sup>(288)</sup>: PBS 13 no. 71 (XII), MRWH 21 (\*XIIa), 28 (IV), MUN 165 (I), 185 (XII), 204 (X), 206 (I), 207 (I), 208 (I), 209 (XIIa), 210 (\*XIIa), 211 (\*XIIa), 213 (II), 214 (III), 216 (VII), 217 (IV), 234 (II), 242 (VII), 245 (VII?), 259 (V), 266 (V), 268 (V), CBS 7714 (XII), 7868 (I??), Ni 2240 (XII)
- 31 days: MUN 177 (6-XII to 6-I)
- 32 days: Ni 7959 (6-I? to 7-II)
- 34 days: MUN 227 (20-XI to 23-XII)
- 35 days: MUN 229 (29-X to 3-XII)
- 39 days: MUN 167 (27-III to 5-V), 264 (27(+)-III to 5-V?)
- 42 days: MUN 278 (12-IV to 23-V)
- 43 days: PBS 13 no. 74 (28-1V1? to 10-1VII1?), MUN 180 (28-V to 10-VII)
- 49(+) days: MUN 176 (IX to 19-XI)
- 53 days: PBS 2/2 no. 45 (7-XI to 29-\*XIIa)
- 54 days: MUN 175 (6-1V1 to 29-VI), 186 (20-XII to 13-II), 251 (6-V to 29-VI), 252 (6-V to 29-VI)
- 2 months: MUN 215 (V to VI), 218 (1-VII to 30-VIII?)

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<sup>(288)</sup> Probably not all of the cases mean one month (days 1–30). Some of them may be less than one month.

65 days:	MUN 253 (5-II to 9-IV)
84 days:	MRWH 23 (7-XI to 30-*XIIa), MUN 171 (7?-XI to 30-*XIIa)
3 months:	MUN 241 (I to III), CBS 7160 (X to XII?)
6 months:	MRWH 29 (I to VI)
7 months:	CBS 7713 (VII to XIIa)
285 days ?:	Ni 8013 (21-VII to 5- $\Gamma$ MN $\Gamma$ , $\Gamma$ MN $\Gamma$ possibly V)

The periods found in the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts are mostly short (3 months or less). But a few documents referred to longer periods (CBS 7713: 7 months, Ni 8013: 285 days?).

#### 4.4. Occupations/positions

Occupations/positions mentioned include the phrases *a-rad* lugal “coming/going down of the king”<sup>(289)</sup> and *e-le* lugal “coming/going up of the king.” Also, the phrase *a-rad* dumu lugal “coming/going down of the prince” can be found.

The king (*šarru*) is referred to in the following documents: MUN 185 (obv. 4: *a-rad* lugal), MUN 210 (obv. 4: *a-rad* lugal), MUN 211 (obv. 5: *a-rad* lugal), Ni 2240<sup>(290)</sup> (3: *e-le* lugal), BE 14 no. 116 (obv. 1: 1 gín *ša bīl-la-ti ša* lugal), MUN 259 (obv. 23: []-*ti* lugal), CBS 7713 (obv. 20: x lugal), and CBS 7868 (obv. 10:  $\Gamma$ šuk $\Gamma$  x BABBAR lugal; rev. 29': [ ] lugal<sup>?</sup>)

The prince (*mār šarri*) is attested in the following documents: MRWH 29<sup>(291)</sup>, MUN 178 (obv. 5: *a-rad* dumu lugal), and MUN 219.<sup>(292)</sup>

Several professions/positions are mentioned as recipients of the issue.

Governor ( <i>šandabakku</i> )	MRWH 29 (obv. 13: <i>ninda-kaskal ša gú-en-na</i> ), MUN 213 (obv. 7: <i>kan-ni gú-en-na</i> )
High official ( <i>ša rēši</i> )	MRWH 29 (rev. 35: [ <i>š</i> ] <sub>a11</sub> sag dumu lugal), MUN 176 (obv. 4: <i>ša</i> <sub>a11</sub> sag lugal), MUN 219 (rev. 13: <i>ša</i> <sub>a11</sub> sag lugal), MUN 259 (obv. 12: <i>ša</i> <sub>a11</sub> sag), CBS 7868 (obv. 11: <i>ša</i> <sub>a11</sub> sag <sup>?</sup> )
Mayor ( <i>ḥazannu</i> )	MUN 219 (obv. 9: <i>ḥa-za-an-nu</i> )
Boatman ( <i>malāḥu</i> )	MUN 215 (obv. 2: dumu <i>ma-la-ḥi</i> ), MUN 216 (obv. 2: dumu-munus <i>ma-la-ḥi</i> ), MUN 242 (obv. 2: dumu-munus <i>ma[-la-ḥi]</i> ), MUN 259 (rev. 32: <sup>lú</sup> má- $\Gamma$ lah <sub>5</sub> $\Gamma$ ), MUN 266 (obv. 5: dumu-munus <i>m[a-la-ḥi?</i> ]), MUN

<sup>(289)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 411–414.

<sup>(290)</sup> For Ni 2240, see Brinkman 1976a, 413 C. 6 (*elē šarri*).

<sup>(291)</sup> Rev. 34: *ninda-kaskal dumu lugal-e*; rev. 35: *ša*<sub>a11</sub> sag dumu lugal.

<sup>(292)</sup> Obv. 4: *ninda-kaskal  $\Gamma$ dumu $\Gamma$  lugal ša-[ ]-i*; rev. 14: [*a*]*k-lu*<sub>4</sub>  $\Gamma$ dumu lugal $\Gamma$ .

Messenger ( <i>mār šipri</i> )	268 obv. 4': <i>dumu-munus ma-la-ḫi</i> ), CBS 7721 (obv. 15: 2 <sup>lú</sup> má-laḫ <sub>5</sub> ) MRWH 28 (rev. 36: <i>dumu<sup>meš</sup> šip-ri</i> ), MRWH 29 (obv. 16: <i>dumu šip-ri</i> ), MUN 170 (rev. 11: <i>dumu šip-ri</i> ), CBS 7714 (obv. 19: <i>dumu šip-ri</i> )
Farmer ( <i>iššákkū</i> )	MUN 245 (rev. 8: <i>ṛénsiṛ</i> ), MUN 259 (obv. 9: <i>dumu<sup>lú</sup>énsi</i> ), CBS 7714 (obv. 23: <i>dumu<sup>lú</sup>énsi</i> ), CBS 7868 (obv. 14: <i>ṛšukṛ<sup>lú</sup>énsi</i> )
Ploughman ( <i>ikkaru</i> )	MRWH 21 (obv. 4: <i>dumu<sup>lú</sup>engar</i> ), MRWH 28 (obv. 13: <i>lúengar</i> )
Worker ( <i>šābu</i> )	CBS 7698 (rev. 30': <i>érin</i> ), CBS 7714 (obv. 16: <i>érin-ḫi-a</i> )
Musician ( <i>nāru/nārtu</i> )	CBS 7714 (rev. 24: <i>munus-nar</i> ), CBS 13375 (rev. 11: <i>lúnar</i> )
Oil-presser ( <i>šāḫitu</i> )	CBS 7698 (rev. 23': <i>lú<sup>1</sup>-sur</i> ), CBS 7721 (obv. 15: <i>ṛ<sup>2</sup>-sur<sup>2</sup></i> )
Butcher ( <i>tābiḫū</i> )	MRWH 28 (obv. 9: <i>lúgír</i> ), MRWH 29 (obv. 7: <i>lúgír</i> )
Shepherd ( <i>rē'ū</i> )	MRWH 29 (obv. 9, lo. e. 25?, rev. 28?, 39: <i>sipa</i> ), CBS 7160 (obv. 9: <i>šuk sipa</i> ).
Cup-bearer ( <i>šāqū</i> )	MRWH 29 (obv. 5: <i>lúŠU-SÌLA-GAB/DU<sub>8</sub></i> ).
Cook ( <i>nuḫatimmu</i> )	MRWH 29 (obv. 8: <i>lúmuḫaldim</i> )
Builder ( <i>itinnu</i> )	MRWH 29 (obv. 16: <i>l[<sup>u</sup>DI]N</i> )
Merchant ( <i>tamkāru</i> )	MRWH 29 (rev. 32: <i>[dam-]gàr(?)</i> )
Linen worker ( <i>ša kitī<sup>(293)</sup></i> )	MUN 173 (rev. 19': <i>lúGAD</i> )
Weaver ( <i>māḫiṣu</i> )	MUN 176 (obv. 3: <i>ma-ḫi-ṣu</i> )
Weaver ( <i>išparu/ušparu</i> )	MUN 219 (obv. 7: <i>lúṛuṣṛ<sup>1</sup>-bar</i> )
Young female servant ( <i>ṣuḫurtu</i> )	MUN 176 (obv. 5: <i>ṣú-ḫur-tu<sub>4</sub></i> )
Temple official (?) ( <i>mubarrû/muberrû<sup>(294)</sup></i> )	MUN 219 (rev. 11: <i>mu-bar-ri-i</i> )
Chariot officer (?) ( <i>sakrumaš</i> )	MUN 219 (rev. 12: <i>sak-ru-maš-a-ti</i> )
Leatherworker ( <i>aškāpu</i> )	MUN 241 (rev. 10: <i>lú<sup>1</sup>ašgab</i> )
Incantation priest ( <i>āšipu</i> )	MUN 267 (obv. 6: <i>a-ši-pu</i> )
Bird-catcher ( <i>usandû</i> )	CBS 7698 (rev. 24': <i>lúmušen-dù</i> )
Servant of the king ( <i>arad šarri</i> )	CBS 7713 (obv. 21: <i>arad lugal</i> )

<sup>(293)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 88 (Leinenweber [?]).

<sup>(294)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 126 (*mubarrû/muberrû*).

Craftsman of reed objects (*atkuppu*)

CBS 7721 (obv. 9: ad-KID)

Smith (*kutīmu*)

CBS 8741 (obv. 8: <sup>lú</sup>kù-dím)

#### 4.5. Commodities

Among the products attested in the Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē group of texts, beer, flour, and barley are prominent. As to beer in *aklu*, see the discussion at the section of *Rīmūtu*. Beer products are mentioned in the following documents: PBS 2/2 no. 43, 45, PBS 13 no. 74, MRWH 22, 23, 24, MUN 204, 205, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, CBS 7694, 13362, 13375, and 15016. Flour and barley are mentioned in the following documents: PBS 13 no. 71, MRWH 18, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, MUN 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, CBS 7160, 7262, 7698, 7714, 7721, 8573, 8741, and UM 29-13-907.

- kaš: PBS 2/2 no. 43 (kaš UŠ), 45 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), PBS 13 no. 74 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), MRWH 22 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 23 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 24 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), MUN 204 (kaš UŠ), 205 (kaš s[ag], kaš UŠ), 207 (kaš UŠ), 208 (kaš UŠ), 210 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 211 (ṛkaš sag<sup>1</sup>, kaš UŠ), 212 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 213 (kaš UŠ), 214 (kaš UŠ), 215 ([kaš U]Š), 216 ([ka]š UŠ), 217 (kaš UŠ), 218 ([ka]š ṛsag<sup>2</sup>), 219 ([ka]š sag, kaš UŠ), 220 ([kaš sa]g), 226 (ṛkaš sag<sup>1</sup>, ṛkaš UŠ<sup>1</sup>), 227 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 228 ([ka]š sag, kaš UŠ), 229 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 230 (kaš ṛsag<sup>1</sup>, kaš UŠ), 231 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 232 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 233 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 234 (kaš UŠ), 235 (kaš [sag], kaš UŠ), 236 ([kaš sag], kaš ṛUŠ<sup>1</sup>), 237 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 238 (kaš sa[g], kaš UŠ), 239 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 240 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 241 (kaš), 242 (kaš UŠ), 243 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 244 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 245 (kaš UŠ), 246 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 247 ([kaš sag], [ka]š UŠ), 248 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 249 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 250 (kaš ṛsag<sup>1</sup>, kaš UŠ), 251 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 252 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 253 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 254 (ṛkaš sag<sup>1</sup>, kaš [UŠ]), 255 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 260 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 261 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 262 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 263 ([kaš sag], k[aš UŠ]), 264 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 265 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 266 (ṛkaš<sup>1</sup> sag, kaš UŠ), 267 ([kaš sag], kaš UŠ), CBS 7694 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 13362 (kaš [sa]g<sup>2</sup>, kaš UŠ), 13375 (kaš UŠ), 15016 (kaš UŠ)
- dug: PBS 2/2 no. 43, 45, PBS 13 no. 74, MRWH 22, 23, 24, MUN 204, 205, 210, 211 (dug sag, dug UŠ), 213, 216, 218 (dug gal), 219, 220, 226, 227, 228, 229 (ṛdug<sup>1</sup>), 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246 (dug gal), 247, 248, 249, 250, 251 (dug gal), 252 (dug gal), 253, 254, 255 (ṛdug<sup>1</sup>), 260, 261 (dug gal), 262, 263, 264, 265, 266 (dug gal), 267, CBS 7694 (dug gal), 13362, 13375, 15016
- báppir: PBS 2/2 no. 43, 45, PBS 13 no. 74, MRWH 22, 23, 24, MUN 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236 (ṛbáppir<sup>1</sup>), 237, 238, 239 (b[áppir]), 240, 241, 242, 243,

- 244, 245 ([b]áppir), 246, 247, 248, 249, 250 (ṛbápṛpir), 251, 252, 253, 254 (bá[ppir]), 260, 261, 262, 263 (bá[ppir]), 264, 265 (bṛáppirṛ), CBS 7694, 13362, 13375, 15016
- níg-àr-ra: PBS 2/2 no. 43, PBS 13 no. 74, MUN 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254 (níg-ṛàrṛ[-ra]), 255, 260, 261, 262
- munu<sub>5</sub>: MUN 260 (lagab munu<sub>5</sub>), 261 (lagab munu<sub>5</sub>), 262 (lagab munu<sub>5</sub>), 263 (lagab munu<sub>5</sub>), 264, 265, 266 (mu[nu<sub>5</sub>]), 267

Flour is expressed as zì-da. Barley is expressed as še or ŠE-MAŠ/BAR. They are measured with a solid capacity measure.

- zì-da: PBS 13 no. 71 (zì), MRWH 18, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29 ([z]ì-da), MUN 164, 166, 167, 168 (ṛzì-daṛ), 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180 (z[ì-da]), 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, CBS 7160, 7262, 7698, 7714, 7721, 8573, UM 29-13-907
- še MRWH 18, 19, 20, 21, 28 (*še-um*), 29, MUN 166, 167, 168 (ṛšeṛ), 169, 170 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 171, 172, 173 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 174, 175, 176 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 177 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 178 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, CBS 7160, 7698, 7714 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 7721, 8573, 8741 (*še-um*), UM 29-13-907 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR)

Oil in the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts is dealt with in MRWH 34 (i-giš), MUN 278 (i, i-giš), and 279 (i). Livestock are referred to in MUN 325 (udu-níta sískur, sil[aa]) and N 2645<sup>(295)</sup>. In BE 14 no. 116, a replacement (?)/a metal alloy<sup>(296)</sup> is found. In UM 29-16-154 and N 2023, several garments are stated.<sup>(297)</sup>

#### 4.5.1. The purposes of the expenditure

In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, we can find several purposes of the expenditure.

Funerary offering

- (*kispu*) MRWH 28 (flour, barley: obv. 2 *ki-is-pu gi-nu-ú*, obv. 3 *ki-min u<sub>4</sub>-29-kam*), MUN 173 (flour, barley: obv. 2 *ki-is-pu gi-nu-ú*, obv. 3 *ki-min u<sub>4</sub>-29-kam*), MUN 215 (beer: obv. 4 *ki-is-pi iti*), MUN 266 (beer: obv. 2 *ki-is-pu*), CBS 7262 (flour, [barley]: obv. 20 *ki-is-pu*), CBS 7698 (flour, barley: obv. 2 *ki-is-pu u<sub>4</sub>-20-kam*, obv. 3 *ki-is-pu u<sub>4</sub>-29-kam*), CBS 7714 (flour, barley: obv. 2 *ki-is-pu u<sub>4</sub>-12[+]-kam*, obv. 3 *ki-min u<sub>4</sub>-21-kam*, obv. 4 *ki-min gi-nu-ú*), CBS 7721 (flour, barley: obv. 2 *ki-is-pu u<sub>4</sub>-25[+]-kam*,

<sup>(295)</sup> Obv. 1', 5', 7', rev. 11', 13', 15', 16': kuš máš; rev. 18': i-nun.

<sup>(296)</sup> Obv. 1: 1 kuš/gín ša píl/bíl-la-ti ša lugal.

<sup>(297)</sup> Both documents have a seal impression but neither has a seal reference for Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.



	obv. 3 <i>ki-min gi-nu-ú</i> ), CBS 7868 ([flour, barley]: obv. 2 <i>ki-is-pu</i> , obv. 3 <i>ki-min gi-nu-ú</i> ), CBS 13375 (beer: obv. 6 <i>ki-is-pu</i> ), UM 29-16-158 (A 6' <i>ki-is-[pu]</i> )
Sacrifice ( <i>siskur</i> )	MUN 173 (flour, barley: obv. 4 <i>siskur me-e</i> ), MUN 325 (sheep: obv. 1 <i>udu-níta</i> ), CBS 8741 ([flour], barley: obv. 3 <i>sískur u<sub>4</sub>-20-kam</i> )
Fodder for horses (šuk <i>anše-kur-ra</i> )	MUN 279 (oil: obv. 2 [šuk] <i>anše-kur-ra</i> ), CBS 7160 (flour, barley: obv. 2 šuk <i>anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup></i> ), CBS 7721 (flour, barley: rev. 35 šuk [x] <i>anše-kur-ra</i> , rev. 40 šuk <i>anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup></i> ), CBS 7868 ([flour, barley]: obv. 9 šuk <i>anše-kur-ra</i> ), CBS 7713 ([flour, barley]: rev. 27' šuk <i>anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup></i> )
Fodder for stags (šuk <i>ajjali</i> )	MRWH 28 (flour, barley: obv. 14 šuk <i>a-a-l[i]</i> ), CBS 7721 (flour, barley: obv. 8 šuk <i>a-a-li</i> ), CBS 7868 ([flour, barley]: obv. 13 <i>anše-kur-ra</i> <i>a-a-li</i> , rev. 35' šuk <i>a-a-li</i> )
Fodder for foals (šuk <i>mūri</i> )	MUN 170 (flour, barley: rev. 8 šuk <i>mu-ri</i> )
Fodder for sheep (šuk <i>udu-níta</i> )	CBS 7160 (flour, barley: obv. 11 šuk <i>udu-níta niga</i> )
Fodder for donkeys (šuk <i>anše</i> )	CBS 7721 (flour, barley: rev. 39 šuk 1 <i>anše ša kaskal</i> )
Fodder for gazelle kids (šuk <i>amar-maš-dà</i> )	CBS 7262 (flour, [barley]: obv. 16 šuk <i>amar-maš-dà</i> , rev. 31 šuk <i>amar-maš-eras.-dà</i> )
Travel provisions ( <i>ninda-kaskal</i> )	MRWH 29 (obv. 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, lo. e. 24, rev. 34), MUN 213 (beer: lo. e. 9 <i>ninda-kaskal</i> ), MUN 219 (beer: obv. 4 <i>ninda-kaskal</i> <i>dumu lugal</i> ), MUN 245 (beer: obv. 5 <i>ninda-kaskal</i> ), MUN 259 ([flour, barley]: obv. 15, rev. 32, 34 <i>ninda-kaskal</i> ), MUN 267 (beer: obv. 7 <i>ninda-kaskal</i> ), CBS 7698 (flour, barley: rev. 32' <i>ninda-kaskal</i> )
Pot stand ( <i>gangannu</i> )	MUN 219 (beer: obv. 2–3 <i>kam-gan-n[i x]</i> NU <i>abul bād-r<sup>d</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-líl-ḫi-a<sup>k</sup>[i]</i> , obv. 5 <i>kam-gan-nu ḫur-sag-kalam<sup>ki</sup></i> )
Vessel-stand ( <i>kannu</i> )	MUN 213 (beer: obv. 7 <i>kan-ni gú-en-na</i> ), MUN 247 (beer: obv. 2–6 <i>kan-nu u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam</i> )
Banquet ( <i>kin-sig</i> )	CBS 7713 ([flour, barley]: rev. 25' <i>a-na mu-uḫ-ḫi kin-sig</i> )
Lighting ( <i>nūru</i> )	MUN 278 (oil: obv. 4 <i>nu-rù</i> ), MUN 279 (oil: obv. 5 <i>nu-ú[-ru]</i> )

#### 4.5.2. Religious purposes for the *aklu*

We can identify funerary offerings (*kispu*) as a major purpose for the *aklu*. In a prior study of *kispu*, Tsukimoto discussed 9 examples of funerary offerings in Middle Babylonian documents.<sup>(298)</sup> He noted the dates on which the funerary offerings were made and stated that there were no fixed dates for the funerary offerings. In some cases, funerary offerings were made every day.<sup>(299)</sup> As a remarkable characteristic of Middle Babylonian offerings, he pointed out that they were performed together with other rituals. He interpreted the statue (*šalmu*)<sup>(300)</sup> as the image of a king who had passed away and regarded the funerary offerings as having been dedicated to the statue. With regard to a ritual “bathing ceremony” (*rimku*), he said that probably the statue was purified. He stated that funerary offerings in the Middle Babylonian period were dedicated to the deceased king (i.e., his statue), and that there were not fixed dates for the funerary offerings.

In 2007, Tsukimoto again discussed funerary offerings with new evidence on *kispu* from the Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, and Neo-Assyrian periods.<sup>(301)</sup> In this study, he discussed funerary offerings for the deceased (*kispu*), its places, its dates, and the related commodities. As the activities required for the *kispu*, he listed three actions: making a funerary offering (*kispa kasāpu*), pouring water (*mê naqû*), and mentioning the name (*šuma zakāru*). He identified the term KI.SÌ.GA as the Sumerian counterpart of *kispu*. However, this term was not frequently used in the third millennium B.C., and instead the term KI.A.NAG, whose Akkadian counterpart is unknown, is mostly found. These two terms sometimes occur together. For the KI.A.NAG ceremony, the funerary offerings were made on the new moon and the full moon, in which we can find a relationship to the later *kispu*.<sup>(302)</sup> Regarding the place where the *kispu* was made, Tsukimoto stated that it was the grave, not the structure for the

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<sup>(298)</sup> Tsukimoto 1985, 79–91. See MRWH 28 (HS 126), BE 14 no. 99a, BE 15 nos. 185, 200, and PBS 2/2 nos. 8, 86, 108, 113, 133.

<sup>(299)</sup> Ibid., 86: “So kann mit Sicherheit nur gesagt werden, daß die regelmäßige “Totenpflege” in dieser Zeit weder am Neumond wie in der altbabyl. Zeit, noch zweimal im Monat wie in Mari abgehalten wurde. In der Zeit des Kadašman-Turgu wurde *kispu(m)* jeden Tag dargebracht. Der Grund dafür entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis.”

In MRWH 28 line 3 (see the previous note), Petschow and Tsukimoto read the date as the 21<sup>st</sup> day, but it should be read as the 29<sup>th</sup> (i.e., two *Winkelhaken* and three DIŠ in a vertical position. Cf. Borger 2010, 221 no. 865). See also Bernhardt 1976, Tafel XVIII no. 16.

<sup>(300)</sup> PBS 2/2 no. 108, obv. 7.

<sup>(301)</sup> Tsukimoto 2007, 1–10 (in Japanese).

<sup>(302)</sup> Though there were no fixed dates for the funerary offerings in the Middle Babylonian period, funerary offerings were made on the new moon in the Old Babylonian period. See the note 288. According to Tsukimoto 2007, 6, if KI.A.NAG is related to *kispu* is still not clear.

*kispu*.<sup>(303)</sup> To support his argument, he referred to a syllabary, Middle Babylonian evidence, and two Neo-Assyrian sources.<sup>(304)</sup> As for the dates where the funerary offering was made, he stated basically that it was made at the new moon. But in Mari, funerary offerings were dedicated on the first day (the new moon) and the 16<sup>th</sup> day (the full moon). Further, he pointed out that the month Abu (V), modern July–August, was the month of the funerary offering (*kispu*). However, for the Middle Babylonian period, he maintained his earlier position that there were no fixed dates for it. As the related commodities, he listed water, milk, beer, wine, bread, sheep, herbs, etc. Finally, he concluded that the memorial service for the deceased worked as a method to strengthen the solidarity of the family. Members of a family who care for their ancestors deserve rewards such as protection from illness and a comfortable life.<sup>(305)</sup>

Some of the *kispu* offerings of the Middle Babylonian period are specified as purposes of the *aklu*.<sup>(306)</sup> The dates of these documents which have the Matthews no. **189** seal impression cover the years 1–3 of Kudur-Enlil (1254–1252). The attested months are III, IV, V, VI, and XII. The days of the funerary offering are the 20<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, and 29<sup>th</sup> day (3 times).<sup>(307)</sup> In the case of flour, the amount of the regular funerary offerings (*kispu ginû*: 0,2.0. ; 0,4.0.) is approximately 10–20 times the amount of a day’s funerary offering (0,0.1.2. ; 0,0.1.1. ; 0,0.1.). In the case of beer, two (jars? of) beer is delivered for the funerary offering of the day of the new moon (*kispi arhi*) for Abu (V) and Ulûlu (VI).<sup>(308)</sup> These

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<sup>(303)</sup> Ibid., 7. He cited AO 4628, 6 (É.KI.SI.GA, not É.KI.SÌ.GA).

<sup>(304)</sup> Ibid., 7 nn. 42–45. He cited Tsukimoto 1985, 31 Anm. 135 for the syllabary, Sassmannshausen 2001, Text 284, 21 for the Middle Babylonian source (KI.SÌ.GA É IM.RI.A), Tsukimoto 1985, 107ff. for the Neo-Assyrian source related to *bût kimaḥḥi*, and Asb. Pr. A vi 70–76 for the Neo-Assyrian source concerning Ashurbanipal’s violation of the graves of Elamite kings and taking away of the funerary offering (*kispu*) and libation (*nāq mē*). He interpreted the MB reference (KI.SÌ.GA É IM.RI.A) as “家族墓” (family grave[s]) and said the *kispu* was offered there.

<sup>(305)</sup> Regarding the date of the *kispu* of MRWH 28, he read it here as the 21<sup>st</sup> or 29<sup>th</sup> day. He treated three Middle Babylonian examples (MUN 173, 215, and 284).

<sup>(306)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 167. The documents which have the Matthews no. **189** seal impression are: MRWH 28, obv. 2–3; MUN 173, obv. 2–3; MUN 215, obv. 4; MUN 266, obv. 2–3; CBS 7262, obv. 20–22; CBS 7698, obv. 2–3; CBS 7714, obv. 2–4; CBS 7721, obv. 2–3; CBS 7868, obv. 2–3; CBS 13375, obv. 6; and UM 29-16-158, A 6’.

The other mentions of *kispu* offerings from Middle Babylonian Nippur, as far as I know, are: BE 14 no. 99a, rev. 43; BE 15 no. 185, obv. col. I, 5’; BE 15 no. 200, obv. col. I, 6; PBS 2/2 no. 8, obv. 1, rev. 9; PBS no. 86, obv. 4, 7, 13; PBS 2/2 no. 108, obv. 7; PBS 2/2 no. 113, obv. 12; PBS 2/2 no. 133, obv. 2, 12, 37, rev. 45’; MUN 195, obv. 2; MUN 284, rev. 21; CBS 3251, obv. 12; and UM 29-13-946, obv. 1’. In addition to those, Sassmannshausen 2001, 155 n. 2647 pointed out that N 2481 has a reference to a *kispu*. The reference (upper edge: 5,0.0. *ki-is-pu*) can be seen in the online photo (P277567.jpg).

<sup>(307)</sup> Partly broken days are 12[+] <sup>th</sup> day (CBS 7714, 2) and 25[+] <sup>th</sup> day (CBS 7721, 2).

<sup>(308)</sup> MUN 215 obv. 4. Regarding *arhu* “day of the new moon”, see CAD A 2, 260. For the interpretation of *kispi arhi*, courtesy of M. Stol.

documents were sealed with an official seal (i.e., Matthews no. **189**) whose legend mentions the name Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, high priest (*nēšakku*) of Enlil, anointed priest (*pašīšu*) of Ninlil, governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur, son of Enlil-kidinnī, official of Nintinluba(?).<sup>(309)</sup> Therefore it is likely that an official was required to perform/supervise some religious duties and that these expenses were accounted as *aklu*.<sup>(310)</sup>

#### 4.6. Place names

In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, several place names and facilities can be found. Dūr-Enlilē occurs in MUN 219 (obv. 3: bād-<sup>d</sup>en<sup>l</sup>-líl-ḥi-a<sup>k</sup>[i]), with Ḥursagkalam (obv. 5: ḥur-sag-kalam<sup>ki</sup>). In MUN 278, Dūr-Enlilē is found as a destination (obv. 5: a-na bād-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-ḥi-a<sup>ki</sup>). Rāši is referred to in MRWH 29 (obv. 15: <sup>kur</sup>ra-šī), MUN 245 (rev. 6: kaskal [š]a DIŠ ra-a-šī<sup>ki</sup>).<sup>(311)</sup> In PBS 13 no. 71, flour is issued for the caravan to/of Larsa (obv. 2: ak-lu<sub>4</sub> kaskal-nu<sup>7</sup> ararma(UD-UNUG)<sup>ki</sup>). In MRWH 29, Dūr-ilu (?) (obv. 16: <sup>uru</sup>bād-[din]gir) is referred to. In MUN 173, Āl-Aḥḥē (obv. 14: uru-at-ḥe-e) can be found with Bīt-Nimgira-Marduk (rev. 20': é <sup>l</sup>nim-gi-ra-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu). In CBS 7714, Dūr-Kurigalzu (obv. 14: bād-ku-ri-gal-zu) can be found. In CBS 7721, Bīt-Jātu (rev. 23: é <sup>l</sup>ia-tu-ú) is mentioned. In MRWH 34, oil is delivered to *bīt kunukki* (obv. 5: é <sup>na4</sup>kišib). Palace interior (*bītānu*)<sup>(312)</sup> is sometimes stated.<sup>(313)</sup> The house/storehouse of a caravan (*bīt ša ḥarrāni/girri*) is often found.<sup>(314)</sup> In MUN 279, a storehouse (obv. 3: é <sup>u</sup>de-e) is found. Possibly a *pīḥatu* (province) is referred to in MUN 266 rev. 9 (*pi-ḥa-[ ]*).

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<sup>(309)</sup> Matthews 1992, 136. But it should be noted that the sealer was Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, not Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>.

<sup>(310)</sup> Cf. PBS 2/2 no. 86 obv. 3 (0,0.2. *ki-is-pu* eras. *ki-min* [i.e., *Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>*]) and obv. 7 (0,0.4. *ki-is-pu* <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-A[L-S]A<sub>6</sub>). It is clear from this that *Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>* performed or supervised the *kispu* offerings of flour.

Perhaps it is significant that a *kispu* for the “interior” (*ki-is-pu é-nu*) is attested in CBS 3251 obv. 12. The “interior” is a part of the palace (see Sassmannshausen 2001, 155–156). Also we have a reference to *kispu* among the rations for the “interior” (*še-ba é-nu*) in N 2481 (upper edge). This means that the *kispu* offerings were performed as one of the duties of the administration.

Another offering (*nīqu*: *siskur/siskur*) is attested as the purpose of the *aklu*. Flour is dedicated (MUN 173, 4) for the libation (*siskur me-e*). See *AHw*, 793, *nīqu*, d) Libation and CAD N 2, 252, *nīqu*. It is difficult to explain why flour was needed for a ritual involving water. Sheep (MUN 325, 1) were offered for the offering. These examples should also be interpreted as administrative tasks.

<sup>(311)</sup> If the DIŠ before *ra-a-šī<sup>ki</sup>* is to be read as *ana*, Rāši is a destination.

<sup>(312)</sup> On *bītānu*, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 155 n. 2638.

<sup>(313)</sup> MUN 209 obv. 3',<sup>(313)</sup> MUN 220 obv. 2, and CBS 7698 rev. 29'.

<sup>(314)</sup> MRWH 28 obv. 10, MUN 259 rev. 24, CBS 7714 rev. 35, and CBS 13375 rev. 12.

## 4.7. Notes

### 4.7.1. *arād šarri* “coming/going down of the king,” *elē šarri* “coming/going up the king”

In the texts relating to Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, we have some phrases which are well attested in *aklu* documents. The phrases *elē šarri* “coming/going up of the king” and *arād šarri* “coming/going down of the king”<sup>(315)</sup> are attested, both in the first year of Kudurru-Enlil:

Ni 2240	1254 KuE year 1	XII	Uzibu (prob. a brewer)	<i>e-le</i>	lugal
MUN 210	1254 KuE year 1 (diri) *XIIa		Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>a-rad</i> lugal
MUN 211	1254 KuE year 1 (diri) *XIIa		Nāḥirānu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>a-rad</i> lugal

The phrase *a-rad* lugal is also attested in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Kudurru-Enlil:

MUN 185	1253 KuE year 3	XII	Tarību (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>a-rad</i> lugal
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These four documents are dated at the end of the year. Therefore it is quite likely that these quantities of beer, flour, and barley are issued for the king’s coming/going up and coming/going down for the new year festival.

The phrase *a-rad* dumu lugal “coming/going down of the son of the king” is also attested. It is dated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of *Kudur-Enlil*:

MUN 178	<i>ak-lu</i> <sub>4</sub> 1252 KuE year 3	28-IV	Tarību (probably a miller)	flour, barley	<i>a-rad</i> dumu lugal
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Brinkman refers to this document and points out offerings made at Nippur in the Enlil and Ninlil temples on 28-IV and an *akītu*-feast celebrated in the fourth month (IV).<sup>(316)</sup>

### 4.7.2. *ašābu*, *lā ašābu*

As mentioned above,<sup>(317)</sup> *ašābu* and related phrases occur in the *aklu* documents. In texts related to Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, the phrases can be used for both beer and flour, and are attested in every month except VIII. Intriguingly the negated form is dominant. There are no cases of *ašābu* or *ašābu u lā ašābu*, but *lā ašābu* is found in all of the following:

CBS 7160	1257 KaE year 7	X to XII?	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (prob. miller)	flour, barley	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 207	1254 KuE year 1	I	Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 208	1254 KuE year 1?	I	Nāḥirānu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-ṛbu</i>
MUN 268	1254 KuE year 1	V	broken (ṛšu <sup>1</sup> [ ])	broken	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 267	1254 KuE year 1	days 1–20(+)	VI Nāḥirānu (prob. brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 170	1254 KuE year 1	29-XII	Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MRWH 21	1254 KuE year 1 (diri) *XIIa		Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>la a-ṛša-ṛbu</i>

<sup>(315)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 411–414.

<sup>(316)</sup> Brinkman 1976a, 413 n. 60.

<sup>(317)</sup> See Rīmūtu’s section of note (2.7: *ašābu*).

CBS 7713	1254	KuE year 1 (diri)	VII to XIIa	Several persons	[flour, barley]	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 213	1253	KuE year 2	II	Uzibu (prob. a brewer)	beer	ᵀla aᵀ-ša-ᵀbuᵀ
MUN 234	1253	KuE year 2	II	Nāḥirānu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 214	1253	KuE year 2	III	Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MRWH 28	1253	KuE year 2	IV	Tarību (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>la a-[š]a-bu</i>
MUN 215	1253	KuE year 2	V to VI	Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 216	1253	KuE year 2	VII	Nāḥirānu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 176	1253	KuE year 2	IX to 19-XI	Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 241	1252	KuE year 3	I to III	Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-šá-bu</i>
MUN 217	1252	KuE year 3	IV	Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 259	1252	KuE year 3	V	Tarību (prob. a miller)	[flour, barley]	ᵀla aᵀ-ša-bu
MRWH 29	1252	KuE year 3	VI	Several persons	flour, barley	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 242	1252	KuE year 3	VII	Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>
MUN 245	1252	KuE year 3	VII?	Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la a-ᵀšaᵀ-bu</i>
CBS 7262	1252	KuE year 3	IX is mentioned	Several persons	flour, [barley]	<i>la a-ša-bu</i> <sup>(318)</sup>
CBS 7714	1252	KuE year 3	XII	Several persons	flour, barley	<i>la a-ša-bu</i>

Partly broken phrase:

MUN 206	1254	KuE year 1	I	Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer)	[beer]	[la <sup>2</sup> ] ᵀaᵀ-ša-bu
MUN 173	1253	KuE year 2	16-III to 6-IV/15-III to 7-IV	Several persons	flour, barley	l[a <sup>2</sup> a-š]a-bu
MUN 180	1252	KuE year 3	10-VII-year 3	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (prob. a miller)		<i>la [a-ša-bu<sup>2</sup>]</i>
MUN 220		KuE x <sup>th</sup> year	days 10–21	VI Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>la ᵀaᵀ-[ša-bu]</i>

Among the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, only CBS 7698 has a trace of an envelope on its obverse.

The seal impression can be found on the upper edge, not on the envelope.

#### 4.8. Prosopography

Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē	(Sealer of a lot of <i>aklu</i> documents.)
Iqīša-Ninimma	(Sealer of three <i>aklu</i> documents.)
Nāḥirānu	(Probably a brewer)
Bābilāyu	(Probably a brewer)
Bēlšunu	(Probably a brewer)
Uzibu	(Probably a brewer)
Izkur-Adad	(Probably a brewer)
Damqu	(Probably a brewer)

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<sup>(318)</sup> The phrase can be found at obv. 18.

Tarību	(Probably a miller)
Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad	(Probably a miller)
Amīl-Marduk	(Probably a miller)
Zēr-kīni-līšir	(Probably a miller)
Iqīša-Adad	(Probably an oil-presser)
Sīn-aḥa-iddina	(Probably a shepherd)
Erība-Šamaš	(A well-attested recipient)
<i>mārat bīti</i>	(A well-attested recipient)
<i>mār/mārat malāḥi</i>	(A well-attested recipient)

**4.8.1. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē** — Mentioned in the following documents: BE 14 no. 116 (replacements (?)/alloy), PBS 2/2 no. 43 (*aklu*, beer), 45 (*aklu*, beer), PBS 13 no. 71 (*aklu*, flour), 74 (*aklu*, beer), MRWH 18 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 19 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 20 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 21 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 22 (*aklu*, beer), 23 (*aklu*, beer), 24 (*aklu*, beer), 28 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 34 (oil), MUN 164 (*aklu*, flour), 165<sup>(319)</sup> (*aklu*), 166 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 167 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 168 (ʾakluʾ, flour, barley), 169 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 170 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 171 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 172 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 173 (ʾakluʾ, flour, barley), 174 (flour, barley), 175 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 177 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 178 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 179 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 180 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 182 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 183 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 184 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 185 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 186 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 204 (*aklu*, beer), 205 (*aklu*, beer), 206 ([beer]<sup>(320)</sup>), 207 (*aklu*, beer), 208 (*aklu*, beer), 209 (*aklu*, [beer]<sup>(321)</sup>), 211 (*aklu*, beer), 212 (*aklu*, beer), 213 (*aklu*, beer), 214 (*aklu*, beer), 215 (*aklu*, ʾbeerʾ), 216 (*aklu*, beer), 220 (ʾakluʾ?, beer), 226 (*aklu*, beer), 227 (*aklu*, beer), 228 (*aklu*, beer), 229 (*aklu*, beer), 230 (*aklu*, beer), 231 (*aklu*, beer), 232 (*aklu*, beer), 233 (*aklu*, beer), 234 (*aklu*, beer), 235 (*aklu*, beer), 236 (*aklu*, beer), 237 (*aklu*, beer), 238 (*aklu*, beer), 239 (*aklu*, beer), 240 (*aklu*, beer), 242 (*aklu*, beer), 243 (*aklu*, beer), 244 (*aklu*, beer), 245<sup>(322)</sup> (*aklu*, beer), 246 (*aklu*, beer), 247 (beer), 248 (*aklu*, beer), 249 (*aklu*, beer), 250 (*aklu*, beer), 251 (*aklu*, beer), 252 (*aklu*, beer), 253 (*aklu*, beer), 254 (*aklu*, beer), 255 (*aklu*, beer), 259 (*aklu*, [flour, barley]<sup>(323)</sup>), 260 (beer),

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(<sup>319</sup>) The reading of the name is uncertain: 4' r<sup>na4</sup>kišibʾ [l<sup>d</sup>nin-urt]a-ʾsumʾ-[aḥḥē]

(<sup>320</sup>) The document is partly broken. It may deal with beer, because Bēlšunu (probably a brewer) is referred to.

(<sup>321</sup>) The left side of the document is broken. It may deal with beer, since Bābilāyu (probably a brewer) is found.

(<sup>322</sup>) The reading of the name is not certain (na<sup>4</sup>kišib l<sup>d</sup>ninʾ-<urta>-sum-aḥʾ-ḥe).

(<sup>323</sup>) The upper part of the document is broken. It may deal with flour and barley because Tarību (probably a miller) is attested in rev. 36.

261 (*aklu*, beer), 262 (*aklu*, beer), 263 (*aklu*, beer), 264 (*aklu*, beer), 265 (*aklu*, beer), 266 (*aklu*, beer), 267 (*aklu*, beer), 278 (*aklu*, oil), 279 (𐎠𐎢𐎣, oil), 325 (*aklu*, sheep), 449?<sup>(324)</sup> (fragment), 450 (fragment), CBS 7160 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 7694 (𐎠𐎢𐎣, beer), 7698 (𐎠𐎢𐎣, flour, barley), 7713 (*aklu*, [flour, barley]<sup>(325)</sup>), 7714 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 7721 (flour, barley), 8573 (𐎠𐎢𐎣, flour, barley), 8741 (*aklu*, [flour], barley), 13362 (*aklu*, beer), 15016 (𐎠𐎢𐎣, beer), UM 29-13-907 (*aklu*, flour, barley), N 2036 ([flour?, barley?]<sup>(326)</sup>), Ni 7947, 7959, 8013, 8027, 8375. Almost all the documents are *aklu* documents. But BE 14 no. 116 deals with replacements (?)/metal alloy of the king. The documents are sealed with Matthews seal no. **189**. The earliest attestation is in MUN 278 (1263, KaE 23-V-year 1, 12-IV to 23-V). The latest one is in MUN 247 (1250, KuE 12-𐎠𐎢𐎣-year 5,<sup>(327)</sup> 26-𐎠𐎢𐎣 to 12-𐎠𐎢𐎣). The period is about 14 years. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed documents pertaining to beer, flour, barley, oil, sheep, and replacements (?)/metal alloy. In MUN 278, Dūr-Enlilē is mentioned as a destination (obv. 5: *a-na* bād-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-ḥi-a<sup>ki</sup>), so maybe Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed the document in a location other than Dūr-Enlilē. In MRWH 34, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē received oil and brought it into the storehouse (é<sup>na4</sup>kišib), so he worked in association with a storehouse.

#### 4.8.2. Iqīša-Ninimma — Mentioned in the following documents:

MUN 241	<i>aklu</i>	1252	KuE III-year 3	I to III	Bābilāyu (prob. brewer)	beer
MUN 218	<i>aklu</i>	1252	KuE 30-VIII?-year 3	1-VII? to 30-VIII?	Nāḥirānu (prob. brewer)	beer
MUN 219	<i>aklu</i>	1252	KuE 22-IX-year 3		Several persons	beer

Iqīša-Ninimma also used the Matthews no. **189** seal. Iqīša-Ninimma and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē were contemporaries, so Iqīša-Ninimma did not inherit the seal from Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē or vice versa. In MUN 219, Dūr-Enlilē (obv. 3) and Ḥursagkalamma (obv. 5), which are known as settlements near Nippur, are mentioned. In MUN 241, Bābilāyu (probably a brewer), Erība-Šamaš (a recipient), *mārat bīti* (a recipient), Erība-Marduk (a recipient) and *māmītu*<sup>(328)</sup> *mār* Arad-Ea (a recipient) are referred to. They are well attested in the *aklu* documents sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.<sup>(329)</sup> In MUN

<sup>(324)</sup> The reading of the name is uncertain ([<sup>na4</sup>kiš]ib<sup>1d</sup>ni[n-urta-nādin-aḥḥē]).

<sup>(325)</sup> This document is partly broken. But the commodities are measured with a solid capacity measure, therefore they may be flour and barley.

<sup>(326)</sup> The document is partly broken. Something (possibly flour and barley) is measured by a solid capacity measure.

<sup>(327)</sup> Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 197 (𐎠𐎢𐎣-12-year 4; \*CBS 8706 B; 𐎠𐎢𐎣-26 to 𐎠𐎢𐎣-12; reading of MN's uncertain; collation courtesy of Erle Leichty; P.2.6.148).

<sup>(328)</sup> “An oath ceremony of a son/descendant of Arad-Ea.”

<sup>(329)</sup> *Bābilāyu*: MRWH 22, MUN 204, 207, 209 ([beer]), 210, 214, 220, 230, 238, 239, 242, 243, 261, 266, CBS 13362; *Erība-Šamaš*: MRWH 28 obv. 4, MUN 173 obv. 5, 207, 208, 214, 217, 234, 241, 245, 267, CBS 7714 obv. 5, CBS 7721 obv. 4, CBS 13375, UM 29-16-158 A 3', 19'); *mārat bīti*: MRWH



218, Nāhirānu (probably a brewer) and Apil-Šamaš (a recipient) are stated. They are also found in the *aklu* documents sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē,<sup>(330)</sup> so the documents sealed by Iqīša-Ninimma have something in common with those sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.

#### 4.8.3. The relationship of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, Iqīša-Ninimma, and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni

Interestingly, in a document probably from Dūr-Enlilē, namely CUSAS 30 no. 198 (1266, KT year 16?), Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and Iqīša-Ninimma appear with Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, who is an important official at Dūr-Enlilē.<sup>(331)</sup>

Obv.

- 1 še<sup>gis</sup>bán 10 sīla 1 ša 1i-na 1 šu<sup>md</sup>nin.urta-kiš-dingir.meš
- 2 mba-1šá<sup>2</sup> 1-dnin.imma i-si-[r]u-ma
- 3 1a<sup>1</sup>-[na] 1mdnin.urta-sum-š[eš].meš id-di-nu

“Grain (measured by) the *sūtu* of 10 *qū* that Iqīša-Ninimma collected through the hand of Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, and that he disbursed to Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.”

Here I will label the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē who sealed the *aklu* documents (with Matthews no. **189**) as Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A and the Iqīša-Ninimma who sealed the *aklu* documents (with Matthews no. **189**) as Iqīša-Ninimma A. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and Iqīša-Ninimma in CUSAS 30 no. 198 will be called Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē B and Iqīša-Ninimma B. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A’s active period is from 1263 (KaE year 1) to 1250 (KuE year 5). Iqīša-Ninimma A’s date is 1252 (KuE year 3). The date of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē B and Iqīša-Ninimma B is 1266 (KT year 16?). Thus it is chronologically not impossible to identify Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A with B, and to identify Iqīša-Ninimma A with B. Also, it may be significant that in CUSAS 30 no. 198 obv. 7 Ēz-u-pašir (a recipient of barley) is found, and Ēz-u-pašir can also be found in the *aklu* documents sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A, namely MUN 267 obv. 2 (beer) and possibly MUN 268 obv. 3’ (beer).<sup>(332)</sup> The evidence is slight, but it is not impossible to identify Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A with Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē B, and Iqīša-Ninimma A with Iqīša-Ninimma B.

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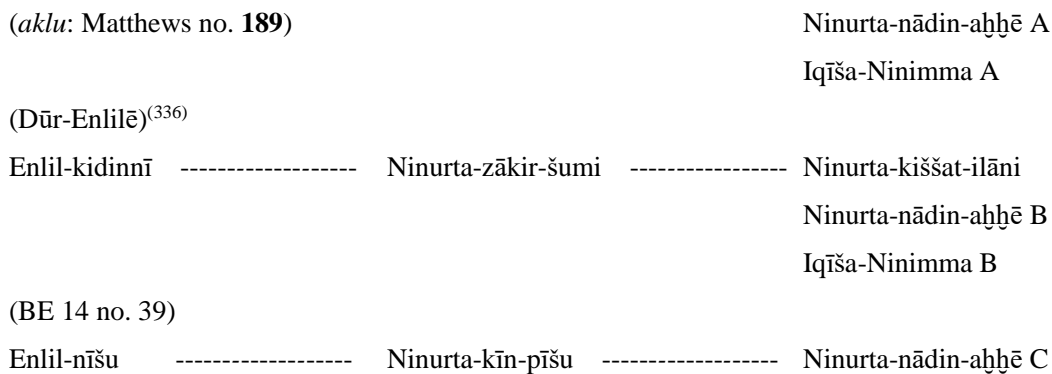
28 obv. 5, MUN 173 obv. 6, 206, 207, 208, 214, 215, 216, 217, 234, 242, 245 obv. 3, rev. 7, 266 obv. 6, 267 obv. 4, 268 obv. 5’, CBS 7698 obv. 7, CBS 7714 obv. 6, CBS 7721 obv. 5, CBS 7868 obv. 5, CBS 13375, UM 29-16-158 A 4’, 20’; Erība-Marduk: MUN 234 obv. 4, 6; mār Arad-Ea: CBS 8741 rev. 19’.

<sup>(330)</sup> Nāhirānu: MRWH 23, MUN 208, 211, 216, 229, 231, 232, 234, 246, 248, 252, 260, 263, 265, 267 rev. 10, CBS 15016; Apil-Šamaš: CBS 7160 obv. 16.

<sup>(331)</sup> He is a son of Ninurta-zākir-šumi (1<sup>d</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu). See CUSAS 30, p. 24. Also in CUSAS 30, p. 66 no. 24, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sent a letter to Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni.

<sup>(332)</sup> In CUSAS 30 no. 198 obv. 9, Rīmūtu is found. Rīmūtu is mentioned in an *aklu* document sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A: CBS 7721 rev. 31 (flour, barley). Also, Arad-nubatti is referred to in obv. 11 of CUSAS 30 no. 198, and Arad-nubatti can be found in an *aklu* document sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A: MUN 213 obv. 4 (beer). But these names (Rīmūtu and Arad-nubatti) are comparatively well attested in the MB period, so they may be useless for identifications.

Next I will discuss Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, son of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu in BE 14 no. 39,<sup>(333)</sup> whom I will call Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē C. His father is the same person as the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu of Matthews no. **155**.<sup>(334)</sup> Ninurta-kīn-pīšu sealed several *aklu* documents. He seems to have worked in association with Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu) and in Dūr-Enlilē.<sup>(335)</sup> It is uncertain if his son, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē C, also sealed *aklu* documents and if he also worked in association with Dūr-Enlilē. But it is known that Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A sealed several *aklu* documents. Also, it is known that Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē B worked in association with Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, who seems to have been an important official at Dūr-Enlilē. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē C's active period should be after his father's last attestation (MUN 446: 1278 KT year 4). This fits Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A's active period: 1263 (KaE year 1) to 1250 (KuE year 5) and that of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē B: 1266 (KT year 16?). Is this just a coincidence? The following chart shows the relationships of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A, B, and C.



As stated above, it is chronologically not impossible that Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A, B, and C are the same person. However the seal used by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A (Matthews no. **189**) is clearly different from the seal used by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and his father, Enlil-nīšu (Matthews no. **155**). Therefore it is uncertain if Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē C succeeded his father, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.<sup>(337)</sup>

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<sup>(333)</sup> Obv. 2: <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-*n[a-din-aḥḥē]* dumu <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-GI-ka-šu. For the reconstruction of the name, see Brinkman 2003/2004, 399.

<sup>(334)</sup> In BE 14 no. 39, Enlil-nīšu is seen to be the father of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (obv. 11 <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-GI-ka-šu dumu <sup>ld</sup>en-lil-ni-šu). The Matthews no. **155** seal is used by Enlil-nīšu and by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. See Hölscher 1996, 155 on Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.

<sup>(335)</sup> Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu) is found in *aklu* documents sealed by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (BE 14 no. 78 obv. 3, MUN 159 obv. 5, and CBS 9511 lo. e. 6). Dūr-Enlilē is mentioned 4 times in the *aklu* documents sealed by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (BE 14 no. 78 obv. 4, MUN 99 rev. 9, 159 obv. 6, and 160 obv. 7).

<sup>(336)</sup> For the genealogy, see CUSAS 30, p. 24.

<sup>(337)</sup> However, it may be significant that Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> used Matthews no.

**4.8.4. Nāhirānu** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in the following documents: MRWH 23 (*aklu*, beer), MUN 208 (*aklu*, beer), 211 (*aklu*, beer), 216 (*aklu*, beer), 218 rev. 11 (*aklu*, beer, Iqīša-Ninimma), 229 (*aklu*, beer), 231 (*aklu*, beer), 232 (*aklu*, beer), 234 (𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢, beer), 246 (*aklu*, beer), 248 (*aklu*, beer), 252 (*aklu*, beer), 260 (beer), 263 (*aklu*, beer), 265 (*aklu*, beer), 267 rev. 10 (*aklu*, beer), and CBS 15016 (𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢, beer). The earliest attestation is MUN 208 (1254, KuE I-year 1?). The latest is MUN 246 (1251, KuE 6-[ ] -year 4, from 6-XII-year 3 to 6-[ ]-year 4). The period is about 4 years. In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, he is always mentioned with beer, so he may be a brewer. The term *arād šarri* is attested in MUN 211 obv. 5. He appears 4 times with the term *lā ašābu*.<sup>(338)</sup> As stated above in the year section (4.3.1.), he is attested at the same date or almost the same date as other artisans, in example 4 with Amīl-Marduk (M) and Bābilāyu (B), in example 6 with Tarību (M) and Bēlšunu (B), in example 7 with Zēr-kīni-līšir (M), Bēlšunu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), in example 9 with Tarību (M) and Bēlšunu (B), in example 10 with Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), and in example 12 with Tarību (M).

**4.8.5. Bābilāyu** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in the following documents: MRWH 22 (*aklu*, beer), MUN 204 (*aklu*, beer), 207 (*aklu*, beer), 209 (*aklu*, [beer]), 210 (*aklu*, beer), 214 (*aklu*, beer), 220 (𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢, beer), 230 (*aklu*, beer), 238 (*aklu*, beer), 239 (*aklu*, beer), 241 rev. 16 (*aklu*, beer, Iqīša-Ninimma), 242 (*aklu*, beer), 243 (*aklu*, beer), 261 (*aklu*, beer), 266 (*aklu*, beer), and CBS 13362 (*aklu*, beer). The earliest attestation is in MRWH 22 (1258, KaE 2-VII-year 6, 25-VI to 2-VII). The latest is in MUN 243 (1252, KuE 5-XII-year 3, 18-XI? to 5-XII). The period is about 7 years. Among the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, he is mentioned with beer in almost every case, so he may be a brewer. The term *arād šarri* is attested in MUN 210 obv. 4. He is stated 4 times with the term *lā ašābu*.<sup>(339)</sup> As stated above in the year section (4.3.1.), he is attested at the same date or almost the same date as other artisans: in example 1 with Izkur-Adad (B), in example 4 with Amīl-Marduk (M) and Nāhirānu (B), in example 7 with Zēr-kīni-līšir (M), Bēlšunu (B), and Nāhirānu (B), in example 10 with Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), and Nāhirānu (B), and in example 13 with *Bēlšunu* (B).

**4.8.6. Bēlšunu** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in PBS 2/2 no. 45 (*aklu*, beer), MUN 205 (*aklu*, beer), 206 ([*aklu*, beer]<sup>(340)</sup>), 215 (*aklu*, 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢), 217 (*aklu*, beer), 228 (*aklu*, beer), 233 (*aklu*, beer),

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**148** and that Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A used Matthews no. **189**, the legend of which refers to Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, governor of Nippur. Therefore, Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> may be an indirect link between Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē A.

<sup>(338)</sup> MUN 208, MUN 216 obv. 5, MUN 234 obv. 8, and MUN 267 rev. 9.

<sup>(339)</sup> MUN 214 obv. 5, MUN 220 rev. 7 (*la* 𐎠𐎢𐎠-[*ša-bu*]), MUN 241 rev. 15, and MUN 242 rev. 8'.

235 (*aklu*, beer), 240 (*aklu*, beer), 244 (*aklu*, beer), 245 rev. 10 (*aklu*, beer), 251 (*aklu*, beer), 253 (*aklu*, beer), 262 (*aklu*, beer), 264 (*aklu*, beer), and CBS 7694 (𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠, beer). The earliest attestation is in MUN 205 (1257, KaE 4-VII-year 7). The latest is in CBS 7694 (1251, KuE 6-[ ]-year 4, 6? (+)-[MN] to 6-[MN]). The period is about 7 years. In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, he is well attested with beer in almost all the cases, so he may be a brewer. He is stated 4 times with the term *lā ašābu*.<sup>(341)</sup> As stated above in the year section (4.3.1.), he is attested at the same date or almost the same date as other artisans: in example 2 with Tarību (M), in example 3 with Tarību (M), in example 6 with Tarību (M) and Nāḥirānu (B), in example 7 with Zēr-kīni-līšir (M), Nāḥirānu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), in example 9 with Tarību (M) and Nāḥirānu (B), in example 10 with Tarību (M), Nāḥirānu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), and in example 13 with Bābilāyu (B).

**4.8.7. Uzibu** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in the following documents: PBS 13 no. 74 (*aklu*, beer), MRWH 24 (*aklu*, beer), MUN 213 rev. 12 (*aklu*, beer), 227 (*aklu*, beer), 237 (*aklu*, beer), 250 obv. 6 (*aklu*, beer), and Ni 2240 (*aklu*). The earliest attestation is in MUN 250 (1258, KaE 24-VI-year 6, 24-𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠 to 24-VI). The latest is PBS 13 no. 74 (1252, KuE 10-VII?-year 3, 28-𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠? to 10-𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠?<sup>(342)</sup>). The period is about 7 years. He is mentioned with beer in almost every case, so he may be a brewer. The term *elē šarri* can be found in Ni 2240: 3. The term *lā ašābu* is attested in MUN 213 rev. 11 (𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠-𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠-𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠). As stated above in the year section (4.3.1.), he is attested at the same date or almost the same date with other artisans: in example 8 with Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (M) and in example 11 with Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (M).

**4.8.8. Izkur-Adad** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in PBS 2/2 no. 43 (*aklu*, beer), MUN 212 (*aklu*, beer), 226 (*aklu*, beer), 236 (*aklu*, beer), 254 (*aklu*, beer), and 255 (*aklu*, beer). The earliest attestation is in MUN 226 (1258, KaE 2-VII-year 6, 25-VI to 2-VII), and the latest is in MUN 254 (1252, KuE 18-V-year 3, days 4–18). The period is about 7 years. In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, he is always attested with beer, so he may be a brewer. As stated above in example 1 in the year section (4.3.1.), he is attested at the same date as another artisan, Bābilāyu (B).

**4.8.9. Damqu** (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in MUN 249 (1258, KaE 𐎠15(+)-V-year 6(+), 20(+)-IV to 𐎠15(+)-V, *aklu*, beer). He is once attested with beer, and probably was a brewer, but the evidence is slight.

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<sup>(340)</sup> MUN 206 is partly broken. It may deal with beer because Bēlšunu is usually attested with beer. It is an *aklu* document because the term *lā ašābu* is mentioned and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed it.

<sup>(341)</sup> MUN 206 obv. 3' ([𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠] 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠-𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠), MUN 215 obv. 5, MUN 217 obv. 4, and MUN 245 rev. 9.

<sup>(342)</sup> For the reading of the month names, see the CDLI photo ([P269168.jpg](#))

**4.8.10. Tarību** (probably a miller) — Mentioned in the following documents: PBS 13 no. 71 obv. 4 (*aklu*, flour), MRWH 28 rev. 38 (*aklu*, flour, barley), MUN 167 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 168 (𒀭*aklu*, flour, barley), 169 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 171 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 172 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 175 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 177 obv. 5 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 178 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 179 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 182 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 183 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 184 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 185 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 259 rev. 36 (*aklu*, [flour, barley])<sup>(343)</sup>, and CBS 8573 (*aklu*, flour, barley). The earliest attestation is in MUN 167 (1254, KuE 5-V-year 1, 27-III to 5-V). The latest attestations are in PBS 13 no. 71 (1252, KuE XII-year 3) and MUN 185 (1252, KuE XII-year 3). The period is about 3 years.<sup>(344)</sup> In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, Tarību is mentioned with flour and barley in almost all the cases, and therefore he may be a miller. He is mentioned with Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a miller) in PBS 13 no. 71 and MUN 177. The term *arād šarri* occurs in MUN 185 obv. 4. The term *arād mār šarri* is attested in MUN 178 obv. 5. The term *lā ašābu* is found in MRWH 28 rev. 37 and MUN 259 rev. 35. As stated above in the year section (4.3.1.), Tarību is attested at the same date or almost the same date as other artisans: in examples 2 and 3 with Bēlšunu (B), in examples 6 and 9 with both Bēlšunu (B) and Nāḥirānu (B), in example 10 with Bēlšunu (B), Nāḥirānu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), and in example 12 with Nāḥirānu (B).

**4.8.11. Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad** (probably a miller) — Mentioned in PBS 13 no. 71 (*aklu*, flour), MUN 165?<sup>(345)</sup> (*aklu*), MUN 166 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 174 (flour, barley), 177 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 180 obv. 8 (*aklu*, flour, barley), CBS 7160 rev. 18 (*aklu*, flour, barley), and UM 29-13-907 (*aklu*, flour, barley). The earliest attestation is in CBS 7160 (1257, KaE XII?-year 7, X to XII?) and the latest is in PBS 13 no. 71 (1252, KuE XII-year 3). The period is about 6 years. In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts he is mentioned with flour and barley in almost all the cases, and therefore may be a miller. He is found with Tarību (probably a miller) in PBS 13 no. 71 and MUN 177. The term *lā ašābu* occurs in MUN 180 obv. 4 (*la [a-ša-bu?]*) and CBS 7160 rev. 17. As stated above in the year section (4.3.1.), he is attested at the same date or almost the same date as another artisan, Uzibu (B) in examples 8 and 11.

**4.8.12. Amīl-Marduk** (probably a miller) — Mentioned in MRWH 18 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 20 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 21 lo. e. 8 (*aklu*, flour, barley), MUN 164 (*aklu*, flour), 170 rev. 13 (*aklu*, flour,

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<sup>(343)</sup> MUN 259 is partly broken. It may deal with flour and barley because Tarību is usually mentioned with them, but this is not certain.

<sup>(344)</sup> CBS 8573 is dated in 7<sup>th</sup> year of an unknown king. If it is KaE, the active period is about 6 years. If it is KuE, the active period is about 7 years.

<sup>(345)</sup> The reading of the name is uncertain: 1' 𒀭*ak*<sup>1</sup>-*lu*<sub>4</sub> šu 𒀭*è-an-zalág*-<sup>d</sup><sub>1</sub> [iškur]

barley), 176 (*aklu*, flour, barley), and 186 (*aklu*, flour, barley). The earliest attestation is in MRWH 18 (1258, KaE 15/16/17-XI-year 6, days 2–15/16/17). The last attestation is in MUN 186 (1251, KuE 13-II-year 4, 20-XII to 13-II). The period is about 8 years. In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts he is mentioned with flour and barley in almost every case, and therefore may be a miller. He is stated three times with the term *lā ašābu*.<sup>(346)</sup> As stated above in example 4 of the year section (4.3.1.), he is attested at the same date or almost the same date as the artisans Nāḥirānu (B) and Bābilāyu (B).

**4.8.13. Zēr-kīni-līšir** (probably a miller) — Mentioned in MRWH 19 (1253, KuE 12-II-year 2, 28-I to 12-II, *aklu*, flour, barley). He is once attested with flour and barley. He may be a miller, but the evidence is slight. As stated above in example 7 in the year section (4.3.1.), he is attested at the same date as other artisans, namely Bēlšunu (B), Nāḥirānu (B), and Bābilāyu (B).

**4.8.14. Iqīša-Adad** (probably an oil-presser) — Mentioned in the following documents: MRWH 34 (1258, KaE 15-X-year 6, oil), MUN 278 rev. 10 (1263, KaE 23-V-year 1, 12-IV to 23-V, *aklu*, oil), and 279 lo. e. 7 (1257, KaE 3-I-year 7, *ak[-lu/lu<sub>4</sub>]*, oil). In the texts pertaining to Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, Iqīša-Adad is mentioned with oil, so possibly he is an oil-presser.

**4.8.15. Sīn-aḥa-iddina** (probably a shepherd) — Mentioned in MUN 325 (1258, KaE 29-XI-year 6, *aklu*, sheep) and N 2645?<sup>(347)</sup> (skin, butter). Details about him are unknown, but probably he is a shepherd.<sup>(348)</sup>

**4.8.16. Erība-Šamaš** (a well-attested recipient) — Mentioned in the following documents: MRWH 28 obv. 4 (*aklu*, flour, barley, Tarību), MUN 173 obv. 5 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 207 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 208 (*aklu*, beer, Nāḥirānu), 214 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 217 (*aklu*, beer, Bēlšunu), 234 (𐎠𐎢𐎠-[*lu<sub>4</sub>*], beer, Nāḥirānu), 241 obv. 2, 6, rev. 12 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 245 (*aklu*, beer, Bēlšunu), 267 (*aklu*, beer, Nāḥirānu), CBS 7714 obv. 5 (*aklu*, flour, barley), CBS 7721 obv. 4 (flour, barley), CBS 13375 (beer), and UM 29-16-158 A 3', 19' (partly broken). The earliest attestations are in MUN 207 (1254, KuE I-year 1) and MUN 208 (1254, KuE I-year 1?). The latest attestation is in CBS 7714 (1252, KuE XII-year 3). The period is about 3 years. Erība-Šamaš received not only flour and barley but also beer. The term *lā ašābu* can be found in almost every case.<sup>(349)</sup>

<sup>(346)</sup> MRWH 21 obv. 7, MUN 170 rev. 12, MUN 176 obv. 7.

<sup>(347)</sup> The reading of the name is uncertain: obv. 8' <sup>ld</sup>XXX-[*aḥa-iddina*]

<sup>(348)</sup> In BE 14 no. 99 (1271, KT year 11) rev. 48, a certain Sīn-aḥa-iddina with livestock.

<sup>(349)</sup> MRWH 28 rev. 38, MUN 173 rev. 22' (*[a<sup>2</sup> a-š]a-bu*), MUN 207 obv. 3, MUN 208 obv. 3,

**4.8.17. *mārat bīti***<sup>(350)</sup> (a well-attested recipient) — Attested in MRWH 28 obv. 5 (*aklu*, flour, barley, Tarību), MUN 173 obv. 6 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 206 (partly broken, Bēlšunu), 207 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 208 (*aklu*, beer, Nāḫirānu), 214 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 215 (*aklu*, «beer», Bēlšunu), 216 (*aklu*, beer, Nāḫirānu), 217 (*aklu*, beer, Bēlšunu), 234 (ṛakṛ-[lu<sub>4</sub>], beer, Nāḫirānu), 241 obv. 3, 7, rev. 13 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 242 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 245 obv. 3, rev. 7 (*aklu*, beer, Bēlšunu), 266 obv. 6 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 267 obv. 4 (*aklu*, beer, Nāḫirānu), 268 obv. 5' (*aklu*), CBS 7698 obv. 7 (ṛakluṛ, flour, barley), CBS 7714 obv. 6 (*aklu*, flour, barley), CBS 7721 obv. 5 (flour, barley), CBS 7868 obv. 5 (partly broken), CBS 13375 (beer), and UM 29-16-158 A 4', 20' (partly broken). The earliest attestations are in MUN 206 (1254, KuE I-year 1), MUN 207 (1254, KuE I-year 1), and MUN 208 (1254, KuE I-year 1?). The latest is in CBS 7714 (1252, KuE XII-year 3). The period is about 3 years. *Mārat bīti* received not only flour and barley but also beer. The term *lā ašābu* is found in almost every case<sup>(351)</sup> In the texts pertaining to Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē, only CBS 7698 has a trace of an envelope on its obverse, and therefore CBS 7698 may have been written in a location other than Nippur.

**4.8.18. *mār/mārat malāḫi*** (well-attested recipients) — These recipients are attested in MUN 215 (dumu *ma-la-ḫi*, *aklu*, «beer», Bēlšunu), MUN 216 (dumu-munus *ma-la-ḫi*, *aklu*, beer, Nāḫirānu), MUN 242 (dumu-munus *ma[-la-ḫi]*, *aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), MUN 266 obv. 5 (dumu-munus *m[a-la-ḫi?]*, *aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), and MUN 268 (dumu-munus *ma-la-ḫi*, *aklu*). The earliest attestations are in MUN 266 (1254, KuE V-year 1) and MUN 268 (1254, KuE V-year 1). The latest is in MUN 242 (1252, KuE VII-year 3). The period is about 3 years. They received beer. The term *lā ašābu* can be found in almost every case.<sup>(352)</sup>

#### 4.9. Summary of the Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē texts

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MUN 214 obv. 5, MUN 217 obv. 4, MUN 234 obv. 8, MUN 241 rev. 15, MUN 245 rev. 9, MUN 267 rev. 9, and CBS 7714 rev. 38.

The exceptions are CBS 7721, 13375, and UM 29-16-158.

<sup>(350)</sup> For *mārat bīti*, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 126 (I.2.26.5: *mār bīti*, *mārat bīti*).

<sup>(351)</sup> MRWH 28 rev. 38, MUN 173 rev. 22' (*l[a<sup>2</sup> a-š]a-bu*), MUN 206 obv. 3' (*l[a<sup>2</sup>] ṛa<sup>1</sup>-ša-bu*), MUN 207 obv. 3, MUN 208 obv. 3, MUN 214 obv. 5, MUN 215 obv. 5, MUN 216 obv. 5, MUN 217 obv. 4, MUN 234 obv. 8, MUN 241 rev. 15, MUN 242 rev. 8', MUN 245 rev. 9, MUN 267 rev. 9, MUN 268 rev. 7', and CBS 7714 rev. 38.

The exceptions are MUN 266, CBS 7698, 7721, 7868, 13375, and UM 29-16-158.

<sup>(352)</sup> MUN 215 obv. 5, MUN 216 obv. 5, MUN 242 rev. 8', and MUN 268 rev. 7'. Not in MUN 266.

Almost all of the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts are *aklu* documents. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed with the Matthews no. **189** seal. Interestingly, Iqīša-Ninimma also sealed with this seal (Matthews no. **189**). They are contemporaries. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē's active period is from the beginning of Kadašman-Enlil II to the middle of Kudurru-Enlil. In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts, several commodities (beer, flour, barley, oil, sheep and garments) are dealt with. These commodities may be prepared by several artisans (brewers, millers, probably an oil-presser) and probably a shepherd. They are issued for various persons (king, prince, messenger, etc.) and purposes (offering, fodder for animals, provisions, etc.). The records of these issues are sealed mainly by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and a few times by Iqīša-Ninimma.



## 5. Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>

### Data

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place Names	Notes
BE 14 no. 27	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>188</b>	1315, KG year 18	VIII-5	---	---	flour, barley	---	
BE 15 no. 70	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>188</b>	year 17	XII-13	---	---	barley, flour, sheep, lentils, cress	---	envelope

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
BE 14 no. 48a	---	<sup>na</sup> kišib <sup>Id</sup> en-líl-AL- SA <sub>6</sub>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1302, NM year 6	V days 1–2	Illīya	---	barley	Tukultī-Ekur	šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>meš</sup> zi-ga
CBS 7788	---	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	NM year x	III days 18–21	Several persons	<i>šarru</i>	barley	---	šuk anše-kur- ra zi-ga
CBS 9517	⌈ <i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i> ⌋	---	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1292, NM year 16	XI days 25–30	---	---	flour	---	Cast of Ni 844

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
CBS 10250	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> en-líl-AL- SA <sub>6</sub>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	year 6(+)	days 8–25	Enlil-DA-K[A <sup>?</sup> ]	---	flour	---	
UM 29-15-685	---	[ <sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> ] <sup>ld</sup> en-líl-AL- SA <sub>6</sub>	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	1300 NM year 8	I days 1–3	Enlil-aḫulap	<i>asû</i>	barley	Šītulu Nippur	šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>meš</sup> zi-ga
N 2432	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> en-líl- <sup>r</sup> AL <sup>r</sup> - [SA <sub>6</sub> ]	Matthews no. <b>148</b>	year 5	XI	Erība- <sup>d</sup> [ ]	---	barley ?	Kubarin- [Ea] <sup>(353)</sup>	

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Com- modities	Place Names	Notes
CBS 3136	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> <kišib <sup>?</sup> > <sup>ld</sup> XXX- šeš-sum-na	Matthews no. <b>26</b>	---	VI-23	---	---	barley	---	

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<sup>(353)</sup> The reading of this name is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt. See CUSAS 30 no. 55 obv. 2 and no. 428 obv. 1–2.

## Discussion

Here I discuss the documents of Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>. We have three types of seal impression associated with the *aklu* of Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>.<sup>(354)</sup> They are Matthews no. **188** (BE 14 no. 27, BE 15 no. 70), Matthews no. **148**<sup>(355)</sup> and Matthews no. **26** (CBS 3136).

### 5.1. Matthews no. 188

I will discuss the documents related to each type separately, beginning with the documents having Matthews no. **188**. I reproduce the transliterations below to facilitate discussion.

#### BE 14 no. 27

Obv.

- 1 0,3. zì-da <sup>giš</sup>bán 6 sìla
- 2 3,2 PI ŠE-MAŠ/BAR ki-min
- 3 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub>
- 4 <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>

Rev.

- 5 <sup>iti</sup>apin-du<sub>8</sub>-a
- 6 u<sub>4</sub>-5-kam
- 7 mu-18-kam
- 8 *ku-ri-gal-zu*

#### BE 15 no. 70

Envelope

Obv.

- 1 2,0.2. še <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 sìla
- 2 0,2.4. zì-da
- 3 1 udu-níta niga
- 4 1 sìla gú-tur
- 5 1/2 sìla zà-ḫi-li

Rev.

- 6 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>Id</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>
- 7 <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>
- 8 u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam
- 9 mu-17-kam

#### Tablet

Obv.

- 1 r2,0.2. še<sup>r</sup> <sup>giš</sup>bán 6<sup>l</sup> sìla
- 2 0,2.4. zì-da 1 udu-níta niga
- 3 1 sìla gú-tur 1/2 sìla zà-ḫi-li

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<sup>(354)</sup> Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> is mentioned in the legend of Matthews no. **189**. But this seal is used mainly by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and three times by Iqīša-Ninimma from the beginning of Kadašman-Enlil II until the middle of Kudur-Enlil. I will not discuss Matthews no. **189** here in detail.

<sup>(355)</sup> BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 7788, 9517, 10250, UM 29-15-685, N 2432.

MUN 123 may belong with the documents sealed with Matthews no. **148** (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), although there is no seal reference. MUN 123 deals with fodder for horses (šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup>). Documents sealed with Matthews no. **148** (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), namely BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 7788, and UM 29-15-685, also deal with fodder for horses. But this cannot be confirmed due to the lack of a seal reference.

4 ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>l</sup>d-en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>

Rev.

5 <sup>i</sup>tiše-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-12<sup>l</sup>-kam<sup>(356)</sup>

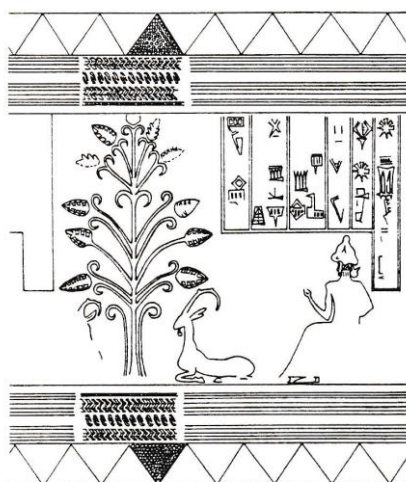
6 mu-17-kam

### 5.1.2. *Aklu* documents

The term *aklu* is found in BE 14 no. 27 and BE 15 no. 70.

### 5.1.2. The seal (Matthews no. 188)

In the documents sealed with Matthews no. **188**, no seal reference is attested. Matthews no. **188** is a Second Kassite derivative.<sup>(357)</sup> Both documents (BE 14 no. 27, BE 15 no. 70) have clear seal impressions.<sup>(358)</sup>



188. Seal of Shamash(?)-[ ]

Inscription:

“<sup>d</sup>šamaš(? ALAM?)-x x x (x)

gudu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>nuska

x x x

[<sup>d</sup>un].gal.nibru<sup>ki</sup>

ir <sup>d</sup>ku-ri-gal-zu

lugal kiši

Shamash(?)-... (owner of seal) Gudu-priest of Nuska, (priest/official) Of Sharrat-Nippuri, Servant of Kurigalzu, King of the world.”<sup>(359)</sup>

### 5.1.3. Year, month, day of Matthews no. 188

<sup>(356)</sup> –kam can be read in the CDLI photo.

<sup>(357)</sup> For Second Kassite derivatives, see Matthews 1992, 49. References to Matthews no. **188** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 43, 48, 50, 51. See also Deheselle 1995 and G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996), pp. 123–24 (Erste Gruppe) and 211 (no. 254). References to Stiehler no. 254 in Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996 are on the following pages: 39, 41, 51, 66 n. 27, 87 n. 2, 96, 123, 167 (nn. 20, 27), and 211.

For Matthews no. **188**, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 66 n. 1053 (*pašišu*).

<sup>(358)</sup> The seal impression of BE 15 no. 70 is on the envelope. We can find no seal impression on the tablet. See BE 14 PL. XV no. 11.

<sup>(359)</sup> Matthews 1992, 188. He places the translation in juxtaposition with the transliteration. Therefore here the capital letter is used for Of. Cf. Sassmannshausen 2001, 66 (<sup>d</sup>[En<sup>l</sup>-líl-ral-sa<sub>6</sub> <sup>g</sup>úda <sup>d</sup>riNin<sup>l</sup>-líl]) and n. 1053 ([<sup>g</sup>ú-e]n-na Nibru<sup>ki</sup>).

BE 14 no. 27 is dated in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Kurigalzu II, and BE 15 no. 70 is dated in the 17<sup>th</sup> year of an unknown king. The list of dates is as follows:

BE 14 no. 27      1315   KG   5   -   VIII   -   year 18

BE 15 no. 70                              13   -   XII   -   year 17

#### 5.1.4. Commodities

In both documents with Matthews no. **188**, flour and barley are mentioned. In BE 15 no. 70, in addition to barley and flour, sheep, lentils, and cress are referred to in the *aklu* expenditure.

#### 5.1.5. Notes

The seal impression of BE 14 no. 27 can be found on the tablet, but that of BE 15 no. 70 is on the envelope. We need more information to explain why BE 15 no. 70 was enveloped. There are no seal references for Matthews no. **188**, so we don't know who sealed these documents.

#### 5.2. Matthews no. 148

Next, I will discuss the documents related to Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> which are sealed with Matthews no. **148**. As stated above, Matthews no. **148** is used several times by Rīmūtu and once by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.

##### 5.2.1. *Aklu* documents

The term *aklu* is mentioned in CBS 9517 (𒀭ak-lu<sub>4</sub>), 10250, and N 2432. In the following documents, the term *aklu* is not mentioned or has been erased or broken off: BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 7788, and UM 29-15-685.

##### 5.2.2. The seal (Matthews no. 148)

The following documents have Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>'s seal reference: BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 10250, UM 29-15-685 (rev. 29: [na<sup>4</sup>kišib l]<sup>d</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), and N 2432 (obv. 6: na<sup>4</sup>kišib l<sup>d</sup>en-líl-𒀭AL-[SA<sub>6</sub>]). Matthews no. **148**<sup>(360)</sup> is the Second Kassite style.<sup>(361)</sup> As mentioned above,<sup>(362)</sup> it seems that the seal was used for official business. The seal impression can be found on the following documents: BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 7788, 9517, 10250, and UM 29-15-685, N 2432.

##### 5.2.3. Year, month, day for Matthews no. 148 (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>)

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<sup>(360)</sup> References to Matthews no. **148** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 43, 45, 48, 49, 58, 59, and 115. See also Deheselle 1995.

<sup>(361)</sup> For the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff., and Matthews 1992, 33ff.

<sup>(362)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. **148**).

The earliest document is BE 14 no. 48a (1302, NM 2-V-year 6), and the latest is CBS 9517 (1292, NM 30-XI-year 16, days 25–30). The period is almost 11 years. The list of dates is as follows:

BE 14 no. 48a	1302	NM	2	-	V	-	year 6	days 1–2
UM 29-15-685	1300	NM	3	-	I	-	year 8	days 1–3
CBS 9517	1292	NM	30	-	XI	-	year 16	days 25–30
CBS 7788			21	-	III	-	year x	days 18–21
N 2432					XI	-	year 5	
CBS 10250				-			year 6(+)	days 8–25

#### 5.2.4. Occupations/Positions

In CBS 7788, the Aḫlamû people of the king and the young female servant of the king are found.<sup>(363)</sup>

In UM 29-15-685, a doctor can be found (obv. 14, 17: a-zu).

#### 5.2.5. Commodities

In the documents sealed with Matthews no. **148** (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), barley and flour are dealt with.

še: BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 7788 rev. 23

zì-da: CBS 9517, 10250, UM 29-15-685 (ŠE<sup>2</sup>-MAŠ/BAR)

In N 2432, cereals are measured by a solid capacity measure (rev. 1': pap 13,1.0. <sup>gš</sup>bán 5 sìla).

In the documents of Matthews no. **148** (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), we can find several purposes for the expenditure.

Fodder for horses

(šuk anše-kur-ra) BE 14 no. 48a (barley: obv. 2 šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup> ṛùṛ zi-ga), CBS 7788 (barley: obv. 1 [an]še-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup>; rev. 20 šuk 6 1/2 níg-lal anš[e-k]ur-ra; rev. 23-24 šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>1</sup> ṛùṛ zi-ga), UM 29-15-685 (barley: obv. 1 šuk anše-kur-ra; obv. 6 šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup>; rev. 18 šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup>; rev. 21–22 šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup> ù zi-ga)

Expenditure (zi-ga) BE 14 no. 48a (barley: obv. 2 šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup> ṛùṛ zi-ga), CBS 7788 (barley: rev. 23-24 šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>1</sup> ṛùṛ zi-ga), UM 29-15-685 (barley: rev. 21–22 šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup> ù zi-ga)

Travel provisions

(ninda-kaskal) CBS 7788 (barley: obv. 13 ninda-kaskal aḫ-la-mi-i ša lugal [x-ú; obv. 14 ninda-kaskal šú-ḫur-ti lugal u<sub>4</sub>-20-kam; rev. 22 kaskal), UM 29-15-685 (barley: obv. 15 ninda-kaskal)

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<sup>(363)</sup> Obv. 13: ninda-kaskal aḫ-la-mi-i ša lugal; obv. 14: ninda-kaskal šú-ḫur-ti lugal. For the reading šú-ḫur-ti, courtesy of W. H. van Soldt. Did this young female servant travel with the king? Regarding the royal trip, see 19.6.1.

### 5.2.6. Place names

In the documents sealed with Matthews no. **148** (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), several place names are attested. In BE 14 no. 48a, Tukultī-Ekur (rev. 8: [u]ru *tukul-ti-é-kur*) is attested. It is known as a settlement in the area of Nippur, and is often mentioned with Kār-Nuska and Dīmtu.<sup>(364)</sup> In UM 29-15-685, fodder for horses, to be sent to Šītulu, is attested (obv. 6–7: *šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup> ša a-na ši-tu-la<sup>ki</sup>*). Also in UM 29-15-685, around the end of the document, Nippur is mentioned (rev. 28: *nibru<sup>ki</sup>*). In N 2432, Kubarin-[Ea] is mentioned (rev. 3': *uru<sup>ru</sup>ku-ba-ri-in-<sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>[é-a]*).<sup>(365)</sup>

### 5.3. Matthews no. 26

Lastly, I will discuss CBS 3136 (Matthews no. **26**). I reproduce its transliteration here.

#### CBS 3136

Obv.

- 1 *še<sup>giš</sup>bán gal ak-lu<sub>4</sub>*
- 2 0,2.3.5 sila u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam
- 3 0,2.2.5 sila u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam
- 4 0,0.2. u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam
- 5 pap 1,0.1. *ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>*

Lo. E.

- 6 *maḥ-ru*
- 7 *na<sup>4</sup><kišib?> <sup>ld</sup>XXX-šeš-sum-na*

Rev.

- 8 *<<u<sub>4</sub>>> u<sub>4</sub>-23-kam*
- 9 *iti<sup>l</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>innin*

#### 5.3.1. *Aklu* documents

The term *aklu* is mentioned as an expenditure of/for Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>.

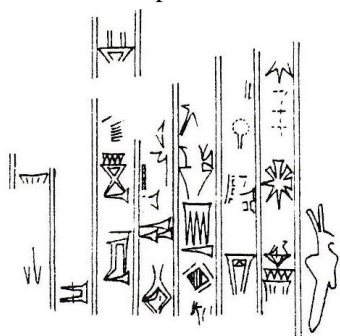
#### 5.3.2. Šîn-aḥa-iddina's seal

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<sup>(364)</sup> See Clay 1905, pl. XXXVI; van Soldt 1988, 104; and van Soldt 2015, 116 (no. 66), 302 (no. 229).

<sup>(365)</sup> See CUSAS 30 no. 55 obv. 2 and no. 428 obv. 1-2. Courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

CBS 3136 has *Sîn-aḫa-iddina*'s seal reference. Matthews no. **26**<sup>(366)</sup> is Central First Kassite style.<sup>(367)</sup> A clear seal impression can be seen. Details about *Sîn-aḫa-iddina* are unknown.



**26.**

“Inscription in probably seven or more vertical lines. Locust. A faint trace unattachable to the rest could be part of a seated man, another trace might show feet. Very faint, patchy, and badly overrolled.”<sup>(368)</sup>

### 5.3.3. Year, month, day of Matthews no. 26

CBS 3136 is dated to the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the sixth month (VI) of an unknown king.

### 5.3.4. Commodities

CBS 3136 deals with barley as an *aklu* expenditure.

### 5.4. Prosopography

Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> (Governor of Nippur.)

Enlil-aḫulap (Possibly responsible for the fodder of horses.)

**5.4.1. Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>** — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 27 (*aklu*, flour, barley, Matthews no. **188**), BE 15 no. 70 (*aklu*, barley, flour, sheep, lentil, cress, Matthews no. **188**), BE 14 no. 48a (šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup>, zi-ga, barley, Matthews no. **148**), CBS 7788 (šuk anše-kur-ra, zi-ga, barley, Matthews no. **148**), 9517 (𒀭*aklu*𒀭, flour, Matthews no. **148**), 10250 (*aklu*, flour, Matthews no. **148**), UM 29-15-685 (šuk anše-kur-ra<sup>meš</sup>, zi-ga, barley, Matthews no. **148**), N 2432 (*aklu*, cereals, Matthews no. **148**), and CBS 3136 (*aklu*, barley, Matthews no. **26**). The earliest attestation is in BE 14 no. 27 (1315, KG 5-VIII-year 18). The latest is in CBS 9517 (1292, NM 30-XI-year 16, days 25–30). The period is about 24 years. We learn from the legend of Matthews no. **188** that Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> was the priest (*pašišu*) of Ninlil,

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<sup>(366)</sup> Reference to Matthews no. **26** in Matthews 1992 can be found on p. 11. See also Deheselle 1995.

<sup>(367)</sup> For the First Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 55ff., and Matthews 1992, 10ff.

<sup>(368)</sup> Matthews 1992, 76.



the governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur, and a servant of Kurigalzu, the king of the world.<sup>(369)</sup> We also learn from the legend of Matthews no. **189** that Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> was the priest (*nēšakku*) of Enlil, the priest (*pašišu*) of Ninlil, the governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur, and a son of Enlil-kidinnī.<sup>(370)</sup> We can find a reference to Nippur in UM 29-15-685 rev. 28, and a reference to Tukultī-Ekur in BE 14 no. 48a rev. 8, and therefore Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> worked in Nippur and the settlements around Nippur. Also, BE 15 no. 70 is enveloped, and therefore, Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> was involved with a location other than Nippur.

In the Nippur documents other than the group of Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> texts, we can find several references to Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>. They are arranged below basically in chronological order with brief comments. However, it is not certain that all of the references are to the Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> who was governor of Nippur.

MUN 368	1321 KG	1? - XII?	-	year 12	Garments are given for Ekur according to the order of Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> .
MUN 391	1320 KG	XII	-	year 13	6 white chairs are given according to the order of Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> .
BE 14 no. 35	1312 KG	16 - X	-	year 21	Barley is given for fodder of horses of Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> from Innannu in Karê aš-tab-ba-ḫe-tuk. The barley is to be paid in Pī-nāri.
MUN 121	1306 NM		-	year 2	Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is a recipient of barley in Āl-Aḫē.
MUN 80	1304 NM	2 - V	-	year 4	Sîn-uballiṭ received barley for a work assignment ( <i>iškaru</i> ) of/for Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> .
BE 14 no. 47	1304 NM	26 - X	-	year 4	Several kinds of flour is given for the banquet of Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> .
MUN 434	1300 NM	6 - IX	-	year 8	Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> gú-en-na is mentioned. MUN 434 is sealed with Matthews no. <b>19</b> .
MUN 402	1298 NM	1 - IV	-	year 10	Straw is given to Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> . MUN 402 is sealed with Matthews no. <b>43</b> .
PBS 2/2 no. 25	1298 NM	9 - VI[a?]	-	year 10	Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is involved in the purchase of a person. PBS 2/2 no. 25 is sealed with Matthews no. <b>177</b> .

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<sup>(369)</sup> For the legend of Matthews no. **188**, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 66 n. 1053 (*pašišu*).

<sup>(370)</sup> For the legend of Matthews no. **189**, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (on Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 17 n. 215 (on Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 18 n. 230 (on Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 66 n. 1052 (*pašišu*); Brinkman 2004, 287 n. 25 (*nēšakku*); CAD P, p. 255 (*pašišu*).

PBS 8/2 no. 161	1298 NM	25 - XII	-	year 10	Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> took a man from Upī and detained him.
MRWH 31	1292 NM	[ ]	-	year 16	Barley issue for fodder of horses of Illīya from year 15 to [ ]-year 16
BE 14 no. 112	1268 KT		-	year 14	Nuska-nādin/zākir-šumi, son of Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> , received barley.
BE 15 no. 4		15 - IV	-	year 1	Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is a recipient of barley, beer, sheep and lambs.
BE 15 no. 36		V	-	year 13	Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is a recipient of barley, wheat, and emmer in <i>karê</i> aš-tab-ba-ḥé-tuk.
BE 15 no. 44		15 - I	-	year 15	Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is a recipient of flour and barley.
BE 15 no. 158					Barley is given to Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> in a storehouse (obv. 1: gur <sup>7ki</sup> ).
PBS 1/2 no. 23					Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is the sender of a letter concerning tax ( <i>šibšu</i> ).
PBS 2/2 no. 86		V			Flour is issued for the arranged offering table of Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> (obv. 3: <sup>giš</sup> banšur <i>ri-ik-su</i> <sup>Id</sup> en-líl-AL-ŠA <sub>6</sub> ) and for the offering of Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> (obv. 4: <i>ki-is-pu</i> eras. ki-min; obv. 7: <i>ki-is-pu</i> <sup>Id</sup> en-líl-A[L-S]A <sub>6</sub> ).
PBS 2/2 no. 89		IX			Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> released 4 persons [from] the house of Šarru-Adad.
PBS 2/2 no. 132					[ <sup>Id</sup> en-líl-]AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is mentioned at the end of the register of personnel of the temple Ninlil. <sup>(371)</sup>
PBS 2/2 no. 136					Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is a recipient of beer products.
TBER 5 AO 2507					Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is mentioned after Enlil-kidinnī in the list of persons.
CBS 3641					Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> is a recipient of commodities (rev. 43', 45').

**5.4.2. Enlil-aḥulap** — Regarding Enlil-aḥulap, see the previous section **2.8.10**.

### 5.5. Summary of the Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> texts

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<sup>(371)</sup> As stated above, Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> is said to be the priest (*pašišu*) of Ninlil in the legends of Matthews no. **188** and **189**.

On these documents, three seal impressions (Matthews no. **188**, no. **148** and no. **26**) are attested. The documents of Matthews no. **188** are *aklu* documents of Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> (*ak-lu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>). One of them is dated in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Kurigalzu II. They deal with several commodities (flour, barley, sheep, lentils, and cress). One of them is enveloped. No seal references are attested for Matthews no. **188**, so we don't know who sealed the documents.

The documents concerning Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> sealed with Matthews no. **148** deal with not only *aklu* expenditures (flour, grain) but also with fodder for horses (barley) and *šītu* expenditure (barley). They are dated in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš. In BE 14 no. 48a, Tukultī-Ekur is mentioned. Therefore Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>'s area of activity may include the settlements around Nippur. Seal references to Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> are attested in several cases.<sup>(372)</sup>

CBS 3136 is an *aklu* document of Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> (obv. 5: *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>) sealed with Matthews no. **26**. It deals with barley. Its date is the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of VI. A certain Sîn-aḫa-iddina sealed it, but details about him are unknown.

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<sup>(372)</sup> BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 10250, UM 29-15-685 (rev. 29: [<sup>na4</sup>kišib l]<sup>d</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), and N 2432 (obv. 6: <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-AL<sup>7</sup>-[SA<sub>6</sub>]).

## 6. Matthews no. 164

### Data

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place Names	Notes
PBS 2/2 no. 20	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	1304, NM year 4	VII, days 17–21(+)	Ḫanbu	<i>nāru</i> <i>mār šipri</i> <i>šāqû</i> <i>ša rēši</i> <i>rē'û</i> <i>šuḫurtu ša</i> <i>šarri</i> <i>muberrû</i>	barley	Parak-māri Māt-Tāmti	
PBS 2/2 no. 22	---	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	1302, NM year 6	VIII-21	Enlil-amaḫ Enlil-abi-enši	---	flour	Arad-bēlti	
MRWH 14	---	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	(1359–1333 BB)	---	Enlil-kidinnī	<i>mār šipri</i> <i>tamkāru</i> <i>paḫāru</i> <i>šāḫitu</i>	---	Bīt āl Nūr- Marduk	
MRWH 31	---	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	1300, NM year 8	VII	Enlil-aḫulap	<i>asû</i> <i>kutimmu</i> <i>parkullu</i> <i>šāqû</i> <i>paḫāru</i>	barley	Māt-Tāmti Arad-bēlti Dūr-Kurigalzu	

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place Names	Notes
							<i>bārû</i> <i>nuḫatimmu</i>			
MUN 118	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	1305, NM year 3	VII-22	Ḫanbu	<i>ṣāḫitu</i>	cereals	Dūr-Kurigalzu	
MUN 155	---	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	1300, NM year 8	IV days 22–27	Enlil-[ ]	---	flour	---	
CBS 4903	---	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	year 1	XII-3	Several persons	---	cereals	---	
UM 29-15-548	---	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	year 7	VI	Kīnūte	<i>išparu/ušparu</i>	cereals	---	
UM 29-16-156	---	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
N 6310	---	---	Matthews no. <b>164</b>	---	---	---	---	cereals	---	---

## Discussion

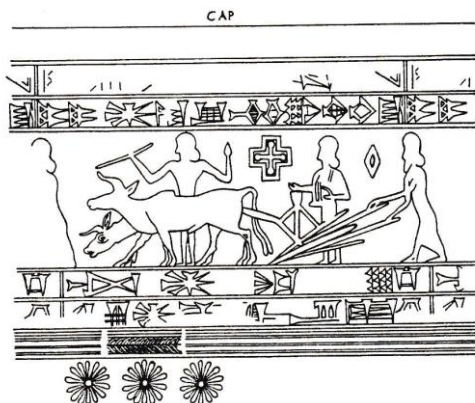
In this chapter I will discuss the documents sealed with Matthews (1992) no. **164**. Matthews mentions 10 documents. Almost all are records of the issue of commodities, but MRWH 14 is a record of the activities of Enlil-kidinnī, a governor (*šandabakku*).<sup>(373)</sup>

### 6.1. *Aklu* documents

The term *aklu* is mentioned in PBS 2/2 no. 20 rev. 41 and MUN 118 rev. 12. In the following documents, the term *aklu* is not mentioned or was erased or broken off: PBS 2/2 no. 22, MRWH 14, 31, MUN 155, CBS 4903, UM 29-15-548, UM 29-16-156, and N 6310.

### 6.2. The seal (Matthews no. 164)

In documents related to Matthews no. **164**, no seal reference is attested. Matthews no. **164**<sup>(374)</sup> is in the Second Kassite style.<sup>(375)</sup>



**164.** PBS XIV 569; TuM NF V seals VII, IX

Inscription:

“.....  
 dumu.dumu <sup>d</sup>nin-urta-na-di-in-aḫ-ḫe-e  
 ir <sup>d</sup>nin-šar  
 ù <sup>d</sup>un.gal.nibru<sup>ki</sup>  
 (So-and-so, son of So-and-so)  
 Grandson of Ninurta-nadin-aḫḫe,  
 Servant of Ninshar  
 And Sharrat-Nippuri<sup>\*(376)</sup>”

<sup>(373)</sup> See Petschow 1974, 45–49; Petschow 1983; Sassmannshausen 2001, 20, 202–208; Tenney 2011, 31–33.

<sup>(374)</sup> References to Matthews no. **164** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 37, 40, 43, 44, 45, 48, 66, 67, and 124. See Clay 1912, 65–66; Deheselle 1995, and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 221 (no. 323), Fototafel 12 (no. 323). References to Stiehler no. 323 in Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996 are on pp. 34 n. 32, 39, 50 n. 59, 51, 55 n. 86, 61 (nn. 4, 7, 8), 143 n. 389, 144, 169 n. 44, 170 n. 49, and 221.

For the legend of Matthews no. **164**, see also MRWH p. 49: [<sup>d</sup>En-lí]l-k[i (?)-di-in-]ni. About <sup>d</sup>nin-šar, see Legrain 1925, 299 no. 569.

<sup>(375)</sup> For the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff., and Matthews 1992, 33ff. See also Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 143–145 (Zweite Gruppe).

<sup>(376)</sup> Matthews 1992, 124. He places the translation in juxtaposition with the transliteration. Therefore here the capital letter is used for And.

As mentioned above,<sup>(377)</sup> the seal seems to have been used for official business. Its seal impression can be found on the following documents: PBS 2/2 no. 20, 22, MRWH 14,<sup>(378)</sup> 31,<sup>(379)</sup> MUN 118, CBS 4903, UM 29-15-548, and N 6310. The seal impressions on MUN 155 and UM 29-16-156 are very faint.

### 6.3. Year, month, day for Matthews no. 164

The earliest document is MRWH 14 (possibly 1359–1333 BB).<sup>(380)</sup> The latest is MRWH 31 (1300, NM VII-year 8). The period is at least 34 years.<sup>(381)</sup> It may be significant that there is an almost 29 year gap between what is possibly the earliest document (MRWH 14) and the second earliest one (MUN 118: 1305, NM 22-VII-year 3). The list of the dates is as follows:

MRWH 14	(1359–1333 BB)						
MUN 118	1305	NM	22	-	VII	-	year 3
PBS 2/2 no. 20	1304	NM	21(+)	-	VII	-	year 4 days 17–21(+)
PBS 2/2 no. 22	1302	NM	21	-	VIII	-	year 6
MUN 155	1300	NM	27	-	IV	-	year 8 days 22–27
MRWH 31	1300	NM			VII	-	year 8
CBS 4903	unknown		3	-	XII	-	year 1
UM 29-15-548	unknown				VI	-	year 7

Matthews no. **164** seems to have been used in the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II and in the beginning of Nazi-Maruttaš.

#### 6.3.1. Months mentioned in the Matthews no. 164 texts

I:	0 times:	
II:	0 times:	
III:	0 times:	
IV:	1 time:	MUN 155
V:	0 times:	
VI:	1 time:	UM 29-15-548

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<sup>(377)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. **148**).

<sup>(378)</sup> Bernhardt 1976, Tafeln CXXXI–CXXXIV (MRWH 14).

<sup>(379)</sup> Bernhardt 1976, Tafeln CXXVII–CXXVIII (MRWH 31).

<sup>(380)</sup> The next earliest and attested date is MUN 118 (1305, NM 22-VII-year 3).

<sup>(381)</sup> There are almost 29 years between the earliest document (MRWH 14; possibly 1359–1333 BB) and the second earliest one (MUN 118: 1305, NM 22-VII-year 3).

VII:	3 times:	PBS 2/2 no. 20, MRWH 31, MUN 118
VIII:	1 time:	PBS 2/2 no. 22
IX:	0 times:	
X:	0 times:	
XI:	0 times:	
XII:	1 time:	CBS 4903

It may be significant that the three documents dated in VII seem parallel to one another.

MUN 118	<i>aklu</i> 1305	NM	22	- VII	- year 3	Ḫanbu	cereals
PBS 2/2 no. 20	<i>aklu</i> 1304	NM	21(+)	- VII	- year 4	days 17–21(+)	Ḫanbu barley
MRWH 31	1300	NM		VII	- year 8	Enlil-aḫulap	barley

### 6.3.2. The days mentioned in the Matthews no. 164 texts

1 day:	PBS 2/2 no. 22 (21-VIII), MUN 118 (22-VII), CBS 4903 (3-XII)
5 days:	PBS 2/2 no. 20 (days 17–21(+): VII)
6 days:	MUN 155 (days 22–27: IV)

### 6.4. Occupations

In Matthews no. 164 texts, various professions/positions are mentioned for the recipients.

Cup-bearer ( <i>šāqû</i> )	PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 25: ŠU-SÌLA-GAB/DU <sub>8</sub> -A), MRWH 31 (rev. 21: <sup>lú</sup> ŠU-SÌLA-GAB/DU <sub>8</sub> )
Musician ( <i>nāru/nāru</i> )	PBS 2/2 no. 20 (obv. 17: nar)
Messenger ( <i>mār šipri</i> )	PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 22, 23, 25, 29, 31, 32: dumu <i>šip-ri</i> )
High official ( <i>ša rēši</i> )	PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 27: <i>ša</i> <sub>11</sub> sag)
Shepherd ( <i>rē'û</i> )	PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 37: sipa)
Young female servant of king ( <i>šuhurtu ša šarri</i> )	PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 38: <i>šú-ḫur-tu<sub>4</sub> ša</i> l[ug]al)
Temple official ( <i>muberrû</i> )	PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 39: <sup>l</sup> mu <sup>l</sup> -bé-er-ru- <sup>l</sup> ú <sup>l</sup> )
Physician ( <i>asû</i> )	MRWH 31 (obv. 5, rev. 28: a-zu)
Smith ( <i>kutimmu</i> )	MRWH 31 (obv. 7: <sup>lú</sup> kù-dím <sup>m</sup> [ <sup>es</sup> ])
Seal-cutter ( <i>parkullu/purkullu</i> )	MRWH 31 (obv. 13: bur-gul)
Potter ( <i>paḫāru</i> )	MRWH 31 (rev. 25: báḫar)
Diviner ( <i>bārû</i> )	MRWH 31 (rev. 27: <sup>lú</sup> ḫal)
Cook ( <i>nuḫatimmu</i> )	MRWH 31 (rev. 33: <sup>lú</sup> muḫaldim)
Oil-presser ( <i>šāḫitu</i> )	MUN 118 (rev. 11: i-s/šur)
Weaver ( <i>išparu/ušparu</i> )	UM 29-15-548 (obv. 2: uš-bar)



## 6.5. Commodities

Barley and flour are issued in these documents.

še:	PBS 2/2 no. 20, MRWH 31
ḫirgalû:	PBS 2/2 no. 22
zì-da:	MUN 155

In MUN 118, CBS 4903, UM 29-15-548 and N 6310, the commodities are measured by a solid capacity measure, and therefore they may be a kind of cereals.

## 6.6. Place names

In texts in Matthews no. 164 group, not only a settlement north of Nippur (Dūr-Kurigalzu), but also settlements to the south of Nippur (Parak-māri and Māt-Tāmti) are mentioned.<sup>(382)</sup> In addition to these, Arad-bēlti is attested. Its location remains uncertain. In PBS 2/2 no. 20, we learn that fodder is issued for horses which returned from Parak-māri and are to be sent to Māt-Tāmti<sup>(383)</sup> and that a kind of horse (*uššutu*) returned from Parak-māri.<sup>(384)</sup> In PBS 2/2 no. 22, a kind of flour is delivered for Arad-bēlti.<sup>(385)</sup> In MRWH 31, fodder is issued for the horses which are to be sent to Māt-Tāmti.<sup>(386)</sup> A sick potter of Arad-bēlti is mentioned.<sup>(387)</sup> Provisions for Dūr-Kurigalzu are issued.<sup>(388)</sup> In MUN 118, a person who came from Dūr-Kurigalzu received rations.<sup>(389)</sup>

## 6.7. Prosopography

Here I discuss the following persons.

Enlil-kidinnī	(Governor of Nippur.)
Ḫanbu	(Probably responsible for fodder of horses.)
Enlil-aḫulap	(Probably responsible for fodder of horses.)

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<sup>(382)</sup> For these three settlements see Nashef 1982, pages 93–94, 215, and 193 respectively.

<sup>(383)</sup> Obv. 8–9: *ša ta bára-d[umu]<sup>ki</sup> iḫ-ḫi-su-<sup>ṛ</sup>nim<sup>ṛ</sup>-ma a-na pi-iq-di [a]-na a-ab-ba ša-ap-r[ù].*

<sup>(384)</sup> Obv. 11–12: *uš-šu-tú-tu<sub>4</sub> ša ta bá[ra-dumu]<sup>ki</sup> iḫ-ḫi-su-ni.*

<sup>(385)</sup> Obv. 1–7: 20 gur *ḫír-gal-ú<sup>ḡi</sup>bán 5 síla a-na uru<sup>1</sup>arad-gašan... iš-ši.*

<sup>(386)</sup> Obv. 2–3: *ki-min ṛša<sup>ṛ</sup> a-na a-ab-ba a-na pi-iq-di ú-šú-ú.*

<sup>(387)</sup> Rev. 25–26: *báḫar gig(?) ša<sup>unu</sup>arad-gašan<sup>ki</sup>.*

<sup>(388)</sup> Rev. 29–30: *ninda-kaskal ... ša a-na bàd-ku-ri-gal-zu.*

<sup>(389)</sup> Obv. 7: 0,3.4. *šuk dumu-munus<sup>1</sup>i-din-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu ša ta bàd-ku-ri-gal-zu<sup>ki</sup> ik-šu-da.*

**6.7.1. Enlil-kidinnī** — In MRWH 14, his activities<sup>(390)</sup> are recorded and sealed with Matthews no. 164. H. Petschow pointed out the curious fact that no seal impression can be found on the documents,<sup>(391)</sup> which are summarized in MRWH 14.<sup>(392)</sup> The earliest attestation is in BE 14 no. 2 (1354, BB 8-IX-year 6), and the latest is in MRWH 13 (1336, BB 10-V-year 24). The period is about 19 years. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē is attested as father of Enlil-kidinnī.<sup>(393)</sup> Enlil-kidinnī is known to be the father of Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> (according to the legend of the Matthews no. 189 seal), and also as the father of Ninurta-zākir-šumi.<sup>(394)</sup> Therefore Enlil-kidinnī can be the grandfather of Amīl-Marduk (MUN 283 obv. 2),<sup>(395)</sup> and also a grandfather of Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni.<sup>(396)</sup> Enlil-kidinnī is attested as the governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur<sup>(397)</sup> and priest (*nēšakku*) of Enlil (PBS 13 no. 64 obv. 11'). References to Enlil-kidinnī are arranged below in basically chronological order with brief comments.

BE 14 no. 2	1354	BB 8 - IX	- year 6	5 servants of Enlil-kidinnī are detained in his house. Then they are released. Seal references to Ninurta-bāni, Bā'il-Nabû, Izkur-Dilbat (witness), and Bēl-usāti (witness), but no seal impression.
BE 14 no. 1	1352	BB 25 - X	- year 8(+)	Purchase of servants of Enlil-kidinnī, son of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. Seal reference to Adaggal-pāni-ili, merchant, but no seal impression.
MRWH 1	1343	BB 16 - XI	- year 17	Purchase of servants of Enlil-kidinnī, son of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. Seal references to Rā'im, a merchant. Seal reference to the witness, but no seal impression.
BE 14 no. 7	1342	BB 10 - VIII	- year 18(+)	Purchase of servants of Enlil-kidinnī, son of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. Seal reference to Ninurta-

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<sup>(390)</sup> BE 14 nos. 1, 2, 8, MRWH 1, 2, 10, 13, PBS 8/2 no. 162, PBS 13 no. 64.

<sup>(391)</sup> I.e., BE 14 nos. 1, 2, 8, MRWH 1, 2, 10, 13, PBS 8/2 no. 162, and PBS 13 no. 64.

<sup>(392)</sup> See Petschow 1983, 151.

<sup>(393)</sup> BE 14 no. 1 obv. 7, BE 14 no. 7 obv. 14, PBS 13 no. 64 obv. 12', MRWH 1 obv. 6, and MRWH 2 obv. 7.

<sup>(394)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 1 obv. 5, and CUSAS 30 no. 3 obv. 3.

<sup>(395)</sup> See Brinkman 2004, 292 (note: p. 17 and n. 209) and Petschow 1983, 151.

<sup>(396)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 81 obv. 1, and CUSAS 30 no. 362 obv. 8. See CUSAS 30, p. 24 (2. I.).

<sup>(397)</sup> PBS 8/2 no. 162 rev. 18 and PBS 13 no. 64 obv. 11'.

				nāšir (seller), Rabâ-ša-Ninurta (witness), Ilī-bāni (witness), but no seal impression.	
MRWH 2	1342	BB	15 <sup>7</sup> -IX	year 18	Purchase of servants of Enlil-kidinnī, son of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. Seal references to Muštešim-Adad and of witnesses, but no seal impression.
BE 14 no. 8	1339	BB	25 <sup>7</sup> -VIII	year 21	A person is identified and given to Enlil-kidinnī. Seal reference to Arkā-ša-ili but no seal impression.
MRWH 10	1336	BB	25 - III	year 24	A servant of Enlil-kidinnī fled. Then he is captured and detained. [Seal referen]ce to Šamaš-qarrād but no seal impression.
PBS 8/2 no. 162	1336	BB	29 - IV	year 24	Purchase of servants of Enlil-kidinnī, governor of Nippur ( <i>šandabakku</i> ). Seal reference to Gimillu, priest ( <i>pašīšu</i> ) of Ninlil, son of Ubāya, but no seal impression.
MRWH 13	1336	BB	10 - V	year 24	The judgment of Enlil-kidinnī. Seal reference to Enlil-kidinnī and Ilī-iddina, but no seal impression.
PBS 13 no. 64 + MUN 9		BB	29	- [ ]-[ ]	Purchase of servants of [Enlil]-kidinnī, priest ( <i>nēšakku</i> ) of Enlil, governor of Nippur ( <i>šandabakku</i> ), and son of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. Seal reference to Rabūt-ilāni (seller), son of Ašarēd-Enlil, but no seal impression.
CUSAS 30 no. 1	1284	NM	15 - IX	year 24	Ninurta-zākir-šumi, son of Enlil-kidinnī, is mentioned in a loan document.
CUSAS 30 no. 81		KT			Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, (grand)son of Enlil-kidinnī, is referred to in the list of barley issue.
CUSAS 30 no. 3	1252	KuE	VIII	year 3	Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, son of Ninurta-zākir-šumi ( <sup>d</sup> nin-urta-mu-mu), son of Enlil-kidinnī, is mentioned in a loan document.
CUSAS 30 no. 326	1250	KuE	25 - VI	year 5	The remainder of the grain allowance of the house of Enlil-kidinnī is given.
CUSAS 30 no. 105	1245	ŠŠ	(8 - IV?)	year 1	Barley of the house of Enlil-kidinnī is issued for the work assignment for brewers.
CUSAS 30 no. 76	1245	ŠŠ	29 - IX	year 1	The expenditure of barley of the house of Enlil-

					kidinnī.
CUSAS 30 no. 204	1245 ŠŠ	-		year 1	Barley is given from the storehouse of [the house of Enlil-kid]innī.
CUSAS 30 no. 242	1244 ŠŠ	2 - II	-	year 2	Emmer of the house of Enlil-kidinnī is issued.
CUSAS 30 no. 360	1244 ŠŠ	X	-	year 2	[ ]-Šamaš, high official ( <i>ša rēši</i> ) of the house of Enlil-kidinnī, received wool.
CUSAS 30 no. 206	1244 ŠŠ	XI	-	year 2	Barley is issued from the temple of ʾAdad <sup>2</sup> of the house of Enlil-kidinnī.
CUSAS 30 no. 207	1243 ŠŠ	I	-	year 3	Barley of the house of Enlil-kidinnī is given.
CUSAS 30 no. 362	1243 ŠŠ	12?- XI	-	year 3	Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, (grand) son of Enlil-kidinnī received wool. Also the house of Enlil-kidinnī can be found.
MUN 283	1242 ŠŠ	12 - VII-		year 4	Amīl-Marduk, (grand)son of Enlil-kidinnī received oil.
		5-VI to 12-VII			
CUSAS 30 no. 223	ŠŠ	VIII			[ <sup>m</sup> x x] x, son of Enlil-kidinnī, is mentioned in the list of cereals.
MUN 373	1229 Kšt	4? - V	-	year 4	Herdsmen of Enlil-kidinnī are mentioned.
BE 15 no. 154		6 - XII			Fodder for the donkeys of the son of Enlil-kidinnī ( <i>šuk anše<sup>mes</sup> dumu <sup>Id</sup>en-lil-ki-di-ni</i> ) is mentioned between line 33 and 34. <sup>(398)</sup>
		21-XI to 6-XII			
BE 17 no. 55					Enlil-kidinnī and the king are involved in a matter of releasing the servants.
BE 17 no. 77 <sup>(399)</sup>					This letter (from Assyria?) is sent to Enlil-[kidinnī]. Broken context.
BE 17 no. 78					Enlil-kidinnī sent this letter. Broken context.
BE 17 no. 79					Enlil-kidi[nnī] sent this letter. Broken context.
BE 17 no. 88 <sup>(400)</sup>					This letter (from Dilmun?) is sent to Illīya. Broken context.
BE 17 no. 91 <sup>(401)</sup>					This letter (from Assyria?) concerning commodities is sent to Il[līya??]. <sup>(402)</sup>

<sup>(398)</sup> See the CDLI photo ([P259690.jpg](https://cdli.ucla.edu/p259690.jpg))

<sup>(399)</sup> For this letter, see von Soden 1957–1958, 369–70 and Landsberger 1965, 76 (*šandabakku*).

<sup>(400)</sup> See Cornwall, Goetze and Kraus 1952, 137 (n. 7: Enlil-kidinnī/Illīya and Ilī-ippašra).

<sup>(401)</sup> See von Soden 1957–1958, 368–69 and Landsberger 1965, 76 (*šandabakku*).

<sup>(402)</sup> Cf. von Soden 1957–1958, 369 ([<sup>m</sup>T]a-ab[-šār]-i-li); Saporetti 1970, 488 ([<sup>l</sup>f]a-ab-[šar]-i-li);

BE 17 no. 92	This letter concerning barley is sent to Illīya.
PBS 1/2 no. 53	Some persons went away from the house of Enlil-kidinnī.
PBS 1/2 no. 56	10 onagers which are in the vicinity of the house of Enlil-kidinnī are drinking water.
PBS 1/2 no. 57	Persons of the house of Enlil-kidinnī are confined.
PBS 1/2 no. 60	Enlil-kidinnī is mentioned in this letter about dream of precious stones.
PBS 1/2 no. 81	Sons of Enlil-kidinnī are mentioned.
PBS 1/2 no. 82	Enlil-kidinnī sent this letter about a patient to Šumu-libši. <sup>(403)</sup>
TBER 5 AO 2507	Enlil-kidinnī is mentioned between Amīlātu and Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> . In this list, no title is mentioned. But the three individuals are attested as governors ( <i>šandabakku</i> ) <sup>(404)</sup> in other sources.
CUSAS 30 no. 319	Emmer of the storehouse of the house of Enlil-kidinnī is given.
Ni 615 <sup>(405)</sup>	This letter (from Dilmun) about several matters is sent to [II]līya.
Ni 641 <sup>(406)</sup>	This letter (from Dilmun) about Aḥlamû is sent to III[īya].
Ni 669 <sup>(407)</sup>	This letter (from Assyria?) about tin is sent to [El]līya/[II]līya.
Ni 1333 <sup>(408)</sup>	Enlil-kidinnī detained one person.

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Sassmannshausen 2001, 21 (n. 280: ṛa-na ʿiṛ-li-[li-ia]); Brinkman 2004, 293 (Collation of CBS 19796 (BE 17 91), line 1' shows the suggested reading ṛʿiṛ-li-[li-ia] to be highly unlikely).

<sup>(403)</sup> On letters about medical treatment, see recently Plantholt 2014.

<sup>(404)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (I.2.4: *šandabakku*).

<sup>(405)</sup> Cornwall, Goetze and Kraus 1952, 144.

<sup>(406)</sup> Cornwall, Goetze and Kraus 1952, 145.

<sup>(407)</sup> For this letter, see von Soden 1957–1958, 370–71 and Landsberger 1965, 76 (*šandabakku*).

<sup>(408)</sup> Ni 1333 is partly cited in Tenney 2011, 117 (example 11).

CBS 3465

Enlil-kidinnī is mentioned in the list of commodities (obv. col. i 22': [ ]x x <sup>d</sup>en-líl-ki-[di]n-ni<sup>2</sup>).

**6.7.2. Ḫanbu** — Attested twice in the Matthews no. **164** texts.

MUN 118 *aklu* 1305 NM 22 - VII-year 3 Ḫanbu cereals

PBS 2/2 no. 20 *aklu* 1304 NM 21(+) - VII-year 4 days 17–21(+) Ḫanbu barley

Ḫanbu is mentioned after the term *aklu* in both documents,<sup>(409)</sup> so he may have been responsible for *aklu* expenditures. His position and status remain unknown, however. It may be significant that both documents are dated around the 20<sup>th</sup> of VII.

In Nippur documents other than those of Matthews no. **164**, we can find some occurrences of the name Ḫanbu, but it is not certain if they refer to the same person. I think that the following reference is noteworthy. In BE 14 no. 43 (1306, NM 15-X-year 2), barley is issued for horses from Ḫanbu (lo. e. 11: pap 2,0.3. *i-na šu* <sup>1</sup>*ḫa-an-bi*).

**6.7.3. Enlil-aḫulap** — Regarding Enlil-aḫulap, see the previous section **2.8.10**.

## **6.8. Summary for Matthews no. 164**

In the Matthews no. **164** texts, MRWH 14 may be an exceptional case, because it is a record of activities of Enlil-kidinnī, who is a well-known governor of Nippur in the time of Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1333). The other dated documents of this group of texts are dated at the beginning of Nazi-Maruttaš (1305 [year 3] to 1300 [year 8]). There is at least a 29 year gap between MRWH 14 and the other documents. The reason for this gap is unknown. Moreover, we don't know who used Matthews no. **164**.

The documents dated in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš are mainly concerned with the issue of barley and flour. Among them both a settlement north of Nippur (Dūr-Kurigalzu) and also settlements to the south (Parak-māri, Māt-Tāmti) are attested. Commodities are issued to several professions (cup-bearer, messenger, etc.) for various purposes (fodder for horses, provisions for caravans, etc.).

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<sup>(409)</sup> MUN 118 rev. 12: pap 10,3.5.3 *šila ak-lu<sub>4</sub>* <sup>1</sup>*ḫa-an-bu*; PBS 2/2 no. 20 rev. 41: pap 32,1 PI.0.4 *šila ak-lu<sub>4</sub>* <sup>1</sup>*ḫa-an-bu*[].

## 7. Matthews no. 61

### Data

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place Names	Notes
BE 15 no. 15	---	---	Matthews no. <b>61</b>	year 4	XII-10	Irēmanni-Adad Innibu	<i>rē'û</i>	sheep	---	envelope
BE 15 no. 18	---	---	Matthews no. <b>61</b>	year 7	II-27 to III-5	Martuku	---	barley, flour, beer	Āl-Šēlebi	envelope
BE 15 no. 23	<i>ak-lu</i>	---	Matthews no. <b>61</b>	year 9	II of year 8 to II of year 9	Martuku	---	barley, flour, beer, sheep	---	envelope
BE 15 no. 25	<i>ak-lu</i>	---	Matthews no. <b>61</b>	year 10	II of year 9 to II of year 10	Martuku	---	flour, barley, beer	---	envelope
BE 15 no. 31	---	---	Matthews no. <b>61</b>	year 12	VI-29 to VII-2	Martuku	---	barley, beer	Zarat- Karkara	envelope
MUN 324	---	---	Matthews no. <b>61</b>	1304, NM year 4	XII	Irēmanni-Adad Innibu	<i>rē'û</i>	sheep	---	envelope
CBS 8872	---	---	Matthews no. <b>61</b>	year 14	XI	Iddin-Sin Ašûšu-namir	<i>ḫazannu</i> <i>rē'û</i>	sheep, wool	---	
UM 29-15-691	---	---	Matthews no. <b>61</b>	---	---	En-x-[ ] Atkal-[ ] Šin-[ ]	<i>ḫazannu</i> <i>rē'û</i>	sheep	---	

## Discussion

Here I discuss the documents related to Matthews no. **61**. We have one addition (UM 29-15-691) to this group.<sup>(410)</sup>

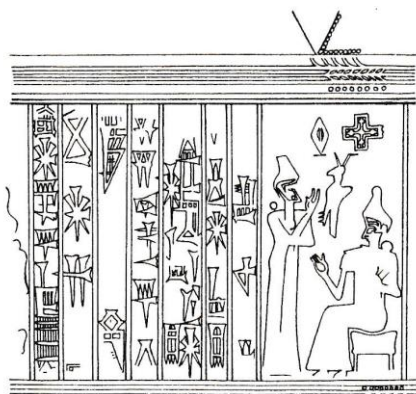
### 7.1. *Aklu* documents

The term *aklu* is found in BE 15 no. 23 rev. 7, no. 25 rev. 6 (envelope), and rev. 6 (tablet). In the following documents, the term *aklu* is not mentioned: BE 15 nos. 15, 18, 31, MUN 324, CBS 8872, and UM 29-15-691.

### 7.2. The seal (Matthews no. 61)

Among the Matthews no. **61** documents, no seal reference is attested. Therefore we do not know who sealed these documents with Matthews no. **61**.

Matthews no. **61**<sup>(411)</sup> is the Central First Kassite style.<sup>(412)</sup>



61. Seal of Belanum(?)

Inscription:

“[be]-la-nu-um	Belanum,
[n]u.èš den-líl	Prelate of Enlil
[dumu] ka-da-aš-ma-an- <sup>d</sup> en-líl	[Son] of Kadashman-Enlil,
[du]mu.dumu ku-ri-galzu	Grandson of Kurigalzu,
lugal kiši	King of the world,
ir <sup>d</sup> nusk[a]	Servant of Nuska
ù <sup>d</sup> un.gal.nibru <sup>ki</sup>	And šarrat-Nippuri.” <sup>(413)</sup>

<sup>(410)</sup> See Matthews and Brinkman 1990, 83–84, no. 103.

<sup>(411)</sup> References to no. **61** in Matthews 1992 are on pp. 3, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17, 49, 58, and 67. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 202 (no. 193). References to Stiehler’s no. 193 are on the following pages of Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996: 39 (n. 5), 61 (n. 9), 64, 65 (n. 23), 66, 71 (n. 58), 96, 111, 114, 169 (n. 42), 170 (n. 49), and 202.

Regarding its legend, see Matthews and Brinkman 1990, 83–84 no. 103; Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 66 (n. 32), 202 (no. 193), Fototafel 7 (no. 193); van Soldt 1997, 97–104; Sassmannshausen 2001, 14 n. 158 and 62 n. 965; and Boese 2009, 86–88.

<sup>(412)</sup> Concerning the First Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 55ff., and Matthews 1992, 10ff. Also see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 114–16 (Erste Gruppe).

<sup>(413)</sup> Matthews 1992, 87. He places the translation in juxtaposition with the transliteration. Therefore here the capital letter is used for And.



Seal impressions can be seen on the following documents: BE 15 nos. 15,<sup>(414)</sup> 18,<sup>(415)</sup> 23,<sup>(416)</sup> 25,<sup>(417)</sup> 31,<sup>(418)</sup> MUN 324,<sup>(419)</sup> CBS 8872,<sup>(420)</sup> UM 29-15-691.<sup>(421)</sup>

### 7.3. Year, month, day for Matthews no. 61

MUN 324 is dated in the 4<sup>th</sup> year (1304) of Nazi-Maruttaš. The other documents are not dated with a royal name.

MUN 324	1304	NM	XII	-	year 4	
BE 15 no. 15			XII	-	year 4	
BE 15 no. 18		5	-	III	-	year 7 27-II to 5-III
BE 15 no. 23			II	-	year 9	II of year 8 to II of year 9
BE 15 no. 25			II	-	year 10	II of year 9 to II of year 10
BE 15 no. 31		2	-	VII	-	year 12 29-VI to 2-VII
CBS 8872			XI	-	year 14	

#### 7.3.1. Months mentioned for Matthews no. 61

- I: 2 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25
- II: 3 times: BE 15 nos. 18, 23, 25
- III: 3 times: BE 15 nos. 18, 23, 25
- IV: 2 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25
- V: 2 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25
- VI: 3 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25, 31
- VII: 3 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25, 31
- VIII: 2 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25
- IX: 2 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25

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<sup>(414)</sup> See the photo ([P259480\\_e.jpg](#)).

<sup>(415)</sup> See the photo ([P259570\\_e.jpg](#)).

<sup>(416)</sup> As noted by Matthews 1992, 86 we can find a part of the seal impression on an envelope fragment adhering to one end of an the tablet ([P259395.jpg](#)).

<sup>(417)</sup> See BE 14 PL. XV 48, 1 and the photo ([P259526\\_e.jpg](#)).

<sup>(418)</sup> See BE 14 PL. XV 48, 2 and the photo ([P259538\\_e.jpg](#)).

<sup>(419)</sup> See the photo ([P259388\\_e.jpg](#)).

<sup>(420)</sup> See the photo ([P216542.jpg](#)).

<sup>(421)</sup> See the photo ([P256408.jpg](#)).

- X: 2 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25  
 XI: 3 times: BE 15 no. 23, 25, CBS 8872  
 XII: 4 times: BE 15 nos. 15, 23, 25, MUN 324

It is noteworthy that BE 15 no. 15 and MUN 324 are similar to each other and are probably dated to the same date or almost the same date (1304, NM 10-XII-year 4).

### 7.3.2. Days mentioned in the group of Matthews no. 61:

- 1 day: BE 15 no. 15 (10-XII)  
 4 days: BE 15 no. 31 (29-VI to 2-VII)  
 9 days: BE 15 no. 18 (27-II to 5-III)  
 1 month<sup>(422)</sup>: MUN 324 (XII),<sup>(423)</sup> CBS 8872 (XI)  
 1 year: BE 15 no. 23 (II of year 8 to II of year 9), BE 15 no. 25 (II of year 9 to II of year 10)

In the Matthews no. 61 texts, it is notable that BE 15 no. 23 and no. 25 are annual reports (years 8–9 and years 9–10) of *aklu* expenditures.

### 7.4. Occupations

In this group of texts the professions of shepherd (*rē'û*) and mayor (*ḥazannu*) are attested. CBS 8872 deals with accounts for sheep. It contains a clause about the obligations of the shepherd and the mayor, and the penalties for non-performance of their duties.<sup>(424)</sup> UM 29-15-691 may contain the parallel clauses for duties relating to cows.

- rē'û*: BE 15 no. 15 (obv. 4 envelope: sipa, obv. 4 tablet: sipa), MUN 324 (4 envelope: <sup>lú</sup>sipa, obv. 4 tablet: <sup>lú</sup>sipa), CBS 8872 (rev. 20': sipa), UM 29-15-691 (rev. 13', 15': <sup>lú</sup>sipa)  
*ḥazannu*: CBS 8872 (rev. 18', 19': *ḥa-za-an-nu*), UM 29-15-691 (rev. 11', 14': *ḥa-za-an-na*, rev. 16': *ḥa-za-an-ni*)

### 7.5. Commodities

In Matthews no. 61 texts, beer, clay pots, barley, flour, sheep, wool, and cows are attested.

- kaš: BE 15 nos. 18 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 23 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 25 (kaš UŠ), 31 (kaš UŠ)  
 dug: BE 15 nos. 18 (dug gal), 23, 25 (dug sag, dug UŠ)  
 še: BE 15 nos. 18, 23 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 25 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 31

<sup>(422)</sup> Probably the time span is not a full month (days 1–30). It may be less than one month.

<sup>(423)</sup> As stated above, the date of MUN 324 may be the same as that of BE 15 no. 15 (1304, NM 10-XII-year 4).

<sup>(424)</sup> Regarding the duties of a shepherd, see Brinkman 2004, 290 n. 36.

zì-da:	BE 15 nos. 18, 23, 25
udu-níta:	BE 15 no.15, 23 (udu niga), MUN 324 (udu-níta <sup>meš</sup> ), CBS 8872 (obv. 4': udu-ḫi-a)
sík:	CBS 8872 obv. 5'
us <sub>5</sub> -udu-ḫi-a:	CBS 8872 rev. 18'
uz <sup>u</sup> sa:	CBS 8872 (rev. 11': uz <sup>u</sup> sa?)
utua:	UM 29-15-691 obv. 1
áb:	UM 29-15-691 (obv. 2: áb-gal, obv. 3: áb mu-3, obv. 4: áb mu-2, obv. 5: áb ga)
amar:	UM 29-15-691 (obv. 6: amar ga)

### 7.6. Place names

In the texts related to Matthews no. **61**, Āl-Šēlebi (BE 15 no. 18, envelope and tablet rev. 12) and Zarat-Karkara (BE 15 no. 31, envelope and tablet rev. 9) are attested. Zarat-Karkara (tent of Karkara) should be located near Karkara, which is south of Nippur.<sup>(425)</sup> Therefore the enveloped documents may have been sent from southern cities to Nippur.

### 7.7. Notes

In this group of texts, BE 15 nos. 15, 18, 23, 25, 31, and MUN 324 are enveloped, and seal impressions can be found on the envelopes. However, CBS 8872 and UM 29-15-691 have the seal impressions on the tablet itself. The reason for this discrepancy is unknown.

### 7.8. Prosopography

Here I will discuss Martuku. He is mentioned in the following documents: BE 15 nos. 18 (barley, flour, beer, Āl-Šēlebi), 23 (*aklu*, barley, flour, beer, sheep), 25 (*aklu*, flour, barley, beer), 31 (barley, beer, Zarat-Karkara). These documents are not dated with a royal name.<sup>(426)</sup> Among them, BE 15 nos. 23, 25 are annual reports (years 8–9 and years 9–10) of the *aklu* expenditures. We can find some place names (Āl-Šēlebi, Zarat-Karkara). Also these four tablets are enveloped, so they may have been sent from settlements south of Nippur. Martuku's role in these transactions is not clear.

In the Nippur documents other than the Matthews no. **61** group, we can find comparatively many references to a Martuku, but we do not know if they all refer to the same person. There may have been several individuals named Martuku. I think that there are at least two candidates for the Martuku of Matthews no. **61**, judging from the place name coincidences.

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<sup>(425)</sup> See Nashef 1982, 342 (map).

<sup>(426)</sup> BE 15 no. 18 (year 7), no. 23 (year 9), no. 25 (year 10), no. 31 (year 12).

The first candidate is Martuku of the so called “Archiv des Speichers.”<sup>(427)</sup> His active period is from 1311, KG 19-VIII-year 22 (BE 14 no. 36<sup>(428)</sup>) to 1276, KT 16-II-year 6 (BE 14 no. 93<sup>(429)</sup>). The period is about 36 years. In CT 51 no. 26 (1287, NM 27-VIII-year 21), Martuku (obv. 8) and Zarat-Karkara (obv. 6) are stated.<sup>(430)</sup>

Martuku who is found with ẖuzālu is the second candidate. The two worked in association with NIN-dingir and Amīl-Marduk, governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur. We have two examples:

BE 14 no. 136, 1237, ŠŠ V-year 9, NIN-dingir, Amīl-Marduk, *šandabak Nippuri*, Martuku (rev. 23, 24), ẖuzālu (rev. 21, 22).

MRWH 17, (1237) ŠŠ V, (obv. 16: year 9 is mentioned), NIN-dingir, Amīl-Marduk, *šandabak Nippuri*, Martuku (obv. 8, 21 rev. 37,<sup>(431)</sup> 40, 42, 44, 45), ẖuzālu (obv. 9, 11, 13, 17, 19, 21, 24 rev. 29, 31, 33, 34, 41).

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<sup>(427)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 190.

<sup>(428)</sup> In BE 14 no. 36, Martuku (obv. 3) and *bīt Innanni* (obv. 2) are found. Innannu is a well-known person in Das Archiv des Speichers (Sassmannshausen 2001, 188–189, nos. 1–3).

<sup>(429)</sup> In BE 14 no. 93, Martuku (obv. 3) and Rabâ-ša-Nergal (obv. 4) are stated. Rabâ-ša-Nergal is a well-attested person in Das Archiv des Speichers (Sassmannshausen 2001, 192, no. 15).

<sup>(430)</sup> CT 51 no. 26 (1287, NM 27-VIII-year 21) has parallels with BE 14 no. 79 (1286, NM III-year 22). They have some similarities:

CT 51 no. 26

*i-na šà te-li-ti ša  
mu-21-kam ša za-ra-ti<sup>ki</sup>*

BE 14 no. 79

*i-na šà te-li-ti ša  
za-ra-ti ša mu-22-kam*

*i-na é<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-ibila-sum-na*

*ki-i šu<sup>l</sup>mar-tu-ki*

*ki-i šu<sup>l</sup>mar-tu-ku*

In BE 14 no. 79, *bīt Ninurta-apla-iddina* is stated. Ninurta-apla-iddina is a well-known person in Das Archiv des Speichers (Sassmannshausen 2001, 76–77, 191, no. 13). Therefore CT 51 no. 26 is one of the documents of Das Archiv des Speichers.

<sup>(431)</sup> In rev. 37, Martuk is said to be the son of Šamaš-ē/īriš. Is he (i.e., the son of Šamaš-ē/īriš) the same person as the other Martuks in MRWH 17?

In BE 15 no. 26 (unknown king, IV-year 10), a large amount of barley<sup>(432)</sup> from Āl-Šēlebi is delivered from Ḫuzālu and Martuku<sup>(433)</sup> for the rations of Nippur and Dūr-Kurigalzu. In a letter,<sup>(434)</sup> ḪLĀL-ÚR-<sup>d</sup>ALIM says to Martuku that he will arrive at Āl-Šēlebi on the 28<sup>th</sup> day and that he will stay for 10 days. He then orders Martuku to prepare a banquet for the 10 days. Then Ḫuzālu says that 1 mina new wool and 1 mina old wool should be weighed out and given.<sup>(435)</sup>

There is about a 75 year gap between Martuku of Das Archiv des Speichers and Martuku found with Ḫuzālu. Therefore it is unlikely that they refer to the same person. MUN 324 (1304, NM XII-year 4), the only document dated with a royal name in the Matthews no. **61** texts, favors the Martuku of Das Archiv des Speichers.<sup>(436)</sup>

We have several *aklu* documents and possible *aklu* documents mentioning Martuku, but it is not certain if all the cases refer to the same person.

BE 14 no. 56	1296 NM	XII - year 12	( <i>aklu</i> ?)	barley, flour, beer, sheep	<i>arād šarri u lā</i>
		XI and XII are mentioned.			<i>ašābu</i>
BE 14 no. 61	1294 NM 11-	IX - year 14	<i>aklu</i>	barley	Dunni-aḫi
BE 15 no. 12		XII - year 3	<i>aklu</i>	barley, flour, lentils, cress	Dūr-Kurigalzu
CBS 3275		13 - VI - year 4	<i>aklu</i>	barley, cress, lentils, oil, sheep, goats, lambs	
		25-V to 13-VI			envelope
					Matthews no. <b>162</b>
BE 15 no. 14		16 - VI - year 4	<i>aklu</i>	flour, barley, beer	envelope
		days 13–15			Matthews no. <b>162</b>
CBS 3103		26 - VIII - year 4	( <i>aklu</i> ?)	barley, flour, beer	Āl-Šēlebi
BE 15 no. 16		29 - VI - year 5	<i>aklu</i>	barley, emmer, flour, beer, beer products	
		VI of year 4 to			
		VI of year 5			

<sup>(432)</sup> Obv. 1: 1 IGI 50,0.0. še <sup>giš</sup>bán 10 šila.

<sup>(433)</sup> Obv. 5-lo. e. 6: *i-na šu Ḫu-za-lu<sub>4</sub> à Ḫmar-tu-ki.*

<sup>(434)</sup> Aro and Bernhardt 1958/59, 567–68 (HS 110).

<sup>(435)</sup> Aro and Bernhardt 1958/59, 571: HS 113 is another letter sent from ḪLĀL-ÚR-<sup>d</sup>ALIM to Martuku.

<sup>(436)</sup> Of course it is possible that a Martuku other than the above-mentioned two candidates is referred to in the documents of Matthews no. **61**.

Also it should be noted that BE 15 no. 26 and HS 110 (i.e., the documents of the second candidate in which Āl-Šēlebi can be found) are not dated with a royal name. Therefore it is not certain if the pair (Martuku and Ḫuzālu) of BE 15 no. 26 are the same as the pair of BE 14 no. 136 and MRWH 17 (i.e., the dated documents of the second candidate, which have no reference to Āl-Šēlebi). In the case of HS 110, it is also not certain if it is the same pair as in BE 14 no. 136 and MRWH 17.

BE 15 no. 17	26 - II - year 7	<i>aklu</i>	barley, beer, flour	Āl-Šēlebi
BE 15 no. 18	5 - III - year 7 27-II to 5-III	( <i>aklu</i> ?)	barley, flour, beer	Āl-Šēlebi envelope Matthews no. <b>61</b>
BE 15 no. 23	II - year 9 II of year 8 to II of year 9	<i>aklu</i>	barley, flour, beer, sheep	envelope Matthews no. <b>61</b>
BE 15 no. 25	II - year 10 II of year 9 to II of year 10	<i>aklu</i>	flour, barley, beer	envelope Matthews no. <b>61</b>
BE 15 no. 31	2 - VII - year 12 29-VI to 2-VII	( <i>aklu</i> ?)	barley, beer	Zarat-Karkara envelope Matthews no. <b>61</b>
CBS 3296	VIII - year 19 VIII-year 7 to VIII-year 19	<i>aklu</i>	wheat, emmer, peas	

Most probably BE 15 no. 17 (26-II-year 7, *aklu*, barley, beer, flour, Āl-Šēlebi) can be added to the Matthews no. **61** group of texts because its date (26-II-year 7) and BE 15 no. 18's date (27-II-year 7 to 5-III-year 7) are consecutive. If so, its envelope is lost. CBS 3275 (13-VI-year 4, 25-V to 13-VI, *aklu*, barley, cress, lentil, oil, sheep, goat, lamb) and BE 15 no. 14 (16-VI-year 4, days 13–15, *aklu*, flour, barley, beer) are also consecutive dates. They are enveloped and sealed with Matthews no. **162**. In BE 15 no. 12 (XII-year 3, *aklu*, barley, flour, lentils, cress), Dūr-Kurigalzu, located north of Nippur, is stated. Maybe the Martuku of BE 15 no. 12 is different person from the Martuku of Das Archiv des Speichers.

### 7.9. Summary for Matthews no. 61

In this group of texts, two documents (BE 15 nos. 23, 25) are annual reports (years 8–9 and years 9–10) of *aklu* expenditures. Probably BE 15 nos. 18, 31 are also *aklu* documents, judging from the contents. These *aklu* documents deal with barley, flour, beer, and sheep, and they are enveloped. Two other documents (BE 15 no. 15, MUN 324) are receipts of sheep from the shepherd, and are dated at the same date or almost the same date (1304, NM 10-XII-year 4). They are also enveloped. Two other documents (CBS 8872, UM 29-15-691) are accounts for sheep (CBS 8872) and cows (UM 29-15-691) in which the obligations of the shepherd and the mayor and the penalties for non-performance of duties are stated. They are not enveloped. The seal impressions can be found on the

tablets. No seal references are attested for Matthew no. **61**. Therefore we do not know who sealed these documents.

## 8. Matthews no. 162

### Data

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place Names	Notes
BE 14 no. 55	<i>ak-lu</i>	---	Matthews no. <b>162</b>	1296, NM year 12	VIII-20 to IX-5	Enlil-mukīn-apli	---	flour barley	Zarat-Karkara	envelope
BE 15 no. 8	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	---	Matthews no. <b>162</b>	year 2	II-19 to III-27	Innannu	---	barley	---	envelope
BE 15 no. 14	<i>ak-lu</i>	---	Matthews no. <b>162</b>	year 4	VI days 13–15	Martuku	---	flour barley beer	---	envelope
CBS 3275	<i>ak-lu</i>	---	Matthews no. <b>162</b>	year 4	V-25 to VI-13	Martuku	---	barley cress lentils oil sheep goats lambs	---	envelope

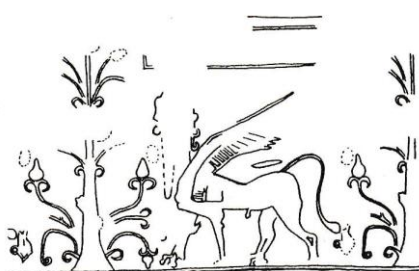


## Discussion

Here I discuss the documents sealed with Matthews no. **162**. They are BE 14 no. 55, BE 15 nos. 8 and 14, and CBS 3275. All of them are enveloped *aklu* documents.

### 8.1. The seal (Matthews no. 162)

No seal reference is attested in the Matthews no. **162** texts. Matthews no. **162**<sup>(437)</sup> is in the Second Kassite style.<sup>(438)</sup>



“Top and bottom lines. A winged lion, probably human-headed (it is uncertain whether the head is frontal or in profile), faces a volute tree, which interrupts a single horizontal inscription line above. Most details unclear. Cap: gran-hbone-diamond-hbone-gran-plate.”<sup>(439)</sup>

**162.**

As mentioned above,<sup>(440)</sup> the seal appears to have been used for official business. We can find the seal impression on the following documents: BE 14 no. 55,<sup>(441)</sup> BE 15 nos. 8,<sup>(442)</sup> 14,<sup>(443)</sup> and CBS 3275.<sup>(444)</sup>

### 8.2. Year, month, and day for Matthews no. 162

Only BE 14 no. 55 (1296, NM 5-IX-year 12, 20-VIII to 5-IX) is dated with a royal name. The list of the dates is as follows:

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<sup>(437)</sup> References to Matthews no. **162** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 36, 37, 40, 43, 46. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 218 (no. 297). Stiehler no. 297's references in G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996) are on the following pages: 34 (n. 35), 45, 136, 169 (n. 44), 218.

<sup>(438)</sup> About the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff. and Matthews 1992, 33ff. Also see G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996), pp. 136–137 (Zweite Gruppe).

<sup>(439)</sup> Matthews 1992, 122.

<sup>(440)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. **148**).

<sup>(441)</sup> See BE 14 PL. XII, 31 and the photo ([P259382\\_e.jpg](#)).

<sup>(442)</sup> See BE 14 PL. XV, 48, 10a and the photo ([P259647\\_e.jpg](#)).

<sup>(443)</sup> See BE 14 PL. XV, 48, 10b and the photo ([P259827\\_e.jpg](#)).

<sup>(444)</sup> See the photo ([P259649\\_e.jpg](#)).

BE 14 no. 55	1296	NM	5	-	IX	-	year 12	20-VIII to 5-IX
BE 15 no. 8			27	-	III	-	year 2	19-II to 27-III
CBS 3275			13	-	VI	-	year 4	25-V to 13-VI
BE 15 no. 14			15	-	VI	-	year 4	days 13–15

It is noteworthy that the date of CBS 3275 (13-VI) and that of BE 15 no. 14 (days 13–15 VI) are consecutive.

### 8.2.1. Months mentioned in the Matthews no. 162 documents

I:	0 times
II:	0 times
III:	1 time: BE 15 no. 8
IV:	0 times
V:	0 times
VI:	2 times: BE 15 no. 14, CBS 3275
VII:	0 times
VIII:	0 times
IX:	1 time: BE 14 no. 55
X:	0 times
XI:	0 times
XII:	0 times

### 8.2.2. Days mentioned in the group of Matthews no. 162

3 days:	BE 15 no. 14 (days 13–15: VI)
16 days:	BE 14 no. 55 (20-VIII to 5-IX)
19 days:	CBS 3275 (25-V to 13-VI)
39 days:	BE 15 no. 8 (19-II to 27-III)

The period of *aklu* is not so long in the Matthews no. 162 texts.

### 8.3. Commodities

In the Matthews no. 162 texts, beer, clay pots, barley, flour, oil, cress, lentils, sheep, goats, and lambs are attested.

kaš:	BE 15 no. 14 (kaš sag)
dug:	BE 15 no. 14
še:	BE 14 no. 55 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), BE 15 nos. 8 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 14 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), CBS 3275.
zì-da:	BE 14 no. 55, BE 15 no. 14

zà-ḫi-li <sup>sar</sup> :	CBS 3275
gú-tur:	CBS 3275
ì-giš:	CBS 3275
udu:	CBS 3275
máš:	CBS 3275
silā <sub>4</sub> :	CBS 3275

#### 8.4. Place names

Zarat-Karkara (BE 14 no. 55, envelope rev. 7 and tablet rev. 8) is attested. Zarat-Karkara (“tent of Karkara”) should be located near Karkara, which is south of Nippur.<sup>(445)</sup> Therefore probably the enveloped documents were sent from the southern city to Nippur.

#### 8.5. Notes

It is noteworthy that all the four documents are *aklu* documents and enveloped. The seal impressions are found on the envelope, not on the tablet.

#### 8.6. Prosopography

Here I will discuss the prosopography of the following persons who are well attested in Das Archiv des Speichers: Enlil-mukīn-apli,<sup>(446)</sup> Innannu,<sup>(447)</sup> and Martuku.<sup>(448)</sup>

**8.6.1. Enlil-mukīn-apli** — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 55 (*aklu*, flour, barley), dated 1296, NM 5-IX-year 12, 20-VIII to 5-IX. Zarat-Karkara is stated. This tablet is enveloped. As mentioned above, Enlil-mukīn-apli is well known in Das Archiv des Speichers.

We have two *aklu* documents concerning Enlil-mukīn-apli. Judging from the dates and the place name (Zarat-Karkara), these two cases refer to the same person.

BE 14 no. 55	1296	NM 5 - IX - year 12	<i>aklu</i>	flour, barley	Zarat-Karkara
				20-VIII to 5-IX	
BE 14 no. 56a	1295	NM I - year 13	<i>aklu</i>	barley	Zarat-Karkara
(rev. 24)		VII of year 12 to I of year 13			

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<sup>(445)</sup> See Nashef 1982, 342 (map).

<sup>(446)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 190.

<sup>(447)</sup> Ibid., 188–89.

<sup>(448)</sup> Ibid., 190.

**8.6.2. Innannu** — Mentioned in BE 15 no. 8 (*aklu*, barley), whose date is 27-III-year 2 of an unknown king, 19-II to 27-III. This tablet is enveloped. As stated above, Innannu is well known in Das Archiv des Speichers.

There are several *aklu* documents and one possible *aklu* document concerning Innannu, but it is not certain if all the cases refer to the same person.

BE 15 no. 1	4 - I - year 1 X to 4-I	<i>aklu</i>	barley, sheep, lambs	
BE 15 no. 2	5 - I - year 1	<i>aklu</i>	barley, sheep, lambs	
BE 15 no. 8	27-III - year 2 19-II to 27-III	<i>aklu</i>	barley	envelope Matthews no. <b>162</b>
BE 15 no. 9	2 - IV - year 2 r71-III to 2-IV	[ <i>ak</i> ]lu	barley, cress, oil, sheep	
BE 15 no. 48c	1 - IX - year 15	( <i>aklu</i> ?)	barley, flour, a type of flour, porridge, oil	Āl-Šēlebi unopened envelope Matthews no. <b>158</b>
BE 15 no. 65	12-I - year 17	<i>aklu</i>	oil, sesame, sheep	envelope Matthews no. <b>161</b>
BE 15 no. 137	17-XII- year 23 26-XI to 17-XII	<i>aklu</i>	flour	
CBS 3099	17-XII- year 23 26-XI to 17-XII	<i>aklu</i>	beer, clay pots, beer products	

It is noteworthy that BE 15 no. 137 and CBS 3099 have the same date (17-XII-year 23, 26-XI to 17-XII). BE 15 no. 137 deals with flour. CBS 3099 deals with beer and beer products.

**8.6.3. Martuku** — Mentioned in BE 15 no. 14 (*aklu*, flour, barley, beer), CBS 3275 (*aklu*, barley, cress, lentils, oil, sheep, goats, lambs). The dates of CBS 3275 (year 4, 25-V to 13-VI) and BE 15 no. 14 (year 4, days 13–15: VI) are consecutive. The tablets are enveloped. As mentioned above, Martuku is well known in Das Archiv des Speichers.

Regarding the *aklu* documents and possible *aklu* documents concerning “Martuku,” see the previous section **7.8**.

### **8.7. Summary for Matthews no. 162**

In the Matthews no. **162** texts, all the documents are *aklu* documents. They deal with a number of commodities (barley, flour, beer, oil, cress, lentils, sheep, goat, lambs). Also they are enveloped. We

can find one place name, Zarat-Karkara (BE 14 no. 55). Maybe these documents are sent from the settlements south of Nippur. The attested persons (Enlil-mukīn-apli, Innannu and Martuku) are well known in the so-called Das Archiv des Speichers. It is likely that the group of Matthews no. **162** is a part of it. We don't have any seal references. Therefore we don't know who sealed these documents with Matthews no. **162**.

## 9. Matthews no. 146

### Data

Publication	<i>aklu</i>	Seal Reference	Seal Impression	Year	Month, Day	Key Persons	Occupations	Commodities	Place names	Notes
MRWH 30	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-re-šu-šú	Matthews no. <b>146</b>	1234, ŠŠ year 12	year 9 X to year 12 XII-21	Amīl-Marduk Ninurta-rēšūšu	<i>šandabakku</i> <i>šarru</i>	barley flour beer	Paširu Bīt-bēri Balri	
CBS 7380	---	---	Matthews no. <b>146</b>	---	XII <sup>(449)</sup>	---	---	---	---	<i>lā ašābu</i>

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<sup>(449)</sup> Several days are mentioned (3': ta u<sub>4</sub>-30-kam ša<sup>iti</sup>[ ]; 4': ta u<sub>4</sub>-8-kam [ ]; 5'-6: ta u<sub>4</sub>-1[+kam] en u<sub>4</sub>-5-kam<sup>iti</sup>[ ]).

## Discussion

Here I discuss the documents of Matthews no. **146**. They are MRWH 30 and CBS 7380.

### 9.1. *Aklu* documents

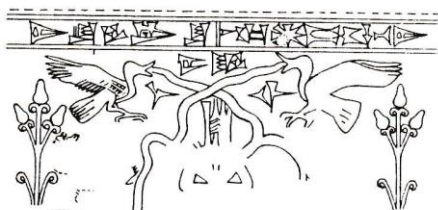
The term *aklu* is found in MRWH 30 (obv. 1, rev. 22, 24, 28). In CBS 7380, the term *aklu* is not attested. But it may be an *aklu* document because the term *lā ašābu* is attested (rev ? . 2', 5'). *lā ašābu* is amply attested in the *aklu* documents.

### 9.2. The seal (Matthews no. 146)

MRWH 30 has Ninurta-rēšūšu's seal reference. Matthews no. **146**<sup>(450)</sup> is in the Second Kassite style.<sup>(451)</sup>



**146** (CBS 7380 only)



**146** (composite with Jena photographs) †

Inscription:

“*ina amāt<sup>d</sup> marduk be-lī-šu šá-kin-šu lí-bur liš-lim*  
At the command of Marduk, his lord, may the one  
equipped with it (the seal) be established and  
prosper.”<sup>(452)</sup>

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<sup>(450)</sup> References to Matthews no. **146** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 34, 35, 36, 44, 47, and 116. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 215 (no. 277), Fototafel 10 (no. 277). References to Stiehler's no. 277 Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996 are on the following pages: 34 (n. 35), 41 (n. 17), 44, 51, 55, 64, 65 (n. 24), 66, 71 (n. 59), 128, 129 (n. 276), 130, 168, 169 (n. 44), 170 (n. 51), and 215.

<sup>(451)</sup> On the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff., Matthews 1992, 33ff., and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 129–131 (Zweite Gruppe).

<sup>(452)</sup> Matthews 1992, 110.

As mentioned above,<sup>(453)</sup> it seems to be used for official business. The seal impression can be found on both documents.<sup>(454)</sup>

### 9.3. Year, month, day for Matthews no. 146

MRWH 30 is dated in the 12<sup>th</sup> year (1234) of Šagarakti-Šuriyaš. It deals with a comparatively long period (about 3 years and 3 months). CBS 7380 is a fragment, so the date has probably been broken away. But the 12<sup>th</sup> month can be found.

MRWH 30	1234	ŠŠ	21 - XII	- year 12	X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12
CBS 7380					XII is mentioned. <sup>(455)</sup>

### 9.4. Occupations/positions

In MRWH 30, Amīl-Marduk is mentioned as governor (obv. 1, rev. 28: gú-en-na). Horses of the king are also mentioned (obv. 11: [anše-ku]r-ra<sup>meš</sup> ša lugal).

### 9.5. Commodities

In MRWH 30, beer, clay pots, flour, and barley are attested.

kaš:	MRWH 30 (obv. 1: [ka]š <sup>2</sup> , rev. 26: kaš)
dug:	MRWH 30 (obv. 1: dug)
zì-da:	MRWH 30 (rev. 25)
še:	MRWH 30 (rev. 21: še zì-da še kaš še dug, rev. 24, 27)

We can find several purposes (provisions for caravans and rations) of the expenditure.

ninda-kaskal:	MRWH 30 (obv. 15, rev. 19)
šuk <i>i-da-a-a-i</i> <sup>(456)</sup> :	MRWH 30 (rev. 23)

### 9.6. Place names

In MRWH 30, Paširu<sup>(457)</sup> (obv. 7), Bīt-bēri<sup>(458)</sup> (rev. 23), and Balri<sup>(459)</sup> (rev. 29) are attested.

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<sup>(453)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

<sup>(454)</sup> For MRWH 30, see Bernhardt 1976, Tafeln CXXIX–CXXX.

<sup>(455)</sup> Several days are mentioned (3': ta u<sub>4</sub>-30-kam ša it<sup>i</sup>[ ]; 4': ta u<sub>4</sub>-8-kam [ ]; 5'-6: ta u<sub>4</sub>-1[+-kam] en u<sub>4</sub>-5-kam it<sup>i</sup>[ ]).

<sup>(456)</sup> MRWH p. 81, Z. 23: "Verpflegung für die Idajäer, die sich in Edanna befinden"; zu URU/KUR<sub>i</sub>-da-a-a s. Parpola, AOAT 6, 172 s. v. IDA

<sup>(457)</sup> See Nashef 1982, 217.

<sup>(458)</sup> Ibid. 56.



## 9.7. Notes

As mentioned above,<sup>(460)</sup> *ašābu* and related phrases occur in the *aklu* documents. We find the negated form in CBS 7380.

<i>ašābu</i> :	---
<i>lā ašābu</i> :	CBS 7380 (rev ? . 2': <i>la a-ša-a-bu</i> , rev ? . 5': <i>la a-ṛšaṁ-a-bu</i> )
<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i> :	---

## 9.8. Prosopography

Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

Amīl-Marduk	(Governor of Nippur.)
Ninurta-rēšūšu	(Sealer of an <i>aklu</i> document.)

**9.8.1. Amīl-Marduk** — Mentioned with *aklu* in MRWH 30 (obv. 1, rev. 28: *ak-lu<sub>4</sub> ṽlú-damar-utu gú-en-na*). The tablet's date is ŠŠ 21-XII-year 12, X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12 (1234). Amīl-Marduk is referred to as governor.

In Nippur documents other than MRWH 30, we have at least three *aklu* documents (MUN 189, 192, 194) related to the governor Amīl-Marduk. MUN 190, 191, 193 are probably *aklu* documents of the governor Amīl-Marduk.

MUN 189	1236 ŠŠ 6 - ṛXII <sup>ṽ</sup> -year 10	ṛakluṽ	barley, flour, beer
	days 4–6		Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor, but no seal impression.
MRWH 30	1234 ŠŠ 21 - XII - year 12	<i>aklu</i>	barley, flour, beer
	X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12		Seal reference to Ninurta-rēšūšu, Matthews no. <b>146</b>
MUN 192 <sup>(461)</sup>	1230 Kšt 4 - V? - year 3	ṛakluṽ	The expenditure of commodities.
			Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor, but no seal impression.
MUN 194 <sup>(462)</sup>	Kšt 15 - [ ] - [ ]	ṛakluṽ	[barley, flour], beer

<sup>(459)</sup> Ibid. 50. Or it may be read as Ebertu “bank.” This reading is courtesy of M. Stol. See AHw, 100 (*balru*), 181 (*eberta*), CAD B, 44 (*balar*), CAD E, 9 (*ebertu* A), Borger 2010, 246 n. 5.

<sup>(460)</sup> See Rīmūtu's section of note (*ašābu*).

<sup>(461)</sup> For the reading *aklu*, see Brinkman 2004, 290 ([*ak-l*]um GIŠ.BÁN 5 ŠILA).

[Seal reference] to Amīl-Marduk, governor,  
but no seal impression.

Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur is attested several times in the Nippur documents. Amīl-Marduk is known as a (grand)son of Enlil-kidinnī (MUN 283 obv. 2).<sup>(463)</sup> I arrange references of Amīl-Marduk, governor basically in chronological order with brief comments.

MUN 283	1242	ŠŠ	12 - VII - year 4	Amīl-Marduk, (grand)son of Enlil-kidinnī received oil.
			5-VI to 12-VII	
MRWH 17	(1240	ŠŠ	[ ] - V - [ ]	The account of the high priestess which
	-1237)		years 6–9 mentioned	Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur handles.
BE 14 no. 136	1237	ŠŠ	V - year 9	The account of the high priestess which
				Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur handles.
MSKH no. 24	1236	ŠŠ	3 - IV - year 10	Decree of Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur.
				Ninurta-rēšūšu, mayor of Nippur, is mentioned.
MUN 316	1236	ŠŠ	25(+)-VIII-year 10	The account of cattle.
				Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk,
				governor of Nippur
				Matthews no. <b>149</b>
BE 14 no. 137	1236	ŠŠ	VIII - year 10	The account of cattle.
				Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, [governor]
				Matthews no. <b>149</b>
MUN 189	1236	ŠŠ	6 - 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶-year 10	𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 barley, flour, beer
			days 4–6	Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor,
				but no seal impression.
MUN 317	1235	ŠŠ	19 - IV - year 11	The register of cattle and personnel.
				Amīl-Marduk, governor confirmed.
MUN 318	1235	ŠŠ	X - year 11(+)	The account of cattle.
				Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk,
				governor of Nippur
				Matthews no. <b>149</b>
MUN 319	1235	ŠŠ	X - year 11	An account of cattle.
				Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk,

<sup>(462)</sup> Brinkman 2004, 301 reads [ak]-lum ŠU.

<sup>(463)</sup> See Brinkman 2004, 292 (note: p. 17 and n. 209).

				governor of Nippur Matthews no. <b>149</b>
MUN 330	1235	ŠŠ X?	- year 11	The account of sheep and goat. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor Matthews no. <b>149</b>
MUN 329	1235	ŠŠ	𐎠𐎢𐎠-year 1(+)/𐎠𐎢𐎠 IX or X probable	The account of sheep and goat. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor (Matthews no. <b>149</b> ) <sup>(464)</sup>
MRWH 30	1234	ŠŠ	21 - XII - year 12 X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12	<i>aklu</i> barley, flour, beer Seal reference to Ninurta-rēšūšu. Matthews no. <b>146</b>
MUN 409	1234	ŠŠ	𐎠𐎢𐎠-𐎠𐎢𐎠-year 12	Probably a metal object is dealt with. The tablet of Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur is taken.
MUN 321		ŠŠ	V?/VIII?-[ ]	The account of cattle. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor Matthews no. <b>149</b>
MUN 331		ŠŠ	RN badly damaged	Heavily damaged. Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur is mentioned.
MUN 458		ŠŠ		This document deals with ordeal. Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur, is mentioned.
MUN 413	1233	Kšt 8	- I -acc. year	Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur, entrusted the tents to Ninurta-rēšūšu. <sup>(465)</sup>
PBS 2/2 no. 56	1232	Kšt 16	- XII - year 1	The expenditure of barley and flour for several workers ( <i>sakrumaš, aḫlamû, kaššû, nuḫatimmu</i> ). Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression.
MUN 116	1232	Kšt 18	- XII - year 1	The expenditure of barley and flour for several workers ( <i>sakrumaš, aḫlamû, kaššû, nuḫatimmu</i> ). Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression.
MRWH 15	1232	Kšt 22	- XII - year 1	The expenditure of barley and flour for several workers ( <i>sakrumaš, aḫlamû, kaššû, nuḫatimmu</i> ). Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor.

<sup>(464)</sup> MUN 329 (CBS 11104) should be added to Matthews no. **149**. It has the seal impression ([P266267.jpg](#)).

<sup>(465)</sup> For the reading Ninurta-rēšūšu, see Brinkman 2004, 302 (MUN 413).

MUN 192	1230	Kšt 4 - V?	- year 3	But no seal impression. 𒀭aklu𒀭 The expenditure of commodities. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression.
MUN 193	1229	Kšt 10(+)-[ ]	- year 4	The expenditure of [barley], flour, beer for several purposes. [Seal reference] to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression.
MUN 194		Kšt 15- [ ] - [ ]		𒀭aklu𒀭 [barley, flour], beer [Seal reference] to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression.

**9.8.2. Ninurta-rēšūšu** — Mentioned in MRWH 30 (rev. 32: <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-re-šu-šú). Its date is ŠŠ 21-XII-year 12, X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12 (1234). This document was sealed with Matthews no. **146**.

In the Nippur documents other than MRWH 30, we can find several individuals named Ninurta-rēšūšu, but it is uncertain if they all refer to the same person. Judging from the dates, I think the following cases are noteworthy.

MRWH 8	1237	ŠŠ 16 - V	- year 9	Ninurta-rēšūšu, mayor of Nippur, judged the case of an Elam person.
MSKH no. 24	1236	ŠŠ 3 - IV	- year 10	Decree of Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur. Ninurta-rēšūšu, mayor of Nippur, is mentioned.
MRWH 30	1234	ŠŠ 21 - XII	- year 12 X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12	<i>aklu</i> (of) Amīl-Marduk, governor barley, flour, beer Seal reference to Ninurta-rēšūšu. Matthews no. <b>146</b>
MUN 413	1233	Kšt 8 - I	-acc. year	Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur, entrusted the tents to Ninurta-rēšūšu.

Therefore Ninurta-rēšūšu is a mayor of Nippur who worked in association with Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur.

### 9.9. Summary for Matthews no. 146

In the Matthews no. **146** documents, MRWH 30 is an *aklu* document (of) Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur. Its date is ŠŠ 21-XII-year 12, X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12 (1234). It deals with several

commodities (barley, flour, beer). Several place names (Paširu, Bīt-bēri, Balri) are mentioned, and then the tablet is sealed by Ninurta-rēšūšu. Also CBS 7380 may be an *aklu* document because it has the term *lā ašābu* (rev ? . 2': *la a-ša-a-bu*, rev ? . 5': *la a-ṛšaṽ-a-bu*).

## 10. Matthews no. 156

PBS 2/2 no. 24 is sealed with Matthews no. 156. I reproduce the transliteration here.

Obv.

- 1 1,1.3.3 sila zì-da <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 sila<sup>(466)</sup>
- 2 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub> ù zi-ga
- 3 *iš-tu* u<sub>4</sub>-28-kam *ša* <sup>iti</sup>zíz-A-AN
- 4 *a-di* u<sub>4</sub>-5-kam *ša* <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>

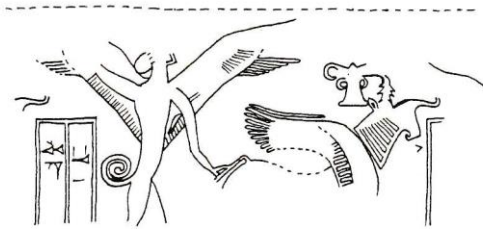
Lo. E.

- 5 mu-8-kam
- 6 *na-zi-ma-ru-taš* lugal

Rev.

- 7 šu <sup>l</sup>mìn-de-i-bal-luṽ

PBS 2/2 no. 24 is an *aklu* and *šītu* document. There is no seal reference. Matthews no. 156<sup>(467)</sup> is in the Second Kassite style.<sup>(468)</sup>



156.

“There is a two-line vertical inscription behind the demon and a small volute tree above the bull.”<sup>(469)</sup>

<sup>(466)</sup> For “5 sila,” see the photo of CDLI ([P268186.jpg](https://cdli.org/P268186.jpg)).

<sup>(467)</sup> References to Matthews no. 156 in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 36, 37, 38, 39, and 66. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 218 (no. 298). References to Stiehler no. 298 in Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996 are on pp. 34 (n. 35), 103 (n. 70), 134, 135, 136, 138 (n. 356), 169 (n. 44), and 218.

<sup>(468)</sup> About the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff. and Matthews 1992, 33ff. Also see G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996), pp. 136–137 (Zweite Gruppe).

<sup>(469)</sup> Matthews 1992, 120.

As mentioned above,<sup>(470)</sup> it seems to be used for official business. We can find the clear seal impression.<sup>(471)</sup> It is dated to NM 5-XII-year 8, 28-XI to 5-XII (8 days), i.e. 1300. Flour is dealt with. Minde-iballuṭ's identity is not clear.

## 11. Matthews no. 157

MUN 181<sup>(472)</sup> is sealed with Matthews no. 157. I reproduce the transliteration here.

Obv.

- 1 [+]2,3. zì-da ṛ<sup>giš</sup>[bán 5 si]a
- 2 [x,x.]ṛ3ṛ. ŠE<sup>!</sup>-MAŠ<sup>!</sup>/BAR <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 si<sup>a</sup>
- 3 *ak-lu<sub>4</sub>*
- 4 šu <sup>lè</sup>-ana-zálag-ṛ<sup>d</sup>utuṛ<sup>(473)</sup>
- 5 <sup>l</sup>nim-gi-rab-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu

Lo. e.

- 6 <sup>uru</sup>hur-sag-kalam-ma
- 7 ṛ<sup>iti</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>innin

Rev.

- 8 mu-3-kam
- 9 *ku-dur*-<sup>d</sup>en-líl
- 10 <sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>kišib <sup>l</sup>nim-gi-rab-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu

MUN 181 is an *aklu* document. Seal reference to Nimgirab-Marduk is attested. Matthews no. 157<sup>(474)</sup> is in the Second Kassite style.<sup>(475)</sup>

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<sup>(470)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

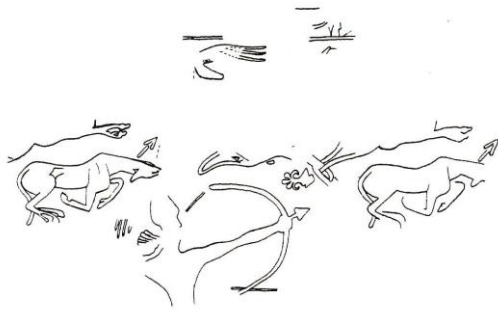
<sup>(471)</sup> See the photo of CDLI ([P268186.jpg](#)).

<sup>(472)</sup> This tablet is CBS 13371, not 13377. See Brinkman 2004, 300.

<sup>(473)</sup> Or ṛ<sup>d</sup>[amar]-utu.

<sup>(474)</sup> References to Matthews no. 157 in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 23, 37, 39, 45, 49. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 220 (no. 317). Stiehler no. 317's references in G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996) are on the following pages: 40, 74, 141, 142, 220.

<sup>(475)</sup> For the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff. and Matthews 1992, 33ff. Also see G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996), pp. 141-143 (Zweite Gruppe).



157.

As mentioned above,<sup>(476)</sup> it seems to be used for official business. We can find a clear seal impression.<sup>(477)</sup> It is dated KuE, VI-year 3 (1252). Flour and barley are dealt with. Ḫursagkalamma, a small town not far from Dūr-Enlilē, is referred to.<sup>(478)</sup> The identity of Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Šamaš is not clear. The identity of Nimgirab-Marduk remains unclear.

## 12. Matthews no. 161

BE 15 no. 65 is sealed with Matthews no. 161. I reproduce the transliteration here.

### Envelope

Obv.

- 1 0,0.1.1 sila ì-giš
- 2 0,0.1. še-giš-ì
- 3 2 udu-níta
- 4 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub>

Rev.

- 5 <sup>l</sup>*in-na-an-nu*
- 6 <sup>iii</sup>*bár-zag-gar*
- 7 u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam
- 8 mu-17-kam

### Tablet

Obv.

- 1 0,0.1.1 sila ì-giš
- 2 0,0.1. še-giš-ì
- 3 2 udu-níta
- 4 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub>

Rev.

- 5 <sup>l</sup>*in-na-an-nu*
- 6 <sup>iii</sup>*bár-zag-gar*
- 7 u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam
- 8 mu-17-kam

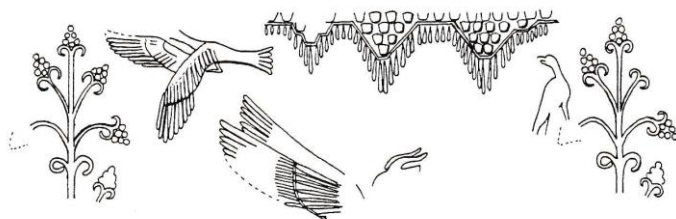
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<sup>(476)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

<sup>(477)</sup> See the photo of CDLI ([P268450.jpg](#)).

<sup>(478)</sup> Concerning Ḫursagkalamma, see van Soldt 2015, 152 (no. 91, comment on line 27).

BE 15 no. 65 is an *aklu* document. There is no seal reference. Matthews no. **161**<sup>(479)</sup> is in the Second Kassite style.<sup>(480)</sup>



**161.** Porada 1952, no. 3 (not to scale)

As mentioned above,<sup>(481)</sup> it seems to be used for official business. We can find a clear seal impression.<sup>(482)</sup> It is dated to 12-I-year 17 of an unknown king. Oil, sesame, and sheep are dealt with. This tablet is enveloped. The identity of Innannu is not clear.<sup>(483)</sup>

### 13. Matthews no. 187

MRWH 25<sup>(484)</sup> is sealed with Matthews no. **187**. I reproduce the transliteration here.

#### Envelope (HS 2887)

Obv.

- 1 2 me 8 kaš U[Š]
- 2 *ak-lu*[ ]
- 3 <sup>l</sup>den-líl-š[ú-lu-li]
- 4 šu <sup>l</sup>di-ku<sub>5</sub>-<sup>d</sup>[utu]
- 5 [t]a u<sub>4</sub>-2<sup>r</sup>5<sup>1</sup> -[kam]

Lo. e.

#### Tablet (HS 738)

Obv.

- 1 2 me 8 kaš UŠ
- 2 *ak-lu*
- 3 <sup>l</sup>den-líl-šú-lu-li

Lo. e.

- 4 šu <sup>l</sup>di-ku<sub>5</sub>-<sup>d</sup>utu

Rev.

<sup>(479)</sup> References to Matthews no. **161** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46, 49, 56, and 66. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 218 (no. 300), Fototafel 10 (no. 300). References to Stiehler no. 300 in Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996 are on pp. 85, 136, and 218. This seal impression was published as no. 3 of Porada 1952.

<sup>(480)</sup> About the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff. and Matthews 1992, 33ff. Also see G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996), pp. 136–137 (Zweite Gruppe).

<sup>(481)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. **148**).

<sup>(482)</sup> See BE 14 PL. XV 48, 8.

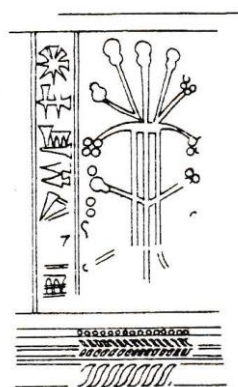
<sup>(483)</sup> The Innannu in BE 15 no. 65 (Matthews no. **161**) could be the same as Innannu in Das Archiv des Speichers (Sassmannshausen 2001, 188–189).

<sup>(484)</sup> CBS 9769 ([P265084.jpg](#)) is a cast of HS 738 (the tablet of MRWH 25), still inside HS 2887 (the envelope of MRWH 25).



6	ša <sup>iti</sup> rgu <sub>4</sub>	5	ta u <sub>4</sub> -25-kam
Rev.		6	ša <sup>iti</sup> gu <sub>4</sub>
7	en u <sub>4</sub> -20-[kam]	7	en u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam
8	ša <sup>iti</sup> a[pin]	8	ša <sup>iti</sup> apin
9	mu-10-[kam]	U. e.	
10	ka-dáš-man-túr-[gu]	9	mu-10-[kam]
11	lugal-e		

MRWH 25 is an *aklu* document. There is no seal reference. Matthews no. **187**<sup>(485)</sup> is a Second Kassite derivative.<sup>(486)</sup>



### 187. Petschow 1974 no. 25

We can see a clear seal impression.<sup>(487)</sup> It is dated to KT 20-VIII-year 10, 25-II to 20-VIII (1272). Beer is dealt with. This tablet is enveloped.

Regarding the identity of Enlil-šulūlī, Sassmannshausen 2001, 334 (MUN 202) points out that he appears in the following documents: BE 14 nos. 106, 111, MRWH 25, CT 51 no. 28. All five documents are dated in Kadašman-Turgu.

MUN 202, 6      1267, KT 4(+)-[MN]-year 15, I to 4(+)-[MN], *aklu*, beer, Rīmūtu  
(Matthews no. **148**)

MRWH 25, 3      1272, KT 20-VIII-year 10, 25-II to 20-VIII, *aklu*, beer, with envelope, seal

<sup>(485)</sup> References to Matthews no. **187** in Matthews 1992 can be found p. 50. See also Deheselle 1995 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 211 (no. 251), Fototafel 8 (no. 251). References to Stiehler no. 251 in Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996 are on pp. 45 (n. 19), 56, 61 (n. 7), 62 (n. 9), 65, 94, 123, 146, and 211.

<sup>(486)</sup> On Second Kassite derivatives, see Matthews 1992, 49 and Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 123–124 (Erste Gruppe).

<sup>(487)</sup> MRWH p. 118 Tafel II and the CDLI photo ([P265084.jpg](#)).

(Matthews no. **187**)

BE 14 no. 106, 3 1268, KT VI-year 14, loan document (as creditor), *dumu* <sup>l</sup>*be-la-ni*

BE 14 no. 111, 2 1268, KT XII-year 14, loan document (as creditor), *i-na* é *gur*<sub>7</sub> *ša nibru*<sup>ki</sup>

CT 51, 28, 8 1272, KT 7-XII-year 10, loan document (as witness), *dumu* <sup>l</sup>*be-la-ni*, *i-na*  
*taḥ-la-aš*<sup>ki</sup>

Enlil-šulūlī appears in *aklu* documents (MUN 202, MRWH 25), but the details are unclear. He is also found in loan documents.<sup>(488)</sup> Further evidence is probably required to determine if they all refer to the same person.

The identity of Dayyānī-Šamaš remains unclear.<sup>(489)</sup>

## 14. Matthews no. 142

CBS 3091 is sealed with Matthews no. **142**. I reproduce the transliteration here.

Obv.

1 0,0.1. zi-da

2 0,0.2. ŠE-MAŠ/BAR

3 <sup>gi</sup>šbán 5 sila

Lo. E.

4 <sup>l</sup>*in-na-na-a*

5 ṛdumu<sup>7</sup> <sup>ld</sup>XXX-sum-mu

Rev.

6 [dumu š]*ip-ri ša* <sup>l</sup>*dingir-šú-ibila-sum*

7 *šu dumu* <sup>l</sup>*dùg-ab-a-šab-šú*

8 <sup>iti</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>innin

U. E.

9 u<sub>4</sub>-11-kam

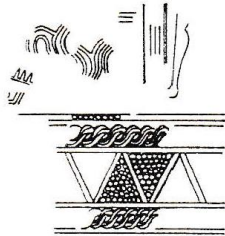
10 mu-22-kam

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<sup>(488)</sup> BE 14 nos. 106, 111, CT 51, 28.

<sup>(489)</sup> In BE 14 no. 91a (1279, KT VI-year 3, I-VI), Dayyānī-Šamaš the brewer is found. But it is not certain if he can be identified with Dayyānī-Šamaš of MRWH 25. For Dayyānī-Šamaš in BE 14 no. 91a, see Tenney 2011, 67–68, 151–152 (on Household 1).

CBS 3091 is a document about flour and barley. The term *aklu* is not attested here, but the document looks like an *aklu* document. There is no seal reference. Matthews no. **142**<sup>(490)</sup> is in the Second Kassite style.<sup>(491)</sup>



## 142.

As mentioned above,<sup>(492)</sup> it seems to be used for official business. We can find a clear seal impression.<sup>(493)</sup> It is dated to 11-VI-year 22 of an unknown king. Details about Innanâ/Innannīya and his father, Sîn-nādin-šumi, are not clear. We have several references to the son of Ṭāb-ašābšu in the Nippur documents. The son of Ṭāb-ašābšu, a miller (*kaššidakku*) is attested in a number of documents.<sup>(494)</sup> In BE 14 no. 158, the son of Ṭāb-ašābšu received barley from Martuku in the house of Innannu. Martuku and Innannu are well known in Das Archiv des Speichers,<sup>(495)</sup> so the son of Ṭāb-ašābšu, a miller, is an artisan of Das Archiv des Speichers. CBS 3105 (*aklu*, flour) is an *aklu* document of the son of Ṭāb-ašābšu.

## 15. *Aklu* documents without a seal impression

In the Nippur documents, we have many *aklu* documents which do not have a seal impression. I arrange them with brief comments.

### 15.1. *Aklu* documents

BE 14 no. 21 1318 KG 14 - VI - year 15 Ṭ<sup>1</sup>aklu (rev. 8) of ṬErība<sup>2</sup>-Ninurta. Barley,

<sup>(490)</sup> References to Matthews no. **142** in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 33, 36, 45, and 65. See also Deheselle 1995.

<sup>(491)</sup> For the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff., and Matthews 1992, 33ff.

<sup>(492)</sup> See the Rīmūtu's section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. **148**).

<sup>(493)</sup> See the CDLI photo ([P259464.jpg](#)).

<sup>(494)</sup> BE 14 no. 17 obv. 5–6; no. 158 lo. e. 5–rev. 6; BE 15 no. 101 rev. 9–10; no. 132 rev. 26; and CT 51 no. 39 obv. 5.

In PBS 2/2 no. 73 rev. 29, Ṭāb-ašābšu, *kaššidakku* is attested (Ṭ<sup>1</sup>dùg-ab-dùr-šú<sup>10</sup>ka-zì-da) without dumu.

<sup>(495)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 188–190.

					flour, beer, shallot, garlic and cress are dealt with.
BE 14 no. 56a	1295	NM	I - year 13 VII of year 12 to I of year 13		<i>aklu</i> (rev.24) of Enlil-mukīn-apli. Barley is given in Zarat-Karkara.
BE 14 no. 61	1294	NM 11	- IX - year 14		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 6) of Martuku. Barley is given in Dunni-aḫi.
BE 14 no. 97	1272	KT	I - year 10		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 2) of Nuska-zākir/nādin-šumi. Beer is mentioned. Sarriqu is responsible for it. Cf. CT 51 no. 27 (obv. 3: éš-gàr <sup>1</sup> <i>sar-ri-qu</i> ) and MUN 148 (rev. 22': éš-gàr <sup>1</sup> <i>sar-ri-qi</i> ).
BE 14 no. 99a	1271	KT	- year 11		<i>aklu</i> (rev. 30, 31). A large account of domestic animals.
BE 14 no. 133	1239	ŠŠ	30 - I - year 7 from 1-II-year 6 to 30-I-year 7		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1, rev. 10). Possibly sheep (rev. 10: babbar?) are given for the offering of the temple of the son of Aḫū'a-lē'i, Parak-māri and Bīt-bēri.
BE 14 no. 144	1227	Kšt	- year 6		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3, rev. 7). Barley is given for the work assignment of brewer, an offering and wages of carts.
BE 14 no. 167			- year 25 from year 24 to year 25		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1). Barley is issued to Bā'il-Marduk. Parallels: PBS 2/2 no. 34, CBS 8737. Also cf. BE 15 no. 148 (obv. 3: dumu <sup>1d</sup> KA-DI-lí-su), PBS 2/2 no. 101 (rev. 8: dumu <sup>1</sup> en-kit-ti), CBS 3000 (lo. e. 6: <sup>1</sup> rzálag <sup>1</sup> - <sup>d</sup> kù-bi).
BE 14 no. 168			year 12 is mentioned		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 24'). A large account of domestic animals.
BE 15 no. 1			4 - I - year 1 X to 4-I		<i>aklu</i> (lo. e. 6). Barley, sheep and lamb are mentioned. Innannu is referred to. The dates of BE 15 no. 1 and no. 2 may be consecutive.
BE 15 no. 2			5 - I - year 1		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 4). Barley, sheep and lamb are mentioned. Innannu is referred to. The dates of BE 15 no.1 and no. 2 may be consecutive.
BE 15 no. 9			2 - IV - year 2 r <sup>7</sup> -III to 2-IV		[ <i>ak</i> ]lu (obv. 5). Barley, cress, oil and sheep are mentioned.
BE 15 no. 12			XII - year 3		<i>aklu</i> (lo. e. 5). Barley, flour, lentils and cress are

		mentioned. Dūr-Kurigalzu and Martuku are stated.
BE 15 no. 16	29 - VI - year 5 from VI-year 4 to 29-VI-year 5	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 10). Barley, emmer, flour, clay pot, a type of flour, malt and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are stated.
BE 15 no. 17	26 - II - year 7	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 5) of Martuku. Barley, beer and flour are mentioned. Āl-Šēlebi is referred to.
BE 15 no. 21	VIa <sup>(496)</sup> -year 8 𒀭𒀠𒀭𒀠- year 2 to VIa-year 8	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1, rev. 44). Oil is given.
BE 15 no. 46	III - year 15	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3, 4–7: ki-min, 10). Flour is given. Sukkal-aḥa-ē/iriš is responsible.
BE 15 no. 60	12 - VIa <sup>(497)</sup> -year 16	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 2). Flour is mentioned. A daughter of Mele-Saḥ is referred to.
BE 15 no. 74	IX - year 17	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1) of sheep. Several place names (é <sup>d</sup> gu-la, <sup>uru</sup> ni-ga-zī <sup>ki</sup> , <sup>uru</sup> za-lam-tī <sup>ki</sup> , <sup>uru</sup> é-danna) are referred to. Ninurta-mutēr-gimilli is stated.
BE 15 no. 79	12 - II - year 18	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3). Sheep and lamb are attested. Inner part of the palace, provisions and x x x (NUN- <i>li-ḥa</i> ) <sup>(498)</sup> are referred to. Seal reference to Šušātu, but no seal impression.
BE 15 no. 90	XI - year 18	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 45') of Ibni-Marduk. This is a loan document of barley given in Zarat-Karkara.
BE 15 no. 102	mention of year 19	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 31). A list of grain in which several place names are mentioned.
BE 15 no. 137	17 - XII - year 23 26-XI to 17-XII	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3). Flour is mentioned. Innannu is referred to.
BE 15 no. 171		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 11'). A list of millers and brewers.
PBS 2/2 no. 34	- year 25 from year 24 to year 25	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1). Barley is issued to Bā'il-Marduk. Parallels: BE 14 no. 167, CBS 8737. Cf. BE 15 no. 148 (obv. 3: dumu <sup>1d</sup> KA-DI- <i>lī-su</i> ), PBS 2/2 no. 101 (rev. 8: dumu <sup>1en</sup> - <i>kit-ti</i> ), CBS 3000 (lo.

<sup>(496)</sup> <sup>iii</sup>kin-2-kam (2<sup>nd</sup> VI month).

<sup>(497)</sup> <sup>iii</sup>kin-<sup>d</sup>innin-2-kam-ma (2<sup>nd</sup> VI month).

<sup>(498)</sup> The meaning of NUN (*šil*)-*li-ḥa* is obscure. W. H. van Soldt reads it as *sa!-li-ḥa*. M. Stol tentatively suggests a reading *zil-le*, a fish.

					e. 6: <sup>1</sup> ṛzálag <sup>1</sup> - <sup>d</sup> kù-bi).
MRWH 26	1294	NM	XII	- year 14	<i>aklu</i> (3'). Fragment. Under the responsibility of ... ( <sup>4</sup> K[I...]). Dūr-Enlilē is referred to. Parallel is MUN 275.
MRWH 27	1236	ŠŠ	VIII	- year 10 from V-year 9 to VIII-year 10	<i>aklu</i> (u. e. 1, rev. 30) of temple (é dingir). Sheep and goats are given. Some locations (é-kur, bára-dumu <sup>ki</sup> , é-danna) are referred to. Under responsibility of Iqīša-Enlil.
MRWH 68	1340	BB	20	- VII - year 20 from IV to 20-VII-year 20	<i>aklu</i> (rev?. 6') The commodities are unclear due to the bad condition of the document. This expenditure was under the responsibility of Kuppupu.
MUN 97	1287	NM	30	- X - year 21 days 2–30	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 33) of <i>Izkur-Marduk</i> . Beer and barley are issued.
MUN 188	1230	Kšt	IX	- year 3 I–IX are mentioned.	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 5'). Fragment. It's under the responsibility of Arad-ṛqarrād <sup>1</sup> . The governor (obv. 8: gú-en-n[a]), brewers (rev. 11': <sup>lu</sup> lunga <sup>meš</sup> ) are referred to.
MUN 189	1236	ŠŠ	6	- ṛXII <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> -year 10 days 4–6	ṛ <i>aklu</i> <sup>1</sup> (rev. 31). Under the responsibility of the mayor. Barley and flour are issued. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor, but no seal impression.
MUN 190	1233	Kšt	X	- acc. year from year 10(+) of ŠŠ to X-acc. year of Kšt	ṛ <i>aklu</i> <sup>1</sup> (u. e. 1). Barley, flour and beer are issued.
MUN 191		ŠŠ	24	- XI - [ ] days 21(+)-24	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 14). Cereals are given. Under the responsibility of Kidin-Gula.
MUN 192	1230	Kšt	4	- V? - year 3	ṛ <i>aklu</i> <sup>1</sup> ( <sup>499</sup> ) (rev. 8'). [Barley, flour] and beer are issued. [Seal] reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor, but no seal impression.
MUN 194		Kšt	15	- [ ]	ṛ <i>aklu</i> <sup>1</sup> ( <sup>500</sup> ) (rev. 16'). [Barley, flour] and beer are issued. Under the responsibility of Kidin-Adad. [Seal reference] to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But

(<sup>499</sup>) For the reading *aklu*, see Brinkman 2004, 290 ([*ak-l*]um GIŠ.BÁN 5 ŠILA).

(<sup>500</sup>) Brinkman 2004, 301 reads [*ak*]-lum ŠU.

				no seal impression.
MUN 197	1319 KG 10	- II -	year 14	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 4'). Beer is mentioned. It's under the responsibility of <i>Ilī</i> -[ ].
MUN 198	1306 NM 13	- VIII-	year 2	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1). Beer is issued. But here it is measured by a solid capacity measure. Dūr-Nuska is referred to.
			days 6–13	
MUN 203	1266 KT 5	- II -	year 16	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3). Beer is mentioned. Nuska-bēla-ušur is referred to.
			days 1–5	
MUN 269	1350 BB 24	- IV -	year 10	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 12, rev. 15). Beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) is given. It is under the responsibility of Našhira-Marduk. Cf. MUN 195, 256–258.
MUN 274	1236 ŠŠ	𒀭MN <sup>2</sup> 𒀭	year 10	<i>aklu</i> (u. e. 1, obv. 4). Flour and peas are issued.
MUN 280	1244 ŠŠ 30	- XI -	year 2	<i>aklu</i> and <i>šītu</i> (obv. 1). Oil is given.
			10-X to 30-XI	
MUN 326	1241 ŠŠ		year 5?	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 44'). Sheep are dealt with. year 4 is also mentioned.
CBS 2109				<i>aklu</i> (u. e. 28'). Flour is issued. Lā-qīpu is referred to.
CBS 2129			5-IX is mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 9', 12') and <i>šītu</i> (obv. 9', 12'). Sheep are dealt with.
CBS 2328			15 - XII - year 17	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 15). Cereals are issued.
			15 <sup>th</sup> day is mentioned	
CBS 3081			XI - year 24	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 6). Barley is issued. The control of Išinnītu is undone ( <i>qāt ... turrat</i> ). Kār-Adab is referred to.
CBS 3099			17 - XII - year 23	<i>aklu</i> (lo. e. 6). Beer and beer products are dealt with. Innannu is referred to.
			26-XI to 17-XII	
CBS 3105			9 - XII - year 22	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 7). Flour is dealt with. The son of Ṭāb-ašābšu is mentioned. Cf. BE 14 no. 17 (obv. 5–6: <i>dumu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dùg-ab-a-šab-šú</i> ka-zì-da), no. 158 (lo. e. 6–rev. 7: <i>dumu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dùg-ab-a-šab-šú</i> ka-zì-da), BE 15 no. 10 (rev. 13: <i>dumu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dùg-ab-a-šab-šú</i> ), no. 52 (rev. 25: <i>dumu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dùg-ab-a-šab-šú</i> ), no. 53 (obv. 3: <i>dumu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dùg-ab-a-šab-šú</i> ), no. 55 (lo. e. 5: <i>dumu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dùg-ab-a-šab-šú</i> ), no. 101 (rev. 9–10: <i>dumu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dùg-ab-dúr-šú</i> ), no. 101 (rev. 9–10: <i>dumu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dùg-ab-dúr-šú</i> ).
			20-XI to 9-XII	

		<sup>1</sup> dùg- <i>ab-a-šab-šú</i> ka-zì-da), no. 132 (rev. 26, 32: dumu <sup>1</sup> dùg- <i>ab-a-šab-šú</i> ka-zì-da), no. 179 (obv. 3: dumu <sup>1</sup> dùg- <i>ab-a-šab-šu</i> ), PBS 2/2 no. 73 (rev. 29': <sup>1</sup> dùg- <i>ab-dúr-šú</i> <sup>14</sup> ka-zì-da), <sup>(501)</sup> CT 51 no. 39 (obv. 4–5: dumu <sup>1</sup> dùg- <i>ab-a-šab-šú</i> ka-zì-da), CBS 3091 (rev. 7: šu dumu <sup>1</sup> dùg- <i>ab-a-šab-šú</i> ).
CBS 3296	VIII - year 19 from VIII-year 17 to VIII-year 19	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 8, rev. 11). [Barley?], wheat, emmer and peas are issued. It's under the responsibility of Martuku.
CBS 3319		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 19') of Ninurta-apla-iddina. Cereals are issued.
CBS 3529	14 - XI	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 2–3). Flour is dealt with. The son of <i>Ṭāb-nupāršu</i> is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 81 (rev. 8: dumu <sup>1</sup> dùg- <i>ab-nu-pár-šu</i> )
CBS 3713	I - year 6	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3). Sheep and lamb are given for coming/going down of the king ( <i>arād šarri</i> ). The son of Šallī-lūmur is referred to.
CBS 3738	21 - XI - year 16 days 14–21	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 19). Flour is issued. Lā-qīpu is referred to.
CBS 7233	VIII is mentioned.	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 9'). Cereals are issued.
CBS 8737		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1). Cereals are issued. Parallels: BE 14 no. 167, PBS 2/2 no. 34. Cf. BE 15 no. 148 (obv. 3: dumu <sup>1d</sup> KA-DI- <i>lí-su</i> ), PBS 2/2 no. 101 (rev. 8: dumu <sup>1en</sup> - <i>kit-ti</i> ), CBS 3000 (lo. e. 6: <sup>1</sup> ṛzálag <sup>1</sup> - <sup>d</sup> kù-bi).
CBS 10564		<i>aklu</i> (2'). Fragment
CBS 11534	29 - XII - year 17	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 2). Flour is given for coming/going up of the king ( <i>elē šarri</i> ). The son of Sîn-nādin-apli is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 2': <i>aklu</i> , [dumu <sup>1d</sup> ]ṛXXX <sup>1</sup> - <i>na-din-ap-li</i> ).
CBS 13339	XII Date is partly broken.	ṛ <i>aklu</i> <sup>1</sup> (rev. 9'). Barley is issued.
N 957		<i>aklu</i> (rev. 8'). Cereals are issued. Several place names (nibru <sup>ki</sup> , <sup>uru</sup> arad-gašan, uru ša 10 é-kur, uru- <i>ir-re-e</i> ) are referred to.

<sup>(501)</sup> Here it is without dumu.



N 1981		⌈MN⌈		<i>aklu</i> (u. e. 1). Barley, wheat and emmer are issued.
N 2266	1350 BB	x -	-year 10 <sup>(502)</sup>	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 6) and <i>šītu</i> (obv. 6). Beerbread
		days 9-x		( <i>bappiru</i> ) is dealt with.
N 2341				<i>aklu</i> (4'). Fragment. The term <i>lā ašābu</i> is mentioned.
N 2714		⌈MN⌈		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1). Fragment. Barley is dealt with.
N 6573		[ ]- VIII		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1). Flour is dealt with.
		[ ]-VII to [ ]-VIII		
UM 29-13-683	1241 ŠŠ		- year 5	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 28'). Bull calves are dealt with. Three
		years 3-5 of RN		bull calves are delivered to the temple according to the order of the governor (rev. 25': 3 AD [ ] <i>ša ki-i gú-en-na a-na é dingir šu-ru-bu</i> ).
UM 29-16-347		[ ]- V		<i>aklu</i> (rev. 11'). Fragment. Beer and beer products are issued.
		days 30- [ ]		
UM 29-16-629				<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1-2). Fragment. Cereals are issued.
UM 29-16-678		2(+)- VII		<i>aklu</i> (rev. 14'). Fragment. Cereals are issued. Arad-bēlti is mentioned as a destination (rev. 9': <i>a-na<sup>uru</sup>arad-gašan<sup>ki</sup></i> ).
UM 29-16-731		VI is mentioned.		<i>aklu</i> (u. e. 14'). Barley is issued.

## 15.2. Possible *aklu* documents

We also have several documents in which the term *aklu* is not attested, but which have some similarities to the *aklu* documents. I arrange them with brief comments.

BE 14 no. 56	1296 NM	XII -	year 12	Barley, flour, beer and sheep are dealt with. The
		XI and XII		term <i>arād šarri u lā ašābu</i> is attested.
		are mentioned.		
BE 15 no. 27		18 -	XI - year 11	Flour is dealt with. The son of Rīš-Ištaran is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 4': <i>aklu</i> , [dumu <sup>l</sup> ]ri-iš- <sup>d</sup> KA-DI).
BE 15 no. 33		30 -	XII - year 12	Bull, calf, sheep and lamb are dealt with. The term <i>elē šarri</i> "Coming/going up of the king" is attested. Aḥa-iddina-M[arduk] is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 199 (rev. 30: <i>e-le lugal ù a-ra-ad</i>

<sup>(502)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text: BB year 10).

			<i>šar-ri</i> , rev. 44: <sup>l</sup> šeš-sum-na- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu).
BE 15 no. 34	2 - I - year 13		Barley, sheep and lamb are dealt with. The term <i>elē šarri</i> “Coming/going up of the king” is attested. The son of Rabâ-ša-ili is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 3': <i>aklu</i> , [dumu <sup>l</sup> ]gal-a-ša-dingir).
BE 15 no. 146	14 - I - year 25		Beer is dealt with. The son of Aqar-Marduk is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 119 (obv. 3: dumu <sup>l</sup> a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu ki-min (i. e. lunga)), no. 171 (rev. 15': dumu <sup>l</sup> a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu), BM 82651 <sup>(503)</sup> (lo. e. 5: [dumu <sup>l</sup> ]a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu).
BE 15 no. 148	29 - III - year 26		Beer is dealt with. The son of Ištaran-līssu is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 3: dumu <sup>ld</sup> KA-DI-lī-sú), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 3: [du]mu <sup>ld</sup> KA-DI-lī-su), CBS 8737 (obv. 2: dumu <sup>ld</sup> KA-D[I-līssu]).
PBS 2/2 no. 57	29 - XII - year 12		Beer is dealt with. The term <i>elē šarri</i> “Coming/going up of the king” is attested. The son of Mannu-kī-ili is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 12': [dumu <sup>l</sup> m]an-nu-ki-ì-lí), CBS 2111 (obv. 4: dumu <sup>l</sup> man-nu-ki-ding[ir]), CBS 2132 (obv. col. ii?, 8': dumu <sup>l</sup> man-n[u-ki- <sup>d</sup> x]).
PBS 2/2 no. 74	6 - IV - year 18		Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are dealt with. The son of Amurruma-ilu is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 19': dumu <sup>l</sup> mar-tu-ma-dingir).
PBS 2/2 no. 101	12 - I - year 24		Flour is dealt with. The son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 7: dumu <sup>l</sup> en-kit-ti), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 7: dumu <sup>l</sup> en-kit-ti), CBS 8737 (obv. 8: dumu <sup>l</sup> en-kit-ti).
MSKH no. 4	16 - I - year 18		Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are dealt with. The term <i>elē šarri u arād šarri</i> “Coming/going up and coming/going down of the king” is attested. The son of Mannī-Marduk is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 17': dumu <sup>l</sup> man-ni- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu).

<sup>(503)</sup> See Zadok and Zadok 1997; Weszeli and Jursa 1997; and Brinkman 1997.

MSKH no. 17	29	- XII -	year 12	The term <i>elē šarri</i> “Coming/going up of the king” is attested. The son of Enlil-dayyān is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 10 (obv. 6: <i>dumu<sup>1d</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub> lúlunga</i> ), BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 16': <i>dumu<sup>1d</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub></i> ), CBS 2132 (obv. col. i?', 13': <i>dumu<sup>1d</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub></i> ), CBS 3090 (obv. 3: <i>dumu<sup>1d</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub></i> ).
MSKH no. 22	19	- XI -	year 15	Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are dealt with. The term <i>arād šarri</i> “Coming/going down of the king” is attested. Šūzubu is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 21': <i>šū-zu-bu</i> ).
MUN 193	1229 Kšt	10(+)-[ ]	year 4	[Barley], flour and beer are issued for several purposes. [Seal reference] to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression. Parallel with MUN 192 ( <i>aklu</i> ) and 194 ( <i>aklu</i> ).
CBS 2111	26	- X -	year 24	Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are dealt with. The son of Mannu-kī-ili is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 12': [ <i>dumu<sup>1m</sup>an-nu-ki-ì-lí</i> ], PBS 2/2 no. 57 (lo. E. 5: <i>dumu<sup>1ma</sup>-an-nu-ki-dingir</i> ), CBS 2132 (obv. col. ii?', 8': <i>dumu<sup>1man</sup>-n[u-ki-<sup>d</sup>x]</i> ).
CBS 3000	15	- VII -	year 10 days 12?–15	Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are dealt with. ṚNūr-Kūbi is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 4: <i>dumu<sup>1z</sup>álag-<sup>d</sup>kù-bu</i> ), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 4: <i>dumu<sup>1z</sup>álag-<sup>d</sup>kù-bi</i> ), CBS 8737 (obv. 3: <i>dumu<sup>1z</sup>álag-<sup>d</sup>kù-b[u]</i> ).
CBS 3019	9	- XII	20-XI to 9-XII	Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are dealt with. Bubbu is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 60 (obv. 3: <i>bu-ub-bu lunga</i> ), no. 62 (rev. 18: <i>bu-ub-bu ki-min</i> (i. e. <i>lúlunga</i> )), no. 65 (obv. 4: <i>bu-ub-bu</i> ), no. 66 (obv. 4: <i>bu-ub-bu lùn Ṛgaṛ</i> ), BE 15 no. 3 (lo. e. 5–6: <i>bu-ub-bu lúlunga</i> ), no. 135 (obv. 3: <i>bu-ub-bu lùnga</i> ), PBS 2/2 no. 136 (obv. 10: <i>bu-ub-bu</i> ).
CBS 3090	16	- III -	year 18	Beer is dealt with. The son of Enlil-dayyān is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 10 (obv. 6: <i>dumu</i>

		<sup>ld</sup> en-líl-di-ku <sub>5</sub> <sup>ld</sup> lunga), BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 16': dumu <sup>ld</sup> en-líl-di-ku <sub>5</sub> ), MSKH no. 17 (rev. 9: dumu <sup>ld</sup> en-líl-di-ku <sub>5</sub> ), CBS 2132 (obv. col. i?, 13': dumu <sup>ld</sup> en-líl-di-ku <sub>5</sub> )
CBS 3103	26 - VIII - year 4	Barley, flour and beer are dealt with. Martuku is referred to. Āl-Šēlebi is mentioned.
UM 29-13-427a	20 - IX - year 24	Beer is dealt with. Ša-ili-banâ is referred to.
BM 82651 <sup>(504)</sup>	15 - IV - year 6 days 11–15	Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are dealt with. The [son] of Aqar-Marduk is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 119 (obv. 3: dumu <sup>l</sup> a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu ki-min (i. e. lunga)), no. 146 (obv. 3: dumu <sup>l</sup> a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu), no. 171 (rev. 15': dumu <sup>l</sup> a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu).
RT 19, no. 70, p. 56 <sup>(505)</sup>		Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are dealt with.

### 15.3. BE 15 no. 171

Some comments on the above-mentioned documents follow. BE 15 no. 171, is an *aklu* (obv. 11') document in which millers and brewers are listed.<sup>(506)</sup> We can find several millers and brewers in other documents also. I reproduce the transliteration of BE 15 no. 171 below to facilitate discussion.

BE 15 no. 171

Obv.

1'	[		<sup>l</sup> ta]-ri-bat-dingir
2'	[		dumu <sup>ld</sup> en-líl-di-ku <sub>5</sub> -na-din-ap-li
3'	[		dumu <sup>l</sup> gal-a-ša-dingir
4'	[		dumu <sup>l</sup> ri-iš- <sup>d</sup> KA-DI
5'	[	]	<sup>l</sup> a-na-zálag- <sup>d</sup> XXX-è
6'	[	x,x.]3.3 sila ì-giš	<sup>l</sup> ú- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu šu-la-aš-šu <sub>14</sub> <sup>(507)</sup>
7'	[	x,x.]4.	<sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-mu-ter-šu ki-min
8'	[]	ṛ2ṛ4,2.0.	<sup>l</sup> hu-un-zu-ú ki-min <sup>(508)</sup>

<sup>(504)</sup> Ibid.

<sup>(505)</sup> Only partial transliteration is made.

<sup>(506)</sup> In obv. 11', the *aklu* of millers (*ak-lu<sub>4</sub> ša gaz-zì-d[a]*) is found. Thus the persons listed on the obv. are millers. Possibly the persons listed on the rev. are brewers.

<sup>(507)</sup> "It (= this item) has been deducted for him." The reading is courtesy of M.Stol.

9'	[]sila	1 IGI 9 me 3,0.0.1 sila	
10'	[]x E	4 me 21,1.2.3 sila	<sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-mu-bal-iṭ
11'	[]	2 IGI 2 me 24,1.2.5 sila	ak-lu <sub>4</sub> ša gaz-zì-d[a]

Rev.

12'	[x,]r2ṽ.5.	1 me 11,1[+]	dumu <sup>l</sup> m]an-nu-ki-i-lí
13'	[]kun-šil <sup>š</sup> i-lu <sub>4</sub>	[ ]	
14'	[+]25,1.5.3 sila	1 me 3 r9,ṽ[x.x.]	dumu <sup>l</sup> ma-ši-dingir
15'	[]2 sila en 5,1.4.	1 me 33,2.1[+.]	dumu <sup>l</sup> a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
16'	[]en 5,0.3.	1 me 26,4.5.	dumu <sup>ld</sup> en-líl-di-ku <sub>5</sub>
17'	[]x en 4,2.5.3. <sup>(509)</sup>	1 me 31,4.3.	dumu <sup>l</sup> man-ni- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
18'	[+]2,4.2.	1 me 19,2,0.2 sila	<sup>l</sup> ú-sa-tu-ša
19'	[ ]	1 me 31,2.5.3 sila	dumu <sup>ld</sup> mar-tu-ma-dingir
20'	[ ]	1 me 20,2.5.	dumu <sup>ld</sup> iškur-qar-rad
21'	[ ]	x,+]1. r4,ṽ	<sup>l</sup> šu-zu-bu
22'	[ ]	]x E	dumu <sup>l</sup> i-lí-ma-a-ḫi

In obv. 2', the [son of] Sîn-nādin-apli ([dumu <sup>ld</sup>]rXXXṽ-na-din-ap-li) is mentioned. He also can be found in CBS 11534 obv. 4, in which flour is dealt with. He is a miller.

#### CBS 11534

Obv.

- 1 30<sup>l</sup>,3.5. zì-da
- 2 ak-lu<sub>4</sub>
- 3 A-KI-ŠA x
- 4 dumu <sup>l</sup>XXX-na-din-ibila

Lo. e.

- 5 <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-[ku<sub>5</sub>]
- 6 u<sub>4</sub>-29-kam

Rev.

- 7 mu-17-kam
- 8 e-le lugal

<sup>(508)</sup> ki-min can be read in the CDLI photo (P259809.jpg).

<sup>(509)</sup> For the reading “3,” see the CDLI photo.

In BE 15 no. 171, obv. 3', the [son of] Rabâ-ša-ili ([dumu <sup>l</sup>]gal-*a-ša*-dingir) is found. He also can be found in BE 15 no. 34 obv. 4, in which flour, sheep and lambs are dealt with. Probably he is a miller.

BE 15 no. 34

Obv.

1 10 gur zì-da  
 2 2 udu-níta  
 é-<sup>d</sup>gu-la<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>un-gal nibru<sup>ki</sup>  
 3 4 sila<sub>4</sub> kar-nin<sup>ki(510)</sup>  
 4 dumu <sup>l</sup>gal-šá-dingir

Rev.

5 <sup>iti</sup>bár-zag-gar u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam  
 6 mu-13-kam  
 7 e-le lugal

In BE 15 no. 171 obv. 4', the [son of] Rīš-Ištaran ([dumu <sup>l</sup>]ri-iš-<sup>d</sup>KA-DI) is found. He also can be found in BE 15 no. 27 obv. 2, in which flour is dealt with. He is a miller.

BE 15 no. 27

Obv.

1 4,3.1. zì-da  
 2 dumu <sup>l</sup>ri-iš-<sup>d</sup>KA-DI  
 3 <sup>iti</sup>zíz-A u<sub>4</sub>-18-kam  
 4 mu-11-kam

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 12', the [son of] Mannu-kī-ili ([dumu <sup>l</sup>m]an-nu-ki-ì-lí) is referred to. He also can be found in PBS 2/2 no. 57 lo. e. 5, CBS 2111 obv. 4. In both documents, beer is dealt with. It is quite likely that he is a brewer.

PBS 2/2 no. 57

Obv.

1 20 1/2 kaš sag

CBS 2111

Obv.

1 17 kaš sag

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<sup>(510)</sup> The reading as nin<sup>ki</sup> is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt. M. Stol tentatively suggests a possibility to emend it as *Dam-qi* (as personal name).

2	<u>30 1/2</u>	<u>kaš UŠ</u>	2	26	kaš UŠ
3	<u>1</u>	<u>dug gal sag</u>	3	4 s̄ila	báppir
4	5	dug tur	4	dumu	<sup>l</sup> man-nu-ki-ding[ir]
Lo. E.			Rev.		
5	dumu	<sup>l</sup> ma-an-nu-ki-dingir	5	<sup>iti</sup> ab- r̄èṽ	
Rev.			6	u <sub>4</sub> -26-kam	
6	<sup>iti</sup> še-KIN-ku <sub>5</sub>	u <sub>4</sub> -29-kam	7	mu-24-kam	
7	mu-12-kam		8	dumu	<sup>l</sup> gal-šá-dingir
8	e-le	lugal	9	in-sar	

It may be significant that the son of Mannu-kī-ili and the son of Enlil-dayyān are stated in BE 15 no. 171<sup>(511)</sup> and the son of Mann[u-kī-ili] and the son of Enlil-dayyān are mentioned in CBS 2132.<sup>(512)</sup>

In a similar example, the son of Maši-ilu and Usātūša are mentioned in BE 15 no. 171,<sup>(513)</sup> and the son of Maši-ilu and the son of Usātūša are mentioned in BE 15 no. 194.<sup>(514)</sup>

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 15', the son of Aqar-Marduk (dumu <sup>l</sup>a-qar-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu) is found. He also can be found in BE 15 no. 119 obv. 3, no. 146 obv. 3, BM 82651<sup>(515)</sup> lo. e. 5. He is attested as brewer in BE 15 no. 119 obv. 3.

#### BE 15 no. 119

Obv.

1	<u>še sum-nu</u>	<sup>gis</sup> bán gal	<u>za-rat-bàd-<sup>d</sup>gu-la</u>
2	<u>3.0.0.</u>	dumu	<sup>l</sup> ib-ni- <sup>dé</sup> -a-lugal lunga
3	<u>3.0.0.</u>	dumu	<sup>l</sup> a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu ki-min
4	<u>3.0.0.</u>	<sup>l</sup> re-eš-UD-šú	ka-zì-da
5	pap 9,0.0.	<sup>iti</sup> še-kin-ku <sub>5</sub>	
6		u <sub>4</sub> -26-kam	

#### BE 15 no. 146

Obv.

1	10	dug gal sag
2	9 <sup>(516)</sup>	dug gal UŠ
3	dumu	<sup>l</sup> a-qar- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu

Rev.

4	<sup>riti</sup> bār-zag-gar
5	u <sub>4</sub> -14-kam

<sup>(511)</sup> rev. 12': [dumu <sup>l</sup>m]an-nu-ki-ì-lí; rev. 16': dumu <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>(512)</sup> obv. col. ii?, 8': dumu <sup>l</sup>man-n[u-ki-<sup>d</sup>x]; obv. col. i?, 13': dumu <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>(513)</sup> rev. 14': dumu <sup>l</sup>ma-ši-dingir; rev. 18': <sup>l</sup>ú-sa-tu-ša.

<sup>(514)</sup> rev. 15: dumu <sup>l</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>-ší-[dingir]; rev. 17: dumu <sup>l</sup>ú-sa-tu-ša.

<sup>(515)</sup> See Zadok and Zadok 1997 (PBS 2/2 no. 74 is given as a parallel example); Weszeli and Jursa 1997 (MSKH no. 4, no. 22, and PBS 2/2 no. 57, no. 74 are cited as parallel examples, and BE 15 no. 119, no. 146, and no. 171 are given as references to the son of Aqar-Marduk); and Brinkman 1997.

<sup>(516)</sup> The number in the CDLI photo looks like 9 to me.

7 mu-21-kam

6 mu-25-kam

7 <sup>l</sup>ú-sat-<sup>d</sup>gu-la in-sar

BM 82651

Obv.

1 6 kaš sag  
 2 20 kaš UŠ  
 3 1 dug tur  
 4 2 sila báppir

Lo. E.

5 [dumu <sup>l</sup>a-qar-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu  
 6 [<sup>i</sup>]išu-numun-na

Rev.

7 ta u<sub>4</sub>-11-kam  
 8 en u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam  
 9 mu-6-kam

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 16', the son of *Enlil-dayyān* (dumu <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub>) is found. He also can be found in BE 14 no. 10 obv. 6, MSKH no. 17 rev. 9, CBS 3090 obv. 3. In BE 14 no. 10 obv. 6, he is attested as brewer.

BE 14 no. 10

Obv.

1	gu <sub>4</sub> -nín <sup>d</sup> a ša i-na mu-1-kam ku-ri-gal-zu <sup>l</sup> ib-ni-[ <sup>d</sup> utu iddinu]					
2	<sup>l</sup> ib-ni- <sup>d</sup> utu <sup>l</sup> zálag- <sup>d</sup> utu <sup>l</sup> ta-ri'-bat- <sup>ld</sup> é-a- šu-nígin mu-bi- <sup>r</sup> im <sup>r</sup>					
3	- <sup>d</sup> riškur <sup>r</sup> -tu-kul-ti					
4	25		[ ]		25	<sup>l</sup> e-til-ka- <sup>d</sup> nin- <sup>r</sup> urta <sup>r</sup> [ ]
5	1 ka-nik-ta dumu <sup>l</sup> dingir-búr-ra ma- <sup>hi</sup> -ir				1	dumu <sup>l</sup> i-na-abzu-di-ku <sub>5</sub> <sup>lú</sup> ?[ ]
6	1 ki-min				1	dumu <sup>ld</sup> en-líl-di-ku <sub>5</sub> <sup>lú</sup> lunga

MSKH no. 17

Rev.

6 <sup>iti</sup>še-<sup>r</sup>KIN<sup>r</sup>-ku<sub>5</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-29-kam  
 7 <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>r</sup>-12-kam  
 8 <sup>r</sup>e-le<sup>r</sup> lugal  
 9 dumu <sup>ld</sup>en<sup>r</sup>-líl-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>r</sup>-a-a-an

CBS 3090

Obv.

1 2 kaš sag  
 2 2 kaš UŠ  
 3 dumu <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub>  
 4 <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-a  
 5 u<sub>4</sub>-16-kam



Lo. E.

6 mu-18-kam

It may be significant that the son of Enlil-dayyān and the son of Mannu-kī-ili are mentioned in BE 15 no. 171<sup>(517)</sup> and the son of Enlil-dayyān and the son of Mann[u-kī-ili] are mentioned in CBS 2132.<sup>(518)</sup>

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 17', the son of Mannī-Marduk (dumu <sup>l</sup>*man-ni*-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu) is stated. He also can be found in MSKH no. 4 lo. e. 7, in which beer and beer products are dealt with. It is likely that he is a brewer.

MSKH no. 4

Obv.

1	<u>1 me 13</u>	<u>kaš sag</u>
2	<u>2 me 28</u>	<u>kaš UŠ</u>
3	<u>5</u>	<u>dug gal sag</u>
4	<u>2</u>	<u>dug gal UŠ</u>
5	<u>1</u>	<u>dug tur</u>
6	0,0.2.3 ṣila	báppir

Lo. E.

7	dumu <sup>l</sup> <i>man-ni</i> - <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
8	<sup>iti</sup> bára-zag-gar u <sub>4</sub> -16-kam

Rev.

9	mu-18-kam
10	<i>e-le</i> lugal ù <i>a-rad</i> lu ṣgal
11	<i>ka-ni-ka</i> -ṣtu <sub>4</sub> ṣa a-ab-bṣa
12	<i>ḥu</i> -ṣup <sup>ṣ</sup> - <i>pa-a-ma</i> ṣa-na <sup>ṣ</sup> il-te-et
13	<i>tu-ur<sub>4</sub>-ra</i>

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 19', the son of Amurruma-ilu (dumu <sup>ld</sup>mar-tu-*ma*-dingir) is mentioned. He also can be found in PBS 2/2 no. 74 obv. 4, in which beer and beerbread (*bappiru*) are dealt with. It is likely that he is a brewer.

PBS 2/2 no. 74

Obv.

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(<sup>517</sup>) rev. 16': dumu <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub>; rev. 12': [dumu <sup>l</sup>*m*]an-nu-ki-ì-lí.

(<sup>518</sup>) obv. col. i?, 13': dumu <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-di-ku<sub>5</sub>; obv. col. ii?, 8': dumu <sup>l</sup>*man-n*[u-ki-<sup>d</sup>x].

- 1 6 kaš sag  
 2 14 kaš UŠ  
 3 4 sila báppir  
 4 dumu <sup>1d</sup>kur-ma-dingir  
 5 <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun-na  
 6 u<sub>4</sub>-6-kam  
 7 mu-18-kam

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 21', Šūzubu (<sup>1</sup>šu-zu-bu) is referred to. He also can be found in MSKH no. 22 lo. e. 5, in which beer and beerbread (*bappiru*) are dealt with. It is likely that he is a brewer.

MSKH no. 22

Obv.

- 1 1 me 46<sup>1</sup> kaš 1sag<sup>1</sup>  
 2 1 1me<sup>1</sup> 3 kaš 1UŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 3 1 dug tur  
 4 0,1.2. báppir

Lo. E.

- 5 <sup>1</sup>šu-zu-bu  
 6 <sup>iti</sup>ziz-A

Rev.

- 7 u<sub>4</sub>-19-kam  
 8 mu-15-kam  
 9 a-rad lugal

Regarding the dates of these documents, only BE 14 no. 10 is dated with a royal name (KG year 2 [1331]).

CBS 11534	29 - XII - year 17	The son of Sîn-nādin-apli (miller), <i>elē šarri</i>
BE 15 no. 34	2 - I - year 13	The son of Rabâ-ša-ili (probably miller), <i>elē šarri</i>
BE 15 no. 27	18 - XI - year 11	The son of Rīš-Ištaran (miller)
PBS 2/2 no. 57	29 - XII - year 12	The son of Mannu-kī-ili (probably brewer), <i>elē šarri</i>
CBS 2111	26 - X - year 24	The son of Mannu-kī-ili (probably brewer)
BE 15 no. 119	26 - XII - year 21	The son of Aqar-Marduk (brewer)

BE 15 no. 146	14 - I - year 25	The son of Aqar-Marduk (brewer)	
BM 82651	15 - IV - year 6	The son of Aqar-Marduk (brewer)	
	days 11–15		
BE 14 no. 10	1331 KG	- year 2	The son of Enlil-dayyān (brewer)
MSKH no. 17	29 - XII - year 12		The son of Enlil-dayyān (brewer), <i>elē šarri</i>
CBS 3090	16 - III - year 18		The son of Enlil-dayyān (brewer)
MSKH no. 4	16 - I - year 18		The son of Mannī-Marduk (probably brewer), <i>elē šarri u arād šarri</i>
PBS 2/2 no. 74	6 - IV - year 18		The son of Amurruma-ilu (probably brewer)
MSKH no. 22	19 - XI - year 15		Šūzubu (probably brewer), <i>arād šarri</i>

In BE 15 no. 119, the son of Aqar-Marduk, a brewer (obv. 3), and Rēš-ašūšu, a miller (obv. 4), received barley. Rēš-ašūšu the miller seems to have worked with Innannu<sup>(519)</sup> and Martuku,<sup>(520)</sup> who are well attested in Das Archiv des Speichers.<sup>(521)</sup> Therefore the son of Aqar-Marduk and Rēš-ašūšu, and also the millers and the brewers in BE 15 no. 171, may have been artisans of Das Archiv des Speichers.

In Das Archiv des Speichers, Zarat-Karkara (tent of Karkara) is often mentioned.<sup>(522)</sup> It should be located near Karkara, which is located south of Nippur.<sup>(523)</sup> Also in MSKH no. 4 (which mentions the son of Mannī-Marduk, probably brewer), the sealed tablets of the Sea Land are referred to (rev. 11: *ka-ni-ka-ṭtu₄ ṣa a-ab-bṛa*). In brief these artisans seem to have worked in the area south of Nippur. However, in these documents we can find the terms *elē šarri* “coming/going up of the king”<sup>(524)</sup>, *arād šarri* “coming/going down of the king”<sup>(525)</sup>, and *elē šarri u arād šarri* “coming/going up and coming/going down of the king”<sup>(526)</sup>. Did the course of the king’s coming/going include the southern area? Or were these commodities sent to Nippur for the coming/going of the king?

<sup>(519)</sup> For example, BE 15 nos. 104, 116, 118, 124.

<sup>(520)</sup> For example, BE 14 no. 45.

<sup>(521)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 188–190.

<sup>(522)</sup> For example, with Innannu (BE 15 no 3 obv. 3, no. 63 obv. 3, no. 86 obv. 2, CBS 3133 obv. 2, CBS 3179 obv. 2), with Martuku (BE 15 no. 31 rev. 9).

<sup>(523)</sup> See Nashef 1982, 342 (map).

<sup>(524)</sup> CBS 11534 rev. 8, BE 15 no. 34 rev. 7, PBS 2/2 no. 57 rev. 8, MSKH no. 17 rev. 8.

<sup>(525)</sup> MSKH no. 22 rev. 9.

<sup>(526)</sup> MSKH no. 4 rev. 10.

#### 15.4. BE 14 no. 167, PBS 2/2 no. 34, and CBS 8737<sup>(527)</sup>

It is well known that BE 14 no. 167 (*aklu*) is parallel to PBS 2/2 no. 34 (*aklu*). We have some additional parallel documents. I discuss them here.

<u>BE 14 no. 167</u>		<u>PBS 2/2 no. 34</u>
Obv.		Obv.
1	še <i>ak-lu</i> <sub>4</sub> <i>ša</i> mu-24-kam mu-25-[kam]	1 <še> <i>ak-lu</i> <sub>4</sub> <i>ša</i> mu-ṛ2ṛ4-kam mu-25-[kam]
2	<i>ša a-na</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ba-il</i> - <sup>d</sup> amar-utu <i>ú-še</i> -[ <i>lu-ú</i> ] <sup>(528)</sup>	2 <i>a-&lt;na&gt;</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ba-[i]</i> - <sup>d</sup> amar-utu <i>ú-še-lu-ú</i>
3	1-ṛš <sub>u</sub> 3ṛ,0.0.3 sila dumu <sup>1d</sup> KA-DI- <i>lí-sú</i>	3 1-š <sub>u</sub> 3,0.0.3 sila [du]mu <sup>1d</sup> KA-DI- <i>lí-su</i>
4	ṛ94ṛ,0.0. dumu <sup>1</sup> zálag- <sup>d</sup> kù-bu	4 94,0.0. dumu <sup>1</sup> zálag- <sup>d</sup> kù-bi
5	ṛ71,3ṛ.0. dumu <sup>1</sup> eri- <i>ba</i> - <sup>d</sup> U-GUR	5 71,3.0. [du]mu <sup>1</sup> eri- <i>ba</i> - <sup>d</sup> U-GUR
6	48,0.1. dumu <sup>1d</sup> sukkal- <i>ta-am-la-ak</i> -dingir <sup>meš</sup>	6 48,0.1. [du]mu <sup>1d</sup> sukkal- <i>tam-lak</i> -dingir <sup>meš</sup>
7	1 me 25,3.3. dumu <sup>1</sup> en- <i>kit-ti</i>	7 1 me 25,[3].3. dumu <sup>1</sup> en- <i>kit-ti</i>
8	1 me 48, <sup>(529)</sup> 2.0. bára <sup>d</sup> en-líl	8 ṛ1 me 48,2.0.ṛ é <sup>d</sup> utu <i>ù</i> <sup>d</sup> amar-utu bára <sup>d</sup> en-líl
9	48,0.0. é <sup>d</sup> iš <sub>8</sub> -tár	9 [48,0.0.] é <sup>d</sup> iš <sub>8</sub> -tár
10	1 me 44,3.4. šuk é-gal	10 ṛ1 me 44ṛ,3.4. šuk é- <i>nu</i>
11	1-š <sub>u</sub> 1,0.0. šuk gu <sup>meš</sup> <i>ma-ru-ti</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>a-ḥu-ši-na</i>	11 1-š <sub>u</sub> 1,0.0. šuk gu <sup>meš</sup> - <i>ḥi-a</i> [ni]ga <sup>1</sup> <i>a-ḥu-ši-na</i>
12	38,0.0. šuk udu-níta <sup>1</sup> <i>a-ḥu-x</i> [ ]	12 38,0.0. šuk udu-níta <sup>1</sup> <i>a-ḥu-x</i> [ ]
13	83,3.1.5 1/2 sila <sup>ḥír</sup> <sup>(530)</sup> - <i>ga-lu-ú</i> <sup>1</sup> x[ ]	13 83,3.1.5 sila <sup>ḥír</sup> - <i>ga-lu-ú</i> <sup>1</sup> ki-min[ ]
14	55,0.0. šuk gu <sup>meš</sup> <i>ma-ru-ti</i> [ ]	14 55,0.0. šuk gu <sup>meš</sup> - <i>ḥi-a</i> niga <sup>1d</sup> iškur-lu[gal-dingir <sup>meš</sup> ]
15	<sup>1d</sup> iškur-lugal-dingir[ <sup>meš</sup> ]	
16	31,0.0. šuk udu-níta <sup>1</sup> ki-min	15 31,0.0. šuk udu-níta <sup>1</sup> ki-min
17	22,4.0. šuk gu <sup>meš</sup> <i>ù</i> [udu-níta]	16 22,4.0. šuk gu <sup>meš</sup> <i>ù</i> udu-níta <sup>1</sup> š <sub>u</sub> - <i>zu</i> /ma[ ]
18	<sup>1</sup> ṛš <sub>u</sub> <sup>?</sup> - <i>zu</i> <sup>?</sup> - <i>bu</i> <sup>?</sup>	
Rev.		
19	16,0.0. šuk gu <sup>meš</sup> <i>ù</i> udu-níta	17 16,0.0. ki-min <sup>1</sup> <i>i-qí-ša</i> - <sup>d</sup> amar-utu

<sup>(527)</sup> CBS 8737 is referred to as an *aklu* document in Sassmannshausen 2001, 318. Here (15.4) the translations of the passages are in the footnotes for reasons of space.

<sup>(528)</sup> “The barley expenditure which they deducted for Bā’il-Marduk from 24<sup>th</sup> year to 25<sup>th</sup> year.”

<sup>(529)</sup> “48” can be read in the CDLI photo ([P259786.jpg](https://cdli.oxfordjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1093/cdl/20.1.1)).

<sup>(530)</sup> The phonetic value *ḥír* in MB has not been attested. See von Soden and Röllig 1991, 46, 15\*.

20	6,0.0.	šuk udu-níta <sup>l</sup> hu-un-zu-Γú <sup>1</sup>	18	6,0.0.	šuk udu-níta <sup>l</sup> hu-un-zu-ú
21	1 me 10,2.5.4 sila	šuk mušen-ḫi-a	19	1 me 10,2.5. Rev.	šuk mušen-ḫi-a
22	6,0.0.	šuk ar-ri <sup>(531)</sup>	20	6,0.0.	šuk ar-ri
23	98,0.2.	ḫír-ga-lu-ú <sup>l</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> ba-nu-Γú <sup>1</sup>	21	98,0.2.	ḫír-ga-lu-ú <sup>l</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> dù
24	2,0.0.	šuk udu-níta <sup>l</sup> ba-il- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu	22	2,0.0.	šuk udu-níta <sup>l</sup> ba-il- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
25	4 me 28,1.1.3 sila	<sup>l</sup> ki-min	23	4 me 28,1.1.3 sila	ša ka ka-ni-k[a-t]u <sub>4</sub>
26	12,0.0.	ta-ba-a-tu <sub>4</sub> <sup>(533)</sup>	24	ḫu-up-pa-ti a-di zì-da	<sup>l</sup> ba-il- <sup>d</sup> amar-Γutu <sup>1</sup> <sup>(532)</sup>
27	1 me 40,0.0.	še-ba ù šuk gu <sub>4</sub> <sup>meš</sup>	25	12,0.0.	ša ta-ba-a-ti
28	35,0.0.	ŠE-NUMUN	26	1 me 40,0.0.	še-ba <ù> šuk gu <sub>4</sub> -ḫi-a énsi <sup>meš</sup>
29	5,0.0.	É-MAŠ kiš <sup>ki</sup>	27	35,0.0.	ŠE-NUMUN
30	24,0.0.	a-na e-peš <sup>giš</sup> má <sup>meš</sup> <sup>(534)</sup>	28	5,0.0.	É-MAŠ kiš <sup>ki</sup>
31	2 me 50,0.0.	<sup>l</sup> aš-šur-iš-man-ni ta ru-ub-bu šu-lu <sup>(535)</sup>	29	24,0.0.	a-na e-pe-[eš <sup>giš</sup> m]á <sup>meš</sup>
32	50,0.0.	dumu <sup>l</sup> ša-dingir-ma-sig <sub>5</sub> -qá-a <sup>(536)</sup>	30	2 me 50,0.0.	<sup>l</sup> aš-šu[r-iš-man]-ni ta ru-ub-ú šu-lu
33	3 IGI 6 me 85,3.3.	še-ba	31	Γ50 <sup>1</sup> ,0.0.	dumu <sup>l</sup> ša-dingir-ma-Γdam <sup>1</sup> -qá ki-min
34	šu-nigin 5 IGI 9 me 3,2.4.3 sila		32	Γ3 IGI 6 me 85 <sup>1</sup> ,3.3.	še-ba
			33	šu-nigin 5 IGI 9 me 3,2.4.3 sila	
			34	ì-giš	še-giš-ì <sup>giš</sup> bán še-ba
			35	11,4.1 <sup>(537)</sup> .5 1/2 sila	0,0.2.4 1/2 sila <sup>l</sup> eri-ba- <sup>d</sup> U-GUR
			36	8,1.2.6 sila	2 gú-zi 0,1.2.4 sila <sup>l</sup> be-lu-ú

<sup>(531)</sup> “Ration for birds”

<sup>(532)</sup> “According to the cancelled sealed documents, including flour of *Bā’il-Mar*Γduk<sup>1</sup>”

<sup>(533)</sup> “For vinegar”

<sup>(534)</sup> “For the making of ships”

<sup>(535)</sup> “After the additional payment was taken out” (CAD R, 394).

<sup>(536)</sup> For the reading -a, see the CDLI photo ([P259786.jpg](https://cdli.oxfordjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1093/cdli/p259786)).

<sup>(537)</sup> About 1, see the CDLI photo.

		37	5,1.3.	<sup>ld</sup> AG- <i>lí-su</i>
			u. e.	
		38	25,1.5. 0,1.3.1	sìla
35	<i>a-na</i> <sup>l</sup> <i>ba-il</i> - <sup>d</sup> amar-utu <i>ú-še-lu-</i> 𒌶𒌷	39	<i>ša a-na</i> <sup>l</sup> <i>ba-il</i> - <sup>d</sup> amar-utu <i>ú-še-lu-</i> 𒌶𒌷	

Both documents clearly deal with the same expenditure, but PBS 2/2 no. 34 generally gives more detail. For example, only PBS 2/2 no. 34 has the account of oil and sesame (rev. 34–u. e. 38).<sup>(538)</sup> However, sometimes the numbers in BE 14 no. 167 are more detailed. For example, BE 14 no. 167 obv. 13 (83,3.1.5 1/2 sìla) versus PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 13 (83,3.1.5 sìla) and BE 14 no. 167 rev. 21 (1 me 10,2.5.4 sìla) versus PBS 2/2 no. 34 rev. 19 (1 me 10,2.5.). Probably there was an original account, and both BE 14 no. 167 and PBS 2/2 no. 34 are copies of it.

In BE 14 no. 167 obv. 3–7 and PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 3–7, the son of Ištaran-lissu, son of Nūr-Kūbu, son of Erība-Nergal, son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni and son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti are mentioned. They are also found in CBS 8737 obv. 2–5, 8. The son of Ištaran-lissu, son of Nūr-Kūbu, son of Erība-Nergal, son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni are attested as brewers. It should be noted that the amounts of barley for the artisans in CBS 8737 seem to be the same as those in BE 14 no. 167 and PBS 2/2 no. 34. Therefore the three documents deal with the same expenditure.

### CBS 8737

Obv.

1	[ ] <i>ak-lu</i> <sub>4</sub>	LÁL-DÙ	<i>ša</i> x [ ]
2	[1]- <i>šu</i> 3,0.0.3 sìla	1 me 43,1.2.3 sìla	dumu <sup>ld</sup> KA-D[I- <i>lissu</i> ]
3	[9]4,0.0.	1- <i>šu</i> 4,1.1.	dumu <sup>l</sup> zálag- <sup>d</sup> kù-b[u]
4	[7]1,3.0.	1- <i>šu</i>	dumu <sup>l</sup> eri- <i>ba</i> - <sup>d</sup> U-G[UR]
5	[48,0.]1.	1 me 24,0.4.	dumu <sup>ld</sup> sukkal- <i>tam-lak</i> -dingir[ <sup>meš</sup> ]
6	[ ]	x 3 me 92,3.5.	<i>ša</i> <sup>lu</sup> lunga <sup>meš</sup>
7	[ ]	3 sìla	
8	[ ]	+]6,1 PI	dumu <sup>l</sup> en- <i>kit-ti</i> [ ]
9	[ ]	] x	<i>hír-ga-lu-ú</i> x x [ ]
10	[ ]	] ]	x x x x x

Lo. e.

10	[ ]	] 2 sìla	šuk máš- <i>h</i> i-a
----	-----	----------	-----------------------

<sup>(538)</sup> See also BE 14 no. 167 obv. 8 (bára <sup>d</sup>en-líl) versus PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 8 (é <sup>d</sup>utu <sup>d</sup>amar-utu bára <sup>d</sup>en-líl). Also BE 14 no. 167 rev. 25 (<sup>l</sup>ki-min) versus PBS 2/2 no. 34 rev. 23–24 (*ša ka ka-ni-k[a-t]u*<sub>4</sub> *h*u-up-pa-ti a-di zì-da <sup>l</sup>ba-il-<sup>d</sup>amar-<sup>r</sup>utu<sup>r</sup>).

Rev.

Broken

Here we can find a column for *aklu* and one for the remainder.<sup>(539)</sup> In BE 14 no. 144, we find a similar situation.

BE 14 no. 144

Obv.

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | ṛ78 <sup>2</sup> ,1.4. še <sup>ṛ</sup> gišbán gal sag ní-ga                | (1) ṛ78 <sup>2</sup> ,1.4. barley <sup>ṛ</sup> , measured by the large measure, as property. |
| 2 | éš-gâr 4/šá <sup>(540)</sup> lú <sup>1</sup> lunga <sup>meš</sup> mu-5-kam | (2) work assignment of/for 4 brewers 5 <sup>th</sup> year.                                   |
| 3 | 49,2 PI.0.6 sila ak-lu <sub>4</sub>  | (3) 49,2.0.6. expenditure.   |
| 4 | 10 gur 1 PI tu-bu-uk-ku-ú <sup>(541)</sup>                                 | (4) 10,1.0. (for) an offering of grain.  |
| 5 | i-na 1 gur 1 PI  | (5) among which 1,1.0.   |
| 6 | 5,0.0. á <sup>meš</sup> giš <sup>ṛ</sup> mar-gíd-da <sup>meš</sup>         | (6) 5,0.0. (for) the wages for the men working with the carts/wagons.                        |

Rev.

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 7 | pap 1-šu 4,3 PI 6 <sup>1</sup> sila ak-lu <sub>4</sub> | (7) total 64,3.0.6 <sup>1</sup> . expenditure.      |
| 8 | 13,3.3.5 <sup>(542)</sup> sila LÁL-DÙ                  | (8) 13,3.3.5. remainder.                            |
| 9 | [mu-]6-kam kaš-til-ia-šu lugal-e                       | (9) 6 <sup>th</sup> year (of) Kaštilyašu, the king. |

We can see barley issued for several purposes, including the work assignments of the brewers. It should be noted that these barley disbursals were summed up as *aklu*.<sup>(543)</sup> The amount of the remainder is then stated. The situation of BE 14 no. 144 seems to match that of CBS 8737. In BE 14 no. 144 obv. 1, the barley is stated as the property (sag ní-ga). Probably the term sag ní-ga was in the lost part (left side) of CBS 8737.

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<sup>(539)</sup> It is the remainder of the barley that was not distributed as *aklu* yet.

<sup>(540)</sup> About *šá*, it is suggested by W. H. van Soldt.

<sup>(541)</sup> About *tubukkû*, see *AHw* 1979, 1365 “ein Kornopfer” and CAD T 2006, 448 “heaped-up grain.”

<sup>(542)</sup> Here the number should be 4 if the amount of the large measure was 10 *qa*. However, the number on the photo of CDLI looks 5 for me (P259754.jpg).

<sup>(543)</sup> Cf. CBS 3296 in which some cereals ([barley], emmer and peas) were issued for the several purposes such as work assignments (*iškaru*) for the brewers and the millers, ration (*ipru*), etc. Then, these issues were summed up as *aklu*.

In CUSAS 30 no. 121, barley was issued for the *aklu*-expenditure, work assignment (*iškaru*), and ration (*ipru*). Then they were summed up as *aklu*.

In BE 14 no. 167 obv. 3, PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 3 and CBS 8737 obv. 2, the son of Ištaran-līssu is found. He also can be found in BE 15 no. 148 obv. 3. He is a brewer.

BE 15 no. 148

Obv.

- |   |                                       |         |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------|
| 1 | [+]r8 <sup>1</sup> 1/2                | kaš sag |
| 2 | 19                                    | kaš UŠ  |
| 3 | dumu <sup>1d</sup> KA-DI-lī-su        |         |
| 4 | <sup>iti</sup> sig <sub>4</sub> -ga-a |         |

Lo. E.

- |   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| 5 | u <sub>4</sub> -29-kam |
|---|------------------------|

Rev.

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 6 | mu-26-kam                     |
| 7 | <sup>1</sup> mu-lib-ši in-sar |

In BE 14 no. 167 obv. 4, PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 4 and CBS 8737 obv. 3, the son of Nūr-Kūbu is attested. A certain Nūr-Kūbu can be found in CBS 3000 (*aklu?*, beer) lo. e. 6. It is unknown if the Nūr-Kūbu of CBS 3000 has some connection with the son of Nūr-Kūbu.

CBS 3000

Obv.

- |   |                |  |
|---|----------------|--|
| 1 | 20             | kaš sag  |
| 2 | 1 me 10        | kaš UŠ   |
| 3 | 10             | dug gal <sup>1</sup> MAŠ-ĪA- <sup>d</sup> sukkal |
| 4 | 1 <sup>2</sup> | dug tur x  |
| 5 | 0,0.1.         | bápp[i]r <sup>2</sup>                            |

Lo. E.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 6 | <sup>1</sup> rzálag <sup>1</sup> - <sup>d</sup> kù-bi |
| 7 | <sup>iti</sup> d[u <sub>6</sub> -k]ù                  |

Rev.

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 8  | [t]a u <sub>4</sub> -12 <sup>2</sup> -ka[m]               |
| 9  | r <sup>1</sup> a-dī <sup>1</sup> u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam   |
| 10 | mu-10-kam   |
| 11 | r <sup>1</sup> aga <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> ku-ri-gal-zu |

U. E.



12 *ú-pi-i-ru*<sup>(544)</sup>

In BE 14 no. 167 obv. 7, PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 7 and CBS 8737 obv. 8, the son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti is found. Possibly he is also stated in PBS 2/2 no. 101 rev. 8, and probably he is a miller.

PBS 2/2 no. 101

Obv.

1 4,3.1. zì gig  
2 0,4.3. zì zíz-AN-NA  
3 0,4.4.1 sila zì *pa-ḫi-du*  
4 2,1.4. zì ma-ad-gá  
5 0,0.5.5 sila zì babbar  
6 5,1.4.5 sila zì *mi-ir-qu*

Lo. E.

7 šu-nigin 14,1.4.5 sila zì-da

Rev.

8 dumu <sup>1</sup>en-*kit-ti*  
9 <sup>iti</sup>bár-zag-gar  
10 u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam  
11 mu-24-kam  
12 <sup>1</sup>bi-in-nu-nu

U. E.

13 in-sar

Regarding the dates of these documents, unfortunately none are dated with a royal name. But we can find the year 24–26 of an unknown king. The king may be Burna-Buriyaš II, Kurigalzu II, or Nazi-Maruttaš.

BE 14 no. 167	- year 25	The son of Ištaran-līssu (a brewer), son of
	from year 24	Nūr-Kūbu (a brewer), son of Erība-Nergal
	to year 25	(a brewer), son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni (a
		brewer), son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti (possibly a
		miller)
PBS 2/2 no. 34	- year 25	The son of Ištaran-līssu (a brewer), son of
	from year 24	Nūr-Kūbu (a brewer), son of Erība-Nergal

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<sup>(544)</sup> W. H. van Soldt's note: end *-šú*<sup>?</sup> (*pa'āšu*<sup>?</sup>). Or *-du*<sup>1</sup>? (*pādu*<sup>?</sup>). A personal communication.

	to year 25	(a brewer), son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni (a brewer), son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti (possibly a miller)
BE 15 no. 148	29 - III - year 26	The son of Ištaran-līssu (a brewer)
PBS 2/2 no. 101	12 - I - year 24	The son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti (possibly a miller)
CBS 3000	15 - VII - year 10	𒀭Nūr-Kūbi (possibly brewer)
	days 12?	

It should be noted that in the above-mentioned unsealed *aklu* documents (BE 15, no. 171, BE 14 no. 167, PBS 2/2 no. 34, and CBS 8737), the barley was issued to brewers and millers.<sup>(545)</sup> As stated above, the artisans (brewers, millers, oil-pressers) and shepherds prepared their commodities (beer, flour, oil, sheep) for the *aklu* expenditure<sup>(546)</sup> and then the account was sealed by an official. However, in the case of barley (such as BE 15, no. 171, BE 14 no. 167, PBS 2/2 no. 34, and CBS 8737), the term *aklu* can be used for disbursements for various purposes, including allocations for brewers and millers.

#### 15.5. BE 15 no.33 and no. 199.

In BE 15 no. 33, a bull, calf, sheep and lambs are dealt with. The term *elē šarri* “coming/going up of the king” is attested. Aḥa-iddina-M[arduk] is referred to.

#### BE 15 no. 33

Obv.

1	2	gu <sub>4</sub>
2	3	amar
3	1	udu-níta
4	4	sil <sub>4</sub>
5		l̄šeš-sum-na- <sup>d</sup> a[mar-utu]

Rev.

6		itiše-kin-ku <sub>5</sub> u <sub>4</sub> -30-kam
7		e-le lugal
8		mu-12-kam

<sup>(545)</sup> Deheselle 1996, 220. She referred to BE 15 no. 171 and supposed the commodities should be barley.

<sup>(546)</sup> In MRWH 34, Iqīša-Adad (probably a oil-presser) prepared the oil. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē received, brought it to the storehouse, and sealed the document. See the two *aklu* documents (oil) of Iqīša-Adad (MUN 278, 279).

It may be significant that in BE 15 no. 199 (domestic animals) rev. 30 the term *elē šarri u arād šarri* is found and that BE 15 no. 199 rev. 44 *Aḫa-iddina-Marduk* is referred to.

## 16. *Aklu* documents of Dūr-Enlilē

Over 450 Middle Babylonian documents of the later kings were published in van Soldt 2015, including juridical texts, letters, revenues and collected payments, expenditures, miscellaneous administrative texts, practice texts, religious, and lexical texts. According to van Soldt, the provenance of these documents is not clear. But judging from the contents of the documents, it is likely that they come from the archive(s) of Dūr-Enlilē. Interestingly, as van Soldt has already pointed out, Enlil-kidinnī, who is possibly the well-known governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur, appears in these documents. Also from these documents we learn that Enlil-kidinnī's son is Ninurta-zākir-šumi, and also that Ninurta-zākir-šumi's son is Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni (i.e., the grandson of Enlil-kidinnī). They are involved in the *aklu* activities. Also, van Soldt discussed some persons (Anāku-ilumma, Arad-nubatti, Nippurītu, Rīšatu, Sugir-bunni, Qunnunu, Tarību) who stand out in these documents. Some of them are connected with *aklu* expenditures.<sup>(547)</sup> First I will discuss the *aklu* documents related to each person.

**16.1. Ninurta-zākir-šumi** — For his activities and references, see van Soldt 2015, 24 (2. 1.) and 558. The earliest attestation of him is no. 17 (1285, [NM], 12-I-year 23<sup>?</sup>).<sup>(548)</sup> The latest attestation may be no. 56 (KuE 16-II-[ ]).<sup>(549)</sup> The period is about 32 years or more. His father is possibly Enlil-kidinnī, and his son is Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, who seems to play an important role in the administration.<sup>(550)</sup> Ninurta-zākir-šumi appears in the *aklu* documents (nos. 234, 275, 287?, 289). In no. 234 (no date, flour and barley), Ninurta-zākir-šumi is found with *aklu* (obv. 4: *ak-lum*<sup>md</sup>maš-mu-[mu]). But another person seems to have sealed the document. In no. 275 (no date, flour), Ninurta-zākir-šumi is mentioned with *aklu* (obv. 12: *ak-lum*<sup>md</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu). The *aklu* expenditure is said to have been put under seal for Mudammiq-Adad (obv. 13: *a-na*<sup>mmu</sup>-sig<sub>5</sub>-d<sup>i</sup>škur *ka-nik*). The phrase *ašābu* can be found (obv. 5: *la a-ša-bu*). In no. 287 (unknown king, 2-X-year 21), beer and clay pots are found (obv. 1: *ṛkaš*<sup>u</sup>š dug mu-bi-im). They occur often in *aklu* documents. Probably the term *aklu* was in the part of the tablet that is broken away. Ninurta-zākir-šumi is referred to in the last

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<sup>(547)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 24–28.

<sup>(548)</sup> If the year is 13<sup>?</sup>, the date is 1295, [NM] 12-I-13<sup>?</sup>, and the period would be about 42 years or more. See van Soldt 2015, 24.

<sup>(549)</sup> Kudur-Enlil's first year is 1254 (Brinkman 1976a, 31).

<sup>(550)</sup> See van Soldt 2015, 24.

line, but his role is not clear. In no. 289 (no date, beer), Ninurta-zākir-šumi sealed the *aklu* document (rev. 4':  $\text{r}^{\text{na}4}\text{kišib} \text{r}^{\text{md}}\text{nin-urta-mu-mu}$ ). The phrase *ašābu* can be found (obv. 3:  $\text{r}^{\text{a-ša}}\text{-bu} \text{ù} \text{la} \text{a-ša-bu}$ ). Van Soldt said there are seal impressions on the edges. On the relationship between Ninurta-zākir-šumi and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (Matthews no. 155), see the section on Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.

**16.2. Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni** — Concerning his activities and references, see van Soldt 2015, 24 (2. 1.) and 558. He is attested first in the reign of Kadašman-Turgu: no. 198 (1264, KT year 16) and no. 81 (KT [ ]-year 4(+)). The latest attestations are in the reign of Šagarakti-Šuriyaš: no. 8 (1243, ŠŠ 24-VIII-year 3) and no. 362 (1243, ŠŠ 12<sup>2</sup>-XI-year 3). The period is therefore about 22 years. His father is Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu) and his (grand)father is Enlil-kidinnī. Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni appears in *aklu* documents (nos. 278, 291, 383). In no. 278 (1251, KuE 20<sup>2</sup>-XII-year 4, days x–20), beer (kaš UŠ) is given as an offering (?) to Šamaš. It is under the responsibility of Nippurītu, and there is a seal reference to Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Van Soldt said that there are light seal impressions on the reverse. In no. 291 (1248, KuE 7-IX-year 7, I to 7-IX), cereals (flour?, barley?) are issued under the responsibility of Gabbi-ša-bēltiya. There is a seal reference to Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Van Soldt said that there are seal impressions of a rim on all 4 edges. In no. 383 (1249, KuE 20-X-year 6), sheep and goats are given. This distribution is under the responsibility of Qunnunu, a shepherd. There is a seal reference to Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Van Soldt said that there is a seal impression on the left edge. Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni worked in association with Nippurītu,<sup>(551)</sup> with Sugir-bunni,<sup>(552)</sup> with Rīšatu,<sup>(553)</sup> with Anāku-ilumma,<sup>(554)</sup> and with Arad-nubatti.<sup>(555)</sup> It is said that Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni sealed several documents no. 190 (barley), no. 191 (cereals), no. 278 (*aklu*, beer), no. 291 (*aklu*, cereals), 383 (*aklu*, sheep, goat), 389 (sheep).<sup>(556)</sup> On the relationship between Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (Matthews no. 189), see the section on Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.

**16.3. Anāku-ilumma** — For his activities and his references, see van Soldt 2015, 24–25 (2. 2.) and 536. Anāku-ilumma was a brewer(?). He plays an important role in the distribution of commodities. His earliest attestations are in no. 199 (1250, KuE VII-year 5) and no. 326 (1250, KuE 25-VI-year 5). The latest attestation is in no. 334 (1229, Kšt year 4), so the period is about 22 years. He is a late

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<sup>(551)</sup> Nos. 70, 82, 83, 84, 161, 162, 278, 383, 389.

<sup>(552)</sup> Nos. 38, 56<sup>2</sup>, 83, 161, 374.

<sup>(553)</sup> Nos. 70, 82, 162.

<sup>(554)</sup> Nos. 70, 162, 199.

<sup>(555)</sup> Nos. 6, 12, 38, 51, 82, 161, 198, 207. However, it is not certain that all the references are to the same person.

<sup>(556)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 24.

contemporary of Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Anāku-ilumma is also mentioned in an *aklu* document (no. 267a: 1235, ŠŠ 29-I-year 11). It is called the *aklu* (of) Anāku-ilumma (rev. 10: *ak-lum*<sup>m</sup>*a-na-ku-dingir-ma*). Flour and barley are issued. Anāku-ilumma worked in association with Nippurītu,<sup>(557)</sup> Rīšatu,<sup>(558)</sup> Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni,<sup>(559)</sup> Sugir-bunni (nos. 76, 78), and Arad-nubatti (no. 65).

**16.4. Nippurītu** — Concerning her activities and references, see van Soldt 2015, p. 24 (2. 4.) and 558–59. She was engaged in administrative activities (as a supervisor in expenditure texts). The earliest attestation is in no. 85 (1264, KaE VII-year 1), and the latest is in no. 222 (1241, ŠŠ I-year 5), so the period is about 24 years. Her father was a *mandidu* (measuring official), and her children were Ātamar-rabūssa, Tarību, a shepherd, and possibly Šummak-lā-Marduk.<sup>(560)</sup> Nippurītu is mentioned in the *aklu* documents (nos. 112, 278, 284, 285). In no. 112 (1245, ŠŠ year 1), *aklu* and *šītu* (obv. 2) are stated. Barley is issued for the work assignment of brewer(s) under the responsibility of Nippurītu. In no. 278 (1251, KuE 20-XII-year 4), beer is issued under the responsibility of Nippurītu. There is a seal reference to Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Van Soldt said that there are light seal impressions on the reverse. In no. 284 (1244, ŠŠ 20-IV-year 2), beer is issued under the responsibility of Nippurītu. Also barley is dealt with. In no. 285 (1244, ŠŠ 3-IX-year 2, days 1–3), beer is issued under the responsibility of Nippurītu. Nippurītu worked in association with Rīšatu,<sup>(561)</sup> Sugir-bunni,<sup>(562)</sup> Anāku-ilumma,<sup>(563)</sup> Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni,<sup>(564)</sup> and Arad-nubatti.<sup>(565)</sup> A seal reference to Nippurītu is found on no. 379 (sheep, goats), but van Soldt said that there is no seal impression.

**16.5. Rīšatu** — For her activities and references, see van Soldt 2015, 27 (2. 5.) and 562. She is also engaged in administrative work (as a supervisor in expenditure texts). Her earliest attestations are in no. 217 (1250, KuE 6(+)<sup>2</sup>-I<sup>2</sup>-year 5) and no. 296 (1250, KuE XII-year 5). The latest is in no. 310

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<sup>(557)</sup> Nos. 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 162, 204.

<sup>(558)</sup> Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 162.

<sup>(559)</sup> Nos. 70, 162, 199.

<sup>(560)</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>(561)</sup> Nos. 70, 71, 72, 76, 78, 79, 82, 92, 97, 101, 106, 111, 113, 115, 123, 125, 126, 160, 162, 219, 240, 244, 247, 282, 301, 303, 306, 309, 310, 320, 321, 322, 324.

<sup>(562)</sup> Nos. 76, 78, 83, 89, 93, 101, 111, 126, 161, 221, 222, 236, 247, 373, 375, 427.

<sup>(563)</sup> Nos. 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 162, 204.

<sup>(564)</sup> Nos. 70, 82, 83, 84, 161, 162, 278, 383, 389.

<sup>(565)</sup> Nos. 82, 87, 111, 117, 161, 247, 282, 299. However, it is not certain that all the references are to the same person.

(1243, ŠŠ 21-III-year 3<sup>3</sup>), so the period is about 8 years. Her father is Sîn-balāṭa-īriš, who is also engaged in administrative work. Her mother is Rabât-Gula.<sup>(566)</sup> Rīšatu is also mentioned in *aklu* documents (nos. 57, 121, 218, 223, 265, 290, 292). In no. 57 (1245, ŠŠ year 1), barley and emmer are issued. Rīšatu is a recipient. In no. 121 (30<sup>2</sup>-I-year 1), barley is also issued, and she is a recipient. In no. 218 (1245, ŠŠ 29-IX-year 1), flour and barley are disbursed under the responsibility of Rīšatu. In no. 223 (ŠŠ, VIII-year [ ]), [barley] and flour are disbursed under the responsibility of Rīšatu. The term *lā ašābu* (obv. 12) is attested. In no. 265 (1244, ŠŠ 30<sup>2</sup>-VII-year 2), flour is issued under the responsibility of Rīšatu. The term *lā ašābu* (rev. 28: *l[a<sup>2</sup>] a-ša-b[u<sup>2</sup>]*) is attested. In no. 290 (1249, KuE 30-I-year 6), cereals are issued under the responsibility of Rīšatu. In no. 292 (XI-acc. year), cereals are disbursed under the responsibility of Rīšatu. The term *lā ašābu* (obv. 12: *la a-š[a-bu]*) is attested. Rīšatu worked in association with Nippurītu,<sup>(567)</sup> Sugir-bunni,<sup>(568)</sup> Anāku-ilumma,<sup>(569)</sup> Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni,<sup>(570)</sup> and Arad-nubatti.<sup>(571)</sup>

## 16.6. Comments on Nippurītu and Rīšatu

Nippurītu is one of the most frequently attested persons in the documents from the Rosen collection. She is known as a musician (*nārtu*: sal.nar).<sup>(572)</sup> She appears mainly as a supervisor of the distribution of raw material for the brewers and millers. Beginning in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Kudur-Enlil (1250), Nippurītu was responsible almost only for the raw material of the brewers, while Rīšatu supervised for the millers.<sup>(573)</sup> Nippurītu also supervised the delivery of sheep. Another noteworthy point regarding Nippurītu is her frequent attestation in texts listing rations for women (nos. 296–324).<sup>(574)</sup> From these texts, we know that her father was a “measuring official” (*mandidu*). She appears as a recipient together with her daughter Ātamar-rabūssa, her son Tarību, and another son,

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<sup>(566)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 27.

<sup>(567)</sup> Nos. 70, 71, 72, 76, 78, 79, 82, 92, 97, 101, 106, 111, 113, 115, 123, 125, 126, 160, 162, 219, 240, 244, 247, 282, 301, 303, 306, 309, 310, 320, 321, 322, 324.

<sup>(568)</sup> Nos. 76, 78, 101, 111, 126, 243, 247, 319.

<sup>(569)</sup> Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 162.

<sup>(570)</sup> Nos. 70, 82, 162.

<sup>(571)</sup> Nos. 82, 111, 116, 247, 252, 282. However, the references may not all be to the same person.

<sup>(572)</sup> Text no. 297, obv. 11.

<sup>(573)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 26.

<sup>(574)</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

Šummak-lā-Marduk. In these ration lists, Nippurītu's name is always listed first, followed by her daughter and her son followed her. No. 322 is an example:

Obv.

9' 1 PI ✓ <sup>f</sup>*ni-ip-pu-ri-tum* dumu.sal *man-di-di*  
 10' 0,0.5 ✓ <sup>f</sup>*a-ta-mar-gal-sa* dumu.sal.a.ni  
 11' 1 PI ✓ <sup>f</sup>*ta-ri-bu* <sup>lú</sup>sipa dumu.a.ni

These three persons, in the same order, also appear in no. 321 obv. 8–10 as recipients of rations, after which the expenses (probably barley) are summarized as rations for the families stationed in the outer area of the palace (rev. 28: še.ba *qin-na-a-ti ká-a-nu*).<sup>(575)</sup> Therefore, the family of Nippurītu was one of these families (*qinnātu*). In 2011, Tenney analyzed and discussed in detail the rosters and the households in the documents from Nippur and stated that women were in significant positions in the household and that female-headed households were not so rare. He says:

Lastly, women played a significant role in what are traditionally known as the decision-making positions among families. Females account for the majority of heads of household among simple families. Likewise, nearly thirty-one percent of all nuclear families were run by single mothers. It was proposed that this situation could have been due to several factors, including the stringent living conditions imposed on this population and a practice of older men marrying younger women.<sup>(576)</sup>

The case of Nippurītu is an example of female-headed households known from the documents thought to come from Dūr-Enlilē. It is clear from the foregoing that Nippurītu was a musician, the head of a household which belongs to the outer area of the palace, a recipient of rations (še-ba), a supervisor of artisans such as brewers and millers, and was involved with *aklu* activity. Regarding her profession of musician,<sup>(577)</sup> we are reminded of a greeting formula attested in Middle Babylonian letters which are concerned with medical issues. The greeting is given below.

BE 17 no. 31

Obv.

1	<u>[arad-k]a <sup>l</sup>mu-lib-ši</u>	1	Your servant Šumu-libši
2	<u>a-na di-na-an be-lí-ia lu-ul-lik</u>	2	I want to go instead of my lord.
3	<u>a-na na-a'-re-e na-a'-ra-ti</u>	3	The male, female musicians
4	<u>ù é be-lí-ia šu-ul-mu</u>	4	and the house of my lord are fine.

<sup>(575)</sup> For *bābānu*, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 155. See also PBS 2/2 no. 53 (a similar roster) iv 14' (še-ba ká-a-nu).

<sup>(576)</sup> Tenney 2011, 92 and 147–210 (43 female-headed households out of 107 households).

<sup>(577)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 100–101.

5	<sup>f</sup> <i>e-ti-ir-ta li-pi-tu an-ni-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	5	As to Ētirtu, this disease has actually
6	<i>il-ta-pa-as-ṛsi</i>	6	attacked her. <sup>(578)</sup>

It is not obvious why the male and female musicians were mentioned in the greeting.<sup>(579)</sup> The letters which have this greeting formula mainly deal with medical conditions of women. Perhaps these women were female musicians.

Rīšatu is also an often-attested person in the documents from the Rosen collection. Like Nippurītu, she was responsible for the disbursement of foodstuffs for the artisans and involved with the *aklu* expenditure. Also, she is attested in texts that list rations for women. But her profession is nowhere stated. Her father was Sīn-balāṭa-īriš, who also supervised grain disbursements. Her mother was named Rabāt-Gula. Rīšatu is found in no. 301 rev. 34 with her father (<sup>f</sup>*ri-ša-tum dumu.sal<sup>md</sup>30-ti-uru<sub>4</sub>*) and included in a summary of six women assigned to Nippurītu (rev. 35: 6 sal.meš šu <sup>f</sup>*ni-ip-pu-ri-ti*). Therefore she was under the supervision of Nippurītu.<sup>(580)</sup>

**16.7. Sugir-bunni** — For his activities and references, see van Soldt 2015, p. 27–28 (2. 6.) and 564. Sugir-bunni was engaged in administrative work (as a supervisor in expenditure texts). His earliest attestation may be in no. 371 (1267, (KT) XI-year 15, VIII and XI mentioned<sup>(581)</sup>). The latest attestation is in no. 222 (1241, ŠŠ I-year 5), so the period is about 27 years. Sugir-bunni is also mentioned in an *aklu* document (no. 393: 1245, ŠŠ 28<sup>2</sup>-XII<sup>2</sup>-year 1). Sugir-bunni worked in

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<sup>(578)</sup> See the recent study of these medical letters, Plantholt 2014, 171–181. This kind of greeting formula is attested at least in BE 17 nos. 31, 32, 33, PBS 1/2 no. 71, and N 969.

<sup>(579)</sup> See CAD N 1, 378 (*nāru*): “LÚ *na-’-ru-ú* (between LÚ *arad ekalli bābānu* and *bītānu*) CBS 8500 i 24 (courtesy J. A. Brinkman).”

The transliteration from the photograph (P263307) is as follows.

23 [...] 5,3.3.      <sup>lú</sup>arad é gal *ká-nu*

24 [...] 16,1.4.      <sup>lú</sup>*na-’-ru-ú*

25 [...] 7,3.4.      <sup>lú</sup>arad é gal *é-nu* (notification courtesy of J. A. Brinkman’s reference in

CAD N 1, 378).

As mentioned above, Nippurītu is a female musician (*nārtu*) belonging to the outer area of the palace (*ká-a-nu*). Thus it seems likely that the male and female musicians are personnel of the palace/local office.

<sup>(580)</sup> Van Soldt 2015, 27.

<sup>(581)</sup> Ibid., 27–28.



association with Nippurītu,<sup>(582)</sup> Rīšatu,<sup>(583)</sup> Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni,<sup>(584)</sup> Anāku-ilumma (nos. 76, 78), and Arad-nubatti.<sup>(585)</sup>

### 16.8. *Aklu* documents in the Dūr-Enlilē documents

In the Dūr-Enlilē documents, we have many *aklu* documents, as well as documents that are possibly *aklu* documents because they contain the phrase “(*lā*) *ašābu*.” I arrange them below with brief comments. These documents deal with barley, emmer, flour, beer, goats, sheep and ewes.

No. 57	1245 ŠŠ	- year 1	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 12). Flour and emmer are issued.
		IV, V are mentioned	Dunni-Adad, Dūr-Enlilē are mentioned. Rīšatu is referred to as a recipient.
No. 106	1245 ŠŠ	- year 1	<i>aklu</i> and <i>šītu</i> (rev. 13–14). Barley is given.
		I–V is mentioned	Under the responsibility of Nippurītu.
No. 112	1245 ŠŠ	- year 1	<i>aklu</i> and <i>šītu</i> (obv. 2). Barley is deducted for
		IV, V are mentioned	work assignment of brewer(s) under the responsibility of Nippurītu.
No. 121		IX, X are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3, 9, rev. 22, 23). Barley is dealt with. Rīšatu is referred to. Work assignment of Nippur, brewer, rations for women are mentioned.
No. 127		VIII- year 7	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3). Barley is dealt with. Work
		I to VIII is mentioned	assignment for female oil-presser, rations for temples are mentioned.
No. 138		VII - year [ ]	Loan of cereals. The term <i>lā ašābu</i> (rev. 22, 27) is attested. Nippurītu received barley for the work assignment for millers.
No. 171	1244 ŠŠ	II - year 2	Cereals are issued. The term <i>lā ašābu</i> (rev. 11) is
		days 23–28 mentioned	attested. Rations for <i>Ištar</i> and offering ( <i>kispu</i> ) are stated.
No. 187		V–XII is mentioned	⌈ <i>aklu</i> ⌋ (rev. 11). Barley was issued under the

<sup>(582)</sup> Nos. 76, 78, 83, 89, 93, 101, 111, 126, 161, 221, 222, 236, 247, 373, 375, 427.

<sup>(583)</sup> Nos. 76, 78, 101, 111, 126, 243, 247, 319.

<sup>(584)</sup> Nos. 38, 56<sup>?</sup>, 83, 161, 374.

<sup>(585)</sup> Nos. 38, 111, 161, 247, 428. However, it is not certain that all the references are to the same person.

			responsibility of <sup>l</sup> a-x[ ]. Sealed documents or sealed bags ( <i>kaniktu</i> ) are mentioned. The term <i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i> occurs.
No. 218	1245 ŠŠ	IX - year 1 days 23–29 days 23 <sup>?</sup> –25 <sup>?</sup> are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 17). Flour and barley are issued under the responsibility of Rīšatu.
No. 223	ŠŠ [ ]-	VIII- year [ ] days 1, 2, 3, 10, 11 <sup>?</sup> , 12 <sup>?</sup> , 13, 14 are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 25). [Barley] and flour are issued. The term <i>lā ašābu</i> (obv. 12) occurs. Under the responsibility of Rīšatu.
No. 234	21 <sup>?</sup> -		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 4) of Ninurta-zākir-šumi ( <sup>ld</sup> maš-mu-[mu]). Flour and barley are dealt with. Seal reference to Nabû-...
No. 262	1246 ŠŠ	IX - acc. yr. 1-IX is mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 13). Flour and cereals are issued. Under the responsibility of Sīn-balāṭa-īriš.
No. 265	1244 ŠŠ	VII - year 2 days 14–22, 29–30 are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 30). Flour is issued. The term <i>lā ašābu</i> (rev. 28: <i>l[a<sup>?</sup>] a-ša-b[u<sup>?</sup>]</i> ) is attested. Under the responsibility of Rīšatu.
No. 267a	1235 ŠŠ	29 - I - year 11 days 22–29	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 10) of Anāku-ilumma. Flour and barley are issued.
No. 268	1228 Kšt	VII - year 5 VI and VII mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 26). Flour and [barley] are issued. Under the responsibility of Bittiya.
No. 272		IV - year 17 3 <sup>rd</sup> day, 19 <sup>th</sup> day are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 8). Flour is issued. Under the responsibility of Bēlessunu. It has been carried to Keš.
No. 275		VIII is mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 12) of Ninurta-zākir-šumi ( <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-mu-mu). It has been put under seal for Mudammiq-Adad. Flour is issued. Āl-Athē, Dīmtu and Āl-Irrē are mentioned. The term <i>lā ašābu</i> (obv. 5) occurs.
No. 277		X II(-)X is mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 34) of Ilī-aḥa-iddina. Cereals and flour? are issued. Saḥi[rtu], Dimat-Enlil, and Ḥursagkalamma are mentioned.
No. 278	1251 KuE 20	- XII - year 4 days x–20	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 11). Beer is given. Under the responsibility of Nippurītu. Seal reference to

			Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Van Soldt said that there are light seal impressions on the reverse.
No. 284	1244 ŠŠ	- year 2	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 7, rev. 9). Beer and barley are dealt with. Under the responsibility of Nippurītu.
		I, II, III, IV are mentioned	
No. 285	1244 ŠŠ	3 - IX - year 2	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 10). Beer is given. Under the responsibility of Nippurītu.
		days 1–3	
No. 286		24 <sup>2</sup> - II -year 15(+)	<i>aklu</i> and <i>šītu</i> (rev. 11). Beer is given. Under the responsibility of Agab-šenni.
		days 17–24 <sup>2</sup>	
No. 288		18 - XI - year [ ]	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 8) of ʾRīmūtuʾ. Beer and beerbread ( <i>bappiru</i> ) are given. Under the responsibility of Damqu.
		days 15–18	
No. 289		- year [ ]	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 2). Beer is dealt with. Here it is measured by a solid capacity measure. The term <i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i> (obv. 3) occurs. Under the responsibility of Sîn-balāṭa-[īriš]. Seal reference to Ninurta-zākir-šumi ( <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-mu-mu). Van Soldt said that there are seal impressions on the edges.
		[ -lugal]-e is mentioned	
No. 290	1249 KuE 30	- I - year 6	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1, 9). Cereals are issued. Under the responsibility of Rīšatu.
		from 16-VII-year 5 <sup>2</sup> /6 to 30-I-year 6	
No. 291	1248 KuE 7	- IX - year 7	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 2). Cereals are issued. Under the responsibility of Gabbi-ša-bēltiya. Seal reference to Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Van Soldt said that seal impressions of a rim are visible on all edges.
		I to 7-IX	
No. 292		XI - acc. yr.	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 9'). Cereals are disbursed under the responsibility of Rīšatu. The term <i>lā ašābu</i> (obv. 12: <i>la a-š[a-bu]</i> ) occurs.
		days 18, 19, 10, 21, 17, 26 are mentioned	
No. 293		7 - XII - year 10	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 14') of Marduk-šuma-ušarši. Cereals are disbursed.
		days 3 <sup>2</sup> –7	
No. 294		29 <sup>2</sup> - VI	ʾakluʾ (obv. 3). The commodities are counted with cardinal numbers. The term <i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i> (obv. 4–5) is attested. Under the responsibility of Ṭāb-kidin-[ ]. Seal reference to
		days 1–29 <sup>2</sup>	

No. 295				<sup>ld</sup> [ ]. Van Soldt said that there are seal impressions on the edges of the tablet. <i>aklu</i> (rev. 10'). The term <i>lā ašābu</i> (rev. 10') is attested. Van Soldt said that there is a seal impression on the right edge of piece I.
No. 382	1250	KuE 26/29-VIII	- year 5	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 8). Sheep are given. Under the responsibility of shepherd Qunnunu. Nippurītu, son of <i>mandidu</i> is referred to.
No. 383	1249	KuE 20	- X - year 6 IX, X are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 12). Goats and sheep are given. Under the responsibility of Qunnunu, a shepherd. <i>é-x-bàd<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>ki</sup></i> , Nippuru and Uruk are mentioned. Seal reference to Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Van Soldt said that there is a seal impression on the left edge. It is noteworthy that 1 carcass of a ewe (for) Nippurītu was received by her daughter, because Nippurītu was not present (rev. 10: <i>ul aš-ba-at-ma</i> ).
No. 384	1249	KuE 30	- XII - year 6 XI, XII are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev.14). Sheep are given. Under the responsibility of Qunnunu. Nippur and Ħursagkamma are referred to. Nippurītu received sheep.
No. 387	1246	KuE 2	- I - year 9	<i>aklu</i> and <i>šītu</i> (rev. 7'). Meats of offering are given. Dūr-Enlilē is referred to.
No. 390	1246	ŠŠ	IX - acc. yr. VII, VIII, IX are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 1, rev. 15). Sheep and goat are given. Under the responsibility of Qunnunu, <i>sakrumaš</i> . Nippur is mentioned.
No. 393	1245	ŠŠ 28	- XII - year 1 VIII, XI, XII are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 10). Ewes and goat are given. Under the responsibility of <sup>1</sup> <i>t[a<sup>2</sup>-x x]</i> , shepherd. Sugir-bunni is referred to.
No. 394	1245	ŠŠ	VII <sup>2</sup> - year 1 9-VII, 20-VII are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 20). Domestic animals (including goat) are given.
No. 396	1245	ŠŠ	- year 1 II, III are mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 14 <sup>2</sup> , 17). Ewes and goats are given. Nippur is referred to. Nippurītu is mentioned.
No. 401	1244	ŠŠ	VIa <sup>(586)</sup> - year 2	<i>aklu</i> (rev. 11). Ewes are given. Under the

<sup>(586)</sup> <sup>iti</sup>kin-d<sup>i</sup>innin-2-kam-ma (2<sup>nd</sup> VI month).

	20-IV, 20-V, 20 <sup>2</sup> -VI, 20-VIa, III are mentioned	responsibility of Tarību, a shepherd. These ewes are offerings for Šamaš.
No. 405	III - year 6 <sup>2</sup>	<i>aklu</i> (obv. 4) of Sāmu. Sheep are dealt with. The house of Bēlānu is referred to.
No. 410	Date broken	𒀭 <i>aklu</i> 𒀭 (edge 7) of Bau temple (𒀭é <sup>2</sup> 𒀭ba-ú). Sheep are given. Parak-māri is referred to.
No. 414		<i>aklu</i> (obv. 3). Sheep are given (as) regular offering of Parak-māri. Under the responsibility of Erība-Ma[rduk]. Uruk <sup>2</sup> is mentioned.

## 17. *Aklu* documents of *Ur*

In 1983, O. R. Gurney published 83 Middle Babylonian documents.<sup>(587)</sup> They are juridical lawsuits, purchases of slaves, a trial by ordeal, receipts, loans, maintenance expenses, and so on. According to Gurney, the provenance of these documents is the archive(s) of the family of the brewers of the god Sîn.<sup>(588)</sup> These *Ur* documents deal with daily activities of the brewers. Among them we find two *aklu* documents (nos. 62, 68).<sup>(589)</sup> Both are concerned with a certain Sîn-lēqi-unninni who seems to be in a position to supervise the brewers. I reproduce the Gurney's transliterations and the translation here to facilitate discussion.

### MBTU 62

Obv.

- 1 [...m]<sup>d</sup>30-li-qi(over qu)-ni-ni
- 2 [...<sup>lú</sup>ŠI]M.MEŠ ša <sup>d</sup>30 ik-ka-lu
- 3 [...UDU.NI]TÁ.MEŠ i-na ŠU ma-ki-si
- 4 [ù<sup>2</sup>] 𒀭1 UDU.NITÁ 𒀭 i-na ŠU ḫa-za-an-ni [...]
- 5 2 DUG.GAL.MEŠ 2 (B) ZÌ.DA 2 (B) ŠE.BAR GIŠ.BÁN 1[2 SÌLA]
- 6 ù 1 (G) pi x[ x x ]x SÌLA ki-iš-ri [...]
- 7 i-ma-[aḫ-ḫa-a]r 1 (G) ŠE.BAR .[.....]
- 8 ú-tap<sup>2</sup>-p[i<sup>2</sup>-l]a<sup>2</sup>-am ša .[.....]

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<sup>(587)</sup> Gurney 1983.

<sup>(588)</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>(589)</sup> no. 70 is a record of expenditure (zi-ga) dated in later period (*Meli-ši-ḪU*), which is comparable with the *aklu* documents (MRWH 29, PBS 2/2 no. 24, etc.).

9 *ul-tu* ᵐhar<sup>2</sup>-*bi-šu i-ka-a*[š-] ᵐṣi<sup>2</sup>-ir<sup>2</sup>  
 10 2 DUG.GAL.MEŠ 3 (B) ŠE.BAR GIŠ<sup>2</sup>[.BÁ]N<sup>2</sup> x x 15<sup>2</sup> [...]  
 11 *i-maḥ-ḥa-ar*

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12 PAP 1 *me* 22 (G) ŠE.BAR GIŠ.BÁN 5 ŠILA ᵐak<sup>2</sup>-lu<sup>2</sup>[  
 13 [š]a *ul-tu* MU 2.KAM *kaš-til-ia-šú* [  
 14 [EN<sup>2</sup> MU .. KAM ᵐIŠKUR-M]U-URÚ [...  
 (Lacuna)

Rev.

1 EG[IR<sup>2</sup> ..... i-n]a<sup>2</sup> ŠU .[.....]  
 2 *ù ša* .. 10 GUR ŠE.BAR <sup>lu</sup>[.....  
 3 *ù ERÍN.MEŠ-šu i-na a-bu-u*[<sup>l</sup> .....  
 4 *ú-še-[r]i-bu ù ša* ...[.....  
 5 *si-ká*[t]<sup>2</sup> *ul in-na-sa*[-aḥ/ḥu]

(End of text)

#### Translation

<sup>1-2</sup>[..... *which*] *Sîn-liqi-unninni* will enjoy [*at the expense of*] the brewer of *Sîn* <sup>3</sup>[... she]ep from the tax-collector, <sup>4</sup>[and] 1 sheep from the mayor ... <sup>5</sup>2 large jars, 2 *seah* of meal, 2 *seah* of barley by the 12 [*qa*] measure, <sup>6</sup>and 1 *kor* ..... payment in kind [...] <sup>7</sup>he will receive. 1 *kor* of barley .. [...] <sup>8</sup>he will .... *which* [...] <sup>9</sup>he will *gather from his field*. <sup>10</sup>2 large jars, 3 *seah* of barley by the [...] measure ..... <sup>11</sup>he will receive.

<sup>12</sup>Total: 122 *kor* of barley by the 5 *qa* measure, *consumption* [... <sup>13</sup>which from year 2 of *Kashtiliash* [...] <sup>14</sup>[to year .. of *Adad-shuma*]-*uṣur* [...]

(Lacuna)

Reverse too mutilated for translation

Unfortunately the document's condition is not good. This document records the commodities (sheep, large jars, barley) which *Sîn-lēqi-unninni* had received from the tax-collector, from the mayor and possibly from the brewers, from *Kaštiliyašu* year 2 (i.e., 1231) into the reign of *Adad-šuma-uṣur* (1216–1187). The period is therefore at least 16 years. The term *aklu* is not certain, however.

#### MBTU 68

Obv.

1	<i>ak-lu</i> ŠU <sup>m.d</sup> 30- <i>li-qi-un-ni-ni</i>
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2	MUNU <sub>x</sub>	BAPPIR <sub>2</sub>	MU.NE
3	2 (G) ŠE.BAR		KÁ É.DINGIR ŠU <sup>m</sup> É.KUR-MU-TUK-š <i>i</i>
4			<i>man-di-d[u<sup>m</sup>r]i-ṛba-a<sup>ṛ</sup>-a</i>
5	2 (G) ŠE.BAR		2 ITI[.MEŠ <i>i-na</i> ] É GUR <sub>7</sub>
6			<sup>m.d</sup> 30- <i>li-qí-un-ni-ni ik-la</i>
7	2 PI	2 (B)	<sup>m</sup> ṛ.d30-PAP <sup>ṛ</sup> DUMU <sup>m</sup> ṛšal- <i>mī</i> <sup>ṛ</sup>
8	1 PI	2 (B)	<sup>m</sup> ib- <i>ni</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR.GAL
9			<i>i-na</i> É.DINGIR <i>im-ḥur</i>
10		4 (B)	<sup>m.d</sup> 30- <i>li-qí-un-ni-ni</i>
11			<i>2-šu im-ḥur</i>

Rev.

1	1 PI	2 (B)	<sup>m</sup> ib- <i>ni</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR.GAL ITI ŠE
2	5 GUR ŠE.BAR		<i>i-na</i> É.GUR <sub>7</sub>
3			<sup>m.d</sup> 30- <i>li-qí-un-ni-ni</i>
4	1 (G) ŠE.BAR		<sup>m</sup> bu- <i>na-nu</i>
5			DUMU <sup>m</sup> TUK- <i>me-i-na-SAG.ÍL</i>

6 3 DUG.GAL.MEŠ 1 DUG 3 (B)

7 ù 1 DUG.TUR ša 2 MU.MEŠ

8 PAP 12 (G) 1 (P) 2 (B)

In the headings it is said that malt and beerbread (*bappiru*) are issued. But as we can see in obv. 3, 5, rev. 2, 4, actually barley (ŠE.BAR) is issued. It is noteworthy that in obv. 10–11 col. iii, Sîn-lēqi-unninni received twice or for the second time (<sup>m.d</sup>30-*li-qí-un-ni-ni 2-šu im-ḥur*). Thus in this *aklu* document, Sîn-lēqi-unninni is a recipient. Possibly the *aklu* commodities were prepared by the brewers as the headings (MUNU<sub>x</sub> and BAPPIR<sub>2</sub>) indicate, although actually barley was issued.

In the two *aklu* documents (nos. 62, 68), Sîn-lēqi-unninni is a recipient, and possibly the brewers prepared the commodities. Unfortunately Sîn-lēqi-unninni's position remains unknown. Also it may be significant that the relation between Sîn-lēqi-unninni and the brewers was not always friendly, because in nos. 41 and 63, Sîn-lēqi-unninni had a dispute with the brewers about the cessation of the offerings (*ginû*).

## 18. *Aklu* documents of the archive of the sons of Nabû-šarraḥ

About 60 MB Babylonian documents are known concerning the sons of Nabû-šarraḥ. In 1905, F. E. Peiser published 50 of them.<sup>(590)</sup> In 1926, G. Contenau published another 10.<sup>(591)</sup> The provenance of these documents is unknown, but they are from the archive(s) of the sons Nabû-šarraḥ. They include loans, juridical lawsuits, expenditures, receipts, purchases, letters, and so on. Among them, we find two *aklu* documents (P 105 and P 106). I reproduce the transliterations<sup>(592)</sup> below.

<u>P 105</u>	<u>P 106</u>
Obv.	Obv.
1' 0,3.0. šuk é ta u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -9-kam	broken
2' 0,3.0. šuk é ta u <sub>4</sub> -10 en u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam	
3' 1,1.4.2. šuk é ta u <sub>4</sub> -16-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -30-kam <sup>iti</sup> du <sub>6</sub>	
4' 0,0.1. <sup>l</sup> sa-ar-ri-ia lú <sup>d</sup> XXX	1' [0,0.1.] <sup>r</sup> l <sup>l</sup> sa-a <sup>l</sup> [ <sup>r</sup> ri-ia]
5' 0,3.0. a-na UTUL <sub>5</sub> <sup>(593)</sup> <sup>iti</sup> kin u <sub>4</sub> -10-kam	2' 0,3.0. a-na UTUL <sub>5</sub> <sup>iti</sup> kin u <sub>4</sub> -x-kam <sup>l</sup>
6' 0,2.3. a-na BÁRA-PAP-PAP <sup>(594)</sup> <sup>iti</sup> kin u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam	3' 0,1.3. a-na BÁRA-PAP-PAP <sup>iti</sup> kin u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam
7' 0,1.1. a-na ḥa-re-e mul-li- <sup>i</sup> <sup>(595)</sup>	4' 0,1.1. a-na ḥa-re-e mul-li- <sup>i</sup>
8' 0,1.4. zì-da é ḥi-il- <sup>ši</sup> <sup>(597)</sup>	5' 0,3.2. zì-da a-na siskur <sup>(596)</sup> ša u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam 6' é ḥi-il- <sup>ši</sup>
9' 0,1.3. dug PISAN (?) <sup>(598)</sup> <sup>l</sup> ri-mut- <sup>d</sup> sukkal	7' 0,1.3. dug PISAN (?) <sup>l</sup> ri-mu-ut- <sup>d</sup> sukkal
Rev.	8' é ḥi-il- <sup>ši</sup>

<sup>(590)</sup> *Urkunden aus der Zeit der dritten babylonischen Dynastie* (Berlin).

<sup>(591)</sup> *Contrats et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie* (TCL 9, Paris), nos. 47–56.

<sup>(592)</sup> I am very grateful to W. H. van Soldt for allowing me to use his notes about the documents. Here (section 18) the translations of the passages are in the footnotes due to reasons of space.

<sup>(593)</sup> The reading UTUL<sub>5</sub> was collated by W. H. van Soldt. Cf. Sassmannshausen 2001, 176 n. 3044: amaš?, *supūru*.

<sup>(594)</sup> “For beer mash.”

<sup>(595)</sup> “The *ḥarū* container.”

<sup>(596)</sup> The reading siskur was collated by W. H. van Soldt. Cf. CAD H, 187 (*ḥilšu* F in *bīt ḥilši*; AMAR×ŠE).

<sup>(597)</sup> “Flour for/in the building in the temple complex (*ḥilšu*).”

<sup>(598)</sup> “Box.” Cf. Sassmannshausen 2001, 97 n. 1637: DUG É.



		Rev.
10'	0,0.1. <i>a-na</i> ḪÚL <sup>(599)</sup> <i>ar'-ki'</i> itidu <sub>6</sub>	9' 0,0.1. <i>a-na</i> ḪÚL <sup>?</sup> <i>ar-ki</i>
11'	u <sub>4</sub> -8-kam	10' itidu <sub>6</sub> -kug u <sub>4</sub> -8-kam
12'	0,1.2. <i>a-na</i> munu <sub>5</sub> <sup>(600)</sup>	11' 0,1.2. <i>a-na</i> munu <sub>5</sub>
13'	0,1.4. zì-da sískur <sup>(601)</sup> é <i>ḫi-il-ṣi</i>	
14'	0,0.1. šuk anše <sup>meš</sup> itidu <sub>6</sub> u <sub>4</sub> -28-kam	12' 0,0.1. šuk anše <sup>meš</sup> itidu <sub>6</sub> -kug
		13' 𐎧𐎫𐎧 u <sub>4</sub> -28-kam mu-11-kam
15'	pap 8,2.3.2 sila <i>ak-lu</i>	14' [ ] 𐎧sìla𐎧 <i>ak-lu</i>
16'	<i>u</i> zi-ga ta u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam itikin	15' [ ] itikin
17'	𐎧en u <sub>4</sub> -30-kam itix <sup>(602)</sup>	

It is apparent that both documents deal with the same expenditure. P 106 gives more detail. For example, P 105 obv. 9' (dug PISAN (?) <sup>l</sup>*ri-mut-d*sukkal) versus P 106 obv. 7'–8' (dug PISAN (?) <sup>l</sup>*ri-mu-ut-d*sukkal é *ḫi-il-ṣi*). It seems peculiar that the entry of P 106 obv. 5'–6' is expressed in P 105 obv. 8' and rev. 13'.

P 105

8' 0,1.4. zì-da é *ḫi-il-ṣi*  
 13' 0,1.4. zì-da sískur é *ḫi-il-ṣi*  
 (0,1.4. + 0,1.4. = 0,3.2.)

P 106

5' 0,3.2. zì-da *a-na* sískur ša u<sub>4</sub>-20-kam  
 6' é *ḫi-il-ṣi*

If P 106 is an original account, it is strange that in P 105 the original account 0,3.2. is expressed in two separate entries (0,1.4. + 0,1.4.). Therefore, the original account may have been a different document, and both these documents are copies of it.

The profession(s) of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ remain(s) unknown. But in P 100, a priest deducted barley and gave it to Amurru-ē/iriš, who is well attested as a son of Nabû-šarraḫ,<sup>(603)</sup> for expenditure of the king (obv. 4–5: <sup>lú</sup>É-BAR *iš-šu-ra-am-ma a-na* <sup>ld</sup>mar-tu-uru<sub>4</sub>-*iš a-na* zi-ga lugal sum-nu). Thus

<sup>(599)</sup> ḪÚL<sup>?</sup> (úkuš<sup>?</sup>) was suggested by W. H. van Soldt.

<sup>(600)</sup> “For malt.”

<sup>(601)</sup> The reading sískur was collated by W. H. van Soldt. Cf. CAD Ḫ, 187 (*ḫiṣu* F in *bīt ḫiṣi*; AMAR×ŠE).

<sup>(602)</sup> Van Soldt reads this line as 𐎧MU<sup>??</sup>.1<sup>??</sup>.KAM<sup>??</sup>𐎧(+RN).

<sup>(603)</sup> For example, P 99 obv. 1, P 101 obv. 2–3, P 102 obv. 2–3 and passim.

at least we may infer that Amurru-ē/īriš, son of Nabû-šarraḥ, worked in association with the priest in an administrative situation.

## 19. Overview of each category

### 19.1. Seal references and seal impressions

Regarding the *aklu* documents that are sealed, Matthews 1992, 58 has already pointed out that the seals used are almost always the Second Kassite style or Second Kassite derivatives (nos. **142**,<sup>(604)</sup> **146, 148, 155, 156, 157, 161, 162, 164, 187, 188, 189**). Also, the seals of the Central First Kassite style (nos. **26, 55, 61**) are used for *aklu* activities. The list of the seal references and the seal impressions of the *aklu* documents is as follows.

**Nippur**<sup>(605)</sup>:

<u>Seal Reference</u>	<u>Matthews No.</u>	<u>Document</u>
Rīmūtu	<b>148</b>	(Passim)
Rīmūtu	<b>55</b>	MUN 156
Enlil-nīšu	<b>155</b>	BE 14 no. 53 <sup>(606)</sup>
Ninurta-kīn-pīšu	<b>155</b>	(Passim)
Ninurta-kīn-pīšu	<b>148</b>	BE 14 no. 87a
Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē	<b>189</b>	(Passim) <sup>(607)</sup>
Iqīša-Ninimma	<b>189</b>	MUN 218, 219, 241
Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> , governor ( <i>šandabakku</i> ) of Nippur	<b>148</b>	BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 10250, UM 29-15-685, N 2432
Not attested	<b>164</b>	PBS 2/2 nos. 20, 22, MRWH 14, 31, MUN 118, 155, CBS 4903, UM 29-15-548, UM 29-16-156, N 6310
Not attested	<b>61</b>	BE 15 nos. 15, 18, 23, 25, 31, MUN 324, CBS 8872, UM 29-15-691 <sup>(608)</sup>

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<sup>(604)</sup> CBS 3091 looks like an *aklu* document, but the term *aklu* is not mentioned.

<sup>(605)</sup> These documents were excavated at Nippur, but probably some of them were sealed in other locations than Nippur.

<sup>(606)</sup> Though BE 14 no. 53 is not an *aklu* document, I use it for comparison with the other documents sealed with Matthews no. **155**.

<sup>(607)</sup> Only CBS 7698 has a trace of an envelope on its obverse. The seal impression can be found on the upper edge, not on the envelope.

<sup>(608)</sup> BE 15 nos. 15, 18, 23, 25, 31, MUN 324 are sealed on the envelope.

Not attested	<b>162</b>	BE 14 no. 55, BE 15 nos. 8, 14, CBS 3275 <sup>(609)</sup>
Ninurta-rēšūšu, mayor ( <i>ḥazannu</i> ) of Nippur	<b>146</b>	MRWH 30
Not attested	<b>188</b>	BE 14 no. 27, BE 15 no. 70 <sup>(610)</sup>
Not attested	<b>142</b> <sup>(611)</sup>	CBS 3091
Sîn-aḥa-iddina	<b>26</b>	CBS 3136
Not attested	<b>156</b>	PBS 2/2 no. 24
Nimgirab-Marduk	<b>157</b>	MUN 181
Not attested	<b>161</b>	BE 15 no. 65 <sup>(612)</sup>
Not attested	<b>187</b>	MRWH 25 <sup>(613)</sup>
Amīl-Marduk, governor ( <i>šandabakku</i> ) of Nippur	None	MUN 189, 192, <sup>(614)</sup> 194 <sup>(615)</sup>
Šušātu	None	BE 15 no. 79

#### **Dūr-Enlilē:**

Ninurta-zākir-šumi, ( <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-mu-mu)	Impression(s) detected	CUSAS 30 no. 289
Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni	Impression(s) detected	CUSAS 30 nos. 278, 291, 383 <sup>(616)</sup>
<i>Nabû-...</i>	Impression(s) detected	CUSAS 30 no. 234
<sup>ld</sup> [ ]	Impression(s) detected	CUSAS 30 no. 294

Rīmūtu mainly used Matthews no. **148**, but at least once used Matthews no. **55**. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu

<sup>(609)</sup> All of these are sealed on the envelope.

<sup>(610)</sup> BE 15 no. 70 is sealed on the envelope.

<sup>(611)</sup> CBS 3091 is a document about flour and barley. The term *aklu* is not attested. But it looks like an *aklu* document.

<sup>(612)</sup> BE 15 no. 65 is sealed on the envelope.

<sup>(613)</sup> MRWH 25 is sealed on the envelope.

<sup>(614)</sup> For the reading *aklu*, see Brinkman 2004, 290 ([*ak-l*]um GIŠ.BÁN 5 ŠILA).

<sup>(615)</sup> For the reading *aklu*, see Brinkman 2004, 301 ([*ak*]-lum ŠU).

<sup>(616)</sup> It has not been determined if the seal impressions are the same or not.

usually used Matthews no. **155**, which he possibly inherited from his father Enlil-nīšu,<sup>(617)</sup> but at least once used Matthews no. **148**. Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> also used Matthews no. **148**, so it was used by Rīmūtu, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>. Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu were contemporaries. Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> may have been their predecessor.<sup>(618)</sup>

Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed many *aklu* documents with Matthews no. **189**. Iqīša-Ninimma also sealed at least three *aklu* documents with Matthews no. **189**. They are contemporaries.<sup>(619)</sup>

It is noteworthy that in the Matthews no. **164** texts, MRWH 14 is possibly dated in the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1333) and that the other dated documents in the group are dated in the beginning of Nazi-Maruttaš (year 3 [1305] to year 8 [1300]). There is at least a 29-year gap between MRWH 14 and the other documents.<sup>(620)</sup>

And it is noteworthy that the descendants of Enlil-kidinnī (i.e., Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>,<sup>(621)</sup> Ninurta-zākir-šumi,<sup>(622)</sup> Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni,<sup>(623)</sup> and Amīl-Marduk<sup>(624)</sup>) sealed *aklu* documents and that the descendants of Enlil-nīšu (i.e., Ninurta-kīn-pīšu<sup>(625)</sup> and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē(?)<sup>(626)</sup>) sealed *aklu* documents.

<sup>(617)</sup> As to the Matthews no. **155**, See Hölscher (1.5.14.).

<sup>(618)</sup> About the three sealers of Matthews no. **148**, see Deheselle (1.5.12.).

Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> (1321–1292):	MUN 368 (1321, KG 1?-XII?-year 12) to CBS 9517 (1292, NM 30-XI-year 16, days 25–30, the reading of the PN is uncertain).
Rīmūtu (1296–1267):	MUN 162 (1296, NM X-year 12(+), IX [to] X) to MUN 225 (1267, KT 14?-VI-year 15, days 11–14?).
Ninurta-kīn-pīšu: (1287–1278):	MUN 199 (1287, NM [ ]-XII-year 21, days broken) to MUN 446 (1278, KT 18-XII-year 4).

<sup>(619)</sup> About the two sealers of Matthews no. **189**, see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1.5.13.) and Sassmannshausen (1.5.15.).

Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (1263–1250):	MUN 278 (1263, KaE 23-V-year 1, 12-IV to 23-V) to MUN 237 (1250, KuE 12-ṛMN <sup>ṛ</sup> -year 5, 26-ṛMN <sup>ṛ</sup> to 12-ṛMN <sup>ṛ</sup> ).
Iqīša-Ninimma (1252):	MUN 218, 219, 241 (1252, KuE year 3).

<sup>(620)</sup> For this gap see Petschow (1.5.7.).

<sup>(621)</sup> See the legend of Matthews no. **189**; also Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 17 n. 215 (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 18 n. 230 (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>), 66 n. 1052 (*pašīšu*); Brinkman 2004, 287 n. 25 (*nēšakku*); CAD P, 255 (*pašīšu*).

<sup>(622)</sup> See CUSAS 30, p. 24.

<sup>(623)</sup> Ibid.

<sup>(624)</sup> See MUN 283 obv. 2, and also Brinkman 2004, 292 (note: p. 17 and n. 209).

<sup>(625)</sup> See BE 14 no. 39 obv. 11: <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-GI-ka-šu dumu <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-ni-šu.

<sup>(626)</sup> See BE 14 no. 39 obv. 2: <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-n[*a-din-aḥḥē*] dumu <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-GI-ka-šu. But the

Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> and Amīl-Marduk are known to have been governors (*šandabakku*) of Nippur, and Ninurta-rēšūšu is known to have been a mayor (*ḥazannu*) of Nippur, so the *aklu* documents were sealed by officials.

The identification of Sîn-aḥa-iddina, Nimgirab-Marduk and Šušātu remain unclear.

## 19.2. Year, month, day

### 19.2.1. The attestations of the *aklu* documents

The earliest *aklu* document is MUN 269 (BB 24-IV-year 10 [i.e., 1350]) and the latest is MBTU 62 (Aš, 1216–1187). The period is at least 135 years. The list of the *aklu* documents and possible *aklu* documents which are dated with a royal name is as follows.<sup>(627)</sup>

#### Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1333)

MUN 269 (1350, BB year 10)  
N 2266 (1350, BB year 10)<sup>(628)</sup>  
MRWH 68 (1340, BB year 20)  
\*MRWH 14 (1359–1333),<sup>(629)</sup> Matthews no. **164**

#### Kurigalzu II (1332–1308)

MUN 197 (1319, KG year 14)  
BE 14 no. 21 (1318 KG, year 15)  
BE 14 no. 27 (1315, KG year 18), Matthews no. **188**

#### Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282)

MUN 198 (1306, NM year 2)  
MUN 118 (from 1305, NM year 3), Matthews no. **164**  
MUN 324 (1304, NM year 4), Matthews no. **61**  
BE 14 no. 48a (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>: from 1302, NM year 6), Matthews no. **148**  
MRWH 31 (to 1300, NM year 8), Matthews no. **164**  
PBS 2/2 no. 24 (1300, NM year 8), Matthews no. **156**  
\*BE 14, 53<sup>(630)</sup> (Enlil-nīšu: 1297, NM year 11), Matthews no.

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identification of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē son of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (BE 14 no. 39) with Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (Matthews no. **189**) has not been confirmed. See the section above on Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (4.8.3.).

<sup>(627)</sup> Asterisk (\*) marks documents in which the term *aklu* is not attested.

<sup>(628)</sup> See Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text: BB year 10).

<sup>(629)</sup> Though MRWH 14 is not an *aklu* document, I include it for comparison with the other documents sealed with Matthews no. **164**.

**155**

BE 14 no. 55 (1296, NM year 12), Matthews no. **162**

MUN 162 (Rīmūtu: from 1296, NM year 12(+)), Matthews no.

**148**

\*BE 14 no. 56 (1296, NM year 12)

BE 14 no. 56a (1295, NM year 13)

BE 14 no. 61 (1294, NM year 14)

MRWH 26 (1294, NM year 14)

MUN 156 (Rīmūtu: 1293, NM year 15), Matthews no. **55**

CBS 9517<sup>(631)</sup> (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>: to 1292, NM year 16), Matthews  
no. **148**

MUN 97 (1287, NM year 21)

MUN 199 (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu: from 1287, NM year 21), Matthews  
no. **155**

BE 14 no. 87a (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu: NM year x), Matthews no. **148**

Kadašman-Turgu (1281–1264)

MUN 446 (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu: to 1278, KT year 4), Matthews no.  
**155**

BE 14 no. 97 (1272, KT year 10)

MRWH 25 (1272, KT year 10), Matthews no. **187**

BE 14 no. 99a (1271, KT year 11)

MUN 225 (Rīmūtu: to 1267, KT year 15), Matthews no. **148**

MUN 203 (1266, KT year 16)

Kadašman-Enlil II (1263–1255)

MUN 278 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē: from 1263, KaE year 1),  
Matthews no. **189**

Kudur-Enlil (1254–1246)

MUN181 (Nimgirab-Marduk: 1252, KuE year 3), Matthews no.  
**157**

MRWH 29 (1252, KuE year 3)

MUN 219 (Iqīša-Ninimma: 1252, KuE year 3) Matthews no. **189**

CUSAS 30 no. 278 (Ninurta-kišsat-ilāni: 1251, KuE year 4)

CUSAS 30 no. 382 (1250, KuE year 5)

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<sup>(630)</sup> Though BE 14 no. 53 is not an *aklu* document, I include it for comparison with the other documents sealed with Matthews no. **155**.

<sup>(631)</sup> The reading of Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> is not certain.

MUN 247 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē: to 1250, KuE year 5), Matthews  
no. **189**

CUSAS 30 no. 290 (1249, KuE year 6)

CUSAS 30 no. 383 (Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni: 1249, KuE year  
6)

CUSAS 30 no. 384 (1249, KuE year 6)

CUSAS 30 no. 291 (Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni: 1248, KuE year 7)

CUSAS 30 no. 387 (1246, KuE year 9)

Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (1245–1233)

CUSAS 30 no. 262 (1246, ŠŠ acc. year)

CUSAS 30 no. 390 (1246, ŠŠ acc. year)

CUSAS 30 no. 396 (1245, ŠŠ year 1)

CUSAS 30 no. 57 (1245, ŠŠ year 1)

CUSAS 30 no. 106 (1245, ŠŠ year 1)

CUSAS 30 no. 112 (1245, ŠŠ year 1)

CUSAS 30 no. 394 (1245, ŠŠ year 1)

CUSAS 30 no. 218 (1245, ŠŠ year 1)

CUSAS 30 no. 393 (1245, ŠŠ year 1)

CUSAS 30 no. 171 (1244, ŠŠ year 2)

CUSAS 30 no. 284 (1244, ŠŠ year 2)

CUSAS 30 no. 401 (1244, ŠŠ year 2)

CUSAS 30 no. 265 (1244, ŠŠ year 2)

CUSAS 30 no. 285 (1244, ŠŠ year 2)

MUN 280 (1244, ŠŠ year 2)

MUN 326 (1241, ŠŠ year 5?)

UM 29-13-683 (1241, ŠŠ year 5)

BE 14 no. 133 (1239, ŠŠ year 7)

MRWH 27 (1236, ŠŠ year 10)

MUN 189 (1236, ŠŠ year 10)

MUN 274 (1236, ŠŠ year 10)

CUSAS 30 no. 267a (1235, ŠŠ year 11)

MRWH 30 (Ninurta-rēšūšu: 1234, ŠŠ year 12), Matthews no.  
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MUN 191 (ŠŠ year x)

CUSAS 30 no. 223 (ŠŠ, year x)

Kaštiliyašu (1232–1225)

MUN 190 (1233, Kšt acc. year)  
 MUN 192 (1230, Kšt year 3)  
 MUN 188 (1230, Kšt year 3)  
 \*MUN 193 (1229, Kšt year 4)  
 CUSAS 30 no. 268 (1228, Kšt year 5)  
 BE 14 no. 144 (1227, Kšt year 6)  
 MUN 194 (Kšt year x)

Adad-šuma-ušur (1216–1187)

MBTU 62 (Ašu year x)

### 19.2.2. The *aklu* documents of a long period

The periods of *aklu* expenditures found in the texts related to Rīmūtu, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, and Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē are mostly short (3 months or less). The exceptions, where an *aklu* document has a long period, are the following.

- 4 months: BE 14 no. 80 (IX to XII)  
 176 days: MRWH 25 (25-II to 20-VIII)  
 6 months: MRWH 29 (I to VI)  
 7 months: BE 14 no. 56a (VII-year 12 to I of year 13), CBS 7713 (VII to XIIa)  
 285 days?: Ni 8013 (21-VII to 5-ṛMNṛ, ṛMNṛ possibly V)  
 1 year: BE 14 no. 133 (1-II-year 6 to 30-I-year 7), BE 14 no. 167 (year 24 to year 25), BE 15 no. 23 (II-year 8 to II-year 9), BE 15 no. 25 (II-year 9 to II-year 10), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (year 24 to year 25), MUN 224 (I to XII)  
 1 year 29 days: BE 15 no. 16 (VI-year 4 to 29-VI-year 5)  
 1 year 4 mos.: MRWH 27 (V-year 9 to VIII-year 10)  
 2 years: MUN 326 (year 4 (to) year 5), CBS 3296 (VIII-year 17 to VIII-year 19)  
 3 years: UM 29-13-683 (year 3 to year 5)  
 3 years 3 mos.: MRWH 30 (X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12)  
 4 years: MUN 190 (from year 10(+) of ŠŠ to X-acc. year of Kšt)  
 6 years: BE 15 no. 21 (ṛMNṛ-year 2 to VIa-year 8)  
 16 years: MBTU 62 (year 2 of Kšt to year x of Ašu)

### 19.3. Occupations

In the *aklu* documents, several types of artisan (brewers, millers, oil-pressers) and shepherds are known. Their role was possibly to prepare the commodities for the *aklu* expenditures. Lists of the artisans and the shepherds are as follows.



### 19.3.1. Brewers

#### Rīmūtu texts

Bā'eru (a brewer)	BE 14 no. 80 (rev. 6), no. 83 (obv. 4), no. 87 (obv. 4), MUN 200 (rev. 7), 224 (rev. 8'), CUSAS 30 no. 136 (obv. 6), no. 141 (obv. 7)
Šamaš-mušēzib (probably a brewer)	BE 14 no. 82 (obv. 3), MUN 223 (obv. 5), CUSAS 30 no. 136 (obv. 7)
Ēriš-Ea (probably a brewer)	BE 14 no. 64 (obv. 4), no. 75 (lo. e. 8), CUSAS 30 no. 143 (obv. 14)
Amīl-Isin (probably a brewer)	MUN 201 (rev. 8), CUSAS 30 no. 141 (obv. 8)
Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a brewer)	MUN 225 (obv. 4)

#### Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts

Bā'eru (a brewer)	BE 14 no. 80 (rev. 6), no. 83 (obv. 4), no. 87 (obv. 4), MUN 200 (rev. 7), 224 (rev. 8'), CUSAS 30 no. 136 (obv. 6), no. 141 (obv. 7)
Erība-Ninurta (probably a brewer)	MUN 99 (obv. 6), CBS 9528 (obv. 6), CBS 9781 (obv. 5), CUSAS 30 no. 136 (obv. 8), no. 142 (obv. 8)
Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥutu (probably a brewer)	BE 14 no. 80a (rev. 8), CUSAS 30 no. 136 (obv. 5), no. 141 (obv. 6)
Rīmūtu (a brewer)	BE 14 no. 87a (obv. 2), CBS 9543 (obv. 5–6)

#### Ninurta-nādin-ahḥē texts

Nāḥirānu (probably a brewer)	MRWH 23 (obv. 5), MUN 208 (obv. 4), 211 (obv. 6), 216 (rev. 6), 218 (rev. 11), 229 (obv. 5), 231 (obv. 5), 232 (obv. 5), 234 (obv. 9), 246 (obv. 6), 248 (obv. 5), 252 (rev. 7), 260 (obv. 7), 263 (rev. 7), 265 (obv. 6), 267 (rev. 10), CBS 15016 (obv. 4)
Bābilāyu (probably a brewer)	MRWH 22 (obv. 5), MUN 204 (obv. 3), 207 (obv. 4), 209 (obv. 4'), 210 (obv. 5), 214 (obv. 6), 220 (rev. 8), 230 (obv. 5), 238 (obv. 5), 239 (obv. 5), 241 (rev. 16), 242 (rev. 9'), 243 (obv. 5), 261 (obv. 7), 266 (rev. 11), CBS 13362 (obv. 5)
Bēlšunu (probably a brewer)	PBS 2/2 no. 45 (obv. 5), MUN 205 (obv. 4), 206

	(obv. 2'), 215 (obv. 6), 217 (obv. 5), 228 (obv. 5), 233 (obv. 5), 235 (obv. 5), 240 (obv. 5), 244 (obv. 5), 245 (rev. 10), 251 (obv. 7), 253 (obv. 5), 262 (obv. 7), 264 (obv. 6), CBS 7694 (obv. 6)
Uzibu (probably a brewer)	PBS 13 no. 74 (obv. 6), MRWH 24 (obv. 5), MUN 213 (rev. 12), 227 (obv. 5), 237 (obv. 5), 250 (obv. 6), Ni 2240 (3–5)
Izkur-Adad (probably a brewer)	PBS 2/2 no. 43 (obv. 5), MUN 212 (obv. 3), 226 (obv. 5), 236 (obv. 5), 254 (rev. 6), 255 (obv. 5)
Damqu (probably a brewer)	MUN 249 (obv. 6)

BE 15 no. 171 (Das Archiv des Speichers)

The son of Mannu-kī-ili (probably a brewer)	BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 12'), PBS 2/2 no. 57 (lo. e. 5), CBS 2111 (obv. 4)
The son of Maši-ilu (probably a brewer)	BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 14'), BE 15 no. 194 (rev. 15)
The son of Aqar-Marduk (a brewer)	BE 15 no. 119 (obv. 3), no. 146 (obv. 3), no. 171 (rev. 15'), BM 82651 (lo. e. 5)
The son of Enlil-dayyān (a brewer)	BE 14 no. 10 (obv. 6), BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 16'), MSKH no. 17 (rev. 9), CBS 3090 (obv. 3)
The son of Mannī-Marduk (prob. a brewer)	BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 17'), MSKH no. 4 (lo. e. 7)
Usātūša (probably a brewer)	BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 18'), BE 15 no. 194 (rev. 17)
The son of Amurruma-ilu (prob. a brewer)	BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 19'), PBS 2/2 no. 74 (obv. 4)
Šūzubu (probably a brewer)	BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 21'), MSKH no. 22 (lo. e. 5)

BE 14 no. 167 and PBS 2/2 no. 34

The son of Ištaran-lissu (a brewer)	BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 3), BE 15 no. 148 (obv. 3), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 3), CBS 8737 (obv. 2)
The son of Nūr-Kūbu (a brewer)	BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 4), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 4), CBS 3000 (lo. e. 6), CBS 8737 (obv. 3)
The son of Erība-Nergal (a brewer)	BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 5), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 5), CBS 8737 (obv. 4)
The son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni (a brewer)	BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 6), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 6), CBS 8737 (obv. 5)

Other (Das Archiv des Speichers)

Bubbu (a brewer) <sup>(632)</sup>	BE 14 no. 60 (obv. 3: <i><sup>l</sup>bu-ub-bu</i> lunga), no. 62 (rev. 18: <i><sup>l</sup>bu-ub-bu</i> ki-min (i. e. <sup>lu</sup> lunga)), no. 65 (obv. 4: <i><sup>l</sup>bu-ub-bu</i> ), no. 66 (obv. 4: <i><sup>l</sup>bu-ub-bu</i> lùn [ga]), BE 15 no. 3 (lo. e. 5–6: <i><sup>l</sup>bu-ub-bu</i> <sup>lu</sup> lunga), no. 135 (obv. 3: <i><sup>l</sup>bu-ub-bu</i> lùnga), PBS 2/2 no. 136 (obv. 10: <i><sup>l</sup>bu-ub-bu</i> ), CBS 3019 (rev. 7)
Sarriqu (a brewer) <sup>(633)</sup>	BE 14 no. 97 (rev. 7), CT 51 no. 27 (obv. 3), MUN 148 (rev. 22')

### 19.3.2. Millers

#### Rīmūtu texts

Sîn-muballit̄ (a miller)	BE 14 no. 70 (obv. 2), MUN 158 (obv. 3), MUN 160 (obv. 6), CBS 9514 (obv. 2), PBS 2/2 no. 70 (obv. 1–2), no. 71 (obv. 1–2), no. 115 (obv. 3), CUSAS 30 no. 143 (obv. 12), no. 144 (obv. 7), no. 147 (obv. 4)
Lā-qīpu (a miller)	MUN 156 (obv. 3'), MUN 157 (obv. 2), PBS 2/2 no. 70 (obv. 1–2), no. 71 (obv. 1–2), no. 115 (obv. 2), CUSAS 30 no. 143 (obv. 13), no. 144 (obv. 6), CBS 2109 (u. e. 29'), CBS 3738 (rev. 20)
The son of Ṭāb-nupāršu (probably a miller)	BE 14 no. 81 (rev. 8), CBS 3529 (obv. 11, rev. 18)

#### Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts

Sîn-muballit̄ (a miller)	BE 14 no. 70 (obv. 2), MUN 158 (obv. 3), MUN 160 (obv. 6), CBS 9514 (obv. 2), PBS 2/2 no. 70 (obv. 1–2), no. 71 (obv. 1–2), no. 115 (obv. 3), CUSAS 30 no. 143 (obv. 12), no. 144 (obv. 7), no. 147 (obv. 4)
Tarību (a miller)	BE 14 no. 85 (obv. 3)

#### Ninurta-nādin-ahhē texts

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<sup>(632)</sup> In BE 15 no. 3, Bubbu, a brewer, received barley from Innannu in Zarat-Karkara. Innannu is well attested in Das Archiv des Speichers (Sassmannshausen 2001, 188–89).

<sup>(633)</sup> In CT 51 no. 27 and MUN 148, Sarriqu is mentioned with Kār-Adab which is well documented in the texts of Das Archiv des Speichers. For example, in BE 15 no. 124, barley was given from Innannu, a well know person of Das Archiv des Speichers, in Kār-Adab.

Tarību (probably a miller)	PBS 13 no. 71 (obv. 4), MRWH 28 (rev. 38), MUN 167 (obv. 3), 168 (obv. 3), 169 (obv. 3), 171 (obv. 3), 172 (obv. 3), 175 (obv. 3), 177 (obv. 5), 178 (obv. 4), 179 (obv. 3), 182 (obv. 3), 183 (obv. 4), 184 (obv. 3), 185 (obv. 5), 259 (rev. 36), CBS 8573 (obv. 3)
Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a miller)	PBS 13 no. 71 (obv. 3), MUN 165? (1'), 166 (obv. 3), 174 (obv. 3), 177 (obv. 2), 180 (obv. 8), CBS 7160 (rev. 18), UM 29-13-907 (obv. 4)
Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)	MRWH 18 (obv. 3), 20 (obv. 3), 21 (lo. e. 8), MUN 164 (obv. 2), 170 (rev. 13), 176 (lo. e. 8), 186 (obv. 4)
Zēr-kīni-līšir (probably a miller)	MRWH 19 (obv. 3)

Matthews no. 142<sup>(634)</sup> (Das Archiv des Speichers)

The son of Ṭāb-ašābšu (a miller)	BE 14 no. 17 (obv. 5–6), no. 158 (lo. e. 6-rev. 7), BE 15 no. 10 (rev. 13), no. 52 (rev. 25), no. 53 (obv. 3), no. 55 (lo. e. 5), no. 101 (rev. 9–10), no. 132 (rev. 26, 32), no. 179 (obv. 3), PBS 2/2 no. 73 (rev. 29'), CT 51 no. 39 (obv. 4–5), CBS 3091 (rev. 7), CBS 3105 (rev. 8)
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BE 15 no. 171 (Das Archiv des Speichers)

The son of Sīn-nādin-apli (a miller)	BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 2'), CBS 11534 (obv. 4)
The son of Rabâ-ša-ili (a miller)	BE 15 no. 34 (obv. 4), BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 3')
The son of Rīš-Ištaran (a miller)	BE 15 no. 27 (obv. 2), BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 4')

BE 14 no. 167 and PBS 2/2 no. 34

The son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti (prob. a miller)	BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 7), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 7), CBS 8737 (obv. 8), PBS 2/2 no. 101 (rev. 8)
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### 19.3.3. Shepherds

Ninurta-nādin-ahhē texts

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<sup>(634)</sup> CBS 3091 is a document about flour and barley. The term *aklu* is not attested, but it looks like an *aklu* document.

Sîn-aḥa-iddina (probably a shepherd)      MUN 325 (obv. 3), N 2645? (obv. 8'), BE 14 no. 99? (rev. 48)

#### Dūr-Enlilē

Qunnunu (a shepherd, *sakrumaš*)      No. 381 (obv. 12), no. 382 (obv. 4, 7), no. 383 (rev. 12), no. 384 (rev. 14), no. 388 (obv. 2), no. 390 (rev. 16: *sakrumaš*), no. 391 (obv. 5), no. 428 (obv. 11), also MUN 326 (obv. 16 ?)

Tarību (a shepherd)      No. 119 (rev. 17?), no. 173 (obv. 4), no. 299 (obv. 15), no. 301 (obv. 14), no. 321 (obv. 10), no. 322 (obv. 11'), no. 389 (rev. 10), no. 391 (obv. 7, 11, 15–20, 26, 30), no. 393 (rev. 10:  $m_t[a^2-x x]$  <sup>lū</sup>sipa), no. 395 (obv. 4), no. 400 (rev. 13), no. 401 (rev. 11), no. 403 (obv. 5)

#### Other

Aḥa-iddina-Marduk (probably a shepherd)      BE 15 no. 33 (obv. 5), BE 15 no. 199 (rev. 44)

### **19.3.4. Oil presser**

#### Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts

Iqīša-Adad (probably an oil presser)      MRWH 34 (obv. 2), MUN 278 (rev. 10), 279 (lo. e. 7)

### **19.3.5. Persons in charge of supervising the artisans**

There are also some persons who supervise the artisans. For example, Innannu and Martuku in the so-called Archiv des Speichers<sup>(635)</sup> and Nippurītu, Rīšatu and Sugir-bunni in the documents of Dūr-Enlilē<sup>(636)</sup> are well known. Their profession(s) has not been attested except in the case of Nippurītu, a musician (*nārtu*).<sup>(637)</sup> As discussed above, these individuals worked in association with the *aklu* expenditures. But their seal reference in the *aklu* documents has not been attested. Probably BE 14 no. 42 is relevant here. From it we learn about a relationship between Innannu and brewers and miller. But it should be noted that unfortunately the term *aklu* is not found in BE 14 no. 42.

#### BE 14 no. 42

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<sup>(635)</sup> See the section on Matthews no. 162.

<sup>(636)</sup> See CUSAS 30, 25–28.

<sup>(637)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 297 obv. 11.

Obv.

- 1 *tup-pi ri-ki-iš-ti* (1–5) The contract Innannu made with the brewers  
2 *ša<sup>l</sup>in-na-an-nu* and the miller.  
3 *a-na<sup>lú</sup>lunga<sup>meš</sup>*  
4 *ù ka-zì-da*  
5 *ir-ku-su*  
6 *kaš sag ul ta-am-ma* (6–12) (If) good quality beer is not sweet, (if) bread  
7 *ninda ul ba-ni-ma* is not good, (if) he gives bread, beer, or (any)  
8 *i-na ba-lu<sup>l</sup>gal-a-ša<sup>d</sup>U-GUR* supplies without permission of Rabâ-ša-Nergal, they  
9 *ninda kaš ù mé-re-eš-tu<sup>4</sup>(638)* will beat (him), (and) they will pull out (his hair).  
10 *i-nam-di-in-ma*  
11 *i-na-tù-ú<sup>(639)</sup>*  
12 *i-ba-qa-nu*

Rev.

- 13 *nap-ḥa-ar* (rev. 13–18) He seals/will seal (the tablets of) all the  
14 *ši-ka-ri* beer since Araḥsamnu (VIII) of the 1<sup>st</sup> year for  
15 *ša iš-tu<sup>iti</sup>apin-du<sub>8</sub>-a* offering.  
16 *ša mu-1-kam*  
17 *a-na ka-ap-ri<sup>(640)</sup>*

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18 *i-ka-na-ak*

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19 *iti<sup>gu</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-si-sá* (19–23) Ayyaru (II), the 3<sup>rd</sup> day, the 2<sup>nd</sup> year (of)  
20 *u<sub>4</sub>-3-kam* Nazi-Maruttaš, king.  
21 *mu-2-kam*  
22 *<sup>d</sup>na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš*  
23 *lugal-e*  
24 *<sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>kišib<sup>lú</sup>lunga* (24–25) (Sealed with) the seal of the brewer, the  
25 *<sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>kišib ka-zì-da* seal of the miller.

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(638) Here *mēreštu* is nominative, but the accusative is expected.

(639) For the interpretation of *naṭū* “to hit, beat” and *baqāmu* “to pluck,” see *AHw* II, 768; *AHw* I 104; CAD N2, 133; CAD B, 98. Cf. Luckenbill 1922, 58–59, where these two verbs are discussed, and Jastrow 1921, 41 n. 79. Aro 1955, 35 interprets this verb as *nadû*.

(640) For the interpretation of *ka-ap-ri* as offering, see *AHw* I, 445 (kapru II: “eine Art Opfer?”) and CAD K, 190–91 (kapru B: “a type of sacrifice and the platter for it”). Also see Tenney 2016, 166 (CBS 10616 obv. 19’, *kaprû*-sacrifice). Cf. Luckenbill 1907 and 1922 (“cup”), Torczyner 1913 (“Flaschen”), CAD K, 140 (“the village” for kapru A), and Sassmannshausen 2001, 77 n. 1237 (“Dicken,” *ka-ab-ri*).

Innannu made a contract with the brewers and the miller about bread, beer and (any other) supplies. It is interesting that the brewers and the miller are prohibited from delivering their commodities without permission of a certain Rabâ-ša-Nergal and that (the records of) the commodities are sealed.

### 19.3.6. The recipients of the *aklu* commodities

At least in some cases, the sealer was a recipient. For example, in BE 14 no. 81, flour was issued for the banquet (of) Rīmūtu,<sup>(641)</sup> and Rīmūtu sealed the document.<sup>(642)</sup> Several similar cases can be found for Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē. In MUN 251 and 252, beer and the beer products are said to be *aklu* (of/for) Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed both documents.<sup>(643)</sup>

As to the recipients, the kings (at least Nazi-Maruttaš and Kudur-Enlil) and the prince (dumu lugal) were beneficiaries of the expenditures.<sup>(644)</sup> Several professions or positions are attested for the recipient of the *aklu* expenditures. Among them are some officials (vessel-stand for governor,<sup>(645)</sup> high official,<sup>(646)</sup> mayor<sup>(647)</sup> and so on), artisans (weaver,<sup>(648)</sup> weaver,<sup>(649)</sup> leatherworker<sup>(650)</sup> etc.), laborers (farmer,<sup>(651)</sup> ploughman,<sup>(652)</sup> workers<sup>(653)</sup> etc.). Yet, regarding some members, it is not stated clearly which institutions (palace, temple, etc.) they belonged to. Some persons seem to belong to the palace.<sup>(654)</sup> As discussed above, Nippurītu in the Rosen texts was the head of a household which

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<sup>(641)</sup> Obv. 1: 0,3.2. kin-sig <sup>1</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>(642)</sup> U. e. 13: <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>(643)</sup> MUN 251 obv. 6: *ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe*; rev. 12: <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>ṛnin-urta<sup>1</sup>-sum-aḥ-ḥe. MUN 252 obv. 6: *ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe*; rev. 12: <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe.

<sup>(644)</sup> About the phrases (*elē šarri*, *arād šarri*, *arād mār šarri*), see Brinkman 1976, 411–414 and the section of notes of each section.

<sup>(645)</sup> MUN 213 obv. 7 (*kanni šandabakku*).

<sup>(646)</sup> MUN 176 obv. 4 (*ša rēši šarri*).

<sup>(647)</sup> MUN 219 obv. 9 (*ḥazannu*).

<sup>(648)</sup> MUN 176 obv. 3 (*māḥiṣu*).

<sup>(649)</sup> MUN 219 obv. 7 (*ušparu/išparu*).

<sup>(650)</sup> MUN 241 rev. 10 (*aškāpu*).

<sup>(651)</sup> MUN 245 rev. 8 (*iššākkū*).

<sup>(652)</sup> MRWH 21 obv. 4 (*ikkaru*).

<sup>(653)</sup> CBS 7714 obv. 16 (*šābu*).

<sup>(654)</sup> For the winter palace in Nippur (é <sup>na4</sup>kišib *ša é-gal ku-uš-ši*), see Sassmannshausen 2001, 10 n. 94. BE 14 no. 124, 6–7.

belonged to the outer area of the palace (*bābānu*),<sup>(655)</sup> and received sheep as *aklu*.<sup>(656)</sup> Also, sometimes the inner quarter of the palace (*bītānu*)<sup>(657)</sup> is mentioned in the *aklu* documents.<sup>(658)</sup> In CUSAS 30 no. 293, a keeper of horses of the king (*sipa anše-kura-ra ša lugal*) received cereals, probably barley, as *aklu*.<sup>(659)</sup> However, some *aklu* commodities were clearly supplied for religious purposes.<sup>(660)</sup> In BE 14 no. 133, probably sheep were dedicated for the temples of Ekur, Parak-māri (as an offering), and Bīt-bēri (as an offering) as *aklu*. In MRWH 27, also sheep and male goats were disbursed for Ekur, Parak-māri, and Bīt-bēri as *aklu* of the temple (*ak-lu é dingir*). We can find sheep offerings said to be *aklu* in the Rosen texts.<sup>(661)</sup> It is clear from this that *aklu* commodities were used not only for the palace but also for temples. Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, governor of Nippur, is mentioned in the legend of Matthews no. 189. He also held priestly titles such as a high priest (*nēšakku*) of Enlil and anointed priest (*pašišu*) of Ninlil. Probably there was a close relationship between the palace and the temples.

### 19.3.7. The administrative context of the *aklu* documents

Regarding the administrative context of the *aklu* documents, I cite here the example of Iqīša-Adad (probably an oil-presser). He appears in MRWH 34 (1258, KaE 15-X-year 6, oil), MUN 278 (1263, KaE 23-V-year 1, 12-IV to 23-V, *aklu*, oil), and MUN 279 (1257, KaE 3-I-year 7, *ak[-lu/lu<sub>4</sub>]*, oil). These three documents, which are reproduced below, were sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē with Matthews no. 189.

#### MRWH 34

Obv.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 3,1 Pl.0.1 sila i-giš <sup>g</sup> bān 5 sila     | (1–5) Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē received the oil (3,1.0.1.), |
| 2 | <i>i-na</i> šu <sup>l</sup> <i>i-qi-ša-d</i> škur | measured by 5- <i>qa</i> measure, from Iqīša-Adad and |

<sup>(655)</sup> For *bābānu* (der äußere Bereich des Palastes), see Sassmannshausen 2001, 155.

<sup>(656)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 384, 9–11.

<sup>(657)</sup> For *bītānu*, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 155–156 (Der innere Bereich). Also BE 14 no. 167 obv. 10 (šuk é-gal) and PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 10 (šuk é-nu). As mentioned above, BE 14 no. 167 (*aklu*) is parallel to PBS 2/2 no. 34 (*aklu*).

<sup>(658)</sup> For example, BE 15 no. 79 obv. 4: MUN 200 obv. 2; CBS 3529 rev. 14, 15, 17 etc.

<sup>(659)</sup> In rev. 12'. The heading of the commodities is broken.

<sup>(660)</sup> For example, offerings such as *kispu*, *nīqu* are mentioned as the purpose of the *aklu*. See the section on commodities in the section on Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (4.5.2.).

<sup>(661)</sup> For example, CUSAS 30 no. 384 obv. 6 (šiskur é<sup>d</sup>gu-la), no. 390 obv. 4 (šiskur<sup>d</sup>utu), no. 393 obv. 6 (šiskur<sup>d</sup>utu), no. 414 (2 udu-níta *gi-nu-ú ša bára-dumu<sup>ki</sup>*) etc.



3	<sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum-ah- <i>he</i>	delivered (it) to the storehouse.
4	<i>im-<sup>hur</sup>-ma</i>	
5	<i>a-na é<sup>na4</sup>kišib ú-še-rib</i>	

Rev.

6	<sup>iti</sup> ab u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam	(6) the month Ṭebētu (X). 15 <sup>th</sup> day.
7	mu-6-kam <sup>d</sup> ka-dáš-man- <sup>d</sup> en-líl	(7) 6 <sup>th</sup> year (of) Kadašman-Enlil.
8	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum-ah- <i>he</i>	(8) Sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.

In MRWH 34, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē received the oil from Iqīša-Adad and sealed the document. But the term *aklu* is not mentioned.

### MUN 278

Obv.

1	ì <sup>gis</sup> bán 5 sila <i>ak-lu</i> <sub>4</sub> ta u <sub>4</sub> -12-ka[m <i>itišu-numun-n]a</i>	(1) oil, measured by 5- <i>qa</i> measure, expenditure from 12 <sup>th</sup> day [of the month Du]’ūzu (IV)
2	<i>a-di</i> u <sub>4</sub> -23-kam <i>ša</i> <sup>iti</sup> NE-gar mu-1-kam <u><sup>d</sup>ka<sup>7</sup>-dáš-man-<sup>d</sup>en-líl</u>	(2) to 23 <sup>rd</sup> day of the month Abu (V). 1 <sup>st</sup> year (of) Kadašman-Enlil.
3	2 sila <i>ša</i> 0,0.2. še-giš-ì <sup>l</sup> mu-še-zib- <sup>d</sup> U-GUR <u>u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam u<sub>4</sub>-30</u>	(3) 2 <i>qa</i> of/from 0,0.2. sesame (for) Mušēzib-Nergal days 13–30.
4	<u>1 sila <i>nu-rù</i> u<sub>4</sub>-25-kam</u>	(4) 1 <i>qa</i> (for) lighting. 25 <sup>th</sup> day.
5	<u>1 sila <i>a-na</i> bād-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-<i>hi-a</i><sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>nanna-lú-sig<sub>6</sub></u>	(5) 1 <i>qa</i> for Dūr-Enlilē. <sup>d</sup> nanna-lú-sig <sub>6</sub> . <sup>(662)</sup>
6	<u>1/2 sila <sup>l</sup>za-ki-rù</u>	(6) 1/2 <i>qa</i> (for) Zākuru.
7	<u>1 sila <i>né-pe-šú</i></u>	(7) 1 <i>qa</i> . (for) the procedure.
8	<u>1 sila <i>ša</i> 0,0.1. še-giš-ì u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam</u>	(8) 1 <i>qa</i> of/from 0,0.1. sesame. 15 <sup>th</sup> day.

Rev.

9	pap 0,0.1.1 sila ì-giš <i>ak-lu</i> <sub>4</sub>	(9) total 0,0.1.1. oil expenditure.
10	šu <sup>l</sup> ba-ša- <sup>d</sup> iškur	(10) Under the responsibility of Iqīša-Adad.
11	ta <sup>iti</sup> šu en <sup>iti</sup> NE	(11) from Du’ūzu (IV) to Abu (V).
12	mu-1-kam <sup>d</sup> ka-dáš-man- <sup>d</sup> en-líl	(12) 1 <sup>st</sup> year (of) Kadašman-Enlil.
13	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-sum-ah- <i>he</i>	(13) Sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.

### MUN 279

Obv.

<sup>(662)</sup> The reading of this personal name is not clear. Perhaps it is Sîn-amīlu-damqu. M. Stol tentatively suggests a reading Sîn-amīlu-udammiq.

- 1  $\dot{\imath}$  <sup>g</sup>šbán 𐎠𐎺𐎠 [sila] (1) oil, measured by 5 *qa*-measure.  
2 0,0.2.1 sila [šuk] 𐎠anše-kur-ra𐎠 (2) 0,0.2.1. (for) the [fodder] of 𐎠the horses𐎠.  
3 0,0.0.1 sila é *ú-de-e* (3) 0,0.0.1. (for) the house of equipment.  
4 0,0.0.1/2 sila  $\dot{\imath}$ -šaḥ <sup>ld</sup>n[usku<sup>?</sup>-še-*m*]i (4) 0,0.0.1/2. lard (for) N[usku-še-*m*]i.  
5 0,0.0.1/2 sila *nu-ú[-ru]* (5) 0,0.0.1/2. (for) lighting.  
6 š[u-ni/igin x,x.x.+]2 1/2 sila *a[k-lu<sub>4</sub>/lu]* (6) Total [ x,x.x.+]2 1/2. (oil) exp[enditure.]  
Lo. E.  
7 šu **ba-ša-diš[kur]** (7) Under the responsibility of Iqīša-Ad[ad.]  
Rev.  
8 <sup>iti</sup>bára u<sub>4</sub>-3-kam (8) The month Nisannu (I). 3<sup>rd</sup> day.  
9 mu-7-kam <sup>d</sup>ka-dáš-man-<sup>d</sup>en-líl (9) 7<sup>th</sup> year (of) Kadašman-Enlil.  
10 <sup>na</sup>4kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-aḥ-ḥe (10) Sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.

In MUN 278 and 279, oil was issued for several purposes. Iqīša-Adad prepared the oil for the *aklu*. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed both documents. Sassmannshausen has already noticed these three documents and remarked, I believe correctly, that *qāt* PN is used to mean “from PN” (*ina qāt* PN).<sup>(663)</sup>

Like Iqīša-Adad, other artisans (brewers, millers) and shepherds have prepared the commodities (beer, flour, sheep etc.) for the *aklu*. Here I cite CBS 3529 to explain the administrative context of the *aklu* and the artisans. The date is 14<sup>th</sup> day of Šabātu (XI). The text has four columns (flour received, expenditure, outstanding, and entries). In the fourth column (entries), we can find a certain son of Ṭāb-nupāršu (obv. 11 and rev. 18).

#### CBS 3529<sup>(664)</sup>

U. e.

1 <sup>iti</sup>zíz-A-AN u<sub>4</sub>-14-kam

Obv.

2	[z]i-da <i>maḥ</i>	<i>ak<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>re</i>	mu-bi-im
3	- <i>rù</i>	- <i>lu<sub>4</sub></i>	- <i>ḥu</i>	
4	0,0.1.4 sila			<sup>l</sup> ḥa-an-nu-ú
5	0,0.1.3.			l <sup>i</sup> gi- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu-lu-[ <i>mu</i> ]r
6	0,0.1 1/2 sila	<i>pa-ḥi-du<sup>(665)</sup></i>		l <sup>i</sup> gi-nu-gál

<sup>(663)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 320: “Wenn man MRWH 34 mit MUN 278 und 279 vergleicht, wo Iqīša-Addu ebenfalls genannt ist, liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß *qāt* PN für *ina qāt* PN „von PN“ steht.”

<sup>(664)</sup> CBS 3529 is one of the Middle Babylonian documents studied by van Soldt, who allowed me to use his transliterations and notes for this study.

<sup>(665)</sup> A kind of flour (*paḥīdu*).

7	0,0.1. <i>ša</i>	ŠE- MAŠ/BAR <sup>(666)</sup>	1 sìla	ʔki-min
8	0,0.1.1 sìla			dumu-munus <sup>1</sup> lú <sub>2</sub> zadim <sup>(667)</sup>
9	0,0.1.1 sìla	<i>ša</i> u <sub>4</sub> -13-kam		ki-min
10	1 sìla			ʔ <sup>ld</sup> AG-di-ku <sub>5</sub> ʔ
11	1 sìla			<b>dumu <sup>1</sup>dùg-ab-nu-[p]ár-šú</b>

Lo. E.

12	0,0.1. <i>ša</i>	<i>ar-sa-a-ni</i> <sup>(668)</sup>		dumu-munus <sup>1</sup> dub-sar
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Rev.

13	0,0.1.2 sìla			dumu <sup>1</sup> bu-un-na
14	2 sìla	0,0.1. <i>é-mu</i> <sup>(669)</sup>		<sup>1</sup> pa-ḫal-la-a-nu
15	4 sìla	0,4.0. <i>é-nu</i>		dumu-munus <sup>1</sup> ip-pa-i-ti
16		0,0.1.3 sìla		dumu <sup>1</sup> sum- <sup>d</sup> ʔU-GURʔ
17		<i>é-nu</i>		
18	1 sìla	u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam		<b>dumu <sup>1</sup>dùg-ab-nu-pár-šú</b>
19	1 sìla	u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam		<sup>ld</sup> AG-di-ku <sub>5</sub>
20	0,0.1.1 sìla	<i>zid ar-sa-a-ni</i>		ʔ <sup>ki</sup> -is-si-li-mi-tu <sub>4</sub>

The same personal name is found in BE 14 no. 81 (flour, *aklu*, sealed by Rīmūtu).

BE 14 no. 81

Obv.

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | 0,3.2. kin-sig <sup>1</sup> ri-mu-tu <sub>4</sub>                        | (1) 0,3.2. for the banquet of Rīmūtu.                                |
| 2 | ta u <sub>4</sub> -[x+] <sub>3</sub> -kam en u <sub>4</sub> -8-kam       | (2) from [x+] <sub>3</sub> <sup>th</sup> day to 8 <sup>th</sup> day. |
| 3 | 0,0.2. <sup>1</sup> arad- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu gar-nu                   | (3) 0,0.2. (for) Arad-Marduk, official.                              |
| 4 | 0,0.2. šuk <sup>1</sup> su- <sup>d</sup> šu-qa-mu-na                     | (4) 0,0.2. the food allocation of Erība-Šuqamuna.                    |
| 5 | [ ] <sub>ʔx</sub> x <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> ki-din- <sup>d</sup> gu-la | (5) [ ] <sub>ʔx</sub> x <sup>1</sup> Kidin-Gula.                     |
| 6 | [ ] <sub>IR</sub>  | (6) [ ] <sub>IR</sub>  |

Rev.

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 7 | pap 0,4.3.3 sìla zì-da <i>ak-lu</i> <sub>4</sub> | (7) total: 0,4.3.3. flour expenditure. |
|---|--|--|

<sup>(666)</sup> Barley (*uṭṭatu*).

<sup>(667)</sup> Bow-maker (*sasinnu*).

<sup>(668)</sup> Barley-groats (*arzānu, arsānu*).

<sup>(669)</sup> The inner quarter of the palace (*bītānu*).

- 8 **dumu** <sup>1</sup>**dùg-ab-nu-pár-šu** (8) The son of Ṭāb-nupāršu.  
 9 uru *tukul-ti-é-kur la a-ša-bu* (9) Tukultī-Ekur *lā ašābu*.  
 10 <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-A-AN (10) The month Simanu (III).  
 U. e.  
 11 mu-23-kam (11) 23<sup>rd</sup> year (of)  
 12 *na-zi-ma-ru-taš* lug[al-e?] (12) Nazi-Maruttaš, the king.  
 13 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1</sup>*ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>* (13) Sealed by Rīmūtu.

The son of Ṭāb-nupāršu prepared the flour for the *aklu* of BE 14 no. 81, and therefore the son of Ṭāb-nupāršu in CBS 3529 (also flour, *aklu*) is perhaps a miller. To explain the role of the miller (the son of Ṭāb-nupāršu) in CBS 3529, I cite another *aklu* document (UM 29-16-629).<sup>(670)</sup>

#### UM 29-16-629

Obv.

1	<i>um-ma</i>	<i>maḥ</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>r[e</i>	]
2	<i>-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>-rù</i>	<i>-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>[-ḥu</i>	]
3	0,0.1.3.	0,0.1.3.			[ ]
4	0,0.1.3.	0,0.1.3.			[ ]
5	0,0.1.3.	0,0.1.3.			[ ]
6	0,0.1.3.[		]	[	]

Broken

7'	0,0.2.ṛ2.ṛ	[			]
8'	0,0.1.1.	0,0.2.1. <sup>(671)</sup>	[		]
9'	0,0.1.1.				[ ]
10'	x				x x

The heading of this text is similar to that of CBS 3529. The commodities are not specified, but the amounts of UM 29-16-629 are comparable to those of CBS 3529. UM 29-16-629 has a column for the main part (*ummatu*). The term *ummatu* in parallel uses is also found in BE 14 no. 33, PBS 2/2 nos. 72

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<sup>(670)</sup> This *aklu* document is cited in Sassmannshausen 2001, 318. But the transliteration is made by myself.

<sup>(671)</sup> Or probably here the sign should be read TA. See the photo (P257065.jpg).

and 75. As explained by CAD, the amount of the *ummatu* is equivalent to the sum of the commodities received and the commodities outstanding. I reproduce the transliterations for comparison.<sup>(672)</sup>

BE 14 no. 33

u. e. 1	[ ] mu-20-kam <i>ku-ri-gal-zu</i>			
Obv. 2	ṛšeṽ <i>ši-ib-šu</i> <sub>14</sub>	<i>maḥ-ru</i>	íb-tag/k <sub>4</sub>	mu-bi-im
3	<i>um-ma-tu</i> <sub>4</sub>			
4	47,0.3.	45,1.4.	1,3.5.	<sup>l</sup> <i>ku-up-pu-pu</i>
5	20,0.5.	19,2.3.	0,3.2.	<sup>l</sup> ki-min <sup>l</sup> <i>sa-mi-du</i> [ ]
6	9,<4>.4.	9,4.4.		<sup>l</sup> ki-min <sup>l</sup> <i>li-ia-tu</i> <sub>4</sub> [ ]
7	28,4.0.	28,3 <sup>!</sup> .ṛ5ṽ.	0,0.1.	<sup>l</sup> ki-min dumu <sup>l</sup> <i>da-aš-pi</i> <sup>uru</sup> [ ]
8	20,0.5.	19,3.4.	0,2.1.	<sup>l</sup> ki-min dumu <sup>l</sup> <i>a-ba-düg-ga kaš[-šu-ú]</i>
9	12,4.2. en 3,0.0. níg-kud-da <sup>(673)</sup>	9,4 <sup>!</sup> .0.	3,0. 2 <sup>!</sup> .	<sup>l</sup> ki-min <sup>ld?</sup> <i>en-kit-ti</i> <sup>uru</sup> [ ]
10	ṛ16 <sup>?</sup> .2.1. <sup>(674)</sup>	15,2.3.	0,4.4. <sup>(675)</sup>	<sup>l</sup> ki-min <sup>l</sup> <i>su-ba-</i> [ ]

Here the agricultural taxes (*šibšu*)<sup>(676)</sup> on the barley were collected. The date is the 20<sup>th</sup> year of Kurigalzu II (1313). Although some numbers were damaged, otherwise the amounts in the main part (*ummatu*) are the sum of those in the received (*maḥ-ru*) column and the (íb-tag/k<sub>4</sub>) column. In MUN 55 (1312 KG year 21) obv. 7, a certain Kuppupu appears in the mu-bi-im column where we also find the term *énsi*<sup>meš</sup> (farmers/tenants). This document also deals with agricultural taxes (*šibšu*). Therefore the Kuppupu of BE 14 no. 33 was probably a farmer or had some relationship with the farmers. Therefore, we learn from this document that the persons in the fourth column (mu-bi-im) were required to deliver the barley.

<sup>(672)</sup> *AHw* 1979, 1415: “mB Nippur in Tempelurk. Unkl. Abgabe, Wolle”; CAD W 2010, 118: “equivalent to the sum of wool received and wool outstanding.”

<sup>(673)</sup> For the term níg-kud-da (*miksu*), we have *AHw* 1966, 652 (“Ertragsabgabe”) and CAD M 2 1977, 63 (“share of the yield of a field (due to tenant and owner or paid to the palace as the owner of the field)”). Regarding the *miksu* of BE 14 no. 33, see Ellis 1976, 152–153, 157 n. 307.

<sup>(674)</sup> For the reading ṛ16<sup>?</sup>.2.1., see the photo (P263916.jpg).

<sup>(675)</sup> For the reading 0,4.4., see the same photo (P263916.jpg).

<sup>(676)</sup> The word for tax (*šibšu*) is defined by *AHw* (1976, 1227) as “Getreideabgabe,” and by CAD (Š 2 1992, 383) as “an agricultural tax.” Usually one third of the revenue (*tēlītu*) was collected. Regarding the *šibšu* of BE 14 no. 33, see Ellis 1976, 122, 126, 131. It appears also in some recent publications: Sassmannshausen 2001, texts 30–71 and van Soldt 2015, texts 34–67.

PBS 2/2 no. 72

Obv.

1	[síg] <i>um-ma-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	síg <i>maḥ-ri</i>	síg LÁL-DÛ	mu-bi-im
2	᠕3᠒3 ma 2 gín	30 5/6 ma	2 ma 12 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>a-ḥi-it-tu-ut-tu<sub>4</sub></i>
3	᠕23᠒ 2/3 ma 7	18 ma	5 2/3 ma	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>en-šu-nu</i>
4	᠕5᠒ ma 10 gín	5 ma 10 gín		dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>šeš-᠕ama᠒-šú</i>
5	15 2/3 ma 5	14 1/3 ma	1 1/3 ma 5	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>kab-ta-dingir</i>
6	5 ma 7		5 ma 7	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>é-a-re-man-ni</i>
7	6 1/3 ma 4	6 1/3 ma 4		dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>búr-ri-gašan</i>
8	12 1/3 ma 5	11 1/2 ma	5/6 ma 5	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>ku-ri-i</i>
9	3 1/3 ma 9	3 1/3 ma 9		dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>ib[ila]-᠕iškur᠒</i>
10	9 ma 17	9 ma 17		dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>ku-ú]-a [ ]</i> <sup>(677)</sup>
11	8 5/6 ma 4 <sup>?</sup>	5 2/3 ma	3 ma 10 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>lugal-d[i-ku<sub>5</sub>]</i>
12	19 2/3 ma ᠕8᠒ <sup>(678)</sup>	᠕19 2/3 ma 8᠒		<sup>1</sup> <i>arad-u<sub>4</sub>-᠕9᠒ [-kam]</i>
13	7 2/3 <sup>(679)</sup> ma [5]	5 5/6 ma	1 1/2 ma ᠕5᠒	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>pat-[si]</i>
14	6 2/3 ma ᠕8᠒		6 2/3 ma 8	<sup>1</sup> <i>bur-ra-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu</i>
15	11 ma ᠕18᠒		11 ma 18	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>ú-lu-lí-ti</i>
16	4 2/3 ma 7		4 2/3 ma 7	ki-min <i>e-si-ir-tu<sub>4</sub></i> <sup>(680)</sup>
17	᠕15᠒ ma 6		15 ma 6	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>iš-mu-li-ni</i>
18	45 ma 6	25 ma	20 ma 6	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>re-eš-ku<sub>4</sub>-šú</i> <sup>(681)</sup>
19	11 5/6 ma 5	11 1/2 ma	1/3 ma 5	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>šil-lí-<sup>d</sup>utu</i>
20	9 1/2 ma ᠕2᠒	9 1/2 ma 2		dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>a-ši-gi</i>
21	3 ma ᠕4᠒	3 ma 4		dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>iškur-še-mi</i>
22	14 1/3 ma ᠕8᠒	7 ma 10 gín	7 ma 18	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>gal-a-ša-dingir</i>
23	10 5/6 ma ᠕6᠒	5 1/3 ma	5 1/2 ma 6	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>ḥa-bil-ki-nu</i>
24	11 2/3 ma ᠕6᠒	᠕8᠒ ma	3 2/3 ma 6	<sup>1</sup> <i>mu-lib-ši</i>
25	8 ma	[ ]᠕6᠒ ma 10 gín	1 5/6 ma	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>su-<sup>d</sup>utu</i>

<sup>(677)</sup> For dumu <sup>1</sup>*ku-ú]-a [ ]* in obv. 10 and dumu <sup>1</sup>*lugal-d[i-ku<sub>5</sub>]* in obv. 11, we can find them on the photo of CDLI (P259849.jpg).

<sup>(678)</sup> The reading ᠕8᠒ is based on the CDLI photo.

<sup>(679)</sup> The reading “2/3” is based on the CDLI photo.

<sup>(680)</sup> “(the amount) to be collected.”

<sup>(681)</sup> See Stamm 1968, 186 n. 5 and Hölscher 1996, 180.

26	1 gú 23 ma		1 gú[ 23 ma]	ṛdumu <sup>1</sup> x[ ]
27	5 5/6 ma 7	ṛ5ṛ [5/6 ma]	7 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> gu-ub-bu-ḫi
28	3[+x]ṛgúṛ 50 1/3 ma	[ ]34 ma	3 <sup>(682)</sup> gú	[ ]
29	[ ]ṛmaṛ[ ]gín	[ ]gín	1/3 ma 1 gín	

Rev.

- 30 gaba-ṛriṛ a-na e-se<sup>1</sup>-ri<sup>1d</sup>amar-utu-mu-šal-lim  
31 ma-ḫi-ir a-na<sup>1</sup>ki-la-an-<di>-ub-ri-ia-<<ia>>-aš  
32 ṛi-nṛam-di-in-ma i-si-ir

Translation of the colophon: A duplicate (of a list of wool deliveries), Marduk-mušallim received for collection. He will give (the wool) to Kilandi-Ubriyaš. Then, he (Kilandi-Ubriyaš) will collect (it).

Here a large amount of wool was collected. The date of this document is not given. Some numbers are heavily worn or broken. But in the preserved contents, the amounts of the main part (*ummatu*) are the sum of the received wool and the outstanding wool. Probably the persons listed in the fourth column (mu-bi-im) were herdsmen (*nāqidu*).<sup>(683)</sup> This document has a colophon which says that Kilamdi-Ubriyaš will collect (the wool). His identity is still unclear, but his name is typically Kassite. As mentioned above,<sup>(684)</sup> herdsmen were under the management of the mayor (*ḫazannu*), and the mayor was supervised by the Kassites (*kaššú*). Hence Kilamdi-Ubriyaš may be a supervisor of the herdsmen.

#### PBS 2/2 no. 75

Obv.

1	síg <i>um-ma-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	síg <i>maḫ-rù</i>	síg LÁL-DÙ	mu-bi-im
2	29 ma 2 gín	23 1/2 ma	5 1/2 ma 2 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> a-ḫi-it-tu-ut-tu <sub>4</sub>
3	21 1/2 ma 4 gín	21 ma 10 gín	1/3 ma 4 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> en-šu-nu
4	4 5/6 ma 3 gín	3 5/6 ma	1 ma 3 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> šeš-ama-šú
5	11 5/6 ma 6 gín	11 5/6 ma 6 gín		dumu <sup>1</sup> kab-ta-i-lu
6	[5] ma		5 ma	dumu <sup>1d</sup> é-a-re-man-ni
7	[5 1/2] ma 1 gín	5 ma	1/2 ma 1 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> nap-ši-ri-nin

<sup>(682)</sup> The reading “3” is based on the CDLI photo.

<sup>(683)</sup> This document (PBS 2/2 no. 72), PBS 2/2 no. 75 and PBS 2/2 no. 122 are parallels in which we find the same personal names. In PBS 2/2 no. 122 u. e. 2, the term na-gada (herdsman) is mentioned. Therefore, the persons seem to have been herdsmen.

<sup>(684)</sup> See the introduction to the Kassites (1.1.) and BE 14 no. 99a, 137, MUN 329, etc.

8	[11] ma 10 gín	7 ma	4 ma 10 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> ku-ri-i
9	[3 1/2] ma 5 gín	3 1/2 ma 5 gín		dumu <sup>1</sup> ibila- <sup>d</sup> iškur
10	[9 2/3] ma 9 gín	5 1/3 ma	4 1/3 ma 9 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> ku-ú-a
11	[9 1/2] ma 5 gín	6 ma 10 gín	3 1/3 ma 5 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> lugal-di-ku <sub>5</sub>
12	[17 1/3] ma 9 gín	13 1/2 ma	3 5/6 ma 9 gín	<sup>1</sup> arad-u <sub>4</sub> -9-kam
13	[7 2/3] ma 3 gín	4 ma 5 gín	3 1/2 ma 8 gín	dumu <sup>1</sup> pat-si
14	[6 1/2] ma 1 gín	4 ma	2 1/2 ma 1 ṛgínṛ	<sup>1</sup> bur-ra- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
15	[+]1 ma 7 gín	15 1/3 m[a		]
16	[+]1/3 ma ṛ6ṛ[+] g[ín			]

Break

Rev.

17'	[ g]ú	ṛ3 <sup>2</sup> ṛ g[ú		]
18'	[x ma] 3 gín	20 1/3 ma	6 gín	
19'		6 gín		

- 20' *a-na e-se-ri šu <sup>1</sup>ki-la-an-di-ub-ri-ia-aš*  
21' *tup-pa <sup>1</sup>ur-gi-ia ma-ḫi-ir*  
22' *gaba-ri i-tu <sup>1</sup>ki-rib-ti-<sup>d</sup>en-líl ša-ki-in*  
23' *ù kù-babbar<sup>(685)</sup> ša ṛi-siṛ-ra<sup>(686)</sup> i-na<sup>na4</sup><kišib> sipa ka-nik-ma*  
24' *i-tu <sup>1</sup>re-e[š-n]a-pa-aḫ-šú ša-ki-in*

Translation of the colophon: For the collection under the responsibility of Kilandi-Ubriyaš, Urgīya received a tablet. A duplicate was deposited with Kiribtī-Enlil. Moreover, the silver/property which he collected was sealed with a seal of shepherd(s), and set for Rē[š-n]apāḫšu.

PBS 2/2 no. 75 is parallel with the previous document (PBS 2/2 no. 72). As far as the preserved contents allow us to judge, both documents referred to the same herdsmen and to Kilamdi-Ubriyaš. The left side and the lower part of this document are broken away. Therefore some numbers on the left side cannot be checked, but otherwise the amounts of the main part (*ummatu*) are the sum of the amounts of received wool and of outstanding wool. Here too, Kilamdi-Ubriyaš collected the wool. Although it is unclear who sealed, (the documents) related to the silver/property were sealed with the

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<sup>(685)</sup> The reading kù-babbar was suggested by W. H. van Soldt. Cf. CAD Š 1 (1989), p. 126 (*šakānu: u'iltu*).

<sup>(686)</sup> The reading ṛi-siṛ-ra was suggested by W. H. van Soldt.



seal of the shepherd. That means that this collection of wool was done as an administrative task.

As discussed above (BE 14 no. 33, PBS 2/2 nos 72, 75), the persons listed in the column of the entry (mu-bi-im) were required to deliver the commodities (barley, wool). Equally in the case of CBS 3529, the persons found in the column (mu-bi-im), i. e. the millers, were required to deliver the commodities (flour).

### CBS 3529

Obv.

2	[z]i-da maḥ	ak <sup>2</sup>	re	mu-bi-im
3	-rù	-lu <sub>4</sub>	-ḥu	

However, here is an *aklu* column. Probably the millers were required to deliver the flour and/or to prepare it for the *aklu* expenditure.<sup>(687)</sup> In a previously discussed case involving Iqīša-Adad, who was probably an oil-presser, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē received oil from Iqīša-Adad and sealed it (in MRWH 34). This is perhaps a case of commodities received (*maḥru*). In MUN 278 and MUN 279, Iqīša-Adad prepared oil for the *aklu*, and Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed the documents. These may be cases where the commodity was recorded as an expenditure (*aklu*).<sup>(688)</sup>

### 19.4. Commodities

In the *aklu* documents, as discussed above, beer (kaš), clay pots (dug), beer products (báppir, níg-àr-ra, munu<sub>5</sub>), barley (še, ŠE-BAR/MAS̄), and flour (zì-da) are amply attested.<sup>(689)</sup> In addition, we can

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<sup>(687)</sup> In the *aklu* column, rev. 14, 15, and 17, the inner quarter of the palace (*būānu*) is mentioned. Therefore, the flour was expended for the palace.

<sup>(688)</sup> In CUSAS 30 no. 394, twenty sheep were collected (šu.nigin 20 ša i-si-ru). Among them, three were expended (šu.nigin 3 ak-lu i-na šà ú-ṛše-šu-úṛ). This implies that some of the received commodities can be used for the *aklu*. Cf. also CUSAS 30 no. 382, lines 1-8: ṛ8ṛ udu.níta 5 u<sub>8</sub>.gal PAP 13 si.lá buru<sub>14</sub> ša šu mqu-nu-ni lú<sub>6</sub>sipa i-na šà 9 ba-aq-na 1 udu.níta si.lá buru<sub>14</sub> i-si-it šu mqu-nu-ni lú<sub>6</sub>sipa i-na šà 3 ṛak<sup>1</sup>-lum “<sup>1</sup>8 rams, <sup>2</sup>5 full-grown ewes, <sup>3</sup>in total 13, summer provisions <sup>4</sup>under the responsibility of Qunnunu the shepherd. <sup>5</sup>Among (them) 9 have been plucked, <sup>6</sup>1 ram remained as summer provision, <sup>7</sup>(under) the responsibility of Qunnunu the shepherd. <sup>8</sup>Among (them) 3 are food expenditure.”

<sup>(689)</sup> Some possible commodities are not included in the lists here because they are not certainly for *aklu*, or because the relevant text is poorly preserved. Deheselle (1996, 218) mentioned examples of a type of flour (níg-àr), porridge (ba-ba-za), and salt (mun). Although she does not mention the reference, it is probably BE 15 no. 44 (rev. 23: níg-àr-ra ù pa-pa-su; rev. 20, 22, lo. e. 35: mun) or BE 15 no. 48c (obv. 3: níg-àr ù ba-za-za). Both documents seem to be *aklu* documents, but the term *aklu* does not appear in either case. Also, she referred to an example of the hides of carcasses (MUN 326 rev. 43': kuš ri-ri-ga). The total is described as “*aklu*-expenditure and sheep of the two years (rev. 44': ak-lu<sub>4</sub> ù udu-ḥi-a ša 2 mu<sup>meš</sup>). Deheselle states that it is difficult to distinguish the number of hides and sheep: “La tablette, en très mauvais état, ne permet pas de distinguer le nombre de peaux de l'ensemble des moutons comptabilisés, mais le total global de l'*aklu* porte sur 14956 bêtes et peaux.”

find several commodities such as emmer (ÁŠ-AN-NA),<sup>(690)</sup> a dry substance used in the preparation of beer (dida),<sup>(691)</sup> beer mash (agarin<sub>5</sub>),<sup>(692)</sup> oil (i-giš),<sup>(693)</sup> sesame (še-giš-ì),<sup>(694)</sup> peas (gú-gal),<sup>(695)</sup> lentils (gú-tur),<sup>(696)</sup> cress (zà-ḫi-li),<sup>(697)</sup> onions (sum-sikil<sup>sar</sup>),<sup>(698)</sup> garlic (sum<sup>sar</sup>),<sup>(699)</sup> sheep (udu-níta),<sup>(700)</sup> lambs (sila<sub>4</sub>),<sup>(701)</sup> ewes (u<sub>8</sub>, u<sub>8</sub> gal),<sup>(702)</sup> male goats (máš, máš gal),<sup>(703)</sup> goats (ùz),<sup>(704)</sup> female kids (sal-áš-gàr),<sup>(705)</sup> and meat (uzu).<sup>(706)</sup>

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<sup>(690)</sup> BE 15 no. 16 obv. 3, CBS 3296 obv. 3, CUSAS 30 no. 57 obv. 12.

<sup>(691)</sup> CBS 3099 obv. 4.

<sup>(692)</sup> CBS 3099 obv. 5.

<sup>(693)</sup> BE 15 no. 9 obv. 3, no. 21 obv. 1, MUN 280 obv. 1, etc.

<sup>(694)</sup> BE 15 no. 65 obv. 2.

<sup>(695)</sup> MUN 274 obv. 4.

<sup>(696)</sup> BE 15 no. 12 obv. 3, no. 70 obv. 4.

<sup>(697)</sup> BE 14 no. 21 obv. 7, BE 15 no. 9 obv. 2, no. 12 obv. 4, no. 70 obv. 5.

<sup>(698)</sup> BE 14 no. 21 obv. 5.

<sup>(699)</sup> BE 14 no. 21 obv. 6.

<sup>(700)</sup> BE 15 no. 65 obv. 3, no. 70 obv. 3, CBS 3275 obv. 5, etc.

<sup>(701)</sup> BE 15 no. 1 lo. e. 5, no. 2 obv. 3, CBS 3275 lo. e. 7, etc.

<sup>(702)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 384 obv. 9–12, no. 393 obv. 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, no. 396 obv. 1, etc.

<sup>(703)</sup> MRWH 27 obv. 4, CUSAS 30 no. 383 obv. 2, CBS 3275 lo. e. 6, etc.

<sup>(704)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 393 obv. 4, no. 394 obv. 1, no. 396 obv. 1.

<sup>(705)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 396 obv. 1.

<sup>(706)</sup> CUSAS 30 no. 387.

The main purposes of the *aklu* expenditures are banquets (*kin-sig*),<sup>(707)</sup> offerings (*kispu*<sup>(708)</sup>; *siskur*<sup>(709)</sup>), rations/fodder (*šuk*),<sup>(710)</sup> and provisions for caravans (*ninda-kaskal*).<sup>(711)</sup>

As the name (*aklu*) itself indicates, these commodities are food. It is mainly beer, flour, barley and sheep that are expended. Some commodities (such as beer, flour, sheep and oil) are prepared by artisans (brewers, millers, oil-pressers) and shepherds. But in the case of barley which is not processed food, probably it is issued from the authority directly.

### 19.5. Place names

From the place names attested in the *aklu* documents, we can recognize at least four areas.

Nippur and the settlements around it <sup>(712)</sup> :	Nippur, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, Kār-Nuska, Dūr-Enlilē, Āl-Irrē, Ḫursagkalamma
Das Archiv des Speichers (south) <sup>(713)</sup> :	Zarat-Karkara, Āl-Šēlebi <sup>(714)</sup> , Dunni-aḫi, Dūr-Nuska, Kār-Adab

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<sup>(707)</sup> BE 14 no. 81, MUN 194 obv. 2, CBS 2109 passim, CBS 2328 u. e. 1, etc. *AHw* (1967, 741) translates *naptanu* (*kin-sig*) as “Mahl(zeit), Opfer für bestimmte Tage,” and CAD (N 1 1980, 319) translates “food allotment, banquet.” Sassmannshausen 2001, 327–328 discussed the examples of the term *naptanu* in the Middle Babylonian period. He pointed out that several important persons such as Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur, Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, and Rīmūtu (Matthews no. 148) were involved with *naptanu*. According to him, flour, sheep, barley, beer, porridge, and bread were delivered. He does not interpret *naptanu* as an offering, but rather as a banquet for such a religious ceremony. The other examples of *naptanu* known to me are: MUN 192, 2; MUN 310, 5'; PBS 2/2 no. 118, 20; CBS 2102, 6; CBS 2109, passim; CBS 2328, 1; and CBS 7713, 25'.

M. Stol hesitates about *kin-sig* = *naptanu*. He says literally “evening meal”, Akk. *kinsigū* (now frequent in Mari).

<sup>(708)</sup> MRWH 28 obv. 2, MUN 173 obv. 2, MUN 215 obv. 4, etc.

<sup>(709)</sup> MUN 170 obv. 4, UDBD 105 rev. 13', CBS 8741 obv. 3, etc.

<sup>(710)</sup> *šuk anše-kur-ra*: PBS 2/2 no. 20 obv. 1; *šuk udu-níta*: CBS 7160 obv. 11; *šuk anše*: CBS 7721 rev. 39, etc.

<sup>(711)</sup> MRWH 30 obv. 15, rev. 19, MUN 213 lo. e. 9, MUN 219 obv. 4, etc.

<sup>(712)</sup> For these place names, see CUSAS 30, pp. 152 (no. 91: Ḫursagkalamma) and 302 (no. 229). See also Nashef 1992, 154 n. 17.

<sup>(713)</sup> In BE 15 no. 3, the brewer Bubbu received barley from Innannu in Zarat-Karkara. Innannu is well attested in Das Archiv des Speichers (Sassmannshausen 2001, 188–89). In CT 51 no. 23, barley is given from Innannu in Āl-Šēlebi. In BE 15 no. 112, Innannu received barley in Dunni-aḫi. In CT 51 no. 40, barley is given from Innannu in Dūr-Nuska. In BE 15 no. 124, barley is given from Innannu in Kār-Adab.

<sup>(714)</sup> But it should be noted that Āl-Šēlebi is attested in documents that are probably from Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30 no. 136, 2; no. 395, 7). Perhaps it was located between the Nippur area and Das Archiv des Speichers.

Ur (south)

Dūr-Kurigalzu (north)

### 19.5.1. Nippur and the settlements around it

In the area of Nippur and the settlements around it, many *aklu* documents are attested. Several seals (Matthews nos. **148**, **155**, **157**, **189** and the seals of Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu), Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, and *Nabû*-...<sup>(715)</sup>) were used for the *aklu* documents of this area.<sup>(716)</sup>

Nippur:	BE 15 no. 21 obv. 16, BE 15 no. 46 obv. 9, N 957 obv. 3', CUSAS 30 no. 384 obv. 2
Tukultī-Ekur:	BE 14 no. 81 rev. 9 (Matthews no. <b>148</b> : Rīmūtu) CBS 9543 obv. 6 (Matthews no. <b>155</b> : Ninurta-kīn-pīšu)
Dīmtu:	CUSAS 30 no. 275 obv. 9
Dūr-Enlilē:	BE 14 no. 78 obv. 4 (Matthews no. <b>155</b> : Nin-urta-kīn-pīšu), MUN 99 rev. 9 (Matthews no. <b>155</b> : Nin-urta-kīn-pīšu), MUN 159 obv. 6 (Matthews no. <b>155</b> : Nin-urta-kīn-pīšu), MUN 160 obv. 7 (Matthews no. <b>155</b> <sup>(717)</sup> : Nin-urta-kīn-pīšu), MUN 219 obv. 3 (Matthews no. <b>189</b> : Iqīša-Ninimma), MUN 278 (Matthews no. <b>189</b> : Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē) MRWH 26, 4'
Āl-Irrē:	BE 14 no. 70 obv. 3 (Matthews no. <b>148</b> : Rīmūtu), N 957 rev. 6'
Ḫursagkalamma:	MUN 181 lo. e. 6 (Matthews no. <b>157</b> : Nimgirab-Marduk) MUN 219 obv. 5 (Matthews no. <b>189</b> : Iqīša-Ninimma), CUSAS 30 no. 277 obv. 14, 21, 28

### 19.5.2. The area of Das Archiv des Speichers

In the area of Das Archiv des Speichers (south), a number of *aklu* documents are attested. At least two seals (Matthews nos. **61**, **162**) were used for them. Some of the *aklu* documents (with

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<sup>(715)</sup> Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu): CUSAS 30 no. 289; Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni: nos. 278, 291, 383; *Nabû*-...: no. 234; a seal of <sup>ld</sup>[ ]: no. 294.

<sup>(716)</sup> Usually the *aklu* documents of this area are not enveloped. Only CBS 7698 has a trace of an envelope on its obverse. The seal impression can be found on the upper edge, not on the envelope.

<sup>(717)</sup> MUN 160 should be added to the Matthews no. **155** texts. See the section on Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.

Matthews no. **61**: BE 15 nos. 18, 23, 25, 31; and with Matthews no. **162**: BE 14 no. 55, BE 15 nos. 8, 14, CBS 3275) are enveloped.

Zarat-Karkara:	BE 14 no. 55 rev. 7 (envelope), rev. 8 (tablet) (Matthews no. <b>162</b> : no seal reference; obv. 4: Enlil-mukīn-apli is mentioned), BE 14 no. 56a obv. 3, rev. 32 (rev. 24: <i>aklu</i> of Enlil-mukīn-apli), BE 15 no. 31 rev. 9 (Matthews no. <b>61</b> : no seal reference; obv. 3: Martuku is mentioned.), BE 15 no. 90 u. e. 1 (rev. 45': <i>aklu</i> of Ibni-Marduk)
Āl-Šēlebi:	BE 15 no. 17 rev. 10 (obv. 5-lo. e. 6: <i>aklu</i> of Martuku), BE 15 no. 18 rev. 12 (Matthews no. <b>61</b> : no seal reference; lo. e. 6: Martuku is mentioned.)
Dunni-aḫi:	BE 14 no. 61 obv. 1 (obv. 6: <i>aklu</i> of Martuku)
Dūr-Nuska:	MUN 198 obv. 2
Kār-Adab:	CBS 3081 obv. 2

### 19.5.3. Ur (south) and Dūr-Kurigalzu (north)

In Ur (south), as mentioned above, at least two *aklu* documents (nos. 62, 68) are attested. North of Nippur (i.e. Dūr-Kurigalzu), we can find one *aklu* document, BE 15 no. 12. I reproduce the transliteration below. It is not dated with a royal name. Martuku mentioned in rev. 7 may be a different person from the Martuku of Das Archiv des Speichers (in the south).

#### BE 15 no. 12

Obv.

- 1 54,0.0. ŠE-MAŠ/BAR
- 2 17,2.2. zì-da
- 3 0,0.2. gú-tur
- 4 0,0.2. zà-ḫi-li

Lo.e.

- 5 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub>

Rev.

- 6 *bàd-ku-ri-gal-zu*
- 7 <sup>1</sup>*mar-tu-ku*
- 8 <sup>iti</sup>*še-kin-ku*<sub>5</sub>
- 9 mu-3-kam

### 19.6. Notes

### 19.6.1. *elē šarri* and *arād šarri*

With regard to the coming/going up and coming/going down of the king (*elē šarri* and *arād šarri*) and coming/going down of the prince (*arād mār šarri*), see Brinkman 1976a, 411–414. To the references of Brinkman, CUSAS 30 no. 53 (*arād šarri*) can be added. Among these documents are a number of *aklu* documents (MUN 178, 185, 210, 211, CBS 3713, CBS 11534, and Ni 2240)<sup>(718)</sup> and possible *aklu* documents (BE 14 no. 56, BE 15 no. 34, PBS 2/2 no. 57, MSKH no. 4, no. 17, and no. 22).<sup>(719)</sup> In view of the seal impressions, dates, and prosopography of the documents, we can recognize at least the two groups below.

#### 19.6.1.1. Nippur and the settlements around Nippur<sup>(720)</sup>

Matthews no. 148: no seal reference

MUN 123: 1303, NM year 5      XII      Enlil-aḫulap, barley, cereals, *arād šarri*

Matthews no. 189: seal reference to Ninurta-nādin-ahhē<sup>(721)</sup>

Ni 2240: 1254,      KuE year 1      XII      Uzibu (brewer[?]), *aklu*, *elē šarri*

MUN 210: 1254,      KuE year 1 (diri)      \*XIIa Bābilāyu (brewer[?]), *aklu* (beer), *arād šarri*

MUN 211: 1254,      KuE year 1 (diri)      \*XIIa Nāḫirānu (brewer[?]), *aklu* (beer), *arād šarri*

MUN 178: 1252,      KuE year 3      28-IV      Tarību (miller[?]), *aklu* (flour, barley), *arād mār šarri*

MUN 185: 1252,      KuE year 3      XII      Tarību (miller[?]), *aklu* (flour, barley), *arād šarri*

Possibly the following can be added to this group, judging from their dates. But this is not certain.

Ni 2973: 1254,      KuE year 1(+) 22-XI      ʿ*arād šarri*

Ni 7828: 1254,      KuE year 1 (diri)      *arād ša[rri]*

Ni 2173: 1253,      KuE year 2      28?-IV      *arād mār šarri*

CUSAS 30 no. 53 should also be added to this group. But here *arād šarri* can be found in the document of the collection (*esirtu*). And it is noteworthy that its date is not XII or I.

CUSAS 30 no. 53      year ʿ18ʿᵛ      VIa<sup>(722)</sup>      barley, *esirtu* (*esirtu*), *arād šarri*

#### 19.6.1.2. Das Archiv des Speichers (BE 15 no. 171)

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<sup>(718)</sup> MUN 185 (= CBS 8671), MUN 210 (= CBS 8587), MUN 211 (= CBS 13373)

<sup>(719)</sup> MSKH no. 4 (= BM 81205), no. 17 (Ni 861), no. 22 (UM 29-13-934b).

<sup>(720)</sup> I.e., Nippur, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, Kār-Nuska, Dūr-Enlilē, Āl-Irrē, Ḫursagkalamma

<sup>(721)</sup> Ni 2240 should be added to this group. MUN 210's seal reference is broken.

<sup>(722)</sup> It is an intercalary month (rev. 9: [i<sup>u</sup>kin.<sup>d</sup>]inanna.2.kam).

MSKH no. 17	29-XII-year 12	The son of Enlil-dayyān (brewer)	<i>elē šarri</i>
PBS 2/2 no. 57	29-XII-year 12	The son of Mannu-kī-ili (brewer[?]), beer	<i>elē šarri</i>
BE 15 no. 34	2-I-year 13	The son of Rabâ-ša-ili (miller[?]), flour, sheep	<i>elē šarri</i>
MSKH no. 22	19-XI-year 15	Šūzubu (brewer[?]), beer	<i>arād šarri</i>
CBS 11534	29-XII-year 17	The son of Sîn-nādin-apli (miller), <i>aklu</i> (flour)	<i>elē šarri</i>
MSKH no. 4	16-I-year 18	The son of Mannī-Marduk (brewer[?]), beer	<i>elē šarri u arād šarri</i>

Most probably MSKH no. 17 and PBS 2/2 no. 57 have the same date. Though only CBS 11534 is attested as *aklu*, the others are possibly *aklu* documents because they are similar to *aklu* documents. As discussed above, the artisans of BE 15 no. 171 were active in the southern area. It seems curious the terms *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* are attested in the documents of the southern area.

### 19.6.1.3. Other attestations of *elē šarri* and *arād šarri*

As discussed above,<sup>(723)</sup> Aḥa-iddina-Marduk is found in BE 15 no. 33 obv. 5 and BE 15 no. 199 rev. 44 in association with domestic animals. Possibly both cases refer to the same person.

BE 15 no. 33	30-XII-year 12	Aḥa-iddina-M[arduk]	bull, sheep	<i>elē šarri</i>
BE 15 no. 199		Aḥa-iddina-Marduk	bull calf	<i>elē šarri u arād šarri</i>

CBS 3713 is an *aklu* document of sheep. BE 14 no. 56, MSKH no. 20 and UM 29-13-869 may be *aklu* documents because of their similarities with *aklu* documents. Regarding Ni 805 and MSKH no. 29, just their dates are cited.

CBS 3713	I-year 6	The son of Šallī-lūmur <i>aklu</i> (sheep)	<i>arād šarri</i>
BE 14 no. 56	1296, NM XII-year 12	Martuku, barley, flour, beer, sheep	<i>arād šarri</i>
UM 29-13-869	26-I-year 15	flour	<i>arād šarri</i>
Ni 805	XI-year 15		<i>arād šarri</i>
MSKH no. 20	15-XII-year 16	oil	<i>arād šarri</i>
MSKH no. 19	4-I-year 25		<i>arād šarri u elē šarri</i>

### 19.6.1.4. The *akītu* festival

Regarding dates according to *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* (coming/going up and coming/going down of the king),<sup>(724)</sup> the purpose(s) of the king's movements is still debatable. El-Wailly (1954) noticed these dates (*e-li lugal*) and discussed the possibility that *e-li lugal* was the name of a Kassite king. But he

<sup>(723)</sup> See the section on *aklu* documents without seal impression.

<sup>(724)</sup> See *AHW* I 1960, 201 *eli* “auf, über,” III 1981, 1462 (*w*)*arādu* “hinab-, herabsteigen, hinuntergehen,” and 1465 (*w*)*ardu* “Diener, Knecht.” Also CAD A 2 1968, 213 *arādu* “to go or come down” and 247, *ardu* “official, servant.” The meanings such as “Diener, Knecht” and “official, servant” are not relevant here.

himself thought this unlikely because it is unclear if the expression (*e-li lugal*) should be interpreted as Eli (the full name of the king) and lugal (the royal title) or Eli-šarri (the full name) not followed by lugal, and also because there does not seem to have been room for a king to have ruled Babylonia after Burna-Buriyaš II. A more likely solution, he said, is that the expression means “against the account of” the king.<sup>(725)</sup>

Biggs (1965) also discussed the expression *e-li lugal*, which at that time was known from three published Nippur documents, and translated it as the “coming up” of the king. He pointed out that these documents cover the very end of one year (the month of Addaru: XII) and the very beginning of the next (the month of Nisannu: I), and suggested that the king was in Nippur for the new year’s festival. However, he hesitates about the new year’s festival held in Nippur.<sup>(726)</sup>

Brinkman (1976a) collected *e-li lugal*, *a-rad lugal*, and *a-rad lugal ù e-li lugal*<sup>(727)</sup> dates from unpublished documents and made several observations on them. For example, most of the phrases occur connected with date formulae. Two royal names (Nazi-Maruttaš and Kudur-Enlil) had at that time been attested in the documents, many of which are *aklu* documents or similar to *aklu* documents. The *arād šarri* dates tend to cluster in months XI and/or XII. The *elē šarri* references are all dated between 29-XII and 2-I. The documents in which *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* occur together are dated between 4-I and 15(?) -I. In other words, all of these dates cluster around the new year (between months XI and I). Brinkman, however, said that further analysis is needed for conclusions about the king’s presence in Nippur at the new year festival.<sup>(728)</sup> He also discussed two documents (Ni 2173 and CBS 13364, the latter now published as MUN 178) which have similar dates involving a prince (*a-rad dumu lugal*). Ni 2173 is dated in 28?-IV-year 2 of Kudur-Enlil (1253). The second one (CBS 13364 = MUN 178) is dated in 28-IV-year 3 (1252). They have the same or similar day-month dates. He pointed out that offerings were made in Nippur at the Enlil and Ninlil temples on IV-28, and another possibility that an *akītu*-feast was celebrated in the month šu-numun-na (known from Ur in earlier periods).<sup>(729)</sup>

Sassmannshausen (2001) likewise discussed the *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* dates, referring to the

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<sup>(725)</sup> El-Wailly 1954, 24–25.

<sup>(726)</sup> Biggs 1965, 96 note 11. He said “Except for texts of the new year’s ritual itself and statements in the chronicles that the festival was not held in the years the king was absent from Babylonia, we have very few allusions to the new year’s festival. There has previously been no hint that it was held anywhere but in Babylon itself.”

<sup>(727)</sup> Or *e-li lugal ù a-rad lugal* or *e-li lugal(!?) ù a-ra-ad šar-ri*.

<sup>(728)</sup> “Because of the distribution of the month and day dates for *arād šarri* and *elē šarri* and because *elē* can also be translated as “going up” (to Babylon or elsewhere), it would be difficult to draw conclusions about the king’s presence in Nippur at the exact time for the celebration of the New Year festival. Further analysis is needed” (Brinkman 1976a, 414).

<sup>(729)</sup> Ibid., 413 n. 60.



previous studies of Biggs and Brinkman, and said that the Kassite kings often, but not regularly, came to Nippur for the new year's festival (*akītu*). He also suggested that the name of the winter palace in Nippur (é<sup>na4</sup>kišib ša é-gal ku-uš-ši)<sup>(730)</sup> may support the idea that the king often came to Nippur for the new year. But he added that the *akītu* was not the only feast held at the end and beginning of a year in Babylonia and Assyria.<sup>(731)</sup>

Among the MB documents published by van Soldt (2015), one (CUSAS 30 no. 53) has the phrase (*a-rad lugal.e*). Its date is an intercalary Ulūlu (VIa) of the 18<sup>th</sup>(?) year of an unspecified king. Referring to Brinkman's work, van Soldt notes that "According to J. A. Brinkman, the only Kassite king thus far attested with an intercalary month in his eighteenth year is Nazi-Maruttaš" (personal communication). This document is important because its date is not around the new year date (between months XI and I).

Tenney (2016) recently published a paper on the elevation of Marduk, festivals, and sacrifices in Nippur during the high Kassite period. He edited two previously unpublished Kassite-period documents from Nippur (CBS 10616 and 11536) and states "by the thirteenth century, *akītu* celebrations connected to Marduk and the city of Babylon were being held at Nippur, and therefore contain the earliest, explicit references to the *akītu* festival of Marduk from a southern Mesopotamian city that is not Babylon."<sup>(732)</sup> Tenney also says "The *akītu* of Marduk required the king to be present at least in proxy, and he featured as a principal actor in the rituals that are preserved for us today."<sup>(733)</sup> CBS 10616 (no date) is an offering list which has two major sections. Section one lists regular or ordinary disbursements. The second section records extraordinary disbursements for singular events such as offerings for temples, festivals, meals for the king, etc. In the second section, we find an entry for the *akītu* festival for the temple of Marduk in the month Nisannu (I)<sup>(734)</sup> and an entry for the temple of Marduk in the month Tašrītu (VII).<sup>(735)</sup> It is apparent from this that the *akītu* festival for Marduk was held in Nisannu (I) and probably in Tašrītu (VII) at Nippur. Another text (CBS 11536) is a record of the disbursements of rams. In obv. 1–2 a reference to the food allotment of the king for the *akītu* of Babylon can be found.<sup>(736)</sup> This document is dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> day of Tašrītu (VII) in the 12<sup>th</sup> year of an

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<sup>(730)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 10 n. 94. BE 14 no. 124, 6–7.

<sup>(731)</sup> Ibid., 10 n. 96.

<sup>(732)</sup> Tenney 2016, 153.

<sup>(733)</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>(734)</sup> Obv. 12': KI.MIN (ITI.BÁRA) UD.8.KAM á-ki-tum É-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU.

<sup>(735)</sup> Rev. 8: KI.MIN (ITI.DU<sub>6</sub>) UD.8.KAM É-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU.

<sup>(736)</sup> Obv. 1: 𒊕 UDU.NÍTA KIN.SIG LUGAL 𒊕á-ki-tum 𒊕KÁ. DINGIR.RA.

unspecified king.<sup>(737)</sup> This may suggest that the *akītu* festival associated with the king and Babylon was held in the month of Tašrītu (VII). According to Tenney, “During the High Kassite period, there was both a temple to Marduk and a celebration of the *akītu* of Marduk in Nippur.” He refers to the *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* year dates, but deliberately avoids specifying that the *akītu* festival was the purpose of the kings’ coming/going up and coming/going down.<sup>(738)</sup>

Among the *elē šarri* and *arād šarri* year dates, as mentioned above, we can recognize at least two groups. The first one pertains to Nippur and the surrounding settlements. In this group,<sup>(739)</sup> at least two seal impressions are attested. Matthews no. **148** was used for MUN 123 (1303, NM year 5). Judging from the date and the commodities, the sealer may be Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>. Matthews no. **189** was used for MUN 178 (1252, KuE year 3), 185 (1252, KuE year 3), 210 (1254, KuE year 1), and 211 (1254, KuE year 1). The sealer is Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē.<sup>(740)</sup> Among the dates of these documents, we can find the reigns of Nazi-Maruttaš (1303 year 5) and Kudur-Enlil (1254-1252 years 1–3). The months cover the end of the year (XII or \*XIIa). Only MUN 178 (a case of the prince), dated 28-IV, is an exception. The commodities delivered are barley, beer, and flour. The phrase *arād šarri* is attested 4 times, and *elē šarri* and *arād mār šarri* are attested once each. As stated previously, the following unpublished documents can possibly be added to this group.

Ni 2973: 1254,	KuE year 1(+) 22-XI	ṛ <i>arād šarri</i>
Ni 7828: 1254,	KuE year 1 (diri)	<i>arād ša[rri]</i>
Ni 2173: 1253,	KuE year 2 28?-IV	<i>arād mār šarri</i>

The documents in this group are dated around the new year (XI–I) except for the two cases of the “coming/going down of the prince” (28-IV and 28?-IV). One document, probably from Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30 no. 53), should be added to this group. It is a record of grain collected and has the phrase (*a-rad lugal.e*). But its date (VIa-year 18?) is not around the new year (from XI to I). As mentioned above, Tenney suggested that there were *akītu* festivals in Nisannu (I) and Tašrītu (VII) in Nippur. The date of CUSAS 30 no. 53 (VIa: the intercalary Ulūlu) is just before Tašrītu (VII), so it seems likely that the purpose of the “coming/going down of the king and coming/going up of the king” was

<sup>(737)</sup> According to Tenney 2016, 157, Nazi-Maruttaš is the most likely candidate.

<sup>(738)</sup> Ibid., 160: “Why the king and the populace would celebrate an *akītu* of Marduk in Nippur cannot be answered with these texts alone. From other sources it is known that Kassite kings, Nazi-Maruttaš and Kudur-Enlil in particular, visited Nippur around the beginning of the year. This is puzzling in comparison to the only other account of a royal religious procession set in the Kassite period.”

<sup>(739)</sup> MUN 123 (Matthews no. **148**: no seal reference), MUN 178, 185, 211 (Matthews no. **189**: seal reference to Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē).

<sup>(740)</sup> But MUN 210’s seal reference is broken.

attendance at the *akītu* festivals held in Nisannu (I) and Tašrītu (VII).<sup>(741)</sup> Further, Brinkman suggested the possibility of an *akītu* festival held in the fourth month (<sup>iii</sup>šu-numun-na, known from Ur in earlier periods) as the purpose of the “coming/going down of the prince.” This raises the possibility that there were *akītu* festivals in Nisannu (I), Du’ūzu (IV), and Tašrītu (VII) at Nippur. This is possible because, as Tenney has already said, the *akītu* festivals are recorded as extraordinary events. It seems to still be possible that the *akītu* festivals held in Nisannu (I) and Tašrītu (VII) were the purpose of the king’s coming/going, and that an *akītu* festival in Du’ūze (IV) was the purpose of the prince’s coming/going, but other explanations can be admitted.

The other group consists of texts from Das Archiv des Speichers (BE 15 no. 171). In this group, no seal impressions are attested. As stated above, the artisans (brewers, millers) named in this group of texts may belong to Das Archiv des Speichers, in which we can find several place names like Zarat-Karkara and Kār-Adab located in the south of Nippur. In addition to those, one document (MSKH no. 4) refers to the sealed tablets of the Sealand (*ka-ni-ka-ṛtum* ṣa ṛAṛ.AB.B[A]). Although these documents are not dated with a royal name, we can find the regnal years 12 (twice), 13, 15, 17, and 18. One artisan (the son of Enlil-dayyān) appears in another source (BE 14 no. 10) in which the *arād šarri* and *elē šarri* are not attested. Its date is 1331, the second year of Kurigalzu II. Therefore, these documents may be dated around the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Their months cluster around the new year date (XI, XII, and I). The commodities issued are beer, flour, sheep, and lamb. The phrase *arād šarri* is attested once, *elē šarri* four times, and *elē šarri u arād šarri* once. The location of this group in the south may pose a problem for the interpretation of the phrases *arād šarri* and *elē šarri*. If the king came to Nippur from the known capitals at Babylon or Dūr-Kurigalzu (both to the north of Nippur),<sup>(742)</sup> the southern areas may not have been involved in his journeys. Perhaps the commodities from the southern areas were delivered to Nippur for the king’s coming/going.

### 19.6.2. *ašābu* and *lā ašābu*<sup>(743)</sup>

In the *aklu* documents, the term *ašābu* appears. It can be negated (*lā ašābu*). Also both forms (*ašābu u lā ašābu*) can appear together. But still it is not clear what these expressions mean.

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<sup>(741)</sup> Two *akītu*-festivals per year are known in the Sumerian texts. The clue lies in the difference between the cultic new year beginning in month VII and the lunar/solar new year in month I. See Cohen 1993, 400-401 “This concept of a six-month equinox year was a major factor in the establishment of the cultic calendar throughout the Near East. In many locations there were parallel major festivals in the first and seventh month-suggesting that rather than considering one of these festivals as marking the beginning and the other the half-way point of the year, the ancients viewed each as a beginning, the onset of this 6-month equinox year.”

<sup>(742)</sup> See Brinkman 1976a, 412 n. 58.

<sup>(743)</sup> Regarding *ašābu* and *lā ašābu*, cf. Torczyner 1913, 112 (*ašābu*: “ansässig (?)”, *lā ašābu*: “nicht ansässig (?)”); CAD A 1 1964, 281 (examples of BE 14 no. 64, 3; no. 81, 7); CAD A 2 1968, 404

In the Rīmūtu group of texts (with Matthews no. **148**),<sup>(744)</sup> cases of the negative form and of both forms together are attested. In MUN 224, *aklu* for a year (I–XII) is said to be *lā ašābu*. Thus the choice of positive or negative or both does not depend on the month.

MUN 162	1296 NM	year 12(+)	X		flour, barley	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>
BE 14 no. 64	1294 NM	year 14? (+)	II days broken	Ēriš-Ea (prob. brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 157	1292 NM	year 16(+)	11?-V days 2–11?	Lā-qīpu (miller)	flour	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>
BE 14 no. 81	1285 NM	year 23	III	The son of Tāb-nupāršu (prob. miller)	flour	<i>Tukultī-Ekur</i> <i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 224	1284 NM	year 24	XII	Bā'eru (brewer)	beer	<i>lā a[šābu]</i>
MUN 202	1267 KT	year 15	4(+)-[MN]		beer Nippur	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>

In the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu group of texts (with Matthews no. **155**), cases of the positive form and cases of both forms together are attested.

MUN 159	1306 (-) NM	year 2(+)	30-ΓXIΓ	days x–30	Ninurta-zākir-šumi	flour Dūr-Enlilē [ <i>ašābu</i>
CBS 9511	1286 NM	year 22	8-X	23-IX to 8-X	Ninurta-zākir-šumi	flour <i>ašābu u lā a[šāb]u</i>
BE 14 no. 85	1284 NM	year 24	6-IX	days 1–6	Tarību (miller)	flour (?) <i>ašābu</i>
CBS 9528	1284 NM	year 24	days broken,	Erība-Ninurta (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>ašābu</i>

In the Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē texts (Matthews no. **189**), only the negative form is attested.<sup>(745)</sup>

CBS 7160	1257 KaE	year 7	X to XII?	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (prob. miller)	flour, barley	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 207	1254 KuE	year 1	I	Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 208	1254 KuE	year 1?	I	Nāḥirānu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 268	1254 KuE	year 1	V	broken (Γšu <sup>1</sup> [ ])	broken	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 267	1254 KuE	year 1	days 1–20(+)	VI Nāḥirānu (prob. brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 170	1254 KuE	year 1	29-XII	Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MRWH 21	1254 KuE	year 1 (diri)	*XIIa	Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>lā ašābu</i>

(a citation of BE 14 no. 64, 3 and a reference to *aklu* B); Petschow 1974, 65 (examples of BE 14 no. 56, 10; no. 64, 3; no. 81, 9; no. 85, 2 and references to Torczyner's work, CAD A 1, and CAD A 2); *AHw* 1981, 1481 (MRWH: s. S. 65 u 104a zu unkl. (*lā*) *a-ša-bu* nach *aklū* sind verbraucht); Deheselle 1994, 26 (Dans certains cas, l'*aklu* est octroyé à des absents (*aklu la ašābu*): l'allocation due à ces personnes contribuait alors sans doute à assurer l'existence des membres de leur famille.); Deheselle 1996, 221 (references to MRWH 28 and 29); Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 text 157 (*aklu a-ša-bu* und *aklu lā a-ša-bu* bleiben rätselhaft, trotz der in der vorliegenden Arbeit gelieferten neuen Belege [a reference to Petschow's work]); Van Soldt 2015, 33 (These words are tentatively translated as "resident" and "non-resident" [a reference to Petschow's work]).

<sup>(744)</sup> MUN 162 and MUN 202 should be added to the group Matthews no. **148**.

<sup>(745)</sup> In the *aklu* documents of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, Erība-Šamaš, *mārat bīti* and *mār/mārat malāḥi* are often attested as recipients of the *aklu* expenditure with the negative form expression (*lā ašābu*). See the section on Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē.

CBS 7713	1254	KuE year 1 (diri)	VII to XIIa	Several persons	[flour, barley]	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 213	1253	KuE year 2	II	Uzibu (prob. a brewer)	beer	⌈ <i>lā ašābu</i> ⌋
MUN 234	1253	KuE year 2	II	Nāḥirānu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 214	1253	KuE year 2	III	Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MRWH 28	1253	KuE year 2	IV	Tarību (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 215	1253	KuE year 2	V to VI	Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 216	1253	KuE year 2	VII	Nāḥirānu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 176	1253	KuE year 2	IX to 19-XI	Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)	flour, barley	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 241	1252	KuE year 3	I to III	Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 217	1252	KuE year 3	IV	Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 259	1252	KuE year 3	V	Tarību (prob. a miller)	[flour, barley]	⌈ <i>lā ašābu</i> ⌋
MRWH 29	1252	KuE year 3	I to VI	Several persons	flour, barley	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 242	1252	KuE year 3	VII	Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
MUN 245	1252	KuE year 3	VII?	Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer)	beer	<i>lā ašābu</i>
CBS 7262	1252	KuE year 3	IX is mentioned	Several persons	flour,[barley]	<i>lā ašābu</i> <sup>(746)</sup>
CBS 7714	1252	KuE year 3	XII	Several persons	flour, barley	<i>lā ašābu</i>

Partly broken phrase:

MUN 206	1254	KuE year 1	I	Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer)	[beer]	[ <i>la?</i> ] ⌈ <i>a</i> ⌋ - <i>ša-bu</i>
MUN 173	1253	KuE year 2	16-III to 6-IV/15-III to 7-IV	Several persons	flour, barley	⌈ <i>a?</i> <i>a-š</i> ⌋ <i>a-bu</i>
MUN 180	1252	KuE year 3	10-VII-yr 3	Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (miller[?])	flour, barley	<i>la</i> ⌈ <i>a-ša-bu?</i> ⌋
MUN 220		KuE xth year	days 10–21	VI Bābilāyu (brewer[?])	beer	<i>la</i> ⌈ <i>a</i> ⌋ -⌈ <i>ša-bu</i> ⌋

In the Matthews no. **146** texts, a case of the negative form is attested.

CBS 7380			XII			<i>lā ašābu</i>
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In the *aklu* documents without seal impression, a case of the negative form is attested.

N 2341						<i>lā ašābu</i>
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In the possible *aklu* documents, we can find the negative form.

BE 14 no. 56	1296	NM	year 12	XII	XI-XII	Martuku	barley, flour, beer, sheep	<i>lā ašābu</i>
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In the *aklu* documents of Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30), the negative form (*lā ašābu*) and both forms (*ašābu* u *lā ašābu*) together are attested.

No. 138			year [x]	VII		barley		<i>lā ašābu</i> (rev. 22, 27)
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<sup>(746)</sup> The phrase can be found at obv. 18.

No. 171	1244 ŠŠ year 2	II	days 23–28 mentioned	cereals	<i>lā ašābu</i>
No. 187			V-XII is mentioned	<i>aklu</i> (cereals)	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>
No. 223	ŠŠ year [x]	VIII	Rīšatu	<i>aklu</i> (cereals, emmer)	<i>lā ašābu</i> (obv. 12)
No. 265	1244 ŠŠ year 2	VII	days 14–22, 29–30	Rīšatu <i>aklu</i> (flour)	𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 (rev. 28)
No. 275			VIII is mentioned	Ninurta-zākir-šumi <sup>(747)</sup> <i>aklu</i> (flour)	<i>lā ašābu</i> (obv. 5)
No. 289	year [x]		Sîn-balāṭa-īriš, Ninurta-zākir-šumi	<i>aklu</i> (beer) <sup>(748)</sup>	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>
No. 292	acc. year	XI	Rīšatu	<i>aklu</i> (cereals)	𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 (obv. 12)
No. 294	29?-VI		days 1–29?	Ṭāb-kidin-[ ] <i>aklu</i> (commodities)	<i>ašābu u lā ašābu</i>
No. 295				<i>aklu</i> (commodities)	<i>lā ašābu</i>

CUSAS 30 no. 383 rev. 9–10 seems noteworthy: “1 carcass of a ewe (for) Nippurītu, (but since) she was not present her daughter received it, month X” (1 u<sub>8</sub> pag-ru <sup>i</sup>ni-ip-pu-ri-tum ul aš-ba-at-ma dumu.sal-𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 im𐎠-ḫur<sup>iti</sup>ab). Here the verb *ašābu* is used for the presence of a person. Are the expressions (*ašābu*, *lā ašābu*, *ašābu u lā ašābu*) also concerned with the presence of a person (i. e. a person is present/absent.)? Even so, it is still unclear whose presence the phrases were concerned with: the artisans, the persons who supervised the artisans, the officials, the receivers, or others.<sup>(749)</sup> The fact that the negated form is dominant in the group of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē (Matthews no. 189) may eventually help to solve this problem.<sup>(750)</sup>

The earliest attestation of the expression is MUN 162 (1296 NM, X-year 12(+), *ašābu u lā ašābu*).<sup>(751)</sup> The latest attestation is CUSAS 30 no. 265 (1244 ŠŠ, VII-year 2, 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶). Therefore the period is about 53 years. Usually these expressions can be found in the documents of Nippur and the settlements around it. If the Martuku of BE 14 no. 56 (1296 NM, XII-year 12, barley, flour, beer, sheep, *lā ašābu*) is the Martuku of Das Archiv des Speichers,<sup>(752)</sup> BE 14 no. 56 is an example of the expression (*lā ašābu*) in Das Archiv des Speichers. But there were multiple Martukus, so this is not

<sup>(747)</sup> Obv. 12 <sup>md</sup>nin.urta-mu-mu

<sup>(748)</sup> But here it is measured by a solid capacity measure.

<sup>(749)</sup> In CUSAS 30 no. 434 iii 13, we can find a similar phrase (en 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 ša kaskal la aš<sup>i</sup>-bu), but this is not an *aklu* document.

<sup>(750)</sup> Probably it is noteworthy that Iqīša-Ninimma worked in an intermediate position between Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni in CUSAS 30 no. 198. It is likely the active area of Iqīša-Ninimma was slightly different from that of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē. CUSAS 30 no. 24 is a letter sent from Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē to Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, so their active areas may also have been different.

<sup>(751)</sup> Or BE 14 no. 56 (1296, NM XII-year 12, *lā ašābu*).

<sup>(752)</sup> Sassmannshausen 2001, 190.

certain. Also it is obvious that the negative form (*lā ašābu*) is far more common than the positive form (*ašābu*).

## 20. Conclusions

This dissertation deals with the *aklu* documents and possible *aklu* documents which are known to me. The study of these documents shows that the *aklu* is a kind of expenditure. Artisans (brewers, millers, oil-pressers) and shepherds were required to prepare and/or deliver commodities (beer, barley, flour, oil, cress, lentils, sheep, goats, etc.) as the *aklu* for various purposes (banquets, offerings, rations/fodder, provisions for caravans, etc.). Sometimes it is stated that the commodities were processed under the responsibility of someone else (such as Innannu, Martuku, Nippurītu, Rīšatu, Sugir-bunni, etc.). Then the record of the expenditure is sealed by an official (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, Ninurta-zākir-šumi, Amīl-Marduk, etc.). But in the case of barley, the term *aklu* can be used for disbursals for various purposes, including allocations for brewers and millers.

Attestations of the *aklu* activity so far have all been in Middle Babylonian documents, which is to say the Kassite period. The reason for this is still not clear. The *aklu* activity lasted at least 135 years, from the tenth year of Burna-Buriyaš II (i.e., 1350) to the reign of Adad-šuma-ušur (1216–1187). It prevailed in Nippur and the settlements around Nippur, in the southern areas of Das Archiv des Speichers and Ur, and in the north in Dūr-Kurigalzu.

In the area of Nippur, a number of artisans, shepherds and officials were involved in the *aklu* activity, and we are able to reconstruct the sealing activity over several generations. The *aklu* documents from this area were sealed with several seals (Matthews nos. **148**, **155**, **157**, **189** and the seals of Ninurta-zākir-šumi (<sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu), Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, and *Nabû-...*). Chronologically an early official is Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> (1321–1292), who was the governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur, the high priest (*nēšakku*) of Enlil, the anointed priest (*pašīšu*) of Ninlil, and the son of Enlil-kidinnī, governor (*šandabakku*) of Nippur. He used Matthews no. **148** for the *aklu* documents related to flour and barley for the fodder of horses. He is mentioned in connection with the settlement of Tukultī-Ekur.

In the next generation we have Rīmūtu (1296–1267) and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (1287–1278). Rīmūtu sealed a good number of *aklu* documents for beer and flour with Matthews no. **148**. His relationship with Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, who also used Matthews no. **148**, is not clear. Rīmūtu used another seal (Matthews no. **55**) for one *aklu* document related to flour, but the reason for this difference is unknown. His position and status are nowhere stated, but he is mentioned in connection with a storehouse (*bīt kunukki*), and therefore may have been an official. As his active area, Tukultī-Ekur and Al-Irrē are attested, so his active area was close to that of the predecessor (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>). Ninurta-kīn-pīšu was a contemporary of Rīmūtu. He also sealed several *aklu* documents (for beer and flour), using Matthews no. **155**. He inherited this seal from his father Enlil-nīšu. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu's work seems to be parallel with that of Rīmūtu. His attested active areas of Dūr-Enlilē and Tukultī-Ekur partially overlap with the area of Rīmūtu. He once used Matthews no. **148**, which was



usually used by Rīmūtu, for an *aklu* document of beer. The reason for this is still obscure. In Ninurta-kīn-pīšu's *aklu* documents, a person named Ninurta-zākir-šumi is mentioned in connection with the town of Dūr-Enlilē. As van Soldt has already pointed out, this may be same individual who is a well-known official in the texts from the Rosen collection. Ninurta-zākir-šumi in the texts from the Rosen collection was attested as a son of a certain Enlil-kidinnī, probably the governor. Thus Ninurta-kīn-pīšu may have had a relationship with an official of Dūr-Enlilē.

Somewhat later, Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (1263–1250) and Iqīša-Ninimma (1252) worked in almost the same area. Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē sealed a number of *aklu* documents (for beer, flour, oil, sheep) with Matthews no. **189**. He was perhaps a son of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, but his seal is different from that of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (Matthews no. **155**). In the legend of Matthews no. **189**, Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, governor, priest of Enlil, priest of Ninlil, son of Enlil-kidinnī is mentioned. Hence Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē may have had some connection with Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>. He received oil from an artisan and delivered it to a storehouse (*bīt kunukki*), and thus was probably an official. Iqīša-Ninimma was contemporary of Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and also sealed *aklu* documents with Matthews no. **189**. He is mentioned along with Dūr-Enlilē in an *aklu* document. Probably both these individuals had a connection to Dūr-Enlilē because in a text from the Rosen collection (no. 198) a certain Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē and an Iqīša-Ninimma are mentioned with Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, who was a well-known official in the texts from the Rosen collection. Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni was known as the son of Ninurta-zākir-šumi. Therefore, probably in the preceding generation there was a relationship between Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Ninurta-zākir-šumi (of Dūr-Enlilē). Then, in the next generation there was a connection between Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, Iqīša-Ninimma and Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni (of Dūr-Enlilē).

In the area of Das Archiv des Speichers to the south of Nippur, we also find several *aklu* documents. Here Matthews no. **162** and probably no. **61** were used. Most of the *aklu* documents were enveloped. Therefore, they were written and enveloped in the southern area and then sent to Nippur. In these documents, the names of the individuals Innannu, Martuku, and Enlil-mukīn-apli stand out. They seem to have been in charge of supervising the *aklu* documents, but there are no seal references to them in the *aklu* documents.

Regarding the *aklu* documents without seal impressions, we can propose several explanations. There may have previously been an envelope on which a seal was impressed. Or perhaps the *aklu* expenditure was written as an entry in a large account. Sometimes it is difficult to determine the nature of the document due to poor preservation. One such noteworthy document is BE 15 no. 171, in which several millers and brewers received barley. These artisans appear in several small *aklu* accounts. Some of them have *arād šarri*, *elē šarri* date formulas. Other important documents are BE 14 no. 167, PBS 2/2 no. 34, and CBS 8737. They treat the same expenditure for various purposes including barley allotments for brewers and a miller. These brewers and miller also appear in several small possible *aklu* accounts.

Regarding the administrative context of the *aklu* documents, artisans (brewers, millers, oil-pressers) and shepherds were required to prepare and/or deliver commodities (beer, flour, oil, sheep) but, especially regarding the brewers and the millers, it is still unclear which sources they used for the *aklu*. Brewers and millers often received barley as their work assignment (*iškaru*), and in some cases of barley disbursal for various purposes, brewers and the millers received barley. In these disbursements, sometimes the work assignments (*iškaru*) and the rations (*ipru*) are summed up as *aklu*. Probably, then, the brewers and millers used some of the barley to make their products (beer, flour) for the *aklu* expenditure.

The main purposes for *aklu* expenditures were banquets (*naptanu*), offerings (*kispu, nīqu*), fodder (*kurummatu*) for animals such as horses, donkeys, and deer, and provisions (*šidītu*). As suggested by the formulas “coming/going down of the king” (*arād šarri*) and “coming/going up of the king” (*elē šarri*), some commodities for the king (at least Nazi-Maruttaš and Kudur-Enlil) were issued as *aklu*. Sometimes the commodities were received by a sealer like Rīmūtu or Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē. As discussed above, some of the *aklu* commodities were supplied to members of the palace, and others were dedicated for temple use. Probably there was a close connection between the palace and temples.

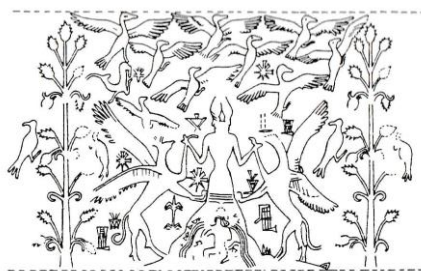
I paid particular attention to the seal impressions on the *aklu* documents. It is apparent from them that the *aklu* documents were sealed by officials such as the governor (*šandabakku*) or mayor (*ḫazannu*) of Nippur. Also, some were sealed by the descendants of prominent families such as the descendants of Enlil-kidinnī (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, Ninurta-zākir-šumi, Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, Amīl-Marduk) and the descendants of Enlil-nīšu (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē [?]).

This study treats various aspects of the *aklu* expenditures by investigating the activities of the artisans and the relationships between the artisans and the officials, and also the relationships among the officials. From these details we learn about the process of *aklu* expenditure and the sealing practices of the officials.

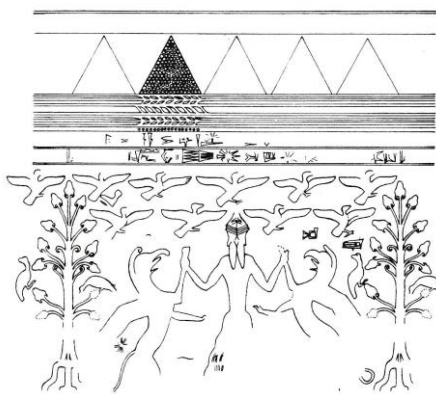
## Future Research

In this study, I have treated all the *aklu* and possible *aklu* documents, published and unpublished, known to me. However, there are still many (over 10,000) unpublished Middle Babylonian documents in the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri. Also, a CUSAS volume by Elena Devecchi about Middle Babylonian documents dated in the reigns of the early kings is forthcoming. From these sources we will no doubt find further *aklu* documents which may help us understand this type of expenditure better.

I am greatly indebted to Matthews 1992 for the identification of the persons and places mentioned in this study. Thanks to his solid observations, we can learn much about the intriguing sealing practices of the Middle Babylonian period. In this study I have treated only the seals which were used for the *aklu* documents. There are still several groups of seal impressions which are not discussed in this study. Matthews no. **149** is especially important because it was used by Amīl-Marduk (1237–1229), governor of Nippur. As far as I know, the use of Matthews no. **149** for an *aklu* document is not attested, and therefore it is not treated here. But the design of Matthews no. **149** is quite similar to that of Matthews no. **148**, which was used by Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> (1321–1292), Rīmūtu (1296–1267), and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (1287–1278). As Matthews has already pointed out,<sup>(753)</sup> it is likely that Amīl-Marduk knew of these predecessors and that Matthews no. **149** is a deliberate copy of Matthews no. **148**.



148. Porada 1952, no. 2; Seal of Rimutu



149. Seal of Amil-Marduk

Therefore the study of Matthews no. **149** may offer some new insights on the relationship between Amīl-Marduk and his predecessors.

Matthews in his summary mentions his book as “containing a third of all the known Kassite seal designs.”<sup>(754)</sup> Thus a great number of the seal impressions on the Middle Babylonian documents are

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<sup>(753)</sup> Matthews 1992, 36.

<sup>(754)</sup> Matthews 1992, the last page.

still to be studied. Therefore further examination of the seal impressions is required. As mentioned above, some ambiguity regarding the provenance of Middle Babylonian documents remains. Assembling the documents according to their seal impressions may offer a comparatively sound base for discussion.

## Unpublished documents

The unpublished documents listed below are transliterated on the pages that follow.

CBS 2109	CBS 7788	N 2907
CBS 2111	CBS 7868	N 2982
CBS 2129	CBS 8573	N 3410
CBS 2328	CBS 8737	N 6310
CBS 3000	CBS 8741	N 6573
CBS 3019	CBS 8872	UM 29-13-427a
CBS 3081	CBS 9511	UM 29-13-683
CBS 3090	CBS 9514	UM 29-13-869
CBS 3091	CBS 9517	UM 29-13-907
CBS 3099	CBS 9528	UM 29-13-946
CBS 3103	CBS 9543	UM 29-15-54
CBS 3105	CBS 9781	UM 29-15-154 + UM 29-16-178
CBS 3128	CBS 10250	UM 29-15-548
CBS 3131	CBS 10564	UM 29-15-685
CBS 3136	CBS 10981	UM 29-15-691
CBS 3275	CBS 11534	UM 29-15-713
CBS 3296	CBS 13339	UM 29-16-154
CBS 3319	CBS 13362	UM 29-16-156
CBS 3529	CBS 13370	UM 29-16-158
CBS 3713	CBS 13375	UM 29-16-347
CBS 3738	CBS 15016	UM 29-16-378
CBS 4903	N 957	UM 29-16-593
CBS 7160	N 1981	UM 29-16-629
CBS 7233	N 2023	UM 29-16-678
CBS 7262	N 2036	UM 29-16-698
CBS 7380	N 2266	UM 29-16-731
CBS 7694	N 2341	
CBS 7698	N 2432	
CBS 7713	N 2645	
CBS 7714	N 2714	
CBS 7721 <sup>(755)</sup>	N 2872	

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<sup>(755)</sup> The document listed as CBS 7721 in Brinkman 1976a, 239 (Q.2.115.151, Kurigalzu, MUN

**CBS 2109** (photograph: [P259192.jpg](#))

Obv.

- 1 [ ] <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 sila
- 2 [ ] x ta u<sub>4</sub>-4-kam
- 3 [ ] x x x u<sub>4</sub>-4-kam
- 4 [ ] x kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-5-kam
- 5 [ ] x x 4/HI TA x x
- 6 0,3.2.2 sila kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-5-kam
- 7 0,3.2.2 sila kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-3[+]-kam
- 8 0,0.0.3 sila kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-3[+]-kam
- 9 0,4.1.2 sila kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-[x-kam]
- 10 0,4.1.2 sila kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-r14r [+]-kam
- 11 0,4.5.1 sila kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam
- 12 0,4.1.1[ ] rkinr -[sig] u<sub>4</sub>-3[+]-rkamr

Broken

Rev.

- 13' x x x x x
  - 14' x x x x x
  - 15' 2<sup>1</sup>,0.0./TAB kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-10[+]-kam
  - 16' 0,0.2.1 sila <sup>f</sup>a-liš-pi u<sub>4</sub>-16-kam
  - 17' ša bára-dumu im-*hi*-x
  - 18' 5 sila rDIŠr kin<sup>2</sup>-sig<sup>2</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-16-rkamr
  - 19' 2 sila rDIŠr dumu <sup>ld</sup>iškur-ša-gim [ ]
  - 20' 0,1.1.1. kin-sig u<sub>4</sub>-r19r -kam TA x[ ]
  - 21' 0,1.2.3 sila érin-hi-a ša gi-[ ]-ra
  - 22' [ ] a-na <sup>ur</sup>arad-gašan rilt<sup>1</sup>-du-du
  - 23' [ ] kin-sig <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-sum-šeš<sup>m</sup>[eš]
  - 24' [ ] x AD ŠU bára-dumu [ ]
  - 25' [ ] x ù zì-da NA [ ]
  - 26' [ ] ša x Ú
  - 27' [ ] x x x
- u. e.
- 28' [ ] zì-da ak-lu<sub>4</sub>
  - 29' [ ] <sup>l</sup>la-qí-pu

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369) has now become CBS 7722. For the change of CBS number, see Brinkman 2004, 302 n. 78.

On the left edge and right edge, we can find several traces of signs, but they are illegible.

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**CBS 2111** (P259194.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 17 kaš sag  
 2 26 kaš UŠ  
 3 4 sila báppir  
 4 dumu <sup>l</sup>man-nu-ki-ding[ir]

Rev.

- 5 <sup>iti</sup>ab-<sup>ḫ</sup>èṭ  
 6 u<sub>4</sub>-26-kam  
 7 mu-24-kam  
 8 dumu <sup>l</sup>gal-šá-dingir  
 9 in-sar

(aklu document?)

References: Van Soldt 1997, 103 (*mār Rabâ-ša-ili*); CAD Š 2, 227 (*šaṭāru*).

**CBS 2129** (P259212.jpg)

Obv.

1'	[ ]	2	[ ]	20[ ]	ḫ x ṭ	1 me 1-šu	1 me 1-šu	1 IGI 1 me 40[ ]	
2'	[ +]2	82	ḫme <sup>2</sup>	44	[ +]2	3	1	6	
			ṭ						
			40						
3'	1 IGI 2 en 7 me 92 ša i-ti-qu 1 I[G]I 2			1 me 48 en 42 ša i-ti-qu			1 me 41[+ ]		
4'	en 44 ši-ib-ti en 1 me 1-šu 6 ša-bit-ti			en 16 [š]i-ib-ti en 91 ša-bit-ti na-[gada <sup>meš</sup> ]					
5'	na-gada <sup>meš</sup> mu-11-kam ù 88 kuš			gurus 2 me 91 a-ši <sup>l</sup> -bu <sup>l</sup> x i-na ká-dingir-r[a					
6'	ma-la il-qa-a šu-lu-ú			ù 35 kuš ma-la il-qa-a šu-[lu-ú ]					
7'	2 me 2		2 me 2		70 en 20 ša <sup>l</sup> arḫuš-šú- <sup>d</sup> nin-urta		70[ ]		
8'				ḫi-na šu <sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup> ta-ri-bi dumu <sup>ld</sup> XXX-sum-na i-ma[ḫ-			]		
9'	6 me 46		76 sig ul en-du x[		+]77 ak-lu ù zi-ga		47[ ]		
10'	en 94 ša i-na šu ḫa-za-an-na-ti x [			]x u <sub>4</sub> -5-kam ša <sup>iti</sup> gan-è šu-lu-ú					

11'	<i>a-na</i> u[g]u-šú <i>ru-ud-du-ú</i> dub mu <sup>meš</sup> <i>i-na</i> x [ ]	
12'	ta 2 me 1-š <i>u</i> <i>ak-lu</i> ù <i>zi-ga</i> en u <sub>4</sub> x[ ]x-DU	
13'	ù 40 kuš <i>ma-la il-qa-a šu-lu-ú</i>	

Rev.

14'	ta ʾ30ʾ	20	1 me 37	29	30	2 me 10[+ ]+6 <sup>2</sup>	1 [me <sup>2</sup> ]			
15'	ta 30	23	2 me 33	56	56	3 me 1[+ ]	10[+ ]			
16'	ta 30	28	2 me 14	49	49	3 me[+ ]	12	4	2[+ ]	
17'	ta 30	24	2 me 94	1-š <i>u</i> 8	1-š <i>u</i> 8	5[+ me <sup>2</sup> ]	74	15	15	1[+ me]
18'	ta 30	28	2 me 11	47	48	3 [me ]	15	3	3	10[+]
19'	ta 30	25	85	15	16	1 me [ ]+1				[ ]
20'	ta 33	30	93	17	18	1 me 10[+ ]6 ta 7	11	3		[ ]
21'	pap	1 me	1 IGI 2	2 me	2 me	2[me ]	40	2 me 50	57 [ ]	
22'		78	me	80	80	]		2	[ ]	
23'		[+ ]3	[+ ]1[me] 93[+ ] š <i>a i-ti-q[u</i> ]x 1 me 37 en 1 me 6 š <i>a i-t[i-qu</i> ]							
24'		[ ]	]x en ʾ31 <sup>2</sup> <i>a-na</i> <sup>2</sup> x xʾ [ ]							

Obv. 3'-6' left column: 1002, including 792 which he handled. 1002, including 44 tax payments, including 166 collected/received (ones). Herdsmen, 11<sup>th</sup> year. Then, 88 hides as many as he received are deducted.

Obv. 3'-6' right column: 148, including 42 which he handled. Including 16 tax payments, including 91 collected/received (ones), herdsmen... Young men 291 ... in Babylon... Then 35 hides as many as he received are deducted.

Obv. 7'-8' right column: 70, including 20 which Irēmšu-Ninurta. 70... he receives from the account of Tarību, son of Sîn-iddina.

Obv. 9'-13' left column: 646 76 (mana) not ..., including 94 which from mayors... was/were added to him. The tablets of the names..., excluding 260 *aklu*-expenditure and *šītu*-expenditure. Then, 40 hides as many as he received are deducted.

**CBS 2328 (P259337.jpg)**

u. e.

1 [ ]k[in-sig ʾu<sub>4</sub>-15ʾ-kam

Obv.

2 [ ]x *mu-ut-qú-ú*



- 3 [ta] u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-14-kam  
 4 [x s]ila é-a-<sup>Γ</sup>nu<sup>Γ</sup> ki-min ki-min  
 5 [+2] sîla <sup>l</sup>su-damar-utu u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam  
 6 [+3] sîla <sup>f</sup>sa-an-ge-e-a u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam  
 7 [+] sîla <sup>f</sup>ki-min u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam  
 8 2 sîla <sup>l</sup>ku-du-ra-a-nu  
 9 2 sîla <sup>l</sup>a-na-dingir-at-kal  
 10 0,0.1<sup>?</sup>. šuk érin-<sup>h</sup>i-a<sup>mes?</sup>  
 11 0,0.1.1. dumu-munus <sup>l</sup>dan<sup>an</sup>-a-bu-ša  
 12 0,0.1.4. mu-ut-qú-ú u<sub>4</sub>-[+3]-k[a]m  
 13 []1 (sîla) <sup>l</sup>sa-ar-[ ]

Lo. E. \_\_\_\_\_

- 14 6<sup>?</sup> sîla <sup>l</sup>níg-ba-d[ ]

Rev

- 15 [pa]p 0,0.5.6 sîla ak-lu<sub>4</sub>  
 16 [ t]a u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam e[n ]u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam  
 17 [ ]x  
 18 [ ]x x UD sîla é x níg-ga  
 19 [ ] di<sup>?</sup>-il<sup>?</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam  
 20 [ ]x <sup>l</sup>ku-uk<sup>?</sup>-ku-ti  
 21 [u<sub>4</sub>-x-kam i]tiše mu-17-kam

### CBS 3000 (P259373.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 20 kaš sag  
 2 1 me 10 kaš UŠ  
 3 10 dug gal <sup>l</sup>MAŠ-<sup>h</sup>IA-d<sup>?</sup>sukkal  
 4 1<sup>?</sup> dug tur x  
 5 0,0.1. bápp[i]r<sup>?</sup>

Lo. E.

- 6 <sup>l</sup>Γzálag<sup>Γ</sup>-<sup>d</sup>kù-bi  
 7 <sup>ii</sup>d[u<sub>6</sub>-k]ù

Rev.

- 8 [t]a u<sub>4</sub>-12<sup>?</sup>-ka[m]  
 9 <sup>Γ</sup>a-dī<sup>Γ</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam

10 mu-10-kam

11 𐎧aga<sup>2</sup>𐎠 ku-ri-gal-zu

u. e.

12 ú-pi-i-𐎧lu<sup>2</sup> (756)

References: Brinkman 1976a, 407 (date)

Parallels: BE 14 no. 167, PBS 2/2 no. 34, CBS 8737

**CBS 3019** ([P259392.jpg](#))

Obv.

1 36 kaš sag

2 80 kaš UŠ

3 0,0.2.3 sila báppir

Lo. E.

4 1 sila ši-BIR/KAM-tu<sub>4</sub>

Rev.

5 ta u<sub>4</sub>-20-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>zíz-A-AN

6 a-di u<sub>4</sub>-9-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN

7 <sup>1</sup>bu-ub-bu (757)

References: Brinkman 1976a, 401 n. 15: ITI.ŠE.DIRI.

**CBS 3081** ([P259454.jpg](#))

Obv.

1 š[e-mu]š<sub>5</sub> <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 sila íb-tag/k<sub>4</sub>

ŠE-NUMUN x x

2 š[a] 𐎠i-na<sup>1</sup> kar-adab<sup>ki</sup> ki-mu še-muš<sub>5</sub> ša

dumu <sup>1</sup>arḫuš-šú-<sup>d</sup>maš

3 [i]l-qú-ú <sup>1</sup>in-na-an-nu šu ra-ma-ni-šu

ú-te-ru

4 𐎠1<sup>1</sup>,0.0. šuk gu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>dé-a-še-mi

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(756) Note by W. H. van Soldt: end -šú? (*pa'āšu?*). Or -du<sup>1</sup>? (*pādu?*).

(757) Cf. BE 14 no. 66, obv. 4 (brewer).

- 5 2,2.3. šu <sup>1</sup>ta-qi-ši tur-rat  
 6 0,2.1. ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu <sup>1</sup>i-ši-ni-ti tur-rat  
 7 0,2.3. še-ba <sup>iti</sup>ziz-A-AN dumu <sup>1</sup>be-lí-ba-ša  
 Lo. E.  
 8 0,2.3. ni-ki-is [g]ur<sub>7</sub>  
 Rev.  
 9 pap 6,0.0. <sup>iti</sup>ziz-A-AN  
 10 mu-24-kam

References: Brinkman 1976a, 406 n. 38 (date).

**CBS 3090** ([P259463.jpg](#))

- Obv.  
 1 2 kaš sag  
 2 2 kaš UŠ  
 3 dumu <sup>1d</sup>en-líl-dí-ku<sub>5</sub>  
 4 <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-a  
 5 u<sub>4</sub>-16-kam

Lo. E.  
 6 mu-18-kam

Rev.

Not inscribed

References: Brinkman 1976a, 399 (<sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-a)

**CBS 3091** ([P259464.jpg](#))

- Obv.  
 1 0,0.1. zì-da  
 2 0,0.2. ŠE-MAŠ/BAR  
 3 <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 síla

Lo. E.  
 4 <sup>1</sup>in-na-na-a  
 5 [dumu] <sup>1d</sup>XXX-sum-mu

Rev.

- 6 [dumu š]ip-ri ša <sup>l</sup>dingir-šú-ibila-sum  
 7 šu dumu <sup>l</sup>dùg-ab-a-šab-šú  
 8 <sup>iti</sup>kin-d<sup>i</sup>innin  
 u. e.  
 9 u<sub>4</sub>-11-kam  
 10 mu-22-kam

References: Matthews 1992, 108 (no. **142**)

**CBS 3099** ([P259472.jpg](#))

Obv.

- 1 31 kaš sag  
 2 1-š<sup>u</sup> 2 kaš UŠ  
 3 15 dug  
 4 0,0.1. dida  
 5 0,0.1.3 sila báppir agarin<sub>5</sub>

Lo. E.

- 6 ak-lu<sub>4</sub>

Rev.

- 7 iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-26-kam <sup>iti</sup>zíz  
 8 a-di u<sub>4</sub>-17-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>še  
 9 <sup>l</sup>in-na-an-nu  
 10 <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>  
 11 mu-23-kam

References: Brinkman 1976a, 406 n. 38 (date)

**CBS 3103** ([P259476.jpg](#))

Obv.

- 1 1,2.3. ŠE-MAŠ/BAR <sup>giš</sup>bán še-ba  
 2 0,3.1.5 sila zì-da  
 3 1 kaš sag  
 4 3 kaš UŠ

Lo. E.

- 5 <sup>l</sup>mar-tu-ku  
 6 <sup>iti</sup>apin-du<sub>8</sub>-a  
 Rev.  
 7 u<sub>4</sub>-26-kam  
 8 <sup>uru</sup>ka<sub>5</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>  
 9 mu-4-kam

References: Brinkman 1976a, 406 n. 43 (date).

**CBS 3105** ([P259478.jpg](#))

Obv.

- 1 13,3.2. zì-da  
 2 <sup>giš</sup>bán še-ba  
 3 ta u<sub>4</sub>-20-kam  
 4 *ša* <sup>iti</sup>ziz-A-AN

Lo. E.

- 5 en u<sub>4</sub>-9-kam  
 6 *ša* <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>

Rev.

- 7 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub>  
 8 dumu <sup>l</sup>dùg-ab-a-šab-šú  
 9 <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>  
 10 u<sub>4</sub>-9-kam

U. E.

- 11 mu-22-kam

**CBS 3128** ([P259501.jpg](#))

Obv.

- 1 10 gur še éš-gàr <sup>giš</sup>bán gal  
 2 *i-na kan-du-re-e*<sup>ki</sup>  
 3 *i-na šu* <sup>l</sup>in-na-an-ni  
 4 <sup>l</sup>ul-maš-bi-tu<sub>4</sub>

Lo. E.

- 5 <sup>lú</sup>lunga

- 6 *ma-ḫi-ir*  
 Rev.  
 7 <sup>iti</sup>NE-NE-gar  
 8 u<sub>4</sub>-16-kam  
 9 mu-21-kam  
 10 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>l</sup>ul-maš-bi-tu<sub>4</sub>

**CBS 3131 (P259504.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 [x gur še é]š-gàr  
 2 [g<sup>iš</sup>bán] gal  
 3 *i-ṛna*ṛ z[a-r]at [b]àd-dgu-la<sup>ki</sup>  
 4 *i-na* šu <sup>l</sup>in-na-an-ni  
 5 <sup>l</sup>šeš-du-tu<sub>7</sub><sup>(758)</sup>/<sup>l</sup>šeš-du-kam lunga

Lo. E.

- 6 *ma-ḫi-ir*  
 7 <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>  
 Rev.  
 8 u<sub>4</sub>-26-kam  
 9 mu-21-kam  
 10 [<sup>na4</sup>k]išib <sup>l</sup>šeš-du-tu<sub>7</sub>/<sup>l</sup>šeš-du-kam

**CBS 3136 (P259509.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 še <sup>g<sup>iš</sup></sup>bán gal *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub>  
 2 0,2.3.5 sila u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam  
 3 0,2.2.5 sila u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam  
 4 0,0.2. u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam  
 5 pap 1,0.1. *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub> <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>

Lo. E.

- 6 *maḫ-ru*  
 7 <sup>na4</sup><kišib?> <sup>ld</sup>XXX-šeš-sum-na

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<sup>(758)</sup> About the reading, <sup>l</sup>šeš-du-tu<sub>7</sub>: *Aḫī/ēdūtu*, see W. H. van Soldt 1994, 76 no. 87.

Rev.

8 <<u<sub>4</sub>>> u<sub>4</sub>-23-kam

9 <sup>iti</sup>kin-d<sub>i</sub>innin

References: Brinkman 1976a, 402 n. 20 (date); Matthews 1992, 76 no. 26

**CBS 3275 (P259649.jpg)**

Obv.

1 26,3.0. še <sup>giš</sup>bán še-ba

2 0,0.2. zà-<sup>hi</sup>li<sup>sar</sup>

3 0,0.1. gú-tur

4 0,0.1.2 sila ì-giš

5 2 udu

Lo. E.

6 2 máš

7 1 sila<sub>4</sub>

Rev.

8 *ak-lu*

9 ta u<sub>4</sub>-25-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>NE-gar

10 en u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>kin

11 <sup>l</sup>mar-tu-ku

12 <sup>iti</sup>kin-d<sub>i</sub>innin

13 mu-4-kam

References: Matthews 1992, 122 (no. 162)

**CBS 3296 (P259670.jpg)**

Obv.

1 [ <sup>giš</sup>bán g ]al ša ta <sup>iti</sup>apin ša mu-17-kam

2 [en/a-di <sup>iti</sup>a]pin<sup>l</sup>-du<sub>8</sub>-a ša mu-19-kam sum-nu

3	[ ]	gig	ÁŠ-AN-NA	gú-gal	mu-bi-im
4	[1]27,0.0.				éš-gàr <sup>lu</sup> lu[ng]a
5	73,1.3.3 sila	5,0.3.5 sila	48,2.4.	0,2.5.	éš-gàr <sup>lu</sup> k[a-z]ì-da <sup>meš</sup>
6	76,1.5.		8,0.0.	0,0.2.5 sila	ŠE-NUMUN šuk g[u <sub>4</sub> - <sup>hi</sup> i-a +]5 <i>har-</i>

7					<i>bi</i> <i>ša ŠU ta [x,]3.1. énsi</i>
8	82,1.2.		9,3.3.		<i>ak-lu ša [ka ka-n]i-ka-ti</i>
9	1 me 13,2.0.				še-ba ká[ ]
10	1-šu 1,0.0.				še-ba x[ ]

Rev.

11	pap 5 me 34,	5,0.3.5 sila	1-šu 6,	0,3.1.5 sila	<i>ak-lu [ ]</i>
12	0.5.		1.1.		šu <sup>l</sup> <i>mar-tu-ku</i>
13	18 <sup>2</sup> ,2.2.	2 PI	2,4.2.	àr-ra	

**CBS 3319 (P259693.jpg)**

Obv.

1'	[ ]				] 0,2.0. ki-min	[ ]	
2'	[ ]				x	[ ]	
3'	[ ]						
4'	[ ]						
5'	[ ]				]x	[ ]	
6'	[ ]				] -bu	[ ]	
7'	[ ]				] ]		ʀu <sub>4</sub> ʀ [ ]
8'	[ ]				] 1,1.1.		ʀu <sub>4</sub> ʀ [ ]
9'	[ ]				] bād- <sup>d</sup> nuska <sup>ki</sup>		[ ]
10'	[ ]	]0,2.3.	2	ʀ4ʀ		[ ]	
11'	ʀki-minʀ [ ]	]0,2.3.	2	4	0,3.0. ki-min		ʀu <sub>4</sub> ʀ [ ]
12'	ki-min[ ]	]0,2.3.	2	4	0,2.3. ki-min	1	ʀu <sub>4</sub> ʀ-10 [ ]
13'	ki-min[ ]	]0,2.3.	ʀ2ʀ	4	0,2.3. ki-min		u <sub>4</sub> -10-kam
14'	0,1.2 <sup>2</sup> x[ ]	]ʀ0,2.3.	2ʀ	4	<sup>l</sup> <i>qu-ba-nu</i>		u <sub>4</sub> -11-kam
15'	[ ]	0,2.3.	]2	4	<sup>l</sup> ki-min		u <sub>4</sub> -12-kam
16'	[ ]	0,2.3.]	2	4	<sup>l</sup> ki-min	1	u <sub>4</sub> -13-kam

Lo. E.

17'	[ ]	0,2.]3.	2	4		1	u <sub>4</sub> -14-kam
18'	[ ]	0,2.]3.	3	4			u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam

Rev.

19'	[ ]	13,2.3.	53 1/2	1 me 4	11,	8	6	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>
20'	[ ]				3.2.			<sup>ld</sup> maš-ibila-sum-na



21'	[ ]	0,1.2.		9		ṛ0,0.4 <sup>2,1</sup>			<sup>1d</sup> nuska-la-iṭ-
22'	[ ]	iš-tu u <sub>4</sub> -6-kam		a-di u <sub>4</sub> -16-kam					dingir <sup>meš</sup>
23'	[ ]	0,3.2.	16	20 <sup>3</sup> [ ]					[ ]
24'	[ ]	x[ ]	]x[ ]						[ ]
25'	[ ]							[ ]	[ ]
26'	[ ]							[ ]	[ ]
27'	[ ]							[ ]	[ ]
28'	[ ]							1	ŠU tab-ku ḪAR ká[ ]
29'	[ ]					0,0.2.			[ ]
30'	[ ]					0,0.1.		[ ]	[ ]
31'	[ ]							[ ]	[ ]
32'	[ ]							[ ]	[ ]
33'	[ ]							[ ]	[ ]

**CBS 3529 (P259904.jpg)**

U. E.

1 <sup>ii</sup>zíz-A-AN u<sub>4</sub>-14-kam

Obv.

2	[z]ì-da maḥ	ak <sup>2</sup>	re	mu-bi-im
3	-rù	-lu <sub>4</sub>	-ḫu	
4	0,0.1.4 sìla			<sup>1</sup> ḫa-an-nu-ú
5	0,0.1.3.			<sup>1</sup> igi- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu-lu-[mu]r
6	0,0.1 1/2 sìla	pa-ḫi-du		<sup>1</sup> igi-nu-gál
7	0,0.1. ša	ŠE-MAŠ/BAR	1 sìla	<sup>1</sup> ki-min
8	0,0.1.1 sìla			dumu-munus <sup>1</sup> lú <sup>1</sup> zadim
9	0,0.1.1 sìla	ša u <sub>4</sub> -13-kam		ki-min
10	1 sìla			<sup>1d</sup> AG-di-ku <sub>5</sub> <sup>1</sup>
11	1 sìla			dumu <sup>1</sup> dùg-ab-nu-[p]ár-šú

Lo. E.

12	0,0.1. ša	ar-sa-a-ni		dumu-munus <sup>1</sup> dub-sar
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Rev.

13	0,0.1.2 sìla			dumu <sup>1</sup> bu-un-na
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14	2 sìla	0,0.1. é-nu		<sup>l</sup> pa-ḫal-la-a-nu
15	4 sìla	0,4.0. é-nu		dumu-munus <sup>l</sup> ip-pa-i-ti
16		0,0.1.3 sìla		dumu <sup>l</sup> sum- <sup>d</sup> U-GUR <sup>l</sup>
17		é-nu		
18	1 sìla	u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam		dumu <sup>l</sup> dùg-ab-nu-pár-šú
19	1 sìla	u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam		<sup>l</sup> dAG-dì-ku <sub>5</sub>
20	0,0.1.1 sìla	zíd ar-sa-a-ni		<sup>l</sup> ki-is-si-li-mi-tu <sub>4</sub>

References: Clay 1912b, 115 (Paḫallānu)

**CBS 3713 (P260085.jpg)**

Obv.

1 26 udu-níta

2 15 sila<sub>4</sub>

3 ak-lu

4 a-rad lugal

Rev.

5 dumu <sup>l</sup>šal-li-lu-mur

6 <sup>iti</sup>bár-zag-gar

7 mu-6-kam

References: Brinkman 1976a, 413 (arād šarri)

**CBS 3738 (P260110.jpg)**

Obv.

1 [ \_\_\_\_\_ mu-bi]-im

2 [x,x,+]<sup>1.4</sup>. x[ ] x u<sub>4</sub>-14-kam

3 [ \_\_\_\_\_ ] u<sub>4</sub>-21-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>rzi<sup>z</sup>

4 0,0.5.5. x-ab-ti ki-min

5 0,1.2. dumu <sup>l</sup>mu-ši-i ki-min

6 0,0.5.1 sila <sup>lú</sup>nar<sup>meš</sup> ki-min

7 0,0.2. 2 <sup>lú</sup>nar<sup>meš</sup> ki-min

8 0,0.3.3 sìla ki-min [ ] IG ki-min

9 0,0.1.5 sìla dumu <sup>l</sup>ḫaš-ša-mi ki-min

- 10 0,0.1.1 sila arad ša [ ] ki-min ki-min  
 11 0,0.1.6 sila ha-za-[ ] ṛak<sup>2</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>ṛ  
 Rev.  
 12 0,0.1. <sup>1</sup>lul-lu-ba-a-ú [iti]zíz  
 13 0,0.1.1. <sup>1</sup>kal-bu ki-min  
 14 0,0.1.1. <sup>1</sup>tak-la-ku-ana-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu  
 15 sipa anše-kur-ra ša<sup>2</sup> 4 áb 3 áb dingir  
 16 0,0.1.1. dumu <sup>1</sup>ši-da-ta-ni ki-min  
 17 0,0.1.1. <sup>1</sup>hu-na-bu im-x-mu-ut<sup>2</sup>  
 18 ta-bar-ru dingir <sup>1d</sup>maš-ùru<sup>2</sup> i-nam<sup>2</sup>-di-nu  
 19 pap 1,1.1.1 sila zi-da ak-lu<sub>4</sub>  
 20 <sup>1</sup>la-qi-pu ta u<sub>4</sub>-14-[kam]  
 21 en u<sub>4</sub>-21-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>zíz  
 22 mu-16-kam

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**CBS 4903 (P261099.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 0,2.3. <sup>1</sup>ia-a-ú  
 2 0,2.3. <sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>iškur dumu <sup>1</sup>en-ši  
 3 0,2.3. <sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>iškur dumu <sup>1</sup>hi-li-ia  
 4 0,2.3. <sup>1</sup>zálag-<sup>d</sup>dil-bat ṛdumu<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>ip-ḥa-bu  
 5 0,2.3. <sup>1</sup>ta-ri-bu x x  
 6 0,2.1. <sup>1</sup>arad-<sup>d</sup>nin-sar  
 7 0,2.0. <sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu  
 8 0,2.3. <sup>1</sup>a-ba-ul-i-de  
 9 0,2.0. <sup>1</sup>ta-ri-bu  
 10 0,2.0. <sup>1d</sup>utu-re-ú-a  
 11 0,2.0. <sup>1d</sup>iškur-ub-la  
 12 0,2.1. <sup>1</sup>nap-ši-ru

Lo. e.

- 13 0,2.0. <sup>1</sup>sa-ab-rù  
 14 0,2.0. <sup>1</sup>a-ta-na-aḥ-<sup>d</sup>utu

Rev.

- 15 0,2.0. <sup>l</sup>i-hu-uh<sup>?</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub>  
 16 0,2.0. dumu <sup>l</sup>a-ga-mu-za  
 17 0,2.0. dumu <sup>l</sup>hi-il-di-ia  
 18 0,2.0. dumu <sup>l</sup>ka-bit-[ti]m<sup>?</sup>  
 19 eras.  
 20 0,2.0. dumu <sup>l</sup>ak-ba-ri

21 1 gur <sup>l</sup>še-en-da-da

u. e.

- 22 <sup>iti</sup>še u<sub>4</sub>-3-kam  
 23 mu-1-kam

References: Matthews 1992, 123 (no. **164**)

**CBS 7160** (P262194.jpg)

Obv.

1	zi-da	še	mu-bi-im
2	0,1.1.5.	0,2.4.4.	šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>meš</sup>
3			ša <sup>l</sup> NI-GI-LUM <sup>?</sup> - <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
4			ta u <sub>4</sub> -24-kam ša <sup>iti</sup> ab
5			en u <sub>4</sub> -21-kam ša <sup>iti</sup> zíz
6		2,3.3.3.	ša níg-lal/lá ki-min
7	eras.	0,4.1 <sup>!</sup> .	šuk x x ta u <sub>4</sub> -22-kam
8			ša <sup>iti</sup> zíz en u <sub>4</sub> -5-kam ʾšaʾ <sup>?</sup>
9	0,0.4.	0,0.5.2. 1/2	šuk sipa ki-min
10		0,1.4.2. 1/2	šuk <sup>ld</sup> iškur-x-iš ki-min
11		0,3.0./0,0.0.3.	šuk udu-níta niga x x x
12		x,2.x.	<sup>ld</sup> sukkal-numun-šub-ši
13			x x TAG x
14			x x x AN x
15			<sup>l</sup> ki-ru-tu <sub>4</sub>
16		0,0.1.	<sup>l</sup> ibila- <sup>d</sup> utu

Rev.

- 17 [x,x.x.]5. 6, ak-lu<sub>4</sub> la a-ša-bu

18 [ ] 1.5.3. šu <sup>l</sup>è-an-zálag-<sup>d</sup>iškur  
 19 ta <sup>iti</sup>ab en <sup>iti</sup>še?  
 20 mu-7-kam <sup>d</sup>ka-dáš-man-<sup>d</sup>en-líl

21 <sup>na4?</sup><kišib> <<sup>l</sup>><sup>d</sup>nin-urta-sum-ah-*he*

References: Matthews 1992, 130 (seal of Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>, used by Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē); Brinkman 2004, 297 (Kadašman-Enlil II, year 7)

**CBS 7233 (P262263.jpg)**

Obv.

1' x x x  
 2' 4 PI <sup>l</sup>ki/di-na-x x x  
 3' 0,0.1. <sup>l</sup>x x x KIR? DA?  
 4' 0,0.3. 5 x x MU  
 5' 0,0.2. 8 x x x  
 6' <sup>l</sup>0,1<sup>2</sup>.0.1 x x x ša<sup>2</sup> x  
 7' x x x NI RU  
 8' <sup>l</sup>0,1.x.1 <sup>l</sup>x x x  
 9' pap [x,]4.5.1 sila ak-lu<sub>4</sub>  
 10' 3<sup>2</sup> x x  
 11' 0,3.x. x x x x  
 12' 2 x x NI

Rev.

13' 0,2.2.3 sila x x x x  
 14' 0,1.5.5 sila x x ki-min <sup>iti</sup>apin x  
 15' 0,1.3.4. x x x x x  
 16' x,4.3.3. še<sup>2</sup> x ta u<sub>4</sub>-5-kam x  
 17' 1 PI <sup>l</sup>x x NU ki-min  
 18' 0,0.5.3. x x x u<sub>4</sub>-9-kam  
 19' pap šu <sup>l</sup>ku-dúr-ri?  
 20' x x-kam u<sub>4</sub>-21-kam  
 21' x-kam u<sub>4</sub>-21-kam  
 22' x u<sub>4</sub>-<sup>l</sup>10<sup>2</sup>-kam

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**CBS 7262** (P262291.jpg)

Obv.

1	zì-da	[še	]
2	1,1.3.2.	[	]
3	0,3.3.1.	0,1.1.	[ ]
4	0,2 PI	0,2 PI	[ ] x
5	0,0.2.		[ ] še <sup>2</sup> LUM <sup>2</sup> x [ ]
6	0,0.1.		x[ ] x x [ ]
7	0,0.1.3.		[ ] UD [ ]
8	0,2.1.		[ ] x x [ ]
9		1 PI	<sup>1</sup> <i>in-nu-un-nu</i> <sup>lú</sup> x[ ]
10		1 PI	<sup>1</sup> <i>u-bar-rù</i> dumu <sup>1</sup> x[ ]
11		1 PI	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>e-la-mi-i</i> x
12		1 PI	dumu <sup>1d</sup> XXX-x x LI x
13		1 PI	dumu x x x
14		1 PI	<sup>1</sup> <i>ki-din</i> - <sup>d</sup> AG <sup>1</sup> ?
15		1 PI	<sup>lú</sup> x dumu <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> <i>mu-re-e</i>
16		1 PI	šuk amar-maš-dà
17			
18	pap x,3.2.	2,2.0.	<i>la a-ša-bu</i> <sup>iti</sup> gan- <sup>1</sup> è <sup>1</sup>
19	5 ṣila <sup>1</sup>		
20	0,0.2.2 ṣila <sup>1</sup>		<i>ki-is-pu</i> u <sub>4</sub> -20-[kam]
21	0,1.2.2.		ki-min ta u <sub>4</sub> -12-kam en ṣu <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> -[x-kam]
22	0,1.2.4 sila		ki-min <sup>1</sup> x-IGI-x
23	0,3.1.		[ ]
24	0,0.0.5 sila	0,0.1.	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>re-eš</i> - <sup>d</sup> U-GUR

Rev.

25			16 x x
26			x x x x
27			<sup>1</sup> <i>in-nu-un-nu</i> [ ]
28		0,2.1.	<sup>1</sup> <i>ki-din</i> - <sup>d</sup> iškur <sup>2</sup> dumu <sup>2</sup> [ ]

29		0,2.1.	<sup>ld</sup> iškur-x x MAŠ
30		0,2.1.	<sup>l</sup> ki-din-dingir-gal
31		1 PI	šuk amar-maš-eras.-dà
32		1 PI	᠕dumu <sup>1</sup> lú/šeš ú-te-ru <sup>2</sup>
33	0,2 PI	0,3 PI	šuk <sup>l</sup> ib-nu-ú-᠕tu <sup>4</sup>
34	0,3.0.	0,2 <sup>2</sup> .0.	᠕šuk <sup>1</sup> <sup>l</sup> bu-un <sup>1</sup> -nu-ú
35	᠕0,3.0. <sup>1</sup>		dumu <sup>2</sup> -munus TA x x
36	1,0.0.	0,1.0.	<sup>l</sup> x x MA/BA x
37	᠕0,2.0. <sup>1</sup>	0,1.2.	KI <sup>2</sup> X A NU <sup>ld</sup> [ ]
38	᠕0,2.0. <sup>1</sup>	0,1 PI	<sup>l</sup> u-bar-rù
39	4[+],3.0.	3,0.2.	<sup>iti</sup> x
40	šu-nigin 8,	7[+],	16, 0,0.5. x x x
41	3.5.	2.2.	2.1. 5. <sup>iti</sup> <sup>2</sup> x
42			x x x
43			<sup>iti</sup> <sup>2</sup> x x
44	eras. mu-3-kam ku-dur-[Enlil]		

References: Matthews 1992, 131 (no. **189**); Brinkman 2004, 297 (Kud[ur-Enlil], year 3)

**CBS 7380** (P262382.jpg)

Rev. ?

1'	[ ]	x x x [ ]
2'	[ ]	la a-ša-a-bu [ ]
3'	[ ]	ta u <sub>4</sub> -30-kam ša <sup>iti</sup> [ ]
4'	[ ]	<sup>iti</sup> še ta u <sub>4</sub> -8-kam[ ]
5'	[ ]	la a-᠕ša <sup>1</sup> -a-bu ta u <sub>4</sub> -1[+kam ]
6'	[ ]	en u <sub>4</sub> -5-kam <sup>iti</sup> [ ]
7'	[ ]	x x[ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 110 (no. **146**)

**CBS 7694** (P262697.jpg)

Obv.

1 19 1/2 x kaš sag

- 2 1-šu 4 kaš UŠ  
 3 3 1/2 dug gal  
 4 0,0.2. báppir  
 5 𒀭ak-lu<sub>4</sub> 𒀭nin-urta-sum-𒀭ah<sup>1</sup>-[he]  
 6 šu 𒀭en-šu-[nu]  
 7 ta u<sub>4</sub>-𒀭6<sup>2</sup> 𒀭[+kam]  
 Lo. E.  
 8 ša x [ ]  
 Rev.  
 9 en u<sub>4</sub>-6-kam ša x [ ]  
 10 mu-4-kam 𒀭ku-dur-[𒀭en-líl]  
 11 𒀭na<sup>4</sup>kišib 𒀭maš-sum-𒀭ah<sup>1</sup>-[he]

References: Matthews 1992, 131 (no. **189**); Brinkman 2004, 297 (Kudur-[Enlil], year 4)

**CBS 7698 (P262705.jpg)**

Obv.

1	zi-da	še	mu-bi-[im sum]-nu
2	0,0.1.		ki-is-pu u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam
3	0,0.1.		ki-is-pu u <sub>4</sub> -29-kam
4	0,1.3.		x x x LU <sub>5</sub> Ú NU
5	0,0.3.	0,0.1.	x x ša x [ ]
6	1,0.0.		𒀭x AN [ ]
7	0,3.3.3.		dumu-munus é[ ]
8		0,1.4.	dumu-munus x x x x
9		0,0.5.	munus ša [ ] 𒀭tu <sub>4</sub>
10		0,1.2.	lú [ ] 𒀭x
11		0,1.2.	𒀭a-ta-[ ] 𒀭x
12		0,1.2.	lú [ ]-bu- <sup>d</sup> 𒀭amar-utu <sup>1</sup>
13		0,2.4.	[ ]x-na uru
14		0,2. 𒀭1 <sup>1</sup> [+]	[ ] x
15	0,0.1.1 sila	[ ]	[ ]- <sup>d</sup> kur <sup>2</sup> x
16	3 PI[ ]		[ ]- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
17		[ ]	[ ]x-kam
18		[ ]	[ ]



Broken

Rev.

19'	[	]x	<sup>l</sup> x x NI <sup>2</sup> x
20'		ṛ0,0.2.ṛ	<sup>l</sup> x x x IGI
21'	0,2.0.	0,0.4.	2 dumu <sup>2</sup> <sup>l</sup> x NIN-NI-TI
22'		0,2.ṛ4.ṛ	2 dumu <sup>2</sup> <sup>l</sup> x IGI-I-BA/MA-I-KI
23'		0,1.1.	<sup>l</sup> ú- <i>sur</i>
24'		0,2.1.	<sup>l</sup> ú- <i>mušen-dù</i>
25'		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> x x x
26'		0,1.1.	<sup>l</sup> x RU <sup>2</sup> X
27'	0,0.2.	ṛ0,2.0.ṛ	<sup>l</sup> ku-du-ra-nu <sup>l</sup> x [ ]
28'	[ ]PI	ṛ0,1.4.ṛ	<sup>l</sup> lugal-x x [ ]
29'	[x,x.]x.6.		<i>é-a-nu</i>
30'		0,0.2.2 sila	3 érin x [ ]
31'	2 sila	3 sila	<sup>l</sup> IM-A-[ ]
32'	2 sila	0,0.1.	ninda-kaskal <sup>l</sup> šeš-[ ]
33'	0,0.2.	0,0.2.	x dumu <sup>l</sup> IM-[ ]
34'	0,2.1.	1,0.0.	<sup>l</sup> é-gu-la-šeš <sup>2</sup> -šú <sup>(759)</sup> KI[ ]
35'	0,0.1.	0,0.2.	<sup>l</sup> iš-man-ni-x x x
36'	0,0.1.	0,0.4.	<sup>l</sup> x-BI <sup>2</sup> - <sup>d</sup> [ ]
37'	0,2.0.	0,4.1.1 sila	dumu <sup>l</sup> x x[ ] KAM <sup>2</sup>
38'	0,2.1.6.	0,2.4.3 sila	x x x x
39'	0,1.0.	0,0.4.2 sila	x

u. e.

40'		0,0.1.	dumu <sup>l</sup> d <sup>en</sup> <sup>2</sup> -ṛlíl <sup>2</sup> ṛ-TAR ša x
41'		0,0.4.	<sup>l</sup> d <sup>amar</sup> -utu-mu-tuk-š[ <i>i</i> ]

Left edge

42' LA<sup>2</sup> 6,1.x. ṛak-lu<sub>4</sub>ṛ <sup>iti</sup>ab-ba<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>2</sup> x

43' 5,1.1. BU 8 ṛgur<sup>2</sup>ṛ,3.4.4 sila zi-da

44' 21,0.5. še <sup>na</sup>kišib <sup>l</sup>d<sup>nin</sup>-urta-sum-x[ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 131 (no. **189**)

(<sup>759</sup>) Cf. MUN 213 obv. 8 (<sup>l</sup>é-gu-la-ṛùruṛ).

CBS 7713 (P262724.jpg)

Obv.

1	[zì-da	še	]
2	1,0.0.	[	]x- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
3		[	] x
4		[	<sup>l</sup> ]r <sup>l</sup> nim <sup>l</sup> -gi-ra- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
5		[	]x x <sup>iti</sup> zíz
6	0,0.1.3 sila	[	] x
7		[	] x
8	x	[	] x x
9		[	] <sup>ld</sup> x x x
10	0,4.0.1 sila	1,0.0.	<sup>l</sup> na-[ ] x x
11	0,0.5.1 sila		x [ ]- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu x x
12			x x x x
13		1 PI	x x x x x x
14	0,0.1.6 r <sup>l</sup> sila <sup>l</sup>	0,0.2. x	é <sup>?</sup> x x x x
15	1 PI		<sup>l</sup> é <sup>?</sup> [ ]x x- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
16	0,0.4.2 sila		<sup>l</sup> x [ ] ta u <sub>4</sub> -9-kam
17			[en] u <sub>4</sub> -20[+-kam] <sup>iti</sup> še-KIN-ku <sub>5</sub>
18	[ ]	1 PI	x x
19	[		]x <sup>ú</sup> -x-mu- <sup>ú</sup>
20	[		]x PI.4. x lugal
21	[		]x arad lugal
22	[		]x x

Broken

Rev.

23'	[		]x-BA/MA x x
24'	[		<sup>l</sup> ]r <sup>d1</sup> nin-urta-ág-kit-ti
25'	0,0.2.		a-na mu-uh <sup>h</sup> -hi kin-sig
26'	0,0.3.		dumu <sup>ld</sup> utu-re-man-ni
27'	0,2.0.	0,0.2.	šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>meš</sup> x
28'	pap 30,0.1.	9,	ak-lu <sub>4</sub> la a-ša-bu ta <sup>iti</sup> du <sub>6</sub>
29'	1 sila	4.0.1 sila	en iti-diri-še-KIN-ku <sub>5</sub>
30'			mu-1-kam-diri <sup>d</sup> ku-dur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl
31'			<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-r <sup>l</sup> sum <sup>l</sup> -[ah]-he

References: Brinkman 1976a, 193 (XIIa-year 1; VII–XIIa), 401 n. 14 (diri); Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text), 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**CBS 7714 (P262725.jpg)**

Obv.

1	zi-da	ŠE-MAŠ/BAR	mu-b[i-i]m
2	0,0.1.2.		<i>ki-is-pu</i> u <sub>4</sub> -12[+]-kam
3	0,0.1.2.		ki-min u <sub>4</sub> -21-kam
4	0,4.0.		ki-min <i>gi-nu-ú</i>
5	1,0.0.		<sup>1</sup> ṛsu <sup>ṽ</sup> - <sup>d</sup> utu
6	0,3.3.2.		dumu-munus é
7	0,2.0.	0,3.0.	<sup>1</sup> <i>ib-nu-tu</i> <sub>4</sub>
8		0,1.0.	<sup>1</sup> <i>in-nu-un-nu</i> Ú-BA/MA-AD <sup>meš</sup>
9		0,1.0.	<sup>1</sup> <i>u-bar-ri</i>
10		0,2.0.	šuk 2 x-BAR/MAŠ-NI
11		0,1.2.	<sup>1d</sup> ṛiškur <sup>ṽ</sup> -UR-TUK x x KUR 4 x ta u <sub>4</sub> -10-kam
12		0,1.2.	<sup>1</sup> <i>ša-ba-a-a</i> ki-min ta u <sub>4</sub> -10-kam
13		1 PI	dumu <sup>1</sup> <i>bu/pu-ú-a</i>
14		4 PI	2 <i>ša</i> KI-LI <i>bàd-ku-ri-gal-zu</i>
15		0,1.4.	2 <i>sa/ir-ru-tu</i> <sub>4</sub> <i>ša</i> gu <sub>4</sub>
16		0,1.2.2.	2 érin-ḫi-a <sup>1</sup> <i>ú-ru-i</i> x x x
17	0,1.0.	0,1.ṛ5.ṽ	<sup>1</sup> <i>ba-ša</i> - <sup>d</sup> nin-urta <sup>1</sup> níg-ba- <sup>d</sup> gu-la
18	2 sila		ú x x <sup>1</sup> <i>ar-du</i> x x BAR/MAŠ
19	0,1.0.		dumu <i>šip-ri ša</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>be-la-ni</i> <sup>1</sup> níg-ba- <sup>d</sup> gu-la
20	0,2.0.	0,3.0.	<sup>1</sup> UD- <sup>š</sup> ú-zálag- <i>ir</i>
21	0,2.4.	0,3.0.	<sup>1</sup> <i>me-li-ši</i> -ḪU ta u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -25-kam
22	6 sila	0,0.2.2.	<sup>1</sup> sù- <sup>d</sup> U-GUR ta ki-min en ki-min
23		0,0.4.	dumu <sup>1</sup> énsi

Rev.

24	1,4.ṛ5.ṽ	x x	munus-nar <sup>1</sup> x x x ki-min
25	0,0.3.1 sila	0,3.1.	<sup>1</sup> <i>ta-bi-ia</i> x x x-nu
26			en u <sub>4</sub> -24-kam
27		0,1.3.3.	<sup>1</sup> <i>a</i> <sup>2</sup> - <i>a-ri</i> ta u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam

28			en u <sub>4</sub> -25-kam
29	0,2.3.	0,0.3.3.	<sup>1</sup> EN <sup>2</sup> x ša x x x x x
30			ta ki-min en ki-min
31	0,0.2.6 sila	x x	<sup>1</sup> d <sup>en</sup> -líl-šeš-sum-na ta u <sub>4</sub> - <sup>1</sup> 3 <sup>2</sup> -kam <sup>1</sup>
32	0,0.1.4 sila	0,0.2.3 sila	<sup>1</sup> bu-ga-aš- <sup>d</sup> en-líl ta ki-min
33		1 PI	<sup>1</sup> bur x x x x x
34			ta u <sub>4</sub> -29-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -30-kam
35	0,3.0.		é ša kaskal ta u <sub>4</sub> -19-kam
36			en u <sub>4</sub> -24-kam
37	pap 3,3.	6,	ak-lu <sub>4</sub>
38	<<3>> 5.8.	4 PI	la a-ša-bu
39			<sup>iü</sup> še mu-3-kam <sup>d</sup> ku-dur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl
40		<sup>na4</sup> kišib[	] <sup>d</sup> nin-urta-sum-aḫ-ḫe

References: Brinkman 1976a, 196 (XII-year 3); Matthews 1992, 131 (no. **189**); Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text), 318 (*aklu*)

Parallel: MRWH no. 28

**CBS 7721** (P262733.jpg)

Obv.

1	zi-da	še	mu-bi- <sup>1</sup> im <sup>1</sup>
2	0,0.1.	0, <sup>1</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup> .0.	ki-is-pu u <sub>4</sub> -25[+]-kam
3	0,2.0.		ki-min gi-nu-ú
4	1,0.0.		<sup>1</sup> su- <sup>d</sup> utu
5	0,2.3.3.	7,0.0.	dumu-munus é-ti
6	0,2.0.	0,3.0.	<sup>1</sup> ib-nu-tu
7	0,2.0.	0,3.0.	<sup>1</sup> UD-šú-zálag-ir
8		0,2.0.	šuk a-a-li
9		x x x	<sup>1</sup> d <sup>en</sup> -líl-x x ad-KID
10	2,2.6.		[ <sup>1</sup> ]x-sum- <sup>d</sup> é-a
11	0,3.3.3.	1 PI	x x
12		1 PI	lú x x x x x
13		0,1.2.	x x A x x
14		0,2.0.	lú IR-ša-x x

15		0,4.0.	2 <sup>lu</sup> má-laḥ <sub>5</sub> <sup>(760)</sup>
16		0,2.0.	<sup>l</sup> gal-dingir-èr-ra <sup>(761)</sup>
17	1 PI	0,2.0.	<sup>l</sup> u-bar-rù
18		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> iz-kùr- <sup>d</sup> iškur
19		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> iz-kùr- <sup>d</sup> x[ ]
20		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> mu-líb-š[i ]
21		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> bu-na-nu

Rev.

22	0,1.2.		<sup>ld</sup> amar-utu <sup>1</sup> -x x
23	0,1.0.		ša é <sup>l</sup> ia-tu-ú
24		0,0.4.	<sup>l</sup> x ZA-AB-Ú 3 UM <sup>2</sup>
25		0,0.2.	<sup>l</sup> x x ITI <sup>2</sup> x x
26		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> x x x NU
27		1 PI	dumu <sup>ld</sup> utu-x x x
28		1 PI	<sup>l</sup> si-ú-x
29		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> KID <sup>2</sup> -x x
30		0,1.2.	dumu <sup>l</sup> im-tu-ú-a
31		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> ri-mu-tu <sub>4</sub>
32		0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> AB-RI-šá/NÍG
33		0,2.3.2.	<sup>l</sup> ki-din- <sup>d</sup> ba <sup>2</sup> -ba <sub>6</sub> <sup>2</sup> ta u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam
34			en u <sub>4</sub> -2[+]-kam
35	0,0.4.	x	šuk [ ]x anše-kur-ra
36			<sup>ld</sup> XXX-muš-te-šir
37			ta u <sub>4</sub> -7-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -16-kam
38	0,2[.x.]		<sup>ld</sup> amar-utu-numun-šub-š <sub>i</sub> <sup>(762)</sup>
39	0,1.0.	0,0.2.	šuk 1 anše ša kaskal ki-min
40		0,1.2.	šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>meš</sup>
41		0,2.0.6.	<sup>l</sup> x x x
42	4,	8,0.0.	x x <sup>(763)</sup>
43	2 <sup>2</sup> .1.1.		x

<sup>(760)</sup> The reading <sup>lu</sup>má-laḥ<sub>5</sub> is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

<sup>(761)</sup> The reading -èr-ra is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

<sup>(762)</sup> The reading -numun-šub-š<sub>i</sub> is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

<sup>(763)</sup> Possibly <sup>l</sup>ak-lu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.

44			na <sup>4</sup> kišib <sup>1d</sup> nin-urta-ursum <sup>1</sup> -[aḥḥē]
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References: Matthews 1992, 131 (no. **189**); Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (*aklu*); Brinkman 2004, 302 n. 78 (CBS 7721).

**CBS 7788** (P262800.jpg)

Obv.

1	[	an]še-kur-ra <sup>meš</sup>		
2	[	1,]r4 <sup>1</sup> .1.3 1/2	ki-min	u <sub>4</sub> -18-kam
3	[ ]	1,4.1.3 1/2	ki-min	u <sub>4</sub> -19-kam
4	[ ]1	1,4.1.3 1/2	ki-min	u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam
5	[ ]	1,4.2. [	ki-mi]n	3 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
6	[ ]	0,1.2.	0,1.x[ ]	NI dumu <sup>1</sup> arad- <sup>dé</sup> -a 2 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
7	[ ]	0,1.2.	x	MI DIŠ TA UD <sup>?</sup> EN <sup>?</sup> x
8		0,0.4.	0,1.1.	X MI x
9		0,0.4.		
10		2,0.0.	x[ ]-SA <sub>6</sub> DIŠ MEŠ	
11			a-na x x x x	
12			x x LÚ <sup>?</sup>	
13		o x PI	ninda-kaskal aḥ-la-mi-i ša lugal [ ]x-ú	
14		o x	ninda-kaskal šú-hur-ti lugal u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam	
15		0,2.0.	<sup>1d</sup> sukkal-šeš-sum-na 2 uru <sup>4</sup> -mi	

Rev.

16	4,1.2.	x		x x EN 8
17			[ ]+4,2.0. ḤI GUR/SI ŠA DIŠ BA/MA TI	
18			GIŠ x GÚ lu-ú NI GA 5 x	
19	1,3.0.		<sup>1d</sup> sukkal-šeš-sum-na[ ]	
20	0,3.1.3 1/2.	šuk 6 1/2 níg-lal/lá anš[e-k]ur-ra		
21			x x x TI u <sub>4</sub> -eras.-21-ka[m]	
22	0,0.4.		<sup>f</sup> x x x-gašan kaskal	
23	[šu-n]igin ur <sup>2,2</sup> .4. še [gi]š bán 5 sila šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>1</sup>			
24	[ ]	ur <sup>1</sup> zi-ga <sup>1d</sup> en-líl-AL <sup>?</sup> -SA <sub>6</sub> <sup>?</sup>		
25	[ ]	it <sup>1</sup> sig <sub>4</sub> [ ] x x		
26	[ ]	ta] u <sub>4</sub> -18-<kam>		

27	[	en] u <sub>4</sub> -21-kam
28	[	mu-]x-kam
29	[	na-zi]-rma <sup>1</sup> -ru-ut-taš

References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. **148**); Brinkman 2004, 297 ([Nazi-M]aruttaš)

**CBS 7868** (P262848.jpg)

Obv.

1	[zì-da	še]	mu-bi-im
2	[	]	ki-is-pu
3	[	]	ki-min gi-nu-ú
4	[	]	x x x UD-A-tu <sub>4</sub> x
5	[	]	dumu-munus é
6	[	]	<sup>1</sup> qí-bí-i- <sup>d</sup> x x
7	[	]	lú x ša x x x x
8	[	]	<sup>1</sup> ib-nu-ú-tu <sub>4</sub>
9	[	]	šuk r <sup>1</sup> anše <sup>1</sup> -kur-ra <sup>1d</sup> utu-ùru
10	[	]	r <sup>1</sup> šuk <sup>2</sup> x BABBAR lugal
11	[	]	ša <sub>11</sub> sag <sup>2</sup> ša <sup>1</sup> nim-gi-ra- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
12	[	]	x x ša uru <sup>2</sup> MA/BA r <sup>1</sup> uru <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> -iš <sup>2</sup>
13	[	]	r <sup>1</sup> šuk <sup>1</sup> a-a-li
14	[	]	r <sup>1</sup> šuk <sup>1</sup> lúénsi
15	[	]	<sup>1d</sup> amar-utu-x-MA/BA ta u <sub>4</sub> -26 en u <sub>4</sub> -30
16	[	]	<sup>1</sup> x-SI-BI x HI x
17	[	]	ki-min x x x
18	[	]	<sup>1</sup> iz-kur- <sup>d</sup> iškur <sup>lú</sup> x
19	[	]	<sup>1</sup> AG x x x
20	[	]	<sup>1</sup> e-ri-šu
21	[	]	<sup>1</sup> iz-kur- <sup>d</sup> U-GUR
22	[	]	<sup>1d</sup> U-GUR-sag
23	[	]	<sup>1</sup> bu-na-nu
24	[	]	<sup>1</sup> mu-líb-ši
25	[	]	<sup>1</sup> i-ri-ba-[ ]

26	[	]	<sup>1</sup> si-is-[ ]
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broken

Rev.

27'	[		] MA [ ]
28'	[		] ša x [ ]
29'	[		] lugal <sup>2</sup> ta u <sub>4</sub> <sup>2</sup> -1-kam
30'	[		]x-bu
31'	[	]	
32'	[	]	x x x MA/BA
33'	[	]	x x x x x
34'	[	]	šuk x-ḫi-a ša kaskal x
35'	[	]	šuk a-a-li
36'	[	]	<sup>1</sup> d <sup>e</sup> n-líl-x x x uru <sub>4</sub> <sup>2</sup> -iš <sup>2</sup>
37'	[	]	<sup>1</sup> ib-nu-ú-tu <sub>4</sub>
38'	[	]	x x x AN
39'	[	]	<sup>1</sup> TA-KAM-x
40'	[	]	x x x
41'	[	]	x x
42'	[	]	<sup>1</sup> x x x TU x
43'	[	]0,1.2.	<sup>1</sup> iz-kur- <sup>d</sup> iškur
44'	[	]0,1.2.	<sup>1</sup> e-ri-šu
45'	[	]0,1.2.	<sup>1</sup> iz-kur- <sup>d</sup> U-GUR
46'	[	]0,1.2.	<sup>1</sup> dU-GUR-sag
47'	[	]0,1.2.	<sup>1</sup> bu-na-nu
48'	[	]	x-tu <sub>4</sub>
49'	[	]	<sup>1</sup> x
50'	[	]	x x x x x
51'	[	]	<sup>1</sup> za-qú-ú-a
52'	[	]	<sup>1</sup> mu-líb-ši
53'	[	]	[ <sup>1</sup> ]re <sup>1</sup> -man-ni <sup>1</sup> im-tu-ú- <sup>1</sup> a <sup>2</sup>
54'	[	]	x x x x x

u. e.

55'	[	]	x x
56'	[	]	x <sup>it</sup> bár-zag <sup>2</sup> [ ]
57'	[	]	mu-1-kam diri <sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup> ku[-dur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl]



References: Matthews 1992, 131 (no. **189**)

**CBS 8573** (P263372.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 8,1.0. zì-da <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 síla
- 2 16,1.4. še <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 síla
- 3 𒀭ak<sup>1</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub> šu <sup>1</sup>ta-𒀭ri<sup>1</sup>-[b]u
- 4 <sup>iti</sup>gu<sub>4</sub> ta u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam
- 5 en u<sub>4</sub>-26[+ka]m
- 6 mu-7-kam x[ ]

Rev.

- 7 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1d</sup>nin-[urta-nādin-ahhē]

References: Matthews 1992, 132 (no. **189**)

**CBS 8737** (P263562.jpg)

Obv.

1	[ ] ak-lu <sub>4</sub>	LÁL-DÙ	ša x [ ]
2	[1]-šu 3,0.0.3 síla	1 me 43,1.2.3 síla	dumu <sup>1d</sup> KA-D[I-līssu]
3	[9]4,0.0.	1-šu 4,1.1.	dumu <sup>1</sup> zálag- <sup>d</sup> kù-b[u]
4	[7]1,3.0.	1-šu	dumu <sup>1</sup> eri-ba- <sup>d</sup> U-G[UR]
5	[48,0.]1.	1 me 24,0.4.	dumu <sup>1d</sup> sukkal-tam-lak-dingir[ <sup>meš</sup> ]
6	[ ]	x 3 me 92,3.5.	ša <sup>1ú</sup> lunga <sup>meš</sup>
7	[ ]	3 síla	
8	[ ]	+]6,1 PI	dumu <sup>1</sup> en-kit-ti[ ]
9	[ ]	] x	hír-ga-lu-ú x x [ ]
10	[ ]	] x	x x x x x

Lo. e.

10	[ ]	] 2 síla	šuk máš-ḥi-a
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Rev.

Broken

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

Parallels: BE 14 no. 167, BE 15 no. 148, PBS 2/2 no. 34, CBS 3000

**CBS 8741 (P263566.jpg)**

Obv.

1	[zì-da]	<i>še-um</i>	mu-b[i-im ]
2			u <sub>4</sub> -20[ ]
3			sískur u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam
4		0,4.0.	dumu-munus arad <sup>2</sup> - <sup>d</sup> amar-utu <sup>1</sup>
5			ta u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -30-[kam]
6	0,0.0.5 sila		KAL <sup>2</sup> -TUR <sup>2</sup> ta ʾki-min <sup>2</sup> en 30[ ]
7		0,0.2.1 sila	ki-min <sup>ld</sup> XXX-še <sup>2</sup> -en <sup>2</sup> PI [ ]
8	<sup>lu</sup> kù-dím		<sup>ld</sup> en-ʾlíl <sup>1</sup> -ia
9			ta u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -30-[kam]
10		0,1.5.1.	<sup>l</sup> a-a-rù ta ki-min en u <sub>4</sub> -[x-kam]
11	0,0.4.		

broken

Rev.

12'		0,0.2.	GIŠ <sup>2</sup> -HI <sup>2</sup> -A
13'	[x,x.x.]1.	0,0.2.	ki-min
14'		0,0.4.	<sup>l</sup> ba-ša- <sup>r</sup> d <sup>1</sup> [ ]
15'	1 PI	0,1.4.	<sup>l</sup> šeš-sum-na- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
16'	1 sila		<sup>l</sup> ša-šíl-lu-šá
17'		1 sila	<sup>ld</sup> iškur-gi-na-ùru
18'	0,0.1.	0,2.4.	edin <sup>2</sup> u <sub>4</sub> -24-k[am]
19'	1 PI	0,1.4.	dumu <sup>l</sup> arad- <sup>d</sup> é-a
20'	[x,x.]2.	3,2.1.	ʾak <sup>1</sup> -lu <sub>4</sub> ta u <sub>4</sub> -20-ʾkam <sup>1</sup> en u <sub>4</sub> -30-[kam]
21'	[ ]x	5 sila	<sup>iti</sup> zíz-A-AN
22'			mu-1-kam-diri <sup>d</sup> ku-dur- <sup>d</sup> en-líl
23'			<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-su[m-ahhē]

References: Brinkman 1976a, 193 (XI-30-year 1; days 20–30), 401 n. 17 (<sup>iti</sup>zíz-A-AN mu-1-kam-diri); Matthews 1992, 132 (no. **189**); Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text), 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**CBS 8872 (P216542.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1' 2 [ ]  
2' 29 [ ]  
3' 30 [ ]  
4' pap 2 me 50 ša udu-ḫi-a  
5' 2 gú 4 ma-na sík  
6' <sup>1</sup>Ṛsum<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>XXX  
7' <sup>1</sup>UD-šú-zálag-ir  
8' <sup>iti</sup>zíz-A-AN

Lo. e.

- 9' mu-Ṛ14<sup>1</sup>-kam

Rev.

- 10' [kuš g]ab-bi-šu [ú]-Ṛša<sup>1</sup>-kal  
11' x <sup>uzu</sup>sa<sup>2</sup> x x x  
12' x x DIN<sup>2</sup>/ḪI<sup>2</sup>  
13' [ ] x Ṛi<sup>1</sup>-nam-din x x x  
14' [ ] Ú x [ ] Ṛi<sup>1</sup>-nam-din  
15' x x [ ] Ṛú<sup>2</sup>-še<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-te-Ṛeq<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>  
16' i-na 1 Ṛme<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> [ ]  
17' i-na 1 me [ ]  
18' us<sub>5</sub>-udu-ḫi-a ḫa-za-an-nu a-na iti-šú  
19' i-ma-an-na<sup>(764)</sup>-nu ḫa-za-an-nu a-na iti-šú  
20' ul im-Ṛda<sup>1</sup>-nu sipa Ṛú<sup>1</sup>-[ma]-Ṛša-ru<sup>1</sup>  
21' LÁL-ṚDÚ<sup>1</sup> [ḫazanna]  
22' Ṛis<sup>1</sup>-[si-ru/rù]

Translation:

(Rev. 18'–22') The mayor shall count the livestock monthly. (If) the mayor does not count (them) monthly, they disregard the shepherd (i. e. they will not collect arrears from the shepherd). They will collect arrears (of the shepherd) from the mayor.

References: Matthews 1992, 86 (no. 61); Matthews and Brinkman 1990, 83–84, no. 103. Regarding the duties of a shepherd, see Brinkman 2004, 290 n. 36.

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<sup>(764)</sup> This *-na-* is not necessary.

**CBS 9511 = Ni 1508 (P264877.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 x x x x x x ṽzi<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup> giš<sup>2</sup>bán<sup>2</sup> 6<sup>2</sup>ṽ [sila]
- 2 18 x x x GIŠ x x SÌLA
- 3 ṽak<sup>1</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub> ta u<sub>4</sub>-23-kam
- 4 ša<sup>iti</sup>gan-gan-è
- 5 en u<sub>4</sub>-8-kam ša<sup>iti</sup>ab-è

Lo. E.

- 6 <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-mu-mu

Rev.

- 7 a-ša-bu ù la a-[ša-b]u
- 8 mu-22-kam
- 9 na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš
- 10 lugal-e
- 11 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-GI-x
- 12 [ ]x [ ]

References: Brinkman 1976a, 279 (X-8-year 22; Ni. 1508; IX-23 to X-8; CBS 9511 is a cast of this tablet); Matthews 1992, 118 (no. **155**)

**CBS 9514 = Ni 7968 (P264880.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 1,0.5.3 sila zi-da giš<sup>2</sup>bán 5 sila
- 2 ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1d</sup>XXX-mu-bal-liṽ
- 3 <sup>uru</sup>x-x-x
- 4 <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub> ta u<sub>4</sub>-1<sup>2</sup>-kam
- 5 en u<sub>4</sub>-14-kam

Lo. E.

- 6 mu-16-kam
- 7 na-zi-ma<sup>2</sup>-ru<sup>2</sup>-taš<sup>2</sup>

Rev.

- 8 lugal-e
- 9 [<sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1ri</sup>mu-tu<sub>4</sub>]

References: Brinkman 1976a, 275 (III-14-year 16; Ni. 7968; days 1?–14; CBS 9514 is a cast of this tablet); Matthews 1992, 112 (seal of Rīmūtu)

**CBS 9517 = Ni 844 (P264883.jpg)**

Obv. ?

1 6,2.5.1 sila zì-da <sup>giš</sup>bán 6 sila

2 𒀭ak-lu<sub>4</sub> x x

3 <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-AL<sup>2</sup>-SA<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup> GÚ<sup>?</sup>

4 <sup>iti</sup>ziz-A-AN ta u<sub>4</sub>-25-kam

5 en u<sub>4</sub>-30-kam

Lo. E.

6 mu-16-kam

Rev.

7 x x x

At the reverse of the photo of CDLI, its obverse comes again.

References: Brinkman 1976a, 276 (XI-30-year 16; Ni. 844; days 25–30; CBS 9517 is a cast of this tablet); Matthews 1992, 112 (no. **148**)

**CBS 9528 (P264894.jpg)**

Obv.

1 21<sup>?</sup> kaš sag

2 31 1/2 kaš UŠ

3 1/2 dug gal

4 1 1/2 x x x

5 3<sup>?</sup> báppir

6 ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>eri-ba-<sup>d</sup>nin-urta

7 a-ša-bu

Rev.

8 x x x

9 𒀭ta<sup>?</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-x-kam

10 𒀭en<sup>?</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-x-kam

11 mu-𒀭24-kam

- 12 *na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš*  
 13 lugal-e  
 14 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-<sup>r</sup>G<sup>r</sup>[-ka-šu]

References: Matthews 1992, 118 (no. **155**)

**CBS 9543 = 9770 = Ni 329 (P264909.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 29 kaš sag  
 2 96 1/2 kaš UŠ  
 3 2 dug sag  
 4 0,0.4. báppir  
 5 *ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>l</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
 6 <sup>lu</sup>lunga *tukul-ti-é-kur*<sup>(765)</sup>

Rev.

- 7 ta u<sub>4</sub>-13-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-A-AN  
 8 en u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>šu-numun-na  
 9 mu-22-kam *na-zi-ma-ru-ut-taš*  
 10 lugal-e  
 11 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-*ki-in-pi-šu*

References: Brinkman 1976a, 279 (IV-2-year 22; Ni. 329; III-13 to IV-2; CBS 9543 and CBS 9770 are casts of this tablet), 399 (<sup>iti</sup>sig<sub>4</sub>-A-AN), 407 (date); Matthews 1992, 118 (no. **155**)

**CBS 9781 = Ni 318 (P265096.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 99 1/2 kaš UŠ  
 2 1 1/2 dug gal  
 3 0,0.1.5 sila báppir  
 4 0,0.2.1 sila níg-àr-ra  
 5 *ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>l</sup>su-<sup>d</sup>nin-urta*  
 6 ta u<sub>4</sub>-19-kam ša <sup>iti</sup>bár-zag-gar  
 7 en u<sub>4</sub>-6-kam

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<sup>(765)</sup> About the reading *tukul-ti-é-kur*, courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

Rev.

- 8 ṛšá<sup>ṛ</sup> i<sup>i</sup>gu<sub>4</sub>-si-sá  
9 mu-22-kam  
10 na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš lugal-e  
11 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-ki-pi-šu

References: Brinkman 1976a, 279 (II-6-year 22; Ni. 318; I-19 to II-6); Matthews 1992, 118 (no. **155**)

**CBS 10250** ([P265488.jpg](#))

Obv.

- 1 6 gur zì-da <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 sila  
2 ak-lu<sub>4</sub>  
3 ta u<sub>4</sub>-8-kam  
4 en u<sub>4</sub>-25-kam  
5 [š]u<sup>2</sup> <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-DA-K[A<sup>2</sup>]

Rev.

- 6 [ ]-NA  
7 mu-6[+]-kam  
8 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>  
9 ak<sup>2</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup> <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-DA-[KA]

References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. **148**)

**CBS 10564** ([P265767.jpg](#))

A

- 1' [ ] x RI  
2' [ ] x ša ak-lu<sub>4</sub>

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**CBS 10981** ([P266173.jpg](#))

Obv.

- 1 [ <sup>giš</sup>]bán 5 sila mu-bi-im

2 a-pil ká ša<sup>uru</sup>ì-si-in  
3 0,2.0. <sup>ld</sup>en-líl-na-din-šeš<sup>meš</sup>  
4 ta u<sub>4</sub>-12-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam  
5 0,0.1. sú-hur-tu<sub>4</sub> ša a-na a-ab-ba ša-ap-rù  
6 0,0.2. a-na tuḥ-ḥi<sup>ḥ</sup> kuš udu-níta  
7 ša(-)pa-ti-ra-ti a-na bu/pu-ši

Lo. E.

8 KAL-MA/BA-KI/ḤAR

Rev.

9 0,0.4. <sup>l</sup>ri-ḥmu<sup>ḥ</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub> ḥi<sup>ḥ</sup> giš<sup>2</sup>[  
10 ù<sup>2</sup> x x x x  
11 ta u<sub>4</sub>-10-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-19-[kam]  
12 pap 0,1.4. ak-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>l</sup>ki<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>2</sup>ḥ<sup>ḥ</sup>-diškur  
13 <sup>iti</sup>ziz-A-AN ta ḥu<sub>4</sub>-10<sup>ḥ</sup>-kam  
14 en u<sub>4</sub>-19-kam mu-5-kam  
15 [n]a-zi-ma-ru-ut-ḥaš<sup>ḥ</sup>

u. e.

16 x x BU

References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. **148**)

### CBS 11534 (P266676.jpg)

Obv.

1 30<sup>l</sup>,3.5. zì-da  
2 ak-lu<sub>4</sub>  
3 A-KI-ŠA x  
4 dumu <sup>l</sup>XXX-na-din-ibila

Lo. e.

5 <sup>iti</sup>še-KIN-[ku<sub>5</sub>]  
6 u<sub>4</sub>-29-kam  
Rev.  
7 mu-17-kam  
8 e-le lugal

References: Brinkman 1976a, 413 (*elē šarri*)



**CBS 13339** (P268418.jpg)

Obv.

- 1' [ ] x  
2' [ -<sup>d</sup>n]in-ìmma  
3' [ <sup>1</sup>]re-eš-UD-šú  
4' [ ] r<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>maš-mu-mu  
5' [ ] r<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>ri-mu-tu<sub>4</sub>  
6' [ ] a-na MAŠ/BAR-AŠ-RI-KI  
7' [x,x.]4. ša ra-ka-x

Rev.

- 8' [+]2,3.0. še <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 sila  
9' [ak]-lu<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>iz-kùr-<sup>d</sup>ša-na  
10' [<sup>itiš</sup>e]-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>  
11' [ -+]17-kam  
12' [ -+]10-kam  
13' [ ]-kam

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**CBS 13362** (P268441.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 6 kaš [sa]g<sup>2</sup>  
2 2 1/2 kaš UŠ  
3 [ ]1 1/2 dug  
4 2 sila báppir  
5 ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu <sup>1</sup>ba-bi-li-i  
6 ta<sup>2</sup> u<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>-12-kam en [u<sub>4</sub>-x-ka]m

Lo. E.

- 7 MU [ ]

Rev.

- 8 [<sup>na4</sup>]kišib I<sup>[d]</sup>nin-urta-sum-a[h<sup>2</sup>-*he*]

References: Matthews 1992, 133 (no. **189**)

**CBS 13370 (P268449.jpg)**

Obv.

1	kaš UŠ	dug	𐎠𐎡𐎱𐎠	mu-bi-im
2	3			u <sub>4</sub> -17 <sup>1</sup> -kam eras.
3	3		2	u <sub>4</sub> -18-kam eras.
4	3			u <sub>4</sub> -19 <sup>1</sup> -kam
5	4 1/2			u <sub>4</sub> -20-kam
6	3			u <sub>4</sub> -21-kam
7		1		<sup>1</sup> ib-ni-iš <sub>8</sub> -tár
8	1/2			<sup>1</sup> sum- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu

Rev.

9	1			dumu <sup>1</sup> x x
10		1		<sup>1d</sup> amar-utu-mu-tuk-š <sup>i</sup>
11				
12	𐎠18𐎠	2	2	ak-lu <sub>4</sub>

13 [ ] x-ah-<sup>d</sup>U-[GUR]

14 [ ] x [na-zi-ma]-𐎠ru𐎠-taš

Rev.

15 mu-14-kam

References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. **148**, seal of Rīmūtu)

**CBS 13375 (P268454.jpg)**

Obv.

1	kaš UŠ	dug	báppir	mu-bi-i[m]
2	10			<sup>1</sup> su- <sup>d</sup> utu
3	6			dumu-munus é-ti
4	5 1/2			<sup>1</sup> sum- <sup>d</sup> iškur <sup>lu</sup> x
5				10 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
6	1 <sup>?</sup>			ki-is-pu
7	1			

Rev.

8	3			x x x x x
9				ta u <sub>4</sub> -29-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -2-kam x x IM <sup>?</sup>
10	1			<sup>l</sup> na-ah-zi- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
11				<sup>l</sup> ú-zib <sup>lu</sup> nar
12	1			é ša kaskal ta u <sub>4</sub> -29-kam
13	1			<sup>ld</sup> amar-utu-MU-x
14	pap 2 r9 1/2			[ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 133 (no. **189**)

**CBS 15016** (P269594.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 1 1/2 kaš UŠ  
 2 1 1/2 dug  
 3 4 síla báppir  
 4 ṛakṛ-[lu<sub>4</sub>/lu] ṛšur <sup>l</sup>na-ḫi-ra-nu  
 5 ṛ<sup>ti</sup>šur ta u<sub>4</sub>-7-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-20-kam  
 6 ṛmuṛ -2-kam <sup>d</sup>ku-dur-<sup>d</sup>en-líl

Rev.

- 7 <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>ld</sup>nin-urta-sum-ah-ḫe

References: Brinkman 1976a, 194 (IV?-20-year 20; days 7–20); Matthews 1992, 133 (no. **189**)

**N 957** (P276112.jpg)

Obv.

- 1' [ ] x x x LA  
 2' [ ] AD<sup>?</sup> kaskal ša 10 é-kur x x  
 3' [ ] ša nibru<sup>ki</sup>  
 4' [ ] <sup>uru</sup>arad-gašan

Lo. e.

- 5' [ ] uru ša 10 é-kur

Rev.

- 6' [ ] uru-ir-re-e  
 7' [ ] sag ní-g-ga <sup>l</sup>ḫa-ni-bu

8' [ ] 5,2.2.3 sila *ak-lu<sub>4</sub>*

9' [ ] 0,2.4. *re-ḫu*

10' [ ] x x-ṛkam

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**N 1981** (P277092.jpg)

U. E.

1 še *ak-lu<sub>4</sub>* ta <sup>it</sup>[ ]

Obv.

2	ṛše	gig	ÁŠ-AN-NA	x[ ]
3	[+]5,2.3.			[ ]
4	[ ]4,0.0.			[ ]
5	[ ]		4,0.0.	[ ]
6	[+]1,0.0.			[ ]
7	[+]1,0.0.		[ ]	[ ]
8	[ ]		[ ]	[ ]

broken

Rev.

9'	[ ]x	8,	1 me 1+x,	[ ]
10'	[ ]x	x.5.	2.4[+]	[ ]
11'	[ ]	ta 0,1.1.	ta 20[,x.x.]	[ ]

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**N 2023** (P277134.jpg)

Obv.

1' [ ] ki-min

2' [ ] KI-PA ta-bar-rù

3' [ ]x MAN/20 ki-min

4' x [ ] ši-pu

5' [ ] KA DU<sub>6</sub> ši-pu en 1 kaskal

6' [ ]x KA DU<sub>6</sub> nu ši-pu

7' [ ] KA DU<sub>6</sub>

- 8' [ ] TI-RI-GI en 1 kaskal en<sup>2</sup> ki-min  
ta-bar-rù
- 9' [ ] en 1 ša kaskal
- 10' [ ] sískur
- 11' [ ] TI-RI-GI
- 12' [ ] ki-min
- 13' [ ]

Broken

Rev.

- 14' [ ] x[ ]
- 15' [ ] x[ ]
- 16' [ ] x[ ]
- 17' [ ] x[ ]
- 18' [ ] x x x x[ ]
- 19' [ ] x TI-RI-GI x[ ]
- 20' [ ] x-tu<sub>4</sub> KI x ta-bar-rù
- 21' [ ] KA DU<sub>6</sub> e[n]
- 22' [ ] sískur en[ ]
- 23' [ ] x sískur
- 24' [ ] KI KA DU<sub>6</sub> en 1 kaskal
- 25' [ ] KI sískur en 1 kaskal
- 26' [ ] -t]u<sub>4</sub> KA DU<sub>6</sub> en 1 kaskal
- 27' [ ] KA DU<sub>6</sub> en 4
- 28' [ ] sískur
- 29' [ ] -t]u<sub>4</sub>

References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. 189)

N 2036 (P277147.jpg)

Obv.

1	[ ]		mu-b[i-im]
2	[ ]		šuk dumu <sup>1</sup> r <sup>d1</sup> [ ]
3	[ ] 6	1 PI	šuk <sup>1</sup> I[GI <sup>2</sup> ]
4	0,0.1.3.	0,0.2.	šuk <sup>1</sup> [ ]

5	0,0.1.3.	0,0.2.	šuk [     ]
6	0,0.1.3.	0,0.2.	šuk [     ]
7		0,0.4.	š[uk     ]
8	᠖᠒ ᠖᠓	x	x [     ]
9	0,0.2.1.	0,0.1[+.]	[     ]

Broken

Rev.

10'	<sup>na4</sup> kišib		<sup>ld</sup> nin-urta-[ <i>nādin-ahhē</i> ]
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References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. **189**)

**N 2266** (P277366.jpg)

Obv.

1 3 me 1-šu 6 báppir *qal-qal-lu<sub>4</sub>* QU-x  
 2 *ša* 0,0.3.3 1/2 síla x *i-na ú-ri* x x x  
 3 en 5 *qal-qal-lu<sub>4</sub>* LÁ  
 4 2 me 12 báppir ki-min *ša* 0,0.2. báppir  
 5 *i-na qí-bi* <sup>ld</sup>nin-sar-be-lí-ú-sur

Rev.

x ta u<sub>4</sub>-9-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-x-kam x  
 LU NI DU *i-na-aš-ša-ru*<sup>(766)</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-14-kam x  
 LU NI GUL<sup>2</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-14-kam  
 x <sup>d</sup>iškur IM-x x x

Rev.

6 šu-nigin 5 me 78 báppir *qá-al-qal-lu<sub>4</sub>* *ša*

Obv.

<sup>gis</sup>ba-an 7 síla *ša éš-᠖᠗᠒ ak-lu<sub>4</sub>* zi-ga ù x x

U. E.

7 [     ] *ru-ud-du-ú*

Left edge

8 [     ] x x x x x mu-10-kam x x

9 [*Burna-Burí*]-*ia-aš* lugal-᠖᠑

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text: Bu. 10), 347 (MUN 256: parallel), 349 (MUN 258: <sup>gis</sup>BA.AN), 449 (*sūt 7 qa*); CAD Q, 67 (*qalqalu*); R, 240 (*redû* A); S, 421 (*sūtu* A)

<sup>(766)</sup> The reading (*i-na-aš-ša-ru*) is courtesy of M. Stol.

N 2341 (P277435.jpg)

- 1' [ ] x \_\_\_\_\_  
2' [ ] 7 u<sub>4</sub>-mi  
3' [ ] x x \_\_\_\_\_  
4' [ ] -iš ak-lu<sub>4</sub> la a-ša-<sup>Γ</sup>bu<sup>Γ</sup>  
5' [ ] x-<sup>h</sup>u<sup>2</sup>-šu-nu

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

N 2432 (P277521.jpg)

Obv

Broken

Rev.

- 1' pap 13,1.0. <sup>giš</sup>bán 5 sila  
2' ak-lu<sub>4</sub> šu <sup>1</sup>eri-ba-d[ ]  
3' <sup>uru</sup>ku-ba-ri-in-<sup>Γ</sup>d<sup>1</sup> [é-a]  
4' <sup>iti</sup>zíz-A-AN  
5' mu-5-kam  
6' <sup>na4</sup>kišib <sup>1d</sup>en-líl-<sup>Γ</sup>AL<sup>Γ</sup>-[SA<sub>6</sub>]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. **148**); Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

N 2645 (P277724.jpg)

Obv.

- 1' 0,0.1.1 sila 1 <sup>Γ</sup>kuš<sup>Γ</sup> [máš]  
2' \_\_\_\_\_ x[ ] \_\_\_\_\_  
3' 4 sila éš-gàr GIŠ<sup>?</sup> x [ ] \_\_\_\_\_  
4' 2 sila éš-gàr 8 x [ ] \_\_\_\_\_  
5' 1 1/2 sila 7 kuš máš [ ]  
6' \_\_\_\_\_ ša kaskal \_\_\_\_\_  
7' 1/2 sila 2 kuš máš [ ]  
8' <sup>1d</sup>XXX-[<sup>aḥa</sup>-iddina]  
9' [ ] x NU x x [ ]  
10' [ ] x [ ]

Broken

Rev.

- 11' [ ] sila 1 ku[š máš]  
12' x  
13' 1 1/2 sila 3 kuš [máš]  
14' x x  
15' 1/2 sila 4 kuš [máš]  
16' 1/3 sila 3 kuš [máš]  
17' ša kaskal []  
18' 4 sila ì-nun x [ ]  
19' 1/2 sila x [ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. **189**)

**N 2714** (P277782.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 še *ak-lu* <sup>giš</sup>bán x[ ]  
2 en <sup>iti</sup>x[ ]  
3 še [ ]  
4 1 me 30[+ ]  
5 x [ ]

Broken

Rev.

- 6' 40 x[ ]

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**N 2872** (P277941.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 5,0.0. x[ ]  
2 ša ZU SU x x[ ]  
3 [+ ]1,2.0. DA <sup>giš</sup>má ša 23,1[+.x.]  
4 ša *ul-tu tukul-ti-é*[-kur]  
5 [x,+ ]1.4.5 sila ša 21,0.0. <sup>giš</sup>bán 10 sila



- 6 [ ] x x *é-nu ša* x [ ]  
 7 [ ] x [ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. **148**, seal of Rīmūtu ?)

**N 2907** (P277977.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 9,3.2.6 sila *ša* [ ]  
 2 *ak-lu<sub>4</sub>* <sup>ld</sup>maš-MU<sup>2</sup>-x [ ]  
 3 <sup>iti</sup>bár-zag-gar

Broken

Rev.

- 4' [lugal] [-e]  
 5' <sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>kišib <sup>1</sup>ri-[*mu-tu<sub>4</sub>*]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (seal of Rīmūtu)

**N 2982** (P278046.jpg)

Obv.

- 1' [ ]-AT<sup>2</sup> x  
 2' [ ] x <sup>ld</sup>dùg-*ab-ši*[*l-li<sup>d</sup>* ]  
 3' [ ]ki-lal/lá <sup>1</sup>SA-GAN-SI/IR-GAN-SI AM  
 4' [ ]ki-lal/lá <sup>1</sup>SA-GAN-SI/IR-GAN-SI AM  
 5' [ ]<sup>ld</sup>niraḥ-*na-din*-šeš[<sup>meš</sup>]  
 6' [ ] x x [ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 119 (no. **155**)

**N 3410** (P278445.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 [ ]-ZU *a-na* *é-gal lugal*<sup>1</sup>  
 2 [ ]-HAR-KUR-EN-KI  
 3 [ ]-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu *ša<sub>11</sub>* sag lugal

4 [ ]-rIR<sup>1</sup>-GI-HI *ša<sup>2</sup> a-na* x x

5 [ <sup>1</sup>ti<sup>2</sup> ]-su-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu

Broken

Rev.

6' [ ]-rRU<sup>2</sup>-KI-Γ

7' [ ]IGI <sup>1d</sup>ba-ba<sub>6</sub>-uru<sub>4</sub>-i<sup>š</sup>

8' [a/i]-na ha-re-e *ša<sup>d</sup>iš<sub>8</sub>-tár*

9' [ ]rLU<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-AM-dingir<sup>meš</sup> x

10' [ ]x-ú-a

11' [a]k<sup>2</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub> *ša* dumu <sup>1</sup>ka-lu-mi

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (Seal of Rīmūtu ?)

N **6310** (P280075.jpg)

A

1' x [ ]

2' 1,1.1. [ ]

3' 0,0.4. [ ]

4' 1,0.5. [ ]

5' 0,0.4[+ ]

6' pap [ ]

7' 0,0.3[+ ]

B

8' pap 0,4.3[+ ]

9' 1,2.3. [ ]

10' 1,0.0. [ ]

11' 1,0.0. [ ]

12' 0,1 PI[ ]

13' 0,3.2. [ ]

14' 6,1.0. [ ]

15' 1,2[+.x. ]

References: Matthews 1992, 123 (no. **164**)

**N 6573 (P280332.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 [zì]-da *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub> ta [ ]
- 2 *ša*<sup>iti</sup>du<sub>6</sub>-kù e[n ]
- 3 *ša*<sup>iti</sup>api[n ]
- 4 0,0.4. x [ ]

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**UM 29-13-427a (P255390.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1 3 kaš sag
- 2 12 kaš UŠ
- 3 <sup>l</sup>*ša*-dingir-*ba-na-a*
- 4 <sup>iti</sup>gan-gan-è

Lo. e.

- 5 u<sub>4</sub>-20-kam

Rev.

- 6 mu-24-kam
- 7 <sup>l</sup>*ga-ma-al*-<sup>d</sup>XXX-*lu-mur*
- 8 in-sar

**UM 29-13-683 (P255607.jpg)**

Obv.

1	x x x x x x	
2	x x x x x	
3	dumu <sup>l</sup> x x x x MI x	
4	5 me 1- <i>šu</i>	mu-3-kam [ ]x
5	5 me 1- <i>šu</i>	mu-4-kam [ ]
6	5 me	mu-5-kam [ ]
7	pap 1 IGI 6 me 20	mu-5-kam x x
8	11	mu-1[+]-kam
9	39	mu-4[+]-kam

10	32	mu-4[+]-kam
11	pap 85 x x	x x x
12	pap 21 [	] ʀtaʀ bād-ku-ri-gal-zu
13	pap 99	i-na šà ki-min [ ] ša kur a-ab-ba x x x
14	11	ša x [ ] x x x x
15	7	ša [ ] <sup>ld</sup> x MI UR x
16	[	] DIŠ EŠ DU
17	[ ]	x[ ] <sup>ld</sup> XXX-ʀeri-baʀ [ ]
18	[	] x x x
19	[	] x x x
20	[	] x

Broken

Rev.

21'	[	] x <sup>ld</sup> nuska-[ ] x
22'	[	] sískur <sup>meš</sup> ša 3 mu-ḫi-a
23'	[	] sískur x x x TA x x
24'	2 me 17	kuš ri-ri-ga ša 3 mu <sup>meš</sup>
25'	3	AD [ ] ša ki pi-i gú-en-na
26'		a-na é dingir šu-ru-bu
27'	14	íb-tag <sub>4</sub> x x-ḫa-ru-ti
28'	pap 2 IGI 12	gu <sub>4</sub> -nínda <sup>meš</sup> ak-lu <sub>4</sub> šu dumu <sup>ld</sup> dingir-mu-x x
29'		ta mu-3-kam en mu-5-kam
30'		ša-ga-rak-te-šu-ri-ia-aš ʀlugalʀ

References: Brinkman 1976a, 294 ( -year 5; years 3–5 of RN), 307 (*ša-ga-rak-te-šu-ri-ia-aš*);  
Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**UM 29-13-869 (P255743)**

Obv.

- 1 x x
- 2 qé-mu šá ni tu[m (?)]
- 3 ša a-rad lugal
- 4 <sup>ld</sup>amar-utu-n[<sup>i?</sup> ]
- 5 <sup>iti</sup>bá[r-za]g-gar u<sub>4</sub>-ʀ26ʀ-kam

Lo. E.

6 mu-15-kam

References: Brinkman 1976, 413 (*arād šarri*)

**UM 29-13-907** (P255777.jpg)

Obv.

- 1 10<sup>2</sup>,3.1.2 sila zì-da [ ]
- 2 4,2.5. ŠE-MAŠ/BAR
- 3 *ak-lu*<sub>4</sub><sup>1d</sup>nin-urta-[*nādin-ahhē*]
- 4 [ ]è-DIŠ-zálag-<sup>d</sup>ṛiškur<sup>1</sup>
- 5 [*ištu* u<sub>4</sub>-+]6-kam ša<sup>iti</sup>apin
- 6 [*adi* u<sub>4</sub>-x]-kam ša<sup>iti</sup>gan

Lo. E.

- 7 eras. x
- 8 x

Rev.

- 9 [*kunuk* <sup>1</sup>]d<sup>1</sup>nin-urta-sum-*ah-ḥe*

References: Matthews 1992, 134 (no. **189**)

**UM 29-13-946** (P255814.jpg)

Obv.

1'	[ ]	]ṛDIŠ <i>ki-is-pu</i> ta u <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> [-x-kam]
2'		en u <sub>4</sub> -29-kam
3'		1 sila LAGAB×U munu <sub>5</sub> LAL-LA-SI <sup>2</sup>
4'		0,1.1. LAGAB×U munu <sub>5</sub> <i>a-na</i> TIL-TU[M <sup>2</sup> ]
5'		0,1.4. <sup>giš</sup> bán gal níg-àr-ṛra <sup>1</sup>

Lo. E.

6'	4	[ ]
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Rev.

7'	1	šuk ṛanše <sup>2</sup> -kur <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> [-ra]
8'	pap 16	0,1.1.4 sila <i>ak</i> -[ <i>lu</i> <sub>4</sub> ]
9'		0,1.4. níg-àr-ra kišib <sup>2</sup> [ ]
10'		<sup>iti</sup> NE-gar mu-15-[-kam]

11'		𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 -mu-x
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References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148)

**UM 29-15-54 (P255908.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1' [ ] x x x [ ]  
2' [ ] x x x [ ]  
3' [ ] TAR AN [ ]  
4' [ ] ša [ ] x x u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam  
5' [ ] x A-AN x x x u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam  
6' [ ] <sup>l</sup>d x x x GI x x  
7' [ ] ta u<sub>4</sub>-24-kam en u<sub>4</sub>-[x-kam]  
8' [ ] x x x x x  
9' [ ] x x x x  
10' [ ] 3 u<sub>4</sub>-mi  
11' [ ] dumu šip-ri ša <sup>l</sup>u<sub>4</sub> x [ ]  
12' [ ] dumu šip-ri ša dumu <sup>l</sup>ka-x [ ]  
13' [ ] -še-en mu-un-na-ab-[tu<sub>4</sub>]  
14' [ ] x-na-ba-ti x x [ ]  
15' [ ] x x x [ ]

Rev.

- 16' [ ] x x x [ ]  
17' [ ] x x x x [ ]  
18' [ ] x [ ]  
19' [ ] ú [ ] x x x  
20' [ ] x <sup>iti</sup>šú<sup>?</sup> x x en u<sub>4</sub>-3-kam  
21' [ ] x iti [ ] x x a-na  
22' [ ] <sup>l</sup>ka-ab-x x lú x x  
23' [ ] x x A x x x x  
24' [+2,0.3. še <sup>gis</sup>bán 5 [sila]  
25' <sup>l</sup>ha-[ ]-x-ta-x  
26' ša <sup>iti</sup>šú-numun-na x [ ]  
27' ša <sup>iti</sup>gan-gan-[na/è]  
28' 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 -[taš]

References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148)

**UM 29-15-154 + UM 29-16-178 (P255992.jpg)**

Obv.

- 1' [ ] x x  
2' [ ] x-DU-DU  
3' [ ] x, 11.4. <sup>1</sup>a-na-síl-lí-šu-e-mid  
4' [ ] -ia-tu<sub>4</sub>  
5' [ ] iš<sub>8</sub>-tár<sup>meš</sup>  
6' [ ] XXX/eš-ši NU IG  
7' [ ] x GIŠ KU x x x x  
8' [ ] MAŠ/BAR GIŠ x  
9' [ ] x x u<sub>4</sub><sup>?-4?</sup>  
10' [ ] GI  
11' [ ] MAŠ/BAR  
12' [ ] x-tu<sub>4</sub>  
13' [ ]  
14' [ ] MAŠ/BAR-ni  
15' [ ] -be-lí  
16' [ ] UŠ<sup>?</sup> x  
17' [ ] AN  
18' [ ] -dù-a  
19' [ ] <sup>1</sup>mi-na]-dù-uš-dingir  
20' [ ] x-x-hi-a ša é <sup>1d</sup>en-líl-sum-šeš<sup>meš</sup>  
21' [ ] x <sup>d</sup>XXX-iš-man-ni sipa x  
22' [ ] x-<sup>d</sup>iškur  
23' [ ] -mu-ú  
24' [ ] [ša<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ka-dáš-man-ši-HU  
25' [ ] š]a-du-še-en-ni  
26' [ ] LU-TI x
- Rev.
- 27' [ ] x dumu <sup>1</sup>sum-<sup>d</sup>U-GUR  
28' [ ] x x x  
29' [ ] <sup>1</sup>hu]-mu-rù

30' [ ]<sup>l</sup>di-ku<sub>5</sub>-<sup>d</sup>amar-utu

31' [ ]-ni/<sup>l</sup>i-eri-ba

32' [ ]-bi-ia

33' [ ]<sub>x</sub> LA<sup>?</sup> MA<sup>?</sup> a<sup>?</sup>-na<sup>?</sup> <sup>d</sup>XXX

space

34' [ ]-šeš<sup>?</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub>

References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. **148**)

### UM 29-15-548 (P256305.jpg)

Obv.

1 0,1.2. <sup>l</sup>ki-nu-te x

2 a-na uš-bar

3 šu <sup>l</sup>be-la-nu

Lo. e.

4 ša <sup>iti</sup>kin-dingir

5 ša mu-7-kam

Rev.

6 še-ba im-ma-*ḥ*ar

References: Matthews 1992, 123 (no. **164**)

### UM 29-15-685 (P256402.jpg)

Obv.

1	níg-lal/lá gígir <sup>?</sup> ŠE <sup>?</sup> -MAŠ/BAR <sup>giš</sup> bán 5 sila ša šuk anše-kur-ra x x			
2	26 1/2	2,3.1.3 sila	ki-min	u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam
3	26 1/2	2,3.1.3 sila	ki-min	u <sub>4</sub> -2-kam
4	26 1/2	2,3.1.3 sila	ki-min	u <sub>4</sub> -3-kam
5	2 1/2	0,2.3.	pa-ru-ú ta u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -3-kam	
6		0,3.2.	šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>meš</sup>	
7			ša a-na ši-tu-la <sup>ki</sup>	
8			ù x x x KI BI x x LU	
9	1/2	1 PI	ki-min ša U šuk [ ]x	
10			<sup>l</sup> dù-šá <sup>-d</sup> amar-utu ta [u <sub>4</sub> -x]-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -4-kam	



11		0,0.4.	<sup>ld</sup> maš-mu-šal-lim ta u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam
12			en u <sub>4</sub> -4-kam
13		0,3.0.	<sup>ld</sup> XXX-sum-mu dumu <sup>ld</sup> amar-utu <sup>2</sup> -lugal ki-min
14		0,0.4.	<sup>l</sup> ib-ni- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu a-zu ki-min
15		1 PI	<sup>l</sup> arad-gašan-ti ninda-kaskal
16			rdumu <sup>1</sup> <sup>l</sup> su-ḫa-a-a-ú u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam u <sub>4</sub> -2-kam
17	[		]r <sup>l</sup> x x x <sup>1</sup> a-zu

Rev.

18		5,0.0.	šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>mes</sup>
19			<sup>l</sup> x x x 2 u <sub>4</sub> -mi <sup>2</sup>
20			ki <sup>2</sup> -mu <sup>2</sup> <sup>l</sup> x x-ki-ih-ḫi-ú
21	pap	13,2.1.6 sila	šuk anše-kur-ra <sup>mes</sup>
22			ù zi-ga
23			<sup>iti</sup> bár-zag-gar
24			ta u <sub>4</sub> -1-kam en u <sub>4</sub> -3-kam
25			mu-8-kam
26			[na-z]i-mu-ru-ut-taš
27			<sup>ld</sup> en-líl-MÚŠ- <sup>uru</sup> za-bi
28			nibru <sup>ki</sup>
29	[	<sup>na4</sup> kišib <sup>l</sup> j <sup>d</sup>	en-líl-AL-SA <sub>6</sub>

References: Brinkman 1976a, 270 (I-3-year 8; days 1–3), 285 ([ ( )na-z]i-mu-ru-ut-taš); Matthews 1992, 112 (no. **148**); Sassmannshausen 2001, 72 n. 1167 (*asû*), 185 n. 3133 (tablet with date)

Parallel: MRWH no. 31

### UM 29-15-691 (P256408.jpg)

Obv.

1	1	utua
2	37	áb-gal
3	7	áb mu-3
4	9	áb mu-2
5	16	áb ga
6	9	amar ga
7	pap 79	<sup>ld</sup> en-x-[ ]

8                    šu <sup>1</sup>at-kal-x[    ]

9                    <sup>1</sup>ši-in-[            ]

Rev.

Broken

10'    x x [                    ]

11'    ḥa-za-ṛan-na<sup>2</sup>ṛ x

12'    x x x x Ú<sup>2</sup> x x

13'    <sup>1</sup>úsipa Ú-MA/BA x x x

14'    A x ḥa-za-an-na x

15'    <sup>1</sup>úsipa ḤI x x NA<sup>2</sup> I<sup>2</sup> x

16'    TUR ḥa-za-an-ni áb-gal-ḥi-a x

17'    TUR udu-ḥi-a ṛTUR<sup>2</sup> 1 še-ḥe-er ṛ5ṛ

18'    še-ḥe-er TA ŠU A 12 x x x

19'    TUR x RA-ŠU-UL 11 TA x x

References: Matthews and Brinkman 1990, 83–84 no. 103

### UM 29-15-713 (P256430.jpg)

Obv.

1	zi-da	kaš sag	kaš UŠ	dug	šá <sup>2</sup>	níg-àr-	še	<sup>iti</sup> gan-g[an-è]
2					báppir	ra		
3	0,1.2.	ṛx,x.+1.ṛ	0,0.3.				0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -7-[kam]
4	0,1.4.	ṛx,x.+2.ṛ	0,0.5.		1/2 sila	1/2 sila	0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -8-kam
5	0,1.4.	ṛx,x.+1.ṛ	0,0.4.		1/2 sila	1/2 sila	0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -9-kam
6	0,1.2.	ṛx,x.x.ṛ	0,0.4.		1/2 sila	1/2 sila	0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -10-kam
7	0,1.2.	ṛx,x.+1.ṛ	0,0.4.		1/2 sila	1/2 sila	0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -11-kam
8	0,1.2.	ṛx,x.3.ṛ	0,0.4.		1/2 sila	1/2 sila	0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -12-kam
9	[x,x.+]1.	ṛx,x.+1.ṛ	0,0.4.				0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -13-kam
10	[                    ]		0,0.4.				0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -14-kam
11	[                    ]		0,0.5.		1/2 sila	1/2 sila	0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -15-kam
12	[                    ]		ṛ0,0.5.ṛ				0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -16-ka[m]
13	[                    ]						0,2.5.	u <sub>4</sub> -1[7-kam]

broken

Rev.

14'				[				]
15'								x PA <sup>2</sup> x x NI <sup>2</sup> x x
16'	0,0.3.		0,0.4.				0,1.4.	dumu šip-ri ša <sup>1</sup> tu-[ ]
17'	0,0.3.						0,1.2.	<sup>l</sup> dutu-di-ku <sub>5</sub>
18'	1 sila						0,0.2.	SAG x x x
19'	pap 3,3.0.	0,3.3.	2,1.2.	3	3 sila	3 sila	7,0.0.	ak-lu <sub>4</sub> ù[ ]
20'	1 sila							<sup>i</sup> i gan-gan- rē <sup>1</sup>

References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148)

**UM 29-16-154 (P256746.jpg)**

A

Col. i'

- 1' [ ]x 8-kam<sup>2</sup>  
2' [ ] ta-kil-tu<sub>4</sub>  
3' [ ]-ta-tu<sub>4</sub>  
4' [ ] ša kaskal  
5' [ ]x ša kaskal  
6' [ ]-ta-tu<sub>4</sub>  
7' [ ]x KA  
8' [ ]t]a-kil-tu<sub>4</sub>  
9' [ ]x KA  
10' [ ]x  
11' [ ]-t]u<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>

Col. ii'

- 1' [ ] rúg<sup>1</sup> ki-min [ ]  
2' 4 túg ki-min [ ]  
3' 3 túg ki-min [ ]  
4' 2 túg ki-min [ ]  
5' 3 túg ki-min [ ]  
6' 5 túg ki-min ta-kil-lim[ ]  
7' 59 túg ki-min [ ]  
8' 1-šu 2 túg qúl-qúl muš<sup>2</sup>-š[e-]  
9' 3 túg ki-min muš<sup>2</sup>-š[e-]

10'	<u>14</u>	<u>túg qúl-qúl-lu<sub>4</sub> [ ]</u>
11'	<u>5</u>	<u>túg me-šen SIG<sub>4</sub>? KA? x[ ]</u>
12'	<u>52</u>	<u>túg ki-min kam-lu<sub>4</sub> [ ]</u>
13'	<u>72</u>	<u>túg ki-min kam-lu<sub>4</sub> [ ]</u>
14'	<u>50</u>	<u>túg ki-min GAL x[ ]</u>
15'	<u>33</u>	<u>túg ki-min GAL x[ ]</u>
16'	14	túg ki-min síg h́é-me-da GAL <u>x[ ]</u>
17'	<u>5</u>	<u>túg me-šen ú-x GAL [ ]</u>
18'	<u>[+3]</u>	<u>túg me-šen KA [ ]</u>
19'	<u>[ ]</u>	<u>x x x x [ ]</u>

B

Col. iii'

1'	<u>[ ]</u>	<u>túg x[ ]</u>
2'	<u>2</u>	<u>túg ki-min [ ]</u>
3'	<u>1</u>	<u>túg ki-min [ ]</u>
4'	<u>13</u>	<u>túg ki-min [ ] x x</u>
5'	<u>ṛ3ṛ</u>	<u>túg ki-min GIŠ/PA kir<sub>4</sub> gùn</u>
6'	2	túg ki-min GIŠ/PA kir <sub>4</sub> gùn
7'	1	túg ki-min GIŠ/PA kir <sub>4</sub> gùn
8'	1	túg ki-min GIŠ/PA kir <sub>4</sub> gùn
9'	13	túg ZU ŠU kir <sub>4</sub> gùn
10'	<u>3</u>	<u>túg ZU ŠU</u>
11'	<u>76</u>	<u>túg x kir<sub>4</sub> kir<sub>4</sub> gùn gùn</u>
12'	<u>11</u>	<u>túg ki-min kir<sub>4</sub></u>
13'	3	túg ki-min kir <sub>4</sub> <u>KA-KAR-IGI BABBAR</u>
14'	<u>4</u>	<u>túg ki-min kir<sub>4</sub> KA-KAR-IGI</u>
15'	<u>5</u>	<u>túg ki-min kir<sub>4</sub> TI-RI-GI</u>

- 16' 1 túg ki-min kir<sub>4</sub> ta-bar-rù  
BABBAR KI[]  
17' [ ] túg ki-min kir<sub>4</sub> GIŠ/PA ši-pu  
18' [ ] ʀtúg<sup>1</sup> ki-min kir<sub>4</sub> GIŠ/PA  
19' [ ] x x x [ ]

Col. iv'

- 1' [ ] x  
2' [ ] x BABBAR  
3' [ ] x<sup>meš</sup>  
4' [ ] x x x  
5' [ ] x x x SAG  
6' [ ] x x x MAŠ/BAR  
7' [ ] x KAM  
8' [ ] x  
9' [ ] x

References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. **189**)

**UM 29-16-156** (P256748.jpg)

Obv.

- 2 [ ] x MU<sup>?</sup>-<sup>d</sup>iškur  
3 [ ] 2 sila<sup>?</sup> x x x

References: Matthews 1992, 123 (no. **164**)

**UM 29-16-158** (P256750.jpg)

A

1'	[ ]				x x [ ]
2'	[ ]	6 <sup>?</sup>			<sup>iti</sup> du <sub>6</sub> -kù [ ]
3'	[ ]	11			<sup>l</sup> su- <sup>d</sup> [utu]
4'	[ ]	6			dumu-munus é[- <sup>ti</sup> ]
5'	[ ]				<sup>l</sup> ib-nu-[tu]
6'	[ ]				ki-is-[pu ištu <sup>?</sup> ]

7'	[ ]	]			u <sub>4</sub> -30 en [u <sub>4</sub> -x-kam <sup>2</sup> ]
8'	[ ]	]	1/2 <sup>2</sup>		A <sup>2</sup> -x[ ]
9'	[ ]	]			x[ ]
10'	[ ]	]			[ ]
11'	[ ]	]			[ ]

B

12'	[ ]	]			
13'	[ ]	]			
14'	[ ]	]	2		x[ ]
15'	[ ]	]	4		<sup>1</sup> ŠA-[ ]
16'	[ ]	]			<sup>1</sup> x x-[ ]
17'	[ ]	]			dumu <sup>1</sup> lú-[ ]
18'	[ ]	]	3		<sup>iti</sup> bára [ ]
19'	[ ]	]			<sup>1</sup> su-[ <sup>d</sup> utu]
20'	[ ]	]			<< <sup>1</sup> >> dumu-munus é[- <i>ti</i> ]
21'	[ ]	]			dumu-munus <sup>1</sup> sum-[ ]
22'	[ ]	]	+]2 r1/2 <sup>2</sup> ᵛ		<sup>1d</sup> XXX-muš-[ <i>tēšir</i> ]
23'			r3ᵛ		<sup>1</sup> ᵗa-bi-[ <i>ia</i> ]
24'			r1ᵛ		x rKAR <sup>2</sup> ᵛ [ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. 189)

UM 29-16-347 (P256866.jpg)

Obv.

1	[ka]š	dug	báppir
2	0,1.3.		1 sila
3	[x,+]1.4.		1 sila
4	[x,x.]r4.ᵛ		

Broken

Rev.

5'			
6'			
7'			

8'	pap 2,1.1.	9	6 sìla
9'	3 sìla		

10' ta u<sub>4</sub>-30-kam e[n ]

11' ak-lu<sub>4</sub> ù [ ]

u. e.

12' <sup>ii</sup>NE-gar

References: Sasmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**UM 29-16-378** (P256892.jpg)

Obv.

1' [ ] x x x [ ]

2' [ ] x-qar-rad [ ]

3' [ ] -]šá<sup>d</sup>nin-ìmma x [ ]

4' [ ] en u<sub>4</sub>-22-kam

5' [ ] 2 <sup>lu</sup>a-bal ta gu<sub>4</sub> r x x Ú NΓ

6' [ ] <sup>l</sup>arad<sup>d</sup>amar-utu *i-din*

7' [ ] x,x.]2. dumu <sup>l</sup>šeš-dù

8' [ ] 10<sup>2</sup>,3<sup>2</sup>.0. <sup>f</sup>man-nu-le-ú-ša

Lo. E.

9' \_\_\_\_\_ šuk udu-níta

Rev.

10' [x,]1.2. <sup>ld</sup>utu-šes-sum-na

11' [x,x.]2. <sup>l</sup>ria<sup>l</sup>-ú-ba-ni

12' [x,x.]r2.γ dumu <sup>l</sup>hu-ut<sup>d</sup>ba-ba<sub>6</sub>

13' [ ] <sup>lu</sup>a-bal

14' [ ] r<sup>l</sup> si-kil-tu<sub>4</sub>

15' [ ] x a-geštin-na

16' [ ] x UB x [ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. **148**)

**UM 29-16-593** (P257037.jpg)

Obv.

1'	[		u <sub>4</sub> -2]8-kam
2'	[		u <sub>4</sub> ]-29-kam
3'	[	x,+]1.4.	pa-ru-ú 4 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
4'	[	x,+]2.4.	<sup>1</sup> eri-ba- <sup>d</sup> U-GUR 2 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
5'	[	x,+]2.4.	<sup>1</sup> dù-šá- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu
6'	1/2	0,1.2.	dumu <sup>1</sup> ap-pa-a-a-e
7'	1/2	0,0.4.	dumu <sup>1</sup> dingir-sum-na kù-dim
8'	1	0,1.2.	<sup>1</sup> ib-ni- <sup>d</sup> iš-tar
9'	2	0,0.4.	dumu <sup>1</sup> ma-la- <i>ḫi</i>
10'	1	0,0.4.	<sup>1</sup> mu-ra-nu 2 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
11'	[	]x	dumu <sup>1</sup> KUR-x x x
12'	[	]	x x x x
13'	[	]	] x x x x

Broken

Rev.

14'		0,0.᠖2.᠗ [	]
15'	4 1/2	0,1.3.	[
16'	2	0,0.4.	dumu ᠖x x x <sup>᠗</sup> -šub-ši x x x
17'	1	0,0.2.	<sup>1</sup> a-ḫu-ú-a-ba-ni 2 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
18'	1 NIN	0,1.2.	<sup>1</sup> ri-mu-tu <sub>4</sub> 4 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
19'	1 ki-min	0,1'.2.	<sup>1</sup> arad-nu-bat-ti ki-min
20'	[ ] ki-min	0,0.4.	<sup>1</sup> mu-še-zib- <sup>d</sup> amar-utu <sup>lú</sup> lunga <sup>??</sup> 3 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
21'	[ ]	᠖0,0.4.᠗	<sup>1</sup> be-la-nu 4 u <sub>4</sub> -mi
22'	[	]	dumu <sup>1</sup> za-ki-ri 4 u <sub>4</sub> -mi

23' [ <sup>giš</sup>]᠖bán<sup>᠗</sup> 5 sila

24' [ ]᠖meš<sup>᠗</sup>

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. 148)

UM 29-16-629 (P257065.jpg)

Obv.

1	um-ma	maḫ	ak	r[e	]
2	-tu <sub>4</sub>	-rù	-lu <sub>4</sub>	[-ḫu	]
3	0,0.1.3.	0,0.1.3.			[ ]



4	0,0.1.3.	0,0.1.3.			[ ]
5	0,0.1.3.	0,0.1.3.			[ ]
6	0,0.1.3.[		]	[	]

Broken

7'	0,0.2.Γ2.Γ	[			]
8'	0,0.1.1.	0,0.2.1.	[		]
9'	0,0.1.1.				[ ]
10'	x				x x

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**UM 29-16-678 (P257104.jpg)**

Obv.

1'	[ ]		u <sub>4</sub> -7-[kam]
2'	[ ]		u <sub>4</sub> -8-kam
3'	[ ]		u <sub>4</sub> -12-kam
4'	[ ]		u <sub>4</sub> -13-kam
5'	[ ]		u <sub>4</sub> -Γ12Γ[+]-kam
6'	[ ]		x [ ] x x
7'	[ ]		x x x

Broken

8'	[ ]		x x x x
9'	[ ]		<i>a-na</i> <sup>uru</sup> arad-gašan <sup>ki</sup>
10'	[ ]	0,0.1. x	x a-gàr x GIŠ KAM/ĤI
11'	[ ]		<sup>l</sup> ta-bi-ia
12'	[ ]		dumu-munus <sup>l</sup> ki-rib-ti- <sup>d</sup> en-líl
13'	[ ]	0,1.1.3	silá kaš UŠ
14'	[ ]	<i>ak-lu<sub>4</sub></i>	u <sub>4</sub> <sup>2</sup> -Γ2Γ[+]-kam <sup>2</sup> itiΓdu <sub>6</sub> Γ
15'	[ ]	x x	[ ]

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

**UM 29-16-698 (P257121.jpg)**

Obv.

1	[ka]š UŠ	dug	níg-àr-ra	lagab munu <sub>5</sub> [ ]
2		5	0,0.1.	0,0.1.
3		3		
4		1		

Broken

Rev.

5'			x	x
6'		x	x	
7'	22 1/2	41	0,1.5.	0,0.4.

8' en 5 sag 4 GIŠ

9' <sup>iti</sup>bár-zag-gar

u. e.

10' mu-23-kam

11' <sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>kišib l[ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. 148)

**UM 29-16-731 (P257150.jpg)**

Obv.

1	[ ]	še <sup>giš</sup> bán 5 sila mu-bi-im
2	[ ]	1,0.2. <sup>iti</sup> NE-NE-gar
3	[ ]	0,1 PI.0.1 sila u <sub>4</sub> -22-kam
4	[ ]	u <sub>4</sub> -x-kam <sup>iti</sup> kin
5	[ ]	u <sub>4</sub> -x-kam
6	[ ]	

Rev.

7'	[ ]	x x
8'	[ ]	0,4.0. x x x x x
9'	[ ]	0,0.3. u <sub>4</sub> -29-kam
10'	[ ]	0,0.3.3 sila <sup>1</sup> ŠE-SI/SIG-ŠÚ
11'	[ ]	0,0.1. NE <sup>2</sup> /GISAL <sup>2</sup> -TAB <sup>2</sup> -BI-I
12'	[ ]	0,0.0.4 sila URUDU <sup>2</sup> -MAŠ/BAR-HA

13' []x 0,0.1. u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam

u. e.

14' []x x 3,3.5.4. šu-nigin 4,0.2. *ak-lu<sub>4</sub>*

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: *aklu*)

## Concordance

### Seal impressions

Matthews no. <b>55</b> = Stiehler no. 60	BE 14 no. 27 (Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> )
Matthews no. <b>61</b> = Stiehler no. 193	BE 14 no. 48a (Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> )
Matthews no. <b>146</b> = Stiehler no. 277	BE 14 no. 53 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
Matthews no. <b>148</b> = Stiehler no. 283	BE 14 no. 55 (Matthews no. <b>162</b> )
Matthews no. <b>155</b> = Stiehler no. 299	BE 14 no. 56 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Matthews no. <b>156</b> = Stiehler no. 298	BE 14 no. 56a ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Matthews no. <b>157</b> = Stiehler no. 317	BE 14 no. 61 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Matthews no. <b>161</b> = Stiehler no. 300	BE 14 no. 64 (Rīmūtu)
Matthews no. <b>162</b> = Stiehler no. 297	BE 14 no. 64 (Rīmūtu)
Matthews no. <b>164</b> = Stiehler no. 323	BE 14 no. 70 (Rīmūtu)
Matthews no. <b>187</b> = Stiehler no. 251	BE 14 no. 71 (Rīmūtu)
Matthews no. <b>188</b> = Stiehler no. 254	BE 14 no. 75 (Rīmūtu)
Matthews no. <b>189</b> = Stiehler no. 233	BE 14 no. 78 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
	BE 14 no. 80 (Rīmūtu)
	BE 14 no. 80a (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
	BE 14 no. 81 (Rīmūtu)
Stiehler no. 60 = Matthews no. <b>55</b>	BE 14 no. 82 (Rīmūtu)
Stiehler no. 193 = Matthews no. <b>61</b>	BE 14 no. 83 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
Stiehler no. 233 = Matthews no. <b>189</b>	BE 14 no. 85 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
Stiehler no. 251 = Matthews no. <b>187</b>	BE 14 no. 87 (Rīmūtu)
Stiehler no. 254 = Matthews no. <b>188</b>	BE 14 no. 87a (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
Stiehler no. 277 = Matthews no. <b>146</b>	BE 14 no. 97 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Stiehler no. 283 = Matthews no. <b>148</b>	BE 14 no. 99a ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Stiehler no. 297 = Matthews no. <b>162</b>	BE 14 no. 116 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
Stiehler no. 298 = Matthews no. <b>156</b>	BE 14 no. 133 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Stiehler no. 299 = Matthews no. <b>155</b>	BE 14 no. 144 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Stiehler no. 300 = Matthews no. <b>161</b>	BE 14 no. 167 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Stiehler no. 317 = Matthews no. <b>157</b>	BE 14 no. 168 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Stiehler no. 323 = Matthews no. <b>164</b>	BE 14 no. 168 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)

### Documents

The documents listed below are discussed in the indicated section of this study.

BE 14 no. 21 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)

BE 15 no. 1 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
BE 15 no. 2 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
BE 15 no. 8 (Matthews no. **162**)  
BE 15 no. 9 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
BE 15 no. 12 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
BE 15 no. 14 (Matthews no. **162**)  
BE 15 no. 15 (Matthews no. **61**)

BE 15 no. 16 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 17 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 18 (Matthews no. **61**)  
 BE 15 no. 21 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 23 (Matthews no. **61**)  
 BE 15 no. 25 (Matthews no. **61**)  
 BE 15 no. 27 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 31 (Matthews no. **61**)  
 BE 15 no. 33 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 34 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 46 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 48c (Matthews no. **162**)  
 BE 15 no. 60 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 65 (Matthews no. **161**)  
 BE 15 no. 70 (Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub>)  
 BE 15 no. 74 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 79 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 90 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 102 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 137 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 146 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 148 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BE 15 no. 171 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 BM 82651 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 MRWH 14 (Matthews no. **164**)  
 MRWH 18 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 19 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 20 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 21 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 22 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 23 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 24 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 25 (Matthews no. **187**)  
 MRWH 26 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 MRWH 27 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 MRWH 28 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 29 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 30 (Matthews no. **146**)  
 MRWH 31 (Matthews no. **164**)  
 MRWH 34 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MRWH 68 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 MSKH no. 4 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 MSKH no. 17 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 MSKH no. 19 (19.6.1.3. *arād šarri u elē šarri*)  
 MSKH no. 20 (19.6.1.3. *arād šarri*)  
 MSKH no. 22 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 MUN 97 (*aklu* doc. w/o seal impression)  
 MUN 99 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)  
 MUN 100 (Rīmūtu)  
 MUN 118 (Matthews no. **164**)  
 MUN 123 (Rīmūtu)  
 MUN 155 (Matthews no. **164**)  
 MUN 156 (Rīmūtu)  
 MUN 157 (Rīmūtu)  
 MUN 158 (Rīmūtu)  
 MUN 159 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)  
 MUN 160 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)  
 MUN 162 (Rīmūtu)  
 MUN 164 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 165 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 166 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 167 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 168 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 169 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 170 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 171 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 172 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 173 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 174 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 175 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 176 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)  
 MUN 177 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)

MUN 178 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 216 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 179 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 217 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 180 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 218 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 181 (Matthews no. <b>157</b> )	MUN 219 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 182 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 220 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 183 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 223 (Rīmūtu)
MUN 184 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 224 (Rīmūtu)
MUN 185 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 225 (Rīmūtu)
MUN 186 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 226 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 188 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 227 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 189 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 228 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 190 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 229 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 191 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 230 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 192 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 231 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 193 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression and Matthews no. <b>146</b> )	MUN 232 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 194 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 233 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 197 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 234 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 198 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 235 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 199 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)	MUN 236 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 200 (Rīmūtu)	MUN 237 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 201 (Rīmūtu)	MUN 238 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 202 (Rīmūtu)	MUN 239 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 203 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	MUN 240 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 204 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 241 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 205 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 242 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 206 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 243 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 207 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 244 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 208 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 245 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 209 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 246 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 210 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 247 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 211 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 248 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 212 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 249 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 213 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 250 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 214 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 251 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
MUN 215 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)	MUN 252 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)
	MUN 253 (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē)

MUN 254 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	RT 19, no. 70, p. 56 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 255 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	
MUN 259 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 2109 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 260 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 2111 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 261 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 2129 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 262 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 2328 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 263 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3000 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 264 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3019 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 265 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3081 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 266 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3090 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 267 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3091 (Matthews no. <b>142</b> )
MUN 268 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3099 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 269 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	CBS 3103 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 274 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	CBS 3105 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 278 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3128 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, <i>iškaru</i> )
MUN 279 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3131 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē, <i>iškaru</i> )
MUN 280 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	CBS 3136 (Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> )
MUN 324 (Matthews no. <b>61</b> )	CBS 3275 (Matthews no. <b>162</b> )
MUN 325 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3296 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 326 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	CBS 3319 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 442 (Rīmūtu)	CBS 3529 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 446 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)	CBS 3713 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 449 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3738 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
MUN 450 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 3818 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
PBS 2/2 no. 20 (Matthews no. <b>164</b> )	CBS 4903 (Matthews no. <b>164</b> )
PBS 2/2 no. 22 (Matthews no. <b>164</b> )	CBS 7160 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
PBS 2/2 no. 24 (Matthews no. <b>156</b> )	CBS 7233 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
PBS 2/2 no. 34 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	CBS 7262 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
PBS 2/2 no. 43 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 7380 (Matthews no. <b>146</b> )
PBS 2/2 no. 45 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 7694 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
PBS 2/2 no. 57 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	CBS 7698 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
PBS 2/2 no. 74 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	CBS 7713 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
PBS 2/2 no. 101 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	CBS 7714 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
	CBS 7721 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
PBS 13 no. 71 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 7788 (Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> )
PBS 13 no. 74 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	CBS 7868 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)

CBS 8573 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	Ni 2240 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
CBS 8737 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	Ni 2253 (Rīmūtu)
CBS 8741 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	Ni 6052 (Rīmūtu)
CBS 8872 (Matthews no. <b>61</b> )	Ni 7835 (Rīmūtu)
CBS 9511 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)	Ni 7947 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
CBS 9514 (Rīmūtu)	Ni 7948 (Rīmūtu)
CBS 9517 (Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> )	Ni 7959 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
CBS 9528 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)	Ni 8013 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
CBS 9543 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)	Ni 8027 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
CBS 9781 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)	Ni 8375 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
CBS 10250 (Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> )	Ni 8847 (Rīmūtu)
CBS 10564 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	Ni 12216 (Rīmūtu)
CBS 10981 (Rīmūtu)	UM 29-13-427a ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
CBS 11534 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	UM 29-13-683 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
CBS 13339 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	UM 29-13-869 (19.6.1.3. <i>arād šarri</i> )
CBS 13362 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	UM 29-13-907 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
CBS 13370 (Rīmūtu)	UM 29-13-946 (Rīmūtu)
CBS 13375 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	UM 29-15-54 (Rīmūtu)
CBS 15016 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	UM 29-15-154 (Rīmūtu)
N 957 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	+UM 29-16-178
N 1981 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	UM 29-15-548 (Matthews no. <b>164</b> )
N 2023 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	UM 29-15-685 (Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> )
N 2036 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	UM 29-15-691 (Matthews no. <b>61</b> )
N 2266 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	UM 29-15-713 (Rīmūtu)
N 2341 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	UM 29-16-154 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
N 2432 (Enlil-AL-SA <sub>6</sub> )	UM 29-16-156 (Matthews no. <b>164</b> )
N 2645 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)	UM 29-16-158 (Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē)
N 2714 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	UM 29-16-347 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
N 2872 (Rīmūtu)	UM 29-16-378 (Rīmūtu)
N 2907 (Rīmūtu)	UM 29-16-593 (Rīmūtu)
N 2982 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)	UM 29-16-629 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
N 3410 (Rīmūtu)	UM 29-16-678 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
N 6310 (Matthews no. <b>164</b> )	UM 29-16-698 (Rīmūtu)
N 6573 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)	UM 29-16-731 ( <i>aklu</i> doc. w/o seal impression)
Ni 158 (Rīmūtu)	
Ni 295 (Rīmūtu)	



**Persons:** (chapter numbers are in parentheses)

Rīmūtu group **(2)**

Ninurta-kīn-pīšu group **(3)**

Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē group **(4)**

Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> group **(5)**

Matthews no. 164 **(6)**

Matthews no. 61 **(7)**

Matthews no. 162 **(8)**

Matthews no. 146 **(9)**

Matthews no. 156 **(10)**

Matthews no. 157 **(11)**

Matthews no. 161 **(12)**

Matthews no. 187 **(13)**

Matthews no. 142 **(14)**

Aklu without seal impressions **(15)**

Adad-ḡarrād<sup>1</sup> (concerned in an *aklu*)<sup>(767)</sup> **(15)**

Aḥa-iddina-Marduk (probably a shepherd) **(15)**

Amīl-Isin (probably a brewer) **(2)**

Amīl-Marduk (probably a miller) **(4)**

Amīl-Marduk (governor of Nippur.) **(9)**

Bā'eru (a brewer) **(2) (3)**

Bā'il-Marduk (to whom barley was deducted.)  
**(15)**

Bābilāyu (probably a brewer) **(4)**

Baḥḥūtu/Šuḥḥūtu (probably a brewer) **(3)**

Bēlšunu (probably a brewer) **(4)**

Bubbu (a brewer) **(15)**

Damqu (probably a brewer) **(4)**

Dayyānī-Šamaš (concerned in an *aklu*) **(13)**

Enlil-aḥulap (responsible for horse fodder) **(2)**

Enlil-aḥulap (responsible for horse fodder) **(5)**

Enlil-aḥulap (responsible for horse fodder) **(6)**

Enlil-AL-SA<sub>6</sub> (governor of Nippur.) **(5)**

Enlil-kidinnī (governor of Nippur.) **(6)**

Enlil-mukīn-apli (person in charge of the *aklu*)  
**(8) (15)**

Enlil-nīšu (the father of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.) **(3)**

Enlil-šulūlī (mentioned in several documents  
dated in the reign of Kadašman-Turgu.) **(2)**

Enlil-šulūlī (concerned in an *aklu*) **(13)**

Erība-Ninurta (probably a brewer) **(3)**

ḡErība<sup>2</sup>-Ninurta (concerned in an *aklu*) **(15)**

Erība-Šamaš (a well-attested recipient) **(4)**

Erība-Šuqamuna and Kidin-Gula (They appear  
in the two *aklu* documents.) **(2)**

Ēriš-Ea (probably a brewer) **(2)**

Ḥanbu (responsible for fodder of horses.) **(6)**

Ibni-Marduk (concerned in an *aklu*)<sup>(768)</sup> **(15)**

Ilī-[ ] (person in charge of an *aklu*)<sup>(769)</sup> **(15)**

Innanâ/Innannīya (concerned in a possible *aklu*)  
**(14)**

Innannu (person in charge of the *aklu*) **(8) (15)**

Innannu (concerned in an *aklu*) **(12)**

Iqīša-Adad (probably an oil-presser) **(4)**

Iqīša-Enlil (person in charge of an *aklu*)<sup>(770)</sup> **(15)**

Iqīša-Ninimma (sealer of three *aklu* doc.) **(4)**

Išinnītu/Isinnītu (concerned in an *aklu*)<sup>(771)</sup> **(15)**

Izkur-Adad (probably a brewer) **(4)**

Izkur-Marduk (concerned in an *aklu*)<sup>(772)</sup> **(15)**

Kidin-Adad (person in charge of an *aklu*)<sup>(773)</sup>  
**(15)**

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<sup>(767)</sup> MUN 188.

<sup>(768)</sup> BE 15 no. 90.

<sup>(769)</sup> MUN 197.

<sup>(770)</sup> MRWH 27.

<sup>(771)</sup> CBS 3081.

<sup>(772)</sup> MUN 97.

<sup>(773)</sup> MUN 194.

Kidin-Gula (person in charge of an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(774)</sup> <b>(15)</b>	Nusku-bēla-ušur (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(780)</sup> <b>(15)</b>
Lā-qīpu (a miller) <b>(2)</b>	Nusku-zākir/nādin-šumi (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(781)</sup> <b>(15)</b>
Lā-qīpu (probably a miller) <b>(15)</b>	Rīmūtu (sealed a number of <i>aklu</i> documents) <b>(2)</b>
Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a brewer) <b>(2)</b>	Rīmūtu (a brewer) <b>(3)</b>
Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a miller) <b>(4)</b>	Sarriqu (a brewer) <sup>(782)</sup> <b>(15)</b>
Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Šamaš <sup>(775)</sup> (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <b>(11)</b>	Sîn-aḥa-iddina (probably a shepherd) <b>(4)</b>
Martuku (person in charge of the <i>aklu</i> ) <b>(7)</b>	Sîn-muballiṭ (a miller) <b>(2) (3)</b>
Martuku (person in charge of the <i>aklu</i> ) <b>(8) (15)</b>	Sukkal-aḥa-ē/iriš (He gave barley as <i>aklu</i> .) <sup>(783)</sup> <b>(15)</b>
Martuku (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(776)</sup> <b>(15)</b>	Ša-ili-banâ (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(784)</sup> <b>(15)</b>
Minde-iballuṭ (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <b>(10)</b>	Šamaš-mušēzib (probably a brewer) <b>(2)</b>
Nāḥirānu (probably a brewer) <b>(4)</b>	Šušātu (sealed an <i>aklu</i> document) <sup>(785)</sup> <b>(15)</b>
Nashīra-Marduk (person in charge of an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(777)</sup> <b>(15)</b>	Šūzubu (probably a brewer) <b>(15)</b>
Nimgirab-Marduk (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <b>(11)</b>	Tarību (a miller) <b>(3)</b>
Ninurta-apla-iddina (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(778)</sup> <b>(15)</b>	Tarību (probably a miller) <b>(4)</b>
Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (sealed a number of <i>aklu</i> documents.) <b>(3)</b>	The daughter of Mele-Saḥ (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(786)</sup> <b>(15)</b>
Ninurta-mutēr-gimilli (concerned in an <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(779)</sup> <b>(15)</b>	The son of Aḥū'a-lē'i (concerned in sheep of <i>aklu</i> ) <sup>(787)</sup> <b>(15)</b>
Ninurta-nādin-aḥḥē (sealer of the <i>aklu</i> doc.) <b>(4)</b>	The son of Amurru-ma-ilu (probably a brewer) <b>(15)</b>
Ninurta-rēšūšu (sealer of an <i>aklu</i> document.) <b>(9)</b>	The son of Aqar-Marduk (a brewer) <b>(15)</b>
Ninurta-zākir-šumi (worked in association with Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.) <b>(3)</b>	The son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti (probably a miller) <b>(15)</b>
	The son of Enlil-dayyān (a brewer) <b>(15)</b>

<sup>(774)</sup> MUN 191.

<sup>(775)</sup> Or 𐎠[amar]-𐎠utu, or 𐎠iškur.

<sup>(776)</sup> A Martuku of BE 15 no. 12 is not the Martuku of Das Archiv des Speichers because Dūr-Kurigalzu (north) is stated.

<sup>(777)</sup> MUN 269.

<sup>(778)</sup> CBS 3319.

<sup>(779)</sup> BE 15 no. 74.

<sup>(780)</sup> MUN 203.

<sup>(781)</sup> BE 14 no. 97.

<sup>(782)</sup> BE 14 no. 97.

<sup>(783)</sup> BE 15 no. 46.

<sup>(784)</sup> UM 29-13-427a.

<sup>(785)</sup> BE 15 no. 79.

<sup>(786)</sup> BE 15 no. 60.

<sup>(787)</sup> BE 14 no. 133.

The son of Erība-Nergal (a brewer) **(15)**  
The son of Ištaran-līssu (a brewer) **(15)**  
The son of Mannī-Marduk (probably a brewer)  
**(15)**  
The son of Mannu-kī-ili (probably a brewer)  
**(15)**  
The son of Nūr-Kūbi (a brewer) **(15)**  
The son of Rabâ-ša-ili (probably a miller) **(15)**  
The son of Rīš-Ištaran (a miller) **(15)**  
The son of Sîn-nādin-apli (a miller) **(15)**  
The son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni (a brewer) **(15)**  
The son of Šallī-lūmur (concerned in an  
*aklu*)<sup>(788)</sup> **(15)**  
The son of Ṭāb-ašābšu (a miller) **(14) (15)**  
The son of Ṭāb-nupāršu (possibly a miller) **(2)**  
**(15)**  
Uzibu (probably a brewer) **(4)**  
Zēr-kīni-līšir (probably a miller) **(4)**  
*mārat bīti* (a well-attested recipient) **(4)**  
*mār/mārat malāḫi* (a well-attested recipient) **(4)**

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<sup>(788)</sup> CBS 3713.

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## Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift behandelt de Middel-Babylonische *aklu* teksten. In deze documenten worden diverse uitgaven van agrarische producten aangeduid als *aklu*. De als zodanig uitgegeven producten waren bedoeld voor verschillende doeleinden zoals banketten, offers, veevoer, proviand voor karavanen, etc. De *aklu* teksten zijn te dateren in een periode van minstens 135 jaar (1350 v.C.; Burna-Buriyaš jaar 10, tot aan 1216 v.C.; Adad-šuma-ušur jaar 1). Ze zijn bekend uit vier plaatsen in Babylonië: Nippur en directe omgeving, *Das Archiv des Speichers* (Zuid), Ur (Zuid) en tenslotte Dur-Kurigalzu (Noord).

In de meeste gevallen is de inhoud van een *aklu* tekst eenvoudig waardoor het moeilijk is om de precieze achterliggende betekenis ervan te begrijpen. Foto's van de *aklu* teksten zijn te raadplegen op de website van het Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, hierdoor kunnen de teksten en hun zegelafdrukken gemakkelijk worden gecontroleerd.

Dit proefschrift bestudeert de *aklu* documenten met behulp van de zegelafdrukken die erop zijn afgerold. Door de zegelafdrukken van een groep teksten te vergelijken met die van een andere groep kunnen we de *aklu* uitgaven vanuit een ander standpunt benaderen. Daarnaast is het mogelijk om de achtergrond van de *aklu* activiteiten door middel van een prosopografische studie uit het plaatsje Dur-Enlilē te verdiepen. De *aklu* documenten worden voorts bestudeerd op basis van een aantal categorieën zoals de zegelreferenties, jaar, maand, dag, hoofdpersonen, beroepen, koopwaar, plaatsnamen en diverse andere notities.

In de *aklu* teksten vinden we ambachtslieden zoals brouwers, molenaars, oliepersers en herders die de producten bereidden. Echter, de personen die toezagen op de ambachtslieden lijken de documenten niet te hebben gezegeld. Het blijkt dat bepaalde ambtenaren de documenten zegelden, ze reflecteren dus bestuurszaken. Zo was de koninklijke familie erbij betrokken omdat sommige producten (bijvoorbeeld bier of meel) werden uitgegeven voor het komen of gaan van de koning (*elē šarri* en *arād šarri*). Door de vermelding van offers blijkt het tevens dat de tempels bij de *aklu* uitgaven betrokken waren. Sommige mensen die de *aklu* documenten zegelden behoorden tot prominente Akkadisch families, bijvoorbeeld de familie van Enlil-kidinnī en die van Enlil-nīšu. De *aklu* uitgaven lijken dus te zijn gedaan door prominente Akkadisch families, terwijl Babylonië in de Middel-Babylonische periode door Kassitische koningen werd geregeerd.

## **Curriculum Vitae**

Nobuaki Murai was born in Otsu, Shiga Prefecture, Japan on May 18, 1979. He grew up in Kyoto and received a high school diploma there from Doshisha High School in 1997. He studied history, French, Greek, Latin and Hebrew at Doshisha University (1998 to 2003) and obtained a bachelor's degree. For his master's research, he moved to Tokyo and started training in Assyriology at Chuo University. Within three years, he obtained a master's degree (2006). Afterwards he went on to do Ph.D. research at Chuo University until 2011, when he moved to the Netherlands and began research at Leiden University.