

Abhandlung

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A New Legal Compendium from the Eanna Archive

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Abstract: The legal compendium from the Eanna archive, published in this article for the first time, records thirteen separate cases all concerning sheep deficits (*miṭītu*) of herdsmen tending to the flocks of the temple. The following study of the text places it in the wider setting of the Eanna temple and discusses the rare format of the text, which should be placed in a legal, rather than an administrative, context.

Introduction

The following study presents an edition of a legal compendium journal from the Eanna archive in Uruk.¹ The text records deficits (*miṭītu*) of sheep to the temple and sworn pledges from herdsmen² to settle them (mostly) during the month of Dûzu (iv) of the 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar

II. The surviving text comprises thirteen different copies of documents issued by various scribes employed by the temple. All cases are presumed to be copies of documents originally inscribed on individual tablets. In two cases, we were able to identify the original tablets from which the copies were made: YBC 9132 (case B) and FLP 1528 (Dillard 10) (case D).

¹ This paper is a joint effort of both authors. The hand copy was made by Peter Zilberg. We wish to thank Michael Jursa for his useful notes and to Kristin Kleber who read an initial draft of the text edition. Michael Jursa also made available to us the Uruk database he has assembled at the University of Vienna, which was crucial for the prosopographical work below. We also wish to thank Antoine Cavigneaux and Grant Frame for their useful notes. We wish to thank Hendrik Hameeuw and Kathleen Abraham who made available to us the photos that were taken with the KU Leuven Portable Light Dome within the project Greater Mesopotamia: Reconstruction of its Environment and History (GMREH), funded by the Belgian Science Policy Office (BELSPO) in the framework of the Interuniversity Attraction Poles (IAP). We thank Klaus Wagensohn for providing us photos of YBC 9132 from the Yale Babylonian collection and to Luis Siddall for commenting on the manuscript and improving our English. All remaining errors and views are, of course, our own. The tablet is now part of the Hillel collection based in London, and according to the owner it was originally part of Lord Townsend's collection, formed during the middle of the 20th century (1940–1950). Abbreviations follow the CAD.

² None of the individuals in the (surviving) text is identified as a herdsman (*nāqīdu*) or a shepherd (*rē'ū*) for that matter. The assumption that we are dealing with herdsmen is based on context as well as on the possible identification of some of these men elsewhere in the Eanna archive; e.g., Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni (see prosopographical note to v 17–18).

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Edition

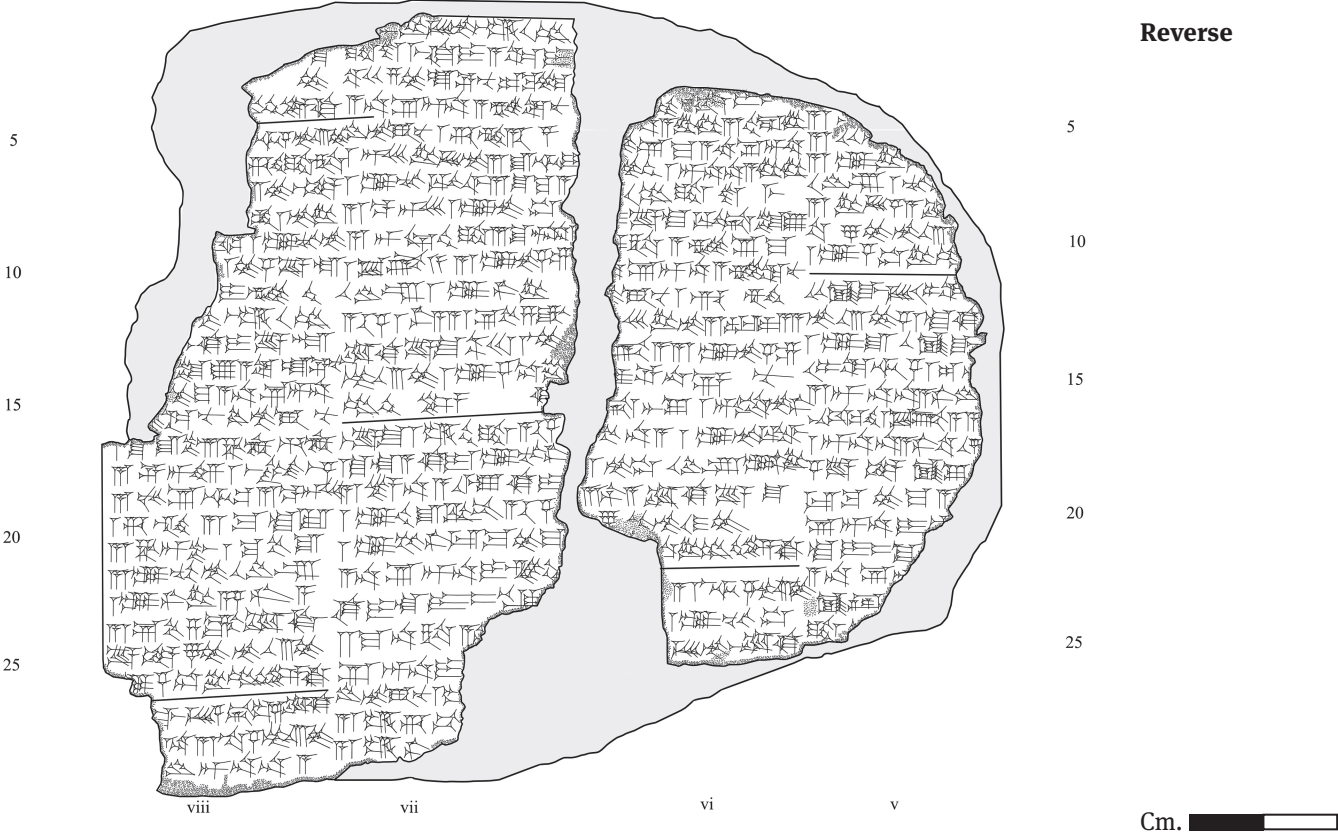
The large tablet is written in portrait format. The top of the tablet is broken. It is unknown how much is missing at the top, but we presume that each column held approximately fifty lines. At present, the tablet measures 10.83 (length) × 11.75 (width) cm. Our current estimate is that about three-quarters of the original length has been preserved, which would then be around 14 cm. The right edge is also broken, but we believe that no text has been lost because there are no more columns to the right of the traces of columns iv and viii. The bottom and the left edge are damaged as well, yet again we do not think the damage has seen a loss of text because the original surface of the tablet is still visible.

The obverse and the reverse contain four columns each. The text is divided into several blocks, separated by lines ruled horizontally. Each block is a copy of a separate case (see discussion below). The blocks are not contained within one column and continue, if needed, over to the next column. None of the edges seems to have been inscribed. Although the relevant lines are missing, we can assume that the right-most and last column on the obverse is continued on the right-most column on the reverse.

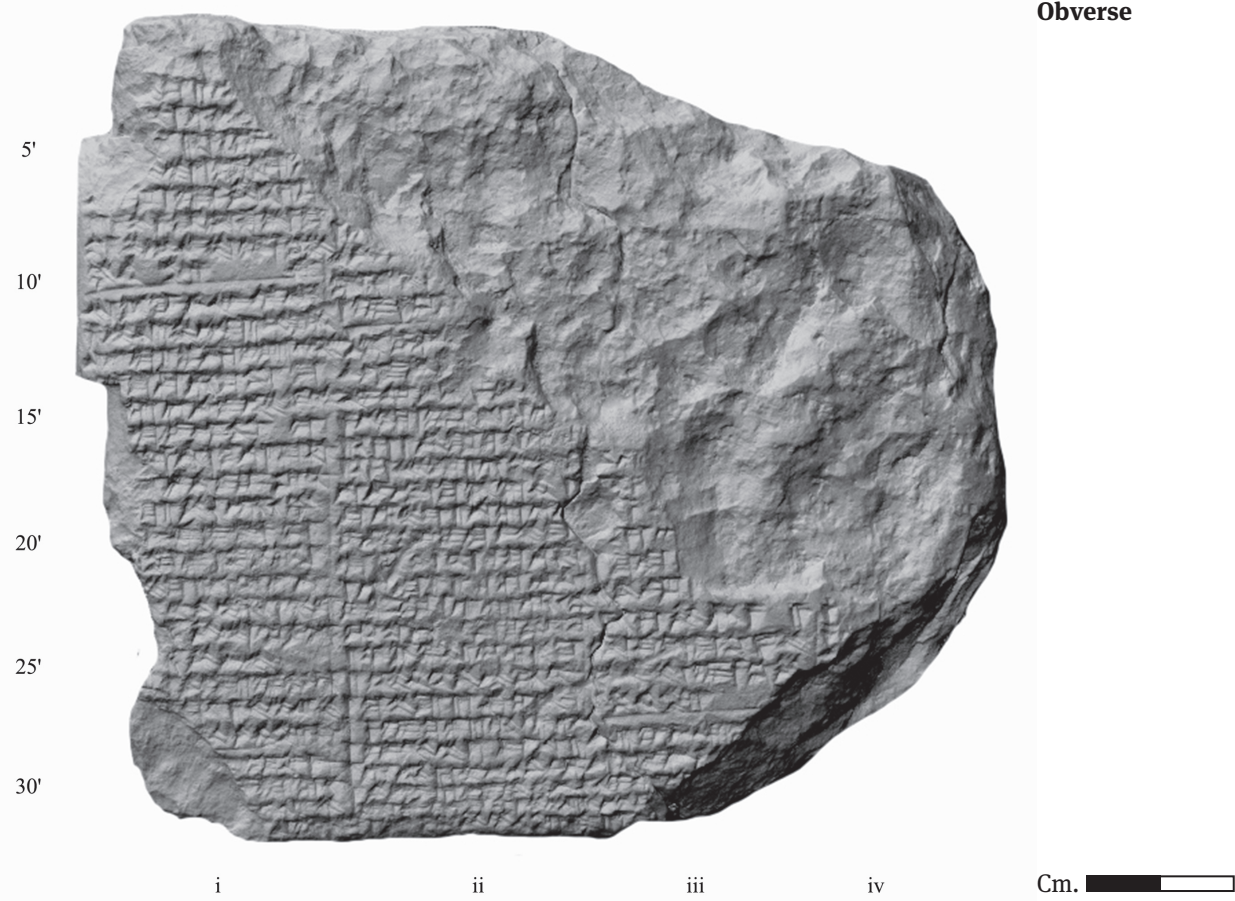
Obverse



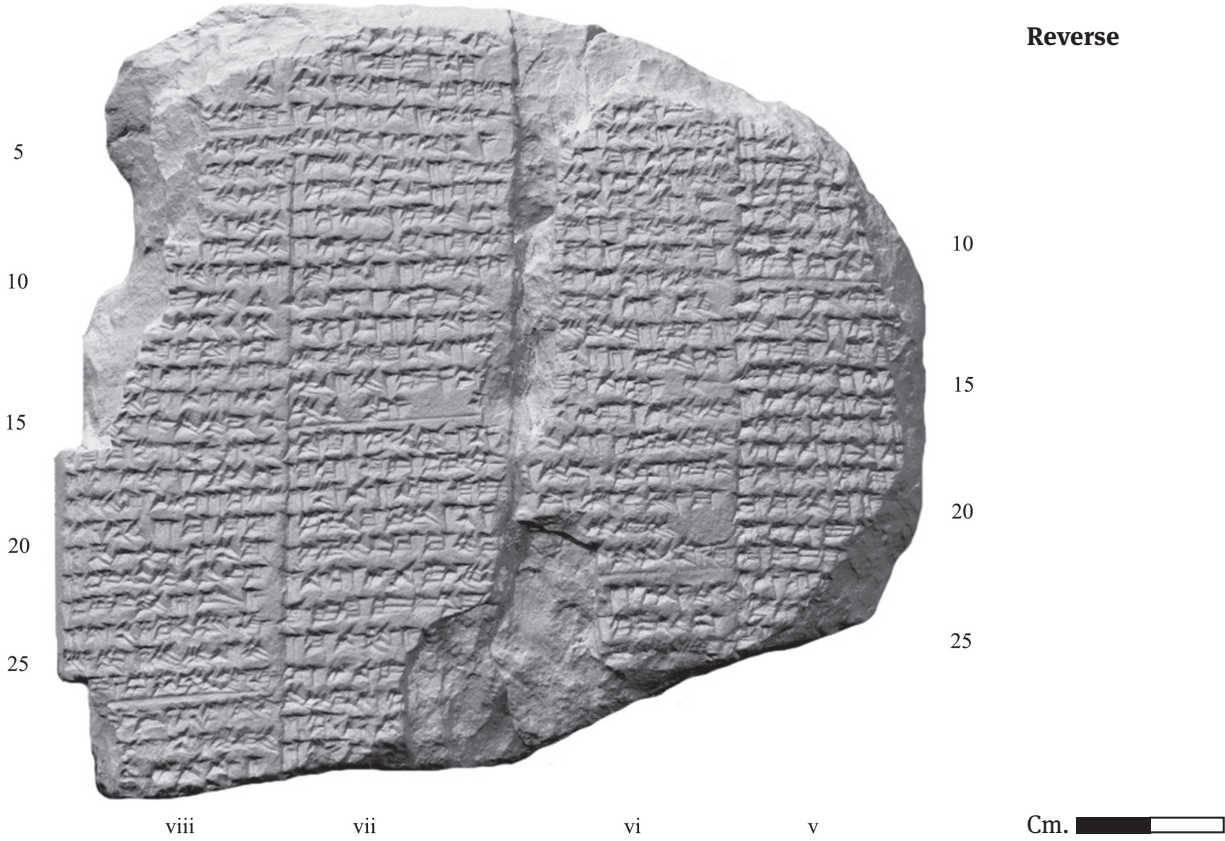
Reverse



Obverse



Reverse



Transliteration

Col. i (Obv.)

- 1' [PN ^{d+EN} u LUGAL *it-te-me*]
 2' [*ki-i* ^{iti}x *iq-ta-tu a-di* x]
 3' [*ab-bak-ka*]m-^{ma}1 a-n[*am²-din²*]
 4' [^{lu}mu-kin]-nu ^{GI}-¹x¹[]
 5' [¹x¹ A-šú šá ^{Id+AG}-¹x¹-[]
 6' [^{Id}AMAR².UTU²-M]U-MU A ^{Id+EN}-TIN-su-¹E²¹
 7' u ^{LU}UMBISAG ^{Id+AG}-DÙ-ŠEŠ A-šú šá DÙ-[a]
 8' A ¹e¹(ZA)-kur-za-kir UNUG^{ki} ^{iti}šU
 9' UD 7.KAM MU 13.KAM ^{Id+AG}-NÍG.DU-ÛRU
 10' LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
-
- 11' 21 U₈.GAL^{meš} *mi-ṭi-ti*
 12' šá MU 13.KAM *ina* UGU ¹a-bi-ra-am
 13' u ¹šil-la-a DUMU^{meš} šá ¹i-la-a-a-nu-ri-²
 14' [*ina*] ^{iti}šU *ib-bak-ku-nim-ma*
 15' [*ana*] *é-an-na i-nam-di-nu-u²*
 16' [*ki-i*] *la i-tab-ku-nim-ma*
 17' [*la i*]t-tan-na 1 MA.NA 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
 18' [*a-na*] *é-an-na i-tur-ru-nu*
 19' [¹šil]-la-a MU-šú *ina* ^{d+EN} u LUGAL
 20' [*it-te*]-me *ki-i* ^{iti}šU¹(DU)
 21' [*iq-t*]a-tu-ú a-di U₈.UDU.ḪI.A
 22' [*ab-bak*]-kam-ma a-na *é-an-na*
 23' [*a-nam-d*]i-nu ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ¹NUMUN-ia
 24' [A-šú šá ^{Id+}]EN-ŠEŠ-MU ¹si-lim-¹d+EN¹
 25' [A-šú šá ^{Id+}]EN-ŠEŠ^{meš}-MU
 26' [^{lu}UMBIS]AG ¹LÚ-^{d+} AG A ^{Id+} AG-LUGAL-PAP^{me}-šú
 27' [UNUG^{ki}] ^{iti}šU UD 5.KAM MU 13.KAM
 28' [^{Id+AG}-NÍG.DU-ÛR]U LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

- 29' [x U₈.GAL^{meš} x U]DU *ka-lum-me*
 30' [x² PAR².GAL² PAP² x]¹4¹ *še-e-nu*
 31' [*mi-ṭi-ti* š]á² ¹MU¹13.KAM
 32' [¹x¹ u ^{Id+EN}-¹SUM^{na}¹

Col. ii (Obv.)

[lines 1'–9' are broken]

- 10' ^{Id}[]
 11' u ^{lu}U[MBISAG]¹x¹[]
 12' ¹UNUG^{ki} ^{iti}šU [x UD x.KAM MU 13.KAM]
 13' ^{Id+AG}-NÍG.DU-Û[RU LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}]

Translation

Col. i (Obv.)

- A** [...] ^{1'–3'} [PN swore by Bēl and the king: '(I swear) that I will bring forth (the animals)] and de[liver (them to the temple) by the end of month x].
 4'–8' [Witne]sses: Gi-x[... son of PN, PN] son of Nabû-[...., Marduk-šu]mu-iddin son of Bēl-balāssu-iqbi, and the scribe Nabû-bān-aḫi son of Ibnā[ya] descendant of Ekur-zākir.
 8'–10' Uruk, 7th of Dûzu, 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

- B** ^{11'–15'} 21 mature ewes, deficit of year 13, are owed by Abi-rām and Šillāya, sons of Ilāya-nūri. They will bring forth (the animals) and deliver (them) [to] Eanna [in] Dûzu. ^{16'–18'} [If] they will not bring forth [and del]iver (them), they will compensate Eanna with 1 mina 3 shekels of silver.

- ^{19'–23'} [Šill]āya [sw]ore by Bēl and the king: '(I swear) that [I] will bring forth the sheep and deliver (them) to Eanna by the end of Dûzu.

- ^{23'–26'} Witnesses: Zēria [son of] Bēl-aḫu-iddin, Silim-Bēl [son of] Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, (and) [Amīl-Nab]û, the scribe, son of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu.

- ^{27'–28'} [Uruk], 5th of Dûzu, 13th year of [Nebuchadnezzar], king of Babylon.

- C** ^{29'–31'} [x mature ewes, x] male lambs, [x young male sheep; total of x]+4 sheep, the [deficit] of year 13,

- 32' [...] ... and Bēl-iddin ... [...]

Col. ii (Obv.)

(C cont.) [lines 1'–9' are broken]

- ^{10'–11'} (witnesses:) ... [... ...] ^{11'} and the scribe [...].
^{12'–13'} Uruk, [xth of] month [x, 13th year] of Nebuchadne[z-
 zar, king of Babylon].

14' 10 U₈.GAL^{meš} 10 [udu^{ka-lum-me}^{meš}]
 15' 10 BAR.GAL^{meš} PAP¹ [30 UDU.ḪI.A^{meš}]
 16' *mi-ti-ti šá* ¹MU¹[3.KAM]
 17' *šá ina* UGU ^{ld}+AG–*dam-qa-an*–[*nī*]
 18' A-šú šá ¹a-bi-ra-am ¹šil¹–l[*a-a*]
 19' A-šú šá ¹man-nu-ka–a-ḫu pu-us-s[*u*]
 20' *na-ši ina* ^{iti}ŠU U₈.UDU.ḪI.A¹
 21' *ib-bak-kam-ma a-na é-an-n*[*a*]
 22' *i-nam-din ki-i la* <*i*>–*tab-kam-ma*
 23' *la it-tan-nu* 1 1/2 MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR
 24' ¹šil-la-a a-na é-an-na
 25' *i-tur-ra* ¹šil-a-a ^d+EN *u* LUGAL
 26' *it-te-me* k[*i*].¹i¹ ^{iti}ŠU *iq-ta*–¹tu¹–*u*
 27' *a-di* U₈.UDU.ḪI.A *ab-bak-kam-ma*
 28' *a-nam-din-nu* ^{lu}mu-kin-nu
 29' ¹ba-laṭ-su A ¹ki–¹rib¹–*tu*
 30' ¹šá–^d+AG–šú-ú A ¹am-me-ni–DINGIR^{meš}
 31' ^{ld}+AG–NUMUN–MU A ¹ib-na-a
 32' ¹re-mut A ¹?a-bad *u* ^{lu}UMBISAG
 33' ¹LÚ–^d+AG A ^{ld}+AG–LUGAL–ŠEŠ–ŠÚ
 34' UNUG^{ki} ^{iti}ŠU UD 3.KAM MU 13.KAM
 35' ^{ld}+AG–NÍG.DU¹–ÛRU LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Col. iii (Obv.)

[about 18 lines are missing]

19' ^{lu}f^{mu}¹–[*kin-nu*]
 20' ¹A¹–šú šá []
 21' [A–š]ú šá []
 22' [A]–šú šá ^{ld}[]
 23' ¹šu-la–¹a¹ []
 24' ^{lu}UMBISAG ¹N[UMUN–*ia*]
 25' A–šú šá ¹ŠEŠ^{meš}–šá-a
 26' ¹UNUG¹^{ki} ^{iti}ŠU UD 7.KAM
 27' MU 13.KAM ^{ld}+AG–NÍG.DU–ÛRU
 28' LUGAL TIN.TIR^k[*i*]

29' 10 U₈.GAL^{meš} 10 udu^k[*a-lum-me*^{meš}]
 30' 14 *par-nu*^{meš} PAP 10+[24[?] U₈.UDU.ḪI.A]
 31' *mi-ti-ti*[*i šá* MU 13.KAM]
 32' *ina* UGU [PN]
 33' A ¹x¹[]

Col. iv (Obv.)

[ca 23 lines missing]

24' ¹x¹[]
 25' šá []
 26' x []
 [the rest is broken]

D ^{14'–18'} 10 mature ewes, 10 [male lambs], 10 young male sheep – total of [30 sheep], deficit of year [1]3, are owed by Nabû-damqanni son of Abi-râm. ^{18'–20'} Šillāya son of Mannu-ki-aḫi guarantees (for the animals). ^{20'–22'} He will bring forth the sheep in Dûzu and deliver (them) to Eanna.

^{22'–25'} If he does not bring forth and deliver (the sheep), Šillāya will compensate Eanna with 1½ mina of silver.

^{25'–28'} Šillāya swore by Bēl and the king: 'I swear) that I will bring forth the sheep and deliver (them to the temple) by the end of Dûzu.'

^{28'–33'} Witnesses: Balāssu son of Kiribtu, Ša-Nabû-šū son of Ammēni-ili, Nabû-zēru-iddin son of Ibnāya, Rēmūt son of ʔābād, (and) the scribe Amīl-Nabû son of Nabû-šar-aḫēšū.

^{34'–35'} Uruk, 3rd of Dûzu, 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

Col. iii (Obv.)

E [lines 1'–18' are broken]

^{19'–25'} Witnesses: [PN] son of [PN, PN] son of [PN, PN] son of [PN, ...] Šulāya [...], (and) the scribe Z[ēria] son of Aḫēšāya.

^{26'–28'} Uruk, 7th of Dûzu, 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

F ^{29'–33'} 10 mature ewes, 10 male [lambs], 12 young male sheep – total of [32 sheep and] – deficit [of year 13], are owed by [PN] son of PN.

Col. iv (Obv.)

(F cont.) [ca. 23 lines missing]

^{24'–25'} (list of witnesses) ...
 [the rest is broken]

Col. v (Rev. i)

[lines 1–4 are broken]

5 A ¹x¹[]
 6 A ¹man-n[a-x]
 7 A ¹d+AG-ŠEŠ-¹x¹
 8 u ¹UMBISAG ¹NUMUN-i[a]
 9 A ¹ŠEŠ^{meš}-šá-a UN[UG^{ki} iti^x]
 10 UD 7.KAM MU ¹13¹.[KAM]
 11 ¹d+AG-NÍG.DU-ÛRU LUG[AL TIN.TIR^{ki}]

12 20 U₈.GAL^{meš} mi-t[i-ti šá]
 13 MU 13.KAM šá ¹la-qí-[pi a]
 14 ¹d+AG-SU 10 U₈.GAL^{meš}
 15 mi-ti-ti šá ¹ap-l[a-a]
 16 A ¹dna-na-a-DÛ ¹lál[x]
 17 ina UGU-¹hi ¹bul-lu¹-a ¹A¹
 18 ¹dna-na-a-DÛ UD 14+. [KAM]
 19 šá ^{iti}NE U₈.UDU.[¹HI.A]
 20 ib-ba-kam-ma a-¹na¹
 21 é-an-na i-n[am-din ki-i]
 22 la i-tab-ku [x KÛ.BABBAR]
 23 a-na é-a[n-na i-tur-ra]
 24 x U₈.SILA₄ []
 25 it-t[an-nu]
 [the rest is broken]

Col. vi (Rev. ii)

1 []
 2 []
 3 []
 4 [] x ¹dAMAR.UTU-x x¹ [x x]
 5 [¹dna]-¹na¹-a-ŠEŠ-ÛRU A ¹DIN-RA-ŠEŠ
 6 [i-na]m-saḥ-ma a-na é-an-na
 7 [i-n]am-din ¹dna-na-a-ŠEŠ-ÛRU
 8 [¹d+EN] u LUGAL it-te-me
 9 [ki]-¹i¹ ^{iti}ŠU iq-ta-tu-ú
 10 [x GÍ]N² KÛ.BABBAR a-nam-saḥ-ma
 11 [a-n]a é-an-na a-nam-di-nu
 12 [¹lám]u-kin-nu ¹re-mut
 13 [A ¹]d¹30-ŠEŠ^(meš)-MU A ¹šap-pa-a-a
 14 [¹bul-l]u¹-a A ¹d+AG-MU-GIN-un
 15 [¹d]+AG¹-e-na-tan-nu
 16 [A ¹t]a-ḥal-lu ¹dAMAR.UTU-MU-DÛ
 17 [A ¹]nad-na-a ¹d+AG-MU-GÁL-ši
 18 [A ¹]MU-DU u ¹UMBISAG ¹d+AG-DÛ-ŠEŠ
 19 A ¹DÛ-a UNUG^{ki} ^{iti}ŠU
 20 [UD] ¹7/8¹.KAM MU 13.KAM
 21 [¹d+AG-NÍG.D]U-ÛRU LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Col. v (Rev. i)

G ¹⁻⁵ [broken ... (witnesses:) PN]

6–9 son of Manna-[..., PN] son of Nabû-aḥu-[x], and the scribe Zēria son of Aḥḥēšāya.

9–11 Ur[uk], 7th of [month x], 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar, kin[g of Babylon].

H ¹²⁻¹⁸ 20 mature ewes, defic[it of] year 13 of Lâq[îpu] son of Nabû-eṛība, 10 mature ewes, deficit of Aplāya son of Nanāya-ibni the [...], are owed by Bulluṭāya son of Nanāya-ibni. ¹⁸⁻²¹ He will bring forth the sheep and del[iver] (them) to Eanna on the 14th of Abu.

21–23 [If] he does not bring forth (the animals), [he will compensate] Ean[na with x mina silver].

24–26 x sacrificial lamb(s) [...] will deliv[er ...] ...

[the rest is broken]

Col. vi (Rev. ii)

I ¹⁻⁴ [...]

5–7 [... Na]nāya-aḥu-uṣur son of DIN-RA-ŠEŠ will withdraw and deliver to Eanna.

7–11 Nanāya-aḥu-uṣur swore by [Bél] and the king: ‘(I swear) that I will withdraw [x] silver and deliver it to Eanna by the end of Dûzu.’

12–19 Witnesses: Rēmūt son of Sîn-aḥu-iddin descendant of Šappāya, Bulluṭāya son of Nabû-šumu-iškun, Nabê-natan [son of] Taḥallu, Marduk-šumu-ibni son of Nadnāya, Nabû-šumu-šubši son of Šumu-ukin, and the scribe Nabû-bān-aḥi son of Ibnāya.

19–21 Uruk, 7/8th of Dûzu, 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

22 [x.ḫI].A LAL-ti šá MU 13.KAM?
 23 [] ¹Id+AG–NUMUN–DU
 24 [¹Id+AG?–ŠEŠ]meš–MU ina ¹UNUG^{ki}
 [the rest is broken]

Col. vii (Rev. iii)

1 [md+A]G?–¹ŠEŠ¹meš–MU ^d+EN u LUGAL
 2 ¹it-te¹-me ki-i a-di-¹i¹
 3 UD 24.KAM še-e-nu ab-ba-kam-ma
 4 a-na é-an-na a-nam-di-nu
 5 ¹mu-kin-nu ¹re-mut A-šú šá
 6 ¹Id30–ŠEŠ^{meš}–MU A ¹su-ti-i[a]
 7 ¹Id+AG–¹NUMUN¹–GÁL-ši A ¹šu²-ma-a
 8 A ¹ZÁLAG–^d30 ¹Id+AG–MU–DU
 9 A ¹IdU.GUR–DIN-iṭ A ¹šu–^dna-na¹-[a]
 10 ¹bul-luṭ-a A ¹Id+AG–MU–GIN-un
 11 u ¹UMBISAG ¹Id+AG–DÛ–ŠEŠ
 12 A-šú šá ¹DÛ-a A ¹é-kur-za-kir
 13 UNUG^{ki} itⁱŠU UD 20.1.LAL.KAM
 14 MU 13.KAM ¹Id+AG–NÍG.DU–ÛRU
 15 LUGAL TIN.TIR^k[i]

16 ina itⁱŠU¹ ¹Id+EN–DIN-iṭ A-šú šá
 17 ¹šu-la-a ki-i ¹Id+AG–NUMUN–DÛ
 18 A ¹SUM^{na}-a ù ki-i
 19 ¹Id+AG–DIN-su-iq-bi A-šú šá
 20 ¹Id+AG–NUMUN–DÛ ib-ba-kam-ma
 21 a-na é-an-na i-nam-din
 22 ki-i la i-tab-ka
 23 2 MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR a-n[a (x x)]
 24 é-an-na i-[tur-ra]
 25 ¹mu-kin-nu ¹Id+[AG/EN–x-x]
 26 A ¹Id+EN–ri-bi [x x x (x)]
 27 A ¹Id+EN–¹DÛ x¹ [x x x (x)]
 28 ¹x¹ []
 [the rest is broken]

Col. viii (Rev. iv)

1 []
 2 [UNUG^{ki} itⁱŠU?¹
 3 [UD x.KAM MU 13].KAM
 4 [¹Id+AG–NÍG.DU–ÛRU LUGA]L TIN.TIR^{ki}

5 [x x x x mi-ti]-ti šá MU 13.KAM
 6 [x x x x x x] ri-ḫi-it KÛ.BABBAR
 7 [x x x MU 11+]2.KAM ina <itⁱ>NE
 8 [x x x x x x]-am? ¹MU–ŠEŠ
 9 [x x x x ina U]GU ¹Id+AG–NUMUN–MU
 10 [x x x x UD x+]1.KAM šá itⁱAPIN
 11 [a-na é-an-na] i-nam-din

J ^{22–24} [...] deficit of year 13? [...] Nabû-zêru-ukîn [... Nabû-
 aḫḫ]ē-iddin in Uruk. [... ...]

[the rest is broken]

Col. vii (Rev. iii)

(J cont.) ^{1–4} Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin swore by Bēl and the king: ‘(I
 swear) that I will bring forth the sheep and deliver
 (them) to Eanna by the 23th day.’

5–12 Witnesses: Rēmūt son of Sîn-aḫū-iddin descendant
 of Sutia, Nabû-zêru-šubši son of Šumāya descend-
 ant of Nūr-Sîn, Nabû-šumu-ukîn son of Nergal-
 uballit descendant of Gimil-Nanāya, Bulluṭāya son
 of Nabû-šumu-iškun, and the scribe Nabû-bān-aḫī
 son of Ibnāya descendant of Ekur-zākir.

13–15 Uruk, 19th of Dûzu, 13th year of Nebuchadne[zzar],
 king of Babylon.

K ^{16–21} Bēl-uballit son of Šulāya will bring forth either
 Nabû-zêru-ibni son of Iddināya or Nabû-balāssu-
 iqbī son of Nabû-zêru-ibni and deliver (them) to
 Eanna in Dûzu.

22–24 If he will not bring (them) forth, he will give 2 minas
 of silver to Eanna

25 Witnesses: [Nabû-šumu-iddin] son of Bēl-rībī [PN]
 son of Bēl-ibni ...

[rest is broken]

Col. viii (Rev. iv)

(K cont.?) ^{1–4} [...] ...[Uruk, day x] of Dûzu, [13th year of Nebu-
 chadnezzar, ki]ng of Babylon.

L ^{6–9} [...] defi]cit of year 13 [...] the remainder of the silver
 [...] of year 1]3, in the month of Abu [...] Nādin-aḫī [...] is o]wed by Nabû-zêru-iddin.

10–11 He will deliver it [to Eanna] on the] 1st of Araḫsamna.

12 [l^d+AG–NUMUN–MU M]U ina ^d+EN u LUGAL
 13 [i^t-te-m]e ki-i ^{iti}APIN
 14 [i^q-ta]-tu-ú a-di še-e-nu
 15 [ib-ba-k]am-ma a-na é-an-na
 16 [i-na]m-di-nu ^{lú}mu-kin-nu
 17 ^lšū¹-zu-bu A ^lḫa-^laḫ¹-ḫu-ru^l(Uḫ)
 18 A ^lE-^dIŠKUR ^lina-SÜḪ-SUR
 19 A ^lNUMUN-ki^t-ti-GIŠ A ^lZÁLAG-^d30
 20 ^lre-mut A ^lba-la-ṭu
 21 A ^lḫa-an-bu ^lba-lat-su
 22 A ^ld+AG–NUMUN–MU u ^{lú}UMBISAG
 23 ^ld+AG–DÜ–ŠEŠ A ^lDÜ-a
 24 A ^lé-kur-za-kir UNUG^{ki}
 25 ^{iti}NE (UD).7.KAM MU 13.KAM
 26 [lⁱ] ^ld¹+AG–NÍG.DU–ÜRU LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

27 [x U₈ G]AL^{meš} NÍG.GA ^dINNIN ŠÁ UNUG^{ki}
 28 [u^dn]a-na-a LAL-tú šá MU 13.KAM
 29 [ina UGU] ^ll¹LÚ-^dna-na-a
 30 [x x] x x x x [x x]

12–17a [Nabû-zêru-id]din swore by Bêl and the king: ‘(I swear) that I will bring forth the sheep and deliver (them) to Eanna by the end of Araḫsamna.’

17b–25a Witnesses: Šüzubu son of Ḫaḫḫuru descendant of Iqbi-Adad, Ina-tēšê-ēṭir son of Zêru-kitti-līšir descendant of Nûr-Sîn, Rêmut son of Balātu descendant of Ḫanbu, Balāssu son of Nabû-zêru-iddin and the scribe Nabû-bān-aḫi son of Ibnāya descendant of Ekur-zākir.

25b–26 Uruk, 7 of Abu, 13th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

M 27–30 [x] mat[ure ewes] property of Ištar of Uruk [and N]anāya, deficit of year 13 [which is owed] by Amil-Nanāya [the rest broken]

Prosopographical notes

Case A – i 6’: [lⁱDN–M]U–MU A ^ld+EN – TIN-su – ^lE[?]¹ is currently unknown from any text from this period. A certain Marduk-šumu-iddin/Bêl-balāssu-iqbi//Gimil-Nanāya is attested some 32 years later in a promissory note written in Borsippa, YBC 3710 (= ZA 66, 284–285, 1 AM). He is co-debtor for 6 talents of wool alongside Sîn-iddin (the *qīpu*) and Nabû-bān-aḫi/Ibnāya//Ekur-zākir, who is the scribe of the original tablet. The fact that Nabû-bān-aḫi is mentioned in both texts cannot serve as a strong argument for the identification of DN-šumu-iddin/Bêl-balāssu-iqbi from our text as the Marduk-šumu-iddin/Bêl-balāssu-iqbi from 30 years later. However, the 30 years gap does not dismiss the possibility that the same men are attested in both texts.

i 7’–8’, vi 18,³ vii 12’, viii 23: The scribe Nabû-bān-aḫi/Ibnāya//Ekur-zākir is a well-known figure in the Eanna archive, who was active for more than 40 years; from 4 Nbk (YBC 7429) to 0 Ner (YBC 3752 = ZA 66, 289). During the early years of his career he held the modest administrative position as a scribe, frequently working alongside the *šatammu*, Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin (4–19 Nbk).⁴ Later,

mostly from ca. 30 Nbk onwards, Nabû-bān-aḫi became one of the most influential bureaucrats in the temple. The early part of Nabû-bān-aḫi’s career is discussed by Levavi (2018, 124–130). For the later part of his career, see Sack 1977; Janković 2005, 170 (with further attestations not listed by Sack in appendix A, p. 180); and a general overview in Frahm/Jursa 2011, 4–5 (who read the name as Nabû-tabni-ušur).

In the present text Nabû-bān-aḫi is attested in four of the surviving cases: A, I, J, and L. None of the original tablets of the four cases are known, and we do not know of any other text written by Nabû-bān-aḫi in 13 Nbk.⁵

Case B – i 12’–13’, ii 18’: The only attestations of the name Abi-rām come from YBC 9132 (= case A) alongside his brother of Šillāya and their father Ilāya-nūrī, and in FLP 1528 (Dillard 10 = case D), he is attested as the father of Nabû-damqānni (see below); i.e. two documents concerning animal deficits from 13 Nbk and their duplicate case in the present Sammeltafel. Thus, it is certain that both cases refer to the same individual.

i 13’: For Šillāya/Ilāya-nūrī, see the note regarding Abi-rām, his brother (above). For the question of identifying Šillāya/Mannu-kī-aḫi in ii 18’–19’, see the note there.

³ Without family name.

⁴ Nabû-bān-aḫi’s first attestation, YBC 7429, is in fact the first attestation of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin as *šatammu*.

⁵ He is the scribe of YBC 9143, a guarantee for *iškāru* written in Babylon, which may be dated to 13 Nbk, but is more likely to have been written a few years later.

i 23'–26': As expected, all of the witnesses are attested in the original tablet, YBC 9132; see below.

Zēria/Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin may be attested in three additional texts: 1) YOS 17, 270, 10.05.12 (no RN, but most probably of Nebuchadnezzar), regarding undelivered iron; 2) UCP 9/1, 17, 11.09.07 Nbk, alongside Aplāya/Bēl-zēru-erība, regarding oxen and sheep. Although the hand copy shows a clear SU at the end of the name of Zēria's father (i.e. Zēria/Bēl-aḥḥē-erība), the sign is quite broken in the published photo,⁶ and the traces fit a MU reading; 3) PTS 2166, regarding a delivery of dates. The date listed in the CDLI as 02.07.13, though an examination of the photo shows that it should be amended to 02.04*.13 (no RN, but most probably of Nebuchadnezzar). If this is indeed the same individual, then PTS 2166 also gives his family name, Zēria/Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin//Aḥḥēšāya. This raises the question of a possible connection between him and the scribe Zēria/Aḥḥēšāya (cases 5, 7, see below). However, given the speculative identification of the present Zēria/Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin with that in PTS 2166, and the lack of positive argumentation for the identification of any of them with the scribe Zēria/Aḥḥēšāya, there is no justification for this identification at this point.

Silim-Bēl [son of] Bēl-aḥḥē-iddin, apart from YBC 9132, is not yet attested elsewhere in the Eanna archive.

Amil-Nabû/Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu is the scribe of two of the original texts in our tablet: case B (i 26') and case D (ii.33'). Coincidentally, the original tablets, YBC 9132 and FLP 1528 respectively, are the only certain attestations of Amil-Nabû in the Eanna archive currently known.

Case D – ii 17'f.: Nabû-damqanni/Abi-rām is attested only here and in the original tablet, FLP 1528. Given the rarity of the name in the Eanna archive, his father, Abi-rām, must be the same individual as in case B.

ii 18'f., i 24', 25': Šillāya/Mannu-k(i)-aḥi is attested only here and in the original tablet, FLP 1528. Šillāya is the guarantor for the son of Abi-rām, who is attested in case B with his brother, also named Šillāya. The two, however, have different fathers. It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that either Ilāya-nūrī (case B) or Mannu-k(i)-aḥi are family names, and thus the Šillāya in case B and the one in case D are probably not the same individual.

¹*man-nu-ka – a-¹ḥu¹*: The *-ka-*, rather than the expected *-ki-* is probably a sandhi writing due to the following *-a-* of *aḥi*.

ii 29'–33': All the witnesses, as well as the scribe, are attested in the original tablet, FLP 1528 (Dillard 10); see below.

ii 29': Balāssu/Kiribtu, apart from the original tablet of case B, FLP 1528, may be identified as Balāssu/Kiribtu//Nūr-Sîn, the scribe of YBC 3844, written 12 years later (25 Nbk) concerning a mudbrick house given as a gift by a father to his daughter.

ii 30': Ša-Nabû-šū/Ammēni-ili is not yet attested elsewhere in the Eanna archive (apart from FLP 1528).

ii 31': Nabû-zēru-iddin/Ibnāya: A man by that name provides an adult cow in GC 1, 84 (37 Nbk) and is also attested in two unpublished texts: NCBT 346 (35 Nbk) regarding dates for beer and YBC 4143 (38 Nbk) regarding a lease of a garden outside the city. Given the 20-year gap between our text and this common name, he cannot be identified with certainty.

ii 32': Rēmūt/²ābād is not yet attested elsewhere in the Eanna archive (apart from FLP 1528). For the name, see also BIN 1, 175: 11 (undated administrative text); see Zadok 1979, 334. 338 n. 8 (where he retracts his earlier notes in Zadok 1977/78, 45. 49).

ii 33': Amil-Nabû/Nabû-šar-aḥḥēšu; see i 26' above.

Case E – iii 23'–24': The scribe Zēria/Aḥḥēšāya (see Kümmel 1979, 126) is attested in at least four additional texts in the Eanna archive. He receives barley in PTS 2585 (03.12.13 Nbk), is sent with silver for pottery ware in NCBT 1016 (12.01.23 Nbk), is the scribe of UCP 9/1, 44 (20.08.23 Nbk) regarding the delivery of bricks, NCBT 1016, and receives 1 ½ shekel of silver as salary in GC 1, 228 (x Nbk).⁷

Case G – v 8: For Zēria/Aḥḥēšāya, see iii 23–24 above.

Case H – v 15–16: Apl[āya]/Nanāya-ibni is probably the brother of Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni (see v 17–18). We are unaware of any other attestations of this individual in the Eanna archive. Importantly, he is the only individual in the entire text who was identified by his profession (scribes excluded), although the title itself is unfortunately lost: ¹ū¹ [x]. Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni, who may be Aplāya's brother, may be identified as a ploughman (*ikkaru*) and decurion (*rab ešerti*) or, alternatively, a herdsman (*nāqidu*); see below. If Apl[āya] is indeed related to Bulluṭāya, then he would certainly be the younger brother. Although we assume most, if not all, of the different debtors are shepherds (*rē²ū*), nothing can be said regarding the specific title or profession of Apl[āya] in the present case.

⁶ The photo is available in the CDLI webpage (<https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248303.jpg>, CDLI no. P248303, accessed 16.06.18).

⁷ A man by that name is also mentioned in YOS 17, 320 (21.11.10 Nbk), which was written in Nippur. Although possible, it is unlikely that this is the same individual.

v 17–18: Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni: Janković (2013, 93) lists ten attestations of a ploughman (*ikkaru*) and a decurion (*rab ešerti*) by that name attested from 1 Nbk (BIN 1, 60: 12) until 19 Nbk (BIN 1, 112: 4). She further notes (*ibid* note 279) that a herdsman (*nāqīdu*) named Bulluṭāya/Nanāya-ibni receives ox hides in an unpublished letter order, NBC 4630 (18[?] [Nbk[?]]). Given the different titles, she is uncertain that the same individual is attested on each occasion. Given the present context, we can probably identify our Bulluṭāya with the herdsman from NBC 4630. His possible connection to his contemporary namesake ploughman remains unclear.

Case I – vi 5: Nanāya-aḥu-ušur/¹DIN-RA-ŠEŠ: It is tempting to identify this individual as Nanāya-aḥu-ušur/Ṭāb-Uruk attested in YOS 17, 114 (01.04[?].22 Nbk). Reading the first sign of the personal name, DIN, as DUG is possible, and the *Winkelhaken* of the final ŠEŠ may be the UNUG sign plus the left side of K[I]. The main problem with such an interpretation is the rather clear RA, which would have to be read as GA. The fact that our current reading does not formulate a proper name may favour the slight forcing of the signs, and it may also be argued that such copying mistakes are expected to some extent in a copy of another tablet.

Another possible, though uncertain, attestation would be of Nanāya-aḥu-ušur the shepherd (*rē'û*) mentioned in YBC 9259. The text may have been written in 13 Nbk as well, though the tablet is damaged, and the reading of the date is also uncertain.

vi 12–13: Rēmūt/Sîn-aḥḥē-iddin(//[?])Šappāya must be the same individual as Rēmūt/Sîn-aḥḥē-iddin//Sutia who is the first witness in case J (vii 5–6). This is despite the different family name (as well as the missing MEŠ in his father's name: ¹d130–ŠEŠ(^{meš})–MU). He is known as a witness from at least one additional text in the Eanna archive, AnOr. 8, 5: 14 dealing with sheep and goats as well and written in Uruk only three weeks later (27.04.13 Nbk). Importantly, in all cases, Rēmūt/Sîn-aḥḥē-iddin is followed by the same Bulluṭāya/Nabû-šumu-iškun (in case J the two are separated by Nabû-zēru-šubši/Šumāya//Nūr-Sîn). Still, the clan name of Rēmūt/Sîn-aḥḥē-iddin is clearly not Sutia (“Sutean”) as in the two other attestations. If not a scribal error, one may suggest that the name Šappāya is connected with the town of Šapiya, which is located in Bīt-Amukāni, an area where many Arameans/Suteans resided. For the town of Šapiya, see e.g., TCL 13, 230: 12 (a cadastral list of *limu* lands), and two attestations from the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions of Sennacherib, RINAP 3.1, 1: 42 and RINAP 3.2, 213: 42 (^{uru}sa-pi-a), and see Frame (2009). For Suteans in southern Babylonia see Heltzer (1987, 93–98), Zadok (2003, 482), Streck (2014, 303–305).

vi 14: Bulluṭāya/Nabû-šumu-iškun is also attested in case J (vii 10) and as a witness to AnOr. 8, 5: 16, dealing with sheep and goats as well and written in Uruk only three weeks later (27.04.13 Nbk; preceded by Rēmūt/Sîn-aḥḥē-iddin//Sutia as well; see above).

vi 15–16: Nabê-natan/Taḥallu is attested as a witness in the promissory note, YOS 17, 13 (05.04.17 Nbk), written in Babylon. He may also be the Nabê-natan whose shepherd (*rē'û*) receives 7 sheep in the undated list VS 20, 55: 14.

vi 18: Nabû-bān-aḥi/Ibnāya(//Ekur-zākir); see i 7'–8'.

Case J – vii 5–6: Rēmūt/Sîn-aḥḥē-iddin//Sutia is attested in AnOr. 8, 5: 14, written three weeks later (27.04.13 Nbk). He is probably attested once more in the present text in vi 12–13, see note above.

vii 7: Nabû-zēru-šubši/Šumāya//Nūr-Sîn is attested as the first witness to a house sale, YOS 17, 3: 29 (09.12.03 Nbk).

vii 8–9: Nabû-šumu-ukīn/Nergal-uballit//Gimil-Nanāya is attested in YOS 17, 323 (11.02.12 Nbk) and probably UCP 9/2, 55 (no patronym). He is not to be mistaken for Nabû-šumu-ukīn/Nergal-uballit (//Ea-kurbanni), a goldsmith whose early activity corresponds to that of Nabû-šumu-ukīn/Nergal-uballit//Gimil-Nanāya.⁸

vii 12: Nabû-bān-aḥi/Ibnāya(//Ekur-zākir); see i 7'–8'.

Case K – vii 17–18: Nabû-zēru-ibni/Iddināya is attested in an unpublished text, PTS 2254 (09.03.14 Nbk),⁹ an assessment (of multiple individuals), according to Kozuh's (2014, 51 n. 56) terminology.

vii 25–26: ¹d+[AG/EN-X-X]/Bēl-rībi; a certain Nabû-šumu-iddin/Bēl-rībi is buying a house in BaM 5, 1: 13. Note however that the text is dated to 01 Npl, i.e. predates our text by more than 30 years.

Case L – viii 19–20: Ina-tēšē-ēṭir/Zēru-kitti-līšir//Nūr-Sîn is attested as a witness in three slightly later texts: BM 114463, its duplicate BM 114661 (25 Nbk), and BM 114638 (30 Nbk).

viii 20–21: Rēmūt/Balātu//Hanbu is attested as a witness, with full affiliation, in BIN 1, 107 (08.09.16 Npl). A certain Rēmūt/Balātu (no family name) is attested in the following three texts: GC 2, 215 (undated administra-

⁸ Thus for example Nabû-šumu-ukīn/Nergal-uballit//Ea-kurbanni is attested for the first time in YOS 17, 200 (22.02.03 Nbk, Payne 2007, 221), and see Payne (2007, 249–250) for all the goldsmiths known attestations. Payne does not list the promissory note AnOr. 8, 1 (30.09.0a Nbk), in which no patronym is given. The early date might point at our Nabû-šumu-ukīn/Nergal-uballit//Gimil-Nanāya, though this is uncertain given that it predates the first attestation of Nabû-šumu-ukīn/Nergal-uballit//Ea-kurbanni by only three years.

⁹ See photo in the CDLI, No. P470347 (accessed 15.07.18).

tive list of names), YOS 17, 124 (12.09.03 Nbk, receipt for barley), and PTS 2667 (14.03.13 Nbk, as a witness). The identification of our Rēmūt/Balātu//Ħanbu is possible, though doubtful.

viii 21–22: Balāssu/Nabû-zēru-iddin is attested as a witness in AnOr. 8, 5: 19.

viii 23. Nabû-bān-aḫi/Ibnāya//Ekur-zākir; see i 7'–8'.

General commentary

Case B – i 11'–28': Case B was copied from YBC 9132 (to be published by Kristin Kleber). The two texts present a few minor orthographic differences,¹⁰ and two scribal errors. The first is ^{iti}šU (DU) (i 20') vs. ^{iti}šU (YBC 9132: 9) in the source tablet. Secondly, the scribe of our compendium omitted the name of first witness, ¹A-a A-šú šá ^{ld}+EN-am-me-ni (YBC 9132: 12). YBC 9132 is written in landscape format while the individual cases in our text are written in a portrait format. As a result, although the copy follows the original text's arrangement up to the fourth line (i 14'), there are slight departures thereafter. Finally, a ruling line separates the lower edge of YBC 9132 from its reverse, i. e. the body of the text from the witness list. This line is obviously missing in the copy, in which the copyist separated only the different cases.

i 18': *i-tur-ru-nu*: The translation of *tāru* as 'to compensate' follows the CAD T 262, s.v. *tāru* 7; see also in ii 25 and (restored in) v 23. While the transitive use of *tāru* in the G stem is indeed peculiar, it is nonetheless well attested in the

period (*ibid.*). An alternative, and a slightly more grammatically fateful, translation for these cases would be: *If he/they will not bring forth and deliver (the animals), he/they will return to Eanna (with) x amount of silver. It should also be noted, however, that this complex issue bears no significant implication on the understanding of the described transactions in the context of our discussion.¹¹

i 20'–21', ii 26'–27', iii 2', viii 14–15: For the oath formula *tamû + kī adī*, and the rare separation of the *kī adī* element, see Sandowicz (2012, 23–25).

Case C – i 29'–30': This is a rare case in which both terms for male lambs, *parru* and *kalūmu*, are used together (see e. g., YOS 7, 143). Following Kozuh (2014, 61–63), *parru* is translated as young male sheep and *kalūmu* as male lambs.

Case D – ii 14'–35': Case D was copied from FLP 1528 (Dillard 10). The two texts present a few minor orthographic differences.¹² Especially interesting is the erroneous omission of *i* in *la (i)-tab-kam-ma* (ii 22'), which is found in the original text as well (FLP 1528: 9). This is obviously the result of an inattentive copyist reproducing an error that he should have been able to spot and correct. As in case B and YBC 9132, the original tablet is written in a landscape format while the individual cases in our tablet are in portrait format. In the present case, the copyist followed the original arrangement until the eleventh line (ii 24'). Again, as in case B and YBC 9132, the copyist left out the ruling line separating the body of the text from the witness list (ii 28', FLP 1528: 15–16). Here are the two texts side by side:

Case B (Col. ii)

14' 10 U₈.GAL^{meš} 10 [udu¹ka-lum-me^{meš}]
 15' 10 BAR.GAL^{meš} ¹PAP¹ [30 UDU.ĦI.A^{meš}]
 16' mi-ti-ti šá ¹MU¹.1[3.KAM]
 17' šá ina UGU ^{ld}+AG–dam-qa-an-[ni]
 18' A-šú šá ¹a-bi-ra-am ¹šil¹-l[a-a]
 19' A-šú šá ¹man-nu-ka-a-ḫu pu-us-s]u[
 20' na-ši ina ^{iti}šU U₈.UDU.ĦI.A¹
 21' ib-bak-kam-ma a-na é-an-n[a]
 22' i-nam-din ki-i la (i)-tab-kam-ma
 23' la it-tan-nu 1 ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR
 24' ¹šil-la-a a-na é-an-na
 25' i-tur-ra ¹šil-la-a ^d+EN u LUGAL
 26' it-te-me k[i]-i¹ ^{iti}šU iq-ta-¹tu¹-u

FLP 1528 (Dillard 10)

1. 10 U₈.GAL^{meš} 10 UDU ka-lum-mi^{meš}
 2. 10 par-ru PAP 30 UDU.ĦI.A^{meš}
 3. mi-ti-ti šá MU 13.KAM
 4. šá ina UGU ^{ld}+AG–dam-qa-an-ni
 5. A-šú šá ¹a-bi-ra-am ¹šil-la-a
 6. A-šú šá ¹man-nu-ka-a-ḫu [pu-u]s-su
 7. na-ši ina ^{iti}šU U₈.UDU.ĦI.A^{meš}
 8. ib-bak-kam-ma a-na ¹é¹-an-¹na¹
 9. i-nam-din ¹ki¹-i la (i)-tab-kam-ma
 l. e. la it-tan-nu ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR
 11. ¹šil-la-a a-na é-an-na [i-tur-ra]
 rev. ¹šil-la-a ina ^d+EN u LUGAL it-te-me
 13. ki-i ^{iti}šU iq-ta-tu-ú

¹⁰ [la i]t-tan-na (i 17') vs. la it-tan-un (YBC 9132: 6), i-tur-ru-nu (i 18') vs. i-tur-ra¹-nu (YBC 9132: 7), U₈.UDU.ĦI.A (i 21') vs. UDU.ĦI.A^{meš} (YBC 9132: 10).

¹¹ We wish to thank the editors and Johannes Hackl for their helpful notes on this matter.

¹² BAR.GAL^{meš} (ii 15') vs. par-ru (FLP 1528: 2), U₈.UDU.ĦI.A (ii 20') vs. UDU.ĦI.A^{meš} (FLP 1528: 7) – this omission of the MEŠ sign is found in the copy of case B (see note 10 above), ab-bak-kam-ma (ii 27') vs. ab-kam-ma (FLP 1528: 14), ¹ki-¹rib¹-tu (ii 29') vs. ¹ki-¹rib¹-ti (FLP 1528: 16).

- 27' *a-di* U₈.UDU.ĤI.A *ab-bak-kam-ma*
 28' *a-nam-din-nu* ^{lú}*mu-kin-nu*
 29' ^{lú}*ba-laṭ-su* A ^{lú}*ki-rib*¹-*tu*
 30' ^{lú}*ša*-^d+AG-*šu*¹-*ú* A ^{lú}*am-me-ni*-DINGIR^{meš}
 31' ^{lú}+AG-*NUMUN*-MU A ^{lú}*ib-na-a*
 32' ^{lú}*re-mut* A ^{lú}*a-bad* u ^{lú}UMBISAG
 33' ^{lú}LÚ-^d+AG A ^{lú}+AG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ-ŠÚ
 34' UNUG^{ki} ^{iti}ŠU UD 3.KAM MU 13.KAM
 35' ^{lú}+AG-NÍG.DU¹-ÛRU LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

14. *a-di* U₈.UDU.ĤI.A *ab-kam-ma*
 15. *a-nam-di-nu*
 16. ^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^{lú}*ba-laṭ-su* A ^{lú}*ki-rib-ti*
 17. ^{lú}*ša*-^d+AG-*šu*¹-*ú* A ^{lú}*am-me-ni*-DINGIR^{meš}?
 18. ^{lú}+AG-*NUMUN*-MU A ^{lú}*ib-na-a*
 19. ^{lú}*re-mut* A ^{lú}*a-bad*¹
 20. ^{lú}UMBISAG ^{lú}LÚ-^d+AG A ^{lú}+AG-[ŠEŠ-ŠÚ]
 u. e. UNUG^{ki} ^{iti}ŠU UD [3.KAM MU 13.KAM]
 22. ^{lú}+AG-NÍG.DU¹-ÛRU LU[GAL TIN.TIR^{ki}]

Case E – iii 27': The three single wedges of 13 are written horizontally; see also vi 20.

Case H – v 23: For the restoration of *tānu*, see i 18', ii 25'.

v 24: The spelling U₈.SILA₄, translated as sacrificial lamb, rather than (^{udu})SILA₄, is unexpected. CAD P, 476 reads SILA₄ as *puḫādu*, while Kozuh (2014, 61f.) argues that in the Eanna archive it is better to read (^{udu})SILA₄ as *parru*.¹³ The only other example known to us of the spelling U₈.SILA₄ in the first millennium is found in a fragment of a Sumerian text, VAT 17523: 5'; see George 1992, 231 (no. 47). Another option would be to regard this spelling as separate terms, i. e. ewe and lamb.¹⁴

Case I – vi 20: The three single wedges of 13 are written horizontally; see also iii 27'.

Case J – vi 22: LAL-*tí*, here and LAL-*tú* in viii 28 must stand for *miṭītu*, although the regular reading of the logogram would be *maṭū*.¹⁵ According to Kozuh (2014, 53f.), the variation SÍK.ĤI.A LAL-*tí* / SÍK.ĤI.A *mi-ṭi-tū* is found in column headings of two unpublished assessment texts of multiple herdsmen: NCBT 339 (20 Npl) and NBC 4893 (12 Nbk).¹⁶ Given these three cases (vi 22, viii 28, and NCBT 339),¹⁷ we may tentatively suggest the equation LAL = *miṭītu* during the late 7th and early 6th centuries.

vii 13: For the spelling 20.1.LAL.KAM for 19 by Nabû-bān-aḫi, see for example TCL 12, 62: 16 (1 AM) and PTS 2850 (Janković 2013, 125, 26 Nbk).

Case L – viii 17: ^{lú}*ha*-^{lú}*aḫ*¹-^{lú}*hu*-*ru*¹(U₈); the emendation of the name is due to the fact that the name Ḫaḫḫuḫ is

not attested elsewhere. A less likely possibility is to derive the name from *ḫaḫḫu* ([B] a fruit tree and its fruits or [C] an iron implement; see CAD Ḫ, 29 and DNWSI 362), which would also require an explanation for the final *ḫ*.¹⁸ The name *Ḫaḫḫuru* however is attested numerous times in the Babylonian onomasticon and one can argue that this was a scribal error since the name already contains an *aḫ/uh* sign.

Case M– viii 28: LAL-*tú* for *miṭītu*, see vi 22.

Discussion

The text records thirteen separate cases all concerning sheep deficits (*miṭītu*) of herdsmen tending to the temple's flocks. As can be seen from the prosopographical notes above, most of the individuals (protagonists, witnesses, and scribes) are known from Eanna's orbit. Furthermore, two of the original tablets that were copied to this compendium survive to the present day.¹⁹

The original tablets were all drafted in Uruk and the animals were expected to be delivered to the temple itself. With one exception, all of the source tablets were drafted in Dûzu (IV). Case L is the only preserved case for which the source text was written in Abu (V). This, as we will see below, is crucial for contextualising our compendium. During that period of the year (months III–V, May/June–August/September), the lamb harvest and shearing took place. The fact that most livestock inventories, audits, and scribal daybooks date to these months shows that the animals were grazing in the vicinity of Uruk (Kozuh 2014, 14). Thus, the temple had the herdsmen take care of their deficits before going further away from the city during the summer. The said deficits probably relate to deliveries of animals to the temple rather than to animal deficits in the

¹³ Note that ^{udu}*pu*-*ḫal*, ^{udu}*par*-*ru*, and ^{udu}SILA₄ are attested side by side in BE 10, 106.

¹⁴ We wish to thank Antoine Cavigneaux for this suggestion.

¹⁵ Other possible readings of the sign are *ḫaṭū* and *niḫistu* (MZL No. 750).

¹⁶ The photos (and transliteration) of NCBT 339, kindly made available to us by R. Pirngruber, show that SÍK.ĤI.A LAL is indeed to be read (without phonetic complement). We thus assume that NBC 4893 had SÍK.ĤI.A *mi-ṭi-tū* heading the fourth column. The date of NBC 4893 is given in Beaulieu 2003, 125.

¹⁷ Since Kozuh mentions only two texts in which we find this heading (2014, 53), we assume that each contains one of the two variants (2014, 54).

¹⁸ The possibility that the name derived from the Aramaic root *ḫwh* ("to be happy") is even less likely as this does not explain the middle *ḫ* and other added elements like *'h* cannot explain the first *ḫ*. Furthermore, the root is not attested in Old or Imperial Aramaic.

¹⁹ YBC 9132 (case B) and FLP 1528 (= Dillard 10) (case D).

herd.²⁰ Compendia such as the one presented above are rare in the Eanna archive, and to the best of our knowledge there is only one close parallel, BaM 5, 17. The text, which will be discussed below, summarises fifteen promissory notes, mostly dealing with silver, which are owed to Marduk-nāšir/Nabû-ušallim/Šamšēa and his son Nabû-šumu-lišir.²¹ This might seem to stand in contrast to our compendium, in which neither the protagonists nor the scribes of the source tablets can be said to tie all cases together. An overview of the assembled cases suggests that the rationale behind our compendium is thematic: these are (the?) animal deficits from 13 Nbk.

In light of this, it may be argued that what we have here is a rare exemplar of Eanna's accounting, a missing link in the temple's record keeping practices. We argue, however, that this is not the case, and that the text should be placed in a legal, rather than an administrative, context.²²

M. Jursa (2004, 181–184) characterises the Neo-Babylonian institutional administration as “minimalist”. He defines administrative minimalism as one of restricted scope, focusing on keeping track of obligations, in which information is kept only inasmuch as it will be needed in the future (Jursa 2004, 146).²³ In reality, in spite of our substantial acquaintance with Neo-Babylonian institutional documentation, we do not know how often summary lists and balanced accounts were compiled, and it seems that these were the result of special circumstances rather than routine administrative practices at fixed intervals (Jursa 2004, 162). Thus, if we are to look for an administrative function for our text, it must relate to the *ongoing* operation of the temple rather than to a summary of concluded cases.

To return to our text, it is noteworthy that the compendium is not organised chronologically, nor according to quantities. Additionally, the source tablets were not all written by the same scribe. Whatever administrative

function one might assign to the text, we should be able to identify some rationale within the inner arrangement of the cases. This challenging format, therefore, suggests against the text serving an accounting or record keeping purpose. Furthermore, any such function would only require a *Sammeltafel* rather than a full citation of each case. Data such as quantities, commodities, dates, and names are generally organised in a list or a tabulated format according to a specific administrative need, and any excess information from source texts is excluded.²⁴ As can be seen, the compendium presented here meticulously records the entire text, which seems redundant and administratively confusing if one wishes to compile a summary table.

Although the cases are not arranged chronologically, the dates of the original tablets are nonetheless key for proper contextualisation. When we examine the preserved due dates, we see that all but one case were to be settled during or by the end of Dûzu (IV). The one exception, however, is crucial. The last of the preserved cases, No. 12 was written on the 7th of Abu (V) and its due date was set for three month later (1st of Araḫsamna, VIII). The last source text presents a *terminus post quem* of one week after the rest of the cases should have been settled. We cannot say how long after the text was actually compiled, but it stands to reason that it post-dates Araḫsamna as well, as there is no reason to assume that case L is exceptional in any way. Thus, the compendium could not have been drafted in order to record the expected animals to be delivered by the end of month Dûzu. This in turn means that it could not serve a purely administrative function.

We can thus see that both the format (i. e. the arrangement of the text) and content (i. e. the expired cases) hamper the possibility that this text served a function in the accounting processes of the temple. But, what possible function could this kind of a text serve?

In order to understand the nature of the text we once again turn to the fact that the original tablets were all recorded in their entirety. This format enabled the temple to examine the original obligations taken by the debtors and the guarantors, the listed witnesses, and the scribes who drafted the documents. While this information would have no administrative function *per se*, at least none which is otherwise known from Babylonian institutional administration, it may hold much value as reference and source material in a legal context. The use of legal records

²⁰ For an extensive treatment of the Eanna model of animal husbandry, see Kozuh (2014, especially ch. 3–5); see also Levavi's (in press) review for some reservations.

²¹ BaM 5, 17 was found in a private house in the south-west of Uruk (W.20032) and belongs to a family archive (Hunger 1970, 193). For the text, and the Šamšēa (aka Nabû-ušallim) archive to which it belongs, see Hunger (1970) and Jursa (2005, 148).

²² Strictly speaking, this is not a legal text since it is not witnessed (see Jursa 2004, 150). The witnesses attested are those of the original tablets, not of the text present above.

²³ This, Jursa notes, fits to Finley's (1987, 33) “police function”, and is in contrast to maximalist administration which is additionally geared toward learning and planning for the future (e. g., calibrating estimations, future investments, etc.).

²⁴ The relevant information was probably disbursed among different topical ledgers which dealt with specific issues and departments, and therefore data from one text could have appeared in different ledgers. For this, see Jursa (2004, 175).

in various steps of investigation and trial is well documented.²⁵ Obviously it is the original tablet that is meant in these cases, and we are unaware of any use of copies. Yet it is possible that our compendium was commissioned during an investigation or a trial concerning aspect of the Eanna sheep management in the thirteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar.

Further illustration of this practice may be found in TCL 12, 119, a protocol of an investigation conducted by the administration of Eanna into a share in a five-year business venture (*ḥarrānu*) for the wool yield and breeding of 20 sheep. During the proceedings, the original debt-note (*u²iltu*) and the temple's ledgers (*lē²u*) regarding those sheep were presented to (*kullumu*) and read by (*šasû*) the court. The text is unfortunately fragmentary, and the relevant lines are incomplete, but it seems that after consulting the evidence the judges declared the debt-note invalid (van Driel 1993, 225). This legal protocol elucidates the way in which the temple held its internal inquiry and produced the relevant documents to be examined in court. Our compendium might have served a similar purpose. Such specific circumstances in which the tablet was produced could also explain its rare format and content.

A common opinion in Neo-Babylonian archival studies is that a significant number of the ledgers and running accounts of administrative institutions were drafted on wax boards, which were widely used in all spheres of the temple's administration (Jursa 2004, 170–178). With one possible exception, similar compendia are currently unknown, and it may be asked why yearly deficits would have been written down on a tablet and not on a wax board. In our opinion, the reason behind the drafting of this compendium on clay might be the request of the court for the submission of evidence as part of a legal inquiry. The formal aspect of the inquiry might have been the reason why the text was drafted on clay and has survived to the present day while other texts did not.²⁶

Another phenomenon which often accompanies legal procedures, from a modern scholar's perspective, is the accumulation of records. Once a case is finalised, the examined records are often discarded, and then unearthed, together. The best example is of course the aftermath of the infamous Gimillu, which greatly shaped what is now being referred to as the Eanna archive.²⁷ Func-

tionally, it is possible to contextualise the present text in a somewhat similar way: a collection of relevant sources pertaining to ongoing legal proceedings.

Finally, we wish to return to BaM 5, 17, which is the closest parallel to our text, at least in terms of format. The tablet, which was baked in antiquity, measures 14.5 × 9.7 cm, with two columns on each side. It contains 15 copies of promissory notes,²⁸ for which, like in our compendium, each of the original texts is copied in full (including witnesses and scribes), with ruling lines separating the cases horizontally. Another important similarity is that the lack of chronological arrangement of the cases. The earliest case (P) dates to the 6th of Šabāṭu of the 6th year of the “closure of the gate” (*edel bābi*, i. e. 620 BCE = 6 Npl)²⁹ while the latest recorded case (N) dates to the 17th of Tašritu (vii) 12 Nbk. This makes BaM 5, 17 the latest text in the Šamšēa archive and chronologically close to our compendium. As noted, the texts assembled in BaM 5, 17 are all promissory notes, and it is thus thematically assembled, again, like in our compendium. It may be argued that the fact that all of the promissory notes in BaM 5, 17 concern Marduk-nāšir/Nabû-ušallim/Šamšēa and his son Nabû-šumu-lišir differs from our compendium. However, the focus on these two family members who were owners of the archive, is a parallel to our text's focus on the temple's animal caretakers.

It is clear that the two texts are not related as far as subject matter. Yet the unique similar format and the tight chronological timeframe (12–13 Nbk) suggest that the two texts were conceptualised or initiated in the same bureaucratic context. Beyond the formal parallelism and tight chronological horizon we may also assume the two texts to correlate in function. It would thus not be a coincidence that BaM 5, 17 is the latest text in the Šamšēa archive, as it may have been deposited at the end of a legal action that brought about its drafting. This is of course highly speculative, and we know too little about the nature of both texts to make positivist claims regarding BaM 5, 17 in its private context. Finally, we should state that it is impossible for the time being to reconstruct the legal proceedings behind the compendium. The options are simply too numerous. Also unclear is the comprehensiveness of the

²⁵ See Holtz 2009, 239–240 (with examples in notes 27–28), 245–246, and Holtz 2014, nos. 8. 19. 20. 26. 28. 29. 32. 33. 34. 36. 38. 49.

²⁶ For texts deposited in Eanna, see for example YOS 7, 102 (latest edition Holtz 2014, no. 40).

²⁷ See van Driel 1998. Another possible example, that of the *šatammu* Nabû-aḥḫe-iddin, will be discussed in a forthcoming paper

by Y. Levavi, based on a presentation at the conference Priests and Priesthood in the Near East: Social, Intellectual and Economic Aspects (Tel Aviv, March 2018) under the title: How to run your Neo-Babylonian temple: a *šatammu*'s guide.

²⁸ The cases are marked by letters, A–P; there is no case J.

²⁹ This was during a period of unrest at Uruk in the early years of Nabopolassar that included the temporary Assyrian recapture of the city (see Beaulieu 1997).

compendium. Were these all the sheep deficits of year 13? Are these all the deficits of a specific sector or official in the temple? Did the debtors or guarantors meet their obligations towards the temple? The lack of answers prevents us at this point from reaching a fuller and deeper understanding of the text. We tentatively argue that the binding factor was the temple official(s) ultimately responsible for these animals, and the proposed legal context may point to problems in deliveries. However, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the legal context might have been connected with a private contractor.

In conclusion, the compendium presented above is a rare example of a unique text format. *Prima vista*, the text seem to be a kind of *Sammeltafel*, which would place it in the context of bookkeeping and accounting.³⁰ We argue, however, that this does not withstand scrutiny. Three main arguments ought to be made in this respect:

1. the copying of *redundant* details (viz. witnesses, scribes, place of drafting).
2. the lack of internal order of the cases.
3. the fact the said cases have expired by the time of drafting.

The best context for the tablet, in our view, would be in the legal sphere. The evidence leads us to suggest that it was part of an internal inquiry by temple authorities into the affairs of a specific official or possibly a department. Lastly, despite the great leap forward in our understanding of the legal and administrative structures and practices in Neo-Babylonian temples,³¹ and despite the fact that each individual case is fairly clear, the text published above serves as a reminder of how much still eludes us in the study of Neo-Babylonian temple archives.

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³⁰ As it was indeed characterised by Hunger (1970) in his edition of *BaM* 5, 17.

³¹ E.g., in regards animal husbandry (Kozuh 2014), agriculture (Janković 2013), craftsmen (Payne 2007), legal procedures (Holtz 2009), and for more general discussion see Bongenaar 1997; Da Riva 2002; Kleber 2008; Levavi 2018.