

NEO-BABYLONIAN TRIAL RECORDS



Society of Biblical Literature



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NEO-BABYLONIAN TRIAL RECORDS

by Shalom E. Holtz

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SERIES EDITOR FOREWORD

Writings from the Ancient World is designed to provide up-to-date, readable English translations of writings recovered from the ancient Near East.

The series is intended to serve the interests of general readers, students, and educators who wish to explore the ancient Near Eastern roots of Western civilization or to compare these earliest written expressions of human thought and activity with writings from other parts of the world. It should also be useful to scholars in the humanities or social sciences who need clear, reliable translations of ancient Near Eastern materials for comparative purposes. Specialists in particular areas of the ancient Near East who need access to texts in the scripts and languages of other areas will also find these translations helpful. Given the wide range of materials translated in the series, different volumes will appeal to different interests. However, these translations make available to all readers of English the world's earliest traditions as well as valuable sources of information on daily life, history, religion, and the like in the preclassical world.

The translators of the various volumes in this series are specialists in the particular languages and have based their work on the original sources and the most recent research. In their translations they attempt to convey as much as possible of the original texts in fluent, current English. In the introductions, notes, glossaries, maps, and chronological tables, they aim to provide the essential information for an appreciation of these ancient documents.

The ancient Near East reached from Egypt to Iran and, for the purposes of our volumes, ranged in time from the invention of writing (by 3000 BCE) to the conquests of Alexander the Great (ca. 330 BCE). The cultures represented within these limits include especially Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Aramean, Phoenician, and Israelite. It is hoped that Writings from the Ancient World will eventually produce translations from most of the many different genres attested in these cultures: letters (official and private), myths, diplomatic documents, hymns, law collections, monumental inscriptions, tales, and administrative records, to mention but a few.

Significant funding was made available by the Society of Biblical Literature for the preparation of this volume. In addition, those involved in preparing this volume have received financial and clerical assistance from their respective

institutions. Were it not for these expressions of confidence in our work, the arduous tasks of preparation, translation, editing, and publication could not have been accomplished or even undertaken. It is the hope of all who have worked with the Writings from the Ancient World series that our translations will open up new horizons and deepen the humanity of all who read these volumes.

Theodore J. Lewis
The Johns Hopkins University

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This book grows out of research that I conducted for *Neo-Babylonian Court Procedure* (Holtz 2009). That work brought me into contact with Cornelia Wunsch, editor of the present volume. Her insights have improved every aspect of this book, from its general organization to specific readings based on her own collations. I am honored that she agreed to participate in this project, grateful to her for the hours we spent together in virtual meetings, and humbled to share credit with her.

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New York, NY
February 2014

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BABYLONIAN MONTHS

I	Nisannu-BAR ₂ (March–April)
II	Ayaru-GU ₄ (April–May)
III	Simānu-SIG ₄ (May–June)
IV	Dûzu-ŠU (June–July)
V	Abu-NE (July–August)
VI	Ulûlu-KIN (August–September)
VII	Tašrîtu-DU ₆ (September–October)
VIII	Araḥšamna-APIN (October–November)
IX	Kislîmu-GAN (November–December)
X	Ṭebētu-AB (December–January)
XI	Šabātu- ZIZ ₂ (January–February)
XII	Addaru- ŠE (February–March)

ROYAL NAMES

Camb	Cambyses
Cyr	Cyrus
Dar	Darius I
Nbk	Nebuchadnezzar
Nbn	Nabonidus
Ngl	Neriglissar

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (FOR FULL DISCUSSION, SEE POWELL 1987)

1 mina	60 šeqels (approximately 500 grams)
1 šeqel	24 <i>girû</i> (approximately 8.3 grams)
1 <i>kur</i>	5 <i>pi</i> (approximately 180 liters)
1 <i>pi</i>	6 BAN ₂ (approximately 36 liters)
1 BAN ₂	6 SILA ₃ (approximately 6 liters)

1 SILA ₃	10 GAR (approximately 1 liter)
1 GAR	14 <i>ammatu</i> (approximately 7 meters)
1 GI (<i>qanû</i> , “reed”)	7 <i>ammatu</i> (approximately 3.5 meters)
1 KUS ₃ (<i>ammatu</i> , “cubit”)	24 <i>ubānu</i> (“fingerlengths”) (approximately 0.5 meter)

MUSEUM SIGLA

AO	Musée du Louvre, Paris, Antiquités orientales
BM	British Museum, London (Old accession numbers in parentheses)
CBS	University Museum, Philadelphia, Catalogue of the Babylonian Section
HSM	Harvard Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts
MNB	Musée du Louvre, Paris, Musées Nationaux
NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
RSM	Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh
VAT	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung–Ton- tafeln
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
ADOG	Abhandlungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AfOB	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft</i>
<i>AHw</i>	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . W. von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–1981
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 1956–2010

CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap (Genootschap) Ex oriente lux</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek
MBPF	Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
Or (NS)	<i>Orientalia</i> (New Series)
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TUAT, NF	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament, Neue Folge</i>
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
YOSR	Yale Oriental Series, Researches
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>

REMARKS ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The purpose of the transcriptions is to represent, in Latin characters, the cuneiform writing on the original tablets. By following the transcription, a trained Assyriologist can imagine the cuneiform. Nonspecialists can use the transcriptions to get some sense of what the original language sounds like, and may consult the normalizations at the end of the volume to get a better sense of the language and the grammar that underlie the translations. It should, however, be noted that there is a considerable gap between the actual utterances and their representations on the tablets.

The transcriptions also reflect a certain degree of interpretation of the original writing. On almost every level, from the decoding of the script to the division of the words and phrases, there may be some room for dispute. Most often, context is a very helpful guide to determining the correct reading, with the result that the best reading is usually evident because the final result makes good sense. Moreover, because the texts in the present volume have all been read by others before, one can follow scholarly consensus. Matters of dispute are mentioned in the notes to the transcriptions.

The transcriptions have been made in consultation with previously published hand drawings, transliterations, and other studies. In addition, texts in the Yale Babylonian collection (sigla NBC and YBC) and the University Museum (siglum CBS) were collated by the author in June 2010. Texts in the British Museum (siglum BM) were collated based on digital photographs provided by Cornelia Wunsch or Małgorzata Sandowicz of the University of Warsaw. Additional collations by Cornelia Wunsch are noted in the comments to the texts.

On the tablets, each cuneiform sign, or combination of signs, can be read in one of two ways: as a syllable in an Akkadian word or as a Sumerian logogram that was interpreted as a complete Akkadian word. In the transcriptions, lower case italic letters reflect Akkadian syllables, with each syllable separated by a space (between words) or by a dash (between syllables in the same word). Upper-case roman letters reflect Sumerian logograms. The logographic and syllabic values in the transcriptions follow those published in Labat 1999. The following are other symbols used to indicate other aspects of the texts:

PN	personal name
m	masculine
f	feminine
d	deity
[]	restorations to a broken text
⌈ ⌋	likely readings of a partially damaged text
< >	insertion of text omitted by ancient scribes
<< >>	deletion of originally erroneous text
X	illegible sign
...	broken text that cannot be restored
?	possible reading that does not fully accord with writing

Lines are numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals. After a large gap, line numbering begins with 1'. If there are two large gaps, line numbering resumes with 1'' after the second gap.

The translations attempt to render the original texts as faithfully and as consistently as possible. Neo-Babylonian court records are marked by convoluted and, at times, repetitive language. These aspects of the original records make for somewhat cumbersome translations. Perhaps the best way to justify this unfortunate aspect of the translations is to note that, in this respect at least, Neo-Babylonian court records resemble legal writing from any other time or place.

Making even basic sense of the Akkadian sometimes requires repositioning parts of speech and breaking up one originally long sentence into two or more. This is done mostly without any indication in the translations. Line numbers at the beginning of each part of the translations guide the reader who wishes to refer back to the original. When English words are added for sense, the added words are placed between parentheses.

In most cases, the various titles, such as *šatammu*, *qīpu*, or *kizû*, are left untranslated. Proper interpretation of terms like these requires more than a simple one- or two-word translation can provide. Fuller pictures can be found in works that examine the institutions in which these functionaries played a role, such as the Ebabbar (Bongenaar 1997) and the Eanna (Kümmel 1979). The entries for the specific titles in *CAD* and *AHW* also provide useful data and interpretations.

CHRONOLOGY OF NEO-BABYLONIAN AND ACHAEMENID
KINGS (605–424 BCE)

Name in Akkadian	Common English Name	Dates (BCE)
Nabû-kudurrî-uşur	Nebuchadnezzar (II)	605–562
Amēl-Marduk	Evil-Merodach	561–559
Nergal-šarra-uşur	Neriglissar	559–555
Nabû-nāʾid	Nabonidus	555–539
Kuraš	Cyrus	538–530
Kambuziya	Cambyses	530–522
Darimuš	Darius I	522–486
Akšiarši	Xerxes	486–465
Artahšassu	Artaxerxes I	465–424

INTRODUCTION

The rediscovery of the Code of Hammurabi in the early twentieth century at Susa has ensured that, even among the general public today, ancient Mesopotamia is remembered for its legal legacy. This legacy, however, extends beyond formal law collections like Hammurabi's, to include thousands of much less familiar legal records that attest to the practical use of law in the day-to-day affairs of people who lived millennia ago in the region that stretches from the Persian Gulf to the Levant. Ancient scribes, writing in cuneiform script on clay tablets, recorded transactions, such as loans, contracts, sales, marriages, and adoptions. These mundane documents are attested for almost as long as cuneiform writing was used, that is, for nearly three millennia until just before the beginning of the Common Era.

Neo-Babylonian Mesopotamia is known, for the most part, from a wealth of these kinds of legal and administrative records. Some sixteen thousand Neo-Babylonian legal tablets have been published, out of the approximately one hundred thousand (according to some estimates) that survive in museum collections (Jursa 2005; Wunsch 2010, 41). Originally, these tablets were kept by families or temples, as records of their property, in much the same way that modern files are kept. Assyriologists refer to different sets of documents, that represent the holdings of different families or institutions, as the families' or institutions' "archives."

The fifty trial records that this book presents belong to this vast corpus of Neo-Babylonian archival texts. They are the written remains of litigation pertaining to the property or other interests of the individuals or institutions that kept them. For example, the owner of a parcel of land whose ownership was disputed and then confirmed in court would retain a record of the ruling as proof of ownership. Similarly, temples would conduct investigations and hearings into mishandlings of their property and keep records in order to recoup losses.

Compared to other Neo-Babylonian legal and administrative texts, trial records are among the most exciting to read. Most of the Neo-Babylonian archival texts reflect "business as usual." Trial records, on the other hand, stem from unusual moments, such as disputes over property or cases of institutional

malfeasance. Instead of reflecting normal states of affairs, these texts record rather dramatic moments as conflicts are resolved. The drama of the situation is enhanced by the fact that, unlike most Neo-Babylonian archival texts, the trial records usually quote statements by the various parties involved. In other words, even though the cases were closed two and a half millennia ago, one can still “hear” plaintiffs arguing their case or judges questioning a suspect. With just a little imagination, one can conjure up the courtroom dramas as they unfold from the cuneiform records.

By reading trial records like the ones this volume presents, one gets a close-up view of a particular moment in the lives of people who lived in Mesopotamia during the Neo-Babylonian period. The wealth of available documentation often makes it possible not only to read the records of these individuals’ days in court, but also to relate the trial records to other documents pertaining to the same litigants. This task is often difficult, since documents that were probably held together in antiquity may be scattered in modern museums around the world. Modern scholarship has, however, successfully overcome this barrier through careful study of personal names and other identifying information. As a result, one can appreciate the courtroom dramas’ “background stories,” including the events that led up to the lawsuits, the litigants’ social or institutional positions, the later history of the subjects in question, as well as the lawsuits’ legal bases. The broad view that can emerge from reading the trial records together with other pertinent texts is almost unrivaled by similar records from other periods of ancient Mesopotamian history.

The stories that these lawsuit records tell about particular cases are, of themselves, the stuff of legal and social history. Historians of law can see not only what the law was, but can also observe the machinery of justice at work in an ancient society: its adjudicators, its courtroom procedure and its legal vocabulary. In addition, like all other Neo-Babylonian archival texts, the lawsuit records are also a window into “daily life” in this period. They contain information about topics such as real-estate ownership, land use, personal status, inheritance, business practices, temple management, and agriculture, to name just a few. Most importantly, the trial records tell their stories “from below,” meaning from the relatively unfiltered, unofficial perspectives of the men and women who actually participated in the lawsuits. One sees the society, particularly its law, not through an idealized statement on a monumental royal inscription, but as it existed on the ground.

GENERAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Most of the texts in this volume were composed during the sixth century BCE. This century saw the flourish and decline of the last native Babylonian rulers in Mesopotamia. During the immediately preceding years, the Babylonians, led by Nabopolassar (r. 626–605 BCE), released themselves from Assyrian hegemony and brought down what remained of the once mighty Assyrian Empire. The oldest texts in this anthology date to the reign of Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadnezzar (r. 605–562 BCE), whose empire extended beyond the Euphrates River and who made great investments in large-scale building at home. Native Babylonian rule continued through the short reigns of Nebuchadnezzar's two immediate successors, Amēl-Marduk (biblical Evil-Merodach; r. 561–559 BCE) and Neriglissar (r. 559–555 BCE), until the reign of Nabonidus (r. 555–539 BCE), which ended with Cyrus the Great's conquest of Babylonia. The region then became part of the Persian, or Achaemenid, Empire; it would remain so until the arrival of Alexander the Great, who gained control in 330 BCE and incorporated Mesopotamia into his vast empire.

Although Babylonia's political status changed in the later part of the sixth century BCE, local institutions, including legal practice, were not affected at that time. Thus, the cuneiform legal texts from after the Persian conquest, including some of those presented here, closely resemble those from before. The most noticeable difference occurs in the dates written on the texts: the later texts count years by the reigns of the Achaemenid, instead of Babylonian, kings. From the point-of-view of strict political history, then, these later texts are Achaemenid, rather than Neo-Babylonian. However, because of the continuity of the documentation, Assyriologists refer to both pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid texts as "Neo-Babylonian."

A change in the nature of the available records occurs shortly after the conclusion of the sixth century BCE. Many of the most important family archives come to an abrupt end around the second year of the Achaemenid king Xerxes (484 BCE). Recent revisionary study of the data has determined that this break in the record is not accidental (Waerzeggers 2003–4). Rather, the interruption of the archives provides important evidence for royal intervention in the affairs of the archive-holding families. These families had ties to the old, native Babylonian elite, especially to the management of the ancient temples, and would have had every reason to chafe under the new, Achaemenid regime. Revolts broke out in northern Babylonia and Xerxes quelled them decisively. Xerxes's actions have left their mark on the textual record; the end of the native elite's activities corresponds to the so-called end of archives. Later cuneiform archives are much more limited in number and scope of activity (Jursa 2005, 1; Wunsch 2010, 41).

THE TRIAL RECORDS AND NEO-BABYLONIAN ARCHIVAL TEXTS:
SOME LIMITATIONS

The relatively small number of texts in this volume is clearly insufficient to provide a meaningfully complete picture of “daily life” in Neo-Babylonian Mesopotamia. It is perhaps less obvious, but just as crucial, that texts like the fifty examples here were hardly typical even when they were originally written. To some degree, this is true of all Neo-Babylonian archival records, regardless of their subject matter. In strictly numerical terms, the overwhelming majority of Neo-Babylonian legal and administrative records come from the archives of just two temples: the Ebabbar at Sippar and the Eanna at Uruk. And the considerable, if much smaller, number of texts from the private archives of ancient families come from just five cities: Babylon, Borsippa, Nippur, Sippar, and Uruk. The available records leave life beyond these centers mostly out of view.

Apart from their restricted provenance, a further limitation stems from the very purpose for which the Neo-Babylonian legal and administrative records were composed. As in other periods of Mesopotamian history, the texts were written with the often explicit goal of protecting the property or interests of those who retained the records. With a written record, there could be no question of who owned a plot of land or who owed debts to whom. But if there was no need to prevent this kind of question, then there was probably no need for a written record. As one author has put it, “where there is no property, or more precisely, no possibility for future disagreement over property (or status or material interests in general), there is no writing” (Jursa 2005, 9). Consequently, the people and institutions attested in the records were those who would have had property and interests to protect and the resources to do so. These are the people whose “daily lives” one can know from the archival records. People without some connection to a temple or from outside the native, landed urban elite (who were also usually connected to the temples) are largely missing from the available documents.

People without such connections did, of course, exist. The personal names in the records show interactions between archive holders and people from outside the more limited circle of the “cuneiform archival class.” The archive holders themselves usually have traditional Akkadian personal names, which are recorded with two-part filiation: X son of Y descendant of the Z family. Alongside these traditional names, non-Akkadian names, especially in Aramaic, occur in the records on occasion. But in the vast majority of cases, people with these nonnative names appear as “outsiders” interacting with the archives’ main protagonists; by one count, there are only twenty cuneiform documents without any native Babylonian principal involved (Zadok 2003, 553). One must conclude, then, that when these “outsiders” conducted business among themselves, they

used other media to record their transactions (Zadok 2003, 553; Jursa 2005, 8). Writing in Aramaic would have been a natural choice; elsewhere in the Persian Empire, Aramaic became the main language of jurisprudence. Thus, in Babylonia, there could well have been a parallel Aramaic legal sphere. Aramaic records, however, would have been written in ink on perishable materials, so, unlike Akkadian records on clay tablets, they would not have survived. Therefore, for the purposes of Assyriologists and other ancient historians, Aramaic records are largely lost.

Trial records, as a distinct subset of the Neo-Babylonian archival corpus, are even less representative than most of the available documentation. A Neo-Babylonian archive usually consists of business documents, most commonly debt obligations, and other contracts. Records pertaining to litigation are much rarer, and may not occur at all. For example, the archive of the Murašû family from the city of Nippur consists of over seven hundred tablets, but contains almost no litigation records (Stolper 1976, 195). Similarly, the Nappāḫu-family archive, the second-largest private family archive from the city of Babylon, contains 266 distinct records. Of these, there are more than 170 “business documents,” such as promissory notes, receipts and leases, and some forty documents recording purchases of property, but only about ten documents pertaining to litigation in some way (Baker 2003, 8–10). Because of this trend in the available documentation, studies of Neo-Babylonian court procedure usually find less than four hundred relevant documents, altogether (Magdalene 2007, 55; Holtz 2009, 329–33).

IMAGINING THE COURTROOM DRAMA

As was stated near the outset, the Neo-Babylonian trial records stand out for their immediate, almost dramatic quality. Other documents, such as debt-notes or bills of sale, are often abstract, with only minimal references to the reasons for the transactions. For example, the most common Neo-Babylonian archival text, the debt-note (*u'iltu*), typically reads, quite simply, “(object) owed by B to A; on (date), B will give (it) to A” (Jursa 2005, 41–42). Based on this spare formulation, it is impossible to determine why B is indebted to A.

On occasion, even a basic debt-note actually does reveal a trial background. For example, one such note records a debt incurred as the result of a court ruling; the document describes the sum owed as a payment “in lieu of (not) cutting off the hand” of the debtor (Roth 2007, 217–18). In other words, this particular debt-note reflects the substitution of a monetary payment for a physical punishment for theft (Roth 2007). But a nugget of information like this is more the exception than the rule, and, moreover, leaves much to the imagination of anyone who wishes to get a good picture of Neo-Babylonian adjudicatory procedure.

The spare, “boiler plate” language of the debt-note was also of only limited use to the ancient scribes who composed the trial records. The differences between the circumstances of each trial required including details like quotations of direct speech and descriptions of specific procedures. As a result, each record seems like a page torn from the ledger of the ancient professional ancestors of modern-day court stenographers. In fact, many of these documents are often called “protocols,” using a modern term that indicates their similarity, at least in terms of content, to the written records of courts today.

Not all trial records narrate the proceedings in court to the same degree of completeness. Some records, especially those of cases tried by the royal judges in Babylon and elsewhere, read almost like minute-to-minute trial accounts. They begin with the plaintiff’s initiation of the lawsuit, continue with notices of judicial investigative actions, and conclude with the judges’ decision. Assuming that a tablet is reasonably well preserved, one can read individual records like these and, in effect, follow cases from beginning to end. Other texts, rather than telling nearly complete stories, record individual stages of the trial, such as reports to the authorities, summonses to appear in court, or the debt obligations that result from the judges’ decision. Texts like these are more like scenes than complete dramas. They require imagination to fill in the surrounding narrative of the lawsuit, including, at times, how the case might have ended (see Wunsch 2012).

Regardless of the type of action the texts record, it is important to remember that the hands of the recording scribes came between the actions as they actually transpired and the written account of these actions preserved on the tablets. While these scribes probably did not consciously invent actions from whole cloth, they did not simply write down speeches and actions as they saw them take place, either. Instead, the scribes followed formal conventions that are immediately noticeable when one compares the records of different cases. Despite the obvious differences in content, different records follow consistent patterns of fixed terminology and order of elements. The highest degree of stylization occurs in the set of records from the courts of the royal judges in Babylon, and other, similar ones (e.g., Documents 19–24). For example, in these texts, the plaintiffs’ speeches usually end with a formulaic demand for judgment addressed directly to the judges, followed by a notice that the judges “heard” the arguments. Because these features occur in multiple texts pertaining to different trials, it seems that the very production of the court records required some artificial “staging” of the drama.

One obvious consequence is that events recorded as continuous did not necessarily occur as such in “real time.” For example, a document may indicate that, following a complaint, the judges “brought,” or summoned, a party before them. In the written record, there is no break between the complaint, the judges’ actions

and the appearance of the summoned party; all the action seems to occur at one sitting, on one day. In reality, as can be seen from texts that record summonses and other individual actions, some time must have elapsed before the trial could proceed.

In part, this kind of gap between the reality of the lawsuit and its representation in the written record is to be expected. One probably encounters similar problems, to a greater or lesser extent, whenever one relies on court records to reconstruct what took place during a lawsuit. In the case of the Neo-Babylonian records, however, it is important to remember that recording legal proceedings was not the documents' primary purpose. Rather, they were often intended to serve as the prevailing parties' irrefutable proof of the decision in their favor and to prevent reopening the litigation in the future (see Holtz 2009, 302–6). Document 35 makes this purpose very explicit: "So that (the decision) would not be changed, the governor and the judges wrote a tablet. They sealed (it) with their seals and gave (it) to [the prevailing parties]." Thus, these records' reports of the actions that transpired during the trial are ancillary to their original purpose as evidence that the decision was made. Despite their obvious similarities to "protocols," they were never intended to be read as such.

THE ADJUDICATORY SYSTEM

The courtroom dramas usually take place in one of two main settings: in the presence of temple tribunals or before panels of royal judges. The cases that appear in these two settings are, to some extent, of different kinds. In broadest terms, temple tribunals prosecute matters internal to the temple, while royal judges adjudicate disputes at large. On the surface, this suggests a distinction between "civil" and "criminal" cases, with each handled in its own "stream of justice." It would be artificial, however, to distinguish so rigidly. The separate venues mainly reflect the two main kinds of archival sources, rather than anything inherent in the nature of the litigation. Trial procedures are similar in both venues, and, at times, the same adjudicating authorities are involved.

The essential unity of the Neo-Babylonian adjudicatory process is best explained by considering the role of the king. Judicial authority ultimately stemmed from him, and he was also the highest legal authority. In this capacity, the king upheld a longstanding ancient Near Eastern royal tradition, according to which the king must provide justice for his people. A unique Neo-Babylonian literary text extols a king, probably Nebuchadnezzar II, as follows:

With regard to true and righteous judgment, he was not negligent; he did not rest night or day. Judgments and decisions designed to be pleasing to the great lord, Marduk, for the benefit of all people and for settling the land of Akkad,

he inscribed with council and deliberation, and he drew up regulations for the improvement of the city. He built anew the court of law. (Lambert 1965, 8)

The evidence from the actual practice of law confirms the king's legal and legislative activities for which this text sings his praises. Some texts record how temple officials consulted written records of the king's rulings, possibly even the ruler's own written law code (Jursa, Paszkowiak, Waerzeggers 2003–4, 256–59; MacGinnis 2008). Several summonses, including some in this anthology, show the progress of cases from local adjudication by authorities in the Eanna to adjudication by royal judges (Document 16) and even to “the king's court of law” (*bīt dīni ša šarri*) in Babylon (Document 39).

The most consistent indications of the king's connection to the judiciary, however, are the title and office of the royal judges. In the records, they are known as “judges of the king” (*dayyānū ša šarri*) or, more frequently, “the judges of” (*dayyānū ša*) a named king. A good number of texts from their courts survive in the Egibi family archive because one holder of the archive, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, was himself a royal judge (van Driel 1985–6, 55). A comprehensive study of the institution of the royal judges as it is reflected in these texts has found that the judges belonged to the same limited circle of families generally attested in the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform records (Wunsch 2000b). This fact further underscores this elite group's connections to power and their “insider” status.

The royal judges were organized in a recognizable hierarchy based on seniority and were overseen by royal officials called the *sartennu* and the *sukallu*. The judges sat in tribunal panels, with usually no more than one representative of any particular family per panel (Wunsch 2000b). A team of court scribes, usually in a pair, served the judges and recorded the proceedings during the trials. Service as a court scribe may have been the first step towards appointment as a royal judge (Holtz 2008).

Despite the connection to the king that their title implies, however, the royal judges apparently enjoyed a degree of independence. Royal judges were not removed from office when the monarch changed. In fact, some royal judges of Nabonidus, the last Neo-Babylonian ruler, continued to serve as royal judges of Cyrus, the first Achaemenid emperor (Wunsch 2000b). More generally, the king's own obligation and commitment to the rule of law probably prevented him from acting arbitrarily against his subjects. One remarkable record shows that even Nebuchadnezzar himself had to follow due process, and in the extreme case of treason, no less:

Bau-aḥa-iddin son of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit descendant of Ašared-... committed crimes and planned evil. He did not keep the treaty of the king, his lord, and acted treacherously.

At that time, Nebuchadnezzar—king of Babylon, judicious prince, shepherd of broad humanity, who, like Šamaš, examines all lands, establisher of truth and justice, who destroys evildoer and enemy—discovered the machinations of Bau-aḥa-iddin; he intercepted his plot.

In the assembly of the people, he testified (regarding) the crime he committed against him. He gazed at him angrily, he commanded that he not live, so they slit his throat. (Weidner 1954–1956, 1–5; Jursa 2001, 2004b)

In light of the severe crime, the ultimate outcome of this case is not very surprising. And given the offense and the offended party, one has to question just how fair the proceedings were, even by ancient standards. As significant, however, is the text's indication that the king publicly convicts the traitor ("in the assembly of the people") before he slits the traitor's throat. Even as he plays the role of judge, he must also "follow the rules," just like any other litigant. The king, at least as far as he wished to be depicted, was also subject to the law.

Apart from the royal judges, and their titular patron, the king (who appears only rarely in the available documents), the Neo-Babylonian records attest to other adjudicating authorities, as well. Higher-level temple bureaucrats, namely the *qīpu*, the *šatammu*, and the royal administrator (*ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti*) of the Eanna frequently oversaw legal proceedings. Alongside these administrative officials, temple records indicate that an "assembly" (UKKIN=*puḥru*) participated in the adjudication. This assembly consisted of "free citizens" (*mār banī*), who, in addition to their role as adjudicators, are often listed as "witnesses" (*mukinnū*) before whom depositions were made.

The participation of these various authorities in the adjudicatory process raises the question of jurisdiction: what determined which authority tried which cases? Temple authorities usually oversee cases related to temple affairs, and the involvement of outside authorities in a temple-related case can usually be explained by the context (Magdalene 2007, 62). When it comes to private affairs, however, determining jurisdiction becomes more difficult. There is evidence for adjudicators who do not bear the title of "judge" (*dayyānu*), such as elders and local governors, but the jurisdictional reason for their participation is not immediately apparent (Wells 2011, 86).

ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THIS BOOK

The first chapter of this book brings together a sample of documents (Documents 1–18) that record legal actions preliminary to the actual trials. These documents pertain to lawsuits from different times and locations and on different subjects. Overall, however, they reflect the variety of actions that might have preceded a trial, such as various evidence-gathering procedures, like the record-

ing of a confession (Document 1) and interrogations (Documents 5–7), and summoning to court in advance of a trial (Documents 15–17). Based on these texts, one can imagine the progress of a hypothetical trial. The order of the documents in this chapter situates them, as best as possible, within the sequence of events leading to the trials themselves.

The second chapter contains formally composed records of trials that end with judicial decisions (Documents 19–36). These decision records come mostly from the courts of the royal judges in Babylon, although other venues are attested, too. They begin with a record of plaintiffs' appearances and statements before the adjudicating authorities, followed by investigative and evidentiary actions, with the decision recorded as the final result. Within the chapter, the documents are arranged according to the subjects of the lawsuits.

The third, and final, chapter presents groups of documents, or "dossiers," that pertain to four different trials. As one might imagine, the variety of documents tell the cases' legal stories more completely than any individual legal text can. Just as importantly, however, the various documents allow one to situate the litigants and their cases within their broader social settings.

Each document in this volume is transliterated and translated into English. Introductory material provides additional information about each document. This introductory material is organized as follows:

1. A number (1–50)
2. An English title assigned to the document that gives a very brief idea of its subject.
3. Text: The specific museum acquisition number assigned to the clay tablet on which the document is written. The combinations of letters and numbers are familiar to trained Assyriologists, who use them to locate the physical artifacts on which the transliterations and translations are ultimately based.
4. Copy: Bibliographic references to published drawings of the tablet. These are useful for anyone who wishes to read (or at least see) the original cuneiform writing, without having to travel to the tablet itself.
5. Translation/Discussion: Bibliographic references to previous complete translations of the document and to other discussions that devote significant attention to the document. With regard to translations, the information under this heading aims to include any full translation of the document. The decision to include references to quotations of shorter passages and other discussions is based on a subjective evaluation of these references' treatment of the issues that the document treats. It is quite likely that there are other scholarly discussions (including references in dictionaries) that mention the document, but which are not listed. For additional references, Assyriologists usually consult the "Register Assyriologic" published in the journal *Archiv für Orientforschung*, and, for earlier publications, Borger 1967–1973.

6. Place of Composition: The location in which the document was written. This is usually based on the information that the document provides.

7. Date: The date on which the document was written, as indicated by the document itself. The date is given first according to the Babylonian calendar, followed by the corresponding date on the modern calendar, in parentheses, calculated according to the tables in Parker and Dubberstein 1956. The Babylonian date is given with the day of the month in Arabic numerals, followed by the month, indicated by a Roman numeral corresponding to that month's place on the calendar. The year is given by an Arabic numeral followed by a three letter abbreviation of the name of the king. The corresponding modern date is indicated by the day of the month, followed by the name of the month and the year BCE. Thus, the date 3.VI.1 Cyr (21 August, 538 BCE) shows that the document was written on the third day of the sixth Babylonian month (Ulūlu) in year 1 of Cyrus, which corresponds to 21 August, 538 BCE. Originally, all the documents contained a specific notice of their date of composition, although this notice may not be preserved today. In cases where the date is damaged, the parts of the date that are not certain are indicated by a question mark.

8. A one-paragraph summary of the main contents of each document follows. This paragraph sketches the main points of each document's "plot," that is, the actions and statements that the document records. The remaining introductory paragraphs survey important contextual topics that emerge from the document's contents, such as the people named in the document or the legal significance of the actions that take place. Keeping the document at the center of the discussion, these introductory paragraphs identify key elements that expose aspects of the proceedings that may not be apparent upon reading the text by itself. Very often, these later paragraphs contextualize by referring to other texts, including other documents in this collection.

CHAPTER 1

PRELIMINARIES TO TRIALS

1. A CONFESSION

Text: VAT 8461

Copy: Pohl 1933 (AnOr 8), No. 27

Translation/Discussion: Ebeling 1952–53, 68–69; Joannès 2000b, No. 155 (pp. 213–14); Holtz 2009, 273–75.

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 10.IV.12 Nbn (4 July, 544 BCE)

Iltaš-šaraku has caught Lū-dānu stealing property and has handed the thief to Nergal-nāšir. Lū-dānu confesses that he and four accomplices made a hole in Nergal-nāšir's house in order to steal a variety of tools, garments, and commodities, which they gave to the father of one of the thieves. Following the confession, the authorities take one spade, which was marked with a star as temple property, to the Eanna.

Consideration of the parties involved in this case indicates that the very act of theft was probably quite bold. Specifically, Nergal-nāšir, the man from whose house the temple property was stolen, was serving as the “chief farmer” (*ša muḫḫi sūti*) at the time of the present document's composition (Kümmel 1979, 105; Joannès 2000b, 213). When they broke into his house, the thieves not only took property illegally, but also flouted Nergal-nāšir's authority as an important temple functionary. In addition, Nergal-nāšir's role in the management of the Eanna's agricultural enterprises might also explain why the agricultural implements were in his house in the first place.

The present document belongs to pretrial documentation. As such, it illustrates a number of features of the Eanna's procedure of evidence gathering. In general, this process was formally documented; records were maintained that are separate from those of the trials themselves. In the present case, Lū-dānu makes his statement and names his accomplices “without interrogation,” which contrasts

with reports of confessions made under interrogation (see Documents 5 and 6, below). Furthermore, the placing of the marked spade in the Eanna might be more than simply the restoration of the stolen property. It might, instead, reflect a concern for the preservation of physical evidence, known from other texts (like Documents 2 and 40 below) that record similar procedures.

1. ^mlu-u-da-a-nu A-šú šá ^mib-ni-
[^dINNIN A ... šá]
2. ^{md}il-ta-meš-ba-ra-ku¹ A-šú šá
^{md}rNA₃¹-^rNUMUN¹-[X]
3. *ina sa-áš-tu₄ iš-ba-ta-áš-šim-ma
a-na* ^{md}U.GUR-PAP
4. A-šú šá ^{md}na-na-a-DU₃ *id-di-
nu-uš šá la ma-áš-a-a-al-tu₄*
5. *iq-bi um-ma a-^rna¹-[ku]* ^mmu-ra-
šu-ú A-šú šá ^mNUMUN-DU₃
6. ^{md}INNIN-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú [šá...]
^mba-si-a u ^{md}INNIN-na-ŠEŠ.
ME-MU
7. A.MEŠ šá ^mib-ni-^dINNIN *ina
mu-ši ni-ik-su a-na*
8. E₂ ^{md}U.GUR-na-šir A-šú šá
^{md}na-na-a-ib-ni
9. šá *ina* UGU ^{id}₂tak-ki-ru ki-i ni-
ik-ki-su
10. *ki-i ni-ru-bu 1 na-áš-ḫi-ip-tu₄ ap-
pa-tu₄* AN.BAR
11. [ka-la]-ab-ba-tu₄ AN.BAR 3 *mar*
AN.BAR.MEŠ ù ^{tu}_{g2}mu-šip-e-tu₄
12. 1 (GUR) ŠE.BAR 1 GUR ZU₂.
LUM.MA
13. *ki-i ni-iš-šu-ú a-na* ^mNUMUN-
DU₃ AD šá ^mmu-[ra-šu-ú]
14. ^{lu}₂ŠU.HA šá *it-ti-ni ni-ip-ta¹-qí-id*

(1–4) Lū-dānu son of Ibni-[Ištar descendant of ... whom] Iltameš-baraku son of Nabû-zēra-[X] caught in (an act of) theft and handed him over to Nergal-nāšir son of Nanaya-ibni.

(4–5) Without interrogation he said thus:

(5–14) “I, Murašû son of Zēra-ibni, Ištar-aḫa-iddin son [of PN], Basiya and Innin-aḫḫē-iddin sons of Ibni-Ištar—at night, when we cut a hole in the house of Nergal-nāšir son of Nanaya-ibni, which is near the Takkiru canal—when we entered and took 1 iron-tipped spade, an iron a[x], 3 iron shovels, a *mušipetu* garment, 1 *kur* of barley and 1 *kur* of dates, we deposited it with Zēra-ibni, father of Mu[rašû], the fisherman, who was with us.”

15. 1 *na-áš-ḥi-ip-tu₄ šá kak¹-kab-tu₄ še-en-[de-ti]* (15–18) 1 spade, mark[ed] with a star, which they took from the house of Nergal-nāšir, which Iltameš-baraku took from his (i.e., Lū-dānu's) hands—the evidence against him (Lū-dānu)—they placed in the Eanna.
16. *šá ul-tu E₂ mdU.GUR-na-šir iš-šu*
17. *šá mdil-ta-meš-ba-ra-ku ina ŠU.2-šú iš-šá*
18. *SU.2 ši-bit-ti-šú ina E₂.AN.NA iš-ku-nu*
19. *ina DU-zu šá mdNA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ lu₂SAG-LUGAL lu₂EN pi-qit-tu₄ E₂.AN.NA* (19) In the presence of: Nabû-šarra-ušur, the royal official in charge of the Eanna;
20. *mgab-bi-DINGIR.MEŠ-LUGAL-URI₃ lu₂qí-i-pi šá E₂.AN.NA* (20) Gabbi-ilī-šarra-ušur, the *qīpu*-official of Eanna;
21. *mNUMUN-ia lu₂ŠA₃.TAM E₂.AN.NA A-šú šá mib-na-a* (21–22) Zēriya, the *šatammu* of the Eanna, son of Ibnaya descendant of Egibi.
22. *A me-gi-bi lu₂mu-kin-nu md30-APIN-eš* (22–23) Witnesses: Sîn-ēreš son of Nabû-šumu-līšir descendant of Ibni-ilī;
23. *A-šú šá mdNA₃-MU-SI.SA₂ A mDU₃-DINGIR mdDI.KU₅-ŠEŠ. ME-^rMU¹* (23–24) Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin son of Gimillu descendant of Šigûa;
24. *A-šú šá mgi-mil-lu A mši-gu-ú-a mki-na-a* (24–25) Kīnaya son of Zēriya;
25. *A-šú šá mNUMUN-ia mmu-ra-nu A-šú šá mdNA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ* (25–26) Mūrānu son of Nabû-bāni-aḥi descendant of Ekur-zakir;
26. *A me-kur-za-kir mba-la-tu A-šú šá md30-DU₃* (26–27) Balātu son of Sîn-ibni descendant of Rē'i-alpi.
27. *A lu₂SIPA GU₄ lu₂UMBISAG mna-di-nu A-šú* (27–28) Scribe: Nādinu son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša descendant of Egibi.
28. *šá mdEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-BA-šá A me-gi-bi*
29. *UNUG^{ki} ITI ŠU U₄ 10-kám MU 12-kám* (29–30) Uruk. 10 Dūzu, year 12 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
30. *dNA₃-IM.TUK LUGAL TIN. TIR^{ki}*

NOTES

18. As it occurs here, the term *qāt šibitti* refers to the *corpus delicti*, the stolen property that has been found in the thief's possession (see *CAD* Š, 156).

2. APPREHENSION FOR CULTIC CRIMES

Text: YBC 3981

Copy: Dougherty 1920 (YOS 6), No. 222

Translation/Discussion: Coquerillat 1973–1974, 113–14.

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 4.VI.12 Nbn (27 August, 544 BCE)

Anum-šumu-līšir has presented rotten dates and pomegranates as offerings. Because they could not be used, there was a cessation of the cultic offerings, which had to be resolved by using the Eanna's own produce. The šatammu places Anum-šumu-līšir in shackles and places the rotten fruit under seal in the Eanna.

The present document provides a rare glimpse into the daily rituals in the Eanna. Based on the description of the obligatory offering that Anum-šumu-līšir, the defendant, was required to bring, he is an “orchard-keeper” (*rāb bani*). In this position, he would have been in charge of the temple's sacred orchard (*kirû hallatu*), and would have been responsible for providing the fruits for the gods' consumption (Cocquerillat 1973–1974, 133). Other temple functionaries would have received Anum-šumu-līšir's fruit and, if all had been in order, would have made the actual offering (Cocquerillat 1973–1974, 114). It is probably the temple functionaries in charge of the actual offerings who would have reported the poor quality of Anum-šumu-līšir's dates and pomegranates to the Eanna authorities.

Like Document 1 above, the present document records the very first stages of the legal proceedings. In fact, this document was composed on the very same date upon which the ritual offense was committed. Two preliminary actions are recorded: the apprehension of the defendant and the preservation of the evidence. The defendant here, and in other cases as well, is placed in shackles until the time of his trial. The rotten fruits, like other evidence and *corpora delicti*, are tied and sealed in a bundle (see San Nicolò 1945, 16–17 and Holtz 2009, 272–75). They would probably have been presented before the adjudicating authorities when Anum-šumu-līšir's punishment was decided.

Confirmation of the preliminary nature of the present document comes from another document, composed on the same date (Weisberg 1967, No. 3 [pp. 19–21]). In this other document, Šamaš-zēra-ibni (the witness in line 21 in the present document) and another man assume responsibility for Anum-šumu-līšir (Kümmel 1979, 95 n. 5). Thus, Anum-šumu-līšir was released from the shackles to be presented “on the day that the royal official in charge of the Eanna summons him,” presumably for a hearing.

1. U₄ 4-*kám* *šá* ITI KIN MU
12-*kám* ^dNA₃-IM.TUK LUGAL
TIN.TIR^{ki}
 2. ^{lu}₂GAL.DU₃-*ú-tu* IGI ^dGAŠAN
šá UNUG^{ki} ^d*na-na-a*
 3. *ù* ^dGAŠAN *šá* SAG *šá* ^{md}*a-num-*
MU-SI.SA₂ A-*šú*
 4. *šá* ^{md}NA₃-A-MU ZU₂.LUM.MA
ù lu-ri-in-du
 5. *a-na nap-ta-nu šá* ^dGAŠAN *šá*
UNUG^{ki} *ú-še-lam-ma*
 6. *ku-um be-’-e-šú a-na* ^dGAŠAN
šá UNUG^{ki} *la iq-ru-bu*
 7. *baṭ-lu iš-ku-nu-ma* ^mNUMUN-*ia*
^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM E₂.AN.NA
 8. A-*šú šá* ^m*ib-na-a* A ^m*e-gi-bi* *ù*
^{lu}₂UMBISAG.MEŠ *šá* E₂.AN.NA
 9. ZU₂.LUM.MA *ù lu-ri-in-du ul-tu*
E₂.AN.NA
 10. *a-na* ^dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG^{ki}
ú-qar-ri-bu ^{md}*a-num-MU-SI.SA*₂
 11. *si-me-re-e šá ina* E₂.AN.NA *id-di*
ù ZU₂.LUM.MA
 12. *ù lu-ri-in-du šá a-na nap-ta-nu*
 13. *ú-še-lam-ma ku-um be-’-e-šú la*
iq-ru-bu
 14. *ina* E₂.AN.NA *ik-nu-uk*
 15. ^{lu}₂*mu-kin-nu* ^m*mu-še-zib-*^dEN
A-*šú šá* ^{md}UTU-SIG₁₅ A ^mDU₃-
eš-’^rDINGIR¹
 16. ^{md}30-KAM₂ A-*šú šá* ^{md}NA₃-
MU-SI.SA₂ A ^mDU₃-DINGIR
 17. ^mIR₃-^dEN A-*šú šá* ^mšil-la-a A
^mMU-^dPAP.SUKKAL
 18. ^{md}NA₃-SUR-ZI.MEŠ A-*šú šá*
^mIR₃-^dEN A ^m*e-gi-bi*
- (1–5) On 4 Ulūlu, year 12 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, (in fulfillment of) the obligation of the orchard-keepers before the Lady of Uruk, Nanaya and Bēlet-ša-rēši, incumbent upon Anum-šumu-līšir son of Nabû-apla-iddin, he presented dates and pomegranates for the meal of the Lady of Uruk.
- (6) Because they were rotten, they were not offered before the Lady of Uruk.
- (7) A cessation was caused.
- (7–10) Zēriya, the *šatammu* of the Eanna, son of Ibnaya descendant of Egibi and the scribes of the Eanna offered dates and pomegranates from the Eanna to the Lady of Uruk.
- (10–11) He cast Anum-šumu-līšir in the shackles which are in the Eanna.
- (11–14) In the Eanna, he (Zēriya) placed the dates and pomegranates, which he (Anum-šumu-līšir) presented for the meal and which were not offered because they were rotten, under seal.
- (15) Witnesses: Mušēzib-Bēl son of Šamaš-mudammiq descendant of Eppeš-ili;
- (16) Sîn-ēreš son of Nabû-šumu-līšir descendant of Ibni-ilī;
- (17) Arad-Bēl son of Šillaya descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal;
- (18) Nabû-ētir-napšāti son of Arad-Bēl descendant of Egibi;

19. ^mna-di-nu A-šú šá ^map-la-a A (19) Nādinu son of Aplaya descendant
^mŠEŠ.MEŠ-ú of Aḥḥûtu;
20. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-URI₃ A-šú (20) Marduk-šuma-ušur son of Bēl-
 šá ^mEN-TIN-iṭ A ^mpu-ú-tu₄ uballiṭ descendant of Pūtu;
21. ^{md}UTU-[NUMUN-DU₃] A-šú šá (21) Šamaš-[zēra-ibni] son of
^{md}na-na-a-MU A ^mḥa-nap Nanaya-iddin descendant of Ḥanap;
22. ^mIR₃-^d[INNIN-na] A-šú šá (22) Arad-[Innin] son of Ibni-Ištar
^mDU₃-^dINNIN A ^mŠU-^dna-na-a descendant of Gimil-Nanaya;
23. ^{lu}₂UMBISAG ^mna-din A-šú šá (23) Scribe: Nādin, son of [Bēl]-aḥḥē-
^m[^dEN]-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-BA-šá A ^me- iqīša descendant of Egibi.
 gi-bi
24. UNUG^{ki} ITI KIN U₄ 4-kám MU (24–25) Uruk. 4 Ulūlu year 12 of
 12-kám ^dNA₃-I Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
25. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

3. REPORTS ABOUT THEFT IN HIGH PLACES

Text: YBC 4176

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 10

Translation/Discussion: Dandamaev 1984, 429–30; Joannès 2000a, 29; 2000b, No. 160 (pp. 217–18); Holtz 2009, 103–4

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 1.II.1 Cyr (22 April, 538 BCE)

Nabû-rēṣua, a slave of Lâbāši-Marduk, reports to the šatammu and the royal official in charge of the Eanna that his master's son, Iddinaya, stole and hid a gem, apparently from a cultic image that was in Ištar-aḫa-iddin's care. Nabû-lū-dāri, another slave, confirms Nabû-rēṣua's testimony. Ḥašdaya, brother of the suspected thief, Iddinaya, also reports finding the stolen object on Lâbāši-Marduk's property after it had been taken from Ištar-aḫa-iddin's storehouse.

Ištar-aḫa-iddin, the man responsible for the cultic image and the gem it contained, may have received the object, along with the gem, to make repairs (Joannès 2000a, 29). The workshop (*bīt šutummu*) from which the gem was taken may have been located on temple property and leased to Ištar-aḫa-iddin, as was typically done for artisans and administrators employed in the Eanna (Joannès 2000a, 28–29). The suspect's father, Lâbāši-Marduk son of Arad-Bēl descendant of Egibi, would have had access to this area; he held the prestigious office of “chief baker” (*šāpir nuḫatimmī*; Kümmel 1979, 152; Joannès 2000b, 217). It is not clear, however, how Iddinaya, the suspected son, could have entered the precinct without arousing suspicions.

Despite Iddinaya's reportedly suspicious behavior and the testimony against him, one should not overlook the role of the slave, Nabû-rēṣua, in connection with the crime. According to the slave's testimony, the theft took place near the end of Kislīmu, or some four months prior to the writing of the present document. This gap of time suggests that the missing object was successfully hidden for a good while. The slave's precise knowledge about the circumstances surrounding the original theft and the notice that he provides his report “without interrogation”—that is as an uncoerced confession—suggest that he may have been under some suspicion for participating in the misdeed. At the very least, if the slave witnessed the theft on the night in question, then he was probably complicit in keeping it under wraps. If so, then one may assume that the proceedings in the Eanna take place only once Ḥašdaya, the suspect's brother, has discovered the stolen object and reported it to the authorities.

The specifically religious significance of the stolen object probably added a measure of gravity to the offense and to the severity with which the case was

handled. These additional aspects of the proceedings are reflected in the presence of Rīmūt-Bēl, the *šešgallu*, probably the high priest, as a witness to the proceedings (lines 14–15). He also appears among the high-ranking officers in Gimillu's trial (Document 38 below), and may have inherited the position from his father (Kümmel 1979, 134–35).

At first glance, one might imagine that this case would have cast aspersions on the careers of both Iddinaya, the suspected thief, and possibly that of his father, Lābāši-Marduk, too. Later documents from the Eanna, however, show that this was not the case (Kümmel 1979, 114, 152). Both father and son continued to participate in the Eanna's activities well after this incident.

1. [m]^dNA₃-re-šu-ú-a^{lu₂}qal-la šá
m^{la}-a-ba-ši-^dAMAR.UTU (1–5) Nabû-rēšua, slave of Lābāši-Marduk son of Arad-Bēl descendant of Egibi, without interrogation said thus to Nabû-mukīn-zēri, the *šatammu* of the Eanna, son of Nādinu descendant of Dābibī and Nabû-aḥa-iddin, the royal official in charge of the Eanna:
2. A-šú šá^{mIR₃}-^dEN A^{me}-gi-bi šá
la ma-šá-a-a-al-tu⁴ a-na
3. ^{md}NA₃-DU-NUMUN^{lu₂}ŠA₃.
TAM E₂.AN.NA A-šú šá^{mna}-di-
nu A^{mda}-bi-bi
4. ù^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU^{lu₂}SAG-
LUGAL^{lu₂}EN pi-qit-tu⁴ E₂.AN.
NA iq-bi
5. um-ma U₄ 28-kám šá ITI GAN
NA₄ mur-ḥa-ši-tu šá^{md}15-
ŠEŠ-MU (5–8) “On 28 Kislīmu, Iddinaya son of Lābāši-Marduk descendant of Egibi unlawfully removed the precious stone from Marḥaši (in the possession) of Ištar-aḥa-iddin son of Innin-šuma-ušur descendant of Nabû-šarḥi-ilī from the arm of the Lady of Uruk at night (and) placed (it) in a [con]tainer.”
6. A-šú šá^{md}in-nin-MU-URI₃ A
^{md}NA₃-šar-ḥi-DINGIR ul-tu
muḥ-ḥi am-ma-tu¹ šá^dGAŠAN
šá UNUG^{ki}
7. ina sa-ar-tu⁴ ina mu-ši^mSUM-
na-a A-šú šá^mla-a-ba-ši-
^dAMAR.UTU
8. A^{me}-gi-bi it-ta-sa-aḥ¹ ina¹ [šá]-
ad-da il-ta-kan
9. ù^{md}NA₃-lu-u-da-a-ri^{lu₂}qal-la šá
^mba-ni-ia A-šú
10. šá^{mta}-ri-bi uk-ti-in ù^mḥaš-da-a
ŠEŠ šá^mSUM-na-a

(9–11) And Nabû-lū-dāri, slave of Bāniya son of Taribi testified, and Ḥašdaya, brother of Iddinaya, said thus in the assembly:

11. *ina* UKKIN *iq-bi um-ma* NA₄ *mur-ḥa-ši-tu šá* ¹ul¹-tu E₂ *šu-¹tu¹-um-mu* (11–13) “I found the precious stone from Marḥaši which was carried away in theft from the workshop of Ištar-aḥa-iddin, in the house of Lâbâši-Marduk, my father.”
12. *šá* ^{md}15-ŠEŠ-MU *ina sa-ar-tu₄ na-šá-a-ta*
13. *ina* E₂ ^mla-a-ba-ši-^dAMAR.UTU *AD-ia a-ta-mar*
14. ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu* ^mri-mut-^dEN ^{lu₂}ŠEŠ. GAL E₂.AN.NA A-šú *šá* ^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* (14–15) Witnesses: Rīmūt-Bēl, the *šešgallu* of Eanna, son of Bēl-uballiṭ, descendant of Gimil-Nanaya;
15. A ^mŠU-^dna-na-a ^mGAR-MU A-šú *šá* ^{md}U₃-^d15 A ^{md}30-*tab-ni* (15) Šākin-šumi son of Ibni-Ištar descendant of Sîn-tabni;
16. ^{md}in-nin-MU-URI₃ A-šú *šá* ^mMU-^dNA₃ A ^mki-din-^dAMAR.UTU (16) Innin-šuma-ušur son of Iddin-Nabû descendant of Kidin-Marduk;
17. ^{md}NA₃-TIN-su-iq-bi A-šú *šá* ^mib-na-a A ^mE₂.KUR-za-kir (17) Nabû-balāssu-iqbi son of Ibnaya descendant of Ekur-zakir;
18. ^mze-ri-ia A-šú *šá* ^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂ A ^mki-din-^dAMAR.UTU (18) Zēriya son of Nanaya-ēreš descendant of Kidin-Marduk;
19. ^mIR₃-ia A-šú *šá* ^map-la-a A ^{md}NA₃-šar-ḥi-DINGIR (19) Ardiya son of Aplaya descendant of Nabû-šarḥi-ilī;
20. ^mKAR-^dAMAR.UTU A-šú *šá* ^mkab-ti-ia A ^mši-gu-ú-a (20) Mušēzib-Marduk son of Kabtiya descendant of Šigûa;
21. ^{lu₂}UMBISAG ^mgi-mil-lu ¹A-šú *šá* ^{md}in-nin-^{md}NUMUN-MU (21) Scribe: Gimillu son of Innin-zēra-iddin.
22. UNUG^{ki} ITI GU₄ U₄ 1-*kām* MU 1-*kām* ^mku-ra-áš LUGAL KUR. KUR (22) Uruk. 1 Ayaru, year 1 of Cyrus, king of the lands.

NOTES

5–8. The present reading follows Joannès 2000a, 29, and 2000b, No. 160 (p. 117), and takes the stolen item to be a precious stone from Marḥaši (NA₄ *mur-ḥa-ši-tu*). For discussion of the stone, see CAD M₁, 280–81. Earlier readings, recorded in various entries in CAD and in Dandamaev 1984, understand the missing object to be a mill for cumin (^{na₄}ḪAR *ḥa-ši-mur*).

12. The word *na-šá-ta* can also be interpreted as a second-person verbal form and translated “you carried off” (Dandamaev 1984, 430). If this translation

is correct, then Ȥašdaya, the speaker, addresses his accusation directly to Iddinaya, his brother, the suspected thief.

4. AN ACCUSATION OF BURGLARY

Text: BM 74761 (83-1-18, 81)

Copy: Strassmaier 1890b (Cyr), No. 328

Translation/Discussion: Peiser 1896: No. 24 (pp. 282–85); Kohler and Peiser 1890–1898, 2:77; Oppenheim 1941, 269; Bongenaar 1997, 17 n. 38; Joannès 2002d

Place of Composition: Sippar

Date: 28.XII.8 Cyr (22 March, 530 BCE)

Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit, overseer of the city of Šaḥrīnu, reports the robbery of his house to the šangû of Sippar. Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit has detained his own nephew, Nanaya-iddin, along with a group of seven men who broke down the door to Nanaya-aḥḫē-bullit's house and took away one mina of silver.

Another, rather fragmentary text (Strassmaier 1890b [Cyr], No. 329) records statements made by several of the men that Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit seized. It was written two days after the present text. When the two texts are taken together, they apparently document the progress of the case from the accusation, lodged in the present text, to later stages of the trial.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-<i>bul-liṭ</i> A-šú šá
^mš_u-[...]</p> <p>2. ^{lu}₂<i>pa-qu-du</i> šá URU <i>šaḥ-ri-in</i>-[<i>ni</i>]</p> <p>3. šá U₄ 28-<i>kám</i> šá ITI ŠE MU
8-<i>kám</i> ^m<i>kur-raš</i></p> <p>4. LUGAL ^E_{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR
<i>a-na</i> ^{md}EN-TIN-<i>iṭ</i></p> <p>5. ^{lu}₂SANGA UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} <i>iq-</i>
<i>bu-ú um-ma</i></p> <p>6. ^{md}<i>na-na-a</i>-MU A-šú šá ^{md}KA₂-
KAM₂ <i>ina</i> E₂-<i>ia</i></p> <p>7. <i>aš-ša-bit um-ma</i> ŠEŠ AD-<i>ka u</i>
^{lu}₂<i>pa-qu-du</i></p> <p>8. šá URU <i>a-na-ku mi-nam-ma</i>
ŠU.2-<i>ka a-na muḥ-ḫi-iá</i></p> | <p>(1–5) Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit son of P[N], the overseer of the city Šaḥrīnu, who on 28 Addaru, year 8 of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands, said thus to Bēl-uballit, the <i>šangû</i> of Sippar:</p> <p>(6–7) “I have seized Nanaya-iddin son of Bau-ēreš in my house, (saying) thus:</p> <p>(7–9) ‘I am your father’s brother and the overseer of the city. Why do you threaten me?’”</p> |
|---|---|

9. *ta-ad-ka* ^{md}IM-LUGAL-PAP A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-ú-še-zib (9–17) “When Adad-šarra-ušur son of Nabû-ušēzib, Nargiya, and Erība, his brothers, Kutka-ili son of Bau-ēreš, Bēl-uballiṭ son of Bariki-ili, Bēl-aḫḫē-ušur son of Adad-ušallim, and Iqīšaya son of Šamaš-šarra-ušur, acted in malice (?), carried off my door and entered my house (and) turned away, they took away 1 mina of silver.”
10. ^mnar-gi-ia u ^meri-ba ŠEŠ. MEŠ-šú
11. ^mku-ut-ka-’-DINGIR A-šú šá ^{md}KA₂-KAM₂
12. ^{md}EN-TIN-iṭ A-šú šá ^mba-ri-ki-DINGIR
13. ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-PAP A-šú šá ^{md}IM-GI
14. u ^mBA-šá-a A-šú šá ^{md}UTU-LUGAL-PAP ki-i
15. *il-lam-ma-nu* ^{giš}GAL₂-a *it-ta-bal-’u*
16. u a-na E₂-ia ki-i *ir-bu-nu it-te-ru-nu*
17. 1 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR-a *it-ta-šu-ú* ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu* (17) Witnesses:
18. ^{md}KA₂-KAM₂ A-šú šá ^mšu-lum-ma-du ^mri-mut (18) Bau-ēreš son of Šullum-mādu;
19. A-šú šá ^mšul-lum-ma-du ^mMU-^dgu-la A-šú šá ^mDU₃-ia (18–19) Rīmūt son of Šullum-mādu; Iddin-Gula son of Bāniya;
20. ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-MU A-šú šá ^mKI?-^dEN-DUG₃.GA ^m[PN] (20) Nabû-zēra-iddin son of Itti-Bēl-ṭābu;
21. A-šú šá ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-DU₃ ^{lu₂}UMBISAG ^mIR₃-^dEN A-šú šá ^{md}EN-[GI] (20–22) [PN] son of Šamaš-zēra-ibni; Scribe: Arad-Bēl son of Bēl-[ušallim] descendant of Adad-šammê.
22. A ^{md}IM-šam-me-e *sip-par*^{ki} ITI ŠE U₄ 28-kám (22–23) Sippar. 28 Addaru, year 8 of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands.
23. MU 8-kám ^mkur-raš LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR
24. ^{md}na-na-a-MU u ^{md}IM-LUGAL-PAP (24–25) Nanaya-iddin and Adad-šarra-ušur at the order of Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ.
25. *ina qí-bi šá* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*bul-liṭ*

NOTES

5. *um-ma*- Both Peiser 1896, 283 and Kohler and Peiser 1890–1898, 2:77 understand this word as the beginning of a new sentence, addressed to the *šangû*. They translate the word as “*nun*” (“now”). However, the use of *umma* as an adverb in this manner is unattested (see *CAD* U, 101; *AHw*, 1413), unless a scribal error is at play. The word *umma* continues the previous sentence, indicating what was said at the time of the seizing. Therefore, the 2ms forms in the sentences are addressed directly to the seized individual.

8–9. For the idiomatic expression *qātē dekû* see *CAD* D, 127, s.v. *dekû* f2’c’2”.

15. Translation of the phrase *ki-i il-lam-ma-nu* follows Kohler and Peiser 1890–1898, 2:77, who offer “um Böses anzurichten” (“in order to cause harm”), without additional comment. Their translation apparently derives the phrase from the verb *lemēnu* (see *CAD* L, 117; *AHw*, 543).

24–25. This line of the text is apparently a summary of the proceedings.

5. AN INTERROGATION ABOUT SHEEP

Text: YBC 6939

Copy: Dougherty 1920 (YOS 6), No. 137

Translation/Discussion: San Nicolò, 1933b, 289–91; Frame 1991, 74; Joannès 2000b, No. 164 (pp. 221–22)

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 30.IV.7 Nbn (18 August, 549 BCE)

Nabû-šarra-ušur, the royal official in charge of the Eanna, interrogates two thieves, Marduk and Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin. During the previous night, the two men stole three ewes and one lamb from the flock of Šamaš-šuma-iddin tended by Nergal-īpuš. Nergal-īpuš, the herdsman, has found cooked meat, a pot, a hide and two live ewes and one lamb on the property of a woman. He presents the evidence in the Eanna, where Nabû-šarra-ušur interrogates the two thieves. The two thieves confess to the crime, and incriminate a third individual, Nanaya-iddin. Nabû-šarra-ušur returns the living sheep to Šamaš-šuma-iddin's son.

The present document is the record of a procedure called *maš'altu*, or interrogation. Other records report confessions taking place “without interrogation” (*ša lā maš'alti*) (see Documents 1 and 3 above) or that the guilty party “testified against himself” (*eli ramnišu ukīn*) (see Document 38 below). In these other cases, the confession occurs before the Eanna authorities actively intervene in order to extract it. In contrast, the record here (and Document 6, below) reports the confession as the result of the Eanna authorities' interrogation.

As in most cases in the Eanna, the result of the procedure here is that the guilty parties confess to their crimes (San Nicolò 1933b, 301). Since admissions of guilt are so common, it has been suggested that the “interrogation” may have involved torture (San Nicolò 1933b, 302). Confirmation comes from a later text written at Uruk during the Seleucid period. This text reports that thieves were caught and convicted “by means of the rack (literally, ladder) of interrogation” (*simmiltu ša maš'alti*), which strongly suggests an implement designed to inflict physical pain (Sachs and Hunger 1989, No. 168: A15'–A20' [pp. 476–77]). A device like this, if already in use during the Neo-Babylonian period, would explain the frequency of both admissions of guilt and confessions “without interrogation.”

1. *ma-šá-a-al-ti šá* ^{md}NA₃-LUGAL- (1) Interrogation by Nabû-šarra-ušur,
 URI₃ ^{lu₂}SAG-LUGAL ^{lu₂}EN the royal official in charge of the
pi- ^ṛ*qit-tú*¹ E₂.AN.NA Eanna.

2. ^mmar-duk A-šú šá
mdNA₃-NUMUN-MU lu₂ uru_i-pal-
ti-ra-a-[a]
 3. u mdEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A-šú šá
mdna-na-a-KAM₂ lu₂sar-ru-t[u]
 4. šá 3 U₈ ù 1 UDU ka-lum šá
mdUTU-MU-MU A-šú šá mšu-
la-[a ul-tu]
 5. še-e-nu šá mdU.GUR-DU₃-uš
A-šú šá mdNA₃-NUMUN-BA-šá
lu₂NA.KAD šá dGAŠAN šá
UNUG^{rki}
 6. ul-tu uruE₂-dLUGAL-bàn-da
mu-ši šá U₄ 30-kám šá ITI ŠU
 7. ina sa-ar-ti i-bu-ku-ma ina
UNUG^{ki} ina E₂ mdna-na-a-MU
 8. A-šú šá ^fat-tar-ra-mat ^fza-ki-ti
1-et U₈ ik-ki-su
 9. kušši-iḥ-tu UZU.HI.A ù mu-šaḥ-
ḥi-nu ZABAR
 10. ù 2-ta U₈ 1 UDU ka-lum bal-
tu-tu mdU.[GUR]-DU₃-uš
 11. TA E₂ mdna-na-a-MU A-šú šá
^fat-tar-ra-mat i-[bu-ku-ma]
 12. ina E₂.AN.NA ú-kal-li-mu
mdNA₃-[LUGAL-URI₃ lu₂SAG-
LUGAL]
 13. ^mmar-duk u mdEN-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-MU iš-’a-al [ù a-na]
 14. mdNA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ iq-bu-ú
um-ma mu-š[i ...]
 15. šá UNUG^{ki} ina mu-ši 3 U₈ 1
UDU ka-[lum ul-tu]
 16. uruE₂-dLUGAL-bàn-da ul-tu
še-e-nu [šá mdU.GUR-DU₃-uš]
 17. ina sa-ar-ti ki-i ni-bu-k[u 1-et U₈
ina UNUG^{ki} ina E₂]
 18. mdna-na-a-MU ni-it-te-[kis 2 U₈
1 U]DU ka-lum
- (2–8) Marduk son of Nabû-zēra-iddin a citizen of Ipaltira and Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin son of Nanaya-ēreš, the thieves who, in theft, led away from the city of Bīt-Lugalbanda 3 ewes and 1 lamb belonging to Šamaš-šuma-iddin son of Šulay[a, from] the flock of Nergal-īpuš son of Nabû-zēra-iqīša, a herdsman of the Lady of Uruk, on the night of 30 Dûzu, and, in Uruk, in the house of Nanaya-iddin son of Attar-ramât, a zakītu-woman, killed 1 ewe.
- (9–12) Nergal-īpuš br[ought] the hide, the meat, the bronze pot along with the 2 live ewes (and) the 1 live lamb from the house of Nanaya-iddin son of Attar-ramât and showed them in the Eanna.
- (12–14) Nabû-[šarra-ušur, the royal official] interrogated Marduk and Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin and they said thus [to] Nabû-šarra-ušur:
- (14–19) “[At nig]ht ... of Uruk, in the night, when we, in theft, le[d away] 3 ewes and 1 la[mb from] the city of Bīt-Lugalbanda from the herd [of Nergal-īpuš], we slaughter[ed 1 ewe in Uruk in the house] of Nanaya-iddin. [The 2 living ewes (and) 1] living lamb stand (here).”

19. *bal-tu-tu ú-šu-uz-zu [... i-na] sa-ar-tú* (19–21) “Nanaya-iddin went with us, [in] theft, to the herd [of Nergal-īpuš].”
20. *a-na IGI še-e-^rnu¹ [šá^{md}U.GUR-DU₃-uš] ^{md}na-na-a-MU*
21. *it-ti-ni it-ta-lak 2 [U₈ 1] UDU ka-lum bal-tu-tu*
22. ^{md}NA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ *ú-tir-ma a-na ^mKI-^da-nu-um-TIN* (21–23) Nabû-šarra-ušur returned the 2 living [ewes and the 1] living lamb to Itti-Anum-balātu son of Šamaš-šuma-iddin, owner of the sheep.
23. *A-šú šá^{md}UTU-MU-MU EN UDU.NITA.MEŠ id-din ù ši-ih-tu* (23–24) He deposited the hide and the bronze pot in the Eanna, in the storehouse.
24. *ù mu-šaḥ-ḥi-nu ZABAR ina E₂.AN.NA ina E₂ GUR₇.ME iš-ku-un*
25. ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu ^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ A-šú šá^{md}NA₃-TIN-su-E A ^{md}30-TI-^rER₃¹* (25) Witnesses: Nabû-bāni-aḥi son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninnī;
26. ^r*mNUN.ME¹ A-šú šá^{md}U.GUR-PAP A ^{lu₂}UŠ.BAR ^{md}NA₃-A-MU A-šú šá^{md}DU₃-^d[INNIN]* (26–27) Apkallu son of Nergal-nāšir descendant of Išparu; Nabû-apla-iddin son of Ibni-[Ištar] descendant of [E] kur-zakir;
27. *A ^m[E₂]-kur-za-kir ^{md}AMAR. UTU-A-URI₃ A-šú šá^mIDIM-ia A ^mši-gu-[ú-a]* (27) Marduk-apla-ušur son of Kabtiya descendant of Šig[ua];
28. ^m*[ZALAG₂-^d30] A-šú šá^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ A ^mZALAG₂-^d30 ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-GIŠ* (28–29) [Nūr-Sîn] son of Nabû-bāni-aḥi descendant of Nūr-Sîn; Nabû-zēru-līšir [son of Nādinu] descendant of Išparu;
29. *[A-šú šá^mna-din] A ^{lu₂}UŠ.BAR ^{md}U.GUR-NUMUN-DU₃ A-šú šá^mšu-la-a* (29–30) Nergal-zēra-ibni son of Šulaya descendant of [Miširaya];
30. *A ^m[mi-šir]-a-a*
31. ^{lu₂}*UMBISAG ^mšu-ma-a A-šú šá^{md}DU₃-^d15 A ^{lu₂}AZALAG UNUG^{ki}* (31) Scribe: Šumaya son of Ibni-Ištar descendant of Ašlaku.

32. ITI ŠU U₄ 30-*kám* MU 7-*kám* (32) Uruk. 30 Dûzu, year 7 of
^dNA₃-IM.TUK LUGAL TIN. Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
 TIR^{ki}

NOTES

1. The text opens with the phrase “*maša’altu ša* Nabû-šarra-ušur,” which, based on lines 12–13, clearly means “interrogation by Nabû-šarra-ušur.” The same phrase—*maša’altu ša* so-and-so—occurs in other texts (see, for example, Document 6 below) with a different meaning. The named individual is the person subject to interrogation, rather than the interrogating authority.

8. In the corpus of Neo-Babylonian texts from the Eanna, the term *zakītu* refers to women who have been “cleared,” or released, by their owner and dedicated to a temple (Wunsch 2006, 466–67).

28–29. Nūr-Sîn son of Nabû-bāni-aḥi descendant of Nūr-Sîn belonged to a family of jewelers in the Eanna (Kümmel 1979, 26). Nabû-zēru-līšir [son of Nādinu] descendant of Išparu belonged to a family of scribes in the Eanna (Kümmel 1979, 121–22, 131).

30. Family name completed based on Cornelia Wunsch’s personal database of Neo-Babylonian names. According to her data, Miširaya is the only family name ending in *a-a* attested in texts from Uruk.

6. AN INTERROGATION ABOUT MISSING GOLD

Text: YBC 4036

Copy: Dougherty 1920 (YOS 6), No. 223

Translation/Discussion: San Nicolò 1933b, 294–95; Holtz 2009, 286–88

Place of Composition: (Uruk)

Date: 4.XIIa.12 Nbn (22 March, 543 BCE)

The šatammu and the scribes of the Eanna interrogate Iddin-Ištar. He declares that he handled 8 1/2 šeqels and 1 girû (1/24 of a šeqel) of gold in purchases and sales. In subsequent questioning, he is asked to name the people with whom he conducted transactions and to specify the amounts of gold involved.

The present record is part of a broader dossier of records pertaining to investigations into the suspected mishandling of the Eanna's gold. During the month of Addaru 1 (the intercalary Addaru) of year 12 of Nabonidus, the Eanna authorities conducted an extensive "clean-up operation" of the corruption that had developed among their metalworkers (San Nicolò 1933b, 295–98; Renger 1971, 501–3). When taken together with other texts from this operation, the present record, in particular, reveals an embezzlement network of sorts. According to a document written on the day after the present interrogation took place, Anum-aḫa-iddin, whom the present document names as one of the people who purchased gold from Iddin-Ištar (line 17), also sold gold to another suspected criminal (San Nicolò 1933b, 295–96).

As with other such records, the interrogation here is a preliminary step in the adjudicatory process. Another record, dated later during the same month, 28 Addaru I, shows that the case against Iddin-Ištar continued for some time. According to this later text, two men guarantee Iddin-Ištar's presence (presumably for a hearing) before the *šatammu* and the scribes of the Eanna during the following month (San Nicolò 1933b, 297–98).

1. *ma-šá-a-a-al-tu₄ šá mMU-dSUH* (1–2) Interrogation of Iddin-Ištar son
A-šú šá mDU₃-dINNIN of Ibni-Ištar who said as follows:
2. *šá iq-bu-ú um-ma 8 1/2 GIN₂* (2–3) "8 1/2 šeqels and 1 *girû* of gold
gir₂-ú KU₃.GI ina ŠÚ.2 lu₂ERIN. I purchased from people for silver, and
ME I sold to people for silver."
3. *a-na KU₃.BABBAR an-da-ḫar*
ù a-na KU₃.BABBAR a-na
lu₂ERIN.ME at-ta-din
4. *lu₂ŠA₃.TAM u lu₂UMBISAG.ME* (4–5) The *šatammu* and the scribes of
šá E₂.AN.NA a-na mMU-dSUH Eanna said thus to Iddin-Ištar:

5. *iq-bu-ú um-ma* KU₃.GI *ma-la ina* (5–7) “Report to us, in detail, whatever
ŠU.2 ^{lu}2ERIN.ME (amounts of) gold you purchased from
people and sold to people.”
6. *ta-am-ḥu-ru ù a-na* ^{lu}2ERIN.ME
ta-ad-di-nu
7. KA₂.MEŠ *qí-ba-an-na-šú* ^mMU- (7–8) Iddin-Ištar said thus:
^dSUH *iq-bi*
8. *um-ma* 1/2 GIN₂ *mi-šil bit-qa* (8–9) “I purchased 1/2 šeqel and half
KU₃.GI *ina* ŠU.2 ^{md}NA₃-PAP of one eighth (of a šeqel) of gold from
Nabû-nāšir son of Aḥḥē-iddin.”
9. A-šú *šá* ^mŠEŠ.ME-MU *an-da-* (9–10) “I purchased 3/4 (šeqel) from
ḥar 3-*ta* 4-*tú*.ME *ina* ŠU.2 Ina-tēšē-ēṭir son of Ardiya.”
10. ^mina-SUH₃-SUR A-šú *šá* ^mIR₃-*ia*
an-da-ḥar
11. 2 GIN₂ KU₃.GI *ina* ŠU.2 (11–12) “I purchased 2 šeqels of gold
^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-GAL₂-*ši* A-šú *šá* from Bēl-aḥa-šubši son of Nabû-iqīša
^{md}NA₃-BA-*šá* in Babylon.”
12. *ina* TIN.TIR^{ki} *an-da-ḥar*
13. 1 GIN₂ KU₃.GI *ina* ŠU.2 ^{md}NA₃- (13–14) “I purchased 1 šeqel of
DU-NUMUN ^{lu}2KU₃.DIM gold from Nabû-mukīn-zēri, the
goldsmith.”
14. *an-da-ḥar*
15. KU₃.GI *šá* ^mMU-^dSUH *iq-bu-ú* (15–16) (The following is) the gold
um-ma a-na KU₃.BABBAR (about) which Iddin-Ištar said thus: “I
sold it for silver to people.”
16. *a-na* ^{lu}2ERIN.ME *at-ta-din*
17. 3 GIN₂ KU₃.GI *a-na* ^{md}a-num- (17) 3 šeqels of gold to Anum-aḥa-
ŠEŠ-MU A-šú *šá* ^mmu-še-zib iddin son of Mušēzib.
18. 2 GIN₂ KU₃.GI *a-na* ^{md}NA₃-*mu-* (18–19) 2 šeqels of gold to Nabû-
še-tiq-UD.DA A-šú mušētiq-uddē son of Marduk-šuma-
ibni.
19. *šá* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DU₃
20. ITI DIRI ŠE.KIN.KUD U₄ 4-*kám* (20–21) 4 Addaru I, year 12 of
MU 12-*kám* ^dNA₃-IM.TUK Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
21. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

NOTES

2–3. The amount of gold in Iddin-Ištar’s initial statement ($8 \frac{13}{24}$ šeqels) does not agree with the sum total of the amounts of gold he enumerates in his subsequent statements ($9 \frac{5}{16}$ šeqels; San Nicolò 1933b, 295 n. 2). The text, however, does not indicate whether or not this discrepancy was significant in the case being pursued against Iddin-Ištar.

5–7. The term $KA_2.MEŠ$ (*bābū*), literally meaning “doors,” denotes specific items or sectors. In this case, the term expresses the requirement that Iddin-Ištar itemize the gold involved (*CAD* B, 26, s.v. *bābu* A, 6).

7. TESTIMONY ABOUT A STOLEN OX

Text: YBC 3839

Copy: Dougherty 1920 (YOS 6), No. 183

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 23.X.10 Nbn (2 February, 545 BCE)

In the presence of 8 mār banî, including the royal official in charge of the Eanna, Rīmūt testifies that Nanaya-... has not committed a crime. Rīmūt further testifies that he caught Iltammeš-kīni stealing an ox and immediately presented the offender in the Eanna.

To judge from its content, the overt purpose of Rīmūt's statement before the authorities is to acquit Nanaya-... and to name the actual criminal. The statement that "Nanaya-... has not committed a crime," implies that Nanaya-... actually is under suspicion. In addition to this, however, one must also consider the possibility that, by testifying, Rīmūt intends to clear suspicions against himself, too. This would explain why he describes the circumstances surrounding his own capture of the actual thief and, most fundamentally, why Rīmūt testifies on behalf of Nanaya-... . The Eanna authorities might suspect that Rīmūt collaborated to frame Iltammeš-kīni for the theft in order to acquit Nanaya-... . Rīmūt's statement, then, reaffirms that Nanaya-... is actually innocent and that Rīmūt acted in good faith by apprehending Iltammeš-kīni and turning him over to the Eanna.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. ^{md} NA ₃ -LUGAL-URI ₃ ^{lu₂} SAG-LUGAL ^{lu₂} EN <i>pi-qit-ti</i> E ₂ .AN.
NA | (1) Nabû-šarra-ušur, the royal official in charge of the Eanna; |
| 2. ^{md} DI.KU ₅ -ŠEŠ.ME-MU A-šú šá
^m <i>gi-mil-lu</i> A ^m <i>ši-gu-ú-a</i> | (2) Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin son of Gimillu descendant of Šigûa; |
| 3. ^m <i>na-din</i> A-šú šá ^{md} EN-ŠEŠ.
ME-BA-šá A ^m <i>e-gi-bi</i> | (3) Nādin son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša descendant of Egibi; |
| 4. ^m <i>šu-ma-a</i> A-šú šá ^{md} DU ₃ -dINNIN
A ^{lu₂} AZALAG | (4) Šumaya son of Ibni-Ištar descendant of Ašlaku; |
| 5. ^m <i>kal-ba-a</i> A-šú šá ^{md} BA-šá A
^m <i>ba-si-ia</i> | (5) Kalbaya son of Iqīša descendant of Basiya; |
| 6. ^{md} <i>na-na-a</i> -MU A-šú šá ^{md} NA ₃ -
DU ₃ -ŠEŠ A ^m <i>e₂-kur-za-kir</i> | (6) Nanaya-iddin son of Nabû-bāni-aḥi descendant of Ekur-zakir; |
| 7. ^{md} DU ₃ -d15 A-šú šá ^{md} NA ₃ -ŠEŠ.
ME -GI | (7) Ibni-Ištar son of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim; |

8. ^mba-la-^{tu} A-šú šá ^mmu-še-zib-^dEN (8) Balātu son of Mušēzib-Bēl;
9. ^{lu}₂DUMU DU₃.MEŠ šá ina (9–11) The *mār banī* before whom
pa-ni-šú-nu ^mri-mut Rīmūt son of Innin-šuma-ušur
descendant of Hunzû said thus:
10. A-šú šá ^{md}in-nin-MU-URI₃ A
^mhu-un-zu-ú
11. iq-bu-ú um-ma ^{md}na-na-a-[X] (11–13) “Nanaya-... son of Nabû-
zēru-līšir has not committed a crime.”
12. A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-GIŠ
sa-áš-ta-a
13. ul i-pu-uš ^mil-tam-meš-ki-i-ni (13–17) “I continually report that
when Iltammeš-kīni of the Piqudu
14. ^{lu}₂pi-qu-da-a-a sa-áš-ta-a šá GU₄
ki-i (tribe), stole the ox, as soon as I caught
15. i-pu-uš ŠU.2 ši-bit-ti ina ŠU.2-šú him red handed, I brought him (before
you).”
16. ki-i aš-ba-ta
17. ki-i a-bu-ku at-ta-na-aq-bi
18. ^{lu}₂UMBISAG ^{md}a-nu-ŠEŠ-MU (18–19) Scribe: Anu-aḥa-iddin son of
A-šú šá ^{md}30-DU₃ Sîn-ibni descendant of Rē’i-alpi.
19. A ^{lu}₂SIPA GU₄ UNUG^{ki} ITI AB (19–20) Uruk. 23 Tebētu year 10 of
U₄ 23-kám Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
20. MU 10-kám ^dNA₃-IM.TUK
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

NOTES

14. The Piquḍu/Puqūdu were a tribe of Arameans who lived on the edges of the Eanna’s territorial holdings (Jursa 2010, 100–103).

17. According to *CAD* Q, 31–32, the form *at-ta-na-aq-bi* (an Ntn form) is actually a miswritten Gtn form (the correct form should be *aqtanabbi*), with the meaning “I testify.” The translation above accepts the interpretation of the verb as a Gtn form, but retains the iterative meaning of the Gtn. Accordingly, Rīmūt has had to make a number of reports; the case against him or Nanaya-... is, apparently, a prolonged affair.

8. EXAMINATION OF A TABLET AS EVIDENCE

Text: NBC 11487

Copy: Beaulieu 2000c (YOS 19), No. 92

Translation/Discussion: Beaulieu 2000c, 37–39; Dandamaev 2006, 386

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 22.X.13 Nbn (30 January, 542 BCE)

In the presence of eight mār banî, and before the governor of Uruk and the šatammu of the Eanna, Balātu reads a deed pertaining to a field adjacent to the property of the Lady of Uruk. The tablet refers to Assurbanipal's twentieth year.

The indication that the field in question is adjacent to the property of the Lady of Uruk suggests that there is some ownership dispute between Balātu and the Eanna authorities (Beaulieu 2000c, 38). In order to support his claim, Balātu presents the “mother-of-the-field tablet” (*tuppi ummi eqli*), which was the previous record that proves ownership (Beaulieu 2000c, 39; Charpin 2010, 67–68). Several land-related documents (e.g., Strassmaier 1890b, No. 337 and Wunsch 2000a, No. 134) indicate that the “mother-of-the-field” was transferred with the ownership of the property, as proof that the vendor of the field held legitimate title. The present document indicates that this kind of record would have been kept for a long time. The tablet that is read refers to the reign of the Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal, when Uruk was still governed as part of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Assurbanipal's twentieth year corresponds to 649 BCE, more than one hundred years before the composition of the present document.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. ^{md} AMAR.UTU-MU-MU A-šú šá ^{md} NA ₃ -ŠEŠ.MEŠ-TIN A ^{mba-} la-tu | (1) Marduk-šuma-iddin son of Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ descendant of Balātu; |
| 2. ^m IR ₃ - ^d AMAR.UTU A-šú šá ^m NUMUN-ia A ^{me-gi-bi} | (2) Arad-Marduk son of Zēriya descendant of Egibi; |
| 3. ^m ap-la-a A-šú šá ^{md} gu-la-
NUMUN-DU ₃ A ^{lu₂} ISIN ^{ki} | (3) Aplaya son of Gula-zēra-ibni descendant of Isinaya; |
| 4. ^m IR ₃ - ^d in-nin A-šú šá ^{md} EN-MU
A ^{mku-ri-i} | (4) Arad-Innin son of Bēl-iddin descendant of Kurī; |
| 5. ^{md} NA ₃ -NUMUN-GIŠ A-šú šá ^m EN-šú-nu A ^{mku-ri-i} | (5) Nabû-zēru-līšir son of Bēlšunu descendant of Kurī; |
| 6. ^m ina-E ₂ .SAG.IL ₂ -NUMUN A-šú šá ^m šá-pi-i- ^d EN A LU ₂ - ^d IDIM | (6) Ina-Esagil-zēri son of Ša-pî-Bēl descendant of Amēl-Ea; |

7. ^{md}EN-*ka-^ršir*¹ A-šú šá ^mmar-duk (7) Bēl-kāšir son of Marduk descendant of Kidin-Marduk;
A ^mki-din-^dAMAR.UTU
8. ^{md}EN-*ib-ni* A-šú šá ^mbul-lu-*tu* A (8) Bēl-ibni son of Bullu^{tu} descendant of Bā'iru;
^{lu}₂ŠU.KU₆
9. ^{lu}₂DUMU *ba-ni-i* šá *ina* DU-zu- (9–16) The *mār banī* in whose
šú-nu ^mba-la-*tu* A-šú presence, Balātu son of Zākir descendant of Kidin-Marduk read, in
the assembly, before Nādinu, the
governor of Uruk, son of Balātu, and
Kurbanni-Marduk, the *šatammu* of the
Eanna, son of Zēriya descendant of
Sīn-damāqu, the “mother-of-the-field”
tablet pertaining to the arable field in
the town of Bīt-Šammu-il, adjacent to
(the property of) the Lady of Uruk.
10. šá ^mza-kir A ^mki-din-^dAMAR. (16–17) In (it) was written thus: “Year
20 of Assurbanipal.”
UTU IM.DUB-šú AMA A.ŠA₃
11. šá ŠE.NUMUN šá *i-na* URU (18–19) Uruk. 22 Tebētu, year 13 of
Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
E₂-^mšá-am-mu-DINGIR
12. šá UŠ.SA.DU ^dGAŠAN šá
UNUG^{ki} *ina pa-ni*
13. ^mna-di-nu ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ
UNUG^{ki} A-šú šá ^mba-la-*tu*
14. ù ^mkur-ban-ni-^dAMAR.UTU
^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM E₂.AN.NA
15. A-šú šá ^mNUMUN-*ia* A ^{md}30-
da-ma-qa
16. *i-na* UKKIN *iš-ta-as-su-ú i-na*
lib-bi ša^r-ru
17. *um-ma* MU 20-*kám* ^mAN.ŠAR₂-
DU₃-IBILA
18. UNUG^{ki} ITI AB U₄ 22-*kám* MU (18–19) Uruk. 22 Tebētu, year 13 of
Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
13-*kám* ^dNA₃-IM.TUK
19. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

9. A CONDITIONAL VERDICT

Text: CBS 5330

Copy: Hilprecht and Clay 1898 (BE 9), No. 24

Translation/Discussion: Cardascia 1951, 184; Wells 2004, 117, 125

Place of Composition: Nippur

Date: 8.I.31 Artaxerxes I (20 April, 434 BCE)

Enlil-šuma-iddin accuses Aqubu of having taken 300 black and white sheep from his flock. Aqubu denies the charge, claiming that he only took 110 sheep, apparently legitimately. If Aqubu is caught in possession of any more than 110 sheep, he must pay Enlil-šuma-iddin 300 sheep.

The accuser quoted in the present document, Enlil-šuma-iddin, was the best-known holder of the Murašû-family archive. He apparently assumed leadership of the business after the death of his brother, who had inherited the family's holdings from their father, Murašû (Stolper 1976). Most of the documents from the Murašû archives show the family as agricultural managers and entrepreneurs who functioned as intermediaries between cultivators and landlords. Typically, people who owed monetary or service obligations because of land they possessed would turn to the Murašû family for credit to cover these duties. The “firm” would earn profit by managing these mortgaged properties (Jursa 2006, 113–14).

Extending credit required the Murašû family to have a source of silver, probably from trade of agricultural goods. The archives, however, only rarely attest to this side of the Murašû's activities (Jursa 2006, 114; van Driel 1989, 225). The present document provides one such rare glimpse. It apparently shows that, in addition to more widely attested activities, Enlil-šuma-iddin was also involved in animal husbandry.

The present document is an example of what has been called a “conditional verdict” (Wells 2004, 108–11; also see text 10 below). It reflects a quasi-final stage in the proceedings, when the case has apparently had a hearing and both sides have made arguments. When the document is issued, however, there is not sufficient evidence available to convict Aqubu. Nevertheless, Enlil-šuma-iddin's accusation has created enough of a suspicion to place Aqubu on notice and to maintain a record against him. Should additional evidence become available—from another “witness or informer”—Aqubu will be penalized, apparently without any additional process.

It is interesting to note that, according to the document, Aqubu will not have to pay more than the three hundred sheep mentioned in Enlil-šuma-iddin's accusation. In Neo-Babylonian legal texts, theft typically bears an actual pen-

alty, either twofold in private cases, or thirtyfold in cases pertaining to temple property. One would expect the present document to stipulate a similar payment. Why the hypothetical payment is different here remains an open question.

1. ^{md}EN.LIL₂-MU-MU DUMU *šá* (1–2) Enlil-šuma-iddin son of Murašû
^m*mu-ra-šu-ú šá a-na* ^m*a-qu-bu* who said thus to Aqubu son of Zabdiya:
2. A-*šá* ^m*za-ab-di-ia iq-bu-ú um-ma* (2–3) “You led away 300 white and
3 ME *še-e-nu* black sheep!”
3. BABBAR-ti u *šal-in-du ta-ta-bak* (3–4) Afterwards, Aqubu said thus:
ár-ku ^m*a-qu-bu*
4. *iq-bu-ú um-ma še-e-nu e-lat* (4–5) “I did not lead away more than
5. 1 ME 10-ta ul *a-bu-uk U₄-mu* 110 sheep!”
6. *ina ŠU.2 ši-bit-ti lu-ú ba-ti-qu* (5–10) On the day he is later caught
lu-ú mu-kin-nu with more than these 110 sheep, by
7. *ár-ki-šú e-lat še-e-nu-a’* 1 ME possession of the stolen goods, or (by)
10-ta an informer or a witness, Aqubu shall
8. *it-tak-šá-du* 3 ME *še-e-nu* pay 300 sheep to Enlil-šuma-iddin.
9. ^m*a-qu-bu a-na* ^{md}EN.LIL₂-MU-
MU
10. *i-nam-din*
11. ^{lu₂}*mu-du* ^{mu₂}*bar A šá* ^{md}*bu-ne-* (11) Witnesses: Ubar son of Bunene-
ne-DU₃ *ibni*;
12. ^{md}MAŠ-na-din-MU A *šá* ^{mu}*ú-bal-* (12) Ninurta-nādin-šumi son of
liṭ-su-^dAMAR.UTU Uballissu-Marduk;
13. ^m*ri-bat A šá* ^m*ni-qu-du* ^{md}EN-na- (13) Ribat son of Niqudu;
šir A šá
14. ^{md}EN-*ú-še-zib* (13–14) Bēl-nāšir son of Bēl-ušēzib;
15. ^{md}ENŠADA-MU ^{lu₂}UMBISAG (15) Nusku-iddin, the scribe, son of
DUMU *šá* ^mIR₃-^dME.ME Arad-Gula.
EN.LIL₂^{ki}
16. ITI BAR₂ U₄ 8-*kám* MU 31-*kám* (15–17) Nippur. 8 Nisannu, year 31
17. ^m*ar-taḥ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR. of Artaxerxes, king of the lands.
KUR
- Lower edge: *šu-pur ša* ^m*a-qu-bu* Fingernail of Aqubu

NOTES

The label on the lower edge of the document marks Aqubu's fingernail, which was impressed into the clay tablet, instead of a seal. Aqubu's mark indicates his acceptance of the document's terms, which include, potentially at least, a payment to Enlil-šuma-iddin.

10. ANOTHER CONDITIONAL VERDICT

Text: NBC 4515

Copy: Beaulieu 2000c (YOS 19), No. 98

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 26.II.8 Nbn (6 June, 548 BCE)

If a witness or informer testifies that Nuptaya has received silver, gold, or stone from Nabû-tāriš, then she must repay the Lady of Uruk.

In the Eanna's efforts to protect its property, women were not above suspicion. Nuptaya has already had to account for 1 1/8 šeqels of silver; she has declared that Nabû-tāriš gave this amount to a man named Rīmūtu. The Eanna authorities apparently accept this statement, but suspect that Nuptaya might have received more from Nabû-tāriš. The present document indicates that the authorities suspect that Nabû-tāriš handed off misappropriated goods to Nuptaya. Should additional evidence confirm the suspicions against Nuptaya, she will be liable for the goods.

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|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>ina u₄-mu</i> ^{lu₂}<i>mu-kin-nu lu-ú ba-ti-iq</i> 2. <i>it-tal-kám-ma</i> ^f<i>nu-up-ta-a</i>
DUMU.SAL-su 3. <i>ša</i> ^{md}30-DU₃ <i>uk-tin-nu lu-ú</i> KU₃.
BABBAR 4. <i>lu-ú</i> KU₃.GI <i>lu-ú</i> NA₄ ^{md}NA₃-
LAL 5. A-šú <i>ša</i> ^{md}NA₃-EN-MU.MEŠ
<i>id-da-áš-šú</i> 6. <i>e-lat</i> 1 GIN₂ <i>bit-qa</i> KU₃.
BABBAR <i>ša</i> ^f<i>nu-up-ta</i> 7. <i>taq-bu-ú um-ma a-na</i> ^m<i>ri-mu-tú?</i> 8. <i>id-dan-nu mim-ma id-da-áš-šú</i> 9. <i>ta-bal</i> <i>ša</i> ^dGAŠAN <i>ša</i> UNUG^{ki} 10. [<i>ta</i>]-at-ta-pal 11. ^{lu₂}<i>mu-kin-nu</i> ^m<i>gi-mil-lu</i> A-šú <i>ša</i>
^mNA₃-MU-MU | <p>(1–8) On the day that a witness or an informer comes and testifies against Nuptaya daughter of Sîn-ibni (that) Nabû-tāriš son of Nabû-bēl-šumāti gave her silver, gold, or stone in addition to the 1 1/8 šeqels of silver about which Nuptaya said thus: “He gave them to Rīmūtu”—</p> <p>(8–10) Whatever he gave her she shall bring; [she] shall repay what belongs to the Lady of Uruk.</p> <p>(11–12) Witnesses: Gimillu son of Nabû-šuma-iddin descendant of Ea-ilūta-bāni;</p> |
|--|--|

12. A ^{md}IDIM-^rDINGIR¹-*tú*-DU₃ (12–13) Bēl-aḥḥē-erība son of Nabû-
^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-^rSU¹ bēlšunu descendant of Kurī;
13. A-šú šá ^m^dNA₃¹-EN-šú-*nu* A
^m*kur-i*
14. ^mNA₃-SUR-ZI.MEŠ A-šú šá (14–15) Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti son of Bēl-
^{md}EN-BA-šá iqīša descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur.
15. A ^{md}EN-A-URI₃ ^{lu₂}UMBISAG (15–16) Scribe: Mušēzib-Marduk son
^mKAR-^dAMAR.UTU of Bēl-uballiṭ descendant of Amēl-Ea.
16. A-šú šá ^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* A ^mLU₂-
^dIDIM
17. UNUG^{ki} ITI GU₄ U₄ 26-*kám* (17–18) Uruk. 26 Ayaru, year 8 of
 Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
18. MU 8-*kám* ^{md}NA₃-I LUGAL E^{ki}

11. PRELUDE TO A TRIAL FOR MANSLAUGHTER

Text: BM 46660 (81-8-30, 126)

Copy: Wunsch 2002a, 356–57

Translation/Discussion: Wunsch 2002a

Marduk-šarranu has accused Kīnaya of striking his son. They are summoned to argue their case. Two siblings, a brother and a sister, guarantee that Kīnaya will appear. If he escapes, then the two must pay Marduk-šarranu.

The designation of the guarantors' obligation to "pay compensation for the life of the victim" (*napšāti šullumu*, literally "to repay the life"), indicates beyond much doubt that a death has occurred. Thus, the present text is a rare example of a "criminal" case from what appears to be a private archival context. However, because the document cannot be situated within a known archive, the circumstances behind this case remain obscure.

According to the document, the *mār banī* will hear the parties' arguments. It is likely, then, that this group of adjudicators has already been involved in this case in some way, perhaps in establishing the presumption against Kīnaya and the imposition of the penalty upon him should he escape. It is also possible, however, that the victim's family and Kīnaya reached an agreement on their own, with the present document as a result.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1'. [u^mki-na-a DUMU-šú šá^mBA]-šá
a-na</p> <p>2'. ^rlu₂DUMU¹ [DU₃ x x x] it-ti a-ḫa-
meš</p> <p>3'. il-la-ku-ú-ma di-i-nu [šá]</p> <p>4'. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-LUGAL-a-nu a-na
^mki-na-[a]</p> <p>5'. iq-bu-ú um-mu DUMU-u-^ra¹</p> <p>6'. ta-an-da-ḫa-aš ina IGI ^{lu}₂[...]</p> <p>7'. i-dab-bu-ub ^{md}NA₃-[NUMUN-
MU]</p> <p>8'. A-šú šá ^mŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-ia u [^fiš-
sur-X]</p> <p>9'. NIN-šú pu-ut ^m[ki-na-a]</p> | <p>(1'–3') [... and Kīnaya son of
Iq]īšaya will go to the <i>mār</i> [<i>banī</i>]
together</p> <p>(3'–7') They (!) /He will argue the
case [in which] Marduk-šarranu
said thus to Kīnaya "You struck my
son!" before the ...</p> <p>(7'–10') Nabû-zēra-iddin son of
Aḫḫūšaya and [Išsur-X], his sister,
assume responsibility for [Kīnaya]
son of Iqīšaya.</p> |
|---|---|

- 10'. A-šú šá ^mBA-šá-a na-[šú-u ki-i] (10'–14') If Kīnaya escapes, Nabû-zēra-iddin and Iššur-[X] will pay compensation for the life of the son of Marduk-šarranu.
- 11'. ^mki-na-a iḫ-te-[li-qu]
- 12'. ZI.MEŠ šá DUMU-šú sa₂
md[AMAR.UTU-LUGAL-a-nu]
- 13'. ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-MU u ^fiṣ-^fšur¹-[
- 14'. ú-šal-lim-mu ^{lu}2mu-kīn-nu ^m[PN (14'–15') Witnesses: PN son of Ibnaya descendant of Rāb-banê;
- 15'. A-šú šá ^mDU₃-a A ^{lu}2GAL-DU₃ (15'–16') Rašil-[X] son of Bēl-ušallim descendant of Eppeš-ili;
^mra-šil-[
- 16'. ^fA-šú šá ^m1dEN-GI A ^mDU₃-eš-DINGIR
- 17'. [...] -ti-iq A ^mir-a-nu (17') [PN son of PN] descendant of Ir'anni;
- 18'. [...]u-un-šú-tu[r]
- 1' —NIGIN-ir
- 2' —si-ia

NOTES

5'–6'. The Akkadian verb *maḥāṣu*, translated here “to strike,” can also mean “to murder.” Thus, although Kīnaya's status as the defendant is clear, the precise relationship between his action and the death of Marduk-šarranu's son is not specified. It is quite likely that the death occurred accidentally, in a situation in which striking or hitting was considered permissible, perhaps as part of the victim's training (Wunsch 2002a, 359–60).

12. REQUIREMENT TO PRESENT WITNESSES

Text: BM 31162 (76-11-17, 889)

Copy: Strassmaier 1889b (Nbk), No. 366

Translation/Discussion: Kohler and Peiser 1890–1898, 1:12–13; Koschaker 1966, 46–47; Wells 2004, 176–78; Holtz 2010

Place of Composition: Opis

Date: 23.VIII.40 Nbk (5 November, 565 BCE)

Gudaya, the guarantor of a grain loan to Katimu', must present witnesses to establish that he presented Katimu' to Bau-ēreš. If Gudaya successfully establishes his claim, then Gudaya is clear. If Gudaya does not establish his claim, then Gudaya must repay the barley and the interest to Bau-ēreš.

A dispute over the repayment of a loan stands behind the present document. Katimu' borrowed barley from Bau-ēreš. At the time of the loan, Gudaya had guaranteed that Katimu' would be present and available to repay the loan to Bau-ēreš, the creditor. Bau-ēreš has not been repaid, and has turned to Gudaya, the guarantor, with the claim that Katimu' never repaid the debt. For his part, Gudaya claims that he has, in fact, “presented” the debtor, that is, made him available so that the creditor can collect payment. Gudaya, however, has not yet substantiated his claim to the satisfaction of Bau-ēreš and whatever (unnamed) authorities have been involved in the proceedings. In order to avoid repaying Katimu's debt, Gudaya must now substantiate his claim by presenting witnesses or other supporting evidence.

Apart from its value as a legal text, the present document is also important because it is one of a group written in Opis by Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin of the Egibi family (van Driel 1985–1986, 55). These texts reflect the legal early career of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, who, a few years later, would become one of the “royal judges” in Babylon.

1. *a-di* U₄ 1-*kám šá* ITI GAN ^mgu-*da-a* (1–9) By 1 Kislīmu, Gudaya son of Ħinni-ilī shall bring two *mār banī* (as)
2. A-šú *šá* ^mhi-in-ni-DINGIR.MEŠ his witnesses to Opis and establish,
2 ^{lu}₂DUMU-DU₃.MEŠ against Bau-ēreš son of Nabû-bāni-
3. ^{lu}₂mu-kin-ne-e-šú a-na ^{uru}ú-pi-ia aḫi, that, at the time (of the termination
ib-ba-kám-ma of the loan), Gudaya brought Katimu’
4. a-na ^{md}KA₂-KAM₂ A-šú *šá* son of Ḫagūru—for whose presence
^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ he (Gudaya) assumed guarantee to
5. ú-kan-ni *šá* ^mka-ti-mu-’ A-šú *šá* Bau-ēreš—to him (Bau-ēreš) and
6. ^mha-gu-ru *šá* pu-ut še-pi-šú ina handed (Katimu’) over to Bau-ēreš.
ŠU.2
7. ^{md}KA₂-KAM₂ iš-šu-ú ina a-dan-
ni-šú
8. ^mg[u-d]a-a i-bu-ka-šim-[†]ma[†]
9. [†]a-na ^{md}KA₂-KAM₂ id-di-nu
10. ki-i uk-tin-nu-uš za-ki (10) If he (Gudaya) establishes (the
case) against him (Bau-ēreš), he
(Gudaya) is clear.
11. ki-i la uk-tin-nu-uš a-ki-i ú-íl-tim (11–12) If he (Gudaya) does not
12. ŠE.BAR u HAR.RA-šú a-na establish (the case) against him (Bau-
^{md}KA₂-KAM₂ it-ta-din ēreš), then he (Gudaya) shall pay Bau-
ēreš barley and its interest according
to the debt-note.
13. ^{lu}₂mu-kin-nu ^msi-lim-^dEN A-šú *šá* (13–14) Witnesses: Silim-Bēl son of
Balāṭu;
14. ^mba-la-tu ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU (14–15) Iddin-Marduk son of Nabû-
A-šú *šá* ittiya;
15. ^{md}NA₃-KI-ia u ^{lu}₂UMBISAG (15–16) and the scribe: Nabû-aḫḫē-
^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU iddin son of Šulaya descendant of
Egibi.
16. A-šú *šá* ^mšu-la-a A ^{me}gi-bi ^{uru}ú-
pi-ia
17. ITI APIN U₄ 23-*kám* MU 40-*kám* (16–18) Opis. 23 Araḫšamna, year 40
of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.
18. ^dNA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃ LUGAL
TIN.TIR^{ki}

NOTES

Reading of this document is based on the collations of Cornelia Wunsch.

7. *ina a-dan-ni-šú-*. For the nuance of this noun in the present context see *CAD A₁*, 99, s.v. *adannu* d.

13. AN OATH TO ARGUE A CASE

Text: BM 32881 (77-11-14, 10)

Copy: Strassmaier 1892 (Dar), No. 189

Translation/Discussion: Kohler and Peiser 1890–1898, 3:52; Joannès 2002d

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 8.XII.5 Dar (26 February, 516 BCE)

Libluṭ swears that within four months he will come before Marduk-nāšir-apli and argue his case. If Libluṭ does not appear, then Libluṭ will have to provide a bed for Marduk-nāšir-apli, and Marduk-nāšir-apli will have to pay a specific amount.

The formulation of the oath and of the entire text, in general, provide important additional information on the history of this case, specifically regarding Libluṭ's obligation to Marduk-nāšir-apli. Marduk-nāšir-apli commissioned Libluṭ's father, Nabû-mīta-uballit, to build him a bed, and the commission was recorded in a note that would have been held by Marduk-nāšir-apli. Between that time and the time of the present document's composition, Nabû-mīta-uballit has apparently died, and Libluṭ has come into possession of the note. Under normal circumstances, as the heir of the obligated party, Libluṭ would only come into possession of the debt-note once the obligation was met. Thus, Libluṭ probably relies on the note to prove that his father's obligation was fulfilled, and to justify his claim that he owes nothing to Marduk-nāšir-apli.

Marduk-nāšir-apli, for his part, has a substantiated claim that Libluṭ is indeed still obligated to construct the bed. One assumes that Marduk-nāšir-apli's pursuit of the case against Libluṭ stems from a belief that a bed of the same quality can still be obtained, even though Nabû-mīta-uballit, the originally commissioned craftsman, is no longer available to build it. Marduk-nāšir-apli may know that Libluṭ was himself a craftsman of comparable skill. Alternatively, Libluṭ's father may have already built the bed, but Marduk-nāšir-apli may have not yet received it. Under either set of circumstances, it seems that Libluṭ has been withholding delivery of the bed (either his own work or that of his father), perhaps in order to obtain a higher price.

1. ^mlib¹-luṭ¹ A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-BE-TIN-iṭ A ^mSIG₁₅-^dIM
 2. i-na ^dEN ^dNA₃ u ^{mda}a-ri-ia-mu-uš
 3. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR a-na ^{md}AMAR.UTU-na-šir-IBILA
 4. A-šú šá ^mKI-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN A ^{me}gi-bi it-te-me
 5. ki-i a-di U₄ 10-kám šá ITI ŠU a-na pa-ni-ku
 6. ^rat¹-tal-kám-ma ú-il₃-tim šá ^{giš}NA₂
 7. šá ^{giš}me-suk₃-kan-nu šá ina muḥ-ḫi ^{md}NA₃-BE-TIN-iṭ
 8. AD-ia šá ina za-ku-tu₄ am-ḫu-ru-ma
 9. ina muḥ-ḫi-ia tu-šá-az-za-zu ki-i
 10. a-di U₄ 10-kám šá ITI ŠU ^mlib-luṭ
 11. la it-tal-kám-ma a-na muḥ-ḫi
 12. ú-il-tim šá ina za-ku-tu₄ iš-šu-ú
 13. it-ti ^{md}AMAR.UTU-na-šir-ap-lu
 14. la id-dab-bu-<ub> 1-et ^{giš}NA₂ šá ^{giš}me-sùk-kan-nu
 15. šá di-im-gu-ur u ^{giš}ti-it-tu₄
 16. ^mlib-luṭ a-na ^{md}AMAR.UTU-na-šir-IBILA
 17. i-nam-din-ma 13 <GIN₂> KU₃. BABBAR ^{md}AMAR.UTU-na-šir-IBILA
- (1–4) Libluṭ son of Nabû-mīta-uballiṭ descendant of Mudammīq-Adad swore by Bēl, Nabû and Darius, king of Babylon, king of the lands, to Marduk-nāšir-apli son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu descendant of Egibi:
- (5–9) “By 10 Dûzu I shall come before you (regarding) the debt-note for the bed made of *mesukkannu* wood, owed by Nabû-mīta-uballiṭ, my father, which I received as cleared of obligation but (about) which your claim that I (still) owe it has been confirmed.”
- (9–18) If Libluṭ does not come by 10 Dûzu, and does not argue (his case) against Marduk-nāšir-apli regarding the debt-note which he has without obligation, Libluṭ shall give Marduk-nāšir-apli a bed of *mesukkannu* wood, with *dimgur* and fig (ornamentation) and Marduk-nāšir-apli shall pay Libluṭ 13 šeqels of silver.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 18. <i>a-na</i> ^m lib-luṭ <i>i-nam-din</i> ^{lu} ₂ mu-kin-nu ^m ri-mut- ^d EN | (18–19) Witnesses: Rīmūt-Bēl son of Ardiya descendant of Itinnu; |
| 19. A-šú šá ^m IR ₃ -ia A ^{lu} ₂ ŠIDIM ^m NUMUN-ia A-šú šá ^{md} NA ₃ -DU ₃ -ŠEŠ | (19–20) Zēriya son of Nabû-bāni-aḥi descendant of Arad-Ea; |
| 20. A ^m IR ₃ - ^d BE ^{md} EN-SUR < A-šú šá > ^m DA- ^d AMAR.UTU A ^m da-bi-bi | (20) Bēl-ēṭir son of Ile''i-Marduk descendant of Dābibī; |
| 21. ^{lu} ₂ UMBISAG ^{md} NA ₃ -MU A-šú šá ^{md} NA ₃ -ga-mil | (21–22) Scribe: Nabû-iddin son of Nabû-gāmil descendant of Suḥaya. |
| 22. A ^{msu} -ḥa-a-a TIN.TIR ^{ki} ITI ŠE U ₄ 8-kām | (22–24) Babylon. 8 Addaru, year 5 of Darius, king of Babylon, king of the lands. |
| 23. MU 5-kām ^m da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL E ^{ki} | |
| 24. LUGAL KUR.KUR | |

NOTES

4. Marduk-nāšir-apli's father, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, is well-attested in the Egibi archive.

8. The phrase *ina zakātu* in this context apparently indicates that the tablet was received “in the clear,” that is, on the assumption that the debt has been fulfilled. For the various translations see Kohler and Peiser 1890–1898, 3:52, *AHw*, 1507, and *CAD Z*, 33, s.v. *zakātu* c3'. The present interpretation of the text follows Kohler and Peiser, who suggest that the term denotes that Libluṭ is in possession of the tablet because the obligation has been met.

9. In the present context, the verb *tu-šá-az-za-zu* indicates that Marduk-nāšir-apli (subject of the verb) has a formally substantiated legal claim.

14–15. The description of the bed in these lines includes three elements: *mesukannu*, *dimgur*, and *tittu* (fig). A bed with exactly the same description occurs in Baker 2004, No. 12 (pp. 96–98), as part of a dowry receipt. Based on the wording of the descriptions, the precise relationship between the three elements remains unclear. The description of the bed in line 7 as “made of *mesukkannu*-wood,” suggests that this is the main component of the bed. The other two elements apparently describe ornamentation of some kind, either pictorial designs (*CAD T*, 436, s.v. *tittu*) or additional woods incorporated into the bed.

21–22. The name of the scribe follows the drawing in Strassmaier 1892, No. 189. A scribe named Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit son of Nabû-gāmil descendant of Suḥaya is attested in Strassmaier 1892, No. 173, l. 19 (see Wunsch 2000a, 2:337).

14. A COUNTERCLAIM REGARDING MISAPPROPRIATED SHEEP

Text: YBC 4154

Copy: Dougherty 1920 (YOS 6), No. 123

Translation/Discussion: Holtz 2009, 173–74

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 5.VIII.9 Nbn (29 October, 547 BCE)

Five branded sheep were seen in the flock of Kīnaya. Zēriya testifies against Kīnaya, proving that Kīnaya stole three of the sheep. The assembly decrees that Kīnaya must repay those sheep thirtyfold. Kīnaya claims that the remaining two sheep were given to him by a shepherd. Kīnaya must present the shepherd to the administrators of the Eanna. If he does not present the shepherd, then Kīnaya must repay the Eanna thirtyfold for those two sheep, as well.

The present document illustrates the lodging of a counterclaim, a rather typical procedure in texts written at the Eanna temple in Uruk (Magdalene 2007, 69–72). Individuals who are originally the accused parties in a trial can, in an effort to clear themselves of the charges against them, name other individuals, thus becoming accusers themselves. In this case, in the wake of Zēriya's accusation, Kīnaya faces charges about two sheep (apart from the charge regarding the three sheep, for which he is found guilty). In an attempt to clear himself, Kīnaya names another shepherd as the culprit. Consequently, Kīnaya must present the man he has accused to the authorities in the Eanna.

The hearing recorded in the present document takes place “in the presence” (*ina ušuzzu*) of a panel of eight men, headed by the “deputy” (*šanû*) of Uruk. Although the names of the other men on this panel do not appear with titles, many of them are well-known as functionaries in the Eanna bureaucracy. Innin-šarra-ušur (lines 19–20) was a member of a family of cattleherders; he, his father, several of his brothers, and his nephews held the position of “herd supervisor” (*rāb būli*) (Kümmel 1979, 79). Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin (line 21) held the prominent position of “chief brewer” (*šāpir sirāšē*; see Document 21) as did his son, Šamaš-mukīn-apli, who appears among the witnesses in Document 39 (Kümmel 1979, 133, 151). Nabû-ētir-naṣṣāti (line 22) belongs to a family of prebendaries of the Eanna (Kümmel 1979, 152). Nabû-bāni-aḥi (line 25) was himself a scribe in the Eanna, as were his sons (Kümmel 1979, 132).

1. 5 UDU.MEŠ šá ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki} šá kak-kab-tu₄ še-en-du (1–3) 5 sheep belonging to the Lady of Uruk, branded with a star, which were seen in the flock of Kīnaya son of Nergal-ina-tēšē-ēṭir descendant of Dannea—
2. šá ina še-e-ni šá ^mki-na-a A-šú šá ^{md}U.GUR-ina-SUH₃-^rSUR¹
3. A ^mdan-ne-e-a am-ra-a-ma ^mNUMUN-ia A-šú (3–5) about 3 of which Zēriya, son of Balāssu, the herdsman of the Lady of Uruk said thus:
4. šá ^mTIN-su ^{lu}₂NA.KAD šá ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki} 3 ina lib-bi
5. iq-bu-ú um-ma ina sa-ár-ti ul-tu še-ni-ia (5–6) “They were led away from my flock in theft.”
6. ab-ka-a’ ina UKKIN a-na ^mki-na-a ú-kin-nu (6) In the assembly, he testified against Kīnaya.
7. 1-en 30.MEŠ še-e-ni ra-bi-ti ina UGU ^mki-na-a (7–8) They decided that Kīnaya must pay thirtyfold for the large sheep.
8. par-su ù 2-ta še-e-ni re-ḫi-it 5-ta še-e-[ni] (8–10) And (as for) the 2 sheep, the remainder of the 5 sheep branded with a star, about which Kīnaya said thus:
9. šá kak-kab-tu₄ še-en-du šá ^mki-na-a iq-bu-ú
10. um-ma ul-tu ITI ŠE MU 7-kám ^mSILA-a-a (10–11) “Since the month of Addaru, year 7, Sūqaya, the shepherd, deposited them in my flock”—
11. ^{lu}₂SIPA ina še-ni-ia ip-te-qid ^mSILA-a-a
12. ib-ba-kám-ma a-na ^{md}NA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu}₂SAG-LUGAL (11–15) He shall bring Sūqaya and hand (him) over to Nabû-šarra-ušur, the royal official in charge of the Eanna and (to) the administrators of the Eanna.
13. ^{lu}₂EN pi-qit-tú E₂.AN.NA
14. ù ^{lu}₂EN.MEŠ pi-iq-ne-e-tú šá E₂.AN.NA
15. i-nam-din ki-i ^mSILA-a-a la i-tab-kám-ma (15–17) If he does not bring Sūqaya and does not hand (him) over, he shall pay 60 sheep together with those (other) sheep, thirtyfold (for the two sheep) to the Lady of Uruk.
16. la it-tan-nu DIŠ-šu še-e-ni it-ti še-e-ni-a’
17. 1 30 a-na ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki} i-nam-din
18. i-na DU-zu šá ^mGAR-MU ^{lu}₂2-ú šá UNUG^{ki} A-šú (18–19) In the presence of Šākin-šumi the deputy of Uruk son of Ibni-Ištar descendant of Sîn-tabni;

19. *šá* ^{md}DU₃-^dINNIN A ^{md}30-*tab-ni* (19–20) Innin-šarra-ušur son of
^{md}*in-nin*-LUGAL-URI₃ Nergal-ušallim descendant of Sîn-
lēqi-unninnī;
20. A-*šú šá* ^{md}U.GUR-GI A ^{md}30-
TI-ER₂
21. ^{md}DI.KU₅-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A-*šú* (21) Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin son of
šá ^{me}*gi-mil-lu* A ^{me}*ši-gu-ú-a* Gimillu descendant of Šigûa;
22. ^{md}NA₃-SUR-ZI.MEŠ A-*šú šá* (22) Nabû-ētir-napšāti son of Arad-
^{me}IR₃-^dEN A ^{me}*e-gi-bi* Bēl descendant of Egibi;
23. ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-GAL₂-*ši* A-*šú šá* ^{me}- (23) Bēl-aḥa-šubši son of Etillu
til-lu A ^{me}E₂.KUR-*za-kir* descendant of Ekur-zakir;
24. ^{md}EN-*na-din*-IBILA A-*šú šá* (24) Bēl-nādin-apli son of Zēru-bābili
^{me}NUMUN-TIN.TIR^{ki} A ^{md}DA-
^dAMAR-UTU descendant of Ile''i-Marduk;
25. ^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ A-*šú šá* ^{md}NA₃- (25) Nabû-bāni-aḥi son of Nabû-
TIN-*su-E* A ^{md}30-TI-ER₂ balāssu-iqbi descendant of Sîn-lēqi-
unninnī;
26. ^{md}UTU-MU-DU A-*šú šá* ^{md}EN- (26) Šamaš-šuma-ukīn son of Bēl-
ŠEŠ-MU A ^{lu}₂GAL-DU₃ aḥa-iddin descendant of Rāb-banê;
27. ^{lu}₂UMBISAG ^{me}*na-din* A-*šú šá* (27) Scribe: Nādin son of Bēl-aḥḥē-
^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-BA-*šá* A ^{me}-
gi-bi iqīša descendant of Egibi.
28. UNUG^{ki} ITI APIN U₄ 5-*kám* (28–30) Uruk. 5 Araḥšamna, year 9 of
29. MU 9-*kám* ^dNA₃-IM.TUK Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
30. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

15. A SUMMONS TO BABYLON

Text: CBS 3557

Copy: Clay 1908 (BE 8/1), No. 48

Translation/Discussion: Clay 1908, 17

Place of Composition: (Nippur?)

Date: 28.VI.2 Nbn (11 October, 554 BCE)

Two brothers, Itti-Enlil-balāṭu and Bau-iqīša, have claims against each other. They are both summoned to Babylon to argue their claims. If Itti-Enlil-balāṭu fails to appear, a ruling reached earlier will apply. If Bau-iqīša does not come, Itti-Enlil-balaṭu is clear.

Documents like this one attest to a procedure in which a litigant might appeal to a higher court in Babylon (probably the court of the royal judges; compare Document 39, below). The documents themselves grant the appeals hearing and also summon the litigants to “argue their case” on a specific date (San Nicolò 1932, 339; Magdalene 2007, 64–65). The present document implies that, in the lawsuit between Bau-iqīša and Itti-Enlil-balāṭu, Itti-Enlil-balāṭu has appealed a ruling in favor of Bau-iqīša and that the appeal has been granted. The two brothers must now argue their case before the higher court in Babylon.

The present document does not provide any details about the subject of this litigation. Another document, written just two days later, fills out the picture and provides information about the case’s ultimate outcome (Clay 1908, No. 42). This later document records eviction proceedings against Itti-Enlil-balāṭu. The governor, Gula-šumu-līšir (here, lines 11–12), together with Marduk-šarra-ušur (here, lines 14–15) and Anum-šarra-ušur (line 21), the *qīpi*-official of Nippur, “brings” Bau-iqīša (and another man named Šullumu, not mentioned in the present document) before Itti-Enlil-balāṭu, and orders Itti-Enlil-balāṭu to return Bau-iqīša’s property.

Taking the two documents together, one may reconstruct the following story-line for the case. Prior to the lawsuit, Itti-Enlil-balāṭu had been holding property to which Bau-iqīša has a claim. Bau-iqīša succeeds in his initial lawsuit, but Itti-Enlil-balāṭu appeals the ruling and the present summons to Babylon is issued. In the wake of this summons, however, Itti-Enlil-balāṭu must have realized that his case against his brother’s claim is quite weak. Within two days, he is ordered to forfeit the property, which apparently indicates that he has capitulated.

1. [U₄ X-*kám šá* ITI X ^{md}KA₂-BA-*ša*] (1–5) [On X MN, Bau-iqīša and Itti]-Enlil-balātu sons (?) [of] Usātu shall come to Babylon and argue whatever claims they have against each other.
2. [ù ^mKI-^dEN.LIL₂-TIN A[?].MEŠ[?]¹-[*šá*]
3. ^mú-sa-tu₄ a-na TIN.TIR^{ki}
4. *il-la-ku-ú-ma dib-bi-šú-nu*
5. *šá i-ba-áš-šu-ú it-ti*
6. *a-ḥa-meš i-dab-bu-ub* (6–9) If Itti-Enlil-balātu does not come, their ruling is established.
7. *ki-i* ^mKI-^dEN.LIL₂-TIN
8. *la it-tal-ka* DI.KU₅-šú-nu
9. *šá-kin ki-i* ^{md}KA₂-BA-*šá* (9–11) If Bau-iqīša does not come Itti-Enlil-balātu is clear.
10. ¹la¹ *it-tal-ka*
11. ^mKI-^dEN.LIL₂-TIN *za-ka*
12. *ina DU-zu šá* ^{md}gu-la-MU-GIŠ (12–13) In the presence of Gula-šumu-līšir, the governor;
13. ^{lu}₂GU₂.EN.NA ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-DU₃ (13) Nabû-zēra-ibni;
14. ^{md}UTU-DU-ŠEŠ ^mmu-še-zib-^dNA₃ (14) Šamaš-mukīn-aḥi;
(14–15) Mušēzib-Nabû the chief of the troops;
15. ^{lu}₂GAL *ú-man-ni* ^{md}AMAR. (15–16) Marduk-šarra-ušur son of Mušēzibbu;
16. A-šú *šá* ^mmu-še-zib-bu ^{md}DU₃-a (16–17) Bāniya son of Bīt-Ea-kitti;
17. A-šú *šá* ^mE₂-^dE₂-a-kit-ti
18. *ù* ^mŠEŠ-ia A-šú *šá* ^{md}EN.LIL₂-ŠEŠ-MU (18) and Aḥiya son of Enlil-aḥa-iddin.
19. ITI¹ KIN U₄ 28-*kám* MU (19–20) 28 Ulūlu, year 2 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
¹2-*kám*¹
20. ¹^{md}NA₃-I LUGAL ITIN¹. [TIR^{ki}]
21. ¹^md-a-num LUGAL-URI₃ (21) Anum-šarra-ušur.

16. TESTIMONY AND A SUMMONS

Text: YBC 3773

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 189

Translation/Discussion: Dandamaev 1984, 425; Kozuh 2006, 121; Holtz 2009, 121–22

Place of Composition: New Canal, *šīhu*-property of the Lady of Uruk (Uruk)

Date: 7.II.6 Camb (22 May, 524 BCE)

In the assembly of the mār banî, Bau-ēreš, a shepherd for the Lady of Uruk, testifies that two slaves beat him, kidnapped him, and stole sheep from the flock in his charge. Kīnaya, master of the two slaves, must present them in Uruk by 1 Simānu (in just over three weeks) and argue his case against Bau-ēreš before the judges of the king. If Kīnaya fails to present the slaves and defend himself against Bau-ēreš's claim, then Kīnaya must repay the loss of the sheep to the Lady of Uruk.

From the point-of-view of trial procedure, the present document may be compared with Document 14, above, which also happens to pertain to misappropriated sheep. Both documents emerge in the wake of an accusation lodged before the judicial authorities in the Eanna. As a result of the accusations, both documents require the accusers to present the individuals that they have accused at a future date, when the legal proceedings will continue.

The status of the accuser in the two, however, marks an important difference between the situations in the two documents. In Document 14, it is rather clear that the accuser is also an accused individual: there, Kīnaya (different from the man with the same name in the present document) has been convicted of other thefts and will face penalties if he does not present the shepherd whom he has accused of stealing the remaining sheep. In contrast, the present document gives no indication of any suspicion against the accuser: although Bau-ēreš probably does bear some responsibility for the sheep, the text does not imply that he is lodging a counterclaim in the wake of an accusation. Instead, Bau-ēreš's accusation is probably closer to the statement of Zēriya, the herdsman who testifies against Kīnaya at the beginning of Document 14. Here, as in Document 14, the initial accusation marks the beginning of the proceedings, but here, before the proceedings can continue, the slaves' master must bring them before the authorities.

Another difference between the present document and Document 14 pertains to the penalties. In Document 14, one finds the expected thirtyfold penalty, typically imposed for misappropriation of temple property. In contrast, the present document does not impose the thirtyfold penalty, even though the sheep did belong to the temple herds. The absence of the usual penalty may stem from the

fact that Kīnaya's slaves, rather than Kīnaya himself, are the ones suspected of direct involvement in the crime. Furthermore, since the litigants are to appear before the judges of the king, or outside of the Eanna's immediate jurisdiction, the thirtyfold penalty may not have applied.

1. *mdba-ú-APIN-eš A-šú šá mdNA₃-ŠEŠ-URI lu₂SIPA* (1–4) Bau-ēreš son of Nabû-aḥa-ušur, the shepherd of the flock of the Lady of Uruk and Nanaya, who is in the hands of Arad-Bēl son of Šarrukīn, herd supervisor, said thus in the assembly of the *mār banī*:
2. *šá še-e-nu NIG₂.GA dGAŠAN UNUG^{ki} u d^{na-na-a} šá ŠU.2 mIR₃-dEN*
3. *A-šú šá mLUGAL-DU lu₂GAL bu-ul i-na UKKIN lu₂DUMU-DU₃.MEŠ*
4. *iq-bu-ú um-ma mpu-ṭi-ia u mšá-dNA₃-ta-qu-um* (4–8) “Puṭiya and Ša-Nabû-taqum, the slaves of Kīnaya son of Raḥimmu, beat me, kidnapped me, and stole sheep belonging to Ištar of Uruk, which were in my charge, from the irrigation district in the territory of Ištar of Uruk.”
5. *lu₂la-mu-ta-nu šá mki-na-a A-šú šá mra-ḥi-im-mu*
6. *iṭ-ṭe-ru-in-ni iḥ-bi-tú-ú-in-ni ù še-e-nu*
7. *NIG₂.GA dINNIN UNUG^{ki} šá i-na pa-ni-ia ul-tu ta-mir-tu₄*
8. *qaq-qar šá dINNIN UNUG^{ki} ik-ta-ta-mu-’*
9. *a-di U₄ 1-kám šá ITI SIG₄ mki-na-a A-šú* (9–14) By 1 Simānu, Kīnaya son of Raḥimmu shall bring Puṭiya and Ša-Nabû-taqum, his slaves, to Uruk, and argue (his) case against Bau-ēreš, the shepherd of the flock of Ištar of Uruk, before the judges of the king.
10. *šá mra-ḥi-im-mu mpu-ṭi-ia ù*
11. *mšá-dNA₃-ta-qu-um lu₂la-mu-ta-ni-šú*
12. *a-na UNUG^{ki} ib-ba-kám-ma di-i-ni*
13. *iṭ-ti mdKA₂-KAM₂ lu₂SIPA šá še-e-nu*
14. *šá dINNIN UNUG^{ki} ina IGI lu₂DI.KU₅.ME šá LUGAL i-dab-bu-bu*

15. *ki-i la i-tab-ku mi-ti-ti šá še-e-nu* (15–17) If he does not bring them,
šá ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki} Kīnaya shall repay to Ištar of Uruk
16. *šá ina IGI* ^{md}KA₂-KAM₂ ^{lu₂}SIPA the loss of the sheep of Ištar of Uruk
mki-na-a a-na which were in the charge of Bau-ēreš
the shepherd.
17. ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki} *iṭ-ti-ir*
18. ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu* ^{md}UTU-DU-A A-šú (18) Witnesses: Šamaš-mukīn-apli
šá ^mna-dīn A ^me-gì-bi son of Nādin descendant of Egibi;
19. ^mSUM-na-a A-šú *šá* ^{md}in-nin- (19) Iddinaya son of Innin-šuma-ušur
MU-URI₃ A ^{md}30-TI-ER₂ descendant of Sīn-lēqi-unninnī;
20. ^mú-bar A-šú *šá* ^mra-ḫi-im-mu (20–21) Ubar, son of Raḫimmu; Bēl-
^{md}EN-LUGAL-us-su A-šú šarrussu son of Šamaš-iddin;
21. *šá* ^{md}UTU-MU ^{md}UTU-LUGAL- (21) Šamaš-šarra-ušur son of
URI₃ A-šú *šá* ^mŠEŠ-im-me-e Aḫimme;
22. ^{md}NA₃-GI A-šú *šá* ^mki-šir-^dNA₃ (22) Nabû-ušallim son of Kišir-Nabû;
23. ^{lu₂}UMBISAG ^{md}AMAR.UTU- (23) Scribe: Marduk-nāšir son of
PAP A-šú *šá* ^{md}DI.KU₅-PAP. Madānu-aḫḫē-iddin descendant of
ME-MU A ^mši-gu-ú-[a] Šigûa.
24. ID₂ *eš-šú ši-i-ḫu šá* ^dGAŠAN *šá* (24–26) New Canal, *šihu*-property of
UNUG^{ki} ITI GU₄ U₄ 7-*kám* the Lady of Uruk. 7 Ayaru, year 6 of
Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of
the lands.
25. MU 6-*kám* ^mkám-bu-zi-ia
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
26. LUGAL KUR.KUR

17. A SUMMONS TO THE ESAGIL AT BABYLON

Text: BM 33911 (Sp 7)

Copy: Strassmaier 1889a (Nbn), No. 102

Translation/Discussion: Kohler and Peiser 1890–1898, 4:81

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 25.II.3 Nbn (31 May, 553 BCE)

Amurru-nādin-... is summoned to argue his case against Aḥat-abīšu, a female oblate, in the Esagil. If he does not, he must make restitution to the god Bēl for the oblate's service.

The present document does not specify the nature of Aḥat-abīšu's claim against Amurru-nādin-.... The penalty may indicate that Amurru-nādin-... owes service to Bēl that he has not yet rendered. If this is so, then Aḥat-abīšu's role is simply as a temple functionary; her status as an oblate is only tangential to the ultimate proceedings against Amurru-nādin-.... Alternatively, the penalty may reflect a punishment against Amurru-nādin-..., rather than a pre-existing debt to the Esagil temple. If this is the correct interpretation, then Amurru-nādin-... may have already made a questionable claim to Aḥat-abīšu's services. It is in the face of this claim that the present document is issued. Amurru-nādin-... must now defend his claim or face a penalty for unrightfully using Aḥat-abīšu. For her part, Aḥat-abīšu would be arguing to maintain her status as an oblate of Bēltiya, against Amurru-nādin-...'s claim of ownership.

According to this latter interpretation, then, Aḥat-abīšu may be a former slave who was dedicated to the temple. If so, then the present document may be connected with the Egibi family archive. One document from this archive (Strassmaier 1889a [Nbn], No. 408) records the pledge of a slave named Aḥat-abīšu together with her son, named Bariki-ilī. Aḥat-abīšu's son was ultimately owned by the Egibis, so, if the connections are drawn correctly, the present document belongs to a group of records pertaining to Bariki-ilī (including Document 21 below). All of these records would have been held by Bariki-ilī's owners, the Egibi family. In addition to this overlap between the protagonists, the connection to the Egibi archive finds further support in the names of the second witness (lines 8–9) and the scribe: each is attested in other Egibi texts from nearly the same time (Strassmaier 1889b [Nbk], Nos. 368 and 403; Strassmaier 1889a [Nbn], No. 578). The surviving records, however, make it difficult to flesh out further details beyond the intriguing connections between individuals with similar names.

1. U₄ 15-*kám šá* ITI SIG₄ ^{md}KUR. GAL-MU-[X X] (1–4) On 15 Simānu, Amurru-nādin-... son of Marduka shall come and argue [his] case against (the claim of) Aḥat-abīšu, the female oblate of Bēltiya, in the presence of the *qīpu*-officials (?) of the Esagil.
2. A-šú šá ^mmar-duk-a il-la-ak-*kám-ma di-ib-^rbi^r-[šú]*
3. it-ti ^fa-ḥat-AD-šú ^fši-iš-ka-tu₄ šá ^dGAŠAN-ia
4. ina IGI ^{lu₂}TIL.LA.MEŠ šá E₂.SAG.IL i-dab-bu-ub
5. ki-i la it-tal-ku ^{lu₂}dul-la IR₃-tú (5–6) If he does not go, he shall make restitution to Bēl for (her?) slave service.
6. a-na ^dEN i-nam-din
7. [^{lu₂}mu-kin-nu ^mPN₁] A-šú šá ^map-la-a (7–8) [Witnesses: PN₁] son of Aplaya [descendant of PN₂];
8. [A PN₂] ^mri-mut-^dEN A-šú šá ^mSUM.NA-ŠEŠ (8–9) Rīmut-Bēl son of Iddina-aḥa [descendant of B]ēl-pattanni;
9. [A ^{md}E]N-pa-at-ta-an-ni ù ^{lu₂}UMBISAG
10. ^{md}EN-MU A-šú šá ^{md}DUB-
NUMUN A ^{lu₂}man-di-di (9–10) And the scribe: Bēl-iddin son of Šāpik-zēri descendant of Mandidi.
11. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI GU₄ U₄ 25-*kám* MU 3-*kám* (11) Babylon. 25 Ayaru, year 3 of [Na]bonidus, king of Babylon.
12. [^{md}N]A₃-I LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

NOTES

1. According to a photograph (courtesy of Małgorzata Sandowicz), the tablet is broken on its right edge, where the end of the name would have been written.

4. ^{lu₂}TIL.LA.MEŠ- Apparently a scribal error based on the combination of signs ^{lu₂}TIL-(LA)-GID₂-DA, a common way of writing *qīpu*.

18. A SETTLED CASE

Text: BM 30450 (76-11-16, 177)

Copy: Strassmaier 1892 (Dar), No. 260

Translation/Discussion: Kohler and Peiser 1890–1898, 3:55; Oppenheim 1940, 26; Dandamaev 1984, 382; Joannès 2002a; Holtz 2009, 79–81

Place of Composition: Šahrīni

Date: 25.VIII.9 Dar (1 December, 513 BCE)

Karêa and his mother, Nuptaya, argue a case against Nergal-aḥa-iddin. Nergal-aḥa-iddin is in possession of several slaves to which Karêa and Nuptaya have a claim. Fearing the impending litigation, Nergal-aḥa-iddin has returned the living slaves and sworn that he will compensate Karêa and Nuptaya for one of the slaves who has died in his possession. The present document records the ultimate settling of the case: the parties swear to each other that they will not revisit the lawsuit and Karêa and Nuptaya received the required payments from Nergal-aḥa-iddin.

The outcome recorded here resembles the results of the case following the summons issued in Document 15 above. Specifically, Nergal-aḥa-iddin's action here resembles that of Itti-Enlil-balāṭu, the man who is summoned in Document 15. Both men abandon their claims in the wake of litigation; Nergal-aḥa-iddin “fears the lawsuit” and settles, and Itti-Enlil-balāṭu apparently drops his claim to the land three days after the summons. This comparison raises the question of whether, in the present case, Nergal-aḥa-iddin's “fear” is simply the result of the initial actions by his adversaries, or prompted by a formal summons to appear in court, similar to the one recorded Document 15. The latter possibility is likely, but it is also possible that the settlement came about through negotiations between the litigants. There are, in fact, other Neo-Babylonian records of just this kind of action prior to formal litigation (see Magdalene, Wells and Wunsch 2008).

Among Neo-Babylonian lawsuit records, the present document stands out because, in addition to mentioning the defendant's “fear” of the lawsuit, the text also includes notices about the mutual oaths and receipt of payment, which mark the case's settlement. Cases that actually did come to trial before adjudicatory authorities result in similar payments or transfers of property. Nevertheless, Neo-Babylonian decision records usually do not mention the litigants' actual compliance with the ruling, which would mark the practical outcome of the lawsuit.

1. *di-i-ni šá^mka-re-e-a A-šú šá^{md}EN-DA A^mŠEŠ-ú-tu* (1–4) The suit of Karêa son of Bêl-lê'i descendant of Aĥûtu and Nuptaya daughter of Nabû-balâssu-iqbi, his mother, regarding Kuzbaya and her children and Nabû-šuršu, the (dependent) members of their household, which they brought against Nergal-aĥa-iddin son of Aĥĥêa.
2. *ù^fnu-up-ta-a DUMU.SAL-su šá^{md}NA₃-TIN-su-iq-bi^fAMA¹-šú*
3. *a-na muĥ-ĥi^fku-uz-ba-a ù^f DUMU.MEŠ-šú u^{md}NA₃-šur-šú UN.MEŠ E₂-šú-nu*
4. *it-ti^{md}U.GUR-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá^mŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a ir-gu-mu-'*
5. *^{md}U.GUR-ŠEŠ-MU di-i-ni i-dar-ma it-ti^mka-re-e-a* (5–7) Nergal-aĥa-iddin feared the suit and he did not come to argue the case against Karêa and Nuptaya, his mother.
6. *u^fnu-up-ta-a AMA-šú a-na da-ba-ba di-i-ni*
7. *la il-lik^fku-uz-ba-a ù^f DUMU.MEŠ-šú ú-ter-ri-ma* (7–8) He returned Kuzbaya and her children to Karêa and Nuptaya, his mother.
8. *a-na^mka-re-e-a ù^fnu-up-ta-a AMA-šú^fid¹-din*
9. *ù 4 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR ku-um^{md}NA₃-šur-šú šá^fina E₂^{md}U.GUR-ŠEŠ-MU* (9–10) And [he paid] Karêa (and) Nuptaya, his mother, 4 mina of silver, in exchange for Nabû-šuršu, who died in the house of Nergal-aĥa-iddin.
10. *mi-ti a-na^mka-re-e-a^fnu-up-ta-a AMA-šú^fid¹-din]*
11. *^{md}U.GUR-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá^mŠEŠ.MEŠ-e-a a-mir-tu₄ it-ti^mka-[re-e-a]* (11–12) Nergal-aĥa-iddin son of Aĥĥêa, together with Ka[rêa] and Nuptaya, daughter of Nabû-balâssu-iqbi, his mother, have settled balances.
12. *ù^fnu-up-ta-a DUMU.SAL-su šá^{md}NA₃-TIN-su-E AMA-šú^fi-^fmu¹-[ru]*
13. *dib-bi šá^mka-re-e-a ù^fnu-up-ta-a AMA¹-šú^fa-na¹ muĥ-ĥi* (13–15) The case of Karêa and Nuptaya, his mother, [regarding] the slaves and the payments against [Nergal-aĥa-iddin] is settled.
14. *a-me-lut-tu₄ ù^fman-da-at-tu₄. MEŠ it-ti^m[^dU.GUR-ŠEŠ-MU]*
15. *qa-tu-ú*

16. ^{md}U.GUR-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá
 ^mŠEŠ.MEŠ-a-a ^m[ka-re-e-a] (16–20) Nergal-aḥa-iddin son of
 Aḥḥêa, [Karêa] son of Bêl-lê'i de-
17. A-šú šá ^{md}EN-DA A ^mŠEŠ-ú-tu
 ù ^fnu-up-ta-a descendant of Aḥûtu and Nuptaya, his
18. AMA-šú [ERASURE] «a-na
 muḥ-ḥi a-ḥa-meš» mother, swore to each other by Bêl,
19. ina ^dEN ^dNA₃ u a-de-e šá ^mda-ri-
 'u-šú LUGAL [^Eki u KUR.KUR] Nabû, and the oaths of Darius king [of
20. a-na a-ḥa-meš it-te-mu-ú ki-i (20–21) “We shall not reconsider
 a-na UGU [^{mim}-ma] regarding [anything] that we have
21. šá ni-pu-uš ni-te-eḥ-si man-da-
 at-tu₄.MEŠ [^{šá} UN.MEŠ] done.”
22. ^mka-re-e-a A-šú šá ^{md}EN-DA A
 ^mŠEŠ-ú-tu₄ 'ù¹ [^fnu-up-ta-a] (21–23) Karêa son of Bêl-lê'i
23. AMA-šú ina ŠU.2 ^{md}U.GUR-
 ŠEŠ-MU eṭ-[ru-' ^{lu}₂mu-kin-nu] descendant of Aḥûtu, and [Nuptaya],
- ^mBA-šá-^dAMAR.UTU A-šú šá his mother, have received the slave-
- ^{md}NA₃-EN-šú-nu wage [for the slaves] from Nergal-
 aḥa-iddin.
24. A ^{md}NA₃-bu-u-na-a-a ^m[X X X] (23–24) Witnesses: Iqīša-Marduk son
- A-šú šá ^{md}DU-A A ^msag-di-di of Nabû-bêlšunu descendant of Nabû-
25. ^mri-mut A-šú šá ^mTUK[?]-ia A (24) [PN] son of Mukīn-apli de-
- ^{lu}₂SIPA ANŠE KUR.RA ^{md}NA₃- descendant of Rê'i-sīšī; Nabû-ēṭir-
- KAR-ZI.MEŠ napšāti son of Nabû-bêlšunu;
26. A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-EN-šú-nu (26) DN-aḥa-iddin son of Bêl-
- ^{md}X-X- X-X-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá rēmanni;
- ^{md}EN-re-man-ni
27. ^{md}NA₃-bul-liṭ-su A-šú šá ^mMU-
 ^dNA₃ A ^mda-bi-bi ^mDUG₃.GA-iá (27–28) Nabû-bullīṭsu son of Iddin-
- A-šú šá ^mIR₃-ia Nabû descendant of Dābibī; Ṭābiya
28. A ^mba-si-ia ^mmu-ra-šu-ú A-šú šá (28) Murašû son of Nādin descendant
- ^mna-dīn A ^mZALAG₂-^d30 of Nūr-Sīn;
29. ^mA-a A-šú šá ^{md}EN-DA A ^me-gi-
 bi ^{md}AMAR.UTU-na-šir-IBILA (29–30) Aplaya son of Bêl-lê'i de-
30. A-šú šá ^mKI-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN descendant of Egibi; Marduk-nāšir-apli
- A ^me-gi-bi ^mmi-na-a' -im-bu-ka son of Itti-Marduk-balātu descendant
- of Egibi;
- (30–31) Mina-imbuka descendant of
- Bakiya-rimiya.

31. ¹A¹ ^m*ba-ki-ia-ri-mi-a-a* (31–32) Scribe: Nabû-apla-iddin son
^{lu}₂UMBISAG ^{md}NA₃-A-MU of Nabû-šuma-iškun descendant of
A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-MU-GAR-*un* Šangû-Nin-Eanna.
32. A ^{lu}₂SANGA-^dNIN-E₂.AN.NA (32–33) Šaḫrini. 25 Araḫšamna, year
^{uru}šá-*aḫ-ri-ni* ITI APIN U₄ 9 of Darius, king of Babylon, king of
25-*kám* the lands.
33. MU 9-*kám* ^m*da-ri-muš* LUGAL
E^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

NOTES

Reading of this document is based on the collations of Cornelia Wunsch.

3. UN.MEŠ E₂-šú-*nu*- Literally translated, these words mean “the people of their house.” In Neo-Babylonian legal records this phrase can refer to any dependent of the household. When used in reference to slaves, as here, the term may denote slaves born within the household, rather than purchased.

5. *i-dar-ma*- The verb as written is a durative form. The text’s sense, however, requires a preterite verb, which should have been written *i-dur-ma* (with /u/, rather than /a/). This kind of fluctuation in vowels is to be expected in Neo-Babylonian orthography.

9–10. The price of 4 mina of silver is on the higher end of typical prices for male slaves (see Jursa 2010, 741–43). This suggests that the price includes some penalty.

11–12. The noun *amirtu* (literally “inspection”), here refers to the accounts that are settled. See *CAD* A₂, 63–64, s.v. *amirtu* A.

18. The writing at the end of this line should be deleted. It appears on the tablet because of scribal confusion with the beginning of line 20.

21. The word *mandattu* refers to payments paid to slave owners in compensation for the work of slaves.

CHAPTER 2

COMPLETED TRIALS

19. A DISPUTE OVER THE SALE OF A SLAVE

Text: BM 41402 (81-6-25, 13)

Copy: Strassmaier 1889a (Nbn), No. 13; Wunsch 1997–98, No. 30 (p. 96; seals and legends only)

Translation/Discussion: Revillout and Revillout 1886, 387–89; Peiser 1888a, 81–86; Boissier 1890, 56–58; Peiser 1896, 206–9; Marx 1902, 53; Krecher 1970, 144; Dandamaev 1984, 189–90; Wunsch 1997–98, 96; Wells 2004, 150–51, 180–82; 2008, 240–41.

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 12.XI.0 Nbn (10 February, 555 BCE)

Bēlilitu presents a case before the judges of Nabonidus. She claims that Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin has not completed payment for the slave, Bazuzu, whom she sold to him some four years earlier, during the first year of Neriglissar. Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin presents evidence that he paid Bēlilitu, and Bēlilitu's sons confirm that she received payment. As a penalty, the judges require Bēlilitu to pay the full price of the slave, which she had claimed from Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin.

As the case unfolds, the plaintiff's claim seems unfounded: the defendant, the well-known Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin (see Documents 44–48), has his proofs of payment, and the plaintiff's own sons testify against her. Two additional documents from the Egibi archive shed light on the situation, but do not necessarily strengthen the plaintiff's claim. First, the actual contract recording the sale of the slave in question is preserved as Evetts 1892, Ngl No. 23, and is dated, as the present document states, to 3.V.1 Ngl (12 August, 559 BCE), about three and a half years before the lawsuit. Etillu, a son of Bēlilitu who is named in the present document as a witness against his mother, guarantees the title of the slave sold at the original transaction. Although the plaintiff claims that the defendant did not pay the full price of the slave at the time of the purchase, the contract itself does

not state this. A second document, preserved as Evetts 1892, Ngl No. 42 and dated to 27.VIII.2 Ngl (22 November, 558 BCE), indicates that about two years prior to the present lawsuit, Bēlilitu's son, Zēriya (another witness in the present document), raised a claim against Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, as a result of which Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin had to return two other slaves he had purchased from Bēlilitu. It is tempting to speculate that, in bringing a patently false claim to court, Bēlilitu is motivated by her son's earlier success.

1. ^f*be-li-li-tu*₄ DUMU.SAL-*su šá*
^{md}EN-*ú-še-zib A* ^{lu₂}*šá-[na-ši-šu]* (1–3) Bēlilitu, daughter of Bēl-ušēzib descendant of Ša-[nāšīšu] said thus to the judges of Nabonidus, king of Babylon:
2. *a-na* ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}NA₃-*na-'-id* LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} *taq-bi*
3. *um-ma ina* ITI NE MU 1-*kám*
^{md}U.GUR-LUGAL-URI₃
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} *mba-zu-zu* (3–5) “In the month of Abu, in the first year of Neriglissar, king of Babylon, I sold my slave, Bazuzu, to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Šulaya, descendant of Egibi for 1/2 mina 5 šeqels of silver.”
4. *qal-la-a a-na* 1/2 MA.NA 5 GIN₂
KU₃.BABBAR *a-na* ^{md}NA₃-*ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU-šú šá*
5. ^m*šu-la-a* DUMU ^m*e-gi-bi ad-din-*
ma ú-il-ti i-il-ma KU₃.BABBAR
la id-di-nu ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ *šá*
LUGAL (5) “He wrote a promissory note but did not pay the silver.”
6. *iš-mu-ma* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU
ub-lu-nim-ma ma-ḥar-šú-nu
uš-ziz-zu (5–6) The king's judges heard and brought Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin and had him stand before them.
7. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU *rik-si šá*
^f*be-li-li-tu*₄ (7–8) Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin carried in the contract which he contracted (with) Bēlilitu (indicating) that he had paid her the silver of the price of Bazuzu, and showed (the contract) to the judges.
8. *ir-ku-su-ma* KU₃.BABBAR
ŠAM₂ *mba-zu-zu i-ti-ru-uš iš-šá-*
am-ma ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.ME *ú-kal-lim*
9. *u* ^mNUMUN-*ia* ^mNA₃-MU-SI.
SA₂ *u me-til-lu* KU₃.BABBAR *šá*
^f*be-li-li-tu*₄ AMA-*šú-nu eṭ-re-tu*₄ (9–10) And Zēriya, Nabû-šumu-līšir and Etillu testified before the judges that Bēlilitu, their mother, was paid the silver.

10. *ina* IGI ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.ME *ú-kin-nu*
^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.ME *im-tal-ku-ma* 1/2
 MA.NA 5 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR
ma-la mu-qut-te-e-šú (10–11) The judges deliberated. They
 decided that Bēlilītu must pay 1/2
 mina 5 šeqels of silver, whatever she
 had claimed to be owed, and awarded
 it to Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin.
11. *ina* UGU ^f*be-li-li-tu*₄ *ip-ru-su-ma*
a-na ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU *id-*
di-nu
12. *i-na* EŠ.BAR *dī-i-ni šu-a-ta* (12) At the decision of this case:
13. ^mE₂-SAG-IL₂-šá-du-nu ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ (13) Esagil-šadūnu, the judge, de-
 DUMU ^mIR₃-dē-a descendant of Arad-Ea;
14. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-URI₃ ^{lu}₂DI. (14) Marduk-šuma-ušur, the judge,
 KU₅ DUMU ^{md}IM-šam-me-e descendant of Adad-šammê;
15. ^mmu-še-zib-^dAMAR.UTU ^{lu}₂DI. (15) Mušēzib-Marduk, the judge, de-
 KU₅ DUMU ^{md}KASKAL. descendant of Bālīḫû;
 KUR-ú
16. ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-kit-ti-SI.SA₂ (16) Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir, the judge,
^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ DUMU ^mšu-ul-ma-nu descendant of Šulmānu;
17. ^{md}EN-ú-bal-liṭ ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ DUMU (17) Bēl-uballīṭ, the judge, descendant
^{lu}₂GAL-1-lim of Rāb-līmi;
18. ^{md}U.GUR-ú-šal-lim ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ (18) Nergal-ušallim, the judge, de-
 DUMU ^mši-gu-ú-a descendant of Šigûa;
19. ^{md}U.GUR-ba-nu-nu DUB.SAR (19) Nergal-bānūnu, the scribe, de-
 DUMU ^{lu}₂GAL-DU₃ descendant of Rāb-banê.
20. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI ZIZ₂ U₄ 12-kám (20–21) Babylon. 12 Šabātu, acces-
 MU SAG-NAM.LUGAL.E sion year of Nabonidus, king of
 Babylon.
21. ^{md}NA₃-na-'-id LUGAL TIN. (20–21) Babylon.
 TIR^{ki}

NOTES

1. Reading the family name based on Evetts 1892, Ngl No. 23, as collated in Sack 1994, 161.

20. A SLAVE'S ATTEMPT AT SELF-LIBERATION

Text: BM 33084 (79-3-1, 10)

Copy: Strassmaier 1889a (Nbn), No. 1113

Translation/Discussion: Peiser 1888b, 87–89; Peiser 1896, 254–58; Kohler and Peiser 1890–98, 1:5–7; Wallis 1964; Dandamaev 1984, 220–22, 440–42; Wells 2004, 154

Place of Composition: Bīt-šar-Bābili

Date: 17.VIII.[7+] Nbn [2 December, 549 BCE, or later]

Bariki-ilī, a slave, claims before the šangû, the “great ones” and the judges of Nabonidus that he is a free man in the employment of Qudāšu and Šamaš-mudammīq. In reality, he had been given as part of a dowry and sold. The judges see the documents of his enslavement, including one stating that he had been pledged and one in which he had been given as part of a dowry, and demand to see his documents of manumission. This demand brings him to confess that there are no such documents and that he had attempted to escape his slavery. He also confesses that he had been sold to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu. The judges return him to slavery.

At the time of the lawsuit, the plaintiff, Bariki-ilī, has been sold to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, a son of Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin of the Egibi family, and has apparently attempted to escape from there, according to the slave's own confession. The decision record itself mentions events in the slave's life beginning in year 35 of Nebuchadnezzar (570/569 BCE), some twenty years before the trial takes place. Prior to his sale to his most recent master, he belonged to Gagaya, who gave him as a dowry to her daughter, Nuptaya, who gave him to her son, Zababa-iddin. Two other documents, Strassmaier 1889b, Nos. 346 and 408, afford a glimpse into the slave's earlier life as Gagaya's slave, and suggest that he has a history of escape attempts (see Dandamaev 1984, 220–22). In Strassmaier 1889b, No. 346 (dated 13.IV.39 Nbk, 11 July, 566 BCE), she, together with her husband and another kinsman, sell Bariki-ilī. About three years later, however, at the time of the composition of Strassmaier 1889b, No. 408 (14.XII.42 Nbk, 2 March 562 BCE), Bariki-ilī is back in the possession of Gagaya and her husband, who give him as a pledge in a loan, along with Aḫat-abīšu, his mother. It seems that the sale in Strassmaier 1889b, No. 346 was cancelled and the slave was returned, perhaps because he tried to get away from his new masters.

1. [^m*ba-ri-ki-DINGIR*].MEŠ IR₃
pu-tu-ru KU₃.BABBAR šá ^f*ga-*
ga-a DUMU.SAL-*su*
 2. [šá ^{md}E N-PAP] šá MU 35-*kám*
^{md}NA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃ LUGAL
TIN.TIR^{ki}
 3. [^m]ŠEŠ-*nu-ú-ri* A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-
na-din-ŠEŠ a-na 1/3 MA.NA 8
GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR
 4. [X]-*du e-nin-ni ir-gu-mu um-ma*
DUMU *ba-ni-i* DIB-*nu* šá ^{md}EN-
re-man-ni
 5. [^{lu}₂]*taš-li-šú* šá ŠU.2
^{md}UTU-SIG₅-*iq* A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-
na-din-ŠEŠ
 6. *u* ^f*qu-da-šú* DUMU.SAL-*su*
šá ^mŠEŠ-*nu-ú-ru a-na-ku i-na*
ma-ḥar
 7. ^{lu}₂SUKKAL ^{lu}₂GAL.MEŠ *ù* ^{lu}₂DI.
KU₅.MEŠ šá ^{md}NA₃-I LUGAL
TIN.TIR^{ki}
 8. *di-i-ni id-bu-bu-ma dib-bi-šú-nu*
iš-mu-ú ri-ka-su šá IR₃-*ú-tu*
 9. šá ^m*ba-ri-ki-DINGIR*.MEŠ šá
ul-tu MU 35-*kám* ^dNA₃-NIG.
DU-URI₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
 10. *a-di* MU 7-*kám* ^dNA₃-I LUGAL
E^{ki} *a-na* KU₃.BABBAR *na-ad-*
nu a-na maš-ka-nu
 11. *šak-nu a-na nu-dun-ne-e a-na*
^f*nu-up-ta-a* DUMU.SAL-*su* šá
 12. ^f*ga-ga-a na-ad-nu ár-ki* ^f*nu-up-*
ta-a tak-nu-ku-šú-ma
 13. *it-ti* GIŠ.ŠUB.BA E₂ *ù a-me-lu-*
ut-ti a-na ^{md}*za-ba₄-ba₄*-MU
 14. DUMU-šú *u* ^mSUM.NA-*a*
mu-ti-šú ta-ad-di-nu-uš iš-tas-su-
ú-ma
- (1–4) [Bariki-il]i, the silver-redeemed slave of Gagaya, daughter [of Bēl-nāšir] who, in year 35 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, was ... for 1/3 mina 8 šeqels of silver (by) Aḥu-nūri son of Nabû-nādin-aḥi, now brought suit thus:
- (4–6) “I am a free man ... of Bēl-rēmanni the third charioteer under the authority of Šamaš-mudammīq son of Nabû-nādin-aḥi and Qudāšu, daughter of Aḥu-nūri.”
- (6–8) Before the *sukkallu*, the “great ones” and the judges of Nabonidus, king of Babylon they argued (their) case.
- (8) They heard their case.
- (8–14) They read the contracts pertaining to Bariki-il’s slave status, from year 35 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, through year 7 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, (in which) he was sold for silver, pledged as a pledge, given as a dowry to Nuptaya daughter of Gagaya, (and in which) afterwards Nuptaya sealed (a tablet indicating that) she gave him, together with a share of property and slaves to Zababa-iddin, her son, and Iddinaya, her husband.

15. *a-na* ^m*ba-ri-ki*-DINGIR.MEŠ
iq-bu-ú um-ma tar-gu-mu um-ma
DUMU *ba-ni-i* (15) They said thus to Bariki-ilī:
(15–16) “You argued thus, ‘I am a
free man.’”
16. *a-na-ku* DUMU *ba-nu-tú-ka*
kil-lim-an-na-a-šú ^m*ba-ri-ki*-
DINGIR *an-ni-[tī]* (16) “Show us your (evidence of)
your free status.”
17. *i-pul um-ma* 2 ZAH₂ *ul-tu* E₂
EN-*ia ad-di-ma* U₄.MEŠ *ma-*
du-ti (16–17) Bariki-ilī answered this
(claim) thus: “I made two escapes
from the house of my master.”
18. *la an-na-mar ap-laḥ-ma aq-bi*
um-ma DUMU *ba-ni-i a-na-ku* (17–18) “I was not discovered for a
long time. I was afraid and I said thus:
‘I am a free man.’”
19. DUMU *ba-nu-ta-a la i-ši* IR₃
pu-tu-ru KU₃.BABBAR šá ^f*ga-*
ga-a a-na-ku (19) “(Evidence of) my free status
does not exist. I am a silver-redeemed
slave of Gagaya.”
20. ^f*nu-up-ta-a* DUMU.SAL-*su ta-*
ad-da-an-na-an-ni ^f*nu-up-ta-a* (20–22) “She gave me to Nuptaya,
her daughter; Nuptaya sealed (a
document) and gave me to Zababa-
21. *tak-nu-ka-an-ni ana* ^{md}*za-ba₄-*
ba₄-MU DUMU-šú *u* ^mSUM.
NA-*a DAM-šú* iddin, her son, and to Idinnaya, her
husband.”
22. *ta-ad-di-na-an-ni ár-ki mi-tu-tu*
šá ^f*ga-ga-a u* ^f*nu-up-ta-a* (22–24) “After the death of Gagaya
and Nuptaya, I have been a slave
(sold) for silver (by means of a) sealed
23. *a-na* ^mKI-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN
A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A
^m*e-gi-bi a-na* KU₃.BABBAR (document) to Itti-Marduk-balātu son
of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin descendant of
Egibi. I will go and serve my master.”
24. *ka-na-ak* IR₃ *a-na-ku al-lak-ma*
EN-*a a-[pal]-aḥ*
25. [^{lu₂}SUKKAL ^{lu₂}GAL].MEŠ *ù*
^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ *mu-kin-nu-[uṭ]-*
su iš-[mu-ma] (25) The *sukkallu*, the great ones and
the judges heard his testimony.
26. [^m*ba-ri-ki*]-DINGIR *ki-i* IR₃-
ú-tu ú-te-ru-ma ina ú-šu-uz šá
^{md}UTU-[SIG₅] (26) They returned [Bariki]-ilī to
slavery.
27. *u* ^f*qu-da-šú* DUMU.SAL-*su šá*
^mŠEŠ-*nu-ú-ri* ^{lu₂}*na-di-na nu-dun-*
ne-e (26–27) In the presence of Šamaš-
mudammīq and Qudāšu, daughter
of Aḥu-Nūri, the one who gave the
dowry.

28. [x x x] *a-na ša-ṭa-ri* [*tup-pi*] *šu-a-tim* ^{md}30-*še-zib*
^{lu₂r}SUKKAL¹ (28) At the writing of this [tablet]: Šin-
 šēzib, the *sukkallu*.
29. [^mMU-GI.NA] *u* ^{md}U.GUR-
 ŠEŠ-[URI₃] ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ (29) [Šuma-ukīn] and Nergal-aḥa-
 ušur, the judges.
30. [^mDA-^dAMAR.UTU DUB.SAR
 A] ^mDU₃-*eš*-DINGIR URU E₂
 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI APIN U₄
 17-*kām* (30–31) [Ile''i-Marduk, the scribe,
 descendant of] Eppeš-ili. Bīt-šar-
 Bābili. 17 Araḥšamna, year X of
 Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
31. [MU X]-*kām* ^dNA₃-IM.TUK
 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
- ^{na₂}KIŠIB ^{md}U.GUR-ŠEŠ-URI₃ ^{lu₂}DI. KU₅ Seal of Nergal-aḥa-ušur, the judge
- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md}MU-GI.NA ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ Seal of Šuma-ukīn, the judge
- ^{na₂}KIŠIB ^m*ki-rib-tu* ^{lu₂}*ki-zu-ú* Seal of Kiribtu, the *kizū*

NOTES

Reading of this document is based on the collations of Cornelia Wunsch.

1. The plaintiff's name, Bariki-ilī (restored here based on the remainder of the document) is apparently the Akkadian transcription of a Hebrew name like Barak'el, attested in the Bible as the name of the father of Elihu, Job's interlocutor (Job 32:2, 6). Accordingly, the slave in this document has been understood to be a Judean exile (or descendant of these exiles) in Babylon (Wallis 1964). While his name is certainly not Akkadian, that he is Judean remains a matter of pure speculation.

pu-ṭu-ru KU₃.BABBAR- The particular nuances of the verb *paṭāru* in this context remain unclear. One might suggest that Gagaya obtained Bariki-ilī by “redeeming” him from a creditor. However, see the uncertainties expressed in San Nicolò and Ungnad 1935, 141–42.

4–6. For discussion of the ranks which Bariki-ilī claims to have, see Wallis 1964, 18 and literature cited there.

30. The reading of the place of composition follows Zadok 1985, 106. The restoration of the scribe's name is based on Contenau 1927–29 (TCL 12), No. 120, l. 25. For more on the career of this scribe, see Holtz 2008. The judges and the *kizū* also appear in Contenau 1927–29 (TCL 12), No. 120, which was also written in Bīt-šar-Bābili (Wunsch 2000b, 568 n. 33).

21. A MISAPPROPRIATED TEMPLE SLAVE

Text: AO 19536

Copy: Arnaud 1973; Durand 1981, No. 60

Translation/Discussion: Arnaud 1973; Joannès 2000b, No. 166 (pp. 223–25);
Holtz 2009, 57–59

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 24.V.17 Nbn (23 August, 539 BCE)

The chief brewer of the Eanna and the scribe of the Eanna, as representatives of the temple, present their case against Nūrea for misappropriating Nanaya-ḥussini, an alleged slave of the Eanna, and her son, Tattannu. They bring Nūrea and the two alleged slaves before the judges of Nabonidus. Nūrea claims that he purchased Nanaya-ḥussinni and that she escaped from his possession and had herself branded with the mark of Nanaya to disguise herself as a temple oblate. The judges interrogate the woman, who testifies that she was dedicated to Nanaya by her previous master. The judges then call for an expert to examine the mark on the slave's hand, and he determines that she has two old marks on her hand, one for Ištar of Uruk and one for Nanaya. The judges then admonish Nūrea for not properly investigating the slave's circumstances before his purchase, effectively ending his claim. They decide that the slave belongs to the Eanna. Nūrea may seek redress from the individual who guaranteed the slave's clear title when she was purchased.

The situation in the present document makes sense in light of typical Neo-Babylonian manumission practices. During their own lifetimes, owners of slaves would free their slaves and simultaneously dedicate them as oblates to a temple. The manumitted slaves would assume oblate status, but would still reside with and serve their original owners until the owners' deaths. Then, the slaves would enter the temple's workforce (Wunsch and Magdalene in press).

One practical implication of this arrangement is that a good amount of time could elapse between the initial dedication to the temple and the slaves' actual transfer. The temple, for its part, would have to work to ensure that such slaves-turned-oblates would actually enter its service. If the temple's vigilance lapsed, an unscrupulous owner could sell the slave away to an uninformed (or equally unscrupulous) purchaser (compare Document 31 below). Similarly, an unscrupulous heir of the original master might continue to use the slave. In the present case, according to Nūrea's statement, Nanaya-ḥussini's purported escape took place during the reign of Amēl-Marduk (562–560 BCE). Since he must have purchased the slave before that time, over twenty years have passed before the

lawsuit was pursued. It probably took the Eanna authorities that long to discover the misdeed and to bring their case forward.

It is quite likely, then, that Nūrea's "oversight" was not entirely innocent. But he cannot be the only guilty party in this case; the person from whom Nūrea purchased Nanaya-ḫussini was also trying to benefit illicitly from an oblate's labor. One may explain the seller's situation and motive as follows: the seller is an heir of Nanaya-ḫussini's former master. The original owner had, indeed, dedicated Nanaya-ḫussini to the temple, but had retained rights to her labor during his lifetime, as would have been customary. The heir, unhappy with the prospect of losing all profit from Nanaya-ḫussini, sold her to Nūrea (Arnaud 1973, 155).

The description of the sale suggests an alternative interpretation. The term "to lead away for silver" (*ana kaspim abāku*), which is one of the ways to describe a sale, can, when slaves are the objects "led away," indicate that the slaves were taken in payment of a debt. Thus, Nanaya-ḫussinni's original master (or his heir) may have owed a debt to Nūrea, but did not have the means (or the desire) to repay. Nūrea, the creditor, agreed to settle the debt by accepting ownership of Nanaya-ḫussinni as payment. This arrangement would have required both creditor and debtor to ignore the Eanna's claim to Nanaya-ḫussinni's service.

Whether sale or repossession, the transfer of Nanaya-ḫussinni was certainly shady. Thus, although the present document (line 41) allows Nūrea to "argue (a case) against the guarantor" to the original sale, this notice is probably more formal than practical. The guarantor, if one existed at all, would have to have been complicit in the scheme and would be long gone. It is more likely, however, that there was no such guarantor; Nūrea has either knavishly agreed to accept Nanaya-ḫussinni or foolishly agreed to purchase her without a guarantee to her clear title.

Apart from the seller and Nūrea, Nanaya-ḫusinni herself may have been complicit in the sale. After all, the purchase took place more than twenty years before the lawsuit, so Nanaya-ḫusinni has been keeping silent for a good while. At the same time, Nanaya-ḫusinni may also have played some part in bringing her situation to the attention of the authorities. Her motive for speaking out may be so that she and her son could benefit from her status as an oblate. The temple, unlike private owners, would have allowed both the mother and her son to remain together (Wunsch and Magdalene in press). Unfortunately, both oblates end up among the "basket carriers," the lowest rank of the Eanna oblates. This may or may not reflect a punitive ruling against Nanaya-ḫusinni.

Because the dispute pertains to private ownership of an alleged temple oblate, the case is heard by the royal judges in Babylon, rather than by adjudicators from within the Eanna bureaucracy (compare Document 31 below). One imagines that the case actually did begin with an internal investigation but was referred to Babylon for a final decision. Documents 15 and 39, in which appel-

ants are summoned to Babylon to “argue their case,” reflect analogous transfers of a case to the royal courts. Although the present document does not indicate that Nūrea has appealed an original ruling, the trial here does illustrate how a case pertaining to the Eanna in Uruk could arrive before the royal judges in Babylon.

1. ^{md}DI.KU₅-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU
DUMU-šú šá ^mgi-mil-lu A ^mši-
gu-ú-a
 2. ^{lu}₂UGULA <^{lu}₂>SIRAŠ.MEŠ šá
^dINANNA UNUG^{ki} ù ^mba-la-tu
DUMU-šú
 3. šá ^{md}30-ib-ni DUB.SAR E₂.AN.
NA ^{fd}na-na-a-ḫu-us-si-in-ni
 4. GEME₂ šá kak-kab-ti rit-ta-šú
še-en-di-ti ù
 5. a-na ^dna-na-a šaṭ-ra-tu₄ u ^mta-at-
tan-nu DUMU
 6. šá ^{fd}na-na-a-ḫu-us-si-in-ni it-ti
^mZALAG₂-e-a
 7. DUMU-šú šá DUGUD-ia a-na
maḥ-ri ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ
 8. šá ^{md}NA₃-IM.TUK LUGAL TIN.
TIR^{ki} ú-bil-lu-nim-ma
 9. iq-bu-ú um-ma GEME₂ an-ni-tu₄
za-ki-tu₄
 10. šá ^dna-na-a ^mZALAG₂-e-a
ta-pal-làḥ ^mZALAG₂-e-a i-pul
 11. um-ma ^{fd}na-na-a-ḫu-us-si-in-ni
a-na KU₃.BABBAR
 12. a-ta-bak ù ina BAL-e ^mLU₂-
^dAMAR.UTU LUGAL TIN.
TIR^{ki}
 13. ul-tu E₂-ia ki-i taḥ-li-qu kak-kab-
ti
 14. rit-ta-šú tal-te-mi-it ù šá-ṭa-ri ina
UGU
- (1–9) Madānu-aḥḫē-iddin, son of Gimillu descendant of Šigūa, chief brewer of Ištar of Uruk, and Balātu, son of Sîn-ibni, scribe of Eanna, brought Nanaya-ḫussinni, a female slave whose hand was branded with a star and inscribed “(dedicated) to Nanaya,” and Tattannu, son of Nanaya-ḫussinni, with Nūrea, son of Kabtiya, before the judges of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, saying thus:
- (9–10) “This female slave, who is dedicated to Nanaya, serves Nūrea.”
- (10–11) Nūrea answered thus:
- (11–12) “I led away Nanaya-ḫussinni for silver.”
- (12–15) “And, during the reign of Amēl-Marduk, king of Babylon, when she escaped from my house, she had her hand branded with a star and had the inscription ‘(dedicated) to Nanaya’ written on her hand.”

15. *rit-ti-šú a-na^dna-na-a-a tal-ta-
tár^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ* (15–17) The judges interrogated
Nanaya-hussinni, and she said thus:
16. *^{fd}na-na-a-ḥu-us-si-in-ni i-šá-
lu-ma*
17. *taq-bi um-ma a-di la^mZALAG₂-
e-a a-na KU₃.BABBAR
ib-ba-kan-ni*
18. *^{md}DUMU-SAG.IL₂-lu-mur EN-a
maḥ-ra-a a-na* (17–19) “Before Nūrea led me away
for silver, Mār-Esagil-lūmur, my
previous master, dedicated me to
Nanaya.”
19. *^dna-na-a uz-zak-ka-an-ni^{lu₂}DI.
KU₅.MEŠ* (19–20) The judges heard their
statements.
20. *a-ma-a-ti-šú-nu iš-tim-mu-ma se-
pi-ri ú-bil-lu-nim-ma* (20–22) They brought an alphabet
scribe before them and he informed
them (regarding) Nanaya-ḥussinni’s
hand, saying thus:
21. *rit-ti šá^{fd}na-na-a-ḥu-us-si-in-ni*
22. *ú-ad-di-ma iq-bi um-ma šá-ṭa-ri
la-bi-ri*
23. *šá u₄-mu ru-qu-tu₄ a-na^dna-na-
a-a* (23–24) “Her hand is inscribed with
an old inscription, from a long time
ago: ‘(dedicated) to Nanaya.’
24. *rit-ta-šú šaṭ-ra-at*
25. *ù šá-ṭa-ru šá-na-a ina šá-pal
šá-ṭa-ri* (25–26) “And another inscription
is written under this first inscription:
‘(dedicated) to Ištar of Uruk.’”
26. *maḥ-ra-a a-na^dINANNA
UNUG^{ki} šá-ṭi-ir*
27. *^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ a-na^mZALAG₂-
e-a iq-bu-ú um-ma mi-nam-ma* (27) The judges said thus to Nūrea:
28. *GEME₂ šá a-na^dINANNA
UNUG^{ki} za-ka-a-ti kak-kab-tu₄*
29. *še-en-di-it-tu₄ ù rit-ta-šú a-na
^dINANNA UNUG^{ki}*
30. *u^dna-na-a šaṭ-ra-tu₄ a-na KU₃.
BABBAR tab-ba-ak* (27–30) “Why did you purchase for
silver a female slave dedicated to
Ištar of Uruk, branded with a star, and
whose hand is inscribed (as dedicated)
to Ištar of Uruk and Nanaya?”

31. *ù at-ta taq-bi um-ma i-na BAL-e* (31–33) “And you said thus: ‘During
^mLU₂-^dAMAR.UTU the reign of Amēl-Marduk, king of
 32. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} GEME₂ *ul-tu* Babylon, the female slave escaped
^E₂-*ia taḥ-liq-ma* from my house and marked her hand
 33. *kak-kab-tu₄ rit-ta-šú taš-mi-it mi-* (33–36) “Why did you not bring her
nam-ma before the judges back then? Why did
 34. *ina U₄-me-šú a-na maḥ-ri* ^{lu}₂DI. they not investigate her circumstances
^{KU}₅.MEŠ *ul tu-bil-šu-ma* and judge your case against the man
 35. *ár-kat-su ul ip-ru-us-ma it-ti LU₂* who inscribed her wrist?”
^{šá} *rit-ta-šú*
 36. *iš-ṭú-ru ul i-dì-in-ka e-li*
 37. ^{fd}*na-na-a-ḥu-us-si-in-ni u* ^m*ta-at-* (36–38) “You have no claim over
^{tan-nu} DUMU-šú Nanaya-ḥussinni and Tattannu her
 38. *ul ra-šá-a-ti* ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ *im-* (38) The judges deliberated.
^{tal-ku-ma}
 39. ^{fd}*na-na-a-ḥu-us-si-in-ni u* ^m*ta-at-* (39–41) They considered Nanaya-
^{tan-nu} DUMU-šú ḥussinni and Tattannu her son among
 40. *it-ti um-man-ni za-bil tup-šik-ku* the work gangs who carry the baskets
^{šá} ^E₂.AN.NA of Eanna.
 41. *im-nu-ú* ^mZALAG₂-*e-a it-ti* (41) Nūrea may argue (a case) against
<sup>ár-ki-šú šá LU₂-*ta id-di-nu-šú id-* the guarantor of (the person) who sold
^{dab-bu-ub} him the slave.
 42. *i-na ša-ṭa-ra ṭup-pi šu-a-tim* (42) At the writing of this tablet:
 43. ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi* DI.KU₅ (43) Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, the judge,
^{DUMU} ^mLU₂-*ú* descendant of Amēlû;
 44. ^m*mu-še-zib-* ^dEN DI.KU₅ DUMU (44) Mušēzib-Bēl, the judge, de-
^{md}DU₃-*eš-DINGIR* scendant of Eppeš-ili;
 45. ^m*ri-mut-* ^dEN DI.KU₅ DUMU (45) Rīmût-Bēl, the judge, descendant
^m*mi-šir-a-a* of Miširaya;
 46. ^{rmd}NA₃-NIR.GAL₂-DINGIR. (46) Nabû-etel-ilāni, the judge, de-
^{MEŠ} DI.KU₅ DUMU ^{md}IM-*šam-* scendant of Adad-šammê;
^{me-e}
 47. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-MU DUMU (47) Marduk-šuma-iddin, the judge,
^E₂-<SAG>.IL₂-*a-a* descendant of Esagilaya;
 48. ^m*ba-laṭ-su* DI.KU₅ DUMU (48) Balāssu, the judge, descendant of
^{lu}₂MA₂.LAH₄ Malāhu;</sup>

49. ^{md}NA₃-MU-GAR-*un* DUB.SAR (49) Nabû-šuma-iškun, the scribe,
DUMU ^{lu₂}GAL-DU₃ descendant of Rāb-banê;
50. ^{md}EN-*ka-šir* DUB.SAR DUMU (50) Bēl-kāšir, the scribe, descendant
^{lu₂}AD.GUB_x of Atkuppū;
51. ^{md}EN-SUM-*na* DUB.SAR (51) Bēl-iddina, the scribe, descendant
DUMU ^{lu₂}NI.DU₈ of Atû.
52. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI NE U₄ 24-*kám* (52) Babylon. 24 Abu, year 17 of
MU 17-*kám* ^{md}NA₃-I LUGAL Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
TIN.TIR^{ki}
- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bu* ^{lu₂}DI. (Seal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, the judge
KU₅
- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^m*mu-še-zib*-^dEN ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ (Seal of Mušēzib-Bēl, the judge
- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^m*ri-mut*-^dEN ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ (Seal of Rīmūt-Bēl, the judge
- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md} NA₃-NIR.GAL₂-DIN- (Seal of Nabû-etel-ilāni, the judge
GIR.MEŠ ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅
- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-MU (Seal of Marduk-šuma-iddin, the judge
^{lu₂}DI.KU₅
- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md}*ba-laṭ-su* ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ (Seal of Balāssu, the judge

NOTES

According to Arnaud 1973, 155 n. 6, this document is a copy of a sealed original. For this reason, the document has no seal marks on it, but does have transcribed indications of the sealings.

13–14. *tal-te-mi-it* ... *tal-ta-tār* -Nanaya-ḥussini is the subject of both of these verbs. Literally translated, then, they indicate that the slave performed both actions herself. It seems more likely, however, that she had these actions performed by another party. Also note that the text, throughout, distinguishes between the branding (*šamātu*) of the star and the writing (*šaṭāru*) of the inscription “(dedicated) to Nanaya” on the woman’s hand.

20. The *sēpiru* was the scribe who wrote on parchment using the alphabet, rather than cuneiform. Marking the slave with alphabetic characters would have been an easier task than doing so with cuneiform (Arnaud 1973, 156).

35–36. *ip-ru-us-ma* ... *i-din-ka*- As written, both of these verbs are singular forms (of *parāsu* and *dānu*, in the G-stem). The subject of both verbs, however, is plural: the judges mentioned in line 34.

22. A BOATMAN'S FRAUD

Text: HSM 890.4.8

Copy: Beaulieu 2000c (YOS 19), No. 101

Translation/Discussion: Beaulieu 2000c, 7; Dandamaev 2001, 701

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 4.XII.10 Nbn (13 March, 545 BCE)

Nergal-rēšū'a presents his case against the boatman, Amurru-natan. Nergal-rēšū'a's master, Iddin-Marduk, arranged for the shipment of 480 kur of dates with the boatman and Nergal-rēšū'a was to receive the shipment. When the dates arrived in Babylon, Nergal-rēšū'a found that the amount of dates recorded by his master did not match the amount of dates unloaded. Nergal-rēšū'a argued a case against the boatman, Amurru-natan, who falsely claimed that he did not embezzle the dates. At the conclusion of this first lawsuit, it seems that Amurru-natan agreed to pay 7 kur 1 pi of embezzled dates, but did not repay an additional 40 kur which were still in question. Now, the judges examine the transport contract and Iddin-Marduk's note to Nergal-rēšū'a recording the amount of dates in the transport. They interrogate Amurru-natan who confesses to having embezzled the dates. They decide that Amurru-natan must pay the additional 40 kur of dates.

Nergal-rēšū'a, the plaintiff in this case, is among the better attested slaves in the Neo-Babylonian archives, and, consequently, his career is well studied (Beljowski 1973, 139–44; Dandamaev 1984, 365–71; Wunsch 1993, 43–45). The present document demonstrates that, from the point of view of the law, slaves had equal standing as litigants. The present document is also a good illustration of the rather important role Nergal-rēšū'a plays in the management of the affairs of his master, Iddin-Marduk. In other texts, he handles highly valuable amounts of silver and agricultural products. One undated record attests to his arrangement of shipment for a large quantity of dates on behalf of Iddin-Marduk, exactly as he does in the present document (Wunsch 1993, No. 362).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ^{md}U.GUR-<i>re-šu-ú-a</i> ^{lu₂}<i>qal-la šá</i>
 ^mMU-^{dr}AMAR.UTU¹ 2. <i>a-na</i> ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ <i>šá</i> ^{md}NA₃-
 IM.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} | <p>(1–3) Nergal-rēšū'a the slave of Iddin-Marduk said thus to the judges of Nabonidus, king of Babylon:</p> |
|---|---|

3. *iq-bi um-ma* ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU (3–6) “Iddin-Marduk, my master,
EN-*a* loaded (a shipment of) 480 *kur* of dates
4. 4 ME 80 GUR ZU₂.LUM.MA for transport (?) on the boats belonging
e-pi-ru-tu to Amurru-natan, the boatman, son of
Ammaya.”
5. *ul-tu* EDIN *a-na* ^{giš}MA₂.MEŠ *šá*
^{md}KUR.GAL-*na-tan*
6. ^{lu₂}MA₂.LAH₅ A-*šú* *šá* ^mam-*ma-a*
ú-še-li-ma
7. *pu-ut* EN.NUN-*tim* *šá* ZU₂.LUM. (7) “He had him bear the responsibility
MA *ú-šá-áš-ši-iš* for keeping the dates.”
8. ^{giš}MA₂.MEŠ *a-na* TIN.TIR^{ki} (8–10) “He brought the boats to
ú-še-la-am-ma Babylon and he gave me Iddin-
Marduk’s note of authorization: 480
kur of dates was written i[n it].”
9. *ši-pir-tu₄* *šá* ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU
id-di-nam-ma
10. 4 ME 80 GUR ZU₂.LUM.MA *ina*
lib-[bi-šú] *šá-ti-ir*
11. *re-eš* ZU.LUM.MA *áš-ši-ma* 47 (11–12) “I took account of the dates,
GUR 1 PI and 47 *kur* 1 *pi* were missing.”
12. *ina lib-bi* ^rma¹-^{tu}-^rú¹ *a-na* UGU (12–14) “I brought suit against
Amurru-natan concerning the missing
amount of the dates, but he claimed
falsely (saying) thus:”
13. *mi-ti-tu₄* *šá* ZU₂.LUM.MA *it-^rti¹*
^{md}KUR.GAL-*na-tan* (14–15) ““I did not take your dates.””
14. *ar-gum₂-ma* *ú-sar-^rri¹-ri* *um-ma*
ZU₂.^rLUM.MA¹-*ka*
15. *ul áš-ši ár²-ki* *ba-ti-qu* X X X ... (15) “Afterwards, an informer ...”
16. 40¹ GUR X X ^rZU₂.^r[LUM.MA] (16) ““40¹ *kur* of dates ...”
17. *ù ku-tal-la* *šá* ^{giš}MA₂-*ní*¹ X-X *ú* (17) ““and behind my boat ...”
18. ZU₂.LUM.MA *šú-nu-tú* *i-na* X-*šú*
[X X X] *am-ma* (18) ““those dates in...”
19. *rik-su* *it-ti-šú* *ní-iš-ku-us* (19–21) “We contracted a contract
with him stating thus: ‘The 7 *kur* 1 *pi*
of dates that Amurru-natan illegally
took.’”
20. *um-ma* 7 GUR 1 PI ZU₂.LUM.
MA
21. [*ša*] ^{md}KUR.GAL-*na-tan* *ina*
sar-tu *iš-šú-ú*
22. *ár-ki* *ri-ik-su* *šu-a-tú* ^{md}KUR.
GAL-[*na-tan*] (22–23) “After Amurru-[natan] wrote
that contract until today ... not ...”
23. *šut-ur-ma* *a-di* *u₄-mu* *an-ni-i* *la*
[...]

24. *i-na-an-na i-na maḥ-ri-ku-nu ub-la-áš* (24–25) “Now, I have brought him before you. Establish our decision!”
25. EŠ.BAR-*a-ni šuk-na* ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅. MEŠ *dib-bi-šú-nu* (25–29) The judges heard their case. They read before them that contract and Iddin-Marduk’s message in which 480 kur of dates was written which Nergal-rēšū’a brought.
26. *iš-mu-ú rik-su šu-a-tú u ši-pir-tu₄*
27. *šá* ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU *šá* 4 ME 80 GUR ZU₂.LUM.MA
28. *ina lib-bi šaṭ-ru šá* ^{md}U.GUR-*re-šu-ú-a ub-la*
29. *ma-ḥar-šu-nu iš-tas-su-ú* ^{md}KUR. GAL-*na-tan* (29–30) They interrogated Amurru-natan.
30. *i-šá-lu-ma na-šu-ú šá* ZU₂.LUM. MA *šá ina sar-tu₄* (30–31) (Regarding) the taking of the dates, he testified about himself that they were taken illegally.
31. *na-šu-ú e-li ra-ma-ni-šú ú-kin-ma*
32. 40 GUR ZU₂.LUM.MA *mi-ṭi-tu₄* *šá* ZU₂.LUM.MA *šú-nu-šú* (32–35) They decided that Amurru-natan (must pay) 40 kur of dates, the missing amount of those dates, (and) turned him over to Nergal-rēšū’a [slave of] Iddin-Marduk.
33. *e-li* [^m] ^dKUR.GAL-*na-tan ip-ru-su-ma*
34. *a-na* ^{md}U.GUR-*re-šu-ú-a* ^{lu₂}[*qal-la šá*] ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU
35. *id-di-nu ina* EŠ.BAR *‘dī-i-nī’ šu-a-tim* (35) At the decision of this case:
36. ^{md}U.GUR-[GI ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅] DUMU *ši-gu-ú-a* (36) Nergal-[ušallim, the judge] descendant of Šigûa;
37. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ [DUMU] *‘e-gi-bī’* (37) Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, the judge, [descendant of] Egibi;
38. ^{md}NA₃-[MU-GI].NA ^{lu₂}DI.‘KU₅ DUMU *ir’-a-[nī]* (38) Nabû-[šuma-ukī]n, the judge descendant of Ir’an[ni];
39. ^{md}EN-[ŠEŠ.MEŠ]-‘^{mu}1 ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^{md}ZALAG₂-^d30 (39) Bēl-[aḥḥē]-iddin, the judge, descendant of Nūr-Sîn.
40. ^{md}EN-[KAR]-‘^{ir}1 ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^{md}30-*tab-ni* (40) Bēl-ēṭir, the judge, descendant of Sîn-tabni;
41. ^{md}NA₃-MU-GAR-*un* DUB.SAR DUMU ^{lu₂}GAL-DU₃ (41) Nabû-šuma-iškun, the scribe, descendant of Rāb-banê;
42. ^{md}EN-BA-*šá* DUB.SAR DUMU ^{md}30-*tab-ni* (42) Bēl-iqīša, the scribe, descendant of Sîn-tabni.

43. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI ŠE U₄ 4-*kám* (43–44) Babylon. 4 Addaru, year 10
 44. MU 10-*kám* ^{md}NA₃-IM.TUK of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Left edge:

- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md}U.GUR-GI ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ Seal of Nergal-ušallim, the judge;
^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU Seal of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin [the jud]ge;
 [^{lu₂}DI].KU₅ Seal of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, the judge;
^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md}NA₃-MU-GI.NA ^{lu₂}DI.
 KU₅

Right edge:

- ^{na₄}KIŠIB ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{lu₂}DI. Seal of Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, the judge;
 KU₅ [Seal] of Bēl-ēṭ[ir], the judge.
^{na₄}[KIŠIB] ^{md}EN-KAR-[ir] ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅

NOTES

4. *e-pi-ru-tu* (*epirūtu*). This word, which clearly describes the dates, is not known elsewhere as a qualification of dates. The suggested translation (“for transport”) is based on the existence of the verb *epēru* as a variant of *ebēru*, “to cross” (*AHW*, 223, s.v. *epēru* II and *CAD* E, 191, s.v. *epēru*). This verb is used in connection with rivers and other bodies of water, which fits the present context. Therefore it seems that the word in question is an adjective meaning “for transport.” Note, however, that it is the Š-stem form of the verb which usually has this meaning.

14–18. These broken lines contain the statements made during a previous suit against the boatman, as well as the accusation of an informant (*bātiqū*).

23. INHERITANCE

Text: BM 31672 (76-11-17, 1399)

Copy: Wunsch 2000a, No. 84 (1:229)

Translation/Discussion: Wunsch 2000a, 1:110–13; 2:108–9

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 29.VII.9 Nbn (24 October, 547 BCE)

Two sons of Kurunnam-tabni present the legal history of their possessions to the judges of Nabonidus. Kurunnam-tabni received a slave as her dowry (nudunnû), and transferred ownership of the slave to her sons by means of a sealed document. She also received a parcel of land which she bequeathed to her children. The judges confirm her two sons' claims to the property.

Most of the details in this lawsuit are lost to breaks in the text, but it does allude to previous litigation. In year 3 of Neriglissar, Kurunnam-tabni was awarded, presumably in a lawsuit, land and slaves by the “scribes of the king.” Kurunnam-tabni, after the death of Šuma-ukīn, her husband, reserved the right to disinherit any son who would not treat her properly, in order to ensure her own support as a widow. Other documents pertaining to this case show that, in fact, she did take advantage of this right, and left the share of one son, not mentioned in the present document, to two other sons (Rutten 1947; Roth 1991–93, 14–16; Wunsch 2000a, 1:111–12).

The present document is preserved as part of the Egibi archive because soon after the present lawsuit, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin began buying up the parcels of land that Kurunnam-tabni's sons had inherited (Wunsch 2000a, 1:113–15). Numerous documents pertaining to these plots show that the sons of Šuma-ukīn and Kurunnam-tabni, the original owners of the property, were a litigious bunch. They were also not entirely honest in their dealings with the Egibis (see Document 29 below), and various documents show that Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin took necessary precautions to protect himself (Wunsch 2000a, 1:115–16).

1. [mPN_x ù] mdEN-TIN-*it* DUMU. (1–3) [PN_x and] Bēl-uballit sons of
MEŠ šá m[M[U-GI.NA] [Šuma-ukīn] [descendant of Sîn]-
2. [DUMU md30-šá]-*du-nu a-na* Šadūnu said thus to the judges of
lu₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ šá mdNA₃-[IM. Nabo[nidus, king of Babylon]:
TUK]
3. [LUGAL TIN.TIR]^{ki} *iq-bu-ú*
um-ma ina MU 2-kám mdU.
[GUR-LUGAL-URI₃]

4. [LUGAL TIN.TI]R^{ki} fdKAŠ.
TIN-*nam-tab-ni* AMA-*a*-[*ni*...] (3–6) “In year 2 of Ne[riglissar, king of Babylo]n, Kurunnam-tabni, ou[r] mother ..., (by means of a) sealed (document), placed [PN_y], the slave (which was part) of her dowry [at our] disposal.”
5. [PN_y] IR₃ šá nu-dun-*né-e-šú tak-nu-uk*-[*ma*] (6–9) “Afterwards, in year 3 of Nerig[lissar, king of Babylon], Kurunnam-tabni, our mother, of her own [will], (regarding) [2 *kur*] 2 *pi* of arable land which the scribes of the king placed [at h]er disposal as [her] dowry, declared [thus] in her tablet:”
6. [IGI-*ni i*]u-šad-gil ù ár-*ki* MU 3-*kám* mdU.GUR-[LUGAL-URI₃] (9–10) “[Any of her sons who do not] serve her shall not [receive] a share of it.’ ...”
7. [LUGAL TIN.TIR]ki fdKAŠ.
TIN-*nam-tab-ni* AMA-*a-ni ina mi*-[*gir lib-bi-šú*] (1’) price
8. [2 GUR] 2 PI ŠE.NUMUN šá DUB.SAR.MEŠ šá LUGAL *ku-um nu-dun*-[*ne-e-šú*] (2’) Kurunnam-tabni, their mother sealed
9. [pa-*n*]i-šú ú-šad-gil-lu-*ma ina* IM.DUB-šú ú-še-*du* [um-*ma* DUMU.MEŠ-šú] (3’) they confirmed. The tablets ...
10. [šá la i]-pal-la-*hu-šú* HA.LA *ina lib-bi ul* [ileqqû] (4’) ... the case they received
- 1’. [...] rŠAM₂¹ (5’) ... and Bēl-uballit
- 2’. [fdKAŠ.TIN]-r¹nam-tab-ni¹ AMA-šú-nu tak-nu-[*ku*] (6’) [At the de]cision of [this] case:
- 3’. ú-ziz-zu IM.DUB.MEŠ na-[...] di-i-ni X X im-*hu-ru* X [...] u mdEN-TIN-*iṭ* (7’) [Nergal]-ušallim, the judge, descendant of Šigûa; Nabû-[ahhē-iddin, the judge, descendant of Egibi];
- 6’. [ina EŠ].BAR di-i-ni [šú-a-tim] (8’) [Nabû-šuma]-ukīn, the judge, descendant of Ir’anni; Bēl-[...]
- 7’. [mdU.GUR]-GI lu₂DI.KU₅ DUMU mšⁱ-gu-ú-a mdNA₃-[ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU lu₂DI.KU₅ DUMU m^e-gi-bi] (9’) [Nabû]-balāssu-iqbi, the judge, descendant of [Amēlû];
- 8’. [mdNA₃-MU]-GI.NA lu₂DI.KU₅ DUMU ir-*a-ni* mdEN-[...]
- 9’. [mdNA₃]-TIN-su-iq-bi lu₂DI.KU₅ DUMU [mLU₂-ú]

- 10'. [^{ma}]-*dī-nu* DUB.SAR DUMU (10'–11') [Nā]dinu, the scribe, de-
^{lu₂}BAHAR ^{md}NA₃-MU-[GAR-*un* scendant of Paḥāru;
 DUB.SAR DUMU] Nabū-šuma-[iškun, the scribe,
 descendant of Rāb]-banê.
- 11'. [^{lu₂}GAL]-DU₃ TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI DU₆ (11') Babylon. 29 Tašrītu, year 9 of
 U₄ 29-*kám* MU 9-*kám* ^{md}NA₃-
 [IM.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}] Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

24. UNDIVIDED INHERITANCE

Text: BM 35508 + BM 38259 (Sp 3, 14 + 80-12-11, 141)

Copy: Wunsch 2003, No. 42 (pp. 139, 141); 2012, 14–17

Translation/Discussion: Wunsch 2003, No. 42 (pp. 138–45); Holtz 2009, 228–32; Wunsch 2012, 10–28

Place of Composition: ?

Date: Nbk

The three sons of Nabû-apla-iddin and their uncle, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, seek a resolution to their dispute over an undivided inheritance. Nabû-apla-iddin, the father of the three plaintiffs, and his brother, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, had received shares of an inheritance, presumably from their father, and had both conducted business with their shares. After Nabû-apla-iddin's death, his sons, represented by Marduk-šuma-ibni, claim that Nabû-balāssu-iqbi should have rights to only one-sixth of the patrimony with which business was conducted. Nabû-balāssu-iqbi counters that he used his own property to conduct the business, and that he had obtained the consent of the late Nabû-apla-iddin. Furthermore, he claims that Nabû-apla-iddin invested only 10 šeqels of silver of the patrimony. Nabû-balāssu-iqbi also asserts that, with Nabû-apla-iddin's consent, he had purchased the share of another brother, Arad-Gula. The remaining arguments and the details of the decision are lost to breaks in the text. Nevertheless, it is clear that the judges confirm that Nabû-apla-iddin owned one half of the patrimony, and that the remaining three brothers, including Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, each received one sixth of it.

The specifics of this case illustrate a variant way in which primogeniture was observed in inheritance. Here (lines 12'–16') Nabû-apla-iddin, the oldest original heir, and his children, receive half of the patrimonial property. The division of the remaining property into three sixths indicates that, apart from Nabû-apla-iddin and Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, there were two other brothers: Arad-Gula (line 15') and another one who is unnamed in this document (Wunsch 2003, 144–45). More commonly, however, the expected arrangement would have given the eldest twice as much as any of his brothers. In this case, with four brothers, the expected division would have been into fifths, with two fifths going to the eldest and one fifth going to each of the remaining sons.

More generally, this legal case illustrates the problem of the undivided inheritance (Wunsch 2003, 144; 2012, 21–22). When a father died, his sons might prefer to leave the inheritance as one, undivided property, in order to make more efficient use of it. However, as might be expected, problems arise when

individual heirs use the jointly-inherited property to conduct business on their own and expect to realize profits for themselves.

1. [^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-*ib-ni*
^{md}NA₃-*mu-š*] *e-ti-iq*-UD.DA
ù ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SUM.NA
DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}NA₃-IBILA-
S[UM.NA]
 2. [...] *ù* ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi* ŠEŠ
AD-*šú-nu a-na* UGU *za-a-zu*
zi-it-ti
 3. [... a]-*ḥa a-ḥa im-taḥ-šu-ú-ma*
ir-šu-ú di-i-ni
 4. [... a-na] ^{md}EN-*re-ma-an-ni*
DUMU ^{lu2}*man-di-di* ^{lu2}GAR.
UMUŠ TIN.TIR^{ki} *ik-šu-du-ni-*
im-ma
 5. [*maḥar?*] ^{lu2}GAR.UMUŠ TIN.
TIR^{ki} *ù* ^{lu2}AB.BA.MEŠ URU
DUMU.MEŠ TIN.TIR^{ki} *a-ma-*
ti-šu-nu
 6. [*ú-šá-an-n*] *u-ú* ^{md}AMAR.
UTU-MU-*ib-ni i-qab-bi um-ma*
ma-ḥi-ra-a-tú šá ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-*
iq-bi
 7. [*šá ina* KA₂] *šá* ^dEN *i-te-*
ep-pu-šu KU₃.BABBAR *šá*
ma-ḥi-ra-a-ti ina lib-bi i-te-ep-
pu-šu
 8. [*i-na ka-r*] *e-^re¹ E₂ AD šu-ú al-la*
ši-iš-šu zi-it-ta-šú it-ti a-bi-ia
ia-a-nu
 9. [^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi š*] *á-ni-ti*
i-pu-ul-šu um-ma ma-ḥi-ra-a-ti
šá i-na KA₂ *šá* ^dEN
- (1–3) [Marduk-šuma-ibni, Nabû-muš]ētiq-uddê and Bêl-aḥḥê-iddin sons of Nabû-apla-iddin ... and Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, their father's brother, came to blows against each other concerning the division of shares; they had a legal case.
- (4) They arrived [before] Bêl-rēmānni descendant of Mandidi, the governor of Babylon and,
- (5–6) [before?] the governor of Babylon and the elders of the citizens of Babylon, they [recount]ed their matters.
- (6) Marduk-šuma-ibni said thus:
- (6–8) “(Regarding) the purchases which Nabû-balāssu-iqbi carried out in the Gate of Bêl: the silver with which the purchases were carried out belongs in the common property of the patrimony! There is no more than his one-sixth share (that he owns) with my father (belonging to him)!”
- (9) [Nabû-balāssu-iqbi] responded to him thus:

10. [*e-te-ep-pu-šu i-n*]a KU₃.
BABBAR šá ra-ma-ni-ia e-te-
pu-uš KU₃.BABBAR šá ka-re-e
E₂ AD-i-ni (9–11) “I used my own silver in the
purchases which [I carried out i]n the
Gate of Bēl. [There was n]o silver
from the common property of our
patrimony (involved)!”
11. [*i-na lib-bi ia-a-n*]u ù ma-ḫi-ri
šá ^{md}NA₃-IBILA-MU a-bu-ú-ka
i-na KA₂ šá ^dEN i-pu-šu-ma (11–12) “And (regarding) the pur-
chases which your father, Nabû-apla-
iddin, carried out in the Gate of Bēl,
and (for which) they sealed [a tablet
in his name]: there was not more than
10 šeqels of silver from the common
property of our patrimony (involved)!”
12. [IM.DUB a-na šu-mi-š]ú ik-nu-
ku al-la 10 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR
šá ka-re-e E₂ AD-ni i-na lib-bi
ia-a-ni
13. [...] a-na-ku ki-i ad-di-nu a-bu-
ú-ka IM.DUB a-na šu-mi-šú
ik-ta-na-ak (13) “When I gave ... your father
sealed a tablet in his name.”
14. [...]a-ḫi-ra-a-ti an-na-a-ti
ni-te-pu-šu (14) “... we carried out those
purchases.”
15. [...] ra-ma-ni-ia am-gu-ur-ma
^{md}NA₃-IBILA-SUM.NA ṭup-pa (15–16) “I agreed on my own and
Nabû-apla-iddin ... a tablet ... thus:
‘Whatever purchases we carry out in
the Gate of Bēl ...’”
16. [...] um-ma ma-ḫi-ra-a-ti ma-la
i-na KA₂ šá ^dEN ni-ip-pu-šu
17. [...zi-i]t-ti šá ^mIR₃-^dgu-la ŠEŠ-ia
šá a-na KU₃.BABBAR-ia
am-ḫu-ru (17–18) “(Regarding) the [sh]are
of my brother, Arad-Gula, which I
purchased with my own silver... and
he was present as a witness on my
tablet of purchase.”
18. [...]ma i-na ṭup-pa ma-ḫi-ri-ia
a-na ši-bu-tu a-ši-ib
19. [...]a-bu-ú-ka it-ti-ia ir-tak-ka-
su (19) “... which your father contracted
with me.”
20. [...] ŠE.NUMUN zi-it-ti za-zu!^{1?} (20) “... the cultivated property
divided as a share...”

BREAK

- 1'. [...] (1'–6') [These lines are too fragmen-
tary to yield any meaningful sense]
- 2'. [...]i]d-da-gal
- 3'. [...] KU₃.BABBA]R at-ru
- 4'. [...]MU te-er-din-né-e
- 5'. [...]iq-bu-ú
- 6'. [...]MU¹ qí-ba-tu-šu

- 7'. [... *i-na* KA₂ šá] ^dEN *ir-tak-ka-su* (7') "... which they contracted [in the Gate of] Bēl ..."
- 8'. [...] ŠEŠ-ú-ni *ra-ba-a'* (8') "... our older brother"
- 9'. [... ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi ir-tak-ka-su i-ni-ma* (9') "which [Na]bû-balāssu-iqbi contracted, he changed and"
- 10'. [...] ^re¹-li ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi pa-ar-sa-tu* (10') "... which is decided was owed by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi"
- 11'. [...*a*]-*bu-ú-ni it-ti-šú ir-tak-ka-su* (11') "which... our father contracted with him."
- 12'. [...] ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ TIN.TIR^{ki} ù ^{lu}₂AB.BA.MEŠ URU (12') ... the governor of Babylon and the elders of the city
- 13'. [...] *ta-mi-ti i-na* UGU ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi iš-tu-ru* (13') ... which they wrote was owed by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi
- 14'. [...] *- bi id-dī-nu ši-iš-šu zi-it-ti šá* ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi* (14') ... and gave. One sixth share belonging to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi
- 15'. [...] ^rx¹ ù *ši-iš-šu zi-it-ti šá* ^mIR₃-^dgu-la (15') ... and one sixth share belonging to Arad-Gula
- 16'. [...] *iš-tu-ru-ú-ma a-ḫi* HA.LA šá ^{md}NA₃-DUMU.NITA-SUM.NA *i-na lib-bi iš-ku-nu* (16') ... they [wro]te and in it established one half (as) the share of Nabû-apla-iddin.
- 17'. [...] E₂ AD šá KA₂ šá ^dEN *pa-ni* ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi ú-šad-gi-lu* (17') ... they placed the patrimony in the Gate of Bēl at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.
- 18'. [...] *i-na* KA₂ šá ^dEN *i-na qa-ti* ^mšul-lu-mu ù ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-x (18') ... in the Gate of Bēl, from the hands of Šullumu and Bēl-aḫḫē-x
- 19'. [...] *i-pu*]-*šu-ma* ^{md}NA₃-DUMU.NITA-SUM.NA IM.DUB *a-na šu-mi-šu ik-nu-ku* (19') ... and Nabû-apla-iddin sealed a tablet in his name.
- 20'. [...] ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi i-na* KA₂ šá ^dEN *i-na qa-ti* ^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA (20') [Nabû-balāssu]-iqbi in the Gate of Bēl from Nabû-šumu-līšir
- 21'. [...] ^mšu-la-a DUMU-šú šá ^mbal-ti-il DUMU ^{md}é-a-šal-mu-DINGIR (21') [...] Šulaya son of Balti-ilī descendant of Ea-šalmu-ilī
- 22'. [...] *pa*]-*ni* ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi* (22') ... to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi
- 23'. [...] *ú-šad-gi-lu ši-iš-šu i-na* A.ŠA₃ E₂ AD šá E₂-^{md}da-kur (23') ... they placed at the disposal of ... One sixth of the field of the patrimony at Bīt Dakkūri

- 24'. [...] *šá-a šá URU ù EDIN ma-la ba-šu-ú* (24') ... in the city and the hinterland, whatever there is,
- 25'. [...] ^r*i¹-na tup-pa KI.LAM šá*
^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi ša-aṭ-ru* (25') ... written in a purchase tablet of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi
- 26'. [...] ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-MU *na-ad-nu u i-na la a-šá-bi* (26') ... given to Nabû-zēra-ibni, and without the witness of ...
- 27'. [...] ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi ig-mu-ru ŠU.NIGIN 7 MA.NA KU₃. BABBAR* (27') [...] Nabû-balāssu-iqbi paid in full. TOTAL: 7 mina of silver
- 28'. [...] *šá* ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-MU *šá* ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi iš-šá-a HA.LA 2 MA.NA KU₃. BABBAR a-na* (28') [...] belonging to Nabû-zēra-ibni which Nabû-balāssu-iqbi received. A share of 2 mina of silver to ...
- 29'. [...] IGI ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi ku-um 5 MA.NA KU₃. BABBAR-šú ú-šad-gi-lu* (29') they placed at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi in exchange for his 5 mina of silver.
- 30'. [...] ^r*x x¹. MEŠ šá ka-re-e i-ti-ru-ni* (30') x x of the common property remained.
- 31'. [...] *ú pa-ni* ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi ú-šad-gi-lu* (31') and placed at the disposal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi
- 32'. [...] ^m*bi*-^r*be¹-a DUMU* ^{md}EN-*e-ṭè-ru ma-aḥ-ru pa-ni* (32'–33') [PN son of Bi]bēa descendant of Bēl-eṭēru received and [placed] at the disposal of [...]
- 33'. [...] *ušadgilū* SUM.NA ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi* (33') ...-iddin Nabû-balāssu-iqbi
- 34'. [...] -MEŠ *šu-nu-ti*
- 35'. [...] *ú* [break] *ma*
- 36'. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-*NUMUN-[x]*
BREAK

- 1". [...] DUMU-šú šá ^{md}ba-zu- [(1"-15") [The names of the witnesses and scribes are recorded. Only their fathers' names are preserved.]
- 2". [...] DUMU-šú šá ^mnad-na-a [
- 3". [...] DUMU-šú šá ^mDUG₃.GA-ia
- 4". [...] DUMU-šú šá ^msi-lim-^dEN
- 5". [...] DUMU-šú šá ^{md}EN-BA-šá
- 6". [...] DUMU-šú šá ^mmu-šal-li-mu
- 7". [...] 'x' DUMU-šú šá ^{md}EN-eri-ba
- 8". [...] -ni DUMU-šú šá ^mpi-ir-'u
- 9". [...] DUMU-šú šá ^{md}UTU-ú-bal-[liř]
- 10". [...] -KAR-ir DUMU-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-ú-[řur]
- 11". [...] -a DUMU-šú šá ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ. MEŠ-[...]
- 12". [...] -ši DUMU-šú šá ^mřil-la-a
- 13". [...] -a-ni DUMU-šú šá ^mla-a-ba-ř[i...]
- 14". [...] -tú DUMU-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-ú-[...]
- 15". [...] DUMU-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-DUMU.NITA-[
- 16". [MU x]-kám ^dNA₃-NIG.DU-[URI₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}] (16") [Year x] of Nebuchad[nezzar, king of Babylon].

Upper edge:

^{na}₄KIŠIB ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-DU₃ A
lu₂SU.HA

Seal of Nabû-zēra-ukīn descendant of Bā'iru

^{na}₄KIŠIB ^mtab-né-e-a A ^{md}UTU-ba-a-ri

Seal of Tabnêa descendant of Šamař-abāri

Right edge:

^{na}₄KIŠIB ^mba-la-řu DUMU-šú šá
^{md}NA₃-KAR-ir DUMU lu₂SIPA-si-si-i

Seal of Balāřu son of Nabû-ēřir descendant of Rē'î-sīsî

Lower edge:

na₄KIŠIB mdUTU-MU-URI₃ DUMU

mšī-gu-ú-a

Seal of Šamaš-šuma-ušur descendant
of Šigûa

na₄KIŠIB mIBILA-^ra A-šú šá¹ mšu-

zu-bu

Seal of Aplaya son of Šūzubu

NOTES

Reading of this document is based on the collations in Wunsch 2012.

7'–11'. These lines contain Marduk-šuma-ibni's response to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, and apparently refer to a court decision against Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (see Wunsch 2012, 12).

25. A PROPERTY DISPUTE

Text: YBC 4161

Copy: Dougherty 1920 (YOS 6), No. 92

Translation/Discussion: Frame 1991, 78; Zadok 2003, 516

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 17.IX.7 Nbn (31 December, 549 BCE)

Nabû-mušētiq-uddê presents his claim to a purchased piece of property against Nabû-rēšu and Mušēzib-Bēl. In year 6 of Nabonidus, Nabû-mušētiq-uddê purchased a plot of land from Mušēzib-Bēl. Apparently, upon hearing of the sale, Nabû-rēšu raised a claim against Nabû-mušētiq-uddê by presenting a tablet that showed that he had purchased the same plot from Mušēzib-Bēl seven months earlier. Nabû-mušētiq-uddê ceded the property, only to find another, still earlier claim to the property, this time on the part of four men who claim that their grandfather, Marduk-erība, purchased that same field from Mušēzib-Bēl some 32 years before, during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. In light of this, Nabû-mušētiq-uddê re-purchased the property from the heirs of Marduk-erība. Nevertheless, Nabû-rēšu maintains his claim and does not cede the property. The case comes before the royal official in charge of the Eanna, the governor of Uruk and the qīpu-official together with the assembly of Babylonians and Urukians. Mušēzib-Bēl and Nabû-mušētiq-uddê present their documentary evidence. The authorities uphold Nabû-mušētiq-uddê's claim to the property and give him a tablet to record his ownership.

In terms of its subject matter, and its external form, the present document resembles decision records from trials over which royal judges usually preside. Here, however, the adjudicators include members of the Eanna temple bureaucracy (the royal official and the qīpu-official) alongside the governor of Uruk. In addition, several of the men present “at the hearing of this case” (lines 54–70) are attested elsewhere in the Eanna's records. For example, Nādin son of Bēl-aḥḥē-iqīša descendant of Egibi (line 64), also held the positions of “scribe of the Eanna” and *šatammu* (Kümmel 1979, 129, 144).

In this case, the location of the property in question and the litigants' own positions explain why these members of the Eanna's administration participate in the adjudication. The property in question abuts the “territory of the Lady of Uruk” as well as property held by Nabû-apla-iddin, who is known as a scribe in other documents from the Eanna archives (Kümmel 1979, 119). Both the plaintiff, Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, and the defendant, Mušēzib-Bēl, are known as scribes in Eanna records, as well (Kümmel 1979, 118–20). The plaintiff is also known

to have been involved in the management of the Eanna's cattle herds (Kümmel 1979, 67).

1. ^{md}NA₃-*mu-še-tiq*-UD.DA A-*šú* *šá* ^mTIN-*su* A ^mSIG₅-*iq* [^{md}]NA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu}₂SAG-[LUGAL]
 2. ^{lu}₂EN <*pi*>-*qit-ti* E₂.AN.NA [^mDUG₃.GA]-*ia* ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ UNUG^{ki} A-*šú* *šá* ^{md}NA₃-MU-M[U]
 3. *u* ^{mg}ab-*bi*-DINGIR.MEŠ-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu}₂*qí-i-pi* *šá* E₂.AN.NA *im-ḥur um-ma ina* [ITI] 'ZIZ₂'
 4. *šá* MU 6-*kám* ^{md}NA₃-I LUGAL E_{ki} E₂ ^mKAR-^dEN A-*šú* *šá* ^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂
 5. *šá* DA ^{id}₂*ḥur-ri* *šá* ^dURI₃-INIM-*su* *šá* UŠ AN-*ú* IM.MAR.TU DA E₂ ^{md}NA₃-A-MU
 6. A-*šú* *šá* ^mDU₃-^dINNIN A ^mE₂.KUR-*za-kir* UŠ KI-*ú* IM KUR.RA DA E₂ ^mna-dan-DINGIR A ^mṣil-la-a
 7. SAG.KI AN.TA IM SI.SA₂ *šá* DA ^{id}₂*ḥur-ri* *šá* ^dURI₃-INIM-*su* SAG.KI KI.'TA'
 8. IM U₁₈.LU DA *qaq-qar* *šá* ^dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG^{ki} *a-na* 2 MA.NA 2 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR *ina* ŠU.2 ^mKAR-^dEN
- (1–3) Nabû-mušeṭtiq-uddê son of Balāssu descendant of Dāmiqū approached Nabû-šarra-ušur, the royal official in charge of the Eanna, [Ṭābi]ya, the governor of Uruk, son of Nabû-nādin-šu[mi], and Gabbilī-šarra-ušur, the *qīpu*-official of the Eanna (saying) thus:
- (3–4/8–9) “In Šabātu of year 6 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, I purchased the property of Mušēzib-Bēl son of Nanaya-ēreš from Mušēzib-Bēl for 2 mina 2 šeqels of silver—”
- (5–6) Adjacent to the Ḥurri-ša-ušur-amāssu canal—its upper side on the west adjacent to the property of Nabû-apla-iddin son of Ibni-Ištar descendant of Ekur-zakir;
- (6) Its lower side on the east, adjacent to the property of Nadan-Ili son of Šillaya;
- (7) Its upper front on the north, adjacent to the Ḥurri-ša-ušur-amāssu canal;
- (7–8) Its lower front on the south, adjacent to the territory of the Lady of Uruk;

9. A-šú šá ^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂
am-ḫur-ma ina ITI ŠE šá MU
6-kám ^dNA₃-I LUGAL TIN.
TIR^{ki}
 10. ^{md}NA₃-re-e-šú A-šú šá ^{md}UTU-
MU IM.DUB šá E₂ ^mKAR-^dEN
A-šú šá ^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂
 11. šá ina ITI ŠU MU 6-kám ^{md}NA₃-
I LUGAL E^{ki} šá a-na 2 MA.NA
4 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR ina ŠU.2
^mKAR-^dEN
 12. A-šú šá ^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂
im-ḫu-ru šá 7 ITI al-la IM.DUB-
ia pa-nu-u
 13. a-na UGU-ia ú-ka-am-ma E₂ ina
pa-ni ^{md}NA₃-re-e-šú ú-maš-šir
 14. ár-ki ina MU 7-kám ^{md}NA₃-I
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} ^mri-mut-^dEN
^{md}UTU-SUR
 15. ^{md}na-na-a-ŠEŠ-MU u ^{md}NA₃-
mu-še-tiq-UD.DA [A].MEŠ
šá ^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ A-šú šá
^{md}AMAR.UTU-SU A ^{md}IDIM-
šal-mu-DINGIR.MEŠ
 16. IM.DUB šá E₂ ^mKAR-^dEN A-šú
šá ^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂ šá ina MU
22-kám ^{md}NA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃
LUGAL E^{ki}
 17. šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-SU A-šú šá
^{md}U.GUR-MU A ^mIDIM-šal-
mu-DINGIR.MEŠ AD.AD-šú-nu
KI.LAM ina ŠU.2 ^mKAR-^dEN
 18. A-šú šá ^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂ i-pu-šu
[ú-ki]-in-ni-ma KI.LAM šá E₂
MU.MEŠ ina ŠU.2-šú-nu
 19. e-pu-uš-ma ^{md}NA₃-re-e-šú E₂ ina
pa-ni-ia la ú-maš-šir
- (9–13) “In Addaru of year 6 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Nabû-rēšu son of Šamaš-iddin established (a case) against me (by means of) a tablet which preceded my tablet by 7 months, (indicating) that he purchased the property of Mušēzib-Bēl son of Nanaya-ēreš in Dûzu, year 6 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon for 2 mina 4 šeqels of silver, and I released the property to Nabû-rēšu.”
- (14–18) “Afterwards, in year 7 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Rīmût-Bēl, Šamaš-ētir, Nanaya-aḫa-iddin and Nabû-mušetiq-uddê, [son]s of Nabû-bāni-aḫi son of Marduk-erība descendant of Ea-šalmu-ilāni, established (a case) against me (by means of) a tablet (indicating) that Marduk-erība son of Nergal-iddin descendant of Ea-šalmu-ilāni, their father’s father, purchased the property of Mušēzib-Bēl son of Nanaya-ēreš in year 22 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, from Mušēzib-Bēl son of Nanaya-ēreš.”
- (18–19) “I purchased that property from them, but Nabû-rēšu did not cede the property to me.”

20. *i-na-an-na* ^mKAR-^dEN *ma-ḥar-ku-nu* <*ú*>-*bi-lu it-ti* ^mKAR-^dEN *u* ^{md}NA₃-*re-[e-šú]* ^rep⁷¹-*šú di-i-ni* (20) “Now, I have brought Mušēzib-Bēl before you. Judge my case against Mušēzib-Bēl and Nabû-rē[šú]!”
21. ^{md}NA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu2}SAG-LUGAL ^{md}DUG₃.GA-*ia* ^{lu2}GAR.UMUŠ UNUG^{ki} *u* ^mgab-*bi-[DINGIR.MEŠ-LUGAL]-URI₃* ^{lu2}qí-*i-pi* (21–22) Nabû-šarra-ušur, the royal official, Tābiya, the governor of Uruk, and Gabbi-[ili-šarra]-ušur, the *qīpu*-official, the assembly of Babylonians and Urukians, the judges ...-ed.
22. ^{lu2}UKKIN ^{lu2}TIN.TIR^{ki}.MEŠ ^{lu2}UNUG^{ki}-*a-a* ^{lu2}DI.KU₅.MEŠ *ú-še-[...]*
23. ^{md}NA₃-*mu-še-tiq*-UD.DA *u* ^mKAR-^dEN *di-i-ni ina pa-ni-šú-nu* [*id-bu-bu*] (23) Nabû-mušētiq-uddē and Mušēzib-Bēl [argued] (their) case before them.
24. ^mKAR-^dEN IM.DUB *šá* E₂ *šá ina MU 2-kám* ^{md}NA₃-^rNIG₂¹.DU-URI₃ LUGAL [TIN.TIR^{ki}] (24–27) Mušēzib-Bēl [produced?] the tablet indicating that Nanaya-ēreš, his father [...] the property from Nabû-zēra-ibni, son of Marduk-nāšir descendant of [PN] in year 2 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and the contract of return of the property from the accession year of [Nabonidus, king of Babylo]n which Mušēzib-Bēl [...] from Nabû-bāni-aḥi son of Marduk-erība—
25. *šá* ^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂ AD-*šú ina ŠU.2* ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-DU₃ A-*šú šá* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-PAP A [PN ...]
26. *u ri-^rik-si¹ sá tur-ri šá* E₂ *šá ina MU SAG.NAM.LUGAL.^rLA¹* [^{md}NA₃-I LUGAL TIN.TI]^rki
27. *šá* ^mKAR-^dEN *ina ŠU.2* ^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ A-*šú šá* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-SU [...]

28. *ša* 1 2/3 MA.NA 2 GIN₂ KU₃.
BABBAR *ša* ^{md}*na-na-a-KAM*₂
ša UGU [... ^{md}]U.GUR-*ú-še-zib*
(28–47) [These broken lines summarize the other evidence that is presented to the judges, including tablets that are read in court.]
29. [...] *maš-kan šab-ta šá ina tur-ri*
ša ...
30. [...] ^r*ri*¹-*ik-si a-na* UGU *e-še*₃-[*ri*
31. [...] *ta-a* ^{md}30-*tab-ni a-na* [...]
32. ...^d]NA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃ LUGAL
[TIN.TIR^{ki}
33. ... A-*šú šá* ^{md}[
34. ^{lu}₂TIN.TIR^{ki}.MEŠ [...] *ina ŠU.2*
- 35.
36. [...] *im-ḥu*-[*ur*
37. [...] ^{md}NA₃-*mu-še-tiq*-UD.[DA
38. [...] *ma-ḥar-šú-nu iš-tas*-[*su-u*
- 39.
- 40.
41. [...] IM.DUB *ša* [
42. ... ^{md}NA₃]-LUGAL-URI₃
^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ ^{lu}₂*qí-i*-[*pí*]
43. [...] *-su-ú* IM.DUB.MEŠ *ša*
^mKAR-^dEN A
44. [...] *ú-tir-ra* ^{md}NA₃-*re-e-šú e-*
45. ...^{md}NA₃]-*mu-še-ti-iq*-UD.DA
ma-ḥi-ir
46. ...^{lu}₂]GAR.UMUŠ ^{lu}₂*qí-i-pi u*
^{lu}₂[...]
47. [...] *tè-ru a-na* ^{md}NA₃-*re-e*-[*šú*]
48. A [...] ^m]KAR-^dEN *e-li* E₂
MU.MEŠ *la* [...]]
49. ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ [^{lu}₂*qí-i-pi u*]
^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ DUB *iš-ṭu-ur-ú*
50. *a-na* ^{md}[NA₃-*mu-še*]-*tiq*-UD.
DA *i-zi*-<*bu*>-*ma*¹ *di-in-šú-nu*
di-i-[*in*]
- (48) ... Mušēzib-Bēl shall not ... concerning that property.
- (49–50) The governor, [the *qīpu*-official and] the judges wrote a tablet and left it with [Nabû-muš]ētiq-uddē.
- (50) Their case is judg[ed].

51. *ina* EŠ.BAR *di-i*-[*ni* MU].MEŠ^{md}NA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu₂}SAG-LUGAL ^{lu₂}[EN *pi-qit-ti* E₂.AN.NA] (51) At the decision of th[is ca]se: Nabû-šarra-ušu, the royal official [in charge of the Eanna];
52. ^{md}DUG₃.GA-*ia* ^{lu₂}[GAR].UMUŠ UNUG^{ki} A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-SUM-MU A [^m*hu-un-zu-ú*] (52) Ṭābiya the [gover]nor of Uruk son of Nabû-nādin-šumi descendant of [Ḫunzû];
53. ^{mgab}-bi-DINGIR.^{md}MEŠ¹-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu₂}*qí-i-pi* šá E₂.[AN.NA] (53) Gabbi-ilī-šarra-ušur, the *qīpu*-official of the E[anna];
54. ^{md}KAR.^dEN A-šú šá ^{md}UTU-SIG₁₅ A ^{md}DU₃-[DINGIR] (54) Mušēzib-Bēl son of Šamaš-muddamiq descendant of Eppeš-[ilī];
55. ^{md}30-KAM₂ A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-MU-GIŠ A ^{md}DU₃-[DINGIR] (55) Sîn-ēreš son of Nabû-šumu-līšir descendant of Ibni-[ilī];
56. [^{md}AMAR].UTU-MU-GIŠ A-šú šá ^m*ri-mut* A ^{md}[EN-ú-sat] (56) [Mar]duk-šumu-līšir son of Rīmūt descendant of Bēl-usātu;
57. [^{md}DN-*za*]-*kir* A-šú šá ^{md}DUG₃.GA-*ia* A [^m*ki-din-d*AM]AR.UTU (57) [DN-zā]kir son of Ṭābiya descendant of [Kidin-Marduk];
58. ^{md}EN-DU₃ A-šú šá ^m*bul-luṭ* [A ^{lu₂}ŠU].KU₆ (58) Bēl-ibni son of Bulluṭ [descendant of Bā' i]ru;
59. [^m]^dNA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GI A-šú šá ^mNA₃-MU-DU A ^m[...] ^dMAŠ (59) Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn descendant of [X]-Ninurta;
60. ^m*si-lim*-^dEN A-šú šá ^mMU-DU A ^m*ha-nap* (60) Silim-Bēl son of Šuma-ukīn descendant of Ḫanap;
61. ^mIR₃-^d*in-nin* A-šú šá ^{md}EN-MU A ^mKUR-*i* (61) Arad-Innin son of Bēl-iddin descendant of Kurī;
62. ^mTIN-*su* A-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DU₃ A ^m*ba-bu-tu* (62) Balāssu son of Marduk-šuma-ibni descendant of Babūtu;
63. ^m*ina*-E₂.SAG.IL₂-NUMUN A-šú šá ^mšá-KA.^dEN A ^mLU₂-^dINIM (63) Ina-Esagil-zēri son of Ša-pī-Bēl descendant of Amēl-Ea;
64. ^m*na-din* A-šú šá ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-BA-šá A ^m*e-gi-bi* (64) Nādin son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iqīša descendant of Egibi;
65. ^{md}INNIN-MU-KAM₂ A-šú šá ^mTIN-*su* A ^m*mu-kal-lim* (65) Ištar-šuma-ēreš son of Balāssu descendant of Mukallim;
66. ^{md}*in-nin*-MU-URI₃ A-šú šá ^mMU-^dNA₃ A ^m*ki-din-d*AMAR.UTU (66) Innin-šuma-ušur son of Iddin-Nabû descendant of Kidin-Marduk;

67. ^{md}UTU-SU A-šú šá ^{md}U.
GUR-MU A ^{md}30-*tab-ni* (67) Šamaš-erība son of Nergal-iddin
descendant of Sîn-tabni;
68. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-DUB-NUMUN (68) Marduk-šāpik-zēri son of
A-šú šá ^mNIG₂.DU A ^{lu}₂NAGAR Kudurru descendant of Nagāru;
69. ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-GIŠ A-šú šá (69) Nabû-zēru-līšir son of Bēlšunu
^{md}EN-šú-nu A ^mku-ri-i descendant of Kurī;
70. ^mna-din ^{lu}₂UMBISAG A-šú šá (70) Nādin, the scribe, son of Nergal-
^{md}U.GUR-ina-SUH₃-SUR A ina-tēšê-ēṭir descendant of Sîn-lēqi-
^{md}30-TI-ER₂ unninnī.
71. UNUG^{ki} ITI GAN U₄ 17-*kām* (71) Uruk. 17 Kislīmu year 7 of
MU 7-*kām* ^dNA₃-IM.TUK Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
LUGAL KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{ki}
72. ^{na}₄KIŠIB ^{md}DUG₃.GA-*iá* ^{lu}₂GAR. (72) Seal of Tābiya the governor of
UMUŠ UNUG^{ki} Uruk.
73. ^{na}₄KIŠIB ^{md}NA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ (73) Seal of Nabû-šarra-ušur, the
^{lu}₂SAG-LUGAL ^{lu}₂EN *pi-qit-ti* royal official in charge of the Eanna.
E₂.AN.NA
74. ^{na}₄KIŠIB ^mgab-bi-DINGIR. (74) Seal of Gabbi-ilāni-šarra-ušur,
MEŠ-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu}₂*qi-i-pi šá* the *qīpu*-official of the Eanna.
E₂.AN.NA

NOTES

13. *ú-ka-am-ma*- The translation here understands these signs as a corrupt form of the verb *kānu*. The form appears to be durative (*ukān* + *ma*) where one would expect a preterite form (*ukīn*).

20. <*ú*>-*bi-lu*- One could interpret the text as written (*bi-lu*) as a corrupt imperative form (for the expected *bi-la*) of the verb *abālu*, meaning that Nabû-mušētiq-uddē is requesting that the judges bring Mušēzib-bēl before them. This kind of request, however, is otherwise unattested. Instead, it is best to interpret the written signs *bi-lu* as a scribal error for *ú-bi-lu*, a first-person preterite form of the verb *abālu*.

26. The “contract of return” (*riksi ša turri*) apparently supports Mušēzib-Bēl’s right to sell the property to Nabû-mušētiq-uddē, against the purported claim of the sons of Marduk-erība. It seems that after the property was sold to the sons of Marduk-erība, the property was returned to Mušēzib-Bēl.

50. *i-zi*-<*bu*>-*ma*¹-The actual writing on the tablet does not yield any sense. This reading follows CAD E, 420, s.v. *ezēbu* 2a, understanding the verb as a G-stem preterite, third-person masculine plural form of the verb *ezēbu*. Note that the use of the verb *ezēbu* with a tablet as its object is rare for Neo-Babylonian.

In the Old Babylonian period, this locution (*tuppam ezēbum*) has the technical sense of “to make out a legal document” (*CAD* E, 422, s.v. *ezēbum* 3d).

72–74. The present text is an unsealed copy of an originally sealed document (Frame 1991, 78). Here, these lines note the appearance of seals on the original. The fact that this text is a copy may account for the infelicitous writings noted above.

26. A PROPERTY DISPUTE WITH THE EANNA TEMPLE

Text: NBC 1207

Copy: Nies and Keiser 1920 (BIN 2), No. 134

Translation/Discussion: Joannès 2000a, 34; 2000b, No. 170 (pp. 229–30); Oelsner, Wells, and Wunsch 2003, 921–22

Place of Composition: Uruk (?)

Date: Between 2 Cyr and 5 Cyr (537–534 BCE)

Three grandsons of Bēl-aḥḫē-iddin present their case against the authorities of the Eanna to the local governor (šākin māti). In year 4 of Nebuchadnezzar, Bēl-aḥḫē-iddin received a house located near the Eanna as a pledge for a debt of 5 1/2 mina of silver owed to him by another man also named Bēl-aḥḫē-iddin. The family of the creditor holds the record, and assumes that the debt was not repaid. On this assumption, the grandsons wish to gain control of the house, but are prevented from doing so because the house is under the control of former Eanna officials. The provincial governor transfers the case to the court of the governor of Uruk and the local judges. The judges read the various documents pertaining to the property's ownership history: the original debt-note, presented by two of the plaintiffs, the Eanna's contracts for the rental of the pledged property, proof that the property was recorded as belonging to the Eanna, and tablets recording the sale and subsequent repurchase of the property. Among these is a tablet in which another grandson of Bēl-aḥḫē-iddin, an heir to the property, served as a witness to a sale of the property out of the family's possession. Based on all of this evidence, the property remains in the possession of the Eanna.

The present lawsuit contains a unique description of the progress of a lawsuit through what might best be called the Uruk court system. It begins with a complaint, lodged before a local official, against the Eanna. The local official is apparently responsible for getting the defendants to come to court and for “sending” (*šapāru*) the parties to the judges, but not for actually conducting the trial. Instead, the case is heard by the governor of Uruk (a higher-ranking official) and a group of the local official's judges.

Although neither the place of composition nor the date of this text is preserved, it is possible to reconstruct both based on the names mentioned in it and its subject matter. The proximity to the Eanna of the house in question and the consequent involvement of the Eanna administration as defendants suggest that the text was composed in Uruk. The following considerations lead to a date between years 2 and 5 of Cyrus:

- Nidinti-Bēl son of Nabû-mukīn-zēri descendant of Dābibī is the *šatammu* of the Eanna (lines 14–15). He is attested as *šatammu* from 1

Cyr to 5 Cyr (Kümmel 1979, 143).

- Nabû-aḫa-iddin, the royal official in charge of the Eanna (line 15), is attested in this position 17 Nbn to 4 Camb (Kümmel 1979, 144).
- Imbiya son of Nanaya-ēreš descendant of Kidin-Marduk is the governor of Uruk (lines 16–17), and is attested in this position from 2 Cyr to 10 Camb (Kümmel 1979, 140).

Thus, the text must date to some time between 2 Cyr (the earliest date for Imbiya) and 5 Cyr (the latest date for Nidinti-Bēl). A date of 4 Cyr (535 BCE) has been suggested (Kümmel 1979, 140; Joannès 2000b, 229).

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| <p>1. [mIR₃]-^din-nin A-šú šá mGAR-MU mkal-ba-a A-šú šá msi-lim-^dEN</p> <p>2. mdUTU-MU A-šú šá mdEN-MU DUMU.MEŠ DUMU šá mdEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU</p> <p>3. A mŠU-^dna-na-a a-na mdNA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-TIN-^{it} lu₂GAR-KUR</p> <p>4. iq-bu-ú um-ma i-na MU 4-kám ^dNA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}</p> <p>5. mdEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU AD AD-i-ni 5 1/2 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR</p> <p>6. a-na mdEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A-šú šá mgu-da-du-ú A md30-TI-ER₂</p> <p>7. a-na ni-is-ḫu id-din-ma E₂-su šá ina KA₂.GAL-i</p> <p>8. šá E₂.AN.NA i-na ú-íl-tì-šú maš-ka-nu iṣ-ba-at</p> <p>9. a-di i-na-an-ni ŠU.2 šá lu₂qi-pa-a-nu maḫ-ru-tu</p> <p>10. šá E₂.AN.NA e-li E₂ šu-a-tì taš-šá-da-ma</p> <p>11. E₂ ina pa-ni-ni la ú-maš-ši-ru it-ti lu₂qí-pa-a-nu</p> | <p>(1–4) [Arad]-Innin son of Šākin-šumi, Kalbaya son of Silim-Bēl, Šamaš-iddin son of Bēl-iddin, grandsons of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin descendant of Gimil-Nanaya said thus to Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit, the provincial governor:</p> <p>(4–7) “In year 4 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, our father’s father, paid 5 1/2 mina of silver for expenses to Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin son of Gudādu descendant of Sīn-lēqi-unninnī.”</p> <p>(7–8) “In the debt-note, he took his house which is at the grand gate of the Eanna as pledge.”</p> <p>(9–11) “Until now, the former qīpu-officials of the Eanna have control over that house; they have not released the house to our possession!”</p> <p>(11–12) “Establish our decision against the qīpu-officials!”</p> |
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12. *šá* E₂.AN.NA EŠ.BAR-*a-ni*
šu-kun ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-TIN-*iṭ*
13. ^{lu₂}GAR-KUR ^{mIR₃}-*din-nin* ^mkal-
ba-a u ^{md}UTU-MU
14. *it-ti* ^mni-din-tu₄-^dEN ^{lu₂}ša₃-*tam*
E₂.AN.NA A-*šú šá* ^{md}NA₃-DU-
NUMUN
15. A ^{md}da-bi-bi ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU
^{lu₂}SAG-LUGAL ^{lu₂}EN *pi-qit-tu*
E₂.AN.NA
16. *ù* ^{lu₂}UMBISAG.MEŠ *šá* E₂.AN.
NA *a-na ma-ḥar* ^mim-bi-ia
17. ^{lu₂}GAR.UMUŠ UNUG^{ki} A-*šú šá*
^{md}na-na-a-APIN-*eš* A ^mki-din-
^dAMAR.UTU
18. *ù* ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-TIN-*iṭ* ^{lu₂}GAR-KUR *a-na*
ša-ka-nu EŠ.BAR-*šú-nu*
19. *iš-pu-ur-šú-nu-tú* ^{lu₂}GAR.UMUŠ
ù ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ *dib-bi-šú-nu*
20. *iš-mu-ú ú-il-ti šá* 5 1/2 MA.NA
KU₃.BABBAR *šá* ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-MU
21. A-*šú šá* ^mŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú šá* UGU
^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A-*šú šá*
^mgu-da-du-*ú*
22. *šá i-na* MU 4-*kám* ^dNA₃-NIG₂.
DU-URI₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
e-li-tu₄
23. *ù* E₂ *ina ú-il-ti-šú maš-ka-nu*
ša-ab-tu šá ^mIR₃-*din-nin*
24. ^mkal-ba-a *u* ^{md}UTU-MU *a-na*
ma-ḥar ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ

(12–19) Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, the provincial governor, sent Arad-Innin, Kalbaya, and Šamaš-iddin together with Nidintu-Bēl, the *šatammu* of the Eanna, son of Nabû-mukīn-zēri descendant of Dābibī, Nabû-aḥa-iddin, the royal official in charge of the Eanna, and the scribes of Eanna before Imbiya, the governor of Uruk, son of Nanaya-ēreš descendant of Kidin-Marduk, and the judges of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, the provincial governor, to establish their decision.

(19–20) The governor and the judges heard their case.

(20–25) The debt-note for 5 1/2 mina of silver belonging to Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin son of Aḥḥēšu owed by Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin son of Gudādu, written in year 4 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and in which the house was taken as collateral, which Arad-Innin, Kalbaya and Šamaš-iddin brought before the judges—

25. *ú-bil-lu-nu ù ̣up-pi*.MEŠ *ù ri-ka-su* NIG₂.GA ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki} (25–28) And the tablets and contracts of the property of Ištar of Uruk (indicating) that the former *qīpu*-officials of Eanna rented out that house, and the rent of that house entered the Eanna from year 23 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon—
26. *šá* ^{lu2}*qi-pa-nu šá* E₂.AN.NA *maḥ-ru-ú-tu₄ šá* E₂ MU.MEŠ *a-na i-di id-di-ni*
27. *ù i-di* E₂ *šu-a-tì ul-tu* MU 23-*kám* ^dNA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃
28. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} *a-na* E₂.AN. NA *i-ru-bu*
29. ^{giš}DA NIG₂.GA ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki} *šá ina* MU 25-*kám* ^dNA₃-NIG₂. DU-URI₃ (29–31) The writing board, property of Ištar of Uruk, of year 25 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in which that house was inscribed among the properties of Eanna—
30. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} *it-ti* GI.MEŠ *šá* E₂.AN.NA E₂ *šu-a-tì*
31. *ina* ^{giš}DA *šá-aṭ-ru* IM.DUB *šá* ^{md}30-MU ^{lu2}*qí-i-pi* (31–36) The tablet (indicating) that Sîn-iddin, *qīpu*-official of the Eanna, and the scribes of the Eanna sold that house for silver, in year 36 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, from the property of Eanna to Innin-šuma-ušur son of Nergal-ušallim descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninnī, and in which Iddin-Nabû, son of the [eldest] son [of] Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, was a witness—
32. *šá* E₂.AN.NA *ù* ^{lu2}UMBISAG. MEŠ *šá* E₂.AN.NA *ina* MU 36-*kám*
33. ^dNA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} E₂ *šu-a-tì ul-tu* E₂.AN. NA
34. *a-na* KU₃.BABBAR *a-na* ^{md}*in-nin*-MU-URI₃ A-*šú šá* ^{md}U. GUR-GI
35. A ^{md}30-TI-ER₂ *id-di-nu-ú-ma* ^mMU-^dNA₃ ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* GAL-*e*
36. ^rA-DUMU^{?1} [IBILA] ^r*šá* ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU *a-na* ^{lu2}IGI-*ú-tu ina lib-bi áš-bu*
37. [*ri*]-*ik-su šá ina* MU 39-*kám* ^dNA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} (37—39) The [con]tract (by means of) which, in year 39 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, [that house ...] to the Eanna from Innin-šuma-ušur
38. [E₂ *šu-a-tì*] *ina* ŠU.2 ^{md}*in-nin*-MU-URI₃ *a-na* E₂.AN.NA
39. [... E₂].AN.NA *a-na i-di* E₂ (39) ... Eanna, for rent, the house
40. [...] ^r^{lu2}RIG₇¹.MEŠ *šá* E₂.AN.NA *na-ad-nu* (40) ... was given to oblates of the Eanna.

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|---|---|
| 41. [... <i>il-ta</i>]- <i>as-su-ú-ma</i> ^{lu₂} GAR.
UMUŠ | (41) ... they re[ad]. The governor |
| 42. [...] <i>šá</i> 5 1/2 MA.NA KU ₃ .
BABBAR | (42) ... of 5 1/2 mina of silver |
| 43. [... <i>e</i>]- <i>li</i> ^{md} EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU | (43) [... ow]ed by Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin |
| 44. [...] LUGAL TIN.TIR ^{ki} | (44) ... king of Babylon |
| 45. [...] <i>ú-il-ti a-na</i> NIG ₂ .GA <i>id-di-nu</i> | (45) ... the debt-note they gave to the possessions |
| 46. .[...] TIN.TIR ^{ki} | (46) ... Babylon |
| 47. [... ^m] ^d UTU-MU <i>ù</i> AD.MEŠ-
<i>šú-nu</i> | (47) [...] Šamaš-iddin and their fathers |
| 48. [... <i>ul</i>] <i>tu₄ lib-bi</i> | (48) [...] from (?) |
| 49. [... ^m] ^d UTU-MU | (49) [...] Šamaš-iddin |
| 50. [...] UNUG ^{ki} | (50) [...] Uruk |
| 51. [...] [? ?] | |
| 52. [...] A- <i>šú šá</i> ^{md} <i>na-na-a</i> -KAM ₂ | (52) [...] son of Nanaya-ēreš |
| 53. [...] ^d <i>in-nin</i> ^{lu₂} DI.KU ₅ | (53) [...] PN]-innin, the judge |
| 54. [...] A <i>wu-ú-šu</i> | (54) [...], descendant of Wušu |
| 55. [...] A [x x]- ^d IDIM | (55) [...] descendant of ... -Ea |

NOTES

Two seals appear on the left edge of the tablet.

9–10. ŠU.2 ... *taš-šá-da-ma*- The present reading (“to have control”) follows the translation in Joannès 2000b, 230, and is based on the use of the verb *kašādu* with *qātu* as the subject to mean “to obtain possession” (*CAD* K, 279). The verb is interpreted as a corrupted form of the expected *takaššadāma*, a G-stem durative, third person dual form.

29–31. These lines describe how the property entered the Eanna’s possession. It is possible that the temple gained control of the property when there was a default on a debt.

41. *il-ta*]-*as-su-ú-ma*- Following Joannès 2000b, 230, the subject of this verb (*šasû*), is understood to be the governor and the judges mentioned in lines 19–20.

45. This line apparently indicates the transfer to the Eanna, now confirmed as owner, of all of the records pertaining to the property.

27. A DISPUTE OVER A HOUSE

Text: BM 41395 (81-6-25, 6)

Copy: Strassmaier 1889b (Nbk), No. 109

Translation/Discussion: Peiser 1896, No. 12 (p. 188); Kohler and Peiser 1890–98, 2:24–25; Godbey 1905, 81; Beaulieu 2003, 329; Kleber 2008, 319–21; Holtz 2009, 261

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 6.I.17 Nbk (9 April, 588 BCE)

Balātu and Šāpik-zēri argue a case regarding a house. Zērūtu, father of Šāpik-zēri, wrote a tablet in which he gave Balātu the property. The judges rule in favor of Šāpik-zēri, and return the property in question to him and record their award on a tablet. The present document is the list of adjudicating officials before whom the case was heard.

Balātu's claim to the property is based on the tablet written by Zērūtu, while Šāpik-zēri's claim to the property stems from his rights as Zērūtu's heir. Zērūtu may have originally mortgaged the house to Balātu, by means of the written tablet. The return of the house and the tablet may reflect the court's ruling that the original debt has been fulfilled.

The panel of judges consists of several high-ranking officials. This is probably because of Balātu's important status. Balātu's name is followed by a feminine name, Nasikātu, which refers to his mother, rather than to his father, as would be typical. The word *nasikātu* in Akkadian means "female tribal leader." Balātu's mother could well have been the leader of one of the Aramean tribes that lived in the southern region of Mesopotamia known as "the Sealand" (Kleber 2008, 320–21).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [an-nu-tu] ^{lu2}da-a-ne-e 2. [šá ina pa-ni-šú-nu ^mDUB]-
NUMUN A-šú šá ^mNUMUN-tú 3. [it-ti ^m]ba-la-tu DUMU ^fna-si-ka-
tu₄ 4. [ina D]U-zu šá ^{lu2}šá-kin KUR tam-
tim 5. [dī]-i-ni šá E₂ ina pa-ni-šú-nu | <p>(1–6) [These are] the judges before whom Šāpik-zēri son of Zērūtu and Balātu son of Nasikātu, [in the presence of the governor of the Sealand, argued a [ca]se regarding a house.</p> |
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6. *id-bu-bu* E₂ ù IM.DUB (6–11) Balātu, together with Šāpik-zēri, returned the house and the tablet that Zērutu, father of Šāpik-zēri sealed and had given to Balātu.
7. *ša* ^mNUMUN-*tú* AD *ša* ^mDUB-
NUMUN
8. *ik-nu-ku-ma a-na* ^m*ba-la-tu*
9. *id-di-nu* ^m*ba-la-tu*
10. *it-ti* ^mDUB-NUMUN
11. *ú-tir-ru-nu* E₂ *pa-an* (11–14) They placed the property at the disposal of Šāpik-zēri; and they brought the tablet and gave it to Šāpik-zēri.
12. ^mDUB-NUMUN *ú-šad-gi-lu*
13. ù IM.DUB *iš-šu-nim-ma*
14. *a-na* ^mDUB-NUMUN *id-di-nu*
15. ^{md}NA₃-KAR-*ir-ZI*.MEŠ (15–16) Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti the *qīpu*-official of the Sealand;
16. ^{lu}₂*qi-i-pi šá* KUR *tam-tim*
17. ^{md}NA₃-*šu-uz-ziz-an-ni* (17–18) Nabû-šuzzizanni the *šanû* of the Sealand;
18. ^{lu}₂*2-ú šá* KUR *tam-tim*
19. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-SU ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ *ša* UNUG^{ki} (19) Marduk-erība the governor of Uruk;
20. ^m*im-bi-d*30 ^{lu}₂E₂.MAŠ ŠEŠ. (20) Imbi-Sîn the *šangû* of Ur;
UNUG^{ki}
21. ^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* A-*šú šá* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DU₃ (21–22) Bēl-uballiṭ son of Marduk-šuma-ibni the *qīpu*-official of Aḫulla’;
22. ^{lu}₂*qí-i-pi šá a-ḫu-ul-la-’*
23. ^mA-*a* A-*šú šá* ^m*šu-zu-bu* DUMU ^m*ba-bu-tu* (23) Aplaya son of Šūzubu descendant of Bābūtu;
24. ^m*mu-še-zib-d*EN A-*šú šá* ^mSUM.NA-ŠEŠ (24–25) Mušēzib-Bēl son of Iddin-aḫa descendant of Bābūtu;
25. DUMU ^m*ba-bu-tu*
26. ^m*mu-še-zib-d*AMAR.UTU A-*šú šá* ^mSUM.NA-ŠEŠ (26–27) Mušēzib-Marduk son of Iddin-aḫa descendant of Ša-nāšišu;
27. DUMU ^m*ša-na-ši-i-šú*
28. ^m*ba-ni-ia* A-*šú šá* ^mA-*a* (28–29) Bāniya son of Aplaya the scribe of the temple of Amurru;
29. ^{lu}₂UMBISAG *ša* E₂ ^dKUR.GAL
30. ^{md}UTU-DU₃ ^{lu}₂E₂.MAŠ ^dKUR.GAL (30) Šamaš-ibni the *šangû* of Amurru.

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| 31. TIN.TIR ^{ki} ITI BAR ₂ | (31–34) Babylon. 6 Nisannu, year 17 |
| 32. U ₄ 6- <i>kám</i> MU 17- <i>kám</i> | of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. |
| 33. [ᵐᵈNA ₃ -NIG ₂ .D]U- <i>ú-šur</i> | |
| 34. [LUGAL TIN].TIR ^{ki} | |

NOTES

19. For other attestations of Marduk-erība, the governor of Uruk, see Kümmel 1979, 139.

28. DISPUTE OVER A THEFT

Text: CBS 5418

Copy: Hilprecht and Clay 1898 (BE 9), No. 69

Translation/Discussion: Stolper 1976, 195

Place of Composition: Nippur

Date: 4.XII.39 Artaxerxes (7 March, 425 BCE)

In the assembly of Nippur, Udarna' accuses members of Enlil-šuma-iddin's household of robbing Udarna' s house together with Udarna' s brother, Zabdiya, and Zabdiya's son, Bēl-ittannu. Enlil-šuma-iddin interrogates the members of his household, obtains the stolen items from them, and returns them to Udarna'. Udarna' renounces any future claims against Enlil-šuma-iddin.

This text belongs to the Murašû-family archive, which dates to a later period than most of the texts in this anthology. Unlike other “family archives,” such as that of the Egibis from Babylon, the Murašû archive consists predominantly of documents pertaining to business transactions, rather than to property held by the family (Jursa 2005, 113). Thus, this text is a rare example of a record pertaining to litigation (Stolper 1976, 195).

1. ^mú-da-ar-na-’ A šá ^mra-ḫi-mi-il (1–2) Udarna’ son of Raḫimi’il, who
šá ina UKKIN EN.LIL₂^rki¹ spoke thus in the assembly of Nippur
to Enlil-šuma-iddin son of Murašû:
2. a-na ^{md}EN.LIL₂-MU-MU A šá
^mmu-ra-šu-ú iq-bu-ú um-ma
^{lu}₂DUMU.MEŠ E₂.MEŠ-ka
3. ^{lu}₂a-lik na-áš-par-ti-ka ^{lu}₂IR₃. (2–4) “When your household
MEŠ-ka it-ti ^mzab-di-ia ŠEŠ-ia u (members), your agent (and) your
^{md}EN-it-tan-nu DUMU-^ršú¹ slaves, together with Zabdiya, my
brother, and Bēl-ittannu, his son,
4. a-na E₂-ia ^rki¹-i i-ru-bu-’ NIG₂. entered my house, they took away my
GA-ia u ú-de-e E₂-ia it-ta-šu-[] property and household items.”
5. ár-ki ^{md}rEN¹.LIL₂-MU-MU (5–6) Afterwards, Enlil-šuma-iddin
a-na ^{lu}₂DUMU.MEŠ E₂.MEŠ-šú interrogated his household (members),
^{lu}₂a-^rlik¹ [na-áš-par]-ti-šú ^{lu}₂IR₃. his a[gent], his slaves, Zab[diy]a and
MEŠ-^ršú¹ Bēl-ittannu.

6. $mzab-[di-i]a u^{md}EN-it-tan-nu$ (6–7) He took that property away
 $i-{}^r\check{s}\acute{a}-al^1-ma$ NIG₂.GA MU.MEŠ from them, returned it and gave it to
 7. $ina \check{S}U.2-\check{s}\acute{u}-[nu] i\check{s}-\check{s}\acute{a}-am-ma$ Udarna'.
 $\acute{u}-\check{t}ir-ma a-na m\acute{u}-da-ar-na-'$
 $id-din$
8. NIG₂.GA MU.MEŠ $m\acute{u}-da-$ (8–9) Udarna' has received that
 $ar-na-'$ $ina \check{S}U.2^{mdr}EN$. property from Enlil-šuma-iddin, his
 LIL₂¹-MU-MU lu_2 DUMU.MEŠ household, his agent and his slaves.
 E_2 .MEŠ- ${}^r\check{s}\acute{u}^1$
9. $u^{lu_2}a-lik na-\acute{a}\check{s}-par-ti-\check{s}\acute{u} u^{lu_2}IR_3$. (9–11) [There is no] claim or
 MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ $ma-{\check{h}}i-ir$ DI.KU₅ u $ra-$ argu[ment] of Udarna' or his sons
 $ga-[mu]$ regardi[ng] that [pro]perty against
 10. $\check{s}\acute{a} m\acute{u}-da-ar-na-'$ u DUMU. Enlil-[šuma-iddin], his household, his
 MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ $a-na mu{\check{h}}-[{\check{h}}i$ NIG₂].GA agent or his slave, to the end of days.
 MU.MEŠ $it-ti^{md}EN$.LIL₂-[MU-
 MU]
11. lu_2 DUMU.MEŠ E_2 .MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ lu_2a-
 $lik na-\acute{a}\check{s}-par-ti-{}^r\check{s}\acute{u}^1$ [u^{lu_2}]IR₃.
 MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ $a-na U_4-mu \check{s}a-a-[t\acute{u}$
 $ia-a-nu]$
12. $ul i-tur-ru-ma m\acute{u}-da-ar-na-'$ u (12–14) Udarna' and his sons shall not
 DUMU.MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ $a-na mu{\check{h}}-{\check{h}}i$ turn back and raise a claim concerning
 NIG₂.GA [MU.MEŠ] [that] property against Enlil-šuma-
 13. $it-ti^{md}EN$.LIL₂-MU-MU iddin, his household, his agent or his
 lu_2 DUMU.MEŠ E_2 .MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$ slaves to the end of days.
 $lu_2a-lik na-\acute{a}\check{s}-par-ti-\check{s}\acute{u} u^{lu_2}IR_3$.
 [MEŠ- $\check{s}\acute{u}$]
14. $a-na U_4-mu \check{s}a-a-tu ul i-{}^rrag-gu^1-$
 [mu]
15. lu_2 MU.DU md MAŠ-MU A $\check{s}\acute{a}$ (15) Witnesses: Ninurta-iddin son of
 md MAŠ-SU md UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A Ninurta-erība; Šamaš-aḥa-iddin son of
 $\check{s}\acute{a}$ md MAŠ-[SUR] Ninurta-[ēṭir];
16. $m\check{I}-d$ MAŠ A $\check{s}\acute{a}$ md EN.LIL₂- (16) Nā'id-Ninurta son of Enlil-
 MU-DU $m\check{a}p-la-a$ A $\check{s}\acute{a}$ md EN. šuma-ukīn; Aplaya son of Enlil-
 LIL₂-TIN-[su-E] balās[su-iqbi];
17. md MAŠ-na-šir A $\check{s}\acute{a}$ md EN-ŠEŠ. (17) Ninurta-nāšir son of Bēl-aḥḥē-
 MEŠ-MU m SU- d EN.LIL₂ A $\check{s}\acute{a}$ iddin; Erība-Enlil son of Enlil-[bana];
 m EN.LIL₂-[ba-na]

18. ^mMU-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-TIN-*iṭ*
^mSIG₁₅-*a* A *šá* ^mSUM.NA-*a*
^{md}UTU-TIN-*iṭ* A *šá* ^mti[*r-ri-ia-*
a-ma]
- (18) Šuma-iddin son of Ninurta-uballiṭ; Damqaya son of Iddinaya; Šamaš-uballiṭ son of T[irriyama];
19. ^mú-*bar* A *šá* ^{md}EN.LIL₂-DU-A
^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* ^mIR₃-E₂.
 GAL.MAH
- (19) Ubar son of Enlil-mukīn-apli; Ninurta-aḥa-iddin son of Arad-Egalmah;
20. ^mḥa-na-ni-*ia-ma* A *šá* ^mú-*da-ar-na-*
^mga-*da-al-ia-a-ma* [A *šá*]
- (20–21) Ḥananyama son of Udar^a; Gadalyama son of Šabbataya; Ilī-idri^a son of Appussa;
21. ^mšab-*ba-ta-a-a* ^mDINGIR.MEŠ-
id-ri-^a A *šá* ^map-*pu-us-sa-a*
- (21) Šuma-iddin son of Enlil-nāšir; Aplaya son of Ninurta-iddin;
22. ^{md}MAŠ-*na-šir* A *šá* ^mMU-^dEN.
 LIL₂ ^{md}MAŠ-*ana-E₂-šú* A *šá*
^mlu-*ú-id-di-ia*
- (22) Ninurta-nāšir son of Iddin-Enlil; Ninurta-ana-bītīšu son of Lū-iddiya;
23. ^mMU-MU A *šá* ^{md}EN.LIL₂-PAP
^mA-*a* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU
- (23) Šuma-iddin son of Enlil-nāšir; Aplaya son of Ninurta-iddin;
24. ^{md}EN.LIL₂-*it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}EN.
 LIL₂-MU ^mZALAG₂-*šú*-^dEN.
 LIL₂ A *šá* ^mi-[-
- (24) Enlil-ittannu son of Enlil-iddin; Nūrīšu-Enlil son of I-[-
25. ^{md}EN.LIL₂-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá*
^{md}EN.LIL₂-TIN-*iṭ* ^mIR₃-*ia* A *šá*
^mú-^r*bar*¹
- (25) Enlil-aḥa-iddin son of Enlil-uballiṭ; Ardiya son of Ubar.
26. ^{lu}₂UMBISAG ^mEN-*šú-nu* A *šá*
^{md}MAŠ-*na-šir*¹ EN.LIL₂^{ki} ITI
 ŠE U₄ 4-*kám*
- (26) Scribe: Bēlšunu son of Ninurta-nāšir.
27. MU 39-*kám* ^mar-*taḥ-šá-as-su*
 LUGAL KUR.KUR
- (26–27) Nippur. 4 Addaru, year 39 of Artaxerxes, king of the lands.
- Left edge:
^{na}₄KIŠIB ^mú-*da-ar-na-*^a
- Seal of Udar^a
- Upper edge:
^{na}₅KIŠIB ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá*
^{md}MAŠ-SUR
- Seal of Šamaš-aḥa-iddin son of Ninurta-ēṭir
- ^{na}₅KIŠIB ^mSU-^dEN.LIL₂ A *šá* ^{md}EN.
 LIL₂-*ba-na*
- Seal of Erība-Enlil son of Enlil-bana
- Third seal legend illegible

Lower edge:

^{na} ₄KIŠIB ^{md} MAŠ- <i>na-šir</i> A <i>šá</i> ^{md} EN- ŠEŠ.MEŠ-[MU]	Seal of Ninurta-nāšir son of Bēl-aḥḥē- [iddin]
^{na} ₄KIŠIB ^m A- <i>a</i> A <i>šá</i> ^{md} EN.LIL ₂ -TIN- <i>su-E</i>	Seal of Aplaya son of Enlil-balāssu- iqbi

NOTES

20–21. The name of the witness Gadalyama son of Šabbataya is Judean. Gadalyama is the equivalent of Hebrew G^edalyāhû.

29. AN ATTEMPTED FRAUD

Text: BM 32165 (76-11-17, 1892) + BM 32199 (76-11-17, 1926) + BM 32763 (76-11-17, 2534); MNB 1810

Copy: Strassmaier 1889a (Nbn), No. 720 (BM 32199); Wunsch 2000a, No. 90A (1:230–31); Contenau 1927–29, vol. 13, No. 219 (MNB 1810)

Translation/Discussion: Moore 1935, 223–27; San Nicolò 1939, 179–88; Joannès 2000b, No. 169 (pp. 227–28); Wunsch 2000a, 1:117–19; 2:114–16

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 11.VII.13 Nbn (22 October, 543 BCE)

Itti-Marduk-balāṭu presents a complaint to the judges of Nabonidus. Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ have claimed that they owed a debt of five mina of silver to Rīmūt, and that they have secured the debt by pledging a field which was later sold to Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin, father of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu. Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ have demanded that Itti-Marduk-balāṭu pay them one-half mina of silver in exchange for the debt-note. Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, with the tablet in hand, has questioned the circumstances, but Šāpik-zēri grabbed the tablet away and chewed it. Upon interrogation by the judges, Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ claim that the debt was paid and that Itti-Marduk-balāṭu has brought them before the judges needlessly. When the judges demand to see Rīmūt, the creditor, Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ cannot bring him and claim that they do not know him. The debt-note turns out to be false. The judges make Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ pay Itti-Marduk-balāṭu ten times the amount of the debt they had falsified. In order to apprehend the scribe who had forged the document, the judges also place the two criminals in fetters and give them over to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu.

Šāpik-zēri and Itti-Marduk-balāṭu rely on two common legal practices when they make their claim. First, when a debt was paid, the debtor would obtain possession of the note from the creditor. Thus, in presenting Itti-Marduk-balāṭu with the (ultimately false) debt-note from Rīmūt, they use their possession of the note to demonstrate that they have satisfied the debt. The two crooks also rely on a standard legal practice regarding property sales. If the sold property was, in fact, mortgaged to another creditor before the sale, then that creditor could take possession of the property from the new owners. When the two men demand payment from Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, they could claim to have done Itti-Marduk-balāṭu a service by clearing a prior lien on the property that his father purchased.

Although the present lawsuit can be understood on its own, without reference to other archival records, it gains added significance when it is set within the context of the Egibi archives. The document belongs to the dossier pertaining to the parcel of land in Babylon described as located “near the Ḥazuzu canal”

(see Wunsch 2000a, 1:110–17). This plot of land originally belonged to Šuma-ukīn, father of Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ, the two defendants. Upon Šuma-ukīn's death, there was extensive litigation regarding the division of the inheritance (see Document 23 above). Soon afterwards, the various heirs sold their shares of land to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin of the Egibi family. By the time of the present lawsuit, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin has died, and his son, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, has assumed control of the family's affairs. In committing their fraud, it is likely that the two brothers tried to take advantage of the changed situation as a result of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin's death. Their victim, however, would not be fooled; his suspicions lead him to bring the matter to the royal judges, some of whom were colleagues of his late father, who was also a royal judge (see Documents 22 and 23 above). In court, the fraud is brought to light and the criminals receive their punishment.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. [m^{it}]-ti-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN
DUMU-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-MU DUMU <i>e-gi-bi</i></p> <p>2. [a-na] ^{r_{lu2}}DI.KU₅.MEŠ šá
^{md}NA₃-IM.TUK LUGAL TIN.
TIR^{ki} <i>iq-bi</i></p> <p>3. [um-ma] ^{md}DUB-NUMUN ù
^{md}EN-TIN-<i>iṭ</i> DUMU.MEŠ šá
^mMU-GI.NA</p> <p>4. [DUMU ^{md}]EN.ZU-šá-du-nu
ù-<i>il-ti</i> šá 5 MA.NA KU₃.
BABBAR</p> <p>5. [šá] ^mri-mut A-šú šá ^mina-qí-bit-
^dNA₃ šá UGU-šú-nu</p> <p>6. šá A.ŠA₃-šú-nu šá UGU <i>ḥar-ri</i> ša
<i>ḥa-zu-zu</i></p> <p>7. <i>ina lib-bi maš-ka-nu šab-tu u</i>
A.ŠA₃ <i>šu-a-tu</i>₄ a-na ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-MU</p> <p>8. <i>a-bi-ia a-na</i> KU₃.BABBAR
<i>in-na-ad-nu a-na pa-ni-ia</i>
<i>iš-ku-nim-ma</i> 1/2 MA.NA KU₃.
BABBAR</p> <p>9. <i>bi-in-na-a-na-ši-ma</i> ù-<i>il-ti ni-id-</i>
<i>din-ka</i></p> | <p>(1–3) [It]ti-Marduk-balāṭu son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin descendant of Egibi said [thus to] the judges of Nabonidus:</p> <p>(3–9) “Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ sons of Šuma-ukīn [descendant of] Sîn-sadûnu presented me with a debt-note for 5 mina of silver, which they owe to Rīmūt son of Ina-qībit-Nabû, (and) for which their field which is near the Ḥazuzu canal is taken in pledge, and that field was sold to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, my father, for silver, (and they said): ‘Give us 1/2 a mina of silver and we will give you the debt-note.’”</p> |
|--|--|

10. *ù-il-ti ú-ki-il-ma aq-bi-šú-nu-ti um-ma man-nu* (10) “I held the tablet and said thus to them.”
11. ^{md}*ri-mut šá A.ŠA₃ maš-ka-nu ina ŠU.2-ku-nu šab-tu ú-il-tu₄ šu-a-tim* (10–11) “‘Who is Rīmūt who received the field in pledge from you?’”
12. ^m*DUB-NUMUN ul-tu ŠU.2-ia i-iḫ-bi-it-ma ina šin-ni-šú ik-su-us* (11–12) “Šāpik-zēri grabbed that debt-note from my hands and chewed it with his teeth.”
13. *EŠ.BAR-a-ni šuk-na* ^{lu₂}*DI.KU₅.MEŠ* ^m*DUB-NUMUN* (13) “Establish our decision!”
14. *ù* ^{md}*EN-TIN-iṭ i-šá-lu-ma iq-bu-ú um-ma* (13–14) The judges interrogated Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ and they said thus:
15. *ú-il-ti e-ṭir-tu₄ ši-i u mi-im-mu-ú* ^m*it-ti*-^d*AMAR.UTU-TIN* (15–19) “The debt-note is paid. Whatever Itti-Marduk-balāṭu recounted before you is true. We did not bring the debt-note for claim or suit against him. He brought us before you!”
16. *ina-maḫ-ri-ku-nu ú-šá-an-nu-ú ki-na-a-ti-ma*
17. *ú-il-ti a-na di-i-ni u ra-ga-mu*
18. *a-na UGU-šú la nu-bi-il-la a-na maḫ-ri-ku-nu*
19. *i-bu-ka-an-na-šú* ^{lu₂}*DI.KU₅.MEŠ iq-bu-šú-nu-ši* (19–20) The judges said thus to them:
20. *um-ma* ^m*ri-mut* *EN ú-il-ti a-na maḫ-ri-i-ni bi-il-la* (20) “Bring Rīmūt, the creditor, before us!”
21. ^m*DUB-NUMUN u* ^{md}*EN-TIN-iṭ* ^m*ri-mu-tu₄ EN ú-il-tu₄ la ub-lu-ni* (21–22) Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ did not bring Rīmūt, the creditor. They changed the statement they spoke and said, “We do not know Rīmūt.”
22. *a-mat iq-bu-ú ik-ki-ru-ma* ^m*ri-mu-tu₄ la ni-i-di iq-bu-ú*
23. ^{lu₂}*DI.KU₅.MEŠ a-ma-a-ti-šú-nu iš-tim-mu-ma ú-il-ti šá* ^m*ri-mut* (23–27) The judges heard their statements: (That) with his teeth, Šāpik-zēri chewed Rīmūt’s debt-note which was written to take Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin’s purchased field in pledge and which they brought to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, and (that) they said “We do not know Rīmūt.”
24. *šá A.ŠA₃ KI.LAM šá* ^{md}*NA₃-SEŠ.MEŠ-MU a-na maš-ka-nu-ti a-na*
25. ^m*ri-mu-tu ú-šá-áš-ṭi-ru-ma a-na UGU* ^m*KI*-^d*AMAR.UTU-TIN*
26. *ú-bil-lu-nim-ma* ^m*DUB-NUMUN i-na šin-ni-šú ik-su-su*
27. *ù* ^m*ri-mu-tu la ni-i-di iq-bu-ú*

28. ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ *im-tal-ku-ma*
ú-il-ti šá ^{md}DUB-NUMUN *u*
^{md}EN-[TIN-*i*ṭ]
 (28) The judges deliberated.
29. *ub-lu-ni a-na sur-ra-a-ti i-na*
pa-ni-šú-nu i-tu-ur-ra
 (28–31) In their estimation, the debt-note which Šāpik-zēri and Bēl-uballiṭ brought turned out to be false. They decided that they must pay 10 times the 5 mina of silver which was written in that debt-note and awarded (that sum) to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu.
30. 5 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR *šá ina*
ú-il-ti šu-a-tim šaṭ-ra a-di 10-šú
e-li-šú-nu
31. *ip-ru-su-ma a-na* ^{md}KI-^dAMAR.
 UTU-TIN *id-di-nu u a-na a-ba-*
ku šá DUB.SAR
 (31–32) And in order to bring forward the scribe who wrote the debt-note, they placed them in fetters and [han] ded them over to Itti-Marduk-balāṭu.
32. *šá-ṭir ú-il-ti iz-qa-a-ti id-du-*
šu-nu-ma a-na ^{md}KI-^dAMAR.
 UTU-TIN *ip-[qi-du]*
33. *ina ša-ṭa-ri ṭup-pi šu-a-ti*
 (33) At the writing of this tablet
35. ^{md}U.GUR-GI ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ DUMU
^{ms}i-gu-[*ú-a*]
 (35) Nergal-ušallim, the judge, descendant of Šigûa;
36. ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅
 DUMU ^mZALAG₂-^d30
 (36) Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, the judge, descendant of Nūr-Sîn;
37. ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi* ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅
 DUMU ^mLU₂-*ú*
 (37) Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, the judge, descendant of Amēlû;
38. ^{md}NA₃-MU-*li-bur* ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅
 DUMU ^mga-ḥal-^dAMAR.UTU
 (38) Nabû-šumu-libūr, the judge, descendant of Gaḥal-Marduk;
39. ^{md}mu-šē-zib-^dEN ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅
 DUMU ^{md}DU₃-*eš*-DINGIR
 (39) Mušēzib-Bēl, the judge, descendant of Eppeš-ili;
40. ^m[ri]-*mut*-^dEN ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ DUMU
^mmi-šir-a-a
 (40) Rīmūt-Bēl, the judge, descendant of Miširaya;
41. [^{md}]NA₃-*e-tel*-DINGIR.MEŠ
^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ ^{md}IM-šam-me-e
 (41) Nabû-etel-ilāni, the judge, descendant of Adad-šammê;
42. ^{md}NA₃-MU-GAR-un DUB.SAR
 DUMU ^{lu}₂GAL-DU₃
 (42) Nabû-šuma-iškun, the scribe, descendant of Rāb-bānê.
43. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI DU₆-KU₃ U₄
 11-*kám*
 (43–44) Babylon. 11 Tašrītu, year 13 of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
44. MU 13-*kám* ^{md}NA₃-IM.TUK
 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

30. A VIOLENT THEFT

Text: YBC 4136

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 128

Translation/Discussion: Dandamaev 1984, 539; Holtz 2009, 269–70, 298–99

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 13.VII.2 Camb (8 October, 528 BCE)

Ištar-ālik-pāni, a herdsman of Ištar of Uruk, testifies before the assembly of mār banī. Bēlšunu entered the flock which was at Ištar-ālik-pāni's disposal, led away a branded ewe and killed it. When Ištar-ālik-pāni ordered him not to kill the branded ewe, Bēlšunu choked him with a neck ornament and uttered imprecations against Gobryas and Pharnaces. The assembly summon and interrogate Bēlšunu, who testifies about himself. The assembly's decision is not legible, but Bēlšunu was probably ordered to make a thirtyfold payment for the sheep.

The witness and victim of the violence, Ištar-ālik-pāni, is at the end of a rather long career in the Eanna (Ragen 2006, 72, 80–85, 128). In the present document, in addition to being described as an oblate (*širku*), he is also described as a herdsman (*nāqīdu*). However, throughout most of his career, which began during the reign of Amēl-Marduk in 561 BCE, he was an overseer of the oblates (*rāb širkī*), and seems to have even risen to the rank of royal official (Ragen 2006, 84). Ištar-ālik-pāni's high status and connection to the royal government may have been what provoked his attacker, Bēlšunu, to defame the satrap and the satrap's subordinate during the violence.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ^{md} AMAR.UTU-MU-MU
DUMU-šú šá ^{md} [PN.. .] | (1) Marduk-šuma-iddin son of Na[bû-]; |
| 2. ^{md} 30-APIN-eš DUMU-šú šá
^{md} NA ₃ -[MU-GIŠ A ^m <i>ib-ni</i> -
DINGIR] | (2) Šîn-ēreš son of Nabû-[šumu-līšir descendant of Ibni-ilī] ; |
| 3. ^m <i>la-ba-ši</i> - ^d AMAR.UTU
DUMU-šú šá ^{md} N[A ₃ ...] | (3) Lābāši-Marduk son of Na[bû- ...]; |
| 4. ^m MU-GI.NA DUMU-šú šá
^m [PN...] | (4) Šuma-ukīn son of [PN...]; |
| 5. ^m EN-šú-nu A-šú šá ^{md} EN-
ŠEŠ-GAL ₂ -šī A ^m LU ₂ - ^d IDIM
^{md} EN-[...] | (5) Bēlšunu son of Bēl-aḫa-šubši descendant of Amēl-Ea; Bēl-[...]; |

6. ^mri-mut A-šú šá ^mna-din-A
DUMU ^{lu}₂UŠ.BAR ^{md}INNIN.
NA-MU-URI₃ A-šú šá ^mŠU A
^rm¹[ku-ri-i] (6) Rīmūt son of Nādin-apli de-
scendant of Išparu; Innin-šuma-ušur
son of Gimillu descendant of [Kurī];
7. ^{md}NA₃-TIN-iṭ DUMU-šú šá
^mina-E₂.SAGIL₂-NUMUN
DUMU ^mLU₂-^{dr}IDIM¹ (7) Nabû-uballiṭ son of Ina-Esagil-
zēri descendant of Amēl-Ea;
8. ^mIR₃-^dU.GUR A-šú šá
^mki-na-a DUMU ^me-gi-bi
^{md}A-^rnim¹-MU-DU₃ A-šú šá
^{md}NA₃-KAR A ^{md}NA₃-šar-ḫi-
DINGIR.MEŠ (8) Arad-Nergal son of Kīnaya
descendant of Egibi; Anim-šuma-ibni
son of Nabû-ēṭir descendant of Nabû-
šarḫi-ilī;
9. ^{lu}₂DUMU.DU₃.MEŠ šá ina
pa-ni-šú-nu ^{md}INNIN-a-lik-pa-ni
^{lu}₂RIG₇ ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki} (9–10) The *mār banī* before whom
Ištar-ālik-pāni, an oblate of Ištar of
Uruk, a herdsman of Ištar of Uruk,
said thus:
10. ^{lu}₂na-qí-du šá ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki}
iq-bu-ú um-ma
11. ^mEN-šú-nu ^{lu}₂RIG₇ ^dINNIN
UNUG^{ki} DUMU-šú šá (11–16) “When Bēlšunu, an oblate of
Ištar of Uruk, son of Nūrea, unlawfully
went down into the (flock of) ewes,
property of Ištar of Uruk, which is
in my charge (and) led away 1 ewe
branded with a star, from the ewes,
property of Ištar of Uruk, which is in
my charge, he killed (it).”
12. ^mZALAG₂-e-a a-na ši-gi-il-ti
a-na U₈.HI.A
13. NIG₂.GA ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki} šá ina
IGI-i-a ki-i ú-ri-du
14. 1-et-ta ina U₈.HI.A šá kak-kab-tú
šen-de-e-ti
15. ul-tu U₈.HI.A NIG₂.GA ^dINNIN
UNUG^{ki} šá ina IGI-i-a ki-i i-bu-
uk[?]
16. it-te-kis a-na muḫ-ḫi ki-i aq-ba-
áš-šú um-ma U₈.HI.A (16–20) “When I said to him thus:
‘You must not kill the iron-starred
ewe!’ he uncovered my head, choked
me with the *kudurru* on his neck, while
saying thus: ‘In this way, they will cast
the workmen’s neck-*kudurru* upon
Gobryas and Pharnaces.”
17. šá kak-kab-tu₄ AN.BAR la ta-
nak-kis qaq-qa-da-a ki-i ip-ṭu-ru
18. i-na ku-dúr-ra ša ti-ik-ki-šú iḫ-ta-
qa-an-ni ù
19. i-qab-ba-’ um-ma lib-bu-ú a-ga-a
^mgu-ba-ru
20. ù ^mpar-nak ku-dúr-ra ti-ik-ku šá
^{lu}₂ERIM₂.MEŠ i-na-ad-du-ú

21. UKKIN ^{lu₂}DUMU TIN.TIR *u*
UNUG^{ki} ^{lu₂}*ki-ni-š₄-tu₄* E₂.AN.NA
^mEN-šú-nu (21–22) The assembly of Babylonians
and Urukians (and) the collegium of
the Eanna brought Bēlšunu (before
them), and interrogated him in the
assembly, (saying) thus:
22. *i-bu-ku-nim-ma ina UKKIN*
iš-šá-al-lu-ma iq-bu-šú um-ma
23. *m₁-nam-ma UDU.HI.A šá kak-*
kab-tu₄ AN.BAR tab-^rbu¹-[uk
tek]-kis (23) “Why did you lead away (and)
kill iron-starred sheep?”
24. ^mEN-šú-nu *ina* [UKKIN
^{lu₂}DUMU.DU₃] UGU *ram-ni-šú*
ú-kin-[ni šá] (24–26) In the [assembly of the *mār*
banī] Bēlšunu testifi[ed] against
himself [regarding] the sheep with a
star from the sheep of Ištar of [Uruk
in the charge of] Ištar-ālik-pāni, for
herding.
25. UDU.HI.A *šá kak-kab-tu₄ ul-tu*
UDU.HI.A *šá* ^dINNIN [UNUG^{ki}
šá ina IGI]
26. ^{md}INNIN-*a-lik-IGI a-na* ^{lu₂}*na-*
qid-du-tu [...]
27. [...] ^mEN-šú-nu *a-na ši-gi-il-[ti*
u-rid 1 U₈.HI.A šá] (27–28) Bēlšunu, unlawfully [went
down and] killed [1 ewe] of Ištar of
Uruk.
28. ^rdINNIN¹ UNUG^{ki} *ik-ki-is*
UKKIN ^{lu₂}DUMU.DU₃ [(28–30) The assembly of the *mār banī*
...
in accordance with the regulations of
the Ekur [decided] that Bēl[šunu] must
return...
29. *ki-i ši-in-da-a-tú* E₂.KUR [...] (31–32) Scribe: Šamaš-zēra-iddin son
of Aḫulap-Ištar descendant of Ekur-
zakir.
30. *a-na e-ṭe-ru* UGU ^mEN-[šú-nu
ip-ru-su]
31. ^{lu₂}UMBISAG ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-
MU A-šú *šá* ^{ma}a-ḫu-lap-^dINNIN (32–34) Uruk. 13 Tašrītu, year 2 of
Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of
the lands.
32. A ^mE₂.KUR-*za-kir* UNUG^{ki} ITI
DU₆ U₄ 13-*kám*
33. MU 2-*kám* ^mkám-bu-zi-*ia*
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
34. LUGAL KUR.KUR

NOTES

1. The first name on this tablet is probably that of Marduk-šuma-iddin son of Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit descendant of Balāṭu, who often appears as a witness on documents from the Eanna (Kümmel 1979, 93). He may have been an important prebendary (Kümmel 1979, 150).

2. Name restored based on Kümmel 1979, 143 n. 263.

11. A fisherman named Bēlšunu son of Nūrea is attested in another record from the Eanna (Kümmel 1979, 93).

16–20. Gobryas was the Persian satrap of Babylonia and the Transeuphratene territories, appointed by Cyrus the Great (ruled Babylonia 539–530), father of Cambyses (530–522). Under Cambyses, Gobryas's subordinate was Pharnaces. During the reign of Cambyses's successor, Darius I (522–486), Pharnaces held important positions in the royal palace. Although these lines describe charges of treason (against the royal officials) and violence (against the plaintiff), the implications of these charges are not manifest in the record as preserved. The assembly's decision at the end of the record apparently pertains only to the offense against the Eanna's livestock property.

23. The "iron-starred sheep" refers to sheep branded with an iron brand shaped like a star.

31. THE CASE OF A BRANDED TEMPLE SERVANT

Text: YBC 7428

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 66

Translation/Discussion: Dougherty 1923, 34–35; Mendelsohn 1949, 151–52;
Dandamaev 1984, 409–10, 478–79

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 23.III.7 Cyr (5 July, 532 BCE)

Nuptaya, a slave whose hand has been branded with a star, indicating she has been dedicated to the Lady of Uruk, testifies that her first master, Iddin-aḫa, dedicated her to the Eanna. When Iddin-aḫa died, his brother, Šamaš-zēra-šubši, inherited Nuptaya but did not give her up to the Eanna. After entering the possession of her new master, Nuptaya has given birth to three sons. The authorities in the Eanna inspect the marking on her hand and temporarily place her in Šamaš-zēra-šubši's possession. Šamaš-zēra-šubši may not marry her to a slave, and, upon his death, she and her children shall revert to the possession of the Lady of Uruk.

The proceedings recorded here probably began because the Eanna sought to gain control of Nuptaya, who was obviously marked as a slave belonging to the Lady of Uruk. Nabû-zēra-šubši, in taking possession of the slave when his brother died, seems to have acted against his brother's intent and in violation of the Eanna's claim to Nuptaya (compare Document 21 above). From this perspective, however, the outcome of the case remains a bit puzzling. Why were Nuptaya and her children allowed to remain in Šamaš-zēra-šubši's possession, even temporarily? In allowing this arrangement, the Eanna authorities gain an economic advantage: the children will be raised at Šamaš-zēra-šubši's expense, rather than the temple's.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ^fnu-up-ta-a GEME₂ šá ^mSUM.
NA-ŠEŠ A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-GI 2. šá taq-bu-ú um-ma ^mSUM.
NA-ŠEŠ EN-ia kak-kab-tu₄ 3. ki-i iš-mi-tan-ni a-na [^dGAŠA]N
šá UNUG^{ki} uz-zak-kan-nu | <p>(1–2) Nuptaya, female slave of Iddin-aḫa son of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, who said thus:</p> <p>(2–3) “When Iddin-aḫa, my master, marked me with a star he dedicated me to the [Lady] of Uruk.”</p> |
|--|--|

4. ^mSUM.NA-ŠEŠ EN-*a šim-tu*₄ *u-bil-šu-ma* ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GAL₂-*ši* (4–7) “Iddin-aḥa, my master, died, and Šamaš-zēra-šubši, Iddin-aḥa’s brother, who received Iddin-aḥa’s inheritance, took me away from the house of Iddin-aḥa, but did not give me to Ištar of Uruk.”
5. ŠEŠ *ša* ^mSUM.NA-ŠEŠ *ša ár-ka-tu*₄ ^mSUM.NA-ŠEŠ *il-qú-ú*
6. *ul-tu* E₂ ^mSUM-na-ŠEŠ *i-bu-kan-ni-ma a-na* ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki}
7. *la id-di-na-an-ni* ^{msu}-*qa-a-a* ^mSUM.NA-^dNA₃ (7–8) “I gave birth to Sūqaya, Iddin-Nabû and Nabû-aḥa-ittannu, my sons, in the house of Šamaš-zēra-šubši.”
8. *ù* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu* DUMU. MEŠ-*e-a ina* E₂ ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GAL₂-*ši ú-lid*
9. ^{md}a-nu-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu}₂*qi-i-pi* *ša* E₂.AN.NA ^{md}NA₃-DU-A (9–12) Anu-šarra-ušur, the *qīpu*-official of the Eanna, Nabû-mukīn-apli, the *šatammu* of the Eanna, son of Nādinu descendant of Dābibī, Nabû-aḥa-iddin, the royal official in charge of the Eanna and the scribes of the Eanna inspected the star on her hand.
10. ^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM E₂.AN.NA A-*šú* *ša* ^mna-di-nu A ^mda-bi-bi ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU
11. ^{lu}₂SAG-LUGAL ^{lu}₂EN *pi-qit-tu*₄ E₂.AN.NA *ù* ^{lu}₂DUB.SAR.ME
12. *ša* E₂.AN.NA *kak-kab-tu*₄ *ša muḥ-ḥi ri-it-ti-šú i-mu-ru*
13. ^{md}a-nu-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu}₂*qi-i-pi* *ša* E₂.AN.NA ^{md}NA₃-DU-A (13–17) Anu-šarra-ušur, the *qīpu*-official of the Eanna, Nabû-mukīn-apli, the *šatammu* of the Eanna, Nabû-aḥa-iddin, the royal official in charge of the Eanna, and the scribes of the Eanna deposited Nuptaya (and) Sūqaya, Iddin-Nabû and Nabû-aḥa-ittannu, her sons, in the possession of Šamaš-zēra-šubši.
14. ^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM E₂.AN.NA ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU ^{lu}₂SAG-LUGAL ^{lu}₂EN *pi-qit* E₂.AN.NA
15. *ù* ^{lu}₂DUB.SAR.ME *ša* E₂.AN.NA ^fnu-up-ta-a ^{msu}-*qa-a-a*
16. ^mSUM.NA-^dNA₃ *u* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu* DUMU. MEŠ-*šú*
17. *ina pa-ni* ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GAL₂-*ši ip-qi-du* U₄-*mu ma-la* (17–19) For as long as Šamaš-zēra-šubši lives, she shall serve him. Šamaš-zēra-šubši does not intend to sell her for silver nor [marry] her to a slave.
18. *ša* ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GAL₂-*ši bal-tu ta-pal-la-aḥ-šú ul i-šab-bi-ma*
19. ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GAL₂-*ši a-na* KU₃.BABBAR *ul i-nam-din* *ù a-na* IR₃ *ul [i-ḥir-ri]*

20. [ár]-ki^{md}UTU-NUMUN-
GAL₂-ši a-na šim-tu₄ it-tal-lak (20–21) [Af]ter Šamaš-zēra-šubši dies,
the [sl]aves shall be at the disposal of
the Lady of Uruk.
21. [lu₂] ʾa¹-me-lut-tu₄ pa-ni
dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki} ta-ad-da-
gal
22. [lu₂MU].DU^{md}EN-na-din-A A-šú
šá^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-MU A
^{md}EN-A-PAP (22) [Witn]esses: Bēl-nādin-apli son
of Marduk-šuma-iddin descendant of
Bēl-apla-ušur;
23. [mIR₃]-ʾi¹a¹ A-šú šá^mGAR-MU A
mŠU-d^{na-na-a} ^{md}a-nu-MU-DU₃ (23–24) [Ardiya] son of Šākin-šumi
descendant of Gimil-Nanaya; Anu-
šuma-ibni [son of N]abû-ušēzib
descendant of Nabû-šarḫi-ilī;
24. [A-šú šá^{md}N]A₃-SUR A
^{md}NA₃-šar-ḫi-DINGIR ^{md}in-nin-
MU-URI₃ (24–25) Innin-šuma-ušur [son of]
Gimillu descendant of Kurī;
25. [A-šú šá^m]gi-mil-lu A ^mkur-i
^{md}INNIN-DU-A A-šú šá^{md}NA₃-
DU₃-ŠEŠ (25–26) Ištar-mukīn-apli son of Nabû-
bāni-aḫi [descendant of PN];
26. [A PN] ^{md}UTU-DU-A DUB.SAR
A-šú šá^mna-din A ^me-gi-bi (26) Šamaš-mukīn-apli, the scribe,
son of Nādin descendant of Egibi.
27. [UNUG^{ki}] ITI SIG₄ U₄ 23-kám
MU 7-kám ^mku-ra-áš (27–28) Uruk. 23 Simānu, year 7 of
Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the
lands.
28. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL
KUR.KUR

32. SETTLING A DEBT

Text: BM 41415 (81-6-25, 26)

Copy: Strassmaier 1889a (Nbn), No. 1128

Translation/Discussion: Kohler and Peiser 1890–98, 2:70–71; Wunsch 2002b, 243

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 11.XI.[1] Nbn (10 May, 555 BCE; for restoration of the year based on the composition of the tribunal, see Wunsch 1997–98, 98)

Nabû-gāmil argues his case against Mušēzib-Bēl before the sartennu and the judges of Nabonidus. Mušēzib-Bēl's father, Nādin, owed a debt to Nabû-gāmil's father, Nabû-aḥḫē-bulliṭ, and property belonging to Nādin was pledged as collateral for the loan. Nabû-gāmil presents the debt-note to the judges and the sartennu, while Mušēzib-Bēl is unable to prove that the debt has already been repaid. After deliberation, the sartennu and the judges award a parcel of Mušēzib-Bēl's land to Nabû-gāmil. They also seal a tablet, including the precise dimensions of the parcel, to ensure the permanence of the land transfer.

This case illustrates the continuation of a debt after the death of the original parties to the transaction. The plaintiff and the defendant have both inherited the debt of their fathers, respectively the creditor and the debtor.

Another fragmentary text, apparently a sale, sheds light on the subsequent history of the disputed parcel of land. This other text refers to a parcel of land “that the *sa[rtennu]* and the judges entrusted to Nabû-gāmil in payment of the silver of the debt owed to him” (Wunsch 1997–98, No. 36, 3’–7’ [p. 98]). The text probably shows that the land was sold soon after the present lawsuit. Although the names of the parties to this apparent sale are missing, the purchaser was probably a member of the Egibi family, who would have preserved both the fragmentary sale record and the present decision record in their archives (Wunsch 1997–98, 99).

1. [di-i-nu šá] ^{md}NA₃-ga-mil
DUMU-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-
bul-liṭ
 2. DUMU ^mmi-šir-a-a a-na UGU
2/3 MA.NA 4 GIN₂ KU₃.
BABBAR
 3. ra-šu-tu šá AD-šú šá UGU
^mna-din DUMU-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-
MU-MU
 4. DUMU ^{lu}₂GAL-DU₃ it-ti ^mmu-še-
zib-^dEN DUMU-šú šá
 5. ^mna-di-nu DUMU ^{lu}₂GAL-DU₃
i-na ma-ḥar ^{md}30-eri-ba
 6. ^{lu}₂sar-te-nu ù ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ šá
^{md}NA₃-na-⁷ i-id LUGAL TIN.
TIR^{ki}
 7. id-bu-bu ú-il-ti šá ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-bul-liṭ
 8. AD šá ^{md}NA₃-ga-mil šá UGU
^mna-di-nu AD šá ^mmu-še-zib-
^dEN
 9. šá E₂-su maš-ka-nu ša-ab-tu
ma-ḥar-šú-nu
 10. il-tas-su-ú ^{lu}₂sar-te-nu u ^{lu}₂DI.
KU₅.MEŠ
 11. rik-su u i-da-tu šá e-ṭi-ru ^mmu-še-
zib-^dEN
 12. i-ri-šu-ma la ub-la im-tal-ku-ma
 13. 2 GI.MEŠ ù šal-šú šá GI i-na
GI.MEŠ
 14. šá ^mmu-še-zib-^dEN DUMU
^{lu}₂GAL-DU₃
 15. 1 GAR 5¹ KUŠ₃ 14 ŠU.SI UŠ
AN.TA
 16. IM SI.SA₂ DA mu-šu-ú
 17. šá ina pu-ti-šú AN.TA 3 KUŠ₃
 18. ina SAG-šú KI.TA 4 KUŠ₃ 3
ŠU.SI qaq-qar
- (1–7) [The case which] Nabû-gāmil, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit descendant of Miširaya argued against Mušēzib-Bēl son of Nādin descendant of Rāb-bānē, concerning the 2/3 mina 5 šeqels of silver, the debt to his father owed by Nādin son of Nabû-nādin-šumi descendant of Rāb-bānē, before Sīn-erība, the *sartenmu*, and the judges of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
- (7–10) They read before them the debt-note of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, father of Nabû-gāmil, owed by Nādinu, father of Mušēzib-Bēl, for which his house was taken as pledge.
- (10–12) The *sartenmu* and the judges demanded from Mušēzib-Bēl the contract and the signs (proving his) repayment, but he did not bring (them).
- (12) They deliberated.
- (13–14) 2 1/3 reeds in the property of Mušēzib-Bēl descendant of Rab-bānē—
- (15–16) 1 GAR 5 cubits 14 fingerlengths on the upper side, on the north, adjacent to the exit—
- (17) at whose upper front are 3 cubits
- (18) (and) at whose lower front are 4 cubits, 3 fingerlengths, the territory—

19. *a-na ma-la* E₂ ^m*mu-še-zib-d*EN (19) whatever (is the) house (plot) of Mušēzib-Bēl
20. 1 GAR 5 KUŠ₃ 14 ŠU.SI UŠ KI.TA IM U₁₈-*lu* (20) 1 GAR 5 cubits 14 fingerlengths on the upper side, in the south
21. *ina* DA *ri-iḫ-ti* E₂ ^m*mu-še-zib-d*EN (21) adjacent to the remainder of Mušēzib-Bēl's house.
22. 6 KUŠ₃ 10 ŠU.SI SAG AN.TA IM MAR.TU DA SILA *rap¹-šu-ú* (22) 6 cubits 10 fingerlengths on the upper front, on the west, adjacent to the wide street.
23. 5 KUŠ₃ 6 ŠU.SI SAG KI.TA IM KUR.RA DA *mu-še-e* E₂.MEŠ (23) 5 cubits 6 fingerlengths on the lower front, on the east, adjacent to the houses' exit.
24. ŠU.NIGIN 2 GI.MEŠ 2 KUŠ₃ 8 ŠU.SI ^{lu₂}*sar-te-nu u* ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ (24–25) TOTAL: 2 reeds, 2 cubits, 8 fingerlengths. The *sartennu* and the judges placed at the disposal of Nabû-gāmil in payment of his silver.
25. *ku-um* [KU₃.BABBAR]-šú *ina pa-ni* ^{md}NA₃-*ga-mil ú-šad-gi-lu*
26. <<*la e-nu šá*>> *a-na la e-ne-e* ^{lu₂}*sar-te-nu u* ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ (26–28) So that (the decision) would not be changed improperly, the *sartennu* and the judges [wrote] his tablet, sealed it with their seals, and gave it to Nabû-gāmil.
27. *ṭup-pi-šu* [*išṭurū*] ^{na₄}KIŠIB.MEŠ-šú-*nu ib-ru-mu-ma*
28. *a-na* ^{md}NA₃-*ga-mil id-di-nu*
29. *i-na ša-ṭa-ra ṭup-pi šu-a-tim*
30. ^{md}30-*i-ri-ba* ^{lu₂}*sar-te-nu* (29) At the writing of this tablet:
31. ^mE₂-SAG.IL₂-šá-*du-nu* ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^mIR₃-*dé-a* (30) Sîn-erība, the *sartennu*;
32. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-URI₃ ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^{md}IM-šam-*me-e* (31) Esagil-šadūnu, the judge descendant of Arad-Ea;
33. ^m*mu-še-zib-d*AMAR.UTU ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^{md}KASKAL.KUR-ú (32) Marduk-šuma-ušur, the judge, descendant of Adad-šammê;
34. ^{md}NA₃-NUMUN-SI.SA₂-SI.SA₂ ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^mšul-*ma-nu* (33) Mušēzib-Marduk, the judge, descendant of Bālīḫû;
35. ^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^{lu₂}GAL 1-*lim* (34) Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir, the judge, descendant of Šulmānu;
36. ^{md}U.GUR-GI ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^mš_i-*gu-ú-a* (35) Bēl-uballiṭ, the judge, descendant of Rāb-līmi;
37. ^m*ri-mut-d*MAŠ.MAŠ ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅ DUMU ^m*sag-gil-a-a* (36) Nergal-ušallim, the judge, descendant of Šigûa;
- (37) Rīmūt-Nergal, the judge, descendant of Saggilaya;

38. ^{md}U.GUR-*ba-nu-nu* DUB.SAR (38) Nergal-bānūnu, the scribe, de-
DUMU ^{lu₂}GAL-DU₃ scendant of Rāb-banê;
39. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUB.SAR (39) Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, the scribe, de-
DUMU ^{me-gi-bi} scendant of Egibi;
40. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI ZIZ₂ U₄ 11-*kám* (40–41) Babylon. 11 Šabātu, [year 1]
41. [MU 1]-*kám* ^{md}NA₃-*na-’i-id* of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

NOTES

For seals and inscriptions see Wunsch 1997–98, No. 35 (p. 99).

Reading of this document is based on the collations of Cornelia Wunsch.

13–14. The total area recorded in these lines is given as 2 1/3 reeds, which is the same as the total area recorded in lines 24–25: 2 reeds, 2 cubits and 8 fingerlengths.

15–16. The tablet and drawings clearly have 1 GAR 2 (instead of 5) KUŠ₃ 14 ŠU.SI. The reading 1 GAR 5! KUŠ₃ 14 ŠU.SI is required by the following calculations:

Area (A) = 2 1/3 surface reeds (lines 13–14)

Area (A) = 14 + 7/3 surface cubits (7 cubits/reed)

Area (A) = 114 + 1/3 square cubits (7 square cubits/ surface cubit)

This area measurement (A) reflects the product of the average of the length of the “sides” (L_S) and the average of the length of the “fronts” (L_F) (A = L_S X L_F). Using values from lines 22 and 23,

$L_F = [6 + 10/24 + 5 + 6/24] / 2 = 5 + 20/24$ cubits.

Since $A = L_S \times L_F$, $L_S = A/L_F$ or

$L_S = (114 + 8/24) \text{ square cubits} / (5 + 20/24)$

$L_S \sim 19 + 14/24$ square cubits

L_S should also equal the average of the two “sides” (lines 15 and 20). In line 20, the measurement is 19 + 14/24 square cubits: 1 GAR (= 14 square cubits) + 5 square cubits + 14/24 square cubits. Therefore, for the average of the measurement in line 15 and the measurement in line 20 to equal 19 + 14/24 square cubits, the measurement in line 15 must equal the measurement in line 20.

26. Examination of the tablet reveals traces of erasure at the beginning of this line. The scribe apparently corrected his formulation of the clause.

33. A CASE FROM THE EBABBAR AT SIPPAR

Text: BM 74974 (83-1-18, 297)

Copy: Strassmaier 1890a (Cyr), No. 412

Translation/Discussion: Joannès 2002a; Dandamaev 2006, 390

Place of Composition: Sippar

Date: 27.XI.8 Cyr (20 February, 530 BCE)

Šamaš-iddin and Šamaš-uballiṭ settle a debt before the šangû of Sippar, the “temple enterers” of the Ebabbar and the elders of Sippar. There are two debt-notes in question, one for 1/2 mina of silver, contracted during year 1 of Neriglissar (559–558 BCE), and one for 1 1/2 mina of silver, contracted during the reign of Nabonidus (555–538 BCE). Both debts were owed by Nergal-ēṭir, father of Šamaš-uballiṭ, to Nergal-iddin, father of Šamaš-iddin. By the time of the present document’s composition, the two litigants have inherited their respective fathers’ positions in the debt, with Šamaš-uballiṭ in debt to Šamaš-iddin. Šamaš-iddin presents the debt for collection. The authorities apparently arrange for Šamaš-uballiṭ to return earlier copies of the notes to Šamaš-iddin.

The breaks in the present document make a full reconstruction of the case’s narrative difficult. One main difficulty lies with the return of the documents from Šamaš-uballiṭ to Šamaš-iddin. Under normal circumstances, Šamaš-uballiṭ, as debtor, would not be in possession of the debt-notes.

Despite the broken text and the resulting uncertainties, the present document is valuable because it can be compared, from the perspective of the administration of justice, to similar documents from the Eanna at Uruk. In the present document, the *šangû* of Sippar, who stood at the head of the Ebabbar’s administration, adjudicates the case together with the “temple enterers,” those who held certain temple prebends (Bongenaar 1997, 149), and the “elders of Sippar.” At Gimillu’s trial in the Eanna (Document 38 below), the *šatammu*, whose function was similar to that of the *šangû* (Bongenaar 1997, 12), was part of the adjudicating panel, together with “the assembly of Babylonians and Urukians.” Similarly, the “temple enterers” in the present document may be compared with the “collegium” (*kinništu*) at Uruk (see Document 30 above) (Bongenaar 1997, 150–53).

1. *ú-il-ti šá 1/2 MA.NA KU₃.
BABBAR šá KASKAL.2 šá MU
1-kam* ^{md}U.GUR-[LUGAL.URI₃]
 2. LUGAL E^{ki} *ú-ú-il-ti šá 1 1/2
MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR šá
KASKAL.2 šá MU [X-kam]*
 3. ^{md}NA₃-I LUGAL E^{ki} *šá* ^{md}U.
GUR-MU A-šú *šá* ^{md}NA₃-SU [*šá
ina muḥ-ḥi*]
 4. ^{md}U.GUR-SUR A-šú *šá* ^{mšá}-
^dNA₃-šú-ú A ^{lu₂}NAGAR *šá* MU
8-[*kam*]
 5. [^m*kur-raš*] LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL
KUR.KUR ^{md}UTU-MU A-šú *šá*
^{md}U.GUR-MU
 6. *ina* UGU ^{md}UTU-TIN-*iṭ* A-šú
šá ^{md}U.GUR-SUR *iš-ša-a-* *ina
ma-ḥar*
 7. [^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* ^{lu₂}SANGA *sip-
par*]^{ki} ^{lu₂}KU₄ E₂ ^dUTU ^{lu₂}AB.
BA.MEŠ URU
 8. [*iš-tas-su-ú*] ^{md}UTU-TIN-*iṭ* *ú-il-
ti*.MEŠ GABA.RI
 9. [*ú*]-^r*il-ti*.MEŠ¹ [...] ^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ*
^{lu₂}SANGA *sip-par*^{ki}
 10. ^{lu₂}KU₄ E₂ ^dUTU ^{lu₂}AB.BA.MEŠ
URU *a-na* ^{md}UTU-MU A-šú *šá*
^{md}U.GUR-MU
 11. [*ú-kal-lim*] ^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* ^{lu₂}KU₄
E₂ ^dUTU ^{lu₂}AB.BA.MEŠ URU
 12. [*ú-il-ti*.MEŠ *ki-i*] *ú-tir-ru-ma
a-na* ^{md}UTU-MU
 13. [*i-din-nu ...*]
- 1'. [...] 1.'
- 2'. ^{md}EN-A-MU ^{lu₂}KU₄-E₂ ^r^d1[^{md}UTU
A ^{lu₂}SANGA *sip*]-*par*^{ki} (2') Bēl-apla-iddin, the "temple
enterer" of [Šamaš descendant of
Šangû-Sip]par;
- (1–4) A debt-note for 1/2 mina of silver, business capital, from year 1 of Neriglissar, king of Babylon, and a debt-note for 1 1/2 mina of silver, business capital from year [X] of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, belonging to Nergal-iddin son of Nabû-erîb [owed by] Nergal-ētir son of Ša-Nabû-šû descendant of Naggāru —
- (4–6) which, in year 8 of [Cyrus], king of Babylon, king of the lands, Šamaš-iddin son of Nergal-iddin brought (to court, for collection as) owed by Šamaš-uballiṭ son of Nergal-ētir.
- (6–8) [They read] (them) before [Bēl-uballiṭ, the *šangû* of Sippar], the "temple enterers" of Šamaš (and) the elders of the city.
- (8–11) Šamaš-uballiṭ showed the copies of the debt-notes and the original debt- notes to Šamaš-iddin son of Nergal-iddin ... Bēl-uballiṭ, the *šangû* of Sippar, the "temple enterers" of Šamaš (and) the elders of the city.
- (11–13) [When] he returned [the debt-notes], Bēl-uballiṭ, the "temple enterers" of Šamaš and the elders of the city [gave (them)] to Šamaš-iddin.

- 3'. ^mBA-šá-^dAMAR.UTU A-šú šá (3') Iqīša-Marduk son of Etillu de-
^me-til-^rlu A ^{lu}₂SANGA sip-par^{ki} scendant of Šangû-Sippar;
- 4'. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GI A-šú (4') Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim son of
 šá ^mKAR-^dAMAR.UTU A Mušēzib-Marduk descendant of
^{lu}₂SANGA-^dINNIN-TIN.TIR^{ki} Šangû-Ištar-Bābili;
- 5'. ^mIR₃-^dEN ^{lu}₂UMBISAG A-šú šá (5') Scribe: Arad-Bēl son of Bēl-
^{md}EN-GI A ^{md}IM-šam-me-e ušallim descendant of Adad-šammê;
- 6'. UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} ITI ZIZ₂ U₄ (6'–7') Sippar. 27 Šabātu, year 8 of
 27-kám MU 8-kám ^mkur-^ráš¹ Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the
 7'. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL lands.
 KUR.KUR

NOTES

Reading of this document is based on the collations of Cornelia Wunsch. She has detected possible traces of seals on the document.

6'–7'. Collation of these lines shows that the present document dates to the reign of Cyrus. The document's inclusion in Strassmaier 1890a (a collection of documents from the reign of Cambyses) erroneously implies that it was written during the reign of Cambyses.

34. A CASE REGARDING PREBENDS

Text: BM 42299 (81-7-1, 59)

Copy: Jursa 1999, pls. 1–2

Translation/Discussion: Jursa 1999, 128–29

Place of Composition: Sippar

Date: 11.VII.? Dar (September–October, 521–486 BCE)

Šamaš-aḥḫē-lu-irši makes a claim against Šamaš-nāšir regarding ownership of rights to income from certain prebends (the “baker’s prebend” and the “red baskets”). Prior to the present lawsuit, Šamaš-nāšir purchased the prebends from Šamaš-aḥḫē-lu-irši and his brother, Nabû-ušuršu. Now, Šamaš-aḥḫē-lu-irši claims that they belong to his nephew, Nidintu, son of (the apparently dead) Nabû-ušuršu, as part of an inheritance from Šamaš-kāšir, father of Nabû-ušuršu and Šamaš-aḥḫē-lu-irši. Before the elders of Sippar, Šamaš-nāšir defends his rights to the prebends by presenting the document of purchase and the document indicating that he delegated the prebendary obligations (but not ownership of the prebends) to Šamaš-aḥḫē-lu-irši. On the other hand, Šamaš-aḥḫē-lu-irši is unable to produce any documentation to support his own claim. Fearing recriminations for raising a false claim, Šamaš-aḥḫē-lu-irši concedes and releases the prebends to Šamaš-nāšir. Šamaš-nāšir voluntarily pays Šamaš-aḥḫē-lu-irši an additional 1 mina and 5 šeqels of silver.

Prebendary income, connected to the management and operation of the temples’ cultic activities, was an important component of the “wealth portfolio” of families that are attested in many of the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform archives (Jursa 2005, 31–35). The owners of the prebends received income from the temple in exchange for nominal obligations of service. The prebendary rights were treated as property; as the present document shows, they could be sold or leased for profit, and were inherited like other wealth. Apart from its economic value, prebend ownership probably had significant prestige or religious value, as well. These non-monetary considerations seem to have motivated Šamaš-nāšir, the owner of the prebends in question here, as well as his brother, Bēl-rēmāni, the main protagonist in the archive to which the present document belongs. The archive shows that both brothers preferred prebends over other spheres of economic activity. They may have purchased prebends in order to advance their own social standing (Jursa 1999, 85).

The prebend owners themselves often did not perform the actual temple duties required by the prebend. Instead, in order to meet their obligations, they would contract with other prebendaries. This common practice could, understandably, lead to some confusion about who properly owned any particular

prebend. One may speculate that this kind of confusion, alongside more typical inheritance-related matters, led to the lawsuit in the present document.

The present document is a copy, rather than the original decision record (Jursa 1999, 11). Copyist's errors explain some of the the awkward constructions and redundancies in the version here (see lines 30–31; Jursa 1999, 11). The archive to which the present document belongs includes several other copied documents. The noticeable number of copies apparently indicates that the archive served as a tool for scribal training (Jursa 1999, 11; Jursa 2005, 127–28).

1. U₄ 23-*kám* U₄ 24-*kám* U₄ 29-*kám* (1) Day 23, 24, 29, 30 of the month
U₄ 30-*kám* *ša* ITI BAR₂.KAM₂ of Nisannu;
2. U₄ 23-*kám* U₄ 24-*kám* U₄ 29-*kám* (2) Day 23, 24, 29, 30 of the month
U₄ 30-*kám* *ša* ITI GU₄.KAM₂ of Ayaru;
3. U₄ 23-*kám* U₄ 24-*kám* U₄ 29-*kám* (3) Day 23, 24, 29, 30 of the month
U₄ 30-*kám* *ša* ITI SIG₄.KAM₂ of Simānu;
4. U₄ 23-*kám* U₄ 24-*kám* U₄ 29-*kám* (4–5) Day 23, 24, 29 of the month of
U₄ 30-*kám* *ša* ITI ŠU U₄ 29-*kám* Dûzu; Day 29, 30 of the month of Abu;
U₄ 30-*kám*
5. *ša* 'ITI NE' U₄ 29-*kám* U₄ (5) Day 29, 30 of the month of Ulûlu;
30-*kám* *ša* ITI KIN.KAM₂ U₄
29-*kám* U₄ 30-*kám*
6. *ša* ITI DU₆ U₄ '29'-*kám* U₄ (5–6) Day 29, 30 of the month of
30-*kám* *mi-šil* U₄-*mu* *ša* ITI Tašrîtu; Day 29, 30—1/2 day—of the
APIN.KAM₂ month of Araḥšamna;
7. U₄ 27-*kám* U₄ '28'-*kám* *ša* ITI (7) Day 27, 28 of the month of
GAN U₄ 27-*kám* U₄ 28-*kám* *ša* ITI Kislîmu; Day 27, 28 of the month of
ITI AB Tebētu;
8. 'U₄' 27-*kám* U₄ 28-*kám* *ša* ITI (8) Day 27, 28 of the month of Šabātu;
ZIZ₂ U₄ 27-*kám* U₄ 28-*kám* *mi-šil* Day 27, 28—1/2 day—of the month of
U₄-*mu* *ša* ITI ŠE Addaru.
9. [PAP 2]-*ta* U₄ 15-*kám*.MEŠ (9–10) [Total: 2] 15 day periods—the
gišŠUB.BA lu₂MUHALDIM-*ú-tú* baker's prebend—in the second 15-
i-na U₄ 15-*kám* EGIR-tu₄ day period—by mo[nth]—in Ebabbar,
the Temple of Šamaš at Sippar.
10. [ITI-*u*]s-*su ina* E₂.BABBAR.RA
E₂-^dUTU *ša* UD.KIB.NUN^{ki}
11. [2-*ta* U₄-*mu* *mi-š*]i[l U₄]-*mu sel-* (11–12) [2 1/2 da]ys' "red baskets":
le-e sa-mu-tu *ša* U₄ 10-*kám* U₄ of day 10, 11 (and) 1/2 of [12 of the
11-*kám* 1/2 [U₄ 12-*kám*]nu;

12. [šá ITI BA]_{R2} 1-en U₄-mu mi-šil (12–14) 1 1/2 days’ “red baskets”: of
U₄-^rmu¹ sel-le-e sa-mu-ú-tu šá day [1]4 and 1/2 of 15—of the mor-
ning—and ... of the month of Ayaru.
13. [U₄ 10 +]-4-kám ^rú¹ mi-šil u₄-mu
šá U₄ ^r15¹-kám šá še-e-ri ù
14. [x x x] ^rU₄¹-mu šá ITI GU₄ (14–20) (The prebends) before [Šamaš]
pa-^rni¹ [^dUTU] ^da-a si-^hi-^rir¹-tu₄ (and) Aya of the courtyard, [Lady-
of-Sippar], and before Ištar, Lady of
15. [^dGAŠAN sip-par]^{ki} ù pa-ni Ak[kad]—which, in the intercalary
^dINANNA GAŠAN a-[ga-d]^{ek}^{ki} Addaru, in the access[ion year] of
šá ina ITI ^rDIRI.ŠE.KIN.KUD¹ Darius the king, [Šamaš]-nāšir son
of Mušebši-Marduk, descendant of
16. [MU SA]G.NAM.LUGAL.LA Šangû-Šamaš, recei[ved from Nabû-u]
^mda-ri-’i-muš LUGAL šuršu and Šamaš-aḥḥē-lū-irši, sons of
[Šamaš-kāšir], descendant of Isinnaya,
for the [full] purchase price in silver.
17. [^mdUTU-na]-^ršir¹ DUMU šá
^mmu-šeb-ši-^dAMAR.UTU A
^{lu2}SANGA-^dUTU
18. [ina ŠU.2 ^mdNA₃-ú-š]ur-šú
u ^mdUTU.ŠEŠ.MEŠ-lu¹-ir-ši
DUMU.MEŠ šá
19. [^mdUTU-KAD₂ A] ^{lu2}PA.ŠE^{ki}
a-na kās-sap a-na ŠAM₂
20. [gam-ru-tu im-^hu]-ru ár-ki (20–23) Afterwards, Šamaš-aḥḥē-lu-
^mdUTU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-lu-ir-<š> ina irši, in Tašrītu, [year X of Dari]us, king
of Babylon, king of the lands, raised a
claim [against Šamaš-nā]šir, regarding
these [days] and these baskets, the
baker’s prebend, saying thus:
21. [MU X-kám ^mda-ri-’i]-muš
LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR
a-na muḥ-^hi
22. [U₄-mu.MEŠ u sel]-le-e ^{giš}ŠUB.
BA šu-ma-ti ^{lu2}MUHALDIM-ú-tu
23. [a-na ^mdUTU-na]-šir ir-gu-um (23–25) “These prebends belong to
um-ma ^{giš}ŠUB.BA MU-ti šá [Nidin]tu, the son of my brother, which
he [re]ceived from the inheritance of
Šamaš-kāšir, [my] father.”
24. [^mni-din-it]-tú DUMU ^{lu2}ŠEŠ-ia
šá ^mdUTU-ka-šir AD-ú-<a>
EGIR-šú

25. [il]-qu-ú ši-na^{md}UTU-na-^ršir¹
na⁴DUB KILAM šá^{giš}ŠUB.BA
^rMU¹-<ti>
26. ina ŠU.2^{md}NA₃-ú-šur-šú u
^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ.^rMEŠ¹-lu-ir-ši a-na
kàs-sap im-ḥur-ru
27. ù šá-ṭa-ru šá^{giš}ŠUB.BA ^rMU-
tì¹ ár-ki na⁴DUB KILAM a-na
e-piš-^rnu¹-[tu]
28. a-na^{md}rUTU¹-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-lu-ir-ši
^rid¹-din-nu ina ma-ḥar^{lu₂ši}-bu-tu
URU a-na
29. ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-lu-ir-ši [ú]-
kal-lim-su na⁴DUB KILAM u
ša-ṭa-ru ina ma-ḥar
30. ^{lu₂ši}-bu-ú-tu ^rURU¹ iš-ta-[su]-
ú-ma^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-lu-ir-ši
na⁴DUB KILAM u ša-ṭa-ru šá
e-piš-šú-nu-tu
31. [^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ].MEŠ-lu-ir-ši
ina muḥ-ḥi^{giš}ŠUB.BA MU-tì
^{lu₂}MUHALDIM-ú-tu la ir-ši
^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-<lu-ir-ši>
[UGU] ram-ni-šú
32. [ú-kin-n]i i-dur-ru-ma^{giš}ŠUB.
BA MU-tì ina IGI^{md}UTU-na-šir
ú-maš-^ršir¹ [ina mu]ḥ-ḥi MU-tì
33. ^{md}UTU-na-šir i-na mi-[gir]
lib-bi-šú re-e-mu a-na^{md}rUTU¹-
ŠEŠ.MEŠ-lu-ir-ši ir-[šu]-ma
<<šá^{md}UTU-PAP-ir>>
34. <<ir-šú>> 1 MA.NA 5 GIN₂
[KU₃].BABBAR BABBAR-ú
e-lat KU₃.BABBAR [IGI]-^rú¹ šá
na⁴DUB KILAM a-na
35. ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-lu-ir-[ši]
id-din^{giš}ŠUB.BA MU-tì šá
^{md}UTU-na-šir šu-ú
- (25–29) Before the elders of the city, Šamaš-nāšir [sh]owed Šamaš-aḥḥē-lu-irši the tablet of sale (stating) that he purchased these prebends from Nabū-ušuršu and Šamaš-aḥḥē-lu-irši for silver and the document (stating) that, after the (issuance) of the tablet of sale, he delegated the performance of the prebendary obligations to Šamaš-aḥḥē-lu-irši.
- (29–30) They r[e]ad the tablet of sale and the document before the elders of the city.
- (30–31) But, regarding these baker's prebends, [Šamaš-aḥḥē]-lu-irši had no tablet of sale or document concerning performance of obligations.
- (31–32) Šamaš-aḥḥē-lu-irši conceded. He was frightened and released these prebends to Šamaš-nāšir ...
- (33–35) Šamaš-nāšir ha[d] mercy on Šamaš-aḥḥē-lu-irši, and, of his own will, paid Šamaš-aḥḥē-lu-irši 1 mina (and) 5 šeqels of white silver, besides the previous silver in the tablet of sale.
- (35) This prebend belongs to Šamaš-nāšir.

36. $lu_2mu-kin-nu$ $^mni-din-it-d$ AMAR. (36) Witnesses: Nidinti-Marduk, son of Šamaš-šumu-līšir descendant of Ile' 'i-Marduk ;
UTU DUMU $šá$ mdr UTU¹-MU-GIŠ A mda AMAR.UTU
37. $^mni-din-it$ DUMU $šá$ $^{mdna-din}$ A (37) Nidintu, son of Nādin descendant of Rē' i-sīšī; Ibnaya son of Nādin;
 lu_2SIPA r ANŠE-KUR- i^1 $^{mib-na-a}$ DUMU $šá$ $^{mna-din}$
38. $^{mLU_2-d}NA_3$ DUMU $šá$ (38–39) Amēl-Nabû son of Bēl-iddin descendant of Arad-Nergal; Bēl-ētir son of Bēl-iddina descendant of Maštukku;
 $^{mdEN-MU}$ A $^{mJR_3-GIR_4}$. KU[mdEN]-SUR DUMU $šá$ $^{mdEN-SUM.NA}$
39. A $^{mmaš-tuk-ku}$ $^mni-din-it$ DUMU (39–40) Nidintu son of Nabû-ittannu descendant of Šangû-Šamaš; Ḫabašīru son of Sîn-aḫa-iddin;
 $šá$ $^{mdNA_3-it-tan-nu}$ [A lu_2] SANGA d UTU $^{mḫa-ba-ši-ru}$
40. DUMU $šá$ $^{md30-ŠEŠ-MU}$ $^{mna-pu-uš-tu_4}$ DUMU $šá$ $^{mdEN-ŠEŠ}$. (40–41) Napuštu, son of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Rē' i-sīšī ;
MEŠ-MU
41. A lu_2SIPA r ANŠE.KUR¹.RA (41) Šamaš-uballit son of ...
 $^{mdUTU-TIN-iṭ}$ DUMU $šá$
42. [...] $^{mšad-din-nu}$ DUMU $šá$ (42) Šaddinu son of Bēl-ušallim ...
 $^{mdEN-GI}$
43. [...] mdEN]-TIN- $iṭ$ DUB.SAR (43–44) [...] Bēl]-uballit, the scribe, son of Līšir descendant of [Šangû-Ištar-Bābili]
DUMU $šá$ $^{mli-r}šir^1$ A
44. [lu_2SANGA INANNA-TIN.TIR^{ki} (44) [Sippar.] 11 Tašrītu,
 $^{sip-par^{ki}}$ ITI] DU₆ U₄ 11- $kám$
45. [MU X- kam $da-ri-'i$]- $muš$ (45) [year X of Dari]us, king of
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL Babylon, king of the lands.
KUR.KUR

NOTES

14. For discussion of the group of deities, including the relatively rarely attested “Aya of the courtyard,” see Jursa 1999, 56–57.

17–18. Šamaš-nāšir son of Mušebši-Marduk, descendant of Šangû-Šamaš is well attested as a prebendary in the Ebabbar, as well as in another, smaller sanctuary at Sippar (Bongenaar 1997, 198).

35. A WIDOW AND HER HUSBAND'S CREDITORS

Text: BM 41663+ BM 41698 + BM 41905

Copy: Wunsch 2003, No. 45 (pp. 156–57)

Translation/Discussion: Wunsch 2003, 156–62

Kuttaya and two creditors of her husband, Iddin-Marduk, settle the division of a deposit of silver before the šākin tēmi and judges. The two creditors (one by proxy) provide sworn statements, in which they accept a reduced share of the silver and allow for Kuttaya's own share of the silver.

Although Iddin-Marduk is named as the original debtor, it his wife, Kuttaya, with whom the creditors must settle matters. Iddin-Marduk's absence from the proceedings indicates that the present situation has arisen in the wake of his death. Furthermore, there do not seem to have been any adult sons or brothers, who would have otherwise assumed legal responsibility in such situations, instead of Kuttaya. What is most remarkable in the present document is that the widow apparently has a claim to the inheritance that is equally as valid as those of the other creditors (Wunsch 2003, 162).

The case itself pertains to a deposit of silver, which would have been held in a "leather purse" (13'–16'; 26'–29'). In Neo-Babylonian legal practice, this kind of deposit functioned quite like a modern-day escrow account. Then, it was used in real estate transactions for which clear title remained in question, such as in cases when the seller died before the sale was complete, without disclosing any liens on the property. The purchaser deposited a portion of the price with a third party until any questions could be resolved, after which the seller could claim the funds (Wunsch 2003, 159–60). In the present document, one must conclude that, because the inheritance of Iddin-Marduk did not cover his debts, the original sale was probably not completed.

The date of the tablet is not preserved. It may have connections to documents in the Egibi archive, and, based on these, may date to a time between the latter half of Nebuchadnezzar's reign and the beginning of Nabonidus's (Wunsch 2003, 161).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1'. [...] UGU ^mSUM.NA-[^dAMAR.
UTU] <i>i-r</i>x¹ [...]</p> <p>2'. [...] ^f<i>ku-ut-ta-a</i> DAM ^mMU-[^d
AMAR.UTU <i>ta</i>-[...]</p> <p>3'. [...<i>a</i>]-<i>na</i> ^{lu}₂ TUK.MEŠ šá UGU
^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU <i>id</i>-[<i>di-nu</i>]</p> | <p>1'. ... owed by Iddin-Marduk ...</p> <p>2'. ... Kuttaya, wife of Iddin-Marduk,
...</p> <p>3'. ... which was gi[ven to] the
creditors (with debts) owed by Iddin-
Marduk</p> |
|---|--|

- 4'. [...] ^ri¹-*na pa-an* ^{md}NA₃-MU-GAR-*un* ŠEŠ-*ia ul* ^rx¹ [...]
- 5'. [...] ^mdAMAR.UTU-MU-URI₃ ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ₄ ^ù ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅¹. MEŠ [...]
- 6'. [...] *id*-*bu-bu-ú-ma di-in-šú-nu* *i-^rmur¹-^rru¹...*
- 7'. [^mri-*mut A*]-šú šá ^{md}UTU-DA A ^már-*rab-tu*₄ ^ù [^mšil-*la-a A-šú šá*]
- 8'. [^{md}X]-MU-DU₃ A ^mDU₃-*eš-DINGIR* ^{lu}₂TUK.MEŠ šá UGU ^mMU-[^dAMAR.UTU]
- 9'. [*i-šá*]-^rlu-*ma*¹ ^mri-*mut A-šú šá* ^{md}UTU-DA A ^már-*[rab-tu*₄]
- 10'. *ina pa-an* ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ *niš* ^dUTU *iz-kur-ma an-ni-[tu iq-bi]*
- 11'. *um-ma a-na-ku u* ^mšil-*la-a* ^{lu}₂TUK.MEŠ šá UGU ^mMU-[^dAMAR.UTU]
- 12'. *ul ni-i-du šá* ^rKU₃.BABBAR¹ *ina pa-an* ^mNA₃-MU-GAR-*un paq-[du]*
- 13'. ^mna-*din* DAM šá [^fi-*lat...*] NIN šá ^mSUM.^rNA¹-[^dAMAR.UTU *u*]
- 14'. ^fku-[*ut*]-*ta-[a* DAM ^mMU-AMAR.UTU] *a-na* ^rpa¹-*a[n ...]*
- 15'. *ki-^ri¹ [i-bu-ku-na]-a-šú* ^{kuš}hi-*in-du šá* [^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU]
- 16'. šá [*ina pa-ni*]-^ršú *paq¹-da-tu ki-i iš-šá-a ina pa-ni-ni* ^ri¹-
- 17'. [*x* MA.N]A ^rKU₃.BABBAR¹ *ina lib-bi* ^fku-*ut-ta-a* DAM ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU *ta-[...]*
- 18'. [^ù] ^ršit¹-*ti a-ni-ni a-ki-i* ^rra-*šu¹-ti-ni šá* UGU ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU
- 4'. “in the possession of Nabû-šuma-iškun, my brother ... not [...]
- 5'. Marduk-šuma-ušur, the governor, and the judges [...]
- 6'. ... they [ar]gued and they saw to their case...
- (7'–9') They [ques]tioned [Rīmūt son] of Šamaš-lē'i descendant of Arrabtu and [Šillaya son of X]-šuma-ibni descendant of Eppeš-ilī, the creditors (with debts) of Iddin-Marduk.
- (9'–11') Rīmūt son of Šamaš-lē'i descendant of Arrabtu swore by Šamaš before the judges and [said] thus:
- (11') “I and Šillaya are the creditors (with debts) owed by Iddin-[Marduk].”
- (12') “We did not know that silver was depo[sited] with Nabû-šuma-iškun.”
- (13'–16') “When Nādin, husband of [Ilat] ... , sister of Iddin-[Marduk] [and] Kuttaya, [wife of Iddin-Marduk] brought us before ... the leather purse of [Iddin-Marduk] which was deposited with him, when he took it and, before us ...”
- (17') “[x mina] of silver from which Kuttaya wife of Iddin-Marduk [received?]”
- (18'–19') “[And] (for) the remainder, in accordance with our debt-notes owed (to us) by Iddin-Marduk, we accepted a partial payment.”

- 19'. [ni-in]-¹da¹-tu ù ni-¹it-ta-šī¹ mšil-la-a ¹A-šú šá¹ (19'–20') Šillaya son of [X-šuma]-ibni was sick, so he did not [appear? to give testimon]y.
- 20'. [mdDN-MU]-¹DU₃¹ ma-ru-uš-ma [a-na mu-kin]-nu-tu la ¹x¹
- 21'. [...] mgi-m[il^dgu-la A-šú] (21'–24') Gimil-[Gula son] of Itti-Esagil-zēri ... to them ... he swore an oath of Šamaš before them and [said] thus:
- 22'. ¹šá m¹[KI-E₂-sa]g-il-¹NUMUN¹ a-na pa-ni-š[ú-nu]
- 23'. niš^dUTU ¹iz¹-kur-ma ina pa-ni-šú-nu [an-ni-tu iq-bī]
- 24'. um-ma a-na-ku ¹u m¹ri-mut¹ lu₂TUK.MEŠ šá UGU [mMU-dAMAR.UTU] (24') "I and Rīmūt are the creditors (with debts) owed by [Iddin-Marduk]."
- 25'. ul ni-i-du ki-i [KU₃.BABBAR ina pa-an mNA₃-MU-GAR-un paq-du] (25') "We did not know that [silver was deposited with Nabû-šuma-iškun.]"
- 26'. mna-din DAM šá^fi-lat [...] NIN šá^mSUM.NA₃-dAMAR.UTU] (26'–29') "When Nādin, the husband of Ilat [...] sister of Iddin-Marduk] and Kuttaya, wife of Iddin-Marduk, brought us before ..., the leather purse of Iddin-Marduk which was handed over to him, when he took it, and, before us ... "
- 27'. ù ^fku-ut-ta-a ¹DAM mMU-dAMAR.UTU a-na¹ [pa-an ...]
- 28'. ki-i i-bu-ku-na-a-šú^{kuš}hi-in-du šá^mMU-[dAMAR-UTU]
- 29'. šá ina IGI-šú paq-[da]-tu₄ ki-i iš-šá-a ina pa-ni-ni [...] (30') "[x mi]na of silver from which Kuttaya wife of Iddin-Marduk ...
- 30'. [x MA].NA KU₃.BABBAR ina [lib]-bi ^fku-ut-ta-a DAM mMU-d[AMAR.UTU]
- 31'. [x x] ta ¹x¹ ù šit-ti a-ni-ni a-ki-i ra-šu-[ti-ni] (31'–32') "[And] (for) the remainder, in accordance with [our] debt-notes [owed (to us) by Iddin-Marduk], we accepted a partial payment."
- 32'. [šá UGU mMU-dAMAR.UTU n]i-in-da-tu ù ni-it-ta-[ši ...]
- 33'. [...] ¹x¹ -ut-tu₄ it-te-mu an-¹x¹ [...] 33'. ... swore...
- 34'. [...] šá mMU-dAMAR.UTU ina pa-ni [...] 34'. ... which Iddin-Marduk before ...
- 35'. [...] lu₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ mu-kin-nu-[ti] [...] 35'. the judges... the testimony...
- 36'. [...] m¹i]m-ma šá mMU-d[AMAR.UTU] 36'. whatever, which Iddin-Marduk...

37'. [...] *é-zi-da*

Left edge: ^{na}₄KIŠIB¹ ^{md}AMAR.
 UTU-MU-URI₃ ^{lu}₂DUB.SAR

Seal of Marduk-šuma-ušur, scribe.

NOTES

Although the seal is noted on the edge of the tablet, the seal itself does not appear.

36. SETTLING DOWRY OBLIGATIONS

Text: RSM 1909.405.22

Copy: Dalley 1979, No. 69

Translation/Discussion: Ries 1984; Joannès 2000b, No. 173 (pp. 234–36)

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 22.VII.1 Ngl (30 October, 559 BCE)

Bunanītu presents her claim against Bēl-apla-iddin, the son of her late husband, Nabū-šumu-līšir, most likely from another marriage. Bunanītu claims that when she married Nabū-šumu-līšir, her husband received 4 mina as the dowry. Upon Nabū-šumu-līšir's death, Bunanītu demands repayment of the dowry from Bēl-apla-iddin, her late husband's son and heir. Bēl-apla-iddin claims that although the dowry had been set at 4 mina of silver, his father actually received only 1 1/2 mina, the value of several slaves. In addition, Bēl-apla-iddin claims that he must also repay a 5-mina dowry that his father received when Bēl-apla-iddin married Etellitu. He cannot repay both women, and so instructs the judges to assess his property for the payments. The judges read both women's contracts and assess all the property. They award the two women their dowries from Bēl-apla-iddin's property, and stipulate that he is to receive support from the dowry of Etellitu.

The Neo-Babylonian dowry (*nudunnū*) was property given with the bride to the groom at the time of the marriage. The groom was responsible for maintaining the value of the dowry, which, in the event of the marriage's termination by death of the husband, would ensure the woman's maintenance and thus her financial security in the future. This is nicely illustrated in the Neo-Babylonian Laws, a fragmentary collection of legal provisions, dating to the early seventh century BCE (Roth 1995, 143–49). Paragraphs 12–13 imagine situations quite similar to the one described in the present lawsuit (Ries 1984):

A wife whose husband takes her dowry (*nudunnū*), and has no son or daughter, and whose husband fate carries away—from her husband's property, a dowry equivalent to the (husband's original) dowry shall be given to her ...

A man marries a wife, and she bears him sons. Afterwards, fate carries away that man, and that woman decides to enter the house of another man. She shall take the dowry that she brought from her father's house, as well as anything that her husband had given her (as a gift), and a husband of her choice may marry her...

In the present document, the heir of the deceased husband, the defendant Bēl-apla-iddin, is responsible for two dowries, that of his father's widow, Bunanītu, and that of his own wife, Etellitu. In an ironic twist, he ends up com-

pletely dependent on his wife's dowry for his own livelihood, because the amount of available property is sufficient only to meet these two dowry obligations. This is not entirely surprising, since, as a husband, Bēl-apla-iddin has usufruct rights to his wife's dowry during his lifetime.

The judges' ruling specifically prevents any other creditor from laying claim to the dowry property (lines 39–43). In a sense, then, the result of this lawsuit is equivalent to modern-day bankruptcy protection for an heir to a greatly diminished estate. The two women benefit here, too, since it is their livelihood that is directly protected. In fact, the women's desire for this legal insurance probably motivated their lawsuit.

1. ^f*bu*¹-*na-ni-tu*₄ DUMU.SAL-*su* (1–3) Bunanītu daughter of Šākin-
^š*á* ^mGAR-MU DUMU ^mDU₃-*eš*-
DINGIR šumi descendant of Eppeš-ili raised
a claim against Bēl-apla-iddin son
of Nabû-šumu-līšir descendant of
Mudammīq-Adad.
2. *a-na* ^mdEN-IBILA-MU
DUMU-^š*ú* ^š*á* ^mdNA₃-MU-SI.SA₂
DUMU ^mKAL-^dIM
3. *di-i-nu tag-re-e-ma a-na ma-ḥar* (3–4) They arrived before Mušēzib-
^m*mu-še-zib*-^dEN ^{lu}₂GAR-UMUŠ Bēl, the governor of Babylon son of
TIN.TIR^{ki} Eli-ili-rabi-Marduk, the judges and the
elders of the city.
4. DUMU ^mUGU-DINGIR-GAL-
^dAMAR.UTU ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ *u*
^š*i-bu-tu*₄ URU *ik-šu-du-ma*
5. *dib-bi-šu-nu ú-šá-an-nu-ma* ^f*bu*- (5–6) They related their case.
^{na-ni-tu}₄ *ki-a-am taq-bi* Bunanītu said thus:
6. *um-ma* ^mdNA₃-MU-SI.SA AD ^š*á* (6–7) “When Nabû-šumu-līšir, father
^mdEN-IBILA-MU *a-na áš-šu-tu*₄ of Bēl-apla-iddin, took me as a wife,
^{ki-i i-ḥu-za-an-nu} he received 4 mina of silver as my
dowry.”
7. 4 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR (7–9) “Nabû-šumu-līšir died and
nu-dun-nu-ú-a il-te-qa ^mdNA₃- Bēl-apla-iddin, his son, took over his
MU-SI.SA₂ *a-na šim-tu*₄ property, but to this day he has not
repaid my dowry to me.”
8. *il-lik-ma* ^mdEN-IBILA-MU
DUMU-^š*ú* NIG₂.GA.MEŠ-^š*ú* *il*-
^{qe-e-ma a-di} U₄-*mu an-na-a*
9. *nu-dun-na-a-a la i-pu-la-an-nu* (9) Bēl-apla-iddin answered thus:
^mdEN-IBILA-MU *i-pu-ul um-ma*
ina ṭup-pi

10. *nu-dun-né-e-ša* 4 MA.NA KU₃.
BABBAR *ša* ^f*bu-na-ni-tu*₄ *it-ti*
^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA₂ (9–12) “In her dowry tablet, Bunanītu wrote 4 mina of silver with Nabû-šumu-līšir, my father, but my father was not given more than 1 1/2 mina of silver, including the [pri]ce of slaves.”
11. AD-*ia taš-ṭur-ru al-la* 1 1/2
MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR *a-di*
[ŠA]M₂ LU₂-*tú*
12. *a-na* AD-*ia la na-din aš-šum*
ri-ḫi-it KU₃.BABBAR AD-*ú-a la*
maḫ-ri (12–13) “My father wrote contracts with Bunanītu regarding the remainder of the silver (which) my father had not received.”
13. AD-*ú-a rik-sa-a-tu*₄ *it-ti* ^f*bu-na-ni-tu*₄ *ur-tak-kis*
14. *ù* 5 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR
nu-dun-nu-ú ša ^f*e-tel-li-tu*₄ *áš-ša-ti-ia* (14–16) “Nabû-šumu-līšir, my father, also received 5 mina of silver, the dowry of Etellitu, my wife, but I am unable to repay both their dowries.”
15. ^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA₂ AD-*ú-a*
il-qe-e-ma ma-la a-pa-lu nu-dun-na-né-e
16. *šu-nu-ti la ma-ša-a-ku* NIG₂.
GA.MEŠ-*ni a-mu-ra-ma nu-dun-nu-ú* (16–17) “Investigate our possessions and provide dowries for Bunanītu (and) Etellitu from them!”
17. *a-na* ^f*bu-na-ni-tu*₄ ^f*e-tel-li-tu*₄ *ina*
lib-bi a-pu-la ú-il-ti (17–21) The debt-note which Nabû-šumu-līšir wrote with Bunanītu in year 31 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, stating: “In the debt-note for 4 mina of silver, Nabû-šumu-līšir has received not more than 1 1/2 mina of silver, the price of a slave from Bunanītu” —
18. *ša ina* ^rMU¹ 31-*kám* ^dNA₃-NIG₂.
DU-URI₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA₂
19. *it-ti* ^f*bu-na-ni-tu*₄ *áš-ša-ti-šu*
i'-i-lu um-ma i-na
20. *ú-il-ti ša* 4 MA.NA KU₃.
BABBAR *al-la* 1 1/2 MA.NA
KU₃.BABBAR *a-di* ŠIM₂ LU₂-*tú*
21. ^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA₂ *ina qa-at* ^f*bu-na-ni-tu*₄ *la ma-ḫir ú-ú-[il-ti]* (21–23) and the de[bt-note] for 5 mina of silver, the dowry of Bunanītu (sic!) which Nabû-šumu-līšir received —
22. *ša* 5 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR
nu-dun-nu-ú ša ^f*bu-na-ni-tu*₄ *ša*
^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA₂
23. *il-qu-ú ú-il-ti*.MEŠ *ki-la-la-an*
ma-ḫar ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ
TIN.^rTIR¹[^{ki}] (23–24) they read both the debt-notes before the governor of Babylon, the judges and the elders of the city.

24. lu_2 DI.KU₅.MEŠ ù *ši-bu-tu* URU (24–26) 1 1/2 mina of silver, the
iš-tas-su-ma 1 1/2 MA.[NA KU₃.
 BABBAR] dowry of Bunanītu, and 5 mina of
 silver, the dowry of Etellitu, were
 established before them (the judges).
25. *nu-dun-nu-ú* šá *bu-na-ni-tu*₄ ù 5
 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR *nu-dun-*
[nu-ú]
26. šá *fe-tel-li-tu*₄ *ma-har-šu-nu i-kun* (26–30) They evaluated the
re-eš NIG₂.GA.MEŠ šá ^{md}NA₃-
 [MU-SI.SA₂] possessions of Nabû-[šumu-līšir].
 In total: His cultivated and newly-
 prepared fields ... in the district of Kiš,
 together with the cultivated lands in ...
 a built house in the city quarter of Tē,
 in the midst of Babylon ... the price
 of these slaves. Th[ey in]vestigated the
 property of Nabû-šumu-līšir.
27. *iš-šu-ma* ŠU.NIGIN₂
 ŠE.NUMUN-šú A.ŠA₃ *me-ri-^ršu¹*
^rù¹ [*tap-tu*]-ú X-X-*hu*
28. *pi-ḫat* KIŠ^{ki} *a-di* ŠE.NUMUN
zaq-pi šá ^ri¹-[*na x x* E₂] DU₃
29. šá *i-na* KI-tì *te-e^{ki}šá qé-reb*
 TIN.^rTIR^{ki1} [x x x] ŠAM₂
30. LU₂-*ut-tu*₄ *an-nu-ú* NIG₂.
 GA.MEŠ šá ^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA₂
i-mu-[ru]
31. lu_2 GAR.UMUŠ TIN.TIR^{ki}
 DI.KU₅.MEŠ ù ^ršⁱ¹-[*bu*]-^rtu₄¹
 URU *im-tal-ku-ma* (31) The governor of Babylon, the
 judges and the elders of the city
 deliberated.
32. ŠE.NUMUN *šu-a-tu*₄ KU₃.
 BABBAR ŠAM₂ E₂ ù ^f[x x] ù
 DUMU.SAL-šú (32–34) That field, the silver, the
 price of the house, and ^f[PN] and her
 daughter they considered as the 6 1/2
 mina of silver, and gave the total 6 1/2
 mina of silver to Etellitu and Bunanītu
 as the[ir] dowries.
33. *a-na* 6 1/2 MA.NA KU₃.
 BABBAR *im-nu-ma a-^rna¹*[*fe-*
*tel-li-tu*₄] ù *bu-na-ni-tu*₄
34. *ku-um* 6 1/2 MA.NA KU₃.
 BABBAR *nu-dun-^rna-šⁱ¹-[na]* *id-*
di-nu *fe-tel-li-tu*₄ (34–37) Etellitu and Bunanītu shall
 receive that property as the 6 1/2 mina
 of silver and shall be fully paid, mina
 for mina, (for) their dowries.
35. ù *bu-na-ni-tu*₄ NIG₂.GA.MEŠ
 šu-nu-tì *ku-um* 6 1/2 MA.NA
 KU₃.BABBAR
36. *i-leq-qa-a-ma ki-i* 1 *ma-<<na>>-*
ne-e
37. *nu-dun-na-ši-na i-na lib-bi i-šal-*
^rli¹-mu ^{md}EN-IBILA-MU

38. *it-ti* ^f*e-tel-li-tu*₄ *áš-šá-ti-šú a-na nu-dun-né-e-šú*
39. *a-ka-lu ù lu-bu-uš-tu*₄ *i-leq-qa*
lu₂TUK-ú
40. *šá* ^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA₂ *ù* ^{md}EN-IBILA-MU DUMU-šú *i-na UGU mim-ma*
41. *šá a-na* ^f*e-tel-li-tu*₄ *ù* ^f*bu-na-ni-tu*₄ *ku-um nu-dun-na-ši-na*
42. *na-ad-[nu] ul i-šal-laṭ ù a-na UGU ra-šu-ti-šú ma-la ba-šu-ú*
43. *it-^rtí* ^{md}EN-IBILA-MU *ul i-rag-gúm di-in-šú-nu di-i-nu*
EŠ.BAR-ši-na *pa-ri-is*
44. *a-na la e-né-e* ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ TIN.TIR^{ki} *ù* ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ *ṭup-pi iš-ṭu-ru*
45. *i-na* ^{na}₄KIŠIB.MEŠ-šú-nu *ib-ru-mu-ma a-na* ^f*e-tel-li-tu*₄ *u* ^f*bu-na-ni-tu*₄ *id-di-nu*
46. *i-na ša-ṭa-ri ṭup-pi šu-a-ti*
47. ^m*mu-še-zib*-^dEN ^{lu}₂GAR.UMUŠ TIN.TIR^{ki} DUMU ^{md}UGU-DIN-GIR.GAL-^dAMAR.UTU
48. ^{md}30-DINGIR ^{<lu₂>}ŠEŠ.GAL ^{<lu₂>}KU₄-E₂ ^dAMAR.UTU DUMU ^{md}30-DINGIR
49. ^m*kal-ba-a* ^{lu}₂KU₄-E₂-AMAR.UTU DUMU ^m*ir-a-ni*
50. ^{md}U.GUR-ina-SUH₃-KAR-*ir* ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ DUMU ^{lu}₂GAL.DU₃
51. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-GAR-MU ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ DUMU URU₃.DU₃-*ma-an-sum*
52. ^{md}EN-NUMUN ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ DUMU ^m*ri-mut*-^dIDIM
53. ^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* DUMU-šú *šá*
^{md}EN-DA DUMU ^{md}30-DINGIR
- (37–39) Together with Etellitu, his wife, from her dowry, Bēl-apla-iddin shall receive food and clothing.
- (39–43) No creditor of Nabû-šumu-līšir or Bēl-apla-iddin, his son, shall have any control over anything which was giv[en] to Etellitu and Bunanītu as their dowries, and shall raise no claim against Bēl-apla-iddin regarding any part of his property.
- (43) Their case is judged; their decision is decided.
- (44) So that (the decision) would not be changed, the governor and the judges wrote a tablet.
- (45) They sealed (it) with their seals and gave (it) to Etellitu and Bunanītu.
- (46) At the writing of this tablet:
- (47) Mušēzib-Bēl, the governor of Babylon, descendant of Eli-ili-rabi-Marduk;
- (48) Sîn-ili, the *šešgallu*, “temple enterer” of Marduk, descendant of Sîn-ili;
- (49) Kalbaya, the “temple enterer” of Marduk, descendant of Ir’anni;
- (50) Nergal-ina-tēšê-ēṭir, the judge, descendant of Rāb-banê;
- (51) Marduk-šākin-šumi, the judge, descendant of URU₃.DU₃-mansum;
- (52) Bēl-zēri, the judge, descendant of Rīmūt-Ea;
- (53) Bēl-uballit son of Bēl-lē’i descendant of Sîn-ili;

54. ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU-*šú* *šá* ^mBA-*šá-a* DUMU ^mDU₃-*eš-*
DINGIR (54) Iddin-Marduk son of Iqīšaya
descendant of Eppeš-ili;
55. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DU₃ (55) Marduk-šuma-ibni son of Šākin-
DUMU-*šú šá* ^mGAR-MU
DUMU ^mši-*gu-ú-a* šumi descendant of Šigûa;
56. ^{md}EN-MU-GAR-*un* DUMU-*šú* (56) Bēl-šuma-iškun son of Bēl-
šá ^{md}EN-GI DUMU ^{lu}₂NI.DU₈ ušallim descendant of Atû;
57. ^mDU-NUMUN DUMU-*šú šá* (57) Mukīn-zēri son of Tabnêa
^mtab-*né-e-a* DUMU ^me-*gi-bi* descendant of Egibi;
58. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-DUB-NUMUN (58) Marduk-šāpik-zēri, the scribe,
DUB.SAR DUMU-*šú šá* ^mmu-
*še-zib-d*AMAR.UTU DUMU
^mšu-*ha-a-a* son of Mušēzib-Marduk, descendant
of Šuḥaya.
59. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI DU₆ U₄ 22-*kám* (59) Babylon. 22 Tašrītu, year 1 of
MU 1-*kám* ^{md}U.GUR-LUGAL-
URI₃ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} Neriglissar, king of Babylon.
- ^{na}₄KIŠIB ^mmu-*še-zib-d*EN ^{lu}₂GAR. Seal of Mušēzib-Bēl, governor of
UMUŠ TIN.TIR^{ki} Babylon.
- ^{na}₂KIŠIB ^{md}U.GUR-*ina*-SUH₃-KAR- Seal of Nergal-ina-tēšē-ēṭir, the judge.
ir ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅
- ^{na}₄KIŠIB ^{md}EN-NUMUN ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ Seal of Bēl-zēri, the judge.
- ^{na}₄KIŠIB ^{md}AMAR.UTU-GAR-MU Seal of Marduk-šākin-šumi, the judge.
^{lu}₂DI.KU₅

NOTES

18. Year 31 of Nebuchadnezzar corresponds to 574–573 BCE, which means that the debt-note was written some 15 years before the present lawsuit.

22. As has already been noted in previous editions of the text, the name Bunanītu in this line is clearly a scribal error. The dowry to which the text refers here is that of Etellitu.

36–37. The phrase *ki-i 1 ma-<na>-ne-e* (literally “as 1 mina”) appears to be an idiomatic expression of the women’s receipt of complete payment.

Seal inscriptions appear without the seals, indicating that the present document is a copy of the original.

CHAPTER 3

FOUR TRIAL DOSSIERS

THE INFAMOUS GIMILLU (DOCUMENTS 37–41)

To cuneiformists, Gimillu, son of Inni-šuma-ibni, is perhaps the best-known character from the Neo-Babylonian archives. He entered the Eanna bureaucracy towards the end of the reign of Nabonidus (539 BCE), and is first attested as the “overseer of the remainders” (*ša muḥḫi rēḫāni*) owed to the Eanna temple by its livestock farmers. Very quickly, he seems to have learned how to abuse this position; within less than a year, he was on trial for embezzling cattle and other temple property (Document 38). Despite his malfeasance, for some reason he remained in office. He continued his misdeeds but was nevertheless appointed, during the reign of Cambyses, to the position of “chief farmer” (*ša muḥḫi sūti*), where he found further opportunities for questionable activity. It was in this post that he ended his ignominious career in year 2 of Darius I (520 BCE), after nearly twenty years of (mis)serving the Eanna.

Although in several texts he is designated as an oblate (*širku*) of the Eanna (Dandamaev 1984, 533 n. 97), he was hardly a mere slave. Rather, Gimillu’s positions are best characterized as “middle management,” between the higher echelons of the Eanna administration, including the royal representatives, and the lower-level herders and tenant farmers. More specifically, he was personally responsible for ensuring that the Eanna received the yields that it expected from the herders and the date farmers. In other words, the Eanna relied on Gimillu to achieve its fiscal goals, even as it allowed him some measure of profit from the arrangement. Obviously, Gimillu took advantage of this arrangement, but his situation was hardly enviable. There were clear discrepancies between what the Eanna expected to receive and what agriculture could actually produce, and Gimillu would have had to negotiate these tensions (Jursa 2004a, 122–25).

Recent scholarship has returned to examine Gimillu’s rather amazing survival in the Eanna despite his misdeeds (Kozuh 2006, 108–26; Ragen 2006, 479–512). If, as the texts imply, his relationship to the Eanna authorities was so

bad (see Document 41 below), why did they allow him to continue his service? Gimillu, it seems, had connections to the satrapal government establishment in Babylon, and probably survived under its patronage. These same connections may also explain the particular scrutiny to which the Eanna subjected him. For, despite all appearances to the contrary, Gimillu's misappropriations almost certainly did not have a particularly great impact on the Eanna's herds (Kozuh 2006, 117–19; Ragen 2006, 506–8). Rather, the confrontations between Gimillu and the Eanna's internal bureaucracy may reflect the Eanna's resistance to imperial intervention in its affairs (Kozuh 2006, 124; Ragen 2006, 509–10). To the Eanna, Gimillu, even though he was an “oblate” (*širku*), was also an outsider.

According to one estimate, nearly one hundred texts pertaining to Gimillu's misdeeds are known today (Jursa 2004a, 109). Most remarkably, this “file” contains documents with some of the latest dates in the Neo-Babylonian corpus from the Eanna. This fact points to one possible ramification of the Gimillu affair: once the dust had settled, the Eanna probably undertook a major administrative reorganization, including, quite possibly, resetting or clearing its records (van Driel 1998, 67–68; Jursa 2004a, 132). As a result, numerous “dead files” would have been discarded, among them the Gimillu dossier, only to be rediscovered millennia later as the “Eanna archives.”

37. SUSPECTED MISAPPROPRIATION

Text: YBC 3828

Copy: Dougherty 1920 (YOS 6), No. 208

Translation/Discussion: Von Bolla 1940, 140; Dandamaev 1984, 534; Wells 2004, 175–76; Holtz 2009, 146–57

Place of Composition: City of Nabû-šuma-iddin

Date: 9.III.17 Nbn (10 June, 539 BCE)

Gimillu interrogates Nabû-šuma-iddin. Nabû-šuma-iddin is under suspicion of having misappropriated a cow belonging to the temple and branded with a star. Nabû-šuma-iddin responds to Gimillu's questioning by claiming that he rented the cow from Balṭiya, alleging not to have known that Balṭiya did not have the right to rent out the cow. Nabû-šuma-iddin assumes responsibility for presenting testimony concerning Balṭiya. If he does not establish the case against Balṭiya, then Nabû-šuma-iddin will be considered guilty of misappropriating temple possessions, and must repay the temple thirtyfold for the rental fee. The cow in question is led away. Nabû-šuma-iddin must hand over his contract with Balṭiya to Gimillu.

The present document contains the earliest known attestation of Gimillu in the Eanna archives, and illustrates his role as “overseer of the remainders” (*ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*) of the livestock. In this capacity, he must account for animals that have been branded as property of the Eanna. Thus, although the document probably belongs to the Gimillu file, and may have some connection to Gimillu’s malfeasance, it does not, of itself, seem to illustrate any misdeed on his part.

1. ^mtab-né-e-a A-šú šá ^mKI-^dEN-tab-ni (1) Tabnêa son of Itti-Bêl-tabni;
2. ^mgi-mil-lu A-šú šá ^mZALAG₂-é-a (2) Gimillu son of Nûrea;
3. ^mla-ba-ši A-šú šá ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU (3) Lâbâši son of Šamaš-aḫa-iddin;
4. ^mi-di-ḫi-DINGIR.MEŠ A-šú šá (4) Idiḫi-ilī son of Iddin-Nabû;
^mMU-^dNA₃
5. ^mnar-gi-ia A-šú šá ^mEN-šú-nu (5) Nargiya son of Bêlšunu;
6. ^{lu}₂DUMU-DU₃-i šá ina IGI-šú-nu (6–8) The *mār banī* in whose
^mgi-mil-lu presence Gimillu son of Innin-
šuma-ibni said thus to Nabû-šuma-
iddin son of Aplaya:
7. A-šú šá ^{md}INNIN-na-MU-DU₃
a-na ^{md}NA₃-MU-MU
8. A-šú šá ^map-la-a iq-bu-ú um-ma
9. mi-nam-ma GU₄ bu-uš-tu₄ šá (9–10) “Why did you take a cow of
^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki} the Lady of Uruk which is bran[ded]
with a star?”
10. šá kak-kab-tu₄ še-en-^rde¹-[e-ti]
^rtal ¹-qa-ma
11. ^mNA₃-MU-MU ^riq¹-[bu-ú] (11–12) Nabû-šuma-iddin s[aid]
thus:
12. um-ma ^mbal-ṭi-ia [A-šú] (12–16) “Since Simānu, year 17
of Nabonidus, king of Babylon,
13. šá ^{md}INNIN-na- NUMUN-TIL Balṭiya [son of] Innina-zêra-šubši
ul-tu ITI SIG₄ gave it to me for its rent, 4 *kur* of
14. MU 17-kám ^dNA₃-I LUGAL TIN. barley, 1 *pi* 4 *sūt* sesame, per year.”
TIR^{ki}
15. a-na i-di-šú a-na MU.AN.NA 4
GUR ŠE.BAR
16. 1 (PI) 4 (BAN₂) ŠE.GIŠ.I₃ id-da- (16–18) Nabû-šuma-iddin assumes
na-áš pu-ut responsibility for testimony
concerning Balṭiya.
17. ^{lu}₂mu-kin-nu-tu šá ^mbal-ṭi-ia
18. ^{md}NA₃-MU-MU na-ši U₄-mu (18–19) On the day he establishes
uk-tin-nu-uš (the case) against him, he is clear.

19. *za-ki ia-a-nu 1-en 30 a-na* (19–20) If not, he shall pay thirty-
^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki} fold to the Lady of Uruk.
20. *i-nam-din GU₄ bu-uš-tu₄ ^mgi-mil-lu* (20–21) Gimillu has led the cow
away from Nabû-šuma-iddin.
21. *ina ŠU.2 ^{md}NA₃-MU-MU i-ta-bak* (21–24) Nabû-šuma-iddin shall give
^uil-tì Gimillu the debt-note which Nabû-
šuma-iddin and Bałtiya drew up
22. *šá ^{md}NA₃-MU-MU u ^mbal-ṭi-ia it-ti*
^aḥa-meš together.
23. *i-il-lu-’ ^{md}NA₃-MU-MU a-na*
24. *^mgi-mil-lu i-nam-din ^{lu₂}UMBISAG* (24–25) Scribe: Nabû-bēlšunu son
of Nūrea.
25. *^{md}NA₃-EN-šú-nu A-šú šá*
^mZALAG₂-e-a
26. *URU šá ^{md}NA₃-MU-MU* (26) City of Nabû-šuma-iddin.
27. *ITI SIG₄ U₄ 9-kám* (27–29) 9 Šimānu, year 17 of
Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
28. *MU 17-kám ^dNA₃-I*
29. *LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}*

NOTES

7–8. The orthography of the defendant’s name, ^{md}NA₃-MU-MU, is ambiguous; it can be read as Nabû-šuma-iddin or Nabû-nādin-šumi. The present transliteration assumes that the *nādin* element in the latter name is usually written syllabically, rather than with the logogram MU. Note, however, that at least one man named Nabû-nādin-šumi son of Aplaya is attested as a “herdsman” (*nāqidu*) elsewhere in the Eanna material (Kümmel 1979, 68). Given the present context, it is not entirely out of the question that the same person is involved here.

38. GIMILLU ON TRIAL

Text: YBC 4188

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 7

Translation/Discussion: Tremayne 1925, 11–12; San Nicolò 1933a; Holtz 2009, 270–72, 278–79

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 3.VI.1 Cyr (21 August, 538 BCE)

In the presence of twenty-one men, including the governor of Uruk, the šatammu and the royal official in charge of the Eanna, as well as four scribes, Gimillu stands trial for twelve incidents of misappropriation of the Eanna's property. On the basis of witnesses' testimony and Gimillu's own confessions, he is convicted. The authorities impose penalties for each crime.

The present document is one of the longest Neo-Babylonian trial records, comprising nearly 150 lines written on four columns. For convenience, the various parts of the trial are tabulated on the following chart:

Lines in Text	Subject	Date of Offense	Basis of Conviction	Penalty Imposed
1–4	Introduction			
5–29	Names of members of adjudicatory panel			
30–42	2 cows	1.VI.1 Cyr	Testimony	60 cows (30-fold penalty)
43–50	1 cow	VI.17 Nbn	Testimony and confession	30 cows (30-fold penalty)
51–59	1 ewe	—	Testimony	30 sheep (30-fold penalty)
60–76	3 sheep, illegally transferred in forced sale	25.IV.1 Cyr	Testimony	90 sheep (30-fold penalty)
77–87	1 goat, stolen by Gimillu's brother at Gimillu's orders	VI.17 Nbn	Testimony and confession	30 sheep (30-fold penalty)
88–95	1 ewe	—	Testimony	30 sheep (30-fold penalty)

96–103	1 lamb	VI.17 Nbn	Testimony and confession	30 sheep (30-fold penalty)
104–109	1 ewe	—	Confession	30 sheep (30-fold penalty)
110–116	1 ewe	IV.1 Cyr	Confession	30 sheep (30-fold penalty)
117–134	1 ram, silver, and barley (received as a bribe)	—	Testimony and confession	30 sheep 1 mina 10 šeqels of silver (30-fold penalty)
135–139	1 cow	—	Confession	2 (?) cows
140–146	1 garment	—	Confession	silver
147–148	Total fines owed by Gimillu			

The dated offenses show that this trial pertains to misdeeds that Gimillu committed during two consecutive years, year 17 of Nabonidus and year 1 of Cyrus. The earliest offense, according to the present record, occurred in the month of Dûzu of year 17 of Nabonidus (July, 539 BCE), or within a month or so of Gimillu's first appearance in the Eanna archive (Document 37).

1. GU₄.MEŠ *še-e-nu ù mim-mu*
NIG₂.GA ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki} (1–4) The oxen, sheep and whatever property of the Lady of Uruk and Nanaya which Gimillu son of Innin-šuma-ibni received from the overseer of the he[rds and] the shepherds of the Lady of Uruk but did not give to the Eanna.
2. *u* ^dna-na-a šá ^{mgi-r}mil-lu¹ A-šú
šá ^{md}in-nin-MU-DU₃
3. *ina* ŠU.2 ^{lu}₂GAL *bu-[lum ù]*
^{lu}₂SIPA.MEŠ šá ^dGAŠAN šá
UNUG^{ki}
4. *iš-šu-ia-a-ma a-na* E₂.AN.NA *la*
id-di-in
5. ^{lu}₂MU.DU.MEŠ *ú-kin-nu-šú-ma*
e-li ram-ni-šú ú-kin-ni (5) The witnesses testified against him and he testified against himself.
6. *ina* DU-zu šá ^{mna-di-nu} ^{lu}₂GAR.
UMUŠ UNUG^{ki} A-šú šá ^mba-
la-tu (6) In the presence of: Nādinu, the governor of Uruk, son of Balātu;
7. ^{md}a-nu-LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu}₂qí-i-pi
šá E₂.AN.NA (7) Anu-šarra-ušur, the *qīpu*-official of the Eanna;

8. ^{md}NA₃-DU-NUMUN ^{lu₂}ŠA₃.
TAM E₂.AN.NA A-šú šá ^mna-din
A ^mda-bi-bi (8) Nabû-mukîn-zêri, the *šatammu* of
the Eanna, son of Nādin descendant of
Dābibî;
9. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU ^{lu₂}SAG-LUGAL
^{lu₂}EN *pi-qit-tu*₄ E₂.AN.NA (9) Nabû-aḥa-iddin, the royal official
in charge of the Eanna;
10. ^mri-mut-^dEN A-šú šá ^{md}EN-
TIN-iṭ A ^mŠU-^dna-na-a (10) Rīmût-Bēl son of Bēl-uballiṭ
descendant of Gimil-Nanaya;
11. ^msi-lim-DINGIR ^{lu₂}SAG-LUGAL
^{lu₂}šá *muḥ-ḥi qu-up-pu* NIG₂.GA
E₂.AN.NA (11) Silim-ili, the royal official in
charge of the chest of the property of
the Eanna;
12. ^mIR₃-^dAMAR.UTU A-šú šá ^mze-
ri-ia A ^me-gi-bi (12) Arad-Marduk son of Zēriya
descendant of Egibi;
13. ^{md}30-APIN-eš A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-
MU-SI.SA₂ A ^mDU₃-DINGIR (13) Sîn-ēreš son of Nabû-šumu-līšir
descendant of Ibni-ilī;
14. ^mIR₃-^dEN A-šú šá ^mšil-la-a A
^mMU-^dPAP.SUKKAL (14) Arad-Bēl son of Šillaya
descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal;
15. ^msu-qa-a-a A-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.
UTU-MU-MU A ^mŠU-^dna-na-a (15) Sūqaya son of Marduk-šuma-
iddin descendant of Gimil-Nanaya;
16. ^{md}in-nin-MU-URI₃ A-šú šá
^mMU-^dNA₃ A ^mki-din-^dAMAR.
UTU (16) Innin-šuma-ušur son of Iddin-
Nabû descendant of Kidin-Marduk;
17. ^mIR₃-^din-nin A-šú šá ^{md}EN-MU
A ^mku-ri-i (17) Arad-Innin son of Bēl-iddin
descendant of Kurī;
18. ^mGAR-MU A-šú šá ^{md}DU₃-^d15 A
^{md}30-tab-ni (18) Šākin-šumi son of Ibni-Ištar
descendant of Sîn-tabni;
19. ^mki-rib-^rtu₄¹ A-šú šá ^mna-di-nu A
^mba-bu-tu (19) Kiribtu son of Nādinu descendant
of Babūtu;
20. ^{md}EN-ka-šir A-šú šá ^mmar-duk A
^mki-din-^dAMAR.UTU (20) Bēl-kāšir son of Marduk
descendant of Kidin-Marduk;
21. ^{md}NA₃-TIN-su-E A-šú šá ^mib-na-
a A ^mE₂-kur-za-kir (21) Nabû-balāssu-iqbī son of Ibnaya
descendant of Ekur-zakir;
22. ^mIR₃-^din-nin A-šú šá ^{md}DU₃-^d15 A
^mŠU-^dna-na-a (22) Arad-Innin son of Ibni-Ištar
descendant of Gimil-Nanaya;
23. ^{md}in-nin-NUMUN-DU₃ A-šú
šá ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GI A
^{lu₂}SANGA-^dMAŠ (23) Innin-zēra-ibni son of Nabû-
aḥḥē-šullim descendant of Šangû-
Ninurta;

24. ^{md}UTU-TIN-*iṭ* A-*šú šá* ^mna-di-nu (24) Šamaš-uballiṭ son of Nādinu
A ^mLU₂-u descendant of Amēlû;
25. ^mgi-mil-lu A-*šú šá* ^{md}NA₃-MU- (25) Gimillu son of Nabû-šuma-iddin
MU A ^mŠU-^dna-na-a descendant of Gimil-Nanaya;
26. [^mḥaš]-di-ia A-*šú šá* ^{md}15-MU- (26) [Ḥaš]diya son of Ištar-šuma-ēreš
KAM₂ A ^{md}IM-GAL descendant of Adad-rabû;
27. [^m]na-di-nu ^mki-na-a ^mmu-ra-nu (27–28) Nādinu, Kīnaya, Mūrānu and
ù ^mba-la-ṭu Balāṭu, the scribes of the Eanna.
28. ^{lu}₂UMBISAG.MEŠ *šá* E₂.AN.NA (28–29) Uruk. 3 Ulūlu year 1 of
UNUG^{ki} ITI KIN ^ʾU₄ 3^ʾ-*kám* Cyrus, king of the lands.
29. MU 1-*kám* ^mku-ra-*áš* LUGAL
[KUR.KU]R
30. 2 AB₂.GAL.MEŠ *šá kak-kab-tu*₄ (30–36) 2 cows, [brand]ed with a star,
[še-en]-^ʾdu¹ *šá* U₄ 1-*kám šá* ITI (regarding) which, on 1 Ulūlu, [year
KIN 1] of Cyrus, king of the lands, Nabû-
bāni-aḥi son of [X]-iqbi descendant of
31. [MU 1-*kám* ^m]ku-ra-as₂ LUGAL Kurī reported to Anu-šarra-ušur [the
KUR.KUR *šá* ^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ *qīpu*-official of] the Eanna, Nabû-
A-*šú šá* mukīn-zēri, the *šatammu* of the Eanna,
32. [^mPN]-*iq-bi* A ^mku-ri-i a-na ^{md}a- [son of Nādinu] descendant of Dābibī,
nu-LUGAL-URI₃ Nabû-aḥa-iddin, the royal official,
33. [^{lu}₂*qī-pi šá*] E₂.AN.NA ^{md}NA₃- [admin]istrator of the Eanna and the
DU-NUMUN ^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM scribes of the Eanna:
E₂.AN.NA
34. [A-*šú šá* ^mna-di]-nu A ^{md}a-
bi-bi ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU
^{lu}₂SAG-LUGAL
35. [^{lu}₂EN *pi*]-*qit-tu*₄ E₂.AN.NA ù
^{lu}₂UMBISAG.MEŠ *šá* E₂.AN.NA
36. *iq-bu-ú* ^{lu}₂*qī-i-pi* ^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM (36–37) The *qīpu*, the *šatammu*, Nabû-
^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU ù ^{lu}₂UMBISAG. aḥa-iddin and the scribes sent (word)
ME concerning those cows and

37. *a-na muḥ-ḥi* AB₂.GAL.MEŠ
šu-a-tim iš-pu-ru-ú-ma 2 AB₂.
 GAL.ME (37–40) They brought two cows
 branded with a star out of Gimillu's
 house and presented them before
38. *ša kak-^rkab¹-tu₄ še-en-du ul-tu* E₂
mgi-mil-lu Nādinu, the governor of Uruk, and the
 assembly of the Babylonians and the
 Urukians, and
39. *i-bu-ku-nim-ma ma-ḥar mna-di-*
nu lu₂GAR.UMUŠ UNUG^{ki}
40. UKKIN lu₂TIN.TIR^{ki}.MEŠ ù
 lu₂UNUG^{ki}-a-a uš-šu-zi-zu-ma
41. *60-šu* AB.GAL.MEŠ *ku-mu* 2 (41–42) They decided that [Gi]millu
 AB₂.GAL.MEŠ *ša kak-kab-tu₄* must pay 60 cows for the 2 cows
 [branded] with a star.
42. ^rše¹-[*en-du e*]-[*i mgi*]-*mil-lu ip-*
ru-su
-
43. 1 AB₂.GAL *ša ina re-e-ḥu ša*
še-e-nu i-na ŠU.2 (43–46) 1 cow from the remainder of
 the flock, led away from Nanaya-iddin
 son of Arad-Innin, and branded in the
 Eanna and deposited with Ibnaya son
 of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim:
44. md^{na-na-a}-MU A mIR₃-^din-nin
ab-ka-ta-am-ma
45. *ina* E₂.AN.NA *še-en-de-ti ù a-na*
mib-na-a
46. A-šú *ša* md^{na-na-a}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GI
paq-ad-da-ti ù mib-na-a
47. *iq-bu-ú um-ma ina* ITI KIN MU (46–47) And Ibnaya said thus:
 17-kám AB₂.GAL *šu-a-tim*
48. *ina* ŠU.2 lu₂SIPA-ia *mgi-mil-lu*
i-ta-ba-ak (47–48) “In Ulūlu, year 17 (of
 Nabonidus), Gimillu led that cow
 away from my shepherd.”
49. ù *mgi-mil-lu* AB₂.GAL *šu-a-tim*
e-li ram-ni-šú ú-kin (49) And Gimillu testified against
 himself (regarding) that cow.
50. 30 AB₂.GAL.MEŠ *ku-mu* 1 AB₂.
 GAL *e-li mgi-mil-lu ip-ru-su* (50) They decided that Gimillu must
 pay 30 cows for the 1 cow.
-
51. *qa-pu-ut-tu₄ ša še-e-nu ša*
^dGAŠAN *ša UNUG^{ki} ša ina*
pa-ni (51–52) The herd of sheep of the
 Lady of Uruk, which is in the care of
 Šumaya son of Marduk-aḥa-iddin.

52. ^mšu-*ma-a* A-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.
UTU-ŠEŠ-MU *il-la* DU-zu (52–56) Without Šumaya being present, Gimillu brought it to the Eanna from the pasture without (informing) the *qīpu*-officials or the scribes of the Eanna. Of the ewes branded with a star, Gimillu led away 1 lamb and 1 unmarked female goat.
53. šá ^mšu-*ma-a* ^mgi-mil-lu *ul-tu*
EDIN šá *la* ^{lu}₂*qí-pa-a-nu*
54. ^ù ^{lu}₂UMBISAG.MEŠ šá E₂.AN.
NA *a-na* E₂.AN.NA *i-bu-ku ina lib-bi* U₈
55. šá *kak-kab-tu*₄ *še-en-de-ti 1 par-rat* 1 SAL.ÁŠ.GAR *ta-mi-me-e*
56. ^mgi-mil-lu *i-ta-ba-ak* ^ù ^mSUM-na-a A-šú šá ^mŠEŠ-DUG.GA (56–57) And Iddinaya son of Aḥu-ṭāb, the shepherd who brought the sheep, testified against him in the assembly.
57. ^{lu}₂SIPA šá *še-e-nu i-bu-ku ina UKKIN ú-kin-nu-uš*
58. 30 *še-e-nu ku-mu* 1 U₈ šá *kak-kab-tu*₄ (58–59) They decided that Gimillu must pay 30 sheep for the 1 ewe branded with a star.
59. *še-en-de-ti e-li* ^mgi-mil-lu *ip-ru-su*
-
60. 5 U₈.ME šá *kak-kab-tu*₄ *še-en-du šá qa-pu-ut-tu*₄ (60–63) 5 ewes, branded with a star, from the herd of Ḥašdiya son of Nabû-mušētiq-uddê, the herdsman of the Lady of Uruk, which Dannu-aḥḥēšu-ibni son of Šarru-kīn, Ḥašdiya's shepherd, led away from the herd of Ḥašdiya and
61. šá ^mḥaš-di-ia A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-DIB-UD.DA ^{lu}₂NA.KAD *sá* ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki}
62. šá ^{md}dan-nu-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šu-DU₃ A-šú šá ^mLUGAL-DU ^{lu}₂SIPA šá ^mḥaš-di-ia
63. *ul-tu qa-pu-tu*₄ šá ^mḥaš-di-ia *i-bu-ku-ú-ma*
64. *ina* UNUG^{ki} ^mgi-mil-lu U₄ 27-*kám* šá ITI ŠU MU 1-*kám* (64–68) In Uruk, on 27 Dûzu, year 1 of Cyrus, king of the lands, Gimillu detained the sheep and the shepherd in the presence of Šamaš-zēra-iqīša son of [Innin-šuma]-ušur (and) said thus to Nidintu son of [PN the herdsman of] the Lady of Uruk:
65. ^mku-ra-áš LUGAL KUR.KUR *še-e-nu* ^ù ^{lu}₂SIPA
66. *ina* DU-zu šá ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-BA-šá A-šú šá ^m[^din-nin-MU]-URI₃
67. *ú-ki-il a-na* ^mni-din-tu₄ A-šú šá ^mki-[X ^{lu}₂NA.KAD šá] ^dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki}

68. *iq-bu-ú* ^r*um*¹-*ma še-e-nu a-bu-ku-*
ma KU₃.BABBAR-*ši-na* (68–69) “Take the sheep! Bring me
and give me their silver!”
69. *i-ša-*’ *i-bi-*’ ^m*ni-din-tu*₄ *ina*
UKKIN *ú-kin-ni-šú* (69–70) In the assembly, Nidintu
testified against him thus:
70. *um-ma* 3 *še-e-nu ina lib-bi ki-i*
a-bu-ku 3 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR (70–71) “When I led away 3 sheep
from the lot, (and) when I received
the 3 šeqels of silver, I gave (them) to
him.”
71. *ki-i áš-ša-*’ *at-ta-na-áš-šu ú-il-tim*
ša ^m*ki-na-a* (71–74) In the assembly, they read
the document of Kīnaya which he
contracted with Dannu-aḥḥēšu-ibni,
(and which stated) thus: “The silver is
given to Gimillu.”
72. *ša it-ti* ^{md}*dan-nu-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*
*šú-DU*₃ *i-il-li*
73. *ù ina lib-bi šaṭ-ru um-ma* KU₃.
BABBAR *ša a-na* ^m*gi-mil-lu*
SUM-na
74. *ina* UKKIN *iš-ta-as-su-ú*
75. *še-e-nu-a*’ 3 1-*en* 30 90 *še-e-nu* (75–76) They decided that Gimillu
must pay thirtyfold for those 3 sheep:
90 sheep.
76. *e-li* ^m*gi-mil-lu ip-ru-su*
-
77. 1 UD₅ *ša kak-kab-tu*₄ *še-en-de-ti*
*sá qa-pu-ut-tu*₄ (77–81) 1 goat branded with a star,
from the flock of Nabû-mušētiq-
uddê, son of Nanaya-iddin, which, in
Ulûlu, year 17 (of Nabonidus), Nabû-
mušētiq-uddê brought to the Eanna
together with his flock and about
which Nabû-mušētiq-uddê said:
78. *ša* ^{md}NA₃-DIB-UD.DA A-*šú ša*
^{md}*na-na-a-MU ša* ^{md}NA₃-DIB-
UD.DA
79. *ina* ITI KIN MU 17-*kám it-ti*
še-e-ni-šú
80. *a-na* E₂.AN.NA *i-bu-ku ù*
^{md}NA₃-DIB-UD.DA
81. *iq-bu-ú ina* KA₂ *ti-li-mu* ^mSUM-
na-a ŠEŠ ša ^mŠU (81–82) “At the Ṭilimu-gate, Iddinaya,
Gimillu’s brother, led (it) away.”
82. *i-ta-ba-ak ù* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-MU A-*šú ša* ^{md}EN-KAM₂ (82–83) In the assembly, Nabû-aḥḥē-
iddin son of Bēl-ēreš said thus:
83. *ina* UKKIN *iq-bi um-ma* UD₅
šu-a-tim ina pa-ni-ia (83–84) “Iddinaya led that goat away
in my presence.”
84. ^mSUM-*na-a i-ta-ba-ak ù* ^m*gi-mil-*
lu iq-bi (84–85) And Gimillu said thus: “It
was I who sent Iddinaya my brother.”
85. *um-ma a-na-ku* ^mSUM-*na ŠEŠ-*
ú-a al-tap-ra

- | | |
|---|--|
| 86. UD ₅ -a' 1 1-en 30 30 še-e-nu | (86–87) They decided that Gimillu must pay thirtyfold for that 1 goat: 30 sheep. |
| 87. e-li mgi-mil-lu ip-ru-su | |
| 88. 1 U ₈ šá kak-kab-tu še-en-de-ti šá qa-pu-ut-tu ₄ | (88–91) 1 ewe branded with a star, from the flock [of] Lāqīpi son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, the herdsman of the Lady of Uruk, recorded [in the tablet]. In the house of Nabû-nādin-aḫi, Gimillu [s]laughtered (it): |
| 89. [šá m]la-qi-pi A-šú šá ^{md} NA ₃ -MU-DU ^{lu₂} NA.KAD šá ^d GAŠAN šá UNUG ^{ki} | |
| 90. [šá ina IM.DUB] šá-ti-ru ina E ₂ ^{md} NA ₃ -na-din-ŠEŠ mgi-mil-lu | |
| 91. [it]- ^r te ¹ -ki-is ^m mu-še-zib- ^d DEN A-šú šá ^m GI- ^d AMAR.UTU | (91–94) In the assembly, Mušēzib-Bēl son of Mušallim-Marduk, Nanaya-aḫa-iddin son of Nergal-ina-tēšē-ēṭir, Sīn-ibni son of Nanaya-ēreš and Nabû-šuma-iddin son of Nanaya-ēreš testified against Gimillu. |
| 92. [m] ^d na-na-a-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá ^{md} U.GUR-ina-SUH ₃ -KAR-ir | |
| 93. ^{md} 30-DU ₃ A-šú šá ^{md} na-na-a-KAM ₂ ù ^{md} NA ₃ -MU-MU A-šú šá ^{md} na-na-a-KAM ₂ | |
| 94. ina UKKIN mgi-mil-lu ú-kin-nu U ₈ -a' 1 1-en 30 | (94–95) They decided that Gimillu must pay thirtyfold for that 1 ewe: 30 sheep. |
| 95. 30 še-e-nu e-li mgi-mil-lu ip-ru-su | |
| 96. 1 ka-lum šá ^{md} NA ₃ -DIB-UD.DA A-šú šá ^{md} na-na-a-MU | (96–97) 1 lamb (about) which Nabû-mušētiq-uddē son of Nanaya-iddin, the herdsman of the Lady of Uruk said thus: |
| 97. ^{lu₂} NA.KAD šá ^d GAŠAN šá UNUG ^{ki} iq-bu-ú um-ma ina ITI KIN MU 17-kām | (97–100) “In Ulūlu, year 17 (of Nabonidus), I sent (this sheep) together with the remainder (of the sheep) which I owed to the Eanna. Gimillu led away (this sheep) from Innin-aḫḫē-erība, my brother.” |
| 98. it-ti še-e-nu ina re-e-ḫu šá ina muḫ-ḫi-ia | |
| 99. a-na E ₂ .AN.NA áš-pu-ru mgi-mil-lu ina ŠU.2 ^{md} INNIN-ŠEŠ. MEŠ-SU | |
| 100. ŠEŠ-ia i-ta-ba-ak ù ^m gi-mil-lu e-li | (100–101) Gimillu testified against himself thus: |

101. <i>ram-ni-šú ú-kin-ni um-ma ka-lum šu-a-tim a-ta-bak</i>	(101–102) “I led away that lamb apart from the 2 rams which I received as a gift.”
102. <i>e-lat 2 UDU.NITA.MEŠ šá a-na nu-up¹-tu₄ a-na-ku at-ta-áš-šú</i>	
103. <i>ka-lum-a’ 1 1-en 30 30 še-en UGU mŠU ip-ru-su</i>	(103) They decided that Gimillu must pay thirtyfold for that 1 lamb: 30 sheep.
104. <i>1 par-rat šá qa-pu-ut-tu₄ šá mzu-um-bu A-šú šá^{md}na-na-a-KAM₂</i>	(104–105) 1 lamb from the flock of Zumbu son of Nanaya-ēreš, the herdsman of the Lady of Uruk, (about) which [Zumbu] said thus:
105. <i>lu₂NA.KAD šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG^{ki} šá m[zu-um-bu] iq-bu-ú um-ma ul-tu</i>	(105–106) “Gimillu led (it) away from my flock.”
106. <i>še-e-ni-ia mgi-mil-lu i-ta-ba-ak ù</i>	
107. <i>mgi-mil-lu e-li ram-ni-šú u-kin-ni</i>	(106–107) And Gimillu testified against himself:
108. <i>e-lat 2 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR ù MAŠ.TUR šá a-na nu-up-tu₄ at-ta-áš-šú</i>	(108) “(This is) apart from 2 šeqels of silver and 1 he-goat that I received as a gift.”
109. <i>par-rat-a’ 1 1-en 30 30 še-e-nu UGU mŠU ip-ru-su</i>	(109) They decided that Gimillu must pay thirtyfold for that 1 lamb: 30 sheep.
110. <i>1 par-rat šá kak-kab-tu₄ še-en-de-ti šá ina ITI ŠU MU 1-kám</i>	(110–112) 1 lamb, branded with a star which Gimillu sold to Nidintu son of Ardiya for silver in Dûzu, year 1 of Cyrus, king of the lands, and
111. <i>mku-ra-áš LUGAL KUR.KUR šá mgi-mil-lu a-na KU₃.BABBAR</i>	
112. <i>a-na mni-din-tu₄ A-šú šá mIR₃-ia id-di-nu-ma par-rat</i>	(112–113) The lamb was led to the Eanna.
113. <i>a-na E₂.AN.NA ab-ka-ta ù mgi-mil-lu ina UKKIN</i>	(113–114) And in the assembly, Gimillu testified against himself thus:
114. <i>e-li ram-ni-šú u-kin-ni um-ma a-na-ku par-rat</i>	(114–115) “It was I who gave the lamb to Nidintu.”
115. <i>a-na mni-din-tu₄ at-ta-din par-rat-a’ 1 1-en 30</i>	(115–116) They decided that Gimillu must pay thirtyfold for that 1 lamb: 30 sheep.
116. <i>30 še-e-nu e-li mgi-mil-lu ip-ru-su</i>	

117. ^{md} UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá ^{md} NA ₃ -MU-DU ^{lu₂} NA.KAD šá ^d GAŠAN šá UNUG ^{ki}	(117–120) Šamaš-aḥa-iddin son of Nabû-šuma-ukīn, the herdsman of the Lady of Uruk, who did not come with his sheep to the Eanna for ten years.
118. šá 10 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ <i>it-ti</i> <i>še-e-ni-šú a-na</i> E ₂ .AN.NA	The <i>qīpu</i> -officials and the scribes of the Eanna sent Gimillu to Šamaš-aḥa-iddin and
119. <i>la i-ru-bu šá</i> ^{lu₂} <i>qi-pa-a-nu ù</i> ^{lu₂} UMBISAG.MEŠ šá E ₂ .AN.NA	
120. ^{mgi} -mil-lu a-na muḥ-ḥi ^{md} UTU-ŠEŠ-MU <i>iš-pu-ru-ú-ma</i>	
121. ^{mgi} -mil-lu ^{md} UTU-ŠEŠ-MU <i>i-mu-ru-ma a-na</i> E ₂ .AN.NA	(121–122) Gimillu inspected (the herd of) Šamaš-aḥa-iddin but did not bring him to the Eanna.
122. <i>la i-bu-ku</i> ^m la-qi-pi ^{lu₂} <i>qal-la šá</i> ^{md} UTU-ŠEŠ-MU	(122–123) Lāqīpi, the slave of Šamaš-aḥa-iddin, said thus:
123. <i>iq-bu-ú um-ma</i> 4 GUR ŠE.BAR 2 GIN ₂ KU ₃ .BABBAR 1 UDU. NITA	(123–126) “Gimillu received 4 <i>kur</i> of barley, 2 šeqels of silver and one ram from Šamaš-aḥa-iddin and Šillaya his son. And he released Šillaya son of Šamaš-aḥa-iddin who was placed in iron fetters.”
124. ^{mgi} -mil-lu <i>ina</i> ŠU.2 ^{md} UTU-ŠEŠ-MU ù ^m šil-la-a A-šú ^{md} UTU-ŠEŠ-MU <i>iš-qát</i> AN.BAR.MEŠ	
126. <i>ki-i id-du-ú un-da-šir</i> ^{mgi} -mil-lu <i>iq-bi</i>	(126–127) Gimillu said thus:
127. <i>um-ma al-la</i> 1 UDU.NITA <i>ina</i> ŠU.2-šú <i>ul a-bu-uk</i>	(127) “I did not lead away more than 1 ram from him.”
128. ^{md} 30-DU ₃ A-šú šá ^{md} na-na-a-KAM ₂ <i>ina</i> UKKIN a-na ^{mgi} -mil-lu	(128–129) In the assembly, Sîn-ibni son of Nanaya-ēreš testified against Gimillu thus:
129. <i>ú-kin um-ma ina</i> DU-zu-ia 2 GIN ₂ KU ₃ .BABBAR	(129–130) “In my presence, Nabû-udammiqanni ... 2 šeqels of silver for Šillaya.”
130. ^m NA ₃ -SIG ₅ -an-ni a-na muḥ-ḥi ^m šil-la-a	
131. [KU ₃ .BABBAR-a’ 2 GIN ₂]	(131–134) They decided that Gimillu must pay thirtyfold [for the 2 šeqels of silver] and thirtyfold for the 1 sheep: 1
132. 1-en 30 ù UDU-a’ 1 1-en 30	mina 10 šeqel of silver and 30 sheep.
133. 1 MA.NA 10 GIN ₂ KU ₃ . BABBAR ù 30 <i>še-e-nu</i>	
134. <i>e-li</i> ^{mgi} -mil-lu <i>ip-ru-su</i>	

135. 1 AB ₂ .GAL <i>šar-ḫi-tu₄ šá</i> ^{mdU} . GUR-MU-DU ₃ A-šú šá ^{mŠEŠ-} <i>šá-a</i>	(135–137) 1 beautiful branded cow, belonging to Nergal-šuma-ibni son of Aḫišaya, the herdsman of the Lady of Uruk, which Gimillu led away [fr]om Nergal-šuma-ibni.
136. ^{lu₂} NA.KAD <i>šá</i> ^{dGAŠAN} <i>šá</i> UNUG ^{ki} <i>šá</i> ^{mgi-mil-lu} [ina] ŠU.2	
137. ^{mdU} .GUR-MU-DU ₃ <i>i-bu-ku ù</i> ^{mgi-mil-lu} ina UKKIN	(137–138) And, in the assembly, Gimillu testified [against] himself.
138. [e-li] <i>ram-ni-šú ú-kin-ni</i> AB ₂ . GAL-a' 1	(138–139) They decided that Gimillu shall pay [x cows] for that 1 cow.
139. [1-en x AB ₂ e]-li ^{mgi-mil-lu} <i>ip-ru-su</i>	
140. 1 [tu ^{g₂} šir]-a-am <i>šá in-za-ḫu-ru-e-ti šá ul-tu</i>	(140–143) 1 tunic of <i>inzaḫurētu</i> wool which the <i>qīpu</i> -officials and the scribes of the Eanna gave from the Eanna to Šuma-iddin son of Nergal-ušallim who is in charge of the archers of the shepherds with the king.
141. E ₂ .AN.NA ^{lu₂} <i>qī-pa-a-nu ù</i> ^{lu₂} UMBISAG.ME <i>šá</i> E ₂ .AN.NA	
142. a-na ^{mMU-MU} A-šú šá ^{mdU} . GUR-GI <i>šá muḫ-ḫi</i> ^{lu₂} GAN.MEŠ	
143. <i>šá</i> ^{lu₂} SIPA.MEŠ <i>šá it-ti</i> LUGAL <i>id-di-nu-ma</i>	
144. ^{mgi-mil-lu} ina ŠU.2 ^{mMU-MU} <i>iš-šu-ú</i>	(144) Gimillu received it from Šuma-iddin.
145. ù ^{mgi-mil-lu} ina UKKIN <i>e-li</i> <i>ram-ni-šú ú-kin-ni</i>	(145) And, in the assembly, Gimillu testified against himself.
146. ù KU ₃ .BABBAR <i>ku-mu</i> tu ^{g₂} šir- <i>a-am e-li</i> ^{mgi-mil-lu} <i>ip-ru-su</i>	(146) They decided that Gimillu must pay silver for the tunic.
147. NIGIN 92 AB ₂ .GAL.MEŠ 302 <i>še-e-nu</i>	(147–148) Total: 92 cows, 302 sheep and 1 mina 10 šeqel of silver.
148. ù 1 MA.NA 10 GIN ₂ KU ₃ . BABBAR	

NOTES

11. The “chest of the property of the Eanna” denotes the Eanna’s treasury.

71–74. The document mentioned here may be a deposition in which the whereabouts of the silver are recorded.

123–126. Šillaya was held in distraint for the debts owed by his father, Šamaš-aḫa-iddin.

132–134. The 1 mina of silver and the 30 sheep correspond exactly to the thirtyfold penalty for 2 šeqels of silver and 1 sheep. The additional 10 šeqels of

silver may reflect a payment for the barley mentioned in line 123. San Nicolò (1933a, 70 n. 4) argues against this possibility, but revised price data may, in fact, support it (see Jursa 2010, 443–51).

138–139. It would seem natural to restore the thirtyfold penalty in this line. However, this restoration cannot be reconciled with the total of 92 cows in line 147. Therefore, San Nicolò suggests that in this case only the double penalty was imposed (1933a, 71 n. 4). This restoration yields the desired 92 cows: 60 (lines 41–42) + 30 (line 50) + 2.

147. The total of 302 sheep does not accord with the amounts enumerated following each judgment. According to these enumerations, Gimillu owes only 300 sheep, rather than 302. San Nicolò accounts for the remaining two sheep as follows: one is owed for the unmarked goat (line 55) and one for the fifth of the five ewes mentioned in line 60. The remaining four ewes are accounted for in lines 75–76 and 115 (1933a, 71 n. 4).

39. THE KING'S COURT OF LAW

Text: YBC 3865

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 31

Translation/Discussion: San Nicolò 1932, 337–38; Magdalene 2007, 64–65, 91;
Kleber 2008, 57; Holtz 2009, 118–20

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 11.VIII. 4 Cyr (22 November, 535 BCE)

Marduk-dīna-īpuš is responsible for two branded sheep that belong to the Eanna's flock and that were led away by Gimillu. Marduk-dīna-īpuš is summoned to the king's court of law in Babylon to argue his case against the šatammu, the royal official and the scribes of the Eanna. If Marduk-dīna-īpuš does not appear, he must pay thirtyfold for the two sheep.

As San Nicolò suggests, the present text originates in an appeal against an earlier ruling by the Eanna authorities (San Nicolò 1932, 339; Magdalene 2007, 64–65). Accordingly, one may assume that a trial, similar to the one described in Document 38, has taken place prior to the promulgation of the present document. In the earlier trial, Marduk-dīna-īpuš was found to be responsible for the two sheep in question. He has appealed the ruling, probably with the claim that he delivered the sheep to Gimillu, who “led them away” on behalf of the Eanna. One may speculate that although Gimillu received the sheep, the sheep never reached the Eanna. Another text (Contenau 1927–29, No. 134) describes just such a situation: a herdsman reports that Gimillu received a ewe from him but did not give it to the Eanna.

The present document demonstrates that the litigation of the Gimillu affair was hardly a matter limited to the internal affairs of the temple at Uruk. If Marduk-dīna-īpuš indeed complied with its terms, then the case reached the royal court of law in Babylon.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. U₄ 20-<i>kám šá</i> ITI GAN MU
4-<i>kám</i> ^m<i>ku-ra-áš</i> 2. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL
KUR.KUR ^{md}ASAR.LU₂.HI-DI.
KU₅-DU₃-<i>uš</i> 3. A-šú šá ^m<i>hi-ra-aḥ-ḥa a-na</i> TIN.
TIR^{ki} <i>il-la-ka-ma</i> | <p>(1–3) On 20 Kislīmu, year 4 of Cyrus,
king of Babylon, king of the lands,
Marduk-dīna-īpuš son of Ḫiraḥḥa
shall come to Babylon.</p> |
|---|---|

4. *di-i-ni šá* 2 UDU.NITA.MEŠ *šá kak-kab-tu₄ še-en-du* (4–10) He shall argue the case regarding 2 sheep branded with a star, which Gimillu son of Innin-šuma-ibni led away from the flock of Marduk-đina-īpuš, against Nidintu-Bēl, the *šatammu* of the Eanna, Nabû-aḥa-iddin, the royal official in charge of the Eanna, and the scribes of the Eanna, in the king's court of law.
5. *šá* ^{mgi}*-mil-lu A-šú šá* ^{md}*in-nin-MU-ib-ni*
6. *ul-tu še-e-ni šá* ^{md}ASAR.LU₂. HI-DI.KU₅-DU₃-uš
7. *i-bu-ku it-ti* ^{mni}*-din-tu₄*-^dEN ^{lu₂}ŠA₃.TAM E₂.AN.NA
8. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU ^{lu₂}SAG-LUGAL ^{lu₂}EN *pi-qit-tu₄* E₂.AN.NA
9. *ù* ^{lu₂}UMBISAG.MEŠ *šá* E₂.AN. NA *ina* E₂ *di-i-ni*
10. *šá* LUGAL *i-dab-ub-bu ki-i* (10–12) If he does not come, he shall pay thirtyfold for these 2 sheep to the Lady of Uruk.
11. *la it-tal-ku* UDU.NITA-*a*' 2
12. 1-en 30 *a-na* ^dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG^{ki} *i-nam-din*
13. ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu* ^{md}UTU-DU-IBILA A-šú *šá* ^{md}DI.KU₅-ŠEŠ. MEŠ-MU (13–14) Witnesses: Šamaš-mukīn-apli son of Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin descendant of Šigūa;
14. A ^{mši}*-gu-ú-a* ^{mGI}-^dAMAR.UTU A-šú *šá* (14–15) Mušallim-Marduk son of Arad-Nabû descendant of Šangû-Nabû;
15. ^{mIR₃}-^dNA₃ A ^{lu₂}E₂.MAŠ-^dNA₃ ^{md}AMAR.UTU-SUR (15–16) Marduk-ēṭir son of Bēl-uballit descendant of Amēl-Ea;
16. A-šú *šá* ^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* A ^mLU₂-^dIDIM
17. ^{md}EN-A-MU A-šú *šá* ^{md}EN-*re-man-ni* A ^{lu₂}šá-MUN.HI.A-šú (17) Bēl-apla-iddin son of Bēl-rēmanni descendant of Ša-ṭabti-šu
18. ^{lu₂}UMBISAG ^{mgi}*-mil-lu A-šú šá* ^{md}*in-nin-NUMUN-MU* (18) Scribe: Gimillu son of Innin-zēra-iddin.
19. UNUG^{ki} ITI APIN U₄ 11-*kám* MU 4-*kám* (19–20) Uruk. 11 Araḥšamna, year 4 of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands.
20. ^m*kur-áš* LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

NOTES

13–14. Šamaš-mukīn-apli son of Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin descendant of Šigûa held a “brewer’s prebend” and eventually functioned in the prominent position of “chief brewer” (*šāpir sirāšê*) (Kümmel 1979, 151). His father is attested in the same position in Document 21.

40. ORAL AND WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Text: YBC 3921

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 102

Translation/Discussion: Dougherty, 1923, 61; San Nicolò, 1933a, 73–74; Dandamaev 1984, 494–95; Joannès 2000b, No. 167 (pp. 225–26)

Place of Composition: (Uruk)

Date: 27.IX.0 Camb (11 January, 529 BCE)

Riḫētu testifies to the šatammu and the royal official in charge of the Eanna that in year 8 of Cyrus, he escaped from the service of Šamaš-mukīn-apli. In the accession year of Cambyses, Gimillu saw Riḫētu and entrusted him to Sīn-ibni, and instructed Sīn-ibni to send the wages for Riḫētu's work directly to Gimillu. Sīn-ibni then testifies that Gimillu entrusted Riḫētu to him with a contract for the wages of 5 šeqels per year. After the contract, however, Gimillu also sent a letter offering Riḫētu to Nabû-nādin. Sīn-ibni and Riḫētu submit the letter that Gimillu sent to Nabû-nādin, and the letter corroborates the testimony of Sīn-ibni. The assembly binds and seals the letter and places it in the Eanna, probably to be used as evidence against Gimillu.

The present document provides a superb depiction of Gimillu's wheeling and dealing. Instead of properly addressing the problem of the escaped plowman (perhaps by returning him, for example), Gimillu seized the opportunity to make money by arranging for Riḫētu's rental and pocketing the rent. Apparently not satisfied with the first arrangement with Sīn-ibni, Gimillu pursued a second deal, this time with Nabû-nādin. But in doing so, it seems that he made the fateful mistake of leaving a written record, even if this record was not on clay but on less durable materials. Riḫētu and Sīn-ibni got hold of Gimillu's letter to Nabû-nādin, which would now serve as incriminating evidence.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. ^mri-^{he}-e-tu₄ DUMU-^{šú} ^{šá} ^mIR₃-
^din-nin ^{lu}₂APIN ^{lu}₂RIG₇ ^dINNIN
UNUG^{ki}</p> <p>2. a-na ^{md}NA₃-DU-IBILA ^{lu}₂ŠA₃.
TAM E₂.AN.NA ^ù ^{md}NA₃-
ŠEŠ-MU</p> <p>3. ^{lu}₂SAG-LUGAL ^{lu}₂EN ^{pi}-qit-tu₄
E₂.AN.NA ^{iq}-bi um-ma ul-tu</p> <p>4. MU 8-kám ^mku-ra-^{áš} LUGAL
TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR
ul-tu UGU ^{gi}šAPIN</p> | <p>(1–3) Riḫētu son of Arad-Innin, the plowman, an oblate of Ištar of Uruk, said thus to Nabû-mukīn-apli, the šatammu of the Eanna, and Nabû-aḫa-iddin, the royal official in charge of the Eanna:</p> <p>(3–6) “From year 8 of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands, I escaped from the plow of Šamaš-mukīn-apli son of Sīn-nādin-šumi, the plowman of the Lady of Uruk, owner of my plow.”</p> |
|--|---|

5. *šá*^{md}UTU-DU-IBILA DUMU-*šú*
šá^{md}30-*na-din*-MU^{lu2}APIN
šá^dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG^{ki} EN
*giš*APIN-*iá*
 6. *aḥ-li-iq-ma i-na* ITI KIN MU
SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA ^m*kam-*
bu-zi-ia
 7. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.
KUR ^m*gi-mil-lu* DUMU-*šú šá*
^{md}*in-nin*-MU-DU₃
 8. *i-mu-ra-an-ni-ma ina* IGI ^{md}30-*ib-*
ni DUMU-*šú šá* ^{md}NA₃-*za-ba-du*
 9. *ip-qí-da-an-na um-ma* KU₃.
BABBAR *i-di-šú i-šá-am-ma*
i-bi-in-nu
 10. *ù* ^{md}30-DU₃ *iq-bu-ú um-ma* ^mŠU
^m*ri-ḥe-e-tu₄* *ina* IGI-*iá*
 11. *ip-te-qid ù rik-su a-na* MU.AN.
NA 5 GIN₂ KU₃.[BABBAR]
 12. *a-na i-di-šú it-ti-ia iš-ta-ka-as*
 13. *ár-ki rik-su šá* ^m*gi-mil-lu it-ti-iá*
iš-ku-su
 14. *ši-pir-ti a-na* ^{md}NA₃-*na-din*
DUMU-*šú šá* ^m*eri-ba-a* ^{lu2}EN
pí-qit-tu₄
 15. *šá* URU *šá* ^m*ki-i*-^dNA₃ *il-tap-ru*
um-ma i-na pa-ni-ka li-iz-ziz-ma
 16. *ki-i pa-ni-ka ma-ḥir i-na* MU.AN.
NA 5 GIN₂ KU.BABBAR
 17. *i-di-šú šu-bi-lu ù ia-a-nu-ú lu-ú*
ina IGI ^{md}30-*ib-ni iš-šu-ú*
 18. *a-di i-na-an-na* ^m*ri-ḥe-e-tu₄* *ina*
IGI ^{md}NA₃-*na-din ú-šu-uz*
 19. *ši-pir-tu₄ šá* ^mŠU *a-na* UGU
^m*ri-ḥe-e-tu₄* *a-na* ^{md}NA₃-*na-din*
iš-pu-ru
- (6–8) “In Ulūlu of the accession year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of the lands, Gimillu son of Innin-šuma-ibni saw me and entrusted me to Sîn-ibni son of Nabû-zabādu (saying) thus:”
- (9) ““Bring the silver of his wages and give it (to me)!””
- (10) And Sîn-ibni said thus:
- (10–12) “Gimillu entrusted Rihētu to me and contracted a contract for 5 šeqels of silver per year as his (Rihētu’s) wage.”
- (13–15) “After Gimillu contracted the contract with me, he sent a letter to Nabû-nādin son of Erībaya, the administrator of the city of Kî-Nabû, (stating) thus:
- (15–17) ““Let him serve you. If he pleases you, send 5 šeqels of silver per year as his wage. If not, let him be at the disposal of Sîn-ibni.””
- (18) “Until now, Rihētu remains at the disposal of Nabû-nādin.”
- (19–20) Sîn-ibni and Rihētu gave the *šatammu* and Nabû-aḥa-iddin the letter that Gimillu sent to Nabû-nādin concerning Rihētu.

20. ^{md}30-DU₃ ^ù ^mri-^{he}-e-tu₄ a-na
^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM u ^{md}NA₃-SEŠ-MU
 id-di-nu-ma
21. ki-i pi-i ^{lu}₂mu-kin-nu-tu šá ^{md}30-
 DU₃ ina ŠA₃ šá-tir um-ma ki-i (21) Corroborating the testimony of
 Sîn-ibni, therein was written thus:
22. pa-ni-ka ma-^{hir} ^mri-^{he}-e-tu₄ ina (21–24) “If he pleases you, let Rihētu
 IGI-ka li-iz-ziz-ma MU.AN.NA serve you and send me 5 šeqels of
 silver per year as his wage. If not,
 23. 5 GIN₂ KU₃.BABBAR i-di-šú
 šu-bi-lu ^ù ia-a-nu-ú a-na ^{md}30-
 DU₃ give him to Sîn-ibni. Let my letter be
 witness to you.”
24. i-din-su ši-pir-ta-a lu-ú ^{lu}₂mu-kin- (24–27) The letter of the parchment-
 nu ina muḥ-ḫi-ka ši-pir-tu₄ scribe which Gimillu sent to Nabû-
 nādin concerning Rihētu, and which
 25. šá ^{lu}₂si-pi-ri šá ^mŠU a-na UGU
^{<m>}ri-^{he}-e-tu₄ a-na was seen in the assembly—they tied,
 sealed and placed in the Eanna.
26. ^{md}NA₃-na-din iš-pu-ru-ma ina
 UKKIN ta-nam-ru
27. iš-ku-su ik-nu-ku u ina E₂.AN.NA
 iš-ku-nu
28. ITI GAN U₄ 27-kám MU SAG. (28–29) 27 Kislīmu, accession year
 NAM.LUGAL.‘LA’ of Cambyses, king of Babylon.
29. ^mka-am-bu-zi-ia LUGAL TIN.
 TIR^{ki}
30. LUGAL KUR.KUR

NOTES

1–6. The escaped plowman, Rihētu, and the man from whom he escaped, Šamaš-mukīn-apli, both belonged to families that included other plowmen (Kümmel 1979, 102–3).

10–12. Comparison with the available data shows that the rate of hire here (5 šeqels per year) would have been extremely low, and thus very attractive to the potential employer (Jursa 2010, 676–77, 731).

41. A SUSPICION OF CONTRACT FOR MURDER

Text: YBC 6932

Copy: Jursa 2004a, No. 5 (pp. 126–27)

Translation/Discussion: Jursa 2004a, No. 5 (pp. 125–30); Ragen 2006, 492–94

Place of Composition: Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ēṭir, district of the Lady of Uruk

Date: 18.I.1 Dar (1 May, 521 BCE)

Zumbu, an oblate of the Eanna, reports to the assembly, including the qīpu-official and the šatammu of the Eanna, that, on the previous day, Anu-zēra-šubši, another oblate, has informed him that Gimillu has contracted to murder the royal official in charge of the Eanna. The assembly summons Anu-zēra-šubši, who swears that he has neither heard anything about Gimillu's purported contract nor reported anything to Zumbu.

At the time of the present text's composition, Gimillu holds the position of “chief farmer” (*ša muḫḫi sūti*) and his career is nearing its end. The relationship between Gimillu and the institution he represents has clearly soured, so that a rumor of his murderous intentions could emerge and at least seem plausible, even if the plot never came to fruition (Jursa 2004a, 129).

1. ^m*im-bi-ia* ^{lu}₂TIL.LA.GID₂.DA *ša* (1–2) Imbiya, *qīpu*-official of the
E₂.AN.NA DUMU-*šú* Eanna, son of Nanaya-ēreš descendant
of Kidin-Marduk;
2. *ša* ^{md}*na-na-a-KAM*₂ DUMU ^m*ki-*
din-^dAMAR.UTU
3. ^{md}UTU-DU-A ^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM (3) Šamaš-mukīn-apli, the *šatammu* of
E₂.AN.NA DUMU-*šú* *ša* ^m*na-di-*
nu DUMU ^{mr}*e-gi-bi*¹ the Eanna, son of Nādinu descendant
of Egibi;
4. ^{md}30-ŠEŠ.MEŠ.TIN-*iṭ* (4) Sīn-aḫḫē-bullit son of Nabû-
DUMU-*šú* *ša* ^{md}NA₃-MU-MU šuma-iddin descendant of Supê-Bēl;
DUMU ^{msu-pe-e}-^dEN
5. ^mNUMUN-*ia* DUMU-*šú* *ša* (5) Zēriya son of Nanaya-ēreš
^{md}*na-na-a-KAM*₂ DUMU ^m*ki-*
din-^r^d₁[AMAR.UT]U descendant of Kidin-[Mardu]k;
6. ^{md}EN-SUM-^rIBILA¹ DUMU-*šú* (6) Bēl-nādin-apli son of Kidin-
ša ^m*ki-din*-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU Marduk descendant of Ēṭeru;
^{me-te-ru}
7. ^{md}INNIN-ŠEŠ-MU A-₂ *ša* (7) Ištār-aḫa-iddin son of Nabû-šuma-
^{md}NA₃-*šū*-^rum¹-URI₃ DUMU ušur descendant of Ekur-zakir;
^mE₂.KUR-*za-kir*

8. ^{md}*a-nu-ŠEŠ-TIN DUMU-šú šá*
^{md}INNIN-SUM-MU DUMU
^m*ku-ri-i* (8) Anu-aḥa-bullit son of Ištar-nādin-
šumi descendant of Kurī;
9. ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GAL₂-š*i* A-šú
^{šá} ^{md}DU₃-*ia* DUMU ^m*an-da-ḥar* (9) Šamaš-zēra-šubši son of Bāniya
descendant of Andahar.
10. UKKIN ^{lu}₂TIL.LA.GID₂.DA.ME
^ù ^{lu}₂DUMU DU₃.MEŠ (10–13) (These are) the assembly of
qīpu-officials and *mār banī* in whose
presence Zumbu son of Rīmūtu, an
oblate of Ištar of Uruk, said thus:
11. ^{šá} *i-na ú-šu-uz-zi-šú-nu* ^m*zu-um-*
bu DUMU-šú
12. ^{šá} ^m*ri-mu-tu* ^{lu}₂RIG₇ ^dINNIN
UNUG^{ki}
13. *iq-bu-ú um-ma ina* ITI BAR₂ U₄
17-*kám* MU 1-*kám* (13–16) “On 17 Nisannu, year 1 of
Darius, king of Babylon, king of the
lands, Anu-zēra-šubši son of Lābāši,
an oblate of Ištar of Uruk, said thus to
me:”
14. ^m*da-a-ri-ia-a-mu-uš* LUGAL
TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR
15. ^{md}*a-nu-NUMUN-GAL₂-š*i* A-šú*
^{šá} ^m*la-ba-ši* ^{lu}₂RIG₇ ^dINNIN
UNUG^{ki}
16. *iq-ta-ba-a um-ma* ^mŠU ^{lu}₂šá
muḥ-ḥi ^{giš}BAN₂ šá ^dGAŠAN šá
UNUG^{ki} (16–18) “Gimillu, the chief farmer
of the Lady of Uruk, contracted a
contract for the killing of Sîn-šarra-
uṣur, the royal official in charge of the
Eanna.”
17. *rik-su a-na da-a-ku šá* ^{md}30-
LUGAL-URI₃ ^{lu}₂SAG-LUGAL
18. ^{lu}₂EN *pi-qit-tu₄* E₂.AN.NA *iš-ta-*
ka-as
19. ^{lu}₂TIL.LA₂.GID₂.DA.ME ^ù
^{lu}₂DUMU DU₃-*ia* *iš-pu-ru-ma* (19–21) The *qīpu*-officials and the
mār banī sent and brought Anu-zēra-
šubši to them and, in the assembly, he
swore (thus) by the gods:
20. ^{md}*a-nu-NUMUN-GAL₂-š*i* i-bu-*
ku-nim-ma i-na UKKIN
21. *ni-iš* DINGIR.MEŠ *iz-ku-ur ki-i*
ul-tu muḥ-ḥi (21–26) “Indeed, as long as I live, I
have not heard anything regarding
any document concerning Sîn-šarra-
uṣur from Gimillu, the chief farmer,
or anyone belonging to him, or his
staff, and I have not said (anything) to
Zumbu, the oblate.”
22. ^{šá} *ba-al-ṭa-ka mim-ma šá si-pi-ri*
23. ^{šá} ^{md}30-LUGAL-URI₃ *i-na pi-i*
^{šá} ^mŠU
24. ^{lu}₂šá UGU ^{giš}BAN₂ *mam-ma-ne-*
e-šú ma-la
25. *ba-šu-ú ú* ^{lu}₂ERIN₂.ME ŠU.2-šú
áš-mu-ú

26. *ù a-na* ^mzu-um-bu ^{lu₂}RIG₇ aq-bu-u
27. ^mIR₃-^dAMAR.UTU ^{lu₂}DUB.SAR (27) Arad-Marduk, the scribe, son of
DUMU ^{md}EN-IBILA-URI₃ Bēl-apla-ušur.
28. ^{uru}bit-qa šá ^{md}EN-SUR (28–32) Bitqa-ša-Bēl-ēṭir, district of
29. šī-i-ḫu šá ^dGAŠAN UNUG^{ki} the Lady of Uruk. 18 Nisannu, year 1
30. ITI BAR₂ U₄ 18-kám MU 1-kám of Darius, king of Babylon, king of the
31. ^mda-a-ri-ia-mu-uš LUGAL TIN. lands.
TIR^{ki}
32. LUGAL KUR.KUR

NOTES

1–2. During the reign of Cyrus and Cambyses, Imbiya served as the governor (*šākin ṭēmi*) of Uruk (Kümmel 1979, 139–40).

5. Zēriya and his brothers belonged to a well-attested family of cattle-herders. Zēriya held the position of herdsman (*nāqidu*) and “overseer of the herds” (*rāb būli*) (Kümmel 1979, 78–79).

9. Šamaš-zēra-šubši is attested as a jeweler (*kabšarru*) who was designated as a “temple enterer” (*ērib bīti*), which is the term used for someone who had entrance privileges in the Eanna (Kümmel 1979, 26).

THE CASE OF ANU-ŠARRA-UŠUR'S BRANDED SHEEP (DOCUMENTS 42–43)

The Eanna records rarely provide multiple documents pertaining to the various stages of the same legal case. Documents 42 and 43, both of which stem from one trial, are an important illustration of how the different stages in a trial are documented. One can trace the progress of the trial from the gathering of evidence, by recording the parties' statements (Document 42), through the sentencing (Document 43). Over the course of about one month, the case progresses from investigation by the Eanna authorities to a ruling by two royal judges.

This is another rather "high profile" case; it involves members of the upper levels of the Eanna's herd management as well as other higher-ups in the Eanna bureaucracy. In Document 42, Anu-šarra-ušur, owner of the pen where the sheep in question were held, bears the title "herdsman of Ištar of Uruk," a position just below the chief herdsman. Bēl-šarra-ušur, the man who testifies first in Document 42, held the title of "herdsman of Ištar of Uruk," too, and his brother was also a herdsman (Kümmel 1979, 58). On the adjudicatory side, the initial inquiries (Document 42) are conducted by the royal official of the Eanna, and when the two royal judges deliver the sentence (Document 43), the record is written in his presence, as well as in the presence of the *šatammu*. The witnesses to the initial investigation (Document 42) include Silim-ili (line 25), identified as the royal official in "charge of the chest" (*ša muḫḫi quppi*) (Kümmel 1979, 145–46), Bēl-eṭēri-Nabû (line 28), identified as a "royal official" (^{lu2}SAG-LUGAL), Šamaš-mukīn-apli (line 27), a prominent member of the Eanna bureaucracy, who ultimately became "chief brewer" (Kümmel 1979, 151), Nabû-mukīn-apli (line 26), Nabû-nādin-aḫi (lines 26–27) and Lūši-ana-nūri-Marduk (lines 28–29), who are all elsewhere attested as scribes in the Eanna (Kümmel 1979, 116, 128, 131), and Kīnaya son of Innin-līpi-ušur, who is known as a herdsman (Kümmel 1979, 64). The witnesses on Document 43 are Arad-Marduk (line 19) and Sīn-ēreš (line 20), who both appear in prominent positions as witnesses in many Eanna texts, and were probably prebendaries of the Eanna (Kümmel 1979, 152), and Bēl-nādin-apli (line 21), who is well-attested as a scribe in the Eanna records with several family connections to other people named in the Eanna records (Kümmel 1979, 113, 128).

42. TESTIMONY REGARDING FIVE BRANDED SHEEP

Text: YBC 4006

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 140

Translation/Discussion: San Nicolò 1932b, 341; Holtz 2009, 86–89; Kleber 2012, 186–89; Sandowicz 2012, 284–87

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 3.XI.3 Camb (12 February, 526 BCE)

Five sheep from the pen of Anu-šarra-ušur, branded for Ištar of Uruk, have been found in the possession of Bēl-šarra-ušur. The royal official of the Eanna questions Bēl-šarra-ušur, who states that Bēl-iqīša gave him the sheep. Bēl-iqīša is brought to the assembly for interrogation, where he claims that he received the five branded sheep directly from Anu-šarra-ušur, the original owner, along with five other unbranded sheep, all in payment for a debt Anu-šarra-ušur owed Bēl-iqīša. He swears that he deposited only the five branded sheep in question with Bēl-šarra-ušur. Bēl-šarra-ušur then swears that Bēl-iqīša deposited the five branded sheep with him, and that the branded ewes gave birth.

Bēl-iqīša testifies that Anu-šarra-ušur has given him one branded ram, four branded ewes and five unbranded lambs, for a total of ten sheep. In the eyes of the law, there would have been nothing wrong with the transfer of the five unbranded lambs in payment of a debt. The main legal issue here is that Bēl-iqīša, according to his own testimony, has accepted five branded sheep in payment of a debt owed to him by Anu-šarra-ušur. Branded sheep are marked as the Eanna's property, so Anu-šarra-ušur should not have used them to pay off a personal debt and Bēl-iqīša should not have accepted them in payment (see Kleber 2012, 190–91).

Because of this illegality, Bēl-iqīša cannot keep the branded sheep in his possession without raising suspicions. So, perhaps in collusion with Anu-šarra-ušur—who would have every interest in seeing his debt to Bēl-iqīša paid from the Eanna's herds instead of from his own—Bēl-iqīša has transferred the sheep to Bēl-šarra-ušur, a temple herdsman. There, the branded sheep would appear “innocent” and the two men might avoid the consequences of their shady deal.

The timeline of this case casts suspicions on all of the parties involved. Anu-šarra-ušur's initial illegal payment of the branded sheep to Bēl-iqīša occurs in Dûzu of year 2 of Cambyses. Bēl-iqīša waits four months, until Araḥšamna, to pass the sheep on to the Eanna's herdsman; he seems to have avoided suspicion until that point. Did fear of an impending investigation already then lead Bēl-iqīša (with or without Anu-šarra-ušur) to take this action? Be that as it may, the dates on the records themselves indicate that over a year passes before the Eanna takes action. Did Bēl-šarra-ušur, the herdsman, accept the sheep into his herd innocently, or, was he, too, part of the scheme by knowingly covering for Bēl-iqīša? In the end, it seems likely that someone, perhaps the herdsman Bēl-šarra-ušur himself, has informed the Eanna about what has occurred. The result is the investigation and the judgment, one month later.

1. 1-*en* UDU *pu-ḫal* ù 4-*ta* UDU (1–4) 1 ram, 4 ewes, [a total of 5]
 U₈.¹ME¹ [NIGIN 5-*ta*] ¹*še-e*¹-*nu* sheep, branded with a star, property of
*ša kak-kab-tu*₄ Ištar of Uruk [and] Nanay[a from the
2. *še-en-du* NIG₂.GA [d]INNIN [pen] of Anu-šarra-ušur son of Šarru-
 UNUG¹ki¹ [ù] ¹*na-na*¹-[*a šá* kīn, a herdsman of Ištar [of Uruk ...],
*qa-pu-ut-tu*₄] *ša* ^{md}*a-nu*-LUGAL- [led away] from the pen of Bēl-šarra-
 URI₃ ušur son of Aḫiya-a[lidu]:
3. A-*šú* *ša* ^mLUGAL-DU ^{lu}₂NA.
 GAD *ša* ^drINNIN¹ [UNUG^{ki} ...]
ša <*ul-tu*> *qa-pu-ut-tu*₄
4. *ša* ^{md}EN-LUGAL-URI₃ A-*šú* *ša* (4–6) [Nabû-aḫa-iddin, the royal]
^mŠEŠ¹-*ia-a*-[*li-du ab-ku* ^{md}NA₃- official in charge of the Eanna and
 ŠEŠ-MU ^{lu}₂SAG]-LUGAL [PN] said thus [to Bēl-šarra-ušur]:
5. ^{lu}₂EN *pi-qit-tu*₄ E₂.AN.NA ù
 [mPN *a-na* ^{md}EN-LUGAL-URI₃]
iq-bu-ú
6. *um-ma man-na še-e-nu-a* ¹*ša*¹ (6) “Who deposited these sheep
 [*kak-kab-tu*₄ *še-en-du ina* ŠU.2]- [branded with a star with you]?”
¹*ka*¹ *ip-qid*
7. ^{md}EN-LUGAL-URI₃ *ina* UKKIN (7) In the assembly, Bēl-šarra-ušur
iq-bi ¹*um-ma ina* MU 2¹-[*kám* said thus:
^m*kam-bu-zi*]-¹*ia* LUGAL TIN.
 TIR¹ki LUGAL KUR.KUR
8. 1-*en* UDU *pu-ḫal* ù 4-*ta* UDU (7–9) “In year 2 of [Camby]ses, king
 [U₈].ME [NIGIN] 5-[*ta še-e-nu* of Babylon, king of the lands, Bēl-
*ša kak-kab-tu*₄] ¹*še-en-du*¹ iqīša son of Šillaya [deposited] 1 ram
 and 4 [ewe]s, [total] 5 [sheep branded
 with a star] with me.”
9. ^{md}EN-BA-*ša* A-*šú* *ša* ^mšil-*la-a* (9–11) They brought [Bēl-iqīša] and
ina ¹ŠU.2¹-*ia* ¹*ip-qid*¹ [^{md}EN- interrogat[ed him ... he said] thus:
 BA-*ša*]
10. *i-bu-ku-nim-ma iš-ša-al-*
 [*lu-šu... iq-bi*]

11. *um-ma 1-en UDU pu-ḫal 4-ta*
[UDU U₈.ME šá kak-kab-tu
še-en-du] ù
 12. *5-ta UDU par-rat.ME ta-mi-^rim-*
ma-ta NIGIN 10-ta še¹-[e-nu
ul-tu] ^rše-e-nu¹
 13. NIG₂.GA ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki} ^ršá
qa-pu-ut-tu₄¹ šá ^{md}a-nu-LUGAL-
URI₃ A-šú šá ^m[LUGAL]-ki-i-ni
 14. ^{lu}₂NA.GAD šá ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki}
^{md}a-nu-LUGAL-URI₃ ^rku-um¹
ra-^ršu-ti-ia¹
 15. *ina ITI ŠU MU 2-kám it-tan-*
ni ^m[^dEN-BA]-šá [ina ^dEJN u
^dNA₃]
 16. *u [a-de-e šá ^mkám-bu-zi-ia*
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL
KUR.KUR] ina UKKIN it-te-
^rme¹
 17. *ki-i e-lat 1-en UDU pu-ḫal 4*
UDU laḫ-rat.ME šá kak-kab-tu₄
še-en-du
 18. *ù 5-ta UDU par-rat.ME ta-mi-*
im-ma-a-ta NIGIN 10-ta še-e-nu
 19. *ku-um ra-šu-ti-ia ^{md}a-nu-*
LUGAL-URI₃ id-di-ni šá ina
lìb-bi 1-en UDU pu-ḫal ù
 20. *4-ta UDU laḫ-rat.ME*
NIGIN 5-ta še-e-nu šá kak-
kab-tu₄ še-en-du ina pa-ni
^{md}EN-LUGAL-URI₃
 21. *A-šú šá ^mŠES-ia-a-li-du ^{lu}₂NA.*
GAD šá ^dINNIN UNUG^{ki} ap-te-
qid ^{md}EN-LUGAL-URI₃
 22. *ina UKKIN niš DINGIR.MEŠ*
u LUGAL iz-kur ù a-na ^{md}EN-
BA-šá u-ki-in um-ma 1-en UDU
pu-ḫal
- (11–15) “In Dûzu, year 2, Anu-šarra-ušur gave me, as (payment for) my claim, 1 ram, 4 [ewes branded with a star] and 5 unblemished lambs, a total of 10 sh[eeep from the] sheep, property of Ištar of Uruk, from the pen of Anu-šarra-ušur son of Šarru-kīni, herdsman of Ištar of Uruk.”
- (15–16) Bēl-iqīša swore [by Be]l [and Nabu] and [the oaths of Cambyses, king of Babylon], in the assembly:
- (17–21) “Indeed, Anu-šarra-ušur did not give me anything as (payment for) my claim, apart from the 1 ram, 4 ewes branded with a star and 5 unbranded lambs, a total of 10 sheep. Of these, I deposited 1 ram and 4 lambs, a total of 5 sheep branded with a star, with Bēl-šarra-ušur son of Aḫiya-alidu, the shepherd of Ištar of Uruk.”
- (21–22) In the assembly, Bēl-šarra-ušur took an oath by the gods and the king. And he testified thus against Bēl-iqīša:

23. *ù 4¹ UDU U₈.ME šá kak-kab-tu₄*
ina ITI APIN MU 2-kám ina pa-
ni-ia ta-ap-te-qid (22–24) “In Araḫšamna, year 2, you
deposited with me 1 ram and 4¹ ewes
branded with a star. In Šabātu, year 2,
these 4¹ ewes gave birth.”
24. *ina ITI ZIZ₂ MU 2-kám UDU*
U₈.ME-a’ 4¹-ta ina pa-ni-ia
it-tal-da-’
25. ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu* ^m*si-lim*-DINGIR (25) Witnesses: Silim-ili, the royal
^{lu₂}*SAG-LUGAL* ^{lu₂}*šá muḫ-ḫi qu-*
up-pu šá E₂.AN.NA official in charge of the chest of the
Eanna;
26. ^{md}*NA₃-DU-IBILA A-šú šá* (26–27) Nabû-mukîn-apli son of
^{md}*AMAR.UTU-MU-MU A* ^m*ba-*
la-tu ^{md}*NA₃-na-din-ŠEŠ A-šú* Marduk-šuma-iddin descendant of
Balātu; Nabû-nādin-aḫi son of Arad-
Bēl descendant of Iddin-Papsukkal;
27. *šá* ^m*IR₃-dEN A* ^m*MU-dPAP.* (27) Šamaš-mukîn-apli son of
SUKKAL ^{md}*UTU-DU-A A-šú* Madānu-aḫḫē-iddin descendant of
šá ^{md}*DI.KU₅-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A* Šigûa;
^m*ši-gu-ú-a*
28. ^{md}*EN-KAR-dNA₃* (28–29) Bēl-eṭēri-Nabû, the royal
^{lu₂}*SAG-LUGAL* ^m*lu-uš-a-na-*
ZALAG₂-dAMAR.UTU A-šú šá official; Lūši-ana-nūri-Marduk son
^{md}*NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-TIN-iṭ* of Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit descendant of
Dābibī;
29. *A* ^m*da-bi-bi* ^m*ki-na-a A-šú šá* (29) Kīnaya son of Innin-līpī-ušur;
^{md}*in-nin-li-pi-ú-sur*
30. ^m*na-di-nu* ^m*IR₃-dAMAR.UTU u* (30) Nādinu, Arad-Marduk and Itti-
^m*KI-dAMAR.UTU-TIN* ^{lu₂}*DUB.* Marduk-balātu, scribes of the Eanna.
SAR.ME šá E₂.AN.NA
31. *UNUG^{ki} ITI ZIZ₂ U₄ 3-kám MU* (31–32) Uruk. 3 Šabātu, year 3 of
3-kám ^m*kám-bu-zi-ia* Cambyes, king of Babylon, king of
the lands.
32. *LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL*
KUR.KUR

NOTES

23–24. On the tablet, the number 5, rather than 4, appears in the indication of the number of ewes. The emendation to 4 in the present reading yields the reading most consistent with the rest of the known parts of the case. For the emendation of the numeral in line 23, see Sandowicz 2012, 285. The emendation of the numeral in line 24 follows naturally: the same four ewes gave birth. The scribal confusion here is easy to explain: two groups of five sheep (branded and

unbranded) have been mentioned in the proceedings up to this point. Moreover, as the following text shows, when the four ewes gave birth, it was to five lambs.

43. A DECISION REGARDING BRANDED SHEEP

Text: YBC 3771

Copy: Tremayne 1925 (YOS 7), No. 161

Translation/Discussion: San Nicolò 1932b, 341–43; Kleber 2012, 189–91

Place of Composition: Uruk

Date: 12.XII.3 Camb (22 March, 526 BCE)

Two judges determine that Bēl-iqīša, who led away sheep belonging to the Eanna from the pen of Anu-šarra-ušur, must repay 155 sheep to the property of the Eanna. This payment represents the thirtyfold penalty for five branded sheep (one ram and four ewes), as well as the replacement of five unbranded lambs. Bēl-iqīša must make this payment on 25 Addaru. Arad-Nergal guarantees that Bēl-iqīša will make the payment.

Approximately one month after the earlier proceedings (Document 42), two royal judges reach their decision regarding Anu-šarra-ušur's sheep. It seems that in the intervening month, the case has become complicated. Although Document 42 is admittedly broken in some places, the royal judges were probably not involved in the initial proceedings. As far as one can tell from the earlier record, the Eanna bureaucracy intended to address the problem within its own adjudicatory framework. For some reason, perhaps because of the suspects' status, it was unable to do so (see Kleber 2012, 192). Ultimately, the situation required the royal judges to intervene and settle the matter.

In the end, Bēl-šarra-ušur's accusation against Bēl-iqīša has proven successful; it is Bēl-iqīša, rather than Bēl-šarra-ušur, who is held liable for paying the penalties. Anu-šarra-ušur, who must have participated in the illegal payment, apparently avoids punishment. This suggests that rather than being complicit, Anu-šarra-ušur may have been coerced by Bēl-iqīša, and that the court considered this in their ultimate decision.

The payment that the judges impose requires some clarification. As expected, and as the present document indicates (lines 8–9), Bēl-iqīša must pay the thirtyfold penalty for the five branded sheep that he has received in payment from Anu-šarra-ušur. This accounts for 150 sheep. In addition to this, he must also repay five unblemished lambs. In all likelihood, these five unblemished lambs are the offspring to which the four branded ewes gave birth while in the care of Bēl-šarra-ušur. Bēl-šarra-ušur, in his own testimony against Bēl-iqīša in Document 42, has mentioned this birth, without specifying how many lambs were actually born. The present document clarifies why Bēl-šarra-ušur mentions the birth. By doing so, he informs the Eanna that Bēl-iqīša actually owes them more than just the five embezzled sheep.

1. [1-en UDU *pu-ḫal* 4 UDU U₈.MEŠ] NIGIN 5 *še-e-nu šá* MUL-tu₄ *še-en-du*
 2. 'ù¹ [5 *par*]-rat.ME *ta-mi-ma-a-ta* NIGIN 10 *še-e-nu*
 3. NIG₂.GA dINNIN UNUG^{ki} u d^{na-na-a} *šá qa-pu-ut-tu₄*
 4. *šá* md^{a-nu}-LUGAL-URI₃ DUMU-šú *šá* m^{LUGAL-DU} *šá ina ITI APIN MU 2-kám*
 5. m^{ka-am-bu-zī-ia} LUGAL TIN. TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR md^{EN-BA-šá}
 6. DUMU-šú *šá* m^{šil-la-a} *ina ŠU.2* md^{a-nu}-LUGAL-URI₃ A-šú *šá* m^{LUGAL-DU} *i-bu-ku-ma*
 7. *ina ITI ŠE MU 3-kám* m^{ri-mut} u md^{ba-ú}-APIN-eš
 8. lu₂DI.KU₅.ME 150 *še-e-nu ku-um* *še-e-nu šá* d¹⁵
 9. *šen-de-e-ti* 1-en *a-di* 30 ù 5 *par-rat ta-mi-ma-a-ta*
 10. NIGIN 155 *še-e-nu a-na e-ṭe₃-ru* *šá* dINNIN UNUG^{ki}
 11. *i-na ṭup-pi iš-tu-ru-ma e-li* md^{EN-BA-šá} *ú-kin-nu*
 12. U₄ 25-kám *šá* ITI ŠE MU 3-kám *še-e-nu a' 155* md^{EN-BA-šá}
 13. DUMU-šú *šá* m^{šil-la-a} *ib-ba-kám-ma ina E₂.AN.NA* *i-šim-mi-it-ma*
 14. *a-na* NIG₂.GA E₂.AN.NA *i-nam-din* m^{IR₃-dU}.GUR DUMU-šú *šá* m^{DU-A}
 15. DUMU m^{e-gi-bi} *pu-ut e-ṭe₃-ru šá* *še-e-nu-a'*
- (1–6) [1 ram 4 ewes] total 5 sheep branded with a star and 5 unblemished lambs, a total of 10 sheep, property of Ištar of Uruk and Nanaya, from the pen of Anu-šarra-ušur son of Šarrukīn, which in Araḫšamna, year 2 of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of the lands, Bēl-iqīša son of Šillaya led away (in payment) from Anu-šarra-ušur son of Šarrukīn.
- (7–11) In Addaru, year 3, Rīmūt and Bau-ēreš, the judges, wrote in a tablet and determined for Bēl-iqīša to pay 150 sheep, thirtyfold for the sheep branded for Ištar and 5 unbranded lambs, a total of 155 sheep, for repayment to Ištar of Uruk.
- (12–14) On 25 Addaru, year 3, Bēl-iqīša son of Šillaya shall bring these 155 sheep, brand them in the Eanna and give them to the property of the Eanna.
- (14–16) Arad-Nergal son of Mukīn-apli descendant of Egibi assumes responsibility for the repayment of these 155 sheep.

16. 155 *na-ši-i i-na ú-šu-uz-zu šá*
^{md}NA₃-DU-^lIBILA¹ (16–17) In the presence of Nabû-
 mukîn-apli, the *šatammu* of the Eanna,
 son of Nādinu descendant of Dābibī;
17. ^{lu}₂ŠA₃.TAM E₂.AN.NA
 DUMU-šú šá ^mna-di-nu DUMU
^mda-bi-bi
18. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU ^{lu}₂SAG-LUGAL (18) Nabû-aḥa-iddin, the royal
^{lu}₂EN *pī-qit-ti* E₂.AN.NA official in charge of the Eanna.
19. ^{lu}₂*mu-kin-nu* ^mIR₃-^dAMAR.UTU (19) Witnesses: Arad-Marduk, son of
 DUMU-šú šá ^mNUMUN-ia Zēriya descendant of Egibi;
 DUMU ^me-gi-bi
20. ^{md}30-APIN-*eš* DUMU-šú šá (20) Sîn-ēreš son of Nabû-šumu-līšir
^{md}NA₃-MU-SI.SA₂ DUMU descendant of Ibni-ili;
^mDU₃-DINGIR
21. ^{md}EN-SUM-IBILA DUMU-šú šá (21) Bēl-nādin-apli son of Marduk-
^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-MU DUMU šuma-iddin descendant of Bēl-apla-
^{md}EN-IBILA-URI₃ ušur;
22. ^mna-di-nu DUB.SAR DUMU (22) Nādinu, the scribe, descendant of
^me-gi-bi Egibi;
23. ^mIR₃-^d[AMAR.UTU] DUB.SAR (23) Arad-Marduk, the scribe,
 DUMU ^{md}EN-IBILA-URI₃ descendant of Bēl-apla-ušur.
24. UNUG^{ki} ITI ŠE U₄ 12-*kám* MU (24–25) Uruk. 12 Addaru, year 3 of
 3-*kám* ^mkám-bu-zi-ia Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of
 the lands.
25. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL
 KUR.KUR

NOTES

1–6. According to the opening lines of the present document, Bēl-iqīša has received the unbranded lambs from the pen of Anu-šarra-ušur, together with the branded sheep. This seems to correspond to Bēl-iqīša's own statement in Document 42 (lines 17–21) that he received a total of ten sheep from Anu-šarra-ušur. From the legal perspective, however, there is nothing wrong with receipt of unbranded livestock as payment, so it is difficult to understand why, in the end, Bēl-iqīša must repay five additional unbranded lambs to the Eanna. Instead, as has been suggested in the introduction to the present document, the five additional lambs that Bēl-iqīša owes are those that were born to the four branded ewes he deposited with Bēl-šarra-ušur, but were never actually from the herd of Anu-šarra-ušur. The Eanna has a claim to the lambs, as the offspring of its branded property, but it cannot impose the thirtyfold penalty on Bēl-iqīša, who did not actually embezzle these lambs. Thus, the original transaction between

Anu-šarra-ušur and Bēl-iqīša and the penalty Bēl-iqīša has to pay both involve groups of ten sheep, five branded and five unbranded. But only the branded sheep are the same. There are actually two separate sets of unbranded sheep in this case: one set paid to Bēl-iqīša, for which he owes nothing, and another set born to the branded sheep, which Bēl-iqīša must restore to the Eanna. It is easy to see how this coincidence might have confused the scribes who composed the present document and mistakenly attributed the five unbranded lambs to Anu-šarra-ušur's herd.

4. According to this tablet, the illegal transfer from Anu-šarra-ušur's herd to Bēl-iqīša occurred in Araḥšamna. According to Document 42 (line 15), this transfer occurred four months earlier, in Dūzu. It was the transfer of the sheep to Bēl-šarra-ušur, the Eanna herdsman, that took place in Araḥšamna (line 23). One should probably attribute the discrepancy between the two documents to scribal oversight in the present document. Note, however, that both of the scribes in the present document were involved in writing Document 42.

7. Rīmūt and Bau-ēreš are designated as "judges," which, in the Neo-Babylonian legal texts, is the term commonly used to refer to royal judges, or "judges of the king" (Wunsch 2000b, 572–74). Their status as royal judges is confirmed by several other texts that refer to them using more complete designations (Holtz 2009, 257–58).

THE CASE OF LĀ-TUBĀŠINNI AND HER CHILDREN (DOCUMENTS 44–48)

The dossier of this case consists of five documents, written over the course of some thirty-three years, from year 13 of Nebuchadnezzar II (592 BCE), at least through the accession year of Neriglissar (560 BCE). The case itself is narrated in Document 48, in which Lā-tubāšinni, a manumitted female slave, confronts Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, her previous master, in court, with the claim that her children were born after she had been freed. Were she to win the case, her children would also be free. She does not, however, and the judges award ownership of five of the children to Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin. Lā-tubāšinni is awarded custody of only one son, Ardiya, who was actually born after her manumission.

Cornelia Wunsch, who first published the decision record itself, also identified the other four relevant documents (Documents 44–47; Wunsch 1997–98, 62–67). They furnish details about Lā-tubāšinni's own biography, as well as about the stories of some of her children, and thus afford insight into the history behind the lawsuit. Taken together, then, these five documents not only shed light on particulars of this case, but also offer glimpses into Neo-Babylonian social history.

According to her marriage contract (Document 44), Lā-tubāšinni was married to Dāgil-ilī by her mother, Ḥammaya, who received a brideprice totaling one mina of silver from the groom. The marriage, however, is best characterized as a purchase; unlike typical Neo-Babylonian grooms, Dāgil-ilī did not receive a dowry from the bride's family in return. It was probably through this marriage-by-purchase that Lā-tubāšinni originally became a slave (Wunsch 1997–98, 65). Although Dāgil-ilī himself is never called a slave in the extant texts, his atypical marriage and the fact that his children were slaves indicate that he was probably not of high social standing. A clue about Dāgil-ilī's circumstances comes from the notice at the end of Document 44 (lines 13–14). Here, the text indicates that a member of the Sîn-damāqu family was present as an interested party to the marriage transaction. Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, the defendant against whom Lā-tubāšinni brings suit, and Esagil-šuma-ibni, the defendant's father who owned some of the children, are also members of this family. This suggests that the Sîn-damāqu family may have financed the marriage for Dāgil-ilī, and thus may have acquired rights to the children (Wunsch 1997–98, 66).

Together, Lā-tubāšinni and Dāgil-ilī have six children, four sons and two daughters. Documents 45, 46 and 47 all attest to the status of the children as slaves belonging to Esagil-šuma-ibni and later (probably upon his death), to his wife and sons, including Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, the defendant. In Document 46, the family sells three of Lā-tubāšinni's children (and her daughter-in-law) to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, a prominent member of the Egibi family (see van Driel 1985–1986). Lā-tubāšinni's lawsuit is probably an attempt to prevent this transaction (Wunsch

1997–98, 63). When Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin prevails in court, the sale to the Egibi family is deemed valid. All the relevant documentation, including a copy of the record of the decision in Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin's favor, would have been kept in the Egibi archive as proof of their rightful title to the slaves.

44. LĀ-TUBĀŠINNI'S MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Text: BM 30571 (76-11-17, 298)

Copy: Strassmaier 1889b (Nbk), No. 101

Translation/Discussion: Kohler and Peiser 1890–98, 1:7; Peiser 1896, 186–89; Boissier 1890, 40–42; Marx 1902, 4–6; Roth 1989a, 42–44; Wunsch 1997–98, No. 1 (p. 73), 62–67.

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 9.VIII.13 Nbk (19 November, 592 BCE)

Lā-tubāšinni is given in marriage to Dāgil-ilī by her mother, Ḥammaya. The brideprice that Dāgil-ilī pays to Ḥammaya for her daughter's hand consists of a slave, valued at one-half a mina, and an additional one-half mina of silver.

Although this document follows the basic conventions of Neo-Babylonian marriage agreements (Roth 1989a; Wunsch 2003, 1–31), anomalous details suggest that the marriage is not typical of the urban elite, whose marriage contracts are most widely attested. Neither the bride nor the groom has a family name, unlike the other people named in the text, including the bride's mother, who gives her in marriage. When taken together with the absence of the bride's dowry (see introductory discussion above), this suggests that both the bride and groom are of low social rank. Furthermore, the bride's father is not named, either; her mother's role in the transaction suggests that there is no other living male relative who can legally give Lā-tubāšinni as a bride. Is Lā-tubāšinni an adopted child that Ḥammaya has raised and is now marrying off (Wunsch 1997–98, 65)? Or is Ḥammaya, herself a descendant of a Babylonian family, facing more dire circumstances (with the death or absence of a husband) that force her to assent to her daughter's atypical marriage? The terms of the transaction, in which the one mina brideprice is composed of a slave and one-half mina of silver, rather than a full mina of silver, suggest that Ḥammaya is interested in quickly obtaining ready cash.

1. ^mda-gi-il-DINGIR.MEŠ A-šú
šá ^mza-am-bu-bu a-na ^fha-am-
[ma]-a (1–3) Dāgil-ilī son of Zambubu said
thus to Ḫammaya, daughter of Nergal-
iddin, descendant of Bābūtu:
2. DUMU.SAL-su šá ^{md}U.
GUR-MU A ^mba-bu-tu << a >>
ki-a-am iq-bi
3. um-ma ^fla-tu-ba-ši-in-ni DUMU. (3–4) “Give me Lā-tubāšinni, your
SAL-ka bi-in-nim-ma daughter, and let her be (my) wife!”
4. lu-ú DAM šī-i ^fha-am-ma-a (4–5) Ḫammaya heard him and gave
ta-<aš>-me-e-šu-ma him Lā-tubāšinni, her daughter, as a
wife.
5. ^fla-tu-ba-ši-in-ni DUMU.
SAL.A.NI a-na DAM-ú-tu
6. ta-ad-da-áš-šú ù ^mda-gi-il-DIN- (6–9) And Dāgil-ilī, with the joy of
GIR.MEŠ ina ḫu-ud lib-bi (his) heart, gave Ana-muḫḫī-Bēl-
āmur, his slave purchased for 1/2 mina
of silver, and an additional 1/2 mina of
silver to Hammaya for Lā-tubāšinni,
her daughter.
7. ^ma-na-muḫ-ḫi-EN-a-mur ^{lu₂}qal-
la šá a-na 1/2 MA.NA KU₃.
BABBAR ab-ka
8. ù 1/2 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR it-ti-
i a-na ^fha-am-ma-a
9. ku-mu ^fla-tu-ba-ši-in-ni DUMU.
SAL-šú id-din
10. u₄-mu ^mda-gi-il-DINGIR.MEŠ (10–13) The day that Dāgil-ilī takes
DAM ša-ni-tam another wife, Dāgil-ilī shall pay Lā-
tubāšinni 1 mina of silver, and she
shall go wherever she pleases.
11. iš-ta-áš-šu-ú 1 MA.NA KU₃.
BABBAR ^mda-gi-il-DINGIR.
MEŠ
12. a-na ^fla-tu-ba-ši-in-ni i-nam-din-
ma a-šar
13. maḫ-ri tal-la-ka ina a-ša-bi šá (13–14) In the presence of Šuma-
^mMU-MU iddin son of Tēšē-ēṭir descendant of
Šîn-damāqu.
14. A-šú šá ^mSUH₃ -SUR A ^{md}30-da-
ma-qu
15. ^{lu₂}mu-kin-nu ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ. (15–16) Witnesses: Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin
MEŠ-MU A-šú šá ^{md}NA₃-EN- son of Nabû-bēl-šīmāti descendant of
MU.MEŠ Šangû-Ištar-Bābili;
16. A ^{lu₂}E₂.MAŠ-^dINNIN-TIN.TIR^{ki} (16–17) Marduk-šarrani son of Balātu
^{md}AMAR.UTU-LUGAL-a-ni descendant of Paḫāru;

17. A-*šú šá*^m*ba-la-tu* A^{lu₂}BAHAR₂ (17–18) Marduk-ēṭir son of Nergal-
^mAMAR.UTU-KAR-*ir* iddin descendant of Bābūtu;
18. DUMU *šá*^{md}U.GUR-MU (18–19) Scribe: Nabû-mukīn-zēri son
 A^m*ba-bu-tu u*^{lu₂}UMBISAG of Marduk-zēra-ibni descendant of
^{md}NA-DU-NUMUN Šangû-Ištar-Bābili.
19. A-*šú šá*^{md}AMAR.UTU-
 NUMUN-DU₃ A^{lu₂}E₂.
 MAŠ-INNIN-TIN.TIR^{ki}
20. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI APIN U₄ 9-*kám* (20–21) Babylon. 9 Araḥšamna,
 MU 13-*kám* year 13 of Nebuchadnezzar, king of
 Babylon.
21. ^dNA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃ LUGAL
 KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{ki}

NOTES

10–13. This clause governs divorce (here referred to as the husband’s marriage to another woman) by stipulating a payment of 1 mina for the wife’s support. In effect, this payment is a penalty intended to prevent divorce, since Dāgil-ili is probably of little means himself, and has not received any dowry by which he might otherwise offset this high cost.

13–14. The person named in this clause is not designated as a “witness” (*mukinnu*), but rather as someone in whose presence (*ina ašābi*) the contract was concluded. In Neo-Babylonian documents, this designation introduces the names of relatives of the main parties, often women (see *CAD* A₂, 391), whose assent to the transaction was required in order to preclude any subsequent opposition on their part.

17–18. The witness Marduk-ēṭir is Lā-tubāšinni’s uncle, brother of Ḥammaya, mother of the bride. For a complete genealogy of the main parties in this dossier, see figure 1.

45. NABŪ-ĒDA-UŠUR'S SLAVE WAGES

Text: BM 30342 (76-11-17, 62)

Copy: Strassmaier 1889b (Nbk), No 193

Translation/Discussion: Peiser 1896, 190–91; Wunsch 1997–98, No. 2 (p. 74), 62–67

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 6.X.28 Nbk (30 December, 577 BCE)

Ubar agrees to pay Ina-Esagil-šuma-ibni the daily wage of a slave named Nabû-ēda-ušur, set at 2 BAN₂ per day, should Ubar be found in possession of Nabû-ēda-ušur.

Nabû-ēda-ušur, the slave who is the subject of this document, is named in the decision record (Document 48) as one of the children that Lā-tubāšinni attempts to free. Here, some seventeen years before his sale to the Egibi family (Document 46) and his mother's failed court case (Document 48), he is already designated as a slave who belongs to the head of the family that ultimately sold him to the Egibis. Assuming that Nabû-ēda-ušur was born to Dāgil-ilī and Lā-tubāšinni early in the marriage (in Document 48 he is the first child named), then he would have been in his early teens, at most, when the present document was drawn up. By the time of his subsequent sale (Document 46), he was married, and probably around thirty years old.

Documents such as the present one would have been drawn up when there was reason to suspect that slaves would “turn up” in the possession of someone other than their owner, probably because the slaves escaped on their own or were hired out but not returned (Dandamaev 1984, 118–19). Those in unlawful possession of the slaves must pay their slave-wages (*mandattu*) to the slaves' rightful owners. It is interesting to note that in this case, Ubar, the person who must pay, is probably Nabû-ēda-ušur's own paternal uncle (Wunsch 1997–98, 64): Ubar's father, Zambubu, is probably also the father of Dāgil-ilī mentioned in Document 44. Does this connection indicate that Nabû-ēda-ušur's family has already been trying to attain his freedom? Whatever the background story, the familial connection is legally significant: it shows that a member of the slave's own family acknowledged the man's status as slave. Thus, with this evidence in hand, Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, the defendant, could prove his rights to sell Nabû-ēda-ušur, since it is an official record that the slave belonged to Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin's father, Ina-Esagil-šuma-ibni.

1. *u₄-mu šá^{md}NA₃-1-URI₃ lu₂qal-la* (1–6) On the day that Nabû-ēda-ušur,
2. *šá^mina-E₂.SAG.IL-MU-DU₃* slave of Ina-Esagil-šuma-ibni, turns
3. *ina IGI mu₂-bar A-šú šá^mza-am-* up in the possession of Ubar son of
4. *bu-bu* Zambubu, he (Ubar) shall pay Ina-
5. *i-te-la-’ U₄-mu 2 (BAN₂) ŠE.* Esagil-šuma-ibni 2 BAN₂ of barley
6. *BAR* per day (as) his (Nabû-ēda-ušur’s)
7. *man-da-at-ta-šú a-na* slave-wage.
8. *ina-E₂.SAG.IL-MU-DU₃ i-nam-*
9. *din*
10. *lu₂mu-kin-nu ma-ḥu-nu* (7–8) Witness: Aḥūnu son of Adad-
11. *A-šú šá^{md}IM-NUMUN-MU* zēra-iddin.
12. *u lu₂UMBISAG mdEN-ŠEŠ.* (9–10) and the scribe: Bēl-aḥḥē-
13. *MEŠ-SU* erība son of Bēl-ušēzib descendant of
14. *A-šú šá^{md}EN-ú-še-zib A mda-* Dābibī.
15. *bi-bi*
16. *TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI AB U₄ 6-kám* (11–13) Babylon. 6 Ṭebētu, year 28
17. *MU 28 mdNA₃-NIG₂.DU-URI₃* of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.
18. *LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}*

NOTES

2. In the rest of the dossier, Ina-Esagil-šuma-ibni is known as Esagil-šuma-ibni.

46. SALE OF FOUR SLAVES

Text: BM 30228 (75-6-9, 1)

Copy: Evetts 1892 (Ngl), No. 2

Translation/Discussion: Dandamaev 1984, 188–89, 667 (No. 11); Sack 1994, 140–42; Wunsch 1997–98, No. 4 (p. 75), 62–67

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 16.VI.0 Ngl (5 September, 560 BCE)

Bēl-āhhē-iddin and Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ, together with their mother, Rēšat, sell four slaves, a man, his wife and his two sisters, to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin for 2 mina of silver. The sellers assume responsibility against any claim that may stand in the way of the sale.

The sale of three of Lā-tubāšinni's children—her son, Nabû-ēda-ušur (see Document 45), and two daughters, Kišrinni and Gimillinni—recorded in this document is probably the direct cause of Lā-tubāšinni's lawsuit, which takes place about two months later (Document 48). In addition to these three children, who are also named in the decision record, the sale includes Nabû-ēda-ušur's wife, Banītumma. The sellers in this document are the wife and two sons of Esagil-šuma-ibni, who, according to Document 45, was Nabû-ēda-ušur's master. The absence of the former master from the present transaction indicates beyond much doubt that he has died at some point during the seventeen years since the writing of Document 45. It is for this reason that his widow and her sons, the male heirs, are the ones who sell the slaves.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU <i>u</i> ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-<i>bul-liṭ</i> DUMU.MEŠ [^{šá} ^mE₂.SAG.IL-MU-DU₃] 2. A ^{md}30-<i>da-ma-qu</i> <i>ù</i> ^fre-šat AMA-[^{šú}-<i>nu</i> DUMU.SAL-<i>su</i>] 3. ^{šá} ^mšu-zu-bu A ^{lu}₂SANGA-BAR₂ <i>ina hu-ud lib-bi</i>-[^{šú}-<i>nu</i>] 4. ^{md}NA₃-e-du-URI₃ ^{fd}DU₃-ni-tu₄-um-ma DAM-[^{šú}] 5. ^fki-iš-ri-in-ni <i>u</i> ^fgi-mil-in-ni NIN.^fMEŠ-šú¹ 6. PAP 4 <i>a-me-lut-tu</i>₄ <i>a-na</i> 2 MA.NA KU₃.BABBAR <i>a-na</i> ŠAM₂ | <p>(1–8) Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin and Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ sons [of Esagil-šuma-ibni] descendant of Sîn-damāqu and Rēšat [their] mother [daughter] of Šūzubu descendant of Šangû-parakki, with the joy of [their] heart, sold Nabû-ēda-ušur, Banītumma [his] wife, Kišrinni and Gimillinni, his sisters—a total of 4 slaves—to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin son of Šulaya descendant of Egibi, for the complete price of 2 mina of silver.</p> |
|--|---|

7. *gam-ru-tu a-na* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-MU A-šú šá ^mšu-la-a
8. A ^{me}gi-bi id-di-nu pu-ut se-ḫi-i
pa-qir-ra-nu (8–11) Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, Nabû-aḫḫē-
bulliṭ sons of Esagil-šuma-ibni
descendant of Sîn-damāqu and Rēšat,
their mother, assume responsibility
against any false claimant, contestor,
or (claim regarding) the slaves' free
status.
9. u DUMU DU₃-ú-tu šá a-me-lut-
tu₄ ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU
10. u ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MEŠ-bul-liṭ
DUMU.MEŠ šá ^{me}E₂-SAG.IL₂-
MU-DU₃
11. A ^{md}30-SIG₅ u ^fre-šat AMA-
šú-nu na-šu-ú
12. 1-en pu-ut 2-ú na-šu-u (12) Each assumes responsibility for
the other.
13. ^{lu}₂mu-kin-nu ^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ
A-šú šá ^mšu-zu-bu A ^{lu}₂SANGA-
BAR₂ (13) Witnesses: Nabû-bāni-aḫi son of
Šūzubu descendant of Šangû-parakki;
14. [^{ma}-ša]-ri-du A-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.
UTU-na-šir A ^{lu}₂SANGA-DIN-
GIR (14) [Aša]ridu son of Marduk-nāšir
descendant of Šangû-ili;
15. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-BA-šá-an-ni
A-šú šá ^mba-ni-ia A ^{md}DINGIR-
til-lat-i (15) Marduk-iqīšanni son of Bāniya
descendant of Ilu-tillatī;
16. ^{md}DUB-NUMUN A-šú šá ^{md}U.
GUR-GI A ^{md}30-ka-ra-bi-iš-me (16) Šāpik-zēri son of Nergal-ušallim
descendant of Sîn-karābi-išme;
17. ^{md}EN-MU A-šú šá ^{md}EN-ú-
šeb-ši A ^{lu}₂SANGA-za-ri-qu (17) Bēl-iddin son of Bēl-ušebši
descendant of Šangû-Zariqu;
18. ^{md}IM-ib-ni A-šú šá ^{md}za-
ri-qu-NUMUN-DU₃ A
^{lu}₂SANGA-^dza-ri-qu (18) Adad-ibni son of Zariqu-zēra-
ibni descendant of Šangû-Zariqu;
19. u ^{lu}₂UMBISAG ^mri-mut A-šú šá
^{md}NA₃-MU-GAR-un A ^mga-ḫul (19) and the scribe: Rīmūt son of
Nabû-šuma-iškun descendant of
Gaḫul;
20. TIN.TIR^{ki} ITI KIN U₄ 16-kám
MU SAG.NAM.LUGAL (20–21) Babylon. 16 Ulūlu, accession
year of Neriglissar, king of Babylon.
21. ^{md}U.GUR-LUGAL-URI₃
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

NOTES

8–11. This clause enumerates possible factors that might prevent the sale. By assuming responsibility against them, the sellers guarantee clear title to the slave (Dandamaev 1984, 182–86).

47. SALE OF A SLAVE

Text: BM 31285 (76-11-17, 1012)

Copy: Wunsch 1997–98, No. 3 (p. 74)

Translation/Discussion: Wunsch 1997–98, No. 3 (p. 74), 62–67

Place of Composition: (Babylon?)

Date: 10.X.1 (Ngl?) (14 January, 558 BCE?)

Bēl-āhhē-iddin and Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ, together with their mother, Rēšat, sell one male slave for 5/6 mina and 8 šeqels (58 šeqels) of silver to Šāpik-zēri. The sellers assume responsibility against any claim that may stand in the way of the sale.

As in Document 46, the sellers in this document are also the widow and two male heirs of Esagil-šuma-ibni. The slave they sell, at least as he is named in the document, is Nabû-ēda-ušur, the same slave who is sold in Document 46. This fact, together with the broken date on Document 47 (see note below), present complications to the otherwise straightforward narrative of events that can be reconstructed based on the other documents in the dossier. How can the same owners sell the same slave twice to different people? Wunsch (1997–98, 66–67) suggests a number of solutions, of which the more likely two are summarized here:

- 1) It is possible that this text predates the sale recorded in Document 46 and the subsequent lawsuit in Document 48. Nabû-ēda-ušur was sold twice by the same owners, first to Šāpik-zēri (the present document) and again to Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin (Document 46). If so, then the sale recorded here must have been invalidated by the time of the writing of Document 46 and Document 48. A document, now lost, would have indicated that the first sale was invalid, and would have been transferred to the Egibi archive with the ultimate sale of Nabû-ēda-ušur.
- 2) Alternatively, the present document was, in fact, written after Document 46 and the subsequent lawsuit in Document 48. The sale here, however, is not of Nabû-ēda-ušur, but rather of his brother, Bēl-aḥa-ušur, who is named as one of the children of Lā-tubāšinni in Document 48, but is not included in the sale in Document 46. Thus, the heirs of Esagil-šuma-ibni still owned this slave, and could, therefore, sell him. The fact that the present document probably belongs to the Egibi archive may indicate that the Egibi family was somehow involved in the sale, albeit only tangentially.

Although the second possibility requires emending personal names in the operative section of the document, this option should not be discounted out of hand. For one thing, the first possibility also requires a “suspicious” reading of the

present document as invalid. Moreover, in the present document, the price of the one slave here (58 šeqels) is nearly equal to the price of all four slaves sold in Document 46 (60 šeqels). If the present document was written before Document 46, then one would have to imagine that Nabû-ēda-ušur's value decreased dramatically between the sales. It may be simpler to imagine that a different slave, who might have always had a higher value, is sold here.

1. ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU *ù* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*bul-liṭ* (1–6) Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin and Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit sons of Esagil-šuma-ibni descendant of Sîn-damāqu and Rēšat, their mother, with the joy of their heart, sold Nabû-ēda-ušur, their slave, for the exact price of 5/6 mina 8 šeqels of silver to Šāpik-zēri son of Iddin-Marduk descendant of Šigûa.
2. DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{me}₂-SAG.IL-MU-DU₃ A ^{md}30-SIG₅
3. *u* ^f*re-šat* AMA-šú-nu *ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu*
4. ^{md}NA₃-AŠ-URI₃ ^{lu}₂*qal-la-šú-nu a-na 5/6 MA.NA 8 GIN₂ KU₃. BABBAR*
5. *a-na ŠAM ḥa-ri-iš a-na* ^{md}DUB-NUMUN A-šú *šá*
6. ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU A ^mši-gu-ú-a *id-di-nu-*'
7. *pu-ut* ^{lu}₂*se-ḥi-i* ^{lu}₂*pa-qir-a-nu* ^{lu}₂ERIN₂.MEŠ LUGAL-ú-tu (7–10) Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, N[abû-aḥḥē-bullit] and Rēšat, thei[r] mother, [assume] responsibility against any false claimant, contestor, corvée duties of the king or (claim regarding) Nabû-ēda-ušur's free status.
8. *u* DUMU-DU₃-ú-tu *ša* ^{mr}dNA₃-AŠ-URI₃¹
9. ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{md}N[A₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*bul-liṭ*]
10. *u* ^f*re-šat* AMA-^fšú¹-[*nu našû*]
11. *1-en pu-ut šá-ni-i na-š[u-ú]* (11) Each assu[m]es responsibility for the other.
12. ^{lu}₂*mu-kin-nu* ^{md}NA₃-DU₃-ŠEŠ A-šú *šá* ^mšu-zu-bu (12–13) Witnesses: Nabû-bāni-aḥi son of Šüzubu descendant of Šangû-parakki;
13. A ^{lu}₂SANGA-BAR₂ ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A-šú *šá* (13–14) Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin son of Zākir descendant of Amēl-Isin;
14. ^mza-kir A LU₂-ISIN^{ki} ^mšil-la-a A-šú (14–15) Šillaya son of Lābāši descendant of Šigûa;
15. *šá* ^mla-a-ba-ši A ^mši-gu-u-a

16. u^{lu_2} DUB.SAR $^{mkab-ti-iá}$ A-šú (16–17) and the scribe: Kabtiya son
 šá md AMAR.UTU-MU-DU₃ of Marduk-šuma-ibni descendant of
 Amēl-[Ea].
17. A LU₂- d [E₂-a X X X] 'ITI' ZIZ₂ (17–18) [X X X] 10 Šabātu, year 1 of
 U₄ 10-*kám* [Neriglissar, king] of Babylon.
18. MU 1-*kám* [d U.GUR-LUGAL-
 URI₃ LUGAL] TIN.TIR^{ki}

NOTES

17–18. The legible part of the date states that it was composed in year 1 of a king, but the name of this king is lost. Logically, two reconstructions are possible: Amēl-Marduk and Neriglissar. If the king was Amēl-Marduk, then this document was composed on 6 January, 560 BCE, some nine months before the sale recorded in Document 46 and eleven months before the lawsuit. If the king was Neriglissar, then this document was written about two years later on 14 January, 558 BCE. For the implications of these dates, see the introductory discussion to the present document.

48. THE STATUS OF LĀ-TUBĀŠINNI'S CHILDREN

Text: BM 31797 (76-11-17, 1524)

Copy: Wunsch 1997–98, No. 5 (p. 77)

Translation/Discussion: Wunsch 1997–98, No. 5 (pp. 75–77), 62–67

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 10.VIII.0 Ngl (29 October, 560 BCE)

Lā-tubāšinni, a manumitted slave, argues a case regarding the status of her children against Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin before the sukkallu and the judges. Lā-tubāšinni claims that five of her children, three sons and two daughters, were born after she received her tablet of manumission (ṭuppi mār banūti), and that, therefore, Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin has no rights to them. Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin is able to prove that the five children in question were born before Lā-tubāšinni's manumission. The sukkallu and the judges confirm that the children in question are the property of Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin. One of Lā-tubāšinni's sons, Ardiya, was born after the manumission and is, therefore, under her control.

As narrated, the lawsuit is between Lā-tubāšinni and Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, each of whom claims some right to the children. Thus, the judges' ruling is formulated as “giving” (*nadānu*) specifically named children either to Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin or to Lā-tubāšinni, which implies that the prevailing litigant may now deal with the children as he or she sees fit. As noted above, the existence of related documents allows the reconstruction of the events surrounding the lawsuit itself and, in turn, the practical implications of the ruling. Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin has sold some of Lā-tubāšinni's children (Document 45), and her claim against him is intended to prevent the final sale. Because Lā-tubāšinni cannot prove her claim to the children sold by Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, the ruling implies that the sale is valid.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. [f ^l a-t]u-ba-šin-ni DAM ^m da-gil-DINGIR.M[EŠ u... ana] | (1–3) Lā-tubāšinni, wife of Dāgil-ilī [and ...] [c]ame [before Nabû-mukīn]- |
| 2. [mdNA ₃ -GIN]-DUMU.NITA
^{lu₂} U ₂ u ^{lu₂} DI.KU ₅ .MEŠ šá ^{md} U.
[GUR-LUGAL URI ₃ LUGAL
E ^{ki}] | apli, the <i>sukkallu</i> , and the judges of [Neriglissar, king of Babylon]. |
| 3. [il-l]i-ku-nim-ma it-ti ^{md} EN-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-MU DUMU- ^r šú? [šá ^m E ₂ -
SAG-IL ₂ -MU-DU ₃] | (3–4) They argued a case against Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin son of [Esagil-šuma-ibni descendant of] Sîn-damāqu. |

4. [DUMU^{md}]30-SIG₅ *dī-i-ni id-bu-bu-ma* ^f*la-tu-ba-[šin-ni taqbi umma]*
 5. [mdNA₃]-AŠ-URI₃ mdEN-ŠEŠ-URI₃ mE₂-SAG-IL₂-*re-šu-^rú¹-[a^fkiš-ri-in-ni]*
 6. [u^fgi]-*mil-in-ni* DUMU.MEŠ-*e-a šá ina* E₂-*ku-nu ár-ki šá-^rta-[ri DUB DUMU ba-nu-tú]*
 7. [^uli]-*du* lu₂U₂ u lu₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ *ar-kát-su-nu iš-ta-lu-[ma* mEN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU]
 8. [*ri-k*]-*a-si-šú šá a-di la tup-pi* DUMU *ba-nu-tú šá* ^f*la-tu-[ba-šin-ni]*
 9. [*iš*]-*ša^r-^rta-ru* mdNA₃-AŠ-URI₃ mdEN-ŠEŠ-URI₃ mE₂-SAG-IL₂-*[re-šu-ú-a]*
 10. [^fk]-*iš-ri-in-ni u* ^f*gi-mil-in-ni ma-al-du ú-il-[ti šá...]*
 11. [mdNA₃]-*e-du*-URI₃ u mdEN-ŠEŠ-URI₃ *a-na man-da-at-ti ú[...]*
 12. [*ub-la*]-*am-ma a-na* lu₂SUKKAL u lu₂DI.KU₅.MEŠ *ú-kal-lim*
 13. [mE₂-SAG]-IL₂-MU-DU₃ AD *šá* mdEN-Š[EŠ.MEŠ]-^rSUM¹.[NA]
 14. [...]-*li-šú a-na* dEN *ú z[ak-...]*
 15. [...]-*nu i-mu-ru u dib-[bi-šu-nu išmû]*
 16. [mdNA₃-*e-da*-URI₃] mdEN-ŠEŠ-URI₃ ^f*kiš-ri-[in-ni u* ^f*gi-mil-in-ni]*
 17. [*šá a-di la*] DUB DUMU *ba-nu-tu šá* ^f*la-t[^ru-ba-ši-in-ni aldū ana]*
 18. [mdE]N-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU *id-di-nu u* mIR₃-*ia [šá arki ša^rār tuppi]*
 19. [*šá* ^f*la-tu-ba-šin-ni mál-du a-na* ^f*la-tu-ba-šin-ni iddinū]*
- (4) Lā-tubāšinni [said thus]:
- (5–7) “[Nabû]-ēda-ušur, Bēl-aḥa-ušur, Esagil-rēšua, [Kišrinni], and Gimilinni, are my children to whom [I gave bi]rth in your house after the writ[ing of my tablet of manumission].”
- (7) The *sukkallu* and the judges investigated the circumstances of their case.
- (7–12) [Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin bro]ught his [co]ntract (stating) that Nabû-ēda-ušur, Bēl-aḥa-ušur, Esagil-[rēšua], Kišrinni and Gimilinni were born before Lā-tubāšinni’s tablet of manumission [was] written and the not[e (stating) that... Nabû]-ēda-ušur and Bēl-aḥa-ušur ... for slave-wage and showed it to the *sukkallu* and to the judges.
- (13–15) [Esagil]-šuma-ibni, the father of Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin ... his de[ication ...] to Bēl ... they saw, [and heard their ca]se.
- (16–18) They gave [Nabû-ēda-ušur], Bēl-aḥa-ušur, Kišr[inni and Gimilinni], [who were born before] Lā-t[ubāšinni]’s tablet of manumission, to [Bēl]-aḥḥē-iddin.
- (18–19) And they [gave] Ardiya, who was born [after the writing of] Lā-tubāšinni’s [tablet] to [Lā-tubāšinni].

20. [ma]-ti-ma ^fla-tu-ba-šin-ni u (20–21) [In] the future, Lā-tubāšinni
^mIR₃-ia DUMU-šú a-na [UGU and Ardiya, her son, shall not [raise
^{md}NA₃-AŠ-URI₃] a claim concerning Nabû-ēda-ušur],
 21. [m]^dEN-ŠEŠ-URI₃ ^fkaš-ri-in-ni u Bēl-aḥa-ušur, Kašrinni and Gimilinni.
^fgi-mil-in-ni la [iraggumū]
 22. ^{lu2}U₂ u ^{lu2}DI.KU₅.MEŠ *tup-pi* (22–23) The *sukkallu* and the judges
iš-tu-ru ina ^{na4}[KIŠIB-šu-nu] wrote a tablet and sealed (it) with
 23. *ib-ru-mu-ma a-na* ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ. [their seals] and ga[ve] (it) to Bēl-
 MEŠ-MU *id-[di-nu]* aḥḥē-iddin.
 24. *ina* EŠ.BAR *di-i-ni šu-a-ta* (24) At the decision of this case:
^{md}EN-DU-IBILA [^{lu2}U₂] Nabû-mukīn-apli, [the *sukkallu*]
 25. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-GAR-MU ^{lu2}DI. (25) Marduk-šākin-šumi, the judge,
 KU₅ DUMU ^{md}URU₃-[DU₃- descendant of URU₃, [DU₃-mansum];
mansum]
 26. [^{md}]NA₃-SUM.NA ^{lu2}DI.KU₅ (26) Nabû-iddin, the judge, descen-
 DUMU ^mSIG₅-[^dIM] dant of Mudammiq-[Adad];
 27. [^m]NA₃-mu-tir-ŠU ^{lu2}UMBISAG (27) Nabû-mutīr-gimilli, the scribe,
 DUMU ^m[gaḥal-Marduk] descendant of [Gaḥal-Marduk].
 28. ^{Eki} ITI APIN U₄ 10-kām MU (28) Babylon. 10 Araḥšamna, acces-
 SAG-NAM.LUGAL.LA [^dU. sion year of [Neriglissar].
 GUR-LUGAL-URI₃]

NOTES

5–7. Lā-tubāšinni names Esagil-rēšua as one of her five children here, and he is also mentioned when the document describes how Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin proves his case (lines 7–12). When the judges reach their decision (lines 16–19), however, Esagil-rēšua's name is not included: only four, rather than five, children go to Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, and a fifth, named Ardiya, goes to Lā-tubāšinni. One may conclude from the absence of Esagil-rēšua's name that he probably died earlier (Wunsch 1997–98, 63 n. 16).

13–15. These lines, although broken, seem to mention one person's dedication of another person (*zukkū*) to the god Bēl. The lines may refer to the fate of Dāgil-ilī, the man who married Lā-tubāšinni (Wunsch 1997–98, 63).

22–23. Although these lines mention the sealing of a document, the present document is not sealed. Therefore, this is not the original document to which these lines refer, but is, instead, a copy of that original (Wunsch 1997–98, 64).

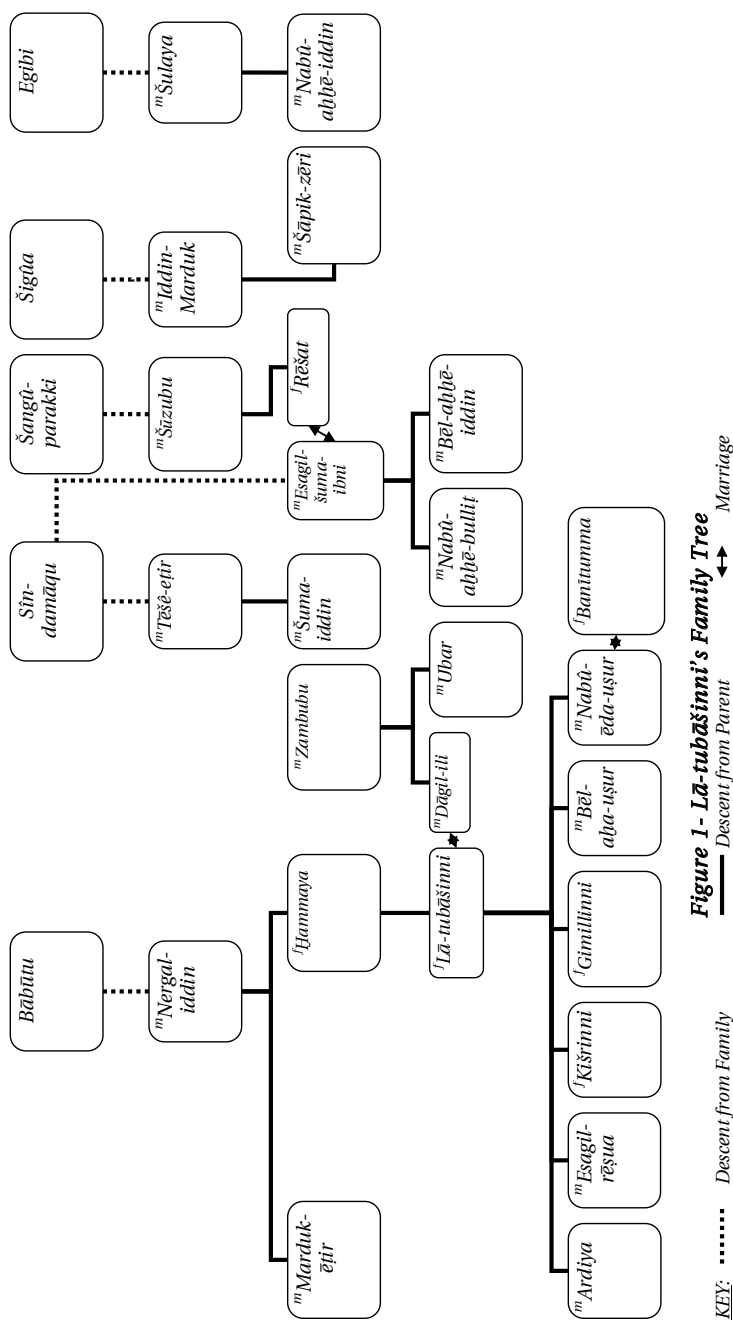


Figure 1- Lā-tubāšinni's Family Tree

AN UNAUTHORIZED MARRIAGE (DOCUMENTS 49–50)

Documents 49 and 50 pertain to an illicit marriage that takes place between a female slave and Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit, son of a royal official (*ša rēš šarri*) named Nargiya. The marriage is arranged by the servants of Amurru-šarra-ušur, the royal official in charge of the inner residence (*ša muḫḫi bītānu*), but meets the opposition of the groom's father, Nargiya, the plaintiff in the lawsuit (Document 50). Ultimately, this arrangement is overturned in court. Thus, these two documents are a good illustration of the strength of paternal authority, even over the marriage of a son (Joannès 2000b, 206).

49. A GUARANTEE FOR TESTIMONY

Text: BM 30975 (76-11-17, 702)

Copy: Strassmaier 1890b (Cyr), No. 311

Translation/Discussion: Peiser 1896, No. 23 (pp. 280–84); Marx 1902, 11–12; Dougherty 1923–24, 41–42; Koschaker 1966, 159–60; Dandamaev 1984, 105–6, 432–34; Joannès 1994; 2000b, No. 150 (pp. 207–8); Holtz 2009, 148

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 8.V.8 Cyr (7 August, 531 BCE)

Nabû-ētir and his son, Rīmūt-Nabû, guarantee testimony regarding Mušēzib-Bēl, a slave in the household of a high-ranking official. Mušēzib-Bēl, acting as if on behalf of his master, ordered a document to be drawn up for the marriage between Kupputtu and Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin son of Nargiya. Rīmūt-Nabû was the scribe who wrote the document and Nabû-ētir was a witness on it. However, Nargiya, the groom's father, does not approve of this marriage, so Nabû-ētir and Rīmūt-Nabû face a penalty for writing the document against his wishes. In order to clear themselves, the two men guarantee testimony regarding Mušēzib-Bēl's role in the situation. Presumably, they (or Mušēzib-Bēl himself) will testify that they were only acting on the assumption that Mušēzib-Bēl's master, the high-ranking official, had ordered the marriage document to be written. If they do not provide this testimony then they must compensate Nargiya.

Although some of the protagonists in the present document are different from those in Document 50, a number of factors suggest that the two documents are related:

- 1) In both documents the groom is named Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit son of Nargiya and, in both, Nargiya is the son of Ḫanunu.

- 2) Both documents involve members of the household of the official in charge of the inner residence (*ša muḥḥi bītānu*).
- 3) The two documents are written within three days of each other.

Therefore, the slave, who is named Kuputtu in the present document, is probably the same as the slave named Tabluṭu in Document 50 (Koschaker 1966, 159 n. 43; Joannès 2000b, 206). Thus, the present document is a record of the preliminary legal proceedings leading up to the trial itself, three days later.

1. *pu-ut* ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu-ú-tu* *ša* ^m*mu-še-zib*-^dEN (1–9) Nabû-ēṭir son of Arad-Bēl descendant of Arrabtu, the witness on the tablet, and Rīmūt-Nabû, his son, the scribe who wrote the tablet, assume responsibility for testimony regarding Mušēzib-Bēl, slave of the official in charge of the inner residence, who went, at the orders of the official in charge of the inner residence, and said thus: “The official in charge of the inner residence has sent me, and ordered, ‘Seal the tablet of Kuputtu and give her as a wife to Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ son of Nargiya.’”
2. ^{lu₂}*qal-la* *ša* ^{lu₂}*ša* UGU E₂-*a-nu* *ša* *ina na-aš-pir-tu*₄
3. *ša* ^{lu₂}*ša* UGU E₂-*a-nu il-li-ku-ma iq-bu-ú um-ma*
4. <<*um-ma*>> ^{lu₂}*ša* UGU E₂-*a-nu il-tap-ra-an-ni um-ma*
5. IM.DUB *ša* ^f*kup-pu-ut-tu*₄ *ku-nu-uk*^l-*ma a-na*
6. DAM-*ú-tu a-na* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ. MEŠ-*bul-liṭ A-šú* *ša* ^m*nar-gi-ia*
7. *i-din* ^{md}NA₃-SUR A-*šú* *ša* ^mIR₃-^dEN A ^m*ár-rab-tu*₄
8. ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu* IM.DUB *ù* ^m*ri-mut*-^dNA₃ DUMU-*šú*
9. DUB.SAR *ša-tir* IM.DUB *na-šu-ú ina* E₂ DI.KU₅ (9–11) They shall testify in the courthouse and present (the document) to Nargiya son of Ḥanunu.
10. *ú-kan-nu-ma a-na* ^m*nar-gi-ia A-šú* *ša*
11. ^m*ḥa-nu-nu i-nam-din-nu-*’ (11–14) If they do not t[estify], they shall pay 1/2 talent of silver, (for) the loss inflicted upon Nargiya.
ki-i la ú-[kan-nu]
12. 1/2 GU.UN KU₃.BABBAR *mī-ti-tu*₄
13. *ša* UGU ^m*nar-gi-ia šak-na-tu*₄
14. *ú-šal-lam-u*’ ^{lu₂}*mu-kin-nu* (14–15) Witnesses: Nabû-aḥa-iddin son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi;
15. ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ-MU A-*šú* *ša* ^mNA₃-TIN-*su-E*

16. ^mIR₃-*ia* A-*šú šá* ^mNA₃-
GAL₂-*ši* (16) Ardiya son of Nabû-ušabši;
17. ^mA-*a* A-*šú šá* ^mlib-*luṭ* ^mNU-
MUN-*ia* A-*šú šá* ^mú-*bar* (17) Aplaya son of Libluṭ; Zēriya son of Ubar;
18. ^u ^{md}NA₃-DU-^{NUMUN}
^{lu₂}UMBISAG DUMU-*šú šá* (18–19) and Nabû-mukīn-zēri, the scribe,
son of Nabû-šuma-ēreš descendant of
Ēreb-bīti.
19. ^{md}NA₃-MU-KAM₂ DUMU
^{lu₂}AD E₂ TIN.TIR^{ki} (19–21) Babylon. 8 Abu, year 8 of Cyrus,
king of Babylon, king of the lands.
20. ITI NE U₄ 8-*kám* MU 8
^m*kur-ra-áš*
21. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL
KUR.KUR

NOTES

1. The Akkadian relative particle *ša* may indicate that the two men assume responsibility for the testimony *of* Mušēzib-Bēl, rather than testimony *regarding* him. However, the apparently plural verbs in lines 10–11 suggest that it is the testimony of the two guarantors, rather than of Mušēzib-Bēl, that is required.

50. AN UNAUTHORIZED MARRIAGE

Text: BM 33065 (78-11-7, 3)

Copy: Strassmaier 1890b (Cyr), No. 312

Translation/Discussion: Kohler and Peiser 1890–98, 2:7–8; Marx 1902, 11;

Oppenheim 1944, 14; Joannès 2000b, No. 149 (p. 207); Joannès 2002c

Place of Composition: Babylon

Date: 11.V.8 Cyr (10 August, 531 BCE)

Nargiya, a royal official, presents his case against Amurru-šarra-ušur, the royal official in charge of the inner residence, before a court consisting of “Great Ones” and judges of Cyrus. Nargiya claims that, without his permission, Amurru-šarra-ušur and Nabû-uballiṭ, one of Amurru-šarra-ušur’s servants, had a tablet drawn up attesting to the marriage between Nargiya’s son, Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit, and Tabluṭu, sister of the servant Nabû-uballiṭ. The judges interrogate Amurru-šarra-ušur, who denies participating in this scheme. Nabû-uballiṭ, his servant, confesses to having had the tablet of marriage drawn up. The judges invalidate this tablet and rule that Tabluṭu will be branded as a slave if she is seen with Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit.

This trial takes place three days after the scribe who wrote the marriage document and his father, one of the witnesses, guaranteed the testimony pertaining to the involvement of another suspect (Document 50). The present document makes it clear that the scheme to illicitly marry Kupputu/Tabluṭu to Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit was not simply a plan hatched among highly-placed household servants. As the son of Nargiya, a royal official according to the present document, Nabû-aḥḫē-bullit is probably of significant social standing, which suggests that the schemers may have had less than pure motives. Furthermore, Amurru-šarra-ušur, a royal official himself, is brought to court as one of the defendants. There must have been some suspicion that the scheme originated not with the servants, but with their master. This suspicion was strong enough to require Amurru-šarra-ušur to come to court, face interrogation, and clear himself by taking an oath. Ultimately, however, it is the slave’s brother, the servant Nabû-uballiṭ, who accepts responsibility for the scheme.

1. ^m*nar-gi-ia* ^{lu₂}SAG-LUGAL
DUMU-^{šú} ^{šá} ^m*ha-nu-nu* (1–5) Nargiya, the royal official, son
of Hanunu, brought Amurru-šarra-ušur,
2. ^{md}KUR.GAL-LUGAL-URI₃
^{lu₂}SAG-LUGAL ^{lu₂}^{šá} UGU the royal official in charge of the inner
E₂-*a-ni* residence, before the “Great Ones” of
the king and the judges of Cyrus, king of
Babylon, king of the lands, and said thus:
3. *a-na maḥ-ri* ^{lu₂}GAL.MEŠ
LUGAL ^ù ^{lu₂}DI.KU₅.MEŠ
4. ^{šá} *ku-ra-áš* LUGAL TIN.
TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR
5. ^ù-*bil-lam-ma iq-bi um-ma* (5–9) “Amurru-šarra-ušur, the official in
^{md}KUR.GAL-LUGAL-URI₃ charge of the inner residence, and Nabû-
uballit son of Nabû-šama’, a member of the
household of the official in charge of the
inner residence, sealed a tablet of wifehood
for Tabluṭu, sister of Nabû-uballit, without
my permission, and gave (her in marriage)
to Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, my son.”
6. ^{lu₂}^{šá} UGU E₂-*a-ni u* ^{md}NA₃-
TIN-*iṭ* DUMU-^{šú} ^{šá}
^{md}NA₃-^{šá}-*ma-*’
7. ^{šá} E₂ ^{lu₂}^{šá} UGU E₂-*a-ni*
IM.DUB ^{áš}-^{šu}-*tu*
8. ^{šá} ^f*tab-lu-ṭu* NIN ^{šá} ^{md}NA₃-
TIN-*iṭ* *ba-lu-ú-a*
9. *ik-nu-uk-ma a-na* ^{md}NA₃-ŠEŠ.
MEŠ-*bul-liṭ* DUMU-*ia id-*
di-nu
10. ^{lu₂}GAL.MEŠ *u* DI.KU₅.MEŠ
^{šá} UGU E₂-*a-ni i-šá-lu-ma* (10) The “Great Ones” and the judges
interrogated the official in charge of the
inner residence and
11. *niš* DINGIR.[MEŠ *iz-kur*]-
^r*ma*¹ *iq-bi um-ma* [IM.DUB]
^{šu}-*a-tú* (11) He [took an oath] of the god[s] and
said thus:
12. *ul ak-nu-uk u a-na ši* -[*bu-ti*
ina] *lib-bi ul ú-šib* (11–12) “I did not seal that [tablet] and did
not serve as a wit[ness] on it.”
13. *ul-tu . . . ú-kin-ni*... ^f*tab-*
lu-ṭu (13–14) After he testified ... they interro-
gated Tabluṭu
14. *i-šá-lu-ma*... *ú-kin-nu-ma* (14) ... testified and ...
15. ^{md}NA₃-TIN-*iṭ iq-[bi*
um-ma...] IM.DUB ^{áš}-^{šu}-
^r*tu*¹ (15) Nabû-uballit sa[*id* thus]:

16. *ša^ftab-lu-tu* NIN-i[*a ak-nu*]-*uk a-na* (15–17) “I [seal]ed a tablet of wifehood for Tablu^{tu}, [my] sister, and gave it to [Nabû-ahhê]-bulli^{tu} son of [Narg]iya.”
17. [mdNA₃-ŠEŠ].MEŠ-*bul-liṭ* DUMU-šú *ša* [mⁿnar-gi]-*ia ad-din*
18. [ù^ftab-lu-tu *taq-bi um-ma* mdNA₃]-TIN-iṭ ŠEŠ-ú-*a* (18) [And Tablu^{tu} said thus “Nabû]-uballi^{tu}, my brother
19. [...] *ši-ḥa* ŠEŠ-šú (19) ...
20. [...] E₂ *i-šu* (20) ...
21. [...] IM.DUB *áš-šu-tu* (21–24) ... The tablet of wifehood of Tablu^{tu}, which Nabû-uballi^{tu} sealed and gave to Nabû-ahhê-bulli^{tu} without the permission of Nargiya, his father—wherever it is found, it shall be broken.
22. *ša^ftab-lu-tu ša* mdNA₃-TIN-iṭ *ik-nu-uk-ma*
23. *a-na* mdNA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*bul-liṭ ba-lu* mⁿnar-gi-*iá*
24. AD-šú *id-din a-šar in-nam-ma-ru ḥe-pi*
25. [*ki-i ul*]-*tu an-na-a^ftab-lu-tu it-ti* (25–26) If, after this, Tablu^{tu} is seen with Nabû-ahhê-bulli^{tu}, she shall receive the [br]and of the female slave.
26. mdNA₃-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*bul-liṭ ta-at-ta-nam-mar*
27. [š^{en}]-*da-tu* GEME₂-ú-*tu tam-maḥ-ḥar*
28. [*ina*] *maḥ-ri* md[PN] lu₂*sar-te-nu* (28–33) The document was written before [PN], the *sartennu*, Marduk-zākir-šum(i) the governor of Babylon, Nabû-šarra-ušur the *sukkallu*, Nabû-apla-iddin, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, Kabti-Marduk, Nabû-ušallim, Rīmūt-Bēl and Nabû-etel-ilāni, the judge(s).
29. [mdAMAR.UTU]-*za-kir-šu-um* lu₂GAR.UMUŠ TIN. TIR^{ki}
30. mdNA₃-LUGAL-URI₃ lu₂SUKKAL
31. mdNA₃-A-MU mdNA₃-TIN-*su-iq-bi* mdDUGUD-d⁴AMAR. UTU
32. mdNA₃-ú-*ša-lim* m^ri-*mut*-d⁴EN *u* mdNA₃-NIR. GAL₂-DINGIR.MEŠ

33. ^{lu}₂DI.KU₅ *šá-ṭa-ri ša-ṭi-ir* (33–34) Marduk-nāṣir, the scribe, descend-
^{md}AMAR.UTU-*na-ṣir* DUB. ant of Bāne-ša-iliya.
 SAR
34. DUMU ^mDU₃-*a-šá-*
 DINGIR-*ia* TIN.TIR^{ki}
35. ITI NE U₄ 11-*kám* MU (35–36) Babylon. 11 Abu, year 8 of Cyrus,
 8-*kám* king of Babylon, king of the lands.
36. ^m*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL TIN.
 TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

NOTES

3. The “Great Ones” mentioned in this line are probably the *sartennu*, the governor and the *sukkallu* in whose presence the document was written (lines 29–34).

18–21. Transcription of these lines follows Joannès 2000b. The drawing in Strassmaier 1890b, No. 312 shows an additional illegible line of text.

29–34. Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, Rīmūt-Bēl and Nabû-etel-ilāni, who are named as “judges of Cyrus” in the present document, are also named as “judges of Nabonidus” in earlier documents (Wunsch 2000b, 574). This attests to the continuity of the office of “royal judge” even after Babylon was incorporated into the Achæmenid Empire.

NORMALIZED TEXTS

Reading and translating any Akkadian text begin with two basic steps of interpretation: transcription and normalization. Transcription, also known as transliteration, is the representation of the cuneiform signs on the tablet in Latin characters, based on readers' understandings of what appears. From a transcription, a trained Assyriologist should be able to draw (or imagine) the cuneiform writing on the original text. At times this step requires little more than a quick glance at the tablet, but a scribe's poor handwriting or millenia of wear and tear can present some serious challenges.

Normalization, the second interpretive step, brings the syllabic transcription into conformity with a grammar and a lexicon. To some extent, it is hard to separate this step from transcription, since grammatical considerations often govern reading choices, including the basic determination of where one word ends and another begins. Apart from separating the words, however, a transcription does not represent other linguistic features, such as vowel length and, most crucially, the Akkadian that stands behind the ubiquitous Sumerograms (signs representing whole words instead of syllables). In contrast, normalization shows the reader's judgment as to the words that the signs represent. Put otherwise, if somewhat simply, normalizations attempt to render what the native audience "heard" when they read the text.

Most scholarly editions of Neo-Babylonian legal texts provide transliterations and translations, but not normalizations. This is mostly because there are many grammatical inconsistencies within the corpus, which confound (or at least complicate) transforming the cuneiform syllables into a coherent language (see Jursa 2005, 3 n. 15). For example, the evidence points to the loss of word-final short vowels, which leads to somewhat unpredictable use of vowel-final (CV) cuneiform signs. This, in turn, creates difficulties for anyone familiar with the more consistent use of the Akkadian case system (a system based on distinctions between word-final short vowels) from earlier periods. Normalization assumes a basic similarity between the writing on the tablet and the language of the scribe and the audience. In the Neo-Babylonian period, the gaps between writing and

language are so great that any attempt at normalization will probably require overriding some evidence on the tablet itself.

Despite these serious considerations, this book provides normalizations, presented here. The series editor and others felt that this information would benefit readers who might otherwise struggle to understand the relationship between the transliterated texts and the translations. It allows these readers to see the words as words, rather than as groups of syllables or Sumerograms, which will certainly improve their access to the texts.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the normalizations below are no more than a fair guess at the actual language. Every effort was made to be as consistent as possible. In all personal names, and in many other situations, too, the normalizations rely on the conventions of Old Babylonian, which is the base dialect on which standard Akkadian grammars are based. This allows meaningful normalizations, but sometimes requires ignoring what is written on the tablets. Thus, normalization comes at the expense of a potentially more accurate rendering of the language of the Neo-Babylonian period.

DOCUMENT 1

(1–4) *Lū-dānu māršu ša Ibni-Ištar mār ... ša Iltammeš-baraku māršu ša Nabû-zēra-X ina šašti iṣbatāššim-ma ana Nergal-nāšir mārīšu ša Nanaya-ibni iddinuš*

(4–5) *ša lā maš'alti iqbi umma*

(5–14) *anāku Murašû māršu ša Zēra-ibni Ištar-aḥa-iddin māršu ša ... Basiya u Innin-aḥḥē-iddin mārû ša Ibni-Ištar ina mūši niksu ana bīt Nergal-nāšir mārīšu ša Nanaya-ibni ša ina muḥḥi Takkiru kī nikkisu kī nīrubu 1 nashiptu appat parzilli kalabbāt parzilli 3 mar parzilli u mušipetu 1 še 1 kur suluppū kī niššû ana Zēra-ibni abi ša Murašû bā'iri ša ittīni niptaqid*

(15–18) *1 nashiptu ša kakkabtu šendet ša ultu bīt Nergal-nāšir iššû ša Iltameš-baraku ina qātēšu iššâ qāt šibbitīšu ina Eanna iškunū*

DOCUMENT 2

(1–5) *ūm 4 ša Ulūli šanat 12 Nabû-na'id šar Bābili rāb-banūtu maḥar Bēlti ša Uruk Nanaya u Bēlti ša rēši ša Anum-šumu-līšir māršu ša Nabû-apla-iddin suluppū u lurindu ana naptani ša Bēlti ša Uruk ušēlām-ma*

(6) *kūm bēšû ana Bēlti ša Uruk la iqrubū*

(7) *baṭlu iškunū-ma*

(7–10) *Zēriya šatam Eanna māršu ša Ibnaya mār Egibi u ṭupšarrū ša Eanna suluppū u lurindu ultu Eanna ana Bēlti ša Uruk uqarribū*

(10–11) *Anum-šumu-līšir simerē ša ina Eanna iddi*

(11–14) *u suluppī u lurindu ša ana naptani ušēlām-ma kūm bēšū lā iqrubū ina Eanna iknuk*

DOCUMENT 3

(1–5) *Nabû-rēšua qallu ša Lābāši-Marduk mārīšu ša Arad-Bēl mār Egibi ša lā maš'alti ana Nabû-mukīn-zēri šatam Eanna mārīšu ša Nādinu mār Dābibī u Nabû-aḫa-iddin ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna iqbi umma*

(5–8) *ūm 28 ša Kislīmi abnu murḫašītu ša Ištar-aḫa-iddin mārīšu ša Innin-šuma-ušur mār Nabû-šarḫi-ilī ultu muḫḫi ammati ša Bēlti ša Uruk ina sarti ina mūši Iddinaya māršu ša Lābāši-Marduk mār Egibi ittasaḫ ina šaddi iltakan*

(9–11) *u Nabû-lū-dāri qallu ša Bāniya mārīšu ša Taribi ukīn u Ḫašdaya aḫu ša Iddinaya ina puḫri iqbi umma*

(11–12) *abnu murḫašītu ša ultu bīt šutummi ša Ištar-aḫa-iddin ina sarti našāt ina bīt Lābāši-Marduk abīya ātamar*

DOCUMENT 4

(1–5) *Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ māršu ša PN paqūdu ša Šaḫrinni ša ūm 28 ša Addari šanat 8 Kuraš šar Bābili šar mātāti ana Bēl-uballiṭ šangā Sippar iqbū umma*

(6–7) *Nanaya-iddin māršu ša Bau-ēreš ina bītīya aššabit umma*

(7–9) *aḫi abīka u paqūdu ša āli anāku mīnamma qātēka ana muḫḫīya tadmā*

(9–17) *Adad-šarra-ušur māršu ša Nabû-ušēzib Nargiya u Erība aḫḫūšu Kutka-ili māršu ša Bau-ēreš Bēl-uballiṭ māršu ša Bariki-ili Bēl-aḫḫē-ušur māršu ša Adad-ušallim u Iqīšaya māršu ša Šamaš-šarra-ušur kī illammanū daltu'a ittabalū u ana bītīya kī īrbūni iterrūni 1 manā kaspu ittašū*

DOCUMENT 5

(1) *maš'altu ša Nabû-šarra-ušur ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna*

(2–9) *Marduk māršu ša Nabû-zēra-iddin Ipaltiraya u Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin māršu ša Nanaya-ēreš sarrūtu ša 3 laḥrāti u 1 kalūmu ša Šamaš-šuma-iddin mārīšu ša Šulaya ultu šēni ša Nergal-īpuš mārīšu ša Nabû-zēra-iqīša nāqidi ša Bēlti ša Uruk ultu Bīt Lugalbanda mūši ša ūmi 30 ša Dūzi ina sarti ībukū-ma ina Uruk ina bīt Nanaya-iddin mārīšu ša Attar-ramât zakīti 1 laḥru ikkisū*

(9–12) *šīḥtu šīru u mušahḥin siparri u 2 laḥrāti 1 kalūmu balṭūti Nergal-īpuš ultu bīt Nanaya-iddin mārīšu ša Attar-ramât ībukū-ma ina Eanna ukallimū*

(12–14) *Nabû-šarra-ušur ša rēš šarri Marduk u Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin iṣāl u ana Nabû-šarra-ušur iqbū umma*

(14–19) *mūši ... ša Uruk ina mūši 3 laḥrāti 1 kalūmu ultu Bīt Lugalbanda ultu šēni ša Nergal-īpuš ina sarti kī nībuku 1 laḥru ina Uruk ina bīt Nanaya-iddin nīte-tekis 2 laḥrātu 1 kalūmu balṭūti ušuzzū ...*

(19–21) *ina sarti ana pāni šēni ša Nergal-īpuš Nanaya-iddin ittīni ittalak*

(21–23) *2 laḥrāti 1 kalūmu balṭūti Nabû-šarra-ušur utīr-ma ana Itti-Anum-balāṭu mārīšu ša Šamaš-šuma-iddin bēl immerī iddin*

(23–24) *u šīḥtu u mušahḥin siparri ina Eanna ina bīt karē iškun*

DOCUMENT 6

(1–2) *maš'altu ša Iddin-Ištar mārīšu ša Ibni-Ištar ša iqbū umma*

(2–3) *8 1/2 šiqil girū ḥurāšu ina qātē šābi ana kaspi andaḥar*

(4–5) *šatammu u ṭupšarrū ša Eanna ana Iddin-Ištar iqbū umma*

(5–7) *ḥurāšu ina qātē šābi tamḥuru u ana šābi taddinu bābu qibannāši*

(7–8) *Iddin-Ištar iqbi umma*

(8–9) *1/2 šiqil mišil bitqi ḥurāšu ina qātē Nabû-nāšir mārīšu ša Aḥḥē-iddin andaḥar*

(9–10) *3/4 ina qātē Ina-tēšē-ēṭir mārīšu ša Ardiya andaḥar*

(11–12) 2 *šiql hurāšu ina qātē Bēl-aḫa-šubši mārīšu ša Nabû-iqīša ina Bābili andaḫar*

(13–14) 1 *šiql hurāšu ina qātē Nabû-mukīn-zēri kutīmi andaḫar*

(15–16) *hurāšu ša Iddin-Ištar iqbû umma ana kaspi ana šābi attadin*

(17) 3 *šiql hurāšu ana Anum-aḫa-iddin mārīšu ša Mušēzib*

(18–19) 2 *šiql hurāšu ana Nabû-mušētiq-uddē mārīšu ša Marduk-šuma-ibni*

DOCUMENT 7

(1–8) Personal names

(9–11) *mār banī ša ina pānīšunu Rīmūt māršu ša Innin-šuma-ušur mār Hunzû iqbû umma*

(11–13) *Nanaya-X māršu ša Nabû-zēru-līšir sašta ul īpuš*

(13–17) *Iltammeš-kīni Piqudaya sašta ša alpi kī ābuku aqtanabbi*

DOCUMENT 8

(1–8) Personal names

(9–16) *mār banī ša ina ušuzzīšunu Balātu māršu ša Zākir mār Kidin-Marduk tuppāšu ummi eqli ša zēri ša ina āl Bīt-Šammu-il ša iti Bēlti ša Uruk ina pāni Nādinu šākin tēmi Uruk mārīšu ša Balātu u Kurbanni-Marduk šatam Eanna mārīšu ša Zēriya mār Sîn-damāqu ina puḫri ištāsû*

(16–17) *ina libbi šaṭru umma šanat 20 Aššur-bāni-apli*

DOCUMENT 9

(1–2) *Enlil-šuma-iddin māršu ša Murašû ša ana Aqubu mār Zabdiya iqbû umma*

(2–3) 300 *šēnu pešūti u šalindu tātabak*

(3–4) *arku Aqubu iqbû umma*

(4–5) *šēnu elat 110 ul ābuk*

(5–10) *ūmu ina qāt šibitti lū bātiqu lū mukinnu arkīšu elat šēnu-a' 110 ittakšadu 300 šēnu Aqubu ana Enlil-šuma-iddin inamdin*

DOCUMENT 10

(1–8) *ina ūmi mukinnu lū bātiqu ittalkam-ma Nuptaya mārassu ša Sîn-ibni uktinnu lū kaspu lū hurāšu lū abnu Nabû-tāriš māršu ša Nabû-bēl-šumāti iddaššu elat 1 šiqil bitqa kaspu ša Nuptaya taqbû umma ana Rīmūtu iddanu*

(8–10) *mimma iddaššu tabbal ša Bēti ša Uruk tātappal*

DOCUMENT 11

(1'–3') *... u Kīnaya māršu ša Iqīšaya ana mār banī itti aḫāmeš illakū-ma*

(3'–7') *dīnu ša Marduk-šarranu ana Kīnaya iqbû ummu mārū'a tandahaš idab-bub*

(7'–10') *Nabû-zēra-iddin māršu ša Aḫḫūšaya u Iṣṣur-X aḫāssu pūt Kīnaya mārīšu ša Iqīšaya našû*

(10'–14') *kī Kīnaya iḫteliq napšātu ša mārīšu ša Marduk-šarranu Nabû-zēra-iddin u Iṣṣur-X ušallamū*

DOCUMENT 12

(1–9) *adi ūmi 1 ša Kislīmi Gudaya māršu ša Ḫinni-ilī 2 mār bānī mukinnēšu ana Upiya ibbakam-ma ana Bau-ēreš mārīšu ša Nabû-mukīn-apli ukân ša Katimu' māršu ša Ḫaguru ša pūt šēpīšu ina qātē Bau-ēreš iššû ina adānīšu Gudaya ībukašim-ma ana Bau-ēreš iddinu*

(10) *kī uktinnuš zaki*

(11–12) *kī lā uktinnuš akī u' ilti še' u u ḫubullašu ana Bau-ēreš ittaddin*

DOCUMENT 13

(1–4) *Libluṭ māršu ša Nabû-mīta-uballit mār Mudammīq-Adad ina Bēl Nabû u Dariamuš šar Bābili šar mātāti ana Marduk-nāšir-apli mārīšu ša Itti-Marduk-balātu mār Egibi itteme*

(5–9) *kī adi ūmi 10 ša Dūzi ana pānika attalkam-ma u' iltu ša erši ša mesukkanni ša ina muḫḫi Nabû-mīta-uballiṭ abīya ša ina zakūti amḫuru-ma ina muḫḫīya tušazzazu*

(9–18) *kī adi ūmi 10 ša Dūzi Libluṭ lā ittalkam-ma ana muḫḫi u' ilti ša ina zakūti iššū itti Marduk-nāšir-apli lā idabbub 1 eršu ša mesukkanni ša dimgur u titti Libluṭ ana Marduk-nāšir-apli inamdin-ma 13 šiql kaspu Marduk-nāši-apli ana Libluṭ inamdin*

DOCUMENT 14

(1–3) *5 immerū ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša kakkabtu šendū ša ina šēni ša Kīnaya mārīšu ša Nergal-ina-tēšē-ēṭir mār Dannea amrā-ma*

(3–5) *Zēriya māršu ša Balāssu nāqīdu ša Bēlti ša Uruk 3 ina libbi iqbū umma*

(5–6) *ina sarti ultu šēnīya abkā*

(6) *ina puḫri ana Kīnaya ukinnu*

(7–8) *1 30 šēni rabīti ina muḫḫi Kīnaya parsū*

(8–10) *u 2 šēni rēḫit 5 šēni ša kakkabtu šendū ša Kīnaya iqbū umma*

(10–11) *ultu Addari šanat 7 Sūqaya rē' ū ina šēnīya ipteqid*

(11–15) *Sūqaya ibbakam-ma ana Nabû-šarra-ušur ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna u bēlē piqnēti ša Eanna inamdin*

(15–17) *kī Sūqaya lā itabkam-ma lā ittannu 60 šēnu itti šēni-a' 1 30 ana Bēlti ša Uruk inamdin*

DOCUMENT 15

(1–5) *ūm X ... Bau-iqīša u Itti-Enli-balāṭu mārū ša Usātu ana Bābili illakū-ma dibbīšunu ša ibaššū itti aḫāmeš idabbubū*

(6–9) *kī Itti-Enlil-balāṭu lā ittalkam dīnšunu šakin*

(9–11) *kī Bau-iqīša lā ittalkam Itti-Enlil-balāṭu zaki*

DOCUMENT 16

(1–4) *Bau-ēreš māršu ša Nabû-aḫa-ušur rē'û ša šēni makkūr Bēlet Uruk u Nanaya ša qātē Arad-Bēl mārīšu ša Šarru-kīn rāb būli ina puḫur mār banī iqḫū umma*

(4–8) *Puṭiya u Ša-Nabû-taqum lamutānu ša Kīnaya mārīšu ša Raḫimmu iṭṭerūnni iḫbitūnni u šēnu makkūr Ištar Uruk ša ina pānīya ultu tamirti qaqqar ša Ištar Uruk iktamū*

(9–14) *adi ūmi 1 ša Simāni Kīnaya māršu ša Raḫimmu Puṭiya u Ša-Nabû-taqum lamutānīšu ana Uruk ibbakam-ma*

(15–17) *kī lā itabku miṭṭu ša šēni ša Ištar Uruk ša ina pāni Bau-ēreš Kīnaya ana Ištar Uruk iṭṭir*

DOCUMENT 17

(1–4) *ūm 15 ša Simāni Amurru-nādin-X māršu ša Marduka illakam-ma dibbīšu itti Aḫat-abīšu šīškati ša Bēltiya ina pāni qīpāni ša Esagil idabbub*

(5–6) *kī lā ittalku dullu ardūtu ana Bēl inamdin*

DOCUMENT 18

(1–4) *dīnu ša Karēa mārīšu ša Bēl-lē' i mār Aḫūtu u Nuptaya mārassu ša Nabû-balāssu-iqbi ummīšu ana muḫḫi Kuzbaya u mārīšu u Nabû-ušuršu nīšī bītīšunu itti Nergal-aḫa-iddin mārīšu ša Aḫḫēa irgumū*

(5–7) *Nergal-aḫa-iddin dīnu idar-ma itti Karēa u Nuptaya ummīšu ana dabāb dīni lā illik*

(7–8) *Kuzbaya u mārīšu utīr-ma ana Karēa u Nuptaya ummīšu iddin*

(9–10) *u 4 manā kaspu kūm Nabû-šuršu ša ina bīt Nergal-aḫa-iddin mītu ana Karēa Nuptaya ummīšu iddin*

(11–12) *Nergal-aḫa-iddin māršu ša Aḫḫēa amirtu itti Karēa u Nuptaya mārassu ša Nabû-balāssu-iqbi ummīšu imurū*

(13–15) *dibbu ša Karēa u Nuptaya ummīšu ana muḫḫi amēlūutti u mandattiī itti Nergal-aḫa-iddin qatū*

(16–20) *Nergal-aḥa-iddin māršu ša Aḥḥêa Karêa māršu ša Bêl-lê' i mār Aḥûtu u Nuptaya ummašu ina Bêl Nabû u adê ša Dari'ušu šar Bābili u mātāti ana aḥāmeš ittemû*

(20–21) *kî ana muḥḥi mimma ša nîpušu niteḥsi*

(21–23) *Karêa māršu ša Bêl-lê' i mār Aḥûtu u Nuptaya ummašu ina qātê Nergal-aḥa-iddin eṭrû*

DOCUMENT 19

(1–3) *Bêlilitu mārassu ša Bêl-ušēzib mār Ša-nāšīšu ana dayyānī ša Nabû-na'id taqbi umma*

(3–5) *ina Abi šanat 1 Nergal-šarra-ušur šar Bābili Bazuzu qallû'a ana 1/2 manā 5 šiqil kaspi ana Nabû-aḥḥê-iddin mārīšu ša Šulaya mār Egibi addin-ma*

(5) *u' iltu ī il-ma kaspu lā iddin*

(5–6) *dayyānū ša šarri išmû-ma Nabû-aḥḥê-iddin ublūnim-ma maḥaršunu ušzizzū*

(7–8) *Nabû-aḥḥê-iddin riksu ša Bêlilitu irkusu-ma kasap šīm Bazuzu īṭiruš iššām-ma dayyānū ukallim*

(9–10) *u Zēriya Nabû-šumu-līšir u Etillu kaspu ša Bêlilitu ummīšunu eṭrat ina pāni dayyānī ukinnū*

(10–11) *dayyānū imtalkū-ma 1/2 manā 5 šiqil kaspu mala muquttêšu ina muḥḥi Bêlilitu iprusū-ma ana Nabû-aḥḥê-iddin iddinū*

(12) *ina parās dīni šuāti*

DOCUMENT 20

(1–4) *Bariki-ilī ardu puṭur kaspi ša Gagaya mārassu ša Bêl-nāšir ša šanat 35 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili Aḥu-nūri māršu ša Nabû-nādin-aḥi ana 1/3 manā kaspi ... eninni irgum umma*

(4–6) *mār banī ... ša Bêl-rēmanni tašlīšu ša qātê Šamaš-mudammīq mārīšu ša Nabû-nādin-aḥi u Qudāšu mārassu ša Aḥu-nūri anāku*

(6–8) *ina maḥar sukkalli rabû u dayyānī ša Nabû-na' id šar Bābili dīni idbubû-ma*

(8) *dibbīšunu išmû*

(8–14) *rikasī ša ardūti ša Bariki-ilī ša ultu šanat 35 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili adi šanat 7 Nabû-na' id šar Bābili ana kaspi nadnu ana maškani šaknu ana nudunnē ana Nuptaya mārassu ša Gagaya nadnu arki Nuptaya taknukūšu-ma itti isiq bīti u amēlutti ana Zababa-iddin mārīšu u Iddinaya mutīšu taddinuš ištasu-ma*

(15) *ana Bariki-ilī iqbû umma*

(15–16) *targum umma mār banī anāku*

(16) *mār banūtūka kulilim annāšu*

(16–17) *Bariki-ilī annīti ipul umma 2 ḫalāqī ultu bīt bēlīya addi-ma*

(17–18) *ūmī mādūti lā annamar aplaḫ-ma aqbi umma mār banī anāku*

(19) *mār banūtīya lā iši ardu puṭur kaspi ša Gagaya anāku*

(20–22) *Nuptaya mārassu taddananni Nuptaya taknukanni ana Zababa-iddin mārīšu u Iddinaya mutīšu taddinanni*

(22–24) *arki mītūti ša Gagaya u Nuptaya ana Itti-Marduk-balāṭu mārīšu ša Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin mār Egibi ana kaspi kanāk ardu anāku allak-ma bēlū' a apallaḫ*

(25) *sukkallu rabû u dayyānû mukinnūssu išmû-ma*

(26) *Bariki-ilī kī ardūti uterrû-ma*

(26–27) *ina ušuzzi ša Šamaš-mudammīq u Qudāšu mārassu ša Aḫu-Nūri nādin nudunnē*

(28) *ana šaṭār ṭuppi šuāti*

DOCUMENT 21

(1–9) *Madānu-aḫḫē-iddin māršu ša Gimillu mār Šigûa šāpir sirāšē ša Ištar Uruk u Balāṭu māršu ša Sîn-ibni ṭupšar Eanna Nanaya-ḫussinni amtu ša kakk-abtu rittašu šendet u ana Nanaya šaṭrat u Tattannu māru ša Nanaya-ḫussinni itti Nūrea mārīšu ša Kabtiya ana maḥri dayyānī ša Nabû-na' id šar Bābili ubbilūnim-ma iqbû umma*

- (9–10) *amtu annītu zakītu ša Nanaya Nūrea tapallaḥ*
- (10–11) *Nūrea īpul umma*
- (11–12) *Nanaya-ḥussinni ana kaspi ātabak*
- (12–15) *u ina palē Amēl-Marduk šar Bābili ultu bītīya kī taḥliq kakkabtu rittašu taltemit u šaṭāri ina muḥḥi rittīšu ana Nanaya taltaṭar*
- (15–17) *dayyānū Nanaya-ḥussinni išālū-ma taqbi umma*
- (17–19) *adi lā Nūrea ana kaspi ibbakanni Mār-Esagil-lūmur bēlū'a maḥrū ana Nanaya uzakkānni*
- (19–20) *dayyānū amātīšunu ištīmū-ma*
- (20–22) *sepīru ubilūnim-ma rittu ša Nanaya-ḥussinni u'addi-ma iqbi umma*
- (22–24) *šaṭāru labīru ša ūmī rūqūti ana Nanaya rittašu šaṭrat*
- (25–26) *u šaṭāru šanū ina šapal šaṭāri maḥrī ana Ištar Uruk šaṭir*
- (27) *dayyānū ana Nūrea iqbū umma*
- (27–30) *mīnamma amtu ša ana Ištar Uruk zakāt kakkabtu šendet u rittašu ana Ištar Uruk u Nanaya šaṭrat ana kaspi tābak*
- (31–33) *u atta taqbi umma ina palē Amēl-Marduk šar Bābili amtu ultu bītīya taḥliq-ma kakkabtu rittašu tašmit*
- (33–36) *mīnamma ina ūmīšu ana maḥri dayyānī ul tūbilšu-ma arkassu ul iprus-ma itti amēli ša rittašu išṭuru ul idīnka*
- (36–38) *eli Nanaya-ḥussinni u Tattannu mārīšu ul rašāta*
- (38) *dayyānū imtalkū-ma*
- (39–41) *Nanaya-ḥussinni u Tattannu mārūšu itti ummānni zābil tupsikkī ša Eanna imnū*
- (41) *Nūrea itti arkīšu ša amēlūti iddinūšu idabbub*
- (42) *ina šaṭār ṭuppi šuāti*

DOCUMENT 22

(1–3) *Nergal-rēšū' a qallu ša Iddin-Marduk ana dayyānī ša Nabû-na'id šar Bābili iqbi umma*

(3–6) *Iddin-Marduk bēlū' a 480 kur suluppū epirūtu ultu šēri ana eleppēti ša Amurru-natan malāhi mārīšu ša Ammaya ušēli-ma*

(7) *pūt maššarūti ša suluppī ušaššīšu*

(8–10) *eleppēti ana Bābili ušēlām-ma šipirtu ša Iddin-Marduk iddinnam-ma 480 kur suluppū ina libbīšu šaṭir*

(11–12) *rēš suluppī ašši-ma 47 kur 1 pi ina libbi maṭū*

(12–14) *ana muḥḥi miṭūti ša suluppī itti Amurru-natan argum-ma usarrir umma*

(14–15) *suluppūka ul ašši*

(15) *arki bātiqū ...*

(16) *40 kur ... suluppū*

(17) *u kutalla ša eleppāni ...*

(18) *suluppū šunūti ina ...*

(19–21) *riksu ittišu niškus umma 7 kur 1 pi suluppū ša Amurru-natan ina sarti iššū*

(22–23) *arki riksu šuātu Amurru-natan ... šuṭur-ma adi ūmi annī lā ...*

(24–25) *inanna ina maḥrīkunu ublāš purussāni šuknā*

(25–29) *dayyānū dibbīšunu išmū riksu šuātu u šipirtu ša Iddin-Marduk ša 480 kur suluppī ina libbi šaṭru ša Nergal-rēšū' a ubla maḥaršunu ištāsū*

(29–30) *Amurru-natan išālū-ma*

(30–31) *našū ša suluppī ša ina sarti našū eli ramānīšu ukīn-ma*

(32–35) *40 kur suluppī miṭūtu ša suluppī šunūti eli Amurru-natan iprusū-ma ana Nergal-rēšū' a qalli ša Iddin-Marduk iddinū*

(35) *ina parās dīni šuāti*

DOCUMENT 23

(1–3) *PN_x u Bēl-uballiṭ mārū ša Šuma-ukīn mār Sīn-šadūnu ana dayyānī ša Nabû-na'id šar Bābili iqbû umma*

(3–6) *ina šanat 2 Nergal-šarra-ušur šar Bābili Kurunnam-tabni ummani ... PN_y ardu ša nudunnēša taknuk-ma pānīni tušadgil*

(6–9) *u arki šanat 3 Nergal-šarra-ušur šar Bābili Kurunnam-tabni ummani ina migir libbišu 2 kur 2 pi zēru ša ṭupšarrū ša šarri kūm nudunnēšu pānīšu ušadgilū-ma ina ṭuppīšu ušēdu umma*

(9–10) *mārūšu ša lā ipallaḥšu zittu ina libbi ul ileqqû*

...

(6') *ina parās dīni šuāti*

DOCUMENT 24

(1–3) *Marduk-šuma-ibni Nabû-mušētiq-uddē u Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin mārū ša Nabû-apla-iddin ... u Nabû-balāssu-iqbi aḥi abīšunu ana muḥḥi zāz zitti ... aḥa aḥa imtaḥšūma iršû dīnu*

(4) *... ana Bēl-rēmāni mār Mandidi šākin ṭēmi Bābili ikšudūnim-ma*

(5–6) *maḥar šākin ṭēmi u šībūt āli mārī Bābili amātīšunu ušannû*

(6) *Marduk-šuma-ibni iqbi umma*

(6–8) *maḥīrātu ša Nabû-balāssu-iqbi ša ina bābi ša Bēl ītepušu kaspu ša maḥīrāti ina libbi ītepušu ina karē bīt abi šū alla šiššu zittašu itti abīya yānu*

(9) *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi šanīti īpulšu umma*

(9–11) *maḥīrāti ša ina bābi ša Bēl ētepušu ina kaspi ša ramānīya ētepuš kaspu ša karē bīt abīni ina libbi yānu*

(11–12) *u maḥīrī ša Nabû-apla-iddin abūka ina bābi ša Bēl īpušu-ma ṭuppu ana šumīšu iknukū alla 10 šiqil kaspi ša karē bīt abīni ina libbi yāni*

(13) *... anāku kī addinu abūka ṭuppu ana šumīšu iktanak*

(14) *... maḥīrāti annāti nītepušu*

(15–16) ... *ramānīya amgur-ma ... Nabû-apla-iddin tuppa ... umma maḥīrāti mala ina bābi ša Bēl nippušu ...*

(17–18) *zitti ša Arad-Gula aḥīya ša ana kaspi amḥuru ... ina tuppi maḥīrīya ana šībūti ašib*

(19) ... *abūka ittīya irtakasu*

(20) ... *zēru zitti zāzu*

...

(7') ... *ina bābi ša Bēl irtakasū*

(8') ... *aḥūni rabū*

(9') ... *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi irtakasu īni-ma*

(10') ... *eli Nabû-balāssu-iqbi parsatu*

(11') ... *abūni ittīšu irtakasu*

(12') ... *šākin ṭēmi Bābili u šībūt āli*

(13') ... *tamīti ina muḥḥi Nabû-balāssu-iqbi išṭurū*

(14') ... *iddinū šiššu zitti ša Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*

(15') ... *u šiššu zitti ša Arad-Gula*

(16') ... *išṭurū-ma aḥi zitti ša Nabû-apla-iddin ina libbi iškunū*

(17') ... *bīt abi ša bābi ša Bēl pāni Nabû-balāssu-iqbi ušadgilū*

(18') ... *ina bābi ša Bēl ina qātē Šullumu u Bēl-aḥḥē-X*

(19') ... *īpušū-ma Nabû-apla-iddin ana šumīšu iknuku*

(20') *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi ina bābi ša Bēl ina qātē Nabû-šumu-līšir*

(21') ... *Šulaya māršu ša Balt-ilī mār Ea-šalmu-ilī*

(22') ... *pāni Nabû-balāssu-iqbi*

(23') ... *ušadgilū šiššu ina eqel bīt abī ša Bīt Dakkūri*

(24') ... *ša āli u šēri mala bašū*

- (25') ... *ina tuppi maḥīri ša Nabû-balāssu-iqbi šaṭru*
- (26') ... *Nabû-zēra-iddin nadnu ina lā ašābi*
- (27') ... *Nabû-balāssu-iqbi igmuru napḥar 7 manā kaspu*
- (28') ... *ša Nabû-zēra-ibni ša Nabû-balāssu-iqbi iššā zitti 2 manā kaspi ana*
- (29') ... *pāni Nabû-balāssu-iqbi kūm 5 manā kaspīšu ušadgilū*
- (30') ... *ša karē itirūni*
- (31') *u pāni Nabû-balāssu-iqbi ušadgilū*
- (32'–33') *PN māršu ša Bibēa mār Bēl-eṭēru maḥru pāni ... ušadgilū*

DOCUMENT 25

- (1–3) *Nabû-mušētiq-uddē māršu ša Balāssu mār Dāmiqu Nabû-šarra-ušur ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna Ṭābiya šākin ṭemi Uruk māršu ša Nabû-nādin-šumi u Gabbi-ilī-šarra-ušur qīpu ša Eanna imḥur umma*
- (3–4) *ina Šabāṭi šanat 6 Nabû-na'id šar Bābili bīt Mušēzib-Bēl mārīšu ša Nanaya-ēreš*
- (5–6) *ša ṭāḥ Hurri-ša-ušur-amāssu šiddu elū amurru ṭāḥ bīt Nabû-apla-iddin mārīšu ša Ibni-Ištar mār Ekur-zakir*
- (6) *šiddu šaplū šadū ṭāḥ bīt Nadan-Ili mār Šillaya*
- (7) *qaqqadu elū itānu ša ṭāḥ Hurri-ša-ušur-amāssu*
- (7–8) *qaqqadu šaplū sūtu ṭāḥ qaqqari ša Bēlti ša Uruk*
- (8–9) *ana 2 manā 2 šiqil kaspi ina qātē Mušēzib-Bēl amḥur-ma*
- (9–13) *ina Addari ša šanat 6 Nabû-na'id šar Bābili Nabû-rēšu māršu ša Šamaš-iddin tuppu ša bīt Mušēzib-Bēl mārīšu ša Nanaya-ēreš ša ina Dūzi šanat 6 Nabû-na'id šar Bābili ša ana 2 manā 4 šiqil kaspi ina qātē Mušēzib-Bēl mārīšu ša Nanaya-ēreš imḥuru ša 7 arḥū alla tuppiya panū ana muḥḥīya ukām-ma bītu ina pāni Nabû-rēšu umaššir*
- (14–18) *arki ina šanat 7 Nabû-na'id šar Bābili Rīmūt-Bēl Šamaš-ēṭir Nanaya-aḥa-iddin u Nabû-mušētiq-uddē mārū ša Nabû-bāni-aḥi mārīšu ša Marduk-erība*

mar Ea-šalmu-ilāni tuppu ša bīt Mušēzib-Bēl mārīšu ša Nanaya-ēreš ša ina šanat 22 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili ša Marduk-erība māršu ša Nergal-iddin mār Ea-šalmu-ilāni ab abīšunu maḥīru ina qātē Mušēzib-Bēl mārīšu ša Nanaya-ēreš īpušu ukinnūnim-ma

(18–19) *maḥīru ina qātēšunu ēpuš-ma Nabû-rēšu bītu ina pānīya lā umaššir*

(20) *inanna Mušēzib-Bēl maḥarkunu ubil itti Mušēzib-Bēl u Nabû-rēšu epšā dīnī*

(21–22) *Nabû-šarra-ušur ša rēš šarri Ṭābiya šākin ṭēmi Uruk u Gabbi-ilāni-šarra-ušur qīpu puḥur Bābilaya Urukaya dayyānū ...*

(23) *Nabû-mušetiq-uddē u Mušēzib-Bēl dīnu ina pānīšunu idbubū*

...

DOCUMENT 26

(1–4) *Arad-Innin māršu ša Šākin-šumi Kalbaya māršu ša Silim-Bēl Šamaš-iddin māršu ša Bēl-iddin mārū mārī ša Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin mār Gimil-Nanaya ana Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ šākin māti iqbū umma*

(4–7) *ina šanat 4 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin ab abīni 5 1/2 manā kaspu ana Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin mārīšu ša Gudādu mār Sîn-lēqi-unninnī ana nišī iddin-ma*

(7–8) *bīssu ša ina abulli ša Eanna ina u' iltīšu maškanu iṣbat*

(9–11) *adi inanni qātū ša qīpāni maḥrūti ša Eanna eli bīti šuāti takaššadā-ma bītu ina pānīni lā umašširū*

(11–12) *itti qīpāni ša Eanna purussāni šukun*

(12–19) *Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ šākin-māti Arad-Innin Kalbaya u Šamaš-iddin itti Nidintu-Bēl šatam Eanna mārīšu ša Nabû-mukīn-zēri mār Dābibī Nabû-aḥa-iddin ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna u tuṣšarrī ša Eanna ana maḥar Imbiya šākin ṭēmi Uruk mārīšu ša Nanaya-ēreš mār Kidin-Marduk u dayyānī ša Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ šākin māti ana šakān purussīšunu iṣpursunūti*

(19–20) *šākin ṭēmi u dayyānū dibbīšunu išmū*

(20–25) *u' iltu ša 5 1/2 manā kaspi ša Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin mārīšu ša Aḥḥēšu ša muḥḥi Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin mārīšu ša Gudādu ša ina šanat 4 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili*

e'iltu u bītu ina u'iltišu maškanu šabtu ša Arad-Innin Kalbaya u Šamaš-iddin ana maḥar dayyanī ublūnim

(25–28) *u ṭuppāti u riksāti makkūr Ištar Uruk ša qipānu ša Eanna maḥrūtu ša bītu ana idi iddinū u idi bīti šuāti ultu šanat 23 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili ana Eanna īrubu*

(29–31) *lē' u makkūr Ištar Uruk ša ina šanat 25 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili itti qanāti ša Eanna bītu šuāti ina lē' i šaṭru*

(31–36) *ṭuppu ša Sîn-iddin qīpu ša Eanna u ṭupšarrū ša Eanna ina šanat 36 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili bītu šuāti ultu Eanna ana kaspi ana Innin-šuma-ušur mārīšu ša Nergal-ušallim mār Sîn-lēqi-unninnī iddinū-ma Iddin-Nabû mār apli ša Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin ana mukinnūti ina libbi ašbu*

(37–40) *riksu ša ina šanat 39 Nabû-kudurra-ušur šar Bābili bītu šuāti ina qātē Innin-šuma-ušur ana Eanna ... ana idi bītu ... širkī ša Eanna nadnu*

(41) *iltasū-ma*

...

(45) *... u'iltu ana makkūri iddinū*

DOCUMENT 27

(1–6) *annūtu dayyanū ša ina pānīšunu Šāpik-zēri māršu ša Zērūtu itti Balātu mār Nasikātu ina ušuzzi ša šākin māt Tāmti dīnu ša bīti ina pānīšunu idbubū*

(6–11) *bītu u ṭuppu ša Zērūtu abu ša Šāpik-zēri iknuku-ma ana Balātu iddinu Balātu itti Šāpik-zēri utirrū*

(11–14) *bītu pān Šāpik-zēri ušadgilū u ṭuppu iššūnim-ma ana Šāpik-zēri iddinū*

DOCUMENT 28

(1–2) *Udarna' mārū ša Raḥim' il ša ina puḥur Nippur ana Enlil-šuma-iddin mārī ša Murašū iqbū umma*

(2–4) *mārū bītātīka ālik našpartīka ardūka itti Zabdiya aḥīya u Bēl-ittannu mārīšu ana bītīya kī īrubū makkūrū' a u udē bītīya ittašū*

(5–6) *arki Enlil-šuma-iddin ana mārī bītātīšu ālik našpartīšu ardīšu Zabdiya u Bēl-ittannu išāl-ma*

(6–7) *makkūru šuāti ina qātēšunu iššām-ma uṭṭir-ma ana Udarna' iddin*

(8–9) *makkūru šuāti Udarna' ina qāti Enlil-šuma-iddin mārī bītātīšu u ālik našpartīšu u ardīšu maḥir*

(9–11) *dīnu u ragāmu ša Udarna' u mārīšu ana muḥḥi makkūri šuāti itti Enlil-šuma-iddin mārī bītātīšu ālik našpartīšu u ardīšu ana ūmī šātī yānu*

(12–14) *ul iturrū-ma Udarna' u mārīšu ana muḥḥi makkūri šuāti itti Enlil-šuma-iddin mārī bītātīšu ālik našpartīšu u ardīšu ana ūmī šātī ul iraggumū*

DOCUMENT 29

(1–3) *Itti-Marduk-balātu māršu ša Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin mār Egibi ana dayyānī ša Nabû-na' id šar Bābili iqbi umma*

(3–9) *Šāpik-zēri u Bēl-uballiṭ mārū ša Šuma-ukīn mār Sīn-šadūnu u' iltu ša 5 manā kaspi ša Rīmūt mārīšu ša Ina-qībit-Nabû ša muḥḥiṣunu ša eqelšunu ša muḥḥi ḥarri ša Ḥazuzu ina libbi maškanu šabtu u eqļu šuātu ana Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin abīya ana kaspi innadnu ana pānīya iškunūnim-ma 1/2 manā binnanāši-ma u' ilti ninaddinka*

(10) *u' iltu ukīl-ma aqbīšunūti umma*

(10–11) *mannu Rīmūt ša eqļu maškanu ina qātēkunu šabtu*

(11–12) *u' iltu šuāti Šāpik-zēri ultu qātēya iḥbit-ma ina šinnīšu iksus*

(13) *purussāni šuknā*

(13–14) *dayyānū Šāpik-zēri išālū-ma iqbū umma*

(15–19) *u' iltu eṭirtu šī u mimmu Itti-Marduk-balātu ina maḥrīkunu ušannū kīnāti-ma u' iltu ana dīni u ragāmi ana muḥḥiṣu lā nubila ana maḥrīkunu ībukannāši*

(19–20) *dayyānū iqbūšunūši umma*

(20) *Rīmūt bēl u' ilti ana maḥrīni bilā*

(21–22) *Šāpik-zēri u Bēl-uballiṣ Rīmūt bēl u'ilti lā ublūni amat iqbū ikkirū-ma Rīmūt lā nīde iqbū*

(23–27) *dayyānū amātīšunu išemū-ma u'iltu ša Rīmūt ša eqel maḥīri ša Nabū-aḥḥē-iddin ana maškanūti ana Rīmūt ušašīru-ma ana muḥḥi Itti-Marduk-balāṭu ublūnim-ma Šāpik-zēri ina šinnīšu iksusu u Rīmūt lā nīde iqbū*

(28) *dayyānū imtalkū-ma*

(28–31) *u'iltu ša Šāpik-zēri u Bēl-uballiṣ ublūni ana surrāti ina pānīšunu itūra 5 manā kaspu ša ina u'ilti šuāti šaṭrā adi 10–šu elīšunu iprusū-ma ana Itti-Marduk-balāṭu iddinū*

(31–32) *u ana abāki ša ṭupšarri šāṭir u'ilti izqātē iddūšunu-ma ana Itti-Marduk-balāṭu ipqidū*

(33) *ina šaṭār ṭuppi šuāti*

DOCUMENT 30

(1–8) Personal names and titles

(9–10) *mār banī ša ina pānīšunu Ištar-ālik-pāni širik Ištar Uruk nāqidu ša Ištar Uruk iqbī umma*

(11–16) *Bēlšunu širik Ištar Uruk māršu ša Nūrea ana šigilti ana laḥrāti makkūr Ištar Uruk ša ina pānīya kī uridu 1 ina laḥrāti ša kakkabtu šendet ultu laḥrāti makkūr Ištar Uruk ša ina pānīya kī ībuku ittekis*

(16–20) *ana muḥḥi kī aqbāššu umma laḥrātu ša kakkabti parzilli lā tanakkis qaqqadā kī ipṭuru ina kudurri ša tikkīšu iḥtaqqanni u iqbām umma libbū agā Gubāru u Parnakku kudurru tikki ša šābī inaddū*

(21–22) *puḥur mār Babili u Uruk kinišat Eanna Bēlšunu ībukūnim-ma ina puḥri īšallū-ma iqbūšu umma*

(23) *mīnamma šēnu ša kakkabti parzilli tābuk tekkis*

(24–26) *Bēlšunu ina puḥur mār banī eli ramnīšu ukīn ša šēnu ša kakkabti ultu šēni ša Ištar Uruk ša ina pāni Ištar-ālik-pāni ana nāqidūti ...*

(27–28) *Bēlšunu ana šigilti urid 1 laḥru ša Ištar Uruk ikkis*

(28–30) *puḥur mār banī ... kī šindat Ekur ana eṭēri eli Bēlšunu iprusū*

DOCUMENT 31

(1–2) *Nuptaya amtu ša Iddin-aḥa māršu ša Nabû-aḥḫē-šullim ša taqbû umma*

(2–3) *Iddin-aḥa bēlū' a kakkabtu kī išmitanni ana Bēlti ša Uruk uzakkanni*

(4–7) *Iddin-aḥa bēlū' a šīmtu ubilšu-ma Šamaš-zēra-šubši aḥu ša Iddin-aḥa ša arkat Iddin-aḥa ilqū ultu bīt Iddin-aḥa ībukanni-ma ana Ištar Uruk lā iddinanni*

(7–8) *Sūqaya Iddin-Nabû u Nabû-aḥa-ittannu mārēya ina bīt Šamaš-zēra-šubši ulid*

(9–12) *Anu-šarra-ušur qīpu ša Eanna Nabû-mukīn-apli šatam Eanna māršu ša Nādinu mār Dābibī Nabû-aḥa-iddin ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna kakkabtu ša muḫḫi rittīšu īmurū*

(13–17) *Anu-šarra-ušur qīpu ša Eanna Nabû-mukīn-apli šatam Eanna Nabû-aḥa-iddin ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna u ṭupšarrū ša Eanna Nuptaya Suqaya Iddin-Nabû u Nabû-aḥa-ittannu mārēša ina pāni Šamaš-zēra-šubši ipqidū*

(17–19) *ūmu mala ša Šamaš-zēra-šubši balṭu tapallaḫšu ul iṣabbi-ma Šamaš-zēra-šubši ana kaspi ul inamdin u ana ardi ul iḫâr*

(20–21) *arki Šamaš-zēra-šubši ana šīmti ītalak amēlūtu pāni Bēlti ša Uruk tad-dagal*

DOCUMENT 32

(1–7) *dīnu ša Nabû-gāmil māršu ša Nabû-aḥḫē-bulliṭ mar Miširaya ana muḫḫi 2/3 manā 4 šiḡil kaspi rašūti ša abīšu ša eli Nādin mārīšu ša Nabû-nādin-šumi mār Rab-bānē itti Mušēzib-Bēl mārīšu ša Nādin mār Rab-bānē ina maḥar Sîn-erība sartenni u dayyāni ša Nabû-na' id šar Bābili idbubu*

(7–10) *u' iltu ša Nabû-aḥḫē-bulliṭ abi ša Nabû-gāmil ša eli Nādin abi ša Mušēzib-Bēl ša bīssu maškanu šabtu maḥaršunu iltasū*

(10–12) *sartennu u dayyānū riksu u idātu ša eṭēri Mušēzib-Bēl īrišū-ma lā ubla*

(12) *imtalkū-ma*

(13–14) *2 qanātu u šalšu ša qanī ina qanāti ša Mušēzib-Bēl mār Rāb-banē*

(15–16) *1 pān 5 ammat 14 ubān šiddu elū iltānu ṭāḫ mūšī*

- (17) *ša ina pūtišu elīti 3 ammātu*
 (18) *ina qaqqadīšu šaplī 4 ammat 3 ubān qaqqar*
 (19) *ana mala bīt Mušēzib-Bēl*
 (20) *1 pān 5 ammat 14 ubān šiddu šaplū šūtu*
 (21) *ina tāh rīhti bīt Mušēzib-Bēl*
 (22) *6 ammat 10 ubān qaqqadu elū amurru tāh sūqi rapšī*
 (23) *5 ammat 6 ubān qaqqadu šaplū šadū tāh mušē bīt*
 (24–25) *naphar 2 qanātu 2 ammat 8 ubān*
sartennu u dayyānū kūm kaspīšu ina pāni Nabû-gāmil ušadgilū
 (26–28) *ana lā enē sartennu u dayyānū tuppašu išturū kunukkīšunu ibrumū-ma*
ana Nabû-gāmil iddinū
 (29) *ina šaṭār tuppi šuāti*

DOCUMENT 33

- (1–4) *u' iltu ša 1/2 manā kaspi ša ḥarrāni ša šanat 1 Nergal-šarra-ušur šar Bābili*
u u' iltu ša 1 1/2 manā kaspi ša ḥarrāni ša šanat X Nabû-na' id šar Bābili ša Ner-
gal-iddin mārīšu ša Nabû-erīb ša ina muḥḥi Nergal-ētir mārīšu ša Ša-Nabû-šū
mār Naggāru
 (4–6) *ša šanat 8 Kuraš šar Bābili šar mātāti Šamaš-iddin māršu ša Nergal-iddin*
ina muḥḥi Šamaš-uballiṭ mārīšu ša Nergal-ētir iššām
 (6–8) *ina maḥar Bēl-uballiṭ šangā Sippar ērib bīti Šamaš šībūt āli ištasu*
 (8–11) *Šamaš-uballiṭ u' ilēti gabrāti u' ilēti ... Bēl-uballiṭ šangā Sippar ērib bīti*
Šamaš šībūt āli ana Šamaš-iddin mārīšu ša Nergal-iddin ukallim
 (11–13) *Bēl-uballiṭ ērib bīti Šamaš šībūt āli u' ilēti kī utirru-ma ana Šamaš-iddin*
iddinū

DOCUMENT 34

- (1) *ūmu 23 ūmu 24 ūmu 29 ūmu 30 ša Nisanni*
- (2) *ūmu 23 ūmu 24 ūmu 29 ūmu 30 ša Ayari*
- (3) *ūmu 23 ūmu 24 ūmu 29 ūmu 30 ša Simāni*
- (4–5) *ūmu 23 ūmu 24 ūmu 29 ūmu 30 ša Dūzi ūmu 29 ūmu 30 ša Abi*
- (5) *ūmu 20 ūmu 30 ša Ulūli*
- (5–6) *ūmu 29 ūmu 30 ša Tašrīti ūmu 29 ūmu 30 mišil ūmi ša Araḥšamni*
- (7) *ūmu 27 ūmu 28 ša Kislīmi ūmu 27 ūmu 28 ša Ṭebēti*
- (8) *ūmu 27 ūmu 28 ša Šabāṭi ūmu 27 ūmu 28 mišil ūmi ša Addari*
- (9–10) *naḫḫar 2 ūmī 15 isiq nuḫatimmūti ina ūmi 15 arkīti arḫussu ina Ebabbar bīt Šamaš ša Sippar*
- (11–12) *2 ūmū mišil ūmi sellū sāmūtu ša ūmi 10 ūmi 11 1/2 ūmi 12 ša Nisanni*
- (12–14) *1 ūmu mišil ūmi sellū sāmūtu ša ūmi 14 u mišil ūmi ša ūmi 15 ša šēri u ... ša Ayyari*
- (14–20) *pāni Šamaš Aya siḫirti bēlet Sippar u Ištar bēlet Agade ša ina Addari arkī šanat rēš šarrūti Dari' muš šarri Šamaš-nāšir mārū ša Mušeḫši-Marduk mār Šangū-Šamaš ina qātē Nabū-ušuršu u Šamaš-aḫḫē-lū-irši mārī ša Šamaš-kāšir mār Isinnaya ana kaspi ana šīmī gamrūti imḫuru*
- (20–23) *arki Šamaš-aḫḫē-lū-irši ina Tašrīti šanat X Dari' muš šar Bābili šar mātāti ana muḫḫi ūmī u sellī isqi šuāti nuḫatimmūti ana Šamaš-nāšir irgum umma*
- (23–25) *isqu šuāti ša Nidintu mār aḫīya ša Šamaš-kāšir abū'a arkatīšu ilqū sīna*
- (25–29) *Šamaš-nāšir ṭuppi maḫīri ša isqi šuāti ina qātē Nabū-ušuršu u Šamaš-aḫḫē-lū-irši ana kaspi imḫuru u šaṭaru ša isqu šuāti arki ṭuppi maḫīri ana epišānūti ana Šamaš-aḫḫē-lū-irši iddinu ina maḫar šībūt āli ana Šamaš-aḫḫē-lū-irši ukallimšu*
- (29–30) *ṭuppi maḫīri u šaṭaru ina maḫar šībūt āli ištasu-ma*
- (30–31) *Šamaš-aḫḫē-lū-irši ṭuppi maḫīri u šaṭaru ša epišānūti Šamaš-aḫḫē-lū-irši ina muḫḫi isqi šuāti nuḫatimmūti lā irši*

(31–32) *Šamaš-aḥḫē-lū-irši eli ramnišu ukīn īdur-ma isqu šuāti ina pāni Šamaš-nāšir umaššir ...*

(33–35) *Šamaš-nāšir ina migir libbīšu rēmu ana Šamaš-aḥḫē-lū-irši iršu-ma 1 manā 5 šiqil kaspu pešū elat kaspi maḥri ša tuppi maḥīri ana Šamaš-aḥḫē-lū-irši iddin*

(35) *isqu šuāti ša Šamaš-nāšir šū*

DOCUMENT 35

(1') ... *muḥḫi Iddin-Marduk*

(2') *Kuttaya aššat Iddin-Marduk*

(3') ... *ana rašūti ša muḥḫi Iddin-Marduk iddinu*

(4') ... *ina pān Nabû šuma-iškun aḫīya ul ...*

(5') ... *Marduk-šuma-ušur šākin tēmi u dayyānū ...*

(6') ... *idbubū-ma dīnšunu īmurū*

(7'–9') *Rīmūt māršu ša Šamaš-lē' i mār Arrabtu u Šillaya māršu ša X-šuma-ibni mār Eppeš-ilī rāšūtāni ša muḥḫi Iddin-Marduk išālū-ma*

(9'–11') *Rīmūt māršu ša Šamaš-lē' i mār Arrabtu ina pān dayyānī nīs Šamaš izkur-ma annīta iqbi umma*

(11') *anāku u Šillaya rāšūtānu ša muḥḫi Iddin-Marduk*

(12') *ul nīde ša kaspu ina pān Nabû-šuma-iškun paqdu*

(13'–16') *Nādin mutu ša PN aḫāti ša Iddin-Marduk u Kuttaya aššat Iddin-Marduk ana pān ... kī tībukūniāši ḥindu ša Iddin-Marduk ša ina pānīšu paqdat kī iššām ina pānīni ...*

(17') *X manā kaspi ina libbi Kuttaya aššat Iddin-Marduk ...*

(18'–19') *u šitti annī akī rašūtīni ša muḥḫi Iddin-Marduk nimtaṭi u nittaši*

(19'–20') *Šillaya māršu ša PN maruṣ-ma ana mukinnūti lā ...*

(21'–24') ... *Gimil-Gula māršu ša Itti-Esagil-zēri ana pānīšunu nīs Šamaš izkur-ma ina pānīšunu annītu iqbi umma*

(24') *anāku u Rīmūt rāšūtānu ša muḥḥi Iddin-Marduk*

(25') *ul nīdi ša kaspu ina pān Nabû-šuma-iškun paqdu*

(26'–29') *Nādin mutu ša PN aḥāti ša Iddin-Marduk u Kuttaya aššat Iddin-Marduk ana pān ... kī t̄bukūniāši ḥindu ša Iddin-Marduk ša ina pānīšu paqdat kī iššām ina pānīni ...*

(30') *X manā kaspi ina libbi Kuttaya aššat Iddin-Marduk ...*

(31'–32') *u šitti annī akī rašūtīni ša muḥḥi Iddin-Marduk nimtaṭi u nittaši*

(33') *... ittemū*

(34') *... ša Iddin-Marduk*

(35') *... dayyānū mukinnūti*

(36') *... mimma ša Iddin-Marduk*

DOCUMENT 36

(1–3) *Bunanītu mārassu ša Šākin-šumi mār Eppeš-ili ana Bēl-apla-iddin mārīšu ša Nabû-šumu-līšir mār Mudammīq-Adad dīnu tagre-ma*

(3–4) *ana maḥar Mušēzib-Bēl šākin tēmi Bābili mār Eli-ili-rabi-Marduk dayyānī u šībūt āli ikšudū-ma*

(5–6) *dibbīšunu ušannū-ma Bunanītu kiam taqbi umma*

(6–7) *Nabû-šumu-līšir abu ša Bēl-apla-iddin ana aššūti kī t̄huzanni 4 manā kaspu nudunnū' a ilteqa*

(7–9) *Nabû-šumu-līšir ana šīmti illik-ma Bēl-apla-iddin māršu nikkasīšu ilqe-ma adi ūmi annī nudunnū' a lā t̄pulanni*

(9) *Bēl-apla-iddin t̄pul umma*

(9–12) *ina t̄uppi nudunnēša 4 manā kaspu ša Bunanītu itti Nabû-šumu-līšir abīya tašturu alla 1 1/2 manā kaspi adi šīm amēlūti ana abīya lā nadin*

(12–13) *aššum rīḥit kaspi abū' a la maḥru abū' a riksāti itti Bunanītu urtakkis*

(14–16) *u 5 manā kaspu nudunnū ša Etellitu aššatīya Nabû-šumu-līšir abū' a ilqe-ma mala apālu nudunnanē šunūti lā mašāku*

(16–17) *nikkassīni amrā-ma nudunnū ana Bunanītu Etellitu ina libbi apulā*

(17–21) *u'iltu ša ina šanat 31 Nabû-kudurrī-ušur šar Bābili Nabû-šumu-līšir itti Bunanītu aššatīšu ī ilu umma ina u'ilti ša 4 manā kaspi alla 1 1/2 manā kaspi adi šīm amēlūti Nabû-šumu-līšir ina qāt Bunanītu lā maḥīr*

(21–23) *u u'iltu ša 5 manā kaspi nudunnū ša Bunanītu ša Nabû-šumu-līšir ilqū*

(23–24) *u'ileti kilallān maḥar šākin ṭēmi Bābili dayyānī u šībūt āli ištāsū-ma*

(24–26) *1 1/2 manā kaspu nudunnū ša Etellitu maḥršunu ikūn*

(26–30) *rēš nikkassī ša Nabû-šumu-līšir iššū-ma napḥar zērīšu eqel mērīšu u taptū ... pīḫāt Kiš adi zēri zaqpi ša ina ... bīti banī ša ina erṣeti Tē ša qereb Bābili ... šīm amēlūti annī nikkāsī ša Nabû-šumu-līšir īmurū*

(31) *šākin ṭēmi Bābili dayyānu u šībūt āli imtalkū-ma*

(32–34) *zēru šuāti kaspu šīm bīti u PN u mārītša ana 6 1/2 manā kaspi imnū-ma ana Etellitu u Bunanītu kūm 6 1/2 manā kaspi nudunnāšina iddinū*

(34–37) *Etellitu u Bunanītu nikkasī šunūti kūm 6 1/2 manā kaspi ileqqā-ma kī 1 manā nudunnāšina ina libbi išallimā*

(37–39) *Bēl-apla-iddin itti Etellitu aššatīšu ana nudunnēša akalu u lubuštu ileqqā*

(39–43) *rašū ša Nabû-šumu-līšir u Bēl-apla-iddin mārīšu ina muḥḥi mimma ša ana Etellitu u Bunanītu kūm nuddunēšina nadnu ul išallaṭ u ana muḥḥi rašūtīšu mala bašū itti Bēl-apla-iddin ul iraggam*

(43) *dīnšunu dīn purussūšina paris*

(44) *ana lā enē šākin ṭēmi Bābili u dayyānū tuppu išṭurū*

(45) *ina kunukkīšunu ibrumū-ma ana Etellitu u Bunanītu iddinū*

(46) *ina šaṭār tuppi šuāti*

DOCUMENT 37

(1–5) Names

(6–8) *mār banī ša ina pānīšunu Gimillu māršu ša Innin-šuma-ibni ana Nabû-šuma-iddin mārīšu ša Aplaya iqbû umma*

(9–10) *mīnamma būštu ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša kakkabtu šendet talqām-ma*

(11–12) *Nabû-šuma-iddin iqbi umma*

(12–16) *Balṭiya māršu ša Innina-zēra-šubši ultu Simāni šanat 17 Nabû-na' id šar Bābili ana idīšu ana šatti 4 kur šēu 1 pi 4 sūt šamaššammu iddinaššu*

(16–18) *pūt mukinnūti ša Balṭiya Nabû-šuma-iddin naši*

(18–19) *ūmu uktīnūšu zaki*

(19–20) *yānu 1 30 ana Bēlti ša Uruk inamdin*

(20–21) *būštu Gimillu ina qātē Nabû-šuma-iddin ītabak*

(21–22) *u' iltu ša Nabû-šuma-iddin u Balṭiya itti aḫāmeš ī ilū Nabû-šuma-iddin ana Gimillu inamdin*

DOCUMENT 38

(1–4) *alpū šēnu u mimma makkūr Bēlti ša Uruk u Nanaya ša Gimillu māršu ša Innin-šuma-ibni ina qātē rāb buli u rē' ī ša Bēlti ša Uruk iššām-ma ana Eanna lā iddinu*

(5) *mukinnū ukinnūšu-ma eli ramnīšu ukīn*

(6–29) Names and date

(30–36) *2 liātu ša kakkabtu šendū ša ūm 1 ša Ulūli šanat 1 Kuraš šar mātāti ša Nabû-bāni-aḫi māršu ša PN mār Kurī ana Anu-šarra-ušur qīpi ša Eanna Nabû-mukīn-zēri šatam Eanna mārīšu ša Nādinu mār Dābibi Nabû-aḫa-iddin ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna u ṭupšarrī ša Eanna iqbû*

(36–37) *qīpu šatammu Nabû-aḫa-iddin u ṭupšarrū ana muḫḫi liāti šuāti išpurū-ma*

(37–40) *2 liāti ša kakkabtu šendū ultu bīt Gimillu ibukūnim-ma maḫar Nādinu šākin ṭēmi Uruk puḫur Bābilāya u Urukāya ušzizzū-ma*

(41–42) *60 liāti kūm 2 liāti ša kakkabtu šendū eli Gimillu iprusū*

(43–46) *1 lītu ša ina rēḫi ša šēni ina qātē Nanaya-iddin mār Arad-Innin abka-tam-ma ina Eanna šendet u ana Ibnaya mārīšu ša Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim paqdat*

(46–47) *u Ibnaya iqbû umma*

(47–48) *ina Ulûli šanat 17 lītu šuāti ina qātē rē'īya Gimillu ītabak*

(49) *u Gimillu lītu šuāti eli ramnīšu ukīn*

(50) *30 liāti kūm 1 līti eli Gimillu iprusū*

—

(51–52) *qaputtu ša šēni ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša ina pāni Šumaya mārīšu ša Marduk-aḫa-iddin*

(52–56) *illā ušuzzi ša Šumaya Gimillu ultu šēri ša lā qīpānu u ṭupšarrū ša Eanna ana Eanna ībuku ina libbi laḫri ša kakkabtu šendet 1 parratu 1 unīqu tamīmāti Gimillu ītabak*

(56–57) *u Iddinaya māršu ša Aḫu-ṭāb rē'ū ša šēnu ībuku ina puḫri ukīnaššu*

(58–59) *30 šēnu kūm 1 laḫri ša kakkabtu šendet eli Gimillu iprusū*

—

(60–63) *5 laḫrātu ša kakkabtu šendū ša qaputti ša Ḫašdiya mārīšu ša Nabû-mušetiq-uddē nāqidi ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša Dannu-aḫḫēšu-ibni māršu ša Šarru-kīn rē'ū ša Ḫašdiya ultu qaputti ša Ḫašdiya ībuku-ma*

(64–68) *ina Uruk Gimillu ūmu 27 ša Dûzi šanat 1 Kuraš šar mātāti šēnu u rē'ū ina ušuzzi ša Šamaš-zēra-iqīša mārīšu ša Innin-šuma-ušur ikla ana Nidintu mārīšu ša PN nāqidi ša Bēlti ša Uruk iqbi umma*

(68–69) *šēnu abuk-ma kasapšina išâ ibi*

(69–70) *Nidintu ina puḫri ukīnaššu umma*

(70–71) *3 šēni ina libbi kī ābuku 3 šiqil kaspu kī aššām attadinaššu*

(71–74) *u' iltu ša Kīnaya itti Dannu-aḫḫēšu-ibni ī' ilu u ina libbi šaṭru umma kaspu ša ana Gimillu nadin ina puḫri ištāsū*

(75–76) *šēnu-a' 3 1 30 90 šēnu eli Gimillu iprusū*

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(77–81) *1 enzu ša kakkabtu šendet ša qaputti ša Nabû-mušētiq-uddê mārīšu ša Nanaya-iddin ša Nabû-mušētiq-uddê ina Ulūli šanat 17 itti šēnīšu ana Eanna ībuku u Nabû-mušētiq-uddê iqbū*

(81–82) *ina bāb Ṭilimu Iddinaya aḥu ša Gimillu ītabak*

(82–83) *u Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin māršu ša Bēl-ēreš ina puḥri iqbi umma*

(83–84) *enzu šuāti ina pānīya Iddinaya ītabak*

(84–85) *u Gimillu iqbi umma anāku Iddinaya aḥu' a altapram*

(86–87) *enzu-a' 1 1 30 30 šēnu eli Gimillu iprusū*

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(88–91) *1 laḥru ša kakkabtu šendet ša qaputti ša Lāqīpi mārīšu ša Nabû-šuma-ukīn nāqidi ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša ina ṭuppi šaṭru ina bīt Nabû-nādin-aḥi Gimillu ittakis*

(91–94) *Mušēzib-Bēl māršu ša Mušallim-Marduk Nanaya-aḥa-iddin māršu ša Nergal-ina-tēšē-ēṭir Sīn-ibni māršu ša Nanaya-ēreš u Nabû-šuma-iddin māršu ša Nanaya-ēreš ina puḥri Gimillu ukinnū*

(94–95) *laḥru-a' 1 1 30 30 šēnu eli Gimillu iprusū*

—

(96–97) *1 kalūmu ša Nabû-mušētiq-uddê māršu ša Nanaya-iddin nāqidu ša Bēlti ša Uruk iqbū umma*

(97–100) *ina Ulūli šanat 17 itti šēni ina rēḥi ša ina muḥḥīya ana Eanna ašpur Gimillu ina qātē Innin-aḥḥē-erība aḥīya ītabak*

(100–101) *u Gimillu eli ramnīšu ukīn umma*

(101–102) *kalūmu šuāti ātabak elat 2 immerī ša ana nupti anāku attasū*

(103) *kalūmu-a' 1 1 30 30 šēnu eli Gimillu iprusū*

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(104–105) *1 parratu ša qaputti ša Zumbu mārīšu ša Nanaya-ēreš nāqidi ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša Zumbu iqbū umma*

(105–106) *ultu šēnīya Gimillu ītabak*

(106–107) *u Gimillu eli ramnīšu ukīn*

(108) *elat 2 šiql kaspi u urīši ša ana nupti attasū*

(109) *parratu-a' 1 1 30 30 šēnu eli Gimillu iprusū*

—

(110–112) *1 parratu ša kakkabtu šendet ša ina Dūzi šanat 1 Kuraš šar mātāti ša Gimillu ana kaspi ana Nidintu mārīšu ša Ardiya iddinu-ma*

(112–113) *parratu ana Eanna abkat*

(113–114) *u Gimillu ina puḫri eli ramnīšu ukīn umma*

(114–115) *anāku parratu ana Nidintu attadin*

(115–116) *parratu-a' 1 1 30 30 šēnu eli Gimillu iprusū*

—

(117–120) *Šamaš-aḫa-iddin māršu ša Nabū-šuma-ukīn nāqīdu ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša 10 šanātu itti šēnīšu ana Eanna lā īrubu ša qīpānu u ṭupšarrū ša Eanna Gimillu ana muḫḫi Šamaš-aḫa-iddin išpurū-ma*

(121–122) *Gimillu Šamaš-aḫa-iddin īmuru-ma ana Eanna lā ībuku*

(122–123) *Lāqīpi qallu ša Šamaš-aḫa-iddin iqbū umma*

(123–126) *4 kur šē 2 šiql kaspu 1 immēru Gimillu ina qātē Šamaš-aḫa-iddin u Šillaya mārīšu ittaši u Šillaya māršu ša Šamaš-aḫa-iddin iṣ qāt parzilli kī iddū ūtaššir*

(126–127) *Gimillu iqbi umma*

(127) *alla 1 immēri ina qātēšu ul ābuk*

(128–129) *Sīn-ibni māršu ša Nanaya-ēreš ina puḫri ana Gimillu ukīn umma*

(129–131) *ina ušuzzīya 2 šiql kaspu Nabū-udammiqanni ana muḫḫi Šillaya ...*

(131–134) *kaspu-a' 2 šiqlū 1 30 u immēru-a' 1 1 30 1 manā kaspu u 30 šēnu eli Gimillu iprusū*

—

(135–137) *1 lītu šarhītu ša Nergal-šuma-ibni māršu ša Aḫišaya nāqidi ša Bēlti ša Uruk ša Gimillu ina qātē Nergal-šuma-ibni ībuku*

(137–138) *u Gimillu ina puḫri eli ramnīšu ukīn*

(138–139) *lītu-a' 1 1 ... lītu eli Gimillu iprusū*

(140–143) *1 šir'am ša inzaḫurēti ša ultu Eanna qīpānu u ṭupšarrū ša Eanna ana Šuma-iddin mārīšu ša Nergal-ušallim ša muḫḫi qašti ša rē'ī ša itti šarri iddinū-ma*

(144) *Gimillu ina qātē Šuma-iddin iššū*

(145) *u Gimillu ina puḫri eli ramnīšu ukīn*

(146) *u kaspu kūm šir'am eli Gimillu iprusū*

(147–148) *napharu 92 liātu 302 šēnu u 1 manā 10 šiqil kaspu*

DOCUMENT 39

(1–3) *ūmu 20 ša Kislīmi šanat 4 Kuraš šar Bābili šar mātāti Marduk-dīna-īpuš māršu ša Hirahḫa ana Bābili illakam-ma*

(4–10) *dīnu ša 2 immerī ša kakkabtu šendū ša Gimillu māršu ša Innin-šuma-ibni ultu šēni ša Marduk-dīna-īpuš ībuku itti Nidintu-Bēl šatam Eanna Nabû-aḫa-iddin ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna u ṭupšarrī ša Eanna ina bīt dīni ša šarri idabbub*

(10–12) *kī lā ittalku immerū-a' 2 istēn 30 ana Bēlti ša Uruk inamdin*

DOCUMENT 40

(1–3) *Riḫētu māršu ša Arad-Innin ikkaru širik Ištar Uruk ana Nabû-mukīn-apli šatam Eanna u Nabû-aḫa-iddin ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna iqbi umma*

(3–6) *ultu šanat 8 Kuraš šar Bābili šar mātāti ultu muḫḫi mayyāri ša Šamaš-mukīn-apli mārīšu ša Sīn-nādin-šumi ikkari ša Bēlti ša Uruk bēl mayyārīya aḫliq-ma*

(6–8) *ina Ulūli šanat rēš šarrūt Kambuziya šar Bābili šar mātāti Gimillu māršu ša Innin-šuma-ibni īmuranni-ma ina pāni Sīn-ibni mārīšu ša Nabû-zabādu ipqiddanni umma*

(9) *kasap idīšu išām-ma ibinna*

(10) *u Sīn-ibni iqbi umma*

(10–12) *Gimillu Riḫētu ina pānīya iptaqid u riksu ana 5 šiqil kaspi ana idīšu ittīya ištakas*

(13–15) *arki riksu ša Gimillu ittīya iškusu šipirtu ana Nabû-nādin mārīšu ša Erībaya bēl piqitti ša āli ša Kī-Nabû iltapar umma*

(15–17) *ina pānīka lizzizma kī pānīka maḫir ina šatti 5 šiqil kaspu idīšu šūbil u yānū lū ina pāni Sīn-ibni iššū*

(18) *adi inanna Riḫētu ina pāni Nabû-nādin izziz*

(19–20) *šipirtu ša Gimillu ana muḫḫi Riḫētu ana Nabû-nādin išpuru Sīn-ibni u Riḫētu ana šatammi u Nabû-aḫa-iddin iddinū-ma*

(21) *kī pī mukinnūti ša Sīn-ibni ina libbi šaṭir umma*

(21–24) *kī pānīka maḫir Riḫētu ina pānīka lizzizma šattu 5 šiqil kaspu idīšu šūbil u yānū ana Sīn-ibni idissu šipirtī lū mukinnu ina muḫḫīka*

(24–27) *šipirtu ša sipīri ša Gimillu ana muḫḫi Riḫētu ana Nabû-nādin išpuru-ma ina puḫri tannamru iškusū iknukū u ina Eanna iškunū*

DOCUMENT 41

(1–9) Personal names

(10–13) *puḫur qīpāni u mār banī ša ina ušuzzīšunu Zumbu māršu ša Rīmūtu širik Ištar Uruk iqbi umma*

(13–16) *ina Nisanni šanat 1 Dariamuš šar Bābili šar mātāti Anu-zēra-šubši māršu ša Lābāši širik Ištar Uruk iqtabām umma*

(16–18) *Gimillu ša muḫḫi sūti ša Bēlti ša Uruk riksu ana dāki ša Sīn-šarra-ušur ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna ištakas*

(19–21) *qīpāni u mār banī išpurū-ma Anu-zēra-šubši ībukūnim-ma ina puḥri nīš ilī izkur*

(21–26) *kī ultu muḥḥi ša balṭāku mimma ša sipri ša Sīn-šarra-ušur ina pī ša Gimillu ša muḥḥi sūti mammanīšu mala bašū u šāb qātēšu ašmū*

DOCUMENT 42

(1–4) *1 puḥālu u 4 laḥrātu napḥar 5 šēnu ša kakkabtu šendū makkūr Ištar Uruk u Nanaya ša qaputti ša Anu-šarra-ušur mārīšu ša Šarru-kīn nāqidi ša Ištar Uruk ... ša ultu qaputti Bēl-šarra-ušur mārīšu ša Aḥiya-alidu abkū*

(4–6) *Nabū-aḥa-iddin ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna u PN ana Bēl-šarra-ušur iqbū umma*

(6) *mannu šēnu-a' ša kakkabtu šendū ina qātēka ipqid*

(7) *Bēl-šarra-ušur ina puḥri iqbi umma*

(7–9) *ina šanat 2 Kambuziya šar Bābili šar mātāti 1 puḥālu u 4 laḥrāti ša kakkabtu šendū Bēl-iqīša mārīšu ša Šillaya ina qātēya ipqid*

(9–11) *Bēl-iqīša ībukūnim-ma išālūšu ... iqbi umma*

(11–15) *1 pūḥālu 4 laḥrāti ša kakkabtu šendū u 5 parrāti tamīmāti napḥar 10 šēnu ultu šēni makkūr Ištar Uruk ša qaputti ša Anu-šarra-ušur mārīšu ša Šarru-kīn nāqidi ša Ištar Uruk Anu-šarra-ušur kūm rašūtīya ina Dūzi ittaddinam*

(15–16) *Bēl-iqīša ina Bēl u Nabū u adē ša Kambuziya šar Bābili šar mātāti ina puḥri itteme*

(17–21) *kī elat 1 puḥāli 4 laḥrāti ša kakkabtu šendū u 5 parrāti tamīmāti napḥar 10 šēnu kūm rašūtīya Anu-šarra-ušur iddinam ša ina libbi 1 puḥālu u 4 laḥrāti napḥar 5 šēnu ša kakkabtu šendū ina pāni Bēl-šarra-ušur mārīšu ša Aḥiya-alidu nāqidi ša Ištar Uruk aptaqid*

(21–22) *Bēl-šarra-ušur ina puḥri nīs ilī u šarri izkur u ana Bēl-iqīša ukīn umma*

(22–24) *1 puḥālu u 4 laḥrāti ša kakkabti ina Araḥšamni šanat 2 ina pānīya tap-taqid ina Šabāṭi šanat 2 laḥrātu-a' 4 ina pānīya ittaldā*

DOCUMENT 43

(1–6) *1 puḫālu 4 lahrātu napḫar 5 šeṇu ša kakkabtu šendû u 5 parrātu tamīmātu napḫar 10 šeṇu makkûr Ištar Uruk u Nanaya ša qaputti ša Anu-šarra-ušur mārīšu ša Šarru-kîn ša ina Araḫšamni šanat 2 Kambuziya šar Bābili šar mātāti Bēl-iqīša māršu ša Šillaya ina qātē Anu-šarra-ušur mārīšu ša Šarru-kîn ibuku-ma*

(7–11) *ina Addari šanat 3 Rīmût u Bau-ēreš dayyānû 150 šeṇu kûm šēni ša Ištar šendēti 1 adi 30 u 5 parrāti tamīmāti napḫar 155 šeṇu ana eṭēri ša Ištar Uruk ina ṭuppi išturû-ma eli Bēl-iqīša ukinnû*

(12–15) *ûm 25 ša Addari šanat 3 šeṇu-a' 155 Bēl-iqīša māršu ša Šillaya ibbakam-ma ina Eanna išammit-ma ana makkûr Eanna inamdin*

(14–16) *Arad-Nergal māršu ša Mukîn-apli mār Egibi pût eṭēri ša šeṇu-a' 155 naši*

DOCUMENT 44

(1–3) *Dāgil-ilī māršu ša Zambubu ana Ḫammaya mārīšu ša Nergal-iddin mār Bābūtu kiam iqbi umma*

(3–4) *Lā-tubāšinni mārarka binnimma lū aššatu šī*

(4–5) *Ḫammaya tašmēšu-ma Lā-tubāšinni mārassa ana aššūti taddinaššu*

(6–9) *u Dāgil-ilī ina ḫūd libbi Ana-muḫḫi-Bēl-āmur qallu ša ana 1/2 manā kaspi abka u 1/2 manā kaspi ittī ana Ḫammaya kûm Lā-tubāšinni mārīša iddin*

(10–13) *ûm Dāgil-ilī aššātu šanītu ittašû 1 manā kaspu Dāgil-ilī ana Lā-tubāšinni inamdin-ma ašar maḫri tallaka*

(13–14) *ina ašābi ša Šuma-iddin mārīšu ša Tēšē-ēṭir mār Sîn-damāqu*

DOCUMENT 45

(1–6) *ûmu ša Nabû-ēda-ušur qallu ša Ina-Esagil-šuma-ibni ina pāni Ubar mārīšu ša Zambubu itelâ ûmu 2 sût še'u mandattušu ana Ina-Esagil-šuma-ibni inamdin*

DOCUMENT 46

(1–8) *Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin u Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ mārū ša Esagil-šuma-ibni mār Sîn-damāqu u Rēšat ummašunu mārassu ša Šūzubu mār Šangû-parakki ina ḥūd libbīšunu Nabû-ēda-ušur Banītumma aššassu Kišrinni u Gimillinni aḥḥātīšu naphar 4 amēlūti ana 2 manā kaspi ana šīmi gamrūti ana Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin mārīšu ša Šulaya mār Egibi iddinū*

(8–11) *pūt sēḥī pāqirāni u mār banūti ša amēlūti Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ mārū ša Esagil-šuma-ibni mār Sîn-damāqu u Rēšat ummašunu našū*

(12) *I pūt šanī našū*

DOCUMENT 47

(1–6) *Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin u Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ mārū ša Esagil-šuma-ibni mār Sîn-damāqu u Rēšat ummašunu ina ḥūd libbīšunu Nabû-ēda-ušur qallašunu ana 5/6 manā 8 šiqil kaspi ana sīmi ḥarši ana Šāpik-zēri mārīšu ša Iddin-Marduk mār Šigûa iddinū*

(7–10) *pūt sēḥī pāqirāni arad šarrūti u mār banūti ša Nabû-ēda-ušur Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ u Rēšat ummašunu našū*

(11) *I pūt šanī našū*

DOCUMENT 48

(1–3) *Lā- tubāšinni aššat Dāgil-ilī u ... ana Nabû-mukīn-apli sukalli u dayyānī ša Nergal-šarra-ušur šar Bābili illikūnim-ma*

(3–4) *itti Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin mārīšu ša Esagil-šuma-ibnn mar Sîn-damāqu dīnu idbubū-ma*

(4) *Lā-tubāšinni taqbi umma*

(5–7) *Nabû-ēda-ušur Bēl-aḥa-ušur Esagil-rēšua Kišrinni u Gimilinni mārīya ša ina bītīkunu arki šaṭār ṭuppi mār banūti uldu*

(7) *sukkallu u dayyānū arkassunu ištālū-ma*

(7–12) *Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin riksātīšu ša adi lā ṭuppi mār bānūti ša Lā-tubāšinni iššāṭru Nabû-ēda-ušur Bēl-aḥa-ušur Esagil-rēšua Kišrinni u Gimilinni maldū*

u' iltu ša ... Nabû-ēda-ušur u Bēl-aḥa-ušur ana mandatti ... ublam-ma ana sukkalli u dayyānī ukallim

(13–15) *Esagil-šuma-ibni abu ša Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin ... īmurū u dibbīšunu išmū*

(16–18) *Nabû-ēda-ušur Bēl-aḥa-ušur Kišrinni u Gimilinni ša adi lā ṭuppi mār banūti ša Lā-tubāšinni maldū ana Bēl-āḥḥē-iddin iddinū*

(18–19) *u Ardiya ša arki šaṭār ṭuppi ša Lā-tubāšinni maldu ana Lā-tubāšinni iddinū*

(20–21) *matīma Lā-tubāšinni u Ardiya māršu ana muḥḥi Nabû-ēda-ušur Bēl-aḥa-ušur Kašrinni u Gimilinni lā iraggumū*

(22–23) *sukkallu u dayyānū ṭuppu išṭurū ina kunukkīšunu ibrumū-ma ana Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin iddinū*

(24) *ina parās dīni šuāti*

DOCUMENT 49

(1–9) *pūt mukinnūti ša Mušēzib-Bēl qalli ša ša muḥḥi bītāni ša ina našparti ša ša muḥḥi bītāni illiku-ma iqbū umma ša muḥḥi bītāni iltapranni umma ṭuppu ša Kuputtu kunuk-ma ana aššūti ana Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit mārīšu ša Nargiya idin Nabû-ētir mārīšu ša Arad-Bēl mār Arrabtu mukīn ṭuppi u Rīmūt-Nabû mārīšu ṭupšarru šāṭir ṭuppi našū*

(9–11) *ina bīt dīni ukannū-ma ana Nargiya mārīšu ša Ḥanunu inaddinū*

(11–14) *kī lā ukannū 1/2 bilat kaspu miṭītu ša eli Nargiya šaknat ušallamū*

DOCUMENT 50

(1–5) *Nargiya ša rēš šarri māršu ša Ḥanunu Amurru-šarra-ušur ša rēš šarri ša muḥḥi bītāni ana maḥar rabūt šarri u dayyānī ša Kuraš šar Bābili šar mātāti ublam-ma iqbi umma*

(5–9) *Amurru-šarra-ušur ša muḥḥi bītāni u Nabû-uballit māršu ša Nabû-šama' ša bīti ša muḥḥi bītāni ṭuppi aššūti ša Tabluṭu aḥāti ša Nabû-uballit balū'a iknuk-ma ana Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit mārīya iddinū*

(10) *rabūt šarri u dayyānū ša muḥḥi bītāni išālū-ma*

(11) *nīš ilī izkur-ma iqbi umma*

(11–12) *ṭuppu šuātu ul aknuk u ana šībūti ina libbi ul āšib*

(13–14) *ultu ... ukīn ... Tabluṭu išālū-ma ... ukinnū-ma*

(15) *Nabû-uballiṭ iqbi umma*

(15–17) *ṭuppi aššūti ša Tabluṭu aḫātīya aknuk ana Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ mārīšu ša Nargiya addin*

(18) *u Tabluṭu taqbi umma Nabû-uballiṭ aḫū' a ...*

(21–24) *ṭuppi aššūti ša Tabluṭu ša Nabû-uballiṭ iknuku-ma ana Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ balu Nargiya abīšu iddinu ašar innammaru ḫepi*

(25–26) *kī ultu annī Tabluṭu itti Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ tattanammaru šimat ammāti tammaḫḫar*

(28–33) *ina maḫar ... šaṭāru šaṭir*

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The following symbols are used:

- ~ the name in the particular entry
- / son or daughter of
- // descendant of

MEN

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Innin-zēra-iddin	Itti-Esagil-zēri
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Iqīša-Marduk	Kabtiya
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~/Innin-šuma-ušur//Nabû-šarḫi-ilī (3:5–6, 12)	Nūrea/~ (21:6–7)
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~/Nabû-bāni-aḫi//PN (31:25–26)	~/Bēl-lē'i//Aḫūtu (18:1, 5, 8, 10, 13, 22)
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 ~/Innin-līpī-ušur (42:29)
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 ~/Arad-bēl//Egibi (3:1-2, 13)
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- Lāqīpi
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 Lūši-ana-nūri-Marduk
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- Marduka
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- Marduk-u
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 ~/Nergal-iddin//Ea-šalmu-ilāni
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 ilāni (25:15)
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 Nabû-mušetiq-uddē/~ (6:18–19)
 Marduk-šuma-iddin
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 ~//Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit//Balātu (8:1)
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 32:32)
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 Mušēzib
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- ~/*Mušallim-Marduk* (38:91)
 ~/*Nādinu//Rāb-banê* (32:4–5, 8, 11, 14, 19, 21)
 ~/*Nanaya-ēreš* (25:4, 8–9, 11–12, 16, 20, 23, 24, 27, 43)
 ~/*Šamaš-mudammiq//Epeš-ili* (2:15; 25:54)
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 ~/*Bēl-uballit//Amēl-Ea* (10:15)
 ~/*Iddin-aḫa//Ša-nāšīšu* (27:26–27)
 ~/*Kabtiya//Šigūa* (3:20)
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 ~/*Enlil-šuma-ukīn* (28:16)
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Nabû-aḫa-iddin
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 ~/*Nabû-balāssu-iqbi* (49:15)
Nabû-aḫa-ušur
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 provincial governor (26:3, 12, 18)
 ~/(*Ina*)-*Esagil-šuma-ibni*//*Sīn-damāqu* (46:1, 10; 47:1–2)
 ~/*Nargiya* (49:6; 50:9, 17, 23, 26)
 ~/*P[N]*, overseer of the city of *Šaḫrīnu* (4:1–2, 25)
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Nabû-gāmil/~//*Miširaya* (32:1–2, 7–8)
Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin
 ~/*Bēl-ēreš* (38:82)
 ~/*Šulaya//Egibi* (12:15–16; 19:4–5, 6, 7, 11; 29:24; 46:7–8)
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 ~/*Zākīr//Amēl-Isin* (47:13–14)
 Itti-Marduk-balāṭu/~//*Egibi* (20:23; 29:1, 15, 25, 31, 32)
Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim
 ~/*Mušēzib-Marduk//Šangû-Ištar-Bābili* (33:4')
 ~/*Nabû-šuma-ukīn*//[X]-*Ninurta* (25:59)
Ibnaya/~ (38:45–46)
Ibni-Ištar/~ (7:7)
Iddin-aḫa/~ (31:1)
Innin-zēra-ibni/~//*Šangû-Ninurta* (38:23)
Nabû-apla-iddin
 judge (50:31)
 ~/*Ibni-Ištar//Ekur-zakir* (5:26–27)
 ~/*Nabû-šuma-išku*//*Šangû-Nin-Eanna* (18:31–32)
 Anum-šumu-līšir/~ (2:3–4)
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Nabû-balāssu-iqbi
 24:2, 6, 9', 10', 13', 14', 17', 20', 22', 25', 27', 29', 31'
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 ~/*Ibnaya//Ekur-zakir* (3:17; 38:21)
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Nabû-bāni-aḫi ~/Marduk-erība//Ea-šalmu-ilāni (25:15, 27)	Rīmūt-Nabû/~ (49:8)
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Nabû-bēlšunu ~/Nūrea (37:25)	Nabû-mukīn-apli <i>šatammu</i> //Nādinu//Dābibī (31:9– 10, 13–14; 43:16–17)
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 ~/Nabû-šuma-ēreš//Ēreb-bīti
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 ~/Nādinu//Dābibī, *šatammu* of the
 Eanna (3:3;38:8, 33–34)
 Nidintu-Bēl//~//Dābibī (26:14)
 Nabû-mušētiq-uddē
 ~/Balāssu//Dāmiqū (25:1, 23, 37,
 45, 50)
 ~/Marduk-šuma-ibni (6:18–19)
 ~/Nabû-apla-iddin (24:1)
 ~/Nabû-bāni-aḥi//Ea-šalmu-ilāni
 (25:15)
 ~/Nanaya-iddin (38:78, 96)
 Ḥašdiya/~ (38:61)
 Nabû-mutīr-gimilli
 scribe//Gaḥal-Marduk (48:27)
 Nabû-nādin
 administrator of Kî-Nabû/Erībaya
 (40:14, 18, 26)
 Nabû-nādin-aḥi
 38:90
 ~/Arad-Bēl//Iddin-Papsukkal
 (42:26–27)
 Šamaš-mudammiq/~ (20:5)
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 Nādin/~//Rāb-banê (32:3–4)
 Ṭābiya/~ //Ḥunzû(25:2, 52)
 Nabû-nāšir
 ~/Aḥḥē-iddin (6:8–9)
 Nabû-rēšua
 slave (3:1)
 Nabû-rēšu
 ~/Šamaš-iddin (25:10, 13, 19, 20,
 44, 47)
 Nabû-(u)šuršu
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 ~/Šamaš-kāšir//Isinnaya (34:18–
 19, 26)
 Nabû-šama'
 Nabû-uballiṭ/~ (50:6)
 Nabû-šarra-ušur
 royal official, administrator of
 Eanna (1:19; 5:12, 14, 22;
 7:1; 14:12; 25:1, 21, 42, 51)
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 Nabû-šuma-ēreš
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 (49:18–19)
 Nabû-šuma-iddin
 ~/Aplaya (37:7–8, 11, 16, 21, 22,
 23)
 ~/Nanaya-ēreš (38:93)
 Gimillu/~//Ea-ilūta-bāni (10:11–
 12)
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 Sîn-aḥḥē-bullit/~//Supê-Bēl (41:4)
 Nabû-šuma-iškun
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 23:10'–11'; 29:42)
 Nabû-apla-iddin/~//Šangû-Nin-
 Eanna (18:31–32)
 Rīmūt/~//Gaḥul (46:19)
 Nabû-šuma-ukīn
 judge//Ir'anni (22:38, seal; 23:8')
 Lāqīpi/~ (38:89)
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 (25:59)
 Šamaš-aḥa-iddin/~ (38:117)
 Nabû-šuma-ušur
 Ištar-aḥa-iddin/~//Ekur-zakir
 (41:7)
 Nabû-šumu-libūr
 judge//Gaḥal-Marduk (29:38)
 Nabû-šumu-līšir
 24:20'
 ~/Bēlilitu (19:9)
 Bēl-apla-iddin/~//Mudammiq-
 Adad (36:2, 6, 7, 10, 15, 18,
 21, 22, 26, 30, 40)

Sîn-ēreš/~/Ibni-ilī (1:22– 23;2:16;25:55;38:13; 43:20)	Nanaya-[X]/~ (7:11–12)
Nabû-šuzzizanni	Nādin(u)
<i>šanû</i> of the Sealand (27:17)	35:13', 26'
Nabû-ṭāriš	governor of Uruk/Balātu (8:13; 38:6, 39)
~/Nabû-bēl-šumāti (10:4–5)	scribe (38:27; 42:30; 43:22)
Nabû-uballit	scribe//Paḥāru (23:10')
~/Ina-Esagil-zēri//Amēl-Ea (30:7)	scribe/Nergal-ina-tēšē-ēṭir//Sîn-
~/Nabû-šama' (50:6, 8, 15, 22)	lēqi-unninnī (25:70)
Nabû-udammiqanni	~/Aplaya//Aḥḥūtu (2:19)
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judge (50:32)	(32:3–4)
~/Kišir-Nabû (16:22)	Mušēzib-Bēl/~/Rāb-banē
Nabû-ušēzib	(32:4–5, 8)
Adad-šarra-ušur/~ (4:9)	Ibnaya/~ (34:37)
Anu-šuma-ibni/~/Nabû-šarḥi-ilī	Kiribtu/~/Babūtu (38:19)
(31:23–24)	Murašû/~/Nūr-Sîn (18:28)
Erība/~ (4:10)	Nabû-mukīn-apli/~/Dābibī (31:9– 10; 43:16–17)
Nargiya/~ (4:10)	Nabû-mukīn-zēri/~/Dābibī (3:3; 38:8, 33–34)
Nabû-zabādu	Nabû-zēru-līšir/~/Išparu (5:28– 29)
Sîn-ibni/~ (40:8)	Nidintu/~/Rē' i-sīšī (34:37)
Nabû-zēra-ibni	Šamaš-mukīn-apli/~/Egibi (16:18; 31:26; 41:3)
15:13	Šamaš-uballit/~/Amēlû (38:24)
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~/Marduk-nāšir//PN (25:25)	Rīmūt/~/Išparu (30:6)
Nabû-zēra-iddin	Nanaya-aḥa-iddin
~/Aḥḥūšaya (11:7'–8', 13')	~/Nabû-bāni-aḥi//Ea-šalmu-ilāni
~/Itti-Bēl-ṭābu (4:20)	(25:15)
Marduk/~ (5:2)	~/Nergal-ina-tēšē-ēṭir (38:92)
Nabû-zēra-iqīšā	Nanaya-ēreš
Nergal-īpuš/~ (5:5)	Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin/~ (5:3)
Nabû-zēra-ukīn	Imbiya/~/Kidin-Marduk (41:1–2)
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Iltameš-baraku/~ (1:2)	
Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir	
judge//Šulmānu (19:16; 32:34)	
Nabû-zēru-līšir	
~/Bēlšunu//Kurī (8:5; 25:69)	
~/Nādinu//Išparu (5:28–29)	

- Sîn-ibni/~ (38:93, 128)
 Zēriya/~//Kidīn-Marduk
 (3:18;41:5)
 Zumbu/~ (38:104)
 Nanaya-ibni
 Nergal-nāšir/~ (1:3–4)
 Nanaya-iddin
 ~/Arad-Innin (38:44)
 ~/Attar-ramât (5:7–8, 18, 20)
 ~/Bau-ēreš (4:6, 24)
 ~/Nabû-bāni-aḥi//Ekur-zakir (7:6)
 Nabû-mušētiq-uddê/~ (38:78, 96)
 Šamaš-zēra-ibni/~//Ḥanap (2:21)
 Nanaya-[X]
 ~/Nabû-zēru-līšir (7:11–12)
 Napuštu
 ~/Bel-aḥḥē-iddin//Rē' i-sīšī
 (34:40–41)
 Nargiya
 ~/Bēlšunu (37:5)
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 Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit/~ (49:6:
 50:17, 23–24)
 ~/Nabû-ušēzib (4:10)
 Nergal-aḥa-iddin
 ~/Aḥḥēa (18:4, 5, 9, 11, 16, 23)
 Nergal-aḥa-ušur
 judge (20:29, seal)
 Nergal-bānūnu
 scribe//Rāb-banê (19:19;32:38)
 Nergal-ētir
 ~/Ša-Nabû-šū//Naggāru (33:4)
 Šamaš-uballit/~ (33:6)
 Nergal-iddin
 ~/Nabû-erīb (33:3)
 Šamaš-iddin/~ (33:5, 10)
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 Marduk-ētir/~//Bābūtu (44:17–18)
 Šamaš-erība/~//Sîn-tabni (25:67)
 Nergal-ina-tēšē-ētir
 judge//Rāb-banê (36:50, seal)
- Kīnaya/~//Dannea (14:2–3)
 Nādin/~//Sîn-lēqi-unninnī (25:70)
 Nanaya-aḥa-iddin/~ (38:92)
 Nergal-īpuš
 ~/Nabû-zēra-iqīša (5:5, 10)
 Nergal-nāšir
 ~/Nanaya-ibni (1:3–4, 8, 16)
 Apkallu/~//Išparu (5:26)
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 Nergal-ušallim
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 29:35; 32:36)
 Innin-šarra-ušur/~//Sîn-lēqi-
 unninnī (14:19–20)
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 unninnī (26:34–35)
 Šāpik-zēri/~//Sîn-karābi-išme
 (46:16)
 Šuma-iddin/~ (38:142)
 Nergal-ušēzib
 25:28
 Nergal-zēra-ibni
 ~/Šulaya//[Miširaya] (5:29–30)
 Nidinti-Marduk
 ~/Šamaš-šumu-līšir//Ile'' i-Marduk
 (34:36)
 Nidintu
 ~/Ardiya (38:112, 115)
 ~/Nabû-ittannu//Šangû-Šamaš
 (34:39)
 ~/Nabû-ušuršu (34:24)
 ~/Nādin//Rē' i-sīšī (34:37)
 ~/PN (38:67, 69)
 Nidintu-Bēl
 ~/Nabû-mukīn-zēri//Dābibī,
 šatammu of Eanna (26:14–15;
 39:7)

Ninurta-aḫa-iddin ~/Arad-Egalmaḫ (28:19)	Rašil-X ~/Bēl-ušallim//Epeš-ili (11:15'–16')
Ninurta-ēriba Ninurta-iddin/~ (28:15)	Ribat ~/Niqudu (9:13)
Ninurta-ētir Šamaš-aḫa-iddin/~ (28:15, seal)	Riḫētu ~/Arad-Innin (40:1, 10, 19, 22)
Ninurta-iddin ~/Ninurta-ēriba (28:15) Aplaya/~ (28:23)	Rīmūt(u) 10:7 judge (43:7)
Ninurta-nādin-šumi ~/Uballissu-Marduk (9:12)	~/Ina-qībit-Nabû (29:5, 11, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27)
Ninurta-nāšir ~/Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin (28:17, seal) ~/Iddin-Enlil (28:22) Bēlšunu/~ (28:26)	~/Innin-šuma-ušur//Ḫunzu (7:9–10) ~/Nabû-šuma-iškun//Gaḫul (46:19)
Ninurta-uballiṭ Šuma-iddin/~ (28:18)	~/Nādin-apli//Išparu (30:6)
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Nūrīšu-Enlil ~/PN (28:24)	Rīmūt-Bēl judge (50:32)
Nūr-Sîn ~/Nabû-bāni-aḫi//Nūr-Sîn (5:28)	judge//Miširaya (21:45, seal; 29:40)
Nusku-iddin ~/Arad-Gula (9:15)	~/Ardiya//Itinnu (13:18–19)
Parnakku (Pharnaces) 30:20	~/Bēl-uballiṭ//Gimil-Nanaya, <i>šešgallu</i> of Eanna (3:14–15; 38:10)
Pir'u PN/~ (24:8'')	~/Iddina-aḫa//Bēl-pattanni (17:8–9)
Putiya slave (16:4)	~/Nabû-bāni-aḫi//Ea-šalmu-ilāni (25:14–15)
Raḫim'il Udarna'/~ (28:1)	Rīmūt-Nabû ~/Nabû-ētir//Arrabtu (49:8)
Raḫimmu Kīnaya/~ (16:5, 9–10) Ubar/~ (16:20)	Rīmūt-Nergal judge//Saggilaya (32:37)

- Silim-Bēl
 ~/*Balātu* (12:13–14)
 ~/*Šuma-ukīn*//*Ḫanap* (25:60)
Kalbaya/~ (26:1)
 PN/~ (24:4")
- Silim-ili
 royal official in charge of the chest
 (38:11; 42:25)
- Sîn-aḫa-iddin
Ḫabašīru/~ (34:39–40)
- Sîn-aḫḫē-bullit
 ~/*Nabû-šuma-iddin*//*Supê-Bēl*
 (41:4)
- Sîn-ēreš
 ~/*Nabû-šumu-līšir*//*Ibni-ilī* (1:22–
 23; 2:16; 25:55; 30:2; 38:13;
 43:20)
- Sîn-erība
sartennu (32:5–6, 30)
- Sîn-ibni
 ~/*Nanaya-ēreš* (38:93, 128)
 ~/*Nabû-zabādu* (40:8, 10, 17, 21,
 23)
Anu-aḫa-iddin//~/*Rē' i-alpi* (7:18–
 19)
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 3)
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- Sîn-iddin
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- Sîn-ili
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- Sîn-nādin-šumi
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- Sîn-šarra-ušur
 royal official (41:17, 23)
- Sîn-šezib
sukkallu (20:28)
- Sîn-tabni
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- Sūqaya
 14:10, 11, 15
 slave/*Nuptaya* (31:7, 15)
 ~/*Marduk-šuma-iddin*//*Gimil-*
Nanaya (38:15)
- Šillaya
 ~/*Lâbāši*//*Šigûa* (47:14–15)
 ~/*Šamaš-aḫa-iddin* (38:124, 125,
 130)
 ~/*PN*//*Eppeš-ili* (35:7'–8', 11',
 19')
Arad-bēl//~/*Iddin-Papsukkal* (2:17;
 38:14)
Bēl-iqīša/~ (42:9; 43:5–6, 12–13)
 PN/~ (24:12")
- Šabbataya
Gadalyama/~ (28:20–21)
- Šaddinu
 ~/*Bēl-ušallim* (34:42)
- Šākin-šumi
 ~/*Ibni-Ištar*//*Sîn-tabni* (deputy of
Uruk) (3:15; 14:18–19; 38:18)
Arad-Innin/~ (26:1)
Ardiya//~/*Gimil-Nanaya* (31:23)
Bunanītu//~/*Eppeš-ili* (36:1)
Marduk-šuma-ibni//~/*Šigûa*
 (36:55)
- Šamaš-aḫa-iddin
 ~/*Nabû-šuma-ukīn* (38:117, 120,
 121, 122, 124)
 ~/*Ninurta-ēṭir* (28:15, seal)
Lâbāši/~ (37:3)
Šillaya/~ (38:124)
- Šamaš-aḫḫē-lu-irši
 ~/*Šamaš-kāšir*//*Isinnaya* (34:18–
 19, 20, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32,
 33, 35)
- Šamaš-erība
 ~/*Nergal-iddin*//*Sîn-tabni* (25:67)
- Šamaš-ēṭir
 ~/*Nabû-bāni-aḫi*//*Ea-šalmu-ilāni*

- (25:14–15)
 Šamaš-ibni
šangû of Amurru (27:30)
 Šamaš-iddin
 ~/*Bēl*-iddin (26:2, 13, 24, 47, 49)
 ~/*Nergal*-iddin (33:5, 10, 12)
Bēl-šarrussu/~ (16:20–21)
Nabû-rēšu/~ (25:10)
 Šamaš-kāšir
Nabû-ušuršu/~//*Isinnaya* (34:18–19)
 Šamaš-aḥḥē-lu-irši/~//*Isinnaya* (34:18–19, 24)
 Šamaš-lē'i
Rīmūt/~//*Arrabtu* (35:7')
 Šamaš-mudammiq
 ~/*Nabû-nādin-aḥi* (20:5, 26)
Mušēzib-Bēl/~//*Eppeš-ili* (2:15; 25:54)
 Šamaš-mukīn-aḥi
 15:14
 Šamaš-mukīn-apli
 ~/*Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin*//*Šigûa* (39:13–14; 42:27)
 ~/*Nādin(u)*//*Egibi* (16:18; 31:26; 41:3)
 ~/*Sîn-nādin-šumi* (40:5)
 Šamaš-nāšir
 ~/*Mušebši-Marduk*//*Šangû-Šamaš* (34:17, 23, 25, 32, 33, 35)
 Šamaš-šarra-ušur
 ~/*Aḥimme* (16:21)
Iqīšaya/~ (4:14)
 Šamaš-šuma-iddin
 ~/*Šulaya* (5:4)
Itti-Anum-balātu/~ (5:22–23)
 Šamaš-šuma-ukīn
 ~/*Bēl-aḥa-iddin*//*Rāb-banê* (14:26)
 Šamaš-šuma-ušur
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- Šamaš-šumu-līšir
Nidinti-Marduk/~//*Ile''i-Marduk* (34:36)
 Šamaš-uballiṭ
 ~/*Nādinu*//*Amēlû* (38:24)
 ~/*Nergal-ēṭir* (33:6, 8)
 ~/*Tirriyama* (28:18)
 ~/*PN* (34:41)
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 Šamaš-zēra-ibni
 ~/*Nanaya-iddin*//*Ḥanap* (2:21)
 [*PN*]/~ (4:20–21)
 Šamaš-zēra-iddin
 ~/*Aḥulap-Ištar*//*Ekur-zakir* (30:31–32)
 Šamaš-zēra-iqīša
 ~/*Innin-šuma-ušur* (38:66)
 Šamaš-zēra-šubši
 brother of *Iddin-aḥa* (31:4, 8, 17, 19, 20)
 ~/*Bāniya*//*Andaḥar* (41:9)
 Ša-Nabû-šû
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 Ša-Nabû-taqum
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 Ša-pi-Bēl
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 Šāpik-zēri
 ~/*Iddin-Marduk*//*Šigûa* (47:5–6)
 ~/*Nergal-ušallim*//*Sîn-karābi-išme* (46:16)
 ~/*Šuma-ukīn*//*Sîn-šadûnu* (29:3–4, 12, 13, 21, 26, 28)
 ~/*Zērûtu* (27:2, 7, 10, 12, 14)
Bēl-iddin/~//*Mandidi* (17:9–10)
 Šarru-kīn
Anu-šarra-ušur/~ (42:2–3, 13; 43:4, 6)
Arad-Bēl/~ (16:2–3)
Dannu-aḥḥēšu-ibni/~ (38:62)

- Šulaya
 ~/Balti-ilī//Ea-šalmu-ilī (24:21')
 Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/~//Egibi (12:15–16; 19:4–5; 46:7–8)
 Nergal-zēra-ibni/~//[Miširaya] (5:29–30)
 Šamaš-šuma-iddin/~ (5:4)
 Šullum-mādu
 Bau-ēreš/~ (4:18)
 Rīmūt/~ (4:18–19)
 Šullumu
 24:18'
 Šuma-iddin
 ~/Enlil-nāšir (28:23)
 ~/Nergal-ušallim (38:142, 144)
 ~/Ninurta-uballiṭ (28:18)
 ~/Tēšē-ētir//Sîn-damāqu (44:13–14)
 Šuma-ukīn
 judge (20:29, seal)
 ~/PN (30:4)
 Bēl-uballiṭ/~//Sîn-šadūnu (23:1–2; 29:3–4)
 Silim-Bēl/~//Ḥanap (25:60)
 Šāpik-zēri/~//Sîn-šadūnu (29:3–4)
 Šumaya
 ~/Ibni-Ištar//Ašlaku (5:31; 7:4)
 ~/Marduk-aḥa-iddin (38:52, 53)
 Šūzubu
 Aplaya/~ (24:seal)
 Aplaya/~//Bābūtu (27:23)
 Nabû-bāni-aḥi/~//Šangû-parakki (46:13; 47:12–13)
 Tabnêa
 ~/Itti-Bēl-tabni (37:1)
 ~/Šamaš-abāri (24:seal)
 Mukīn-zēri/~//Egibi (36:57)
 Tattannu
 ~/Nanaya-ḥussinni (21:5–6, 37, 39)
- Taribi
 Bāniya/~ (3:9–10)
 Tirriyama
 Šamaš-uballiṭ/~ (28:18)
 Tābiya
 ~/Ardiya//Basiya (18:27–28)
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 TUK[?]-ia
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 ~/Bunene-ibni (9:11)
 ~/Enlil-mukīn-apli (28:19)
 ~/Raḥimmu (16:20)
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 Udarna'
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 Usātu
 Bau-iqīša/~ (15:1–3)
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 ~/Nuptaya (20:13–14, 21)
 Zabdiya
 28:3, 6
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 Zākīr
 Balātu/~//Kidin-Marduk (8:9–10)
 Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin/~//Amēl-Isin (47:13–14)

Zambubu	(3:18;41:5)
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Adad-ibin/~//Šangû-Zariqu	~/Kīnaya (1:24–25)
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