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Note: In this study, seal numbers follow Matthews 1992 and are written in boldface.
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My parents have supported and encouraged me for a long time. I can’t thank them enough.
## List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td><em>The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>Tablets in the collection of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td><em>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS</td>
<td>Tablets in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Jena.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBTU</td>
<td>O. R. Gurney, <em>The Middle Babylonian Legal and Economic Texts from Ur.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Tablets in the collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni</td>
<td>Tablets from Nippur in the collection of the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS</td>
<td>University of Pennsylvania, the Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td>Tablets in the collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Starting Date</th>
<th>Ending Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Gandaš</td>
<td>(1729–1704)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Agum I (mahrū)</td>
<td>(1703–1682)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kaštiliyašu I</td>
<td>(1681–1660)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5.</td>
<td>(uncertain)</td>
<td>(1659– )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Urzigurumaš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Ḥarba-x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-9.</td>
<td>(Uncertain)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Burna-Buriyaš I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-14.</td>
<td>(Uncertain)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Kara-indaš</td>
<td>ca. 1413?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Kadašman-Ḥarbe I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>? Kuralgalzu I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Kadašman-Enlil I</td>
<td>(1374)–1360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Kara-ḫardaš</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Nazi-Bugaš</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Kurigalzu II</td>
<td>KG</td>
<td>1332–1308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Nazi-Maruttaš</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>1307–1282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Kadašman-Turgu</td>
<td>KT</td>
<td>1281–1264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Kadašman-Enlil II (KaE)</td>
<td>1263–1255</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Kudur-Enlil</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>1254–1246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (ŠŠ)</td>
<td>1245–1233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Kaštiliyašu (IV) (Kšt)</td>
<td>1232–1225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28a.</td>
<td>Tukulti-Ninurta</td>
<td>1225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Enlil-nadin-šumi</td>
<td>1224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Kadašman-Ḥarbe II</td>
<td>1223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Adad-šuma-iddina</td>
<td>1222–1217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Adad-šuma-uṣur (Ašu)</td>
<td>1216–1187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Meli-Šipak</td>
<td>1186–1172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Marduk-apla-iddina I</td>
<td>1171–1159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Zababa-šuma-iddina</td>
<td>1158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Enlil-nadin-aḫi</td>
<td>1157–1155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Governor of Nippur (šandabakku)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reign Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amīlātu</td>
<td>Before or in the reign of Kurigalzu I$^1$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē</td>
<td>In the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1337)$^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-kidinnī</td>
<td>In the 24th year of Burna-Buriyaš II (1336)$^3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-AL-SA$_6$</td>
<td>In the 8th year of Nazi-Maruttaš (1300)$^4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzi-Šugab</td>
<td>After the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282)$^5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīl-Marduk</td>
<td>At a minimum, between the 9th year of Šagarakti-Šuriyaš (1237)$^6$ and the 4th year of Kašṭiliyašu IV (1229)$^7$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-nādin-šumi$^8$</td>
<td>In the reign of Adad-šuma-iddina (1222–1217)$^9$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-šuma-imbi</td>
<td>In the reign of Adad-šuma-uṣur (1216–1187)$^{10}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$ Sollberger 1968, 191–192.

$^2$ Sassmannshausen 2001, p. 16. But it is not certain how long his tenure was.

$^3$ 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.

$^4$ MUN 434 obv. 4.

$^5$ BE 14 no. 39 obv. 1.

$^6$ BE 14 no. 136 u. e. 1.

$^7$ MUN 193 rev. 16.

$^8$ Sassmannshausen 2001, 17 (Enlil-zākir-šumi), Paulus 2014, 403 118 ($^{m.d.en-lil-ŠŪM.MU}$: Enlil-nādin-šumi).

$^9$ It is unknown how long his tenure was.

$^{10}$ Paulus 2014, 405 III 6–7. It is unknown how long his tenure was.
High Priests of Enlil (nēšakku)

This list is based on Sassmannshausen 2001, 62.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banā-ša-Marduk</td>
<td>Son of Iddin-Ninurta&lt;sup&gt;(11)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Bē]lānu</td>
<td>Son of Kadašman-Enlil, grandson of Kurigalzu&lt;sup&gt;(12)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-AL-SA&lt;sub&gt;6&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>Son of Enlil-kidinnī and governor (šandabakku) of Nippur&lt;sup&gt;(13)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-bāni</td>
<td>In the reign of Kurigalzu I (before 1374)&lt;sup&gt;(14)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-kidinnī</td>
<td>Son of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and governor (šandabakku) of Nippur&lt;sup&gt;(15)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-šuma-imbi</td>
<td>Son of Dayyān-Marduk and governor (šandabakku) of Nippur in the reign of Adad-šuma-ūṣur (1216–1187)&lt;sup&gt;(16)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē</td>
<td>Governor (šandabakku) of Nippur in the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1337)&lt;sup&gt;(17)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninurta-rēšūšu</td>
<td>Son of Nūr-Dilbat&lt;sup&gt;(18)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūr-Dilbat</td>
<td>Father of Ninurta-rēšūšu, son of Enlil-bāni who was mayor of Dūr-Kurigalzu, descendant of Amīlātu&lt;sup&gt;(19)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūr-Enlil</td>
<td>Son of Kurigalzu.&lt;sup&gt;(20)&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<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)\(^{(21)}\) 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, Dimaḫdi-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, pirmaḫ, 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, 1\(\text{kū-ur-gal-zu} = 1\text{re-ʾe-i-kaš-ši-i}, 1\text{nim-gi-ra-bi} = 1\text{e-tē-ru}, \text{ka-mul-la} = 4\text{ē-a}, \text{ya-an-zi} = šar-ru, etc.\(^{(22)}\) 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-ešuḫ) in which the Kassite troops can be seen indicate. The early attestations of the Kassite people in and around Babylonia are in the 18th 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 16th century and then conquered southern Babylonia by the middle of the 15th century.\(^{(23)}\)

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.\(^{(24)}\) 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.\(^{(25)}\) They supervised the mayors (ḥazanmu). The mayors in turn supervised the herdsman (nāqīdu). It is clear from this that the Kassites occupied the

\(^{(21)}\) Brinkman 1976a, 3.

\(^{(22)}\) Delitzsch 1884, 20; Pinches, T. G. 1917, 106; and Balkan 1954, 2–4.


\(^{(25)}\) 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.\(^{(26)}\)

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.\(^{(27)}\) 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\(^{th}\) 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.\(^{(28)}\) 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.\(^{(29)}\) 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 Muršili I. But the authenticity of this inscription has been challenged.\(^{(30)}\) 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.\(^{(31)}\) 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\(^{th}\) century.\(^{(32)}\) 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

\(^{(26)}\) Sassmannshausen 2001, 143.

\(^{(27)}\) Brinkman 1976a, 8.

\(^{(28)}\) Brinkman 1972, 274–278.

\(^{(29)}\) 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 Ḫurbaḥ and Šipta-ulzi.

\(^{(30)}\) Brinkman 1976a, 95.


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), a Kassite, on the throne. Kara-ḫardaš was a son of Muballit-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. 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. Kadašman-Turgu offered to send troops to Hattušili III against Egypt. 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-Šurîyaš (1245–1233), king of Babylonia. This letter was found in Ugarit, but it is still unclear why it was stored there. 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. Afterwards Assyria ruled Babylonia for approximately seven years.

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(33) Or Šuzigaš (see Grayson 1975, 172).


(36) Brinkman 1972, 276.


(38) Ibid., 79, note lines 1–5 “On note la différence 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.”

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

(40) Grayson 1975, 161 and 175–176. A contemporary administrative text dated with the name of
thought to have been puppets of Assyria. Adad-šuma-uṣur (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-IJU [1186–1172] and Marduk-apla-iddina I [1171–1159]), the so-called boundary stones (kudurrū) are comparatively numerous. The final phase of the Kassite dynasty came to an end through Assyrian aggression by Aššur-dan I and an attack by Šutruk-Nahḫunte, 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 19th century and the archaeological records are insufficient. 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 4th 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) of Nippur. These documents include lists of disbursements of several commodities (such as barley, beer, flour, oil, and emmer),

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

(41) 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, 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.


receipts of barley, collection of letters, etc.\(^{(45)}\)

The other main provenance is **Nippur**, 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\(^{th}\) 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.\(^{(46)}\) 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\(^{th}\) year of Nazi-Maruttaš [1284] to the 6\(^{th}\) year of Meli-ši-ḪU [1181]). The provenance of these documents has not been determined, but Dūr-Enlilē is the best candidate.\(^{(47)}\) 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 \(^{(48})\) (\(\text{nin-urta-mu-mu}\)), son of Enlil-kidinnī 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.\(^{(49)}\) These documents are on loan to Cornell University from the Rosen Collection in New York City.\(^{(50)}\)

1.3.3. **Ur**

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


\(^{(46)}\) See Brinkman 1976a, 42.

\(^{(47)}\) See van Soldt 2015, 29.

\(^{(48)}\) It is quite likely that this Enlil-kidinnī was the famous governor (\(\text{šandabakku}\)) of Nippur. But this has not been confirmed.

\(^{(49)}\) See van Soldt 2015, 24 and 29–30.

\(^{(50)}\) 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. The texts date from the 15th year of Kadašman-Turgu (1267) to the reign of Enlil-nādin-āḫī (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 Sīn, 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 4th 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 16th year of Nazi-Maruttaš (1292), no. 79 in the 5th year of Kadašman-Turgu (1277), and no. 78 in the 6th 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. 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 7th 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: 13th year of Burna-Buriyaš II [1347]; TCL 9 no. 47: 2nd 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

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

(52) 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 3rd year of Marduk-šāpik-zēri [1079]). The reason why it is mixed in with this group is not clear.

(53) No. 73 is mentioned without an IM number.
Among the above-mentioned sources, we have over 240 aklu documents 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-šarraḫ. 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-ūṣur (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 ...th day of the month ... to the ...th day of the month ...), the date with a royal name (...th year of ... king [a royal name]). Sometimes several personal names and the purpose of the expenditure are stated. In addition to those items, a place name, and several technical terms (ṣītu⁵⁶; arād šarri, elē šarri⁵⁷; ašābu, lā ašābu⁵⁸) may be added. The aklu documents themselves have been known to the scholars since the beginning of the 20th 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

(⁵⁴) 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).

(⁵⁵) Usually the purpose of the expenditure is specified in a column format.

(⁵⁶) The meaning of the term šītu is “expenditure.” Sometimes šītu and aklu are attested together such as ak-lu ū zi-ga. The term šītu is discussed below.

(⁵⁷) 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.

(⁵⁸) 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.).
Here several beer and beer products are mentioned. 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 *iddīn* “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-āḫḫē. 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-luₙₜ-ziₙ₁-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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(59) 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 *piₙu*.

(60) Solid capacity measures are expressed, for example as “1,2,3,4.” which means 1 *kurru*, 2 *pₙₕₙ*, 3 *sₕₕₙ*, 4 *qₜₐ*.

(61) 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\(^{62}\), 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-āḫḫē was the official. The tablet records that Bēlšunu prepared beer for the *aklu* expenditure under the supervision of Ninurta-nādin-āḫḫē. 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).\(^{63}\) Regarding institutional context, *aklu* expenditure not only for a secular institution (Nippur, local areas) but also for a temple is attested.\(^{64}\) 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.\(^{65}\)

### 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-šarraḫ. These documents cover miscellaneous genres. The profession(s) of the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ is not attested, but may be related to a temple because one member received barley from the priest of the temple.\(^{66}\) Among these texts there are two *aklu* documents.\(^{67}\)

#### 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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\(^{62}\) Here the miller is *kaṣṣidaku*. Cf. Deheselle 2004, 274 n. 6 (*kaṣṣidaku*, *ararru*).

\(^{63}\) See 15.4.

\(^{64}\) Regarding the religious purposes, see 4.5.2.

\(^{65}\) See 19.6.1.

\(^{66}\) The text is P 100.

\(^{67}\) 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 kurummatu to the temple, for oxen, sheep, etc., and to pay for ḫargalû, and for the making of ships (a-na e-pish ʾisselippê).

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

Tarczyner (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

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 a 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-aḫḫē 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-aḫḫē, entstammen also demselben Verwaltungssressort. In HS 137, 119 und 127 werden außerdem die Naturalien übereinstimmend als aklu (lā a-ša-bu) SU (= qāt) 1SUMER-AMAR.UTU „(in der) Hand des (= empfangen durch) Amil-Marduk” bezeichnet. Obige elf Tafeln bilden zusammen ein neue zusammengehörige Gruppe solcher aklu-Texte, bei denen im Kontext ein Empfänger ((qāt) PN) genannt wird, während eine andere im Text nicht erwähnte Person
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 Šin. 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 Šin-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 (ʻA’ p. 280) and Petschow, MRWH 62ff., “hand” (qāṭ) of PN means “received by PN,” but a more accurate rendering would seem to be “on charge to.”

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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(68) P. 62.
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.\(^{(70)}\)

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.”\(^{(71)}\)

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,

\(^{(70)}\) Pp. 58-59.

\(^{(71)}\) 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 don’t 91 datées) semblent se succéder directement, selon la documentation. Leurs utilisateurs sont des fonctionnaires chargés de veiller aux mêmes genres de contrats.\(^{72}\)

She commented on the users of Matthews no. 148 and pointed out that Enlil-AL-SA\(^6\), 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) ⁴En.lil-al.sag₆ (= ⁴Enlil-mudammiq, Nazi-Maruttaš 6, 2e année de l’attestation de l’empreinte); 2) Rīmūtu (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-kīn-pīšu (sans date, mais en présence de Rīmūtu, cité dans le même texte).\(^{73}\)

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 kurššuk (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-aḫḫē (p. 56) and that Stiehler no. 233 was used by

\(^{(72)}\) P. 4.

\(^{(73)}\) Ibid.
Ninurta-nādin-ahē and another person (p. 61 n. 9).

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-ahē, 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.

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-SA6, 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-ahē. 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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(74) Matthews 1992, 135 does not refer to MRWH 29 (HS 131) as a document of Matthews no. 189.

(75) 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-Enlil. 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. 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-kidinī, governor (sandabakku). 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. 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.

(76) 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.

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

(78) 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: "na₄-kišib ḫ₄-ta₄m-a₄₄u₄-um₄-a₄₄₄-h₄-_MODULES�. " Regarding the sealing practice, the seal reference and the seal impression should be discussed separately because sometimes one person used several seals\(^7\) and because one seal was used by several persons.\(^8\)

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.\(^8\) In cases where the seal impression is very faint, I put a question mark next to the reference. The seal impressions attested in the \textit{aklu} documents are as follows: Central First Kassite style\(^2\): nos. 26, 55, 61; Second Kassite style\(^3\) or Second Kassite derivatives\(^4\): nos. 142, 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).\(^6\) The latest date is the reign of Adad-šuma-uṣur (1216–1187).\(^7\) The period is therefore at least 135 years. The month is expressed in this study by roman numerals (I, II, III, etc.). Some \textit{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, Nippuritu). The officials who sealed the \textit{aklu} documents are already mentioned in the section on seal reference. In addition to those, some persons (Enlil-nīšu, Enlil-aḫulap, etc.) who play an important role in our discussion are noted.

\(^7\) Rīmuṭu 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).

\(^8\) Matthews no. 148 was used by Enlil-AL-SA₄₆, Rīmuṭu, and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Matthews no. 155 was used by Enlil-nīšu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. Matthews no. 189 was used by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and Iciṣa-Ninimma.

\(^8\) 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).

\(^2\) For this style see Matthews 1990, 55ff., and Matthews 1992, 10ff.


\(^4\) On Second Kassite derivatives, see Matthews 1992, 49.

\(^5\) CBS 3091 looks like an \textit{aklu} document, but the term \textit{aklu} is not mentioned.

\(^6\) MUN 269.

\(^7\) 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 kunukī), palace (ekal šarrī), 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 šarrī “the coming/going down of the king,” elē šarrī “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.\(^{(88)}\) The other area is that of “Das Archiv des Speichers.”\(^{(89)}\)

\(^{(88)}\) W. H. van Soldt kindly called my attention to this map (Clay 1905, 223–225).

\(^{(89)}\) For Das Archiv des Speichers, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 187–194.
Fig. 1. Topographical Map Found at Nippur.
In this map, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, and Kār-Nusku are located near each other. This combination is also attested in the documents from Nippur.\(^{(90)}\) Also, in a document probably from Dūr-Enlilē (CUSAS 30 no. 229), these three settlements are mentioned with Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē.\(^{(91)}\) Below, I reproduce its transliteration.

\(^{(90)}\) BE 15 no. 102 obv. 8–10, PBS 1/2 no. 61 obv. 9–10.

\(^{(91)}\) Van Soldt 2015, 302. Cf. no. 66.
Here, Nippur and Dūr-Enlilē are mentioned with Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, and Kar-Nuska. Also, van Soldt states that Nippur, Dūr-Enilī, Tukultī-Ekur, and Āl-Irrē frequently occur in his publication. It is most likely from this that Dūr-Enilī, 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-Enilī.

In the Nippur area, some persons worked as officials. An early official is Enlil-AL-SA₆ (1321–1292). He is attested as high priest (nēšakku) of Enlil, anointed priest (paššu) of Ninlil, governor (šandabakkā) of Nippur, son of Enlil-kidinnī, and official of Nintinluba(?). He sealed a document (for barley disbursement) in Tukultī-Ekur with Matthews no. 148. After him, Rīmūtu (1296–1267) and Ninurta-kīn-pīṣu (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-pīṣu usually used Matthews no.

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(92) 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 tukult-ī-ē.kur en I gur uru-i-re-e₅).


(94) BE 14 no. 48a.
as a seal. He sealed four *aklu* documents in Dūr-Enlilē\(^{(95)}\) and one *aklu* document in Tukultī-Ekur with it. But he once used Matthews no. 148 for an *aklu* document.\(^{(96)}\) 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.\(^{(97)}\) 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-aḫḫē (1263–1250) and Iqlīša-Ninimma (1252) worked in these areas. They were contemporaries. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē sealed many *aklu* documents (over 100) with Matthews no. 189. The legend of this seal refers to Enlil-AL-SA₆, governor of Nippur.\(^{(98)}\) Therefore, Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē had some relationship with Enlil-AL-SA₆. Iqlīša-Ninimma also used Matthews no. 189 three times for *aklu* documents, one of which refers to Dūr-Enlilē and Ḫursagkalamma.\(^{(99)}\) We can learn from the sealing practice of the officials that one seal could be used by several officials\(^{(100)}\) and that one official can use at least two seals.\(^{(101)}\) Also it may be a significant sealing practice that Ninurta-kīn-pīšu inherited his seal (Matthews no. 155) from his father, Enlil-nīšu.\(^{(102)}\) 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*.\(^{(103)}\)

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 \(^{(16)}\)nin-urta-mu-mu and his son Ninurta-kiššat-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,

\(^{(95)}\) BE 14 no. 78, MUN 99, 159 ([*luk-lu-lu*]), 160.

\(^{(96)}\) BE 14 no. 87a.

\(^{(97)}\) Van Soldt 2015, 24. He has already pointed out a connection between the high official Ninurta-zākir-šumi \(^{(16)}\)nin-urta-mu-mu of CUSAS 30 texts and the Ninurta-zākir-šumi in BE 14 no. 78, which refers to Dūr-Enlilē.

\(^{(98)}\) Matthews 1992, 136.

\(^{(99)}\) MUN 219.

\(^{(100)}\) Enlil-AL-SA₆, Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used Matthews no. 148. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and Iqlīša-Ninimma used Matthews no. 189.

\(^{(101)}\) Rīmūtu used Matthews nos. 55 and 148. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu used Matthews nos. 148 and 155.

\(^{(102)}\) See 3.8.1. (Ninurta-kīn-pīšu).

\(^{(103)}\) 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. 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-aḫḫē (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. He named the documents “Das Archiv des Speichers” because in some instances the barley was issued at a granary (kari). In these texts, some persons (such as Innannu, Martuku, and Enlil-mukīn-apli) and some place names (like Zarat-Karkara, Āl-Šēlebi, and Dunni-aḫi) 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, these documents were sent to Nippur from settlements south of it.

Additionally, the CDLI website 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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(104) 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).

(105) See the references cited in n. 89.

(106) 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.

(107) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>aklu</th>
<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 64</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib ₄ri-mu-ti</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1294, NM year 14? (+)</td>
<td>II, days broken</td>
<td>Ėriš-Ea</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>lā ašābu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 70</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib ₄ri-mu-tu₄</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1292, NM year 16</td>
<td>IX, days 19–30</td>
<td>Sīn-muballīṭ</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>Ál-Irē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 71</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib ₄ri-mu-ti</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148(108)</td>
<td>1292, NM year 16</td>
<td>IX, days 19–30</td>
<td>Enlil-aḫulap</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 80</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib ₄ri-mu-tu₄</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1286, NM year 22</td>
<td>IX–XII</td>
<td>Bā’eru</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>beer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 81</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib ₄ri-mu-tu₄</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1285, NM year 23</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>mār Ṭāb-nupāršu  šaknu</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>Tukultī-Ekur</td>
<td>lā ašābu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 82</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib ₄ri-mu-tu₄</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1285, NM year 23</td>
<td>IV, days 161–8</td>
<td>Šamaš-mušēzib</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 87</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib ₄ri-mu-ti</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>NM year x</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Bā’eru</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 100</td>
<td>[ak]-₄lu₄</td>
<td>[na₄kišib ₄ri-mu-ti]</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1284, NM year 24</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Several persons  rēʾi sīši  āšipu</td>
<td>rations for horse</td>
<td>Arad-bēlti māt Raši</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(108) For BE 14 no. 71, no photograph is available at CDLI (CDLI no. P 264437).
<p>| MUN 123 | --- | Matthews no. 148 | 1303, NM year 5 | XII | Enlil-ahulap | --- | horse fodder, provisions | --- | arād šarrī |
| MUN 156 | ak-lu₄ | na₄kišib 1̅ri-mu-t[ī] | Matthews no. 55 | 1293, NM year 15 | I | Lā-qīpu Dimāḫdi-[Uraš] | kaṣṣidakku | flour | --- |
| MUN 157 | ak-lu₄ | Matthews no. 148 | 1292, NM year 16(+) | V, days 2–11? | Lā-qīpu | --- | flour | --- | ašābu u lā ašābu |
| MUN 158 | [ak]-lu₄ | na₄kišib 1̅ri-mu-tu₄ | Matthews no. 148 | 1290, NM year 18 | III | Sin-muballit | kaṣṣidakku | [flour] | --- |
| MUN 162 | ak-lu₄  | [na₄kišib 1̅]ri-rimentsu₄ | Matthews no. 148 | 1296, NM year 12(+) | IX [-] X | --- | --- | flour, barley | --- | ašābu u lā ašābu |
| MUN 200 | ak-lu₄ | na₄kišib 1̅ri-m[u-tu₄/ti] | Matthews no. 148 | 1284, NM year 24 | II, days 6–8 | Bā’eru | sirāšā | beer | --- |
| MUN 201 | ak-lu₄ | [na₄kišib] 1̅ri-mu-tu₄ | Matthews no. 148 | 1276, KT year 6 | II-24 to III-28 | Amīl-Isin | --- | beer | --- |
| MUN 202 | ak-lu₄ | [na₄kišib] 1̅ri-m[u-tu₄] | Matthews no. 148 | 1267, KT year 15 | I to 4(+)-[MN] | Several persons | --- | beer | Nippur | ašābu u lā ašābu |
| MUN 223 | [a]k-lu₄ | [na₄kišib] 1̅ri-mu-ti | Matthews no. 148 | 1285, NM year 23 | IV | Śamaš-mušēzib | --- | beer | --- |
| MUN 224 | ak-lu₄ | [a₄kišib 1̅ri-mu-ti] | Matthews no. 148 | 1284, NM year 24 | I–XII | Bā’eru | sirāšā | beer | --- | lā a[šābu] |
| MUN 225 | ak-lu₄ | na₄kišib 1̅ri-mu-ti | Matthews no. 148 | 1267, KT year 15 | VI days 11–14? | Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad | --- | beer | --- |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN 442</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>na₄kišib 报记者 [u-ti]</th>
<th>Matthews no. 148</th>
<th>1289, NM year 19</th>
<th>XII, 30</th>
<th>Ḥa[n]nabu</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>[metal or wool]</th>
<th>bīt kunukki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBS 9514: cast of Ni 7968</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib 报记者 [mu-tu₄]</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1292, NM year 16</td>
<td>III, days 1?–14</td>
<td>Sin-muballit</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>un₄x-x-x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 10981</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1303, NM year 5</td>
<td>XI, days r₁₀⁻₁₉</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>āpil bāhī, šuhurtu</td>
<td>cereals</td>
<td>Isin, māt Tāmti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 13370</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1294, NM year 14</td>
<td>days 17–21</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2872</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Tukultī-Ekur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2907</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib TouchListener [mu-tu₄]</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ninurta-M[U]-x</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>cereals</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 3410</td>
<td>[a]k₃-log</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>ša rēš šarri</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ekal šarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM 29-13-946</td>
<td>ak-[lu₄]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>year 15</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ṣaḥ-mu-x</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM 29-15-54</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>NM year x</td>
<td>IV-[ ] to IX-[ ]</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>mār šipri</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+UM 29-16-178</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>mār šipri</td>
<td>flour, beer, barley</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

(1⁰⁰) A certain Rimūtu is mentioned in rev. 9: āri-mu₄-tu₄ r₄šiš[i]. It is not known if he sealed it or not.
A certain Rīmūtu is mentioned in rev. 18': *ri-mu-tu*. It is uncertain if he sealed it or not.

(10) See Brinkman 1976a, 280 (date), 285 (royal name).

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

(12) See Brinkman 1976a, 160 (date) and Matthews 1992, 58 (seal of Rīmūtu), 112 (seal of Rīmūtu).

(13) See Brinkman 1976a, 269 (date), 402 n. 20 (the doubling of U₄), Tenney 2011, 143 n. 28 (Nippur craftsmen [*ummâni*] were sent to Dūr-Kurigalzu).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ni 7835(^{(115)})</th>
<th>Seal of Rīmūtu</th>
<th>Matthews no. 148</th>
<th>1293, NM year 15</th>
<th>III, days 10–11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ni 7948(^{(116)})</td>
<td>Seal of Rīm[   ]</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1289, NM year 19</td>
<td>days x–26. First term of date (TA… EN…) almost completely missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni 8847(^{(117)})</td>
<td>Seal of Rīmūtu</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1284, NM year r24(^{\text{a}}) (r^{\text{XII}})-year 23 to l-year r24(^{\text{a}})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni 12216(^{(118)})</td>
<td>Seal of Rīmūtu</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1293, NM year 15</td>
<td>IV, days 22–26(+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(115)}\) See Brinkman 1976a, 274 (date), 406 n. 39 (doubled days) and Matthews 1992, 58 (seal of Rīmūtu).

\(^{(116)}\) See Brinkman 1976a, 278 (date).

\(^{(117)}\) Ibid., 280 (date).

\(^{(118)}\) 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.\(^{(119)}\) 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).\(^{(120)}\)

Six documents that mention Enlil-AL-SAd\(^{(121)}\) are not discussed here, but rather in the section on Enlil-AL-SAs. BE 14 no. 87a has a seal reference to Ninurta-kīn-pišu (\(^{(119)}\)na\(^{4}\)kišib \(\text{idin-urta-ki-pi-šu}\)), but its seal impression seems like that of Rīmūtu. It is discussed in the section on Ninurta-kīn-pišu.

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 \(^{(119)}\)na\(^{4}\)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: \(^{(119)}\)na\(^{4}\)kišib \(\text{[ ]}\).

Among the Rīmūtu texts we find two kinds of seal impression. One is Matthews no. 148.\(^{(122)}\)

\(^{(119)}\) However, some documents have no seal reference. They are dealt with here even though it is not certain who sealed them.

\(^{(120)}\) 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.

\(^{(121)}\) BE 14 no 48a, CBS 7788, CBS 9517, CBS 10250, N 2432, UM 29-15-685.
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: īr dingir.mu ṅin.līl “servant of my god, Ninlil”, but this is not fully convincing.”

The other is Matthews no. 55. Matthews no. 148 is in the Second Kassite style. 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, 80, 81, 87, MUN 100, 123.

Matthews no. 148 is in the Second Kassite style. 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, 80, 81, 87, MUN 100, 123.

Matthews no. 148 is in the Second Kassite style. 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, 80, 81, 87, MUN 100, 123.

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.

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.

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

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 akilleru documents sealed by Rīmūtu.
Seal impressions of its birds can be found in the following documents: BE 14 no. 82, MUN 157, UM 29-15-154 - 29-16-178. 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.\(^{(127)}\) A seal impression of its cross can be found clearly in MUN 156.

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

The earliest document is CBS 10981 (1303, NM 19-XI-year 5, days \(\text{r}10^\text{v}–19\)).\(^{(128)}\) The latest is MUN 225 (1267, KT 14²-V1-year 15, days 11–14\(^{?}\)).\(^{(129)}\) The period is therefore about 37 years. The list of dates is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBS 10981</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>days (\text{r}10^\text{v}–19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni 6052</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>days 2–15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 123</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 162</td>
<td>1296</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>12(^{+})</td>
<td>IX [to] X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 64</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>14(^{+})</td>
<td>days broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 13370</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>days 17–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 156</td>
<td>1293</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni 7835</td>
<td>1293</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>days 10–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni 12216</td>
<td>1293</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>days 22–26(^{+})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 9514</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>days 1(^{+})–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 157</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>16(^{+})</td>
<td>days 2–11(^{+})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 70</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>days 19–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 71</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>days 19–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 158</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni 7948</td>
<td>1289</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>first term of date (TA… EN…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>almost completely missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 442</td>
<td>1289</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 80</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>IX to XII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(127)}\) For the Central First Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 55ff. and Matthews 1992, 10ff. See also Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 94–97 (Erste Gruppe).

\(^{(128)}\) 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 Rimūtu. If they do not belong with the Rimūtu texts, the oldest is MUN 162 (1296, NM X-year 12\(^{+}\), IX [-] X). In that case the period is about 30 years.

\(^{(129)}\) MUN 202 (1267, KT 4\(^{+}\)-[MN]-year 15, I to 4\(^{+}\)-[MN]) could be the latest. But its last month is not preserved.
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?-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 6?-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 r101–19: 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 (XII 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 XII-year 23 to I-year 24) 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 bābī) 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 šarrī) 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′: rēʾû) 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′: dālī) is mentioned twice. In UM 29-16-593, a smith (obv. 7′: kutimmu) received cereals for horses (?). Also a brewer (?) (rev. 20′: lišunga?) 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 ([zî-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. But in UM 29-15-713, kaš sag and kaš UŠ are expressed with a solid capacity measure. “Clay pot” (dug, dug gal) is

(130) MUN 223 ([ ]½ kaš UŠ), MUN 225 (15½ kaš UŠ), UM 29-16-698 (22½ [kaš] 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). Some by-products, such as beerbread (báppir), a kind of flour (níg-är-ra), and lumps of malt (LAGAB×U munu₅, lagab munu₅) are attested. They are measured with a solid capacity measure.

kaš: BE 14 nos. 64 (kaš UŠ), 80 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 82 (kaš UŠ), 87 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), MUN 200 (kaš UŠ), 201 (kaš UŠ), 202 ([kaš sag], [kaš] r/UŠ), 223 ([kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 225 (kaš UŠ), CBS 13370 (kaš UŠ), UM 29-15-713 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), UM 29-16-698 ([kaš] UŠ)
dug: BE 14 nos. 80 (dug sag, dug UŠ), 82 (dug gal), 87 (dug UŠ), MUN 200 (dug gal), 201 (dug gal), 223 (dug gal), CBS 13370 (dug), UM 29-15-713 (dug), UM 29-16-698 (dug)
báppir: BE 14 nos. 64, 80, 87, MUN 202 (r/báppir), 223, 224, 225 (báppir rta₅ báppir), CBS 13370, UM 29-15-713 (ša? báppir)

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

zi-da: BE 14 nos. 70, 71, 81, MUN 156 (zi-d[a]), 157, 158 ([zi-da]), 162 (rzi₃-da), CBS 9514, UM 29-15-713

In MUN 100, rations for horse keepers are stated (obv. 2: šuk 5 sipa anše-kur-ra; obv. 5: [šuk] 3 r/sipa anše-kur-ra). In MUN 123, fodder for horses and provisions are issued (obv. 3: šuk anše-kurrəmekši ninda-kaskalmekši ša x meš). In MUN 202, beer is issued for the storage/pot stand (obv. 2, 4: kanga-an-nu [ ]). In UM 29-16-378, fodder for sheep (lo. e. 9': šuk udu-nīta) and vinegar (rev. 15': a-getin-na) are mentioned. In MUN 162, flour (obv. 1: rzi₃-da) and barley (obv. 2: še) are stated as aklu and šitu. In UM 29-15-713 obv. 1-2, flour (zi-da), beer and its (by)-products (kaš sag, kaš UŠ, dug, ša₇ báppir, níg-är-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 Rīmuṭu group of texts, several place names are attested. Tukulti-Enur is mentioned twice. It

(131) BE 14 no. 80 (7½ dug UŠ), MUN 201 (2½ dug gal).
(132) 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.\(^{(133)}\) In BE 14 no. 70 obv. 3, Āl-Irrē is found. I think Āl-Irrē is located not so far from Nippur.\(^{(134)}\) 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 um-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\(^{(13)}\)). This suggests that Rîmûtu sealed this document in a location other than Nippur. In MUN 442, a storehouse (obv. 2: ā-pil bābī) is stated. Wool or metal is carried out from the storehouse. In CBS 9514, a place name (obv. 3: ān-x-x) is found. But unfortunately it is too blurred to read. In CBS 10981, an official (obv. 2: ā-pil bābī) of Isin and a young female servant (obv. 5: suḫurtu), who is going to leave for Sea Land, received grain. In N 3410, a palace is mentioned as a destination (obv. 1: a-na ē-gal lugal\(^{1}\)). In UM 29-15-154 + UM 29-16-178, the house of Enlîl-nâdin-aḫḫē (obv. 20: ē lā-en-lîl-sum-šes\(^{2}\)) is mentioned.

2.7. Notes
In the Rîmûtu 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.\(^{(135)}\) There, a large amount of barley (obv. 1: 35,0.0. šē šîbân 6 šīla) and cereals (?) (obv. 2: 75,0.2. x šîbân 5 šīla) were issued for horse fodder and provisions (obv. 3: šuḫ anše-ra-meš ninda-kaska[imêš]). This document is dated in the 12th 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 Rîmûtu texts, the positive form alone (ašābu) is not attested.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ašābu:} & \quad \cdots \\
\text{lā ašābu:} & \quad \text{BE 14 nos. 64, 81, MUN 224 (la ṭa-š[a-šu])} \\
\text{ašābu u lā ašābu:} & \quad \text{MUN 157, 162, 202}
\end{align*}
\]

2.8. Prosopography
Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

\(^{(133)}\) See Clay 1905, pl. XXXVI; van Soldt 1988, 104; and van Soldt 2015, 116 (no. 66), 302 (no. 229).

\(^{(134)}\) Tukultī-Ekur and Āl-Irrē are mentioned together (i-na tukul-tī-ē.kur\(^{1}\) en I gur uru-i-re-ē\(^{2}\)) in CUSAS 30, p. 304 no. 231, col. III obv. 13.

\(^{(135)}\) See Biggs 1965, 96 n. 11 and Brinkman 1976a, 411–414.
Rīmūtu (Sealed a number of aklu documents.)
Bā’eru (A brewer)
Šamaš-mušēzib\(^{136}\) (Probably a brewer)
Ēriš-Ea (Probably a brewer)
Amīl-Isin (Probably a brewer)
Lī/uši-ana-nūr-Adad (Probably a brewer)
Sin-muballīṭ (A miller)
Lā-qīpu (A miller)
The son of Ṭāb-nupāršu (Possibly a miller)
Enlil-aḫulap (May be responsible for horse fodder.)
Erība-Šuqamuna and Kidin-Gula (They appear in the two aklu 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 (raklu, issue of cereals), 156 (aklu, flour), 158 (raklu, [flour]), 162 (aklu and šītu, flour and barley), 200 (aklu, beer), 201 (aklu, beer), 202 (aklu, beer), 223 (raklu, 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.\(^{137}\) 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 11–147). 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.\(^{138}\)

\(^{136}\) 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 GU₄ (i.e., zib) rather than GÚ (i.e., tiq).

\(^{137}\) MUN 157 may be added here because it is similar to MUN 156. Documents with Ni numbers are not taken into consideration here.

\(^{138}\) 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 zi-da ši-bān 6 sila
2 ak-ıtu ši-XXX-mu-bal-liṭ
3 uru-ir-ri-ta
4 igit-gan-gan-e
5 ta u₄-19-kam en u₄-30-kam

Rev.
6 mu-16-kam na-zi-ma-ru-ut-taṣ
7 lugal-e
8 nastišib 1ri-mu-ta₄

The place name Āl-Irrē is also referred to in BE 14 no. 39 (obv. 5: uru ša ir-re-e²). Here a certain Ninurta-kīn-pīṣu, son of Enlil-nīṣu (obv. 11: luni-urta-GI-ka-šu dumu lën-līl-nī-šu) is mentioned.

BE 14 no. 39(139)

Obv.
1 di-nu ša 1ū-zi-šu-[gab¹⁴⁰] gū-en-na nibru²
2 ši-urta-n[a²¹⁴] din-ahhē² dumu luni-urta-GI-ka-šu (1–3) The judgment that Uzi-šu[gab], governor
3 ū lš-kur-.rpmu-mu³ [dumu] Izkur-Ninurta.
4 ū lš-kur-.rpmu-mu³ [dumu]
5 lš-kur-.*urtaGI[1⁴] l-di-nu

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

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

(1³¹) The reading n[a]- was collated by W. H. van Soldt.

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

(1³³) 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 nig-ga) from Āl-Irrē. In rev. 32, a certain Izkur-Ninurta is mentioned in a section about tax exemption (zakūtu). 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 zakūtu of CUSAS 30 no. 40 would support the argument of Ekur-zākir-šumi in BE 14 no. 39.

45
with right of inheritance, or the term might refer to the elusive allodial holding. The matter cannot be
mng. uncert.
22
di
21   di
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1

“Ninurta-nādin-abḫē, son of Etil-pū had given the field requiring 30,0.0. seeds in the land of the city
of Irrē to Ilī-rabi, father, his (Ninurta-nādin-abḫē’s) brother. My forefathers had cultivated (the
field) from (the time of) Kurigalzu I, son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I to (the time of) Nazi-Maruttaš,
son of Kurigalzu II. And nobody collected (taxes). Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, son of Enlil-nīšu took away that
field in the time of Nazi-Maruttaš.”

(144) The meaning of this word (b/pur-ku-ti) remains to be determined. See Aro 1957, 19 (eqalu
mng. uncert.); Ellis 1976, 129 (“Burkātu-holding might be explained as being based on long term lease
with right of inheritance, or the term might refer to the elusive alodial holding. The matter cannot be
decided at present”); Oelsner 1982, 281 (“erbliches” Feld); Paulus 2014 167–168 n. 192 (nicht bur-kū-ti,
sondere zak-ku-ti “Freistellung”). Paulus' emendation fits the context exactly. Yet the sign on the photo
(P267516.jpg) looks like pur/bur rather than zak.

(145) 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 (tištū) from Šēl-Irrē. In obv. 12–16, a certain Dimāḫdi-
Uraš is found with a certain Rimītu (obv. 10–11). In BE 14 no. 39 obv. 18–20, Ninurta-nādin-abḫē,
nephew of Dimāḫdi-Uraš argued that Dimāḫdi-Uraš collected tax from the land (of Šēl-Irrē) at the time of
Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282). If the Dimāḫdi-Uraš of CUSAS 30 no. 35 were the same person as the
Dimāḫdi-Uraš in BE 14 no. 39, the attestation of šibšu with the Dimāḫdi-Uraš of CUSAS 30 no. 35
would support Ninurta-nādin-abḫē’s claim in BE 14 no. 39.
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.”¹⁴⁷ 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 sila₄ ba-ru-tu₄/ba-ru-<sum>-tu₄
2 id-len-līl-ni-šu
3 šu idutu-šē-sum-na
4 dumu ṣnap-šī-ri-gašan

rev.
5 apin-du₄-a
6 u₄-r₂₄-kam
7 mu₁₁-kam na-zi-ma-ru-taš lugal
8 ṭma₄ kišib id-len-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 Ál-Irrē Rūmūtu
BE 14 no. 39 Ál-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 Rūmūtu 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 Rūmūtu. We can find other indirect links between them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rūmūtu</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Ninurta-kīn-pīšu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1296, NM year 12 to 1267, KT year 15 (almost 30 years)</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>1287, NM year 21 to 1278, KT year 4 (almost 10 years)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(¹⁴⁶) Probably BE 14 no. 39 is a duplicate.

(¹⁴⁷) See Matthews 1992, 118 (no. 155).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rīmūtu</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Ninurta-kīn-pīšu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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</td>
<td>Sealing of aklu documents</td>
<td>BE 14 nos. 78, 80a, 83, 85, MUN 99, 159, 160, 199?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 70 (details about Āl-Irrē here are unknown)</td>
<td>Āl-Irrē</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 39 (lawsuit about the land of Āl-Irrē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal impression is like that of Rīmūtu (i.e. Matthews no. 148)</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 87a</td>
<td>Seal reference is to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (₃₉₄kišib ₄₄nin-urtak-pi-šu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 nos. 80 (beer), 87 (beer), MUN 200 (beer, sirāšū), 224 (beer, sirāšū)</td>
<td>Bā’eru (brewer)</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 83 (beer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 70 (flour), MUN 158 ([flour], kaṣṣidakku), CBS 9514 (flour)</td>
<td>Sîn-muballīṭ (miller)</td>
<td>MUN 160 (flour, ₄₄XXX-[muballīṭ])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 81 (Tukultī-Ekur)</td>
<td>Nippur and the settlements around Nippur (Nippur, Tukultī-Ekur, Dūr-Enlilē, Dīmtu, and Kār-Nuska)(^{148})</td>
<td>CBS 9543 (Tukultī-Ekur), BE 14 no. 78 (Dūr-Enlilē), MUN 99 (Dūr-Enlilē), 159 (Dūr-Enlilē), 160 (Dūr-Enlilē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 156 (‘di-maľ-di-ₙ[uraš]. Details about him are unknown.)</td>
<td>Dimaḥḥādi-Uraš</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 39 obv. 18 (Dimaḥḥādi-Uraš is a brother of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu(^{149}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bā’eru: BE 14 nos. 80 (beer), 87 (beer), MUN 200 (beer, sirāšū), 224 (beer, sirāšū) Šamaš-mušēzib:</td>
<td>CUSAS 30 no. 136 col. iii:</td>
<td>Bahḥḥūtu/Ṣuḥḥḥutu(^{150}): BE 14 no. 80a (beer) Bā’eru: BE 14 no. 83 (beer) Eriḇa-Ninurta:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{148}\) Regarding these place names, see CUSAS 30, 302 (no. 229).

\(^{149}\) Dimaḥḥādi-Uraš is said to be a brother of “my” (Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē’s) father (i.e., Ninurta-kīn-pīšu).

\(^{150}\) Cf. Hölscher 1996, 43 (Bahḥḥūtu) and 197 (Ṣuḥḥḥutu). M. Stol said in the Old Babylonian period the name Ṣuḥḥḥutu is known, Bahḥḥūtu is not.
With regard to the chart above, Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pišu 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-pišu 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-lu₄ 'ri-m₄-n₄-u₄ lnga
3 aš-e-KIN-k₅
4 u₄+30-kam
Lo. e.
5 m[u-x-k]am
Rev.
6 na-zi³ 'ma³-nu-taš
7 lugal-e
8 =₄kišib ₁₄nin-urtka-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-pišu sealed this aklu document with Matthews no. 148 is still unclear. But Ninurta-kīn-pišu (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 Sîn-muballiṭ 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 Dimaḫdi-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 silica zi-[d][a]  
2′ ak-šu₃ di-maḥ-di-[ū]raš  
3′ la-qi-pu₃ ka-zi-[d][a]  
4′ iš-baš/[b]ara-zag-gar mu-15₃ ṣ[kam]₃  
5′ na-zi-ma-ru-[t]-t[aš] [ugal]  
6′ nakušib ₃ri-[mu]-r[i]

As mentioned above, in BE 14 no. 39 obv. 18, Dimaḫdi-Uraš is known as a brother of Ninurta-nādin-ahlē’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.

Bahḥuṭu/Ṣuḥḥututu 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 2 dug sag  
4 2 [dug] Uš  
5 0,1.2 silica[ ] bāppir  
6 3 silica[ ] [nig-är]-ra

Rev.
7 ak-šu₄  
8 bašu₄-ah-[ḫu]-tu₄  
9 iš-gu₄-[sá]
Bă’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.\(^{151}\)

\(^{151}\) I discuss Bă’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.

### BE 14 no. 80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaš sag</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>kaš UŠ</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dug sag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>dug UŠ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>bāppir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ak-lu₂ ba-i-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ta₄ gan-gan-è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>en₄ še-kin-kus</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mu-22-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>na-zi-mūru-taš</td>
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<tr>
<td>u. e.</td>
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### BE 14 no. 83

<table>
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### BE 14 no. 87

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<tbody>
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### MUN 200

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
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</table>

### MUN 224

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
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<td>1’</td>
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<td>2’</td>
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<tr>
<td>3’</td>
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<tr>
<td>4’</td>
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<tr>
<td>lo. e.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

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.

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 ša [Uš]
3 3 dug gal kaš
4 5 dug gal kaš [u–]
5 0.2.1 ša [u–]
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-lu₄ 'ri-mu-tu₄
4 ta u₄-24-kam ša ii-gu₄-s[i-sá]
5 en u₄-28-kam ša ii-sig₄

rev.
6 mu-6-kam
7 ḍa-daš-man-tūr-gu
8 ūṣi-in₄
9 [siṣišib] 'ri-mu-tu₄

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.\(^{152}\)

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. 136.\(^{152}\)

\(^{152}\) In BE 14 no. 39, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu took away agricultural land, and his brother, Dimaḫdi-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]iṭ-Ekur.\(^{(153)}\) Interestingly he appears not only in four aklu documents sealed by Rīmūtu, but also in one sealed by Ninurta-kīn-pišu. The term la ra-[ša-bu] can be found in MUN 224. Bā’eru is mentioned with other brewers (Baḥḫūtu/Ṣuḫḫūtu, Šamaš-mušēzib, and Erība-Ninurta in CUSAS 30 no. 136 and Baḥḫūtu/Ṣuḫḫūtu 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 (raklu, 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 76–8 (BE 14 no. 82); 1285, NM IV-year 23 (MUN 223). This brewer received barley for the work assignment (iškaru) in [Tukul]iṭ-Ekur.\(^{(154)}\) He is mentioned with the other brewers Baḥḫūtu/Ṣuḫḫūtu, Bā’eru, and Erība-Ninurta (CUSAS 30 no. 136).

2.8.4. Ėriš-Ea (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in BE 14 nos. 64 (aklu, beer, Rīmūtu), 75\(^{(155)}\) (raklu, beer), CUSAS 30 no. 143 (obv. 14: iškaru). These documents’ dates are around the middle of Nazi-Maruttaš: 1294, NM 2-III-year 14? (+), days broken (BE 14 no. 64); 1290, NM 10-VI-2-kam\(^{(156)}\).year 18, days 6–10 (no. 75). Ėriš-Ea received [barley] for iškaru in bit karē ša Nippur (CUSAS 30 no. 143). The term la a-ša-bu can be found in BE 14 no. 64. Ėriš-Ea is mentioned with the millers Sīn-muballiṭ 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 Baḥḫūtu/Ṣuḫḫūtu and Bā’eru (CUSAS 30 no. 141).

2.8.6. Lūši-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-muballiṭ (a miller) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 70 (aklu, flour, Rīmūtu), MUN 158 (raklu, flour, Rīmūtu). 

\(^{(153)}\) CUSAS 30 no. 136 rev. 2; Āl-Ṣelebi 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 (ešīk-in-nin-in-2-kam).
[flour, Rīmūtu], 160 (143 obv. 13 (flour), 144 obv. 6 (flour), 147 obv. 4: 144 obv. 7: iškaru, [barley]), and 147 obv. 4: 144 obv. 7: 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-pišu (MUN 160). In the aklu documents, he is mentioned with several place names: Āl-Irrē (BE 14 no. 70 obv. 3), uñx-x-x (CBS 9514 obv. 3), and Dūr-Enlilē (MUN 160 obv. 7). In the iškaru documents, he is mentioned with a storehouse, and with the granary of Nippur. He is often mentioned with the miller Lā-qiṣpu, mentioned twice with Ninurta-ašarēd, probably a miller (CBS 2/2 no. 115, CUSAS 30 no. 144), and once with Ėriš-Ea, probably a brewer (CUSAS 30 no. 143).

2.8.8. Lā-qiṣpu (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, 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). In the iškaru documents, he is mentioned with a storehouse and with the granary of Nippur. The term r’a-ša’-bu ulla a-ša-bu can be found in MUN 157. Lā-qiṣpu is often mentioned with Sīn-muballit, a miller, with Ninurta-ašarēd, probably a miller (CBS 2/2 no. 115, CUSAS 30 no. 144), and once with Ėriš-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)

(157) bīt kunukki: PBS 2/2 no. 115 rev. 7 (ē ṣē[kisib]), CUSAS 30 no. 147 obv. 1.

(158) bīt karē ša Nippur: CUSAS 30 no. 143 obv. 1.

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

(160) Because the tablet is broken, the tentative reading uš.[bar] may instead be a part of the sign KA (k[a-zi-d])

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

(162) bīt kunukki: PBS 2/2 no. 115 obv. 7: ṣē[kisib].

(163) bīt karē ša Nippur: CUSAS 30 no. 143 obv. 1.

(164) PBS 2/2 nos. 70, 71, 115, CUSAS 30 nos. 143, 144.
also mention a Lā-qīpu.\(^{(165)}\)

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 'ri-mu-tuša). 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.\(^{(166)}\)

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 \(\text{id-en-lil-MUS \ ur\text{s}a-bi}\) (Matthews no. 148: Rīmūtu)
2. BE 15 no. 157, obv. 15 \(\text{id-en-lil-MUS \ ur\text{s}a-bil-tu} \) 4
3. MRWH 31, rev. 38 \(\text{id-en-lil-MUS \ ur\text{s}a-bil-tu} \) 4 (Matthews no. 164)
4. MUN 123, rev. 9 \(\text{id-en-lil-MUS \ ur\text{s}a-bi} \) 4
5. MUN 134, obv. 5\(^{(168)}\) \(\text{id-en-lil-MUS \ ur\text{s}a-bil-tu} \) 4
6. UM 29-15-685, rev. 27 \(\text{id-en-lil-MUS \ ur\text{s}a-bi}\) (Matthews no. 148: Enlil-AL-SA\(_6\))

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 Ṣabiltu. In the above list of Enlil-aḫulap’s Nippur occurrences, we find two different seal impressions, Matthews nos. 148 and 164.

No. 148: MUN 123 1303 NM XII - year 5
No. 148: UM 29-15-685 1300 NM 3 - I - year 8 days 1–3 Enlil-AL-SA\(_6\)
No. 164: MRWH 31 1300 NM VII - year 8
No. 148: BE 14 no. 71 aklu 1292 NM 30 - IX - year 16 days 19–30 Rīmūtu

\(^{(165)}\) Noted by Sassmannshausen (2001, 318) in connection with MUN 156.

\(^{(166)}\) On brewer and miller teams, see Deheselle 2004.

\(^{(167)}\) Or bi’.

\(^{(168)}\) For the name, see Brinkman 2004, 300.
It is chronologically possible that Enlil-ahulap 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-ahulap 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.


BE 14 no. 81: 1285, NM III-year 23, aklu, flour, Rūmûtu, 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-ṣul✉lī — Sassmannshausen (2001, 334) points out regarding MUN 202 that Enlil-ṣul✉lī 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, Rūmûtu (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 1be-la-ni
BE 14 no. 111, 2 1268, KT XII-year 14, loan document (as creditor), i-na ě gur7 ša nibruki
CT 51, 28, 8 1272, KT 7-XII-year 10, loan document (as witness), dumu 1be-la-ni, i-na taḫ-la-aški(169)

As noted, Enlil-ṣul✉lī 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 Rūmûtu texts
This group of texts consists mainly but not entirely of aklu documents. Rūmûtu usually sealed with the

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same seal (Matthews no. 148), but at least once with another one (Matthews no. 55). Rîmûtu’s period of activity is from the middle of Nazi-Maruttaš to the end of Kadašman-Turgu. He is contemporary with Ninurta-kin-pîšu. In these texts, aklu products are issued for several purposes, for ration of horse keepers (šuk 5 sipa anše-kur-ra),\(^{(170)}\) for banquet (kin-sig),\(^{(171)}\) for offering (ki-is-pu)\(^{(172)}\) and to several persons, to a governor (ṭarad.dâmar-utu gar-nu),\(^{(173)}\) to a young female servant (šū-ḫur-tu),\(^{(174)}\) to a messenger (dumu šip-ri).\(^{(175)}\) 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.\(^{(176)}\) 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 Rîmûtu.

\(^{(170)}\) MUN 100 obv. 2.

\(^{(171)}\) BE 14 no. 81 obv. 1.

\(^{(172)}\) UM 29-13-946 obv. 1’. For the discussion of kispu, see the commodities section of Ninurta-nâdin-ahḫē (4.5.2.).

\(^{(173)}\) BE 14 no. 81 obv. 3.

\(^{(174)}\) CBS 10981 obv. 5.

\(^{(175)}\) UM 29-15-713 rev. 16’.

\(^{(176)}\) In MRWH 34, Iqḫa-Adad (probably an oil-presser) prepared the oil. Ninurta-nâdin-ahḫē received it and brought it to the storehouse, and then Ninurta-nâdin-ahḫē sealed the document (1 3,1 P1.0.1 silica i-qiš ši-šum 1.5 silica 2 i-na šu iqi-ša-šiškur 3 1.5 nin-urta-sum-ah-he 4 im-ḫur-ma 5 a-na 7 a-tisšišib 1.5 še-riš 6 aia ub 1.5-kam 7 mu-6-kam 4ka-dâš-man 8-en-lil 8 4.5 kišib 4 1.5 nin-urta-sum-ah-he). In MRWH 34 the term aklu is not mentioned, but it is clear that the artisan prepared the commodity and that Ninurta-nâdin-ahḫē received it and sealed the document. Two aklu documents of Iqḫa-Adad (MUN 278, 279) are attested. They were also sealed by Ninurta-nâdin-ahḫē. 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.

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(177) The reading tukul-ti-é-kur is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

(178) 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. 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 (naškišib kiši-bi-nin-urta-ki-pī-šu), but whose seal impression is like that of Rîmûtu (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 is the Second Kassite style.

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."

(179) N 2982 is included with no. 155, but it is a fragment, and I cannot find a clear seal impression (P278046.jpg).

(180) 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.


As mentioned above, (183) 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 Ṛ27-VIII-year 11). (184) The latest one is MUN 446 (1278, KT 18-XII-year 4). The period is almost 20 years. (185) The dates are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 53</td>
<td>1297</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td>year 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 199</td>
<td>1287</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td></td>
<td>year 21 days broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 9781</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>year 22 days 16–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 78</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>year 22 19-I to 6-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 9543</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>year 22 13-III to 2-IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 99</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>year 22 days 5–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 9511</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>year 22 23-IX to 8-X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 80a</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td>year 24?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 160</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>year 24 1-I to 30-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 83</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>year 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 85</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>year 24 days 1–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 9528</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>year 24 days broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 159</td>
<td>1306</td>
<td>ṚXI</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>year 2(+) days x–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 87a</td>
<td></td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 446</td>
<td>1278</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>year 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(183) See the Rīmūtu’s section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

(184) 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.

(185) 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-pišu:

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-pišu, 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 (24th NM). BE 14 no. 87a (30: XII) is dated at the end of the year ([x]th NM).

3.4. Occupations

In the texts of Ninurta-kīn-pišu, 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-pišu 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 ($\frac{1}{2}$) is used. Sometimes a fraction ($\frac{1}{2}$) is used. But in MUN 99, kaš [UŠ] is expressed with a cardinal number and a solid capacity measure (56 $\frac{3}{8}$ 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 [x?], dug gal kaš $\times x$ [x]), CBS 9528 (dug gal), CBS 9543 (dug sag), CBS 9781 (dug gal)

báppir: BE 14 nos. 80a, 83, MUN 99 (báppir ù A-[x]), CBS 9528, CBS 9543, CBS 9781

níg-ăr-ra: BE 14 no. 80a ([níg-ăr]-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 (zì-da)$^*$

We can find three lambs (sila$_4$) 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-pišu, Dūr-Enlilē is mentioned 4 times. In CBS 9543 obv. 6, Tukultī-Ekur is referred to. Dūr-Enlilē and Tukultī-Ekur are known as settlements around Nippur. Therefore Ninurta-kīn-pišu worked in Nippur and the surrounding settlements. In MUN 446, a place name ...-Apsû ([x]-abzu $\times$) is referred to.

3.7. Notes
As mentioned above, ašābu and related phrases occur in the aklu documents. In the Ninurta-kīn-pišu texts, the following are attested.

ašābu: BE 14 no. 85, MUN 159 ([x] a-ša-bu$^{(191)}$), CBS 9528

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$^{(186)}$ 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).

$^{(187)}$ BE 14 no. 78 obv. 3, MUN 99 rev. 9, 159 obv. 6, and 160 obv. 7.

$^{(188)}$ The reading tukul-ti-ē-kur is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

$^{(189)}$ See CUSAS 30, p. 302 (no. 229).

$^{(190)}$ See Rīmūtu’s section of note (ašābu).

$^{(191)}$ Or [la] a-ša-bu.
3.8. Prosopography

Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

- Ninurta-kšn-pššu (Sealed a number of aklu documents.)
- Ninurta-zākir-šumi (Worked in association with Ninurta-kšn-pššu.)
- Enlil-nššu (The father of Ninurta-kšn-pššu.)
- Bā’eru (A brewer)
- Erība-Ninurta (Probably a brewer)
- Bahḫūtu/Šulḫutu (Probably a brewer)
- Rīmūtu (A brewer)
- Šin-muballīṭ (A miller)
- Tarību (A miller)

3.8.1. Ninurta-kšn-pššu — 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), 85 (aklu, flour?), 87a (aklu), MUN 99 (aklu, beer), 159 (aklu, flour), 160 (aklu, flour), 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-nššu (father), Dimaḫdi-Uraš (brother), and Ninurta-nādīn-ahḫē (son). Ninurta-kšn-pššu took away the agricultural land of Āl-Irrē, and his brother Dimaḫdi-Uraš had collected tax from the land. In brief his family seems to have been involved in land administration. Probably Ninurta-kšn-pššu inherited the seal from his father, Enlil-nššu. In the section on Rīmūtu (2.8.1.), I discussed the relationship between Ninurta-kšn-pššu and Rīmūtu. It is likely that there is a relationship like that of colleagues. They are contemporaries. Dūr-Enlīlē is mentioned 4 times. Therefore Ninurta-kšn-pššu worked in Nippur and the settlements around Nippur.

It may be significant that a certain Ninurta-kšn-pššu sealed CUSAS 30 no. 336 obv. 3 ([’ndnin] urtaki-in3-ka-šu ka-nik).

(192) In BE 14 no. 85, something is measured by 5 qa measures (1,1.3.4 sīla 6/bān 5 sīla). Because a miller is mentioned, probably flour is measured here.


(194) 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-kīn-pīšu, [Dūr-Enlilē]), CBS 9511 (aklu, 'flour', Ninurta-kīn-[pīšu]). These texts are dated in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš.\(^{(195)}\) 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 ̀ a 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.\(^{(196)}\) In MUN 405 (1289, NM 10-I-year 19), Ninurta-zākir-šumi (obv. 5) receiving 10 sickles (niggallu) and Ąl-Irrē (obv. 7: uru-ir-re-e)\(^{(197)}\) is mentioned. This MUN 405 may have a relationship to CUSAS 30 no. 231 (no date), because two persons (Arad-Marduk and Ąb-šār-Adad) and Ąl-Irrē appear in both documents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN 405</th>
<th>CUSAS 30 no. 231</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7  ana Ąl-Irrē</td>
<td>6  Ąb-šār-Adad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8  Arad-Marduk</td>
<td>7  Arad-Marduk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9  Ąb-šār-Adad</td>
<td>9  Ąn Ąl-Irrē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?).\(^{(198)}\) The latest attestation may be no. 56 (KuE 16-II-[   ]).\(^{(199)}\) The period is about 32 years or more. Ninurta-zākir-šumi’s father is possibly Enil-kidimmē, and his son is Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī, who seems to play an important role in the administration.\(^{(200)}\) Ninurta-zākir-šumi appears in aklu documents.\(^{(201)}\) In no. 234 (no date, flour and barley), Ninurta-zākir-šumi is mentioned with aklu (obv. 4: ak-lum māš-mu-[nu]). 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 mān-nurta-mu-mu). The aklu expenditure is said to have been

\(^{(195)}\) 1286, NM 23-II-year 22, days 16–23 (BE 14 no. 78); 1306(-), NM 30-IX-year 2(+), days x–30 (MUN 159); and 1286, NM 8-X-year 22, 23-IX to 8-X (CBS 9511).

\(^{(196)}\) Tukultī-Ekur is known as a settlement in the area of Nippur. See CUSAS 30, p. 302 no. 229.

\(^{(197)}\) Ąl-Irrē may be a settlement in the area of Nippur. See CUSAS 30, p. 304 no. 231, obv. 13.

\(^{(198)}\) 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.

\(^{(199)}\) Kudur-Enlil’s fisrt year is 1254. See Brinkman 1976a, 31.

\(^{(200)}\) See CUSAS 30, p. 24.

\(^{(201)}\) Nos. 234, 275, 287?, 289.
put under seal for Mudammiq-Adad (obv. 13: a-na mu-sigs-kiškur 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: Ṧkaṣ iš 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′: Ṣna₄ kišib md nin-urta-mu-mu). The phrase ašābu can be found (obv. 3: ra-ša-bu ù la a-ša-bu). Van Soldt said that there are seal impressions on the edges.

3.8.3. Enlil-nīṣu — 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 Dimahdi-Uraš, and the grandfather of Ninurta-nādin-āḫḫē. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu took away the agricultural land of Āl-Irrē, and his brother, Dimahdi-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 202-VIII-year 11), three lambs are mentioned. Enlil-nīṣu 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-nīṣu is mentioned in TBER 5 AO 2507 obv. 8. In the preceding lines (obv. 4–7), persons whose names are attested as governor (šandabakkû) can be found. I reproduce the transliteration below to facilitate discussion.

TBER 5 AO 2507 (No date):

3 1e-til-pu
4 3š-nin-urta-na-din-šeš-šeš
5 1a-mi-la'-a-tu₄
6 3š-en-lil-ki-di-ni
7 3š-en-lil-AL-SA₆
8 3š-en-lil-ni-šu

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

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

(202) See Sollberger 1968 and Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (1.2.4: šandabakkû). Also it may be significant that in TBER 5 AO 2507 rev. 22, a certain Ninurta-zākir-šumi (3š-nin-urta-mu-mu) is mentioned.
in the reign of Burna-Buriyašt II (24th year: 1336).\(^{(203)}\) Amīlātu is known as a governor (šandabakku) of Nippur before or in the reign of Kurigalzu I.\(^{(204)}\) As stated above, Enlil-kidinnī is a well-known governor of Nippur. At least two of his descendants, Enlil-AL-SA₆ in the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (8th year, 1300) and Amīl-Marduk, from the 9th year of Šagarakti-Šuriyašt (1237) to the 4th year of Kaštiliyašt 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.\(^{(205)}\) In this study, I discuss Enlil-kidinnī in the section on Matthews no. 164, Enlil-AL-SA₆ in the section on Enlil-AL-SA₆, 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. Eriba-Ninurta (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in the following documents: MUN 99 (aklu, beer, Ninu[rta-kīn-pīšu]), CBS 9528 (aklu, beer, Ninurta-rkīn[-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.\(^{(206)}\) He received the barley in [Tukul]tī-Ekur as material for his work.\(^{(207)}\) 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: aša-bu). Eriba-Ninurta is mentioned with other brewers in CUSAS 30 no. 136 (Baḫḫūtu/Šuḫḫutu, Bā’eru, and Šamaš-mušēzib).

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

3.8.6. Baḫḫūtu/Šuḫḫutu (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

\(^{(203)}\) See also Brinkman 2003/2004, 399–400.

\(^{(204)}\) Sollberger 1968, 191–192.

\(^{(205)}\) Van Soldt 2015, 24.

\(^{(206)}\) 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+).

\(^{(207)}\) CUSAS 30 no. 136 rev. 2; Āl-Šelebi is also found in obv. 2.
[Tukul]ī-Ekur.\textsuperscript{(208)} Baḥḫūtu/Ṣūḫḫutu is mentioned with other brewers (in CUSAS 30 no. 136 with Bāʾeru, Šamaš-mušēzib, and Erība-Ninurta; and in CUSAS 30 no. 141 with Bāʾeru and Amīl-Isīn).

3.8.7. Rīmūtu (a brewer) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 87a (\textit{aklu}, beer, seal reference to Ninurta-kīn-pīšu, with seal impression like that of Rīmūtu, i.e., Matthews no. \textbf{148}) and CBS 9543 (\textit{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. Sīn-muballīṭ (a miller) — Regarding Sīn-muballīṭ, see the previous section \textbf{2.8.7}.

3.8.9. Tarību (a miller) — Mentioned in BE 14 no. 85 (\textit{aklu}, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu). The date is 1284, NM 6-IX-year 24, days 1–6. He is attested as a miller. The phrase \textit{ašaḥu} can be found (obv. 2: \textit{a-šaḥu}). 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.\textsuperscript{(209)}

3.9. Summary of the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts

Almost all the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu documents are \textit{aklu} documents, but BE 14 no. 53 is a record of lambs. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu usually sealed them with the same seal (Matthews no. \textbf{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. \textbf{148}). Ninurta-kīn-pīšu’s father Enlil-nīšu used the seal (Matthews no. \textbf{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.\textsuperscript{(210)} Therefore Ninurta-kīn-pīšu’s active area includes Nippur and the settlements around it. In the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts, the purposes of the \textit{aklu} are not specified clearly. However, as with the Rīmūtu texts, the \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{(208)} CUSAS 30 no. 136 rev. 2; Āl-Šēlebi is also found in obv. 2.

\textsuperscript{(209)} See Deheselle 2004.

\textsuperscript{(210)} BE 14 no. 78 obv. 4, MUN 99 rev. 9, 159 obv. 6, 160 obv. 7.
4. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē

Data

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>BE 14 no. 116</td>
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<td>na₄kīšīb ḫ₄nin-urta-na-din-ah-he²¹¹</td>
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<td>1258, KaE year 6</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Kidin-Adad Ēṣuqamuna-ē/īriš Ił-liša-rēma</td>
<td>šarru</td>
<td>replacements (?) (²¹²)/alloy</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 43</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kīšīb ḫ₄nin-urta-sum-ah-he</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1257, KaE year 7</td>
<td>III-21 to IV-24(+)</td>
<td>Izkur-Adad</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 45</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kīšīb ḫ₄nin-urta-sum-ah-he</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1 (diri)</td>
<td>XI-7 to *XIIa-29²¹³</td>
<td>Bēlšunu</td>
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<td>beer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS 13 no. 71</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kīšīb ḫ₄nin-urta-sum-ah-he</td>
<td>Matthews no.</td>
<td>1252, KuE XII</td>
<td>Li/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>Larsa</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

²¹¹ For the reading -ah-he, see the CDLI photo (P264434.jpg).

²¹² pillātu. See van Soldt 2015, 47 comment to line 7.

²¹³ 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)."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
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<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
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<th>Occupations</th>
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<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>PBS 13 no. 74</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄-kššiqib i₄-nin-urta-sum-na₄-kššiqib i₄-nin-urta-sum-ah-₄-he</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>year 3</td>
<td>VI?-28 to IX?-10</td>
<td>Uzibu</td>
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<td>beer</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRWH 18</td>
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<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1252, KuE year 3</td>
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<td>Amīl-Marduk</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRWH 19</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
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<td>?</td>
<td>1253, KuE year 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zēr-kīnī-līšir</td>
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<td>barley</td>
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<td>MRWH 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRWH 21</td>
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<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1 (diri)</td>
<td>*XIIa</td>
<td>Amīl-Marduk</td>
<td>ikkaru</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>lā aʾšāḥ bu</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRWH 22</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄-kššiqib i₄-nin-urta-na-din-na₄-kššiqib i₄-nin-urta-na-din-ah-₄-he</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1258, KaE year 6</td>
<td>VI-25 to VII-2</td>
<td>Bābilāyu</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>beer</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRWH 23</td>
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<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1 (diri)</td>
<td>XI-7 to *XIIa-30</td>
<td>Nāḫirānu</td>
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<td>beer</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRWH 24</td>
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<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1 (diri)</td>
<td>*XIIa days 1–17</td>
<td>Uzibu</td>
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<td>beer</td>
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</table>

(²¹⁴) Underlining in this column indicates a new document that should be included with Matthews no. 189. See also MRWH, p. 62.
<table>
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<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
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<tr>
<td>MRWH 28</td>
<td>ak-lu</td>
<td>[ˌnaṭk]išib ld₃nin-urta-sum-šešt⁵me₃</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1253, KuE year 2</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
<td>tābiḥu ikkaru mār спешri</td>
<td>flour barley</td>
<td>ḥarrāni/girri</td>
<td>lā a[š]ābu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 29(²¹⁵)</td>
<td>ak-lu</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1252, KuE year 3</td>
<td>I-VI</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>šāqū tābiḥu nuḥatimmu rēʾū šandabakku itinnu x x x (ḥ[i]) tamkāru mār спешri ša rēšī mār спешri sāliḥu</td>
<td>flour barley</td>
<td>Raši</td>
<td>Dūr-ilu (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 34</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>naṭkišib ld₃nin-urta-sum-ah-ḥe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1258, KaE year 6</td>
<td>X-15</td>
<td>Iqīša-Adad</td>
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<td>oil</td>
<td>bītu kunukki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 164</td>
<td>ak-lu</td>
<td>naṭkišib ld₃nin-urta-sum-</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1257, KaE V, days 7–</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Amīl-Marduk</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(²¹⁵) 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.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Seal Reference</th>
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<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUN 165</td>
<td>ṛakī-īlu₄</td>
<td>ra₄kišibᵲ Na₄urta-sum⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻ᵃḫhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1256, KaE year 8</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Li/śni-ana-nūr-[Adad]</td>
<td>--- (broken)</td>
<td>--- (broken)</td>
<td>--- (broken)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 166</td>
<td>ṛakī-īlu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib Na₄-nurta-sum⁻⁻⁻⁻ᵃḫhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1</td>
<td>III, days 8(+)-26</td>
<td>Li/śni-an-a-nūr-Adad</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 167</td>
<td>ṛakī-īlu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib Na₄[Ninurta-nādin]-⁻ᵃḥhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1</td>
<td>III-27 to V-5</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 168</td>
<td>ṛakī-īlu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib ṭNinurta-sum⁻⁻ᵃḥhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1</td>
<td>VI-4? to VII-1</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 169</td>
<td>ak-īlu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib Na₄-nurta-sum⁻⁻ᵃḥhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1</td>
<td>X, days 3–7</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 170</td>
<td>ak-īlu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib Na₄-nurta-na-din⁻⁻ᵃḥhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1</td>
<td>XII-29 (days 18–28)²¹⁶</td>
<td>Amīl-Marduk</td>
<td>mār šipri</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 171</td>
<td>ak-īlu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib Na₄[in-urt]a-sum⁻ᵃḥhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1254, KuE year 1 (diri)</td>
<td>XI-7? to *XIa-30</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 172</td>
<td>[a]k-īlu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib Na₄-nurta-sum⁻ᵃḥhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1253, KuE year 2</td>
<td>I, days 2–4</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
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<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 173</td>
<td>ak-īlu₄</td>
<td>ra₄kišib Na₄-Nīn-urt⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻ᵃḥhe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 1253, KuE year 189</td>
<td>1253, KuE year 2</td>
<td>III-16 to</td>
<td>Several persons ša kitī</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>Āl-Aṭēh</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>²¹⁶ MUN 170 is dated to the 29th day. But obv. 2–3 mentions days 18–28.</td>
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</table>

²¹⁶ MUN 170 is dated to the 29th day. But obv. 2–3 mentions days 18–28.
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<tr>
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<th>Seal Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 174</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>sum-{ab-ḫe}</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>year 2</td>
<td>IV-6 and III-15 to IV-7</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>bit Nimirab-Marduk</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 175</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>naškišib liüna-urta-sum-ah-ḫe</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>1253, KuE year 2</td>
<td>III-16 to IV-5</td>
<td>Liüşi-ana-nūr-Adad</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour-barley</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 176</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>naškišib liüna-urta-sum-ah-ḫe</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>1253, KuE year 2</td>
<td>rV1-6 to VI-29</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour-barley</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>lā ašābu</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 177</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>naškišib liüna-urta-sum-šeš-šeš</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>1252, KuE year 3</td>
<td>XII-6 to I-6</td>
<td>Liüşi-ana-nūr-Adad Tarību</td>
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<td>flour-barley</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 178</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>naškišib liüna-urta-[nādin-ah]-ḫe</td>
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<td>1252, KuE year 3</td>
<td>IV-28</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
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<td>flour-barley</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>arād mār šarri</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 179</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>naškišib liüna-urta-sum-ah-ḫe</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1252, KuE V, days 19-</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
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<td>flour</td>
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(217) But probably aklu.
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<th>Seal Impression</th>
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<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
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<th>Place Names</th>
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<td>MUN 180</td>
<td>ak-lu?, ak-lu</td>
<td>na₂kišib₄₅nin-u[rta-nādin-aḫḥē]</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1252, KuE year 3</td>
<td>V-28 to VII-10</td>
<td>Līūṣi-ana-nūr-Adad</td>
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<td>barley</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 182</td>
<td>ak-lu</td>
<td>na₂kišib₄₅nin-urta-sum-aḫ-ḥē</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1252, KuE year 3</td>
<td>VI-11(+) to VII-5</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 183</td>
<td>ak-lu</td>
<td>na₂kišib₄₅nin-urta-sum-[aḫ-ḥē]</td>
<td>Matthews no. 189</td>
<td>1252, KuE year 3</td>
<td>VII, days 26–30</td>
<td>Tarību</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>barley</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 184</td>
<td>[a]k-lu₄</td>
<td>na₂ Kišib⁷₇</td>
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²¹⁸ The seal impression is very faint. Matthews 1992, 135 mentions MUN 245 (UM 29-15-984) with a question mark.

²¹⁹ Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 197 (∨MN[7]-12-year 4; *CBS 8706 B; ∨MN[7]-26 to ∨MN[7]-12; reading of MN’s uncertain; collation courtesy of Erle Leichty; P.2.6.148)
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²²⁰ 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).
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(221) Cf. the comment of Brinkman (2004, 297) about p. 185: CBS 3818 (Kaštiliyašu IV, accession year). The CDLI photo of CBS 3818 (P260188.jpg) is a bulla which does not have a date.

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(222) 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.
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\(^{(223)}\) For Ni 2240, see Brinkman 1976a, 413 C. 6 (elē šarri).
Discussion

In this chapter I will discuss the documents related to Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē. 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(224) can be added to this group, because these documents have some similarities (in seal impression, year, prosopography, etc.) with other documents of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē. I also deal with BE 14 no. 116 here, because it refers to a document sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē(225) (ₙ₅₉kišib₄nin-urta-na-din-aḫ-he) and its date (1258, KaE XI-year 6) fits with the dates of other of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē’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? (ₙ₅₉lu₄lu₄), 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234 (ₙ₅₉lu₄lu₄), 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? (ₙ₅₉lu₄lu₄), 325, CBS 7160, 7694, 7698, 7713, 7714, 7721? (ₙ₅₉lu₄lu₄), 8573, 8741, 13362, 15016? (ₙ₅₉lu₄lu₄), 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-aḫḫē’s seal


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(224) For Ni 2240, see Brinkman 1976a, 413 C. 6 (clē šarrī).

(225) Regarding the reading -aḫ-he, see CDLI’s photo (P264434.jpg).

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Matthews no. 189 is a Second Kassite derivative.\(^{226}\)

Inscription:

\[\text{en.lil. / al.sā₄} \quad \text{Enlil-asha,}\]
\[\text{n[u]l[-ēš / [d]en.lil} \quad \text{Prelate of Enlil,}\]
\[\text{gudu₄ / [d]in.lil} \quad \text{Gudu-priest of Ninil,}\]
\[\text{gā.dub.ba / nibru₄} \quad \text{Governor of Nippur,}\]
\[\text{dumu \text{en-lil- / ki-di-ni}} \quad \text{Son of Enlil-kidinni,}\]
\[\text{[l]ū '[mug / [q]n[in'.[tin].lu.ba} \quad \text{(Official) of Nintinluba(?).} \text{\textsuperscript{227}}\]


\(^{226}\) 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-SA₄), 17 n. 215 (Enlil-AL-SA₄), 18 n. 230 (Enlil-AL-SA₄), 66 n. 1052 (pašīšu); Brinkman 2004, 287 n. 25 (nēšakku); CAD P, p. 255 (pašīšu).


\(^{228}\) 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 CXIV (MRWH 21), Tafeln CXIII–CXV (MRWH 23), Tafeln CXVI–CXVIII (MRWH 24) and Tafeln CXXII–CXXXII (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.\(^{(229)}\) 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-\(\text{rMN}^\gamma\)-year 5, 26-\(\text{rMN}^\gamma\) to 12-\(\text{rMN}^\gamma\))\(^{(230)}\) so the period is about 14 years. The list of dates is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Year Range</th>
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<td>1263</td>
<td>KaE 23</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>12-IV to 23-V</td>
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<td>KaE 24</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>24-(\text{rMN}^\gamma) to 24-VI</td>
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<td>KaE 24</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>24-(\text{rMN}^\gamma) to 24-VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 22</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>KaE 2</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>25-VI to 2-VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 226</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>KaE 2</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>25-VI to 2-VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 34</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>KaE 15</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>year 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 204</td>
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<td>KaE</td>
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<td>MRWH 18</td>
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<td>KaE 15/16/17-XI</td>
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<td>days 2–15/16/17</td>
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<td>1258</td>
<td>KaE 29</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>year 6</td>
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<td>year 6</td>
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<td>I</td>
<td>year 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 43</td>
<td>1257</td>
<td>KaE 24(+)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>year 7</td>
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<td>KaE 23</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>year 7</td>
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<td>MUN 205</td>
<td>1257</td>
<td>KaE 4</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>year 7</td>
</tr>
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<td>MUN 255</td>
<td>1257</td>
<td>KaE 1</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>year 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBS 7160</td>
<td>1257</td>
<td>KaE XII?</td>
<td>year 7</td>
<td>X to XII?</td>
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<td>I</td>
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<td>I</td>
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<td>KuE</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>year 1</td>
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<td>KuE [ ]</td>
<td>I??</td>
<td>year 1 (diri)</td>
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<td>1254</td>
<td>KuE 26</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 167</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>KuE 5</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 264</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>KuE 5</td>
<td>V?</td>
<td>year 1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(229)}\) See Sassmannshausen 2001, 341 (MUN 228: Kein Siegelabdruck).

\(^{(230)}\) Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 197 (P.2.6.148: \(\text{rMN}^\gamma\)-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 | 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) |
| 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) | days 1–17 |
| Ni 7947 | 1254 KuE | 17 - XIIa - year 1 (diri) | days 1–17 |
| MUN 212 | 1254 KuE | 24 - XIIa - 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 |

\(^{(231)}\) MUN 170 is dated to the 29\(^{th}\) day but obv. 2–3 mentions days 18–28.

\(^{(232)}\) Regarding *XIIa and XIIa, Brinkman 1976a, 193 n. 7.

\(^{(233)}\) The month is written as it\(^{i}\)diri. Probably it is it\(^{i}\)diri-<še-KIN-ku\(_{5}\)>.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>II - year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 234</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>II - year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 235</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>14 - III - year 2</td>
</tr>
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<td>MUN 236</td>
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<td>KuE</td>
<td>[ ]-III - year 2(+)</td>
</tr>
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<td>MUN 214</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>III - year 2</td>
</tr>
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<td>MUN 174</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>5 - IV - year 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 237</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>5(+) - IV - year 2</td>
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<td>MUN 173</td>
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<td>KuE</td>
<td>7 - IV - year 2</td>
</tr>
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<td>CBS 15016</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>20 - IV? - year 2</td>
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<td>MRWH 28</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>IV - year 2</td>
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<td>Ni 8013</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>5 - -deals - year 2</td>
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<td>MUN 175</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>29 - VI - year 2</td>
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<td>MUN 251</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>29 - VI - year 2</td>
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<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>29 - VI - year 2</td>
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<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>VII - year 2</td>
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<td>1253</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>19 - XI - year 2</td>
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<td>KuE</td>
<td>7 - XII - year 2</td>
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<td>MUN 240</td>
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<td>KuE</td>
<td>2 - -deals - year 2</td>
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<td>7 - II - year 3</td>
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<td>KuE</td>
<td>III - year 3</td>
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<td>9 - IV - year 3</td>
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<td>28 - IV - year 3</td>
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<td>KuE</td>
<td>18 - V - year 3</td>
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(234) For the month name readings, see the photo at P256846.jpg.

(235) 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.
<table>
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| MUN 247  | 1250 | KuE   | 12    | rMN
| MUN 227  | KaE  | 23    | XII   | [ ]  | 20-XI to 23-XII |
| MUN 220  | KuE  | 21    | VI    | [ ]  | days 10-21 |
| MUN 449  | KaE
| CBS 8573 | [ ]  | 26(+)-II | year 7 | days 12-26(+)
| CBS 13362 | [ ]  | x     | [ ]  | days 12-x |

(236) For the month name readings, see the photo at P269168.jpg.

(237) In obv. 18, IX (_gan-rē₃_) is mentioned.

(238) Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 197 (rMN?-12-year 4; *CBS 8706 B; rMN?-26 to rMN?-12; reading of MN’s uncertain; collation courtesy of Erle Leichty; P.2.6.148)
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\(^{(239)}\) and Izkur-Adad\(^{(240)}\) are mentioned with beer. Therefore probably they are brewers. I reproduce the transliterations to compare the amounts of beer for the same period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MRWH 22</th>
<th>MUN 226</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Obv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 17</td>
<td>1 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaš sag</td>
<td>ṭkaš sag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1-šu</td>
<td>2 50 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaš Uš</td>
<td>ṭkaš Uš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 11 1/2(?</td>
<td>3 2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dug</td>
<td>dug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 0,0.3.</td>
<td>4 3(^ {3}) sīla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāppir</td>
<td>bāppir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ak-luš šu 1ba-bi-la-a-a-ū</td>
<td>5 ak-luš šu 1ḫi-[G]UR/[k]ūr-4škur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to kaš sag, the two brewers deal with almost the same amount. As to kaš Uš, dug, and bāppir, 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?  Bēšunu  beer
Ni 6083\(^{(241)}\) 1254  KuE  5-V-year 1  27-III to 5-V  ?  ? |\(^ {1}\) |


\(^{(240)}\) PBS 2/2 no. 43, MUN 212, 226, 236, 254, 255.

\(^{(241)}\) 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\(^{(242)}\) is mentioned with flour and barley,\(^{(243)}\) so probably he is a miller. He is mentioned with Li/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a miller) in CBS 13 no. 71 and MUN 177. Bēšunu\(^{(244)}\) is mentioned with beer. Therefore probably he is a brewer.

**Example 3:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN 168 1254</th>
<th>KuE</th>
<th>1-VII-year 1</th>
<th>4?-VI to 1-VII</th>
<th>Tarību</th>
<th>flour, barley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUN 228 1254</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>1?-VII-year 1</td>
<td>3(+-)VI to 1?-VII</td>
<td>Bēšunu</td>
<td>beer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Example 4:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN 230 1254</th>
<th>KuE</th>
<th>22(+-)XII-year 1</th>
<th>days 18–22(+)</th>
<th>Bābilāyu</th>
<th>beer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUN 170 1254</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>29-XII-year 1</td>
<td>(days 18–28)(^{(245)})</td>
<td>Amīl-Marduk</td>
<td>flour, barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 265 1254</td>
<td>KuE</td>
<td>29-XII-year 1</td>
<td>days 18–29</td>
<td>Nāhirānu</td>
<td>beer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN 230</th>
<th>MUN 265</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Obv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[ ]1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>32(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 sila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ak-lu₄ šu ḫa-bi-li-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^{(242)}\) 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, barey]), CBS 8573.

\(^{(243)}\) But in PBS 13 no. 71, only flour is mentioned.

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

\(^{(245)}\) MUN 170 is dated to the 29th day but obv. 2–3 mentions days 18–28.

\(^{(246)}\) MRWH 18, 20, 21 lo. e. 8, MUN 164, 170 rev. 13, 176, 186.

\(^{(247)}\) But in MUN 164, only flour is mentioned.

two brewers dealt with the same amount. For báppir, Nāḫirānu’s amount is larger. Only Nāḫirānu dealt with munuš 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(249) 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  Nāḫirānu  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 Nāḫirānu was probably a brewer (example 4). Also, as mentioned in example 2, Tarību may have been a miller. I reproduce the transliterations for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PBS 2/2 no. 45</th>
<th>MRWH 23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Obv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 14 1/2</td>
<td>1 7 x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 39</td>
<td>2 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 1/2</td>
<td>3 1 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 0,0.1.</td>
<td>4 0,0.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ak-luš šu ūen-šu-nu</td>
<td>5 ak-luš šu ūna-ḫi-ra-nu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Example 7:
MRWH 19  1253  KuE 12-II-year 2  28-I to 12-II  Zēr-kīnī-lišir  flour, barley
MUN 232  1253  KuE 12-II-year 2  28-I to 12-II  Nāḫirānu  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-kīnī-lišir (MRWH 19) is attested only once with flour and barley. He may have been a miller, but that is uncertain. As mentioned above, Nāḫirānu may have been a brewer (example 4), Bēlšunu

(249) PBS 13 no. 74, MRWH 24, MUN 213 rev. 12, 227, 237, 250? (obv. 6: 1šu [-ži]-t nhu), Ni 2240. About Ni 2240, see Brinkman 1976a, 413 C. 6 (elē šarrī). 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN 232</th>
<th>MUN 233</th>
<th>MUN 239</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 10 1/2 kaš sag</td>
<td>1 9 1/2 kaš sag</td>
<td>1 [ ] kaš sag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 29 1/2 kaš UŠ</td>
<td>2 19 1/2 kaš UŠ</td>
<td>2 [+]1 1/2 kaš UŠ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 4 dug</td>
<td>3 2 dug</td>
<td>3 1 dug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 0,0.1. bāppir</td>
<td>4 0,0.1. bāppir</td>
<td>4 2 šila b[āppir]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ak-lu₄ šu ₁na-ḫi-ra-nu</td>
<td>5 ak-lu₄ šu ₁en-šu-nu</td>
<td>5 ṣak₇-₃u₄ šu ₁ba-bi-[fi] r₃⁻r⁻⁻⁻</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Example 8:**

MUN 174 1253 KuE 5-IV-year 2 16-III to 5-IV Li/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 Several persons flour, barley  
Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad(251) 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.(252) As mentioned above (example 5), Uzibu may have been a brewer.

**Example 9:**

MUN 175 1253 KuE 29-VI-year 2 6-ṛV to 29-VI Tarību flour, barley  
MUN 251 1253 KuE 29-VI-year 2 6-V to 29-VI Bēlsunu 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), Bēlsunu was probably a brewer (example 2), and Nāḫirānu may have been a brewer (example 4). I reproduce the transliterations for the two brewers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN 251</th>
<th>MUN 252</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Obv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 43 kaš sag</td>
<td>1 43 kaš sag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1 me 30 kaš UŠ</td>
<td>2 1 me 20 kaš UŠ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 14 dug gal</td>
<td>3 6 dug gal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(250) 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.

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

(252) But in PBS 13 no. 17, only flour is mentioned.
Example 10:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
<th>MUN 260</th>
<th>MUN 261</th>
<th>MUN 262</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>24 1/2</td>
<td>40 1/2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 1/2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 sila</td>
<td>bāppir</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 sila</td>
<td>nīg-ār-ra</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>lagab munu₅</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[ak-₄₄ nu]</td>
<td>šu ₄₄-na-₄₄-ra-nu</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, both brewers dealt with the same amounts for kaṣ sag, bāppir and nīg-ār-ra. As to kaṣ 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-nadin-ahḫē.

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.

Nāḫirānu has the largest amount for kaṣ sag, and Bābilāyu has the largest amount for kaṣ UŠ, dug (gal), bāppir, and nīg-ār-ra. For lagab munu₅, 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  ك.ع 10-VII? 28-6 to 10-VII?  Uzibu  beer
MUN 180 1252  ك.ع 10-VII 28-V to 10-VII  Liḫuši-ana-nūr-Adad  flour, barley

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

Example 12:
These documents deal with flour, barley and beer. As mentioned above (example 2), Tarību was possibly a miller, and (example 4) Nāḫirānu may have been a brewer.

Example 13:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MUN 244

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For kaš sag, the amount of Bābilāyu is partly broken. The amounts of Bēlšunu are larger for kaš UŠ and bāppir. 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), Nāḫirānu (B), Bābilāyu (B)
- Example 5: Uzibu (B), ? (Ni 7947)
- Example 6: Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḫirānu (B)
- Example 7: Zēr-kīnī-lišir (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḫirānu (B), Bābilāyu (B)
- Example 8: Liši-ana-nūr-Adad (M), several persons (flour, barley), Uzibu (B)
- Example 9: Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḫirānu (B)
- Example 10: Tarību (M), Bēlšunu (B), Nāḫirānu (B), Bābilāyu (B)
- Example 11: Liši-ana-nūr-Adad (M), Uzibu (B)
- Example 12: Tarību (M), Nāḫirānu (B), ? (Ni 179)

(253) 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: Bēšunu (B), Bābilāyu (B)

Tarību (M), Bēšunu (B), Nāhirānu (B), and Bābilāyu (B) can be found in several combinations. We can find the combination of Lūši-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 ḫar (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.\(^{254}\)

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

4.3.2. ḫar (‘work assignment’)

The term ḫar 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).\(^{255}\) We also find other cereals such as wheat (gīg)\(^{256}\) and emmer (ÂŠ-AN-NA),\(^{257}\) as well as peas (gū-gal),\(^{258}\) malt (munu),\(^{259}\) beer bread (bāppir),\(^{260}\) and sesame (še-giš-ī).\(^{261}\) In

\(^{254}\) Deheselle 2004, 276.

\(^{255}\) Amply attested. For examples, see BE 14 no. 29, 1; BE 15 no. 3, 1; BE 15 no. 48, 7, etc.

\(^{256}\) BE 14 no. 91, 4; CBS 3149, 2; MUN 77, 1, etc.

\(^{257}\) BE 14 no. 92, 4; BE 14 no. 114a, 3; BE 15 no. 41, 5, etc.

\(^{258}\) CBS 3296, 5.

\(^{259}\) MUN 78, 3. A certain Sin-uballit received barley and malt. His profession is not stated.

\(^{260}\) MUN 269, 5. But it is not clear if this ḫar specifies the beer bread or the preceding measure (šu-nīgin 1,1.4. bāppir ⁰bān 6 ša ʾēš-gār ša šu ʾna-as-ḫi-ra-⁵amar-utu). Cf. MUN 257, 3–7:

3 ša 0,3.5. x x ta 10² ša še ezen

4 ⁰bān r 10² ša ʾēš-gār

5 a-na ê [ ] x [ -b]a-a

6 ta b̄[ ] x

7 ʾna-as-ḫi-[ra-⁵ama]r-utu

Here also the measure preceded the ḫar and Nashira-Marduk is also mentioned.

\(^{261}\) MRWH 33, 3; CT 51 no. 21, 1.
addition, several materials, such as wool (šīkḫi-a), paint (kuš-še-gin) and copper (urudu) were disbursed. Also we can find various materials for carriers (gišgigīr). Usually the brewers (lunga) and the millers (ka-zi-da) received barley (še) as their raw material. Sometimes the millers received other cereals, etc. (wheat, emmer, peas) along with barley. As Deheselle already pointed out, they received these materials together in several locations. Oil-pressers (lú-šurmeš) received sesame (še-giš-ì) for their work. Knotters (lú-túg-ΚΑ-kešdaméš) and weavers (lúš-bar ṭmu) received wool as their raw materials. Carpenters (lúnagarmeš) received lumber as for making carriers. A scribe (dub-sar) Ninurta-nāṣir received barley and emmer as iškaru. Regarding the iškaru of barley, some persons such as Innannu and Martuku in the documents of Das Archiv des Speichers and Nippuritu, Rišatu, Sugir-bunni in the documents thought to be from Dūr-Enlilē were responsible for disbursing it to the brewers and millers. Some of the iškaru documents have seal impressions, and the seal references are to the artisan (the brewer or miller who

(262) 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.).

(263) MUN 382, 6.

(264) BE 14 no. 123a, 4; BE 15 no. 108, 2.

(265) BE 15 no. 21 (oil: i-giš; paint: kušše-gin; sinew: umusa; flesh of sheep: uzu udu; copper: urudu; skin of male goat: kuš màš; skin of ox: kuš guš), PBS 2/2 no. 81 (lumber: gišmeš), and MUN 349, 5 (wool: šīkḫi-a).

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

(267) Deheselle 2004, 283.

(268) MRWH 33, 3.

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

(270) PBS 2/2 no. 81, 1.

(271) 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.

(272) 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.

(273) References to iškaru under the responsibility of Nippuritu are no. 68, 6; no. 71, 5; no. 73, 6 etc. Those for Rišatu 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.

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received the barley).\textsuperscript{(274)} The \textit{iškaru} documents sealed by the brewer are listed below.\textsuperscript{(275)} The abbreviations used here and in following lists are S. ref. (Seal reference), Matt. (Matthews), and No seal impres. (No seal impression).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Brewer</th>
<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 98</td>
<td>24-VIII-19</td>
<td>S. ref. to Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu Kandurū</td>
<td>No seal impression</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 114</td>
<td>21-VI-21</td>
<td>S. ref. to Eulmaš-bītu Zarat-Dūr-Gula</td>
<td>Matt. no. 160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 129</td>
<td>25-XII-22</td>
<td>S. ref. to Eulmaš-bītu Kandurū</td>
<td>Matt. no. 33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 138</td>
<td>1-I-24</td>
<td>S. ref. to Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu Bīt Ekur-zākir-šumi</td>
<td>Matt. no. 59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 3128</td>
<td>16-I-21</td>
<td>S. ref. to Eulmaš-bītu Kandurū</td>
<td>No seal impression</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 3131</td>
<td>26-XII-21</td>
<td>S. ref. to Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu Zarat-Dūr-Gula</td>
<td>No seal impres.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\textsuperscript{(276)} still have envelopes and are sealed on the envelopes. The others\textsuperscript{(277)} do not have an envelope any longer. The inside tablet was not

\textsuperscript{(274)} There are several documents in which we can find the term \textit{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-ḫa-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 \textit{iškaru} for the carrier can be found. This document is sealed by a certain Amil-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.

\textsuperscript{(275)} 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.

\textsuperscript{(276)} BE 15 nos. 114, 129, 138.

\textsuperscript{(277)} BE 15 no. 98, CBS 3128, CBS 3131.
sealed. In these texts two brewers, Eulmaš-bītu and Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēđītu, 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. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SEAL Reference</th>
<th>Seals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 86</td>
<td>13-XI-year 18</td>
<td>S. ref. to Arad-u4-19-kam</td>
<td>Zarat-Karkara</td>
<td>Matt. no. 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 116</td>
<td>2-IX-year 21</td>
<td>S. ref. to Rēš-aṣūšu</td>
<td>Kandurû</td>
<td>Matt. no. 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 118</td>
<td>25-XII-year 22</td>
<td>No Seal reference (Rēš-aṣūšu)</td>
<td>Kandurû</td>
<td>Matt. no. 33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-aṣūšu (a miller) received iškaru barley on the same date (25-XII-year 22) and in the same location (Kandurû). To her observations we can add that the seal impression (Matthews no. 33) is the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SEAL Reference</th>
<th>Seals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 129</td>
<td>25-XII-year 22</td>
<td>S. ref. to Eulmaš-bītu</td>
<td>Kandurû</td>
<td>Matt. no. 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 118</td>
<td>25-XII-year 22</td>
<td>No Seal reference (Rēš-aṣūšu)</td>
<td>Kandurû</td>
<td>Matt. no. 33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In BE 15 no. 118 there is no seal reference. Therefore it is likely that Eulmaš-bītu received the barley with Rēš-aṣūšu and sealed his own document and Rēš-aṣūšu’s document. Elsewhere Eulmaš-bītu and Rēš-aṣūšu appear together in iškaru documents. Deheselle identified a similar situation with

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


another pair. Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu (a brewer) and Rēš-ašûšu (a miller) received īškaru barley on the same date (1-I-year 24) in the same location (Bīt Ekur-zākir-šumi). In this case, however, the document of Rēš-ašûšu (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 Aḫu-illikam/Aḫēdūtu Bīt Ekur-zākir-šumi Matt. no. 59
BE 15 no. 139 1-I-year 24 No Seal reference (Rēš-ašûšu) 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 īškaru and aklu is still difficult to understand. Some artisans appear in both īškaru and aklu documents, a fact that can be explained in several ways. For example, the artisans received the barley as īškaru, and then used all the barley to process beer and flour for the aklu expenditure. Or, the artisans received the barley as īškaru, and then used only part of it for the aklu. Alternatively, they received the barley as īškaru, 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-aḫḫē group of texts

| II: | 13 times: | MRWH 19, 29, MUN 186, 213, 232, 233, 234, 239, 241, 253, CBS 8573, Ni 7959, 8013? |
| VI: | 15 times: | PBS 13 no. 74?, MRWH 22, 29, MUN 168, 175, 180, 182, 215, 220, 226, 228, 250, 251, 252, 267 |


(283) 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 īškaru documents (CUSAS no. 136, 6; no. 141, 7). Šin-muballit (miller): in the aklu documents (BE 14 no. 70, 2; MUN 158, 3; 160, 6 (‘XXX-īmu-ba-li[i]); CBS 9514, 2), in the īškaru 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 īškaru documents (PBS 2/2 no. 115, 2; CUSAS 30 no. 143, 13; no. 144, 6).
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, (284) 240, 248, CBS 7713, Ni 7947

It is evident that there are fewer attestations of VIII and IX than other months. (285) The 8th 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? (286) However, we can find some aklu documents from VIII and IX in other sources. (287) As a result, it is still difficult to explain the scarcity of attestations of aklu in VIII and IX in the Ninurta-nadin-āḫḫē 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-nadin-āḫḫē 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 (itidiri))
8 days: MRWH 22 (25-VI to 2-VII), MUN 226 (25-VI to 2-VII), 238 (days 13–20: XI)

(284) The month is written as itidiri. Probably it is itidiri-<šše-KIN-ku>.
(285) 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.
(287) 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), 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 249 (20(+)-IV to r15(+)-V)
26 days: MUN 168 (4?-VI to 1-VII)
29 days: MUN 228 (3(+)-VI to 1?-VII)
1 month(288): 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), 213 (II), 214 (III), 216 (VII), 217 (IV), 234 (II), 242 (VII), 245 (VII?), 259 (V), 266 (V), 268 (V), CBS 7714 (XII), 7868 (?), 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-IV? to 10-VII?), 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-IV 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?)

(288) 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 (1 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-ΜΜΝ, ΜΜΝ possibly V)

The periods found in the Ninurta-nadin-ahhē 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”(289) 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(290) (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: řšuk? x BABBAR lugal; rev: 29: [-] lugal?).

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

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

Mayor (ḥazannu) MUN 219 (obv: 9: ḫa-za-an-nu)

(290) For Ni 2240, see Brinkman 1976a, 413 C. 6 (elē šarrī).
(291) Rev. 34: ninda-kaskal dumu lugal-e; rev. 35: ša11 sag dumu lugal.
268 obv. 4’: dumu-munos *ma-la-ḥi*), CBS 7721 (obv. 15: 2 ˇma-la-ḥaš)

**Messenger (mār šipri)**

MRWH 28 (rev. 36: dumušipri), MRWH 29 (obv. 16: dumu šipri), MUN 170 (rev. 11: dumu šipri), CBS 7714 (obv. 19: dumu šipri)

**Farmer (iššākku)**

MUN 245 (rev. 8: šeš, MUN 259 (obv. 9: dumu šeš), CBS 7714 (obv. 23: dumu šeš), CBS 7868 (obv. 14: šuššu šeš)

**Ploughman (ikkaru)**

MRWH 21 (obv. 4: dumu šeš), MRWH 28 (obv. 13: šeš)

**Worker (šābu)**

CBS 7698 (rev. 30’: érin), CBS 7714 (obv. 16: érin-ḥi-šu)

**Musician (nāruhnārtu)**

CBS 7714 (rev. 24: munus-nar), CBS 13375 (rev. 11: šeš)

**Oil-presser (šāhītu)**

CBS 7698 (rev. 23’: šeš, CBS 7721 (obv. 15: šeš-sur’)

**Butcher (tābihu)**

MRWH 28 (obv. 9: šeššur), MRWH 29 (obv. 7: šeššur’)

**Shepherd (rē’ū’u)**

MRWH 29 (obv. 9, lo. 325’, rev. 28’, 39: ša), CBS 7160 (obv. 9: šuš ša, CBS 7721 (obv. 19: šuš ša)

**Cup-bearer (šāqāh)**

MRWH 29 (obv. 5: šušŠu-Sīla-Ga/N)

**Cook (nuḫattiinu)**

MRWH 29 (obv. 8: šuššu ša, MUN 173 (obv. 16: šuššu ša)

**Linen worker (ša kitīt)[293]**

MUN 173 (rev. 19’: šuššu ša)

**Merchant (tamkāru)**

MRWH 29 (rev. 32: šuššu ša)

**Builder (itinnu)**

MRWH 29 (obv. 8: šuššu ša, MUN 173 (obv. 16: šuššu ša)

**Linen worker (ša kitīt)[293]**

MUN 173 (rev. 19’: šuššu ša)

**Weaver (iššābušābu)**

MUN 176 (obv. 3: šuššu ša)

**Weaver (iššābušābu)**

MUN 219 (obv. 7: šuššu ša)

**Young female servant (šuššušu)**

MUN 176 (obv. 5: šuššu ša)

**Temple official (?) (mubarrā/mubarrā)[294]**

MUN 219 (rev. 11: šuššu ša)

**Chariot officer (?) (sakramaš)**

MUN 219 (rev. 12: šuššu ša)

**Leatherworker (aškāpu)**

MUN 241 (rev. 10: šuššu ša)

**Incantation priest (āšipu)**

MUN 267 (rev. 6: šuššu ša)

**Bird-catcher (usandī)**

CBS 7698 (rev. 24’: šuššu ša)

**Servant of the king (arad šarri)**

CBS 7713 (obv. 21: arad šarri)

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[293] See Sassmannshausen 2001, 88 (Leinenweber [?]).

Craftsman of reed objects (*atkuppu*) CBS 7721 (obv. 9: ad-KID)

Smith (*kūtimu*) CBS 8741 (obv. 8: li-kū-duim)

4.5. Commodities

Among the products attested in the Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē 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, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 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 [ag], kaš UŠ), 207 (kaš UŠ), 208 (kaš UŠ), 210 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 211 (‘kaš sag’), kaš UŠ), 212 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 213 (kaš UŠ), 214 (kaš UŠ), 215 ([kaš UŠ], 216 ([kaš UŠ), 217 (kaš UŠ), 218 ([kaš [ag]’, kaš UŠ), 219 ([kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 220 ([kaš sa[g], kaš UŠ), 226 (‘kaš sag’), ‘kaš UŠ’), 227 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 228 ([kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 229 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 230 (kaš [ag], kaš UŠ), 231 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 232 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 233 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 234 (kaš [ag], kaš UŠ), 235 (kaš [ag], kaš UŠ), 236 ([kaš sag], kaš ‘UŠ’), 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], [kaš UŠ), 248 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 249 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 250 (kaš [ag], kaš UŠ), 251 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 252 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 253 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 254 (‘kaš sag’, 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], kaš UŠ), 264 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 265 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 266 (‘kaš sag’, kaš UŠ), 267 ([kaš [ag], kaš UŠ), CBS 7694 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 13362 (kaš [ag], 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 (‘dug’), 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 (‘dug’), 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 (‘báppir’), 237, 238, 239 (b[áppir])
244, 245 ([b]áppir), 246, 247, 248, 249, 250 ([b]áp’pir), 251, 252, 253, 254 ([b]áppir), 260, 261, 262, 263 (báppir), 264, 265 (b’áppir), CBS 7694, 13362, 13375, 15016

níg-âr-ra: PBS 2/2 no. 43, PBS 13 no. 74, MUN 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254 (nîg-râra’ [-ra’]), 255, 260, 261, 262
munus: MUN 260 (lagab munus), 261 (lagab munus), 262 (lagab munus), 263 (lagab munus), 264, 265, 266 (mu[nus]), 267

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

zi-da: PBS 13 no. 71 (zi), MRWH 18, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29 ([z]i-da), MUN 164, 166, 167, 168 ([’z]-da’), 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180 ([z]-da’), 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, CBS 7160, 7262, 7698, 7714, 7721, 8573, UM 29-13-907

Oil in the Ninurta-nadin-ahhe 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-nita šiskur, sîl[a]š) and N 2645(295). In BE 14 no. 116, a replacement (?)/a metal alloy(296) is found. In UM 29-16-154 and N 2023, several garments are stated.(297)

4.5.1. The purposes of the expenditure

In the Ninurta-nadin-ahhe 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 u₄-29-kam), MUN 173 (flour, barley: obv. 2 ki-is-pu gi-nu-ú, obv. 3 ki-min u₄-29-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 2 ki-is-pu u₄-20-kam, obv. 3 ki-is-pu u₄-29-kam), CBS 7714 (flour, barley: obv. 2 ki-is-pu u₄-12+[+]kam, obv. 3 ki-min u₄-21-kam, obv. 4 ki-min gi-nu-ú), CBS 7721 (flour, barley: obv. 2 ki-is-pu u₄-25+[+]kam,


(296) Obv. 1: 1 kuš/gin ša pilbil-la-ti ša lugal.

(297) Both documents have a seal impression but neither has a seal reference for Ninurta-nadin-ahhe.
obv. 3 ki-min gi-nu-ū, CBS 7868 ([flour, barley]: obv. 2 ki-is-pu, obv. 3 ki-min gi-nu-ū), CBS 13375 (beer: obv. 6 ki-is-pu), UM 29-16-158 (A 6' ki-is-[pu])

Sacrifice (siskur) MUN 173 (flour, barley: obv. 4 siskur me-e), MUN 325 (sheep: obv. 1 udu-nīta), CBS 8741 ([flour], barley: obv. 3 siskur u₄-20-kam)


Fodder for stags (šuk ajjali) MRWH 28 (flour, barley: obv. 14 šuk a-a-[l[i]], CBS 7721 (flour, barley: obv. 8 šuk a-a-l)), CBS 7868 ([flour, barley]: obv. 13 Vinci a-a-li, rev. 35 Vinci a-a-l)

Fodder for foals (šuk mārī) MUN 170 (flour, barley: rev. 8 šuk mu-rī)

Fodder for sheep (šuk udu-nīta) CBS 7160 (flour, barley: obv. 11 šuk udu-nīta niga)

Fodder for donkeys (šuk anše) CBS 7721 (flour, barley: rev. 39 šuk aša kaskal)

Fodder for gazelle kids (šuk amar-maš-dā) CBS 7262 (flour, barley: obv. 16 šuk amar-maš-dā, rev. 31 šuk amar-maš-[e-ras.-dā])

Travel provisions (ninda-kaskal) MRWH 29 (obv. 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, lo. e. 24, rev. 34), MUN 213 (beer: lo. e. 9 ninda-kaskal), MUN 219 (beer: obv. 4 ninda-kaskal Vinci lugal), MUN 245 (beer: obv. 5 ninda-kaskal), MUN 259 ([flour, barley]: obv. 15, rev. 32, 34 ninda-kaskal), MUN 267 (beer: obv. 7 ninda-kaskal), CBS 7698 (flour, barley: rev. 32 Vinci-kaskal)

Pot stand (gangannu) MUN 219 (beer: obv. 2–3 kam-gan-[ni x] NU abul bād-Vinci lũ-[š]-maš-[a Ś], obv. 5 kam-gan-nu ṣur-sag-kalam[a Ś])

Vessel-stand (kannu) MUN 213 (beer: obv. 7 kan-ni gū-en-na), MUN 247 (beer: obv. 2–6 kan-nu u₄-2-kam)

Banquet (kin-sig) CBS 7713 ([flour, barley]: rev. 25 Vinci a-na mu-uh-ši kin-sig)

Lighting (nūru) MUN 278 (oil: obv. 4 nu-ru), MUN 279 (oil: obv. 5 nu-[u]-ru)}
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.\(^{298}\) 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.\(^{299}\) As a remarkable characteristic of Middle Babylonian offerings, he pointed out that they were performed together with other rituals. He interpreted the statue (salmu)\(^{300}\) 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.\(^{301}\) 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 (mē 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.\(^{302}\) Regarding the place where the kispu was made, Tsukimoto stated that it was the grave, not the structure for the

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\(^{298}\) 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.

\(^{299}\) 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\(^{st}\) day, but it should be read as the 29\(^{th}\) (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.

\(^{300}\) PBS 2/2 no. 108, obv. 7.


\(^{302}\) 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.
To support his argument, he referred to a syllabary, Middle Babylonian evidence, and two Neo-Assyrian sources. 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 16th 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.

Some of the kispu offerings of the Middle Babylonian period are specified as purposes of the aklu. 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 20th, 21st, and 29th day (3 times). 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 arḫi) for Abu (V) and Ulûlu (VI). These
documents were sealed with an official seal (i.e., Matthews no. 189) whose legend mentions the name Enlil-AL-SA₆, high priest (nēšakkū) of Enlil, anointed priest (paššētu) of Ninlil, governor (šandakku) of Nippur, son of Enlil-kiddinnī, official of Nintinlubu(?) (309). Therefore it is likely that an official was required to perform/supervise some religious duties and that these expenses were accounted as aklu. (310)

4.6. Place names
In the Ninurta-nadin-ahhē texts, several place names and facilities can be found. Dūr-Enlilē occurs in MUN 219 (obv. 3: bād-₆aklu-li₅-līl-ḫē₄[š]i₁), with Hursagkalam (obv. 5: ḫur-sag-kalamki). In MUN 278, Dūr-Enlilē is found as a destination (obv. 5: a-na bād-₆en-līl-ḫē₄[š]i). Rāšī is referred to in MRWH 29 (obv. 15: kur-šī), MUN 245 (rev. 6: kaskal [š]a DIŠ ra-a-šē₄[š]i). (311) In PBS 13 no. 71, flour is issued for the caravan to/of Larsa (obv. 2: ak-šu₆ kaskal-nu₆ ararna[UD-UNUG]ki). In MRWH 29, Dūr-ilu (?) (obv. 16: um-bād-[din]gūr is referred to. In MUN 173, Āl-Āthē (obv. 14: uru-at-ḫē-e) can be found with Bīt-Nimgira-Marduk (rev. 20': ḫ-ni₄-gi-ra₄-ša₄-amar-utu). In CBS 7714, Dūr-Kurigalzu (obv. 14: bād-ḫu₄-śa₄-gal-zu) can be found. In CBS 7721, Bīt-Jātu (rev. 23: ụ₄-ia₄-tu₄) is mentioned. In MRWH 34, oil is delivered to bīt kunukki (obv. 5: ụ₄₆₆₄ ki₆₄₆₄). Palace interior (bītānu₄) (312) is sometimes stated. (313) The house/storehouse of a caravan (bīt ša ḫarrānil₄ girri) is often found. (314) In MUN 279, a storehouse (obv. 3: ụ₄-de-e) is found. Possibly a ṭiḥatu (province) is referred to in MUN 266 rev. 9 (pi-ḫa-[ ].)

(309) Matthews 1992, 136. But it should be noted that the sealer was Ninurta-nadin-ahhē, not Enlil-AL-SA₆.

(310) Cf, PBS 2/2 no. 86 obv. 3 (0,0,2. ki-is-pu eras. ki-min [i.e., Enlil-AL-SA₆]) and obv. 7 (0,0,4. ki-is-pu ḫen-līl[I-L-S]₄). It is clear from this that Enlil-AL-SA₆ performed or supervised the kispu offerings of flour.

Perhaps it is significant that a kispu for the “interior” (ki-is-pu ḫ-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” (ṣe-ba ḫ-nu) in N 2481 (upper edge). This means that the kispu offerings were performed as one of the duties of the administration.

Another offering (niqū: 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, niqū, d) Libation and CAD N 2, 252, niqū. 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.

(311) If the DIŠ before ra-a-šē₄[š]i is to be read as ana, Rāšī is a destination.

(312) On bītānu, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 155 n. 2638.

(313) MUN 209 obv. 3°, (313) MUN 220 obv. 2, and CBS 7698 rev. 29°.

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-ahḫē, 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”\(^{(315)}\) are attested, both in the first year of Kudurru-Enlil:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ni 2240</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Užibu (prob. a brewer)</td>
<td>e-le lugal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 210</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>XIIa</td>
<td>Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>a-rad lugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 211</td>
<td>1254</td>
<td>XIIa</td>
<td>Nāḫirānu (prob. a brewer)</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>a-rad lugal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phrase a-rad lugal is also attested in the 3rd year of Kudurru-Enlil:

- MUN 185 1253 KuE year 3 XII Tarību (prob. a miller) flour, barley a-rad dumu lugal

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 3rd year of Kudurr-Enlil:

- MUN 178 ak-lu₄ 1252 KuE year 3 28-IV Tarību (probably a miller) flour, barley a-rad dumu lugal

Brinkman refers to this document and points out offerings made at Nippur in the Enlil and Ninlil temples on 28-IV and an akētu-feast celebrated in the fourth month (IV).\(^{(316)}\)

4.7.2. ašābu, lā ašābu

As mentioned above,\(^{(317)}\) ašābu and related phrases occur in the aklu documents. In texts related to Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBS 7160 1257 KaE year 7 X to XII? Lī/ūsi-ana-nūr-Adad (prob. miller)</td>
<td>flour, barley</td>
<td>la a-ša-bu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 207 1254 KuE year 1 I</td>
<td>Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer)</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>la a-ša-bu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 208 1254 KuE year 1?</td>
<td>Nāḫirānu (prob. a brewer)</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>la a-ša-tuᵣ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 268 1254 KuE year 1 V</td>
<td>broken ( få₁[ ] )</td>
<td>broken</td>
<td>la a-ša-bu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 267 1254 KuE year 1</td>
<td>days 1–20(+) VI Nāḫirānu (prob. brewer)</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>la a-ša-bu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 170 1254 KuE year 1 29-XII</td>
<td>Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)</td>
<td>flour, barley</td>
<td>la a-ša-bu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 21 1254 KuE year 1 (diri) *XIIa Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller)</td>
<td>flour, barley</td>
<td>la a-r₃aᵣ-bu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(315)}\) See Brinkman 1976a, 411–414.

\(^{(316)}\) Brinkman 1976a, 413 n. 60.

\(^{(317)}\) See Rīmūtu’s section of note (2.7: ašābu).
Partly broken phrase:

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

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

4.8. Prosopography

Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē (Sealer of a lot of aklu documents.)
Iqṣa-Ninimma (Sealer of three aklu documents.)
Nāḫirānu (Probably a brewer)
Bābilāyu (Probably a brewer)
Bēlšunu (Probably a brewer)
Uzibu (Probably a brewer)
Izkur-Adad (Probably a brewer)
Damqu (Probably a brewer)

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

\(^{(319)}\) The reading of the name is uncertain: 4′ 𒈩kùšib\(^{-}\) [\(^{32}\)nīn-\( </\)urta\( ]a-\( sum\( ]-\)aḥē]\)

\(^{(320)}\) The document is partly broken. It may deal with beer, because Bēlšunu (probably a brewer) is referred to.

\(^{(321)}\) The left side of the document is broken. It may deal with beer, since Bābīlāyū (probably a brewer) is found.

\(^{(322)}\) The reading of the name is not certain (\(m\)āt\( kišib\) [\(^{32}\)nīn\(-\)\( /\)urt\( a-\)sum-\( aḥē\))-he).

\(^{(323)}\) 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.

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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 (raklu², oil), 325 (aklu, sheep), 449¹(324) (fragment), 450 (fragment), CBS 7160 (aklu, flour, barley), 7694 (raklu², beer), 7698 (raklu², flour, barley), 7713 (aklu, [flour, barley]²(325)), 7714 (aklu, flour, barley), 7721 (flour, barley), 8573 (raklu², flour, barley), 8741 (aklu, [flour, barley], bar), 13362 (aklu, beer), 15016 (raklu², beer), UM 29-13-907 (aklu, flour, barley), N 2036 ([flour?], barley?)[326]), 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-?MN²-year 5,(327) 26-?MN³ to 12-?MN²). The period is about 14 years. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē sealed documents pertaining to beer, flour, barley, oil, sheep, and replacements (?)/metal alloy. In MUN 278, Dūr-Enlīlē is mentioned as a destination (obv. 5: a-na bād.ē-en-līl-ḫi-aš), so maybe Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē sealed the document in a location other than Dūr-Enlīlē. In MRWH 34, Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē received oil and brought it into the storehouse (ē nākišib), so he worked in association with a storehouse.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUN</th>
<th>aklu</th>
<th>KuE II-III-year 3</th>
<th>1 to III</th>
<th>Bābilāyu (prob. brewer)</th>
<th>beer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUN 241</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>1252 KuE 30-III-year 3</td>
<td>I to III</td>
<td>Nāhirānu (prob. brewer)</td>
<td>beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 218</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>1252 KuE 30-VIII?-year 3</td>
<td>I-VII? to 30-VIII?</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>beer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Iqīša-Ninimma also used the Matthews no. 189 seal. Iqīša-Ninimma and Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē were contemporaries, so Iqīša-Ninimma did not inherit the seal from Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē or vice versa. In MUN 219, Dūr-Enlīlē (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 mānītu(328) mār Arad-Ea (a recipient) are referred to. They are well attested in the aklu documents sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē.(329) In MUN

(324) The reading of the name is uncertain ( [nāk[iš]išib Šu[n-urta-nādin-aḫḫē].

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

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

(327) Cf. Brinkman 1976a, 197 (rMN²-12-year 4; *CBS 8706 B; rMN²-26 to rMN²-12; reading of MN’s uncertain; collation courtesy of Erle Leichty; P.2.6.148).

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

218, Nāḫirānu (probably a brewer) and Apil-Šamaš (a recipient) are stated. They are also found in the aklu documents sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē, so the documents sealed by Iqīša-Ninimma have something in common with those sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē.

4.8.3. The relationship of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē, Iqīša-Ninimma, and Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī

Interestingly, in a document probably from Dūr-Enlilē, namely CUSAS 30 no. 198 (1266, KT year 16?), Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and Iqīša-Ninimma appear with Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī, who is an important official at Dūr-Enlilē. Obv.

1 še ṣiš-{ba}̄-nā ša ʾi-na šu m[din.urta]-kiš-dingir.meš
2 ʾa-tšā]-ni.imma ʾi-si-[r]u-ма
3 raʾ-[na]-me din.urta-sum-[š][eš].meš id-di-nu

“Grain (measured by) the šütu of 10 qū that Iqīša-Ninimma collected through the hand of Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī, and that he disbursed to Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē.”

Here I will label the Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē who sealed the aklu documents (with Matthews no. 189) as Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē A and the Iqīša-Ninimma who sealed the aklu documents (with Matthews no. 189) as Iqīša-Ninimma A. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē and Iqīša-Ninimma in CUSAS 30 no. 198 will be called Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē B and Iqīša-Ninimma B. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē 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-aḫḫē B and Iqīša-Ninimma B is 1266 (KT year 16?). Thus it is chronologically not impossible to identify Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē A with B, and to identify Iqīša-Ninimma A with B. Also, it may be significant that in CUSAS 30 no. 198 obv. 7 ʾĔz-šu-pašir (a recipient of barley) is found, and ʾĔz-šu-pašir can also be found in the aklu documents sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē A, namely MUN 267 obv. 2 (beer) and possibly MUN 268 obv. 3 (beer). The evidence is slight, but it is not impossible to identify Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē A with Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē B, and Iqīša-Ninimma A with Iqīša-Ninimma B.


(132) In CUSAS 30 no. 198 obv. 9, Rīmūtu is found. Rīmūtu is mentioned in an aklu document sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē 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-aḫḫē 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-ahḫē, son of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu in BE 14 no. 39,\(^{333}\) whom I will call Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē C. His father is the same person as the Ninurta-kīn-pīšu of Matthews no. 155.\(^{334}\) Ninurta-kīn-pīšu sealed several aklu documents. He seems to have worked in association with Ninurta-zākir-šumi \(^{14}\)niin-urta-mu-mu and in Dūr-Enlilē.\(^{335}\) It is uncertain if his son, Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē C, also sealed aklu documents and if he also worked in association with Dūr-Enlilē. But it is known that Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē A sealed several aklu documents. Also, it is known that Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē B worked in association with Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī, who seems to have been an important official at Dūr-Enlilē. Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē C’s active period should be after his father’s last attestation (MUN 446: 1278 KT year 4). This fits Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē A’s active period: 1263 (KaE year 1) to 1250 (KuE year 5) and that of Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē B: 1266 (KT year 167?). Is this just a coincidence? The following chart shows the relationships of Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē A, B, and C.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{(aklu: Matthews no. 189)} & \text{Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē A} & \text{Iqīša-Ninimma A} \\
\hline
\text{(Dūr-Enlilē)\(^{336}\)} & \text{Enlil-kidinnī} & \text{Ninurta-zākir-šumi} & \text{Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī} \\
\text{Enlil-nīšu} & \text{Ninurta-kīn-pīšu} & \text{Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē B} \\
\text{BE 14 no. 39} & & \text{Iqīša-Ninimma B} \\
\hline
\text{As stated above, it is chronologically not impossible that Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē A, B, and C are the same person. However the seal used by Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē 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-ahḫē C succeeded his father, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.}\(^{337}\)
\end{array}
\]

\(^{333}\) Obv. 2: \(^{14}\)niin-urta-\(n[a-din-ahḫē]\) dumu \(^{14}\)niin-urta-Gl-ka-šu. For the reconstruction of the name, see Brinkman 2003/2004, 399.

\(^{334}\) In BE 14 no. 39, Enlil-nīšu is seen to be the father of Ninurta-kīn-pīšu (obv. 11 \(^{14}\)niin-urta-Gl-ka-šu dumu \(^{14}\)en-li-lī-nī-šu). The Matthews no. 155 seal is used by Enlil-nīšu and by Ninurta-kīn-pīšu. See Hölscher 1996, 155 on Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.

\(^{335}\) Ninurta-zākir-šumi \(^{14}\)niin-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).

\(^{336}\) For the genealogy, see CUSAS 30, p. 24.

\(^{337}\) However, it may be significant that Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Enlil-AL-SA₆ used Matthews no.
4.8.4. Nāḫirānu (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 (rašlān, beer), 236 (aklu, beer), 248 (aklu, beer), 252 (aklu, beer), 260 (beer), 263 (aklu, beer), 265 (aklu, beer), 267 rev. 10 (aklu, beer), and CBS 15016 (rašlān, 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-aḫḫē texts, he is always mentioned with beer, so he may be a brewer. The term arād šarrī is attested in MUN 211 obv. 5. He appears 4 times with the term lā ašābu. 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 Taḫbû (M) and Bēšunu (B), in example 7 with Zēr-kīn-lišir (M), Bēšunu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), in example 9 with Taḫbû (M) and Bēšunu (B), in example 10 with Taḫbû (M), Bēšunu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), and in example 12 with Taḫbû (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 (rašlān, 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-aḫḫē texts, he is mentioned with beer in almost every case, so he may be a brewer. The term arād šarrī is attested in MUN 210 obv. 4. He is stated 4 times with the term lā ašābu. 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 Nāḫirānu (B), in example 7 with Zēr-kīn-lišir (M), Bēšunu (B), and Nāḫirānu (B), in example 10 with Taḫbû (M), Bēšunu (B), and Nāḫirānu (B), and in example 13 with Bēšunu (B).

4.8.6. Bēšunu (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in PBS 2/2 no. 45 (aklu, beer), MUN 205 (aklu, beer), 206 ([aklu, beer])148, 215 (aklu, ṭbeer?), 217 (aklu, beer), 228 (aklu, beer), 233 (aklu, beer), 248 (aklu, beer), 252 (aklu, beer), 260 (beer), 263 (aklu, beer), 265 (aklu, beer), 267 rev. 10 (aklu, beer), and CBS 15016 (rašlān, beer). The earliest attestation is PBS 2/2 no. 45 (probably a brewer). The term arād šarrī is attested in PBS 2/2 no. 45. He appears 4 times with the term lā ašābu. 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 Nāḫirānu (B), in example 7 with Zēr-kīn-lišir (M), Bēšunu (B), and Nāḫirānu (B), in example 10 with Taḫbû (M), Bēšunu (B), and Nāḫirānu (B), and in example 13 with Bēšunu (B).

148 and that Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē A used Matthews no. 189, the legend of which refers to Enlil-AL-SAš, governor of Nippur. Therefore, Enlil-AL-SAš may be an indirect link between Ninurta-kīn-pišu and Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē A.

138) MUN 208, MUN 216 obv. 5, MUN 234 obv. 8, and MUN 267 rev. 9.

139) MUN 214 obv. 5, MUN 220 rev. 7 (la ṭa-[ša-bu]), MUN 241 rev. 15, and MUN 242 rev. 8°.
235 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 240 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 244 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 245 rev. 10 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 251 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 253 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 262 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 264 (\textit{aklu}, beer), and CBS 7694 (\textit{r\textit{aklu}}, 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-aḫḫē 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 \textit{lā ašābu}.\textsuperscript{(341)} 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 Nāhirānu (B), in example 7 with Žēr-kīnī-šīr (M), Nāhirānu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), in example 9 with Tarību (M) and Nāhirānu (B), in example 10 with Tarību (M), Nāhirānu (B), and Bābilāyu (B), and in example 13 with Bābilāyu (B).

\textbf{4.8.7. Uzibu} (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in the following documents: PBS 13 no. 74 (\textit{aklu}, beer), MRWH 24 (\textit{aklu}, beer), MUN 213 rev. 12 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 227 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 237 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 250 obv. 6 (\textit{aklu}, beer), and Ni 2240 (\textit{aklu}). The earliest attestation is in MUN 250 (1258, KaE 24-VI-year 6, 24-\textit{rMN} to 24-VI). The latest is PBS 13 no. 74 (1252, KuE 10-VII?-year 3, 28-\textit{rV} to 10-VII?).\textsuperscript{(342)} The period is about 7 years. He is mentioned with beer in almost every case, so he may be a brewer. The term \textit{elē šarri} can be found in Ni 2240: 3. The term \textit{lā ašābu} is attested in MUN 213 rev. 11 (\textit{r\textit{la a}-\textit{sa}-\textit{rba}n}). 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\textit{ūši}-ana-nūr-Adad (M) and in example 11 with Lī\textit{ūši}-ana-nūr-Adad (M).

\textbf{4.8.8. Izkur-Adad} (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in PBS 2/2 no. 43 (\textit{aklu}, beer), MUN 212 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 226 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 236 (\textit{aklu}, beer), 254 (\textit{aklu}, beer), and 255 (\textit{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-aḫḫē 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).

\textbf{4.8.9. Damqu} (probably a brewer) — Mentioned in MUN 249 (1258, KaE \textit{r15(+)}-V-year 6(+), 20(+)-IV to \textit{r15(+)}-V, \textit{aklu}, beer). He is once attested with beer, and probably was a brewer, but the evidence is slight.

\textsuperscript{(340)} MUN 206 is partly broken. It may deal with beer because Bēššumu is usually attested with beer. It is an \textit{aklu} document because the term \textit{lā ašābu} is mentioned and Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē sealed it.

\textsuperscript{(341)} MUN 206 obv. 3′ ([\textit{la}] \textit{r\textit{a}-\textit{sa}-\textit{bu}}), MUN 215 obv. 5, MUN 217 obv. 4, and MUN 245 rev. 9.

\textsuperscript{(342)} 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 (rakhu, 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]) 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.

In the Ninur-ta-nādin-aḫḫē 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/ūṣi-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/ūṣi-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a miller) — Mentioned in PBS 13 no. 71 (aklu, flour), MUN 165(?)(345) (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-aḫḫē 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,

(343) CBS 8573 is dated in 7th 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.

(345) The reading of the name is uncertain: 1′ rاكَّ-luṣ šu ṛē-an-zalāg-ē[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-nadin-aḫḫē 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.\(^{346}\) 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 Nāḫîrānu (B) and Bābilāyu (B).

4.8.13. Zēr-kīn-īliṣir (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), Nāḫîrānu (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-[l]-lu-[lu], oil). In the texts pertaining to Ninurta-nadin-aḫḫē, Iqīša-Adad is mentioned with oil, so possibly he is an oil-presser.

4.8.15. Sin-aḫa-iddina (probably a shepherd)—Mentioned in MUN 325 (1258, KaE 29-XI-year 6, aklu, sheep) and N 2645\(^{347}\) (skin, butter). Details about him are unknown, but probably he is a shepherd.\(^{348}\)

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, Nāḫîrānu), 214 (aklu, beer, Bābilāyu), 217 (aklu, beer, Bēlšunu), 234 (rak-[l], beer, Nāḫîrānu), 241 obv. 2, 6, rev. 12 (aklu, beer, Bābilāyu), 245 (aklu, beer, Bēlšunu), 267 (aklu, beer, Nāḫîrānu), 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.\(^{349}\)

\(^{346}\) MRWH 21 obv. 7, MUN 170 rev. 12, MUN 176 obv. 7.

\(^{347}\) The reading of the name is uncertain: obv. 8’ dXX-[aḫa-iddina]

\(^{348}\) In BE 14 no. 99 (1271, KT year 11) rev. 48, a certain Sin-aḫa-iddina with livestock.

\(^{349}\) MRWH 28 rev. 38, MUN 173 rev. 22’ (l[a’ a-š]a-bu), MUN 207 obv. 3, MUN 208 obv. 3,
4.8.17. *mārat bitū*\(^{350}\) (a well-attested recipient) — Attested in MRWH 28 obv. 5 (*aklu*, flour, barley, Tarību), MUN 173 obv. 6 (*aklu*, flour, barley), 206 (partly broken, Bēlu), 207 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 208 (*aklu*, beer, Nāhirānu), 214 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 215 (*aklu*, ′beer′, Bēlu), 216 (*aklu*, beer, Nāhirānu), 217 (*aklu*, beer, Bēlu), 234 (*aklu*-[*lu*], beer, Nāhirānu), 241 obv. 3, 7, rev. 13 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 242 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 245 obv. 3, rev. 7 (*aklu*, beer, Bēlu), 266 obv. 6 (*aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), 267 obv. 4 (*aklu*, beer, Nāhirānu), 268 obv. 5′ (*aklu*), CBS 7698 obv. 7 (*aklu*, 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 17). The latest is in CBS 7714 (1252, KuE XII-year 3). The period is about 3 years. *Mārat bitū* received not only flour and barley but also beer. The term *lā ašābu* is found in almost every case\(^{351}\) In the texts pertaining to Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē, 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 malāḥi* (well-attested recipients) — These recipients are attested in MUN 215 (dumu *ma-la-ḫi*, *aklu*, ′beer′, Bēlu), MUN 216 (dumu-munuš *ma-la-ḫi*, *aklu*, beer, Nāhirānu), MUN 242 (dumu-munuš *ma-[la-ḫi]*, *aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), MUN 266 obv. 5 (dumu-munuš *m[a-la-ḫi?]*, *aklu*, beer, Bābilāyu), and MUN 268 (dumu-munuš *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\(^{352}\).

4.9. Summary of the Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē texts

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.

\(^{350}\) For *mārat bitū*, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 126 (I.2.26.5: *mār bitū, mārat bitū*).

\(^{351}\) MRWH 28 rev. 38, MUN 173 rev. 22′ ([*la* ′a-ša-bu]), MUN 206 obv. 3′ ([*la* ′a-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.

\(^{352}\) 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-aḫḫē texts are *aklu* documents. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē sealed with the Matthews no. 189 seal. Interestingly, Iqīša-Ninimma also sealed with this seal (Matthews no. 189). They are contemporaries. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē’s active period is from the beginning of Kadašman-Enlil II to the middle of Kudurru-Enlil. In the Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē 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-aḫḫē and a few times by Iqīša-Ninimma.
### 5. Enlil-AL-SA₆

**Data**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>aklu</th>
<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 27</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 188</td>
<td>1315, KG year 18</td>
<td>VIII-5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour, barley</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>envelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 70</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 188</td>
<td>year 17</td>
<td>XII-13</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>barley, flour, sheep, lentils, cress</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>envelope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>aklu</th>
<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 48a</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>na₅kišib ₁₄en-lil-AL-SA₆</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1302, NM year 6</td>
<td>V days 1–2</td>
<td>Illīya</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>Tukultī-Ekur šuk anše-kur-ra mezi-ga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 7788</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>NM year x</td>
<td>III days 18–21</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>šarru</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>šuk anše-kur-ra zi-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 9517</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>1292, NM year 16</td>
<td>XI days 25–30</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Cast of Ni 844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>aklu</td>
<td>Seal Reference</td>
<td>Seal Impression</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month, Day</td>
<td>Key Persons</td>
<td>Occupations</td>
<td>Commodities</td>
<td>Place Names</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 10250</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>na₄kišib₆₁en-lil-AL-SA₆</td>
<td>Matthews no. 148</td>
<td>year 6(+)</td>
<td>days 8–25</td>
<td>Enlil-DA-K[A³]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| N 2432      | ak-lu₄| na₄kišib₆₁en-lil-ALₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗₗ₇

(353) 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-SA₆. We have three types of seal impression associated with the aklu of Enlil-AL-SA₆. They are Matthews no. 188 (BE 14 no. 27, BE 15 no. 70), Matthews no. 148 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BE 14 no. 27</th>
<th>BE 15 no. 70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Obv.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Envelope</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 0,3, zi-da ḫḫbān 6 sīla</td>
<td>1 2,0.2. šē ḫḫbān 5 sīla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 3,2 PŠ ŠE-MAŠ/BAR ki-min</td>
<td>2 0,2.4. zi-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ak-lu₄</td>
<td>3 1 udu-nīta nīga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ḫen-lil-AL-SA₆</td>
<td>4 1 sīla gū-tur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rev.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rev.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ṣapin-du₄-a</td>
<td>5 1/2 sīla zā-ḫi-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 u₄-5-kam</td>
<td>6 ak-lu₄ ḫen-lil-AL-SA₆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 mu-18-kam</td>
<td>7 ḫš-KIN-ku₅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ku-ri-gal-zu</td>
<td>8 u₄-13-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 mu-17-kam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tablet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Obv.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ḫ₂,0.2. šē ḫḫbān 6¹ sīla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 0,2.4. zi-da 1 udu-nīta nīga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 1 sīla gū-tur 1/2 sīla zā-ḫi-li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(354) Enlil-AL-SA₆ is mentioned in the legend of Matthews no. 189. But this seal is used mainly by Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē and three times by Iqṣa-Ninnima from the beginning of Kadašman-Enlil II until the middle of Kudur-Enlil. I will not discuss Matthews no. 189 here in detail.

(355) 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-SA₆), although there is no seal reference. MUN 123 deals with fodder for horses (šuk anše-kur-ram₇). Documents sealed with Matthews no. 148 (Enlil-AL-SA₆), 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.
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. The seal impressions. Both documents (BE 14 no. 27, BE 15 no. 70) have clear seal impressions.

Inscription:

\[\text{𒈪šamaš(̣? ALAM?)-} \times \times \times (\times)\]

\[\text{gudu,} \ \text{nuska}\]

\[\times \times \times\]

\[[^{4}un].\text{gal.nibru}^{ki}\]

\[\text{ir} \ ^{\hat{d}}\text{ku-ri-gal-zu}\]

\[\text{lugal kiši}\]

Shamash(̣?)-…(owner of seal) Gudu-priest of Nuska, (priest/official) Of Sharrat-Nippuri, Servant of Kurigalzu, King of the world.\(^{(359)}\)

5.1.3. Year, month, day of Matthews no. 188

\[\text{Rev.}\]

\[\text{še-KIN-ku}^{5} \ \text{u}^{4}-12^{\text{1/2}}\text{-kam}^{(356)}\]

\[\text{mu-17-kam}\]

\[^{(356)}\text{–kam can be read in the CDLI photo.}\]

\[^{(357)}\text{For Second Kassite derivatives, see Matthews no. 188 in Matthews 1992, 49. References to Matthews no. 188 in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 43, 48, 50, 51. See also Deheselle 1995 and G. Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1996), pp. 123–24 (Erste Gruppe) and 211 (no. 254). References to Stiehler no. 254 in Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996 are on the following pages: 39, 41, 51, 66 n. 27, 87 n. 2, 96, 123, 167 (nn. 20, 27), and 211.}\]

\[^{(358)}\text{The seal impression of BE 15 no. 70 is on the envelope. We can find no seal impression on the tablet. See BE 14 PL. XV no. 11.}\]

\[^{(359)}\text{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 (\[\text{𒈪EN-I}^{\text{l}}\text{-}^{\text{a}}\text{al-sa}^{6} \ \text{gù}^{d} \ \text{Nin}^{1-lîl}^{3}\]) and n. 1053 (\[\text{𒈪EN-I}^{\text{l}}\text{-}^{\text{a}}\text{al-sa}^{6} \ \text{gù}^{d} \ \text{Nin}^{1-lîl}^{3}\]).}\]
BE 14 no. 27 is dated in the 18th year of Kurigalzu II, and BE 15 no. 70 is dated in the 17th year of an unknown king. The list of dates is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 27</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>KG 5</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>18th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 70</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td></td>
<td>17th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 which are sealed with Matthews no. 148. As stated above, Matthews no. 148 is used several times by Rîmûtu and once by Ninurta-kîn-pišu.

5.2.1. Aklu documents

The term aklu is mentioned in CBS 9517 (rak-lu), 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-SA6’s seal reference: BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 10250, UM 29-15-685 (rev. 29: [na4kišib ḫen-il]-̅[SA6]), and N 2432 (obv. 6: [na4kišib ḫen-il]-̅[AL7-[SA6]]).

Matthews no. 148(360) is the Second Kassite style(361) As mentioned above,(362) 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-SA6)

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(360) 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.

(361) For the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff., and Matthews 1992, 33ff.

(362) See the Rîmûtu’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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 48a</td>
<td>1302, NM 2-V-year 6</td>
<td>days 1–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM 29-15-685</td>
<td>1300, NM 3-I-year 8</td>
<td>days 1–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 9517</td>
<td>1292, NM 30-XI-year 16</td>
<td>days 25–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 7788</td>
<td>21-III-year x</td>
<td>days 18–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 2432</td>
<td>XI-year 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 10250</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>year 6(+) days 8–25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.4. Occupations/Positions

In CBS 7788, the Aḫlamû people of the king and the young female servant of the king are found.\(^{(363)}\)

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\(_6\)), barley and flour are dealt with.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>še:</th>
<th>BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 7788 rev. 23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In N 2432, cereals are measured by a solid capacity measure (rev. 1': pap 13,1.0. 𒈹bán 5 šıla).

In the documents of Matthews no. 148 (Enlil-AL-SA\(_6\)), 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\(^{1}\) ū źi-ga), CBS 7788 (barley: obv. 1 [an]še-kur-ra\(^{2}\); rev. 20 šuk 6 1/2 nig-lal anš[e-k]ur-ra; rev. 23-24 šuk anše-kur-ra\(^{1}\) ū źi-ga), UM 29-15-685 (barley: obv. 1 šuk anše-kur-ra; obv. 6 šuk anše-kur-ra\(^{1}\); rev. 18 šuk anše-kur-ra\(^{1}\); rev. 21–22 šuk anše-kur-ra\(^{1}\) ū źi-ga)

**Expenditure (zi-ga)**

BE 14 no. 48a (barley: obv. 2 šuk anše-kur-ra\(^{1}\) ū źi-ga), CBS 7788 (barley: rev. 23-24 šuk anše-kur-ra\(^{1}\) ū źi-ga), UM 29-15-685 (barley: rev. 21–22 šuk anše-kur-ra\(^{1}\) ū źi-ga)

**Travel provisions**


5.2.6. Place names

In the documents sealed with Matthews no. 148 (Enlil-AL-SA₆), several place names are attested. In BE 14 no. 48a, Tukultī-Ékur (rev. 8: [u]ru tukul-ti-ê-kur) is attested. It is known as a settlement in the area of Nippur, and is often mentioned with Kār-Nuska and Dīmtu. In UM 29-15-685, fodder for horses, to be sent to Šītulu, is attested (obv. 6–7: šuk anše-kur-ra₆ša₄ a-na ši-tu-la₆ši). Also in UM 29-15-685, around the end of the document, Nippur is mentioned (rev. 28: nibru₄). In N 2432, Kubarin-[Ea] is mentioned (rev. 3’: u₄ku₄-ba₄-ri₄-in₄-r₈ša₄ [-é-a]).

5.3. Matthews no. 26

Lastly, I will discuss CBS 3136 (Matthews no. 26). I reproduce its transliteration here.

CBS 3136

Obv.
1 še ₃bán gal ak-lu₄
2 0,2,3,5 sīla u₄-12-kam
3 0,2,2,5 sīla u₄-13-kam
4 0,0,2. u₆-13-kam
5 pap 1,0,1. ak-lu₄ ₁d₆-en₆-lil₆-AL₆-SA₆

Lo. E.
6 mah-ru
7 ₃₆₄<kišib> ₁d₆-XXX-še₆-sum-na

Rev.
8 <<u₄₆>> u₄-23-kam
9 ø₈kin-₄innin

5.3.1. Aklu documents

The term aklu is mentioned as an expenditure of/for Enlil-AL-SA₆.

5.3.2. Šīn-aḥa-iddina’s seal

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(364) See Clay 1905, pl. XXXVI; van Soldt 1988, 104; and van Soldt 2015, 116 (no. 66), 302 (no. 229).

(365) See CUSAS 30 no. 55 obv. 2 and no. 428 obv. 1–2. Courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

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CBS 3136 has Sîn-aḫa-iddina's seal reference. Matthews no. 26\(^{(366)}\) is Central First Kassite style.\(^{(367)}\) A clear seal impression can be seen. Details about Sîn-aḫa-iddina are unknown.

“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.”\(^{(368)}\)

5.3.3. Year, month, day of Matthews no. 26

CBS 3136 is dated to the 23\(^{rd}\) 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-SA₆ (Governor of Nippur.)

Enlil-aḫulap (Possibly responsible for the fodder of horses.)

5.4.1. Enlil-AL-SA₆ — 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-ra₆š₄, zi-ga, barley, Matthews no. 148), CBS 7788 (šuk anše-kur-ra, zi-ga, barley, Matthews no. 148), 9517 (‘aklu’, flour, Matthews no. 148), 10250 (aklu, flour, Matthews no. 148), UM 29-15-685 (šuk anše-kur-ra₆š₄, 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-SA₆ was the priest (paššu) of Ninlil,

\(^{(366)}\) Reference to Matthews no. 26 in Matthews 1992 can be found on p. 11. See also Deheselle 1995.

\(^{(367)}\) For the First Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 55ff., and Matthews 1992, 10ff.

\(^{(368)}\) Matthews 1992, 76.
the governor (šandabakku) of Nippur, and a servant of Kurigalzu, the king of the world.\(^{(369)}\) We also learn from the legend of Matthews no. 189 that Enlil-AL-SA₆ was the priest (nēšakku) of Enlil, the priest (pašīšu) of Ninlil, the governor (šandabakku) of Nippur, and a son of Enlil-kidinnī.\(^{(370)}\) 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-SA₆ worked in Nippur and the settlements around Nippur. Also, BE 15 no. 70 is enveloped, and therefore, Enlil-AL-SA₆ was involved with a location other than Nippur.

In the Nippur documents other than the group of Enlil-AL-SA₆ texts, we can find several references to Enlil-AL-SA₆. 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-SA₆ who was governor of Nippur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUN 368</td>
<td>1321 KG</td>
<td>1? - XII? - year 12</td>
<td>Garments are given for Ekur according to the order of Enlil-AL-SA₆.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 391</td>
<td>1320 KG</td>
<td>XII - year 13</td>
<td>6 white chairs are given according to the order of Enlil-AL-SA₆.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 35</td>
<td>1312 KG</td>
<td>16 - X - year 21</td>
<td>Barley is given for fodder of horses of Enlil-AL-SA₆ from Innannu in Karē aš-tab-ba-ḫe-tuk. The barley is to be paid in Pī-nāri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 121</td>
<td>1306 NM</td>
<td>- year 2</td>
<td>Enlil-AL-SA₆ is a recipient of barley in Āl-Atḥē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 80</td>
<td>1304 NM</td>
<td>2 - V - year 4</td>
<td>Sin-uballiṭ received barley for a work assignment (iškaru) of/for Enlil-AL-SA₆.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 47</td>
<td>1304 NM</td>
<td>26 - X - year 4</td>
<td>Several kinds of flour is given for the banquet of Enlil-AL-SA₆.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 434</td>
<td>1300 NM</td>
<td>6 - IX - year 8</td>
<td>Enlil-AL-SA₆ gū-en-na is mentioned. MUN 434 is sealed with Matthews no. 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 402</td>
<td>1298 NM</td>
<td>1 - IV - year 10</td>
<td>Straw is given to Enlil-AL-SA₆. MUN 402 is sealed with Matthews no. 43.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 25</td>
<td>1298 NM</td>
<td>9 - VI[a?] - year 10</td>
<td>Enlil-AL-SA₆ is involved in the purchase of a person. PBS 2/2 no. 25 is sealed with Matthews no. 177.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(369)}\) For the legend of Matthews no. 188, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 66 n. 1053 (pašīšu).

\(^{(370)}\) For the legend of Matthews no. 189, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (on Enlil-AL-SA₆), 17 n. 215 (on Enlil-AL-SA₆), 18 n. 230 (on Enlil-AL-SA₆), 66 n. 1052 (pašīšu); Brinkman 2004, 287 n. 25 (nēšakku); CAD P, p. 255 (pašīšu).
Enlil-AL-SA₆ took a man from Upī and detained him.

Barley issue for fodder of horses of Illīya from year 15 to [ ]-year 16

Nuska-nādin/zākir-šumi, son of Enlil-AL-SA₆, received barley.

Enlil-AL-SA₆ is a recipient of barley, beer, sheep and lambs.

Enlil-AL-SA₆ is a recipient of barley, wheat, and emmer in karē aš-tab-ba-ḫé-tuk.

Enlil-AL-SA₆ is a recipient of flour and barley.

Barley is given to Enlil-AL-SA₆ in a storehouse (obv. 1: gur⁶ ki).

Enlil-AL-SA₆ is the sender of a letter concerning tax (šibšu).

Flour is issued for the arranged offering table of Enlil-AL-SA₆ (obv. 3: ʰbaššur ri-ik-su ʰen-lîl-AL-SA₆) and for the offering of Enlil-AL-SA₆(obv. 4: ki-is-pu eras. ki-min; obv. 7: ki-is-pu ʰen-lîl-[L-S]A₆).

Enlil-AL-SA₆ released 4 persons [from] the house of Šarru-Adad.

[ʰen-lîl-]AL-SA₆ is mentioned at the end of the register of personnel of the temple Ninlil.(371)

Enlil-AL-SA₆ is a recipient of beer products.

Enlil-AL-SA₆ is mentioned after Enlil-kidinnī in the list of persons.

Enlil-AL-SA₆ is a recipient of commodities (rev. 43’, 45’).

5.4.2. Enlil-ahulap — Regarding Enlil-ahulap, see the previous section 2.8.10.

5.5. Summary of the Enlil-AL-SA₆ texts

(371) As stated above, Enlil-AL-SA₆ is said to be the priest (paššu) 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-SA₆ (ak-lu₄ 𒈵𒈵𒈵𒈵𒈵-𒈵-至关重要). One of them is dated in the 18th 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-SA₆ 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-SA₆’s area of activity may include the settlements around Nippur. Seal references to Enlil-AL-SA₆ are attested in several cases.⁴⁷²

CBS 3136 is an aklu document of Enlil-AL-SA₆ (obv. 5: ak-lu₄ 𒈵𒈵𒈵𒈵𒈵-𒈵-至关重要) sealed with Matthews no. 26. It deals with barley. Its date is the 23rd day of VI. A certain Sîn-aḫa-iddina sealed it, but details about him are unknown.

⁴⁷² BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 10250, UM 29-15-685 (rev. 29: [u₄kišib 𒈵𒈵𒈵𒈵𒈵-𒈵-至关重要], and N 2432 (obv. 6: [u₄kišib 𒈵𒈵𒈵𒈵𒈵-𒈵-至关重要-至关重要].
## 6. Matthews no. 164

### Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>ɑklu</th>
<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 20</td>
<td>ɑk-lú₄</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. <strong>164</strong></td>
<td>1304, NM</td>
<td>VII, days 17–21(+)</td>
<td>Ḥanbu</td>
<td>nárû mār šipri šāqû ša rēši rē’û šuḫurtu ša šarr muberrû</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>Parak-mārī</td>
<td>Māt-Tāmti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>year 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 22</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. <strong>164</strong></td>
<td>1302, NM</td>
<td>VIII-21</td>
<td>Ṣ̄ni-amaḫ Ṣ̄ni-abi-enši</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>Arad-bēlti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>year 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 14</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. <strong>164</strong></td>
<td>(1359–1333 BB)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Ṣ̄ni-kidinnû</td>
<td>mār šipri tamkâru paḫāru šāḥitu</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Bit āl Nūr- Marduk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 31</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. <strong>164</strong></td>
<td>1300, NM</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ṣ̄ni-aḫulûp</td>
<td>asû kutimu parkullu šāqû paḫāru</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>Māt-Tāmti Arad-bēlti Dūr-Kurigalzu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>year 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>Seal Reference</td>
<td>Seal Impression</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Month, Day</td>
<td>Key Persons</td>
<td>Occupations</td>
<td>Commodities</td>
<td>Place Names</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 118</td>
<td><em>ak-šu</em></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 164</td>
<td>1305</td>
<td>VII-22</td>
<td>Ḥanbu</td>
<td>šāhitu</td>
<td>cereals</td>
<td>Dūr-Kurigalzu</td>
<td>bārū nuḫattimmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 155</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 164</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Enlil-[ ]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 4903</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 164</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>XII-3</td>
<td>Several persons</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>cereals</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM 29-15-548</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 164</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Kīnūte</td>
<td>išparu/uşparu</td>
<td>cereals</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM 29-16-156</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 164</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Kīnūte</td>
<td>išparu/uşparu</td>
<td>cereals</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 6310</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 164</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Kīnūte</td>
<td>išparu/uşparu</td>
<td>cereals</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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).\(^{(73)}\)

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\(^{(74)}\) is in the Second Kassite style.\(^{(75)}\)

Inscription:

```
“........
dumu.dumu ₄nin-urta-na-di-in-ah-ḫe-e
ir ₄nin-šar
₄₃ün-gal.níbru₄₃
(So-and-so, son of So-and-so)
Grandson of Ninurta-nadin-ahḫe,
Servant of Ninshar
And Sharrat-Nippuri”\(^{(76)}\)
```


\(\text{(74)}\) 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; [₄En-li]l-[k[i (?)-di-in-]ni. About ₄nin-šar, see Legrain 1925, 299 no. 569.

\(\text{(75)}\) For the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff., and Matthews 1992, 33ff. See also Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 143–145 (Zweite Gruppe).

\(\text{(76)}\) Matthews 1992, 124. He places the translation in juxtaposition with the transliteration. Therefore here the capital letter is used for And.
As mentioned above, 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, MRWH 31, 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). The latest is MRWH 31 (1300, NM VII-year 8). The period is at least 34 years. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 14</td>
<td>1359–1333 BB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 118</td>
<td>1305</td>
<td>NM 22</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 20</td>
<td>1304</td>
<td>NM 21(+)</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 22</td>
<td>1302</td>
<td>NM 21</td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 155</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>NM 27</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 31</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>NM 27</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 4903</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM 29-15-548</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>year 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matthews no. 164 seems to have been used in the reign of Burna-Buriyaš II and in the beginning of Nazi-Maruttāš.

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

(See the Rimūtu’s section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).


The next earliest and attested date is MUN 118 (1305, NM 22-VII-year 3).

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).
It may be significant that the three documents dated in VII seem parallel to one another.

MUN 118  
aklu 1305 NM  22  - VII - year 3  Ḥanbu  cereals
PBS 2/2 no. 20  
aklu 1304 NM  21(+) - VII - year 4  days 17–21(+)  Ḥanbu  barley
MRWH 31  
1300 NM  VII - year 8  Enlil-ahḫulap  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 (šāqû)  
PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 25: ŠU-ŠĪLA-GAB/DU₈₋₉₂), MRWH 31 (rev. 21: ŠU-ŠĪLA-GAB/DU₃)

Musician (nāru/nâru)  
PBS 2/2 no. 20 (obv. 17: nar)

Messenger (mār šipri)  
PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 22, 23, 25, 29, 31, 32: dumu šip-rî)

High official (šā rešī)  
PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 27: ša₁₁ sag)

Shepherd (rēʾû)  
PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 37: sipa)

Young female servant of king (ṣuḥurtu ša šarri)  
PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 38: ša-ḫur-tuša[l][ug]al)

Temple official (muberrû)  
PBS 2/2 no. 20 (rev. 39: ʾmuṭ -bē-er-ru-šir)

Physician (asû)  
MRWH 31 (obv. 5, rev. 28: a-zu)

Smith (katimmu)  
MRWH 31 (obv. 7: šu-ḫa-dû-di₄₉₃[₄])

Seal-cutter (parkullul/purkullû)  
MRWH 31 (obv. 13: bur-gul)

Potter (paḫāru)  
MRWH 31 (rev. 25: bāḫar)

Diviner (bārû)  
MRWH 31 (rev. 27: ṣaḥal)

Cook (nuḫatimmû)  
MRWH 31 (rev. 33: ša-ḫa-dû-di₄₉₃[₄])

Oil-presser (ṣāhītu)  
MUN 118 (rev. 11: i-s/šur)

Weaver (išparulûšparu)  
UM 29-15-548 (obv. 2: uš-bar)
6.5. Commodities
Barley and flour are issued in these documents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>še:</td>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 20, MRWH 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫirgalû:</td>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zî-da:</td>
<td>MUN 155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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 and that a kind of horse (uššuṭu) returned from Parak-māri. In PBS 2/2 no. 22, a kind of flour is delivered for Arad-bēlti. In MRWH 31, fodder is issued for the horses which are to be sent to Māt-Tāmti. A sick potter of Arad-bēlti is mentioned. Provisions for Dūr-Kurigalzu are issued. In MUN 118, a person who came from Dūr-Kurigalzu received rations.

6.7. Prosopography
Here I discuss the following persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-kidinnī</td>
<td>(Governor of Nippur.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥanbu</td>
<td>(Probably responsible for fodder of horses.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-ḥulap</td>
<td>(Probably responsible for fodder of horses.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(382) For these three settlements see Nashef 1982, pages 93–94, 215, and 193 respectively.
(383) Obv. 8–9: ša ta bāra-[d[umu] iḫ-ḫi-su-ša-nim7-ma a-na pi-ṣiq-di [a]-na a-ab-ba ša-ap-[r[ū]].
(385) Obv. 1–7: 20 gur ḫir-gal-ú₄[bán 5 sīla a-na uru ²a-ad-gašan… iš-ši.
(386) Obv. 2–3: ki-min s̄a₄ a-na a-ab-ba a-na pi-ṣiq-di ú-ṣu-₄-
(387) Rev. 25–26: bāḥar gis[?] ša an ura-ad-gašan².
(389) Obv. 7: 0,3,4. šu[š du]-mu[n][u][n] [¹]-din₄-amar-utu ša ta bād-[ku-ri-gal-žu][²] iš-su-da.
6.7.1. Enlil-kidinnī — In MRWH 14, his activities 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, which are summarized in MRWH 14. 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-aḫḫē is attested as father of Enlil-kidinnī. Enlil-kidinnī is known to be the father of Enlil-AL-SA6 (according to the legend of the Matthews no. 189 seal), and also as the father of Ninurta-zākir-šumi. Therefore Enlil-kidinnī can be the grandfather of Amīl-Marduk (MUN 283 obv. 2), and also a grandfather of Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni. Enlil-kidinnī is attested as the governor (šandabakku) of Nippur 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-aḫḫē. 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-aḫḫē. 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-aḫḫē. Seal reference to Ninurta-

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(390) BE 14 nos. 1, 2, 8, MRWH 1, 2, 10, 13, PBS 8/2 no. 162, PBS 13 no. 64.
(391) I.e., BE 14 nos. 1, 2, 8, MRWH 1, 2, 10, 13, PBS 8/2 no. 162, and PBS 13 no. 64.
(393) 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.
(394) CUSAS 30 no. 1 obv. 5, and CUSAS 30 no. 3 obv. 3.
(396) CUSAS 30 no. 81 obv. 1, and CUSAS 30 no. 362 obv. 8. See CUSAS 30, p. 24 (2. 1.).
(397) PBS 8/2 no. 162 rev. 18 and PBS 13 no. 64 obv. 11’.
MRWH 2 1342 BB 15\(^{7}\)-IX - year 18 Purchase of servants of Enlil-kidinnī, son of Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē. Seal references to Muštešīm-Adad and of witnesses, but no seal impression.

BE 14 no. 8 1339 BB 25\(^{1}\)-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 reference 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 (šandabakku). Seal reference to Gimillu, priest (pašīṣu) 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 Iī-iddina, but no seal impression.

PBS 13 no. 64 + MUN 9 BB 29 - [ - ]-[ ] Purchase of servants of [Enlil]-kidinnī, priest (nēšakku) of Enlil, governor of Nippur (šandabakku), and son of Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē. Seal reference to Rabūṭ-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 (ši₄₆nin-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-
<table>
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<tr>
<td>CUSAS 30 no. 362 1243 ŠŠ</td>
<td>Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, (grand) son of Enlil-kidinnī received wool. Also the house of Enlil-kidinnī can be found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 283 1242 ŠŠ</td>
<td>Amēl-Marduk, (grand)son of Enlil-kidinnī received oil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUN 373 1229 Kšt</td>
<td>Herdsman of Enlil-kidinnī are mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 154</td>
<td>Fodder for the donkeys of the son of Enlil-kidinnī (šuk anšemeš dumu be-en-līl-di-nī) is mentioned between line 33 and 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 17 no. 55</td>
<td>Enlil-kidinnī and the king are involved in a matter of releasing the servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 17 no. 77</td>
<td>This letter (from Assyria?) is sent to Enlil-kidinnī. Broken context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 17 no. 78</td>
<td>Enlil-kidinnī sent this letter. Broken context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 17 no. 79</td>
<td>Enlil-kidinnī sent this letter. Broken context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 17 no. 88</td>
<td>This letter (from Dilmun?) is sent to Illīya. Broken context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 17 no. 91</td>
<td>This letter (from Assyria?) concerning commodities is sent to Illīya?.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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(398) See the CDLI photo (P259690.jpg)

(399) For this letter, see von Soden 1957–1958, 369–70 and Landsberger 1965, 76 (šandabakku).

(400) See Cornwall, Goetze and Kraus 1952, 137 (n. 7: Enlil-kidinnī/Illiya and Illi-ippašra).


(402) Cf. von Soden 1957–1958, 369 ([iṭ]a-ab-[šar]-i-li); Saporetti 1970, 488 ([iṭ]a-ab-[šar]-i-li);
This letter concerning barley is sent to Ilīya.

Some persons went away from the house of Enlil-kidinnī.

10 onagers which are in the vicinity of the house of Enlil-kidinnī are drinking water.

Persons of the house of Enlil-kidinnī are confined.

Enlil-kidinnī is mentioned in this letter about dream of precious stones.

Sons of Enlil-kidinnī are mentioned.

Enlil-kidinnī sent this letter about a patient to Šumu-libši.\(^{403}\)

Enlil-kidinnī is mentioned between Amīlātu and Enlil-AL-SA\(^{404}\). In this list, no title is mentioned. But the three individuals are attested as governors (šandabakku)\(^{404}\) in other sources.

Emmer of the storehouse of the house of Enlil-kidinnī is given.

This letter (from Dilmun) about several matters is sent to [Il]Ilya.

This letter (from Dilmun) about Aḥlamû is sent to IlIlya.

This letter (from Assyria?) about tin is sent to [El]Ily/[II]Ilya.

Enlil-kidinnī detained one person.

\(^{403}\) On letters about medical treatment, see recently Plantholt 2014.

\(^{404}\) See Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (I.2.4: šandabakku).

\(^{405}\) Cornwall, Goetze and Kraus 1952, 144.

\(^{406}\) Cornwall, Goetze and Kraus 1952, 145.


\(^{408}\) 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 ʰen-lił-ki-
[dī]n-nī').

6.7.2. Ḥanbu — Attested twice in the Matthews no. 164 texts.

MUN 118  aklu 1305  NM 22 - VII-year 3  Ḥanbu cereals
PBS 2/2 no. 20  aklu 1304  NM 21(+) - VII-year 4  days 17–21(+)  Ḥanbu barley

Ḥanbu is mentioned after the term aklu in both documents,(409) 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 20th of VII.

In Nippur documents other than those of Matthews no. 164, we can find some occurrences of the name Ḥanbu, 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 Ḥanbu (lo. e. 11: pap 2.0.3. i-na šu ḫa-an-bi).

6.7.3. Enlil-ahlulp — Regarding Enlil-ahlulp, 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.).

(409) MUN 118 rev. 12: pap 10,3.5.3 sīla ak-luš ḫa-an-bu; PBS 2/2 no. 20 rev. 41: pap 32,1 PI.0.4 sīla ak-luš ḫa-an-bu].

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## 7. Matthews no. 61

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<td>sheep</td>
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<td>envelope</td>
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<td>Matthews no. 61</td>
<td>year 7</td>
<td>II-27 to III-5</td>
<td>Martuku</td>
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<td>barley, flour, beer</td>
<td>ÁI-Šēlebi</td>
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<td>ak-lu</td>
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<td>barley, flour, beer, sheep</td>
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<td>Martuku</td>
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<td>flour, barley, beer</td>
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<td>barley, beer</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1304, NM year 4</td>
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<td>hazardu</td>
<td>sheep, wool</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

Here I discuss the documents related to Matthews no. 61. We have one addition (UM 29-15-691) to this group.\(^{(410)}\)

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\(^{(411)}\) is the Central First Kassite style.\(^{(412)}\)

![61. Seal of Belanum(?)](image)

Inscription:

```
"[be]-la-nu-um Belanum,
[n]u.êš den-lil Prelate of Enlil
    [Son] of Kadashman-Enlil,
[dum]u.dumu ku-ri-galzu Grandson of Kurigalzu,
lugal kiši King of the world,
ir 4nusk[a] Servant of Nuska
ù 4un.gal.nibr[u] And šarrat-Nippur."\(^{(413)}\)
```

\(^{(410)}\) See Matthews and Brinkman 1990, 83–84, no. 103.

\(^{(411)}\) 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.

\(^{(412)}\) Concerning the First Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 55ff., and Matthews 1992, 10ff. Also see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado 1996, 114–16 (Erste Gruppe).

\(^{(413)}\) 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, BE 15 no. 18, BE 15 no. 23, BE 15 no. 25, BE 15 no. 31, MUN 324, CBS 8872, UM 29-15-691.

7.3. Year, month, day for Matthews no. 61

MUN 324 is dated in the 4th 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 II of year 8 to II of year 9
BE 15 no. 23 II - year 9 II of year 9 to II of year 10
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

(414) See the photo (P259480_e.jpg).
(415) See the photo (P259570_e.jpg).
(416) 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).
(417) See BE 14 PL. XV 48, 1 and the photo (P259526_e.jpg).
(418) See BE 14 PL. XV 48, 2 and the photo (P259538_e.jpg).
(419) See the photo (P259388_e.jpg).
(420) See the photo (P216542.jpg).
(421) See the photo (P256408.jpg).
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\(^{(422)}\): MUN 324 (XI), 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 (rēʿū) and mayor (ḥazanu) 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.\(^{(424)}\) UM 29-15-691 may contain the parallel clauses for duties relating to cows.

\[\text{rēʿū:}\]
BE 15 no. 15 (obv. 4 envelope: sipa, obv. 4 tablet: sipa), MUN 324 (4 envelope: ḫsip, obv. 4 tablet: ḫsip), CBS 8872 (rev. 20': sipa), UM 29-15-691 (rev. 13', 15': ḫsip)

\[\text{ḥazanu:}\]

7.5. Commodities

In Matthews no. 61 texts, beer, clay pots, barley, flour, sheep, wool, and cows are attested.

\[\text{kaš:}\]
BE 15 nos. 18 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 23 (kaš sag, kaš UŠ), 25 (kaš UŠ), 31 (kaš UŠ)

\[\text{dug:}\]
BE 15 nos. 18 (dug gal), 23, 25 (dug sag, dug UŠ)

\[\text{še:}\]
BE 15 nos. 18, 23 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 25 (ŠE-MAŠ/BAR), 31

\(^{(422)}\) Probably the time span is not a full month (days 1–30). It may be less than one month.

\(^{(423)}\) 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).

\(^{(424)}\) Regarding the duties of a shepherd, see Brinkman 2004, 290 n. 36.
zi-da: BE 15 nos. 18, 23, 25
udu-níta: BE 15 no.15, 23 (udu niga), MUN 324 (udu-nítaₜₑ), CBS 8872 (obv. 4': udu-ḫi-a)
sîk: CBS 8872 obv. 5'
uss-udu-ḫi-a: CBS 8872 rev. 18'
ûnsa: CBS 8872 (rev. 11'; ûnsa³)
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. 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 (āku, barley, flour, beer, sheep), 25 (āku, flour, barley, beer), 31 (barley, beer, Zarat-Karkara). These documents are not dated with a royal name. Among them, BE 15 nos. 23, 25 are annual reports (years 8–9 and years 9–10) of the āku 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.

(425) See Nashef 1982, 342 (map).
(426) 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.” (427) His active period is from 1311, KG 19-VIII-year 22 (BE 14 no. 36(428)) to 1276, KT 16-II-year 6 (BE 14 no. 93(429)). 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. (430)

Martuku who is found with Ḫuzālu 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), Ḫuzālu (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(431) 40, 42, 44, 45), Ḫuzālu (obv. 9, 11, 13, 17, 19, 21, 24 rev. 29, 31, 33, 34, 41).

(427) Sassmannshausen 2001, 190.

(428) 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).

(429) 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).

(430) 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:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>CT 51 no. 26</th>
<th>BE 14 no. 79</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-na ša te-li-ti ša</td>
<td>i-na ša te-li-ti ša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-21-kam ša za-ra-tiši</td>
<td>za-ra-ti ša mu-22-kam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i-na ši nin-urta-ibila-sum-na

ki-i šu 1mar-tu-ki                                  ki-i šu 1mar-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.

(431) In rev. 37, Martuk is said to be the son of Šamaš-ē/iriš. Is he (i.e., the son of Šamaš-ē/iriš) 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\(^{(432)}\) from Āl-Šēlebi is delivered from Ḫuzālu and Martuku\(^{(433)}\) for the rations of Nippur and Dūr-Kurigalzu. In a letter\(^{(434)}\) 
\(^1\)LĀL-UR-\(^d\)ALIM says to Martuku that he will arrive at Āl-Šēlebi on the 28\(^{th}\) 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.\(^{(435)}\)

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.\(^{(436)}\)

We have several aštu documents and possible aštu documents mentioning Martuku, but it is not certain if all the cases refer to the same person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ration Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 56</td>
<td>1296 NM XII</td>
<td>barley, flour, beer, sheep arād šarri u lá ašābu XI and XII are mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 61</td>
<td>1294 NM 11-IX</td>
<td>aštu barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 12</td>
<td>XII- year 3</td>
<td>aštu barley, flour, lentils, cress Dūr-Kurigalzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 3275</td>
<td>13- VI- year 4</td>
<td>aštu barley, cress, lentils, oil, sheep, goats, lambs envelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25-V to 13-VI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 14</td>
<td>16- VI- year 4</td>
<td>aštu flour, barley, beer envelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>days 13-15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 3103</td>
<td>26- VIII- year 4</td>
<td>aštu barley, flour, beer Āl-Šēlebi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 16</td>
<td>29- VI- year 5</td>
<td>aštu barley, emmer, flour, beer, beer products VI of year 4 to VI of year 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(432)}\) Obv. 1: 1 IGI 50,0.0. še ùbān 10 sīla.

\(^{(433)}\) Obv. 5-lo. e. 6: i-na šu Ḫu-za-lu₄ ₄₄ mar-tu-ki.


\(^{(435)}\) Aro and Bernhardt 1958/59, 571: HS 113 is another letter sent from \(^1\)LĀL-UR-\(^d\)ALIM to Martuku.

\(^{(436)}\) 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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 17</td>
<td>26-II-year 7</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>barley, beer, flour, Āl-Šēlebi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 18</td>
<td>27-II to 5-III</td>
<td><em>aklu</em>?</td>
<td>barley, flour, beer, Āl-Šēlebi envelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 23</td>
<td>II-year 9</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>barley, flour, beer, sheep envelope Matthews no. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 25</td>
<td>II-year 10</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>flour, barley, beer envelope Matthews no. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 31</td>
<td>2-VII-year 12</td>
<td><em>aklu</em>?</td>
<td>barley, beer Zarat-Karkara envelope Matthews no. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 3296</td>
<td>VIII-year 19</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>wheat, emmer, peas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 17</td>
<td>26-II-year 7</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>barley, beer, flour, Āl-Šēlebi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 18</td>
<td>27-II to 5-III</td>
<td><em>aklu</em>?</td>
<td>barley, flour, beer, Āl-Šēlebi envelope Matthews no. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 23</td>
<td>II-year 9</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>barley, flour, beer, sheep envelope Matthews no. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 25</td>
<td>II-year 10</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>flour, barley, beer envelope Matthews no. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 31</td>
<td>2-VII-year 12</td>
<td><em>aklu</em>?</td>
<td>barley, beer Zarat-Karkara envelope Matthews no. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 3296</td>
<td>VIII-year 19</td>
<td><em>aklu</em></td>
<td>wheat, emmer, peas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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tablets. No seal references are attested for Matthew no. 61. Therefore we do not know who sealed these documents.
# 8. Matthews no. 162

## Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>aklu</th>
<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 55</td>
<td>ak-\textit{lu}</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 162</td>
<td>1296, NM year 12</td>
<td>VIII-20 to IX-5</td>
<td>Enlil-mukīn-apli</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour barley</td>
<td>Zarat-Karkara</td>
<td>envelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 8</td>
<td>ak-\textit{lu}_4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 162</td>
<td>year 2</td>
<td>II-19 to III-27</td>
<td>Innannu</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>barley</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>envelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 15 no. 14</td>
<td>ak-\textit{lu}</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 162</td>
<td>year 4</td>
<td>VI days 13–15</td>
<td>Martuku</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>flour barley beer</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>envelope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 3275</td>
<td>ak-\textit{lu}</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 162</td>
<td>year 4</td>
<td>V-25 to VI-13</td>
<td>Martuku</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>barley cress lentils oil sheep goats lambs</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>envelope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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\(^{(437)}\) is in the Second Kassite style.\(^{(438)}\)

“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.”\(^{(439)}\)

[Image of the seal]

162.

As mentioned above,\(^{(440)}\) the seal appears to have been used for official business. We can find the seal impression on the following documents: BE 14 no. 55,\(^{(441)}\) BE 15 nos. 8,\(^{(442)}\) 14,\(^{(443)}\) and CBS 3275.\(^{(444)}\)

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:

\(^{(437)}\) 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.


\(^{(439)}\) Matthews 1992, 122.

\(^{(440)}\) See the Rîmûtu’s section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

\(^{(441)}\) See BE 14 PL. XII, 31 and the photo ([P259382_e.jpg](#)).

\(^{(442)}\) See BE 14 PL. XV, 48, 10a and the photo ([P259647_e.jpg](#)).

\(^{(443)}\) See BE 14 PL. XV, 48, 10b and the photo ([P259827_e.jpg](#)).

\(^{(444)}\) See the photo ([P259649_e.jpg](#)).
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
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. 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, Innannu, and Martuku.

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  aklu flour, barley Zarat-Karkara 20-VIII to 5-IX
BE 14 no. 56a 1295 NM I - year 13 aklu barley Zarat-Karkara (rev. 24) VII of year 12 to I of year 13

(446) Sassmannshausen 2001, 190.
(447) Ibid., 188–89.
(448) 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 aklu barley, sheep, lambs
X to 4-I

BE 15 no. 2 5 - I - year 1 aklu barley, sheep, lambs

BE 15 no. 8 27-III - year 2 aklu barley envelope
19-II to 27-III Matthews no. 162

BE 15 no. 9 2 - IV - year 2 [ak]lu barley, cress, oil, sheep
r7]-III to 2-IV

BE 15 no. 48c 1 - IX - year 15 (aklu?) barley, flour, a type of flour, porridge, oil Äl-Šēlebi unopened envelope Matthews no. 158

BE 15 no. 65 12-I - year 17 aklu oil, sesame, sheep envelope Matthews no. 161

BE 15 no. 137 17-XII- year 23 aklu flour
26-XI to 17-XII

CBS 3099 17-XII- year 23 aklu beer, clay pots, beer products
26-XI to 17-XII

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>aklu</th>
<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Seal Impression</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month, Day</th>
<th>Key Persons</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Place names</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 30</td>
<td>ak-lu₄</td>
<td>nin-urta-re-ṣu-šú</td>
<td>Matthews no. 146</td>
<td>1234, ŠŠ</td>
<td>year 9 X to year 12 XII-21</td>
<td>Amīl-Marduk Ninurta-Šarru</td>
<td>šandabakku šarru</td>
<td>barley flour beer Paširu Bīt-bēri Balri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBS 7380</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Matthews no. 146</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>XII⁴⁴⁹</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>là ašābu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴⁴⁹ Several days are mentioned (3': ta u₄-30-kam ša ₃₃₄; 4': ta u₄-8-kam ₃₃₄; 5'-6: ta u₄-1[+kam] en u₄-5-kam ₃₃₄).
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(450) is in the Second Kassite style.(451)

Inscription:
“ina amāt ʿmarduk be-li-šu ša-kin-šu li-bur liš-lim
At the command of Marduk, his lord, may the one equipped with it (the seal) be established and prosper.”(452)

(450) 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.


As mentioned above,\textsuperscript{(453)} it seems to be used for official business. The seal impression can be found on both documents.\textsuperscript{(454)}

9.3. Year, month, day for Matthews no. 146

MRWH 30 is dated in the 12\textsuperscript{th} 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\textsuperscript{th} month can be found.

\begin{tabular}{llll}
MRWH 30 & 1234 SS & 21 - XII - year 12 & X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12 \\
CBS 7380 & & & XII is mentioned.\textsuperscript{(455)}
\end{tabular}

9.4. Occupations/positions

In MRWH 30, Amīl-Marduk is mentioned as governor (obv. 1, rev. 28: gū-en-na). Horses of the king are also mentioned (obv. 11: [anše-ku]-ra\textsuperscript{mēl} ša lugal).

9.5. Commodities

In MRWH 30, beer, clay pots, flour, and barley are attested.

- kaš: MRWH 30 (obv. 1: [ka]š\textsuperscript{7}, rev. 26: kaš)
- dug: MRWH 30 (obv. 1: dug)
- zi-da: MRWH 30 (rev. 25)
- še: MRWH 30 (rev. 21: še zi-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-da-a-a-i\textsuperscript{(456)}: MRWH 30 (rev. 23)

9.6. Place names

In MRWH 30, Paširu\textsuperscript{(457)} (obv. 7), Bīt-bēri\textsuperscript{(458)} (rev. 23), and Balrī\textsuperscript{(459)} (rev. 29) are attested.

\textsuperscript{(453)} See the Rimūtu’s section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

\textsuperscript{(454)} For MRWH 30, see Bernhardt 1976, Tafeln CXXIX–CXXX.

\textsuperscript{(455)} Several days are mentioned (3’: ta u₄-30-kam ša \textsuperscript{dī[ ... ]}; 4’: ta u₄-8-kam [ ... ]; 5’-6: ta u₄-1[+kam] en u₄-5-kam \textsuperscript{dī[ ... ]}).

\textsuperscript{(456)} MRWH p. 81, Z. 23: “Verpflegung für die Idajäer, die sich in Edanna befinden”; zu URU/KUR-i-da-a-a s. Parpola, AOAT 6, 172 s. v. IDA

\textsuperscript{(457)} See Nashef 1982, 217.

\textsuperscript{(458)} Ibid. 56.
9.7. Notes
As mentioned above, \(^{(460)}\) ašābu and related phrases occur in the aklu documents. We find the negated form in CBS 7380.

\begin{align*}
asābu: & \quad --- \\
lā ašābu: & \quad CBS 7380 (rev ?. 2': la a-ša-a-bu, rev ?. 5': la a-ra-a-bu) \\
asābu lā ašābu: & \quad ---
\end{align*}

9.8. Prosopography
Here I discuss the prosopography of the following persons.

Amīl-Marduk (Governor of Nippur.)
Ninurta-rēšūšu (Sealer of an aklu document.)


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.

\begin{align*}
\text{MUN 189} & \quad 1236 \quad ŠŠ \quad 6 \quad \text{- XII}^{10} \quad \text{- year 10} \quad \text{aklu} \quad \text{barley, flour, beer} \\
& \quad \text{days 4-6} \quad \text{Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor, but no seal impression.} \\
\text{MRWH 30} & \quad 1234 \quad ŠŠ \quad 21 \quad \text{- XII} \quad \text{- year 12} \quad \text{aklu} \quad \text{barley, flour, beer} \\
& \quad \text{X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12} \quad \text{Seal reference to Ninurta-rēšūšu, Matthews no. 146} \\
\text{MUN 192\(^{(461)}\)} & \quad 1230 \quad Kšt \quad 4 \quad \text{- V?} \quad \text{- year 3} \quad \text{aklu} \quad \text{The expenditure of commodities.} \\
& \quad \text{Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor, but no seal impression.} \\
\text{MUN 194\(^{(462)}\)} & \quad Kšt \quad 15 \quad [\quad ] \quad [\quad ] \quad \text{aklu} \quad \text{[barley, flour], beer}
\end{align*}

\(^{(459)}\) Ibid. 50. Or it may be read as Ebertu “bank.” This reading is courtesy of M. Stol. See AHw, 100 (balra), 181 (eberta), CAD B, 44 (balar), CAD E, 9 (eberta A), Borger 2010, 246 n. 5.

\(^{(460)}\) See Rīmūtu’ s section of note (ašābu).

\(^{(461)}\) For the reading aklu, see Brinkman 2004, 290 ([ak-l]um GIŠ.BÁN 5 SÍLA).
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). \(^{(463)}\) I arrange references of Amīl-Marduk, governor basically in chronological order with brief comments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Textual Reference</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Additional Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUN 283</td>
<td>1242 ŠŠ 12 - VII - year 4 (5-VI to 12-VII)</td>
<td>Amīl-Marduk, (grand)son of Enlil-kidinnī</td>
<td>received oil.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 17</td>
<td>(1240 ŠŠ [ ] - V - [ ] -1237) years 6–9</td>
<td>The account of the high priestess which Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur handles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 136</td>
<td>1237 ŠŠ V - year 9</td>
<td>The account of the high priestess which Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur handles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSKH no. 24</td>
<td>1236 ŠŠ 3 - IV - year 10</td>
<td>Decree of Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur. Ninurta-rēšīšu, mayor of Nippur, is mentioned.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 316</td>
<td>1236 ŠŠ 25(+) -VIII-year 10</td>
<td>The account of cattle. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur Matthews no. 149</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE 14 no. 137</td>
<td>1236 ŠŠ VIII - year 10</td>
<td>The account of cattle. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, [governor] Matthews no. 149</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 189</td>
<td>1236 ŠŠ 6 - XII-year 10 (\text{[ } \text{[aklu]} \text{ ]-year 10} \text{ days 4–6} )</td>
<td>(\text{[aklu]} \text{ barley, flour, beer} ) Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor, but no seal impression.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 318</td>
<td>1235 ŠŠ X - year 11(+)</td>
<td>The account of cattle. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur Matthews no. 149</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 319</td>
<td>1235 ŠŠ X - year 11</td>
<td>An account of cattle. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(462)}\) Brinkman 2004, 301 reads \([ak]-lum ŠU.\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Seal</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MUN 330</td>
<td>1235 ŠŠ</td>
<td>X?</td>
<td>- year 11 The account of sheep and goat. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor Matthews no. 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 329</td>
<td>1235 ŠŠ</td>
<td>rMN7-year 1/111</td>
<td>IX or X probable The account of sheep and goat. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor (Matthews no. 149)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 30</td>
<td>1234 ŠŠ</td>
<td>21 - XII</td>
<td>- year 12 aklu barley, flour, beer X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12 Seal reference to Ninurta-rēšūšu. Matthews no. 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 409</td>
<td>1234 ŠŠ</td>
<td>r6+?-rMN?-year 12</td>
<td>Probably a metal object is dealt with. The tablet of Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur is taken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 321</td>
<td>ŠŠ</td>
<td>V?/VIII?-[ ]</td>
<td>The account of cattle. Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor Matthews no. 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 331</td>
<td>ŠŠ RN badly damaged</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heavily damaged. Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur is mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 458</td>
<td>ŠŠ</td>
<td></td>
<td>This document deals with ordeal. Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur, is mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 413</td>
<td>1233 Kšt 8</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>-acc. year Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur, entrusted the tents to Ninurta-rēšūšu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBS 2/2 no. 56</td>
<td>1232 Kšt 16</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>- year 1 The expenditure of barley and flour for several workers (sakrumaš, aḫlamû, kaššû, nuḫatimmu). Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUN 116</td>
<td>1232 Kšt 18</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>- year 1 The expenditure of barley and flour for several workers (sakrumaš, aḫlamû, kaššû, nuḫatimmu). Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRWH 15</td>
<td>1232 Kšt 22</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>- year 1 The expenditure of barley and flour for several workers (sakrumaš, aḫlamû, kaššû, nuḫatimmu). Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) MUN 329 (CBS 11104) should be added to Matthews no. 149. It has the seal impression (P266267.jpg).

(*) For the reading Ninurta-rēšūšu, see Brinkman 2004, 302 (MUN 413).
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.


9.8.2. Ninurta-rēšūšu — Mentioned in MRWH 30 (rev. 32: nāškiš id nin-urta-re-ṣu-šū). 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  aklu (of) Amīl-Marduk, governor X-year 9 to 21-XII-year 12 barley, flour, beer Seal reference to Ninurta-rēšūšu. Matthews no. 146

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-ṛēṣu. 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-ša-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 zi-da ṣibbán 5 sila
2 ak-lu₄ u zi-ga
3 iš-tu u₄-28-kam ša ṣa iuaš-A-AN
4 a-di u₄-5-kam ša iuše-KIN-ku₅

Lo. E.
5 mu-8-kam
6 na-zi-ma-ra-taš lugal

Rev.
7 šu ¹min-de-i-bal-ṣuṭ

PBS 2/2 no. 24 is an aklu and šitu document. There is no seal reference. Matthews no. 156 is in the Second Kassite style.(468)

“There is a two-line vertical inscription behind the demon and a small volute tree above the bull.”(469)

156.

(466) For “5 sila,” see the photo of CDLI (P268186.jpg).

(467) 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.


(469) Matthews 1992, 120.
As mentioned above,\(^{(470)}\) it seems to be used for official business. We can find the clear seal impression.\(^{(471)}\) It is dated to NM 5-XII-year 8, 28-XI to 5-XII (8 days), i.e. 1300. Flour is dealt with. Minde-iballüt’s identity is not clear.

11. Matthews no. 157

MUN 181\(^{(472)}\) is sealed with Matthews no. 157. I reproduce the transliteration here.

Obv.
1 \([+2.3. zì-da \, rûgîs \, [bân \, 5 \, sîl]a\\n2 \,[x,\, x,] \, râ\{3\}. \, ŠE'\,-\,MÂS\,\,BâR \, bân \, 5 \, sîla\\n3 \, ak-lu\,s\\n4 \, šu \, lî\,-\,ana\,-\,zâlak\,-\,rû\{4\}\,utu\,\,(473)\\n5 \, 1\,nim\,\,-\,gi\,-\,rab\,-\,d\,\,amar\,-\,utu\\nLo. e.\\n6 \, uru\,sag\,-\,kalam\,-\,ma\\n7 \, rû\{n\}\,kin\,-\,d\,\,innin\\nRev.\\n8 \, mu\,-\,3\,-\,kam\\n9 \, ku\,-\,dur\,-\,d\,\,en\,-\,lîl\\n10 \, na\,kišîb \, 1\,nim\,-\,gi\,-\,rab\,-\,d\,\,amar\,-\,utu

MUN 181 is an aklu document. Seal reference to Nimgirab-Marduk is attested. Matthews no. 157\(^{(474)}\) is in the Second Kassite style.\(^{(475)}\)

\(^{(470)}\) See the Rimûtu’s section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

\(^{(471)}\) See the photo of CDLI (P268186.jpg).

\(^{(472)}\) This tablet is CBS 13371, not 13377. See Brinkman 2004, 300.

\(^{(473)}\) Or rû[amar]-utu.

\(^{(474)}\) 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.

\(^{(475)}\) 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).
As mentioned above, it seems to be used for official business. We can find a clear seal impression. 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. The identity of Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Šamaš is not clear. The identity of Nimìraz-Marduk remains unclear.

12. Matthews no. 161

BE 15 no. 65 is sealed with Matthews no. 161. I reproduce the transliteration here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Envelope</th>
<th>Tablet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Obv.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Obv.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 0,0.1,1 siša sīša</td>
<td>1 0,0.1,1 siša sīša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 0,0.1, še-giš-i</td>
<td>2 0,0.1, še-giš-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 2 udu-nīta</td>
<td>3 2 udu-nīta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ak-lu₄</td>
<td>4 ak-lu₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rev.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rev.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ₅iša-an-nu</td>
<td>5 ₅iša-an-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ₐbār-zag-gar</td>
<td>6 ₐbār-zag-gar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 u₄-12-kam</td>
<td>7 u₄-12-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 mu₁₇-kam</td>
<td>8 mu₁₇-kam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(⁴⁷⁶) See the Rimūtu’s section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

(⁴⁷⁷) See the photo of CDLI (P268450.jpg).

(⁴⁷⁸) 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 is in the Second Kassite style.

As mentioned above, it seems to be used for official business. We can find a clear seal impression. 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.

13. Matthews no. 187

MRWH 25 is sealed with Matthews no. 187. I reproduce the transliteration here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Envelope (HS 2887)</th>
<th>Tablet (HS 738)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Obv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 me 8 kaš U[Š]</td>
<td>1 2 me 8 kaš UŠ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ak-lu[ ]</td>
<td>2 ak-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bēn-līl-s[u]-lu-li</td>
<td>3 bēn-līl-sū-lu-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 šu l̄di-kus-[utu]</td>
<td>Lo. e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 [t]a u₃₂ r₃₁-[kam]</td>
<td>4 šu l̄di-kus-[utu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo. e.</td>
<td>Rev.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.


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).

CBS 9769 is a cast of HS 738 (the tablet of MRWH 25), still inside HS 2887 (the envelope of MRWH 25).
MRWH 25 is an aklu document. There is no seal reference. Matthews no. 187\(^{(485)}\) is a Second Kassite derivative.\(^{486}\)

187. Petschow 1974 no. 25

We can see a clear seal impression.\(^{(487)}\) 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-ṣulūī, 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

\(^{(485)}\) 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.


\(^{(487)}\) 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 \(^{1}\)be-la-\(ni\)
BE 14 no. 111, 2 1268, KT XII-year 14, loan document (as creditor), \(i-na\) é gury ša nibru\(^{ki}\)
CT 51, 28, 8 1272, KT 7-XII-year 10, loan document (as witness), dumu \(^{1}\)be-la-\(ni\), \(i-na\) tāh-la-\(a\)\(^{ki}\)

Enlil-šušušu appears in aklu documents (MUN 202, MRWH 25), but the details are unclear. He is also found in loan documents.\(^{488}\) Further evidence is probably required to determine if they all refer to the same person.

The identity of Dayyānī-Šamaš remains unclear.\(^{489}\)

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 \(^{a}\)bān 5 sīla

Lo. E.
4 \(^{1}\)in-na-na-a
5 \(dumu\) \(^{1}\)XXX-sum-mu

Rev.
6 [dumu š]ɪp-ri ša \(^{1}\)dingir-šu-ibila-sum
7 šu dumu \(^{1}\)dūg-ab-a-ša-b-šu
8 \(^{a}\)kin-\(^{a}\)innin

U. E.
9 \(u_{4}-11\)-kam
10 mu-22-kam

---

\(^{488}\) BE 14 nos. 106, 111, CT 51, 28.

\(^{489}\) 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\(^{(490)}\) is in the Second Kassite style.\(^{(491)}\)

142.

As mentioned above,\(^{(492)}\) it seems to be used for official business. We can find a clear seal impression.\(^{(493)}\) It is dated to 11-VI-year 22 of an unknown king. Details about Innanā/Innannīya and his father, Sin-nādin-šumi, are not clear. We have several references to the son of Ţāb-ašābšū in the Nippur documents. The son of Ţāb-ašābšū, a miller (kaṣṣidakku) is attested in a number of documents.\(^{(494)}\) In BE 14 no. 158, the son of Ţāb-ašābšū received barley from Martuku in the house of Innanu. Martuku and Innanu are well known in Das Archiv des Speichers,\(^{(495)}\) so the son of Ţāb-ašābšū, a miller, is an artisan of Das Archiv des Speichers. CBS 3105 (aklu, flour) is an aklu document of the son of Ţāb-ašābšū.

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 住宅（rev. 8）of 住宅-Ninurta. Barley,

\(^{(490)}\) References to Matthews no. 142 in Matthews 1992 are on the following pages: 33, 36, 45, and 65. See also Deheselle 1995.

\(^{(491)}\) For the Second Kassite style, see Matthews 1990, 60ff., and Matthews 1992, 33ff.

\(^{(492)}\) See the Rīmūtu’s section (2.2.) of the seal (Matthews no. 148).

\(^{(493)}\) See the CDLI photo (P259464.jpg).

\(^{(494)}\) 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, Ţāb-ašābšu, kaṣṣidakku is attested （dūg-ab-dūr-šū šùka-zi-da）without dumu.

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  
aklu (rev. 24) of Enlil-mukīn-apli. Barley is given in Zarat-Karkara.

**BE 14 no. 61** 1294 NM 11 - IX - year 14  
aklu (obv. 6) of Martuku. Barley is given in Dunni-aḫi.

**BE 14 no. 97** 1272 KT I - year 10  

**BE 14 no. 99a** 1271 KT - year 11  
aklu (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  
aklu (obv. 1, rev. 10). Possibly sheep (rev. 10: frām 1-III-year 6) are given for the offering of the temple to the son of Aḫū’a-lēʾi, Parak-māri and Bīt-bēri.

**BE 14 no. 144** 1227 Kšt - year 6  
aklu (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  

**BE 14 no. 168** year 12 is mentioned  
aklu (obv. 24′). A large account of domestic animals.

**BE 15 no. 1** 4 - I - year 1  
X to 4-I  
aklu (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  
aklu (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  
[rš]-III to 2-IV  
[ak]lu (obv. 5). Barley, cress, oil and sheep are mentioned.

**BE 15 no. 12** XII - year 3  
aklu (lo. e. 5). Barley, flour, lentils and cress are
BE 15 no. 16 29 - VI - year 5 *aklu* (rev. 10). Barley, emmer, flour, clay pot, a type of flour, malt and beerbread (*bappiru*) are stated.

BE 15 no. 17 26 - II - year 7 *aklu* (obv. 5) of Martuku. Barley, beer and flour are mentioned. Āl-Šēlebi is referred to.

BE 15 no. 21 Vla(^{496})-year 8 *aklu* (obv. 1, rev. 44). Oil is given.

BE 15 no. 46 III - year 15 *aklu* (obv. 3, 4–7: ki-min, 10). Flour is given. Sukkal-aḫa-ē/iš is responsible.

BE 15 no. 60 12 - Vla(^{497})-year 16 *aklu* (obv. 2). Flour is mentioned. A daughter of Mele-Saḫ is referred to.

BE 15 no. 74 IX - year 17 *aklu* (obv. 1) of sheep. Several place names (ē^d^gu-la, uru^ga-zī^ki, uru^za-lam-tī^ki, uru^ē-danna) are referred to. Ninurta-μuṭ-gimilli is stated.

BE 15 no. 79 12 - II - year 18 *aklu* (obv. 3). Sheep and lamb are attested. Inner part of the palace, provisions and x x x (NUN-li-ḫa)^{498} are referred to. Seal reference to Šušātu, but no seal impression.

BE 15 no. 90 XI - year 18 *aklu* (rev. 45') of Ihni-Marduk. This is a loan document of barley given in Zarat-Karkara.

BE 15 no. 102 mention of year 19 *aklu* (rev. 31). A list of grain in which several place names are mentioned.

BE 15 no. 137 17 - XII - year 23 *aklu* (obv. 3). Flour is mentioned. Innannu is referred to.

BE 15 no. 171 *aklu* (obv. 11'). A list of millers and brewers.


(^{496}) ^{2}kin-2-kam (2^nd VI month).

(^{497}) ^{2}kin-zi-innin-2-kam-ma (2^nd VI month).

(^{498}) The meaning of NUN (sīl)-li-ḫa is obscure. W. H. van Soldt reads it as sa!-li-ḫa. M. Stol tentatively suggests a reading zil-le, a fish.

179
e. 6: 1rzālag3,4kū-bi).

MRWH 26 1294 NM XII - year 14 aklu (3'). Fragment. Under the responsibility of … (I[...]). Dūr-Enlil is referred to. Parallel is MUN 275.

MRWH 27 1236 ŠŚ VIII - year 10 aklu (u. e. 1, rev. 30) of temple (é dingir). Sheep and goats are given. Some locations (é-kur, bāra-dumū³, é-danna) are referred to. Under responsibility of Iqīša-Enlil.

MRWH 68 1340 BB 20 - VII - year 20 aklu (rev?. 6') The commodities are unclear due to the bad condition of the document. This expenditure was under the responsibility of Koppupu.

MUN 97 1287 NM 30 - X - year 21 aklu (rev. 33) of Izkur-Marduk. Beer and barley are issued.

MUN 188 1230 Kšt IX - year 3 aklu (obv. 5'). Fragment. It’s under the responsibility of Arad-ṣqarrā'. The governor (obv. 8: gū-en-n[a]), brewers (rev. 11': lālunga³mē³) are referred to.

MUN 189 1236 ŠŚ 6 - XIIⁿ⁻¹-year 10 ṭaklu³ (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 ṭaklu³ (u. e. 1). Barley, flour and beer are issued.


MUN 192 1230 Kšt 4 - V? - year 3 ṭaklu³(⁴⁹⁹) (rev. 8'). [Barley, flour] and beer are issued. [Seal reference to Amīl-Marduk, governor, but no seal impression.

MUN 194 Kšt 15 - [ ] ṭaklu³(⁵⁰⁰) (rev. 16'). [Barley, flour] and beer are issued. Under the responsibility of Kidin-Adad. [Seal reference] to Amīl-Marduk, governor. But

⁴⁹⁹ For the reading aklu, see Brinkman 2004, 290 ([ak]-lum GIŠ.BÁN 5 SĪLA).

⁵⁰⁰ Brinkman 2004, 301 reads [ak]-lum ŠU.
no seal impression.

MUN 197  1319  KG  10 - II - year 14  aklu (rev. 4'). Beer is mentioned. It’s under the responsibility of Iš-[

MUN 198  1306  NM  13 - VIII- year 2  aklu (obv. 1). Beer is issued. But here it is measured by a solid capacity measure. Dūr-Nuska is referred to.

MUN 203  1266  KT  5 - II - year 16  aklu (obv. 3). Beer is mentioned. Nuska-bēla-uṣur is referred to.

MUN 269  1350  BB  24 - IV - year 10  aklu (obv. 12, rev. 15). Beerbread (bappīru) is given. It is under the responsibility of Nashīra-Marduk. Cf. MUN 195, 256–258.

MUN 274  1236  ŠŠ  ־MN\(^3\)-year 10  aklu (u. e. 1, obv. 4). Flour and peas are issued.

MUN 280  1244  ŠŠ  30 - XI - year 2 10-X to 30-XI  aklu and šītu (obv. 1). Oil is given.

MUN 326  1241  ŠŠ  - year 5?  aklu (rev. 44'). Sheep are dealt with.

year 4 is also mentioned.

CBS 2109  aklu (u. e. 28'). Flour is issued. Lā-qīpu is referred to.

CBS 2129  5-IX is mentioned  aklu (obv. 9', 12') and šītu (obv. 9', 12'). Sheep are dealt with.

CBS 2328  15 - XII - year 17  aklu (rev. 15). Cereals are issued.

CBS 3081  15th day is mentioned  aklu (obv. 6). Barley is issued. The control of ınništu is undone (qāt ... turrat). Kār-Adab is referred to.

CBS 3099  17 - XII - year 23  aklu (lo. e. 6). Beer and beer products are dealt with. Innānu is referred to.

CBS 3105  9 - XII - year 22  aklu (rev. 7). Flour is dealt with. The son of Ṭāb-aššū is mentioned. Cf. BE 14 no. 17 (obv. 5–6: dumu 1šū ab a šab šū ka zi da), no. 158 (lo. e. 6–rev. 7: dumu 1šū ab a šab šū ka zi da), BE 15 no. 10 (rev. 13: dumu 1šū ab a šab šū), no. 52 (rev. 25: dumu 1šū ab a šab šū), no. 53 (obv. 3: dumu 1šū ab a šab šū), no. 55 (lo. e. 5: dumu 1šū ab a šab šū), no. 101 (rev. 9–10: dumu

| CBS 3296 | VIII - year 19 | aklu (obv. 8, rev. 11). [Barley?], wheat, emmer and peas are issued. It’s under the responsibility of Martuku. |
| CBS 3319 |             | aklu (obv. 19') of Ninurta-apla-iddina. Cereals are issued. |
| CBS 3529 | 14 - XI     | aklu (obv. 2–3). Flour is dealt with. The son of Tāb-nupāŕšu is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 81 (rev. 8: dumu 1dùg-ab-nu-pār-šu) |
| CBS 3713 | I - year 6  | aklu (obv. 3). Sheep and lamb are given for coming/down of the king (arād šarrī). The son of Šallī-lūmur is referred to. |
| CBS 3738 | 21 - XI - year 16 | Lā-qīpu is referred to. aklu (rev. 19). Flour is issued. |
| CBS 7233 | VIII is mentioned. | aklu (obv. 9'). Cereals are issued. |
| CBS 10564 |             | aklu (2'). Fragment |
| CBS 11534 | 29 - XII - year 17 | aklu (obv. 2). Flour is given for coming/down of the king (elē šarrī). The son of Sīn-nādin-apli is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 2': aklu, [dumu 1a] rXXX₁-na-din-ap-li). |
| CBS 13339 | XII         | r'aklu' (rev. 9'). Barley is issued. Date is partly broken. |
| N 957    |             | aklu (rev. 8'). Cereals are issued. Several place names (nibru₄₁, umarad-gašan, uru ša 10 1-kur, uru-ir-re-e) are referred to. |

(501) Here it is without dumu.
183

N 1981  \( r^\text{MN}^\cdot \)  aklu (u. e. 1). Barley, wheat and emmer are issued.

N 2266  1350 BB x - - year 10\(^{(502)}\) aklu (obv. 6) and ʶʶしていました (obv. 6). Beerbread (bappiru) is dealt with.

N 2341  aklu (4'). Fragment. The term lā ašābu is mentioned.

N 2714  \( r^\text{MN}^\cdot \) aklu (obv. 1). Fragment. Barley is dealt with.

N 6573  [ ]- VIII aklu (obv. 1). Flour is dealt with.

[ ]-VII to [ ]-VIII

UM 29-13-683  1241 Šš - year 5 aklu (rev. 28'). Bull calves are dealt with. Three bull calves are delivered to the temple according to the order of the governor (rev. 25': 3 AD [ ] ša ki-i gú-en-na a-na é dingir šu-ru-bu).

UM 29-16-347  [ ]- V aklu (rev. 11'). Fragment. Beer and beer products are issued.

UM 29-16-629  aklu (rev. 1–2). Fragment. Cereals are issued.

UM 29-16-678  aklu (rev. 14'). Fragment. Cereals are issued. Arad-bēlti is mentioned as a destination (rev. 9': a-na \( ^n\)a-arad-gašan\( ^b\)).

UM 29-16-731  VI is mentioned. aklu (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 term arād šarrī u lā ašābu is attested.

BE 15 no. 27  18 - XI - year 11 Flour is dealt with. The son of Rīš-Ištar is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 4': aklu, [dumu \( ^l\)ri-iš-\( ^d\)KA-DI]).

BE 15 no. 33  30 - XII - year 12 Bull, calf, sheep and lamb are dealt with. The term elē šarrī “Coming/going up of the king” is attested. Aḫa-iddina-M[arduk] is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 199 (rev. 30: e-le lugal û a-ra-ad

\(^{(502)}\) See Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text: BB year 10).
šar-ri, rev. 44: šeš-sum-na-ašarri “Coming/going up of the king” is attested. The son of Rabâ-ša-li is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 3': aklu, [dumu šgal-aša-šarri-dingir]).

BE 15 no. 34 2 - I - year 13 Barley, sheep and lamb are dealt with. The term elē šarri “Coming/going up of the king” is attested. The son of Rabâ-ša-li is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 3': aklu, [dumu šgal-aša-šarri-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 ša-šarri-ki-min (i. e. lunga)), no. 171 (rev. 15': dumu ša-šarri-amar-utu), BM 82651(503) (lo. e. 5: dumu ša-šarri-amar-utu).


PBS 2/2 no. 57 29 - XII - year 12 Beer is dealt with. Ther term elē šarri “Coming/going up of the king” is attested. The son of Mannu-ki-li is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 12': [dumu šan-ki-li]), CBS 2132 (obv. col. ii?, 8': dumu šan-ki-li-šarri-dingir).

PBS 2/2 no. 74 6 - IV - year 18 Beer and beerbread (bappiru) are dealt with. The son of Amurruma-ilu is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 19': dumu šar-šarri-amar-utu).

PBS 2/2 no. 101 12 - I - year 24 Flour is dealt with. The son of Bēl-kittī/Bēl-kitti is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 7: dumu šen-kit-ti), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 7: dumu šen-kit-ti), CBS 8737 (obv. 8: dumu šen-kit-ti).

MSKH no. 4 16 - I - year 18 Beer and beerbread (bappiru) are dealt with. The term elē šarri u arād šarri “Coming/going up and coming/going down of the king” is attested. The son of Mannu-Marduk is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 17': dumu šar-šarri-amar-utu).

(503) See Zadok and Zadok 1997; Weszeli and Jursa 1997; and Brinkman 1997.
The term *ēšarrī* “Coming/goings up of the king” is attested. The son of Enlil-dayyān is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 10 (obv. 6: *dumu šen-lil-di-kuš šungan*), BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 16*: *dumu šen-lil-di-kuš*), CBS 2132 (obv. col. i?, 13*: *dumu šen-lil-di-kuš*), CBS 3090 (obv. 3: *dumu šen-lil-di-kuš*).

Beer and beerbread (*bappiru*) are dealt with. The son of Mannu-ki-ili is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 21*: *šu-uzu*).

[Barley], flour and beer are issued for several purposes. [Seal reference] to Amil-Marduk, governor. But no seal impression. Parallel with MUN 192 (*aklu*) and 194 (*aklu*).

The son of Enlil-dayyān is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 10 (obv. 6: *dumu šen-lil-di-kuš šungan*), BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 16*: *dumu šen-lil-di-kuš*), CBS 2132 (obv. col. i?, 13*: *dumu šen-lil-di-kuš*), CBS 3090 (obv. 3: *dumu šen-lil-di-kuš*).

Beer and beerbread (*bappiru*) are dealt with.

The son of Mannu-ki-ili is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 12*: *dumu šan-nu-ki-ilī*), PBS 2/2 no. 57 (lo. E. 5: *dumu šan-nu-ki-dingir*), CBS 2132 (obv. col. i?, 8*: *dumu šan-nu-ki-š*x*).

Beer and beerbread (*bappiru*) are dealt with. *Nūr*-Kūbi is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 167 (obv. 4: *dumu šalag-škù-bu*), PBS 2/2 no. 34 (obv. 4: *dumu šalag-škù-bi*), CBS 8737 (obv. 3: *dumu šalag-škù-b[u]*).

Beer and beerbread (*bappiru*) are dealt with.

Beer is dealt with. The son of Enlil-dayyān is referred to. Cf. BE 14 no. 10 (obv. 6: *dumu š...
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 \(^{(504)}\)
15 - IV - year 6
days 11–15
The [son] of Aqar-Marduk is referred to. Cf. BE 15 no. 119 (obv. 3: dumu \(\text{id-}\text{aqar-}d\text{amar-utu ki-min (i. e. lunga))}, no. 146 (obv. 3: dumu \(\text{id-}\text{aqar-}d\text{amar-utu}), no. 171 (rev. 15': dumu \(\text{id-}\text{aqar-}d\text{amar-utu})).

RT 19, no. 70, p. 56 \(^{(505)}\)
Beer and beerbread (\textit{bappiru}) are dealt with.

15.3. BE 15 no. 171
Some comments on the above-mentioned documents follow. BE 15 no. 171, is an \textit{aklu} (obv. 11') document in which millers and brewers are listed. \(^{(506)}\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1'</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2'</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4'</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5'</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6'</td>
<td>x,x.]3.3 sîla i-(i\text{giš}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7'</td>
<td>x,x.]4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8'</td>
<td>[]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(504)}\) Ibid.

\(^{(505)}\) Only partial transliteration is made.

\(^{(506)}\) In obv. 11', the \textit{aklu} of millers (\textit{ak-}\text{lu ša gaz-}zî-\text{d}[a]) is found. Thus the persons listed on the obv. are millers. Possibly the persons listed on the rev. are brewers.

\(^{(507)}\) "It (= this item) has been deducted for him." The reading is courtesy of M. Stol.
In obv. 2’, the [son of] Sîn-nâdin-apli ([dumu ḫ][XXX]-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’,3.5. zi-da  
2  ak-lu₄  
3  A-KI-ŠA x  
4  dumu ḫXXX-na-din-ibila  

Lo. e.  
5  ḫiš-e-KIN-[kus]  
6  uu-29-kam  

Rev.  
7  mu-17-kam  
8  e-le lugal

(509) ki-min can be read in the CDLI photo (P259809.jpg).

(509) For the reading “3,” see the CDLI photo.
In BE 15 no. 171, obv. 3′, the [son of] Rabâ-ša-ili ([dumu 1]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 zi-da
2 2 udu-níta
   é-dgu-laši kun-gal níbruši
3 4 šil₄ kar-ninši(510)
4 dumu 1gal-šá-dingir

Rev.
5 ₂₄bár-zag-gar u₄-2-kam
6 mu-13-kam
7 e-le lugal

In BE 15 no. 171 obv. 4′, the [son of] Rîš-Ištaran ([dumu 1]ri-iš₄KA-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. zi-da
2 dumu 1ri-iš₄KA-DI
3 ₂₄ziz-A u₄-18-kam
4 mu-11-kam

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 12′, the [son of] Mannu-kî-ili ([dumu 1]m-an-nu-ki-î-li) 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

(510) The reading as ninši is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt. M. Stol tentatively suggests a possibility to emend it as Dam-qi (as personal name).
It may be significant that the son of Mannu-kī-iliki and the son of Enlil-dayyān are stated in BE 15 no. 171\(^{(511)}\) and the son of Mann[u-ki-iliki] and the son of Enlil-dayyān are mentioned in CBS 2132.\(^{(512)}\)

In a similar example, the son of Maṣi-ilu and Usātūša are mentioned in BE 15 no. 171,\(^{(513)}\) and the son of Maṣi-ilu and the son of Usātūša are mentioned in BE 15 no. 194.\(^{(514)}\)

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 15\(^5\), the son of Aqar-Marduk (dumu \(\text{a-qa}[r-\text{a}][\text{mar}-\text{utu}]\)) is found. He also can be found in BE 15 no. 119 obv. 3, no. 146 obv. 3, BM 82651\(^{(515)}\) lo. e. 5. He is attested as brewer in BE 15 no. 119 obv. 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BE 15 no. 119</th>
<th>BE 15 no. 146</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Obv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 še sum-nu (\text{a}[\text{š}][\text{b}][\text{a}][\text{n}][u] \text{gal} \text{za-rat-bād}[\text{d}][\text{gu-la}])</td>
<td>1 10 dug gal sag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 3.0.0. (\text{dumu} \text{a-} \text{ni} \text{e-a-lugal} \text{lunga})</td>
<td>2 (\text{g}[516]) dug gal UŠ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 3.0.0. (\text{dumu} \text{a-} \text{qa}[r-\text{a}][\text{mar}-\text{utu} \text{ki-min}])</td>
<td>3 (\text{dumu} \text{a-} \text{qa}[r-\text{a}][\text{mar}-\text{utu}])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 3.0.0. (\text{re-esh-UD-šu} \text{ka-zi-da})</td>
<td>Rev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (\text{pap} 9,0,0. \text{t} \text{še-kin-ku Solomon})</td>
<td>4 (\text{b}[515] \text{b}[515]-\text{zar-zag})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (\text{u}[514]-26)-kam</td>
<td>5 (\text{u}[515]-14)-kam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(511)}\) rev. 12\(\prime\): [dumu \(\text{m}[\text{n}][\text{an}-\text{nu}-\text{kī}-\text{i}]-\text{li}; rev. 16\(\prime\): dumu \(\text{lu}[\text{e}]-\text{li-lil-di-ku}\).  

\(^{(512)}\) obv. col. ii\(\prime\), 8\(\prime\): dumu \(\text{ma}[n]-\text{ku}\[a-\text{ki}]-\text{x}; obv. col. i\(\prime\), 13\(\prime\): dumu \(\text{lu}[\text{e}]-\text{li-lil-di-ku}\).  

\(^{(513)}\) rev. 14\(\prime\): dumu \(\text{ma}-\text{ši}[\text{dingir}]; rev. 18\(\prime\): ṭ\(\text{i}-\text{sa}-\text{tu}-\text{ša}\).  

\(^{(514)}\) rev. 15: dumu \(\text{ma}-\text{ši}[\text{dingir}]; rev. 17: dumu \(\text{lu}-\text{sa}-\text{tu}-\text{ša}\).  

\(^{(515)}\) 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.  

\(^{(516)}\) The number in the CDLI photo looks like 9 to me.
In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 16', the son of Enlil-dayyān (dumu ḫen-lil-di-kus) 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.
It may be significant that the son of Enlil-dayyan and the son of Mannu-kī-ili are mentioned in BE 15 no. 171\(^{(517)}\) and the son of Enlil-dayyan and the son of Mann[u-kī-ili] are mentioned in CBS 2132.\(^{(518)}\)

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 17', the son of Mannī-Marduk (dumu \(\text{\textit{man-ni}}\)-\(\text{\textit{a}}\)-\(\text{\textit{amar-utu}}\)) 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. \(1\) me 13 kaš sag
2. \(2\) me 28 kaš UŠ
3. \(5\) dug gal sag
4. \(2\) dug gal UŠ
5. \(1\) dug tur
6. 0,0.2.3 \(\text{\textit{si}}\)la\(\text{\textit{a}}\) báppir

**Rev.**

7. dumu \(\text{\textit{man-ni}}\)-\(\text{\textit{a}}\)-\(\text{\textit{amar-utu}}\)
8. \(\text{\textit{a}}\)-\(\text{\textit{bára-zag-gar}}\) u\(\text{\textit{a}}\)-16-kam

In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 19', the son of Amurruma-ilu (dumu \(\text{\textit{mar-tu}}\)-\(\text{\textit{ma}}\)-\(\text{\textit{dingir}}\)) is mentioned. He also can be found in PBS 2/2 no. 74 obv. 4, in which beer and beerbread (\(\text{\textit{bappiru}}\)) are dealt with. It is likely that he is a brewer.

### PBS 2/2 no. 74

**Obv.**

\(^{(517)}\) rev. 16': dumu \(\text{\textit{en-lil-di-kus}}\); rev. 12': [dumu \(\text{\textit{m}}\)-\(\text{\textit{n}}}]-\(\text{\textit{a}}\)-\(\text{\textit{ki}}\)-\(\text{\textit{li}}\).

\(^{(518)}\) obv. col. i?, 13': dumu \(\text{\textit{en-lil-di-kus}}\); obv. col. ii?, 8': dumu \(\text{\textit{man-n}}[u-k\text{-}\text{\textit{d}}\text{-}\text{\textit{x}}].\)
In BE 15 no. 171 rev. 21', Šúzubu (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  r1 me 46\(1\)  kaš r \(\text{sag}\)\(1\)
2  rme\(1\) 3  kaš r \(\text{UŠ}\)\(1\)
3  r1  dug tur
4  0,1,2.  báppir

Lo. E.

5  šu-zu-bu
6  ùzíz-A

Rev.

7  u-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]).
In BE 15 no. 119, the son of Aqar-Marduk, a brewer (obv. 3), and Rēš-aššu, a miller (obv. 4), received barley. Rēš-aššu the miller seems to have worked with Innannu\(^{519}\) and Martuku\(^{520}\) who are well attested in Das Archiv des Speichers.\(^{521}\) Therefore the son of Aqar-Marduk and Rēš-aššu, 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.\(^{522}\) It should be located near Karkara, which is located south of Nippur.\(^{523}\) 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: \(ka-ni-ka-\tau u\) \(ša\) a–\(ab\)-\(b\)-\(ra\)). 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/up of the king,”\(^{524}\) \(arād\) \(šarri\) “coming/down of the king,”\(^{525}\) and \(elē\) \(šarri\) \(u\) \(arād\) \(šarri\) “coming/up and coming/down of the king.”\(^{526}\) Did the course of the king’s coming/down include the southern area? Or were these commodities sent to Nippur for the coming/down of the king?

\(^{519}\) For example, BE 15 nos. 104, 116, 118, 124.

\(^{520}\) For example, BE 14 no. 45.

\(^{521}\) Sassmannshausen 2001, 188–190.

\(^{522}\) 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).

\(^{523}\) See Nashef 1982, 342 (map).

\(^{524}\) CBS 11534 rev. 8, BE 15 no. 34 rev. 7, PBS 2/2 no. 57 rev. 8, MSKH no. 17 rev. 8.

\(^{525}\) MSKH no. 22 rev. 9.

\(^{526}\) MSKH no. 4 rev. 10.
15.4. BE 14 no. 167, PBS 2/2 no. 34, and CBS 8737

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BE 14 no. 167</th>
<th>PBS 2/2 no. 34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obv.</td>
<td>Obv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1  še ak-luš ša mu-24-kam mu-25-[kam]</td>
<td>1  &lt;še&gt; ak-luš ša mu-(^2)4-kam mu-25-[kam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  ša a-na (^1)ba-il-(^3)amar-utu ú-še-<a href="(%5E528)">lu-()</a></td>
<td>2  a-(&lt;)a-()])(^1)ba-[()](^1)imar-utu ú-še-lu-()]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  1-(^r)šu 3(^1),0.0.3 sila  dumu (^1)KA-DI-()li-su</td>
<td>3  1-()šu 3(^1),0.0.3 sila  [d]mu (^1)KA-DI-()li-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  (^r)94(^1),0.0.</td>
<td>4  94,0.0.  dumu (^1)zalag-()kù-bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  (^r)71,3(^1),0.</td>
<td>5  71,3.0.  (^1)eri-()ba-()U-GUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  48,0.1.  dumu</td>
<td>6  48,0.1.  ([)d]mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(^1)šukkal-ta-am-la-ak-()dingir(^n)meš</td>
<td>(^1)šukkal-tam-lak-()dingir(^n)mes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  1 me 25,3.3.  dumu (^1)en-kit-ti</td>
<td>7  1 me 25,([)3].3.  dumu (^1)en-kit-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8  1 me 48,(^2)529(^2),0.0.  bâra (^4)en-lil</td>
<td>8  ()1 me 48,2.0.0.0  ()é (^4)utu (^4)imar-utu bâra (^4)en-lil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9  48,0.0.  ()é (^4)ùš-tár</td>
<td>9  ([)48,0.0.0.0.0  ()é (^4)ùš-tár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10  1 me 44,3.4.  šuk (^1)gal</td>
<td>10  ()1 me 44(^1),3.4.  šuk (^1)nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11  1-()šu 1(^1),0.0.  šuk gu(^m)es (^1)a-()ru-ti</td>
<td>11  1-()šu 1(^1),0.0.  šuk gu-(^h)i-()a ([)ni]ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(^1)a-()hu-()ni-na</td>
<td>(^1)a-()hu-()ni-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12  38,0.0.  šuk udu-nîta (^1)a-()hu-x[ ]</td>
<td>12  38,0.0.  šuk udu-nîta (^1)a-()hu-x[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13  83,3.1.5 1/2 sila  ()hir((^3)30)-,ga-lu-()i()x[ ]</td>
<td>13  83,3.1.5 1/2 sila  ()hir-ga-lu-()i()ki-min[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14  55,0.0.  šuk gu(^m)es (^1)a-()ru-[()i ]</td>
<td>14  55,0.0.  šuk gu-(^h)i-()a niga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(^1)škur-lu[gal-()dingir(^n)mes]</td>
<td>(^1)škur-lu[gal-()dingir(^n)mes]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15  ()šuk udu-nîta (^1)ki-min</td>
<td>15  31,0.0.  šuk udu-nîta (^1)ki-min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16  31,0.0.  šuk udu-nîta (^1)ki-min</td>
<td>16  31,0.0.  šuk udu-nîta (^1)ki-min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17  22,4.0.  šuk gu(^m)es (^1)u [udu-nîta]</td>
<td>17  22,4.0.  šuk gu₂ (^1)u udu-nîta (^3)u-zulma[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18  (^1)(^r)šu₂-()zù₂-[()bu₇</td>
<td>18  16,0.0.  ki-min (^1)q-()št₂-()a-()mar-utu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{527}\) 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.

\(^{528}\) “The barley expenditure which they deducted for Bā’îl-Marduk from 24\(^{th}\) year to 25\(^{th}\) year.”

\(^{529}\) “48” can be read in the CDLI photo (P259786.jpg).

\(^{30}\) The phonetic value \(\)hir in MB has not been attested. See von Soden and Röllig 1991, 46, 15*.
20 6,0.0. šuk udu-nīta
   1ḫu-un-zu-řā
18 6,0.0. šuk udu-nīta
21 1 me 10,2.5.4 sila šuk mušā-ḫi-a
19 1 me 10,2.5. šuk mušā-ḫi-a
Rev.
22 6,0.0. šuk ar-ri
20 6,0.0. šuk ar-ri
23 98,0.2. hīr-ga-lu-ū
21 98,0.2. hīr-ga-lu-ū
11ba-na-řā
11du
24 2,0.0. šuk udu-nīta
22 2,0.0. šuk udu-nīta
1ba-il-4 āmar-utu
1ba-il-4 āmar-utu
25 4 me 28,1.1.3 sila 5 ki-min
23 4 me 28,1.1.3 sila ša ka-ni-k[a-t]u₄
24 ḫu-up-pa-ti a-di zi-da 1ba-il-4 āmar-utu₁
26 12,0.0. ta-ba-a-tu₄
25 12,0.0. ša ta-ba-a-ti
27 1 me 40,0.0. še-ba ū šuk gu₄ meš
26 1 me 40,0.0. še-ba ū šuk gu₄-ḫi-a énsi₄ meš
28 35,0.0. ŠE-NUMUN
27 35,0.0. ŠE-NUMUN
29 5,0.0. É-MAŠ kiš₃₄
28 5,0.0. É-MAŠ kiš₃₄
30 24,0.0. a-na e-pēš šu₄ meš
29 24,0.0. a-na e-pē-[eš ši₄ m]₄ meš
31 2 me 50,0.0. 1aš-šur-iš-man-ni ta
30 2 me 50,0.0. 1aš-šur[iš-man]-ni ta
ru-ub-bu šu-lu₁
31 ru-ub-ū šu-lu₁
32 50,0.0. dumu
31 ṭ50,1,0.0. dumu
1ša-dingir-ma-sigs-qā-a₁
32 ṭ3 IGI 6 me 85,3,3. še-ba
33 šu-nigin 5 IGI 9 me 3,2,4,3 sila
32 šu-nigin 5 IGI 9 me 3,2,4,3 sila
34 1-giš še-giš-ī ḫubān še-ba
33 1-giš še-giš-ī ḫubān še-ba
35 11,4,1₁ 1/2 sila 0,0,2,4 1/2 sila
34 11,4,1₁ 1/2 sila 0,0,2,4 1/2 sila
1eri-ba₄ U-GUR
36 8,1,2,6 sila 2 gū-zi 0,1,2,4 sila
1be-lu-ū

(531) “Ration for birds”
(532) “According to the cancelled sealed documents, including flour of Bā ’il-Mar’duk?”
(533) “For vinegar”
(534) “For the making of ships”
(535) “After the additional payment was taken out” (CAD R, 394).
(536) For the reading -a, see the CDLI photo (P259786.jpg).
(537) About 1, see the CDLI photo.
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).\(^{538}\) 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 sīla) versus PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 13 (83,3.1.5 sīla) and BE 14 no. 167 rev. 21 (1 me 10,2.5.4 sīla) 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 Ištar-an-īššu, son of Nūr-Kūbu, son of Erība-Nergal, son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni and son of Bēl-kittī/Bēl-kitti are mentioned. They are also found in CBS 8737 obv. 2–5, 8. The son of Ištar-an-īššu, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>ak-LU₄</th>
<th>LÁL-DÜ</th>
<th>ša x [ ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[1]-šu 3,0.0.3 sīla</td>
<td>1 me 43,1.2.3 sīla</td>
<td>dumu ū4KA-D[I-īssu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[9]4,0.0.</td>
<td>1-šu 4,1.1.</td>
<td>dumu šálag-2kù-b[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[7]1,3.0.</td>
<td>1-šu</td>
<td>dumu šeri-ba₂-U-G[UR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[48,0.]</td>
<td>1 me 24,0.4.</td>
<td>dumu ū₄sukkal-tam-lak-dingir₅ₑₓ̅₈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>x 3 me 92,3.5.</td>
<td>ša šašu₅ₑₓ̅₈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>3 sīla</td>
<td>šašu₅ₑₓ̅₈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>+]6,1 PI</td>
<td>dumu šu₂-en-kit-ti[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>hir-ga-šu-₅ₑₓ̅₈ x x [ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>x x x x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lo. e.

10 [ ] 2 sīla šuk màš-hi-a

\(^{538}\) See also BE 14 no. 167 obv. 8 (bára₂-en-lîl) versus PBS 2/2 no. 34 obv. 8 (ē₂utu ₂u₂amar-utu bára₂-en-lîl). Also BE 14 no. 167 rev. 25 (ša ka nî-k[a-t]₄ u₄ h₄-up-pa-ti a-di ši-da ᵂ₄ba-il₅₄amar-ᵣ₄utu)
Here we can find a column for *aklu* and one for the remainder.\(^{(539)}\) In BE 14 no. 144, we find a similar situation.

**BE 14 no. 144**

**Obv.**

1. \(\tau\text{78}'\text{1.4. }š\text{e}^{\theta}\text{hán }\text{gal }\text{sag }\text{níg-ga}\)

2. \(\text{éš-gár }\text{4/šá}^{(540)}\text{lunga}^{\text{meš }}\text{mu-5-kam}\)

3. \(49,2\text{ PI.0.6 }\text{silá }\text{ak-lu₄}\)

4. \(10\text{ gur }\text{1 PI }\text{tu-bu-uk-ku-ú}^{(541)}\)

5. \(\text{i-na }1\text{ gur }\text{1 PI}\)

6. \(5,0.0.\text{ ámeš }\text{giš-mar-gí-da}^{\text{meš }}\)

**Rev.**

7. \(\text{pap }1-\text{šu }\text{4,3 }\text{PI }\text{6¹ }\text{silá }\text{ak-lu₄}\)

8. \(13,3.3.5^{(542)}\text{ silá }\text{LÁL-DÛ}\)

9. \([\text{mu-}]6\text{-kam }\text{kaš-ti-iš-šu }\text{lugal-e}\)

\(\tau\text{78}'\text{1.4. }\text{barley}^{\gamma}, \text{measured by the large measure},\)

\(\text{as property.}\)

\(\text{(2) work assignment of/for 4 brewers }\text{5th year.}\)

\(\text{(3) 49,2.0.6. }\text{expenditure.}\)

\(\text{(4) 10,1.0. }\text{(for) an offering of grain.}\)

\(\text{(5) among which 1,1.0.}\)

\(\text{(6) 5,0.0. }\text{(for) the wages for the men working with the carts/wagons.}\)

\(\text{(7) total 64,3.0.6¹. }\text{expenditure.}\)

\(\text{(8) 13,3.3.5. }\text{remainder.}\)

\(\text{(9) 6th year (of) Kaštilyašu, the king.}\)

We can see barley issued for several purposes, including the work assignments of the brewers. It should be noted that these barley disbursements were summed up as *aklu*.\(^{(543)}\) 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 níg-ga). Probably the term sag níg-ga was in the lost part (left side) of CBS 8737.

\(^{(539)}\) It is the remainder of the barley that was not distributed as *aklu* yet.

\(^{(540)}\) About *šá*, it is suggested by W. H. van Soldt.

\(^{(541)}\) About *tubukká*, see *AHw* 1979, 1365 “ein Kornopfer” and CAD T 2006, 448 “heaped-up grain.”

\(^{(542)}\) 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).

\(^{(543)}\) 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 Ištar-an-liššu is found. He also can be found in BE 15 no. 148 obv. 3. He is a brewer.

**BE 15 no. 148**

Obv.
1. [+] r81 1/2 kaš sag
2. 19 kaš UŠ
3. dumu ^i^KA-D[1-li-su]
4. ^i^si-ga-a

Lo. E.
5. uf-29-kam

Rev.
6. mu-26-kam
7. ^1^mu-lîb-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 ^1^MAŠ-^1^HA-šukkal
4. ^1^ dug tur x
5. 0,0.1. bápp[i]r^2^v

Lo. E.
6. ^1^r^1^-zâlag^n-x^1-kû-bi
7. ^i^d[u-]kù

Rev.
8. [t]a uf-12^2^-ka[m]
9. r^2^-a-di^3^ uf-15-kam
10. mu-10-kam
11. raga^2^ ku-ri-gal-zu

U. E.

198
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.  zi gig
2  0,4.3.  zi zīz-AN-NA
3  0,4.4.1 sīla  zi pa-hi-du
4  2,1.4.  zi ma-ad-gā
5  0,0.5.5 sīla  zi babbar
6  5,1.4.5 sīla  zi mi-ir-qu

Lo. E.
7  šu-nīgīn 14,1.4.5 sīla zi-da

Rev.
8  dumu 1en-kit-ti
9  ašbār-zag-gar
10  u4-12-kam
11  mu-24-kam
12  1bi-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 Ištar-an-līssu (a brewer), son of Nūr-Kūbu (a brewer), son of Erība-Nergal (a brewer), son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni (a brewer), son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēl-kitti (possibly a miller)
   from year 24 to year 25

PBS 2/2 no. 34  - year 25  The son of Ištar-an-līssu (a brewer), son of Nūr-Kūbu (a brewer), son of Erība-Nergal
   from year 24

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 rNūrī-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. As stated above, the artisans (brewers, millers, oil-pressers) and shepherds prepared their commodities (beer, flour, oil, sheep) for the *aklu* expenditure 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 disbursals 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 *ēlē šarrī* “coming/going up of the king” is attested. Aša-iddina-M[arduk] is referred to.

BE 15 no. 33

Obv.

1 2 gu₄
2 3 amar
3 1 udu-nīta
4 4 sila₄
5 îše-sum-na₄ [mar-utu]

Rev.

6 îš-e-ki₅ u₄-30-kam
7 e-le lugal
8 mu₄-12-kam

(545) Deheselle 1996, 220. She referred to BE 15 no. 171 and supposed the commodities should be barley.

(546) In MRWH 34, Iqūša-Adad (probably a oil-presser) prepared the oil. Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē received, brought it to the storehouse, and sealed the document. See the two *aklu* documents (oil) of Iqūša-Adad (MUN 278, 279).
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-kidinnē, who is possibly the well-known governor (šandabakkū) of Nippur, appears in these documents. Also from these documents we learn that Enlil-kidinnē’s son is Ninurta-zākir-šumi, and also that Ninurta-zākir-šumi’s son is Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni (i.e., the grandson of Enlil-kidinnē). They are involved in the aklu activities. Also, van Soldt discussed some persons (Anāku-ilumma, Arad-nubatti, Nippurītu, Rišatu, Sugir-bunni, Qunnunu, Tarību) who stand out in these documents. Some of them are connected with aklu expenditures.\(^{(547)}\) 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\(^{3}\)).\(^{(548)}\) The latest attestation may be no. 56 (KuE 16-Il-[ ]).\(^{(549)}\) The period is about 32 years or more. His father is possibly Enlil-kidinnē, and his son is Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, who seems to play an important role in the administration.\(^{(550)}\) 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 \(\text{nū} \text{maš-mu} \text{[mu]}\)). 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 \(\text{nū} \text{nin-urta-mu-mu}\)). The aklu expenditure is said to have been put under seal for Mummiq-Adad (obv. 13: a-na \(\text{nū} \text{sig[s]-ṭiškur kā-nik}\)). 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: ṣkaš uš 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


\(^{(548)}\) If the year is 13\(^{3}\), the date is 1295, [NM] 12-I-13\(^{7}\), and the period would be about 42 years or more. See van Soldt 2015, 24.

\(^{(549)}\) Kudur-Enlil’s first year is 1254 (Brinkman 1976a, 31).

\(^{(550)}\) See van Soldt 2015, 24.
line, but his role is not clear. In no. 289 (no date, beer), Ninurta-zákir-šumi sealed the aklu document (rev. 4*: *ma*-kišib* ma*ni-urta-mu-mu). The phrase ašābu can be found (obv. 3: *ra-*ša*-bu û la a-ša-bu*). Van Soldt said there are seal impressions on the edges. On the relationship between Ninurta-zákir-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 Šagarkiti-Šurīyaš: no. 8 (1243, ŠŠ 24-VIII-year 3) and no. 362 (1243, ŠŠ 12'-XI-year 3). The period is therefore about 22 years. His father is Ninurta-zákir-šumi (*ni*-urta-mu-mu) and his (grand)father is Enlil-kišinnī. Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni appears in aklu documents (nos. 278, 291, 383). In no. 278 (1251, KuE 20'-XI-year 4, days x–20), beer (kaš UŠ) is given as an offering (?) to Šamaš. It is under the responsibility of Nippurūtu, 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 Gabbū-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 Nippurūtu,(551) with Sugir-bunni,(552) with Rišatu,(553) with Anāku-ilumma,(554) and with Arad-nubatti.(555) 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).(556) On the relationship between Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni and Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē (Matthews no. 189), see the section on Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē.

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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(551) Nos. 70, 82, 83, 84, 161, 162, 278, 383, 389.
(552) Nos. 38, 56', 83, 161, 374.
(553) Nos. 70, 82, 162.
(554) Nos. 70, 162, 199.
(555) Nos. 6, 12, 38, 51, 82, 161, 198, 207. However, it is not certain that all the references are to the same person.
(556) Van Soldt 2015, 24.

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contemporary of Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī. 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 ma-na-ku-dingir-ma). Flour and barley are issued. Anāku-ilumma worked in association with Nippurītu, Rīšatu, Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī, 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 mandīdu (measuring official), and her children were Ātamar-rabūssa, Tarību, a shepherd, and possibly Šummak-lā-Marduk. 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-ilānī. 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, Anāku-ilumma, Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī, Sugir-bunni, Anāku-ilumma, Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī, and Arad-nubatti. 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+(+)-I-year 5) and no. 296 (1250, KuE XII-year 5). The latest is in no. 310

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(557) Nos. 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 162, 204.
(558) Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 162.
(559) Nos. 70, 162, 199.
(560) Ibid., 26.
(562) Nos. 76, 78, 83, 89, 93, 101, 111, 126, 161, 221, 222, 236, 247, 373, 375, 427.
(563) Nos. 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 162, 204.
(564) Nos. 70, 82, 83, 84, 161, 162, 278, 383, 389.
(565) 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°), so the period is about 8 years. Her father is Sin-balāṭa-īriš, who is also engaged in administrative work. Her mother is Rabâ-Gula.\(^{(566)}\) Rišatu 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. Rišatu is a recipient. In no. 121 (30\(^{1}\)-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 Rišatu. In no. 223 (ŠŠ, VIII-year [ ]), [barley] and flour are disbursed under the responsibility of Rišatu. The term *lā ašābu* (obv. 12) is attested. In no. 265 (1244, ŠŠ 30\(^{1}\)-VII-year 2), flour is issued under the responsibility of Rišatu. The term *lā ašābu* (rev. 28: *l[a]a-ša-b[u]*) is attested. In no. 290 (1249, KuE 30-I-year 6), cereals are issued under the responsibility of Rišatu. In no. 292 (XI-acc. year), cereals are disbursed under the responsibility of Rišatu. The term *lā ašābu* (obv. 12: *la aš[a-bu]*) is attested. Rišatu worked in association with Nippurītu,\(^{(567)}\) Sugir-bunni,\(^{(568)}\) Anāku-ilumma,\(^{(569)}\) Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni,\(^{(570)}\) and Arad-nubatti.\(^{(571)}\)

**16.6. Comments on Nippurītu and Rišatu**

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).\(^{(572)}\) She appears mainly as a supervisor of the distribution of raw material for the brewers and millers. Beginning in the 5\(^{th}\) year of Kudur-Enlil (1250), Nippurītu was responsible almost only for the raw material of the brewers, while Rišātu supervised for the millers.\(^{(573)}\) 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).\(^{(574)}\) From these texts, we know that her father was a “measuring official” (*mandidu*). She appears as a recipient together with her daughter Ātamar-rabûssa, her son Tarību, and another son,

\(^{(566)}\) Van Soldt 2015, 27.

\(^{(567)}\) 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.

\(^{(568)}\) Nos. 76, 78, 101, 111, 126, 243, 247, 319.

\(^{(569)}\) Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 162.

\(^{(570)}\) Nos. 70, 82, 162.

\(^{(571)}\) Nos. 82, 111, 116, 247, 252, 282. However, the references may not all be to the same person.

\(^{(572)}\) Text no. 297, obv. 11.

\(^{(573)}\) Van Soldt 2015, 26.

\(^{(574)}\) 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 ✔ ‘ni-ip-pu-ri-tum dumu.sal man-di-di
10’ 0,0.5 ✔ ‘a-ta-mar-gal-sa dumu.sal.a.ni
11’ 1 PI ✔ ‘ta-ri-bu ši-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). Therefore, the family of Nippurītu was one of these families (qimmātu). 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.

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, 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 [arad-k]a 1mu-lib-ši 1 Your servant Šumu-libši
2 a-na di-na-an be-li-ia li-ul-lik 2 I want to go instead of my lord.
3 a-na na-a ‘re-e na-a ‘ra-ti 3 The male, female musicians
4 ū ě be-li-ia šu-ul-mu 4 and the house of my lord are fine.

(575) For bābānu, see Sassmannshausen 2001, 155. See also PBS 2/2 no. 53 (a similar roster) iv 14’ (še-ba kā-a-nu).


As to Éṭirtu, this disease has actually attacked her.\(^{(578)}\)

It is not obvious why the male and female musicians were mentioned in the greeting.\(^{(579)}\) 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. Her profession is nowhere stated. Her father was Sīn-balāṭ-īriš, who also supervised grain disbursements. Her mother was named Rabât-Gula. Rīšatu is found in no. 301 rev. 34 with her father (frišatûmu.sal md30-ti-uru4) and included in a summary of six women assigned to Nippurītu (rev. 35: 6 sal.meš šu 4-ni-ip-pu-ri-ti). Therefore she was under the supervision of Nippurītu.\(^{(580)}\)

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\(^{(581)}\)). 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’-XII’-year 1). Sugir-bunni worked in

\(^{(578)}\) 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.

\(^{(579)}\) See CAD N 1, 378 (nárû): “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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>[…] 5,3.3. ku arad é gal ká-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>[…] 16,1.4. ku na-’ru-ú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>[…] 7,3.4. ku arad é gal é-mu (notification courtesy of J. A. Brinkman’s reference in CAD N 1, 378).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, Nippurītu is a female musician (nárû) 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.

\(^{(580)}\) Van Soldt 2015, 27.

\(^{(581)}\) Ibid., 27–28.
association with Nippurītu,$^{(582)}$ Rīšatu,$^{(583)}$ Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni,$^{(584)}$ Anāku-ilumma (nos. 76, 78), and Arad-nubatti.$^{(585)}$

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  aklu (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  aklu and šītu (rev. 13–14). Barley is given. I–V is mentioned Under the responsibility of Nippurītu.

No. 112 1245 ŠŠ - year 1  aklu and šītu (obv. 2). Barley is deducted for work assignment of brewer(s) under the responsibility of Nippurītu.

No. 121 1245 ŠŠ - year 1  aklu (obv. 3, 9, rev. 22, 23). Barley is dealt with. IX, X are mentioned Rīšatu is referred to. Work assignment of Nippur, brewer, rations for women are mentioned.

No. 127 1245 ŠŠ - year 7  aklu (obv. 3). Barley is dealt with. VIII- year 7 Work I to VIII is mentioned assignment for female oil-presser, rations for temples are mentioned.

No. 138 1245 ŠŠ - year 7  Loan of cereals. The term lā ašābu (rev. 22, 27) is attested. Nippurītu received barley for the work assignment for millers.

No. 171 1244 ŠŠ - year 2  Cereals are issued. The term lā ašābu (rev. 11) is days 23–28 mentioned attested. Rations for Ištar and offering (kispu) are stated.

No. 187 1245 ŠŠ - year 7  rāklu (rev. 11). Barley was issued under the V–XII is mentioned

$^{(582)}$ Nos. 76, 78, 83, 89, 93, 101, 111, 126, 161, 221, 222, 236, 247, 373, 375, 427.

$^{(583)}$ Nos. 76, 78, 101, 111, 126, 243, 247, 319.

$^{(584)}$ Nos. 38, 56, 83, 161, 374.

$^{(585)}$ Nos. 38, 111, 161, 247, 428. However, it is not certain that all the references are to the same person.
Sealed documents or sealed bags (kaniktu) are mentioned. The term āšābu u lā āšābu occurs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>1245</th>
<th>ŠŠ</th>
<th>IX - year 1</th>
<th>days 23–29</th>
<th>aklu (rev. 17). Flour and barley are issued under the responsibility of Rīšatu.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 223</td>
<td>ŠŠ</td>
<td>VIII - year</td>
<td>days 1, 2, 3, 10, 11', 12', 13, 14 are mentioned</td>
<td>aklu (rev. 25). [Barley] and flour are issued. The term lā āšābu (obv. 12) occurs. Under the responsibility of Rīšatu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 234</td>
<td>21'</td>
<td>aklu (obv. 4) of Ninurta-zākir-šumi</td>
<td>(šaš-mu-[mu]). Flour and barley are dealt with. Seal reference to Nabû-...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 262</td>
<td>ŠŠ</td>
<td>IX - acc. yr</td>
<td>Under the responsibility of Šīn-balāta-īris.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 265</td>
<td>ŠŠ</td>
<td>VII - year 2</td>
<td>aklu (rev. 30). Flour is issued. The term lā āšābu (rev. 28: [l'a'] a-ša-b[u']) is attested. Under the responsibility of Rīšatu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 267a</td>
<td>ŠŠ</td>
<td>I - year 11</td>
<td>aklu (rev. 10) of Anāku-ilumma. Flour and barley are issued.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 268</td>
<td>Kšt</td>
<td>VII - year 5</td>
<td>Under the responsibility of Bittiya.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 272</td>
<td>3rd day, 19th day are mentioned</td>
<td>IV - year 17</td>
<td>aklu (rev. 8). Flour is issued. Under the responsibility of Bēlessunu. It has been carried to Keš.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 275</td>
<td>VIII is mentioned</td>
<td>aklu (obv. 12) of Ninurta-zākir-šumi</td>
<td>(šaš-nin-urta-mu-mu). It has been put under seal for Mudammiq-Adad. Flour is issued. Āl-Atēḫē, Dîmtu and Āl-Irrē are mentioned. The term lā āšābu (obv. 5) occurs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 277</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>aklu (rev. 34) of Iī-ālja-iddina. Cereals and flour? are issued. Sāh[rtu], Dimat-Enlil, and Ḫursagkalamma are mentioned.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 278</td>
<td>KuE 20</td>
<td>XII - year 4</td>
<td>aklu (obv. 11). Beer is given. Under the responsibility of Nippurītu. Seal reference to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ninurta-kiššat-ilâni. Van Soldt said that there are light seal impressions on the reverse. No. 284 1244 ŠŠ - year 2 aklu (obv. 7, rev. 9). Beer and barley are dealt with. Under the responsibility of Nippurîtu. I, II, III, IV are mentioned

No. 285 1244 ŠŠ 3 - IX - year 2 aklu (rev. 10). Beer is given. Under the responsibility of Nippurîtu. days 1–3

No. 286 24’ - II - year 15(+) aklu and šîtu (rev. 11). Beer is given. Under the responsibility of Agab-šenni. days 17–24’

No. 288 18 - XI - year [] aklu (rev. 8) of ‘Rîmûtu’. Beer and beerbread (bappiru) are given. Under the responsibility of Damqu. days 15–18

No. 289 - year [] aklu (obv. 2). Beer is dealt with. Here it is measured by a solid capacity measure. The term ašābu u lā ašābu (obv. 3) occurs. Under the responsibility of Šin-balâta-[iš]. Seal reference to Ninurta-zâkir-šumi (šîn-urta-mu-mu). Van Soldt said that there are seal impressions on the edges.

No. 290 1249 KuE 30 - I - year 6 aklu (obv. 1, 9). Cereals are issued. Under the responsibility of Rîšatu. from 16-VII-year 5/6 to 30-I-year 6

No. 291 1248 KuE 7 - IX - year 7 aklu (obv. 2). Cereals are issued. Under the responsibility of Gabbi-ša-bâlitiya. Seal reference to Ninurta-kiššat-ilâni. Van Soldt said that seal impressions of a rim are visible on all edges. I to 7-IX

No. 292 XI - acc. yr. aklu (rev. 9’). Cereals are disbursed under the responsibility of Rîšatu. The term lā ašābu (obv. 12: la a-š[a-bul]) occurs. days 18, 19, 10, 21, 17, 26 are mentioned

No. 293 7 - XII - year 10 aklu (rev. 14’) of Marduk-šuma-ušarši. Cereals are disbursed. days 3’–7

No. 294 29’ - VI aklu (obv. 3). The commodities are counted with cardinal numbers. The term ašābu u lā ašābu (obv. 4–5) is attested. Under the responsibility of Šab-kidin-[ ] Seal reference to days 1–29’
Van Soldt said that there are seal impressions on the edges of the tablet.

No. 295

Id[ ]. Van Soldt said that there are seal impressions on the edges of the tablet. *aklu* (rev. 10'). The term *lā ašābu* (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

*aklu* (obv. 8). Sheep are given. Under the responsibility of shepherd Qunnunu. Nippurūtu, son of *mandīdu* is referred to.

No. 383

1249 KuE 20 - X - year 6

IX, X are mentioned

*aklu* (rev. 12). Goats and sheep are given. Under the responsibility of Qunnunu, a shepherd. ē-x-bād'-daši, 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) Nippurūtu was received by her daughter, because Nippurūtu was not present (rev. 10: *ul aš-ba-at-ma*).

No. 384

1249 KuE 30 - XII - year 6

XI, XII are mentioned

*aklu* (rev.14). Sheep are given. Under the responsibility of Qunnunu, a shepherd. Nippur and Ḫursagkalamma are referred to. Nippurūtu received sheep.

No. 387

1246 KuE 2 - I - year 9

*aklu* and *ṣītu* (rev. 7'). Meats of offering are given. Dūr-Enlilē is referred to.

No. 390

1246 ŠŠ IX - acc. yr.

VII, VIII, IX are mentioned

*aklu* (obv. 1, rev. 15). Sheep and goat are given. Under the responsibility of Qunnunu, *sakrumaš*. Nippur is mentioned.

No. 393

1245 ŠŠ 28 - XII - year 1

VIII, XI, XII are mentioned

*aklu* (rev. 10). Ewes and goat are given. Under the responsibility of i₅₃[a₃-x x], shepherd. Sugir-bunni is referred to.

No. 394

1245 ŠŠ VII‘ - year 1

9-VII, 20-VII are mentioned

*aklu* (rev. 20). Domestic animals (including goat) are given.

No. 396

1245 ŠŠ - year 1

II, III are mentioned

*aklu* (rev. 14', 17). Ewes and goats are given. Nippur is referred to. Nippurūtu is mentioned.

No. 401

1244 ŠŠ V1a⁽ⁿ⁽⁵⁸⁶⁾ - year 2

*aklu* (rev. 11). Ewes are given. Under the

⁽ⁿ⁽⁵⁸⁶⁾ *i₅₃kin-*i₃innin-2-kam-ma (2ⁿ Vi month).
20-IV, 20-V, 20'-VI, responsibility of Tarību, a shepherd. These ewes are offerings for Šamaš.

20-VIa, III are mentioned

No. 405  III - year 6\(^{7}\) aklu (obv. 4) of Sānu. Sheep are dealt with. The house of Bēlānu is referred to.

No. 410  Date broken ṛaklu\(^{\ast}\) (edge 7) of Bau temple (\(\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{d}}\)ba-ū).
Sheep are given. Parak-māri is referred to.

No. 414  aklu (obv. 3). Sheep are given (as) regular offering of Parak-māri. Under the responsibility of Eriba-Marduk. Uruk\(^{7}\) is mentioned.

17. **Aklu documents of Ur**

In 1983, O. R. Gurney published 83 Middle Babylonian documents.\(^{587}\) 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 Sin.\(^{588}\) These Ur documents deal with daily activities of the brewers. Among them we find two aklu documents (nos. 62, 68).\(^{589}\) Both are concerned with a certain Sin-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  […]\(^{m}\) d\(\overline{3}\)0-li-qī(over qu)-nī-nī
2  […]\(\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{k}}\)š[IM.MEŠ ša \(d\overline{3}\)0 ik-ka-lu
3  […]UDU.NI[TÁ.MEŠ i-na ŠU ma-ki-si
4  [\(\overset{\wedge}{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{\overset{\wedge}{

\(^{587}\) Gurney 1983.

\(^{588}\) Ibid., 1.

\(^{589}\) no. 70 is a record of expenditure (zi-ga) dated in later period (Meli-ši-IJU), which is comparable with the aklu documents (MRWH 29, PBS 2/2 no. 24, etc.).
9 ul-tu ṛḫar₃-bi-šu i-ka-[a]-[ṣ-]ṛṣi₂-ir₃
10 2 DUG.GAL.MEŠ 3 (B) ŠE.BAR GIŠ[.BÁ]N² x x 15² […]
11 i-mah-ḫa-ar

12 PAP 1 me 22 (G) ŠE.BAR GIŠ.BÂN 5 SĪLA ṛak²-lu⁵[]
13 [ṣ]a ul-tu MU 2.KAM kaš-til-ia-šu []
14 [EN’ MU .. KAM ṭIŠKUR-M]U-URÙ [… .]
   (Lacuna)

Rev.
1 EG[IR² … i-n]a² ŠU [……… .]
2 ú ša . 10 GUR ŠE.BAR īt [………… .]
3 ṭ ERĪN.MEŠ-šu i-na a-bu-ul[ ] …… .
4 ú-šē-[r]i-bu ú ša …[……… .]
5 si-ká[t]’ ul in-na-sa[-ah/ḫu]
   (End of text)

Translation

1-2[…… which] Sin-liqi-unninni will enjoy [at the expense of] the brewer of Sin³[… she]ep from the tax-collector, ⁴[and] 1 sheep from the mayor … ⁵2 large jars, 2 seah of meal, 2 seah of barley by the 12 [qa] measure, ⁶and 1 kor …… payment in kind […] ⁷he will r[ceive]. 1 kor of barley .. […] ⁸he will …. which […] ⁹he will gather from his field. ¹⁰2 large jars, 3 seah of barley by the […] measure …… ¹¹he will receive.

¹²Total: 122 kor of barley by the 5 qa measure, consumption […] ¹³which from year 2 of Kashtiliash […] ¹⁴[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 Sīn-liqi-unninni had received from the tax-collector, from the mayor and possibly from the brewers, from Kašṭiliyašu 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 aklu ŠU ṭm₃0-li-qī-um-ni-ni
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 (m₃₃li-qi-un-ni-ni šu im-ḫur). Thus in this aklu document, Sîn-lēqi-unninni is a recipient. Possibly the aklu commodities were prepared by the brewers as the headings (MUNUₓ and BAPPIR₂) 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-šarāḫ
About 60 MB Babylonian documents are known concerning the sons of Nabû-šarraḫ. In 1905, F. E. Peiser published 50 of them.\(^{(590)}\) In 1926, G. Contenau published another 10.\(^{(591)}\) The provenance of these documents is unknown, but they are from the archive(s) of the sons Nabû-šarraḫ. 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\(^{(592)}\) below.

\textbf{P 105}  
Obv.  
1′ 0,3.0. šuk é ta u₄-1-kam en  
u₄-9-kam  
2′ 0,3.0. šuk é ta u₄-10 en  
u₄-15-kam  
3′ 1,1,4.2. šuk é ta u₄-16-kam en  
u₄-30-kam i^du₆  
4′ 0,0.1. ₁ša-ar-ri-ia lu₄ XXX  
5′ 0,3.0. a-na UTUL₃\(^{(593)}\) i^kin u₄-10-kam  
6′ 0,2.3. a-na BÁRA-PAP-PAP\(^{(594)}\) i^kin  
u₄-15-kam  
7′ 0,1.1. a-na ḫa-re-e mul-li-i\(^{(595)}\)  
5′ 0,3.2. zi-da a-na siskur\(^{(596)}\) ša u₄-20-kam  
8′ 0,1.4. zi-da ḫi-il-ši\(^{(597)}\)  
9′ 0,1.3. dug PISAN (?)\(^{(598)}\) ₁ri-mu-ur₄ sukkal  
Rev.  

\textbf{P 106}  
Obv.  
1′ 0,0.1. r₁ša-a³ \(\text{[r-ri-ia]}\)  
2′ 0,3.0. a-na UTUL₃ i^kin u₄-x-kam  
3′ 0,1.3. a-na BÁRA-PAP-PAP i^kin  
u₄-15-kam  
4′ 0,1.1. a-na ḫa-re-e mul-li-i  
5′ 0,3.2. zi-da a-na siskur \(\text{[r-ri-ia]}\) ša u₄-20-kam  
6′ 0,1.3. dug PISAN (?) ₁ri-mu-ur₄ sukkal  
8′ ḫi-il-ši

\(^{(590)}\) Urkunden aus der Zeit der dritten babylonischen Dynastie (Berlin).

\(^{(591)}\) Contrats et lettres d’Assyrie et de Babylone (TCL 9, Paris), nos. 47–56.

\(^{(592)}\) 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.

\(^{(593)}\) The reading UTUL₃ was collated by W. H. van Soldt. Cf. Sassmannshausen 2001, 176 n. 3044: ama₃?, supāru.

\(^{(594)}\) “For beer mash.”

\(^{(595)}\) “The ḫaru container.”

\(^{(596)}\) The reading siskur was collated by W. H. van Soldt. Cf. CAD ḫ, 187 (ḥilsu F in bī ḫilsī; AMAR×SÈ).

\(^{(597)}\) “Flour for/in the building in the temple complex (ḥilsu).”

\(^{(598)}\) “Box.” Cf. Sassmannshausen 2001, 97 n. 1637: DUG Ė.
Therefore, the profession(s) of the sons of Nabû-šarrāh remain(s) unknown. But in P 100, a priest deducted barley and gave it to Amurru in the form of malt. It seems peculiar that the entry of P 106 obv. 5′–6′ is expressed in P 105 obv. 8′ and rev. 13′.

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-šarrāh remain(s) unknown. But in P 100, a priest deducted barley and gave it to Amurru-ēššarriš, who is well attested as a son of Nabû-šarrāh, for expenditure of the king (obv. 4–5: *Ki̇É-BAR iš-šu-ra-am-ma a-na ki̇mar-tu-uru1 iš a-na zi-ga lugal sum-nu). Thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P 105</th>
<th>P 106</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8′ 0,1.4.</td>
<td>5′ 0,3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zī-da ê hī-il-ṣī</td>
<td>zī-da a-na siskur ša u-20-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13′ 0,1.4.</td>
<td>6′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zī-da siskur ê hī-il-ṣī</td>
<td>ê hī-il-ṣī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(0,1.4. + 0,1.4. = 0,3.2.)

It is apparent that both documents deal with the same expenditure. P 106 gives more detail. For example, P 105 obv. 9′ (dug PISAN (?)) rī-mu-šukal é hī-il-ṣī) versus P 106 obv. 7′–8′ (dug PISAN (?)) rī-mu-šukal é hī-il-ṣī). It seems peculiar that the entry of P 106 obv. 5′–6′ is expressed in P 105 obv. 8′ and rev. 13′.

(599) ḤUŁ\(^7\) (ūkus\(^8\)) was suggested by W. H. van Soldt.

(600) “For malt.”

(601) The reading siskur was collated by W. H. van Soldt. Cf. CAD Ḫ, 187 (ḫīšu F in bū ḫīši; AMAR-ŠE).

(602) Van Soldt reads this line as 7MU\(^7\).171.KAM\(^7\) (+RN).

(603) For example, P 99 obv. 1, P 101 obv. 2–3, P 102 obv. 2–3 and passim.

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at least we may infer that Amurru-ē/īriš, son of Nabū-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, 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seal Reference</th>
<th>Matthews No.</th>
<th>Document</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rīmūtu</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>(Passim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rīmūtu</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>MUN 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-nīšu</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninurta-kīn-pīšu</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>(Passim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninurta-kīn-pīšu</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 87a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninurta-nādin-alḫē</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>(Passim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iqiša-Ninimma</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>MUN 218, 219, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlil-AL-SAₚ, governor</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 48a, CBS 10250, UM 29-15-685, N 2432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(šandabakku) of Nippur</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>PBS 2/2 nos. 20, 22, MRWH 14, 31, MUN 118, 155, CBS 4903, UM 29-15-548, UM 29-16-156, N 6310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>BE 15 nos. 15, 18, 23, 25, 31, MUN 324, CBS 8872, UM 29-15-691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(604) CBS 3091 looks like an *aklu* document, but the term *aklu* is not mentioned.

(605) These documents were excavated at Nippur, but probably some of them were sealed in other locations than Nippur.

(606) Though BE 14 no. 53 is not an *aklu* document, I use it for comparison with the other documents sealed with Matthews no. 155.

(607) 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.

(608) BE 15 nos. 15, 18, 23, 25, 31, MUN 324 are sealed on the envelope.
Not attested 162 BE 14 no. 55, BE 15 nos. 8, 14, CBS 3275 (609)
Ninurta-rēšūšu, mayor (ḥazānu) of Nippur 146 MRWH 30
Not attested 188 BE 14 no. 27, BE 15 no. 70 (610)
Not attested 142 (611) CBS 3091
Sin-aḫa-iddina 26 CBS 3136
Not attested 156 PBS 2/2 no. 24
Nimgirab-Marduk 157 MUN 181
Not attested 161 BE 15 no. 65 (612)
Not attested 187 MRWH 25 (613)
Amīl-Marduk, governor None MUN 189, 192, (614) 194 (615)
(šandabakku) of Nippur
Šušatu None BE 15 no. 79

Dūr-Enlilē:

Ninurta-zākir-šumi, Impression(s) CUSAS 30 no. 289
(4nin-urta-mu-mu) detected
Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni Impression(s) CUSAS 30 nos. 278, 291, 383 (616)
detected

Nabû-… Impression(s) CUSAS 30 no. 234
detected
Id[ ] Impression(s) CUSAS 30 no. 294
detected

Rīmūtu mainly used Matthews no. 148, but at least once used Matthews no. 55. Ninurta-kīn-pīšu

(609) All of these are sealed on the envelope.
(610) BE 15 no. 70 is sealed on the envelope.
(611) CBS 3091 is a document about flour and barley. The term aklu is not attested. But it looks like an aklu document.
(612) BE 15 no. 65 is sealed on the envelope.
(613) MRWH 25 is sealed on the envelope.
(614) For the reading aklu, see Brinkman 2004, 290 ([ak]-lum GIŠ.BÁN 5 SĪLA).
(615) For the reading aklu, see Brinkman 2004, 301 ([ak]-lum ŠU).
(616) 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,617 but at least once used Matthews no. 148. Enlil-AL-SA₆ also used Matthews no. 148, so it was used by Rīmūtu, Ninurta-kīn-pīšu and Enlil-AL-SA₆. Rīmūtu and Ninurta-kīn-pīšu were contemporaries. Enlil-AL-SA₆ may have been their predecessor.618

Ninurta-nādin-ahlḫē sealed many aklu documents with Matthews no. 189. Iqiša-Ninimma also sealed at least three aklu documents with Matthews no. 189. They are contemporaries.619

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.620

And it is noteworthy that the descendants of Enlil-kidinī (i.e., Enlil-AL-SA₆,621 Ninurta-zākir-šumi,622 Ninurta-kīšat-ilānī,623 and Amīl-Marduk624) sealed aklu documents and that the descendants of Enlil-nīšu (i.e., Ninurta-kīn-pīšu625 and Ninurta-nādin-ahlḫē(?))626 sealed aklu documents.

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617 As to the Mattehews no. 155, See Hölscher (1.5.14.).

618 About the three sealers of Matthews no. 148, see Deheselle (1.5.12.).

Enlil-AL-SA₆ (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).

619 About the two sealers of Matthews no. 189, see Stiehler-Alegria Delgado (1.5.13.) and Sassmannshausen (1.5.15.).

Ninurta-nādin-ahlḫē (1263–1250): MUN 278 (1263, KaE 23-V-year 1, 12-TV to 23-V) to MUN 237 (1250, KuE 12'-MN7'-year 5, 26'-MN7 to 12'-MN7').

Iqiša-Ninimma (1252): MUN 218, 219, 241 (1252, KuE year 3).

620 For this gap see Petschow (1.5.7.).

621 See the legend of Matthews no. 189; also Sassmannshausen 2001, 16 (Enlil-AL-SA₆), 17 n. 215 (Enlil-AL-SA₆), 18 n. 230 (Enlil-AL-SA₆), 66 n. 1052 (pašīšu); Brinkman 2004, 287 n. 25 (nêšakku); CAD P, 255 (pašīšu).

622 See CUSAS 30, p. 24.

623 Ibid.


625 See BE 14 no. 39 obv. 11: bi2nim-uri-GI-ka-šu dumu bi2en-lîl-ni-šu.

626 See BE 14 no. 39 obv. 2: bi2nim-uri-na[din-ahlḫē] dumu bi2nim-uri-GI-ka-šu. But the
Enlil-AL-SA₆ and Amīl-Marduk are known to have been governors (šandabakku) of Nippur, and Ninurta-rēšūšu is known to have been a mayor (ḥazanu) of Nippur, so the aklu documents were sealed by officials.

The identification of Sīn-aḫa-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 (Ašu, 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.\(^{(627)}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year, month, day</th>
<th>Document Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Burna-Buriyaš II (1359–1333) | MUN 269 (1350, BB year 10)  
N 2266 (1350, BB year 10)\(^{(628)}\)  
MRWH 68 (1340, BB year 20)  
*MRWH 14 (1359–1333),\(^{(629)}\) 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-SA₆: 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\(^{(630)}\) (Enlil-nēšu: 1297, NM year 11), Matthews no. 189 |

Identification of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē son of Ninurta-kīn-pišu (BE 14 no. 39) with Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē (Matthews no. 189) has not been confirmed. See the section above on Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē (4.8.3.).

\(^{(627)}\) Asterisk (*) marks documents in which the term aklu is not attested.

\(^{(628)}\) See Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text: BB year 10).

\(^{(629)}\) Though MRWH 14 is not an aklu document, I include it for comparison with the other documents sealed with Matthews no. 164.
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(631) (Enlil-AL-SA₆: 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-aḫḫē: 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-kiššat-ilānī: 1251, KuE year 4)
CUSAS 30 no. 382 (1250, KuE year 5)

(*30) Though BE 14 no. 53 is not an aklu document, I include it for comparison with the other documents sealed with Matthews no. 155.

(*31) The reading of Enlil-AL-SA₆ 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. 146
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-uṣur (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 Rîmûtu, Ninurta-kîn-pišu, and Ninurta-nadin-ahhe 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-ŠŠ, ŠŠ possibly V)
1 year:         BE 14 no. 133 (I-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 (ŠŠ-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

Rímūtu texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brewer</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bá’eru (a brewer)</td>
<td>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)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šamaš-mušēzib (probably a brewer)</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 82 (obv. 3), MUN 223 (obv. 5), CUSAS 30 no. 136 (obv. 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėriš-Ea (probably a brewer)</td>
<td>BE 14 no. 64 (obv. 4), no. 75 (lo. e. 8), CUSAS 30 no. 143 (obv. 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīl-Isin (probably a brewer)</td>
<td>MUN 201 (rev. 8), CUSAS 30 no. 141 (obv. 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a brewer)</td>
<td>MUN 225 (obv. 4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-li (probably a brewer)  
BE 15 no. 171 (rev. 12'), PBS 2/2 no. 57 (lo. e. 5), CBS 2111 (obv. 4)

The son of Maṣi-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-lišsu (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)\(^{(632)}\) BE 14 no. 60 (obv. 3: \(\text{ibu-ub-bu} \text{ lunga}\)), no. 62 (obv. 4: \(\text{ibu-ub-bu}\)), no. 65 (obv. 4: \(\text{ibu-ub-bu} \text{ lūnCHOOL}\)), BE 15 no. 3 (lo. e. 5–6: \(\text{ibu-ub-bu} \text{ lunga}\)), no. 135 (obv. 3: \(\text{ibu-ub-bu} \text{ lunga}\)), no. 66 (obv. 4: \(\text{ibu-ub-bu} \text{ lunga}\)), PBS 2/2 no. 136 (obv. 10: \(\text{ibu-ub-bu}\)), CBS 3019 (rev. 7)

Sarriqu (a brewer)\(^{(633)}\) BE 14 no. 97 (rev. 7), CT 51 no. 27 (obv. 3), MUN 148 (rev. 22')

19.3.2. Millers

Rînûtu texts

Sin-muballit (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 Tāb-nupāršu (probably a miller) BE 14 no. 81 (rev. 8), CBS 3529 (obv. 11, rev. 18)

Ninurta-kīn-pīšu texts

Sin-muballit (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

\(^{(632)}\) 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).

\(^{(633)}\) 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)
---|---
Līʾūši-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-lišir (probably a miller) | MRWH 19 (obv. 3)
---|---
Matthews no. 142 (634) (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)
---|---
BE 15 no. 171 (Das Archiv des Speichers)
The son of Sîn-nādin-apli (a miller) | BE 15 no. 171 (obv. 2′), CBS 11534 (obv. 4)
---|---
The son of Rabā-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)
---|---
19.3.3. Shepherds
Ninurta-nādin-ahhē texts

(634) CBS 3091 is a document about flour and barley. The term *aklu* is not attested, but it looks like an *aklu* document.
Sîn-āḫa-iddina (probably a shepherd)  MUN 325 (obv. 3), N 2645? (obv. 8'), BE 14 no. 99? (rev. 48)

Dūr-Enliē
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[a^2-x] h̄̄sipa), no. 395 (obv. 4), no. 400 (rev. 13), no. 401 (rev. 11), no. 403 (obv. 5)

Other
Aḫa-iddina-Marduk (probably a shepherd)  BE 15 no. 33 (obv. 5), BE 15 no. 199 (rev. 44)

19.3.4. Oil presser

Ninurta-nādin-ahhē 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\(^{(635)}\) and Nippurītu, Rīšatu and Sugir-bunni in the documents of Dūr-Enliē\(^{(636)}\) are well known. Their profession(s) has not been attested except in the case of Nippurītu, a musician (nārtu).\(^{(637)}\) 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

\(^{(635)}\) See the section on Matthews no. 162.


\(^{(637)}\) CUSAS 30 no. 297 obv. 11.
Obv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation/Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ṭup-pi ri-ki-iš-ti</td>
<td>(1–5) The contract Innannu made with the brewers and the miller.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ša 1in-na-an-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a-na₄IPA₄lu₄ga₄mes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ṻ̄ ka-zi-da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ir-ku-su</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kaš sag ul ṭa-am-ma</td>
<td>(6–12) (If) good quality beer is not sweet, (if) bread is not good, (if) he gives bread, beer, or (any) supplies without permission of Rabâ-ša-Nergal, they will beat (him), (and) they will pull out (his hair).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ninda ul ba-ni-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>i-na ba-lu 1gal-ašá₄GUR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ninda kaš u mé-re-eš-tu₄(₆₃₈)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>i-nam-di-in-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>i-na-fù-ù₄(₆₃₉)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>i-ba-qa-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>nap-ḥa-ar</td>
<td>(rev. 13–18) He seals/will seal (the tablets of) all the beer since Araḫsammu (VIII) of the 1st year for offering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ši-ka-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ša iš-tu ₄apin-du₄-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ša mu-1-kam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>a-na ka-ap-ri₄(₆₄₀)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>i-ka-na-ak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ṫigu-si-sá</td>
<td>(19–23) Ayyaru (II), the 3rd day, the 2nd year (of) Nazi-Maruttaš, king.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>u₄-3-kam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>mu-2-kam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>₄na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>lugal-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>₄kisha b₄lu₄ga</td>
<td>(24–25) (Sealed with) the seal of the brewer, the seal of the miller.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>₄kisha ka-zi-da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(₆₃₈) Here mēreštu is nominative, but the accusative is expected.

(₆₃₉) For the interpretation of naṭu “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 nadū.

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 aklû 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) Rîmûtû, and Rîmûtû sealed the document. Several similar cases can be found for Ninurta-nâdin-aḫḫē. In MUN 251 and 252, beer and the beer products are said to be aklû (of/for) Ninurta-nâdin-aḫḫē, and Ninurta-nâdin-aḫḫē sealed both documents.

As to the recipients, the kings (at least Nazi-Maruttaš and Kudur-Enlil) and the prince (dumu lugal) were beneficiaries of the expenditures. Several professions or positions are attested for the recipient of the aklû expenditures. Among them are some officials (vessel-stand for governor, high official, mayor and so on), artisans (weaver, leatherworker etc.), laborers (farmer, ploughman, workers 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.

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(641) Obv. 1: 0,3.2. kin-sig 1ri-mu-tu;.
(642) U. e. 13: naškišib 1ri-mu-tu;.
(643) MUN 251 obv. 6: ak-lu4 1i-nin-urta-sum-aḫ-ḫe; rev. 12: naškišib 1i-nin-urta-ḫu-sum-aḫ-ḫe. MUN 252 obv. 6: ak-lu4 1i-nin-urta-sum-aḫ-ḫe; rev. 12: naškišib 1i-nin-urta-sum-aḫ-ḫe.
(644) About the phrases (elē šarri, arād šarri, arād mār šarri), see Brinkman 1976, 411–414 and the section of notes of each section.
(645) MUN 213 obv. 7 (kanni šandabakku).
(646) MUN 176 obv. 4 (ša rēši šarrī).
(647) MUN 219 obv. 9 (ḫazannu).
(648) MUN 176 obv. 3 (māḫiša).
(649) MUN 219 obv. 7 (ušparulīšparu).
(650) MUN 241 rev. 10 (aškāpu).
(651) MUN 245 rev. 8 (iššākku).
(652) MRWH 21 obv. 4 (ikkaru).
(653) CBS 7714 obv. 16 (šābu).
(654) For the winter palace in Nippur (ē naškišib ša é-gal ku-uṣ-ṣī), see Sassmannshausen 2001, 10 n. 94. BE 14 no. 124, 6–7.
belonged to the outer area of the palace (bābānu), and received sheep as aklu. Also, sometimes the inner quarter of the palace (bītānu) is mentioned in the aklu documents. In CUSAS 30 no. 293, a keeper of horses of the king (sipa anše-kura-ra ša lugal) received cereals, probably barley, as aklu. However, some aklu commodities were clearly supplied for religious purposes. In BE 14 no. 133, probably sheep were dedicated for the temples of Ekur, Parak-māri, and Bīt-bēri as aklu. We can find sheep offerings said to be aklu in the Rosen texts. It is clear from this that aklu commodities were used not only for the palace but also for 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-[lullus], oil). These three documents, which are reproduced below, were sealed by Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē with Matthews no. 189.

#### MRWH 34

Obv.

1. 3,1 Pl.0.1 silica i-giš [gih]bān 5 silica
2. i-na šu 1-i[-qi]-ša-[n]iškur

(1–5) Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē received the oil (3,1.0.1.), measured by 5-qa measure, from Iqīša-Adad and

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(655) For bābānu (der äußere Bereich des Palastes), see Sassmannshausen 2001, 155.

(656) CUSAS 30 no. 384, 9–11.

(657) 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).

(658) For example, BE 15 no. 79 obv. 4: MUN 200 obv. 2; CBS 3529 rev. 14, 15, 17 etc.

(659) In rev. 12’. The heading of the commodities is broken.

(660) 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-aḫḫē (4.5.2.).

(661) For example, CUSAS 30 no. 384 obv. 6 (siskur é-gu-la), no. 390 obv. 4 (siskur šutu), no. 393 obv. 6 (siskur šutu), no. 414 (2 udu-nīta gi-nu-ša bāra-dumu) etc.
3 ḫn-in-urta-sum-ah-ḫe delivered (it) to the storehouse.
4 im-ḫur-ma
5 a-na ē naḫšib ū-še-rib

Rev.
6 ₃₅ab u₄-15-kam (6) the month Țebētu (X). 15th day.
7 mu-6-kam ḫ GtkWidget-₄m-en-lil (7) 6th year (of) Kadašman-Enlil.

In MRWH 34, Ninurta-naḏin-ahlḫē received the oil from Iqīša-Adad and sealed the document. But the term aklu is not mentioned.

MUN 278

Obv.
1 ī ṣḫ-bān 5 sīla ak-₄u₄ ta u₄-12-ka[m (1) oil, measured by 5-qa measure, expenditure from
āṣu-numuna[la 12th day [of the month Duḷuḫ (IV)
2 a-di u₄-23-kam ša ṣ₂ ṣ₂ NE-gar mu-1₄-k₄[am (2) to 23rd day of the month Abu (V). 1st year (of)
³kārências-m₄-en-lil Kadašman-Enlil.
3 2 sīla ša 0.0.2. še-giš-i ḫmu-še-zib-₄U-GUR (3) 2 qa of/from 0.0.2. sesame (for) Mušēzib-Nergal
u₄-1₃-kam u₄-30 days 13–30.
4 1 sīla nu-rū u₄-2₅-kam (4) 1 qa (for) lighting. 25th day.
5 1 sīla o-na baār-m₄-en-lil-ḫi-₄₂ ᵃ₂ ᵃ₂ nanna-lū-sig₄ (5) 1 qa for Dūr-Enlil. ḫnanna-lū-sig₄ (662)
6 1/₂ sīla ḫ₂za₃₄-k₄-rū (6) 1/₂ qa (for) Zākiru.
7 1 sīla nē-pe-šū (7) 1 qa. (for) the procedure.
8 1 sīla ša 0.0.1. še-giš-i u₄-1₅-kam (8) 1 qa of/from 0.0.1. sesame. 15th day.

Rev.
9 pap 0.0.1.1 sīla i-giš ak-₄u₄ (9) total 0.0.1.1. oil expenditure.
10 šu ḫba-ša₃₄ ᵃ₂iškur (10) Under the responsibility of Iqīša-Adad.
11 ta ṣ₂ ṣ₂ u₂ ᴣ₂ NE (11) from Duḷuḫ (IV) to Abu (V).
12 mu-₁₄-kam ḫkārencias-m₄-en-lil (12) 1st year (of) Kadašman-Enlil.

MUN 279

Obv.

(662) The reading of this personal name is not clear. Perhaps it is Sin-amīlu-damqu. M. Stol tentatively suggests a reading Sin-amīlu-udammiq.
Iqīša Adad prepared the oil for the aklu. Ninurta-nādin-ahḫē sealed both documents. Sassmannshausen has already noticed these three documents and remarked, I believe correctly, that qāṭ PN is used to mean “from PN” (ina qāṭ PN).\(^{(663)}\)

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\(^{th}\) 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 Tāb-nupāršu (obv. 11 and rev. 18).

**CBS 3529\(^{(664)}\)**

U. e.

1 ₂zūz-AN ₄₄-14-kam

Obv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>[z]da maḥ</th>
<th>ak(^2)</th>
<th>re</th>
<th>mu-bi-im</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0,0.1.4 sila</td>
<td>-rū</td>
<td>-lu₄</td>
<td>ḫa-an-nu-ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0,0.3.</td>
<td>ṭi-gi₂-amar-utu-₄-[mu]r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0,0.1/2 sila</td>
<td>pa-ḥi-du(^{(665)})</td>
<td>ṭi-gi-nu-gāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(663)}\) Sassmannshausen 2001, 320: “Wenn man MRWH 34 mit MUN 278 und 279 vergleicht, wo Iqīša-Addu ebenfalls genannt ist, liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß qāṭ PN für ina qāṭ PN „von PN“ steht.”

\(^{(664)}\) 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.

\(^{(665)}\) A kind of flour (₄₄ḫidu).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>0,0.1. ša</th>
<th>ŠE-MAŠ/BAR</th>
<th>1 šila</th>
<th>ki-min</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0,0.1.1 šila</td>
<td>dumu-munuš</td>
<td>16uzadim</td>
<td>ki-min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0,0.1.1 šila</td>
<td>ša u₄-13-kam</td>
<td>r₄dAG-di-ku₅</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 šila</td>
<td>dumu 1dug-ab-nu-[p]ár-šú</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 šila</td>
<td>dumu-munuš 1dub-sar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lo. E.</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>0,0.1. ša</th>
<th>ar-ša-a-n₄</th>
<th>dumu-munuš 1dub-sar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rev.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0,0.1.2 šila</td>
<td>dumu 1bu-un-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2 šila</td>
<td>0,0.1. े-nu</td>
<td>1pa-ḥa-lä-a-nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>4 šila</td>
<td>0,0.4. े-nu</td>
<td>dumu-munuš 1ip-pa-i-ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>0,0.1.3 šila</td>
<td>dumu 1sum₄ 1U-GUR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>े-nu</td>
<td>1dug-ab-nu-pár-šú</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1 šila</td>
<td>u₄-15-kam</td>
<td>1dAG-di-ku₅</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1 šila</td>
<td>u₄-15-kam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>0,0.1.1 šila</td>
<td>zid ar-sa-a-ni</td>
<td>1ki-is-si-li-mi-tu₄</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 1ri-mu-tu₄ | (1) 0,3.2. for the banquet of Rīmūtu. |
| 2 | ta u₄-[x+3]-kam en u₄-8-kam | (2) from [x+3]th day to 8th day. |
| 3 | 0,0.2. 1arad-₄amar-utu gar-nu | (3) 0,0.2. (for) Arad-Marduk, official. |
| 4 | 0,0.2. šuk 1su₄-d₄-su-qa-mu-na | (4) 0,0.2. the food allocation of Eriba-Šuqamuna. |
| 5 | [ ]ṭx x₃ ki-din₄-gu-la | (5) [ ]ṭx x₃ Kidin-Gula. |
| 6 | [ ]IR | (6) [ ]IR |

| Rev. | 7 | pap 0,4.3.3 šila zid-da ak-lu₄ | (7) total: 0,4.3.3. flour expenditure. |

(666) Barley (uṭṭatu).
(667) Bow-maker (sasinnu).
(668) Barley-groats (arzānu, arsānu).
(669) The inner quarter of the palace (bītānu).
8 duumu 'dug-ab-nu-pár-šu (8) The son of Ţāb-nupāršu.
9 uru tukul-ti-ē-kur la a-ša-bu (9) Tukultī-Ekur ī ašābu.
U. e.
11 mu-23-kam (11) 23rd year (of)
12 na-zi-ma-ru-taš lug[al-e?] (12) Nazi-Maruttaš, the king.
13 maššišib 'ri-mu-tu₄ (13) Sealed by Rīmūtu.

The son of Ţāb-nupāršu prepared the flour for the aklu of BE 14 no. 81, and therefore the son of Ţāb-nupāršu in CBS 3529 (also flour, aklu) is perhaps a miller. To explain the role of the miller (the son of Ţāb-nupāršu) in CBS 3529, I cite another aklu document (UM 29-16-629). (670)

**UM 29-16-629**

Obv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>um-ma</th>
<th>maḥ</th>
<th>ak</th>
<th>r[e</th>
<th>]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0,0.1.3.</td>
<td>0,0.1.3.</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0,0.1.3.</td>
<td>0,0.1.3.</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0,0.1.3.</td>
<td>0,0.1.3.</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0,0.1.3.</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Broken

| 7' | 0,0.2. r2.7 | [ ] | [ ] |
| 8' | 0,0.1.1. | 0,0.2.1. (671) | [ ] |
| 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

(670) This aklu document is cited in Sassmannshausen 2001, 318. But the transliteration is made by myself.

(671) 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.  

**BE 14 no. 33**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u. e. 1</th>
<th>[ ] mu-20-kam <em>ku-ri-gal-zu</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obv. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>ršēni ši-ib-šitu₄</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>maḥ-ru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ib-tag/k₄</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mu-bi-im</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>47,0.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45,1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,3.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ški-up-pu-pu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>20,0.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19,2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ški-min <em>ša-mi-du</em> [       ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9,4<em>4</em>-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,4.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ški-min <em>ši-li-ia-tu₄</em> [   ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>28,4.0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28,3* seventh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,0.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ški-min dumu <em>ša-šu-pi</em> ![ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>20,0.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19,3.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ški-min dumu <em>ša-ba-dūg-ga</em> [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>12,4.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>en 3,0.0. nig-kud-da₁₁²²²²²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9,4<em>4</em>-0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.0. 2*1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ški-min <em>ši-en-kit-ti</em> ![ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>15,2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0,4.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ški-min <em>šu-ba</em>- [         ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the agricultural taxes (*šibšu*)¹³⁶⁶ on the barley were collected. The date is the 20th 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 (*ib-tag/k₄*) 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 enšimšu3 (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.

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¹³²² For the term nig-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.

¹³²² For the reading *ši-en*₂.₁. see the photo (P263916.jpg).

¹³²² For the reading 0,4.₄., see the same photo (P263916.jpg).

¹³⁶⁶ The word for tax (*šibšu*) is defined by AHw 1976, 1227 as “Getreideabgabe,” and by CAD (S 2 1992, 383) as “an agricultural tax.” Usually one third of the revenue (*šēlītu*) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[sig]</th>
<th>sig maḫ-ri</th>
<th>sig LÁL-DÛ</th>
<th>mu-bi-im</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>um-ma-tu₄</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>r₃ ½ ma 2 gín</td>
<td>30 5/6 ma</td>
<td>2 ma 12 gín</td>
<td>dumu ¹a-ḫi-it-tu-tu₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>r₂ 1 ½ ma 7</td>
<td>18 ma</td>
<td>5 2/3 ma</td>
<td>dumu ¹en-šu-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>r₅ ½ ma 10 gín</td>
<td>5 ma 10 gín</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹šes-šama-šū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15 2/3 ma 5</td>
<td>14 1/3 ma</td>
<td>1 1/3 ma 5</td>
<td>dumu ¹kab-ta-dingir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma 7</td>
<td>5 ma 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹kū-ri-₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6 1/3 ma 4</td>
<td>6 1/3 ma 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹būr-ri-gašan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>12 1/3 ma 5</td>
<td>11 1/2 ma</td>
<td>5/6 ma 5</td>
<td>dumu ¹ku-ri-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3 1/3 ma 9</td>
<td>3 1/3 ma 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹ib ila-Šiškur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>9 ma 17</td>
<td>9 ma 17</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹ku-û-a [ ] (677)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>8 5/6 ma 4 ³</td>
<td>5 2/3 ma</td>
<td>3 ma 10 gín</td>
<td>dumu ¹lugal-d[i-ku₅]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>19 2/3 ma ³</td>
<td>r² 19 2/3 ma ⁸</td>
<td></td>
<td>²arad-û₄ [-] [-kam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>7 2/3 ma ⁵</td>
<td>5 5/6 ma</td>
<td>1 1/2 ma ⁵</td>
<td>dumu ¹pat-ši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>6 2/3 ma ⁸</td>
<td>6 2/3 ma 8</td>
<td>³bur-ra-₄-amar-utu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>11 ma 1 ⁸</td>
<td>11 ma 18</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹iš-li-li-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>4 2/3 ma ⁷</td>
<td>4 2/3 ma 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>ki-min e-si-ir-tu₄ (680)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>r₁ ⁵ ma ⁶</td>
<td>15 ma 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹iš-mu-li-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>45 ma ⁶</td>
<td>25 ma</td>
<td>20 ma 6</td>
<td>dumu ¹re-es-ku₄-šub (681)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>11 5/6 ma ⁵</td>
<td>11 1/2 ma</td>
<td>1/3 ma 5</td>
<td>dumu ¹šil-li₂-âtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>9 1/2 ma ²</td>
<td>9 1/2 ma ²</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹a-ši-gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>3 ma ⁴</td>
<td>3 ma 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ¹šiškur-še-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>14 1/3 ma ⁸</td>
<td>7 ma 10 gín</td>
<td>7 ma 18</td>
<td>dumu ¹gal-₄-ša-dingir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>10 5/6 ma ⁶</td>
<td>5 1/3 ma</td>
<td>5 1/2 ma 6</td>
<td>dumu ¹ha-bi-li-₄-₄nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>11 2/3 ma ⁶</td>
<td>r⁶ ma</td>
<td>3 2/3 ma 6</td>
<td>³mu-lib-ši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>8 ma</td>
<td>[ ] r⁶ ma 10 gín</td>
<td>1 5/6 ma</td>
<td>dumu ¹su₅-utu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(677) For dumu ¹ku-[û]-a [ ] in obv. 10 and dumu ¹lugal-d[i-ku₅] in obv. 11, we can find them on the photo of CDLI (P259849.jpg).

(678) The reading r³ ³ is based on the CDLI photo.

(679) The reading “2/3” is based on the CDLI photo.

(680) “(the amount) to be collected.”

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). 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, herdsmen were under the management of the mayor (ḫazannu), and the mayor was supervised by the Kassites (kaššû). Hence Kilamdi-Ubriyaš may be a supervisor of the herdsmen.

PBS 2/2 no. 75

Obv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sig um-ma-tu₄</th>
<th>sig mah-ri₄</th>
<th>sig LÁL-DÛ</th>
<th>mu-bi-im</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>29 ma 2 2 gin</td>
<td>23 1/2 ma</td>
<td>5 1/2 ma 2 gin</td>
<td>dumu ’a-hi-it-tu-ut-tu₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>21 1/2 ma 4 gin</td>
<td>21 ma 10 gin</td>
<td>1/3 ma 4 gin</td>
<td>dumu ’en-šu-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 5/6 ma 3 gin</td>
<td>3 5/6 ma</td>
<td>1 ma 3 gin</td>
<td>dumu ’aš-ama-šù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11 5/6 ma 6 gin</td>
<td>11 5/6 ma 6 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ’kab-ta-i-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>[ ] ma</td>
<td>5 ma</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ’e-a-re-man-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[ ] ma 1 2 ma 1 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dumu ’nap-ši-ri-nin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(682) The reading “3” is based on the CDLI photo.

(683) 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.

(684) See the introduction to the Kassites (1.1.) and BE 14 no. 99a, 137, MUN 329, etc.
<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[11]</td>
<td>ma 10 gin</td>
<td>ma 9 gin</td>
<td>ma 10 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[3 1/2]</td>
<td>[9 1/2]</td>
<td>[9 1/2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma 5 gin</td>
<td>ma 9 gin</td>
<td>ma 5 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 ma 10 gin</td>
<td>5 1/3 ma 9 gin</td>
<td>5 1/3 ma 9 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[11 1/3]</td>
<td>[17 1/3]</td>
<td>[7 2/3]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma 5 gin</td>
<td>ma 9 gin</td>
<td>ma 3 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 1/2 ma 9 gin</td>
<td>4 ma 5 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[6 1/2]</td>
<td>[+]1 ma 7 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma 1 gin</td>
<td>15 1/3 ma 7 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+]1/3 ma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Break

Rev.

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17’</td>
<td>[ g]ú</td>
<td>r3 ½ g[ú]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18’</td>
<td>[x ma] 3 gin</td>
<td>20 1/3 ma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19’</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 gin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation of the colophon: For the collection under the responsibility of Kilandi-Ubriyaš, Urgīya received a tablet. A duplicate was deposited with Kiribti-Enlil. Moreover, the silver/property which he collected was sealed with a seal of shepherd(s), and set for Rē[š-n]apāšu.

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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(686) The reading ʾi-sīn-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[z]i-da mah -rù ak² -lu₄ re -ḫu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu-bi-im</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, here is an aklu column. Probably the millers were required to deliver the flour and/or to prepare it for the aklu expenditure.⁶⁸⁷ In a previously discussed case involving Iqiša-Adad, who was probably an oil-presser, Ninurta-nadin-āḫḫē received oil from Iqiša-Adad and sealed it (in MRWH 34). This is perhaps a case of commodities received (mahru). In MUN 278 and MUN 279, Iqiša-Adad prepared oil for the aklu, and Ninurta-nadin-āḫḫē sealed the documents. These may be cases where the commodity was recorded as an expenditure (aklu).⁶⁸⁸

19.4. Commodities

In the aklu documents, as discussed above, beer (kaš), clay pots (dug), beer products (bāppir, nīg-ār-ra, munu₃), barley (šē, ŠE-BAR/MAŠ), and flour (zi-da) are amply attested.⁶⁸⁹ In addition, we can

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⁶⁸⁷ In the aklu column, rev. 14, 15, and 17, the inner quarter of the palace (bītānu) is mentioned. Therefore, the flour was expended for the palace.

⁶⁸⁸ 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 ša ʿu-ṣe-su-ir₂). This implies that some of the received commodities can be used for the aklu. Cf. also CUSAS 30 no. 382, lines 1-8: ʿ7₁ udu.nīta 5 u₄ gal PAP 13 šu.la bur₄₅ ša šu ṣu₄₅ ṣi₄₅ i-na ša 9 ba-ag-na 1 udu.nīta šu.la bur₄₅ i-si-it šu ṣu₄₅ ṣi₄₅ i-na ša 3 ṣak⁶₄ lum ⁶₈₈ ᵇ₄ rams, ⁵ full-grown ewes, ⁴ in total 13, summer provisions ³ under the responsibility of Qunnunu the shepherd. ² Among them ⁹ have been plucked, ¹ ⁴ ² ⁷ (under) the responsibility of Qunnunu the shepherd. ⁸ Among (them) ³ are food expenditure.”

⁶⁸⁹ 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 (nīg-ār), porridge (ba-ba-za), and salt (mun). Although she does not mention the reference, it is probably BE 15 no. 44 (rev. 23: nīg-ār-ra ʿu pa-pa-su; rev. 20, 22, lo. e. 35: mun) or BE 15 no. 48c (obv. 3: nīg-ū ʿu 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-lu₄ ʿu udu-ḫi-a ša 2 mu₄₅”). 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.”

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find several commodities such as emmer (ÂŠ-AN-NA), beer (dida), beer mash (agarinš), oil (i-gišš), sesame (še-gišš-i), peas (gú-gal), lentils (gú-tur), cress (zâ-hi-li), onions (sum-sikil44), garlic (sum44), sheep (udu-níta), lambs (sila44), ewes (uš, uš gal), male goats (máš, máš gal), goats (üz), female kids (sal-áš-gâr), and meat (uzu).

(690) BE 15 no. 16 obv. 3, CBS 3296 obv. 3, CUSAS 30 no. 57 obv. 12.
(691) CBS 3099 obv. 4.
(692) CBS 3099 obv. 5.
(693) BE 15 no. 9 obv. 3, no. 21 obv. 1, MUN 280 obv. 1, etc.
(694) BE 15 no. 65 obv. 2.
(695) MUN 274 obv. 4.
(696) BE 15 no. 12 obv. 3, no. 70 obv. 4.
(697) BE 14 no. 21 obv. 7, BE 15 no. 9 obv. 2, no. 12 obv. 4, no. 70 obv. 5.
(698) BE 14 no. 21 obv. 5.
(699) BE 14 no. 21 obv. 6.
(700) BE 15 no. 65 obv. 3, no. 70 obv. 3, CBS 3275 obv. 5, etc.
(701) BE 15 no. 1 lo. e. 5, no. 2 obv. 3, CBS 3275 lo. e. 7, etc.
(702) CUSAS 30 no. 384 obv. 9–12, no. 393 obv. 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, no. 396 obv. 1, etc.
(703) MRWH 27 obv. 4, CUSAS 30 no. 383 obv. 2, CBS 3275 lo. e. 6, etc.
(704) CUSAS 30 no. 393 obv. 4, no. 394 obv. 1, no. 396 obv. 1.
(705) CUSAS 30 no. 396 obv. 1.
(706) CUSAS 30 no. 387.
The main purposes of the aklu expenditures are banquets (kin-sig), offer (kispur), rations/fodder (šuk), and provisions for caravans (ninda-kaskal).

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: Nippur, Tukultī-Ekur, Dīmtu, Kār-Nuska, Dūr-Enlilē, Āl-Irrē, Ḫursagkalamma

Das Archiv des Speichers (south): Zarat-Karkara, Āl-Šēlebi, Dunni-āḫi, Dūr-Nuska, Kār-Adab

BE 14 no. 81, MUN 194 obv. 2, CBS 2109 passim, CBS 2328 u. e. 1, etc. *AHw* (1967, 741) translates *naptamu* (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 *naptamu* in the Middle Babylonian period. He pointed out that several important persons such as Amīl-Marduk, governor of Nippur, Enlīl-AL-SAē, 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).

MRWH 28 obv. 2, MUN 173 obv. 2, MUN 215 obv. 4, etc.

MUN 170 obv. 4, UDBD 105 rev. 13', CBS 8741 obv. 3, etc.

šuk anšē-ku-ra: PBS 2/2 no. 20 obv. 1; šuk udu-nīta: CBS 7160 obv. 11; šuk anšē: CBS 7721 rev. 39, etc.

MRWH 30 obv. 15, rev. 19, MUN 213 lo. e. 9, MUN 219 obv. 4, etc.

For these place names, see CUSAS 30, pp. 152 (no. 91: Ḫursagkalamma) and 302 (no. 229).

See also Nashef 1992, 154 n. 17.

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-āḫi. 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.

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 (lit. Ninurta-urta-mu-mu), Ninurta-kiššat-ilāni, and Nabû-… (715)) were used for the aklu documents of this area. (716)

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. 148: Rīmūtu)
CBS 9543 obv. 6 (Matthews no. 155: Ninurta-kīn-pīšu)
Dīmtu: CUSAS 30 no. 275 obv. 9
Dūr-Enlilē: BE 14 no. 78 obv. 4 (Matthews no. 155: Nin-urta-kīn-pīšu), MUN 99 rev. 9 (Matthews no. 155: Nin-urta-kīn-pīšu), MUN 159 obv. 6 (Matthews no. 155: Nin-urta-kīn-pīšu), MUN 160 obv. 7 (Matthews no. 155(717): Nin-urta-kīn-pīšu), MUN 219 obv. 3 (Matthews no. 189: Iqīša-Ninimma), MUN 278 (Matthews no. 189: Ninurta-nādin-ahhē)
MRWH 26, 4'
Āl-Irrē: BE 14 no. 70 obv. 3 (Matthews no. 148: Rīmūtu), N 957 rev. 6'
Ḫursagkalamma: MUN 181 lo. e. 6 (Matthews no. 157: Nimgirab-Marduk), MUN 219 obv. 5 (Matthews no. 189: 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


(716) 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.

(717) MUN 160 should be added to the Matthews no. 155 texts. See the section on Ninurta-kīn-pīšu.

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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. 162: no seal reference; obv. 4: Enlil-mukin-apli is mentioned), BE 14 no. 56a obv. 3, rev. 32 (rev. 24: aklu of Enlil-mukin-apli), BE 15 no. 31 rev. 9 (Matthews no. 61: no seal reference; obv. 3: Martuk is mentioned.), BE 15 no. 90 u. e. 1 (rev. 45': aklu of Ibni-Marduk)

Āl-Šēlebi: BE 15 no. 17 rev. 10 (obv. 5-lo. e. 6: aklu of Martuk), BE 15 no. 18 rev. 12 (Matthews no. 61: no seal reference; lo. e. 6: Martuk is mentioned.)

Dunni-aḫi: BE 14 no. 61 obv. 1 (obv. 6: aklu of Martuk)
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. Martuk mentioned in rev. 7 may be a different person from the Martuk of Das Archiv des Speichers (in the south).

BE 15 no. 12

Obv.
1 54,0.0. ŠE-MAŠ/BAR
2 17,2.2. zi-da
3 0,0.2. gū-tur
4 0,0.2. zā-ḫi-li

Lo.e.
5 aklu₄

Rev.
6 ḅād-ku-ri-gal-zu
7 'mar-tu-ku
8 'ēš-šē-šu-ku₅
9 mu₃-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) 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). 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

Matthews no. 148: no seal reference

Matthews no. 189: seal reference to Ninurta-nadin-ahhe

MUN 123: 1303, NM year 5 XII Enlil-ahulap, barley, cereals, arād šarri

MUN 210: 1254, KuE year 1 XII Uzibu (brewer(?)), aklu, elē šarri

MUN 211: 1254, KuE year 1 (diri) *XIIa Bābilāyu (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 2240: 1254, KuE year 1 XII Uzibu (brewer(?)), elē šarri

Ni 2973: 1254, KuE year 1(+) 22-XI arād šarri

Ni 7828: 1254, KuE year 1 (diri) arād ša[rr]i

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 18? V1a(barley, esirtu (esirtu), arād šarri

19.6.1.2. Das Archiv desSpeichers (BE 15 no. 171)

(718) MUN 185 (= CBS 8671), MUN 210 (= CBS 8587), MUN 211 (= CBS 13373)

(719) MSKH no. 4 (= BM 81205), no. 17 (Ni 861), no. 22 (UM 29-13-934b).

(720) I.e., Nippur, Tukulti-Ekur, Dīmtu, Kār-Nuska, Dūr-Enlilē, Āl-Irrē, Ḫursagkalamma

(721) Ni 2240 should be added to this group. MUN 210’s seal reference is broken.

(722) It is an intercalary month (rev. 9: [9thkin.9]inaanna.2.kam).
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 attestation of elē šarri and arād šarri

As discussed above,(723) Aḫa-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 Aḫa-iddina-Marduk bull, sheep elē šarri
BE 15 no. 199 Aḫa-iddina-Marduk bull calf elē šarri u arād šarri

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-lāmut aklu (sheep) arād šarri
BE 14 no. 56 1296, NM XII-year 12 Martukbaru, barley, flour, beer, sheep arād šarri
UM 29-13-869 26-I-year 15 flour arād šarri
Ni 805 XI-year 15 arād šarri
MSKH no. 20 15-XII-year 16 oil arād šarri
MSKH no. 19 4-I-year 25 arād šarri u elē šarri

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),(724) 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

(723) See the section on aklu documents without seal impression.

(724) See AHw 1 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.\(^{725}\)

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.\(^{726}\)

Brinkman (1976a) collected e-li lugal, a-rad lugal, and a-rad lugal ū e-li lugal\(^{727}\) 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.\(^{728}\) 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).\(^{729}\)

Sassmannshausen (2001) likewise discussed the elē šarri and arād šarri dates, referring to the


\(^{726}\)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.”

\(^{727}\)Or e-li lugal ū a-rad lugal or e-li lugal(!?) ū a-ra-ad šar-ri.

\(^{728}\)“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).

\(^{729}\)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 (\textit{akītu}). He also suggested that the name of the winter palace in Nippur (\textit{ē našiš ša ē-gal ku-us-ši})\textsuperscript{(730)} may support the idea that the king often came to Nippur for the new year. But he added that the \textit{akītu} was not the only feast held at the end and beginning of a year in Babylonia and Assyria.\textsuperscript{(731)}

Among the MB documents published by van Soldt (2015), one (CUSAS 30 no. 53) has the phrase (\textit{a-rad} lugal\textit{e}). Its date is an intercalary Ulūlu (VI\textit{a}) of the 18\textsuperscript{th} (?) 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, \textit{akītu} celebrations connected to Marduk and the city of Babylon were being held at Nippur, and therefore contain the earliest, explicit references to the \textit{akītu} festival of Marduk from a southern Mesopotamian city that is not Babylon.”\textsuperscript{(732)} Tenney also says “The \textit{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.”\textsuperscript{(733)}

CBS 10616 (no date) is an offering list which has two major sections. Section one lists regular or ordinary disbursals. The second section records extraordinary disbursals for singular events such as offerings for temples, festivals, meals for the king, etc. In the second section, we find an entry for the \textit{akītu} festival for the temple of Marduk in the month Nisannu (I)\textsuperscript{(734)} and an entry for the temple of Marduk in the month Tašrītu (VII).\textsuperscript{(735)} It is apparent from this that the \textit{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 disbursals of rams. In obv. 1–2 a reference to the food allotment of the king for the \textit{akītu} of Babylon can be found.\textsuperscript{(736)} This document is dated to the 19\textsuperscript{th} day of Tašrītu (VII) in the 12\textsuperscript{th} year of an

\textsuperscript{(730)} Sassmannshausen 2001, 10 n. 94. BE 14 no. 124, 6–7.

\textsuperscript{(731)} Ibid., 10 n. 96.

\textsuperscript{(732)} Tenney 2016, 153.

\textsuperscript{(733)} Ibid., 155.

\textsuperscript{(734)} Obv. 12: KI.MIN (ITI.BÁRA) UD.8.KAM á-ki-tum ŃÉ.₂-AMAR.UTU.

\textsuperscript{(735)} Rev. 8: KI.MIN (ITI.DU₆) UD.8.KAM ŃÉ.-AMAR.UTU.

\textsuperscript{(736)} Obv. 1: '83 UDU.NĪTA KIN.SIG LUGAL Ńá-ki-tum ŃKÁ'.DINGIR.RA.
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/goings up and coming/goings down.\(^{738}\)

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,\(^{739}\) 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. 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-āḫḫē.\(^{740}\) 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  
Ni 7828: 1254, KuE year 1 (diri)  
Ni 2173: 1253, KuE year 2 28?-IV  

The documents in this group are dated around the new year (XI–I) except for the two cases of the “coming/goings 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 (Vla-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 (Vla: the intercalary Ulūlu) is just before Tašrītu (VII), so it seems likely that the purpose of the “coming/goings down of the king and coming/goings up of the king” was

\(^{737}\) According to Tenney 2016, 157, Nazi-Maruttaš is the most likely candidate.

\(^{738}\) 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.”

\(^{739}\) MUN 123 (Matthews no. 148: no seal reference), MUN 178, 185, 211 (Matthews no. 189: seal reference to Ninurta-nādin-āḫḫē).

\(^{740}\) But MUN 210’s seal reference is broken.
attendance at the akitu festivals held in Nisannu (I) and Tašrītu (VII). Further, Brinkman suggested the possibility of an akitu festival held in the fourth month (aššu-numum-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 akitu festivals in Nisannu (I), Du’uzu (IV), and Tašrītu (VII) at Nippur. This is possible because, as Tenney has already said, the akitu festivals are recorded as extraordinary events. It seems to still be possible that the akitu festivals held in Nisannu (I) and Tašrītu (VII) were the purpose of the king’s coming/going, and that an akitu festival in Du’uze (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-₄₃₄ ša ṃ.A₃.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 14th 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), 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

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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(741) Two akitu-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.”

(742) See Brinkman 1976a, 412 n. 58.

(743) 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 Rimûtu group of texts (with Matthews no. 148), 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 ašābu u lā ašābu
BE 14 no. 64 1294 NM year 14? (+) II days broken Ėriš-Ea (prob. brewer) beer lā ašābu
MUN 157 1292 NM year 16(+) 11?-V days 2–11? Lā-qīpu (miller) flour ašābu u lā ašābu
BE 14 no. 81 1285 NM year 23 III The son of Ţāḇ-nupāršu (prob. miller) flour Tukulī-Ekur lā ašābu

MUN 224 1284 NM year 24 XII Bā’eru (brewer) beer lā a[šābu]
MUN 202 1267 KT year 15 4(+) [MN] beer Nippur ašābu u lā ašābu

In the Ninurta-kīn-pēšu 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(+2) 30-ñana days x–30 Ninurta-zākir-šumi flour Dūr-Enlīlē [jašābu
CBS 9511 1286 NM year 22 8-X–23-IX to 8-X Ninurta-zākir-šumi flour ašābu u lā ašābu
BE 14 no. 85 1284 NM year 24 6-IX days 1–6 Tarību (miller) flour (?) ašābu
CBS 9528 1284 NM year 24 days broken, Erība-Ninurta (prob. a brewer) flour ašābu

In the Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē texts (Matthews no. 189), only the negative form is attested. 1745
CBS 7160 1257 KaE year 7 X to XII? Lī/ūsi-ana-nār-Adad (prob. miller) flour, barley lā ašābu
MUN 207 1254 KuE year 1 I Bābilāyu (prob. a brewer) beer lā ašābu
MUN 208 1254 KuE year 1? I Nāḥirānu (prob. a brewer) beer lā ašābu
MUN 268 1254 KuE year 1 V broken (?Su [1 1]) broken lā ašābu
MUN 267 1254 KuE year 1 days 1–20(+) VI Nāḥirānu (prob. brewer) beer lā ašābu
MUN 170 1254 KuE year 1 29-XII Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller) flour, barley lā ašābu
MRWH 21 1254 KuE year 1 (diri) *XIIa Amīl-Marduk (prob. a miller) flour, barley lā ašābu

(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 aklī 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]).

1744 MUN 162 and MUN 202 should be added to the group Matthews no. 148.

1745 In the aklu documents of Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē, Erība-Šamaš, mārat hīṭi and mārmārat malāḫi are often attested as recipients of the aklu expenditure with the negative form expression (lā ašābu). See the section on Ninurta-nādin-aḫḫē.
Several persons [flour, barley] lā ašābu

CBS 7262 1252 KuE year 3 IX is mentioned Several persons flour, barley lā ašābu(246)

Partly broken phrase:
MUN 206 1254 KuE year 1 I Bēlšunu (prob. a brewer) [beer] lā ašābu
MUN 173 1253 KuE year 2 16-III to 6-IV/15-III to 7-IV Several persons flour, barley [la? ašābu]
MUN 180 1252 KuE year 3 10-VII-yr 3 Lī/ūši-ana-nūr-Adad (miller[?]) flour, barley lā ašābu(246)
MUN 220 KuE xth yeardays 10–21 VI Bābilāyū (brewer[?]) beer la [ašābu(246)]

In the Matthews no. 146 texts, a case of the negative form is attested.

CBS 7380 XII lā ašābu

In the aklu documents without seal impression, a case of the negative form is attested.

N 2341 lā ašābu

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 lā ašābu

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 lā ašābu (rev. 22, 27)

(246) The phrase can be found at obv. 18.
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 ụs pag-ru ’ni-ip-pu-ri-tum ul as-ḥa-at-ma dumu.sal-īša’ imiḥu ḫašab). Here the verb asābu is used for the presence of a person. Are the expressions (asābu, lā asābu, ašābu u lā asābu) 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.\(^{\text{749}}\)

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.\(^{\text{750}}\)

The earliest attestation of the expression is MUN 162 (1296 NM, X-year 12(+), ašābu u lā asābu).\(^{\text{751}}\) The latest attestation is CUSAS 30 no. 265 (1244 ŠŠ, VII-year 2, ḫaša’ašābu). 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 asābu) is the Martuku of Das Archiv des Speichers,\(^{\text{752}}\) BE 14 no. 56 is an example of the expression (lā asābu) in Das Archiv des Speichers. But there were multiple Martukus, so this is not

\(^{\text{747}}\) Obv. 12 Ṽud-nin.urtu-mu-mu

\(^{\text{748}}\) But here it is measured by a solid capacity measure.

\(^{\text{749}}\) In CUSAS 30 no. 434 iii 13, we can find a similar phrase (en ḫaša’ašābu), but this is not an ašla document.

\(^{\text{750}}\) Probably it is noteworthy that Iqiša-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 Iqiša-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.

\(^{\text{751}}\) Or BE 14 no. 56 (1296, NM XII-year 12, lā asābu).

\(^{\text{752}}\) 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, Nippuritu, Ṛṣatu, Sugir-bunni, etc.). Then the record of the expenditure is sealed by an official (Enlil-AL-SA6, 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-Buriyāš II (i.e., 1350) to the reign of Adad-šuma-ūṣur (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 (šnin-urta-mu-mu), Ninurta-kišat-ilāni, and Nabû-[...]. Chronologically an early official is Enlil-AL-SA6 (1321–1292), who was the governor (sandabakku) of Nippur, the high priest (néšakku) of Enlil, the anointed priest (pašīsu) of Ninil, and the son of Enlil-kidinnī, governor (sandabakku) 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-SA6, 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-SA6). 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 Rûmûtû, for an aklu document of beer. The reason for this is still obscure. In Ninurta-kûn-pîšu’s aklu documents, a person named Ninurta-zâkir-šumi is mentioned in connection with the town of Dûr-Enlilû. 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-zâkir-šumi in the texts from the Rosen collection was attested as a son of a certain Enlil-kidinnû, probably the governor. Thus Ninurta-kûn-pîšu may have had a relationship with an official of Dûr-Enlilû.

Somewhat later, Ninurta-nâdin-âhê (1263–1250) and Iqiša-Ninimma (1252) worked in almost the same area. Ninurta-nâdin-âhê sealed a number of aklu documents (for beer, flour, oil, sheep) with Matthews no. 189. He was perhaps a son of Ninurta-kûn-pîšu, but his seal is different from that of Ninurta-kûn-pîšu (Matthews no. 155). In the legend of Matthews no. 189, Enlil-AL-SAû, governor, priest of Enlil, priest of Ninûlû, son of Enûlû-kidinnû is mentioned. Hence Ninurta-nâdin-âhê may have had some connection with Enûlû-AL-SAû. He received oil from an artisan and delivered it to a storehouse (bît kunukkû), and thus was probably an official. Iqiša-Ninimma was contemporary of Ninurta-nâdin-âhê and also sealed aklu documents with Matthews no. 189. He is mentioned along with Dûr-Enlilû in an aklu document. Probably both these individuals had a connection to Dûr-Enlilû because in a text from the Rosen collection (no. 198) a certain Ninurta-nâdin-âhê and an Iqiša-Ninimma are mentioned with Ninurta-kîššat-ilûnî, who was a well-known official in the texts from the Rosen collection. Ninurta-kîššat-ilûnî was known as the son of Ninurta-zâkir-šumi. Therefore, probably in the preceding generation there was a relationship between Ninurta-kûn-pîšu and Ninurta-zâkir-šumi (of Dûr-Enlilû). Then, in the next generation there was a connection between Ninurta-nâdin-âhê, Iqiša-Ninimma and Ninurta-kîššat-ilûnî (of Dûr-Enlilû).

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 Innûnu, Martûku, and Enûlû-mukûn-apû 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 arûd šarrî, eû šarrî 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 (*ipriu*) 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 (*naptau*), offerings (*kišpu, nīqu*), fodder (*kurummatu*) for animals such as horses, donkeys, and deer, and provisions (*šidiitu*). As suggested by the formulas “coming/going down of the king” (*arād šarri*) and “coming/going up of the king” (*ēlē 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 Rimûtu 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-SA6, Ninurta-zākir-šumi, Ninurta-kiššat-ilānī, 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-SaA (1321–1292), Rîmûtu (1296–1267), and Ninurta-kîn-pišu (1287–1278). As Matthews has already pointed out,(753) it is likely that Amīl-Marduk knew of these predecessors and that Matthews no. 149 is a deliberate copy of Matthews no. 148.

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.”(754) Thus a great number of the seal impressions on the Middle Babylonian documents are

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(753) Matthews 1992, 36.

(754) 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(755) | N 2872 |

(755) The document listed as CBS 7721 in Brinkman 1976a, 239 (Q.2.115.151, Kurigalzu, MUN)
**CBS 2109** (photograph: P259192.jpg)

Obv.

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[ ] x ta u₂₄-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[ ] x x x u₄₄-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[ ] x kin-sig u₂₅-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[ ] x x 4/HI TA x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0 3 2 2 šila kin-sig u₄₅-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0 3 2 2 šila kin-sig u₄₃[+]-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0 0 0 3 šila kin-sig u₄₃[+]-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0 4 1 2 šila kin-sig u₂₆-[x-kam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0 4 1 2 šila kin-sig u₄₇[4+]-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0 4 5 1 šila kin-sig u₂₅₅-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0 4 1 1 ] ūkinŠ[ sig] u₄₃[+]- rkam</td>
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Broken

Rev.

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<td>14'</td>
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<td>2'0 0 0/TAB kin-sig u₄₉[+]-kam</td>
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<td>16'</td>
<td>0 0 2 1 šila ūa-liš-pi u₄₅-kam</td>
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<td>17'</td>
<td>ša bāra-duumu im-hi-x</td>
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<tr>
<td>18'</td>
<td>5 šila ūDIŠŠ[ ] kinŠ sigŠ u₄₆₄-rkam</td>
</tr>
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<td>2 šila ūDIŠŠ duumu šiškur-ša-gim [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20'</td>
<td>0 1 1 1. kin-sig u₄₇[14+]-kam TA x[ ]</td>
</tr>
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<td>21'</td>
<td>0 1 2 3 šila ērin-hi-a ša gi[ ]-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22'</td>
<td>[ ] a-na ašarad-gašan ūlu₄₄-du-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23'</td>
<td>[ ] kin-sig ši₄₄-lil-sum-šešm[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24'</td>
<td>[ ] x AD ŠU bāra-duumu [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25'</td>
<td>[ ] x ū zi-da NA [ ]</td>
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<td>26'</td>
<td>[ ] ša x Ü</td>
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<tr>
<td>27'</td>
<td>[ ] x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u. e.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28'</td>
<td>[ ] zi-da ak-šu₄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29'</td>
<td>[ ] la-qipu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 síla báppir
4 dumu 1man-nu-ki-ding[ir]

Rev.
5 ²ab-rē³
6 u₂-26-kam
7 mu-24-kam
8 dumu 1gal-šá-dingir
9 in-sar

(aklu document?)

References: Van Soldt 1997, 103 (mār Rabâ-ša-il); CAD Š 2, 227 (šaṭaṟu).

**CBS 2129 (P259212.jpg)**

Obv.

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<th>1′</th>
<th>2′</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>1 me 1-šu</th>
<th>1 me 1-šu</th>
<th>1 IGI 1 me 40[ ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 IGI 2 en 7 me 92 ša i-ti-qu 1 I[GI] 2</td>
<td>me 48 en 42 ša i-ti-qu</td>
<td>me 41[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en 44 ši-ib-ti en 1 me 1-šu 6 ša-bit-ti</td>
<td>en 16 [š]i-ib-ti en 91 ša-bit-ti na-[gadameš ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-gada₃₄ mu-11-kam ตรว 88 kuš</td>
<td>gurus 2 me 91 a-ši'-bu' x i-na ká-dingir-r[a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-la il qa a šu lu ū</td>
<td>ū 35 kuš ma-la il qa a šu-[lu ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<th>8′</th>
<th>9′</th>
<th>10′</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 me 2</td>
<td>2 me 2</td>
<td>70 en 20 ša 1arḫuš-šú₃₄n-in urta</td>
<td>6 me 46 +77 ak lu ū zi-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 sig ul en-du x</td>
<td>70[ ]</td>
<td>ri-na šu 1ta-ri-bi dumu ⁴XXX-sum-na i-ma[f-</td>
<td>]x u₃-kam ša ²šu lu ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

261
| 11’ | a-na[u][g][u]-šu ru-ud-du-ú dub mu[me][a] i-na x |  |
| 12’ | ta 2 me 1-šu ak-lu ú zi-ga en u x | x-DU |
| 13’ | ū 40 kuš ma-la il-qa-a šu-lu-[ū] |

**Rev.**

| 14’ | ta 30 is 20 | 1 me 37 | 29 | 30 | 2 me 10[+] 56 | 1[me?] 10[+] |
| 15’ | ta 30 | 2 me 33 | 56 | 56 | 3 me[+] 4 | 12 4 2[+] |
| 16’ | ta 30 | 2 me 14 | 49 | 49 | 3 me[+] 4 | 12 4 2[+] |
| 17’ | ta 30 | 2 me 94 | 1-šu 8 | 1-šu 8 | 5[me?] 4 | 74 15 15 1[me] |
| 18’ | ta 30 | 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[+] 1[me] 6 ta 7 11 3 |
| 21’ | pap | 1 me 37 | 1[me] 2 me 1-šu 7 | 2 me 80 1 2 me 80 5 [ ] 40 2 me 50 2 57 |
| 22’ | 1 IGI 2 me 1-šu 7 | 80 | 1 | 2[me ] | |
| 23’ | [+]3 | [+]1[me] 93[+] ša i-šu-q[u] | x 1 me 37 en 1 me 6 ša i-ša-[i-qu] |
| 24’ | | x en ra 31’a-na’ x x’ |

Obv. 3’-6’ left column: 1002, including 792 which he handled. 1002, including 44 tax payments, including 166 collected/received (ones). Herdsmen, 11th 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 Tarib, 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] ū-4-15[1]-kam

Obv.

2 x mu-ut-qú-ú
3  [ta] u₄-12-kam en u₄-14-kam
4  [x s]ila é-a-\textsuperscript{nu} ki-min ki-min
5  [+] 2 sila  1\textsuperscript{su} u₄-amar-utu u₄-13-kam
6  [+] 3 sila  1\textsuperscript{sa-an} ge-e-a u₄-13-kam
7  [+] sila  ki-min u₄-15-kam
8  2 sila  1\textsuperscript{ku-du-ra-a-nu}
9  2 sila  1\textsuperscript{a-na} dingir-at-kal
10  0,0.1.\textsuperscript{?} šuk ėrin-ḫi-a\textsuperscript{meš}
11  0,0.1.\textsuperscript{?} dumu-munus 1\textsuperscript{dan} u₄-\textsuperscript{bu-ša}
12  0,0.1.\textsuperscript{?} mu-ut-qú-ú u₄-\textsuperscript{[+]3-k[a]m}
13  [\textsuperscript{1} sila]  1\textsuperscript{sa-ar-\underline{[ ]}}

\textbf{Lo. E.}

\textbf{CBS 3000 (P259373.jpg)}

\textbf{Obv.}

1  20  kaš sag
2  1 me 10  kaš UŠ
3  10  dug gal 1\textsuperscript{MAŠ-ḪA}\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{d-sukkal}
4  1\textsuperscript{?}  dug tur x
5  0,0.1.\textsuperscript{?}  bápp\textsuperscript{[i]r\textsuperscript{?}}

\textbf{Lo. E.}

6  1\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{r}zálag}\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{d-kù-bi}
7  ëd\textsuperscript{[u₆-k]ù}

\textbf{Rev.}

8  [t]a u₄-12\textsuperscript{3} ka[m]
9  \textsuperscript{ra-di} u₄-15-kam
10 mu-10-kam
11 ᶜagaʰ₃ ku-ri-gal-zu
   u. e.
12 ú-pi-i ᶜluʰ₃(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 bāppir
Lo. E.
4 1 sila ˢʰi-BIR/KAM-tu₄
Rev.
5 ta u₄-20-kam ša ñiz-A-AN
6 a-di u₄-9-kam ša ñše-KIN
7 ᵍšu-ub-bu(⁷⁵⁷)

References: Brinkman 1976a, 401 n. 15: ITI.ŠE.DIRI.

**CBS 3081 (P259454.jpg)**
Obv.
1 š[e-mu]ʃs₄ eḫbán 5 sila ib-tag/k₄
   ŠE-NUMUN x x
2 š[a] rī-na₁ kar-adab₄ ki-mu še-mušš ša
dumu šeḫuš-šu₄-₄maš
3 [i]l-gú-₃ in-na-an-nu šu ra-ma-ni-šu
   ú-te-ru
4 ᶜT₁₁.0.0. šuk gu₄ ldè-a-šē-mi

(⁷⁵⁶) Note by W. H. van Soldt: end -šu? (pa’ašu?). Or -du? (pādu?).
(⁷⁵⁷) Cf. BE 14 no. 66, obv. 4 (brewer).
5 2,2.3. šu ʰa-qi-ši ₄ur-₄at
6 0,2.1. ak-₄u₂ šu ʰi-ši-ni-ti ₄ur-₄at
7 0,2.3. še-ba ʰižÅ-AN dumu ʰbe-li-ba-ša
   Lo. E.
8 0,2.3. ni-ki-is [g]ur₇
   Rev.
9  pap 6,0.0. ʰižÅ-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 ʰen-lil-di-ku₅
4 ʰiṣig₄-a
5  u₄-16-kam
   Lo. E.
6   mu-18-kam
   Rev.
Not inscribed

References: Brinkman 1976a, 399 (ʰiṣig₄-a)

**CBS 3091** *(P259464.jpg)*

Obv.
1 0,0.1.  zi-da
2 0,0.2.  ŞE-MAÅ/BAR
3 ʰiṭbān 5 sila
   Lo. E.
4 ʰin-na-na-a
5 ʰdumu ʰiXXX-sum-mu
   Rev.
6. [dumu š]p-ri ša 1dingir-šū-ibila-sum
7. šu dumu 1dūg-ab-a-šab-šū
8. äiškin-dinnin
u. e.
9. u₄-11-kam
10. mu-22-kam

References: Matthews 1992, 108 (no. 142)

**CBS 3099 (P259472.jpg)**

Obv.

1. 31 kaš sag
2. 1-šu 2 kaš UŠ
3. 15 dug
4. 0,0.1. dida
5. 0,0.1.3 sila bāppir agarin₃

Lo. E.

6. ak-lu₄

Rev.

7. iš-tu u₄-26-kam äzi₅z
8. a-di u₄-17-kam ša äšše
9. 1in-na-an-nu
10. äšše-KIN-kus₅
11. mu-23-kam

References: Brinkman 1976a, 406 n. 38 (date)

**CBS 3103 (P259476.jpg)**

Obv.

1. 1,2.3. ŠE-MAŠ/BAR äk-ban še-ba
2. 0,3.1.5 sila zi-da
3. 1 kaš sag
4. 3 kaš UŠ

Lo. E.
I 1 \textit{mar-tu-ku}
2 \text{\textasciitilde}apin-dus-a

Rev.
7 u₂-26-kam
8 â\text{\textasciitilde}ka₅-a\text{\textasciitilde}
9 mu-4-kam

References: Brinkman 1976a, 406 n. 43 (date).

\textbf{CBS 3105 (P259478.jpg)}

Obv.
1 13,3.2. zi-da
2 g\text{\textasciitilde}bán še-ba
3 ta u₄-20-kam
4 ša \text{\textasciitilde}žiz-A-AN

Lo. E.
5 en u₄-9-kam
6 ša \text{\textasciitilde}še-KIN-ku₅

Rev.
7 \textit{ak-lu₄}
8 dumu \text{\textasciitilde}dūg-ab-a-šab-šú
9 \text{\textasciitilde}še-KIN-ku₅
10 u₄-9-kam

U. E.
11 mu-22-kam

\textbf{CBS 3128 (P259501.jpg)}

Obv.
1 10 gur še ēš-gâr g\text{\textasciitilde}bán gal
2 i-na kan-du-re-ê\text{\textasciitilde}
3 i-na šu \text{\textasciitilde}in-na-an-ni
4 \text{\textasciitilde}ulu-maš-bi-tu₄

Lo. E.
5 ĥâlunga
6 ma-ḫi-ir
Rev.
7 ëNE-NE-gar
8 u₄-16-kam
9 mu-21-kam
10 [n⁴šišib 1ul-maš-bi-tu₄

CBS 3131 (P259504.jpg)
Obv.
1 [x gur še шибка găr
2 [5⁸bân] gal
3 i-na² z[a-r]at [b]âd-gu-lâki
4 i-na šu 1in-na-an-ni
5 šeš-du-tu₄(758)/šeš-du-kam lunga
Lo. E.
6 ma-ḫi-ir
7 ëše-KIN-ku₅
Rev.
8 u₄-26-kam
9 mu-21-kam
10 [n⁴šišib 1šeš-du-tu₄/šeš-du-kam

CBS 3136 (P259509.jpg)
Obv.
1 še шибка bân gal ak-lu₄
2 0,2,3,5 siša u₄-12-kam
3 0,2,2,5 siša u₄-13-kam
4 0,0,2. u₄-13-kam
5 pap 1,0,1. ak-lu₄ 1den-lil-AL-SA₆
Lo. E.
6 maḥ-ru
7 [n⁴šišib⁵⁷ > 1dXXX-šeš-sum-na

(⁷⁸) About the reading, šeš-du-tu₄: Aḫḫēdūtu, see W. H. van Soldt 1994, 76 no. 87.

268
Rev.
8 <<u>> u₄-23-kam
9 äkin₄-ìninnin

References: Brinkman 1976a, 402 n. 20 (date); Matthews 1992, 76 no. 26

**CBS 3275 (P259649.jpg)**

Obv.
1 26,3.0. še ë̄bán še-ba
2 0,0.2. zà-ḥi-li₄ar
3 0,0.1. gù-tur
4 0,0.1.2 sila i-giš
5 2 udu
Lo. E.
6 2 máš
7 1 sila₄

Rev.
8 ak-lu
9 ta u₄-25-kam ša īNE-gar
10 en u₄-13-kam ša īkin
11 īmar-tu-ku
12 īkin₄-ìninnin
13 mu-4-kam

References: Matthews 1992, 122 (no. 162)

**CBS 3296 (P259670.jpg)**

Obv.
1 [ ë̄bán g]al ša ta īapin ša mu-17-kam
2 [en/a-di īa]pin₄-dus₄-a ša mu-19-kam sum-nu

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**CBS 3319 (P259693.jpg)**

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**CBS 3529 (P259904.jpg)**

U. E.

1 $i₅$ziz-A-AN u₄-14-kam

Obv.

| 2   | [z]$|$-da maḥ  | ak$'$-rù  | re-ğu | mu-bi-im   |
|-----|--------------|----------|-------|------------|
| 3   | [z]          | ak$'$-lù₄| re-ğu | mu-bi-im   |
| 4   | 0,0.1.4 sila | $¹$ha-an-nu-ú |       |            |
| 5   | 0,0.1.3.     | $¹$gi₃-amar-utu-.lu-[mu]r |       |            |
| 6   | 0,0.1 1/2 sila | pa-ḫi-du | $⁶$gi₃-nu-šul |       |            |
| 7   | 0,0.1. ša     | ŠE-MAŠ/BAR | 1 sila | $³$ki-min  |
| 8   | 0,0.1.1 sila  | dumu-munus $¹$zadim |       |            |
| 9   | 0,0.1.1 sila  | ša u₄-13-kam | ki-min |            |
| 10  | 1 sila        | $¹$šAG-di-kus$³$ |       |            |
| 11  | 1 sila        | dumu $¹$dug-ab-nu-[p]a-$r$-$šù$ |       |            |

Lo. E.

12 0,0.1. ša ar-sa-a-ni dumu-munus $¹$dub-sar

Rev.

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References: Clay 1912b, 115 (Paḫallānu)

**CBS 3713 (P260085.jpg)**

Obv.
1 26 udu-nīta
2 15 sīla₄
3 ak-lu
4 a-rad lugal

Rev.
5 āmu ¹šal-li-lu-mur
6 ābār-zag-gar
7 mu-6-kam

References: Brinkman 1976a, 413 (arād šarrī)

**CBS 3738 (P260110.jpg)**

Obv.
1 [_________ mu-bi]-im [_________]
2 [x,x.+]1.4. x [ ] x ū₄-14-kam
3 [_________] ū₄-21-kam ša ⁴ṭizin³
4 0,0.5.5. x-ab-ti ki-min
5 0,1.2. ûmu-ši-i ki-min
6 0,0.5.1 sīla lānamēs ki-min
7 0,0.2. 2 lānamēs ki-min
8 0,0.3.3 sīla ki-min [___] IG ki-min
9 0,0.1.5 sīla ¹haš-ša-mi ki-min

272
References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)

CBS 4903 (P261099.jpg)

Obv.
1 0,2.3. ₁ia-a-ú
2 0,2.3. ₁su₃-šiṣkur dumu ₁en-ši
3 0,2.3. ₁su₃-šiṣkur dumu ₁hi-li-ia
4 0,2.3. ₁zalag₄-dil-bat ṛdumu
     ₁ip-ha-bu
5 0,2.3. ₁ta-ri-bu x x
6 0,2.1. ₁ara₄-din-ṣar
7 0,2.0. ₁su₃-damu ṛtumu
8 0,2.3. ₁a-ba-ul-i-de
9 0,2.0. ₁ta-ri-bu
10 0,2.0. ₁d₅-tumu-re-ú-a
11 0,2.0. ₁diṣkur-ub-la
12 0,2.1. ₁nap-ši-ru
Lo. e.
13 0,2.0. ₁ša-ab-ru
14 0,2.0. ₁a-ta-na-ah₄-tumu
Rev.
15 0,2.0. 1i-hu-uh²-lu₄
16 0,2.0. dumu 1a-ga-mu-za
17 0,2.0. dumu 1hi-il-di-ia
18 0,2.0. dumu 1ka-bit-[ti]m⁷
19 eras.
20 0,2.0. dumu 1ak-ba-ri

21 I gur 1še-en-da-da
u. e.
22 1še u₄-3-kam
23 mu-1-kam

References: Matthews 1992, 123 (no. 164)

CBS 7160 (P262194.jpg)

Obv.

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Rev.
17 [x,x,x.]5. 6, ak-lu₄ la a-ša-bu
18 [ ] 1.5.3. šu 1š-an-zálag-éškur  
19 ta inab en išše?  
20 mu-7-kam 9ka-dáš-man-é-en-lil

21  našt.<kišib>  <l>šin-urta-sum-ab-hê

References:  Matthews 1992, 130 (seal of Enlil-AL-SAš, used by Ninurta-nadin-alḫē); Brinkman 2004, 297 (Kadašman-Enlil II, year 7)

CBS 7233 (P262263.jpg)  
Obv.  
1’  x x x ____________________________  
2’  4 PI  ši/di-na-x x x  
3’  0,0.1. ši x x KIR? DA?  
4’  0,0.3. 5 x x MU  
5’  0,0.2. 8 x x x  
6’  r0,1.0.7 x x x ša? x  
7’  x x x NI RU  
8’  r0,1.x,7 x x x  
9’  pap [x,]4.5.1 sila  ak-luš  
10’  3? 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 inapin x  
15’  0,1.3.4. x x x x x  
16’  še? x ta uš-5-kam x  
17’  1 PI  ši x NU ki-min  
18’  0,0.5.3. x x x uš-9-kam  
19’  pap šu 1šu-šnur-ri?  
20’  x x-kam uš-21-kam  
21’  x-kam uš-21-kam  
22’  x uš-r10?i-kam
References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)

**CBS 7262 (P262291.jpg)**

**Obv.**

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**Rev.**

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References: Matthews 1992, 131 (no. 189); Brinkman 2004, 297 (Kud[ur-Enlil], year 3)

**CBS 7380 (P262382.jpg)**
Rev. ?

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References: Matthews 1992, 110 (no. 146)

**CBS 7694 (P262697.jpg)**
Obv.
1 19 1/2 x kaš sag

277
2 1-šu 4 kaš UŠ
3 3 1/2 dug gal
4 0,0.2. báppir
5 𒄨-𒄠-𒈌-𒈣-[he] /šu 𒂊-šu-[mu]
6 ta u₄-𒄬-𒈣[+kam]

Lo. E.
8 ša x [ ]

Rev.
9 en u₄-6-kam ša x [ ]
10 mu-4-kam 𒄦-𒌋-𒈣[en-lil]
11 𒈣 kišib 𒄨-maš-sum-𒄠-[he]

References: Matthews 1992, 131 (no. 189); Brinkman 2004, 297 (Kudur-[Enlil], year 4)

**CBS 7698 (P262705.jpg)**

Obv.

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<td>]-šam-mu-ลาดuru</td>
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**Rev.**

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<td>(\text{hi} \mu \text{ušen-dû} )</td>
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**u. e.**

| 40′ | 0,0,1. | dumu \(\text{ú} \times \text{en} \times \text{rülî} \times \text{TAR Ša} \times\) |
| 41′ | 0,0,4. | \(\text{ú} \times \text{amar-utu-mu-tuk} \times \text{š}[i]\) |

**Left edge**

| 42′ | LA\(^7\) 6,1.x. \(\text{r}a\text{k-}lu\text{a} \times \text{a} \text{ab-}ba \times \text{a} \times \) |
| 43′ | 5,1,1. BU 8 \(\text{r}gur \times \times 3,4,4 \times \text{sila z} \text{í-da} \) |
| 44′ | 21,0,5. \(\text{še} \text{mu} \text{kišib} \times \text{ú} \text{ni-nu} \text{rta} \times \text{sum} \times \text{x}\) |

**References:** Matthews 1992, 131 (no. 189)

\(^{(759)}\) Cf. MUN 213 obv. 8 (\(\text{é-gu-la-rûrû} \)).
### CBS 7713 (P262724.jpg)

**Obv.**

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280
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.

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Rev.

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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.

<p>| 1 | zi-da | še | mu-bi-₃im³ |
| 2 | 0,0.1. | ₀,₂₇.₀. | ki-is-pu u₄-25[+]-kam |
| 3 | 0,2.0. | ki-min gi-nu-₄u |
| 4 | 1,0.0. | ₁su₄-₃u₄tu |
| 5 | 0,2.3.3. | ₇,₀.₀. | dumu-manus è-ti |
| 6 | 0,2.0. | ₀,₃.₀. | ⁴ib-nu-tu |
| 7 | 0,2.0. | ₀,₃.₀. | ⁴UD-š₃u₂-z₃alag₄-₃r |
| 8 | ₀,₂.₀. | šuk a-a-li |
| 9 | x x x | ⁵en-lil-x x ad-KID |
| 10 | 2,₂.₆. | [³]x-sum₄-d₃-₃a |
| 11 | 0,3.₃.₃. | ₁PI | x x |
| 12 | ₁PI | lú x x x x x |
| 13 | ₀,₁.₂. | x x A x x |
| 14 | ₀,₂.₀. | lú IR-š₃a-x x |</p>
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<th>2.1.1.</th>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.4.0.</td>
<td>(\text{ṭa-imá-lahš}^{(760)})</td>
<td></td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>0.2.0.</td>
<td>(\text{ṭ gal-dingir-èr-ra}^{(761)})</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1 PI</td>
<td>0.2.0.</td>
<td>(\text{ṭ u-bar-rù})</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.1.2.</td>
<td>(\text{ṭ iz-kùr-òškur})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.1.2.</td>
<td>(\text{ṭ iz-kùr-òx}^{[ ]})</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.1.2.</td>
<td>(\text{ṭ mu-lib-òš[i]}^{[ ]})</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>0.1.2.</td>
<td>(\text{ṭ bu-na-nu})</td>
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**Rev.**

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.1.2.</td>
<td>(\text{ṭ id#amar-utu}^{3}-x \times)</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>0.1.0.</td>
<td>(\text{šu è i#a-tu-ù})</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.0.4.</td>
<td>(\text{x ZA-AB-Ü 3 UM}^{7})</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>0.0.2.</td>
<td>(\text{x x ITI}^{7} \times \times)</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>0.1.2.</td>
<td>(\text{x x x NU})</td>
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<td>1 PI</td>
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<td>(\text{du mu #i#utu-x x x})</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
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<td>(\text{ši-ù-x})</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>0.1.2.</td>
<td>(\text{šKID}^{7}-x x)</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>(\text{du mu #i#m-tu-ù-a})</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>0.1.2.</td>
<td>(\text{ši#ri-mu-tu})</td>
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<td>(\text{šAB-RI-òš/N#IG})</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>0.2.3.2.</td>
<td>(\text{šKi#din-òšòbasò ta u#1-kam})</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(\text{en u#2[+]-kam})</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>0.0.4.</td>
<td>(\text{x Šuk [ ]x an#še-kur-ra})</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{id#XXX-mu#š-te-òšir})</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{ta u#7-kam en u#16-kam})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.2[.x.]</td>
<td>(\text{id#mar-utu-numun-òšub-òšî}^{(762)})</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
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<td>0.0.2.</td>
<td>(\text{Šuk 1 an#še #sa kaskal ki-min})</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>(\text{šuk an#še-kur-ra#meî})</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>0.2.0.6.</td>
<td>(\text{x x x})</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>4,</td>
<td>8.0.0.</td>
<td>(\text{x x}^{(763)})</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>2?1.1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{(760)}\) The reading \(\text{ṭa-imá-lahš}\) is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

\(^{(761)}\) The reading \(\text{-èr-ra}\) is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

\(^{(762)}\) The reading \(\text{-numun-òšub-òšî}\) is courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.

\(^{(763)}\) Possibly\(\text{ṭòk-ùa}\).
References: Matthews 1992, 131 (no. 189); Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (aklu); Brinkman 2004, 302 n. 78 (CBS 7721).

**CBS 7788 (P262800.jpg)**

**Obv.**

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<td>1,4^i1.3 1/2    ki-min u₄-18-kam</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>1,4.1.3 1/2    ki-min u₄-19-kam</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>1,4.1.3 1/2    ki-min u₄-20-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>1,4.2. [ ]  ki-m[i]n 3 u₄-mi</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>0,1.2. 0,1.x[ ] NI dumu 1̇arad-dē-a 2 u₄-mi</td>
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<td>[ ]</td>
<td>0,1.2. x MI DIŠ TA UD^7 EN^7 x</td>
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<td>x[ ]-SA₅ DIŠ MEŠ</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>x x LÜ^?</td>
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<td>○ x PI</td>
<td>ninda-kaskal aḫ-la-mi-i ša lugal [ ]x-ū</td>
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**Rev.**

| 16 | 4,1.2. x | x x EN 8 |
| 17 | [ ] | ḤI GUR/SI ŠA DIŠ BA/MA TI |
| 18 |       | GIŠ x GŰ lu-ū NI GA 5 x |
| 19 | 1,3.0. | li₄ 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 TI u₄-eras.-21-ka[m] |
| 22 | 0,0.4. | i₄ x x-gašan kaskal |
| 23 | [šu-n]jīgn r₄,2,1.4. še [gi]š bán 5 sila šuk anše-kur-ra' |
| 24 | [ ] | rᵣᵣ z[i]-ga li₄-en-lil-AL₃-SA₅ |
| 25 | [ ] | ²i₄ sig₄ [ ] x x |
| 26 | [ ] | ta] u₄-18<šuk> |

**CBS 7868 (P262848.jpg)**

**Obv.**

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<td>x x x UD-A-tu₄ x</td>
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<td>dumu-munus ē</td>
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<td>lú x ša x x x</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>¹ib-nu-ú-tu₄</td>
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<td>ša₁₁ sag³ ša ¹nim-gi-ra₄-amar-utu</td>
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<td>x x ša uru⁷ MA/BA r₃uru³-iš⁵</td>
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<td>šuk⁵ a-a-li</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>šuk⁵ bi-énsi</td>
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<td>³du₄-amar-utu-x-MA/BA ta u₄-26 en u₄-30</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>¹x-SI-BI x ḫ₁ x</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>ki-min x x x</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>¹iz-kur-d₄iškur¹bₓ x</td>
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<td>¹i-ri-ba-[   ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
26 | ] | 1ši-is-[ ]

broken

Rev.

| 27' | [ ] | ] MA [ ] |
| 28' | [ ] | ] ša x [ ] |
| 29' | [ ] | ] lugal' ta u₄⁻¹-kam |
| 30' | [ ] | ] x-bu |
| 31' | [ ] | |
| 32' | [ ] | x x x MA/BA |
| 33' | [ ] | x x x x x x |
| 34' | [ ] | šuk x-ḫi-a ša kaskal x |
| 35' | [ ] | šuk a-a-li |
| 36' | [ ] | išen-lil-x x x uru₂⁻¹-iš² |
| 37' | [ ] | išib-nu-ú-tu₄ |
| 38' | [ ] | x x x AN |
| 39' | [ ] | išTA-KAM-x |
| 40' | [ ] | x x x |
| 41' | [ ] | x x |
| 42' | [ ] | iš x x TU x |
| 43' | [ ] | ]0,1.2. išiz-kur-iškur |
| 44' | [ ] | ]0,1.2. iše-ri-šu |
| 45' | [ ] | ]0,1.2. išiz-kur-šU-GUR |
| 46' | [ ] | ]0,1.2. šaU-GUR-sag |
| 47' | [ ] | ]0,1.2. išbu-na-nu |
| 48' | [ ] | x-tu₄ |
| 49' | [ ] | iš |
| 50' | [ ] | x x x x x |
| 51' | [ ] | išza-qú-ú-a |
| 52' | [ ] | išmu-lib-ši |
| 53' | [ ] | ]¹re³-man-ni išim-tu-ú- ra² |
| 54' | [ ] | x x x x x |

u. e.

| 55' | [ ] | x x |
| 56' | [ ] | x išu-bár-zag² [] |
| 57' | [ ] | išmu-₁-kam di ši'du₄-[dur₄ša]-en-lil |
References: Matthew 1992, 131 (no. 189)

CBS 8573 (P263372.jpg)

Obv.
1 8,1.0. zi-da sib-bán 5 sila
2 16,1.4. še sib-bán 5 sila
3 ṛakī-ša šu ṭa-ṭrī-[b]u
4 ii-gu4 ta u4-12-kam
5 en u4-26[+ka]m
6 mu-7-kam x[
Revs.
7 na-kišib ɪd-nin-[urta-nādin-ahhe]

References: Matthew 1992, 132 (no. 189)

CBS 8737 (P263562.jpg)

Obv.

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<th>LÁL-DÜ</th>
<th>ša x []</th>
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<tr>
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<td>[1]-šu 3,0.0.3 sila</td>
<td>1 me 43,1.2.3 sila</td>
<td>dumu ḫ4KA-D[I-līssu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[9]-4.0.</td>
<td>1-šu 4,1.1.</td>
<td>dumu ḫ4zālag-[kū-b[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[7]-1,3.0.</td>
<td>1-šu</td>
<td>dumu ḫ4eri-ḫa-[U-G[UR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[48,0.1]</td>
<td>1 me 24,0.4.</td>
<td>dumu ḫ4sukkal-tam-lak-dingir[meš]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>[ ] x 3 me 92,3.5</td>
<td>3 sila</td>
<td>ša lūlunga[meš]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>x x x x x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lo. e.

| 10 | [] 2 sila | šuk máš-hi-a |

Revs.

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  | [zi-da] | še-um | mu-b[i-im ] |
| 2  | u₄-20[ |        |            |
| 3  | siskur u₄-20-kam |
| 4  | 0,4.0. | dumu-munus arad⁷₄[,]d'amar-utuⁿ |
| 5  | ta u₄-20-kam en u₄-30-[kam] |
| 6  | 0,0.0.5 sila | KAL₇>TUR₇ ta ṭki-minᵀ en 30[ ] |
| 7  | 0,0.2.1 sila | ki-min ḫXXX-šeⁿ-en₇ PI [ ] |
| 8  | ḫkù-dim | ḫen-[r₇l₇]-i₇a |
| 9  | ta u₄-20-kam en u₄-30-[kam] |
| 10 | 0,1.5.1. | ḫa-a-riṭ ta ki-min en u₄-[x-kam] |
| 11 | 0,0.4. | broken |

Rev.

| 12' | 0,0.2. | GIŠ⁷>Hṛ⁷-A |
| 13' | [x,x.x.]1. | 0,0.2. | ki-min |
| 14' | 0,0.4. | ḫba-ša-ᵳⁿ[ ] |
| 15' | 1 PI | 0,1.4. | ḫšeš-sum-na⁻₄-amar-utu |
| 16' | 1 sila | ḫša-šil-lu-šá |
| 17' | 1 sila | ḫškur-gi-na-[u]ru |
| 18' | 0,0.1. | 0,2.4. | edin⁷ u₄-24-[k]am |
| 19' | 1 PI | 0,1.4. | dumu ṭarad⁻₄-ē-a |
| 20' | [x,x.]2. | 3,2.1. | ṭak⁻₄-lu₄ ta u₄-20⁻₄-kamⁿ en u₄-30-[kam] |
| 21' | [ ] | 5 sila | ṭiz-A-AN |
| 22' | mu-1-kam-diri ḫku⁻₄-dur⁻₄-en-lil |
| 23' | ṭashkib ḫnin-urta-su[m-alḥē] |

References: Brinkman 1976a, 193 (XI-30-year 1; days 20–30), 401 n. 17 (Ḫiz-A-AN mu-1-kam-diri); Matthews 1992, 132 (no. 189); Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text), 318 (MUN 156: ʾaklu)
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.

(764) This -na- is not necessary.
CBS 9511 = Ni 1508 (P264877.jpg)
Obv.
1  x x x x x x rzi²-da³ giš³-bän³ 6³ [sila]
2  18 x x GIŠ x x SÍLA
3  rak³-lua ta u₄-23-kam
4  ša₂i-gan-gan-è
5  en u₄-8-kam ša iiab-è
Lo. E.
6  Idnin-urta-mu-mu
Rev.
7  a-ša-bu ù la a-[ša-b]u
8  mu-22-kam
9  na-zí-ma-ru-ut-ta-š
10  lugal-e
11  naškišib Idnin-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 ³⁰bän 5 sila
2  ak-lua IdXXX-mu-bal-liṭ
3  un=x-x-x
4  ìsig₄ ta u₄-1¹-kam
5  en u₄-14-kam
Lo. E.
6  mu-16-kam
7  na-zí-ma²-ru¹-taš’
Rev.
8  lugal-e
9  [大家一起 ri-mu-tu₄]

290
CBS 9517 = Ni 844 (P264883.jpg)

Obv. ?
1 6,2.5.1 sila zi-da sgiving 6 sila
2 ṭak-luḫ x x
3 ḫen-il-lAL-ŠAš GÚ?
4 ʾa₂zī₂Α-ΑN₂ ta u₄-25-kam
5 en u₄-30-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? kaš sag
2 31 1/2 kaš UŠ
3 1/2 dug gal
4 1 1/2 x x x
5 3? bāppir
6 ṭak-luḫ辗er-ba₂-šin₂₃-ma₂
7 a-ša-bu

Rev.
8 x x x
9 ṭa₂ u₄-x-kam?
10 ṭe₂ u₄-x-kam?
11 mu-ᵣ₂₄₃-kam
12  
\( na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš \)
13  
lugal-e
14  
\( na\text{ê}kišib \text{id}nin-urta-\text{rGI}[-\text{ka-šu}] \)

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  \( ak-lu_{4}\) \text{\textdagger}ri-mu-tu_{4} 
6  \( hi\text{l}unga tukul-ti-\text{ê}-kur\^{765} \)

Rev.

7  ta \( u_{4}\)-13-kam \( ša \text{id}sig_{4}-A\text{-AN} 
8  en \( u_{4}\)-2-kam \( ša \text{id}šu\text{-numun-na} 
9  mu-22-kam \( na\text{-zi-ma-ru-ut-taš} 
10  lugal-e 
11  \( na\text{ê}kišib \text{id}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 (\( \text{id}sig_{4}-A\text{-AN} \), 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  nig-ār-ra
5  \( ak-lu_{4}\) \text{\textdagger}su-\text{\textdagger}nin-urta 
6  ta \( u_{4}\)-19-kam \( ša \text{id}bár-zag-gar 
7  en \( u_{4}\)-6-kam

\(^{765}\) About the reading tukul-ti-ê-kur, courtesy of W. H. van Soldt.
Rev.
8 \( \tau \sigma \bar{\gamma} \text{gi}u_{4}-\text{si-sá} \)
9 mu-22-kam
10 \( \text{na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš lugal-e} \)
11 \( \text{našišib} \ l\text{n-urta-ki-pi-šu} \)

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 zi-da \( \bar{\gamma} \)bán 5 sila
2 \( \text{ak-}lu_{4} \)
3 ta \( u_{4}-\text{8-kam} \)
4 en \( u_{4}-\text{25-kam} \)
5 \( [\$]u^{3} \text{en-lil-DA-K[A]} \)
Rev.
6 [ ]-NA
7 mu-6[+]-kam
8 \( \text{našišib} \ l\text{n-en-lil-AL-SA}_{6} \)
9 \( \text{ak}^{2}-\text{lu}_{4} \ l\text{n-en-lil-DA-[KA]} \)

References:  Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148)

CBS 10564 (P265767.jpg)
A
1’ [ ] x RI
2’ [ ]x ša \( \text{ak-}lu_{4} \)

References:  Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: \( \text{aklu} \))

CBS 10981 (P266173.jpg)
Obv.
1 [ \( \bar{\gamma} \)bán 5 sila mu-bi-im

293
References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148)

CBS 11534 (P266676.jpg)

Obv.
1 30',3.5. zi-da
2 ak-lu₄
3 A-KI-ŠA x
4 dumu₁XXX-na-din-ibila
Lo. e.
5 aše-KIN-[kus]
6 u₄-29-kam
Rev.
7 mu-17-kam
8 e-le lugal

References: Brinkman 1976a, 413 (elē šarrī)
CBS 13339 (P268418.jpg)
Obv.
1′ [ ] x
2′ [ -š]in-imma
3′ [ ] [re-š]-UD-ši
4′ [ ] [r]maš-mu-mu
5′ [ ] [r]ri-mu-tu₄
6′ [ ] a-na MAŠ/BAR-AŠ-RI-KI
7′ [x,x.]4. ša ra-ka-x
Rev.
8′ [+2,3,0. še ūbān 5 šīlā
9′ [ak]-lu₄ 4iz-kūr-ša-na
10′ [iiš]-KIN-ku₅
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’
2 2 1/2 kaš UŠ
3 [] 1/2 dug
4 2 šīlā báppir
5 ak-lu₄ šu 4ba-li-li-i
6 ta’ u₄-12-kam en [u₄-x-ka]m
Lo. E.
7 MU [ ]
Rev.

References: Matthews 1992, 133 (no. 189)
**CBS 13370 (P268449.jpg)**

**Obv.**

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**Rev.**

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**Rev.**

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References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148, seal of Rīmūtu)

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**CBS 13375 (P268454.jpg)**

**Obv.**

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**Rev.**

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296
| 8 | 3 | x x x x x ta u₄-29-kam en u₄-2-kam x x IM² |
| 9 | | |
| 10 | 1 | $l^1na-ah-zir^4$amar-utu |
| 11 | | $l^1u-zib^3$inar |
| 12 | 1 | é ša kaskal ta u₄-29-kam |
| 13 | 1 | $ld$amar-utu-MU-x |
| 14 | pap 2 r91 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 sila  bāppir
4  $rk^3$-[lu₄/lu]  ršu $lna-hi-ra-nu$
5  ršu$^3$ ta u₄-7-kam en u₄-20-kam
6  rmu$^7$-2-kam $^6ku-du₄-ren-lil$

Rev.
7  na$^4$kišib $ld$nin-urta-sum-ah-$he$

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$^3$kaskal ša 10 é-kur x x
3’  [ ] ša nibr$u^3$ki
4’  [ ] uru$^4$arad-gašan

Lo. e.
5’  [ ] uru ša 10 é-kur

Rev.
6’  [ ] uru-$ir-re-e$

7’  [ ] sag níg-ga $l^1ha-ni-bu$

297
8' [ ] 5,2.2.3 sila ak-\textit{lu₄}
9' [ ] 0,2.4. re-\textit{hu}
10' [ ] x x-\textit{r}kamṭ

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: ak\textit{lu})

\textbf{N 1981} (P277092.jpg)

U. E.

1 še ak-\textit{lu₄} ta \textit{še} [\textit{še}]

Obv.

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
2 & \textit{še} & gig & ÁŠ-AN-NA & x[x]  \\
\hline
3 & \textit{še} & [+]5,2.3. & [ ] &  \\
\hline
4 & [+]4,0.0. & [ ] & [ ] &  \\
\hline
5 & [ ] & 4,0.0. & [ ] & [ ]  \\
\hline
6 & [+]1,0.0. & [ ] & [ ] &  \\
\hline
7 & [+]1,0.0. & [ ] & [ ] &  \\
\hline
8 & [ ] & [ ] & [ ] &  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

broken

Rev.

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
9' & [x] & 8. & 1 me 1+x, & [ ]  \\
10' & [x] & x.5. & 2.4[+] & [ ]  \\
11' & [ ] & ta 0,1.1. & ta 20[,x.x.] & [ ]  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: ak\textit{lu})

\textbf{N 2023} (P277134.jpg)

Obv.

1' [ ] ki-min
2' [ ] KI-PA \textit{ta-bar-rù}
3' [\textit{x}] MAN/20 ki-min
4' x [ ] \textit{ši-pu}
5' [\textit{x}] KA DU₆ \textit{ši-pu en l kaskal}
6' [\textit{x}] KA DU₆ nu \textit{ši-pu}
7' [ ] KA DU₆
8'. [ en 1 ša kaskal

    ta-bar-ru

9'. [ ] en 1 ša kaskal

10'. [ ] siskur

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 x TI-RI-GI x[ ]

20'. [x-tuš] KI x ta-bar-ru

21'. [ ] KA DU₅ e[n]

22'. [ ] siskur en[ ]

23'. [x] siskur

24'. [KI] KA DU₅ en 1 kaskal

25'. [KI] siskur en 1 kaskal

26'. [ -tuš] KA DU₅ en 1 kaskal

27'. [ ] KA DU₅ en 4

28'. [ ] siskur

29'. [ -tuš]

References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. 189)

N 2036 (P277147.jpg)

Obv.

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\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
5 & 0,0.1.3. & 0,0.2. & šuk [ ] \\
6 & 0,0.1.3. & 0,0.2. & šuk [ ] \\
7 & & 0,0.4. & š[uk ] \\
8 & \text{l}6\text{l} & \text{r}3\text{l} & x \ [ ] \\
9 & 0,0.2.1. & 0,0.1[+] & [ ] \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

Broken
Rev.
\[\begin{array}{c}
10' \ \text{ma}^4\text{kišib} \\
\text{id}^4\text{nin-urta-[nādin-ahē]} \\
\end{array}\]

References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. 189)

**N 2266 (P277366.jpg)**

Obv.
1 3 me 1-šu 6 bāppir qal-qal-lu₄ QU-x
2 ša 0,0.3.3 1/2 sīla x i-na ú-ri x x x
3 en 5 qal-qal-lu₄ LĀ
4 2 me 12 bāppir ki-min ša 0,0.2. bāppir
5 i-na qa-bi \text{id}^4\text{nin-sar-be-li-ú-sur}

Rev.
6 šu-nīgin 5 me 78 bāppir qā-al-qal-lu₄ ša \text{gi}^6\text{ba-an 7 sīla ša ěš-rēgār} ak-lu₄ zi-ga ū x x

U. E.
7 [ ] ru-ud-du-ū

Left edge
8 [ ] x x x x mu-10-kam x x
9 [Burna-Buri]-ia-aš lugal-reṭ

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 185 n. 3133 (MB text: Bu. 10), 347 (MUN 256: parallel), 349 (MUN 258: \text{gi}^6\text{BA.AN}), 449 (sūṭ 7 qa); CAD Q, 67 (qalqalu); R, 240 (redū A); S, 421 (sūṭu A)

\(^{(766)}\) The reading (i-na-aš-ṣa-ru) is courtesy of M. Stol.
N 2341 (P277435.jpg)

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References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)

N 2432 (P277521.jpg)

Obv

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Rev.

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References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. 148); Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)

N 2645 (P277724.jpg)

Obv.

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301
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Rev.
11’ [ ] síla 1 ku[š máš]
12’ x
13’ 1 1/2 síla 3 kuš [máš]
14’ x x
15’ 1/2 síla 4 kuš [máš]
16’ 1/3 síla 3 kuš [máš]
17’ ša kaskal []
18’ 4 síla i-nun x [ ]
19’ 1/2 síla x [ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. 189)

N 2714 (P277782.jpg)
Obv.
1 še ak-šu gišbán x [ ]
2 en ašx [ ]
3 še [ ]
4 1 me 30[+ ]
5 x [ ]

Broken
Rev.
6’ 40 x [ ]

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)

N 2872 (P277914.jpg)
Obv.
1 5,0.0. x [ ]
2 ša ZU SU x [ ]
3 [+1,2.0. DA gišmá ša 23,1[+ x. ]
4 ša ul-tu tukul-ti-ē[-kur]
5 [x,+1,4.5 síla ša 21,0.0. gišbán 10 síla

302
6 [ ] x é-nu ša x [ ]
7 [ ] x [ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. 148, seal of Rîmūtu ?)

**N 2907 (P277977.jpg)**

Obv.

1 9,3,2,6 siša [ ]
2 ak-lu₄ maš-MU”-x [ ]
3 iš-bár-zag-gar

Broken

Rev.

4’ rlugal[-e]
5’ 4₃ kišib 4₃-[mu-tu₄]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (seal of Rîmūtu)

**N 2982 (P278046.jpg)**

Obv.

1’ [ ]-AT³ x
2’ [ ] x 1 [dúg-ši]-[l-li₄]
3’ [k]i-lal/lá 3 [SA-GAN-SI/IR-GAN-SI AM
4’ [k]i-lal/lá 3 [SA-GAN-SI/IR-GAN-SI AM
5’ [l]d-nirah₃-na-din-šeš[me₄]
6’ [ ] x x [ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 119 (no. 155)

**N 3410 (P278445.jpg)**

Obv.

1 [ ]-ZU a-na é-gal lugal¹
2 [ ]-HAR-KUR-EN-KI
3 [ ]₄[a]-amar-utu ša₁₁ sag lugal
4 [____]-IR ^3^1GI-HI ša ^‘^t^i^7^] a-na x x
5 [____]-SU^3^1amar-utu

Broken
Rev.
6' [____]-RU^1^1KI-1
7' [____]-GI ^4^1ba-ba^2^3-uru^2^3-iš
8' [a’i]-na ha-re-e šu ^4^iš-tár
9' [____]-LU^7^1-AM-dingir^mē^1 x
10' [____]-x-it-a
11' [a]^2^1lu-ša dumu ‘ka-lu-mi

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (Seal of Rîmûtu ?)

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  [zi]-da ak-\textit{lu} ta [ ]
2  \textit{ša} $^a$\textit{du}_6$^-kū$ e[n ]
3  \textit{ša} $^a$\textit{api}[n ]
4  0,04. x [ ]

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: \textit{aklu})

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**UM 29-13-427a (P255390.jpg)**

Obv.

1  3  kaš sag
2  12  kaš UŠ
3  $^1$\textit{ša}-\textit{dingir}-\textit{ba-na-a}
4  $^a$\textit{gan-gan-è}

Lo. e.

5  ut-20-kam

Rev.

6  mu-24-kam
7  $^1$\textit{ga-ma-al}$^d$\textit{XXX-lu-mur}
8  in-sar

---

**UM 29-13-683 (P255607.jpg)**

Obv.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>\textit{dumu} $^1$x x x x MI x</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5 me 1-\textit{šu}  mu-3-kam [ ] x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 me 1-\textit{šu}  mu-4-kam [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5 me  mu-5-kam [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pap 1 IGI 6 me 20  mu-5-kam x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>11  mu-1[+]kam</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>39  mu-4[+]kam</td>
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305
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<th>mu-4[+]-kam</th>
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<td>x x x</td>
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<td>pap 99</td>
<td>i-na ša ki-min [ša k]ur a-ab-ba x x x</td>
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Broken

Rev.

| 21’ | [ ] | x ḫnuska-[ ] x |
| 22’ | [ ] | siskur₉Š ša 3 mu-ḥi-a |
| 23’ | [ ] | siskur x x TA x x |
| 24’ | 2 me 17 | kuš ri-ri-ga ša 3 mu₉Š |
| 25’ | 3 | AD [ ] ša ki pi-i gú-en-na |
| 26’ | a-na ĕ dingir šu-ru-bu |
| 27’ | 14 | ib-tag₄ x x-ḫa-ru-ti |
| 28’ | pap 2 IGI 12 | gu₄-ninda₅Š ak-lu₄ šu dumu ʻdingir-mu-x x |
| 29’ | ta mu-3-kam en mu-5-kam |
| 30’ | ša-ga-rak-te-šu-ri-ia-aš ʻlugal¹ |

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  | ḫ₄amar-utu-n[ʃ²] |
| 5  | ḫ₄bá[r-za]g-gar u₄- r²6¹-kam |

Lo. E.
6 mu-15-kam

References: Brinkman 1976, 413 (arād šarrī)

UM 29-13-907 (P255777.jpg)

Obv.
1 10\textsuperscript{2},3.1.2 sila zi-da [ ]
2 4,2.5. ŠE-MAŠ/BAR
3 ak-\textit{lu₄} nin-urta-[\textit{nādin-abḫē}]
4 [ \textit{ê}-DIŠ-zálag-d₄\textit{riskur}]
5 [\textit{ištu} u₄^-] 6-kam ša \textit{im}\textit{apin}
6 [\textit{a}d\textit{i} u₄-x]-kam ša \textit{in}\textit{gan}

Rev.
9 [\textit{kunuk }]\textit{A} nin-urta-sum-\textit{ab-he}

References: Matthews 1992, 134 (no. 189)

UM 29-13-946 (P255814.jpg)

Obv.
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
1’ & [ ] \textit{DIŠ ki-is-pu} ta u₄^-[x-kam] \\
2’ & en u₄^-29-kam \\
3’ & 1 sila LAGAB\texttimes U munus LAL-LA-SI’ \\
4’ & 0,0.1. LAGAB\texttimes U munus \textit{a-na} TIL-TU[M’] \\
5’ & 0,1.4. \textit{gib}bān gal nigung-år-\textit{ra} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Rev.
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
6’ & 4 [ ] \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

References: Matthews 1992, 134 (no. 189)
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 u₄-2-kam
5’ [   ] x A-AN x x x u₄-2-kam
6’ [   ] ₄₉ x x GI x x
7’ [   ] ta u₄-24-kam en u₄-[x-kam]
8’ [   ] x x x x
9’ [   ] x x x
10’ [   ] ₃ u₃-mi
11’ [   ] dumu šip-ri ša ₃₉ x x [   ]
12’ [   ] dumu šip-ri ša dumu ₁₉ ka-x[   ]
13’ [   ]-še-en mu-un-na-ab-[₁₉]u₄]
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 ₃₉₉ šu’ x x en u₄-3-kam
21’ [   ] x iti [   ] x x a-na
22’ [   ] ₁₉ ka-ab-x x lú x x
23’ [   ] x x A x x x x
24’ [+2,0.3. še ₅₂₉ bān 5 [sila]
25’ ₁₉ ha-[   ]-x-ta-x
26’ ša ₂₉ šu-numun-na x[   ]
27’ ša ₂₉ gan-gan-[na/è]
28’ rₙa-zi-mu-ra’-[₁₉]aš]
UM 29-15-154 + UM 29-16-178 (P255992.jpg)

Obv.

1′ [___] x x
2′ [___] x-DU-DU
3′ [___] x ]1.4. š-a-na-šill-ši-šu-e-mid
4′ [___] -ia-tu₄
5′ [___] išš-tār₄me₄
6′ [___] XXX/leš-ši NU IG
7′ [___] x GIŠ KU x x x x
8′ [___] MAŠ/BAR GIŠ x
9′ [___] x x u₂₄-A₂₄
10′ [___] GI
11′ [___] MAŠ/BAR
12′ [___] x-tu₄
13′ [___]
14′ [___] MAŠ/BAR-ni
15′ [___] be-li
16′ [___] UŠ₃ x
17′ [___] AN
18′ [___] dū-a
19′ [___] ₄mi-na]-dū-uš-dingir
20′ [___] x-x-hi-a ša é ₄le-ši-ši-šum-šeš₄me₄
21′ [___] x ₄XXX-šiš-man-ni sipa x
22′ [___] x-diškur
23′ [___] -mu-₄
24′ [___] ša₄/ka-dāš-man-ši-HU
25′ [___] ša-du-še-en-ni
26′ [___] LU-T1 x

Rev.

27′ [___] x dumu ₄sum-₄U-GUR
28′ [___] x x x
29′ [___] ₄hu]-mu-r₄
30’ [ ]šá-di-kuš-ša-šá-damu-u-tu
31’ [ ]-nill-erí-ba
32’ [ ]-bi-ia
33’ [ ] ša LA² MA₃ a³-na³-ša

References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148)

UM 29-15-548 (P256305.jpg)

Obv.
1 0,1.2. ša-ki-nu-ter
2 a-na uš-bar
3 ša ša-ša-be-la-nu

Lo. e.
4 ša aš-ši-ki-dingir
5 ša mu-7-kam

Rev.
6 še-ba im-ma-har

References: Matthews 1992, 123 (no. 164)

UM 29-15-685 (P256402.jpg)

Obv.

| 1 | nig-lal/lá gigir² ŠE²-MAŠ/BAR a³bán 5 sila ša šuk anše-kur-ra x x |
| 2 | 26 1/2 | 2,3.1,3 sila | ki-min | u₄-1-kam |
| 3 | 26 1/2 | 2,3.1,3 sila | ki-min | u₄-2-kam |
| 4 | 26 1/2 | 2,3.1,3 sila | ki-min | u₄-3-kam |
| 5 | 2 1/2 | 0,2,3. | pa-ru-ú ta u₄-1-kam en u₄-3-kam |
| 6 | 0,3,2. | šuš anše-kur-ram²²³ |
| 7 | ša a-na ši-tu-la²³ |
| 8 | ū x x x KI BI x x LU |
| 9 | 1/2 | 1 PI | ki-min ša U šuk [ ]x |
| 10 | 1/2 | 1 PI | ša ša-ša-šá-damu-u-tu ta [u₄-x]-kam en u₄-4-kam |

310
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<td>en u₄-4-kam</td>
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Rev.

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<td>[na-z]i-mu-ru-ut-taš</td>
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References: Brinkman 1976a, 270 (1-3-year 8; days 1–3), 285 ([( na-z]i-mu-ru-ut-taš); Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148); Sassmannshausen 2001, 72 n. 1167 (asū), 185 n. 3133 (tablet with date)

Parallel: MRWH no. 31

**UM 29-15-691 (P256408.jpg)**

Obv.

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8  šu 1at-kal-x[ ]
9  1ši-in-[ ]

Rev.
Broken
10'  x x [ ]
11'  ḫa-za-ra-an-na[ ] x
12'  x x x x Ħî x x
13'  ḫsipa Ħî-MA/BA x x x
14'  A x ḫa-za-an-na x
15'  ḫsipa Ḫi x x NA' T x
16'  TUR ḫa-za-an-mi āb-gal-ḫi-a x
17'  TUR udu-ḫi-a (?TUR?) 1 ṣē-ḫe-er (?)
18'  ṣē-ḫe-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.

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<th>ša$ bāppir</th>
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<th>še</th>
<th>ṣig-an-g[an-ê]</th>
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<td>1/2 sila</td>
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<td>0,0,4.</td>
<td>1/2 sila</td>
<td>1/2 sila</td>
<td>0,2,5.</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>1/2 sila</td>
<td>1/2 sila</td>
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<td>1/2 sila</td>
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Rev.

312
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References: Matthews 1992, 112 (no. 148)

**UM 29-16-154 (P256746.jpg)**

A

Col. i'

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Col. ii'

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Col. iii'

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314
16’ 1  tūg ki-min kir₄ ta-bar-rù  
BABBAR Ki[ ]

17’  [ ]  tūg ki-min kir₄ GIŠ/PA ši-pu
18’  [ ]  ‘tūg’ ki-min kir₄ GIŠ/PA
19’  [ ]  x x x [ ]

Col. iv’
1’  [ ]  x
2’  [ ]  x BABBAR
3’  [ ]  xmeš
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 MU²-šiškur
3  [ ]  2 sila’ x x x

References: Matthews 1992, 123 (no. 164)

**UM 29-16-158 (P256750.jpg)**

A

| 1’ | [ ] | x x [ ] |
| 2’ | [ ] | 6’   | ₄₄di₃u₄-kù [ ] |
| 3’ | [ ] 11 | ₃₃su₃-[tu] |
| 4’ | [ ] 6 | dumu-munu ₂[-₂] |
| 5’ | [ ] | ₃₃ib-su₃-[tu] |
| 6’ | [ ] | ₂₃ki-is-[pu ištu₂] |

315
References: Matthews 1992, 135 (no. 189)

UM 29-16-347 (P256866.jpg)

Obv.

1 [ka]š dug bánpir
2 0,1.3. 1 sila
3 [x,+]1.4. 1 sila
4 [x,x.]r4.1

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Rev.

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6′
7′
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10’ ta u₄-30-kam e[n ]
11’ ak-lu₄ ü [ ]

u. e.
12’ iⁿNE-gar

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)

UM 29-16-378 (P256892.jpg)

Obv.
1’ [ _____ ] x x x [ _____ ]
2’ [ _____ ] x-gar-rad [ ]
3’ [ -]š₄⁻₄nin-imma x [ ]
4’ [ _____ ] en u₄-22-kam
5’ [ ] 2 ḫ₆a-bal ta gu₄ ḫ₅x x Ú NI₄
6’ [ _____ ] ārad-₄₅amar-utu i-din
7’ [ x,x ] 1₂. dumu ḫ₅še-dù
8’ [ _____ ] 10’ 3’ 0. ḫ₅man-nu-le-ū-ša

Lo. E.
9’ šuk udu-nitta

Rev.
10’ [x,x] 1₂. ḫ₆u₄tu-še₃-sum-na
11’ [x,x] 1₃₄₄t₃₃₋₄₃u₄-ba-ni
12’ [x,x] 2 ₂ dumu ḫ₅u₄-₄₅ba₅a₅
13’ [ _____ ] ḫ₆a-bal
14’ [ _____ ] ḫ₂₄si₃₃₃kil-tu₄
15’ [ _____ ] x a-geštin-na
16’ [ _____ ] x UB x [ _____ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. 148)

UM 29-16-593 (P257037.jpg)

Obv.

317
| 1' | [ | u₂-2]8-kam |
| 2' | [ | u₂]-29-kam |
| 3' | [ x,+]1.4. | pa-ru-ú 4 u₄-mi |
| 4' | [ x,+]2.4. | 1eri-ba-4U-GUR 2 u₄-mi |
| 5' | [ x,+]2.4. | 1dù-šá-₄amar-utu |
| 6' | 1/2 | 0,1.2. | dumu 1ap-pa-a-a-e |
| 7' | 1/2 | 0,0.4. | dumu 1dingir-sum-na kû-dim |
| 8' | 1 | 0,1.2. | 1ib-ni-šš-tar |
| 9' | 2 | 0,0.4. | dumu 1ma-la-ḥi |
| 10' | 1 | 0,0.4. | 1mu-ra-nu 2 u₄-mi |
| 11' | [ ] | x | dumu 1KUR-x x x |
| 12' | [ ] | x x x x |
| 13' | [ ] | x x x x |

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Rev.

| 14' | 0,0.r2.γ[ | ] |
| 15' | 4 1/2 | 0,1.3. | [ ] |
| 16' | 2 | 0,0.4. | dumu rₓ x x₇-šub-ši x x x |
| 17' | 1 | 0,0.2. | 1a-ḥu-ú-a-ba-ni 2 u₄-mi |
| 18' | 1 NIN | 0,1.2. | 1ri-mu-tu₄ 4 u₄-mi |
| 19' | 1 ki-min | 0,1.2. | 1arad-nu-bat-ti ki-min |
| 20' | [] | ki-min | 0,0.4. | 1mu-še-zib₄amar-utu šlngu? 3 u₄-mi |
| 21' | [ ] | r0,0.4.γ | 1be-la-nu 4 u₄-mi |
| 22' | [ ] | dumu 1za-ki-ri 4 u₄-mi |
| 23' | [ | 5 š₃]r̃bāñ | 5 šila |
| 24' | [ | ] | rmeš̃ |

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. 148)

**UM 29-16-629 (P257065.jpg)**

Obv.

| 1 | um-ma | maḥ | ak | r[e | [ |
| 2 | -tu₄ | -rù | -lu₄ | [-ḫu | [ |
| 3 | 0,0.1.3. | 0,0.1.3. | [ | ] |

318
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References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)

**UM 29-16-678 (P257104.jpg)**

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References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)
**UM 29-16-698 (P257121.jpg)**

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8' en 5 sag 4 GIȘ

9' ṣab-zag-gar

u. e.

10' mu-23-kam

11' m4kišib l[ ]

References: Matthews 1992, 113 (no. **148**)

**UM 29-16-731 (P257150.jpg)**

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Rev.

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13’ [x 0,0.1, u_2-kam]

u. e.

14’ [x x 3,3.5.4. šu-nigin 4,0.2. ak-lu₄]

References: Sassmannshausen 2001, 318 (MUN 156: aklu)
Concordance

Seal impressions
Matthews no. 55 = Stiehler no. 60
Matthews no. 61 = Stiehler no. 193
Matthews no. 146 = Stiehler no. 277
Matthews no. 148 = Stiehler no. 283
Matthews no. 155 = Stiehler no. 299
Matthews no. 156 = Stiehler no. 298
Matthews no. 157 = Stiehler no. 317
Matthews no. 161 = Stiehler no. 300
Matthews no. 162 = Stiehler no. 297
Matthews no. 164 = Stiehler no. 323
Matthews no. 187 = Stiehler no. 251
Matthews no. 188 = Stiehler no. 254
Matthews no. 189 = Stiehler no. 233
Stiehler no. 60 = Matthews no. 55
Stiehler no. 193 = Matthews no. 61
Stiehler no. 233 = Matthews no. 189
Stiehler no. 251 = Matthews no. 187
Stiehler no. 254 = Matthews no. 188
Stiehler no. 277 = Matthews no. 146
Stiehler no. 283 = Matthews no. 148
Stiehler no. 297 = Matthews no. 162
Stiehler no. 298 = Matthews no. 156
Stiehler no. 299 = Matthews no. 155
Stiehler no. 300 = Matthews no. 161
Stiehler no. 317 = Matthews no. 157
Stiehler no. 323 = Matthews no. 164

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 14 no. 27 (Enlil-AL-SA₆)
BE 14 no. 48a (Enlil-AL-SA₆)
BE 14 no. 53 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
BE 14 no. 55 (Matthews no. 162)
BE 14 no. 56 (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)
BE 14 no. 56a (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)
BE 14 no. 61 (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)
BE 14 no. 64 (Rîmûtu)
BE 14 no. 70 (Rîmûtu)
BE 14 no. 71 (Rîmûtu)
BE 14 no. 75 (Rîmûtu)
BE 14 no. 78 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
BE 14 no. 80 (Rîmûtu)
BE 14 no. 80a (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
BE 14 no. 81 (Rîmûtu)
BE 14 no. 82 (Rîmûtu)
BE 14 no. 83 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
BE 14 no. 85 (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
BE 14 no. 87 (Rîmûtu)
BE 14 no. 87a (Ninurta-kī-pīšu)
BE 14 no. 97 (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)
BE 14 no. 99a (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)
BE 14 no. 116 (Ninurta-nādin-ahhē)
BE 14 no. 133 (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)
BE 14 no. 144 (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)
BE 14 no. 167 (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)
BE 14 no. 168 (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)
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<td>Be 15 no. 34 (aklu doc. w/o seal impression)</td>
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Enlil-ahulap (responsible for horse fodder) (5)
Enlil-ahulap (responsible for horse fodder) (6)
Enlil-AL-SAe (governor of Nippur.) (5)
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Enlil-mukin-apli (person in charge of the aklu) (8) (15)

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Enlil-šulūli (mentioned in several documents
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Izkur-Adad (probably a brewer) (4)
(15)
Izkur-Marduk (concerned in an aklu)(772) (15)
Bā‘ilāyuyu (probably a brewer) (4)
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Baḥḫutu/Šuẖḫutu (probably a brewer) (3)
(15)
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(771) CBS 3081.
Bubbu (a brewer) (15) (772) MUN 97.
Damqu (probably a brewer) (4)
(773) MUN 194.
Dayyānī-Šamaš (concerned in an aklu) (13)
Kidin-Adad (person in charge of an aklu)(773) (15)
Enlil-ahulap (responsible for horse fodder) (2)

(767) MUN 188.
(768) BE 15 no. 90.
(769) MUN 197.
(770) MRWH 27.

Kidin-Gula (person in charge of an *aklu*) (15)

Lā-ṣīpu (a miller) (2)

Lā-ṣīpu (probably a miller) (15)

Lī/ūṣi-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a brewer) (2)

Lī/ūṣi-ana-nūr-Adad (probably a miller) (4)

Lī/ūṣi-ana-nūr-Šamaš (775) (concerned in an *aklu*) (11)

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Martuku (concerned in an *aklu*) (776) (15)

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Našīra-Marduk (person in charge of an *aklu*) (777) (15)

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Sarriqu (a brewer) (782) (15)

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Šamaš-muṣēzib (probably a brewer) (2)

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Tarību (a miller) (3)

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The daughter of Mele-Saḥ (concerned in an *aklu*) (786) (15)

The son of Aḥū’a-lē’i (concerned in sheep of *aklu*) (787) (15)

The son of Amurruma-ilu (probably a brewer) (15)

The son of Aqar-Marduk (a brewer) (15)

The son of Bēlī-kittī/Bēlī-kittī (probably a miller) (15)

The son of Enlil-dayyān (a brewer) (15)

(774) MUN 191.

(775) Or rḫ*[amar]-iškur*2.

(776) A Martuku of BE 15 no. 12 is not the Martuku of Das Archiv des Speichers because Dūr-Kurigalzu (north) is stated.

(777) MUN 269.

(778) CBS 3319.

(779) BE 15 no. 74.

(780) MUN 203.

(781) BE 14 no. 97.

(782) BE 14 no. 97.

(783) BE 15 no. 46.

(784) UM 29-13-427a.

(785) BE 15 no 79.

(786) BE 15 no. 60.

(787) BE 14 no. 133.

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The son of Erība-Nergal (a brewer) (15)
The son of Ištaran-Iissu (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 Rabā-ša-ili (probably a miller) (15)
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The son of Sukkal-tamlāk-ilāni (a brewer) (15)
The son of Šallī-lūmur (concerned in an aklu) (788) (15)
The son of Ţāb-ašābšu (a miller) (14) (15)
The son of Ţāb-nupāršu (possibly a miller) (2)

Uzibu (probably a brewer) (4)
Zēr-kīni-lišir (probably a miller) (4)
mārat bītī (a well-attested recipient) (4)
mār/mārat malāḫi (a well-attested recipient) (4)

(788) 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 karavans, 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-ùṣur 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 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-Enlilê 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 bereiden. 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 behoord tot prominente Akkadisch families, bijvoorbeeld de familie van Enlil-kidinnî en die van Enlil-nīṣu. 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.