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Author(s): Jacob J. Finkelstein

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Cuneiform Texts from Tell Billa

By

Jacob J. Finkelstein

New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.

1953

PREFACE

In the preparation of this work a number of organizations and individuals accorded me cooperation and assistance which I am happy to acknowledge.

I am indebted to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania for placing at my disposal the tablets here published and for extending to me every privilege in the use of the museum's rich facilities. To The American Philosophical Society I am obligated for financial assistance for the purpose of preparing the autographed texts. The American Schools of Oriental Research, which had been instrumental in the excavation of these tablets, have kindly made a special appropriation in order that their publication may be included in the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.

Professor E. A. Speiser, under whose supervision the study of these texts was undertaken as a doctoral dissertation, was kind enough to turn over to me his original field notes on the material here published. Through constant and detailed discussion with him, many problems of interpretation were clarified and resolved. Professor Samuel N. Kramer has likewise helped to clarify various problems, especially in connection with Sumerian lexical matters, and has been particularly helpful in extending to me the full benefit of his unique experience in the copying of texts.

Professor A. Sachs has read through the manuscript and contributed a number of helpful suggestions. The Editor of the *Journal*, Professor Albrecht Goetze, has gone through the manuscript with painstaking thoroughness, correcting many a serious error and contributing immeasurably to the accuracy of the work in all its aspects.

JACOB J. FINKELSTEIN

New Haven, October, 1953

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
ABL	Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, ed. by R. F. Harper.
ADD	C. H. W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. by J. B. Pritchard.
ANG	J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung, MVAG 44 (1939).
APN	K. L. Tallqvist, Assyrian Personal Names.
ARU	J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, Assyrische Rechtsurkunden.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
CH	Code of Hammurabi.
CT	Cuneiform Texts etc. in the British Museum.
EA	J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln.
GAG	W. von Soden, Grundzüge der akkadischen Grammatik.
IH	E. A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian, AASOR 20 (1940–41).
ITH	Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf, AfO Beiheft 6 (1940).
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
KAH	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts.
KAJ	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts.
KAV	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts.
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft.
MSL	B. Landsberger, Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon I, II.
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
NKRA	P. Koschaker, Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit.
PNCP	A. T. Clay, Personal Names etc. of the Cassite Period.
Provinzeinteilung	E. Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches.
R	H. C. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.
RCAE	L. Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire.
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie.
SLT	E. Chiera, Sumerian Lexical Texts.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	111
Abbreviations	112
I. Introduction	
The Site of Tell Billa	114
Condition of the Tablets and Paleography	114
Language	115
Date of the Texts	115
Identification of the Site	116
Šibaniba in Assyrian History	117
The Population	118
Geography of the Billa Texts	119
Types of Middle Assyrian Texts from Billa	119
1. Private Transactions	120
2. Administrative Records	120
3. Letters	121
4. Miscellaneous Texts	121
Types of Late Assyrian Texts from Billa	121
The Calendar of the Billa Texts	121
II. Transliterations and Translations	
A. Middle Assyrian Texts	
1. Private Transactions	122
2. Administrative Records	124
3. Miscellaneous Texts	131
4. Letters	135
B. Late Assyrian Texts	137
III. Indices	
A. Personal Names	141
B. Names of Places	144
C. Select Glossary	145
Register and Measurements of Tablets	146
Autographed Copies	148

I. INTRODUCTION

SITE

Modern Tell Billa, which can be identified definitely with ancient Šibaniba, is a large mound of more than thirty acres, situated fifteen miles northeast of Mosul. Excavations were carried out jointly by the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University of Pennsylvania from 1930 to 1934¹. They were limited to the northeast corner and an area in the southwest of the mound. In the first area there were found on the surface scattered fragments of inscribed bricks of Sennacherib.² Two thin layers (I-II) immediately below the surface contained similar inscribed fragments indicating that Shalmaneser III and his father Ashurnasirpal, kings of the 9th century B.C., had maintained official buildings at the site. Below these levels there were no further Assyrian remains. Stratum III yielded large quantities of Hurrian pottery, while the lowest levels (VI-VII) antedated the Early Dynastic Age.³

In the southwest area the topmost level yielded an inscribed brick noting the restoration of a shrine of Ishtar by Shalmaneser III. It was found at the threshold of what was probably the temple of that goddess.⁴ It was in this section that the 9th century cuneiform tablets excavated in the last seasons at Billa were recovered.⁵ The majority of the tablets here published come from Level II of this section. They belong clearly to the Middle Assyrian period. The lower levels in this area show a sequence of pottery similar to that of the northeast corner of the mound, extending from Hurrian to pre-dynastic types.⁶

The tablets from Billa, therefore, may be roughly divided into two groups, M(iddle) A(ssyrian) and L(ate) A(ssyrian). Although the tablets of both periods are in an exceedingly poor state of preservation,⁷ two considerations ap-

peared to make their publication particularly desirable. In the first place, the fund of published economic and legal documents from the Middle Assyrian period, in contrast to those of other areas and periods, is very meager, being limited almost solely to those published in KAJ.⁸ Secondly, the bulk of Middle and Late Assyrian tablets of all categories have hitherto come from very few sites, notably the Assyrian capitals of Ashur, Kalakh, and Nineveh.⁹ The tablets from Billa thus afford a new insight, however limited, into the activities of an Assyrian provincial center at the time of the expansion of the empire.¹⁰

THE TABLETS

The two groups of texts from Billa are clearly distinguished both by the type of clay used and by their paleography. The MA tablets are mostly of a fine light-brown clay, a few of white clay. They were unbaked when found; as a result of their location in what came to be a small wadi, their surfaces were badly damaged in the course of the centuries, in some instances to the point of complete obliteration. The better preserved tablets from the earlier campaigns (1931-2) were baked at Chicago in 1934; those from later seasons were treated at the University Museum in the early '40s. Owing, however, to the type of clay and the effect of the elements, the baking has made many of them exceedingly brittle. The LA tablets, being closer to the surface and of coarser clay, are in a still poorer state of preservation.

The paleography of the MA tablets, although showing some scribal variations, is similar to that of the contemporary texts from Ashur. The LA group, from the 9th century, shows an unmistakable paleography of its own, the script being similar to that of the later Sargonid period.¹¹ Of

8. Supplemented by the Ninurta-tukul-Aššur texts published by E. F. Weidner in *Afo X* (1935) 1 ff.

9. A small group of tablets dating from the 8th century was found at Tell Halaf, the ancient Assyrian provincial center of Guzana. These were published by E. F. Weidner and G. R. Meyer in *ITH*, 1 ff.

10. The proximity of Šibaniba to Nineveh need not detract substantially from the significance of the provincial center. During the 13th and 9th centuries, the periods covered by these tablets, the capital of the empire was at Ashur or Kalakh, approximately 90 and 40 miles, respectively, south of Šibaniba.

11. Cf. e.g. L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire IV*, plates 6-14.

1. Cf. the field reports by E. A. Speiser in *BASOR*, beginning with No. 40 (1930) and intermittently thereafter up to No. 54 (1934).

2. *BASOR* 41 (1931) 19-22.

3. *BASOR* 42 (1931) 12 f.

4. *BASOR* 45 (1932) 32.

5. See E. A. Speiser, *Symbolae Koschaker* 142.

6. Cf. E. A. Speiser, *The Pottery of Tell Billa*, *Museum Journal* 23 (1932) 249 ff.

7. See E. A. Speiser, *Symbolae Koschaker* 142.

individual signs, *na*, *ba*, *zu*, *su*, and *in* constitute ready means of differentiating the MA from the LA texts.

LANGUAGE

Grammatically and linguistically, the Billa texts offer few peculiarities. The occasional change of medial *m* to a glottal stop attested in Assyrian is found in the use of *aza'ilu* for *azamillu* 'bale' (Bi 23 3) and in the writing *a-na i-ni*, apparently meant for *ana mini* (Bi 62 8).¹²

The writing *ra-a-di* (Bi 63 14) 'were followed' (from *redū*) may represent an instance of the so-called 'pre-tone lengthening' attested elsewhere in Assyrian.¹³

Of interest also are the demonstrative pronominal form *šu-a-ša* (19 6, 18) and the preposition *ilte(-šu)* 'with (him)' (Bi 66 7), both of which are distinctive Assyrian dialectal forms.¹⁴

The conjunction *entu* 'when' (Bi 63 18, 67 9) is similarly a local peculiarity.

DATE

The dates of the two groups of texts can be established without difficulty. On the basis of the eponyms occurring in the economic documents, E. A. Speiser was able to assign the MA material to the reigns of Adad-nirāri I and Shalmaneser I, i.e. the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁵ E. F. Weidner, on independent grounds, suggests that the eponyms Eribtayau (Bi 23 2) and Ištar-ēriš son of Šulmānu-qarrād (Bi 30 20) be assigned to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207), the successor of Shalmaneser I.¹⁶ Sin-apla-ēriš, who figures in Bi 30, is shown by other Billa records to have already been in office under Adad-nirāri (1305–1274),¹⁷ and a tenure of office for more than thirty years is by no means impossible. The name Bab(a)-aḥ-iddina appears as *limmu* in Bi 37 9. This person is very likely identical with Babu-aḥ-iddina, a high Assyrian official, who is known from independent sources to have been active from the reign of

Adad-nirāri I to that of Tukulti-Ninurta I.¹⁸ Since, however, Aššur-kāšid, the father of Sin-apla-ēriš, figures in this Billa text, it is more likely that the eponymate of Babu-aḥ-iddina is to be assigned either to the reign of Adad-nirāri I or Shalmaneser I, rather than to that of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

More conclusive evidence that at least some of the Billa material may date from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I would seem to be furnished by the occurrence of the fragmentary eponym ¹*Ni-nu-a*-. . . in Bi 27 17. This form probably represents the name Ninuaya, who according to an unpublished tablet, is explicitly placed in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.¹⁹ An eponym of the same name who functioned in the year 1107 is less likely to be the one named in our text, for the Billa excavations have yielded nothing that could positively be attributed to that period.

Of the remaining eponyms found in the Billa records, Ištar-ēriš, son of Šamaš-aḥ-iddina, and Kidin-ilāni, may be safely assigned to the period of Adad-nirāri I – Shalmaneser I. Sin-apla-ēriš is the principal figure in Bi 33, dated in the eponymate of Ištar-ēriš, while Aššur-kāšid figures in Bi 6 and 16, in which Kidin-ilāni is eponym. It thus appears that two eponyms of the same name, Ištar-ēriš, officiated in the same period. Texts dated by this eponym can, therefore, be distinguished only when the name of the father, Šulmānu-qarrād or Šamaš-aḥ-iddina, is explicitly stated. Kidin-ilāni is known also from the Ashur records KAJ 253 11; 258 8, and according to Ebeling,²⁰ the same individual figures in 262:6. This would then furnish additional evidence for placing this eponym within the reigns of Adad-nirāri I and Shalmaneser I. For one of the principal figures in KAJ 262 is Aššur-aḥ-iddina, who is the principal also in KAJ 145, dated in the eponymate of Ša-Adad-nīnu who is also the eponym in an inscription of Adad-nirāri I.²¹

Two eponyms from Billa remain who appear to be previously unattested.²² Ar-ta-ri--la occurs in Bi 35 in which the only other fully preserved

12. Cf. W. von Soden, GAG 31 d. Another interesting example is the writing *di-at* for *dimmat* 'tears', ITH 5 5.

13. GAG 15 f.

14. *ibid.* 41 i, 114 l.

15. *Symbolae Koschaker*, 142 ff.

16. AfO XIII (1940), 119. However, see now H. A. Fine, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 24 p. 232–235, for placing these eponyms in the reign of Shalmaneser.

17. cf. below, p. 117.

18. E. Ebeling, MAOG VII 1/2 (1933), 3 f.

19. AfO XIII (1940), 114.

20. MAOG XIII/1 (1939), 53.

21. KAH I 5 rev. 35.

22. The eponym in Bi 1, Kidin-Sin, son of Adad-tēya, although not previously attested in this function, is known from KAJ 109:1 to have been governor (*bēl pahite*) of the city of Šuduḫi.

name is that of Lulayau. Since this name is fairly common in the MA period,²³ and the father's name is not given in our text, the name can offer no aid in establishing the approximate date of the text. Mu(n)nabitu is the eponym in Bi 22 in which the principal figure is a woman, Belasuniya, the daughter of Adad-teya. This last name figures also as that of the father of Kidin-Sin, the eponym in Bi 1, which must also be assigned to the period of Adad-nirāri I – Shalmaneser I in view of the mention of Sin-apla-ēriš in that text. But that the two occurrences of the name Adad-teya refer in fact to the same person can at present be counted no more than a possibility, with the date of the eponym Mu(n)nabitu likewise remaining in doubt.

Only one tablet of the LA texts from Billa is dated by eponym. The official in question is Nergal-ilaya, a name occurring in the eponym-lists on three separate occasions;²⁴ the earliest of these is the year 830, in the reign of Shalmaneser III. Since this would accord well with the archeological evidence cited above, p. 114, the dating of this tablet to the year 830 appears certain. Further support for the dating of the LA material to the reign of Shalmaneser III is found in Bi 77, which mentions a number of limmus beginning with Dayyān-Aššur (line 4) who was eponym in 853, and continuing to Ninurta-nādin-šum (line 21), eponym in 846.²⁵ Shalmaneser himself occurs, finally, in what seems to be an incomplete date formula in Bi 70 13. There is also a possibility that some of these texts may date to the reign of Ashurnasirpal, if the name Šamaš-upa(h)har in Bi 72 28 is to be equated with the eponym of that name for the year 874.²⁶ That the period between the thirteenth and ninth centuries remains unrepresented epigraphically as well as archeologically is probably due to the fact that the excavations at Billa were very limited in area, and need not suggest that the site was unoccupied during this long interval.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE SITE

The identification of Tell Billa with ancient Šibaniba, first proposed by E. Forrer on the basis of a geographical study of Sennacherib's

23. cf. MAOG XIII/1 (1939), 57.

24. Cf. RLA II, 453.

25. The others are Šamaš-bēl-ušur (851), Ḫadī-li-(b)bušu (849), and Urigal(DINGIR.ŠEŠ.GAL)-ālik-pāni (848).

26. RLA II, 455.

inscriptions,²⁷ has been fully confirmed by the Billa tablets. The spelling of the name as Šibanibe uniformly in these tablets,²⁸ in contrast to Šibaniba in all previously known inscriptions, may be no more than a matter of pronunciation.

The importance of Šibaniba as a provincial center was also realized by Forrer, who guessed, from the fact that the city had a resident governor (*šaknu*), that it was an important center of the royal administration.²⁹ This too is borne out by the archeological evidence which disclosed impressive public buildings of the 9th century at the site. The evidence from Billa suggests, furthermore, that Šibaniba had already attained such status by Middle Assyrian times. This depends largely on the possible identity of the office of *ḫasiḫlu* in these documents with that of *šaknu* in the later period. At Šibaniba, during the reign of Shalmaneser I, the Billa texts show that a certain Sin-apla-ēriš held this office,³⁰ while his father, Aššur-kāšid, according to Bi 6 8, appears

27. *Provinzeinteilung*, 35.

28. In the MA texts: Bi 6 16; 25 3; 27 6; 30 4; 48 3. In the LA texts: Bi 76 9, 12; 85 26. In extra-Billa sources: I R 29 45; III R 14 9; CT XXVI 31 vii 82; 34 viii 33; ADD 453 4; 653 rev. 3 (the autograph has *ba*, so also ARU 2, but in ADD IV, 188, Johns reads *bi*. A. Sachs has now kindly collated the text and confirms the reading *bi*.); 950 6. [Add now ND 3469 (Iraq 15 152) 3.]

29. *Op. cit.* note 27.

30. Cf. e.g. Bi 25 3. The term is probably to be connected with the *ḫalzuḫlu* known from the Nuzi documents (cf. C. H. Gordon, *Orientalia* 7 57) and from Amarna, where it refers to an Egyptian official (EA 30 10). It had of course been suspected that the term is a combination of Akkadian *ḫalšu* 'garrison, district' and the Hurrian formative *uḫlu/i*, meaning perhaps something like 'overseer, chief' (Speiser, *IH*, 130). The occurrence in Bi 6 7-8 ¹⁶*ḫasiḫli ša ḫalši ʿBīt-Zamāni* makes the connection a certainty. The function of a *ḫasiḫlu* as a garrison or district commander is also in agreement with the fact that the later Assyrian *bēl paḫati* (or *šaknu*) was also the military commander of his district, cf. E. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, 101. The *ḫalzuḫlu* in the Amarna period very likely had a similar function. But it does not seem as if the *ḫalzuḫlu* was primarily, if at all, a military official at Nuzi, where the term is sometimes interchangeable with *dayyānu* 'judge' (cf. the names of the persons hearing the cases in AASOR XVI Nos. 15-17, 19, and p. 81 f.), and where three individuals bearing this title sit together hearing cases. It would be difficult to explain how the term came to have such a specialized usage in the place where it was apparently coined — the formation is clearly Hurrian — and then to denote functions more in keeping with its linguistic etymology as a borrowing in Assyrian. For *ḫasiḫlu* may be derived from *ḫalzuḫlu*, but not vice versa.

to have held the same post in Bīt-Zamāni, far to the northwest, just beyond the Kashiari region.³¹ In later Assyrian times the provincial seat of this last region was at Amedi or Amida (modern Diyarbekir), the *šaknu* of which was included in the regular cycle of eponyms.³² The high rank of the *ḥasiḥlu* may be seen in the manner in which Aššur-kāšid addresses Aššur-šumiddina, another important individual who was a *rab ālāni*, resident, at Šibaniba.³³ Whereas all others writing to this person address him as humble servants,³⁴ it is clear that Aššur-kāšid addresses him as a subordinate, or one lesser in rank. The superiority of the *šaknu* (or *bēl paḥati*) to the *rab ālāni* is known from later Assyrian sources, where the *rab ālāni* is placed immediately beneath the *šaknu* and his deputy (*šanū*), but, as might be expected, above the *ḥazānu* (town mayor).³⁵ The well-known Aššur-kāšid who was an eponym some time in the reign of Shalmaneser almost certainly enjoyed that distinction by virtue of having held some high office. It is very probable, therefore, that the Aššur-kāšid of the Billa texts and the *limmu* of that name were, in fact, the same person. It was by virtue of his office as *ḥasiḥlu* 'district overseer' — as was true also of those who held the office of *šaknu* 'governor' in later times — that he was granted the honor of being eponym.³⁶

31. The name is that of an area, and as such the determinative KUR is more usual in connection with it, but URU 'city' is found occasionally as well, cf. M. Streck, ZA 13 71. The fragment Bi 17 suggests, however, that Aššur-kāšid may also have been *ḥasiḥlu* at Šibaniba.

32. *Provinzeinteilung* 29 f.

33. Bi 66. That the addressee was the *rab-ālāni* is known from Bi 48 10. The functions of that office are not apparent from the title which means simply 'one over many cities'; occasionally also *rab-āli*, when in charge of only one city, cf. ADD II, 155 f.

34. Bi 62–64 and UM 33–58–26 (unpublished); Bi 61 and 65 are badly broken, but it is clear that they begin with lengthy salutations bespeaking the well-being of the addressee and his property.

35. Cf. ADD 59 14 ff. The *rab āli* of Nineveh, however, ranks below the *ḥazānu* of that city, cf. *ibid.* 261 rev. 5–7.

36. The district had already been brought under Assyrian rule by Shalmaneser I and Adad-nirāri I before him. The latter ruler mentions the capture of the city of *Ta-i-di* (KAH 1 5 8), which was later included in the province of Amedi. Shalmaneser I records his subjugation of the same area in the course of his campaign against Ḥanigalbat (KAH I 13 iii 1 ff.). Cf. also *Provinzeinteilung*, 27 f. and ZA 13 73.

Since Šibaniba, as the Billa records show, was also under the authority of a *ḥasiḥlu* in MA times, it must be concluded that the town was already at this period a provincial center, just as it was in later times under a *šaknu*. Since, furthermore, the *šaknu* of Šibaniba in later times was also included in the eponymate cycle,³⁷ the possibility cannot be eliminated that the *ḥasiḥlu* of Šibaniba — Sin-apla-ēriš, at the time covered by the Billa records — had also served as eponym at some point during his career.

The period of service of Sin-apla-ēriš can, in fact, be fixed within relatively narrow limits. Bi 31 establishes that he already held the office of *ḥasiḥlu* in the eponym year of Ša-Adad-nīnu, which is definitely assigned to the reign of Adad-nirāri I.³⁸ He maintained his office after the accession of Shalmaneser I, as is evident from Bi 25 where that ruler is eponym. Since Aššur-kāšid, the father of Sin-apla-ēriš, was also eponym under Shalmaneser I, the term of office of Sin-apla-ēriš would most probably have begun in the last years of Adad-nirāri I (1305–1274), while that of his father, Aššur-kāšid, probably ended in the early years of Shalmaneser I (1273–1244). Ca. 1280–1250 would then seem to be the period indicated for the time of Sin-apla-ēriš, with Aššur-kāšid's career commencing slightly earlier.

ŠIBANIBA IN ASSYRIAN HISTORY

The political and economic status of Šibaniba from the ninth century forth has been known from outside sources. The city took part in the widespread revolt against Shalmaneser III — to whose reign most of the late Assyrian tablets from Billa date — which was put down only by his successor Šamši-Adad V (823–810).³⁹ By the time of the next ruler, Adad-nirāri III, Šibaniba had again become a center of some importance, for in the year 786 Balātu,⁴⁰ the governor of the city, served as eponym. The city reached its greatest significance, however, under Sennacherib, when the capital of the empire was at Nineveh. One of the fifteen gates of Nineveh which that ruler constructed was called *dumuq ašnān u* ^aLAḤAR *qirib-ša kayyān abul Šibaniba* 'the choicest of grain and flocks are ever within

37. *Provinzeinteilung*, 7.

38. KAH I 5 rev. 35.

39. I R 29 39 ff.

40. Cf. RLA II, 445.

it", the Šibaniba gate.⁴¹ The town, situated as it was at the entrance to the foothills of the Kurdish mountains, fifteen miles to the northeast of Nineveh, served also as one of the sources in the extensive water-supply system constructed by Sennacherib for the royal capital.⁴²

From the Billa tablets themselves only a limited amount of indirect information can be gleaned with regard to the administrative position of Šibaniba within the Assyrian Empire. It should be stressed, however, that the governor of the town, Sin-apla-ēriš, was not necessarily a native of the area, any more than his father, Aššur-kāšid, need have been a native of Bīt-Zamāni, of which he was governor. Both were appointees of the king. On the other hand, since Aššur-kāšid himself figures directly in some of the Billa documents (5-8, 13, 20), it is possible that Šibaniba was, in fact, the family seat of these individuals.

Bi 47 gives a long list of 'manors' (*āl du(n)nu*) and villages ending with the summary (line 29 ff.) [...] *annūtu ša URU UDU^{mes} Adad-tašmar maḥīr* (see below p. 132). Although the purpose of the document is not entirely clear, because of the damaged portions, the tablet apparently deals with the collection of sheep, probably from the localities listed in the text. This may recall Sennacherib's description of the Šibaniba gate as the one through which the finest of flocks entered Nineveh. It is possible that Šibaniba was the central marketing point for all the sheep raised in the area, and from which point they were delivered to the capital.⁴³

Bi 48 and 49 are lists of cities from which troops were levied. Bi 48 10 adds the information that these levies were the responsibility of the *rab ālāni*. The purpose of such levies is revealed by Bi 49 (reverse) where the troops are assigned to an expedition to Ḫanigalbat. This expedition may plausibly be equated with the campaign of Shalmaneser I to that land.

Bi 72-77 may throw some light on the methods of military recruiting during the ninth century for the extensive campaigns of Ashurnasirpal

and Shalmaneser III. The documents present lists of individuals *kūmu* 'in place of' other persons, who are often described as being from the same city (*mār ālišu*). These persons are further described as being in the custody or charge (*qāt*) of other persons. Bi 77 also adds for each individual thus listed, the phrase *ša limmu X* 'for the eponym (year) of X.' These records, then, appear to constitute lists of people to perform some unspecified duty in place of others for periods of at least one year each. The possibility suggests itself that what is involved here is military service performed by substitutes furnished at the expense of other citizens. That this practice was not previously unknown is indicated by the Code of Hammurabi (par. 26) in which it is explicitly forbidden to specific categories of professional troops who were under feudal obligation to the crown.⁴⁴ Bi 72 interrupts such a register to include a notation of numbers of horses and mules (lines 11-18), which may also represent a requisition of these much-needed animals for military purposes.

Bi 85 affords some idea of the range of activities pursued in Šibaniba during the ninth century. The text is a list of houses of various classes of artisans and professionals, and the number of men (*šābē*) supplied by each for some unknown purpose. Together with such expected categories as shepherds (line 11), scribes (¹⁴A.BA, line 12), carpenters (line 16) and leatherworkers (line 19), the list includes a number of persons connected with the cult, including musicians (line 15), temple administrators (line 17), 'devotees of the goddess (Ištar)' (line 18, cf. also lines 14, 22), and possibly augurs (line 13). The presence of such an array of cult personnel lends confirmation to the archeological evidence from the site for the existence at Šibaniba of a shrine of Ištar. The mention of a palace at the beginning of this document recalls also the archeological evidence of royal buildings of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III at Šibaniba. The impression gained from all the evidence, therefore, is that Šibaniba in the ninth century was a provincial center of more than negligible significance.

THE POPULATION

The pre-Assyrian layers of Tell Billa are characterized by a pottery which has been connected

41. CT XXVI 31 vii 81 ff.

42. *Bavian Inscription*, 9 (III R 14 ff.), CT XXVI 34 viii 33 ff. For translations cf. T. Jacobsen, *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan*, 34-39.

43. The pass which leads to the modern counterpart of Šibaniba is still used for the transportation of large flocks of sheep to the markets of Mosul and beyond.

44. Cf. below on Bi 72 note c.

with the Hurrians. The assumption may be made that the population of the town at an earlier period belonged at least in part to that group. If so, it is not surprising to observe among the proper names of our tablets a certain number which certainly are Hurrian. Ur̄ḫi-Tešub (Bi 44) is a typically Hurrian name; in addition there are names like Gelzu (Kelzu) in Bi 2 2, and Irrigi (Bi 34 12), which are attested in Nuzi and are probably Hurrian.⁴⁵ Then there is Ibrī-šarru (Bi 4 4), possibly representing the common Hurrian name Ewri-šarri.⁴⁶ Other names which might also be Hurrian are Piradi (Bi 4 3), Burdiya (Bi 2 4), and Butini (Bi 2 22). Hurrian survivals in the language of Assyrian Šibaniba may be seen in the use of the title *ḥasiḫlu*, which appears to be identical with Nuzi *ḥalzuḫlu*, and, as suggested above, denoting the office more commonly known in Assyrian records as *šaknu* or *bēl paḫati*. The conjunction *entu* suggests a connection with *undu*, likewise a conjunction, so frequent in Nuzi Akkadian.⁴⁷

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE BILLA TABLETS

The geographical horizon of the Billa texts, except for a few isolated cases, is restricted to the immediate vicinity of Šibaniba. Bīt-Zamāni (if the reading should be borne out) is the westernmost place mentioned (Bi 6 8). The land of Kutmuḫi,⁴⁸ about one hundred miles to the north of Šibaniba, occurs in an otherwise damaged and obscure context (Bi 12 18). Ḥanigalbat, some five or six days' journey to the west, is the destination of a body of troops recruited from the towns around Šibaniba (Bi 49). The town of Adiu, the last named city in this text, is probably identical with Adia, mentioned together with Nineveh and Šibaniba among the cities that revolted against Shalmaneser III,⁴⁹ and should therefore be sought in the vicinity of that area. Ekallāte occurs both in a text which includes Šibaniba and Adiu (Bi 48 2) and in another frag-

ment (Bi 53 2). This city is hardly identical with the well-known Ekallāte of other sources, as it would represent a surprisingly extended southern horizon for the Billa tablets, also of about five or six days' journey. A reference to the city of Ashur, about seventy miles to the south, may be contained in Bi 65 7, if the reading 'Libbi-āli is borne out.

The only other cities named in the LA texts from Billa which had been known from previous sources are Išpari(r)ra (Bi 72 33) and Rēš-ēni or Rēš-ēnāti (Bi 82 13; 77 5), both of which are in the immediate vicinity of Šibaniba, and are included with it in the Bavian inscription.⁵⁰ The localities described as *ālu du(n)nu* in Bi 47 and 51 represent what might freely be rendered as 'manor' (Arabic *qaṣr*).^{50a} They are little more than very small villages, usually the property of a single individual or family. Most of those listed in these texts were undoubtedly located in the immediate vicinity of Šibaniba. The city of Ḥašuanu, previously unknown, figures a number of times in the Billa records (Bi 12 15; 47 21; 55 9; 63 19) and was a town of apparently some importance, since a palace was located there (Bi 12 15). Its site is unknown. Another city of unusual interest is one written URU.UDU. It is mentioned, interestingly enough, in an administrative record dealing with sheep (Bi 21 3). If Bi 47 is pertinent, the name is written there URU.UDU^{mes} (line 30), but in this instance the context is not entirely preserved and its meaning not readily understood. The reference is very likely to sheep collected from the localities listed. The name occurs again, however, in the LA text 72 7, where it appears to be an element in a personal name. That a locality may be known as 'sheep-town' is certainly a possibility — it might even be suggested that the name is an appellation for Šibaniba itself, in view of the major object of its commerce — but its use as an onomastic element would be extraordinary.^{50b}

TYPES OF MIDDLE ASSYRIAN TEXTS FROM BILLA

Most of the MA tablets from Billa are economic, legal, and administrative documents similar

45. Cf. I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, A. M. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* where the name here written *Ge-el-zi* is read by the authors, however, as *Gelge*, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 82, 83. Note also the names Purame (Bi 10 18) and Se(n)nuni (Bi 2 20), *ibid.*, 247 and 256.

46. Cf. Speiser, III, 127 and under *ewri*, p. 218.

47. Cf. below on Bi 63 note a.

48. Cf. E. F. Weidner, *AfO III* (1926), 154, 156 f. on this country.

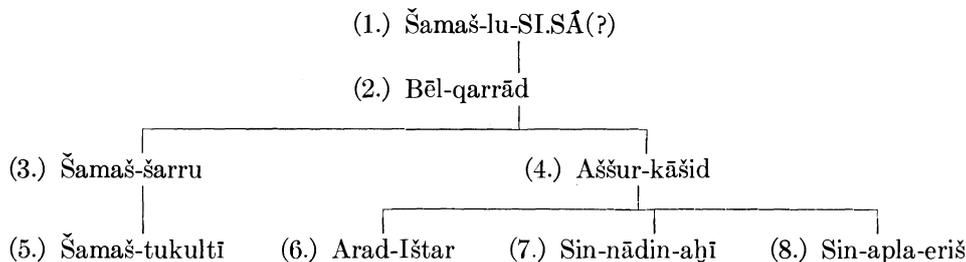
49. Cf. above, note 38. See also RLA I 36 where Adia is equated with Adian and placed at Debok.

50. Cf. above, note 42.

50a. Cf. E. Ebeling, *Bruchstücke einer mittellassyrischen Vorschriftenammlung* etc. (Deutsche Akademie . . . , Institut für Orientforschung, Nr. 7, 1951) p. 27.

50b. For *Ālu Essu* (Bi 72 31; 76 13; 79 2) cf. now ND 3469 (Iraq 15 152) 7.

to the tablets from Ashur of the same period published largely in KAJ. The documents are apparently from the archive of a single family. The relationship of the individual members of that family can be seen from the following diagram:



- (1.) father of (2.) Bi 5 8;
 (2.) father of (3.) and (4.) Bi 3 5, 8;
 (5.) son of (3.) Bi 3 6;
 (6.) son of (4.) Bi 10 7, 23;
 (7.) son of (4.) Bi 9 4;
 (8.) son of (4.) Bi 3 3.

The principal figures appearing in most of these records are Aššur-kāšid and his son Sin-apla-eriš, the *ḥasiḫlu* "district chief (governor)" of Šibaniba and probably the highest-ranking government official in the town. They figure in transactions of a private nature, either as creditors or as debtors, as well as in transactions connected with their official positions. It is noteworthy that in private transactions the official titles of these individuals are usually omitted. The administrative records, or those of a public nature usually carry the provision for the breaking of the tablet when the specified orders had been complied with.⁵¹

1. Private Transactions

The most usual type of private transaction is a loan agreement (Bi 1–5) for quantities of barley or lead (or tin) for a specified term, usually terminating with the following harvest. When interest is specified after lapse of the time limit, it may be understood that the advantage to the creditor prior to that time lay in the usufruct of the material held as pledge (*šapartu*). Such an arrangement is made explicit in Bi 5, which provides for the antichretic use by the creditor of a designated area of cultivated field in lieu of interest. The performance of harvest labor by the

51. See Koschaker, NKRA, 143.

debtor for the creditor as provided in Bi 1 is similarly to be regarded as the equivalent of interest for the basic term of the loan. The more common loan agreement (Bi 2–4) provides for security of a general nature (*mimmu-šu zakū* 'his

unencumbered property') which is obviously not taken by the creditor at the time of the loan, but gives the creditor the right to take as pledge, in the future, whatever property of the debtor is otherwise unencumbered. Bi 9 presents a secondary arrangement whereby the brother of a debtor pays off the latter's creditor and thereby becomes his brother's creditor. The circumstances leading to this arrangement are, of course, unknown, but similar transactions are found among the Ashur documents.⁵²

2. Administrative Records

The documents from Billa of a public nature, usually identified by the aforementioned clause providing for the breaking of the tablet, and often also by the lack of witnesses,⁵³ are likewise concerned primarily with the disposition of quantities of grain or sheep. Bi 6, despite obscurities resulting from poor preservation, is of interest in that a number of officials appear in the transaction. Aside from Aššur-kāšid, the *ḥasiḫlu* of the city of Bīt-Zamāni, the transaction involves Aššur-šum-iddina, the *rab ālāni*,⁵⁴ and a royal superintendent or prefect (¹⁴*qīpū ša šarri*).⁵⁵ The king himself is mentioned in another document (Bi 12 17), but the context, unfortunately, is only partly preserved. The local millers (¹⁴*al-[a]ḫīnu*) appear in Bi 7 and 8, and the *kakardīnu* is the recipient of quantities of grain in Bi 29. Taxes in grain, presumably collected from the

52. KAJ 160–166.

53. A reliable criterion noted by Koschaker, op. cit., 138.

54. Cf. Bi 48 11.

55. Cf. below on Bi 6 note c.

local population were stored in the government granary (Bi 30), from which quantities were withdrawn for various purposes, such as rations for horses (Bi 31–33) which probably belonged to the local garrison, and for artisans (¹⁴*kiškattū*, Bi 35) and troops (Bi 41). Sheep were also used in payment of taxes. Bi 37 records the receipt by an official of a sheep from an individual whose name appears also in the long register of towns and ‘manors’ (Bi 47 19) from which sheep had been collected. Bi 25 is a receipt for an implement drawn for the performance of the corvée (*iškaru*), suggesting that at least in some areas the private citizen did not have to use his own implements for such labor.

3. Letters

The letters happen to be the most poorly preserved of the Billa records. Most of them, including a very badly effaced tablet which remains unpublished (UM 33–58–26), are addressed to Ašur-šum-iddina, known from Bi 48 as the *rab ālāni*, whose residence, in view of the fact that these letters were found there, was at Šibaniba.

4. Miscellaneous texts

Among the unclassified records from Billa are lists of individuals, the purposes of which are not clear (Bi 49, 51–55, 59), notes regarding quantities of grain or flour (Bi 40, 42, 45) and objects (Bi 46).

Two lexical texts are included in the Billa records. Bi 56 is a Sumerian list of domestic animals; the preserved portions list oxen, cows, calves, asses, and she-asses. Bi 58 is a fragment of an undetermined type of lexical text.

TYPES OF LATE ASSYRIAN TEXTS FROM BILLA

Of the LA texts here published, only one, Bi 68, can be considered a private business document, although some very small unpublished fragments show that there were others. The remainder are all administrative records of various kinds. Those that are of significance for Assyrian history in its larger aspects have already been discussed. Of the others, Bi 69 deals with an order to arrest a number of village headmen (¹⁴*ḥazānālc*). That part of the text, however, which probably included the reason for such drastic action, is unfortunately damaged. Bi 78, another difficult text, records allotments of grain, possibly seed-corn, to large numbers of people (if *ZI^{mas}* = *nap-*

šāti is taken in the sense of ‘souls’). The individual responsible for the allocation is one Zukaya, the most prominent individual in the LA records from Billa, and identified according to the fragment Bi 79 4 as a governor (¹⁴*šā-ki[n]*). Bi 70 is a list of sheep and goats given to or collected from individuals, and Bi 71 is a fragment of a similar notation involving some garments. Bi 80 and 81 are registers of offerings of individuals. The objects include vessels, grain, meat, fowl, and beer.

THE CALENDAR OF THE BILLA TEXTS

The MA texts from Billa follow the same calendar that is known from other texts of this period.⁵³ The following register of month-names includes also those that are only partially preserved.

Ši(p)pu (Bi 7, 12, 14)

Qarrātu (Bi 4, 10, 29)

Tanmartu (Bi 6, 16, 18, 35)

Sin (unrepresented)

Kuzallu (Bi 2, 23, 33)

Allanātu (Bi 3, 5, 8)

Bēl(a)-tēkallim (Bi 21, 26)

Ša-sarāte (Bi 25, 34, 36)

Ša-kināte (unrepresented)

Abu-šarrāni (Bi 31)

Muḥur-ilāni (Bi 9, 11, 27, 30)

Hibur (Bi 1)

The Late Assyrian calendar was already in use by the time of the LA texts from Billa. The only dated text is Bi 68 in which the month is Ulūlu (KIN).

II. TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The texts which follow are divided into the two broad categories of Middle and Late Assyrian. Within these, an attempt has been made to present the material in something resembling a topical order. The list of correspondences between the publication numbers of the texts and those of the University Museum catalogue is given on p. 147.

Transliterations are given wherever a useful purpose can be served. Translations are given only for those texts that offer some connected context. Lists have not been translated in com-

56. See E. F. Weidner, AfO X (1935–6) 27 f.; J. Lewy, Archiv Orientalni 11 (1939) 35 ff.

plete form; individual items of interest have been treated in the notes.

The system of transliteration followed is that of W. von Soden, *Das Akkadische Syllabar* supplemented by R. Labat, *Manuel d'epigraphie akkadienne*. Capital letters represent Sumerian except where an entire text is in Sumerian (Bi 56) when lower case roman is used. All determinatives are in Sumerian, unspaced roman, except the following: ¹ for male persons, ^f female personal names, ^d names of divinities, and ^c for cities.

Lacunae are indicated by brackets. In the transliterations, one or two dots represent loss of a sign. No more than about seven dots are used to represent lack of complete line. Questionable readings are usually represented by a ?-mark or indicated in the notes. In the translations parentheses indicate words added to complete the sense, but not represented in the Akkadian. Italics in the translations indicate uncertain interpretations or restorations.

A. MIDDLE ASSYRIAN TEXTS

1. Private Transactions

1. Loan of barley with provision for harvest duties to be performed by debtors. The terms of repayment are only partially preserved.

¹ 1 *imēr* 5 *sāt še'u* 1 GĀN *eqli* [x *ku-ma*]-*nī* 4 GĪR^{meš} *eqli* ² *i-na muḫḫi* ¹Šil-lī-y[a] ³ *mār* ^d[. . .]-*i-qiš-ša* ⁴ 1 *imēr* [.] *ku-ma-nī* 4 GĪR^{meš} *eqli* ⁵ *i-na muḫḫi* [.]-*ya* ⁶ *mār* [.] ⁷*napḫar* 3 *imēr še'a i-na* ⁸*sūti laberti* ³ GĀN *eqla* ⁹ 3 *ku-ma-nī* *eqla* ⁹ *e-ša-du* *ša* ¹ ^dA-šur-ū-ma-i ¹⁰ *ša qāt* ¹ ^dSin-apla-ēriš ¹¹ *mār* ^dA-šur-kāšid^{id} ¹² *il-qi-ū* ¹³ *q[aaq]ad še'i* [*i-na* ?] *ad-[ra?te?]*^b ¹⁴ *i-na ūm?* [.] ¹⁵ *ū* [.] ¹⁶ *e-da-[nu e-ti-iq-ma]* ¹⁷ *še'u a-na šipti il[lak]* ¹⁸ *šum-ma GĀN eqla la* [. . .] ¹⁹ *bilat?* GĀN *eqla ū-ma-lu-ūc*

²⁰ IGI *A-su-ki-ya mār* ^dA-šur-re-ma-nī ²¹ IGI ^dSin-šum-iddina^{na} ²² *mār Nap-še-ri-ya* ²³ IGI *Šu-ub-ri-ū tup[šarru]* ²⁴ *mār Sa-mi-du*

²⁵ *arah* *Hi-bur ūm* ¹⁵^{kám} ²⁶ *li-mu* ¹*Kidin*-^d*Sin mār Adad-te-ya*

1 *imēr* 50 *qū* of barley, 1 *ikū* [x *kuma*]nu and 4 feet of field charged to Šilliya, son of [. . .]-iqiša; 1 *imēr* [50 *qū*^d of barley, x *ikū* x] *kumānu* and 4 feet of field (5) charged to [. . .]-ya, son of [.], a total of 3 *imēr* of barley by the old measure, 3 *ikū* and 3 *kumānu* of field for harvest-

ing belonging to Aššur-uma'i, (10) which are in the hand of Sin-apla-ēriš, son of Aššur-kāšid, (which) they have received. The prin[cipal] of the barley [on the threshing-floor] at the time [.] (15) and [.] When the term [has elapsed,] the barley shall incur interest. If a (single) *ikū* of field they fail [to harvest,] the yield of (each) *ikū* of field they shall make good.

Three witnesses. Date.

The closest parallel to this type of loan agreement among the Ashur texts is KAJ 81, where a small area of field to be harvested (*ešīdi*) is included among the provisions. In such cases, the harvesting of the fields is to be understood as representing the interest for the primary period of the loan of grain which usually terminated with the following harvest. KAJ 50 9 marks such labor explicitly as interest. Should the debtor then fail to perform the stipulated harvest labor, supply other men to perform the work or the money to hire such men, the debtor is then held responsible for the entire value of the crop of the area he was to have harvested. If, in addition, he failed to repay the principal of the loan at the time of harvest, regular interest at the prevailing rates would then be charged. For complete discussion of these agreements see P. Koschaker, NKRA 108 ff.

a. These measures of area occur in the same order in KAJ 149 2. It appears from our text that 8 feet = 1 *kumānu*. This last term is also common at Nuzi, cf. F. R. Steele, *Nuzi Real Estate Transactions*, 27. An *ikū* = 3,528.36 square meters, cf. W. Schwenzner, *Zum alt-babylonischen Wirtschaftsleben*, MVAG 19 (1914)/3 10, and Fr. Thureau-Dangin, *Journal Asiatique* 13 (1909), 99.

b. For restorations in lines 13–17 cf. Bi 2,4.

c. The penalty for failure to perform the harvest labor which the debtors had probably agreed to. *bilat* in line 19 follows the form of KAJ 81 20, but the sign GUN in our text is indistinct.

d. The total of barley being 3 *imēr* (line 7), and there being 100 *qū* to the *imēr*, cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Journal Asiatique* 13, 103.

2. Loan of lead with security.

¹

² [x] + 30 MA.NA AN.NA ³ *ša* ¹*Ge-el-zu* ⁴ *mār Bur-di-a*-[. . .] ⁵ *i-na muḫḫi* ^d*Sin-ap[la]-ēriš* ⁶ *mār* ^dA-šur-kāšid^{id} ⁷ *mār Bēl-qarrād* ⁸ *ša* ^c*Ši-ba-ni-*

[b]e ⁹ ilqī ¹⁰ a-di 1 arah [ūmāte^{meš?}] ¹¹ qaqqad [AN.NA] ¹² i-ḥi-a[t] ¹³ [šú]ma-ma^b a-d[i 1 arḥi] ¹⁴ AN.NA la i-t[ī-din] ¹⁵ AN.NA ana šipti il[lak] ¹⁶ ki [ša-par-ti] mi-mu-šu [za-ku-a] ¹⁷ ša ¹⁸ [Sin-ap]la-ēriš ¹⁹ Ge-el-zu i-ša-bat

¹⁹ IGI ^dŠamaš-apla(A)-ušur ²⁰ [mār] Še-nu-ni ²¹ [IGI] ^dAdad-[.]li-²² mār Bu-ti?-ni ²³ IGI [.]ni ²⁴ mār ^dŠamaš-šum-ēriš ²⁵ IGI ^dŠamaš? -ME-²⁶ mār Na-ḥiš-[.]c

²⁷ arah Ku-zal-lu [.] ²⁸ [i-mu] ¹ ^dEnlil-[.]

[x] + 30 minas of lead^d belonging to Gelzu, son of Burdia[.], (5) charged to Sin-apla-ēriš, son of Aššur-kāšid, son of Bēl-qarrād, of the city of Šibanibe, (who) has received (it). (10) Up to one [full] month he shall pay (only) the principal [of the lead]. If within [one month] he should not repay the lead, (15) the lead shall incur interest. As [security], any [unencumbered] property of Sin-apla-ēriš, Gelzu shall seize.

4 witnesses. Date.

a. For restorations in lines 10, 13, 14 cf. KAJ 88 10 ff.

b. For this use of šum cf. KAJ 156 20.

c. The name is probably Na-ḥiš-šalmu, for which see MAOG 13/1, 64.

d. Or 'tin'

3. Loan of barley with security. The transliteration follows that of E. A. Speiser in *Symbolae Koschaker (Studia et Documenta II)*, Leiden, 1939, 145 f. The tablet is now largely disintegrated.

¹ kunuk ¹ ^dŠamaš-tukulti^{ti}

² 12 imēr še'u i-na sūti laberti ³ ša ¹ ^d Sin-apla-ēriš ⁴ mār ^dA-šur-kāšid^{id} ⁵ mār Bēl-qarrād ⁶ i-na muḥḥi ¹ ^d Šamaš-tukulti^{ti} ⁷ mār ^dŠamaš-šarri ⁸ mār Bēl-qarrād ⁹ il-qī i-na [ad-ra-te] ¹⁰ qaqqad dše'e i-[ma-da-ad] ¹¹ e-da-nu ¹² e-ti-iq-[ma] ¹³ še'u a-na šipti illak ¹⁴ ki na-aš-lam-[ti] ¹⁵ še'e an-ni-e ¹⁶ ki ša-pār-te mi-mu-šu za-ku-a ¹⁷ ša ¹ ^dŠamaš-tukulti^{ti} ¹⁸ ¹ ^d Sin-apla-ēriš i-ša-bat ú-ka-al

¹⁹ IGI Erība(SU)-^d Sin mār Nap-še-ri-ya ²⁰ mār Ki-di-ni ²¹ IGI Sa-mi-du ²² mār Mu-dammeq -^d Adad(IM) ²³ IGI Šu-ub-ri-ú dup-sar ²⁴ mār Sa-mi-di ²⁵ arah Al-la-na-tu ²⁶ ūmu ¹⁶ ^{kám} li-mu ²⁷ [M]u-ši-ib-ši-^d VII-ta

Seal(ed document) of Šamaš-tukultī. 12 imēr of barley by the old sūtu, belonging to Sin-apla-ēriš son of Aššur-kāšid (5) son of Bēl-qarrād, charged to Šamaš-tukultī son of Šamaš-šarri son of Bēl-qarrād (who) has received (it). On

the [threshing-floor] (10) he shall [measure out] the principal of the barley. When the term has elapsed, the barley shall incur interest. As counter-value (15) for this barley Sin-apla-ēriš shall seize and hold as pledge any unencumbered property of Šamaš-tukultī.

3 witnesses. Date.

For other translations of this text cf. Speiser, *ibid.* and T. J. Meek in ANET 221. The form of this document follows the standard Middle Assyrian phraseology of loan contracts with security, on which cf. Koschaker, NKRA 96 ff.

4. Loan of barley with security. Upper part of tablet missing.

¹ [.]i-[.] ² mār I-qiš-[.] ³ i-na muḥḥi ¹ Pi-ra-[di] ⁴ mār Ib-ri-šarri ⁵ ilqī ⁶ [i-]na ad-ra-te ⁷ qaqqad še'e ⁸ imaddad ⁹ e-da-nu ¹⁰ e-ti-iq-ma ¹¹ še-um a-na šipti illak ¹² ki ša-pār-te mi-mu-šu za-ku-a ¹³ ša ¹ Pi-ra-di ¹⁴ Ki-din-^d A-šur ¹⁵ i-ša-bat ú-ka-al

¹⁶ IGI ^dA-šur-i-qiš-šá ¹⁷ mār ^dAdad-taš-mar ¹⁸ [IGI] Ki-din-[.] ¹⁹ [.] Ki-di[n]-[.] ²⁰ [.] ²¹ [arah Qar-]ra-tu [ūm x] ⁶ ^{kám} ²² [li-m]u ¹ ^dA-š[ur-kāšid]^{id}

[.] son of Iqīš-[.] charged to Piradi son of Ibri-šarri (5) (who) has received (it). On the threshing-floor he shall measure out the principal of the barley. When the term (10) has elapsed, the barley shall incur interest. Kidin-Aššur (15) shall seize and hold as pledge any unencumbered property of Piradi.

3(?) witnesses. Date.

4a. Fragment of record of loan of barley.

¹ [še-]um a-na šipti [illak] ² [ki-]i ša-pār-ti ³ [m]i-mu-šu za-ku-a ⁴ [.] i-ša-bat ú-ka-[al] ⁵ [IGI] Šum-lib-[ši] ⁶ [.]

5. Loan of barley with antichresis.

¹ ku[nuk] ¹ ^dA-šur-[kāšid]^{id}

² [x im]ēr še'u i-na [sūti . . .] ³ š[a . . .]-ilāni^{meš-ni} ⁴ mār [.] Ku-be ⁵ mār [.] ⁶ i-n]a muḥḥi [^dA]-šur-kāšid^{id} ⁷ mār Bēl-qarrād ⁸ mār ^dŠamaš-lu-SI.SĀ^{(?)a} ⁹ [il-qī ki-mu-ú] ¹⁰ [ši]=pāti^{meš} še'e an-ni-e ¹¹ [x GĀ]N egle egle me-ri-še ¹² tīḥ pa-al-ge qa-ba-al-ti-e ¹³ tīḥ ta-ḥu-me ¹⁴ ša ēkallim^{1im} ¹⁵ ŠE [.] ša iš-tu ¹⁶ ^cŠi-[b]a-ni-be ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ [.] ¹⁹ [.] ú-ka-al ²⁰ [.] ²¹ la i-šub^b ²² [.] ²³ [eqil-]šu i-pa-ṭar

(names of witnesses effaced)

²⁵ *araḥ Al-la-na-[tu]* ²⁶ *ūmu* 21^{kám} [*li-mu*]
²⁷ *Be?-ir?-[.....]*

Seal of Aššur-kāšid

[x] *imēr* of barley by the [.....] *sūtu* belonging to [.....]-*ilāni* son of [.....]-Kube (5) son of [.....] charged to Aššur-kāšid son of Bēl-qarrād son of Šamaš-lu-SI.SĀ (who) has received (it). (10) As [int]erest for this barley [x *i*] *krū* of cultivated field bordering on the central irrigation-ditch, (and) bordering on the boundary of the palace, (15) the barley [....] from the city of Šibanibe (3 lines lost) shall hold. [*The barley*] bears no [interest] (20) [*and the field*] has no [....] [*Whenever he repays the barley*] he shall redeem his [field].

The agreement is almost identical with KAJ 13, which, together with other records of loans with antichretic arrangements, is discussed by Koschaker in NKRA 108 ff.

a. The name occurs also in the unpublished Billa fragment UM 33-58-157 4 where the last sign is better preserved.

b. The last signs suggest the restorations on the basis of KAJ 13 26: AN.NA MĀŠ NU.TUK. The following line of our text should approximate the A.ŠĀ GA.RI NU.TUK of the Ashur text. The otherwise unknown GA.RI is translated by Koschaker as 'yield'. The traces of its Akkadian equivalent, which the Billa text contained, are unfortunately illegible.

2. Public Transactions

6. Note of obligation for barley; purposes not clear.

[x] *imēr še'u i-na sūti* [*laberti*] ² [*ša*]-*ilāni*^{meš-ni} ³ [. . . .]-*šu* ⁴ [*mār?* ^d *Sin-rab-ki-ni* ⁵ *i-n[a] muḥḥi* ¹ ^d *A-šur-kāšid* ^{id} ⁶ *mār Bēl-qarrād* ⁷ ¹⁴ *ḥa-siḥ-li* ⁸ *ša ḥal-ši* ^c *Bīt-za-ma-ni* ^c ⁹ *ša* ^d *A-šur-šum-iddina*^{na} ¹⁰⁻¹¹ [.] ¹² ¹ *ku?-da-nu*^b ¹³ [.] . . . ¹⁴ ¹⁴ *qi-pu-tu*^d ¹⁵ *ša šarri a-na GIŠ* . . . ¹⁶ *ša* ^c *Ši-ba-ni-be* ¹⁷ *a-na ri-ú-te* ¹⁸ *i-di-ni* ¹⁹ *še'a imaddad!* ²⁰ *ú* [.]

²¹ *araḥ Tan-mar-tu ūmu* 20^{kám} ²² [*i-mu* ²³ *Ki-din-ilāni*^{meš-ni}

[x] *imēr* of barley by the [old] *sūtu* [belonging to]-*ilāni* [the son of] *šu* [son of] *Sin-rab-ki-ni* (5) charged to Aššur-kāšid son of Bēl-qarrād, the *ḥasiḥlu* of the district of the city of Bīt-Zamāni, which Aššur-šum-iddina (10) [.] one *mule* [.] . . . the representatives (15) of

the king, for the . . of the city of Šibanibe, had given for pasture. He shall measure out the barley (20) and [.]

Date.

The personnel involved and the lack of witnesses mark this as an administrative record.

a. This reading is established by Bi 20 7 where the word is written out *ḥa-si-ih-[li]*. The identity of this office with that of *ḥalzuḥlu* of the Nuzi documents is indicated by the connection of the title with *ḥalšu* in line 8. The office is probably that of 'chief' or 'overseer' of the citadel or district. The Hurrian element *-uḥlu* represents the nomina professionis, cf. Speiser, IH 130. The term occurs once in the Ashur texts, KAJ 296 15. See also J. Lewy, HUCA XIV (1939) 621 fn. 153.

b. The reading is uncertain.

c. It must be admitted that the city of Bīt-Zamāni is not expected here; all the affairs of this individual and his family as reflected in the Billa records appear to be centered in Šibaniba. Repeated collation of the tablet, however, has convinced the writer that the given reading is correct, but cf. below on Bi 17.

d. ¹⁴ *qi-pu-tu* is plural of ¹⁴ *qēpu*; the same form occurs in KAV 2 iii 17ff. and also in KAJ 247 8. For ¹⁴ *qēpu ša šarri* see KAJ 109 13; 113 8, 16, 25. The duties of the office are not of themselves explained by the title which appears to be little more specific than 'representative (of the king)'. The two Ashur texts in which the *qēpu* is involved, concern food rations for 'displaced troops' (*šābū nasḫūtu* 'war prisoners?'). In the Late Assyrian period the title clearly refers to a local official (*ša eli āli*, cf. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtenium* 3 on II R 31 5). The numerous occurrences in the Late Assyrian letters (cf. RCAE IV 141) show the *qēpu* to be concerned primarily with the military affairs in the distant cities of the empire, and as being answerable in such matters directly to the king (ABL 88). In a few instances, however, the *qēpu* is described as being in charge of the temples in certain important cities, especially in the South, such as Uruk (ABL 476), Sippar, Kutha, Ḥursagkalama, Dilbat (ABL 1214 rev. 6ff.), and at Esagila in Babylon (ABL 516 rev. 1). Among the responsibilities of the *qēpu* in such a capacity was that of seeing that the royal directives regarding the ritual were faithfully carried out (ABL 968 15). The *qēpu* in such instances was clearly the

royal attaché at the shrines of some of the most important Babylonian gods, whose favor the Assyrian kings constantly besought. In the secular sphere as well, the *qēpu* should be regarded as a representative of the royal interests — usually of a military nature — in the distant cities, while the purely local affairs of civil government were the concern of the mayor (*ḥaziānu*).

Cf. further, Johns, ADD II 84ff.

7. Order for collection of quantities of grain.

1 *imēr* [...] ² 1 *imēr* [...] ³ *i-na sūti* [...] ⁴ *ša ekallim*^{lim} ⁵ *ša qāt* ^{1 d} *A-šur-kāšid*^{id} ⁶ ¹ *Kidin-KA.NU.NE*^a ⁷ ^{1 a} *al-ḥe-nu*^b ⁸ *a-na ta-kūl?-te*^c ⁹ *ma-ḥi-ir*^d ¹⁰ *ú-ša-dan* ¹¹ *[ni]kassē*^{meš} *i-ša-bat*^e ¹² *ù tup-pu-šu* ¹³ *i-ḥap-pi* ¹⁴ *arah Ši-ip-p[u* ¹⁵ *ūmu]* ⁹ ^{kám} [...]

1 *imēr* of [...], 1 *imēr* of [...] by the [...] *sūtu* of the palace (5) due to Aššur-kāšid, Kidin-KA.NU.NE, the miller, received for the feast. (10) (When) he collects (it), he shall ‘seize the accounts’ and destroy the tablet of the person concerned. Date (eponym lost).

a. Scarcely Kidin-ka-nūbil.

b. The usual form of this title in Middle Assyrian texts is *ala(h)ḥīnu* (cf. Bi 15 9), and *lahḥīnu* in Late Assyrian. For the translation ‘miller’ see B. Landsberger in AfO 10 150.

c. See Bi 8 6.

d. ‘Received’ is anticipatory. He will have received the grain only after he collects it. The idea is that he is already charged for it, for which the normal expression is *ina muḥḥi*.

e. I.e., see to it that the person concerned is properly credited with the amount collected.

8. Order for collection of grain.

2 *i[mēr ...]* ² *i-na sūti* [...] ³ *ša ēka[llim*^{lim} ⁴ *ša qāt* ^{1 d} *A-[šur-kāšid]*^{id} ⁵ ¹ *Arad-Idiglat* ^{1 a} *al-ḥ[é-n]u* ⁶ *[a-na ta-kūl-ti?* ⁷ *[m]a-ḥi-ir* ⁸ *[ú-]ša-dan* ⁹ *[nikass]*^{meš} ¹⁰ *i-ša-bat* ¹¹ *ù tup-pu-šu* ¹² *i-ḥa-pi* ¹³ *arah Al-[la-na-tu]* ¹⁴ *ūmu* ¹⁰ ^{kám} *[li-mu]* ¹⁵ ^{1 d} *A-šu[r-...]*

2 *imēr* of [...] by the [...] *sūtu* of the palace, due to Aššur-kāšid, (5) Arad-Idiglat, the miller, received for the feast. (When) he collects (it), he shall (10) ‘seize the accounts’, and destroy the tablet of the person concerned.

The document is similar to Bi 7. Our text here appears to have *ta-GUL-nu* in line 6. No form *taš/sunnu* — a possible reading of the word

— is known to the writer, and it is just barely possible that the last sign is the beginning of *ti*.

9. Transfer of a note for collection. It is not clear whether the transaction is of a public or a private nature.

1 *tup-pu ša* 1 *bilat AN.NA* ² *ša* ^{1 A} *pi-la-qi* ³ *mār* ^d *Šamaš-nāšir mār* ^d *Adad-ni-ši* ⁴ *ša i-na muḥḥi* ¹ *Sin-nādin-a-ḥi* ⁵ *mār* ^d *A-šur-kāšid*^{id} ⁶ *mār Bēl-qarrād* ⁷ *šaṭ-ru-ú-tu-ni* ⁸ *a-na* ^{1 d} *Sin-apla-ēriš* ⁹ *[mār]* ^d *A-šur-kāšid*^{id} ¹⁰ *[mār]* *Bēl-qarrād* ¹¹ *[a-na ša-du-ni* ¹² *ta-ad-na-at* ¹³ *ša pī* ¹ *tup-pi šu-[a?]-ša(?)* ¹⁴ *[A-pi-la-qi* ¹⁵ *ma-ḥi-ir* ¹⁶⁻²³ [(only few traces)] ²⁴ [.....-] ^d *A-šur t]upšarru* ²⁵ *[mār]* *Sa-me-di* ²⁶ *arah Mu-ḥur-ilāni*^{meš} ²⁷ *ūmu* ¹⁵ ^{kám} ²⁸ *li-mu* ^{1 d} *Adad-[...]*

1 tablet of 1 talent of lead belonging to Apilaqi son of Šamaš-nāšir son of Adad-niši which is written out as charged against Sin-nādin-aḥi (5) son of Aššur-kāšid son of Bēl-qarrād, is handed over to Sin-apla-ēriš son of Aššur-kāšid (10) son of Bēl-qarrād for collection. The amount stipulated in the tablet Apilaqi (15) has received.

(Remaining text and names of witnesses lost). Date.

The brother of a debtor has paid the debt for him (possibly as a guarantor) thereby himself assuming the right of satisfaction. Parallels for this case are KAJ 161 and 163 which record the actual sale of tablets by the respective creditors for the full amounts of the debts, the advantage to the purchaser, presumably, being the expected interest on the loan. For further discussion of these documents see Koschaker, NKRA 42 f.

10. Note of obligation for quantities of barley.

kunuk ^{1 d} *Sin-apla-ēriš* ² *[x i]mē[r še’u i-na sūti laberti* ³ *i-na m[uhḥi]* ^{1 d} *Sin-[ap]la-ēriš* ⁴ *[mār* ^d *A-]šur-kāšid*^{id} ⁵ *[mār Bēl-qar]rād-ma* ⁶ *[x i]mēr še’u i-na sūti laberti* ⁷ *i-na muḥḥi* ¹ *Arad-ili-šu* ⁸ *mār* ^d *A-šur-kašid*^{id} ⁹ *mār Bēl-qarrād-ma* ¹⁰ *še’u an-ni-ú* ¹¹ *ina libbi?* *...-ya* ¹² [.....] ¹³ *[i-na ad-[r]a?-te* ¹⁴ [.....] ¹⁵ *[ù] tup-p[u]-šu* ¹⁶ *i-ḥap-pi* ¹⁷ *IGI Nūri-ya* ¹⁸ *mār Pu-ra-me* ¹⁹ *IGI Šil-li-a-du-ra-še* ²⁰ *mār Mār-Idi-š-tar* ²¹ *IGI* ^d *Adad-me-ḥir* ²² *mār Bu-[n]i?-ya* ²³ *IGI Arad-ili-šu tupšarru* ²⁴ *mār* ^d *A-šur-kašid*^{id}

²⁵ *arab* *Qar-ra-tu* ²⁶ *ūmu* 17^{kám} *li-mu* ²⁷ I^d *A-šur-kašid*^{id}

Seal of Sin-apla-ēriš

[x] *imēr* of barley by the old *sūtu* is charged against Sin-apla-ēriš son of Aššur-kāšid (5) son of Bēl-qarrād, [x] *imēr* of barley by the old *sūtu* is charged against Arad-ilišu son of Aššur-kāšid son of Bēl-qarrād. (10) This barley, from (illegible) on the *th[resh]ing-floor* [.] (15) and he shall destroy his tablet.

4 witnesses. Date.

The part of the text, beginning with line 10 which contained the essentials of the transaction, are unfortunately too poorly preserved for reliable restoration. The charge for the barley is against two brothers, the first of whom is the *ḥasiḥlu* of Šibanibe. It may be possible to restore the name *Šil-l-ya* in line 11, but *ina libbi Šilliya* would hardly be possible. The traces do not support *qāt* — as would be expected — in place of *libbi*, unless there had been a scribal error here. The document must otherwise be viewed as administrative rather than as a personal transaction, especially in view of the *tuppu-šu iḥappi* clause.

11. Note regarding allocation of barley.

[x +]4 *imēr* *še'a* [. . . .] ² [š]a I^d *Sin-ap[la-ēriš]* ³ *mār* ^d [A-šur-kāšid^{id}] ⁴ ^{1a} [ḥa-]stḥ-l[i] ⁵ *ša* ^c *Ši-ba-ni-[be]* ⁶ *a-na* *ši-pi-ir-te* ⁷ *ša* I^d *Šamaš-ši-ma-ni* ⁸ ^{1a} *arad* *šarri* ⁹ *ša muḥḥi šul-ma?-ni?* ¹⁰ I^d *At-ḥi-na-da*^a ¹¹ *i* [. . . .] ¹² . . [. . . .] ¹³ *ma-ḥi-[ir]* ¹⁴ *pa-ḥa-at* *še'i* [. . .] ¹⁵ *an-ni-e za-ku-[e]* ¹⁶ I^d *At-ḥi-na-da na-ši*

¹⁷ IGI ^d *Adad-šamši-ya* ¹⁸ *mār* ^d *A-šur-re-ma-ni* ¹⁹ *mār* ^d *A-šur-šum-ušur* ²⁰ IGI *Šu-ub-ri-ú* ²¹ *mār Sa-mi-[di]* ²² IGI *Iš-me-d* *En[lil]* ²³ *mār Šūzub-d* *Nergal* ²⁴ [. .] ^d *Šamaš-nādin-a-[ḥi]*

²⁵ [*arab*] *Mu-[ḥur-ilāni]*^{meš} ²⁶ *ūmu* x^{kám} [. . . .] ²⁷]

[x +]4 *imēr* of barley [. . . .] belonging to Sin-apla-ēriš son of Aššur-kāšid, the *ḥasiḥlu* of (5) the city of Šibanibe, for the commission of Šamaš-šima(n)ni, the royal attendant,^b as a *šulmānu* (10) Athinada [.] received. Athinada bears the responsibility for the clearance of [. .] (15) this barley.

3 witnesses. Date.

If the reading *šul-ma-ni* in line 9 is correct, the document should be related to the group of

MA *šulmānu*-texts in KAJ discussed by the writer in JAOS 72 (1952) 77 ff.

a. The name occurs in the limmu-list(?) KAV 19 rev. 14.

b. The title has a more technical meaning than simply 'servant of the king.' The profession of *amat šarrūtu* and *arad šarrūtu* is known from the Neo-Babylonian legal records, cf. M. San Nicolò and A. Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, 715. For a possible analogue, note the special meaning of *arad-ēkalli* 'architect,' on which see now A. L. Oppenheim, *Archiv Orientalní* 17 (1949), 227 ff.

12. Administrative document involving different kinds of grain.

[*kunuk*] I^d *Qar-ra-[di]*

² 4 *imēr* [Š[E] *ar*-[. . . .] ³ 2 *im[er]* MUN^U^a ⁴ 1 *imēr* [Š[E] AM.GAL.Ū ⁵ *ša* I^d *Ba-ḥu-ú* ⁶ [mār x-] *šu-ilāni*^{meš-ni} ⁷ 2 *imēr* [.] ⁸ 3 *imēr* MUNU³ ⁹ 1 *imēr* ŠE.AM.GAL.Ū ¹⁰ [ša] I^d *Šamaš-ki-din-[ni]* ¹¹ [.] ¹² *i-na sūti ša ḥi-bur-ni* ¹³ [ša] I^d *Adad-za-qip mār Ṭābi-ya* ¹⁴ [i-n] *a muḥḥi* I^d *Qar-ra-di* ¹⁵ [. . . .] *ēkallim*^{lim} *ša* ^c *Ḥa-šu-a-ni* ¹⁶ [. . .] *tu an-ni-tu* ¹⁷ [. . .] DAG-ti *šarri ša* ¹⁸ ¹⁹ *ta-ad-na-aš-šu šarru* ²⁰ *i-din* [.] ²¹ *i-ša-bat* [.] ²² [.]

²³ *arab* *Ši-[ip-p]u* *ū[mu x^{kám}]* ²⁴ *li-mu* []^d *Nabu-* [. . . .]

Seal of Qarrādu

4 *imēr* of . . [. . . .], 2 *imēr* of green malt, 1 *imēr* of (5) belonging to Baḥu [son of . .]-*šu-ilāni*: 2 *imēr* [.], 3 *imēr* of green malt, 1 *imēr* of (10) [belonging to] Šamaš-kidinnu [.] by the measure of the storehouse, [belonging to] Adad-zāqip son of Ṭābiya, charged to Qarrādu (15) [. . .] the palace of the city of Ḥašuanu. This [. . . .] of the king, which [.] from the land of Kutmuḥi [. .] was given to him. (20) The king has given [.] he shall seize [.]. Date.

a: Cf. L. F. Hartman and A. L. Oppenheim, *On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia* (JAOS Suppl. 10, 1950) pp. 14 f., 17.

13. Receipt or note of obligation, probably for barley. Top of tablet lost.

i-na sūti ša b[īt ḥi-bur-ni?] ² *ša* I^d [A-] *šur-šadu-n* [i-še-šu] ³ *mār* ^d [.] ⁴ *ša i-na muḥ-ḥi*

¹ ^d[A-šur-kāšid^{id}] ⁵ mār Bel-qarrād ⁶ šaṭ-ru-ni
⁷ [. . . i-]na muḫḫi ¹Arad-[. . . .] ⁸ [. . . .] ^dA-šur-
a[ḫ-. . .] ⁹ [.-]ti-e ¹⁰ a-na pīⁱ ¹¹ tup-pi na-
āš-pi-i[r-te] ¹² ša ¹^dA-šur-šadu-ni-še-šu-ma ¹³ ma-
ḫi-ir

¹⁴ IGI ¹Sa-me-du ¹⁵ mār ^dA-šur-aḫ-iddina^{na} ¹⁶
IGI Aḫu-nāšir ¹⁷ mār Sa-me-di ¹⁸ IGI Šarru-
[. . . .] ¹⁹ [. . .] Sa-me-di

. . . by the *sūtu* of the [storehou]se which Aššur-
šadu-nīšēšu son of [.] which is recorded as
charged against Aššur-kāšid (5) son of Bel-qarrād
[. . . .], is charged against Arad-[. . . . son of]
Aššur-aḫ-[.]. (10) According to the
stipulation of the tablet of *authorization* in the
name of Aššur-šadu-nīšēšu [.] he has
received.

3 witnesses. Date lost.

14. Note of obligation for barley. Most of the
tablet is lost or effaced. The measure used (line
3) is that of the *bīt ḫiburni*. From the field notes
of E. A. Speiser the names in lines 6 and 20 may
be restored as ^dA-šur-tukulti^{ti} and ^dA-šur-šadu-
nīšē-šu (*limmu*) respectively. In lines 16–18 the
names are Aḫu-šulmāni^{ma-ni}, Bēl-^{mu}mušēzib
(scribe) and ^dŠamaš-ū-ma-i respectively.

15. Transaction involving 30 *imēr* of barley (line
14). The text is only fragmentary. Line 9
mentions the ¹⁴a-la-ḫi-nu on which cf. above on
Bi 7 7. Line 17 may be restored as [i-d]an-
ù [tup-]pu-šu i-ḫ[a-]pī, and marks this as an
administrative record.

16. Document concerning barley. Only the upper
half of the tablet is preserved.

kunuk Ṭāb-rigim-šu

² 5 *imēr* še'a i-na sūti laberti ³ ša ^dA-šur-da-
me-iq ⁴ mār ^dAdad-nādin-a-ḫi ⁵ ša i-na muḫḫi
¹ ^dA-šur-kāšid^{id} ⁶ [mār] Bēl-[qarrād]^a ¹⁴ḫa-siḫ-li
⁷ [.] šā [. . .] (Rest of obverse and top of re-
verse lost.) ⁸ IGI [. . .]ra-[. . .] ⁹ mār Ibašši-ili

¹⁰ [arah] Tan-mar-[t]u ūmu ²⁶kám ¹¹ li-(mu)
¹Ki-din-[ilāni^{me}]^{s-ni}

a. There does not appear to have been enough
space for UR.SAG.

17. Fragment of administrative document, cf.
line 11 f.: ù tup-pu-šu [i-ḫa-]pī. In lines 1 and

2 the names are ^dŠamaš-pu-u-te and Ba-ú-aḫ-
iddina^{na} respectively. Lines 3ff. seem to read
[^dA šur-]kašid^{id} [¹⁴ḫa-]siḫ-li [^cŠi-ba-]ni-b[e], which
appears to contradict our reading Bīt-Zamāni in
Bi 6 8. The reading in that text, however, ap-
pears to be more certain than the reading here.
It is also not impossible that Aššur-kāšid held
this post first in one city and then in the other.

18. Note of obligation for barley.

⁴ *imēr* še'a i-na sūti laberti ² ša ekallim^{1im}
³ ša gāt ¹ ^dA-šur-ēriš ⁴ ša muḫḫi ¹Mu-. . . .-šu
⁵ mār Ki-din-^dŠe-r[u]-a ⁶ š[a]-at-[ru-]ni ⁷ [.]
-bi ⁸ [ma-ḫi-]ir ⁹ [tup-pu-?]šu^a ¹⁰ [a-šar ? ti?-]li-
a-ni ¹¹ [a-na] ḫi-pi na-[a-at]

¹² [arah] Tan-mar-tu ūmu ¹⁰kám ¹³ [l]i-mu ¹Ša-
^dAdad-ni-nu

⁴ *imēr* of barley by the old measure of the
palace from the hand of Aššur-ēriš which has
been recorded as charged against Mu. . . . šu (5)
son of Kidin-Šerua [.] has [recei]ved. His
[tablet, wherever] it may [ap]pear, must be ren-
dered void.^b

a. Restorations in line 9 ff. follow similar
phraseology in KAJ 142 13 ff.

b. lit.: “is proper for breaking”.

19. Economic document concerning a quantity of
lead (tin). Entire left side of tablet is lost.
Much of the remaining portion is obliterated,
rendering the following transliteration doubtful in
many instances. No translation has been at-
tempted.

[.-]ia(?)

² [. . . .] tup-pu ³ [. . . .] a-du?-ra-ni-te ⁴ [.]
i?-]na a-me-ti ⁵ [. . . .] ma-gír HI ib?-ku-tu₄-ni
⁶ [. . . .] pi? tuppī? šu-a-ša ⁷ [. . . .] a-qa-bi-ú-ni
⁸ [. . . .] SAL ma-áš-ka-at? ⁹ [. . . .] bilat AN.NA
i-ḫi-at ¹⁰ [. . . .] na-ZI-ya ¹¹ [. . . .] bu-. . . -ti ¹² [. . . .]
MU nab?-[-. . .]ši ¹³ [. . . .] i-na [. . . .] ¹⁴ [. . . .^dS]in
-apl[a-ē]riš ¹⁵ [mār ^dA-šur-kāšid^{id}] ¹⁶ [mār B]ēl-
qarrād ¹⁷ [ša-]at-ru-tu₄-ni ¹⁸ [. . . .] p]i? tup-pi šu-a-ša?
¹⁹ [. . . .] KUR [. . . .] ma-ḫi-ir ²⁰ [.] ²¹ [tup-pu
š]i-i-ša ²² [a-šar ti-]li-a-ni ²³ [na-a]ḫ-ra-at ²⁴ [a-na
ḫi-]pi na-ṭa-a[t]

²⁵ [. . . .] mār GUR?-ḫu-[-. . .] ²⁶ [. . . .] mār Ki-
i-di ²⁷ [. . . .-]m]u-šal-lim [.] ²⁸ [. . . .] PAP
mār ^dŠamaš-] ²⁹ [.] mār Ku-. . . .-te
³⁰ [.-]id ³¹ [.³²] A-bu-ṭāb ³³
[.] li-mu ³⁴ [.]-na

a. For restorations in lines 21–24 see KAJ 142 12 ff.

20. Administrative document concerning the disposition of a group of men. Upper part of the tablet is missing.

[.....-]na² [.....-]bēl-ni-še-[šu]³ [.....-]ahh^{meš}-šu⁴ [.....] ^dA-šur-šum-ēriš⁵ [.....] i-n]a muhhi¹ ^dA-šur-kāšid^{id} ⁶[mār B[el-qarr[ād] ⁷[^dh]a-si-ih-[lī]^a šaṭ-ru-ni⁸ ša¹ ^dA-šur-.....] ⁹^dA-šur-.....] ¹⁰ ^dA-šur-.....] ¹¹[.....] ¹² Ū? ^d[.....] ¹³ a-na šābī^{meš}[.....] ¹⁴ ba-ri-.....] ¹⁵ i-na āl du-ni¹⁶ ša¹ Sin-ni-ya¹⁷ i-di-nu-ni¹⁸ pa-ḥa-at¹⁹ šal-lu-me²⁰ [i]l?-lat¹ Šamaš-ki-din!¹ nu²¹ [..]Ilu-ma-lik²² [.....-]a-lu²³ [.....-]ta. (Rest lost)

[.....-]bēl-ni-šešu [.....-]ahhēšu [.....] Aššur-šum-ēriš, recorded (5) [..] against Aššur-kāšid son of Bēl-qarrād, the ḥasiḥ[lu], that Aššur-.....], Aššur-.....], (and Aššur-.....] for the troops (15) in the manor of Sinniya were placed. Responsibility for safe-delivery^b of the group^c of Šamaš-kidinnu, [..] Ilu-mālik [.....].

a. The spelling out of the title here verifies the reading elsewhere in the Billa texts, where the writing is *ḥa-sih-li*, cf. on Bi 6 note a.

b. For this translation cf. A. L. Oppenheim, JNES 11 (1952) 133.

c. Or 'company', see the dictionaries.

21. Transaction involving sheep and wool.

2 UDU zi-bu-t[ua]^a ša [i-m]e¹ [.....].² [x] MA.NA šipāti [.....] .. li-me [.....-]ilāni^{meš} ³ ša āl UDU [.....] ⁴ ša qāt¹ ^dA-šur-kāšid^{id} ⁵ ¹⁴[ḥa]l?-zu?-uḥ-lī?^b ⁶ i-[na] qāt¹ Ḥa-a[b-ḥ]a-[y]a-e⁷ ¹⁴ḥa-zi-a-ni-.....] ⁸ [i-]na^c Ḥu-bi-te⁹ UDU^{meš} i-dan¹⁰ [ù] tup-pu-šu¹¹ i-ḥap-pi

¹² araḥ Bēlat-ēkallim^{1im} ¹³ ūmu 8^{kām} li-mu ¹⁴ ^dA-šur-šadu-ni-še-šu

2 zibātu-sheep of the eponym-year of [.....], [x] minas of wool [.....] of the eponym-year of [.....-]ilāni of the 'sheep'-city, from the hand of Aššur-kāšid, (5) the ḥalzuhlu? to Ḥabḥayau, the mayor [.....] in the city of Ḥubite he shall deliver the sheep (10) [and] destroy his tablet.

Date.

a. Cf. below on Bi 36 note c.

b. This restoration appears to be suggested by the traces. It is strange, however, that the older form, *ḥalzuhlu*, would be used to designate the

same individual who in all other instances in the Billa texts is called *ḥasiḥlu*.

22. Document concerning a door belonging to a woman. Lower half of tablet missing.

[ku]nuk¹ Be-la-su-[ni-ya]
² 1^{giš}daltu ša [.....] ³ ša^{giš}[..]a/i/uḥ-[.....] ⁴ ša 5½ [ammāt arkat²](?) x ⁵ 2 ammat ra-ap-ša-a[t] ⁶ ša¹ Be-la-su-ni-ya ⁷ mārāt¹ ^dAdad-te-ya (Rest of obverse, top of reverse missing) ⁸ mār I-qiš-.....⁹⁻¹¹] ¹² [.....] me ra [.....] ¹³⁻¹⁴ [.....]

¹⁵ [araḥ Al-]la-na-tu ūmu [x^{kām}] ¹⁶ [li-]mu¹ Mu-na-bi-tu

Seal of Belasuniya.

1 door of [..] of [..-]wood, 5½ cubits long(?) (5) (and) 2 cubits wide, belonging to Belasuniya daughter of Adad-teya (Rest too fragmentary for translation). Date.

23. Note regarding delivery or collection of quantities of straw within a specified period.

iš-tu araḥ Ku-zal-li [ūmu x ?]^{kām} ² li-me¹ E-rib-t[a-y]a-e³ ūmum^{um} 2½ a-za-i-lu^a ⁴ ša tibni⁵ ¹Ḥa-ta-.....] ⁶ rab¹⁴ ikkarāte^[meš] ⁷ ša^c Ri-ša-.....] ⁸ a-na ma-al-di-ri^b ⁹ .. u-ša-d[an?] ¹⁰ tib-nū^{meš} ¹¹ ša qāt¹ Šul-lī-ya¹² ... KUR DI ŠE^c

From the month of Kuzallu, [..day] in the eponym of Eribtayau, per day 2½ bundles of straw, (5) Hata[.....], the chief of the farm-workers of the city of Riša[.....] regularly from shall colle[ct]. (10) The straw, from the hand of Šilliya

a. For *azamillu*, also in KAJ 118 1, cf. Gerh. Meier, ZA 45 212.

b. *masdaru* from *sadāru*, for *maldariš* see Küchler, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis der assyr.-bab. Medizin* p. 44 l. 27.

c. The line is to me incomprehensible.

24. Transaction involving a cow. Obverse entirely lost, reverse only partially preserved.

[..] šul-ma-a-ni [..] ² [..] qa-bi-a-ni³ [..] ¹Ur-ḥi-^dTe-[šu-ub] ⁴ [..-]tu¹ Ma-su?-[.....] ⁵ [.....] ⁶ [..] ¹Ur-ḥi-Te-šu-u[b] ⁷ [.....] ma-su?-ki⁸ ¹ ^dSin-apla-ēriš⁹ šu-ú za-ki(?) ¹⁰ ¹Ur-ḥi-^dTe-šu-[ub] ¹¹ 1 litta i-da-[an]

¹² IGI ¹Ki-din-[.....] ¹³ mār [.....] (Rest lost)

The document may have been a *šulmānu*-transaction of the type found in KAJ, which were

discussed by the writer in JAOS 72 (1952) 77ff. A cow figures as a *šulmānu* in KAJ 93 and 95.

25. Receipt for a yoke.

1 *ši-mi-tu ša* ^{gīs}*ša-ku-li^a* 2 *ša qāt* ^{I d}*Sin-apla-ēriš* ^{3 14}*ḥa-siḥ-li* ^c*Ši-[b]a-ni-be* ^{4 1}*Ṭāb-mil-ki-a-bi mār* ^d*Samaš-ki-nu* ⁵ *ša* ^{gīs}*nam-ša-ra-te* ⁶ *ša* *ēkal-lim*^{lim} ⁷ *a-na iš-ka-ri-šu* ⁸ *ma-ḥi-ir*

⁹ [IG]I *Ba-aq-nu* ¹⁰ [mār] ^d*Samaš-li-di-na-ni*
¹¹ IGI *Arad-ili-šu tupšarru* ¹² *mār* ^d*A-šur-kāšid*^{id}
¹³ *arah* *Ša-sa-ra-te* ¹⁴ *ūmu* ¹⁵ ^{kām} *li-mu* ¹⁵ ^{I d}*Sul-mānu*^{ma-nu}-*ašarēd šarru*

1 yoke of *šaku(l)lu*-wood, from the hand of Sin-apla-ēriš the *ḥasiḥlu* of the city of Šibanibe, Ṭāb-milki-abi son of Šamaš-kīnu, (5) from among the implements^b of the palace, has received for (the performance of) his assigned work.^c

2 witnesses; date.

a. Probably identical with *šakullu*, a hard wood and a part of a chariot made of it, cf. A. Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge des Alten Mesopotamiens*, (Helsinki, 1951) 135, 143. In connection with feudal service mentioned in Hittite texts; see A. Götze, *Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattušiliš* (Leipzig, 1930) 60. This wood is also used in the making of chairs, cf. R. Campbell-Thompson, *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, 289f., 292.

b. This translation is a guess based on the context.

c. Cf. Neugebauer-Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, 66.

26. Transaction involving a quantity of barley and three yokes(?).

9 *imēr še'a i-na* [...] ² 3 ^{gīs}*ši-m[i?]-te?* ³ *ša* *ša-kūl-[i?]*^a ⁴ *a-na ši-* [...] ⁵ *ša* ¹*Il-a-y[a?]* ⁶ ¹⁴*ū-tu-li* ⁷ ¹*[Ḥ]u?-ba-ar-zi* ⁸ *[r]i?-di-tu^b* ⁹ [...] *qāt* ^{I d}*Sin-apla-ēriš!* ¹⁰ [mār] ^d*A-šur-kāšid*^{id} ¹¹ *i-ti-ši^c* ¹² *na-aš-pi?-ir-[ta? . . . ?]* ¹³ *ū tup-pu-š[u i?-ḥap?-pi?]*^d

¹⁴ IGI *Šu-ub-ri-[ū]* ¹⁵ *mār Sa-me-di* ¹⁶ IGI ^d*Ša-maš-nādin-a-ḥi* ¹⁷ *mār Šil-lī-^dNinurta?*(MAŠ?)

¹⁸ *arah* ^d*Bē[lat-ēkallim*^{lim} ¹⁹ *ūmu* ¹⁰ [+ ^x^{kām} *li-mu*]²⁰ ^{I d}*A-šur-KUR-* [...]

9 *imēr* of barley by [...], 3 yo[kes] of *šakul*[*lu*-wood] for the . . . [. . .] (5) of Ilay[a] the herdsman, [Ḥ]ubarzi, . . . [from] the hand of Sin-apla-ēriš (10) son of Aššur-kāšid, has taken on (for delivery). [When he completes] the task [he shall destroy] his tablet.

2 witnesses; date.

a. Possibly the same material involved in Bi 25 1. It is possible, however, in the absence here of the determinative, that the term is to be compared with ^{gīs}*narkabtu* *ša* *ša-kūl-te* in KAJ 124 3, and *ū-ra-su* *ša* *ša-kūl-ti* in KAJ 247 2. In these instances the meaning is obscure.

b. The word may represent some title; I can offer no explanation of it.

c. Corresponding to Babylonian *ittašī*. The form is normal for Assyrian of all periods.

d. The restorations in lines 12–13 are very uncertain, but it is difficult to see what *našpirtu* (if the reading is correct) if not ‘commission, task’, might denote in the context. A *tuppu našpirtu* is mentioned in Bi 13 11.

27. Administrative document concerning delivery of barley. Left side of tablet destroyed.

1 ¹⁴*ikkaru* ² [.] ³ [.]-^a ⁴ [*i-na*] *muḥḥi* ^I[*Ma?*]-^d*Šamaš* ⁵ [mār] ^d*Ištar-* . . . *šaṭ-ru-ni* ⁶ [. . .] ^c*Ši-b[a-n]i-be* ⁷ [. . .] ^{LŪ} *a[n-ni-a* (!) ⁸ [. . .] *ša libbi?* *šatti?* ⁹ *še'a an-ni-a* ¹⁰ [.]-ⁿⁱ ¹¹ [. . .] *mu-la-e* ¹² [ē] *kallim*^{lim} ¹³ [. . .] *ū-ba-la* ¹⁴ [. . .]-^{an} ¹⁵ [ū *tup-pu-šu i-ḥap-pi*

¹⁶ [*arah*] *Mu-ḥur-ilāni!* *ū[mu x]*^{kām} ¹⁷ [*li-mu*] ^I*Ni-nu-a-[a]*

1 farm-worker [.] (5) recorded as charged against [Ma]šī-Šamaš son of Ištar[. . .] who is [in the city] of Šibanibe [. . .] this man [. . .] of the middle of the year, this barley [.] (10) [. . .] payment [to] the palace [. . .] he shall bring [.] (15) [and] destroy his tablet. Date.

28. List of allotments of lead (tin) and barley to or from different individuals. Reverse is largely effaced. No translation is given, as no connected context remains.

15? MA.[NA] AN.[NA] ² *i-na qāt* [. . .]-*ilāni*^{meš}-ⁿⁱ ³ *ša* ^{I d}*A-šur-ka-ši-id* ⁴ *ša k[i]-mu-ū* ^{I d}*Adad*[.] ⁵ *im-ḥu-ru-ni* ⁶ [x +]2 *bilat* [x +] 20 MA.NA [AN.NA] ⁷ *i-na qāt* ^I*Ib[ašš]i-ili* [. . .] ⁸ *a-na ši-im* [. . .]-*lu-*[. . .] ⁹ 3 *imēr* ^{ŠE} *i-na qāt* ^I*din-Bēl* ¹⁰ 2 *imēr* ^{ŠE} *i-na qāt* ^{I d}*A-šur-e*[. . .] ¹¹ *mār* [. . .] ^{UŠ}.AN [. . .] ¹² 2 *i[mēr]?* ^{ŠE} . . . ^d*Adad*-[. . .] ¹³ *mār* ^d*Adad-ri*[. . .] ¹⁴ 7 *imēr* ^{ŠE} *qāt* [.] ¹⁵ *mār* *Erība-Bēl* [.] ¹⁶ *a-mar?* *tup?*-[*p*]? [.] ¹⁷ *ša* [. . .]-*na* [.] ¹⁸ *ša* [. . .]-*ni* [.] ¹⁹ [. . .] KA . . [.] ²⁰ [.]^{meš} ²¹ [.]

22 ša¹ dA-šur-šadu-ni-š[e-š]u²³ i-na qāt¹ Enlil(BE)-
aḫ-[...] 24 [m]i?-im-ma a[n-ni-a?] 25 [š]a? I d[.....]

29. Receipt for wheat and emmer.

4 imēr kibātu² 3 imēr ku-na-šu³ i-na sūti
laberti⁴ ša¹ dSin-apla-ēriš⁵ mār dA-šur-kāšid^{id}
6 14ḫa-siḫ-li⁷ Te-du⁸ 14ka-ka-ar-[di-nu]^a 9 a-na
še-šu-ri [...] 10 ma-ḫi-ir

11 [araḫ Q]ar-ra-tu ūmu³ kām¹² [li-mu] I dIštar-
ēriš

4 imēr of wheat, 3 imēr of emmer, by the old
sūtu, belonging to Sin-apla-ēriš (5) son of Aššur-
kāšid, the ḫasiḫlu, Tedu, the kakar[di-nu], for
proper delivery (10) has received. Date.

a. 14ka-kar-di-nu occurs in KAJ 250 3, 295 2.
The term appears to be connected with food
processing, cf. B. Landsberger, AfO X 151. In
Late Assyrian texts the word appears as karka-
dinnu, cf. Weidner AfO X 18 n. 127 and D. Wise-
man, Iraq 14 (1952) 66.

30. Receipt for barley.

2 imēr še'a mu-la-ú² ša ka-ru-e³ ša ekallim^{1im}
4 ša amēlūti^{mes} ša cŠi-ba-ni-be⁵ im?-du-ni^a 6 [ša]
I dSin-apla-ēriš⁷ mār dA-šur-kāšid⁸ [...] dSin
9 [...] šu¹⁰⁻¹¹ [...] 12 ma-ḫi-ir

13 IGI d[...] bēl-[...] la¹⁴ mār Adad(U)-...¹⁵
[...] ḫu-...¹⁶ [...] mi-[-]

17 ar[ḫ Mu-]ḫur-ūl[āni^{mes-ni}] 18 [ūmu x +]2^{kām}
li-m[u] 19 I dIštar-ēriš²⁰ mār dŠulmānu^{ma-(nū)-qar-}
rād

2 imer of barley, payment to the palace granary,
which the men of the city of Šibanibe (5) meas-
ured out [belonging to] Sin-apla-ēriš son of Aššur-
kāšid [...] Sin [...] (10) [...] has re-
ceived. Date.

a. Possibly for imduduni.

31. Receipt for rations for horses.

[x] imēr še'a [...] 2 ša¹ dSin-ap[la-ēriš] 3 14ḫa-
-siḫ-[li] 4 I dIštar-pí-láḫ [...] 5 a-na ku[urummat]t?
sīsē^{mes} 6 ma-ḫi-ir

7 IGI I dA-šur-šum-ušur⁸ mār I-... 9 IGI
Arad-ili-šu tupšarru¹⁰ mār dA-šur-kāšid^{id}

11 araḫ A-bu-šarrāni^{mes} ūmu¹⁴ kām¹² li-mu
I Ša-dAdad-ni-nu

32. Receipt for rations for horses.

3 imēr še'a [...] 2 ša¹ dSin-apla-ēriš 3 14ḫa-siḫ
-li mār dA-[šur-kāšid^{id}] 4 [I dIštar-pí-l[áḫ] mār

Arad!^a... 5 a-na ku[rummat s]iṣi⁶ ša [...]]
am/qar-ru?-u?^b 7 ma-[ḫi-]ir. Date lost.

a. The sign written is III.

b. The signs are not clear; interpretation is
uncertain.

33. Receipt for rations for horses.

[kunuk I dIštar-pí-láḫ]

2 [x imē]r še'a i-na sūti [...] 3 ša¹ dSin-apla-
-ēriš⁴ [mār] dA-šur-kāšid^{id} 5 [I dIštar-]pí-láḫ⁶ [a-na
kurummat] sīsē^{mes} 7 [ša?...] ar-a-te^a 8 [ma]-ḫi-ir
9 [araḫ] Ku-zal-[li] ūmu^x kām¹⁰ [li-]mu I dIštar
-ēriš¹¹ [mār d]Šamaš-aḫ-iddina^{na}

a. Restoration quite uncertain; the unde-
ciphered sign may begin the word.

34. Receipt.

1-6 (Effaced) 7 [...] dSin-apla-]ēriš⁸ [mār dA-
šur-]kāšid^{id} 9 [...] di-nu [...] 10 [ma]-ḫi-ir

11 IGI A-li-[...] 12 [mār] Ir-ri-gi 13 [IGI]
Ibašši-di-nu 14 [mār] Kur-ba-ni 15 IGI Arad-ili-
[šu] tupšarru 16 mār dA-šur-[kāšid^{id}]

17 araḫ Ša-[sa-ra-]te ūmu [x^{kām}] 18 [li-]mu [I Ša-]
dAdad-ni-[nu]

35. Receipt for rations.

4 sāt^a a-bu-ḫu-ru^b 2 i-na sūti laberti³ kurummat^a
14 kiškatē^{mes} 4 ta-di-in 5 2 sāt a-bu-ḫu-[ru] 6 i-na
sūti^{ki} 7 la-be-er-[ti] 8 ša qāt^{IMu} Mušallim-[...]]
9 I Lu-la-ya-ú 10 ma-ḫi-ir

11 araḫ Tan-mar-tu 12 ūmu 14^{kām} 13 li-mu 14 I Ar
-ta-ri-...-la^c

4 sūtu of [...] by the old sūtu were disbursed
as provision for the craftsmen; (5) 2 sūtu of [...]]
by the old measure, from the hand of Mušallim-
[...], Lulayau (10) received. Date.

a. 1 qū is equivalent to about 0.97 litres, ac-
cording to Thureau-Dangin, RA 34 (1937)
80ff., but 1.34 litres according to H. Lewy, JAOS
64 (1944) 71 (Middle Assyrian).

b. Kind of grain?

c. The name is almost certainly Hurrian and
might be compared with Artar-tilla, *Nuzi Personal
Names* p. 33. The damaged sign here, however,
does not appear to have been BE. Another possible
reading is Artatal (cf. *ibid.*), in which case the last
two signs would represent some title.

36. Inventory of sheep and goats. Transliter-
ated and translated by E. A. Speiser in *Symbolae
Koschaker* 148.

13 UDU *gu-ra-tu₄^a* ² *aš-šu-ra-a-tu₄* ³ 5 UDU
gu-ra-tu₄ ⁴ *ha-ab-ha-a-tu₄^b* ⁵ 2 UDU *zi-bu-tu₄^c*
⁶ 5? UDU *pār-ra-tu₄^d* ⁷ [x] UDU *hu-ra-pu^d* ⁸
naphar 28 UDU ŠĪG ⁹ [x] *enzu ri-mu^e* ³ *la-li-ú*
¹⁰ [...] ^d *A-šur-šam-ši* ¹¹ [...] ^f *Šil-lá^d Adad* ¹² [...] ^g
-tu₄ *ša* ¹ *Iqīš(BA)*-^d *A-šur!* ¹³ [...] *enzu^{mes}* ² *la-li-ú*
¹⁴ [...] *pār-ru-tu₄* *ša* ¹ *A-bi-ili* ¹⁵ 5 *enzu^{mes}* *ri-mu*
¹ *urīšu* ¹⁶ *ša* ¹ *Ad-ma-te-ili*

¹⁷ *arah* *Ša-sa-ra-te ūmu* 24^{kám} ¹⁸ *li-mu* ¹ *Kur-ba-nu*
 13 young Assyrian lambs, 5 young Ḫabḫa
 lambs, (5) 2 *zibūtu*-sheep, 5? young ewes, [x]
 young sheep, a total of 28 wool-bearing sheep.
 [x] *rīmu*-goats, 3 young kids (10) [...] Aššur-
 šamšī [...] Šilli-Adad; [...] belonging to
 Iqīš-Aššur. [x] goats, 2 young kids, [x] young
 ewes, belonging to Abī-ilu (15) 5 *rīmu*-goats, 1
 he-goat, belonging to Admate-ilu. Date.

a. Perhaps to be connected with Heb. *gūr*, cf.
 M. David - E. Ebeling, *Assyrische Rechtsurkun-*
den 61 on KAJ 96 2; B. Landsberger, AfO X
 155 fn. 69.

b. From the place of that name, cf. E. F.
 Weidner, AfO X 20.

c. Hardly '(fat)-tailed'.

d. Cf. B. Landsberger, AfO X 152 ff. for
 full discussion.

e. Also in KAJ 120 12 where David-Ebeling,
 op. cit. 68, translate 'trächtige(?) Ziege.'

37. Receipt for a sheep.

1 UDU.NITÁ *ša* . . . *ša?* ² *libbi du-ni* *ša* ³ ¹ *Bēl*
-mu-sal-la-e ⁴ *ša qāt* ¹ ^d *A-šur-kāšid* ^{id} ⁵ ^{14?} . . . *-zu* . . . ^a
⁶ [...] ^d *Sin*-[...] ⁷ *ma-ḫi-ir*
⁸ [...] *li-me* ⁹ [^f *Ba-ab-aḫ-[iddin]*]^a ^b ^c

1 sheep of . . . from out of the manor of Bēl-
 musallau, from the hand of Aššur-kāšid, (5) the
 . . . , Sin-[.] received. Date.

a. The traces do not appear to support the
 reading *ḫalzuhli*; cf. also on Bi 29 5.

b. The date formula apparently lacks notation
 of month and day.

c. The name is presumably identical with
 Babu-aḫ-iddina common in the Ashur records
 (cf. MAOG 13 30) where the first element is
 occasionally written with the sign KÁ ('gate')
 following the divine determinative. One cannot
 fail to compare this name with Bau-aḫ-iddina
 in Bi 17 2, which is found in identical form with
 the divine determinative in the Kassite period
 (cf. PNCP 63), as the name of a Babylonian king
 near the end of the ninth century, and in almost

identical form in the Late Assyrian period (cf.
 APN 63). The theophoric element in this name
 represents the name of the consort of Ningirsu,
 the god of Lagash. It was commonly written
 as *Ba-ú*, but was known to be pronounced some-
 times as *Baba* (see Thureau-Dangin, Homophones
 sumériens p. 40). It is possible that the latter
 pronunciation, especially in Late Assyrian times,
 when knowledge of this goddess could not have
 been very common, gave rise to the interpreta-
 tion of the name as 'gate' *bābu* (KÁ), cf. further
 RLA 432 ff.

38. Fragment of administrative record.

[...] UDU PA [...] ² [...] *-bal-te* [...] ³ [...
 -]ru-[...] ⁴ [...] ³ *sāt ŠE* ⁵ [...] ¹ *Te-ir-tu-ša*
-ummi ⁶ [...] *ša?* *pāni šarri* ⁷ [...] ⁸ [...
sa-ab . . . *-ḫi* *ša šarri*

3. Miscellaneous Texts

39. List of names.

¹ *Hal-di-e*-[...] ² [...] *-ilu* ³ [^d *A-šur-ma-šà*]^[r?-ru?]^a
⁴ [...] *-šu* ⁵ ¹ *Aššur-apla-iddina*^{na}

a. For the use of the emphatic *ma* in personal
 names cf. *É-a-ma-ilu* and *Ilu-ma-ilu*, ANG 222,
 and also *Ašur-ma-apla-ēriš*, MAOG XIII/1
 (1934) 25. A. Sachs has suggested reading ŠUR.
 ŠU, i.e. *suḫ*, instead of ŠUR.MA; the last preserved
 sign would, in this case, have to be read *ḫir*, the
 name being based on the D-stem of *saḫāru*.

40. List of quantities of barley to be ground.

[...] *la* 16 *imēr ŠE* ² [...] *la* 19 *imēr ŠE* ³ [...] *la*
 16 *imēr ŠE* ⁴ [...] *la* [x] *imēr ŠE* ⁵ [...] [x] *imēr ŠE*
⁶ [*nap*]*ḫar* 80? *imēr ŠE* ⁷ [...] *imēr ŠE a-na tē-a-ni*

41. Note of rations for troops.

sūt NINDA *i-na sūti*[...] ² 10 *šābē^{mes}* *ša*
a-ra-a-[te?]^a ³ *a?-na?* *qāt ša e-il*-[...] ⁴ *pa-šu-nu^b*
⁵ 20 (x^c NINDA *ša* ¹ *Din*-[...] ⁶ [...] ¹ *sūt* NINDA
 [...])

a. 'shiel[d]-(carrying)?' troops.

b. It is difficult to see what 'veiled' could mean
 in this context.

c. What is the unit intended here?

42. List of quantities of flour.

3 *imēr* [...] ² 1 (PI) 2 *sāt qēmu* [...] ³ 1 (PI)
 1 *sūt qēmu a-pu* ⁴ *i-na sūti* ⁵ [*ša*] *ḫi-bur-ni*

43. List of food rations.

5 *qa* NINDA ¹ [...] ² 5 *qa* NINDA ¹ ^d *A-šur-*

d[a-...] ³ 5 *qa* NINDA *a-na bīt* ^dAdad ⁴ *ša pan?*
a-ra-a-te^a ⁵ 8 *qa* NINDA *a-na* [...] ⁶ *nu-bat-*
[tu-šu]^b ⁷ *i-ta-*[...] ⁸ [...] *ma-nu* ⁹ 5? *qa* [NINDA
*nu-]**bat-tu-šu* ¹⁰ 5 *qa* NINDA *a-na*[.....]

a. 'which (are to be placed) before the shields',
 i.e. shields suspended in the temple.

b. The 'evening (feast).' On the form of the
 word cf. B. Landsberger, JNES 8, 298.

44. Note of barley ration.

1 *imēr* 1 PI 2 *qa* ŠE ² ^f*In-ba-ra-mat*

45. List of quantities of barley and flour.

11 *imēr* 1 *sūt* ŠE ² 2 *imēr* 5 *sāt qēmu* ³ [... x]
imēr [x *qa*] ŠE ⁴ [...] *qēmu*

46. Receipt(?) for an arrow (line 1) and other
 objects.

1 *ši-il-ta-ḥu*^a ² 2 ^{kuš}[...] ³ 1 *a-za-lu* ³⁻⁴ [...] [.....]
⁵ *ša qāt* ^dŠamaš-*nādin-a-ḥi* ⁶ ^d*Am-ra-ni*-^dŠamaš

a. For *šiltahu*—not *kuttahu*—see also Weidner
 apud Meissner, *Beitr. zum assyr. Wörterbuch* 2
 101f. and von Soden, OLZ 1933 738.

47. List of 'manors' and towns from which sheep
 had been collected.

ālu du-nu *ša* [...]

ālu du-nu *ša* [...]

ālu du-nu *ša* [...]

ālu du-nu [*ša*.....]

5 ^e*E-ri*-[.....]

^e*Tu-ra-bu?*-[...]

^e*Ma-at-ma*-[...]

ālu du-nu *ša* [...]

ālu du-nu *ša* [...]

10 *ālu du-nu* *ša* [...]

ālu du-nu *ša* [...] *ri-a*

^e[...] *pa-ar-mu*

^e*Hi-iš-ta*-[...]

ālu du-nu *ša* ^I[.....]

15 ^e*E-sa?*-*lu-ni?*

ālu du-nu *ša* ^I*Ilu-ēriš*

ālu du-nu *ša* ^{mār}^{meš} SAL^a

^e*Pi-sa-ni-be*

ālu *ša* *Bēl-mu-šal-la-ya-e*

20 *ālu du-nu* *ša* ^IŠa-*al-me*

^e*Ha-šu-a-nu*

ālu du-nu *ša* ^{lā?}^b

ālu du-nu *ša* ^IŠu-*zu-be*

ālu du-nu *ša* Šum-*lib-ši*

25 ^e*Hu-šar-še*

^eŪ/Šam-*ru*

ālu du-nu *ša* ^I[.....]

^eŠu-[.....]

²⁹ [...] *an-nu-tu* ³⁰ *ša* URU UDU^{meš} ^I ^d*Adad-*
taš-mar ³¹ *ma-ḥi-ir*^c

a. The second sign, which seems to be LĪL
 appears to be too far separated from SAL
 to permit their reading as EL. The last sign
 seems to be KAL.

b. The signs appear to be I.SĪ.ME; I can offer
 no reading or interpretation of the term.

c. This summary may be interpreted as
 follows: "these (places) belong to the city (i.e.
 Šibanibe); Adad-tašmar has received sheep
 (from them)". Compare, however, also *āl*
 UDU^[meš?] Bi 21 3.

48. Levies of troops from various cities, under
 the command of a rab *ālāni*.

[*šābi*]^{meš} *ú-wa-ir*^a ² 86 *hal-šú*^{!b}

^e*Ēkallāte*^{meš} ³ 13 ^eŠi-*ba-ni-be* ⁴ 28 ^eŠU.I^c ⁵ 15

^e*Ha-ba?* ⁶ 26? ^e*Pi-mātāti* (KA? KUR.DIL.DIL)

⁷ 10 ^e*A-di-ú* ⁸ 13 ^eHU^d ⁹ *naphar* 193 [x] *šābū*^{meš}^(me)

¹⁰ *ša qāt* ^I ^d*A-šur-šum-iddina*^{na} ¹¹ *rab ālāni* (GAL-
 URU.DIL.DIL)

a. The undeciphered part of the line probably
 contains a proper name.

b. *zu(šú)* would be expected.

c. 'city of the barber (*gallābu*)'.

d. Cf. the similarly written name in the Ras
 Shamra text Syria, 1940 124 V 13.

49. Levies of troops from various cities sent on
 an expedition to Hanigalbat. The only town
 name preserved is that of *A-di-ú* (line 8). Lines
 10 ff.: *naphar* 204 *šābū*^{meš} ¹¹ *uz-bu-tu*^a *ša-a-šu* ¹² *a-na*
^e*Ha-ni-gal-bat*^b ¹² [*har*] *rāna?* *ú-še-še[r?]-ú-ni*.

a. Probably of (*w*)*ašābu* with the MA sound-
 shift *šb* > *zb*: perhaps 'garrison troops'.

b. The use of URU as determinative rather
 than the expected KUR 'land', is very likely a
 scribal oversight.

50. Fragment of list of towns and 'manors';
 similar to Bi 47.

^e*Ma*-[.....] ² ^e*Il*-[.....] ³ *ālu du-nu* *ša* ^I*Kidin-*

(ŠŪ)-*ilāni*^{meš-ni} ⁴ ^e*Ka-ba-si-bi* ⁵ *ālu du-nu* *ša*

^I[.....] ⁶ *ālu du-nu* *ša* ^IŠil-*lī*-[...]

51. List of 10 men and their chief in charge.

^I*Bēl-qarrād* ² ^I ^d*A-šur-ēriš* ³ *Ki-din*-^d*Se-ru*-[a]

⁴ [...] *mār-šu* ⁵ [...] ^{meš} ⁶ [^IA-] *pil-Ku-bi* ⁷ [*Ki*]-*din-*

^dMarduk⁸ [...] ⁹ [...]sa-...[.] ¹⁰ [P]^dAdad-nādin-a-ḫi ¹¹ Ḫl-a-ni mār-šu ¹² ^{I d}Šamaš-taš-mar ¹³ ^{I d}Adad-nūr-ina-māti^{ti} ¹⁴ GAL 10 šāb⁷meš ¹⁵ ^{I d}Ni-nurta-šum-i-bi ¹⁶ ūmu 28^[kám]

52. List of names.

^{I d}Ḫstar-šum-iddina^{na} ² ^ISin-ki-na-ušur ³ ^IAššur-šum-iddina^{na} ⁴ ^IKidin(ŠÚ)-^dEnlil ⁵ ^{I d}É-a-mu-šal-lim ⁶ ^IIgigal-^dNabū ⁷ ^{I d}Nabū-^{mu}Mušēzib ⁸ ^{I d}Bēl-balāta-ušur

53. Names of individuals and city of origin, possibly a limmu-list, cf. on Bi 55.

^{I d}Šamaš-re-šu-ya mār Erība-ilu ^cBūrāni^{meš} a ² ^{I d}Šamaš-du-gul mār ^dŠulmānu^{ma-nu-nāšir} ^cĒkal-lāte^{meš} ³ ^IMu-[...] mār [...] ^cŠá-ba-ni-šu ⁴ [...]zu ⁵ [...]

a. Or *Bērūte*^{meš} as in Amarna (cf. EA, p. 1572), and in Ras Shamra (cf. Vroilleaud, Syria 21, 1940, 142 fn. 4).

54. Names of individuals and city of origin; possibly a fragment of Bi 55. [...] ² [...]mul-ḫa-nu ³ [...] ^cKI.MIN ⁴ [...] ^cKi-ba-te ⁵ [...]

55. Names of individuals and city of origin; lower right portion of a large tablet. Possibly a limmu-list; the form is similar to KAV 19. None of the individuals in either text, however, can be identified with any known eponym, cf. E. A. Speiser, *Symbolae Koschaker*, 148 f. where a photograph of the tablet also is given. [...] ² [...]zu mār A-[...] ³ [...]ḫab(?)^{-ḫa} mār Būr-^[dA]dad? ^c[...] ⁴ ^IU^b-ru aḫu-šu ^c[...] ⁵ ^IKaš-šu mār Kidin-^dMārat-^{<A>}nīm^a ^c[...] ⁶ ^IŪ-sa-pè-ilu mār ^dŠamaš-šum-iddina^{na} ^cKur-ru-li? ⁷ ^IU^b-ru mār Kidin-^dSin ^cḪu-šār-še ⁸ ^{I d}Šulmānu^{ma-nu-le-} mār ^dŠulmānu^{ma-nu-rabī} ^cÉ?-[...] ⁹ ^IAdad-ēriš mār Šil-lī-Še-me-et^b ^cḪa-šu-a-nu ¹⁰ ^IKidin-^dSin mār Mu-na-bi-tu ^cKI.MIN ¹¹ ^IŠi-me-ga-at-ta(?)^c mār Nu-di-ba ^cŠur-me-...[.] ¹² ^{I d}Šamaš-dayyān mār ^dEnlil-šum-iddina^{na} ^cA-li-...[.] ¹³ ^IŠēp-^dIdīg-lat aḫu-šu ^cKI.MIN ¹⁴ ^INinurta-šum-iddina^{na} mār Zēr-...li-šir ^c[...] ¹⁵ ^IZēr-ki-ta-li-šir mār [...]tukulti^{ti} [...] ¹⁶ ^ISi-qi-Adad^d mār [...]ni/ir-uballit [...] ¹⁷ Adad-...ya mār [...] ¹⁸ ^IŠe-lu-bu mār Adad-m[u?]-ša?-lim [...]

a. Cf. the name Šilli-Mārat-Anim, MAOG 13 Heft 1 (1939), 80.

b. *ibid.* 80. Sachs thinks the name is to be analyzed as *Šilliš-emid*.

c. Cf. the name *Šimenada*, *ibid.* 87.

d. Cf. the name *Si-qi-ilāni*, *ibid.* 77.

56. Lexical text. Sumerian ‘Vorläufer’ list of the 13th tablet of the series ḪAR.ra-ḫubullu. The list includes oxen, cows, calves, donkeys, and donkey mares.

I [udu(?).gab
[udu(?).g]ab^{ri}.a
[udu(?).igi.sá
[udu(?).igi.kár
5 [udu(?).igi.du_s.a
[udu(?).níg.GÁN.[. .]

(Rest of col. I lost)

II (the 3 initial lines lost)

[gud].šà.gú
gud.šu.gi
5 gud.šu.gi.na
gud.maḫ
[gud].á.lá.ba
[gud].á.lá
[gud].šà.gú
10 [gud].ti.ti
[gud].še
gud.še.sig_s.ga
g[ud].íb.lá
gud.an.na
15 [gud].ná(?)
g[ud.dumu].an.na
[gud. . .]
[gud. . .]
g[ud. . .]
20 g[ud. . .]
g[ud. . .]
gud.[. . .]
[gud. . .]
[gud].[. . .].ga
25 [gud. . .].ga
[.]
[. . .] mu(?).[. . .]

(Rest of col. II and all of col. III lost)

IV [áb].šu.gi
[áb.š]u.gi.na
[áb. . .].bi.ná
[áb. . .].bi.DU.a
5 [áb. . .].bi.libir.a
[áb.nit]a.nu(?)
[áb.ni]ta.zu

- [áb a]n.du₁₁.gig.ga
 [áb].an.du₁₁.gig.ga
 10 [áb.šám]m(?) .ma
 [áb.gan]ba
 [áb.si(?) .g]a
 [áb.si(?) .nu(?) .tuk(?)]
 áb.[H̄U.nu].me.a
 15 áb.[H̄U.nu].me.a
 áb.[. . .]
 á[b . . .]
 [amar]
 amar.[ga]
 20 amar.ga.ná
 amar.ga.DU.a
 amar.ga . . . ba
 amar.šu.nir
 [amar].u₄.sar
 25 [amar . . .]a
 [amar . . . d]u₁₁.gig.ga
 [amar].an.du₁₁.gig.ga
 amar.[šám].ma
 amar.ganba
 30 amar.si.ga
 amar.si.nu.tuk
 amar.H̄U.nu.me.a
 amar.H̄U.[nu.tu]k
 amar.mu.3
 35 [amar.mu.]2
 [amar.mu.]1
 anše
 [anše . . .]tu
 [anše.din]gir.ra
 40 a[nše].nun.na
 a[nše].(e)gir.nun.na
 [anše].fb.lá
 V anše.[. . .]
 an[še.^{giš}]gu.za
 [anše.^{giš}]gigi[r]
 [anše.^{giš}]mar.gíd.]da
 (about 8 lines lost)
 5 [. . .].mu.1
 eme_x
 [eme_x.šà].a
 [eme_x.ù.tu]
 10 [eme_x.nu.ù.]tu
 [eme_x.í]b.gig
 [e]me_x.šà.s[u]r
 eme_x.gag.šub.ba
 eme_x.gan.šub.ba

- 15 eme_x.ur₅.šub.ba
 eme_x.babbar
 eme_x.gi₆
 eme_x.sa₅
 [eme_x].gùn.a
 20 [eme_x.s]ig₇.sig₇
 [eme_x.š]u.gi
 [eme_x.šu].gi.na
 [eme_x.ga?].ná.a
 [eme_x.ga?.du.]a
 25 [eme_x.ga?.ù?.a]
 [eme_x . . .]
 [eme_x . . .]
 [eme_x . . .]
 [eme . . du₁₁].gig.ga
 30 [eme . .]an.du₁₁.gig.ga
 [eme.šám].ma
 (column VI uninscribed except for the
 colophon which is almost totally lost).

The text will be discussed at greater length in a future publication. For the present we may point out that the category of donkey-mares in this text is denoted by the sign SAL.H̄ÚB, whereas the text of H̄AR.ra = *hubullu* (cf. A. Oppenheim and L. F. Hartman, JNES 4 (1945) 155, 174) gives the more common *emè*-(SAL.ANŠE). That SAL.H̄ÚB is similarly to be read *eme* is now borne out by the lexical equation in the series Ur-e-a = *nāqu* (B. Landsberger, MSL II [1951] 67) no. 439. The same sign occurs in the lists SLT 51 III (the sign here is NI.H̄ÚB) and 56. In Bi 72 11 ff. the sign is used to designate the female of horses and mules, indicating that *atānu* (Akkadian for *eme*) was the term applied to the female of all equids and was not restricted to donkey-mares. For other occurrences in Neo-Assyrian, Nuzi and elsewhere, cf. Oppenheim JNES 11 (1952) 135, and add KAJ 311 1, 5, 14 (in line 5 read at end ANŠE.TUR in contrast to ANŠE.GAL of line 1).

57. Business document involving barley.

[x] *imēr še-um* ² [*i-na*] *sūti laberti* ³ [. . .] ^dA-šur-da-me-iq ⁴ [*mār* ^dAdad-nādīn-a-ḫi ⁵ [. . . .-]i]lu ⁶ [*i-na* ? *muhḫ*]i ? ¹ ^dA-šur-kāšid ⁷ [*mār Bēl-gar*]rād ⁸ [. . .-]um šaṭ-ru-[ni] ⁹ [. . . ^dA-]šur-šum-iddīna ¹⁰ [. . .-]šum-ú-šur (Rest of obverse, top of reverse lost) ¹¹ [. . . .] iš [. . . .] ¹² [. . . .-]šu-ya [. . .] ¹³ [. . . ^dA-]šur-šum-iddīna ^{na} ¹⁴ [.-]iṛ ¹⁵ [. . .] Ma-nu-gi-ir-^dA-šur ¹⁶ [. . . .]

58. Lexical fragment. Part of what was a large tablet.

[... -]lum	! [...]
KUR-tum	! [...]
<hr/>	
pu-uh-ru	UKKIN [...]
ma-ak-ki-ru	!
5 šu-ru-ub-tu	pu-uh-[ru]
tāk-ši-rum	<hr/>
šur-ša-ak-tu	pu[...]
[...]-ki-ú	pu[...]
[...]-hu-ú	pu[...]
10 [...]-ki	pu[...]
[...]	pu[...]

59. Bulla with the name ^fE-riš?-te-e

4. Letters

60. a-na ¹Li-bur-šarri ² qí-bi-ma ³ um-ma mārat Uz-na-ni^a ⁴ áš-šúm UDU^{meš} ša tē-ma ⁵ áš-ku-nu-ka-ni ⁶ amēla al-tap-r[a] ⁷ ar-ḫiš tē-ma ⁸ šu-ku-un-[ma] ⁹ amēla la tu-sa-ḫar ¹⁰ DUG [...] ka?-li ¹¹ [...] ḫa [...] ¹² áš-[-.-]in ¹³ ūmu [...] ^{kám}

Say to Libūr-šarru, thus (says) the daughter of Uznānu: 'In regard to the sheep about which (5) I had sent you word, I am sending a man. Give word quickly, do not delay the man.' (10) (Rest fragmentary).

a. For this name cf. ADD 260 rev. 9.

61. [a-na] ¹ dA-šur-šum-iddina^{na} ² [tu]p-pí ^fMu-šal-lim-[-.] ³ [...] a-[na] pa-ḫi-ti-ka ⁴ [lu?-ú] šul-mu ⁵ [...] -ia(?) a-na bītāte^(meš, -te!-ia) ⁶ [šul?-]mu ⁷ [...] 24? [...] pān bīt [...] ⁸ [...] lib-bi [...] ⁹ [...] -tu mu iš/ta [...] ¹⁰ [...] 2 ^fušparāti^{meš} ¹¹⁻¹² [...] -ta-šu ¹⁴ [...] ^{meš} za-[-] am-[-.] ¹⁵ [...] -a ú-kal [...] ¹⁶ [...] ^{t.úg²} pá-r-si-ig-[-.] ¹⁷ [...] zi iq?-ta-[-.] ¹⁸ [...] ka [...] ¹⁹ [...] ^{t.úg} GÚ.Ē [...] ²⁰ [...] 12 ni-tu-[-.] ²¹ [...] ma-ḫi-šu [...] ²² [...] -a [...]

(Too fragmentary for translation)

62. a-na ¹ dA-šur-šum-iddina^{na} bēli-[ya] ² tup-pí ¹Rabū^{ú-d}Sībitti (dIMINA.BI)^a [ardi-ka ?] ³ ul-ta-ka-in a-na di-na-an^b ⁴ bēli-ya at-ta-lak ⁵ 6 ūmāte^{meš-te^c} a-di a-ši-e i-na qīšti(GIŠ.TIR) ⁶ ú-ta-mi-id ši-íp-ra ⁷ e-pu-šu áš-šúm qēmī ¹ dSin-šarēd ⁸ al-ta-'al-ma a-na i-ni^d ⁹ qēmī la-a

ta-tē-en ma-a še-um ¹⁰ [l]a-a-áš-šu la-a i-di-nu-ni ¹¹ [...] áš-šúm ¹Ibašši -ili ¹² [...] ma-a ¹ dA-šur-šum-li-šir ¹³ [...] il-ta-ka-an ¹⁴ [...] ANŠE].KUR.-RA di-[in?] (about 3 lines lost) ¹⁵ [...] ma [...] a [...] ¹⁶ ma-a [...] la [...] ¹⁷ šu-[-.] ¹⁸ i-na [...] ¹⁹ [-]na [...] ²⁰ LÚ pa-ḫa [...] ²¹ tē-ma al-ta-[ka-an] [...] di-nu ²² i-na [...] ²³ šipri-šu-nu e-pu-šu [...] ²⁴ ša [...]... bīt? d[...] ²⁵ bēli tē-ma li-iš-[ku-un] [...] ²⁶ ma/la-a [-.]qab-bi₄ bi-it-[qu?] ²⁷ bat-tu-qu ūmu ^{6^{kám}}

To Aššur-šum-iddina my lord, the tablet of Rabū-Sibitti [your servant]. I do obeisance; I would go as the *dinānu* of my lord.

I ordered a stay of (5) 6 days^c before leaving the grove; they completed the task. With regard to the flour I asked Sin-ašarēd: 'Why have you not ground the flour?' (He replied): (10) 'There is no barley, they have not given me any.' (Rest too fragmentary for translation).

a. Cf. PNCP 120.

b. 'willing offering' i.e. 'scapegoat', cf. E. A. Speiser, *Symbolae Koschaker*, 149.

c. There appears to be an extra vertical wedge, if the given reading is correct.

d. Apparently for *ana mini*, cf. also KAV 169 10.

e. The object of *utāmid* appears to be 6 *ūmāte*.

63. a-na ¹ dA-šur-šum-iddina^{na} bēli-ya] ² tup-pí ¹A-ri-gi [ardi-ka] ³ ul-ta-ka-in ⁴ a-na di-na-an bēli-ya ⁵ at-ta-lak ⁶ [...] na ma [...] -ir-ta ⁷ [...] ^dAda]d?-damiq rab ¹⁴ ikkarāte^{meš} ⁸ [...] m]uḫḫi-ya ⁹ [...] ¹⁰ [...] -a ⁶ [...] ¹¹ [...] ¹² ḫal-qu kib-su ¹³ a-na ^cGi-ra-ad ¹⁴ ra-a-di ù la ú-[-.] ¹⁵ ù šābī^{meš} ša kib-sa ¹⁶ ir-di-ú-ni ¹⁷ ir-ta-ap-su ¹⁸ en-tu^a iq-ti-bi-a ¹⁹ ma-a i-na ^cHa-šu-a-ni ²⁰ qa-ia-ni^b a-na na-ma-še ²¹ ba-lu bēli-ya pa-al-ḫa-a-ku ²² ūmu ^{1^{kám}}

To Aššur-šum-iddina [my lord], the tablet of Arigi [your servant]. I do obeisance; (5) I would go as the *dinānu* of my lord.

[...] Ada]d?-damiq, chief of the cultivators [...] before me [...] (10) [...] have disappeared. The tracks have been traced to the city of Girad and have not [...]. (15) And the men who have followed the tracks they have beaten up. Should he say to me: 'In Hašuanu wait for me to move', I shall be afraid without my lord. Date.

a. For *entu* cf. Nuzian *untu*, see Goetze, Language 14 142.

b. Imperative D of *qawū* plus suffix of the 1st person sing.

64. *a-na* ¹ ^d *A-šur-šum-iddina*^{na} *bēli-ya* ² *tup-pí*
¹ *Rabū*^d-[^d *Si*] *bitti ardi-ka*

³ *ul-ta-ka* [*a-in a-na*] *di-na-an bēli-ya* ⁴ *at-ta-l[ak*
a-na al] *pī*^{meš} *še -ni*^{meš} ⁵ *ú?* [. *lu-ú ? šul-mu*
⁶ [.] *iq* [. . .] ⁷ [. . .]^{meš} [. . .] *šarru* (lines
8–11 only few traces; lower half of obverse, top
of reverse lost). ¹² [. . .] *ka* [.] ¹³ [. . .]
mu ki [. . .] ¹⁴ [. . .] *šu* ⁴ *ina gá-dubbi ša* [. .]
¹⁵ [. . .] ¹⁶ [.] *im-ma-ḫu-šu*
¹⁷ [.] *ta-ḫu* ¹⁸ *giš* [.]^m *am-šu*
¹⁹ *mā-a* [.]

²⁰ *mū*^{meš} [.] *a-mi-šu* ²¹ . . . *nīšē?* (UKŪ.
UKŪ) . . . *na* [. .] *di-il-ḫi* ²² ^{giš} *epinnāti*^{meš} [. . .]
ra-ka-sa ²³ *a-na-ku* ^{giš} *nam-šar-ra-a-te* ²⁴ *na-aṣ-ša*
uk [. .] . . . *ṭe-ma* ²⁵ *na-ma-a ša la* [. . .]

²⁶ *ūmu* ³ ^{kám}

(Too fragmentary for translation)

65. [*a-na* ¹ ^d *A-šur-šum-iddina*^{na} ² [*qí*-] *bi-ma*
³ [*um]* *ma* ¹ [. .] *bi-ma*

⁴ [. .] . . . *a* [*na* . . . *a-na*] *bīti-ka* ⁵ *am-ti* [*ka* . .
lu-ú šulmu^{mu} ⁶ *aš-šum eqli* [.] *ša ka-ri* ⁷ [. ?]
na ⁸ *Līb?* *bi-āli* [. . . *am-ta-ḫar-ka* ⁸ [.] *bi ti*
[. .] *a* . . . *ma* ⁹ [.] *gab-ba-ma* ¹⁰ [.]
šarri ¹¹ [. .] *qí a-na* . . . *mār*^{meš} ¹² [.] *ni-iš šarri*
e? [. . .] ¹³ [.] *ka a-ki* [. .] *ma* ¹⁴ [.] . .
ma-da? *pī šarri* ¹⁵ *DŪG la* [. .] ¹⁵ [.] . *te*
¹⁶ [.] *e ka-a* ¹⁷⁻¹⁸ [.] *bi-a-ni* ¹⁹ [.]
APIN [. .] ²⁰ [.] *a* ^{giš} *APIN-šu-nu* ²¹ [. . .] *ša*
ni- ²² [.] *SAG* ^{giš} *APIN* [. .] ²³ [. . .] *ú-sa-ḫar*
LŪ [. . .] ²⁴ [. . .] *pa-ri i* [. . .] ²⁵ [. . .] *ŠE.BA(?)* [. .]
ú [.] ²⁶ [. . .] *ku a-ri* [.] ²⁷ [. . .]
pī šarri [. . .] *nu-* ²⁸ [. . .] *ši ŠE/li* ¹ ^d *Ur* [. . .] *ma*
²⁹ [. .] *ri-ka?* *i-na ša* [. . .] *ri* [. .] ³⁰ [. .] *a* ^{giš} *A[PIN]*^{meš}
ŠE [. . .] *paṭri ka-* . . . ³¹ [*i-na muḫḫi-ya ú-za* [. . .]
³² . . .] *m]a-a i-na paṭri* [. . .] *ú* [. . .] ³³ *a-na i-ni*
i-na paṭri [. . .] ³⁴ [. .] *siparri* [.] ³⁵ [. . .]
bi-a [.] ³⁶ [.] *pa-ḫi-ti-ka* ³⁷ [.] *ku eqli-ka*
šarru ³⁸ *DŪG-ya* ³⁸ [.] *AN-* . . . *li-li*

(Too fragmentary for translation)

66. [*a-na* ¹ ^d *A-šur-šum-iddina*^{na} *qí-bi-ma* ³ *um-*
ma ¹ ^d *A-šur-kāšid*^{id} *ma*

⁴ ¹ *Rabū* [^d *Si*] *bitti* ⁵ *a-na* [. .] *bi a?* *di il* [. . .]
⁶ *tup-pí a-na muḫḫi* ¹ ^d *A-šur-i-din* ⁷ *na-ši il-te-šu*
⁸ *a-na muḫḫi* ¹ ^d *A-šur-i-din* ⁹ *a-lik* [. .] *ri* [. .] *šu*

¹⁰ *i-na di-ni-šu li-id-bu-ub* ¹¹ *šum-ma di-šu ú-za-*
ki ¹² *li-qi-šu* ¹³ *i-na pi-tu ka* [. .] ¹⁴ *lu-ú* [. . . .]

¹⁵ *a-di a-na* [. . .] ¹⁶ *al-la-ka an* [. .]

¹⁷ *a-na* ¹ ^d *A-šur-i-din-šu-me*^d ¹⁸ *zu-kur ma-*
ni [*ip?*] *qi-id* ¹⁹ [. .] *LŪ i-šar-ri-qu* ²⁰ *LŪ pa-aq-*
da-ku

²¹ *ūmu* ²⁹ ^{kám}

To Aššur-šum-iddina speak, thus (says) Aššur-kāšid: Rabū-Sibitti (5) to [. . . .] until he [. . . .] the tablet to Aššur-idin he carried with him. Go before Aššur-idin [. . . .] (10) Let him state his claim in his suit. Should he justify his suit, take him; immediately [. .] may [. . . .] (15) until [. . .] I shall arrive [. . .]

Say to Aššur-idin-šume: 'Let us^e take into custody the . . . man who steals! (Indeed) the man is in my custody'.

a. Cf. GAG, 114 1.

b. The phraseology is common in the Neo-Assyrian legal documents, e.g. ADD 86 = ARU 43 18 ff., *ina dīni-šu idabbub lā ilaqqī* 'should he (thereafter) bring legal suit, he may not receive (payment).' Cf. also KAV 169 12 f., 201 22 ff.

c. Cf. the identical phrase in *ana ittišu*, B. Landsberger, MSL I 94, l. 45. — *di-šu* is for *dīn-šu*.

d. Apparently the same individual previously referred to as Aššur-i(d)in. This may suggest that all occurrences of this common Assyrian name are to be understood similarly as abbreviated.

e. *nipqid* in the sense of Bab. *i nipqid*; cf. von Soden, GAG §81 g.

67. *a-na* ¹ *Kur-ba* [*ni*] ² *qí-bi* [*ma*] ³ *um-ma* ¹ ^d *Ša-*
maš-re-ma-ni

⁴ ¹ *Kur-ba-na* ^a *al-tap-ra-ku* ⁵ *sinništu* *ša tàq-bi-*
an-ni ⁶ *a-na* ¹ *Kur-ba-ni di-in* ⁷ *a-na* ⁸ *Ni-nu-a*
⁸ *a-na muḫḫi-ya lu-ub* [*la?*] ⁹ *en-tu* ^b *i-na muḫḫi-ya*
¹⁰ *a-na-ku la al-li* [*ik*] (2 lines lost) ¹¹ *di* [.]
¹² *A-* [. .] *ú* [. . .]

Speak to Kurbānu, thus (says) Šamaš-rēma-(n)ni: 'I have sent Kurbānu to you. (5) The woman about whom you have spoken to me, give to Kurbānu, so that he may bring (her) before me to the city of Nineveh. When she is before me (10) I would not g[o]

a. Both the addressee and the messenger are named Kurbānu.

b. Cf. above on Bi 63 note a.

B. LATE ASSYRIAN TEXTS

68. Loan of bronze with security.

bit 5 *imēr eqli* 2 *i-na tap-ti-i* 3 1 *Aššur-ki-nu*
 4 *a-na* 1 *Zi-ya-a* 5 *ina libbi* 5 *manē siparri* 6 *i-ti-*
di-ni 7 *a-na* 6 *šanāti* 8 *a-na* [*ša-pár-*] *ti šá-kin*
 9 *ina li[m-mi]* 10 1 ^d*Nergal-[-il-]a-a*
 11 IGI 1 *Erība-ahhē* 12 IGI 1 *Arad!*-*a-a* 13 IGI
 1 *Ilu-e[rība?]* 14 IGI 1 *Šēp-*[^d*Ištar*] 15 IGI [...] 16
 16 *ina arah Ulūli ūmu* 14^{kám} 17 [*lim-mu* 1] ^d*Nergal-*
il-a-a

A parcel of 5 *imēr* of field under cultivation, Aššur-kīnu to Ziya, (5) for (a loan of) 5 minas of bronze, has given. It is placed as a pledge for 6 years. In the eponymate of Nergal-ilāya. 5 witnesses; date.

A photograph of the text was published by Speiser in BASOR 46 (1932) 3; the transliteration and translation in BASOR 54 (1934) 20–21, has been largely followed here in view of the deterioration of the tablet in the interim.

The phraseology is similar to that of the loan agreements of the Neo-Assyrian period published in ADD.

- a. The text has, inexplicably, 1^{kám} after MU.
- b. ITI is written in error for ERI.

69. List of town head-men who are to be kept in custody.

1 *Lu-pa?-su-ri-i?* 2 *ša* ° *Gir-mu-a* 3 1 *A-bi-li-i* 4 *ša*
 ° *La-bi-ri* 5 1 *Ri-ša-a* *ša* ° *Ri-šá-a-li* 6 1 *Ni*[...] *ša*
 ° *Pi-ú-a* 7 [...] ° *Ša-bit?-ak-šú-du?* 8 [...] °
 ° *Ba*[...] *ri* 9 [...] *a* 10 [...]. 11 *ša* ° *Hi*
 [...] 12 1 *Ma-an-zu*[...] 13 *ša* ° *Sa-su*[...] 14
 1 *Bar-ru-qu* *ša* ° *La*[...] 15 1 *Iš-pi-ú-ri-i* 16 *ša*
 ° *Iš-gi-ri-a* 17 *naphar* 10 1 *ha-za-na-a-te* 18 [...] 19
^{mes}*ni* 19 [...] *si* [...] 20 [...] *šá?* *du?* [...] 21 *ina*
a-bat 1 *Hi*[...] 22 *ma-a* 1 *Pu-sa-su* 23 *lu* *ša-bi-*
ta-šú-nu

70. List of sheep and goats belonging to individuals.

[1] UDU.NITÁ 5 UDU.GANÁM 2 [1] UDU.
 MÁŠ.GAL^a 3 UDU.ÛZ 3 11 UDU *Šu-ub-ra-a-a*^b
 4 *naphar* 21 UDU^{mes} *ša* 1 *Erība-Adad*
 5 4 UDU.NITÁ 3 UDU *kab-si*^c 6 5 UDU.
 MÁŠ.GAL 4 UDU[...] 7 *naphar* 16 UDU^{mes}
 8 *ša* 1 *La-hi-ṭa-a-a* 9 *naphar* 36(?)^d UDU^{mes} ŠAM^{mes}
 10 ŠE [...] 11 [...] *ūmu* 29^{kám} 12 [...] *ša arki*
 [...] 13 [...] *Šulmānu*^{ma-nu-ašarēd} *ša*[*rru*]

- a. UDU should be construed as a determina-

tive at least when appearing in a designation for goats. MÁŠ.GAL ‘full-grown goat’

b. The gentilic suffix makes the rendering ‘hoofed’ doubtful.

c. This confirms and rehabilitates the reading 1-en UDU *kab-su* in K 637 (= ABL 534) l. 8; cf. C. F. Lehmann, *Šamašsumukin* 2 p. 58f.; H. Zimmern, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1898 p. 818. The occurrence here suggests moreover that *kabsu* might be another reading for GANÁM.

d. Does not agree with the two previous totals which should come to 37.

e. The date formula appears to have contained a reference to some event relating to Shalmaneser III, rather than the expected eponym.

71. Fragment of list of garments.

[...] ° *Ši-ba-ni-be*
 2 1 ^{túg}BAR [...] 1 ^{túg}*ša-ḫi-li*^a 3 *bīt?*[...] *ma-*
a-nu 1 ^{túg}*ša-ḫi-li* 4 [...] *e-ki*[...] 5 2 ^{túg}*za-ra-*
te^b [x ^{túg}] *bir-me*^c 6 1 *Li-na-a*[...] 7 *naphar* 6
^{túg}*mi*[...] 8 c[...]

a. Cf. Aram. *šahlā* ‘sieve’, see H. Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdwörter* 40.

b. ‘tent-cloth’(?), cf. ADD 1039 II 11.

c. ‘Multicolored cloth’, cf. H. Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdwörter* 37.

72. List of individuals *kūmu* others, often from the same locality, who are in the charge (*qāt*) of other persons. Lines 11–18 list numbers of horses and mules, both male and female.

[*ba*] *t-qu nadnu*^{nu?} *ša* 1 *Zu-ka-a-a* *ša* *li*[...] 2
 1 *MAN-ḫa-tu i?* *pi* *la*^b 3 1 *Mu-na-bi-tu* *ša* ° *Bīt*-^{gi}
elippāte^{mes-te} 4 *ku-mu*^c 1 *Lu-ub-si-a* *ša* ° *Na-ḫal-šar-*
bi-te 5 1 [...] *i-di* *ša* ° *Ba-ša-a-ni* 6 *ku-mu* 1 *Iš-pa-ú-ri*
ša ° *Na-ḫal-šar-bi-te* 7 *ša qāt* 1 *Aḫu-tab-ši* 8 1 *Mu-na-*
bi-tu *ša* ° ^{giš} *Bīt-elippāte*^{mes-te} 9 [x] *mu* 1 *Qi-qi-la-*
ni mār āli-šú 10 [*qāt?*] 1 *A-ḫu-URU.UDU*^d

11 15 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{mes} NITÁ^{mes} 3 *atānāti*^{mes}
 4 *ku-di-ni* [...] 12 5 *atānāti*^{mes} *ša* *ku-di-ni* *naphar*
 9 *ú-ru-u*^f 1 *Bēl*[...] 13 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA NITÁ
 [x +] 3 *atānāti* [^{mes}] [x +] 1 *atān ku-da-an-[ni?]*
 14 [*naphar*] 10 *ú-ru-u* *bīt ḫal-[-ši?]* 1 *Aššur-ra'im-*
mātā(t)-su 15 [x] + 4 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{mes}
 NITÁ^{mes} 11 *atā[nāti]*^{mes} 5 *atānāti*^{mes} *ša* *ku-[di-*
ni] 16 *ina lib-bi ma...* *naphar* 8(?) [*ú-ru-u* 3
 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{mes} 17 x] ANŠE.KUR.RA^{mes}
 NITÁ^{mes} [x *atānāti*] 1 *atān ku-da-an-[ni]* 18 *naphar*
 [...] *zu* [...]

¹⁹ ¹Aššur-ib-ni ša [.] ²⁰ ¹Šēp-šarri mār
[āli-šú] ²¹ qāt ¹[.]

²² ¹Ta-ab-[. . .] ša ^c[.] ²³ mār āli-šú ¹A-ḫi-
[.] ²⁴ ku-mu ¹Hu-na-a-ni mār āli-šú ²⁵ naphar
2 qāt ¹[. . .]-ilu

²⁶ ¹[. . .]šulmu^m ša ^cKa-ru-ḫa ²⁷ [ku-]mu ¹Zu-qa-
a-a mār āli-šú ²⁸ [qāt ¹]dŠamaš-ú-pa-ḫar ²⁹ ¹Šēp-
Aššur ša ^cKa-ru-ḫa ³⁰ ku-[mu] ¹Ik-ru-ya ša ^cKul-
lu-nu ³¹ [.] ša āl ešši ku-mu ¹Mu-šal-lim
-^dIštar ³² [ša ^c]-bi-te naphar 2 qāt ¹Na-ās-
ḫi-ra

³³ [.]-a ša ^cIš-pa-ri-ra ³⁴ ¹Šu-[. . .]-li-ú-a
ša ^c[.] ³⁵ [.]-nu-ri ³⁶ [.] ša ^cBir-te
³⁷ ku-[mu] ¹[. . .]-ši-ma?-a mār āli-šú ³⁸ [.] ta-ad-
[. . .]

³⁹ [. . .]-pu [ša ^c]Ka-ru-[ḫa] ⁴⁰ [. . . ¹Aššur-am-
ra-a-ni [.] ⁴¹ qāt ¹Bēl-ki-[. . .]

⁴² 3 alpē^{mes} ša ^giški-ba-a-ni ⁴³ ¹Aššur-ra'im-
matā(t)-su ⁴⁴ 5 alpē TI.LA^{mes} ša ^giški-ba-a-ni ⁴⁵ 1
ina lib-bi BA. ŪŠ 4 alpē^{mes} [. . .]^{mes} ⁴⁶ ¹Erība-^dAdad
⁴⁷ naphar 12 šābū ana(?) bat-qu nadnu^{nu} (?)

a. The first part of the first line appears to be similar to the end of line 47, cf. also Bi. 73 1.

b. The entire line is to me obscure; it may contain a personal name. Cf. Bi. 75 4.

c. The significance of *kūmu* 'in place of' is not clear. What may be involved here is the providing by individuals of substitutes for military service, with these replacements being delivered to the charge (*qāt*) of some superiors. This situation would recall par. 26 of CH, where such action on the part of a *rēdū* or *bā'iru* is declared punishable by death. The fact that legislation was needed in this respect indicates that such evasion of military duty was indeed practiced — our present text being a case in point, at least as regards Assyria. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that CH specifies only the *rēdū* and *bā'iru*, who were obliged to perform their military duties in return for feudal benefits, and it may have been entirely proper for others to provide substitutes if they were themselves not under any feudal obligation to the crown. On the comparable Old Babylonian *taḫḫum* cf. J. G. Lautner, 78 *Altbab. Personenmiete* 225. It should be recalled further that our text dates to the time of Ashurnasirpal or Shalmaneser III, a period of almost constant warfare, in which vast resources of man power — far greater than those of any standing army — were constantly needed.

d. Cf. Bi 21 3 and 47 30. Although a locality such as 'Sheep-town' is not impossible, it is rather strange to find it as an onomastic element.

e. Cf. above on Bi 56 V 6 ff. The insertion here of a notation of quantities of draught-animals, may lend further support to our interpretation of this text as reflecting the military requirements of the period.

f. If we translate 'stallions' the summations are inexplicable; can *urū* then denote some unit consisting of several animals or possibly 'stalls'?

73. Fragment; similar to Bi 72. (Nos. 73–76 possibly from one original tablet.)

Bat-qu-[.]^a ² ¹Ba-nu-[.] ³ aḫu-šú [.]
⁴ ¹Ra-qu-ú-[.] ⁵ ku-mu ¹Pa-[.] ⁶ ¹A-zi-zu-
[.] ⁷ ku-mu ¹Pa-ra-[.] ⁸ ⁹
ma ma-[.] ¹⁰ um [.] ¹¹ ma
[.]

a. The signs are the same as at the beginning of Bi 72.

74. Fragment; similar to Bi 72.

[.] li ¹[. . .] MU.D ŪG?.ma nīšē^m[eš] ?
² [.] āl ešši ku-mu ¹ ^dSin-^uuballit ³ [.]
Ilu-ki-nu-ušur ⁴ [.] ^cPa-[bi-t]e ēlītu ⁵ [.]
[.] mār āli-šú ⁶ [.] ^cPa-bi-te šaplītu
⁷ [.] mār āli-šú ⁸ [.]-sa-a-a ša
^cK[ul-]lu-nu ⁹ [.] ku-]mu ¹ ^dŠamaš-ēriš

75. Fragment; similar to Bi 72.

naphar 3 ša [.]
² ¹ ^dŠamaš-[.] ³ ¹GUR-[.] ⁴ [. . .]
MAN.ḫa?-tu^a [.]
⁵ ¹U^b-ru-^d[. . .]DI ša ^c[.] ⁶ ku-mu ¹Du-si-e
ša [.] ⁷ ¹Šulmu^m-^uabḫē^{mes} ša ^c[Ka-]
⁸ naphar 2 ¹Ka-[. . .]PAP [.] ⁹ ¹Šēp-^dIštar ša
^cTur-[.] ¹⁰ ¹Ra-qi-[. . .] ša ^cMe-[.] ¹¹ ¹Ilu-
²-MU ša ^c[.] ¹² [ku-mu] ¹Hⁱ-ra-[.]
(top of reverse missing) ¹³ ¹⁴]-bi?-
zu-ni? ša ^cŠi-ba-ni-be ¹⁵ [. . .]-[. . .]-a-a ša ^cŠi-ba-ni-
b[e] ¹⁶ [. . .] ^cKa-ru-ḫa naphar 3 qāt [.]

a. Appears to be the same name as in Bi 72 2.

76. Fragment; similar to Bi 72

[.] ² [.] ^cKa-ru-ḫa ³ [.]-te
⁴ [.] ki- . . . ⁵ [.] ^cŠi-ba-ni-[be ⁶]
2 IGI BUR ⁷ [.] ^cPa-bi-te ēlītu ⁸ [.]
⁹ [.] ^cŠi-ba-ni-be ku-mu ¹[.] ¹⁰ 2 qāt
¹Aššur-bēl-[.]^a ¹¹ [.] ^cE-lam-ma-ki
¹² [.]-ma-a-ni ša ^cŠi-ba-ni-be ¹³ [.]-

kát ša āl ešši ku-mu ¹ [.] ¹⁴ [.] *ni ša*
[°]*Kul-lu-nu* ¹⁵ [.] [°]*Ka-r[u-ḥa* ¹⁶] *mār*
 [.]

a. Lower edge has *Ši-ba-ni-be* in continuation of line 10 or 13 of reverse.

77. List of individuals *ku-mu* other for periods denoted by *limmus*

¹ [.] ² *ku-mu* [.] ³ *ša qāt* ¹*Mu-šal-lim-*
 [.] ⁴ *ša li-me* ¹*Dayyān-Aššur* ⁵ [¹ *Zu-*] *ka-a-a*
ša [°]*Rēš-ēnāti* ^{11-meš} ⁶ [.] ⁷ *ša li-me* ^{1 d} ⁸ *ša*
maš-bēl-ušur (about 4 lines missing) ⁸ [*ša li-me*
¹ *Ḥa-di-li-b[u-šu]* ⁹ [.]

¹⁰ ¹*Rim-ni-ilu* *ša* [°]*ḤI.ḤI-ḥi-na* ¹¹ *ku-mu* ¹*Šum-*
lib?-ši *ša* [°]*Du-šu/na-* [. .] ¹² *ša qāt* ^{1 d} [. .] *rim-ni*
ša li-me ¹³ ^{1 d}*Urīg-al-lik-pa-ni*

¹⁴ ¹*Ilu-uballit-su* *ša* [°] [.] ¹⁵ [.] ^d *ša* [*maš?-*
] ¹⁶ [.] ¹⁷ [.] ¹⁸ *ku-mu* [.]
¹⁹ [.] ^š *a qāt* ^{1 d} ¹⁹ *Ninurta-aḥ-ušur* ²⁰ [*ša*] *li-me* ²¹ [. .] ¹
^d *Ninurta-nādin-šum* ²² [.] ⁵ [.]

If our interpretation of these texts (cf. above on Bi. 72 note c) is correct, then the periods denoted here by *limmus* would represent the term of service to be performed by these men, or which had already been performed.

78. Note regarding the provision of seed-corn for large numbers of people.

1,510 [x] ^{ZI} ^{meš} ² *ša a-ki-il-* [.] ³ 560 [.]
⁴ *zērū* ^{meš} *ša ālāni* ^{meš-ni} ⁵ *ša qāt* ¹ *Zu-ka-[a-a]*
⁶ 1,024 ^{ZI} ^{meš} ⁷ 324 + [.] (2 lines lost)
¹⁰ *ša [li]bbi ālāni* ^{meš-ni} ¹¹ [*ša*] ¹ *Zu-ka-a-a ušāki-*
lāni ^{meš-ni}

1,510 [x] ‘souls’, 560 [.] seed-corn, of the cities, (5) from the hand of Zukaya. 1,024 ‘souls’ [. . .] 324 + [.] (2 lines lost) (10) from the cities [wh]ich Zukaya fed.

79. Fragment. Subject not apparent. Of interest is the identification in line 4 of [Zu]kaya (cf. also Bi 72 1, 27; 77 5; 78 5, 11) as a provincial governor (*šaknu*).

[. . .] *ša sa-ar-te* ^a *ša* ¹ [.] ² [.] *āl eššu a-na*
¹ *I-ti-^dIš[ta-r?- . . .]* ³ ¹ *Ub-ru-^dIštar* *ša* [°] *E?- . . .*
⁴ ¹ *Zu-ka-a-a* ^{1 d} *ša-kín* [.]

a. ‘offence’?

80. List of offerings by individuals.

[SAL.SI ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} x *qa*] NINDA ^{meš} [.]
² [.] ¹ *Rēš-* [.]

³ [SAL.SI ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR}] ⁵ *sāt* NINDA ^{meš} ⁵
 [.] ⁴ [.] *ib* [.]

⁵ [SAL.SI] ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} ¹ *sūt* [NINDA ^{meš} x]
^{dug} *ma-si-[tú]* ⁶ ¹ ^{dug} ^{ŠAB} ¹ *Bēl-¹šu?-nu?*

⁷ SAL.SI ^a ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} ¹ *sūt* NINDA ^{meš} ²
^{dug} [*ma-si-tú*] ⁸ ¹ ^{dug} ^{ŠAB} ^b *kur-ku-za-nu* ¹ [.]

⁹ SAL.SI ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} ⁴ *qa* NINDA ^{meš} ¹
^{dug} [*ma-si-tú*] ¹⁰ UZU ¹ *Ḥa-lāḥ-ḥa-a-a*

¹¹ [SAL.]SI ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} ¹ *sūt* NINDA ^{meš} ²
^{dug} *ma-[si-tú]* ¹² [x] UDU ¹ *Bēl?-šu-nu*

¹³ SAL.SI ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} ^{4?} [*q*] *a* NINDA ^{meš}
 [.] ¹⁴ ^{dug} *ma-si-tú* ¹ *Ub-* [.]

¹⁵ SAL.SI ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} ⁵ [*qa* NINDA ^{meš}]
¹⁶ ^{dug} *ma-si-tú* *būt* [.]

¹⁷ [SAL.]SI [^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR}] ¹ *sūt* [NINDA ^{meš} x
^{dug}] *ma-si-[tú]* ¹⁸] *a-a*

¹⁹ [SAL.SI ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} x *qa* NINDA ^{meš}] ²
^{dug} *m[a-s]i-[tú]* ²⁰] ^{1 d} *Marduk-rim-ni*

²¹ [SAL.SI ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} x *qa* NINDA ^{meš}] ²
^{dug} *ma-si-tú* ²²] ¹ *Ub-ru-nāšir* (Rest only traces)

a. I can offer no reading or interpretation of the signs. ADD 777, rev. 1 lists a SAL.SI.SAL. ḤU after camels, horses, mares, asses, she-asses, oxen and cows given as offerings. ADD 1014 4 has a SISAL.ḤU together with offerings of oxen and sheep. The same form occurs a number of times in ADD 942, but preceded by the sign GUD, and similarly in ADD 1035 rev. 5, 14, but written SISAL.ḤI. This indicates that we deal with an animal. If the SAL.SI of our text is to be connected at all with these occurrences, it must be assumed that the writing here is an abbreviation of SI.SAL.ḤU/ḤI, on the analogy of the common use of KUR ‘horse’ as an abbreviation of ANŠE.KUR.RA. It appears also that our text refers only to the female of the species, which, to judge from ADD 1014 and 777, was one of the smaller ruminants. That the term in our text is connected with the ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR} is shown by the summary in Bi 81 33 where the *meš* follows ^g ^{iš} ^{BANŠUR}, and not after SAL.SI. Does this mean then ‘a SAL.SI (upon an offering-) table’? With this may be compared line 8: ‘a *šappu*-pot (with) shoat.’ Of further interest in this connection is the occurrence of ^{kuš} ^{SAL} in texts which also mention the ^{dug} ^{ŠAB} (KAV 79 11; ITH 14 11). Of interest too is the occurrence of UZU ‘flesh’ and ḤU.GAL ‘a large bird’ (Bi 81 15) together with SI.SAL.ḤU in ADD 1014.

b. Other occurrences noted in ITH 20 note.

c. Listed frequently among the Late Assyrian offerings, cf. ADD IV 307.

81. List of offerings; similar to Bi 80.

SAL.SI ^{giš}[BANŠUR]]
² SAL.SI ^{giš}BAN[ŠUR] ³ UDU.NITÁ
 [.]
⁴ SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR [.] ⁵ [.]
⁶ [SAL.SI] ^{giš}BANŠUR 2 [sāt NINDA^{meš} . .
⁷ ^{duš}ŠAB kur-ku-[za-]nu [.]
⁸ [SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR x] q[a NINDA^{meš}]
⁹ UZU ¹Ha-l[áb-ḥa-a-a]
¹⁰ [SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR] ¹¹ ib si [.]
¹² SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR [.] ¹³ UZU ¹U-
 [ru]
¹⁴ SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR 4 qa NINDA^{meš}]
¹⁵ ^{duš}ma-si-tú bīt [.]
¹⁶ SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR [.] ¹⁷ HU.GAL
^dNinurta? [.]
¹⁸ SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR] ¹⁹ UZU [.]
²⁰ [SAL.SI] ^{giš}BANŠUR [.] (about 5 or
 6 lines lost)
²¹ [SAL.SI] ^{giš}BAN[ŠUR] ²² [.] si 2
 [.]
²³ [SAL.SI] ^{giš}BANŠUR 1 sūt [NINDA^{meš}
] ²⁴ [.]-za-mu-ú ú-[.]
²⁵ [SAL.SI] ^{giš}BANŠUR 1 sūt NINDA^{meš}]
²⁶ [U]ZU bīt . . [.]
²⁷ SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR] ²⁸ UZU [.]
²⁹ SAL.SI [giš]BANŠUR] ³⁰ ^{duš}ŠAB UDU
 [.] UZU
³¹ SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR 4 qa NINDA^{meš} ^{duš}ma-
 si-tú ³² UZU ¹Sa-li-mu
³³ naphar-ma 20 SAL.SI ^{giš}BANŠUR^{meš} 2
 imēr 2 sāt šaṭ-ru ³⁴ [x] ^{duš}ŠAB^{meš} 4 + [x]^{meš} 10
] ³⁵ [x HU]^{meš}.GAL^{meš} 2 tu-[.] ³⁶ 3 imēr 5
 sāt KAŠ^{meš} [.] ³⁷ naphar 5 imēr 2?[sāt]

82. List of cities which are to contribute fattened sheep. About one third of the tablet is lost.

[.] ² ^cBīt-da-[.] ³ ^cE-lam-m[a-ki] ⁴ ^cA-
 ḥu?-su-[+u] ⁵ ^cZa-ap?-pu -tu/li-[.] ⁶ ^cZa-at-pu-
 tu-ki-na ⁷ [c]-[pu-li-šu] ⁸ ^cKa-ru-ḥa ⁹ [c]-[ir-ra-[.]
¹⁰ [c]Sa-ma-a-nu ¹¹ ^cA-lu-iš-ša ¹² ^cŠa-nu-gu-ú ¹³ ^cRē-
 š-e-ni ¹⁴ ^cBa-ša-a-nu ¹⁵ ^cBu-lu-ul ¹⁶ ^cHI.HI-ḥi-n[a]
¹⁷ ^cUm-[.] ¹⁸ ^cŠa-[.] ¹⁹ [c]-[.]-[a-[.] ²⁰ ^cGul-
 lu-[.] ²¹ [naphar] ³³ [ālāni^{meš}] ²² ša UDU^{meš} ka-
 [ru-ya]^a ²³ i-da-[nu]-ú-ni
²⁴ [.] ^{ālāni}^{meš} ⁿⁱ ša ŠE nu-sa-ḥi^{meš} ^b ²⁵ [ù ŠE]
 tibnū^{meš} ^c ²⁶ [ù] UDU^{meš} ka-ru-ya ²⁷ [la?]-a i-da-
 nu-ú-ni

²⁸ ^cŠi-ba-ni-be ²⁹ ^cAr-la-a-a ³⁰ ^cA?-ḥu?-su-tu
³¹ ^cHi-[.]-a-ši-[.] ³² ^cÉ.HI-ya?[.] ³³ ^cKur-zu-ḥa-
 a-[.] ³⁴ [.] (Rest lost)

a. Is this related to karū “invite to a feast” and ka/erītu “feast”?

b. The grain-tax and the straw-tax. Cf. ARU 20, a royal grant of a field which includes a declaration of its freedom from taxation, lines 53 ff. ša eqlāti šātina še nusāḥi-šinā lā innasuhū ^{še}tibnū-šinā lā iššabbašā ‘of this field, no grain levy shall be exacted, straw levy shall not be imposed.’ The same taxes were exacted in Old-Babylonian times, cf. Ebeling, MAOG 15 Heft 1/2 (1942), 57 9 ff. šibšam ul nimaḥḥar ‘we shall receive no impost.’ It is clear from this text also that the levy was used for purposes of feeding sheep. (Cf. also J. Kupper, Archives Royales de Mari III 17 27). Šibšu is interchangeable with tibnu in the Assyrian records, cf. e.g. ARU 116 24 f.; 118 25.

83. List of individuals and cities of origin.

[.] ²]-a-a ³ [.]^dGu-la-ēriš ⁴ [.]
 ša ¹Bēl-bu-na-ya ⁵ ^{c?} Qa-ba-in-na ⁶ [.]-na-a-tu
^cSal-.tū-dannatu^{tú?} ⁷ [.] šá? ra -ma-nu ⁸ [.]
^dA-[.] ⁹⁻¹⁰ [.]-ni ¹¹ [.] ¹U-ru-[.] ¹² ša
 [?]Adad-rim-ni ¹³ ^cIš?-me-a-ni ¹⁴ ^cBīt-Ḥar-di-ni
¹⁵ ^{c?}Ma-ša-[.]-a-te ¹⁶ ša bīt [c]-[.]di ¹⁷ ^cMārē^{meš}-
 [.]-a ¹⁸ ša ilāni^{meš} [.]-ni ¹⁹ ša [c]-[.] ²⁰]-a-
 [.] ²¹ [.] ¹⁶ ālāni^{meš} ²² [.] libbi tup-pi
²³ [.] ša [.]

84. List of cities; possibly a fragment of Bi 82.
^cKu-[.] ² ^cMār-Šul-lī-[.] ³ ^cDar-gu ⁴ ^cNa-ḥal-
 šar-[bi-te] ⁵ ^cBi-[.] ⁶ ^cIš-[.] ⁷ [c]-[.]

85. Census of various professions and crafts in Šibanibe

[.]-ka ēkallu ² [.] ^cŠi-ba-ni-[be] ³ [.] šu-uh-
 [.] ⁴ [.]-ú-ni [.] (one line uninscribed)
⁵ [.]ri ¹⁵ ¹ú] ⁶ [x bītāte]^{meš} ²⁵ šābē^{meš}
] ⁷ [x bītāte]^{meš} ²¹ šābē^{meš} [.] ⁸ [x bītāte]^{meš} ^š
¹⁶ šābē^{meš} ¹⁴ [.]-ia ⁹ [x] bītāte^{meš} ¹² šābē^{meš}
¹⁴ [.] ¹⁰ [x] bītāte 9? [šābē^{meš}] ¹⁴ U-.] ¹¹ [x]
 bītāte^{meš} x šābē^{meš} ¹⁴ SIPA^{meš} ¹² [x] bītāte^{meš} ⁶
 šābē^{meš} ¹⁴ A.BA^{meš}-ni^a ¹³ [x] bītāte^{meš} ⁵ šābē ¹⁴]
 HU^{meš} ¹⁴ [x] bītāte^{meš} ¹⁴ nadītu^c ⁴ šābē^{meš} ¹⁵ 1 bītu
¹⁴ nāru ² šābē^{meš} ¹⁶ 2 bītāte^{meš} ¹⁴ NAGAR^{meš}-ni ⁴
 šābē^{meš} ¹⁷ 1 bītu ¹⁴ sangū ² šābē^{meš} ¹⁸ 5 bītāte^{meš}
¹⁴ mārē^{meš} ille ¹⁵ šābē^{meš} ¹⁹ 12 bītāte^{meš} ¹⁴ AŠ-
 GAB^{meš}-ni ²² šābē^{meš} ²⁰ 8 bītāte^{meš} ¹⁴ mārē^{meš}

1^úGAL^{meš}-[...] ²¹ 1 *bītu mār* DIŠ.GIŠ.BI^d ²² 3
bītāte^{meš} *mārē*^{meš} 1^úSUḪUR.LAL-*te*

²³ *naphar-ma* 125 *bītāte*^{bá-meš} ²⁴ *naphar* 215?
šābē^{meš} ²⁵ *ina?* 1^ú*ki-it-ki-ta-te*^c ²⁶ [ša? ^c]Ši-ba-ni-be

a. lit.: ‘elders’, in LA period commonly ‘scribe.’

b. In view of the inclusion in this list of other cult personnel, possibly something like the *dāgil iššūrāte* may be expected here, but I cannot interpret the sign preceding ḪU; it is not completely preserved.

c. SAL.ME

d. Behind the complex DIŠ.GIŠ.BI the name of a profession is presumably concealed.

e. The use of this term here, where it includes cult personnel, indicates that it sometimes has a broader meaning than ‘smiths’ or even ‘artisans.’

86-90. Fragments, possibly of one large tablet, listing parcels of property and the obligations which their usufruct entails.

The exact form of the individual entries cannot be reconstructed on the basis of these poorly preserved fragments. The following, however, may be an approximation of their general form: *bīt* x *imēr eqli* ša °X (or profession y of °X) *miksi* ŠE *tibnu* ŠE *nusāhi iddunū* “farm (including) x *imēr* of field situated in the town X (or in the possession of a certain profession in the town X); they must pay the tax, the (impost of) straw (and) the grain levy”. In certain instances the statement is made *ilku ištu āli lā illukū* “from the town people will not perform feudal service”.

86. 1 [...] *šarru?* [...] ² [...] UŠ.BAR ša °[...] ³ [...] *imēr eqli* ša °Ba-[...]-*ni mi-ik-si* [...] ⁴ [...] ŠE] *tibnu il*-[...] *tu* [...] ⁵ [...] *ni* [...] ²⁰ *im[ēr eqli]* *ina* [...] *ma*-[...] ⁶ [...] *ina bīt* [x] *imēr eqli* ¹[...] ⁷ [...] .. ¹⁴KAR? [...] *di* [...] ⁸ [...] ša [...] *pa*-[...] *ḫu* BA.ŪŠ *ḫal-qa* ⁹ [...] *mi-ik-si* ŠE *tibnu* ŠE *nu-sa-ḫi i-du-nu*^a ¹⁰ [...] x] *imēr eqli* ¹[...] *tu-nu* ¹¹ [...] ŠE *nu*-] *sa-ḫi bīt* ²⁵ *imēr eqli* ¹Šilli-^dŠamaš ¹² [...] ŠE *nu-s*] *a-ḫi* ⁵ *bītā-te*^{bá-meš-te} 1^úMU^{meš} ¹³ [...] *ya* ³ *bītāte*^{bá-meš} 1^ú ^{meš}[...] ¹⁴ [...] *a*^{meš} ¹¹¹ *ālāni!* KŪ ŠE [...] ¹⁵ [...] °*Būt*?-[...] (Reverse) ¹⁶ [...] ²⁰ *imēr eqli* [...] ¹⁷ [...] ša ¹ *bītu?* [...] ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ [...] ²⁰ [...] *i-du*-[*nu* [...] ²¹ [...] *-ú* [...] ²² [...] *eqli* ¹[...] ¹ *li* [...] ²³ [...] *ri naphar bīt* [...] *-nu*

a. Cf. above on Bi 82 note b.

87. [...] *bīt* [...] ² [...] ³ [...] ⁸⁰ [...] ⁴ [...] *bīt* [...] ⁵ *bīt* [...] ⁶ ¹[...] ⁸⁻⁹ [...] ša [...] ¹⁰ [...] *bīt* ¹[...] ¹¹ *naphar bīt* [...] ¹² *ina libbi* [...] ¹³ [...] ^{meš-ni} ša [...] ¹⁴ [°] *-ri-a* °[...] ¹⁵ °*Ša-li-mu naphar* [...]

88. [...] ² [...] ...[...]-*e naphar?* [...] ³ [...] *ku* ...-*tu* °[...] ⁴ [...] *imēr eqli* [...] ⁵ [...] ³⁰ *imēr eqli* [...] [...] *ḫi-ú* [...] AN KŪ ŠE *tibnu* [...] ¹ [...] *il-ku iš-tu āli la-a il-lu-ku* [...] ¹ [...] KUR.ERÍN.NA [...] *bīt* ³⁰ *imēr eqli* ¹ *lu*-[...] ⁹ [...] *bīt* ³⁰ *im[ēr eqli mi-ik-si* ¹*Ušur-ki-nu?* [...] ¹⁰ [...] ¹*Tāk-lak-a-na-ili-ya* [...] ¹¹ [...] *iš-tu āli la-a il-lu-ku* [...] ¹² [...] BIL [...] KUR.ERÍN.N[A [...] ¹³ [...] ²⁵ *imēr eqli* [...] ¹⁴ [...] ša ¹⁴*ma*-[...] ¹⁵ [...] *imēr* [°] *qli* [...]

89. [...] *im[ēr? eqli* [...] ² [...] *-a-te* [...] ³ [...] .. GAN^{meš?} ša ¹[...] ⁴ [...] *-a-te* ⁴⁰ *qa* [...] ^{meš} ² [...] ⁵ [...] *-a* [...] ⁶ [...] ¹ ANŠE.KUR.[RA [...] ⁷ [...] *li šu-a-te* [...] ⁸ [...] *za-ra-a-te* [...] ⁹ [...] AN [...]

90. °[...] ² *naphar bīt* ³⁰ *im[ēr eqli* [...] ³ *bīt* ⁴⁰ *imēr eqli* [...] ⁴ ŠE *tibnu* ŠE *nu*-[*sa-ḫi* [...] ⁵ [...] ša °[...] ⁶ TA.TI *bīt* [...] ⁷ ša °[...] ⁸ [...] ¹⁴[...] ⁹ [...] ²⁰ *imēr* [...] ¹⁰ [...] *ma* [...] ¹¹ [...] *bīt* [...] ¹² ŠE *tibnu* ŠE *nu*-[*sa-ḫi* [...] ¹³⁻¹⁴ [...] ²⁰ [...] ¹⁵ [...] ²⁰ [...]

III. INDICES

A. PERSONAL NAMES

References are to text and line. In the case of only partially preserved names, only a selected number have been included.

<i>A-bi-ilu</i>	36 14
<i>A-bi-li-i</i>	69 3
<i>A-bu-tāb</i>	19 32
^d <i>Adad</i> -...	30 14
^d <i>Adad-ēriš</i>	55 9
^d <i>Adad</i> -[...]- <i>li</i> -[...]	2 21
^d <i>Adad</i> (X)- <i>me-ḫir</i>	10 21
<i>Adad</i> (X)- <i>mu</i> ?- <i>ša</i> ?- <i>lim</i>	55 18
^d <i>Adad-nādin-a-ḫi</i>	16 4; 51 10; 57 4
^d <i>Adad-ni-ši</i>	9 3
^d <i>Adad-nūr-ina-māti</i> ^{ti}	51 13

^d <i>Adad-ri</i> -. . .	28 13	<i>Aššur-šum-iddina</i> ^{na}	52 3
<i>Adad-rim-ni</i>	83 12	^d <i>A-šur-šum-li-šir</i>	62 12
^d <i>Adad-šamši-ya</i>	11 17	^d <i>A-šur-šum-ušur</i>	11 19; 31 7
^d <i>Adad-taš-mar</i>	4 17; 47 30	^d <i>A-šur-tukulti</i> ^{ti}	14 6
^d <i>Adad-te-ya</i>	1 26; 22 7	^d <i>A-šur-ú-ma-i</i>	1 9
^d <i>Adad-za-qip</i>	12 13	<i>At-ḫi-na-da</i>	11 10, 16
<i>Ad-ma-te-ilu</i>	36 16	<i>A-zi-zu</i> -. . . ?]	73 6
<i>A-ḫi</i> -. . .	72 23	<i>Ba-ab-aḫ-iddina</i> ^{na}	37 9
<i>A-ḫu</i> -URU.UDU	72 10	<i>Ba-ḫu-ú</i>	12 5
<i>Aḫu</i> (PAP)- <i>nāšir</i>	13 16	<i>Ba-ḫu</i> -. . .	73 2
<i>Aḫu-šulmāni</i> ^{ma-ni}	14 16	<i>Ba-aq-nu</i>	25 9
<i>Aḫu</i> (PAP)- <i>tab-ši</i>	72 7	<i>Bar-ru-qu</i>	69 14
<i>A-li</i> -. . .	34 11	<i>Ba-ú-aḫ-iddina</i> ^{na}	17 2
<i>Am-ra-ni</i> - ^d <i>Šamaš</i>	46 7	^f <i>Be-la-su-ni-ya</i>	22 1, 6
<i>A-pi-la-qi</i>	9 2, 14	<i>Bēl-bu-na-ya</i>	83 4
[<i>A?</i>]- <i>pil-Ku-bi</i>	51 6	<i>Bēl-ki</i> -. . .	72 4
<i>Arad</i> -. . .	13 7	<i>Bēl-mu-sal-la-e</i>	37 3
<i>Arad-a-a</i>	68 12	<i>Bēl-mu-sal-la-ya-e</i>	47 19
<i>Arad</i> - ^d <i>Idiglat</i>	8 5	<i>Bēl</i> ^{mu} <i>mušēzib</i>	14 17
<i>Arad-ili-šu</i>	10 7, 23; 25 11; 31 9; 34 15	<i>Bēl-qarrād</i>	2 7; 3 5, 8; 6 6; 9 6, 10; 10 9;
<i>A-ri-gi</i>	63 2		13 5; 16 6; 19 16; 20 6; 51 1
<i>Ar-ta-ri</i> -. . .- <i>la</i>	35 14	<i>Bēl-šu-nu</i>	80 6?, 12?
<i>A-su-ki-ya</i>	1 20	<i>Bu-ni-ya</i>	10 22
^d <i>A-šur-aḫ</i> -. . .	13 8	<i>Bur</i> - ^d <i>Adad?</i>	55 3
^d <i>A-šur-aḫ-iddina</i> ^{na}	13 15	<i>Bur-di-a</i> [-. . . ?]	2 4
<i>Aššur?</i> - <i>am-ra-a-ni</i>	72 40	<i>Bu-ti-ni</i>	2 22
<i>Aššur-apla-iddina</i> ^{na}	39 5	<i>Dayyān-Aššur</i>	77 4
<i>Aššur-bēl</i> -. . .	76 10	<i>Du-si-e</i>	75 6
^d <i>A-šur-da-me-eq</i>	16 3; 43 2?; 57 3	^d <i>É-a-mu-šal-lim</i>	52 5
^d <i>A-šur-e</i> -. . .	28 10	<i>Enlil</i> (BE)- <i>aḫ</i> -. . .	28 23
^d <i>A-šur-ēriš</i>	18 3; 51 2	^d <i>Enlil-šum-iddina</i> ^{na}	55 12
<i>Aššur-ib-ni</i>	72 19	<i>Erība</i> - ^d <i>Adad</i>	72 46
^d <i>A-šur-i-din</i>	66 6, 8	<i>Erība-Adad</i> (X)	70 4
^d <i>A-šur-i-din-šu-me</i>	66 17	<i>Erība-aḫḫē</i> ^{mes}	68 11
^d <i>A-šur-i-qiš-šá</i>	4 16	<i>Erība-ilu</i>	53 1
^d <i>A-šur-kāšid</i> ^{id}	1 11; 2 6; 3 4; 4 22; 5 1, 6;	<i>Erība</i> - ^d <i>Sin</i>	3 19
	6 5; 7 5; 8 4; 9 5, 9; 10 4, 8, 24, 27; 16 5;	<i>E-rib-ta-ya-e</i>	23 2
	19 15; 20 5; 21 4; 26 10; 29 5; 30 7; 31 10;	^f <i>E-riš?</i> - <i>te-e</i>	59 1
	33 4; 37 4; 57 6; 66 3	<i>Ge-el-zu</i>	2 3, 12
^d <i>A-šur-ka-ši-id</i>	28 3	^d <i>Gu-la-ēriš</i>	83 3
<i>Aššur-ki-nu</i>	68 3	<i>Ḫa-ab-ḫa-ya-e</i>	21 6
^d <i>A-šur-KUR</i> -. . .	26 20	<i>Ḫa-di-li-b</i> [<i>u-šu</i>]	77 8
^d <i>A-šur-ma-šà</i> [<i>r-ru?</i>]	39 3	<i>Ḫa-laḫ-ḫa-a-a</i>	80 10; 81 9
^d <i>A-šur-re-ma-ni</i>	1 20; 11 18	<i>Ḫal-di-e</i> -. . . ?]	39 1
<i>Aššur-ra'im</i> (^{ÁG})- <i>mātā</i> (<i>t</i>)- <i>su</i>	72 14, 43	<i>Ḫa-ta</i> -. . .	23 5
^d <i>A-šur-šadu-ni-še-šu</i>	13 2, 12; 21 14; 28 22	<i>Ḫu-ba-ar-zi</i>	26 7
^d <i>A-šur-šadu-nišē-šu</i>	14 20	<i>Ḫu-na-a-ni</i>	72 24
^d <i>A-šur-šam-ši</i>	36 10	<i>Ibašši-di-ni</i>	34 13
^d <i>A-šur-šum-ēriš</i>	20 4	<i>Ibašši-ilu</i>	16 9; 28 7; 62 11
^d <i>A-šur-šum-iddina</i> ^{na}	6 9; 48 10; 57 9, 13; 61	<i>Ib-ri-šarru</i>	4 4
	1; 62 1; 63 1; 64 1; 65 1; 66 1	<i>I-din-Bēl</i>	28 9

<i>Igigal</i> - ^d <i>Nabū</i>	52 6	<i>Mu-ši-ib-ši</i> - ^d <i>Sibitta</i> ^{ta}	3 27
<i>Ik-ru-ya</i>	72 30	^d <i>Nabū</i> - ^m <i>mušēzib</i>	52 7
<i>Īl-a-ni</i>	51 11	<i>Na-ḫiš</i> -. . .	2 26
<i>Īl-a-ya</i>	26 5	<i>Nap-še-ri-ya</i>	1 22; 3 19
<i>Ilu</i> '- ^d <i>MU</i> (or ^d <i>Adad</i> - <i>iddin</i>)	75 11	<i>Na-ás-ḫi-ra</i>	72 32
<i>Ilu-ēriš</i>	47 16	^d <i>Nergal-il-a-a</i>	68 10, 17
<i>Ilu</i> -[<i>erība</i>]	68 13	<i>Ni-nu-a</i> -[<i>a</i>]	27 17
<i>Ilu-ki-nu-ušur</i>	74 3	^d <i>Ninurta</i> (<i>MAŠ</i>)- <i>aḫ-ušur</i>	77 19
<i>Ilu-ma-lik</i>	20 21	^d <i>Ninurta</i> (<i>MAŠ</i>)- <i>nādin-šum</i>	77 21
<i>Ilu</i> - ^a <i>uballit</i> - <i>su</i>	77 14	^d <i>Ninurta-šum-i-bi</i>	51 15
^t <i>In-ba-ra-mat</i>	44 2	<i>Ninurta</i> (<i>MAŠ</i>)- <i>šum-iddina</i> ^{na}	55 14
<i>I-qiš</i> -. . .	4 2; 22 8	<i>Nu-di-ba</i>	55 11
<i>Iqīš</i> (<i>BA</i>)- ^d <i>A-šur</i> ?	36 12	<i>Nūri-ya</i>	10 17
<i>Ir-ri-gi</i>	34 12	<i>Pa-ra</i> -. . .	73 7
<i>Iš-me</i> - ^d <i>Enlil</i>	11 22	<i>Pi-ra-di</i>	4 3, 13
<i>Iš-pa-ú-ri</i>	72 6	<i>Pu-ra-me</i>	10 18
<i>Iš-pi-ú-ri-i</i>	69 15	<i>Pu-sa-su</i>	69 23
^d <i>Ištar-ēriš</i>	29 12; 30 19; 33 10	<i>Qar-ra-di</i>	12 1, 14
^d <i>Ištar-pi-láḫ</i>	31 4; 33 1, 5	<i>Qi-qi-la-a-ni</i>	72 9
^d <i>Ištar-šum-iddina</i> ^{na}	52 1	<i>Rabu</i> ^a - ^d <i>Sibitti</i> (<i>IMINA</i> . <i>BI</i>)	62 2; 6 24; 66 4
<i>I-ti</i> - ^d <i>Iš</i> [<i>tar</i> ?-. . .]	79 2	<i>Ra-qi</i> -. . .	75 10
<i>KA</i> [-. . .]- <i>PAP</i>	75 8	<i>Ra-qu-ú</i> -. . .	73 4
<i>Kaš-šu</i>	55 5	<i>Rīm-ni-ilu</i>	77 10
<i>Ki-i-di</i>	19 26	<i>Ri-ša-a</i>	69 5
<i>Ki-din</i> - ^d <i>A-šur</i>	4 14	<i>Sa-li-mu</i>	81 32
<i>Kidin</i> (<i>ŠÚ</i>)- ^d <i>Enlil</i>	52 4	<i>Sa-mi/me-du/di</i>	1 24; 3 21, 24; 9 25; 11 21; 13 14, 17, 19; 26 15
<i>Ki-din-ilāni</i> ^{mes-ni}	6 23; 16 11	^d <i>Sin-apla-ēriš</i>	1 10; 2 5, 17; 3 3, 18; 9 8; 10 1, 3; 11 2; 19 14; 24 8; 25 2; 26 9; 29 4; 30 6; 31 2; 32 2; 33 3
<i>Kidin</i> (<i>ŠÚ</i>)- <i>ilāni</i> ^{mes-ni}	50 3	^d <i>Sin-ašarēd</i>	62 7
<i>Ki-din</i> - <i>KA.NU.NE</i>	7 6	<i>Sin-ki-na-ušur</i>	52 2
<i>Kidin</i> (<i>ŠÚ</i>)- ^d <i>Marat</i> -(<i>A</i>)- <i>nim</i>	55 5	<i>Sin-nādin-a-ḫi</i>	9 4
<i>Ki-din</i> - ^d <i>Marduk</i>	51 7	<i>Sin-ni-ya</i>	20 16
<i>Ki-di-ni</i>	3 20	^d <i>Sin-rab-ki-ni</i>	6 4
<i>Kidin</i> (<i>ŠÚ</i>)- ^d <i>Sin</i>	1 26; 55 7, 10	^d <i>Sin-šum-iddina</i> ^{na}	1 21
<i>Ki-din</i> - ^d <i>Še-ru-a</i>	18 5; 51 3	^d <i>Sin</i> - ^a <i>uballit</i>	74 2
<i>Kur-ba-nu/ni</i>	34 14; 36 18; 61 7, 4, 6	<i>Si-qi-Adad</i> (<i>X</i>)	55 16
<i>La-ḫi-ṭa-ya</i>	70 8	<i>Ša-al-me</i>	47 20
<i>Li-bur-šarru</i>	60 1	<i>Šil-lí</i> - ^d <i>Ninurta</i> ?(<i>MAŠ</i> ?)	26 17
^t <i>Li-na-a</i> -. . .	71 6	<i>Šil-lí</i> - ^d <i>Adad</i>	36 11
<i>Lu-ub-si-a</i>	72 4	<i>Šil-lí-a-du-ra-še</i>	10 19
<i>Lu-la-ya-e</i>	35 9	<i>Šilli</i> - ^d <i>Šamaš</i>	86 11
<i>Lu-pa-su-ri-i</i>	69 1	<i>Šil-lí-Še-me-et</i>	55 9
<i>Ma-an-zu</i> -. . .	69 12	<i>Šil-lí-ya</i>	1 2; 23 11
<i>Ma-nu-gi-ir</i> - ^d <i>A-šur</i>	57 15	<i>Ša</i> - ^d <i>Adad-ni-nu</i>	18 13; 31 12; 34 18
^d <i>Marduk-rīm-ni</i>	80 20	^d <i>Šamaš-aḫ-iddina</i> ^{na}	33 11
<i>Mār</i> - ^d <i>Ištar</i>	10 20	^d <i>Šamaš-apla</i> ?(<i>A</i>)- <i>ušur</i>	2 19
[<i>Ma</i> ?-] <i>ši</i> - ^d <i>Šamaš</i>	27 4	^d <i>Šamaš-bēl-ušur</i>	77 7
^m <i>Mudammeq</i> - ^d <i>Adad</i>	3 22	^d <i>Šamaš-dayyān</i>	55 12
<i>Mu-na-bi-tu</i>	22 16; 55 10; 72 3, 8	^d <i>Šamaš-du-gul</i>	53 2
<i>Mu-šal-lim</i> -. . .	77 3		
^t <i>Mu-šal-lim</i> -. . .	61 2		
<i>Mu-šal-lim</i> - ^d <i>Ištar</i> (<i>XV</i>)	72 31		

^dŠamaš-ēriš 74 9
^dŠamaš-ki-din-nu 12 10; 20 20
^dŠamaš-ki-nu 25 4
^dŠamaš-li-di-na-ni 25 10
^dŠamaš-lu-SI.SÁ(?) 5 8
^dŠamaš?-ME-[...] 2 25
^dŠamaš-nādin-a-ḫi 11 24; 26 16; 46 6
^dŠamaš-nāšir 9 3
^dŠamaš-pu-u-te 17 1
^dŠamaš-re-ma-ni 67 3
^dŠamaš-re-šu-ya 53 1
^dŠamaš-šarru 3 7
^dŠamaš-ši-ma-ni 11 7
^dŠamaš-šum-ēriš 2 24
^dŠamaš-šum-iddina^{na} 55 6
^dŠamaš-taš-mar 51 12
^dŠamaš-tukultī^{ti} 3 1, 6, 17
^dŠamaš-ú-ma-i 14 18
^dŠamaš-ú-pa-ḫar 72 28
Šarru-MU-[...] 13 18
Še-lu-bu 55 18
Še-nu-ni 2 20
Šēp-Aššur 72 29
Šēp-^dIḏiglat 55 13
Šēp-^dIštar 68 14; 75 9
Šep-šarri(MAN) 72 20
Ši-me-ga-at-ta 55 11
Šu-ub-ri-ú 1 23; 3 23; 11 20; 26 14
^dŠulmānu^{ma-nu}-qarrād 30 20
^dŠulmānu^{ma-nu}-ašarēd 25 15
^dŠulmānu^{ma-nu}-ašarēd(MAŠ) 70 13
^dŠulmānu^{ma-nu}-li' 55 8
^dŠulmānu^{ma-nu}-nāšir 53 2
^dŠulmānu^{ma-nu}-rabī 55 8
Šulmu^{mu}-aḫḫe^{mes} 75 7
Šum-lib-ši 4a 5; 47 24
Šu-zu-be 47 23
Šūzub-^dNergal 11 23
Tāk-lak-a-na-ili-ya 88 10
Te-du[...] 29 7
Te-er-tu-ša-ummi 38 5
Tukultī^{ti}-[...] 15 20
Tā-ab[...] 72 22
Tābi-ya 12 13
Tāb-mil-ki-a-bi 25 4
Tāb-rigim-šu 16 1
Ub-ru 55 4, 7
Ubru[...] 83 11
Ub-ru-^d[...]DI 75 5
Ub-ru-^dIštar(XV) 79 3
Ub-ru-nāšir 80 22

Ur-ḫi-^dTe-šu-ub 24 3, 6, 10
Urugal-a-lik-pa-ni 77 13
Ušur-ki-[nu?] 88 9
Ū-sà-pè-ilu 55 6
Uz-na-ni 60 3
Zer-...-li-šir 55 14
Zer-ki-ta-li-[šir] 55 15
Zi-ya-a 68 4
Zu-ka-a-a 72 1; 77 5; 78 5, 11; 79 4
Zu-qa-a-a 72 27
x-šu-ilāni^{mes-ni} 12 6

B. NAMES OF PLACES

All places are to be understood as 'cities' (determinative URU) unless otherwise listed.

A-di-ú 48 7; 49 8
Ālu-eššu 72 31; 76 13; 79 2
A-lu-iš-ša 82 11
A-ḫu?-su-tu 82 4?, 30
Ar-la-a-a 82 29
Ba-[-]ri 69 8
Ba-ša-a-nu 72 5; 82 14
āl UDU^{mes} 21 3; 47 30?
Ālu du-nu ša ¹Bēl-mu-sal-la-ya-e 47 19
—ša ¹Ilu-ēriš 47 16
—ša ¹U.SI.ME 47 22
—ša ¹Kidīn-ilāni^{mes-ni} 50 3
—ša mārī^{mes} SAL... 47 17
—ša ¹Ša-al-me 47 20
—ša ¹Šil-lī-[...] 50 6
—ša ¹Šum-lib-ši 47 24
—ša ¹Šu-zu-be 47 23
Bir-te 72 36
Bīt-da[...] 82 2
Bīt-^{is}elippāte^{mes-te} 72 3, 8
Bīt-Ḫar-di-ni 83 14
Bīt-Za-ma-ni 6 8
Bu-lu-ul 82 15
Būrāni^{mes} 53 1
Dar-gu 84 3
Du-na 77 11
Ēkallāte^{mes} 48 2; 53 2
É.ḪI-ya?-[...] 82 32
E-lam-ma-ki 76 11; 82 3?
E-ri-[...] 47 5
E-sa?-lu-ni? 47 15
Gi-ra-ad 63 13
Gir-mu-a 69 2
Gul-lu-[...] 82 20
(cf. Kul-lu-nu)
Ḫa-ba' 48 5

Ha-ni-gal-bat 49 12
Ha-šu-a-nu/ni 12 15; 47 21; 55 9; 69 13
Hi-[...]-a-ši-[...] 82 31
HI.HI-ḫi-na 77 10; 82 16
Hi-iš-ta-[...] 47 13
HU 48 8
Hu-bi-te 21 8
Hu-šar-še 47 27; 55 7
Il-[...] 50 2
Iš-gi-ri-a 69 16
Iš?-me-a-ni 83 13
Iš-pa-ri-ra 72 33
Ka-ba-si-bi 50 4
Ka-ru-ḫa 72 26, 29; 75 16; 76 2; 82 8
Ki-ba-te 54 4
Kul-lu-nu 72 30; 76 14; 74 8
Kur-ru-li 55 6
Kur-su-ḫa-a-[...] 82 33
(māt)Kūt-mu-ḫi 12 18
La-bi-ri 69 4
Lib-bi āli? 65 7
Mārē^{mes}-[...]-a 83 17
Mar-Šil-lá-[...] 84 2
Ma-ša-[...]-a-te 83 15
Ma-at-ma-[...] 47 7
Na-ḫal-šar-bi-te 72 4, 6; 84 4
Ni-nu-a 67 7
Pa-bi-te ēlītu(AN.TA) 74 4; 76 7
Pa-bi-te šaplītu(KI.TA) 74 6
Pī(KA)-mātāti(KUR.DIL.DIL) 48 6
Pi-sa-ni-be 47 18
Pi-ú-a 69 6
Qa-ba-in-na 83 5
Rēš-e-ni 82 13
Rēš-ēnāti^{II-mes} 77 5
Ri-ša-[...] 23 7
Ri-šá-a-li 69 5
Sal-x-tú dannatu^{tú?} 83 6
Sa-ma-a-nu 82 10
Sa-su-[...] 69 13
Ša-bit-ak-šú-du? 69 7
Šu-[...] 47 28
Ša-ba-ni-šu 53 3
Ša-li-mu 87 15
Ša-nu-gu-ú 82 12
Ši-ba-ni-be 2 8; 6 16; 25 3; 27 6; 30 4; 48 3;
 71 1; 75 15; 76 5, 9, 12; 82 28; 85 2, 26
ŠU.I ? 48 4
Šur?-me?-[...] 55 11
Tu-ra-bu 47 6
Um-[...] 82 17

Ū/Šam-ru 47 26
Za-ap-pu-tu/li 82 5
Za-at-bu-tu-ki-na 82 6
x-bu-lí-šu 82 7

C. SELECT GLOSSARY

¹⁴A.BA 85 12
a-bu-ḫu-ru 35 1, 5
 UDU.NITÁ 37 1; 70 1, 5
aza'ilu 23 3
uzbūtu 49 11
a-za-lu 46 3
¹⁴ikkaru 23 6; 27 1; 63 7
¹⁴al(a)ḫī/ēnu 7 7; 8 5; 15 9
ilku 88 7
 AM.GAL.Ū (ŠE) 12 5, 9
ana ini 62 8; 65 33
¹⁴I.SĪ.ME 47 22
ešādu 1 9
arā[te] 41 2; 43 4
ar-a-te 33 7
urū 72 12, 14, 16
¹⁴arad-šarri 11 8
urīšu 36 15
¹⁴AŠGAB 85 19
iškaru 25 7
ušparu 86 2
^tušpartu 61 10
¹⁴utu(l)lu 26 6
^{t4g}birmu 71 5
^{t4g}barsīgu 61 16
batāqu
batqu 72 1, 47; 73 1
bitqu 62 26
battuqu 62 27
gadubbu 64 14
gurātu (UDU) 36 1, 3
dīnānu 62 3; 63 4; 64 3
du(n)nu 37 2; 47 passim; 50 passim
zibūtu (UDU) 21 2; 36 5
zarātu 89 8
^{t4g}zarātu 71 5
ḫiburni 12 12
¹⁴ḫaziānu 21 7
¹⁴ḫazānāte 69 17
¹⁴ḫalzuhlu ? 21 5
¹⁴ḫasiḫlu 6 7; 11 4; 16 6; 20 7; 25 3; 29 6;
 31 3; 32 3
ḫalšu 6 8; 48 2
ḫurāpu (UDU) 36 7
 H̄U.GAL 81 17

ki-ba-a-ni (GIŠ) 17 42, 44
kibatu 29 1
kabsu (UDU) 70 5
kibsu 63 12, 15
kudannu 6 12; 72 13, 17
kudīnu 72 11
¹⁴*kakarđīnu* 29 8
kumānu 1 1, 4
kunāšu 29 2
karū 20 2; 65 6
karūya 82 22, 26
¹⁴KAR ? 86 7
 KUR.ERĪN.NA 88 8, 12
kurkuzānu 80 8
¹⁴*kiškattu* 35 3
¹⁴*kitkittu* 85 25
lahu 36 9, 13
¹⁴NAR 85 15
¹⁴MU 86 12
miksu 86 3, 9; 88 9
mu(l)lau 27 11; 30 1
maldiri 23 8
^{du}*masītu* 80 passim; 81 passim
mārē DINGIR.SAL 85 18
mērišu 5 11
 MĀŠ.GAL (UDU) 70 2, 6
nubattu-šu 43 6, 9
¹⁴NAGAR 85 16
namša(r)rātu 25 6; 64 23
namāšu 63 20
nusāhu 82 24; 86 9
nīš šarri 65 12
našlamtu 3 14
našpirtu 13 11; 26 12
sahāru
tusaḥar 60 9
¹⁴SUḤUR.LAL 85 22
 SAL.SI ^{gi}isBANŠUR 80-81 passim
¹⁴SANGA 85 17
¹⁴SAL.ME 85 14
sa-ar-te 79 1
paṭru 65 30, 32, 33
pašunu 41 4
parratu (UDU) 36 6
parrutu 36 14
šu-ub-ra-a-a (UDU) 70 3
šimi(t)tu 25 1
qawū
qayāni 63 20
¹⁴*qīpu* 6 14
qīštu 62 5

¹⁴*rē'ū* 85 11
rē'ūtu 6 17
rab ālāni 48 11
ri?-di-tu 26 8
rimu (enzu) 36 9, 15
^{du}ŠAB 80 passim; 81 passim
^{tū}šahīlu 71 2, 3
šaku(l)lu (GIŠ) 25 13; 26 3?
šallumu 20 19
šulmānu 24 1
šiltahu 46 1
 ŠAM (UDU) 70 9
šipirtu 11 6
šēšuru 29 9
tibnu 23 4; 82 25; 86 4, 9; 90 4
tākultu 7 8; 8 6
taptū 68 2

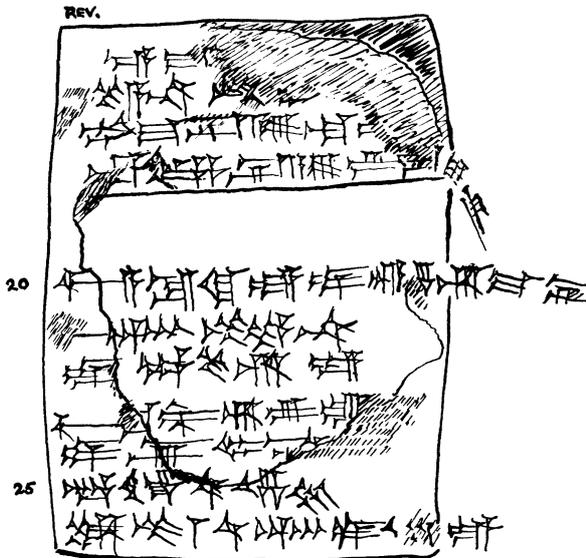
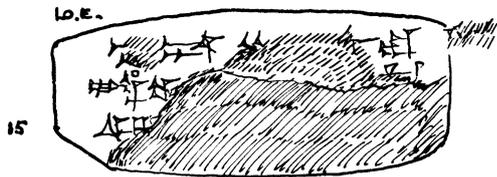
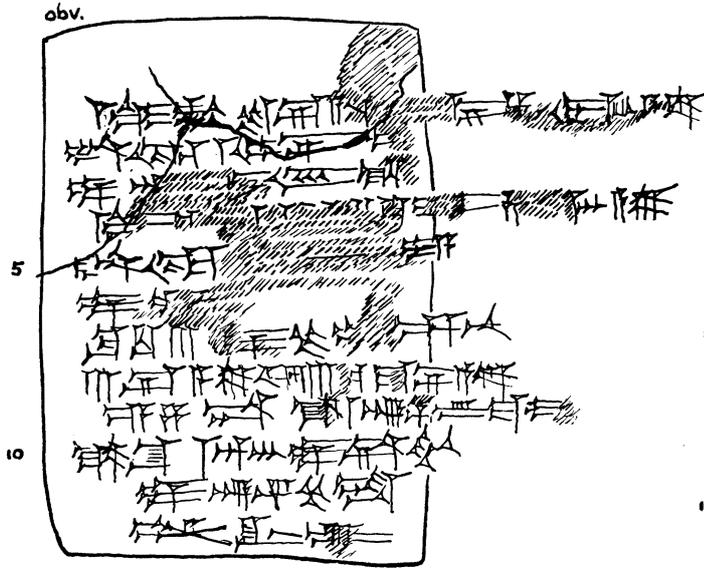
REGISTER AND MEASUREMENTS* OF
THE TABLETS

<i>Text No.</i>	<i>University Museum No.</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>
1	33-58-70	72-56-23
2	33-58-65	65-51-25
3	33-58-122	58-50-22
4	33-58-135	56-49-21
4a	33-58-114	45-43-19
5	33-58-28	67-53-23
6	33-58-23 + 38	68-54-25
7	33-58-131	44-45-19
8	33-58-42	45-45-20
9	33-58-33	77-59-26
10	33-58-77	76-60-25
11	33-58-34	71-50-22
12	33-58-19	56-52-23
13	33-58-108	49-51-22
14	33-58-83	47-49-22
15	33-58-71	65-55-24
16	33-58-76	49-54-24
17	33-58-105	37-39-19
18	33-58-109	44-59-21
19	33-58-136	70-45-27
20	33-58-106	60-55-25
21	33-58-29	40-47-17
22	33-58-20	44-55-20
23	33-58-53	42-51-21
24	33-58-63	57-57-23
25	33-58-31	49-67-21
26	33-58-27	61-50-20
27	33-58-35	65-47-22

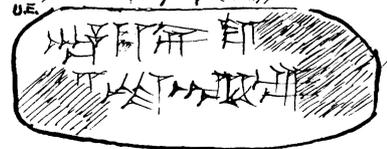
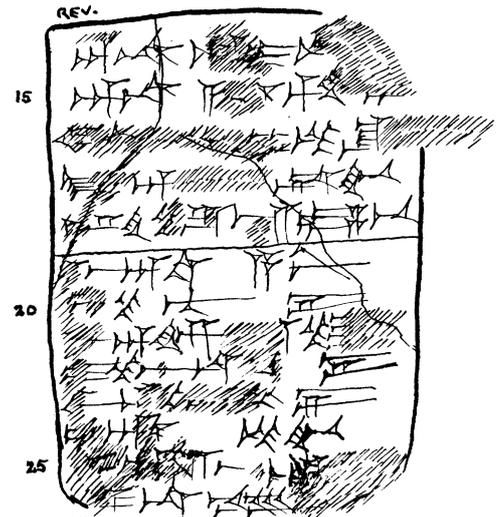
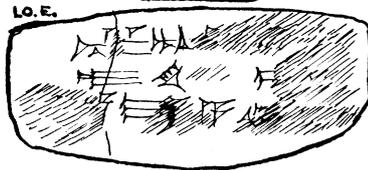
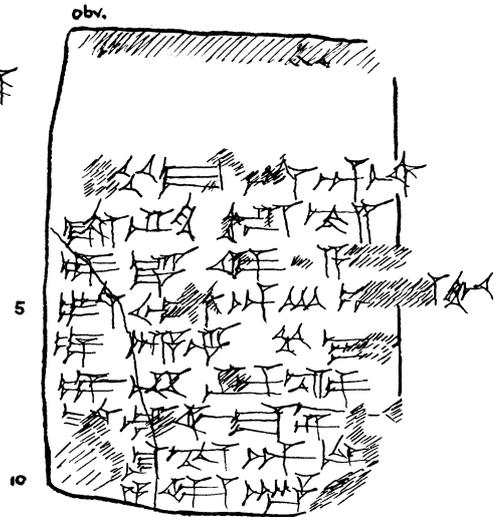
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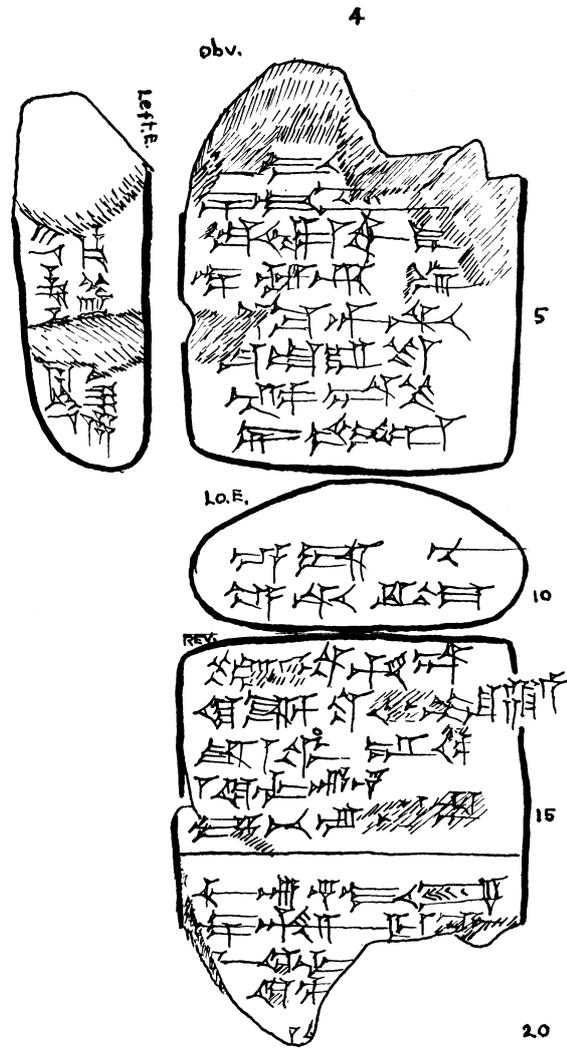
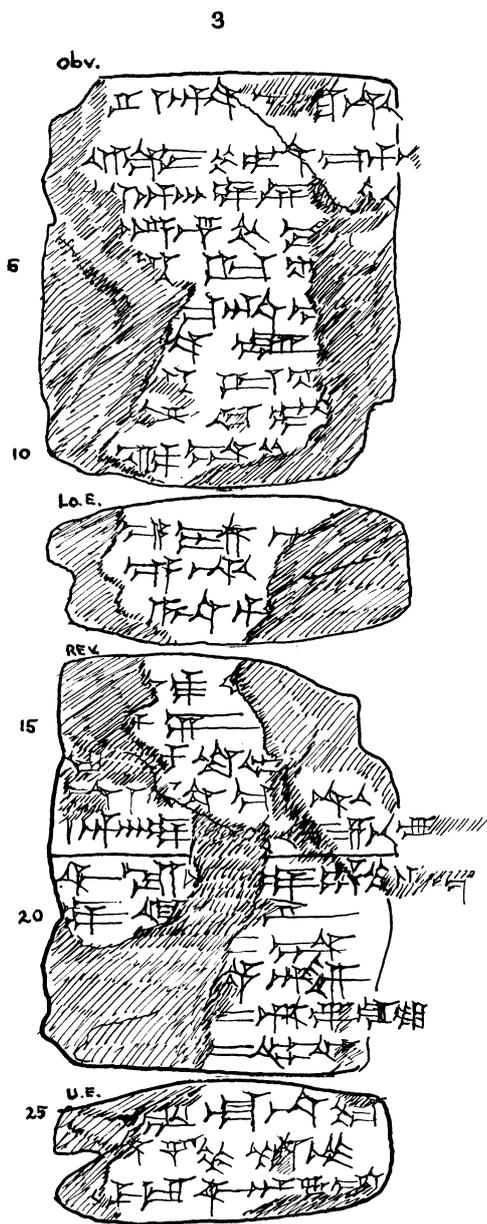
28	33-58-52	79-59-26	60	33-58-37	42-47-19
29	33-58-139	41-51-20	61	33-58-21	56-52-23
30	33-58-133	42-50-20	62	33-58-18	70-65-24
31	33-58-130	46-60-22	63	33-58-72	64-57-20
32	33-58-50	47-61-24	64	33-58-32	60-65-25
33	33-58-55	37-40-20	65	33-58-79	80-66-23
34	33-58-113	48-65-24	66	33-58-67	66-59-24
35	33-58-128	26-41-17	67	33-58-66	53-49-20
36	33-58-141	45-53-20	68	33-58-68	76-52-20
37	33-58-137	42-50-23	69	33-58-142	43-54-21
38	33-58-56	45-38-25	70	33-58-127	34-47-17
39	33-58-25	25-42-13	71	33-58-155	35-50-18
40	33-58-129	41-55-20	72	33-58-123	125-84-26
41	33-58-24	42-44-19	73	33-58-156	65-40-30
42	33-58-92	40-45-16	74	33-58-149	58-75-35
43	33-58-86	45-52-18	75	33-58-121	85-76-35
44	33-58-132	29-40-19	76	33-58-117	47-62-30
45	33-58-57	30-47-17	77	33-58-144	53-81-25
46	33-58-47	35-53-16	78	33-58-16	53-71-23
47	33-58-62	55-67-25	79	33-58-154	50-57-25
48	33-58-69	51-57-21	80	33-58-1	93-61-24
49	33-58-104	54-65-22	81	33-58-143	100-71-24
50	33-58-51	39-50-21	82	33-58-2	80-64-31
51	33-58-22	38-42-20	83	33-58-150	45-60-19
52	33-58-138	21-53-20	84	33-58-151	45-45-14
53	33-58-74	36-67-20	85	33-58-30	148-83-35
54	33-58-43	53-40-33	86	33-58-124	89-94-25
55	33-58-75	84-126-26	87	33-58-153	61-51-22
56	33-58-140	257-193-44	88	33-58-116 + 145	93-102-27
57	33-58-78	56-46-24	89	33-58-9	74-67-24
58	33-58-64	39-55-21	90	33-58-152	66-52-23
59	33-58-134	15-43-11			

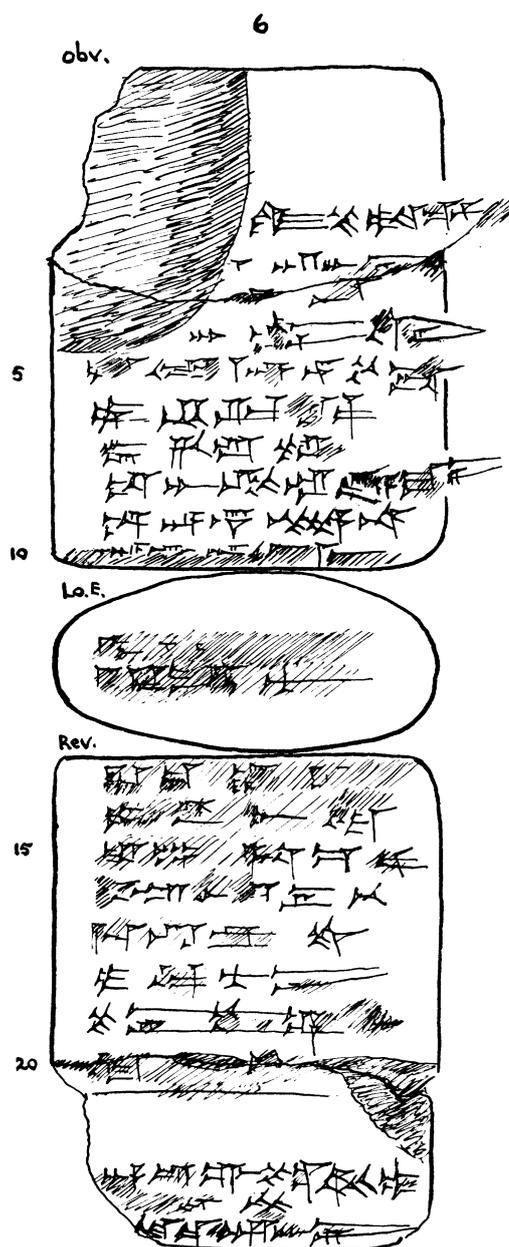
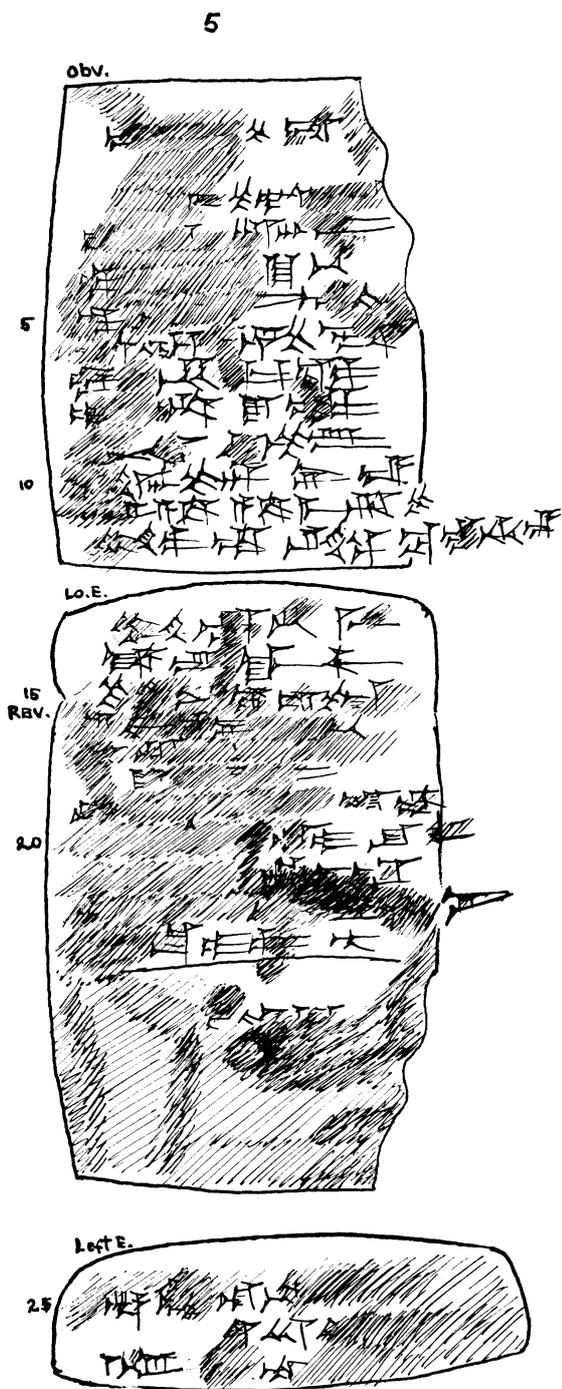
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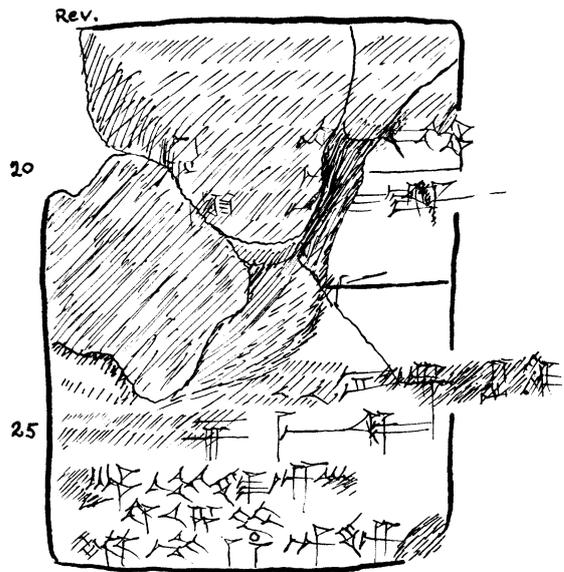
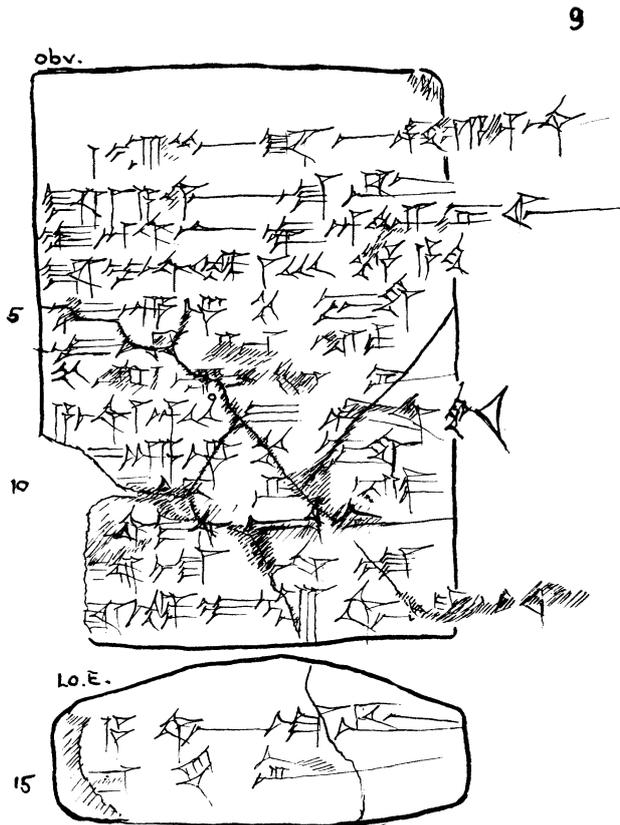
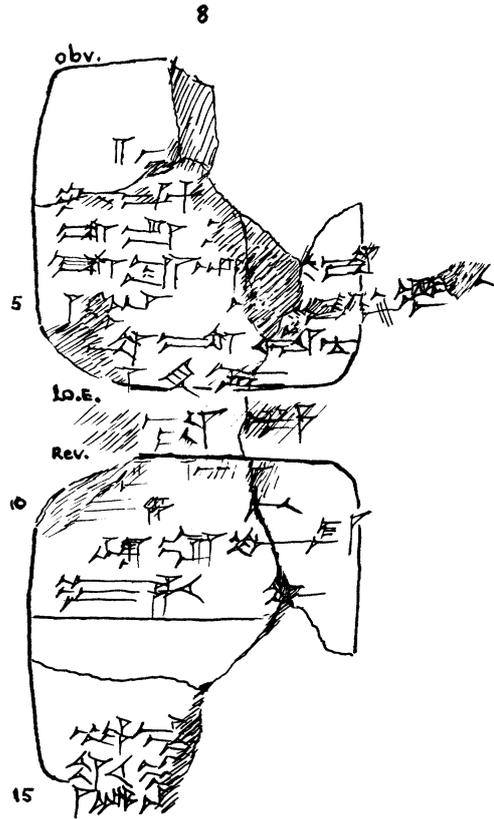
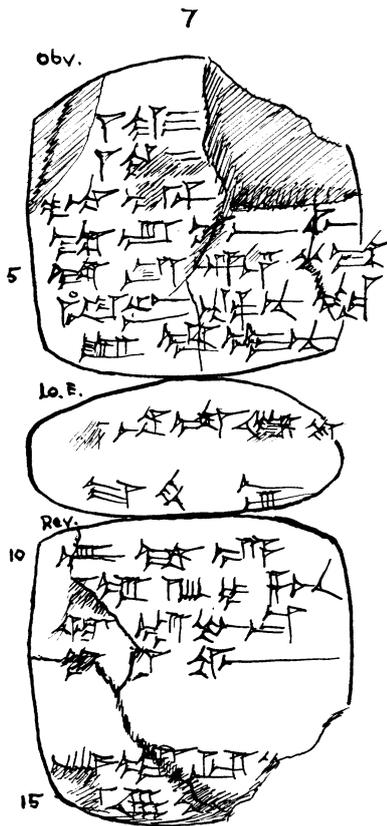


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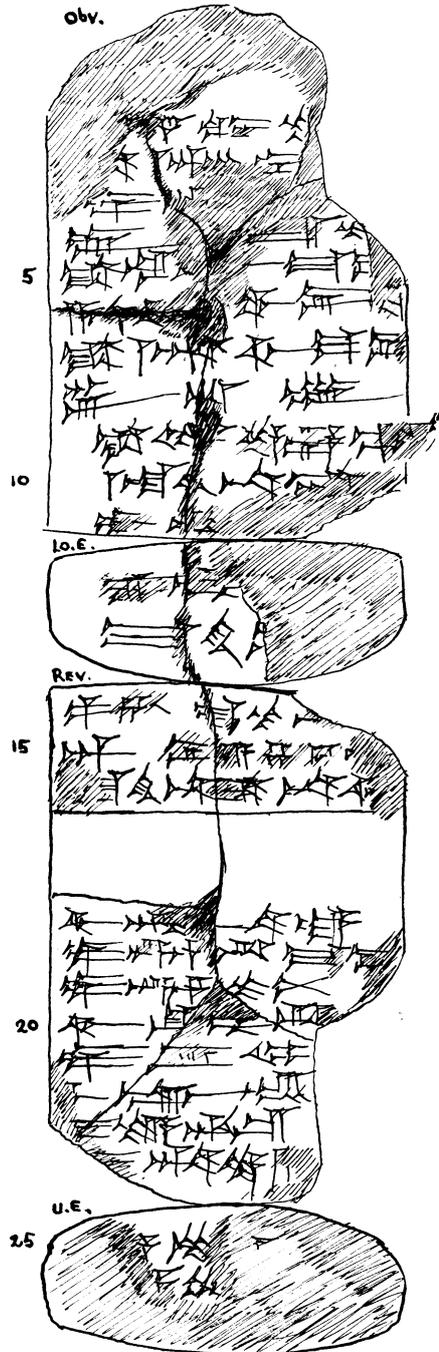
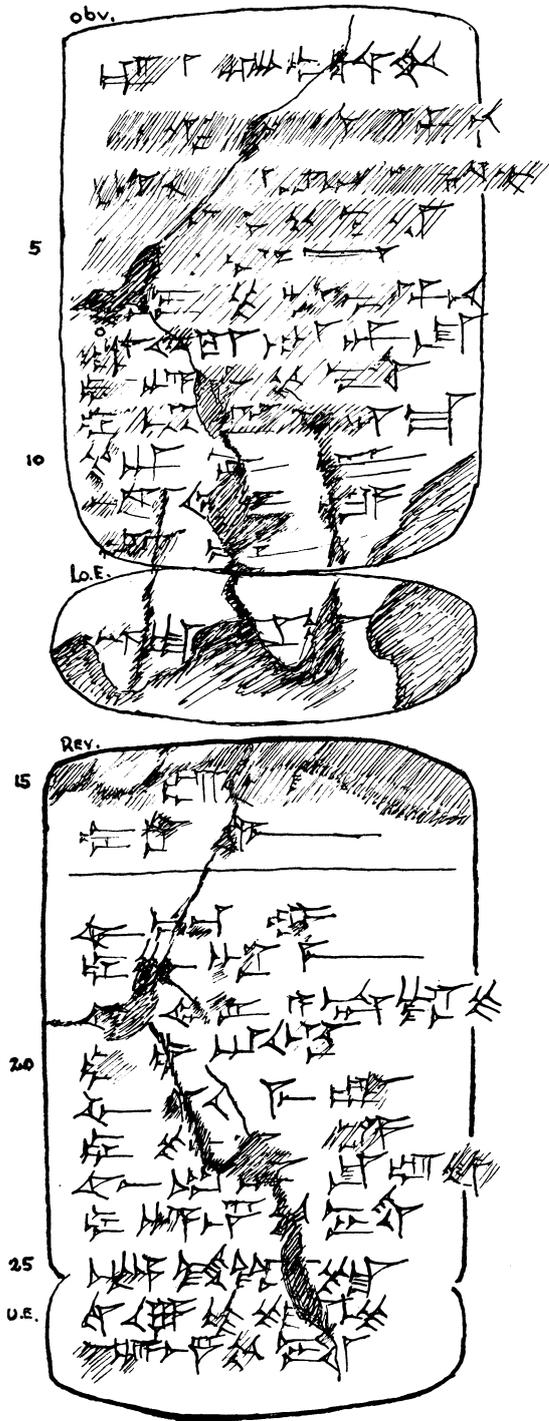




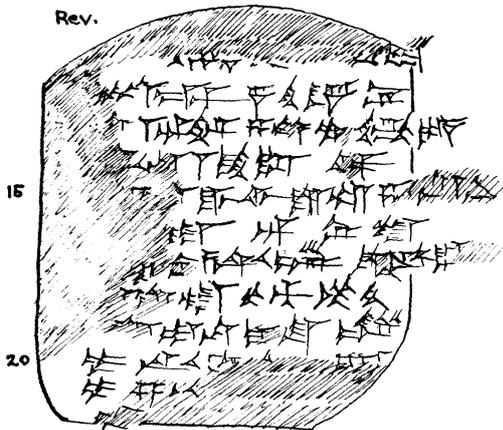
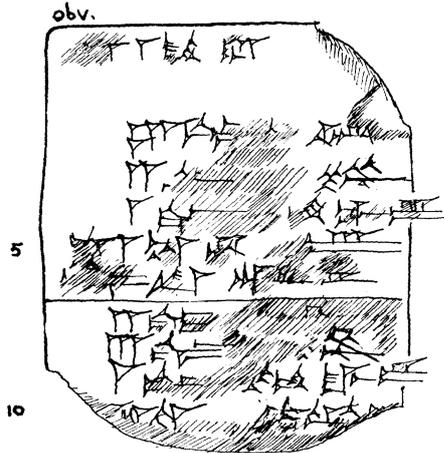


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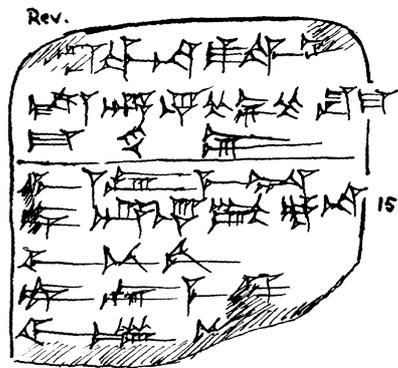
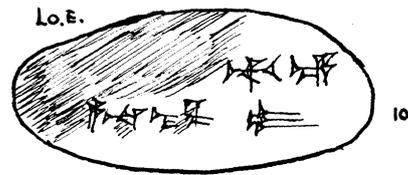
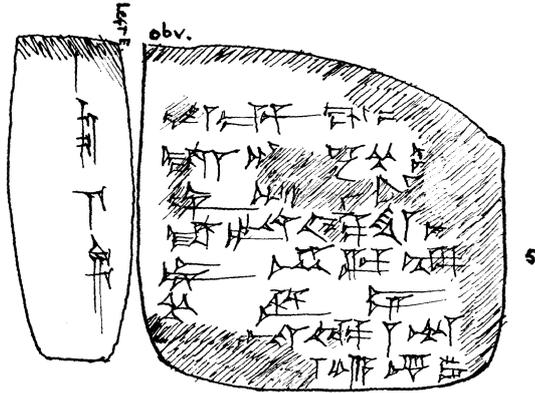
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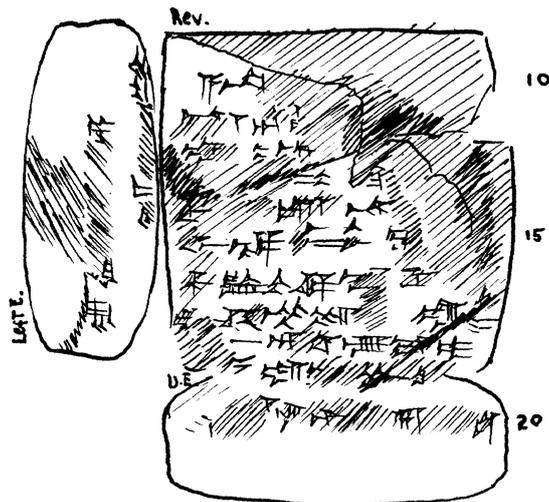
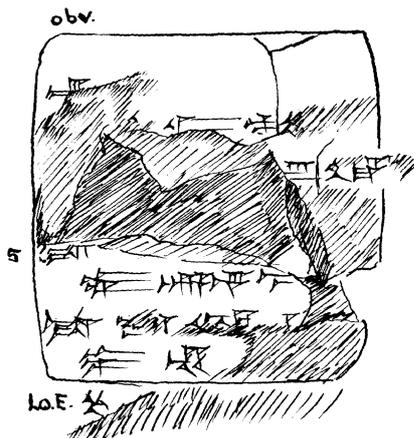
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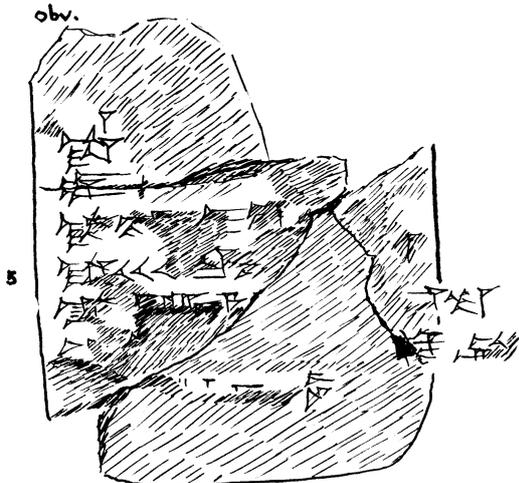
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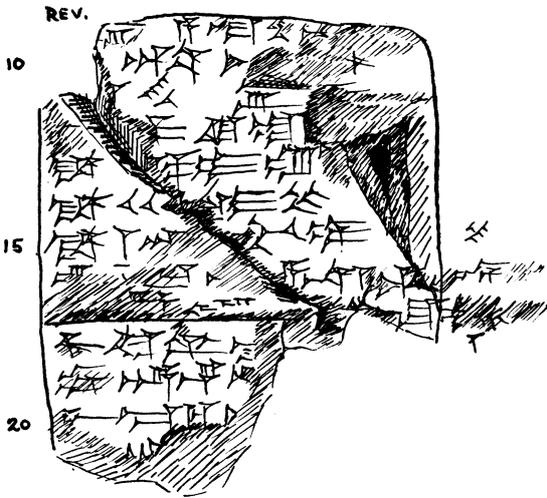
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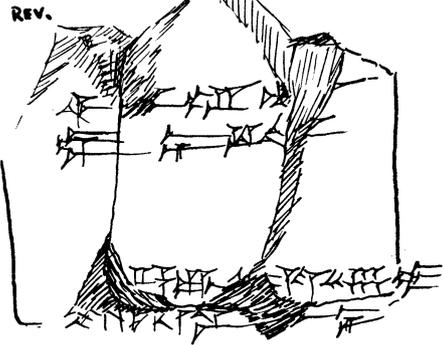
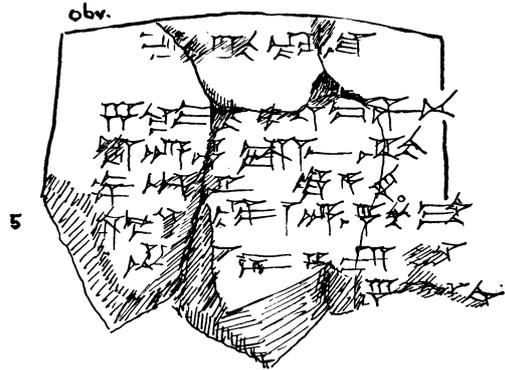
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Lo. E. DESTROYED



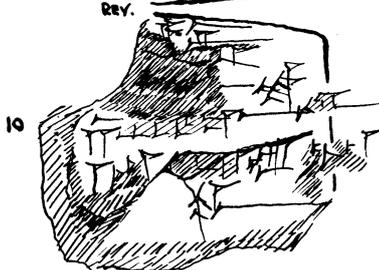
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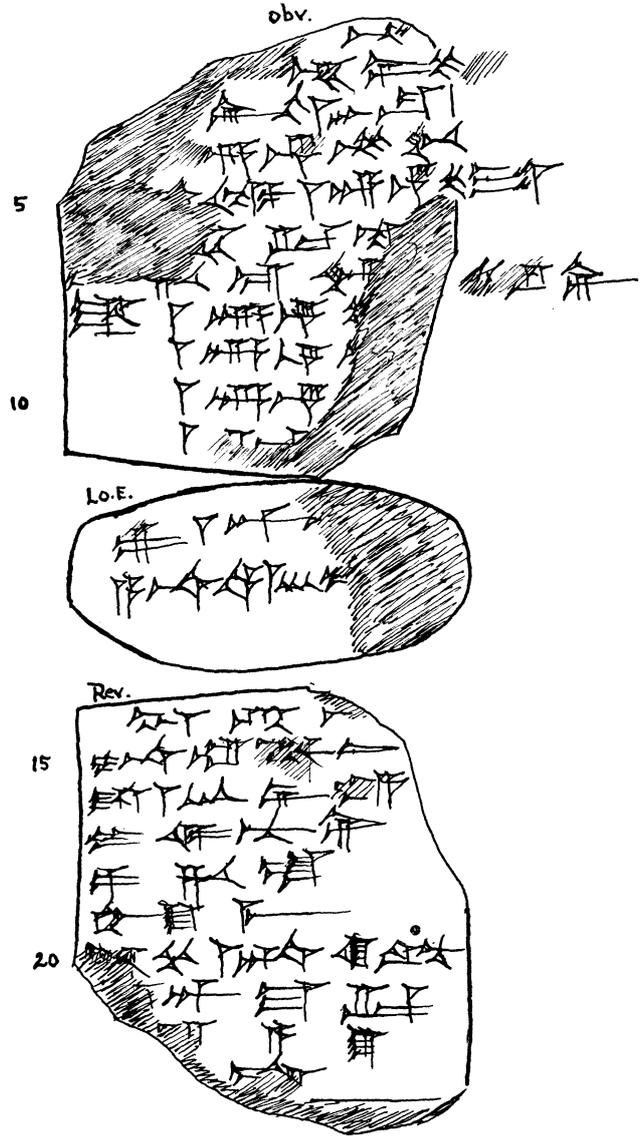
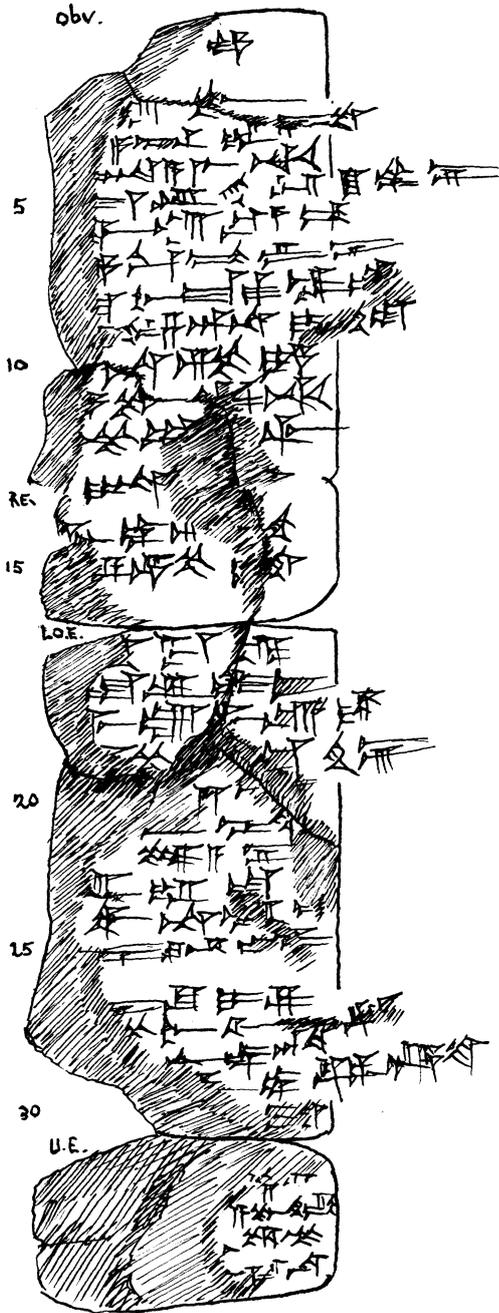


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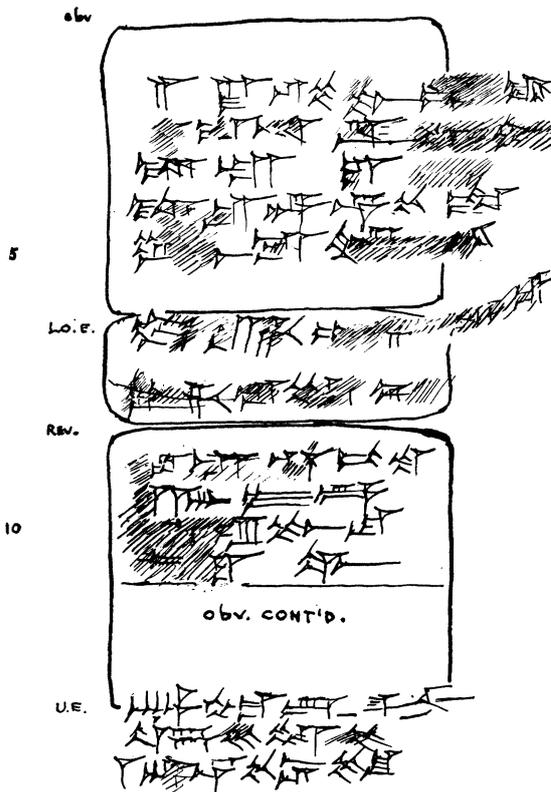


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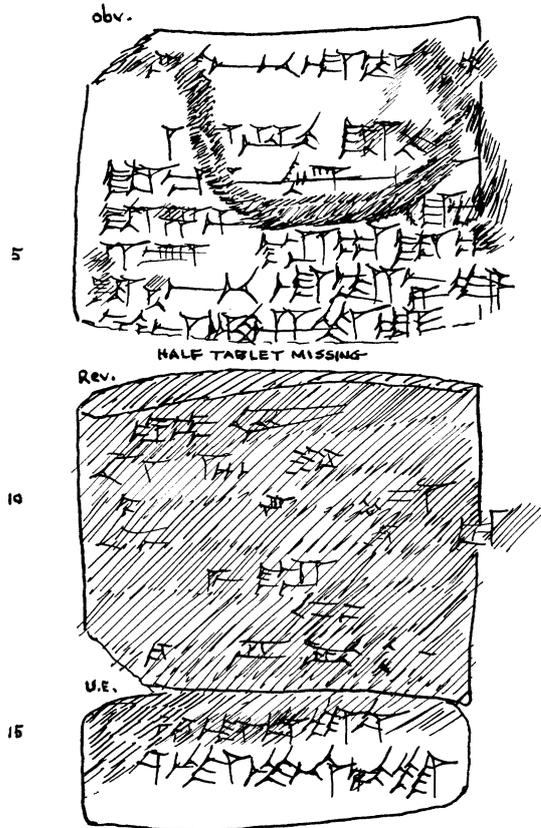
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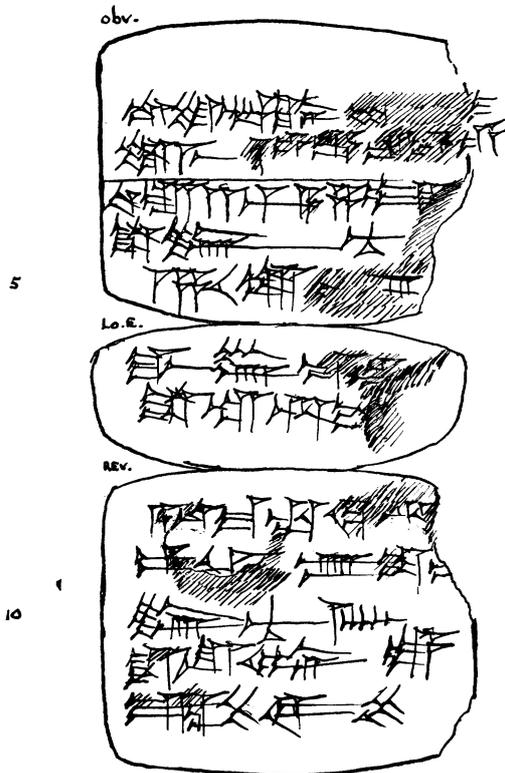
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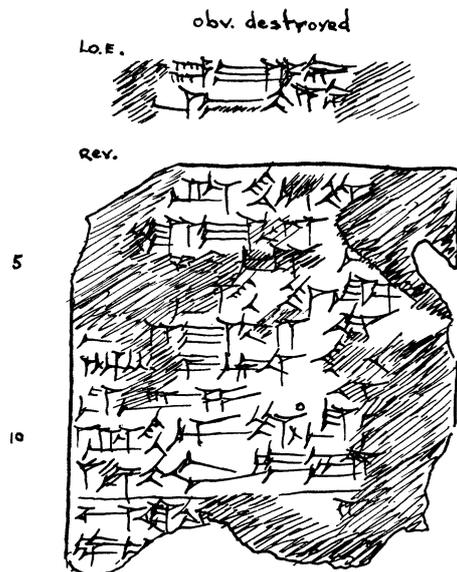
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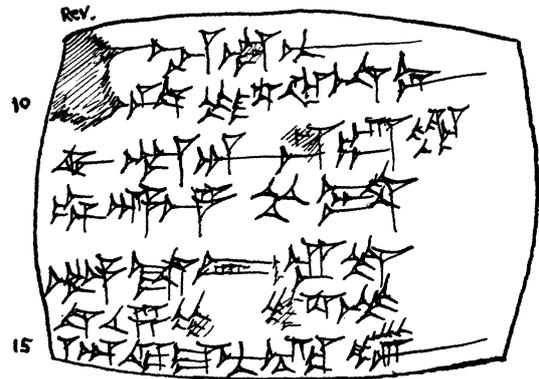
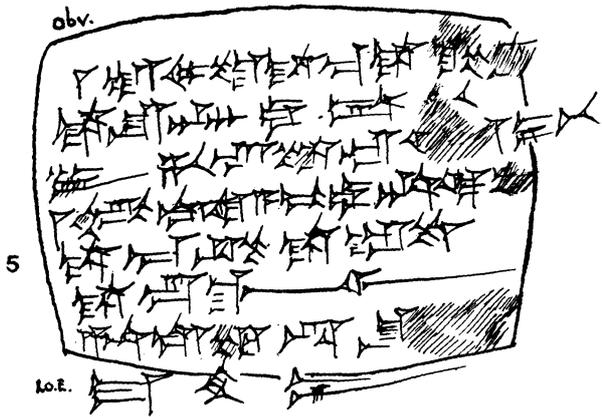
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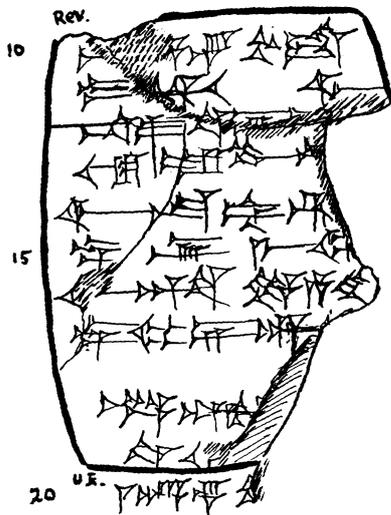
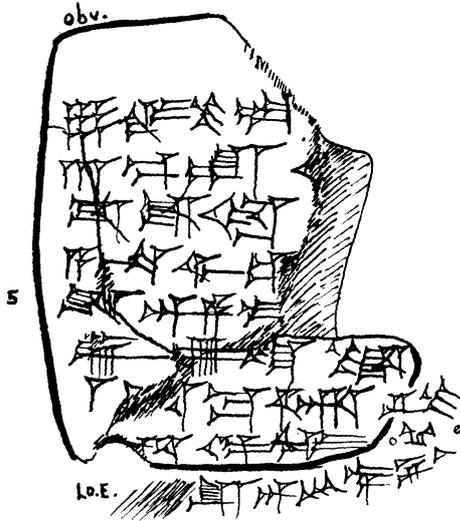
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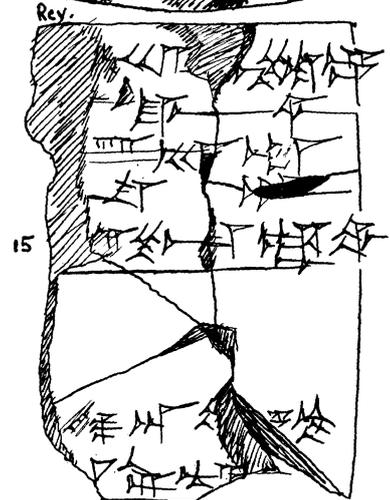
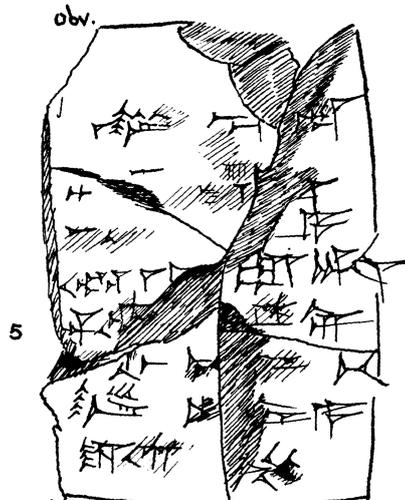
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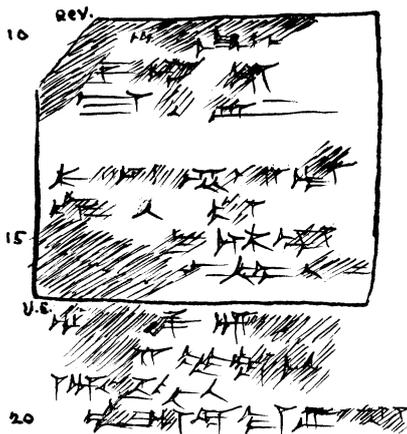
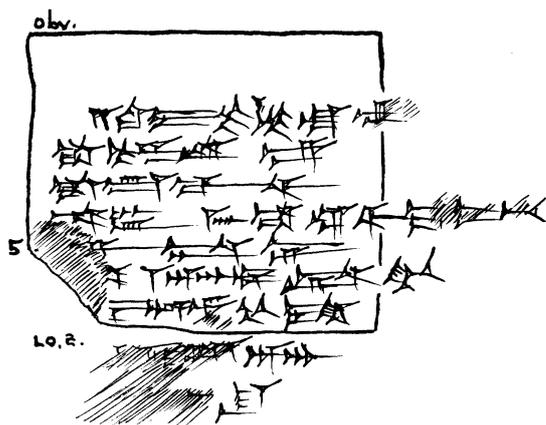
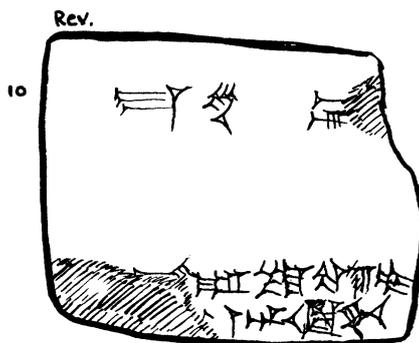
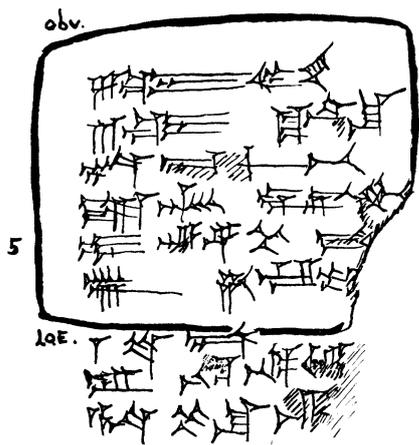
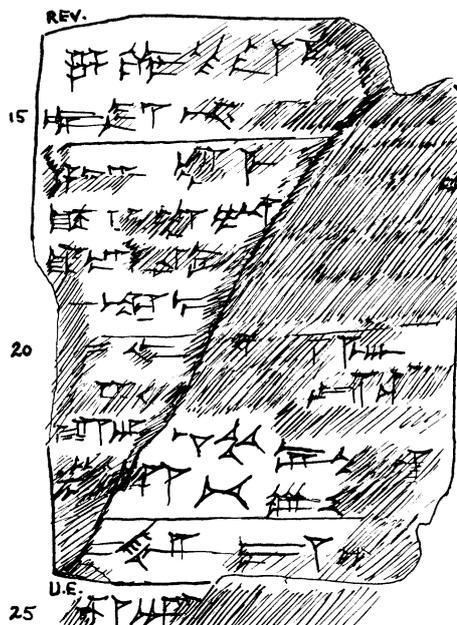
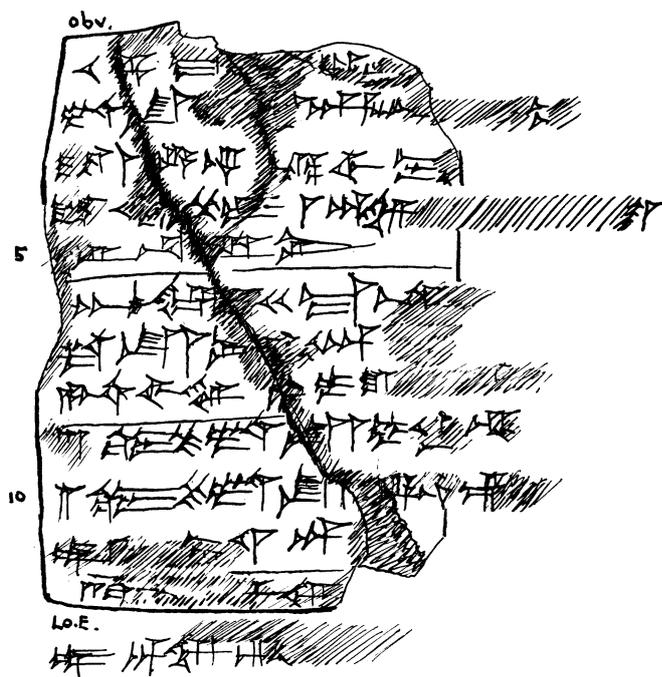


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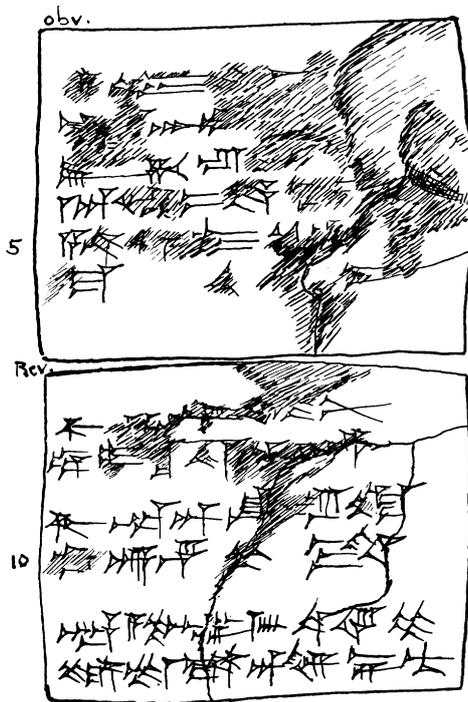


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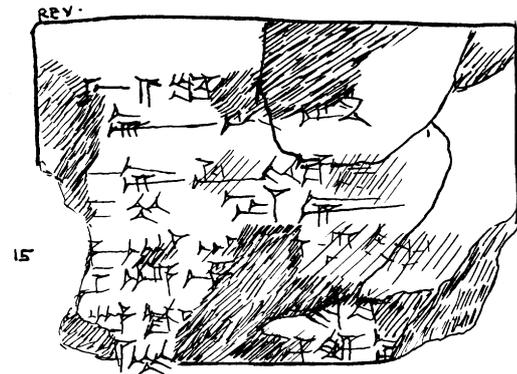
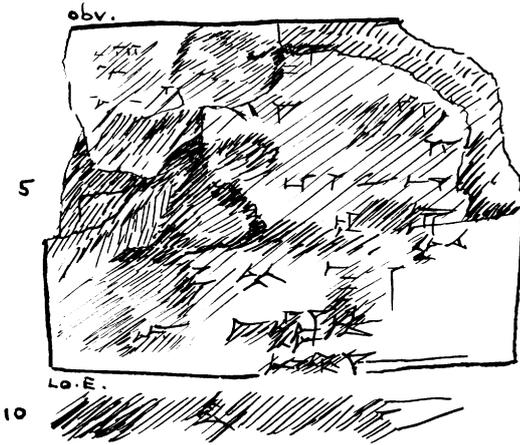




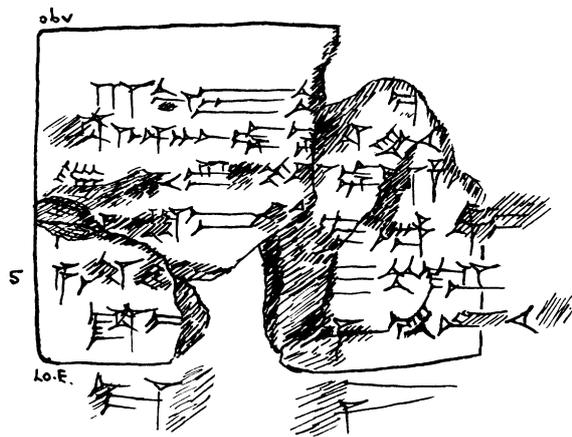
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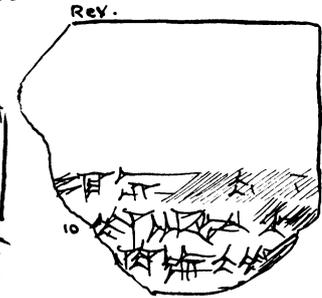
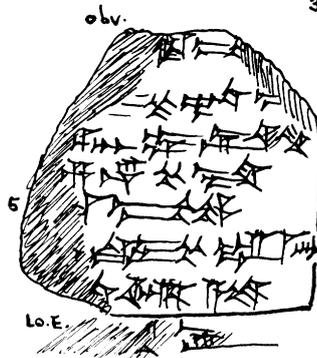


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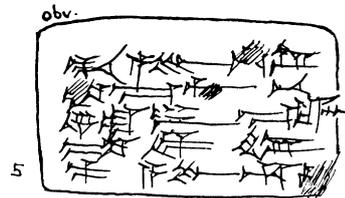


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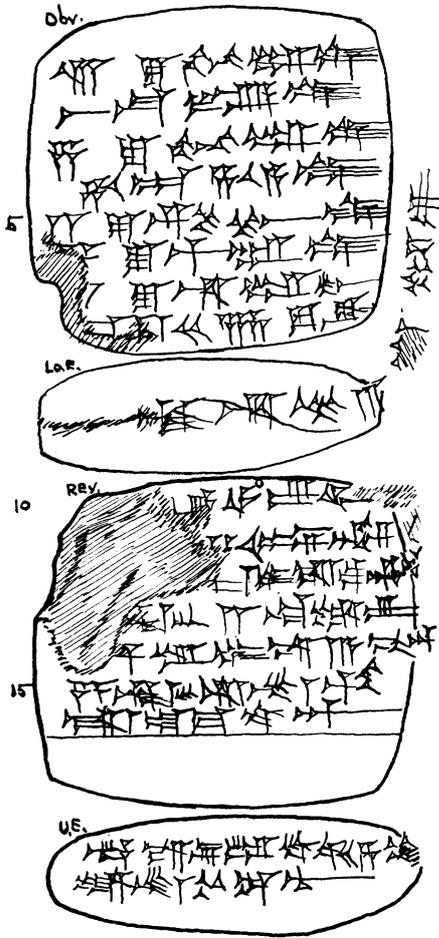
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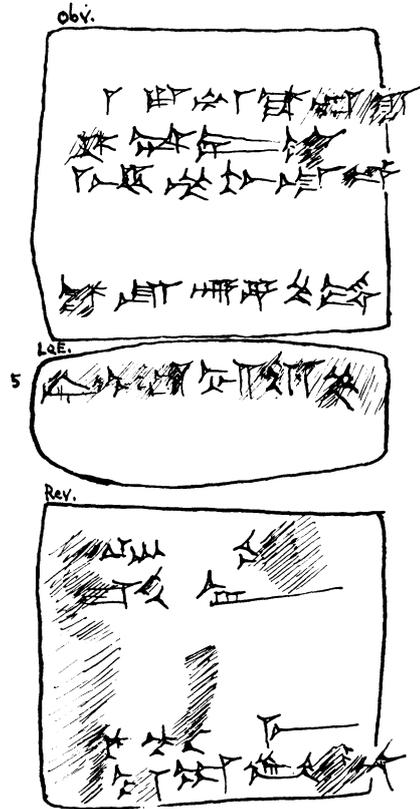
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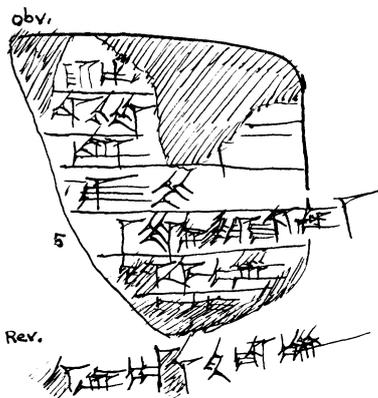
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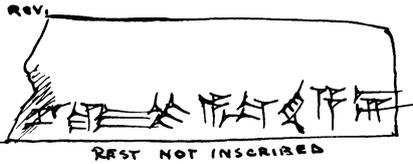
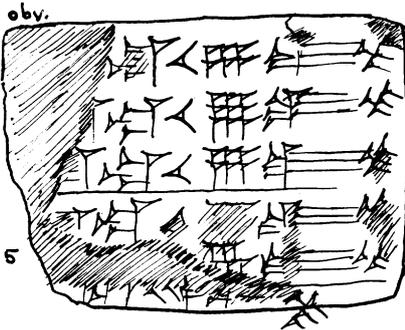
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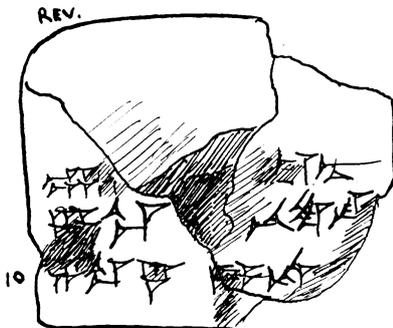
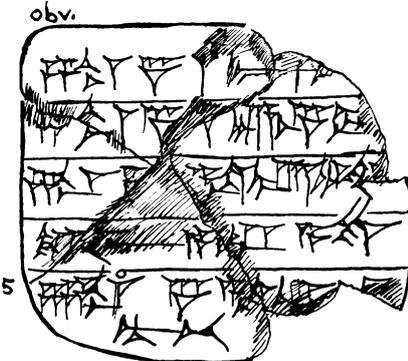
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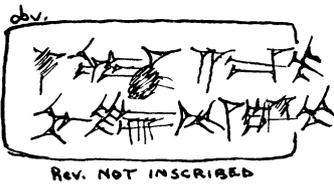
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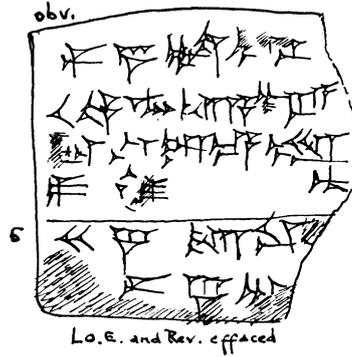
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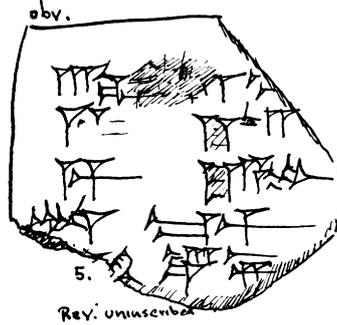
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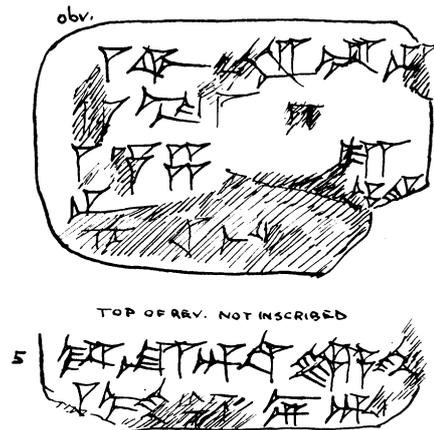
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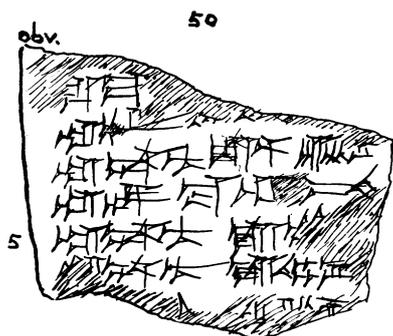
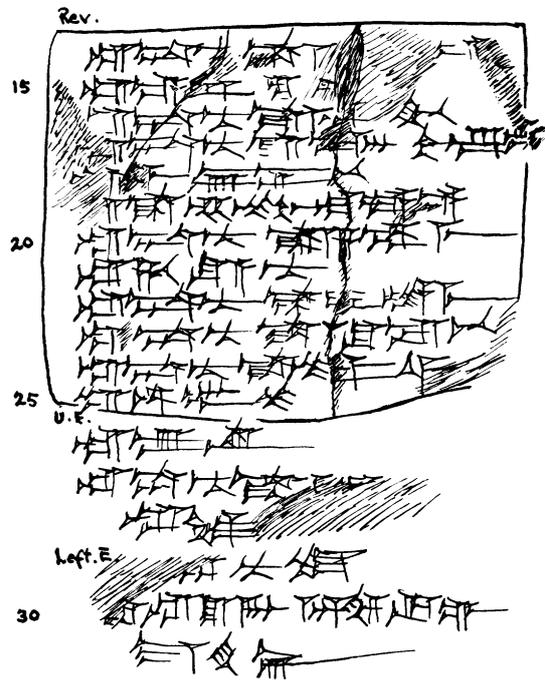
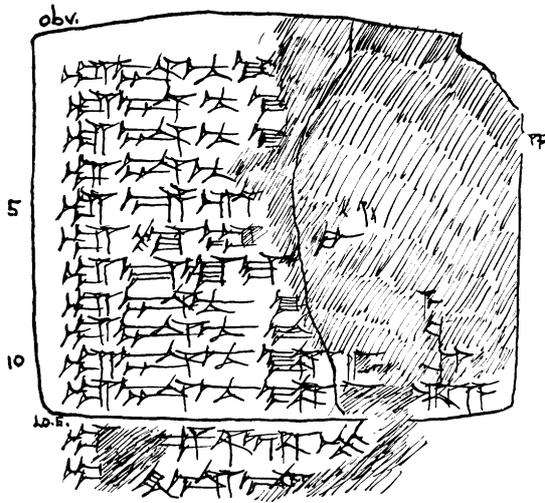
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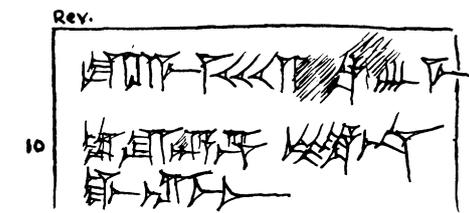
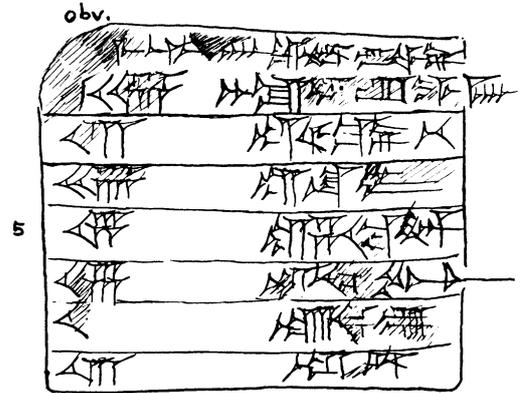


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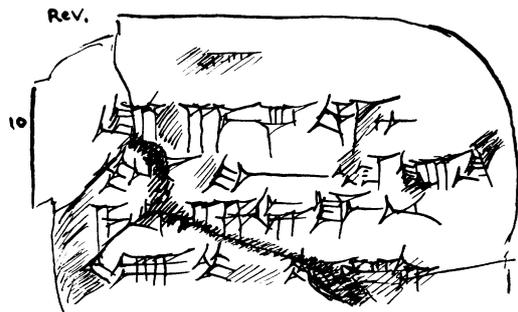
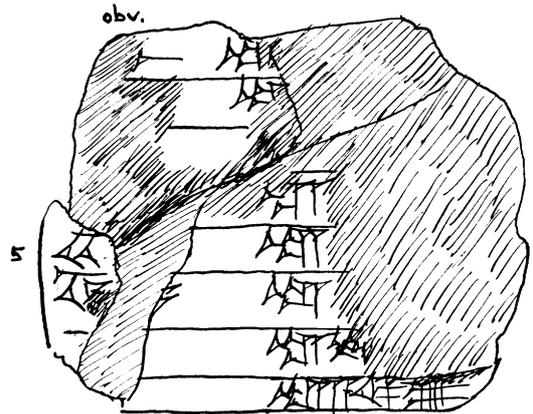
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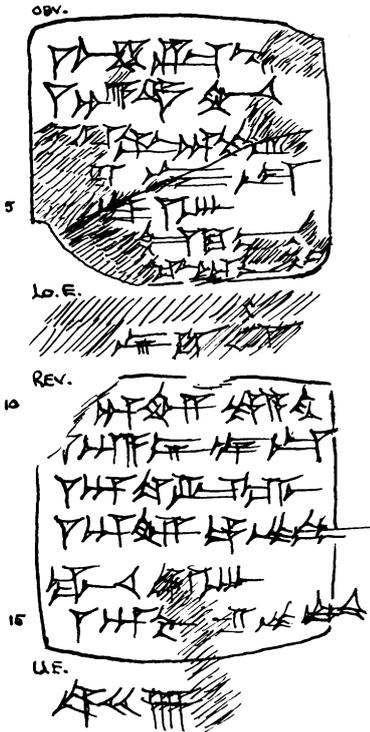
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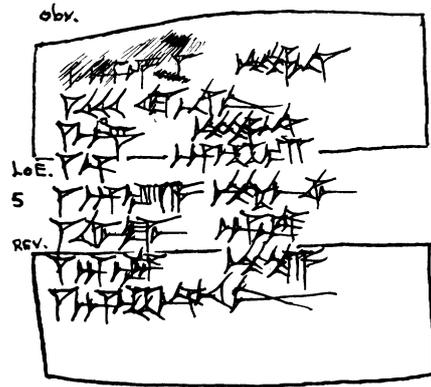


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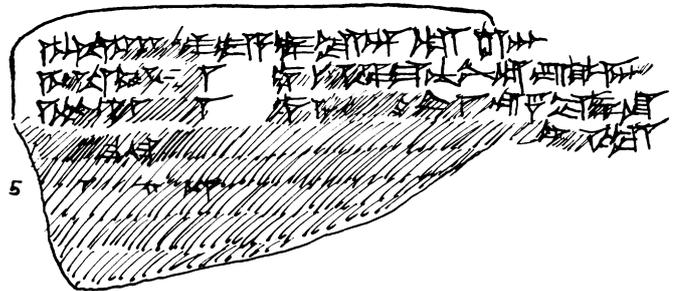
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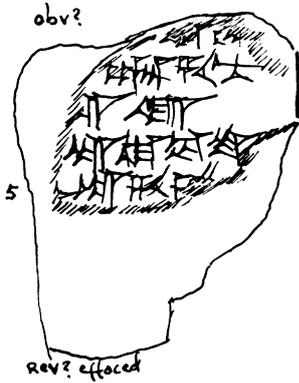
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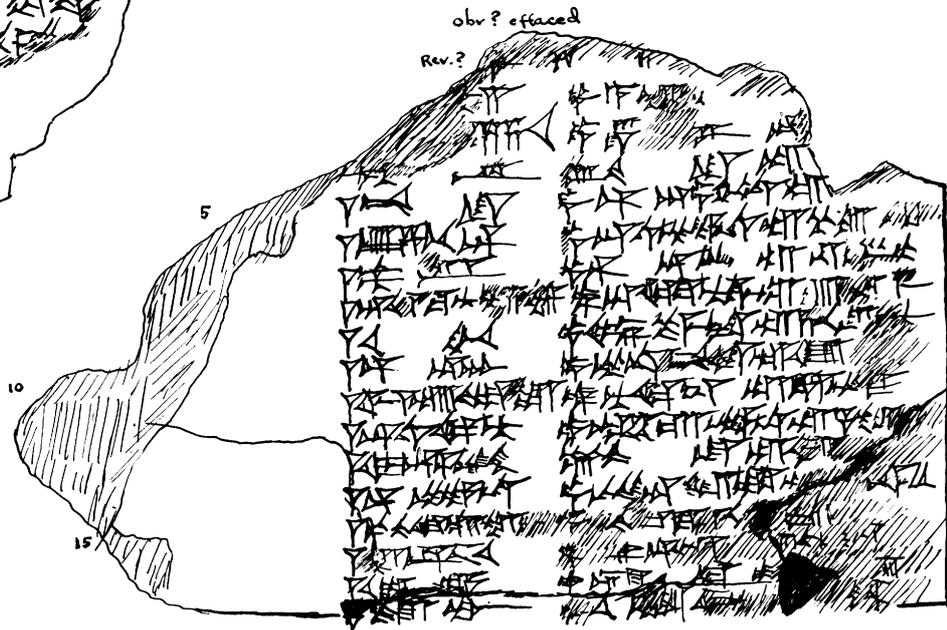
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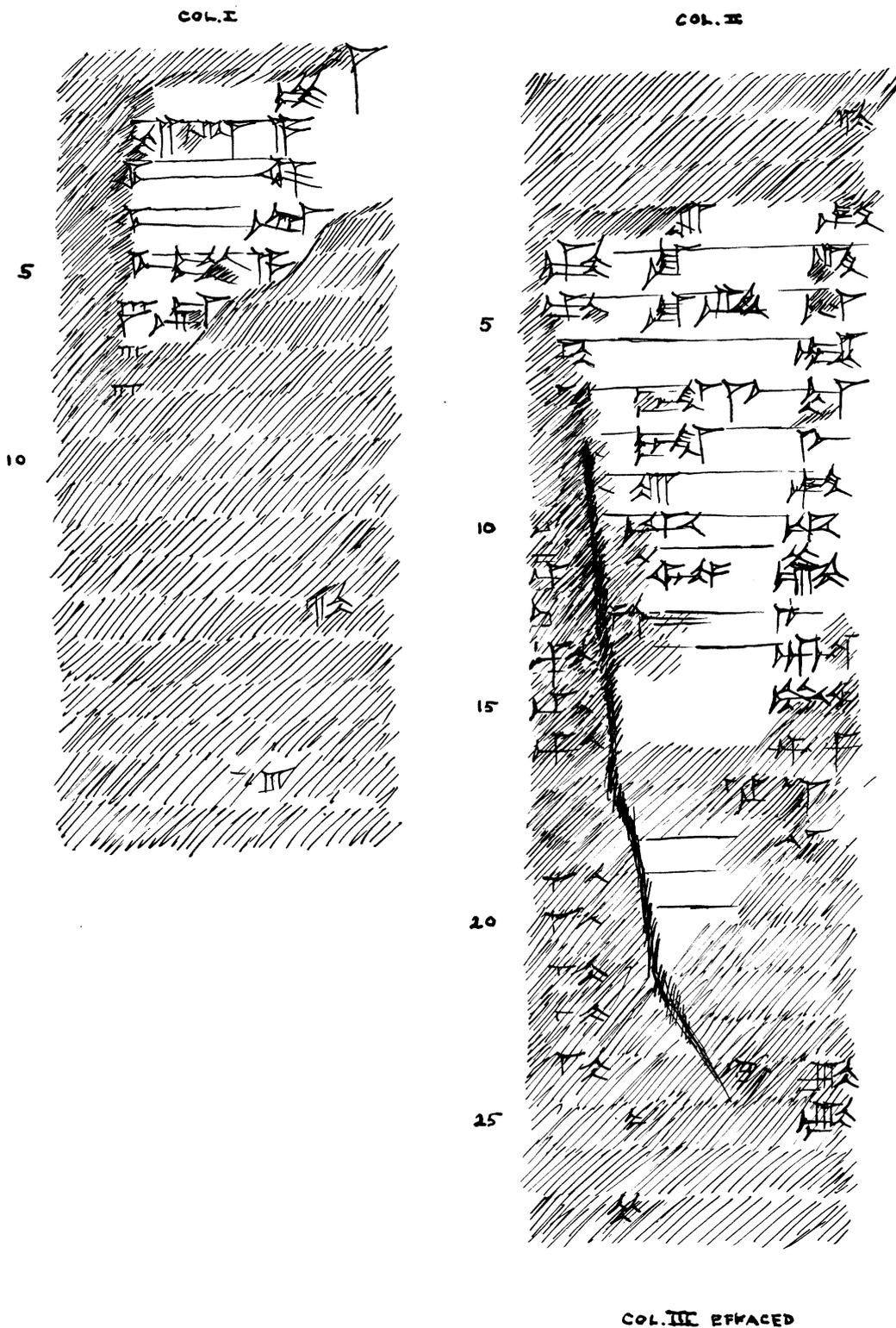


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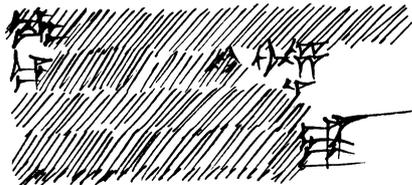


55





COL. V



ABOUT 8 LINES LOST

5

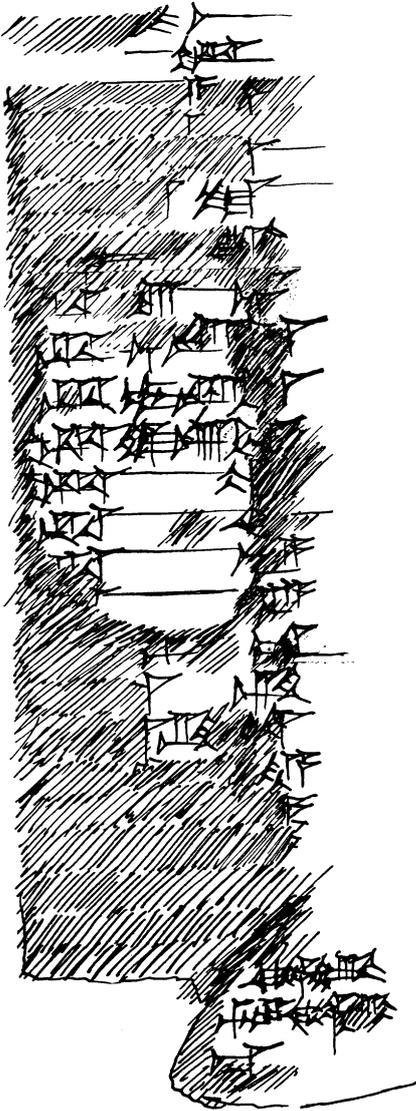
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15

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25

30



COLUMN VI UNINSCRIBED
EXCEPT FOR COLOPHON
ALMOST COMPLETELY
DESTROYED

COL. VI

5

10

15

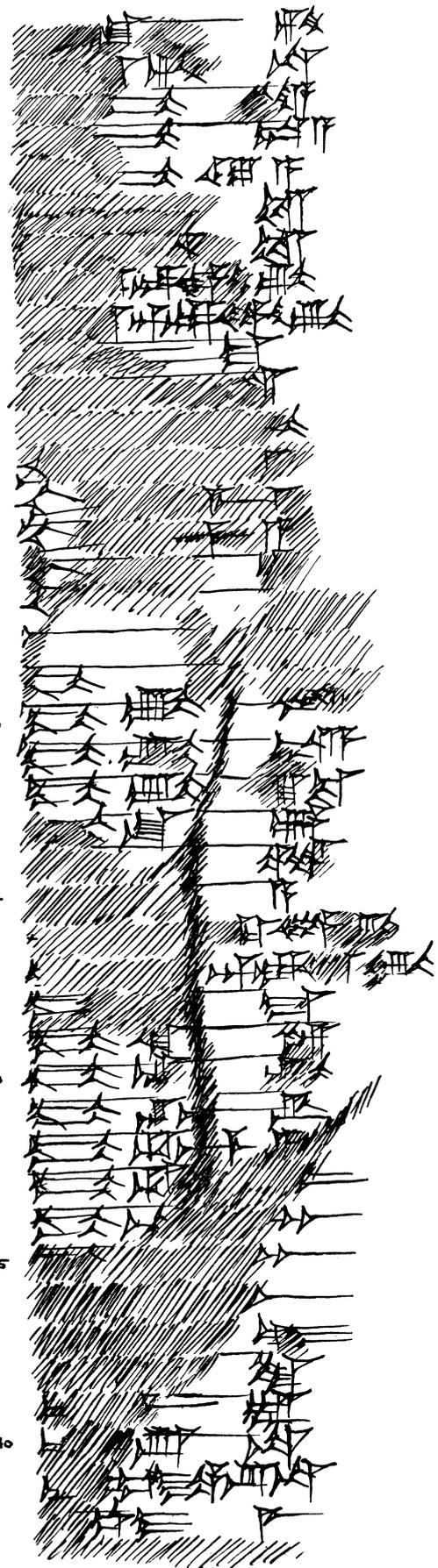
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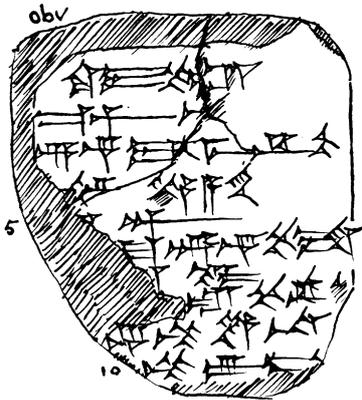
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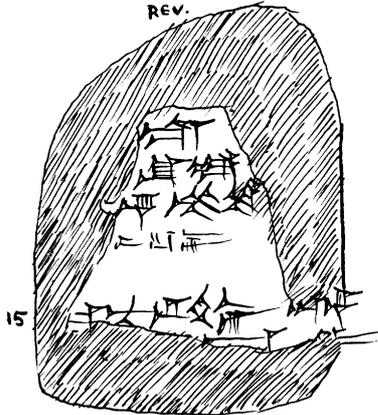
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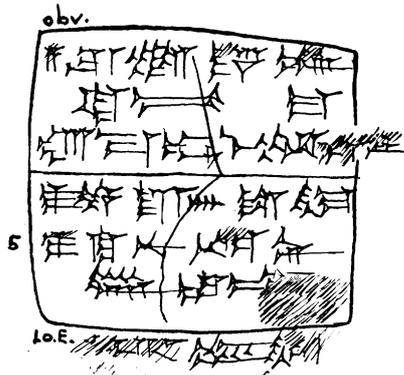
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Rev.



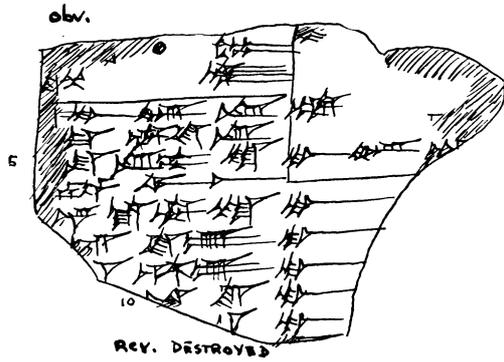
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Rev.



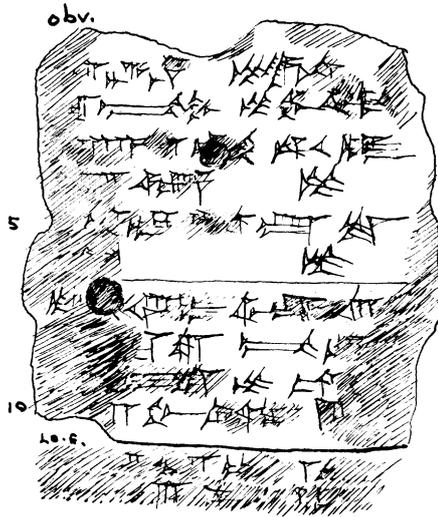
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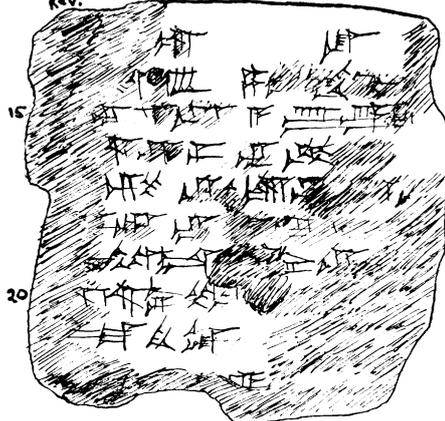
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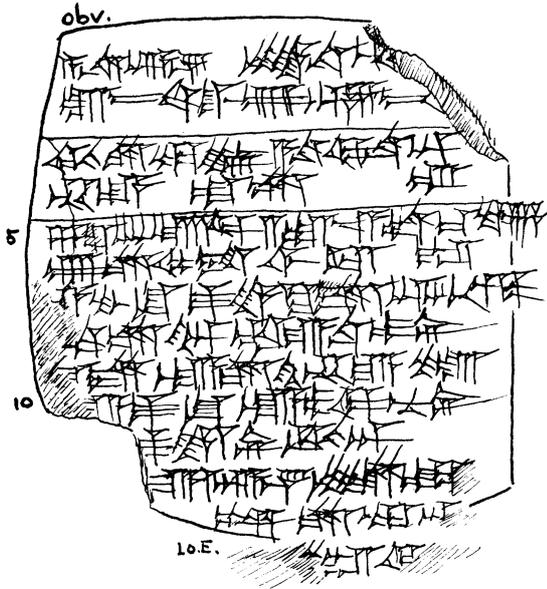
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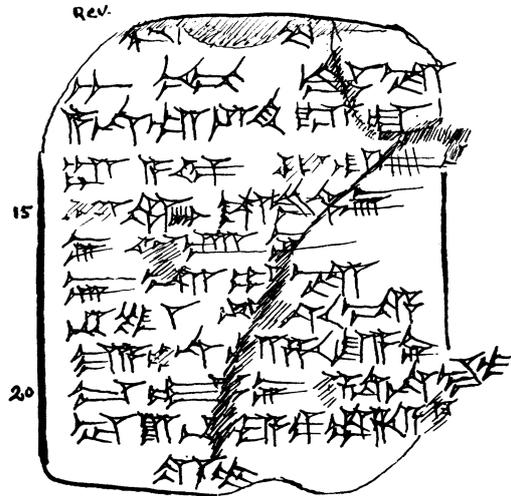
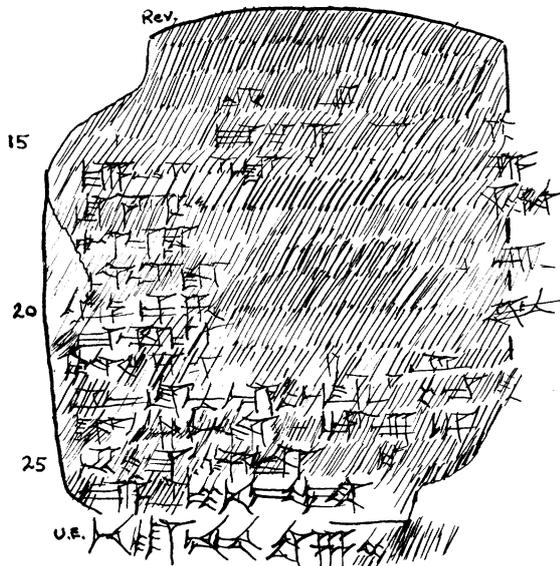
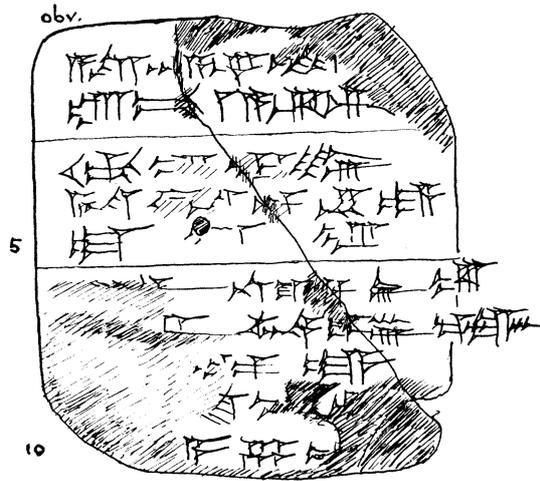
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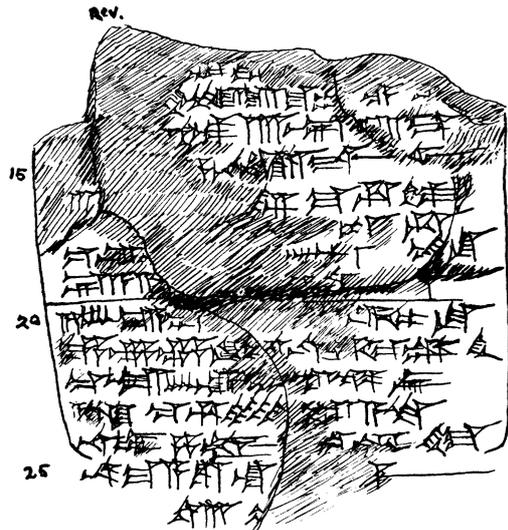
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63



64



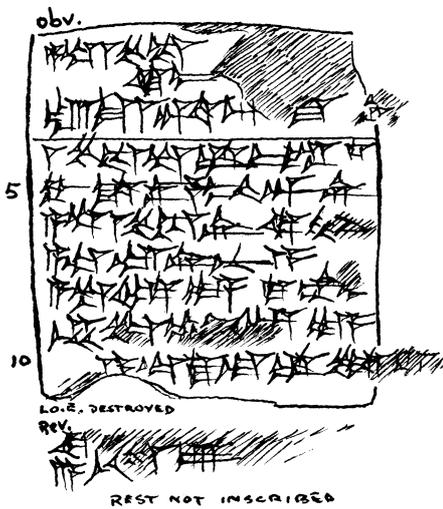
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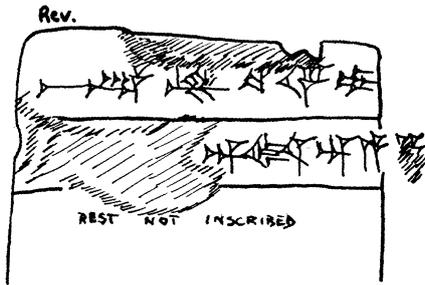
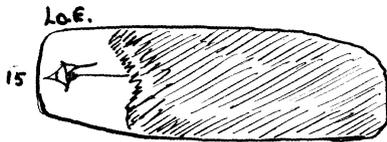
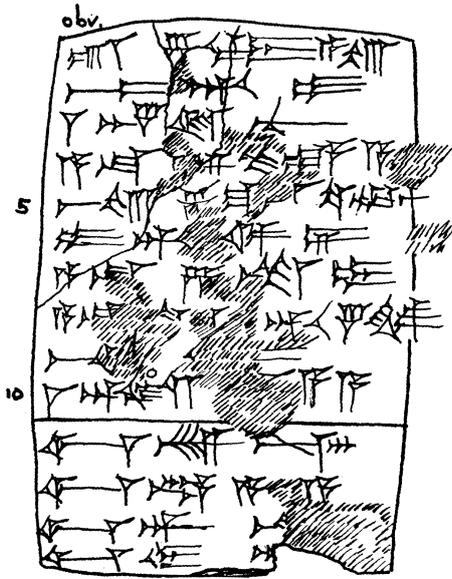
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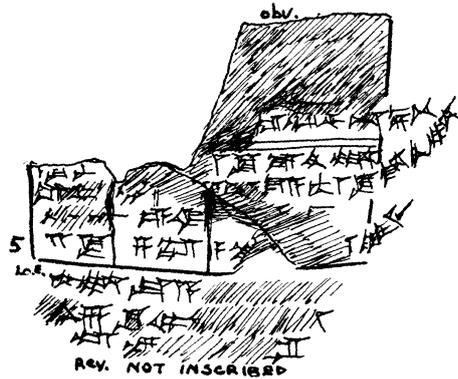
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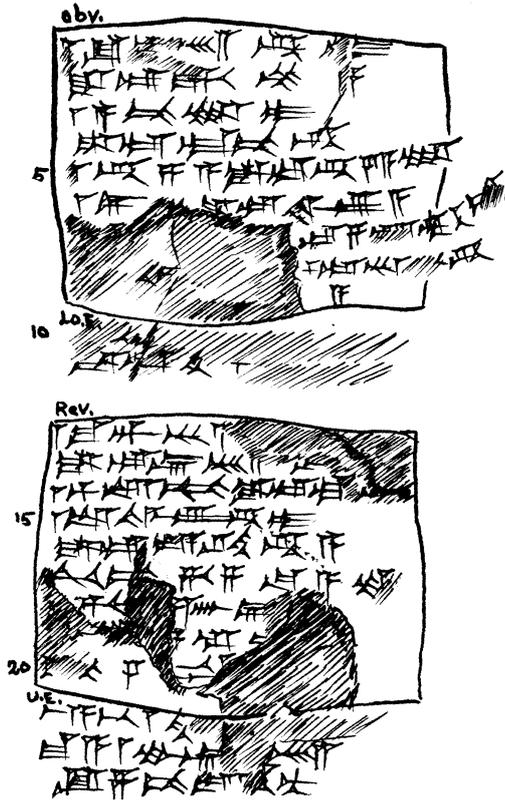
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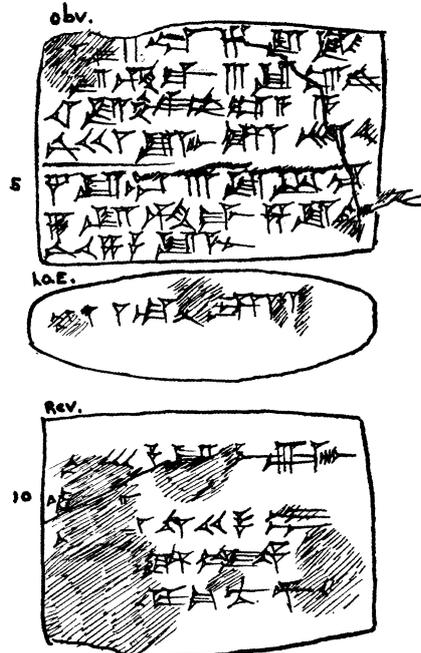
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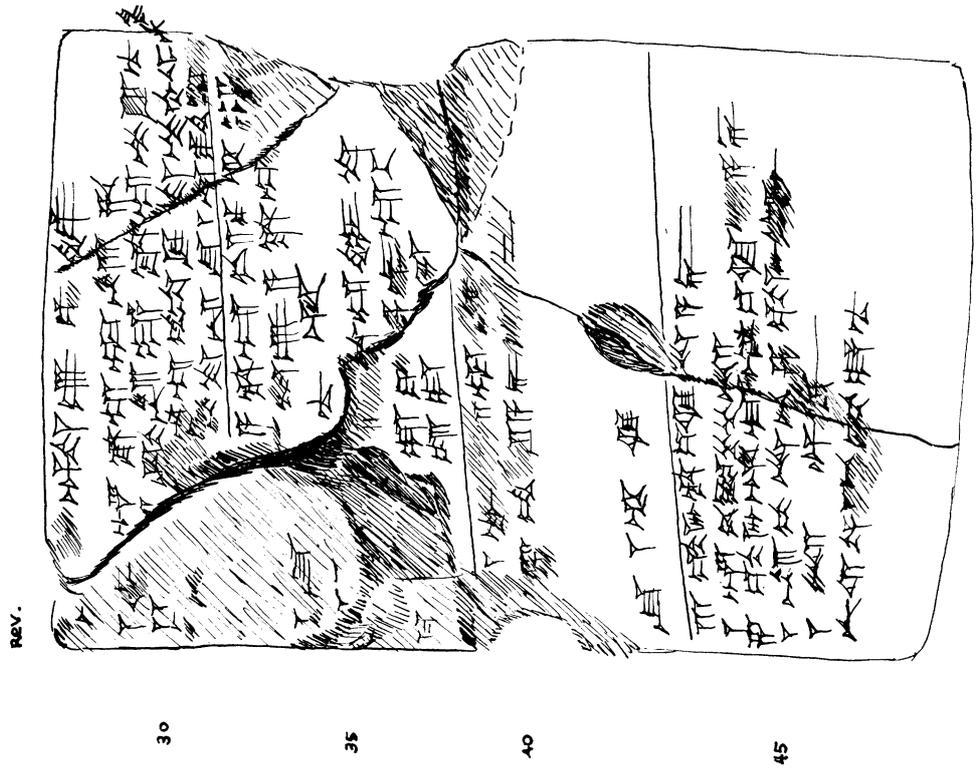
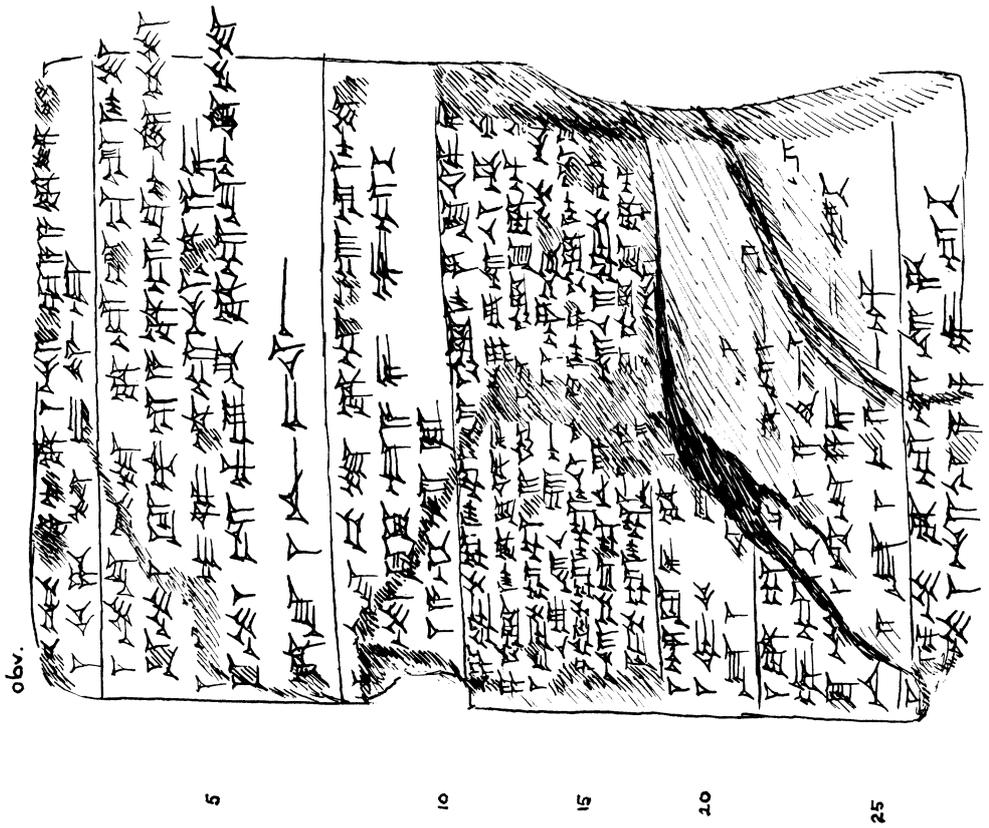
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70



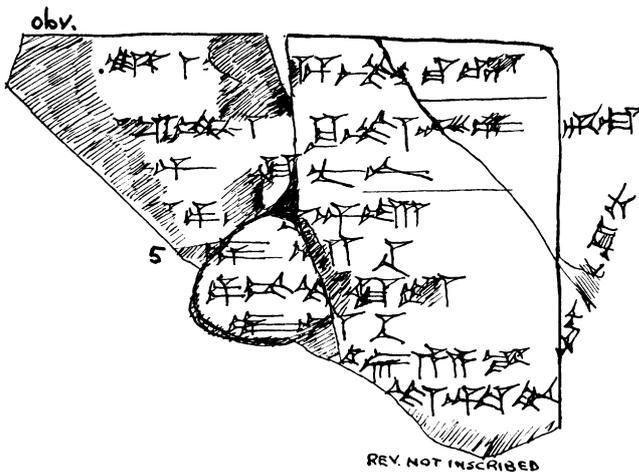
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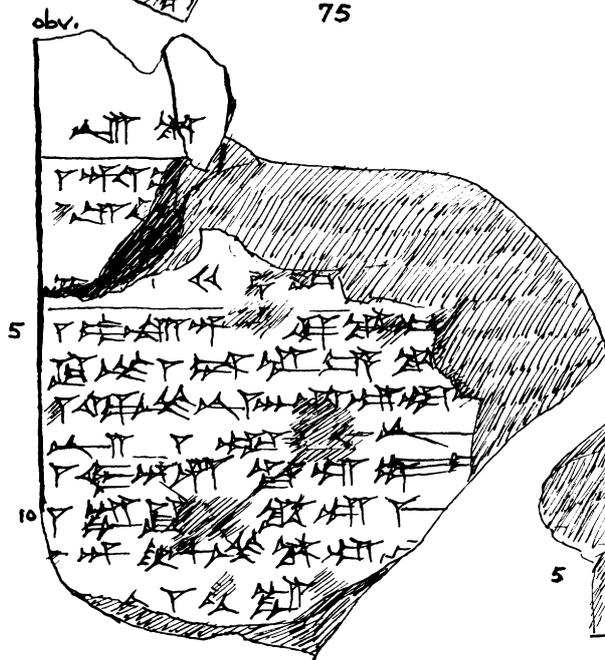
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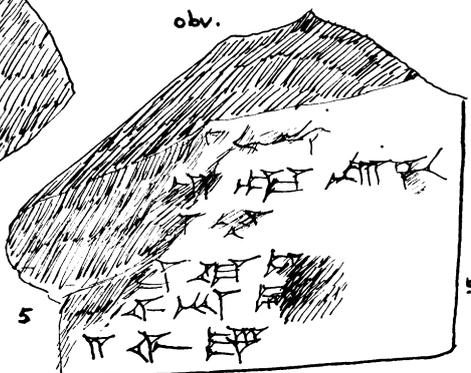
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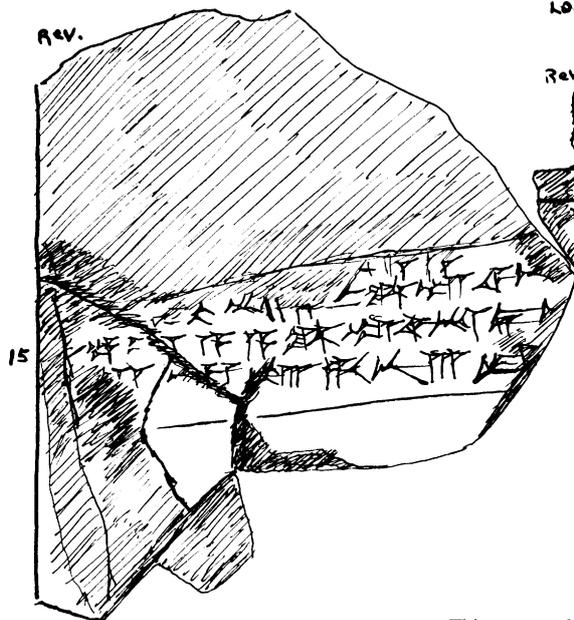
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76



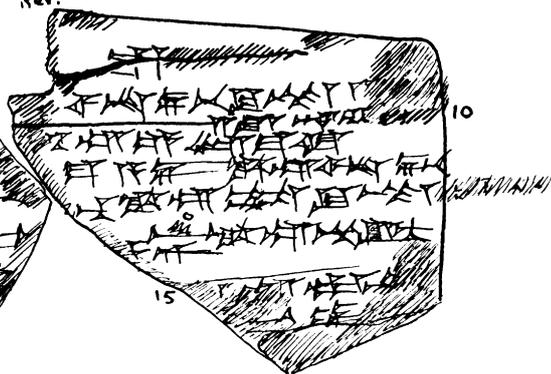
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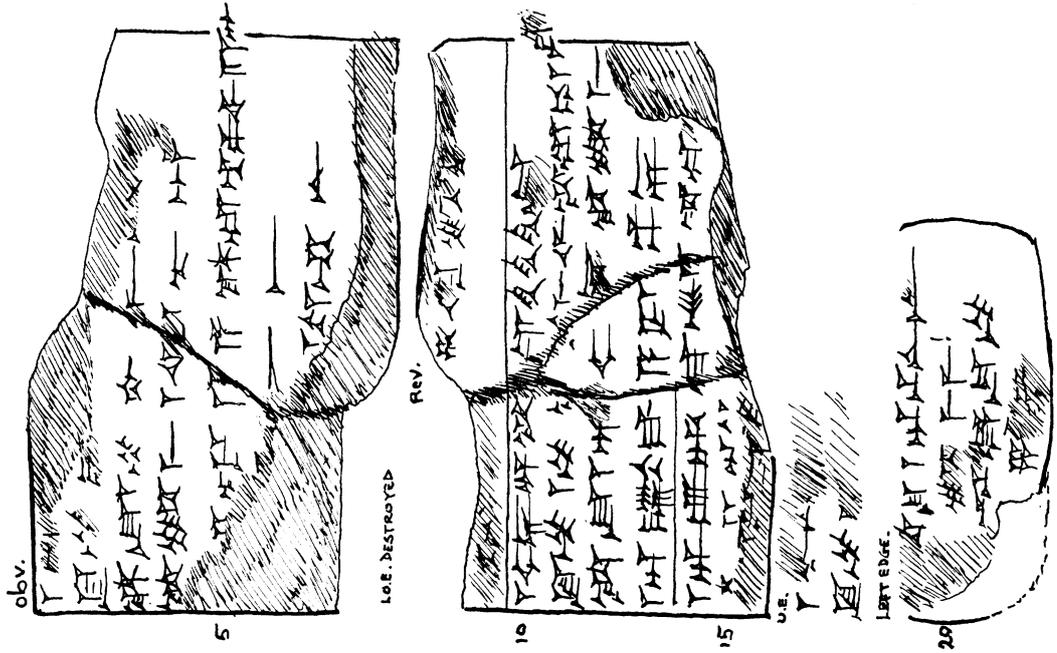
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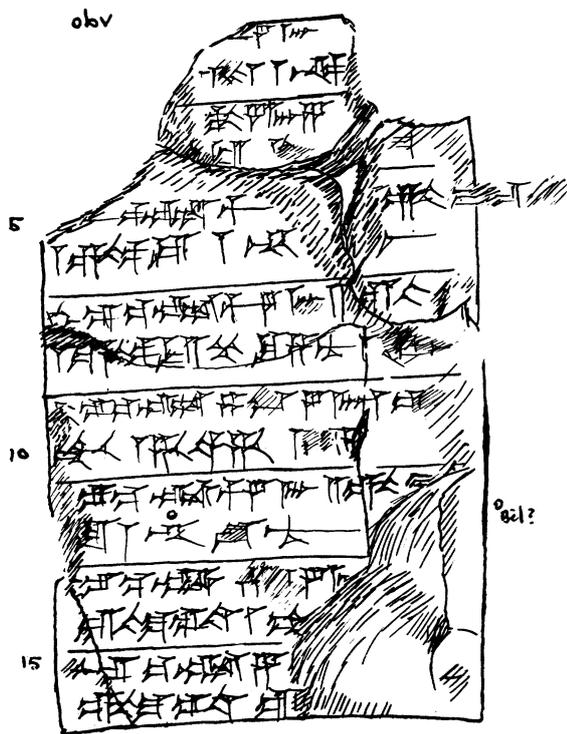
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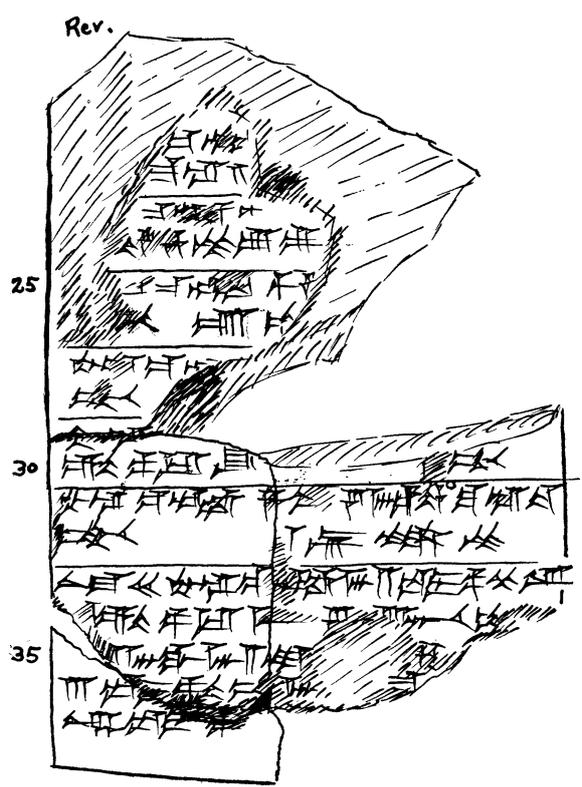
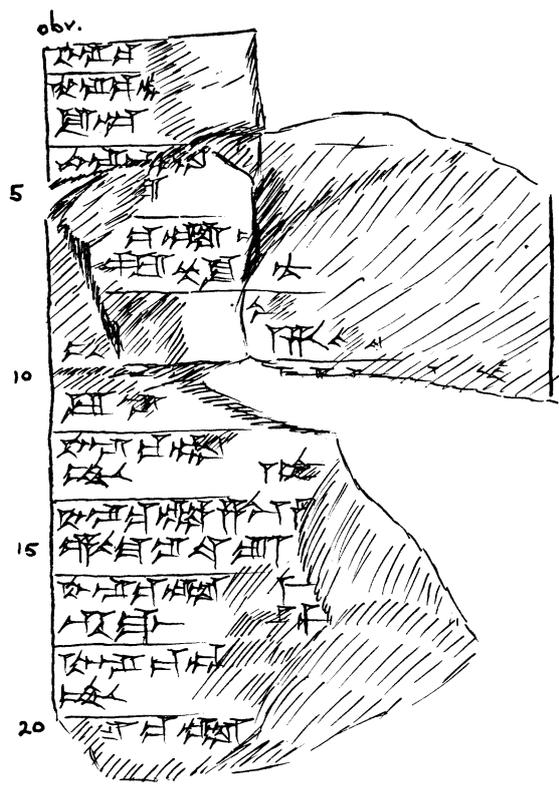
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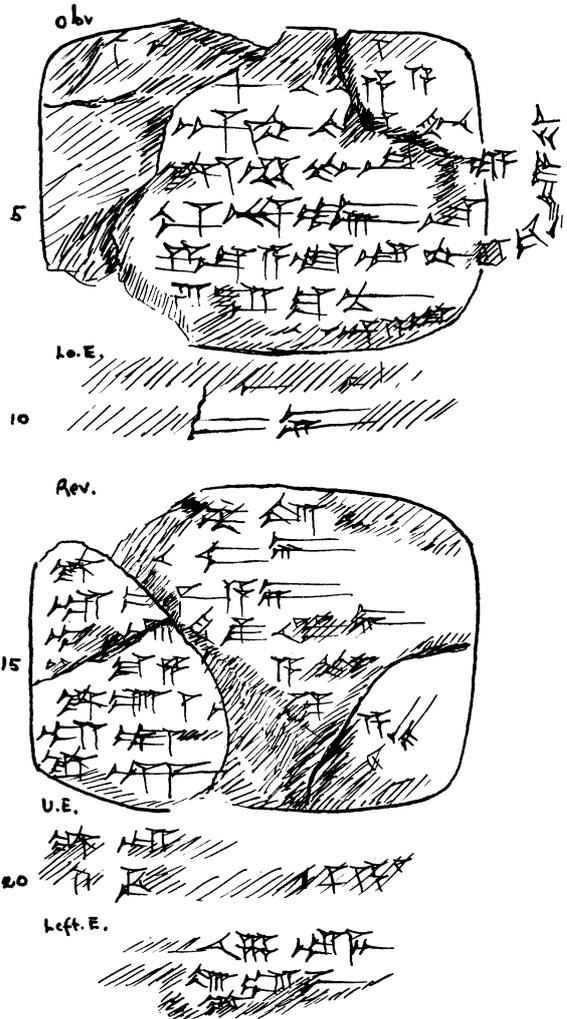
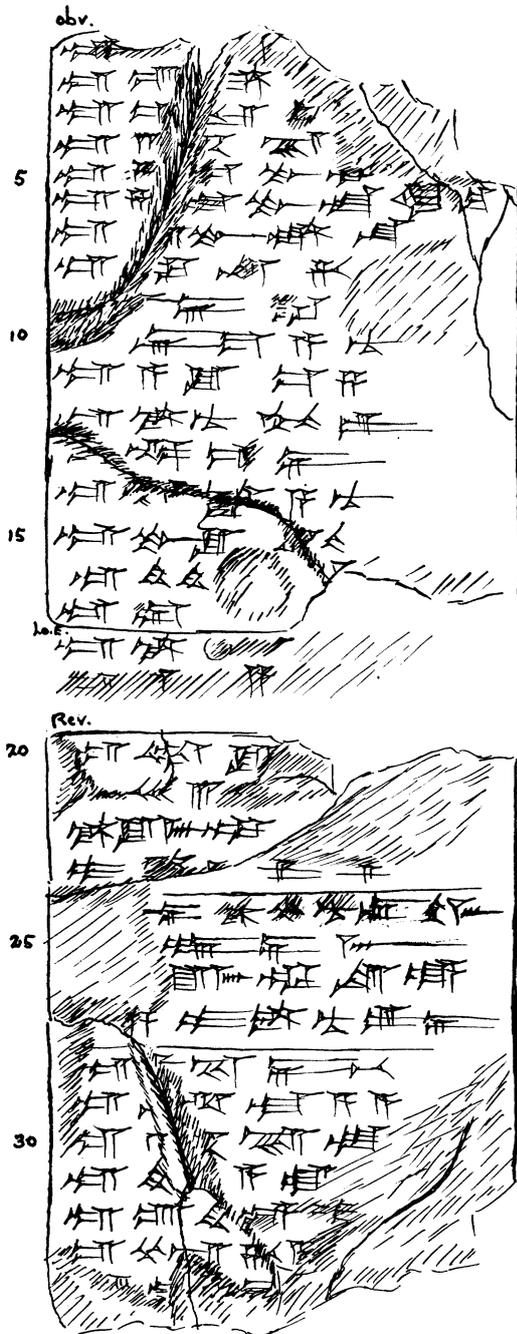


80

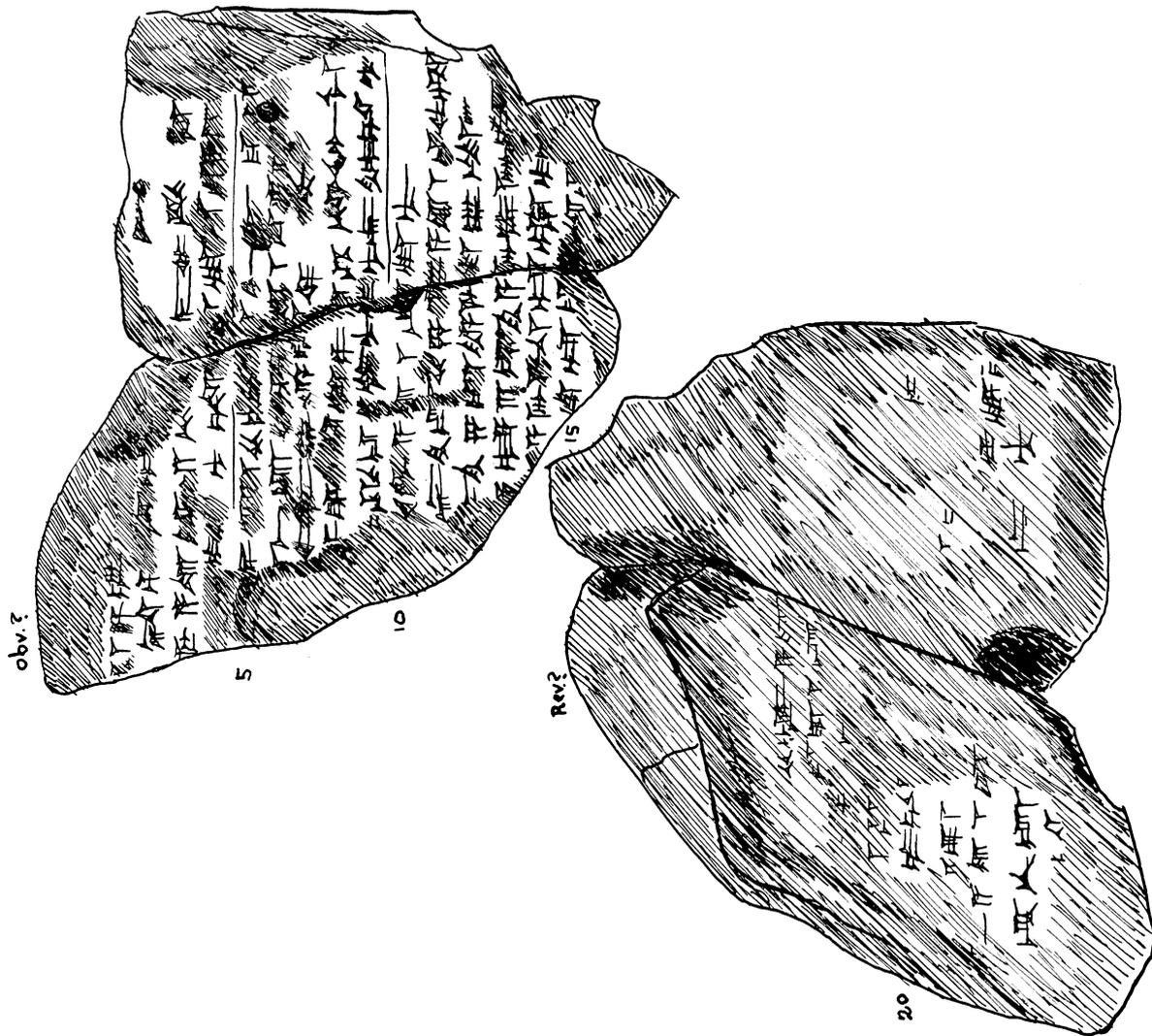


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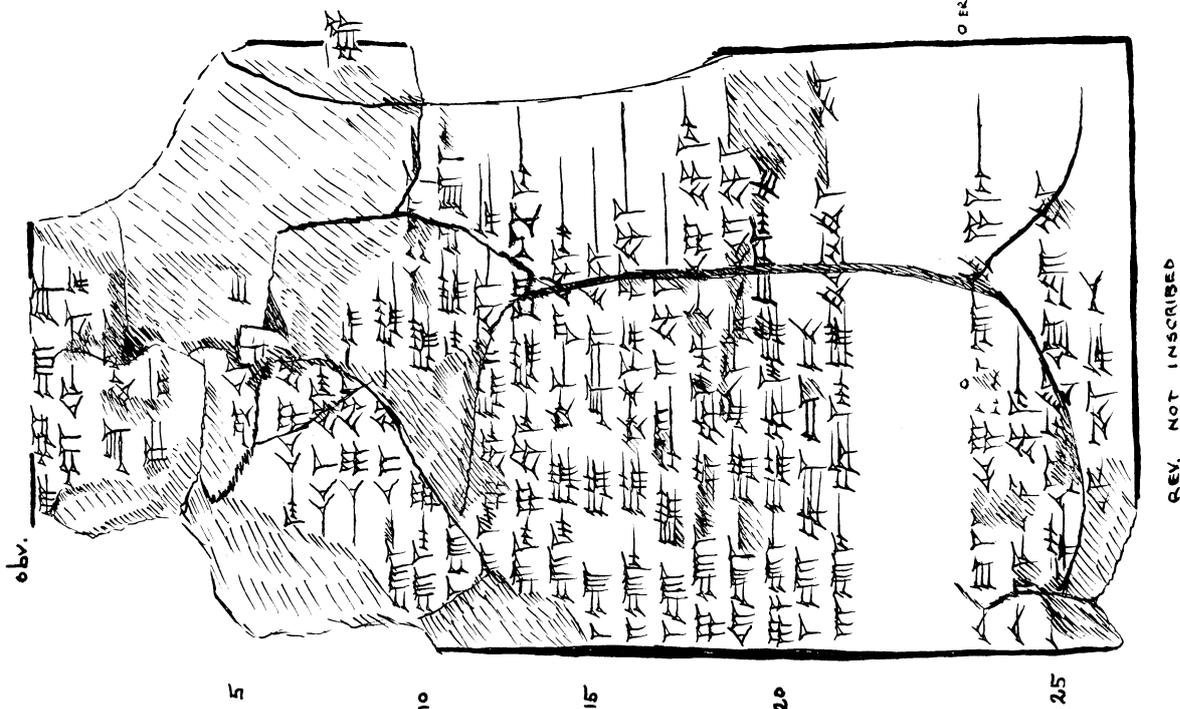




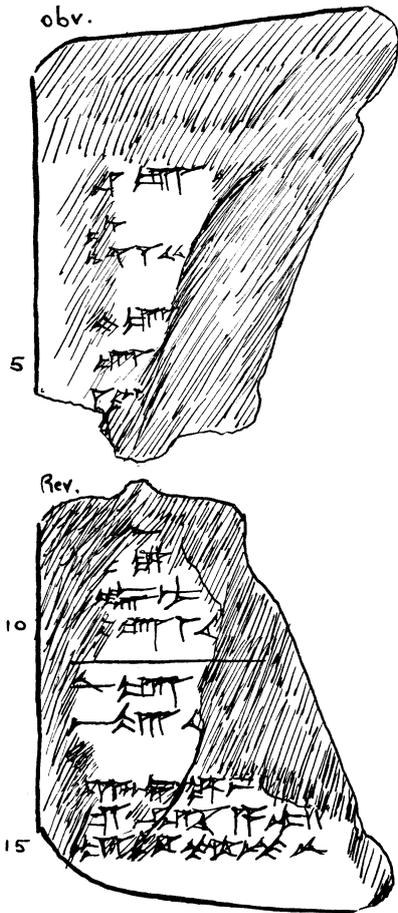
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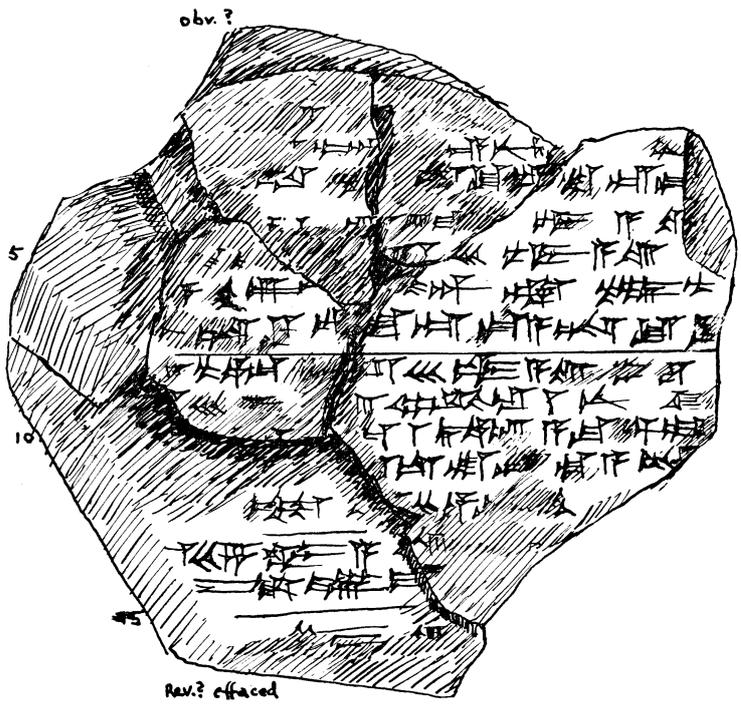
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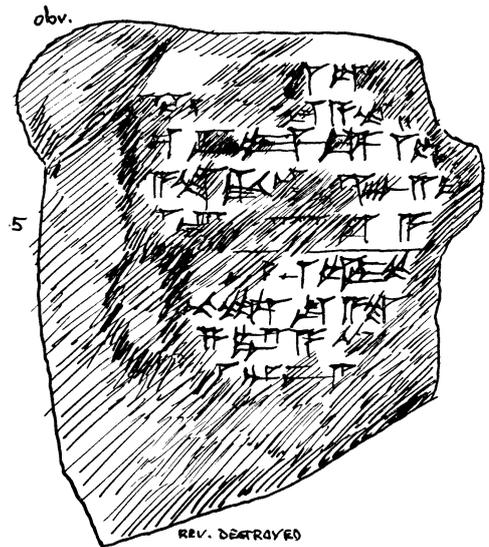
87



88



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90

