



State Archives of Assyria *Bulletin*

ISSN 1120-4699

Volume XVIII

2009 – 2010



State Archives of Assyria Bulletin - Volume XVIII, 2009 – 2010

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Published by: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria, Via Induno 18/A, I-35134 Padova (Italy)

Distributed exclusively by: Herder Editrice e Libreria
Piazza Montecitorio 117/120
I-00186 Roma, Italy

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Editore: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria – Via Induno 18/A – I-35134 Padova (Italy)

Stampa: Copisteria Stecchini – Via Santa Sofia 58–62 – I-35121 Padova (Italy)

Direttore responsabile: Ines Thomas

Finito di stampare il 23 giugno 2011



State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
Volume XVIII (2009–2010)

THE ARCHIVE OF ŠULMU-ŠARRI FROM DŪR-KATLIMMU

Ran Zadok

0. Introduction

This archive was found in the “Red House” in Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad (ancient Dūr-Katlimmu). It consists of 77 documents (68 Akkadian, i.e. Neo-Assyrian, and nine Aramaic) and is dated between 667 and 623 BCE.¹ The archive owner, Šulmu-šarri, was dead by 619 BCE (cf. just below). 66 documents were found in rooms WV and YV (BATSH 6, 41–106, cf. 71f.). Three originate from rooms CW and IW (BATSH 6, 17 and 31, 32 respectively). It is puzzling why these three deeds were found in different rooms from the findspots of the 66 documents, the more so since the seller in BATSH 6, 17 is explicitly not from Dūr-Katlimmu. As expected, the latter deed cannot belong to the seller’s archive. All the individuals are alphabetically listed in the general index of BATSH 6, 232ff. This is the largest archive from Dūr-Katlimmu with numerous prosopographical links to other archives from there (these links are with various degrees of plausibility). Šulmu-šarri is the first witness in BATSH 6, 8 (where at least two other witnesses belong to his circle) and 176. He is the second witness in BATSH 6, 117. The latter deed (like BATSH 6, 184) belongs to the archive of Iddin-ahhē, who is a common witness in Šulmu-šarri’s archive (C/13). A common witness (A/5) is recorded in BATSH 6, 10 and

1. BATSH 6, 41, 42 and 71 respectively. Non-bibliographical abbreviations as in *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD); Akk. = Akkadian; atyp. = atypical; br. = brother; d. = daughter; f. = father; gent. = gentilic; s. = son; w. = witness; WSem. = West Semitic. Other abbreviations are self-evident. The feminine determinative is omitted wherever it is clear from the context that the name refers to a female. The months in Roman figures are the Neo-Assyrian ones. Post-canonical dates follow BATSH 6. Direct objects in sentence names of the type DN-object-verb are normalized with a final *-a* (not *-u* as in PNA) in view of AMAR-*ha*-AŠ for Būru-aha-iddina. (BATSH 6, 66). Individuals explicitly originating outside Dūr-Katlimmu are registered between < >. An analysis of the hitherto unexplained non-Akkadian names from this archive is published in Zadok 2009. I should like to thank my student Ilana Zangina for her technical assistance.

a principal (Y/8) in BATSH 6, 20 (see Radner, BATSH 6, 35, 47 *ad loc.*). BATSH 6, 32 (I.619 BCE from room IW) was issued after Šulmu-šarri's death by his sons. One of his sons, Nabû-nāšir, is the second witness (the first is the city ruler, *bēl-āli*) in a lawsuit (*dēnu*) between the two royal intimates (sg. *ša-qurbūtu*) Šarru-nūri and [...]Issar (BATSH 6, 199, after 612 BCE, from room XW, see 17f.). Several small archives have prosopographical ties with that of Šulmu-šarri: Rahīm-il (see Radner, BATSH 6, 147ff.: 107–110, cf. 128, 153 *ad* 111) from the same rooms as well as Kēnī and Apladad-na''id from room B (BATSH 6, 2, 3). Several unassigned documents from the same house are prosopographically related to the Šulmu-šarri archive (see Radner, BATSH 6, 182–184, 189, 193 *ad* 143–145, 155, 162, cf. 200). The protagonist of one deed is Sagību, servant of Šulmu-šarri (G'/2, see Radner, BATSH 6, 165 *ad* 123). Another deed belongs to Šunu-ahhē (X/4, see Radner, BATSH 6, 173 *ad* 128, where she calls attention to the fact that the same individual, viz. H/7, recurs in the unassignable deed BATSH 6, 133). The oath in BATSH 6, 128 is by the crown prince, to whose household Šulmu-šarri belonged (see below). Names containing *mār-šarri*, “crown prince”, which probably refer to members of the same household, occur in several additional documents, e.g., in the unassignable fragment BATSH 6, 152 (r.12', Šulmu-mār-šarri). The scribe of an unassignable deed is perhaps identical with one of the scribes of Šulmu-šarri's archive (see Radner, BATSH 6, 198 *ad* 173). This is a slave sale; the buyer's name is lost like in the unassignable slaves sales BATSH 6, 186, 187. Royal intimates ([*ša*] *qurbūti*) are mentioned in both deeds. Therefore it cannot be excluded that they were connected with the archive of Šulmu-šarri who bore the same title. Unlike the Akkadian documents, six of the nine Aramaic documents (R''-W'') were bought on the antiquity market. Another two (X'', Y'') were found *in situ*, but their findspot is not reported.

1. Prosopography²

A. BATSH 6, 41 (VII.667 BCE): **1.** *Salmānu-idrī* (WSem.) s. of ^fMelu' (matronym), debtor: one mina of silver, with pledge,³ viz. the estate (*bētu*) *š/za-ta-ri*; with a cylinder seal impression (see Radner, PNA 3, 1078b, s.v. ~, 1); **2.** *Šulmu-šarri* (Akk.) creditor; **3.** *Adad-ilā'i* (Akk.-WSem.), horseman (horse trainer, *susānu*), 1st w.; **4.** *Issār-na'id* (Akk.), 2nd w.; **5.** *Šamšī* (Akk.-WSem.), 3rd w.; **6.** *Aššur-šuma-ukīn* (Akk.), priest, 4th w.; **7.** *Ma-du-ku* (Iran.?), 5th w. (= *Ma-du-ki* s. of [x]-*ti-*', from 14.X.654 BCE, BATSH 6, 140, 1f., see Baker, PNA 2, 674b; Zadok 2002); **8.** *Še-ra-ahhē* (Akk.-WSem.), 6th w.; **9.** *Ka-bar-ū* (Arabian in view of the ending *-ū*), 7th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 592a); **10.** *Lāmur-šarri* (Akk.), 8th w.; **11.** *Mannu-kī-Arbail* (Akk.-WSem.), 9th w.

2. The post-canonical dates follow Reade 1998, 256f.; the date is lost in BATSH 6, 73–106.

3. Cf. Galil 2007, 199 with n. 33.

B. BATSH 6, 42 (665 BCE): **1.** *Nabû-[xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of [xxxx], seller of a slave (with an indistinct seal impression); **2.** [xx]-*Issār* (damaged Akk.), slave sold; **A/2.** buyer of slave for [n] minas (of silver); **3.** *Nabû-šumu/nādin-[x]* (Akk.), 1st w.; **4.** *Nabû-mār-šarri-ušur* (Akk.), 2nd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 846a, s.v. ~, 6); **5.** [xx]x[x] (damaged), 3rd w.; **6.** [xxx-id]*dina* (damaged Akk.), 4th preserved w.; **7.** [xxx]-*a-ni* (damaged), 5th preserved w.; **8.** [xxx]x (damaged), 6th preserved w.; **9.** [xxx-id]*dina* (damaged Akk.), 7th preserved w.

C. BATSH 6, 43 (VI.662 BCE): **1.** *Ub-da-*' (Aram. 'bdh) s. of *Ú-ku-bi-*' (WSem.), seller (with three stamp seal impressions) of two homers of an exempt orchard (Aram. *gnt*') for [n]+0.5 mina(s) of silver; **2.** *Ahu-tabši* (Akk.), neighbour; **3.** [xxx(x)] (broken), neighbour; **4.** [xxx(x)](broken), neighbour; **A/2.** [*Šulmu-šarri*], buyer; **5.** [xxx(x)] (broken), 1st w.; **6.** *Ēreš-Aššur* (Akk.), horseman (horse trainer), 2nd w.; **7.** *Da'inanni* (Akk.), 3rd w.; **8.** *Hi-ba-la-li* (with the Anatolian theophorous element *Hiba-?* cf. D. Schwemer, PNA 2, 471a, s.v. Hiba-azammi), eunuch (LÚ*.SAG), 4th w.; **9.** *Nabû-ahaididdina* (Akk.) s. of Aplāyu, 5th w. (= ~, see Radner, BATSH 6, 60 ad 35, 4, date lost, cf. Baker, PNA 2, 800a, s.v. ~, 28f.); <**10.** *Būru-sūrī* (WSem.) Hindanean (KUR.ḫi-in-da-A+A), 6th w.; >**A/11.** 7th w.; **11.** *Sa'ūlu* (WSem.), 8th w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1096b, s.v. ~, 2f.); **12.** *Marduku* (Akk.), 9th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 735a, s.v. ~, 11); **13.** *Iddin-ahhē* (Akk.), 10th w. (cf. Baker, PNA 2, 502b, s.v. ~, 9f.); **14.** *Ahu-erība* (Akk.), 11th w.; **15.** *Mannu-emūqi-la-ili* (Akk.-WSem. with the Aram. preposition *-la-*), 12th w. (f. of **O/5**); **16.** *Šulmu-ahhē* (Akk.), 13th w.; **17.** [*Sa*]-*ka-ni* (damaged WSem.), 14th w.; **18.** *Huzālu* (Akk.), 15th w.

D. BATSH 6, 17 (658 BCE): <**1.** *Issār-ilā'i* s. of Marduk-abū'a (Akk.) from Badiyadin, servant of 2, seller (with a stamp seal) of a female slave for [n] mina(s) of silver; **2.** [xx]-*Issār* s. of Ubri-Issar (Akk.) master of 1; **3.** [xxx] (broken), female slave sold;>**A/2.** buyer; **4.** [xx(x)]-*il* s. of Hanūnu (WSem.), 1st w.; **5.** [xx]-*Sē'* (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of Il-dimme, 2nd w.; **6.** [xx]-*Marduk* s. of Adad-gabbe (Akk.), 3rd w.; **7.** [xxx] s. of Salmānāyu (Akk.-WSem.), 4th w.; **8.** [xxx]-*a* s. of Salmānu-dūrī (Akk.-WSem.), 5th w.; **9.** [xxx] (broken) s. of [xx]-*ri*, 6th w.; **10.** [xx(x)]-*ušur/ahi* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 7th w.

E. BATSH 6, 44 (XII.656 BCE): **1.** *Nabû-šarra-ušur* (Akk.) s. of Adad-aba-ušur, seller (with a cylinder seal impression including an illegible inscribed line) of a slave (see Baker, PNA 2, 877b, s.v. ~, 41, cf. 40); **2.** *Salmānu-na'id* (Akk.; Aram. *Šlmm'?[d]*), slave sold for two minas of silver (see Radner, PNA 3, 1079, s.v. ~, 3); **A/2.** buyer; **3.** *Adad-abū'a* (Akk.), 1st preserved w.; **A/11.** 2nd preserved w.; **4.** *Šamaš-šumaididdina* (Akk.), 3rd preserved w.; **5.** *Nabû-šākin-rēmi* (Akk.), 4th preserved w. (see M. Capraro, PNA 2, 868a, s.v. ~, 2); **C/13.** 5th preserved w.; **6.** *Nabû-ētir* (Akk.), 6th pre-

served w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 830a, *s.v.* ~, 15); 7. *Šamaš-aha-iddina* (Akk.), scribe, 7th preserved w.

F. BATSH 6, 45 (27.IV.650 BCE): 1. *Mannu-kī-Salmānu* (Akk.-WSem., Aram. [Mn]ʿgsʿl[mn]), seller of a female slave (see Baker, PNA 2, 697a); 2. *Nergal-uballit* (Akk.) co-seller of a female slave (with a cylinder seal impression); A/2, buyer (fine to Salmānu in case of breach); 3. ^f*Uburti-Issār* (Akk.), female slave sold for 0.5 mina of silver; A/6. 1st w.; 4 (=A/11? see Baker, PNA 2, 687b, *s.v.* ~, 26). *Mannu-kī-Arbail* s. of Aširā (WSem.), 2nd w.; 5. *Šulmu-šarri* (Akk.) LÚ.GAL-[x(x)], 3rd w.; 6. [x]-ki-[xx] (damaged), 4th w.; 7. [xxx]-šarri s. of ʿBaʿ-ri-ki (WSem.); 8. *Šá-ši-in* (Akk.-WSem. or non-Sem.), royal intimate, 6th w.; 9. *Nergal-šarra-ušur* (Akk.) s. of Salmānu-aha-iddina (Akk.), priest, 7th w.; 10. *Adad-ilāʿi* s. of Tābu-ahhē (Akk.-WSem.; = A/3?), 8th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 955f., *s.v.* ~, 35f.); 11. *Ha-na-sa-a-nu* (WSem.), s. of Bēl-dan, 9th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 450b); 12. *Adu-emūqi* (Akk.) s. of Nabû-aha-iddina, 10th w.; 13. *Salmānu-aha-iddina* (Akk.), scribe, 11th w. (presumably father of the above-mentioned priest; recurs with his title in 636 BCE, BATSH 6, 144 and PNA 3, 1071b, *s.v.* ~, 3).

G. BATSH 6, 46 (650 BCE): Radner, BATSH 6, 80 *ad loc.* points out that the script of this text differs considerably from that of the other documents and resembles BATSH 6, 183. It was perhaps written in the countryside where at least two witnesses originate. It may be surmised that the seller was not from Dūr-Katlimmu. 1. *Tabalāyu* (Anat. or Akk.-WSem. gent.), ironsmith, seller (with a cylinder seal impression) of a female slave and her anonymous daughter. He also received one mina of copper for his seal (see Radner, BATSH 6, 80 *ad loc.*); 2. [^fx]ʿxʿ[^fx] (damaged), female slave sold with her anonymous daughter for [n shekel/mina of silver]; A/2, buyer (see Galil 2007, 69); 3. *B[a]-lu-ku* (WSem. or non-Sem.), 1st w.; A/5, 2nd w.; <4. *Ātanha-ilu* (Akk.) from URU.te-man, 3rd w.; 5. *La-bu-du* (WSem.) s. of Nanî, 4th w. from Dūr-x[xxx]; > C/15, 5th w.

H. BATSH 6, 47 (XI.649 BCE): 1. *Adad-aha-iddina* (Akk.; Aram. Nʿzʿrʿ? br [...]) s. of *Ú-za-bu-ru-un-du* (non-Sem., unexpl.), seller of a slave (with two stamp seals impressions); 2. *Tābu-ahha* (Akk.-WSem.), slave sold for 0.5 mina of silver (of Karkemish); A/2. *Šulmu-šarri* s. of Marduk-šarra-ušur, buyer of a slave (fine of ten minas of silver and two minas of gold to Adad in case of breach); 3. *Re-eš-u-A+A* (Akk.) s. of Bēl-ahhē, 1st w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1049b); 4. *Adad-šēzib* s. of Abdi-Adda (WSem.), 2nd w.; 5. *Būru-bēla-ušur* (Akk.) s. of Tukulti-šarri, 3rd w.; <6. *Ha-ʿamʿ-an/īl* (WSem.) s. of Būru-naʿid, royal intimate from Nineveh, 4th w.; > 7. *Hazāla* s. of Birūqu (Akk.-WSem.; originally Akk. with Assyrian vowel harmony of short unstressed *a* due to the following *-ā-*, in which case it can render the Arabic cognate *ġazāl*, “gazelle”), 5th w. (see Baker, Zadok and Parpola, PNA 2, 469a); C/13. *Iddin-ahhē* s. of Mannu-kī-Arbail

and br. of Šamšiya, 6th w.; **8.** *Adda-ta-qan* (WSem.?), chariot fighter (LÚ*.A.SIG) of the crown prince, 7th w. (not *mār-šipri* “messenger” as read by Radner, BATSH 6, 11, 81, see Borger 2004, 438:839); **9.** *Būru-ta-bi* (Aram. **Būru-tab* “B. has returned” rather than */Būru-tabbi/* as suggested by Radner, BATSH 6, 238, index, s.v.) s. of (N)inūrta-ušur, 8th w.

I. BATSH 6, 48 (30.VIII.644 BCE): <**1.** *Ia-da-di* s. of Apladad-tūrî (WSem.) and br. of 2, seller of a field; **2.** *Ahhē-lē'i* s. of Apladad-tūrî (WSem.) and br. of 1, co-seller of a field, both from Bīt(URU.É)-*bi-ni-ni* their field of [n] homer is reaped. It bordered on Ālu-ša-Zībâ (BATSH 6, 48, 7, cf. 191 ad 158), *In-ni-il* and URU.É-*sa-i-li*; > **A/2.** Šulmu-šarri s. of Marduk-šarra-ušur, buyer of the field for ten shekels of silver; <**3.** *Da-da-a-ni* (WSem.), neighbour; > **4.** [xxx(x)] s. of Dīnâ (Akk.-WSem.), 1st w.; **5.** [xxxx] (broken), 2nd w.; **6.** [xxx]-*a* (damaged), 3rd w.; **7.** *Gab-si-i* (WSem.), 4th w.; **8.** *Abu-iddina* s. of Lāmur-[xxx] (Akk.), 5th w.; **9.** *Iddin-ahu* s. of Hazālu (Akk.-WSem.), 6th w.; **10.** *Abu-kēnu* (Akk.-WSem.), 7th w.; **11.** *Mudammiq-amat-šarri* (Akk., a Babylonian form, see Radner BATSH 6, 59 ad 34 rev. 8), 8th w.; <**12.** *Zēr-ili* (Akk.-WSem.), field owner >

J. BATSH 6, 49 (XI.644 BCE): **1.** *Apladad-na'id* (Akk.), s. of [xxx(x)], seller of a slave (with a seal whose impression is not preserved); perhaps identical with his namesake s. of Dādi who sold a female slave to Zēru-ukīn according to BATSH 6, 3 (the list of witnesses is headed by Nergal-zēra-iddina, who is recorded in the Šulmu-šarri archive); **2.** *Abu-upahhir* (Akk.), slave sold for one mina of silver; **A/2**, buyer; **B/4**, 1st w.; **3.** *Salmānu-[aba-ušur]* (damaged Akk.), 2nd w. (see Radner, PNA 3, 1071a, s.v. ~, 1); **4.** ^d[xxx] (damaged), 3rd w.; **5.** *Marduk-[xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 4th w.; **6.** *Addara-[hi]-i* (WSem.), 5th w.; **C/9**, 6th w.; **7.** *Ilu-aha-ušur* (Akk.), 7th w.; **8.** *Sa-na-a* (WSem.), 8th w.; **9.** *Šamaš-aha-ušur* s. of Šamaš-šuma-ušur (Akk.), 9th w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1087a, s.v. ~, 1).

K. BATSH 6, 50 (644 BCE): <**1.** ^d[xxx] (damaged), s. of Ḥama[xx] br. of 2 from URU.[xxx], seller of a slave; **2.** ^d[xxx] (damaged) s. of Hama[xxx] and br. of 1, co-seller (with three stamp seal-impressions belonging to both sellers) of a slave; **3.** [xxx(x)] (broken), slave sold for [n minas/shekels of silver]; > **A/2**, buyer; **C/13.** *Iddin-ahhē* s. of Mannu-kī-Arbail, 1st w.; **J/3.** [*Salmānu*]-*aba-ušur* (damaged Akk.), 2nd w.; **4.** [*Nab*]ū'a (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 3rd w.; **5.** [xxx]xx[x] (damaged), 4th w. (remainder broken away).

L. BATSH 6, 51 (X.643 BCE?): **1.** *Salmānu-dāri* (Akk.; Aram. Šl[mndr]) s. of (N)inūrta-aha-iddina, seller of an irrigated orchard of three seahs (price not preserved; with three stamp seal-impressions; Baker, PNA 2, 546a, s.v. ~, 10, suggests that he is the brother of **Y/4**, who has a homonymous paternal name, but this identity cannot be established); **A/2**, buyer; **2.** [xxx(x)] (broken), 1st preserved w.; **3.** *Ubar-Arba[il]* (Akk.),

2nd preserved w.; **4.** *Hi-la-qu* (WSem.), 3rd preserved w.; **5.** *Dādi-erība* (Akk.), 4th preserved w.; **C/13**, 5th preserved w.; **6.** (*Ninūrta-rēmāni* (Akk.), 6th preserved w. Baker (PNA 2, 556a, s.v. ~, 5) suggests that he is identical with his namesake from 673 BCE (BATSH 6, 113), but this cannot be proven; **7.** *Nabū'a* (Akk.-WSem.), 7th preserved w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 791b, s.v. ~, 75f.).

M. BATSH 6, 52 (XII.643 BCE): **1.** *Dādi-tariš* s. of Šamaš-dēni-lāmur (Akk.) br. of 2, 3, seller of slaves; **2.** *Ninī* (Akk.-WSem., atyp.) s. of Šamaš-dēni-lāmur (Akk.) br. 1, 3, co-seller of slaves; **3.** *Nāšir-Salmānu* s. of Šamaš-dēni-lāmur (Akk.) br. of 1, 2, co-seller of slaves; **4.** ^f*Za-ra-[xx]* (damaged), female slave sold; **5.** [xxx] (broken), slave sold; **A/2.** buyer of slaves (for one mina of silver); **6.** *Šēpē-šarri* (Akk.), 1st w.; **7.** *Sinqi-Dādi* (Akk.), 2nd w. (see Baker and Parpola, PNA 3, 1140b); **8.** *Issār-nādin* (Akk.), 3rd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 574f.); **C/13**, 4th w.; **9.** *Bēl-zēra-iddina* (Akk.), 5th w.; **10.** *Nāšir-^d[xx]* (damaged Akk.), 6th w.; **11.** *Ú-si-bi-[i?]* (Akk.), 7th w.; **12.** *Salmānu-nāšir* (Akk.), 8th w. (see Radner, PNA 3, 1079b, s.v. ~, 2).

N. BATSH 6, 53 (prosopographically resembles 54; 16.XI.640 BCE): **1.** *Nergal-šarra-ušur* (Aram. ⁴*ṯhrsršr*) s. of Šamaš-aha-ušur (Aram. *Sššr*, Akk.), seller of female slaves (with two stamp seal impressions); **2.** ^f*Amat-Salmānu* (Akk.-WSem., Aram. ⁴*mtšlmn*), female slave sold (together with her infant daughter) for 0.5 mina of silver; **A/2.** buyer of female slaves (with fine of ten minas of silver and one mina of gold to Salmānu in case of breach); **B/4**, 1st w.; **3.** *Nusku-šarra-ušur* (Akk.), 2nd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 974b, s.v. ~, 4, 5); **J/3.** *Salmānu-aba-ušur*, 3rd w.; **4.** *Bēl-kakki-šaddū'a* (Akk.), 4th w.; **5.** *Iddināyu* (Akk.), 5th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 503b, s.v. ~, 6); **E/1**, 6th w.; **6.** (*Ninūrta-[xx]*)^{mes} (damaged Akk.-WSem.), scribe, 7th w.; **7.** *Iddin-[xx]* (damaged Akk.), 8th w.

O. BATSH 6, 54 (same date as 53): **N/1.** s. of Šamaš-aha-ušur (Aram. *Sššr*), br. of Salmānu-aba-ušur (Akk.), seller of slaves; **J/3.** (Aram. *Šlmn ṯh⁴[sr]*, *ḥ* mistake for *b*), s. of Šamaš-aha-ušur, br. of Nergal-šarra-ušur, co-seller of slaves with two stamp seal impressions apparently belonging to both; **1.** DINGIR-*i*-BA (hardly Ilu-iqīša as cautiously suggested by Radner, BATSH 6, 91 *ad loc.* as <-i-ba-> may be the outcome of /yahab(a)/ with *ya-* > *i-*) = Aram. ⁴*lyhb* (WSem.), an old (*parsumu* = *paršumu*) slave sold (see Radner, BATSH 6, 91 *ad loc.*); the same text has ⁴*ṯhrsršr* for ^dMAŠ.MAŠ—MAN—PAP (BATSH 6, 91); **A/2.** buyer of two old slaves for 0.5 mina of silver; **2.** *Mannu-šallim* (Akk.; Aram. *M[n]šl⁴m⁴*), an old slave of *Iyahab* (who himself was slave of Nergal-šarra-ušur and Salmānu-aba-ušur), sold (together with his master, see Baker, PNA 2, 701a); **B/4**, 1st w.; **N/5**, 2nd w.; **E/1**, 3rd w.; **N/3**, 4th w.; **N/4**, 5th w.; **3.** ⁴*xx⁴[xx]* (dam-

4. See Röllig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 89 *ad loc.* Cf. perhaps ID.HAR—DINGIR-A+A (Radner, BATSH 6, 40 *ad loc.*, 5 does not compare it, cf. 256).

aged), 6th w.; 4. [xxxx] (broken), 7th w.; N/6. (*Ninūrta*-[xx] (damaged Akk.), scribe, 8th w.; 5. *Šamaš-balliṭ* s. of Mannu-emūqi-la-ili (C/15, Akk.-WSem.), 9th w.

P. BATSH 6, 55 (13.XII. 640 BCE): 1. *Ra-pa-*' (Aram. *Rp*' , WSem.) s. of Adad-ṭāb (Aram. *By*'),⁵ seller of a field of one homer on the other bank (of the river) adjacent to 2. 'Ma'-x[xxx], 3. ^d[xxx] and 4. x[xxxx] (all damaged), with a cylinder seal impression; A.2, buyer of field for 0.5 mina of silver; C/13, 1st w.; 5. *Ēreš-Issār*, s. of *Ha-ma-d[i]* (W Sem.), 2nd w.; 6. *Nabû-aha-ušur* s. of *Da-ta-n[i]* (WSem.), 3rd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 802b, s.v. ~, 24); 7. *Apladad-nādin* (Akk.), 4th w.; M/9 s. of Saiāni (WSem.), 5th w.; 8. *Salmānu-aha-iddina* s. of Sa'īlu (WSem.; = F/13?), 6th w.; 9. *Šamaš-šarra-ušur* (Akk.) s. of ^d[xxx], 7th w.; 10. *Nādin-Mullissu* (Akk.) s. of ^d[xxx], 8th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 919b); N/4, 9th w.; 11. *Nabû-šuma-ušur* (Akk.), 10th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 892b, s.v. ~, 11).

Q. BATSH 6, 56 (1.VIII.637 BCE): <1. 'A'-tu-ú-ti (Aram. 'tl[...], perhaps mistake for 'tt, see Röllig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 94) s. of Kummāyu, i.e. gent. of Kumme (Hurro-Urartian), from Hindānu (gent. [hi]-in-da-na-A+A), seller of female slaves (with three stamp seal impressions); 2. ^f[m]a-[xx(x)] (damaged), mother of [^fxxx(x)], female slave sold; 3. [^fxxx(x)] (broken), d. of ^f[m]a-[xx(x)], female slave sold;> A/2, buyer of two female slaves for one mina of silver; 4. *Ma*-[xx(x)] (damaged), 1st w.; 5. [xxx(x)] (broken), 2nd w.; 6. x[xxx(x)] (damaged), 3rd w.; 7. [xxx(x)] (broken), 4th w.; 8. *Mannu-kī*-^d[xx] (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 5th w.; 9. [xxx(x)] (broken), 6th w.; 10. [l̄]-*ba-rak* (W Sem.), 7th w.; 11. [xxx(x)] (broken), 8th w.; <12. *Nergal-sūru* (WSem.) from URU.*til bar-s[i-bi]*, 9th w.;> 13. [xx]-*ukīn* (damaged Akk.), 10th w.; 14. *Ia-di*-'^{il} (WSem.), 11th w.; <15. [xxx]-*me* (damaged) from Inu (gent. URU.*i-na-A+A*; 13, 14 are alternatively from there), 12th w.; 16. 'Zi-ta'-ni (WSem.), from URU.*l/m/n/šat-ta-ni*, 13th w.; 17. *Ṭāb-šarri* (Akk.), sheikh (LÚ*.*[n]a-si-ku*) from URU.*nin-na-zu-a*, 14th w.;> 18. *Hazāli* (W Sem. = H/7?), 15th w.; C/13, 16th w.; 19. *Bēl-tallatu-dammīq* (Akk.), 17th w.; M/12, 18th w.; A/5, 19th w.; 20. *Adad-ittan* (Akk.), 20th w.; <21. *Zi-im-ra-a* (WSem.), member of the royal corps from *Kip-š[u-n]i*, 21st w.;> 22. *Nabû-da''inanni* br. of Nabû-bal-liṭanni (Akk.), 3rd rider of [...], 22nd w.; 23. *Nabû-balliṭanni* br. of Nabû-da''inanni (Akk.; their paternal name is not indicated), 23rd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 808b, s.v. ~, 3); 24. *Ū-bu*-[...] (damaged), 24th w.; 25. *Nabû-ēṭir-naṣṣāti* (Akk.; same as the preceding whose designation is not preserved), 25th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 832a, s.v. ~, 12).

R. BATSH 6, 57 (20.XII.637 BCE): 1. *Me-hi-za-i* s. of *Na-sa-ri-a* (WSem.) and br. of Sa'ūlu, seller of a field of six seahs on a canal, but without access (no way, see Baker and Parpola, PNA 2, 746b); C/11. *Sa'ūlu* s. of Nasariya (WSem.) and br. of *Me-hi-za-i*,

5. Same individual as *Ra-pa-a* s. of Adad-ṭāb, 4th w. in BATSH 6, 29 from 643 (rather than 624) BCE (cf. P. Villard, PNA 3, 1032b, s.v. ~, 1; about sale of a field in Šušāru). The 5th witness is *Bi-i*-[xx].

co-seller of a field (with two stamp seal impressions apparently belonging to both sellers); **A/2**, buyer of a field for four shekels of silver; **C/2**, 1st w. (both are mentioned 25 years earlier in C, which is also a real estate transaction); **L/7**. *Nabû'a* (Akk.-WSem.), 2nd w.; **2**. *Šarru-nūri* (Akk.), 3rd w.; **C/13**, 4th w.; **3**. *Nabû-erība* (Akk.), 5th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 828b, s.v. ~, 33); **A/5**, s. of Mannu-kī-Arbail, 6th w.; **4**. *Aššur-bēl-agē* (Akk.), 7th w.; **5**. *Bēl-za-kar* (WSem.), 8th w.

S. BATSH 6, 58 (26.VI.636 BCE): **1**. *Iddin-ahhē* s. of Nusku-kēna-ušallim (Akk.), br. of **2**, **3**, seller (with a cylinder seal-impression) of a slave; **2**. [xxxx] s. of Nusku-kēna-ušallim (Akk.) br. of **1** and **3**. ^d[x]-šēzib (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of Nusku-kēna-ušallim br. of **1**, **2**, co-sellers of a slave; **4**. [A]-ia-el (WSem.), slave sold for 26 shekels of silver; **A/2**, buyer of a slave; **5**. [xxxx] (broken), 1st w.; **6**. [xxxx] (broken), 2nd w.; **7**. [xx]-Salmānu (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 3rd w.; **8**. [xxxx] (broken), 4th w.; **C/2**, 5th w.; **9**. [x]-ku-[xx] (damaged), 6th w.; **10**. [x]-Šamaš (damaged Akk.-WSem.) LÚ*. [xx], 7th w.; **11**. [xx]-a-[x] (damaged), 8th w.; **12**. [xxxx] (broken), 9th w.; **13**. ^d[xxx]x (damaged), 10th w.; **C/6**, 11th w.; **14**. *Dādi-na'di* (Akk.), scribe, 12th w.

T. BATSH 6, 59 (6.X.636 BCE): <**1**. *Ahi-sa-bir-ri* (WSem. < ^h-šbr) s. of Mušēzibī, seller of a female slave and owner of two stamp seal (impressions), from Kār-Salmānu ([LÚ*].*Kar*-^dDI-man-nu-A+A); **2**. ^f*Ha-pi-su* (WSem.), female slave sold for 15 shekels of silver; > **A/2**, buyer of a female slave; **3**. [xxxx] s. of Salmānu-nāšir (Akk.), 1st preserved w.; **E/1**, 2nd preserved w.; **C/13**, 3rd preserved w.; **A/5** (s. of Mannu-kī-Arbail), 4th preserved w.; **4**. *Mis-ra-a-ni* (non-Sem. or rather WSem. with the reading *šit/sit-*), 5th preserved w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 755b); **5**. *Nabû-bēl-šumāti* (Akk.), scribe, 6th preserved w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 814b, s.v. ~, 11).

U. BATSH 6, 60 (13.IX.635 BCE): **N/3** (Aram *Nšsršr*) s. of Šamaš-dēni-lāmur (Akk.), seller of a slave, with two stamp seal-impressions; **1**. *Nusku-iddina* (Akk.), slave sold for 30 shekels of silver (see Baker, PNA 2, 973a, s.v. ~, 1); **A/2**, buyer of a slave; **2**. *Šarru-[xx]* (damaged Akk.), 1st w.; **3**. [xxx(x)] (broken), 2nd w.; **4**. *Nergal-šuma-iddina* (Akk.), s. of Ubru-Nabû and br. of **C/2**, 3rd preserved w.; **C/2**. *Ahu-ittabši* s. of Ubru-Nabû and br. of **4**, 4th preserved w.; **N/4**, 5th preserved w.; **5**. *Mannu-kī-Ninua* (Akk.-WSem.), 6th preserved w.; **6**. *Šarru-na'id* (Akk.), 7th preserved w.; **7**. *Mušēzib-Issār* (Akk.), 8th preserved w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 780a, s.v. ~, 2); **8**. *Taia* (Akk.-WSem., atyp.), 9th preserved w.; **J/3**, 10th preserved w.

V. BATSH 6, 61 (635 BCE): **1**. *Tar-[xxx]* (damaged), seller of a female slave (her name is lost); **2**. [xxxx] (broken), co-seller of a female slave (1, 2 may be brothers as the latter's name is followed by a long break, where the filiation might have been); **A/2**, buyer of a female slave for [x minas/shekels] of silver; **3**. *Gizā[nu]* (damaged WSem.), merchant, 1st w.; **A/11**. *Mannu-k[ī-Arbail]*, 2nd preserved w.; **4**. *Bēl-x[xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 3rd preserved w.; **5**. *Ka-k[u-su]* (damaged Akk.), 4th preserved w.;

6. *Daqa*[xx] (damaged), 5th preserved w.; C/18. *Huzā*[lu] (Akk.), 6th preserved w.; 7. *Salmānu*-[xx] (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 7th preserved w.; 8. *Ši-me-ka*-[xx] (damaged WSem.), 8th preserved w.; C/13, 9th preserved w.

W. BATSH 6, 62 (VIII.634 BCE): 1. *Būru-abū`a* (Akk.), seller of a female slave, owner of a cylinder seal (impression). Does Aram. *byt`dl*[...] refer to the seller's domicile?; A/2, royal intimate, buyer of a female slave, with fine of two minas of gold to Adad in case of breach; 2. ^f*A-ha-ta* (Akk.-WSem.), female slave sold for ten shekels of silver (according to the mina of Karkemish); 3. *Adad-kabti-ilāni* priest, br. of Rahīm-il (WSem.), 1st w.; 4. *Rahīm-il* (WSem.) br. of 3, 2nd w. (= the archive owner of BATSH 6, 107–110 from the same findspot, cf. P. Villard, PNA 3, 1030a, s.v. ~, 2); H/9. In charge of the town (*ša muhhi āli*), 3rd w.; 5. [x(x)]-*uṣur* (damaged Akk.), s. of Būru-šuma-iddina, 4th w.; 6. [xx]-*A+A* s. of Būru-upahhir (Akk.), 5th w.; 7. [...] -*uṣur* s. of Ab-di-Būru (WSem.), 6th w.; 8. [x(x)]-*Adad* s. of Ēreš-Adad (Akk.), 7th w.; 9. [x(x)]-*ibni* s. of *Ab-di-^dāš-tar* (WSem.), 8th w.; 10. [A?]-*rih* (cf. C'/6?) s. of Dayyānu (*Da-A-<+A>-an*, Akk.-WSem.), 9th w.; 11. [*Taba?*] *lāyu* s. of Adad-dūr-pāniya (Akk.), 10th w.; B/4, 11th w.; C/13, 12th w.; A/5. Šamšiya, 13th w.; I/11, 14th w.; U/7, 15th w.; 12. *Adda-ra-pa-*' (WSem.) s. of Tāb-[x(x)], 16th w.

X. BATSH 6, 63 (X. 634 BCE): 1. *Halamūsu* (Aram. *Hlmw`s*'), i.e. with NA <s> for foreign /s/) s. of Qūpānu (WSem.), seller of a female slave, owner of a cylinder seal (impression, see Baker, PNA 2, 441a); 2. ^f*Nu-ū-ra-ah* (Aram. *Nwrh*, in view of the Akkadian spelling -*h* is hardly a *mater lectionis* as understood by Röellig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 101 *ad loc.*; poss. **Nūrah* < **Nūraha* < **Nūrahā*, "her light" as in later Aram.), female slave sold for 13 shekels of silver (see Baker, PNA 2, 967f.); A/2, [royal intimate], buyer of a female slave; C/13, 1st w.; J/3, 2nd w.; 3. *Šu-nu-ahhē-ia* (Akk.), 3rd w. (cf. BATSH 6, 128); 4. *Šamaš-tab*[šī] (Akk.), 4th w.; 5. *Ka-ku-s*[u] (Akk.), 5th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 597b, s.v. ~, 6); 6. *Pa-he-^re`-ni* (non-Sem.), 6th w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 979b); 7. *Ahhē-mil*-[ki] (Akk.-WSem.), 7th w.; 8. *Salmānu-aba-da`in* (Akk.), 8th w. (see Radner, PNA 3, 1071a); 9. *Šamaš-nādin-ahi* (Akk.), 9th w.; 10. *Ilūšu-nādin-rēmani* (Akk.), 10th w.; U/7, 11th w.; 11. *Ur-ga-a-ni* (WSem. or non-Sem.; Parpola *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 101 *ad loc.* < Akk. *Urkānu*, but so far only *nk* > *ng*, not *rk* > *rg* is recorded in NA), 12th w.

Y. BATSH 6, 64 (I.XII.634 BCE): W/4 (s. of Šamši-abi), seller of a female slave (cf. BATSH 6, 62 where he acts as the 2nd w.); 1. *Adad-tabni-uṣur* (Akk.) s. of U(for Adda?)-*ku-nu* (or to Arab. *wakn*, "refuge"?), co-seller of a female slave; there are two impressions, one of a stamp seal and the other of a cylinder one — which is which?; 2. ^f*Gu-ra-ra-te* (WSem.), female slave sold for 0.5 mina of silver according to the mina of Karkemish; A/2. royal intimate, buyer of a female slave; in case of breach the sellers will pay a fine of two minas of gold to Adad; in addition the sellers will have to pay the

buyer himself two minas of silver (four times the price); **3.** *Sa-al-te-èl* (WSem.) chariot driver, 1st w. (see R. Jas, PNA 3, 1058a, s.v. ~, 6f.); **4.** *Adad-rē`ani* s. of (N)inūrta-ahiddina (Akk.), 2nd w.; **5.** *Kalbu* s. of Adad-bān-ilāni (Akk.), 3rd w.; **6.** *Adda-ha-di-lu* (WSem.) s. of *Se-`šarri*, 4th w.; **7.** *Šuklulu* s. of Mušallim-Adad (Akk.), 5th w.; **8.** *Adad-aha-iddina* s. of Dādi-rāmu (WSem.), 6th w.; **9.** *Qūtī-Aššur* (Akk.) s. of [x-b]i-a, 7th w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1016b, s.v. ~, 2); **C/13**, 8th w.; **B/4**, 9th w.; **A/5.** *Šamšiya*, 10th w.

Z. BATSH 6, 65 (5.X.632 BCE): **1.** *Id-ra-u-nu* (with <Ca-u> for WSem. /ō /, cf. Schwemer, PNA 1, 48a, s.v. *Adda-lūkidi* with lit.) s. of Tūru-balte (WSem.), seller of a female slave, with three stamp seal impressions. For Aram. `pldy? s. of *Yxm/nn[...]*, which has no parallel in the NA text, see Röllig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 105 *ad loc.*; **2.** ^{fd}*Ha-di-me-ri* (poss. WSem. <*`Aḫ-dimrī with aphaeresis of the theophorous element and anaptyxis of the predicative one), female slave sold for 30 shekels of silver; **3.** *Apladad-da`in* (Akk.), prefect/foreman (*šaknu*), 1st w.; **4.** *Nabû`a* (Akk.-WSem.), tracker (*rād kibsi*), 2nd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 889b, s.v. ~, 21); **5.** *Aššur-na`id* (Akk.), tracker, 3rd w.; **6.** *Nabû-šuma-iškun* (Akk.), tracker, 4th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 791b, s.v. ~, 76); **7.** *Adda-la-a-di* (WSem.) s. of *Salmānu-hi-pi* (WSem.? or does *-hi-pi* stand for Akk. “broken”, i.e. the deed is a copy?), 5th w.; **8.** *Ba-hi-ia-a-nu* (WSem.) s. of *Salmānu-ma*, 6th w.; **9.** *Ni-ú-a-ri* (non-Sem.?), 7th w.; **10.** *Ku-re-e-nu* (Iran.), 8th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 640b; Zadok 2004, 101); **11.** *Ha-li-il* s. of *Ku-u-mu-ri-i`* (WSem.), 9th w.; **12.** `xxx` s. of *Qu-za-a* (WSem.), 10th w.; **13.** *Adda-ba-hi-ri* s. of *Nu-hu-ru* (W Sem.), 11th w.; **B/4**, 12th w.; **C/13**, 13th w.; **A/5**, 14th w.; **E/1**, 15th w.; **U/7**, 16th w.; **14.** *Ta-a-li* (WSem.), 17th w.; **15.** *Apladad-aba-ušur* (Akk.), 18th w.; **16.** *Adad-aba-da`in* (Akk.), 19th w.; <**17.** *Sah-dan* (*Sah-KALAG-an*, Kass.? or WSem. **Sa`dān*?) from KUR.*qu-ra-šú-te*, 20th w. [= Xenophon’s *Anab.* 1, 5, 4 Κορσωτή, or *Kid-dín*? see Radner BATSH 6, 105 *ad loc.*; for the GN see Kessler 2003 and Zadok 2003]>.

A’. BATSH 6, 66 (concentration of *Būru*-names points to Hindānu; XII.632 BCE): **1.** *Būru-ra-pa-`* (Aram. *Prp`*; WSem.) s. of *Būru-aha-iddina* (cf. Aram. *lpr`*?), seller of female slaves, with a cylinder seal impression; **2.** ^f*Be/bat-tú`-za-ti* (Aram. *B?*[...]; non-Sem.), female slave sold (together with her anonymous female infant) for 0.5 mina of silver; **A/2.** royal intimate, buyer of female slaves; **3.** *Nergal-zēra-iddina* s. of Urdi-Issar (Akk.), 1st w. (2nd w. after **A/2** and before the chariot driver Massāyu in BATSH 6, 8, see K. Åkerman, PNA 2, 959a, s.v. ~, 1); **4.** (N)inūrta-aha-ušur (Akk.), priest, 2nd w.; **5.** *Hi-<in>-dan-na-A+A* s. of Adad-balliṭ (Akk.), 3rd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 472b); **6.** *Būru-aha-iddina* s. of *Būru-nādin-ahhē*, 4th w.; **7.** *Adda-hata* (WSem.) s. of *Būru-aha-iddina*, gs. of *Būru-nādin-ahhē*, 5th w.; **8.** *Būru-salim* s. of Ēreš-Adad (Akk.), 6th w. (perhaps the same individual as *Būru-sa[lim]*, seller of a female slave from 630 BCE, BATSH 6, 19); **Y/4.** 7th w.; **9.** *Na-ni-ia* s. of *Sa-du-ú* (WSem.), 8th w. (see Baker, PNA

2, 928a, s.v. ~, 5); **10.** ^dŠe-rù-tallaktu (Akk.), merchant or commercial agent (*tamkāru*), 9th w.

B'. BATSH 6, 67 (possibly 632 BCE): **1.** [xxxx] s. of x[xx]x-ummi (damaged Akk.-WSem.), gave his slave as compensation (with a damaged seal impression); **2.** *Salmānu-idrī* (WSem.), slave delivered; **A/2**, recipient of slave as compensation; **3.** [xx(x)]-Nabû (damaged Akk.-WSem.), scribe, 1st w.; **N/6**, 2nd w.; **4.** [xxx]-ti (damaged), 3rd w.; **<5.** [xxx]x-ra (damaged) from [Kapar?-xx]-iddina, 4th w.; **> B/4**, 5th w.; **6.** *Nabû-aha-iddina* (Akk.) scribe, 6th w.; **7.** *Ìl-tu-hu* (poss. Aram. "his goddess"), 7th w.; **8.** *Ra-hi-me* (WSem.), 8th w. Baker (PNA 3, 1029a, s.v. ~, 3) proposes to identify him with his namesake s. of Didî from 636 BCE (BATSH 6, 144); **9.** *Nabû-šuma-iddina* (Akk.), 9th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 887b, s.v. ~, 44); **E/3**, 10th w.; **U/5**, 11th w.; **10.** *Adda-sa-ka-ni* (WSem.), 12th w.; **J/8.** *Sa-na-*' (WSem.), 13th w.; **U/7**, 14th w.; **C/13.** [Iddin]-ahhē, 15th w.

C'. BATSH 6, 68 (10.VII.630 BCE): **1.** *Qi-qi-ni* (Akk.-WSem., atyp. or non-Sem.), debtor (0.5 mina of silver, see Baker, PNA 3, 1015a); the two impressions of a stamp seal are presumably of the debtor; **A/2**, creditor; **2.** *Dādī* (Akk.-WSem., atyp.), royal intimate, 1st w.; **3.** *In-du-ú* (non-Sem.), merchant or commercial agent, 2nd w.; **B'/9** s. of Nabû-iqīša (with paternal name in order to distinguish him from his namesake in the same deed, viz. 8), 3rd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 543b, s.v. ~, 2); **4.** *Nusku-šarra-iddina* (Akk.), horseman (horse trainer) of the military governor (*rab mu-gi*), 4th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 974b); **5.** *Šamaš-šuma-ēreš* (Akk.), 5th w.; **6.** *A-ri-hi* (Akk.-WSem.), 6th w.; **7.** *Apladad-dūrī* (Akk.-WSem.), 7th w.; **8.** *Nabû-šuma-iddina* (Akk.), scribe, 8th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 887b, s.v. ~, 45).

D'. BATSH 6, 31 (14.XI.630 BCE): **1.** *Huzīru* (Akk.) s. of Adi-sukki-ilāni, seller (with an indistinct seal) of a house (with small cattle) which is blocked by the house of **2;** **2.** *Nergal-na'id* (Akk.), neighbour; **A/2**, buyer (price: five shekels of silver); **E/4**, 1st w.; **Z/3**, 2nd w.; **C/13**, 3rd w.; **3.** *Sagīb-[xx]* (damaged WSem.), 4th w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1062a, s.v. ~, 1); **4.** *Ēr[e]š-[xx]* (damaged Akk.), 5th w.; **5.** *Bēl-[xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 6th w.; **6.** *Na[bū]-ahV-[x]* (damaged Akk.), 7th w.; **N/3.** *N[us]ku-šarra-[uṣur]*, 8th w.

E'. BATSH 6, 69 (date lost, after 634 BCE; the sellers 1, 2 are explicitly from Dūr-Katlimmu, there are three impressions of stamp seals): **1.** [xxx]-nu (damaged), seller of female slaves; **2.** [xxx]-šarra-uṣur (damaged Akk.), co-seller of female slaves; **3.** ^f*Ur-[kit-tú?-x(x)]* (damaged Akk.), female slave sold; **4.** ^f*Ma-sa-ma-a* (WSem.), female slave sold (see Baker and Parpola, PNA 2, 743a); **A/2**, royal intimate, buyer of two female slaves for one mina of silver; with fine of five minas of gold and [ten?] minas of silver to Salmānu of Dūr-Katlimmu in case of breach; **5.** *Mannu-kī-Ninua* (Akk.-WSem.), s. of Ukkāyu (= **U/5?** Baker, PNA 2, 696b, s.v. ~, 19, erroneously lists **U/5** with the same pa-

ternal name), 1st w.; **6.** *Nergal-šarra-ušur* (Akk.) s. of Salmānu-aha-ušur, 2nd w.; **E/7**, s. of Salmānu-ēreš, 3rd w.; **7.** *Babu-šaddū'a* (Akk.), royal horseman (horse trainer), 4th w.; **8.** *Ilu-mār-šarri-ēpuš* s. of Šarru-nāšir (Akk.), 5th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 532a); **9.** [xxx]x (damaged), tracker, 6th w.; **10.** *Sîn-na'id* (Akk.) s. of [xxx]-a, 7th w. Baker (PNA 3, 1137b, s.v. ~, 23) suggests to identify him with the homonymous third rider in BATSH 6, 2; **11.** *Nabû-aḫu-[xxx]* (damaged Akk.), 8th w.; **12.** *Pa-šu-šu* (Akk. or Akk.-WSem. atyp.), 9th w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 992b); **13.** *Adad/Adda-x[xx]x* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 10th w.; **14.** 'xx'[x] (damaged), 11th w.; **E/1**, 12th w.; **15.** [xxxx]x (damaged), 13th w.; **C/13**, 14th w.; **16.** [xxxxx]x (damaged), 15th w.; **17.** [xxxx]x (damaged), 16th w.; **18.** *Urđi-[x(x)]* (damaged Akk.), 17th w.; **19.** *Ahi-sa-lam* (WSem.), 18th w.

F'. BATSH 6, 70 (date lost, after 634 BCE): <**1.** *Rapi-Adda* (WSem.) s. of [xx]-ukīn from [xx]dilašu, seller (with a stamp seal impression) of a field of [n] homer(s) with two houses, all in Dūr-Katlimmu (adjacent to a threshing floor and the royal highway), price: one mina of silver;> **2.** x[xx]-a-ni (damaged), neighbour; **3.** 'Ú?'-ga-ma-a (unexplained), neighbour; **4.** Ši-x₂-ia-a (damaged), neighbour (2-4 explicitly in Dūr-Katlimmu); **A/2**, buyer of a field; **5.** [xxx]-i (damaged), 1st w.; **6.** [^dx-š]immani (damaged Akk.), 2nd w.; **C/13**, 3rd w.; **7.** *Muballiṭ-Issār* (Akk.), 4th w.; **8.** [xx]-i-'u'-tú (damaged), 5th w.; **9.** [xxx]-iddina (damaged Akk.), 6th w.; **10.** [xxx]x (damaged), 7th w. (remainder broken away).

G'. BATSH 6, 71 (26.XII.623 BCE): <**1.** *Ia-di-'il* s. of *Sa-la-ma-ni* (WSem.; with a seal mentioned in the text), several servants of high officials placed a litigation against him (see Baker, PNA 2, 487a, s.v. ~, 6);> **2.** *Sa-gi-bi* (WSem.), servant of Šulmu-šarri, litigant (see Baker, PNA 3, 1061b, s.v. ~, 5); <**3.** *Īl-[x]-ú-a-ni* (damaged WSem.) and **4.** *G/Qur-da-ni* (WSem.), servants of 5, co-litigants; **5.** *Šalam-šarri-iqbi* (Akk.), royal eunuch (*ša-rēš šarri*), co-litigant (see M. Luukko, PNA 3, 1165a, s.v. ~, 15); **6.** *S[al-t]i-il* (WSem.), servant of the vizier, co-litigant>; **A/2**, owner of a village in the province of the chief cup-bearer (*rab-šaqē*); master of the litigant Sagību; **7.** [^dx]-šarra-ušur (damaged Akk.), 1st w.; **8.** *Šarru-ēmuranni* (Akk.), 2nd w.; <**9.** *Didi* (Akk.-WSem., atyp.), 3rd w.;> **10.** *Am-ma-ni* (WSem.), 4th w.; <**11.** *Nūr-Issar* (Akk.-WSem.), 5th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 970a, s.v. ~, 5); **12.** *Urđi-Banītu* (Akk.), 6th w.;> **13.** *Sîn-šarra-ušur* s. of *Attu-šú* (Akk. s. of non-Sem.), 7th w. (see Radner, PNA 3, 1147a, s.v. ~, 14); <**14.** *Ilu-ēpuš* (Akk.), 8th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 527b, s.v. ~, 2); **15.** *Adad-apla-ušur* s. of Šulmu-bēli (Akk.), 9th w.; **16.** *Gab-ba-ri-i* (WSem.), 10th w.; **17.** *Al-lu-[t]u* (Akk.-WSem.), 11th w.;> **18.** *Šamaš-tuklatū'a* (Akk.) servant of Šulmu-šarri, 12th w.; <**19.** [xx]x.MEŠ (damaged), 13th w.; **20.** [xx]-ili (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 14th w.; **21.** [xx]-ki (damaged), 15th w.; **22.** *Dan-ili* (Akk.-WSem.), 16th w.>

H'. BATSH 6, 72 (642/638/632 BCE): **1.** *Ṭābu-ahhē* (Akk.-WSem.) s. of [xxx]rā, seller of his daughter (with two stamp seal impressions); **2.** ^f*Amat-Adad* (Akk.-WSem.),

d. of 1, three cubits, sold for 15 shekels of silver; **3.** *Za-ba₆-bēlet* (Akk.), buyer of a girl (presumably a relative of Šulmu-šarri, see Radner, BATSH 6, 115 *ad loc.*, or perhaps his dependent); **A/2.** Šulmu-šarri, related to the buyer as only he is mentioned in the clause about complaint of the seller; **4.** *A-tar-A+A* s. of *Ia-si-mu-u-ni* (WSem.), 1st w.; **5.** *Marduk-erība* s. of Šamšāni (Akk.-WSem.), 2nd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 716b, s.v. ~, 26); **<6.** *Mi-ta-ri* s. of *Né-eh-sa-a* (WSem.) from Kār-Salmānu, 3rd w.; **7.** *Tu-A+A* s. of *Li-mu-šú* (non-Sem.?) from URU.*Tar-he-e*, 4th w.; **8.** *Um(UD)-šu-namir* (Akk.) from Bēt-Aššur-lē`i, 5th w.; **>9.** [^dx-b]é-sun s. of Ahu-iqbi (Akk.), 6th w.

I'. BATSH 6, 99 (c. 640-636 BCE in view of the prosopographical connection with C, H, P, T above): **1.** [^dx]-šuma-ušur (damaged Akk.) s. of [^dx]-dēni-lāmur, seller (seal impression damaged and indistinct) of a female slave for ten shekels of silver; **2.** [^fxxx]-bi (damaged; perhaps Aram. Šlpy, provided it does not render NA še-la-pa-A+A, perhaps “architect”), female slave sold; **A/2,** buyer of a female slave; **3.** [xx]-šir (damaged), 1st preserved w. (same title as the preceding lost w.); **4.** [Aššu]r-bēl-da`in (Akk.), 2nd preserved w.; **H/7.** [Hu-z]a-lu₄, 3rd preserved w.; **5.** [xxx]-ušur (damaged Akk.), 4th preserved w.; **6.** [xxx(x)] (broken), 5th discernible w.; **P/5** (s. of [Ha-ma-di]), 6th preserved w.; **T/4.** [Mi]s/[š]i]t/[s]i]t-ra-<<ru>>-a-ni, 7th preserved w.; **7.** *Silim-Bēl* (Akk.), 8th preserved w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1110b); **8.** *Salmānu-na`id* s. of Mukīn-[x] (Akk.), 9th preserved w.; **T/5.** [Nabû]-bēl-šumāti, 10th preserved w.; **C/13,** 11th preserved w.; **9.** *Bēl-[ēmur]anni* (Akk.), 12th preserved w. (Huzālu and B. [H/7] recur in BATSH 6, 128, see Radner, BATSH 6, 140 *ad loc.*).

J'. BATSH 6, 103 (same scribe as V from 635 BCE according to Radner, BATSH 6, 143 *ad loc.*): **A/2.** [Šulmu-šarri presumably buyer, details lost]; **B/4.** *Nabû-mār-<šarri>-ušur*, 1st w.; **C/13,** 2nd w.; **A/5.** [Ša]mšī, 3rd w.; **<1.** [xxx]x (damaged) from [xxx], 4th w.; remainder broken away.

K'. BATSH 6, 97 (cf. Z above from 632 BCE, which has two common witnesses): **1.** [D]i-ha-ta-ri (WSem. or non-Sem.), seller (with a stamp seal impression) of a female slave with her female infant for 0.5 mina of silver; **2.** ^f*Pa-la-x[xx]* (damaged), female slave sold; **A/2,** buyer of a female slave with her anonymous female infant; **3.** *Nabû-[xx LÚ*.xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 1st preserved w.; **4.** [^dxxx LÚ*.xx] (damaged), 2nd preserved w.; **Z/13,** [LÚ*.xx], 3rd preserved w.; **5.** [A]₁b₂-di-Būru (cf. BATSH 6, 62, damaged WSem., rather than [Qu]r-di~ which is not recorded), LÚ*. [xx], 4th preserved w.; **6.** *Adad-lāmur* (Akk.) s. of Adad-x[xx], 5th preserved w.; **7.** *Nanī* (Akk.-WSem. atyp.) s. of [xxx], 6th preserved w.; **8.** *Pi-ha-s[i]* (non-Sem.) s. of [xxx], 7th preserved w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 993); **9.** [Īl]-`pa`-a-di (WSem.) s. of [xxx], 8th preserved w.; **10.** *Apl[adad]-aha-[erība]* (damaged Akk.), 9th preserved w.; **Z/8.** *Bahiānu* (WSem.), 10th preserved w.; **11.** *Adad-ba-[ni]* (Akk.), 11th preserved w.; **12.** *Apladad-[xx(x)]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 12th preserved w.; **13.** [xxx] (broken), 13th discernible w.

L'. BATSH 6, 73: 1. *Ta-da-la-^ra'* (WSem.), [LÚ*.xx], seller of a magazine (*bēt tal-pītu*) with its roof-beams and doors; **A/2**, buyer of a magazin for ten shekels of silver; 2. *Sal[mānu-xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 1st w.; 3. *Šamaš-ahV-[x]* (damaged Akk.), 2nd w.; **U/7**. *Mušēzib-[Issār]*, 3rd w.; 4. *Ēreš-[x(x)]* (damaged Akk.), 4th w.; 5. ^d[xxx(x)] (damaged) s. of *Da[xx(x)]*, 5th w.; 6. *Ēreš-[x(x)]* (damaged Akk.), 6th w.; 7. [xxx(x)] (broken), 7th w.; remainder broken away.

M'. BATSH 6, 74 (same scribe as V from 635 BCE according to BATSH 6, 117 *ad loc.*): **A/2**, buyer; seller, item and sum (in silver according to the mina of Karkemish) not preserved (the seller was perhaps a singer, cf. Röllig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 117 *ad loc.*); **C/13**, 1st w.; **B/4**, 2nd w.; 1. ^rx'[xxx] (damaged), 3rd w.; remainder broken away.

N'. BATSH 6, 75: <1. *Adad-dayyān* (Akk.) s. of Adad-aba-ušur (Akk.) and br. of 2 from Harran, seller of a slave; 2. *Adad-aba-iddina* (Akk.) s. of Adad-aba-ušur (Akk.) and br. of 1, co-seller of a slave (cylinder seal impression -belonging to both?). It is noteworthy that the father and his two sons have names with the same theophorous element; 3. *Īl-at-me* (Akk.-WSem.), Assyrian (perhaps from the city of Assur only if *Libbi-ālāyu* is not used exclusively for this denotation), slave sold by two Harranites in Dūr-Katlimmu for 30 shekels of silver;> **A/2**, buyer of a slave (remainder broken away).

O'. BATSH 6, 76: 1. *Haiā[nu]* (damaged WSem.), seller of a female slave; **A/2**, buyer of a female slave for one mina of silver of Karkemish; 2. ^d[xxx] (damaged), the only preserved w.

P'. BATSH 6, 77: 1. *Salmānu-šarra-ušur* (Akk.), seller (object lost); **A/2**, buyer for [x] shekels of silver; 2. [x(x)x]x[x] (damaged), 1st preserved w.; 3. [x(x)x]-x-Bēl (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 2nd preserved w.; 4. [x(x)x]x-bu (damaged), 3rd preserved w.; 5. [xxx]-ti (damaged), 4th preserved w.; 6. [xx(x)]-nādin (damaged Akk.), 5th preserved w.; 7. [xx(x)]-erība (damaged Akk.), 6th preserved w.; 8. [xx]-Nergal (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 7th preserved w.; 9. [xx(x)]-Bēl (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 8th preserved w.; 10. [xx(x)]-^ra' (damaged), 9th preserved w.; remainder broken away.

Q'. BATSH 6, 78: 1. *Ubri-Harrān* (Akk.), s. of [(x)x]-^d[x(x)], seller of a female slave (with a cylinder seal impression); 2. ^f*Ab/p-ra-si-ni* (WSem. or non-Sem.), female slave sold for 30 shekels of silver; **A/2**, buyer of a female slave; 3. *Adad-zēra-iddina* (Akk.), chief tracker (GAL LÚ.MEŠ [UŠ ki]b-si), 1st w.; 4. (*N*)*inūrta-aha-iddina* s. of Adad-mār-šarri-ušur (Akk.), 2nd w.; 5. *Būru-ušur* (Akk.), s. of Se-[^rx], 3rd w.; 6. *Būru-lāmur* s. of Adda-[h]a-ri (WSem.), 4th w.; 7. *Na'di-Adad* (Akk.) L[Ú.xx], 5th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 915b, s.v. ~, 2); 8. *Ahhē-(e)rība* (Akk.) s. of [xx(x)], 6th w.; 9. *Dādi-ēreš* (Akk.) s. of [xxx], 7th w.; 10. *A-qib-bi* (WSem.) s. of [xx(x)], 8th w.; 11. *Adad-šuma-iddina* (Akk.) s. of [xxx], 9th w. (remainder broken away).

R'. BATSH 6, 79: 1. *Ša-al-[la-a]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), seller of a slave (see M.C. Perroudon, PNA 3, 1167a, s.v. ~, 9); **A/2**, buyer of a slave; 2. *[xx]-Salmānu* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), slave sold for 12 shekels of silver.

S'. BATSH 6, 80: 1. *Dūr[i-xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.) perhaps br. of the co-sellers 2, 3, seller of a field of [x] homer(s) for 16 shekels of silver; 2. *[xxxx]* (broken), br.(?) of 1, 3, co-seller of a field; 3. *[xxxx]* (broken), br.(?) of 1, 2, co-seller of a field (there are two stamp seal impressions — to which one of the three does it belong?); 4. *[xx]-Nabû* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), neighbour; 5. *Erība-ahhē* (Akk.), neighbour; 6. *[xxx]* (broken), neighbour.

T'. BATSH 6, 81: **A/2**, buyer (details lost); 1. *ʿApladadʿ-ha-te* (WSem.), seller.

U'. BATSH 6, 82: **A/2**, purchased a female slave (the name of the seller is lost); 1. *[xxx(x)]* (broken), female slave sold.

V'. BATSH 6, 83: 1. *Issār-naʿid* s. of *Salmānu-aba-ušur* (Akk.; = **A/4?**), seller of a built house with roof-beams and doors for one mina of silver, with two seal impressions (see Baker, PNA 2, 574a, s.v. ~, 20); **A/2**, buyer of a built house; 2. [...] (broken) s. of *[xxx(x)]*, 1st discernible w.; 3. *[xx]x[x(x)]* (damaged), s. of *[x]ʿxʿ[x(x)]*, 2nd preserved w.; 4. *[xxx(x)]* s. of *[xxx(x)]* (broken), 3rd discernible w.; 5. *[xxx(x)]* s. of *[xxx(x)]* (broken), 4th discernible w.; 6. *[xxx(x)]* s. of *[x]-nādin-[x(x)]* (damaged Akk.), 5th preserved w.; 7. *Nergal-[x(x)]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of ^d*[xx(x)]*, 6th preserved w.

W'. BATSH 6, 84: **A/2**, buyer (details lost); all other names lost.

X'. BATSH 6, 85: **V'/1** s. of *Salmānu-aba-ušur*, seller of a female slave (with two stamp seal impressions; it is not reported whether they are identical with those of 83); 1. *ʿUrkiṭu-ilāʿi* (Akk.-WSem.), female slave sold for 0.5 mina of silver (size: 1.5 cubits); **A/2**, buyer of a female slave; 2. *Qur^{ur}-du* s. of *Še-em-k[a]ʿ* (WSem. or non-Sem.), 1st preserved w.; 3. *ʿxxxʿ* (damaged), 2nd preserved w. (remainder broken away).

Y'. BATSH 6, 86: 1. *Ha-an-šar-ru-ru* (WSem.) s. of *[xxxx]* and br. of *Ubri-Issar*, seller of a female slave; 2. *Ubri-Issār* br. of 1 (WSem.), co-seller (with a damaged and indistinct seal impression); 3. *[ʿxx]-i* (damaged), female slave sold for [x] mina(s) of silver; **A/2**. [royal intimate?] of the crown prince, buyer of a female slave; **C/13**, 1st w.; 4. *Nergal-šarra-ušur* (Akk.; = **N/1?**), 2nd w.; **P/9**, 3rd w.; 5. *Iddin-Seʿ* (Akk.), 4th w.; 6. *[A]b-na-a* (WSem.), 5th w.; 7. *[Ra]-ša-ap-A+A* (Akk.-WSem. gent.), 6th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 1034a, s.v. ~, 3); 8. *Bēl-Harrān-uballit* (Akk.), 7th w.; **T/1**. *[Ahi]-sibirri* (WSem.), 8th w.; 9. *ʿxʿ-na-ni* (damaged), 9th w.; 10. *[^dx]-ahhē-ušur* (damaged Akk.), 10th w.; remainder broken away.

Z'. BATSH 6, 87. Fine to Issar of Nineveh (ten minas of refined [$<$ “washed, cleaned”, *mesû*] silver and one mina of pure gold in case of breach); Radner, BATSH 6, 126 *ad loc.* asks whether this is an indication of Šulmu-šarri's connection with the royal court in Nineveh, but it may be that the worshipper of this deity is the other party whose

name is lost (date lost): **A/2**, buyer (details lost); **1**. *Ar-ba-a* (Akk.-WSem.), 1st preserved w.; **2**. [*Ki?*]*širanni* (Akk.), 2nd preserved w.; **3**. [*Aš*]*irâ* (damaged WSem.), 3rd preserved w.; **4**. [*x*]^r*x*^r-*ba-a-te* (damaged), 4th preserved w.; **5**. [*x-Z*]*ababa* (damaged Akk.), 5th preserved w.; **6**. [*xx*]-*a-nu* (damaged), 6th preserved w.; **7**. [*xxx*]*x-a* (damaged), 7th preserved w.

A''. **BATSH 6, 88**: <**1**. [*xxx(x)*] (broken = Aram. *Hdnghy* in the Aram. endorsement, in which case it would be Aram.?) s. of Adad-apla-[...] and br. of 2 from *Wr/d*[...], seller of a house and a garden (as well as, perhaps, a cistern, cf. Aram. *b'r'*? located in *Sa*-[*xx(x)*] and *A-si-hi*), for [*n* shekels/minas of silver]; **2**. *Ú-m*[*a-nu*] (Akk.) s. of Adad-apla-[...] (Akk.) and br. of 1, co-seller of a house and garden (one stamp seal impression is preserved); **3**. *Ha-la*-[*xx*] (perhaps = Aram. *Hly* on the same tablet) s. of *Būru-na-ta*-[*nu*] (WSem.) from URU.[*x*]-*da*-[*xx*] (cf. Röllig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 128 on the Aram. endorsement), co-seller of a house and garden;> **A/2**, buyer of a house and garden; **4**. ^d[*xxx*] (damaged) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 1st preserved w.; **C/13**. *Iddin-ahhē* [s. of Mannu-kī-Arbail], 2nd preserved w.; **5**. *Nusku-šarra-ušur* (damaged Akk.; = **N/3?**), 3rd preserved w.; **C'/3**. *In-du-ú* (non-Sem.) [merchant (or commercial agent)], 4th preserved w.; **6**. *Bēl-kakki-Gula* s. of [*xxx(x)*] (Akk.), 5th preserved w.; **7**. [*xx*]^r*x*^r[*(x)*] (damaged) s. of [*xxx*]*x*, 6th preserved w.; **8**. *Sa*[*lmānu-rēm*]*anni* s. of Adad-[*xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 7th preserved w. (see Radner, PNA 3, 1079b); **9**. *Aššur*-[*xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 8th preserved w.; **10**. ^d[*xxx(x)*] (damaged) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 9th preserved w.; **11**. *Na*[*xx(x)*] (damaged) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 10th preserved w.; **12**. *Ēreš*-[*xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 11th preserved w.; **13**. *Na*[*bū-xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 12th preserved w.; **14**. *Zērū*[*tī*] (Akk.), royal intimate, 13th preserved w.; <**15**. *Adad*-[*xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 14th preserved w., from KUR.[*xxx(x)*]; **16**. *Ha*-[*xx(x)*] (damaged), 15th preserved w., from KUR.[*xxx(x)*]; **17**. *Iddin*-[*xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 16th preserved w., from KUR.[*xxx(x)*]; **18**. *Adad*-[*xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 17th preserved w., from KUR.[*xxx(x)*];> **19**. *Aḫu*-[*xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.-WSem.) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 18th preserved w.; **20**. U[RU*xxx*] (damaged, presumably a gentilic or a deified toponym) s. of [*xxx(x)*], 19th preserved w.

B'' **BATSH 6, 89**: <**1**. *Ú*-[*xx*] (damaged), s. of Bābānu (Akk.) and br. of Bēl-rēši-išši (Akk.), from Itu (^rURU.^r*I-ta-A*+^r*A*), seller of a female slave (price not preserved); **2**. *Bēl-rēši-išši* s. of Bābānu and br. of 1, co-seller of a female slave (a cylinder seal impression is preserved); **3**. ^f*Ta*-[*xxx*] (damaged), female slave sold; > **A/2**, buyer of a female slave; <**4**. *Aššur-na'id* (Akk.), governor (*šaknu*) of URU.[*su-ú-hu* (rather than *la-qé-e*)], 1st w.; **5**. Adad-bēl-šimāti, governor of KUR.*ha-ta-li*, 2nd w.;> **6**. *Sa-ku-mu-na-ba-A*+*A* (Akk.-WSem. gent.), 3rd w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1068b); **7**. *Na-lu-ú* (WSem. or non-Sem.), 4th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 923a); **8**. *Nabū'a* (Akk.-WSem.), bird catcher,

5th w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 791b, s.v. ~, 75); **9.** *Ahu-iddina* (Akk.), tracker, 6th w.; **I/11.** *Mudammiq-amat-šarri* (Akk.), 7th preserved w.; **10.** *Šēpē-[x(x)]* (damaged Akk.), 8th preserved w.; **11.** *[x(x)x]x-ili* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 9th preserved w.; **12.** *Salmānu-[xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 10th preserved w.

C'. **BATSH 6, 90:** <**1.** *Aššur-nādin-ahhē* (Akk.) s. of [^dx(x)]-ibni, chariot driver of the governor of Zamua, seller of a female slave for one mina of silver (Karkemish), with three stamp seal impressions; **2.** ^f*Ti-ta-A+A* (Akk.-WSem. gent.), female slave sold; >**A/2,** buyer of a female slave; with a fine of five minas of silver and one mina of gold allegedly to Salmānu who resides in Dūr-Katlimmu (in case of breach; the reading of the theonym and the toponym is very doubtful, the more so since the fine is generally to be paid by the seller [cf. BATSH 6, 69], who was not from Dūr-Katlimmu); **3.** *[xxx(x)]* (broken), 1st w.; **4.** *[xxx(x)]* (broken), 2nd w.; **A''/14.** *Zērūtī* (Akk.), royal intimate, 3rd preserved w.; **5.** *Nab/Qib(or SUM!)-ni-ahhē* (= **C/13?** WSem. or Akk., see Radner, BATSH 6, 131 *ad loc.*), 4th preserved w.; **6.** *[xxx(x)]* (broken), 5th discernible w.

D'. **BATSH 6, 91:** **1.** *Ak-bar* (WSem.) s. of Bēl-rība, seller of a female slave and her male infant for 20 shekels of silver, with two stamp seal impressions; **2.** ^f*A-ha-ta* (Akk.-WSem.), female slave sold; **A/2,** buyer of slaves; **3.** *[xxx(x)]* (broken), 1st w.; **E/1.** *Nabû-šarra-ušur* s. of Adad-aba-ušur (Akk.), 2nd w.; **4.** *Nabû-šarra-ibni* (Akk.) s. of Šamaš-[x(x)], 3rd w. (see Baker, PNA 2, 874a, s.v. ~, 2); **5.** *Aššur-bāni-ahhē* (Akk.) s. of Adad-[x(x)], 4th w.; **Y'/6.** *Ab-na-a* s. of A-[xx(x)], 5th w.; **A/5** s. of [Mannu-kī-Arbail], 6th w.; **C/13** s. of Mannu-kī-Arbail, 7th w.; **6.** *Issār-nādin-ahi* s. of Adda-idrī (WSem.), 8th w.; **7.** *Urđi-Issār* (Akk.) s. of [xxx(x)], 9th w.; **8.** *Litar-[x(x)]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 10th w.; **G'/2.** *Sa-gi-b[i]*, 11th w.; **9.** *[I]s-gu-zu-[x(x)]* (damaged non-Sem., perhaps Scythian⁶), 12th w.; **10.** *Bēl-dūrī* (Akk.-WSem.), 13th w. (remainder broken away).

E'. **BATSH 6, 92:** **1.** *A+A-[xx]* (damaged), seller of a female slave for two minas of silver; **A/2,** buyer of a female slave; [**A/5** s. of] *Mannu-[kī-Arbail]*, 1st preserved w.; **E/3,** 2nd preserved w.; **2.** *Iqbi-ana-šarri* (Akk.), 3rd preserved w.; **3.** *Sa-bu-Dādi* (WSem.), 4th preserved w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1058b); **4.** *Mannu-kī-ummi* (Akk.-WSem.), 5th preserved w.; **5.** *Za-za-ia* (Akk.-WSem. atyp.), 6th preserved w.; **6.** *Nabû-ahu-lēšir* (Akk.), 7th preserved w.; **C/13,** 8th preserved w.; **7.** *[xx(x)]-ukīn* (damaged Akk.), 9th preserved w.; **8.** *Adda-r[a]-me* (WSem.), 10th preserved w.; **9.** *[x]x[xx]* (damaged), 11th preserved w. (remainder broken away).

F'. **BATSH 6, 93:** **C/2.** *Ahu-ittabši* (Aram. *Hy[...]*) s. of Ubri-Nabû and br. of **U/4,** seller of an irrigated and tax-exempted field of [*n*] homer(s) in *Dūr-^dli-[x]-^rA'+A*, adjacent to a canal, the settlement of *Dūr-kuš-ši-a*, the estates (sg. *bētu*) of Šēpē-Nabû, the

6. Cf. the gentilic *As/Iš-gu-za-A+A*, *As-ku-[za]-A+A*, *Iš-ku-za-A+A*, "Scythian(s)" (Parpola 1970, 178, s.v. *Iškuza*).

settlement of *Ha-ṭal-li* (or *Ha-ri-ši*), (the property of) Zēru-ukīn and (the property of) Iglānu, sold for four minas and ten shekels of silver; **U/4**, s. of Ubri-Nabû (Akk.) and br. of **C/2**, co-seller of a field (both are described as seal owners; one damaged and indistinct seal-impression is discernible); <**1**. Šēpē-Nabû (Akk.); **2**. Zēru-ukīn (Akk.); **3**. *Ig-la-a-ni* (WSem.; 1-3 neighbours); > **A/2**, buyer of a field; <**4**. [xx(x)]-Nabû (damaged Akk.-WSem.) governor/prefect (*šaknu*, presumably of the settlement where the field was located), 1st w. (apparently a ranked witnesses list); **5**. [xx(x)]-Aššur (damaged Akk.-WSem.), from URU.<...> (same settlement as the following w.), 2nd w.; **6**. [xx(x)] (broken) from URU.<...> (same settlement as the preceding w.), 3rd w.; > **7**. [x(x)x]-mu-[x]-tu (damaged), 4th w.; **8**. [xxxx]x (damaged), 5th w.; **9**. [xxx]teabte (damaged), 6th w.; **10**. [xxx]x-ra (damaged), 7th w.; **11**. [xxx] (broken), w., 8th w.; **B/4**, 9th w.; **12**. [xxx]x'xx' (damaged), 10th w. (remainder broken away).

G''. **BATSH 6, 94**: **1**. *Nabû-nādin-ahhē* (Akk.) s. of Mukīn-Salmānu (Akk.) and br. of **2**, seller of a field of two seahs adjacent to (the property of) **3** (for nine shekels of silver, see Baker, PNA 2, 850a, s.v. ~, 20); **2**. *Salmānu-nādin* (Akk.) s. of Mukīn-Salmānu (paternal name = Aram. 'bršlmn, i.e. Ubru-Salmānu? see Röllig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 136 *ad loc.*) and br. of **1**, co-seller of a field; **3**. *Apladad-nādin-apli* (Akk.), neighbour; **A/2**, buyer of a field; **4**. [xxx(x)] (broken), 1st discernible w.; **5**. [xxx(x)] (broken), 2nd discernible w.; **6**. [xxx(x)] (broken), 3rd discernible w.; **7**. [xxx(x)] (broken), 4th discernible w.; **8**. [xxx(x)] (broken), 5th discernible w.

H''. **BATSH 6, 95** (for **2**, **5** see Baker, PNA 2, 933a, s.v. ~, 3, 4): **A/2**, buyer of a slave (seller and name of slave not preserved) for 32 shekels of silver; **1**. *Sa-gi-bi-i* (WSem.), royal intimate, 1st w. (circle of Šulmu-šarri, ranked, also in BATSH 6, 109 from 661 BCE, see Radner, BATSH 6, 137 *ad loc.*); **2**. *Nashira-ili* (Akk.), eunuch, 2nd w.; **A/3**. *Dādi-ila'i*, horseman, 3rd w.; **3**. *Ilu-nādin-apli* (Akk.), merchant or commercial agent, 4th w.; **4**. *Urđi-Marduk* (Akk., followed by damaged signs, presumably either his title or his paternal name), 5th w.; **H/7** (*Huzālu* s. of [Bu-ru-qu]), 6th w.; **5**. *Nashira-ili* (Akk.), in charge of the town (? LÚ*.šá-U[GU-URU?]), 7th w.; **6**. *Ši-ša-a-nu* (WSem.) s. of [xxx], 8th w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1177a); **7**. *Aššur-ši'i* L[Ú*.xx(x)] (Akk.), 9th w.; **A''/14**. *Zēr-[u-ti-i]*, royal intimate, 10th w.; **8**. [x]xx[xxx] (damaged), 11th preserved w.; **9**. *Kitturrī* (KI.DUR-i, Akk.), priest, 12th preserved w.; **C'/3**. *In-du-ú*, merchant (or commercial agent), 13th preserved w.; **10**. 'ITU-[x-A+A] (damaged Akk.), 14th preserved w.

I''. **BATSH 6, 96**: **1**. ^{fd}*Na-[na-a-xx]* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), female slave sold together with another female slave for one mina of silver (of Karkemish; by two sellers whose names as well as that of the first female slave, are lost); **A/2**, buyer of female slaves; **2**. [z]r?nm (damaged).

J''. **BATSH 6, 98**: **1**. *A-x[xxx]* (damaged), seller (details of sale document lost); **A/2**, buyer.

K'. **BATSH 6, 100:** 1. [xxxx] (broken), seller of slaves (details lost); **A/2.** [Šulmu-šarri], buyer of slaves; **E/1,** 1st w.; **C/13,** 2nd w.; 2. [x]^rx^r[xx] (damaged), 3rd w.; 3. [x]^rx^r[xx] (damaged), 4th w. (remainder broken away).

L'. **BATSH 6, 101:** **A/2.** [Šulmu-šarri] buyer (perhaps of slaves, seller and other details not preserved); **E/1.** s. of Adad-da''in, 1st w.; **C/13,** s. of Mannu-kī-Ar[bail], 2nd w.; 1. *Salmānu-ēreš* (Akk.) s. of Dādī, 3rd w. (see Radner, PNA 3, 1078a, s.v. ~, 2f.); **N/3,** 4th w.; 2. [xxx] s. of Ilu-dan (Akk.), 5th w.; [**M/1, 2 or 3**], s. of [Š]amaš-dēni-lā[mur], 6th w. (remainder broken away).

M'. **BATSH 6, 102:** **A/2.** [Šulmu-šarri] presumably buyer, details lost]; 1. [B]a-bal-u-a (WSem.), 1st w.; **B/4,** 2nd w.; **C/13,** 3rd w.; 2. [xx(x)]ū'a (damaged), 4th w.; 3. [xx(x)]-*Issār* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 5th w.; 4. [xxxx]x (damaged), 6th w. (remainder broken away).

N'. **BATSH 6, 104:** 1. *A-ma-ni-i* (WSem.), seller of five pledged individuals (as slaves, 2–6 below, Aram. 'šn?r?l may refer to one of these individuals whose name is not preserved in the cuneiform text, see Röllig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 144 *ad loc.*) for [n] shekels of silver (cf. the royal intimate *A-ma-ni-i*, w., 661 BCE, BATSH 6, 109); 2. [xxx] (broken); 3. [Bi]-ru-qu (Akk.-WSem.); 4. [xxx]-A+A (damaged); 5. *Rībāti-Issār* (Akk., see Baker, PNA 3, 1052a); 6. ^f[xxx] (damaged); **A/2.** [Šulmu-šarri], buyer of five pledged individuals (as slaves) for [n] shekels of silver; 7. *Ilu-ēreš* (Akk.), 1st w.; **M/9,** 2nd w.; 8. *Ah(PAP)-imma(AMA)-'* (Akk.-WSem.), 3rd w.; 9. *Adda-a-qa-bi* (WSem.), 4th w.; 10. [B]ēl-šuma-iškun (Akk.), 5th w.; 11. [xxx]-ra-ri (damaged), 6th w.; 12. [x(x)x]-A+A (damaged), 7th w.; 13. [^dx]-aha-iddina (damaged Akk.), 8th w.; **C/13,** 9th w.; 14. *Qur-na-[A?]+^rA'* (damaged WSem.), 10th w. (cf. Baker, PNA 3, 1026a); 15. *Aššur-[ēre]š* (damaged Akk.), 11th w.; remainder broken away.

O'. **BATSH 6, 105:** **Y'/6.** *Ab-na-a* s. of [xxx]x and br. of D'' and 1, seller of a female slave; **D''/1.** [A-k]a-bur, s. of [xxx]x and br. of Y'/6 and 1, co-seller of a female slave; 1. [x(x)]-apla-ušur, s. of [xxx]x and br. of Y'/6 and D''/1 (WSem.), co-seller of a female slave; 2. ^r[xxx(x)] (perhaps Aram. Šlmy[xxx], damaged Akk.-WSem.), female slave sold for 32 shekels (0.5 mina+two shekels) of silver (see Röllig *apud* Radner, BATSH 6, 145 *ad* 105); **A/2,** buyer of a female slave; **E/1,** 1st w.; 3. *Zēru-ukīn* (Akk.), 2nd w.; 4. [xx]-da-la-A+A (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 3rd w.; 5. [xx]-*Issār* (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 4th w.; **A/5.** [Šamš]ī, 5th w.; **C/13.** [Iddin]-ahhē, 6th w.; 6. [Rēmū]t-ilāni (damaged Akk.), 7th w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1046b, s.v. ~, 6); 7. [xxx] s.? of [D]ādi-ahi (Akk.-WSem.), 8th w.; remainder broken away.

P'. **BATSH 6, 106:** **A/2.** [Šulmu-šarri, operative section lost]; **C/13.** *Iddin-ah[hē]*, 1st preserved w.; 1. *Sa-ka-a* (WSem.), 2nd preserved w. (see Baker, PNA 3, 1065a); 2. *Il-na-ša/An-na-za* (WSem. or non-Sem.), 3rd preserved w.; 3. A[xxx] (damaged), 4th preserved w.; 4. [xxx]-x-ša (damaged), 5th preserved w.; 5. [xxx(x)] (broken), 6th dis-

cernible w.; 6. *Adad*-[*xx(x)*] (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 7th preserved w.; 7. [*xxx(x)*] (broken), 8th discernible w.; 8. [*xxx(x)*] s. of *Ahu*-[*xxx*] (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 9th preserved w.; 9. ^d[*xxx(x)*] (damaged), 10th preserved w. (remainder broken away).

Aramaic Documents

Q^o. Röllig 1997, 370f.:2 = Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes*, 148f.: App., 34* (first eponymate of *Nabû-sagîb* = 629 BCE): 1. *Šlmhdd* (*Silim-Hadad*, Akk.-WSem.), debtor; A/2. *Slmsr* (*Šulmu-šarri*), creditor; 2. *Šš* (*/Šašî/*, Akk.-WSem., atyp.), 1st w.; 3. *Šlmnbłt* (*Salmānu-uballit*, Akk.; if not two separate names, cf. R^o/7, 8 below), 2nd w.; A/5. *Ssy* (*Ša(ma)šî(ya)*, 3rd w.; 4. *Mlky* (*Milkî*, WSem.), 4th w.

R^o. Geller & Kwasman 2003, 102f.:2 (*Mlh*, poss. X according to Geller and Kwasman, 103 *ad loc.*, eponymate of *Nbwšgb* = 629 BCE): A/5, debtor (seal not preserved, three <homers> of barley with 50% interest); 1. *Nrglhšr* (*Nergal-aha-ušur*, Akk.), co-debtor (seal not preserved, three <homers> of barley with 50% interest), both are required to supply harvesters; A/2, creditor; 2. *Gdy* (*/Gaddiyâ/* or */Gadyâ/*, WSem.), 1st w.; 3. *Sry* (Akk.-WSem., prob. damaged), 2nd w.; 4. [...] (broken), 3rd w.; 5. *Š'l* (WSem., cf. Lemaire 2001, 104 *ad* 13), 4th w.; 6. *Šlmyrmn* (*recte Šlmnrnmn*, Akk., cf. Röllig 2005, 239), 5th w.; 7. *[Š]lmn* (Akk.-WSem.), 6th w.; 8. *Blty* (*Balaṭi*, Akk.), 7th w.

S^o. Lemaire 2001, 84f. and pl. 12:12 (the 2nd year of the same eponym, see Geller & Kwasman 2003, 103 *ad* 6 = 628 BCE): 1. *Šlmnsršr* (*Salmānu-šarra-ušur*, Akk.), debtor (barley: four <homers> with 50% interest and four anonymous reapers; = P^o/1?); A/2. creditor, owner of barley; 2. *Šlmnrnmn* (*Šalmānu-rēmāni*, Akk.), executive of the document; R^o/2, 1st w.; 3. *Šlmn'zry* (*/Šalmān- 'idrī/*, WSem.), 2nd w.; R^o/6. *Šlmnrnmn*, 3rd w.; Q^o/3. 4th w.; 4. *Qrh* (*/Qarhâ/*, WSem.), 5th w. (perhaps the same individual as *Qar-ha-a* s. of *Hu-un-ni-ia* in a list of witnesses which is headed by *Šulmu-šarri*, viz. BATSH 6, 8 from 633 BCE); A/5. 6th w.

T^o. Lemaire 2001, 94f. and pl. 15:15 (*mlh* [MN].Aššur-m[āta-taqq]in = 626 BCE): 1. *Hbšr* (*Habašîru*, Akk.), debtor (barley: two <homers> with 50% interest); with a seal impression (see Lemaire 2001, 94f. *ad loc.*); A/2. creditor (barley); 2. *Nbwbsr* (*Nabû-aba-ušur*, Akk.), 1st w.; 3. *[S]r'dbšr* (hardly “[Ašš]ur-'db-ušur”, poss. to be read *Šlmnbšr* [Akk.], cf. below, W^o *in fine*), 2nd w.; 4. *'yln* (*/Ayalān/*, WSem.), 3rd w.; Q^o/3, 4th w.; Q^o/2. 5th w.; 5. *Slmsr* (*Šulmu-šarri*) s. of *Rp* (*/Rapâ/*, WSem.), 6th w.; R^o/2. 7th w.

U^o. Geller & Kwasman 2003, 99f.: 1 (XII, no year): 1. *Ptṭ* (WSem.), debtor (seal not preserved); A.2. creditor (three shekels of silver with 50% interest); 2. *HZR* (*Ḫuzîru*) s. of *Htny* (*Ḫutnî*, Akk.-WSem.), 1st w.; 3. *Nwrhdd* (*Nūr-Hadad*, Akk.-WSem.), 2nd w.; 4. *Ršny* (*Rašunni?*, Akk.-WSem.; Röllig 2005, 239 remarks that the reading is uncertain), scribe.

V''. Lemaire 2001, 97f.:16 (X, no year): *Hẓr* (=D'/1 or U''/2), debtor (3 shekels of silver with interest); A/2 (*Šlm[sr]*), creditor; witnesses' list lost.

W''. Lemaire 2001, 92f.: 14 (operative section and date lost): T''/4. 1st w.; U''/1. 2nd w.; U''/2, 3rd w.; *Šlmbšr* (=T''/3?), 4th w.; U''/3 (*N?w?rhdd*), 5th w.

X''. Dez 13810,

Y''. Dez 13817 (both reported by Röllig 2005, 239, who does not indicate their dates).

Z''. Appendix: BATSH 6, 32 (from Room IW). Šulmu-šarri is the 1st witness in BATSH 6, 8 (12.XI.633 BCE), where another witness, viz. the chariot driver *Sa-al-ti-il* (6th w.) recurs in his archive (Y/3). The colleague of the latter, *Ma-as-'A+A* ("the Massean", an Arabian, 3rd w.), belongs to the same circle. The same applies to the 8th (last) witness, (N)inūrta-malakka (WSem.), the merchant (or commercial agent) of the crown prince. A common witness (A/5) is recorded in BATSH 6, 10 (preceded by Apladad-mār-šarri-ušur, who judging from his name belonged to the household of the crown prince, thereby forming part of Šulmu-šarri's circle). **BATSH 6, 32** (I.619 BCE): 1. *A-ra-a-'s* of *Ba-lu-[x]-ia* (WSem.) litigant (with a stamp seal), poss. a shepherd (see Radner, BATSH 6, 57 *ad loc.*); 2. *Šamaš-ahhē-iddina* (Akk.) and 3. *Nabû-ilu* (Akk.-WSem.) sons of A/2. They gave the litigant 12 rams and 24 sheep of Nanâ (a goddess worshipped in the Upper Mesopotamian popular cult); 4. [xxx]'x' (damaged), 1st w.; 5. [xxx]'x' (damaged), 2nd w.; 6. [xxx]x-Bē[I] (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 3rd w.; 7. [xxxx] (broken), 4th w.; 8. [xxxx] (broken), 5th w.; 9. *Šamši(ya)* (Akk.-WSem.; = A/5?), 6th w.; 10. *Nabû-šēzib* (Akk.-WSem.), 7th w.

2. Geographical Horizon and Distribution

Šulmu-šarri possessed a village in the province of the cupbearer northeast of Assyria proper, far away from Dūr-Katlimmu (G'/1, 9, 11, 12, 14-17, 19-22). Kipšunu (Q/21) and Zamua (C''/1, 2) are also remote. Less remote locales (all on the middle Euphrates) are Hindānu (C/10, Q/1-3), Qurašūte (Z/17), Itu (mentioned together with Haṭallu and perhaps Sūhu, B''/1-5) and Til-Barsip (Q/12). Harran (N'/1-3) and presumably Teman (G/4) are also located in Upper Mesopotamia. The other locales are hitherto unknown, but at least several of them are to be sought not far from Dūr-Katlimmu. Such are presumably Kār-Salmānu in view of the special relationship of this deity to the lower Habur, as well as Tarhē and Bēt-Aššur-lē'i (H'/7, 8).

*Inu, L/M/N/Šattanu and Ninazua are mentioned together with Hindānu and Til-Barsip (Q/15-17). They may be located in Upper Mesopotamia, the more so since the witness from Ninazua was a *nasīku*, a title of a West Semitic, practically Aramean, tribal chief. The slave seller (Q/1), whose witnesses came from various places in the Jezireh,

was based in Hindānu, but his family implicitly originated in Kumme, northeast of Assyria proper. This is another example of a slave dealer, whose trade is a long distance one. One of his witnesses was from Kipšunu (presumably not far from Kumme). It stands to reason that also the locales, which are recorded in real estate transactions, were located not too far from Dūr-Katlimmu (see below, 3.2). On the other hand, slave sales can be a long distance trade hence *Ba-di-ia-di-in* (D/1-3) is not necessarily in the Habur region (*Ba-di-a-din* hardly originates from *Bēt-Adini* as cautiously suggested by Radner, BATSH 6, 161 *ad* 119, 3, because $t > d$ is not recorded in early Aramaic).

617 different individuals (596 males and 21 females = 96.59% and 3.4% resp.) are recorded in the archive. I do not include in 3–11 below the 70 individuals (11.3%) who explicitly did not originate from Dūr-Katlimmu:

C/10; D/1-3; G/4, 5; H/6; I/1–3, 12; K/1–3; Q/1–3, 12, 15–17, 21; T/1, 2; Z/17; B^ʾ/5; F^ʾ/1; G^ʾ/1 (represented by his anonymous son who had to travel presumably in order to attend the litigation), 9, 11, 12, 14–17, 19–22; H^ʾ/6–8; N^ʾ/1–3; A^ʾ/1–3, 16–18; B^ʾ/1–5; C^ʾ/1–2; F^ʾ/1–6. G^ʾ/3–6 implicitly resided in the province of the chief cup-bearer. G/1, 2, W/1, Z/1, 2 and H^ʾ/1, 2 are included here, although there is good reason for thinking that they did not originate from Dūr-Katlimmu in view of the fact that their deeds include witnesses from other settlements. However, this cannot be proven and their negligible number (7 out of 617 = 1.13%) hardly affects the statistics. A^ʾ/1–10 might have originated in Hindānu or were Hindaneans who settled in Dūr-Katlimmu. Perhaps the gentilic *Hindānāyu* “Hindanean” (used as an anthroponym, A^ʾ/5) refers to Hindaneans residing outside their place of origin. In sum, 538 individuals originate from Dūr-Katlimmu with various degrees of plausibility. The physical identity of 19 homonymous individuals (A/3 & F/10; A/4 & V^ʾ/1; A/5 & Z^ʾ/9; A/11 & F/4; C/9 and B^ʾ/6; F/13 & P/8; L/7 & Z/4 or B^ʾ/8; N/1 & Y^ʾ/4; U/5 & E^ʾ/5), i.e. 3.07%, is doubtful. There is some reason to suspect a physical identity of a debtor bearing a matronym (A/1) with the slave B^ʾ/2 (matronyms were generally not borne by freemen), but this cannot be determined. It is unlikely that Q/14 is the same individual as G^ʾ/1 as the latter was not on good terms with Šulmu-šarri.

3. Classification of the Deeds and Transactions

All the 77 documents are legal (deeds): 42 slaves sales, 14 real estate transactions, eight sales (details lost: J^ʾ, M^ʾ, P^ʾ, T^ʾ, Z^ʾ, J^ʾ, L^ʾ, M^ʾ), eight loans (A, C^ʾ, Q^ʾ-V^ʾ), one litigation and three deeds whose operative section is lost (G^ʾ, and W^ʾ, P^ʾ, W^ʾ respectively), as well as two documents whose type is not reported (X^ʾ-Y^ʾ).

3.1. *Slave Sales*⁷

As usual in the Assyrian empire, the number of female slaves is much larger than the male ones (>35 and >15 respectively). At least in one case the sellers originated from a remote place, viz. Harran (long distance slave trade, two Harranites sold a slave from Assur in Dūr-Katlimmu, cf. the Calahite who sold a slave according to BATSH 6, 34, another deed from Dūr-Katlimmu).

3.1.1. Males (12 deeds)

All the sales are of one slave, except for one where two old slaves are sold for 0.5 mina of silver (O). Each of them obtained almost the same price as a slave whose age category is not specified (26 shekels of silver, S). Moreover, another slave, whose age is not indicated, was sold for just 12 shekels of silver (R'). Another three were sold for 0.5 mina of silver each (H [of the Karkemish standard], U, N'), one for 32 shekels (H'') and even for one mina (J). The highest price for a single male slave is two minas of silver (E). The prices in silver of two sales are not preserved ([*n*] minas in B and [*n*] minas/shekels in K). The price of a slave who was delivered as compensation is not indicated (B').

3.1.2. Females (28 deeds)⁸

For single-parent families (maid plus her child) see Galil 2007, 321f.

Multiple (K'', price not preserved); five pledged individuals (N'', see Galil 2007, 199f. with nn. 35, 38; 203) were sold for [*n*] shekels of silver (less than one mina, a very low price). Two (maid plus her infant daughter) were sold for 0.5 mina of silver (N, A', K', cf. Galil 2007, 74, 78, 159; the price is not preserved in G). This price is equal to that of a single female slave (F, Y [Karkemish standard], Z). Lower prices (in shekels) for single maids are recorded in W, I' (10, Karkemish standard in W), X (13) and T (15). 15 shekels of silver were also paid to a father for his girl whose size was three cubits (H'). The size (cf. Galil 2007, 309) is indicated in two cases (also in X': 1.5 cubits). In the latter case the somewhat bigger girl was sold for a double price (0.5 mina of silver). The same price is recorded in Q'. This is also the minimum price in Y', [*n*] mina(s), seeing that lower prices are indicated in shekels. Higher prices for a single maid are recorded in O'' (32 shekels), C'' (one mina of silver, Karkemish standard; same price in O': the translation of Radner, BATSH 6, 118 is erroneous). The highest price obtained for a single maid is two minas of silver (E''). The prices for single maids are

7. See Galil 2007, 193, 232.

8. Cf. Galil 2007, 33.

not preserved in V and B^{''}. Two adult female slaves were sold for one mina of silver (Q, E', I^{''}, see Galil 2007, 72, 158).

3.1.3. Mixed (2 deeds)

One male and one female (M) were sold for one mina of silver and a female slave with her infant son were sold for 20 shekels of silver (D^{''}, see Galil 2007, 159).

3.2. Real Estate Transactions

3.2.1. Fields

One homer (price: 0.5 mina of silver, P). A field of the same area (likewise situated on the other side of the Habur), was sold for just ten shekels of silver 33 years earlier (673 BCE, BATSH 6, 113), i.e. one third of the price here. However, both deeds do not include adequate information about the variables determining the prices of arable land.

- [x] homer(s): (price: ten shekels of silver; I);
- [x] homer(s, irrigated and tax-exempt): (price: four minas and ten shekels of silver, F^{''}, see below, 3.2.2);
- Six seahs (on a canal without access) were sold for just four shekels of silver (R);
- Two seahs (price: nine shekels of silver, G^{''}).
- Measures of area not preserved (price: 16 shekels of silver, S^{''}).- The term for an irrigated field on a canal or a river is A.ŠÀ.MEŠ(pl.) *ši-qi*. This is rendered as 'gr in the Aramaic note on the same tablet (< Akk. *ugāru*, see Zadok 2009, 118f.).

3.2.2. Gardens

Two homers (exempt orchard, price: [x]+ 0.5 mina of silver, C). It is probably related to the field sale F^{''} above (3.2.1) as one of the sellers (C/2) is described as a neighbour in C. The price of three seahs (irrigated orchard) is not preserved (L).

3.2.3. Other estates

It seems to me that *bēt š/za-ta-ri* (given as pledge for a debt of one mina of silver, A) denotes land (*byt*, “place, area”) where thyme (*satureia*, Aram. *štr*, Arab. *š/za`tar*, cf. CAD Z, 74a *ad lex. š/za-te-ru* with *a > e* before *r*) was grown. For cultivation of spices in Dūr-Katlimmu and its region see Röllig & Tsukimoto 1999, 149 *ad* 108a, 1.

3.2.4. Houses

A built house with roof beams and doors was sold for one mina of silver (V'), whereas another house, where roof beams and doors are not mentioned, was sold for just five shekels of silver (D'). A magazine with roof beams and doors was sold for ten shekels

of silver (L'). Cf. Radner 1997, 253 with n. 1326. The latter house was blocked by another house and this may be the motivation for selling it at a low price.

3.2.5. Mixed

A house, garden and perhaps a cistern (area not preserved, price: [*n*] minas/shekels of silver, A''); fields ([*n*] homers) and two houses (price: one mina of silver, F').

3.2.6. Location

(1) Explicitly in Dūr-Katlimmu (adjacent to F'/2-4; the seller is from (2) [*xxx*]dilašu). (3) Ālu-ša-Zībâ (BATSH 6, 48, 7, cf. 191 *ad* 158), (4) *In-ni-il* and (5) *Bēt-Sa-i-li*; the sellers are from (6) Bēt-Binini (I, is NA vowel harmony involved here? cf. the gentilic *Be-na-na-A+A* in BATSH 6, 119?). (7) *Dūr-^dli-[x]-^rA'+A*, adjacent to a canal, the settlement of (8) *Dūr-kuš-ši-a* (Akk.), the estates (sg. *bētu*) of Šēpē-Nabû, the settlement of (9) *Ha-ri/tal-li/ši*, (the property of) Zēru-ukīn and (the property of) Iglānu (F''). (10) *Sa-[xx(x)]* and (11) Asihi (A''): the sellers were from (12) *Wr/d[...]* and (13) [*x*]-*da*-[*xx*] (four of the 20 witnesses are not from Dūr-Katlimmu). General: on the other bank of the river (P) adjacent to P/2-4. The houses and the magazine are in all probability urban property seeing that their location is not indicated, but neighbouring property is specified. The location of the gardens is not indicated, but in one case it is stated that it was adjacent to the property of C/2-4 (perhaps in the same place as F'', see above, 3.2.2).

3.3. Loans

All the five fully published Aramaic deeds are loans (cf. Radner, BATSH 6, 20b). Thus most of the loans are in Aramaic as only two (A, C') are in NA.

3.3.1. Silver (four deeds)

Three shekels with 33.33% and 50% interest (Q'' and U'' respectively), 0.5 mina of silver without interest (C') and three shekels with interest (V'').

3.3.2. Barley (three deeds, all with 50% interest)

Four and two (presumably homers, cf. Lemaire 2001, 71, S'', T'', the former with four reapers); three homers (R'').

4. Sealing

63 seals, including seven indistinct ones (11.11%), are recorded in 40 out of the 69 Assyrian (cuneiform) deeds. There are 12 cylinder seals (19.04%) and 44 stamp seals

(69.84%). The latter type appears in 21 deeds (single in four deeds = 19.04%, a pair in 11 = 52.38% and three in six = 28.57%). D, Z” have also stamp seals. The seal of D’ is indistinct. Regarding the Aramaic documents, S”, T”, V” (Mousaieff collection) is sealed whereas R” (Schøyen collection) is not. W” has perhaps traces of fingernail marks.

5. The Circle of Šulmu-šarri according to His Archive from Dūr-Katlimmu

Šulmu-šarri was son of Marduk-šarra-ušur, royal intimate = (*ša*-)qurbūti of the crown prince. Both his given and paternal names contain *šarru*. The term (*ša*-)qurbūti is a honorific title “confidant(s), intimate friend(s)” according to Radner, BATSH 6, 13f. (following previous observations of Klauber 1910, 105ff.): “confidential agents” ([Dalley &] Postgate 1984, 32f. and Mayer 1995, 441), who reject the translation “body-guard”.⁹ The term can be compared with Middle Heb. *qrwb lmlkwt*, whose first component derives from the same root (Q-R-B, “to be related, relative”) as *qurbūtu*, in the Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 43a, where it is claimed that Jesus as such was a favourite of the Roman authorities. Gittin 14b has the pl. *qrwbym lmlkwt* referring to people bearing Iranian names and wearing a special headgear, who were connected with the Sassanian royalty. They were active in Nehardea (northern Babylonia, cf. Beer 1970, 58ff.) presumably in maintaining law and order. Cf. Sîn-šarra-ušur (Akk.), deputy (LÚ.šaniū) of LÚ.qurbūtu, witness, 661 B.C. (BATSH 6, 109a, r.2; 109b, r.3). A person can be promoted to the rank of *qurbūtu* as was the case with Ātamar-Marduk (ABL 85 = Luukko & van Buylaere 2004, 115, r.1, time of Esarhaddon). The title was borne by people of non-Assyrian extraction as well, e.g. a Mede (*Mad-A+A*) and a bearer of a foreign name, *Ú-ma-a-di* (Fuchs & Parpola 2002, 182, 6, 236, 9f., both from the time of Sargon II).

Two homonymous individuals are mentioned in his archive. One is followed with his paternal name (T”/5) and the other (F/5) with his title in order to distinguish them from the archive owner.

a. *Explicit*

G”/18. Šamaš-tuklatū’a (Akk.) servant of Šulmu-šarri.

b. *Recurrent Witnesses* (all references are to BATSH 6)

1. A/3. Adad-ilā’i: 41 (1st; 667 BCE), 95 (3rd; date lost).

2. A/5. Šamši: 41 (3rd; 667 BCE), 46 (2nd; 650 BCE), 57 (6th; 637 BCE), 59 (4th preserved; 636 BCE), 62 (13th; 634 BCE), 65 (14th; 632 BCE). The date is lost in 91

9. Ahmad & Postgate 2007, 12 ad 10, 15’ render *qurbūtu* as “aide-de-camp” without elaboration.

- (6th), 92 (1st preserved) 103 (3rd) and 105 (5th); = Ssy, Röllig 1997, 370f.: 2, 3rd w. (629 BCE); Lemaire 2001, 84f.: 12 (6th; 628 BCE).
3. **A/6.** Aššur-šuma-ukīn: 41 (4th; 667 BCE), 45 (1st; 650 BCE).
 4. **A/11.** Mannu-kī-Arbail: 41 (9th; 667 BCE), 43 (7th; 662 BCE), 44 (2nd preserved; 656 BCE), 61 (2nd preserved; 635 BCE) and perhaps 45 (2nd).
 5. **B/4.** Nabû-mār-šarri-ušur: 42 (2nd; 665 BCE), 53 (1st), 54 (1st; both 640 BCE), 65 (12th; 632 BCE), 67 (5th; poss. 632 BCE). The date is lost in 74 (2nd), 93 (9th) and 102 (2nd).
 6. **C/2.** Ahu-tabši: 58 (5th; 636 BCE), 60 (4th; 635 BCE).
 7. **C/6.** Ēreš-Aššur: 43 (2nd; 662 BCE), 58 (11th; 636 BCE).
 8. **C/9.** Nabû-aha-iddina: 43 (5th; 662 BCE), 49 (6th; 644 BCE).
 9. **C/13.** Iddin-ahhē: 43 (10th; 662 BCE), 44 (5th preserved; 656 BCE), 47 (6th; 649 BCE), 50 (1st; 644 BCE), 51 (5th preserved), 52 (4th; both 643 BCE), 56 (16th; 637 BCE), 59 (3rd preserved; 636 BCE), 61 (9th preserved; 635 BCE), 62 (12th), 63 (1st), 64 (8th; all from 634 BCE), 65 (13th; 632 BCE), 67 (15th; poss. 632 BCE), 99 (11th preserved; c. 640-636 BCE); 69 (14th), 70 (3rd; date lost, both after 634 BCE). The date is lost in 74 (1st), 86 (1st), 91 (7th), 92 (8th preserved), 102 (3rd), 103 (2nd), 104 (9th), 105 (6th) and 106 (1st preserved). His namesake (if not he himself) witnessed 20 (615 BCE), 24 and 184 (date lost).
 10. **C/15.** Mannu-emūqi-la-ili: 43 (12th; 662 BCE), 46 (5th; 650 BCE).
 11. **C/18.** Huzālu: 43 (15th; 662 BCE), 61 (6th; 635 BCE), poss. = H/7. Huzālu s. of *Bi/Bu-ru-qu*: 95 (6th), 99 (3rd preserved; date lost) and perhaps = Q/18: 56 (637 BCE).
 12. **E/1.** Nabû-šarra-ušur: 53 (6th; both 640 BCE), 54 (3rd); 59 (2nd; 636 BCE), 65 (15th; 632 BCE), 69 (12th; date lost, after 634 BCE), 91 (s. of Adad-aba-ušur, 2nd; date lost), 105 (1st; date lost).
 13. **E/3.** Adad-abū'a: 44 (1st preserved; 656 BCE), 92 (2nd preserved; date lost).
 14. **E/4.** Šamaš-šuma-iddina: 44 (3rd preserved; 656 BCE), 31 (1st; 630 BCE).
 15. **E/7.** Šamaš-aha-iddina: 44 (7th preserved; 656 BCE), 69 (3rd; date lost).
 16. **H/9.** Būru-tabi: 47 (8th; 649 BCE), 62 (3rd; 634 BCE).
 17. **I/11.** Mudammiq-amat-šarri: BATSH 6, 48 (8th; 644 BCE), 89 (7th; date lost).
 18. **J/3.** Salmānu-aba-ušur: BATSH 6, 49 (2nd), 50 (2nd; both 644 BCE), 53 (3rd; 640 BCE), 60 (10th preserved; 635 BCE), 63 (2nd; 634 BCE).
 19. **J/8.** Sa-na-a: BATSH 6, 49 (8th; 644 BCE), 67 (13th; poss. 632 BCE).
 20. **L/7.** Nabū'a: BATSH 6, 51 (7th preserved; 643 BCE), 57 (2nd; 637 BCE).
 21. **M/9.** Bēl-zēra-iddina: 52 (5th; 643 BCE), 55 (5th; 640 BCE), 104 (2nd; date lost).
 22. **M/12.** Salmānu-nāšir: 52 (8th; 643 BCE), 56 (18th; 637 BCE).
 23. **N/3.** Nusku-šarra-ušur: 53 (2nd), 54 (4th; both 640 BCE).

24. N/4. Bēl-kakki-šaddû'a: 53 (4th), 54 (5th), 55 (9th; 640 BCE), 60 (5th; 635 BCE).
 25. N/5. Iddināyu: 53 (5th), 54 (2nd; both 640 BCE).
 26. N/6. (N)inūrta-[xx]: 53 (7th), 54 (8th; both 640 BCE).
 27. P/5. Ēreš-issar s. of *Ha-ma-di*: 55 (2nd; 640 BCE), 99 (6th preserved; c. 640-636 BCE).
 28. P/9. Šamaš-šarra-ušur s. of ^d[xxx]: 55 (7th; 640 BCE), 86 (3rd; date lost).
 29. T/4. *Mis*(or *šit/sit*)-*ra-a-ni*: 59 (5th preserved; 636 BCE), 99 (7th preserved; c. 640-636 BCE).
 30. T/5. Nabû-bēl-šumāti: 59 (6th preserved; 636 BCE), 99 (10th preserved; c. 640-636 BCE).
 31. U/5. Mannu-kī-Ninua: 60 (6th preserved; 635 BCE); = E'/5: 69 (1st; after 634 BCE).
 32. U/7. Mušēzib-Issar: 60 (8th preserved; 635 BCE), 62 (15th), 63 (11th; both 634 BCE), 65 (16th; 632 BCE), 67 (14th; poss. 632 BCE), 73 (3rd; date lost).
 33. Y/4. Adad-rē'ani s. of (N)inūrta-aha-iddina: 64 (2nd; 634 BCE), 66 (7th; 632 BCE).
 34. Z/3. Apladad-da'in: 65 (1st; 632 BCE), 31 (2nd; 630 BCE).
 35. Z/8. Bahiānu: 65 (6th; 632 BCE), 97 (10th preserved; date lost).
 36. Z/13. Adda-ba-hi-ri: 65 (11th; 632 BCE), 97 (3rd preserved; date lost).
 37. B'/9. Nabû-šuma-iddina s. of Nabû-iqīša: 67 (9th; poss. 632 BCE), 68 (3rd; 630 BCE).
 38. C'/3. *In-du-ú*: 68 (2nd; 630 BCE), 88 (4th preserved) and 95 (13th preserved; date lost in both).
 39. Y'/6. Abnā: 86 (5th); and 91 (5th; date lost in both).
 40. A''/14. Zērūtī: 88 (13th preserved) and 95 (10th; date lost in both).
 41. Q''/2. Šš (1st; 629 BCE); Lemaire 2001, 94f.:15 (5th; 626 BCE).
 42. Q''/3. Šl^mnbl^t (2nd; 629 BCE), Lemaire 2001, 84f.:12 (4th; 628 BCE), Lemaire 2001, 94f.: 15 (4th; 626 BCE).
 43. R''/2. G^dy' (1st; 629 BCE), Lemaire 2001, 94f.:15 (7th; 628 BCE).
 44. R''/6. Šl^mnmn (5th; 629 BCE), Lemaire 2001, 84f.: 12 (3rd; 628 BCE).
 45. T''/4. 'yln (3rd; 626 BCE), Lemaire 2001, 92f.: 14 (1st; date lost).
 46. U''/3. Nwrhdd (2nd; no year), Lemaire 2001, 94f.: 14 (5th; date lost).

c. Royal Intimates (1–4) and Other Individuals in the Service of the Crown Prince

(1) H'/1. *Sa-gi-bi-i*, 1st w. (circle of Šulmu-šarri, ranked, also in BATSH 6, 109 from 661 BCE); (2) C'/2. Dādī, 1st w.; (3) F/8. Šá-ši-in, 6th w.; (4) A''/14. Zērūtī, 10th and 13th preserved w. (5) H/8. Adda-ta-qan, chariot fighter, 7th w.

d. Other Individuals with Names including šarru (referring to an earthly king)

U/2. Šarru-[xx], 1st w.; G'/7. [DN]-šarra-ušur, 1st w.; Y'/4. Nergal-šarra-ušur, 2nd w.; E/1. Nabû-šarra-ušur, 6th w.; D''/4. Nabû-šarra-ibni, 3rd w.; E''/2. Iqbi-ana-šarri, 3rd preserved w.; I/11. Mudammīq-amat-šarri, 8th w. (also in 62, 89); R/2. Šarru-nūri, 3rd

w.; P/9. Šamaš-šarra-ušur, 3rd and 7th w.; C'/4. Nusku-šarra-iddina horse trainer of the military governor, 4th w.; F/9. Nergal-šarra-ušur, priest, 7th w.; G'/13. Sîn-šarra-ušur, 7th w.

e. Sons of Individuals with Names including šarru (referring to an earthly king)

H/5. *Būru-bēla-ušur* (Akk.) s. of Tukulti-šarri and Q'/4. (N)inūrta-aha-iddina s. of Adad-mār-šarri-ušur, 2nd w. The paternal name of G'/15 belongs to the group of names of functionaries.

f. Others

Horse trainers: A/3. Adad-ilā'i, 1st w., C/6. Ēreš-Aššur, 2nd w.

Chariot driver: Y/3. *Sa-al-te-èl*, 1st w.

Merchants or commercial agents: V/3. Gizā[nu], 1st w., A'/10. ^dŠe-rù-tallaktu, 9th w.; C'/3. Indû (2nd and 4th preserved w.) is listed (as the 13th preserved w.) after H'/3. Ilu-nādin-apli, 4th w.

Eunuchs: C/8. *Hi-ba-la-li*, 4th w and H'/2. Nashira-ili, 2nd w.

g. Other Party

It should be remembered that the circle of the other party includes *šarru*-names. It can be surmised that Šulmu-šarri conducted at least some of his transactions with people of his class, e.g., the sellers E/1. Nabû-šarra-ušur, P'/1. Salmānu-šarra-ušur, E'/2. [xxx]-šarra-ušur, N/1. Nergal-šarra-ušur and N/3. Nusku-šarra-ušur, as well as the debtor S'/1. *Šlmsršr*. Their circle might have included U/2. Šarru-[xx], 1st w., U/6. Šarru-na'id, 7th w., G'/8. Šarru-ēmuranni, 2nd w., E'/7. Babu-šaddû'a, royal horse trainer, 4th w. and E'/8. Ilu-mār-šarri-ēpuš s. of Šarru-nāšir, 5th w.

6. The Career of Šulmu-šarri

The royal intimate Šulmu-šarri was the son of Marduk-šarra-ušur. The paternal name implies that already his father was in the royal service. Šulmu-šarri is recorded between 667 and 626 BCE (if not 623 BCE, cf. G'). He is mentioned with his title in 636–631 BCE, i.e. when he was over 50 years old (see Radner, BATSH 6, 8, 14, 62, 64–66, cf. 176) and had connections in the capital (Nineveh): one of the witnesses, viz. H/6, is a royal intimate from there (his paternal name, which contains *Būru*, may reveal that his family originated from the Middle Euphrates region). Šulmu-šarri had three sons: Nabû-nāšir, Šamaš-ahhē-iddina and Nabû-ili. Another relative of his may be Zaba-bēlet (see Radner, BATSH 6, 71; alternatively his servant). The earliest document is about a field which was pledged on his behalf (BATSH 6, 41). He was the creditor also in C',

Q”–V”. He purchased slaves and landed property according to 42 and 13 deeds respectively. In addition, he was the purchaser in six transactions whose details are lost (see 3 above). According to a deed of litigation (G’ from 623 BCE), he owned a village in the province of the chief cup-bearer. Šulmu-šarri acted as the 1st witness in BATSH 6, 8, 176 (ranked witnesses’ lists like that of BATSH 6, 186 which is headed by another royal intimate, viz. Salmānu-aba-ušur). Since many slaves were females with infants, who could not work at the time of their purchase, it is unlikely that he bought them for work in his household. Therefore it seems more likely that Šulmu-šarri acted as a slave dealer.

7. Status

7.1. Witnesses

Most of the individuals are witnesses (470 out of 617 = 76.17%, local 435 out of 545 = 79.81%). Very few witnesses are recorded as protagonists as well (3 = 0.7%: J/3 is a co-seller with his brother and the 3rd witness after B/4 and Nusku-šarra-ušur; C/11; U/4; cf. A’/8, see Radner, BATSH 6, 107 *ad loc.*).

TABLE OF WITNESSES

<i>Document</i>	<i>No. of witnesses</i>	<i>Paternal names</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>No. of paternal names and titles combined</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
A	9	—	2	2/9 = 22.22%	
B	7[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
C	15	1	3	4/15 = 26.66%	
D	7	6	—	6/7 = 85.71%	
E	7[+x]	—	1	1/7+ = <14.28%	damaged
F	11	5	4	9/11 = 81.81%	
G	5	1	2 (gent.)	3/5 = 60%	
H	8	7	2	8/8 = 100%	
I	8	3	—	3/8 = 37.5%	
J	9	1	—	1/9 = 11.11%	
K	4[+x]	1	—	1/4+ = <25%	damaged
L	7[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
M	8	—	—	—	
N	8	—	1	1/8 = 12.5%	
O	9	1	1	2/9 = 22.22%	
P	10	6	—	6/10 = 60%	
Q	25	— (2 brothers)	3 (+3 with provenance)	8/25 = 32%	
R	8	1	—	1/8 = 12.5%	

<i>Document</i>	<i>No. of witnesses</i>	<i>Paternal names</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>No. of paternal names and titles combined</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
S	12	—	3	3/12 = 25%	
T	6[+x]	2	1	3/6+ = <50%	damaged
U	10[+x]	1 (2 brothers)	—	2/10+ = <20%	damaged
V	9[+x]	—	1	1/9+ = <11.11%	damaged
W	16	9 (2 brothers)	2	11/16 = 68.75%	
X	12	—	—	—	
Y	10	6	1	7/10 = 70%	
Z	20	5	4 (+1 with provenance)	10/20 = 50%	
A'	9	6 (+1)	2	9/9 = 100%	
B'	15	—	2 (+1 with provenance)	3/15 = 20%	
C'	8	1	4	5/8 = 62.5%	
D'	8	—	—	—	
E'	18	5	2	7/18 = 38.88%	
F'	7[+x]	—	—	—	
G'	16	2	1	3/16 = 18.75%	
H'	6	5	(1 with provenance)	6/6 = 100%	
I'	12[+x]	2	—	2/12+ = <16.66%	damaged
J'	4[+x]	—	(1 with provenance)	1/4+ = <25%	damaged
K'	13[+x]	4	4	8/13+ = <61.53%	damaged
L'	7[+x]	1	—	1/7+ = <14.28%	damaged
M'	3[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
N'	—	—	—	—	damaged
O'	1[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
P'	9[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
Q'	9[+x]	7	2	9/9+ = <100%	damaged
R'	—	—	—	—	damaged
S'	—	—	—	—	damaged
T'	—	—	—	—	damaged
U'	—	—	—	—	damaged
V'	6[+x]	6	—	6/6+ = <100%	damaged
W'	—	—	—	—	damaged
X'	2[+x]	1	—	1/2+ = <50%	damaged
Y'	10[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
Z'	7[+x]	—	—	—	damaged

<i>Document</i>	<i>No. of witnesses</i>	<i>Paternal names</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>No. of paternal names and titles combined</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
A''	19[+x]	16 (3 with provenance)	2 (+1 with provenance)	19/19+ = <100%	damaged
B''	10[+x]	—	4	4/10+ = <40%	damaged
C''	5[+x]	—	1	1/5+ = <20%	damaged
D''	13[+x]	8	—	8/13+ = <61.53%	damaged
E''	11[+x]	±1	—	1/11+ = <9.09%	damaged
F''	10[+x]	—	1 (+2 with provenance)	3/10+ = <30%	damaged
G''	5[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
H''	14[+x]	1	8	9/14+ = <64.28%	damaged
I''	—	—	—	—	damaged
J''	—	—	—	—	damaged
K''	4[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
L''	6[+x]	5	—	5/6+ = <88.33%	damaged
M''	6[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
N''	11[+x]	—	—	—	damaged
O''	8[+x]	1?	—	1/8+ = <12.5%	damaged
P''	10[+x]	1	—	1/10+ = <10%	damaged
Q''	4	—	—	—	
R''	7	—	—	—	
S''	6	—	—	—	
T''	7	1	—	1/7 = 14.28%	
U''	3	—	—	—	
W''	5	—	—	—	damaged
Z''	7	—	—	1/6 = 16.66%	"

As can be seen from the table, the number of witnesses per deed (66 out of 76; in eight deeds, viz. N', R'–U', W', P', J', the list of witnesses is lost) is between 2 and 25 (a distinction between well-preserved and damaged deeds is maintained below):

25 (one: Q); 20 (one: Z); 19[+x] (one: A''); 18 (one: E'); 16 (two: W, G'); 15 (two: C, B'); 14[+x] (one: H''); 13[+x] (two: K', D''); 12[+x] (one: I'); 12 (two: S, X); 11[+x] (two: E'', N''); 11 (one: F); 10[+x] (four: Y', B'', F'', P''), 10 (two: P, Y); 9[+x] (three: V, P', Q'), 9 (four: A, J, O, A'); 8[+x] (one: O''), 8 (seven: H, I, M, N, R, C', D'); 7[+x] (six: B, E, L, F', L', Z'), 7 (three: D, T'', Z''); 6[+x] (three: T, V', L''), 6 (two: H', S''); 5[+x] (two: C'', G''), 5 (two: G, W''); 4[+x] (three: K, J', K''), 4 (one: Q''); 3 [+x] (one: M'); 3 (one: U''); 2[+x] (one: X'); 1[+x] (one: O').

It follows that seven deeds are witnessed by eight witnesses each. The ratio of the remaining deeds to the number of witnesses is as follows (in descending order):

- six deeds: 7[+x] witnesses;
- four deeds: 10[+x] witnesses;
- four deeds: 9 witnesses;
- three deeds: 9[+x] witnesses; three deeds: 7 witnesses; three deeds: 6[+x] witnesses
three deeds: 4[+x] witnesses.

Each of the following eight groups is contained in two deeds: 16, 15, 13[+x], 12, 11[+x], 10, 6 and 5[+x] witnesses. The remaining groups of witnesses (25, 20, 19[+x], 18, 14[+x], 12[+x], 11, 8[+x], 5, 4, 3 [+x], 2[+x], 1[+x]) are contained in one deed each. There are neither paternal names nor titles among the witnesses of 20 deeds (six preserved: M, X, D', Q'', R'', S'', U'', A''' and 12 damaged: B, L, F', M', O', P', Y', Z', G'', K'', M'', N''). 15 lists of witnesses contain only paternal names, but no titles: D, I, J, P, T'' and the damaged deeds K, U, L', V', X', D'', E'', L'', O'', P''. On the other hand, no more than ten lists of witnesses contain only titles, but no paternal names: A, N, S, B' plus the damaged deeds E, V, J', B'', C'', F''. Q has only titles, but indicates that two witnesses are brothers. The only paternal names of U refer to two brothers. W is mostly with paternal names, including two brothers. Each of the following ten lists of witnesses contains only one paternal name and no titles: J, R, T'' + the damaged deeds K, U, L', X', H'', P'' and perhaps E''. One paternal name and a title or several titles are contained in C, G, J, O, C' and perhaps O'' (damaged). Only three lists of witnesses have an equal number of paternal names and titles (O: 1+1; K': 4+4, damaged; Z: 5+5). The number of paternal names (P) exceeds that of the titles (T) in no less than 11 lists of witnesses (three damaged, viz. T, Q', A''): 16P + 3T (A''), 9P + 2T (W), 7P + 2T (H, A', Q'), 6P + 1T (Y), 5P + 1T (H'), 5P + 2T (E'), 5P + 4T (F), 2P + 1T (T, G'). Only in five lists of witnesses (one damaged, viz. H'') does the number of titles exceed that of the paternal names: 8T + 1P (H''), 6T + 2P (Q), 4T + 1P (C'), 3T + 1P (C), and 2T + 1P (G). On the whole, more witnesses (at least 128) have paternal names than those bearing titles (maximum 74). This is despite of the fact that titles here are used in their broadest sense, thus including heterogenous categories (professions, honorific designations, gentilics and places of origin without modification). The percentage of paternal names and titles combined is followed by the number of lists in brackets (damaged lists or groups thereof are preceded by +):

- 100% (6: H, A', H' + Q', V', A'');
- 90-80% (3: D, F, + L'');

70-60% (8: G, P, W, Y, C' + K', D'', H'');
 50-40% (4: Z + T, X', B'');
 40-30% (4: I, Q, E' + F'');
 30-20% (9: A, C, O, S, B', J' + K, U, C'');
 20-9% (12: J, N, R, G', S'' + E, V, I', L', E'', O'', P'').

It seems that the individuals belonged to a more or less narrow circle where means of identification were not always necessary. Generally, an individual bearing a title does not occur with a paternal name and vice versa: those with paternal names have no titles. For the scribes one means of identification was sufficient. Exceptionally, both the title, paternal name and provenance of a person are given (one case: F/9). In just another case both the gentilic and paternal name are indicated (G/5). H/6, Q/17 have a title and their provenance is specified. Q/1 has both a paternal name and a gentilic. At best, two generations are represented (given and paternal name). Three generations are listed in one case only (A'/7). The motivation for using a means of identification is transparent when homonymous individuals are listed together: e.g., Nabû-šuma-iddina (B'/9) has a paternal name in order to distinguish him from his namesake (the scribe C'/8) in the same deed (BATSH 6, 68). Ranked witnesses' lists are:

B'' (headed by two governors), Z (headed by a governor/prefect then 2–4 with the same title, i.e. a cohesive group), F'' (headed by a governor/prefect), C' (headed by a royal intimate and a merchant), V (headed by a merchant or commercial agent), F, W (both headed by a priest), Q' (headed by a chief tracker) and Y (headed by a chariot driver). It seems that in K' a group of four titled witnesses is followed by an equal number of witnesses with paternal names.

Searching for a correlation between the number of witnesses and the significance of the transaction or that of its protagonist (other party) does not yield any clear results. Q, which is witnessed by 25 individuals from various parts of the Jezirah, is a regular sale of two female slaves for one mina of silver. The protagonist has a stamp seal. The same type of transaction, price and seal are recorded in E' (18 witnesses). The protagonist of A'' (19[+x] witnesses) has also a stamp seal. He sold a house and a garden (price lost). The protagonist of W with 16 witnesses has a cylinder seal, but sold a female slave for just ten shekels of silver. C and B' have 15 witnesses each. Their protagonists have stamp and damaged seals respectively. C is a sale of two homers of exempt orchard and B' is delivery of a slave as compensation.

7.2. *Protagonists* (other parties; 72 out of 547 = 13.16%)

7.2.1. Slave sellers

Most protagonists belong to this category (43 out of 70 = 61.42%). The majority acted alone.

7.2.1.1. Brothers as co-sellers (apparently of undivided inheritance)

Nine (out of 43 = 20.93%): M/1–3, S/1–3, Y'/1, 2, O''/1 (three brothers). V/1, 2 may be brothers (the 1st witness is a merchant or commercial agent like two witnesses in the ranked list of H'', another slave sale).

7.2.1.2. Other multiple sellers

Nine (out of 43 = 20.93%): F/1, 2, W/4 and Y/1; E'/1, 2.

7.2.1.3. Single sellers

23 (out of 43 = 53.48%): B/1, E/1, G/1, H/1, J/1, N/1 (two transactions), 3; W/1, X/1, Z/1, A'/1, I'/1, K'/1, O'/1, Q'/1, R'/1, X'/1, D''/1, E''/1, K''/1. H'/1 sold his daughter (obtained only 15 shekels). A low price was given for other debt slaves as well: no less of five pledged individuals were sold for just [*n*] shekels (N''/1), i.e. presumably less than 0.5 mina. B'/1 gave his slave as compensation.

7.2.2. Sellers of real estate

11 out of 70 = 15.71%, in most cases not yet divided among brothers.

7.2.2.1. Brothers as co-sellers (apparently of undivided inheritance)

Six to nine (C/2 & U/4, C/11 & R/1, G''/1, 2 and perhaps S'/1–3).

7.2.2.2. Single sellers

Six (out of 70 = 8.57%): C/1, L/1, P/1, D'/1, L'/1, V'/1.

7.2.3. Other sellers (details lost)

Three (out of 70 = 4.28%): P'/1, T'/1, J''/1.

7.3. *Buyer*

Of a female slave: H'/3 (a relative or dependent of Šulmu-šarri).

7.4. *Debtors*

Eight (= 1.46%): A/1, C'/1 (the 2nd witness is a merchant or commercial agent, preceded by a royal intimate); D'/1 or U''/2, Q''/1, R''/1, S''/1, T''/1, U''/1.

7.5. *Litigants*

Seven (= 1.27%): G'/2–6 (headed by a servant of Šulmu-šarri) and Z''/1.

7.6. *Neighbours*

Eight (1.46%): D'/2, F'/2–4, S'/4-6, G''/3.

7.7. *Eunuchs*

Three (0.54%): C/8, G'/5 (royal) and H''/2.

7.8. *Slaves* (37 = 6.76%; mostly females)

7.8.1. Males

16 (B/2, E/2, H/2, J/2, M/5, O/1, 2, S/4, U/1, B'/2, R'/2, including five explicit debt slaves, viz. N''/2–6).

7.8.2. Females

20 (F/3, G/2, M/4, N/2, W/2, X/2, Y/2, Z/2, A'/2, E'/3, H'/2, I'/2, K'/2, Q'/2, U'/1, X'/1, Y'/3, D''/2, I''/1, O''/2).

7.9. *Status Unknown*

I''/2.

8. Occupations, Professions and Officials

This information is available only for 35 out of 547 individuals, i.e. 6.39% (maximum). The paucity of this kind of information is typical of the NA archives.

— Prefect: 1 (H/9).

— In charge of the town?: 1 (H''/5, see Radner, BATSH 6, 17, n. 190).

— Priests: 5 (A/6, F/9, W/3, A'/4, H''/9). It is not specified which deities they served. Do the name and filiation of the priest *Nergal-šarra-ušur* s. of Salmānu-aha-iddina (F/9) hint that he served Salmānu and that the temple of this god (see Radner, BATSH 6, 15f.) was a royal one?

— Scribes (see Radner, BATSH 6, 22a, all are explicitly witnesses): 8 (E/7, N/6, S/14, T/5, B'/3, 6, C'/8 and F/13, who was the father of a priest).

— Ironsmiths: 1 (G/1);

— Chariot driver: 1 (Y/3);

— Chariot fighter: 1 (H/8);

— 3rd rider: 1 (Q/22);

- Horsemen (horse trainers): 4 (A/3, C/6, C'/4, E'/7; on charioteers and related professions in Dūr-Katlimmu see Radner, BATSH 6, 9f.);
- Bird catchers: 1 = B''/8 (in a riverine area);
- Trackers: 5 (Z/4-6, E'/9, B''/9);
- Chief tracker: 1 (Q'/3);
- Merchants of commercial agents: 4 (V/3, A'/10, C'/3, H''/3, see Radner, BATSH 6, 10f.);
- Singer?: M'.
- Individuals with damaged titles (6 = 1.11%): S/10, K'/3-5, L'/1, Q'/7.

9. Ethno-linguistic Classification

547 individuals originate from Dūr-Katlimmu. However, the names of 127 (23.21%) are broken or damaged.¹⁰ We are left with 420 individuals, who form the sample for the ethno-linguistic affiliation. An individual with an Akkadian name, whose father or another blood relative has a West Semitic (or another non-Akkadian) anthroponym, is considered West Semitic (or non-Akkadian resp.). The case of A'/7 reveals that the onomastic interaction is not linear: an individual bearing a West Semitic name has a father and grandfather with Akkadian anthroponyms.

Akk. (166 = 39.52%): A/2, 4, 6, 10; B/3, 4; C/2, 6, 7, 9, 12–14, 16, 18; D/6; E/1–7; F/2, 3, 5, 9, 12, 13; H/3, 5; I/8, 11; J/1, 2, 7, 9; L/1, 3, 5, 6; M/1, 3, 6–9, 11, 12; N/1, 3–5; O/2; P/7, 9–11; Q/19, 20, 22, 23, 25; R/2–4; S/1, 2, 14; T/3, 5; U/1, 4, 6, 7; W/1, 6, 8, 11; X/3–5, 8–10; Y/4, 5, 7, 9; Z/3, 5, 6, 15, 16; A'/3–5, 8, 10; B'/6, 9; C'/4, 5, 8; D'/1, 2; E'/6–8, 10; F'/7; G'/8, 18; H'/3, 9; I'/4, 7–9; K'/6, 11; P'/1; Q'/1, 3–5, 7–9, 11; S'/5; V'/1; Y'/4, 5, 8; Z'/2; A''/6, 14; B''/9; D''/4, 5, 7; E''/2, 6; G''/1–3; H''/2–5, 7, 9; L''/1, 2; N''/5, 7, 10; O''/3; Q''/3; R''/1, 8; S''/1, 2; T''/1–3; Z''/2.

Damaged Akk. (38 = 9.04%): B/2, 6, 9; J/3; M/10; N/7; Q/13; U/2; V/5; W/5; D'/4, 6; E'/2, 3, 11, 18; F'/6, 9; G'/7; I'/1, 5; K'/10; L'/3, 4, 6; P'/6, 7; V'/6; Y'/10; Z'/5; A''/5, 12; B''/10; E''/7; H''/10; N''/13, 15; O''/6.

WSem. (81 = 19.28%): A/1; C/1, 11; D/4; F/4, 7, 11; H/4, 9; I/7; J/6, 8; L/4; O/1; P/1, 5, 6, 8; Q/10, 14, 18; R/1, 5; S/4; W/3, 4, 7, 9, 12; X/1, 2; Y/2, 3, 6, 8; Z/1, 7, 8, 11–14;

¹⁰ Broken: C/3–5; D/9; I/5; L/2; M/5; O/4; Q/5, 7, 9, 11; S/5, 6, 8, 12; U/3; V/2; I'/6; K'/13; L'/7; S'/2, 3, 6; U'/1; V'/2, 4, 5; C''/3, 4, 6; D''/3; F''/11; G''/4–8; K''/1; N''/2; P''/5, 7; R''/4; Z''/7, 8 (altogether 48); damaged: B/5, 7, 8; F/6; G/2; I/6; J/4; K/5; M/4; O/3; P/2–4; Q/4, 6, 24; S/9, 11, 13; V/1, 6; B'/4; E'/1, 9, 14–17; F'/2, 4, 5, 8, 10; I'/2, 3; K'/2, 4; L'/5; M'/1; O'/2; P'/2, 4, 5, 10; V'/3; X'/3; Y'/3, 9; Z'/4, 6, 7; A''/4, 7, 10, 11, 20; E''/1, 9; F''/7–12; H''/8, 14; I''/2; J''/1; K''/2, 3; M''/2, 4; N''/4, 6, 11, 12; P''/3, 4, 9; Z''/4, 5 (altogether 79).

A'/1, 6, 7, 9; B'/2, 7, 8, 10; E'/4, 19; G'/2, 10; H'/4; K'/9; L'/1; Q'/6, 10; T'/1; Y'/1, 2, 6; D''/1, 6; E''/3, 8; H''/1, 6; N''/1, 9; O''/1; P''/1; Q''/4; R''/2, 5; S''/3, 4; T''/4, 5; U''/1; Z''/1.

Damaged WSem. (8 = 1.9%): C/17; V/3, 8; D'/3; K'/5; O'/1; Z'/3; N''/14.

Poss. WSem. (1 = 0.23%): Z/2.

WSem.? (2 = 0.47%): H/8; M''/1.

Akk.-WSem. (46 = 10.95%): A/3, 5, 8, 11; C/15; D/7, 8; F/1, 10; H/2,7; I/4, 9, 10; L/7; N/2; O/5; U/5; W/2, 10; X/7; Z/4; C'/6, 7; E'/5; H'/1, 2, 5; X'/1; Z'/1; B''/8; D''/2, 10; E''/4; N''/3, 8; O''/7; Q''/1; R''/3, 7; U''/2-4; Z''/3, 9, 10.

Akk.-WSem., atyp. (6 = 1.42%): M/2; U/8; C'/2; K'/7; E''/5; Q''/2.

Akk.-WSem., gent. (2 = 0.47%): Y'/7; B''/6.

Damaged Akk.-WSem. (44 = 10.47%): B/1; D/5, 10; J/5; K/4; N/6; Q/8; S/3, 7, 10; V/4, 7; B'/1, 3; D'/5; E'/13; K'/3, 12; L'/2; P'/3, 8, 9; R'/1, 2; S'/1, 4; V'/7; A''/8, 9, 13, 19; B''/11, 12; D''/8; I''/1; M''/3; O''/2, 4, 5; P''/6, 8; Z''/6.

Akk. or Akk.-WSem., atyp. (1 = 0.23%): E'/12.

Akk./WSem. (1 = 0.23%): C'/5.

Arab. (1 = 0.23%): A/9.

Akk./Arab. (1 = 0.23%): Y/1.

WSem. or non-Sem. (8 = 1.9%): G/3; T/4; X/11; K'/1; Q'/2; X'/2; B''/7; P''/2.

Akk.-WSem. or non-Sem. (2 = 0.47%): F/8; C'/1.

Anat. or Akk.-WSem. gent. (1 = 0.23%): G/1.

Anat.? (1 = 0.23%): C/8.

Iran. (1 = 0.23%): Z/10.

Iran.? (1 = 0.23%): A/7.

Other non-Sem. (6 = 1.42%): H/1; X/6; A'/2; C'/3; G'/13; K'/8.

Damaged non-Sem. (Scythian?) (1 = 0.23%): D''/9.

Non-Sem.? (1 = 0.23%): Z/9.

Unexplained: (1 = 0.23%): F'/3.

In descending order (each category with various degrees of plausibility):

— Akkadian: 48.56%;

— Akk.-WSem.: 23.31%;

— West Semitic: 22.11%;

— non-Sem.: 5.02% (maximum).

It can be stated that members of what was basically the local elite in Dūr-Katlimmu bore predominantly Assyrian names (72.11% of their names are explicable in Akkadian terms), which conforms to the character of this city as a long-established Assyrian provincial centre housing a military garrison. However, the West Semitic component is

very strong and must have been predominant in the surrounding countryside, about which there is only limited pertinent information.

10. Religious-cultic Profile

(theophorous and basilophorous names)

10.1. *Given Names* (214 individuals out of 420 = 50.95%)

Kinship terms: 5 = 2.33%

Abu (2 = 0.93%): I/8, J/2 (both Akk.).

Ahhē (1 = 0.46%): X/7 (Akk.-WSem.).

Ummu (1 = 0.46%): E''/4 (Akk.-WSem.).

?Adu (1 = 0.46%): F/12 (Akk.).

Astral deities: 104 = 48.59%

Adad/Hdd, Adda/Hd (31 = 14.48%): A/3 (Akk.-WSem.); E/3 (Akk.); F/10 (Akk.-WSem.); H/1 (Akk.), 4 (Akk.-WSem.), 8 (WSem.?); J/6 (WSem.); Q/20 (Akk.); W/3 (Akk.), 8 (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 12 (WSem.); Y/1, 4 (both Akk.), 6 (WSem.), 8 (Akk.); Z/7, 13 (both WSem.), 16 (Akk.); A'/7 (WSem.); B'/10 (WSem.); E''/13 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); K'/6, 11 (both Akk.); Q'/3 (Akk.), 7, 11 (both Akk.); E''/8 (WSem.); N''/9 (WSem.); P''/6 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); Q''/1 (Akk.-WSem.); U''/3 (Akk.-WSem.).

Dādi (6 = 2.8%): L/5 (Akk.); M/1 (Akk.), 7 (Akk.); S/14 (Akk.); Q'/9 (Akk.); E''/3 (WSem.). Dādi (X.X) = Adad (X) in view of the physical identity of X-ilā'i (A/3) with X.X-ilā'i (cf. H'').

Apladad (9 = 4.2%): J/1 (Akk.); P/7 (Akk.); Z/3, 15 (both Akk.); C'/7 (Akk.-WSem.); K'/10 (damaged Akk.), 12 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); T'/1 (WSem.); G''/3 (Akk.).

Būru (9 = 4.28%): H/5 (Akk.), 9 (WSem.); W/1 (Akk.); A'/1 (WSem.), 6, 8 (both Akk.); K'/5 (damaged Sem.); Q'/5, 6 (both Akk.).

Bēl (11 = 5.14%): M/9 (Akk.); Q/19 (Akk.); R/5 (WSem.); V/4 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); D'/5 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); I'/9 (Akk.); P'/3, 9 (both damaged Akk.-WSem.); D''/10 (Akk.-WSem.); N''/10 (Akk.); Z''/6 (damaged Akk.-WSem.).

Issar (14 = 6.54%): A/4 (Akk.), B/2 (damaged Akk.); F/3 (Akk.); M/8 (Akk.); P/5 (Akk.); U/7 (Akk.); F'/7 (Akk.); V'/1 (Akk.); Y'/2 (Akk.); D''/6, 7 (both Akk.); M''/3 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); N''/5 (Akk.); O''/5 (damaged Akk.-WSem.).

Arbail (3 = 1.4%): A/11 (Akk.-WSem.); F/4 (Akk.-WSem.); L/3 (Akk.).

Šamaš (14 = 6.54%): A/5 (Akk.-WSem.); E/4, 7 (both Akk.); J/9 (Akk.); O/5 (Akk.); P/9 (Akk.); S/10 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); X/4, 9 (both Akk.); C'/5 (Akk.); G'/18 (Akk.); L'/3 (damaged Akk.); Z''/2 (Akk.), 9 (Akk.-WSem.).

Šin (2 = 0.93%): E'/10 (Akk.); G'/13 (Akk.).

Se' (2 = 0.93%): D/5 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); Y'/5 (Akk.).

Šēru (2 = 0.93%): A/8 (Akk.-WSem.); A'/10 (Akk.).

Bēl-Harrān (1 = 0.46%): Y'/8 (Akk.).

Onomatopoeic: 1 = 0.46%

Babu (1): E'/7 (Akk.).

Common Mesopotamian: 53 = 24.76%

Nabû (33 = 15.42%): B/1 (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 3, 4 (both Akk.); C/9 (Akk.); E/1, 5, 6 (all Akk.); L/7 (Akk.-WSem.); P/6, 11 (both Akk.); Q/22, 23, 25 (all Akk.); R/3 (Akk.); T/5 (Akk.); Z/4 (Akk.-WSem.), 6 (Akk.); B'/3 (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 6, 9 (both Akk.); C'/8 (Akk.); D'/6 (damaged Akk.); E'/11 (damaged Akk.); K'/3 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); S'/4 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); A''/13 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); B''/8 (Akk.-WSem.); D''/4 (Akk.); E''/6 (Akk.); G''/1 (Akk.); T''/2 (Akk.); Z''/3, 10 (both Akk.-WSem.).

Nergal (11 = 5.14%): F/2, 9 (Akk.); N/1 (Akk.); U/4 (Akk.); A'/3 (Akk.); D'/2 (Akk.); E'/6 (Akk.); P'/8 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); V'/7 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); Y'/4 (Akk.); R''/1 (Akk.).

(N)inūrta (4 = 1.86%): L/6 (Akk.); N/6 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); A'/4 (Akk.); Q'/4 (Akk.).

Nusku (3 = 1.4%): N/3 (Akk.); U/1 (Akk.); C'/4 (Akk.).

Zababa (1 = 0.46%): Z'/5 (damaged Akk.).

Gula (1 = 0.46%): A''/6 (Akk.).

Typically Assyrian: 39 (18.22%)

Aššur (10 = 4.67%): A/6 (Akk.); C/6 (Akk.); R/4 (Akk.); Y/9 (Akk.); Z/5 (Akk.); I'/4 (Akk.); A''/9 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); D''/5 (Akk.); H''/7 (Akk.); N''/15 (damaged Akk.).

Mullissu (1 = 0.46%): P/10 (Akk.).

Salmānu (29 = 13.55%): A/1 (WSem.); E/2 (Akk.); F/1 (Akk.-WSem.), 13 (Akk.); J/3 (Akk.); L/1 (Akk.); M/3, 12 (both Akk.); N/2 (Akk.-WSem.); P/8 (Akk.); S/7 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); V/7 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); X/8 (Akk.); B'/2 (WSem.); I'/8 (Akk.); L'/2 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); P'/1 (Akk.); R'/2 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); A''/8 (Akk.); B''/12 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); G''/2 (Akk.); Q''/3 (Akk.); R''/6 (Akk.), 7 (Akk.-WSem.); S''/1, 2 (Akk.), 3 (WSem.); T''/3 (Akk.).

Šaddû'a (1 = 0.46%): N/4 (Akk.).

Originally Babylonian: 6 (2.8%)

Marduk (5 = 2.33%): C/12 (Akk.); D/6, J/5 (both damaged Akk.-WSem.), H'/5 (Akk.); H''/4 (Akk.).

Urkītu: 1 = 0.47%: X'/1 (Akk.-WSem.), fem. For a non-theophorous name with a Babylonian form cf. I/11. I suspect that the peculiar renderings of the sibilants (see Radner, BATSH 6, 21b, 100, 107 *ad* 15, 48, 54, 66, 93, 116) are due not only to Aramaic, but also to Babylonian influence (cf. Radner, BATSH 6, 100 for the Babylonian spellings of A/5 and C/13). Sūhu and Hindānu, which were close to the region of Dūr-Katlimmu, were culturally Babylonian.

Originally appellatives: 17 = 7.94%

Ilu (14 = 6.54%): D/4 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); J/7 (Akk.); O/1, Q/14, S/4, W/4, Y/3 (all WSem.); E'/8 (Akk.); N'/3 (Akk.-WSem.); B''/11 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); H''/2, 3, 5 (all Akk.); N''/7 (Akk.).

Ilāni (1 = 0.47%): O''/6 (damaged Akk.).

Ilūšu (1 = 0.47%): X/10 (Akk.).

Ilu (14 = 6.54%): B'/7 (WSem.)

Deified toponyms: 4 = 1.87%

Harrān (1 = 0.47%): Q'/1 (Akk.).

Ninua (2 = 0.95%): U/5, E'/5 (both Akk.-WSem.).

Zaba (the Zab river, 1 = 0.47%): H'/3 (Akk.).

West Semitic: 3 = 1.42%

Ahu/Salām (1 = 0.47%): E'/19 (WSem.).

Attar (1 = 0.47%): H'/4 (WSem.).

Attā (1 = 0.47%): L'/1 (WSem.).

10.2. Paternal Names Were Borne by 56 Individuals.

Kinship terms: 1 = 1.78%

Ahu: H'/9 (Akk.).

Astral deities: 36 = 64.28%

Adad (15 = 25%): D/6 (Akk.); E/1 (Akk.); H/4 (WSem.); P/1 (Akk.-WSem.); W/8, 11 (both Akk.); Y/7 (Akk.); A'/5, 8 (both Akk.); K'/6 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); Q'/4 (Akk.), 6 (WSem.); A''/8 (damaged Akk.-WSem.); D''/5 (damaged Akk.-WSem.), 6 (WSem.).

Dādi (1 = 1.78%): Y/8 (WSem.).

Būru (5 = 8.92%): W/5, 6 (both Akk.), 7 (WSem.); A'/6, 7 (both Akk.).

Bēl (3 = 5.35%): F/11 (Akk.); H/3 (Akk.); D''/1 (Akk.).

Ba' alte (1 = 1.78%): Z/1 (WSem.).

Aštar (1 = 1.78%): W/9 (WSem.).

Šamaš (8 = 14.28%): J/9 (Akk.); M/1, 2, 3 (all Akk.); N/1 (Akk.); W/4 (Akk.-WSem.);
H'/5 (Akk.-WSem.); D''/4 (damaged Akk.-WSem.).

Se' (2 = 3.57%): Y/6 (Akk.); Q'/5 (damaged Akk.-WSem.).

Common Mesopotamian: 8 = 14.28% (all Akk.)

Nabû (2 = 2.57%): F/12 ; U/4.

(N)inūrta (3 = 5.35%): H/9, L/1, Y/4.

Nusku (3 = 5.35%): S/1-3.

Typically Assyrian: 10 = 17.85%

Salmānu (10): D/7, 8 (both Akk.-WSem.); F/9 (Akk.); T/3 (Akk.); Z/7 (WSem.?), 8
(Akk.-WSem.); E'/6 (Akk.); V'/1 (Akk.); G''/1, 2 (Akk.).

Originally Babylonian: 1 = 1.78%

Marduk: A/2 (Akk.).

Originally appellatives: 2 = 3.57%

Ilu (1 = 1.78%): D/5 (WSem.?).

Ilāni (1 = 1.78%): D'/1 (Akk.).

In descending order: Adad and related forms, Nabû and Salmānu are the commonest elements (for the cults of Būru and Salmānu, see Radner, BATSH 6, 15f., who observed that the latter had a special relationship to Dūr-Katlimmu). Adad and Salmānu are common in both generations. There is an impressive increase of Nabû in the generation of the bearers of the given names. There are no anthroponyms with Aššur in the earlier generation.

Goddesses in females' names: only F/3 and perhaps E'/3.

Family tradition (blood relatives bearing the same theophorous element): J/9, W/8, K'/6, G'' (father and son), Q/22, 23 (two brothers). Adad, Dādi and Būru, all referring to the weather god, recur in the same family (H/4, Y/8, A'/6-8, Q'/6). Adad and Būru-names recur in three successive generations (A'/7). Salmānu and Nabû are contained in the name of a father and his son (G''/1, 2 and C'/4 resp.). It is noteworthy that a slave

(U/1) has a name with the same theophorous element (Nusku) as his master (N/3). Was his name given to him by his master? Likewise, the names of a servant and his master have the same theophorous element (D/1, 2).

11. Individuals Recurring in Documents from Dūr-Katlimmu Who Do Not Belong to the Archive of Šulmu-šarri (22-25; figures in brackets refer to BATSH 6)

A/2 (8, 176), 5 (10, 205), 7 (140); B/4 (123, 155); C/2 (143), 9 (poss. 35, 118), 13 (184); E/1 (176); H/7 (128, 133); M/12 (125); N/3 (143, 145), 4 (145); P/1 (29), 5 (144, 162); U/6 (120); Z/6 (2), 8 (20); G'2, 8 (123); I'10 (128, 133); H''1 (95); poss. N''1 (109) and perhaps A'8, S''4.

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