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The Arrows of the Sun
Armed Forces in Sippar in the First Millennium BC

John MacGinnis

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THE ARROWS OF THE SUN

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by John MacGinnis

with copies of the cuneiform texts

by Cornelia Wunsch



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John MacGinnis (with copies of the cuneiform texts by Cornelia Wunsch)
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Preface

This work had its origins in a study of the military activities of the Ebabbara of Sippar in the Neo-Babylonian period made possible by the grant of a Scholarship by the Wingate Foundation in 2003. The Wingate Scholarship allowed me to carry out a basic survey of the material in the Sippar Collections of the British Museum, resulting in the discovery of many new texts; to prepare editions and translations of both these new texts as well as of others previously known; and to research and write the monograph resulting from the study of this material.

The transition from manuscript to published work is almost entirely the doing of Cornelia Wunsch who first accepted the work for publication in the series *Babylonische Archive* and went on to make a colossal contribution in terms of both editorial input and in the preparation of the cuneiform copies. The latter are entirely the work of C. Wunsch and I am profoundly grateful for the unstinting application which she has devoted to this. I have no doubt that the finished work is immeasurably richer as a result.

I would also like to thank the numerous scholars who have read versions of the manuscript and contributed materially to its improvement—Cornelia Wunsch, once again, and also Muhammad Dandamayev, Irving Finkel, Mark Geller, Bojana Jankowic, Michael Jursa, Kristin Kleber, Michael Kozuh, Rocio da Riva, Matthew Stolper, Christopher Walker, Ran Zadok and Stefan Zawadzki.

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Lastly I would like to dedicate this volume to Mr. J V Kinnier Wilson who first inducted me in Assyriology and from whose lifetime of experience in the field I have never ceased to benefit.

John MacGinnis

Cambridge
December 2009

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I. Introduction

The major city temples of the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid empires held an important place in the economy of Babylonia.¹ Their extensive estates and careful administration combined into an effective instrument for the generation of wealth. This wealth brought both the need to defend their possessions and the duty to supply manpower to centralised state operations, civil and military. Temple workshops were accordingly involved in the production and maintenance of equipment. One of these cities was Sippar, and even though its Ebabbara may have been at the smaller end of the scale, its archives nevertheless give some idea of the way in which the temple resourced manpower in order to meet both its own domestic needs and to provide contingents for the use of the state. In this work we will review the evidence for the different branches of the militia present in Sippar (infantry, cavalry, chariotry), the social ranks from which they were drawn, how they were organised, their chain of command, and the economic and manufacturing base which supported these units. We will draw attention to the years for which we have evidence for campaigns and review the information on prisoners of war who were deported and given to the temple. Lastly we will give editions of new texts pertaining to these issues accompanied by numerous prosopographic tables.

Sources of recruitment

Armed units in first millennium Babylonia were raised from of a number of different sources. These included:

- (1) contingents furnished by the temple;
- (2) manpower raised from the citizen population as a result of tax obligation and/or civic duty;
- (3) soldiery resourced by fiefs;
- (4) tribal contingents;
- (5) mercenaries.

¹ For previous discussions of aspects of the economic base of the Neo-Babylonian military see Bongenaar 1997 p. 131f., Dandamayev 1984 p. 516–519, 1991/1, 1992 p. 15–19, Dandamayev & Lukonin 1988 p. 222f., Ebeling 1950, Frame 1992 p. 241–244, Joannès 1982/1 p. 8–45, Kessler 2002, Oppenheim 1985 p. 573f., Stolper 1985 *passim*, Zawadzki 2003; and cf. Moorey 1975, 1980 p. 50f. and *RLA* Pfeil und Bogen. For more on *šāb šarri* see Stolper 2001 pp. 118f., 123–127. Note that by the time of the Murašû's this term was predominantly used for payments in lieu of service, Stolper 2001 p. 123, 125. Note also *ši-da-ta šá a-na* [...] *šá it-ti LUGAL a-na* ¹⁰2-mu-ú *šá* ^{md}EN-ka-šir in BM 63847. Despite the entry in the catalogue, the men (*šābē*) listed on the reverse of BM 62511 are not necessarily soldiers.

This list may not be exhaustive, but in any case the evidence at our disposal is a patchwork—we are relatively well informed about some aspects and almost entirely in the dark about others. Due to the nature of the sources at our disposal (temple and temple-related archives) we are best informed about the men raised by the Ebabbara with only flashes of information on fiefs and the obligations on free citizens, and almost no information on tribal and mercenary contributions.

II. Temple contingents

Infantry

As a starting point we take the infantry, which is to say the archers.² They are well documented in the administrative material. Numerous texts detail payment of rations to the archers, normally dates or barley, beer (not always recorded), occasionally sheep³ and also either finished garments or an allotment of wool, as well as jerkins, sandals and headdresses.⁴ The expenses for these might also be met by payments of silver.⁵ The archers were equipped with bows (*qaštu*), bow-cases (*tillu*), arrows (*šiltabu*) and daggers

² There were of course extensions and specialisations. For example, van Driel 2002 p. 309 quotes *CAD* that *mahīyē* may have been military scouts.

³ **rations:** *Nbk.* 220, rations for the shepherds, farmers and gardeners of the bow (Nebuchadnezzar 30); *Nbn.* 23:9; *Cyr.* 39:4; *Cam.* 82; *CT* 55 69; BM 60858 (no. 13 below); BM 63925 (Bertin 1271) (Nabonidus 3); BM 65873:4'; BM 67897:rev.2' (*ina ma-la-t[i-šú]*), BM 75594:10 (Strassmaier II 176/1), BM 67677; BM 76324; BM 75828:7' (Strassmaier II 273/1), BM 99914; **beer:** *CT* 56 556; **sheep:** *CT* 56 565:1; **malātu:** BM 65658.

⁴ ^{uig}KUR.RA: *Cam.* 262:3, 340:5; *CT* 55 784; *CT* 56 554; 823:11, 27; *CT* 57 82; BM 60477:rev.14, BM 64481:8, BM 64683:7, BM 64787 (no. 18 below), BM 67827 (no. 17 below), BM 74332:rev.1–2 half a mina of silver paid for 12 blankets (^{uig}KUR.RA) “of the bow”; **wool:** *Cam.* 434:3; BM 63192 (wool *malātu*), BM 65658 (wool *malātu*). BM 68423. The text on the reverse of BM 61311, which lists shepherds and their flocks, is probably to be restored:

[x ma-na] sĪG.ĪI.A lu-bu-uš-tu₄
[a-na^m ĪR]-^da-nu-ni-tu₄
[u^{lu}BAN].MEŠ SUM-na

jerkins (*šir'am*): *Cam.* 262:3; *CT* 56 664, 823:11; *CT* 57 82; BM 60059 (Strassmaier II 307/1), BM 64787 (no. 18 below), BM 64481:8, BM 67827 (no. 17 below), BM 68423; *šir'am* of the archers BM 72913:1; **sandals** *Dar.* 4; *CT* 56 11, 556; Bongenaar 1993; BM 60331:6' (Strassmaier II 340/3); BM 64112 (no. 32 below); BM 64876 (silver is given to the *šābē ša qašti* for the *si-ra-[pu] šá^{kuš}me-še-nu*), BM 68617; **headdresses** (*karballatu*): *CT* 56 558, 562; *karballatu* are also mentioned in *Nbn.* 824:24 and *Nbn.* 1034:3. Note also the issue of silver for the purchase of working materials for [...] of the archers, *Nbn.* 753:20. The following issues of ^{uig}KUR.RA and/or *šir'am* do not explicitly mention archers: BM 58772:7', BM 60071 (Strassmaier II 307/4), BM 60775:6' (Strassmaier II 385/1–2), BM 61177:4 (*dannu šir'am*), BM 64807, BM 75788 (Strassmaier II 299/4, BM 77974:2', BM 100849.

⁵ *Cyr.* 95; *CT* 56 357:4, 556, 823:11, 27; *CT* 57 320; BM 63635, BM 63906 (Bertin 1491, *Nbn.* 15/1/12) Šadūnu the *rab qašti* is witness to the receipt of scrap silver (KÜ.BABBAR *šá huš-še-e*) for *rab eširti's*, BM 64112 (no. 32 below), BM 65873, BM 74332:1–4 silver from house rents (*idi bitāti*) given to Arad-Anunitu *rab qašti*; BM 74654:3–4 (Bertin 2997) 1 mina 15 shekels silver issued to archers; BM 76714, BM 79069, BM 83462:4'–5', BM 83785:rev.2. In all probability read ^mšá-du-nu^{lu}GAL ^{gš}BAN¹ in BM 60407:10 (Strassmaier II 348/2, Nabonidus 10).

(*patru*) and might also be provided with donkeys for their work.⁶ There is also evidence for the manufacture and issue of lances (*asmarû*).⁷ The weaponry might be either manufactured in the temple or purchased by merchants. Bows were manufactured and repaired by bowmakers (*sasinnu*) in the employ of the temple, of which up to seven are attested. There were both Akkadian bows and Cimmerian bows and different Akkadian and Cimmerian arrowheads accordingly;⁸ each archer was issued from 40 to 60 arrows.⁹ The arrows were possibly made by leatherworkers while the arrowheads were manufactured by the temple blacksmiths, who also manufactured daggers and heads for lances. Weaponry might also be purchased.¹⁰

⁶ **bows, bow-cases, arrows, daggers and lances:** *Nbk.* 332; *Nbn.* 661, 702; *CT* 55 443:1; *CT* 56 11, 558; *CT* 57 320; BM 60832 (silver for bow), BM 61409 (no. 6 below), BM 62472 (no. 21 below), BM 63372 (no. 26 below), BM 64025 (no. 31 below), BM 64112 (no. 32 below), BM 70966, BM 71231, BM 78837 (no. 27 below); Spar *Studies in Neo-Babylonian Economic and Legal Texts* no. 16: 3 (issue of 1 leather *šal-tu* and 1 iron dagger, *Nbk* 24/11/3). Note the variants *bīt tillu* and *bīt qašti*, Bongenaar *NABU* 1993 no. 41: 19. It is supposed that the bow, bowcase, quiver and arrows of Anunītu are accoutrements of the statue: *Nbn.* 31; *CT* 55 235, 421, Bongenaar *NABU* 1993 no. 41, BM 60501 (Strassmaier II 361/3:430 arrow *ša li-[...]*), BM 63917:14, 16, 17, BM 67536:rev.4' (bows), BM 84241:rev.3. **daggers:** *Nbn.* 707; *CT* 55 235:2; BM 63978 (no. 24 below), BM 74505, BM 78920; **donkeys:** *Nbn.* 987; *CT* 55 152:6.

⁷ **lances:** *CT* 55 234, 446; BM 60969:9', BM 61341 (no. 23 below): 8 finished lances—or more exactly lance heads (weighing 32.5 shekels each) delivered by smiths.

⁸ **bowmakers:** (*sasinnu*) are mentioned in BM 59508:i.4', BM 62834:3, BM 67016 (written ^{li}*sa-si-in-nu*), BM 69022:13, BM 74708, BM 74883, BM 75841:col. i 2nd box (7 ^{li}*U.MUG.MEŠ*), BM 77243, BM 101359:3'; in BM 64128 (no. 25 below) 13 bows are delivered to the *bīt makkūri* for the bowmaker (^{li}*U+MUG*) Nabû-šum-iddin (Darius 32). For a discussion on the confusion between the writings *U+MUK*, *ZADIM* and *AŠGAB* see the note in *CAD sub sasinnu*; to paraphrase this, the vocabularies clearly differentiate the sign *ZADIM* (= *zadimmu*) from the sign *MUK* (= *sasinnu*) but in economic texts the two are virtually identical and distinguishing them “poses problems that defy solution”. As a rule of thumb *CAD* assumes the sign is to be read *sasinnu* from the Old Babylonian period onwards (*CAD sub zadimmu*). The sign *ZADIM* is also clearly distinct from ^{li}*AŠGAB* = *aškapu* (*CAD sub aškapu*); cf. also Bongenaar 1997 p. 298, 299, 414; **repair:** *CT* 56 555; BM 84114 (*bīt-qa ina IGI ^mmuk-ke-e-a ^{li}U+MUG*); bows *ša É dul-lu* are mentioned in BM 61887:2'; **Akkadian bows:** *CT* 56 555; **Scythian bows:** BM 61235 (no. 28 below); according to Moorey (1980 p. 66), this was “a short, compact doubly convex bow with set back handle, adopted from the Scythians, carried in a combined quiver and bow case (*gorytus*)”; **arrows:** 50 Akkadian arrows and 119 Scythian arrows both mentioned in BM 60923 (no. 29 below); BM 70319 (no. 50 below), BM 70319 (no. 50 below), Scythian arrows are also mentioned in BM 99819 (no. 30 below); cf. also FLP 1590, Dillard 1875 p. 156 (probably Uruk); Scythian bows, arrows and bow cases are also mentioned in other texts from Uruk, see Dandamayev 1979, 2004 p. 148. Scythian quivers are mentioned in *CT* 22 105:41 **arrowheads:** *CT* 55 235, 421:2.

⁹ BM 78837 (no. 27 below).

¹⁰ For evidence of purchase of equipment, cf. BM 63372 (no. 26 below), a list of weapons and their prices in silver; BM 63978 (no. 24 below), silver for bows, bowcases, lances, iron spikes and hides. The silver for equipment detailed in *Nbn.* 661 is at the disposal of a certain Nabû-dūr-pāniya, who may well have been a merchant carrying out missions on behalf of the Ebabbara, cf. MacGinnis 1996 p. 115; in line 4 read ^{kuš} ^(kuš)*šal-tu* (collated); cf. *Nbn.* 702; 1034:1. For the different sorts of arrowheads found at Deve Hüyük, see Moorey 1980 p. 64–65.

Sources of temple archers

The temple archers, collectively known as the *šābē ša qašti*¹¹, were taken from the ranks of the temple dependents known as *širāku* (singular *širku*, alternative plural *širkē*). In all probability all *širku*'s were liable for bow service, subject to age and fitness. As the majority of *širku*'s were engaged in agricultural occupations (farmers, shepherds and gardeners) this is the main source for temple archers. This has been understood for some time now.¹² A clear articulation of the fact occurs in a new text from the time of Nabonidus detailing “the shepherds of the flocks of Šamaš given over to bow service” (lⁱSIPA.MEŠ šá su-kul-lum šá dⁱUTU šá a-na eš^sBAN SUM-na)¹³. Most of the individuals listed in that text are labelled as adults (LÚ), though it does seem extraordinary that one is a four-year old. Another clear indication of the marshalling of shepherds for bow service is in *CT 56 554*, where three blankets for archers are supplied to Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu, a *rab eširti* of the shepherds. As noted by Jursa, there is also evidence from Ur for military service required from temple slaves.¹⁴

There were of course *širāku* active in other professions and they too could be called upon to do bow service.¹⁵ As we know from Nabû-zēr-ibni, the title of the chief overseer in charge of these *širku*'s was “the *ikkaru* of Šamaš who is in charge of the shepherds, *ikkaru* and gardeners of Šamaš doing bow service.”¹⁶ The *ikkaru* were semi-free dependents tied to the land. Prior to the fourth year of Nabonidus, after which the temple estates were largely leased out to private entrepreneurs (*rab sūti*, *ša muḥḥi sūti*), the transfer of agricultural *širāku* to bow service was relatively straightforward. Subsequently it was a duty of the *rab sūti/ša muḥḥi sūti* involved to supply the corresponding manpower as required. This is particularly clear in the lease contract *BRM 1 101*, edited by Jursa: Šamaš-kāšir son of Nabû-mukīn-apli subcontracts from the *rab sūti* Bulṭāya son of Marduk-eriba a concession to farm half of the temple's land;

¹¹ *CT 55 152:6*; *Cam.* 262, 340.

¹² Cf. Jursa 1995 p. 22, 23, 40, 121 and Da Riva 2002/1 p. 187–8; *Nbk.* 220 (Jursa 1998/1 p. 64); *CT 55 69* lists by name 18 individual *ikkaru* receiving equipment and provisions to do bow service; *CT 55 753:10* (farmers for the *madāktu*); issues of jerkins and blankets to farmers, shepherds and gardeners occur in *BM 64787* (no. 18 below), *BM 67827* (no. 17 below) and *BM 84256* (no. 20 below); *šir'am* are issued to *širku*'s in *BM 101641*; arrows to *ikkaru* and shepherds, *BM 99819* (no.30 below); shepherds of the bow are also mentioned in *BM 100991:2*, and cf. *BM 63635*. For *širku*'s serving as archers in Uruk, *YOS 7 154* (cf. Stolper 2001 p. 123 n. 50). For shepherds serving as bowmen in Uruk see Kozuh 2006 p. 105–6, p. 209f. & p. 244–5.

¹³ *BM 67462* (no.1 below); cf. the shepherds and *ikkāru* “of the bow” in *BM 63635* (Nebuchadnezzar 31), *BM 68817:3–4* and *BM 99822:5'*. According to Da Riva, *CT 56 665* may also be a roster of shepherds selected for bow service (Da Riva 2002/1 p. 27 & p. 187 n. 461). The shepherds in the work detail (*kanšu*) in *BM 74964:12* (Strassmaier II 267/4) could have been participating as either archers or labourers. For further remarks on *kanšu* see van Driel 2002 p. 264 and Abraham 2004 p. 36.

¹⁴ Jursa NABU 1995 p. 55, referring to the lⁱal-lak^{mes} šá ba-a-ri šá lⁱšⁱ-rak^{mes}; in *UET 4 48* and 49.

¹⁵ There is for example an instance of a bird-catcher (*mušendū*) serving as an archer (*Nbn.* 228:8, cf. Janković 2004 p. 100 n. 261).

¹⁶ Jursa 1995 p. 22.

one of the stipulations is that Šamaš-kāšir will give the *rab qašti* half of the farmers and gardeners which Bultāya is required to provide for bow duty.¹⁷

Another very clear illustration of this drafting of men from the land comes in BM 61583.¹⁸

[(Concerning) the seven] farmers whom Šamšāya the *qīpu* of the Ebabbara took away from Birūqāya the *rab sūti* of Šamaš in the month of Nišānu of Darius year 26: in place of these seven farmers taken away from Birūqāya, Itti-Šamaš-balātu the *širku* of Šamaš has, on the orders of Nabû-balassu-iqbi the *šangû* of Sippar, replaced the remainder ... of the seven farmers and given them to Birūqāya the *rab sūti* of [Šamaš]. (This is) in addition to the smiths and the carpenter (given) to Birūqāya. Witnesses. Date.

Birūqāya is a well known *rab sūti* of Šamaš and the correct understanding of this text must be that the *qīpu* Šamšāya had requisitioned seven *ikkaru* (in addition to an earlier requisition of smiths¹⁹ and a carpenter) for service in the *corvée* gang. Birūqāya subsequently found himself short of sufficient manpower to work his lands and petitioned the *šangû* Nabû-balassu-iqbi for replacements. Evidently Nabû-balassu-iqbi granted this request, and it is of no little interest that the replacement manpower appears to have come from prisoners (Itti-Šamaš-balātu was prison chief).

A particular subset of armed *širāku*, elucidated by Dandamayev, is formed by shepherds who were issued with weapons to guard their flocks and returned the equipment when finished.²⁰

Family patterns

There are many cases where we see that the obligation was passed down from father to son. Examples are Nergal-iddin son of Nabû-balassu-iqbi, Arad-Šamaš son of Bunene-ibni, Ibāya son of Šamaš-iqīša and Bēlšunu son of Iddin-Bēl. In all these cases both the father and the son are attested as archers. Nabû-rēḫti-ušur has three sons attested as archers: Eṭirēa, Bunene-šar-ušur and Arad-Bunene. In the case of Šamaš-iddin/Šadūnu/Šamaš-aḫ-iddin we have a family attested in service over three generations. Two other sons of Šamaš-aḫ-iddin are also found as archers, Šamaš-ibni and Ardiya. Šadūnu himself went on all the way to become *rab qašti*. Similarly, the archer Mukīnzēri is the son of the Arad-aḫḫēšu, who is attested as commander-of-ten (*rab eširti*) of archers. Another example of brothers is Bunene-aḫ-iddin and Iqīša, the sons of Šamaš-mudammīq. A perusal of the texts presented below would doubtless reveal many more such associations. For verification use may be made of the tables below.²¹

¹⁷ Jursa 1995 p. 103, MacGinnis 1998/2.

¹⁸ MacGinnis 2007 no. 3.

¹⁹ We know from tablets documenting rations issued to the *corvée* gang that the number of smiths is likely to have been two or three (MacGinnis 1995/1 2003/1 p. 161, p. 107).

²⁰ Dandamayev 1999/1, cf. *CT* 55 598:7. An issue of arrows for men going to Rušapu to apprehend fugitive *širku*'s, and escorting sheep on the way, is found in *CT* 56 390 (read *šil-la-[ta]-hu* in l. 12). For more on this escape story see MacGinnis 2003/1.

²¹ A number of *šušānu*'s may also be attested as archers—Arad-Gula, Nidintu and Šamaš-zēr-ibni: the problem here is that all are common names and we cannot be sure if they are indeed the same individuals. But the possibility is there.

The organisation of the temple archers

In the first instance the force of *širāku* serving as archers was controlled by the *rab qašti* (on whom more below), from whom command devolved onto decuries, the *rab eširti*'s. It appears that the decuries themselves were composed according to profession, i.e. there were separate decuries of shepherds, farmers and gardeners.²² As detailed above, a *rab ešerti* of the shepherds is mentioned in CT 56 554, and *rab eširti*'s of the farmers and gardeners are well attested (see more below). Primarily the shepherds, farmers and gardeners may have been grouped into decuries for the facility of organising and controlling them in their work around Sippar, but a by-product of this organisation is that it provided ready-made units for uptake into the military when required. In theory we would expect the *rab eširti*'s to have been in charge of 10 men, but this is in fact not always the case, and in fact may never have been so. Consider for instance BM 62472 (no. 21 below), in which four *rab eširti*'s hand in varying numbers of quivers, bows and spears to the Ebabbara—the largest commodity co-efficient is 9, with other entries of 5, 6, 7 or 8.²³ Note also that the companies of archers detailed in BM 55136+ (no. 5) are comprised of units of four men.²⁴ I would therefore suggest that the theoretical order of the temple archers was of a decury of eight men comprising two units of four, with the actual strengths commonly falling below this. The total in BM 62472 line 12 is revealing—a total of 29 for four decuries, which would represent a deficit of three men based on an eight man unit. At a more basic level, the archers may well have been grouped into pairs—not only is this an attested tactical deployment²⁵ but there is some evidence for such an arrangement in manning the watches in the temple (see under *kišru* below).

The *rab qašti*

The archers derived from the ranks of the *širāku* came under the control of the *rab qašti*. The *rab qašti* was responsible for all aspects of his men's lives, and in the course of these duties he takes receipt of dates and barley as rations for the men under him and passes them on via the *rab eširti*'s; he also receives silver for rations, provisions, expeditionary expenses (*rikis qabli*) and equipment (sacks, wool, ^{ti}gKUR.RA, cuirasses), and conse-

²² A decury of menials is attested in Babylon (Abraham 2004 p. 75).

²³ Note also the PAP 7 ^{es}BAN in the fragmentary text BM 64468:7'.

²⁴ Suggestions of groups of eight archers are also found in BM 62082 (PAP 8 ^{es}BAN *šá* ^{md}U.GUR-[...], line 7'); BM 64468 (line 8' 8-*ta* ^{es}BAN, rest pretty unreadable); BM 77486 (8 archers at the disposal of Lābāši... reverse lines 6'–7' read: 8 ^{li}ERIM.MEŠ *š[á* ^{es}BA]N *ina* I[GI] ^{ml}*la-a-ba-ši u* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú*); and note that the force of 32 armed shepherds evident from Cam. 93 is neatly divisible by eight. For further comments on texts listing "10 men for one bowman of PN" or "for the bow of PN" see Jursa 1999 p. 101 and Stolper 2001 p. 125–126; to use Stolper's words, these fragments from Sippar are "the elements of muster rolls".

²⁵ Thus, according to according to Sekunda, "the traditional infantry fighting formation of the Near East was the 'archer-pair', consisting of an archer shooting from behind the cover of a large shield ... held by a partner" (Sekunda & Chew 1992 p. 16–17).

quently had accounts to settle.²⁶ In one text the *rab qašti* conveys silver to Kināya the *rab sikkati* (another military official) for the rations of two individuals.²⁷ The silver is described as “silver of the men of Tema” (KÛ.BABBAR šá^{li} ERIM.MEŠ šá^{uru} te-ma-a): it is unclear whether this is silver brought from Tema or for men going there. The *rab qašti* also took delivery of much of this equipment directly—shoes, bows, water-bottles, arrows, blankets and daggers (*patru*).²⁸ The texts give us little explicit record of the policing function of the *rab qašti*, but it is clear that he was actively involved supervising his men outside of the city. For example, the *rab qašti* Šadūnu takes delivery of a stock of seed corn for a certain Murānu.²⁹ In another instance the *rab qašti* Bunene[...] was responsible for the production of 32,000 bricks.³⁰ The *rab qašti* may also be found as a witness.³¹

As concerns the total number of archers that the temple could field, we can give no definitive answer though we can hazard some guesses. In *CT* 55 69 we find 18 individuals listed, BM 84256 (no. 20 below) implies a contingent of 21, while BM 55823 (Bertin 1966, no. 56 below) implies a contingent of 30 men. *Nbn.* 1127 lists 54 “farmers, shepherds and gardeners who are going with the king”. A number which

²⁶ **rations:** BM 64451: 12–13; **dates:** MacGinnis Letter Orders no. 25; BM 65656: i.7–9 (the *rab qašti* receives 148 *kur* of dates for 123 *kur* of barley) **barley:** BM 65005; **silver:** *CT* 55 286 (*rikis qabli*), 751, 780 (sacks); *CT* 56 357; *CT* 57 82:5; *Nbn.* 215, 228: 13, 288, 1058: 4; BM 61425, BM 61530: 6–7: PAP 9 ma-na 50 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR a-na^m IR-^da-nu-[ni-tu₄] ^{li}GAL ^{gis}BAN u^{li} ERIM.MEŠ-šú SUM-na (Darius year 7), BM 63906, BM 64043 (no. 11 below), BM 70752, BM 73109: silver to Šadūnu *rab qašti* *Nbn* 28/2/6, BM 76536: rev.4, BM 78149: 7–10 (no. 8 below), BM 78151 (no. 10 below), BM 83634: 6’, BM 100991, BM 101393: rev.5, 101685: 3’. Another payment of *rikis qabli* is recorded in BM 61481: 4–5: 55 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR re-*hi* ri-ki-is MURUB₄ | a-na^m IR-^da-nu-ni-tu₄ ^{li}GAL ^{gis}BAN SUM-na. In *CT* 56 551 the silver paid for dates for the weight of wool for blankets for the troops of the *rab qašti* was probably being paid to the manufacturers of the blankets; further to these, in all probability read ^mšá-du-nu ^{li}GAL ^{gis}BAN in BM 60407:10 (Strassmaier II 348/2, Nabonidus 10); **wool:** BM 61345 (no. 42 below), BM 68817; in BM 84083 the *rab qašti* Arad-Anunītu is also the leading recipient of a loan of wool belonging to Šamaš (the exact conditions of which are unclear due damage in the text); ^{tu}gKUR.RA: *CT* 55 784; BM 63590, BM 63845 (Bertin 1493), BM 68423, BM 76166: 5’, BM 84256 (no. 20 below); **cuirasses:** BM 63590, BM 68423, BM 84256 (no. 20 below). In BM 61345 (no. 42 below) Arad-Anunītu takes receipt of 1 É-pa-ni-e, 1 ^{ku}šsal-la and 2 ši-ib-ba-nu. In BM 63906 (*Jursa* 1999 p. 104 n. 438) the *rab eširti*’s receive rations in the presence of the *rab qašti*; **accounts:** Iddin-Bēl BM 61808: rev.4; cf. also BM 99584: 2, BM 71162.

²⁷ BM 78149 (no. 8 below). This is only the second mention of Tema’ in the administrative texts from Sippar; for the first occurrence see MacGinnis 1998/1 no. 1.

²⁸ BM 76040: rev.5–7.

²⁹ *Nbn.* 462 (= *Jursa* 1998/1 no. 10); note the *rab qašti* is mentioned in connection with *sītu* payments in BM 100966: 6.

³⁰ *CT* 56 550: 9–10.

³¹ The *rab qašti* occurs as a witness in BM 64690: rev.3, [Darius] 20+9/3 (the reign is established by the presence of the *šangū* Ina-Esagila-lilbur).

recurs repeatedly in lists of issues is 50.³² An important text to consider is *CT 56 481+*, a list of agricultural workers, 120 in all, of whom 17 are (serving as) archers.³³ This represents a levy of about 14%. We do not know for sure the total number of *širāku* dependent on the Ebabbara, but recent work has suggested a figure for the number of adult males in the region of 1,300.³⁴ A levy of 14% on 1,300 would yield a force of 182. It may be then that routinely the temple fielded a force of 50 archers, and that in times of greater demand this could be increased three or four fold. By comparison, texts from Uruk variously give figures of 50, 70 and 100 archers³⁵ and another text, probably from Borsippa, deals with 300 *širku*'s sent to Aššur as archers.³⁶ During the Šamaš-šum-ukīn revolt Uruk raised 500 or 600 archers to go to the aid of Ur, while on another occasion mention is made of 1,000 archers stationed in Ur.³⁷ In the case of the fief system around Nippur in the later Achaemenid period, a recent estimate is that the maximum number of archers this might have supported was 2,000.³⁸ On the other hand, BM 64707³⁹ records just eleven individuals being sent off to the army (infantry) and *Dar. 253* twelve (cavalry)⁴⁰; these could have been supplementary drafts, but even so they are not big ones.

³² Thus 50 pairs of shoes supplied for archers (Bongenaar 1991), to which add the multiples of 50 in BM 68702 (no. 49 below), the 50 pairs of shoes and 50 waterbottles (though curiously only 30 bows) issued to the *rab qašti* in BM 76040: rev. 5–7; 50 caps (*CT 56 558*); BM 101433 (no. 40 below) possibly may also imply a contingent of 50 archers, though it cannot be ruled out that the 50 men are *corvée* labourers; 50 TÚG.KUR.RA (BM 73306, not necessarily for archers). Note also the 60 *šābē ša Šurru* in BM 79658 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 279*) and BM 70342 (*ibid.* p. 280*). The 20 farmers, 38 shepherds, 13 gardeners listed with others in BM 101701 (no. 3 below) may be but are not necessarily drafts for the army.

³³ Jursa 1995 p. 8–9, cf. Stolper 2001 p. 126 n. 61.

³⁴ MacGinnis 2004/1. These figures include farmers, gardeners, shepherds, workers in the temple precinct and Egyptians; a previous estimate guessed at 550 for the minimum number of *širāku* in the Ebabbara (MacGinnis 2003 n. 11).

³⁵ Fifty archers: *YOS 7 154* (cf. Stolper 2001 p. 123 n. 50); seventy archers: *YOS 6 116: 8* (cf. *CAD qaštu* 1b2); *YOS 6 151: 9* (cf. *CAD qaštu* 2b2'); one hundred: *YOS 3 44*. For further references from Uruk see Kozuh 2006 p. 238 n. 47.

³⁶ Cf. *VS 6 202* in which the same number of 300 *širku* depart for the *madāktu* in the company of the *qīpu* (year 12; according to Ungnad 1937 p. 250 this is year 12 of Nabopolassar). Note that in Uruk there was a writing board on which the archers of the *rēš šarri* were inscribed (*YOS 6 116: 8*, *CAD qaštu* 1b2').

³⁷ Frame 1992 p. 244; an order for 100 bowmen is recorded in *YOS 3 44* (information from M. Kozuh).

³⁸ Van Driel 2002 p. 321.

³⁹ MacGinnis 1998.

⁴⁰ Joannès (1982/1 p. 18) argues that *Dar. 253* documents supplies for a cavalryman accompanied by 12 support staff. Such a ratio seems excessive and it strikes me as more likely that it is for 12 cavalymen, the donkey mentioned in line 3 being for their baggage train.

To look at it from another perspective, fielding 50 men for a year would cost the temple approximately 4% of its annual income for their rations alone;⁴¹ the costs of clothing, equipment and administrative expenses must have taken this to nearer 10%. Such a figure seems viable, indeed perhaps exactly within the range that one might expect. Bearing in mind that according to rations lists from Persepolis the century (*satabam*) there had fallen to a strength of 50–60 men,⁴² the implication could well be that the unit of 50 men supplied by the Ebabbara effectively comprised the temple's "century". If we are right that in times of greater pressure the number of troops deployed would be three or four times greater (i.e. corresponding to 14% more or less) the cost to the temple would shoot up to around 40% of its annual income. Note however that this all assumes that the costs were fully born by the temple, which might not be correct—it may well be, for instance, that once in the field rations were provided by the state. But the initial cost to the temple will still have been large. It is not clear to what extent the temple's gross income would itself have been affected by the loss of manpower.

In addition to participation in military campaigns of the king, the archers were required for many duties in connection with temple activities. These duties included:

- (1) guarding the temple precinct;
- (2) general police duties;⁴³
- (3) protecting labourers performing earthworks both in the environs of Sippar and in Elam;⁴⁴
- (4) guarding the temple flocks, either locally or going on missions to bring in sheep pastured further afield under the auspices of the *rab šibti*;⁴⁵

⁴¹ Taking the rough total of 3,000,000 *l.* of dates, barley and emmer per year (MacGinnis 2000/2 p. 66), and the normal rate of pay of 6 *l.* per day: $50 \times 6 \times 365 = 120,450$; $120,450/3,000,000 = 0.04$ (rounded up).

⁴² Sekunda & Chew 1992 p. 5.

⁴³ Bongenaar 1997 p. 131; a hint of the police function is given by the smiths making fetters for the *rab qašti*, *Cam.* 98. For the manning of guardposts in the countryside see van Driel 2002 p. 183 *kādu*.

⁴⁴ e.g. BM 62082 in which 8 archers are attached to a gang of 46 labourers, and BM 64637 (no. 2 below) which lists men going to Elam by boat with the *rab qašti* (Darius year 4); for labourers performing *corvée* in Elam and Laḫīru see MacGinnis 2003 with references to previous literature.

⁴⁵ A text of particular interest in this regard is *Cam.* 93, studied by Dandamayev 1999/1: 1,750 arrows, 32 bows, 32 quivers, 32 iron lances against the account of the well known shepherd Iti-Šamaš-balātu. See also BM 64043 (no. 11 below), in which 2 hirelings accompany the *rab qašti* Arad-Anunītu on his mission to collect sheep from the *rab šibti* and bring them back to the temple; also BM 59143 (lambs *ina pān rab qašti*), BM 59442: rev.2' (Sāpik-zēri), BM 61275: rev.4, BM 61311 and BM 67462. In BM 64940: 4' the *rab qašti* delivers goats to the Ebabbara.

- (5) accompanying deliveries of materials;⁴⁶
- (6) accompanying to Babylon dues owed to the crown from the king's share in the offerings and other temple income;⁴⁷
- (7) accompanying cultic equipment sent from the Ebabbara to Babylon;⁴⁸
- (8) accompanying missions to other cities, including Opis and Tema³;⁴⁹
- (9) accompanying merchants and caravans from Sippar;⁵⁰
- (10) accompanying carpenters sent to Lebanon to fell cedar;⁵¹
- (11) rounding up fugitive *širaku*.⁵²

In addition we may assume that there were archers stationed at the guardposts (*kādu*) outside the town. We do not know how many such guardposts there may have been, but certainly there was one at the sluice of the Nār-Šamaš.⁵³ Archers were also involved in earthworks projects, for example receiving spades, axes and baskets for carrying earth.⁵⁴ It is not clear whether the archers assisted in the actual earthwork, were engaged here on protection or were there to prevent escapes—possibly all three. Of course the opportunity to escape was also there for the *širku*'s doing bow service themselves, and sometimes they made use of it, cf. “[The men] of the bow of the shepherds who have gone missing [from] the *šušānu*'s of the horses [of] the treasury of the king” listed in BM 60756 (no. 41 below).⁵⁵ See below for more on the military duties.

⁴⁶ BM 79651: beams delivered by the *rab qašti* Bēl-bullissu (to be published by Stefan Zawadzki in his work on building texts); *CT* 56 552 Šadūnu the *rab qašti* delivers wool to the Ebabbara.

⁴⁷ Bongenaar NABU 1993/41. In BM 100994 some individuals are sent by the *rab qašti* to the *mār šarri*, possibly escorting a delivery of silver (at least 12 mina).

⁴⁸ MacGinnis 2000.

⁴⁹ **Opis:** *CT* 56 555; **Tema³:** BM 78149 (no. 8 below). It may be that archers accompanied Nabû-aḥḥē-ušallim on his mission to Babylon to get wine, *CT* 56 301: 13. Very likely the missions to Ḫīt to collect bitumen (BM 83818) will have been similarly escorted.

⁵⁰ *CT* 22 185; cf. *CT* 56 551 silver issued to pay for blankets for archers at the disposal of a merchant. Further evidence in this category may or may not be found under the references to *kaššu*: this had been understood by *CAD* and *AHW* to refer to caravans, but the latest on the word by Jursa (1999 p. 100) suggests a meaning of work detachment; in all events a further attestation crops up in BM 74964:1–2 (Strassmaier II 267/4), where barley is issued to some shepherds accompanying the *kaššu* ([x G]UR ŠE.BAR *a-na*¹¹SIPA.MEŠ *šá it-ti ka-an-šú il-li-ku SUM-na*). See now also van Driel 2002 p. 264.

⁵¹ Bongenaar p. 393, 395.

⁵² See MacGinnis 2003.

⁵³ *CT* 22 232:19; *CT* 55 161:5, 426:6; *CT* 57 257:3. The *kādu* around Uruk are studied by M. Kozuh in his doctoral dissertation. One further function may have been as scouts; at any rate *ša daglē* are attested in *Mesopotamia* 31 (1996) no. 32:12'.

⁵⁴ **spades and axes:** *Cam.* 18:10; **baskets:** *CT* 56 557.

⁵⁵ For more on fugitive *širku*'s see MacGinnis 2003.

Cavalry

The archers are the best attested arm of the temple's troops. Next in line are the horsemen. The temple had a stable (*bīt sīsē*) under the supervision of the *rē'i sīsē* under whom were a number of men "of the stables" (*ša bīt sīsē*) or "of the horses" (*amēl sīsē*).⁵⁶ We are not told much about the duties of the latter but one ancillary duty was grinding flour for the *šalām bīti* ceremonies.⁵⁷ The *rē'i sīsē* also looked after the ceremonial chariot of Šamaš.⁵⁸ The Queen of Sippar (a goddess) had a *rē'i sīsē* of her own, though we have no idea of the scale of this separate stable.⁵⁹ There are also two attestations of a "chief of the stables" (*rab urāte*).⁶⁰ In van Driel's view there was a royal horse depôt in Sippar.⁶¹ Conceivably this came under the command of the *qīpu*, that would at least fit in with the mention of the horses of the *qīpu* in BM 83522 (no. 54). There are references to fodder for the horses but not of such a kind as to allow us to calculate either the daily feed or the number of horses.⁶² Evidently, just as with the archers, the manpower for the horsemen was recruited from the agricultural *širāku*, cf. for example the "rations of the shepherds and farmers who are assigned on horses with the *šušānū*" (ŠUK.ĪLA ^{lú}SIPA.MEŠ u ^{lú}ENGAR.MEŠ *šá it-ti* ^{lú}šū-šá-ni-e ina ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ú-šū-uz-zu*).⁶³ This might also indicate that, as with the archers, there was a small core of permanent professional horsemen on the temple books, round whom a larger team could be built as required. Whether the *šabē ša sīsē*⁶⁴ were the professional cadre or the wider levy is not known.

⁵⁶ *rē'i sīsē*: *Nbk.* 4:29; *CT* 57 624:15; Strassmaier *8^{ème} Congrès* 21:6; BM 62994:rev.9, BM 75897:14; (*ša*) *bīt sīsē*: *Nbn.* 1034:7; *CT* 57 581, 624:15; BM 54154:5', BM 61274:11, BM 64791; it is not certain whether *CT* 55 501 is a list of 8 horseherds or of 8 shepherds with horses—the latter is more probable; *amēl sīsē*: *CT* 56 407:4; the *bīt sīsē* is also mentioned in *Dar.* 293.

⁵⁷ *CT* 56 90:10; BM 66931:3; cf. *Dar.* 549.

⁵⁸ Pinches *JTVI* 60 (1928) p. 132.

⁵⁹ *CT* 55 751:4.

⁶⁰ BM 42607:4 (Jursa *NABU* 1998/70), BM 79257:5.

⁶¹ Van Driel 2002 p. 233 n. 31, p. 253 n. 98; cf. *CT* 22 60 [Weszeli 2004 p. 474].

⁶² *CT* 55 481:rev.6, 9; BM 54769:10, rev. 11', BM 58800, BM 58981, BM 60705:rev.9 (Strassmaier II 379/1–2), BM 61045 (horse arrived from Babylon), BM 61083:rev.8, BM 61335, BM 61371:5, BM 61728:8, BM 64623:8, BM 64868:rev.1, BM 64979 lower edge, BM 65160:rev.6, BM 65581:6', BM 68292, BM 68535:2, BM 69002 (also mentions the *zazakku*), BM 70327 (horses of the king), BM 73156: rev. oblique writing l. 1, BM 75086:11' (Strassmaier II 270/3), BM 99572:3', BM 101479; horses are also mentioned in BM 54606, BM 61741 and BM 101198:3', *bīt sīsē* BM 54154:5'; **fodder for donkeys**: BM 79705 (no. 14 below).

⁶³ BM 60858 (no. 13).

⁶⁴ *CT* 55 793:5; *CT* 56 23:6, 556; Bongenaar 1993, MacGinnis 1995/1 Nos. 8, 34.

šušānu

Another class of men commonly associated with horses was the *šušānū*. The *šušānū* are one of those puzzles of Babylonian society that have been often discussed and yet remain opaque.⁶⁵ The archives give few clues—the familiar scattering of texts recording payment of rations and sheep⁶⁶—though an association with equids seeps through. Given this association the word has been taken to denote grooms but the matter is not as simple as that. The term did not denote a profession as such but was rather, in the words of Stolper, “a marker of social or administrative status ... a juridical status within the nebulous range of ‘semi-freedom’”.⁶⁷ *Šušānu*’s could certainly be involved in the running of fiefs. Stolper has suggested that possibly they were proprietors of fiefs.

A development of this is an idea suggested by van Driel⁶⁸: given that they were lowly individuals but at the same time had a status which was “typical and perhaps universal among Babylonian feudatories”,⁶⁹ perhaps the *šušānū* were the men labouring on feudal land. In other words, were *šušānū* dependent workers tied to enfeoffed land in the same way that *ikkaru* were tied to temple land?⁷⁰ The fact that there was a “settlement of the *šušānū*” (*Āl ša šušānē*)⁷¹ could fit in with this—it might be the settlement where the farmhands ascribed to military fiefs congregated and lived.

In this light the “*šušānū* of the horses [of] the treasurer of the king” (^{li}š^u-š^á-nu^{meš} š^á ANŠE¹.KUR.RA.MEŠ [š^á] ^{li}na-ak-ka-du š^á LUGAL) in BM 60756 (no. 41 below) are also of interest. As noted by Stolper, “the lands of the (royal) storehouse formed what may confidently be called an administrative estate ... as a corporate entity, this

⁶⁵ On the status of *šušānu*’s see Joannès 1982/1 p. 29f., Stolper 1985 p. 79–82, Da Riva 2002/1 p. 296, van Driel 2002 p. 210, p. 232 n. 28, Weszeli 2004 p. 474–5. According to CAD the *šušānu* was a herder of animals generally, not only of horses, but in the texts from Sippar there is no doubt that the *šušānu*’s worked with horses (and donkeys). For a similar association in a text from Uruk, see Beaulieu NABU 1989.3 p. 43 l. 1. In BM 70342:rev.2’ (Zawadzki 2003 p. 280*) the *šušānu* Sūqāya would appear to be participating in the campaign against Tyre in Nebuchadnezzar year 42, possibly in charge of a donkey. Other new attestations of *šušānu* are BM 79590, BM 76419:5.rev.7 (fragmentary), BM 83838, BM 99947:3’.

⁶⁶ **rations** MacGinnis Letter Orders no. 87; CT 56 764:10, cf. CT 56 341, 342, 343; BM 60700 (Bertin 3045, Strassmaier II 423/2), BM 62481, BM 65689:ii.12’, BM 67769; **blankets**: BM 64983:6; **fodder**: BM 63271:4; **šušānu of the turtānu**: BM 49697 (reverse); **sheep** CT 44 72:12 (sheep farmed out “in the houses”—cf. now also Da Riva 2002/1 p. 303).

⁶⁷ Stolper 1985 p. 80.

⁶⁸ Van Driel BSÁ 5 p. 233.

⁶⁹ Stolper 1985 p. 82.

⁷⁰ Such an understanding would also provide a reason for why, in a number of slave sales, in addition to certifying that the slave being sold is not a slave of the king, the contract also certifies that he is not a *šušānu*.

⁷¹ Cyr. 158:3, BM 64963 (Nabonidus 11); cf. Stolper 1985 p. 89–90, Jursa 1998/1 p. 92, cf. Dandamayev 2004 p. 139 with n. 5. My guess is that this is not a settlement of people from Susa, which should be *Ālu ša Šušānāya*; cf. also the ŠE.NUMUN ^{li}š^u-ma/ba-e-e’ š^á ^{li}š^u-š^á-ni-e š^á nak-[kan-du] in BM 61405.

establishment was a proprietor of lands.” The suggestion that the *šušānū* were dependent workers tied to enfeoffed land might be thought to snag on the fact that a *šušānu* is found among the *corvée* labourers listed in a well preserved roster from the time of Cyrus.⁷²

Collateral research has shown that in general these labourers were *širku*'s but it is not certain that this was exclusively so and it does not seem impossible that non-temple ascribed labour might also be conscripted into the gang, or that a *širku* could have been assigned to work on a fief. It might then be that in the context of the temple soldiery the *šušānū* took on secondary roles, for one thing acting as grooms, and perhaps forming a professional cadre. Lastly, in his final contribution van Driel made one more suggestion, that the term had evolved to designate the holder of a subordinate bow-fief. Among other things, this would help explain why “in slave sales the status of belonging to a horse or chariot fief is explicitly mentioned but that of possessing or belonging to a bow fief is not”.⁷³

Among the new texts, BM 60858 (no. 13 below) is of interest: it records “rations of the shepherds and farmers posted with the *šušānū* on horses” (ŠUK.ĪLA ^{lú}SIPA.MEŠ u ^{lú}ENGAR.MEŠ *šá it-ti* ^{lú}šū-šá-ni-e ina ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ú-šū-uz-zu*). BM 63350 records “fodder of the horses of Bēl and rations of the *šušānū*” (3 GUR *ki-is-sat* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *šá* ^dEN ù ŠUK. I.A ^{lú}šū-šá-ni-e). We do not know for sure why the “horses of Bēl” were in Sippar, but perhaps it was for military manoeuvres of some sort.⁷⁴

Whatever the truth with the *šušānū*, we have another problem with the designation ^{lú}ERIM.MEŠ *šá* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ, the same problem met with the word *šabē* generally, that it is not always possible to tell whether it means soldiers or just men more generally. However, when *šabē* (*šá*) *sīsē* are mentioned together with archers we can fairly assume that they are armed cavalry. The *šabē* (*šá*) *sīsē* are issued with their expeditionary requirements in just the same manner as the archers—^{ru}gKUR.RA and cuirasses, shoes, headdresses and water bottles, salt, oil and cress and silver *rikis qabli*.⁷⁵ The well attested Tattannu and the horsemen are issued with axes and other tools.⁷⁶

As pointed out by Bongenaar, the Ebabbara was obliged to provide horsemen for the army.⁷⁷ This may in fact have been the major reason for the temple retaining the capacity to field cavalry, though it may also be that the horsemen were also used for jobs such as rounding up escaped *širāku* and (along with archers) accompanying movements outside of the city. The clearest indication of the military duties is given by a reference to silver paid to “Šamaš-iddin and the horsemen who returned from Egypt”

⁷² BM 60453:31 (MacGinnis 2003).

⁷³ Van Driel 2002 p. 210.

⁷⁴ The horses of Bēl are also mentioned in BM 68292:5.

⁷⁵ CT 56 823:12; *Dar.* 141, 234, 253; BM 60858 (no. 13 below).

⁷⁶ CT 55 259; Tattannu and his men also appear in the fragment BM 77974:rev.2'.

⁷⁷ Bongenaar 1997 p. 133, 299.

and the *rikis qabli* fitting out of Tattannu and his men.⁷⁸ The other purpose for which horses were kept was to pull the ceremonial chariot of Šamaš, for which it seems that it was traditional to have white horses.⁷⁹ As regards numbers, no text gives us any direct indication of the number of horses in the stables, but BM 60366 (no. 12 below) lists 8 horsemen while, as I have discussed previously,⁸⁰ the quantities in *Dar.* 253 are evidently for 12 men even though only three are named. I would guess that this figure of 12 approaches the upper limit of the cavalry fielded by the Ebabbara.

Chariots

“His chariots are like a whirlwind, his horses are swifter than vultures!”⁸¹ After infantry and cavalry, the third arm of the Neo-Babylonian army was chariotry and, to quote Frame, “Babylonian cities were responsible for maintaining a certain number of chariots, presumably for military use.”⁸² From Sippar the evidence is scattered but includes references both to chariot fiefs (*bīt narkabti*) and to the three members of the chariot crew—the commanding archer (*mār damqa*), the rein-holder (*mukil appāti*) and the “third man” (*tašlišu*) whose job it was to steady the archer and cover the crew with a shield.⁸³

The *mār damqa*

To take the first of these, a *mār damqa* of the *qīpu* (^{li}DUMU *dam-qa šá* ^{li}*qí-i-pi*) Gabbilāni-šar-ušra is mentioned in two texts from the time of Kandalānu but not subsequently.⁸⁴ Perhaps the most important fact is simply the indication that there was such an individual. If no-one else, perhaps at least the *qīpu* had a chariot.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ *CT* 57 82; *Dar.* 141, 253.

⁷⁹ MacGinnis 2002 p. 67; the horses of the chariot of Šamaš are also mentioned in Janković 2004 p. 136 no. 77.

⁸⁰ MacGinnis 1998/2 p. 182.

⁸¹ *Jeremiah* 4:13, cf. Vanderhoft 1999 p. 142. For recent comments on Neo-Assyrian chariotry see Postgate 2000 p. 91, 96–7.

⁸² Frame 1991 p. 242.

⁸³ On the other hand, references to garments for the chariot (*Nbn.* 1121:7) and work on the chariot (*Nbn.* 1000) almost certainly refer to the ceremonial chariot of Šamaš. In *Nbn.* 333:6 read KÜ.BABBAR *a-na bat-qa* (not EŠ.BAR) *šá* ^{piš}GIGIR (collated).

⁸⁴ BM 49174 (Bertin 1020), BM 50883. For notes on the Middle and Neo-Assyrian *mār damqa*, who were members of the chariot crew fighting with bows (similar to the earlier *mariyannu*), see Postgate 2000 p. 91. For a recent mention of a *mār damqa* in a text from Uruk see Jursa *AfO* 44/45 (1997–98) p. 164 l. 45.

⁸⁵ Cf. van Driel 2002 p. 312.

The *mukil appāti*

As for the *mukil appāti*, there are numerous references to this officer, for example in relation to agricultural imposts, receiving beer and as a witness.⁸⁶ It is clear that there was an estate of the *mukil appāti* in the vicinity, but we are not able to say whether this belonged to an officer from Sippar or the official with this title from the court.

The *tašlišu*

The third man of the chariot—the *tašlišu*—whose job it was to carry the shield and protect the other two members of the crew⁸⁷—is also attested in the Sippar texts. However two philological issues complicate the investigation. Firstly, although the title may be written ^{li}*taš-li-šú* (*Cyr.* 212, BM 83478.3) or ^{li}*3-šú* (*Nbn.* 1069), which are unambiguous, the more common writing is ^{li}*taš-liš* and this is very easy to confuse with ^{li}UR.GAM, one of the ways of writing a mender (*mukabbû*).⁸⁸ Secondly, there is discussion about the meaning of the term.

Bongenaar has demonstrated that in the Neo-Babylonian temple administrations of both Sippar and Uruk the *tašlišu*'s functioned as guards and that the term was synonymous with *kizû*,⁸⁹ while at much the same time MacGinnis suggested that *kizû*'s essentially fulfilled the rôle of non-commissioned officers, often in charge of parties of

⁸⁶ *CT* 56 239:4', Jursa 1998/1 p. 93, no. 11:3; BM 49319 (*mukil appāti* of the *simmagir*), BM 63594:3 (record of barley *ul-tu KÁ ÍD.[x x (x) a-di] mi-šir šá^dUTU*), BM 64727:6; ducks from the estate of the *mukil appāti* are sold in Dillard FLP 1534 (Nebuchadnezzar 20), though this is not definitely from Sippar; **beer**: *CT* 56 338:7; **witness**: BM 61151:rev.3 (Nabonidus 10). The *mukil appāti* is also mentioned in *Mesopotamia* 31 (1996) no. 2:18', BM 51166:5' and BM 99774:10'. As a further note on chariotry is it conceivable that in Jursa 1998/1 no. 2:25 ^{li}*mu-IM-ra-a-a* is to be read ^{li}*mu-gi¹-ra-a-a*, from *mugirru*?

⁸⁷ Postgate 2000 p. 91.

⁸⁸ Almost certainly read ^{li}*taš-liš* in *VS* 6 88:1, 12 as many of the individuals listed are known as *kizû*'s elsewhere (Nabû-ēter-napšāti, Bēl-ēter-Nabû, Kalbāya, Šamaš-uballit; also Bunene-ibni (if this is how the name is to be completed in line 3). One of these is also found elsewhere as the name of a *mukabbû* (Šamaš-uballit) but none of the other names in *VS* 6 88 correspond to known *mukabbû*. On the other hand the ^{li}UR.GAM.MEŠ of *CT* 56 658:27, coming as they do in a list of artisans are certainly menders. ^{li}UR.GAM occurs in *CT* 44 72, a list of sheep "in the houses" (cf. Da Riva 2002/2), and *CT* 55 410. The Arrabi in *Nbn.* 37:4 is probably ^{li}*taš-liš*. Note also [...] *la-la* ^{li}*taš-liš* in BM 84326:3.

⁸⁹ Bongenaar 1997 p. 45–46; see now also Zawadzki 2002/2. Note that there were also commanders of five men in the Persian army (Sekunda & Chew 1992 p. 5). To the prosopography of the *kizû*'s known from previous research the data from the following fragment may be added: BM 67986 (2.6+×4.1+ cm)

1' [^{md}NĀ-KA]R-ZI.[MEŠ]

2' [^{md}]UTU-*lu-da-ri*

3' [^m]dNĀ-*ta-at-tan-nu*

4' [^m]d^d*bu-ne-ne*-[DŪ]

5' [^mx]-*ba-di*

6' [^m]IR-^dHAR *a-di* 1 GUR

7' [PAP] 8 ^{li}*ki-zu-ú*^{mes}

five men.⁹⁰ While Bongenaar discounted the interpretation of *tašlišu* as the third man of chariot, MacGinnis was inclined not to rule out that possibility.⁹¹ It strikes me that these different strands are all compatible, that the *tašlišu/kizû* were indeed the third men of chariot crews, but served as guards/junior orderlies overseeing the temple workforce when not on campaign (the demand for chariot warfare in the day to day running of the temple being limited). In all events, *tašlišu*'s are found receiving rations and acting as witnesses.⁹² Unlike the *mukil appāti* and the *mār damqa*, there is evidence for more than one *tašlišu* at Sippar—a *tašlišu* of the king, a *tašlišu* of the prince and a *tašlišu* of the *simmagir* (associated with deliveries of bitumen).⁹³ Finally, in the absence of direct information about the number of chariots billeted on Sippar, the number of *tašlišu*'s may provide the best indication of the number of chariots based in Sippar—that is, about fourteen.⁹⁴

A further observation may be made in connection with BM 49577, published as an appendix to my article on *kizûs* some years ago.⁹⁵ In this text the *kizû* Šamaš-erība presents six individuals to Šamaš. Given the (fairly) lowly status of *kizû*'s, the greatest likelihood is that Šamaš-erība had brought them back from campaign. This would square well with the idea *kizû* = *tašlišu* = charioteer.

A text important in this discussion and often quoted is *CT 22 74* in which one Gūzānu writes to a man called Širku.⁹⁶ Various identifications have been made for these men. Joannès (following Ebeling) identifies Gūzānu as the *šangû* of Sippar, taking this to imply that the *šangû* had cavalry and chariotry under his command. But it is not certain that this document comes from Sippar, and Stolper takes it to be Gūzānu when he had become Governor of Babylon. The most recent and most convincing analysis of the text is the interpretation of Abraham who agrees with the identification of Gūzānu as Governor of Babylon (Darius years 25–28), and takes Širku as the attested nickname of the Egibi operative Marduk-našir-apli.⁹⁷ But in either case, Joannès' relation of this text to *VS 6 155* with the implication that the *qīpu* of the Ezida in Borsippa had chariots (or at least a chariot) under his command is well founded and it would seem to me that that point is transferrable to the situation in Sippar.

In summary, it seems too much of a co-incidence that all three members of a chariot crew—*mār damqa*, *mukil appāti*, *tašlišu*—should be mentioned in the texts, even if not together and not in a military context. Certainly there was land around Sippar allocated for the upkeep of chariot crews (see under fiefs below), but what connection this had

⁹⁰ MacGinnis 1997 p. 86.

⁹¹ Bongenaar 1997 p. 45–46, MacGinnis 1997 p. 84.

⁹² **rations:** BM 63815:4 (Bertin 1152, Nebuchadnezzar 40), BM 66126:3–4 (^{li}*taš-li-šû* | [^{li}*šá* ^{li}*qt-i-pi*]), BM 83478 (Nabonidus 12); **witness:** *Cyr.* 212:7.

⁹³ ***tašlišu*'s of the king:** Zawadzki *Building Texts* no. 58 (BM 49437), BM 54051:2' and no. 64 (BM 51303); ***tašlišu*'s of the prince:** BM 79195 (Da Riva 2002/1 p. 381); ***tašlišu* of the *sin-magir*:** *ibid.* no. 63 (BM 53453) and no. 71 (BM 52810).

⁹⁴ MacGinnis 1997 p. 81–83.

⁹⁵ MacGinnis 1997 p. 87.

⁹⁶ Joannès 1982/1 p. 24; Stolper 1994 and 2001 p. 127; van Driel 2002 p. 212; Dandamayev 2006 p. 379–380.

⁹⁷ Abraham 2004 p. 46f.

with the temple, and whether the temple itself fielded chariotry is less sure. There are no direct references to military chariots in the texts from Sippar (though there are of course numerous references to the ceremonial chariot of Šamaš).⁹⁸ We might reasonably expect to find clues in the texts dealing with items manufactured and repaired by the carpenters, leatherworkers and smiths, but the reality is that there is no record of temple artisans working on military chariots.⁹⁹ This might be taken to imply that the chariots were not actually based at the temple. One plausible alternative location where they might have been based would be the royal palace in Sippar.¹⁰⁰ But the furnishing of chariots may have been prohibitively expensive. If the Ebabbara only fielded 12 horsemen, it may be that the number of chariots which it furnished was very small—two or three, or perhaps only one, which would then almost certainly have been commanded by the *qīpu*. Certainly the *qīpu* of Borsippa is found leading work parties in his chariot.¹⁰¹ This may conflict with the suggestion above that the *tašlišu*'s were part of the chariot crews, unless it were the case that the temple provided the crews but not the chariots.

⁹⁸ Ebeling in *Neubabylonische Briefe* interprets *CT* 22 179 (= *Cyr.* 133, BM 75727) as a letter dealing with flour for the chariot of the *mukīl appāti*, but the reading of ⁹⁸GIGIR in line 3 appears to be no more than guesswork (collated).

⁹⁹ Thus the chariot on which a bronzesmith is working in *Nbn.* 86 is almost certainly the ceremonial chariot of Šamaš, and the same applies to the rations for leatherworkers doing work on the chariot in *CT* 56 327:18.

¹⁰⁰ MacGinnis 1994 p. 198f.

¹⁰¹ Van Driel 2002 p. 235.

Equipping the personnel

The supply by the temple to its personnel of the clothing, arms and provisions for undertaking service abroad is designated by the term “*rikis qabli*”. The texts detailing such issues have been most recently surveyed by MacGinnis.¹⁰² Essentially, the term was used for the provisioning and equipping of men sent out from Sippar to perform military service on behalf of the temple.¹⁰³ The term is also found occasionally in contexts which are not obviously military, e.g. the *rikis qabli* of the “carpenters of Lebanon” who were probably sent to fetch cedars from the Lebanon mountains.¹⁰⁴ A text from Borsippa records payment of *rikis qabli* to a boatman.¹⁰⁵ As regards the weaponry, the temple was able to manufacture its own stock, cf. the issues of iron to the blacksmiths to make daggers and lances,¹⁰⁶ as well as the evidence for the manufacture of arrows cited above.

¹⁰² MacGinnis 1998; a noteworthy example from Sippar is *Dar.* 253, discussed by Joannès 1982/1 p. 18 and now also by van Driel 2002 p. 251–2; cf. also *CT* 55 69 which lists by name 18 *ikkaru* receiving equipment and provisions to do bow service, to which add BM 73250 and BM 101616; cf. also Abraham 2004 p. 20f. For remarks on *rikis qabli* in Uruk see Kozuh 2006 p. 236f.

¹⁰³ Bongenaar 1997 p. 131 with n. 143; also BM 74617 (no. 15 below) recording silver paid as *rikis qabli* of Darius year 5 to the carpenter of the gate, in addition to a previous payment to Ibnāya; *rikis qabli* BM 73250. The issue of silver, cress, flour, salt and oil for a *kizû* going on campaign with the king in BM 49439 (Nebuchadnezzar 30/8/11, quoted Zawadzki 2003 p. 278*) is evidently *rikis qabli* though not explicitly so designated. For a discussion of soldiers’ outfitting from Nippur, see Joannès 1982/1 p. 16f.

¹⁰⁴ Bongenaar 1997 p. 393, 401.

¹⁰⁵ *VS* 4 139 (Darius 14).

¹⁰⁶ **daggers:** Zawadzki & Jursa 2001 p. 352 Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8; BM 62327.3, BM 62493 **lances** *ibid.* p. 352 no. 3; BM 62422.

III. Units constituted by free citizens

As Jursa has shown in his research on the archives of Bēl-rēmāni and Nidinti-Marduk, free citizens were liable to perform bow service. We do not know what the precise legal basis of this service was, Jursa suggests that it may have arisen either as a result of urban tax-obligations or because it was a duty incumbent on all citizens.¹⁰⁷ The service could be commuted into payments in silver—apparently at a rate of 1 mina per year—though this may not have exempted the individuals concerned from the performance of occasional civic duties. On occasions Bēl-rēmāni is found paying rations for palace personnel including *magi* and *gardu's*¹⁰⁸—the exact justification for this is not given but may well relate to *ilku* obligations.

This citizen militia was organised into decuries—besides Bēl-rēmāni and Nidinti-Marduk other members of the decuries were prebendaries, a goldsmith, temple functionaries, scribes and exorcists.¹⁰⁹ These were all *mār banê* and members of the leading families of Sippar, and the implication is that the archer decuries were organised by socio-economic groups. The evidence from Uruk similarly suggests that urban taxation and obligations may also have been organised by professional groups, for example the exorcists. It is noteworthy that in Sippar, according to the one document which is complete enough to judge by (BM 43300), the decury really did consist of 10 men and was not short staffed. The post of decurion—*rab eširti*—rotated. It is not clear how the contingents of free citizens performing bow service were integrated into a single command structure.

¹⁰⁷ Jursa 1999 p. 109, see also van Driel 2002 p. 294 for taxes on urban property.

¹⁰⁸ Jursa 1999 p. 107.

¹⁰⁹ For further information on decuries of bowmen into units of ten see Abraham 2004 p. 42, 57f. and p. 62.

IV. Fiefs

In the mid first millennium BC a feudal system was in place in Babylonia, in which an individual held a grant of land in return for service to the state.¹¹⁰ In reality the actual service was not necessarily military,¹¹¹ but the designation of the fiefs shows us that this was the origin and underlying purpose. There are three designations: “bow fief” (*bīt qašti*), “chariot fief” (*bīt narkabti*) and “horse fief” (*bīt sīsi*). The latest thinking on a fourth term *bīt ritti* is discussed below. Bearing in mind the set-up of *bīt qašti*’s and *ilku* in the Neo-Assyrian period,¹¹² it may be that the system goes back to the Assyrian occupation of Babylonia. With all of these categories the general rule seems to be that the owners of the fiefs were not primarily soldiers themselves but rather responsible for fielding a soldier, horseman or chariot as required, or (more often) meeting this liability by a payment of silver instead.

Bow fiefs

Bow-fiefs were integral to the state system of raising troops in Babylonia. We do not know exactly when bow fiefs were instituted—or re-instituted—in Sippar, but the time of the earliest attestation has been progressively pushed back from the time of Cambyses to Nabonidus to Nebuchadnezzar.¹¹³ What little evidence we have deals exclusively with the agricultural and fiscal side, for the most part dealing with the collection of dues or other managerial matters.¹¹⁴ It is evident that the requirement for

¹¹⁰ Joannès 1982/1 p. 8f. & 19f.; Stolper 1985; Dandamayev & Lukonin 1988 p. 147–152 & 188–190.

¹¹¹ Jursa 1999 p. 100 & 101.

¹¹² Joannès 1982/1 p. 20, after Postgate: “The identity of terminology ... in Neo-Assyrian and these Achaemenid sources can only be explained if the Neo-Babylonian kings adopted Assyrian methods and transmitted them to their successors in hegemony” (*Taxation and Conscriptio in the Assyrian Empire* p. 224 n. 2). According to Dandamayev feudal land tenure in Achaemenid Babylonia was borrowed from Assyria via Media (Dandamayev 1997 p. 45) but given that there was an at least limited system of fiefs under the Chaldeans a transmission via Media does not need to be postulated.

¹¹³ Jursa 1998/2, cf. MacGinnis 1998/1 p. 214.

¹¹⁴ e.g. BM 73299:6’, BM 54107 (no.7 below), recording *imittu* collected by the *rab qašti* from the *bīt qašti* of the Persian Artumazza, Darius year 1; BM 60701 (Strassmaier II 378/3), BM 73299:6’; also *Dar.* 111:2; *CT* 56 209:4; *Mesopotamia* 31 (1996) no. 19 is a letter dealing with *bīt qašti* land that had been flooded. Note also BM 62976, a difficult and damaged text recording a field rental and mentioning the *sūtu* of the archer Nergal-tēšê-ētir (^{es}BĀN šá ^{md}U.GUR-SUĪ-SUR šá ^{es}BĀN). Further discussions of bowland may be found in Stolper 2000 & 2001 and van Driel p. 237f.

actual service could be commuted into a payment in silver,¹¹⁵ but we are not presently able to say whether this was the exception or the norm.

As for the prosopography of the situation, there is very little in the way of being able to match proprietors of *bīt qašti*'s with known archers. For example, in *Nbn.* 462¹¹⁶ the well known *rab qašti* Šadūnu is found conveying barley for seed corn. It is tempting to guess that this is for the *bīt qašti*'s of men under his command, and this might be correct, but it is also possible that he is handling the barley for another domain. With Nidintu-Marduk son of Šamaš-šum-līšir, we have an individual who is liable for *ilku* and also found serving as a *rab eširti* himself. But the most satisfying connection is in the case of Bēl-rēmāni son of Mušebši-Marduk: it is not only that this individual is both liable for bow service and found serving as a *rab ešerti*, but also the fact that we know that there was a *bīt qašti* at the disposal of his father. It would thus appear that we have here a rare attestation of the working of a fief realised as actual bow service.¹¹⁷

Cavalry fiefs

The term for a cavalry fief was *bīt sīsē*. As it stands the first actual attestation of a *bīt sīsē* is not until time of Artaxerxes I but it seems certain that they existed before that.¹¹⁸ There are no attestations from Sippar.

Chariot fiefs

There is not a lot of information on chariot fiefs from Sippar, but what there is of interest. The most striking text is *Dar.* 9 (Darius accession) in which Gubāru the governor of Babylon and Transpotamia allocates work along various waterways (including the Sumandar canal) which run through the land of Bēl, Nabû, Nergal and Šamaš and the holders of some chariot fiefs (*rabē bīt narkabāti*).¹¹⁹ Most likely these chariot fiefs were associated with the implied temple domains of Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha and Sippar, but the very mention of the fiefs is of interest in itself. Nevertheless, the mention of chariot fiefs in documents such as *Dar.* 343, *CT 55* 163:8 and *CT 55* 474:i.11¹²⁰ shows that the administration of these fiefs did in some way interface with

¹¹⁵ e.g. BM 64049 (Jursa 1999 p. 105) in which silver and *ilku* of bow service is paid to the *bēl piqitti* of the governor.

¹¹⁶ Jursa 1998:1 p. 31f.

¹¹⁷ As remarked upon by Kozuh (2006 p. 237), "There is, however, no information regarding *how* fief-bound recruits were equipped: that is, did they buy weapons from state-controlled blacksmiths or armories? Were the arms bought at the market or perhaps rented from an arms depot? Did they hire specialized craftsmen to make the items?"

¹¹⁸ Joannès 1982/1 p. 19, Stolper 1994, van Driel 2002 p. 232f. It had previously been thought that the *bīt aspatum* belonging to the king in *VS 3* 55 referred to a horse fief (Dandamayev 1992/1 p. 18) but this has now been discounted (Stolper 1994). See now also van Driel 2002 p. 235 n. 38.

¹¹⁹ Van Driel *BSA* 4 (1988) p. 129, Jursa 1995 p. 181, 183.

¹²⁰ Note the existence of the family name *rab narkabāti* in *VS 4* 126 (Darius year 9, concerning *pasa'du* in Elam).

the bureaucracy of the Ebabbara though we cannot at present say much more than that. Other evidence documents such fiefs at the Ezida in Borsippa.¹²¹ The recent publication of BM 79541 has revealed that by the reign of Darius I north Babylonia was home to chariot fiefs belonging to the Persian aristocracy and that the intricacies surrounding the legal and fiscal issues arising from these could be of sufficient difficulty and moment as to require adjudication on the part of Darius himself.

Further to this, the most recent work on chariot fiefs is the contribution of van Driel,¹²² from which two key points emerge: (1) the chariot fief involved more than just the chariot and its equipment; it also involved the support personnel and it also had a *rab qašti*. This leads on to point (2) that the possibility exists that “the holders of chariot fiefs provided the military cadre for the bowmen”. As van Driel notes, what we do not know is “whether the chariot, horse and bow fiefs were always linked in a fixed (command?) structure, through which the other fiefs were grouped around the chariot fief”. The Sippar material casts no light on this.

The *bīt ritti*'s

A final category to consider is the *bīt ritti*, a term that has been under progressive discussion for the last two decades.¹²³ It had long been assumed that *bīt ritti*'s were “Versorgungsfelder”, sustenance plots, akin to other fiefs though with the complication that some appeared to have a military aspect while others did not. That is to say, in general they did not have a specific association in the way of bow, chariot or horse, but there are examples where *bīt ritti*'s comprised a complex of fields that included *bīt qašti*'s.¹²⁴ Further to this, Joannès demonstrated that *bīt ritti*'s could be administered by temples (with evidence from both Uruk and Sippar).¹²⁵ Both the fact that *bīt ritti*'s could be owned by *širku*'s and the fact that *bīt ritti*'s could be included in land conceded to the *rab sūti* (at least in Uruk)¹²⁶ supported this. Joannès' conclusion was that the temples were obliged to furnish men for the use of the state.¹²⁷ Another suggestion—not necessarily exclusive—was that *bīt ritti*'s were awarded to support individuals performing duties in the temple and its domains; certainly that seems to be the case by

¹²¹ Joannès 1982 p. 25.

¹²² van Driel 2002 p. 233.

¹²³ For previous discussions of *bīt ritti*'s see Joannès 1982/1 p. 11–16, p. 21; Dandamayev & Lukonin 1988 p. 150, p. 222f.; Jursa 1995 p. 120, 1998/1 p. 13–18, 1998/2; MacGinnis 1998/1 p. 214; Da Riva 2002/1 p. 129; van Driel 2002 p. 305f. Further unpublished references to *bīt ritti*'s occur in BM 78046:3', 5' (reign of Neriglissar), BM 84029:8' and BM 99825.

¹²⁴ Joannès 1982/1 p. 8f., Jursa 1995 p. 120–121.

¹²⁵ Joannès 1982/1 p. 12–16, 36. Incidentally, Stolper is surely right in making the connection between the system at work in the Neo-Babylonian temples and the Late Babylonian Murašû. As he articulates it, “the hierarchy of farms around fifth century Nippur represented an adaptation, an extension or supercession, and a secularisation of the contracting regimes developed in the sixth-century temples” (Stolper 2001 p. 117–118). For a further reflection on this, see under *rab ummu* above.

¹²⁶ Joannès 1982/1 p. 12.

¹²⁷ Joannès 1982/1 p. 15.

the Seleucid period.¹²⁸ Taken together, although no-one claimed to a definitive understanding, a general consensus was emerging that *bīt ritti*'s were fiefs created by the state to solve problems of manpower supply in the early Neo-Babylonian period. In particular, Jursa elucidated the process by which these fiefs were created; as summarised by MacGinnis:¹²⁹

The origin of the institution of *bīt ritti*'s appears to have been in a deal struck between the temple and the state that worked to the advantage of everyone involved. The temple had land that it could not work due to lack of manpower, while the state had surplus manpower from prisoners of war and deportees. These problems were solved with the creation of *bīt ritti*'s in which settlers were granted tracts of land under certain conditions: state service and payment of tithes. The individuals benefitted from the grant of land, the temples benefitted from the payment of tithes and the state benefitted from the service required of the holders.

Most recently, however, van Driel has suggested an analysis along entirely different lines; he proposed an elegant, if unexpectedly simple solution: perhaps the term was no more than a general word for a plot of land being worked by an individual regardless of any particular encumbrances that it may have had in terms of feudal status, liability to tithes or other obligations—a sort of dummy variable which allowed the administration to make entries in its bookkeeping without making specific reference to these factors. In van Driel's words:¹³⁰

Applying the term was a convenient manner of avoiding difficult specifications which were irrelevant in terms of the transaction concerned. It is once more a kind of catch all phrase, it means no more than "holdings (as far as they are) in the hands of PN", even though practically they could be held by someone else or an institution.

Paradoxically, the use of this neutral term has served to mask some of the complications of the land holding system and, at least heretofore, confuse the issue for modern scholars (p. 312). However if van Driel is right this does not mean that all of the previous analysis is necessarily wrong: it remains the case that many holders were of foreign background,¹³¹ and that there are indications (from Šaṭīr) that *bīt ritti*'s were organised into groups of 12, which might correspond to units of the army.¹³² It just means that in those cases we are indeed dealing with fiefs but that the more generalised term *bīt ritti* reduces the resolution of the image.

¹²⁸ In the Seleucid period, at least in Uruk, *bīt ritti*'s were evidently used to maintain prebendary functionaries in the temple such as *ērib bīti* and butcher. Joannès' interpretation of this is that the use of the fief had changed from a military to a civil application and that this represented a cessation of the military commitment. It strikes me that another interpretation is possible, i.e. that the temple had carried out a rationalisation to the effect that the holder of the fief had to both serve as an archer when called up in addition to performing the stipulated temple duties in times of peace.

¹²⁹ MacGinnis 2000/3 p. 333–334.

¹³⁰ van Driel 2002 p. 305f.; Bojana Janković will shortly be publishing a contract from Uruk from the Yale Babylonian Collection which supports van Driel's interpretation. As a final word, perhaps the entire phenomenon is a chimera: we should analyse the entries not as "*bīt ritti* (PN)" but as "*bīu* (*ritti* PN)", the implication being that there was actually no such thing as a *bīt ritti*.

¹³¹ Jursa 1998/1 chapter 3, cf. MacGinnis 2000/3.

¹³² Joannès 1982/1 p. 11f.

ilku

The term *ilku* designated (among other things) the obligations due to the state resulting from the ownership of a fief.¹³³ Although originally this meant actually going off and performing service in either a civil or a military capacity, the reality in the Neo-Babylonian period was more elaborate. In practice, the proprietors either hired an individual to perform their service for them, or paid silver as a tax direct to the state. An example of the first may be in the individual hired to perform the bow service registered for Nidinti-Marduk/Sūqāya in BM 42432;¹³⁴ an example of silver paid to the state occurs in BM 64049, where the immediate recipient is a commissioner, *bēl piqitti*, of the governor.¹³⁵ In the manoeuvring between these two positions there was ample opportunity for the growth of the rôle of a middleman. For example, a certain Nidinti-Marduk son of Šamaš-šum-līšir, evidently the proprietor of a bow fief, retained a *rab qašti* (Nabû-šum-iškun) who took receipt of silver as *pasa'du* of Elam¹³⁶ and is also found borrowing silver to meet his *ilku* requirements.¹³⁷ Nevertheless it cannot be ruled out that proprietors of fiefs did actually perform their own *ilku* service. This would have left less documentation, or at least such records as there would have been would have been bound up with the government administration and, as is well known, we have no intact state archives from this period.¹³⁸

A specific area where *ilku* labour from Sippar was employed was in Elam. A survey on this matter has only recently been published, from which I quote the following passage summarising the information germane to our purposes:¹³⁹

Separate from the corvée labourers there were also individuals from Sippar performing service in Elam in the reign of Darius as a result of *ilku* obligations. This service did not have to be military as such, or rather we might say there was a crossover between military and civilian state service, and individuals subject to *ilku* in Sippar might be required to perform this obligation in Elam.

Thus BM 42352, published by Jursa, records a payment of silver as a share of bow service for earthworks on the canal in Elam for year 17¹⁴⁰—demonstrating that personnel doing military service might be employed in civil engineering projects.

¹³³ Joannès 1982/1 p. 20f., van Driel 2002 pp. 51, 254f., 265.

¹³⁴ Jursa 1999 p. 182.

¹³⁵ Jursa 1999 p. 105.

¹³⁶ VS 4 126 (Jursa 1999 p. 262, Darius 9).

¹³⁷ BM 42302 (Jursa 1999 p. 133, Darius 19).

¹³⁸ Other texts of interest are BM 74932, dealing with a document of *ilku* payments (IM.DUB šá *il-ku*^{mes}) made by a certain Bēl-ušallim/Nabû-ušēbši to Bēl-iddin/Nergal-ušēzib (Neriglissar 1); and BM 62561, which deals with a case adjudicated by the *šangû* of Akkad concerning payments of *ilku* silver (Jursa 1997 no. 1). Other references to *ilku* are CT 22 21:11 (cf. MacGinnis 2002/1 p. 217), CT 22 144 (not certainly from Sippar), BM 58902:3 (fragmentary), BM 64176, BM 64049 (Bertin 2308), BM 65533, BM 68447, BM 74932. For previous discussions of *ilku* in the Neo-Babylonian period see in particular Joannès 1982/1 p. 19f. and Jursa 1999 p. 99f.

¹³⁹ MacGinnis 2002/2 p. 180.

¹⁴⁰ Jursa 1999 p. 151; for further comments on *ilku* see Dandamayev 2000 p. 155–159. BM 82666 (from Borsippa) mentions *il-ku šá za-ba-lu šá ú-pa-a-tú šá* ^{kur}NIM^{ki} (Darius 16).

BM 42302, also published by Jursa, records the payment of silver for the *ilku* of Elam in Darius 19.¹⁴¹ Incidentally, the term *pasa'du* appears to have been a synonym for *ilku*, apparently the Elamite word it. Thus a payment of silver for the *pasa'du* of Elam is recorded in *VS 4 126* (Darius 9)¹⁴² and a settling of accounts of the *pasa'du* of the *šābē ʿepiš dullu* of Elam is found in *Dar. 293 10–11* (Darius year 10).¹⁴³

Another document in this context is *Cam. 13* (Cambyses accession), a silver account in which, if I understand it correctly, two individuals are going to Laḫiru, taking with them silver in lieu of bow service to pay for substitutes: “when they go to Laḫiru they will meet the expenditure due on their bow-service and allocate their royal workers” (*e-ma a-na* ^{uru}*la-ḫi-i-ri il-la-ku-u’ te-lit ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{gis}*BAN-šú-nu ú-še-li-u* ^{li}*ERIM.MEŠ-šú-nu ú-zi-zu-ma*).¹⁴⁴ Incidentally, we should note that the term *ilku* was not just used for the duty incumbent on enfeoffed domains, but could also refer to other obligations for which individuals were liable. *Širku*’s could be liable for *ilku*, for example in *Cam. 398* the *širku* Ṭūdānu has to supply blankets. In this sense the term does not seem to be all that different from *iškāru*. Jursa indeed regards the two terms as synonymous.¹⁴⁵ He has also suggested that there were taxes on urban property, though there is little specific information on this.¹⁴⁶

***urāšu* bowmen**

The current understanding is that *urāšu* was the term for the man supplied by the owner of a fief to perform *ilku* service on his behalf.¹⁴⁷ In addition to this, it may be that the term was also used for the individual doing service on behalf of a decury (*eširtu*), either one of the members of the decury or paid for by the group.¹⁴⁸ We most often come across *urāšu* when they are issued with rations. As far as their activities go, it seems they were mainly involved in earthworks, including the great *mušannitu*

¹⁴¹ Jursa 1999 p. 133.

¹⁴² Jursa 1999 p. 262.

¹⁴³ Following the reading of Bongenaar, *Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple* p. 38 n. 65; for further remarks on *pasa'du* see van Driel 2002 p. 246–7.

¹⁴⁴ This text is also commented on by van Driel 2002 p. 243.

¹⁴⁵ Jursa 1999 p. 100.

¹⁴⁶ Jursa 1999 p. 103. However, it is worth recalling the opinion of Dandamayev (*JAOS 119* (1999) p. 345) that the fact that the subjects of the Persian empire were liable for military service is implied by the claim made by Bardiya—even if a claim falsified by modern scholarship—that he granted a universal exemption to this service for a period of three years (the claim is contradicted by *BE 8 100* written in Nippur, 26 days before Bardiya’s death).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Jursa *Iraq 59* (1997) no. 7, van Driel 2002 p. 264f., Abraham 2004 p. 53f.

¹⁴⁸ van Driel 2002 p. 265–6.

construction project in the latter part of the reign of Nabonidus.¹⁴⁹ Rightly or wrongly, my guess is that the *murašû* also belong here, i.e. *murašû* is a variant spelling of *urāšu* (in the same manner as *unīqu*/*munīqu*, *ulālu*/*mulālu*). As far as I am aware the *murašû* are only attested receiving rations.¹⁵⁰ If $\dot{\text{E}}^{\text{li}}\text{ú-ra-šú}$ in *CT* 56 572:1 is a place name — Bīt-urāšu — it is otherwise unattested but was presumably the location where the workers on the *mušannītu* were put up. Another text of interest is *CT* 56 79, from Nabonidus year 14. It starts with the heading “*urāšu* working (on the dam) in Gilušu” after which the first three entries are for 12 *ikkaru*, 5 shepherds and 5 gardeners. The tablet breaks off but there probably then followed entries detailing the numbers associated with named individuals, but the implication is that the *ikkaru*, shepherds and gardeners were serving as *urāšu*.¹⁵¹ In other words, they were conscripted labour.

A number of texts detail groups of four or five people who collectively had the obligation to provide one man for bow service.¹⁵² They all follow the format of a tablet divided into boxes with each box listing the names of the individuals and summarised “total of *x* (of) 1 bow, 1 *urāšu*”. The groups are all family groups, consisting of brothers and sons. The implication, as proposed by Stolper, is that the *širku*’s were organised by family, with the family units obliged to supply one Bowman each.¹⁵³ Whether or not this was here due to *ilku* obligations we simply cannot say. But the fact that the groups were formed of neat units of four or five males suggests they may not have entirely corresponded to real families.

¹⁴⁹ *CT* 57 288:2 **earthworks**: BM 72906:7 (payment of rations); *mušannītu*: *CT* 56 572:1, 7, 596:21, 792; BM 59671 (*urāšu ša Gūzānu*), BM 68211, BM 75979. In *Nbk.* 104 an *urāšu* of Šamaš is involved in a delivery of barley, flour and silver. In BM 61375 *urāšu* are issued with iron rings (nine individuals with 1 to 3 rings each); *urāšu* are also mentioned in *CT* 22 99:5 and 141:19, 30. Another text involving *urāšu* whose purport is not entirely clear to me is BM 67417. See further Dandamayev 1984 p. 251, Stolper 1985 p. 47, Joannès *Archives de Borsippa* p. 157–8.

¹⁵⁰ spelt *mu-ra-ši-i*: *Nbn.* 546:27, 915:23; *CT* 56 327:16, 328:2, 362:7, 363:2; BM 61001: rev.5', BM 66257:7', BM 100783:1, BM 100851:2; *mu-ra-ši*^{mes}: BM 63073; *mu-ra-ši-ia* (Aramaic plural): BM 67087:2'; *mu-ra-šu-ú*: BM 100943:2; *mu-ra-šu-ú*^{mes}: BM 74669 (2 *mu-ra-šu-ú*^{mes} *šá É* ^dGAŠAN *sip-par*^{ki}). A ^{md}EN-ŠU.II-*ut-te-le-e šá mu-ra-ši-i* occurs in BM 66257:7'.

¹⁵¹ As in *CT* 56 792 (noted by Rocío Da Riva).

¹⁵² *CT* 56 581 (BM 58217), no. 4 below (BM 62009 + BM 68117 + 84292); no. 5 below (BM 55136 + 56135 [*CT* 56 566+]), no. 43 below (BM 59761).

¹⁵³ Stolper 2001 p. 126 n. 61.

V. Military Officers

A number of high and middle ranking officers are mentioned in the archives. On the whole they appear in routine administrative contexts but the very fact of their presence is useful information and in some cases the context is more illuminating.¹⁵⁴

The *rab ummu*

That the *rab ummu* was a high ranking state official is certain, but whether my view ventured previously that the *rab ummu* was “a senior military official, perhaps army commander or chief of army personnel is not clear”¹⁵⁵ proves to be inspired or wrong only time will tell. Most of the references from Sippar are not very revealing, though the fact that 11 temple personnel are to report to him is noteworthy; in other texts he is found delivering livestock and silver.¹⁵⁶ The fact that that the *rab ummu* could have jurisdiction over temple land (in Larak, Late Achaemenid) integrates well with the emerging picture of the place of temples in the military infrastructure of first millennium Babylonia. The fact that, at least by the time of the Murašû archives, the *rab ummu* controlled *ḫaṭru*’s¹⁵⁷ only supports this.

The *rab mūgi*

The *rab mungi/mūgi* is thought to have been a high military official. In Sippar we have no intimation of these military functions, though confirmation of his high status comes from the fact that he possessed an estate and had a *sepīru*, and administrative documents do record members of his household involved in the payment of tithes and transacting sheep.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ See Vanderhoft 1999 p. 149f. for a review of the Babylonian officers mentioned in Jeremiah.

¹⁵⁵ MacGinnis 1998/2 p. 180; for more on the *rab ummu* see Bongenaar 1997 p. 139 and Stolper 2001 p. 106–7.

¹⁵⁶ MacGinnis 1998/2.

¹⁵⁷ Stolper 2001 p. 106.

¹⁵⁸ Bongenaar 1997 p. 137–8; to which add the following occurrences of the *bīt rab mūgi*: CT 57 930:2 (É^{li}GAL mu-[...]), BM 51723:3, BM 62404 (no. 47 below), BM 101054:rev.3 and Jursa 1998/2 p. 93, no. 9:9; cf. Joannès 1982/1 p. 150; Zawadzki 1996 no. 12.6; Da Riva 2002/1 p. 295. A *sepīru* of the *rab mungi* is also mentioned in BM 62404 (no. 47 below), conveying wine to the Ebabbara, and an estate of Balātu of the *bīt rab mungu* is mentioned in BM 62731:rev.4’ (Nebuchadnezzar 31), possibly in relation to a brick quota for a construction project (which may have been the *nār šarri*); cf. also Da Riva 2002/1 p. 48 n. 89.

The *sepīru* of the army

A *sepīru* of the army by the name of Šum-ukīn is recorded paying silver to the temple in Nabonidus year 8.¹⁵⁹ The payment is a tithe and in the nature of such texts it may well be that this Šum-ukīn was not necessarily based in Sippar, but could be an individual originating from the city but serving elsewhere. So the attestation of this office does not reliably inform us of the military organisation in Sippar though it is of interest from the point of view of the Babylonian army as a whole.

The *sinmagir*

The *sinmagir* was one of the high offices of Babylonia. He is attested from the time of Šamaš-šum-ukīn up to Artaxerxes III and was presumably the governor of the Bīt Simmagir in the northern sealand.¹⁶⁰ But we have little idea of what his job really entailed.¹⁶¹ In the by now familiar pattern, the entries from Sippar deal with various administrative data, but fail to shed light on the essence of the office.¹⁶² It appears that the *sinmagir* had a representative in Sippar with a house on the quay—perhaps this is the *rēšu* and/or *šinamû* mentioned in other texts.¹⁶³ Evidently the *sinmagir* Nabû-šarušur was himself present in Sippar when he adjudicated in a dispute over the ownership of a house in an inheritance case.^{163a} There is also mention of a *bēl piqitti*.¹⁶⁴ On one occasion a *sinmagir* is recorded presenting a white horse to the temple (almost certainly for service with the ceremonial chariot).¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ CT 57 41, Jursa 1998/2 p. 68.

¹⁶⁰ von Soden (1972) argues that the office was originally based in Uruk and then transferred to Nippur, but this is surely just a reflection of the fact that the Neo-Babylonian sources available at the time when he wrote were overwhelmingly from those cities in that order.

¹⁶¹ Note that in the book of Jeremiah Neriglissar is described as both *simmagir* and *rab mügi* (von Soden 1972 p. 86). A settlement ^{umu}Šibtu-ša-bīt-Sîn-magir is mentioned in a somewhat effaced document dealing with a silver loan, Barton *AJSL* 16 9:17 (Darius 31); cf. the note to BM 77507:rev.2' in Da Riva 2002/1 p. 255.

¹⁶² CT 55 558; *ASJL* 16 p. 71 9:17; Strassmaier *8^{ième} Congrès* 31:6 (cf. Bruschweiler 1989 p. 154 l. 16); BM 49390 (Zawadzki *Building Texts* no. 60), BM 49539 (ERIM.MEŠ *ba-at-lanu šá É* ^d30-*ma-gir*), BM 49900:4 (Nebuchadnezzar 14), BM 101526 (Nabonidus 6); **further literature:** von Soden 1972, Bongenaar 1997 p. 299, van Driel 2002 p. 230, Da Riva 2002/1 p. 295–6. According to van Driel, Neriglissar was a *Sinmagir* during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (cf. also MacGinnis 1994/2).

¹⁶³ **House on quay:** CT 44 72:4, in which an individual of the *bīt simmagir* is among those to whom sheep are farmed out; *rēšu*: BM 49319:6–7; *šinamû* of the *Sinmagir* BM 72903 (courtesy S. Zawadzki). The *simmagir* also occurs in BM 49319 (Da Riva 2002/1 p. 296) and BM 51770 (Da Riva 2002/1 p. 383).

^{163a} Wunsch 2003 no. 48 p. 176f.

¹⁶⁴ BM 49755 (Da Riva 2002/1 p. 296).

¹⁶⁵ BM 58837, quoted by Bongenaar 1997 p. 299, transliteration MacGinnis 2002/2 p. 63 n. 2.

The Herald of Elam (*nāgir Elamti*)

This official is only attested in one text, paying barley tithes from his estate.¹⁶⁶

The *rab limmi*

The *rab limmi* “officer in charge of a thousand” is only attested in Sippar in the fragment BM 77469:rev. 3.¹⁶⁷ For remarks on the *limu* as a land division see van Driel 2002 p. 298.

The *rab me’ati*

The *rab me’ati* “commander of 100” is attested in about a dozen texts, mostly from the time of Nabonidus. As in many of these texts this official acts as a recipient of building materials (or their price in silver)¹⁶⁸ it is likely that the *rab me’ati* was directing a gang of labourers involved in construction projects. The men under him may or may not have been *širāku*, but Bongenaar’s suggestion that the *rab me’ati ša Bēl* was in charge of a contingent from Babylon seems highly probable and it may be that we are dealing with a *rab me’ati* from Babylon as well as one from Sippar. As stated, the current attestations derive from building projects, but a leading question is whether these units of a hundred would have been taken up *en bloc* and subsumed into the army when need arose. If so, the *rab me’ati* in Sippar was not primarily a military official, but rather the chief of a contingent of a hundred *širāku*, who might be deployed in civil or military operations as assigned.

The *rab hanšē*

The *rab hanšē* is assumed to be a commander of fifty men.¹⁶⁹ The limited attestations from Sippar allow no further elaboration. It is however worth taking note of the evidence connecting the *rab hanšē* to *hanšū* land. This has recently been reviewed by van Driel, who noted that although the information available does not amount to much over all, “it is perhaps just sufficient to suggest a structure linking institutions,

¹⁶⁶ Jursa 1998.1 no. 2 & p. 103, Bongenaar 1997 p. 106.

¹⁶⁷ See Bongenaar 1997 p. 137 for the reading of *rab me’ati* in *Nbn.* 920 rather than the *rab limmi* of the copy.

¹⁶⁸ Bongenaar 1997 p. 137, to which add BM 64803 in which a messenger of the *rab me’ati* Nergal-ušallim takes delivery of dates (Nabonidus 15).

¹⁶⁹ Bongenaar 1997 p. 136; to the references there add BM 41684.4’ (Bertin 1011, reign of Šamaš-šum-ukīn), and BM 49429:rev. 5–6 (^{li}GAL 50-ú šá šu-ba-ka-nu, acting as witnesses, reign of Nebuchadnezzar); Jursa 1999 p. 103. BM 59093 apparently mentions ^{li}GAL 40.MEŠ, possibly an error for ^{li}GAL 50.MEŠ. For *hanšū* fields cf. *CT* 55 87:3’, 88:1’; *CT* 57 300; BM 61724, BM 67908:1’. The *bēl hanšē* (Jursa 1999 BM 79128 p. 104, 105) and the ^{li}*hanšū* (BM 51128) are not commanders of 50 but tenants of a *hanšū* fields.

individuals and land into one urban based system.”¹⁷⁰ He goes on to suggest that in origin grants of land were made to family units who would have been responsible for providing, at least nominally, fifty men organised in five decuries:

The possibility that *ḥanšû* in the context of the title *rab ḥanšû* represents a grouping of *eširtû*’s, “military” structures which had in turn a basis in the family structure, is at least as likely as that the term *ḥanšû* may represent the basic block of land in a land division scheme. That the land *ḥanšû* is based on division is indicated by the regular size of the plots belonging to a specific scheme.¹⁷¹

More specifically, van Driel concludes that *ḥanšû*, along with the related *zu’uzti šarri*, can be regarded as part of the earlier land division terminology which was in its turn supplanted by the terms *ilku* and then *qaštu*. In the Sippar material the family connections have already been lost or at any rate obscured. The evidence “that *ḥanšû* land in one particular locality had been assigned to *ērib būti*’s” is of extraordinary importance, pointing, as van Driel rightly observes, towards the professional groupings of *ḥaṭru*’s of the later fifth century. However, as van Driel further notes, there were also important family associations among groups such as the *ērib būti*, so that we have to be wary in interpreting the changes taking place. By what route this led to the situation found in Sippar, where we find the *ḥanšû* land being administered directly by the temple, we cannot say. That the *ḥanšû* system was in an ongoing process of dissolution seems certain; the real nature and impact of the changes remain opaque.

The *rab kišri*

The term *kišru*, which may (or may not) denote a detachment of the watch, is attested in a number of texts from Sippar.¹⁷³ Passages refer to a *kišru* of the great gate, a *kišru* of the porter of the great gate and a *kišru* of the porters of the month of Nisānu.¹⁷⁴ These contingents were apparently deployed in pairs—perhaps in order to man two watches—and it may be that service was organised into monthly blocks. As the last named text also talks of the “*kišru* of year 5” (rev. 3’) it may be that service was organised by annual blocks as well. There is also mention of rations for the *kišru* of the temple of Gula.¹⁷⁵ It must be virtually certain that the head of these contingents was designated *rab kišri*, though we cannot be sure that that title was only used of military units. As it happens, from Sippar there are only a limited number of attestations of the title. The two of these which are published, *Nbpl.* 19 and *CT* 56 340, both occur in

¹⁷⁰ Van Driel 2002 p. 297f.; for further remarks on *ḥanšû* land see Da Riva 2002/1 p. 85, 87f., 100 with n. 259.

¹⁷¹ Van Driel 2002 p. 298.

¹⁷² Van Driel 2002 p. 300; van Driel also notes (*ibid.* p. 294) that there is some evidence (in the form of BM 79128, published Jursa 1999 p. 251) for a connection between *ḥanšû* and *qaštu*, though this is at present too limited to understand fully.

¹⁷³ *AHw kišru* 11.b; *CAD kišru* 2.

¹⁷⁴ *Nbn.* 1035; BM 68026:6’.

¹⁷⁵ BM 83561.

texts dealing with wool accounts and it is difficult to judge whether or not the *rab kišri* here is the head of a contingent of archers. A further attestation occurs in BM 62046, where we have a ^{li}*rab kišir šá* ^{li}PA.MEŠ appearing as a witness. However, it appears *kišru* was also used in another sense—with the same meaning as *ḥaṭru*. This term, as is well known, was the designation for members of the same profession/ethnic background grouped together in order to facilitate the administration of taxation, service and—at least by the later Achaemenid period—land holdings. These *kišru*'s/*ḥaṭru*'s would have been subdivided into *eširtu*'s.¹⁷⁶

The *rab ešerti*

The next man down in the chain of command is taken to be the *rab ešerti*.¹⁷⁷ This is also the level at which the command superstructure meets the brass tacks of the temple manpower resources and the question is to what extent the *rab ešerti*'s that we know of—which is principally in the context of the organisation of agricultural manpower—also served in this rôle within the structure of military requisition.¹⁷⁸ In other words, was the decurial organisation of agricultural manpower taken over part and parcel for deployment in state service? We are not yet able to answer this with certainty but there are clues in this direction. In this context it is worth quoting *in extenso* the understanding recently articulated by van Driel:¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Van Driel 2002 pp. 229, 308–310; perhaps the *kišru* of the measurers in *Nbn.* 898:7 falls in this sense; other attestations of *kišru* are in BM 72859:8 and BM 79513:2. Also of interest is BM 61064:

1 KÛ.BABBAR *ku-um* ZÛ.LUM.MA
 2 *šá ki-šir* ^{md}NĀ-KAR-ZI.MEŠ
 3 2 GÍN 4-*tú* ^{md}UTU-KAR-ZI^{tim}
 4 2½ GÍN ^m*a-ḥu-šú-nu*
 5 ½ GÍN ^m*ba-zu-zu šá* ^{umu}*la-ḥa-rat*
 6 PAP 5 GÍN 4-*tú a-na gi-ni-e*
 7 *a-na* TIN.TIR^{ki} *šu-bu-ul*
 8 ⁱⁱⁱŠE UD 10 KÁM MU 1 KÁM
 9 ^m*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

¹⁷⁷ For previous comments on the *rab ešerti*'s see Bongenaar 1997 p. 41–43, 50–55; Da Riva 2002/1 p. 180–181; van Driel 2002 p. 264, 297–299; MacGinnis 2003/1 p. 104–5. In Uruk the herd supervisors were responsible for stationing their underlings in the outposts (Kozuh 2006 p. 225).

¹⁷⁸ **workforce** Bongenaar 1997 p. 50–55, 130, to which add *CT* 55 395; **bowmen:** *CT* 56 561, 566; BM 55823 (Bertin 1966, no. 56 below); **ploughmen:** *Nbk.* 458; **shepherds:** *CT* 55 462:6, 554; **hirelings:** BM 65618:B.11' (^{li}GAL 10-*tú*^{mes} *šá* ^{li}HUN.GĀ.MEŠ, Nebuchadnezzar 28/29); **Aya:** *CT* 22 64:7, 21–22; and cf. *CT* 22 76:7; *CT* 56 87, 431, 774. There is also an attestation for a *rab ešerti šá* DINGIR GAL (*Nbn.* 478:3–4, Labāši).

¹⁷⁹ Van Driel 2002 p. 295.

As we have seen there are indications that taxation was, at least partially, based on a property for service system. But there was also the *ešertu* system, which, as Jursa has recently stressed, had a structure directly connected to the social realities of society, members of prebendal families being grouped with their likes and plough men with plough men. Primarily we can expect the *ešertu*, as far as was possible, to have been based on family relationships, automatically so as there existed a degree of correlation between family and occupation that was much stronger than is the case nowadays. In this way the *ešertu* also had an inbuilt property link, in which general obligations of the subject were linked to, or could evolve into a primarily property based taxation system.

A good example is the case of *CT 56 554*, quoted above, in which a *rab eširti* of the shepherds takes receipt of blankets for archers evidently under his control. As with the decurions of *mār banê*, it could be that only a part of the ten men was called up to fulfill routine requirements, with the possibility of drafting the entire unit in times of war. It is at any rate established that civilians could be organised into units of ten, with the decurion having the responsibility of fielding an archer as required. Thus in *BM 42432*¹⁸⁰ a certain Šamaš-nāšir son of Mušebši-Marduk is recorded as being the bow(man) of Nidinti-Marduk son of Sūqāya, the text specifically noting that an actual bow is at his disposal. Presumably in times of trouble the whole group of ten was called up.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Jursa 1999 p. 182, cf. p. 100.

¹⁸¹ Note also the Basiya who is listed as the *rab eširti* of Nidinti-Bēl in a document dealing with a dispute over payments of silver for *ilku* (Jursa 1997 p. 101 l. 10).

VI. The chain of command

The chain of command according to which the *širāku* of the Ebabbara were directed was reconstructed by MacGinnis.¹⁸²

This took the form of *qīpu*—*sepīru*—*rab širkē*—*rab eširti*—*kizû*—*širku*. Extending this up to the mainstream hierarchy of the Babylonian army, we may propose the following chain of command for *širāku* seconded to military duties:



The principal area of uncertainty is with regard to how the *qīpu* (and *sepīru*) fitted into the main hierarchy. De facto the *qīpu*'s would, in a major mobilisation, have been in command of hundreds of men and it therefore seems likely that he would have slotted in alongside or more probably above the *rab me'ati*. More generally, this problem draws attention to the likelihood that overall the Babylonian army would not really have been divided into the neat uniform multiples of 10—more likely is that each temple, province, group of fiefs etc. will have contributed its own regiment and that these units will have maintained their integrity when brought under central command. Incidentally, a text that demonstrates the *qīpu* in his command capacity is *CT 22 185*. This is a letter to Bēl-ušallim— assumed to be the *qīpu* of that name—concerning a request to levy troops. The original request had not resulted in any action and the matter is being taken in hand. We do not know how many troops were involved, but the mention of a caravan leader (*bēl harrānišu*) suggests that the purpose may have been to protect a caravan. As mentioned above, the existence of horses under the jurisdiction of the *qīpu* is significant: they may well have been used in day to day affairs in peacetime (e.g. riding round the temple estates to estimate harvest dues), but there can be little doubt that they would also have been used in time of war.

¹⁸² MacGinnis 1997 p. 86. The *qīpu* is recorded handing in bows in BM 64025 (no.31 below). Further evidence that the *rab širkē* led men on campaign may possibly also be found in BM 66896 (no. 49 below).

VII. Mobilisation

The above sections have presented the evidence for the composition and command structure of the forces resourced by the Ebabbara. Beyond this, a number of texts give evidence for the utilisation of these forces, particularly the call-up and despatch on campaign. Thus rations are issued to the men heading out on campaign in the form of dates, barley and sheep, and silver was paid out both for these and for the water bottles, cress, salt and oil required. Blankets (^{li}gKUR.RA), jerkins (*šir'am*), *mušiptu*, tents, sacks, shoes, horses and donkeys were also supplied.¹⁸³ Flour was issued to men taking rations to the levy camp, and a boat could be hired to take the meat rations of the king to the levy camp.¹⁸⁴ As regards the procedure of mobilisation, van Driel has suggested that the basic mechanism was for the *dēkū* “mobiliser” to direct his orders via the *rab eširti*'s.¹⁸⁵

The basic term for the conscripted individual was *šāb šarri*.¹⁸⁶ As hinted at above, conscription was not necessarily for military duties, men might also be called up for agricultural activities. For example, the men of the call up (^{li}ERIM.MEŠ *šá de-ki*) could be involved with work on *šapītu* (a plant, possibly a weed) in BM 101614.¹⁸⁷ In some cases we cannot tell, e.g. CT 56 662, a text listing the composition of a workforce that must have run into hundreds and includes eight men of the call up (*ša dēki*) alongside gardeners, farmers, shepherds and craftsmen. It is not impossible that these men were

¹⁸³ **túg.kur.ra**: BM 79658 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 279*), BM 70342 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 280*); **šir'am**: BM 79658; **mušiptu**: BM 70342; **tents**: CT 56 47 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 277*); BM 79658 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 279*); **sacks**: BM 70342 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 280*); **shoes**: BM 79658 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 279*), BM 70342 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 280*); **donkeys/horses**: CT 56 47 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 277*), BM 70342 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 280*).

¹⁸⁴ **rations**: CT 55 69, an issue of rations and equipment for shepherds and *ikkāru*; CT 56 26, 222, 653; BM 63634:1–2 ([x GU]R ŠE.BAR ^mkal-ba-a šá ŠUK.ĪIA LUGAL | [šá a]-na madak-tu₄ iš-šu-ú); BM 61015:rev.5–6 (no. 45 below); **sheep**: CT 55 606 Nebuchadnezzar year 29 [sheep for *madaktu* (text: *madakku*)]; **silver**: CT 56 650 (silver paid out for food, water bottles, cress, salt and oil given to individuals “of the rations of the king” for the *madaktu*); CT 57 16; BM 62906 (no. 39 below), BM 84122 (no. 37 below) (silver paid from the tithes of a *bēl pihāti* to replace silver spent in the levy camp); **flour**: BM 62720 (no. 38 below); **boat**: BM 74876, quoted by Bongenaar “Money in the Neo-Babylonian Institutions” in J.G. Dercksen (ed.) *Trade and Finance in Ancient Mesopotamia* (1999) p. 168 n. 27; *madaktu* is also mentioned in BM 101433 (no. 40 below) from the reign of Nabonidus (exact year lost). Two texts mention *šugarrū* in connection with campaigns, CT 56 222:2–4 (^{li}UN.MEŠ [šá a-n]a šu¹-gar-ru-ú šá ^{li}SAN[GA a-n]a mad-da-ak-tu) and CT 57 23:7–8 (10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá a-na ^{li}ERIM.MEŠ šá šu-gar-ru-ú a-na mad-da-ak-tu SUM-nu), quoted Bongenaar 1997 p. 133 n. 144.

¹⁸⁵ Van Driel 2002 p. 295.

¹⁸⁶ On *šāb šarri* see most recently van Driel 2002 p. 245.

¹⁸⁷ Men of the call up also occur in CT 56 654:5', cf. CT 22 185 (*šābē dikā*); *dēkū* also occurs in the fragmentary text BM 101648.

being drafted into military service but the more likely explanation is that they were being assembled for earthworks. Another instance is in a text published by MacGinnis a decade ago in which the *qīpu*'s of at least six cities—Borsippa, Babylon, Uruk, Ur, Cutha and perhaps Der—collaborate in the distribution of reeds.¹⁸⁸ In this case the manpower was almost certainly concentrated as part of a building project.

How long did the men serve away from home in the case of a military call-up? We cannot say for sure, but the norm may have been to serve a year and then return home while fresh troops were rotated in; we note in passing that according to Diodorus this was the practice in the Median army.¹⁸⁹ Some confirmation for this comes from BM 78828 (no. 35 below, Nebuchadnezzar year 28) which records issues to carpenters of the king going off to join the king on campaign, presumably as military engineers. The carpenters are named as Nabû-aḥ-rēmāni, Šamaš-rēšūa, Tala' and Šamaš-taklāk and the issues consist of silver for blankets, cuirasses, oil, salt, cress and barley. The issues cover months 3–12, with months 1–2 apparently covered by the temple departments. This suggests that the carpenters would be away for twelve whole months. On the other hand, there is also a growing body of circumstantial evidence that three month deployments may have been the norm. This evidence was reviewed by van Driel, who comments that in an agrarian society a lack of a time limit would be virtually impossible.¹⁹⁰ To the evidence from Sippar, which includes *Dar.* 253¹⁹¹ we may now perhaps add BM 66896 (no. 49).

Campaigns

Numerous texts record issues of provisions and equipment to men drafted for campaigns (*madāktu*).¹⁹² These texts have potential as sources of historical information. We may add to these the texts which record *rikis qabli* in a context which appears certain to be military, and also texts which detail significant issues of arms. Taking these sources together, the following are the year dates for which we have texts from Sippar mentioning campaigns:

¹⁸⁸ MacGinnis 1993. Another fragment of this text has recently been discovered and published by the present author (MacGinnis 2006).

¹⁸⁹ *Diod. Sic.* II 24.6.

¹⁹⁰ Van Driel 2002 p. 228f., 261.

¹⁹¹ Van Driel 2002 p. 251.

¹⁹² *CT* 57 23:8; *madāktu* also occurs in *CT* 57 845:3', BM 67442:2 and BM 99922:5 (reign of Nabonidus, year not preserved). In *CT* 56 206 (no year date preserved) perhaps restore:

1 KÙ.BABBAR ZÚ.LUM.MA *mu-šip*-[tú^{mes} šá a-na]

2 ^{li}SIPA.MEŠ šá it-[ti ma-dak-tú]

3 šá LUGAL i-na pa-[ni PN il-lik-ku SUM-na]

According to Dandamayev (1999/2) there was a campaign in Nabopolassar year 20 following the defeat by the Egyptians of the Babylonian garrison at Kimuḥu. There was also a campaign in Nabopolassar year 21 (*ABC* p. 99).

- m = *madāktu*
 (m) = men apparently deployed to campaign, but the term *madāktu* not preserved
 a = issue of *arms*
 rq = *rikis qabli*
 (rq) = issue of expeditionary equipment, but the term *rikis qabli* not preserved
 b = men recruited for bow service
 h = men recruited for mounted service

*Nebuchadnezzar*¹⁹³

- 3 m BM 49824 (no. 34 below)
 7 m BM 74876¹⁹⁴
 11 m BM 49439¹⁹⁵
 28 m BM 78828 (no. 35 below)
 29 m CT 55 606
 30 m CT 57 377; BM 63820 (no. 36)
 31 m BM 74919¹⁹⁶
 41 m BM 79658 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 279*)
 42 m BM 70342 (Zawadzki 2003 p. 280*)

Amēl-Marduk

- m CT 55 753.10; BM 84122 (no. 37 below)

Neriglissar

- 3 m BM 62906 (no. 39 below)

Nabonidus

- acc m CT 57 16
 1 a(rq) BM 84256 (no. 20)
 1 (rq) BM 61425 (no. 44)
 3 h BM 60366 (no. 12)
 5 m CT 56 26
 6 b BM 78149
 9 b BM 67462 (no. 1)

¹⁹³ Also from Nebuchadnezzar is BM 83418 (no. 53 below, no year date preserved); cf. also CT 57 845.

¹⁹⁴ cf. Bongenaar “Money in the Neo-Babylonian Institutions” in J.G. Dercksen (ed.) *Trade and Finance in Ancient Mesopotamia* (1999) p. 168 n. 27.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Zawadzki 2002/2 p. 56, 2003 p. 278*.

¹⁹⁶ The year number is difficult to read and not beyond doubt.

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 11 | m | CT 55 69, BM 61015 (no. 45 below) rev.5–6 |
| 11+ | m | CT 56 650 |
| 12 | m | BM 62720 (no. 38 below) |
| 13 | m | CT 56 222 |
| 13 | b | BM 83435 (no. 9) |
| 16/17 | m | BM 66896 (no. 49) |

Cambyses

| | | |
|---|----|-----------------------------|
| 2 | a | BM 62472 (no. 21 below) |
| 8 | rq | BM 64707 (MacGinnis 1998/2) |
| 9 | rq | BM 68702 (no. 49 below) |

Darius

| | | |
|----|-----|-------------------------|
| 2 | rq | <i>Dar.</i> 46 |
| 3 | rq | CT 55 286 |
| 4 | m | <i>Dar.</i> 141 |
| 4 | m | CT 57 82 ¹⁹⁷ |
| 4 | b | BM 64637 (no. 2) |
| 8 | rq | <i>Dar.</i> 234 |
| 9 | rq | <i>Dar.</i> 253 |
| 16 | (m) | BM 63847 (no. 33) |

uncertain reign

| | | |
|----|---|--------------------------|
| 3 | m | CT 56 653 ¹⁹⁸ |
| 16 | m | BM 66896 (no. 49 below) |

uncertain date

| | | |
|---|-----|-------------------|
| – | m | BM 63634 |
| – | m | BM 71600.rev.3' |
| – | m | CT 56 47 |
| – | h | BM 60858 (no. 13) |
| – | b+h | BM 60756 (no. 41) |

¹⁹⁷ cf. Bongenaar 1997 p. 133; *rikis qabli* in Darius year 4 is also mentioned in two texts from Borsippa, *Dar.* 112 and BM 29790 (to be published by J. Paszkowiak). Other texts being prepared for publication by Paszkowiak refer to *rikis qabli* in Darius year 11 (BM 22024) and year 13 (BM 28925).

¹⁹⁸ Royal name not preserved, but the text mentions Dannu-Nergal which makes it likely that the king is either Nabonidus or Cyrus. To these references may be added BM 63634, in which the Kalbaya *ša kurummāt šarri* takes barley to the *madāktu* (year uncertain).

In principle it would be interesting to compare this data with the evidence for campaigns known from the Babylonian Chronicle but a cautionary note must be sounded in that gaps in the Chronicle series as currently known cause us to hit something of a stumbling block. As it stands, the last year for which we have entries for Nebuchadnezzar is Nebuchadnezzar year 11 and apart from one entry for Neriglissar year 3 the silence is not broken until the reign of Nabonidus.¹⁹⁹ The Chronicle records campaigns in the following areas:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Ḫattu: | Nebuchadnezzar accession year and years 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11 |
| Elam: | Nebuchadnezzar 9 |
| Judah: | Nebuchadnezzar 7 |
| Ashkelon: | Nebuchadnezzar 1 |
| Egypt: | Nabopolassar 21, Nebuchadnezzar 4 |
| Ḫumê, Pirindu: | Neriglissar 3 |

In his fifth year Nebuchadnezzar stayed at home to refit his horses and chariotry whilst in his tenth year he at first stayed at home to put down a rebellion. Correlating evidence from the Sippar texts with evidence from the Chronicle, we do have evidence for the Ebabbara contributing to the royal campaigns in Nebuchadnezzar years 3, 7 and 11, and in Neriglissar 3, and beyond this we also have evidence from Sippar for campaigns in Nebuchadnezzar years 28, 29, 30, 41 and 42, years missing in the gap in the Chronicle.

Egypt

No texts from the Ebabbara refer to the campaigns against Egypt by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar though, as we will see below, there is abundant evidence for Egyptian prisoners of war in Sippar from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar²⁰⁰ onwards. However, one text from the Achaemenid period explicitly relates to Egypt while another may do so. In the first, dated to Cambyses year 7, six farmers and five shepherds are issued with equipment and provisions to join the army, and it may be that they were called up for the re-invasion of Egypt which Cambyses intended but which never actually took place due to his death.²⁰¹ It is interesting (if predictable) that the drafting of these men had to be co-ordinated with the *ša muḫḫi sūti*. The second text is briefer if more explicit, simply recording silver paid to “Tattannu and the horsemen who returned from Egypt” in Darius year 4.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Grayson 1975.

²⁰⁰ We do not know exactly when these Egyptians arrived in Sippar, or indeed whether it may have been in more than one wave. A number of administrative documents listing persons with Egyptian names were published and analysed by Bongenaar and Haring (1994), and two more lists have been published by Spar et al. 2006. Numerous others have since been brought to light and are being prepared for publication by the current author.

²⁰¹ MacGinnis 1998.

²⁰² Bongenaar 1997 p. 133 (*CT* 57 82). According to Ungnad *Or.* 6 (1937) p. 245–251, three texts from Borsippa and Babylon indicating preparations for campaigns in Nebuchadnezzar years 36, 40 and 41 (*Nbk.* 301, 379, 382) relate to the king’s campaign against Amasis of Egypt.

Tyre

The thirteen year long siege of Tyre carried out by Nebuchadnezzar from his twentieth to his thirty-third year is one of the celebrated episodes of the ancient world, and from what we now know it is virtually certain that the temples of Babylonia will have contributed contingents to participate in this siege. As currently understood, no texts from the Ebabbara refer to this siege, but the activity implied for the years 28 to 30 would fit this context perfectly; on the basis of two new texts (BM 79658, BM 70342) Zawadzki has suggested that there was a second siege Abu 41–Tašritu 42.²⁰³

Temaʾ

Two texts from the Ebabbara archives mention Temaʾ. The first of these is a fragmentary text mentioning gardeners, *mār banê*, a *rēš šarri* in charge of gardeners and a “letter (*šipirtu*)... (of) Nabonidus king of Babylon from the city of Temaʾ”.²⁰⁴ Although the real import of the text is not clear, perhaps it dealt with gardeners being conscripted for service with the king in his Arabian residence. The second text, BM 78149 (no. 8 below), records the issue of “silver of the men of Temaʾ, rations of year 6 for Erešu and Šamaš-ibni, sent to Kināya the *rab sikkāti* via Šadūnu the *rab qašti*.”

Booty

Enormous amounts of material, whether tribute or booty could be brought back from these campaigns and some of this was redistributed to the temples. It falls into three categories—livestock, objects and captives. In the first category come the sheep brought from the *madāktu* and given to the temple for offerings—note especially the sheep “of the bow” and sheep given as “tithes” by the governor of a province.²⁰⁵ In the second category perhaps belongs the aragonite vase with a very worn (possibly erased) Egyptian cartouche discovered at Sippar by Rassam and now in the British Museum. The temple also acquired alum and linen from Egypt; the current attestations would seem to document acquisition through trade, but it would not be surprising if these materials were also received from military sources.²⁰⁶ But it is the third category for which we have the most plentiful and the most interesting evidence from Sippar.

²⁰³ Zawadzki 2003. For further remarks on Tyre see Joannès 1982/2.

²⁰⁴ MacGinnis 1998/1 no. 1. Consider also BM 83435 (no. 9 below), a list of returning bowmen dating to Nabonidus 13: frustratingly, the name of the place whence they returned is effaced, but something like *Te-ma-a* would fit the gap perfectly.

²⁰⁵ *CT* 57 377, BM 63820 (no. 36 below), both Nebuchadnezzar year 30; **sheep of the bow:** BM 64128 (no. 25 below); **tithes of the governor:** BM 84122 (no. 37 below).

²⁰⁶ **aragonite vase:** Walker & Collon in L. de Meyer *Tell ed-Dēr III* p. 99 no. 32; there is also an ivory plaque depicting a scarab beetle in flight, *ibid.* p. 110 no. 141; **alum:** *CT* 55 363 (Darius 26); *CT* 55 368 (Nabonidus 2); *Nbn.* 214:3 (Nabonidus 5), *Nbn.* 751:7 (Nabonidus 14); BM 63984 (Bertin 1497, Nabonidus 12), BM 72840 (Nebuchadnezzar 12); **linen** *CT* 2 2:8 (Darius 19); and cf. *taš-ki-si šá mi-šir* in *CT* 55 321:8'. Note also the 2-ta šap-pa-t[u₄] šá ši-re-e šá ^{uru}mi-iš-ri recorded in Janković 2004 p. 139 no. 83 (Nabonidus 12).

Foreign captives given to the Ebabbara

Since at least the third millennium it had been the practice in Mesopotamia for the king to allocate foreign prisoners of war to the temples of the land. In first millennium Sippar the principal evidence for the continuation of this practice comes from ration lists and the communities of aliens working the land. The greater part of the evidence deals with Egyptians and Cilicians, with less frequent attestations of other nationalities.²⁰⁷ A further observation may be made in connection with BM 49577, published as an appendix to my article on *kizûs* some years ago.²⁰⁸ In this text the *kizû* Šamaš-erība presents six individuals to Šamaš. Given the (fairly) lowly status of *kizû*'s, the greatest likelihood is that Šamaš-erība had brought them back from campaign.

Egyptians

Egyptians as a group are attested in ration lists from some time in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar until Darius year 19. Most likely they stemmed from the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar and perhaps his predecessor Nabopolassar as well.²⁰⁹ As regards numbers, both *CT 44 89* and *BM 54233* give a total of 43. Numerous Egyptian names are attested, but many individuals described as Egyptian had Akkadian names, starting with Bēl-ušallim/Zērūtu/ Miširāya in Nebuchadnezzar 37 (*BM 63817*). It is interesting that this individual was a scribe but the fact that both he and his father had Babylonian names suggests that they had been in the land for some time.²¹⁰

The Egyptians were presumably settled in the community at Bit Miširāya. This locality is attested from Nabonidus 15 until Darius 27 as a place of routine agricultural

²⁰⁷ For Hittite texts dealing with prisoners of war, see Hoffner 2002: the numbers of captives claimed taken range from 66,000 down to 16. They were assigned to royal estates, to temples and given to soldiers; some were held for ransom. In general they were employed in agriculture and milling; the less fortunate were blinded, and the least fortunate utilised as a substitute king. Note the remark of Dandamayev (2005 p. 224) that there was a limited degree to which large numbers of prisoners of war could be absorbed as slaves; as a sudden influx this may be true, but given time it would seem that there was great potential for the temple to take on new personnel in the role of dependents, if not fully fledged slaves.

²⁰⁸ MacGinnis 1997 p. 87.

²⁰⁹ For a convincing argument that the Babylonian army was defeated by Necho of Egypt at the end of Nebuchadnezzar year 4 see Lipiński 1972. The site of the battle—Magdalos—is probably to be identified with Tell el-Her, 15 miles southwest of Pelusium. An Egyptian slave woman “booty of the bow” (*hubut qašti*) is mentioned in a text from Babylon from Cambyses year 6 (*Cam.* 334, see Dandamayev & Lukonin 1989 p. 233). For other discussions of the Egyptians in Sippar see Dandamayev 1992/1, Bongenaar & Haring 1994, MacGinnis 2000/3 p. 334; cf. M W Stolper 1998 “Inscribed in Egyptian” in P. Briant et al. edd. *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis* (Achaemenid History XI, Leiden 1998). For a comprehensive review of the Assyrian involvement in Egypt, see H.-U. Onasch *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens* (1994). Note also *Cam.* 344, which may record a slave dedicated to Šamaš by a *sepīru* of the governor of Egypt.

²¹⁰ Similarly, *BM 54233* is a list of Egyptians in groups of varying sizes (2, 4, 5, 7+, 10+), all with Babylonian names. For further early references to individuals of Egyptian descent see Da Riva 2002/1 p. 436.

activity (date cultivation and brickmaking). The fact that a field in Bit Miširāya was part of the “property of Šamaš” would fit in with the suggestion that it was founded with Egyptians settled on temple land, probably prisoners of war; they would then in all probability have paid a tithe to the temple and been subject to state service.

Cilicians

There are numerous mentions of personnel denoted ^{li}ḫumāya, generally found as recipients in ration lists, apparently between 4 and 6 in number, judging from the quantities involved. Sometimes a name is given but most commonly just the generic “rations of the Cilicians” (ŠUK.ĤIA ^{li}ḫu-(um)-ma-a-a). These are generally assumed to be prisoners of war—both Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus campaigned in Cilicia. References in Sippar start in Nabonidus year 8.²¹² Nabonidus does in fact record that he presented 2,850 prisoners of war to Bēl, Nabû and Nergal (i.e. the temples of Babylon, Borsippa and Cutha) from his campaign in Cilicia in his first year, and even though that source does not mention Šamaš it would seem likely that the Cilicians in Sippar came from the same time.²¹³ As with the Egyptians, it would appear that for the most part the Cilician captives were given new Babylonian names by the temple;²¹⁴ there is just one instance, with an individual called Tašē, where the name may be from an original Anatolian language.²¹⁵

²¹¹ These numbers are suggested by the 4 *kur* of rations issued for Cilicians in *Nbn.* 546, and the 6 blankets (five blankets in line 7 plus one in line 11) in *Nbn.* 662. The number of four is also suggested by two lines in BM 65160:

rev. 1 3 GUR ŠUK.ĤIA ^{li}ḫu-ma-a-a šá ŠUK.ĤIA LUGAL ^{md}EN-LUGAL-bul-[liṭ]
2 1 GUR 4(BĀN) ^mki-i-^lUTU ^{li}ḫu-ma-a-a šá la-IGI ^{li}qi-i-pi ab-ku

The date formula of BM 65160 as preserved gives the date ^{md}NA-[...] 27/12/6; the reign can be confidently identified as Nabonidus by the presence of the scribe Nergal-šum-ibni on the lower edge. On the other hand, the existence of a Village of the Cilicians (Āl ḫumāya, cf. Jursa 1998/1 p. 91) might suggest that the total number was greater.

²¹² BM 61386:rev.2’.

²¹³ MacGinnis 1994/1 p. 205; Jursa 1998/1 p. 26, cf. MacGinnis 2000/3 p. 334. Occasionally spelt ^{li}ḫu-um-ma-a-a, e.g. *CT* 55 74.2, the point of which was presumably to indicate that the consonant was not pronounced /w/ as would normally be the case with an intervocalic /m/ in Neo-Babylonian. For the prisoners of war, cf. Dandamayev 1984 p. 472, Beaulieu 1989 p. 117. Further references to rations of the Cilicians are BM 54769:6 (šá É UDU.NITÁ, BM 58929, BM 59489:rev.5’, BM 65896:10, BM 65998:5, BM 66580:rev.3, BM 67739 (Janković 2004 p. 123 no.46), BM 69079:2’, 7’, BM 72124:2’, BM 75086:rev.4 (Strassmaier II 270/3), BM 83737:3’, BM 84390:3, BM 100942:4’. Cilicia was also important as a source of iron to sixth century Babylonia.

²¹⁴ e.g. ^mLUGAL-dan^l-na (BM 62002:7’), Kī-Šamaš (BM 65160:rev.2), Bēl-ēter-Šamaš (BM 67217:rev.iii.4’).

²¹⁵ ^mta-še-e, BM 100956:rev.4’.

Assyrians

There are two published references to Assyrians (^{li}*aš-šur-a-a*) in the administrative material from the Ebabbara: *CT 56 638* which mentions seven individuals, and *CT 56 758* which mentions nine and designates them as carpenters (Nabonidus year 5). Further to this there are a small number of unpublished references. An individual of Assyrian descent (A ^m*aš-šur-a-a*) occurs in a fragment from a ledger of temple personal, in the first line of a ruled box immediately following a box listing four Egyptians.²¹⁶ It may well be that the box listed a group of Assyrians and if so it is conceivable they originated as prisoners captured in the wars leading to the expulsion of the Assyrians from Babylonia and the overthrow of Assyria.²¹⁷ The second unpublished reference refers to “the plot of the Assyrians, at the disposal of Nabû-nāšir” (É KIŠIB *šá* ^{li}*aš-šur-a-a ina I[GI] ^{md}NA-ka-šir*).²¹⁸ The most likely explanation for this is that it refers to Assyrian prisoners settled on temple land.

Other nationalities

There are a few hints of captives of other nationalities. First among these is Gezerites, the evidence for which is a text published by Jursa dealing with an investigation carried out by the *šangû* of Sippar into the correct level of tithes payable by the Gezerite community; Jursa has interpreted this as indicating the presence of a Gezerite colony, most probably formed by deported prisoners of war.²¹⁹ Other scraps of evidence hint at captives from Byblos and the uncertainly located Birītu.²²⁰

²¹⁶ BM 49998:15’.

²¹⁷ See also Zadok 1998 but note that according to Bongenaar (1997 p. 109) in Neo-Babylonian ^dŠĀR is a writing of Ištar not Aššur.

²¹⁸ BM 99825:5’–6’

²¹⁹ Jursa 1998/1 no. 7, cf. p. 25–27.

²²⁰ *CT 56 638* (3 Biritāyan individuals and one from Byblos), *CT 56 758* (7 Biritāya). For captives involved in the manufacture of a statue see MacGinnis 1995/2.

Conclusions

To summarise our findings for Sippar, we have found that the Ebabbara could routinely field bodies of up to 50 archers out of its own *širāku*, and occasionally 60, and it may be guessed that in times of crisis it might be up to three times that number. The head of these archers was the *rab qašti*. In addition to this there were individuals liable to bow service as a result of their title to bow fiefs. We have no good information on how many individuals were so encumbered. And in addition to that it appears that free citizens were organised into decuries for archer duty as a result of tax or social classification. In this case too we have no good information on the numbers involved.

The temple is found fielding up to 12 cavalry, as far as we can tell out of its own resources. The workers designated *šušānu* may have been cavalry support i.e. grooms. It is possible that juridically they were tied to enfeoffed land in the same way that *ikkarū* were tied to temple land. Accordingly, it is plausible that *šušānū* were tied to horse fiefs. If so this would be the only hint we have of horse fiefs around Sippar.

As for chariotry, the evidence is sparse but it is noteworthy that all three members of a chariot crew—*mār damqa*, *mukīl appāti*, *tašlišu*—are mentioned in the texts in one context or another, and there is scattered evidence for chariot fiefs in the environs of Sippar, but we are not in a position to estimate the number of chariots involved. The resources under the jurisdiction of the *qīpu* also included horses and it is likely that the *qīpu* was the overall commander of the forces in Sippar.

Weaponry was manufactured and repaired by temple craftsmen. There are numerous references in the texts to troops going on campaign, specifically on deployment in or against Egypt, Tyre and Tema. A major benefit to the temple from these campaigns came in the form of prisoners of war given by the king. In Sippar this included Egyptians (at least 43) and Cilicians (perhaps no more than 6).

What did these soldiers look like? Pictorial representations of Babylonian soldiers are not common but they do exist, if admittedly from a period slightly earlier than the one under consideration. For instance Babylonian soldiers may be seen in scenes from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh wearing kilts and headdresses, armed with bows, quivers and sometimes scabbards.²²¹ In the record of Herodotus²²²—slightly later than the period under consideration, the Assyrians—did this mean Babylonians?—wore linen corsets and were armed with bronze helmets, shields, spears, daggers and studded wooden clubs. Attempting to correlate these descriptions with the data from the Neo-Babylonian texts results in a reasonable if not watertight fit. As Joannès

²²¹ Barnett 1976 pl. xxxiv (c) (now in the Royal Geographical Society); pl. lxxviii (now in the Louvre).

²²² Histories vii.60, 63, cf. Strabo xv.3.19.

has pointed out this corresponds pretty well with what we know from the cuneiform texts, and suggests that the soldiers of Babylon were already “armée à la Perse” in pre-Achaemenid times.²²³ One element of this missing in our temple documentation is the shields—could it be that this is the effective meaning of *šallu* (otherwise translated “skin”) in lists of military equipment?²²⁴ Assuming that the soldiers carried backpacks, were these covered by the term *šaqqu*?

We could then, following Bongenaar, propose the following for the lexicography of the equipment of the Neo-Babylonian soldier:²²⁵

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>asmarû</i> | lance |
| <i>bīt tillu</i> | bow case or quiver |
| <i>bīt qašti</i> | bow case |
| <i>garru</i> | a type of arrowhead |
| <i>karballatu</i> | headdress |
| <i>lulītu</i> | arrowhead |
| <i>mēšenu</i> | sandals |
| <i>nūtu</i> | water bottle |
| <i>namaru</i> | another word for quiver |
| <i>patru</i> | dagger |
| <i>šallu</i> | shield |
| <i>šaqqu</i> | sack, backpack? |
| <i>šaltu</i> | Cimmerian bow case |
| <i>šibbu</i> | belt |
| <i>šiltāhu</i> | arrow |
| <i>šir'am</i> | jerkin |
| <i>tillu</i> | bow case or quiver |
| ^{10g} KUR.RA | blanket |
| <i>ukāpu</i> | saddle bag |
| <i>ukāpu ša zirzi</i> | belted saddle bag |

In the case of the headdress (*karballatu*) and jerkin (*šir'am*) it is not clear whether or not they were partially armoured, e.g. with metal plates. Most probably this was a technical possibility. However in the case of the Ebabbara, the lack of any evidence for smiths making pieces for these items suggests they did not contain metal plates.

Bringing all of this together, it is clearly emerging that the temples of Babylonia functioned as military-industrial complexes. In the case of Eanna this has been very well put by Kozuh:

²²³ Joannès 1982/1 p. 16.

²²⁴ The same conclusion is evidently reached by Kozuh (2006 p. 233). Note that Ebeling took *šaltu* to be a shield (1952 p. 206) but that the current interpretation of this lexeme is a Cimmerian bow case.

²²⁵ Bongenaar 1997 p. 133–4.

If nothing else, Eanna's self-equipped and centralized forces, in addition to its metal workers, stocked storehouses, arms depots and warehouses, ready-made cavalry and urban location, made it both a productive asset in times of political stability and a potentially dangerous source of opposition in times of political disintegration or fragmentation ... Eanna was a force unto itself that promoted its own interests and had to be co-opted by the royal administration at Babylon through trade-offs and concessions.²²⁶

A similar situation will have held with regard to Sippar, though the fact that the Ebabbara was on a significantly smaller scale than Eanna (perhaps a third of the size), as well as the fact that it was situated so much closer to the capital, will have meant that it exercised significantly less autonomy in its external relations.

Furthermore, in the context of imperial operations the contribution of Sippar was small. A number of sources contributed to the formation of the Neo-Babylonian army—in addition to the contingents from temples and urban communities, there will have been contingents drawn from the Chaldean tribal structure,²²⁷ contingents from subject dominions, and mercenaries.²²⁸ So this study, informative as far as it goes, can only be a small contribution to the understanding of the of the Babylonian army in the mid-first millennium BC.

²²⁶ Kozuh 2006 p. 239.

²²⁷ Dandamayev 1997 p. 43, 47.

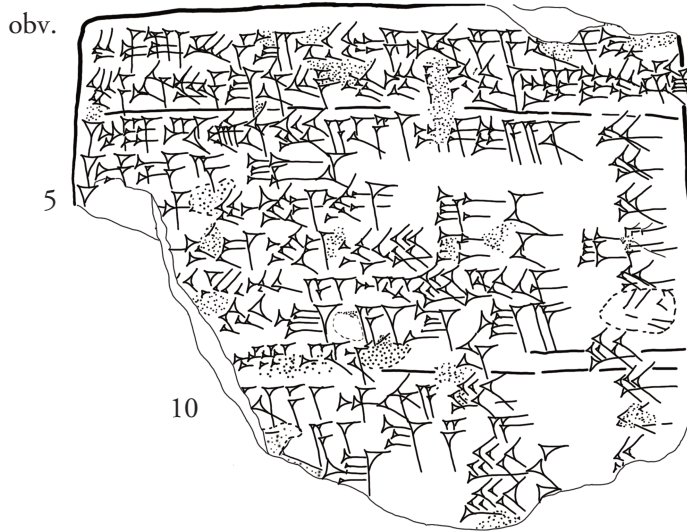
²²⁸ A celebrated example of the last being Antimenidas the brother of the Aeolian poet Alcaeus; Dandamayev & Lukonin 1989 p. 302.

Copies of Cuneiform Texts

No.1 BM 67462 (AH 82-9-18,7459)

7.0 × 5.5 cm

27/IV/9 Nabonidus (547 BC)



| | | |
|---------|--|------------------------------|
| obv. 1 | líSIPA ^{mes} <i>ša su-kul-lum šá</i> d ^d UTU <i>ša a-na</i> g ^{is} BAN | |
| 2 | SUM-na ^{iti} ŠU UD 27 KÁM MU ^{9?} KÁM ^{md} NĀ-I LUGAL E ^{ki} | |
| 3 | ^{md} NĀ-re- <i>eb-tú</i> -URÛ A-šú <i>ša</i> ^{md} NĀ-ia-a-šú | LÚ |
| 4 | ^m ZALÁG-e-a DUMU-šú | LÚ |
| 5 | ^{mi} [IR]- rd <i>bu-ne-ne</i> DUMU-šú | LÚ |
| 6 | [^{md}] <i>u-ne-ne</i> -LUGAL-URÛ DUMU-šú DUMU ^{4?} (over half erased LÚ) | |
| 7 | [^{md} x-ŠE] ^{šmes} -MU A ^{md} EN-ŠEŠ-GÁL-š <i>i</i> | LÚ |
| 8 | [^m IR- ^d] <i>gu-la</i> A ^m šú-la-a | LÚ (over erasure) |
| 9 | [PAP 6 ^m] ^{md} NĀ-re- <i>eb-tú</i> -URÛ | |
| 10 | [^m x x x] ^r A-šú <i>ša</i> ^{md} UTU-A-URÛ | LÚ |
| 11 | [^m x x (x)] ^r x ^r A ^m BA-šá-a | LÚ |
| 12 | [^m x x- ^d g] <i>u-la</i> ŠEŠ-šú | LÚ |
| 13 | [^m x x x (x)] ŠEŠ-š[ú (break) | LÚ [?] |
| rev. 1' | [^m šil-la]- ^r a ^r A ^m [x x x | LÚ] |
| 2' | [x x x] ^r DÛ [?] DUMU ¹ -šú [x x x | LÚ [?] |
| 3' | [^m KI- ^d]UTU-TIN A ^m na-din | ^r LÚ ¹ |
| 4' | [^m] rd UTU-TIN ¹ -i ^r A ^m IR ¹ -i[a] | LÚ |
| 5' | ^{md} NĀ-SUM-na ŠEŠ-šú | LÚ |
| 6' | PAP 5 ^m šil-la-a | |

Translation

Shepherds of the flocks of Šamaš who have been assigned to bow-service. Date.

Nabû-rēhtī-ušur, son of Nabû-iašu, adult;
 Nūrēa, his son, adult;
 Arad-Bunene, his son, adult;
 Bunene-šar-ušur, his son, 4 years old;
 [...]aḥḥē-iddin, son of Bēl-aḥ-ušēbši, adult;
 [Arad]-Gula, son of Šulāya, adult.
 [Total of 6 (men of)] Nabû-rēhtī-ušur.

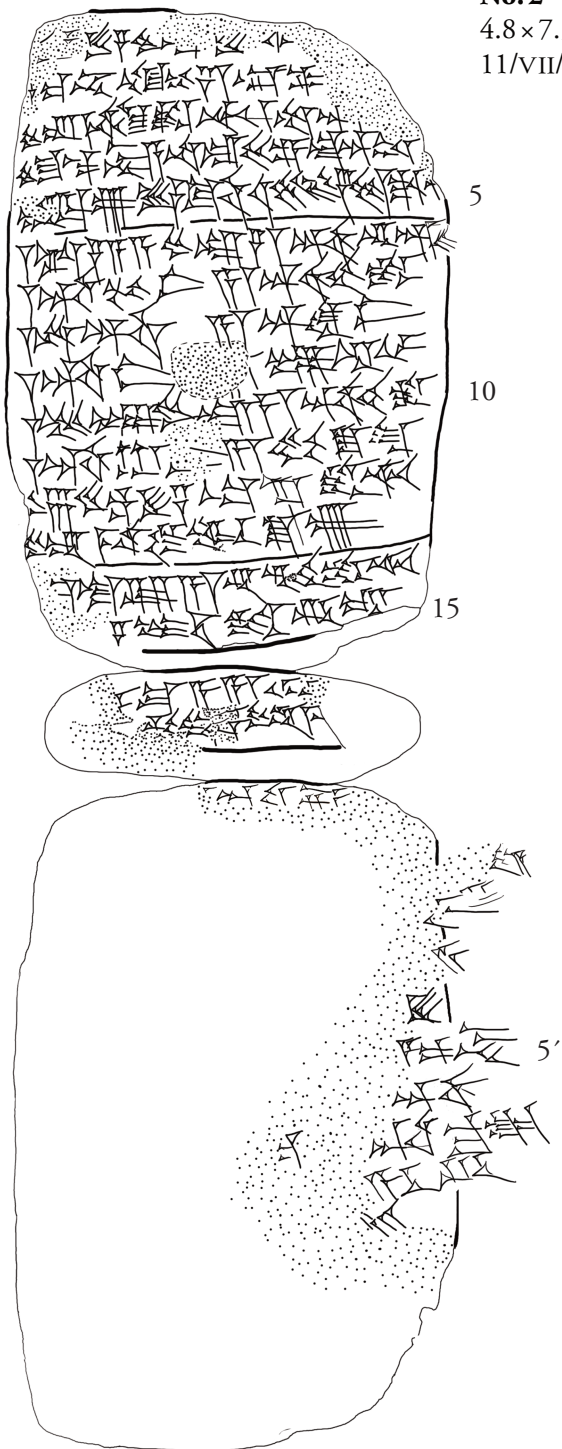
[...], son of Šamaš-aplu-ušur, adult;
 [...], son of Iqīšā, adult;
 [Arad-Gu]la, his brother, adult;
 [...] his brother [(adult); ...
 (large break)]

[Šillāy]a, son of [...]
 [...]ibni, his son, [adult(?)];
 [Itti]-Šamaš-balātu, son of Nadin, [adult(?)];
 Šamaš-uballiṭ, son of Ardiya, adult;
 Nabû-iddin, his brother, adult.
 Total of 5 (men of) Šillāya.

No.2 BM 64637 (AH 82-9-18,4617)

4.8×7.5 cm

11/VII/4 Darius (518 BC)



- obv. 1 \lceil líERIM^{mes} *šá* líENGAR^{mes} \lceil ú¹ [\lceil líSIPA^{mes}]
 2 \lceil šá¹ g^{is} BAN <*šá*> *ina qí-bi šá* ^{ina-É.SA} [G.ÍL-*lil-bur*]
 3 líSANGA *sip-par*^{ki} *it-ti* m^{IR}-^d \lceil a¹ [*nu-ni-tu*₄]
 4 líGAL g^{is} BAN *a-na* uru.kur *e-la-an-du*
 5 *il-lik-ú* ^{iti}DU₆ UD 11 KÁM MU 4 KÁM ^{ma}*da-r* [*i-ia-muš*]
 6 ^{ma}*uš-šá-a-a* líENGAR *šá* ^{md}UTU-EN-DINGIR^{mes}
 7 ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-DÙ A ^{md}UTU-TIN-*it*
 8 m^{IR}-^dUTU A ^{md}HAR-DÙ
 9 ^{md}UTU-DÙ [A] ^{md}NÀ-*si-lim*
 10 ^{ma}MU-^dNÀ líENGAR *šá* ^{md}UTU-TIN-*it*
 11 ^{md}UTU-NIGÍN- \lceil ir¹ A ^{ma}ŠEŠ-*lu-mur*
 12 PAP 6 líERIM^{mes} *šá* ^gisMÁ *it-ti*
 13 líSANGA *sip-par*^{ki} *il--ku-ú*
 14 [^mb]a-la-tu A ^{ma}re-mut *it-ti*
 15 [SAG] *šá kan-šú it-tal-lak*
 16 [^mka]l-ba-a A ^{ma}[r-x x (x)]
 17 [^{ma}ina-É.SAG.Í]L-*lil-bur* líSANGA *sip-*[^{par}ki]
 18 [...] ^{md}UTU-SIG₁₅
- rev. 1' [...] \lceil x¹
 2' [...] \lceil x¹
 3' [...] -a
 4' [...] ^{mes}
 5' [...] *šá* g^{is} BAN
 6' [...] ^dUTU
 7' [...] ^dUTU *ma-ħir*
 8' [...] -a-šú-ri
 9' [...] \lceil MU²?

Translation

The men of the *ikkarus* and [shepherds] of the bow <who> went to Elam with Arad-[Anunītu], the *rab qašti*, on the orders of Ina-Esagila-[lilbur], the *šangû* of Sippar. Date.

Uššāya, the *ikkaru* of Šamaš-bēl-ilāni;
 Šamaš-zēr-ibni, son of Šamaš-uballit;
 Arad-Šamaš, son of Bunene-ibni;
 Šamaš-ibni, [son of] Nabû-silim;
 Iddin-Nabû, the *ikkaru* of Šamaš-uballit;
 Šamaš-upaħħir, son of Aħu-lūmur:
 total of 6 men who went by the boat with the *šangû* of Sippar.

Balāṭu, son of Rēmūt has gone with the [head] of the work party. Kalbāya, son of A[r...]
 [... Ina-Esagila]-lilbur, the *šangû* of Sippar. [...] Šamaš-udammīq [...]

(reverse not translated)

No.3 BM 101701 (83–1–21, 3362)4.4 × 4.0⁺ cm

no date preserved

- 1 30 ^{lú}ENGAR^{meš}
 2 38 ^{lú}SIPA^{meš}
 3 13 ^{lú}NU.GIŠ.ŠAR^{meš}
 4 15 ^{lú}um-man-na
 5 11 ^{lú}di-ki
 6 13¹ ^{md}NĀ-NUMUN-SI.SĀ 28^{sic!}
 7 [x ^{md}N]Ā-GI
 8 [x ^{md}x]-MU
 9 [x ^mx x]-na¹
 (rest broken off)

Translation

30 *ikkaru*; 38 shepherds; 13 gardeners; 15 craftsmen; 11 of the *dēkū*; 13 of Nabû-zēr-līšir; 28; [x of] Nabû-ušallim; [x of ...]-iddin; [x of ...]na [...]

Another such register of farmers, shepherds, gardeners, *ummānu* etc. is BM 65871, possibly from the Gilūšu file.

l.5: For ^{lú}di-ki also see BM 73243:7'.

**No.4 BM 62009+BM 68117** (AH 82–9–18, 1978 + 8115)8.2⁺ × 8.2⁺ cm

no date preserved

col. i

- 1' [...] ¹DUMU-šú
 2' [...]DÛ DUMU-šú
 3' [PAP x] ^{giš}BAN 1-en ú-ra-šú
 4' [...]SUR
 5' [... D]Û ŠEŠ-šú
 6' [...]x¹ DUMU-šú
 7' [...]DÛ ŠEŠ-šú
 8' (traces of the tops of signs, line possibly erased)
 9' [PAP x] ^{giš}B]AN 1-en ú-ra-šú
 10' [^{md}bu-ne]-ne-¹DÛ
 11' [^mx x] x DUMU-¹šú
 12' [^{md}NĀ-M]U-SI.SĀ [DU]MU-šú
 13' [^mx x]-e-a A-šú šú ^{md}UTU-SUR

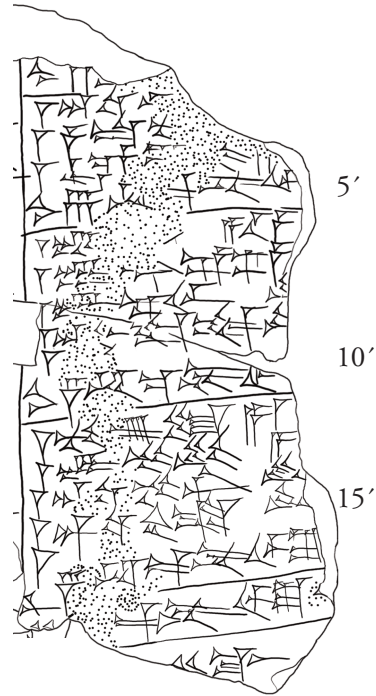
Translation

- [...], his son;
 [...]ibni, his son:
 [total of x (persons) of 1] bow, 1 *urāšu*.
 [...]ēter;
 [...]ibni, his brother;
 [...], his son;
 [...]ibni, his brother:
 (traces of the tops of signs, line possibly erased)
 [total of 4 (men) of 1] bow, 1 *urāšu*.
 Bunene-ibni;
 [...], his son;
 [Nabû]-šum-līšir, his son;
 [...]ēa, son of Šamaš-ēter;

| | | |
|------------|--|---|
| col. i 14' | [^m EN-š]ú-nu ŠEŠ-šú | [Bēš]unu his brother: |
| 15' | [PAP 5 1-en] ^g BAN 1-en ú-ra-šú | [total of 5 (men)] of 1 bow, [1 <i>urāšu</i>]. |
| 16' | [^{md} x-ŠE]Š-MU | [...]-aḫ-iddin; |
| 17' | [^{md}]x ^l -BA-šá DU[MU-šú] | Šamaš-iqīša, [his] son; |
| 18' | [^{md} x-ŠE]š ^{meš} -šul-lim DUMU-š[ú] | [...]-aḫḫē-šullim, his son; |
| 19' | [^{md} x]-TIN-iṭ DU[MU-šú] | [...]-uballiṭ, [his] son; |
| 20' | [^{md} x]-iq-bi [x]-šú (line erased) | [...]-iqbi, his [...]: (line erased) |
| 21' | [PAP 4 [?] 1-en] ^g BAN 1-en ú-ra-šú | [total 4 [?] (men) of 1] bow, 1 <i>urāšu</i> . |
| 22' | [^{md} x]-ik-šur | [...]-iksūr; |
| 23' | [^{md} N]Ā-KAM DUMU-šú | Nabû-ēreš, his son; |
| 24' | [^{md} bu-ne]-ne-DŪ DUMU-šú | [Bune]ne-ibni, his son; |
| 25' | [^m x x x] ŠEŠ-š[ú] | [...], his brother; |
| 26' | [^m x x x] DU[MU-šú] | [..., his] son: [...] |
| | (break) | (break) |



| | |
|-----------|---|
| col.ii 1' | PAP 5 1-en ¹ [^{gš} BAN 1-en ú-ra-šú] |
| 2' | ^{md} UTU-S[IG ₅ ...] |
| 3' | ^m šá-du-nu [...] |
| 4' | ^m šul-lu-mu ¹ A-[šú] |
| 5' | PAP 6 1-en ^{gš} BAN 1-ú ¹ [1-en ú-ra-šú] |
| 6' | ^{md} EN-[x] A-šú šá [...] |
| 7' | ^{md} NĀ-muk-e-líp [...] |
| 8' | [^d NĀ]-si-lim š[EŠ-šú] |
| 9' | [^{md} bu-n]e-ne-š[EŠ-DÛ x-šú] |
| 10' | ^m (rest of line blank) |
| 11' | PAP 4 1-en ^{gš} BAN 1-ú ¹ [1-en ú-ra-šú] |
| 12' | ^m NUMUN-ú-tu A ^m [x x x] |
| 13' | ^{md} NĀ-MU-URÛ A [^m x x x] |
| 14' | ^{md} UTU-NUMUN-DÛ ŠEŠ-[šú] |
| 15' | ^{md} UTU-TIN-iṭ ŠEŠ-[šú] |
| 16' | ^m (rest of line blank) |
| 17' | PAP 4 1-en ^{gš} BAN 1-ú ¹ [1-en ú-ra-šú] |
| 18' | 1-PAP.PAP ¹ [x] ^{gš} BAN 1-ú ¹ [x ú-ra-šú] |
| 19' | [x x ^m x- ^d]KUR.GAL [...] |



total of 5 [(men) of 1 bow, 1 *urāšu*]

Šamaš-ud[ammiq];

Šadūnu;

Šullumu, son of [...];

total of 3 (men) of 1 bow, [1 *urāšu*]

Bēl-[...], son of [...];

Nabû-mukki-elip;

Nabû-silim, his bro[ther];

Bunene-ibni, [his ...];

(blank entry):

total of 4 (men) of 1 bow and [1 *urāšu*]

Zērūtu, son of [...];

Nabû-šum-ušur, son of [...];

Šamaš-zēr-ibni, [his] brother;

Šamaš-uballiṭ, [his] brother;

(blank entry):

total of 4 (men) of 1 bow and [1 *urāšu*]

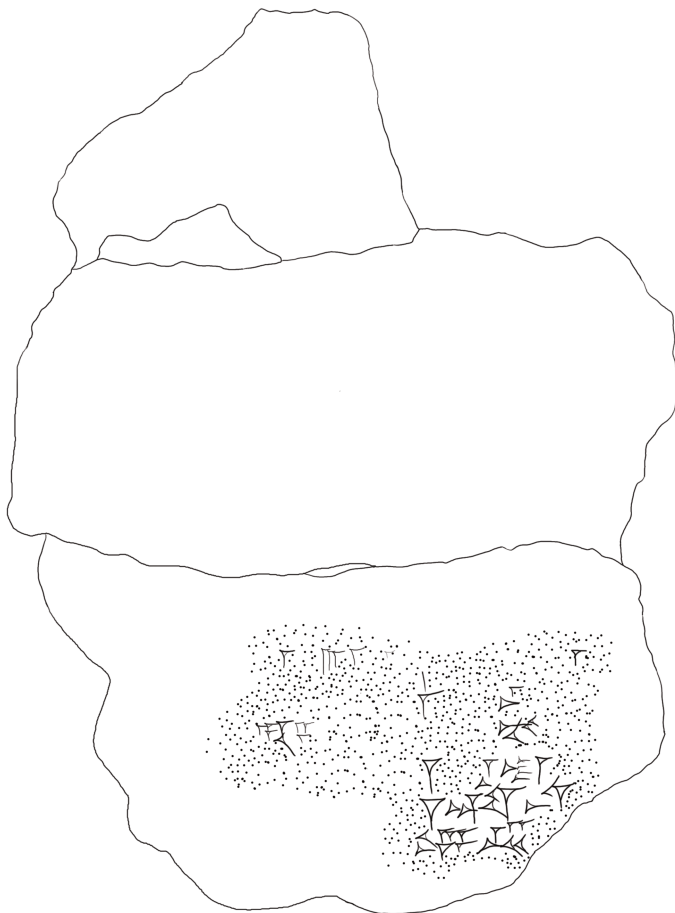
grand total of [x] bows and [x *urāšu*]

[...]-Amurru; (remainder broken off)

The occurrence in col. ii' lines 10' and 16' of the obverse of a blank fifth entry suggests that this was more than just a scribal error, or at least that if it was an error it is a significant one: whether due to the scribe preparing his tablet in advance or deliberately giving a dummy entry, these two entries could suggest that in theory this category of bow service was organised into groups of five being responsible for fielding one man (the *urāšu*) with a bow. The fact that the main preserved section of the obverse has a party of five can only support this.

BM 62009+BM 68117 (No. 4)

reverse



No.5 BM 55136+56135 [CT 56 566+] (AH 82-7-14, 495 + 82-5-22, 1468)

6.7+ × 5.2+ cm

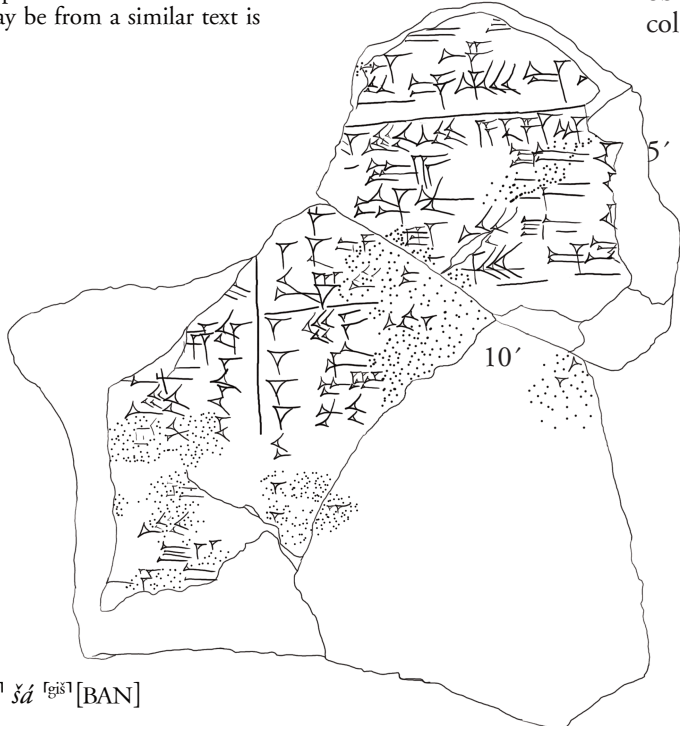
no date preserved

BM 56135 was previously published as *CT 56 566*.
Another fragment which may be from a similar text is
BM 67575.

obv.
col. iii²

obv. col.ii²

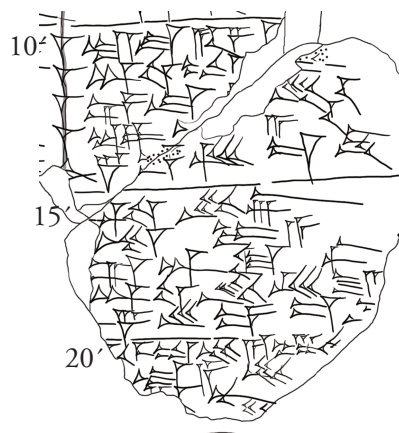
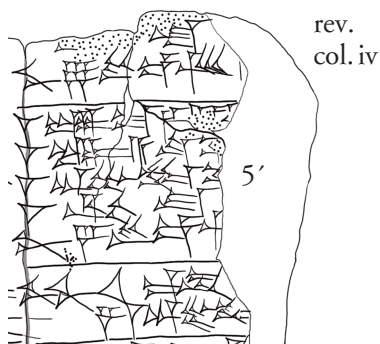
- 1' [...]^rx¹
 2' [...]-a-tú
 3' [...] DUMU-šú
 4' [...] ^rŠEŠ¹-šú
 5' [...] ^rx¹ ŠEŠ-šú
 6' [...] o o [(x)]
 7' [...]^rx¹
 8' [...] MU
 9' [...] ra
 10' [PAP x ^lERIM]^rmeš¹ šá ^rgiš¹ [BAN]

obv. col. iii²

- 1' [^mx x x]^rx x¹[x x (x)]
 2' [^{md}UT]U-SUR
 3' [PAP 4] ^lERIM^rmeš¹ giš¹B[AN]
 4' [^{md}]UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá ^{md}r¹[x x (x)]
 5' [^m]R-ia DUMU-šú
 6' [^m]šá-du-nu DUMU-šú
 7' ^mšul-lu-mu DUMU-šú
 8' PAP 4 ^rERIM^rmeš¹ giš¹BA [N]
 9' ^mSUM-na [(...)]
 10' ^mDÛ-[ia ...]
 11' ^{md}NA-[...]
 12' ^mNUMUN-[...]
 13' PAP [4 ^lERIM^rmeš¹ giš¹BAN]
 (traces of four more lines)

col. iii²

- [...]-šum-līšir, son of [...];
 [...]; Šamaš-ēter:
 [total of 4] men of (one) bow.
 Šamaš-aḥ-iddin, son of [...];
 [Ard]iya, his son;
 Šadūnu, his son;
 Šullumu, his son:
 total of 4 men of (one) bow.
 Iddināya;
 Ibnāya;
 Nabû-[...];
 Zēr[ūtu]:
 total of [4 men of (one) bow].



For a complete drawing of the reverse see next page.

rev. col. iv²

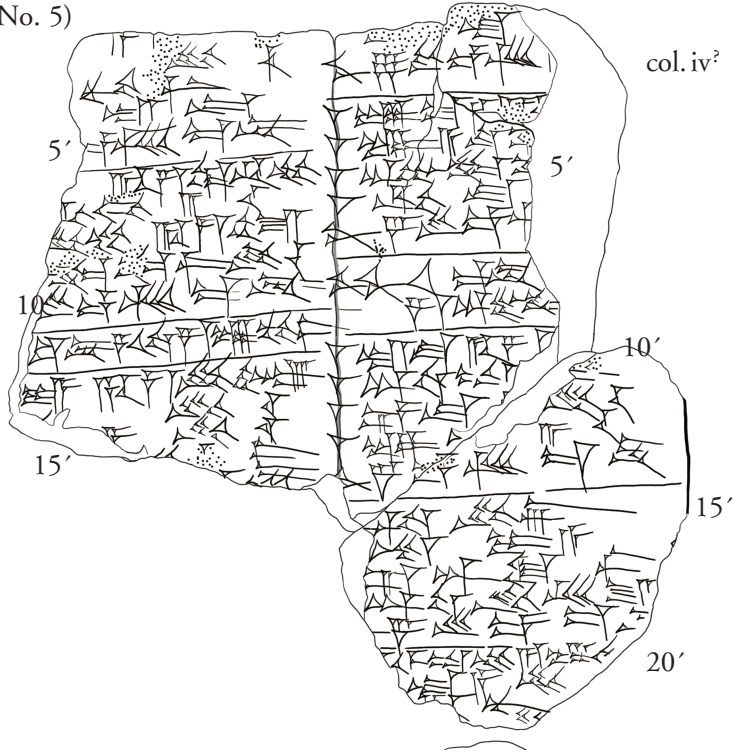
- 1' ^mšil-la¹-[a]
 2' PAP 8 ^{lu}ERIM^{meš} m [x x x]
 3' ^{md}NĀ-BA-šá A-šú [šá ^mx x x]
 4' ^{md}NĀ-a-na-K [A-tu₄-e-ri-ib]
 5' ^{md}bu-ne-n[e-DÛ]
 6' ^miq-ba-[a]
 7' PAP 4 ^{lu}ERIM^{fmeš}1 [^{giš}BAN]
 8' PAP PAP 10 ^{giš}BAN [10-tú]
 9' šá ^{md}bu-n[e-ne-DÛ]
 10' ^mURU-ba A-šú šá ^m[x x x]
 11' ^{md}UTU-DU [DUM]U-[šú]
 12' ^mkal-ba-^fa¹ ŠEŠ-šú
 13' ^{md}NĀ-^fSUR¹ A-šú
 14' PAP 4 ERIM^{meš} ^{giš}BAN
 15' [^m]^dUTU-URÛ-ir
 16' [^m]IR-ia
 17' [^m]É.AN.KI-DÛ
 18' [^m]^dUTU-ŠEŠ^{meš}-SU
 19' ^fPAP¹ 4 ^{lu}ERIM ^{giš}BAN [N]
 20' [^{md}]IGI.DU-MU A ^{md}NĀ-TI [N-SU-E]
 21' [^mšil]-la-a ŠEŠ-[šú]
 22' [^mŠEŠ-š]ú-nu [...]
 23' [^m...] ^fŠEŠ¹-[šú]
 (break)

col. iv²

- Šillāya:
 total of 8 men (under) [...].
 Nabû-iqīša, son of [...];
 Nabû-ana-pīti-[erih];
 Bunene-[ibni];
 Iqbāya:
 total of 4 men of [(one) bow].
 Grand total of 10 bows of
 [the decury] of Bunene-[ibni].
 Erība, son of [...];
 Šamaš-ukīn, [his] son;
 Kalbāya, his brother;
 Nabû-ēter, his son:
 total of 4 [men of (one) bow].
 Šamaš-našir;
 Ardiya;
 Eanki-ibni;
 Šamaš-aḫḫē-erība:
 total of four men of (one) bow.
 Nergal-iddin, son of Nabû-balas[su-iqbi];
 Šillāya, his brother;
 Aḫūšunu, [...];
 [...], his brother:
 (break)

iv. 4': For this name cf. *Nbn.* 1054:3, where he is the father of Šamaš-aḫḫē-erība; also *CT* 56 561:3.

BM 55136+ (No. 5)
rev. col. v²



rev. col. v²

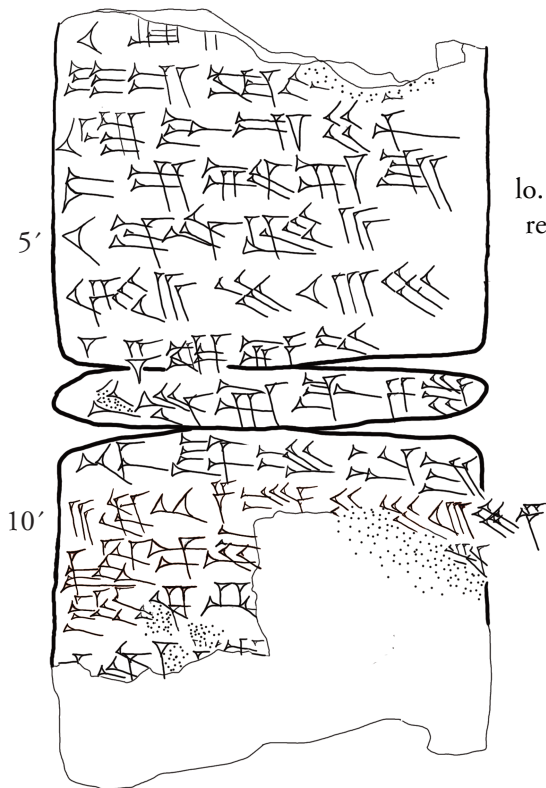
- 1' [m_x x] A-šú¹ [šá m_x x (x)]
 2' [m_x x x] ŠEŠ-šú
 3' [m^dNĀ]-NUMUN-DÛ
 4' [m^dx]-eri-ba
 5' [PAP 4[?] lúER]IM^{meš} g^{is}BAN
-
- 6' [m^dx x] A-šú šá m^ddi-ḫu-mu
 7' [m^dx-i]k-ṣur A-šú
 8' [m^dx]-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá m^rTIN-su
 9' [m^dbu]-ne-ne-DÛ ŠEŠ-šú
 10' [PAP 4] lúERIM^{meš} g^{is}BAN
-
- 11' [PAP PAP x] g^{is}BAN šá 10-tú šá
 m^dNĀ-NUMUN-DÛ
-
- 12' [m_x x]-ia A-šú šá m^šŠEŠ-²-ú
 13' [m_x x]-[MU[?]] ŠEŠ-šú
 14' [m_x x x]-[a] ŠEŠ-šú
 15' [m_x x x A-šú šá m^dAM]AR.UTU-DÛ
 16' [PAP 4 lúERIM^{meš}] g^{is}BAN

col. v²

- [...], son [of ...];
 [...], his brother;
 [Nabû]-zēr-ibni;
 [...]-Eri^{ba}:
 [total of 4[?]] men of (one) bow.
-
- [...], son of Diḫumu;
 [...]-ikṣur, his son;
 [...]-aḫ-iddin, son of Balassu;
 Bunene-ibni, his brother:
 [total of 4] men of (one) bow.
-
- [Grand total x] bows of the decury
 of Nabû-zēr-ibni.
-
- [...]ia, son of Aḫu^u;
 [...], his brother;
 [...], his brother;
 [...], son of] Marduk-ibni:
 [total of 4 men of (one)] bow.

No.6 BM 61409 (AH 82-9-18, 1383)

4.5 × 3.2 cm

-/XII²/13 (no king's name given)

- 1' 10¹ GÍN K[Û.BABBAR *a-na*]
 2' 6 GUR ZÚ.L[UM.MA]
 3' ù 4 GUR ŠE.BAR
 4' 2 GUR TA É ŠU^{II}
 5' 10 MA.NA SÍG^{bia}
 6' ŠUK^{bia} MU 13 KÁM
 7' ^mša-KA-kal-bi
 lo. e. 8' ^{li}IR.É.GAL šá KÁ
 rev. 9' *ina* IGI DUMU-LUGAL DU-zu
 10' *a-di* TIL šá ^{iti}ŠE¹ MU 13 KÁM SUR
 11' 1-et ^{es}BAN [x x x (x)]^x
 12' 1-et ^{pat}ri [x x x (x)]
 13' ^ana ^mša-KA¹-[kal-bi SUM-in]

Translation

10 shekels [of silver for] 6 *kur* of dates and 4 *kur* of barley—2 *kur* from the *bit qāti*.

10 minas of wool, rations of year 13 (of) Ša-pī-kalbi, the architect of the gate, serving at the disposal of the prince, until the end of Addaru year 13.

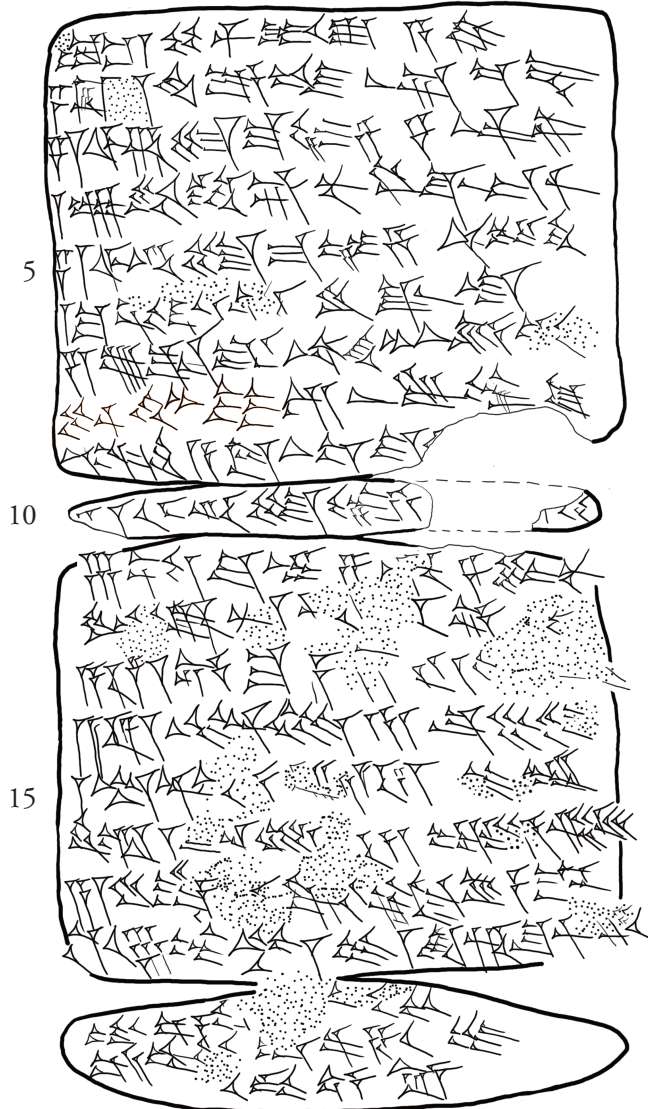
1 bow, [...], 1 dagger, [... have been given] to Ša-pī-[kalbi].

No.7 BM 54107 (82-5-22, 228) [Bertin 2845]

6.3×5.1 cm

Sippar

17/1/1 Darius (521BC)



1 6¹ GUR ŠE.BAR ZAG.LU A.ŠÀ
 2 šá^{garim} DU₆¹ -bi-ia-tu₄ ina É^{gis} BAN
 3 šá^m ar-tu-ma-az-za šá ina pa-ni
 4 mdNĀ-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu^{li} GAL^{gis} BĀN
 5 šá^m ar-tu-ma-az-za ina muḫ-bi
 6 mba-ga-da-ta^{li} gal-la
 7 šá^m u-da-ra-na-a² ina iii^{gar} GU₄¹
 8 ŠE.BAR-a² 6 GUR ina KASKAL^{II} KIS^{ki1}
 9 ina muḫ-bi ÍD ina^{gis} ma-s[i-bi]
 10 šá^m ar-tu-<ma>-az-za [i-na]m-din
 11 6-ta ma-ak-ša-ri¹ šá IN.NU
 12 li^{mu}-kin-nu mdEN-it-tan-na
 13 A-šú šá^m kal-ba-a mni-na²-a²
 14 A-šú šá^m MU-d^{AMAR}.UTU A mba-bu-tu
 15 mIR-d^{EDIN}-ú¹ A-šú šá^m MU-d^{NĀ}
 16 li^{UMBISAG} mT^d-d^{AMAR}.UTU [A]-šú šá^m NĀ-KAR-ZI^{mes}
 17 A mli^{SIMUG} UD.KIB¹.NUN^{1ki} iii^{BĀR}
 18 UD 17 KĀM MU 1 KĀM mda¹-ri-ia¹-uš²¹
 19 LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR
 20 e^{gar} (x) x¹ pa-ḫa-tu₄
 21 ul e-ṭir

l. 15: I take this name to be Arad-Šer: the deity is well attested though the spelling is not.

l. 20: This line is not understood.

Translation

6 *kur* of barley, *imittu* of the field in the district Til-Ḥiyātu, from the bow fief of Artumazza which is at the disposal of Nabû-aḫ-ittannu, the rent farmer of Artumazza, is against the account of Bagādata, the slave of Udaranāya. In the month of Ayyār he will pay this 6 *kur* of barley at the road to Kiš at the canal using the measure of Artumazza. 6 bales of straw. Witnesses. Sippar(?). Date. The ... has not been paid.

Comment

Three of the names in this text are Persian, and have been analysed by Zadok (*NABU* 1997/7, *AfO* 46/47 (1999/2000) p.211) as well as by Dandamayev and Tavernier (personal communications). Artumazza equates to Old Persian **rta-va:zah*- “Respectful of the Arta” and Bagadata to **baḡa-da:ta*- “protected by god”. For Udarana² Tavernier suggests three possibilities, (1) **hu-dara-a:na*- “grabbing well, keeping well”, (2) **hu-darna*- “having a good living place” and (3) **huda:-ra-a:na*- “benevolent”.

No.8 BM 78149 (88–4–19, 1)

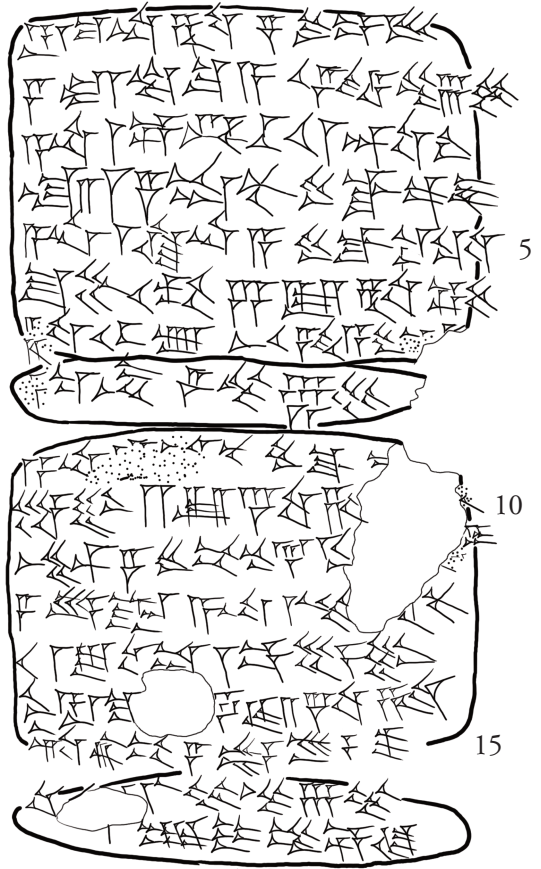
5.4 × 4.2 cm

19/XI/6 Nabonidus (549 BC)

l. 3: Perhaps Šamaš-ibni is the *maššār quppi* known to have been active in the reign of Nabonidus (*CT* 56 323: rev. 2', cf. Bongenaar 1997 p. 111).

l. 5: Kināya: there was a *kiztu* of this name (Bongenaar 1997 p. 401).

l. 12: Murānu is a known brewer from the time of Nabonidus, Bongenaar 1997 p. 219.



- obv. 1 $\frac{5}{6}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá^{lí}ERIM^{meš}
 2 šá^{uru}te-ma-a ŠUK^{hia} MU 6 KÁM
 3 a-na^mre-šú^u u^{md}UTU-DÙ
 4 ina ŠU^{II} mšá-du-nu^{lí}GAL gš^{BAN}
 5 a-na^mki-na-a^{lí}GAL si-qa-tú
 6 šu-bu-ul 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR e-l[at]
 7 [KÙ^I.BABBAR IGI-ú ina ŠUK^{hia} lí^{ERIM}^{meš}^I
 lo.e. 8 [šá^I gš^{BAN} šá MU 8 KÁM
 rev. 9 a-na^mšá-du^I-nu^{lí}GAL [gš^I][BAN]
 10 SUM-in 2 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.BA[BBAR x x]^Ix^I
 11 ina ŠE.BAR šá^{lí}.kaš^ILÜNGA^Imeš^I [IGI^I]-tu⁴
 12 šá^{iti}BÁR a-na^mmu-[r]a-nu
 13 [u]^mlu-UD.DU-ana-ZALÁG SUM-in
 14 PAP $\frac{5}{6}$ MA. [NA] [7^I GÍN 4-tú KÙ.BABBAR
 15 TA er-bi šá KÁ^{iti}ZÍZ
 u.e. 16 UD [20.1]^ILÁ KÁM MU 6 KÁM
 17 ^{md}NÀ-I LUGAL E^{ki}

Translation

50 shekels of silver for the men of Tema', rations of year 6, sent to Erēšu and Šamaš-ibni via Šadūnu the *rab qašti* for Kināya the *rab sikkati*.

5 shekels of silver in addition to the previous (payment of) silver, rations of the men [of] the bow of year 8, have been given to Šadūnu the *rab qašti*.

2¼ shekels of silver have been given to Murānu [and] Lūš-ana-nūr for [...] from the [earlier] barley of the brewers of the month of Nisānu.

Total of 57¼ shekels of silver from the income of the gate.

Date.

No. 9 BM 83435 (83-1-21, 598)

4.8 × 5.6⁺ cm

23/[]/13 Nabonidus (543/542 BC)

- obv. 1 [lú]ERIM]r^{meš}1 šá g^{is}BAN šá ul-tu
 2 [x x]r^x1 ih-*bi-su-ni*
 3 [iti]r^x1 UD 23 KÁM MU 13 KÁM
 4 [m]^dNĀ-I LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
 5 [m]r^{IR-d}ME¹.ME A ^{md}KÁ-KÁM
 6 [m^dx x-ŠE]Š A ^{md}UTU-A-PAP
 7 [m^x x x] [A¹ ^{md}NĀ-*si-lim*
 8 [m^x x x x] A ^m*mar-duk*
 9 [x x x x] [A¹ ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-GÁL-šⁱ
 10 [x x x x A] ^mdUTU-SIG₁₅
 (break)

- rev. 1' [x x x x x x]r^x x¹
 (space)
 r^{PAP} 1'7

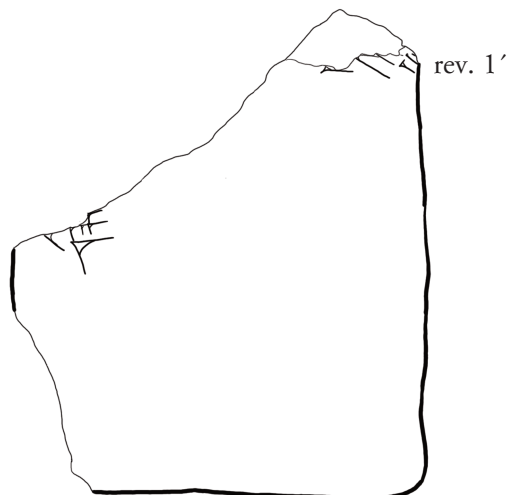
*Translation*

[Men] of the bow who have returned from [...]. Date.

Arad-Gula, son of Bau-ēreš
 [...] -uṣur, son of Šamaš-aplu-uṣur
 [...], son of Nabû-silim
 [...], son of Marduk
 [...], son of Bēl-aḫ-ušabši
 [...], son of Šamaš-udammiq
 (break)

[...]

[in total]: 17



No.10 BM 78151 (88–4–19,3)

3.8×3.0 cm

16/1/7 Nabonidus (549 BC)

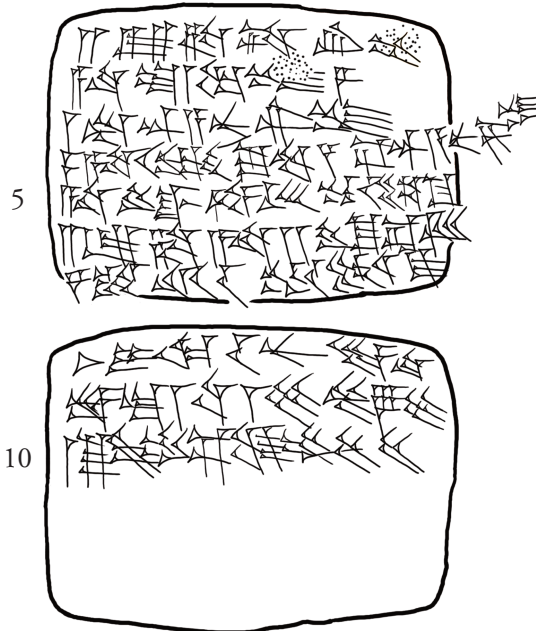
- 1 ⅓ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina* KÙ.BABBAR
- 2 *ša ul-tu* ⁱⁱⁱBĀR
- 3 MU 7 KĀM *a-na* ^m*ša-du-nu*
- 4 ^{li}GAL ^{giš}BAN SUM-*in*
- 5 ⁱⁱⁱBĀR UD 16 KĀM
- 6 MU 7 KĀM
- 7 ^{md}NĀ-I ^lLUGAL E^{ki}¹

Doodle of a bow and arrow on the back.

Translation

⅓ mina of silver from the silver (running)
from Nisānu year 7 has been given to
Šadūnu the *rab qašti*. Date.

I.1: For ⅓ Gín “20 shekels” see Lorenz 2006.

**No.11 BM 64043** (82–9–18,4012)

[Bertin 1738]

4.4×3.2 cm

1/VIII/7 Cyrus (532 BC)

- 1 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR TA *er-bi*
- 2 *a-na ši-di-tu*₄ *ša*
- 3 ^mĪR-^d*a-nu-ni-tu*₄
- 4 *ša a-na muḫ-ḫi* UD.U.NITÁ *ša*
É ^d*a-nu-ni-tu*₄
- 5 *a-na* ^{li}GAL MÁŠ^{mes} *il-li-ku*
- 6 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na*
2 ^{li}ḪUN.GÁ^{mes}
- 7 *ša it-ti-šú il-li-ku*
- 8 *ina i-di-šú-nu* SUM-*na*
- 9 ⁱⁱⁱAPIN UD 1 KĀM MU 7 KĀM
- 10 ^m*ku-raš* LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

Translation

2 shekels of silver from the income for the provisions of Arad-Anunītu who has gone to the *rab šibtī* in connection with sheep of the temple of Anunītu. 2 shekels of silver have been given as their pay to the two hirelings who went with him. Date.

No. 12 BM 60366 (82–9–18, 334)

3.2 × 5.3 cm

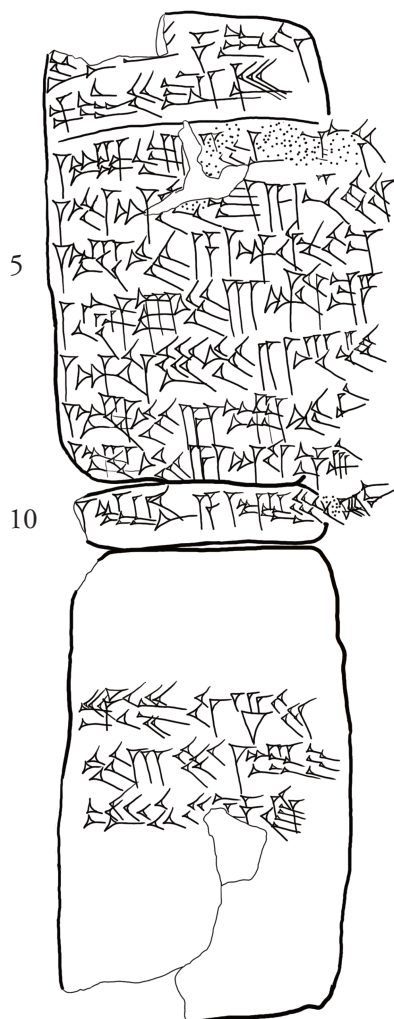
4/III/3 Nabonidus (553 BC)

- 1 lí^rERIM^{meš1} *šá i-na*
 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{meš}
 3 ^{md}NĀ-KAR-[Z]^{imeš} A [^mra]-šil
 4 ^mIR-^dgu-la A ^mre-be-tú
 5 ^{md}EN-MU A ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-GIŠ
 6 ^{md}šul-lu-mu A ^{md}UTU-BA-šá
 7 ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A ^mre-mut
 8 ^{md}EN-MU A ^{md}NĀ-NUMUN-DÙ
 9 ^{md}EN-MU A ^{md}UTU-ZÁLAG-ir
 lo.e. 10 ^{md}NĀ-PAP A ^{md}NĀ-ŠEŠ^{rmeš1}-bul-liṭ
 rev. 11 ^{iti}SIG₄ UD 4 KÁM
 12 MU 3 KÁM ^{md}NĀ-I
 13 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Translation

Men who are on horses:

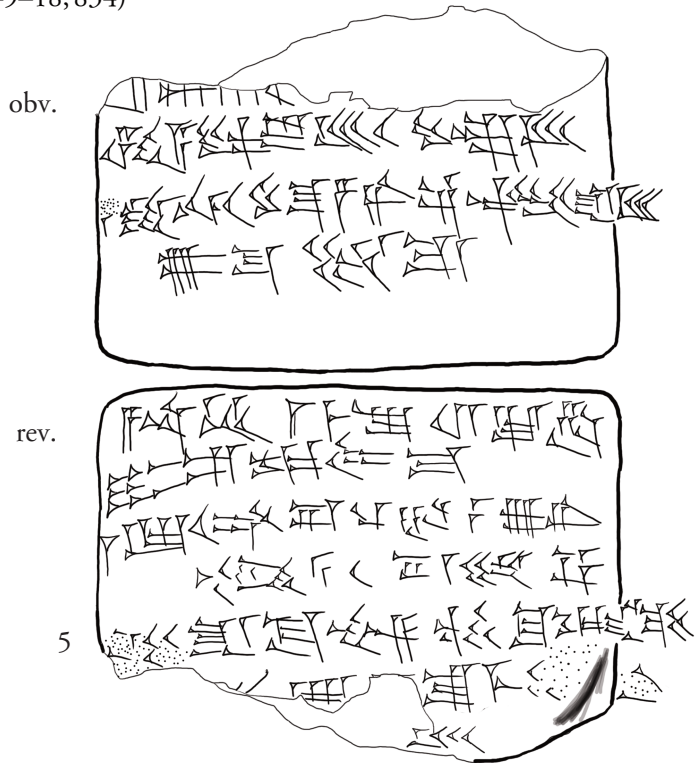
Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti, son of Rāšil;
 Arad-Gula, son of Reḫētu;
 Bēl-iddin, son of Šamaš-šum-lišir;
 Šullumu, son of Šamaš-iqīša;
 Šamaš-aḫ-iddin, son of Rēmūt;
 Bēl-iddin, son of Nabû-zēr-ibni;
 Bēl-iddin, son of Šamaš-unammir;
 Nabû-nāšir, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-bulliṭ.
 Date.



No. 13 BM 60858 (82-9-18, 834)

5.8 × 4.2⁺ cm

no date preserved



obv. 1' 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR¹ [8 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA²]
 2' ŠUK^{hia} lúSIPA^{mes} u lúENGAR^{mes}
 3' šá it-ti³ lúš⁴u-šá-ni-e ina ANŠE.KUR.RA^{mes}
 4' ú-š⁵u-uz-zu

rev. 1 a-na 1-en a¹-me-lu 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
 2 8 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA
 3 1 GÍN mi-šil bit-qa KÙ.BABBAR šá šam-ni
 4 o o MUN^{hia} u sah-le-e
 5 ^{rúg}KUR.RA ^{túg}šir-a-am ^{túg}ka-ra-ba-lat
 6 [(x) ^{kuš}]nu-tu x¹ ^{kuš}me-š¹-[e-n]i
 7 [^{mes}]

Translation

12 shekels of silver [...] rations of the shepherds and the *ikkaru* who are stationed with the *šušānu*'s on horses. For one man, 12 shekels of silver, 8 *kur* of dates, 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ shekels of silver for oil, salt and cress; a blanket, a jerkin, a cap, a water bottle (and) a pair of shoes.

No. 14 BM 79705 (89–10–14, 254)

4.9 × 3.2 cm

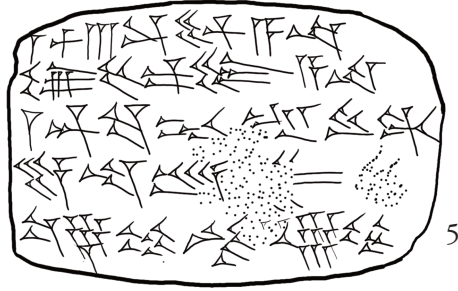
7/III/19 Nebuchadnezzar II (586 BC)

- obv. 1 1(PI) 1(BÁN) 3 SILÀ ŠE.BAR *a-na*
 2 *kis-sat* ANŠE *a-na*
 3 ^{md}UTU-*tak-lak* ^{lú}NAGAR
 4 SUM-*na* ^{iti}SIG₄¹
 5 UD 7 KAM MU 19 KAM
 rev. 6 ^dPA-NÍG.DU-URÛ
 7 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
 8 TA UD 6 KAM *ša* ^{iti}SIG₄
 9 *kis-sat i-nam-din*
 10 2(BÁN) 3 SILÀ ŠE.BAR *a-na ši-di-tú*
 11 ^mZALÁG-^dUTU *ša* UGU ŠUK^{lú} LUGAL
 12 SUM-*na*

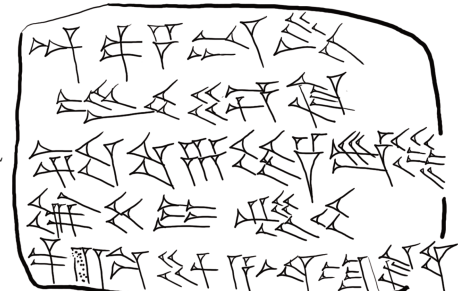
Translation

45 l. of barley for donkey fodder given to Šamaš-taklāk, the carpenter. Date. He will give the fodder from day 6 of Simānu.

15 l. of barley has been given for provisions to Nūr-Šamaš who is in charge of the rations of the king.



5



10



No. 15 BM 74617 (AH 82–9–18A, 342) [Bertin 2046]

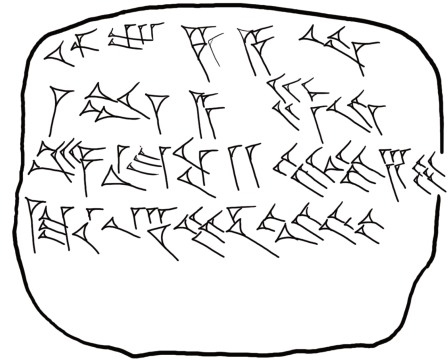
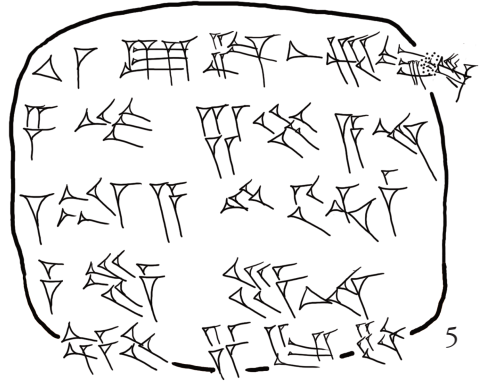
4.6 × 4.1 cm

2/VII/5 Darius (517 BC)

- obv. 1 11 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina ri-kis*
 「MURUB₄¹
 2 「šá¹ MU 5 KÁM *a-na*
 3 ^mDU-*a* ^{lú}NAGAR šá
 4 {šá} KÁ SUM-*na*
 5 *e-lat* 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
 rev. 6 IGI-ú šá *a-na*
 7 ^mDU-*a* SUM-*na*
 8 ⁱⁱⁱDU₆ UD 2 KÁM MU 5 KÁM
 9 ^m*da-ri-mu-šú* LUGAL KUR.KUR

Translation

11 shekels of silver given for expeditionary equipment of year 5 to Kīnāya, the carpenter of the gate; in addition to the previous 5 shekels of silver given to Kīnāya. Date.

**No. 16 BM 65055** (82–9–18, 5036)

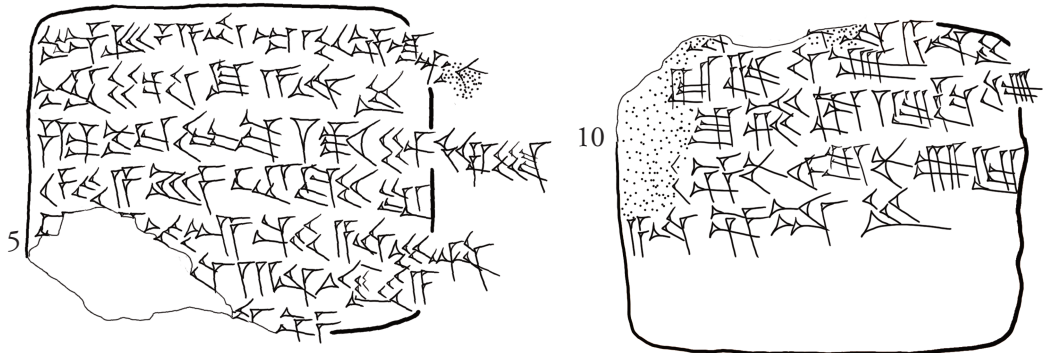
4.5 × 3.7 cm

not dated

- obv. 1 ^{lú}ERIM^{meš} šá *a-na* ^{uru.kur}*e-la-an-¹du
 2 *il-li-ku a-na* LÚ
 3 3(PI) 2(BÁN) ZÚ.LUM.MA 1(PI)
 4 (BÁN) ŠE.BAR *gam-ru-tu*
 5 ŠUK^{bia} ITI 1-*en* ^{túg}KUR.RA
 6 「1-*en* ^{kuš¹}šir-*a-am a-na* MU.AN.NA
 7 [x GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-n*]a 3 SILÀ
 MUN^{bia}
 rev. 7 [3 SILÀ *saḫ-l*]e-e
 8 [x]「x¹ [x x]「x x¹ *a-na* LÚ
 9 [x] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú
 10 [rik]-*su qab-lu* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
 BABBAR-ú
 11 [me-š]e-*e-nu ù nu-ú-tu*
 12 「a¹-*na e-du* LÚ*

Translation

The workers who went to Elam:
 per man:
 120 l. of dates (and) 60 l. of barley
 altogether
 as monthly rations; 1 blanket,
 [1] jerkin; per year
 [x shekels of silver for 3 l.] of salt,
 [3 l.] of cress;
 [...] per man;
 [x] shekels of white silver
 as *rikis qabli*; 1 shekel of white
 silver,
 a pair of shoes and a water bottle
 for each man.

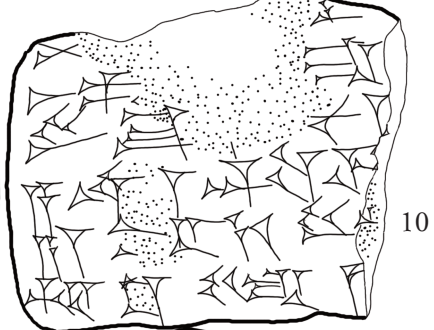
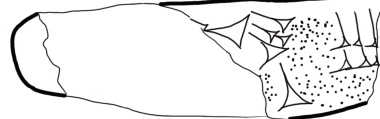


No. 17 BM 67827 (82-9-18, 7825)

4.2+ × 3.6 cm

6+/[]/[], king's name not given

- obv. 1 8 ^uígKUR.RA
 2 8 ^uígšir-a-a[m]
 3 [š]á 5 ^{lú}SIPA [mes^š]
 4 2 ^{lú}ENGAR^{mes}
 5 1 ^{lú}NU.GIS.ŠAR
 rev. 6 PAP [8 ^{lú}ERIM]^{fmes^š1} [šá]
 7 ina AN[ŠE.KUR].RA [it-ti²]
 8 ^{lú}šū-[šá]-nu^{fmes^š1}
 9 a-na^{md}UTU-SIG₅ [...]
 10 A ^mra-šil ^{lú}r^x[SUM-na]
 11 1-en ^uígKUR.RA a- [...]
 12 [x x x x]
 13 [x x x x]
 le.e. ^{md}UTU-SIG₅
 iⁱi^fAPIN²
 lo.e [UD x]+6 [KÁM]¹ M[U x KÁM]



Translation

8 blankets, 8 jerkins of 5 shepherds, 2 *ikkaru* (and) 1 gardener—the total of [8 men who] are on horses [with] the *šušānu*'s [have been given] to Šamaš-udammiq, son of Rašil, the [...]; 1 blanket t[o ...]
 [...] Šamaš-udammiq. Date.

No. 18 BM 64787 (82–9–18, 4768)

4.4 × 3.1 cm

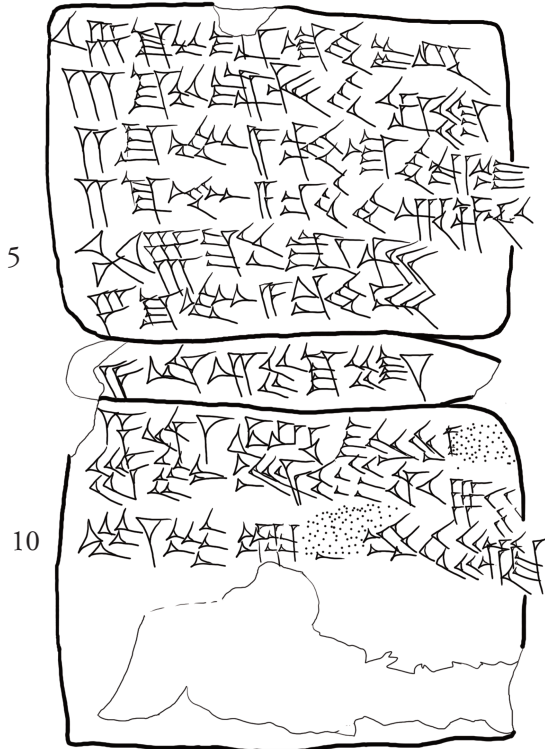
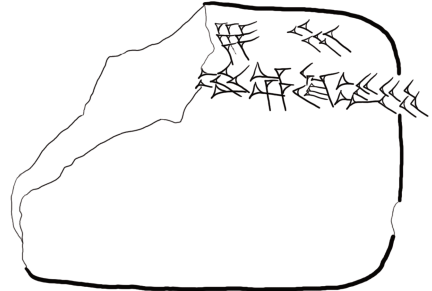
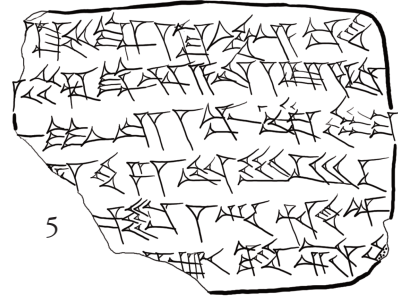
8⁺/[]/[] []

- 1 1¹ ^{túg}KUR.RA 1 ^{túg}šir-a-am
- 2 1 UZ.TUR.MUŠEN a-na 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
- 3 7^{ina} GUR 1 PI ZÚ.LUM.MA
- 4 [r]e-bi šá ^mIR-ŠEŠ^{meš}-šú
- 5 [lú^{nu}].GIŠ.ŠAR ^mre-mut-DINGIR
- 6 [ina É].GUR₇ it-ta-din
- 7 [i^ux UD x] + 8 KÁM
- 8 [MU x KÁM ^mx x (x)] LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL
KUR.KUR

Translation

Rēmūt-ilī has given [into the *bīt*] *karē* 1 blanket, 1 jerkin, 1 duck for 1 shekel of silver, from the arrears of 1296 *l.* of dates of Arad-ahḫešu, the gardener. Date.

Date: probably reign of Cambyses (cf. Janković 2004 p. 62, Rēmūt-ilī).

**No. 19 BM 63947** (82–9–18, 3916)

[Bertin 1227]

5.3 × 3.7 cm

18/III/1 Nabonidus (555 BC)

- 1 16 ^{túg}KUR.RA la hi-i-ri
- 2 3 ^{túg}KUR.RA^{meš} hi-ru-tu
- 3 2 ^{túg}šir-a-am la hi-iš-tu₄
- 4 2 ^{túg}šir-a-am hi-re-e-ti
- 5 PAP 19 ^{túg}KUR.RA^{meš}
- 6 4 ^{túg}šir-a-am^{meš}
- 7 a-na zi-ku-tu
- 8 a-na ^mar-rab lú^rTÚ[G.KAL.KAL]
- 9 SUM-in ^{iti}SIG₄ UD 18 KÁM
- 10 MU 1 KÁM ^dNA-^r1¹
LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

l. 3–4: *hi-re-e-ti*, *la hi-iš-tu₄*; cf. CAD *hīru* “adjective describing cloth”; MacGinnis 2002/2 p. 181 n. 15. Another attestation is BM 67342:7’, 9’ (TÚG *la hīr*).

l. 7: See CAD *zikūtu* for the suggested meaning “cleaning”. Other attestations are CT 55 791:4: (2 ^{tiq}KUR.RA *ša zi-ku-tu₄*) and BM 59119 (61 ^{tiq}KUR.RA *a-na zi-ku-t[ú]*).

Translation

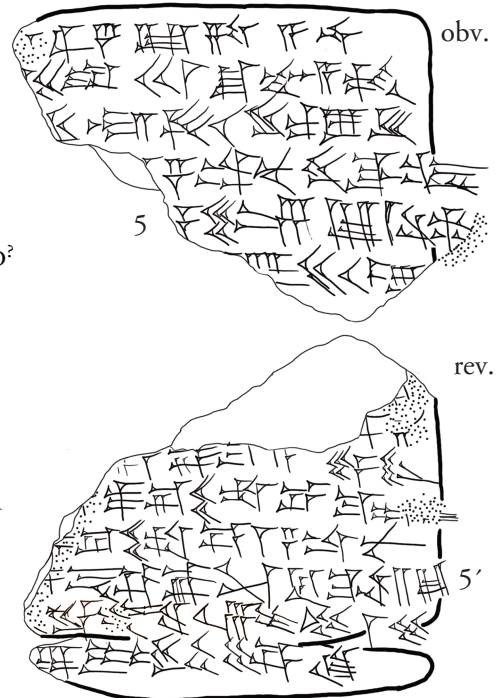
16 non-*hīru* blankets, 3 *hīru* blankets; 2 non-*hīru* jerkins, 2 *hīru* jerkins: total of 19 blankets and 4 jerkins given to Arrabi, the mender, for *cleaning*. Date.

No. 20 BM 84256 (83–1–21, 1419)

4.9+ × 3.6+ cm

16/III/1 Nabonidus (555 BC)

- 1 [1 MA.N]A ½ (MA.NA) 4 GÍN
KÛ.BABBAR *a-na*
- 2 [21] ^{tiq}KUR.RA 21 ^{tiq}šir-*a-am*
- 3 [*a-na*] ^{li}ENGAR^{mes} ù ^{li}SIPA^{mes}
- 4 [šá it-ti] ^mšá-du-nu ^{li}GAL ^{gis}BAN
- 5 [il-lik-ku SU]M-in 5 GÍN *a*^{1?}-*na* GUD²
- 6 [*a-na* ^{md}EN]-ú-sat ù
(a few lines missing)
- rev. 1' [x x x x x (x)] ^rx x¹
- 2' [x x x (x)] ^rA ^mkal-ba-a¹ SUM-in
- 3' [x x x] 3(BÁN) *sab*¹-le-e ba-*ab-tu₄*¹
- 4' [x x x 2(B)ÁN] *sab*-le-e ^mšá-du-nu
- 5' [^{li}GAL] ^{gis}BAN *e-tir* PAP 1 ½ MA.NA
2 GÍN
- 6' [SUM-i]n ⁱⁱⁱSIG₄ UD 16 KÁM
MU 1 KÁM
- 7' [^{md}]NÀ-I LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}



l. 6: There was a shepherd by the name of Bēl-usātu in the reign of Nabonidus (CT 55 662, 684); Bēl-usātu also occurs in CTMMA 7.8.10 as a gardener of Bēl-iqbi (Nabopolassar 8).

Translation

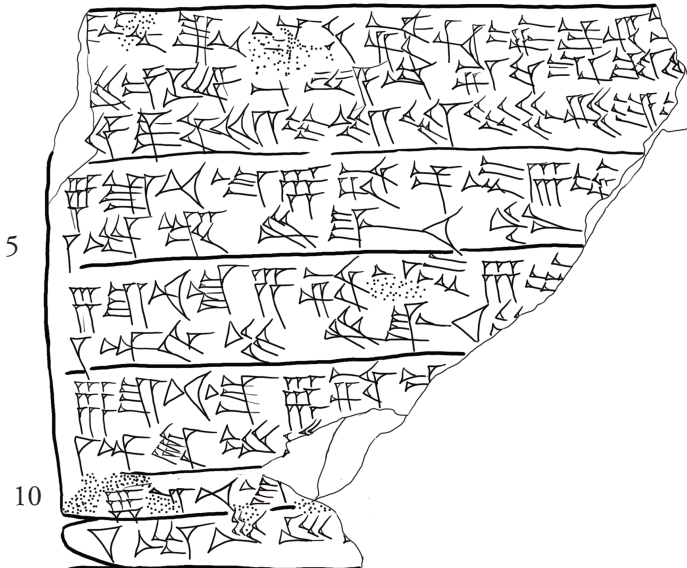
[1 mina] 24 shekels of silver has been given for [21] blankets (and) 21 jerkins [for] the *ikkarus* and shepherds [who have gone with] Šadūnu, the *rab qašti*. 5 shekels [have been given to Bēl]-usātu and [...] for an ox. [...] given to [...] son of Kalbāya. [x]+ 18 l. of cress, the balance of [x l. of] cress, Šadūnu, the [*rab*] *qašti*, was paid. A total of 1 mina 52 shekels of silver has been given. Date.

No. 21 BM 62472 (82-9-18, 2441)

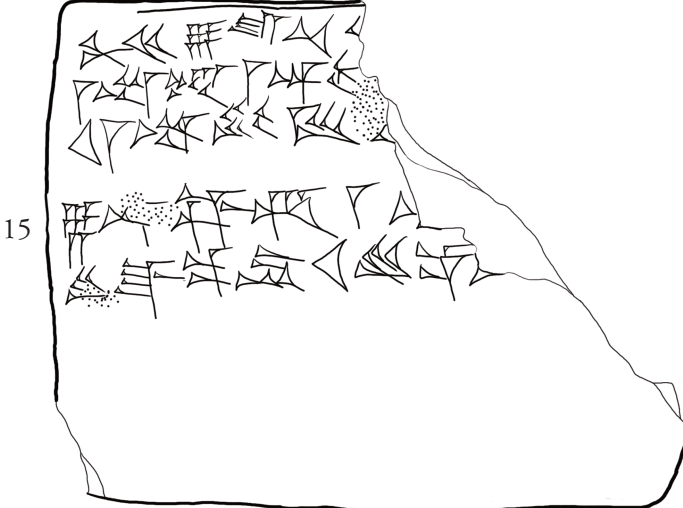
7.8 × 5.8 cm

22/XI/2 Cambyses (527 BC)

obv.



rev.



| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | ^r gš ¹ BAN ^{kuš} <i>til-la šil-ta-ḫu as-ma-re-e</i> ¹ [šá] |
| 2 | ^{lí} ERIM ^{meš} šú ^r gš ¹ BAN <i>a-na É.BABBAR.RA id-din-[nu]</i> |
| 3 | ^r ti ¹ Z[Z UD 22.KÁM MU 2.KÁM ^m <i>kam-bu-zi-ia</i> L[UGAL E ^{ki}] |
| 4 | 7 ^{kuš} <i>til-la 8-ta</i> ^{gš} BAN 6 <i>as-[ma-re-e]</i> |
| 5 | ^m IR ^{-d} EN ^{lí} GAL 10- <i>tì</i> |
| 6 | 5 ^{kuš} <i>til-la 5-ta</i> ^{gš} BAN 6 <i>a[s-ma-re-e]</i> |
| 7 | ^{md} UTU-MU ^{lí} GAL 10- <i>t[ì]</i> |
| 8 | 9 ^{kuš} <i>til-la 9-ta</i> ^{gš} [BAN 9 <i>as-ma-re-e]</i> |
| 9 | ^{md} ḪAR-LUGAL-U[RÛ ^{lí} GAL 10- <i>tì</i>] |
| 10 | ^r 8 ^{kuš} <i>til-la</i> [x ^{gš} BAN x <i>as-ma-re-e]</i> |
| 11 | ^m IR-ŠES ^{meš} -š[ú ^{lí} GAL 10- <i>tì</i>] |
| 12 | PAP 29 ^{kuš} <i>til-l</i> [a x ^{gš} BAN x <i>as-ma-re-e šá]</i> |
| 13 | ^m IR ^{-d} EN ^{md} UTU-[MU ^{md} ḪAR-LUGAL-URÛ] |
| 14 | <i>u</i> ^m IR-ŠES ^{meš} -š[ú <i>a-na É.BABBAR.RA id-din-nu]</i> |
| 15 | 8 <i>na-mar-re</i> ^m I[R-ŠES ^{meš} -šú] |
| 16 | ^{lí} GAL ^{gš} BAN <i>u</i> ^{lí} ERIM ^r meš ¹ -[šú <i>id-din-nu]</i> |

l. 1: Arrows are listed in the rubric but no mention of these is made in the main body of the text. Presumably this implies that the arrows were included in the *tillu*'s, which would then be combined bow and arrow cases. Support for this comes from no. 32 below.

l. 15: Cf. *CAD namaru* "a word for quiver?", a translation which the present text must make a little more sure.

Translation

Bow(s), bow case(s), arrow(s) (and) spears [which] the men of the bow gave to the Ebabbara. Date

7 bow cases, 8² bows, 6 spears: Arad-Bēl, the *rab ešerti*;

5 bow cases, 5 bows, 6 spears: Šamaš-iddin, the *rab ešerti*;

9 bow cases, 9 bows, [9 spears]: Bunene-šar-ušur, [the *rab ešerti*];

8 bow cases, [x bows, x spears]: Arad-aḫḫēšu, [the *rab ešerti*];

Total of 29 bow cases, [x bows, x spears which] Arad-Bēl, Šamaš-iddin, [Bunene-šar-ušur] and Arad-aḫḫēšu gave to the Ebabbara. 8 quivers (which) Arad-[aḫḫēšu], the *rab qašti*, and [his] men have given.

No.22 BM 68770 (82-9-18, 8769)3.2 × 2.6⁺ cm

no date preserved

- 1 3-ta ^{gš}BAN
 2 ^mA-a A-šú šá ^mKAR-dŠÚ
 3 3-ta ^{gš}BAN ^{md}UTU-PAP
 4 3-ta ^{gš}BAN
 5 ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU¹-[x (x)]
 6 ^m[x x x x x (x)]

- rev. 1' [A-šú šá ^m] [x x x x]
 2' šá ^mš*i*-iš-ki [x x x]
 3' a-ga-ni-e-ti ^{gš}BAN
 4' ú-šá-az-za-e-ti

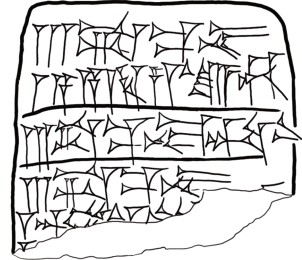
Translation

3 bows: Aplāya, son of Mušēzib-Marduk.

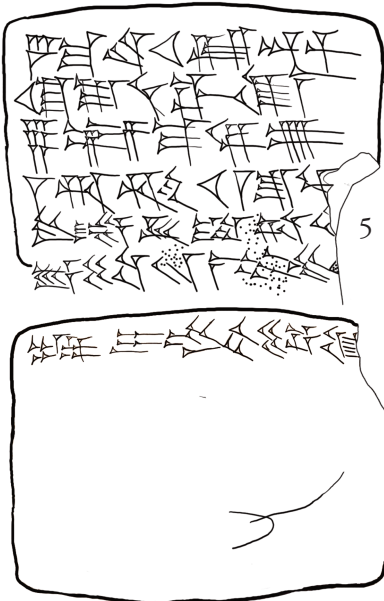
3 bows: Šamaš-nāšir.

3 bows: Marduk-šum-[...], son of [...] of Šišku [...]:
these bow (units) are assigned.

obv.



rev.

**No.23 BM 61341** (82-9-18, 1315)

4.3 × 3.2 cm

19/XII/10⁺ Nabonidus (545[?] BC)

- 1 4 MA.NA 10 GÍN AN.BAR
 2 *dul-lu gam-mar* KI.LAL
 3 8 az-za-ma-ru-ú
 4 ^mre-mut u ^msu-qa-[a]
 5 ^{lú}SIMUG^{meš} it-ta-din
 6 ^{iti}ŠE UD 20.1 LÁ KÁM
 MU 10+[x KÁM]
 7 ^dNĀ-I LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Translation

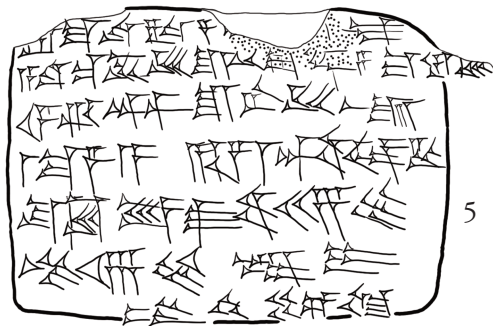
Rēmūt and Sūqāya, the smiths, have delivered 4 minas 10 shekels of iron, the weight of the completed work of 8 spearheads. Date.

No. 24 BM 63978 (82–9–18, 3947) [Bertin 1624]

5.0 × 3.5 cm

25/XI/16 Nabonidus (539 BC)

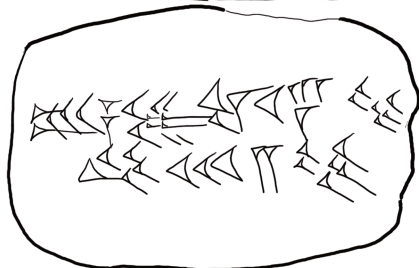
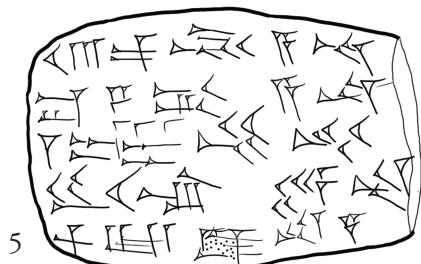
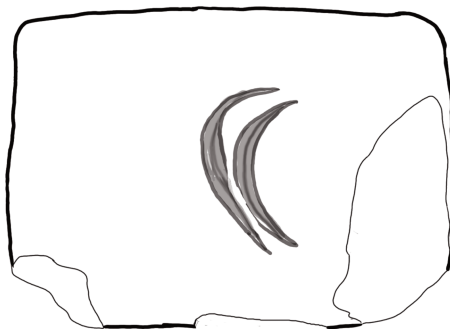
- 1 5/6 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá [x x] ma
- 2 a-na ^{gš}BAN^{meš} kuš^{kuš} til-lu az-za-ma-ru^{meš}
- 3 pat-re AN.BAR ^{kuš}šal^{meš} ina ŠU^{II}
- 4 ^mBA-šá-a A-šú šá ^{md}UTU-SIG₅-iq
- 5 šu-bul ^{iti}ZÍZ UD 25 KÁM
- 6 MU 16 KÁM ^dNÀ-I
- 7 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}



I.3: Regarding the ^{kuš}šal^{meš}, here translated “skins”, could it be that *šallu* also means “shield”? Nail marks on the reverse may or may not indicate a bow.

Translation

5/6 of a mina of silver of the [...] for bows, bow cases, spears, iron daggers (and) skins sent via Iqīšā son of Šamaš-mudammiq. Date.

**No. 25 BM 64128** (82–9–18, 4097)

[Bertin 2943]

4.4 × 2.9 cm

14/III/32 (no king's name given)

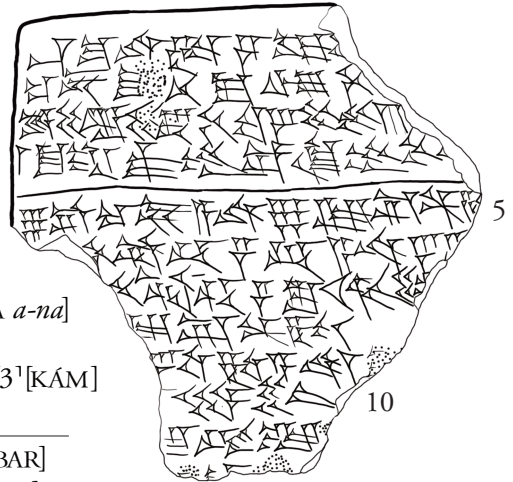
- 1 13 ^{gš}BAN a-na
- 2 É NÍG.GA a-na
- 3 ^{md}NÀ-MU-MU
- 4 lú^{lú}ZADIM SUM-na
- 5 1/2 GÍN <a-na> ^rUDU¹.NITÁ šá
- 6 ^{gš}BAN m[a-bir]
- 7 ^{iti}SIG₄ UD 14 KÁM
- 8 MU 32 KÁM

Translation

13 bows have been given to the *bīt makkūri* for Nabû-šum-iddin, the bowmaker. 1/2 shekel of silver [has been received for] a sheep “of the bow”. Date.

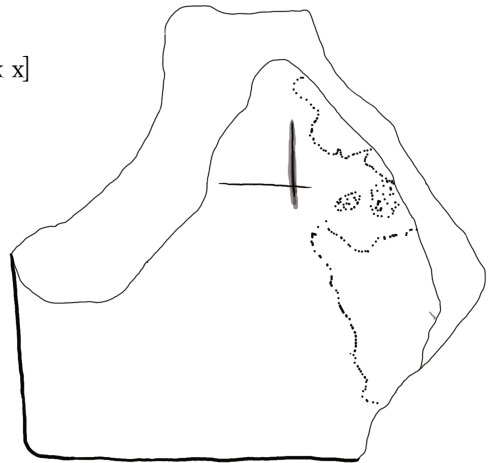
No. 26 BM 63372 (82-9-18, 3339)5.4⁺ × 5.2⁺ cm4/XII_b/3 Cyrus (535 BC)

obv.



obv.

- 1 ½¹ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá ZÚ.L[UM.MA a-na]
 2 ^{gis}BAN ^{fkus¹}til-lu ù šil-[ta-ḫu SUM-in]
 3 ⁱⁱⁱŠE DIRI ŠE.KIN.KUD UD 4 KÁM MU ^r3¹[KÁM]
 4 ^mku-ra-áš LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL KUR.[KUR]
-
- 5 ^r9¹-ta ^{gis}BAN a-na 8 GÍN bit-qa K[Û.BABBAR]
 6 [x] šil-ta-ḫu gar-ri a-na 4 G[ÍN KÙ.BABBAR]
 7 [x] šil-ta-ḫu šá lu-ul-l[i-tú]
 8 [a-na x] GÍN bit-qa KÙ.BABBAR
 9 [PAP x GÍN] 4-tú KÙ.BABBAR a-na ^m[x x x]
 10 [x x x] SUM-in [x x x]
 11 [x šal-ḫ]u gi-mir-r[u-tú]
 12 [x x x x x] [x x¹] [x x]
 (break)
 Begin of reverse broken off,
 remainder not inscribed



1.6: cf. *ši-il-ta-ah gi-ir-ri*, Lutz 1928 p. 271 l. 9, Joannès 1982/1 p. 17 (referring to Aramaic *gêrâ*). A letter from Uruk shortly to be published by Frahm and Jursa refers to arrows and ^{sa}ga-ra-nu.

Translation

½ mina of silver from dates given for bow(s), bow-case(s) and arrow(s). Date.
 9 bows for 8 shekels of silver.

[x] Aramean arrows for 4 shekels of silver.

[x] arrows with arrowheads [for x] shekels and one-eighth of silver.

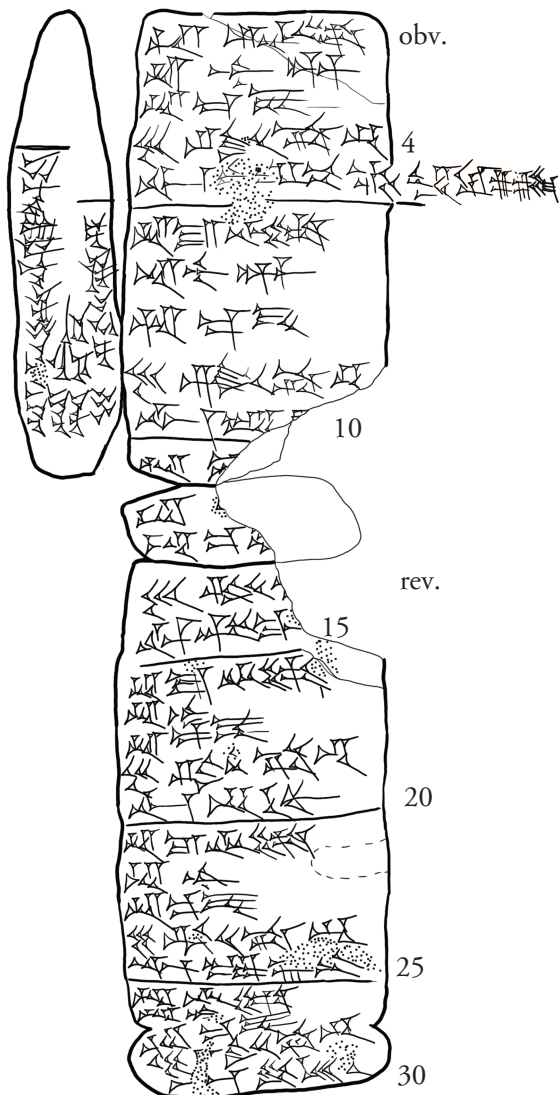
[Total of x shekels] and one-quarter of silver given to [...].

[...] Cimmerian bow case(s) [...]

No. 27 BM 78837 (88-5-12, 23)

3.0 × 5.4 cm

no date given



- 1 1+en^{kuš!}ti-li
 2 1+en GÍR AN.BAR
 3 1+en^{gís}BAN
 4 40^{gí}šil'-ta-*bu*
 5 ina IGI m^fár¹-ra-bi e-lat
mab-ru-ú-ú-tu
-
- 6 1+en^{kuš!}ti-li
 7 1+en GÍR AN.BAR
 8 1+en^{gís}BAN
 9 40^{gí}šil'-ta-*bu*
 10 ina IGI m^dEN-šá¹-[x]
-
- 11 1+en^[kuš!][ti-li]
 lo.e. 12 1+en G[ÍR]
 13 1+en^{gís}B[AN]
 rev. 14 40^{gí}šil'-t[a-*bu*]
 15 ina IGI m^dKUR.GAL-[x x]
-
- 16 1+en^{kuš}ti-li
 17 1+en GÍR
 18 1+en^{gís}BAN
 19 40^{gí}šil'-ta-*bu*
 20 ina IGI m^{EN}šú-nu
-
- 21 1+en^{kuš}ti-li
 22 1+en GÍR
 23 1+en^{gís}BAN
 24 50^{gí}šil'-ta-*bu*
 25 ina IGI m^dNA-šú-sur¹
-
- 26 1+en <kuš>ti-li
 27 1+en GÍR
 u. e. 28 1+en^{gís}BAN
 29 50^[gí]šil'-ta-*bu*
 30 ina [IG]I m^{šES}šú¹
-
- le.e. 31 1+en <kuš>ti-li
 32 1+en GÍR
 33 1+en^{gís}BAN
 34 50^{gí}šil'-ta-*bu*
 31a ina IGI m^{ki-i-d}UTU

Note that in lines 17, 22, 27 and 32 the dagger is not specified as being iron, though whether this is due to the scribe's negligence or because they were of bronze we cannot tell. Throughout this text the ŠIL signs take the form of GAM except in line 9 where it is further reduced to a single *Winkelbaken*. The scribe also employed a certain degree of variation in the form of the BAN sign.

I.15: In *CT* 56 424 an Amurru-šezibanni “shepherd of the gate” brings sheep of the king from Babylon to the Ebabbara (Nebuchadnezzar year 27).

I.30-31: Ahḫešu and Kī-Šamaš are listed as *širku*’s in *VS* 6 230 (along with Nabû-ušur and Bēl-PIQ.TE.KUR). Also, in a series of texts from Nebuchadnezzar years 26 and 27 Kī-Šamaš receives leather *sippu* (*Nbk.* 165) and sandals and a water bottle (*Nbk.* 173). In *Nbk.* 168 he is labelled a gardener of Til-gubbu.

Translation

1 bow case, 1 iron dagger, 1 bow, 40 arrows at the disposal of Arrabi,
in addition to the former issues.

1 bow case, 1 iron dagger, 1 bow, 40 arrows at the disposal of Bēl- [...].

1 bow case, 1 dagger, 1 bow, 40 arrows at the disposal of Amurru- [...].

1 bow case, 1 dagger, 1 bow, 40 arrows at the disposal of Bēlšunu.

1 bow case, 1 dagger, 1 bow, 50 arrows at the disposal of Nabû-ušur.

1 bow case, 1 dagger, 1 bow, 50 arrows at the disposal of Ahḫešu.

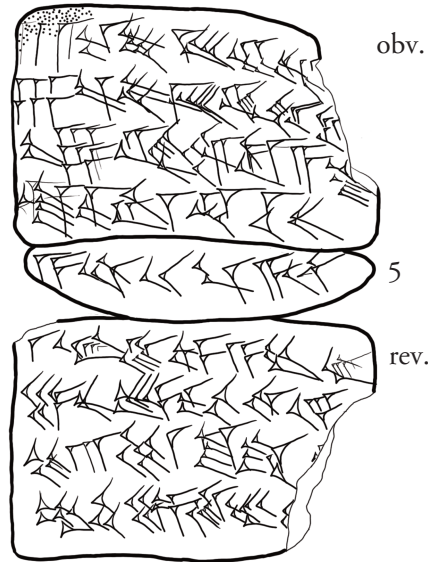
1 bow case, 1 dagger, 1 bow, 50 arrows at the disposal of Kī-Šamaš.

No. 28 BM 61235 (82–9–18, 1211 A)

4.0 × 2.7 cm

14/II/3 Cyrus (536 BC)

- obv. 1 2 ^{gis}BAN^{mcs} *ak-ka-[de-e-tu₄]*
 2 6 ^{gis}BAN^{mcs} *gi-im-ru-[a-tu₄]*
 3 PAP 8 *gi-im-ru-a-[tu₄]¹*
 4 *la-pa-ni* ^mEN-šú-nu
 5 *a-na bat-qa a-na*
 rev. 6 ^mmuk-ke-e-a ^{lii}ZADIM
 7 SUM-nu ⁱⁱⁱGUD UD 14 [KÁM]
 8 MU 3 KÁM ^mku-ra-[áš]
 9 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
 LUGAL KU[R.KUR]



I am grateful to Stefan Zawadzki for bringing this text to my attention.

I.2: *re* written over *ru*.

Translation

2 Akkadian bows, 6 Cimmerian bows, a total of 8 Cimmerian^{sic} (bows) from Bēlšunu handed over for repair to Mukkēa the bowmaker. Date.

No. 29 BM 60923 (82–9–18, 899)

5.3 × 3.5 cm

11⁺/XII/16 Nabonidus (539 BC)

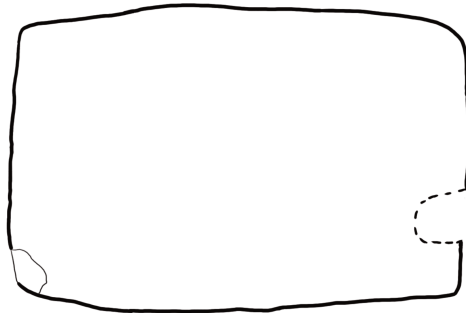
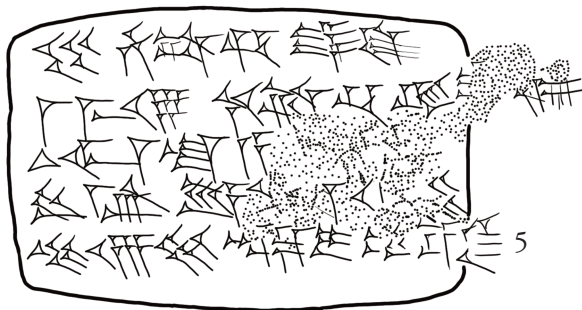
- obv. 1 50 šil-ta-bu URI^{ki}
 2 1 ME 18 šil-ta-bu gi-m[ir-r]u-ú
 3 ina IGI^m la-a-[ba-šî]
 4 lúAŠGABⁱⁱⁱ ŠE UD¹ 11+[x K]AM
 5 MU 16 KAMrd NA^h LUGAL [E^{ki}]

Translation

50 Akkadian arrows, 118 Cimmerian arrows at the disposal of Lābāšî the leatherworker.

I am grateful to Stefan Zawadzki for bringing this text to my attention.

For the fact that *gimirru* “Cimmerian” actually denotes the Scythians see for example Dandamayev 1979 and 1992 p.159–163. For the appearance of Scythian gear among the military equipment of Babylonia see Dandamayev & Lukonin 1989 p. 225–226; for the discovery of the grave of a Scythian horseman in the Altain mountains of Siberia see *Archaeology* 49/1 (Jan–Feb 1996) p. 33. Dandamayev 1982 comments on the Cimmerian soldiers in charge of ships in Uruk (*VS* 20 49, Cambyses 6).

**No. 30 BM 99819** (83–1–21, 2181)3.0 × 3.4⁺ cm<->/XII/11[?] (no king's name given)

- obv. 1 [...]^x gi-mir-ru-ú
 2 [...]^x ra ù 50 šá lu-li-tú
 3 [...]^{li}ERI]M^{mes} líSIPA^{mes}
 4 [... a-n]a^{li}GAL 10-tì SUM-in
 5 [...]^{iti}]APIN¹ UD 14 KAM
 6 [...]^rŠAM[?] 1¹ MA.NA a-na ANŠE^{mes}¹
-
- rev. 3' [... i]b]-bi-su-nu
 4' [...]-x-nu-ú
 5' [...] nu-ú-tu
 6' [...]^x šá^{iti}ŠE MU^r 11[?] KAM¹ SUR

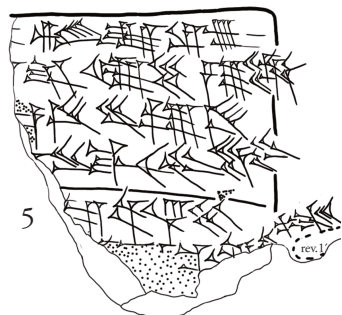
Translation

[x] Cimmerian [arrows], [...] and 50 with arrowheads [for] the workmen and shepherds [(of Šamaš)] have been given to the *rab ešerti*(s).

[...] Araḥsamna, day 14 [...] equivalent (?) of 1 mina of silver for donkeys (break). [...] have returned (break)

[...] water bottle(s); [...] of Addaru, year 11. Paid.

obv.



rev.



No. 31 BM 64025 (82–9–18, 3994)

[Bertin 1731]

4.0 × 3.2 cm

8/1/3 Cyrus (536 BC)

- 1 5^{kuš} *til-la* 5^{giš} BAN
 2 ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ^{meš} BA-šá^{lí} *qí-i-pi*
 3 É.BABBAR.RA *a-na* ^mIR-^dĪHAR
 4 šá É.ŠU^{II} *it-ta-din*
 5 ⁱⁱBĀR UD 8 KĀM MU 3 KĀM
 6 ^mku-ra-áš LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
 7 [LUGAL KUR.KUR]

Translation

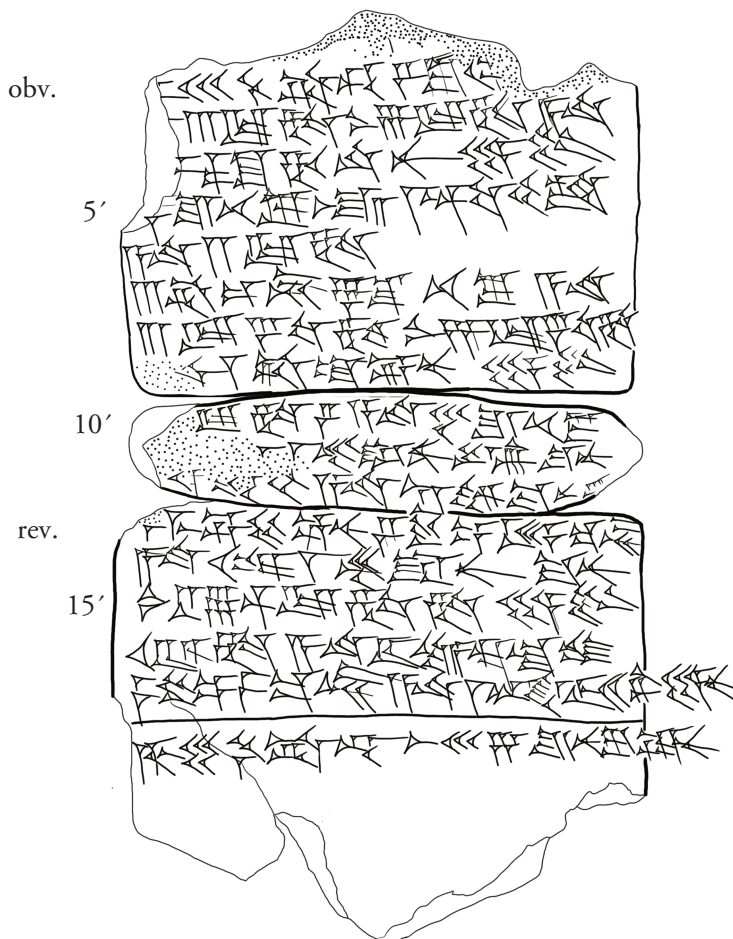
5 bow cases (and) 5 bows (which) Bēl-
 aḥḥē-iqīša, the *qīpu* of the Ebabbara, has
 given to Arad-Bunene of the *bit qāti*.
 Date.

**No. 32 BM 64112** (82–9–18, 4081) [Bertin 2932]

5.9 × 4.8+ cm

no date preserved

- 1' [x x x x] x x x [x x x x]
 2' [x M]E 30 *šil-ta-ḥu šá lu-u* [l-li-tú]
 3' [a-na] 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR PAP 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na*
 4' ^[m]dPA.KU-*ḥa-na-nu* SUM-in
 5' ^r14[?] ^{kuš} *til-lu ina* ŠU^{II} ^{md}UTU-TIN-*it*
 6' *a-na* 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
 7' 3-ta^{giš} BAN 7^{kuš} *til-lu a-na*
 8' 3 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.BABBAR PAP 5 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.BABBAR
 9' [a-^m]a ^mta-at-tan-nu SUM-in
 lo.e. 10' [x] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá a-na* 40^{kuš} *til-lu*
 11' [a-na UG]U ^mmu-ra-nu ^{lí}AŠGAB *ma-nu*
 12' ^rul *id-din*¹ *a-na si-im-ma-nu-ú*
 rev. 13' ^ršá¹ *me-e-še-e-nu šá* ^{lí}ERIM^{meš} *šá* ^{giš} BAN
 14' *a-na* UGU ^mmu-ra-nu *ma-nu*
 15' PAP ⅓ 9½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR {KÙ.BABBAR} SUM-in
 16' 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* ^{sí}gkar-bar^{sic!} ^{sup} ras. -*la-tu*₄
 17' *šá* ^{lí}ERIM.<MEŠ> *šá* ^{giš} BAN *a-na* ^{md}ĪHAR-*ši-man-ni* SUM-nu
 18' 1 LIM 50 *šil-ta-ḥu ina* 35^{kuš} *til-lu šak-nu*



l. 5': The number is partly broken; the reading “17” is not excluded.

l. 18': This line should dispel any remaining doubt that ^{kuš}*tillu* is a quiver; 1,050 arrows in 35 quivers works out as 30 arrows each.

Translation

[... x]+130 arrowheads [for] 3 shekels of silver:

a total of 6 shekels of silver given to Nusku-ḫanānu.

14² leather quivers from the hands of Šamaš-uballit for 2 shekels of silver.

3 bows, 7 leather quivers for 3¼ shekels of silver:

a total of 5¼ shekels of silver given to Tattannu.

[x] shekels of silver which (was) for 40 leather quivers counted against the account of Mūrānu the leatherworker—he has not given (them); (it is) counted towards the working materials for shoes for the archers against the account of Mūrānu.

Total of 29½ shekels of silver issued.

10 shekels of silver for headdresses for the archers given to Bunene-šimanni.

1,050 arrows placed in 35 quivers.

No.33 BM 63847 (82–9–18, 3815) [Bertin 3085]5.0 × 4.5⁺ cm

2/II/16 Darius (506 BC)

seal captions

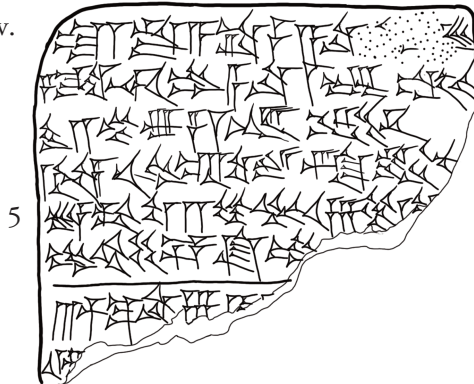
rev. left

 na_4 KIŠIB || [m n]i-din-t[u_4] || [l i...]rev. 2nd from left na_4 [KIŠIB] || md NÀ-DU-NUMUN || l_1 2-mu-ú

The remains of the first seal tag are not on the Bertin copy.

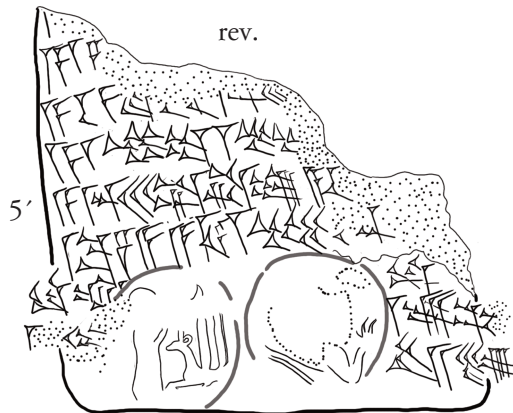
l.3 & seal tag: As far as I know this spelling of *šinamû* is not hitherto attested.

obv.



5

rev.



5'

- 1 *ši-da-a-ta šá a-na* [l iERIM] mes
- 2 *šá it-ti LUGAL a-na* md NÀ-DU-NUMUN
- 3 l_1 2-mu-ú *šá* md EN¹-ka-šir
- 4 m gu-za-nu l_1 SANGA UD.KIB.NUN.KI *id-din-nu*
- 5 ti GUD UD 2 KÁM MU 16 KÁM m d[a-a-ri-wuš³]
- 6 LUGAL TIN.TIR ki LUGAL [KUR.KUR]

7 3½ MA.NA r 6 GÍN¹ [KÛ.BABBAR x x x]8 r ú¹[x x x x x x]

(large break)

rev. 1' m [x x x x x x x]2' A m šá-[na-ši-šú md x x x A-šú šá m x x x]3' A m šá-na-ši-šú md 30²¹[x x A-šú šá m x x (x)]4' A m aš-gan-du m MU- d [EN/NÀ¹ [A-šú šá m x x (x)]]5' A md 30-tab-ni m ta-giš A-šú [šá m x x x]6' m BA-šá-a A-šú šá md mu-še- r zib¹ d [x A m x x x]

Translation

Provisions for the [men] who are with the king which Gūzānu, the *šangū* of Sippar, gave to Nabû-mukīn-zēri, the deputy of Bēl-kāšir. Date. 3½ minas 6 she[kels of silver ...]. Witnesses.

Seal captions

Seal of Nidintu [the *sepīru*].

Seal of Nabû-mukīn-zēri, the deputy.

Comment

The left-hand impression of a stamp seal, showing a worshipper standing and facing right towards a spade and stylus (holder) resting on a *mušbuššu*, would appear to be the seal of Nidintu, according to the traces of its caption (identification courtesy of CBF Walker). A *sepīru* of this name is well attested in the Sippar archive from 6 Camb to 22 Darius (Bongenaar, *Ebabbara* p. 93f.).

All that is recognisable of the right-hand seal, the seal of Nabû-mukīn-zēri, is the end of the tail of a scorpion, most likely from a scorpion-man. This seal is also a stamp seal. The text is from the Ša-nāšišu II archive (Jursa 2005 p. 126).

For the seal impressions see also Altavilla & Walker 2009 p. 105 no. 472.

No. 34 BM 49824 (82–3–23, 815)

4.7 × 3.0 cm

–/VIII/3 Nebuchadnezzar II (602 BC)

obv. 1 ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 GUR *qé-me*

2 1(BÁN) MUN^{bia} 1(BÁN) *sab-le-e*

3 5 SILÀ Ì: GIŠ^{mra}-šil

4 *u mba-bil-DU*

5 *šá ta-ab-ku a-na*

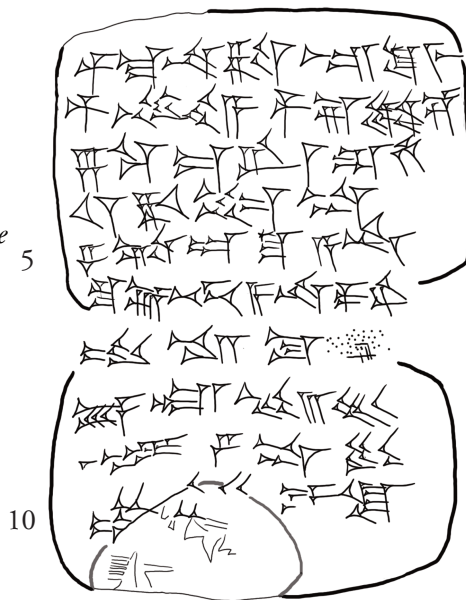
6 *ma¹-dak-ti a-na pa-ni*

lo. e. 7 LUGAL *iš-šu-^rú¹*

rev. 8 ^{ti}APIN MU 3 KÁM

9 ^{m^d}NĀ¹-NÍG.DU-URÙ

10 LUGAL ^rTIN.TIR^{ki}



The surviving impression would appear to be from either part of a seal inscribed in cuneiform or from an envelope. This text is also discussed by Zawadzki 2003 p. 277*.

Taking *tabku* (*AHW* “Speicher”) to also have the meaning “grain supplies”. Rašil and Habil-kīn may both have been shepherds (Da-Riva 2002 p. 451).

Translation

½ mina of silver, 180 l of flour, 6 l. of salt, 6 l. of cress, 5 l. of oil (for) Rašil and Habil-kīn who took the *grain supplies* to the campaign camp before the king. Date.

No.35 BM 78828 (88-5-12, 14)

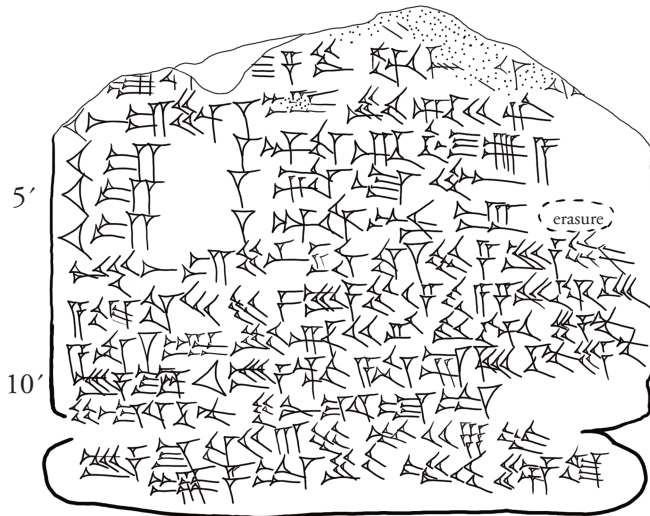
6.9 × 4.8 cm

23/IV/28 Nebuchadnezzar II (577 BC)

obv.



rev.



- obv. 1 *ši-di-tu₄ šá a-na* ^{lí}NAGAR^{mes}
 2 *šá a-na ma-dak-tu₄ it-ti* LUGAL *il-lik-ki* SUM-*nu*
 3 ^{iti}ŠU UD 23 KÁM MU 28 KÁM
 4 ^dNĀ-NÍG.DU-ŠEŠ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}
-
- 5 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ^{r7?1} ^{túg}KUR.RA^{mes} {šá}
 6 4 ^{túg}šir-a-am^{mes} 2(BÁN)¹ 4 SILÀ *šam-ni*
 7 5(BÁN) MUN^{h₁a} 4(BÁN) *saḫ-le-e*
 8 *ši-di-tu₄ šá* ^{md}NĀ-ŠEŠ-re-man-n [*i*]
 9 [^m]^dUTU-re¹-š^u-ú-a ^{mt}[*a-la-a'*]
 10 [*u* ^{md}UTU-tak-lak x x x] [^x x¹] [x x x]
 (break)
- rev. 1' [x x x x x x x] x [x x x]
 2' [x] [*ši-di-tu₄ šá*¹ ^{lí}NAGAR^{mes} [^x x¹] [x (x)]]
 3' ^{r11} GUR ŠE.BAR ^{md}NĀ-ŠEŠ-re-man-ni
 4' 10 GUR ^{md}UTU-re-š^u-ú-a
 5' 10 GUR ^{mt}*ta-la-*²
 6' 10 GUR ^{md}UTU-tak-lak
 7' PAP 41 GUR ŠE.BAR TA UD 1 KÁM *šá* ^{iti}SIG₄
 8' *a-di* UD 30 KÁM *šá* ^{iti}ŠE ŠUK^{h₁a} *šá* ^{lí}NAGAR^{mes}
 9' *a-na* ^{md}NĀ-ŠEŠ-re-man-ni ^{lí}NAGAR SUM-*nu*
 10' ^{iti}BĀR *u* ^{iti}GUD *a-na* ^É^{mes}-š^u-nu SUM-*nu*
 11' GÍD.DA-š^u-nu *in-da-ad-du*
 12' ^{iti}ŠU UD 23 KÁM MU 28 KÁM
 13' ^dNĀ-NÍG.DU-URÙ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

l. 5: A Tala' is mentioned as a carpenter of Lebanon in *CT* 57 198.

l. 8: For the carpenter Nabû-aḫ-rēmāni see Bongenaar 1995 p. 402.

rev. 11: For *in-da-ad-du* as a perfect form of *madādu* cf. CAD *madādu* A.1.2.'i'.

Translation

Provisions which have been issued to the carpenters who have gone on campaign with the king. Date.

2 minas of silver for 7 blankets, 4 jerkins, 16 *l.* of oil, 30 *l.* of salt, 24 *l.* of cress, provisions of Nabû-aḫ-rēmāni, Šamaš-rēšūa, Tala' [and Šamaš-taklāk ...] *l.* travel provisions of the carpenters [...]; 11 *kur* of barley of Nabû-aḫ-rēmāni; 10 *kur* of Šamaš-rēšūa; 10 *kur* of Tala'; 10 *kur* of Šamaš-taklāk: total of 41 *kur* of barley from Simānu day 1 to Addaru day 30, rations of the carpenters given to Nabû-aḫ-rēmāni the carpenter. (The rations of) Nišānu and Ayyāru have been issued to their departments. They have measured out (according to their tablets. Date.

No. 36 BM 63820 (82-9-18, 3788) [Bertin 1104]

5.2 × 3.4 cm

12/III/30 Nebuchadnezzar II (575 BC)



- obv. 1 10 U[DUNI]TÁ *ka-lu-me-e* SISKÚR^{mes} LUGAL
 2 *ša*^mZALÁG-^dUTU *ul-tu ma-dak-tu*₄
 3 ^r*bu-ku a-na* SAT.TUK
 4 [*ina* I]GI ^m*la-qip*
 5 [^{iti}]SIG₄ UD 10 KÁM MU 30 KÁM
-
- 6 [x UD]U.NITÁ *ka-lu-me-e*
 rev. 7 [SIS]KÚR^{mes} LUGAL
 8 [*ša*]^mŠEŠ-*šu-nu ul-tu*
 9 *ma-dak-tu*₄ *i-bu-ku*^r
 10 *a-na É-DINGIR it-ta-lak*^r
 11 *ina* ŠU^{II} ^mŠEŠ-*šu-nu ù*
 12 ^{md}EN-*at-ta-[D]A a-na*
 13 *ma-dak-tu*₄ ^r*šu-bu-lu*
 u.e. 14 [^{ti}SI]G₄ UD 12 KÁM MU 30 KÁM
 le.e. 15 [^dNÁ]-NÍG.DU-ŠEŠ
 16 [LUGAL TIN.TIR]^{ki}

l. 10 Reading *ir-ta-lak* not certain.

It would appear that some of this livestock was transferred from the campaign camp to the temple and then returned to the campaign.

Translation

10 sheep (and) lambs, offerings of the king, which Nūr-Šamaš brought from the campaign are [at] the disposal of Lāqīpu for offerings. Simānu day 10 year 30. [x] sheep (and) lambs, offerings of the king, which Aḫūšunu brought from the campaign *went* to the temple. They have been sent to the campaign camp in the hands of Aḫūšunu and Bēl-atkal. Date.

No. 37 **BM 84122** (83–1–21, 1285)

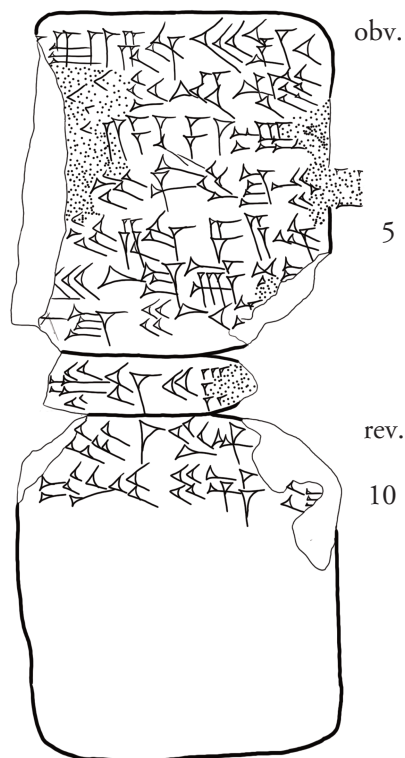
3.8 × 3.7 cm

28/III/[] Amēl-Marduk (between 561 and 556 BC)

- obv. 1 [x] ḠÍN¹ KÙ.BABBAR eš¹-ru-u
 2 [šá^mx (x)] x^{lú}EN-NAM
 3 [x x]^{rki1} A-šú¹ šá^{md}NĀ-[x]
 4 [ina šU^{II} mdx]-MU-DÙ^{lú}GAL bu-lu¹
 5 [ku]-mu KÙ.BABBAR šá a-na
 6 [lúERIM]^{fmeš¹} ina ma-dak-tu⁴¹
 7 [SUM-n]u šu-bu-u [l]
 8 [iú]SIG₄ UD 28¹[KĀM]
 rev. 9 [MU x] KĀM^mLÚ-d[AMAR.UTU]
 10 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Translation

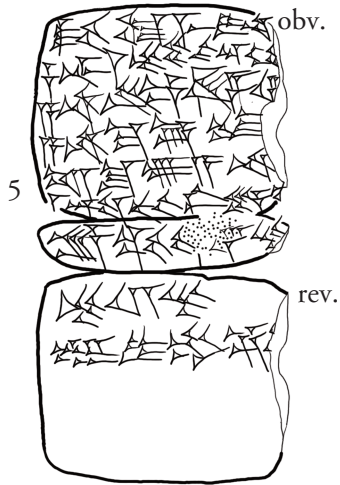
[x] shekels of silver, tithes [of ...] the governor of [...], son of Nabû-[...] sent [via ...]-šum-ibni, the *rab būli*, in place of the silver which [was given for the men] on campaign. Date.



No. 38 BM 62720 (82–9–18, 2689)

2.8 × 2.4 cm

14/II/12 Nabonidus (544 BC)



- obv. 1 5(BÁN) *qé-me i-na* [*qé-me*]
 2 *šá ina* IGI ^m*mu-še-zib*-^dAMAR. [UTU]
 3 *a-na* ^{li}ERIM^{meš} *šá* ŠUK^[hi.a] LUGAL]
 4 *a-na ma-dak-tu*₄
 5 *iš-šu-ú a-na*
 6 ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-DÛ SUM-*n* [*u*]
 u.e. 7 ^{iti}GUD ʾUD 14 KÁM¹
 rev. 8 MU 12 KÁM
 9 ^dNÀ-I LUGAL E [^{ki}]

Translation

30 l. of flour from [the flour] which is at the disposal of Mušēzib-Marduk has been given to Šamaš-zēr-ibni for the men who took the king's rations to the campaign camp. Date.

No. 39 BM 62906 (82–9–18, 2879)

5.0 × 3.4 cm

1/XII_b/3 Neriglissar (556 BC)

obv.

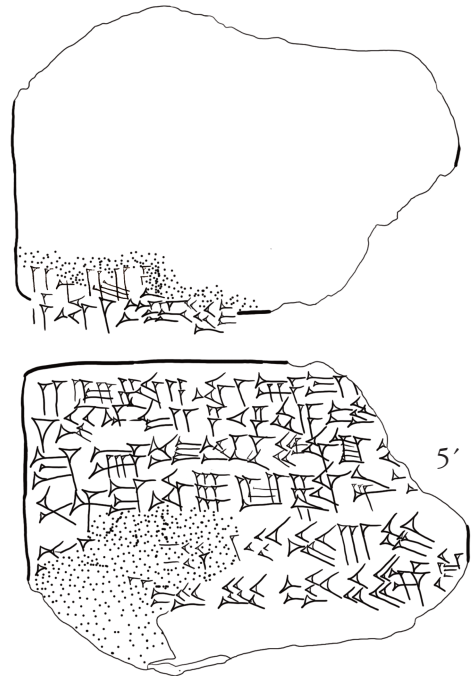
- 1' 2½ GÍN K [Û.BABBAR ...]
 2' *a-na* ^{md}NÀ-^rŠEŠ¹-B [A-*šá* ...]

rev.

- 3' 2 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR *a-na* ^m*kal-ba*-[*a u*]
 4' ^mMU-^dU.GUR *šá* ŠUK^[hi.a] LUGAL [*šá a-na*]
 5' *ma-dak-tu*₄ *il-li-ku-n* [*u*]
 6' PAP ½ *ma-na* 9 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR *er-b* [*z*]
 7' ^{iti}¹[DIRI.ŠE].¹KIN.KU₅¹ [UD] 1 KÁM
 MU 3 KÁM
 8' [^{md}U.GU]R-^rLUGAL¹-ŠEŠ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Translation

[...] 2½ shekels of silver [...] for Nabû-aḫ-iqīša; 2 shekels of silver for Kalbāya [and] Iddin-Nergal of the rations of the king [who] have gone [on] campaign. Total of 39 shekels of silver income. Date.

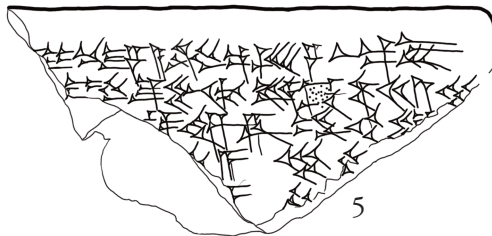


No. 40 BM 101433 (83–1–21, 3094)

5.8+ × 3.0+ cm

22/VI/[] Nabonidus (555–539 BC)

obv.



- obv. 1 [x ^{túg}KUR.RA *la hi-r*]i-i-tu₄ šá
 a-na ^{lí}ERIM^{mes} šá ina ^{giš}BAN
 2 [ina IGI DU]MU LUGAL šu-bu-ul ^{iti}ḫKIN¹
 UD 22 ḫKÁM¹
 3 [MU x KÁM ^{md}N]Ā-IM.TUK
 LUGAL TIN.T [IR^{ki}]
 4 [x x x x x a-na ŠUK]^{ḫia} 50 ^{lí}[ERIM^{mes}]
 5 [x x x x x ŠUK]^{ḫia} ^{lí}[x x x (x)]

- rev. 1' [x x x x x m]a-dak-t[u₄ x x x x x]
 2' [x x x x šu-ḫ]u-ul ^{túg}KUR.RA ^{mes}1
 3' [x x x x x]ḫ¹-zu u pi-ḫa-a-ta [(x)]

rev.



The tablet is now more damaged than when originally examined, some of the signs transliterated in lines 4–6 are no longer present.

I. 1: For comments on ^{túg}KUR.RA *la hi-ritu* see note to Text No. 19.

rev. 3': Cf. *AHw pihātu* II.

Translation

[x blankets, non-*hi-ru*,] which have been sent for the men who are doing bow service [before] the prince.

Date. [...]

[...] for the rations of the 50 [*corvée*] labourers. [...]
 rations [...]

[...] campaign [...] sent. The blankets [...] ... and *piḫātu*-garments.

No.41 BM 60756 (82–9–18,730) [Str.II 383/4]

5.8×3.8 cm

date not preserved

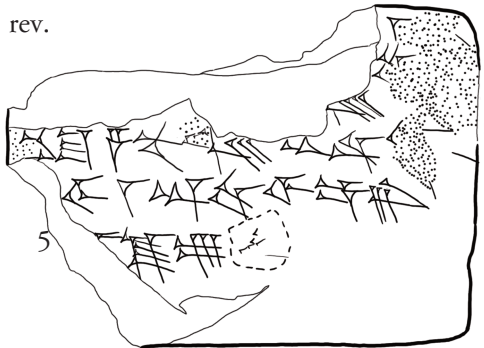
obv.

- 1 [lú¹ERIM]^{meš} giš²BAN šá lú¹SIPA^{meš}
 2 [šá K]I lú¹šú-šá-nu^{meš} šá ANŠE¹.KUR.RA^{meš}
 3 [šá] LUGAL na-ak-ka-du šá LUGAL
 4 ḫal¹-qa-ú-tu
 5 m¹IR-d¹gu-la [A-šú šá] m¹ri-mut¹
 6 m¹x x x¹ [A-šú šá m¹]d¹NA-DÜ-ŠEŠ
 7 [x x x x]¹x¹



rev. (first two lines almost entirely effaced)

- 3 [x x x x x x]^{meš}
 4 lú¹šú-šá-nu^{meš} ḫal-qa-tú¹
 5 [a-na] IGI m¹d¹UTU-IGI-ZALÁG-ir
 6 [a]b-ku-ú



l. 3: Or: LÚ na-ak-ka-du šá LUGAL “man of the treasury of the king”? Cf. the ŠE.NUMUN lú¹šú-ma/ba-e-² šá lú¹šú-šá-ni-¹e¹ šá nak-[kan-du] mentioned in the field rental BM 61405.

rev. 5: So far as I know Šamaš-pān-limmir is not otherwise attested, but perhaps he is the same as the Šamaš-pāniya, apparently a Cilician, of CT 56 450 (Nabonidus year 2).

rev. 6: Not [iš]-šú-ú.

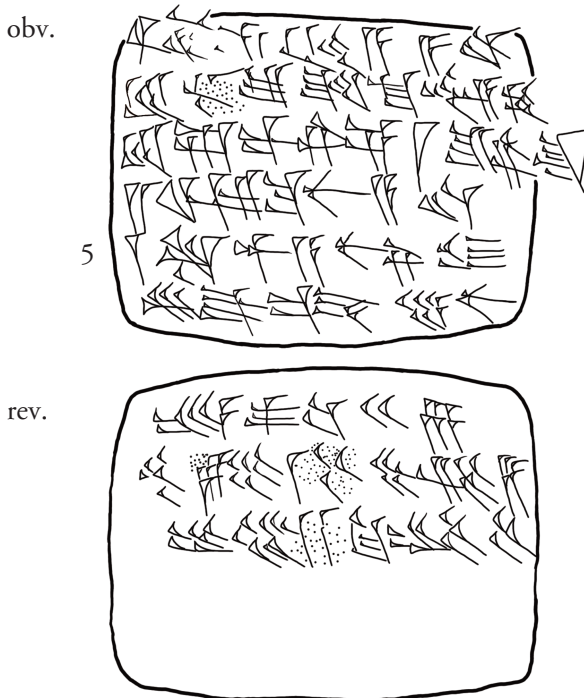
Translation

“[The men] of the bow of the shepherds (serving) [with] the šušānu’s of the king’s horses who have gone missing (from) the treasury of the king: Arad-Gula son of Rīmūt; [...] son of] Nabû-bān-aḫi [...] the missing ...s (and) šušānu’s; brought before Šamaš-pān-limmir.”

No.42 BM 61345 (82-9-18, 1319)

4.7 × 3.7 cm

26/X1/7 Cambyses (522 BC)



- obv. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ḠÚ.UN¹ SÍG^{bia} a-na
 2 1-en ṽi:¹(sup.ras.)-lu 1-et ṽigšir-a-am
 3 1-en É-pi-ni-e 1 kuššal-la
 4 2 ši-ib-ba-nu a-na
 5 m¹IR^d-a-nu-ni-tu₄
 6 lúGAL ḡšBAN SUM-nu
 rev. 7 ṽiZÍZ UD 26 <KÁM>
 8 MU 7 KÁM m¹kam-bu-zi-ia
 9 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

l.2: Or read 1-en nu'-tu'.

l.3: For É-pi-ni-e cf. the note to No. 44.5. For the suggestions that *šallu* might mean shield see the note to Text No. 24.

Translation

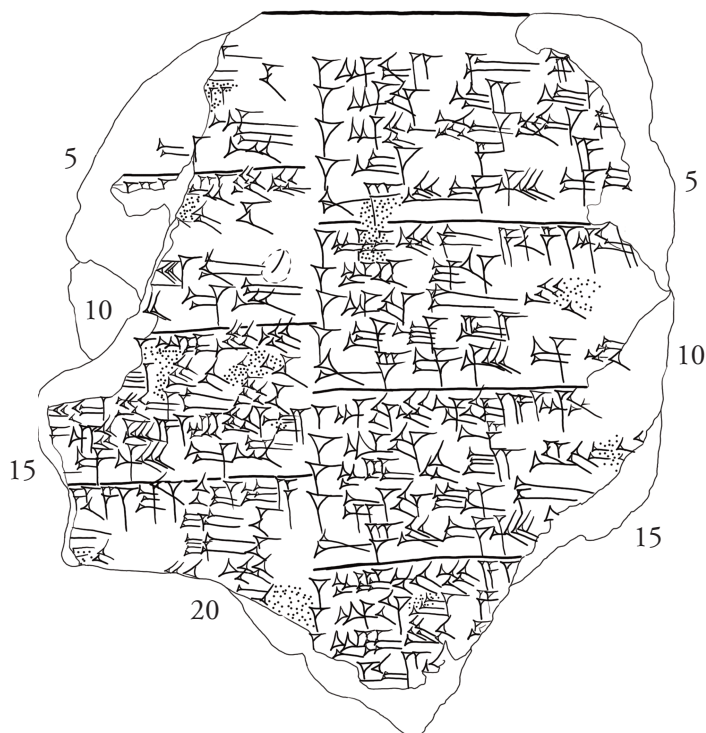
$\frac{1}{2}$ talent of wool for 1 bow case, 1 jerkin, 1 loincloth, 1 shield² (and) 2 belts issued to Arad-Anunītu, the *rab qašti*. Date.

No. 43 BM 59761 (82-7-14, 4171)

7.0+ × 8.5+ cm

not dated

| obv. col. i. | Translation |
|---|---|
| 1 [... š]i | [...] |
| 2 [...DU]MU-šú | [...] his son; |
| 3 [...]x ¹ | [...] |
| 4 [...]-DINGIR | [...] -ilu: |
| 5 [PAP 4 ^{lú} ERIM ^{meš}] gis ⁸ BAN | [a total of 4 men] of the bow. |
| 6 [... A]-šú šá ^{md} EN-ŠEŠ-MU | [...] son of Bēl-aḥ-iddin; |
| 7 [...] ŠEŠ-šú | [...] his brother; |
| 8 [...] o | [...] |
| 9 [...]-bul-liṭ | [...] -bullit; |
| 10 [PAP 4 ^{lú} ERIM.M]EŠ gis ⁸ BAN | [a total of 4 men] of the bow. |
| 11 [...] ^{md} NĀ-ŠEŠ-MU | [...] Nabû-aḥ-iddin; |
| 12 [^{md} x-A]D-URÛ ŠEŠ-šú | [...] -ab-ušur, his brother; |
| 13 [^{md} bu]-ne ¹ -ne-DÛ ŠEŠ-šú | [... Bu]nene-ibni, his brother; |
| 14 [^{md} NĀ-KA]R-ZI ^{meš} A ^{md} EN-ŠEŠ ^{me} -SU | [Nabû-ēṭer-nap]šāti, son of Bēl-aḥḥē-erība: |
| 15 [PAP 4] ^{lú} ERIM ^{meš} gis ⁸ BAN | [a total of 4] men of the bow. |
| 16 [^m x x x] A-šú šá ^m da-di-ia | [...], son of Dadiya; |
| 17 [^m x x D]Û DUMU-šú | [...] -ibni, his son; |
| 18 [^{md} x-SIG ₅ -i]q DUMU-šú | [...] -udammi q, his son; |
| 19 [^m x x (x) A ^{md} x]-ŠEŠ ¹ -MU | [...], son of [...] -aḥ-iddin. |
| 20 [PAP 4 ^{lú} ERIM ^{meš} gis ⁸]BAN ¹ | a total of 4 men of the bow. |
| col. ii. | col. ii |
| 1 ^{md} U.GUR-DÛ-u [š] | Nergal-ēpuš; |
| 2 ^{md} UTU-URU-ba [...-šú] | Šamaš-erība, [his ...]; |
| 3 ^{md} bu-ne-ne-D[Û ...-šú] | Bunene-ibni, [his ...]; |
| 4 ^m BA-šá-a [...] | Iqīšâ [...]; |
| 5 PAP 4 ^{lú} ERIM ^{meš} gis ⁸ BAN ¹ | a total of 4 men of the bow. |
| 6 ^{md} NĀ-MU-DÛ A-šú šá | Nabû-šum-ibni, son of |
| ^{md} U.GUR-[x (x)] | Nergal-[...]; |
| 7 ^{md} EN-DA [...-šú] | Bēl-ile ² i, [his ...]; |
| 8 ^{md} UTU-DÛ-Š[EŠ ...-šú] | Šamaš-bān-ahi, [his ...]; |
| 9 ^m ba-la-ṭu [...] | Balātu [...]; |
| 10 PAP 4 ^{<lú>} ERIM ^{meš} gis ⁸ BA [N] | a total of 4 men of the bow. |
| 11 ^{md} UTU-MU-SI.SĀ A ^{md} [x ¹] [x x] | Šamaš-šum-lišir son of [...]; |
| 12 ^{md} UTU-SUR [...-šú] | Šamaš-ēṭer; |
| 13 ^{md} NĀ-TIN-su-ig-bi Š[EŠ-šú] | Nabû-balassu-iqbi, [his] br[other]; |
| 14 ^m É.BABBAR.RA-DÛ [...-šú] | Ebabbara-ibni; |
| 15 PAP 4 ^{lú} ERIM ^{meš} gis ⁸ [BAN] | a total of 4 men of the [bow]. |

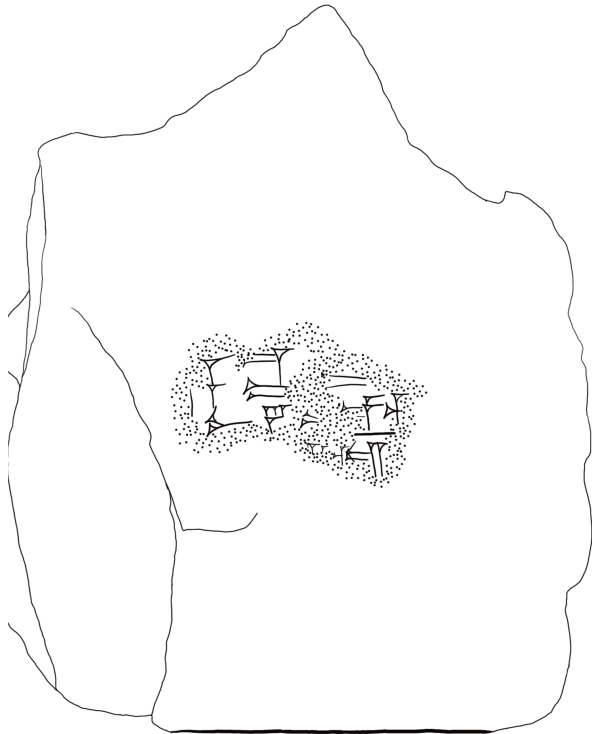


| | | |
|------|---|-------------------------------|
| 16 | ^{md} NĀ-NUMUN-MU A ^m [...] | Nabû-zēr-iddin son of [...]; |
| 17 | ^{md} UTU-BA-šá [...-šú] | Šamaš-iqīša; |
| 18 | ^{md} NĀ-ŠEŠ ^{meš} 1-[GI [?] ...-šú] | Nabû-aḫḫē-[ušallim]; |
| 19 | [^m] rd 1U.GUR- ^r x ¹ [x ...-šú] | Nergal-[:...; |
| 20 | [PAP 4 ^{lú} ERIM ^{meš} gīšBAN] | a total of 4 men of the bow]. |
| | (rest broken off) | |
| rev. | only a few traces preserved | |

ii.18 Restoration based on the fact that we know of a Nabû-aḫḫē-ušallim responsible for fielding an archer in the reign of Darius (Jursa 1999 p. 197).

No. 43 rev.

only few traces remain

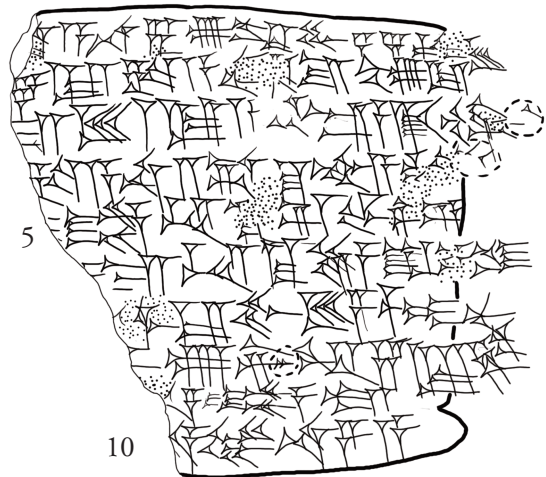
**No. 44 BM 61425** (AH 82–9–18,1399)

5.0+ × 4.7 cm

4/[]/1 Nabonidus (555/554 BC)

- 1 [x GÍN KÛ.BAB]BAR *a-na* 5 *ú-ka-pu šá* 5 ANŠE^{meš}
 2 [x x x] 7 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR *a-na* x¹ kuš^{kuš} *nu-ú-tu*¹
 3 [x x x]-zu^{meš} 1 GÍN *a-na* 1 GUR 3(PI) 4(BÁN) MUN^[hia]
 4 [x GÍN] KÛ.BABBAR *a-na* 2-ta ^{ti}g^gš^šir-a-a[m]
 5 [x x]x¹ MURUB₄¹(text: SIMUG) 1-en ^{ti}g^gš^š pi-ni-e
 6 [x x x]x¹-zu 1-en ^{ti}g^gkar-ra-bul¹-tu₄
 7 [x x x (x)]10¹ š^ši-ib-bu^{meš} šá maš-kan-nu
 8 [x x x (x)]1(BÁN)¹ šam-ni PAP 1/3 5 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR
 9 [x x x (x)]x¹ šá MURUB₄¹(text: SIMUG) URU
 10 [x x x] ^{ti}iⁱ1SIG₄ na-šá-a
 11 [ina IGI mšá-du]-nu¹ ^{li}GAL ^{giš}BAN
 (space)
 12 [iti-x] UD 4 KÁM MU 1 KÁM
 13 [md]NÀ-I]M-^{ti}TUK¹ LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

obv.



rev.



l. 1: For *ukāpu* “Packsattel” recognised as an item of the expeditionary equipment issued to temple personnel see Bongenaar 1997 p. 134. In all likelihood read *ú-[ka-pu]* in BM 61766: 3’ (MacGinnis 2002/2 p. 177) and *ú-^vka¹-[pu]* in BM 70342: rev. 3’ (Zawadzki 2003 p. 280*). The word also occurs in BM 74332: 5 GIN 4-tú *bit-qa a-na šaq-qa-a-ta ú-ka-pe-e i-la-bu^{mes}* “5 $\frac{3}{8}$ shekels of silver for sacks, pack-saddles (and) *ilbu*-clothes” (taking *i-la-bu^{mes}* as a broken plural of *ilbu*).

l. 5: For *^{nis}E-pi-ni-e* see also BM 61345 (No. 42) above.

l. 7: For *maškānu* meaning a tent see AHW *s.v.* *maškānu* 5.

Translation

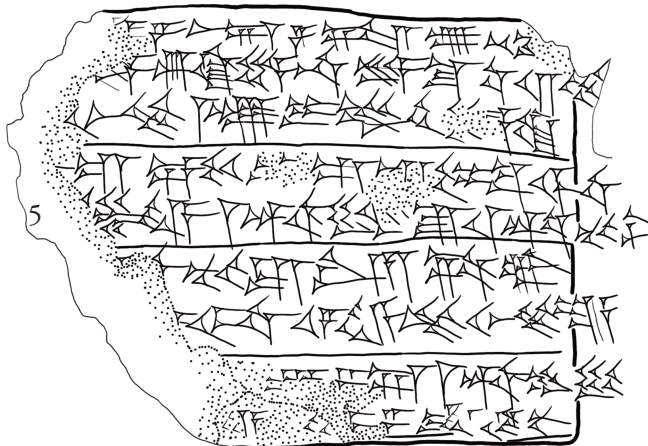
[x shekels of] silver for 5 pack-saddles of 5 donkeys; [...] 7 shekels of silver for [x] water bottles, [and x ...]; 1 shekel for 312 *l.* of salt; [x shekels] of silver for 2 jerkins, [x] waist [bands(?)], 1 loin cloth, [x ...], 1 cap, [...] 10 tent straps, [...] 6 *l.* of oil: a total of 25 shekels of silver, [the ...] of the inner city [...] ... Simānu, taken. [...] the *rab qašti*.
Date.

No.45 BM 61015 (82-9-18,991)

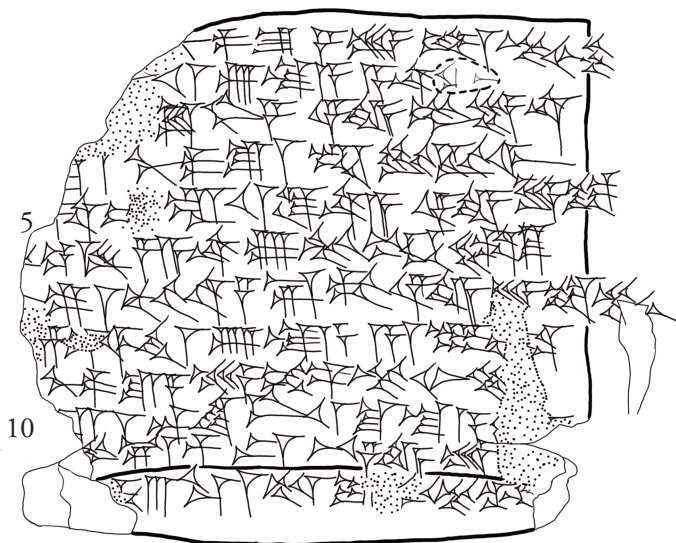
6.5 × 5.0 cm

12/IV/11 Nabonidus (545 BC)

obv.



rev.



- obv. 1 [ZÚ.LUM.M]A *šá ina É NÍG.GA 2-ú ina UG[U-*hi*]*
 2 [ÍD UD].^rKIB¹.NUN^{ki} SUM-*na* ^{iti}ŠU UD 12 KÁM
 3 [MU] 11 KÁM ^{md}NĀ-I LUGAL TIN.^rTIR^{ki}
-
- 4 [x]+1 GUR *e-lat* ^r4[?] GUR ^rZÚ¹.LUM.MA IGI-*tú*
 5 [*a-na* S]IG⁴^{hia} ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ^r^{mes}¹-SU *u* ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-DÙ
-
- 6 [x GUR ^{md}]UTU¹-NUMUN-*ib-ni* A ^m*ta-qiš*
 7 [*e-lat* x GU]R IGI-*tú* ŠUK^{hia} MU 11 KÁM KAR
-
- 8 [x GUR ^mx]^r^dNĀ¹ *šá* É ^{md}UTU-LUGAL-URÙ
 9 [x x x (x)]^rA¹[x]^{hia}¹ *šá id-di-nu*
- rev. 1 [x GUR *p*]ap-*pa-su šá* ^{iti}NE MU 11 KÁM
 2 [*a-na* ^mx x x] *u* ^mšil-*la-a a-na* (erasure)
 3 [^{md}EN-LUGAL]-*bul-liṭ šá* ŠUK^{hia} LUGAL SUM-*na*
 4 [x G]UR *pap-pa-su* ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-GÁL-*ši*
 5 [^m]r^dUTU-*t[ak]-lak u* ^mki¹-*na-a* ŠUK^{hia} ^{iti}NE
 6 [^l]úERIM^{mes} *šá a-na šam-mu il-li-ku*
 7 [o] ^r1¹ GUR ^mNUMUN-*tú šá* É GUD ŠUK^{hia} ^{iti}NE MU ^r11¹ <KÁM>
 8 [(x)]^r+5 *ma-ši-*hi* mšil-la-a* A ^{md}NĀ-NU[MUN-D]U
 9 [*ina*] *pap-pa-su šá* ^{iti}NE MU 11 KÁM
 10 [x G]UR ^{md}ĤAR-DÙ *u* ^mšu-*la-a*
- lo.e. 11 [(x x)]^{hi}UŠ.BAR GADA *ina* ŠUK^{hia} ^{iti}[NE MU 11.(KÁM)]
 12 ^r4⁺(BĀN)¹ 3 SILĀ ^mĪR-*ia* ^rhi¹*mu-pe-ṣ[u-ú]*

Translation

Dates issued from the second storehouse on the Euphrates. Date.

[x+180]l. in addition to the earlier 720[?] l. of dates [for] bricks: Šamaš-aḥḥē-erība and Šamaš-zēr-ibni.

[x l. of] Šamaš-zēr-ibni, son of Taqīš, [in addition to] the previous [x l.], rations of year 11. Paid.

[x l. of ...]-Nabû of the house(hold) of Šamaš-šar-ušur [...] that he issued.

[x l.] *pappasu* of Abu year 11 to [...] and Šillāya for [Bēl-šar]-bulliṭ of the rations of the king; issued.

[x l.] *pappasu*: Bēl-aḥ-ušēbši, Šamaš-taklāk and Kināya; rations of Abu of the men who have gone for grass.

[x]+180 l.: Zērūtu of the ox house; rations of Abu, year 11.

[x]+5 measures: Šillāya, son of Nabû-zēr-ukīn; [from] the *pappasu* of Abu, year 11.

[x]+180 l. of Bunene-ibni and Šulaya, the weaver of linen, from the rations of [Abu, year 11]

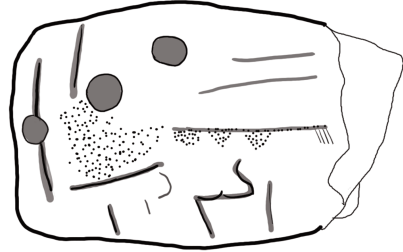
[x]+27 l.: Ardiya, the bleacher.

No. 46 BM 61146 (AH 82–9–18,1122)

4.4 × 2.7 cm

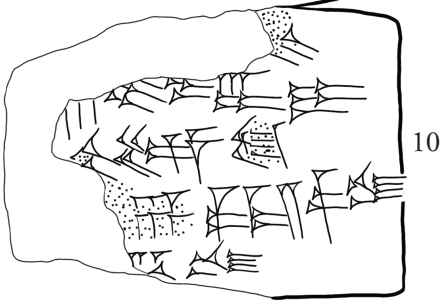
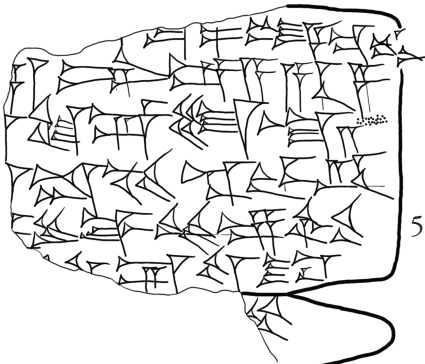
not dated

- 1 1^{li}ú-ra-š[ú šá]
 2 m|a-ba-a-šⁱ
 3 MU [x KÁM]

*Translation*One *urāšu* worker [of] Lābāši, year [x].**No. 47 BM 62404** (AH 92–9–18,2373)

4.8 × 3.5 cm

[]/[]/(1)3 Nabonidus (553 or 543 BC)



- 1 [x x] šap¹-pa-tu₄ šá^{gis} GEŠTIN
 2 šá^m tab-ni-e-a A-šú šá
 3 m^{ki}-rib-tu ina ŠU^{II}
 4 m^{DU}-NUMUN se-pe-ri
 5 šá^{li} GAL mu-un-gu
 6 [a-n]a É.BABBAR.RA
 7 [it-ta]-din
 8 [ti]x UD x K]ÁM
 9 [MU (1)]3.KÁM dNĀ-I
 10 [LUGAL] TIN.TIR^{ki}
 11 [e-lat]⁶ šap-pa-tu₄
 12 [maḥ-r]i-tu₄

Translation

[x] jars of wine which Tabnēa, son of Kiribtu, has given to the Ebabbara via Mukīn-zēri the *sepīru* of the *rab mūgi*. Date. [Apart from] 'six' earlier jars.

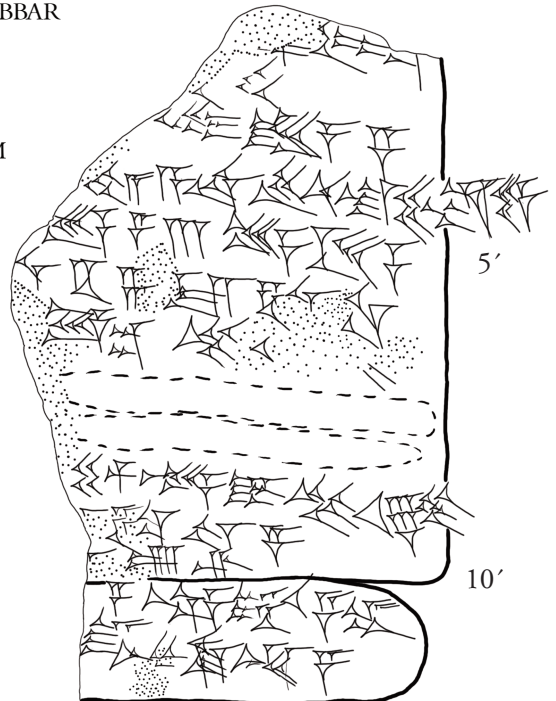
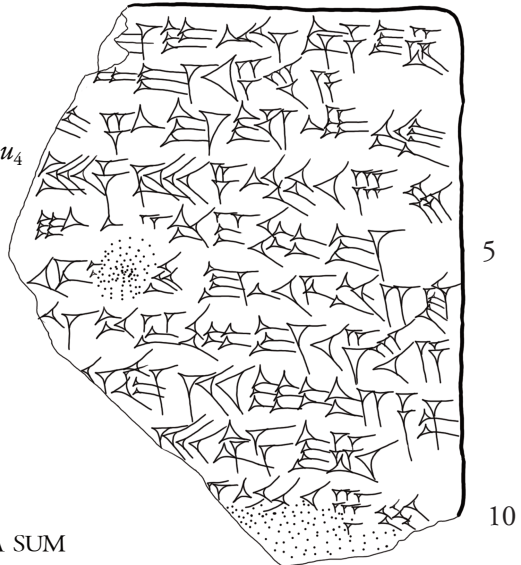
For another occurrence of Tabnēa son of Kiribtu involved in the wine trade, see MacGinnis 2004/2 No. 2.

No. 48 BM 66896 (82–9–18, 6890)

4.8+ × 6.0+ cm

year 16 or 17 Nabonidus (ca. 539 BC)

- obv. 1 [x GUR ZÚ.LUM].MA *i-na e-peš*
 2 [NÍG.ŠID ZÚ.LU]M.MA ŠUK^{hia}
 3 [šá MU 16 KÁ]M šá *ina ma-da-ak-tu*₄
 4 [...] ITI^{mes} šá MU 16 KÁM
 5 [...] 7 'GUR' ZÚ.LUM.MA
 6 [...] 'ú¹ lú GAL š*i-iš-ki*
 7 [... a-n]a ZÚ.LUM.MA ŠUK^{hia}
 8 [...] a-di 88 GUR 2 (PI) 2 (BÁN)
 9 [... lú ERIM]^{fmes1} e-peš
 10 [dul-lu šá GN] šá MU 17 KÁM
- rev. 1' [...] 'ZÚ.LUM.MA'
 2' [...] *hi*
 3' [...] *r*]i-kis MURUB₄ šá
 4' [...] ŠUK^{hia} a-na lú TIL.LA.GÍD.DA SUM
 5' [...] ITI šá 3 ITI^{mes} šá
 6' [... a-n]a 1/3 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR
 7' [...] ^{iti}AB MU 1[6 KÁ]M
 (erasure)
 (erasure)
 8' [...] ŠE.BAR *ina* ^{iti}BÁR MU 17 KÁM
 9' [...] 'x' KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR šá
 10' [...] '1 (BÁN)'¹ šam-ni
 11' [...] šá *ina e-peš* NÍG.ŠID
 12' [...] ra *hal?* ki en šá

*Translation*

[x kur of dates] in the drawing up [of the accounts] of the dates, rations of [year 16] which in the campaign [...] months of year 16 [...] 7 kur dates [...] and the *rab širkē* [...] for dates rations [...] 88 kur 2 pān 2 sūt [...] workers] doing [corvée in ... o]f year 17 [...] dates [...] equipping for the field of [...] rations given to the *qīpu* [...] month of three months [...] for 25 shekels of white silver of [...] Kislimu year [16 ...] barley in Nisānu year 17 [...] white silver [...] oil [...] which in the drawing up of accounts [...].

No. 49 BM 68702 (82–9–18, 8701)

8.8+ × 5.2+ cm

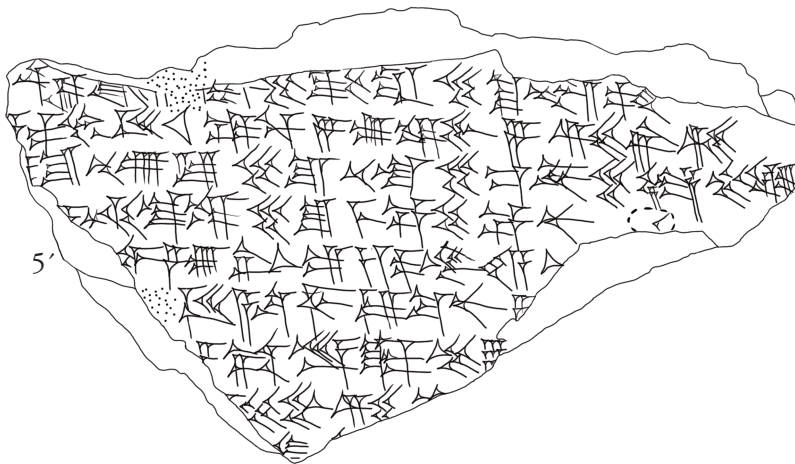
year 9 Cyrus / 1 Cambyses (530–528 BC)

- A 1' [x] na ^rx x x x¹[x] x 50 TÚG.KUR.RA 50 ^{túg}šir-a-am [o o o]
 2' ⁵1 ANŠE^{mes} 10 šaq-qa 5 ú-ka-pu 5 zi-ir-zi
 3' ¹⁸21 ^{kuš}nu-[ú]-tu 50 ^{kuš}til-la 50 ^{gis}BAN 50 aš-ša-mu-ru-ú
 4' [50 ka]r-bal-la-ta¹(KA) 50 me-e-še-e-nu (erasure)
 5' [x x x] PI šá šam-ni 1 GUR 3(PI) 2(BÁN) MUN^{bia} 1 [GUR 3(PI) 3(BÁN) sab-le-e]
 6' [... KUŠ]^{mes} a-na ši-ib-ba-nu šá [maš-ka-nu]
 7' [...] šá TA ^{iti}BÁR MU ⁹1 [KÁM a-di qí-it ^{iti}ŠE]
 8' [MU x.KÁM] ^mkam-bu-zi-i[a LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR]
 9' [...] ^{tu}₄ x¹ [x x x x x]
- B 1' [x x x x x x] x x [x x x x x]
 2' [...] ¹10¹ ANŠE^{fmes}1 [x x x x x x]
 3' [x-t]u₄ 50 ^{kuš}til-la [50 ^{gis}BAN 50 aš-ša-mu-ru-ú]
 4' [50 me]-e¹-še-e-nu 18 ^{kuš}nu-ú-t[u x x x x x]
 5' [10 ANŠE]^{mes} 10 ^{sig}SUḪUR ana šaq-qa 5 ú-ka-pu [5 zi-ir-zi]
 6' [... ^{túg}KUR.RA-ú-tu a-na ši-ib-bi šá maš-k[a-nu]
 7' [x]⁵1 ni-sip-pi šá šam-ni 1 GUR 3 (PI) 2(BÁN) MUN^{bia} 1 GUR 3(PI) 2(BÁN) [sab-le-e]
 8' [r]i-kis MURUB₄ šá ul-tu ^{iti}BÁR ¹MU 9 KÁM¹ ^m[ku-ra-áš]
 9' [a]-di-i qí-it ^{iti}ŠE MU 9 KÁM ^m[ku-ra-áš a-na]
 10' [^mit-ti-^dUTU¹-TIN ^mIR-^dEN ^mbu-ne-[ne-DÙ ^mx x x] ^{li}GAL 10-t^{mes}
 11' (traces of two more effaced lines)

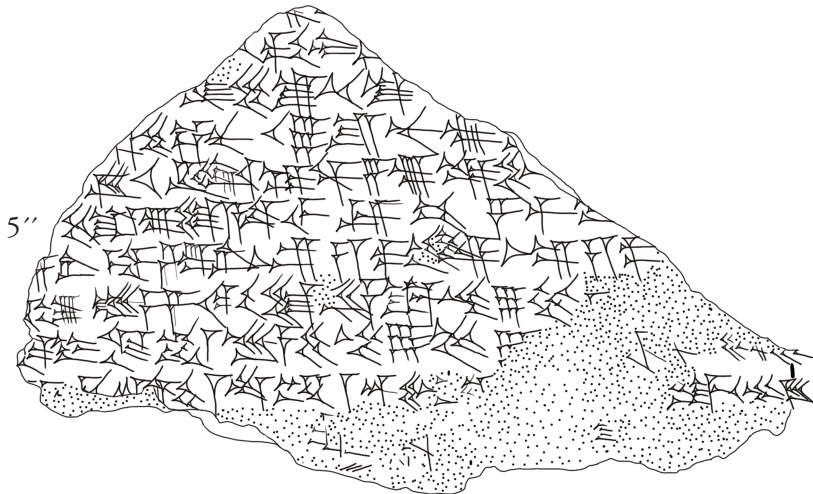
Translation

- | | | | |
|--------|--|--------|--|
| Side A | [...] 50 blankets, 50 jerkins, 5 donkeys, 10 sacks, 5 saddles, 5 (saddle) belts, 18 water bottles, 50 quivers, 50 bows, 50 lances, [50] caps, 50 pairs of sandals, [x] l. of oil, 300 l. of salt, [306 l. of cress [x] hides for [tent] straps [...] | Side B | [...] donkeys, [...] 50 quivers, 50 [bows, 50 lances ... [50] pairs of shoes 18 water bottles [...] [10 donkey]s, 10 goat hair blankets for sacks, 5 saddles, [5 saddle belts] [...] for belts for tent straps [...] x]+5 containers of oil, 300 l. of salt, 300 [l. of cress ...], expeditionary equipment for (the period) from Nisānu year 9 [(of) Cyrus [(issued to)] Itti-Šamaš-balātu, Arad-Bēl, Bunene- [ibni (and) PN] the <i>rab ešertis</i> [...] |
|--------|--|--------|--|
- for (the period) from Nisānu year 9 [of]
Cyrus [... to the end of Addāru year x] of
Cambyses [...]

A



B



The *rab eširti* Arad-Bēl also occurs in BM 84256 (No. 21 above) from Cambyses year 2.

zirzu: I am most grateful to Jerome A. Lund, Senior Research Associate of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon of the Hebrew Union College, for his help in elucidating this term. *zirzu* is an Aramaic loanword not otherwise attested in the Akkadian dictionaries. The root *zrz* in the pael is attested in numerous dialects of Aramaic with a primary meaning of to gird and derivative meanings of to arm and to hasten. In the Targum, Aramaic *z'raz* means a thick belt or girdle.

rev.4 MUNŠUB (*šartu*) is written ^{sg}SUHUR (Labat No. 403) rather than as in Labat No. 543. The use of goat hair textiles of some sort in chariots is attested by an entry in the omen *CT 40 36.55* (quoted *CAD šartu 3d*):

šumma rubû narkabta irkabma MUNŠUB ana UGU-šû ŠUB-ut
if a ruler rides a chariot and (the covering) of goat hair falls upon him

It seems highly likely that the entry here is related. As the *CAD* translations suggests, it would appear that *šartu* had in fact acquired an extended meaning of “goat hair textile”, which meaning also fits our present context well. The translation “goat hair blankets for sacks” is supposing that these textiles were put on the donkeys prior to loading them with sacks, with the intention of reducing chafing. For the fact that sacks were made of goat hair see Bongenaar 1997 p. 313 n. 298 (*CT 56 8*).

A.6', B.6': For the restorations cf. no. 44:7.

No. 50 BM 70319 (82–9–18, 10320)

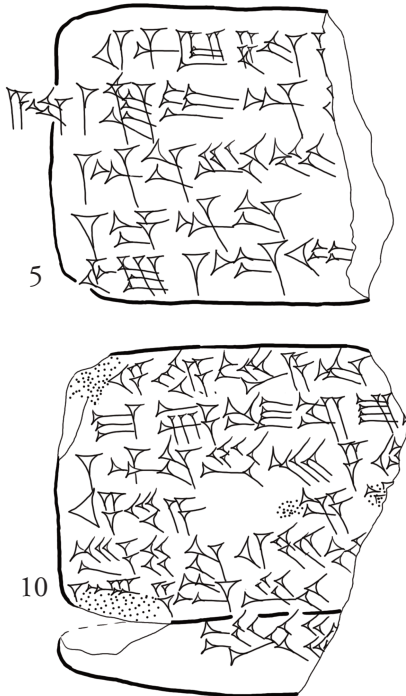
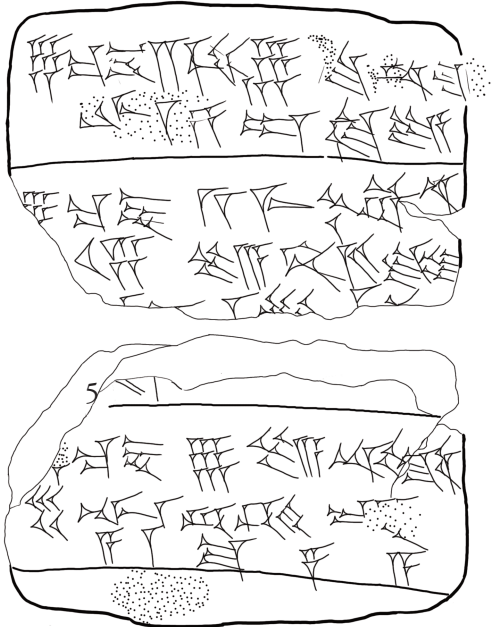
6.0 × 4.0 cm

not dated

- obv. 1 8 ^{gis}BAN 2 ME ŠIL
 9 *kar-bal¹-la-a²-[tú]*
 2 *ina IGI ^mza-ab-di-ia*
 3 8 ^{gis}BAN 2 ME *šil-ta-ḫu*
 4 15 *kar-bal-la-tu₄¹*
 5 *ina IGI ^mšeš-šú-nu¹*
 bottom of tablet broken off
- rev. 1' [x] x
 2' ^r9¹ ^{gis}BAN 9 *kar-bal-la-tú*
 3' [x] 50 *ina IGI ^mre-mut-^dEN*
 4' A ^mBA-šá-a

Translation

8 bows, 200 arrows, 9 headdresses: at the disposal of Abdiya; 8 bows, 200 arrows, 15 headdresses at the disposal of Aḫūšunu [... 9] bows, 9 headdresses, [x]+50 (arrows) at the disposal of Rēmūt-Bēl, son of Iqīša.

**No. 51 BM 83418** (83–1–21, 581)

4.2 × 3.6 cm

11/XII/[] Nebuchadnezzar II (604/562 BC)

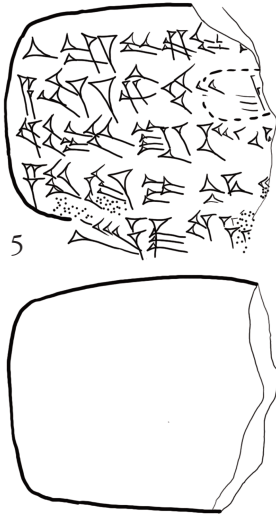
- 1 11½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BAB[BAR-ú]
 2 *a-na ^mki-i-^dU*[TU]
 3 ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU [o]
 4 ^mZALÁG-^dUTU
 5 *ù ^mina-^{gis}MI-^dU.GUR*
 6 [šá] ŠUK^hia LUGAL *a-na*
 7 *ma-dak-tu₄ iš-šú¹-[ú]*
 8 ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU šá U[GU]
 9 ŠUK^hia *e-ṭ[ir]*
 10 ⁱⁱⁱŠE UD 11 KÁM M[U x KÁM]
 11 ^{md}AG¹-NÍG.DU-ŠEŠ
 12 LUGAL TIN.T[IR^{ki}]

l. 2&5: For the restoration see MacGinnis 1994/1 p. 215.

l. 7: Tablet has SU.

Translation

11½ shekels of [white] silver for Kī-Šamaš, (which) Šamaš-aḫ-iddin, Nūr-Šamaš and Ina-šilli-[Nergal] have taken to the levy camp [from] the rations of the king. Šamaš-aḫ-iddin who is in charge of rations has been paid.

**No. 52 BM 83522** (83-1-21, 685)

4.2 × 3.6 cm

5⁺/X1/- -

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | 1 GUR ZÚ.LU[M.MA] |
| 2 | <i>a-na</i> ^m <i>ni-din-tu</i> ₄ ¹ š[á <i>it-ti</i>] |
| 3 | ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{meš} x [x x] |
| 4 | šá ^{li} <i>qi-i-pi</i> [x ¹ [x x]] |
| 5 | ^{iti} ZÍZ UD 5 ⁺ . [KÁM] |

Translation

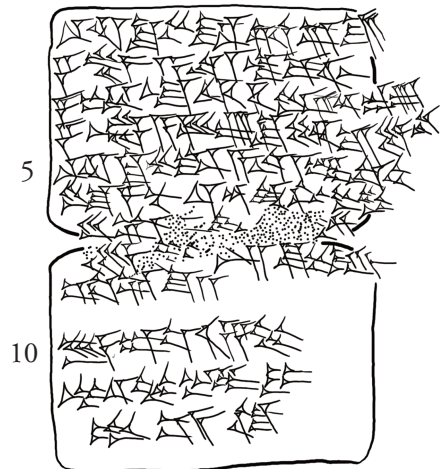
1 kur of dates (issued) for Nidintu [of] the horses of the *qīpu*. Date.

No. 53 BM 64983 (82-9-18, 4964)

3.7 × 2.5 cm

15/X/11 Nabonidus (544 BC)

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | 1- <i>en</i> ^{túg} KUR.RA TA É-ŠU ^{II} |
| 2 | šá KÁ <i>a-na</i> ^m <i>la-ba-ši</i> |
| 3 | šá <i>il-la-ti-šu</i> ^{li} <i>sa-an-du-ú</i> |
| 4 | šá <i>ina</i> KÁ A ^{meš} <i>ú-šu</i> ¹ - <i>uz-zu</i> SUM- <i>na</i> |
| 5 | 1- <i>en</i> ^{túg} KUR.RA <i>a-na</i> ^{md} NA- <i>na-din</i> |
| 6 | ^{li} šú-šá- <i>nu</i> <i>u</i> ^{md} HAR- <i>{DÜ}</i> -LUGAL-ŠEŠ |
| 7 | ^{li} UŠ. [BAR <i>bir-im</i> ¹ |
| 8 | SUM- ⁱⁿ ¹ PAP 2 ^{túg} KUR.RA ^{me} |
| 9 | TA É-ŠU ^{II} |
| 10 | ^{iti} AB UD 15 KÁM |
| 11 | MU 11 KÁM ^d NA-I |
| 12 | LUGAL E ^{ki} |

*Translation*

1 blanket from the gate storehouse deposited for Lābāši the caravaner, the fowler stationed at the water gate. 1 blanket issued to Nabû-nādin the *šušānu* and Bunene-šar-uṣur the weaver of coloured cloth. Total of two blankets from the gate storehouse. Date.

No. 54 BM 55823 (82–7–14, 181) [Bertin 1966]

7.5 × 5.5 cm

14/[]/3 Darius (518 BC)

- 1 [x x x x x x š]á MU 3 KÁM šá 30 ^{gis}B[AN^{mes}]
 2 [x x x x šir]-^fa¹-am 1(PI) 1(BÁN) 3 SILÀ šam-[ni x x x]
 3 [x x x x] 30 kar-ba-la-tu₄ u [x x x x]
 4 šá [x x x x mar]-ri 3 bal-li-li AN.BAR [a]-^fna¹
 5 ^fmIR¹-^d>^ra¹-[nu]-^fni¹-tu₄ ^{lu}GAL ^{gis}BAN ^{md}UTU-MU A-šú <šá>
 6 ^mšá-du-nu ^{md}UTU-^fMU A ^mBA-šá-a ^{md}UTU-PAP
 7 A ^mta-qiš u ^mre-mut-^dEN ^{lu}GAL 10-ti ^rmeš¹ ki-i
 8 'ina' GUB-zu šá ^mina-É.SAG.ÍL-lib-ur ^{lu}SANGA UD. 'KIB'. [NUN]^{ki}
 9 ^mLUGAL-lu-da-ri ^{lu}TIL. 'GÍD'.DA É.BABBAR.RA
 10 ^{md}EN-MU ^{md}NÀ-ŠEŠ^{mes}-GI ^m[ba-ba-ši-ru]
 11 o o ^{lu}UM [BISAG^{mes}]
 12 [^mi-riq-LUGAL-ut-su ^{lu}SAG <LUGAL> ^mr^x¹[x x x]
 13 [SU]M-na e-lat 30 ^{gis}BAN BA UR SU 'x'¹[x x]
 14 [tup]-pi tup-pi šá a-na ^mIR-^da-nu-ni-ti [A ^mšá-du]-^fnu²
 15 {u} ^{lu}GAL ^{gis}BAN u ^{lu}ERIM^{mes}-šú šá a-na ^{uru.kur}<elam> il-li-ku
 16 SUM-na ^mIR-^da-nu-ni-tu₄ ina ^dEN ^dNÀ u a-de-e
 17 šá ^mda-ri-mu-šú LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR it-te-me
 18 ki-i nu-bat-tu₄ ina UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} ab-te-te
 19 [iti x] UD 14.KÁM MU 3.KÁM ^mda-ri-mu-šú
 20 [LUGAL E^{ki} LU]GAL KUR.KUR^{mes} e-lat 20 KUR DU RU

l. 10: Restoration not certain.**l. 14:** The meaning “for one year” for *tuppi tuppi* has been suggested by H. D. Baker on the basis of attestations in rental contracts (presentation at the Barcelona RAI 2010).*Translation*

[...] of the 3rd year of 30 bo[ws [... jer]kins, 144 l. of oil [...], 30 caps and [...] of [..., x] spades (and) 3 hoes of iron given to Arad-Anunītu the *rab qašti*: (for the use) of Šamaš-iddin, son of Šadūnu, Šamaš-iddin, son of Iqīšaya, Šamaš-nāšir, son of Taqīš, and Rēmūt-Bēl, the *rab ešerti*'s.

In the presence of Ina-Esagila-lilbur the *šangū* of Sip[par], Šarru-lū-dāri the *qīpu* of the Ebabbara, Bēl-iddin, Nabū-ahhē-ušallim [and PN the scribes], Tērīq-šarrussu the *rēš šarri*.

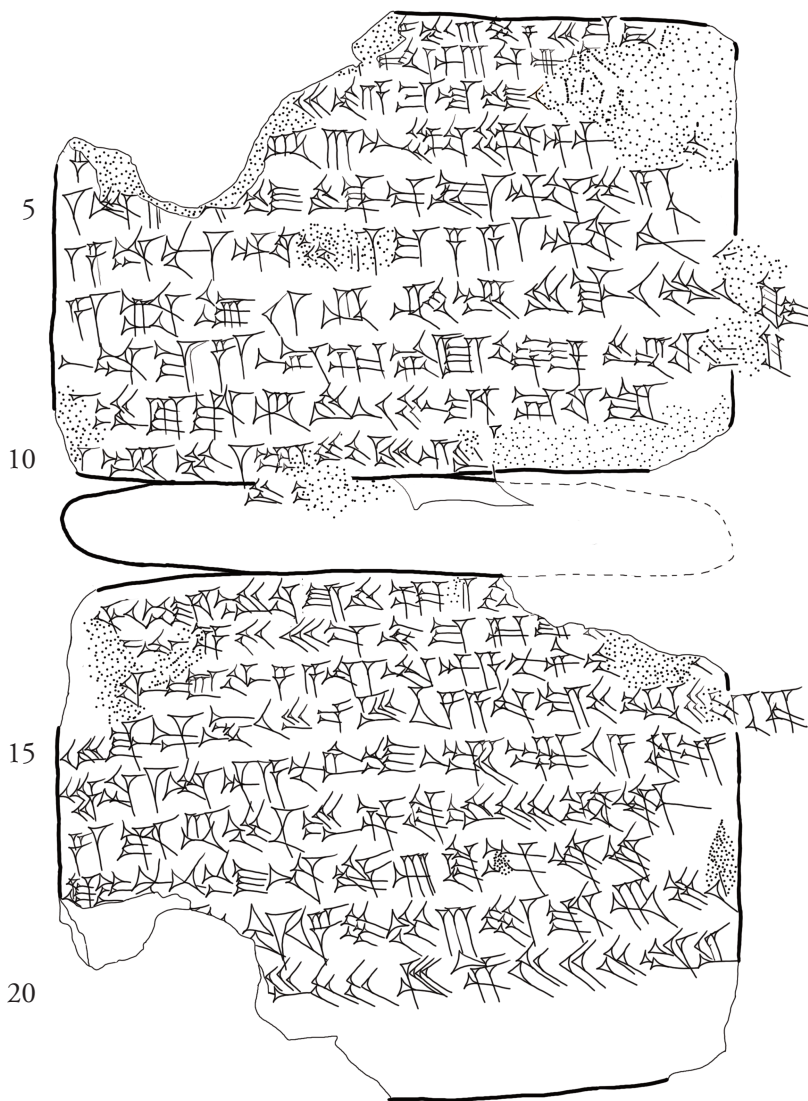
[PN] He will bring [..., x] ...

(This is) apart from 30 ... bows that for one year have been given to Arad-Anunītu, [son of Šadū]nu² the *rab qašti* and his men who have gone to (do duty in) <Elam>. Arad-Anunītu has sworn by Bēl, Nabū and the majesty of Darius, king of Babylon, king of the world: “I will not spend a night in Sippar.”

[Month x], day 14, year 3 of Darius [king of Babylon], king of the world.

This is apart from the 20 kur du ru ...

Date.



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